Studies of particular languages

77-116   Khubchandani, Lachman M. English as a contact language in South Asia. *RELC Journal* (Singapore), **7,** 1 (1976), 21–30.

The 1961 Census returns for India reveal several socio-psychological characteristics of different speech groups. Patterns of intragroup and intergroup communication and the education system which encourages the 'three-language formula' show that many parts of the country operate in more than one contact language. The three patterns of contact languages are: (1) local languages (ten major ones) prominent in their respective regions; (2) Hindustani (Hindi-Urdu), used mainly for oral and informal communication throughout the country, and (3) English, for formal and written communication throughout the country. [Bilingualism claims are discussed, with figures, especially the spread of English, and including the use of languages in the press.]

In education, standards of English have fallen. Changes which should be recognised in formulating a new approach to the teaching of English are: (*a*) the rapid spread of literacy among the masses, and (*b*) deterioration of learning conditions. To prevent English either becoming a 'classical' or library language, or becoming pidginised so that it loses its usefulness for international communication, it will be necessary to recognise the distinction of South Asia contact English, and to promote the gradual stabilisation of a pan-regional standard based on influential channels of communication such as the press and broadcasting. The English élite could play a positive role by helping to develop Indian languages. [References.]

77-117   Povey, John. The role of English in Africa. *Workpapers in TESL* (Los Angeles, Cal), **10** (1976), 79–87.

English in Africa is not only the language of international interaction but plays an indispensable international role in the individual nation states. The indigenous languages are not likely to provide these means of communication. [Brief review of the colonial history which gave rise to the present linguistic situation.] Paradoxically, the language of national unity is commonly a non-African one. The prime political significance of the European languages in Africa is therefore internal. As far as English is concerned, its significance is not transitory. It will accommodate local variations – Englishes rather than English; these vigorous offspring will, however, be less valid for international communication. Hence the need for a hierarchy of forms of English, from local

English to an English closer to the standard form, which would become the language of élites. [Discussion of government policies relating to English and mother-tongue teaching.] The assimilation policies of the French, particularly in Zaire, have led to a desperate need for English, on which economic development depends. [Discussion of the linguistic situation in Zaire.]

77-118   Smith, Riley B. Research perspectives on American Black English: a brief historical sketch. *American Speech* (New York), **49**, 1/2 (1974) [published 1976], 24–39.

Studies of American Black English were rarely accurate or systematic before the 1960s. Earlier linguists denied racial or caste speech differences but correlated them instead with region and class. Any peculiarities were even taken to be the product of arrested language maturation, or a 'debased dialect of English'. This 'deficit model', though largely abandoned by linguists, still has some popular influence. Attempts to adapt techniques for teaching foreign languages to the teaching of 'standard' English to blacks have so far proved largely unsuccessful. The 'biloquialist' position (oral bidialectism) is currently the most popular because it supports social-class levelling. Those who repudiate it concentrate on the teaching of reading skills, beginning and remedial, to speakers of Black English. The linguist's conception of the exact nature of Black English is hardly clear. The data on which studies are based are predisposed by the method of collection and the model of description. [Discussion of various methods of dialect study from the Atlas Survey in the 1930s to Labov and other contemporaries.] [Many references.]

77-119   Stahlke, Herbert F. W. Which that. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **52**, 3 (1976), 584–610.

Most grammarians have treated the word *that*, used in relative clauses, as a relative pronoun. However, its syntactic behaviour is not at all like that of a pronoun, and therefore it must be a conjunction. Data from Standard English *that*-relatives and WH-relatives, non-Standard English *that*-relatives, and relative clauses in Dari (Kabul Persian) and Yoruba suggest that syntactic islands be added to the Keenan–Comrie Accessibility Hierarchy (1972). The use of *that* in relative clauses is related to its use as a complementiser with declarative verbs.

77–120 Šteling, D. A. Парадигматика и синтагтика категории залога (на матириале английского языка). [Paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of the category of voice (based on English material).] *Иностранные языки в школе* (Moscow), **4** (1976), 8–18.

Traditional treatments of voice cannot account readily for sentences like *The delegation is reported to have arrived*; they are also inconsistent in assigning the problem of voice to morphology or syntax. Voice must be treated both as a paradigmatic and a syntagmatic category. The grammatical meaning of voice forms is investigated on the basis of gerunds and infinitives. In the passive, the actor is external, imagined, often completely omitted. In the active, the process is inseparable from the agent. The passive may show action directed at the object; it always expresses a feature of the subject.

FRENCH

77–121 Barbaud, Philippe. Constructions superlatives et structures apparentées. [Superlatives and related structures.] *Linguistic Analysis* (New York), **2**, 2 (1976), 125–74.

To postulate the existence of a transformation by which a prepositional syntagm associated with a superlative may be displaced from within the NP to initial position raises serious theoretical problems for French. Such an antepositional transformation systematically violates all the general constraints which appear to govern the operation of natural languages. [Detailed argument, testing the transformational hypothesis against the principle of A-on-A, constraints on complex NPs, the phrasal subject constraint, the principle of chain of command, constraints on phrase cleavage, Chomsky's conditions on transformations and the constraint of the preservation of structure.]

The alternative is to postulate a set of parallel sentence rewrite rules in deep structure (RSa, b . . . n) [exposition]. These are justified by three arguments against the transformational hypothesis: assymmetry, the (+COLLECTIVE) requirement and constraints on adjectival complements. It is demonstrable that the superlative associated prepositional syntagm is a member of a class of such syntagms, to account for the sentence-initial potentialities of which recourse is necessary to the semantic concept of focus assignment.

Extensions of the syntactical hypothesis are shown to account satisfactorily for demonstrative relatives, nominalised adjectives, including hierarchical, and interrogatives with *lequel* 'which'. The unsatisfactory nature of a transformational hypothesis is reinforced by reference to the grammar of child speech, which appears to follow the proposed deep structure rewrite rules. [References.]

77-122   Gaatone, David. Sur quelques particularités syntaxiques de cer-
tains substituts en Français. [Some syntactic peculiarities of certain
substitutes in French.] *IRAL* (Heidelberg), **14**, 3 (1976), 273–84.

This article draws attention to a number of syntactic peculiarities of the so-called
pronominal adverbs *en* and *y* in French. A description of *en* and *y* on one and
the same grammatical level is unsatisfactory. The grammatical difference
between these elements is not confined to the well-known fact that *en* can
substitute for prepositional phrases introduced by *de* while *y* can replace
phrases introduced by *à*. The elements *en* and *y* differ quite markedly in
syntactic behaviour. [Numerous examples.]

77-123   Prince, Ellen F. The syntax and semantics of NEG-Raising, with
evidence from French. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **52**, 2 (1976),
404–26.

Considerable syntactic evidence from English has been presented in the litera-
ture for a rule of NEG-Raising. It is shown here that equivalent or analogous
evidence exists in French (time-adverbials, tags, corrective responses, negative
particles and polarity items, mood). NEG-Raising and its domain are then
reconsidered from a functional perspective, whereby the transformation is
shown to be a hedging device – operating only in sentences containing a type
of pseudo-performative, which also has the function of hedging. Such an
analysis not only is supported by the original data, but also automatically
accounts for otherwise inexplicable and unrelated syntactic facts.

77-124   Tranel, Bernard. A generative treatment of the prefix 'in-' of
modern French. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **52**, 2 (1976), 345–69.

This paper offers a generative treatment of the phonological behaviour of the
prefix *in-* of modern French. It is shown that the seemingly perplexing
distribution of some of its allomorphs before stems with initial sonorant con-
sonants is related to the predictability of the meaning of complex words from
the meanings of their component parts, the semantic structure of the words
(relative scope), and the productivity of word-formation rules. The formal
solution presented comprises a series of morphophonological rules (nasalisation,
assimilation, degemination), and a proposal for the way in which *in-* is incor-
porated in the lexicon. The use of the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky, 1973)
is shown to provide a simplification of the rules, corresponding to a meaningful
explanation of the relation between the rules of nasalisation and assimilation.

GERMAN *See also abstract* 77–103

77–125 Moser, Hugo. Vermehrte Gross-Schreibung als Reform der Rechtschreibung? [Extended use of capital letters as a spelling reform?] *Deutsche Sprache* (Munich), **3** (1976), 231–43.

The Austrian Wüster has recently proposed to resolve the question of whether words in German should be written with small or capital letters by extending the use of capitals. This takes up a suggestion of the Swiss Rotzler in 1947. His principles are: (1) nominalisations are to be treated exactly the same as nouns, and (2) nouns which are written separately from other words always begin with capital letters. These principles cannot be accepted. The main reason for this is that the word-class 'noun' or 'substantive' cannot be clearly defined. There are also no firm rules where nouns are separately or together with other words. Wüster is forced to leave a great deal of decision to the feeling of the speaker. Examples must be given to show that Wüster's suggestions are unacceptable. Discrepancies with denominalisations arise with nouns+prepositions, e.g. *beiseite* but *von Seiten*. Wüster allows such forms as *montags*, *abends* and *ernst nehmen*, *ein paar* as exceptions. With nominalisations, too, there are problems. Forms with *am*+superlative are written small, *am besten* but *es fehlt dir am Besten*. Prepositions+nouns show *von oben* but *von Fern*. One of the biggest areas of uncertainty is that of nouns as parts of compound verbs. The noun is written together with the verb when it has inseparable personal forms. There are many discrepancies here, *diät leben* but *Acht geben*. Verbs with no personal forms should be written together (*bauchreden*) but personal forms can develop in the language at any time. What was said in 1963 must be repeated: that Wüster and his followers must recognise the weakness of their position and introduce the international use of small letters instead.

77–126 Werner, Otmar. Zum Genus im Deutschen. [Gender in German.] *Deutsche Sprache* (Munich), **1** (1975), 35–58.

Gender is one of the most difficult categories to master in learning German as a foreign language. All nouns are classified according to whether they are masculine, feminine or neuter. Every word borrowed into German is assigned a gender. Since each noun belongs to one of three genders, gender has no distinctive meaning; where gender is meaningful it is shown by means of suffixes, e.g. *Schneider – Schneiderin*. In some cases however gender is used to distinguish nouns with different meanings, e.g. *der See – die See*, even though it may only have a low functional yield. The phonological expression of gender is derived by a series of complicated transformational rules. Gender can also be used as a distinguishing marker with proper names, e.g. *der Schmidt – die Schmidt*. Gender is not expressed directly by the noun, except in a few cases, but by

other members of the noun phrase. Gender also never appears alone but always combined with the categories of case and number. Agreement rules distribute these categories among the members of the noun phrase. In the plural there is no gender distinction. Gender does have meaning when it is used before determiners and adjectives standing alone, without nouns, e.g. *der jede, die jede; der Angestellte, die Angestellte.* In this case there is a close correlation between grammatical and natural gender. In pronominalisation the gender of pronouns acts as an index to identify and distinguish the pronominalised noun phrases. This is the main task of gender in German.

ITALIAN

77-127   Cinque, Guglielmo. Appropriateness conditions for the use of passives and impersonals in Italian. *Italian Linguistics* (Lisse), **1** (1976), 11–31.

An attempt to complement the classic assumption (of transformational grammar) that active and passive impersonal constructions in Italian are cognitively synonymous with the conditions which favour the use of one construction over the other. The underlying logical form of both must be identical if one is to account for the identity which exists between the truth conditions of passive sentences and their corresponding active sentences. Their synonymy, however, stops there: they differ at the level of contextual conditions of use.

Some proposals to correlate the difference between active and passive with the pragmatic notions of new and given information (Halliday and others) are studied and shown to be unsatisfactory. The pragmatic difference is linked rather to the notion of 'argument' or 'topic' of discourse, which is partly determined by linguistic factors and partly by the speaker's assumptions in the context of the linguistic act. Some contextual differences between the use of the passive and the impersonal, which in Italian both translate English passive sentences, are also analysed.

77-128   Parisi, Domenico. The past participle. *Italian Linguistics* (Lisse), **1** (1976), 77–106.

Three principles are put forward to explain some well-known facts about the agreement of the past participle. The three principles are based on a distinction between verbs which in the past participle imply the establishing of a certain state in one of the arguments and verbs which do not. A slight extension of the three principles also makes it possible to include in this explanation those facts which relate to the agreement of the adjective with the noun to which it refers. The choice of auxiliary verb (*essere* or *avere*) is then considered and this

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choice is shown to be governed by principles very similar to those which govern the agreement of the past participle, i.e. principles which make use of the same concept of 'state'. The notion of subject as the argument with which the finite verb of the sentence agrees is then introduced. On the basis of this definition it can be shown that a sentence like *Si dorme* is subjectless, whilst a sentence like *Si vedono le montagne* has a subject (*le montagne*) but is intermediate in form between an active and a passive sentence. The use of the past participle absolute (i.e. with no auxiliary) is examined: it is shown that the facts concerning such use can also be explained by the principles laid out earlier. Finally, the necessary agreement of the past participle in such sentences as *l'ho presa* (*la palla*) is discussed, and it is claimed that in this case the obligatory nature of the agreement arises from the communicative necessities of an efficient semantic mapping mechanism in the sounds.

SPANISH

77–129   Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. Analogía y confluencia paradigmática en formas verbales de voseo. [Analogy and paradigm coalescence in second person plural verb forms.] *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* (Bogotá), **31**, 2 (1976), 249–72.

Two accounts of the origin of the form -*ís* in present indicative *vos*-forms of verbs in -*er* are examined. The theory that it is a phonetically motivated development from -*éis* with Quechua substrate influence is rejected on the grounds of its geographical widespreadness even in peninsular Spanish, and the absence of analogues with falling diphthongs. The theory of analogy from verbs in -*ir* is preferred on the evidence of the constant cohesion of these two conjugations in the history of Spanish, and of the resultant systematic simplification. Its plausibility is enhanced in the light of Malkiel's model, whereby morphological analogy may develop into sound change. The apparent historical confusion between singular and plural forms existed in pre-Conquest Spanish; further, forms such as *cantabas* may plausibly be assumed to originate in either singular or plural forms (medieval *cantabas/cantábades*). Each of these aspects of the *voseo* can be shown to be peninsular, not American, in origin. [Bibliography.]

77–130   Lázaro Mora, F. A. Compatibilidad entre lexemas nominales y
sufijos diminutivos. [Compatibility between nouns and diminutive
suffixes.] *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* (Bogotá), **31**,
1 (1976), 41–57.

A characterisation of those nouns which are most and least prone to accept
diminutivisation is presented, and essential categories are listed. Those nouns
least prone to the process include 'action nouns', abstract nouns and certain
compounds. The first two of these categories may diminutivise on the principle
that the process robs them of their fundamental characteristics, e.g. concretises
them. Diminutivisation with otherwise 'incompatible' nouns shifts them into
the affective domain, a process which is here related to Weinreich's 'hyper-
semanticisation'. [There are also phonological and statistical-distributional
constraints on the process.]

RUSSIAN

77–131   Wexler, Paul. On the non-lexical expression of determinedness (with
special reference to Russian and Finnish). *Studia Linguistica* (Lund,
Sweden), **30**, 1 (1976), 34–67.

Earlier contrastive studies have involved one article-bearing language and one
not; this work contrasts two non-article-bearing languages and is a step towards
the goal of outlining a typology of lexical and non-lexical expression of deter-
minedness. Russian may express determinedness by case selection (direct object
of a negated verb, subject of negated past, though this overlaps with other
factors), by word order, by the relative order of numerals and noun phrases,
and by stress. Finnish may mark determinedness by case selection (objects and
subjects), word order, order of numerals and noun phrases, and by subject-
predicate agreement. Thus both can express determinedness by a variety of
non-lexical devices but it is rarely expressed as an independent category.
However, neither language has a *syntactic* category of definiteness. Non-lexical
expression of determinedness proves inefficient. [Other non-lexical devices from
other languages are reviewed; numerous references.]