

sign language. Two points are made in this paper: first, that DGS (*Deutsche Gebärdensprache* 'German Sign Language') uses prosodic levels comparable to those found in oral languages, showing that prosody is a crosslinguistic feature of language in general, and second, that prosody has meanings that are compositionally present, again comparable to what is found in oral languages. Like many papers on sign languages, it introduces a lot of general knowledge on the language first, leaving only little space for the detailed analysis of prosody and meaning.

As should have become clear from these summaries, in most of the articles the role of prosody is taken more seriously than the role of meaning. Only Truckenbrodt's and Baumann and Rieser's contributions use meaning as a point of departure and investigate how tunes express it, and in these two papers, the role of prosody is kept to a minimum. Most of the contributions use conventional information-structural categories and investigate how they are realized by prosody. Frota assumes that in European Portuguese a nuclear high tone is associated with narrow focus and a low tone with broad focus. Bishop is interested in the role of prominence in different focus contexts in American English. Surányi, Ishihara, and Schubö use a broad and narrow focus to investigate prosody in Hungarian, as does D'Imperio for German and Michelas for French. Calhoun and Schweitzer assume that meaning is associated with words in a one-to-one fashion and that it is a vain task to try to attribute meaning to tones independently of words. Gili Fivela uses her own categories in a way that is difficult to reconcile with standard semantics.

The meaning of prosody remains a largely unexplored field in linguistics, especially from a crosslinguistic perspective. Books like the one reviewed here testify that progress is being made, but that there is still a long way to go before standards in intonation as part of grammar can be established. Fortunately, the exceptionally high quality of the individual papers compensates for the lack of consensus on the main theme of the book.

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Phonological variation in French: Illustrations from three continents. Ed. by RANDALL GESS, CHANTAL LYCHE, and TRUDEL MEISENBURG. (Studies in language variation 11.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012. Pp. 397. ISBN 9789027234919. \$158 (Hb).

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This informative volume presents the results of twelve surveys of diatopic and social variation in French pronunciation from the *Phonologie du français contemporain* project (PFC) (<http://www.projet-pfc.net/>). The book is divided into three sections representing the continents under

study—(sub-Saharan) Africa, Europe, and North America—and within each section the chapters are structured similarly to place the variety in its sociohistorical context, to describe its segmental inventory, and to address how it is structured with respect to the array of phonological properties under study in the PFC. The sections are framed by an introduction that provides the essential background to this research endeavor and a concluding chapter that summarizes the major findings from the research analyzed. The chapters assembled in this book, written by familiar scholars in the field of French linguistics, provide an enticing glimpse of the wealth of variation that can be found in the sound system of French across and within these continents.

In the introduction, the editors, Randall Gess, Chantal Lyche, and Trudel Meisenburg, have produced an admirably concise description of the phonology of *le français de référence* (FR), a term selected to avoid normative connotations. They place special emphasis on the major points of variation that the PFC project is designed to sample for each location: the vowel inventory, schwa deletion, liaison realization, and prosody. This is followed by a description of the survey protocol and the data-coding procedures. The survey instruments, a word list and written text designed to elicit the features of interest to the project, are included as an appendix to the chapter.

The global tour of French variation begins in the continent of Africa with an illustration by GURI BORDAL of French as spoken by Sango speakers in the capital of the Central African Republic (CAR). As in all of the survey points in Africa, French is embedded in a multilingual context where crosslinguistic influences are to be expected, and, indeed, Bordal makes the case explicitly that the lexical tones of Sango appear to be mapped onto French with the result that each word constitutes an independent prosodic unit with a fixed tonal pattern. Additionally, CAR French manifests consonant cluster simplification and vowel epenthesis, in order to avoid complex syllables that are partially banned in Sango. Vowel harmony, consonant palatalization, and a phonemic opposition between [e] and [ɛ] are realized in both FR and Sango, and all are maintained in the variety described.

In another multilingual region, BÉATRICE AKISSI BOUTIN, RANDALL GESS, and GABRIEL MARIE GUÈYE have selected a variety of French spoken by Wolof speakers (FW) for illustration of the French spoken in Dakar. They describe a complex linguistic landscape where oral French is rarely used in speech unless it is code-mixed with Wolof. The case for contact-induced variation in FW appears straightforward here as well, most notably in a system of advanced tongue root vowel harmony that involves the mid front unrounded series and, to a much lesser degree, the back mid vowels. The vowel harmony process of FW appears to supersede the syllabic conditioning on mid vowel quality known as the *loi de position* that has at least a partial effect in all varieties of French. An aspect of FW that recurs in some of the other varieties of French under study in this project is the inaudibility of unreleased voiceless stops, which leads to final devoicing. Finally, the prosodic patterns of Wolof appear to transfer much in the same way as they do for French in contact in the CAR.

In the final chapter on Africa, CHANTAL LYCHE and INGSE SKATTUM present French in Bamako, the capital city of Mali. Here, data from French speakers of five different local languages are analyzed. Given the diversity of language backgrounds, vowel production is subject to great interspeaker variation in this survey, but the speakers of different L1s are shown to demonstrate more systematicity with regard to schwa retention, which the authors attribute to possible pan-African conventions. Other tendencies attest as well to the existence of a pan-African variety of French that exists alongside locally inflected lects. For instance, French in Bamako, as in CAR, tends to devoice final stops and fricatives whether or not this is a property of the speaker's L1.

The section on Europe opens with a contribution by ANNEISE COQUILLON and GABOR TURCSAN on the *midi*, or southern, variety of French (FM) that confirms, in part, the existence of some of the properties that are said to characterize a *midi* accent. The authors demonstrate that schwa is preserved more than in FR, that the mid vowels are neutralized according to the *loi de position*, and that broad pitch-span differences potentially underlie the impression that FM is lilting or musical. A highlight in this chapter is the demonstration that younger speakers appear to be converging toward the northern varieties of FR in the production of their nasal vowels and in a modulation of pitch span but that, at the same time, they retain other salient properties of the FM variety.

PHILIPPE HAMBY and ANNE CATHERINE SIMON report on the results of three PFC surveys conducted in Belgium in diverse geographical, social, and economic contexts. One survey point, Liège, strongly represents the French of Wallonia, another (Tournai) is often said to sound more French than Belgian, and a third is relatively neutral. While the authors note that considerable phonetic variation is manifested across the Belgian samples, they are able to confirm the presence of certain characteristically Belgian features, such as the phonological role of vowel duration, the neutralization of the front rounded glide to [w], word-final devoicing at the end of prosodic units, and an initial [h] in the speech of some older speakers in Liège. A unique feature of this chapter in the volume is that Hamby and Simon test various acoustic parameters that might lend to the percept of a Belgian intonation contour.

ANITA BERIT HANSEN examines the speech of young Parisians to reveal a phonological system that, in many ways, defies traditional phonological norms and for which the social conditioning for certain variable features is reversed. She documents mergers of the mid vowel contrasts, where the open and close vowels are neutralizing following the *loi de position*, and shifts and merges in the series of nasal vowels. Contrary to the ongoing tendency to elide schwas in FR, some young Parisians tend to retain them to the point that paragodic schwas appear word-finally in a process that she refers to as ‘schwa-tagging’. Additionally, she notes a reversal in the social correlates of liaison among Parisian youth where speakers with less education surprisingly produce more optional liaison than do those with greater education.

Swiss French from the canton of Neuchâtel is studied by ISABELLE RACINE and HELENE N. ANDREASSEN. The authors undertake an acoustic analysis of the vowel system that confirms the presence of contrastive vowel length in final open and closed syllables in this variety. They report that Swiss French is more advanced in schwa deletion than other varieties when schwa appears in the word-initial syllable (e.g. *petit*). While many contributors to this volume mention the role of frequency in schwa deletion/retention, Racine and Andreassen argue explicitly that word frequency, and not just phonological context, is a predictive factor in schwa deletion. Finally, the authors demonstrate that Swiss French speakers do not produce more liaison than Parisian speakers, despite claims that they do.

The section of the volume on North America is launched by WLADYSŁAW CICHOCKI’s survey of Acadian French in New Brunswick. While the phonological systems of Acadian French and FR do not differ markedly, Cichocki details the considerable phonetic differences that exist between the two varieties. The chapter confirms that many of the traditional Acadian elements—alveopalatal affricates, vowel raising before ‘r’, and diphthongal vowels in the ‘oi’ word classes—are present in New Brunswick. Data from his survey compared to earlier studies of this variety point to a change in progress with regard to ‘r’, which is shifting from an apical to a uvular articulation following the trend in Quebec.

MARIE-HÉLÈNE CÔTÉ describes a complex vowel inventory for Laurentian (Quebec) French that includes twenty-three vowel phonemes that contrast by quality alone. She shows that length, while a notable property of Laurentian French, is either intrinsic or contextual, and always is neutralized in the final syllable. Diphthongization variably accompanies length but is apparently socially stigmatized and often avoided. The manifestation of many of the expected features of Canadian French, such as assibilation, high vowel laxing, and the deletion of /l/ in clitics, are thoroughly described here.

THOMAS A. KLINGLER and Chantal Lyche provide a brief but elucidating history of Louisiana French in an attempt to clarify the non-Acadian nature of what has come to be called Cajun French. The phonological description provided in this chapter is based on limited sample observations (four speakers) because most French speakers are not literate in the language, and fluent speakers tend to be among the older generation. Nonetheless, the survey reveals some unique properties, such as the weakening of initial fricatives to [h], as in *jamais* ‘never’ > [hame]. Cajun French, like other varieties included in this volume, is revealed to manifest a reduced phonemic vocalic inventory, since the open and close mid vowels are distributed according to the *loi de position*. Palatalization is pervasive in Cajun and appears to be lexicalized in certain items (*queue* ‘tail’ > [tʃø]), and, as in other North American varieties, schwa is retained syllable-initially in the monosyllabic clitics *le* and *je* and in the prefix *re-*, which often shows metathesis (*er-*).

Laurentian French is also the topic of JEFF TENNANT's survey of Hearst, a majority franco-phone city in largely anglophone Ottawa. The phonological description of French in Hearst is not markedly different from that described in this volume for Quebec. This chapter, however, is distinct from all of the others for the attention that Tennant devotes to the question of rhythm. Despite differing degrees of contact with English, he finds that all of the Laurentian varieties that have been measured according to a pairwise variability index (PVI) fall into the 'syllable-timed' classification.

In the final survey of the volume, DOUGLAS C. WALKER reports on the PFC results for Alberta and finds that for most features, the French spoken in Alberta does not differ substantially from Popular Canadian French. Many of the features that occur in the other North American varieties of French surface in Alberta as well. In a final section of his survey, Walker acknowledges the highly bilingual nature of Alberta francophones, and he overviews the coexistence of the assimilated and unassimilated English loanwords that occur in his corpus.

The editors conclude the volume with a review of the major findings, over-viewing common trends and unique features of the varieties of French surveyed. The commonalities across varieties appear to reside in the treatment of schwa, which is more resistant to elision word-initially than it is in other contexts, and in the nearly uniform treatment of liaison. With respect to the latter, there is very little deviation across survey points; obligatory liaison is consistently released in contrast to optional liaison, which is only sporadically manifested among individual speakers. Not surprisingly, the locus of variation resides in the vowel system of French. Prosody also appears to be susceptible to local variation (for instance, in Belgium and Africa), but this topic is not consistently addressed across survey points.

This beautifully edited volume should appeal to a wide audience, since the collection, in its entirety, is distinguished by its close attention to documenting phonological diversity. The authors of the various chapters have approached the analysis of their surveys using very different methodologies, but the result is a coherent and focused portrait of variation in French. This collection will be indispensable for scholars with interests in French, in particular, and in phonological variation, in general. It is replete with insightful and relevant observations about areas of stability and indeterminacy in French phonology that should spawn numerous follow-up studies.

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The psycholinguistics of bilingualism. Ed. by FRANÇOIS GROSJEAN and PING LI.
Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013. Pp. 256. ISBN 9781444332797. \$34.95.

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The importance of bilingualism has taken on a new meaning in the last few years. Gone are the days when people wondered if speaking two languages doomed people to be confused or unable to express themselves. Instead, researchers have come to suggest that switching between two languages benefits individuals by allowing them to exercise their mental control muscles in a significant way. Whereas the current focus of attention on bilingualism undoubtedly benefits all researchers in the area, it also draws attention away from a long tradition of research in this field. It is here that Grosjean and Li's edited volume on the psycholinguistics of bilingualism serves to update those interested in understanding the latest findings in this field while still covering the importance of control in bilingual language processing. The introduction lays the foundation for the rest of the book by informing the reader of its main goals. It accomplishes this by providing a targeted overview of the field by melding the expertise of the editors together with the contributions of additional experts in the field. What results is a volume that covers many different areas