

DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES OF PARTICULAR LANGUAGES

ARABIC

82-110 Anani, Mohammad. Some phonetic differences between Arabic and English vowels. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* (Berlin, GDR), **33**, 6 (1980), 709-14.

The vowels of educated Arabic are described as a phonemic system and in terms of their contextual variants. The system comprises /i:, i, e:, a:, a, o:, u:, u, ai, au/. A comparison is made with the vowel system of English (RP). [List of examples; vowel charts.]

82-111 Mitchell, T. F. (U. of Leeds). Dimensions of style in a grammar of educated spoken Arabic. *Archivum Linguisticum* (London), **11**, 2 (1980), 89-106.

The wide divergence between the written Arabic (Classical (CA) or the so-called Modern Standard (MSA) of contemporary literature, journalism, administration, etc.) and the many often mutually unintelligible regional forms of vernacular Arabic is well known. The fact remains that educated Arabs of most nationalities talk among themselves on most topics with little or no linguistic embarrassment, simultaneously drawing as they do so on the resources of the written language and of regional vernaculars. This 'middle' speech of educated Arabs (Educated Spoken Arabic or ESA), which should not be equated with that of specialists in Arabic, is the subject of current research at Leeds University and directed particularly to ESA practice in and between Egypt and the Levant. To write a grammar of this language, it is necessary first to distinguish relevant categories of style and to incorporate them subsequently into the grammar. It seems clear that this can be done economically through the recognition of two primary stylistic grades, 'Formal' (F) and 'Informal' (-F), with the latter divided where necessary into 'Careful' (-Fa) and 'Casual' (-Fb). These distinctions are applicable not only to discourse functions but to syntactic structures, morphological elements, phonological forms, and lexical items. The article illustrates abundantly the fact that, at least as far as Arabic is concerned, it is not only possible but indeed imperative, if the needs of adequate description are to be met, to present grammatical analysis in relation to an accompanying framework of stylistic-cum-regional variation, which grammarians must not dub 'language use' and then ignore.

ENGLISH

82-112 Jacobsen, Sven (U. of Stockholm). Contextual influences on adverb placement in English. *Studia Linguistica* (Lund, Sweden), **34**, 2 (1980), 135-40.

The inclusion of contextual information in adverb placement tests can be of value in several ways: (a) It demonstrates that not only the placement of sentence-conjoining

adverbs like *therefore* and *instead* is determined across sentence boundaries but in many cases also that of other types of adverbs. Factors playing a role here are new v. old information and contrast (e.g. between *half* and *completely*). (b) It can show that a particular adverb, e.g. *probably*, is an integral part of a sentence and not added as an afterthought. (c) It can disambiguate adverbs whose placement varies with different reference, as in the case of *then* and *first*. (d) It can give clear indication which particular constituent a focusing adverb, e.g. *also*, refers to.

82-113 Shteling, D. A. О системности словосочетаний. [The systematic nature of phrases.] *Иностранные языки в школе* (Moscow), 1 (1981), 15-21.

English phrases of the type Participle II + prep. + N are compared with particular reference to those implying state or condition. The use of the prepositions *with*, *by*, *at* and *in* is examined on the basis of examples drawn from nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature. Phrases describing the emotional state of persons are contrasted with those expressing the condition of impersonal objects or situations. Semantic groupings are established within these categories in which concepts such as the dependence/independence of the agent, its specificity and its interaction with the psyche of the subject are seen as crucial in the choice of preposition.

FRENCH

82-114 Fradin, Bernard (Inst. de la Langue Française, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique). Les phrases à adjectif frontal. [Sentences with a fronted adjective.] *Linguisticae Investigationes* (Amsterdam), 4, 2 (1980), 343-78.

Sentences with a fronted adjective (PAF) are those of the following type: *Eblouis qu'ils sont, les spectateurs se regardent*. The distribution of such constructions and also their internal structural properties are described. Their generation (assuming Extended Standard Theory) involves movement of the head Adjective or entire Adjective Phrase in a structure such as [_S' [_X' e] [_S' qu'il était [_A' [_A fier] [_{PP} de ses gros bras]]]] – this will yield *fier qu'il était de ses gros bras* or *fier de ses gros bras qu'il était*. [A number of rival analyses are considered and shown to be inadequate.] PAF beginning with a preposition (*de blême qu'il était, il devint cramoisi*) are also considered. An informal analysis of the semantic properties of PAF is presented.

82-115 Meunier, A. (U. de Paris III). Observations sur les adjectifs dits 'factifs'. [Observations on so-called 'factive' adjectives.] *Cahiers de Lexicologie* (Paris), 37, 2 (1980), 49-66.

C. and P. Kiparsky distinguished predicates (verbs and adjectives) having a subject and/or a phrasal complement, according to certain semantic and syntactic properties whose correlations in respect to English were first accepted and later frequently discussed. This article attempts to evaluate the feature of 'factivity' as applied to the classification of French adjectives. The absence of distinctive morphosyntactic properties having been ascertained, a series of semantic features are examined which appear to confirm the existence of a set of factive elements. However, a more precise analysis of the facts shows that factivity is not the same for all the sub-classes

considered (types: *furieux, idiot, conscient, regrettable, étrange, révélateur*), and if for certain adjectives factivity can be taken to be a lexical property, for others it is established by their insertion in constructions founded on elementary predicates (mainly causative) which are themselves characterisable as factive.

82-116 Roulet, Eddy. Des modalités implicites intégrées en français contemporain. [Integrated implicit modality in contemporary French.] *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* (Geneva), **33** (1979), 41–76.

Instances of integrated implicit modality are utterances such as *elle semble être malade*; these are distinguished from instances of non-integrated implicit modality (*il semble qu'elle est malade*) and explicit modality (*je pense/il me semble qu'elle est malade*). Integrated implicit modality can be expressed by (1) verbs (*devoir, pouvoir, menacer, risquer, promettre, sembler, paraître*); (2) adverbs – three classes are distinguished: assertive (*probablement, peut-être, apparemment, . . .*), evaluative (*malheureusement, . . .*) and those expressing necessity and truth (*nécessairement, réellement, . . .*); (3) adjectives (*facile, difficile, agréable, désagréable, pénible, utile, aisé* – e.g. *ce livre est facile à lire = il est facile de lire ce livre*). [Analyses of these three categories, based on literary and linguistic texts.]

82-117 Winther, A. (U. of Haute-Normandie). Substantivation et lexicalisation des adjectifs antonymiques dans la catégorie des noms d'animés. [Formation and lexicalisation of nouns from antonymous adjectives categorised as animate.] *Cahiers de Lexicologie* (Paris), **37**, 2 (1980), 101–12.

Of two antonymous adjectives that can be made into nouns denoting animates, it is often the negative only that is commonly used as a noun, i.e. lexicalised. Nouns denoting animates are of two kinds: qualifying nouns and classifying nouns. Not all adjectives that can be predicated to a noun denoting an animate have the semantic characteristics required to form either qualifying or classifying nouns. In particular, the fact that a negative adjective has the requisite features to form a qualifying noun does not imply that the corresponding positive adjective can form a noun of the same category or a classifying noun. Hence a dissymmetry that is both observable and predictable.

GERMAN

82-118 Afonkin, Juri (Leningrad). Adverbiale Partikeln als Mittel zur Differenzierung der Aktionsarten. [Adverbial particles as a means of differentiating the aspects of a verb.] *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (Leipzig, GDR), **17**, 6 (1980), 354–9 (part I) and **1** (1981), 19–24 (part II).

Part I. Unlike Russian and other Slavic languages, the German verb has no aspects, the essential factor being rather whether or not the action is restricted. The multi-directional as opposed to the uni-directional aspect is expressed on a syntactic level through the use of compounds. In German, new compounds can be created to show actional content both through the context and through the lexemes. Insufficient research has been done on the compound verbs of the *dahinfließen* type which have

an adverbial particle as the first element showing the presence or absence of a physical limit to the action of the verb.

The adverbial particles *herum-*, *umher-*, *dahin-*, *daher-* and *einher-* are discussed. When describing the multi-directional aspects of the verb, *umher-* and the much used *herum-* have developed the meaning of goalless and unpremeditated movement. *Dahin-*, *einher-* (and more seldom *daher-*) describe a movement of unstipulated direction which takes place in front of someone's eyes.

Part II. The actional powers of some adverbial particles outside the semantic area of movement are discussed. The German adverbs of direction which have the component parts *hin-* and *her-* are going through the same stages of development which the separable prefixes *an-*, *auf-*, etc. (and much earlier the inseparable *er-*, *ver-*, etc.) underwent. They progressed from being adverbs of place to being verbal prefixes of vaguer meaning, finally becoming verbal prefixes of actional meaning used with a maximum of grammatical abstraction. The adverbs of direction are still at the first stage of this development. A limited number of adverbs have reached the second stage and a very few are fully developed.

The adverbial particle *herum-* is added to verbs of various meanings (as well as to the verbs of motion described in the first part), modifying them to convey continuous, often unsuccessful or purposeless occupation. *Herunter-* prefixed to a verb has the specific role of indicating the completion of an action. A compound verb with *hinein-* is structurally dependent on the context because it calls for amplification through *in etwas*. However, the adverb *hinein* functions as an independent lexeme, only loosely connected to the verb.

82–119 Persson, Ingemar (Lund). Das Funktionsverbgefüge mit dem Funktionsverb 'finden' – Eine semantisch-syntaktische Analyse. [The functional verb construction as illustrated by 'finden' – a semantic-syntactic analysis.] *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (Leipzig, GDR), 18, 1 (1981), 25–32.

The functional verb construction can be conceived of as an intransitive equivalent of a simple transitive verb. The semantic and syntactic characteristics of the construction are analysed using as an example *finden* 'to find' in such phrases as *Stütze finden* 'find support'.

The role of the functional verb is as a construction which can be referred to as causative structure and which reinforces the transformational aspect of the predicate in the second proposition. Propositional phrases of various types (usually with *durch*) can be used to convey arguments which point to the case relations Agent, Force and Instrument in sentences containing *finden* as a functional verb. The functional verb construction can be compared with the passive in that in both cases the same argument (which excludes mention of an agent) is realised as the subject. Semantic analysis of *finden* as a functional verb reveals two different underlying semantic structures, depending on whether or not a simple causal verb lexeme appears in the surface realisation. These are discussed in detail, and criteria are established for distinguishing the functional verb construction from other constructions involving *finden*. The relationship between its semantic and syntactic structure is examined in detail.

HEBREW

82–120 Berman, Ruth A. (Tel Aviv U.). The case of an (S)VO language: subjectless constructions in modern Hebrew. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **56**, 4 (1980), 759–76.

Modern Hebrew is examined as an instance of an (S)VO language – in that, like Russian (but unlike English or French), it has a wide range of sentence-types lacking an overt grammatical subject. These include (a) the semantically and structurally related classes of existential and possessive sentences; (b) impersonal sentences with 3pl. verbs which may function in place of agentless passives; (c) dative-marked experiential sentences with predicates such as ‘cold’ or ‘sad’; and (d) environmental comments about time, weather, etc. Typological correlates of a language’s tolerance for subjectless constructions are then suggested: thus Hebrew, while basically SVO, makes wide use of verb-initial constructions; the language is not ‘subject-dominant’, either structurally or pragmatically; and it tolerates numerous fronting operations. It is concluded that the class of constructions which may be subjectless across languages is not random, but predictable along the lines suggested for Hebrew.

82–121 Masson, Michel (U. of Lille III). Emprunt et idéologie en hébreu moderne. [Borrowing and ideology in modern Hebrew.] *Cahiers de l’Institut de Linguistique de Louvain* (Louvain), **6**, 1/2 (1980), 77–91.

Jewish nationalism was responsible for the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language at the end of the nineteenth century. To meet the needs of the modern age, Hebrew borrowed extensively from other languages: English, Arabic, German, Russian and Yiddish. One particular source of loan words may be described as ‘Pan-European’, i.e. terms common to German, Yiddish and Russian (and in many cases to other European languages); Hebrew took over no less than two-thirds of the vocabulary falling into this category, the exceptions being mainly military, legal and administrative terms or words connected with literature and religion. For subjects closely identified with Jewish culture and tradition, Hebrew terms were preferred. Pan-European words of very high frequency were however also rejected in favour of Hebrew words, confirming the nature of the underlying opposition governing the choice of vocabulary: Jewish and familiar v. non-Jewish, rare and exotic, or ‘us’ v. ‘non-us’.

ITALIAN

82–122 Carsaniga, G. (U. of Sussex). Italian: a changing language. *ATJ Journal* (Beccles, Suffolk), **32** (1981), 46–58.

The Italian language, that is, the literary language used by cultivated people, was virtually a dead language by the end of the last century. The first main phase of standardisation of modern Italian was co-terminous with the Fascist period, when dialects were repressed and the knowledge and use of a national language began to take root, aided by the news media. The second phase, mainly in reaction to the first, began in the '50s and saw increased lexical borrowing from dialects and foreign languages. Italian has developed more in the last 30 years than in the previous 600. Some of the most obvious changes are sketched: the lexicon had a rich vocabulary

to express emotions and discuss metaphysics but lacked names for the most common objects of daily life, as well as for common flora and fauna. Word-formation processes included lexical borrowing (particularly, these days, from English and American English); calques and adaptations of foreign words to suit Italian morphology; new forms (nouns and verbs). Modifications in traditional spelling and phonology have been necessary. Changes in noun- and verb-phrase syntax have also resulted. Modern Italian seems to be aiming at some of the flexibility of English.

82-123 Scalise, Sergio. Towards an 'extended' Italian morphology. *Journal of Italian Linguistics* (Dordrecht), 5, 1/2 (1980), 197-244.

The internal structure of a morphological component in Italian is examined, which is compatible with the Extended Standard Theory, as formulated by Siegel (1974), Arnoff (1976) and Reece Allen (1978). The author, contrary to Arnoff, proposes a word-and-stem based morphology also including Siegel's 'stems', but based on a representational model more closely approximating that of Reece Allen than Siegel. The model includes three different blocks of rules (derivation, compounding and inflection) which are found to be ordered with respect to each other. The relationship between the three blocks of rules is then analysed in relation to Italian morphology, and boundary phenomena are compared in the Italian, Dutch and English systems. Contrary to Roeper and Siegel's (1978) hypothesis, the study shows that derivation rules that take a compound as their base are not different from normal derivation rules which take a word or a stem as their base.

JAPANESE

82-124 Backhouse, A. E. (Monash U., Melbourne). Japanese verbs of dress. *Journal of Linguistics* (Cambridge), 17, 1 (1981), 17-29.

Aspects of the semantics of Japanese verbs of dress are described, first from a contrastive standpoint *vis-à-vis* English, and subsequently in terms of their position within the structure of the vocabulary of Japanese. It is hoped that the treatment may draw attention to the semantic interest of this area of the vocabulary in different languages, and to the importance of a hitherto little-described sense relation of oppositeness.

82-125 Loveday, Leo (Essen U.). Pitch, politeness and sexual role: an exploratory investigation into the pitch correlates of English and Japanese politeness formulae. *Language and Speech* (Hampton Hill, Mddx), 24, 1 (1981), 71-89.

This paper reports a preliminary investigation into the pitch correlates of politeness formulae produced by Japanese and English informants of both sexes. Significant pitch differences in the expression of politeness occur between the two language communities: the Japanese female subjects adopt an extremely high pitch clearly separating themselves acoustically from Japanese males in the same circumstances, while English male pitch is considerably less differentiated from English female pitch. These pitch differences arise because of a contrasting sociosemiotic function assigned to pitch in the two speech communities whereby Japanese high pitch is typically

reserved for the enactment of female roles while English high pitch is adopted by both sexes to express politeness.

RUSSIAN

82-126 Birnbaum, Henrik and Pariser, Jon (U. of California, LA). Modality, marking of sentential meaning, and disambiguation in Russian. *Russian Linguistics* (Dordrecht), **5**, 2 (1980), 165–73.

A class of impersonal reflexive verbs with dative subject in Russian which denotes mental perception of phenomena is discussed. Sentences containing such verbs may be ambiguous, depending on whether the perceived phenomena are presented as real or unreal. Componential analysis reveals only some of the semantic nuances of these verbs. Complementary semantic nuances are introduced by the choice of subordinating conjunction used to introduce the complements of these verbs. These subordinators are said to be organised along a scale of uncertainty. When an ambiguous verb co-occurs with an ambiguous subordinator, the sentence as a whole may have virtually no ambiguity.

82-127 Chesnokova, L. D. Категория количества и синтаксические структуры. [The category of quantity and syntactic structures.] *Вопросы языкознания* (Moscow), **2** (1981), 44–52.

The category of quantity is claimed to be expressed in language at varying levels of abstraction. At its most abstract, quantity is expressed in simple numerals, as in arithmetic. More concretely, the things quantified can be represented by a noun, or a verb. Enumerations, represented by coordinate constituents, express quantity, whether they are used in apposition to a numeral, in response to a question about number, or merely as a list.

It is speculated that enumerations are the most primitive expression of quantity, as they do not necessarily involve the recognition of any specific quantity. But they lose their primitive quality when combined with numerals, as coordinations may be used not to enumerate, but to give a more precise quantitative specification (e.g. three months and ten days). Another refinement of enumerations is that whole utterances may be enumerated, and associated with cardinal or ordinal numerals. [Illustrated with Russian examples.]

82-128 Mel'čuk, Igor A. (U. of Montreal). Animacy in Russian cardinal numerals and adjectives as an inflectional category. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **56**, 4 (1980), 797–811.

Along with three traditional inflectional categories of modern Russian numerals and adjectives (gender, number, and case), a fourth category is proposed: animacy, relevant in the accusative case for all Russian adjectives and some Russian numerals (ODIN 'one', DVA 'two', OBA 'both', TRI 'three', ČETYRE 'four', and all collective numerals of the type DVOE 'two', TROE 'three', ...) Thus, in *Ja vižu krasivogo junosu* 'I see a handsome youth', *krasivogo* 'handsome' is represented as KRASIVYJ (masc, sg, an, acc), as opposed to *krasivyj* 'beautiful' in *Ja vižu krasivyj dom* 'I see a beautiful

house': KRASIVYJ (masc, sg, inan, acc). Two methodological principles are formulated: 'the principle of external autonomy of case forms' (two different nominal word-forms cannot represent the same case if they are distributed according to external context), and 'the principle of simplest restriction' (the subset of a paradigm for which a category is judged to be relevant should be specified by only one inflectional category). Seven facts about Russian morphology and syntax are cited to support the introduction of animacy for numerals and adjectives. Two further problems are discussed: the relationship between animacy and other inflectional categories of Adj and Num in Russian, and the relevance of animacy for Adj and Num lexemes.

82-129 Timberlake, Alan (U. of California, LA). Reference conditions on Russian reflexivisation. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **56**, 4 (1980), 777-96.

This study shows that, in contexts of optional application, reflexivisation in Russian is governed by a class of secondary reference conditions: person, referentiality, set reference, and collectivity. The evidence presented goes against the prevailing assumption that coreference is the sole reference condition on reflexivisation.

SPANISH

82-130 Lujan, Marta (U. of Texas at Austin). Clitic promotion and mood in Spanish verbal complements. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **18**, 5/6 (1980), 381-484.

New data indicates that the mood of the complement must be taken into account in dealing with clitic promotion. In addition, a new account is proposed, based on a particular formulation of CLITIC-PROMOTION as an optional transformation. The new facts, as well as ones previously known, can all be interpreted by the same principle; namely, clitic promotion cannot take place if there is structural material other than a complementiser between the pair of verbs over which the operation must be defined. A complementary hypothesis is needed that indicative complements differ structurally from subjunctive ones. Here it is argued that the former, but not the latter, contain the category TENSE in their basic structure.

Clitic promotion must be distinguished from the movement of clitics over a finite verb in simple structures. Thus, an account in terms of a unitary operation for both types of clitic movement, relying on trace theory and on Chomsky's conditions on transformations (such as the Specified-Subject and the Tensed-S Conditions) is not tenable in Spanish.