

RECENSIONES

Olga Mišeska Tomić, "Syntax and Syntaxes: The Generative Approach to English Sentence Analysis"; Savremena administracija, Beograd, 1978, 329 pp.

The subtitle of the book under review, *The Generative Approach to English Sentence Analysis* is more informative of its actual content than the more catchy main title *Syntax and Syntaxes*. The author, Professor of English Linguistics at the University of Novi Sad (formerly of the University of Skopje) has written a textbook for use in senior undergraduate syntax classes (and has in fact successfully used its pre-print version with her students in Skopje). The book is intended for a two-semester intensive course in English syntax, though the author herself admits that certain more technical parts may be postponed, presumably for the postgraduate level.

Olga Mišeska Tomić's declared objective in writing this book has been to acquaint her students with possible ways of describing syntactic phenomena within the generative framework: "Rather than displaying and illustrating the merits of a given generative model, I have discussed the merits of generative syntactic modelling in general and the applicability of tools of more than one model for the description of given syntactic problems". Hence the plural 'syntaxes' in the title.

The book consists of an introduction, three main parts (subdivided into units), concluding remarks, an extensive and fairly up-to-date bibliography, and author and subject indexes. Each unit in these main parts deals with a single syntactic phenomenon and ends with notes, assignments, and a reading list of recommended titles (whole articles or, more frequently, passages from books) dealing with particular problems. The Introduction defines syntax and its place among the linguistic disciplines and discusses the treatment of syntax in traditional grammar and in structuralism. The discussion ends with an explication of the role of models and modelling of syntactic description in modern linguistics. A distinction is made between classificatory and generative models, with an emphasis on the abstract nature and explanatory power of the generative models. The first part of the book deals with syntactic primitives, its three units devoted, in turn, to syntactic units, syntactic functions, and syntactic structures. The syntactic units treated here include the sentence (and sentence types), the clause, and the phrase; the syntactic functions are those of the subject, predicate, object, subject and object complement, and modifiers; the syntactic structures are analyzed in terms of constituency and dependency. The second main part of the book presents the essentials of the generative approach to sentence analysis. The term 'generative' as used by the author refers to the transformational-generative approach inaugurated by Chomsky and elaborated in several different directions over the last thirty years by other (mainly American) linguists. The present textbook reflects the development, or rather its results, and in this light presents some basic theoretical concepts of transformational-generative grammar (levels of adequacy, competence vs. performance, grammaticality, acceptability and meaningfulness, and meaning, form and universal grammar). A separate chapter is devoted to underlying structures, kernel strings and kernel sentences, deep structures, underlying cases, relational underlying/surface networks, lexical underlying structure, communicative generative grammar. The technical aspects of the transformational-generative

syntactic description are also presented, including phrase structure rules, derivation, rewrite rules, x-bar rules, transformations (types, ordering, constraints), place of the lexicon in syntax, and syntactic and propositional functions in the lexicon. Finally, the third (and largest) part of the book consists of selected chapters of English syntax — those in which the transformational-generative approach has proved most effective and productive — displaying alternative analyses of passives, questions, nominalizations, relativization, conjoining, and pronominalization in English.

Taken together, the three parts of the book give the reader a good idea of the preoccupations and methods of present-day linguistics, tracing — not chronologically but thematically — the progress of syntactic (or rather syntactico-semantic) description of language and at the same time offering a relatively full account of the syntax of English within the selected approach. Since transformational-generative grammar is by no means monolithic, including as it does a variety of strains (which the author attempts to cover in their full variety), and since different approaches find their optimum use in the treatment of different problems, the reader is given an opportunity to acquaint himself with a rich spectrum of methods and approaches as applied to English.

Both the content and the style of presentation reveal a fully competent and well-informed author, whose treatment of the selected topics is as extensive and exhaustive as the scope of the textbook allows. The author's survey of the progress of transformational-generative syntax covers also the most recent developments (albeit, understandably, rather sketchily in the case of the government and binding and trace theories) and gives a generally accurate and reliable picture of the state of the art in this field. It is in the nature of a textbook to concentrate on well-established principles and solutions, avoiding issues and areas that are unresolved or problematical. Still, the author does not present the student with an idyllic picture of perfect order and harmony. Rather, tracing for him the development of linguistic thinking and methodology, she shows how different approaches treat one and the same problem in different ways, thus freeing the student of blind faith and dogmatic acceptance of single and eternal truths and introducing him instead to the exciting complexities, even contradictions, of the scientific endeavour. It should be noted in particular that the author takes good care, and on the whole manages, to avoid oversimplification and vulgarization as the price of the necessary textbook condensation of issues and their treatment.

A special feature of this book are analytical parallels between English on one hand and Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian and other languages on the other, which sometimes represent original linguistic contributions, but even when they do not and when the author simply reports other people's findings, they always serve to make the student aware of the universality of linguistic phenomena and their descriptions, which is a very important premise from which modern linguistics proceeds.

As already noted, this book is intended as a textbook for senior undergraduate students of English, and it is well-suited to this target audience. The presentation is direct, properly sequenced and systematic. The author does not shy away from more difficult problems, but she always keeps in mind the capabilities of her students. The assignments are well chosen to check the students' comprehension and to enable a more thorough treatment of particular parts of the material. The illustrative examples are the author's own, rather than standard examples taken from the linguistic literature, and are therefore closer to the student's interests and experience. Technical terms and symbols are precisely used and carefully defined whenever necessary. Diagrams and graphic representations are clearly drawn and serve to supplement verbal explications. Finally, the bibliography is rich and well chosen, containing both basic literature that the student will need to read and the fundamental and more specialist titles that he will want to consult for an in-depth study of particular problems.

All in all, this is a very good example of a syntactic textbook that will prove effective in undergraduate classes but which also offers a wealth of information that can be read with profit by postgraduate students of linguistics and all those who teach syntax generally and English syntax in particular.

Vladimir Ivir

Ranko Bugarski, "Jezik u društvu" (Language in Society), Prosveta, Beograd, 1986, 338 pp.

The reason for publishing the present review of a book written in Serbo-Croatian in a publication dedicated to English (and Romance) linguistics and literary studies is that its author is a linguist with a background in English (and American) linguistics and, if his book were to be translated into English, British and American sociolinguists would be very much at home with some of his concepts and topics and, consequently, would find it easy to agree or disagree with some of his views, and would particularly profit from his excursions into the interpretation of the sociolinguistic situation in Serbo-Croatian. When the latter problems are presented by "pure" Serbo-Croatists, they tend to appear too idiosyncratic and idealised, which Bugarski has tried to avoid. His potential readers would also find that B's reading ranges very widely and that he does not shy away from philosophical and philological contributions coming from outside the English language area, often, by accident or design, absent from many books in this category written in English. Admittedly, for obvious reasons, such sources often receive a short mention only.

The book is composed of articles published in different publications in Yugoslavia and abroad and of papers read at linguistics orientated meetings. This comes through, but not too much as they have been re-edited or rewritten to fit the concept of the present book. The ten chapters of the book deal with "the structure, functioning and evaluation of language in its social context" and, as the author puts it further, "The first seven [chapters] concentrate on language as a social phenomenon and the remaining three are dedicated to sociolinguistics as a science of language in society". In order to orientate the reader the titles of the 7 + 3 chapters are given here: (after the Preface) I. Language and society, II. Language and social changes, III. A sociolinguistic look at Serbo-Croatian, IV. Language and dialect, V. Folk linguistics, VI. Language and nation, VII. The theory of the standard languages, VIII. The beginnings and the development of sociolinguistics, IX. The subject and methods of sociolinguistics, and X. The identity and the status of sociolinguistics. The chapter titles alone suggest that the scope of this comparatively short book is rather wide. However, it appears even wider on reading it, as the author seems determined to share with his reader as many concepts, data, anecdotes, names of important scholars and short mentions of their contributions as it is reasonably possible within the available space, and this makes the reviewer's job frustrating. One simply finds it difficult to decide which themes to single out for a balanced presentation. I shall therefore deal with a few topics in which I may have more interest than in others, warning the reader that these are not necessarily the most important or best points that the author makes.

On the question of language and society the author indicates that their general correlation can be easily perceived; however, when one comes down to details, it becomes evident that there have been social changes which have hardly left a trace in individual languages and, conversely, there are changes in languages for which one cannot account with social reasons. This should not discourage the researcher but should warn him against jumping to conclusions in an area full of nuances, where regularities may be spotted under the apparently chaotic surface. The mentioned considerations characterize B's approach to the problems he tackles.

Writing this text B. rightly had in mind the fact that some of his educated readers, including certain philologists, may be very much under the impact of the simplicistic romantic views of language, according to which the world is seen "as a group of monolingual and monocultural communities", as for instance Herder among others had viewed it. In different places B. insists on a picture of the world dominated by multilingual and multicultural communities, the underlying moral being that one must come to terms with different languages and language varieties and learn how to live with them in one's community. And while theoretically all his proposals would lead to that conclusion, in the section on language

inequality, which B. analyses in some detail, he seems to adhere to the conventional belief that the solution of the inequality problem within a language community is the mastering of the standard language and its functional styles through careful planning helped by the authorities. He would also like to see individuals improve their repertoires probably in the same direction. This would then give these individuals the power which they lack without the weapon of the acceptable variety. It is difficult to oppose this common sense and apparently logical conclusion, but I am pretty sure that in some cultures and communities (not excluding his own) social power is not so closely linked to the versatility in the elegant and "correct" use of language. Things tend to be more complicated in this area of language and society and one should be warned by the anti-Bernstein criticism, the concept of inverted prestige, the suitable or less suitable selection of the basis for the standard language, the numerous examples of social mobility of persons without a cultivated language repertoire indicating, perhaps, that the observers of the language scene with "decent" linguistic and philological backgrounds may be overestimating certain "quality varieties" as the first rate communal criteria of equality. The model of some powerful established European national states where, it is believed, the prestigious variety coincides with one type of speech (and with certain conventions in writing) may have fostered that estimate.

The chapter on language and social changes surveys the correlation of changes in language with social factors, the consideration being organized around five questions: (i). Are the changes in the two phenomena mutually dependent or not? (ii). How far can changes in language go? (iii). Are the changes in language the result of social or internal causes? (iv). What are the social factors which cause changes? (v). Do all languages and their varieties and at all their levels of structure change at the same pace? These topics are given an excellent short treatment and a special feature of this chapter is that illustrative examples have been selected from diachronic and synchronic Serbo-Croatian, so that the text is a contribution to both sociolinguistics and Serbo-Croatian studies, the latter being rather short of such internationally well informed treatments.

B. refers to Serbo-Croatian at several points in the book and dedicates a special chapter to it entitled "A sociolinguistic look at Serbo-Croatian". Thus he considers that the interest of sociolinguists should be urgently addressed to three most important problems in the Yugoslav society: illiteracy, language standardization and multilingualism. While agreeing with the importance of these problems, I would object to the author's linking of illiteracy with the low level of the existing literacy and oracy, which I interpret as a lack of elegant, economical and precise spoken and written expression. Illiteracy should be eliminated for the social benefit of the illiterate speaker, and that is clear. However, the assessment of the quality of the spoken and written expression is a much more delicate and subjective matter where prejudice may easily creep in. I would keep these two problems separate. B. touches briefly on a few moot points concerning the name and identity of Serbo-Croatian. It is a language without a single name in all the territories where it is used (four federal republics), and it is not quite clear what direction it is to take and what is precisely understood under its polycentric standardization. The arguments and misunderstandings which appear in this area, if I understand B. well, originate in the lack of correspondence between historical heritage and the nations speaking the language on the one hand, and the territory of the republics on the other. In other words, the arguments concerning this variant-bound language are primarily of a political nature in a wider sense, and when linguists take an active part in the debate they do it more as citizens with their own political views than as students of language. The disagreements on how to treat the variants hinder or stop the production of usage handbooks, grammars, dictionaries, etc. which the students and teachers of the language badly need. I would agree with B's diagnosis of the malaise. I wonder whether he has a generally palatable therapy to prescribe.

In the section on language culture in Serbo-Croatian, B. swaps the hat of a patient analyst of sociolinguistic problems for one of the indignant sophisticated citizen joining the critics of the present state of public language use infested with clichés originating in political and administrative registers. If there ever was a good example of complaining about language when one complains about something else this is it. Sharing B's disgust at the source of the infestation of public language, this indirect, ritualized, repetitive parlance of what B. calls the bureaucracy, itself a vague term meaning different

things to different people and an element of the infestation in question, I would not dismiss it by labelling it "prazoslovlje" ('empty talk' or 'emptology') but would allocate it among fully fledged registers of Serbo-Croatian as necessary to its users as the register of medicine is to the doctors. From the point of view of the corridors of power, it is a very sensitive register in which small moves away from the established patterns indicate that the speaker fails to toe the line or is voicing a protest, and, of course, vice versa. Its origin is to be sought in the fact that the ruling political elite has postulated an ideal social system which has little to do with actuality and they keep referring to it as if it were real. This is probably what B. sees as the blurring of the difference between "life in reality and life on paper" (80). In its origin it reminds one a little of the register of advertising, which refers to a similarly utopian world where, for instance, detergents are compared in laboratories by specialists dressed in white and "objective" assessments of their qualities expressed in vague terms are passed on to the consumers. If this is so, and if this register is only a symptom, no campaign by sociolinguists and teachers can help it until socio-political changes make its use unnecessary. In the meantime, the sociolinguist's job is to describe this register, establish its "mannerisms" in the use of linguistic means and treat it as any other functional sub-language. This somewhat deterministic view differs from B's desire to act directly, expounding this jargon's clumsiness. In this he is in good company, as some important names in sociolinguistics as Bernstein, Labov, Hymes and others have shown readiness to operationalize their insights and findings. The reader will find here other interesting hints concerning language culture as in this section B. does not spare advice and his general approach means a break with a tradition according to which language culture meant mastering spelling difficulties and school grammar shibboleths.

Referring to the present state and future prospects of the linguistic description of Serbo-Croatian, he pleads for a close study of language stratification, of functional styles, which have been neglected owing to an earlier concept according to which standard language was equated with the language of literature. The language of urban centres has also been neglected as a descriptive subject owing to the idealization of the rural speech, which can be attributed to the origin of the model for present-day standard Serbo-Croatian.

A well-conceived chapter on language and dialect looks at the problem of their definition from a semiotic, linguistic and sociolinguistic points of view and makes it clear to the reader that the two terms are impossible to differentiate linguistically; it is only with the help of extralinguistic social dimensions – the functioning of a supradialectal norms as a koine or a standard language – that the two varieties may be defined. In the chapter on folk linguistics, B. examines "the importance and present-day state of the study of popular reactions to language as part of the synchronic reality of language communities". He has made a substantial collection of pre-scientific and pre-linguistic opinions about various aspects of language. They refer to the origin of language, to the validity or lack of validity of language as the main means of communication, judgements about the personality of the speaker on the basis of the variety of language he uses, the feeling of superiority or inferiority for speaking one variety and not another, the evaluation of individual languages (Greek and Latin are perfectly structured; French is eminently logical), the pride about some features of one's language (melodic accent in Serbo-Croatian), etc. These popular beliefs play an important part in communal life and some of them have aroused a systematic interest of disciplines such as linguistics, sociology of language and social psychology. As elsewhere in the book, some facts are only briefly mentioned and remain vague. Some more context would probably make them clearer. Thus the alleged Japanese manner of dividing dialects in a different way from what isoglosses indicate may sound very curious at first sight. But then one is reminded that Serbo-Croatian dialectologists label as čakavian a local speech that does not show the paramount isogloss: the interrogative/relative word *ča*. If the Japanese case is comparable, then the whole thing is not all that exotic. But one should know more about it to judge.

The chapter on language and nation, a hot potato in these climates, is based on a very wide reading of both Yugoslav authors like Brozović, Katičić, Ivić, Tanasković, Banić, Mikeš, Lerotić, and others and also Smith, Moerman, Quirk, Deutsch, Fishman, Giles, Seton-Watson, etc., who have written from linguistic and other points of view on language in connection with the concepts of ethnic group, people,

nation and state. B. wants to emphasize the fact that although language has played the role of an integrative element in the formation of several European nation-states like France, Germany and Italy, there are cases when it acted disintegratively (Belgium and Canada). In other words, language participates by different degrees among other crucial elements (eg., religion, culture, history, etc.) in defining a nation. The author presents many existing relations between language and the mentioned categories. In the conclusion of this excellently informed chapter the author surveys the whole problem of language and nation from, as he puts it, ideological, historical and theoretical points of view. According to his conclusion from the ideological point of view, language and nation are closely connected and this link is often highly exploited politically; historically speaking, language and nation are partly connected, and theoretically speaking they are not necessarily connected at all, as there is no imperative that one language should serve one nation only, or that one nation should use only one language. This well researched and interpreted chapter is certainly a genuine contribution to the debates going on in Yugoslavia about Slovenian, Macedonian, but especially Serbo-Croatian, where the question whether the Serbs and the Croats, having been formed as ethnically separate nations, ought to have separate languages, i.e. should sever the language link and stop talking about a language with two variants. The conclusion that could be drawn from this presentation of the problems is that the two variants are sufficient signals of national differentiation but that the insistence on total separation would fall within what the author labels "regressive nationalism and national chauvinism" (207). It is also impractical, as it might lead to a breakdown in communication (208) if there is a constant institutional and informal pressure to produce more evidence for the differences (209). This is, of course, an area open to dispute, and when emotions run high, calls for cool reasoning sound out of place and even suspicious. The framework of the language-nation problem as suggested by the author is not particularly palatable in the cultural climate where Herder's, Mazzini's and similar ideas of an ideal correspondence between the nation and language had been accepted in the 19th century by such important national language movements as the Illyrians were in Zagreb and Vuk Karadžić and his supporters in the Serbian lands. In that sense this is a novel and salutary approach which must be heard.

The chapter on the theory of standard languages is a good survey of the views on the problem in the literature both in English and in other European languages. The reader will find that references to Yugoslav authors are rather frequent in this chapter, as this question has preoccupied many Yugoslav linguists and philologists in the past thirty years. The polycentrically standardized Serbo-Croatian requires special normative treatment with elements of undeclared *aushau* processing to which great political importance is given. One would suspect that all political frustrations of the intellectual elites from various Yugoslav centres (and this is applicable to other Yugoslav languages as well) have found a vent in politicizing the language standardization question, an area too refined for the ruling politicians to understand and to be capable of sorting out what belongs to scholarship and what to the day-to-day politics. After elaborating the concepts of the implicit and explicit norms, and after surveying other distinctive characteristics of the standard languages following Haugen, Fishman, Mathesius, Havranek, etc., the author seems to quote with approval the somewhat coinciding statements by Haas and Katičić, according to which the (standard) language is not what it is but what it should be. I would take these generalizations with a pinch of salt or at least would accept them with more elaboration as, when taken literally by some order-loving and variously motivated linguists, sorry results may ensue leading straight to the unnecessary diglossia which is well illustrated in the clashes between authors and thinly indoctrinated copy-editors. In this context, Haas's plea for (presumably informed) linguists to take more interest in the elaboration of the norms of standard languages, as otherwise the task would end into the hands of linguistically innocent enthusiasts, sounds very appropriate.

The chapter on the origin and development of sociolinguistics traces the sources of the discipline and the way the relation between language and society has come into the focus of scholarly interest. B. undertakes excursions into philosophical, philological and early anthropological literature in which language is looked upon as human praxis, i.e. language "intervoven with the institutions of society, culture and civilizations in different aspects and degrees". He starts his survey with the Greek philosophers Heraclitus, Plato and Aristotle and then continues with Mediaeval and Renaissance

thinkers, English empiricists, French rationalists and encyclopedists, and German romanticists, to take up recent schools of semiology, logical positivism and Marxist philosophy. This is certainly a remarkable feat of appropriate selection of names and ideas that sometimes amount to a mere mention. Thus Boas "sticks appropriate keys into the doors of exotic cultures"; "Durkheim emphasizes the impact of social structure on cultural patterns and configurations, including language". Hints of this kind may sometimes be slightly irritating in giving away so little, but they are probably meant to act as stimuli for the interested reader to dig deeper, in which he is aided by a substantial bibliography. I must add, however, that B. has succeeded elsewhere in capturing equally briefly important ideas and interpretations, as, for instance, when he examines the lack of interest of European and American structuralist in the social context of language phenomena and processes resulting in envisaging and studying languages as static synchronic systems. Incidentally, he agrees with Labov in attributing this direction to Saussure's sharp divisions between *langue* and *parole*. This chapter ends with a list of twenty-one topics that enter the scope of sociolinguistics, certainly helpful to a general reader and the undergraduate. In the chapter on the subject and methods of sociolinguistics, B. makes an attempt at the delimitation of three overlapping disciplines: sociolinguistics, sociology of language and social psychology, and also hints at the methods of sociolinguistics. Attempts at the delimitation have been made by other sociolinguists, notably Trudgill (1978 and elsewhere) and various textbooks authors. B. introduces the reader into the delimitation problems by taking the examples of multilingualism, the system of address and, later, polycentric standardization (incidentally, the topics close to his readers from their own experience) and looks at the manner the problems would be treated by the three disciplines. This is very helpful. But B. likes his terminology crystal clear and to that effect he has produced an ingenious graph showing the relations between the three disciplines with reference to linguistics, sociology and psychology. One can see the benefit of this graph when it tries to fix the relations between the mentioned disciplines on the basis of what they have shown so far, but the logical exercise goes on and on and it is hard to see what its use may be, except that it is clever. The reader will certainly profit much more from his excellent exemplification both in the area of delimitation of the disciplines and in presenting the methods of sociolinguistics which must count on variability in language as distinguished from linguistics concentrating on the invariant.

The last chapter on the identity and status of sociolinguistics considers critically the theoretical foundations of the discipline and its main aims.

B. develops his considerations around Hymes's well-known remark about sociolinguistics being a mile wide and an inch deep, and while partly recognising this weakness of the discipline, he attributes its lack of a firm theoretical basis to the inevitable descriptive phase of this field of study, through which linguistics has also gone. B. envisages the initial steps towards an explanatory discipline not in its autonomy but in a possible co-operation with neighbouring disciplines, eg. social psychology, which by examining the psychological state of the speaker, his attitudes, motivation, intentions and expectations helps to direct the researcher's interest from the questions of *who*, *when* and *where* towards answering the question *why*. Another way out of the mere empirical description could be by establishing sociolinguistic universals, possibly in such phenomena as diglossia, Creole continua, contemporary pidginization (found with the migrant labour force), stratification of language, systems of address, etc. The aim of sociolinguistics might be seen as opposite of that of linguistics: the long lasting preoccupation of linguists was to explain the unity of the human language; sociolinguistics may try to explain its diversity – the curse of Babel.

In conclusion, let me say that the above is a simplified outline of some of the topics that B. takes up, and I hope I have not misrepresented them. As I mentioned earlier, there is much more substantial material in the text that I have not even touched upon. This is not a textbook but an essayistic, free presentation of some of the most essential ideas linked to sociolinguistics, admirably compact, and can be read profitably by the students of sociolinguistics and by scholars in neighbouring disciplines. This does not mean that the sociolinguist will waste his time in perusing it. B. views his sources from a vantage point which enables him to draw certain connections between ideas in the field of language and society and produce some synthetic statements that will strike the initiated as fresh views that might otherwise

have escaped them. At the end I add a few minor points for debate or possible correction. Some names that are mentioned in the text and appear in the index do not turn up in the bibliography (Mead, Boas, Durkheim); if there is a system in this, I could not discover it. Trudgill pronounces his name with /d/ and /g/ and therefore cannot be Tradžil. I have no quarrel with the principle of transcribing foreign names into the Serbo-Croatian (phonological) orthography but have become aware of the advantage of printing the original spelling and the transcription one beside the other when it appears for the first time for practical reasons of checking the names in the bibliography where it appears in the original form. Sosir may not cause trouble, but Dirkem (Durkheim), Dikemp (DeCamp), Goša (Gauchat) are more difficult cases. But this objection comes from the user of the western variant of Serbo-Croatian and is in itself a sociolinguistic problem.

Damir Kalogjera