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SHORTER NOTICES

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Peter Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge, 1998. Pp. v+355.

Reviewed by JULIET LANGMAN, University of Texas, San Antonio

The last twenty years have seen a dramatic increase in the number of studies of bilingualism and language use among bilinguals. Perhaps one of the most hotly debated areas of bilingual language use is that of code-switching (CS), as the number of models attest. Various foci of CS models include structural analyses, examining in particular syntactic constraints and the relationship of code-switching to other phenomena, such as borrowing; social identity-based analyses, drawing on the relationship between language and identity within multilingual societies; psycholinguistic analyses, focusing on questions of language storage and processing; and conversation analysis orientations, focusing on the local construction of conversation for interactional purposes. As Peter Auer, the editor of the volume under review here, argues, code-switching is now recognized as a phenomenon 'able to shed light on fundamental linguistic issues, from Universal Grammar to the formation of group identities and ethnic boundaries through verbal behavior' (1) and hence is worthy of study for both general theoretical as well as applied linguistic purposes.

The current volume represents a coherent articulation and in-depth discussion of a conversation analysis approach to code-switching, which draws primary explanatory power from an interpretation of CS as pragmatic in nature. This well-organized and extremely thorough volume sets the conversational context as the primary unit of analysis, and argues that much analysis of CS need go no further than that local context for understanding meaning expressed through CS. A second crucial point brought forth in this volume is that a local conversational analysis allows for an interpretation of CS phenomena from the perspective of the speakers as opposed to that of the analyst per se through an analysis of interlocutor response. The theoretical orientation presented here, moreover, levels direct criticism at arguably the most influential model of social and pragmatic code-switching, namely Myers-Scotton's markedness model (1993), which draws its explanatory power from speakers' identity with broader social categories coded through language choice. In contrast, as a whole, the authors in this volume present analyses that suggest that CS has, on the one hand, only local, pragmatic meaning, and on the other hand, MAY have meanings related to a wide range of social identities, not restricted to broad sociolinguistic categories. This volume, then, represents a call for a broader analysis of CS, beginning from a close analysis of conversation.

The text is divided into two parts, the first considering definitional issues around the central concept of CODE, and arguing for an expansion of our conception of code to include code-switched varieties as regular parts of individuals' linguistic repertoires. Part I questions the essential underpinnings of other models of CS which take two complete languages and full bilingualism as prerequisites for code-switching. Part II extends the focus from conversational level considerations of code(s), to a comparison of 'the conversational vs. extra-conversational (ethnographically recoverable) meaning of code-switching' (153).

Part I is introduced by Celso Alvarez-Cáccamo's historical overview of the term CODE, drawing on Jacobson's discussion of 'switching code'. Alvarez-Cáccamo argues for the possibility of a single code that comprises elements of more than one language. In such instances, he argues, one cannot speak of CS at all. Thus, Alvarez-Cáccamo suggests,

> [i]n order to argue convincingly *for* or *against* the existence of 'code-switching constraints' and 'code-switching grammars' 'based on the two monolingual ones' (Sankoff & Poplack 1981: 10), research should first convincingly prove that (a) speakers who 'code-switch' possess two (or more) identifiable linguistic systems or languages, each with its identifiable grammatical rules

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and lexicon; and (b) 'code-switched' speech results from the predictable interaction between lexical elements and grammatical rules from these languages. (36)

A second definitional point concerns viewing CODE as distinct from definitions of LANGUAGE and of VARIETY. Such a distinction is necessary if we are to expand our view of CS to encompass not simply instances of language use when two languages meet, but also a 'monolectal view' that comprises CS within a code that is already mixed. Rita Franceschini outlines a 'dual focus' view of CS in an attempt to move perceptions of normative linguistic behavior away from one that views monolingualism as the norm. One consequence of such a 'dual focus' view is that we can see CS as fluid and constructed in the context of conversation rather than static. (See also Wei and Alfonzetti in part II.)

Michael Meeuwis & Jan Blommaert pick up the discussion of a monolectal view of CS, conceived of as an idealization in multilingual settings, in their discussion of CS in Zaire and Belgium. Meeuwis & Blommaert introduce the term LAYERED CODE-SWITCHING to refer to code-switching within code-switching, 'the conversational alternation of languages which are themselves code-switched codes' (89). They argue for a view of CS 'in which both the notion of language-as-code and that of bilingualism are dissociated from code-switching' (93). By calling the nature of language-as-code into question, and suggesting an extension of the term code to include code-switched varieties, Meeuwis & Blommaert, as well as others in this volume, are arguing for a broadening of the conception of language.

Like Meeuwis & Blommaert, two additional articles, by Cecilia Oesch Serra and Yael Maschler, present evidence for a mixed code analysis as opposed to a CS analysis of language alternation. Oesch Serra presents a detailed analysis of discourse markers in a mixed French/Italian communicative system among Italian immigrant workers in French speaking areas of Switzerland. Oesch Serra sees variable use of three connectives, Italian *ma* ('but') and *pero* ('but', 'however') and French *mais* ('but'), as attributable to a continuum of emphasis, and suggests that in this way code-alternation functions as a contextualization cue within an emerging mixed code (see also Wei). Maschler examines a wider range of discourse markers among American immigrants in Israel and argues that grammaticization provides evidence of the emergence of a mixed code. She argues that discourse markers in the mixed code 'gain new meanings from their bilingual contexts, which are absent when they are employed in monolingual Hebrew discourse' (141).

In summary, part I argues for a reanalysis of CS and its meanings in conversation, starting with conceptions of code and language that do not take monolingual language use as their starting point and that analyze CS as one of a number of contextualization cues used for pragmatic purposes in interaction. Part II consists of seven articles which extend the discussion of CS to explore the types of meanings that CS may have beyond the local. In large part, these articles argue for the interaction of discourse local analyses and ethnographic methods to understand the multiple ways in which aspects of society and identity can influence CS. The articles are ordered from authors whose perspectives closely align with conversational analysis to those who, while still focusing the central unit of analysis on local, conversational discourse, choose different theoretical perspectives. Here, as in part I as a whole the authors are quite critical of the markedness theory (Myers-Scotton 1993). Two issues are raised that are central to how to map the various codes in CS to social identity, namely, what external social categories can be relevant to the analysis of CS, and to what extent there is a one-to-one correspondence between a given language and a particular aspect of identity. In part II, as in part I then, there is a strong argument for broadening the perspective on how to map social categories to meaning with respect to CS, and a move away from a static to a more fluid interpretation of CS grounded in specific conversational situations grounded in particular speech communities.

Li Wei presents an analysis of code-switching among Cantonese-English bilingual speakers in Newcastle upon Tyne taking an explicitly conversation analysis perspective and aligning CS with other contextualization cues. He argues, moreover, that while some instances of CS may be related to broader social categories of meaning, many function explicitly as elements of on-going interaction. Giovanna Alfonzetti, in her analysis of CS between dialect and standard Italian in Sicily, discusses the notion of 'directional indifference' for instances of CS serving particular pragmatic functions as evidence for non-identity related meanings for CS. Alfonzetti argues that the case she examines is one of switching between two codes (in contrast to other instances of an emergent mixed code discussed in part I) in spite of the fact that they are structurally similar. These articles highlight the need to examine each community's distribution and use of language

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across codes to determine the particular relationship between bilingualism, CS and meaning-making.

Melissa G. Moyer's examination of CS in Gibraltar extends the view of sources of data, through an analysis of a constructed humorous conversation in a local newspaper. She draws together the ethnographic tradition with conversation analysis and syntactic analysis to explicate the CS that occurs in a stereotypic conversation that is funny because of its relationship to the stereotypically expected distribution of English and Spanish. She argues for a three level analysis of CS, in contrast to many of the other articles which draw primary analytic power from the conversation level.

Three chapters focus specifically on the use of CS among youth. J. N. Jørgensen's analysis of CS among elementary school students outlines a developmental process by which young Turkish/Danish bilinguals acquire facility in CS as one of a number of means of displaying power. Taking a power and dominance perspective, he demonstrates the development of power wielding through CS in local interactions, where at times Turkish and at times Danish represents the language of power, in contrast to the larger societal power alignments, where power is always associated with Danish. Mark Sebba & Tony Wootton analyze the differential use of London English and London Jamaican among young British-born Caribbeans. Their analysis points to various uses of CS, and the need to enhance our use of the concept of identity to include multiple and shifting identities. Ben Rampton's article on crossing (the use of CS into a code one has little or no competence in) is important in that he too works to break the static view of the relationship between language, code, bilingualism and identity. In addition, his article as well as a number of others (see Franceschini, for example) highlights the need to interpret identity in terms of locally constituted groups, such as peer groups. This analysis of identity parallels the community of practice approach, which argues that identity is locally co-constructed through membership in a group and practice within this group (see Eckert 2000, Lave & Wenger 1991).

Finally, Christopher Stroud's analysis of CS between Taiap and Tok Pisin in one particular discourse genre in Papua New Guinea, the *kros*, challenges our notions of just how CS serves both conversational and social change functions in an inherently multilingual society where the overlay of codes to social categories varies fundamentally with Western social categorizations.

The text provides a wealth of data, strong theoretical orientation, as well as an extremely useful format, with clear and concise introductory remarks on each chapter as well as the volume as a whole by Auer. These aspects allow for this volume to be used in a wide variety of settings, from graduate coursework on bilingualism and code-switching, to careful examination by scholars engaged in bilingual research.

Unique to this volume, the data represent a wide range of language pairs, some with English, and others focusing on pairs of languages rarely considered. Nonetheless, one criticism, which may indeed rather be a call for further research, is that almost all the papers represent data including one or more major European languages (English, French, German, Italian) and/or a Western European setting. Exceptions include Stroud's contribution focusing on Papua New Guinea, which further suggests that the Eurocentric perception of code-switching may be unable to account for all forms of code-switching. Indeed Franceschini, in responding to Milroy & Muysken's (1995: 3) criticism that 'the assumption dominating linguistics continues to be one which views as the normal or unmarked case the monolingual speaker in a homogeneous speech community' (66), suggests that we 'hypothesize for a moment the utopian idea that linguistics had been developed in Africa or in Pacific countries where multilingualism is more self-evident: perhaps multilingualism would then have been seen as more fundamental for the architecture of linguistic theory' (66).

In conclusion, this volume constitutes a necessary addition to any serious study of code-switching, and provides a wealth of ideas useful to expanding our conception of communicative code and of language, and broadening our understanding of how language operates in the social world for both local pragmatic functions as well as broader sociolinguistic, identity-based functions. The data and the arguments presented here suggest that we need a broader rather than a more narrow conception of 'what counts as language' and 'what switches in language are used for' for speakers in multilingual settings, and this, by extension, suggests that we as linguists need to pay more attention to how speakers conceive of language and communication.

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Elabbas Benmamoun, *The feature structure of functional categories: a comparative study of Arabic dialects*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. xi + 180.

Reviewed by Ilan Hazout, University of Haifa

This book contains detailed studies of three areas in the syntax of Arabic dialects. Some of the topics discussed, such as the system of tense forms (part I) and agreement phenomena (part III), have traditionally been of central interest in studies of Arabic. Others, such as the syntax of negation (part II), are less familiar from previous work. The main theoretical proposal of the book concerns the feature composition of certain functional heads. Various observations regarding word order, differences between the various tenses and other syntactic phenomena are derived on the basis of this proposal and a set of theoretical assumptions based mainly on Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program.

The first of the three parts of the book starts, at chapter 2, with an overview of verbal morphology in three Arabic dialects (Standard Arabic (SA), Moroccan Arabic (MA) and Egyptian Arabic (EA)) in the perfective and imperfective forms. As Benmamoun (BM) shows, the paradigms in the modern dialects (MA and EA) are smaller than in SA in that there are no morphological mood distinctions in the imperfective forms and there are no dual or gender distinctions in the plural forms. BM then discusses the interesting question regarding the information carried by the perfective and imperfective forms. It is argued, with regard to the perfective form, that past tense is carried neither by the agreement suffix nor by the vocalic melody. Regarding agreement, the fact that the negative form *laysa* carries agreement suffixes in present tense sentences rules out the possibility that agreement as such is associated with the semantic content of past tense. BM's alternative suggestion is that past tense is encoded by an abstract morpheme, suffixal agreement being a surface indicator of this semantic content.

As to the imperfective, it is shown that this form occurs in a large number of syntactic and semantic environments and can be associated with different temporal interpretations. The reasonable conclusion drawn from these facts is that the imperfective is a default form and that the affixes associated with this form are agreement morphemes only. Additional elements of information are carried by other elements morphologically attached to or syntactically associated with this form. Like the past tense, BM suggests that the present tense is also carried by an abstract morpheme whereas the future tense is realized by an overt form (*sawfa/sa* in SA and other forms in MA and EA).

Chapter 3 addresses a traditional issue in the grammar of Semitic languages regarding the analysis of present tense sentences, in particular the fact that these, unlike past and future tense sentences, may be verbless. The discussion starts with a consideration of three options, previously suggested in the literature, for the analysis of verbless present tense sentences. BM presents arguments against the view of such sentences as (matrix) small clauses, and against

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proposals to postulate a null or deleted copula. He opts for a view of present tense verbless sentences as TPs that dominate a nonverbal predicate and are headed by an (abstract) T. An analysis of this kind is due originally to Jelinek (1981), who argues for an abstract auxiliary (AUX) node which is specified for the present tense feature.

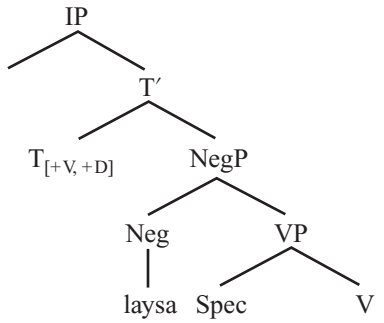
BM's account of the differences between present tense sentences and other tenses with respect to the obligatory occurrence of a verbal element is based on an assumption regarding the feature content of T. Namely, T in the present tense is specified for the feature [+D], which must be checked by a nominal element (i.e. a subject). In the past and future tenses, on the other hand, T is additionally specified for [+V], which must be checked by a verbal element, thus giving rise to the obligatory presence of a verbal copula in the absence of other verbal elements. The absence of the [+V] feature in present tense sentences in Arabic explains the possibility of verbless sentences.

One difference between present tense sentences and sentences in other tenses which follows from the above assumptions is the application of verb movement in the latter, for the checking of [+V], and its absence in the former. Chapter 4 discusses some empirical consequences and benefits of this assumption. One of a number of issues discussed in this context is that of sentential negation, in particular the syntax of the independent negative form *laysa* in SA. As BM demonstrates, *laysa* may occur in verbless sentences as well as in verbal sentences, but only if they are in the present tense.

(1) laysa mu9alliman / ya-l9abu / *la9iba
NEG.3MASC.SG teacher 3MASC-play play.PAST.MASC.SG
'He is not a teacher.'/ 'He does not play.' 'He did not play.'

An explanation of the incompatibility of *laysa* with past tense, as shown in (1), is based on the assumption of a structure like (2) with *laysa* as head of NegP.

(2)



Given the feature composition of T, the verb must raise to T in order to check [+V]. However, *laysa* is not a bound morpheme and therefore movement of V to T via Neg is impossible. A direct movement to T violates minimality. Presumably, in the past tense variant of (1) the verb did not raise, resulting in an unchecked [+V] feature in T. In the present tense, variant T is not specified for [+V] and therefore no verb movement is required. BM's analysis of sentences with *laysa* does, however, encounter some difficulties, as will be shown below.

The second part of the book is concerned with the syntax of negation. The discussion starts at chapter 5 with an analysis of negation in the modern dialects which is realized by the two morphemes *ma* and *š*, which often occur discontinuously, as in (3).

(3) **ma**-ža-t-**š** Nadia
NEG-come.PAST.3FEM.SG-NEG Nadia
'Nadia didn't come.'

In the light of recent work on the syntax of negation, particularly in the Romance languages, BM considers various options for the analysis of sentential negation with *ma* and *š*, and argues that these two morphemes constitute a complex head occupying the head position of a negative projection. In particular, BM rules out the option of analysing *ma* and *š* as occupying the head and specifier positions of such a projection, respectively, as suggested by some authors for the analysis of French *ne-pas*. One of the arguments advanced in favour of this position is based on

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the ordering of the two morphemes in verbless sentences (e.g. (4)), arguably the opposite of what would be expected on the Spec-Head hypothesis.

(4) Nadia **ma-ši** fi-l-madrasa
Nadia NEG-NEG in-the-school
'Nadia is not at school.'

As for its feature composition, negation is claimed by BM to be [+D]. It is suggested that in addition to the usual Spec-Head mechanism, feature checking can also be achieved by an adjoined head. In this particular case, a verb carrying agreement morphology, in particular the person feature, can check the 'nominal' [+D] feature.

Chapter 6 discusses the various forms of negation in SA. The main claim is that the variation of five negative forms attested in this dialect, *laa*, *lan*, *lam*, *laysa* and *maa*, can be reduced to a variation between two forms, namely, *laa* and *maa*. The claim is that *lan*, *lam* and *laysa* are different inflections of *laa*, which is the default form. In particular, while *lan* and *lam* are inflected for tense, *laysa* is inflected for agreement. Unlike these variants, which are claimed to be heads of NegP, *maa* is claimed to be a specifier of NegP. Evidence that *laa* is an uninflected default form comes from the fact that it occurs as independent negation in negative answers and in constituent negation. On the other hand, the inflected forms *lan* and *lam* are in complementary distribution with tensed verbs due, obviously, to the fact that they already contain a tense inflection.

The derivation of sentences with *lan* and *lam* is achieved by two successive applications of head movement: V to Neg and Neg to T. The verb and Negation serve to check the [+V] and [+D] features of T, respectively. Neg, which is the head of the complex head Neg+V, realizes tense features in the form *lan* or *lam* in future and past tense, respectively. This analysis accounts successfully for most of the observed facts, including the obligatory adjacency between negation and the verb. Present tense sentences with *laa*, such as (5), would thus be viewed as involving no verb movement. The [+D] feature of T in this case is checked, presumably, by the subject.

(5) ṭ-ṭullab-u **laa** ya-drus-uu-n
the-students NEG 3MASC-study-MASC.PL-IND
'The students do not study.'

I find the discussion of *laysa* (section 6.3) somewhat confusing and possibly contradictory. It is observed first that *laysa*, unlike other negative elements, does not have to be adjacent to the verb (see (6)), a fact which is taken to indicate that the subject is in a projection lower than NegP (presumably in [Spec, VP]).

(6) **laysa** xaalid **ya-ktubu** š-ši9r
NEG.3FEM.SG Khalid 3MASC-write poetry
'Khalid does not write poetry.'

However, a little later it is claimed that *laysa* is in fact underlyingly the form *laa* specified for [+D]. If [+D] is checked by the subject and the negative does not merge with any element, then it is spelled out as *laysa*. It is, however, not clear how [+D] is checked by the subject in a sentence like (6) if, as claimed, the subject is in a projection lower than NegP, occupying a position to the right of *laysa*. There is also no mention of the issue of Case assignment (or checking) on the subject in such cases.

Chapter 7 concludes the overview of the syntax of negation with a discussion of negation in imperative sentences. The focus of this discussion is the difference between negative imperatives, where the verb carries person agreement, and positive imperatives, where person agreement is absent. This difference is accounted for elegantly by assuming that person agreement carries specification for [+D]. It follows that a verb with person agreement can check this feature in Neg, by adjoining to it. The complex head Neg+V then moves to T to check the [+V] feature.

Part III is concerned with certain agreement phenomena in the syntax of sentences and NPs/DPs. Some of these phenomena, such as definiteness agreement in Semitic genitive 'construct-state' constructions, have been the subject of an intense theoretical discussion in recent years. BM's main proposal in chapters 8–9, which make up this part, is to account for these facts in terms of the notion of MERGER. In my view, this part is the weakest in this otherwise well written and mostly well argued book. This weakness is due mainly to BM's failure to provide a satisfactory characterization of the notion of merger.

The familiar facts have to do with Verb-Subject agreement in SA, which includes agreement

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for number in SV but not in VS order. As to the construct-state construction, which consists of a sequence of N + DP, the familiar observation is that if DP is definite then N (the head), and NP as a whole, is also semantically definite, although it cannot be overtly marked as such. According to BM, both cases involve two elements which share a specification for a feature (number/definiteness). However, given that the two elements are merged and form a unit (of some sort), a spell-out of this feature in one of them is sufficient. Additional spell-out on the second element would be redundant and therefore rejected. Merger is claimed to be a post-syntactic PF operation, 'essentially rebracketing under adjacency' (153). One of the many questions that this proposal raises concerns ordering. It is not clear why ordering (e.g. VS as opposed to SV) matters, given that the only condition is adjacency (which does not necessarily apply in VS agreement, as observed by BM).

All in all, this book covers with relative success a very impressive and complex array of facts. The issues discussed are of a general theoretical interest and the contribution made to the comparative study of Arabic dialects is important.

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David Birdsong (ed.), *Second language acquisition and the critical period hypothesis*. Mahwah, NJ & London: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999. Pp. x + 191.

Reviewed by BIRGIT HARLEY, University of Toronto

Since its launching in the 1960s, the hypothesis of a biologically determined critical period for language acquisition ending around the age of puberty has stimulated much lively theoretical debate and a huge volume of empirical studies. As this book amply demonstrates, despite all the research activity, the issue of whether such a critical period is relevant to second language acquisition remains highly contentious. This edited collection of articles, the outcome of an AILA symposium (Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée) held in Finland in 1996, features a range of current perspectives on both sides of the fence. With seven chapters in all, the volume consists of an introduction by Birdsong, followed by three articles presenting arguments supporting the critical period concept, and then three articles challenging it in relation to second language acquisition. It is left to readers to weigh the diverse arguments presented and decide for themselves which have most merit. Although the editor admits to having himself rejected the critical period hypothesis with respect to second language acquisition (the CPH-L2A), his selection of articles provides an even-handed representation of current arguments for and against the hypothesis, and his historical introductory overview of the 'whys and why-nots' of the CPH-L2A sets the measured tone of argumentation in the volume.

In essence, the CPH claims that when language acquisition is initiated outside a critical developmental period in childhood, maturational changes in the brain prevent the later learner from mastering a new language to a nativelike level. There is no question that the ultimate L2 attainment of children is generally more successful than that of adult learners (in contexts where both have ample access to native speakers of the language). This is taken as a given by all the contributors to this volume. In itself, however, an association between age of L2 onset and L2 attainment is not sufficient to establish a biologically determined critical period as the cause of child-adult differences, and this is the crux of the controversy. A persistent problem in researching this issue, as Bialystok & Hakuta emphasize in the final chapter, is that correlational data do not provide firm evidence of cause and effect.

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From the pro-CPH perspective, much rides on chapter 2, the only chapter to present empirical data from second language learners in support of a maturationally determined CPH-L2A. Authors Weber-Fox & Neville recorded electrophysiological activity in the brain in the form of event-related potentials (ERPs) as native English speakers and bilinguals of Chinese L1 did a grammaticality judgment task in English. Intriguing results suggested that, relative to native speakers, later L2 learning was associated not only with lower accuracy in judging syntactic anomalies, but with slower processing and increased right hemisphere involvement. The authors conclude that their findings 'are consistent with the hypothesis that the development of at least some neural subsystems for language processing is constrained by maturational changes' (35–36). An alternative cause-effect interpretation cannot be ruled out, however. The extent of L2 knowledge, rather than brain maturation at the age of L2 onset, might account for the ERP differences found. In fact, Neville has argued elsewhere (e.g. Neville 1994) that differences in grammatical knowledge serve as an explanation for ERP differences found among native English-speaking children and between normal-hearing adults and most deaf adults. The very brief account of the authors' research presented in this volume also leaves unspecified methodological details such as the size and the average age at testing of the various groups (for information, see Weber-Fox & Neville 1996). A difference in age at testing is a factor that might also have a bearing on ERP results. In short, while the use of the advanced technology presented in this chapter offers a promising neurolinguistic perspective on the CPH-L2A, further analysis is warranted before firm conclusions can be drawn.

The next chapter in this volume takes us into the realm of speculation. Hurford & Kirby take it as a given that there is a biologically determined critical period for language acquisition ending roughly at puberty. What they seek to demonstrate through computer simulations is that completion of (first) language acquisition at this life stage is attributable to an evolutionary mechanism, with speed of acquisition (which is genetically determined) and language size co-evolving in such a way as to keep full language acquisition close to the age of puberty. The model rests on a number of major assumptions that are without empirical foundation, and thus open to challenge, including, for example, that complete knowledge of language at puberty confers fitness for procreation and that through natural selection a fast learner mutation tends to spread through the population, gradually increasing language size. The computer simulations plotting average age at acquisition against time do nonetheless succeed in showing language size increasing and the age of acquisition settling at puberty, indicating the mathematical viability of the model. Towards the end of their chapter, Hurford & Kirby discuss the relevance of the model for adult second language acquisition, but are silent on what it implies for second language acquisition in childhood. It is hard to envisage how the presumed fine balance between (first) language size and speed of acquisition could leave room for the acquisition of an additional language before puberty.

A final chapter, by Eubank & Gregg, in the 'pro-CPH' series consists of a closely argued rationale for the relevance of the critical period concept for both L1 and L2 acquisition, and for more theoretically refined investigation in the L2 domain. Assuming a modular view of linguistic competence, these authors argue that behavioural evidence for the CPH-L2A of a more subtle nature than in prior studies should be sought, and that a promising place to look is in adult learners' ability to (re)set lexical parameters, or to acquire syntactically important aspects of the L2 lexicon. (For some relevant findings, see Flege, Yeni-Komshian & Liu 1999.) In the course of their article, Eubank & Gregg raise a potential explanation for prior findings of nativelike L2 behaviour by adult learners that have failed to support the CPH: instead of indicating intuitive linguistic competence, this behaviour may reflect the ability to apply L1 knowledge and advanced metalinguistic skill to the L2 task, thus masking underlying neurological differences from native speakers. This explanation, downgrading the importance of language behaviour that might otherwise disconfirm the CPH-L2A, appears rather convenient for the hypothesis. However, individual differences in metalinguistic skill may be a legitimate concern with respect to performance on grammaticality judgment tasks, the favoured testing method of researchers taking Universal Grammar as their theoretical standpoint.

The acquisition of L2 phonology is often regarded as the strongest behavioural evidence for the CPH-L2A. Numerous studies have found that starting earlier is better when it comes to L2 pronunciation. In the present volume, two of the chapters challenging the CPH-L2A take aim at this prime domain of the maturationally defined CPH. One argument against the hypothesis, raised by Flege in chapter 5 on the basis of his own research, is the linear pattern of declining L2 pronunciation accuracy associated with increasing age of L2 onset. It provides no evidence

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of discontinuity in pronunciation accuracy at any specific age that would mark the end of a maturationally defined critical period. Observing too that the CPH fails to specify the mechanism(s) involved in the pattern of deterioration, Flege proposes, and provides empirical evidence to support, an alternative 'interaction hypothesis' predicting mutual influence between the L1 and L2 phonetic systems in the bilingual speaker. In particular, the more thoroughly the L1 is learned (concomitant with increasing age) and the more use that is currently made of it, the less accurate the pronunciation of the L2 is likely to be. Note that this correlation does not rule out an alternative interpretation: more use of the L1 may be caused by a lower level of L2 proficiency.

Bongaerts, in the next chapter, describes in detail a series of three studies investigating the ultimate attainment in L2 pronunciation of advanced late learners who had first received instruction in the L2 around the age of puberty. The target language in the first two studies was English, and in the third study, it was French, typologically more distant from the learners' first language, Dutch. Participants were required to read aloud sentences that had been seeded with problems for native Dutch speakers, and in the final study had to produce French vowels in isolated consonantal frames as well. Despite making the criteria for achievement of nativelike pronunciation increasingly rigorous across these studies, Bongaerts produces findings that consistently run counter to the CPH-L2A: not only in English, but in French as well, there were a few learners who achieved ratings of pronunciation comparable to native speakers. Interestingly, these very advanced learners had all received intensive training in the perception and production of L2 sounds. A question for further investigation would be whether their performance on the given tasks could have been influenced by the conscious application of metalinguistic skill and whether they would be equally successful on a discourse level production task.

In the final chapter, Bialystok & Hakuta present a number of logical and empirical arguments for rejecting a biologically defined CPH-L2A. Arguing that the CPH entails a discontinuity, or qualitative shift, in the kinds of L1 transfer that characterize L2 acquisition in learners at different stages of maturation, they present counterevidence from early and later Chinese- and Spanish-speaking learners of English L2 (Bialystok & Miller 1999) showing no such discontinuity. Furthermore, self-report census data indicate no discontinuity in the linear pattern of declining L2 proficiency associated with increasing age of arrival in the USA. The authors' interpretation of these data is cognitively oriented: among adults at least, there is a gradual deterioration in memory and cognition accompanying the aging process which could explain the decline. It is less clear what explains the pattern of decline across childhood arrival ages, but for younger learners more exposure to formal education in the L2 may play a role (with a caveat here about the usual difficulty of determining the direction of cause and effect).

With its well-balanced sample of proponents and opponents of the CPH-L2A, this volume provides an up-to-date overview of arguments for and against this hypothesis of perennial interest in the Nature-Nurture debate. With sophisticated reasoning and interesting data supporting each side, none of the contributors can be considered to have resolved the issue once and for all, though it is evident that a CPH-L2A adhering to puberty, or any other specific age, as a crucial turning point is becoming more and more difficult to defend. A reasonable assumption on which to proceed is that second language acquisition involves a complex interplay of maturational and environmental factors of various kinds. The present volume serves to refine understanding of what is at stake and point the way to further productive research.

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Marc-Ariel Friedemann & Luigi Rizzi (eds.), *The acquisition of syntax: studies in comparative developmental linguistics*. London: Longman, 2000. Pp. viii + 326.

Reviewed by NINA HYAMS, University of California Los Angeles

A central goal of linguistic theory is to uncover the principles of universal grammar that make language acquisition possible in principle. A more ambitious goal is to also explain actual language development, why the child goes through the particular stages she does en route to the adult target grammar. A particular approach to the developmental problem is to use the tools of comparative syntax to uncover the differences between adult and child grammars. This approach is adopted with great success in Friedemann & Rizzi's (henceforth F&R) *The acquisition of syntax*.

Most of the papers in F&R are concerned with a very early stage of language development now referred to as the 'root infinitive' (RI) or 'optional infinitive' (OI) stage. The salient property of this stage is that children (between the ages of 2 and 3) freely omit determiners, auxiliaries, pronominal subjects and finite verbal morphology. In the latter case, the verb surfaces as an infinitive (e.g. *Papa tomber/Daddy fall*), whence the RI label. Interestingly, however, the functional elements are not uniformly absent and when they do appear, they are used correctly, whence the term 'OI'.

The RI stage has been the subject of intensive research over the past decade. The volume contains 11 papers, including a very clear and comprehensive introductory paper by Friedemann & Rizzi. The other contributors are: Sonja Eisenbeiss, Marc-Ariel Friedemann, Na'ama Friedmann & Yosef Grodzinsky, Maria Teresa Guasti, Liliane Haegeman, Cornelia Hamann, Philippe Prévost & Lydia White, Lucienne Rasetti, Luigi Rizzi, and Manuela Schönenberger.

The acquisition of syntax brings together a very large body of research that has been generated by Rizzi's (1994) TRUNCATION HYPOTHESIS. According to this hypothesis, children's grammars do not require that propositions be full CPs. Hence, sentences may be truncated at some lower level, IP, VP, etc. Truncation below the TP level gives rise to a non-finite main clause, i.e. a root infinitive. A strong prediction of this hypothesis is that truncated structures will not contain functional material from projections above the point of truncation. Since RIs are truncated at the VP level, by hypothesis, they should not contain any IP or CP material, hence no *wh*-phrases, no subject clitics (in French), no non-subject topics (in V2 languages). An additional assumption is that null elements are licensed in the specifier (or head) of the root clause. Thus, truncation of the CP level makes the specifier of IP the root specifier and thereby creates a licensing context for subject omission (in an otherwise non-null subject language such as Dutch or English).

The papers in the F&R volume provide further articulations of the truncation hypothesis, by extending it into new empirical domains or reworking some of the original assumptions to meet new empirical challenges. For example, the papers by L. Rizzi and L. Rasetti focus on early null subjects and defend the claim that there are really two kinds of early null subjects – an ec which is licensed in the specifier of the root, as noted above, and another licensed in the subject position of RIs. M-A. Friedemann's contribution looks at null subjects in relation to non-targetlike post-verbal subjects in early French. The papers by M. T. Guasti and C. Hamann focus on CP structure in early questions, while M. Schöenberger's contribution looks at embedded V2 clauses in early Swiss German. S. Eisenbeiss's paper concerns early DP structure and argues that early nominals are truncated at the NP level. Several of the contributions discuss areas outside first language development, but relate to it in various ways. P. Prevost & L. White examine adult and child L2 acquisition with respect to the truncation hypothesis. L. Haegeman compares null subjects in child language and special abbreviated adult registers, and N. Friedmann & Y. Grodzinsky propose a 'tree pruning hypothesis' (which shares many, though not all, characteristics of truncation) to account for properties of agrammatic language in adult Hebrew

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speakers. The book has a strong comparative focus. The child language data are naturalistic speech from several languages including French, English, Italian and German. Overall, the analyses are extremely careful and interweave developmental data and grammatical theory in a most elegant way.

Particularly noteworthy in this regard are the papers by Haegeman, Hamann and Guasti, who masterfully exploit the articulated CP structure (ForceP < FocusP < TopicP …) proposed in Rizzi (1997) to account for properties of early grammar (and in the Haegeman contribution, adult special registers) that would not be straightforwardly explained within a single CP framework. Obviously, any extension of the left periphery will have consequences for an acquisition theory that affords a special status to the root and which defines adult-child differences in terms of height of phrasal projection. These papers provide an object lesson in how the advances of linguistic theory can impact on acquisition research, but equally a lesson in how acquisition results can provide independent empirical support for linguistic theory.

As the name implies, *The acquisition of syntax* is concerned primarily with the structural properties of language, and in particular the effects of truncation on the distribution of null and overt functional elements. Interpretive issues are left to the side. Yet, consideration of the meanings of children's sentences during the RI stage has interesting implications for some of the proposed analyses. The excellent analyses proposed in Hamann, Haegeman and Guasti all assume truncation of ForceP (which constitutes the highest projection in the adult system in the more articulated CP framework). When ForceP is stripped away, there is no structural specification of the clausal type of the sentence. Rizzi assumes, as seems reasonable, that in this case the clause receives a default declarative interpretation. Potentially problematic for this assumption is the finding that RIs in languages such as French, German and Dutch do not have a simple declarative meaning, but rather have a volitional, deontic or future meaning, as illustrated by the Dutch sentences in (1).

(1) (a) Niekje buiten spelen.
Niekje outside play-INF
'Niekje (= speaker) wants to play outside.'
(b) Papa ook boot maken.
Papa also boat make-INF
'Papa must also build a boat.' or 'I want Papa to build a boat.'

The modality expressed by RIs is suggestive of some higher (CP-related) functional structure incorporating a null modal operator (cf. Hyams 2001 for discussion), and hence it is not obvious how to derive the modality from a structure truncated at the VP level or some similarly low projection.

Interpretive evidence may also be brought to bear on Guasti's analysis of early English *wh*-questions. Guasti argues that children's *wh*-questions involve movement of the *wh*-operator and aux to the specifier and head of FocusP; in this respect the child grammar is adult-like. However, in the child's grammar ForceP can be stripped away, leaving FocusP as the root. This provides a licensing context for movement of a null aux to the head of FocusP. In null aux questions the verb will be nonfinite (e.g. *What* [null *be/do*] *John cleaning/clean?*). Since subject questions are assumed not to involve aux movement, the analysis predicts no nonfinite verbs in subject *wh*-questions. However, Guasti finds a high rate of bare verbs in such questions (e.g. *Who clean that?*). To explain this untoward result, she proposes that the verb in such utterances is not really a bare verb but rather a finite verb with a morphological error. In Hyams (2001) I show that during the RI stage bare and finite forms in early English differ in their aspectual value; bare eventive verbs typically have an on-going reading, while finite verbs most often denote habitual activities. An analysis of the meanings of the children's *wh*-questions (which can often be determined from context or adult repairs or responses) would thus provide an empirical test of Guasti's morphological error assumption and for the larger theoretical framework.

The acquisition of syntax is a treasure trove of state-of-the-art research into a central area of grammatical development. It is valuable not only for its many careful and compelling analyses, but also for the range of child language data it presents. Unlike many edited collections, all of the papers share a (more or less) common set of theoretical assumptions that are clearly laid out in the various papers and there is also a lot of cross-referencing between papers. Since virtually all of the theoretical assumptions and empirical results of truncation theory are to be found in its pages, the book is a very useful reference for people working in the field of language development. At the same time, because the book is entirely self-contained and very clearly

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written, it is also an excellent introduction to theoretical approaches to language development for those well-versed in linguistic theory but with little background in actual language development.

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Magnus Huber, *Ghanaian Pidgin English in its West African context: a sociohistorical and structural analysis* (Varieties of English around the World **G24**). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999. Pp. xviii + 321.

Reviewed by THOMAS B. KLEIN, The University of Manchester

This revised version of the author's 1998 University of Essen Ph.D. dissertation is a massive and most welcome work. It is very rich in original data, lays out fresh conceptual perspectives on the origin and development of West African Pidgin Englishes (henceforth, WAPEs; chapters 2 to 4) and presents a highly useful outline of the sociolinguistics and the linguistic structure of Ghanaian Pidgin English (henceforth, GhaPE; chapters 5 and 6). The work includes a CD containing photos of European trading posts on the Gold Coast, maps and files with audio recordings of all linguistic examples and narratives of present-day GhaPE used in the text. The arguments presented in the book are careful, although not entirely flawless.

The introduction to the book presents a brief synopsis of the few previous works on GhaPE and an outline of the author's methodology in obtaining original interview and conversation data. Chapter 2 lays out the results of the author's investigation of the social and historical conditions for the development of Afro-European contact languages on the Guinea Coast with special emphasis on the Gold Coast. Based on his original analysis of historical accounts by travelers and traders, Huber presents evidence to support his conclusion that an English-lexicon jargon emerged by the late 17th century as a medium for inter-ethnic communication. According to Huber's evidence, this jargon did not stabilise or expand into a Pidgin or a community language during the 18th century. Given that today's WAPEs including GhaPE are structurally and functionally expanded community languages, the question is where WAPEs originated and how they developed. Huber considers two approaches to this question: modern WAPEs might in essence be descendants of earlier English-lexicon jargons or – via Krio – of New World Creoles. Much of chapters 3 and 4 is devoted to presenting evidence and analysis to support Huber's thesis (59) that modern WAPEs are primarily the descendants of Krio, which itself is argued to be derived from New World Creoles.

Huber uses two different methods to throw light on the origin and development of Krio and WAPEs. First, in chapter 3, he uses observers' accounts and works from linguistics and history on the settlement of the Sierra Leone Peninsula to discuss the origins and development of Krio. Secondly, in chapter 4, Huber presents, classifies and analyses the earliest and latest attestations of a sizeable list of grammatical and lexical features in Krio, WAPEs and Gullah and Jamaican. This material is then used to calculate affinities between these varieties.

Concerning the status of Krio as a New World derivative, Huber concludes that the close relationship between Krio and Gullah may be explained by his finding that 30% of the largest Sierra Leonean settler group, emigrants from Nova Scotia, came originally from the Carolinas

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in the United States. However, this demographic fact does not fully support the conclusion for two reasons. First it leaves unexplained the potential contribution of the much larger group of Nova Scotian emigrants originally from Virginia (58.4% according to Huber's findings). Secondly, there is a good chance that the proportion of emigrants familiar with Gullah may be much smaller and, thus, less likely to have contributed Gullah-like structures than envisioned by Huber. Given that Gullah is spoken in the Carolinas primarily along the coast and on the Sea Islands of South Carolina, Nova Scotia immigrants to Sierra Leone originally from interior parts of the Carolinas or from North Carolina may not have been familiar with Gullah at all.

Huber finds that linguistic features of Guinea Coast restructured Englishes that are first attested in Krio show a high probability of also being attested in Jamaican and/or Gullah whereas features that are first attested in WAPEs do not. This behaviour of linguistic features provides a fresh argument for Krio as a New World derivative because the observed split would not be expected if Krio were a descendant of a hypothetical African English Creole, which in turn would have been creolised from WAPE.

All phonological features are excluded from the discussion in chapter 4 based on Huber's claim that 'they are all attributable to L1 transfer in second language learning and thus neither indicative of the varieties' Pidgin/Creole status nor of affinities between them' (107). This view of the phonology is surprising and a bit unfortunate. Consider, for example, that the full classification system devised by Huber is necessary to characterise the phonological features early in the chapter (table 4.1), suggesting that the phonological facts are as telling as the grammatical and lexical facts.

Chapter 5 identifies two main sociolinguistic varieties of GhaPE, 'educated' and 'uneducated', and situates their use in the context of modern Ghanaian society. The negative connotations evoked by the label 'uneducated' make this choice of term less than felicitous, given that Huber argues against the stigma attached to Pidgin in Ghana elsewhere in the book.

A lucid outline of the phonology and morphosyntax of present-day GhaPE is presented in chapter 6. The chapter might have benefitted from treating all tonal phenomena in one section. However, the excellent index to the book makes it easy to locate information on the phonology of tone in the chapter. The documentation of the linguistic data presented in this chapter is nothing short of exemplary. All examples and transcribed narratives reproduced in the structural description or the appendix are found as clickable audio recordings on the accompanying CD. This comprehensive documentation enables maximum transparency, replicability and utility of the linguistic description. It also makes a superb teaching tool. It is sincerely hoped that the lead taken by the author and this series in the documentation of Huber's linguistic material will become the new standard for all descriptions of linguistic structure as soon as possible.

This work deserves the widest possible readership and has much to offer to anyone interested in contact linguistics, descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics, English language studies and Pidgin and Creole studies.

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Tadao Miyamoto, *The light verb construction in Japanese: the role of the verbal noun* (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today **29**). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999. Pp. xiii + 233.

Reviewed by Masako Ohara, Shimane University

This book is a revised version of Miyamoto's doctoral dissertation (University of Victoria, 1997) dealing with the light verb construction (LVC) in Japanese, exemplified below in (1).

(1) Taroo ga murabito ni ookami ga kuru to keikoku o suru.
NOM villagers to wolf NOM come COMP warning ACC do
'Taroo warns the villagers that the wolf will come.'

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In (1), an accusative-marked verbal noun (VN) *keikoku* 'warning' is accompanied by a light verb *suru* 'do'. Judging from the case marking, the arguments of the VN seem to be 'promoted' to the domain of *suru*. This use of *suru* may be different from the 'heavy' *suru* as a two-place ACTIVITY predicate, illustrated in (2).

(2) Taroo ga gorufu o suru.
NOM golf ACC do
'Taroo plays golf.'

There is a long-standing debate in the literature on the status of *suru* in (1) as 'heavy' or 'light', that is, whether it has its own argument structure or merely a skeletal argument structure (see Grimshaw & Mester 1988). A striking argument of this book is its shift of focus from the light verb itself to the accusative-marked VN, which Miyamoto claims is of greater importance than the 'weight' of *suru*.

In chapter 1, Miyamoto presents an introductory discussion and describes the basic issues of LVCs. Comparing the light vs. heavy *suru* hypotheses, he takes the position that *suru* in the VN-*o suru* form is a two-place predicate:

(3) *Suru*: ⟨Agent, EVENT⟩

Differences arise depending on whether the EVENT slot of *suru* is linked to a referential VN or a predicational VN.

In chapter 2, Miyamoto classifies VNs into three types of event nominals based on the proposal made by Grimshaw (1990) that all VNs can be either simple event nominals or complex event nominals, but only some of them can be concrete nominals (i.e. result nominals). Among nominals, simple event nominals (which are referential nominals) and complex event nominals (which are predicational nominals) play an important role. It is argued that when VNs take referential modifiers, they function as simple event nominals, while when they take aspectual modifiers, they function as complex event nominals. Based on the classification of VNs discussed in chapter 2, Miyamoto classifies VN-*o suru* forms into four types in chapter 3: telic monopredicational, atelic monopredicational, telic bipredicational and atelic bipredicational. The distinction between monopredicational and bipredicational forms is not discrete. Rather, Miyamoto allows a certain ambiguity and states that the same form can be monopredicational or bipredicational depending on the existence of a modifier.

Chapter 4 presents arguments for analyzing the bipredicational VN-*o suru* construction as a control structure. Both a VN and *suru*, according to Miyamoto, have their own argument structures, and the external argument of the VN, which is realized by PRO, is controlled by the external argument of *suru*.

Chapter 5 proposes an analysis of VN-*o suru* forms using the framework of Ray Jackendoff's conceptual semantics. First, the conceptual structure of the VN-*o suru* pattern can be viewed as the composition of its parts: *suru* defines an action tier, while a VN, i.e. a simple event nominal or a complex event nominal, defines a thematic tier. Second, the differences between simple event nominals and complex event nominals are attributed to the different modes of mapping from lexical conceptual structure (LCS) to syntactic structure. They have the same representation at the LCS level, but the LCS-arguments of complex event nominals are obligatorily mapped onto syntax by Argument-Linking, while those of simple event nominals are non-obligatorily mapped onto syntax by Correspondence Rule Schema.

In chapter 6, Miyamoto presents a Minimalist analysis of the VN-*o suru* constructions. With a monopredicational form, *suru* checks off the Case feature of the VN in the same way as an OBJ argument. With a bipredicational form, Miyamoto proposes two types of feature checking, depending on whether the VN in question becomes insensitive to syntactic operations such as adverbial insertion (which he refers to as 'frozen phenomena'). When a VN is associated with a strong [affix] feature, it is incorporated into *suru*, and the VN's inherent accusative case is checked off in situ. In this instance, VNs exhibit 'frozen phenomena', since they do not have any motivation for movement. The incorporation of a VN then forces its arguments to move out of the VN's domain. Basically, arguments of a VN form chains, with a foot which is theta-marked by the VN and a head which is Case-marked by the VN + *suru* complex. On the other hand, if a VN is associated with a weak [affix] feature, it raises to [spec *v*P] and its case is checked off by the V-*v* complex. In this case, 'frozen phenomena' do not occur.

In chapter 7, Miyamoto focuses exclusively on bipredicational VN-*o suru* constructions involving intransitive VNs. Only a certain subclass of VNs can be marked by the accusative case

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in bipredicational constructions. Miyamoto suggests that the accusative marking on a VN is constrained not only by unaccusativity but also by the aspect of VNs. That is, if a VN is unergative and denotes PROCESS, then accusative marking on it is allowed.

Finally, as closing remarks in chapter 8, Miyamoto enumerates issues unanswered in this book.

A few caveats are in order. First, Miyamoto makes a number of distinctions not necessary for analyzing VN-*o suru* forms. For example, the distinction between telic and atelic VNs does not play an important role in later chapters. Another unnecessary distinction is related to the strong/weak [affix] feature discussed in chapter 6. In chapter 3, Miyamoto takes the presence of 'frozen phenomena' as an indication that the VN-*o suru* form is bipredicational. However, in chapter 6, he distinguishes between bipredicational VN-*o suru* forms with or without 'frozen phenomena', which are then tied to strong/weak [affix] feature assignment. Thus, Miyamoto's analysis is contradictory in this regard.

The use of the [affix] feature seems to be problematic. Miyamoto states that any complex event nominal is assigned a feature [affix] in the lexicon. However, since a VN is a word, not an affix, it seems strange to associate the [affix] feature with a VN. A strong [affix] feature requires incorporation to take place, but without empirical motivations for such a feature assignment, the incorporation analysis remains a stipulation.

Finally, Kageyama (1993) offers evidence against the control analysis of bipredicational VN-*o suru* forms. As shown in (4), it is possible to form a passive sentence with a VN-*o suru* form.

(4)	20 nin no	jookyaku	ga	kyuujo o	s-are-ta.
	20 NUMERAL.QUANTIFIER GEN	passenger	NOM	rescue ACC	do-PASSIVE-PAST
	'20 passengers were rescued.'				

If there is an embedded PRO subject, it is unclear why it is possible to move the internal argument of the VN to the matrix subject position. The evidence Miyamoto presents in chapter 4 for supporting a control analysis is mostly concerned with the external argument of a VN. It would be compatible with an analysis assuming that a VN and *suru* form a complex predicate.

Despite these few problems, this book is a fine work exploring the interesting possibility of shifting the focus of research from *suru* to the VN, and presenting analyses of VN-*o suru* forms from various perspectives while proposing several possible approaches. It provides useful data and food for thought for those working on LVCs not only in Japanese but in other languages.

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Cecilia Poletto, *The higher functional field: evidence from Northern Italian dialects* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax). New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. xii + 207.

Reviewed by FABIO PIANESI, Irst–Trento, Italy

This book is devoted to a thorough analysis of the properties and structures of the left periphery of the clause structure (Rizzi 1997). The analysis is pursued through detailed comparative work involving a number of Northern Italian dialects and standard Italian. Poletto's focus ranges from interrogative sentences (chapter 3), to verb second in Rhaetoromance dialects (chapter 4), the property of subjunctive clauses known as COMPLEMENTISER DELETION (chapter 5), and the

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position of the subject (chapter 6). Subject clitics, introduced in chapter 2, are the unifying tool Poletto uses in her tour through these diverse and complex phenomena.

The investigation relies on methodological and theoretical guidance provided by recent works by Cinque (1999), Rizzi (1997) and Kayne (1994). Thus:

- Word order is taken seriously and at face value, both as an analytical tool and as a theoretical subject.
- At the level of clause structure, the types and order of functional projections are fixed.
- There is a strict link between functional projections/heads and interpretive facts. Therefore, the latter can support the introduction of new features and/or new positions, and motivate structural arrangements of functional heads.

A brief discussion of each chapter follows, starting from the second.

Chapter 2 singles out four types of subject clitics in Northern Italian dialects:

- invariable subject clitics (I-SCLs), whose form does not change according to person, number, etc.;
- deictic subject clitics (D-SCLs), distinguishing between the indexical first and second persons, and the third;
- person subject clitics (H-SCLs), limited to 2nd and 3rd person singular, and encoding a ±HEARER distinction;
- number subject clitics (N-SCLs), encoding person, number and gender.

Their position is investigated by means of tests involving the negative preverbal marker, coordinated structures and the possibility for subject clitics to cluster with the complementiser. Poletto also introduces the projection SpeakerP, supporting this move with data from Rhaetoromance varieties where agglutinated first person clitics are said to exist. Ultimately, the AGREEMENT FIELD consists of many projections split into two parts by the (high) negative marker projection:

(1) $[_{\mathrm{LDP}}$ I-SCL$_{\mathrm{i}}$ $[_{\mathrm{CP}}$ D-SCL $[_{\mathrm{FP}}$ t_{i} $[_{\mathrm{IP}}$ $[_{\mathrm{NegP}}$ $[_{\mathrm{NumbP}}$ N-SCL $[_{\mathrm{HearerP}}$ H-SCL $[_{\mathrm{SpeakerP}}$ Infl $[_{\mathrm{TP}}$ …]]]]]]]]

Chapter 3 turns to the structure of the CP layer in interrogative sentences by discussing the interactions between deictic subject clitics and *wh*-elements, and facts pertaining to subject-clitic inversion. The latter is analysed as an instance of V-to-C movement. In favour of this hypothesis, it is observed that the properties of subject-clitic inversion are similar to those phenomena that have been analysed in terms of V-to-C – for example, the frequent restriction of subject-clitic inversion to matrix contexts (compare V2 in Germanic languages), with the possibility of subject-clitic inversion extending to counterfactuals, exclamatives and disjunctive clauses, as subject inversion does in English, etc. Further and more direct support is provided by: a) facts involving *fa* (do)-support in some Northern Italian dialects; and b) the behaviour of the focus particle *pa* of Ladino Fassano, the analysis of which leads to the following hypothesis concerning the CP layer:

(2) $[_{\mathrm{CP}}$ $[_{\mathrm{C}}$ V + SCL $[_{\mathrm{CP}}$ pa [che]]]] (Poletto's (12), page 48)

The analysis of the interactions between deictic subject clitics and *wh*-elements provides reasons to further articulate (2) by hypothesising other positions within the CP field, each tied to a distinct interpretive contribution:

(3) $[_{\mathrm{C1}}$ che $[_{\mathrm{C2}}$ deictic-subject-clitic $[_{\mathrm{AgrC3}}$ SCL $[_{\mathrm{CP4}}$ [pa $[_{\mathrm{C4}}$ che/lo]]]]] (Poletto's (54), page. 65)

Thus, C4 corresponds to a rhetorical interpretation of questions (reproach, disappointment, etc.), so allowing identification of CP4 with FocusP (67). AgrC, the position where subject-clitic inversion takes place, is associated with normal questions. The cooccurrence of deictic clitics with subject clitic inversion yields a 'surprise' interpretation (the difference between this and rhetorical questions is not clear). Finally, the complex *wh* + comp + deictic-clitic marks modal questions.

It should be noted, as a cautionary note, that in most of the examples discussed more than one position is activated; hence it is not clear that the relevant meaning can be attributed (solely) to the particular position under investigation.

In chapter 4, Central Rhaetoromance V2 phenomena are discussed. The proposal is that in these dialects the verb moves higher than the interrogative position. Moreover, the V2 field is split into two portions, one corresponding to the position where scene-setting adverbs and

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strongly focalised adverbs and objects occur, and the other to the position where focalised circumstantial adverbs occur.

(4) [$_{\text{scene-setting}}$ [$_{\text{embCP}}$ XP+foc [$_{\text{embCP}}$ SubjP XP circ.adv Subj LD WH]]]
(Poletto's (3), page 171)

Chapter 5 aims at showing that complementiser deletion (CD) facts can be uniformly explained in terms of movement of the complementiser or of the verb to a position hosting a strong feature. This applies to CD in disjunctive clauses, optatives and counterfactuals (however, the proposed strong disjunctive feature for CD in disjunctive clauses is dubious). The account is extended to CD in complement clauses since:

- the verbs admitting CD in Italian are the same (bridge verbs) which allow V2 in Germanic (but no evidence is given in support of this idea, which was challenged by Giorgi & Pianesi 1997);
- the exploitation of Cinque's hierarchy for adverbs shows that the verb is in a high position, past epistemic heads, but not as high as the evaluative one. The data offered, however, are not so clear cut. For example, the contrasts in (45), page 125 and in (46), page 126 are dubious.

Finally, the analysis is extended to suppletive imperatives.

In chapter 6, Poletto proposes that, although DP and QP subjects both lie in the CP layer, they differ because the former are topic-like. A main argument in favour of this distinction is provided by the crosslinguistic distribution of doubled subject clitics:

- If in a given dialect DPs are doubled, this is true of tonic pronouns too.
- If QPs are doubled, then DPs and tonic pronouns are doubled.
- If *wh*-variables are doubled, then doubling obtains in all the other cases.

The data are explained through a version of Rizzi's theory for *pro*: depending on the strength of the inflected verb, doubled subject clitics can play a role in licensing *pro*, and/or in assigning case to DPs, QPs, etc. For example, when inflection starts weakening, Agr loses its capacity to recover subject features (*pro* identification), and subject clitics are obligatory with referential *pro*. A principle ((11), page 145) is proposed requiring that each subject check all the features it is specified for with some appropriate head realising the same features.

In these respects, it should be noted that a verb's strength and the richness of inflectional morphology are difficult notions to capture within a feature-theoretic framework. Excluding the possibility of resorting to the weak/strong distinction, which is not relevant here, it is difficult to see how the distinction between interpretable and non-interpretable features can be exploited. A feature such as NUMBER, in fact, is not interpretable on verbs; hence weakening of inflection cannot simply amount to a change of feature status from interpretable to non-interpretable.

As to Poletto's principle (11), which is crucial for lexical subjects, it seems that it should be read with an existential rather than a universal quantification over features: why should ALL the features of a subject need to be checked? Moreover, one would expect DPs, or QPs, to behave the same way irrespective of whether they are subjects or objects: why should a DP undergo the principle when acting as subject? Finally, if the features requiring checking are non-interpretable and are properties of functional heads, Poletto's principle is dubious because NUMBER, PERSON, etc. are interpretable on tonic pronouns, DPs or QPs. Indeed, it appears that the principle could be dropped, and bare *pro* theory could be resorted to, provided that it were assumed that *pro*-drop languages always have *pro* in Spec,IP. However, Poletto rejects this possibility for case reasons (152). So, a clear explanation is lacking for why lexical subjects do not remain in Spec, IP for subject clitic doubling in Northern Italian dialects, etc.

In conclusion, this book substantially contributes to our knowledge of the way functional projections operate in the higher part of the clause, by bringing to the attention of scholars new phenomena and language varieties, as well as many valuable insights.

One might find some limitations concerning the depth of theoretical elaboration and innovation. Those skeptical towards the three inspiring themes mentioned at the beginning of these notes might be worried that adherence to them has prevented the development of new views concerning the way the higher field gets the articulation it is shown to have. But it is surely a virtue of this work to coherently pursue those ideas, in this way valuably contributing to an assessment of their theoretical relevance and implications.

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Neil Smith, *Chomsky: ideas and ideals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. viii + 268.

Reviewed by MARTIN ATKINSON, University of Essex

In five chapters, Neil Smith seeks to summarise the major strands in Chomsky's thinking in a way that is 'intended to be accessible to everyone' (3). Taking account of the fact that this thinking has revolutionised the way many linguists approach the study of language, engages fundamental questions in psychology and philosophy, and covers an extraordinary range of political controversies, this is a sobering challenge, and for the most part, Smith responds to this challenge in a skilful and assured way. A reviewer who did not share Smith's admiration for his subject matter might well see an opportunity to criticise aspects of Chomsky's work and to dispute the positive evaluation of it that runs through the text. But I am not that reviewer, and I shall restrict my remarks to comments on how well Smith achieves his stated objectives.

Chapter 1 locates the Chomskian approach to the study of language as a central strand of enquiry into the nature of the human mind. This enquiry should follow the lead of the natural sciences, insisting on a distinction between data and evidence and embracing whatever idealisations are appropriate for deepening understanding. A range of observations favours a modular view of the mind, differing from Fodor's to the extent that central systems, including a language system neutral between production and perception, are specialised. Chapter 2 offers a partly historical review of Chomsky's ideas on syntax, ideas to which Smith rightly ascribes a foundational role, in the sense that if they do not survive scrutiny, then the impact of his thinking on major questions in psychology and philosophy is likely to be considerably diminished. Here, the reader is introduced to the early emphasis on grammars as explicit rule systems and the transition, motivated by acquisition considerations, to universal principles and parameterisation, culminating with a brief account of aspects of the Minimalist Programme. Issues that have traditionally been regarded as in the province of psychology are the focus of chapter 3. Specifically, Smith discusses the impact of Chomsky's thinking on the experimental study of sentence processing, the empirical study of first language acquisition and language disorders. Chapter 4 turns to philosophy, 'the domain where there has been most resistance' (136) to Chomsky's ideas, and includes extended discussion of such central concerns as innateness, the mind-body problem, private vs. public language and the status of conventional referential semantics. Finally, chapter 5 offers a review of a sample of Chomsky's political output, with Smith developing interesting arguments, contrary to Chomsky's own disavowals, that it is possible to discern substantive connections between his political thinking and the ideas that have characterised his 'academic' work. I shall say no more about chapter 5 here.

Chapters 1 and 4, both broadly philosophical, work well. It is easy to forget just how much of the framework that so many linguists now take for granted originated with Chomsky, and Smith does a first-rate job of introducing and justifying such issues as the competence/performance distinction, rule-based creativity and the link between poverty of the stimulus arguments and innateness claims. The more recently drawn distinction between I-language and E-language plays a particularly central role through much of this discussion, allowing Smith to engage the criticisms of some sociolinguists and linguists that a Chomskian approach fails to adequately comprehend 'the data', and to clearly set out the arguments that expressions such

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as *English* do not denote objects of proper scientific enquiry. Additionally, it provides the foundation for the rebuttal of the influential philosophical dogmas that have been predicated on the central importance of a public language as a system governed by socially defined conventions. For the linguist (or other) not familiar with the conceptual foundations of Chomsky's approach to language, there is much of value here; for the linguist who is not enchanted by these foundations, there is a clear exposition of what needs to be countered.

Chapter 3 is less satisfying. The Derivational Theory of Complexity from the 1960s is Smith's way into a discussion of Chomsky's impact on studies of sentence processing, but it is also pretty much his way out too. As he discusses the status of empty categories at considerable length in chapter 2 and introduces chapter 3 by noting a reluctance on the part of some psychologists to ascribe 'psychological reality' to such constructs, it is odd that he says nothing about experimental work from the last decade that has investigated trace reactivation effects in word recognition. From a different perspective, his discussion of acquisition culminates with the proposition that functional categories are subject to a maturational schedule and are not present in the child's earliest grammatical systems. This is a proposition with which I have considerable sympathy (Atkinson 1996). But I am acutely conscious of the minority status of this view, the vast majority of acquisition researchers (all inspired by the Chomskian framework) being signed up to the so-called Full Competence Hypothesis. In the same domain, a more nuanced discussion of learning than that provided by Smith would be appropriate. He insists that learning, construed as hypothesis formulation and evaluation, has no role to play in accounts of acquisition. But well-known attempts to develop accounts of parameter setting (e.g. Gibson & Wexler 1994) have precisely this character.

As for chapter 2, I tried to put myself in the role of 'everyone', the intended readership of the book. By 'everyone', I assume that Smith intends those with the appropriate general background to tackle a text that makes few concessions, but even on this interpretation, chapter 2 is likely to present difficulties. To mention just a couple of examples, Smith refers to the non-ambiguity of *When did John decide which car to fix?* to illustrate the importance of locality, noting that '*when* can only be construed with the local verb *decide*, and not the non-local *fix*' (71). But earlier (55) he has observed the ambiguity of *When did John decide to fix the car?* Of course, this might invite the motivated novice to ask the right question; more worryingly, the uninitiated may be damagingly confused. The second example also illustrates a concern I have with Smith's adoption of a strategy of not footnoting in his text. His alternative is to leave it to the reader to have the initiative to turn to footnotes when appropriate. This is fine when the issue is that of locating the source of a quotation, but is more questionable when the uninformed reader meets technical terms. Thus, there is a reference to the ECP (79) with no signal that an appropriate footnote exists. Turning to the footnote yields a set of references, which is unlikely to be useful to 'everyone'. Given Smith's strategy of partially setting out the history of syntactic ideas, forty pages is probably not enough to avoid a smattering of bafflement; but I suspect that the smattering may be thick enough to partially sabotage the intention. A rather less important concern is Smith's inconsistent use of the asterisk convention for indicating 'oddness'. He introduces this convention (63), but then does not employ it on a number of occasions (e.g. 64, 91, 111). The possibility of confusion for the syntactic beginner when the text has drawn attention to the variability of linguistic judgements hardly needs emphasis.

I noted a small number of typographical errors, only one of which is potentially misleading (*latter* should be substituted for *former*, 113).

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Robert D. Van Valin, Jr. & Randy J. LaPolla, *Syntax: structure, meaning, and function* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. xxvii + 713.

Reviewed by Daniel L. Everett, University of Manchester

This book (henceforth VVLP) is the major exposition of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), developed originally by Foley & Van Valin (1984), and subsequently in largely independent work by Robert Van Valin, Jr. It is also designed to be an introduction to syntax more generally, at an advanced level. Although the book is long enough to be worrisome to potential users, I believe, based on my experience of teaching from it, that its length is justified and that the book is perhaps the most useful introduction to syntax available.

VVLP is a tour de force of scholarship on syntax in an extremely diverse set of languages, certainly the most impressive single-volume non-edited presentation in this area I have encountered. In this review I first evaluate the book pedagogically, then I consider RRG as a theory of grammar.

The most salient benefits of VVLP as a teaching tool are its readability and the intuitive plausibility of its constructs and examples. I have taught from this book five times at two different universities and each time I have been impressed by how much more quickly students become engaged in syntax as an interesting intellectual endeavor than they do through any of the major introductions to formal syntax that I have taught from (and I have taught from nearly all of those currently available). The entrance of language use and meaning early on as both explanans and explananda resonates with students. And the examples from a typologically diverse set of languages alert users of the book to the richness of human language in a way that focusing on a narrower range of languages to illustrate a small array of formal principles has never done in my 20 years of teaching at graduate and undergraduate levels. This is not to say, of course, that student intuitions and reactions are the only yardstick by which to measure textbook effectiveness, but they are more than a little bit significant.

The book proceeds carefully from simple syntax and semantics to more complex issues, building up the theory of RRG 'precept upon precept'. Because the material covered is so extensive, however, using it in a three-credit, one-term course will require selectiveness in what to present. The authors provide some suggestions in their 'notes for instructors' (pages xxi & xxii). The clarity of the book is a strong 'pull' for graduate students with a low obfuscation tolerance. When I have used this book, graduate students previously uninterested in syntax have decided to change from other subjects to write theses in Role and Reference Grammar. Students usually are able to read the portions of the book not covered in class on their own following the course. Many of my students have corresponded with me about the book after the end of the term. These are perhaps the best possible kinds of student endorsement of an introductory text.

All communication systems, whether of ants, chimps, or humans, have a phonetics (the physical instantiation of the Language) and a semantics (the meanings to be instantiated by the phonetics). In most species other than *Homo sapiens*, the connection between phonetics and semantics is relatively direct. That is, other species lack a grammar to mediate between form and meaning. In this sense, human grammar is a defining characteristic of our species. Unsurprisingly, in this context, a question which has exercised the majority of theoretical linguists over the years is the degree to which the grammar is directly dependent upon, i.e. predictable from, semantics and phonetics. Those theories of language in which meaning or phonetics plays no direct causal role in formulation of the fundamental constructs of grammar are known as 'formal' theories (also called 'structuralist' when referring to formal grammars prior to 1957, see Everett in progress). Others are loosely referred to as 'functional' theories (neither label is entirely satisfactory). By and large, formal theories dominate the theoretical landscape, mainly because of the influence of Noam Chomsky.

Chomsky's research program on formal grammars has thrived because he has convinced many linguists that solutions to grammatical problems should be based on structure and formal features, rather than meaning directly. RRG directly confronts such formal assumptions and, in my opinion, proves itself superior by just about any method of calibration. The theory of syntax presented in VVLP achieves its remarkable success, I believe, not by offering completely

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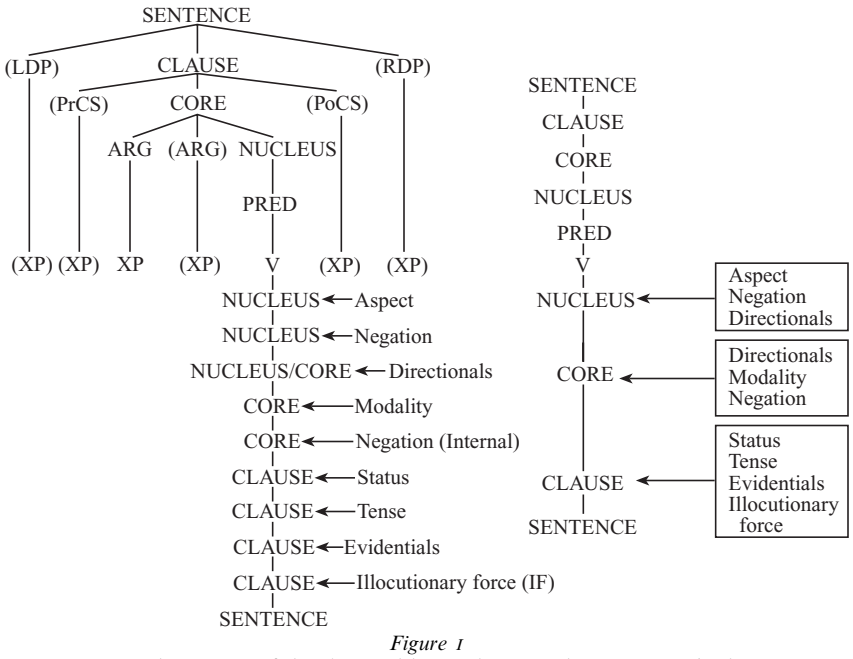


Figure 1
Layered structure of the clause with constituent and operator projections

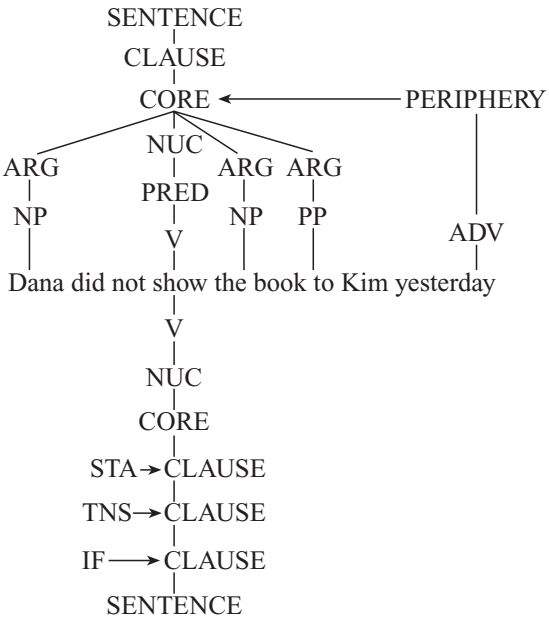


Figure 2a
English layered structure of the clause

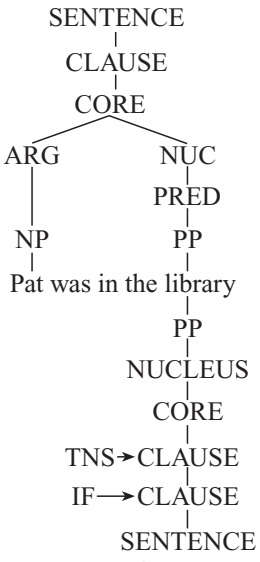


Figure 2b
English copular construction

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convincing accounts of each phenomenon it considers (some are quite programmatic), but because it carefully considers most of the major syntactic phenomena, from a very impressively wide variety of languages, and because its consistently clear and reasonable analyses lay the foundation of what I consider to be the most plausible alternative to formal/structuralist syntactic theories available.

RRG tries to have its cake and eat it too. It wants to handle all the core cases of formal grammars and the core empirical cases of functional grammars. So RRG not only offers accounts of formal phenomena, e.g. SUBJACENCY, the EMPTY CATEGORY PRINCIPLE, and other kinds of classical Chomskyan problems of 'displaced' constituents, it also offers an integrated theory of clausal semantics, lexical semantics and information structure. I know of no other theory successful on both fronts. RRG freely acknowledges its intellectual debts to other theories and incorporates successful ideas from many other research programs. RRG does seem to eat its cake and have it too. Its success in providing communication-based solutions to what long appeared to be exclusively formal problems makes it the strongest single challenge to the formal, innatist research program of Chomsky.

RRG is nonderivational. It develops a semantic level, a subtheory of operators (e.g. aspect, mood, illocutionary force, negation and others) and a model of lexical representation. These meaning-based components are overlaid with a construction-based syntax which presents a restricted number of basic structures for a given language. In RRG, aspects of clausal structure determined by semantics are universal, while aspects of structure based on pragmatics, strict linearity or configuration show considerable cross-linguistic variation. Consider the structure in figure 1. This is what RRG labels the 'layered structure of the clause'.

Concrete examples of this template are given in figures 2 and 3, from English and Japanese, respectively.

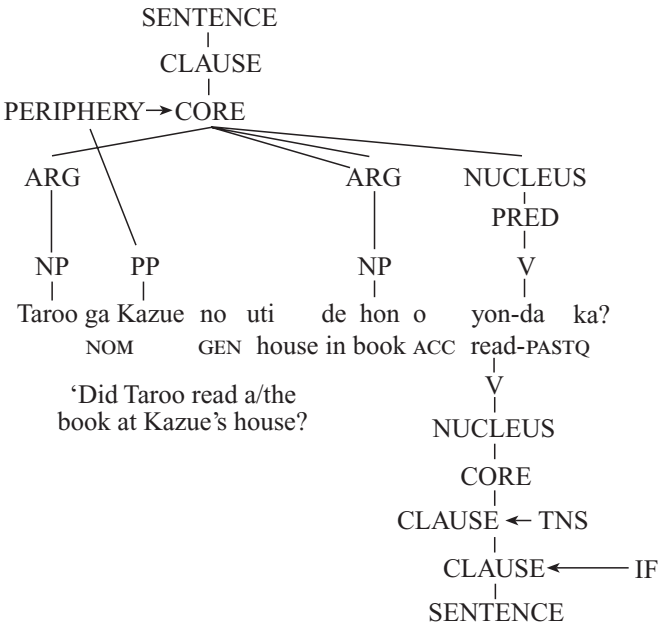


Figure 3
Japanese layered structure of the clause

In RRG, trees differ radically from those of formal theories. The trees of RRG illustrate informational, semantic and syntactic relations (and thus even allow 'crossing branches', as in figure 3). They are less abstract as well, representing what is heard and meant, rather what is supposed to be part of 'tacit knowledge' (itself often only posited to get the 'syntactic mechanics' to come out right).

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If RRG is correct, syntax is learnable. But if THIS is so, then there is no need for a theoretical construct like an innate Universal Grammar. Children are hardwired to learn, of course, but to learn lots of things, using their general abilities to learn grammar as well. This view renders syntax immediately less arbitrary and simpler than it is portrayed in formal theories. It means that though grammar is part of our phenotypes, it need not be part of our genotype.

In a sense, all of our research and theoretical commitments are gambles, investments we hope will pay off epistemologically. Of course, we all know that we not only MIGHT be wrong in many of our theoretical investments, we probably ARE wrong in most of them. But if I were to counsel investors in the syntax market, I would tell them to place their money on RRG.

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