

Word order change in acquisition and language contact: Essays in honour of Ans van Kemenade. Ed. by BETTELOU LOS and PIETER DE HAAN. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2017. Pp. ix, 376. ISBN 9789027257260. \$158 (Hb).

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This book is a festschrift for Ans van Kemenade, a leading Dutch linguist and a pioneer in applying the tools of generative syntax to the study of language change. The contributions to this volume are written by colleagues, collaborators, and former students and reflect her research interests and contributions to the field: in particular, syntactic change, information structure, word order, comparative Germanic linguistics, language contact, and the history of English.

After a brief introduction by the editors, the book is divided into five parts, of which Part I deals with grammar change and information structure. ROLAND HINTERHÖLZL's chapter outlines

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a scenario for the loss of OV word order in an antisymmetric, cartographic, phase-based framework. His claim is that the data presented by Taylor and Pintzuk (2015) can be understood without recourse to the double base hypothesis if specifically prosodic conditions are taken into account as well as information structure. MARIT WESTERGAARD looks at violations of V2 in northern Norwegian WH-questions, finding that certain V2 violations are robustly accepted in judgment tasks but almost never produced; she argues that this kind of discrepancy can have important implications when drawing inferences about grammaticality from historical corpora. The chapter by THERESA BIBERAUER and IAN ROBERTS looks at the dwindling domain of CONDITIONAL INVERSION in English, concluding that a mesoparameter becomes a microparameter becomes a nanoparameter, though the basic operation of conditional inversion remains identical throughout. Biberauer's solo chapter, rounding off this part of the book, deals with optional V2 in embedded WH-clauses in modern spoken Afrikaans. Her proposal is that this is linked to Afrikaans's special clause-peripheral polarity marker *nie*, which leads to the innovation of an extra layer of structure in all clauses.

Parts II and III both deal with verb-second: Part II is about the first position, while Part III addresses what exactly it is that comes second. GEA DRESCHLER's chapter looks at subject positions in Old English, in particular the prediction that late (VP-internal) subjects in passive clauses should be discourse-new. Roughly, the prediction is borne out: discourse-familiar subjects are very rarely fronted. Ch. 7, by ERWIN KOMEN, also addresses subject positions, looking at whether subjects in different positions allow deletion under coordination and what subject-verb relations obtain. The hypothesis is that the decline in these subject properties prefigures the loss of the subject position, and the evidence partially bears this out. The chapter by ANN TAYLOR and SUSAN PINTZUK is about split coordination in earlier English (e.g. *the king came and his company*), tracking the possibility of separating the two conjuncts. Taylor and Pintzuk argue for a movement-based analysis that coexists with an ellipsis-based analysis and is lost by the end of the Early Modern period.

Part III opens with a chapter by MONIQUE TANGELDER and BETTELOU LOS on meter and verb position in Beowulf, suggesting that the non-V2 structures found in poetry are relics of an earlier stage of the language's syntax, and drawing corroborating evidence from the poem's first 500 lines. Ch. 10, by GERTJAN POSTMA, posits a connection between the rise and fall of the passive auxiliary *weorthan* and the rise and fall of strict V2 in the history of English, and models this as a 'failed change' in the sense of Postma 2010. MARIANNE STARREN's chapter rounds off this section by contrasting German, Dutch, and English narrative-structuring patterns. She shows that Dutch seems to pattern with German rather than English in its use of temporal linkers to begin utterances, as well as avoidance of inanimate subjects in narrative.

Part IV contains three papers on the diachrony of verb particles. The contribution by ROBERT VAN SLUIJS, PIETER MUYSKEN, and Los looks at change in particle + verb combinations in Dutch-lexifier creoles. Their tentative overview uncovers substantial variation, with the most intriguing case being Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which exhibits English-style verb-particle combinations that they attribute to parallel development. NIGEL VINCENT's chapter, the only non-Germanic contribution in the volume, looks at the fate of the particle *de* from Latin to Romance. He shows that particles, which are nonprojecting words, may follow two different diachronic trajectories: they may develop directly to prefixes, or become prepositions through argument attraction. The chapter by MARION ELENBAAS investigates the role of information structure in Old English verb-particle word order, focusing on *up* 'up' and *ut* 'out'. Perhaps surprisingly, she finds that there is no clear effect of information status and suggests that relative weight may play a more important role.

Finally, Part V contrasts verb-second and non-verb-second information structure and contains two chapters on high-level L2 acquisition. PIETER DE HAAN's chapter presents a corpus-based study of L1 among advanced L2 learners of English. He finds that English word-order possibilities appear to influence the construction of Dutch structures, particularly in the middle field, leading to the intriguing hypothesis that the Dutch middle field may be losing its flexibility through contact with English. The final chapter, by SANNE VAN VUUREN and RINA DE VRIES, shows that

the proportion of information-structural transfer from L1 Dutch to L2 English may be a good indicator of proficiency at the highest levels of assessment, with higher-performing students evincing less transfer of information structure.

This is an excellent collection, packed to bursting with new data and insights. It is a testament to van Kemenade's originality and influence that her oeuvre has managed to inspire such high-quality contributions in such a range of directions. To me it illustrates the enduring value of bold, clear predictions as a trigger for scholarly debate in historical linguistics: some of the contributors have butted heads with van Kemenade in the past over points of theory, and their chapters here show how respectful disagreement can be a powerful engine for generating new discoveries. Some of van Kemenade's ideas, such as the deep homology between Old English and West Germanic OV/V2 languages, have essentially stood the test of time. Others, like the theory of Old English subject pronouns as clitics in her published dissertation (van Kemenade 1987), have stimulated a flurry of empirical research, with the result that we now have a much better understanding of subjecthood and topicality in Old and Middle English than was previously possible (see, for instance, Biberauer & van Kemenade 2011 and the chapters by Dreschler and Komen in this volume). If this is being wrong, then being wrong in such an interestingly fruitful way is something that most scholars can only dream of.

What lessons can we draw from the volume, then? The clearest take-home message is that syntactic variation and change, insofar as it exists (on which see Biberauer & Walkden 2015), is inextricably bound up with information-structural and prosodic factors. Information structure plays a central role in the chapters by Dreschler, Starren, Elenbaas, de Haan, and van Vuuren & de Vries; prosody is crucial to the chapters by Hinterhölzl and Tangelder & Los. Moreover, the volume clearly shows that annotated corpora are invaluable for investigating these nuanced interactions. Most of the contributors make use of corpus evidence in some form, with the chapters by Komen and Postma particularly showcasing the added value of a quantitative perspective alongside careful qualitative analysis. The chapters by Westergaard, Biberauer, and van Sluijs et al. also draw lesser-studied, nonstandardized varieties into the picture. At the same time, traditional questions in formal syntax regarding categorial identity and constituency structure are also well represented in this volume, for instance in the papers by Biberauer & Roberts, Taylor & Pintzuk, and Vincent.

All in all, the book shows that the hypothesis-driven, empirically responsible study of syntactic variation and change that has been the hallmark of van Kemenade's research over the years is alive and well, and continuing to break new ground.

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