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Indian linguistic studies: Festschrift in honor of George Cardona. Ed. by MADHAV M. DESHPANDE and PETER E. HOOK. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002. Pp. xxvi, 384. ISBN 8120818857. \$42.50.

Reviewed by BRIAN D. JOSEPH, *The Ohio State University*

In 1972, while I was an undergraduate at Yale and had just seriously embarked on a major in linguistics with an interest in Greek and Latin and historical linguistics, I was browsing in the book section of the Yale Co-op when I saw a slender volume on a table with remainders for sale that bore the curious (to me, at that time) title *On haplogy in Indo-European*. The book intrigued me but I had no idea what it was about, even though words from Greek and Latin were clearly to be found here and there on its pages, along with many from Sanskrit as well, and all in all it represented something rather exotic as far as my still linguistically underdeveloped sensibilities were concerned. I bought it—a bargain at only 77 cents(!)—and it was perhaps the first independent purchase of a linguistics book, that is, other than textbooks for classes, that I made, and it was certainly my first book on Indo-European (and the first to treat Sanskrit so thoroughly). The author was George Cardona (sorry about the price, George!) and I have been intrigued and influenced by his work ever since.

It is not just me, as this festschrift volume attests, for it is edited by two of the honorand's former students, who also contributed papers to the collection, and there are contributions as well by other former students. Mostly, though, the papers are by colleagues from around the world, and all either cite works by Cardona or deal with topics close to his long-standing areas of scholarly interest. Thus taken together these papers are most appropriate as a way of honoring this fine scholar.

Festschrift volumes, such as the one under review here, are generally difficult to review. Clearly something must be said about the honorand but also about the book itself, its contents, its high points, and so on. So let me start with George Cardona himself.

He is one of the leading scholars, if not the leading scholar, in the West and perhaps in the world, on the Indian grammatical tradition and on the great Indian grammarian Pāṇini. In addition, he has contributed significantly to Indo-Iranian, Indo-European, and general historical linguistics. He has published numerous articles in this very journal as well as in such other key venues as *Indo-Iranian Journal*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, and *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*. Moreover, he has authored six monographs, including the first volume, covering back-

ground and providing an introduction, of a planned multi-volume collection—rightly called ‘monumental’ by Jan Houben in his paper in the present volume (203, n. 1)—*Pāṇini: His work and its traditions* (published first in 1988 and then brought out in a revised and enlarged second edition in 1997). A bibliography in the volume under review offers dramatic support for any claim of Cardona’s stature in the field, as the listing of his oeuvre runs to thirteen pages (xiii–xxv), covering his published works up to 2000 and other works in press at that time.

As for the book itself, it contains twenty-three papers grouped into six thematic clusters: ‘Sanskrit grammatical theory’ (five papers: ‘How names work in grammar’ by JAMES BENSON, ‘Some observations on the *sthānasambandha*’ by E. G. KAHRS, ‘Some later argument on *iko yan aci*’ by ROBERT A. HUECKSTEDT, ‘Exegetics of Sanskrit grammar’ by SAROJA BHATE, and ‘*Vaiyākaraṇānām nirvikalpajñānasamkalpanā*’ by V. B. BHAGWAT, appropriately enough, written in Sanskrit¹), ‘Kāraka-studies’ (having to do with the way the grammatical tradition deals with grammatical or thematic relations; four papers: ‘Bhartṛhari’s rule for unexpressed kārakas’ by BRENDAN S. GILLON, ‘On P. 1.4.1–2: A reconsideration’ by S. D. JOSHI and J. A. F. ROODBERGEN, ‘Pāṇini, vivakṣā and kāraka-rule-ordering’ by PETER M. SCHARF, and ‘Kārakas: Direct and indirect relationships’ by MADHAV M. DESHPANDE), ‘Historical studies in grammatical traditions’ (six papers: ‘Two Buddhist grammarians: Candragomin and Jayāditya’ by ANNA RADICCHI, ‘The Cāndra-vyākaraṇa: Some questions’ by JOHANNES BRONKHORST, ‘Semantics in the history of South Asian thought: Three observations on the emergence of semantics in the Sanskrit tradition’ by JAN E. M. HOUBEN, ‘Notes on the Avestan grammatical tradition’ by WILLIAM MALANDRA, and ‘Making of Pāṇini’ by K. MEENAKSHI), ‘Lexical studies’ (four papers: ‘Sanskrit *āśīna*’ by G. B. PALSULE, ‘Does Patañjali on Pāṇini 5.2.9 refer to chess?’ by M. A. MEHENDALE, ‘Once again on the forms of oath in classical India (I): In connection with Kātyāyana’s vt. 8 “*śapa upalambhane*” on Pāṇini 1.3.2’ by TORU YAGI, and ‘Rigvedic *sīm* and *īm*’ by STEPHANIE W. JAMISON), ‘Cultural studies’ (two papers: ‘Some remarks on the final verses of the Kāmasūtra’ by ALBRECHT WEZLER, and ‘The language of the physician’ by HARMUT SCHARFE), and ‘Modern Indian languages’ (three papers: ‘Some Toda developments of Proto-Dravidian *r̥’ by M. B. EMENEAU, ‘How to be sarcastic in Hindi-Urdu’ by PETER EDWIN HOOK and KUSUM JAIN, and ‘Gender and number in Dravidian’ by BH. KRISHNAMURTI).

Inasmuch as I lack the expertise to comment knowledgeably on all of these contributions, and space would not permit that anyway, I offer here some remarks on a few of them that struck me as particularly interesting. I can say though that I found even those not commented upon here nonetheless to be highly worthy pieces that can be appreciated for their scholarship and erudition as well as their intrinsic interest. The grammatical chapters in particular are highly technical but provide a wonderful window onto the intricacies of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition; they reward the careful reader with insights not readily available from an examination of the grammatical literature directly.

The paper that for me was the most innovative and revealing was Malandra’s contribution on a different but at least geographically allied grammatical tradition, that associated with the ancient Iranian Gāthas, the Avesta. Malandra explains several peculiarities of Avestan forms, such as the writing of an etymological *-h-* in contexts where the outcome alone of that *-h-* after *r*, *u*, *k*, or *i*, that is *š* (in the Iranian equivalent of the Sanskrit ‘*ruki*’-rule), would be expected, as in *nišhartāra* for expected *nišartāra* (from **nihartāra*, ultimately from **nisartāra*), as an old ‘grammarians’ insertion of the etymological original’ (224); so also, for instance, he says, with the doubling of preverbs in tmesis (where the redundant preverb disrupts the meter as well, a clear indication that it is not, and was not originally, properly part of the line).

Stephanie Jamison writes on two enclitic forms in the Rīgvedas in her characteristically clear, thorough, and insightful way, coining the delightful term ‘word-ette’ (290) for these short unaccented ‘particle’-like forms and their similar Iranian cognates. She demonstrates convincingly

¹ The choice of language here is fitting, as Cardona is among the relatively few Western Sanskritists who speaks Sanskrit (I understand that he has lectured in the language in India).

that *sīm* and *īm*, recognized etymologically as pronouns but treated in ‘the Indian tradition and Böhlingk-Roth [1855–75] . . . as weakly emphatic or generalizing particles’ (290), have separate functions and distributions. She succeeds in resuscitating ‘Grassmann’s [1872–75] important demonstration of the fundamental accusative identity of these forms’ (291), showing, that is, that they function as pronominals even in the Rigveda. She ends with some questions—ultimately unanswered but crucial to ask and with some important speculations as first steps toward eventual answers—about the etymological sources of these forms and especially the way they fit in with other known demonstrative and anaphoric pronouns of Indo-European and Indo-Iranian.

One of the papers I liked offers a nice perspective on realia of ancient India. Mehendale mediates a scholarly dispute, between Paul Thieme and Heinrich Lüders, as to whether Patañjali in his commentary on a passage in Pāṇini refers to chess (Thieme) or backgammon (Lüders), Mehendale argues in favor of the latter while bringing to light several interesting aspects of early gaming on the subcontinent.

The last section, with the papers on modern Indian languages, holds much of interest too. This section includes one of Murray Emeneau’s last publications, in which, among other things, the great South Asianist almost recants his derivation of Toda *tōw* ‘divinity, god, goddess’ as a ‘borrowing . . . from an Indo-Aryan source, ultimately Sanskrit *dēva-*’ (356); new evidence introduced by Zvelebil, namely the Irula word *toga*, gives Emeneau pause concerning the borrowing explanation but he ultimately decides that ‘the derivation of To. *tōw* from Indo-Aryan in all probability should still stand’ (356). Moreover, the paper by Peter Hook and Kusum Jain offers some intriguing facts about how sarcasm is achieved in Hindi-Urdu, providing as well a typology of different kinds of sarcasm, but also touching on Pāṇini’s ‘two rules that are conditioned by sarcastic intent’ (360), 1.4.106 on the use of second person forms in sarcasm and 8.1.48 on ‘an audible accentual difference that distinguishes a class of sarcastic utterances from their non-sarcastic counterparts’ (362). Finally, in the last paper in the volume (last but not least), Bh. Krishnamurti gives a cogent survey of gender and number marking in a wide range of Dravidian languages, drawing both typological and historical conclusions; for instance, he argues that widespread ‘reduction in gender-number distinctions tends to be more typologically motivated than genetically . . . [and] does not serve always as a strong basis of subgrouping’ (380) and that in these reductions ‘no language retains gender alone totally suspending number’ (381) though reductions in gender alone or in gender and number together do occur, all in keeping with some of Joseph Greenberg’s universals (1963:95).

All in all this is a most satisfactory volume; the papers on the Indian grammatical tradition are lucid and scholarly and the other papers offer tantalizingly interesting material for linguists of all persuasions. A nice touch is a fine photograph of Cardona, sporting a shawl, a typical Indian mark of honor, that had been given to him, as described by the editors (xi), ‘when he delivered the Rabindra Nath Tagore lecture organized by the Centre for Philosophy and Foundations of Science at the India International Centre, New Delhi’ in March 2001. This volume too is a fitting mark of honor for this fine scholar.

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