

Studies of particular languages

ENGLISH See also abstracts 79–190, –214

79–225 Mallinson, G. On recognising rule-bending and rule-breaking in English co-ordination. *Folia Linguistica* (The Hague), 11, 1/2 (1977), 109–44.

The paper examines sentences of English that deviate to varying degrees from the normal rules of conjoining. Most of the relevant data is extracted from two novels of E. M. Forster; an early example is the strangeness of the sentence 'For it is impossible, as well as sacrilegious, to be as quick as Baedeker'. (*Where angels fear to tread*: 20). There is a discussion of the norms implicit in the bending and breaking of rules, and an assessment of several treatments in this area of syntax, notably by Dik. An attempt is then made to establish categories of deviance, but the central concern is seen to be the hearer/reader's tolerance of deviant structures. An explanation is outlined in terms of four basic principles which govern both production and tolerance. The principles draw on criteria of phonological identity of different morphemes, surface grammaticality, linear distance between conjuncts, and communicative intention.

79–226 Shanon, Benny. Even, only and almost hardly. *Studies in Language* (Dordrecht) [formerly *Foundations of Language*], 2, 1 (1978), 35–70.

The basic tenet underlying this treatment of *even, only, almost* and *hardly* is that the four are operators on scales. The significance of the scalar analysis is threefold: (1) it offers a parsimonious and coherent account of the behaviour of the operators – each one alone, and the four *qua* the members of a well-defined linguistic group; (2) it demonstrates that semantic functions may be defined on an autonomous linguistic level; the order of the elements which construct the scale may be determined by extralinguistic factors, but the behaviour of the operators is characterised in its entirety in terms of the abstract topological properties of the scale; (3) the analysis introduces concepts which could be applied in other areas.

79–227 Taubitz, Ronald. British and American English: some differences and their implications for the EFL Teacher. *Die Neueren Sprachen* (Frankfurt am Main), 2 (1978), 159–64.

In spite of the similarities between standard British and American English, and their general tendency towards convergence, certain differences are often

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noticed not only in the speech of educated native speakers who teach the language but at times even in their students. In the present study a questionnaire of 30 sentences was used to determine the differences that exist in the use of *shall* and *will* between American teachers of EFL at the Cultural Center of the United States in Madrid, their English colleagues at the British Institute in Madrid, and their respective students. The conclusions of this tentative study indicate – among other things – that the preconceptions of the teachers about the use of *shall* and *will* are not generally shared by their students (especially at the Cultural Center of the United States), and that more research in this area should be undertaken in order to determine more precisely the reasons for and the extent of the greater British influence on all of the students tested.

79–228 Zydatið, Wolfgang. 'Continuative' and 'resultative' perfects in English? *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **44**, 4 (1978), 339–62.

A unitary semantic analysis of the English *have+en* form is proposed, eliminating the need for the commonly made grammatical distinction between 'continuative' and 'resultative' perfect types. Readings of ongoingness or completion of the event derive from the interaction of this basic function with a variety of possible factors, such as the type of adverbial modification, perfective/imperfective aspect, extralinguistic knowledge, and with the semantics of the verb itself [definitions]. For instance, the reading 'present result of past action', often given as definitional of the perfect, only arises with 'accomplishment' predicates. Atelic propositions favour continuative readings, but again non-continuative readings are possible under certain semantic and pragmatic conditions.

FRENCH

79–229 Dessaux, Anne-Marie. Les compléments distributifs: un sous-système formel et sémantique de la complémentation en français. [Distributive complements: a syntactic and semantic subsystem in French complementation]. *Langue Française* (Paris), **39** (1978), 5–29.

Distributive complements consist of a noun with a quantifier as determiner and a complement of the form *à le N*, *de le N*, *le N*, *par N*, *sur N*, as in *Jean boit quatre whiskies à l'heure*; *Les tomates se vendent sept francs du kilo*; *Jean vient ici trois fois l'an*; *Jean boit quatre whiskies par heure*; *Le camelot a vendu trois cravates sur quatre*. These display particular syntactic and semantic properties that establish them as a distinct construction-type, in which the distributive complement functions as part of the determiner. The five individual types of

distributive complement are shown to be syntactically and semantically distinct both from each other and from other superficially similar constructions involving the same prepositions.

79-230 Gessner, Michel P. Grammaires du français et de l'anglais parlés contemporains. [Grammars of contemporary spoken French and English.] *Die Neueren Sprachen* (Berlin), 2 (1978), 127-37.

Contrary to a widely held opinion, spoken language has its own clear and coherent syntactic system. This is demonstrated, using as an example causality in current spoken French and English. It is shown that the languages are similar in those causes represented as facts or descriptions are placed first, whereas those which represent arguments, motives and explanation are placed last. The latter (*parce que* in French, *because* in English), are by far the most frequent and should be taught first. Other exponents of causality can then be added by permuting syntacticised semantic features.

79-231 Gross, Maurice. Correspondance entre forme et sens à propos du subjonctif. [Form-meaning correspondance and the subjunctive.] *Langue Française* (Paris), 39 (1978), 49-65.

The approach of traditional grammars to the meanings of the subjunctive makes use of a large number of *ad hoc* intuitive labels, which cannot be applied consistently. An attempt can be made to devise a more rigorous formulation of form-meaning correspondances, but this ultimately founders on the idiosyncratic behaviour of individual lexical items with respect to the selection of indicative of subjunctive mood in their complement clauses. Furthermore, there are important formal parallels between constructions involving clause-complements and those involving infinitival complements, and these cut completely across the indicative-subjunctive opposition. The conclusion is that a semantic explanation of the occurrence of the subjunctive is impossible. Any regularities in form-meaning correspondance must be attributed to the productivity of lexical processes specifying complement-types for verbs and nouns.

79-232 Mauriac, Paul. La segmentation en français parlé: reprise du sujet. [Segmentation in spoken French: pronominal repetition of the subject.] *Die Neueren Sprachen* (Berlin), 2 (1978), 138-149.

Second mention of the subject, by means of a pronoun, in such sentences as *Les problèmes, on ne les a pas inventés*, a characteristic syntactic structure of spoken French, is discussed from both a functional and a stylistic point of view.

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The choice of a syntactic structure determines a further range of lexical, and above all phonetic, choices. The analysis of examples of *reprise* [repetition] in spoken French demonstrates both the stylistic unity of the language and an obvious regularity in individual stylistic variations that is independent of the socio-cultural level of the speaker.

- 79–233 Türk, Egbert.** Soziologische Aspekte der direkten Frage im heutigen Französisch und das Problem ihrer Wiedergabe im Deutschen. [Sociolinguistic aspects of direct questions in French and the problem of rendering them in German.] *Die Neueren Sprachen* (Berlin), 2 (1978), 149–58.

A comparison of the possible ways of asking a direct question in German and in French shows that there is a multiplicity of ways in French but only a limited range of choices in German. The numerous question elements in French serve to define the speech situation and are to some extent related to class. There are fewer means of asking direct questions in German, and it is this which creates translation problems, particularly in the rendering of sociolinguistic information contained in the French question forms.

- 79–234 Zribi-Hertz, Anne.** 'Economisons-nous': à propos d'une classe de formes réflexives métonymes en français. [On a class of metonymous reflexive constructions in French.] *Langue Française* (Paris), 39 (1978), 104–28.

The reflexives in question are the following sort: 1. (a) *Le témoin s'est rétracté sitôt après avoir quitté la barre*; (b) *Pierre ne s'est pas encore prononcé sur ce point*. They are different in kind from those traditionally recognised, viz. reflexives proper (*Pierre se lave*), reciprocal reflexives (*Pierre et Marie se lavent* (l'un l'autre)), 'neutral' reflexives (*Pierre s'éveille*) and 'passive' reflexives (*La Tour Eiffel peut se voir depuis la Place de la Nation*). They may be related to possessive constructions: compare 1a, b with 2a, b: 2. (a) *Le témoin a rétracté ses paroles sitôt après avoir quitté la barre*; (b) *Pierre n'a pas encore prononcé son jugement sur ce point*. [Various formal means of expressing this relation are considered.] The relation in question is fundamentally that of metonymy, and is therefore of the same kind as that holding between the following sentences: 3. (a) *Avez-vous lu Brecht?* (b) *Avez-vous lu l'oeuvre/le théâtre/les écrits/... de Brecht?* Suggestions are made regarding general constraints on metonymic relations. [Appendix with examples.]

GERMAN

- 79–235 **Bondarenko, V. N.** Аналитические и синтетические способы выражения модальности в немецком языке. [Analytical and synthetic ways of expressing modality in German.] *Иностранные языки в школе* (Moscow), 4 (1978), 31–7.

Although many ideas are often said to be 'modal', there are only two real groups of modal meanings: (1) actuality, possibility and necessity, which together constitute 'objective modality', since they relate to the degree to which the speaker's ideas accord with objective reality; and (2) doubt, probability and conviction, which relate to the speaker's assessment of the match between the ideas expressed and established fact, and so comprise 'subjective modality'. Two of the terms involved in objective modality (possibility and necessity) can be divided into 'alethic' and 'deontic' types, referring respectively to what is objectively possible/necessary in the physical world, and to what is accepted as being possible/necessary according to the laws of social conduct. The criteria here are clearly dissimilar. The subdivisions of subjective modality, however, are homogeneous, being points on a cline that ranges from doubt to conviction. The cline is designated as the scale of 'certainty'. It mirrors the processes of thought and cognition, and so is reflected in language. All languages exhibit three degrees of certainty: 'simple', 'problematical' and 'categorical', though some languages subdivide the last two into further degrees. [The typical lexical exponents in German of all the modal categories described are listed and differentiated.] Some kinds of modality are found to be expressed synthetically, e.g. by the indicative mood (actuality and simple certainty), while others are usually articulated analytically, e.g. by particles, nominal phrases and modal verbs (problematical and categorical certainty). The other categories have both synthetic and analytical exponents.

- 79–236 **Helbig, Gerhard.** Was sind 'zusammengezogene Sätze'? [What are 'contracted sentences'?] *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (Leipzig), 3 (1978), 164–71.

Contracted sentences are obtained by deleting identical constituents in co-ordinate clauses (*Er besorgte die Bücher, und sie bezahlte die Bücher* → *Er besorgte und sie bezahlte die Bücher*). The nature of this kind of reduction has not yet been satisfactorily explained and the factors which condition the use of contracted sentences have not yet been defined. An attempt is made to distinguish contracted sentences from other types of reduction (ellipsis, optional deletion, pronominal substitution) [examples]. That there must be certain regularities which govern the generation of such sentences is evident from the fact that reduction is obligatory in some cases and optional or impossible

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in others. Some of the regularities are described, but their validity is restricted to those co-ordinate clauses which are connected by *und*.

79-237 **Žerebkov, V. A.** Zur Grundleistung des deutschen Konjunktivs. [On the basic function of the German subjunctive.] *Linguistica Antverpiensia* (Antwerp), 11 (1977), 181-7.

The ambiguity of the German subjunctive in its various forms seems to make it impossible to speak of 'the basic function' or 'the essential meaning' of the subjunctive mood. Thus its use in indirect speech (*Er sagte, dass er krank sei*) and as *Irrealis-Potentialis* (*Ich hätte es damals bestimmt getan*) reveals two radically different functions. This has led some grammarians to recognise two 'modes' of the subjunctive which do not share a common characteristic. However, this procedure makes the use of the grammatical category of subjunctive equivocal.

Following Wandruszka's suggestion that the subjunctive differs from the indicative in so far as the former expresses an additional declarative aspect of an utterance, it is argued that the specific function of the subjunctive consists in adding an attitudinal element which finds expression in an additional predication. This may be explicit (e.g. *Ich würde es tun, wenn ich Zeit hätte*) or implicit. It is implicit in *Ich würde jetzt gern rauchen*, which according to this theory, will have to be construed as *Es wäre mir lieb, wenn ich jetzt rauchen könnte*. Finally, the possibilities of defining and classifying the functional variants of the subjunctive are considered.

SPANISH

79-238 **Fontanella de Weinberg, María Beatriz.** Algunos aspectos de la asimilación lingüística de la población inmigratoria en la Argentina. [Some aspects of the linguistic assimilation of the immigrant population in Argentina.] *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (The Hague), 18 (1978), 5-36.

Though the number of immigrants in Argentina at the turn of the century was higher in proportion to the population as a whole than in the United States, the descendants of these immigrants do not now constitute ethnic pressure groups. Study of the various immigrant groups in the city of Bahia Blanca and its region in 1914 indicates as factors influencing cultural and linguistic assimilation: language; religion; social mobility; government policy; education; the previous history of the immigrant group; the pattern of settlement, whether rural or urban, scattered or dispersed; and whether immigration occurred spontaneously as the result of individual choice or whether it took the form of an organised movement.

The largest immigrant group, both in the Bahia Blanca region and in Argentina generally, were the Italians, who, being culturally and linguistically closely akin to the existing Hispanic population, assimilated readily and pointed the way to the others. Paradoxically, the large numbers of immigrants may also have been a factor making for ultimate linguistic and cultural unity, since what in fact occurred was not so much assimilation as the creation of a new, original culture, speaking a distinctive form of Spanish. [References.]

RUSSIAN

79-239 Comrie, Bernard. Genitive-accusatives in Slavic: the rules and their motivation. *International Review of Slavic Linguistics* (Edmonton, Alberta), 3 (1978), 27-42.

The following factors promote the genitive-like accusative in Slavic languages: animacy, masculine gender; the following factors inhibit this rule: *a*-stem declensional class, third person pronoun; the following can either promote or inhibit it: plural number, pronominality [examples]. Although formal rules can provide a concise statement of the interaction of these parameters, they do not explain the motivation for their interaction [Russian and Polish examples].

A functional explanation is proposed whereby the role of the genitive-like accusative is to provide an accusative form distinct from the nominative for those noun phrases that most typically occur in transitive subject position, i.e. those that are highest in animacy (and to some extent definiteness). Detailed exemplification shows that the genitive-like accusative is promoted by high animacy, but is inhibited by an already present inherited distinction between accusative and nominative. The interaction of these two principles provides an excellent fit with a wide range of data.

79-240 Corbett, G. G. Universals in the syntax of cardinal numerals. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), 46 (1978), 61-74.

The cardinal numerals of Russian cannot be assigned to discrete syntactic categories: they form a continuum from those like adjectives to those like nouns. 'Nouniness' increases with numerical value. They can all be generated from an underlying structure similar to that suggested by Perlmutter and Oresnik consisting of two NPs (but lacking the genitive marker, for there is strong evidence that the genitive marker should be inserted only in certain circumstances).

The Russian situation appears to be general; two universals are proposed: firstly, that the syntactic behaviour of cardinal numerals falls between that of adjectives and nouns, and, secondly, that if numerals vary in behaviour then

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the higher will be nounier. Evidence to support these universals can be drawn from various phenomena: agreement, possible plurality of the number, case marking of the noun, 1-Deletion, word-order, number of the quantified noun, and the rules of distribution and deletion. The data are taken from a wide range of languages.

79–241 Tolstoj, I. V. Об одном грамматическом средстве выражения актуального членения высказывания. [A grammatical means of expressing the constituent analysis of an utterance.] *Русский язык за рубежом* (Moscow), 3 (1978), 61–4.

The Russian accusative alternates with the genitive as the case of the direct object of a negated transitive verb. This variation in usage is seen to result from two factors. Firstly, there is the degree to which the verb is semantically self-sufficient, i.e. does not rely on the object to specify its exact meaning. The genitive indicates a close relationship between verb and object, either (in the case of a semantically strong verb) because the negation cuts through the action and affects the object, or (with a semantically weak, often 'abstract' verb) because it is the relationship between verb and object that is really being negated. Secondly, and at a higher level of analysis, the choice of case is determined by theme/rheme articulation and sentence type. Following Adamec and, ultimately, Bally, the author divides Russian narrative sentences (according to the kind of information conveyed) into totally/partly informative and totally/partly verificatory types, and adds a fifth – 'contrastive-assertive'. In verificatory and contrastive-assertive sentences, the theme usually consists of subject+object, and the rheme is the verb. No close relationship thus exists between the negative verb and its object, and the object appears in the accusative case. The theme in informative sentences is generally the subject, while the rheme is the negative verb+object; this analysis is reflected grammatically in the use of the genitive case for the object.

GREEK

79–242 Sotiropoulos, Dimitri. Diglossia and the national language question in modern Greece. *Linguistics* (The Hague), 197 (1977), 5–31.

The roots of the problem of the modern Greek language go back to the classical Attic writers of the fifth century. Their style of writing was taken as a model and thus became frozen; ever since there has been a conflict between this artificial written form of the past, supposedly the essence of purity (Katharevousa), and the dynamic spoken contemporary language (demotic), viewed as 'corrupt'. Diglossia is therefore a feature of modern Greece, i.e. two linguistic

systems are needed to cover all the expressive needs which are normally catered for by one national language. The Greeks must try to control two language forms, to 'classicise' and 'colloquialise' their speech; this is a serious disadvantage in politics, communications and education. The solution is a revolutionary language policy – to suppress Katharevousa and elevate the demotic. The recent history of the formation of national languages in Europe shows that their linguistic foundation is always a dialect rather than an official, unspoken language.

[Discussion of diglossia; the division of functions for High and Low language varieties.] The demotic must preserve its structural integrity in the face of archaising (replacing demotic morphemes by learned ones) or mongrelisation. The new modern Greek literature developed this century can provide a basis for the grammatical codification of demotic Greek. [Arguments against Katharevousa are enumerated.]

INDONESIAN

79–243 **Smith, Brian D.** The Indonesian language today. *Incorporated Linguist* (London), 17, 1 (1978), 11–14.

There are 418 languages in Indonesia; of an estimated population of 120 million, some 60 million speak Javanese, 20 million Sundanese and 4 million Madurese. The Dutch administration early this century adopted Malay as their official second language, and used it for administrative communication with the Indonesian public, but Dutch remained the language of prestige and advancement. The Japanese occupation banned the use of Dutch and ensured the future role of Indonesian as the national language. With independence in 1945, it became in effect the official language. At the same time the importance of the vernaculars was stressed. The language developed rapidly, as did a new educational system. A recent seminar on language policy reaffirmed the roles of national and vernacular language and defined the function and status of both [details].

Interest in foreign languages, especially English, threatens Indonesian today. [The main features of the language are noted, especially as regards the development of lexis.]