of classical scholarship), in which the intended audience probably needs more introduction and more guidance to authoritative resources? Perhaps I misjudge the German audience. In any case, for introducing English-speaking graduate students to most of the covered topics, we are not badly served in most areas by existing separate resources in English (among the exceptions are Byzantine literature and palaeography/codicology of Greek minuscule books).

University of California, Berkeley DONALD J. MASTRONARDE

GREEK PROSODY

A. M. Devine, L. D. Stephens: *The Prosody of Greek Speech*. Pp. xvii + 565. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. $60/£42. ISBN: 0-19-508546-9.

'. . . even an approximately correct pronunciation of [Greek] is impossible, particularly in respect of the musical accent. . . . The same applies to rhythm.' These words of Maas (*Greek Metre*, tr. H. Lloyd-Jones [Oxford, 1962], pp. 55–6) are quoted by Devine and Stephens (p. vii) to illustrate the pessimism that often accompanies thoughts about our knowledge of the sound of ancient Greek, especially its prosodic aspects.

D. & S. challenge this attitude by approaching Greek prosody with 'a rather different methodology—a sort of archaeological laboratory phonology' (p. vii), in fact by combining a wealth of typological data on prosodic systems with some fresh approaches to the Greek material. Studies of living languages, giving insights into the range of prosodic phenomena that occur, are continually exploited as sources of questions to ask of the Greek data and as a check on possible interpretations of those data. The authors have developed their methods over a period of twenty-five years, during which some of their conclusions have already been stated in several articles and a small monograph (see the list of their joint publications on pp. 561–2).

The book is not intended as an introduction to Greek prosody; for introductions the authors send us (p. x) to the standard works of W. S. Allen (*Vox Graeca* [Cambridge, 1987, 3rd edn]; *Accent and Rhythm* [Cambridge, 1973]). However, D. & S. summarize extensively the experimental and typological literature on prosody, envisaging that 'a concise yet fairly comprehensive account of this material with its associated bibliography might serve as a convenient source-book for future students and researchers' (p. vii). The quantity of literature cited should indeed make the book invaluable to anybody interested in tracking down studies relevant to prosody.

D. & S. begin with a chapter on the physiology of prosody, explaining how the brain, lungs, and vocal tract contribute to the production of pitch and rhythm. The rest of the book is arranged more or less by unit of speech, starting with the syllable and progressing to the foot, word, appositive group, minor phrase, major phrase, and utterance.

Three sources of evidence are particularly exploited: poetic metre, fragments of Greek music, and punctuated inscriptions. Statistically significant tendencies concerning the placement of words in verse or the setting of words to music are regarded as

© Oxford University Press, 2001

https://doi.org/10.1093/cr/51.1.87 Published online by Cambridge University Press

reflecting facts about the language rather than merely about versification or musical composition.

Important claims include the following:

(a) The rhythm of Greek speech is based on a fundamental pattern of alternating strong and weak syllables, independent of the pitch accent; in every word, the rhythm may be iambic or trochaic but cannot change within the word. Various devices, such as 'subordination' (placing a heavy syllable in a rhythmically weak position) and 'matrix formation' (mapping two light syllables onto one strong position) are used to map words of diverse shapes onto a template of alternating weak and strong positions (Chapter III).

(b) By analysing statistical tendencies in the music of the Delphic hymns, the phonetics of the Greek pitch accent can be reconstructed in considerably greater detail than has hitherto been done. Thus, the pitch of successive accented syllables decreases during the overall course of a major phrase, with a slight boost at the start of any new minor phrase within it, but a grave accent blocks lowering of a following non-grave accent and words with emphatic focus fail to be lowered (pp. 402–8, 441–51, 479–80).

(c) There are no unaccented proclitics. Function words (articles, negatives, etc.), particularly if short and light, tend to have a lower-pitched accent than content words (nouns, verbs, etc.), and the so-called proclitics are merely function words with rather strong accentual reduction (Chapter VII).

There is sometimes room for debate about the interpretation of data. D. & S. interpret Porson's Law, for example, as a constraint against full word boundary following a subordinated syllable (pp. 131–2). Since, however, long second anceps is freely permitted in the trimeter before caesura, they stipulate that 'the sort of phonological boundary associated with the caesura effectively blocked subordination' (p. 132). One should also consider purely metrical accounts of Porson's Law and related phenomena. Parker suggests, for example, that numerous metres avoid the rhythm ⏑ – – | – ⏑ verse-internally except at caesura and diaeresis because ⏑ – – has characteristic finality; ⏑ – – | – ⏑ seems to halt and re-start (L. P. E. Parker, 'Porson's Law Extended', *CQ* N.S. 16 [1966], 1–26, esp. 24).

Some points of presentation cause irritation. Choices of technical terms to define or leave undefined are inconsistent, and some terms are explained only after being used several times ('mora', p. 47; 'onset' and 'coda', p. 53; 'rime', p. 54). For a book of potential value to researchers of languages other than Greek, untranslated Greek quotations are a drawback. Page numbers are rarely supplied with references. In other respects, however, the book has been well produced and proof-read. I noticed only two typographical errors.

The Prosody of Greek Speech aims to answer the question, 'What did Greek prosody sound like?' (p. v). The answers proposed are easier to grasp intellectually than to translate into practical performance, but rich enough in detail that a machine implementation of D. & S.'s model ought to make an exciting speech synthesis project for somebody with the relevant skills and facilities.

Wolfson College, Oxford PHILOMEN PROBERT

https://doi.org/10.1093/cr/51.1.87 Published online by Cambridge University Press