

REVIEWS

Principles and methods for historical linguistics.

By Robert J. Jeffers and Ilse Lehiste. Pp. XII+209. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 1979.

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As its authors state in the foreword, the work (henceforth PMHL) was intended as a textbook for an introductory course in historical linguistics. Thus, the following summary and a couple of critical remarks are meant to provide an answer to the question of how well the book under review is likely to serve this purpose.

The main body of PMHL consists of ten chapters (each followed by a list of recommended readings) and a glossary; these are accompanied by a list of abbreviations of language names, a foreword, a bibliography and an index.

Chapter One, "Phonetic change", deals with the most common types of phonetic (including prosodic) changes and introduces the traditional terminology used in their description. As is the authors' custom throughout the book, all types of processes discussed are illustrated with examples from numerous languages.

Chapter Two, "Comparative reconstruction", presents the hypotheses underlying the method, as well as its main goals and procedures. To illustrate the latter, two examples of the application of CR are given. Apart from making the reader acquainted with the terminology, these exercises serve the purpose of indicating some typical problems encountered in the comparativist's work. The Stammbaum and wave theories are then briefly discussed, to be followed by a section on distinguishing cognates from borrowings.

In *Chapter Three*, "Internal reconstruction", the method in question is described from the point of view of its relationship to CR. Having adduced a few instances of the successful application of IR to the study of sound change, the authors go on to discuss its most serious limitations, viz. the uselessness of the method in cases of complete merger and the general impossibility of recovering fine phonetic detail. On the whole, however, IR is advocated as a valuable means of complementing the other kind of reconstruction.

From the point of view of those readers for whom the book has been written in the first place (i.e. beginner students of diachronic linguistics with some basic knowledge of general linguistics), Chapters Two and Three are undoubtedly the best ones. It is here that the authors' experience and competence as teachers manifest themselves most distinctly. They seem to answer virtually all kinds of questions that beginners usually ask, this is, for example, the case with the explicit formulation of the relations holding between internal and comparative reconstruction (cf. the corresponding chapters in Lehmann).

A substantial part of *Chapter Four*, "Morphological systems and linguistic change", is devoted to the concept of analogy, its history and commonly recognized types. It

is worth noting that Jeffers and Lehiste make a point of explicitly stating the conditioning context for each analogical development they discuss.¹ As a consequence of the authors' classical understanding of the term "analogy" (i.e. of restricting it to instances of change characterizable within the proportional model), a distinction is drawn between levelling and analogy, following Paul's differentiation between "stoffliche Analogiebildung" and "formale Analogiebildung" respectively. Subsequently, Kurylowicz's laws of analogic change are quoted. The concluding section deals with syncretism and morphologization.

In *Chapters Five* and *Six* ("Phonological change" and "Explanation in linguistic change: the case of sound change"), the subject matter is in turn presented from three different theoretical standpoints: the Neogrammarian, the structuralist and the generative ones. As the authors rightly claim, the various biases associated with these different approaches serve to highlight important aspects of change, but also unavoidably result in accounts of change which, in each case, are in some respects inadequate (p. 74). Therefore, what PMHL aims at, in addition to presenting a concise critical survey of the treatments of change by the three schools, is to offer a kind of synthesis of their merits and weaknesses, integrating the most compelling suggestions coming from particular theories. What adds to the value of Chapter Five is the author's suggestion that changes in the makeup of the phonological system be distinguished from changes in the phonological structure of morphemes and labelled "restructuring" and "relexicalization" respectively. It is argued that this distinction is appropriate for a description of phonological change within any framework (for a more detailed discussion see Jeffers 1976).

It is only to be regretted that, while discussing various ways of explaining language change (chap. VI), PMHL fails to provide the reader with at least some rudimentary information about Andersen's much acclaimed theory of abductive and deductive change. The mere inclusion of two of his papers² among the recommended readings after *Chapters Four* and *Six* (with the author's name misspelled as Anderson on p. 105)³ is certainly not enough. One can speculate that even a most sketchy discussion of Andersen's ideas would apparently have "spoiled" the neat picture of the developments of attitudes towards change, which the reader finds in PMHL. If this was the idea behind the omission, it is a bit difficult to understand; after all, much of Andersen's thinking goes back at least to Jakobson and thus the presentation would not have detracted from the sense of continuity just mentioned. Most probably, however, Andersen's model was simply judged to be above the level of an untrained reader. This is true, but still does not justify the complete neglect of a theory which is quite commonly felt to be *the* theory of change.

Another weak point of the chapter discussed is its last section, dealing with the explanation of morphophonemic and morphological change. Due to its superficial character, it is likely to suggest to the reader that the explanation of this particular aspect of change is not a matter of controversy or even interest. Although what constitutes the

¹ This is in accordance with the ideas elaborated on in Jeffers (1974).

² One of them is the famous 1973 article in *Language* (see the references here); the other one ("Towards a typology of change: Analogy") never appeared in print in the form and under the title referred to in PMHL. Thus, it is a mistake on the part of the authors to place it in Christie (1976). The reader may be interested to know that the ideas presented in the original paper, which was delivered at the conference in Tucson, Arizona, were later developed in the work "Morphological change: towards a typology", presented at the conference at Boszkowo, Poland, and available now in Fisiak's 1980 anthology.

³ Two other apparent misprints are:
p t p k# for p t k k# (p. 25) and Principien for Prinzipien (p. 192).

author's main concern at that point is "the case of sound change", and not morphological change, it seems reasonable to ask more of their treatment of the latter, once they have taken up the issue.

In *Chapter Seven*, dealing with "Syntactic change", attention is called to the fact that the study of that type of change in general, and the syntactic reconstruction of undocumented stages of languages in particular, is much less advanced than similar undertakings in the areas of phonology and morphology. Before a tentative justification for this state of affairs is proposed, the authors stop to ponder over the question of the origin of syntactic change. They believe that it is not in the transformational component, but rather in surface syntactic patterns that we should seek motivations for change. Popular as the view has been recently, (cf. for instance the Transparency Principle postulated in Lightfoot 1979), it is by no means new; in fact, the mechanism of syntactic change proposed here can simply be taken to constitute a special case of the operation of a tendency recognized in language change a long time ago and labelled perhaps most generally by Anttila (1977 and earlier) as the movement towards "one meaning - one form". It is a pity that the authors of PMHL do not seem to be aware of that.

As has already been mentioned, the chapter centres around the issue of syntactic reconstruction. While it is admitted that IR may be of considerable use here, the validity of CR is seriously questioned. It is believed that reasons for it are to be sought in the incompatibility of the basic procedures of reconstructional comparative linguistics with the very nature of syntax.⁴

Chapter Eight, "Lexical change", illustrates the notion of change in the meaning of words and discusses its possible effects upon the range of referents and contexts of occurrence. The sections on word formation and etymology abound in fascinating examples of the idiosyncrasies of lexical change. The chapter closes with a brief discussion of glottochronology, where the authors agree with the majority of linguists in questioning the reliability of the method on the grounds of the extremely doubtful status of its theoretical claims.

Chapter Nine, "Language contact and linguistic change", starts with an examination of the effects of language contact on the individual and on the linguistic community, introducing and illustrating such notions as interference, sub-, super- and adstratum, linguistic alliance and linguistic affinity. Later on, an interesting attempt is made at reconstructing a substratum solely from its effects on the bilingual's second language. The experiment is meant to demonstrate that reconstruction of this sort, if not aided by other methods, is of highly limited value: it does not enable us to recover the areas in which the substratum language was characterized by greater complexity than the adopted one, since the influence of the substratum consists essentially in either eliminating or reducing contrasts in the successor language. Finally, the processes of pidginization and creolization are mentioned, as manifestations of the extreme consequences of language change due to contact.

Chapter Ten, "The evidence", provides the reader with the kind of information usually found at the beginning of introductions to historical linguistics. Thus, one learns from it about the importance of written records as a source of data and an empirical testing ground for theories of change, as well as about some problems inherent in the deciphering of extinct writing systems and in the philological study of texts.

⁴ It is perhaps worth mentioning that the issue has been a matter of considerable interest recently. Thus, for instance, Winter (1981) gives an excellent argument for the non-existence of "reconstructional comparative syntax", carried out along similar lines as in PMHL. A slightly more optimistic perspective is sketched in Campbell and Mithun (1980).

It is hoped that this rather lengthy summary will have made obvious some of the ways in which PMHL relates to some earlier works of a similar orientation (cf. especially Lehmann 1973). In addition to the skilful organization of material and its most careful and articulate presentation, the book's major advantage is what the authors call "its relatively uncommitted nature" (p. X). The comparison, systematization and tentative evaluation of the three best known approaches to the problems of language change not only add to their fuller understanding by the student, but also make him aware of the greatest achievements of historical linguistic thought, as well as of the enormous amount of work which is still to be done in the area.

As we have already mentioned, the core of the book is supplemented by a sizable glossary. It contains 165 entries which, except for a few terms from general linguistics, pertain to the basic concepts of language history. The definitions are brief and necessarily oversimplified, but appear to fulfil their referential function pretty well, especially that more information on a given topic is always available in the main body of the work. Nevertheless, the following three seem rather objectionable:

1) the definitions of *counter-bleeding* and *counter-feeding orders* (p. 175 ff) lack the simple statement that the order which is being discussed is B then A (for the relations between A and B as specified earlier in the definitions); strangely enough, the corresponding definitions in the text are quite straightforward.

2) the definitions of *substratum* and *superstratum* (p. 186) appear — at best — to be a little clumsy; let us quote:

“substratum

Former primary language of a group of speakers who have shifted to their formerly secondary language.

superstratum

Former primary language of a group of speakers who have entered a linguistic community and have been absorbed by that community, giving up their formerly primary language”.

(Again, nothing is to be desired of the descriptions of the same notions as given in Chapter Nine).

3) the strikingly incomplete definition of *taboo* (p. 186) runs as follows:

“Word that is avoided because of the sacred status of its referent or because of fear inspired by the referent”.

Although the few exceptions just mentioned do not in any serious way detract from the total value of the glossary, something should definitely be done about them in further editions of the book.

In all, both students and teachers may be grateful for this exceedingly well designed handbook — the more so that it constitutes quite an attractive piece of reading matter. Special respect is due to the authors of PMHL for their objectivity and concern for the untrained reader (the latter being manifested, for instance, in the efforts to choose instructive examples), as well as for the internal logic, discipline and the clarity of style which characterize their work.

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Historical linguistics. By Theodore Bynon. Pp. X+301. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Principles and methods for historical linguistics. By Robert Jeffers and Ilse Lehisto. Pp. X+209. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1979.

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It can hardly be said that beginning students of historical linguistics have been nearly as well provided for as beginning students of logic, phonology or general linguistics in the way of introductory texts. That is the major reason why we are ready to recommend these two recently published books to those who seek an up-to-date introduction to the science of historical linguistics.

As has been mentioned, not much has been written that provides a comprehensive introduction to this branch of linguistics. Lehmann (1962), King (1969), Goyvaerts (1975), are the titles that come to mind as introductions to historical linguistics which attempt to comprise more or less all the dominating approaches to the science. Anttila (1972) could also be included here. It appears, however, that while the former three remain relatively unbiased and systematically introductory in nature, Anttila's work is more individual and can profitably be studied only after an earlier exposure to some general and historical linguistics.

To these, two recently published books must now be added: *Historical linguistics* (HL) by Theodore Bynon, lecturer in comparative linguistics at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, and *Principles and methods for historical linguistics* (PMHL) co-authored by Robert J. Jeffers and Ilse Lehisto, both from the Department of Linguistics at Ohio State University.

Similar to the three texts mentioned above, the books under examination do not aim to be polemic or faultfinding but rather to supply an elementary introduction to the problems of historical linguistics without attempting to present definitive answers. It may be well to add that only the most representative schools of historical investig-

ation have been chosen for discussion and the discussion itself is limited only to the most important issues, contributions and shortcomings. This, among other things, points to the introductory nature of these works.

HL, as noted in the Introduction, makes no attempt at presenting a historically unified account but rather a description, arranged chronologically, of three major models that have been proposed to account for the phenomena of diachronic change. Jeffers and Lehiste based their work on the lecture notes which they had developed for an introductory course, and they assure the reader that the material included covers only those phenomena which can be easily understood without any earlier linguistic training. Therefore, neither of the books argues any particular standpoint or methodology, but rather the authors' objective is to present the accomplishments and the main results achieved in the field of historical linguistics over the past 150 years or so.

To give an idea of the content, HL is formally divided into two main sections the first of which offers a neat presentation of the three models of language evolution, while the second proposes an investigation of the actual process of change as an ongoing phenomenon and resorts to the methods of sociolinguistic analysis. A lengthy discussion is afforded to the neogrammarian model, the one which still remains the basis of historical linguistics. The discussion focuses upon two main questions of Leipzig linguistics: synchronic irregularity within a particular language and the problem of resemblance among related languages. Somewhat unexpectedly, the structural model of language evolution is treated rather laconically, in spite of the multitude of materials available for presentation. The value of this section, however, lies primarily in the systematic and illustrative criticism of the structuralist model: lack of any adequate syntactic theory, neglect of semantics, as well as multiple limitations resulting from the basic structuralist concept of "une système". The section pertaining to the generative transformational model attempts to be a synoptic view of its basic issues following Chomsky (1965), Chomsky and Halle (1968) and King (1969). The extensive discussion evolves around two basic tenets: the representation of phonological change within the theory of non-autonomous phonology and the concept of syntactic change in terms of deep structure and transformational rules.

As has been noted earlier, part II purports to present the actual process of sound change through the methods of sociolinguistic analysis: the neogrammarian dialect geography, the social motivation of language change and language contact. The final section gives a glimpse at lexicostatistics, language typology and classification of language history. The whole work is put together by combining summaries and paraphrases of ideas expanded in detail elsewhere. Skilfully done, as it is, this scissors-and-paste composition produces a reasonably reliable summary of the most important tenets of historical linguistics.

The other book, PMHL, differs both in voluminousness and in methodological organization. It is formally divided into ten chapters which, as the authors claim, provide enough material for fifty class units. The first three chapters pertain to the presentation of phonetic change, both conditioned and unconditioned and also to the two basic methods of historical enquiry, viz. comparative and internal reconstruction. It is worth pointing out that their mutual interrelatedness and shortcomings are neatly and convincingly exemplified. The following section deals with morphological change including such processes as paradigmatic levelling, contamination, changes in grammatical categories and finally analogy. Chapters five and six discuss the main contemporary models of historical investigation, viz. structuralism and the generative transformational grammar. Chapter seven takes up the question of syntactic change and discusses such issues as the role of perceptual strategies and syntactic analogy. The next two sections comprise

topics including lexical change, formation of new lexical items, lexicostatistics, language contact and its consequence on language evolution. The final chapter entitled "The Evidence" traces briefly the history of writing systems and broaches the problem of deciphering extinct languages.

Even cursory survey of the two handbooks produces the impression that both of them are addressed to the same reading public. PMHL seems somewhat less advanced both in quality and quantity of the highlighted material. All the issues presented by Jeffers and Lehiste are pigeon-holed in small, clear-cut sections, their examples are well-chosen if not very numerous, the style plain and straightforward. It is noteworthy that in the discussion of phonological change the authors contrast American and European structuralism thus showing ways in which these two trends differ, which also allows them to bring out the theoretical richness of the European tradition (Prague School). The scarcity of examples is one of the shortcomings of this book. While too many examples might make the general presentation vague and less clear, relative paucity tends to give a simplified and hence distorted picture of the linguistic situation. Although the two authors try very much to remain non-committal throughout, some of their statements (eg. those concerning Postal) cannot be said to be completely unbiased. Unlike Jeffers and Lehiste, Bynon seems to be argumentative at times. Although the content of her book resembles very much that of Jeffers and Lehiste's, certain issues are dealt with in a more elaborate and extended manner. The diction is plain and direct and the selection of examples adequate.

Neglect of sociolinguistics is undoubtedly the greatest deficiency of PMHL. In contradistinction to HL where an attempt is made to maintain a balance between the sections pertaining to the traditional linguistic standpoints and those featuring the sociolinguistic analysis of language development, PMHL lays particular stress on showing how the representative schools interpreted the same historical phenomena. One could also fault the authors for the cursory treatment of neogrammarian postulates in the discussion of phonological change. It is also to be regretted that while Stampe, Wang and some other contemporary researchers are allotted at least a small amount of space. Henning Andersen's contributions are hardly mentioned at all. In particular, one could expect his 1974 paper on bifurcating changes to be given some attention. The discussion of lexical change could then be brought into agreement with other types of change since, in the present shape, lexical change is discussed along completely traditional lines.

Unfortunately, the book is marred in many places by typographic errors. The misspellings and misprints, even in the presentation of such concepts as Grimm's Law or The Great Vowel Shift contribute to an accuracy which is far from remarkable. Also, in the bibliography, the authors refer to Andersen's article which according to them appeared in Christie (1976). In actual fact it was never printed at all but delivered orally at the Second Conference on Historical Linguistics, Tucson, Arizona.

On the other hand, glossary is one of the things that one clearly misses in HL. This shortcoming is, however, matched by clear definitions and apt references. HL is most advantageous for its organization, which is intelligent and attractive, as well as for its accuracy. The three linguistic frameworks are presented separately thus giving the impression of clarity and comprehensiveness. It is almost free of typographic errors and all abbreviations are explained at the outset.

All these details notwithstanding, I feel that the publication of these works was most desirable primarily because that there are so few textbooks in the field of historical linguistics. Both books will help beginners understand the processes involved in language evolution and appreciate some of the complexities they present for theoretical frameworks.

IN *SUID*, although neither of them will be of great use to the professional historical linguist, they are worth careful attention of any student who needs a lucid introduction to this science.

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Dutch morphology. A study of word formation in generative grammar. By G. E. Booij. Pp. ix+181. Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press, 1977.
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Dutch morphology, the second monograph devoted to the morphological component within the generative framework (the first one being Aronoff 1976) consists of two parts: the first constituting a critical review of various generative morphological models, along with the presentation of the author's own approach (Chapter I: *The nature of word formation rules*); the second consisting of specific linguistic problems, whose analyses uphold more general linguistic assumptions (Chapter 2: *Phonological evidence for non-phonological properties of complex words*, Chapter 3: *Competence restrictions on the productivity of word formation rules*).

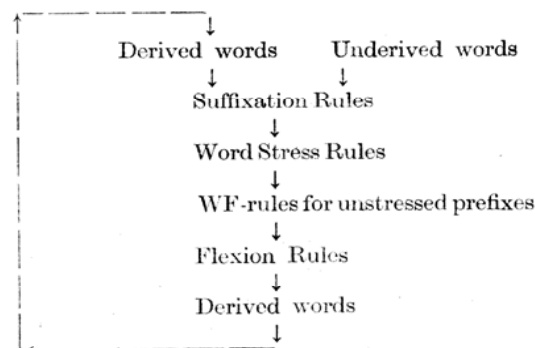
The two competing trends in generative morphology — the transformationalist and the lexicalist positions — are reconsidered in the first part. It begins with arguments taken primarily from Lees (1963), Botha (1968) and Schreiber (1972) illustrating the transformationalist approach, which are interspersed with Chomsky's (1970), Bresnan's (1971) and Booij's (1977) own critical remarks attempting to undermine the transformationalist position. The advocated trend, the lexicalist approach, as postulated by Halle (1973), Jackendoff (1975) and expatiated upon by Aronoff (1976), is also interwoven with criticism. Despite his objections Booij's (1977) monograph continues to support Aronoff's (1976) assumptions, especially concerning the overgenerating morphological model (non-existent grammatical forms, as well as existent grammatical ones, are generated by the component), word-based derivational processes (words coined from words, not from stems or morphemes) along with appropriate truncation rules, which turn out to be, indispensable in such an approach. In a few points, however, Booij's model diverges from the paragon: his WFRs (Word Formation Rules), in contradistinction to

Aronoff's (1976, pp. 64-70), possess no transformational power and may be based on more than a single word (compounding, cf. Aronoff's 1976: 21).

Nevertheless, Booij's morphology is not a simple extrapolation of the best parts from the existing generative models of morphology, but should be viewed as a step forward in the development of the morphological theory thanks to a scrutinizing interpretation of several linguistic problems taken for granted or by-passed by his predecessors. The second part of the work supplies two groups of such problems (whose value for the general theory is unequal): one concerning the inner organization of complex words, the other — productivity of WF processes.

Complex words as discussed by Booij display two types of organization: they may consist of morphemes together with morpheme and/or word boundaries separating them or, additionally, they possess internal hierarchical structures signalled by labelled brackets. In earlier studies the first type of structure was postulated on phonological grounds and its importance for the morphological component was not investigated as a separate problem. On the other hand, brackets, judged to be indispensable for morphological purposes, were redundant from the point of view of other components of grammar. Booij shows that the two notations are justifiable both on morphological and extra-morphological grounds, at least within the system adopted for his *Dutch morphology*.

As argued by Booij, the Dutch stress system in simplex and complex words, syllabification pattern and schwa deletion phenomena set the phonological bases for postulating the two kinds of inner word boundaries: "+" and "#". However, Booij states that such a differentiation in Siegel (1974), for instance, is redundant from the morphological point of view since her model assumes the ordering of "+" affix attaching rules before the rules for "#" affixes. Consequently, the "+" formatives cannot be attached to the "#" ones, which is in accordance with empirical data. The regularity having been accounted for by adequate ordering, the differentiation into "+" and "#" formatives may be considered superfluous. In Booij's model, however, the division plays an essential role because the order of subcomponents put forward for Dutch morphology is based on different assumptions tested by the above mentioned stress, syllabification and schwa deletion phenomena (p. 153). The system of WFRs, together with interrelated stress processes, applies cyclically:



The suffixation rules above are not divided into extrinsically ordered subcomponents which add "+" and "#" suffixes. Hence there arises a need for another mechanism securing the proper order of affixes. Booij's solution assumes the existence of general conditions on WF-component making use of the differentiation into "+" and "#" affixes. The three conditions formulated in the monograph state what follows: truncation rules concern "+" suffixes before other "+" suffixes (Booij, p. 146, takes this condition

from Aronoff 1976:88); a “+” suffix cannot be attached to a “#” suffix by means of a WF-rule (p. 148); the sequence of two identical affixes cannot result from the operation of WFRs unless the affix has the form X₁Y# (this condition is valid for Dutch (p. 154)). In the three conditions the differentiation into “+” and “#” boundaries plays an essential role. The above analyses of the boundary problem, apart from a detailed study of the Dutch affixes (p. 108) and interrelations among certain word formation and phonological processes in Dutch, may contribute also to the universal theory of morphology by supporting the validity of “+” and “#” differentiation for this component and stating general conditions on the work of WFRs.

The other level of organization of complex words marked by the labelled bracket notation is also discussed in great detail. It reflects the derivational history of complex words and brings about the proper semantic interpretation of forms, e.g.: (p. 140)

dijk/dike/ → be[dijk]_N (to provide with a dike)

vs.

loop/to walk/ → be[loop]_V (to walk on)

Using stress phenomena and vowel reduction in complex words, Booij shows that brackets, triggering the cyclic application of stress rules, are indispensable for phonological, apart from morphological purposes.

The other group of analytic problems included in the monograph is connected with the notion of productivity of WFRs. Booij (p. 120) differentiates two methods of evaluating productivity:

“The quantitative productivity of a WF-rule can be measured by counting the number of complex words derived by that rule. The qualitative or potential productivity of a WF-rule is inversely proportional to the amount of competence restrictions on that WF-rule”.

It is stated that only the second evaluation is of real linguistic importance. Hence competence restrictions constitute the author’s main interest. Restrictions are classified into general (valid for more than one WF-rule) and rule-specific (p. 121). According to their content they can be divided into phonological (phonological form of bases), morphological (morphemic build-up of bases) and syntactic (syntactic conditions on bases). The restrictions are illustrated by Dutch data (pp. 122–142).

Dutch morphology follows the investigations undertaken by the author’s predecessors, especially by Aronoff (1976), sometimes supporting the earlier considerations by illustrating the assumptions included in earlier works with the Dutch material analogical to the English data used by other authors. However, his contribution is not limited to verification. Apart from analyses of some Dutch phenomena, the work throws more light on the problem of complex word structure, interrelations among morphological and phonological subcomponents and on competence restriction scuttling off WFRs.

Nevertheless, one could be misinformed by the very first piece of information supplied by the work, i.e. its title *Dutch morphology*, the implication being that the monograph encompasses the main issues of the Dutch morphological structure. This, however, is not true. The only aspect of the language system discussed is a set of affixes with associated boundaries. Although Booij himself acknowledges that WFRs constitute the core of WF component, yet he formulates not a single complete WF-rule for Dutch (a step back in comparison to Aronoff 1976:63). He also seems to overlook the fact that WF processes affect two levels of linguistic reality: formal and semantic. Dutch morphology is exclu-

sively phonologically orientated, semantic changes having been left out, (e.g. even though competence restrictions are discussed at great length, no semantic conditions are mentioned).

Apart from the fact that large parts of morphology are by-passed, some of the solutions presented are implausible. For example, while discussing the boundary evidence, Booij rejects the boundary insertion mechanisms operating on complex words which are offered by Chomsky and Halle (1968: 366) and Selkirk (1974: 578). Instead his own model introduces word internal boundaries by means of WFRs. This proposal (pp. 91–93), however, seems untenable, at least within the framework of word-based morphology. The following forms are undoubtedly complex ones (cf. Aronoff 1976, pp. 13–14), with internal boundaries, which can be illustrated by means of phonological processes and morphological alternations:

permit — permission — permissive

remit — remission — remissive

understand — understood

withstand — withstood

Contrary to the evidence, there exists no possibility of introducing necessary morpheme boundaries into these words either by means of WFRs operating on words or by means of any WFRs at all. Consequently, Booij’s boundary theory cannot be viewed complete.

One more objection concerning the boundary system offered by Booij may be put forward, although this reservation may not hold true for Dutch. Allen (1978, pp. 73–77) supplies extensive evidence from English showing that three types of internal boundaries are necessary to reflect the structure of complex words adequately (“+”, “#” and the double word boundary “##”), whereas Booij’s system excludes the third possibility, considering it superfluous (p. 93).

Another controversial aspect of the work concerns Booij’s treatment of flection viewed as the phenomenon kindred to derivation, accounted for by means of rules essentially resembling WFRs, and not by the transformational component (pp. 46–53). In support of the thesis he enumerates several cases in which ostensibly inflectional elements occur inside compounds. However, his evidence is weak and scarce as contrasted with the evidence illustrating the regularity that inflectional units occur always outside derivational affixes (for the discussion see Allen 1978, pp. 122, 176–178, 262).

The next argument in favour of the unitary treatment of flection and derivation, as well as placing forms along with their inflectional paradigms in the lexicon, is taken from Halle (1973). The argument is based on idiosyncrasies of inflected forms in Russian. Unfortunately for the model offered, Laskowski (1977, pp. 111–113) considers the analysis to be partly erroneous and partly misinterpreted, arguing at the same time against the idea of including flection in the lexicon, especially for such highly inflectional languages as Slavic. Consequently Booij’s evidence is weakened or even downright unacceptable.

Also Booij’s treatment of the second central issue — productivity — should be questioned. He strongly opposes the statistical approach to the notion, and offers his own definition of productivity based on competence restrictions — more interesting from the linguistic point of view than pure numbers. Consequently, one could expect that Booij’s criticism should not refer to his own theory. This, however, is not the case. In this opinion the number of restrictions is decisive in evaluating productivity; the fact that various restrictions differ in generality is overlooked. For instance, (Aronoff 1976:51) in English “+ity” attaches only to latinized bases, so one must postulate a powerful restriction excluding all [+native] forms. Another restriction concerning “+ity” cuts off all bases of the form X_{ferous} (Aronoff 1976: 55), whose number is highly limited.

That is why the second restriction is of minor importance for productivity of "+ity" WF processes. Hence, it seems that a fully adequate definition of productivity remains a research area for the future.

The above discussion suggests that, apart from unquestionable value of Booij's analyses of complex word structure and productivity, some of these issues have not been investigated to their utmost and some aspects of his model are still disputable.

Additionally, minor objections to the content of the monograph can be raised: syllabification viewed as the main argument for distribution of boundaries (e.g., pp. 79, 85) may be challenged, and lack of translations of some examples (e.g., pp. 70, 148) is a hindrance to readers not acquainted with Dutch. Placing Allen, M. R. as "Reece Allen, M." in the bibliography is also somewhat confusing.

The few points mentioned above (some of them still arguable) should not obscure the importance of the monograph, whose content continues and develops the assumptions of the lexicalist approach to generative morphology.

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Juncture. A collection of original papers. M. Aronoff and M.-L. Kean (eds). *Studia linguistica et philologica* vol. 7. P. 141. Saratoga, Calif.: Anna Libri, 1980.

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This long-awaited volume contains nine papers, arranged alphabetically, which relate in various ways to the notion of the juncture. In this review I will comment briefly on the contents of the papers, departing, however, from the order in which they appear

in *Juncture*. I will also discuss at some length one contribution (by Allen) which seems to me to offer an explicit discussion of a significant and well-defined problem.

The scene is set by Aronoff's brief sketch of the history of the problem in the linguistics of the New World. His essay "The treatment of juncture in American linguistics" traces the origins of the notion in the techniques of phonemic analysis; the concept of the juncture was necessary there if a superfluity of segmental phonemes were to be avoided. Other questions discussed involve the relation between junctures and grammatical boundaries and also the status of junctures as phonemes (segmental or suprasegmental). Aronoff views many of the difficulties connected with junctures, in particular the untrammelled use of this device, as due to their being put on a par with segments (p. 33) or segmental phonemes and thus being allowed to make up linguistic signs. He also claims that this failure has not been overcome in generative phonology which uses the features [-segment], [+formative boundary] and [+word boundary] to characterise the various boundaries. What brings this approach close to the structural interpretation of junctures is the fact that these boundary features have no universal phonetic correlates (in contradistinction to segmental features). Aronoff stresses in conclusion that while affecting segmental strings, boundaries are not segmental phonemes but rather "part of the organization of language" (p. 36).

The most interesting part of A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens's paper "On the phonological definition of boundaries" is the devastating criticism of Natural Generative Phonology as developed, among others, by Vennemann and Hooper and presented most fully in Hooper (1976). It is shown that the boundaries which this framework recognises exclude from the domain of phonological regularities certain processes which, on other grounds, can be argued to belong there. An argument is made (p. 59-60) to show that Natural Generative Phonology has maintained, despite its claims to the contrary, a covert ≠ boundary in its analyses. The paper also provides an interesting discussion of some low-level, hence unquestionably productive processes with a view to showing that the classes participating in junctural correlations exhibit a substantive processual unity and are intentionally definable.

Two papers resort to psycholinguistic data and experiments, viz. D. Bradley's "Lexical representation of derivational relation" and M. F. Garrett & M.-L. Kean's "Levels of representations and the analysis of speech errors". Bradley studies simplifications in the lexical inventory which reflect derivational relations while Garrett & Kean make an argument that the phonological level is a level of representation in language processing (thus casting doubt on the major claims of Natural Generative Phonology).

D. Kahn in "Syllable-structure specifications in phonological rules" goes again over the well-ploughed ground of aspiration, glottalisation and t-flapping in American English to argue that syllable boundaries allow the most adequate description of the phenomena. Some principles of the syllabification of English words and phrases are discussed, with the concept of ambisyllabicity playing a major role. Readers familiar with Kahn's earlier work, in particular Kahn (1976), will find little that is new here.

D. Siegel's mini-contribution "Why there is no = boundary" is quite annoying. Taking the SPE version (Chomsky & Halle (1968)) of the Alternating Stress Rule, which requires the presence of the = boundary, Siegel shows that the facts can be accounted for in a way which does not require =. This is perfectly possible, even if Siegel does not enlarge on her solution preferring to call it Theory X, but the Alternating Stress Rule was shown to be dispensable as early as 1973 (Halle (1973a)). Secondly, there are cases of other languages where it has not been possible to eliminate the = boundary so easily, notably the Slavic data discussed by a number of authors (e.g.: Anderson (1974: 246-7); Halle (1973b), Kenstowicz & Kisseberth (1977:100)). Showing, even conclusively, that

the = boundary is not necessary in some specific case is a far cry from answering the question quoted in the title of the paper.

A. M. Stevens in "Formative boundary in phonological rules" provides evidence from the Austronesian language Madurese to show that the morpheme boundary must be part of the environment of a late (low-level) rule. This further undermines the position adopted by Natural Generative Phonology where morpheme boundaries are not viewed as legitimate participants in phonological processes. Similarly Hyman's (1978) position comes in for criticism where only the # boundary is recognised as entailing phonological consequences.

The papers discussed so far present various modifications of and departures from the standard theory of generative phonology. None of them launches a whole-sale attack on boundaries. This is attempted in Selkirk's intriguing study "Prosodic domains in phonology: Sanskrit revisited" where a radically new approach to delimiting the domain of phonological rules is presented. Surface syntactic structure falls into stretches called prosodic domains, each domain being associated with prosodic domain rules. Four sorts of prosodic domains are postulated: the word, the phonological phrase, the intonational phrase and the utterance. Selkirk stresses that prosodic domain rules are not isomorphic to syntactic domains (labelled bracketing). She isolates three types of domain sensitive rules called domain span rules, domain juncture rules and domain limit rules. Domain span rules apply throughout a particular prosodic domain (e.g. utterance: Sanskrit vowel contraction, phrase: Vedic ruki, word: classical Sanskrit ruki). Domain juncture rules involve phenomena arising in contact with other domains (final voicing in Sanskrit is a word juncture rule on the utterance domain). Finally domain limit rules apply at the left and the right limit of a domain (the visarga at pause, devoicing and deaspiration at word limit in Sanskrit). Selkirk's theory is only given a rough outline in the paper and frequent references are made to a forthcoming monograph where, hopefully, it will be presented in much greater detail. As it stands the model appears the most radical and, in fact, the only radical departure from both the structural and the generative modes of discussing boundaries. Obviously it is a notational variant of the more traditional theories to a considerable extent; the extent to which it is a truly original theory remains to be seen.

M. R. Allen in her contribution "Semantic and phonological consequences of boundaries: a morphological analysis of compounds" attempts to formalise the often-noted convergence in compounds of phonological regularity (stability) with semantic transparency on the one hand and phonological irregularity with semantic unpredictability (or limited predictability) on the other. The argument involves primary compounds, i.e. forms such as *mouse-trap*, *river-mouth* which do not contain a deverbally derived element (as for example *truck-driver*, *tax-evasion*, which are called verbal nexus, or synthetic, compounds). Primary compounds are largely predictable semantically even if the range of meanings can be quite substantial; thus *fire man*, in addition to the conventional meaning, can also stand for 'man who worships fire', 'man who walks on fire', 'man who sets fire' etc. The observation that primary compounds display a range of possible meanings is undoubtedly valid; Allen's formalisation of the variability in meaning as the *Variable R Condition* (p. 10) is largely incomprehensible as it is based on notions which are themselves anything but established or obvious (feature slots, feature hierarchy, the filter etc.). We can assume, however, that primary compounds such as *rose-bush* or *hand-gun* are semantically transparent (predictable). Against these is a class of compounds with erratic semantics such as *buttercup* or *cranberry*, which are entered as units in the lexicon — they are the lexicalised compounds. (A side question which Allen formulates and tries to answer concerns the trend towards lexicalisation, i.e. towards stabilising specific and idiosyncratic

meanings with individual compounds.) Phonological distinctions coinciding with the separation of compounds into semantically predictable and lexicalised are subsequently discussed. Thus vowel reduction is either obligatory or at least possible with words in A whereas it is ruled out with the words in B:

	A	B
(1)	mainland [lænd]	bear-land [lænd]
	strawberry [b(ə)ri]	field-berry [beri]
	fireman [mæn]	tax-man [mæn]
	Dartmouth [mæθ]	river-mouth [mawθ]
	Newtown [tɒn]	hill-town [tawn]

The question here is how to differentiate structurally between A and B in order for the vowel reduction (or, actually, the stress-placement) rule to apply correctly. Allen puts forward the suggestion that the second elements of A words should be treated as suffixes which, just like other word-boundary suffixes (e.g.: *-ness*, *-ful*, *-less*), are themselves both stressless and outside the scope of stress-assigning rules. The morphological structure of group A words — termed suffix-like compounds — would have the form [WORD][#SUF] while of the true compounds of group B would be [WORD][WORD]. The boundaries separating the elements would be identical in both groups, viz. #][#, a conclusion which Allen rejects. The rejection is justified by three phonological arguments which appear to show that there is a juncture difference between [WORD][WORD] true compounds and [WORD][#SUF] lexicalised, suffix-like compounds. The first of the arguments concerns the tense-lax alternation with high front vowels in word-final position, an alternation which appears in a number of dialects (but not in RP). The vowel is tense word-finally, e.g.: *beauty*, *merry*, *happy*, it is lax in the suffix-derived forms, e.g.: *beautiful*, *merriment*, *happily* but then it is again tense in true compounds: *beauty-treatment*, *merry-mint*, *happy-hour*. In other words, the word-final (prepausal) juncture seems identical to that found in the true compounds as against the juncture present in suffix-derived forms. Allen's second argument runs along the same lines: syllabification of /l/ and /r/ occurs word-finally (*angle*, *travel*, *wonder*, *anger*), in true compounds (*angle-inch*, *travel-itch*, *wonder-ape*, *anger-abuse*) but not (or, at most, optionally) in forms derived by word-boundary vowel-initial suffixes (*angling*, *traveller*, *wondering*, *angry*). Thus again the presence of double # # boundary conditions the application of a rule.

The third argument is different in that the process is prevented from applying in the presence of the # # boundary. Fricative voicing takes place before vowel-initial suffixes but not in word-final position or in true compounds.

(2)	louse	louse-eaten	vs.	lousy
	worth	worth-adjustment		worthy
	calf	calf-eye		calving
	house	house-ant		housing
	elf	elf-anvil		elven
	thief	thief-orgy		thievish
	north	north-east		northern

Again the word-final and true compound juncture opposes the one found in suffix-derived forms. Allen encodes the difference in juncture by requiring a single # boundary in suffix-like compounds and double # # in true compounds; *merciful* and *mercy-killing* have the structure [#][WORD][#SUFFIX]# and [#][#WORD#][#WORD#]#

respectively. Tensing and syllabification is said to operate before a single right-bracketed word-boundary — #], while fricative voicing is restricted to a single left-bracketed word-boundary — [#.

That there is a junctural distinction between true compounds and suffix-like compounds is beyond dispute. Here Allen's arguments are flawless; whether the types of junctural structure that Allen posits is the required or even the desirable one is another story. Having rules which depend on whether a boundary symbol appears before or after a bracket amounts to playing around with diacritics, quite apart from the fact that, if taken seriously, such a proposal would enormously increase the power of phonological rules. Note, however, that the linguistic data Allen's analysis tries to handle can be dealt with in a straightforward fashion without any modification of the types of boundaries she postulates, namely tensing and syllabification take place before double ## while fricative voicing before single # followed by a vowel. The direction of the brackets is irrelevant. Serious objections must be raised, however, with the boundaries that Allen postulates in her interpretation of the compounds.

Part of the difficulty created by the interpretation summarised above stems from Allen's failure to address the issue of the rationale behind brackets, or actually labelled brackets. There is also the question, not mentioned by Allen or any other of the contributors to *Juncture*, of the relation between boundaries and brackets. Roughly, labelled brackets should correspond to and reveal the derivational history of a word while boundaries merely reflect morphological complexity. That both mechanisms are necessary was recognised by Halle (1973c: 10) but curiously forgotten by later authors. Thus one can claim that *Iceland* or *strawberry* are morphologically complex; to provide them with unlabelled brackets under the false pretence of constituent structure (see p. 17 where *mainland* and *bear-land* show no differences in their morphological composition) is to maintain that some word-formation rule(s) is/(are) involved in their derivation. Since the forms are lexicalised units, this is hardly feasible and in some cases directly impossible. Interpreting *Iceland* seems simple enough, but how about *England* or *Poland*? Are we to take seriously the idea that these words are compounds with the following constituent structure [# [PO] [# LAND] #] [# [ENG] [# LAND] #] where *land* is a suffix while the nature of the first element remains yet to be discovered? Likewise identifying [mæθ] and [tɒn] of *Dartmouth* and *Newton* with *mouth* and *town* of *river-mouth* and *hill-town* (p. 16) is arbitrary, to say the least. Putting aside the semantics of these putative compounds, there is also a major phonological problem: the tense vowel of *mouth*, *town* would have to be laxed in an ad hoc manner to allow it to undergo vowel reduction. It seems much more realistic that the lexicalised nouns are provided with a minimum of morphological structure, i.e. they are shown to consist of two (or more) morphemes; since they are not compounds, there is no possibility or need to regard them as exhibiting the constituent structure of true compounds. Consequently the elements of such lexicalised formations may be viewed as separated by morpheme boundaries (+), while true compounds could be supplied with a single #.

Let us now look at the arguments that led Allen to the postulation of different boundaries (respectively # and ##). Since the second elements of words such as *Iceland*, *strawberry* etc. do not affect stress-placement, they must be treated as other word-boundary suffixes (-ness, -ly, -ful, -less). Observe, however, that there is no evidence that the suffixes in lexicalised formations are in fact stress-neutral: were they to be included in the domain of stress rules, the results would be exactly what we expect. Thus *strawberry* would have the stress assigned in the same as *America*, while *police-man* in the same way as *proposal*. For the remaining phonological arguments: vowel tensing and the /l+r/ syllabification can be regarded as taking place before # while fricative voicing might

be restricted to the + boundary. In actual fact, however, the fricative voicing argument is totally misleading. Note first of all that, contrary to Allen's claims, there is no fricative voicing in *housing* and *calving* where the bases are the nouns *house* and *calf*. Rather the spirants are voiced in verbs derived from nouns, i.e.

house /haws/ₓ → house /hawz/vₓ

The subsequent addition of the -ing suffix has absolutely no influence on the quality of the preceding spirant. Much more importantly, however, the fricative voicing process is a minor rule applying to specified lexical items. Thus paralleling the forms in (2) consider those in (3)

(3)	mouse	mousy
	earth	earthy
	cough	coughing
	kiss	kissing
	ox	oxen
	stand off	standoffish

Thus fricative voicing is a non-argument for boundary distinctions since in one way or another the rule has to refer to a list of items. We are thus left with tensing and syllabification applying before a single #. Elements of lexicalised compounds are separated by morpheme boundaries, which accounts for their idiosyncratic semantics as against true compounds whose semantics is largely transparent and whose elements are separated by # and consequently undergo the same phonological modifications as the words in isolation. Allen's theoretical conclusions relating distorted phonology with specific semantics must be endorsed; her interpretations of the data and, in particular, her analysis of the nature of morphological complexity as reflected in boundaries and brackets must be rejected.

As can be seen from the foregoing discussion, *Juncture* arouses mixed feelings. The contributions vary both in length and in quality. What they all share is an awareness of the relevance of the problem of boundaries both for formal grammar and for psycholinguistics. In this sense *Juncture* is an important book even if it can be doubted whether most of its conclusions will stand the test of time and further research.

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Fabulation and metafiction. By R. Scholes. Pp. 218. Urbana-Chicago-London: University of Illinois Press, 1979.

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Robert Scholes is undoubtedly one of the most influential active critics and theoreticians of fiction in the United States. He was among the first to discover such acclaimed present day writers as John Barth, John Hawkes, and Kurt Vonnegut; also, he has been at the foreground of the American research into the poetics of the novel, structuralism, and semiotics. In particular, his book of 1967, *The fabulators*, was a major event in the contemporary investigations of the narrative art and has since proved to be a reference field as well as a point of departure for a rich body of critical and scholarly thought. With the book apparently out of print by now, there was a tangible need for a new edition or another study on the subject.

In fact, nearly half of *Fabulation and metafiction* consists of the material that went into *The fabulators*. Still, it is quite considerably rearranged and introduces a number of new concerns; on this account the jacket blurb advertises it as a "sequel" to, rather than simply as a reissue of the former work. More specifically, Prof. Scholes undertakes to "attend more thoroughly to the experimental or metafictional dimension of modern fabulation" (p. 4). The whole project is clearly motivated by the author's attempt to reconcile his thesis idea of "ethically controlled fantasy" with artistic self-awareness which over the last decade or so seems to have established itself as a major tendency in postmodern fiction.

Admittedly, the first version of the reviewed book sets a congenial context for a discussion of metafiction since there are several affinities between literary self-consciousness and the temper of fabulation. What is common for them is, fundamentally, a sense of the novelistic world as an artifact and the resulting disavowal of the commonly entertained principles of probability and verisimilitude. Most immediately, this is to assert the command of the author/fabulator over his construct/fable. In both cases it brings about a shift of emphasis onto the dynamics of fiction-making/story-telling itself and produces such characteristics as technical and verbal "dexterity", "delight" in design, as well as a prevailing spirit of "joy" and "playfulness". Ultimately, the idea is to induce appreciation of the "infinite" horizon of creative imagination and, what is even more essential, to provide for the imaginative "well-being" of the reader.

Fabulation and metafiction opens with a short introduction (pp. 1-4) and its main body is organized into six parts of which the last one performs the function of a general epilogue; as for the formalities of scholarly documentation, the book lists in an appended index cited authors, works and periodicals. Of the entire contents of *The fabulators* only two sections from its preliminary chapter are not included in this volume — the total of but seven pages. Otherwise, the remaining section of *Chapter 1 (Of fabulators and fabulation)* enters into the *Introduction* of the present book, *Chapter 2* is accommodated within the part *The nature of romance*, *Chapters 3* and *4* form a substantial measure of *Comedy and grotesque* — finally, *Chapters 5* and *6* constitute the whole of *Modern allegory* part. Almost without exception, all these excerpts retain the phrasing and paragraphing of the original.

Basically, the publication owes its status of a separate study, and indeed all of its thrust as such, to the three following new essays: *Metafiction*, *The reality of Borges*, *Reflections on self-reflexive fiction*, excepting the fact that, as seems to be the practice, most of the arguments they contain had appeared in some place or other before. Another significant addition is a fairly extensive discussion of John Fowles, two short sections

devoted, respectively, to Bernard Malamud and Ishmael Reed, an enlargement on the analysis of Kurt Vonnegut, and an incisive, self-contained piece entitled *The orgasmic pattern of fiction* which dwells on the nature of the meaning of fiction, the reader's relationship with it and the role of critics in facilitating the experience. Also, Prof. Scholes marks the appearance of and gives some attention to Th. Pynchon's *Gravity's rainbow*, R. Coover's *The public burning*, and E. L. Doctorov's *Ragtime* as the most notable American achievements of the fabulative aesthetic in the 70's.

To show "the range of contemporary metafiction and the depth of the problems confronted by it" (p. 114), the central part of the study deals at length with four selected works: J. Barth's *Lost in the funhouse*, D. Barthelme's *City life*, R. Coover's *Pricksongs and descants*, and W. H. Gass's *In the heart of the heart of the country*. As we are told, the fact that all of them are collections of short stories is not "merely a matter of symmetry". It is one of the most definitive pronouncements of this study that metafiction naturally "tends toward brevity" because when extended it "must either lapse into a more fundamental mode of fiction or risk losing all fictional interest in order to maintain its intellectual perspectives" (*ibidem*).

Like all his other books, *Fabulation and metafiction* is distinctly individualized and distinguishes itself by the author's perceptive erudition as well as engaging manner of discourse, and as such is bound to enjoy a wide readership. Besides, ingeniously enough, Prof. Scholes seems to embody in the very style of his writing the values and qualities he champions. This is certainly a positive response to the dilemma of postmodernistic criticism since it offers an answer to the widespread call for a kind of approach which, instead of striving rapidly to impose upon literature the exceedingly inadequate strategies of traditional interpretation, would partake of the examined works and thus shape and expand the possibilities of fiction itself. Illustrative in this respect may be the "little exemplum" on the relations of allegory and realism to fiction (pp. 49-50); it commences as follows: "Once there was a country called Fiction, bordered on one side by the mountains of Philosophy and on the other by a great bog called History" — and, predictably, the whole argument develops neither more nor less than into a quasi fable itself. Another case in point is the closing section of the book: "Imagine a literary conference. ... there might be people like Raymond Federman, W. H. Gass, Ihab Hassan, Jerome Klinkowitz, and Robert Scholes. Imagine them, too. And finally, imagine that ..." (p. 210).

Even if *Fabulation and metafiction* gains full acceptability as a welcome sequel to *The fabulators* and deserves praise for its particular aspects or individual insights the author comes up with, it falls short of attaining its intended import as a new full-scale study. Given the headings of the pertaining sections (*The nature of experimental fiction*, *The range of metafiction*, *The limits of metafiction*, *Reflections on self-reflexive fiction*) as well as the declaratory remarks quoted earlier, one might expect an illuminating and exhaustive examination of contemporary self-consciousness in literature. Still, the book skims it far too lightly to satisfy a serious student of the subject. Actually, *Fabulation and metafiction* epitomizes in many ways the current state of its criticism. Apart from "self-consciousness" and "metafiction" ("metanovel") there are in circulation several other, more specific, terms informing the intensity and particular techniques of the creative orientation in question (*viz.* "self-reflexiveness", "self-reflexiveness", "self-begetting fiction"). However, to the knowledge of the present reviewer, they have not so far been unequivocally defined — especially in relation to each other — and are very often used indiscriminately which is one of the major problems aggravating the perplexities of the considered sub-genre. Although Prof. Scholes commits himself firmly to "metafiction" he also seems to be employing some of the above catchwords interchangeably with it (e.g. p. 112, p. 212, p. 218). Besides, while it can indeed be commis-

sioned to function alongside "self-consciousness", being almost equally broad to admit various kinds of literary self-awareness, it is, likewise, not specific enough to satisfactorily denote any individual one of them.

The prototypal concept "metalanguage" as well as the very idea of "metaness" advice that a work of fiction be identified as "metafiction" when it includes commentary on itself (usually on the creative process and/or reading procedures), and utilizes the "tale-within-tale" principle. Endowed with paramount epistemological and formal implications, these strategies have instituted a distinct generic development; its roots can be traced as far back as *Don Quixote*, with — to risk a random choice — A. Huxley's *Point counter point* and L. Durrell's *The Alexandria quartet* as its exemplary modern progenies. Interiorization of the novel's structure and introduction of literary criticism into it can certainly effectively ventilate the all-important problems of inner belletristic ontology and the confusing multiplicity of reality at large. However, what has been established in the history of the genre as a typical metafictional discourse seems to be crippled in the above capacity by highly contrived plots and strong narrative lines which as a rule dominate and indeed overshadow it, as is the case, to cite a more contemporary sample, with J. Fowles's *The French lieutenant's woman*. Very often the novels which have been labeled with the term prove to be no more than stories about a novelist or, at best, about a novel, and in general they rely on the conventional techniques of "telling" rather than "showing". What they lack to fully live up to the expectations raised by the concept in question is the technical (typographical and especially topological) vitality of self-reflectiveness, i.e. "mirror-effect" of turning the work back upon itself to expose its working parts. This is precisely the quality informing such recent radically self-conscious fiction as R. Sukenick's *Out* and *The long talking bad conditions blues*, the novels of R. Federman, or, to a lesser degree, some of R. Coover's stories in his collection *Pricksongs and descants*.

Regretably, the study under review here does not advance in any radical degree our appreciation of "metafiction". The most we get respecting its definition are the two somewhat uninspiring observations: "metafiction assimilates all the perspectives of criticism into the fictional process itself" (p. 114), "metafiction tends (...) to assault or transcend the laws of fiction" (*ibidem*). Still, apparently in an attempt to broaden the applicability of the term, Prof. Scholes introduces four tentative categories of metafiction: formal (as exemplified by *Lost in the funhouse*), structural (*Pricksongs and descants*), behavioral (*City life*), and philosophical (*In the heart of the heart of the country*), which seems to be the only tenable theoretical accomplishment of the book in its exploration of the subject. Intriguing and potentially relevant as it is, the suggested typology appears to be overwhelmed and in fact obscured by what the author himself fears is "an over-elaborate discussion" of "the whole order of fiction and its relation to (our) conditions of being" (p. 103) within which it is presented. As the essay argues, each category "may be related to one of the aspects of fiction and criticism", namely: formal metafiction to fiction of forms (e.g. romance) and hence formal criticism, structural metafiction to fiction of ideas (myth) — structural criticism, behavioral metafiction to fiction of existence (novel) — behavioral criticism, and philosophical metafiction to fiction of essence (allegory) — philosophical criticism. Furthermore, the analyses contained in this focal part of the work are not as thorough and instructive as one might wish them to be. In particular, they do not penetrate deeply enough into formal properties of metafiction which very often is precisely what novelistic self-consciousness is all about. Although it is central to the above proposition that works like *Lost in the funhouse* and *Pricksongs and descants* are, as opposed to the other two modes of metafiction, "more immediately interested in the order of fiction itself" (p. 118), Prof. Scholes's scrutiny of them is, all the

same, governed by traditional and selective hermeneutic approach. It is especially evident in the case of the latter book whereof we get comments like: "This gingerbread house is a garden of sexuality, with its phallic chimney and cherry door", or "Granny is witch and wolf, wife and mother; she is the old Beauty who married the Beast" (p. 121). This line of interpretation can be further illustrated by the final appraisal of the four "paradigmatic" metafictionists which reduces them to a few facile and rather worn out formulas: "Barth and Barthelme are the chronicles of our despair (...) Coover and Gass are reaching (...) for some ultimate values, some true truth" (p. 123).

Even more disappointing is another crucial section of the book: *The limits of metafiction*. Its title as well as the very number and sheer variety of the authors it embraces (A. Warhol, N. Mosley, N. Sarraute, P. Brouder, W. S. Merwin, J. Charyn, B. Dylan, R. Federman, J. M. G. LeClezio) seem to betoken sweeping inquiry and definitive conclusions. Instead we are offered a disjointed collection of eight short and uneven reviews of individual works by the listed artists which the critic had originally published in the *Saturday review* in the years round 1970.

It is somewhat ungenerous to say this of an author who has done so much to promote the cause of the New Fiction but, even though the biographical data do not actually substantiate it, there appears to be something of a generational gap between Prof. Scholes's views on literature and the innovative fiction of D. Barthelme or R. Coover, let alone the whole group of much more avantgarde self-conscious writers such as R. Sukenick, R. Federman, G. Sorrentino, C. Major, S. Katz. Basically, the critic requires that contemporary novelists still acknowledge the traditional social responsibilities of the genre, that, specifically, they try "to bring human life back into harmony with the universe" (p. 217). What he fails or is unwilling to consider is that belles-lettres can be refreshingly meaningful by asserting its validity within its own right, without the tedious recourse to instructing, moralizing and revealing all sorts of hidden "truths" about human life. On the whole, then, despite the striking similarities between ethically controlled fantasy and fictional self-awareness, *Fabulation and metafiction* does not quite manage to bring them into one ken. Also, although the book in itself indicates growing recognition of self-conscious fiction, the author pictures it fundamentally as a mere "feature" of the fabulative aesthetic, labours to point out "the important fact that not all (metafictional) experiments are successful" (p. 4), and in general castigates it for its "narcissistic self-involvement" (p. 218). Finally, the expected sympathy towards the subject seems to fall a victim to Prof. Scholes's special fascination with science fiction in which he sees the ultimate future of the novel since, allegedly, it "brings both a concern for the traditional values of story-telling and a fresh vision of human problems and aspirations" (*ibidem*), whereas "what we have been calling self-reflection in fiction is essentially a short-term trend which is nearing its end." (p. 212).

If the present work does not fill in any gaps in the study of literary self-consciousness, it is, nevertheless, a useful introduction to several of its current moot points, and it may be only hoped that it will serve as an impetus to further examination of this massive and important area. As for a more immediate overall assessment of *Fabulation and metafiction*, its most impressive feature is, all things considered, the author's very performance in making a new book from an old one.

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Shakespeare's speaking pictures: studies in iconic imagery. By John Doeblér. pp. XIV+236. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.
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Shakespeare's speaking pictures is an iconic study of Shakespeare's verbal and stage imagery. Doeblér based the study on three premises, namely that: 1) Plays are not only literary artifacts but also, or rather above all, material for living action for the stage; 2) Renaissance readers and spectators lived in a world saturated with visual tropes carrying conventional symbolic meaning, meaning in a great part since lost; 3) Drama is one of the most comprehensive artistic forms uniting language and spectacle, and therefore particular scenes of a play might have been constructed and staged so as to present allegorical tableaux which, being stage events, communicated also some extra meaning to an audience aware of the symbolic conventions. Since the symbolic meaning was an important part of the whole meaning of a play, we can fully understand a given play only after we have recovered and analysed its symbolic elements. Doeblér calls the details of staging carrying conventional symbolic meaning iconic stage images. Iconic stage imagery covers thus props, gestures, blocking and sound effects but it also may embrace all the persons, properties, and actions visible or audible on stage when a play is in production. This necessitates, of course, that the verbal imagery be taken under consideration for (1) it is almost the only reliable source in the case of iconic images in Shakespeare's plays, (2) it contributed to the creation of the emblematic pictures and the rise of symbols comprehensible to an Elizabethan audience.

In order to find the iconic images and recover the symbolic meanings which they had or could have had for Renaissance audiences it is necessary to relate Shakespeare's drama to contemporary iconography. The iconographic analogues in Doeblér's study are mediaeval and Renaissance sculptures, paintings, and engravings and emblem books. The recognition of the iconic images and their symbolic meanings is in each case a starting point for a critical reinterpretation of the entire play in which they appear.

Thus the recognition of the iconic images of the wrestling match and the killing of the lioness menacing Oliver in the forest in *As you like it* makes of Orlando a Herculean hero of virtue and helps Doeblér recover the main theme of the play which is the triumph of virtue over vice. The masque of Hymen in the concluding scene of the play, in turn, regarded as an embodiment of the Renaissance ideal of connubial love as married chastity and the conflict between nature and nurture, i.e. between that which is "natural" at court and strange in the country and that which is appropriate in nature and out of place at court, resolved by the nurture Orlando develops for himself by nature and in nature, leads to the recognition of the union of contraries being Shakespeare's thematic purpose throughout most of the play.

The casket scene in *The merchant of Venice* seen as an expression of the theme of appearance and reality, Antonio and Shylock interpreted as contrasting parallels to each other symbolizing, respectively, the magnanimity of the Church as a religion of loving forgiveness and salvation and the Synagogue as a religion of selfishness and justification reveal the main issue of the play which is the paradoxical reconciliation of justice and mercy.

The iconic verbal and stage images of the Place of Skulls, the Crucifixion, and the ecce homo in *Richard II* that suggest a parallel between Richard and Christ show the king as having the authority of Christ (the anointed king's divinely ordained place is upon the throne) on the one hand, and a man suffering like Christ, and in that way undergoing human maturation, on the other. The image of the falling Phaeton in Act III of the play symbolizing a destruction of cosmic order and suggesting at the same time another popular Renaissance iconic image, that of a fall from the top of Fortune's castle to its base ground, refers to Richard's fall and stresses the parallel destruction of political and cosmic orders in Bolingbroke's usurpation.

The mirror — a popular Renaissance emblem of the Platonic conception of appearance and reality and the theological theme of vanity and truth — shattered by Richard in the deposition scene adds yet another stage image of fall and introduces the theme of vanity developed later in Richard's meditation in the prison cell — an emblem of his mind containing the "little world" of his thoughts — where he reaches the conclusion that "man"/"With nothing shall be pleased, till he be cas'd/With being nothing".

"Mousetrap for the devil" and "Pilgrimage of life", titles of sections of the chapter on *Hamlet* indicate the main iconic images in the play, suggesting at the same time their symbolic meaning. The mousetrap, which in mediaeval and Renaissance allegorical religious works of art was a symbol of either a trap for the devil made by Christ with his own body crucified or a trap for sinners made by the devil, is the title of the play within the play. It is designed by Hamlet to — as Doeblér has put it — "catch the conscience of the king". Apart from that the title brings another association as mice, particularly the white ones, were considered in Renaissance bestiaries and emblem books to be "above all other most lascivious and lecherous animals" (*The historie of foure-footid beastes*, London, 1607). Thus, the function of the title of the play in the play is to make the audience see, by means of the symbolic associations, Claudius as "the gluttonous, erotic devil who infects the whole body politic ... with poison" and a sinner who had swallowed the bait and was caught in the trap of vice by the devil.

Hamlet's struggle with himself and the metamorphoses he undergoes throughout the play are related to a popular Renaissance image of the dangers and joys, sins and virtues, awaiting man on his spiritual journey through life. According to this interpretation Hamlet is, contrary to the Romantic opinion of him as a unique individual — a type of a young man — any man — tested by time and circumstance before reaching maturity. In the course of the play Hamlet develops his character, overcoming his sins and spiritual lapses he was alluding to in Act II so that when, in the concluding scene of the play, he meets death, he behaves as a mature man ought to, he is completed as a man. Horatio's last words to Hamlet, "flight of angels sing thee to thy rest", confirm — in Doeblér's opinion — Hamlet's triumph over his sins and weaknesses.

The main iconic stage images in *Macbeth* are the witches, the cauldron, the dagger, hellcastle, and Macbeth's decapitated head. The witches interpreted as Fates (or Parcae) symbolize the unified opposites of destiny and free will. In the Renaissance the opposition was regarded as seeming for it was held after Boethius that since God only foresees human deeds and does not cause them, man alone is responsible for his sin. God is capable of redeeming it if man will accept God's invitation to atonement. Macbeth does not accept the invitation. Furthermore, it is clear that he is aware of the fact that all the crimes he commits are the acts of his free will, for what he blames the witches for is not tempting him into the crimes but a false sense of security they offer.

The cauldron the weird sisters use is a popular image of hellmouth symbolizing in the play their origin and suggesting at the same time the place Macbeth will be cast into in the other world.

The dagger is an emblem of the deadly sins of Wrath and Envy and, as it was traditionally regarded as the weapon Cain used to kill Abel, it makes a parallel between the first assassin and Macbeth who is Duncan's kinsman.

Various passages in the play referring to Macbeth's castle — be it Inverness, Forros or Dunsinane — suggest it to be an iconic stage image of hellcastle. Seen against this background, Macduff's arrival during the porter scene in Act II is analogous to Christ's Harrowing of Hell. It is a prophetic foretaste of the eschatological conclusion to the play, when Macduff kills Macbeth and thus "frees the time" from its bondage to sin. The parallel between Macduff and Christ is furthered by the iconic stage image of Macbeth's head on the sword of Macduff which makes an association with the passage in the Bible that tells of the head of the serpent (Satan) bruised by the seed of Adam.

In *The Tempest* the iconic stage images central for our understanding of the symbolic meaning of the play are the storm, the banquet, and the magic circle drawn by Prospero around the shipwrecks. The storm, which is the beginning of the action, is regarded by Doebler as an iconic stage image of the vicissitudes of life. Ferdinand and Miranda who are introduced to each other by the storm are allegorical figures of constancy and love — the opposites whose cooperation is necessary to survive the tempests of life. Their union is symbolized by the love-game of chess in Act V.

The banquet, rightly called by Doebler the banquet of sense, is an emblem of sin. Gluttony, however not in the literal meaning but as a metaphor of greed and ambition for more than is rightfully ours, the sin Prospero's enemies are accused of by Ariel, is the particular sin. The meaning is stressed by Ariel's appearance in the shape of a harpy — an emblem of self-consuming greed (harpies were in some emblem books presented as driven by their greed into suicide). Alonso's suicidal despair is a proper emblematic response to his mirror image shown to him by Ariel as harpy. This is precisely what Prospero intended — to make him reach a depth of psychological helplessness from which true repentance will be possible.

The circle was an emblem of harmony and — in some books — of love and time melting into eternity. The magic circle drawn by Prospero is thus an iconic stage image of perfection which is meant to symbolize Prospero's loving forgiveness. However, the expectations aroused in the audience by the symbolic meaning of the circle are only partially fulfilled by the subsequent events — of Prospero's three enemies only one — Alonso — is really repentant. This means that true repentance cannot be imposed on man and is always an expression of his free will.

By giving an insight into the deep structure of Shakespeare's plays and revealing meanings hidden in the iconic stage images, *Shakespeare's speaking pictures* adds an important contribution to Shakespeare scholarship. However, some of Doebler's interpretations are too far-fetched whereas others not sufficiently supported by literary evidence. It seems that in some cases Doebler overemphasized the symbolic level of the plays and tried to find in the iconic images meanings which they lacked. Thus, although the wrestling match in *As you like it* suggests a parallel between Orlando and Hercules, the interpretation of Charles, the professional wrestler, as a symbol of vice is entirely unconvincing. Charles is reluctant to fight with Orlando and accepts his challenge only after Oliver has presented him as a malefactor unworthy of mercy. In the light of this Charles is not a symbol but a victim of vice and if the match is to be treated as Orlando's victory over vice at all, it is a triumph over vice personified by his brother.

It is not necessary to share Doebler's view of Charles as a symbol or image of vice to accept his analysis of the whole of the play, but it is impossible not to object to his interpretation of Hamlet regarded as a symbolic image of a soul struggling for perfection. Through at least half of the play Hamlet is seeking revenge, i.e. acting against the Chris-

tian principle of mercy and therefore Horatio's comment on the death of his prince, which Doebler interprets as an evidence of moral ambiguity in the play, is rather a display of wishful thinking on his side than an expression of his, let alone Shakespeare's, conviction. Doebler's interpretation of Hamlet's spiritual development is particularly surprising when compared with his explanation of the important role of the theological conception of mercy in *As you like it*, *The merchant of Venice*, and *The tempest*. If Hamlet's inner metamorphoses can be regarded as a literary analogue of the iconographic image of the pilgrimage of life, then — we must agree — the pilgrimage is unsuccessful.

A general objection that *Shakespeare's speaking pictures* arouses is that Doebler takes Shakespeare's Neo-Platonism for granted. It is impossible to deny that the Neo-Platonic conception of the visual symbol due to which we can contemplate in the symbol the whole of an idea, as it were, in a flash and through which we can gain an intuitive non-discursive knowledge of the mystery of the world was — as E. H. Gombrich proved in "Icones symbolicae" — one of the main reasons for the unprecedented popularity of the symbolic images in the Renaissance, but it was not the only reason. Gombrich devoted his study to the Neo-Platonic tradition, but he stressed the fact that this trend never held undisputed sway in this field and pointed out that some important Renaissance books on iconography, e.g. Ripa's famous *Iconologia*, were based on the doctrine of Aristotle. Moreover, the emblem books were so widely spread and so fashionable that artists felt it almost their duty to use symbols and allegories supplied by the books in their works. Therefore the mere fact that an author uses symbolic images and refers to emblems in his works does not have to be evidence for his adherence to Neo-Platonism. Likewise the theme of the union of contraries stressed by Doebler, although undoubtedly characteristic of Neo-Platonism, can be sufficiently explained in terms of traditional Christian theology without tracing it back to parallel Neo-Platonic sources. Certainly, one should not neglect the possible impact of Neo-Platonism on Shakespeare, but it seems that unless this impact is demonstrated by a detailed and decisive analysis of his works, it is safer to regard all the Neo-Platonic traces in his works as hypothetical or superfluous.

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THE FIRST NORDIC CONFERENCE FOR ENGLISH STUDIES

The first Nordic Conference for English Studies was held at Lysebu, Oslo, 15-17 September, 1980. The conference attracted as many as 120 participants from all the Nordic countries and about 40 scholars contributed papers on various aspects of English language, literature and civilisation. Two papers were given by guest lecturers especially invited from England: Barbara Hardy "Shakespeare's dramatic narrative" and Christopher Brumfit "The contribution of applied linguistics to the teaching of English at an advanced level".

Most of the papers from the conference (including those by Barbara Hardy and Christopher Brumfit) have now been published in: *Papers from the First Nordic Conference for English Studies*, edited by Stig Johansson and Bjørn Tysdahl, Institute for English Studies, University of Oslo (456 pp.). The book can be obtained from: Universitetsbokhandelen, Universitet i Oslo, Blindern, Oslo 3, Norway. Price: 90 Norwegian kroner.

Another lasting result from the conference was the formation of a Nordic Association for English Studies. Its aim is to 'advance research and study of English language, literature and civilisation in the Nordic countries'. The newly formed association invites the cooperation of English Studies organisations in other countries. For further information, contact the members of the executive committee: Arne Zettersten, University of Copenhagen, Bjørn Tysdahl, University of Oslo, Håkan Ringbom, Åbo Akademi, Julian D'Arcy, University of Reykjavik, Gunnel Tottie, University of Lund.