SHORTER NOTICES

Guglielmo Cinque & Giuliana Giusti (eds.), *Advances in Roumanian linguistics*. (Linguistics Today **10**.) Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995. Pp. xii+172.

Reviewed by AAFKE HULK, Department of French, University of Amsterdam

This volume contains six papers which were presented at a generative syntax workshop on Rumanian held at the University of Venice in June 1992. Nominal projections have intriguing properties in Rumanian and constitute the topic of two articles. Giusti questions the assumption, often found in the literature, that all so-called determiners have the same categorial status. She shows that of the two dual, universal quantifiers in Rumanian, one (*amindoi*) behaves like a head, while the other (*ambii*) patterns like a prenominal adjective, a modifier. A similar phenomenon is found in German, where the dual *beide* can also function both as an adjective and as a head. Giusti shows that none of these two classes of quantifiers can be unified with other determiners. Demonstratives and Possessives are not real determiners either: Giusti analyses them as modifiers generated in the Specifier of different functional nominal projections. Only articles are real determiners, generated in the head of DP, if nothing else is inserted in this position. A comparison with Mainland Scandinavian languages which seem to display an enclitic article on a par with Rumanian closes Giusti's paper. Cornilescu also discusses functional nominal projections, particularly with respect to Rumanian genitive constructions. This is a very rich and dense article with many interesting examples and numerous assumptions to account for the complex data. Only a few points will be mentioned here. Cornilescu argues that the genitive inside DP is a structural case assigned in the Specifier of an AgrGenP, a functional projection below DP. At S-structure it appears postnominally. This genitive case is assigned under government by the 'genitival article' *al*, which she analyses as a expletive, functional D-head agreeing with the head noun. *Al* is inserted at S-structure to rescue derivations that would otherwise be out.

(1)   un autor   AL acestui   complot
      an author AL this-GEN plot

The definite, enclitic article *-l* can also assign this genitive case:

(2)   autoru**l**   acestui   complot
      author-the this-GEN plot

A very interesting issue is presented by constructions where the N may directly assign genitive case to a possessive pronoun which cliticizes onto it. Such a noun must be determinerless, which suggests – according to Cornilescu – that it is itself a D, in a configuration similar to the construct state of Semitic languages. In general Rumanian allows only one Gen per DP. However, there is one construction, headed by a topicalized adjective which bears the definite article, that allows two genitive phrases, one of which must be pronominal. Cornilescu argues that this second genitive position is Spec NumP, available only for pronouns; it appears prenominally:

(3)   D. şi   cunoscuta **lui** traducere **a**   acestui roman
   D and known-the his translation AL this   novel-GEN

Finally, Cornilescu shows that the syntax of prenominal genitives in Rumanian DPs is relevant for theories about (clitic) pronouns. Clitics also constitute the topic of the paper by Dobrovie-Sorin who analyses clitic placement, very unusually, as adjunction to a Specifierless IP. Her main arguments are based on the order of verbs and complement clitics in French (positive) imperatives and negative interrogatives. Unfortunately, she makes assumptions without discussion and independent motivation, for example she proposes generating NegP between CP and IP in French, which goes against well established analyses in the literature. Moreover, her (crucial) assumption that imperatives always lack overt subjects in SPEC,IP raises empirical problems: a number of languages such as Old French, Modern Spanish and Dutch allow imperatives with pronominal subjects. Dobrovie-Sorin claims to need this clitic theory in order to account for the strict ordering properties of Rumanian clitic clusters and the idiosyncratic

behaviour of the enclitic -*o*. However, although these properties are intriguing and cannot readily be accounted for by standard clitic theories, Dobrovie-Sorin will have to elaborate her own proposal and motivate it independently before it can be considered as a viable alternative.

Farkas & Zec argue convincingly for the idea that agreement features of coordinate and pronominal Noun Phrases are directly determined by the properties of their discourse referents. This can be explained by assuming that both are headless noun phrases. The setting of agreement features of lexically headed noun phrases, on the contrary, involves feature percolation in the morpho-syntactic component. Their proposal makes interesting predictions with respect to the determination of agreement features of other headless Noun Phrases, such as *le bleu* or *le troisième* in French; these predictions have to be checked in future research. Grosu also deals with missing elements: he studies Rumanian Free Relatives with 'missing prepositions' and *wh*-phrases that play a ' double role':

(4) Lucrez [cu cine lucrezi şi tu].
    'I work with whom you (too) work.'

Grosu discusses the problems of previous proposals and presents mostly new and convincing arguments in favour of the following structure:

(5)
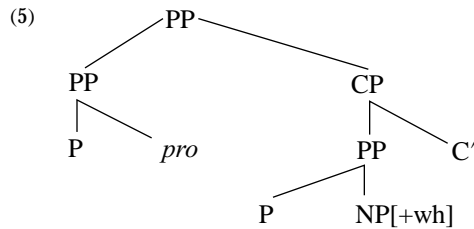
Data from several languages (French, German, English) are advanced to support his analysis which he hypothesizes to hold for all languages.

Motapanyane's short article is the last of the present volume. It shows that an approach to NP-movement in terms of Case Theory cannot account for all the occurrences of this process. In particular, NP-movement out of finite subjunctive clauses in Rumanian is difficult to explain:

(6) studenţii   par   ša pregătească a grevă
    the students seem-3P ŠA prepare-3PL a strike

The author compares this construction with seemingly similar cases in Italian and Greek. She finally adopts a rather sketchy analysis in which the interaction of properties of I and C plays a crucial role. It is an interesting proposal which however still needs further theoretical and empirical support and independent motivation.

Summarizing, this volume is of interest not only to linguists working on Rumanian, but to all generative syntacticians who care to take cross linguistic comparison into account. I quite agree with the two editors who – in the introduction – stress both this cross-linguistic perspective of the articles and also the interest engendered by the areal and genetic features of Rumanian, a Romance language in the so-called 'Balkan league'.

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Anthony Fox, *Linguistic reconstruction: an introduction to theory and method.* (Oxford Texts in Linguistics.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. xvii + 372.

Reviewed by JAMES HEARNE, Western Washington University.

Users of the classical and influential texts in historical linguistics will know that in them, material on methods of historical reconstruction cohabited freely with other material on the theory of

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language change. It is now perhaps more clearly understood that the study of language change embraces a much greater range of considerations than (as yet) can be exploited in historical reconstruction and newer text books reflect this understanding by tending to focus exclusively on purely reconstructive issues or exploring language change more generally, irrespective of its bearing on reconstruction. The present text falls into the former category, the author's avowed purpose being to offer an introduction to the process of historical reconstruction that reflects recent developments and current practice in linguistic reconstruction.

Such a policy of isolating purely reconstructive terms has its disadvantages. It is natural that texts preoccupied with historical reconstruction encourage students to identify the study of language through time with what is reconstructively relevant. Since methods of historical reconstruction are dictated by the comparatively limited data that historical linguists work with, this arouses perhaps a somewhat impoverished understanding of the processes and causes of language change. On the other hand, addressing reconstruction specifically, abstracted from the more general phenomena of language change, permits a greater focus on technique and actual practice in such activities such as the hypothesis and verification of laws of sound change.

In fact, Fox is not altogether faithful to his stated aims. A better characterization of the topics covered would be the study of language change where data is irremediably sparse, i.e., the typical situation with all historical study. In this text the term 'reconstruction' is frequently stretched to cover scholarly activities in which nothing is reconstructed; rather, hypotheses about the past are explored, supported or discomfited. The author, for example, gives generous attention to Greenberg's method of mass comparison which has been so vigorously criticised precisely because it is not reconconstructive.

However – ignoring the terminological quibble about the term 'reconstruction' – the book does a good job of drawing together and providing a fairly consistent presentation of a variety of historical views. The general development is bottom-up, beginning with techniques tied to close phonological description (comparative and internal reconstruction), proceeding on to the consideration of phylogenetic relationships, and statistical techniques. Fox concludes with a chapter on the relation of linguistic reconstruction to other historical and pre-historical study. Noticeably absent is any account of the role of computers in historical linguistics.

Besides breadth of scope, the text provides an excellent bibliography (subgrouped and annotated at the end of each chapter so that the relevance of bibliographic entries to topics is obvious). Examples are drawn freely from many linguistic traditions, not just Indo-European, and readers are provided with a good sense of the controversies that animate the discipline. The author's aim is to provide the student with a sense not only of techniques but of the discipline itself. He provides a very competent and sensitive account of the rival approaches in historical studies and provides also a sense of the consequent tentative character even of fundamental matters.

In spite of the book's strengths, I have some reservations about its pedagogy. First, the quality and organization of presentation is somewhat uneven. For example, the initial chapter on internal reconstruction suffers from an attempt to explain abstractly what might better be approached more straightforwardly by example. In this chapter, as elsewhere, the author seems uncertain as to the background students bring to the study of historical linguistics. Though the text is addressed to students with merely a course in general linguistics, at certain points in the exposition, the author seems unsure of what technical notion he may bring to bear without explanation. Worse, in several instances, he makes significant use of a technical term and later defines it, making his understanding of the prerequisites all that more difficult. For these minor shortcomings, teachers should be prepared to compensate.

A second reservation also concerns pedagogy. The author tells us that that this text developed from 'a two-page handout distributed to students in a brief general course on historical linguistics'. The text bears the mark of its origins. A two-page handout cannot hope to impart skills, only general knowledge. In a text focusing on a scholarly practice honed by certain kinds of data – sparse data – one would hope that the presentation would support, even aid, the development of exercises in which students could test their comprehension of the techniques described. Admittedly without the experience of having used it in a class, I venture that most methods are not described in sufficient detail to enable students to try them out. This text remains something of a summary and I believe that teachers must provide their own bridge materials (and exercises) to enable students to put the techniques covered into practice. However, this is a common fault of texts in this area and is not exhibited to an extreme degree in this one.

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Stephen J. Hannahs, *Prosodic structure and French morphophonology*. (Linguistiche Arbeiten, **337**). Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995. Pp. viii + 75.

Reviewed by Douglas C. Walker, The University of Calgary

Prosodic structure and French morphophonology, a revision of the author's 1991 University of Delaware dissertation, presents an analysis of a number of the major elements of Modern French morphophonology (nasalization, glide formation, closed syllable adjustment, the appearance of schwa in penultimate syllables, learned backing) within the framework of Prosodic Phonology as represented principally in the work of Nespor and Vogel (1986). Concentrating primarily on the phonological word in French, Hannahs shows how a proper definition of this central unit permits the correct identification of the environments in which these morphophonemic rules apply, a result which then obviates the need for ordered levels (à la Lexical Phonology) in French phonology and morphology, contrary to claims made in certain influential analyses such as those by Johnson (1987) or Withgott (1982).

Crucial to Hannahs' analysis is the lack of isomorphism between morphological and phonological units in French. In particular, he argues, citing parallels from Italian, Hungarian and Korean, that the phonological word in French consists of either a prefix in isolation or of a stem plus suffixes. In this, he is in keeping with other recent work (e.g. Laeufer 1995), which investigates the crucial phenomenon of syllabification against much the same background. Moreover, whether or not ostensibly identical prefixes are in fact realizations of the same morpheme depends on factors such as their productivity, scope and semantic transparency. Thus, for the two French 'prefixes' *in-*, Hannahs shows that differences in the preceding characteristics distinguish contrasting forms such as *innombrable* [**in**(n)ɔ̃bʀabl] versus *innavigable* [ɛ̃navigabl] (assimilating versus nasalizing *in-*). This permits the conclusion that only nasalizing *in-* is a phonologically isolatable prefix. As a consequence, it alone constitutes an independent phonological word, while assimilating *in-*, along with the following stem, is part of a single unanalysable unit (in phonological terms). This difference in phonological representation (one versus two phonological words) then permits the appropriate definition of contexts for the statement of the nasalization rule in French, and in so doing removes the need for a level-ordered analysis which would recognize two *in-* prefixes on separate levels.

Not surprisingly, similar arguments are advanced to deal with a number of further morphophonological phenomena in French. Glide formation (*scie ~ scier* [si ~ sje]; *tue ~ tuer* [ty ~ tɥe]; *joue ~ jouer* [ʒu ~ ʒwe]) is shown to be a domain span rule, applying within but not between phonological words; hence, it is blocked in prefix-stem combinations such as *semi-aride* [səmiaʀid; *səmjaʀid]. Closed Syllable Adjustment (which accounts for ə ~ ɛ and e ~ ɛ alternations) and Penultimate Schwa Specification (which accounts for the appearance of Schwa in a variety of contexts including *sucre*rie, *porte-clés* and *quatorze femmes*, the first two obligatorily, the last optionally) also lend themselves to just this type of analysis. The former process is approximately defined in terms of the phonological word and, once the non-isomorphism between phonology and morphology is considered, again permits Hannahs to dispense with level ordering. Penultimate Schwa Specification makes reference to the clitic group and to the difference between lexical stress and Clitic Group Stress (thereby providing, incidentally, an argument for lexical stress in French): this appearance of schwa is obligatory when the schwa is followed in the clitic group by a lexically stressed syllable, optional elsewhere. (Once again, the mapping between clitic groups and syntactic structure is far from isomorphic.)

Hannahs next turns his attention to the distinction between the learned versus non-learned lexical strata in French, a partition that has previously been analyzed in morphophonemic terms (Dell & Selkirk 1978). Using a combination of phonological and morphological arguments (basically, the non-predictability of which stems will undergo Learned backing and the failure

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of the rule to encompass the full range of (morpho)phonological relationships between the forms in question), Hannahs proposes instead a suppletive analysis, where stem alternates are listed and both morphological and phonological sub-regularities are indicated diacritically. This avoids the problems in a rule-oriented approach and assigns the various sub-regularities (appropriately, in my opinion) to lexical subcategorization. Once again, such an analysis removes the need for ordered levels in the lexicon, and continues to weaken arguments for such an approach to French morphophonology.

This short but clear, well-argued and well-informed book provides significant contributions to our knowledge of both phonological theory and French phonology. It explores several of the links between the phonological hierarchy and morphosyntactic structure in French, integrates that hierarchy into a Lexical Phonology approach, suggests on the basis of a set of mutually supportive analyses of key phenomena that ordered lexical levels are unnecessary (or even inappropriate) in French while reinforcing the key distinction between lexical and post-lexical rules, and brings new arguments to bear on the question of lexical stratification. It is thus to be hoped that Hannahs will continue his exploration of the structure of French – despite the extensive attention it receives, the language continues to nourish and to be illuminated by sophisticated theoretical studies.

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John Lyons, *Linguistics semantics: an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xvi + 376.

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This book, originating from *Language, meaning and context* (1981), has four parts. Part 1 begins with fundamental terminology which includes sign, symbol (i.e. a conventional sign) and their related ontological assumptions (3–4). The demarcations which delimit linguistic semantics from those in anthropology, logic, philosophy and psychology are provided. They specify the semantics in question as the semantics of communicative-systems (12). This is a crucial point which is generally absent in many textbooks as this definition incorporates functions and pragmatics into the study of meaning in language.

Metalanguage is put to use for LANGAGE, and REGIMENTATION and EXTENSION are utilised in ascertaining various manifestations of LANGUE (7). The latter two kinds of modification are mutually dependent in accounting for the semantic range of technical terms.

Arbitrariness in language, on the other hand, is complemented with iconicity and onomatopoeic examples (13). Iconicity in this section also includes the modulating and punctuating functions of prosodic and paralinguistic features; and indexicality in language (14–15). Contrary to traditional grammar, a more cautious outlook on language is provided. Language can no longer be generalised as a loose symbolic connection à la Saussure. Arbitrariness (with a capital A) is becoming a linguistic history. Syntactic iconicity in freezes is a case in point (cf. Landsberg 1996: Introduction).

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From Kramsky (1969) to Harder (1996), the linguistic identity of the word has always been acknowledged as a linguistic-semantic problem. This issue is more thoroughly treated in Part 2 of the book. Word is defined here as dictionary-word or in its technical term, lexeme. The ambiguities of word meaning are captured first with Peirce's token-type bipartite where the token is a particular instance of a type; and they are further expounded with the form vs. expression dichotomy (49). As explained, a dictionary has an alphabetical entry of WORD-FORMS though it contains the conventional definition of WORD-EXPRESSIONS (50).

Furthermore, it is made explicit that formally identical words may not be grammatically identical. The word 'sheep' for example comes in two morphosyntactic variants. The notions of partial and absolute homonymy, partial and absolute synonymy, polysemy and collocation are examined (55–63). Content and form words are described as full and empty words (65) whereas semantic extension and intension are designated for the purposes of classification and identification (81).

Prototype classification in current semantics is elaborated as having a nuclear and a focal extension (96–97). A comparison is made between the prototype model and the componential analysis or lexical decomposition model. The latter contains meaning postulates that work with one-place predicate logic (108–112). Componential analysis is said to be applicable in the formalising of the nuclear and focal properties in prototypes (116).

Part 3 is about sentence meaning. The verifiability principle invoked entails a distinction between sentence and proposition (140–141). The truth-value quality inherent in a proposition distinguishes it from a sentence, as the latter could represent both the truth and the false (142). Thematic meaning is another notion in sentence meaning that contains a truth-condition (154).

Any discussion of 'sentence' in linguistics is never complete without mentioning transformational grammar. This section points out that although standard transformational grammar claims to be semantically impartial, different thematic meanings of a deep structure still exist in the corresponding surface structures (213–214).

Part 4 concerns utterance meaning. It begins with an examination of Austin's Speech Act Theory which originally consists of constantive and performative utterances. Locutionary acts which could be fragmented utterances are often neglected or even disregarded by many linguists. This point is most salient in the following quotation:

> The fact that one can produce the same utterance-inscription without having uttered the same sentence is obscured in a good deal of recent work in semantics and pragmatics by the looseness with which the terms 'sentence' and 'utterance' are employed … This leads us to an additional point: phonetic identity is not a necessary condition of the identity of utterances. (243)

This fact is noticed by Harder (1996) who distinguishes between actual language in use (conversation analysis) and language potential per se (abstract notions of grammar). With this delimitation, system-sentences, i.e. generated sequences of word-forms from grammatical rules, and text-sentences, i.e. the subclass of utterance-inscriptions as a whole, or fragmented texts (260–261) are clearly distinct. Cohesion and coherence are introduced as well. The former concerns the connectedness of text-units (263) and the latter focuses on the relevance of the text-units as a whole (264).

Any discussion on utterance-meaning is never sufficient without Grice's principle of co-operation and conversational implicatures. Grice's principles of conversation are summed up as the maxims of quantity, quality, relevance and manner (277). Interestingly, metaphor is cited as an example of the fourth maxim in conversation. Although metaphoric utterance is in conflict with Grice's third maxim, it is sanctioned in certain cultures which treasure indirectness as one of the most important communicative skills in pragmatics.

This book succeeds in introducing semantics to readers by providing a sound basis. The gradual advancement from the word as an intricate unit in semantics, to the semantic variance between a proposition and a sentence, and further to the performative and constantive speech acts, is indeed a comprehensive and lucid presentation.

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David Odden, *The phonology and morphology of Kimatuumbi.* (The Phonology of the World's Languages.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996. Pp. xi+315.

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This book, the result of more than ten years' research on the language, should be considered as a landmark in Bantu studies, at least in East Africa, apart from possessing considerable significance for general linguistics as well. It is the first complete systematic description of the phonology and morphology of the Matuumbi language,[1] a language spoken by some 80,000 people in southern Tanzania.

Following a short introductory chapter (Chapter One) in which the author presents the language and defines the theoretical frameworks assumed in the study, Chapter Two 'Morphology and syntax' will prove especially valuable to Bantuists since other reliable sources on the language are so scarce. It deals succinctly but systematically with noun class prefixes, agreement patterns and agreement prefixes, verb morphology – including a good discussion on verbal extensions and a complete table of verb tenses – and a few indications on word order and phrase-internal structure.

I would simply question here the author's collapsing of classes 9 and 10 into a single class 9 serving both singular and plural. The crucial point, it seems to me, is the fact that numeral prefix agreements are different for both classes: cf. *ndano yị-mó* 'one cover', but *ndó ị-bílị* 'two buckets' (35) where the agreement prefix is separated from the stem by a hyphen and shown to be different for singular and plural. The author tries to give rules for allomorphy of prefixes, but these don't appear very convincing (there are a good number of lexical exceptions) and do not apply to this particular pair. It is definitely more satisfactory, even language-internally, to have a different class for singular and plural (it is true that another class, namely class 14, also covers both singular and plural, but only one word is concerned -*ụtịtịlị* 'chicken louse' (39) which I take to be a Swahili loan – all other members of this class being mass or abstract nouns).

The rest of the chapter I consider to be as good a summary of morphological patterns as can possibly be found in 60-odd pages, with excellent sections on diminutive and augmentative prefixes, determiner stems, the perfect stem in verbs, etc. Particularly notable is the fact that Matuumbi lacks true negative tenses and uses a postposed element instead, a fairly rare – although by no means exceptional – situation in Eastern Bantu.

Apart from a pervasive vowel harmony rule, fully treated by the author (98–102), Matuumbi does not seem to exhibit major segmental phonological processes (Chapter 3) which differ massively from neighbouring Bantu languages. Syllabic phonology (Chapter 4), on the other hand, appears richer, with numerous rules like Glide Formation, Vowel Contraction etc., all leading to compensatory lengthening and resyllabification, whereas the language, somewhat confusingly, also shortens long syllables (some of which were created by compensatory lengthening) under circumstances which are by no means always intuitive – including one exception involving the reciprocal extension -*an*-, whose complex behaviour defeats even Odden's otherwise considerable ingenuity!

But it is the tonal system (Chapter 5) which makes for the language's especial interest. Although, as convincingly argued by Odden, only one H(igh) tone per morpheme occurs at the underlying level surface realisations obey an amazing number of rules, both lexical and post-lexical, resulting in a variety of observed forms, which even differ for one lexical item according

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[1] In conformity with the usage of many European scholars, I prefer not to use the class prefix (ki-) in quoting the name of the language.

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to the environment, as with the underlyingly toneless word /ɲama/ 'meat', which has the following tonal shapes:

(1) ɲama yaáŋgu 'my meat'
     tʊlyaee ɲáma 'we were eating meat'
     panáakalaŋgɪtée ɲamá… 'when I was frying meat…'

Odden makes a careful presentation of all the rules which intervene thus to modify the underlying tone patterns, leading to variations in shape of items with the same underlying tones but different syllabic constituency (e.g. underlying -cvcv́ stems surface as -cvcv́, but -cvvcv́ stems surface as -cvv́cv by tone retraction – a not uncommon phenomenon in Eastern Bantu), but also in variations between realisations of the same stem according to the singular/plural opposition, an utterly rare situation throughout the Bantu domain.[2] This remarkable phenomenon is due to the fact that tone assignment in noun stems is sensitive to the syllabic status of the class prefix: with syllabic prefixes, for instance, a H tone is always linked to the first stem mora if another H follows in the stem; no such linking occurs with non-syllabic prefixes, like the class 9 non-syllabic nasal prefix, so that one encounters singular/plural pairs like: ŋgalawá/ma-ŋgálawá 'canoe/canoes'. This rule (Post-prefixal H tone) is actually optional and alternates with another rule (Leftward shift) which yields the plural form ma-ŋgaláwa. In neither case are the singular and plural tone patterns of the stem /-galawa/ identical.

But this is nothing in comparison with the alternation exhibited in stems such as /-limɪ/ 'tongue' whose alternating singular/plural patterns are as seen in lʊlímɪ lʊmó 'one tongue' and ndimɪ yóotɪ́ 'all tongues'. Here the stem tone pattern in the singular is H0 (where 0 is taken as indicting the absence of a H tone) whereas the plural pattern is 00: in other words there is absolute neutralisation with the plural of a stem like /-bau/ 'rib', whereas the singular forms of both items are kept distinct, cf. mbaʊ yóotɪ́ 'all ribs' vs. lʊbau lʊ́mó 'one rib'.

It is fascinating to speculate on what effect this incipient neutralisation can have on the lexical tonal system of the language. I would venture that the end result would be the total collapse of the distinction between H0 and 00 stems with the former pattern surfacing before pause and the latter in other environments. Such data are evidently of the greatest significance to understand the diachronic processes leading to fixed-stress Bantu languages such as Swahili.

Verbal tone patterns on the other hand are somewhat simpler but more challenging for the linguist. Indeed they are mostly of the form 'assign an H to syllable number n after the subject prefix'. Whereas these instructions correctly designate the H-bearing syllables, one is left wondering whether the analyst should not try to go a little further, particularly when faced with rules such as Perfective Tone Retraction (205) 'a final H-tone is shifted to the preceding mora when preceded by three moras in two syllables within the superstem'…While acknowledging the difficulty of the task in view of the great simplification of verbal tone patterns (verb radicals are not tonally distinctive in this language), would it not be possible to attempt to attribute underlying tone to certain verbal morphemes (prefixes or suffixes) and explain the surface patterns from the interaction of these tones? That this might well be a fruitful approach is suggested by the fact that one verbal morpheme at least (the reflexive object prefix, see 207–208) does seem to induce a specific tone pattern. Similar approaches have been found fruitful in other languages.

Chapter 6 'External sandhi' is in fact closely connected with the previous one since, apart from the very important rule of Shortening and a couple of more restricted rules, all rules discussed here are tonal ones, e.g. Perfective Tone Loss, Phrasal Tone Insertion, Initial Tone Insertion, High Tone Assignment, Tone Copy, etc. The author endeavours to define and justify the syntactic structures in which the various rules will apply, and does so by and large successfully, although in some cases, like the non-application of the rule Shortening to verb-focal tenses, the admittedly tentative (228) claim that 'it is then possible that verb-focal verbs are raised into INFL' (227) will convince only extreme X-bar theorists – the present reviewer definitely not being one of those!

One other (rather minor) reservation I have is about Odden's analysis of the prepositions' chuúgú 'behind' and luúngi 'front' (231). Briefly the point is this: like many Bantu languages,

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[2] Indeed, the non-existence of a tonological distinction between the singular and plural shapes of the same stem is taken as one of the differentiating characteristics of Narrow Bantu languages, to which Matuumbi belongs.

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Matuumbi forms locative constructions by (pre)-cliticizing to a noun (complete with class prefixes) one of the morphemes /pa/ (class 16), /kụ/ (class 17) or /mụ/ (class 18). Now there can also appear at the end of the locative NP some demonstrative elements whose class membership is determined by that of the clitic as in *pa-kịkóloombe* **palyu** 'at the cleaning-shell' or *kụ-sụ́ụle* **kulyu** 'to the school'. As can be seen these demonstratives do not cause shortening and Odden correctly does not consider them as members of the NP, since with demonstratives governed by the head of the NP Shortening does apply, as in *kịkólombe chilú* 'that shell'. But with the two 'prepositions' given above, postposed demonstratives do condition shortening, as in *palungí palyu* 'at the front', cf. *paluúngi*#. Since the stems *chuúgú* and *luúngi* never appear without the locative prefixes /pa/ and/or /mụ/, Odden analyses them as genuine prepositions, thus explaining their susceptibility to Shortening when followed by locative demonstratives by their being heads of PPs. But it seems to me one could just as well analyse them as nouns belonging to classes 16 and 18; exceptional nouns to be sure, since they would be the only lexical members of their respective classes, but this situation is also fairly frequent in Bantu languages (cf. class 16 in Swahili, with its only lexical member *mahali* 'place'). There is little evidence for a category 'Preposition' in Eastern Bantu languages.

In the final chapter 'Rule Interaction' (Chapter 7), the author accounts for the ordering of various rules within three levels, according to a model of Lexical Phonology. He shows convincingly that the lexical phonological component cannot precede syntax, as claimed by some authors, since many lexical rules (e.g. Shortening) must have access to the output of syntax.

The book concludes with two Appendixes, the first of which gives complete verb paradigms for every attested stem shape in four tenses. Appendix II presents two lengthy texts in the language, with sentence-by-sentence translation into English. This is extremely useful since it enables the reader to test the rules given in the main part of the book.

Odden concludes (291): '…it is hoped that the data given in this work are sufficient to allow interesting new questions […] to be answered empirically […] and […] that this study will contribute […] to understanding the overall structure of Bantu languages.' On both these counts, the author's hopes are entirely fullfilled and I enthusiastically recommend this work to any serious Bantu linguist and to anyone interested in the complex questions of tonology and tonal morphology.

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