

# *Studies of particular languages*

---

**ENGLISH** *See also abstracts 75–230, –238*

**75–241 Smaby, R. M.** Subordinate clauses and asymmetry in English. *Journal of Linguistics* (London), **10**, 2 (1974), 235–69.

There is a general importance principle that either the order of clauses in a given text will depend on the co-referentiality of the first clause with the topic of discourse; or, where appropriate, it will be the main clause and not a subordinate clause which is co-referential with the topic in the text. New information, therefore, is carried either by non-initial or by subordinate clauses. It is established that the properties of symmetry and asymmetry exist between clauses and that asymmetrical clauses define conditions for subordination (provided parenthetical clauses are excluded). Topics continuous over a portion of text are likely to have proforms in succeeding clauses, and a preference for proforms over full forms indicates topical unity; because continuity of text is maintained by main clauses, main clause topics are more likely to have co-referential proforms than subordinate clause topics. [References.]

## **FRENCH**

**75–242 Anderson, Shannon L.** On the syntax of liaison. *French Review* (Champaign, Ill), **48**, 5 (1975), 848–55.

A syntactic analysis of the relations between elements in French having obligatory phonological liaison can demonstrate that this feature is a surface manifestation of underlying syntactic bonds. Obligatory liaison occurs in the environments of prenominal modifier and noun, and of the verb and its clitics [references, discussion and definition of 'clitic']. Behaviour in these two types of group is similar: modifiers liaise with the noun and with each other, as do clitics in both pre- and postverbal positions. By contrast, liaison is prohibited between noun and postnominal modifier (except optionally in the case of plurals), and between noun subject (including disjunctive pronouns and conjoined pronoun subjects) and the verb.

Syntactically, similar constraints operate for both groups: the clitic–verb link prohibits intervention, modification, conjunction and contrastive or emphatic stress, while the same constraints operate on the modifier–noun link [examples and commentary]. This relationship should be reflected in the surface structure configuration. Adjoining the clitic directly to the V-node, and the prenominal modifier to the N-node, accounts both for the syntactic constraints and

provides the input for the phonological liaison rules. This scheme is adequate for obligatory and prohibited liaison, but not for optional liaisons of a stylistic nature.

**75-243 George, K. E. M.** Abbreviated words in contemporary French. *Modern Languages* (London), **56**, 2 (1975), 82-5.

Types of abbreviation which affect single words, e.g. *prof(esseur)*, are examined from (1) a sociolinguistic and (2) a linguistic point of view. Under (1), abbreviated forms are more frequent in spoken than written French, and are not necessarily substandard usage: appropriateness to the extra-linguistic situation must be considered. Abbreviations characterise the speech of in-groups: politics, crime, trades and professions, age-groups [examples]. Under (2), the morphology and syntax of abbreviated forms is discussed [examples]. Deletion of the end syllable or syllables is the usual method, and in French final open syllables in abbreviated forms as in *sympa(thique)* are more common than final consonants [figures]. A second abbreviation is also possible, e.g. *cinématographe* → *cinéma* → *ciné*. A significant grammatical consequence is the reduction of identity markers: *radiotélégraphiste*, *radiodiffusion* and *radiographie* are all reduced to *radio*. Masculine and feminine forms similarly become 'neuter'.

**75-244 Muller, C.** Remarques syntactico-sémantiques sur certains adverbes de temps. [Syntactical-semantic observations on some adverbs of time.] *Français Moderne* (Paris), **43**, 1 (1975), 12-37.

Certain French adverbs of time (*déjà*, *encore*) exhibit asymmetry in positive and negative sentences and similarly in interrogatives and negative responses [examples]. Their common field is the combination of temporal chronology with a particular aspect of the process under consideration. Attempts at accounting for this phenomenon in transformational terms give rise to serious problems [examples and commentary]. An investigation in terms of semantic characteristics gives a clearer account of the constraints involved.

The temporal reference of these adverbs implies a chronology, such that the insertion of the adverb places the sentence precisely in the sequence [examples]. This operation also carries certain implications for time subsequent to the sentence so formed, thus accounting for particular constraints on the alternation of the adverbs under discussion [examples and commentary]. Similar restrictions apply when the adverbs refer to iterative situations. Subject to the considerations thus established, it is possible to set up matrices with axes of time (past, present, future) and affirmation/negation, which bring out the underlying presuppositions [examples and commentary], and relate the adverbs under discussion to others like *toujours* and *enfin*. There remain problems

## STUDIES OF PARTICULAR LANGUAGES

connected with the relation between presupposition and assertion, and the constraints upon lexical choice.

**75-245** **Niedzielski, Henri.** Semantics and French relative pronouns. *IRAL* (Heidelberg), **13**, 1 (1975), 35-42.

Although interference problems between source and target languages are adequately described by contrastive linguistics for simple sentences, those in embedded sentences remain the province of generative grammar, which is too theoretical, or of traditional grammar, which is inadequately rigorous, for classroom use. The process of embedding can be compared for French and English by a set of parallel sentences containing subordinate clauses introduced by relative pronouns [examples]. These sentences may be separated into their component elements, which are completed by a demonstrative (*that* in English, *cela* in French) where the verb is transitive and the object undefined. A set of insertion, deletion and substitution rules, appropriate to each language, operate to generate the correctly formed composite sentences [examples and commentary]. Where the undetermined element is the subject, the choice of sentence to be embedded is determined semantically, and the same set of rules applies with, for French, a further substitution rule replacing the basic relative *que* by *qui* to denote the subject.

This process has been applied to the translation between French and English of texts containing embedded sentences. A set of procedural rules [listed and exemplified] is followed, giving efficient practical results. These rules are effective for all forms of French embedded sentences, and appear also to apply to English, German and Polish.

## SPANISH

**75-246** **Carrasco, Felix.** 'Ser' v. 'estar' y sus repercusiones en el sistema. [Systematic implications of the 'ser/estar' opposition.] *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* (Bogotá, Colombia), **29**, 2 (1974), 316-49.

The copula function is discussed, leaving aside such uses of *ser* as the passive auxiliary. At a deep level of analysis, *ser* co-occurs with nouns and noun-equivalents, while *estar* co-occurs with adjectives. *Estar* forbids noun complements [surface exceptions rationalised] and noun-substitute pro-forms are analogously excluded (\**el enfermo estoy yo*), as are demonstrative pronouns and numerals. (The numeral in *estamos cuatro* is judged to be part of the subject, cf. *comemos cuatro*; in *estoy el primero*, the numeral is judged to be a locative rather than the complement of a copula.) *Lo*, which can be a pro-form for noun

or adjective, apparently violates the hypothesis that noun-equivalents cannot co-occur with *estar*: *su padre también lo está* (i.e. *médico*). But here *lo* serves as a pro-form for the whole predicate and not for the noun as such. *Ser* after *lo* may be semantically void and a mere tonic prop for the clitic pronoun; *estar* is not semantically void. An adjective normally predicated by *estar* may be so of *ser* if *ser* is a pro-verb (*lo que está es arruinado*). *Estar+que* expressions have a deleted adjective complement. [Review of theories concerning *ser/estar+adjective*.] An adjective with *ser* picks out a defining feature of the subject; one with *estar* represents one of a range of choices. Noun-equivalence of the former is demonstrated. The impossibility of *estar+noun+adjective* is also shown. The *ser/estar* dichotomy is paralleled in possible translations of English *become*: *hacerse/ponerse*. [Bibliography.]

- 75-247 Dumitrescu, Domnita.** Propuestas en torno a la terminología del análisis sintáctico en castellano. [Some proposals about the terminology of syntactic analysis in Castilian Spanish.] *Boletín de la Asociación Europea de Profesores de Español* (Madrid), 6, 11 (1974), 21-9.

Inadequacies in the traditional analysis of Spanish simple-sentence syntax are highlighted. The so-called (by the Rumanian Academy Grammar) 'predicate complement', which includes the noun and adjective complements, infinitives, etc., is considered. These may be neither predicate nor complement, but may refer to a further complement, e.g. *siento caer la lluvia*; for this type a new category is established. Further, a 'final' complement is distinguished from an indirect ('beneficiary') complement proper, e.g. *voy de compras v. lo hizo para Maria*. Six other non-traditional categories of circumstantial complements, are distinguished: relational, conditional, concessive, oppositive, cumulative and exclusive ('*de excepción*'). These are adumbrated in the Rumanian Academy Grammar. In complex-sentence syntax, categories of clause-function are established analogous to certain of the above complement-types. [References.]

- 75-248 Roca, Ignacio M.** Phonetics is not phonology. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), 3, 1 (1975), 53-62.

There has been a recent attempt to account for certain processes of stop deletion and stop insertion in Catalan by a new type of phonological rule ('reciprocal rules'). The data are here re-examined and extended. The implications of the proposed new rules for language specific morpheme-structure conditions and for general ordering constraints are looked into. Problems arise and the nature of the rules is found to be at fault. The data are accounted for by keeping the two-level approach of standard generative phonology, a subset

## STUDIES OF PARTICULAR LANGUAGES

of them being approached from a phonetic angle which makes the new type of phonological rule unnecessary. The physiological processes underlying this subset of the data are revealed by the phonetic reinterpretation carried out here.

**75-249 Stiehm, Bruce G.** Spanish word order in non-sentence constructions. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **51**, 1 (1975), 49-88.

In Spanish non-sentence constructions, beginning elements establish a datum of reference to what is already known by carrying meaning within the confines of conventionalised order-class paradigms. Following elements, on the other hand, narrow the possibilities of syntagmatic combination to give final, new definition to the expression. At the beginning of constructions, the potential paradigms that occur first are smaller in extension, and thus more contrastive; paradigms nearer the centre are larger and more complex. The value of relative complexity or contrast of each such paradigm is closely connected to its characterising semantic tag.

Following elements possess syntagmatic contrast similar to the contrast perceived in initial paradigms; preceding elements, which are non-contrastive, are perceived as syntagmatically complex. Phrases and clauses, by nature complex, are placed at the end of constructions, allowing the possible modulation or neutralisation of end contrast.

## RUSSIAN

**75-250 Žukovskaja, L. P.** Об исследованиях по старославянскому языку. [Research on the Old Church Slavonic language.] *Серия литературы и языка* (Moscow), **33**, 5 (1974), 465-71.

The term 'Old Church Slavonic' (OCS) has been given definitions of varying extension by scholars in different countries, but for present purposes the central task of OCS studies is seen as the reconstruction of the language (especially the lexicon) of the original Cyrillo-Methodian texts, on the basis of extant copies and redactions of these texts. One of the main scholars working in this field is Vereščagin, who has demonstrated that the Cyrillo-Methodian translation from Greek was nearly always word-for-word (very rarely morpheme-for-morpheme or phrase-for-phrase), though a given Greek word could be translated by more than one OCS word in different contexts in accordance with OCS collocational possibilities (e.g. Greek *bállō* 'I throw'); syntactic calquing is rare, and OCS syntactic government is abandoned in favour of the Greek construction only where Graeco-Christian and pagan Slavonic cultures differ. Lexical variants among the different attested manuscripts, and even in different parts of the same manuscript, have traditionally been attributed in varying

degrees to dialectal and chronological variation within OCS. Vereščagin has argued that this variation was present in the Cyrillo-Methodian originals, on the basis of the variation found in the (very old) Savvina *kniga* [examples]. However, Savvina *kniga* in particular shows clear signs of post-Cyrillo-Methodian editorial amendments, and is not therefore solid evidence for this part of Vereščagin's claim.