## Studies of particular languages

ENGLISH See also abstracts 73-230, -235,-257
73-237 Bowers, Frederick. The structure of affective sentences in English. Linguistics (The Hague), 86 (1972), 5-30.
Two kinds of affective sentence are examined: those, like fohn annoyed $m e$, in which a single surface transitive verb suggests a causal relationship, and those, like fohn made me annoyed, in which an analytic form with verbs such as make or cause is used with an affective predicate, and which also suggests a causal relationship. The author claims that they are semantically different and that their difference is one of 'superordinate force' [Austin, How to do Things with Words (Oxford, 1962)]. The author discusses a number of analyses of affective verbs [examples] before considering surface structure constraints on causative and affective verbs [examples]. He argues that in a simple structure like fohn annoyed me, fohn is in the relation of syntactic and semantic object to annoyed. [Bibliography.]

420 ADN

73-238 Greenbaum, S. Adverbial '-ing' particle constructions in English. Anglia (Tübingen), 91, I (1973), i-10.
Chomsky ('Remarks on nominalization' in Readings in English Transformational Grammar, edited by Jacobs and Rosenbaum) saw gerundive nominals such as fohn's refusing the offer as derived by a grammatical transformation from an underlying sentence-like structure and thus related transformationally to sentences such as fohn has refused the offer. A superficially similar construction is the adverbial -ing participle clause introduced by a conjunction, as in since refusing the offer, fohn hasn't been to see us. Whereas the participle since-clause is unambiguously temporal, the finite since-clause construction to which it might be transformationally related is ambiguous, expressing either a causal or a temporal relationship. A similar problem does not arise with while. It is possible to divide conjunctions that allow non-
finitization into certain semantic classes. [Examples.] A constraint concerning these conjunctions, not applying to those such as since or after which specifically indicate a time sequence between the clauses, is that non-finitization is possible only when the two clauses are contemporaneous in time. [Examples.] Sentences such as Being sick, I won't do well in the exam present a further problem, which suggests a relationship with certain types of coordinated clause. [Bibliography.]

420 ADN

## 73-239 Kuno, Susumu and Jane J. Robinson. Multiple 'wh' questions. Linguistic Inquiry (Cambridge, Mass), 3, 4 (1972), 463-87.

The paper questions the hypothesis put forward by Baker (in 'Notes on the description of English questions: the role of an abstract question morpheme') in Foundations of Language 6 (1970), 197-219, that because a sentence like who remembers where we bought which books? has two possible answers it is syntactically ambiguous. The authors conclude that although either of two answers is possible, only one is appropriate in any given situation. The authors find that multiple $w h$ words bound by the same $Q$ must be clause mates at the time of application of $W h-Q$ Movement. [Examples and analyses.] They also suggest constraints on Wh crossing and double dislocation. [Examples.]

420 ADN

73-240 Labov, William. Negative attraction and negative concord in English grammar. Language (Baltimore, Md) 48, 4 (1972), 773-8ı8.
The Black English sentence, It ain't no cat can't get in no coop, presents a problem for linguistic analysis since it has two directly opposite meanings, depending on who hears it. The relevance of the origin of this duality of deep structure to an understanding of the development of diverging dialects is discussed. The author analyses the basic linguistic and dialectal data on negative attraction to subject any, negative postposing to indeterminates and negative concord, and then

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considers the possibility of combining the three rules into a single transformation. But it appears that it is the contrast between categorical rules (such as negative attraction) and variable rules (such as negative concord) that is central to the problem. [Discussion and examples.] A model is proposed for the integration of the findings of the analysis into an overall view of negative transfer rules. This pattern is used in accounting for the problem sentence.

## 420 ADN AMF

73-241 Perez, Elizabeth. Adnominal prepositional phrases. English Language Teaching (London), 27, 2 (1973), 143-9.
Adnominal prepositional phrases are classified into three syntactic groups: (1) structures in which the verb is implicit, (2) nominalization patterns and (3) structures with an adjectival equivalent. Category ( 1 ) is subdivided, according to the type of verb deleted (past participle or active verb), under the headings in, at, and on. Category (2) is subdivided also under the headings in, at, and on, into active or passive constructions and progressive or perfective types. Category (3) is limited in its application.

420 AKN
73-242 Pride, J. B. An approach to the (socio-)linguistics of commands and requests in English. Archivum Linguisticum (Menston), 4 (1973), $5^{\text {r }} 74$.
Very little descriptive work has been carried out on the structural resources of English for the speech function of which commands and requests are an example. It is impossible to delimit commands and requests through linguistic analysis, since many forms can function under these labels. The labels themselves may be misleadingly narrow and static. [Some of the main variables of sociolinguistics are reviewed.] The potential of sociolinguistics lies in determining how the variables work in relation to each other. In this way such notions as 'speech community' and 'speech event' can be characterized. While linguistics may show the diversity of language, sociolinguistics, by focusing on the language user, emphasizes the uniformity of language through a study of repertoires of language within a community.

A central concern of the study is with the meaningful use and choice of language, rather than with linguistic structure for its own sake. As well as questions of frequency, acceptability and appropriateness, which are basic to sociolinguistics, distinctions between marked and unmarked points on a continuous scale in the major categories, and ordering characteristics as between the variables, must all play a part in the study. Although it is not possible to focus wholly on form or function, intuition can be allowed to suggest the language forms which characteristically function as commands. These are studied in four main categories: sentence structures; co-occurring structures; polarity, modality, tense, voice; lexical choice, choice of pronoun, demonstrative, tag. [Examples and classification. Comparison of the approach adopted in this paper with those of Labov, The Study of Non-Standard English; Halliday, 'Language in a social perspective' in Educational Review (1971); Soskin and John, 'The study of spontaneous talk' in The Stream of Behaviour, edited by Barker. The text of part of a driving lesson is given as an example. Bibliography.]

## FRENCH See also abstracts 73-235/6

73-243 Bustin-Lekeu, Francine. Tutoiement et vouvoiement chez les lycéens français. [The use of the second person singular and plural among French grammar-school pupils.] French Review (Baltimore, Md), 46, 4 (1973), 773-82.

The choice of pronoun of address poses a dilemma for the young adult. Non-reciprocity renders the dual system particularly complex. The older, authority-based system is overlaid by the contemporary system whereby the singular ( T ) is marked for solidarity and affection, and the plural $(\mathrm{V})$ is either unmarked or marked for respect. Instability is inherent where relative status is uncertain and definition of the situation is based on the right to take the initiative. Those apparently without such rights are young people, women, foreign minorities and most workers.

A specific enquiry was undertaken among grammar-school pupils

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in the South of France to determine actual behaviour, attitudes, and possible sex differentiation. [Details of questions; extent and nature of population; justification of sample chosen.]

Within the nuclear family, T is virtually universal [details]; within the extended family choice is more open, with the younger members being passive reciprocants, subject to a sympathy/antipathy bias. The upper middle class tends to a greater use of V. In the school situation, between pupils, the bias is towards T in all cases [details], with a feminine tendency towards respect for age and status. With teachers, teacher age is significant. Use of $\mathbf{T}$ is felt to be desirable, but is dependent on teacher initiative [figures], and is not necessarily indicative of closeness. In general, the universal use of T is an ideal, but social considerations are very strong, especially among women.

## 440 AFK ATD AVB

73-244 Kayne, R. S. L'inversion du sujet en français dans les propositions interrogatives. [The inversion of the subject in French in interrogative clauses.] Français Moderne (Paris), 4I, r (1973), 10-42; 4I, 2 (1973), 131-51.
Parts I, II. Inversion of verb and noun in direct questions in French is possible only after wh-words. There is doubt about the acceptability of the noun inversion after pourquoi and with certain types of complement and post-verbal modifier. [Examples.] The author adopts the hypothesis that noun inversion is accounted for by a transformation distinct from that required for pronoun inversion. A problem arises of specifying the extent of the rightwards movement of the subject NP. A solution might be to limit the movement by reference to the dominant VP node. The acceptability status of noun inversion and pronoun inversion is reversed for embedded questions, with the same kinds of restriction on the grammaticality of noun inversion as in direct questions. Noun inversion is distinct from pronoun inversion within the relative clause, the NP having the same position as in interrogative constructions. [The author proposes and tests with varied data a rule for noun inversion.]

Conditions on the grammaticality of 'complex inversion' such as
ton ami partira-t-il? suggest that it is one and the same with pronoun inversion. Complex inversion does not exhibit the normal conditions for the operation of 'detachment' or of pronominilization, and consequently cannot be the result of a copying operation. The existence of two separate transformations, for noun inversion and for pronoun inversion, supports the case of transformational grammars that the notion of 'subject' is not relevant to the formulation of transformations. Enclitics behave differently from other pronouns in respect to the complex inversion. [The arguments for and against the 'copying' hypothesis as it would affect enclitic pronouns are discussed.] Complex inversion is explained more satisfactorily by the inversion hypothesis than by the copying hypothesis. [The implications for grammatical theory of a restriction on 'copying' transformations are discussed. Bibliography.]

Part (III). Every NP will be introduced into the base together with a subject enclitic. At a later stage a rule will suppress the subject enclitic still preceded by NP. A further rule will adjoin each subject enclitic to the verb if no inversion or suppression has operated. [Discussion with examples of the special difficulties raised by $c e$ and on.] On will be the only item introduced into the base as subject enclitic which will carry its own quantum of meaning, in, for example, a sentence such as on est tous lad. The absence of pronoun inversion in sentences which have not undergone wh-movements presents a problem. A solution might be to regard the deep structure of a sentence such as $t u$ habites où as not containing a question marker. [Discussion with examples.] The pronoun inversion transformation is inoperative if the question marker bears on the subject NP. The noun inversion rule should precede the pronoun inversion rules. [Examples and discussion. Appendix listing the transformations given in the text.]

440 AKN

73-245 Malécot, A. and G. Metz. Progressive nasal assimilation in French. Phonetica (Basle), 26, 4 (1972), 193-209.
Computer-assisted techniques were employed to analyse fifty taperecorded conversations of Parisian speakers and to investigate a
feature of progressive nasal assimilation. A computer search was made for all occurrences of the sequence nasal vowel plus stop plus word juncture plus consonant. Two pilot experiments were undertaken: the first involved the measurement of lip closure timing, together with an oscillograph of nasal acoustic output and an oscillograph of the total speech signal in cases where the stop preceding the word juncture is a labial; the second involved speech synthesis and psychophysical testing and concerned perception and preferences. Results showed that the acoustic realization of the stop in such a sequence is the same as that of a nasal in the same position in the sequence, at least as far as nasality is concerned. The phenomenon almost always occurs where final -re or -le have been suppressed and where another word beginning with a stop or fricative immediately follows, as in une chamb(re) de bonne; it frequently occurs where no -re or -le is suppressed but where the next word begins with a voiced stop or fricative and also where a liquid or nasal consonant follows suppressed -re or $-l e$; and it occasionally occurs where the next word begins with a voiceless consonant and in donc, quand and $\operatorname{cinq}$ where the final consonant sound is pronounced before another consonant. [The phonetic contexts in which a small group of speakers preferred either the nasalized or the non-nasalized word-juncture are described.] Progressive nasal assimilation needs to be taught to foreign students of French if their pronunciation is to be normal. [The author describes the best way of doing this and gives rules for the use of this feature of pronunciation in various contexts.]

440 AJS

73-246 Petiot, G. and Christiane Marchello-Nizia. La norme et les grammaires scolaires. [The norm and school grammars.] Langue Française (Paris), 16 (1972), 99-113.
The word 'norm' never figures in school grammars; although their aim is to teach 'clear' and 'correct' speech and writing, the implied criteria remain undefined. A comparison of six grammars (SouchéGrunenwald, Delotte-Villars, Galliot-Laubreaux, Dubois-Youannon, Hamon, Bonnard) revealed problems in their concept of the norm and in its implications for teaching methods.

A grammar should enable the learner to generate all the sentences which are well formed in the language studied, and only those. Tabulating the rules for negation in the six grammars shows that this is not achieved. The rules variously allow: *je n'ai nul vu, *il vient non demain, *il n'a goutte entendu. They do not allow: il n'est bien nulle part, j'peux pas, rien n'a été remis, il habite pas loin d'ici, travail pas fait. Some common traits emerge: the grammars do not include all possibilities of negative expression, they all omit diachronic evaluation, they ignore word order, they show an essential concern with morphology rather than syntax, and they state many rules with unclarified qualifiers (certains . . ., parfois . . .). There is no systematic study of the language as a system of relations. Many possibilities are not given, and examples of 'incorrect' language state or imply a hierarchy of acceptability (an indirect way of preserving the homogeneity of the language). Written language is accepted as better than oral, formal better than popular, some styles better than others on social, situational or even historical grounds. Apart from this the pupil models himself on the teacher's competence which supplements the grammarbook norm. The pupil's own speech is usually cited as an example of error - so other norms are not admitted. Users of grammars, as of dictionaries, must therefore themselves have competence in the norm to make use of the grammar possible.

Abandoning the notion of the norm is a necessary condition of teaching spoken French. In this connexion, Labov's work on language as differentiated system is relevant to the consideration of co-existent linguistic forms. So also is recent discussion on processes of production of discourse - both of which lines of research should reach beyond the concept of the norm. [The entire issue is devoted to the concept of the norm.]

440 AK AV ELP

73-247 Pinchon, J. Les emplois de 'on'. [The use of 'on'.] Français dans le Monde (Paris), 94 (1973), 42-4; 95 (1973), 46-8.
On refers to a human, animate being; it can serve only as a subject. While capable of replacing any of the other subject pronouns it

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remains the least personal of them all. It accepts no qualifiers. By examining the possibilities of commutation with various pronouns one can delineate the uses and characteristics of on. As a 'nominal proform' it is remarkable for its flexibility in covering references to agents with plural number or even with no known number (as a substitute for the passive voice). As a substitute for personal pronouns it attenuates the implication of personal involvement in an outcome. Occasionally on can carry the full semantic value of, say, nous, but it avoids the clumsy repetition of long forms with reflexive verbs and thus contributes to conciseness. Purists who inveigh against these uses of on often use it themselves (without knowing it) as frequently as other speakers. $O n$ is always followed by the third person singular of verbs, but adjectives or past participles, used predicatively, are modified for the gender and number of the 'notional subject'. The possessive adjective depending on on is usually in the third person singular but, to avoid ambiguity, may agree with the notional subject. [A summary and an illustrative table set out the boundaries of such usage.]

440 ALJ

## GERMAN See also abstract 73-235

73-248 Aldenhoff, J. Deutsch: eine prädikative Sprache. [German: a predicative language.] Revue des Langues Vivantes (Brussels), 39, 2 (1973), $165-81$.
German grammar has freed itself from the domination of logic and of Latin grammar. A syntax of German must concern itself above all with the order which appears in sentences. The verb is central to the sentence and it is incorrect to treat the copula as of less importance than other verbs. Glinz in his Der Deutsche Satz has drawn a division between predicative items which are functionally identical, and has, in other cases, failed to separate items, the uninflected adjective and the adverb, which are functionally distinct. [The author gives an example sentence and discusses the function of the predicative item.] He considers such sentences as der Oberst klingelte seinen Adjutanten herbei and der andere nickte ihn vor. [Examples and discussion follow
in three main groups, according to the realization of the verb: transitive, reflexive, or intransitive. Each group is subdivided according to the form of the predicate: as adjective, adverb or as a prepositional phrase.] The author gives examples and discusses the use of predicates following kommen, bekommen, kriegen and bringen. [Examples and discussion of the constraints on predicative formation and of the relationship between sentences such as er winkte mir rüber and er winkte mich rüber.]

430 ADN

73-249 Ardowa, W. W. Sammelnamen (Kollektiva) in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. [Collective nouns in presentday German.] Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Leipzig), 9, 6 (1972), 353-9.

There is a considerable variety of views in linguistic literature on German collective nouns. [Authors and works listed.] The definitions vary very little (basically, the singular expresses numerousness), but different authors label different categories of nouns collective. A number of questions are raised as to which nouns qualify as collectives. Six categories of these nouns are examined. (I) Genuine or typical collective nouns whose singular form expresses both numerousness and entirety; they are not countable. A plural may exist [examples], but it is not correlative to the collective singular form. (2) Iterative collective nouns are abstract nouns derived from verbs. They express repeated actions combined into one process [examples], and are not very typical. (3) Collective nouns denoting groups of things or organisms occur in the singular and plural and are countable. Three reasons are given for their being called collective, the most important being that the singular expresses numerousness and entirety. (4) Only one of three subcategories of nouns denoting an unspecified number can by rights be called collective. [Examples and reasons given.] (5) A number of nouns that only occur in the plural can be labelled collective as long as they express entirety apart from the numerousness inherent in the plural. (6) Some nouns denoting materials are at least close to collective nouns but opinions differ as to whether they can be called collective. The author's own final
analysis of collective nouns is based on Baldinger's and Weisgerber's theory of word formation according to meaning. [Detailed analysis with diagram.]

430 ADN

73-250 Esau, H. Order of the elements in the German verb constellation. Linguistics (The Hague), 98 (1973), 20-40.
Although most transformational grammarians who have studied the question of word order in a synchronic description of modern German agree that the subject object verb (SOV) pattern is basic, others maintain that the SVO order represents the underlying pattern. The author discusses arguments for SOV, particularly those put forward by Bach, 'The order of elements in a transformational grammar of German' Language 38 (1962), and Bierwisch, 'Grammatik des deutschen Verbs', Studia Grammatica 2 (1963), and comments on them. [Examples and discussion.] The discussion is extended to include the use of postpositions (such as entlang, wegen), and a postulated universal co-occurrence of the feature of postposition of relational expressions and a normal SVO or VSO word order. [Reference given.]

The argument for German as an SVO language, put forward by Ross, 'Gapping and the order of constituents' in Progress in Linguistics, edited by Bierwisch and Heidolph (Mouton, 1970), and supported by Bach, 'Questions', Linguistic Inquiry 2 (1971), is discussed and rejected. The author assumes that the order of verbal elements as it occurs in the subordinate clause represents the input to the transformational component, with a transformation to move the finite verb into sentence-second position in the definition of the input string as a main clause. [Description of a derivation.] The modals are considered in detail within the proposed model. [Examples.] Certain questions, diachronic as well as synchronic, raised by the proposals, are considered, and tentative answers given. [Bibliography.]

73-251 Helbig, Gerhard. Zu Problemen des Attributs in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. [Problems relating to the attribute in present-day German.] Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Leipzig), 9, 6 (1972), 332-41; 10, 1 (1973), 11-17.
In accordance with Marxist-Leninist epistemology, linguists in the German Democratic Republic regard language as an objective system of symbols reflecting reality through human consciousness. Against this background the attribute in present-day German is analysed. Former definitions are given and criticized as being mere convention without theoretical foundation and for not providing satisfactory answers about the nature of the attribute. More recent definitions stress the fact that an attribute is the syntactic expression of an underlying predicative relationship. As these definitions and the theories resulting from them also have shortcomings the author attempts his own delineation. He characterizes the attribute as being based on logical predicates, which are more abstract than both linguistic predicates and conventional deep structures. In the light of this definition the difference between attributes and adverbial phrases is explained and the so-called predicative attribute is discussed; the latter is a special case among the various attributes and can easily be confused with the adverbial phrase or the objective predicate [examples].

The attribute in German can be expressed in a number of ways. From these various possibilities the author selects for discussion those that are most likely to cause problems for foreigners studying German. [The attributive participle is treated in great detail with emphasis on underlying basic structures; nine different kinds of genitive are listed and discussed, as well as three types (with subcategories) of attributive clause.]

The second part of the article is largely devoted to the relation between attribute and reference word, and between attributes themselves. This relationship is particularly complicated when attributes consisting of more than one word are involved. [Numerous examples and diagrams.] Apposition is briefly analysed and the place of the attribute in German word order is discussed.

## ITALIAN See also abstract 73-23I

73-252 Menarini, Alberto. Appunti sul cosiddetto 'stile commerciale'. [Notes on the so-called 'commercial style'.] Lingua nostra (Florence), 34, 1 (1973), 18-23.
Commercial correspondence in Italy is marked by the way it opens [designations: Spettabile Ditta . . ., statement of contents underlined at the beginning], and by formulae used for the subscription. If these devices are changed the letter loses its commercial characteristics. Apart from these conventions there is nothing which marks out a letter as commercial to justify the use of the word style to label the Italian used in it. The use of archaisms, circumlocutions, telegraphese and abbreviations may become habitual but is not necessary and is fundamentally idiosyncratic. [Numerous examples.] Large Italian companies are increasingly conscious of the inefficiency of the traditional jargon, and of the need for clear communication.

450 AND AVD

## SPANISH See also abstract 73-232

73-253 Abramson, Arthur S. and Leigh Lisker. Voice-timing perception in Spanish word-initial stops. Fournal of Phonetics (London), $\mathbf{~}$, I (1973), i-8.
The authors refer to work in which they found voice onset time (VOT), the interval between the release of a stop and the onset of phonation, as shown in spectrograms, to be the simplest single measure in the acoustic signal of the timing of laryngeal adjustments. VOT proved effective for the acoustic differentiation of stop consonants in most of the languages with two or even three phonological categories at each place of articulation. The study reported in this paper was to determine the nature of the relations between VOT as varied in synthetic speech, and as discriminated and labelled by Spanish speakers. [Report of experiment.] The authors, taking the perceptual efficacy of VOT as a sufficient cue for distinguishing the voiced and voiceless stops of Spanish to have been established by the study,
believe it to be ascribable to the relative timing of events at the larynx and the supraglottal place of articulation. The question of the influence of linguistic categories on the performance of discrimination tasks is unresolved. [Bibliography.]

460 AJ

## 73-254 Roldán, Mercedes. Spanish articles and pronouns. Language Sciences (Bloomington, Ind), 24 (1973), 16-20.

Postal's theory (1966) that articles, demonstratives and pronouns are only the surface structure representations of features of the English nouns they are attached to or denote, can also be applied to present-day Spanish. The evolution of Spanish articles, demonstratives and pronouns is described with numerous examples to show in particular the special significance to the theory of the Spanish neuter article. Parallels are drawn between English and Spanish usage to demonstrate the theory, and the variety of pronoun use in Spanish sentence structure and the resulting small but significant changes in meaning are analysed.

460 ADN (420)
73-255 Mansilla-García, M. Análisis contrastivo de los usos del subjuntivo en la oración independiente en español y en inglés. [A contrastive analysis of the uses of the English and Spanish subjunctive in main clauses.] Español Actual (Madrid), 23 (December 1972), 18-25.
The subjunctive still holds a strong position in Spanish despite the slow decline in its use. By taking many examples from written and spoken Castilian a careful analysis is made of the large variety of uses of the subjunctive in modern Spanish and compared with usage in modern British and American English. The evolution of the Spanish subjunctive is described together with the criteria which discriminate the syntactic functions of the indicative and the subjunctive. [The functions of the subjunctive are categorized with numerous examples.] The subjunctive in modern English is by comparison infrequently used except in set phrases. A comparison of the use of subjunctives in English and Spanish reveals major differences. [Examples are given from the Spanish press.]

## RUSSIAN See also abstracts 73-225,-229

73-256 Olechnowicz, M. Система ударения имён прилагательных в русском языке. [The system of adjectival stress in Russian.] Glottodidactica (Poznan), 6 (1972), 49-61.
Russian adjectives fall into two main groups - those with fixed and those with movable stress. The full form of the adjective has a fixed stress whereas the short form, which is indeclinable, has a movable stress. Short adjectives have three categories of stress. [Examples of short-form and long-form adjectives.] A detailed account is given of adjectives with stressed endings, those with a constant stress on the suffix, those that retain the stress when a prefix is added, complex adjectives, and those that have two types of stress. 491.7 AJP AKD

## CZECH

73-257 Tahal, Karel. Nêkteré prědložky místních vztahů v češtině a v angličtině. [Some prepositions denoting relations of place in Czech and in English.] Cizi jazyky ve skole (Prague), 16, 5 (1972/3), 199-206.
The function of Czech prepositions of place is compared with that of their English equivalents. [Examples and tables for both languages.] Whereas in Czech the choice of preposition is determined by strict formal criteria, the constraints of these criteria in English are not so strict and there is a much more subjective conception of place. The greatest difference between the two languages is that there are in English three prepositions, to, at and from denoting 'nonspecified dimension'. There appears, however, to be an increasing tendency in Czech to use $n a+$ accusative, $n a+$ locative, and $z+$ genitive in this way.
491.86 AKT 420

