A review of Gentens. Caroline, Ghesquuière. Lobke, McGregor, William B., & Van linden, An. 2023 *Reconnecting Form and Meaning: In honour of Kristin Davidse.* Studies in language companion series 230. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 305.

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The book which is a festschrift for Professor Kristin Davidse KU Leuven comprises 10 chapters plus an introduction setting out the relationship between the individual chapters and Davidse's writings. The introduction provides a brief biography of Professor Davidse; highlighting the significance of her multiple contributions and the role she has played as colleague, mentor and teacher in inspiring those (very much including the present author) who have had the great pleasure of working with her. The ten substantiative chapters like Davidse's own inspiring work are grounded in extensive data analysis and rigorous detailed argumentation with theorizing drawn from a range of functional and cognitive linguistic theories. All the authors like Davidse ascribe to the view that grammatical structure is (i) symbolic and motivated, and (ii) that it provides for the structuring and conventionalisation of conceptual structure. This entails that the compositional meaning of constructions must be examined, and that linguistic analysis must take account of syntactic patterns, prosodic patterns, semantic patterns and prosodic patterns in establishing the range of meanings for a construction.

The editors have divided the book into three sections. The first of which focuses on information structure. This section contains three chapters which all question "assumed wisdom". Chapter 1 is Kaltenböck's careful corpus study of *there*-clefts with zero relativizer. He locates a surprisingly high number of 170 *there*-clefts with zero relativizer in the spoken component of the British National Corpus. He follows Davidse (1999 and 2014) in categorising *there-clefts* as being either specificational or presentational with the former further subdivided into enumerating and quantifying. Numerically presentational *there-clefts* represent a bare majority in the corpus. Kaltenböck argues that the omission of the relativizer results in the weakening of the pragmatic presupposition associated with the bi-clausal nature of matrix clause and cleft relative clause resulting in a mono-clausal construction. This is most noticeable in presentational *there*-clefts. A speaker is able to present the argument and predicate as all new information within a single clause. This results in a flouting of the "Principle of the Separation of Role and Reference" (Lambrecht 1994) which prohibits the introduction of a referent and a predication in the same clause. Kaltenböck's work shows that such constructions represent pragmatically efficient (for the speaker at least) ways of combining role and new referent within a single syntactic unit at least in spoken discourse. It is clear that there is much more to learn as Kaltenböck acknowledges about this sadly neglected construction. But this is as good a place to start as any.

Chapter 2 is Hasselgård's comparative parallel corpus study of the form and function of impersonal passives with an expletive and non-agentive pronominal in Norwegian (*det)* and English (*it*). She shows that while such constructions are present in both languages, Norwegian alone uses the constructions with transitive and intransitive verbs in material process clauses. English restricts the constructions to verbal and mental processes. Not surprisingly the

construction is therefore more frequent and diverse in Norwegian. Of the four subtypes she identifies only extraposition and pareneticals are found in both languages. Even though, the translations between the two languages of these subtypes are frequently non-congruent, Hasselgård's careful metafunctional reasoning demonstrates that interpersonally and textually they fulfil very similar functions in both languages. They are used to distance or lower commitment to a proposition, to ensure that the subject theme is devoid of referential information as well as ensuring the pronominal *it* or *det* is a thematic constituent with no information focus. Hasselgård's chapter illustrates the importance of linking the functional description of an individual construction with theorizing about the functions of a language.

Chapter 3, Bartlett's study of the information structure of Gaelic, illustrates the dangers of theorizing through the lens of Standard Average European and of assuming that an unmarked clause encodes a topic comment structure e.g. Lambrecht's Principle of the Separation of Role and Reference. Bartlett demonstrates that Gaelic is process orientated. The canonical VS order encodes a non categorial meaning with all of the arguments falling within the assertion established by the verb. To place an argument outside the scope of the verb a speaker needs to produce a marked structure such as a cleft whose biclausal nature allows the separation of a nominal argument from verbal scope. He provides a systems network mapping the typology of marked clauses in Gaelic. While his work shows the distinction between the primary cut of unmarked "atopical" and marked "topical" it would be fruitful to tease out the structural realisations and cultural implications of the more delicate options presented, especially in the light of Bartlett's claim that notions of topicality and atopicality are not distinct ways of viewing the world but rather systems of textual organisation found within an individual language.

Chapters 4 to 6 are usage based approaches to lexico-grammar. Chapters 4 and 5 are diachronic corpus studies within the usage based construction grammar tradition. In chapter 4, Traugott studies the emerging meaning potential of the construction *Oh, by the way.* This construction emerged from the fusion of two separate discourse markers *oh* and *by the way* in American English at least as early as 1840. Traugott shows that while the initial use of the construction encoded a topic shift to new content, two newer meanings have emerged; namely a hedge to a potentially face threatening remark, and a marker which signals disalignment with and mockery of the words spoken by an absent third party. Adopting a construction grammar approach she illustrates how since the 1920s the construction has been undergoing *constructionalization* which she defines as the establishment of a new symbolic association of form and meaning among a network of language users. The possibility that the two symbolic associations may be disambiguated by different prosodic choices is raised and is clearly worthy of further investigation. Traugott's chapter is an unusual and welcome addition to the construction grammar literature in that she incorporates pragmatic knowledge into her account of the meaning potential of *Oh, by the way*.

Noël in chapter 5 examines the decline in the use of the DEONTIC-NCI construction e.g., *be obliged to*, *be forbidden to*, *be permitted to* etc. Schmid's (2020) Entrenchment-and-Conventionalization (EC) model is used to explain the attrition of the construction. This model argues that change occurs through the conventionalisation of linguistic expressions through sustained repetition within a speech community coupled with individual entrenchment. The model recognises a distinction between conventionalised constructions and the linguistic

knowledge of an individual speaker. Noël applies the EC model to change resulting from loss. Using corpus data he demonstrates a fall in the overall use of 32% of tokens between the 18th century and the late 19th/early 20th century. To examine individual uses he turns to 25 authored novels written between 1848 and 1863 and finds a very mixed picture. Some authors have decreased their use of the constructions, while others have increased theirs, and others have not exhibited any differences in frequency. De-conventionalisation of the construction coupled with individual de-entrenchment has resulted in a change in which not all speakers participate to the same extent. The decline in the use of the DEONTIC-NCI construction is not the result of communal change, generation change or lifespan change. It is individual change with some speakers functioning as *attributional innovators*.

Chapter 6 further demonstrates the importance of considering social factors when describing language change. Butler and Simon-Vanderbergen's synchronic corpus investigates register and sociolinguistic variation between the indefinite pronouns *somebody/someone* and *everybody/everyone*. Previous literature has argued that the *body/one* pairs are semantically equivalent and in free variation though the *one* pronoun is believed to be both more frequent and to have wider distribution. In their corpus investigation Butler and Simon-Vanderbergen found no semantic differences between the *somebody/someone* pair in regard to the criterion of specificity. As regards the use of the construction their study both confirmed and refuted previous hypotheses. Age, as predicted, was the significant factor in distinguishing the use of the pronouns with younger speakers preferring the *one* variant while older speakers favoured the *body* variant. Conversely they found no support for claims that the *body* variant was preferred in conversation and that the *one* variant was preferred both by women and professionals. They concluded that the ongoing change towards the greater use of the *one* variant is driven by younger speakers though further investigation is required.

The remaining 4 chapters are more eclectic but all address questions of interest to the development of functional linguistics theory. Chapter 7 (Breunesse and Diessel) investigates the potential influence of iconicity on the encoding of distance in demonstrative systems in a sample of 180 geographically distributed languages drawn from 130 language families. Their findings confirm previous studies that proximal distance is more frequently encoded by demonstratives containing higher F2 values while distal terms are more frequently encoded by lower F2 values. Furthermore their comparison between proximal and distal terms in individual languages found the expected motivated relationship occurred in around 70% of the languages which employed vowel contrast to signal distance. In the second part of the chapter the authors investigated other possible iconic effects such as tone, vowel lengthening, reduplication and number of syllables and found some evidence that the proximate/distal distinction is coded by high versus low tone, shorter versus lengthened vowels, base versus reduplication and fewer versus more syllables. Their study provides some valuable further support for Ohala's (2006) frequency code but the sample sizes are small and further investigation is required. However, it is clear that the issue of iconicity and the naturalness of grammar coding is a rich topic for further investigation.

Chapter 8 Chrispin and Fontaine's study is from the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) tradition. SFL is a grammar of clauses with transitivity identified as a configuration of participants. There are 6 process types; two of which are behavioural and mental. This chapter examines the semantic and lexico-grammar profile of the verb *watch* and by contrast *see.* In

SFL terms the former is typically found in behavioural process clauses and the later in mental perceptive process clauses. SFL argues that lexis is "most delicate grammar" (Halliday 1961/2002), and that consequently lexical verbs emerge from the realisation of choices at clausal rank. Thus it is assumed that the realisation of *watch* implies that it is found in a behavioural process. Yet, as Chrispin and Fontaine note this does not have to be the case. Their corpus study of the lexemes *watch* and *see* demonstrate clearly that in English the lexical semantics of *watch* and *see* realise multiple and unique patterns, and hence from an SFL perspective the individual verb tokens occur in clauses with different process types. The value of the chapter lies in the explication of the meaning potential of the lexeme *watch* and showing how it contrasts with other verbs in terms of features such as complementation patterns and Aktionsart. This type of work has the potential to enrich SFL description by enabling a more fine-tuned taxonomy of verb processes.

In chapter 9, McGregor argues that linguists must produce evidence for a zero marker or produce evidence as to why zero-marking is necessary prior to incorporating it into their descriptions. He rejects the commonly held view that the presence of an ergative case marker entails the necessity/presence of absolutive case, see for example Palancar (2009). McGregor produces convincing evidence from the Australian language Gooniyanda where case marking is a phrasal phenomenon to suggest that there is no evidence for zero case marking. He does so by (i) ruling out the possibility of a zero postposition, (ii) the implausibility that zero case marking could attach to each item in the NP, and (iii) the confusion engendered by having identical stem and inflected form of nominals. In addition he provides evidence that the assumed zero marking for absolutive case in Gooniyanda does not result in useful linguistic generalisations. McGregor's work implies that language may contain unary case systems: a view that is most certainly plausible based on this evidence, but one that is somewhat troubling in that grammatical systems can no longer be defined in terms of paradigmatic oppositions.

The concluding chapter is from the Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) tradition and reworks Gleason's distinction between enation and agnation. Keizer in line with FDG thinking reinterprets enation and agnation in terms of representational and interpersonal frames and elements that are to be inserted into the frame. As the deletion or addition of operators does not result in a new frame, Keizer's distinction differs from Gleason who argued that the distinction was between structures and lexemes. To illustrate the relationship between (i) and (ii) is agnate for Gleason (different structure same lexemes) but enate for Keizer (same state of affairs).

(i)   Colin is a tennis player
(ii) Colin plays tennis

While the term agnation has been taken up in the literature the term enation has not. Yet Keizer reminds us that enation and agnation are of huge importance not only for language description but also in categorising how speakers of particular languages conceptualise frames in daily communication. In addition Keizer's chapter has the dual purpose as serving as an introduction to FDG theory and provides a convincing case that grammatical description cannot be divorced from the social situation and discourse settings.

To conclude the editors are to be applauded for not only curating the individual chapters but also arranging them in three themes which pay homage to Davidse's important contributions

in the development of functional and cognitive linguistics. It is my firm hope that this work, solid and influential in its own right, will not only be read but also will inspire readers to engage with Davidse's ongoing and important oeuvre.

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