Language description and use

DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES OF PARTICULAR LANGUAGES
ENGLISH

83-255 Dinsmore, John. Tense choice and time specification in English. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **19**, 5/6 (1981), 475–94.

This paper deals with explicit and implicit time specification as a determinant of the choice between the ostensibly truth-conditionally equivalent Past and Present Perfect tenses in English. It is proposed that all of the co-occurrence restrictions involving Pa and PresPerf, including those also involving time adverbials, can be correctly accounted for in terms of a theory which treats PresPerf as a Past embedded under a Present, if such a theory is supplemented by two simple conditions. The nature of these conditions is discussed in detail and a wide range of phenomena is shown to be correctly predicted as a consequence.

83-256 Hawkins, John A. (U. of Southern California). The semantic diversity of basic grammatical relations in English and German. *Linguistische Berichte* (Wiesbaden, FRG), **75** (1981), 1–25.

Subjects and direct objects are more semantically diverse in English than in German. This Grammatical Relations Generalisation is illustrated with examples from Rohdenburg (1974), such as *The trial cannot proceed/*Der Prozeß kann nicht fortfahren*, and set in a specific theory of grammar. English also has greater surface structure ambiguity than German, at the morphological level collapses more semantic distinctions into a single expression, and in lexis regularly has one broad term where German has many distinct verbs. A drift towards or away from a tighter fit between surface form and meaning, in a given period, offers a better explanation for historical change than autonomous syntactic explanations such as Lightfoot's re-analysis explanation for the impersonal-to-personal verb change in Middle English.

83-257 Luke, Kang-kwong and Richards, Jack C. English in Hong Kong: functions and status. *English World-wide* (Heidelberg), **3**, 1 (1982), 47–58.

Hong Kong offers an example of societal bilingualism supported by two largely monolingual communities co-existing in relative social isolation. Approximately 98 per cent of the population are Chinese. Social interaction between the Chinese community and the minority communities is minimal. Cantonese is the spoken language of the majority of the Chinese population. The status of English is unique, being neither second nor foreign language. Its function in four significant domains is examined: education, the media, employment and government. Almost 90 per cent of the entire secondary-school population is in English-medium schools, because parents think that success in this system leads to better employment prospects. The language of the schools, outside the classroom, is Cantonese, not English. Serious

doubts about the value of English-medium education have been expressed by proponents of the Chinese Language Movement. The role of the media reflects the parallelism of social institutions seen elsewhere: three English and five Chinese radio stations, two English and two Chinese television channels. The employment sector generally requires receptive rather than productive skills, and, of the latter, ranks writing over speaking. In some domains, English is becoming more frequently used for written communication; in the commercial and business sector the need for English is greatest, particularly where there is a need for international communication. There is a strong demand for career-oriented language proficiency courses. In government, English was until recently the only language of communication between the government and the people, as well as within the government itself, but riots forced officials to consider greater use of Chinese.

The term 'auxiliary language' is suggested to describe the unique status of English in Hong Kong, i.e. a non-native language reserved for certain restricted functions in society and for use by a restricted section of that society. There is no 'Hong Kong English', but some typical features of the English of middle-proficiency Cantonese speakers are described.

83–258   Poldauf, Ivan (Charles U., Prague). The genesis of terminational stress in English. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **54**, 4 (1981), 335–59.

English, with its mixed lexicon, non-Germanic loans, and Germanic-Romance hybrids, subjected its uncompounded word stock to rules typologically acceptable to the speaker. The stock had gradually become more and more dependent on the ends of the words, or 'finals', classifiable by their stress-determining behaviour, in particular on their classification into open sets and closed sets (the latter also merely expandable). The terminational stress used as its basis conditioning 'suffixes' of the typologically domestic Germanic kind, agglutinative, or it used an innovation, namely the movable common stress, sufficiently characterising a word's loan character. Semi-agglutinative stress partly blurs the glueing-on attachment of finals. Sporadically, Latin influence is brought in among the inherited or developed patterning by specialist terminology. The new stress developed from the alternation of stresses under pressure from unstressed verbal or adjectival 'initials' which were typological replacements of the Germanic unstressed prefixes. Fixed stress developed owing to the prevalence of or relatedness to certain word types, frequently supported by potential initial stressing in attributes and owing to the loss of a mora in the pronunciation of certain finals. Scientific terms stressed initially also made their pattern felt. Superadded to bipartite words, common stress has occasionally created new finals. Terminational stress is the most fortunate solution of the situation in a lexically well-balanced hybrid language.

83–259   Schneider, Edgar Werner. On the history of Black English in the USA: some new evidence. *English World-wide* (Heidelberg), **3**, 1 (1982), 18–46.

The linguistic character of (Early) Black English is largely determined by its descent from the nonstandard English spoken in the colonial period, which can be established

clearly for most of its linguistic forms and structures independently. There are no indications that a supra-regional uniform 'Plantation Creole' throughout the American South has ever existed, and no clear signs of ongoing creolisation. As can be seen from some examples of probably creole or creole-influenced structures, creolisation processes among black slaves on the American continent did occur, but must have been restricted geographically and linguistically. The linguistic situation of the black people in the United States must always have been too complex to be encompassed adequately by a one-sided analysis.

FRENCH

83–260   Burston, Jack L. (Monash U.) **and Monville-Burston, Monique** (La Trobe U.). The use of demonstrative and personal pronouns as anaphoric subjects of the verb 'être'. *Linguisticae Investigationes* (Amsterdam), **5**, 2 (1981), 231–57.

Describing and exemplifying the main distributional contrasts between the demonstrative (*ce*) and the personal pronouns (*il(s)*, *elle(s)*) occurring with *être*, the authors quote the standard account – *ce* when *être* is followed by a modified nominal, e.g. *Qui est Fellini?* [*il*] *c'est un metteur en scène italien*; and *il* when it is followed by an adjective, e.g. *Regarde cette pauvre chien. Comme* [*c'*] *elle est malade*. They show that this account is insufficient; the real distinction rests on the extent to which a speaker assumes knowledge of the referent's identity on the part of the hearer. This is called 'identificational decalage'. *Il* is used when knowledge is assumed, and *ce* when it is not. Many examples are described and discussed in support of this, and a classification of uses of *ce* and *il*, illustrated with examples, is proposed.

83–261   Grünbeck, Bernhard. Subjecktivismus im Französischen, Objektivismus im Deutschen? Kritische Betrachtungen zu einer Sprachhypothese. [Subjectivity in French, objectivity in German? Critical considerations on a linguistic hypothesis.] *Linguistica Antverpiensia* (Antwerp), **14** (1980), 181–213.

In his comparative stylistics of French and German, Malblanc claims that French is more 'subjective' than German, for example in its preference for active, reflexive and personal constructions where German uses the passive or impersonal verbs. But it can be argued that both German and French have similar resources; indeed, German has additional 'subjective' forms with *lassen* + reflexive verb and dative reflexives. The smaller number of impersonal constructions in French can be attributed to the absence of a genuine impersonal pronoun.

Nevertheless, data from a corpus of translation equivalents show far greater use of 'subjective' constructions in French, which not only avoids the passive but makes more use of verbs of perception (*in ihrem Blick war etwas wie Liebe – dans son regard il crut lire comme de l'amour*) and designations of persons rather than of activities or things in nominal expressions (*Anklagebank, Feuerwache – banc des accusés, poste de pompiers*). Thus it would appear that French is more 'subjective', but no conclusion

should be drawn yet about whether this reflects merely a stylistic tradition or a genuine difference of national psychology.

83–262 Monnerie, Annie (CIEP, Paris). Aspect du verbe et temps morphologiques. [Aspect and morphological tense.] *Bulletin CILA* (Neuchâtel), **35** (1982), 21–9.

With reference to the use of the present, perfect (*passé composé*), and imperfect tenses in French, two kinds of aspect are distinguished. First, the aspect of the process the verb describes: (1) being accomplished, or having just been completed (present v. perfect); (2) in the past, complete or incomplete (perfect v. imperfect); and (3) unique, or repetitive. Secondly, the aspect of the verb itself: e.g. durative (*manger*) v. non-durative (*arriver*); perfective (*partir*) v. imperfective. The consequences of the oppositions of the second type for tense use are described and discussed; for example *j'ai trouvé une portefeuille*, not **je trouve une portefeuille*. For the imperfect/perfect opposition it is noted that a special stylistic use can be made of the imperfect; e.g. *en 1802 Victor Hugo naissait à Besançon*, but since this use (once literary) is now widespread, for example, in the press and in sports commentaries, it is losing its effect.

The manipulation of the three tenses described is very delicate, and poses particular problems of acquisition for foreign learners of French. [An appendix proposes an order of presentation of tense uses to foreign learners.]

83–263 Wilmet, Marc (U. of Brussels). La place de l'epithète qualificative en français contemporain: étude grammaticale et stylistique. [The position of the qualifying epithet (adjective) in contemporary French: a grammatical and stylistic study.] *Revue de Linguistique Romane* (Strasbourg), **45**, 177/8 (1981), 17–73.

Qualifying epithets may be in one of two positions: before the noun (*antéposition*, abbr. AS), and after (*postposition*, abbr. SA). This has consequences for meaning, seen in such pairs as *furieux menteur* v. *menteur furieux*, or *un ancien moulin* v. *un moulin ancien*. An epithet is here defined as a qualifying element which the discourse does not allow to enter into a predicative relationship with the noun.

A corpus of 4000 pages of contemporary French novels (listed in appendix) revealed a proportion of AS to SA of 33.56 to 66.44 per cent. The frequencies of each type for all adjectives occurring more than 25 times in the corpus is given and the results are discussed. After considering historical evidence, a theoretical section defends the hypothesis that order SA involves a logical relation of intrinsic characterisation of the noun, whereas AS is more like quantification or an extrinsic characterisation.

Three conclusions are drawn and illustrated: (1) in principle no constraint prevents order AS for any adjective, but (2) particular conditions favour AS or SA; and (3) the order chosen always has a significant effect (for meaning).

GERMAN

83–264   Fox, Anthony (U. of Leeds). Remarks on intonation and 'Ausrahmung' in German. *Journal of Linguistics* (Cambridge), **18**, 1 (1982), 89–106.

In German sentences, verbal expressions are regularly divided, the non-finite portion being placed at the end, creating a 'frame' for most of the sentence. But in cases of *Ausrahmung* this frame is shortened, or disappears, leaving material outside. The communicative effect of this is to break the sentence up into two units. The observation that such structures regularly have two intonation peaks supports this interpretation if the intonation units are seen as communicative units. But the intonation patterns used are capable of further differentiation, revealing different kinds of intonation structures – co-ordinating and subordinating – which reflect the different communicative status of their parts. These intonation structures are not peculiar to cases of *Ausrahmung*, but occur with other syntactic structures. A comparison with English shows differences between the permissible intonation structures in the two languages, as German does not allow a final subordinate intonation unit.

83–265   Grésillon, Almuth (CNRS, Paris). Zum linguistischen Status rhetorischer Fragen. [On the grammatical status of rhetorical questions.] *Zeitschrift für Germanische Linguistik* (Berlin, FRG), **8**, 3 (1980), 273–89.

It is a mistake to consign rhetorical questions to pragmatics and rhetoric, for their grammar can be made explicit. Several sentence-internal criteria for identifying rhetorical questions in German are presented, including verb-initial word order, the presence of negative or positive polarity items, the possibility of adverbial extraposition, the combination of conditional and negation. Contextual signals such as lexical contrasts, which do need to be drawn upon for rhetorical *wh*-questions, are also discussed and claimed to be describable. Syntactic evidence is presented to show that rhetorical questions, which impose an opinion upon an interlocutor and which may be a kind of indirect speech act, resemble both questions and statements. [Appendix contains 35 examples of rhetorical questions taken from the prose works of Heinrich Heine.]

83–266   Griffen, T. D. (Southern Illinois U.). German /R/. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **56**, 3/4 (1982), 297–316.

A dynamic, nonsegmental phonology has been developed and applied to some traditional problems in German phonology. The German uvular /R/, however, appears to be particularly problematic, for the segmental allophones vary drastically in segment type – from consonant, to semi-consonant, to semi-vowel, to vowel. When a dynamic phonological analysis is used, though, the alleged allophones once again can be shown not to exist as anything pertinent to the consonantal obstruction itself. The /R/ is analysed simply as postdorsal constraint, and the manner in which this postdorsal constraint is perceived depends upon the syllabic characteristics of tension, stress, and duration. Thus, the perception of the differences is due not to any inherent features of the obstruction /R/, but rather to the interaction of the regular element of the syllabic frame quite normally adhering to the principle of direction of constraint.

83–267 Iluk, Jan. Die Indikatoren der Rektion deutscher Verben. [Indicators of government in German verbs.] *Zielsprache Deutsch* (Munich), **3** (1981), 10–23.

As a prerequisite for their teaching, a description of German verbs and the cases which they govern is presented, based on Oehler's *Grundwortschatz Deutsch*. A following dative is sometimes marked by certain prefixes on the verb, e.g. *bei-*, *ent-* as in *beistehen*, *entfliehen*. The dative also occurs with impersonal verbs which have an object, e.g. *fehlen*, and in 3-place verbs together with an accusative or prepositional object. Lexical fields characteristic of verbs governing the dative (e.g. verbs of saying) and semantic features on the nouns accompanying such verbs (e.g. subject -Anim, object Hum, as in *Das Bild gelang dem Maler gut*) are given. The verb prefixes *ver-*, *be-*, *er-* and others indicate accusative government, while certain prefixes accompany both accusative and dative government, e.g. *zu-* as in *zuhören*+dative but *zudecken*+accusative. Lexical fields characteristic of accusative government and several accusative constructions are discussed, including the double accusative, accusatives with a prepositional object and accusatives with a place adverbial.

RUSSIAN

83–268 Corbett, Greville (U. of Surrey). Resolution rules for predicate agreement in the Slavonic languages. *Slavonic and East European Review* (Cambridge), **60**, 3 (1982), 347–78.

'Resolution rules' are defined as the rules used to specify agreement on predicates with conjoined subjects. The ways in which person, number and gender agreement apply in the various Slavonic languages are examined, and resolution rules formulated for each of them and, where possible, generalised over groups of languages. Where resolution rules fail to apply – e.g. where a predicate agrees with only one conjunct within the subject – the various possibilities are considered, and particular factors such as animacy and word order are noted as being relevant to whether resolution rules apply or not.

Particular attention is given to gender resolution rules (only applicable in languages where gender is distinguished in the plural), which show particularly complex differences across languages. The motivation for such rules is shown to be primarily semantic coherence of agreement patterns, and secondarily the clarity with which number differences are marked.

83–269 Dietze, Joachim. Ableitungssuffixe der russischen Fachsprache. [Derivational suffixes in Russian technical language.] *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* (Berlin), **34**, 3 (1981), 322–33.

A corpus of 57,566 word forms, containing 269 different suffixes, was examined, and the suffixes listed and classified semantically; their frequency of occurrence was determined. The results show 182 substantival suffixes, 61 adjectival, 10 participial,

3 adverbial and 13 verbal, with the following percentages of occurrence: substantival 61·6 per cent, adjectival 14 per cent, participial 7·8 per cent and verbal 2·6 per cent.

83–270   Grigoryan, E. A. (Inst. Russ. Yaz. A.N.USSR, Moscow). Суффиксоид '-воз' в современном русском языке. [The suffixoid '-voz' in the contemporary Russian language.] *Русскуй язык в науионольной школе* (Moscow), **6** (1981), 14–18.

The suffix *-voz* has two main semantic components. The first relates to its use to denote a machine or vehicle, and is subdivided into two categories: mode of propulsion and items carried. The second relates to the person(s) involved in the carrying, and here also two subdivisions exist: in one case the person is seen as a member of a particular profession or vocational group, in the other the function alone is stressed. The suffixoid refers in particular to the idea of transport across a surface, and is further contrasted with the suffix *-khod*, which refers to machines moving across water. The diachronic development of the suffixoid is described, as also its productivity in the contemporary language.

83–271   Panfilov, V. Z. Отрицание и его ролъ в конституировании структуры простого предложения и суждения. [Negation and its role in the interpretation of the structure of the simple sentence and judgement.] *Вопросы языкознания* (Moscow), **2** (1982), 36–49.

A general discussion of negation, based on a distinction between syntactic structure (concerned with propositional functions) and logico-grammatical structure (concerned with subjects and predicates, logical stress, etc.). Negation is said to be characteristic of both types of structure in its different manifestations. In particular, unmarked sentence negation is represented as such on both levels of structure, while constituent negation is positive on the logico-grammatical level but negative in terms of its propositional functions. A third type of negation is also analysed, involving Kant's notion of infinite judgements. The arguments are exemplified mainly from Russian, with a few examples from other languages, especially Gilyak.

83–272   Wobst, Susan (U. of Massachusetts). Male and female reference in semantic space in Russian. *Russian Language Journal* (Michigan), **35**, 121/122 (1981), 35–44.

Acknowledging that much existing literature covers suffixes, gender and agreement, sex-specific nouns applied to the other sex, and forms of address or naming, this article examines certain roots which show a more fundamental, indeed traditional way in which the concepts of male-ness and female-ness are treated. The roots chosen are баб-/дед-, матъ-/отц- or отч-, сестр-/брат-, тетъ-/дядъ-, жен-/муж-, дев-/мал-. Each pair is examined in detail working from data available in normal dictionaries, supported by information from other studies and from the author's own observation of current usage. It is found that more male roots generate words applicable to females than vice versa; that male root words used in reference to males, or to male attributes or activities, cover a broader semantic space than do female root words with reference

to females. The type of suffix is found to have little bearing on whether a word is positive or negative in tone. Female-rooted nouns directed to males tend to be uncomplimentary, while male-rooted nouns tend to be complimentary to females. Even here, however, generalisation is found to be impossible.

SPANISH

83–273   Luján, Marta (U. of Texas). The Spanish copulas as aspectual indicators. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **54** (1981), 165–210.

The traditional definitions in terms of undefined notions such as essential v. accidental properties, modification and state, are insufficient for describing the use of the Spanish copulative verbs. The choice of copula in a predicate sentence entails an aspectual distinction which is formally defined in the grammar by means of the feature [PERFECTIVE] and two distinct semantic interpretations assigned by the semantic rules to the opposing values of the feature. *Estar*-predicates are perfective and must be interpreted as inherently referring to a delimited time period, i.e. a period of time whose beginning or end (or both) are assumed. *Ser*-predicates are imperfective in that their temporal reference is with respect to an undelimited period of time, covering a number of distinct occasions or delimited time periods, that is, a stretch of time with indefinite beginning and end. The formal definition of these different interpretations regarding temporal reference is shown to correctly characterise the partial synonymy of the copulative verbs, as well as the traditional dichotomy, essential v. accidental, they are said to express. It also throws light on some observed lexical gaps and the relationship holding between verbs denoting changes of state and perfective predicates with lexically related participles or adjectives. In addition, the analysis provides an account for previously unaccounted structural and semantical features, such as the distribution of the copulative verbs with past participles, locative phrases, and with frequency adverbs, and the semantic differentiation the copulative verbs introduce when used with time adverbials that are compatible with both copulas. It can be seen, moreover, that the semantic definitions proposed here are applicable to the aspectual distinction observed in other verbal forms, such as the two simple preterit tenses. Their distribution as well as their interpretation, and their combination with time adverbials is consistent with the analysis. What needs to be further investigated is the exact nature of the combinations of perfective and imperfective grammatical aspect with perfective and imperfective types of predicates.

SWEDISH

83–274   Hedberg, Johannes. Swedish in Modern English and English in Modern Swedish. *Moderna Språk* (Saltsjö-Duvnäs, Sweden), **76**, 2 (1982), 113–21.

Words in English and American that have, or may have, come from Swedish (or Scandinavian) include *forename, masterwork, motocross, overview, saga, slalom* and *weld*, also some flowers and plants have been named after Swedes, e.g. *dahlia*. On the other hand, the flow of English (and American) words and phrases into Swedish has been like an avalanche, particularly after the Second World War. The closest Swedish sounds are often substituted for the original English ones, e.g. *biff* (beef), *fluffig* (fluffy), *gem* (game), *krossa* (cross). [Tables give English/'Svengleska'/Swedish equivalents.] A currently popular trend is the introduction of English words and expressions with or without their English pronunciation into an otherwise Swedish context.

LEXICOGRAPHY

83–275   Mazière, F. (U. of Paris XIII). Le dictionnaire et les termes. [The dictionary and technical terms.] *Cahiers de Lexicologie* (Paris), **39**, 2 (1981), 79–104.

This article examines the definition of technical terms in contemporary dictionaries. The first part deals with the continuity of the notion of field (*domaine*) from the *Littré* to the *Petit Robert* in the light of the prefaces and the distribution of terms, drawing attention to diachronic and synchronic confusions, lack of systematicness and copying.

The second part looks into definitions, especially in the biological field, with reference to the two articles *bactérie* and *microbe* in six contemporary dictionaries. This choice of examples enables us to compare the definition of a scientific term and the definition of a word of the general language. This comparison shows more differences between dictionaries than between either of the articles, both in respect to classificatory terms and to their determination and their relationship to contemporary scientific practice. It shows up the gap between scientific knowledge and dictionary discourse, and the contamination of the definition of terms by stereotyped cultural description. This raises problems in using the dictionary as a tool for reading a popular scientific article. By failing to take into account expressions of the noun + adjective type, metaphoric meanings and loan compositions, it makes for inefficient use, all the more so as it offers only a limitative aspect of knowledge, by not giving the rules of its own constitution.

In the third part, considering the fact that a language dictionary by including scientific terms takes on characteristics of encylopedic or specialist dictionaries, the thesis is developed that the dictionary as an object, which has great favour in the eyes of experts and the general public, has more to offer to the authors themselves than to the users who are given fragmentary and historical facts, affording them only an illusion of access to the real fruit of research – pragmatic information of a material nature.

LEXICOLOGY

83–276 Ilson, Robert. The Survey of English Usage: past, present and future. *ELT Journal* (London), **36**, 4 (1982), 242–5.

Since its foundation in 1959 by Randolph Quirk, the Survey of English Usage has provided researchers and teachers with a corpus of spoken, manuscript, and printed Standard British English, and with facilities for conducting elicitation tests to gather information about usage that might otherwise remain inaccessible. In this way it has sought to inform linguistic introspection with observational evidence and linguistic experimentation. Despite the vicissitudes of linguistic theory, the Survey has continued its work in the broad-minded spirit of its founder, and has already provided a basis for many insights of pedagogical as well as theoretical significance. New uses have been found for the Survey's resources in recent years, and the spoken part of the Survey corpus is being made more widely available in book form and on computer tape through the collaborative efforts of people in Britain, Sweden, and Norway.

83–277 Lutzeier, Peter Rolf (Free U., Berlin). The notion of lexical field and its application to English nouns of financial income. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **56**, 1 (1982), 1–42.

The aim of the paper is to clarify the notion 'lexical field'. As far as the syntactic component of lexical fields is concerned, the author tries to take the idea of a substitution class seriously. Lexical fields end up being related in a specified way to repertoires of choices in the language with respect to a given verbal context. In trying to find the proper semantic structure of lexical fields one has to assess the relevance of componential analysis for the theory of lexical fields. As a result, it is illusory to expect from componential analysis meaning-constitution and classification criteria for the elements of lexical fields. Only a modified version of componential analysis in the light of stereotype semantics can be accepted as part of the semantic component. This leads to the conclusion that the theory of semantic relations between lexical items has to play an important role in the notion of lexical field. Nouns related to financial income are used for illustration as well as for application.