REVIEWS

Indo-European Language and Culture. An Introduction. By Benjamin W. Fortson IV. (*Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics.*) Oxford: Blackwell, 2004. Pp. xviii, 468. Paperback. £25.99.

Reviewed by PIERLUIGI CUZZOLIN, *University of Bergamo*

The volume presented here is one of the richest and best-informed introductions to the study of Indo-European linguistics and culture currently available to individuals interested in the field of comparative linguistics. In its over 450 pages, it leaves almost no topic uncovered among the dozens that have been investigated for many decades. Thus, in terms of its range, this is an excellent book. In addition, as a textbook that introduces students to the field of Indo-European, it turns out to be absolutely user-friendly and easy to read, with exercises (but without answer keys) for every chapter. At the end of the book, as well as at the end of every chapter under the heading "For further reading," there is an essential bibliography. Furthermore, the book contains a glossary of the most frequent or basic grammatical terms, a word index from all the languages described, and a subject index. In the preface, the author lists the basic requirements that a textbook must have, and the reader finds in reading the book that these desiderata are upheld. In this sense, too, the book will surely be a successful tool in courses devoted to Indo-European comparative linguistics, and will be used with great profit by students at all levels, as observed by Jay Jasanoff and Douglas Adams on the back cover.

The book has the following structure: chapters 1–8 serve as a general framework within which all other chapters, which are devoted to the specific Indo-European branches or languages, are to be located. Chapter 1, "Introduction: The comparative method and the Indo-European family," provides the basics of the comparative method applied to the Indo-European languages. Chapter 2, "Proto-Indo-European culture and archaeology," gives an essential report on our knowledge of the material culture of Indo-Europeans, their homeland, and their subsequent migrations. Chapters 3—8 deal with the different linguistic domains of Indo-European, as follows: chapter 3, "Proto-Indo-European phono-

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logy;" chapter 4, "Proto-Indo-European morphology: Introduction;" chapter 5, "The verb;" chapter 6, "The noun;" chapter 7, "Pronouns and other parts of speech;" and chapter 8, "Proto-Indo-European syntax." Chapter 9 begins a series of chapters devoted to the various attested languages or branches of the Indo-European family: chapter 9, "Anatolian;" chapter 10, "Indo-Iranian I: Indic;" chapter 11, "Indo-Iranian II: Iranian;" chapter 12, "Greek;" chapter 13, "Italic;" chapter 14, "Celtic;" chapter 15, "Germanic;" chapter 16, "Armenian;" chapter 17, "Tocharian;" chapter 18, "Balto-Slavic;" and chapter 19, "Albanian."

In the chapter on Balto-Slavic, the author is representative of those who claim that originally Baltic and Slavic formed a single branch—the hypothesis of scholars like Andersen (1998:420), for instance, according to whom the resemblance between Baltic and Slavic "should be understood as the sole surviving, originally discontinuous, fragments of a former Slavic-Baltic dialect continuum." The last chapter is effectively devoted to fragmentary languages, that is, all the languages attested only in some more or less short, fragmentary inscriptions. Included are Phrygian—a brief and tentative description of which is also provided— Thracian, Macedonian, Illyrian, Venetic, Messapic, and Lusitanian. For Phrygian, Venetic, and Messapic, short text samples are presented with relevant linguistic comments.

Chapters 9–18 make up the core of the description of the Indo-European languages. Equal attention is paid to every language or branch, and the result is an excellent overview of the whole linguistic family in a well-balanced presentation. Even treatments of those languages that usually are dealt with as minor or less relevant to our reconstruction or understanding of Indo-European, such as Albanian, cover a good number of pages. No interesting point is missed, and the reader is left with the impression that for the author there are no major or minor languages.

The only case where I would have supplied additional information concerns Gothic. Not mentioned at all is so-called Crimean Gothic, which attests that a descendant of Gothic was apparently still in use in the sixteenth century when the Flemish ambassador de Busbecq was able to list 68 Gothic words. But this is a minor quibble. Almost all the languages are presented in a concise, but complete, survey, which includes meaningful examples taken from the oldest texts with a linguistic commentary.

The textbook is a rich and up to date synthesis of almost all we know about the Indo-Europeans, their language, and their culture. It is difficult to find an introduction to the Indo-European linguistics as rich and well balanced as this one. It is therefore to be welcomed as one of the best textbooks available in this field.

However, even though the aim of Fortson's textbook is to provide the students with an updated introduction to both the methodology and knowledge base of Indo-European linguistics, a simple introduction to comparative linguistics devoted to Indo-European cannot be neutral with respect to some basic assumptions. A few examples will suffice to illustrate. The phonological picture provided for Indo-European as supported by Fortson corresponds to the most common and widely accepted scenario: five series of obstruents are reconstructed (labial, dental, velar, palatal, labiovelar), each of them consisting of a voiced, voiceless, and voiced aspirated consonant. Note, however, that this system was severely criticized by Jakobson on typological grounds.

Another relevant point: the system of three reconstructed laryngeals (h_1, h_2, h_3) is the one to which preference is given (mainly because of Greek, p. 58). Phonology is accurately treated throughout the text, and many so-called "laws of Indo-European" are very clearly illustrated (Wackernagel's Law, Lachmann's Law, Grassmann's Law, Osthoff's Law, Sievers' Law, Lindemann's Law, and many others). It must be remarked, however, that there are some inconsistencies concerning the phonetic transcription and, in general, the way phonetics is treated. For example, the transcription of the colloquial English phrase *hit ya* is correctly provided as |hɪtʃə] (p. 190). It is difficult, therefore, to understand the reason why the phonetic values of the Indo-Iranian alveo-palatal affricates have not been given in squared brackets as |tʃ], |dʒ], and |dʒʰ], but have been represented by symbols that do not belong to the IPA inventory (p. 181). In this case, the readers have to recover the correct phonetic value by themselves.

It must also be noted that, when dealing with the phonetics of Gothic, "the short close vowels |ɛ] ... and |ɔ]" are represented by the symbols for open vowels. However, on the same page, a few lines below, "the vowels *e* and *o* stand for long open *ē* and *ō* (|e:| and |o:| ...)," the symbols in square brackets represent close vowels (p. 312). Likewise, when the reader is informed that "Welsh *c* represents *k*," it should be more correctly rewritten as "Welsh <c> represents |k|" (pp. 49–50).

The morphological system reconstructed for Indo-European is also the most common. It is presented as a language with fusional morphology, with possibly nine nominal cases, including directive, which is productively attested only in Hittite, whereas the verbal system reconstructed is mainly based on Vedic and Greek. But the picture of the situation in the different languages is given in a very rich and illuminating fashion.

Finally, the syntax of Indo-European as described in the book is typical of a nominative-accusative language. In this chapter, many phenomena are listed and described, but they are not presented within a coherent and consistent theoretical framework. I return to this point below.

How to evaluate the present textbook? Without any doubt, this is an excellent volume, even though there are some minor flaws. For example, the author opens his book with a few pages devoted to a short illustration of the major concepts that are supposed to be employed in the text, such as grammaticalization. Unfortunately, several of these concepts are never used in the discussion, even though in some cases they could be very useful. Grammaticalization, for instance—whether the theoretical and methodological approach underlying it is right or wrong—could have been suggested as a possibility with some explanatory power for the origin of the otherwise obscure Germanic preterite ending -*d*. This ending occurs already in the Runic verbal form *tawido* 'did', if this morpheme is in fact related to the root *$d^h eh_1$*- 'to set' (on which the verb *to do* itself is based). Likewise, the reshaping of the noun classes in Tocharian, where apparently many instances of reanalysis took place (p. 356) could be explained in terms of grammaticalization. This approach, however, although mentioned at the beginning of the book, is absent. (Interestingly, in the illustration of the Tocharian nominal forms several times the verb *to reanalyze* is used, but neither *reanalysis* nor *to reanalyze* occur in the glossary; reanalysis is usually assumed to be the first, necessary step in the grammaticalization process).

Another field where the author could have provided additional information is syntax. The chapter devoted to syntax is a list of several syntactic phenomena, such as Wackernagel's law on clitics, subject-verb agreement, basic movement processes such as wh-movement, to mention but a few. However, these phenomena could hardly be at work simultaneously, but rather at different temporal stages of PIE, and none

of them seems to be exclusively peculiar to Indo-European. Moreover, some implicit assumptions underlying the chapter are questionable, though not necessarily wrong. For instance, the assumption that fronting or topicalization arise as a result of movement is based on a very soft version of the generative approach presupposed in the book. Phenomena involving the syntax of subordinate clauses seem not to be analyzed according to any particular approach, but are illustrated in a very theory-neutral way, leaving the reader with the impression that the picture is incoherent.

Last, but not least, some issues left untouched by Fortson deserve at least a brief mention. For instance, there is a long-standing debate about the possibility that Indo-European developed from an ergative linguistic system. It could be that the ergative hypothesis is not correct. Never-theless, it would have been useful to make the reader aware of the many reasons for which the hypothesis has been put forward, given some inconsistencies in the syntax of Indo-European as reconstructed thus far.

To sum up, Fortson's book is a wonderful, updated repository of what we know about Indo-European languages and culture and turns out to be, in the end, an excellent tool for delivering our knowledge of Indo-European to younger generations of students. Had it also provided instructions on how practitioners of historical and comparative linguistics in the field of Indo-European work and why they operate as they do—a task that a textbook has to fulfill, in my opinion—it would have been the perfect textbook.

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Clausal Architecture and Subject Positions: Impersonal Constructions in the Germanic Languages. By Sabine Mohr. (*Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, 88). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005. Pp. viii, 207. Hardcover. €105.00.

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1. Introduction.
This book presents a unified minimalist account of a range of impersonal constructions in several Germanic languages, with emphasis on German. The data analyzed differ along two dimensions. First, the sample of languages includes V2 and non-V2 languages, VO- and OV-languages, and languages with and without verb movement. Second, the constructions under discussion have been traditionally analyzed as containing expletive elements such as an overt expletive, an expletive *pro*, the trace/copy of an expletive, or a quasi-argument.

Accordingly, Mohr's unified account relies on the following two components. First, Mohr proposes a uniform clausal structure, with the internal argument always merging in SpecVP. The OV and VO orders as well as other word order differences result from an interaction of checking conditions, different types of verb movement, and the cross-linguistic variation in the location of the subject of predication either in the IP- or in the CP-system. Second, Mohr argues that non-overt expletives such as *pro* and traces/copies of overt expletives do not exist. She further claims that overt "expletive" elements should be divided into true, or pure, expletives, event arguments, and quasi-arguments. The three types of "expletives" differ in their featural make-up, which determines in what syntactic (subject) positions they can/must appear. The properties of the three types of "expletives" are summarized in 1.

(1) a. Pure expletives:
- are of pronominal origin;
- are semantically empty;
- carry no Case or phi-features;
- merge in the position where they surface (SpecTP / SpecFinP);
- check a subject-of-predication feature when no other XP can serve as subject of predication.

b. Event arguments:
 • are of locative or temporal origin;
 • specify the "here and now" or "there and then" of the event;
 • carry a [+specific] feature;
 • must appear in SpecRefP in some stage of the derivation.

c. Quasi-arguments:
 • are of pronominal origin;
 • are selected by the verb;
 • carry a Nominative Case feature and a [+specific] feature;
 • merge in SpecvP, pass through SpecIP and SpecFinP, and then move to higher specifiers, if necessary.

Mohr argues convincingly against the "expletive approach," according to which expletives are universally merged in SpecIP due to the need to fill this position. She demonstrates that, despite their superficial resemblances, impersonal constructions in the Germanic languages involve different structures and different "expletive" elements. In section 2 of this review, I summarize the content of each chapter. In section 3, I discuss a number of issues that arise from Mohr's analysis.

2. Summary.
The book consists of an introduction (Part I), two major parts (Part II and Part III), and a conclusion (Part IV). In Part II, Mohr develops a theoretical framework in which the analysis is cast. In Part III, she analyzes Transitive Expletive Constructions (TECs) and other thetic constructions, impersonal passives, weather verbs, and impersonal psych verbs—in German, Dutch, Afrikaans, Yiddish, Icelandic the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish), and English—against the theoretical background developed in Part II. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 below summarize the main points of Part II and Part III, respectively.

2.1. Part II: Clausal Architecture and the EPP.
Part II consists of six chapters, which address theoretical issues, such as clause structure, feature checking, and the nature of the EPP (Extended Projection Principle). Chapter 1, "Subject positions and the EPP: The evolution of the two concepts," deals with the relation between the EPP and the subject position(s), and the dissociation of the EPP from the

notion of subject. First, Mohr outlines the evolution of the EPP from
principle to feature. Second, she discusses the emergence of a carto-
graphy approach, under which there are numerous subject positions
within a structure, each of which associated with a specific feature (Kiss
1996, Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2001,
Cardinaletti 2004, and others). Third, Mohr presents the parametrized
view of the EPP: languages differ with respect to how the EPP-feature is
checked. Some languages require the EPP to be checked by move/merge
of a maximal projection (Germanic languages). Other languages allow
the EPP to be checked by move/merge of a head (Celtic languages,
Arabic, Romance languages).

In chapter 2, "The EPP and the Extension Condition," Mohr argues
that there is no inherent connection between subject positions and the
EPP-feature. She proposes that the EPP-feature ensures that head move-
ment complies with the Extension Condition, a requirement that syntactic
operations extend the structure at the root (Chomsky 1995). XP-
movement meets this requirement as it targets the topmost node in the
structure and moves an XP into the specifier of this node, as shown in 2a.
In contrast, head movement does not extend the structure at the root, but
only makes if "fatter," as shown in 2b.
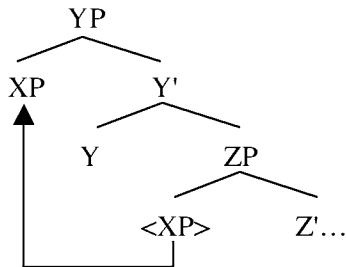
(2)   a. XP-movement   b. Head movement
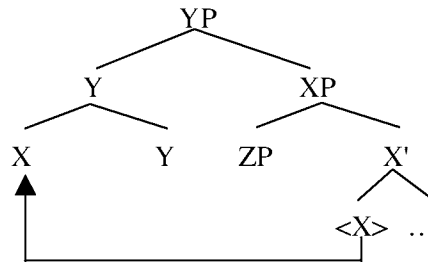
Mohr proposes a refined version of the Extension Condition given in
3 that allows head movement to be integrated into the narrow syntax.

(3)   **The New Extension Condition** (p. 50)
A given category C is EC-compatible iff C is extended at the root once all F_C, formal features of C (including semantic features, such as Foc, Top and subject-of-predication) entering into checking operations, are checked.

The EPP-feature ensures that any head movement is immediately followed by an operation that creates the specifier of the complex head, that is, Merge or Move of an XP. For example, under this approach, head Y in 2b must contain an EPP-feature. One consequence of this proposal is that in V2 languages, the head targeted by V2 movement (Fin in Mohr's theory) always contains an EPP-feature.

In chapter 3, "Clause structure," Mohr proposes a universal clause structure, using insights from both the Minimalist Program and the cartographic approach (Belletti 2001, 2003, Rizzi 2002, Cardinaletti 2004). The structure is minimalist in the sense that the individual phrases can lack a specifier, whenever it is not needed, and every phrase can have at most one specifier. At the same time, the structure is cartographic because it contains numerous functional projections, each of which is associated with a particular feature. The features include purely formal ones, such as Fin, and semantic ones, such as Top, Foc, etc. The following projections comprise the three functional systems, with optional projections given in parenthesis.
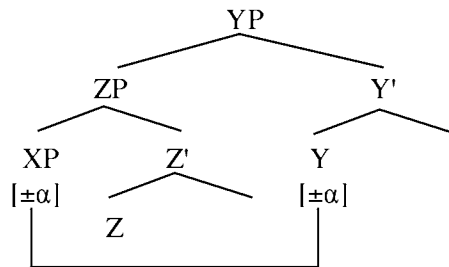
(4) a. C-system: (Force) (Top) (Foc) (Fin)

   b. I-system: (Top) (Foc) (Ref) (Top) (Foc) T (Aux)

   c. V-system: (Top) (Foc) v V

Chapter 4, "Checking," outlines the assumptions about the types of features and the checking mechanism. Mohr assumes that all features, except for the EPP-feature, come in [+] and [–] versions, and checking involves creating [+/–] pairs of matching features. Checking is done either in a spec-head or in a head-head relation. With respect to the spec-head configuration, the feature that has to be checked may be contained in the phrase that occupies the specifier of the head in question because looking into the specifier is possible. The two types of spec-head configurations are illustrated in 5.

(5) a.   XP is a specifier of Y

```
              YP
          ┌────────┐
        XP          Y'
        [±α]      ┌────┐
              Y
            [±α]
```
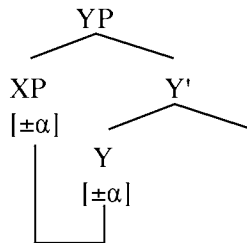
b.   XP is a specifier within the specifier of Y

```
                  YP
          ┌────────────────┐
        ZP                  Y'
     ┌──────┐            ┌──────┐
   XP         Z'        Y
   [±α]     ┌────┐      [±α]
        Z
```

In a head-head configuration, features are checked either by merge of a head or by movement of a head to another head position.

Mohr discusses the interaction between possible checking configurations and various types of V-movement. There are three types of V-movement: no (overt) V-movement, short V-movement to v, and long V-movement to various heads outside vP, such as T, Fin, etc. In addition, there is one type of "morphological" V-movement, in which a verb stem moves to bind verbal affixes. Mohr proposes that this latter type of movement takes place in Icelandic.

Chapter 5, "The 'universal' EPP on T," discusses the featural content of T, and the ways the features on T are checked. Mohr proposes that in most cases, the EPP can be reduced to Nominative Case checking on T. The remaining instances of an EPP-feature are reduced to a subject-of-predication (sop) feature. Mohr proposes also that the sop-feature is parameterized: in non-V2 languages, a sop-feature sits in T, whereas in V2 languages, a sop-feature sits in Fin.

Finally, chapter 6 summarizes the main points of Part II.

2.2. Part III: Impersonal Constructions and Subject Positions.
Part III presents a unified account of a range of impersonal constructions—in German, Dutch, Afrikaans, Yiddish, Icelandic, the Mainland Scandinavian languages, and English—against the theoretical framework developed in Part II. Chapter 7, "The constructions to be discussed and previous accounts," presents a summary of the most important facts about the data, illustrates the crosslinguistic differences among the Germanic languages with respect to these constructions, and reviews previous accounts. The data discussed in the chapter involve TECs and impersonal passives, illustrated by the German examples in 6a and 6b, respectively.

(6) a. Es   haben   einige Kinder   Spinat   gegessen.
       Expl   have   several children spinach   eaten

    'Several children have eaten spinach.'

   b. Es   wurde getanzt.
      Expl   was   danced

    'There was dancing./People were dancing.'

As suggested by the ungrammaticality of the Swedish and English examples in 7a and 7b, respectively, not all languages in the sample allow TECs.

(7) a. *Det   har   någon   ätit   ett äpple.
        Expl has   someone   eaten   an apple

    'Someone has eaten an apple.'

   b. *There is someone has eaten an apple.

Furthermore, Mohr demonstrates that languages that allow TECs do not pattern exactly alike. First, the subject in TECs displays the definiteness effect in Dutch, Afrikaans, and Icelandic, but not in German and Yiddish. Second, German, Yiddish, and Icelandic have an expletive of pronominal origin, whereas Dutch and Afrikaans have an expletive of locative origin. Similarly, not all languages in the sample allow impersonal passives. For example, English sentences such as **There was*

danced/*It was danced* are ungrammatical. Languages that allow impersonal passives differ in the distribution of expletives as shown in table 1.

Language	Distribution of expletives
German	only in main clauses, clause-initially
Dutch	in main and embedded clauses, clause-initially; in main and embedded clauses in other positions if some other XP appears clause-initially
Icelandic	obligatory only in embedded clauses, clause-initially; optional in main clauses
Mainland Scandinavian	obligatory in both main and embedded clauses

Table 1. The distribution of expletives.

Mohr argues that this variation may not be attributed to the licensing of subject positions. Instead, it is due to the type of expletive a given language has, and to the features associated with a certain position (for example, the sop-feature).

In chapter 8, "The derivation of presentational sentences and impersonal passives," Mohr analyzes TECs and impersonal passives, focusing mainly on the contrast between German and Dutch. She argues that German *es* and Dutch *er* are not the same kind of element. The former is of the pronominal origin and is a pure expletive merged in SpecFinP to check the sop-feature. The latter is of locative origin and is an event argument. It carries a [+specific] feature and merges in SpecRefP, the designated position for definite subjects.

The distinction between pure expletives and event arguments is extended to TECs and impersonal passives in other languages. Mohr shows that Yiddish *es* and Icelandic *það* are of pronominal origin and pattern with German *es*. In contrast, Afrikaans *daar* and English *there* are of locative origin and pattern with Dutch *er*. In Mainland Scandinavian languages, the "expletive" element is neither a pure expletive, nor an event argument. Instead, Mohr argues that in these languages the "expletive" element is a quasi-argument, discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

In chapter 9, "Constructions involving quasi-arguments (or not)," Mohr argues that weather verbs in all languages—except for Icelandic and Yiddish—and impersonal psych verbs in German select a quasi-

argument. Quasi-arguments differ from other expletive elements in that they obligatorily merge in SpecvP, and carry a Nominative Case feature and a [+specific] feature. To check these features, quasi-arguments move to SpecTP and SpecRefP, respectively, and then move to higher speci-fiers, if necessary. However, unlike real arguments, quasi-arguments do not have semantic content as they never spell out an agent or a causer.

Chapter 10 provides a summary of Part III.

3. Discussion.

The issues and data discussed in the book are very complex. A number of formidable syntactic topics, such as word order variation, verb move-ment, subject positions, the nature and syntactic distribution of expletives, and the architecture of the IP- and CP-systems are dealt with across nine languages. In addition, Mohr makes a number of original proposals, such as the New Extension Condition, and the checking of features by looking into the specifier. Due to this complexity, the discussion is sometimes hard to follow. The book would benefit from some reorganization.

In particular, it would be helpful if the precise research questions and basic theoretical assumptions were stated explicitly in the introductory Part I, and then repeated in Parts II and III, as well as in the concluding Part IV, so that the reader is reminded of the point of departure. For example, in the final paragraph of chapter 1, p. 39, Mohr states:

> Among the points to be adopted or developed are the idea of the EPP as a feature, the assumption that subject properties are encoded by features and associated with particular positions as proposed in the cartographic approach, the idea that there is a relation between the traditional conception of the EPP and the V2 requirement (cf. Roberts & Roussou 1998), and last but not the least the idea that the EPP can be checked by merger of a head or by head-movement (cf. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998).

From this passage, I conclude that Mohr adopts the assumptions in 8.

(8) a. The EPP is a feature.

    b. Subject properties are encoded by features associated with different syntactic positions.

    c. There is a relation between the traditional conception of the EPP (that is, as a subject requirement) and the V2 requirement.

    d. The EPP-feature can be checked by merger of a head, or by head movement.

My guess regarding assumptions 8a–c is confirmed at various points throughout the book. However, Mohr does not assume 8d. In fact, in chapter 2, p. 50, note 52 she explicitly states the following:

> Crucially, the EPP-feature cannot be checked by head movement in my system (contrary to A&A 1998). This restriction is due to the fact that the EPP-feature is designed as a specifier-creating feature and is not a [D]-feature.

Another organizational issue concerns the discussion of the EPP, which is scattered through chapters 1, 2 and 5. It would be helpful if the complete set of assumptions regarding the EPP were presented before the discussion of clausal structure and checking in chapters 3 and 4, respectively. For example, in chapter 2, p. 53, the EPP-feature is defined as a feature that ensures that head movement complies with the New Extension Condition. Any head not associated with any feature that triggers XP-movement automatically carries an EPP-feature. Thus, in V2 languages such as German, the head Fin carries the finiteness feature checked by V-movement. Fin also carries an EPP-feature that saves the derivation: it ensures that V-movement to Fin is immediately followed by XP-movement or by merger of an expletive into SpecFinP.

At this point, this solution appears to be a pure stipulation. However, in chapter 5 Mohr proposes that the EPP-feature can be reduced to the sop-feature, and that V2 and non-V2 languages contrast with respect to where this feature is located. In V2 languages such as German, the sop-feature is located in Fin. In non-V2 languages such as English, the sop-feature is located on T. Introducing this idea in chapter 2 would have made the discussion in the subsequent chapters more transparent.

The analysis itself raises a number of interesting questions. For example, the fine-grained distinction between the three types of "expletive" elements provides a new way of analyzing a range of impersonal constructions in the Germanic languages. The three types of "expletives" vary in their featural make-up, which determines in what syntactic positions each type can/must appear. Under the approach, where each feature is associated with a separate functional projection, a perfectly reasonable generalization arises: the more features a given "expletive" carries, the more syntactic positions are available for it.

Such a view suggests that the number and the nature of features associated with a given "expletive" should reflect its semantic content. This, in turn, poses the question about what kind of semantic content expletives can have. For example, event arguments obviously have more semantic content then true expletives, as they specify "here and now" or "there and then" of the event. However, Mohr's treatment of quasi-arguments is unclear. On the one hand, they are selected by weather and impersonal psych verbs, carry most features, and can appear in a wider range of syntactic positions. On the other hand, in chapter 9 Mohr states that "despite being associated with all these features though, the quasi-argument does not really have any semantic content as it does not spell out an Agent or a Causer" (p. 177). First, being able to spell out an agent or a causer is not the only criterion for having semantic content. Second, if quasi-arguments are semantically empty in the same sense as true expletives are, what accounts for the different featural make-up of the two elements?

Thus, Mohr's classification poses the more general question of what the term *expletive* means. In other words, what amount of semantic content distinguishes an expletive from a real argument? This question, however, goes beyond the scope of Mohr's work.

Another interesting consequence of Mohr's analysis concerns multiple wh-movement. Recall that Mohr proposes a clause structure, in which a phrase can have at most one specifier. If this structure is universal, the question is how multiple wh-movement can be accounted for? For example, it has been argued that in Slavic languages wh-phrases move to multiple specifiers of either CP or TP (Rudin 1988, Richards 2001). If a phrase can have at most one specifier, in languages with multiple wh-movement wh-phrases must undergo movement to the specifiers of distinct heads. One question arising here is what are the

heads hosting multiple wh-phrases? Furthermore, since under Mohr's analysis, each head carries a different feature, multiple wh-phrases should vary in their featural make-up as well.

One possible way to treat multiple wh-movement within Mohr's system is as follows. Her theory of clausal architecture is compatible with the view of multiple wh-movement as obligatory focus movement (É. Kiss 1995, Horvath 1986, Stepanov 1998, Bošković 2002). Recall that in Mohr's theory, all three systems contain a focus projection, as shown again in 9.

(9) a. C-system: (Force) (Top) (Foc) (Fin)

    b. I-system: (Top) (Foc) (Ref) (Top) (Foc) T (Aux)

    c. V-system: (Top) (Foc) v V

If the focus projection in any of the three systems is recursive, multiple wh-movement can be accounted for.

To conclude, Mohr's study provides a unified account of a wide range of impersonal constructions in the Germanic languages. Moreover, it allows us to dispense with null expletive *pro* and proposes a single universal clause structure with various word orders being due to syntactic movement—always a welcome result. Despite a number of organizational issues discussed above, the book is an excellent contribution to the field of Germanic syntax. As any high-quality work, it also inspires new research by raising a number of puzzling questions.

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Copular Clauses: Specification, Predication, and Equation. By
Line Mikkelsen. (*Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, 85).
Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005, Pp. iv, 210. Hardcover. €105;
$126.

Reviewed by TIMOTHY OSBORNE, *Pennsylvania State University*

1. The Typology.

Line Mikkelsen's monograph seeks the correct semantic, structural, deri-
vational, and discourse-grammatical analyses of copular clauses. As the
subtitle indicates, Mikkelsen presents a typology of three distinct types
of copular clauses. The following examples are from page 1:

(1) a. PREDICATIONAL
         Ingrid Bergman is the lead actress in that movie.

     b. SPECIFICATIONAL
         The lead actress in that movie is Ingrid Bergman.

     c. EQUATIVE
         She is Ingrid Bergman.

Employing data from English and Danish, Mikkelsen explores a
number of semantic and syntactic differences between these three types
of copular clauses. Predicational clauses can be viewed as canonical.[1]
They have the post-copula DP being predicated of the subject DP,
whereby the post-copula expression is property-denoting and the subject
DP is referential. In contrast, specificational copular clauses are unique
insofar as the distribution is reversed, that is, the property-denoting
subject DP is predicated of the referential predicate DP. Equative clauses
do not, according to Mikkelsen, fall into either of these first two
categories. Their unique characteristic is that the relation between the
two DPs is one of strict equivalence, meaning that both DPs are
referential. The copula establishes an identity relation.

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[1] I use the term *predicational clause* to refer to a predicational copular clause.
The same holds for the other two clause types.

During her exploration of these clause types, Mikkelsen makes a number of significant claims concerning this typology. Five of these claims are presented in 2 for orientation.

(2) a. Specificational clauses are not derived by predicate topicalization, but rather they have the initial DP in subject position and the post-copula DP inside the VP.

    b. The subject DP of a specificational clause is property-denoting.

    c. The predicate DP of a specificational clause is referential.

    d. Specificational clauses must be licensed by preceding discourse or situational context that establishes the subject DP as discourse-old material.

    e. Quantified expressions, names (for example, *Ingrid Bergman*), and personal pronouns (such as *he*, *she*) are always referential, which means they may not occur as subject DPs in specificational clauses (nor as predicate DPs in predicational clauses).

Regarding the first four claims, Mikkelsen's reasoning is sound. In my view, however, the fifth claim is incorrect; names and personal pronouns can be property-denoting in certain contexts, as discussed below.

2. Structure.

Chapter 2 argues against Heggie's (1988a, 1988b) analysis of specificational clauses. Heggie proposes that specificational clauses are derived from predicational clauses via topicalization of the predicate DP and subsequent leftward movement of the copula. While Mikkelsen shows that Heggie's proposal is incorrect for English, she demonstrates that it is correct for certain clauses in Danish.

(3) Den højeste spiller på holdet   er   Minna.   (p. 18)
     the tallest   player   on   team-DEF   is   Minna.

     'The tallest player in the team is Minna.'

The sentence in 3 is ambiguous between a predicate topicalization reading and a specificational reading. The difference is non-truth conditional

and hence nuanced. Mikkelsen uses a number of permutation diagnostics involving the negation *ikke* to tease the derivations apart.

(4) a. Predicational (predicate topicalization)

Den højeste spiller på holdet er Minna **ikke**.
the tallest player on team-DEF is Minna not

'The tallest player on the team Minna is not.'

b. Specificational

Den højeste spiller på holdet er **ikke** Minna.
the tallest player on team-DEF is not Minna

'The tallest player on the team is not Minna.'

The predicational reading has the negation following the subject *Minna*. In contrast, the specificational reading has the negation preceding the predicate expression *Minna*. Thus, in 4a *den højeste spiller* is the predicate DP, whereas in 4b it is the subject DP. The distinction becomes apparent when one considers the behavior of personal pronouns.

(5) a. Predicational

Den højeste spiller på holdet er hun/*hende **ikke**.
the tallest player on team-DEF is she/her not

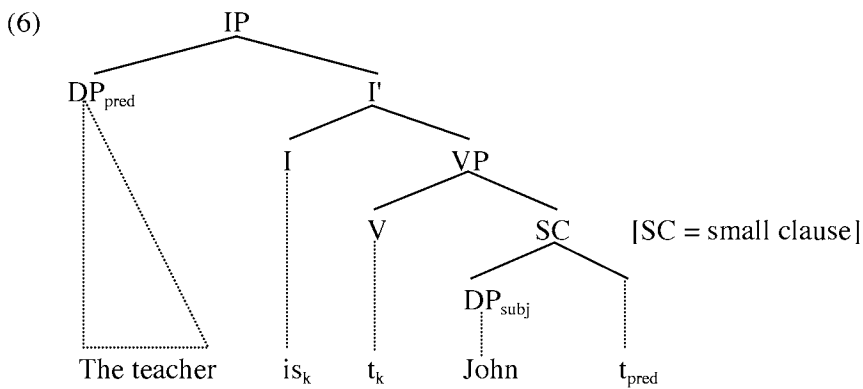'The tallest player on the team she is not.'

b. Specificational

Den højeste spiller på holdet er **ikke** *hun/hende.
the tallest player on team-DEF is not she/her

'The tallest player on the team is not her.'

When the personal pronoun *hun/hende* 'she/her' functions as the subject as in 5a, the nominative form *hun* 'she' must appear. When the pronoun is in the predicate, as in 5b, the accusative *hende* 'her' must appear. Accusative is the default case for both Danish and English.

  Chapter 3 briefly examines other proposals concerning specificational clauses (Moro 1997, Heycock and Kroch 1999, and Rothstein 2001). In view of the observations in later chapters, Mikkelsen opts for

an analysis of specificational clauses that is quite similar to Moro's (1997) Government and Binding account. The central idea of Moro's analysis is that both expressions, that is, the subject DP and the predicate DP, are generated inside the VP. In standard predicational clauses, the referential subject DP raises to Spec-IP, and the predicate DP remains in the VP. In specificational clauses the situation is reversed; it is the predicate DP that raises to Spec-IP. The structure in 6 is from p. 42.

(6)

```
                        IP
              _____
           DP_pred                    I'
           │ ·.                 _____
           │  ·.·.             I               VP
           │    ·. ·.          │         _____
           │      ·.  ·.       │        V           SC        [SC = small clause]
           │        ·. ·.      │        │        _____
           │          ·. ·.    │        │     DP_subj   │
           │            ·. ·.  │        │        │      │
         The teacher     is_k  t_k     John    t_pred
```

This tree illustrates the manner in which the predicate DP raises out of the small clause in the VP to the Spec-IP position, resulting in a specificational clause. This analysis represents Mikkelsen's major claim concerning the derivation of specificational clauses. Chapter 9 improves on this account, adapting the analysis to the Minimalist Program in terms of feature checking.

3. Meaning.

Chapter 4 sets up a typology of semantic types for DPs that is consistent in part with Partee's (1987) type-theoretic account of noun phrase interpretation. This typology acknowledges two major types of DPs: referential ones and property-denoting ones. According to Mikkelsen, the distribution of these DP types in the three types of clauses is as in 7 (where the term *property-denoting* is synonymous with *predicative*).

(7)

	Subject DP	Predicate DP
Predicational clause:	referential	property-denoting
Specificational clause:	property-denoting	referential
Equative clause:	referential	referential

Chapter 5 explores the contribution of the subject DP to the meaning of a specificational clause. Numerous diagnostics are employed to tease apart the varying semantic types of the DPs, such as tag questions, left dislocation, relative clauses, question-answer pairs, grammatical gender in Danish, etc. The pronouns in the tag questions in 8 illustrate that the semantic traits of a subject DP vary dramatically according to whether the clause is predicational or specificational.

(8) a. Predicational
    Molly is the tallest girl in the class, isn't *it/she?

    b. Specificational
    The tallest girl in the class is Molly, isn't it/*she?   (p. 64)

In 8, the pronouns in the subject position are anaphoric. The noteworthy aspect of specificational clauses is that the anaphoric connection to the subject is established by property-denoting pronouns (*it*, *that*), rather than by referential pronouns (*he*, *she*). Thus, the pronoun *she* in 8a refers to the individual denoted by *Molly*, whereas the pronoun *it* in 8b refers to the property denoted by *the tallest girl*.

Chapter 6 investigates the semantic contribution of the predicate DP to the meaning of specificational clauses. Mikkelsen's claim is that the predicate DP of a specificational clause is referential, and that certain expressions are obligatorily property-denoting. Therefore, if an expression occurs in the predicate which is incapable of being referential in that position (for example, adjective, bare NP), then the subject DP is necessarily referential and the specificational reading is no longer available. This situation is illustrated in 9a, which contains a bare NP and a tag question. If, however, the NP is introduced by a determiner, which means it is a DP, the specificational reading can obtain, as in 9b.

(9) a. The winner is Mayor of Santa Cruz, isn't *it?   (p. 95)

    b. The winner is the Mayor of Santa Cruz, isn't it/he?

Since *it* is not possible in the tag in 9a, the subject DP is referential, which means that the predicate DP is non-referential and property-denoting. This situation obtains because *Mayor of Santa Cruz* is obligatorily non-referential. The sentence in 9b is ambiguous between the predicational and specificational readings. Under the predicational reading, the property *being the mayor of Santa Cruz* is predicated of *the winner*. Under the specificational reading, the property *being the winner* is predicated of *the Mayor of Santa Cruz*.

    Chapter 7 examines the semantics of DP types in order to make sense of their distribution in copular clauses. Mikkelsen discusses the fact that certain DPs may not appear as subjects of specificational clauses, as the example in 10 involving a quantified expression illustrates.

(10) *Both actresses in that movie are Ingrid Bergman and Liv
      Ullmann.   (p. 113)

According to Mikkelsens's account of such cases, quantified expressions such as *both actresses* may not be property-denoting, which means they cannot appear as the subject of a specificational clause. This explanation receives support from the example in 11, where the quantified expression cannot appear in the predicate of a predicational clause.

(11) *Ingrid Bergman and Liv Ullmann are both of the actresses.[2]

    Mikkelsen extends the claim concerning quantified expressions to personal pronouns and names. In other words, she also posits that personal pronouns and names may not be property-denoting, which

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[2] The sentence *Ingrid Bergman and Liv Ullman are both actresses* is of course fine. However, in this sentence *both* is a floating quantifier. To avoid the floating quantifier reading, the example uses *both of the actresses* instead of *both actresses*.

means they cannot appear as subjects in specificational clauses, as shown in 12.

(12)   *She is Ingrid Bergman, isn't it.   (p. 114)

I take issue with the second part of this claim in section 6 below, where I demonstrate that names and personal pronouns can be property-denoting in certain contexts, contrary to Mikkelsen's claim.

Mikkelsen also extends the analysis of specificational clauses to truncated clefts, such as *That's/it's Susan*. She demonstrates convincingly that these clauses do not involve ellipsis, but are rather a particular case of the specificational clause.

4. Use.

Chapter 8 explores the discourse notion of topic in the context of specificational clauses. The core phenomenon at issue is presented on page 133.

(13)   Q: Who is the winner?
      a.   A1:   JOHN is the winner.   Predicational
      b.   A2:   The winner is JOHN.   Specificational

(14)   Q: What is John?
      a.   A1:   John is the WINNER.   Predicational
      b.   A2:   #The WINNER is John.   Specificational[3]

Mikkelsen cites Halliday (1967) as the first to have discussed these data. The difficulty they pose is seen in the awkwardness of the specificational answer to the question *What is John?*

Building on the work of Birner (1996), Mikkelsen points to the topic role in such cases. Topic is understood mainly in terms of the distinction between discourse-old and discourse-new material. The unique trait of specificational clauses in this regard is that they must be licensed by the preceding discourse (or situational context) that establishes the subject DP as discourse-old information. Under this approach, the specificational clause in 13b is fine because the question has established the subject DP

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[3] The symbol # indicates that the sentence is semantically odd or infelicitous.

the winner as discourse-old material. In contrast, the specificational clause in 14b is awkward because the question has not established the subject DP as discourse-old. In other words, discourse-new material cannot appear as the subject DP of a specificational copular clause.

This analysis of the distribution of specificational clauses in terms of the distinction between discourse-old and discourse-new material relies on the assumption that the specificational copular clause is "not normal," whereas the predicational copular clause is "normal." The standard distribution of semantic information, that is, the referential DP as subject and the property-denoting DP as the predicate, can take place regardless of the distribution of discourse-old and discourse-new material. This trait is what makes such clauses "normal." The unusual distribution of the semantic information in specificational clauses, that is, the property-denoting DP as subject and the referential DP as the predicate DP, is what makes such clauses "not normal."

Chapter 9 integrates the topic role into a Minimalist analysis by acknowledging a topic feature. Mikkelsen proposes that the subject DP of a specificational clause enters the derivation as the predicate DP with the interpretable feature [TOP], and that the functional category T appears with the unvalued feature [uTOP]. In order to provide this unvalued feature with a value, the predicate DP rises out of the VP to T to check off the [uTOP] feature on T. In so doing, it becomes the subject, as shown in 15 (adapted from page 172).

(15)
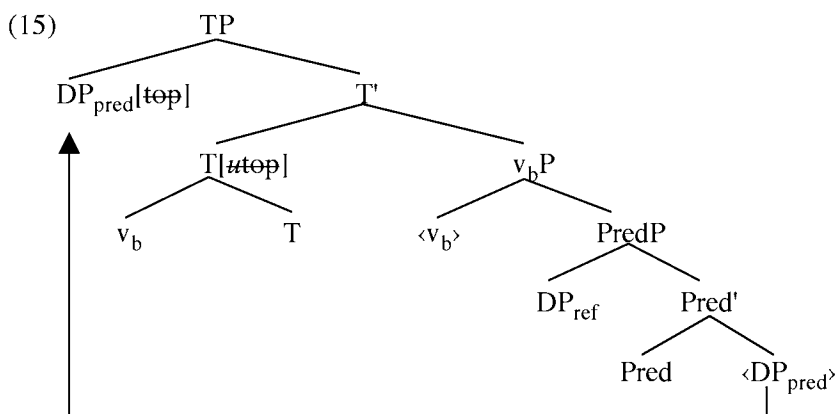
The categories v_b and Pred are not important for the illustration. What is important is the manner in which DP_{pred} enters the derivation in the complement of PredP and then rises to Spec-TP to check the unvalued feature [uTOP]. The derivation of predicational clauses is different in this regard. Instead of the DP_{pred} moving, they have the DP_{ref} moving to Spec-TP.

5. Merits.

Mikkelsen's presentation of copular clauses is accessible to a wide audience. It is not overburdened with too many formalisms and irrelevant subject matter. If one overlooks the overabundance of organizational statements using first person references, the prose is smooth and easy to follow. Reading and studying the book has been enjoyable.

More importantly, Mikkelsen's analysis is convincing in many respects. Of the five claims mentioned in the introduction, four are sound. In this regard, the distinction between property-denoting and referential expressions is the key to understanding the semantics and syntax of specificational clauses. The subject of the specificational clause is property-denoting, whereas the predicate DP thereof is referential. The particular distribution of this semantic information explains our intuition about such clauses, namely that they are unusual.

6. Problems.

There are also problems with Mikkelsen's account, and the notes on pages 72 and 95 bear witness to these. In each case, Mikkelsen adds the note in order to hedge a significant claim made in the body of the text, claims that do not hold up to scrutiny.

The first shortcoming is in Mikkelsen's analysis of VP ellipsis (VPE) (pp. 99–107). Mikkelsen observes that the following sentences are quite marginal, if not entirely disallowed (p. 100):

(16) a. *Some people think that the smartest person in the department is Betty, but they are wrong; the luckiest person is ___ .

　　 b. *The fact that the tallest player is Harry doesn't mean that the best player is ___ .[4]

Based on such data, Mikkelsen develops the argument that VPE is not possible in such cases because the predicate DPs, that is, *Betty* in 16a and *Harry* in 16b, are non-predicative, that is, they are referential. This motivates Mikkelsen to maintain tentatively that VPE cannot target referential DPs.

　　 This claim is odd in view of Mikkelsen's heavy reliance on tag questions with specificational clauses. Tag questions are a specialized manifestation of VPE, as Mikkelsen herself acknowledges in note 10 on page 72. For instance, in a tag question with a specificational clause, as in 17a, VPE targets the referential predicate DP *Susan*. Furthermore, it is not difficult to produce similar instances of VPE that do not involve a tag question at all (see 17b).

(17) a. The winner is Susan, isn't it?　　　　　　　　　　　　(p. 95)

　　 b. A: The winner is NOT Susan.
　　　　 B: It IS TOO!

In light of such data, Mikkelsen's claim that VPE may not target a referential DP is unconvincing.

　　 The second area where Mikkelsen's account is lacking—the treatment of equative clauses—is more serious for the overall analysis. The discussion throughout the book mainly focuses on the differences between predicational and specificational clauses, whereas equative clauses receive considerably less attention. Then in the conclusion (p. 193), Mikkelsen suggests that it might be possible to collapse predicational and equative clauses into a single category. It is unfortunate that Mikkelsen did not pursue this possibility from the start.

　　 The archetypical equative clause—4.20 on page 58—behaves like a predicational clause with respect to the diagnostics used by Mikkelsen.

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[4] I disagree with Mikkelsen's judgment here. The sentences in 16 are mildly acceptable for me.

(18) a. Predicational
     The winner is Republican, isn't *it / he.

   b. Equative
     He is McGovern, isn't *it / he.

(19) a. Predicational
     As for the winner, *that / he is Republican.

   b. Equative
     As for him, *that / he is McGovern.

However, another type of equative clause behaves either like a predicational clause or like a specificational clause.

(20)   Molly Jacobson is HER, isn't it/she?   (p. 73)

In 20, both the property-denoting *it* and the referential *she* are possible in the tag.

Mikkelsen's claim about the nature of names (*Molly*, *McGovern*) bears on the correct analysis of these data (see claim 5 in section 1). She maintains that names (and personal pronouns) are obligatorily referential (p. 95), yet she also acknowledges that epistemological factors can allow a name to be property-denoting (pp. 51–53, p. 73, p. 95 note 1). Mikkelsen thus makes a significant claim that is contradicted both by certain data, such as 5.36 on page 73, and by her own acknowledgment in a previous section, that is, the discussion on pages 51–53.

If one abandons the assumption that names and pronouns must be referential, allowing them to be property-denoting in certain specialized contexts, the justification for the equative category disappears. Sentences 18b and 19b are purely predicational, the names being property-denoting. However, sentences such as 18 are ambiguous between the predicational and specificational readings. The ambiguity arises due to the fact that both the name and the pronoun have the option to be property-denoting or referential.

(21) a. Molly Jacobson is HER, isn't it.

   Molly Jacobson denotes a property;
   her denotes an individual

  b. Molly Jacobson is HER, isn't she.

   Molly Jacobson denotes an individual;
   her denotes a property.

Sentence 21a can be uttered in a context where the listener does not know who Molly Jacobson is and the speaker points her out in a crowd. By comparison, sentence 21b could be uttered in a context where the listener knows who Molly Jacobson is, but can't recognize her in a crowd (at a costume party for instance), so the speaker points her out.

 Given this analysis, Mikkelsen's claim that names and pronouns cannot be property-denoting does not hold up to scrutiny. Since such expressions can be property-denoting in certain specialized contexts, the justification for the equative category—namely that they are unique insofar as both DPs are referential—disappears. All copular clauses obligatorily involve one property-denoting expression and one referential expression, and a constellation where both DPs are either referential or property-denoting is impossible. This analysis collapses the three-way distinction into a two-way distinction, significantly simplifying the typology.

7. Further research.

Our knowledge of copular clauses would be augmented considerably via cross-language comparisons. Mikkelsen's account draws on data from English and Danish. These two languages are similar insofar as both clearly have specificational clauses. With other languages, however, it is not immediately clear whether specificational clauses exist at all. Indeed, the data in 22 support the view that specificational clauses do not exist in German, Spanish, and Czech.

(22) a. Der beste Spieler *ist/bist   du.   *German*
        the best   player   is/are   you

       'The best player is you.'

    b. El   major jugador *eres/es tú.   *Spanish*
       the best   player   is/are   you

       'The best player is you.'

    c. Nejlepši hráč   *je/jsi   ty.   *Czech*
       the-best player is/are   you

       'The best player is you.'

In each case, the copula must agree with the pronoun, and not with the pre-verbal DP. In English, the agreement relation is reversed, as in *The best player is/*are you*. Thus, if the examples in 22 contained specificational clauses, agreement would obtain with the pre-verbal DP. These data are consistent with a predicate topicalization analysis of the pre-verbal DPs.

   If, as I suggest, specificational copular clauses do not exist in languages such as German, Spanish, and Czech, then copular clauses in general qualify as a significant area of inquiry for language typology. Languages can be classified according to whether or not they allow specificational clauses. It is likely that inflectionally rich languages, such as German and Czech, lack specificational clauses, while inflectionally poor languages, such as English and Danish, allow them.

8. Conclusion.

Despite the shortcomings just discussed, Mikkelsen's study of specificational and predicational clauses adds significantly to our knowledge of copular sentences. I recommend the book to the interested reader. The ability to distinguish between specificational and predicational clauses and to understand the basis of this distinction are certainly important for any grammarian.

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Language in Cape Town's District Six. By Kay McCormick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. xvi, 256. Hardcover. £64/$154.00.

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Cape Town's District Six lies on the southeastern edge of what is called the City Bowl, which is the area between Table Bay and the arc of mountains (most prominently the famous Table Mountain) at the northern end of the Cape Peninsula. In 1838, a farm that abutted the old city, Zonnebloem, was developed into a residential area. That same year, formerly enslaved persons were granted freedom of movement and the right to bargain for wages. The first inhabitants of what would become District Six included a large number of emancipated slaves, along with native Africans, European settlers, and persons of mixed ancestry. In 1867, the Cape Colonial Parliament passed the Cape Town Municipality Amendment Act, which created six municipal wards for the purpose of administration and governance, whence the name District Six. The ethnic and cultural diversity of District Six was enhanced further still in the late nineteenth century with the arrival of immigrants from Europe (including a wave of Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe, who introduced a Yiddish-speaking adstratum), North America, Asia, as well as other parts of South Africa. Inevitably, the more prosperous residents relocated elsewhere, leaving District Six to endure its share of poverty, neglect on the part of government and absentee landlords, and the attendant urban ills. But what emerged was a vibrant, cosmopolitan, working-class community that had cultivated a strong sense of identity and cohesiveness.

In 1966 District Six was proclaimed a white group area and condemned for demolition. The stated rationalization was urban renewal. The legal bases of these actions were two foundational pieces of apartheid legislation that had been enacted in 1950: the Population Registration Act, which required the racial categorization of all South Africans, and the Group Areas Act, which specified urban zones in which members of one racial group alone were permitted to live and work. By 1980, some 60,000 people of Colour had been involuntarily resettled in the Cape Flats—their homes and businesses were razed, and streets were broken up. A tourist map of the city from this period

identifies the area as: "Zonnebloem. Redevelopment is planned." In 1979, an act of Parliament established the Cape Technikon (today part of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology), the master plan for which called for a new campus to be situated on a tract of land once inhabited by people. Some terraced homes were built along the periphery in the late 1980s. However, organized protest, threatened boycotts, and smoldering anger dissuaded private interests from "redeveloping" District Six.

What remained of District Six in 1982—the year in which I first visited Cape Town—was an expanse of vacant land not far from the city center—punctuated by a few houses of worship and a school building that were left standing—along with a small section that lay just outside the boundaries of the 1966 proclamation and was not torn down. Its fate remained uncertain until 1984, when it was zoned as a commercial area (as distinct from a residential area, which would have been subject to laws requiring racial segregation). Thus, the residents of the 220 houses located among warehouses, small factories, shops, and schools were allowed to stay on. This is the Chapel Street neighborhood, a bilingual (Afrikaans-English) working-class enclave. Of central concern in McCormick's study is the linguistic repertoire of the residents, their language preferences and attitudes, and how they deploy linguistic resources in various domains.

McCormick's perspective on her subject is panchronic. Dutch was the dominant language in Cape Town during the period of Dutch East India Company control (1652–1795), alongside which a Cape Dutch vernacular came into being among proletarized segments of colonial society. English gained the upper hand as the language of the urban economy and government during the British colonial era (1806–1910), but other languages continued to be spoken, including the Cape Dutch Vernacular (today Afrikaans) by members of the underclass. Her chronicle of ethnic diversity and language contact in Cape Town does efficient justice to the historical context, and my quibbles are minor. For example, it is Genootskap *van* (not *vir*) Regte Afrikaners (Society of True Afrikaners); the year in which Afrikaans was recognized as an official language was 1925, not 1926 (p. 32). It is hard for the outsider to imagine the District Six community as it used to be, but McCormick does a creditable job in bringing it alive.

Primary fieldwork was conducted during the 1980s, as part of a University of Cape Town doctoral dissertation project and updated with a brief follow-up survey in late 1999 and early 2000, following the establishment of a new democratic order in South Africa. The result is a rich corpus of data that includes 68 hours of tape-recorded material from 158 speakers in various settings: formal interviews, community meetings, family conversations in private homes, and children interacting with other children and with adults. An assessment of McCormick's methodology must take account of the political (and legal) realities that prevailed during the last decade of apartheid. In that context resident participant observation was not practical. The best option was for McCormick to establish a neighborhood base at the privately endowed Marion Institute, which offered a nursery school and community center. Here she had the opportunity to cultivate relationships with community members to a point where she could become a trusted visiting participant observer in some domains, while relying on insiders as interviewers in other domains.

The linguistic repertoire of the Chapel Street enclave comprises vernacular forms of Afrikaans and English alongside the standard varieties of these languages. The local varieties exist along a dialect continuum connecting working-class, primarily Coloured areas in and around Cape Town (p. 88). Ordinarily, exposure to Standard English and Standard Afrikaans occurs during years of compulsory schooling; most residents utilize the standard varieties far less than their nonstandard counterparts; and few control the full range of either language. There is community-wide agreement about what constitutes appropriate language choices for various purposes and occasions.

Paradoxically, perhaps, Afrikaans and English are at once polarized and intermingled. Chapel Street residents are aware of the symbolism of these languages as social constructs. From the National Party's ascent to power in 1948 through the 1980s, Standard Afrikaans came to be identified with white domination. However, recent political changes have occasioned a revaluation of Afrikaans in all of its varieties (p. 109). On the whole, attitudes toward English are more favorable than toward Afrikaans (p. 101). English is variously associated with international prestige, urban sophistication, and upward economic mobility. Standard English remains the preferred medium of formal discourse, both spoken and written. Yet, McCormick can discern no trend toward language shift

in favor of English in the Chapel Street neighborhood. The local dialect of Afrikaans—importantly, in alternation with English as an unmarked choice—indexes community identity. Speakers alternate between languages to a degree that is quite unknown in mainly white bilingual communities.

Following Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998 and Auer 1998, 1999, McCormick insists that CODES and LANGUAGE VARIETIES must be conceptually separated (p. 192). She refers to codes and code-switching only where the language varieties and the alternation between them "[seem] to have some significance for members of the speech community" (p. 89). When the alternation is not significant, she refers to it as language switching. McCormick draws an additional distinction between "switching," which refers to the alternation of phrases or longer chunks in one code or language with those of another, and "mixing," which designates the incorporation of single lexical items from one language into phrases in the other and also the affixing of morphemes from one language onto morphemes from the other language (pp. 89–91). The latter is exemplified by *Dan word ek ge**pamper** nou* (then become I PAST PART.=pamper now) 'Then I am pampered now' (p. 179). In principle, then, there will be instances of language switching without code switching, of language switching with code switching, and of code switching without language switching, that is, a switch in dialects.

There are also utterances that contain neither code switching nor language switching (p. 192). The local dialect of Afrikaans has strong solidarity value and therefore qualifies as a code, by McCormick's definition above. It is at the same time described as a mixed code in the sense of Auer 1998:16–20, where the alternation between two languages does not carry meaning as language choice for the bilingual participants. If one prefers, one could say that speakers carry out conversations in the mixed mode of a bilingual medium, without attending to the linguistic origin of the elements they are using (Gafaranga and Torras i Calvo 2001:205–206).

Despite many locally arresting insights, the conceptual framework in which McCormick's study is grounded seems to me at times cumbersome and arbitrary. Considering that bilingual conversation has been extensively discussed in the literature (with which McCormick is thoroughly familiar), one can understand how the author would be concerned to situate her analysis within a finely calibrated model. Still,

McCormick adds to an already confusing array of terms that describe various aspects of bilingual verbal behavior. The term "mixing" for lexical insertion seems to me an unfortunate choice, given a) its generic meaning, b) the fact that some researchers use "code mixing" to desig-nate momentary switches that may involve more than a single word, and c) the fact that "language mixing" (for example, Auer 1999) and "mixed codes"—at least as I would use these terms—are amalgams that can draw upon both defining languages for grammatical material as well as lexis.

On a related point, it is certainly true that the Chapel Street dialect "does not entirely meet the criteria used by Bakker and Mous (1994:4–7) for the definition of a *mixed* [that is, intertwined] *language*" (p. 92, my italics). Prototypically, intertwined languages involve not just the combi-nation of the grammatical system of one language with the lexicon of another (Bakker and Mous 1994:4–7), but the two halves forming "an organic whole," from which "one cannot remove one of the components without damaging the other component" (Bakker and Muysken 1994:49). It is the latter property, not the former, that makes an intertwined language a special kind of bilingual mixed code intended as an in-group vernacular.

There are additional issues of demarcation. Deciding whether a particular alternation constitutes language switching or is part of the mixed code is particularly delicate in the analysis of the Chapel Street repertoire, if it is the case that the distinction "seems not to be salient to the community—probably because, in practice, they can co-occur" (p. 89). Recall that "unless alternation of language varieties in a particular utterance carries meaning for participants in the interaction, it should not be referred to as 'code-switching'" (p. 192). In chapter 8 on bilingual dialogue, it turns out that language switches "seem to be used primarily for structural and stylistic purposes" (p. 181). If so, then it must be acknowledged that stylistic choices are themselves meaningful. If language switching is to be understood as serving microstylistic and discourse functions and if code switching indexes "aspects of identity or associations with features of the wider context" (p. 181), then a micro-macro opposition would be defensible.

However, McCormick does not hold to this principle consistently. In her analysis of language use at a church guild meeting, McCormick observes: "Apart from its role in creating or challenging temporary alliances, code-switching serves stylistic and other functions [...]. It

helps cope with temporary lapses of memory or concentration […]. It may also signal a shift in topic" (p. 176). My purpose is not to expose an interpretive shortcoming on McCormick's part but to underscore the fluidity of the terminology both in her study and in the field generally.

Finally, I should like to take issue with two smaller points. First, one needs to be chary of terminology bloat. I consider myself a reader of at least average intelligence and understanding, but I cannot get past the tautology of "alternational switching between the local dialects of English and Afrikaans" (p. 93) and "alternational language-switching" (p. 186). McCormick's model already takes account of Auer's (1999:313–314) INSERTIONAL and ALTERNATIONAL types, and there is no need for the add-on.

Second, if systemic boundaries are indeterminate at some levels of usage and (lexical) mixing is the norm, then one cannot really speak of English "loanwords in the local dialect of Afrikaans" (p. 91), except in cases where speakers use an English word in an Afrikaans utterance without knowing that it is English. In historical linguistics, certainly—and also in contact linguistics (for example, Field 2002)—borrowing is typically understood as the integration of lexical items into a host language. Loanwords originate in bilingual performance and in ad hoc, nonce transfers in less intense contact situations. McCormick is well aware of these facts (p. 186), but curiously opts not to draw the necessary distinctions.

In a 1986 novel by Richard Rive, *"Buckingham Palace," District Six*, the action is set in the years leading up to the demolitions. "They had taken our past away and left the rubble," tells the author, as he inspects the remains of what was once Caledon Street. "They had sought to regulate our present in order to control our future. And as I stood there I was overwhelmed by the enormity of it all […]. How will they answer on that day when they have to account for this? For the past will not be forgotten." The Chapel Street neighborhood, as McCormick cautions, is not quite a microcosm for greater District Six. Rather, it is a speech island within modern-day Cape Town but at the same time a vestige of the larger historical community of which it was once a part. Despite some reservations about the conceptual framework, McCormick can be credited with having produced an important contribution to the study of bilingual verbal behavior. Enclave varieties can extend our understanding of the formation and development of Afrikaans; and so for the

socio-historical linguist, too, the dialogues recorded here make for fascinating reading. In addition to the book's substantive value, it is worth mentioning that the execution of the study is sensitive and respect- ful. Such is McCormick's linguistic monument to District Six; and I suspect it would not displease those who remember the past.

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