Book reviews

John T. Jensen: *Principles of Generative Phonology. An Introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004. 324pp. Hardback ISBN 1588115135; Paperback ISBN 1588115623.

As stated on the back cover, *Principles of Generative Phonology* (henceforth PGP) is intended to be "... a basic, thorough introduction to phonological theory and practice. It aims to provide a firm foundation in the theory of distinctive features, phonological rules and rule ordering, which is essential to be able to appreciate recent developments and discussions in phonological theory". The intended audience is the beginning student of phonology. On the positive side PGP contains several worthwhile case studies that illustrate some of the well-known concepts one discusses in beginning phonology classes. What is more, each chapter concludes with copious problem sets in which students have the opportunity to put theory into practice. This being said, I find two clear drawbacks with the book.

The most obvious problem with PGP is that it is hopelessly out of date, a comment that also applies to the final chapter, in which more current phonological models are presented. PGP presents to the reader, in essence, phonology *à la* SPE. Jensen seems to justify his utterly antiquated version of phonology with the second sentence in the preface (p. ix): "While the theory is in a constant state of revision and refinement, it is not possible to appreciate recent developments or follow the argumentation involved without a firm foundation in the theory of distinctive features, formal notations for phonological rules, and the theory of rule ordering". Taken at face value this sentence might seem reasonable — and one must also bear in mind that textbooks by definition are conservative — but what I find puzzling is that Jensen finds it necessary to introduce beginners to phonology as it was practiced in 1968, while ignoring most subsequent refinements to the research program initiated by SPE. What makes Jensen's out-of-date book all the more curious is that in Chapter

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7 he seems to have taken a liking to modern phonology, introducing his readers to autosegmental treatments of tone and vowel harmony, metrical phonology, underspecification and the theory of lexical phonology. But even here Jensen has an amazing knack for choosing precisely those approaches that are the most controversial and which, in my view, have been abandoned by most practitioners (e.g., radical underspecification, level-ordered lexicon).

The second drawback with PGP is that, as an introductory level book aimed at the beginning student, the book is pedagogically unsound because terms are constantly introduced before they are formally defined. This criticism holds especially for the first three chapters, as attested by my comments below.

PGP consists of a preface and seven chapters, all of which conclude with many exercises for the student. The chapters deal with phonetics (Chapter 1), contrast and distribution (Chapter 2), distinctive features (Chapter 3), alternations (Chapter 4), rule order (Chapter 5), abstractness (Chapter 6) and multilinear phonology (Chapter 7). In this review I provide a short summary of each of the seven chapters, pointing out what I consider to be the major strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to articulatory phonetics (Section 1.1), acoustic phonetics (Section 1.2), phonetic alphabets (Section 1.3) and concludes with several exercises (Section 1.4). In the second paragraph of Chapter 1 (p. 1) the author writes "In *articulatory* and *acoustic* terms, speech is a continuum. In uttering speech, the *articulators* are constantly in motion, and the acoustic effect is a continuously varying *wave*" (emphasis my own). The problem with this passage, as with many other ones in PGP, is that Jensen uses linguistic terms before they are formally defined. At this point in the text the reader does not know what the terms "articulatory", "acoustic", "articulators" and "waves" mean. On the next page the author gives examples from speech errors from English that are intended to illustrate that segments can be transposed, but one of the symbols used, namely the North American symbol for the palatal glide [y], is introduced in the IPA chart on the opposite page as the close front rounded vowel. As one progresses into the text things do not get any easier. On p. 4 Jensen refers to [l r m n] as examples of "sonorants", which are not defined until the following Section. Reference is made to the "glide" [w], but in the IPA chart on p. 3 there is no such category. Jensen writes that "Articulatorily, glides are like vowels, but not functionally" — a sentence that is certainly incomprehensible at this point in the text to beginners. The term "glottis" is used at several points (p. 4, 7, 8) but it is not present in the figure on p. 5 illustrating the principal organs of speech. In this figure the tongue dorsum/tongue body is not

labeled; instead, the part of the tongue that is obviously the dorsum is called the "tongue blade". (At a later point (p. 7), Jensen refers to the "tongue body" in the text). At more than one point Jensen makes reference to "morphemes" (e.g., p. 6, 17, 27) without telling the readers what a morpheme is. At the end of p. 6 Jensen says that the *l* sound in the two word *leap* and *pull* is different phonetically, introducing the symbol [ɬ] for a velarized lateral, but the phonetic distinction between the two laterals needs much more discussion since they average reader will not be aware that there is a sound [ɬ]. At the bottom of p. 6 we find a footnote explaining the terms "phonemes", "allophones" and "underlying representations" and later on in the chapter the term "allophone" crops up (p. 10), as do "underlying representations" in words in Gujarati (p. 11). Even motivated students will feel overwhelmed at this point. On p. 7 Jensen refers to the vowel [ü], which is not present in the IPA chart on p. 5; what is more, he does not give an example of a word with this vowel. On p. 8 the author refers to "sonorants and approximants" but approximants are sonorants. At the bottom of the page, "contrast" is referred to, but this term is not defined until p. 10. In the subsection on glides and diphthongs Jensen makes reference to "sonority" (p. 15) without saying what it is. He writes that the [yɛ] sequence in Spanish *hierba* 'grass' is a rising diphthong, while the [yɛ] in English *yes* is not. Since there is no justification presented for the alternate treatments of these [yɛ] sequences the beginning student (as well as the author of this review) will clearly want to know why English and Spanish cannot treat [yɛ] in an identical fashion. In the subsection dealing with suprasegmentals Jensen makes casual reference to "tone" without saying what tone is, or what tone languages are. On p. 29 reference is made to a "natural class of sounds" without saying what this is or giving concrete examples.

Chapter 2 is devoted to phonemic theory, with sections devoted to complementary distribution (Section 2.1), coincident distribution (Section 2.2), overlapping distribution (Section 2.3), pattern congruity (Section 2.4), free variation (Section 2.5), phonological rules and notations (Section 2.6), common types of phonological processes (Section 2.7), problems with phonemic analysis (Section 2.8), a brief summary (Section 2.9) and exercises (Section 2.10). Examples illustrating complementary distribution are drawn from English (i.e., aspiration), while three examples show the distribution of various rhotic allophones (from French, the Lowland Scots dialect of English and Farsi). The author writes in that section that the distribution among allophones is "governed by a rule" (p. 39), but the first rule is not posited until Section 2.6 (p. 53). Jensen adopts the uncommon term "coincident distribution" from Bloch (1953), which refers to an environment in which sounds contrast. As in the

section on complementary distribution he refers here to "rules" (p. 45) before they are formally introduced. On the same page we again encounter the term "morpheme" that has yet to be defined. (The term "morpheme" is absent from the index). In the section dealing with free variation Jensen discusses the allophones of English /p t k/. He notes at the beginning of this section (p. 50) that the unreleased allophone of /p/ surfaces word-finally in words like *elapse* and *apt* but I find it unfortunate that he does not discuss the phonetics of released and unreleased sounds, neither at this point in the text, nor in the chapter on phonetics. In the section on phonological processes Jensen uses the terms "suffix" (p. 55) and "compound" (p. 56) without saying what they are. Reference to a "productive" morpheme (p. 57) will certainly be unclear to many beginners. The most curious aspect of the section on common phonological processes is that Jensen does not state the concrete examples using the rule format introduced in the previous section. In the section on problems with phonemic analysis Jensen writes that phonemic theory (i.e., Structuralism) is not able to deal with neutralizations because they involve sounds that overlap in their distribution. I find it curious that the author devotes so much effort to attacking a straw man that disappeared from the linguistic scene many years ago. Why waste our time criticizing a model nobody believes in?

Chapter 3 presents in a series of short sections on the fundamentals of distinctive features based entirely on SPE. The first part of the chapter deals with various fundamental issues (Sections 3.1 and 3.2), vowel features (Section 3.3), major class features (Section 3.4), features of consonants (Section 3.5), features required for the secondary articulation of consonants (Section 3.6), features for suprasegmentals (Section 3.7), and redundancy and implication (Section 3.8). The chapter concludes with exercises (Section 3.9). As in the first two chapters, Chapter 3 consistently uses terms without saying what they mean. For example, the term "natural class" crops up on p. 79 and p. 81 before it is formally defined on p. 82. In his discussion of Turkish vowel harmony Jensen posits similarly the "rules" on p. 83, but the term rule will be confusing to beginning students because it is not a formal rule as defined earlier (p. 53); instead, the "rules" of vowel harmony are simply prose statements. The footnotes in this chapter either contain important information that should be incorporated into the text itself or they are downright confusing. For example, on p. 81 we see a footnote explaining how to interpret the features in a matrix but this is the kind of information is essential to understanding some of the featural analyses that are discussed in the remainder of the book and should therefore be included in the text itself. On p. 90 data from Imdlawn Tashlhiyt Berber are introduced with syllabic sonorants

but in a footnote he makes reference to a talk held in 1995 by P. Shaw in which syllabic obstruents have been challenged. Assuming that the beginner has made it this far into the text she will certainly wonder what gives anyone the right to 'challenge' data. On p. 91 we find a footnote stating that the "postalveolar approximant" represents the most common r-sound of English but it is not present in the consonant sounds introduced earlier on p. 31. The most serious problem I had with this chapter is that Jensen introduces his readers to an antiquated feature system that was out of date years ago. An obvious example is the feature [syllabic], which is used throughout the chapter (although in Chapter 7 he suggests that it might be redundant, p. 275). The SPE feature [heightened subglottal pressure] (= [HSP]) is introduced on p. 92 as the feature necessary to account for aspirated vs. plain contrasts. The usual feature [spread glottis] is noted in the text but the author writes without justification that "for purposes of this book" the feature [HSP] is "sufficient" (p. 93). The contrast between stops and affricates is analyzed with the SPE feature [delayed release] (p. 95). [l] is analyzed as [+continuant] (p. 93) even though much post-SPE work has shown that this sound is [−continuant]. The SPE definition of [anterior] is introduced on p. 95; no mention is made of the more common approach of treating this feature as one only relevant only for coronal sounds (e.g., Hume 1992). Palatals are analyzed as noncoronal (e.g., p. 96), even though a large body of literature has convincingly shown that they are coronals.

Chapter 4 concerns itself with phonological rules required to capture morphemic alternations. The chapter consists of two brief sections in which alternations in phonology and the relation of morphology to phonology are explained (Section 4.1 and Section 4.2), a section consisting of a case study on Russian devoicing (Section 4.3), one dealing with the formalization of phonological rules (Section 4.4), case studies on ATR harmony and Spanish lenition and fortition and nasal assimilation in Lumasaaba (Section 4.5 and Section 4.6), two very useful sections in which the set of procedures to be taken in a phonological analysis are outlined (Section 4.7 and Section 4.8), a discussion of rule writing conventions (Section 4.9) and exercises (Section 4.10). The examples discussed in this chapter are as a whole done so in a competent fashion; combined with the exercises these could potentially be used in an introductory class. One possible point of confusion involves Jensen's discussion of English stress placement (pp. 136–137). Here he refers to the vowels in the examples in (37) (which are presented in the orthography) as being "tense" or "lax". The confusion involves sounds that are phonetically diphthongs, e.g., the [ai] in *arthritis*, which Jensen characterizes as "tense". True, there is a tradition in English phonology of classifying diphthongs in such examples

as tense, but from the point of view of the beginning student the reasons might not be clear.

Chapter 5 deals with the theory of rule ordering. It provides much useful material, including several well-known case studies in both the text itself and in the exercises. The chapter begins with a section dealing with Russian (Section 5.1), one on methodology (Section 5.2), and a truly peculiar section in which rule ordering is justified by providing quotes from SPE and by summarizing and refuting alternative treatments on a single page (p. 160). The chapter continues with sections on iterative rules in Maori, Slovak and Gidabal (Section 5.4), case studies on the rules involving Spanish r-sounds (Section 5.5) and various rules in Yawelmani (Section 5.6), a summary and discussion of ordering relationships (Section 5.7), and exercises (Section 5.8).

Chapter 6 deals with a topic often discussed in the 1970s but which is often ignored in more recent textbooks, namely abstractness. The first several sections review some of the material presented earlier requiring two levels of representation (i.e., underlying and phonetic). The chapter focuses in on degrees of abstractness in underlying representations, with subsections on abstract underlying representations (e.g., in Yawelmani and English), limits on abstractness and corpus external evidence (e.g., speech errors, second language acquisition, writing systems, language games).

In Chapter 7 Jensen provides a brief introduction to "multilinear phonology", which for Jensen subsumes autosegmental approaches to tone and vowel harmony (Section 7.1), metrical and prosodic phonology (Section 7.2), underspecification (Section 7.3), and lexical phonology (Section 7.4). As in the first six chapters, Chapter 7 concludes with exercises (Section 7.5). In his discussion of syllable structure I found it odd that Jensen introduces a metrical approach to syllable structure with strong and weak nodes (pp. 274–275) — a model that is rarely used among current practitioners. It is also striking that onset segments are linked to the mora and not to the syllable node, as is usually assumed (Hayes 1989 and much subsequent work). In the section on underspecification Jensen discusses the approach known as "radical underspecification" (p. 292), as well as the principle known as the "redundancy rule ordering constraint" (p. 291) in a very positive way even though copious studies have caused what I see as the majority of phonologists to reject these theories. A similar point can be made with respect to the approach to Lexical Phonology Jensen introduces in Chapter 7. Of all of the models of the lexicon that have been proposed through the years Jensen selects possibly the most controversial ones, namely the approach that has morphological rules ordered into lexical strata. The evidence Jensen discusses in support of

morphological strata are drawn from English, even though the most convincing studies showing the drawbacks of a level-ordered morphology approach come precisely from this language (e.g., Fabb 1988 and much ensuing work).

To summarize, PGP contains some useful material, primarily in the form of exercises and various case studies, but the book is sadly out of date.

Indiana University T. A. Hall

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Fred Genesee, Johanne Paradis, and Martha B. Crago: *Dual Language Development and Disorders: A Handbook on Bilingualism and Second Language Learning*. Baltimore, MD: Brookes, 2004. 256 pp. Paperback ISBN 1-55766-686-5.

If you are a parent puzzled by the language patterns of your bilingual child, an educator looking for ways to support your bilingual students, a policy maker in need of guidelines to determine policies in aid of bilingual education, or a practitioner searching a guidebook on dual language development and impairment, then this volume is for you.

The main aim of this volume is to approach issues of bilingual language impairment from the perspective of what we know about typical development in dual language children. Language is treated as the primary focus of concern when responding to the needs of bilingual children with language impairment; however, cognitive, socio-cultural, and educational aspects of development are heavily emphasized as pivotal to the understanding of language impairment as well. This book comprises 8 chapters.

Chapter 1 begins with a definition of "dual language children" as a diverse group of language learners who differ from one another in two

important respects: a) whether they are members of a majority or a minority ethno-linguistic community and b) whether they have learned the two languages simultaneously from infancy or have learned the second language after they started acquiring their first one. To illustrate each of these groups and their respective subgroups the authors offer eight profiles of fictional children here, a "put a face to the name" methodology very helpful throughout the book. These children are the image of the group they belong to and are referred to regularly in the book as Genesee et al. seek to answer questions about bilingual language development. A definition of Specific Language Impairment, hereafter SLI, is offered towards the end of this chapter along with some of the dilemmas regarding this impairment and dual language children.

Chapter 2 summarizes the implications of the close connection between language and culture. More specifically, this chapter emphasizes the different ways that cultures socialize their children in terms of language use and language interaction. Understanding multicultural environments and the way they use language has tremendous importance in a context when a number of cultures are in contact with each other. This is properly highlighted as an important lesson for language educators and language interveners working with dual language learners.

Chapter 3 addresses the two most prominent aspects of the interaction between language and cognitive development, namely whether infants have the cognitive capacity to learn two languages and whether dual language learning affects the cognitive development of these children. Contrary to the limited capacity hypothesis (Macnamara 1966), the authors take the stance that all children are perfectly endowed with the cognitive capacity to become dual language learners without any effect in the development of either language. They argue that as long as infants possess the ability to discriminate language related differences in the input (phonemic, segmental, and suprasegmental) and the ability to remember all this information, infants are perfectly capable of acquiring two languages. Furthermore, Genesee et al maintain that "there is no significant theoretical reason to believe that learning, knowing, or using two languages should jeopardize children's cognitive development" (p. 53). Even though this fear is harbored by some researchers as supported by their line of research, the authors of this volume introduce many methodological shortcomings of these studies (subtractive vs. additive bilingual environments). With stronger methodological controls, many later studies (Bialystok 2001, etc.) have reported that not only is there no threat to the cognitive development of dual language children, but also these children may be advantaged on tasks requiring metalinguistic awareness.

Chapter 4 details the intricacies of language development of simultaneous early bilingual children, i.e. children who acquire two languages from birth or from early on in the preschool years. The authors subscribe to the Dual Language System hypothesis according to which children exposed to two languages from birth establish two separate linguistic systems from the outset of the acquisition. Evidence is brought forward here rejecting the Unitary Language System analysis. Not only are infants perfectly capable of learning two languages, but also they experience similar developmental milestones for each of their languages as monolingual learners do in terms of phonology, vocabulary, and grammar. However, the two languages often do not develop in perfect synchrony, with the dominant language being the language in which the child may be most proficient. Language intervention specialists should not consider observed delays in non-dominant languages as impairments but rather as a normal part of the development process. A small section at the end of this chapter is devoted to a subpopulation of bilingual children with SLI. The authors conclude from their own research that children with SLI can become bilingual and experience difficulties in both of their languages. However, it is important to note that bilingual children with SLI show the same deficit patterns as their monolingual peers with SLI and do not acquire language more slowly than those peers.

What bilingual code mixing, hereafter BCM, tells us about the language development of bilingual children is the topic of Chapter 5. The authors affirm that BCM is grammatically and pragmatically constrained, common, and a reflection of child's developing linguistic evidence. They embrace here several reasons why bilingual children code-mix: a) to fill gaps in their linguistic competence (Lexical Gap Hypothesis), b) to emphasize what they are saying, quoting, protesting, narrating and so forth (pragmatic effects), c) to conform to the normative patterns of BCM in their communities (social norms). Moreover, an extensive body of research has showed that BCM is not grammatically deviant; it is systematic and conforms to the grammatical constraints of the two participating languages. BCM is a social phenomenon and reflects cultural identity; its usage has been evaluated as an important resource for expression in the unique lives of bilingual children.

Chapter 6 investigates the stages of second language acquisition in children learning L2 after they have acquired L1 (as opposed to simultaneously). The popular belief that children "soak up language like a sponge" is strongly refuted throughout this chapter. Second-language learning children, whether they are in the L1 minority or L1 majority group, go through a nonverbal (relying heavily on gesture) and a telegraphic stage (one-word or two-word utterances) before they begin to use language

productively. The authors agree that the errors observed in second language learners are either developmental in nature (i.e., a natural part of the learning process including grammatical and morphological errors, and errors of omission and commission), or influenced by L1. The rate of second language acquisition depends on several personal factors such as motivation, learner's characteristics, situational characteristics, and distance between L2 and L1 in terms of grammar and phonology. A small section is concerned with the maintenance of learners' minority L1 in a majority L2 context, delineating processes such as semilingualism and L1 attrition. Towards the end, the differences and similarities between second-language learners and monolinguals with SLI are highlighted. Admitting the scarcity of research on this subject, the authors maintain that although typically developing L2 children and children with SLI have difficulties with the same domains of language, a close examination of the types of errors they make indicates that these two groups are very heterogeneous with respect to language tasks. However, the evidence is rather insufficient to propose a set of unique criteria for differential diagnosis for these two groups.

Chapter 7 discusses children that are schooled partly or entirely in a second language. In this chapter the authors present their support for bilingual education in a scenario where resources are available in both languages and parental support is very strong. The authors argue that bilingual education is effective in promoting proficiency in minority language students' L1 and L2. This confronts negative predictions made by a number of researchers (e.g., Rossell and Baker 1996) as to the detractive effect of bilingual education of minority language students on their acquisition of L2. Majority language students, similarly to minority languages ones, are found to benefit largely from immersion programs by "developing the same levels of proficiency in all aspects of their native language as comparable students in programs in which the native language is the exclusive medium of instruction" (p. 176). Crucially, several personal factors may influence the schooling process such as learner characteristics, socioeconomic status, cultural background, and L1 factors.

The last chapter, in contrast to all of the previous chapters, which discuss aspects of typical dual-language development in general, focuses on "issues and recommendations for the assessment and intervention of developmental language disorders in dual language children" (p. 193). The authors agree that no unique markers distinguish typically and atypically developing dual-language learners, thus making the process of assessment, diagnosis, and intervention a complex and multidimensional one. More specifically, as the chapter unveils its structure around the eight fictional profiles introduced at the beginning of the book, the authors

recommend that language intervention specialists need to consider issues such as dominance, bilingual assessment, and intervention options when dealing with simultaneous bilingual- and second-language learners. Extra caution and sensitivity is suggested as a requirement in assessing dual language learners in clinical and educational interventions.

I have no doubt that this volume will serve as a valuable reference guide for speech language pathologists, an accessible resource for policy makers, and an ideal textbook for students of introductory bilingual language development, speech language pathology, and education courses. Moreover, it will enable parents of dual language learners to understand the heart of the arguments and make informed decisions on how to raise their children bilingually.

Several features make this volume outstanding when compared to others in the field. One of its major strengths is the authors' in-depth survey of the research on dual language learning and acquisition spanning the last 25 years or so. Accounts of different hypotheses and models of bilingualism are detailed alongside their shortcomings and strong points. Each chapter has ample references for further reading and exploration. Another strength of this volume is its targeting of several well-known myths regarding bilingualism such as "learning a second language confuses a child", "a child should learn one language first and then other", and "real bilinguals never mix languages". All these myths are dispelled in the face of strong scientific evidence. This feature makes this volume highly attractive for parents and caregivers of dual language learners by educating them about some of the bewildering issues of raising a bilingual child. However, the reader must not expect that all myths regarding bilingualism are treated here. Those regarding the global scale of bilingualism ("bilingualism is a charming exception, but monolingualism is, of course, the rule"), and bilingualism and duality of personalities ("bilinguals have split personalities") are not discussed here at all. Yet another strong feature of this book is its organization. Each chapter is broken down into sections which address the chief questions related to the topic of the chapter itself. All these sections maintain a sense of continuity throughout the book, which enhances the flow of the text. Technical terms are avoided when possible and those necessary are defined in boxes adjacent to the text. A glossary is also included at the end of the book to aid those readers who are less familiar with the key concepts used, with relevant terms appearing in boldface throughout the text. The most commendable feature of the entire book, however, is the "Key Points and Implications" sections positioned at the end of selected chapters that highlight explicitly the take-home lessons that educators, professionals, policy makers, and parents should draw from each chapter in terms of typical dual language

development and the implications to be made about atypical dual language development. Another very attractive feature of this volume is the style with which it handles a potentially bewildering range of material assertively and guides the reader through challenging areas without patronizing or assuming too much prior knowledge. This strength renders this volume a success in terms of reaching all of its intended audience. The authors are to be commended for their ability to create a book that respects the training and background of its wide and varied audience.

Despite its strengths, this book falls short in a few areas. In particular there are two things the reader should not expect from this book, although they are implied in its title.

One should not expect that this book is "a handbook on bilingualism and second language learning". In my opinion, this book certainly contains information that should be inside such a handbook, but does not quite fulfill that role yet for three reasons. First, though this volume offers an excellent account of the complex processes of bilingual and second language learning both at home and school, it fails to cover many crucial aspects of bilingualism. For instance, it does not provide any psycholinguistic or neurolinguistic accounts and investigations of bilingualism at the level of the developing individual. Admittedly, collecting neurolinguistic data on the developing child is not always without some effort for researchers, but other volumes such as *The Handbook of Bilingualism* (Bhatia and Ritchie 2004) and *A Neurolinguistic Theory of Bilingualism* (Paradis 2004) have managed to offer explorations of this aspect in depth. This aspect of bilingualism is conspicuously absent, leaving open such questions as the following:

- How are conclusions derived from behavioral studies reflected in neuroimaging studies of bilingual children?
- What cerebral mechanisms are responsible for dual language competence?
- What factors determine recovery patterns in the case of language impairment in bilingual speakers?

In face of growing awareness and interest, a handbook on bilingualism must strive to bring forward neuroimaging and physiological findings that parallel the theoretical constructs seen to date. Second, even though this volume provides ample information on children from minority and majority language backgrounds, it fails to address aspects of collective bilingualism of the kind one finds in India, Belgium and other highly bilingual societies. It has been suggested that there are important differences between individual bilingualism and collective bilingualism (Bhatia and Richie 2004), such as the transitional variety of the first (individual) and

the enduring quantity of the latter (collective). These differences combined with the societal arrangement of bilingualism affect the patterns of exposure to language learning and open the possibility for the existence of yet another group of dual language learners that deserves consideration.

The reader should also not expect, as suggested by the title *Dual Language Development and Disorders*, any coverage of material on language disorders in general. This book not only does not offer any information on language disorders associated with cognitive impairments such as autism or Asperger's, but it also provides no coverage of other language-based learning disabilities (without cognitive impairments) such as dyslexia. Rather, this book only offers extensive coverage of SLI (specific language impairment). Implications for the best ways to assess, diagnose, and create efficient intervention programs differ considerably depending on the type of language disorder and whether the disorder is accompanied by cognitive impairments or not.

Despite these shortcomings, this volume remains a first-rate resource for educators, scholars, parents, and policy makers. In a nutshell, it offers an unparalleled account of what the best ways are to raise a child bilingually. It is practical, accessible, enjoyable, and persuasive.

Boston University ENKELEIDA KAPIA

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Terry Crowley: *Bislama Reference Grammar*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 31. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004. 205 pp. Paperback ISBN 0-8248-2880-1.

Vanuatu is the country that "possibly has the honour of having more indigenous languages per head of speakers than any other country on earth" (Lynch and Crowley 2001: xii). Besides its many Eastern Oceanic

vernacular languages Vanuatu has also three official languages, English, French, and Bislama. Bislama is an English-based creole and the national language of Vanuatu. It is closely related to Tok Pisin (Melanesian Pidgin) and Solomons Pijin. Although it has the status of an official language, although it is the default language used for communication in the towns, and although the vast majority of the citizens of Vanuatu — the Ni-Vanuatu — speak it, Bislama is not yet recognized as a medium of instruction. (For a history of Bislama and an overview on Vanuatu language politics see Tryon and Charpentier 2004, especially Section 10.1). Based on more than 25 years of research interest in Bislama, and after the publication of three dictionaries (Crowley 1990, 1995, 2003) and a grammatical account of Bislama written in Bislama (Crowley 1987) the late Terry Crowley's *Bislama Reference Grammar* is the first attempt towards a comprehensive grammatical description of this language. The author has written this grammar to reach a "broader audience than just academic linguists" (p. xi) — including the Ni-Vanuatu, who speak and write Bislama, of course. The volume "is aimed primarily either at people who already have a fair amount of familiarity with Bislama" — which some of them probably acquired with the help of the lessons in Tryon's (1987) introduction to Bislama — "or at people who are linguistically sufficiently sophisticated that they can work out some things for themselves" (p. xii). Therefore Crowley neither provides literal translations nor explains every detail of every example he presents in this grammar. The grammar is not organized solely in terms of structures but in terms of functions. Crowley points out that he has "deliberately chosen to describe the ways in which certain functions are expressed together in a single section, though with cross-references as needed to other relevant sections of the grammar" (p. 89). Bislama is "described in its own terms" (p. 2), not in comparison to English. The grammar tries to reflect the fact — at least to some extent — that there is considerable variation in the language. However, the author points out that he did not want to write a grammar that represents "a quantitative variationist study of different patterns based on carefully assembled corpus data" (p. 9). For Crowley it was more important to "capture the essential genius of Bislama" (p. xii), and although I am not familiar with this language I have the impression that he admirably managed to reach this aim.

After the table of contents, a preface that describes the author's involvement in the language and his motivation to write this grammar in the way he has written it, the acknowledgements, and two maps, the book starts with the first chapter (pp. 1–10), which provides the "Background to Bislama" (p. 1). In these first 10 pages the author briefly describes Bislama — "one of the newest languages in the world" (p. 1)

— as an independent language, he sketches its historical background, characterizes its vocabulary, discusses its varieties, and points out what kind of grammar he has written.

Chapter 2 deals with "Pronunciation and Spelling" (pp. 11–23), discussing the Bislama sound system, spelling conventions, stress, intonation, and syllables.

Chapter 3 — "Parts of Speech" (pp. 24–36) provides "definitions of the main terms that will be needed for the rest of this grammar to be understood" (p. 25) — these terms being "nouns", "pronouns", "prepositions", "verbs", "noun modifiers" (i.e., "number markers" and "adjectives"), "adverbs", "other modifiers" (i.e., "noun premodifiers" like *ol* and *evry*, "pronoun postmodifiers" like *plante* and *evriwan*, "preverbal auxiliaries" like *stap* and *mas*, and "verb postmodifiers" like *finis* and *yet*), "interrogatives", "complex sentence markers" (like, for example, *mo* 'and', *be* 'but', and *sapos* 'if'), "interjections and vocatives", and "words with several functions". In this last subsection the author points out that with respect to some Bislama words it is quite difficult to assign them to a particular part of speech and he illustrates this feature of Bislama grammar with the words *skul*, *stap*, *finis*, and *bigbel*. *Skul* is not only a noun meaning 'school' but can also be a verb meaning 'study' or 'go to school'. *Stap* can have the function of a modifier expressing the meaning of "habitual", but it can also be an intransitive verb expressing the meaning of 'live'. *Finis* can be an intransitive verb with the meaning of 'finish', but it can also act as a postverbal modifier meaning "completive, already". With these examples Crowley emphasizes that "it is especially common in Bislama for words to belong in more than one part of speech and sometimes the boundary between adjective and noun and intransitive verb becomes particularly blurred" (p. 35). Thus, *bigbel*, for example, can be a noun meaning 'person with a paunch', an adjective meaning 'pot-bellied' and an intransitive verb meaning 'to have a paunch'.

Chapter 4 deals with "Nouns and Noun Phrases" (pp. 37–71), discussing simple and complex nouns, compounding, reduplication, affixation, pronouns, noun phrases that consist of quantifiers and nouns, pronouns and quantifiers, adjectives, noun postmodifiers, demonstratives, and nouns modified by sentences, noun phrases linked by *blong*, and coordinate noun phrases.

Chapter 5 — "Verbs and Verb Phrases" (pp. 72–107) — first discusses the structure of verbs and their internal make-up, especially processes of reduplication, affixation and compounding. Then the grammar discusses complex verbs, i.e., nuclear-layer serial verb constructions, and finally it presents the verb phrases of Bislama. In this last section of the chapter the author deals with imperatives, prohibitives, and hortatives, the forms

i and *oli*, tense, negative markers, auxiliaries, postverbal modifiers, and modifiers of manner.

In Chapters 4 and 5 the author illustrates the internal make-up of words in Bislama and how they can be combined to form noun and verb phrases. In Chapters 6 and 7 Crowley then describes how these phrases and other elements combine to form sentences, and he differentiates these sentences as being either simple or complex. Chapter 6 deals with "Simple Sentences" (pp. 108–165), discussing and illustrating the grammar of statements, questions, and fronted noun phrases.

Chapter 7 — "Complex Sentences" (pp. 166–197) — then describes "the various ways in which the simple sentences [...] can be combined to form complex sentences" (p. 166). This chapter deals with serial verb constructions, coordination, subordination, and with sentences in discourse.

The grammar ends with a cursory appendix on previous studies of Bislama grammar (pp. 199–200) — with the explicit reference to Lynch and Crowley (2001) for the more "dedicated reader" (p. 199) — with the list of references (pp. 201–202), and with a short but quite helpful index (pp. 203–205).

The grammar is clearly structured, easy to read, and excellently edited. I could only find two minor typos, p. 123 read: "(f) The intransitive verb ..." (for "(f) The intransiitve verb ...") and p. 181, line 19 from the bottom, read: "elements" (for: "ele-ments"), and on p. 161 there are two arrows missing in the examples given after the third and fourth paragraph.

This grammar with its thorough coverage of grammatical features, the first introduction to the grammar of Bislama published in English, is a most welcome addition to the growing body of work on Pacific creoles. I am convinced that the *Bislama Reference Grammar* will find the broad audience it aims for, that it will contribute to Bislama gaining an appropriate role in the formal education system in Vanuatu, and I am also sure that it will contribute to erasing the naïve impression that languages like Bislama are "deficient" and that this grammar will "find a legitimate place" (p. xii). It is a must for every linguist interested in pidgins and creoles, and I hope that it will soon also become a must for all speakers of Bislama.

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen

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