Studies of particular languages

76-170 Warburton, Irene. The passive in English and Greek. *Foundations of Language* (Dordrecht), **13**, 4 (1975), 563–78.

Passive constructions are more frequent in English than in Greek because the English passive is often used to accommodate functional sentence perspective requirements, while Greek uses enclitics, word order and intonation for this purpose. However, since passives are not uncommon in Greek, there must be another function for passives. The subject of the passive is seen as much more involved in the meaning of the verb than when it occupies the position of the object in the active.

One aspect of the relation of passive subject to verb parallels that of noun to predicate adjective; this is revealed by the use of the auxiliary *be*. On the other hand, the subject of passive can be seen as the instigator of the activity of the verb, this possibly accounting for the use of auxiliaries such as *get* and *have*. The passive tenses expressed with inflection in Greek are ambiguous in this respect, but the ambiguity is somewhat dissolved in the perfect where we have a choice between *be* and *have*. Further, it seems that to account for the syntactic differences of stylistic transforms in different languages we must examine the surface structures derived without any optional transformations.

FRENCH

76-171 Bennett, William A. Clitics in French – a performance viewpoint. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **156** (1975), 5–22.

A grammar which aims at the highest level of adequacy is necessarily generative. Models which incorporate filters such as the template proposed in Perlmutter's *Deep and surface constraints in syntax* (1971) to account for the ordering and colligation of object pronouns in French fail to meet the requirements for explanatory adequacy.

In the light of the observation that a theory of cliticisation will be concerned with the movement of items which for functional reasons are termed 'pronouns'; that while some clitic groupings are ungrammatical, others are possible as 'stylistic' variants [examples], the suggestion is made that there are syntactic, semantic and phonological conditions on cliticisation, applying in different strengths [discussion and examples]. An adequate explanation leads to the conclusion that the syntactic component in a grammar of French has access to phonological information, and there is independent corroboration of this in the

'stylistic reordering' of short verb and polysyllabic subject noun or noun phrase in French. It is argued that such interplay of levels can be explained only through a model of performance. [References.]

76–172   Walker, Douglas C. Word stress in French. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **51**, 4 (1975), 887–900.

French phonology and morphology (Schane, 1968, henceforth FPM) presents a tightly integrated set of arguments for an abstract morphophonemic stress rule in modern French. This rule depends crucially on an underlying tense–lax distinction in the vowel system, and on various morphological restrictions. However, the FPM rule can be modified and restricted, within Schane's framework, to give a more accurate picture of stress assignment on a morphophonemic level. Such a reformulation leads to a synchronic rule in modern French that is very similar to the Latin stress rule, thus providing a potential case where a particular generative phonological approach leads to a historically accurate synchronic grammar.

However, this abstract synchronic rule (or the theory which permits it) is not invulnerable to criticism. The rule, and the associated mechanisms it requires, are re-examined in an effort to show how a consideration of productivity, morphological relatedness and grammatical conditioning (in short, a more 'concrete' approach) motivates a phonetically determined stress rule for modern French.

76–173   Winther, A. Note sur les formations déverbales en '-eur' et en '-ant'. [Note on nouns in '-eur' and '-ant' derived from verbs.] *Cahiers de Lexicologie* (Paris), **26**, 1 (1975), 56–84.

Typical sentence structures are examined of the verbs from which nouns ending in *-eur* and *-ant* derive by transformation. The deep structure underlying both forms is seen to have a common origin. Using a case grammar which distinguishes a deep structure Agent from *Siège* [site] one can insert a variable into the formula which will reliably differentiate *-ant* from *-eur* forms at the level of surface realisation. [Table: two major and four dependent factors which distinguish *-ant/-eur.*] Deep-rooted and consistent motives can be deduced for this semantic opposition [examples].

GERMAN

76–174   Helbig, Gerhard. Was ist ein unpersönliches Passiv? [What is an impersonal passive?] *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (Leipzig), **12**, 5 (1975), 271–7.

It is not generally agreed what an impersonal passive is. In any discussion, the syntax and semantics of the passive should be separated. The semantics of active

and passive sentences are the same even if their syntactic structures are different. To form a passive the subject of an active sentence must be an animate agent. Some sentences have an active syntactic structure but a passive meaning (*Ihm geschieht (durch uns) eine Beleidigung*). Only those sentences which are syntactic passives are considered here. There are four different types of actional passives: (1) *Das Buch wird (dem Schüler) (von dem Lehrer) geschenkt*; (2) *Dem Lehrer wird (vons uns) geholfen*; (3) *Es wird von ihm geglaubt*; (4) *Es wird getanzt.* Types two to four have no syntactic surface structure subject. What characterises all passive sentences is that they presuppose personal agents, thus it is of little use classifying four as impersonal. It is therefore concluded that the distinction between personal and impersonal passives, which is only based on surface structure similarities, should be abandoned.

ITALIAN

76–175   Bates, Elizabeth and Benigni, Laura. Rules of address in Italy: a sociological survey. *Language in Society* (London), **4**, 3 (1975), 271–88.

Studies of address forms have almost always concentrated on a single set of rules, as they would be used by one idealised speaker. Instead, the use of address pronouns in Italy was examined as a function of the classical sociological parameters of age, sex and social class. A modified version of the Brown and Gilman questionnaire was administered in interviews with 117 Italian adults. Results indicate a powerful age–class interaction in overall degree of formality. Young upper-class Ss are by far the least formal of the social groups – a particularly interesting finding, since Brown and Gilman's original study was drawn entirely from this population. Lower-class youth are the most formal, with older Ss falling in between. Most Italians are likely to expect to receive the same address form that they give; the only clearly functional non-reciprocal relationships involve differences in age rather than status. The relationship of the results to political measures are also discussed. Several issues are examined from the point of view of sociolinguistics 'ideals' tapped by the questionnaire, vs. actual behaviour in social settings. [Address forms (T/V pronouns); social class, age and sex differences; Italy (Rome).]

76–176   Napoli, Donna Jo. Consistency. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **51**, 4 (1975), 831–44.

Problems of number inconsistency arise in Italian when singular distributive quantifiers float to the right of subjects, leaving these subjects plural. The inconsistency arises in the presence of adjectives, participles and pronominal

forms. Different proposals are discussed here for ordering adjective agreement and participle agreement with respect to Quantifier Floating, and different theories of pronominalisation phenomena are also discussed. It is shown that significant generalisations about number consistency can be captured only if a particular ordering for agreement rules and Quantifier Floating is assumed along with a particular theory of pronominalisation. Thus the data presented here suggest that agreement phenomena and pronominalisation must be related.

PORTUGUESE

76-177   **Beyl, D. W.** A distinctive feature analysis of the Portuguese phonological system. *Georgetown University Working Papers on Languages and Linguistics* (Washington, DC), **11** (1975), 84–105.

Earlier approaches to Portuguese phonology have been phonemically oriented. A feature analysis is presented with associated redundancy statements for the major class features, and articulatory definitions of the features. Various lax vowels are treated by means of a 'low level phonological rule' and the [-tense] specification is not given in the distinctive feature matrix. [A set of redundancy rules for vowel features; one for obstruents, nasals, liquids and glides. Summary. List of rules. Redundant and nonredundant matrices in diagram form. Notes. References.]

SPANISH   *See also abstract* 76–156

76-178   **Hernández, C.** De conjunciones, relatores y transpositores. [On conjunctions, relators and transpositors.] *Español Actual* (Madrid), **29** (1975), 1–6.

The word 'conjunction' is inadequate to characterise the class it normally covers. Although the members of that class are categorically connectives, it is misleading to assign them any single functional name. Three groups are established: (1) semantically void transpositors, whose function is to shift a unit of some higher rank to that of noun phrase (*que, si* 'whether', *donde, cuando*), and which may be preceded by a preposition bearing a particular semantic value (*desde que, porque*) [N.B. *dado que*, etc. are not parallel] – a further type of transpositor signals adjunction to some NP (*tienen deseos de que...*); (2) relators, allotted to three classes, all of which are anaphoric in character – one of these classes includes the traditional 'conjunctions' *luego que, siempre que, aunque*, which are here interpreted as adverb plus relator, and (3) conjunctions, a term reserved for linkers of units of the same rank (*y, pero, sino*). *Que* in comparatives is half relator, half conjunction.

76–179 **Kvavik, K. H.** Spanish noun suffixes: a synchronic perspective on methodological problems, characteristic patterns, and usage data. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **156** (1975), 23–78.

[Review of the literature on the synchronic description of derivation.] An adequate study should take into account both form and function of derivational affixes, and also the nature of the semantic fields in which they are respectively frequent. Productivity of affixes is associated with the semantic and formal transparency of the derivational processes. [Discussion of the data-base of the analysis, Juilland and Chang-Rodríguez' *Frequency dictionary*, and of indeterminacies inherent in the synchronic analysis of suffixation.] Suffixed nouns have statistical phonological peculiarities, e.g. a stronger tendency towards final consonants than is seen in unsuffixed nouns. Further, derived nouns are typically feminine whilst underived nouns are not. [Problems in grouping of affixes; plea for usage data to back the theoretically-established groupings, e.g. on whether the small functional yield of *-ar* versus *-al* is cancelled entirely by speakers' confusion of the relevant word-pairs]. The suffixes are presented individually. The most frequent also generate the fewest paradigmatic alternations; this is a key factor in their productivity. [List of affixes and all examples surveyed. Productive and unproductive meanings of suffixes are given.] A great preponderance of deverbal suffixation is found (*-imiento*, *-(a)(c)ión*, *-(a)(d)or*). Higher usage rates are found for the 'interlocking suffixes' (e.g. *-ación*, *-ador*, *-ado*); but usage and productivity do not necessarily coincide. Although some suffixation patterns may be restricted to certain semantic fields, the trends presented appear to be true of the basic or core vocabulary.

76–180 **Zuluaga O., A.** La fijación fraseológica. [Set phrases.] *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* (Bogota, Colombia), **30**, 2 (1975), 225–48.

Set phrases are characterised not just by defectiveness with regard to transformations or by an inclusion of lexemes which occur in no other context. The critical fact is that they are simply not explicable in terms of explicit generative rules. Their types include fixedness with respect to element order, some grammatical category, and the actual lexeme inventory (both syntagmatic and paradigmatic). Fixedness of category is functionally arbitrary (why plural in ¡buenas noches!?) and noncontrastive (there is no *¡buena noche!*). Six types of relation between fixedness and contextual predictability of certain lexemes are considered. The degree of fixedness is also explored; criteria are given for defining fixed phrases with possible internal variation. Fixedness as a concept is confirmed by the various literary effects achieved by substituting a lexeme for a 'fixed' one or by deleting a 'fixed' one.

SWEDISH

76–181   Paulston, Christina Bratt. Language and social class: pronouns of address in Swedish. *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics* (Austin, Texas), **29** (1975), 1–19.

Forms of address in Swedish and their patterns of usage are described. They correlate highly with social structure: despite egalitarian political policies, Sweden still retains strong class differences, and the classes have different rules because of the different 'semantics' of the second person singular pronouns *du* and *ni*. [Discussion of solidarity *du*, intimacy–familiarity *du*, and of peasant, impolite and polite *ni*, with examples.] The system is in a state of rapid change with an increased use of solidarity $du+\varnothing N$. [References.]

RUSSIAN   *See abstracts* 76–148, –152, –155, –184

CREOLE

76–182   Edwards, Jay and others. Conversation in a West Indian taxi: an ethnolinguistic analysis. *Language in Society* (London), **4**, 3 (1975), 295–321.

This paper examines the stylistic use of language by West Indian men. A verbal duel is explored and related to an opposition between two West Indian value systems. The concept of 'vertical code switching', such as in diglossia, is found to be inadequate to account for the verbal behaviour. More significant is a type of 'horizontal' switching which involves phonological and suprasegmental features. (Multilingualism, creole languages, code and style switching, 'lente' and 'allegro' speech, ethnography of communication; San Andrés Island, Colombia.)

76–183   Huttar, George L. Sources of creole semantic structures. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **51**, 3 (1975), 684–95.

Evidence from a comparison of the usage of 20 morphemes in each of 43 languages suggests that when morphemes are borrowed from a socially dominant language into a pidgin, and extended in usage as in a creole, the major factor determining the direction of such extension is the linguistic background of the speakers of languages other than the dominant one. Features inherent in pidginisation and creolisation themselves play only a subsidiary role. The role of semantic universals appears to be even less significant. Monogenetic hypotheses of the origin of pidgins and creoles are not supported by the evidence.

GREEK *See abstract* 76–170

SLAVONIC

76–184 **Volotskaya, Z. M.** К сопоставительному описанию славян-
ских языков. [Towards a contrastive description of Slavonic
languages.] *Вопросы языкознания* (Moscow), **5** (1975), 38–53.

A framework is set up for contrastively describing the relationships between
derivatives of place (*nomina loci*) and their parent words with reference to five
Slavonic languages. Key terms are 'derivational class' and 'word-formational
type'. Derivational classes (which contain different word-formational types) are
set up on the basis of transformations of the type V^o +d $\rightarrow$ *там, где* V^o, where,
for the left-hand side of the rule V^o stands for the parental verb-stem and d for
the relevant word-formational morph: e.g. *сушильня* $\rightarrow$ *там, где сушат*.

The data for the languages concerned (Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbo-croat
and Bulgarian) have been compiled from various monolingual and bilingual
dictionaries [details]. Eight derivational classes are established and statistical
data concerning the distribution and relative dominance of particular word-
formational types within classes are analysed. [Details and tables.]