Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los (eds.),
The Handbook of the History of English
Reviewed by OHKADO Masayuki, Chubu University

1. Overview

2006 was a fruitful year in the field of the study of the history of English, three handbook-type volumes being published: (i) Hogg & Denison (2006), (ii) Mugglestone (2006), and (iii) the book under review. Of the three, the last one is the most innovative in organization. Hogg & Denison (2006) basically arrange the chapters linguistically, starting from phonology and morphology. Mugglestone (2006) arranges the chapters in the book chronologically, starting from the prehistory of English. In contrast, the arrangement of the chapters in the book under review is not traditional: The volume starts from chapters dealing with theoretical issues. This unorthodox organization reflects the editors’ decision to concentrate on “providing shortcuts to current thinking for readers who want to become familiar with subjects that are outside their own areas of interest, and ... providing a 'state of the art' overview of current research” (vii).

2. Description

The volume consists of the following six parts, each containing 3-5 chapters, an appendix, and an index.

- Part I Approaches and Issues
- Part II Words: Derivation and Prosody
- Part III Inflectional Morphology and Syntax
- Part IV Pragmatics
- Part V Pre- and Post-colonial Varieties
- Part VI Standardization and Globalization

Appendix: Useful Corpora for Research in English Historical Linguistics
Index

The first part, focusing on theoretical approaches, contains four chapters. The first chapter by April McMahon titled “Change for the Better? Optimality Theory versus History” (3-23) deals with the applicability of Optimality Theory to phonological changes.
This chapter reveals that such basic issues as the status of phonology in relation to UG (Universal Grammar), the nature of the input and output, etc. even within the theoretical framework are not settled yet, which will leave the reader the impression that, although theoretically intriguing, the application of the theory does not necessarily lead to deeper understanding of diachronic changes in phonology.

The second chapter by David Lightfoot titled "Cuing a New Grammar" (24-44) repeats his by now classical position (cf. Lightfoot (1979)) that language change should be viewed as grammar change, where grammars are regarded as "formal characterizations of an individual's linguistic capacity" (26) so that language change is directly linked to the acquisition of grammars. As case studies, two diachronic changes are discussed: (i) the development of English auxiliary verbs and (ii) the syntactic effects of the loss of case in English.

The central theme of the third chapter by Anthony Warner titled "Variation and the Interpretation of Change in Periphrastic Do" (45-67) is how we can deal with historical variation. Warner approaches the problem by utilizing (i) generative theory with the notion of underlying grammar and (ii) sociolinguistic evaluation of corpora. Differing from the other three chapters of part I, this chapter provides a very detailed analysis of a linguistic phenomenon, the development of *do*.

The fourth chapter by William Croft titled "Evolutionary Models and Functional-Typological Theories of Language Change" (68-91) sketches a functional-typological approach to language change, which is based on the combination of (i) a functional-typological theory assuming that the relationship between form and function is central to grammatical representation and (ii) a theory of evolution with Hull's (1988) generalized analysis of selection.

Part II contains four chapters dealing with phonology and morphology. The first chapter by Donka Minkova titled "Old and Middle English Prosody" (95-124) concentrates on stress assignment in Old and Middle English. The main and secondary stress assignment is discussed for Old English. The Middle English part contains discussions concerning the preservation of the old system, innovations, and the hybrid stress patterns of polysyllabic Romance words. After describing the relevant facts, the author provides a theoretical account within the framework of Optimality Theory.

The second chapter by Paula Fikkert, Elan B. Dresher, and Aditi Lahiri titled "Prosodic Preferences: From Old English to Early Modern English" (125-150) also discusses stress assignment, but the chapter covers a much wider range of periods, including West Germanic languages in general and the development from West Germanic to Old English, from Old English to Middle English, and from Middle English to Early Modern English.
The approach taken in this chapter is less theoretical than that in the preceding chapter.

The third chapter by Dieter Kastovsky titled "Typological Changes in Derivational Morphology" (151-176) sketches morphological changes in terms of the complex interactions of various morphological parameters in a clear and concise form. One of the characteristics of the chapter is that it deals with "the relationship between morphology and phonology, especially as regards the importance of morphophonemic alternation, which have [sic] so far been sorely neglected in the existing handbooks, including the Cambridge History of the English Language" (173).

The fourth chapter by Laurie Bauer titled "Competition in English Word Formation" (177-198) is concerned with the development of vocabulary. Using the electronic online version of the second edition of The Oxford English Dictionary, the author presents data concerning (i) the rise of the use of the suffix -ster as in seamster, (ii) the historical developments: (i) the loss of direct object-indirect object order and (ii) the loss of post-head genitives, Allen convincingly demonstrates that there is no direct causal relation between the loss of inflections and the word order changes.

The second chapter by Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los titled "Discourse Adverbs and Clausal Syntax in Old and Middle English" (224-248) proposes an analysis regarding the Old English adverb halponne 'then' as a focus particle, which divides a clause into the topic domain and the focus domain. Although the nature of the focus domain is still to be worked out, the chapter convincingly shows that the position preceding the adverb can be characterized as the topic domain.

The third chapter by Susan Pintzuk and Ann Taylor titled "The Loss of OV Order in the History of English" (249-278) is concerned with the change of English from a predominantly OV language in the Old English period to a categorically VO language in the Modern English period. The chapter reveals that the rates of the loss of OV order are different among three types of objects: (i) nonquantified objects, (ii) quantified objects, and (iii) negative objects, although the factors affecting the choice between OV and VO patterns are the same (length in words, clause type, date of composition, case or object type) irrespective of the types of objects.
The fourth chapter by David Denison titled "Category Change and Gradience in the Determiner System" (279-304) poses a question to the mainstream morphosyntactic analysis, which assumes a clear-cut distinction among categories, and presents four pieces of historical evidence showing that boundaries between determiners and adjacent categories (adjectives, nouns, and pronouns) are fuzzy: (i) the development of possessive pronouns, (ii) the distinction between adjectives and determiners, (iii) the status of "SKT[Sort, Kind, Type]-constructions" involving sort of, kind of, and type of, and (iv) semantic developments in such adjectives as divers(e), several, certain, and various.

Part IV contains three chapters dealing with pragmatics in one way or another. The first chapter by Laurel Brinton titled "Pathways in the Development of Pragmatic Markers in English" (307-334) shows that there are three prototypical pathways of development for pragmatic markers: (i) adverb/preposition > conjunction > pragmatic marker, (ii) predicate adverb > sentence adverb > pragmatic marker, and (iii) matrix clause > matrix clause/parenthetical disjunct > pragmatic marker, and that, despite the variety of pathways, there is a unidirectionality of development from propositional > textual > expressive, as initially proposed by Traugott (1982).

The second chapter by Elizabeth Closs Traugott titled "The Semantic Development of Scalar Focus Modifiers" (335-359) is closely related to the preceding chapter in content. It analyzes the development of two scalar focus modifiers, even and barely, and demonstrates that (i) pragmatic implicatures arising in context are crucial for interpreting how each new meaning comes into being and (ii) the semantic developments of the scalar focus modifiers follow the paths of semantic changes proposed in Traugott and Dasher (2002). The chapter also provides a list of research topics which should be dealt with in future study.

The third chapter by Elena Seoane titled "Information Structure and Word Order Change: The Passive as an Information-rearranging Strategy in the History of English" (360-391) examines the determining factors of the use of passive constructions from the perspective that the use of passive constructions is "an argument-reversing strategy," (370) by which the agent is demoted and an NP other than agent is promoted. The chapter shows that both syntactic factors, namely the principle of end-weight, and pragmatic factors, namely the distribution of given and new information and of definite and indefinite referents, are essential.

Part V, which deals with dialectal and regional variation, consists of five chapters. The first chapter by Richard Hogg titled "Old English Dialectology" (395-416) sketches the evolution of Old English dialectology and its recent development inspired by the work of McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin on later Middle English, represented by A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English (LALME). The features dealt with in the chapter are
mostly phonological, but a syntactic feature, namely the use of negative contraction, and lexical differences, namely problems concerning Standard Old English vocabulary are also discussed.

The second chapter by Margaret Laing and Roger Lass titled “Early Middle English Dialectology: Problems and Prospects” (417-451) reports their ongoing project, which will create A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME), a volume covering the period of Middle English not included in LALME. This chapter gives a detailed description of the corpus compiled for the project and shows that its protean nature will enable us to conduct various independent research.

The third chapter by Shana Poplack titled “How English Became African American English” (452-476) challenges the view that the features of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), such as variable marking of the plural, present, and past on verbs, are due to creolization or incomplete acquisition of (Standard) English. The chapter demonstrates that the relevant features are observed in the varieties of English acquired by the ancestors of AAVE so that they were inherited from earlier varieties, and not created through incomplete or incorrect acquisition.

The fourth chapter by Sali A. Tagliamonte titled “Historical Change in Synchronic Perspective: The Legacy of British Dialects” (477-506) presents an analysis of four features: (i) how deontic modality is expressed (must, have to, 've/l's got to, or got to/gota), (ii) possessive have and have got, (iii) the distribution of relative markers, that, who, which, what, and zero, by animacy of the antecedent NP, and (iv) manner adverbs with -by and zero in contemporary British English dialects. Focusing on variable inter-variety distributions across generations and cross-dialectal differences, the chapter demonstrates that synchronic dialect study can provide valuable data for studies of language change.

The fifth chapter by Markku Fillppula titled “The Making of Hiberno-English and Other “Celtic Englishes”” (507-536) deals with phonological and syntactic similarities and differences in “Celtic Englishes”: Irish English or “Hiberno-English” in Ireland, Welsh English in Wales, some Scottish varieties of English in the (north)western parts of Scotland, Manx English in the Isle of Man, and Cornish English in Cornwall. The chapter also includes discussions concerning the origin of the similarities, providing four competing theories: (i) influences of earlier English, (ii) independent development, (iii) contact influences, and (iv) substratal influences, and discussions concerning two dimensions of study, which “will undoubtedly offer interesting insights into the kind of problems at hand” (531): (i) various kinds of contact universals or universals of language acquisition which emerge in language contact situations, and (ii) sprachbund phenomena.

Part VI contains three chapters “that have as their common denominator various types
of external influence on the language" (viii). The first chapter by Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade titled “Eighteenth-century Prescriptivism and the Norm of Correctness” (539-557) focuses on Robert Lowth, an unpopular figure among contemporary scholars of language because of his “prescriptive attitude.” By comparing the rules he proposes in his grammar with his own usage observed in his private writings, the chapter reveals that the norm he put forward in his grammar was “one which represented neither his own language nor that of his peers, but that of the social classes higher up on the social scale” (552), which reflects his social ambition.

The second chapter by Terttu Nevalainen titled “Historical Sociolinguistics and Language Change” (558-588) is the most handbook-like in the book under review. After introducing the material and methods used in the field, the chapter discusses four basic issues: (i) access to the process of language change in real time, probably the single most obvious advantage of historical sociolinguistics over the study of present-day data, (ii) variation across genres, (iii) social networks, and (iv) social and regional embedding. The remaining part of the chapter deals with (i) two types of changes discussed by Labov (1994), (ii) sex and prestige, and (iii) widely observed features (vernacular “universals”) and their origin and development.

The third chapter by Suzanne Romaine titled “Global English: From Island Tongue to World Language” (589-608) traces the spread of English from the seventeenth century onward, which is the direct result of historical events such as the permanent English settlement in North America starting from the establishment of Jamestown in 1607, the American Revolution in 1776 (1783), technological innovations of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the emergence of America as a superpower after the Second World War. The chapter also provides some conjectures about the future of English, taking into consideration various factors that might influence the future course of its development: political, economical, geographical, demographic, technological, etc.

The appendix (609-611) lists corpora useful for research in English historical linguistics: (i) Ten historical corpora, (ii) four Modern English corpora, and (iii) two data collections are introduced. Six books on corpus use are also listed.

3. Evaluation

The book is certainly a good guide for scholars who would like to have a “state of the art” overview of current research in topics that are outside of their own areas of interest. Some chapters of the book will be beneficial even to scholars who themselves are working on the topics discussed in those chapters, since some of the authors report their ongoing research or even provide various research topics for future study. Because of this nature
the book is highly recommended to scholars working on any areas of English historical linguistics. However, the book as a whole will not be for those who would like to have a concise and more or less exhaustive knowledge of the field from a single volume although some chapters like those by Margaret Laing & Roger Lass (especially the introductory part on dialectology) and by Nevalainen are exceptions. Nor will the book be for those who have no linguistic background. These characteristics being taken into consideration, the book would be more appropriately named *The Handbook of English Historical Linguistics (for Professionals).*

There are some minor problems. The present reviewer feels that some of the chapters are misplaced. For instance, the chapters by Denison and by Seoane seem to be better placed in the first part, which deals with theoretical issues, since the former raises theoretical issues about the category status and the latter is concerned with the interaction of formalism and functionalism. There is a certain amount of overlap and some of the chapters will better collaborate with each other: for instance, the chapters by McMahon and by Minkova, both of which deal with Optimality Theory, and the chapters by Hogg and by Laing & Lass, both of which are concerned with dialectology. The style of the references is not consistent: Sometimes the first name of the author is spelled out (for instance, in the chapter by McMahon), but sometimes only an initial is given (for instance, in the chapter by Lightfoot).

Sixteen years ago, in his paper titled “On the Happy Reunion of English Philology and Historical Linguistics,” Rissanen (1990, 353) discussed “the new ways in which philological and linguistic research can combine methods and approaches in order to achieve more interesting and accurate results....” The book under review is abundant with examples of the “happy reunion” of the two approaches mediated by computer technology, and illustrates the great extent of the development during the sixteen years. As stated above, the book is highly recommended to scholars interested in the field of English historical linguistics.

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**References**


Peter W. Culicover and Ray Jackendoff, *Simpler Syntax*


1. はじめに


本書を極めて大まかに捉えると、理論構築を行う上での基本原理は Chomsky を中心とする主流の生文法理論 (Mainstream Generative Grammar, 以下 MGG) を踏襲しているが、肉付けされ、具体化された言語理論自体を見てみると、MGG からは大きく離れ、Jackendoff (1990), Jackendoff (1997) の時よりも更に、主辞駆動句構造文法 (Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar) と構文文法 (Construction Grammar) に近寄ったものとなっている。敢えて比喩的に言うと、根っこは Chomsky だが地面の上に出ている木の姿は、主辞駆動句構造文法と構文文法に似ていると言える。そこで、本書評では、彼等のアプローチを MGG と対峙させ、いかなる点で MGG と異なっているかに着目しながら、彼等のアプローチの特徴を浮き彫りにし、それらの特徴に