
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 English, 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 etymology.

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 medie” (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 hólmr 'small island'); 176 Scandinavian place-names ending in -holm⁴ are attested by 1500. Finally, mention should have been made of the Scandinavian influence on place-names ending in -caster, e.g. Doncaster, Lancaster, Mancaster, which do not exhibit palatalization of /k/ to [ʧ] 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 ǣscian ‘ask’ vs. geāscian ‘learn by asking, discover’ or wīnnan ‘fight’ vs. gewīnnan ‘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.


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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, “Gradaţia: probleme teoretice şi 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.

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Chapter two, “Gradăția 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 traducerile în şi din limba japoneză” (pp. 143-168), the author analyzes translations into English, German and Romanian of novellas written by Ryunosuke Akutagawa, the translation into Romanian of Yasunari Kawabata’s novel Yakiguui 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, “Gradăția 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 obtaining 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
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: kodai (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 仔 ‘child’, ji 儿 ‘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 Otanes; 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.