

Romance, Germanic and Hungarian language contact, and finally a summary of the origins of the Slovene standard language. All of this is very useful information, compactly presented. In sum, historical phonologists with little or no prior knowledge of Slavic, and Slavists with little or no knowledge of the phonological history of Slovene, will find an enormous wealth of reliable information in *HPSL*, for the most part presented in an extremely readable way. This is a book which was sorely needed.

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*Das Romani von Ajia Varvara: Deskriptive und historisch-vergleichende Darstellung eines Zigeunerndialekts.* By Birgit Igla. 1996. (= *Ost-europa-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin Balkanologische Veröffentlichungen*, 29.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. Pp. xii, 313.

Reviewed by Victor A. Friedman (University of Chicago)

As the only Indic language that has been spoken in Europe since the Middle Ages, Romani is of considerable historical linguistic interest. From the point of view of the Indo-Europeanist or Indologist, Romani shows a variety of remarkable conservatisms, some shared with the rest of Indic, e.g., the preservation of phonological aspiration, others unique among the living Indic languages, e.g., evidence concerning Indic sibilants and their Indo-European antecedents (see Hamp 1987, 1988, 1990, 1993). On the other hand, Romani has also undergone contact-induced changes that differentiate it from the rest of Indic. The masterful works of Sampson (1926) and Turner (1926), as well as more recent work by Boretzky & Igla (1994) and Matras (2002) are all of great importance

for studying Romani in its Indological and thus Indo-European context. Although the number of publications on Romani has grown remarkably in the past two or three decades, the work under consideration here is an especially important addition to both our understanding of Romani and of historical linguistic processes in general.

The Romani dialect of Ajia Varvara (a suburb of Athens) was described briefly by Messing (1987), and in fact is related to one of the dialects described by Paspati (1870). Igla, however, has vastly improved on and augmented previous work by giving us not only a deep, thorough and engaging synchronic account of this dialect but also a significant historical account within the context of Romani studies and contact linguistics. The result is an excellent descriptive grammar with texts, a glossary, and an historical analysis that will be worthwhile not only for anyone interested in Romani but also anyone interested in historical (and synchronic) issues connected with language contact, convergence and conservatism, code-switching, dialectology, and the minority languages of Greece. This last is especially important, since Greek government policy occasionally attempts to hide the fact that there are Greek citizens with mother tongues other than Greek.

The book is divided into seven chapters plus a bibliography (307–313) of about 200 items. The brief Introduction (1–4) places the Ajia Varvara dialect in its general context as a dialect of the Vlax type whose speakers went south into the Ottoman Empire after a long sojourn in Romania, and it is one whose speakers were Christian and nomadic in Paspati's time. In the 1920's, they ended up in Greece in connection with the exchange of populations under the Treaty of Lausanne. In addition to Romani, the oldest generation still speaks Turkish (as well as Greek), but the younger generation speaks Greek with only a limited knowledge of Turkish.

The chapters are the following: 1. Phonology (5–22), 2. Morphology (23–81), 3. Grammatical Categories (83–146), 4. Syntax (147–186), 5. Historical Analysis (187–249), 6. Texts (251–275), and 7. Vocabulary (277–305). Chapter 1 discusses the vocalic and consonantal phonetic and phonemic inventories (with minimal pairs for the aspirates), phonotactic rules and automatic alternations, the adaptation of Turkish vowels, some morphophonemic alternations, stress, and gives a brief historical note on salient dialect processes that are covered in greater detail in ch. 5. Chapter 2 discusses nominal declension, comparison of adjectives, verbal conjugation, derivational affixes and processes, and indeclinable words (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles, and interjections). Chapter 3 focuses on determination (the opposition definite/indefinite),

and has extensive discussions of the usage of gender, number, case (including both synthetic [inflectional] and analytic [prepositional] with an analysis of when one is preferred over the other), tense (including categories treated as aspectual in some recent accounts, e.g., Matras 2002), mood, and diathesis. Tense is basically synthetic (except the future, if it is counted as a tense), mood analytic (except the imperative), and diathesis mixed. The relation of the future to modality is also discussed. Chapter 4 treats the following topics, all of which are particularly important for Romani syntax: 1. subject position, 2. object position (including double accusatives and object reduplication), 3. interrogatives, 4. order with demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, and genitives, 5. predicate placement, 6. coordination and subordination, and 6. direct and indirect speech.

There are 35 texts of three types: fourteen folk tales (252–266), eight folk songs (252–267), and thirteen personal narratives (anecdotes, family histories, commentary on the old days and modern times, etc., 268–275). The vocabulary contains about 2,000 entries including numerous cross references for variants, although the user must have some familiarity with common phonological processes (e.g., *jauda* “Jews” in the text on p. 275 is listed after *jahudia(s)* on p. 290 in the vocabulary rather than in a cross-referenced entry).

Chapter 5 gives a detailed analysis of the historical processes that have given the Romani dialect of Agia Varvara its current shape. The diachronic issues relate this dialect’s position within Romani to its intimate contact with a series of other languages over the course of the past two centuries. Of particular importance here are Romanian, Balkan Slavic, Turkish, and Greek. The section on phonology (189–193) treats Romani-internal dialectological developments connected with metathesis of sequences of vowel or /n/ plus /r/ and the shift of dentals to velars before /i/ via palatal mutation (e.g., *ti* > *tʲi* > *kʲi* > *ki*). The section on morphology (193–196) treats a few issues salient for Romani dialectology, e.g., the replacement of synthetic with analytic comparatives using Turkish *daha* or Slavic *po* but not *maj* (Romanian *mai*, with a single possible exception), the loss of the gerund, the obsolescence of loan affixes for deverbal nouns in *-mata* and participles in *-me*, the productivity of the Slavic feminine marker *-ka* but the obsolescence of *-ica*, and the loan origin of the vocative plural in *-ale*. There follows a discussion of the adaptation of older borrowed nominals (196–208) particularly from Greek and Romanian (including Turkisms that must have or might have entered via Romanian). These are generally shared with other Balkan and/or Vlax dialects. The section on loan verbs (208–219) is especially important. It begins with dialectal differentiation within

Romani in terms of loan verb affixation, followed by a discussion of the morphological expression of voice that appears to be an Indic tendency, possibly reinforced by Turkish but in marked contrast to the Balkan languages (including Greek). This section closes with a discussion of Turkish conjugation, a feature of the Agia Varvara Romani dialect that is particularly unusual. Agia Varvara is one of the few dialects of Romani in which verbs of Turkish origin take Turkish tense and person markers, a contact phenomenon that might be a case of an arrested beginning of language shift. However, this phenomenon could also be a part of the Romani tendency to create grammatical boundaries separating perceived ‘foreign’ from ‘native’ (cf. Friedman 2001). The next section (220–227) treats convergent grammatical categories followed by an analysis of the lexicon (228–238). As Iglá notes, despite its presence for centuries in Romania, there remain in the Agia Varvara dialect only 40 or 50 Romanian lexical items, and although the impact of Turkish is much greater, the number of loan words after about seventy years in Greece is down to a couple hundred. The chapter closes with a discussion of code-switching (228–249), i.e., the use of unadapted Greek words and phrases in the dialect with 58 lexical and phraseological examples.

Iglá has given us an excellent description of a remarkably resilient Romani dialect. At the same time, the historical information demonstrates the rapidity with which parts of the grammar and lexicon can shift, while others are more consistently maintained under varying conditions of contact.

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*Biolinguistics: Exploring the biology of language*. By Lyle Jenkins.  
 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. xiv, 264.

Reviewed by Andrew Carstairs-McCarthy  
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Jenkins defines "the central questions for the study of language and biology (biolinguistics)" (p. 1) as:

1. What constitutes knowledge of language?
2. How is this knowledge acquired?
3. How is this knowledge put to use?
4. What are the relevant brain mechanisms?
5. How does this knowledge evolve (in the species)?

Chapter 5, on the evolution of language, is the longest (83 pp.), and this review will concentrate on it, not only because it is the one most likely to interest readers of this journal but also because its topic is by no means routinely covered in Chomskyan discussions of language and biology.

Chomsky, while emphasizing the biological foundations of language, has often expressed skepticism about whether biology (more specifically, natural selection) can shed much light on how language came to acquire its central

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