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REVIEWS

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RAY JACKENDOFF, *Foundations of language: Brain, meaning, grammar, evolution*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 477. Hb $40.00.

Reviewed by ROBBINS BURLING
Anthropology, University of Michigan
Ann Arbor MI, 48109
rburling@umich.edu

In this extraordinary book, Jackendoff proposes nothing less than a new way to understand the architecture of language and a new way to view the relation of language to the brain, to the mind, to behavior, and to the evolution of our species. It is, among many other things, an invitation for cooperation from one of the world's leading formal syntacticians to linguists of diverse orientations and to those from adjacent fields, including sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. If we don't want to be left behind, we had better pay close attention.

Consider, first, the architecture. Jackendoff wants to escape what he calls the "syntactocentrism" of all the standard generative models, where syntax has always been taken to be the central component of language. He points out that phonology (PF, Phonetic Form) and meaning (LF, Logical Form) have always been treated as if they are derived from syntax.

Even in the Minimalist Program, where D- and S-structures (deep and surface structures) are formally eliminated, syntax emerges as movement and merge operations combine lexical items according to their intrinsic lexical constraints (p. 110). After this, the derivation splits, as in all earlier versions of generative grammar, leading in one direction to phonology (PF, Phonetic Form) and in another direction to meaning (LF, Logical Form).

Instead of treating phonology and meaning as if they are both derived from syntax, Jackendoff puts conceptual structure at one end and phonological structure at the other, with syntax in the middle. At one end, conceptual structure interfaces with perception and action. At the other, phonology interfaces with hearing and vocalization, and even with gestures (e.g., hand beats for stress) and music. Conceptual and phonological structures also interface directly with each other, and both interface with syntactic structure. (Diagrams of these interfaces are found on 125 and 272.) A speaker starts with meaning and then processes what he wants to say through syntax and phonology (though with multiple feedback loops) until noises emerge. The hearer starts with the noises and processes it in reverse. Of course, the classical syntactocentric model, where everything begins with syntax, was not supposed to be a performance model, but all else

being equal, a model that conforms to the way language is really used should be welcomed over one that does not. Those who are not immersed in formal syntax may find my simplified description of Jackendoff's architecture to reflect nothing more than common sense, but coming from a student of Chomsky, it amounts to a radical dethronement of syntax from its ruling position.

Inspired by autosegmental phonology, Jackendoff wants to extend its tier structure to the two other major components of language: syntax and semantics. Although he does not work out the details in this book, the entire assemblage of tiers gives language what Jackendoff calls a "parallel architecture." Like the prosodic, syllabic, segmental, and morphophonological tiers of phonology, each of the tiers of the syntactic and conceptual structures has considerable autonomy, but all are related to one another by "interface rules." These allow one tier to constrain another, but never fully to determine another's form.

Important among the interfaces is the lexicon, and the lexical entry for a word, in Jackendoff's architecture, is "a small-scale three-way interface rule. It lists a small chunk of phonology, a small chunk of syntax, and a small chunk of semantics, and it shows how to line these chunks up when they appear in parallel phonological, syntactic, and conceptual structures" (131). Words are prototypical lexical items, of course, but many other bits of language also can be looked on usefully as lexical items; and one of the most dazzling aspects of Jackendoff's architecture is a typology of lexical items that includes much more than just words.

Start with affixes and idioms. Affixes are smaller than words, and idioms are larger, but both have both meaning and phonology, and since both are productively embedded in larger syntactic constructions, they also have syntax. Since they interface the same three components of language as words do, both affixes and idioms certainly need to be recognized as lexical items. We also find bits of language that are usefully seen as lexical items even though they are defective in one way or another. Words such as *hello* and *yes* have meaning and phonology, but they do not occur as parts of larger constructions, so they are defective in syntax. Dummy *it (it's raining)* and supportive *do (what do you want?)* have syntax and phonology but no meaning. Neither syntax nor meaning, then, is an essential part of a lexical item.

What about phonology? Consider the resultative construction, exemplified by such sentences as *Wilma watered the tulips flat, Clyde cooked the pot black*, or *Drive your engine clean*. This construction consists of an ordered sequence of variables: an NP subject, a Verb, an NP direct object and a Predicate Adjective. In any particular example, these variables are realized by particular lexical items, but the construction itself consists of nothing but variables, so it has no phonology of its own. The construction does have a meaning, because it reports the result of some action, and it has syntax. It is impossible to list every example of the resultative construction in the lexicon because new examples can always be

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productively generated. Rather, it is the construction itself that needs to be listed in the lexicon. Even without phonology, its syntax and meaning are enough to let it be used with other lexical items, including words, to form sentences (175–6). From here, it is a relatively short additional step to recognize phrase structure rules as lexical items that consist of nothing but a sequence of ordered variables. This gives them syntax, but neither phonology nor meaning. If this stark summary is unconvincing, read the book. I think you will be convinced.

The book has three parts. In the first, "Psychological and biological foundations," Jackendoff presents the vast complexity of language, places it firmly in the mind, and argues that we need to recognize a Universal Grammar (UG) that allows each individual to learn a language. Part II, "Architectural foundations," presents his ideas about the architecture of language. Part III, "Semantic and conceptual foundations," should be the part that articulates most closely with the interests of readers of this journal, but I found it the most challenging section. I had not been familiar with Jackendoff's extensive earlier work in this area, so many of the ideas were new to me. It required close reading and lots of thought.

The most difficult part of Jackendoff's program for many readers to accept is likely to come when he deals with conceptual structures and advocates what he calls "pushing 'the world' into the mind" (303–306). What this means is that language does not refer directly to the world, but rather to the world AS CONCEPTUALIZED BY THE SPEAKER. Our conceptual structure, after all, includes plenty of things that are not in the world at all, from Sherlock Holmes to a perfect triangle, and we certainly refer to such things. Conceptualization is there in the head along with phonology and syntax. Reference becomes the relation of syntax and phonology, via all those interface rules, to our conceptualization, rather than the relation of language directly to the world outside.

Having pushed reference firmly into the mind, Jackendoff finishes the book with surveys of lexical semantics (Chap. 11) and phrasal semantics (Chap. 12) that should delight linguistic anthropologists, for they bring meaning firmly back into linguistics. It is impossible to summarize these rich chapters in a few sentences, but perhaps the tone of his message can be conveyed by one quotation:

> On the other hand, these difficulties [in the study of lexical semantics] in themselves point out one of the fundamental messages of generative linguistics: WE LANGUAGE USERS KNOW SO much. And hence AS CHILDREN WE LEARNED SO much – starting with some innate conceptual basis of unknown richness. Next to lexical semantics, the acquisition problem for grammar pales by comparison (377, emphasis in the original).

This is a point that some of us have suspected for a long time, but it amounts to a quiet revolution from a linguist whose teacher has done his best to persuade us that what really matters about language is what is built in rather than what is learned.

One of the most appealing aspects of the book is Jackendoff's moderation – indeed, his common sense. He believes that there is something special about the human brain, a UG that makes language learning possible, but he does not want to wall off language in an isolated "language box," and he recognizes the enormous contribution of learning to the full achievement of language competence. He sees some modularity in the mind and in language, but he would rather ask to what degree and in what ways they are modular than argue about whether they are or are not modular (229). He feels that we need a distinction between competence and performance, but he does not want to forget performance, and he leaves a place for it in his architecture (Chap. 7). He is skeptical about Principles and Parameters (190). In both ontogeny and phylogeny, he sees syntax and phonology as developing in the context of an earlier and more complex conceptual structure; after all, apes, like human beings, need to think about the world and about each other, and language presumably began to emerge in an animal whose conceptual structure was not so different from that of apes.

Jackendoff welcomes contributions from neighboring fields He is forthright about what he finds useful in others' work and what he does not, but he avoids the aggressive polemics that have marred so much of the linguistics of the last few decades. One can hope that he will help to set the tone for a more civil linguistics of the 21st century.

I believe this book has the potential to reorient linguistics more decisively than any book since *Syntactic structures* shook the discipline almost half a century ago. It offers a vision of a post-Chomskian linguistics that is true to the brilliant insights that have come from Chomsky and from his many followers and antagonists, but it leaves out some of the unnecessary baggage that has encumbered so much of formal linguistics. In rejecting syntactocentrism, in leaving a place for performance, in his opening to neuroscience, cognitive science, and language evolution, and in his serious concern for meaning, Jackendoff has offered a kind of linguistics to which scholars from neighboring fields should be able to relate more enthusiastically than they have been able to relate to the orthodox generative linguistics of recent decades.

The book, alas, will seem too big and too technical for the tastes of most nonlinguists, but everyone who calls herself or himself a sociolinguist or a linguistic anthropologist had better absorb its many messages. It is an invitation from a leading generative linguist to cooperate in the enterprise of understanding language, not only for itself but also for its role in evolution, biology, physiology, ontogeny, society, and culture. The final sentence of the book says it well: "Above all, my hope for the present work is that it can help encourage the necessary culture of collaboration" (429). It is my hope too.

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JOSIANE F. HAMERS AND MICHEL H.A. BLANC, *Bilinguality and bilingualism*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. xiv + 468 pages. Hb $90.00, pb $30.00.

Reviewed by PIETER MUYSKEN,
Linguistics, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen
postbus 9103, 6500 HD Nijmegen, Netherlands
p.muysken@let.kun.nl

This is the second edition of a very impressive handbook that was published first in French in 1983, and subsequently in English in 1989. This new edition was prepared directly in English. Josiane Hamers is Professor of Psycholinguistics and Bilingualism at the Université de Laval, Québec, and Michel Blanc is Emeritus Reader of Applied Linguistics and Bilingualism at Birkbeck College, University of London.

The authors use the term *bilingualism* to refer to language contact at the societal level, and *bilinguality* for language contact in the individual. The title sums up the project of this book, which is to provide a comprehensive survey of what is known about language contact – comprehensive in that it links the individual to the interactional and then to the societal level. Thus, it embraces the disciplines of psychology, social psychology, and sociology, and a fair amount of linguistics. It does not deal with language history in much detail. Haugen's work (1953, 1956) is only mentioned in passing, and Thomason & Kaufman 1989 is not referred to.

However, the material covered is very impressive. There is no book like it. No single-author work has the same breadth, and multiple-author books in the field do not have the same integrative potential. A 24-page subject index and a 10-page author index help readers find their way around in the volume. The 55 pages of bibliography contain a wealth of references, up to around 1997, including a good number in French and at least one in Italian; I did not spot references in German. Noteworthy is a 10-page glossary with definitions of key terms such as *acculturation*, *subtractive bilinguality*, and *speech accommodation*.

Chap. 1, "Definitions and guiding principles" (pp. 6–24), provides the theoretical background, drawing upon Bates & MacWhinney 1982. Four interacting levels of analysis are assumed: social structures, social networks, interpersonal interactions, and individual behavior. These are then mapped onto a developmental time dimension. In this dynamics, several key notions play a role: form/function mappings, language/culture interactions, self-regulation, and valorization ("the attribution of certain positive values to language as a functional tool").

In Chap. 2, "Dimensions and measurement of bilinguality and bilingualism" (25–49), a multidimensional model of bilinguality is defended, including

six dimensions: relative competence (balanced/dominant); cognitive organization (compound/coordinate); age of acquisition (simultaneous/consecutive/adolescent/adult); presence of L2 community (endogenous/exogenous); relative status languages (additive/subtractive); and membership and identity (bilingual, L_1 monocultural/L_2 acculturated/deculturated). In a similar vein, it is argued that it is best to combine several measures of bilingualism and bilinguality, since each of these is rather crude when used on its own.

Chap. 3, "Ontogenesis of bilinguality" (50–81), gives a very illuminating and balanced survey of studies on simultaneous bilingual development, consecutive acquisition, the critical period/sensitive age hypothesis, and bilingualism and attrition. On each issue, the different perspectives taken in the literature are presented fairly, and even when the authors choose sides in the debates raging here, they are careful to point out the merits of other perspectives.

In Chap. 4, "Cognitive development and the sociocultural context of bilinguality" (82–109), and Chap. 5, "Social and psychological foundations of bilinguality" (110–134), an integrative model is argued for, meant to explain the complex interactions between the sociocultural environment of bilingual development and cognitive functioning. To explain why, under favorable circumstances, bilingualism furthers cognitive growth, while in unfavorable settings negative effects are reported, valorization and form-function mappings in the two languages again are assumed to play key roles.

Chap. 6, "Neuropsychological foundations of bilinguality" (135–161), summarizes the evidence available until recently on the cerebral and neurological organization of bilingual functioning, a rapidly growing field. The conclusion the authors draw is that bilinguals function neuropsychologically in much the same way as monolinguals do.

In Chap. 7, "Information processing in the bilingual" (162–197), the thorny issue of separate or common storage and processing of a bilingual's two languages is discussed. The authors end in saying that the evidence is inconclusive, but that hierarchical models – in which the languages are stored and processed conjointly at more abstract levels, and separately at more concrete levels – explain much of the evidence. A caveat for the research reported on is that bilinguals' acquisition histories and usage patterns, as well as the language mode of the experiments, should be controlled for better.

Chap. 8, "Social psychological aspects of bilinguality: Culture and identity" (198–240), and Chap. 9, "Social psychological aspects of bilinguality: Intercultural communication" (241–272), together give a new perspective on language and identity, language attitudes, intercultural interaction, and language contact phenomena such as code-switching. The summary of the literature on bilingualism and identity is a particularly strong point here, leading to the formulation of a not yet fully confirmed interdependence hypothesis: The development of a bicultural identity depends on the support for both languages in language devel-

opment and an environment in which values of both cultures are not seen as in conflict. In Chap. 9, there is a lucid exposition of the sparse work done so far on intercultural (exolingual) communication, and a balanced treatment of the main findings of code-switching research.

In Chap. 10, "Societal bilingualism, intergroup relations and sociolinguistic variations" (273–317), the perspective shifts to the macro-level. How do groups delimit their boundaries through language use? What is the relation between language and ethnicity? Just as we saw that the relation between language and identity is not a simple one, the relation between language and ethnicity is not straightforward either. There are complex interactions between subjective and objective dimensions of ethnolinguistic vitality. In interactions between groups, new arrangements of linguistic repertoire may emerge, and even new language forms such as pidgins and hybrid languages. The final section deals with language planning and national development, including a clear discussion of claims that multilingualism and underdevelopment go hand in hand.

Chap. 11, "Bilingual education" (318–354), summarizes recent findings concerning bilingual education for children from both majority and minority groups. It is argued that the linguistic mismatch hypothesis at the basis of the UNESCO plea for education in the home language leads to oversimplifications. It is important to keep in mind the explicit or implicit goals of educational programs – functional bilinguality or assimilation – when assessing an individual program. Only when a number of conditions (positive valorization of both languages, solid foundation in the L_1 of the child) are met can bilingual education succeed.

There will be new developments, fashions, and trends, by necessity not reported on in this book; one might mention current work on language ideology, sociocultural analysis, the neurolinguistics of bilingual processing, and Minimalist syntax in code-switching. In individual domains, research is advancing rapidly, and a general overview will never keep up with this. However, the lasting value of this book is that it explicitly tries to integrate research on the societal, group, interactional, and individual levels within a single model, providing a unity of vision where others only cover specialized subfields.

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CEIL LUCAS (ed.), *The sociolinguistics of sign languages*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. vii, 259. Hb $65.00.

Reviewed by DONALD A. GRUSHKIN
Dept. of Special Education, Rehabilitation & School Psychology,
California State University, Sacramento
Sacramento, CA 95819-6079
Grushkind@CSUS.Edu

Although it is easy to do so, *The sociolinguistics of sign languages* (henceforth *SSL*) is not to be confused with Ceil Lucas's other books, *The sociolinguistics of the deaf community* (1989) and its sequels, the Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities series. Whereas the latter volumes aim to present new research in the area of sociolinguistics pertaining to Deaf people and other users of sign languages, the book under review presents almost no new (to those already familiar with this field) information on aspects of sociolinguistic research on members of this language community. Instead, this book should more accurately be seen as a companion volume to her book (with Clayton Valli) *Linguistics of American Sign Language: An introduction* (2000; henceforth *LASL*). Like *LASL*, *SSL* is intended as a textbook for use in college-level courses dealing with linguistics (or a stand-alone course in sociolinguistics, as was Lucas's intention) of sign languages and Deaf communities.

SSL was written to fill a need for a single source text to use in an upper-level or graduate course on sociolinguistics at Gallaudet University, a university for Deaf students in Washington, DC. It has a format somewhat similar to that of *LASL* in that both are divided into several chapters, each dealing with a salient aspect of the core knowledge to be learned. At the end of each chapter, exercises are provided for further student exploration and mastery of the given topic. Readers are directed to additional readings that highlight the key points made or provide supplementary information and details. *SSL*'s seven chapters deal separately with major themes in sociolinguistics: multilingualism/bilingualism and language contact; language variation; discourse analysis; and language planning/attitudes.

Unlike *LASL*, which was written by Valli and Lucas alone, in *SSL* various authors, each with some expertise in the assigned topic, write the different chapters. Although each author contributes to the book's interest level by providing a different writing style and way of explaining or discussing concepts, it seems as if each contributor (with the exception of Lucas's own chapter on sociolinguistic variation, which is almost twice as long) were limited to about 35 pages of text. At times, this limitation seems to hamper the authors' ability to fully elucidate their concepts, sacrificing student understanding for the sake of brevity. Whereas in *LASL*, several key studies elaborating on the topic under discussion were re-

printed in their entirety or in abbreviated format within the book itself (a nice feature for students wishing to understand the concepts more fully), almost no study mentioned in *SSL* is discussed in any real detail. Understandably, it might have been difficult to do this for reasons of space, but certainly, as was the case in *LASL*, it would improve students' understanding of the concepts under discussion, especially when these are key concepts for students to know.

In Chap. 1, Bencie Woll and colleagues, discussing sign languages from an "international" perspective, provide a good anchor for the book. They necessarily impart to the reader a good basic (albeit too brief) overview of the issues surrounding the development of discrete sign languages in various areas of the world. They accomplish this by exploring the difficulties inherent in identifying and counting sign languages around the world. In the course of this discussion, they go into some of the crucial points any student of sign language (socio)linguistics must know, such as historical and attitudinal impacts on the evolution of sign languages around the world.

Jean Ann's chapter on bilingualism and language contact covers the current state of knowledge in this field from the spoken-language perspective, and then goes into what is known about sign languages in this area. Her chapter is commendable for its well-presented description of the difference between code-mixing and code-switching, an area of confusion for many students of language contact, hearing or deaf. The problem of spatial limitation is especially glaring during this chapter: one of the most extensive studies of language contact, by Lucas & Valli 1992, gets the briefest of mentions, yet it is covered in more detail in Lucas's subsequent chapter. Although the study does relate to linguistic variation, it would seem to be more appropriately discussed in a chapter directly pertaining to language contact.

In the chapter on sociolinguistic variation, Lucas and colleagues review some of the important classic research on variation in spoken-language populations, such as work by Labov and Wolfram, as well as more recent work exemplified by the Milroys, Zentella, and Woolard. As most readers of this review will know, much of the work of these authors takes into account the influence of gender and ethnicity/identity. However, in Lucas's chapter, studies in which ethnicity are accounted for are mentioned, but not all in one place, except for one section, which is all too brief. Although I am not aware of any such studies, this section also left me wondering whether there are any sociolinguistic studies of Deaf ethnic groups other than Deaf African Americans. The chapter might have seemed a bit more complete with an examination of the underlying causes of such a dearth of diversity in populations under study.

However, to the credit of Lucas and her colleagues, I did enjoy their discussion of international perspectives on sociolinguistic variation. They also do a good job of contrasting how variation occurs across modalities (spoken to signed). In addition, I found their chapter to be a good "refresher course" on how differences

among traditional effects of variation in spoken languages (age, regional background, gender, ethnicity, etc.) may not hold in the same way for speakers of signed languages for reasons of educational policy, language acquisition, and birth circumstances (oralism/manualism, native/nonnative signers, early/late learning of sign, etc.). I also enjoyed their chapter more during its sections that go into detail about several recent studies dealing with phonological variation, morphological and pragmatic variation (deaf-blind and use of tactile ASL), and morphological variation in the way the single sign 'DEAF' is produced. It is such detail that lends clarity and stimulates interest in the topics, and the other chapters suffer for their apparent inability to explore key studies in similar detail. This chapter is also to be commended for its excellent discussion of the methodological issues to consider when doing sociolinguistic research on sign languages.

Metzger and Bahan, in covering discourse analysis, mention a study that apparently disproves the common stereotype of Deaf culture as "blunt." However, this study is apparently not published in any journal, and I regret that Metzger and Bahan do not go into details of how this stereotype was disproved; I would have enjoyed learning how to argue against this common criticism of Deaf culture. Here again, it is the lack of space that undermines effectiveness in getting points across.

Finally, I found the last two chapters, on language planning and language attitudes, to be good refreshers on these two topics. Although they offered me little new information, both reminded me of studies and points I had forgotten but need to consider in my own work.

All in all, *SSL* is a good introductory textbook on the topic of sociolinguistics with regard to sign languages. It is not a book for the average student to read independently in order to learn the topic. However, in conjunction with in-class lectures, supplementary readings, and further research, students can develop a good foundation of knowledge in this subject area. Despite its shortcomings, it fills a definite gap in the current resource materials available for the teaching of Deaf-related issues. It is to be hoped that future editions will correct for its current limitations, especially by granting contributors more freedom and space to elaborate on important points or studies illustrating those points in order to broaden the understanding of the students whom this textbook is intended to serve.

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JOHN F. A. SAWYER AND J. M.Y. SIMPSON (eds.), *Concise encyclopedia of language and religion*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001. Pp. 612. Hb $194.50.

Reviewed by MATT TOMLINSON
Sociology and Anthropology, Bowdoin College
Brunswick, ME 04011-8493
mtomlins@bowdoin.edu

The *Concise encyclopedia of language and religion* is distilled from the *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, published in ten volumes in 1994. In their preface, editors John F. A. Sawyer and J. M.Y. Simpson note that more than 110 new articles have been written for this concise edition, presumably to shift the focus from language alone to the nexus of language and religion. Unfortunately, the book reads like a philological encyclopedia that has seen a monk scribbling in the margins, adding "religion" bits copiously but not integrating them fully into the corpus on language.

Many anthropologists take religion, language, and culture to be fundamentally imbricated. One can approach the language-religion nexus from various angles. For example, one might ask how far scholars can push language's role (or, more generally, discourse's role) in forming religious experience; as Keane (1997:49) notes, "Language is one medium by which the presence and activity of beings that are otherwise unavailable to the senses can be made presupposable, even compelling, in ways that are publically yet also subjectively available to people as members of social groups." That is, gods and demons often gain their perceived reality and efficacy through the force of discourse. From another angle, one might ask how discourse itself is a religious impulse; as Csordas (1997: 331) puts it, we might entertain "the possibility that all discourse has a sacred substrate: that in its otherness language is essentially a religious form of action and structure or at least that language can be approached via its metaphysical implications."

This book, however, tends to keep some distance between language and religion. Perhaps this editorial choice was inevitable, considering the demands and constraints of putting together an encyclopedia. Encyclopedias need concrete, discrete topics, and the editors have delivered them, but readers looking for certain subjects that are currently of most interest to scholars of language and religion will be disappointed. "Text," "context," "narrative," "intention," and "reported speech," for example, deserve but do not get entries. For that matter, neither does "belief," nor "performance" in Bauman & Briggs's (1990) sense of the term. The glossary appended to the book is symptomatic of this tendency to focus on strictly linguistic minutiae at the expense of topics relevant to current religious studies. The encyclopedia is really aimed at linguists.

The forced disaggregation of topics, a necessity in an encyclopedia, might have been handled better by the editors. Unfortunately, they have divided the book into seven sections, six of which ought to have been kept together: "Language in the context of particular religions," "Sacred texts and translations," "Religious languages and scripts," "Special language uses," "Beliefs about language," and "Religion and the study of language." These categories, for linguistic and cultural anthropologists at least, are not neatly separable; the divisions seem arbitrary, and, as a practical matter, they make finding individual topics unnecessarily complicated. For example, it is difficult to understand why "Archaism" is placed under "Special language uses" and not "Language in the context of particular religions," "Religious languages and scripts," or "Beliefs about language." Putting these six sections into one core section would have made more sense both intellectually and practically.

The seventh section of the book comprises biographies. One entry therein, on Pierre Bayle, notes that the scholar's most famous work is a dictionary whose "choice of subject is tantalizingly arbitrary: while there is no article on Plato . . . there are numerous articles on obscure heretics" (408). If only the editors had reflected upon this sentence, they might have noted the quirky eclecticism of their own tome, where the obscure William Holder merits an entry but Clifford Geertz does not. This sort of criticism, of course, can sound picayune; as a Fijianist, I can not really expect many reference works to give the missionary David Cargill his due as a shaper of Old High Fijian, so I suppose as an anthropologist I should simply be grateful that the editors did include an entry on Samuel Ajayi Crowther's influence on Standard Yoruba. However, the omissions are major: there are no biographical entries for Boas, Durkheim, Eliade, Geertz, Jakobson, Peirce, or Sapir – nor, for that matter, are there any for Augustine, Maimonides, Origen, or St. Paul.

Besides the categorical fragmentation, the book suffers from puzzling inconsistencies of subject. When readers see that "Christian Science," "Jehovah's Witnesses," and "Seventh-Day Adventism" are included as their own categories, for example, they may expect other major Christian denominations to be included as well. No such luck: you will find no entries for Roman Catholicism, Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, Mormonism, Unitarianism, or the like. However, the encyclopedia does include an entry for the *Book of Mormon* (not, however, the Mormon scriptures *Doctrine and Covenants* or *Pearl of Great Price*, which are never mentioned), so readers might expect other denominational holy texts – such as Charles Taze Russell's *Studies in the Scriptures* (or *The Watchtower*, for that matter) – to show up in these pages as main entries. Again, this expectation is frustrated.

Perhaps the most troubling flaw, however, is that individual authors have been allowed idiosyncratic foci. Some authors, for example, choose to focus on linguistic topics with no glance in the direction of religion. Consider, for example,

the entries on "Language and power" and "Metaphor," which, though both quite good within their range of focus, completely ignore religious aspects of their subjects. That is, the entry on "Language and power" does a fine job discussing discourse, power, domination, and ideology, but its examples are drawn from child-rearing, medical encounters, secular classrooms, and mainstream media. Similarly, the entry on "Metaphor" gives a survey of scholarly thought from Aristotle through the post-structuralists, yet never gets around to mentioning, for example, such religiously charged subjects as Protestant fundamentalist denigration of metaphor and insistence on textual literalism (see e.g. Crapanzano 2000, Harding 2000). Egregiously, the entry on "Archaism" pays attention to the poets Edmund Spenser and Robert Bridges and the novelists Sir Walter Scott and Georgette Heyer, with no mention of the King James Bible's enduring popularity, or Wiccans' fondness for archaic terms and spellings – or any of a wealth of possible religious illustrations of the topic. This sort of flaw can, in rare instances, be a strength: Readers looking for specialized subjects such as "Jesuit missionaries to sixteenth-century Japan" will find solid treatments.

Sometimes, however, an author's focus seems inexcusably narrow, cutting out much of the material that will make a subject interesting to many readers in the first place. For example, the entry on "Copying" could have been an excellent overview of the topic of iconic replication of religious texts. What does it mean to insist that particular stretches of discourse demand strict fidelity in their reiterations? Unfortunately, the author of "Copying" severely limits the scope, not only by looking at writing alone, but by examining only Buddhist writing – and specifically at East Asian Buddhism. The author writes: "Copying religious texts by hand is a practice found in many religious cultures, and many of the important themes of this practice can be illustrated by examining it within the context of one tradition, Buddhism, and especially in its East Asian and Japanese contexts" (p. 243). Whether or not one agrees with the author's dubious assertion that one can learn about all copying from the example of Japanese sutras, the relevant question is whether an encyclopedia should take this approach. Shouldn't encyclopedias, no matter how concise, be encyclopedic? Similarly, the author of "Missionaries" discusses only Christian missionaries, and the author of "Meditation" tells us "This entry will concentrate on Burmese Buddhist meditation in particular" (265). How could the editors have allowed such a degree of overspecialization?

The problem is compounded by the bibliographies, which are similarly idiosyncratic. The "Magic" entry does not cite Malinowski; the "Ritual" entry does not cite Geertz or Turner; and the "Hinduism" bibliography lists only five titles. Some of the bibliographies, besides being skimpy, are notably out of date.

Having leveled these criticisms, I must mention that certain entries transcend their neighbors and do excellent jobs of broad scholarly analysis, such as Lamin Sanneh's piece on "Islam in Africa," Muriel Saville-Troike's entry on "Silence,"

and Paul Kiparsky's contribution on "Sanskrit (Pā̄ninian) linguistics." In addition, some inherently specialized entries do a first-rate job of linking their topics to broader issues, such as Garry Trompf's contribution on "Melanesian religions," one of the few articles in this book to interrogate the connections between language and culture.

The *Concise encyclopedia of language and religion* has good bits scattered throughout its pages. However, the work is decidedly not "encyclopedic." The idiosyncratic, eclectic, out-of-date focus tarnishes a work that fails to be either a good reference book or a stirring survey of contemporary research.

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BARRY HALLEN, *The Good, The Bad and The Beautiful. Discourse about Values in Yoruba Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001. Pp. 219. Hb $39.95.

Reviewed by KOFI AGYEKUM
Linguistics, University of Ghana
Box 61, Legon Accra, Ghana
kofiagyekum@hotmail.com

This book combines culture, philosophy and linguistics by examining everyday language. It concentrates on the semantic interrelations between aspects of epistemic, moral and aesthetic values of a person's life in Yoruba society. The book contains six chapters and an appendix of Yoruba-language quotations.

The first chapter is entitled "Ordinary Language and African Philosophy." It reveals that our everyday language is the key to understanding the ethics and morals of African and Yoruba culture and philosophy. This is seen in the language of their conversations, ceremonies, rituals, verbal taboos, and the names of people and objects within the sociocultural environments. The book reveals that the most direct way for the philosopher of language is to observe and record ordinary discourse of the people's culture and listen to their communicative interactions. The book views African philosophy from African cultural perspectives.

The author's informants were the *onísègùn* 'masters of medicine' (herbalists). The Yorubas respect them as more knowledgeable and competent about the culture and the ordinary language. Their usage of this language disproves the notion that the African languages were unsuitable for development and philosophical analysis. For example, the word *ogbó* refers to philosophy, that is, "received wisdom".

Chapter 2 discusses moral epistemology. Epistemology is the theory of knowledge, and there are modes for the acquisition of knowledge. The average person acquires enormous amount of information throughout life via the family, friends, education, the media and the environment.

Reliable information is labelled as knowledge and described as "true". Less reliable and uncertain information is "belief'. A belief consists of things people can neither prove nor disprove with certainty. Beliefs may change with time and may in fact, be true or false. Hallen makes a distinction between second hand and first hand information and outlines how these pertain in western and African societies.

In western societies, knowledge and information come from books, news on radio and TV, and through findings in the laboratory. These are second hand information. In the Yoruba language and culture, a distinction is made between *ìmò* "putative knowledge" (firsthand) and *ìgbàgbó* "putative belief' (second hand information). *Ìgbàgbó* involves things one is taught in formal education, through books as well as what one learns from other people or from oral tradition.

A combination of *ìmò* and *ìgbàgbó* exhausts all the information that human beings have at their disposal. The Yoruba language employs terminology and systematic criteria for the evaluation of any type of information. Knowledge and experience are tapped from one's immediate culture, environment and physical objects, experience and socio-cultural milieux by the use of sensory organs.

The second chapter also emphasises the concept of truth and how truth is acquired, perceived and evaluated by the Yorubas. To the Yoruba, truth is both personal and private and also shared and common. Hallen considers truth as both moral and epistemological. If a person is truthful, he is respected, reliable, taken seriously, honored and endowed with reputation. The reliability of a proposition as true may involve assessing the moral character of the person who is its source.

Chap. 3 is entitled "Me, myself, and my destiny." It looks first at African narratives, myths about the spiritual, natural, mystical and mundane worlds and claims that from African perspectives, the distinction between them is blurred.

To the African, humanity is a victim of spiritual, material and societal forces. The beliefs inherent in African cultural traditions are considered as a set of rules that are embedded in the social fabric and manifested through moral discourse.

The ordinary language is very informal and forms part of children's upbringing and socialization. It does not need any special study. It is only when the everyday language is disrupted, and its norms and values wane and are ignored, that it becomes a subject of great concern, discussion and scrutiny. The chapter discusses moral character and supports it with everyday discourse and ordinary

terms for morality. Morality is judged according to what a person says and what a person does; i.e. verbal and non-verbal behavior. In African and Yoruba language and culture, morality is an interplay between the self (introspective) and the socio-cultural context. Morality is a social fabric and is thus determined by social conventions. The society itself rewards certain forms of behavior and punishes others.

The chapter also discusses destiny and consciousness. Destiny (*ìpín*) is the inner head that we choose from heaven (*òrun*). However, our destiny is also related to our behavior and speech. During a person's life both good and bad things are intertwined and may follow each other. Destiny could be fixed and could also be changed by consulting the *onísègùn*: a consultant and a medicine man for answers to one's hard times.

Chap. 4 is entitled "The Good and the Bad". It dwells on morality using epistemological method. Hallen states that it is helpful to use epistemological concerns as articulated in discourse as a key to approaching the analysis of Yoruba moral meanings in a systematic way.

The emphasis on the values of firsthand knowledge through listening well (*gbòfó*), and speaking well (*sòrò*) is that one should not tell lies, misrepresent nor misreport information. In oral cultures in Africa, "speaking well" and "hearing well" are epistemological virtues because of their instrumental value for ensuring the accuracy of information and the judgement of morality. The epistemic virtues and moral values of listening and speaking well are paired with listening to advice and giving (good) advice.

Yoruba discourse also emphasises patience. A patient person is far more likely to listen and observe carefully and to speak objectively. More reliable people keep their tempers and emotions under control. The *onísègùn* spelled out examples of immoral ideas and behavior.

The chapter further talks about demons and special personality types and uses indigenous terms to discuss witchcraft (*àjé*) and evil spirits (*àlùjànúm*). Hallen notes that some witches (*àjé*) are good and behave well and others are bad persons.

The Africans believe in the existence of deities (*òrìsà*) and thus worship and honor them. People entrust their lives in them and believe that they can protect and guide against any evils. The author sees some *onísègùn* as good, as well as talented and highly intellectual, while others are bad and malicious. Those with good moral character are reserved, serious, calm, and patient.

Chap. 5 is headed "The Beautiful". It starts with African art and Yoruba values. The Yoruba word for aesthetic is *ewa*. This quality is attributed to arts and crafts, and emphatically to persons. A person's good moral character is *ìwàrere*, and it metaphorically connects with inner beauty but not physical beauty. A beautiful person without a (good) moral character (*ìwá*) is of no real value. Beauty of character is the most important thing.

The character (*ìwá*) of the inanimate natural objects was measured on the basis of their utility and usefulness to human beings. Some things have beauty (*ewà*)

but are not useful (*wúlò*) to a person. The chapter ends with a discussion of the "Forms of the Epistemic and Forms of the Aesthetic". The arts and portraits drawn from Yoruba artistic values consistently link them with moral values. Hallen compared his analysis with the works of Clifford (1988), Vogel (1988), Horton (1963, 1965), and Barber (1994), among others.

Chap. 6 is entitled "Rationality, individuality, secularity, and the Proverbial." The approaches used by scholars of African philosophy to popularize the field include analytical, deconstructive, ethno-philosophical, hermeneutical, phenomenological, and post modern philosophical theories and methods.

The chapter argues for the ethnolinguistic approach to philosophy and the role of African proverbs. Anthropological and philosophical researchers see proverbs as one of the legitimate sources of African philosophy. Proverbs give an overview and the culture's viewpoints of the African way of life, religion, morality, ecology, economy, politics, etc. (see Yankah 1989).

Hallen cites works by Gyekye (1987, 1995), Finnegan (1970), and Mbiti (1970) to support the role of proverbs in African philosophy. He, however, hints on the problem of proverbs, as being context-dependent.

Hallen talks about the place of the individual in relationship with the community in creating, defining and sustaining a culture's moral values. The individual does not and cannot exist alone except insofar as he/she exists corporately (see Mbiti 1970: 14). There is a mutual interdependence between the individual and the community in African philosophy, morality and social life.

A Yoruba community is regarded as a composite group that share common moral values that in many situations have common forms of behavior. The last chapter also mentions the relationship between morality and religion and claims that they may be intellectually related.

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NIKOLAY VAKHTIN. *Jazyki narodov severa v XX veke: Ocherki jazykovogo sdviga* [*Languages of the Peoples of North in the 20th century: Outline of the language shift*]. St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, 2001. Pp. 344. HB, n.p.

Reviewed by ELENA PEREHVALSKAYA
General Linguistics, St. Petersburg State University
St. Petersburg, Russia 199034
sandy@ep3665.spb.edu

It would be unjust to say that languages of ethnic minorities of Siberia and the Far East of Russia have not received the attention of linguists and anthropologists, yet until now there has been no book that has gathered, classified, and compared data on the sociolinguistic situation of these minorities over the whole Soviet period. This is the topic of Vakhtin's new book. It deals almost exclusively with the exterior aspect of the history of the languages; it does not analyze structural changes in the languages themselves.

The book deals with the so-called Peoples of the North (henceforth PN), a term introduced in the 1920s and since then used in all official reports, decrees, censuses, and regional statistics. Primarily, it was a list of 26 minorities, although several more were added later. Vakhtin notes the awkward conventional character of this classification but has to use it because all statistical, demographic, and administrative data published in Russia do so.

The first part of the book, "Data," is a most useful source of information for any linguist interested in Siberian minorities. Vakhtin gathered all available data from various sources: federal and regional statistics, linguistic and anthropological publications, and unpublished descriptions by linguists and anthropologists of the situation in ethnic settlements. He analyzes figures from the censuses of 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989, estimating the extent of their reliability. Data in Soviet censuses were often either deliberately falsified or accidentally erroneous; questionnaires contained rather vague terms like *rodnoj jazyk* 'native language, mother tongue' and *natsional'nost'* 'nation, ethnicity', and the latter was registered in official identity documents. Everyone was supposed to have only one native language and ethnicity. Census tables in the censuses contained information about the number of people of PN minorities and the percentage of those who named their ethnic language as the native one. These figures were always exaggerated because many people had a tendency to name their ethnic language as their native tongue even if they could not speak it. This ongoing error resulted in an inflation of the number of PN and of their competence in ethnic languages. Still, even the official data of the censuses show the swift decrease in numbers of speakers of Siberian languages over the years. Anthropological publications of the Soviet period were not very useful because most of them repeated propaganda about flourishing nations and languages. The general defect of all data mentioned is that census analysts regarded the situation as binary: knowl-

edge of a language was marked with either plus or minus, and no other possibilities were admitted.

New, more reliable data were collected in the 1980s by a group of linguists working in Siberia and the Far East, of which Vakhtin was the informal leader and this reviewer was a participant. We used a method employing expert evaluation of language competence. The linguistic competence of every member of a certain ethnic community was evaluated with the help of several experts who were members of the same community. This made it possible to register the exact correlation between stages of language shift, levels of language competence, and ages of speakers. This method was applied to 13 settlements of 11 minorities, and the data on all these settlements are presented in the present book.

The chapter "Present-day situation" (referring to the 1990s) is based both on the new data that appeared after Perestroika and on Vakhtin's personal research. He briefly characterizes the present state of each language, grouping them as follows: (1) Language is used by all generations (Nenets, Dolgan); (2) old and middle age groups are competent speakers, and younger people are able to speak but do so irregularly (Nganasan, Khanty, Chukchee, Even); (3) older people speak the language, the middle age group can speak a simplified form, and children understand it but never use it (Ket, Koryak, Nanai, Orok, Orochi, Selkup, Ulchi, Enets); (4) the older group speaks the language, the middle group has passive ability, and children neither speak nor understand (Mansi, Negidal, Nivkh, Tofalar, Udihe, Yukagir); (5) the older group has some speaking ability, and the middle group is able to understand simplified speech (Alyutor, Eskimo, Aleut, Itelmen, Kerek). The Evenki language constitutes a special case because its situation differs depending on region.

The second part of the book is the analysis and interpretation of the data in the first part. Vakhtin discusses the main factors causing language shift, presenting a survey of key concepts of language shift as proposed by Nancy Dorian, Wilhelm Dressler, R. M. W. Dixon, Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Charles Kieffer, Jane Hill and Kenneth Hill, Susan Gal, and others. He tries to find the specific combination of factors that would lead to language shift, although every factor can work both ways. He divides the process of language shift into three stages: conditions, mechanisms, and consequences of shift.

For the PN, most factors causing language shift are the same as elsewhere: a growing number of Russian speaking newcomers, mixed populations in the former ethnic regions, the policy of enlargement of small settlements, Russian as the language of education, a system of boarding schools, the decay of ethnic economies, and an increasing number of interethnic marriages. Still, not every factor is crucial. None of the factors mentioned above alone would have led to the language shift. The only reason common to all the cases is that people stop speaking their ethnic language because they do not think it a necessity, and because they do not want to speak it. Language shift is not solely a matter of outside constraint; it is a matter of individual and group choice. This choice results from many moti-

vations: pragmatic convenience, the expectation of others, and perceptions of identity.

The main consequence of the choice is that children stop speaking their ethnic language even though they still are able to. Thus, the shift may be very sudden. This is exactly the case with the PN. Every community shows a generation gap, and in every one, language competence correlates with age of speakers. As a result, all communities are stratified into generations, each one of which is characterized by its specific language usage. The norm for the young is not to speak the ethnic language. In contrast, elders are expected to be competent in that language. Such is the expectation, and it does not matter whether the young have really lost their ethnic language, or if the elders' competence is full. The young ones forget their language according to social expectation.

The second result of this process is that the old and middle generations notice the language shift when it is too late. This realization immediately changes the value of the ethnic language. The old start to be regarded as keepers of the "roots." Old people blame the young for losing their ethnic language, forgetting that it was their own choice made several decades ago.

The third result is the phenomenon that Vakhtin labels a "regressive restoration of the language." In spite of numerous prophecies of the imminent death of many languages, linguists always find a handful of old people who still speak them and can be competent consultants. The tendency of older people to return to their traditional values and ethnic culture is well known. The same happens with the language – but changing attitudes toward the language are not the only cause. On reaching a certain age, one is expected to be an expert in traditional culture and language, even though the same individual was expected to be a "forgetter".

Thus, languages are more stable than they seem. All publications dealing with the PN from the mid-19th century to the present day are full of predictions of the imminent extinction not only of languages but of the minorities themselves. For example, the Yukhagir language has already been "severely endangered" for 100 years. In 1965, Copper Island Aleut was spoken by several very old people; in 1990, there were still several very old people speaking it. If all the predictions are erroneous, it is a systematic error resulting from the fact that generational differences in language competence reflect not only the process of language shift (as is usually thought) but also peculiarities of the life cycle of speakers. Nobody argues that there are no real cases of language death, but many researchers make several typical mistakes: underestimating efforts to preserve the language, regarding the present situation as decay, and underestimating the language competence of the young.

The reduction of linguistic diversity in Siberia coexists with an opposite tendency to construct new language varieties. Vakhtin presents a striking example of such a "new language," a Markovo dialect of the Chuvan language. This language (closely related to Yukhagir) was already reported to be extinct in 1891, yet today people still claim that they speak Chuvan. Though, in fact, their language

is a Russian dialect with a few loans from local Siberian languages, it is considered a separate language by its speakers. The appearance of such languages reflects the urge for new identities among the Siberian minorities. Thus, the process of reduction of linguistic variability is opposed by a clear tendency to make new distinctions; variability of languages and cultures seems to be necessary for humankind.

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HONG GAO, *The physical foundation of the patterning of physical action verbs: A study of Chinese verbs*. (Travaux de L'Institut de Linguistique de Lund, 41.) Lund, Sweden: Lund University, 2001. Pp. xiv, 265. NP.

Reviewed by NING YU
Modern Languages, University of Oklahoma
Norman, OK 73019
ningyu@ou.edu

This book presents a semantic study of Chinese physical action verbs from a cognitive perspective. The study seeks to understand the cognitive basis of language by uncovering the relationship between language structure and cognitive structure, and to demonstrate "how cognitive, perceptual, or experiential facts constrain or otherwise determines the linguistic facts" (p. 230). In its semantic analysis of physical action verbs, the study illustrates the role of body parts in the semantic construction of the verbs depicting the physical actions performed by those body parts. In the discussion of relationships between language construction and human body action, the book's central argument is that the event structures of physical action verbs are constructed not arbitrarily but through systematic cognitive processes in relation to both human physical reality and concrete reality in the world. By explicating linguistic structure on the basis of human cognition and human experience, the author attempts to verify that the categorizations of language entities reveal, to a large extent, the nature of human experience and perception of physical reality. The assumption is that the nature of linguistic richness in both semantic and syntactic structures is a reflection of the development of human perception of the experiential reality.

As a category of verbs, physical action verbs are defined, in typical cases, as expressing an event in which a human performs an act that causes a certain body part to enter into contact with the object. A number of subcategories are also defined according to the body parts involved and the manners of motion and contact they make. The members of the subcategories are ranked as more or less prototypical of these subcategories. The event structures of the verbs are analyzed according to such key features as Motion, Contact, and Force. The study

focuses on the analysis of polysemy of the prototypical members from different subclasses that represent the main features of physical action verbs.

The working hypothesis is that, while physical action verbs constitute linguistic expressions of human physical activities, there should be a traceable nonarbitrary relation between the syntactic structures of these verbs and their semantic meanings. In other words, "these verbs are naturally and operationally structured on the basis of their semantic properties derived from human body functions" (16). More specifically, "the impossibility of certain physical body movements performing a particular action is the constraint of the syntactic structures for the lexical term in question" (16).

The book consists of nine chapters. The first two outline the theoretical framework in which the subsequent studies are situated. Chap. 1 reviews Chinese physical action verbs as a lexical domain and classifies them into subcategories in terms of their most salient features. It also defines physical contact acts in terms of force-dynamics in cognitive linguistics, and reviews literature since the 1960s on the classification of Chinese verbs. Within the theoretical framework of cognitive semantics with regard to conflation patterns of motion verbs, Chap. 2 investigates the lexicalization patterning of physical action verbs in sentence structures with respect to the semantic features of Motion and Contact. It also compares English and Chinese, outlining their similarities and differences in terms of features of lexicalization patterning such as Motion, Contact, Manner, and Path.

Chaps. 3, 4, and 5 present studies in support of the main cognitive-linguistic argument of the work: that the event structures of physical action verbs are not arbitrarily constructed, but modeled on both human physical reality and concrete reality in the world. Based on a theory of verbal semantics that argues that lexical semantic representation is the grammaticalization of conceptual information, Chap. 3 explores the syntactic patterns of Chinese physical action verbs, especially their combinations with directional verbs. It is shown that the syntactic ordering of verbal elements matches the sequence of the body movements of the action event, and that the combinability of physical action verbs with directional complements in general reflects the physical flexibility of the body parts that execute the actions. Chap. 4 attempts to construct a system supplementary to a current Chinese verbal semantics theory. The new system is meant to constrain the categorization and representation of all types of verbs, although this particular study focuses only on the near-synonyms of physical action verbs. It is argued that the crucial semantic components that differentiate the near-synonyms are those that specify the manners of actions and that are decoded in the verb roots.

Chap. 5 presents a corpus-based exploration of the semantic and syntactic combinability of the VV compound verbs formed by two physical action verbs. Again, their semantic combinability and syntactic construction are directly related to the flexibility, movability, and functionality of the body parts that per-

form the actions. The results of the corpus-based study support the assumption that the linguistic construction of physical action verbs is a reflection of human physical reality in terms of bodily movements and actions. The most important finding is that "knowledge of the world influences the lexical semantic composition of the components of a verbal phrase or sentence" (126).

Chap. 6 studies two subtypes of physical action verbs: "verbs of intentional action for love and friendliness" and "verbs of intentional action for punishment and revenge." The two subtypes are first defined theoretically, and then verified empirically from the corpus data. The findings from an analysis of the structures of these verbs largely conform to "the understanding that linguistic expressions have to be in harmony with the discoveries about people's minds and behavior and, in particular, the event framework of human intentional actions" (156).

Chap. 7 first analyzes the semantic properties of the Chinese verb *dǎ* 'hit/beat', and then presents a corpus-based study of the patterning of its polysemous senses. It compares the semantic extensions of the verb in two Chinese-speaking environments, Taiwan and mainland China. The results show that the use of the verb is much more focused on the prototypical senses in the Taiwan corpus than in the Beijing corpus, whereas there are more meaning extensions covered by the latter than the former. To gain a cross-linguistic point of view, the Chinese verb *dǎ* is then compared with the polysemous patterning of the Swedish equivalent *slå*, which is the most frequent physical action verb in the language. Both similarities and differences are found between these two verbs. For instance, the meaning extensions of both verbs have expanded in a multi-directional way, but *dǎ* has entered into many more different semantic fields than has *slå*. Also, the combination forms of *dǎ* are much more varied in comparison with those of *slå*.

The main purpose of Chap. 8 is "to examine the relationship between the mental abilities for the conceptual construction of physical actions and the acquisition of their related lexical items" (226). From the point of view of language acquisition, it presents a comparative study of utterances of physical action verbs by young children whose native languages are Mandarin Chinese, English, and Swedish. The study is motivated by the belief that there exists an interrelationship between verbal expressions and real physical actions. The main finding is that children's acquisition of a physical action verb appears to be a process of learning its cognitive basis, including understanding the social interaction between people and human emotions and intentions.

The final chapter of the book summarizes the topics discussed in the previous chapters and proposes others for future research.

Despite its numerous typographic errors and inconsistencies in the Chinese language examples rendered in Pinyin and Chinese characters, this book makes a distinctive contribution to the study of Chinese verbal semantics from a cognitive perspective. With its empirical analysis corroborated by corpus-based study, it has shed some light on the cognitive basis of language by revealing the cognitive links between human physical reality and linguistic construction. It provides a

clear case that highlights the important role human bodily experience plays in human meaning and understanding. In so doing, it contributes to the general enterprise of cognitive linguistic study. The study presented in this book has also laid down a "physical foundation" for cognitive semantic studies of metaphorical expressions that employ physical action verbs. Such studies should be able to demonstrate metaphorical mappings from the physical domains to more abstract domains, and to show that human abstraction is based on the same "physical foundation" discussed in this book.

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JOY KREEFT PEYTON, DONALD A. RANARD, & SCOTT MCGINNIS (eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems, 2001. Pp. vi, 327. Pb $20.95.

Reviewed by LIDA DUTKOVA-COPE
English, East Carolina University
Greenville, NC 27858
dutkovacopel@mail.ecu.edu

"Multilingualism, like coffee, needs an image adjustment."
(Roca, this volume, p. 313)

This volume, a product of the First National Conference on Heritage Languages in America, held in Long Beach, California, in 1999, opens with the editors' introduction, followed by fourteen chapters within five thematic sections: "Defining the field," "Shaping the field," "Educational issues," "Research and practice," and "A call to action." Together, they make a compelling case for the need to preserve and exploit heritage languages in the US as a national resource. The book provides a comprehensive overview of pressing issues and challenges within the growing field of heritage language (henceforth HL) education, and it successfully demonstrates "why those who are involved in the heritage language movement believe that it is important for the United States to preserve its non-English languages" (5). The volume is intended primarily for "educators, community leaders, researchers, grant makers and policymakers" (5), though its clear, nontechnical language makes it accessible to any reader interested in the subject. Its effective thematic organization, likely to appeal to both novice and expert readers, and its overall coherence, accentuated by ample cross-referencing, testify to careful editorial preparation and suggest the desire of all involved to speak with one voice as they build their case and issue a call for action on behalf of heritage languages in the US.

The introduction by the three editors unifies the collection by clearly setting its goals and briefly summarizing the chapters. It highlights positive trends in the efforts to preserve both immigrant and indigenous languages in America (e.g. the rising number of community-based language schools), emphasizing their "grassroots nature" (4). Current preservation efforts can rely on more involvement of schools as well as a greater understanding of issues in language learning and teaching. They are timely, and hence poised to gain more public support, because foreign-language proficiency has been increasingly recognized in schools and in government as a critically important resource. This favorable outlook is supported by several facts: the country's unprecedented cultural and linguistic diversity; the indisputable contribution of immigrant languages and cultures to all aspects of American life; marked improvements in minorities' access to native language media; and empowered ethnic consciousness.

In the first section, "Defining the field," T. C. Wiley explores the terms *heritage language* and *HL speakers* from the perspective of HL communities and educational institutions. He emphasizes that only the terms that are meaningful to community members themselves are of value to language planners and educators, and he concurs, like other contributors, with Valdés's definition of a HL learner as "a language student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English" (38). G. Valdés, drawing on her expertise with Spanish as a HL, takes up a number of theoretical and practical issues, such as the language characteristics of HL speakers (i.e. second- to fourth-generation bilinguals of varying abilities that set them apart from foreign-language students), and the need to develop theories supporting HL instruction and an educational policy for HL programs responsive to HL speakers' socioeconomic goals. She notes the need for classroom methodologies that build on the students' competencies in the dialect, and she assesses the relevance to HL teaching of research on first/second language (L1/L2) acquisition and bilingualism, and of L1/L2 pedagogical theories and instructional practices. She sees HL teaching as an emerging profession in its own right, but, like A. Roca and J. Alatis in the closing chapters, she does not necessarily place it outside foreign-language teaching, with which it shares "the basic pedagogical issues" (67). Valdés offers the experienced voice of both a theoretician and a practitioner. For example, one appreciates her realistic reminder that HL students themselves play a decisive role in the initiation and development of effective HL programs.

In the second section, "Shaping the field," J. Fishman has us learn from life histories of three language groups: Indigenous heritage languages; colonial heritage languages (e.g. Dutch, Finnish, and German), spoken in the US before it became an independent nation; and immigrant heritage languages (e.g. Spanish today). He then reviews his sociolinguistic studies from the 1960s and 1980s, documenting ethnic community schools in the country, to call for a long-overdue

follow-up and a more productive use of the new data by public agencies. His assertion that "we desperately need competence in languages … and our huge and varied heritage language resources have a definite role to play in achieving such competence" (95) resonates throughout the book. Both Fishman and T. Wiley (in this section) highlight proactive self-reliance within HL communities, or, in Wiley's words, "a bottom-up, community-based approach to program development that takes advantage of government support when it is available and is closely attuned to local sociolinguistic realities" (99–100).

M. Carreira and R. Armengol explore practical implications of the theme that America's wealth of untapped linguistic resources must be put to use. The authors convincingly demonstrate that most sectors of America's "increasingly global economy and culturally diverse workforce [need] multilingual, cross-culturally aware workers" (110). Their focus on employment – an issue with broad appeal – combined with their fast-paced, journalistic style, makes this chapter a potentially successful promotional tool that one wishes would find its way into the national media. Beginning with the statistic that an average American business executive speaks 1.5 languages while his or her Danish counterpart averages 3.9, this resourceful chapter is a motivating survey of diverse job opportunities (e.g. in the US government, law enforcement, business, the media and the entertainment industry, health care, and of course education) for bilingual/multilingual professionals. The authors note that, unlike their counterparts from overseas, HL speakers as language teachers are able to draw on their "bicultural knowledge and bilingual skills necessary for teaching students in this country" (126), a point advanced in several other contributions. Together with Roca (see below), Carreira and Armengol remind us that preserving heritage languages in America will take a change in the public's "fundamental attitudes" (132) toward the value of multilingual competencies.

The largest section of the book, "Educational issues," reflects the editors' central concern with "the practical challenges that educators face" (5). In it, C. J. Compton recommends ways of addressing the challenges faced by community-based HL schools, while S. C. Wang and N. Green identify some characteristics of K-12 HL speakers and assess their goals and learning opportunities in the K-12 educational system. They consider which factors help to determine these students' success, such as viewing "students' backgrounds as an instructional starting point" to enable "culturally responsive teaching" (176). Moving up to the post-secondary level, N. Kono and S. McGinnis focus on the challenges of HL teaching and learning at colleges and universities, giving examples of successful HL programs large enough to justify separate tracks, as well as HL self-instructional programs for very "small" languages. Coherently, the next chapter, by S. Gambhir, examines the situation of the latter group, the "truly less commonly taught languages," in higher education and within communities, where student numbers tend to be small and resources even sparser. Gambhir observes that the public

notion of "common" world languages is due in part to "America's conventional view of the world" (208). Finally, A. M. Schwartz deals with two resource-specific concerns: teacher training in the areas of theory, pedagogy, and content knowledge, and the teacher shortage.

In the section "Research and practice," R. N. Campbell and D. Christian provide impetus and guidance for future research. They identify several major themes in need of research: HL populations, HL communities, opportunities for HL speakers, HL learning, HL education systems and strategies, language policies, and resources (257). A complementary chapter, comprising summaries of conference papers organized according to five of these themes, enhances the versatility of the volume. (Interestingly, no presentations addressed professional opportunities for HL speakers.)

In the concluding "Call to action," J. Alatis envisions a "new symbiotic relationship" (320) between HL education and such fields as TESOL, bilingual education, and foreign-language education, hoping to see HL education as a "reunifying force for the language profession as a whole" (324). A. Roca's emphasis on educating the American public about the advantages of bi-/multilingualism takes us back to one essential point: HL education can thrive only in a society that appreciates both cultural and linguistic diversity. She offers creative suggestions on how to launch a national campaign advertising a positive image of bilingualism and foreign-language learning through various media. The reader cannot but agree that "in the same way that children are urged to 'Say no to drugs,' we should urge them to 'Say yes to languages,' and 'Say yes to bilingualism'" (309–10). Roca argues, tongue in cheek, that an advertising blitz like the one Starbucks used would help to shape the public view of language competencies as "an asset with clear social and financial benefits" (313).

This volume is a much-needed contribution to the cause of HL education in America. Its intended audience encompasses the actors capable of affecting the status of HL teaching and learning. It is easy to imagine, for example, how a school administrator's actions could benefit from the book's practical suggestions and examples of successful HL programs. Given its intended audience, one might regret that such issues as raising public appreciation for bi-/multilingualism and the wealth of jobs that require other-language skills may not reach the consciousness of the general public. In sum, the contributors successfully argue that HL education in America is a worthy cause and competently map out the range of efforts dedicated to it. The second conference on Heritage Languages in America in October 2002 is likely to yield another collection of work that will continue to motivate and guide the efforts to protect, grow, and indeed market this national resource.

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KIRK HAZEN. *Identity and ethnicity in the rural South: A sociolinguistic view through past and present* Be. Durham, NC: Duke University Press for the American Dialect Society, 2000. Pp. xii, 178. Pb $20.00.

Reviewed by BRIAN JOSÉ*
Linguistics, Indiana University
Bloomington, IN 47405
bjose@indiana.edu

This book is the revised version of Hazen's 1997 Ph.D. dissertation at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill). In it, Hazen investigates the linguistic behavior of three ethnic groups in Warren County, North Carolina, both individually and collectively, with respect to copula absence and leveling of past *be*, with the aim of ascertaining the linguistic boundaries that delineate the ethnic groups. These ethnic groups are African Americans (comprising 57% of the overall population in the 1990 Census), European Americans (38%), and Native Americans (4%). In addition to ethnicity, Hazen considers the influence of age, sex, and cultural identity. He situates his data and findings in the broader sociolinguistic context by discussing, for example, the contributions that they make to the origins debate and the divergence/convergence debate surrounding African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Perhaps the two most significant contributions of the study, however, are the discussion of *wont* as an innovative variant descended from *wasn't*, a past-tense corollary of present tense *ain't* (cf. Hazen 1998), and the discussion of the influence of CULTURAL IDENTITY on sociolinguistic variation (cf. Hazen 2002).

The first two chapters present important preliminaries to the linguistic analysis. Chap. 1 outlines Hazen's goals, the linguistic variables under investigation, and the theoretical framework in which the study is cast, variationist sociolinguistics. It also quickly surveys the place that AAVE occupies in sociolinguistic research, and ultimately describes the methodology in some detail – the selection and inclusion of the 45 subjects from the larger subject pool, the recording equipment used during the interviews, and the quantitative analyses and determinations of statistical significance.

Chap. 2 presents such historical, demographic, and other social information as is relevant to the present sociolinguistic study. Of particular interest are the past and present divisions between the three ethnic groups. In short, in the past, whites and nonwhites interacted regularly, but within a very rigidly defined social order: only the European Americans owned land and slaves, enjoyed political power, or had much money and status. In the present, the society continues to be stratified, but interethnic interactions have changed: the Native Americans and African Americans continue to interact to a certain extent, but the European Americans have almost no contact with either of these groups.

With respect to past *be* (Chap. 3), Hazen examines the affirmative and the negative paradigms, but he is clearly more interested in the negative paradigm, probably because the affirmative is relatively uninteresting: as might be expected, leveling to *were* is practically nonexistent, and leveling to *wa/was* is disfavored by the European Americans but favored by the African Americans and Native Americans. Within the negative paradigm, he limits his discussion to the affixed variants *wasn't*, *weren't*, and *wont*. *Wont* written without an apostrophe is not to be confused with *won't*, the future, affixed auxiliary (p. 1). In the negative, Warren County speakers do not level to *weren't*. This is certainly understandable, since leveling to *weren't* is rare, but Hazen observes that it is noteworthy because some other communities in North Carolina, such as speakers on Ocracoke Island (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1994) and the Lumbee Indians in Robeson County (Wolfram & Sellers 1997) do level to *weren't*. Leveling to *wasn't* is also very uncommon (with the exception of a single European American subject). Such a low rate of *wasn't* regularization is surprising given the high rates of *wasn't* leveling that have been observed in other vernacular communities; therefore, Hazen conjectures that some other form has been regularized in place of *wasn't* (73–74). That other form would be *wont*: in brief, we find that *wont* is more prominent where we would normally find *wasn't* (77). Hazen consequently posits that *wont* derives from *wasn't*, and he presents morphological and phonological evidence indicating that, although diachronically *wont* most likely comes from *wasn't*, synchronically it is an independent lexical item. By examining average normalized F1 and F2 values of the vowels in *wasn't*, *weren't*, and *wont* and comparing them with the vowels in *don't*, *won't*, *went*, and *want*, he demonstrates that *wont* is not merely a phonetic variant of *wasn't* or *weren't* but a distinct variant of negative past *be*. Finally, through apparent time data, he observes a decrease in *wont* leveling for all three ethnic groups.

With respect to present *be* (Chap. 4), Hazen investigates copula absence, which he specifies "occurs when either copula or auxiliary *be* is absent from a present-tense sentence" (102). Overall, Warren County African Americans lack a copula 38% of the time, the Native Americans 22%, and the European Americans 8%. Of course, more detailed information is required, so Hazen takes the typical phonological and syntactic factors into account. In all contexts, the African Americans exhibit the highest rates of copula absence, followed by the Native Americans and, finally, the European Americans. Likewise, within each ethnic group the male subjects exhibit "much higher rates of absence" (112) than the female subjects.

Briefly, the following effects are among the principal findings for the grammatical factors. The following syntactic environment (i.e., *gonna*, V-*ing*, locative, NP, AdjP) shows that the African Americans and the Native Americans follow very similar patterns, while the European Americans follow a completely different pattern. However, the European American pattern of copula CONTRACTION is very similar to the African American and Native American pattern(s) of copula ABSENCE. The subject environment (i.e., NP vs. pronoun) and the preceding pho-

nological environment do not reveal any ethnic differentiation: all three ethnic groups follow the same basic pattern. In the subject person/number categories, 3sg is the only category that disfavors copula absence; all of the others favor copula absence. Here, Hazen points out that the effect of person/number may be misleading: all of the person/number categories that favor copula absence either end in a vowel (*I*, *you*, *we*, *they*) or take *are* (*you*, *we*, *y'all*, *they*), or both (*you*, *we*, *they*), and these factors have independent effects on copula absence. Specifically, *are* and preceding vowels favor copula absence, whereas *is* and preceding consonants disfavor copula absence.

Turning from the effect of the linguistic factors to (apparent-time) diachronic change, all three ethnic groups are declining in their rates of copula absence. For European Americans, this decline is gradual across the age groups; for African Americans and Native Americans, the decline occurs primarily between the middle and the youngest generations. Hazen argues that the patterns of declining copula absence may result from increasing contact with outside communities. The sharp decline from the second to the third generation in the African American and Native American communities reflects increasing outside contact for the youngest speakers in these ethnic groups. The gradual decline in the European American community reflects outside contact that began sooner for this community. This has important implications for the divergence/convergence debate: these ethnic groups are neither converging nor diverging. They are following the same general pattern, which is simply more advanced for the European Americans.

In Chap. 5, Hazen analyzes the effect of the independent social variable CULTURAL IDENTITY on both past *be* and copula absence, and he reconsiders some of the variable patterns discussed in Chaps. 3 and 4 in light of this factor. He uses cultural identity in essentially the same way that Labov 1963 used it in his study of Martha's Vineyard. There are two possible instantiations of cultural identity: expanded-identity speakers and local-identity speakers. Expanded-identity speakers "identify with cultural characteristics outside Warren County in addition to having strong ties to family or other institutions inside the county" (127); local-identity speakers "do not identify with cultural characteristics outside Warren County" (127). Hazen insists that "this distinction is not one of ability; local-identity speakers are not bumpkins who would be unable to live in a more urban area. They have chosen to avoid what they see as the hectic pressures of urban and suburban life" (127). Cultural identity influences past and present *be* in a straightforward manner: generally speaking, local-identity speakers have higher frequencies of stigmatized variants, here copula absence and *wont* leveling, and expanded-identity speakers have higher rates of standard variants. Expanded-identity speakers have learned what is stigmatized in their speech and have made an effort to get rid of those forms, at least in formal contexts such as the sociolinguistic interview. The lower rates of stigmatized variants in the speech of expanded-identity speakers help to explain the indications of change in progress – the oldest generation is essentially local-

identity, and the youngest generation is essentially expanded-identity – as well as the ethnolinguistic differences: there are more European American expanded-identity speakers than local-identity speakers, while there are more African American and Native American local-identity speakers than expanded-identity speakers. Hazen also considers individual cases and thus further demonstrates the explanatory adequacy of cultural identity.

Chap. 6 summarizes the major trends for each ethnic group, considers how these patterns describe and/or explain ethnic divisions, contemplates whether they are indicative of African American and European American divergence or convergence, and makes some suggestions for further research. The suggestions involve the specific variables investigated here as well as issues related to conducting research in triethnic communities generally.

To conclude, I would like to say that this is a good study and a good book. Overall, the presentation is clear and the argumentation convincing. It is sophisticated enough to be useful to advanced scholars, but it also includes numerous brief introductions and overviews that the nonspecialist or beginner will welcome. These include an introduction to variationist sociolinguistics, the analytical tools used in variationist research, the status of AAVE in sociolinguistic research past and present, and the debate surrounding the origins of AAVE; summaries of previous studies of past *be* and of copula absence are also included. Similarly, numerous tables and frequent summaries and "updates" make the book manageable and easy to follow. On occasion, though, the battery of percentages and probabilities and figures and statistics can be difficult to process with anything less than total concentration. The specialist, then, will certainly not be disappointed.

NOTES

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