- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. "Derivation by Phase". *Ken Hale: A life in language* ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Halle, Morris. 1997. "Distributed Morphology: Impoverishment and fission". *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 30.425–449
- Harley, Heidi & Elizabeth Ritter. 2002. "Structuring the Bundle: A universal morphosyntactic feature geometry". *Pronouns — Grammar and Representation* ed. by Horst Simon & Heike Wiese, 23–39. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Marantz, Alec. 1993. "Implications of Asymmetries in Double Object Constructions". *Theoretical Aspects of Bantu Grammar* ed. by Sam Mchombo, 113–150. Stanford, Calif.: CSLI Publications.
- Panagiotidis, Phoevos & Stavroula Tsiplakou. 2005. "An A-Binding Asymmetry in Null Subject Languages and its significance for Universal Grammar". *Linguistic Inquiry*.
- Tsiplakou, Stavroula. 1998. *Focus in Greek: Its structure and interpretation*. Ph.D. dissertation, SOAS, University of London.
- Tsiplakou, Stavroula. 1999. "Η δομή της πρότασης της ελληνικής [The Clause Structure of Greek]". *Greek Linguistics '97: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Greek Linguistics* ed. by Amalia Moser, 284–293. Athens: Ellinika Grammata:.

Note

1. I use the term 'dative' throughout to denote the inherent/quirky/structural Case that Goals bear, instead of 'genitive'. Using the term 'genitive', as often done in the context of Modern Greek syntax, may confuse those not familiar with the language and its historical accidents (in southern Greek varieties dative has been replaced by the morphological genitive, but in northern Greek varieties by the morphological accusative). I wish to thank Arhonto Terzi for raising this point with me.

David Holton, Peter Mackridge & Irene Philippaki-Warbuton.
Greek: An Essential Grammar of the Modern Language. (= *Essential Grammars*.) London: Routledge, 2004. 279, xiii pages. ISBN
0415232104. \$25.95.

Reviewed by Panayiotis A. Pappas (Simon Fraser University)

The same team of people that produced *Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language* (Routledge 1997, reprinted 1999) now brings us a distilled version of that work, whose intended goal is to serve as a reference guide for students of Greek who are still in the beginning stages of learning the language. The authors are well aware of the restricted scope of their new work and

the unavoidable comparisons that will be drawn between this and the previous volume, and preemptively address these issues in the preface. In their eyes, the *Essential Grammar* (hence *EG*) “is not simply a shortened version of the earlier one” (p. xii) but rather a differently structured presentation of much of the same information which “takes into account the different needs of its users” (ibid.). The authors envision this new grammar as a good way to introduce beginners to the most important characteristics of the language and prepare them to tackle the complexity of the *Comprehensive Grammar* (*CG*) if they so desire. It is only fair, then, for a review to discuss the consequences of such decisions upon the content of the volume and assess the success of the work in achieving its own goals.

I begin by commending the format of the new volume, which is undeniably more user-friendly than *CG*. This is not only the result of the simple but effective decision to use bold characters for Greek, but it is also due to the clearer presentation of example declensions or conjugations and summarizing tables, which are much better delineated and successfully draw the reader’s attention. In addition, the theme of each page is written in the outer margin, which allows one to easily locate information on very specific topics simply by thumbing through the book in either direction.

Moving on to the more substantive part of this review, what first captured my attention was the organization of the new volume. While *CG* follows the more usual presentation style that is based on the main components of a grammar (phonology, morphology, and syntax¹), most of the chapters of *EG* are organized on the basis of a very different principle. The book, typically enough, begins with brief descriptions of the sound and writing systems in Chapter 1 and 2. These two chapters are, in essence, shorter versions of the first two chapters of *CG*. The next nine chapters, however, are centered around the major lexical categories of the language, for which the authors attempt to provide a balanced description of both inflection and usage, as befits the nature of each part of speech. The relationship of the titles of these chapters to the titles used in *CG* is very indicative of this desire to strike a balance between syntax and morphology. Thus, Chapters 3 “The Noun and the Noun Phrase”, 6 “The Verb and the Verb Phrase”, and 7 “The Adverb and the Adverbial Phrase” have titles taken from the syntax section of *CG*, but mostly provide information on inflectional and derivational patterns, while Chapters 4 “Pronouns and Determiners” and 5 “Numerals” have titles taken from the morphology section of *CG* but devote equal attention to both form and function. Topics in syntax are also covered in Chapter 8 “The Preposition and the Prepositional Phrase”,

Chapter 9 “Conjunctions and Particles”, which includes a detailed description of the usage of the markers /θa/, /na/, /as/, /ðen/, and /min/, and Chapter 10 “The Clause”, which discusses the meaning and usage of various types of clauses, as well as other syntactic phenomena such as word order, the distinction between focus and topic constructions, and coordination. Chapter 11 marks a return to morphological issues with a list of the most important suffixes and prefixes and a brief note on the formation of compounds. The final chapter, 12, briefly discusses conversational features of the language, focusing mostly on the distinction between polite and familiar forms of address. The volume also includes a glossary of grammatical terms, an appendix of the most common abbreviations and acronyms, a brief catalogue of other grammars, textbooks, and dictionaries, and two indices — one of grammatical concepts, the other of (mainly) functional words. This last one is vastly superior to its CG equivalent which covers only eight words.

The decision to merge the discussion of syntax and morphology is probably the greatest risk the authors have taken in the grammar and thus it merits further examination. I concentrate on the two most representative examples of this approach, Chapters 3 and 6. In Chapter 3, the authors begin with a description of the constituents of the noun phrase and its functions (subject, object, predicate, etc.), as well as brief overviews of gender, number, and case. They then proceed with a detailed discussion of the declension patterns of the articles, and the most common types of nouns. For each type, the authors provide a defining characteristic, a table with an example declension, extensive lists of words that belong to the class, and noteworthy exceptions. This section of the chapter also includes a very useful table with the endings for every type of noun discussed in the chapter. The next section, following a similar format, describes the main declension patterns of adjectives, while the third section presents the formation of the comparative and superlative degrees for adjectives. In the final section, the authors turn their attention to issues of syntax and usage. After a brief discussion of agreement between the constituents of a noun phrase, they present detailed lists of the ways in which each case can be used, cover the role of the definite and the indefinite article, and finally describe the use of adjectives.

In Chapter 6, the authors begin with a description of the verb phrase and its uses in a sentence, and the nature and position of verb arguments, and then proceed with a brief discussion of the grammatical categories that are indicated by the inflections found on the verbs (person, number, tense, aspect, voice, and mood). Next, they provide examples of all possible verb forms (mainly

the tenses) and their usage in colloquial Greek. The following section is an exposition of the basic inflectional pattern of verbs. For each major type of verb the authors provide tables of the conjugation patterns for the present, imperfect, simple past, and dependent forms (both active and passive), as well as the forms for the imperative and the gerund. Each table is supplemented with notes that succinctly explain the major morphological processes that take place and refer the reader to later sections of the chapter where these questions are discussed in more detail. The chapter also includes a detailed description of how active and passive perfective stems are formed on the basis of the imperfective stem, brief discussions on the formation of the future, perfect, conditional, and subjunctive forms, and the presence or absence of the augment in the past tenses. The chapter ends with a multi-page table of some 150 irregular verbs for which the active and passive simple past and the perfect passive participle forms are given.

This merger of syntax and morphology in one thematic unit is a good approach, especially for the purposes of an essential grammar, whose anticipated audience has very specific needs. All the information that a beginner would like to know about a certain part of speech is neatly contained in one chapter that is easily identified by its title. This feature, I believe, will be greatly appreciated by the book's intended users, for whom conventionally structured grammars are too daunting, while concise grammars are not informative enough. However, in order for this approach to have been fully successful, the authors should have departed more radically from the structure of *CG* and paid better attention to the particular structural requirements of this endeavor. As it stands, *EG* is still structured around the major organizational principles of *CG*, and as a consequence it feels too much like a collage of topics from that book.

One aspect of this new volume that I particularly disagree with is devoting separate chapters to "Pronouns and Determiners", "Numerals", and "Conjunctions and Particles". The first two clearly belong with the discussion of the noun phrase, as is indicated by the opening lines of Chapter 4 (p.87): "Pronouns are words that stand instead of nounphrases [sic]. ... Determiners are words that modify nouns. We use this term in this book to refer to words other than articles, adjectives and numerals." Here, the authors should have followed the structure of *CG*, where all of these categories are discussed collectively as parts of the noun phrase. The present scheme does not correctly situate these elements in the clause, while it also creates the wrong impression that determiners and pronouns belong to the same structural category. Similarly, the authors should have avoided perpetuating the use of the term 'particle', and instead

of grouping such important functional words into a vacuous category should have afforded them the individual attention that they warrant within the context of the clause.

With respect to content, *EG* will certainly meet the needs of its intended audience. The authors are working from the advantageous perspective of having completed a comprehensive grammar from which they were able to choose the most important themes. It seems though, that in order to cover all the necessary information, they have favored the enumeration of forms over the discussion of their usage, so that some parts feel like mere lists of words and sentences. This sense is particularly strong in Chapter 7. In addition, I believe that in terms of content as well, the decision to merge the discussion of syntax and morphology should have been carried out more fully. Specifically, the volume should have contained a chapter explaining why the analysis of Greek grammar needs to focus around the lexical categories that the authors have deemed so essential. This type of information is not self-evident for beginner students of Greek or of any language for that matter. It is also at least as important — if not more — as what the definition of a noun or a verb is, and would provide readers with both a better sense of what the grammar is trying to accomplish and a more complete picture of the language itself.

Another topic that deserved to be more fully discussed is word order. The issue is only briefly mentioned on page 229, and in a somewhat misleading fashion, since the authors describe the order of verbal arguments and not how individual words are organized in a phrase or in the clause. It is true that the information is generally available in the volume, but it is rather scattered and not appropriately highlighted. It has been my experience that English-speaking students of Greek are prone to misunderstand Greek's flexible *constituent* order for totally free *word* order. Therefore an easily accessible and explicit list of fixed word order patterns, such as the relative positions of the various verbal markers and weak pronouns, would have been both useful and appropriate. For example, the grammar mentions (p. 196) that /na/ and /as/ "cannot be separated from the verb by any item other than the negative particle /min/ and by weak pronouns", but it does not emphasize it as a rule that is just as essential as the declension pattern of /filakas/ "guard". In terms of morphology, the authors should have included a table summarizing the most common verb endings as they did for nouns (such a table exists in *CG*, p. 116).

The creation of a grammar that covers the essential needs of beginners, while striking a balance between the morphology and syntax/semantic content of the volume, required a much more radical break from the content and

structure of *CG* than is attempted in *EG*. As a result this new effort is troubled by some weaknesses. However, despite these weaknesses, I believe that it is a useful tool for English-speaking students who have just started learning the language. This book will give them quick and easy access to the basic patterns of inflection and provide them with several examples of usage that will serve them well. Advanced students of the language and those with more analytical interests are still better served by the *Comprehensive Grammar*.

Note

1. This part of *CG* actually contains information about semantics and pragmatics as well as syntax. In *EG*, the authors use the term in the same way in the preface, but in the actual content employ the non-technical and more inclusive terms 'function' and 'usage'.

Panayiotis A. Pappas. *Variation and Morphosyntactic Change in Greek: From Clitics to Affixes*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. 208 pages. ISBN 140391334X. \$65 (Hb).

Reviewed by Despina Chila-Markopoulou (University of Athens)

There are many reasons why weak personal pronouns or clitics attract an ever-growing interest among linguists, as manifested in the bulky literature concerning this topic. Perhaps the most prominent reason, as Drachman most appropriately remarks (1997:219), is their association with many aspects of grammar in all relevant levels of analysis. When such a topic is combined with other challenging phenomena, e.g. with language variation and change, then it becomes even more appealing. This is even more so in the case of this book by Panayiotis Pappas, who decided to tackle this combination in one of the least-known periods in the history of Greek, namely Later Medieval Greek (henceforth LMG), attracting thus the attention of all those interested in the history of the language in general and in this period more specifically.

The book, which examines the variation in the placement of the Weak Object Pronouns (W.O.P.) in LMG (12th–16th centuries A.D.), constitutes the very first modern linguistic work that investigates exclusively one of the most characteristic phenomena of LMG. It contains eight chapters and an appendix of tables accompanying the statistical research conducted on this instance of