

REVIEWS

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G. A. J. Tops, B. Devriendt, and S. Geukens (eds.), *Thinking English grammar: to honour Xavier Dekeyser*. Leuven: Peeters, 1999. Pp. 502. £36, ISBN 90 4290763 0

Reviewed by Bettelou Los, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam

Thinking English grammar contains no fewer than thirty-four papers by Xavier Dekeyser's friends and colleagues from all over Europe. These papers all pertain to the study of English or its history, and are presented under four headings:

Part I: Variation, geographic and diachronic

Part II: Synchronic description and theory

Part III: Grammars from the past

Part IV: Language contrast and teaching

Although papers on language teaching are ostensibly restricted to part IV, the fact that the majority of the thirty-four authors are not working in an English-speaking environment, and combine their research interests in English linguistics with teaching English as a foreign or second language, is bound to have some bearing on their choice of topics. The experience of explicating the English language as a coherent system leads to an acute awareness of various intractable problems in the area of descriptive or contrastive grammar, and many of the papers in part II discuss topics that in fact represent typical problem areas for English learners, although the papers themselves do not mention teaching and are not overtly contrastive. Examples are Renaat Declerck and Ilse Depraetere's excellent papers on tense and time in adverbial *before*-clauses, and on the indefinite progressive perfect, respectively; or Kristin Davidse's paper on *there*-clefts and Niels Davidsen-Nielsen's paper on the advisability of adopting the label *adject* in sentence analysis (more about the latter two papers below).

The pervasive influence of EFL also makes itself known in part III, where we have Mats Rydén's paper on Axel Erdmann, Sweden's first professor of English, Pierre Swiggers's paper on James Bellot's *Le Maistre d'escole Anglois* (1580) and Michael Windross's paper about wartime phrasebooks for soldiers entitled 'Hept gur der lart-ster neews-ber-rig-tun gur-hohrrt?: Language learning *in extremis*'.

The sheer number of papers precludes a detailed discussion of all but a few, the selection of which is inevitably influenced by my own interests.

From part I: 'Variation, geographic and diachronic' I will discuss papers by Hubert Cuyckens and Lilo Moessner.

Hubert Cuyckens, 'Historical evidence in prepositional semantics: the case of English *by*' is well argued, stimulating, and thought-provoking. It focuses on the uneasy relationship between the concept of synchronic family resemblance networks and actual historical reality: such networks and schemata are often interpreted as

reflecting a historical pathway of change, but Cuyckens's investigation of the pathway from 'proximity' *by* to 'passive' *by* reveals that important transitional meanings are not always synchronically present. We should in effect distinguish two separate pathways: one for *by* 'along/over a course', *by* 'means', and passive *by* on the one hand, and proximity *by* and its related uses on the other. Cuyckens contrasts his findings for *by* with those in his earlier work on English *to* (Cuyckens & Verspoor, 1998) with its confident assertion that a synchronic network 'represents at the same time the diachronic growth of the category of *to* by acting as a kind of "archeology of meaning"' (69). His approach in the present paper is much more tentative and circumspect, with even greater emphasis on the need for empirical backing of lexical networks by historical findings instead of relying exclusively on linguistic intuitions. Synchronic networks of prepositional meanings may well build on the assumption that spatial meanings should always be prior to temporal or abstract meanings, but this assumption is sometimes belied by diachronic evidence, as in the case of English *for*, discussed on p. 26. I would suggest that the issue is perhaps even more fundamental than Cuyckens leads us to believe: the logical consequence of accepting Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) concept of metaphors is that the extension of the spatial to the temporal domain, or of the concrete to the abstract, is an inherent property of human cognition and, hence, human language. Such extensions, then, should be expected to be instantaneous, and, as a rule, not diachronically traceable.

There is one critical point that must be made about this otherwise excellent paper. Tracing the diachrony of prepositional meanings in order to construct lexical networks must surely have something to say about the almost continual state of competition between the various prepositions. The agent-phrase now marked by *by* was expressed by *framlfrom* in earlier English, and one would like to know whether the competition between *by* and *framlfrom* proceeded in discrete stages, how these stages can be described, and whether lexical networks are at all relevant to this description. Although Cuyckens mentions the fact that the agent-phrase could be expressed by at least three prepositions in Middle Dutch (*van* 'of', *bi* 'by', and *door* 'through') instead of exclusively by *door* as in Modern Dutch, these findings are not discussed in terms of competing forms, but only used to lend further support to the lexical networks set up for English *by*. To be fair, charting the changing fortunes of *framlfrom* and *by* would probably require more data than the *OED*, Cuyckens's main source, would be able to supply, as the Old English period is necessarily under-represented in the *OED*.

The second paper I would like to discuss in some detail is Lilo Moessner's 'The negative relative marker *but*: a case of syntactic borrowing'. ME *but* develops from a conjunction meaning 'except that, unless', which is well attested from OE onwards and derives from OE *butan*, originally meaning 'outside', into a kind of relative pronoun, as in (1):

- (1) there's not a nose among twenty but can smell him that's stinking. (*King Lear* II.4.69f)

Particularly interesting is a type which appears to prefigure the relative use, as in (2), from French ((3)):

- (2) I know no good knyght nor no good man but I gete hem on my syde (Malory's *Tale of Sankgreall* 917, 25f)
- (3) je ne sai nul chevalier ou monde ne nul preu dome a qui je ne face offrir l'ennor por estre de ma partie (Pauphilet, 1923: 108; from Moessner, p. 70)
 I not know no knight in-the world nor no gentleman to whom I not would-make offer the honour to be of my party
 'I do not know any knight nor any gentleman whom I would not offer the honour of being of my party'

Moessner labels (2) a negative relative, although it formally does not qualify as a relative clause as it does not contain a gap; neither does this example fit the older use of *but* as a conjunction ('unless, except, other than'). The corresponding structure in the French text is an ordinary relative (with the usual gap).

On the basis of the frequency of French relatives being translated by this new use of *but* in Malory's *Morte Darthur* (in particular *The Tale of Sankgreall*), Moessner argues that we are in effect dealing with a syntactic loan here, from the French relative construction with *quilque*. At first sight this conclusion seems somewhat premature: if English *but* develops into a relative pronoun as a purely native development, we would also expect it to show up in translations of foreign relative constructions. Moessner's conclusion is supported by two further points, however: the fact that the first instances of this new use of *but* are found in Malory, and the fact that French *quilque* also doubled as a conjunction of condition ('if') or exception ('except, unless'). In French, the two uses are disambiguated by the fact that the relative clause introduced by *quilque* invariably exhibits a gap (this is what Moessner refers to as 'functional amalgamation'), whereas in English relative clauses occasionally have resumptive pronouns, a tendency that is even more pronounced in earlier periods ('the history of English relative constructions is characterized by a growing tendency towards simple functional amalgamation'; Moessner, p. 69). Moessner probably has examples such as (4) in mind (resumptive pronoun in bold):

- (4) I tell my sorrowes . . . to the stones, Who though they cannot answere my distresse,
 Yet in some sort **they** are better than the Tribunes. (*OED*, 1588 Shakes. *Tit. A.* III.i.37)

Moessner concludes that the ambiguity of the *but*-construction as in (2) in English – either a subclause introduced by a conjunction, or a relative clause with a resumptive pronoun – must have facilitated the introduction of relative *but*.

Syntactic loans are notoriously hard to establish. Syntactic processes are less arbitrary than, say, the shape of individual words. Once cognate developments are eliminated, lexical correspondences between two languages are far less likely to be due to convergent processes than syntactic correspondences. The relative pronoun system appears to be unstable in many languages, and even related languages show a great diversity of forms. This instability may well be due to the fact that relativization often involves a type of movement similar to question-formation in that any

phrasal constituent, regardless of syntactic function, may be relativized or questioned ('A'-movement'). Embedded clauses have two basic positions available in the Complementizer Phrase to signal the relative clause: the Specifier, which in root clauses hosts the interrogative, or questioned constituent, and the Head of the Complementizer Phrase, which hosts conjunctions. There are, then, two basic strategies to construct relative clauses. The first is by means of conjunctions, with no overt markers of relative movement other than the gap of the moved constituent. Generative theory posits movement of a non-overt *wh*-pronoun here to SpecCP, which allows a unified account of relativization; see (5). The second strategy is moving an overt *wh*-form, an interrogative pronoun, to SpecCP, as in (6), completely parallel to the movement posited for question formation. Even with overt *wh*-forms, C may be filled by a conjunction in earlier stages of English, as in (7). Such 'doubly filled COMPs' are ill-formed in Modern English.

(5) This is the hotel [_{CP}OP_i[_C that [_{IP} I stayed at *t_i*]]]

(6) This is the hotel [_{CP}which_i [_C [_{IP} I stayed at *t_i*]]]

(7) Euery wyght wheche þat to Rome wente. (*OED*: Chaucer, *Troilus* II. ProL. 36)

Euery wyght [_{CP}wheche_i [_C þat [_{IP} *t_i* to Rome wente]]]

This means that the rise of the interrogatives as relative pronouns in Middle English need not be ascribed to French or Latin influence, as is sometimes done (see e.g. *OED*, *that* (rel), introduction), but may just as well represent a native development, a switch to using an overt *wh*-element instead of a nonovert operator. Evidence from Dutch, which also shows a long-term drift from a conjunction system to an interrogative system but without any suggestion of foreign influence, shows that the switch may happen in discrete stages, with the *wh*-forms first coming in with indefinite antecedents (e.g. Schoonenboom, 2000 and references cited there).

A second point in favour of convergence rather than borrowing is that there are connections between relative pronouns and conjunctions of exception or condition in other languages; the Gothic relative particle *ei* is originally a deictic element, the locative singular of a pronominal stem **e-*; the same form shows up in Greek as a conditional conjunction, εἰ 'if' (Wright, 1954: 127). Dutch *daar* 'there', a relative pronoun until the nineteenth century and now superseded by *waar* 'where', is homophonic with a conjunction meaning 'because'. The issue of syntactic borrowing also dogs a third use of *but*, not discussed by Moessner: *but* introducing complement clauses in nonassertive contexts, the ME/dModE counterpart of OE *þat ne*, which is often assumed to be calqued on Latin *quin*, although here, too, one can argue for a native development (e.g. López-Couso & Méndez-Naya, 1998).

From part II: 'Synchronic description and theory' I will discuss two of the eight papers. The first one is Kristin Davidse's 'Are there sentences that can be analyzed as *there*-clefts?' The *there*-cleft has so far received only scant attention in mainstream grammars, barring a few notable exceptions. Following Huddleston (1984), Davidse teases out the relationship between clefts and their noncleft counterparts, and between *it*- and *there*-clefts. A crucial characteristic of both these clefts is that their secondary clause cannot be taken as a restrictive modifier of the focal NP, as the

categorial description given by the common noun *boy* in an *it*-cleft like (8) is presented as sufficient to identify the person in question:

(8) It was the boy (who/that) caused all the trouble

Cf. the genuine restrictive relative clause in (9):

(9) John is the boy who/that caused all the trouble

A second syntactic characteristic, noted though not investigated further by Davidse, is the fact that the pronoun can be zero also for subjects. Davidse analyses both *it*- and *there*-clefts as involving not one (as in Halliday, 1967 or Huddleston, 1984) but two relational configurations. The first is the Value–Variable relation between focal NP and secondary clause: both *it*-clefts, like (10), and *there*-clefts, like (11) (in the ‘cleft’ reading), specify the Value *John* for the Variable *who broke the window*:

(10) It was John who broke the window

(11) There was John who broke the window

The second relational configuration is the relational process coded by the matrix clause, i.e. *it + be + NP* and *there + be + NP*, which expresses ‘exclusive identification’ and ‘quantitative instantiation’ respectively. In an *it*-cleft like (12) the Value is uniquely specified, ‘Tom and Dick and no others’:

(12) It’s Tom and Dick who are causing the trouble

This contrasts with the nonunique specification of a *there*-cleft as in (13), which translates as ‘Tom and Dick, possibly among others’:

(13) There’s Tom and Dick who are causing the trouble

These processes are ‘inherited’ from the noncleft counterparts of these clefts; *there*-clefts, for instance, inherit the semanticity of ordinary existentials, and hence, just like ordinary *there*-clauses, divide into a cardinal and an enumerative type. Davidse’s explication of this intractable material is extremely lucid and well argued.

The second paper from part II that will be discussed here is Niels Davidsen-Nielsen’s ‘English sentence analysis and the concept of adjunct’, which examines the case for simplifying the traditional grammatical labels ‘indirect object’, ‘subject complement’, ‘object complement’, and ‘obligatory adverbial’ to ‘adjunct’.

The adjunct theory was originally developed for French but subsequently extended by its originators Herslund and Sørensen to a crosslinguistic theory. In English, too, these four sentence functions never co-occur, and this ‘complementary distribution’ would be accounted for if all four were to be regarded as variants of the same function. What unifies the four traditional functions is that they all instantiate some secondary predicate. Adjuncts are formally very heterogeneous and can be realized by almost any type of phrase – like secondary predicates. It is true that they lack a common meaning, and this constitutes the most powerful objection to analysing them as one function. Davidsen-Nielsen demonstrates that the notion of ATTRIBUTE (note again the link with secondary predicates!) covers many, but by no means all, of

its instances. However, the same objections can be made with respect to the traditional functions of object and subject. Although both of these functions have a core meaning, this meaning does not cover every single instance.

The advantage of the adject analysis is that it eliminates the problem of separating adverbials from indirect objects, subject complements, and object complements, and does away with the contradictory term ‘obligatory adverbial’. It is interesting to note that Davidsen-Nielsen’s unification of all these functions into one has several analogues in generative literature (not mentioned by Davidsen-Nielsen) in which they are similarly argued to represent a secondary predicate (either as a Small Clause complement or in terms of Williams’s Predication Theory), e.g. Kayne (1984) and Hoekstra (1984) for a great variety of constructions. The most intractable function to fit in is the indirect object, although Small Clause analyses have been attempted (e.g. Larson, 1988’s VP-in-a-VP-shell analysis). The indirect object can only be argued to be a predicate if one is prepared to take on board a high level of abstraction:

(14) She gave [_{XP}the tickets [_X^o [_{PP}to her sister]]]

If the string *the tickets to her sister* in (14) is a Small Clause (provisionally labelled ‘XP’), *to her sister* must be in some sort of copular relationship with *the tickets*. Semantically, *to her sister* can only be a predicate if we assume an underlying parallel with the ‘possessive dative’ in which possession is expressed by a dative NP + *to be*, as in Latin *mihi est* ‘I have’, lit. ‘to-me is’, or a prepositional object + *to be*, as in Welsh *oes . . . gennyfi* ‘I have’, lit. ‘there is . . . with me’. The advantage of an adject analysis also for the indirect object is, as Davidsen-Nielsen notes, that *to her sister* in (14) and *her sister* in (15) now receive the same function label, where these constituents traditionally often received the label ‘adverbial’ and ‘indirect object’ respectively, in spite of the fact that they express the same semantic role (BENEFICIARY).

(15) She gave her sister the tickets

A second problem with analyzing indirect objects as adjectives, or Small Clause predicates, involves passivization. If we take *the tickets to her sister* in (14) to be a Small Clause, *the tickets* will then be the Small Clause subject, which is unproblematic: SC subjects readily passivize, and *the tickets* is no exception (*The tickets were given to her sister*). Compare other SC subjects like *his books* in *John put his books in the bag* (*His books were put in the bag*) or *Peter* in *they considered Peter a fool* (*Peter was considered a fool*). Small Clause predicates (i.e. adjectives), however, do not passivize (**A fool was considered Peter*), apart from, again, the indirect object: *Her sister was given the tickets*. There are ways of stipulating which adjectives may passivize and which may not, by focusing either on the category (NP) or on the semantic role (BENEFICIARY); see Davidsen-Nielsen’s proposals on p. 203. It should also be noted that English indirect objects are fairly marked in this respect, and probably the result of either the loss of inherent Case (Lightfoot, 1981; Van Kemenade, 1987) or of changes in information structure ultimately resulting from the loss of verb-second in the fifteenth century (Los, 1999: 323–7). It does not constitute a serious objection to the adject analysis.

Our overall conclusion is that the quality of the papers in this volume is almost uniformly high, in spite of the fact that the very nature of a *festschrift* allows the authors only limited space in which to present their case, and discussions are necessarily short and compact. Although topics are many and varied, they are unified by their common theme and by the fact that many of the authors work within either a cognitive or a functional framework. The volume is well edited and well produced, and will be of interest to anyone concerned with the diachronic or synchronic study of English.

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Barbara A. Fennell, *A history of English: a sociolinguistic approach*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001. Pp. xiv + 284, Hardback £55, US\$64.95, ISBN 0 631 20072 X; paperback £15.99, US\$29.95, ISBN 0 631 20073 8

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The past few years have seen a proliferation of historical introductions to the English language, a number of books quite unforeseeable some twenty years ago. This illustrates the welcome fact that university teaching has increasingly returned to include historical, social, and stylistic aspects of language rather than concentrating on purely theoretical or applied approaches. Fennell's book, as a newcomer to a crowded market, will have to provide something that other competitors do not provide. What is, then, the special character of the work under review?

The introductory section (pp. 1–14) provides a sketch of terms, methods, and aims which are formulated quite vaguely, even for the restricted space allowed. A long chapter on 'The pre-history of English' (pp. 15–54) is a very superficial and sometimes misleading sketch of comparative philology, genetic relations, reconstruction, and typology – and the function the section can possibly have in a book devoted to a 'sociolinguistic approach' is unexplained. The subsequent sketch of the external history of the Anglo-Saxons and the sounds, inflexions, and syntax of Old English leads on to a few pages on 'linguistic and literary achievements' (pp. 79–85) and to 'dialects'. Fennell's style is perhaps best illustrated by a quotation:

The attested dialect differences that have come down to us from Old English were comparatively slight, and not at all marked as modern spoken dialects (e.g. a Geordie youth vs. a West Country farmer), so that it does not hamper us to use texts from West Saxon. (p. 86)

What methodological insights is a student to get from this type of reasoning? The 'sociolinguistic focus' inserted (pp. 86–93) does not show the minimum of critical attitude (which would mean that sociolinguistic approaches as we wish to define them are impossible for Old English for lack of practically all types of relevant evidence). Fennell resorts, without any disclaimer, to a simplified account of language contact.

'Middle English' (pp. 94–134) follows the same pattern: a sketch of the external history, changes in sounds, inflexion, and syntax – with some reference to the vital distinctions according to time and area appended. The 'sociolinguistic' section is on the lines of the age-old classic Baugh & Cable (1935; 4th edition 1993), and there are eight pages on the topic of 'Middle English – a creole?', a hypothesis which was laid to rest many years ago. The really relevant sociolinguistic questions, a detailed description of the social functions of French and its decline in the period 1350–1430, are not sufficiently taken into account (there is no mention of Kibbee, 1991), nor are the complexities of socially related forms of English in the same period satisfactorily treated.

If EModE is the period leading from (nonfunctional) variation on all linguistic levels to the reduction of heterogeneity *or* its functionalization, then Fennell's chapter (pp. 135–66) largely fails to document this development: how was a norm achieved in spelling, pronunciation, inflexion, and syntax, why did the levels differ chronologically as much as they did, and why was the eighteenth century so different in its views on correctness from earlier periods? (Johnson is the almost exclusive source quoted for 'The age of authority', but Addison, Steele, Chesterfield, Lowth, Priestley, Sheridan, and Walker are not even mentioned.)

The period after 1800 is summed up under 'Present-day English' (PDE, 167–207) – with a sad neglect of the social conditioning of linguistic change in a period where the evidence is most plentiful (see Bailey, 1996; Görlach, 1999; Mugglestone, 1995; Phillipps, 1984 – none of these books is mentioned). Fennell includes short chapters on English overseas, a welcome addition to a linguistic history (but a feature which has become quite common). The length of these treatments did not permit any detail, but it is frustrating to see that no special literature devoted to the socio-linguistic history of, say, Canada, Nigeria, South Africa, Australia or New Zealand is provided and the sources of Fennell's summaries remain opaque.

A comprehensive and theoretically sound book devoted to the social history of English remains to be written; this should give at least as much prominence to the limitations of sociohistorical reconstruction as to facts that can be established from correlations between social parameters and linguistic choices. Fennell fails to provide this on many counts:

1. She is torn between a structural description of the language system (whose basis is not explained for OE, ME or EModE) and sketches of sociolinguistic aspects, giving insufficient detail or linguistic precision for either field.
2. Facts that could easily be interpreted in a sociolinguistic framework are not considered: the chapters on dialect, for example, fail to analyse how far its specific forms and uses have social relevance, especially after 1500, and there is nothing on cant/slang, a field of obvious sociolinguistic importance – even in Johnson (1755). The greatest surprise is the total absence of any mention of modern sociolinguistic research in Britain – whereas dialects are discussed in detail, social differences are treated only in connection with RP. The sociohistorical backgrounds of Labov's Martha's Vineyard and Department Store studies have not been treated for their relevance in the social motivations of sound changes.
3. The role of education, prescriptive grammars, and attitudes/evaluations (including variation used for characterization in literary texts after 1700) is sadly neglected. It is therefore no coincidence that relevant publications are missing.
4. By contrast, there are inclusions of doubtful value in a book of this type. Do students need to know about Crimean Gothic (p. 32) and the (conflicting) interpretations of ogham inscriptions in Scotland (pp. 192–3)?
5. Many statements are extremely misleading. What is the meaning of *all* in: 'Barber (1997: 37) points out that official documents, private letters, contracts, sermons, pamphlets and works of scholarship were also all written in Scots' (p. 193)? I cannot believe that Barber said this – but I am unable to check because the reference given is wrong.
6. There is a danger in relying too much on publications that have already cut down

linguistic facts *ad usum Delphini*. I find books like Barber (1997), Freeborn (1998) and Baugh & Cable (4th edition 1993 – mostly unacknowledged) used very often where students could have been sent to original research.

7. Fennell exhibits a certain tendency to ‘modern’ concepts without sufficiently exploring their contribution to the overall purpose of her book. These include creolistics (in the ME chapter), power and solidarity (for EModE, pp. 162–5), and English as a ‘killer language’ (pp. 264–6).

Formally, there are far too many summaries of other scholars’ thoughts or data without acknowledgement (there is not a single reference for sometimes sweeping statements, for instance, in the chapters on Wales and Ireland, pp. 195–200), or without precise references (‘Trudgill has suggested . . .’); these are, however, indispensable if a student wishes to follow up arguments in greater detail. In addition, too many details are ambiguously phrased or awkwardly placed. I have a list of several pages which it is impossible to reproduce; let me mention one where one of my books is misquoted: p. 143 *be* is mentioned as dominant as an auxiliary for intransitive verbs until 1700 – but the quotation comes under ‘5.2.3.3. Passives’, not under ‘Present perfect’ as it should.

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Guy Aston and Lou Burnard, *The BNC handbook: exploring the British National Corpus with SARA*. Edinburgh Textbooks in Empirical Linguistics. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998. Pp. 256. Hardback £43.50, ISBN 0 7486 1054 5; paperback £16.50, ISBN 0 7486 1055 3

Reviewed by Gerald Nelson, University of Hong Kong

The release of the British National Corpus (BNC) was a landmark in the history of corpus building and corpus linguistics generally. In terms of corpus compilation, the BNC has been one of the most ambitious and impressive collaborative projects ever undertaken. Given the size and complexity of the task, it is not surprising that it was the result of extensive collaboration among a large number of partners, including Oxford University Press, Longman, Chambers, the Universities of Lancaster and Oxford, and the British Library. Funding was provided by the Department of Trade and Industry and the Economic and Social Research Council (now the EPSRC). The BNC also offers an online service, via the following website: <http://sara.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>. In addition, a BNC Sampler, containing 184 texts, is also available (<http://info.ox.ac.uk/bnc/getting/sampler.html>).

In terms of size alone the BNC is a remarkable achievement. The corpus contains approximately 4,000 samples of British English, each containing 40,000 to 50,000 words, giving a total wordcount of around 100 million words. Most of us who have constructed or used a corpus will be familiar with one-million-word databases, since this size has been more or less a standard since the very earliest electronic corpora, including the Lancaster–Oslo–Bergen (LOB) Corpus, the Brown corpus and the Survey of English Usage Corpus. We have become used to considering one million words as a very large amount of data indeed, and certainly it is. It is perhaps worth pointing out, however, that corpus size does not necessarily determine the difficulty involved in corpus compilation. In these terms, it is not simply the number of words that presents the greatest difficulty, but the number of different samples, and the number of different domains being sampled. Nowadays, collecting one million words (or perhaps several million words) is a relatively easy task, especially if we use the Internet as our source. However, compiling even a one-million-word corpus is a major and an expensive undertaking if the corpus is to include a large number of different samples taken from a large number of different domains. The difficulties are multiplied many times if spoken language is included.

For those of us who have confined our corpus-building or corpus exploration to one-million-word corpora, it is difficult to imagine just how large the BNC really is. The authors of the *BNC handbook* rather helpfully give us some idea, by telling us that it would take four years to read the BNC aloud, at eight hours per day. It is not clear how they calculate this figure, but that is not really the point. The BNC is a very large corpus indeed, and will be an invaluable source of linguistic information for many years to come, both for lexicographers and for more general linguists

working in many different fields. If the corpus has any design flaw, it is perhaps that only 10 per cent of it is spoken English. However, since this represents 10 million words, it would be churlish to emphasize this point.

Despite initial appearances, the *BNC handbook* is not the manual of the British National Corpus. The manual is an entirely different publication, entitled the *Users' reference guide to the British National Corpus* (Burnard, 1995), which is distributed with the corpus. The *Handbook* is essentially a textbook of worked examples, showing readers how to explore the corpus using the dedicated retrieval software SARA (SGML-Aware Retrieval Application). On the other hand, it has many of the features that we would expect to find in a conventional user's manual, including a comprehensive reference section at the end, covering the part-of-speech tagging, and the various other levels of annotation found in the corpus. Therefore there seems to have been some slight confusion, on the part of the authors, or the publishers, or both, about the exact nature of the *Handbook*. However, if readers choose to use it exclusively as a textbook, they will find it both useful and informative.

The first part of the *Handbook* is entitled 'Corpus linguistics and the BNC'. It provides a fairly broad but useful introduction to the field of corpus linguistics, with a brief historical overview, a section on corpus design (why we need big corpora, among other topics), and on corpus encoding and annotation. The authors then attempt to locate the BNC in the context of corpus linguistics generally. They describe in outline the design of the corpus in terms of domain sampling, time-frame, medium, and the geographical background of speakers. For the general reader, the discussion becomes rather technical at this point, as the authors describe the complexities of SGML elements and attributes in some detail. The central points in this discussion are that the corpus uses the standard Corpus Data Interchange Format (CDIF), and was POS (part-of-speech)-tagged using the CLAWS5 tagset, developed at Lancaster University.

Potential readers of this book should be aware that it must be read in conjunction with the BNC itself and the retrieval software, SARA. This is because the bulk of the book is part 2, 'Exploring the BNC with SARA'. This is an extensive series of worked, step-by-step examples showing how the corpus may be used to address linguistic questions, and at the same time illustrating how to use the various features of SARA. In each case, the objectives of the task are very clearly outlined at the start. The first of these examples relates to neologism and disuse: it is designed to explore whether the word *cracksman* is used with sufficient frequency to warrant inclusion in modern dictionaries. As such, the example demonstrates the simplest type of search, a lexical search for a noun and its plural form. The search procedure is described in a series of admirably clear, numbered steps, and the various options for viewing the search results – page and line modes, enlarging the context, and concordancing – are clearly demonstrated. The search is followed by a discussion of the results – *cracksman* is still used, apparently, but it is largely restricted to thriller novels. More importantly, this section contains suggestions for further explorations of the corpus using the procedures just described. Subsequent examples illustrate

further lexical searches, for both single words and phrases, including *avatar*, *in-your-face*, *corpora*, *corpuses*, and *annus horribilis*. In each instance, the reader is invited to reflect on the significance of the results for dictionary-making and in the broader linguistic context.

In later sections, different types of searches are illustrated, and further features of the corpus annotation and of the SARA software are explored. These searches illustrate, for example, how to conduct comparisons across text types (on the uses of pronominal forms with ‘one’ (*someone*, *anyone*) and with ‘body’ (*somebody*, *anybody*) in speech and writing), how to examine gender differences in language use (Do men say *mauve*?), and how to conduct collocational studies (How often does *immemorial* collocate with *time*?). In fact, this book is particularly strong on the subject of collocation. In a series of exercises, it shows users how to calculate collocation strength using both the z-score and the mutual information score, and it also contains an interesting discussion of the linguistic significance of collocation.

The *Handbook* contains a very large number of worked examples, together with suggestions for further exploration of the corpus. With the help of an experienced teacher, students will benefit greatly from working through the examples, as a way of becoming familiar with both the corpus and the software. However, many readers may wish that the searches illustrated were more linguistically interesting and linguistically relevant. Many readers, too, may wish for fewer lexical examples, and more examples which exploit the POS-tagging which has been added to the corpus. It is not clear why the authors aimed this book at such a low level. They explain: ‘We have tried as far as possible to avoid jargon and unnecessary technicalities; the book assumes nothing more than an interest in language and linguistic problems on the part of its readers’ (Preface). It seems unlikely that the BNC, for all its usefulness, will be used by very many people who have no more than an interest in language, or by complete novices in the exploration of corpora. Most corpus users, including students, will have considerably more experience than this, and might have welcomed more interesting and challenging examples. Having said this, the examples that are used are sufficiently general to be applicable to a wide range of searches.

Part 3 of the *BNC handbook* is a collection of reference material. Most of this relates to the menus that are available in SARA, so in a sense it repeats and summarizes much of what has already been discussed in part 2. In addition, it contains a complete list of the POS tags in the CLAWS5 tagset, as well as explanations of the text classification codes, the dialect codes, and the SGML codes used in the corpus. The reference material might more properly belong in the user manual, but nonetheless it may be useful to some readers.

Very surprisingly, in a book of its type, the *BNC handbook* does not contain any screenshots. Since it is largely concerned with illustrating the SARA software package, it would have benefitted greatly from at least some screenshots, if only of the most important aspects of the user interface. The only illustrations used are on the inside of the front cover, where the buttons on the SARA toolbar are shown. The decision not to use any illustrations in the text was undoubtedly influenced by

financial constraints. This is unfortunate, considering how much the BNC must have cost to compile. Without illustrations, the *Handbook* does not do adequate justice to the monumental effort that went into compiling the corpus. Although the explanations given are admirably clear, they would be much easier to follow with the help of screenshots. Users of corpora are becoming increasingly aware of the need for good corpus and software documentation, and corpus compilers should take this more seriously, as an intrinsic part of their work. Everyone compiling a corpus in future should be aware of the crucial importance of clear and comprehensive documentation, and should budget for this just as carefully as they budget for data collection, data encoding, and every other aspect of the corpus-building enterprise.

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Reference

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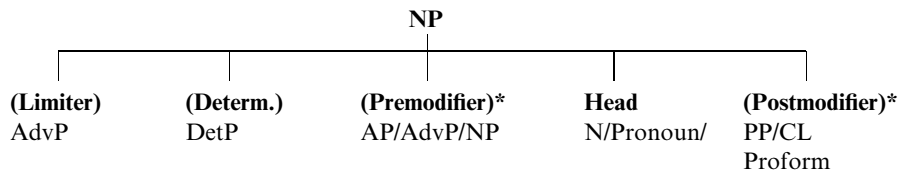
Inge de Mönnick, *On the move. The mobility of constituents in the English noun phrase: a multi-method approach*. Language and Computers: Studies in Practical Linguistics 31. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000. Pp. xii + 188. Hardback £46, US\$43.00, ISBN 90 420 0780 X.

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This account of a PhD research project carried out at the University of Nijmegen is presented first and foremost as a contribution to the long-established tradition of English descriptive linguistics. De Mönnick's objective is twofold. Her principal aim is to describe the English NP, in particular those types of NP which exhibit nonprototypical word order, in order to gain insight into the nature and frequency of 'variant NPs'. De Mönnick's second goal is to make a methodological contribution by developing a 'multi-method' approach to descriptive studies which combines corpus data and intuitive data.

Chapter 1 provides a brief discussion of existing descriptions of the English noun phrase as provided by various schools of linguistics (traditional grammar, structur-

alism, formal and functional grammar models). None of the descriptions available are, however, found to be complete and consistent, in particular with regard to word-order variation within the NP. The present thesis is an attempt to fill this gap through a combination of corpus study and elicitation. The prototypical structure of the NP used for the intended integral description of the data (figure 1) is largely based on the work of Quirk et al. (1972, 1985), with a few minor changes (notably the recognition of a separate slot for the ‘limiter’).



where () = optional element; * = may occur more than once

Figure 1

A description of the various elements of this structure is followed by a list of nine variant NP types, i.e. NPs which, as a result of mobility of (part of) the modifier or determiner (to the left or the right, either within or across NP boundaries), exhibit nonprototypical word order. It is these variant NPs, some examples of which are given in (1), which form the object of this study.

- (1) (a) NPs with a deferred modifier: the space *below*
- (b) NPs with a floating deferred modifier: *a rumour* was spread *that the king was dead*
- (c) NPs with a fronted modifier: on *so small* a scale
- (d) NPs with a discontinuous modifier: it isn't an *easy* thing *to do*
- (e) NPs with a deferred determiner: How are you *both*?

Chapter 2 is concerned with methodological considerations. According to de Mönnick, '[F]or descriptive studies neither the exclusive use of intuitive data, nor the exclusive use of corpus data is adequate' (p. 34). The former, typically obtained through introspection, are too restricted, unsystematic and unreliable to function as a basis for sound empirical research. Although much can be gained in this respect from corpus studies, corpus data alone are not sufficient either: although corpus studies can be used to establish which structures are considered grammatical/acceptable by language users, they do not warrant any conclusions about the grammaticality/acceptability of constructions not contained in the corpus. In order to get as complete a picture as possible, de Mönnick therefore proposes a 'multi-method' approach, combining corpus data and intuitive data, whereby either can be taken as the point of departure for research and the basis for hypotheses. There then follows a description of the corpus (design, annotation, exploration) and of the elicitation experiment used for the collection of intuitive data (design and presentation).

Chapter 3 is devoted to a discussion of the results of the corpus study, addressing

each of the variant NP types in turn. In keeping with the self-imposed restriction to observational and descriptive adequacy, no attempt has been made to account for the observed word-order variations. Chapter 4 discusses the results of the elicitation experiment, which are then combined with the data obtained from the corpus study.

The aim of chapter 5 is to present an evaluation of some existing attempts within different grammar models to explain word-order variation within the NP. Discussion is, however, largely restricted to generative accounts and Hawkins's (1994) performance theory. De Mönnick concludes that none of the available treatments can fully account for the variation found in the previous chapters and that a proper analysis of mobility requires a combination of syntax and pragmatics.

Finally, chapter 6 provides an evaluation of the multi-method approach, as well as a summary and discussion of the results.

Without wishing to underestimate the study's descriptive and methodological merits, I nevertheless found the overall result somewhat disappointing, as for linguists primarily interested in a functional or cognitive approach to language, the results of de Mönnick's study appear to be of little use. In part, this is due to a certain ambivalence on de Mönnick's part towards the explanatory, or other 'higher' level (pragmatic, psychological), adequacies which distinguish formal and functional grammar models from traditional approaches. As clearly stated on several occasions, de Mönnick's thesis does not strive for explanatory adequacy, but aims simply to achieve observational and descriptive adequacy. At some points, one is even given the impression that de Mönnick sees no real need for such extra levels of adequacy – consider, for instance, the observation that 'it is . . . *not unimaginable* that an explanation of why certain structures are used can give insight into formal restrictions on NP structures' (p. 123, my italics). At various other points, however, de Mönnick emphasizes the need in any proper analysis of mobility for a combination of syntactic and pragmatic factors (pp. 18, 124–5, 146, 154). Nevertheless, models using such a combination, i.e. functional and cognitive approaches to language, are only briefly mentioned, the reason being that pragmatic notions such as topic/focus, and given/new cannot be applied to the corpus data as these data lack context (e.g. p. 143). This, however, also means that for this group of linguists the results of the corpus study are only of very limited use.

Moreover, none of the other (generative) treatments discussed in chapter 5 are applied to the examples found in the corpus, which makes one wonder what actual purpose is served by including this chapter in the first place. This lack of integration rather reinforces the idea that observation/description and explanation (in syntactic, semantic, pragmatic or psychological terms, or through a combination of any of these) are separate disciplines: that these higher adequacies are something some theories wish to add to the description. However, just as it is wrong to rely solely on intuitive data as the basis for linguistic analysis, thereby passing over the important step of proper observation and description, it is equally wrong to suppose that

proper (or useful) description is possible without some form of analysis/explanation. As de Mönnick herself observes, ‘the way in which the phenomenon of discontinuity manifests itself in the various theories or models may differ’ (p. 117). The same is true, however, of any description of discontinuity, since, as pointed out above, not only the choice of a particular structure, but also the decision about which element occupies which position in that structure requires a theoretically motivated choice. In other words, I fully agree with de Mönnick that proper observation and description of data should form the basis for analysis in any grammar model or linguistic theory. At the same time, however, it needs to be acknowledged that for the type of description envisaged here the descriptive and explanatory levels cannot be completely separated.

In addition, the book seems to suffer from several flaws in argumentation and coherence, most noticeably in chapters 1 and 5. A major weakness, in my view, concerns the integral description of the NP which forms the basis for the analysis and discussion of the corpus and elicitation data. The description offered is based largely on Quirk et al. (1972, 1985), which, after reading chapter 1, comes as somewhat of a surprise, considering the preceding qualification of traditional grammars as implicit, inconsistent and incomplete (e.g. pp. 2–3, 17–18), although these claims are not substantiated. The main reason for these weaknesses, de Mönnick continues, is that in these grammars description is informal. Nevertheless, despite the availability of numerous formal models, de Mönnick adopts a very similar informal description simply because Quirk et al.’s description is the most elaborate and subscribed to by a great many linguists (p. 18).¹

As a result, the integral description offered suffers from the same weaknesses observed in traditional grammars. Thus, whereas traditional grammars are criticized for the fact that ‘[o]bservations about the (relative) frequency of occurrence and distribution of constructions . . . tend to remain limited to predominantly impressionistic statements about what is considered to be common practice in the use of constructions’ (p. 2), the same is true for some of the key notions in de Mönnick’s

¹ At the same time, de Mönnick’s arguments for not adopting any of the formal models are far from convincing. Apparently, the generative framework is rejected because: ‘the problem created by the description of discontinuous constituents has never been tackled in transformational grammar’ (p. 18). Again, this claim is unsubstantiated, while the discussion in chapter 5 clearly suggests the opposite. Moreover, on p. 17 de Mönnick observes that ‘[o]ne of the advantages of [a transformational] approach . . . is that it can deal with discontinuous constituents’.

The reasons for not using Dik’s Functional Grammar are equally obscure. De Mönnick admits that, since the mobility of constituents may well be explained by discourse or processing principles, FG may form an appropriate starting point for the integral description (p. 18). Unfortunately, however, she continues, the descriptive model of FG is still very much under development (although reference is made only to the first part of the first edition of Dik’s *Theory of Functional Grammar* (1989), not to the modified and extended second edition and the second part, both published in 1997). A much more plausible reason for not using a functional model is, however, the fact that the application of discourse principles requires context, which de Mönnick’s corpus study does not supply (cf. also discussion on p. 124 and the conclusion on p. 147). As pointed out before, although de Mönnick repeatedly emphasizes the need for a combination of syntactic and pragmatic principles, her own data are not suitable for use in models starting from these principles.

own description. Thus, the notion of prototypicality is left implicit: the structure of the prototypical NP which forms a basis for the corpus study is simply that given in most traditional grammars. Furthermore, although an explicit structure of the NP is supplied (figure 1), all underlying analyses remain implicit – elements are simply fitted into one of the slots without discussion or justification. However, as is well known, there are numerous cases where it is not at all clear, for instance, which of the elements functions as the head and which as the modifier. In de Mönnick's description any such equivocality is simply ignored: the analyses employed in the corpora (obtained, partly, through automatic parsing) are adopted without being checked.

For example, in constructions like *the very old*, the adverb *very* is analysed as having adjectival function, i.e. as premodifier of the adjectival head *old*. The choice for this analysis, rather than an analysis involving ellipsis of the nominal head (e.g. Huddleston, 1984), remains implicit. Similarly, constructions such as *a number of people* are analysed as head-modifier constructions, whereas there is considerable evidence (semantic as well as syntactic) to suggest that in many cases it is the second element which functions as the head, with the first element fulfilling a quantifying function (e.g. Akmajian & Lehrer, 1976; Jackendoff, 1977; Selkirk, 1977; Vos, 1999). The difference is of direct relevance to the types of NPs described: quantifying constructions contain only one 'NP cycle' (Akmajian, 1975), which means that there is no postmodifier to extrapose (a point missed in the discussion on pp. 139–40):

- (2) (a) a number of people suddenly appeared – *a number suddenly appeared of people
 (b) a review of his latest book has recently appeared – a review has recently appeared of his latest book

On those occasions where the choice for a particular analysis is explicitly commented upon, the argumentation is not always very convincing. On pp. 55–6, for instance, the construction *a day conference* is analysed as a modifier-head construction, despite the fact that '[I]n other descriptions this may be treated as a compound noun'. Ignoring the significant syntactic and semantic evidence for such a compound noun analysis, de Mönnick's own arguments for adopting a modifier-head analysis are questionable. Thus, one of the reasons for regarding the first elements in these constructions as modifiers is that, like adjectival modifiers, they allow coordination (e.g. *gas and water installation*). Note, however, that this is also true of certain morphemes (e.g. *pre- and post-hysterectomy*, *homo- and heterosexual relationships*; Quirk et al., 1985: 971, 1540, 1615). Moreover, it remains unclear whether all nominal compounds are analysed in this way or only the more loosely attached ones, since the more 'cohesive' ones do not allow co-ordination (e.g. **tooth- and headaches*; *ibid.*: 971). As for de Mönnick's point that these constructions have a clear internal structure (as in *war wound pension*) and that the first noun may itself be premodified (*good quality virgin oil*), there is, of course, no reason to assume that only simple bare nouns can be incorporated. More importantly,

however, a brief search of the BNC (p. 113) shows that, whereas the elicitation experiment has shown a fronted premodifier to be mutually exclusive with a premodifier (**so romantic a long evening*, p. 99), fronting of the premodifier is possible with constructions containing a classifying NP or AP ‘modifier’ (*too fast a weight loss, so complex a weapon system*). Still, instead of following most existing treatments and analysing these constructions as containing compound nouns, de Mönnick concludes that the description of NPs with a fronted premodifier should be extended to include a prototypical premodifier which can, however, only be realized by a classifying NP or AP modifier (p.114).

In addition, the description offered by de Mönnick is neither complete nor correct. Thus, one of the most robust claims made with regard to fronted premodification is that it is ‘restricted to intensifying APs, either *such* or an adjective modified by an intensifying adverb’ (example (3a), e.g. pp. 66, 98, 153). As shown in example (3b), however, such intensifying elements are not needed in concessive clauses:

- (3) (a) **(this) big a pie/(so) complex a problem/(such) a complex problem*
 (b) *Strong a writer as he is, . . .*

Furthermore, relevant distinctions are missed in the description, such as the distinction between complements and adjuncts. No matter how problematic this distinction may be, it is recognized in most descriptions and theories (including Quirk et al. 1972, 1985) and bears directly on such matters as the prototypical order of elements in the NP and extraposition. Thus Radford (1988: 177) notes that complements are always closer to their head than modifiers. The difference is illustrated in example (4a), where *with fair hair*, as a modifier, must follow the complement *of physics*. Moreover, modifiers can be extraposed more freely than complements (Radford, 1988: 191; example (4b)).

- (4) (a) *a student of physics with fair hair – *a student with fair hair of physics*
 (b) *? A student came to see me yesterday with fair hair – *A student came to see me yesterday of physics*

Finally, constructions like the one in (5) are analysed by de Mönnick as containing a deferred limiter (*only*, pp. 28, 72).

- (5) – although Appleby was inclined to think that this notion was *the issue only of his own sustained professional acquaintance with human misconduct*.

It seems to me, however, that since the scope of *only* is the postmodifier (*only of his own sustained professional acquaintance . . .* rather than *only the issue . . .*), this element is in its ‘prototypical’ position. The fact that it can also precede the noun does not mean it should be seen as modifying this noun; in prenominal position, *only* can be interpreted as modifying either the noun or the postmodifier (context and a difference in intonation disambiguating the two readings). The latter may then be seen as a case of fronting.

All in all, therefore, I cannot agree with de Mönnick’s claim that the NP structure

she proposes constitutes a ‘consensus description’ (p.147). Moreover, I fear that the assignment of elements to slots in the structure is done in too haphazard a way.

On the whole, I think the conclusion is justified that de Mönnick partially succeeds in realizing the goals she set herself. She presents a fairly comprehensive description of word-order variation within the NP and quite rightly emphasizes the danger of relying solely on either corpus data or introspection for grammaticality/acceptability and frequency judgements. One cannot help feeling, however, that, given a sounder theoretical basis, more could have been done with the large collection of interesting data and the theoretical and methodological issues addressed.

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Philip Carr, *English phonetics and phonology: an introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. Pp. 169. Hardback £50, US\$60.95, ISBN 0 631 19775 3; paperback £15.99, US\$28.95, ISBN 0 631 19776 1

Martin J. Ball and Joan Rahilly, *Phonetics: the science of speech*. London: Arnold, 1999. Pp. 239. Hardback £35, ISBN 0 340 70009 2; paperback £14.99, ISBN 0 340 70010 6

Reviewed by Anne Wichmann, University of Central Lancashire

There are probably as many different beginners' courses in phonetics and phonology as there are institutions where it is taught. Some students are embarking on a linguistics degree with a large phonetics component while others are studying English, or any mix of subjects which just happens to include some linguistics. Some will go on to focus on phonology, some will continue with phonetics, perhaps applied to other domains such as clinical or forensic linguistics, and for others it will be the first and last encounter with the subject. Writing textbooks is one thing, deciding who they should be for is another.

Carr has attempted to cater for the most difficult of student groups – the large mixed first-year group consisting of students enrolled on a wide variety of degree courses, native and non-native speakers, who have no prior knowledge of phonetics (except perhaps the foreign students) and most of whom will never touch phonetics or phonology again. His stated aim is to make the subject 'intriguing' for those minded to continue, and to provide some basic insights into the workings of the English sound system for others. On the whole he is remarkably successful, although the book should more properly be called an introduction to phonology. The rather brief coverage of phonetics (the first four chapters, two on consonants and two on vowels) follows closely the traditions of other introductory textbooks. The remaining chapters offer a discussion of the phoneme principle, English phonemes, English syllable structure, English word stress, the rhythm of English, connected speech and intonation, and variation in English accents.

A chapter on the phonemic principle introduces the concept of mental categories extremely clearly, with reference to just two other systems: Korean and Scottish English. The chapter on English phonemes uses data from General American, Standard Scottish English, and RP, a useful way of appealing to students' own experience. These two chapters are, however, quite demanding, and assume – rather optimistically in my experience – that at this point, after four lectures and a very small number of exercises, the students will have mastered, and committed to memory, the details of consonantal articulation, vowel space, and a wide variety of phonetic symbols including diacritics. The chapter on syllable structure ('deliberately more ambitious') may reflect the author's own interest and the experience that students find the topic easier than other aspects of phonology. Whether the extent to

which the subject is treated is really valuable at this stage is rather more doubtful, although some of the issues discussed are clearly useful as explanations for phenomena that students will be interested in: phonotactics, and language acquisition, loss and change.

Interesting and nicely written is the next chapter on word stress. Less inspiring is the discussion of rhythm, which appeals to students' intuitions in a rather optimistic way (is it really obvious that the third syllable in *photograph* 'has more stress' than the second?). Features of connected speech are dealt with very briefly, covering assimilation, elision and vowel reduction. This is a pity, since there is a lot of consciousness-raising to be done on the features of connected speech. Students take a lot of persuading that it is not simply 'slovenly' speech, and non-native students would do well to learn about the weak forms of English function words, unfortunately omitted here. The section on intonation is particularly disappointing, given the recent developments in intonational phonology and the fascination that intonation patterns hold for students. It is a little too brief and too incomplete, as the author himself admits. The most interesting and novel chapter, bound to appeal to students, is the final chapter on accent variation. There is a good introduction on the arbitrariness of what is judged to be 'ugly', and a good discussion of realisational vs. systemic differences.

The book is clearly written – the original lecture structure is evident and keeps the learner firmly in mind. There are good logical connections between the chapters, and the author tries hard to explain the purpose of each. There are references to other languages throughout, but mostly to those which will be familiar, and also plenty of references to other varieties of English, a refreshing departure from the tradition of basing everything around RP (which few of the students speak). The choice of topics is guided partly by what is assumed to be essential and accessible to students, and partly by the author's preferences. The two criteria do not always coincide but on the whole this book is a great step forward for anyone faced with such a cohort of beginners. The skills involved in simplifying without distorting should not be underestimated, and Carr sets an admirable example here.

The coverage of Ball and Rahilly's book is ambitious, and is clearly intended to be as inclusive as Carr's book is intended to be selective. It deals first with the whole issue of speech production and auditory analysis: anatomy and physiology of speech, speech initiation and articulation, vowels and consonants, coarticulation, suprasegmental features of speech, and the value of narrow phonetic transcription. Secondly, it covers acoustic analysis, psychoacoustics and speech perception, and ends with an overview of available instrumentation for speech analysis, including electropalatography and MRI. The result is rather uneven, but there is much to be praised.

The first six chapters on anatomy and physiology, speech production, and speech segments are highly readable accounts, with a natural progression from one to the other. Although the informal narrative style occasionally obscures more than it

reveals, as in the discussion of how to define vowels and consonants, it mostly carries the reader easily through a mass of otherwise indigestible detail. Sounds are illustrated from a wide variety of the world's languages (listed and categorised in an appendix), and include a comprehensive overview of every kind of click. Whether this is absolutely necessary (and whether the reader has any way of hearing or reproducing all these sounds) is debatable. Some details seem to be included more for the sake of completeness than for the sake of the reader. None the less, these chapters will provide a firm basis for the study of general segmental phonetics and for those interested in speech disorders.

The authors depart refreshingly from convention by including a chapter on suprasegmental features of speech, dealing briefly with stress, length, pitch, voice quality and rhythm. This inclusion is a most welcome acknowledgement that phonetics is not just about vowels and consonants. Perhaps my expectations were too high, but I found the chapter disappointing. The section on stress covers two pages: it deals with lexical stress and sentence accent almost in one breath, and refers in quick succession to accounts by Gimson, Trager and Smith, Chomsky and Halle, and Wells, before returning to the IPA and primary and secondary stress. The section on pitch covers three pages, and deals with both lexical tone and intonation. The focus is primarily on how to transcribe pitch, and although the IPA symbols are shown, the interlinear 'tadpole' transcription is most salient. Surprisingly, this is illustrated with a set of tones which includes the rare rise-fall but does not include the very common fall-rise, and presents an idiosyncratic set of pitch range categories: low and narrow, mid and narrow, high and wide, high and extra wide. Such a categorisation looks wonderfully clear in the book, but any student attempting to annotate real speech will soon find that reality is less precise. The section on intonation structure derives firmly from the traditional British system of tone groups, nuclei and heads, although the authors propose a modification of this to deal with non-RP intonation. In this as in other sections of the chapter, it is difficult to know whether students will benefit from a discussion of different transcription issues if they are not already familiar with suprasegmentals. That they should be made aware of the prosodic dimension of speech is excellent, but I doubt if this chapter does more than this.

The chapter on principles and methods of transcription is interesting; the frequent references to disordered speech indicate the primary concerns of the authors and make a very cogent case for narrow transcription. Some preliminary definitions (phonemes are 'general classes of sound', and phonology is 'aspects of connected speech which derive from the transition of one sound to another') are intended to be helpful, and are extended later, but I suspect they could be quite disconcerting for students who are still grappling with the distinction between phonetics and phonology and may be consulting other reference books for helpful definitions. The later section on phonemic distinctions relies on a more traditional definition of phonemes, and does not follow on easily from the authors' previous definition.

There is welcome emphasis placed on the transcription of ‘realistic, casual speech forms’, but little information on the most common speech processes (weak forms, assimilation, elision) which would help students make sense of what they hear.

Two chapters on hearing and speech perception are useful, especially for those interested in the effects of hearing loss. I also welcome the inclusion of chapters on acoustic analysis and other kinds of instrumental analysis. The latter offers a very useful overview of instrumental techniques, ranging from the highly invasive to the more practical, for investigating speech disorders. The former is equally welcome but rather disappointing. Novice readers will at least know something *about* spectrographic analysis after studying the chapter, but I doubt whether the information is systematic and complete enough for them to begin to analyse spectrograms themselves. I also feel that a great opportunity has been missed in this chapter. Since the authors deal with suprasegmentals earlier, they could easily have shown how acoustic analysis can be used in studying such features. The book contains one small F0 contour and no illustration of how, for example, stressed syllables display measurable changes in pitch, amplitude, and duration.

A few general observations need to be made about the book as a whole. Firstly I noted with interest the transcribed examples in the text. The English examples mostly represent a rhotic variety of English (one assumes that of Northern Ireland, since that is the environment in which the authors have taught), but this is not signalled in the text. The departure from RP is refreshing, but for the sake of readers who speak other varieties, or indeed non-native speakers who may be more familiar with RP or GA as a model, I feel that this should have been addressed more explicitly. This matters particularly when examples are used to illustrate a new concept: to choose [kɒnvɜ:t] (‘convert’) to illustrate the disambiguating function of lexical stress is likely to confuse a number of readers for whom the vowel in the first syllable is only unreduced when stressed. Similarly, examples of length distinctions ‘in some varieties of English’ such as ‘heed’ [hid] vs. ‘he’d’ [hi:d] are more likely to make sense to learners if they know *which* variety. Naming the variety would not only have made the examples more accessible, it would also have raised awareness of variation in general.

Each chapter begins with a useful box containing keywords, and ends with a short summary and suggestions for further reading. There are then a few short questions and some longer essay questions. These are all in the rather old-fashioned vein of asking students to reformulate what they have read, but they may well be useful for reflection and revision. The overall layout of the book is at times unhelpful: tables and diagrams spill into margins and generally look cramped and untidy.

Unlike Carr, Ball and Rahilly make no statement about their intended audience. They claim, rightly, that phonetics is useful for a wide range of people: drama students, singers, foreign language teachers and learners, students of linguistics and communication, and those concerned with speech disorders. Whether this book is the ideal textbook for any one of those groups, other than perhaps the last, I am less sure. It is certainly not for beginners, or for a general audience, but is perhaps useful

for those of Carr's students who were intrigued by his brief introduction to phonetics. The book hovers between being a textbook for learners and a handbook for teachers and practitioners. This may detract from the overall coherence, but all those interested in phonetics will find something of interest, presented in a friendly and readable form.

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