

REVIEWS

The languages of the Amazon. By ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xxxiii, 514. ISBN 9780199593569. \$160 (Hb).

Reviewed by EITHNE B. CARLIN, *Leiden University*

As stated in the preamble, the general aim of *The languages of the Amazon* is to provide linguists, anthropologists, students of Latin American studies, and the general reader with an introduction to the salient features and linguistic gems of the native languages of Amazonia in an accessible form, and in this Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald has certainly succeeded. Throughout the book the reader is exposed to A's palpable passion for Amazonian languages, which grew out of her own field experience working on eight languages from three different language families, and from the high degree of linguistic complexity and quiriness that Amazonian languages exhibit, often contradicting assumed universals. Drawing on the upsurge over the last twenty-five years of scholarly interest in the languages of this hotspot of linguistic diversity—c. 350 languages found in fifteen language families, and perhaps as many as thirty isolates—A provides us with a well-organized, highly readable, and lively book containing fourteen chapters, several tables and diagrams, eighteen maps, a glossary of terms used, and three indices to search for subjects, languages and language families, and authors. The list of references covers forty-six pages. Several chapters include a final section giving general historical or ethnographic references for the reader to consult, while at the same time pointing out dubious sources that should be avoided. In addition, six of the chapters have boxed insets with extra factual information and/or anecdotes that spice up the book.

The book begins with a general introduction to Amazonia (Ch. 1) that includes an overview of the language families, the peoples and their demographics, and histories pre- and postconquest. The appendix to Ch. 1 consists of a list of native American words that were borrowed into European languages, such as Cariban *manatee* 'large aquatic mammal' (*manati/manatí* 'breasts'), which is attested in Spanish by 1535 and in English by 1555. Ch. 2 offers a discussion of linguistic areas and the sometimes virulent language contact situations in Amazonia. The author distinguishes only one 'long-standing linguistic area' (73) in Amazonia, namely the Vaupés River Basin, on which she has previously published extensively, and one incipient linguistic area, or as she calls it a 'contact zone' (86), namely the Upper Xingu. The purported status of the Guaporé-Mamoré Basin as a linguistic area is left unresolved. A had already pointed out in Ch. 1 the need for linguists to be aware of and take into account the complex contact histories of Amazonian peoples, both pre- and post-European outthrust, since language shift and substrate phenomena are ubiquitous, often resulting from traditional kidnapping practices.

The remainder of the book follows the structure of what one would find in a descriptive grammar: phonologies, including unusual sounds and gaps in sound systems (Ch. 3); typology of word structure and word classes (Ch. 4); properties of nouns, including possession (Ch. 5); properties and versatility of verbs (Ch. 6); grammatical relations and argument structure (Ch. 7); valency-changing strategies such as passives, causatives, and applicatives (Ch. 8); evidentiality (Ch. 9); genders, noun classes, and classifiers showing how the world is categorized (Ch. 10); serial verb constructions (Ch. 11); sentence formation and nominalizations (Ch. 12); stylistic features of Amazonian languages, including numeral systems, speech styles, male and female speech, and mixed languages (Ch. 13); and, finally, a summary called the 'treasures of Amazonian languages' (Ch. 14). The book is written using the 'fundamental typological theoretical apparatus' of basic linguistic theory (xvi). Each of the chapters contains carefully chosen examples to illustrate the relevant topics.

Although it is understandable that choices have to be made while writing a book of this kind, there does seem to be some unevenness in the area covered in that several features found in the Guianas and northwestern Amazonia but less so elsewhere are not included. One example is im-

plosive consonants (not found in the subject index), which are only mentioned on p. 108 (Ch. 3) in regard to older speakers of Maimandê. They are left out of the discussion of Arawakan consonants, although they are found as phonemes in Wapishana and Mawayana, and those languages are contiguous to the Cariban language Waiwai, which also has morphophonemic implosives, pointing to a possible areal feature. Likewise, there is no mention in Ch. 2, on language contact, of such gems as the creole-based trade pidgin languages that arose between the creole-speaking Ndyuka Maroons (ex-slaves who fled the plantations and established viable communities in the rainforest of Suriname) and the Kari'na and Wayana, nor the Trio-Ndyuka stable pidgin that survived about 150 years (Huttar & Velantie 1997). A few errors in editing also slipped in with regard to this area: for example, it is claimed (43) that Carijona is the westernmost Cariban language, whereas this is in actual fact Yukpa, which is found on Map 1.3 (42), though not in the key to the map.

Of course, it is not realistic to expect an author of such an overview volume to provide us with detailed analyses of each feature, nor does the author make any pretensions to exhaustiveness as regards either the topics she covers or the depth of the analysis she offers. It is unfortunate, however, that A's cursory statements about some features, such as frustrative marking (183–85), could easily lead the reader to believe that these are straightforward. A states that the frustrative is a verbal marker and that '[t]he meaning of the frustrative is rather uniform across languages' (183). In reality, frustrative marking is not just a verbal 'in vain' marker. In several languages, and in particular in the Cariban and Arawakan families, it is found on all of the major word classes, nouns, postpositions, and adverbs, or as a clausal particle; the range of meanings, functions, and morphosyntactic behaviors the frustrative exhibits across Amazonia points to a complexity that begs the question of whether this is even one category at all. As A points out, the frustrative 'straddles the boundary of aspectual meanings of lack of achievement and of result, and of modal meanings to do with frustration and negative attitude' (185). In fact, the meanings range from unsuccessful action, through, inter alia, envy, suspicion, dislike, and futility, to lamentation. It is perhaps one of the few weaknesses of this book that A does not explicitly pinpoint areas such as these that require further in-depth research.

A rather heavy-handedly takes a normative stance toward how descriptive linguistics should be conducted and presented. In a footnote to Ch. 1, for example, A distances herself from some recent trends in language documentation ('some stories and words on a fancy website', p. 409) that are indicative of funding bodies' move toward societal validation of descriptive linguistic research. The rather scathing nature of her remarks, however, possibly says more about the crisis in which this type of linguistic research finds itself than about the scholarship of the linguists (described by the author as 'some quasi-linguists', p. 409) doing language documentation. One might conclude that the reason language documentation became split off from descriptive linguistics had more to do with the traditional way descriptive data and results are presented in this digital age and the fact that the digital humanities is still rather far on the horizon for language descriptivists than with it simply being a move toward a more user- and certainly community-friendly presentation of the data.

The above-mentioned criticisms do not, however, diminish the usefulness of this book. For a scholar wishing to start research on any or all of the languages of Amazonia, this book provides a helpful guide both to the interesting features of these languages and also to the sources that should be used and those that should be avoided. For scholars already working on Amazonian languages, this book provides a worthy and lasting reference work that everyone will want on his/her bookshelf.

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Louder than words: The new science of how the mind makes meaning. By BENJAMIN K. BERGEN. New York: Basic Books, 2012. Pp. 312. ISBN 9780465028290. \$27.99 (Hb).

Reviewed by RAYMOND W. GIBBS, JR., *University of California, Santa Cruz*

Imagine that you are a participant in the following psycholinguistic experiment. You are seated in front of a computer terminal and shown the sentence *The carpenter hammered the nail into the wall*. After reading the sentence, you are shown a picture of an object, such as a nail or elephant, and asked to quickly judge whether that object was mentioned in the sentence. Of course, you would quickly say 'yes' to the picture of a nail and 'no' to the elephant. The primary interest, however, is in your speeded response to the nail picture, depending on whether it was shown in a horizontal or vertical orientation. Research indicates that people, on average, are faster to make their 'yes' decisions when the picture was in the same spatial orientation as implied by the sentence just read (Zwaan et al. 2002). Thus, people are faster to say 'yes' when the picture showed the nail in the horizontal orientation than when it was shown upright, or in the vertical position. However, when they first read the sentence *The carpenter hammered the nail into the floor*, people are faster, on average, to say 'yes' to the nail picture that presented it in a vertical position rather than horizontal.

One interpretation of these findings is that people automatically construct a mental image of an object in its appropriate spatial orientation based on what the sentence implies. Even if the nail's position is not explicitly noted in the sentence, our immediate understanding of the sentence's meaning enables us to create an image of the situation in which the nail was hammered in a horizontal or vertical position. How people construe imaginative understandings of language is the subject of Ben Bergen's book. This lively, entertaining book offers a broad, but detailed, overview of the idea that people interpret language using embodied simulation processes. This hypothesis asserts that people ordinarily construct imaginative reenactments of what some language event must be like to participate in given their own bodily capacities and experiences. People do not first comprehend a sentence's purely linguistic meaning and only then derive richer imaginative understandings. Instead, people's embodied simulation abilities enable them to immediately infer detailed, imagistic understandings of what speakers imply by what they say.

The embodied simulation hypothesis has been widely debated within the cognitive science community in recent years as it possibly applies to various cognitive and linguistic phenomena, including conceptual representations, memory, problem solving, learning, and consciousness. B's book progressively outlines the arguments and empirical evidence for embodied simulations in terms of how people make sense of linguistic meanings. Ch. 1 presents the main idea of embodied simulation processes by showing how people can imagine unrealistic scenarios, such as 'flying pigs', by combining mental representations of different percepts that they have experienced (e.g. experiences of pigs and flying). B contrasts this view of language understanding with a traditional account in which words are comprehended by looking up their definitions in a mental lexicon, a repository that is assumed to be quite distinct from embodied experiences and actions.

Ch. 2 describes how many facets of mental imagery are closely tied to the ways our brains move our bodies and perceive the world. One key finding is that mental imagery sometimes interferes with visual perception. For example, when you form a mental image of a banana while looking at a blank wall, this hinders your ability to perceive a faint image of a banana projected onto the wall. Various cognitive neuroscience studies demonstrate that brain areas responsible for visual perception are also engaged when people are only imagining some object or scene or remembering some past action (e.g. making a fist). These different experimental results emphasize both the tight coupling of perception and action, and the possibility that people use their perceptual and motor systems for simulation purposes.

Ch. 3 begins the discussion of the large body of experimental research within psycholinguistics on embodied simulations, such as the earlier-mentioned studies showing how people automatically infer the spatial orientation of a nail when reading *The carpenter hammered the nail into the wall*. B does an excellent job leading readers through these complex experiments and highlighting the need to always consider alternative hypotheses within any set of experimental studies.

Ch. 4 goes on to describe the well-known studies on mirror neurons that show that looking at some action activates brain areas relevant to performing those same actions. Embodied simulations, which recruit the mirror-neuron system, enable people to project themselves into the minds and actions of others, including the objects and events referred to as people talk. For example, studies on the 'action-compatibility effect' indicate that people are faster to make comprehension responses for sentences like *John opened the drawer* when they have to move their hands toward their bodies to push a comprehension button than when they have to move their hands away from their bodies (Glenberg & Kaschak 2002). The reverse pattern of results is observed when people hear sentences implying movement away from the body, such as *John closed the drawer*. Once again, people interpret sentences by imagining themselves engaging in the very actions specified in the language.

Ch. 5 explores the role that grammar plays in embodied simulation processes. For instance, one set of studies employs the method used to establish the 'action-compatibility effect' to show that grammar shapes simulation processes (Bergen & Wheeler 2010). In these studies, people read either progressive sentences, such as *John is closing the drawer*, or perfect sentences, such as *John has closed the drawer*. Participants are faster to make their comprehension responses for progressive sentences than perfect ones when they move their hands away from their bodies. Thus, interpreting perfect sentences evokes fewer embodied simulations of movement compared to the progressive sentences, which require more detailed simulations to properly understand. B goes on to offer several intriguing possibilities for the different ways that grammar may modulate on-line simulation processes.

Ch. 6 is devoted to showing how embodied simulations are constructed incrementally during speeded sentence comprehension. Consider the sentence in 1.

- (1) Before / the / big race / the driver / took out / his key / and / started / the / car.

The implied direction of the key turn in this case is clockwise. In one experiment, participants read through each sentence by rotating a knob after each chunk of words, indicated by the slashes in the above example (Zwaan & Taylor 2006). Participants turned the knob in either a clockwise or counterclockwise direction. The result of interest here was that people are faster to comprehend the verb *started* when they make their knob turns in a clockwise direction than when making counterclockwise rotations. People essentially understand the key verb *started* by constructing an embodied simulation of the implied movement the car driver had to do in order to turn the key and start the engine. This illustrates that people do not have to wait to the end of the sentence to initiate their simulation processes. Embodied simulation processes are not optional, after-the-fact operations that emerge only after a sentence has been read and understood.

Not surprisingly, people with different experiences and expertise may vary in how and when they construct embodied simulations. Ch. 7 describes several relevant experimental studies in support of this idea. Ch. 8 outlines how people's experiences with different languages also influence how they interpret language. For example, languages like Arabic or Hebrew are written right to left; others, such as English and Italian, are written left to right; and still others, such as traditional Chinese, are written top to bottom. In a study by Maass and Russo (2003), when Italian or Arabic speakers heard sentences like *The girl pushes the boy*, and then judged whether a picture properly captured the event, the participants responded differently. Arabic speakers, for instance, took less time to judge a picture as correctly depicting the event when the girl was on the right side of the frame, while Italians took less time to make the same judgment when the girl was shown on the left side. Thus, people's experiences with the spatial direction of written language affects the embodied simulations created when they interpret simple action sentences.

Ch. 9 considers the embodied simulations that arise when people interpret metaphorical language. Critics of embodied simulation wonder whether such simulations are even possible when thinking about abstract ideas and topics. Studies show, however, that having people first make a hand movement, such as reaching out to grasp something, facilitates the speed with which participants subsequently comprehend a metaphorical phrase such as *grasp the concept* (Wilson & Gibbs 2007). Even if people are unable to physically grasp a concept, engaging in relevant body actions primes the construction of an embodied simulation to infer the metaphorical meaning of

the phrase. Neuroscience work has also shown activation in the motor system of participants' brains when they read both literal (e.g. *grasped the stick*) or metaphorical (e.g. *grasped the idea*) statements (Desai et al. 2011), which offers additional evidence that embodied simulations may underlie our understanding of metaphorical meanings.

Ch. 10 discusses some of the functional advantages that embodied simulation processes have in language use, and strongly argues that these processes are not, once again, optional 'downstream' activities, but are critical aspects of linguistic interpretation from the early stages of processing. B suggests, though, that it is not yet entirely clear if embodied simulations are necessary or sufficient for understanding linguistic meaning even if the empirical research strongly shows that they play a functional role in how people make sense of many aspects of language.

Ch. 11 raises several speculative questions about how embodied simulations operate and what their possible existence implies about the very nature of human communication. Finally, the epilogue describes the 'crosstalk hypothesis', which attempts to explain why people sometimes have a difficult time driving and talking on a phone at the same time (i.e. the simulation processes used for interpreting language may interfere with the perceptual/motoric actions you need to drive). In this way, embodied simulation is not just observed in the confines of psycholinguistic laboratories, but also is relevant to human action in various real-world contexts.

There are only a few criticisms of *Louder than words* that are worthy of mention. First, B could have articulated a more expansive story about traditional theories of linguistic comprehension, most of which embrace disembodied approaches to language, to more sharply emphasize the revolutionary nature of the experimental findings on embodied simulations. Second, more could be said about the roles that embodied simulations may play in other aspects of human experience, ranging from perception (e.g. we perceive objects by imagining the possible bodily actions we could engage in with those objects) to consciousness (e.g. we consider possible future actions through embodied simulations of what those actions may be like to engage in and what they may produce). Finally, I personally believe that B could have been more forceful in defending the embodied simulation hypothesis when outlining several possible limitations of it in Ch. 10.

But these slight criticisms do not subtract from the pleasures of reading this book and coming to appreciate its many lessons about the importance of embodied simulations in how people create meaningful interpretations of language. B has provided a major theoretical statement, backed by a large assortment of experimental research, on the embodied foundations of linguistic meaning and on how we automatically understand language in real time given our abilities to imagine ourselves engaging in the very actions we are hearing or reading.

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Relative clauses in languages of the Americas: A typological overview. Ed. by BERNARD COMRIE and ZARINA ESTRADA-FERNÁNDEZ. (Typological studies in language 102.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012. Pp. xiii, 307. ISBN 9789027206831. \$149 (Hb).

Reviewed by CHRISTIAN LEHMANN, *University of Erfurt*

Bernard Comrie and Zarina Estrada-Fernández are well-known specialists in matters of relative clauses and Uto-Aztecan languages, respectively. Their volume divides into three parts. The first comprises articles on theoretical and diachronic aspects of relative clause formation. The remaining articles are devoted to one language each and are subdivided into Part 2, focusing on Uto-Aztecan languages, and Part 3, dealing with other American languages. The relative clauses described belong to the following positional types: the Hup relative clause (RC) is prenominal; Yaqui, Pima Bajo, Northern Paiute, Toba, Yucatec, and Tuscarora have a postnominal RC; and the Seri and Gavião RCs are circumnominal. No adjoined RC is reported on in this volume.

In his contribution on diachronic typology, TALMY GIVÓN hypothesizes that there are two diachronic pathways by which relative constructions originate, both of them reductive in nature. The first condenses a sequence of two erstwhile independent clauses into a complex sentence of the clause-chaining type; the second presupposes a nominalized clause and combines this in apposition with a nominal group. In both cases, an original intonation break is smoothed out so that the relative clause may become restrictive.

TANIA KUTEVA and BERNARD COMRIE study the use of markers of relative clauses whose subject is relativized, analyzing a large sample of creole languages. On the background of crosslinguistic variation that comprises a gamut from zero to five markers in general, creole languages are special in showing, in the vast majority, exactly one marker; that is, their position on the gamut is close to the lower end of structural complexity. Again, relative constructions developed in language contact generally show more formal complexity the more intense the contact, which thus conforms to general expectations on increasing complexity in contact situations. If creole languages arise out of language contact, their one-marker principle requires an explanation. The explanation offered by the authors is that, unlike other languages coming into contact, creole languages arise out of pidgins that employ no marker at all. They have just had the time to do the first step of pairing a function with a form.

ROBERT D. VAN VALIN intends to show that role and reference grammar can account with equal simplicity for both externally and internally headed relative clauses without needing to assume null elements or movement processes. He formulates rules that link the syntactic to a semantic representation, exemplifying with one externally and one internally headed relative clause.

The second part of the volume starts with two articles on the Yaqui (northwest Mexico) relative clause. ALBERT ÁLVAREZ GONZÁLEZ shows that it is essentially an oriented nominalized clause that may equally function as an NP or as an adjectival attribute. The relative clause retains a relatively high degree of sententiality ('finiteness'), virtually the only internal symptom of nominalization being the genitive on the subject of the relative clause. The distribution of such a nominalized clause, however, is essentially the same as that of a noun or NP. Since its combination with a head nominal is mere juxtaposition, Álvarez argues that it is not necessary to posit relative clause formation as a grammatical operation of Yaqui. LILLÁN GUERRERO describes a rather heterogeneous set of data. The bulk of her article is devoted to a comparison of relative clauses with complement clauses, emphasizing the similarity between a relative clause and the complement of a verb of direct perception.

The contribution by ZARINA ESTRADA-FERNÁNDEZ pursues the fate of the Pima-Bajo (northwest Mexico) clause-final relativizer from its prehistorical origin to its most recent realization. For the reconstruction, the author assumes a combination of a participial clause ended by a participle suffix with a main clause starting with a resumptive demonstrative. The relativizer would then originate from the univerbation (formation of a word out of contiguous elements across a syntactic boundary) and contraction of the suffix with the demonstrative.

TIM THORNES carefully treats the Northern Paiute (western US) relative clause. It is essentially an oriented nominalization, the syntactic function of the open argument position being primarily coded by the nominalizing suffix. In addition, the language has what appears to be a clitic relative pronoun if that syntactic function is lower than direct object. If it is lower than subject position, the subject of the relative clause is marked by a possessive proclitic on the (nominalized) verb.

MARÍA BELÉN CARPIO and MARISA CENSABELLA describe relativization in Toba (Gran Chaco). The introductory pronoun is a pure attributor; it occupies no syntactic position in the relative clause, and there is, in fact, nothing to mark the relativized position. In the slot of the introductory pronoun, there is a primary opposition between a dedicated relative pronoun and the full paradigm of demonstratives, of which these may bear a topicalizing suffix. The distinctions being marked by this staggered opposition have to do with the functions of the head and the relative clause in information structure.

PATIENCE EPPS describes relative clauses in Hup (Vaupés region) and postulates a gradual rather than categorical distinction between headed, light-headed, and headless relative clauses, ascribing the latter distinction to Citko 2004. (See Lehmann 1984:Ch. V.4.1.2 for an earlier proposal to the same effect.) Epps discusses the gradience in the head position from full lexical noun via bound noun, classificatory noun, and plural suffix to zero. Since this is a case of grammaticalization, the changes involved comprise, *inter alia*, semantic bleaching and increase of bondedness. Due in particular to the latter process, the morphemes in question forfeit their status as nouns. But this affects only their autonomy, *viz.* their status as words. It does not affect their category, which remains N throughout.

STEPHEN A. MARLETT offers a comprehensive description of the Seri (northwest Mexico) relative clause. It is based on oriented nominal verb forms (with the exception of a finite irrealis form) that are derived by means of a rather large set of nominalizing prefixes. Although the head is internal to the RC without being specially marked, its head status is unambiguous since the verb prefix identifies its syntactic function. Determiners are NP-final and consequently follow the relative construction. The head nominal is generally not marked with a determiner. According to a hypothesis put forward in Lehmann 1984:Ch. V.2.2f. and by others, the head of a restrictive relative clause cannot be determined as definite or generic; in other words, if it is provided with any determiners at all (which it is commonly not), these may only be indefinite or specific. Marlett claims (228) that Seri falsifies this hypothesis. The evidence adduced, however, confirms rather than falsifies it. It is correct that the head may be followed by an indefinite article, which is fully consonant with the indefinite head hypothesis. The only other determiner that may follow this article is a determiner that is claimed to be definite. But this second determiner is a kind of default determiner, which also functions as an NP-internal linker. As a consequence, the determination of the relative construction semantically may be indefinite rather than definite—the determiner has lost its definiteness feature and is beginning to assume a purely structural function.

The Gavião language (Rondônia) is described by DENNY MOORE as lacking a dedicated relative construction. Clauses are nominalized by a postposed demonstrative. As such, they may function as complement or even as adverbial clauses. Alternatively, they may be implicitly oriented, either on a position occupied by a nominal, in which case they are circumnominal, or on an empty position, in which case they are headless. Such a clause may also modify a following nominal, which may result in a prenominal relative construction or one with a repeated head nominal. It is clear that relative clause formation in the traditional sense is not grammaticalized in the language.

RODRIGO GUTIÉRREZ-BRAVO describes the relative clause of Yucatec Maya (Yucatán) as not essentially different from an independent clause. In its headed variety, it is postnominal, neither introduced by anything nor containing a resumptive pronoun. Headless relative clauses come in two variants: one simply lacks a head nominal, while the other has a relative pronoun introducing the clause that is identical with the interrogative pronoun. Gutiérrez-Bravo concentrates on the former variant, providing an insightful analysis and showing that it does not correspond to Citko's concept of a 'light head'.

MARIANNE MITHUN uses the concept of a pathway for ‘grammatical replication’ developed in Heine & Kuteva 2006, according to which a language may introduce interrogative pronouns into relative constructions by contact with a (typically European) language that does so. The stages are roughly as follows: independent pronominal interrogative, dependent pronominal interrogative, headless relative clause, headed relative clause. She applies this schema to Tuscarora (eastern US). Using a longitudinal study through a historical corpus, she shows that the spread of interrogative pronouns in Tuscarora relative clauses followed exactly the pathway outlined by Heine and Kuteva and proceeded in step with the spread of bilingualism in English.

Some more work might have been invested in editing the volume. The English of some of the non-Anglophones was not revised. In several articles, the interlinear glosses contain undefined abbreviations. Nor was there an attempt to harmonize such abbreviations; even the two articles on Yaqi use different labels for the same categories. There are numerous mismatches between example texts, their interlinear glosses, and their translations. Bibliographical references have apparently not been verified (for instance, on p. 97 a definition of the relative clause is incorrectly attributed to Lehmann 1984:276).

The contributions to this volume are not meant to provide exhaustive descriptions of the relative clauses of the languages in question. All of them concentrate on some selected aspects, mostly the subordination and nominalization of the relative clause, the nature of the head nominal, and the syntactic function of the relativized position. Topics like the determination of the relative construction as a whole, indifferent relative clauses (introduced by ‘who/whichever’), and the relationship of relative clauses to cleft sentences are not treated at all; nonrestrictive and adverbial relative clauses, stacking of relative clauses, and the combination of relative clauses with other attributes and their relationship with indirect interrogatives are treated in one or another article.

Two general conclusions about the nature of relative clauses may be drawn from the set of descriptions. First, a relative clause is, in any case, a subordinate clause. In order to specify an entity by the role it plays in the situation designated by the clause, it must, in addition, be oriented. This operation, however, is often not marked grammatically, but left to the semantics (251). If there is no grammatical operation of orientation, the embedded relative clause may be indistinguishable from a complement clause (just as the adjoined relative clause may then be indistinguishable from a generic subordinate clause; see Lehmann 1984:Ch. III.2.2.4). Several authors of the volume argue that such a subordinate clause should not be called a relative clause. Second, even in a language that does have adjectives, the orientation of a subordinate clause does not necessarily produce an adjectival clause. It may be a substantive clause whose primary function is to be the core of an NP and that may only secondarily be combined with another nominal to modify it. Such a clause does not correspond to the traditional idea of a relative clause, either, because it does not by itself bear a phoric relation to a nominal expression (which is the original meaning of ‘relative’). Apparently, ‘relative clause’ is a derived concept, based on the more fundamental concept of ‘oriented clause’.

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The Cherokee syllabary: Writing the people's perseverance. By ELLEN CUSHMAN. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011. Pp. 256. ISBN 9780806142203. \$34.95 (Hb).

Reviewed by BRAD MONTGOMERY-ANDERSON, *Northeastern State University*

In the 1820s Sequoyah devised a syllabic writing system for his native Cherokee language. The creation of this script, commonly referred to as the Cherokee syllabary, is one of the most famous episodes in Native American history. The syllabary has become iconic of the Cherokee people, the largest Native American community in the United States. In recent years this writing system has undergone both a popular and scholarly revival. Language revitalization initiatives among the three federally recognized Cherokee tribes have promoted syllabary usage in immersion and college classrooms, and they have increased its presence in the linguistic landscape of northeastern Oklahoma and western North Carolina. New scholarly interest has also heightened awareness of this two-hundred-year-old writing system. Bender (2002a,b, 2007) has written extensively on its use among the Eastern Cherokees in North Carolina, while Peter and Hirata-Edds (2009) have studied its use in the Cherokee Nation immersion school in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Ellen Cushman has previously explored issues related to the origin and use of the syllabary (2011a,b, 2012), and I discuss and use it throughout my own grammar of the language (Montgomery-Anderson 2014). Unlike Bender, C focuses in this work on Oklahoma Cherokee. C is a professor of writing, rhetoric, and American cultures at Michigan State University, and she is a citizen of the Cherokee Nation, a federally recognized tribe that is headquartered in Tahlequah.

In the first chapter ('Sequoyah and the politics of language'), C provides the historical context of the creation of the syllabary. She opens with a claim that is at odds with the traditional portrait of Sequoyah, who has historically been described as illiterate in English. C presents an English letter signed by Sequoyah that she found at the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa. C's assertion that Sequoyah was already fluent and literate in English is an important part of her claim that Sequoyah's design of the syllabary—or Sequoyan, as she terms it—was part of a conscious and deliberate effort to maintain a distinctive Cherokee identity in the face of an encroaching white society that threatened to overwhelm and assimilate it. The term 'perseverance' in the subtitle of this work is an important theme throughout. With the adoption of Sequoyan, the Cherokee acquired a powerful technology for recording traditional knowledge and communicating among themselves; at the same time, this unique writing system helped them to resist the assimilative pressures of which alphabetic literacy was a part. The story of Sequoyah's process of invention is absorbing reading, and C makes good use of contemporary sources in her narrative. She underlines that this period was characterized by 'self-imposed isolation from the influence of the Roman alphabet' (38).

In Ch. 2 C discusses the syllabary as a writing system, focusing specifically on the organization of the complete set of characters. She contrasts the initial arrangement with the second, print-oriented arrangement; this latter set, as C points out, is organized to make sense to those already literate in English. For example, the vowel characters on the horizontal axis of the chart are ordered as /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, and /v/ (this last character represents a nasalized mid-central vowel), while the consonants on the vertical axis also follow the same sequence as that of the English alphabet. C comments that this arrangement has often been seen as an added obstacle to learning the syllabary as it 'inserts alphabetic sound systems and orthographies as intermediary steps that learners must go through to locate the correct character' (45). This observation is part of another important theme in the book: that is, that the syllabary has been misunderstood and underappreciated by those who insist on seeing it through an alphabetic bias rather than on its own terms. In this chapter C claims that Sequoyan not only matches characters to sounds but also 'at times can also match meaningful units (morphemes) to glyphs' (49). This is a novel claim that I pursue in more detail after this summary.

In Ch. 3 C examines in depth Sequoyah's original arrangement of the characters to determine if there is an underlying motivation for the order. She describes how the use of image-editing software allowed her to overlay the characters and discover an internal organization. According

to this analysis, the first seven forms provide visual ‘roots’ for the subsequent characters in the row; that is, seven characters provide a basis for quickly learning the forms of the subsequent seventy-nine characters. The discussion in this chapter is truly groundbreaking, as C asks a thought-provoking question and provides a fascinating explanation in response.

Ch. 4, ‘The syllabary from script to print’, is an intriguing rebuttal of the idea that the current form of the syllabary was largely the work of the white missionary Samuel Worcester and that, moreover, this form of the syllabary has a strong influence from the Roman alphabet. C first addresses the notion that the current set of characters—characters especially adapted for the printing press—are completely different from those in the original manuscript system. She argues against these claims by comparing high-resolution images of the original glyphs with the later print versions; she then categorizes these pairs into four groups, depending on the degree of correspondence between the two versions. C reports that nearly four-fifths of the characters correspond to visual elements in the original set and that only seven characters appear to be direct borrowings. She further supports this claim with citations from Worcester’s own writings, which downplay his role in the transition of Sequoyan from manuscript to print form. An especially interesting piece of supporting evidence she provides is a collection of nineteenth-century manuscripts from the Eastern Cherokees; these documents use a form of the syllabary that appears to have more in common with the longhand script than the later print-oriented version. C points out that these texts prove that the influence of the later version was not as great as originally thought in the diffusion of the Cherokee literacy; apparently many Cherokees had already learned a shorthand manuscript form directly from Sequoyah’s original longhand form.

The remaining four chapters are a stimulating history of Sequoyan literacy, both in print and manuscript form. The author convincingly demonstrates how this writing system has played a vital role in maintaining Cherokee identity despite traumatic social and political upheavals. In these chapters C masterfully explains the interplay of cultural and political factors in public and private uses of the syllabary. In Ch. 5 she examines the history of the first Native American newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, and Elias Boudinot’s role in its publication. A key point in her discussion is describing how the *Phoenix* helped construct an external political identity for the tribe that was distinct from its internal cultural life. She argues against the view of some scholars that the paper is not a reliable ethnohistorical source and instead emphasizes its role in nation-building and creating a public face for outsiders. In Ch. 6 (‘The breadth of the Cherokee writing system, 1840–1920’), C outlines the histories of several shorter-lived papers and discusses the decline of Cherokee-sponsored printing that accompanied the dissolution of tribal government at the time of Oklahoma statehood. After these traumatic events, the syllabary survived in handwritten manuscripts, and C describes its role in the recording and dissemination of Cherokee spirituality and cultural traditions. In the last two chapters she explores the expansion of Sequoyan into new media and technologies. Cherokee literacy had become relatively uncommon in the period between statehood and the mid-1960s, but it received renewed attention in the 1960s through the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education project. It was further bolstered by the revival of tribal government in the 1970s. In that decade the Cherokee Bilingual Education Program produced new materials, including a dictionary (Feeling 1975), which is still the most used and useful resource on the Cherokee language. Ch. 7 (‘Perseverance and calculated inconspicuousness, 1920–1980’) also describes the use of Sequoyan in comic books and revived Cherokee newspapers. In the final chapter (‘Peoplehood and perseverance: The Cherokee language, 1980–2010’), C discusses the efforts of the Cherokee Nation Education Services team and its immersion school to pass the language on to a new generation.

C’s work is captivating and informative, and she makes several bold claims. Her central assertion—that Sequoyan played a role in maintaining a distinctive Cherokee identity—is well supported. Her analysis of the motivation for the original arrangement of the characters is novel and deserving of serious consideration. C also advances the idea that Cherokee writing might be morphographic—that the characters represent not just sounds, but morphemes as well. I do not find sufficient evidence to support this idea. In Ch. 2 she reviews all eighty-five syllabary characters and briefly describes for each a possible corresponding morpheme. Many of these characteriza-

tions appear unmotivated. For example, the syllabary character /tli/ is described as the root of the common noun *gitli* ‘dog’ (53). This word, however, appears unanalyzable, and I know of no reason to separate the two syllables or to favor one syllable over the other as the root. It is not surprising that there would be some instances of a syllabary character accidentally corresponding to a morpheme, especially function morphemes that, in general, tend to be monosyllabic. In my work with Cherokee, however, I know of no lexical morpheme that is underlyingly only one syllable. Even the pronominal prefixes—the most high-frequency morphemes in the language—are not all monosyllabic; moreover, all of these undergo changes when attaching to different kinds of stems. C does recognize that these prefixes are different when attaching to stems starting with various vowels. For example, she lists /ho/ as the second-person prefix of the /o/-initial verb *-ohweli’a* ‘write’ and /ha/ as the second-person prefix of the /a/-initial verb *-anigi’a* ‘leave’. It seems that these syllabary characters represent a second-person morpheme /h/ plus the initial vowel of the stem to which they attach; that is, they correspond to sounds but do not have a one-to-one correspondence with a morpheme. A few of her characterizations are simply confusing. For example, she states that /ha/ ‘functions as a reflexive pronoun for the future tense: “you are tying it up” ’ (58); this example is not reflexive at all in the normal usage of that term.

Overall, the book is well researched and brings to light little-known facts about the writing system in a readable narrative format. Interspersed throughout are wonderful images of texts, syllabary charts, and literacy materials. I found only a few omissions: C makes no mention of literacy initiatives among the other federally recognized Cherokee tribe in Oklahoma, the United Keetoowah Band. This oversight stands out, as this tribe is headquartered in the same town as the much larger Cherokee Nation, of which the author is a citizen. Her otherwise thorough list of references makes no mention of an important and recent article on literacy revitalization at the immersion school (Peter & Hirata-Edds 2009). She also overlooks the Cherokee Language Program at Northeastern State University (also located in Tahlequah). The program—in existence since 2005—receives \$100,000 per year from the Cherokee Nation and is one of only three institutions in the United States that offers a B.A. in an American Indian language (full disclosure: I am a professor at NSU and teach for the Cherokee department). This program not only uses the syllabary but is also creating new domains and possibly genres for it.

C’s work is an important addition to the literature on Cherokee in particular and writing systems in general. In my own work on Cherokee I use both the syllabary and a Romanized system. I do believe it would be useful to explore ways of teaching that use only the syllabary rather than filtering it through an alphabet. C’s book helps to open this dialogue and explore ways in which such a pedagogy could be created.

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Bringing our languages home: Language revitalization for families. Ed. by LEANNE HINTON. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2013. Pp. xx, 264. ISBN 9781597142007. \$20.

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How does one concretely go about reclaiming a heritage language with no living speakers? or with only a few members of an elder generation of native speakers? How does one do this within a family? an extended family? a school? a community? The authors in this book have tackled these questions in their own lives and share with us their wisdom, strategies, achievements, challenges, and hopes from the vantage point of twenty and more years of experience in these endeavors.

The book, beautifully edited by Leanne Hinton, takes us through language reclamation projects that range from individual families working from scratch to recreate a sleeping language within their own home—the Baldwin family reclaiming Myaamia and Jessie Little Doe Baird and her family reclaiming Wampanoag—to families working with the last generation of native-speaker elders—the Albers family remembering Karuk elder Auntie Violet, and Richard Grounds and his daughter Renée recounting purposeful strategies their family adopted to learn Yuchi. Other families benefited from a context of community support in reclaiming Mohawk (the Peters), Māori (O'Regan), Hawaiian (Wilson and Kamanā), Anishinaabe (Noori), and Irish (Mac Póilin). Or they found support in structured family language-learning programs—the Hernandez family learning Kawaiisu (as told by Grant and Turner) and the Taic/CNSA organization reviving Scottish-Gaelic (Macleoid). There are also two cases of efforts by parents to teach their child a language far from the speech community—the Bielenberg Pittaka family attempting to raise their son as a fluent speaker of a fading Greek dialect, Kypriaka, and Ken Hale teaching his twin sons Ezra and Caleb to speak Warlpiri, a central Australian aboriginal language.

It is now more than twenty years since that same Ken Hale and colleagues (1992) drew linguists' attention in the pages of this journal to the 'worldwide erosion of the languages spoken by indigenous and minority populations', as Hinton puts it in her introduction (xiii). This book is about 'another pattern emerging ... of individuals and communities striving to strengthen or regain aspects of their heritage cultures ... a movement away from ... cultural annihilation' (xiii). Most of the languages included here are Native North American languages, complemented by cases from Māori and Hawaiian, Irish and Scottish Gaelic, Kypriaka and Warlpiri.

Among the memorable lessons in the BALDWIN family's account of their multidecade experience recreating Myaamia in their home are teaching/learning how the language thinks, staying in the language, and moving 'away from language being the target to language just being part of life in the home' (13); and among the favorite practices remembered are the penny jar from which one earned a penny for using the language and had a penny taken away for forgetting to. In the second chapter of Part I ('Starting from zero'), JESSIE LITTLE DOE BAIRD speaks of accepting responsibility for making a place for her language to be welcomed back into her community, giving it to her children, and patiently communicating with nonspeakers. She began learning her language by teaching herself, studying Algonquian linguistics to access documentation from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, and she went on to teach others, continue her research, and write a layperson's grammar. Today the Wampanoag Language Reclamation Project has embarked on a master-apprentice fluency program with future plans for children's television programming, an after-school theatre program, and an immersion school.

In Part 2 ('Learning from the elders'), PHIL and ELAINA (SUPAHAN) ALBERS tell a poignant story of the inspiration and bountiful Karuk knowledge Elaina's Auntie Violet passed on to them and their first child, but also of the pain of her unexpected death in a house fire, and the fear of losing in her their strongest language tool and their 'confidence in Karuk language survival' (36), a pain and fear surmounted only after a time by the joy of seeing their own young children thriving in the language. RICHARD GROUNDS and his daughter RENÉE dialogue about the language reclamation strategies their family used. These included giving the children face-to-face Yuchi language sessions by regularly visiting the few fluent elders still living in the 1990s, reinforcing the language at home by replacing commonly repeated English phrases with Yuchi—phrases that once learned in Yuchi would never again be said in English (45), and occasionally taking the children out of public school for homeschooling to focus on the language and to work against the intrinsic bias of a colonial historical perspective 'dismissive of Indigenous knowledge, history, religious rights and governance systems' (49).

The power of school and community contexts to impede and constrain, but also to shape and sustain, Indigenous language reclamation projects comes through clearly in the five chapters of Part 3, 'Families and communities working together'. As part of the 'use it or lose it' generation (64) of Kanien'kéha (Mohawk) speakers, MARGARET and THEODORE PETERS were inclined toward speaking English with their children in the belief that their own language would hurt them academically, but this trajectory was reversed when Margaret was recruited to teach Mohawk at the Ahkwesáhsne Freedom School. She ended up teaching there for fifteen years, going back to school to learn to read, write, and teach the language, and with Theodore ultimately raised their children—and now grandchildren—to speak Kanien'kéha.

HANA O'REGAN, of Kāi Tahu Māori ancestry and a lifelong activist for Māori language revitalization, speaks eloquently of 'the anxiety, the pessimism, the fear, and the pain of language loss' (100) that have impelled her vigilance in raising her two young children as Māori speakers, even to the point of 'spying on' their language use when she is not present, which she confesses to with some chagrin. She is all too aware from her family history of language loss and her lifetime of effort learning and teaching Māori that 'one generation's choice to not speak, promote, and transmit the language is a death sentence for that language' (99). Despite her self-critical stance, one can only be in awe of the vision, determination, and creativity that have enabled her to raise two children who are functionally bilingual, speak only Māori to her, and have a strong sense of Māori cultural and personal identity.

Educational institutions played a central role in the lives and Hawaiian language revitalization work of WILLIAM WILSON and KAUAO KAMANĀ, who met through Hawaiian language classes at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, went on to graduate studies in linguistics, and then developed the Hawaiian Studies major at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. They later cofounded and led the Hawaiian immersion school movement. All of this, importantly for them, is the *hale* 'house' in which they raised their son and daughter as fluent Hawaiian speakers—one now the owner of a construction business specializing in building with a Native Hawaiian perspective and the other the director of cultural affairs for the State of Hawai'i Tourism Authority.

In a chapter packed with innovative ideas, MARGARET NOORI draws from her experiences as mother of Fionna and Shannon and full-time college teacher of Anishinaabemowin. She explores ways to extend the definition of family—by bringing everyone in the family circle into the language reclamation project and conversely finding the language in family beyond one's own four walls—and ways to focus on culturally relevant subjects by asking future speakers what terms and ideas they need to learn. She also suggests incorporating complex forms of the language into ceremonies being revived under the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, finding help in external, nonnative communities, and using new technological tools including social networking 'to understand the language and its speakers more fully, to create and share new data, and to continue moving forward' (134).

AODÁN MAC PÓILIN tells the remarkable story—from his vantage point as insider and father/grandfather of Irish speakers raised there—of the multidecade emergence and development of Belfast's Shaw's Road Gaeltacht. A group of families came together in the 1960s to raise their

children with Irish as their first language in the midst of an urban setting that had been English-speaking for centuries—a conscious act of language revival (147). Their greatest challenge was to create ‘a linguistic environment in which the children spoke Irish as a matter of course’ (152), a challenge tackled by organized opportunities for the children to play together and creation of an Irish-medium school in which Aodán and his wife were active—a move that ultimately had them facing the dilemma of choosing between language survival and language revival, between the inwardly focused goal of building an active language community and the outwardly focused goal of increasing the number of speakers, which implied opening the school to English-speaking students. This is a tension Mac Póilán sees as bedeviling Irish-medium education in general.

Part 4, ‘Variations on a theme’, invites us into two families who experienced the challenges and delights of teaching their child a language while far removed from the heritage speech community. BRIAN BIELENBERG and AIGLI PITTAKA were raising their son Aliosha in the US to speak Kypriaka, Aigli’s endangered heritage dialect of Greek spoken in Cyprus. Brian had a basic fluency, but they were increasingly concerned that ‘English was becoming a comfort zone’ (175) in their home. When Aliosha was four, they decided to move to Cyprus, though it meant declining an attractive job offer in California, a decision that Aliosha’s now thriving bilingualism and biculturalism confirm for them as the right one. EZRA HALE reminisces that though he and his brother never set foot in Australia with their dad, they grew up understanding ‘his favorite language’ Warlpiri ‘through his voice alone’ (184), a shared communicative practice that became a lifelong bond for them.

It is in Part 5 (‘Family language-learning programs’) and Hinton’s concluding chapter that a program for family language reclamation planning becomes increasingly concretized in a how-to guide for parents to follow the inspiring road mapped out by the ‘language pioneers’ (225) in the preceding chapters. In Ch. 12, LAURA GRANT and JULIE TURNER introduce us to the Hernandez extended family of thirteen, including Kawaiisu native speaker Betty, and the Language at Home team working with them, including Julie and her father Luther (Betty’s brother)—an experienced mentor-apprentice team, and Native Language advocacy trainers Laura and Leanne. The family’s individually tailored ‘Language revitalization in the home’ program includes ten general guidelines, yearly milestones, and smaller milestones such as ‘Use the survival phrases “What am I doing?” and “What are you doing?” to elicit information from Betty or another speaker’ (200). We get a glimpse into the step-by-step, incremental, immensely challenging—and rewarding—work for all involved. Ch. 13 continues the theme of family language plans as tools in language reclamation with FINLAY MACLEOID’s overview of Total Immersion Plus methodologies and targeted parent-and-child-centered language courses developed and offered to hundreds of students since 1982 by the Taic/CNSA organization dedicated to saving Scottish Gaelic language and culture.

In the concluding chapter, Hinton draws on examples and experiences from across all of the chapters to address questions that parents face in bringing the heritage language into their home: Who should speak the language and what pattern of use should we adopt? What community supports and materials can we draw on? How can I get started? Hinton directly tackles potential problems arising from the presence of English in the children’s lives and from criticism or lack of support from other heritage speakers, the heritage community, or beyond. In addition, there is the problem of children’s potential rejection of the language, or their use of styles, genres, or registers unfamiliar to the parent. In each case, Hinton’s fund of wisdom and the experience of the pioneers assembled in the book provide honest reflection and encouraging guidance: ‘You must not let the imperfections of your own knowledge of the language keep you from speaking it ... Even if you can never make the language your main language of communication, you and your children can still give this beloved language of yours a place in your home and hearts’ (236). Here is a book that inspires, leads, and guides gently but surely toward that end.

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Singapore English: Structure, variation, and usage. By JAKOB R. E. LEIMGRUBER. (Studies in English language.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pp. xvi, 150. ISBN 9781107027305. \$90 (Hb).

Reviewed by ZHIMING BAO, *National University of Singapore*

Jakob Leimgruber's book is an updated version of his Ph.D. thesis entitled *Modelling variation in Singapore English*, completed in 2009 at Oxford University. The thesis title is a better fit with the content of the book, which is heavy on the traditional sociolinguistic descriptions of Singapore English, but rather light on grammatical structure and even lighter on usage. The book has six chapters and three appendices. Ch. 1, 'Singapore and its Englishes', narrates the history of Singapore since its annexation by the British in 1819 and the ethnic and linguistic composition over nearly 200 years. It also introduces the early views of Singapore English when the vernacular started to attract scholarly attention in the 1970s. These early views are covered in greater detail in Ch. 2. To collect data for his Ph.D. thesis, and the book, L conducted individual or group interviews in Singapore in the early 2000s, amounting to some sixteen hours of recordings. The interviews were carefully designed with due consideration to the usual sociolinguistic factors, such as register and formality. Though not large, the database of the recorded materials provides carefully calibrated data that supplement the data from published sources.

It is well known to students of contact languages that New Englishes exhibit enormous variation in terms of grammatical structure and user proficiency. Singapore English is no exception. How to characterize this variation has occupied the attention of linguists for the past half century, as L demonstrates in Ch. 2, 'Variation in Singapore English: Old and new models'. Of the models that have been proposed in the literature on Singapore English, L mentions four at some length, two 'old' and two 'new'. While the old models see the variability of Singapore English as a post-creole continuum or diglossia, the two new models approach the vernacular from the perspectives of culture and indexical field, respectively, and treat the inherited and locally derived morphosyntactic features as sociolinguistic variables that reveal the speaker's cultural orientation or social stances. In crucial respects, the four models introduced in the chapter are heavily influenced by the prevailing sociolinguistic theory—from postcreole continuum (DeCamp 1971) to diglossia (Ferguson 1959) to indexical field (Eckert 2008). But the indexical interpretation of the lexical or structural variables of Singapore English must be handled with care. Consider the conversational fragment shown in 1 (56).

- (1) We can eat *hor fun* there, I heard that the *hor fun* \emptyset quite famous. [to microphone] er
hor fun means rice noodles.

This fragment contains the locally derived word *hor fun*, a missing copula, and third-person verb agreement. L explains that the missing copula indexes the local stance, caused probably by the presence of *hor fun*; but the use of verb agreement, which represents the global stance, is an attempt by the speaker to break through the local stance for the benefit of outsiders. This explanation, though plausible, is not compelling. It requires a leap of faith to jump from the observed morphosyntactic features to the fine-tuned social meanings, or stances, that L attributes to them. Copula deletion, for example, is optional in Singapore English; that much can be established through even casual observation. The optionality, however, is not necessarily correlated with specific speaker intentions.

Chs. 3 and 4 are devoted to the structure of Singapore English, citing from the existing literature along with additional data from L's recordings. Ch. 3 ('Description: Phonology and lexicon') gives an overview of the sounds and words of Singapore English, all in seven pages. We learn that the lexicon contains words from the local languages Malay (*makan* 'food, eat'), Hokkien (*ang moh* 'Westerner'), and Cantonese (*hor fun* 'rice noodle'). One may add that recent Chinese borrowings are Mandarin-based, for example, *weibo* 'blog', reflecting the successful dialect-to-Mandarin shift that the Chinese community has experienced in the fifty years of independence. Since descriptions of many of the phonetic or phonological features were first published decades earlier, it would be interesting to comb through L's recordings to see if these features show observable phonological change since they were first reported. Unfortunately, this is not attempted in the chapter. L does make an attempt to provide an indexical interpretation of some of the peculiar phonological facts, as he does with words such as *hor fun*. So we are told that an aspirated stop in word-final position indexes pretension (66), but this assertion needs to be justified.

Ch. 4 ('Description: grammar') is devoted to the novel morphosyntactic features of Singapore English. These include inflection or lack thereof (*He marry a Singaporean*), copula deletion (*My uncle staying there*), and Chinese-derived aspectual markers such as *already* and *got*. There is also extensive discussion of sentence-final particles, such as *mah* and *lor* (*Because she wants to sing mah, ... , so we just groom her lor*). These features, whose Chinese origin is well understood, have all been discussed in the literature, and they are instantiated in L's database as well. L makes an interesting attempt to profile the features in terms of frequency of use, linking them with the diglossic H(igh) and L(ow) registers of the vernacular. Unfortunately, this is underexplored, due, perhaps, to the rather small size of the database.

Equally underdeveloped is the indexicality model of Singapore English, which is the topic of Ch. 5 ('Indexicality: A model for Singapore?'). The crux of the model is the three-step process (107): the speaker first selects a stance (say, the local stance), then selects the appropriate value of a morphosyntactic variable (say, no copula), and finally produces the utterance (*He tall* 'He is tall'). L claims that the indexicality model has two advantages. First, it does not need to distinguish the standard (H) and colloquial (L) varieties of Singapore English, which the other models, especially the lectal or diglossic model, would require. Second, indexing depends on speaker agency—the speaker initiates the process of attaching social meanings (stances) to the morphosyntactic features. Why speaker agency is considered an advantage is not explained. The difficulty in drawing dialectal or registral boundaries is not unique to Singapore English, and it is a self-inflicted burden on the part of students of Singapore English, and of contact languages generally, to insist that the acrolect be distinguished from the basilect—or H from L—on the basis of a checklist of morphosyntactic features. The question *Are you sure ah?* (108) consists of a standard question *Are you sure?* and the particle *ah*. L claims that the lectal or diglossic model sees it as an example of code-switching—between the acrolect and the basilect or between H and L—and that this needs to be rejected in favor of the indexicality model, which sees the particle *ah* as an index of some local stance. Upon closer scrutiny, however, the indexicality model faces the same difficulty. According to L, as a well-formed question in standard English, *Are you sure?* indexes a global stance. We are compelled to see the utterance *Are you sure ah?* as an example of stance-switching (or stance-mixing), a prospect no less problematic than treating the utterance as an example of code-switching. Furthermore, the attribution of stances to morphosyntactic features appears to rely on erstwhile lectal or diglossic distinctions and is often arbitrary. It is not clear to me, for example, why *Are you sure?* does not index a local stance, along with the particle *ah*. This is what we would expect if both *Are you sure?* and *ah* are treated as bona fide linguistic forms of Singapore English, regardless of origin.

Ch. 6 is the conclusion, which briefly summarizes the main points of the book. The three appendices list the segmental and tonal inventories of three main Chinese dialects, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Hokkien (Appendix A), the informants' metadata (Appendix B), and the Sino-Tibetan languages (Appendix C).

Overall, the book is a welcome addition to the scholarship of Singapore English, and to the scholarship of New Englishes generally. Despite the title, the book breaks no new ground in our

understanding of the grammar and use of Singapore English. The novel part of the book is the indexicality model, which provides a new sociolinguistic platform from which to look at how Singapore English marshals the social, cultural, and linguistic resources of the contact ecology into an effective communication tool.

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Wisconsin talk: Linguistic diversity in the Badger State. Ed. by THOMAS PURNELL, ERIC RAIMY, and JOSEPH SALMONS. (Languages and folklore of the Upper Midwest.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013. Pp. 173. ISBN 9780299293338. \$24.95 (Pb), \$16.95 (e-book).

Reviewed by WAYNE O'NEIL, *MIT*

Beginning in the early twentieth century, the Wisconsin Idea, applied to education, obligated the University of Wisconsin to serve the people. Service took 'the form of experimentation in dairying and farming methods, rural education through local farm institutes, medical and public health services, and expert assistance in drafting social and labor legislation' (Workers of the Wisconsin Writers' Program 1941:121–22).

In this context, what is a linguist to do? In the mid-twentieth century, it was what Einar Haugen did for the Norwegian language of the Midwest (1953) and what Frederic Cassidy did for the varieties of Wisconsin English and later, in Cassidy & Hall 1985–2013, for the country as a whole.

Thomas Purnell, Eric Raimy, and Joseph Salmons, the editors of *Wisconsin talk*, have carried this tradition on into the age of the internet (<http://csumc.wisc.edu/wep/>), their work fittingly supported in part by the Wisconsin Idea Endowment. This book is a print summary of some of that work. For discussion of the origins and development of the Wisconsin Englishes Project, its place in linguistics education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and its outreach into Wisconsin's language communities, see Purnell et al. 2013.

The book consists of ten short chapters bookended by a foreword, Salmons's preface, and the editors' introduction, and Salmons's conclusion and outlook. In keeping with the spirit of the Idea, the book serves the people with a nontechnical, clear, and very enjoyable examination of the languages of Wisconsin: no grammatical rules or derivations, and no tree graphs, with only a stray IPA symbol here and there.

Following the preface and the editors' introduction (an overview of the chapters to follow), *Wisconsin talk* begins in the beginning, with KAREN WASHINAWATOK and MONICA MACAULAY's discussion of the history and state of the native languages of Wisconsin (15–25), with an emphasis on revitalization projects (e.g. Ho-Chunk and Menominee) and methods (immersion and master-apprentice programs). They acknowledge that 'language revitalization is a tough road to follow But it can also be exciting and exhilarating, and many members of the native communities of Wisconsin are devoting their lives to it' (24).

FELECIA LUCHT surveys the 'Older immigrant languages' (26–36) of Wisconsin, of which German and Polish are the most prominent, 45% of Wisconsinites claiming German ancestry in

1990, 15% Polish ancestry (69, 72). An immigrant language that is older but new to Wisconsin is Pennsylvania Dutch. Figure 2.4 (35) shows nearly as many Wisconsin speakers of this thriving language as of Italian (~5000) in 2006–2008, though elsewhere in this volume, it is claimed the Pennsylvania Dutch population in the state has reached ~10,000 (xiii). Nevertheless, speakers of German, even at this late date, still dominate the older language landscape: there are in excess of 35,000 (35).

Lucht's chapter leads directly to ANTJE PETTY's on Wisconsin's German-language schools (37–57), with mention of the state's other immigrant language schools. Lucht concludes that the history of these schools 'refutes the myth that immigrants in the past immediately gave up their tongues in favor of English' (55). In fact, in part, Wisconsin's German-language schools were established to provide the schooling that German immigrants 'had become used to' in Germany and that was more demanding than public school education in the state in the mid-nineteenth century when Germans began to arrive in Wisconsin in large numbers (40–42).

KRISTIN SPETH's 'Non-Wisconsin sound of southwest Wisconsin' (58–67) looks first at the Cornish English that influenced English in that area of the state, characterized by loss of initial /h/ and *Ah* for *I*, for example, which was the result of the immigration of Cornish workers to the tin mines in and around Mineral Point. But in time the Cornish effect has worn away as the area's proximity to the Upper Midlands English of northwestern Illinois and southeastern Iowa led to that English dialect's crossing state boundaries and the Mississippi River.

LUANNE VON SCHNEIDEMESSER's 'Words used in Wisconsin' (68–81), citing material from Cassidy & Hall 1985–2013 (of which she is senior editor), discusses loanwords and loan translations from early immigrant languages: for example, *bratwurst*; *sheepshead* < German *Schafskopf*, a card game; *headcheese* < Dutch *hoofdkaas*; and *bakery* meaning 'baked goods'—'chiefly Ger[man] settlement areas' (71–73). Von Schneidemesser also cites product names and other local developments: for example, *bubbler*, *lannon stone*, and *parking ramp* (74–76).

Von Schneidemesser discusses not just words but constructions as well, for example, the intransitive *with*, as in *Do you want to come with?*. Compare German *Kommst du mit?*, which, perhaps along with Wisconsin's other Germanic languages, has led to the English construction (77).

Between these chapters and chapters on two newer immigrant languages, there is an interlude: ERIC RAIMY's 'Standard English' (82–96) and THOMAS PURNELL's 'Ethnicity and language' (97–110), the latter focused on African American English. Unlike the other chapters of *Wisconsin talk*, Raimy and Purnell present material that is less closely tied to Wisconsin. However, these chapters do fill in an overall picture of language and community that binds the chapters that precede and follow them together. These chapters also remind us, as do nearly all the chapters in this book, that all linguistics is not local: what happens in Wisconsin is happening throughout the country and the world.

SUSAN MEREDITH BURT's chapter deals with a new immigrant language: 'Hmong in Wisconsin' (111–22). The Hmong are different from the other groups represented in this book, not because they are Asian, but because they are technically refugees, not immigrants. They are a people who, in the aftermath of the war in Southeast Asia, were with some reluctance offered refuge by the United States from Thailand, to which they had fled from Laos. Nevertheless, the Hmong, having been settled in Wisconsin, as well as in Minnesota and California, have taken on the appearance of a traditional, somewhat isolated immigrant community: large extended families with large numbers of children, 'households [where] Hmong is spoken' (table 8.1, p. 113). As Burt points out, however, there is very little support for maintaining the language outside of its communities: it is not taught in Wisconsin schools (120), and English is having its inevitable effect on Hmong youth (117–19).

CATHERINE STAFFORD's chapter 'Spanish in Wisconsin' (123–41) proceeds from general questions about '[w]hat stands in the way of highly proficient bilingualism in the United States' and '[w]hat ... it take[s] to promote highly proficient bilingualism' (127–38) to the conclusion that for Wisconsin's nearly 300,000 Latinos, the future is mixed. For there are factors that 'bode well for the continued vitality of Spanish in Wisconsin' (139): a young population and use of the language at home. There are other factors, however, that 'may contribute to undermining the vitality

of Spanish across the state' (139): the drop in new, revitalizing Latino immigration into the state and the focus on transitional bilingual rather than on additive bilingual education (139–40). Thus it is not clear what the future holds for Spanish in Wisconsin.

The size, density, and location of Wisconsin's languages and dialects are given visual representation in more than thirty maps, most of them the work of cartographer MARK LIVENGOOD, who is also responsible for the book's photographs (of a bubbler and a parking-ramp sign, for example). Livengood is the author of *Wisconsin talk*'s final chapter, 'Mapping Wisconsin's linguistic landscapes' (142–49).

In this chapter, Livengood discusses 'the cartographer's toolkit' that he brought to bear in this volume: 'The challenge of representation involves identifying and organizing reputable qualitative and quantitative data and selecting the appropriate technique to map it in a way that is clear, appealing, and spatially interesting' (146). Livengood has more than met this challenge.

Wisconsin talk concludes with Salmons's questions and their answers (152).

- '[W]ill languages other than English continue to be spoken in the state? Almost certainly, they will. New people will surely continue to come to Wisconsin ...' Witness the growing Pennsylvania Dutch community.
- '[H]ow will schools deal with language in the future?' If they pay attention to this book, then better than they do now.
- '[W]hat will happen to the distinctive kinds of English spoken in the state? It seems very safe to say that regional English will clearly continue to evolve here ... [Possibly becoming] more distinctive in its sounds and words and structures.'

We must wait for the next instantiation of *Wisconsin talk* to learn how the answers to these three questions actually play themselves out. Meanwhile, the editors are to be commended for this excellent interim report.

Finally, to conclude on a personal note: in his preface, Salmons writes, 'If you're reading this book, you probably have some connection to the state of Wisconsin' (xi). So (full disclosure), I must own up to my connection: I was born and raised in Kenosha and did all of my university work at the University of Wisconsin, well before one had to add Madison to its name. But the Wisconsin that I left in 1960 is not the Wisconsin presented in Purnell's chapter on African American English and Burt and Stafford's chapters on Hmong and Spanish. When I recently looked through my 1950 high school yearbook, I found three African Americans out of a school population of ~1500 students. This accords well with figure 7.1 (103), which shows that in 1900 there were between twenty-five and seventy-four African Americans in Kenosha County. Kenosha was not by local ordinance a 'sundown town', but during World War II African Americans were not allowed to work at any of Kenosha's factories except Nash Motors, and there only in the extreme heat of the foundry. Moreover, shut out of housing in Kenosha, they lived in Milwaukee or across the state line in northern Illinois (Zophy 1976:59). Figure 7.2 (104) reveals a new and different picture: the population of African Americans in Kenosha County (almost entirely in the city) had risen to over 10,000 in 2010. In the state, an African American population of 2,542 in 1900 is now close to 360,000.

There also were no Latino or Asian surnames in my 1950 yearbook, while heavily represented were Yankee and older immigrant surnames: German, Irish, Italian, Scandinavian, Polish, and other East European names, a few Armenian among others. In 2010, when I returned to Kenosha for my sixtieth high school reunion, my classmates were no more diverse; there were just fewer of us and we were much older. But the streets of this rust-belt city were no longer the streets of my youth. There were now bodegas, taquerias, many Asian restaurants (not just the one that existed back in the day), abandoned factories, and replacing a lakeside Simmons® factory that I worked at as a cog in the manufacture of Beautyrest® mattresses, there was a marina and condos catering to wealthy folks from Chicago.

Moreover, I do not speak or recognize the features of Kenosha English mentioned in this book (8–9). Clearly, the Wisconsin talk scene has changed dramatically during my longer-than-half-

century absence. And as this book clearly shows, that scene is refreshingly and differently diverse and dramatically changed from what it was sixty years ago, but its immigrant-language future is precarious, nevertheless.

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A history of German: What the past reveals about today's language. By JOSEPH SALMONS. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xvi, 396. ISBN 9780199697946. \$35.

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This is an exciting time for linguists who specialize in and teach the history of major European languages. The well-established narratives that dominated textbooks and introductory courses for generations have unraveled in a number of interesting ways. Current theoretical debates raise fundamental questions about the nature of language change. Societal and ideological changes have led many language historians to shift their focus away from standard languages and traditional dialects and pay much more attention to the full range and richness of discourse. Technological advances are giving us increasingly massive databases and new tools that allow us to answer questions concerning, for example, subtle shifts in frequency of usage that few even thought to ask a generation ago. Equally significant are new possibilities for collaboration and publication. With *A history of German* and the companion website at <http://www.historyofgerman.net/>, Joseph Salmons has given us a new kind of textbook that not only reflects all of these changes but also makes its own significant contribution to progress in the field.

The basic organization of the book is conventional, with a short introduction and conclusion sandwiching six chronologically ordered chapters that take us from Proto-Indo-European to the present. These chapters provide solid coverage of familiar ground: Grimm's Law, reduction and loss of unstressed syllables, High-German consonant shift, umlaut, simplification of inflection and rise of periphrastic constructions, standardization, regional and social variation, and so on. As we would expect based on the book's subtitle, there is a pervasive emphasis on connections between remote historical facts and patterns that are still observable today. This is of great pedagogical value and broadly consistent with current 'evolutionary' approaches to grammatical structure (354).

In his extensive coverage of recent and ongoing research, S is often critical but also strikingly inclusive and open-minded. The focus is on open questions and work in progress. Indeed, S presents the entire project of writing the history of German as one grand, collaborative work in progress and encourages readers to play an active role. The Updates page on the companion web-

site contains a growing list of comments from readers, accompanied by remarks from S that make clear how the project will benefit from this feedback. I have recently sent in my own lists, and I offer here three examples of points where S's accounts have inspired me to think in new ways about phenomena that have long interested me and to formulate some suggestions for revisions or clarifications.

First, S characterizes the 'Bavarian quantity relations' (BQR)—which he discusses in connection with both Early New High German (ENHG) lenition (242–44) and word-final neutralization of fortis-lenis contrasts (AUSLAUTVERHÄRTUNG, 290–93)—as follows: 'the laryngeal quality of a final obstruent associates with vowel quality ... a long or tense nucleus requires a lax or lenis coda obstruent, while a short or lax nucleus correlates with a tense or fortis coda obstruent' (291). This is accurate, but it does not provide a complete picture of the (morpho)phonological or dialectological significance of the BQR, and it could leave readers with some false assumptions about how the pattern arose historically.

I would start by explaining that the fortis obstruents of Bavarian are almost all reflexes of Old High German (OHG) geminates, affricates, and certain clusters. When such historically long consonants occur medially in modern Bavarian, the stressed syllable is always of the lax vowel + fortis consonant type, whereas intervocalic reflexes of simplex obstruents are lenis and the preceding stressed vowel is tense/long. This is very similar to the pattern that has developed in standard German and, as S explains elsewhere (132–33, 236–38), can be plausibly accounted for in terms of the same preference for bimoraic stressed syllables that gave rise to most of the OHG intervocalic geminates and affricates in the first place.

Turning to monosyllables, the mere fact that Central and Northern Bavarian have a systematic contrast here corresponding to that between the two prosodic types of nonfinal stressed syllables is already remarkable, but the full significance of the BQR only becomes clear when we understand that the scope of the contrast is greatly expanded in monosyllables, and the lexical/morphological distribution of the two prosodic types is quite different from what we would expect based on other varieties of High German or on disyllabic words in Bavarian. Basically, monosyllables ending in underlyingly short/lenis consonants are, as expected, always of the tense vowel + lenis type, but monosyllables ending in underlyingly long/fortis obstruents, as well as certain clusters, can be of either type. This is surely a prime example of what Blevins labels an 'uncommon sound pattern' (2004:192–214): we normally expect word-final position to be a place where laryngeal and length contrasts are likely to be neutralized, but many such contrasts in modern Bavarian—specifically those involving affricates and reflexes of clusters (/pf/~/bʏ/, /ts/~/d͡z/, /ʃ/~/ʒ/, etc.)—occur only word-finally. The historical explanation is that all pre-apocope monosyllables in these dialects underwent the EINSILBERDEHNUNG (lengthening/tensing of vowels and concomitant lenition of all word-final obstruents), whereas word forms that were rendered monosyllabic by apocope were not subject to the Einsilberdehnung and thus retain their underlying prosodic structure (Kranzmayer 1956:94–104). The resulting morphophonological alternations play an important role in Bavarian noun inflection, for example, [ti:ʒ]–[tʃ:] 'table(s)' (Zehetner 1983). Some of the details here may go beyond the scope of an introductory textbook, but if the BQR are to be discussed at all, I think it would be important—and possible—to give readers a fuller sense of how unusual and interesting this system is.

Second, in modern standard German, no feminine nouns ever take any case endings in the singular—with most ending in an *-e* that is regarded to be part of the lexical stem—and the vast majority have *-(e)n* throughout the plural, as illustrated by the noun *Gabe* 'gift' in Table 1 below. S (151, 200–202, 246, 303–4) treats this pattern as a continuation of the Germanic *ō*-declension, exemplified by the OHG and Middle High German (MHG) forms of *gēba/gēbe* 'gift' in Table 1. He accounts for the modern presence of *-n* in the nominative and accusative plural by positing that *-n* 'presumably spread from those earlier dative/genitive forms into all plural forms' (246). In other words, S locates the motivation for the emergence of the modern pattern—which is *-n* in all and only plural forms—within the MHG *ō*-declension itself. He mentions a secondary role for the general trend to highlight the singular-plural distinction at the expense of case marking, but posits no role at all for the *n*-declension, illustrated in Table 1 by the OHG and MHG forms of

zunga/zunge ‘tongue’. The standard account, by contrast, maintains that the modern feminine pattern is, historically, a ‘mixed declension’ (Paul 1989:198, Braune & Reiffenstein 2004:197, Nübling 2008) that owes as much to the earlier *n*-declension as it does to the *ō*-declension. Specifically, the claim is that the modern feminines are ‘strong’ (\approx *ō*-declension) in the singular but ‘weak’ (*n*-declension) in the plural.

		OHG <i>ō</i> -DECL.	MHG	MODERN FEM.	OHG <i>n</i> -DECL.	MHG
SG.	NOM	gēba	gēbe	Gabe	zunga	zunge
	ACC	gēba	gēbe	Gabe	zungūn	zungen
	DAT	gēbu	gēbe	Gabe	zungūn	zungen
PL.	GEN	gēba	gēbe	Gabe	zungūn	zungen
	NOM	gēba	gēbe	Gaben	zungūn	zungen
	ACC	gēba	gēbe	Gaben	zungūn	zungen
	DAT	gēbōm	gēben	Gaben	zungōm	zungen
	GEN	gēbōno	gēben	Gaben	zungōno	zungen

TABLE 1. Largest classes of feminine nouns in OHG, MHG, and modern standard German.

I think a strong case can be made for this traditional account. From Proto-Germanic through MHG, there is considerable evidence that it was the *n*-declension and not, as S claims, the *ō*-declension that constituted ‘the default class’ (151) for feminines (Krahe 1969b:63–64, 93–94). In OHG, we see the strong productivity of the *n*-declension in its use for feminine counterparts to masculine agent nouns (e.g. *forasaga* ‘prophetess’), for loanwords (e.g. *kirihha* ‘church’), and for foreign women’s names (e.g. *Maria*) (Braune & Reiffenstein 2004:210). Moreover, *ō*-to-*n* shifts always outnumber *n*-to-*ō* (Krahe 1969a:48–49, Paul 1989:198, 204, Braune & Reiffenstein 2004:197, 210). Lastly, there is an indisputable instance of the *n*-declension influencing the *ō*-declension back in pre-OHG times with the analogical extension of the *-ōno* ending in the genitive plural, replacing Germanic *-ō*.

The long-standing debate over whether analogical changes that result in greater similarity among forms within a (sub)paradigm are motivated primarily by intraparadigmatic or by interparadigmatic (‘proportional’) relations has usually focused on the leveling of stem alternations (Fertig 2013:72–76). This case shows that the same issues can arise with changes involving inflectional affixes.

Finally, there are two points that S and many others do not mention in discussing the southern German replacement of the preterit by the perfect (257–58, 314, 345) but that a number of scholars regard as crucial (e.g. Dal 1960): (i) Weak preterit forms are still in very widespread use today in the dialects of the South. The innovation in these dialects is not the loss of these forms but rather the restriction of their use to the subjunctive (irrealis); (ii) At least in modern Bavarian, these forms always have a linking vowel preceding the *-t(-)* of the preterit suffix. This vowel is mainly a reflex of the *-ō-* of the class II weak verbs of OHG, but it has been extended analogically to all weak verbs and in many dialects to strong verbs as well, yielding modern Bavarian forms such as *schickat(-)* ‘would send’, *kāmat(-)* ‘would come’ (Schirmunski 1962:511–14).

Point (ii) is problematic specifically for claims about the role of factors such as apocope and syncope in preterit loss, but (i) suggests more generally that any account that approaches the PRÄTERITUMSCHWUND by asking why preterit forms were lost in Southern dialects is on the wrong track since the (weak) forms were never lost. We should instead be asking how and when these forms came to be restricted to irrealis functions. S rightly stresses the importance of ‘integrat[ing] multiple factors into the analysis’ (258). One factor that puts the southern German developments in a broader context is the homophony that arose in the Middle Ages between the preterit indicative and subjunctive of weak verbs in almost all varieties of West Germanic as a result of the reduction of unstressed vowels. For some centuries, speakers apparently dealt with this homophony by opting for available periphrastic alternatives whenever they felt the need or desire to disambiguate. Eventually, almost everywhere, at least one of these constructions gained the upper hand over the old synthetic forms. In most places, it is the preterit subjunctive that has been largely re-

placed by AUX + infinitive constructions (English *should/would*, German *würde (sollte)* (see p. 314), Dutch *zouden*, etc.), while the preterit indicative survives. Many southern German dialects have taken the alternate route of retaining the old synthetic forms for irrealis functions and completely replacing the preterit indicative with the perfect. This raises the possibility that the complete loss of preterit forms that we see in many modern colloquial varieties of German and in Yiddish might be largely a reflection of contact between dialects of these two types.

In sum, S has produced a brilliant and challenging book that is already spurring fruitful discussion and collaboration. This project will give students a real sense of our dynamic field, with its lively debates and intriguing open questions. For many students, S's book and website will be their first taste of Germanic historical linguistics and perhaps their first exposure to linguistics of any kind. It will not be long before many young colleagues start telling us that what first turned them on to the serious study of language was S's *A history of German*.

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