

DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA FOR SEMI-LEXICALITY

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Abstract: Starting from a tripartite classification of syntactic categories into lexical, functional and semi-lexical, the paper analyzes pseudo-partitive constructions and monoclausal modal structures in Romanian, advancing the claim that both constructions consist of single extended projections, headed by one lexical and one semi-lexical/functional head. The aim of the paper is twofold. On the one hand, it strives to offer a non-exhaustive list of criteria for diagnosing semi-lexicality in the nominal and verbal domains; on the other hand, it aims at showing yet another similarity between nominal and clausal structures.

Keywords: pseudo-partitives, extended projections, monoclausal structures, semilexicality

1. Introduction. The lexical-functional continuum

Starting from the intuitive difference between lexical and functional categories, namely that lexical categories have descriptive content while functional categories have the role of connecting lexical items into articulated discourse, in the course of time, various diagnostic criteria have been proposed to distinguish one class from the other (see Emonds 1985):

- (i) Functional categories are closed classes, seldom having more than twenty-three members.
- (ii) Functional categories are usually phonologically and morphologically dependent; they do not carry stress and often develop weak, contracted forms; they may be realized as clitics or affixes.
- (iii) Functional elements are characterized by “unique morpho-syntactic behavior”, i.e. the members of different classes of functional elements cannot be differentiated from each other only by means of descriptive semantic features.

When trying to determine whether a particular category exhibits either lexical or functional features it becomes noticeable that, while some cases are clear-cut, such as the distinction between noun and determiner, some other cases are more difficult to decide upon.

One such case is the category P, which is an intermediate category between open classes and grammatical categories. They have both grammatical features –

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they make up a closed set – and lexical features – they can assign theta-roles directly or in conjunction with a lexical category (in *John always relies on me*, ‘me’ is assigned the Theme theta-role by the preposition *on* in conjunction with the verb).

Within the verbal domain, semi-lexical candidates might be auxiliary verbs (Emonds 1985), certain verbs featuring in verb clusters in Germanic Verb Raising (van Riemsdijk 2002), certain verbs that allow restructuring in Italian, like *sembrare* (Haegeman 2005).

For the nominal domain, Emonds (1985) refers to the pro-form *one* in *the good ones*, the reflexive *self/selves*, and *thing* in *something good*.

The aim of the paper is to add several members to the semi-lexical domain:

- (i) nouns functioning as N1 in quantitative pseudo-partitives, which behave as semi-lexical nouns doing the job of classifiers.
- (ii) some Romanian modal monoclausal constructions involving the verbs *a putea* ‘can’, *a trebui* ‘must’, *a fi* ‘be’, *a avea* ‘have’ are VP-complexes headed by a semi-lexical verb.

In order to accomplish this goal, the paper will articulate and evaluate a (non-exhaustive) list of diagnostic criteria which may prove instrumental in deciding whether an item belongs to semi-lexical part of the lexical-functional continuum.

2. Semi-lexical nouns and extended projections

Classifiers in plural languages have been treated either as lexical instantiations of functional categories (Li 1999, Löbel 1999) or as semi-lexical heads which exhibit both functional and lexical properties (van Riemsdijk 1998, Stavrou 2003, Tănase-Dogaru 2009). In van Riemsdijk (1998), quantifier nouns such as *number* in *a number of examples* and *couple* in *a couple of cigarettes* are considered to be functional heads, by virtue of their being closed-class items, while other type of nouns which may be used in pseudo-partitive constructions (measure nouns, partitive nouns, container nouns, collective nouns, kind nouns) are semi-lexical heads.

The difference between functional and semi-lexical heads is reflected in verb agreement and gender agreement with the determiner. As Löbel (2001) points out, especially agreement is taken as evidence that some measure nouns “may waver between functional and semi-lexical status” (van Riemsdijk 1998); in (1a), the measure noun *kilo* is functional, in (1b) it is semi-lexical:

- (1) a. Er zit drie kilo heroine in die zak.
There sit three kilo heroin in that bag.

- b. ?Er zitten meerdere kilo's heroine in die zak
There sit several kilos heroin in that bag.

Pseudo-partitive constructions consist of a single (extended) projection, in which N1 is a semi-lexical noun (cf. van Riemsdijk 1998, Vos 1999, Tănase-Dogaru 2007, 2009).

In Dutch, partitive constructions can be divided into two major groups: Direct Partitive Constructions (henceforth DPC), as in (2a) – with no intervening material between the container and the containee – and Indirect Partitive Constructions (2b):

- (2) a. een bus toeristen / een pan soep
a bus tourists / a pan soup
b. een bus met toeristen / een pan met soep
a bus with tourists / a pan with soup

DPCs are argued to involve a single projection in which N1 is a semi-lexical noun. Vos (1999) restates the analysis by considering DPCs as involving a kind operator (represented by the functional noun) that requires a lexical noun. Together, they form an extended nominal projection. Pseudo-partitive constructions in English and Romance languages are treated in van Riemsdijk (1998) as disguised DPCs because they behave like DPCs with respect to selection, as shown in (3):

- (3) a. Mary ate a whole tray of / *with pastries.
b. Jean a dilue plusieurs bouteilles de vin / * avec du vin.
Jean has diluted several bottles of wine / with wine.

In (3a), the verb *eat* selects N2 *pastries* and not N1 *tray*, which shows that the pseudo-partitive construction *tray of pastries* is an extended projection, with one lexical (*pastries*) and one semi-lexical head (*tray*).

2.1 Functional features of N1

2.1.1 Relational nouns

It is a well-known fact that most nouns that are involved in pseudo-partitive constructions (where they have functional status) also appear as full lexical nouns:

- (4) a. a green bottle / o sticlă verde
 b. a bottle of wine / o sticlă de vin
 c. *a green bottle of wine / *o sticlă verde de vin¹

In (4a), *bottle / sticlă* is lexical noun, while in (5b) it is a semi-lexical noun, fact which is emphasized by the ungrammaticality of (5c).²

Thus, a first characteristic of semi-lexical and functional heads: they are used as relational nouns, i.e. they head a (multi-headed) extended projection. The same idea is reinforced by Cheng and Sybesma (1999) who, in discussing cases like (5), point out the interpretational differences between *de* and *de*-less structures in Chinese:

- (5) a. san bang (de) rou
 three CLS pounds DE meat
 b. liang xiang (de) shu
 two CLS box DE book

In the absence of *de*, *xiang* ‘box’ receives a more concrete interpretation, relating to its being an actual box, while in the context of *de* a measure interpretation is favored, i.e. boxful.

2.1.2 Semantic bleaching

In the case of nouns used as heads of pseudo-partitives, they presuppose a ‘somewhat reduced lexical meaning in comparison to the quantified noun to which they are a sister’ (Löbel 2001). Thus in the Romanian examples in (6), the noun *vârf* used in a pseudo-partitive construction becomes semantically “bleached”, i.e. does not retain its original meaning of ‘peak’:

- (6) a. am ajuns în vârf(ul muntelui)
 have reached in peak(the mountain-the.GEN)
 ‘I have reached the peak (of the mountain).’
 b. am pus la mâncare un vârf de sare
 have put at food a peak of salt
 ‘I have added a little salt to the food.’

¹ The ungrammaticality of (4c) relates to cases where *bottle / sticlă* is a quantity-designating noun, i.e. a container of wine.

² However, this does not relate to a general exclusion from such structures. An example like *a big bottle of wine* is fine because *big* modifies the quantifier status of *bottle* not its qualitative properties (Henk van Riemsdijk, p.c.).

Bhattacharya (2001) also acknowledges the fact that a criterion for the functional character of the classifier is the lack of descriptive content: “This holds as well for the complex (i.e. the Num-Cla complex) as it does not pick out a class of objects but elaborates some property of the complement noun”.

2.1.3 Modification and sub-extraction

Semantic bleaching of N1 triggers transparency to modification. In (7), the modifiers *wonderful*, *stupid*, *sexy* obviously modify the second noun in the construction; the same applies to (8):

- (7) a. a wonderful cup of tea
 b. a stupid gang of schoolboys
 c. a sexy bunch of girls
- (8) a. o gașcă idioată de huidume
 a gang idiotic of bullies
 b. o sticlă minunată de șampanie
 a bottle wonderful of champagne
 c. un stol grăbit de școlărițe
 a bevy hurried of schoolgirls

The fact the pseudo-partitive as a whole can be modified by attributive modifiers that rather belong to N2 than N1 suggests the fact that the semantic head of the construction is N2. So, if we consider pseudo-partitives as single multi-headed projections, modification facts point to N2 as the lexical head of the extended nominal projection (which can be modified by attributive modifiers) and to N1 as the functional/semi-lexical head of the same projection, which is transparent to modification.

Sub-extraction phenomena also point to the fact that, although consisting of two constituents, pseudo-partitive constructions have one referent. When N2 is topicalized, the functional element *de/of* disappears, which I take to indicate the fact that pseudo-partitives consist of a unique multi-headed projection, as in (9):

- (9) a. Bani, Ion are o grămadă (*de)
 money, John has a heap (*of)
- b. Spectatori, au plecat o mulțime (*de)
 spectators, have left a multitude (*of)
- c. Ceai, a băut toată lumea câte o ceașcă (*de)
 tea, has drunk all world each a cup (*of)

In close connection to their reduced lexical meaning, these nouns also exhibit features that are known to pertain to semi-lexical/functional categories (see

Emonds 1985 and Bhattacharya 2001). Thus, they tend to constitute a closed class, i.e. they are limited in productivity³, possess a small number of members and do not encourage novel coinages.

2.2 Lexical features

2.2.1 Agreement

Agreement helps to demonstrate that, although consisting of two members, pseudo-partitive constructions are single projections with a single referent (see van Riemsdijk 1998, Löbel 1999 and Stavrou 2003).

The verb selects either N1 or N2, as shown by the fact that it can agree in number with either of them:

- (10) a. Un număr de studenți mă așteptau pe hol.
a number.SG of students-PL me were expecting on hallway
- b. Un număr mare de studenți a venit.
a number.SG big of students-PL has come

The same variation in agreement is observed by Stavrou (2003), who discusses Greek pseudo-partitives like (11):

- (11) a. Iparhun/iparhi mia sira diavathmisis
are/is a range-SG gradations-PL
- b. Ena buketo luludja itan pesmen-o/-a sto patoma.
a bunch flowers was/were thrown on the floor

This kind of variation is expected if we assume that pseudo-partitives constitute a unitary phrase involving two nominal constituents. This “freedom” of choice (Stavrou 2003) of the verb to select either of the two nouns within a single projection can only be accounted for if we take into consideration the categorial nature of the first noun, which is conceived of as neither fully lexical nor entirely functional. Another prediction is that the lack of agreement between the verb and N1 is more evident if the noun is closer to the functional end of the lexical-functional continuum.

³ One may wonder whether Romanian nouns used as N1 in pseudo-partitive constructions are really limited in productivity as there are clear differences between the restricted distribution of a purely functional noun (e.g. pereche/pair) and the freer distribution of a semi-lexical noun like sticlă/bottle. However, it is precisely this distinction in terms of distribution that allows for different degrees of lexicality.

2.2.2 Selection

Selection is between the predicate and either N1 or N2. In (15) the verb *overturn* may select either the object *tray* or the second noun *pastries*, resulting in two interpretations, one in which the tray gets turned over and the other in which the pastries get turned over:

- (15) a. Ei au răsturnat o tavă de prăjituri [+ambiguous]
They have overturned a tray of pastries.
b. Ei au răsturnat o tavă cu prăjituri. [-ambiguous]
They have overturned a tray with pastries.

If the main verb is a verb imposing strong selectional restrictions on its object, such as *a mânca* ‘eat’, the reading in which only the tray is affected is odd. This will be taken as evidence that in (16a), the verb selects *prăjituri* ‘pastries’ as object, while in (16b) it selects *tavă* / tray:

- (16) a. Au mâncat o tavă de prăjituri.
have eaten a tray of pastries
‘They have eaten a tray of pastries.’
b. ?? Au mâncat o tavă cu prăjituri.
have eaten a tray with pastries
‘They have eaten a tray with pastries.’

N1 can have either a quantificational – where it indicates a certain amount or quantity – or a referential interpretation – where it refers to an actual object, one that is present in the universe of discourse. If the verb imposes strong selectional restrictions on N1, like *a ține* ‘to hold’, N1 has a referential interpretation and it refers to an actual object in the discourse domain (17a). The construction contains two referential expressions: *sticlă* ‘bottle’ and *lapte* ‘milk’, which can be referred to by means of the pronouns *ea* for the feminine *sticlă* (17b) and *el* for the masculine substance noun *lapte* (17c):

- (17) a. Ion ține o sticlă_i de lapte_j.
Ion holds a bottle of milk
b. (Ea_i) e spartă.
(it) is broken-F
c. (El_j) e acru.
(it) is sour-M

When N1 has a purely quantificational interpretation (18a) – in other words, when it functions as a classifier – we can only refer back to the substance noun *lapte* (18b), since the classifier does not refer to an actual object that is present in the universe of discourse:

- (18) a. Ion a băut o sticlă_i de lapte_j.
Ion drank a bottle of milk.
b. *(Ea_i) e spartă.
(it) is broken-F
c. (El_j) e acru.
(it) is sour-M

A verb like *a fuma* ‘smoke’ selects a complement which refers to some substance that can be smoked, i.e. tobacco, or to an object made out of this substance (19a). A complement like *cutie* ‘box’ does not satisfy the selection restriction of the verb (19b), but a pseudo-partitive expression like *cutie de trabucuri* ‘box of cigars’ is acceptable.

- (19) a. Ion a fumat un trabuc.
Ion smoked a cigar.
b. *Ion a fumat o cutie.⁴
Ion smoked a box.
c. Ion a fumat o cutie de trabucuri.
Ion smoked a box of cigars.

Therefore, the verb selects N2 rather than N1 to satisfy its selectional restrictions. N1 is a functional or semi-lexical item, which designates amount or quantity but has no actual referent. A noun which exhibits both functional and lexical features can best be described as semi-lexical.

3. Semi-lexical verbs

Researchers have already discussed motion verbs in Romance (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2005, *sembrare* (Haegeman 2005) and modal semi-auxiliaries in Romanian (Avram 1999, Zafiu 2005) as amenable to an analysis in terms of semi-lexicity:

⁴ Example (19b) is acceptable only when the larger context supplies information about the contents of the box.

- (20) Vaju a pigghiu un pani (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2005)
 go-1SG to fetch-1SG a bread
 ‘I go to fetch bread.’
- (21) Non lo sembra capire (Haegeman 2005)
 not it seem-3SG understand
 ‘He doesn’t seem to understand it.’
- (22) Maria poate desena foarte bine (Avram 1999)
 Maria can-3SG draw very well
 ‘Maria can draw very well.’

It has been claimed that these verbs are merged as functional heads in the extended projection of the (main) lexical verb; the VP-complex represents a monoclausal structure (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1987, Avram 1999, Cinque 2004, Cardinaletti and Giusti 2005, Haegeman 2005). The main arguments have to do with restructuring: clitic climbing, long NP movement and the fixed order of the two elements. If the structure is monoclausal, i.e. extended projection with one semi-lexical and one lexical head, it should display transparency effects (cf. Cinque 2004). We can, therefore, advance the claim that both in the nominal and in the verbal domain, semi-lexical elements head an extended projection.

3.1 Modals in Romanian

Modal verbs in Romanian do not represent a well-defined, clear-cut syntactic class⁵. Modal verbs in Romanian have specific features, which led some researchers to consider them grammatical operators – going by the name of semi-auxiliaries (see Guțu 1956, *Gramatica limbii române* 1966); however, these verbs also have lexical features.

Romanian grammars acknowledge the hybrid status of modals in Romanian by stating that the sequence V1+V2 in (23a-d) is a complex predicate (Zafiu 2005):

- (23) a. Pot citi.
 can.1SG read
 ‘I can read.’
- b. Trebuie vorbit cu primarul.
 must spoken with mayor-the
 ‘One must speak to the mayor.’

⁵ Different researchers have different lists of modal verbs in Romanian. These lists may include *a putea* ‘can’, *a trebui* ‘must’, *a avea* ‘have’, in structures like (23d), *a fi* ‘be’, in structures like (23c), and optionally *a veni* ‘come’, in structures like *Îmi vine să plâng* ‘I feel like weeping’, *a părea* ‘seem’, *a da* ‘give’, in structures like *Dă să spună* ‘She is about to say’, and *a sta* ‘stay’, in structures like *Stă să cadă* ‘It is going to fall’.

- c. E de scris pentru mâine.
is of written for tomorrow
'There's a lot to write for tomorrow.'
- d. Avem de scris pentru mâine.
have of written for tomorrow
'We have a lot to write for tomorrow.'

3.1.1 Lexical features

Romanian modals, i.e. *a putea* and *a trebui*, can enter two structures: a monoclausal structure – with a VP complex (24) – and a biclausal structure (25). When *a putea* enters the biclausal structure, it governs a tensed clause, which is a lexical feature, since auxiliaries lack referential value, they have reduced semantic content and therefore cannot assign any theta-role and do not govern any tensed clause.

- (24) a. Ion poate citi.
Ion can-3SG read
'Ion can read.'
- b. Romanul *Ion* trebuie citit.
novel-the *Ion* must read-PAST PART
'The novel *Ion* must be read.'
- (25) a. Ion poate să citească.
Ion can-3SG SĂ read-3SG SUBJ
'Ion can read.'
- b. Ion trebuie să citească.
Ion must SĂ read-3SG SUBJ
'Ion must read.'

At least two important features point to the lexical nature of these verbs: they take tenses and they have agreement morphology. *A trebui* has a [+agreement] paradigm when it is followed by a participle with passive meaning (26a) and when it takes a dative indirect object (26b):

- (26) a. Ele trebuie trezite (Avram 1999)
they must3-PL woken-F PL
'They must be woken up.'
- b. Formularele ce-ți trebuie pentru asta.
forms-the what-you.DAT must-3PL for this
'the forms you need for this'

Another major lexical feature is the ability of *a putea* to assign theta-roles, as in (27):

- (27) Copilul poate învăța orice limbă străină (Avram 1999)
 child-the can-3SG learn any language foreign
 ‘The child can learn any foreign language.’

3.1.2 Functional features

A putea + bare infinitive and *a trebui* + participle represent VP complexes, in which the modal and the syntactic head of the VP denote one event structure and one argument structure, therefore paralleling the structure of pseudo-partitive constructions, which were shown to have a unique referent and to consist of a single double-headed projection.

3.1.2.1 Clitic climbing

When *a putea* is followed by the bare infinitive, clitic climbing is obligatory (28); when *a putea* is followed by a subjunctive clause, clitic climbing is ungrammatical (29):

- (28) a. Ion o poate vedea.
 Ion CL.3SG F ACC can-3SG see
 ‘Ion can see it.’
 b. *Ion poate o vedea.
 Ion can-3SG CL.3SG F ACC see
- (29) a. Ion poate să o vadă.
 Ion can-3SG SĂ CL.3SG F ACC see
 ‘Ion can see it.’
 b. *Ion o poate să vadă.
 Ion CL.3SG F ACC can-3SG SĂ see

Bare infinitives following *a putea* are therefore VPs with no functional projection that could host the clitic, which climbs to *a putea*.

3.1.2.2 Negation

Romanian bare infinitives cannot be negated, which points to the same analysis of V1+V2 in terms of complex predicates.

- (30) a. Ion nu poate citi.
 Ion not can read
 ‘Ion cannot read.’

- b. *Ion poate nu citi.
Ion can not read

3.1.2.3 Clitic adverbs

“Clitic” adverbs of the type *mai* ‘still’, *și* ‘and, also’, *cam* ‘quite’ can only appear in front of the inflected *a putea* (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Avram 1999):

- (31) a. Mai poate citi.
still can-3SG read
‘He can still read.’
b. *Poate mai citi.
can-3SG still read

3.1.2.4 Resistance to passivization

Sentences containing *a putea* + bare infinitive resist passivization. Thus, (32b) is not the passive counterpart of (32a), as shown by Avram (1999):

- (32) a. Ion poate citi romanul.
Ion can-3SG read novel-the
‘Ion can read the novel.’
b. Romanul poate fi citit de Ion.
novel-the can-3SG be read by Ion
‘The novel can be read by Ion.’

To sum up, Romanian “modal verbs” with monoclausal structures have both lexical features, i.e. they take tenses, with the exception of the *perfect compus*, they have agreement morphology and can assign theta-roles and functional features, i.e. they are defective (they cannot take certain tenses, sometimes they cannot appear in non-finite clauses, they cannot be used in the passive), they are rarely used in other tenses than the present and they undergo obligatory clitic climbing (restructuring).

4. Conclusions

The analysis of semi-lexical heads in Romanian has focused on N1 in pseudo-partitives and V1 in monoclausal modal structures. Both N1 and V1 were shown to exhibit both lexical and functional features, which points to their being amenable to an analysis in terms of semi-lexical categories.

Though semi-lexicality is a matter of fuzzy boundaries, the analysis of nominal and verbal semi-lexicality in Romanian has shown that semi-lexical categories exhibit some degree of morphosyntactic “defectiveness” and semantic bleaching in combination with a “strongly lexical” feature, such as triggering agreement. It remains to be seen whether semi-lexicality itself is a matter of degrees.

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REVIEWS

Kelemen Attila. 2008. *Influența scandinavă asupra lexicului și sintaxei limbii engleze vechi și medii*. Cluj-Napoca: Napoca Star. 380 pp.

Reviewed by Andrei A. Avram*

Kelemen Attila's book contains a list of abbreviations, six chapters, the references and five maps.

Chapter 1, "Introducere" (pp. 9-16), presents the aims and the structure of the book as well as the corpora of Old and Middle English analyzed. The author intends to contribute in particular to research on the Scandinavian influence on English syntax which, in his opinion, "has often been neglected" (p. 9), and to the "sociolinguistic aspects" (p. 10) of the Scandinavian influence on English.

Chapter 2, "Contextul istoric și cadrul socio-cultural al contactului lingvistic anglo-scandinav" (pp. 17-54), looks into the extra-linguistic factors conducive to the contact between Scandinavian and English. A section (pp. 18-35) outlines the historical context: England before the Viking invasions, the Vikings and the Viking invasions. Another section (pp. 35-42) reviews the English and Scandinavian historical sources as well as the evidence provided by place-names. The last section (pp. 43-53) discusses the various socio-cultural factors which account for the effects of the contacts between Old Norse and English. The analysis of the role of demographics (pp. 45-49) focuses on two issues which are relevant to establishing the extent of the language contacts: the number of Viking settlers and their social status. Also discussed are the non-uniform geographical distribution of the Viking settlers and the effects of political events and of military conflicts on the variation in the density of the Scandinavian population.

Chapter 3, "Contactul lingvistic anglo-scandinav" (pp. 55-108), starts with a discussion of the similarities between Old English and Old Norse, of their position within the family of Germanic languages and of their mutual intelligibility (pp. 56-71). Regarding the highly controversial issue of the degree of mutual intelligibility of Old English and Old Norse, the author concludes that it is best characterized as being of instance of the so-called "semi-communication". The next section (pp. 71-82) critically reviews the main typologies of language contacts and of borrowings suggested in the literature. A section (pp. 82-88) evaluates the creole hypothesis according to which Middle English is the outcome of a creolization process involving either Old Norse exclusively or French as well. This hypothesis is rejected by the author on the strength of two arguments: the absence of the social conditions conducive to creolization, and the fact that the structural characteristics of Middle English are not those typical of creole languages. With respect to the issue of Anglo-Scandinavian bilingualism (pp. 88-92), the author concludes (p. 91) that "there existed bilinguals in the Danelaw, but it was not an extended bilingualism". The hypothesis of the emergence of a mixed language (pp. 92-95) is also rejected. Also evaluated, under the heading "alternative solutions" (pp. 95-102), and rejected are the following hypotheses: "Norsified" English, the Old Norse-English dialectal continuum and the koinéization of Old English and Old Norse. The author analyzes the ultimate fate of Old Norse in England as an illustration of the phenomenon of language shift (to English) and subsequent language death (disappearance of Old Norse).

In chapter 4, "Influența scandinavă asupra lexicului limbii engleze vechi și medii" (pp. 109-246), the author proceeds to a detailed analysis of the Scandinavian loanwords in English, on the

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basis of three criteria: phonetic, morphological and semantic. The phonetic criteria (pp. 127-137) include the occurrence of forms with the vowel /o:/, the diphthong /ei/ or the vowel /e:/, with /k/ or /g/ before a front vowel, with the word-initial consonant cluster /sk/, as well as the absence of forms with the glide /w/ in word-initial position. The reflexes of the Old Norse medio-passive suffix *-sk* and of the adjectival neuter and adverbial suffix *-t* serve as morphological criteria (pp. 137-138). Finally, the semantic criterion used (pp. 138-140) is the meaning of English words which, on formal grounds, could derive from either an Old English or an Old Norse etymon. The author then discusses issues raised by the identification of the dialectal origin (Danish or Norwegian) of Old Norse lexical borrowings (pp. 142-152) and by their geographical distribution (pp. 152-159). Two sections look at Scandinavian loanwords attested in Old English (pp. 159-182) and in Middle English (pp. 182-223) respectively. The author further discusses (pp. 223-240) the fate of Old Norse loanwords: the replacement of Old English lexical items, the occurrence of doublets, the spread of a large number of Scandinavian loanwords in the English dialects spoken in the former Danelaw and in Lowlands Scots, the semantic changes undergone by English words under the influence of their Scandinavian cognates, and the reinforcement of Old English words given the existence of phonetically and semantically similar Old Norse ones. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of the Scandinavian influence on family names (those ending in *-son*) and on place-names (those ending in e.g. *-by*, *-dale*, *-toft*, etc.).

Chapter 5, “Influența scandinavă asupra structurii morfologice și sintactice a limbii engleze vechi și medii” (p. 247-342), looks at the changes in the inflectional morphology and in the syntax of English. A section (pp. 250-269) is a review of the various theories regarding the types of grammatical changes and the internal and external factors accounting for them. The section on the Scandinavian influence on the inflectional morphology of Middle English (pp. 270-293) is a detailed analysis of issues such as: the reinterpretation of morphemic boundaries (the incorporation in the root of the adjectival neuter and adverbial suffix *-t*, of the medio-passive suffix *-sk*, and of the infinitive marker *at*); the pres. ind. 3 sg. ending *-s*; the form *are* in the paradigm of the verb *be*; the disappearance of the prefix *ge-*; the emergence of phrasal verbs; the present participle in *-andi* attested in Northern dialects of Middle English; the 3 pl. forms of personal pronouns and of pronominal adjectives; adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions. The syntactic changes (pp. 293-340) which may be attributed to Scandinavian influence include: the use of the verbs *shall* and *will*, the so-called “null relative” and the switch from an SOV to an SVO word order. Word order change is discussed in a separate section (pp. 254-275). The author concludes that the SVO word order is the result of Scandinavian influence. The syntactic analysis is supplemented with a sociolinguistic one. The switch to the new word order is argued to have been a gradual process, and not a “catastrophic” or abrupt one, as in previous analyses. One last issue discussed is the controversial relation between the simplification of the inflectional morphology and the change in the word order of English (pp. 334-340). The author situates (p. 340) “the beginning of the process of simplification before the tendencies towards a fixed word order”, and states that this “theory is more compatible with an account of certain changes in the morpho-syntactic structure in terms of Scandinavian influence”.

The last chapter, “Concluzie finală” (p. 343-349), summarizes the findings.

The following are some minor observations. The author writes (p. 42) that “what is certainly surprising is the absence of Scandinavian [place-]names in Northumbria”. The author probably refers to the county now called Northumberland, not to Northumbria – an area in which Scandinavian place-names are rather well represented on the whole. Moreover, Scandinavian place-names are attested even in Northumberland, although they are scarce¹. In the section on

¹ See the map on p. 96 in E. van Gelderen (2006), *A History of the English Language*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins.

Scandinavian traces in place-names it is stated (p. 242) that the Old English cognate of Old Norse *þorp* 'village' is "*þrop* with metathesis of *r*". Firstly, the form *þorp* is also attested². Secondly, both variants occur in place-names. Thirdly, reflexes of both variants appear in place-names such as *Throop* (in Dorset) and *Thorp* (in Surrey), well outside the former "Danelaw"³. The list of Scandinavian elements in place-names (pp. 242-243) should have included *-holm* (< Old Norse *hōlmr* 'small island'): 176 Scandinavian place-names ending in *-holm*⁴ are attested by 1500. Finally, mention should have been made of the Scandinavian influence on place-names ending in *-caster*, e.g. *Doncaster*, *Lancaster*, *Muncaster*, which do not exhibit palatalization of /k/ to [tʃ] as those ending in *-chester*.

The Old English prefix *ge-* is said to be "of the past participle" (p. 281). In fact, *ge-* is an aspectual prefix, with a perfective meaning⁵. This accounts for its occurrence in the infinitive of verbs, e.g. *geniman* 'take, seize', or in the preterite, e.g. *genam*, and for the existence of pairs of verbs such as *āscian* 'ask' vs. *geāscian* 'learn by asking, discover' or *winnan* 'fight' vs. *gewinnan* 'conquer, win'⁶.

There are only a few inconsistencies. Thus, the number of Scandinavian place-names mentioned amounts to "2000 place-names" (p. 41), "thousands of place-names" (p. 241) and "1400 place-names" (p. 347). The dialectal word *bairn* 'child' is considered to be of Scandinavian origin (p. 230), but later as originating in Old English and reinforced by Old Norse *barn* 'child' (p. 239). The meaning of some Old Norse etyma is not indicated: *fors* (p. 241) 'waterfall' and *lundr* (p. 242) 'grove'.

To conclude, this is a comprehensive and insightful book for which the author is to be commended.

Ruxandra-Oana Raianu. 2011. *Gradația în limba japoneză în perspectivă tipologică*. Bucharest: Editura Universității din București. 244 pp.

Reviewed by Andrei A. Avram*

Ruxandra-Oana Raianu's book consists of a foreword, a list of abbreviations, a list of citation codes, five chapters, five appendices and the references.

The aims and the structure of the book are briefly outlined in "Cuvânt introductiv" (pp. 5-6).

The theoretical and methodological framework adopted by the author is presented in chapter 1, "Gradația: probleme teoretice și de metodă" (pp. 13-27), made up of two sections. Its first section (pp. 13-15) discusses the relationship holding between grading and comparison. The second section (pp. 16-27) is an overview of some analyses of grading in English, Romanian and Arabic.

² J. R. Clark Hall (1993), *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, pp. 362 and 364. See also D. Crystal (2004), *The Stories of English*, London, Penguin Books, p. 67.

³ D. Crystal (2004), *The Stories of English*, London, Penguin Books, p. 67.

⁴ G. Fellows-Jensen n.d. <http://www.ramsdale.org/dalr.htm>.

⁵ See e.g. J. J. Smith (2009), *Old English. A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 63.

⁶ B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson (1995), *A Guide to Old English*, fifth edition, Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 303 and 362.

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Chapter two, “Gradația în limba japoneză” (pp. 28-142), is a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the means of expressing grading in Japanese. A first section (pp. 28-42) consists of preliminary remarks on the classification of degree and quantity adverbs as well as regarding the system of degree adverbs in Japanese. The next section (pp. 42-136) looks at morphological and syntactic means for expressing intensification (pp. 42-112) and attenuation (pp. 112-136) respectively. The morphological means used for intensification identified by the author are prefixes and suffixes, while the syntactic ones include comparison to a standard, emphatic particles, repetition, the litote and a series of idiomatic expressions. As for attenuation, the morphological means are prefixes and suffixes, whereas the syntactic ones consist of approximation and the litote. A separate section (pp. 133-136) focuses on intensifiers occurring particularly in the Japanese spoken by young people. Throughout the chapter, the author specifies – wherever possible – the etymon and analyzes the grammaticalization process whereby a lexical word turns into a prefix or suffix used to express grading.

In chapter 3, “Probleme ale echivalării intensificatorilor în traduceri în și din limba japoneză” (pp. 143-168), the author analyzes translations into English, German and Romanian of novellas written by Ryūnosuke Akutagawa, the translation into Romanian of Yasunari Kawabata’s novel *Yukiguni* and the translations into Japanese of Mircea Eliade’s *Domnișoara Cristina*. The analysis aims at identifying both the similarities and the differences between Japanese, on the one hand, and English, German and Romanian, on the other hand, in the use of means of expressing grading. The two main sections of this chapter illustrate the Japanese equivalents of the various types of intensifiers attested in English, German and Romanian (pp. 145-157) and the equivalents in these languages of the Japanese intensifiers.

Chapter 4, “Gradația în limba japoneză și în alte limbi: o perspectivă tipologică” (pp. 169-210), compares the means of expressing grading in Japanese and those occurring in other languages. On the basis of data from 57 languages which differ both typologically and in terms of their genetic affiliation and from various pidgins and creoles, the author identifies an inventory of recurrent means for expressing grading. The section on means of intensification (pp. 170-194) discusses vowel lengthening, consonant gemination, partial and total reduplication, the so-called “Oriental superlative” and comparison to the prototype of the class. The means for expressing attenuation examined (pp. 194-210) include approximation, the litote, the so-called “minimizers” and diminutives. In her discussion of diminutives, the author pays particular attention to intensifiers etymologically derived from lexical items with the meaning ‘offspring’ or ‘child’ and to diminutive forms of the adverbs meaning ‘near’ and ‘far’. The author shows that intensifiers obtained via grammaticalization of an etymon meaning ‘offspring’ or ‘child’ are attested in languages typologically and genetically as diverse as Japanese, Lepcha and Ewe. It is also shown (p. 209) that an implicational relation holds between the diminutive forms of the adverbs meaning ‘near’ and ‘far’. Thus, if a language has a diminutive form of the adverb meaning ‘near’ it also has a diminutive form of the adverb meaning ‘far’.

The findings are summarized in chapter 5, “Concluzii” (pp. 211-218). The author divides her findings into four categories: (i) the identification of the category of grading in Japanese and of its main means of expressing intensification and attenuation; (ii) the typological comparison of languages in terms of their means of expressing grading; (iii) the comparison of Japanese and Romanian; (iv) the position of Japanese in terms of its means of expressing grading (e.g. their frequency, degree of grammaticalization, the relation between comparison and grading)

Appendices 1 and 2 (pp. 219-223 and 224-228 respectively) list the intensifiers attested in the Japanese corpus. Appendix 3 (pp. 229-230) is a list of Japanese degree and quantity adverbs, classified in terms of a test proposed in the literature and on the basis of questionnaires filled in by native speakers of Japanese. Appendices 4 and 5 (pp. 231 and 232) consist of two maps which illustrate the cross-linguistic distribution of a diminutive etymologically derived from a lexical

item meaning 'offspring' or 'child' and of the diminutive forms of the adverbs meaning 'far' and 'near'.

A few final remarks and comments are in order. As pointed out by the author, several Japanese examples exhibit the effect of "sequential voicing". However, in a number of cases involving *ko* 'child' used either as a prefix or as a suffix, the occurrence of sequential voicing is not mentioned: *kodakai* (pp. 120 and 127) cf. *takai* 'high', *kogaisha* (p. 122) cf. *kaisha* 'company', *kobane* (p. 122) cf. *hane* 'wing', *mōshigo* (p. 123) cf. *ko* 'child', *kobito* (p. 125) cf. *hito* 'human being', *kogatana* (p. 126) cf. *katana* 'sword', *kogurai* (p. 127) cf. *kurai* 'dark', *kogitanai* (p. 127) cf. *kitanai* 'dirty', *kobana* (p. 128) cf. *hana* 'nose', *kobara* (p. 128) cf. *hara* 'stomach', and *koganemochi* (p. 200) cf. *kanemochi* 'rich'.

The author states (p. 120) that "the graphic representations of the type *shi* 子 'child', *ji* 児 'child' could be the equivalent of *-v'i* from Ewe". Actually, it is the use of *ko* 'child' as a prefix or suffix in Japanese that is equivalent to the use of *v'i* as a suffix in Ewe. The Swahili prefix *vi-* is said (p. 206) to derive etymologically from a lexical item meaning 'child' and to be used to form a diminutive. In fact, the Swahili diminutive prefix is *ki-* and *vi-* is its plural counterpart, i.e. *ki-* and *vi-* form a noun class; consequently, example (786) *mbuzi* 'goat' *vibuzi* 'little goats' (p. 206) should read *kibuzi* 'little goat' *vibuzi* 'little goats'.

There are a number of infelicitous formulations. *Katakana* is said to be an alphabet (p. 133), although it is a mora-based writing system. The term "genealogical affiliation" (p. 169) is used instead of "genetic affiliation". Similarly, "partial repetition" (p. 171) and "repetition of a word" (p. 172) are used instead of the standard terms "partial reduplication" and "total reduplication" respectively.

There are several editorial shortcomings. Thus, there are inconsistencies in the presentation of examples, which do not always include the source, the year and the page. The transliteration of a number of examples from Arabic is faulty since the required diacritics are missing. In the list of sources on grading in various languages (p. 169) Quirk should read Quirk et al.; Lee should read Lee and Ramsey; Schachter should read Schachter and Otnes; Avram (2007) should read Avram (2008). Dixon (1988), mentioned in the text (p. 169), is not listed in the references. The year of publication of Iwasa is 1985 in the text (p. 169), but 1984 in the references (p. 240). The sources of the examples in various creole languages are not indicated in the references. In the title of Ruf (1996), *Wortsuchung* (p. 242) should read *Untersuchung*.

Obviously, these observations do not detract from the value of the book which is a welcome addition to the literature on grading in Japanese and should also prove of interest to specialists in linguistic typology.

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