

att senare tids språkbruk blandas med äldre. Lika viktig verkar hypotesen om att det under den undersökta perioden höll på att växa en skriftnorm för svenskan som precis hade övergått till den latinska skriften. Avhandlingen är en av de få språkhistoriska studier som publicerats i Sverige under senare år men även ett indicium på att intresset för det språkhistoriska är på tillbakavägen. Dessutom är avhandlingens objekt ett material som inte ofta varit föremål för ingående språkvetenskapliga studier. Däremot är det svårt att ifrågasätta äldre böjningsparadigm, eftersom de konstruerades inom ramar för en annan språkvetenskaplig teori och hade en delvis annan uppgift än de paradigm som presenteras i avhandlingen. Trots denna kritiska anmärkning är 'Skrivaren och språket' en mycket värdefull publikation.

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DOMINIKA SKRZYPEK

ELI FISCHER-JØRGENSEN: *Tryk i ældre dansk. Sammensætninger og Afledninger*. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 84. København: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Reitzels Forlag, 2001. 516 pp.

In her book *Tryk i ældre dansk. Sammensætninger og Afledninger* (Stress in older Danish. Compounds and Derivatives), Eli Fischer-Jørgensen (henceforth EFJ) discusses the historical development of stress in Danish compounds and derivatives starting with the 17th century and going until the year 1900. EFJ is a world authority on Danish phonetics and phonological theory. She has published extensively on phonetics, including acoustic phonetics, and phonological issues. EFJ has contributed significantly to our knowledge of the formation of consonant and vowel sounds and also of stress, the latter being the subject of *Tryk...* Apart from being an unquestionable contribution to scholarship, the book's importance and usefulness derive from the fact that EFJ treads an unexplored ground – the development of Danish stress in this particular period had not been explored before in any detail.

The inspiration for the book dates back to the fifties when EFJ familiarized herself with Louis Hammerich's book on the distribution of stress in German compound words

and its further development. In the introduction, EFJ sketches the original aim of the book, namely the development in Danish in comparison with other Germanic languages. Discouraged by Louis Hjelmslev, she stopped her works in order to take it up again in the nineties. This time EFJ decides to describe the development in Danish in its own terms and not to mention other languages.

The starting point of EFJ's book is the theory of the Swedish linguist Axel Kock, dating back to the 19th century, claiming that there used to be many more examples of compound words and derivatives, especially verbs, stressed on their second member than is the case now. According to Axel Kock it is primitive Norse that should help us to describe the subsequent development of different Nordic languages and dialects, a position EFJ disputes. Nevertheless she finds his theory helpful because it suggests and encourages new ideas and ways of thinking. In the following chapters the author tries to examine the vocabulary and draw appropriate conclusions. Chapter I (p. 18-78) has as its subject the poetry of a Danish priest, poet and hymnist Anders Christensen Arrebo, including his two main works *Kong Davids Psalter, sangviis udsat* (1623, 1627) and *Hexaëmeron* (1661). Arrebo's two books are the first Danish books which adopt the rules of the new trend in German and Dutch poetry. Chapter II (p. 85-137) contains a comprehensive examination and description of the works by grammarians and prosodists of the 17th century, among others Johs. Stephanius, Hans Mikkelsen Ravn, Søren Poulsen Gotländer Judichær, Peder Pedersen Syv and Erik Eriksen Pontoppidan. In chapter III (140-161) the poetic use of compounds and derivatives in the 18th and 19th century is described, namely in the writings of Holberg and Sophus Claussen. Chapter IV (p. 163-255) and chapter V (p. 256-332) provide a survey of the statements on stress in the grammatical literature in 18th and 19th century respectively. The most important grammarian of the 18th century was Jens Pedersen Høysgaard while in the 19th century significant studies were written by Levin Christian Sander, Rasmus Kristian Rask, Svend Grundtvig and Christian Frederik Bruun. Chapter VI (p. 335-436) comprises a summary and explanations.

The approximately 500 pages of the book attempt to explain the development of stress in the Danish language. The author prefaces her analysis with a few pages devoted to stress in compounds and derivatives in modern Danish and supplies exhaustive information on the various theories of stress in compounds and derivatives in Old Norse. After a very detailed analysis of both grammar books and belles-lettres EFJ reaches the general conclusion that the majority of the words examined were pronounced in an invariable way. The conclusion contradicts Axel Kock and undermines his theory used as the starting point of the investigation carried out by the author of the book.

The analysis shows that almost all nouns, regardless of their simple or complex character, have always had primary stress on the first syllable (or first member). Simple adjectives and adjectives with monosyllabic suffixes have always had primary stress on the stem. Simple verbs have also had stress on the first syllable and, starting with the 19th century, stress has also been placed on the first member of compound verbs. Although EFJ supports her theory by extensive evidence, she also tries to explain the variable pronunciation of particular words, proof of which can also be found in many texts from the period in focus. Historical background explains how the problem emerged when there was a need for borrowing verbs with prefixes and particles from other languages because of the general lack of productivity of unstressed prefixes in Old Norse and their gradual loss. Verbs were borrowed predominantly from Low German, Latin, Dutch and High

German, starting with the 13th century until 17th century. The majority of Danish poets and grammarians were supporters of the new trend in German poetry dating back to the end of the 16th century, stating that the use of words in poetry should be based on their pronunciation in everyday speech. Dialectal differences must also have led to variable pronunciation of particular words examined.

The analysis shows that there was another factor apart from the influence of loanwords that influenced some compounds and shifted stress to the middle member and weak stress on the first and last members in words like *bog'fører* 'bookkeeper'. It was rhythm. There has also been a tendency towards placing stress on the last member in words like *faste'lavn* 'Shrovetide' as well as in jocular words like *hurlum'hej* 'hubbub'. Although there may have been a tendency to shift the stress of trisyllabic compound nouns with an unstressed last syllable to the second member in words like *regn'buen* 'rainbow', it must have been poetry that the authors had in mind. The analysis shows that the rhythmical factor may have been the reason why quite a number of nouns with the suffixes *-else* and *-hed* had stress on their second member. German influence may have resulted in the vacillating stress on some double compounds in words like *borg'mester* 'mayor'. A large number of compound adjectives with suffix *-ig* have primary stress on the second member in modern Danish, a practice which has been usual since the 17th century. Dialectal differences seem to provide an explanation why some adjectives had with stressed *u-* although this has not been examined closely. In many instances the frequent occurrence of stress on the second member of some words seems to have been caused by Low German which have a similar stress pattern. According to the author of the book compound verbs were regularly used with the second member in stressed position in verse. Nevertheless none of the grammarians gives a picture of the stress of compound verbs which would be different form that for nouns. The fact that compound verbs were almost all written loanwords from Low German or loan translation from Latin may be a satisfactory explanation for the special situation of verbs which accepted the German prosodic tradition in a very direct way. Examples from the end of 19th century show a tendency to stress the second member of learned words like *vel'signe* 'bless' or *hellig'gørelse* 'sanctification'. In the modern language it is only learned words that happen to have stress on the second member of the compound.

In her book *Tryk...*, EFJ has used old poetry and prosodic texts as well as grammar books in order to work out a reliable analysis of vocabulary. For the pronunciation of Danish she refers to *Den Store Danske Udtaleordbog* (L. Brink, J. Lund, S. Heger, J. Normann Jørgensen, Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1991), the authoritative pronunciation dictionary in Denmark. The vocabulary is divided into three groups: nouns, adjectives and verbs and the difference between compounds (two or more independent words) and derivatives (stems with affixes) is paid attention to. The accurate indexes include, among other things, treatises on grammar and prosody from 1600 until 1900 (p. 444-448), prosodic texts (p. 449-452) and the bibliography (p. 453-467). The book has been written in a lucid way. It includes explanatory notes on the terminology used in the book (p. 468-473). EFJ takes a very conscious approach to theories and is careful to avoid hasty conclusions. She continues to display an impressive creativeness. The book reflects her distaste for abstract discussions acquired in the late thirties and love for concrete phonetic examinations. The richness of the linguistic material collected leaves no doubts about the

author's passion for linguistics. With commendable modesty, EFJ emphasizes pragmatic reasons for executing the analysis and the readiness to prepare the ground for other researchers. *Tryk...* is a book constituting an excellent source of information about the Danish language for both scholars and non-specialists in linguistics who share an interest in this fascinating field of scholarship.

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