

## REVIEWS

**Formal studies in Slovenian syntax:** In honor of Janez Orešnik. Ed. by FRANC LANKO MARUŠIČ and ROK ŽAUCER. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2016. Pp. vi, 335. ISBN 9789027257192. \$158 (Hb).

Reviewed by CATHERINE RUDIN, *Wayne State College*

The publication of this book is a major event in Slavic linguistics. A glance at the table of contents engenders high expectations: the contributors are a who's who of Slovenian generative linguistics, and the topics encompass the hot issues in Slavic syntax. And reading the articles does not disappoint. It is gratifying to see so much excellent work on one 'minor' Slavic language: a sign of the current vitality of generative Slavic linguistics as a whole. Inevitably, some chapters are more elegantly written than others, but overall the book is a pleasure to read. The editors are to be congratulated for making this fine collection of papers available.

One quibble is that the volume's *Slovenian syntax* title is not quite accurate: one or two of the chapters have little to do with Slovenian, and some focus as much or more on semantics as on syntax. All of the papers are strongly grounded in formal theory (of one sort or another), but they vary considerably in their emphasis on Slovenian as opposed to theoretical or crosslinguistic viewpoints. Nonetheless, the book is unusually cohesive for a festschrift.

A useful introduction by the editors explores contributions of Slovenian studies to formal syntax. Janez Orešnik, the volume's honoree, was among the first to encourage the study of generative grammar in Slovenia and to apply it to the Slovenian language. Thanks in part to his influence, Slovenian has had an impact on the development of syntactic theory in several areas. These include the 'orphan accusative' construction, which gives evidence that definite pronouns are all animate, even when null; arguments for monoclausal vs. biclausal analyses of *feel like* constructions; double applicatives, which show datives can merge either high or low (or both); studies of verbal prefixation/resultative secondary predication; the adjectival definite article *-ta* and evidence for the structure of AP; arguments both for and against Bošković's NP/DP hypothesis; and closest conjunct agreement. Work in the volume bears on some of these issues, among many others.

The contributions are ordered alphabetically by author's name rather than grouped thematically. This obscures some common threads. Grouping by topic might have highlighted and encouraged comparison among various approaches to clitics (papers by Bošković, Dobnik & Cooper, Franks, Stegovec, and parts of Marušič & Žaucer), for instance. Another group of papers share a strong semantic orientation (Dobnik & Cooper, Mitrović, Rivero & Milojević Sheppard). Browne, Marušič & Žaucer, and Živanović present novel data from Slovenian and share a diachronic focus. Hladnik, Mitrović, and Mišmaš share a concern for clause structure and the left periphery of CP. However, the papers do not all fit easily into such categories. I have chosen in the remainder of this review to follow the editors' lead, briefly summarizing each paper in the order in which it appears in the volume.

ŽELJKO BOŠKOVIČ ('On second position clitics crosslinguistically') continues his project of relating various phenomena to the (non)existence of a DP projection in a given language, here claiming that second-position clitic systems are available only in 'NP' languages. Arguments come from Australian languages, Comanche, and several Slavic languages, among others (but oddly for this volume, there are only a few sentences about Slovenian). A proposed explanation of the 2P/NP correlation is based on the nonbranching structure of clitics, the status of pronouns as D in DP languages but NP in NP languages, and a condition \*Stranded D, or more generally \*Stranded Functional Head. The account is complex, sometimes less than clear (Bošković considers alternative versions of parts of the account), and dependent on numerous theory-internal assumptions. Nonetheless, it is a significant contribution: if correct it has implications for other phenomena crosslinguistically, including P-stranding and which functional categories license ellipsis.

WAYLES BROWNE, in 'Participles come back to Slovenian', discusses the history and structure of participle constructions in Slovenian and Russian. Slavic languages differ in whether the complement of a prenominal participle precedes or follows it ('a reading-books student' in East Slavic, Polish, Bulgarian, and Macedonian vs. 'a books-reading student' in most of West and South Slavic). In each language, the behavior of participles parallels that of adjectives with complements, and this seems to explain the historical developments in Russian and Slovenian: both have innovated participle constructions, with the new participles assimilated into the position/behavior of (other) adjectives in the given language. Browne raises but does not solve the deeper issue of why adjective-complement order differs across languages.

SIMON DOBNIK and ROBIN COOPER's 'Restructuring restructuring' takes a fresh look at restructuring (V + infinitive as one clause or two) within the semantic framework of TYPE THEORY WITH RECORDS (TTR). Dobnik and Cooper argue that purely syntactic approaches to restructuring ignore crucial factors of semantics and lexical morphology. TTR can capture properties of (non)restructuring constructions with a simple syntactic representation and represent aspects of meaning not readily expressed via standard logic. Although a main thrust of the article is introducing and defending TTR, the analysis depends crucially on Slovenian data, both syntactic (clitic placement) and semantic (subtle acceptability judgments depending on how the event is conceived).

STEVEN FRANKS ('Clitics are/become minimal(ist)') zooms out from the usual narrow analysis of particular clitic systems to consider what makes a clitic a clitic. His answer is that clitics are minimal elements in all ways, deficient in phonological/prosodic, semantic, and syntactic content, though obviously application of the term 'clitic' to a wide variety of disparate elements requires some slack in the definition. In addition to presenting a general theory of clitics, this article is rich in data from a variety of Slavic languages, including Slovenian. Slovenian clitics are unusual in being able to stand alone (as one-word answers, in cases of VP ellipsis) and to be initial. Franks suggests that this atypical behavior is due to a last-resort strategy of default stress overriding clitics' basic prosodic deficiency. Slovenian also provides crucial data supporting the phrasal status of pronominal clitics and clarifying the notions of syntactic and lexical deficiency.

MARKO HLADNIK ('The left periphery of Slovenian relative clauses') adopts a split-CP structure for relative clauses (RCs), with the head base generated high in the left periphery and the relative clause as a CP under DP (so D takes the whole RC, not just the head nominal, as its complement). Slovenian provides support for this approach in that both *kateri* (WH-word) and *ki* (complementizer) relatives can have other material, including a(nother) complementizer in the left periphery. Hladnik takes this as evidence for several CP layers, which he identifies as ForceP, Int(errogative)P, and FocusP. The RC head is in SpecForceP, *ki* heads ForceP, WH-words are in Spec FocP, and the complementizer *da* heads FocP. The article also considers data from other Slavic languages and English, and provides a useful primer on the history of analyses of RCs.

GAŠPER ILC and TATJANA MARVIN's 'Unaccusatives in Slovenian from a cross-linguistic perspective' examines criteria for determining whether intransitive verbs are unaccusative or unergative. Some diagnostics that are useful in other languages do not apply in Slovenian, but several do: occurrence in reduced relatives, impersonal passive, and secondary imperfectivization. There are further conditions on some of the tests; for instance, verbs with reflexive *se* do not occur in reduced relative clauses even if unaccusative.

In 'The modal cycle vs. negation in Slovenian', FRANC LANKO MARUŠIČ and ROK ŽAUCER discuss the evolution of the modal adverb *lahko* 'easily' into a modal auxiliary in Slovenian, starting in the sixteenth century and coming to completion in the mid-twentieth century. This change took place only in affirmative sentences: negative contexts still require the original modal *moči* 'may/can', so Standard Slovenian now exhibits complementary distribution of *lahko* and *moči*. Grammaticalization of *lahko* as a modal head failed in negatives, Marušič and Žaucer suggest, because it blocked V-to-Neg movement needed to support the clitic *ne* 'not'; this claim is supported by sentence types in which negation and *lahko* in different configurations do not interfere with each other, and by dialect comparison. The article is rich in novel, clearly presented data as well as historical and theoretical discussion.

PETRA MIŠMAŠ ('The left periphery of multiple wh-questions in Slovenian') reexamines WH-word order and interpretation in Slovenian within a CARTOGRAPHIC framework, concluding that one WH moves to Inter(rogative)P for clause-typing and the rest to lower WH projections in a left periphery of CP with the overall structure [ForceP [InterP [WhP\* [FinP]]]]; Slovenian is thus one of numerous languages that place one WH in a higher position than the rest. Although WH order is essentially free, preferred order is affected by animacy (humanness), D-linking, and adjunct vs. argument status. Topic and focus phrases also occur in the left periphery of CP, in partially free order relative to the WH-phrases, further complicating the facts. Many of Mišmaš's statements are of the form 'most speakers find X preferable'. I would have liked to know how the data were gathered and what 'most' means, but even if the data are simply her intuitions, they are still of great interest.

'A relative syntax and semantics for Slovenian', by MORENO MITROVIĆ, provides a detailed derivation of free relatives (FRs) with the enclitic *-r*, with both semantics and morphosyntax fully worked out, using Slovenian morphology to argue important theoretical points. The *-r* morpheme is claimed to be the overt realization of an operator distinguishing FRs from questions; this analysis supports a view of FR syntax and semantics as derived from those of interrogatives. Two positions for WH within the left periphery of CP are associated with different morphology; the *-r* morpheme, an overt D<sub>REL</sub> operator in Top<sup>0</sup>, 'encodes for clausal topicality'. The root of interrogative WH incorporates to Force<sup>0</sup>, while the root of relative WH incorporates to Top<sup>0</sup>. A DISTRIBUTED MORPHOLOGY account is provided for the distinct allomorphs of some WH-words when combined with *-r* (e.g. *kdáj* 'when' becomes *kádar*).

MARÍA LUISA RIVERO and MILENA MILOJEVIĆ SHEPPARD'S 'The Slovenian future auxiliary *biti* as a tenseless gradable evidential modal: Inferential and concessive meanings' argues exactly what the title says: that in addition to its future use, *biti* can be an epistemic modal with inferential or concessive meaning (two facets of a basic modal meaning of gradable believability). Rivero and Milojević Sheppard compare *biti* to modal verbs *morati* 'must' and *utegniti* 'may', as well as to future auxiliaries in other languages. Separate sections argue that epistemic *biti* is (i) evidential (invokes indirect information), (ii) tenseless (both semantically and morphologically; its temporal meanings are entirely due to context), and (iii) gradable (introduces a scale of believability or desirability).

In spite of its title, ADRIAN STEGOVEC'S 'Not two sides of one coin: Clitic person restrictions and Icelandic quirky agreement' takes Slovenian as central to a new view of the PERSON CASE CONSTRAINT (PCC), the requirement in many languages that in a clitic sequence of dative and accusative the accusative must be third person. Colloquial Slovenian exhibits an 'inverse' PCC in which it is the indirect object (the dative clitic) that is restricted to third person. This previously unnoticed PCC pattern suggests a novel explanation of the PCC based on an intervention effect on person features, and, Stegovec argues, shows that the PCC is not connected to restrictions on nominative objects in Icelandic, contra earlier suggestions. The analysis depends on assumptions about feature-valuation of weak and clitic pronouns that also make possible an account of the unusual behavior of reflexive clitics in Slovenian (and Bulgarian) which lack person features.

SAŠO ŽIVANOVIĆ ('Quo vadis, Slovenian bipartite pronouns?') introduces data from a handful of speakers from one town which indicates that Slovenian reciprocals (*en ... drugiga* 'each ... other') and reflexives (involving forms of *sebe* or *svoj* 'self/one's own') are heading down a grammaticalization path historically attested in other languages, especially Germanic. Unlike standard Slovenian, in which the two parts of the bipartite pronouns are only loosely connected, in this incipient dialect they function as a unit, carrying a single word stress and resistant to separation by prepositions. Živanović modestly characterizes his work as 'a first batch of data', merely showing that the nonstandard construction exists for some speakers, but his detailed description of the innovating dialect, with copious examples, is both enlightening and entertaining.

Every chapter contains nuggets of valuable linguistic description and explanation. The volume is well edited, with very few errors. In short, this book is a must-read for anyone interested in Slavic syntax, and highly recommended for all formal linguists.

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**The acquisition of heritage languages.** By SILVINA MONTRUL. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. 364. ISBN 9781107007246. \$125 (Hb).

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SILVINA MONTRUL, a prominent scholar and voice in the field of heritage language acquisition, has published a new book that successfully positions the study of heritage languages in the mainstream as well as in the crossroads between subdisciplines in language science and applied studies. M accomplishes this task by providing the reader with a synthesis and analysis of cross-disciplinary research that has paved the way to a deeper understanding of the theoretical and empirical issues pertinent to the bilingual experience of heritage speakers. Her central claim in this book is that heritage languages are indeed native languages, but in a bilingual environment, which leads to divergent developmental patterns and outcomes in comparison to the experience of monolingual native speakers. Further, this experience is complicated by the nonuniformity of developmental profiles among individuals, which in conjunction with distinct grammatical properties lead to various degrees of linguistic knowledge and performance in the heritage language. As such, *The acquisition of heritage languages* seeks to provide evidence for these claims through an overview of twenty years of scholarly work summarized in nine chapters.

The introductory chapter (Ch. 1, 'Introduction') lays out the foundation for the premise of the book and a particular argument against perceiving the field of heritage languages as atheoretical. Rather, the field has benefited from theoretical claims from other linguistic subfields, and relevant comparisons can be made between heritage languages and first and second languages. In Ch. 2 ('Heritage languages and heritage speakers'), M argues that defining who qualifies as a heritage speaker is rather complex, and she elaborates on all of the factors that characterize a variety of heritage speaker profiles. Ch. 3 ('The language of heritage speakers') summarizes common patterns observed across heritage languages and contexts in different linguistic domains such as lexis, syntax, phonology, and phonetics. Proficiency levels among heritage bilingual speakers are quite variable, and Ch. 4 ('The bilingual development of heritage speakers') examines the individual learner factors and experiences (e.g. quantity and quality of input) that lead to the vast differences often observed in heritage speakers' linguistic knowledge. In Ch. 5 ('Theoretical approaches'), M discusses the contention that the field of heritage language acquisition ought to be grounded within contemporary theories of language, with particular attention to a multilingual perspective. The subsequent chapter (Ch. 6, 'Methodological considerations') focuses on current practices and issues regarding research methods employed across heritage language empirical studies, including a critical section on determining a baseline for comparison purposes. Ch. 7 ('How native are heritage speakers?') addresses differences and similarities between heritage speakers and monolingual native speakers across linguistic domains, and, most importantly, M provides reasons that may account for these differences. Ch. 8 ('Are heritage speakers like second language learners?') makes comparisons between heritage and second language learners by taking into account theoretical issues that have been pertinent to adult second language acquisition. M ends the book with a chapter on how heritage language research can inform theoretical claims in language science, teaching and curriculum design in language education, and language policies (Ch. 9, 'Some implications').

This book is a mandatory read for new and seasoned scholars in the field of heritage language acquisition, as it provides the reader with a synthesis of theoretical and empirical knowledge relevant to researchers and practitioners who work with heritage language bilinguals. While the book makes several contributions, I highlight here two specific issues that are critical as the field