

FURTHER INSIGHTS
INTO
CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

edited by

JACEK FISIAK

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

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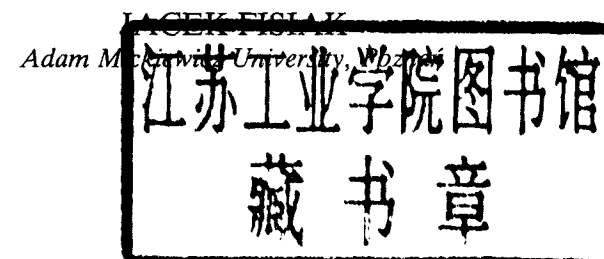
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Jacek Fisiak (ed.)

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Preface

Ten years ago Benjamins published a volume of twenty-five papers on contrastive linguistics which I edited under the title of *Theoretical Issues in Contrastive Linguistics* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, v.12). In the introduction I claimed that the interest in contrastive linguistics at the time was far from diminishing and that the field was on the way to re-establish its firm position after a period of crisis in the sixties (in particular in the United States). The subsequent years have witnessed a further development of contrastive studies, the broadening of its scope and the redefining of its goals (which I shall discuss in my contribution below). To what extent the predictions were correct can be assessed on the basis of the amount of publications and conference activities observed since then.

Nowadays contrastive analysis, although in a different form than envisaged and practiced in the sixties, still entertains a fair degree of popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. The present collection of essays reflects to a large extent the scope of research and the range of interest of linguists involved in contrastive linguistics.

This volume contains thirty-five papers by thirty-seven authors from thirteen countries (Australia, Austria, Denmark, Great Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Iraq, Israel, Poland, Switzerland, and the United States). Twenty-four of those are original contributions heretofore unpublished (some of them may have been presented at a conference) and solicited for the present collection. Ten have been published in *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* vols. XX, XXI, XXII and XXIII. Since it has been assumed that the readership of this volume and *PSiCL* will overlap minimally, the inclusion of the latter nine papers seems fully justified. Furthermore these papers constitute an important contribution to the field and their omission would have made the volume less complete.

The editor would like to take this opportunity and acknowledge with gratitude the permission obtained from Adam Mickiewicz University to

reprint *PSiCL* papers. Thanks are also due to Dr. Philip Luelsdorff for encouragement and valuable suggestions leading to the completion of this work.

Jacek Fisiak

On the present status of some metatheoretical and theoretical issues in contrastive linguistics

Jacek Fisiak

In some of my earlier publications (e.g. Fisiak 1980a, 1983, 1984a) I have surveyed the development of contrastive analysis from the latter part of the 19th century to 1981. In the present paper I would like to give a brief account of the treatment of some basic metatheoretical and theoretical issues in contrastive linguistics since 1980, which might help to understand better several of the problems raised in the papers included in the present volume.

Before I move to the essence of the paper let me once again, after several years, repeat one claim which in a sense is supported by the contributions to this volume, i.e. that despite some critical voices the interest in contrastive linguistics has not diminished since 1980. On the contrary, it is obvious to what extent it has grown if one looks at the number of journals and serial publications published now which are devoted solely to contrastive analysis, e.g. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* (Poznań/Washington, D.C. since 1973), *Sopostovitelno Ezykoznanie/Contrastive Linguistics* (Sofia, since 1976), *Contrastes* (Paris, since 1981), *Jyväskylä Cross Language Studies* (Jyväskylä since 1975), and *Discoss* (Paris since 1985). Apart from these, numerous monographs and papers published in various journals and in collective volumes, as well as conference proceedings, offer additional evidence of the dynamic development of the field. It is worth mentioning that a large number of conferences devoted exclusively to contrastive linguistics, as well as contrastive sections at larger congresses, have been organized since 1980 and have been announced for the future.

It should be pointed out here, however, that the dynamic development of contrastive research in the eighties has been more, if not predominantly,

a European rather than American phenomenon. Relatively little has happened in the United States where contrastive studies were thriving until the late sixties. Yet contrastive linguistic courses have been offered both at numerous American universities as well as in Europe.

The major areas of research activities in the period under review have included:

1. Metatheoretical and theoretical issues.
2. Contrastive descriptions of languages, i.e. contrastive grammars or portions of grammars to gain insights into similarities and differences between two languages (e.g. Sobkowiak, Szpyra, Bakir, Emons, Funk in this volume) with no other aims in view. In a sense these works parallel descriptive grammars or descriptive treatments of grammatical issues.
3. Cross-language studies with the aim of validating general linguistic hypotheses or hypotheses concerning a given language on the basis of a general linguistic theory with the help of comparative/contrastive data. This type of work is common among TG linguists, who commonly use cross-linguistic data, eg. Borsley (1984), Horn (1984), Hawkins (1985) or Horn, Dancygier and Szwedek in this volume.
4. Expansion of framework, i.e. contrastive work beyond the sentence (e.g. contrastive text linguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and linguistic cross-cultural studies). This area has developed tremendously since 1980 in keeping with general developments in contemporary linguistics and due to research in second language acquisition. The works by Enkvist (1984), Szwedek (1984, 1986), Fillmore (1984), Oleksy (1983, 1984, 1986), Kalisz (1981, 1986), Kryk (1983, 1985, 1986), Fernandez (1983), Dechert (1983), Littlewood (1983), Markkanen (1985), Cohen and Olshtain (1985), Davis (1987), House and Kasper (1981), Faerch and Kasper (1984), Tannen (1984), Janicki (1986), House (1982a,b,c, 1984, 1985), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), Loveday (1982) or Thiele and Graustein, Duszak, Mair, Fries and Pordány in this volume, constitute a small fraction of what has been accomplished in the area and illustrate only some problems which have been investigated.
5. Applications to *language pedagogy* (some of the works listed in 4 above belong to the present category as well, e.g. Littlewood 1983 or Davies 1987), *translation*, *bilingual lexicography* and *bilingual education* (see some contributions in such journals as *TESOL Quarterly*, *Language Learning*, *IRAL* or *Applied Linguistics*, and in this volume Marmaridou and Laufer).

In the present paper we shall focus our attention on four theoretical and metatheoretical issues which *inter alia* have been subject to investigation by contrastive linguists in the period under discussion, i.e. (1) the distinction between *theoretical* and *applied* contrastive studies, (2) equivalence and *tertium comparationis*, (3) linguistic theory and contrastive linguistics, and finally (4) the relationship between contrastive linguistics and typology.

1. The distinction between *theoretical* and *applied*¹ contrastive analysis proposed by Fisiak (1971) and later elaborated on in Fisiak (1980, 1983, 1984a) has been taken up again by Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1983, 1984), Gussmann (1984), Sajavaara (1985) and Birnbaum (1986), who also argue for the need to distinguish contrastive analyses whose aim is to provide an adequate model for cross-language comparison, give an account of the differences and similarities between contrasted languages and determine how and what language elements are comparable on the one hand from contrastive analyses whose objective is to gather information for certain specific purposes such as language teaching, translation, lexicography or bilingual education on the other. The former make no claims about the applicability of their results. They remain neutral as regards application. The latter use the results of the former, selecting the elements necessary for a given purpose, adapting and supplementing them with psychological, sociological and contextual factors.

Sajavaara (1983) argues forcefully the point made earlier by Fisiak (1980), i.e. that the distinction between theoretical and applied contrastive analysis is fundamental for the assessment of the validity and usefulness of contrastive analysis. The objections to and the criticism of contrastive analyses, both in the past and more recently, stem mostly from the failure of theoretical studies to reach applied goals, which could not have happened for obvious reasons. "Purely theoretical research has often been assessed against applied objectives, or theoretical contrastive analysis has been performed for the purposes of language teaching" (Sajavaara 1983b:177). To avoid this in the future and to set pedagogically oriented applied contrastive studies on the right course in accordance with recent developments in second language acquisition, Sajavaara and Lehtonen suggest a reorientation of applied contrastive studies. According to Sajavaara:

applied contrastive linguistics should be concerned with cross-language problems encountered by speakers-hearers when they use second and foreign languages. Such contrastive linguistics implies research which describes language phenomena in a psycho-sociolinguistic setting.² This type of contrastive analysis involves three levels which are distinct but closely interrelated (see Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1983). These levels are (1) intrapersonal. (2) interpersonal and (3) organizational (1985:256).

The *intrapersonal* level is concerned with the interaction of linguistic and other data within the cognitive system of the speaker-hearer when he encodes and decodes messages and participates in communication. This level, thus, may be subsumed under the heading of *contrastive psycholinguistics* (see below). One of the problems encountered at this level is language *transfer*, which is nothing else but the interaction of native and foreign language structures in the process of communication.

The *interpersonal* level covers, by and large, communicative competence, i.e. it relates to the use of languages in human interaction and covers external factors of communication. A large amount of research has already been done at this level within the framework of discourse analysis and ethno-methodology of speaking.

The *organizational* level has to do with the place of the foreign language *vis-à-vis* the native language in society. It is concerned with various constraints on the use of a language deriving from its social role.

Applied contrastive analysis preoccupied with language learning thus must deal with language in use, i.e. with the dynamism of language.

The emphasis should be shifted from structural information to communication and phenomena taking place in the communicating individual. Description should be replaced by causal analysis, which could give answers to the question of why and with what consequences a certain utterance was produced by a speaker in a certain context. (Sajavaara 1985:258)

Furthermore, applied contrastive analysis should be problem oriented. The expansion of the scope of contrastive analysis alone, e.g. beyond the sentence into discourse phenomena, does not necessarily make contrastive analysis applied.

2. One of the concepts which has not been definitely worked out until today but which is of fundamental importance for contrastive analysis or any other comparative work is that of *tertium comparationis*. According to Krzeszowski (1984:301), one of the reasons why contrastive linguistics is still ignored by many linguists is that its fundamental concept is hazy and

has by and large, been neglected in contrastive research. Different *tertium comparationes* are used for phonology, lexicology and syntax. In lexical contrastive studies

the external reality, or strictly speaking its psychic image in the minds of language users, provides the substantial *tertium comparationis* as items across languages are composed with respect to differences and similarities concerning their references to various elements of the reality in the world at large as it is reflected in the minds of language users (Krzeszowski 1984:308)

As regards syntax, James (1980:166-78) conveniently summarized the situation existing up to 1980. Having reviewed the weaknesses and strengths of *formal* (surface structure), *semantic* (deep structure) and *translation* equivalence he came to the conclusion that since there are two levels of translation, i.e. semantic and pragmatic, and since for contrastive analysis we ought to equate L1 and L2 forms, which, no matter how much they diverge superficially, are semantically and pragmatically equivalent, the semanto-pragmatic translation equivalence is the best *tertium comparationis* for contrastive analysis. Thus the pragmatic constraints in translation were to salvage semantic translation equivalence, which alone had turned out to be almost as inadequate as formal equivalence (cf. Ivir 1970, Rülker 1973, Krzeszowski 1974 and Kopczyński 1980).

In reply to Bouton's (1976) critique of his deep structure equivalence, Krzeszowski (1981a) has taken up again the issue of *tertium comparationis* for syntax. He rejects translation equivalence and proposes *sentential equivalence*, combining both "the semantic identity of sentences which are the closest approximations to acceptable word-for-word translations and their synonymous paraphrases (if indeed such paraphrases exist)" (Krzeszowski 1981a:123). He constrains his sentential equivalence in two ways:

- (a) On the surface structurally and lexically by taking as the primary data to be assigned the status of equivalence "the closest approximations to grammatical word-for-word translations and their synonymous paraphrases";
- (b) In the semantic structure by assuming the identity of deep structures whose surface manifestations are restricted to cases delimited by (a).

Translation and sentential equivalence are two different things. The sentential equivalence is semanto-syntactic, with formal constraints playing an equally important role.

The sentential equivalence, according to Krzeszowski, also embraces

the notions of *system equivalence* and *rule equivalence* as "system equivalence can be made explicit only through the examination of constructions in which elements of the compared systems appear, i.e. via the notion of semanto-syntactic equivalence. Likewise, any comparison of rules cannot be divorced from an implicit comparison of constructions on which these rules operate. Therefore, the semanto-syntactic equivalence of constructions is the central concept in syntactic contrastive analyses ..." (Krzeszowski 1984:307).³

It was pointed out above that different *tertia comparationes* are necessary for different levels of language organization. Likewise still others will be needed to handle pragmatic or stylistic contrastive analyses. It also seems that theoretical and applied contrastive analyses (CAs) will require different *tertia comparationes* in view of what has been said above.

Krzeszowski (1984) has given a typology of *tertia comparationes* as in Figure 1.

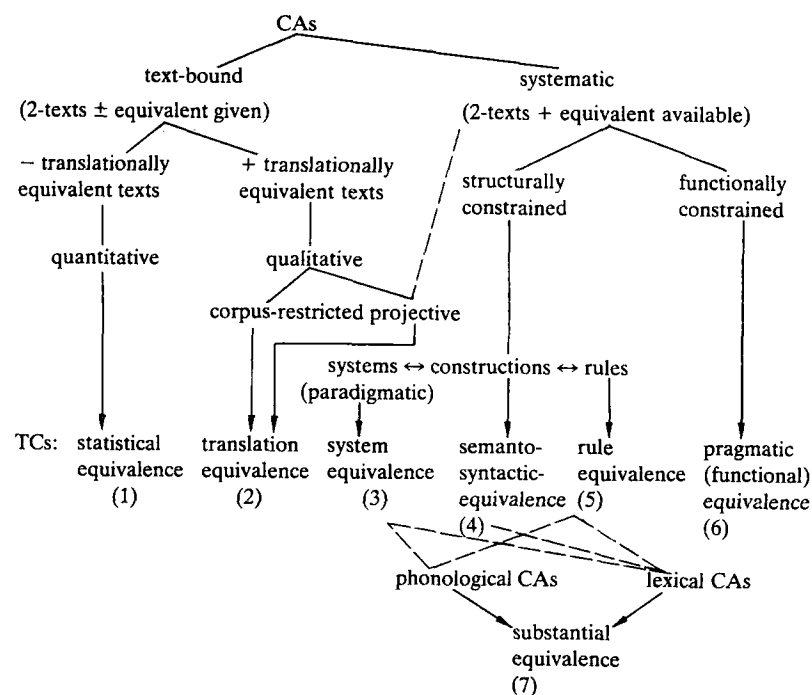


Figure 1. Typology of *tertia comparationes*

Two of the above mentioned types of equivalence deserve a word of explanation. First, *statistical equivalence* was originally proposed by Bečka (1978) for stylistic contrastive analysis and was further elaborated for wider use by Krzeszowski (1981b). Second, *pragmatic equivalence* has been mentioned only in passing in Krzeszowski (1984). This concept, however, requires more attention as the number of pragmatically oriented contrastive analysis has been steadily growing.⁴

An attempt to define pragmatic equivalence has been made by Oleksy (1983:79-86) within the framework of Speech Act Theory (SAT) supplemented with elements of social psychology (van Dijk 1981). Oleksy (1983:85) claims that:

a linguistic expression X_1 in L_1 is *pragmatically equivalent* to a linguistic expression X_2 in L_2 if X_1 and X_2 can be used in the performance of the same SA [= speech act] in L_1 and L_2 relative to the corresponding set of pragmatic, contextual and socio-cultural factors.

Pragmatic factors include e.g. politeness, modality markers, etc. Contextual factors comprise conversational context, type of discourse, factual background information, etc. Socio-cultural factors include role relationship, distance, channel, cultural setting, etc.

Oleksy's definition of pragmatic equivalence was challenged by Janicki (1985, reprinted in this volume),⁵ basically on the grounds of circularity and its epistemological validity. Janicki rightly claims that the notion "pragmatic equivalence" or any other *tertium comparationis* can be meaningfully established with the view to the goal it is going to serve (cf. below, and Fisiak and Zabrocki in preparation). If Oleksy's pragmatic equivalence has practical uses (e.g. language teaching or translation), then Janicki would consider it tenable.

In 1981 Kalisz approached the problem of pragmatic equivalence (and congruence) in the framework of cognitive linguistics, employing the theory of prototypes and partial pattern matching (Lakoff 1977).⁶ He proposed the following:

Equivalence between two given structures is a matter of degree of the matching of the properties. Thus, it reflects a degree of partial pattern matching of properties. One can talk about a degree of syntactic equivalence even if lexical properties do not match, a pragmatic equivalence when the two structures produce the same perlocutionary effect in spite of their syntactic and lexical properties, etc. The higher degree of matching of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties reflects the higher degree of overall equivalence between two or more constructions. (1981:45-6)

Krzyszowski (1986, and the present volume) has developed Kalisz' idea further, replacing the sameness of perlocutionary effect by the maximal similarity of anticipated perlocutionary effect. This expansion, although an improvement over Kalisz (1981), poses some problems which have been taken up in Kalisz (1986). His own conclusion is that

Adopting Gricean terms, it is, rather, implicature which seems to be at the essence of pragmatic equivalence... Implicature is dependent on elements of linguistic context attending the production of equivalent utterances... and seems to be a proper concept for the basis of contrastive research in pragmatics. In view of the above I would like to claim that two utterances are pragmatically equivalent if and only if they exhibit maximally similar implicatures. An implicature may be conventional in L_1 , and conversational for the corresponding utterance L_2 . The requirement is that their conveyed meaning is maximally similar. (Kalisz 1986:1250-1).

An attempt has recently been made by Janicki (1986) to work out *tertium comparationis* for contrastive sociolinguistics. His programmatic paper is an important contribution to the field of contrastive linguistics and deserves further study.

In phonological contrastive analyses, acoustic or articulatory parameters constitute substantial *tertia comparationes*. Since in contemporary phonological investigations processes or rules form the main objective of study, rule equivalence (Eliasson 1984a, Gussmann 1984, Rubach 1984a)⁷ and various types of system equivalence (i.e. systems and subsystems of rules and items in L_1 vis á vis L_2 constitute additional phonological *tertia comparationes*. Detailed solutions will always depend on the phonological model used for contrasting languages.

In theoretical phonological contrastive analyses, distinctive features have been used as fundamental units to characterize segments acoustically or articulatorily in terms of feature matrices. Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1984) have challenged the validity of these units for applied contrastive phonology. If they are treated as elements of language code and language codes are contrasted as an exercise of a theoretical nature, they perform their role. It has to be pointed out, however, that distinctive features are placed in a different hierarchy in different languages (Kohler 1984:83) and their nature is not entirely clear. Lehtonen and Sajavaara claim that they are neither articulatory nor acoustic:

Recent findings in experimental phonetics, psychology and neurophysiology seem to push features, phonemes and other phonological items further away from concrete speech towards the central processes of the production

and perception of linguistic messages in the brain. Thus, features are neither articulatory nor acoustic but linguistic and, as such, also language-specific. (Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1984:89).

Even if one rejects the language-specific nature of distinctive features, it becomes obvious that their validity may be limited for applied contrastive phonology. Kohler's (1984:83) findings concerning the phonological distinction between voiced and voiceless stops in French and German seem to support these claims. His experimental evidence shows that

- (1) the phonological distinction of /p,t,k/ vs. /b,d,g/ cannot be adequately described by the distinctive feature pair [\pm voiced] in French and German, respectively, but requires for its characterisation a spectrum of perceptually and articulatorily relevant phonetic features which depend on phonetic context in the widest sense;
- (2) the feature hierarchies are different in the two languages in that German listeners scan the transition phenomena from an initial plosive to the following vowel, or the vowel (vowel + consonant) ratio in medial position, and accord them a greater weighting factor than the French who rate the periodicity preceding the release higher (Kohler 1984:83).

Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1984) also indicate that combinations of identical features in two segments in different languages may produce different effects. Theoretically, two segments sharing the same set of features should be similar or equivalent. It often happens, however, that segments sharing the same set of features may be physically dissimilar and segments with dissimilar feature matrices are physically or perceptually more or less similar. Under the circumstances both Kohler (1984) and Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1983, 1984) argue that the only feasible *tertium comparationis* for applied phonological contrastive analyses can be phonetic. Kohler⁸ says that contrasting only becomes feasible "via absolute phonetic facts, not simply through their relative phonological structuring in each language" (1984:73), and elaborates further on that:

a descriptive account of the sound structure of a language can abstract from speaking and listening and may follow such principles as economy, simplicity, pattern congruity or integration of levels of description without considering speech performance, but the relation of phonological categories and units to the process of articulation and perception has to be psychologically real in the case of a contrastive phonology that is to be applied to pronunciation teaching. Therefore, phonological elements can no longer be ambivalent with regard to production and perception as is common in descriptive phonologies (1984:73).

As has been mentioned above, Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1984) maintain a similar position. For them, only the use of contrastive phonetics can provide equivalence between the sound patterns of two languages in applied phonological contrastive analyses.

"We must go to the very outskirts of linguistic processing", they say, "to the mechanism which is used by the speakers to transform the linguistic information of the phonological segment string into the actual speech signal, and to the mechanism which is used by the listener to detect the corresponding phonological information" (1984:89).

It follows from what has been said above that theoretical and applied contrastive analyses may require different *tertia comparationes*. In fact, Fisiak and Zabrocki (in preparation) propose that this is the case not only in phonology but in other areas of contrastive linguistics. They assume that in purely theoretical contrastive analyses *tertia comparationes* will be more abstract notions defined by a general theory of language, as e.g. grammatical categories, rules, functions, constraints, distinctive features. In such cases we will compare, e.g. constraints on WH-movement, the structure of NPs, or the process of palatalization. In other cases, i.e. in applied contrastive analyses, where psycholinguistic factors come into play, where similarities are e.g. perceptual and not structural, the *tertium comparationis* will have to be different. In language interference studies the comparison of Polish *czy* and English *do* in questions is reasonable. It may help to explain errors resulting from a false identification of these forms by beginning learners, although from a theoretical syntactic point of view it makes no sense, since the syntactic status of *czy* and *do* is entirely different and makes them incomparable. What we claim thus is that the *tertium comparationis* is determined by the aim of comparison (cf. Kohler 1984, Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1984, Sajavaara 1985), i.e. it is an empirical problem and therefore cannot be resolved *in abstracto*. It can be only solved on the basis of empirical evidence.

3. One of the crucial decisions which confront a contrastive linguist is the selection of a linguistic theory for his investigations. A linguistic theory will determine the entities and concepts which will be ultimately contrasted. The existence of a number of alternative theories or versions of a given theory provides contrastive linguists with a wide range of theoretical possibilities. The question is what should determine a given choice. In theoretical contrastive analyses the selection of a given theory should be decided

on the strength of the adequacy and comprehensiveness of the theory, determined on independent grounds.

Most of the syntactic work done since 1980 has been carried out within one version or another of Transformational Grammar (TG). In contrastive phonology the dominating theory is a version of generative phonology or theories influenced by generative phonology. The TG paradigm with its numerous modifications and extensions, however, is not the only one employed nowadays. Some of the work outside this paradigm can also be found in the present volume.

For applied purposes it is necessary to supplement ordinary theories with a set of principles, assumptions, and hypotheses directed at solving definite tasks, since applied contrastive analyses are problem oriented.

The problem of selection of a theory or a model for contrastive analysis forces one to ask another crucial question for contrastive linguistics, i.e. whether attempts have been made to construct a contrastive syntactic or phonological theory since 1980, or whether contrastive linguists have been satisfied with the juxtaposition of two linguistics codes (or parts thereof) in the framework of this or that theory. For syntax the answer is negative. Nothing comparable with van Buren (1970, repr. 1980), Krzeszowski (1974) or Lipińska (1975) has been advanced. The reasons for this, it seems, are numerous and inseparably connected with recent developments in syntax and semantics. An exhaustive explanation of this situation would require more space than is available here.

Eliasson (1984b) has proposed a theory of contrastive phonology in very general terms, but no elaboration has followed. His theory, as he puts it, involves the following considerations:

- (a) It will draw upon ordinary phonological theory for its general phonological entities and concepts;
- (b) In addition to general phonological constructs, it will include a set of specifically contrastive phonological notions and principles;
- (c) These contrastive notions and principles must be substantiated on the basis of empirical data from interlanguage phonology (1984:21).

Item (a) requires no further discussion. The premises for the selection of a given theory have been discussed above. As regards (b), Eliasson proposes to supplement general phonological theory with a set of principles, etc. which refer specifically to the domain and aims of contrastive phonology, e.g. confirming the validity of phonological constructs, establishing principles for discovering possible types of phonological identifications between

L_1 and L_2 , defining the nature of differences and similarities between phonological items, rules and systems of L_1 and L_2 , etc. An important issue raised by Eliasson is the empirical verification of the contrastive phonological theory on the basis of phonological facts (his item (c)).

Data evidencing structural ease and difficulty have to be collected and analyzed, regularities must be extracted and contrastive principles formulated and tested. A methodological problem with some early contrastive phonemics was that it tended to assume that its structurally based predictions should more or less automatically turn out to be correct, hence paving the way for the assault on its validity by linguistic theoreticians as well as proponents of error analysis. However, it is evident that the phonological phenomena of interlanguage constitute the ultimate test for contrastive phonology (Eliasson 1984b:22-23).

A contrastive phonological theory validated by the phonology of interlanguage may be put to use in contrastive descriptions of two languages. Furthermore it can be applied to practical matters of language pedagogy (e.g. learning and teaching foreign language phonology). Figure 2 summarizes Eliasson's considerations.

It is hoped that contrastive linguists will take up again the issue of constructing a theory of contrastive syntax and phonology or improving the existing ones and that both the old and the new theories will not remain programmatic, as was the case in the past.

4. The relation between theoretical contrastive analyses and language typology was referred to in the past on a number of occasions (e.g. Fisiak 1971, 1973, 1980a, Fisiak et al. 1978, Dezső and Nemser 1973, etc.). Dezső has published a number of papers dealing specifically with some aspects of the subject. Revised and integrated into one volume, these papers appeared once again in 1982. Recently the issue has been taken up by Strakova (1985), Comrie (1986) and Birnbaum (1986).

For most scholars, theoretical contrastive linguistics is considered either a branch of typological linguistics or a branch of linguistics which is related to typology by sharing certain common interests and so can be ancillary to it (e.g. may provide comparative facts of a more abstract nature concerning (usually) two languages). Thus, Strakova (1985:18) assumes that a detailed contrastive analysis yields essential data... for a comprehensive linguistic typology (cf. Fisiak 1971, 1980b, 1983, 1984a). Birnbaum (1986) considers contrastive linguistics an autonomous branch of linguistics, inter-related and integrated with a number of other linguistic subfields, whose

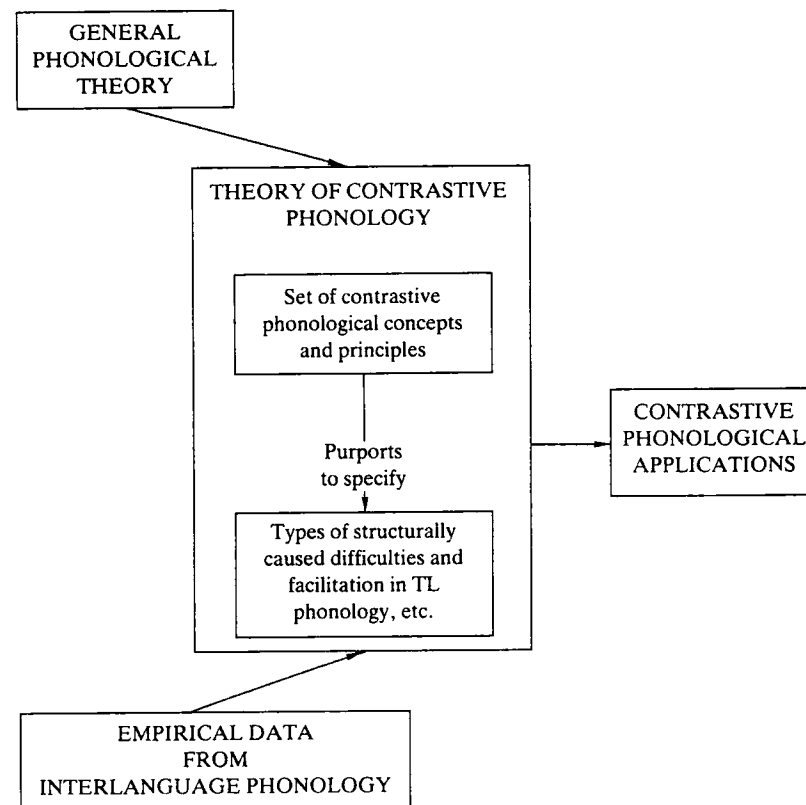


Figure 2

findings are "particularly revealing for typology at large" (p.1134). Mostly similar is Comrie's (1986) position as regards the relationship between contrastive studies and linguistic typology, although he would also envisage some feedback from typology to contrastive linguistics, seeing "the possibilities for fruitful interplay between contrastive linguistics, with its detailed study of the differences between languages, and linguistic typology, with its power to generalize across these individual differences" (p.1162).

Deszö (1982), if I understand him correctly, sees typology as a sub-discipline providing the raw data as an input to contrastive analysis. Here are two quotations implying such a standpoint:

There is no article in Serbo-Croatian, but Macedonian, Hungarian, English, German, French have articles. Their use differs from language to language, but these systems of articles have common properties as well, and the typological information concerning them can be transferred and accounted for in contrasting these languages with Serbo-Croatian (p.294).

A system of contrastive studies *based on the typological characteristics of the languages* (my emphasis) to be compared will not only make the research work more transparent, reliable from the methodological point of view, but gives the opportunity for extension and variation (p.294).

No matter which approach one is willing to accept, a close relationship of theoretical contrastive linguistics and typology is undeniable. Likewise the usefulness of TCL for typological investigations which go beyond surface observations cannot be denied. One can only wish that typologist, when comparing languages in more abstract categories, will reach for the wealth of information already accumulated by contrastive linguists. No doubt this would expedite typological research and would add to it new dimensions, which in turn might reveal new and interesting facts about the nature of language.

The aim of the present paper was to discuss briefly four theoretical and metatheoretical issues in contrastive linguistics. There is no doubt that there are many more problems which could be discussed here, but limitations of space do not permit us either to add further issues or to deal in a more detailed way with those discussed above. As can be seen, the four areas of research in contrastive linguistics are far from being covered. Many questions still await more definite answers.

NOTES

1. This distinction should not be interpreted as opposition of a *theoretical* pursuit (i.e. therefore better) to a *non-theoretical* or *atheoretical* one (i.e. applied, in other words inferior).
2. Cf. in this context Nemser and Slama-Cazacu (1970).
3. Cf. Anderson (this volume) on grammatical equivalence in case grammar, and Jakobsen and Olsen (this volume) on equivalence in valency grammar.
4. Cf. also Oleksy (1986) on some recent developments concerning contrastive analysis.
5. A critique of Janicki can be found in Kalisz (1986).
6. Partial pattern matching rests on the assumption that linguistic construction can be characterized by sets of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties (parameters).

7. Rule equivalence entered contrastive phonology in the mid-seventies, see Eliasson (1974), Gussmann (1975) and Fisiak (1976). However, extensive contrastive analyses of phonological rules and systems of rules are still rare, although rule comparison opens new vistas for contrastive phonological research (cf. Rubach 1981, 1984a, b).
8. Kohler's contrastive phonology constitutes a certain portion of what we and others term *applied contrastive phonology* ("the aim of contrastive phonology seems to be quite straightforward and logical: it is to analyse the difference in sound structure between languages and thus to lay the foundations for a systematic and illuminating error analysis and correction of pronunciation in foreign language learning" (1984:73)).

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Case grammar contrasts

John M. Anderson

Contrastive grammar is concerned with identifying and characterising variation within particular domains between n-tuples of languages.* In doing so it must call upon linguistic theory in at least the following two respects: (a) specification of the domain; (b) enumeration of constants within the domain. In both instances we need a theory of linguistic invariants, or universals: equivalence of compared domains must be established in such terms; and range of variation is defined with respect to invariants within the domain and perimeters of variation. The latter can be further sharpened if we can establish a typology of variation: what properties co-vary, are associated with the same parameter.

Case grammar (CG) defines the set of invariants within a particular domain: that of argument labels, or *functors*. It constitutes part of a general theory of syntactic categories. My assumption is that such a theory is notionally based (for discussion see Anderson 1989: ch.5); and, specifically, that it must distinguish crucially between a class of potentially referential items (typically manifested as 'names'), a class of essentially predicative items ('finite verbs') which take the former class as arguments, and a class which is neither (functors) but which provides labels for the arguments of a particular predicate. Other classes involve combinations of the properties defining these classes, though they may also be assigned as secondary members to the major classes. Thus, if we designate 'names' as {N} and 'verbs' as {P}, functors thus being { }, we can distinguish 'common nouns' as {N;P}, 'adjectives' as {N:P} and 'infinitives' as {P;N}; where ';' indicates that the first term governs the second, and ':' that they are equipollent.

* The present paper is a much modified version of Anderson (1987).

These other classes are ranked by the notation with respect to whether they approximate to 'names' or 'verbs' (cf. the definition of 'major classes' within dependency phonology: Anderson and Jones 1977; Anderson and Durand 1986; Anderson and Ewen 1987: ch.4), and the extent to which they may function as secondary 'names' or 'verbs'.

Case grammar thus takes functors to be notionally based: they constitute a universal set of 'semantic functions'. Inter-language comparison of the functor domain is based on the set of 'semantic functions', or *case relations* (CRs), as invariant. This does not preclude, of course, interlinguistic differences in the extension of particular functors: what 'counts as' an 'agent', say, must be allowed to vary from language to language. The non-human 'experiencers' of English illustrated by subjects such as (1):

(1) Tuesday witnessed another eruption of accountant militancy are not available in German, for example. Languages vary in establishing the perimeters of the categorisations they impose.

Grammaticalised functors, like the 'grammatical relations' (GRs), can be defined in terms of the case relations and the hierarchical relationships between them (Anderson 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980); but particular grammatical relations, or systems of grammatical relations, need not be manifested in a particular language or sub-system of a language. Assumption of the universality of particular systems of grammatical relations can obscure linguistic variation in this area. It is this which I want to illustrate in what follows.

English clauses display the form of functor grammaticalisation that we can refer to as subject-formation: a functor phrase in each clause is selected in accordance with a hierarchy of case relations which displays certain 'behavioural' and 'positional' characteristics; this is the *subject*. The initial NPs in (2) are subjects:

- (2) a. Maggie declined into despair
b. Maggie flew to London on Tuesday
c. Maggie knew the timetable
d. Maggie received the news on Tuesday
e. Maggie told Norman the timetable
f. Maggie abandoned the fight

and they display several different case relations: abs(olutive) (a), abs + erg(ative) (b), loc(ative) + erg (c,d), erg (e,f), with the other arguments being respectively loc (a,b), circumstantial loc (b,d: *on Tuesday*), abs (c-f),

loc + erg (e: *Norman*). (Notice that a single argument may have more than one case relation label.) The subject is selected in accordance with the hierarchical principle of (3):

- (3) *Subject selection principle:*
Select as subject the least un-erg-like argument

The selections in (2) are in accordance with this, in that: in (e,f) the erg argument is subject; in (b-d) it is the argument that is erg + some other case relation; in (1)a. it is the abs, rather than the loc, given the internal structure of the case relations displayed in (4) (cf. Anderson 1973, 1977, 1989):

(4)	erg	abs	loc	abl
	source		source	
			place	place case features

Loc contains a contradictory feature, whereas abs is empty (unspecified). Notice that in all instances the subject is *participant* rather than *circumstantial*: it is relevant to determining the semantic sub-class of the verb.

English nominalisations (predications marked as arguments) also display a neutralising functor:

- (5) a. Maggie's decline into despair
b. Maggie's flight to London on Tuesday
c. Maggie's knowledge of the timetable
d. Maggie's reception of the news on Tuesday
e. Maggie's transmission of the timetable to Norman
f. Maggie's abandonment of the fight

one positionally (and arguably configurationally) analogous to the subjects of (2). But the basis for its selection is rather different. In the first place, selection is optional:

- (6) a. (the) decline of Maggie into despair
b. (the) flight by/of Maggie to London on Tuesday
c. (the) knowledge by Maggie of the timetable
d. (the) reception by Maggie of the news on Tuesday
e. (the) transmission of the timetable to Norman by Maggie
f. (the) abandonment of the fight by Maggie

with, in the absence of genitive-formation, the preposition reflecting the case relation of the argument concerned (*by* = erg (+); *of* = abs). Sec-