

Studies of particular languages

ENGLISH See also abstract 79–101

79–122 Stanley, Julia P. and Robbins, Susan W. Forced inference: uses and abuses of the passive. *Papers in Linguistics* (Champaign, Ill), **10**, 3/4 (1977), 299–311.

The passive construction in English lends itself to rhetorical uses, because it permits the speaker/writer to manipulate the amount of information available to the hearer/reader, thereby influencing the interpretation of sentences. The syntactic characteristics of truncated passives, e.g. *it is widely understood, it has often been said, it's been found*, allow covert appeals to authority or consensus, not least in academic prose. Often some responsible agent(s) can or will be contextually recuperated, but many cases may well be unspecific, as in *Children need to be spanked*, and others unspecifiable even in context. This usage is common in bureaucratic texts where the deletion of agents both protects those responsible and disarms the victims. The analysis of passives which rests on the recovery of missing agents from deletion under identity apparently presupposes that the rules of language are neutral between speaker and hearer. The evidence presented in the paper shows that interpretation is heavily dependent on context, and that it often serves the speaker's purpose to prevent a non-ambiguous interpretation of truncated passives.

FRENCH See also abstract 79–102

79–123 Connors, Kathleen. The meaning of the French subjunctive. *Cahiers Linguistiques d'Ottawa* (Ottawa), **6**, 1 (1978), 43–61.

There are fundamentally two uses of the subjunctive in French: an 'automatic' (lexically determined) subjunctive and a 'non-automatic' (syntactically and semantically marked) subjunctive. The latter is considered here. Two possible semantic contrasts between the subjunctive and the indicative are found: (1) a volition v. assertion contrast, when the higher verb can sustain both interpretations, and (2) a hypothetical v. non-hypothetical distinction, in all remaining non-automatic subjunctives.

Subjunctives in relative clauses mark the latter as having hypothetical status, as in (2). The 'meanings' of both the automatic and non-automatic subjunctive are re-examined, and it is shown that the latter (only) imposes a unified 'potentiality' (as against 'reification') interpretation on its clause. Two sources of further evidence for the distinction between the automatic and the

non-automatic case are examined: (a) patterns of translation into English, and (b) subjunctive replacement patterns within French.

Semantic and syntactic evidence therefore shows that in present-day French the subjunctive is two separate phenomena: a (redundant) morphological marker of certain classes of lexical items, and an optional differentiator of a type of systematic ambiguity in subordinate clauses.

79–124 Emonds, Joseph. Le groupe verbal composé V' V en français. [The verbal complex V'-V in French.] *Cahiers de Linguistique* (Quebec), 8 (1978), 121–61. [Translation of *Linguistic Inquiry*, 9 (1978), 151–75.]

Four competing hypotheses are discussed concerning the structure of the French verb phrase, particularly with regard to constructions involving auxiliaries *avoir* and *être*: (1) The 'VP-external' hypothesis: auxiliaries are either (a) main verbs, with verb phrase or sentence complements, or (b) dominated directly by S. (2) The 'equal-status' hypothesis: auxiliaries are dominated directly by the verb phrase node and are sister-adjoined to main verbs in structures of the form [V Tense (Neg) (V) . . .]_{VP} where the first V is the auxiliary. (3) The 'verbal complex' hypothesis: auxiliaries form a constituent together with their main verb in either (a) left-branching (e.g. [[*avons été*] [*lavés*]]) or (b) right-branching (e.g. [[*avons*] [*été lavés*]]) constructions.

Nine arguments are presented, which taken together point to hypothesis (3a) as the correct one. These involve (i) past participle contexts; (ii) the exclusion of main verbs in auxiliary positions; (iii) constraints on lexical insertion relating to the 'heads' of phrases; (iv) clitic placement in general; (v) placement of clitics *le*, *la*, *les* in particular; (vi) verb phrase anaphora; (vii) treatment of the Tense element; (viii) the possibility of a unified treatment of Tense and Neg elements; (ix) movements of clitics out of an embedded sentence. There is also discussion of parallelism between auxiliary constructions in French and English and of the French causative *faire* construction. The analysis operates within the framework of the \bar{X} -notation and of the structure-preserving theory.

79–125 Morin, Charles-Yves. Interprétation des pronoms et des réfléchis en français. [The interpretation of pronouns and reflexives in French.] *Cahiers de Linguistique* (Quebec), 8 (1978), 339–75.

This paper examines the question of the co-reference of pronouns in French. It distinguishes the syntax of clitic pronouns from the analysis of the co-reference of pronouns. The syntax can be accounted for either by a transformational approach where clitics are derived from noun-phrases and subsequently ordered by transformations (Kayne, Emonds) or by a morphological approach where clitics appear directly in the base affixed to a verb. There are also two

approaches to co-reference. In the transformational approach, co-references are represented in deep structure and enter into the specification of transformations (Kayne); in the interpretative approach, co-references are interpreted and do not enter into the specification of transformations (Jackendoff).

The paper puts forward an interpretative analysis of the co-reference of French pronouns. Problems related to the transformational approach are discussed. Rules for interpretation are shown to be necessarily ordered after the placing of clitics. A number of interpretative rules are formulated and coherence conditions examined which allow certain interpretations to be eliminated. Finally, the status of clitics in interpretative rules is examined. [References.]

- 79-126 Roulet, Eddy.** Essai de classement syntaxique et sémantique des verbes potentiellement performatifs en français. [A syntactic and semantic classification of potentially performative verbs in French.] *Cahiers de Linguistique* (Quebec), 8 (1978), 437-55.

Progress has been made in the study of the syntactic and semantic properties of French verbs, but the study of potentially performative verbs has been neglected. Several classifications have appeared for English (Austin, Vendler, Fraser, Searle). [Table.] In this paper Austin and Searle's scheme is used to classify 170 French verbs in order to test its applicability to French. Searle's criteria are outlined. The French verbs fall easily into his five major classes. Syntactic properties of the verbs further corroborate his semantic criteria and also allow categorisation of hitherto doubtful cases [examples]. [Diagram: the extension of semantic and syntactic properties.]

A further sub-classification of the category of exercitives is made using as criteria: relative status of speaker and hearer, whether the action to be performed is in the interest of speaker or hearer (Searle) and whether the hearer would have performed it on his own initiative [table]. In this case there is no longer a close fit between the sub-classes and the syntactic properties of the verbs: suggestion (*conseiller de, inviter à*), etc. Each category is subject to specific conditions and particular, often formulaic, indirect forms of expression (*Pouvez-vous...*, *Vous pourriez...*, etc.) [examples]. Further study is required. [References; appendix lists of verbs in five main classes.]

GERMAN

- 79-127 Ballmer, Thomas.** Zum Verbwortschatz der deutschen Sprache. [The stock of verbs in the German language.] *Linguistische Berichte* (Brunswick), 55 (1978), 18-37.

An analysis is made of the semantic structure of 8,000 of the most common

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German verbs. These are divided into 800 semantic categories on the basis of intuitive native speaker perceptions of similarities and differences in meaning, and a model is built up which establishes and clarifies the semantic relationship between the categories. It is suggested that through this classification into categories it is possible to arrive at a set of approximately ten basic, semantically irreducible verbs. A possible list is offered: *der Fall sein, verursachen, ablaufen, wollen, geschehen, versuchen, existieren, berühren, Teil sein von, benutzen*.

It is claimed that this model provides a useful alternative to more traditional methods of classification in that it is better able to point out structural connections between verbs. [Practical applications in the fields of sociology, psychology, literature and language teaching are suggested.]

79–128 Betten, Ann. Erforschung gesprochenen deutscher Standardsprache. [Research into standard spoken German.] *Deutsche Sprache* (Munich), 4 (1977), 335–61 [part I]; and 1 (1978), 21–44 [part II].

The two parts of this report constitute a systematic review of research into spoken German since 1965. The mid-sixties saw an increased interest in the spoken German language, partly under the influence of American linguistics. Whereas previous research had relied heavily on the use of literary texts, the first analyses of spontaneously spoken speech in the sixties showed up structural peculiarities of which even the most educated and linguistically aware speakers were not conscious.

Part I examines the development of research between 1965 and 1973 and focuses on the central themes, for example, the difference between written and spoken speech, the regional, social and individual variations in speech, the problem of segmentation and the applicability of conventional grammatical categories. Part II traces the development of research since 1973, a period which has seen an increasing awareness of the communicative function of language and in which linguistics has become much more closely involved with the fields of sociology and psychology. Research has concentrated on investigation of the linguistic and extralinguistic rules governing interpersonal communication. Research topics have included analyses of television and radio interviews, group discussions, the classroom and the linguistic interaction between doctor and patient.

SPANISH

79–129 Martínez, Martha. Observaciones sobre los efectos de la revolución en el vocabulario en Cuba. [Remarks on the impact of the Cuban revolution on vocabulary.] *Español Actual* (Madrid), 30 (1975), 8–12.

A review of some selected vocabulary changes, especially those of socioeconomic importance, with examples taken from Cuban journalistic sources.