

BOOK REVIEWS

Studi linguistici in onore di Roberto Gusmani. 3 vols. A cura di Raffaella Bombi, Guido Cifoletti, Fabiana Fusco, Lucia Innocente, Vincenzo Orioles. XLVI, VIII, VIII, 1866 pp. Alessandria, Edizioni dell’Orso, 2006.

This weighty three-volume Festschrift celebrates the seventieth birthday of Roberto Gusmani, a linguistic scholar of world-wide renown, who has been active for more than half a century mainly in the fields of Ancient Anatolian languages, Old Germanic, and the general study of language contact phenomena. The list of Gusmani’s publications (up to the year 2005), preceding the bulk of the contributions to the Festschrift, displays a still wider range of productivity, with items on Messapic, Greek, Italic, Iranian, Slavic, comparative Indo-European, the history of linguistics, and language policy, well over 250 all together, a good deal of them written in German, of which Gusmani owes his excellent command to early *Galeerenjahre* in Erlangen, but the majority in Italian, of course. The editors’ preface (*Premessa*, VII–XII) provides a biographical sketch and an appraisal of Gusmani’s achievements, not only as a researcher and academic teacher but also as an organizer, i.a. founder of an International Centre for the Study of Multilingualism (*Centro Internazionale sul Plurilinguismo*) in his university at Udine.

It is customary—and hardly avoidable—in the genre of Festschriften that the thematic range of contributions collected exceeds the sphere of activity of the person celebrated, even in the case of a scholar with such a broad spectrum of interests as Roberto Gusmani. Although the articles in the three volumes under review are arranged in alphabetical order by authors’ names, it seems useful to traverse them here according to the languages and topics treated in order to convey a picture of the intellectual landscape surrounding the celebrated *septagenarius sed non senex* (the list of his publications includes five works in print, all of which have appeared in the meantime). Since it is, of course, neither desirable nor possible to pay equal regard to all of the 129 articles, written in five languages by authors from sixteen countries, in the

present review, only a couple of the most innovative and/or noteworthy papers will be picked out for a still very brief discussion in the following overview; the rest will be merely mentioned, which does not generally entail a negative judgement of the reviewer concerning their scientific value, *nota bene*.

The relatively largest portion of contributions (almost one third) is on phenomena of language contact, which is in accordance with the fact that contact linguistics is one of Gusmani's main fields, as pointed out already, and perhaps the field where his views and findings are of the most general interest to the scientific community of linguists.

Some papers discuss fundamental or conceptual aspects of language contact; others go into detail, presenting case studies from various areas of contact and diverse historical periods. Of the former, more theory-oriented type is the resumption of the problem of defining "mixed languages" by Gaetano Berruto (*Sul concetto di lingua mista*, 153–69). Berruto proposes a system of classification along the degree of intertwining on the structural level, with languages where both the morphosyntax and the lexicon are the result of a fusion of formerly heterogeneous systems most clearly fulfilling the definition of "mixed language", while languages with heavy lexical borrowing but no effects on the grammar would not fit into this definition at all. In intermediate cases, the question has to be resolved whether the language to be classified as "mixed" is a full-fledged language *sui generis* or just a variety of an existing language. A terminological problem of the French tradition of contact linguistics is addressed by Fabiana Fusco, who discusses the delimitations of the concept of *xénisme* (as introduced in the 1950's by Maurice Deroy) in relation to *emprunt*, comparable to the German distinction between *Fremdwort* and *Lehnwort*, respectively, paralleled by English *foreign word* and *loan word* (*Dalla marginalità all'alterità linguistica: lo statuto del termine francese xénisme*, 809–24). Theoretical and terminological problems posed by the so-called neoclassical confixes are discussed by Vincenzo Orioles, who also pays regard to the aspect of productivity (*La confissazione e le sue implicazioni linguistiche*, 1341–9). This issue is pursued more deeply in a contribution by Wolfgang U. Dressler and Marianne Kilani-Schoch on morphological integration of loanwords in French and German (*Loan words and morphological productivity*, 635–41).

The bulk of contributions on language contact deal with particular interlingual transfer phenomena, mostly involving Romance languages. Enrico Arcaini traces differences and similarities in the development of native and borrowed words, dwelling on a couple of examples from French and Italian (*Penetrazione di parole in area italiana e francese: un intreccio linguistico-culturale*, 31–8). Laura Vanelli presents a detailed view on the structural prerequisites of loanword adaptation in Friulian (*Struttura delle parole friulane e adattamento dei prestiti*, 1785–800). This language, being the *Umgebungssprache* of Gusmani's academic residence since 1972, is treated also in a contribution by Mitja Skubic on lexical influence of Slovene on Eastern Friulian dialects (*Lingue in contatto: elementi lessicali sloveni nel friulano sonziaco*, 1641–50), and by Giovanni Frau, who reports on his project of a dictionary of Old Friulian (*Per un Lessico del friulano antico*, 773–800). Slavic–Italian language contact is also the subject of contributions by Manlio Cortelazzo on Schiavonesco, the Venetian spoken by Slavs, as attested in texts from the 16th century (*Ancora un testo in schiavonesco*, 483–6), and by Carlo Alberto Mastrelli, who dwells on a dialectal expression for 'testicles' believed to be a calque from Slavic (*Un calco semantico dallo slavo in dialetti adriatici*, 1121–9). Raffaella Bombi reflects on pathways of phonological adaptation of foreign words along examples of recent anglicisms in Italian, taking up Gusmani's dichotomy

of regressive versus progressive integration (*Su alcuni inopinati casi di integrazione progressiva*, 275–92). The issue of anglicisms is also raised by Giuseppe Brincat, who compares their representation in Maltese and Italian dictionaries (*Anglicismi a confronto: l'uso di parole inglesi a Malta e in Italia come viene riflesso nei dizionari*, 293–301), and by Carla Marcato, in an entertaining and at the same time very informative account of reciprocal borrowing between English and Italian in the lexical field of 'coffee' (*Sul "caffè": prestiti tra italiano e angloamericano*, 1065–70). The interplay of migration and phonological variation is studied watchfully by Giovanna Marotta in her paper on the city vernacular of Liverpool (*Interferenza linguistica e indici sociofonetici in Scouse*, 1081–101).

Language contact in antiquity is treated by a couple of authors, with various regional focusing. Mario Alinei highlights the role of Etruscan as a transmitter between Greek and Latin (*Lat. hister, -tri, histrio, -onis 'attore': un prestito dal greco mediato dall'etrusco*, 13–8). Emanuele Banfi argues for an enlargement of the list of features characteristic of Balkanic languages, enumerating some grammatical peculiarities shared mainly by Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian and Modern Greek but so far not contained in the traditional catalogue of features defining the Balkan Sprachbund, which he attributes to parallel developments that started already in the Republican period in the varieties of Greek and Latin spoken in the Balkans (*Convergenze tipologiche tra greco e latino nei Balcani e la "continuità mobile" della romanità balcanica*, 73–82). Paolo Poccetti investigates morphological peculiarities of Greek and Oscan in Southern Italy that originated in proper names (*Fenomeni di allomorfofismo flessionale in ambiente bilingue osco-greco. Un contributo alla storia di lat. Aiāx, Bruttāx e oltre*, 1359–72). Carlo Consani adduces epigraphic evidence to underline the intensity of scribal bilingualism in Sicily in the late republican and early imperial era (*Il greco di Sicilia in età romana: forme di contatto e fenomeni di interferenza*, 467–81). Renato Arena takes a look at language contact in the sphere of personal names in ancient Sicily and Southern Italy (*Su alcuni antroponimi della Sicilia e Magna Grecia*, 39–42). Giancarlo Bolognesi, who passed away one year before the publication of this Festschrift, directs the reader's attention to the fact that some Iranian, Greek and Latin borrowings into Armenian belong to the colloquial register (*L'influsso iranico, greco e latino sul lessico armeno*, 263–74). Filippo Motta reports on indications for Romance and Celtic language contact in early Gallic inscriptions (*Contatto culturale ed emersione di lingue: il caso del gallico*, 1269–80). Riccardo Ambrosini supplies a considerable amount of verbosity in order to blur the conceptual boundary between genetic relationship and linguistic diffusion in his endeavour to assess the position of Albanian among the languages of Ancient Europe (*Sulla posizione dell'albanese*, 19–30).

Language contact in the Middle Ages and in the early modern era is dealt with in Lucio Melazzo's examination of some Old English glosses, which involves a sufficient amount of argumentation in terms of contact linguistics to be classed here among contributions with explicit reference to language contact (*Three entries in the Harley Glossary*, 1151–9), and by Paola Cotticelli-Kurras, who traces German interference in Johannes Bretke's Lithuanian Bible of 1580 translated from the Lutheran version (*Aspetti del contatto linguistico nella traduzione della Bibbia lituana di Bretke*, 487–505). Celestina Milani's analysis of two Early New High German texts is a rather unsystematic collection of more or less isolated phenomena of code mixing and interference (*Momenti di interlinguistica in testi tedeschi del '400*, 1171–82). Alberto Zamboni suspects Latin influence in the creation of the so far unexplained Old High German

eschatological expression *muspilli*, recalling semantically appropriate Latin *vespillō* ‘corpse-bearer’ (itself etymologically obscure), but the phonological transition from *ve-* to *mu-* remains problematic (Muspilli: *un’eco di funeraria romana nell’escatologia cristiano-germanica?*, 1813–27). Contact between Slavic and neighbouring languages is the subject of contributions by Giorgio Ziffer, who elaborates on the semantic difference between Old Church Slavonic *juněi* and *uèenik*, both meaning ‘disciple’, but the first one being a calque on Old High German *Jünger* ‘disciple [of Jesus]’ (*Paleoslavo juněi ‘disciple’,* 1829–37), and Gerhard Neweklowsky, who traces features characterizing the languages pertaining to the Balkan Sprachbund in Macedonian folk tales (*Die Sammlung makedonischer Volksmärchen von Stefan Verković als balkanischer Text,* 1307–17).

The borders of the Indo-European linguistic area are transcended in Giuliano Cifolletti’s article on Latin borrowings in Tunisian Arabic (*Latinismi nell’arabo tunisino,* 435–45) and in the contribution by Maurizio Gnerre, who recounts from his rich reservoir of experience in language ecology in the Third World (*Colonialismo e “modernità”: il ruolo di ideologie e tecnologie nella competizione comunicativa fra lingue “minori”,* 907–24).

In the only paper devoted entirely to contact among non-Indo-European languages, Gábor Bereczki applies Gusmani’s typology of calques to the pervasive contact phenomena of Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages in the Volga-Kama region (*Tipi di calchi nelle lingue della regione del Volga-Kama,* 149–52).

Non-lexical aspects of language contact are treated in Gerhard Ernst’s study of convergence of reflexive constructions in Latin-Romance and Southern German varieties (*Der Typ NOS SE VIDEMUS/WIR SEHEN SICH in deutschen und romanischen Varietäten: Interferenz? lautliche Entwicklung? Analogie? Kognition?*, 719–29), and in Rainer Eckert’s comparison of Baltic and Slavic convergence in idiomatic expressions (*Lettisch aut kājas und seine Entsprechungen im Litauischen und Slawischen,* 697–705).

Livio Clemente Piccinini’s rather shallow note on problems of translation of numerical expressions may be added to the set of papers on language contact, if this term is taken in its widest sense (*Numeri, traduzione e semiosi,* 1351–7). Granted this maximal extension, the notion of language contact also includes second language acquisition and thus allows for grouping here Stefania Giannini and Jessica Cancila’s study on the acquisition of Italian pronominal clitics by native speakers of English learning Italian as a second language (*Direzionalità di accesso nell’acquisizione dei clitici pronominali in italiano L2,* 883–905).

Another aspect of language contact that does not pertain to the core meaning of the concept is its intersection with language policy, although it is evident that language policy is actually always and everywhere a matter of more than one language and thus by definition part and parcel of the study of languages in contact. Augusto Carli and Maria Chiara Felloni’s report on institutional multilingualism in the European Union (*I paradigmi della politica linguistica europea. Il caso delle lingue di lavoro,* 359–91) comes to the conclusion that “in the case at issue [viz., the language policy of the European Union, HChL], a language policy is adopted which, contrary to its general statements, indulges in the principle of *laissez faire*, coinciding with the mechanisms of the free market” (385, translation mine). Also Diego Poli’s report on the history and future of Irish in Belfast is situated in the field of language policy (*Etnicità a Belfast,* 1383–401).

The second largest portion of contributions is on the history of linguistics. Here, too, the papers can be divided into a more general branch, addressing conceptual and terminological issues, and a more specific branch dealing with individual researchers.

Of the former type are the articles by Maria Patrizia Bologna on the comparative method (*Comparazione e modelli interpretativi*, 249–61) and by Edoardo Vineis on the history of the term *adjective* (*Per la storia della nozione di aggettivo*, 1801–11). All the other papers are related to specific persons or to ideas initiated by them, spanning over all periods of the history of Western linguistics, from antiquity to the twentieth century.

Far back in time, to the beginnings of the Ptolemaic period (around the third century BC), reaches the glance cast by Franco Crevatin on an Egyptian philologist (*Inaro figlio di Teos: sacerdote e filologo*, 507–13). Marco Mancini reviews Cicero's concept of rural pronunciation (*"Dilatandis litteris": uno studio su Cicerone e la pronunzia 'rustica'*, 1023–46).

Michele Longo revisits the last of the four Old Norse grammatical treatises of the Codex Wormianus written in the mid-fourteenth century (*Un esempio di contaminazione di tradizioni nel Quarto Trattato Grammaticale Islandese*, 989–1003), which is a kind of manual for the proper reading and composition of skaldic poetry. Laura Biondi traces the interplay of language contact and etymology in two Latin treatises on aspiration and diphthongs from the late twelfth century (*A proposito di tradizione glossografica ed etimologia in testi ortografici del Medioevo latino*, 235–48).

In a very meticulous investigation of early botanic literature, Maria Amalia D'Aronco clarifies the etymology of *sunflower* (*Alla ricerca del nome, da Pianta Massima a Helianthus annuus L.: il girasole e i botanici europei dei secoli XVI e XVII*, 515–25). Claudio Marazzini discusses early approaches to Italian etymology in the seventeenth century (*La parte degli italiani nelle etimologie di Ménage*, 1047–64).

Luciano Agostiniani reveals the relevance of Albert Terrien de Lacouperie, a nineteenth-century forerunner of syntactic typology who seems to have escaped public notice so far (*Albert Terrien de Lacouperie: ancora un precedente ottocentesco alla tipologia sintattica*, 1–11).

The main figure of nineteenth-century Italian linguistics, Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, is the subject of contributions by Domenico Santamaria (*La controversia tra Graziadio Isaia Ascoli e i Neogrammatici: la cifra di lettura di Benvenuto Aron Terracini*, 1503–24) and Silvia Morgana (*Ascoli-Cantù: alcune lettere inedite (con un'appendice di Valussi e Carcano)*, 1225–40).

Italian linguistics has a very strong tradition of interest in Saussure. Sometimes it even seems that Saussureanism is deeper rooted in Italy than it is in France. One may speculate about the reason for this *penchant*; a crucial factor is certainly that for a long time the best commented version of the *Cours de linguistique générale* in any language was Tullio de Mauro's Italian edition of 1967. No less than five authors of this Festschrift deal with Saussure, his relation to linguists of his time as well as to philosophers of different periods, and with his general impact on twentieth-century linguistics: Nunzio La Fauci (*Ascoli, Saussure, Meillet. Vene d'ironia (e di verità) nella storia della linguistica moderna*, 957–66), Cristina Vallini (*Aspetti del metalinguaggio di Saussure: histoire, historique, 1771–1784*), Roberto Giacomelli (*Lacan e Saussure*, 867–82), Ruggero Morresi (*Arbitrarismo teologico e arbitrarietà del segno: Hegel e Saussure*, 1257–68), and Maria Pia Marchese (*Il X Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti: testimonianze di Ascoli e Saussure*, 1071–9). In addition to that, Patrizia Torricelli

takes fifteen pages to argue that metaphor is an intrinsic property of language as a semiotic system and that the basis for this insight is preconceived in the Saussurean framework (*Il segno metaforico. Tra motivazione e relatività linguistica*, 1715–29). Also Bologna's paper on the comparative method mentioned above takes Saussure as a point of departure, and Walter Belardi's rather confused and sermonical reflections on the role of the listener and the structure of dialogue revolve around Saussure's treatment of the subject in the *Cours de linguistique générale (La struttura del dialogo e il ruolo del percipiente*, 99–119; Belardi passed away on November 1, 2008).

Twentieth-century linguistics beyond Saussure is treated in two of the more than twenty papers grouped here as contributions to linguistic historiography: Alf Sommerfelt's approach to the explanation of language change is reappraised by Pierre Swiggers (*Alf Sommerfelt: l'enjeu sociologique de la linguistique diachronique*, 1687–96), and Giorgio Graffi sets out to resume the controversies brought about by Chomsky's usurpation of the term "Cartesian linguistics" (*Ripensando la "linguistica cartesiana"*, 925–48).

A specific subgenre of linguistic historiography (for which, with the tip of my tongue in cheek, I propose the term *eschatologontology*) is constituted by Žarko Muljačić's genealogical research on the last speaker of Vegliote (*Contributi alla biografia di Antonio Udina Búrbur*, 1281–94).

Linguistic historiography is often hard to separate from reasoning on linguistic methodology. An instance of this entanglement is Paola Benincà's paper on the Saussurean dichotomy of synchrony and diachrony in the light of subsequent developments in grammaticalization theory (*Su etimologia e linguistica sincronica*, 133–48). Another paper of this type is Rosanna Sornicola's account of the concept of expletives and pleonastic forms (*Un problema di linguistica generale: la definizione e la giustificazione degli espletivi*, 1651–71).

The field of linguistics proper is boldly transcended in Umberto Rapallo's examination of the relationship between linguistics and biology (*Il linguaggio della vita e le convergenze tra linguistica e scienze biologiche*, 1445–66).

As a third batch of papers consider those that do not explicitly refer to language contact but concentrate on particular languages. With the sole exception of Tocharian, none of the branches of Indo-European is left out here, as will be seen in the following brief perusal.

In accordance with Roberto Gusmani's invaluable merits in the field of Anatolian languages, mainly Lydian and Phrygian, well over a dozen of the contributions to his *Festschrift* are devoted to this branch of Indo-European. Hittite is treated in papers by Jaan Puhvel (*Indo-European *med- in Hittite*, 1435–6), Stefano De Martino (*The City of Tawiniya and the meaning of the word paššu- in Hittite texts*, 537–47), Johann Tischler (*Hethitische Parallelen zum althochdeutschen Wurmsegen*, 1711–4) and Pier Marco Bertinetto and Valentina Cambi (*Hittite temporal adverbials and the aspectual interpretation of the ške/a-suffix*, 193–233). It would have been a surprise to see a paper by Eric P. Hamp exceeding the length of two pages (*Reconstructing (Indo-)Hittite Personals*, 949–50); in spite of its brevity, editing has fallen short of noticing the sex change inflicted upon Professor Puhvel in the references (Jaan, not Joan).

The works on Lydian are mainly on etymology. Onofrio Carruba examines the ethnonym of the Lydians, rejecting the hypothesis of a Phrygian exonym prevalent in the literature in favour of an endonym to be identified with the name of the Luwians (*Il nome della Lidia e altri problemi lidii*, 393–411). Diether Schürr proposes a number

of etymologies, among which the word for ‘daughter’ (*tutr-*) deserves attention (*Elf lydische Etymologien*, 1569–87). Raphaël Gérard explains the Lydian noun *sadmē-* as a nominalization in *-men-* from the IE verbal root **seh₁-* ‘to put in, imprint’ with a shift in meaning from ‘seal’ to ‘document, inscription’ (*Remarques sur l’étymologie de lyd. sadmē-*, 863–5). H. Craig Melchert cautiously identifies Lydian verb forms as medio-passive (*Medio-passive forms in Lydian?*, 1161–6). Massimo Poetto proposes rectifications in the reading of the inscription of Tyre on the basis of his own photographs and a squeeze of the original.

The Lycian inscription of Tlos is revisited by Récai İtekoğlu, with a great number of rectifications in the reading of this unfortunately severely damaged monument. René Lebrun identifies the Lycian pronominal forms *ije* and *uwe* as dative singular and plural, respectively, of the personal pronoun in anaphoric phrases (*Les pronoms lyciens uwe et ije*, 985–7).

Michael Meier-Brügger’s notes on Carian are merely bibliographic, with a brief remark on the possibility of equating Carian *klmud-* with Lydian *qalmlu-* ‘ruler, king’ (*Karische Notizen*, 1145–9).

Progress in the identification of Phrygian lexemes is gained by Claude Brixhe’s recognition of the word for ‘woman’, *knais*, corroborating the genealogical proximity of Phrygian to Greek and Armenian, where the respective words are *gunē* and *kin* (*A-t-on enfin trouvé la “femme” phrygienne?*, 303–9).

Another large portion of papers is devoted to Italic languages. Loretta Del Tutto presents an overview of the epigraphic evidence of Ancient Italic dialects in the southernmost part of the Italian peninsula, before delving into details of a Lucanian inscription of the fourth century BC (*Annotazioni in margine all’iscrizione di Rocca gloriosa*, 527–36). Another leading specialist in Italic epigraphy and linguistics, Carlo De Simone, revisits the archaic inscription attributed to the Oscan tribe of the Auruncans and dated around the fifth century BC that was found on a cup in the estuary of the river named *Liris* in antiquity, which formed the frontier between the provinces of Latium and Campania (*L’iscrizione “aurunca” del Garigliano: nuove considerazioni critiche*, 549–75). An inscription from fourth century Latium (Praeneste) incised on a mirror is examined by Annalisa Franchi De Bellis (*L’iscrizione prenestina sullo specchio di Melerpanta [CIL I² 554]*, 755–71).

The Sabellian branch of Italic is treated by Alberto Calderini in an essay on deonomastic adjectives (*Sull’epiteto Fisica di Venere e Mefite e su alcuni derivati sabellici da teonimo in *-iko- ed -ano-*, 315–57).

Latin etymologies are seemingly an inexhaustible source of learned reasoning. For *macellum* ‘food market’, Renato Gendre proposes Punic origin (instead of Hebrew, as according to a view held in the literature) and subsequent Sicel transmission into Greek and Latin (*Lat. macellum, gr. μάκελλον*, 847–61). The unsatisfactory entries on Latin *populus* ‘people’ in the two leading etymological dictionaries of Latin (Walde/Hofmann and Ernout/Meillet) and the variety of proposals current in the literature are taken as a point of departure by Alberto Nocentini for reconsidering the Indo-European word for ‘knee’ (*L’origine del latino pōpulus*, 1319–25). The concept of *fidēs* is considered by Maria Luisa Porzio Gernia in terms of the methodology of *ricostruzione culturale* that has been developed and refined especially in the tradition of Italian *glottologia*, e.g. by the late Enrico Campanile (*La fidēs tra divino e umano*, 1403–19). The term *prōvincia* is explained by Claude Sandoz as derived from an adverb *prō* ‘before, in front of’ by means of the same suffix as the one deriving *propinquus* from *prope* ‘close, nearby’ (*L’étymologie et la formation de lat. prouincia*, 1497–501).

Topics in Latin historical grammar are addressed by three authors. Renato Oniga explains the exemption of first conjugation verbs from the vowel reduction rule (e.g., *excavāre*, but *excipere* from *capere*) by assimilation of the stem vowel to the following thematic long *-ā-* (*Un'eccezione all'apofonia latina*, 1337–9). Bernhard Forssman invokes a minor sound law (“kleines Lautgesetz”) *oii* > *uii* in order to explain the *u* in the genitive singular forms of *hic/haec/hoc* and *quis/quid* (*Lateinisch huius und cuius*, 743–53). George E. Dunkel assesses the postpositive particle *-met* as an instance of met-analysis: *egom et* > *egomet*. This construction survives, though inverted and completely opaque, in French *même*, Italian *medesimo* and Spanish *mismo*, all from *met-ipsimus*, haplogogized from *met-ipsissimus*, superlative of resegmented *metipse* < *egomet ipse* (*Latin egomet and tute*, 677–92).

Of the languages of Ancient Italy that do not pertain to the Italic branch of Indo-European, three appear in contributions by leading specialists in the respective fields. Aldo Luigi Prodocimi delivers a detailed account of the Messapian genitive as part of a series of articles appearing elsewhere on genitive formations in ancient Indo-European languages (*Il genitivo messapico in -ihi*, 1421–34). Jürgen Untermann summarizes the evidence extant on the language of the Ligurians, adding a list of personal names ordered by stems and suffixes (*Ligurisches*, 1759–69). John D. Ray reopens the old question on the genealogical position of Etruscan without reaching a conclusion more specific than placing it in the misty sphere of “Para-Indo-European” (*Is Etruscan an Indo-European language?*, 1467–82).

Although most of the authors of this Festschrift are Italians, there are relatively few contributions on Italian or on Romance languages as such (i.e., except the papers classed above under contact linguistics and history of linguistics). Fiorenzo Toso’s reflections on what he calls “remote etymology” (this seems to be no current term in Anglophonic linguistics) draw mainly on examples from Romance, but the aim of the paper is rather methodological than descriptive or explanatory (*Usi [ed abusi] dell’etimologia remota*, 1731–48). The same holds for Salvatore G. Trovato’s paper on folk etymology, which is furthermore limited to toponymy (*Storie locali, miti, blasoni: paretimologie, pseudoetimologie*, 1749–58). Salvatore Claudio Sgroi presents an abridged version of a larger work on Italian adverbs in *-mente*, with ample digressions into the debate on the modelling of word formation rules (“*Morfologi, vi esorto alla storia!*”, 1589–620). An example of innovative empirical dialectology is Giovanna Massariello Merzagora’s report on Veronese within the framework of a large-scale investigation of Italian city vernaculars conducted in the years 2000 and 2001 (*Riflessioni sull’uso a Verona: omogeneo e discontinuo nella ricerca LinCi*, 1103–20).

Four papers focus on Greek: Françoise Bader tries to elucidate cryptic references to the alphabet in Homeric verses by applying a method that looks more cryptic than the references it is meant to elucidate (*Bellérophon et l’écriture dans l’Iliade*, 43–71), Anna Morpurgo Davies localizes the area where a certain type of anthroponymic compounds originated (*Onomastics, diffusion and word formation: Greek Ἀριστογείων and Ἀριστογείτος*, 1241–56), Markus Egetmeyer reassesses the morphology and meaning of a verb form of Cypriot Greek of the syllabic period (*Cipriota e-xe | o-ru-xe*, 707–17), and Marina Benedetti bases her hypothesis that the verb *λήγειν* is an auxiliary denoting the interruption of an action on firm philological grounds and convincing linguistic reasoning (*Ausiliazione aspettuale in Greco antico: i costrutti con λήγειν*, 121–32).

The Germanic languages are treated only with respect to their oldest manifestations. Wolfgang Meid analyzes the constructions expressing alienable and inalienable possession in Gothic by means of the verbs *haban* and *aigan* (*Veräußerlicher und un-*

veräußerlicher Besitz im Gotischen: Zur Semantik von haban und aigan, 1131–43). Maria Vittoria Molinari observes that the juridical texts of the Carolingian period display a high degree of autonomy of Old High German in terms of administrative terminology (*Sulla formazione del lessico giuridico tedesco in epoca carolingia*, 1183–97). Francesca Chiusaroli presents a detailed study of two Old English words of ‘saying’ and ‘sounding’ that have not survived in the English lexicon (*Inglese antico sweg e stefn: la “voce” fra lessico poetico e ars grammatica*, 413–33).

Celtic, Albanian, Armenian and Slavic are treated in one contribution each. Karl Horst Schmidt rejects a hypothesis brought forward in the literature proclaiming the Celtiberian verbal nouns to be infinitives (*Zum Verbalnomen im Keltischen*, 1551–7). Addolorata Landi studies the use of the word for ‘cuckoo’ as an interjection with a variety of connotations in Albanian (*A proposito di un’“interiezione impropria” dell’albanese*, 967–74). The eyes of the reviewer, plagued by a tremendous number of pages full of rhetorical ornamentation but void of systematic reasoning, find rest in Moreno Morani’s brilliant account of the alleged preservation of Indo-European laryngeals in Armenian (*Armeno e teoria laringalistica*, 1199–223). The brief note by Mario Enrietti on conservative Russian dialects that seem not to have undergone the Second Palatalization is too fragmentary and inconclusive to reveal why the term “methodological” appears in the subtitle (*Aree isolate in slavo e in romanzo: un parallelo metodologico*, 713–7).

Iranian languages are dealt with in the papers by Rüdiger Schmitt (*Modernisierung ererbter Personennamen im Altiranischen: Von ‘primären’ *kleues- zu ‘sekundären’ *farnah-Bildungen*, 1559–68), Helmut Humbach (*Das Pantheon der Kušān und der Gott Mozdoano*, 951–6), and Palmira Cipriano, who delivers a “fifth part” of etymological notes on Modern Persian, without indicating when and where the four preceding parts have appeared (*Note di etimologia e lessicologia neopersiana: V*, 447–66).

The Indo-Aryan branch is covered by Daniele Maggi’s note on the concept of emptiness in Vedic (*Sul “vuoto” in Ṛgvedasamhitā X, 129, 3c*, 1011–22) and by Christian Zinko’s study of the terms for ‘blood’ in Old Indic medical texts (*Die Bezeichnungen für “Blut” in den altindischen medizinischen Texten—am Beispiel der Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*, 1839–53).

Thracian, the most scarcely attested of all Ancient Indo-European languages in terms of extant inscriptions, poses the problem of delimiting the extension of its onomastic legacy in the place names of the South-Eastern Balkans. Ivan Duridanov discusses a sample of these (*Thrakische Ortsnamen mit zweitem Element -PARA/-PERA*, 693–5), inventing, in passing, an Indo-European etymology “*(s)porā ‘village, primitive settlement’” by the scratch of his pen.

The “top-level domain” of proto-Indo-European is elaborated on in half a dozen papers. Norbert Oettinger presents a very clear and amply documented analysis of the inflection of the words for ‘one’, ‘other’, ‘whole’ and ‘all’ in ancient Indo-European languages, with new hypotheses on the morphology of adjectives in Hittite and on the origin of the so-called strong inflection of adjectives in Germanic (*Pronominaladjektive in frühen indogermanischen Sprachen*, 1327–35). Vermondo Brugnatelli proposes to extend the application of Szemerényi’s Law to vocalic stems, thus arriving at a generalization of the *s*-nominative for all animate nouns in proto-Indo-European: **-e/i/uh₂-s > *-e/i/uh₂h₂ > -e/i/uh₂ > -ā/ī/ū* (*Una postilla alla “legge di Szemerényi”*, 311–4). Paolo di Giovine readdresses the question of the number of laryngeals in proto-Indo-European, trying to do away with *h₁* on the basis of negative evidence in Anatolian alone and promising to resolve the issue of prothetic vowels

in Greek and Armenian elsewhere (*Le laringali indoeuropee: un fantasma della ricostruzione?*, 577–91). Original and bewildering at an equal rate is Domenico Silvestri's approach to apophony. Among other unwarranted assumptions, this author, who is as reckless in the invention of new terms for linguistic concepts of a long standing as he is generous in the use of exclamation marks, claims an immediate relationship between cerebral-hemisphere domination and morphological process types (*Apofonie indoeuropee e altre apofonie*, 1621–40). Two contributions on Indo-European etymology complete this group of studies. Alexander M. Lubotsky wants the word for 'heel' to derive from a verbal compound **pds-per(H)-* with the zero-grade of the word for 'foot' as its first member followed by one of the Indo-European verbs meaning 'to beat'; but the accumulation of ad-hoc assumptions leading to such a conclusion is considerable, and the idea to explain *s*-mobile by means of metanalysis from vanished first members of compounds sounds more daring than convincing in the light of the available evidence (*Indo-European 'heel'*, 1005–10). José Luis García Ramón exposes the semantic and morphological development of roots meaning 'to gratify' in Hittite and Greek (*Hitita uarr-* 'ayudar' y *karija-mi/ta* 'mostrar benevolencia', *hom.* ἤρα φέρειν (y χάριον φέρειν) 'dar satisfacción', *IÉ* **uerH-* 'favorecer' y **gher(H)-* 'estar a gusto, desear', 825–46).

Before turning to the two contributions on non-Indo-European languages, two papers on ancient writing systems should be mentioned, especially in view of the fact that one of them, by Yves Duhoux (*Destins contrastés de langues et d'écritures: les linéaires A et B*, 665–76), is on both Linear A and B and thus of concern to the transition from Pre-Indo-European to Greek ethnic and linguistic presence in the Mediterranean. The other one, by Mario Negri, is entirely devoted to Linear A and its relationship to hieroglyphic Minoan (*Le prime scritture a Creta*, 1295–305).

Pelio Fronzaroli's investigation of Eblaitic entomonyms could as well be grouped together with the contributions on language contact, since the items discussed appear in bilingual lists or in monolingual lists composed by bilingual scribes (*Parasitic insects in the lexical lists from Ebla*, 801–7). Paolo Driussi and László Honti present an overview of converbs in Uralic languages, with ample reference to current issues in the typological study of serial verb constructions (*Composizioni verbali nelle lingue uraliche*, 643–64).

The fourth and last major group of contributions is constituted by studies on general linguistic topics: semantics, lexicology, morphology, and language change. Anamaria Bartolotta investigates the metaphoric use of spatial concepts in the expression of temporal relations, with special regard to future tense in Aymará and in Ancient Indo-European languages (*La metafora Spazio-Tempo in prospettiva: evidenze linguistiche del "futuro dietro le spalle"*, 83–98). An exercise in contrastive categorial semantics, with additional reference to literary stylistics, is performed by Harro Stammerjohann (*Modus der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten*, 1673–85). Also Norbert Reiter's essay on a special class of dimensional adjectives can be booked under the heading "contrastive semantics", but the author points to a more ambitious goal, expressing the wish that a "European atlas of cognition" be compiled on the basis of particular charts of semantic relationships like the one he presents in his paper (*Die semantischen Verwandten von deutsch eben. Ein Beitrag zur Eurolinguistik*, 1483–96). A programme for future research is also envisaged by Franco Bertaccini, Michele Prandi, Samantha Sintuzzi and Livia Togni in their paper on synonymy, reporting on a research programme in the course of which over 140.000 terminological files have been produced that are going to be fed into a dynamic database (*Tra lessico naturale e lessici di specialità: la sinonimia*, 171–92). Emiliano Guevara and Sergio Scalise, whose pa-

per is ordered alphabetically under Scalise in spite of the order of authors given in the heading, compare verbal compounds in Italian and Dutch, pointing out the need for a general typology of compounding (*Towards a Typology of Compounding: Italian and Dutch V-Compounds*, 1525–49). Grammaticalization and related phenomena are discussed in Paolo Ramat's paper from a conceptual point of view, aiming at a clarification of the terminology current in the literature (*Marginalia sulla grammaticalizzazione*, 1437–43). Romano Lazzeroni examines the Sapirian notion of *drift* in the light of recent research on actuation and implementation of language change (*I percorsi del mutamento linguistico*, 975–83).

Finally, there are a few contributions devoted to topics outside linguistics: John Douthwaite's study on isomorphism of sense and expression belongs to the field of literary stylistics (*Form miming meaning in Katherine Mansfield's Life of Ma Parker*, 593–633), Remo Facciani's investigation of metrics in versification is situated in the field of poetics (*Un caso d'interferenza metrico-ritmica (L'alessandrino di Celan e le sue Nachdichtungen)*, 731–41), and Ilaria Micheli's very poorly edited report on religious concepts of the Kulango, speakers of a Gur language inhabiting northern parts of Côte d'Ivoire, pertains to the intersection of cultural anthropology and ethnopsychology (*Notes on Kulango systems of thought*, 1167–70).

As far as the editorial work is concerned, a few remarks are in order on the treatment of contributions in languages other than Italian. In the lists of bibliographical references, the language of bibliographical description should be in accordance with the language of the respective article. It is not customary, nor advisable, to insert the formula "a cura di" (the Italian version of "edited by") in a bibliographical entry which is entirely in English or French or German. Since the Festschrift is multilingual, containing articles in Italian, English, French, German and Spanish, an international readership seems to have been envisaged by the editors. This editorial encroachment, seemingly meant as a standardisation on the one hand, has not only not been carried through everywhere, but is inconsistent anyway, since the places of publication, on the other hand, have been left in their original version (e.g., "Paris" instead of "Parigi", "München" instead of "Monaco", and so on).

Misprints are not numerous, but do occur here and there where careful editing could have prevented them from passing the printing stage. A printing and/or binding flaw seems to have occurred in the first volume, at least in the reviewer's copy, with pages 243 and 244 appearing twice; but this is certainly preferable to a flaw resulting in omission.

In view of the sheer quantity of writing collected on the almost two thousand pages of these three volumes, one may question the reasonableness of such an undertaking, apart from the fact that the person celebrated might be happy to see how many friends, disciples and colleagues have devoted time and effort to write up or take out of a drawer something on the occasion of his birthday. But the answer to this question is beyond the scope of linguistics, and the reviewer, being neither a specialist in cultural semiotics nor in academic sociology, can only limit himself to the statement that a monument of erudition has been erected here that displays much of the glory and some of the misery of contemporary linguistic science.

It is sad to have to add, at the stage of proofreading of the present review, the notice that Professor Gusmani passed away on October 16, 2009, at the age of 73.

Hans Christian Luschützky

Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy: A cognitive theory of style (Metalinguistica 17). Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 2005. pp 162.

Style is traditionally regarded as a peripheral subject matter of linguistics. Nevertheless, for anyone in pursuit of a complex description of language in its socio-cognitive functions, it is something not to be overlooked. In his *Cognitive theory of style*, Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy sets out to address the fundamental questions of stylistic research from a functional cognitive perspective. Against the background of Langacker's theory of grammar, he formulates the outlines of a stylistic theory that takes linguistic cognition as a starting point and promises to capture the functioning of style at the level of complexity it deserves. The book has a primarily descriptive orientation, with stylistic change and diachronic aspects in general remaining in the background.

I. In the first, introductory chapter of the book (*Grounding the notion of style*), Tolcsvai Nagy situates the functional cognitive approach to style in the theory and history of science, and makes explicit its underlying assumptions in linguistic theory. First, drawing on Sandig (1986), the author highlights the relevance of *naïve* speaker judgments and folk categorization to cognitive linguistic research. This is followed by a brief overview of scholarly reflections on the phenomenon of style through the ages, beginning from Antiquity. A key feature of Tolcsvai Nagy's historical survey is its choice of a hermeneutic perspective instead of the more commonly adopted rhetorical one; an early indication of one of the book's central characteristics. In particular, what subsequent chapters hold in store is an interpretation of style that builds on the shared assumptions of philosophical (as well as literary) hermeneutics and functional cognitive linguistics in its outlook on language. Relatedly, an important aspect of the interpretive model elaborated by the author is its capacity to describe the stylistic features of both everyday and literary discourse in a single framework.

As regards the linguistics of the twentieth century, Tolcsvai Nagy draws the main line between structuralist theories of style on the one hand, and various strands of non-structuralist approaches on the other. The former typically proceed by separating linguistic form and function to define style against an autonomous, self-contained grammar. By contrast, the latter have a more interdisciplinary grounding (in functional grammar, sociolinguistics, anthropology, text linguistics, pragmatics, etc.) and consider style to be a meaningful component of a discourse. The author's commitment to the latter highlights a second important feature of the book. Specifically, Tolcsvai Nagy attempts to provide a complex interpretation of style under which its functioning is coherently described in the matrix of grammatical, socio-cultural, textual, and pragmatic factors.

Having outlined a general framework for the cognitive theory of style—with reference to Langacker (1991a;b; 1999) and Lakoff (1987)—, Tolcsvai Nagy goes on to present the fundamental assumptions of the model. His point of departure is the concept of linguistic variability, which is implicit in key notions of Langacker's theory. In particular, cognitive grammar attributes special significance to the fact that our experiences of the world can be conceptualized in diverse ways regarding specificity, scope, perspective, etc. Importantly, though, not all of these differences in construal are stylistically relevant. Rather, style only becomes salient or marked when the particular form(ation) of a construction is foregrounded with respect to other possible construals. Hence, foregrounding is another key notion adopted from cognitive gram-

mar to feature prominently in Tolcsvai Nagy's model of style. Concomitantly, the above formulation guarantees that the model successfully avoids the common pitfall of style theories based on the notion of deviation. Rather than interpreting the stylistic value of linguistic symbols in relation to an abstract system of norms that remains essentially undefined, it suggests a usage-based description of stylistic function within the discourse at hand. The key to this is the activation of stylistic schemas (sanctioning patterns) by both the speaker and the recipient.

The introductory chapter also reveals that Tolcsvai Nagy's model is set to describe three complementary and mutually reinforcing aspects of the complex phenomenon of style. It studies:

1. the stylistic potential of language, i.e., the ways in which the expression of a particular construal of experience may be foregrounded in a symbolic structure;
2. the socio-cultural factors of style, i.e., the ways in which the expression of a particular construal may be socio-culturally determined;
3. the stylistic structure of particular texts, i.e., the ways in which the shaping of symbolic structures may be foregrounded in the processing of discourse.

According to the author, these three aspects of style, discussed at length in the first three chapters, are best described by taking the following dimensions into account:

- the degree of the unit status of a linguistic expression,
- the relationship between conceptualization, construal and symbolic complexity,
- the degree of conventionality,
- the relationship between type and instantiation.

In view of the above, it may be concluded that Tolcsvai Nagy's model puts a premium on the cognitive semantic grounding of stylistic research. Its key question is what role may be assigned to the form(ation) of symbolic structures in terms of construal and foregrounding as meanings are being generated in discourse. By treating the three aspects of style as distinguishable and at the same time interrelated, the author does not wish to provide an exhaustive explanation of style. Rather, he is intent on making explicit the key aspects of its functioning. This is reinforced by the fact that the first three chapters (which apply a predominantly semantic perspective) are followed by a fourth one addressing questions of an essentially pragmatic character. The aim here is to interpret the functioning of style in the context of linguistic interactions and the dynamic construal of meaning. This pragmatic concern fits well with the usage-based approach endorsed by functional cognitive linguistics, which attempts to synthesize semantic and pragmatic research rather than drawing a sharp division between the two.

2. In light of the model's firm foundations in cognitive grammar, it is not surprising that the second chapter (*The stylistic potential of language*), which focuses on the stylistic function and markedness of linguistic expressions, is the longest of all. Naturally enough, however, even this length is insufficient for presenting every angle of the topic. This chapter takes a predominantly semantic perspective on linguistic structure, exploring the stylistic function of expressions with special regard to their semantic poles. Stylistic opportunities pertaining to the phonological pole (rhythm, rhyme, etc.) are only tangentially addressed. The author also delimits the scope of his inquiry in terms of the range of phenomena he covers, but manages to do so in a consistent and principled manner. He selects linguistic domains that are of critical importance, hence providing a cornerstone for the analysis of further fields.

The chapter explores the stylistic potential inherent in what are widely regarded as the most fundamental lexical categories, viz. noun and verb. After a semantic introduction, the author examines the ways in which nouns and verbs may be foregrounded stylistically. The criteria mentioned above (unit status, complexity, conventionality, type and instantiation) all feed into the analysis, and collectively serve as the theoretical background for the analysis of corpus samples. Excerpts taken from Joyce's *Dubliners* and *Ulysses* offer ample illustration of the stylistic potential inherent in the two fundamental lexical categories. Also addressed in this chapter are the stylistic functions associated with composite structures, clauses and multi-clausal sentences. Although (in line with the assumptions of functional cognitive linguistics) the author assumes a lexicon-grammar continuum, he also attends to the ways in which the stylistic functioning of composite structures, clauses and sentences may be different from that of nouns and verbs. In this respect, Tolcsvai Nagy is careful to emphasize that full unit status and high levels of conventionality and entrenchment do not necessarily entail a lesser degree of stylistic potential for complex linguistic expressions.

Metaphors and figures of speech (conventionally regarded as stylistic devices par excellence) are also discussed in the context of the stylistic potential of language. Tolcsvai Nagy breaks with the tradition which treats style as an instrument, and, after a succinct presentation of the relevant concepts in cognitive semantics, he turns his attention to the conditions facilitating the stylistic foregrounding of metaphorical expressions. At this juncture, the author highlights the difficulties in distinguishing between everyday and literary metaphors, and underlines not so much the poetic but rather the stylistic relevance of the four creative mechanisms (extension, elaboration, questioning and composing) that Lakoff and Turner (1989) discussed in their seminal work.

As regards figures of speech, Tolcsvai Nagy reveals the cognitive semantic background of the four definite transformations of the rhetorical tradition (*adiectio*, *detractio*, *transmutatio*, *immutatio*), thereby also paving the way for an in-depth research into figures of speech from a cognitive linguistic perspective. As before, this is illustrated by several illuminating examples. Between the two sections on these traditional stylistic problems, the author also explores the stylistic aspects of blending and conceptual integration. The lexeme *chaosmos* in Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*, followed by three excerpts from *The Waves* by Virginia Woolf (where *wave* features as an input domain), serve to show the immense stylistic potential in blending.

3. Having reviewed the stylistic potential of language, Tolcsvai Nagy moves on to consider another crucial aspect of the complex phenomenon of style, i.e., the socio-cultural conditions of stylistic foregrounding. This aspect is all the more important because socio-cultural factors play a vital role in the epistemic grounding of stylistic potential. This chapter is not meant to be all-encompassing either; the author only lists the most significant socio-cultural factors (interpreted as cognitive domains divisible into subdomains), and does not preclude the possibility of extending the list further. The chapter discusses five socio-cultural factors:

- the domain of attitude, which pertains to the attitude attributed to the speaker by the recipient with respect to the forming of linguistic structures, and features a scalar continuum comprising the following subdomains: vulgar, familiar, neutral, elegant, and sophisticated;
- the domain of situation, which conceptualizes the speaker's representation of the current communicative situation in relation to the forming of symbolic structures,

- and is characterized by a similar continuum with formal, neutral, and informal as subdomains;
- the domain of value, which describes the value attribution of the recipient to the speaker along a dimension running from value saturation to value deprivation, again with a neutral subdomain in the middle
 - the domain of time, which relates the style of the text and the stylistic markedness of its linguistic expressions to time on a scale featuring archaic, neutral, and neological as subdomains;
 - and finally, the domain of language varieties, in which the symbolic structure's status as belonging to an institutionalized (standard) or conventionalized language variety (regional dialect, urban dialect, slang, etc.) is regarded as a component of style.

The systematic order of socio-cultural factors (presented in more detail in Tolcsvai Nagy 1996) appears to suffer slightly from the fact that the last variable lacks a neutral subdomain, which contrasts it with all the others. Nevertheless, it is a welcome development that functional cognitive linguistics may finally revisit some of the old issues pertaining to language varieties, already a hotly debated topic in the Prague School. Of the remaining four variables, the domain of attitude appears to be the most complex, with its subdomains fitting least into a homologous series. Here the reviewer may take the liberty of pointing out a few areas where the classification could be refined. Firstly, the vulgar subdomain seems to risk being interpreted in terms of prescriptive stylistic labels (derived from the classical distinction between stylistic merits and errors), which may be problematic in an otherwise descriptive account. Secondly, the close ties between the familiar subdomain and the informal subdomain suggest that the precise relationship between the domain of attitude and the domain of situation may deserve further investigation. Thirdly, the elegant subdomain seems to allow for an interpretation based on the two types of proto-discourse (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2008). High degrees of elegance and sophistication chiefly occur in the proto-discourse of literary or eminent texts (characterized by careful planning, use of the written medium, and monologicity). By contrast, the proto-discourse of conversations (featuring spontaneity, use of the oral medium, and dialogicity) show lower degrees of elegance. Under these assumptions, the antonym of elegant could be something like 'loose', accounting for the stylistic schemas activated in prototypical conversations.

Finally, the chapter provides an in-depth analysis of typical co-occurrences of variable settings, illustrated by the synonyms *police officer/cop* and the *Tu* vs. *Vous* paradigms. The theoretical discussion of socio-cultural factors and typical co-occurrences is also supported by the results of an empirical survey which had informants evaluate linguistic expressions of two news items relating the same event. The results show significant correlations between stylistic attributions along different dimensions; for example, attributions of neutral or elegant values in the domain of attitude correspond to attributions of neutral or formal values in the domain of situation. This survey has important practical implications as it goes a long way to address the methodological issues concerning the study of style in a socio-cultural setting.

4. The third aspect of the complex study of style is elaborated in the fourth chapter (*Style and text*), which focuses on the stylistic structure of texts. This textual approach to style is especially relevant for the model as it is only in the conceptual structure of texts (processed by the interlocutors) that the linguistic potential of language is activated, and it is also here that socio-cultural factors come into play. It has to be

mentioned, though, that in this chapter the focus is on the “internal” linguistic organization of texts rather than its “external” system of relationships (the discussion of which is postponed until the next chapter).

Having introduced the key assumptions of a cognitive linguistic perspective on texts, the author sets out to explore the main aspects of their stylistic structure. He first highlights the fact that the recipient experiences style (as a crucial component of the text) at the following three stages:

- on encountering the text as a physical object,
- during the on-line processing of the text’s stylistic elements,
- when the text’s consolidated stylistic structure is being accessed.

However, as a natural consequence of the author’s cognitive grammatical interpretive horizon, the chapter is mostly devoted to the discussion of the second stage, i.e., the on-line processing of “stylistic elements” (linguistic expressions endowed with a special stylistic function). His key notions in this respect are combination and interaction. The former pertains to the linear order of stylistic elements (which gives rise to stylistic patterns), while the latter concerns the stylistic relationships among the expressions in the text, and the increases or decreases in their stylistic relevance.

With regard to the organization of stylistic structure, Tolcsvai Nagy sheds light on a significant difference between everyday and literary texts. He argues convincingly that while the shaping of everyday texts is primarily determined by socio-cultural factors, these factors operate only indirectly in literary genres, where linguistic potential comes to be predominant. Following the practice of earlier chapters, Tolcsvai Nagy again illustrates his point by corpus samples. From a methodological point of view, it seems justified that the two news items (already analysed before) re-surface here, as well as excerpts from Joyce’s *Dubliners* and *Ulysses*. Added to these is a poem that has not been discussed before, *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* by T. S. Eliot.

5. The first four chapters take a predominantly semantic perspective on style, and analyse its three aspects with a focus on symbolic structures. Hence, in this part of the book, it is the stylistic markedness of linguistic expressions and the stylistic reflection inherent in their use that the author brings to the centre of attention. By contrast, the fifth chapter (*Style in the verbal interaction*) takes the verbal interaction as its point of departure, and suggests a possible re-interpretation of results from a pragmatic perspective. In particular, it highlights two new (and interrelated) dimensions of style that may supplement the analytic criteria developed earlier on in a cognitive framework. The first concerns the dynamism with which meanings (including a stylistic component) are generated during verbal interactions, while the second re-iterates the significance of the knowledge that discourse participants possess about the shaping of texts. In the context of a general characterization of verbal interaction, Tolcsvai Nagy prepares the way for the analysis of style by emphasizing (with reference to Robinson 1997) that the schemas of verbal interactions

- are generalized modes of reacting to the conceived world,
- function probabilistically,
- show prototype effects, and
- serve as cognitive reference points.

This orientation is not accidental, as a key concern in this chapter is the analysis of stylistic schemas. Just like schemas in general, they serve as sanctioning patterns char-

acterized by prototype effects, context sensitivity, and probabilistic functioning. As a special property, they provide the background against which the stylistic features of target structures may be assessed. By way of illustration, the chapter offers a detailed account of the stylistic schemas of the news genre. Further topics include the interrelations among stylistic schemas, and the (often unequal or only partially overlapping) knowledge of discourse participants about them.

In this chapter, it receives special emphasis that stylistic functions are not given a priori, but rather are inextricably linked to the ongoing linguistic activity of discourse participants. This necessitates the introduction of two further stylistic notions. Firstly, the chapter explores the phenomenon of style attribution, which pertains to the activation of stylistic schemas and to the processing of stylistic elements. Secondly, the notion of stylistic effect is introduced, denoting the mental and emotional implications of style attributions. Through his emphasis on the constructive effort made by discourse participants, the author also points the way toward more reliance on the results of literary hermeneutics and reception aesthetics in analysing the style of literary texts.

In conclusion, it is justified to claim that Tolcsvai Nagy's book addresses the fundamental issues of the functional cognitive theory of style in a succinct, well-focused, and systematic manner. Doing so, he offers the outlines of a model that may inspire further empirical study as well as new advances in theoretical and methodological research.

Szilárd Tátrai

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Eugeniusz Cyran: Complexity scales and licensing in phonology (Studies in Generative Grammar 105). De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin & New York, 2010. xii + 311 pp.*

Eugeniusz Cyran's book is yet another illustration for Scheer's *bon mot*: "Polish is a phonological language, and Poland is a phonological country" (Scheer 2010, 109). The book introduces the author's theory of phonotactics. Consonants and consonant clusters are licensed by the nucleus that follows them. Cyran subscribes to the view that every consonant is followed by a nucleus, if not superficially then by an empty one. The licensing power of nuclei is a function of their strength: stressed nuclei are the strongest, unstressed "schwa-like" nuclei are weaker, unpronounced nuclei are the weakest. Simple, unmarked consonants need little licensing power, more complex ones—including clusters of various degrees of complexity—require more licensing. Predictions are made by the fact that only the maximum points of the two scales are set in any given language and the scales are convex. That is, if a certain type of nucleus is able to license a consonant (cluster) of a certain degree of complexity, then (i) it must be able to license anything simpler, and (ii) stronger nuclei must be able to license that type of consonant (cluster)—any consonant (cluster) that can be licensed by a weaker nucleus.

The book is a thoroughly revised version of Cyran's *Habilitationschrift* published under a slightly longer title (*Complexity scales and licensing strength in phonology*) by the Catholic University of Lublin Press (Wydawnictwo KUL) in 2003.¹ The present volume is the 105th in the Foris/Mouton de Gruyter series, Studies in Generative Grammar. The book contains three part-size chapters, one on substantive and one on formal complexity, and a third one on the phonological structure of words. I will briefly summarize the main claims of each chapter, adding some issues that I found problematic with them.

The first chapter discusses the representation of segments advocated by government phonology. According to the Element Theory, segments are not made up of abstract features (like $[\pm\text{high}]$ and $[\pm\text{back}]$), but of elements that are concrete in the sense that they themselves are pronounceable sounds. The vowel $[\text{o}]$, for example, is the combination of $[\text{a}]$ and $[\text{u}]$, which themselves are not combinations of simpler sounds, that is, they are elements. Elements are different from features in that they do not have values ($+/-$ or $0/1/\dots/n$), they signal a phonological property merely by their presence. Thus, in the analysis of, say, a vowel harmony or umlaut system where $[\text{o}]$ and $[\text{ø}]$ alternate depending on the backness or frontness of the vowel that governs it, we do not have to postulate an abstract, unpronounceable archiphoneme $/\text{O}/$, instead the vowel $[\text{o}]$ ($\text{a} + \text{u}$) is pronounced $[\text{ø}]$ ($\text{a} + \text{u} + \text{i}$) if $[\text{i}]$ is added to it.

Just like vowels, consonants are also either simplex or complex sounds, the latter type being composites of simplex sounds. The degree of complexity of consonants is a crucial factor in determining their combinatorial properties. In many consonant clusters either the first or the second member is the head (it governs the other consonant in GP parlance). The complexity of the head must be greater (or at least as great) as that of

* I thank Gienek Cyran for clarifying some points. It's my fault if he wasn't successful.

¹ Chapter 2 was virtually rewritten, it now lacks the discussion of Malayalam word-final phonotactics, but has a more extensive discussion of empty nuclei and licensing in standard government phonology.

the other member of the cluster that it governs.² The consonant [p], for example, is a composite of [w], [ʔ], perhaps [h], and occasionally a further sound. The uncertainty here is caused by two factors: on the one hand, Element Theory does not fully satisfy its ideal that all elements are independently pronounceable sounds. There is either variation or silence in the literature on what the laryngeal elements L (for obstruent voicing) and H (for aspiration) or the “noise” element h (present in obstruents) sound like in themselves. Cyran carefully (and successfully) avoids addressing this issue, which is acceptable, since the main goal of the book does not require a fully elaborated view of the phonetic interpretation of all consonantal elements. The other reason why no steadfast formula can be given for the composition of sound segments is that this is not unambiguously determined by the acoustic or articulatory properties of a given segment, that is, representations are not universal. The inventory the segment is a member of, as well as the system it is a part of, the alternations it participates in, also play a great role in identifying the components of a complex segment. Cyran shows, for example, that Irish and English encode the laryngeal contrast in obstruents by the element H vs. its absence, while Polish by L vs. its absence. That is, an English [f] is [v] + H, while a Polish [v] is [f] + L. The representation of English [v] and Polish [f] is the same: the labial element and noise (U + h). It is important to see that this is not because they sound or are articulated identically, but because in English [f] behaves as a stronger (= more complex) consonant (e.g., [fr] and [fl] are possible word-initial clusters, but [vr] and [vl] are not), while the opposite is true of Polish ([vr] is a well-established cluster, but [fr] is marginal). In other words, in English [f] is a better governor than [v], in Polish their relationship is the opposite. It is also expected that Polish exhibit devoicing in a weak position, for example, word finally, since voicedness is marked in this system by L, while in English we expect the opposite. While present-day English does not “voice” word-final obstruents, there has been such a voicing in unstressed syllables historically, e.g., in *of, with, is, was, his, Greenwich, Moses*, etc.

The system-specific encoding of the laryngeal contrast has its predecessors in the government phonology tradition (Harris 1994), but Cyran goes further in this direction by claiming that some systems—Irish in this case—may lack the noise element, h,³ as well, while others have it. Again, this does not mean that Irish obstruents are not noisy. There are systematic differences between Irish and Polish: the former language lacks both affricates and voiced obstruental fricatives, which follows directly from this distinction. The evolving system of consonantal representations enables Cyran to give an adequate explanation for why epenthesis splits up liquid + voiced obstruent/fricative clusters in Irish, but not liquid + voiceless plosive clusters: voiced obstruents lack the element H, fricatives lack the element h (as well as H), thus they do not possess the complexity required to govern a preceding consonant. If Irish fricatives were obstruents (contained the element h), the lenition of [m] to [v] would have to include an obstruentization phase, the addition of an element without any local source. This change is possible in Irish since [v] is not an obstruent: [m] is but a nasal [v]. The last section of

² Interestingly, in the case of vowels, complexity does not fully determine their combinatorial properties, it is not the case that complex vowels are better heads in diphthongs ([ai] is as good as [ei], although the first contains two simplex members, but the head is complex in the second; [ia] does not exist as a heavy diphthong, although it also contains two simplex members, just like [ai]).

³ In standard GP inventories, h is present in all obstruents.

this chapter convincingly shows that the lenition of initial consonants in another Celtic language, Welsh, is also much better explained by assuming representations that lack the element h.

Cyran ranks coda cluster types of Irish as good (e.g., [rp]), acceptable (e.g., [nd]), and illegal (e.g., [rb]) (p. 32). The ranking, he claims, is based on the complexity slopes (the difference in the complexity of the members) of the clusters: 3 – 1 for [rp] (since [p] is U + ? + H and [r] is A), 2 – 2 for [nd] ([d]=A + ?, [n]=A + N), and 2 – 1 for [rb] ([b] lacks the element H, it is one less complex than [p], p. 35). One can immediately see that the “acceptable” cluster [nd] looks worse slope-wise (the difference in the complexity of the two consonants is less) than the “illegal” cluster [rb]. What is more, universally [nd] appears to be less marked a cluster than [rp]: there are languages that have [nd] without having [rp] (Prince 1984), but languages with [rp] and without [nd] do not appear to exist (Piggott 1999). So the acceptable cluster is the worst as regards its complexity slope, but the best in universal markedness scales. It is also hard to see why, if [rp] is a good cluster in Irish, which is an h-less system, therefore has a relatively uncomplex [p], the same cluster should be worse in Dutch, where [nd] is better. We know this since epenthesis breaks the first cluster in word-final (and pre-schwa) position (*har[ə]p*, p. 100), but not the second (*avond*, p. 98). Although Cyran notes that the absence of epenthesis in [nd] type clusters is due to the fact that the two members share their place element, it is clear that the complexity metric for heterosyllabic (coda + onset type) consonant clusters cannot simply be the complexity difference between the members of the cluster influenced in some unidentified way by the sharing of elements. In an autosegmental model, the fact that both [n] and [d] have the same place element must be interpreted as only one of the two (the latter one) having the A, while the nasal consonant’s skeletal slot contains only an N. This gives us a complexity difference of 2 – 1, which is still as bad as that of [rb]. We may conclude that either Element Theory needs revision, or the hierarchy of cluster types cannot be based on the complexity difference between the members.⁴

A further problem with elemental compositions is found in chapter 3. In footnote 54 (p. 235) Cyran mentions that the representation of [r] is a single A, that of [l] is A + U. This, however, would mean that labial + [l] branching onset clusters should be impossible, since earlier we learn that [tl] “is not considered a good branching onset, because of the homorganicity constraint” (p. 123), and labials, just like [l], contain the element U. Nevertheless, [pl], [bl], and [fl] are well-established branching onset clusters in English. (And the “homorganic” [lv] cluster suffers epenthesis in Irish *balbh* [balv] ‘dumb’, p. 28.) Also, if [tl] is out for homorganicity, and [r] is A, then [tr] should be out for the same reason, yet it is the most common type of branching onset. As it stands in the book, Element Theory is also unable to cope with the “lightness” of coronal clusters. Although these are homorganic, labial and velar nasal + stop clusters are just as homorganic, yet behave as “heavy” with respect to closed syllable shortening or a preceding schwa (pp. 267ff).

⁴ Note that in word-final position English acts against homorganic nasal + plosive clusters: it fits well with Cyran’s theory that [mp] occurs and [mb] does not—English has a more complex voiceless series—, but both [lp] and [lb] occur word finally, with a huge frequency difference, it must be admitted. That is, even homorganicity does not always save a cluster from disintegration *vis-à-vis* nonhomorganic clusters.

In chapter 2, Cyran discusses formal complexity, that is, the complexity of structures traditionally subsumed under the label syllabic constituency. His starting point is the standard government phonology view of the syllable. According to this theory, syllables consist of three potentially binary branching constituents, the onset, the nucleus, and the rhyme. There exist governing relations between the terminal nodes of these constituents, of which we here mention only two: the first consonant governs the second in a branching onset⁵ and an onset's first consonant governs the consonant preceding it in the last position of a branching rhyme. (Following Cyran's convention, I will refer to these two types of cluster as TR and RT, respectively.) In effect, the direction of government determines the tauto- vs. heterosyllabicity of a consonant cluster. As already hinted at above, governing consonants (T) are more complex than governed ones (R). To establish a governing relationship, the complexity of the governor is not enough in itself, the licensing of the following nucleus is also necessary. Crucially, any onset is followed by a nucleus. This is possible because a nucleus is not necessarily realized phonetically, empty nuclei may remain unpronounced.

Whether one or another of the syllabic constituents may branch in a given language is controlled by parameters. Cyran shows that the standard model is not capable of encoding the implicational relationship holding between two of these parameters, namely, a branching onset implies a branching rhyme, that is, syllable-initial clusters are only allowed in languages that have closed syllables. If we concentrate only on the governing relationship between consonants, we can conclude that the licensing of a consonant cluster (the governing of a consonant by another) is easier when the governor is adjacent to the nucleus that licenses it (that is, in the case of a coda + onset cluster: RTV), than when it is not (that is, in a branching onset, where the governor, the first consonant, is not adjacent to the following vowel: TRV). Based on this implicational relationship, Cyran sets up a three-step syllabic complexity scale: (I) CV, (II) RTV, (III) TRV. A single consonant is the easiest to license, a heterosyllabic (coda + onset) cluster is more difficult, a tautosyllabic (branching onset) cluster is the most difficult. Nuclei that license the preceding consonant (cluster) can also be ranked according to their licensing strength: (I) —a, (II) —ə, (III) —∅. Full-vowelled/stressed nuclei are the strongest licensors, nuclei containing a reduced vowel are weaker, and unpronounced nuclei are the weakest. The combination of the two scales gives us what Cyran calls a syllabic space, in which languages select their cut-off points for each category. The common feature of every language is that full vowels are capable of licensing single consonants: CV. In more complex systems, full vowels may license consonant clusters of the simpler, RT type, or even of the more complex, TR type. Looking at the other direction of the syllabic space: reduced vowels may be capable of licensing any single C, RT, or TR clusters, and in some systems even unpronounced nuclei (null vowels) are capable of doing so.

One might think that to define a language that lacks reduced or null vowels, it is enough to claim that these are incapable of licensing even a single consonant. (A nucleus that cannot license any consonant may perhaps occur word initially or as the second member of a hiatus, but I cannot think of a language that has vowels restricted to these positions.) However, such an elegant exclusion of nucleus types is not possible. The most important property of the syllabic space is that once the

⁵ To be more precise, it is the skeletal slot that the consonant links to that governs the skeletal slot that the other consonant is linked to.

cut-off point is established, the prediction is made that anything simpler is available in the given language. That is, if a null vowel can license RT clusters, then it can also license single consonants, and reduced vowels can also license RT clusters. Polish, for example, is very liberal in the sense that even the weakest nucleus, the null vowel, may license the most complex consonant cluster (TR \emptyset), but it does not have reduced vowels. Nevertheless, one cannot say that reduced vowels cannot license anything, since this would violate the contiguity of the syllable space: TR $\emptyset \supset$ TR ə . Thus reduced vowels have to be excluded in languages like Polish by a separate move.

English syncope is a promising candidate for refuting Cyran's theory of the syllabic space. The data suggest that post-tonic schwa-zero alternation involves some interaction between the two consonants flanking the alternation site. Syncope is possible only if the second consonant is a sonorant (e.g., *company* [kʌmp(ə)nɪ], *camera* [kæm(ə)rə] vs. *abacus* [æb*(ə)kəs], *allergy* [æl*(ə)dʒɪ]), and only if the first is lower on the sonority scale than the second, that is, if the resulting cluster is rising in sonority (e.g., *family* [fém(ə)li] vs. *felony* [fél*(ə)nɪ], the source of the data is Wells 1990). The embarrassing fact about this pattern is that the alternation only occurs before a reduced vowel: not before a null vowel, and not before a full vowel (e.g., *memory* [mém(ə)ri] vs. *memorize* [mém*(ə)raɪz]).⁶ The status of the cluster resulting from post-tonic syncope in English is unclear. The schwa-zero alternation would make Cyran claim it is a false cluster, hence needs no licensing from the following vowel. Yet the two consonants create a cluster that curiously resembles TR clusters (in fact, Cyran explicitly says that in false clusters "no melodic restrictions seem to hold" p. 132), this argues against treating them as false. In this case, however, it is a cluster that can be licensed by a reduced vowel, but not by a full vowel, contrary to the predictions of the theory.

A significant point of divergence from standard government phonology and many of its derivative theories—most notably strict CV theories, which Cyran's is an example of—is that null vowels (unpronounced empty nuclei) exist in their own right. In its predecessors, an empty nucleus had to be licensed to remain silent. Either the following pronounced vowel licensed it by so-called proper government, or, in some versions of the theory, the surrounding consonants were in a relation that allowed the intervening vowel to remain unpronounced. Cyran sees an unpronounced nucleus as the weakest in the scale full vowel > reduced vowel > null vowel, but one that needs no special provisions to be present in the representation. The two factors that influence whether such a vowel may remain unpronounced is the no-lapse constraint (rather similar to proper government in its effect), which inhibits two successive unpronounced nuclei within a word, and the amount of licensing power the consonant (cluster) preceding the nucleus requires. If a null vowel is too weak to license a preceding cluster, either it is vocalized (e.g., in French *fortement* [fɔrt*(ə)mɑ̃] 'strongly', p. 139) or the preceding cluster is split (e.g., in Dutch *harp* [harəp] id., p. 100).

It has already been hinted at that in this book Cyran works with a strict CV skeleton, that is, surface consonant clusters are uniformly separated by an empty nucleus. We have also seen that in TR clusters the first consonant governs the second one, in RT clusters the second governs the first one. The two relations are referred to as rightward interonset relation (RIO) and leftward interonset relation (LIO), respectively. In the case of both of these relations a consonant governs the other across an empty nucleus,

⁶ This is not a stress clash avoiding strategy, syncope is impossible even in $\acute{V}V(V)\acute{V}$ strings: e.g., *methodological* [mèθəd*(ə)lɔdʒɪkəl].

which is locked and thus invisible for the phonology. This means that it is ignored by the no-lapse constraint and it does not license the preceding onset. Now, it is not clear what reason there might be for positing an empty nucleus in the representation that is not manifested phonetically, and cannot be detected by any, albeit theory-internal, mechanism. One suspects that the reason is esthetic: to adhere to a minimalistic model of sound organization, the strict CV skeleton.

Cyran shows that phonetically identical clusters have to be represented differently in Polish because of their divergent behaviour. For example, *brać* ‘take’ exhibits epenthesis in *bierze* ‘(s)he takes’, while the initial cluster of *bryzgać* ‘splash’ does not. A prefix-final vowel is pronounced before the alternating cluster (*rozebrać* ‘undress’), but not before the nonalternating one (*rozbryzgać* ‘splash out’). In fact, the prefix-final vowel also remains silent before the epenthesized form of the alternating cluster (*rozbierze* ‘(s)he will undress’, p. 149f). Cyran claims that no governing relation is contracted between the members of the alternating cluster, hence the intervening vowel is not locked, and visible to the no-lapse constraint. But earlier we saw that if the necessary conditions of a successful governing relation (required complexity difference, adjacency, adequately strong licensing nucleus) are met, then government **must** be contracted (p. 118f). Thus, to explain the absence of government in *brać*, Cyran claims that the empty nucleus within this cluster has floating melody, which inhibits government by ruining the adjacency of the two consonants. This floating melody is also necessary since the nucleus it floats around may be vocalized if phonological or morphological factors require this. Vowel-zero alternation in Polish does not involve [ə] (the pronunciation of the empty nucleus), but [ɛ], which contains at least two elements, A + I. Previous researchers (e.g., Kaye 1995, 296; Kaye–Gussmann 1993, 431) had to claim that these elements just fall in when necessary. Supposing that they are lexically available but not interpreted unless they have to be, avoids this problem.

The difference between the two types of TR clusters may, however, be encoded in an alternative, not necessarily superior way. Note that the nonalternating cluster behaves exactly like single consonants do: no vowel is epenthesized in it, and no vowel is vocalized before it at the end of a prefix (*rozbryzgać* is like *rozbierze*). Perhaps this is because it **is** a single consonant, not a cluster. This idea has been put forward recently by several authors (e.g., Rennison 1998; Lowenstamm 2003; Duanmu 2008). Such an analysis avoids positing undetectable empty nuclei, as well as floating melody with an empty skeletal slot. It also brings us closer to an understanding of why “branching onsets” are more restricted than “coda + onset” clusters: only the latter are genuine clusters, and we expect more phonetic variability over two consonantal positions than in a single one. Treating branching onsets as single consonants would entail that some clusters, namely RT clusters, would be easier to license than some single consonants. A mixing of the two categories on the scale of required licensing power is necessary anyway. As we will see presently, coda + onset clusters have to be licensed not only by the following, but also by the preceding vowel. Now, in English a preceding reduced vowel can license clusters ending in [t] or [d], but not the single consonant [g].⁷

In discussing the theory’s predictions about possible clusters at word edges, Cyran notes that LIO, that is, coda + onset clusters appear to need double licensing. It is not

⁷ It must be admitted that this can hardly be due to the complexity of the voiced velar stop, to which the Element Theory attributes the fewest elements among the plosives of English. It is clear that there is a lot to contemplate here.

only the vowel on the right that determines whether such a cluster can exist, but also the one to the left of it. In English, for example, the vowel preceding a LIO cluster may not be null (except for *s*+*C* clusters) and for heavier, like noncoronal clusters it cannot even be a reduced vowel: e.g., *[əmp]. With an elegant move Cyran pulls long vowels and diphthongs under the same generalization: the second part of a long vowel or a diphthong, that is, the one which immediately precedes the cluster, is indeed a reduced vowel, high ([i], [u]), central ([ə]), or empty in the case of a long vowel. The generalization is further extended: “schwa patterns with long vowels with respect to what follows, while long and short vowels pattern together with respect to stressability and the preceding context” (p. 274). Actually, English exhibits the third possible pairing: short vowels and schwa, both of which are inhibited before another vowel.

Chapter 3 also contains a detailed section on the paradoxical metathesis of Common Slavic liquids, which results in the loss of closed syllables (RT clusters) and yields branching onsets (TR clusters). This is a weird process since it changes from less to more marked structures, from easier to more difficult licensing requirements in terms of the book’s licensing scales. Cyran explains that this process was not triggered by segmental or phonotactic causes, but by prosodic reconfiguration: the advent of a bisyllabic trochaic foot. This resulted in the prosodic, and subsequently segmental, weakening of the second half of the word, containing the RT cluster. With the loss of licensing power here, the cluster split up, the up-to-now coda liquid (Proto-Slavic **melká* ‘milk’, **běrgu* ‘shore’) joining the first consonant (Polish *mleko*, *brzeg*), becoming a single consonant onset (Russian *molokó*, *béreg*), or sometimes in some dialects remaining untouched (PS **gârdu*, P *gród*, R *górod*, Polabian *gord*). The picture is further complicated by the fact that high vowels were reduced to yers and later some yers were lost, others vocalized as the no-lapse constraint allowed.

To summarize, the book contains a well thought out theory of phonological representation which is tested mostly successfully on a large set of data from Slavic and Celtic languages, as well as English and Dutch. The model posits two scales, one of the licensing needs of consonants and another of the licensing capacities of vowels. The combination of the two scales produces a syllabic space, in which languages select cut-off points which represent the maximum possibilities the given language allows. Anything below that (the licensing of weaker consonant (cluster)s and the licensing by stronger vowels) must also be possible. It becomes clear during the discussion that the three-step scales are too crude: there is a hierarchy within single consonants (e.g., [h] cannot be licensed by a reduced vowel in Dutch or English, while most other single consonants can), as well as within RT clusters. The exact details of these subscales ought to fall out from their elemental make-up, but we have seen some uncertainties in this part of the theory.

* * *

The book follows the unfortunate recent habit of ignoring the services of a trained typographer. Economically this is probably a wise decision, but the resulting product contains a number of typographical blunders. Besides some bad hyphenations (e.g., “throug-hout” (p. 3), “o-ther” (p. 43), “Buc-zek” (p. 50)), and misspellings (e.g., “tents” for *tenets* (p. 115), “ibid.” for *id.* (p. 133), “to eliminate[d]” (p. 155), “would have be” for *been* (p. 179)), which a proofreader could have noticed, there also are solutions going against established typographical conventions.

Putting spaces around an en-dash is an alternative way of rendering an em-dash, thus spellings such as “sonorant – obstruent” (p. 30), “4th – 5th century” (p. 46), or “vowel – zero” (passim) are unconventional, the spaces should be deleted around the en-dash. The book also uses an en-dash instead of a (nonbreaking) hyphen before suffixes and within words like “h-less” (pp. 58, 60, 62, 63), but not consistently, we find the correct hyphenated version elsewhere (pp. 43, 45, 59, 61–63, 66, 67). The distinction between the greater-than/less-than symbols (“>” and “<”) and angled brackets (“*>*” and “*<*”) or that between the empty set symbol (“∅”) and IPA/Danish o-with-slash (“ø”) are such that a typographer would have made.

Mouton, like many other publishers, capitalize on the fact that authors have become their own typographers without noticing that the most wide-spread publishing systems provide poor quality typography. Compared to many other publications, Cyran does a pretty good job here, but, although seven years could hardly be qualified as hasty work, the publisher’s part is still sadly missing: the above are only a small sample of the errors I have found.

Péter Szigetvári

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Donald W. Peckham: Noticing and instruction in second language acquisition: A study of Hungarian learners of English. Papers in English & American Studies XVI. Monograph Series 6. JATEPress, Szegedi Egyetemi Kiadó, Szeged, 2009. 155 pp.

Peckham's book is an important contribution to the line of research in **Second Language Acquisition** (SLA) and within that to the cognitive theories of language learning, an area that has received growing attention since the 1990's. The study—originally written as the author's PhD dissertation at the University of Pittsburgh—investigates how second/foreign language learners “use and apply explicit, conscious knowledge to develop and extend their competence” (p. 9) in their second/foreign language (S/FL). Pursuing a **cognitive approach**, it explores the relationship between FL instruction and the noticing of features of language in input at a bilingual Hungarian-English secondary school in Hungary. One might wonder about the relevance of publishing the research and its findings after more than 10 years in such a rapidly growing field (the research was conducted in the year 2000); however, the *Preface* persuades the reader: it convincingly bridges the gap between the state of the art then and now and highlights the most important theoretical developments of cognitive linguistics research in the past decade.

Building upon Schmidt's (1990) “noticing hypothesis”, Peckham uses the concept of noticing to refer to “the conscious, explicit registration of linguistic form in working memory,” and sees it as “an essential step in the process of learning” (p. 7). Contrary to earlier theories (e.g., Krashen 1981; 1985) claiming that SLA is an essentially unconscious, implicit process, Peckham's main argument is that consciousness is in fact “key to learning” (p. 7). Therefore one of the reasons why the book is a significant contribution to the cognitive approaches to language learning and teaching is that it provides ample evidence to support the assumption that language learning involves both **implicit and explicit processes**. By concentrating systematically on the latter and exploring, in a focused manner, the role of the **noticing of form** in input as a “potentially vital first step in the learning of grammar and vocabulary” (p. 7), the study constitutes a more sophisticated and targeted approach than earlier attempts.

Another novelty of the undertaking lies in its research methodology. It establishes links between instruction and noticing, and develops a **theoretically grounded instrument** for the analysis of noticing. Peckham's “Noticing test” is partly based on work in recognition memory where the differential levels of conscious awareness of previously encountered data have been researched. The instrument allows learners to report on whether forms encountered in input are accompanied with conscious recollection (i.e., noticing) or not. The principal benefits of the test of noticing developed for the purposes of the study are that (1) it is applicable in the further study of explicit processes in language learning and that (2) it builds upon the theoretical framework which is used to describe and explain noticing as described in the SLA literature. Thus the new instrument outdoes previous attempts in validity and constitutes a major step forward in the state of the art (earlier, noticing had been tested in a variety of ways, including the collection of on-line verbal protocols).

The actual **research focus/data**—FLA and FL instruction vs. previous attempts mainly concentrating on SL—also provide novel insights and allow for conclusions that have useful practical implications for language teaching. As one advances in reading the book, though, after a while the distinction between FL and SL disappears and SL

dominates the discussion, despite the fact that the data is taken from a FL context. It would have been interesting to see how the stereotypical features of the data might—or might not—affect the outcomes (as compared to the findings of research using SL data).

Originally a PhD dissertation, the book follows the standard format of PhD theses reporting on the findings of empirical research. It is structured as follows: Chapter 1: Introduction; Chapter 2: Review of the literature; Chapter 3: Hypotheses; Chapter 4: Methodology; Chapter 5: Results and discussion for noticing; Chapter 6: Results and discussion concerning noticing and learning; Chapter 7: Individual differences and individual variation in noticing; Chapter 8: The noticing of individual target grammar and vocabulary items; Chapter 9: General discussion; Chapter 10: Conclusions and implications; Appendices; References.

The *Introduction* (Chapter 1) formulates three main research questions. The study explores

- (1) whether classroom instruction in specific grammatical forms and vocabulary influences learners to consciously notice the items they were taught once they encounter them in subsequent input through reading;
- (2) whether there is a relationship between the noticing of items and their learning; and
- (3) whether grammar and vocabulary differentially require instruction for them to be noticed in input (pp. 9–10).

The last question is also investigated in terms of which items of vocabulary and grammar appear, through the data collected, to be more susceptible to noticing, and how individual differences among participants affect noticing. The introductory chapter also offers insights into how these questions are explored: briefly describes the participants, the data collection procedures and the research instrument (based on what is called the “Remember/Know” paradigm), which can “measure” participants’ consciousness of grammar and vocabulary experienced in input.

The *Review of the literature* (Chapter 2) offers a relatively brief but thorough background to the central themes of the study (e.g., consciousness, attention, noticing, instruction, interlanguage development) and the way these relate to one another. First, it focuses on the role of consciousness (of linguistic structures and conscious knowledge about those structures) in language learning and reviews the debates and empirical findings of the past thirty years, touching upon the work done by for instance Krashen (1981; 1985), Hulstijn and Schmidt (1994), Bialystok (1982), Long (1981), or Sharwood-Smith (1981). Discussing conflicting views on the relationship between explicit and implicit knowledge in language learning and the concept of “noticing”, the author ultimately argues for the **facilitative effects** of consciousness on SL learning. More precisely, he assumes that “explicit instruction can have a direct effect on noticing through drawing attention to forms by providing situations which promote appropriate processing” and thus “those structures which are noticed in input should stand a greater chance of becoming intake and being integrated into the developing grammatical system” (p. 22). Therefore what he sets out to explore in his study is the impact of instruction on noticing and the “subsequent potential facilitative aspects of that consciousness produced” (p. 15).

Chapter 3 presents and explains the hypotheses motivating the investigation. The seven hypotheses are grouped into four general categories, relating to the following themes: (1) instruction vs. systematic exposure, (2) instruction vs. incidental exposure,

(3) vocabulary vs. grammar noticing through exposure, (4) the relationship between noticing and learning.

The methodology of the research (Chapter 4) is carefully designed and meticulously presented. The author defines the type of research (pseudo-experimental study) and describes the participants (27 Hungarian secondary-school students) and the setting (an English-Hungarian bilingual high school in southern Hungary), as well as the target grammar and vocabulary used (six grammatical structures and 12 vocabulary items). The second and larger part of the chapter presents the development and validation of the test of noticing in detail. The test is based on the Remember/Know distinction introduced by Tulving (1985) and developed further by Gardiner (1988). The thorough description of the instrumentation and the procedures of design and implementation enhance the replicability of the research and justify the tool's reliability and validity.

The results of the study are presented and discussed in a disciplined manner, following a similar structure throughout Chapters 5–9 and relating to the hypotheses put forward at the outset. The results and discussion chapters deal with the four sets of data separately: group data for noticing (Chapter 5), group data for learning (Chapter 6), noticing data for individual target items (Chapter 7), and noticing and learning data for individual participants (Chapter 8).

As regards the most important outcomes of the study, the analysis of the data concerning **the noticing of grammar and vocabulary** indicates positive effects of the role of instruction on noticing in input. As for **the relationship between noticing and learning**, it was found that learning occurred to a greater degree in the instructed group than in the uninstructed one. The analysis of **individual differences and individual variation in noticing** suggests that it is possible to identify groups of learners who could be characterized as “high or low noticers” (p. 105), and that vocabulary may be claimed to be easier to notice than grammar. Based on the investigation of **the noticing of individual target grammar and vocabulary items**, Peckham highlights four important points:

- (1) overall results show a strong showing for effects of instruction at the first testing time, followed by mixed results at ensuing testing times; data on individual items generally reflect better and more consistent results for the instructed group than for the exposure group;
- (2) instruction promotes greater noticing for a number of vocabulary and grammar items;
- (3) certain grammar and vocabulary items are noticed to a greater degree than others;
- (4) the orders of accuracy between the instructed and the uninstructed groups have more in common than not.

Enlightening as these claims may sound, it needs to be noted—and the author also admits—that many of the comparisons are not statistically significant and contain a high degree of variability. This, however, does not question the value of the claims.

Chapters 9 and 10 (*General discussion* and *Conclusions and implications*) look at the results from a broader perspective and bring together the findings of the previous four chapters to summarize what can be said about the noticing of grammar and vocabulary in input and its relationship to learning. One of the greatest strengths of these sections is that they contrast the results to the findings of previous research conducted in different contexts and involving different languages. The theoretical, re-

search methodological, and practical/pedagogical implications of the study are also discussed and the value of the test of noticing developed is assessed. It is shown that the instrument is capable of collecting data on different states of consciousness that learners have at the point of encountering input, and has significant advantages over previously used tests (e.g., Fotos 1993; Robinson 1995). On the other hand, Peckham admits that the correct use of the instrument requires extensive training on the part of the participants. As a result of its heavily form-focused nature, participants inevitably concentrate on form when encountering input, which may distort results if the aim is to elicit data to explore how learners interact with input.

In sum, this book focuses on an area of applied linguistics that has received growing attention internationally, but where relatively little research has been conducted in Hungary. Its novelty lies, on the one hand, in providing further empirical justification for the claim that language learning involves both implicit and explicit processes and, on the other hand, in proposing a tool for the systematic study of conscious recollection, that is, of noticing of particular forms in input. The care with which the author designed and reported on the experiment provides a sound basis for future research and further attempts at testing the instrument. Peckham's book is important reading for all those dealing with language acquisition either as language teachers or as researchers.⁸

Krisztina Károly

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⁸ I am grateful for the support of the János Bolyai Research Fund (2010–2013).

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Shigeru Miyagawa: Why agree? Why move? Unifying agreement-based and discourse configurational languages. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 54. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 2010. xiii + 183 pp.

As the title indicates, the article poses two central questions: why do languages have agreement and movement, and what exact role do they play? The main claim of the book is that movement and agreement are independently motivated operations, the interaction of which imbues human languages with great expressive power.

In the first two chapters the author outlines the framework, that is, the current Chomskyan Minimalist approach, and the main features of his analysis. He demonstrates the independent motivation for the functional relations agreement and movement, and captures their direct relation with the probe-goal system of Chomsky (2000; 2001; 2005; 2007; 2008). He assumes that topic/focus features and Φ -features are universal grammatical features that establish agreement and force A-movement with a similar mechanism. Depending on how A-chains are created, a parameter can be formed that can capture both the common properties and differences between configurational and discourse configurational languages.

In chapter 3, Miyagawa shows that movement triggered by topic/focus features and movement triggered by Φ -features share some properties of A-movements: they do not elicit a Weak Crossover violation and can create a new binder. Adopting Saito (2006), Miyagawa argues for a flexible functional position between TP and CP called α P, which serves as the landing site for movements triggered by grammatical features.

In chapter 4, further evidence for α P is displayed. In addition, through a detailed examination of the A/ \bar{A} distinction (focusing on the controversial data of reconstruction), Miyagawa offers a new approach to movement, the so-called Phase Based Characterization of Chains, which defines movement without reference to Case Assignment and, therefore, allows for the unification of A/ \bar{A} movement theories.

In the final chapter, *wh*-questions are analyzed as cases of agreement with the topic/focus-feature, so as to demonstrate the power of the proposed theory with a complex and controversial issue.

1. Theoretical background

In Miyagawa's approach, agreement, movement and their relation are defined by virtue of distinguishing between two main types of semantic relations. Lexical relations are defined over a lexical head and its arguments, and usually form thematic relations, whereas functional relations are established between a functional head and a relevant element (a head or a phrase) of the expression so as to enhance the expressiveness of human language.

Agreement is a type of functional relation, a form of covariance between the elements involved in agreement, represented here in the probe-goal system of Chomsky (2000; 2001; 2005; 2007; 2008).

(1) **Agree**

Agreement establishes a functional relation between a functional head and an XP.

The relevant functional head bears an uninterpretable feature that serves as the probe, the “target” of agreement. The probe is merged as unvalued and must be valued by the goal, the relevant interpretable feature on the head of the agreeing element. The goal provides the value for the probe and valuation results in agreement. After valuation the probe, being an uninterpretable feature, must be deleted so as not to receive semantic interpretation. As the probe must be erased after valuation, some other process must be involved to preserve the functional relation established by agreement. Moving the goal to the probe can serve as a mechanism to record and retain the functional relation beyond the interface for semantic and information-structure interpretation.

Movement is motivated by the general requirement that the probe and the goal be in a strictly local relation.

(2) **Probe-goal union (PGU)**

A goal moves in order to unite with the probe.

To record a functional relation by movement, PGU must be established by the point of transfer, i.e., the mapping to the interface systems of the sound and meaning.

In chapter 2, an extensive analysis of related matters (*that-t* effect, pro-drop languages, languages with VSO order) demonstrates that the bare phrase structure approach makes it possible to fulfill the PGU condition either by constituent or head-movement. The author also examines, and gives analysis of, phenomena that seemingly contradict PGU, e.g., expletives, long-distance agreement and complementizer-agreement.

In sum, Miyagawa makes use of and enhances the standard minimalist framework by highlighting the exact role and function of particular components of the theory. In Miyagawa’s approach agreement and movement gain their own motivation independently, and their direct link is created on theoretical ground. Although PGU restricts the standard minimalist theory by triggering a strictly local unifying process, both empirical and theoretical advantages follow. For example, PGU explains why a functional relation such as agreement is generally realized in a spec-head relation, and why the Extended Projection Principle always appears in tandem with case and agreement.

2. The parameter of topic/focus and Φ -feature agreement

Admitting that languages exhibit great diversity in the extent of agreement, the author argues for two universal grammatical features that are overtly manifested and play the same role in computation.

Firstly, extending Chomsky’s (2001) Uniformity Principle, Miyagawa proposes Strong Uniformity. The Uniformity Principle says that without evidence to the contrary, languages are assumed to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances. Strong Uniformity additionally claims that universal grammatical features are also overtly manifested in languages in some way.

(3) **Strong Uniformity**

All languages share the same set of grammatical features (topic/focus feature and Φ -feature) and overtly manifest them.

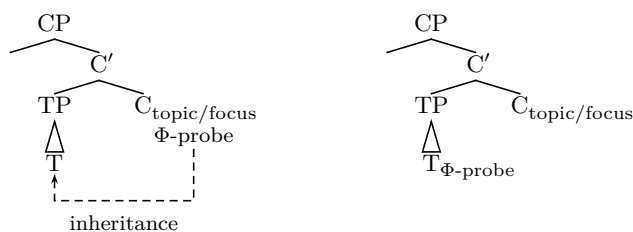
Among Φ -features, person-agreement is claimed to be the initial-state grammatical feature on the basis of Japanese, Chinese and Bani-Hassan Arabic data.

Secondly, in accordance with the Minimalist theory, Miyagawa argues that topic/focus and Φ -features are computationally equivalent: they occur on the C-head as a probe, and can percolate from C to a lower functional head yielding A-chains. Following É. Kiss (1995), Miyagawa assumes that in non-configurational languages A-chains are created on the basis of topic/focus inheritance, while in configurational languages A-movement is triggered by Φ -probe inheritance. In other words, in case of non-configurational languages, the discourse structure of the utterance determines the syntactic structure of the sentence. Accordingly, Miyagawa follows the terminology of É. Kiss (1995), and refers to non-configurational languages as *discourse configurational* ones.

Although universal features are claimed to be computationally equivalent, there is a consequential difference between them. Linguistic data prove that the Φ -probe always shows up on a head lower than C, while the inheritance of the topic/focus-probe by a lower head is not necessary. In his theory, the author concludes that as opposed to the topic/focus-probe, Φ -probe is incapable of identifying a goal by itself; it needs an activating mechanism to find its goal, whereas the topic/focus-probe does not require activation. Focus is usually marked in some fashion, and topic does not seek a goal in the sense of a probe-goal relation (see later); therefore, the inheritance of topic/focus is not necessary because of agreement. Whether topic/focus is inherited is a key in the configurational parametric variation of languages, and it also determines which activating mechanism is used by the Φ -probe to find its goal. Two activating mechanisms are available for the Φ -probe: Case Assignment and topic/focus agreement itself.

In configurational languages topic/focus stays at C, and the Φ -probe is inherited by T, where it targets the goal of agreement for movement with the help of Case Assignment. Presumably, Case Assignment (a lexical relation assigned by a functional head) is able to make a nominal in [Spec,TP] visible both for theta-marking and for agreement with the Φ -probe by means of the same mechanism. The Φ -probe at T attracts the goal to [Spec,TP]; i.e., in configurational languages A-chains are created on the basis of Φ -probe inheritance.

(4) Inheritance of Φ -probe in configurational languages



In discourse configurational languages, on the contrary, A-chains are created on the basis of topic/focus inheritance. The topic/focus probe does not require activation: it is valued at C. After valuation, the topic/focus-probe is inherited by a lower head not to establish agreement, but to trigger A-movements. The Φ -probe targets its goal with the help of topic/focus agreement. As soon as topic/focus agreement is established at C, the Φ -probe simply picks the relevant topic/focus-goal up.

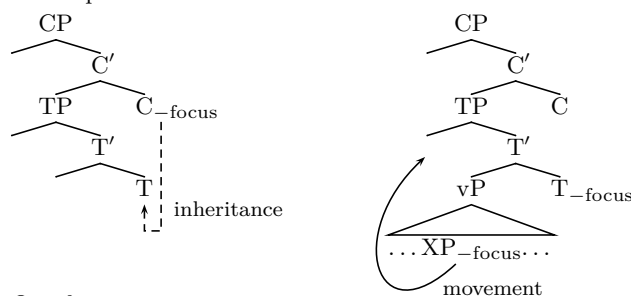
There are also languages of a mixed type, where both Φ -agreement and topic/focus-agreement play a role in computation. In chapter 4, the Bantu languages Kinande and Kilega illustrate the case when both topic/focus and Φ -probe are inherited.

3. Discourse configurational languages

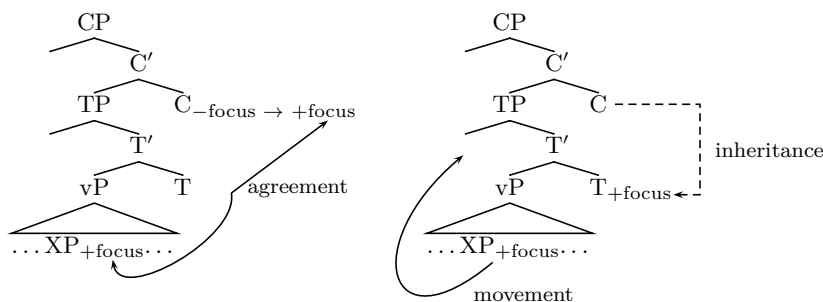
In Miyagawa's approach topic and focus are values of the same \pm focus feature; topic ("what the sentence is about") and focus ("the identificational focus") are differentiated essentially by the context in which they occur. He extends Holmberg and Nikanne (2002)'s treatment of topic, and reflecting the marked and unmarked nature of focus and topic, respectively, he makes the following assumptions about topic/focus agreement

The default feature for the topic/focus probe is $-$ focus (topic). Focus is a marked feature: if the $-$ focus probe at C enters into agreement with a focused phrase $+$ focus, $-$ focus is valued as $+$ focus. When agreement with $+$ focus is established, the focus probe is inherited. The $-$ focus probe that does not turn to $+$ focus at C is inherited without picking out a goal, and simply requires its specifier to be filled. The $-$ focus (topic) feature is assigned freely to all phrases of an expression, any phrase having $-$ focus (topic) fulfils the $-$ focus probe's requirement.

(5) One-topic sentence



(6) One-focus sentence



In Miyagawa's approach, the topic and focus features do not interfere with each other; as a result, their preverbal position is optional. In the case of Hungarian, a language extensively examined in É. Kiss (1995), the order of preverbal elements are strictly determined: topic always precedes focus; furthermore, the focus constituent has to be adjacent to the finite verb. However, preverbal focus in Hungarian, contrary to e.g.

Japanese focus, is obligatorily associated with exhaustive interpretation, and its fixed preverbal position is attributed to its semantic properties. Moreover, in Hungarian, the preverbal focus position is obligatorily filled, and non-exhaustive information-focused constituents stay behind the verb. This means that, in the case of Hungarian, the topic-probe lowers to α P, whereas the focus-probe lowers to TP.

4. The role of focus in *wh*-questions

In chapter 5, the central role of focus is demonstrated with the analysis of *wh*-questions. Miyagawa claims that in *wh*-questions both a topic/focus feature and an interpretable Q feature merge on the question C. Q, being interpretable, cannot probe for a goal on its own. The topic/focus-probe enters into Agree relation with the +focus feature of the closest *wh*-phrase. The agreeing *wh*-phrase moves to [Spec,CP] in accordance with PGU. Focus-agreement makes it possible for Q to acquire the question-relation that is preserved by Q for the semantic interpretation when the focus probe is deleted. Extensive analysis of intervention-effects provides further arguments for the role of focus in *wh*-questions.

5. Unifying movement theory

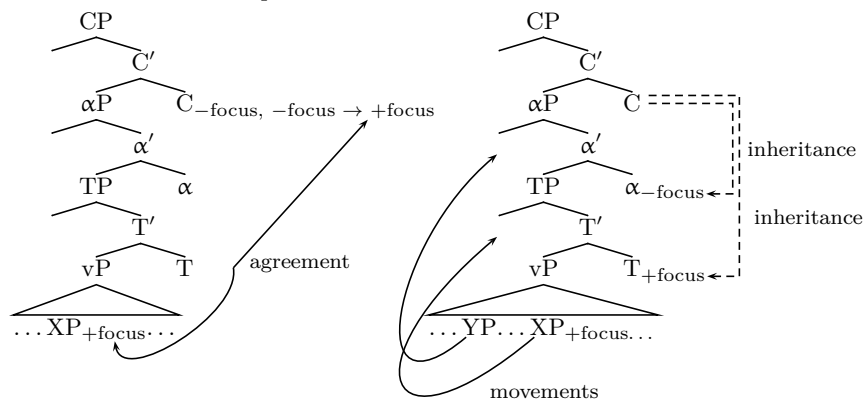
By virtue of the phase-structure of Minimalist theory and the agreement theory outlined above, Miyagawa unifies A-movement and \bar{A} -movement.

First, through a detailed analysis of Japanese data, he claims that the topic/focus and Φ -probes trigger movements that share the properties of A-movements: they do not elicit a Weak Crossover violation and can create a new binder.

Secondly, Miyagawa does not assume specific projections for movements triggered by different grammatical features; instead (adopting Saito 2006), he argues for a functional position between TP and CP with a very flexible nature, which he calls α P. Japanese, Finnish and Bantu examples demonstrate that α P occurs as needed: it is not compulsory, it may be recursive, it typically hosts topic but can host focus and even Φ -features, as well. The choice between α and T as “target head” for a probe—or from a different perspective: which feature shows up on T and α —depends on other factors and elements in the structure. As –focus(topic) and +focus features use different ways to establish agreement, they do not interfere with each other. As a result, when both topic and focus occur in a sentence, their relative order is optional. In structures with two foci, where one +focus probe enters into multiple agreement with two focused elements, strict superiority effects control the order of phrases (see (7)).

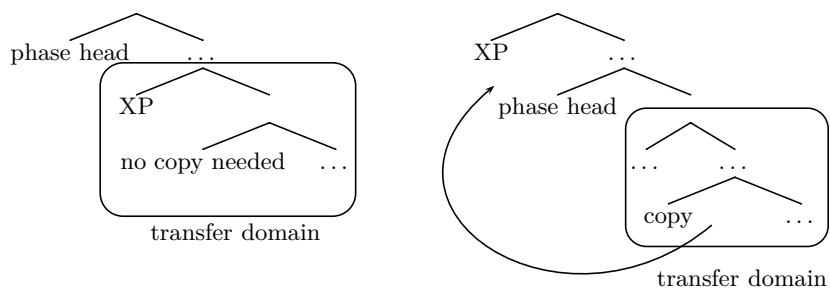
Finally, Miyagawa points out the problems with the distinction of A and \bar{A} movements. He analyzes controversial data of reconstruction in detail, and concludes that reconstruction depends on whether movement necessarily leaves full copies in its chain. A-movements optionally leave full copies; therefore, reconstruction is possible, though not necessary. \bar{A} -movements obligatorily leave full copies; hence force reconstruction. The phase-structure of the Minimalist approach provides a natural explanation for Miyagawa’s conclusions. Since information is transferred in phases, a copy must be available in each domain so that a chain could be recreated as a whole at the final stage of computation. Consequently, full copies are needed in every case when a movement crosses a transfer-boundary (8).

(7) Sentences with both topic and focus



(8) **Phase-based characterization of chains (PBCC)**

A full copy of a moved item must be available for interpretation if the movement crosses a transfer boundary.



6. Concluding remarks

Miyagawa's main aim was to provide a plausible explanation for the universal existence of agreement and movement. In his theory, agreement with universal grammatical features (topic/focus and Φ -feature) establishes functional relations, which are preserved for interpretation by moving the agreeing element to a relevant functional specifier. The author claims that the interaction of agreement and movement let languages express notions such as topic, focus, content questions, or being the subject of a clause. Miyagawa argues that topic/focus is a grammatical feature in discourse configurational languages that functions in a manner equivalent to Φ -feature in configurational languages.

The author's comprehensive approach is implemented in the Chomskyan Minimalist framework, to which his final proposals make an important contribution. Miyagawa reconsidered the role of the Extended Projection Principle and Case Assignment, proposed the parameter of topic/focus-inheritance, and unified A/ \bar{A} movement theory through Phase-Based Characterization of Chains.

Miyagawa's problem-centered method, the wide range of data covered in his analyses and detailed bibliographic references help the reader to understand the evolution of the generative theory up to Miyagawa's approach, while open and critical questions are left to inspire further research. It is highly recommended to readers familiar with and interested in generative syntax.

Erika Schmidt

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