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Reviewed by URSULA LENKER

This volume contains a selection of papers presented at the 11th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, held at UCLA in August 1993. The 34 contributions which are brought together here amply and impressively document the "state of the art", i.e. the variety in methodology and frameworks contemporary research applies to the historical development of various languages.

1. Grammaticalization. That "grammaticalization" has established itself as a key element in language change is attested by the fact that it is this notion which is by far the most appealed to, but on the other hand also, at least partially, challenged. A promising route to a better understanding of language change, one which however contests the hypothesis of unidirectionality, is followed by Laurel Brinton, Dieter Stein, Nigel Vincent, and, concerning the key issues, Andrew Allen in their papers on "functional renewal" or "linguistic exaptation", i.e. the retention or revival of an existing morphological or syntactic form with a new meaning (with the prerequisite that the former grammatical distinction is, in Roger Lass' words, "jettisoned"). According to Brinton and Stein (pp. 33–47), exaptation of a syntactic form can be seen in the development and use of *have* + *object* + *PP* constructions, the so-called "conclusive perfect" (*I have a paper written*) in contrast with the "perfective construction" (*I have written a paper*). In Old English both orders exist without semantic distinction. When the periphrastic perfect is grammaticalized by rebracketing ([have] + [PP + object] > [have + PP] + [object]) in the 16th century, the order with the object in mid-position is freed from perfect meaning. After a period of disuse, it is revived and

has an exclusively resultative meaning, with an additional subjective focus not found in Old English. Inversion serves as another example for “functional renewal”. With the loss of systematic V-2 order in Middle English, inversions are rendered meaningless and are thus available for exaptation. The increase of fronted constituents in Modern English is probably due to their discourse function, namely topicalization or focusing strategies.

Nigel Vincent’s very thorough analysis (pp. 443–45) focuses on theoretical issues of the relationship between grammaticalization and exaptation. As a conservative trait in language change, “matching” of categories is identified as a special property in a certain type of grammaticalization; it provides an inbuilt link to the pre-existing linguistic system and ensures that the properties in question hold across the relevant categories.

The unidirectionality hypothesis is also challenged in Andrew Allen’s interpretation of the development of the Latin inchoative affix *-ēsc/-īsc* (pp. 1–8). Allen coins the terms “regrammaticalization” (change of grammatical function) and “degrammaticalization” (loss of grammatical function). The Latin inchoative affix *-ēsc/-īsc* is “regrammaticalized” in the Romance languages because the form is not consistently inchoative but may also be causative, etc. (cp. French *verdissent, blanchissent*). “Degrammaticalization” takes place in Italian, where the infix is a marker of the singular or of third person plural forms in the present indicative active (cp. *finisco, capisco*). In Romanian, *-esc* is fully degrammaticalized, because it fixes the stress there and thus serves an adaptive purpose in the conjugation.

Adaptation of old or sub-standard forms to new purposes is examined in Concepción Company’s analysis of the development of possessive noun phrases with double possessor reference in Mexican Spanish (pp. 77–92), a construction which is usually explained by the referential ambiguity of the pronoun *su(s)*; *su casa* (“his, her, its, their, your house”) loses its opacity in the phrase *su casa de Juan* (“his house of John”). Company argues that the construction was indeed created to avoid ambiguity, but is now acquiring its own semantic value in Mexican Spanish: it shows an intrinsic relation between the possessum and the possessor and therefore indicates the speaker’s perception of the situation.

Two papers examine the development of articles, one of the “paradigm cases of grammaticalization”. Ritva Laury’s paper (pp. 239–50) concerns the grammaticalization of the demonstrative pronoun *se* as a marker of identifiability in spoken Finnish. In accordance with the

model proposed by Greenberg, Laury's earlier data show *se* used anaphorically, while in later data it functions, pragmatically strengthened, as a marker of identifiability. The result was a new category in Finnish: "article". In Laury's opinion this development is, however, not a typical case of grammaticalization, as another characteristic of its early stages, subjectification, is not involved.

Richard Epstein's contribution (pp. 159–75) is a not entirely convincing attempt to show that the zero article in Modern French retains a number of discourse functions and is therefore still a viable and productive element. The examples provided, however, testify to the use of the zero article only for fixed syntactic or situational contexts (sports reporting etc.). Epstein furthermore aims to show that elements which code highly subjective, primarily discourse-based functions, such as definite articles (cp. Laury's characterization of articles!), tend to grammaticalize more slowly and more irregularly than elements whose meaning is not associated with the marking of discourse functions.

Other papers confirm the findings of grammaticalization theory. C. Jac Conradie (pp. 93–103) provides instances of the increase of subjectivity in modal adverbs in the history of Afrikaans, in which, in comparison with Dutch, subjectification is prolific. In her reinterpretation of the so-called "resumptive pronouns" in subject position (cp. *J'étais pas une personne que j'avais beaucoup d'amis*) in terms of affixal agreement rather than as syntactically-independent elements, Julie Auger (pp. 19–32) supports the grammaticalization analysis put forward for the subject pronominal clitics: the advanced status of subject clitics is compatible with the fact that they are much more often used in resumptive function than other clitics. Non-subject pronouns, on the other hand, are true resumptive elements which are attested throughout the history of French because they are not linked to any grammaticalization process.

Kate Burridge (pp. 59–75) examines grammaticalization processes in Pennsylvania German. Lexical-driven change is apparent in the emergence of future forms with verbs such as *zehle* ("to count") and *geh* ("to go"). While the use of *geh* in my opinion should rather be attributed to loan influence of English *going to/gonna*, phrases with *zehle* might indeed be explained by the familiar diachronic-semantic path ("to count" > "to calculate, estimate" > "to intend"). The rise of the dative possessive is considered a change, which in its development, in contrast to grammaticalization theory, loses its expressive value and carries less and less pragmatic information. Most of the examples given for grammaticalization in Pennsylvania German are by no means restricted to this variety, but are also common in German dialects (cp. progressive

forms such as *Ich bin am lese*, intensification by means of *als* in *De dreem kumt als dichter*, or the use of the possessive adjective *sei(n)* regardless of number and gender). For a closer evaluation of the processes involved, a comparison with the development of the respective High German forms will therefore be essential.

In sum, the contributions on grammaticalization show that the hypotheses of unidirectionality and subjectification are still open to challenge. The terms “exaptation”, “functional renewal”, “re”- and “degrammaticalization” require clearer definitions so that differences, similarities and overlaps can be recognized. Most important, however, ways have to be found to corroborate the assumption that—in cases of exaptation or functional renewal—the functions attributed are really new and are not just old functions, which cannot be determined hundreds of years later because our sources are limited in extent and variety.

2. Genetic relationship. The contribution with the widest scope is Johanna Nichols’ (pp. 337–55) attempt to establish genetic relatedness by filtering out structural features of high diachronic stability in different language families. Based on a three-step investigation of a number of sample languages belonging to well-established genetic and areal groups, she finds that head/dependent marking, alignment, inclusive/exclusive oppositions, genders, number oppositions in the noun and detransitivization processes have good genetic stability, i.e., are features which are likely to be inherited and unlikely to be borrowed. A-adding processes (causatives and similar transitivizers) and clause word order, on the other hand, are features of good areal consistency. The importance of genetic vs. areal influences (Romance vs. Central and Eastern European) is also examined in Maria Manoliu-Manea’s paper on the evolution of case markers in Romanian (“Genetic congruence versus areal convergence: the misfortune of Latin *ad* in Romanian”, pp. 269–81).

3. Indo-European. Apart from Gregory Anderson’s “Light shed on problems of Turkic conjugation: the Northeast Turkic progressive present in *-Ipča(t)* and the ‘mixed’ conjugation” (pp. 9–18) and Kaoru Horie’s “What the choice of the overt nominalizer *NO* did to Modern Japanese syntax and semantics” (pp. 191–203), the papers remain within the domain of the Indo-European languages. Bridget Drinka’s examination of the aspectual system of Indo-European (pp. 143–58) attempts to provide evidence for Wolfgang Meid’s Space-Time-Hypothesis. The three levels of aspectual distinction fit Meid’s chronologization

("Early", "Middle", "Late: eastern vs. western group") remarkably well, when seen as a continuum development from the lexical (an aspectually undifferentiated verb system with inherent semantic values) to the derivational (nasal infixes or reduplication which add meanings such as iterativity or intensiveness to a given verb) to, finally, the inflectional level (perfective vs. imperfective distinction, e.g. aorist stems vs. present stems in Greek). As only the eastern languages Indo-Iranian and Greek made use of inflectional means in an extensive and systematic way, in particular by the augment prefix, Drinka argues that this augment should not be reconstructed for the proto-language but for the later, dialectal area of the eastern languages.

In her investigation of Agent as a prototypical category with the features animacy, volitionality and control, Silvia Luraghi (pp. 259–68) shows that in Indo-European non-prototypical agents seem to have been treated in much the same way as prototypical ones. Both animate and inanimate entities could be the subject of transitive verbs in Proto-Indo-European, the animacy-based constraint being a special development in Hittite. There are, however, more significant cases of different treatment of animate and inanimate agents in the passive voice, e.g. morphological reflexes of a distinction between manipulated (possible instruments) and non-manipulated entities.

4. Germanic and Romance languages. The contributions on the individual Indo-European languages, apart from Vit Bubenik's "Passives and ergatives in Middle Indo-Aryan" (pp. 49–57) and Bernard Jacquinod's very basic outline of the data for the history of the double accusative in ancient Greek (pp. 217–25), focus on Romance and Germanic languages, albeit in a variety of approaches. Dieter Kastovsky (pp. 227–37) examines differences in the development of the *r*-plural in West Germanic. In both Old High German and Old English we find only a very small number of *r*-stem nouns. While English subsequently lost this inflectional pattern, the class expanded in German (cp. *Leiber, Männer* etc.) by way of reinterpretation of the stem formative as a plural marker, a prerequisite being the dissociation of the categories case and number. The loss of the *r*-plural in Old English is mainly due to phonological developments, e.g. full vowel reduction, and paradigm-leveling, which already made Old English noun inflection (at least in the North) monoparadigmatic, stem-invariant and word-based (with the originally nom. acc. pl. *a*-stem suffix *-as* > *-es*). In Old High German, by contrast, a polyparadigmatic, stem-alternating noun morphology was preserved, because the final unstressed syllables were not yet leveled and, as

Kastovsky rightly stresses, the *i*-umlaut was still allophonic. *-er-* with and without the umlaut could therefore be reinterpreted as one among several plural markers.

5. Phonology. Phonological, or rather, phonaesthetic, issues are discussed in Andrei Danchev's "The development of word-final /b/ in English" (pp. 133–42) and Elke Ronneberger-Sibold's "On different ways of optimizing the sound shape of words" (pp. 421–32). Danchev finds that an unexpectedly large number of the words examined are historical or modern slang words (cp. *barb*, *blob*, *blurb* etc). The remarkable differences between the frequency ranking of the first five vowels of monosyllabic /b/-coda words and the occurrence of vowels in Standard English can be explained by the strong expressivity of /b/-coda words (cp. C_: /o/ - /æ/ etc. vs. Standard English /e/ - /ai/ etc.). Similarly, Ronneberger-Sibold's analysis of the sound shape of synchronic shortenings in German and French shows that acoustic distinction is facilitated for the hearer by the exploitation of back vowels (the most frequent vowels in German clippings being /o/, /i/ and /a/ as compared with /e/ - /i/ - /a/ in the normal lexicon). Language users seem to have a clear idea about the optimal conditions for articulation and perception in natural languages; yet, linguistic systems are never in accordance with this intuition, because the shape of word forms is influenced by other needs, such as morphological and syntactic transparency.

Within the theory of syllable structure preferences, Naomi Cull (pp. 117–32) argues—on the basis of a number of sound changes in Catalan (coda weakening, metathesis), Italian (gemination, slope steepening), Portuguese and Old Romanian (metathesis)—that in Proto-Romance intervocalic consonant pairs were heterosyllabic, not, as commonly assumed, tautosyllabic. She thus proposes the syllable structure VC^sCV for Proto-Romance (cp. *dup^slum* instead of *du^splum*). The comparison of the syllable structures of Pre-Latin (VP^sLV), Classical Latin (V^sPLV) and Proto-Romance (VP^sLV) according to Cull provides evidence that Proto-Romance did not derive from Classical Latin but instead evolved directly from Pre-Latin.

Robert W. Murray (pp. 323–36) examines Mercian exceptions to the Old English High-Vowel Deletion, i.e. the deletion of a high vowel in an open syllable immediately following a heavy syllable or two light syllables which results in apocope in disyllabic forms and syncope in trisyllabic forms. In the Mercian Vespasian Psalter two sets of systematic exceptions are found, namely syncope in light trisyllabics (cp. *monge* instead of expected *monige*) and, second, "failure" of syncope

and unexpected apocope in heavy trisyllabics (cp. “*u*-full” *hēafudu* and “*u*-less” *hēafud* or *īdelu/īdel* instead of expected *hēafdu/īdlu*). The first set is considered not to be exceptional at all but seen as a straightforward generalization of syncope from heavy trisyllabics to light trisyllabics, showing Mercian to be simply more progressive in terms of this reductive change. Murray claims that the solely phonological analysis of the second set of exceptions is arbitrary and proposes an explanation through morphological leveling and analogy. Phonological weight and syllable count are, however, shown to play a central role in this development: disyllabic stems were targeted first and stems of equal weight were targeted before stems of unequal weight.

The value of the written medium for the investigation of phonological change is examined in Betty S. Phillips’ comparison (pp. 379–86) of Middle English <eo> and <e> spellings for Old English /e(:)o/ in the Laud MS of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1122–1154). In Phillip’s opinion, the variable spellings found do not give evidence of a disordered system or an admixture of Anglian forms but represent a true sound change in progress—the unrounding of /ö(:)/ to /e(:)/.

6. Generative Grammar. Masataka Ishikawa (pp. 205–16) views the evolution of Spanish possessives as an instance of categorial change (a manifestation of the functional category Det), which was in part caused by the change in one particular parameter, namely, the direction of government. As Spanish lexical categories lost the ability to govern to the left, prenominal possessives underwent categorial reanalysis changing from a lexical category to a functional category. Adopting a Minimalist Theory approach, Claudia Parodi (pp. 371–77) argues that in Old Spanish it is possible to have cases of Object Shift in overt syntax which do not violate the Shortest Movement and the Strict Cycle Condition principles. In Parodi’s view, the loss of Object Shift constructions provides proof that speakers minimize overt syntax in accordance with the Principle of Procrastination. Ana Maria Martins (pp. 295–307) investigates changes in clitic placement in tensed clauses in Portuguese. She claims that, while in Old Portuguese two structural positions were accessible to clitics (AgrS and Sigma), clitics are now prevented from having access to Sigma because of a process of reanalysis in the 17th century. The movement of clitic to Sigma was lost after clitics were no longer able to associate with emphatic features. Jairo Nunes (pp. 359–69) investigates the diachronic distribution of bare and prepositional infinitives in English and claims that the nominal properties of the infinitival morpheme in English have remained constant despite its

phonological weakening. *To* serves as a dummy marker which allows the null infinitival element to comply with the Case Filter. According to Nunes, the general replacement of bare infinitives by prepositional infinitives is due to the loss of verb movement to infinitival Agr in the history of English. Susan Pintzuk (pp. 387–99) shows that there are two distinct landing sites, Infl and Comp, for finite verbs in Old English, rather than one (Comp). She claims that the general V2 case in Old English involves movement to Infl rather than to Comp, in both main *and* subordinate clauses, making Old English a symmetric V2 language. The hypothesis that there are two landing sites also provides a partial explanation for Modern English still showing remnants of verb seconding: V2 was lost in the Middle English period but verb movement to Comp is still triggered in Modern English by the presence of certain constituents or operators in Spec(CP).

7. Sociolinguistics. Thomas D. Cravens and Luciano Giannelli (pp. 106–15) examine the role of gender, class and prestige in the acceptance and spread of the *gorgia toscana*, i.e. intervocalic spirantization of /p/, /t/ and /k/. The data collected in the town of Bibbiena in the Casentino show that there are not only two, but three potentially competing norms: fully occlusive forms (Standard Italian; overt prestige), spirantization (speech norm in Florence; overt regional prestige) and laxing (“semi-voiced forms”; covert prestige). In accordance with the previous findings of sociolinguistics, males in general disfavour the form of the highest prestige, while women in general favour the highest prestige form. As is to be expected, the data also provide evidence for the intrinsic union of gender and class variables. Thus, with respect to the form of weakening, outward-looking white-collar males prefer the intermediate-prestige regional marker significantly over the low-prestige form.

Jaap van Maarle (pp. 283–94) describes the development of the adjectival declension in overseas varieties of Dutch. The “general case” of undeclined vs. declined adjectival forms in attributive position in modern Continental Dutch, the declined adjective in *-e*, is generalized in most of the overseas varieties, which may be characterized as spoken, low-prestige off-shoots of standard Dutch (East Indian, Surinamese, Antillean Dutch). The generalization of the undeclined adjective in Old New York and American Dutch may be explained by the contact situation with English. Afrikaans presents an interesting case of reconditioning: the use of the declined or undeclined forms is dependent on the phonological or morphological structure of the adjective itself.

Leena Löfstedt’s paper (pp. 251–58) examines the dialect of a hith-

erto unedited Old French translation of Gratian's *Decretum*, preserved in a thirteenth century manuscript in Bruxelles (BR 9084). Based on the investigation of distinctive items of vocabulary, names, grammatical morphemes and spelling, she argues that the translation is a Central French copy of an Anglo-Norman original and boldly infers from this fact that the translator might have been Thomas Becket during his six year exile in Pontigny and Sens.

8. Pragmatics. Jadranka Gvozdanović's investigation (pp. 177–90) of the textual organization in the Synodal MS of the Old Russian *First Novgorod Chronicle* is an attempt to apply the principles of textlinguistics to a medieval Russian text.

Clause structure and thematic structure are focused on in Pieter van Reenen and Lene Schøsler's (pp. 401–19) extremely thoughtful pragmatic comparison of the preverbal particles *si* and *or* in Old and Middle French. Their analysis shows that the particles have different pragmatic functions: while *si* connects clauses having the same implicit subject, *or* connects sentences with different implicit subjects. Thematic *si* therefore has a strong tendency to indicate subject continuity; *or*, on the other hand, marks a thematic break by introducing a new topic.

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SARA MILLS, *Feminist stylistics* (Interface). London/New York: Routledge, 1995. x + 230 pp.

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A book called *Feminist stylistics* is bound to arouse suspicion, in particular when it is published in the mid-1990s, a period in which "Feminist Studies" are gradually being superseded by "Gender Studies" and which is even described as a "post-feminist" era by some authors.