Studies of particular languages

ENGLISH See also abstracts 74-227, -229, -247

74-234 Roey, J. Van. Lexical contrastive analysis: English-French. Langage et l'Homme (Brussels), 24 (1974), 56-63.

There have been two theoretical approaches to lexical analysis: the operational one which deals with sense relations, and the referential one which relates lexical items to non-linguistic phenomena. Both are necessary to the teaching of vocabulary and its appropriate use. A contrastive study of vocabulary will consider lexical items having (i) the same form and same meaning, (ii) the same form but different meaning, (iii) a different form but the same meaning. In contrasting, say, English and French, sameness of form can refer only to orthography, and even then sameness is a matter of degree (cf. port-port, but orphan-orphelin). Sameness of meaning is also a matter of degree: lexical items from different languages may have one (main) sense the same, but other senses that are quite disparate; sense relations and connotations, collocations and varietal appropriateness, will often vary. [Examples from French and English; references.]

FRENCH See also abstracts 74-234, -244

74-235 Hirschbühler, Paul. La dislocation à gauche en français. [Displacement to the left in French.] Langage et l'Homme (Brussels), 23 (1973), 19-25.

This article seeks to present a different analysis of displacement to the left to that usually found in grammars, to show the conditions on the application of transformations proposed by Ross and Chomsky, and to apply a type of argument systematically used in generative grammar though this may not necessarily be valid. Typical displacement where the nominal syntagm (SN) occurs on the left and is

taken up by a pronoun in the phrase, Paul, Pierre s'est battu avec lui, appears to derive by copy transformation from Pierre s'est battu avec But other types occur in which the displaced SN is picked up by an adjectival expression (Paul, Pierre vient de se battre avec cet idiot) or where no pronominal copy occurs at all (De Jean, Marie n'a rien dit), or where it is replaced by other definition. Analyses by copy transformation, transformation by topicalisation, or transformation by displacement are all inadequate, and explanation by constraints on transformations is also unsatisfactory. It therefore seems necessary to explain displacement by new syntagmatic rules. Transformation, however, works in the case of displacement in negative sentences, except in cases such as De généraux, il n'en existe pas un seul chez nous, where the plural of the displaced SN precludes derivation by transformation. Displacement in French also occurs in embedded phrases, but never occurs in infinitive propositions; several displaced SNs may be found (Jean, des livres, je sais bien que Pierre lui en a volé); initial interrogative words cannot precede the displaced SN. The rule appears to be that the displaced SN must precede the anaphoric SN, and the first S which commands the former must also dominate the latter. Notes expand on the structures elaborated.

74-236 Sauvageot, Aurélien. Le problème de l'adjectif en français. [The problem of the adjective in French.] Français dans le Monde (Paris), 103 (1974), 32-5.

French has always suffered from a deficiency of adjectives. Two traditions have developed in consequence: one tending to the formation of new adjectives, the other eschewing their use on grounds of stylistic elegance. There is a strong modern tendency to coin new adjectives, often from Graeco-Latin roots. In some cases, a brevity of articulation results from the use of a noun+adjective phrase as against the corresponding noun+prepositional phrase [examples]. In others, there appears to be a desirable ambiguity which would be dispelled by the greater precision of the prepositional phrase [examples]. Disadvantages resulting from this tendency are the

blurring of precision of meaning of certain words; the problem of gender agreement, especially in speech (though this is offset by the fact that many of the newly coined adjectives follow the noun); the attraction of over-literary and unfamiliar derivations, and frequently an actual increase of articulations. This tendency is fashionable, and results in frequent malformations and infelicities. It would be absurd to oppose it where it leads to a greater flexibility of expression, but it should be carefully monitored to ensure that the desirable qualities of brevity and efficiency are maintained.

74-237 Straub, Sylvia A. The passive prepositions 'de' and 'par'. French Review (Champaign, Ill), 47, 3 (1974), 583-93.

The restrictions on the choice of de or par as the preposition introducing the agentive complement [definition] in a French passive sentence are unclear in the literature. In some cases [examples] these prepositions occur in passive sentences without an active equivalent; such sentences are not directly considered in the paper. In others [examples], par cannot be replaced by de to give a grammatical sentence, but sentences also exist where both forms are grammatical [examples]. [Critical summary of the literature on the distinctions between the use of par and de.]

In all cases where de is grammatical, the verb denotes a state, either of interior emotion or of composition [definition and examples]. In cases where both prepositions are grammatical, either the verb admits of a stative (de) and a non-stative (par) interpretation, or the distinction (grammatical only where the agent is animate) is stylistic. [Summary of conclusions, with examples.]

GERMAN See also abstracts 74-221, -226

74-238 Milner, Judith. Analyse de la relation question-réponse en allemand. [Analysis of the question-response relation in German.] Semiotica (The Hague), 9, 3 (1973), 219-40.

A detailed analysis of the relationship between question and response indicates the need for a strategy of argumentation about the regular and meaningful differences in ways of formulating questions. The hypothesis is established through the development of the semantic aspect. The type of analysis proposed for the relationship between welcher and was für ein must concern itself with all interrogatives equally and with all formulations of questions. The author's position on performatives contrasts with that of Lakoff. Interrogation is a form of interpersonal relation in which the questioner makes the other a witness of the view he is declaring in putting a given question in a specific form.

The study has taken into account words listed in grammars as interrogatives. There is synonymy between certain of these terms [examples]. There are, however, constraints on the questionresponse interchangeability of items from the same synonymy group [examples, discussion]. The constraints must be specified in terms of inappropriatemess as insufficient, or 'too detailed' or 'aggressive'. Interrogatives may imply that the questioner is sure of the existence of a set of facts of which all the elements must be cited in an adequate response. A more widely distributed group implies the absence of any precise hypothesis on the part of the questioner about the facts relevant to a satisfactory response. The questioner is either asking for confirmation (in a wide sense) or for certain information. The difference is shown by sentences such as Cet enfant n'est-il pas charmant? ne fait-il pas toujours ses devoirs? Interrogative words in German can be distinguished according to the extent of their implication of the necessity of confirmation. The notion of 'evoking' a question, and the conditions for justifying a question, need to be defined. [Discussion and analysis of data.] An analysis of intonation supports the notion of the interrogative as referring to the presence of one or more utterances either implicit or explicit [examples]. Lexical evidence from a language other than German adds further support to the hypothsis.

74–239 Zydatiβ, Wolfgang. Some means for rendering the English passive in German. *Linguistische Berichte* (Braunschweig), 29 (1974), 34–48.

Structures from English and German, selected intuitively as translation equivalents, are compared. There are various means in German for rendering the textual function (as described by Halliday) of the passive without loss of cognitive meaning, which is here accounted for in terms of the deep cases put forward by Fillmore in 1968. Confusion between the form and function of the passive has obscured its meaning. Generative grammarians have attempted an explicit account of the active-passive relationship. Problems arise with the formal treatment of the passive in a number of verbs, including stative or non-kinetic passives and pseudo-passive [examples]. Discussion is confined to the regular passive transformation as described in Chomsky (1957).

The German equivalents for English non-stative passives are considered, and subdivided according to the case frames taken by the English verb [examples]. Further equivalents for English passive are found in German reflexive constructions and in the construction of verb and *nomen actionis*. Further investigation is recommended. [Discussion of how the present study could be exploited for pedagogic purposes.] [References.]

SPANISH

74-240 Bobes, María del Carmen. La coordinación en la frase nominal castellana (II). [Co-ordination in noun phrases in Castilian Spanish, part II.] Revista Española de Lingüística (Madrid), 3, 2 (1973), 261-96.

[Part I is abstracted in L-TA, 7, 1, no. 74-17.]

Adversative co-ordination (pero, sino, mas) in noun phrases is not described adequately by recursive devices in a generative grammar, being a relation holding among closed sets of two. Adversative relations hold between pairs of adjectives (of which the leftmost may be unrealised), the leftmost of which falls under the scope of a negative before sino, and the rightmost after pero. Pairs of numerals and adjective phrases may also participate. [Rejection of apparent adversatives concerning nouns as one of the paired items. The occasional semantic identity of adversatives and conjunctions.] Adversative relations may hinge on semantic, syntactic, or stylistic contrast (partial feature identity) between the co-ordinated elements, and they express progressive restrictions or nuancing, rather than summation, of features.

No general unconstrained rule is capable of describing disjunctions correctly. Only prior knowledge of the permitted sequences permits deduction of the rule. [Nature of the process.] Disjunction in NPs affects nouns, adjectives and pronouns, but does not require similar feature content left and right of the co-ordinator. The process is recursive, and symmetrical except in a stylistic sense. o may be suppressed between all but the last pair of co-ordinates to fulfil a demarcative function, i.e. a constraint on recursion. [Uses and types of disjunction, including occasional semantic identity with conjunction. Disjunction in the poetry of Aleixandre.]

74-241 Carrasco, Félix. Sobre el formante de 'la voz pasiva' en español. [On the formalism for expressing the 'passive voice' in Spanish.] Revista Española de Lingüística (Madrid), 3, 2 (1973), 333-41.

The existence of the passive in Romance languages has been doubted by structural linguists on the grounds of there being no unique form bearing only this function (e.g. Lenz: it is identical with copula plus attributive adjective). The following points are adduced in favour of the independent existence of the passive: (i) ser plus past participle forms a syntagm with a single (passive) content, and the occurrence of each of these elements requires that of the other in this context. Most other uses of ser are in phrases predicated of (at least implicit) nouns (e.g. ser moreno/ser un hombre moreno). (ii) the passive is structurally distinct from all other participial constructions in that the participle's own inherent aspect marking is subordinated to that of the verb ser. (In contrast, in haber plus participle syntagms, the participle's aspect marking dictates that of the entire construction.) This need to cancel the value of the aspect marking is held to explain the underproductivity of the auxiliary-based passive in Spanish.

74-242 Foster, D. W. The Spanish subjunctive as a non-semantic category. *English Language Journal* (Buenos Aires), 4, 4 (1973), 191-200.

It is argued that the subjunctive in Spanish corresponds to no single abstract meaning unit, but largely reflects surface syntactic constraints. The subjunctive of noun clause surface subjects or complements does not contrast with an indicative; the differential use of the two moods rests on the displacement of some feature of the main verb, whether systematic or idiosyncratic. The subjunctive of noun, adjective and adverb non-main clauses, which apparently contrasts with an indicative, rests on the similar displacement of functional contrasts in the main verb, redundant reiteration of a specificity contrast in the head noun, and displacement of an iterative/inchoative contrast in the main verb respectively. Attempts to conflate two types

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of indicative/subjunctive contrast in si-clauses create an illusory semantic subjunctive category. Main clause subjunctives contrasting with indicatives (e.g. in the presence of quizás), when aligned with parallel probable-constructions, do not suggest the existence of a unitary semantic subjunctive category. [Data adduced from English and Italian to support the argument against a universal 'subjunctive'.] The author is prepared to admit a semantic function for the subjunctive in quizás-type sentences in the same sense as a semantic function of gender as opposed to the purely syntactic.

RUSSIAN

74–243 Bondarko, A. V. Формообразование, словоизменение и классификация морфологических категорий (на материале русского языка). [Word-form-building, inflection and the classification of morphological categories (on the basis of Russian language material).] Вопросы языкознания (Moscow), 2 (1974), 3–14.

[History of use of term формообразование.] Inflectional morphology is concerned with different forms of the same word, and derivational morphology with the formation of new words. A derivationally formed word may also be a form of the base word (e.g. художница 'artist (fem.)' is both a different word from художник 'artist (masc.)' and its feminine form); the term формообразование includes both inflection and that part of derivation that creates items that are forms of words in addition to being new words. The following features constitute a typology of формообразование: correlativeness (extent to which forms are forms of one word), i.e. consistently correlative (given process never creates new words, e.g. case), inconsistently correlative (process sometimes creates new words, e.g. prefixal perfectivisation of verbs), and non-correlative (process always gives new words, e.g. noun gender). The paradigms of consistently correlative categories are either not conditioned lexically (e.g. adjective number, case, gender) or only partly so (e.g. verbal person, cf. impersonal verbs); the paradigms of inconsistently correlative categories are much

more conditioned lexically [examples]. The distinction between consistently and inconsistently correlative categories corresponds to that between *alternational* (neither form is formally or semantically derived from the other) and *derivational* (one category is basic, the other derived from it) categories [examples]. Inflectional morphology includes both consistently and inconsistently correlative categories, though the latter might be considered transitional to derivational morphology. [Outline of other, non-morphological classificatory systems: structural-syntactic, semantic.]

74-244 Torsuyeva, I. G. Сопоставление мелодических структур русского и французского языков. [Comparison of the melodic structures of Russian and French.] Русский язык за рубежом (Moscow), r (1974), 63-7.

Difficulties arise in language learning in assimilating correct intonation patterns. A student may use the melodic curves peculiar to his native language, but even when the general melodic direction of the foreign intonation pattern is reproduced, the curve may be distributed over the wrong relative pitch levels. A comparison of the melodic structures of the native language and the language being studied, their similarities and differences, is necessary in language teaching, but both systems must be described in the same terms. Working from a description of French intonation [references], its patterns may be used as a basis for teaching Russian intonation to French speakers. According to Delattre, French has ten basic patterns [summary]. These can be represented as different curves distributed over four pitch levels. In Russian there are only eight basic patterns. [Intonation curves based on electronic acoustical measurement, of the eight distinctive Russian phrase types, are compared with the intonation curves of similar phrases in French; their similarities and differences are described and diagrammatically represented. No examples are given.]