

Studies of particular languages

ENGLISH See abstracts 78–138, –144

FRENCH

78–158 Bennett, William A. Verb and article colligation in French and English. *IRAL* (Heidelberg), **15**, 1 (1977), 47–54.

To resolve doubts expressed about the translation equivalence of such sentences as *Jeanne ne mange pas les pommes de terre* and *Joanne doesn't eat potatoes*, it is necessary to look at the relationships between sentences within each of the languages. The definite article is part of the unmarked form of nouns in French, but a comparable role in English is carried out by zero [examples]. Asymmetry results between the two languages because the definite article is found in both the French and English noun in its deictic function. A similar asymmetry occurs in the marking of partitive.

The contrast within English between the simple and continuous verb forms is not matched by the French verb system, and the combination of article and verb in one sentence necessarily results in multiple asymmetry [examples and discussions]. Contrastive study and language learning are not adequately provided for without a preliminary account of intralingual asymmetry. [References.]

78–159 Bentolila, Alain. Temps, aspect et modalisation dans un acte de communication. [Tense, aspect and modalisation in a communication act.] *Langue Française* (Paris), **35** (1977), 58–70.

Syntactic analysis should seek out the threads which lead the listener to conceive a personal image of the reality perceived or imagined by the speaker on the basis of the information furnished by the linguistic message. It is proposed that the indications of mood, aspect and tense are part of this quest for what is real in terms of what is linguistic. Clauses, which each give representation to reality, may be combined in a 'syntactic set', a discourse permitting the reconstruction of one and the same reality. The first step for a listener is to mark off each such set, and this demarcation is the role of the predicate. The relations of meaning elements within the syntactic set are marked by conventional indicators [examples and discussion]. The listener must determine the relation between syntactic function and role in discourse [example]. Elements termed *modalis-*

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ateurs are placed in French directly before the predicating verb. By their use the speaker can distance the participant subject from the role introduced by the predicate. The indicator of tense presupposes a point of reference outside the experience itself. Although the speech act usually serves as this point of reference, tense may be used to localise the experience at a reference point already expressed and alluding to something to come, as in *Deux jours plus tard, Napoleon écrasera l'armée autrichienne*. Aspect markers indicate the speaker's point of view on the central role of the experience.

78-160 François, Frédéric. Le fonctionnalisme en syntaxe. [Functionalism in syntax.] *Langue Française* (Paris), **35** (1977), 6-25.

It is misguided to believe that focusing on the topics of one group is adequate for understanding the relationship between a science and its ideology. It is misleading to transfer the findings of one science into another field, as happened with 'structuralism'. It appears possible to group most of the present currents in linguistics as 'structuralism' [discussion and definition]. Primarily, functionalism does not consider the structure of language as a reality in itself, but sees it through the balance in the communicative needs of a particular community [examples from phonology]. Monemes are established in the same way as phonemes. The functionalist viewpoint is concerned with the determination of constraints on the units of syntax, in which there is a hierarchy based on utterance centres. Syntax is related to meaning in certain definite ways. The functional view of syntax takes into account the relative frequency of use of items. In his study of non-standard French, Frei was working with normative concepts from Durkheim and Saussure. Synchronic and diachronic developments are to be explained by a dynamic reality, that of 'pertinence' [examples and discussion].

It is not possible to draw up a closed list of language functions. Linguistics has created an entity which is partly real, partly fictitious. The facts of language cannot be studied without reference to communication situations [examples]. Such a starting-point leads to the rejection of the notion of a general linguistic competence. But it is difficult to account for the relationship between the various competences, and with social and cognitive behaviour.

78-161 Moreau, M.-L. Français oral et français écrit: deux langues différentes? [Spoken and written French: two different languages?] *Français Moderne* (Paris), **45**, 3 (1977), 204-42.

The primacy of spoken language is a fundamental notion of contemporary linguistics, and adopted without controversy. This is remarkable because of the earlier neglect of the description of oral forms. The earliest reaction was to show

the inadequacy of written language as a representation of the oral, and to show the existence of certain differences between the written and the spoken. The written language has not been studied as a code parallel to the spoken language, but rather as a deficient means of transcribing speech.

A comparison must start from a consideration of the basic units: sound and phoneme, letter and grapheme. It must then proceed to a comparison of the morphological relations before examining the syntactic, lexical and semantic data. There are more divergences between written and spoken French than are usually presented. The graphic representation of French will never meet the demands of all the criteria for accurate transcription, and the definition of such a transcription system [discussion] is a minor matter. The difference between registers is not the same as that between written and spoken language. [Appendix: exceptions to rules and principles. Bibliography.]

78-162 Shirt, David. A case of French on the run or 'filer à l'Anglaise'? *Times Higher Education Supplement* (London), **296** (24 June 1977), 11.

Recent legislative measures by the French authorities have been designed to curb the use of *termes étrangers* or *franglais*. Such measures, something of a paradox in the enlarged European community, betray ignorance of the workings of language. The evolution in French of the group of words ending in *-ing* is cited as an illustration: once borrowings have taken place they have been integrated into the existing semantic structure of French, enriching the language both on the morphemic and phonemic levels. The legislation proposes acceptable 'French' alternatives to proscribed *franglais* words, but methods such as suffix substitution (*dopage* for 'doping') cannot be applied uniformly (*meetage* instead of 'meeting' is clearly unacceptable), and some of the proposed substitutes are already overworked semantically. Replacement by calques or definitions requires extra effort to no purpose. By incorporating loan-words, French is demonstrating its vitality, which can only be harmed by proscriptive legislation.

GERMAN

78-163 Marx-Moyse, Janine. Die Zeitadverbien. [The adverbs of time.] *Deutsche Sprache* (Munich), **2** (1977), 104-18.

A semantic analysis of temporal adverbs is undertaken, in order to explain why certain pairs are interchangeable while others are not. In the sequence . . . *Auf den Mänteln Kerzenwachs, das nachher herausgebügelt wurde. Nachher im Haus ging ich die Treppe hinauf*, the first instance of *nachher* may be replaced by *hinterher*, but not the second. One subsystem of temporal adverbs - namely the

paradigm of post-temporality [*Nachzeitigkeit*], that is the relationship between two contextual events expressed by the given adverb – is analysed into distinctive semantic features, or semes: S 1, post-temporal (the 'archiseme'); S 2, both events take place in direct, uninterrupted sequence; S 3, short interval between events; S 4, intermediate interval; S 5, long interval; S 6, logical relation between the events; S 7, consecutive dependence; S 8, the second event is protracted; S 9, the meaning of the event referred to is foregrounded; S 10, emphatic. A matrix is presented, indicating + or – each S. [The positive values for each adverb are given.]

The analysis summarised by the matrix explains which pairs of adverbs are interchangeable. [The resulting interchanges are illustrated in detail by examples from modern literature]. It is suggested that such an analysis, which represents only part of the semantic research carried out, could prove useful in second-language teaching.

ITALIAN

78–164 **Lipski, John M.** Segment, sequence and mirror-image: an Italian example. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **192** (1977), 53–67.

The article is part of the search for universal phonological rule types. The mirror-image rule of diachronic phonology states that a given change or alteration is effected in environments which are mirror images of each other and the power of the rule is of theoretical interest. Naro's hypothesis that neighbourhood assimilations are the only allowable mirror image rules is investigated to establish a restriction on the class of possible diachronic mirror-image rules. The 'problem' is the raising and fronting of *a* to *e* in a variety of forms in the earliest period of Italian. A mirror-image notation does express a significant generalisation because *a* changed to *e* before *r* when preceding the main tonic syllable and in the mirror-image environment of post-tonic penultimate position. No disconfirming evidence suggests this was the result of the generalisation of a directional rule. But the proposed rule expressing the process is not an instance of neighbourhood assimilation.

The diachronic grouping of atonic positions by strength in Romance languages can be reduced, for Italian, to three. A rule for the change, restricted to diachronic strength one, can be used instead of a mirror-image rule. The latter does not apply to the Italian data because it involves not segments, but sequences of segments. It is proposed that the mirror-image rule only applies to single, uniquely defined, phonological segments.

SPANISH See also abstract 78–156

78–165 Criado de Val, M. El español del futuro. [The Spanish of the future.] *Yelmo* (Madrid), **31** (1977), 5.

The foundation of a 'terminological centre' is proposed to supervise (in collaboration with scientists) the development of Spanish technical vocabulary. Its aim is not to be puristic, but to accept established loan-words and to encourage the use of base-forms suitable for Spanish morphology. It should take into account linguistic facts pertaining to the whole Spanish-speaking area.

78–166 Lantolf, J. P. Stress subordination: evidence from Spanish. *General Linguistics* (University Park, Penn), **17**, 1 (1977), 8–19.

The classical model of generative phonology is used to argue for the principle that stress assignment cyclically reduces derivationally prior stresses (but not to a degree below secondary stress). Native speakers' reactions favour this solution. Dialect differences are explained by the relative generality of James Harris' stress erasure rule, rather than by the presence or absence of weakening via the stress assignment rule itself.

78–167 Lipski, John M. Preposed subjects in questions: some considerations. *Hispania* (Appleton, Wis), **60**, 1 (1977), 61–7.

The retention of subject pronouns before the verb in *wh*-questions in insular Caribbean Spanish is considered. It is not due to straightforward English influence; it most often involves *tú* (possibly *él*), with verbs in the present tense, with no pronoun intervening before the verb except optionally the reflexive. The retention may be accounted for by the change of [s] > [h] > ([∅]), which would cancel certain grammatical distinctions, including that between second and third person singular in the present tense. The retention may also be facilitated by a tendency to create nexus compounds (in Pulgram's sense), which would also account for the de-stressing of the pronoun. The preposing may be encouraged by the frequent spoken form pattern of subject + verb in *yes/no* questions.

RUSSIAN

78-168 **Birkenmaier, Willy.** Restriktive und nicht-restriktive Relativsätze im Russischen. [Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Russian.] *IRAL* (Heidelberg), 15, 2 (1977), 127-41.

One of the characteristics of Russian is the absence of articles. How does this lack influence the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses? This problem is discussed in contrast with German as a language with articles. It appears that Russian disposes only of facultative, but nevertheless non-ambiguous instruments in order to operate this distinction. The diagnostic power of such determiners as *odin*, *neskol'ko*, *nekotorye*, *mnogo*, *mnogie*, has been investigated by means of componential analysis. These determiners allow a very precise differentiation between the two kinds of relative clauses and are sometimes even subtler than the corresponding devices in German.