

BOOK REVIEWS

Paul D. Elbourne: Situations and individuals. MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 2005.
248 pp.

1. A common structure for NPs referring to individuals

This book argues that natural language expressions that semanticists take to refer to **individuals**—pronouns, proper names and definite descriptions—share more than just their semantic type.¹ In fact, the syntax and semantics of all these expressions is based on one **common structure**: a definite article (or other definite determiner) that takes two arguments: an index (the number *i* below; see **4.3**) and an NP predicate (see (1)).

This does not imply, of course, the author adds, that these items will behave in the same way in all circumstances, since there remains room for differences to emerge between the various definite articles that are possible (pronouns (1e–g), normal *the* (1a,b,c,d,i), demonstratives (1h), and the null THE, claimed to be used with proper names in English (1j–l)) as well as the different NPs that are possible (normal ones (1a,b,c,d,i), the null ONE (1e–h), and those projected from proper names (1j–l)). Elbourne’s approach, nevertheless, provides a unified semantics for the **donkey anaphoric** (1d,g,l),² **bound** (1c,f,k) and **referential** (1a,e,h,j) uses of pronouns, normal definite descriptions and proper names;³ which is surely desirable since no language makes any lexical or morphological distinction between NPs used with these allegedly different meanings.

¹ I am grateful to the research fund Bolyai János Kutatási Ösztöndíj (2006–2008).

² See sections **2**, **4.1**, **4.5**, **4.6** of this review.

³ Proper names are also claimed to have previously undetected donkey anaphoric readings (1l); see **4.6**.

(1) The common structure of different NP types

| NP type | subtype | common structure | example | page |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|---|------|
| [[THE <i>i</i>] NP] | | | | |
| normal | referential | [[the 1] murderer] | (a) <u>The murderer</u> is insane! | 117 |
| definite description | attributive | [[the 0] murderer] | (b) Well, we know one thing: <u>the murderer</u> is a size 10. | 114 |
| | bound | [[the 1] senator] | (c) Mary talked to no senators before <u>the senator</u> was lobbied. | 114 |
| pronoun | donkey anaphoric | [[the 0] donkey] | (d) Every man who owns a donkey beats <u>the donkey</u> . | 116 |
| | referential | [[he 1] \emptyset_{ONE}] | (e) <u>He</u> looks happy! | 124 |
| demonstrative | bound | [[she 1] \emptyset_{ONE}] | (f) Every girl thinks <u>she</u> is smart. | 95 |
| | donkey anaphoric | [[it 0] \emptyset_{ONE}] | (g) Every man who owns a donkey beats <u>it</u> . | 53 |
| trace (copy) | | [[this 1] \emptyset_{ONE}] | (h) <u>This</u> is red. ('This cap is red.') | 125 |
| proper name | bound | [[the 1] senator] | (i) Mary talked to <u>no senators</u> before the senator was lobbied. | 120 |
| | referential | [[\emptyset_{THE} 1] Socrates] | (j) <u>Socrates</u> | 172 |
| donkey anaphoric | bound | [[\emptyset_{THE} 1] Seamus] | (k) ^{??} I introduced no one called Seamus to anyone called Romano before <u>Seamus</u> had told me what he thought of the Treaty of Nice. | 181 |
| | donkey anaphoric | [[\emptyset_{THE} 0] Gerontius] | (l) Every woman who has a husband called John and a lover called Gerontius takes only <u>Gerontius</u> to the Rare Names Convention. | 181 |

Elbourne's theory thus promises a unified semantics for the donkey anaphoric and bound and referential uses of pronouns and discusses the prospect of unifying the syntax and semantics of pronouns with the syntax and semantics of normal definite descriptions and proper names.

2. Donkey anaphoric pronouns: Covariation without c-command

First of all, let us consider the problem of the above-mentioned **donkey anaphoric** pronouns, which serves as a starting-point to Elbourne's theory.

He follows Heim and Kratzer's (1998) basic assumption of pronouns and traces being bound by a c-commanding λ -operator: If some linguistic item displays a **covarying** interpretation, the logical resource used to model this is variable binding; see (2) below. When there is no way for a quantifier phrase to occupy a position c-commanding a pronoun, it cannot give it the semantics of a bound individual variable.

- (2) (a) = (1f) Every girl thinks she's smart.
 (b) [every girl] [2 [t₂ thinks she₂ is smart]]
 (c) λx . [x thinks that x is smart]: the interpretation of the nuclear scope in (2b)

It is also evident, however, that pronouns sometimes display covarying readings, suggestive of binding, without being c-commanded by any obvious potential binder. The best-known cases are the so-called **donkey sentences**. In Geach's (1962) classic example

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in (3a) below, *it* has a covarying reading, so that the sentence means, roughly, what we would express in first-order logic by (3b):

- (3) (a) = (1g) Every man who owns a donkey beats *it*.
 (b) $\forall x \forall y ((\text{man}(x) \wedge \text{donkey}(y) \wedge \text{owns}(x, y)) \rightarrow \text{beats}(x, y))$

We cannot maintain that the covarying reading comes about by the apparent antecedent *a donkey* raising by quantifier raising and adjoining to the root, so that it *c-commands* *it*. For one thing, this constituent is inside a relative clause, which is an island for movement. For another thing, even if it did raise in this manner, the sentence would not thereby obtain the reading that in fact it has: it would mean “There is a donkey such that everyone who owns it beats it”.

A thorough comparison is made in the book among three major approaches to the problem of donkey anaphoric pronouns (and other NP types), which are mentioned as **description-theoretic** (“D-type”) solutions (e.g., Heim–Kratzer 1998), **dynamic binding** solutions (e.g., Kamp 1981; Groenendijk–Stokhof 1990), and Jacobson’s (2000) solution within the framework of **variable-free semantics**.⁴ The author suggests at the end of his work that the empirical balance may have tilted against the dynamic binding theory and the variable-free account and in favor of the description-theoretic approach, or rather, in favor of the combination of the latter approach with a modified version of **situation semantics** (Kratzer 1989). Whilst I can accept almost all details of his analyses, these have led me to the opposite conclusion: the dynamic approach is the best, but its representationalist branch (Kamp 1981; Kamp et al. 2005; Alberti 2004; 2005) is to be preferred to pure Dynamic Montague Grammar (Groenendijk–Stokhof 1990); because the way in which Elbourne has modified situation semantics has rendered it some kind of **discourse representation**.

3. D-type analyses vs. dynamic theories of anaphora

3.1. D-type theories

The set of approaches that Elbourne (p. 7) mentions as the **D-type** (or **description-theoretic**) analysis of donkey anaphora can be captured by their viewing pronouns as actually (to be) interpreted as definite descriptions (e.g., (1g) = (1d)). It is useful to distinguish between two kinds of D-type theories: those that have pronouns merely be interpreted as definite descriptions, without their having the syntax of definite descriptions too; and those that also say that pronouns spell out **syntactic** material that is of the form expected for a definite description. There is another useful distinction that crosscuts this one, between theories according to which the descriptive content can be any contextually salient function or relation and theories that provide an explicit algorithm for constructing the descriptive content on the basis of the **linguistic environment**. The theory that the author presents falls basically into the **syntactic linguistic** slot (see, e.g., the latter parts of Heim 1990).

The most stubborn problem that traditional D-type analyses suffer from is the one that arises directly from the semantics of definite descriptions: **uniqueness presuppositions**. Let us consider, for instance, (4a) below, which means something like (4b):

⁴ I will not deal with this approach in what follows.

- (4) (a) If a man is from Athens, he always likes ouzo.
 (b) $\forall x(\text{man-from-Athens}(x)) \rightarrow \text{likes-ouzo}(x)$
 (c) If a man is from Athens, the unique man from Athens always likes ouzo.
 (d) For every **minimal situation** s such that there is a man from Athens in s , there is an **extended situation** s' such that the unique man from Athens in s likes ouzo in s' .

Again (see (3a)), we have what is plausibly a covarying interpretation for a pronoun without the pronoun being able to be bound by its apparent antecedent. This seems to call for a D-type pronoun. But a straightforward application of the D-type strategy here, making *he* have the meaning of a definite description whose descriptive content is recoverable from the context, would have the sentence meaning the same as (4c) above. That is, we end up presupposing that there is only one man from Athens, presumably an unwelcome result.

The unwelcome uniqueness presupposition in (4a) can be neutralized by supposing that conditionals of this kind involve quantification over **situations** (e.g., Heim 1990). This means that (4a) has the truth conditions shown in (4d) above. The pronoun *he* contributes the definite description “the unique man from Athens in s ” to the truth conditions, meaning that we have a D-type analysis. Elbourne (p. 10) argues that within this version the uniqueness presupposition associated with the definite description is not in the least bit counterintuitive. All that is assumed is that each situation s contains only one man from Athens, and this is correct, since the situations s are the **minimal situations** that contain a man from Athens.

He thus thinks that the description-theoretic approach to donkey anaphora and related problems has a promising instantiation in the D-type analysis combined with **situation semantics**. He admits, however, that there are at least three major problems that this approach still faces.

I. It might seem that the device of minimal situations is so powerful that no troublesome uniqueness presuppositions could remain to afflict the D-type hypothesis. This is not the case, however. Hans Kamp has drawn attention to sentences such as (5) (Heim 1990):

- (5) If a bishop meets a bishop, he blesses him.

If we try to analyze this example, too, using situation semantics and D-type pronouns, the objection goes, there are no suitable functions that could be used to interpret the pronouns *he* and *him*. If we try to interpret either pronoun as a definite description whose descriptive content is “bishop in s ”, we do not achieve the right results, because we end up with “the unique bishop in s ” when in fact there are two bishops in each situation s . Heim (1990) dubs this **the problem of indistinguishable participants**.

II. It seems that D-type pronouns require an explicit NP-antecedent as the source of their descriptive content (6). This can be called the problem of the **formal link** between donkey pronoun and antecedent (see Heim 1990).

- (6) (a) Every man who has a wife is sitting next to her.
 (b) [?]*Every married man is sitting next to her.

III. The third and last major problem for D-type analyses is the very fact that they take pronouns to be systematically ambiguous between two kinds of meanings that are not easily related to each other, namely individual variables and definite descriptions. As already mentioned, no language shows any lexical or morphological difference between pronouns used as individual variables and pronouns used as definite descriptions. Only a theory in which all pronouns had the same semantics, as they do in theories of dynamic binding, would be ultimately satisfying. This can be called the problem of **pronominal ambiguity**.

3.2. Dynamic theories

Dynamic theories of anaphora in natural language were first worked out in detail (independently) by Kamp (1981) and Heim (1982). They can be characterized by their novel view on meaning (relative to the traditional Montagovian approach): the meaning of a sentence does not reside in its truth conditions, but rather in the way it changes the context or common ground, which is roughly the information that parties to a dialogue have in common.

Pronouns in dynamic theories are translated as variables. We could think of the meaning of a sentence as a function from variable assignment to sets of variable assignments. The system is such that for a pronoun to be coreferential with a previous expression, or to covary on the basis of a previous expression, the same variable that is used to translate the pronoun must have been introduced by the previous expression into the set of assignments that results from processing it. This method enables us to assign the correct interpretation in (7b) below to the discourse in (7a), the standard example in the dynamic literature, instead of formula (7c), which is the **compositional** result of interpreting with a static semantics, respecting the sentence break.

- (7) (a) A man walks in the park. He whistles.
 (b) $\exists x(Mx \wedge Px \wedge Wx)$
 (c) $\exists x(Mx \wedge Px) \wedge Wx$

Elbourne (p. 19) notes that dynamic theories translate bound, referential, and donkey pronouns all as individual variables. “It might seem, then, as if they had a significant advantage over D-type theories in this respect” (cf. Problem III in **3.1** above).

“But [Elbourne adds (p. 21)] none of this [dynamic] machinery can be of any use here:”

- (8) John gave his paycheck to his mistress. Everybody else put *it* in the bank.

The intuitive antecedent for *it* in (8) is *his paycheck* in the previous sentence. It is not clear that any dynamic theory would take this expression to introduce a variable at all. But even if *his paycheck* could somehow introduce a variable in the relevant way, the wrong results would ensue, since *it*, if it was translated by the same variable, would then refer to John’s paycheck. The problem for dynamic theories is that these pronouns seem to refer to entities that cannot have had any variable introduced for them by the previous discourse. Since they introduce new entities, the author calls such pronouns **neontological pronouns**.⁵

⁵ For a recent functional analysis of definites and indefinites within DRT cf., e.g., Bende-Farkas – Kamp (2001).

3.3. A comparison between the two approaches at the end of Chapter 1

“To sum up, then, the **D-type approach** to covariation without *c*-command says that some pronouns are definite descriptions and, in its latest incarnation, uses situation semantics to neutralize the unwelcome uniqueness presuppositions that this move produces. It is currently faced with three problems: dealing with sentences involving indistinguishable participants, establishing a formal link between D-type pronouns and their intuitive antecedents, and doing away with the thesis of pronominal ambiguity. **Dynamic** binding theories attempt to explain covariation without *c*-command by altering the semantics so that operators can bind variables not syntactically in their scope. They also face three problems [...] [out of which the most serious is that of] neontological pronouns. I do not believe, then, that any of the solutions that have been offered have rescued dynamic theories from the embarrassment they face over neontological pronouns” (p. 39)

I consider this evaluation to be a bit biased, because the D-type approach is equipped with a discourse-structure sensitive adjustment of situation semantics (see also **4.1**, **4.5**) whilst the dynamic side is deprived of the tool of representationalism. If there are discourse representations at our disposal, with referents that can be registered, retrieved and accommodated, it is easy to work out a solution to the problem of neontological pronouns on the basis of the following idea in the case of (8): What a pronoun directly retrieves is not only a referent but an entire DRS condition row furnished with a situation referent (see Kamp–Reyle 1993, 504). In the second sentence of (8) *it* “evokes” a DRS row like this: [e : paycheck(r , q)] (“ r is q ’s paycheck, which is an eventuality e ”), and then we may say that it refers to either referent r (John’s paycheck), or situation referent e (owning a paycheck).

4. D-type pronouns and the NP-deletion theory

4.1. The problem of uniqueness presuppositions

D-type pronouns can quite generally be viewed as being definite articles whose complements are subject to NP-deletion. The author calls this the **NP-deletion theory**. (9a) below serves as an illustration:

- (9) (a) Every man who owns a donkey beats *the donkey*. [~~*the donkey*~~] = *it*
 (b) *We Americans* distrust *you Europeans*.

To argue that personal pronouns in English are a kind of definite article, examples like the one in (9b) above are used. There is now a rich tradition of work showing that other empirical and conceptual advantages can be obtained from assimilating pronouns and determiners.

We could suppose, Elbourne argues, that in English *the* is not a separate lexical item distinct from the third-person pronouns. Instead, there are the various third-person pronouns that have the semantics of definite articles with φ -features, but a low-level morphological process spells them out as *the* when they take a phonologically realized NP as complement (9a). In other words, there would be an alternation between the phonological forms *it* and *the*.

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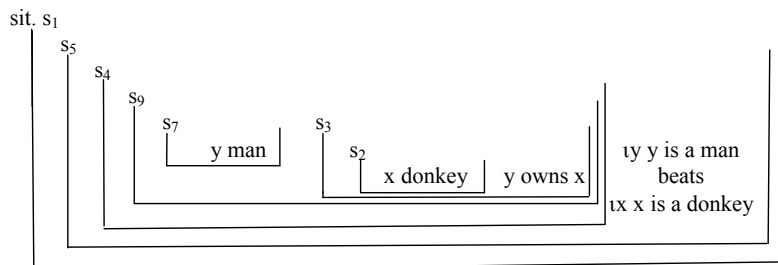
The author thus claims that (10a) looks like (10b) at LF, and therefore it obtains its covarying reading in the same way that (10c) does.

- (10) (a) = (1g) Every man who owns a donkey beats *it*.
- (b) Every man who owns a donkey beats [it donkey].
- (c) = (1d) Every man who owns a donkey beats *the donkey*.

What should be answered at this point is how (10c) can possibly get a covarying reading, in the absence of any lexical items like pronouns which are normally taken to be interpreted as bindable variables. The author’s answer is that binding does take place in (10c) and (10b), but that it is not individual variables that are bound but **situation variables**. He uses a version of situation semantics that is based most directly on the works of Heim and Kratzer (e.g., Heim–Kratzer 1998), but some details are novel.

The well-known donkey sentence in (11a) below is intended to illustrate the essence of Elbourne’s analysis. Its LF structure can be seen in (11b). The truth conditions based on situations (pp. 52, 193–6) are so complicated that I do not enter into details in (11c). Instead, I reproduce the diagram in (11d) proposed by the author as an *aide-mémoire*. Then I summarize his comments on this situation-based interpretation (11c) and add my comments.

- (11) (a) If a man owns a donkey, he (always) beats it.
- (b) [[always [if [[a man] [λ_6 [[a donkey] [λ_2 [t_6 owns t_2]]]]]]] [[he man] beats [it donkey]]]]
- (c) ‘For every minimal situation s_4 such that ... there is a situation s_5 such that ...’
- (d) Elbourne’s diagram (24) on page 52:



The essence, thus, is that the unique man and the unique donkey in situation s_5 mentioned at the end (‘ $\iota x x$ is a man’/‘ $\iota x x$ is a donkey’) must be the man and donkey that figured in s_7 and s_2 , since s_5 is an extension of these latter situations. Furthermore, since all situations are defined as the **minimal** ones of the appropriate kind, no other donkeys or men can sneak in, meaning that the final **uniqueness presuppositions** with regard to men and donkeys in s_5 are justified.

In my opinion the above-mentioned **uniqueness** has been forced artificially/“technically”: there are millions of farmers and donkeys and Athenians (4) out there in the world—whose situation structure is alleged to be described. It is the universe

of a given discourse where there may be only a unique (arbitrary) farmer, donkey or (ouzo-loving) Athenian. It is not an accident, thus, that diagrams like the one in (11d) are so similar to Kampian DRSs (Kamp 1981; Kamp–Reyle 1993; Kamp et al. 2004; Alberti 2005). They **are** discourse structures (Kamp 1981) or internal representations of discourse structures in interpreters' information states (Alberti 2005; 2008).

The author himself mentions that “[...] a sentence like [(12a) below] comes dangerously close to meaning [(12b)]” (pp. 59–61).

- (12) (a) Every man likes the woman.
 (b) Every man likes a woman.

“The sentence [(12a)] claims that for each s' [“minimal man-containing situation”] there is an [extension] s'' of the sort described [in which x loves the unique (!) woman in s]. And this is just equivalent to saying that for every man there is a woman he loves [cf. (12b)].⁶ This would be a less than welcome result,” the author admits.

“Fortunately,” he adds, “I think there are grounds for rejecting this objection. The basis of the counterargument is that in the truth conditions in a certain line of the calculation of the denotation of sentence (12a)] it is presupposed [!] but not asserted that each situation s'' contains exactly one woman. Thus it is necessary that this presupposition be accommodated.”⁷

I consider the above-mentioned **presupposition** very problematic. I am claiming that the straightforward location of presuppositions is neither in situations in some kind of situation structure of the world (as Elbourne claims), nor in some discourse structure (Kamp et al. 2004), but in some (gigantic, DRS-like) representation of interpreters' information states (Alberti 2008): it is an **interpreter** who **presupposes** something. The dangerous phenomenon illustrated in (12) above, thus, serves as an argument against Elbourne's D-type analysis, also against a Kampian DRS-based analysis, and in favor of the (also representationalist dynamic) approach called ReALIS (Alberti 2005; 2008).

4.2. The problem of the formal link

The theory that donkey anaphora is NP-deletion has a simple and natural way of explaining (13) and similar contrasts, undoubtedly a problem for certain (anti-representationalist) dynamic theories:

- (13) (a) = (6) Every man who has a wife is sitting next to her.
 (b) ?*Every married man is sitting next to her.

In the absence of any cue in the immediate physical environment, NP-deletion requires a linguistic antecedent, just like VP-ellipsis. There is a suitable linguistic antecedent in (13a), namely, *a wife*. There is no suitable linguistic antecedent in (13b). “No more need be said”, the author adds (p. 68).

⁶ Unfortunately, Elbourne offers no analysis of indefinites (this remark is due to the anonymous reviewer of this review).

⁷ Elbourne does not discuss, either, what kind of accommodation is possible for a sentence like (12a) (global/local). (This remark is also due to the anonymous reviewer of this review.)

4.3. The old referential-attributive debate

Elbourne (Chapter 3) argues that the overt definite article *the* takes two arguments, an index and a normal NP (see the table in (1) above). He also claims that pronouns have the same structure as overt definite descriptions:

- (14) (a) [[the *i*] NP]
 (b) [[it *i*] NP]

This position has interesting and beneficial consequences for the old problem of the **referential-attributive distinction**. The author argues that the theory that there are distinct referential and attributive uses of definite descriptions gains some support from the current theory of indices. Let us begin by noting that a problem arises because of the index on *the* in examples like (15):

- (15) = (1d) Every man who owns a donkey beats *the* donkey.

If there was an index in the inner argument position of *the* in this example (the *i* in the formulae in (14)), the sentence would surely crash, because the index could be neither bound nor referential (but “situational”; see (10)). The author admits a special item into the syntactic class of indices: an index 0 will have the anodyne interpretation; the others, the positive integers, will be interpreted according to the basic entity-assignment rules given in section 3.2.2 of the book (e.g., $g(1) = \text{Jones}$).

This conclusion suggests a new take on the old referential-attributive debate: a definite description like *the murderer* can have two different sorts of indices on it: either the normal ones (16b) or this new index 0 (16a):⁸

- (16) (a) Well, we know one thing: *the murderer* is a size 10.
 (b) *The murderer* is insane!

4.4. Trace conversion

Representation of traces fits in the picture shown in (14) above in the following straightforward way (pp. 119–20): when moving an NP, we just replace the lower determiner with [THE *i*].

- (17) (a) = (1i) Mary talked to no senators before the senator was lobbied.
 (b) [no senator] [λ_2 [Mary talked to [[THE 2] senator] before [[THE 2] senator] was lobbied]]

Note the trace (underlined in (17b)) is identical to the overt bound definite description. This is appropriate since they seem to have identical semantics.

⁸ In (16a) no other personal details are supposed to be known about the murderer at this stage, hence there is no particular individual who could be $g(1)$, whilst in (16b) the murderer could mean “the unique individual x such that x is a murderer and $x = \text{Jones}$.”

4.5. The problem of indistinguishable participants

Before presenting a new D-type solution to the problem of indistinguishable participants, the author has introduced some previously neglected data that show that dynamic theories too have trouble in this area:

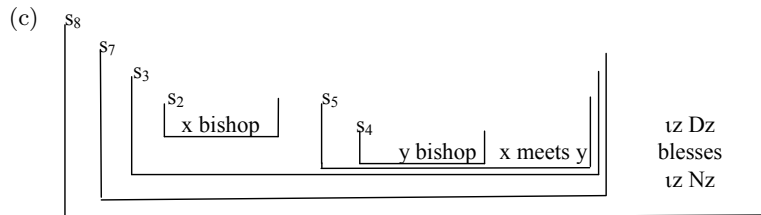
- (18) (a) = (5) If a bishop meets a bishop, he blesses him.
 (b) *If a bishop and a bishop meet, he blesses him.

He says that the task facing a theory of indistinguishable participant sentences, then, is to allow (18a) to be good while predicting (18b) to be bad.

The basic idea is that the two participants in (18a) are **distinguished** in terms of the structure of the situations that the semantics assigns to the antecedent of the conditional, whereas in (18b) this is not the case. The truth conditions based on situations (p. 149, (36)) are so complicated that I give only the most important details in (19a). Instead I show the diagram in (19c) proposed as an *aide-mémoire* by the author:

- (19) (a) λs_6 . for every minimal situation $s_7 \dots$ there is a minimal situation s_8 such that $s_7 \subseteq s_8$ and the distinguished bishop in s_8 blesses in s_8 the nondistinguished bishop in s_8 .

- (b) [_s a bishop [_{VP} meets a bishop]]



Situation s_3 , which belongs to the *if*-clause of (18a), should be scrutinized now. The author notes that the inclusion relations among the situations (in s_3) specified in the truth conditions of a sentence very closely mirror the inclusion relations among the syntactic constituents of the sentence (19b). Hence, the situation structure treats x and y (the “subject” bishop and the “object” bishop) differently. Situation s_2 (x 's being a bishop) cannot be part of s_5 , so that x is distinguished structurally from y within the situation structure in (19c).

I accept the spirit of this approach based on some structural asymmetry between the two bishops, but I claim again (see 4.1) that it is an artificial/“technical” solution to attribute this asymmetry to elements of the situation structure of the world outside. The asymmetry is clearly in some representation of the **discourse structure**, which can be such that it “very closely mirror[s] the inclusion relations among the syntactic constituents of the sentence,” and nowhere else; so the structural relations shown in (19c) should be captured by a representationalist dynamic semantics (DRT or ReALIS).

The author himself is uncertain at this point (p. 149): “I hope it is now clear that the situation structure in [(19)] cannot be impugned, within the context of the

metaphysics out of which it grew, on the grounds that it gives a nonsymmetric structure to incidents that are really “symmetrical” in their characteristics.” I think that (19c) as a situation structure *can* be impugned; what is feasible is to reconcile the genuinely symmetric meeting situation with an asymmetric discourse structure based on the transitive version of *meet*.

As for (18b), the author’s solution is based on a symmetric situation structure (with respect to bishops); with which the same problem arises: what is really symmetric is the positions of the two bishop referents in a discourse representation based on the intransitive version of *meet*.

Let me cite here Elbourne’s conclusion (pp. 156–7): “We have seen that dynamic semantics makes incorrect predictions about the data we have examined in this chapter, while the current variant of the D-type approach makes the correct predictions. Thus the problem of indistinguishable participants is a clear empirical argument favoring the D-type approach over dynamic semantics.” My conclusion is just the opposite on the basis of the same data and almost the same steps of analysis: The problem of indistinguishable participants is a clear empirical argument favoring the representationalist branch of dynamic semantics over the D-type approach. . .

4.6. Proper names

The sixth chapter of Elbourne’s book is devoted to proper names. They too are claimed to have the structure in (1) above and the semantics we would expect from a structure like (1). This is a minority view, adds the author: The consensus among the majority of philosophers is that names are directly referential (Kaplan 1989); that is, each name has a semantics which consists simply of the stipulation that it refers to a specified person or thing, and contributes only that object to the truth conditions of any sentence in which it occurs. If names are directly referential, they must also be rigid designators (Kripke 1972), and this view is also widely held.

If proper names really do have the same structure as definite descriptions (see (1j)), the author points out, it is natural to wonder if they can have bound and D-type readings:

- (20) (a) = (1k)^{??}I introduced no one called Seamus to anyone called Romano before Seamus had told me what he thought of the Treaty of Nice.
 (b) = (1l) Every woman who has a husband called John and a lover called Gerontius takes only Gerontius to the Rare Names Convention.

According to the author’s judgment, (20a) is still quite bad; which is not to be wondered at, given that for the second occurrence of *Seamus* to be bound it would have to be c-commanded by its potential binder, which is a violation of the traditional Condition C of the Binding Theory in the case of a proper name. (20b) is (and can be) correct, however.

Since the direct reference view holds that the contribution of a proper name to the truth conditions of a sentence in which it appears is always just one individual, it cannot deal with (donkey anaphoric) covarying proper names. Note also that on the view of D-type anaphora advocated in the book the descriptive content of *Gerontius* must enter into the proposition in (20b), since we need to find the person with the property of being called Gerontius in each of a set of previously defined situations.

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5. Summary

In this book, the author succeeds in providing a unified semantics for the donkey anaphoric, bound and referential uses of pronouns and proper names, as can be seen in (1) above, and convincingly discusses the prospect of unifying the syntax and semantics of pronouns with the syntax and semantics of normal definite descriptions. The theory that the author presents falls basically into the syntactic linguistic branch of the D-type (description-theoretic) approaches to donkey anaphora but it is armed with a specially modified version of situation semantics.

My main critical remarks concern this last element of the theory: I mostly accept the spirit of the author's analyses but I often consider the application of minimal situations to be an artificial/"technical" solution to certain problems in which, in my opinion, discourse structures can represent the relevant structural relations, which can be captured by some representationalist dynamic semantics.

I agree, nevertheless, with Stephen Neale (back cover), that Elbourne's book is a sparkling contribution to the linguistic literature on anaphora and description, that it is immensely thought provoking, and that it is therefore required reading.

Gábor Alberti

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Anna Sórés: Le hongrois dans la typologie des langues. Editions Lambert-Lucas. Li-moges, 2006. 185 pp.

Anna Sórés's approach is typological: by selecting some typological parameters she makes an attempt to determine the place of Hungarian along these parameters. The first two chapters discuss morphological aspects such as the system of categories marked morphologically (person, number, case) and the problem of agglutination. As to the latter, the author comes to the conclusion that Hungarian cannot be considered as an example of a prototypical agglutinating language. Based on some criteria proposed by Greenberg, she finds that in Hungarian agglutination is a tendency rather than the rule. The third chapter is devoted to the problem of word order and the point of departure is, once again, Greenberg's word order typology. After a brief discussion of the various refinements of this typology, the author embarks on the description of word order regularities in Hungarian. Information structure is the topic of the fourth chapter that begins with a sketch of the theoretical background used. The bulk of the chapter is devoted to the analysis of Hungarian in terms of information structure. The fifth chapter focuses on certain grammatical phenomena which the author terms *non-prototypique* but it is not quite clear why the rather heterogeneous problems such as the passive in Hungarian, the past participle in adjectival function, the complex suffix *-ható*, to mention just a few of them, come under the same heading. Finally, the sixth and last chapter treats some grammaticalization phenomena in Hungarian, paying special attention to the development of case suffixes and preverbs. Each of the first four chapters contains a section called *Analyse de corpus*, which is slightly misleading since what we get here is not an analysis of real corpora but an analysis of a collection of constructed examples (except in Chapter 2 where a brief text is presented and analysed).

Chapter 1 does not present new insights: it is meant as an introduction to the subsequent discussion and as such it provides an overview of the particularities of the part-of-speech categories of Hungarian. The author points out that one of the

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characteristics of the categories ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ is that verbs can often be converted into nouns and vice versa (p. 14), which is, of course, not an unheard-of phenomenon in languages. It is, for example, a general feature of English (more general than in the case of Hungarian). Preverbs are considered a separate part-of-speech category though this issue is far from being settled (pp. 15–6). As far as the correspondences between the verbal suffixes of ‘definite conjugation’ (referring to a definite object) and the possessive suffixes are concerned, this is more a problem of historical linguistics than of synchronic description (pp. 21–2).

If one accepts Bloomfield’s definition of ‘word’ as a minimal free form one has to exclude not only articles but also postpositions from that category (p. 39). The author accepts Kenesei’s analysis, which is not only intuitively but also formally more adequate than Bloomfield’s definition. Segmentation, too, is considered to be a fundamental problem in morphological analysis. The examples discussed by Sőrés, however, are not the best illustrations of the problem. An analysis of the type of nouns such as *bokor-ban* ‘in the bush’ versus *bokr-ok* ‘bushes’ would have been more revealing. According to the traditional analysis, the second segmentation could not be correct since *bokr* is not a word. As a consequence, segmentation must also take root allomorphy into consideration. Hungarian does not pose any problems for segmentation provided that morphophonology is properly taken into account. To be sure, vowel lengthening (or vowel shortening for that matter) does not have anything to do with agglutination (p. 40) and it is not even clear why this was raised as a question. In the discussion of agglutination the author notes, quite correctly, that except for the cumulative exponence of person and number in the case of nouns and the cumulative exponence of person, number and definiteness in the case of verbs, Hungarian is a good example of an agglutinative language (p. 48). In the last section of Chapter 2, the question to what extent Hungarian is a prototypical agglutinative language is raised once again (p. 50). Contrary to what was said in previous sections—where, in fact, the question was by and large settled—the last section does not provide a conclusive answer. Rather, the author discusses some additional aspects of agglutination (pp. 50–1) and notes that the problem of agglutination is still open for further research, which may, of course, be true, but it should have been made clear that the way in which we handle agglutination depends, to a large extent, on the theoretical framework chosen.

Word order is one of the most fascinating aspects of Hungarian syntax. Sőrés reviews the traditional typological approach to the treatment of word order and discusses the well-known question as to whether Hungarian should be considered a SVO or a SOV type language. Her conclusion is that the basic word order in Hungarian is SVO (the criteria used are syntactic and semantic but the author also refers to frequency data) rather than SOV since the occurrence of the latter order obeys several constraints in this language. It is an important observation (p. 71) that “basic word order” must be distinguished from “neutral word order”. Unfortunately, however, the consequences of this distinction are not worked out in sufficient detail. It should have been made clear that—on the basis of prosodic and discourse criteria—in addition to SVO and SOV, also (O)VS may be a neutral order. Moreover, from the point of view of information structure, it is neutral word order which counts and not the Greenbergian type basic word order. In fact, recent developments in theoretical typology cast serious doubts on the validity and usefulness of the category of “basic word order”. The author claims (p. 61) that work on French word order may be useful for the study of Hungarian word order as well. However, if at all, this may only be true for studies

on spoken French since written French does not permit much variation. Moreover, the French grammatical literature is very traditional. The analysis of the sample sentences (p. 67) can also be questioned in certain respects. The sentences *A kislány evett egy cukrot* ‘The girl has eaten a piece of candy’ and *A kislány cukrot evett* ‘The girl has eaten candy’ (incidentally, *cukorka* ‘candy, sweets, bonbons’ is the appropriate word here and not *cukor* ‘sugar’) have both an imperfective and a perfective reading each. This can be seen if one embeds these sentences into a wider context. For example, *A kislány cukorkát evett, amikor találkoztam vele* ‘The girl was eating candy when we met’ (imperfective reading), *A kislány cukorkát evett és rosszul lett* ‘The girl has eaten candy and has become unwell’ (perfective reading).

Word order reflects information structure. Sörös—following French tradition, as she says—makes a distinction between theme–rheme and topic–comment articulation. The first is taken to denote the various degrees of ‘shared knowledge’ (i.e., information structure proper) and the second to refer to the structure of utterances (“la structure de l’énoncé même”). This distinction remains a little bit unclear, however. (It should be noted that Prague School scholars made such a double distinction as early as in the sixties.) The sample sentences are analysed in terms of topic and comment, leaving aside the interrelationship between the two kinds of articulation. It is shown on the basis of the sentence *Pali szereti Marit* ‘Paul loves Mary’ that by changing word order, stress and intonation, one may get various interpretations. Sörös claims that one may get ten different utterances in this way. For example, in the case of *Pali "Marit szereti* ‘It is Mary that Paul loves’ the object noun occupies the focus position and carries emphatic stress. With contrastive topic intonation we get *Pali Marit[^] szereti (de Annát[^] nem)* ‘Paul loves Mary (but not Ann)’ (where the symbol “^” denotes contrastive topic intonation). Note, however, that—in contrast to what the author claims—an utterance such as *Szereti Pali Marit* (VSO) ‘Paul does love Mary’ cannot be neutral: it is impossible to begin a discourse with such an utterance, it requires a special context. The rest of this chapter contains interesting observations concerning the various types of topic (topicalized adjectives, infinitives and adverbs; dislocation, etc.) followed by some remarks on the comment (pp. 90–8). The chapter ends with some general conclusions with respect to word order and information structure.

Chapter 5 is devoted to some “less prototypical” aspects of the syntax of Hungarian (it should be noted that the notion of prototypicality is not quite clear in this context). In this chapter we find some remarks on the problem of the passive, on the use of participial constructions, on middles and reflexives, on support verbs, etc. The discussion is much less systematic than in the previous chapters.

The last chapter discusses the problem of “conceptualization and grammaticalization” in Hungarian syntax. Well-known historical facts (among other things, the development of case suffixes and preverbs) are embedded into and explained in an up-to-date theoretical framework.

Sörös’s book is by and large an adequate typologically-oriented description of certain aspects of Hungarian syntax and morphology. Its novelty lies in the typological perspective: it provides the reader with clues to the identification of the typologically most fascinating aspects of Hungarian.

Ferenc Kiefer

Csilla Bartha (ed.): Cigány nyelvek és közösségek a Kárpát-medencében [Gypsy communities and their languages in the Carpathian Basin]. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest, 2007. 344 pp.

1.1. Questions and problems concerning the plight and rights of Gypsy* communities emerge on a daily basis in the course of political, scientific and everyday discourse. The significance of the issue is indicated by the fact that both in Hungary and in the whole of Europe, the greatest minority is Gypsies: their number is estimated to be around 400–600 thousands in Hungary and 7–8.5 millions in Europe. Accordingly, the present volume discusses Gypsy communities not only in Hungary but also within the broader context of the Carpathian Basin and Europe, from the perspective of sociolinguistics, anthropology, linguistics, language policy and education.

1.2. This book bears the title of a conference held in 2003 at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on current research in Roma Studies. Scholars who had been conducting research independently of each other got acquainted with each other's work at this conference for the first time since the death of Zita Réger (1944–2001), the internationally known Hungarian researcher of Romani linguistics. For this volume, the editor selected 14 articles by linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, and a music historian to pay homage to the memory of Réger, to whom this book is dedicated.

The volume publishes new studies and also reprints of some basic articles, catering to a wide public of professionals. The diversity of the book is revealed by the titles of the chapters:

- I. Gypsy communities and their languages in Hungary
- II. Language socialization, linguistic disadvantage and education
- III. Language rights: from linguisticism to pluralism
- IV. Ways of speaking, cultural representation, language ideologies
- V. Language maintenance or language shift?

It is also worth noting that beyond linguistics, the articles of the book introduce various communities to the reader. Since Gypsies are “extremely diverse with respect to language, dialect, geography, society, economy and religion”, familiarity with the dynamics of these communities is essential.

2.1. The chapter on **Gypsy communities and their languages in Hungary** presents the languages of Romani and Boyash communities in Hungary in a broad context. The

* A terminological distinction between “Roma” and “Gypsy” was made by the editor in the English language summary of the volume (see p. 334). “If we consider the internal self-identification of the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous groups known as “Gypsies” in Hungary, we can see that mainly the Romani speakers use the ethnonym “Roma” and linguonym “Romani” as their self-identification, whereas neither the native Hungarian-speaking Gypsies nor the Boyash speakers identify themselves by these terms when speaking in their mother tongue. Therefore we differentiate between native Romani, native Boyash and native Hungarian speakers. We will use the term “Gypsy” in certain contexts, when a) we refer to non-Romani speaking group(s); b) when we want to include the whole Gypsy group living in Hungary, not only the Roma or the Boyash; c) in quotations when this term is used in the original text.”

reader will get acquainted with the history of Romani and Boyash, the most important figures on population, areal distribution, dialectal varieties, and sociolinguistic data. The lead of the volume, namely, that the scientific and social questions concerning Gypsy communities are relevant not only in Hungary, but also in Eastern Europe and in Europe as a whole, is already present in this chapter.

2.2. The first study of the volume, **Unity? Variation? The Gypsy minority and linguistic diversity** by **Andrea Szalai**, is a comprehensive piece of work on Romani. It demonstrates the diversity of Romani, and highlights its functional variety: the author points out that in spite of the fact that Romani is a minority language all over the world, the formal use of Romani as well as Romani registers with a higher prestige do exist. To date, the literature has regarded bilingualism involving Romani as diglossia. Szalai argues that this is an oversimplification: therefore, she formulates the need for a new model which would not ignore the public, formal use of Romani.

The second part of the study zooms in on the fact that in Europe, the majority of bilingual Gypsy speakers use Romani. The author describes the four dialect groups of Romani, their geographical spread from Greece to North America, and the most important linguistic influences affecting these dialects. The dialectal diversity within Europe is explained in terms of diffusion theory, and the main isoglosses are identified on the basis of international research spanning one and a half decades.

The third part of the study presents the linguistic diversity of the Hungarian Gypsy minority, and discusses varieties of Romani in Hungary. Szalai fleshes out terminological problems with the identification of various groups, and emphasizes the social and ethnic heterogeneity of Gypsy communities even within one dialect.

Finally, taking the results of an earlier fieldwork of hers as the starting point, the author directs attention to the boundaries of dialectological investigations, and advocates the anthropological approach in the course of research on Romani.

2.3. The second study of the volume, **The Boyash language in Hungary** by **Anna Pálmainé Orsós**, presents a wide range of data on European and Hungarian Gypsies, their number, areal distribution and history. However, the main focus of the article is the Boyash Gypsies and their language. The history of the Boyash language is less known than that of the Romani, and in Hungary the Boyash constitute the smallest Gypsy minority, with some 40 to 50 thousand members. Their tongue, an archaic dialect of Romanian, differs from other Gypsy languages, which all derive from the Indic languages.

The scientific description of the Boyash language was initiated only in 1980, and a great deal of fundamental research is still lacking. The author reports on the development of the literacy of the Boyash, and the description of their grammar with special emphasis on the transcription of the sound system; she also analyzes the situation of the Gypsy minority in education, and presses for measures to improve the current state of affairs. The article shows a high degree of sensitivity, manifest for instance in connection with the inadequacy of the definition of Gypsies in the statistics of the national census.

2.4. **Endre P. Tálos** in his chapter **Borrowing phonological rules in Romani** shows that the study of Romani may bring about new results for general linguistics, areal linguistics, contact linguistics and creolisation. Tálos argues that the European Romani language is both uniform and, at the same time, quite varied. The uniformity is attributed to the fact that the language split into dialects only after the 16th century and, due to the roaming lifestyle of Gypsies, the dialects did not become isolated.

On the other hand, the diversity is put down to the influence of the neighbouring languages. The change or borrowing of rules is easily detectable in the variants of the Romani language, and each stage of change can be supported by available data. In the study, the author illustrates Romani rule borrowing in Hungarian, Finnish, Spanish, Slavic, etc. language environments.

3.1. The second chapter of the volume is entitled **Linguistic socialization, linguistic disadvantage and education**, and begins with **Zita Réger's Linguistic socialization and linguistic practices in Romani speech communities in Hungary**. The book reprints this article by Réger to make it accessible to the public. This study is an indispensable piece of work indeed, in which Réger refutes the theory of language deficit in connection with Gypsies, and demonstrates that Gypsies have a peculiar and rich oral culture. She also addresses the question why their linguistic socialization leads to difficulties at school. Unfortunately, this problem obviously still persists; the difficulties Gypsy children have in school continue to reproduce their social disadvantages.

The first part of the study examines Romani motherese, and concludes that, due to the extensive kin-neighbour relations, children receive an incredible amount of linguistic stimulus. The linguistic education of children is performed by several adults, and the linguistic performance of children is appreciated by an unusually large audience. It turns out that, just like in other languages, Romani speakers addressing small children are capable of adaptation by simplifying their speech and employing redundant and expressive motives. However, in addition to these elements, Gypsies make resort to totally different "genres"; these involve extensive dialogues about the details of the baby's future, in the course of which the child may be impersonated by the mother, as well as complex stories and a variety of games and competitions based on the improvisation of stories and role playing. Throughout, the richness of the verbal and non-verbal means Gypsy children use is remarkable.

The study concludes that despite all their linguistic creativity, the problems Romani children face at school are mostly language-related: the socialization of Romani children makes no reference to literacy, whereas the knowledge Romani children have acquired is irrelevant for, and thus ignored by, school.

3.2. Katalin R. Forrai's article on the **Conflicts of the school and the Gypsy family (A hypothetical model)** deals with conflicts between Gypsy families and the school. The author shows that these conflicts derive from the encounter of two distinct cultures with divergent objectives and expectations.

According to Gypsy families, the raising of children is performed by the community and not the school: as a consequence, the leisure time and communal life of children is centered around the community. Another difficulty is that the school assumes a formal, authoritative teacher-student relationship, while among the Gypsies, adolescents belong to the adult community; they only accept guidance in friendly relations. In addition, the average level of schooling among Gypsies is quite low; therefore, if Gypsy youths decide to continue their studies, they will follow a divergent social pattern: this way, the child is pressed to make a choice between ethnic culture and assimilation.

These facts entail that improving the social conditions of Gypsies is not sufficient: in order that their disadvantage at school could be overcome, the current pedagogical methods have to be altered, and the lifestyle of Gypsies and their expectations towards school need to be taken into account. In the education, tolerance towards other cultures should also be worked on, or else everyday conflicts will continue to be interpreted as ethnic problems.

4.1. These issues have straightforward implications for educational policy: therefore, the chapter **Language rights: from linguisticism to pluralism** is especially important, as it draws attention to the basic principles of language policy at a time when the main issues concerning Gypsies are still recognized as social problems in Hungary, and the assimilation of their language is considered to be a natural change. Although a number of studies urge the preservation of the languages of minorities in Hungary, funding mostly aims to support their culture and art. Not even the Roma civil organizations seek to maintain their language in particular. The chapter allows a glance at the language rights of European and Hungarian Roma, presents the major legal documents, assesses their significance/insignificance and outlines possible routes to implement the necessary changes.

4.2. The study by **Yaron Matras** on **The future of Romani: Towards the policy of linguistic pluralism** surveys the efforts to codify Romani in eleven countries, and proposes a program of language planning. Matras shows that there exists no standard variety for written Romani, and each region develops its written version separately. The linguistic pluralism manifested in this way is approved of by the author, who argues that the preservation of varieties needs to be observed in the course of language planning; the diverse norms, orthographies and the variation in vocabulary have to be retained, allowing a choice for the language users. This could be attained by the means of information technology currently available, such as the already existing online databases and dictionaries containing several dozens or even hundreds of local varieties (141). Matras emphasizes the necessity of a transnational conception of language planning, which would make an international informational network with a supporting technical team in the background practicable. Furthermore, a publishing network would also be necessary to disseminate the printed materials in the given regions. Matras also presses to develop Romani teacher training, and forwards proposals to elaborate on the Romani curriculum.

4.3. The overview of the European situation is followed by two studies focusing on Hungary. In the article **Our Gypsies, their languages and their rights, Miklós Kontra** formulates a criticism of Hungarian language policy: he points out that language policy laws and acts are not synchronized, and Roma and Boyash are still inflicted by linguistic discrimination in education. The author emphasizes that laws should be based on scientific results, and he points out the negative aspects of the present situation.

For instance, he stresses that the language rights of Roma and Boyash communities are constrained by the conditions of education (the scarcity of native language teachers, teaching materials calling for updating, etc.). The fact that the state considers the minority homogeneous further aggravates the situation: the mother tongue of Romani and Boyash students is considered to be predominantly Hungarian, which is not supported by scientific surveys: for instance, Boyash was not an available option on the form of the national census in 2001, which rendered the Boyash practically invisible.

4.4. Language policy—The teaching of Gypsy (Romani and Boyash) languages by **Katalin R. Forray** presents the legal documents of national minority education exhaustively, and introduces all the thirteen minorities named by the Hungarian minority acts. The author highlights the minefield of Roma community education from different angles, pointing out the advanced degree of language assimilation, the disputed points of the National Core Curriculum, the segregation between and within schools, and troubles with language examinations.

The author names other grave problems as well: for instance, while several teachers are unemployed these days, in Roma and Boyash classes much of the teaching is performed by instructors without pedagogical qualifications (161). Moreover, the number of those participating in remedial teaching is extremely high in Hungary as compared to Europe, and Gypsy children constitute forty percent of the students in these institutions.

Nonetheless, the success a handful of model institutions of primary and secondary education have had in the teaching and fostering of Romani and Boyash languages and culture is encouraging. Forray enumerates these schools and briefly describes their programs. Lastly, the author touches on the results in higher education, and discusses the main tendencies and tasks, putting forth a number of short- and long-term proposals. The chapter offers ample data for those interested in language policy and language planning.

5.1. The last two chapters interpret and supplement the material presented in the previous chapters by publishing the results of empirical research carried out in smaller Roma and Boyash communities. These articles abound in language ideological descriptions, which play a crucial role in the linguistic self-assessment, ethnic identity, knowledge and behaviour of minority speakers. These processes lead to the appraisal or, more often, to the underrating of the minority language, which in the long run may trigger or accelerate language maintenance or, more typically, language shift. The reader is also introduced to ideologies underlying specific phenomena, such as “kidding”. The communities and languages are discussed in a geographically wide context, presenting results of investigations in Slovakia and Romania, in addition to Hungary.

5.2. The first article of the chapter **Ways of speaking, cultural representation, language ideologies** is **Teasing in the linguistic socialization of Romani children in Hungary**. Through the examination of the characteristics of teasing with small children and the longitudinal study of the speech of two Romani children, **Zita Réger** demonstrates that in Romani communities, teasing plays a central role in linguistic socialization. Teasing is argued to be present since early childhood, represents a particularly important mode of speech in the community and helps to internalize patterns of behaviour correlating with different social roles. The study is based on international research, and raises questions for further research.

The results of this study corroborate Réger’s former observations, namely that Romani children turn into a skilled and experienced conversationalist very early, however, this ability may even prove to be a disadvantage at school, since teasing relies on contextual clues, while the language use of the school is characterized by decontextualization.

5.3. Symbolic culture-representations in an Oltanian Rudar community by **Katalin Kovalcsik** presents some of the results of a field work conducted in Romania. First, Kovalcsik discusses the traditional discourses of identity and culture in the community under scrutiny. “In the rhetoric topics of the discursive system, the Rudars wish to prove that, despite the general opinion, they are not Gypsies but a special Romanian ethnic group. This is important for them because they hope that, if recognized as Romanians, they will be treated as equals to the members of the majority society” (197). Their language ideology is described by Kovalcsik on the basis of their ideology of origin and a myth, in addition to the way they assess their artistic activities and traditional crafts. A ballad with the emblematic features of Rudar life is also presented.

The second half of the study interprets the festival of the “gurbane” as the main representative of the cultural identity of the community. Finally, on the basis of a Rudar song, the author compares traditional Rudar discourses with the ideology of the Pentecostal congregation, which appeared there in 1996.

5.4. The chapter on language ideology culminates in the third article: **“What do you pack yourself?”: The discursive construction of ‘Gypsiness’ as difference in everyday interactions** by **Kata Horváth**, who offers an in-depth analysis of situations which she has been an observer of. With this undertaking, Horváth is the first one to provide a multi-faceted scrutiny of the language use of monolingual Gypsies, the biggest group in Hungary. The focal point of her work is the discursive practice that “creates” Gypsies. The article, however, is more than a thorough case study, as is demonstrated by the insightful analysis of the complexity of the interactions, and the theoretical questions of linguistic anthropology raised in the course of the discussion.

6.1. The chapter **Language maintenance or language shift? — Sociolinguistic research in Roma and Boyash communities** summarizes the major issues of the volume. The articles demonstrate that the degree of language change, although interrelated with factors such as schooling, age, and ethnic identity, differs in the different communities. This way, research projects conducted in various local communities may influence decisions on language planning at the national level.

6.2. **Csilla Bartha** was the first to systematically examine attitudes to language and language shift in Romani communities in her article **Language shift in two Vlach Roma communities in Hungary — “The old speak the old Gypsy, but are mixing it all up”**. The objective of her research was to reveal both the causes for and the process of language shift. The methodology of the research was exemplary: several methods (e.g. questionnaires, tape-recorded thematic interviews, participant observation) were applied simultaneously to ensure the reliability of the data, and the fieldwork was conducted in Romani throughout.

The study stresses the importance of the comparison of data collected by various methods, and shows that the local characteristics cannot be overlooked in the course of language development.

6.3. The study **The possibilities of the maintenance of the Boyash language** by **Anna Pálmainé Orsós** summarizes the complex sociolinguistic research carried out in six minority groups (Boyash, German, Romani, Romanian, Serbian, and Slovakian) in Hungary within the same theoretical and methodological framework, conducted by Csilla Bartha and Anna Borbély between 2001 and 2004. The investigations offer a comprehensive description of the language use of the Boyash community in Mánfa, and the linguistic and social attitudes and stereotypes in the area.

This study further confirms the existence of the Boyash–Hungarian language shift, but emphasizes that in this community, language shift does not imply the loss of identity. Therefore, in this particular case the author considers the process of language shift reversible, and puts forth specific proposals to implement this goal. In the article, language shift is examined with respect to a host of interfering factors (the relationship of the participants, their command of the language, their attitude, profession, age and gender, the topic of the conversation etc.), and the study identifies a number of contrasts between genders.

6.4. **Languages of Malomhely and their future chances** by **József Menyhárt** and **Tibor M. Pintér** examines a Roma community’s command of Hungarian and Slovakian in Slovakia. The situation of this group is extremely interesting, since they belong

to a minority in multiple ways. The majority of the settlement is Hungarian, and the three languages (Romani, Hungarian and Slovakian) have different functions each. The mother tongue of the community is Romani. Hungarian also plays a dominant role; however, Slovakian is practically not acquired by the members of the community despite the fact that it is taught at school as the official language. Three women speak Slovakian in the community, and they act as interpreters when the community needs to use the language. The authors depict the codes, habits of language choice, the typical situations for using these languages, and the opportunities and the influence of education.

7. The volume concludes with two bibliographies. The selected bibliography of **Romani and Boyash linguistic studies and educational supplementing materials** contains the complete bibliography of the work of Zita Réger, lists dictionaries and literary works in Romani and Boyash, as well as research on languages spoken in various Roma and non-Roma Gypsy communities conducted in the past years. The international bibliography of **Romani linguistic research** (completed with Internet sites of the free-access studies on the web) provides further references for those interested.

8. The book represents a significant attempt to summarize state-of-the-art linguistic research on the Gypsy (Romani and Boyash) communities of the Carpathian Basin, surveying the existing results and enumerating issues for future investigation. Anyone interested in sociolinguistics, linguistic socialization, anthropological linguistics, language planning and the education of minorities will find this volume stimulating. The book is also useful for sociolinguistic and bilingual research courses.

Márta Lois

Vivian J. Cook and Mark Newson: Chomsky's Universal Grammar. An Introduction. Third edition. Blackwell, Malden MA & Oxford, 2007, 326 pp.

The aim of this book by Vivian J. Cook and Mark Newson (C&N) is to give a broad overview of the theory of Universal Grammar (UG) as developed by Chomsky in the past several decades. It is not primarily intended as a textbook for syntax, but as an overview of the development of the theory and a demonstration of its main concepts at work. The previous two editions of this work were published in 1988 and in 1996, thus they could not incorporate the most recent areas of development, namely the Minimalist Program (MP), which started its rapid evolution in the second half of the 1990's. The present third edition sets the goal of presenting the MP while also giving considerable attention to Government and Binding Theory (GB), as the foundation of alternative paths of research, and as a theory still prominent in many areas of linguistic inquiry.

The book is structured as follows: 1. "The Nature of Universal Grammar", 2. "Principles, Parameters and Language Acquisition", 3. "Structure in the Government/Binding Model", 4. "Movement in the Government/Binding Theory" 5. "Chomskyan Approaches to Language Acquisition", 6. "Second Language Acquisition and Universal Grammar", 7. "Structure in the Minimalist Program" and 8. "Movement in the Minimalist Program". The first two chapters lead up to a more detailed discussion of GB in chapters 3–4, which is used as a backdrop for the presentation of the MP in the last two chapters. The intervening two chapters on first and second language

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acquisition are important and form a cohesive part of the book since language acquisition has been a cornerstone for many assumptions of the Chomskyan approach to Universal Grammar.

The first chapter gives a short historical presentation of the development of Chomskyan linguistics over the last five decades, followed by an account of the language model it propagates, as depicted by the various cognitive modules involved in the language faculty: the sensory motor system, the conceptual-intentional system and the computational system. Retaining the general introductory nature of the chapter, C&N turn their attention to general issues about Chomskyan linguistics as a field of inquiry, pointing out the main questions it addresses as well as the subject of its research: internalized (I-) language. Finally, C&N turn to the question of what sort of evidence there is to support UG theory. Instead of presenting such pieces of evidence directly, they consider the question of what types of evidence would be necessary, and how the existence of these can be verified. Taking everything into account, this chapter succeeds in providing a thorough introduction by presenting problems, concepts and methodology that will be used in the following sections, in an understandable and intriguing manner. One of the strong merits of this chapter is that the presentation of the UG theory is done in a fashion that enables the reader to see not only the problems the theory tries to give answers to but also where the boundary of its inquiry lies. The chapter is also good in making the point that the theory is flexible in dealing with new concepts and that it is scientific in the sense that it can only be superseded by a theory that is supported by the adequate evidence and argumentation.

Chapter 2 deals with principles, parameters and language acquisition. Principles are introduced by first examining rewrite rules and phrase structure as they emerged in the early works of Chomsky. It is pointed out that because of this early approach a view of grammar was adopted that looked at variation between languages as differences in the construction of specific phrase structure rules and transformation rules. However, a grammar based on these rules was not adequate to achieve universality. Thus, a different approach was needed “which claimed that natural language grammars are not constructed out of these kinds of rules, but of something far more general” (pp. 34–5), employing principles that are applicable in all languages; this approach would be the Principles and Parameters (P&P) theory. The authors present the concepts of principles and parameters via a demonstration of each. While only one of each is presented these examples are used to point out more general notions about principles and parameters.

In the second part of the chapter, C&N discuss basic notions of language acquisition, such as the claim that it is species specific, as well as arguments more specifically related to the Chomskyan theory, such as the Language Acquisition Device and the poverty-of-stimulus argument. At the end of the chapter the Chomskyan approach to language acquisition is formulated in terms of the Principles and Parameters framework.

After the first two introductory chapters, C&N present the Government/Binding Theory in two chapters. Chapter 3 deals with structure, building on the phrase structure rules introduced in chapter 2, by first presenting the basic model of grammar postulated by GB, such as *Lexicon*, *D-structure*, *Movement*, *S-structure*. When this has been clarified the chapter proceeds onto introducing X-bar theory, to replace the notion of phrase structure rules. As the chapter progresses, the method used by C&N is to gradually expand the X-bar theory, as well as introducing other modules, such as

the Bounding Theory, the Theta Theory and the Control Theory of GB, and indicating at which point in the model they apply. In this chapter this is mostly D-structure.

In expanding X-bar theory, the approach of the authors is to first present the basic structure, which then can be applied to give the structure of various phrases, such as NP or VP, after which the theory is expanded to levels higher than phrases by presenting IP and CP. After the basic structure of a clause is thus outlined, the authors focus on individual phrases in order to further expand the theory by introducing such concepts as the *DP Hypothesis*, the *Split INFL Hypothesis*, and the *VP Shell Hypothesis*. It is pointed out that the goal of the theory was to provide general syntactic structures that could be used to describe different phrases and functional domains.

Chapter 4 deals with movement in GB theory. First the basic types of movement, *A-movement*, *Ā-movement* and *Head movement* are presented with numerous examples, followed by *Trace Theory*. After this introduction, limiting conditions to movement are considered in detail, with particular attention to Bounding Theory. In this discussion, the authors first introduce Subjacency, a notion that is expanded upon to introduce Chomsky's *Barriers* framework. Pointing out the high complexity of this approach, C&N also introduce a simpler one, namely Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality. It is also noted that "within GB Theory there was no one approach to bounding that could straightforwardly account for all boundedness restrictions on movement" (p. 146).

Continuing with the introduction of the different modules of GB in the previous chapter, chapter 4 expands on *Case Theory*. The notion of case, having already been presented, is now combined with concepts relevant to movement. *Binding Theory* is also presented and elaborated enabling it to deal with empty categories as well. Finally, at the end of the chapter, the model of the diverse levels of grammar in GB presented at the beginning of chapter 3 is also expanded with the addition of Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF), necessitated by the introduction of the *Empty Category Principle*. Thus, the chapter on movement in GB ends with the introduction of the possibility of covert movement.

Chapter 5 deals with language acquisition, developing ideas already presented in chapter 2. Learning strategies available to children are presented in detail, which include *imitation*, *direct teaching*, *social interaction*, and Piaget's claim of *dependence on other faculties*. The aim of this section is to present counterarguments to the UG assumption that certain elements of the grammar come encoded into the mind. The conclusion drawn is that while some aspects of language may be learned in ways propagated by the opponents of UG, the abstract principles that essentially make up UG cannot be learned from the environment. This is followed by a discussion of the question of how UG is manifested in the process of language acquisition, that is, whether or not it is completely present from the onset of acquisition or does it develop over time.

The remainder of the chapter deals with parameter setting by presenting possibilities of setting the pro-drop parameter. Although one parameter is selected, the issues presented are more general, pointing out that more recent research is no longer interested in finding out how the parameters of a single language are set, but rather "in finding how the child's UG can cope equally well with different languages, or in fact *any* language" (p. 213). The chapter closes by making the point that UG Theory can provide answers only to certain questions with regard to the acquisition and development of language, namely questions concerned with I-language.

Chapter 6 deals with Second Language Acquisition (SLA). The chapter opens with a critique of Chomsky's notion of the ideal speaker-listener as the subject of linguistic inquiry, stating that "if [...] *all* people have multiple grammars in their minds, the idealization to the monolingual native speaker is misleading" (p. 223). From this statement, the conclusion is drawn that UG Theory has to be able to account for multilingual speakers, as they should be considered the norm. In considering SLA the authors look at the same learning strategies they had reviewed for first language (L1) acquisition, arriving at the conclusion that the poverty-of-the-stimulus argument applies to SLA as well. In considering the role of UG in SLA, three options are looked at, namely, that the learner of the second language has no access to UG, that the learner has an untouched second copy of UG, and that the learner can access UG in as much as it is reflected in the learner's L1. Supporting arguments are presented for each of the approaches without making a claim as to which one of them the authors hold correct.

At the end of the chapter the authors point out what they perceive to be the shortcomings of SLA research, namely that "the papers dealing with the initial L2 state rely infuriatingly on the reader having a total command of the syntactic theories current at the moment of writing [...] it is hard to know the validity of this pot-pourri approach" (pp. 238—9).

The authors present the Minimalist Program (MP) in chapters 7 and 8, mirroring the approach taken with GB in that the first chapter deals with structure, and the second chapter with movement. Considerable attention is given to setting MP apart from GB, pointing out the main difference being, according to the authors, that whereas GB claims to be a unified theory of language, the MP makes no such claim, remaining flexible towards its basic assumptions and concepts, driven by the realization that these are not wholly understood and explored. Because of the nature of the MP, the developments within the theory have sometimes been radical. Therefore, C&N's aim in these chapters is not to present the MP in its chronological evolution and technical detail, but to give a concise introduction to the main concepts and workings of the theory as it now stands.

The authors consider the origins of the MP by looking at economy. C&N introduce the more recent concept of looking at language in terms of how it would satisfy requirements of being an optimal design, reaching the conclusion that in such a system the driving force behind derivations would be the need to meet conditions at the interface levels.

Before moving on to dealing with structure, the basic concepts of the MP (numeration, computation, merge, convergence, etc.) are introduced. When discussing structure, *bare phrase structure* is presented as a replacement for X-bar Theory, to deal with such problems as the position of X' , which became undermined as the theory became more developed, or the fact that the theory does not specify exactly how many projection levels there can be, along with more conceptual problems of fitting the theory into the framework of the MP. The remainder of the chapter deals with thematic role assignment and structural positions postulated in MP along the lines of the *Uniform Theta-Role Assignment Hypothesis* of Baker (1988), and adjunction, with two approaches presented, the *VP shell approach* and the *no-merger treatment*. The chapter closes by presenting two competing theories for linear order, that of Chomsky which claims that word order is linked with PF, and is not a part of syntax, and the *Linear Correspondence Axiom* of Kayne (1994).

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The final chapter of the book discusses movement in the minimalist framework. After expanding the notion of *Merge* introduced in the previous chapter, the authors discuss Checking Theory. After this, the authors re-examine the nature of movement as it stands in the MP in contrast to GB. In doing this, the notion that movement is a process of copying and deleting is contrasted to movement which works through the insertion of traces. In looking at the distinction between overt and covert movement, various conceptions such as *procrastinate*, *strong/weak features*, and *feature movement* are considered. Again, the authors do not commit themselves to either proposed solution.

The next section of the chapter deals with properties of movement in more detail. First the *No Tamper Condition* is introduced, which is to encode the minimalist view that there can be no changes made to a structure after it has been completed, merge can only happen at the top nodes of two elements. The authors are quick to present problems that arise from this assumption. For example, it does not make head movement possible in the same way as it was traditionally thought to work within the GB framework. The same applies to covert movement, which was thought to happen after the structure passed the point of Spell Out.

At the end of the chapter, C&N introduce the notion of phases to deal with the problems regarding movement they have raised thus far, as an illustration of the most current theory. This move makes it possible to provide solutions to some of the questions raised in the earlier sections of the chapter, since in this way the model is able to allow multiple Spell Out points. C&N point out that this latest model is also far from being complete, making the following point about the MP theory in general: "It may well be [...] that its [MP's] questions are premature. However, to the extent that the questions can be posed and that possible answers to them are conceivable, progress is being made towards the goal of greater understanding. [...] even if the MP can fulfill its aims only in part, it will be capable of providing a depth of understanding that goes well beyond anything achieved so far" (p. 309).

When compared with other recent introductions to minimalism, and Chomskyan theory in general, such as Adger (2003) and Hornstein et al. (2005), what sets C&N's work apart is that it is much less technical, concentrating more on theoretical issues. Both Adger's work and that of Hornstein et al. are directed toward a more specifically defined audience, namely students of syntax. On the other hand, C&N's goal was to write an introduction that can be used by students of syntax which could also explain the theory on a level that would make it accessible for researchers in other fields.

Adger's work aims to develop a consistent system within the framework of minimalism based on a broad range of phenomena. These phenomena are used to support, or to question, the theory being developed. The book takes a highly systematic approach to presenting a minimalist approach to syntax. It starts out by looking at sentences in general and then moving on to deal with phrase structure before a very thorough discussion of functional categories, ending with a discussion of movement. Thus this work relies on analysis to present issues about syntax that could outlive theoretical fluctuations. As was shown above, C&N's work attempts to reveal the logic behind the evolution of the theory, thus it is a much different approach from that of Adger's.

The work by Hornstein et al. assumes a much more specialized audience, a reader who is familiar with GB basics and would like to be introduced to minimalism. With this in mind the authors, at the beginning of every chapter, link the chapter's minimalist topic to GB-assumptions. Thus, like C&N, Hornstein et al. also make connections

between GB and minimalism. However, each revision at the beginning of chapters serves as technical background for a detailed discussion of the minimalist analysis of the same phenomena. Thus the connection between GB and the MP is technical as opposed to the theoretical depiction in C&N's work. The logic of presenting minimalism in this work is closer to that of Adger's, by taking phenomena and using them to demonstrate the theory at work.

The more specific treatment of Adger and Hornstein et al. is also evident in that they do not devote sections of their work to language acquisition and second language acquisition as do C&N. This further ensures that the readers of this work will gain a much broader view of the theory, thus they would be, after reading this book, more comfortable with working with books such as the two mentioned above. In this respect the authors have held to their promise of presenting a broad view to a broad spectrum of potential readers. Another of its strong merits is that it takes the time to point out problematic issues, mostly of a theoretical nature, such as the problems raised by investigating internal language as opposed to external language. Furthermore, the work offers in-depth discussions of basic concepts, such as the meaning of the term *generative*. At each point the authors are careful to point out their positions, so as to provide an objective presentation to the reader, who after reading this book will understand the underlying logic of UG theory and its evolution.

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