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ABSTRACT

The sixth volume of this series contains eight contrastive studies in the syntax and semantics of English and Romanian. They are: "Criteria for the Contrastive Analysis of English Nouns," by Andrei Bantas; "Adjectives as Noun Modifiers in Post-Verbal Position," by Ioana Poenaru; "Towards a Semantic Description of 'Tense' and 'Aspect' in English and Romanian," by Alexandra Petrovanu-Cornilescu; "Main Future Expressions in English and Romanian," by Elena Bira; "The Prepositional and Adverbial Particle in Post Verbal Position in English and Implications for the Study of English by the Romanian Student," by Nora Tomosoiu; "A Pedagogical Grammar of Modal Sentences with May/Right and Can/Could and Their Nearest Romanian Equivalents," by Elena Bira; "A Contrastive Analysis of Negation in Romanian and English," by Marie-Anne Lupas and Alexandra Roceric; and "Some Remarks on the Semantic Field of Terms for Physical Pain in English and Romanian," by Florica Bancila. (CLK)

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CONTRASTIVE STUDIES IN THE SYNTAX AND  
SEMANTICS OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

THE ROMANIAN-ENGLISH  
CONTRASTIVE  
ANALYSIS PROJECT

Director: PROF. DUMITRU CHITORAN, PH.D.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,  
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CRITERIA FOR THE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS  
OF ENGLISH NOUNS

by Andrei Bantas

It is perhaps superfluous to recall that in any analysis we have to proceed from the identification of the object which we intend to analyse. In the present case, the object of our investigation is the English noun. But as soon as we begin our analysis we are confronted with the fact that the object of the analysis is rather vaguely defined because we have to establish what points, what aspects in the description of the noun, are interesting for a contrastive analysis. In the present paper we shall try to see which of the numerous aspects raised by the description of English nouns are interesting for the contrastive analysis. Therefore, we have entitled our paper "Criteria for the contrastive analysis of English nouns". We have found that there are quite a number of criteria on whose basis we can compare English nouns with nouns in other languages. Some of them may assume a rather general nature, others refer to a group or class of nouns, while most of them are useful for describing particular nouns, to be compared with their counterparts in other languages.

We are referring specifically to English, but there are possibilities for applying some of these criteria to other languages as well (at least as a term of comparison).

The criteria which we are trying to establish concern the external aspect of the noun, its evolution and its current

status within the vocabulary of the language, and the behaviour of the noun from the grammatical point of view.

From the very beginning we should like to say that we have considered the possibility of using these criteria of analysis for various purposes (for instance theoretical, teaching, lexicographical, etc.) and at various levels. Therefore we have to say that while all criteria may find their place in a theoretical study of English nouns in comparison with those in other languages, only some are general and relevant, even for certain limited purposes.

In the light of these considerations, one should establish also a sort of hierarchy of the criteria for analysis, according to their general importance or their relevance for restricted purposes alone.

On the other hand, we have to confess that it is difficult to establish a very strict classification and delimitation of these criteria, mainly because of the interpenetration and interdependence between the various levels of linguistic analysis. (phonetic, semantic, morphological, syntactic).

If we proceed from the undeniable reality of this interpenetration and interdependence, and if we rely on the precedent created by some of the most representative grammars of the English language, we may find some justification for bringing together criteria of form (graphic or phonetic), lexical criteria (etymological, semantic, etc.) with their grammatical implications, as well as grammatical criteria (morphological and syntactical), - some of which are not deprived of semantic or stylistic implications - and assert that all these elements are in some way or another related to grammar.

In this way, we may achieve a general description of the English noun which, - like a genre painting, - will display elements in the background, in the middle ground or in the foreground, all of them having their relative importance in conveying the general effect, though some people will be more interested in certain of them than in others. We should like to call this general picture of English nouns "the grammatical regimen of the English noun". This notion may include the totality of elements characterizing the form and the grammatical behaviour of this part of speech. To put it differently, it catalogues all the peculiarities in the form, functions and relations of nouns.

We therefore use the term "grammatical regimen" in order more easily to handle the complex notion of the sum total of the elements on all linguistic planes, -- elements with whose help we can describe both the form and the manner of utilization of a certain word (or meaning of a word) - for reasons stated below. In less scientific terms we could speak about a sort of personal chart characterizing and identifying a word.

This approach to the problem may serve the purpose of translation into other languages, though the analysis can be made irrespective of this possibility. The aim is to identify the peculiarities of English nouns first of all in comparison with other nouns in the same language, in order to facilitate correct learning (assimilation) of them. But, of course, one cannot ignore the converse aspect, that of guiding the foreigner in utilizing English words, irrespective of - or by an implicit comparison with - the way in which they are used in the learner's mother tongue.

In trying to establish the criteria for the analysis of English nouns, we have noticed, besides the incongruencies bet-

ween form and substance which have been pointed out in connection with various groups of nouns, that there are many other incongruencies which fall under two main categories: first of all, not all nouns belonging to a certain class defined by grammar books behave alike from the morphological or syntactical point of view, and so, although dividing nouns into classes is important at a certain level of study, we find that there are many exceptions within the same class, formed either by certain groups of nouns, or by particular nouns which stand apart or form a category by themselves.

In the second place, we can easily see that polysemous nouns (to say nothing of homonyms) behave differently, from the grammatical point of view, when they are used with a different meaning. Or, to put it better, the different readings of a polysemant have different grammatical behaviours. For instance, work meaning labour, naturally behaves as an abstract noun, having zero determination and no plural - among other characteristics - while in the meaning of a book or a statue, a symphony or a scientific paper, it behaves as a normal individual noun, having a plural and therefore being countable and, taking the indefinite article as well; on the other hand, the form works may be either the normal plural of the latter sense, or the name for a factory, or plant, usually construed as a singular - a works, the works - but also the plural of the same.

In the case of certain nouns, this situation is clarified, at least to a certain extent by more or less "grammaticalised" dictionaries, such as An Advanced Learner's Dictionary by A.S. Hornby, F.V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield, while the utilisation of other nouns, especially when they have many meanings, remains rather a jungle.



Generally speaking, grammar books have a tendency to describe the characteristics of the parts of speech either without subcategorising at all or by vast categories.

In this way they have offered theoretical analyses more or less valuable, though of limited practical usefulness.

An analysis of the grammatical behaviour of parts of speech, forces upon us the conclusion that they can no longer be considered the last analysable grammatical units - a fact which is particularly obvious in the case of nouns and verbs.

Theory is necessarily imperfect, if it treats the noun or the verb as a whole.

In connection with the noun we encounter fewer difficulties than in connection with the verb in establishing the minimum unit which can be analysed from the point of view of grammatical behaviour.

We suggest that this unit should be the meaning - a semantic element but, as can easily be seen, with obvious grammatical implications.

Even a cursory glance at a slightly "grammaticalised" dictionary such as Webster's International Dictionary or Hornby's An Advanced Learner's Dictionary evinces the fact that there are but few polysemous nouns which do not differ in the grammatical regimen of their meanings - at least through the minimum discrimination "countable - uncountable" or through the indications for the utilisation of articles given by dictionaries. Of course, this refers only to polysemous nouns, while monosemants may continue to be regarded as grammatical units with the same regimen.

So, what we are proposing is a provisional classification

of the criteria for the contrastive analysis of the noun, although their mere enumeration would be sufficient if we also separate those essential for all purposes from those useful only for certain purposes.

While it is our opinion that these criteria may find their place in an exhaustive study of the English noun (in comparison with other languages), we believe that this analysis may go on from the theoretical stage to the practical one, by providing descriptions of particular nouns or groups of nouns whose behaviour offers many peculiarities. All of these can be included in lists, - or to put it better, charts - of the respective nouns, showing all the formal and behavioral aspects.

Once the criteria have been established, we may list them in the charts.

X

X

X

The first batch of criteria should probably be the graphic ones, that is those connected with the way in which a noun is written.

One of these elements for description would be the discrimination between capitalized and non-capitalized nouns, which must also be learned. These are nouns derived from proper names or connected with them, either as trade marks, as names of inventions, or notions traditionally associated with a certain person. This may be a source of mistakes in point of meaning, when the word is taken over by another language, but, for the moment, we are concerned with the use of capitals. Of course, not much consistency is manifest in this respect, yet certain indications can be given.

Another criterion of the same nature lies in the opposition between italicized and non-italicized words. Of course, it applies to borrowings and it is closely connected with the degree of assimilation of the latter into the English vocabulary. Again, the indications provided by dictionaries are not perfectly reliable, since the manner of writing is subject to fluctuation as can be seen in various texts. Many such words have retained in English their original spelling, (e.g. - *débutante*, *ingénue*, *élan*, *rôle*) though the italicization was dropped some time ago. The italics are preserved only as long as the noun is felt as a foreign word, but there is much inconsistency in this respect as well, in the language of specialists (e.g. - the musical terminology of Italian origin).

Another problem to be discussed is that of homographs, in whose case the distinction is obvious and ought to be taken into consideration especially by lexicographers. And yet, the latter sometimes bring together, under the same heading or entry, words which are entirely different in point of origin, meaning, domain of application, etc. We can easily perceive in this case too the interdependence with other types of criteria - in this instance etymological and lexical proper.

A last criterion of a graphic nature discriminates between compound nouns written separately, hyphenated or spelt as a single word. For the time being, we are not in a position to say how this problem is to be solved, owing to the extreme fluctuation and inconsistencies present in dictionaries published in Great Britain, United States or elsewhere. Of course, certain things are more definite, and we have grown accustomed to spelling certain words in a certain way, but usage is far from being perfectly established

and especially far from following the indications of dictionaries.

Phonetic criteria should be taken into consideration next.

One of them is the way in which nouns are stressed. This criterion hardly seems an element for comparison at first sight. Yet, it has several fields of application, namely compound words which are similar in the languages compared, and borrowings. As far as compound nouns are concerned, it is necessary to classify them. Such a classification - most relevant for us because it is connected particularly with accent, - is provided by Roger Kingdon's book The Groundwork of English Stress. A comparison with Romanian compound nouns brings out the importance of this classification. Moreover, the rules established by Kingdon, in spite of their many exceptions, are a guide for the foreign learner.

It is equally important to follow the stressing of words which are similar in the two languages compared, that is in the case of nouns belonging to the international vocabulary, mostly derived from Latin or Greek, and present both in English and French, for instance. While the stressing of such words in French follows the general rules of accentuation, in English there are differences which matter.

As far as borrowings are concerned, it is not devoid of significance to teach people that it should not be taken for granted that a foreign word will preserve its original stressing when adopted by the English vocabulary. In fact, we know that very many of the French nouns taken over by English are subject to change.

In connection with certain words, it is important to indicate that they have homophones and therefore that learners should be careful to recognize and understand them correctly. The number

of pairs of homophones is not great, yet it warrants some study.

A substantial part of the criteria we propose are of a lexical nature. We have subdivided them - for convenience purposes - into etymological, semantic, semantic-grammatical and lexical proper, which also have stylistic implications.

Let us first take the criteria connected with the origin and evolution of nouns, which we have grouped under the heading "etymological".

First of all we have to establish whether the noun has its source in another language, therefore being what we call a borrowing, or it was formed in English.

In the same connection we are interested in the source language because in comparing the English noun with the noun in the language whose contrastive analysis we undertake we ought to see if the source is identical. If it is identical, then problems of evolution of meaning may arise.

As far as nouns formed in English are concerned, it may be appropriate to investigate the means by which they are formed, (in keeping with the indications of lexicology). Of greater interest for us are such processes as the substantivisation of adjectives, and affixation, because more often than not they give rise to nouns which raise grammatical problems.

The point which should come next is that of the degree of assimilation into the English vocabulary of nouns of foreign origin. This has many implications, being related to graphic problems and to lexical ones such as the spreading of the nouns, their status within the current English vocabulary, because this points to the possibility of their utilisation in certain contexts. This

will be seen to be essential for students at various levels, as well as for translators.

The problem of frequency is dealt with further on under the heading of "Lexical Criteria Proper", because it is more connected with the present-day stage in the evolution of the English vocabulary.

But here we ought to inquire into the problem of etymological incongruency in order to see whether the imported nouns have preserved the same meanings as in the source language or they have developed along more or less anomalous lines, giving rise to deceptive cognates (false friends). Most probably the problem of deceptive cognates should better be discussed under the next heading, that of "Semantic Criteria".

Yet, another problem which should be treated in passing is that of the relation of a noun to the basic word stock because we ought to know if we have to do with one of the fundamental elements of the vocabulary.

In the category of semantic criteria we should first of all establish whether the noun is monosemantic or polysemantic. Like other elements, this one is very important for the choice of the clearest word possible - a noun free from any possibility of confusion. In the chart of the respective noun, when we give its synonymic series, we should indicate the best word which could replace it.

A related criterion is that of the degree of semantic diversification undergone by a certain noun. This is particularly relevant in the analysis of the English vocabulary, which is known to be made up of elements of so many different origins. Of course, we could be induced to consider that the danger is provided only

by words of Romance origin, the famous false friends. Nevertheless two points are worth mentioning : on the one hand, when English is compared with some of the Germanic languages we also find a certain number of words, including nouns, which have undergone an evolution in English, a departure from the original meaning. Therefore, the problem of etymological incongruency arises in connection with several sections of the English vocabulary, not only with the Romance ones.

Secondly, it is not only more or less recent borrowings that can give rise to false friends. In fact, linguists have shown that we may subdivide the false friends into external ones (cognates which are deceptive when compared with the respective words in another language) and internal ones (words which are deceptive when compared with similar words in the English vocabulary itself - sleeper, log-wood, etc.)

Among the criteria grouped under the heading "Semantic - Grammatical" the first that ought to concern us is the category to which the respective noun belongs. Of the various classifications of nouns, until we are in the possession of a detailed classification into small groups which have a similar grammatical behaviour, we can safely enough proceed from Professor Leon Levițchi's classification of nouns according to the idea of number<sup>1)</sup> or according to content and to their grammatical regimen<sup>2)</sup>.

A criterion which would normally be considered compulsory for the contrastive analysis of nouns is their concrete or abstract nature. This element naturally has its place in a classification

1. Leon Levițchi, Gramatica limbii engleze, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, București, 1971, pages 21-30.
2. Limba engleză contemporană - morfologie, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, București, 1970, pages 25-31.

ation and in the analysis of the grammatical regimen of nouns, yet as far as contrastive analysis is concerned we have to state some reserves:

- first of all, if taken as a whole, the same noun will probably be concrete or abstract in both languages compared, and the differences will be seen only when we come to the analysis of different meanings in the case of polysemants;

- secondly, the abstract nature taken in itself is not of crucial importance for the grammatical regimen of nouns, because on the one hand some abstract nouns may be accompanied by the definite article, while others - such as substantivized adjectives - are obligatorily preceded by it; on the other hand, some abstract nouns can be used in the plural as well, while others have only the plural form, but are singular in meaning;

- though abstract nouns convey to us the notion of uncountability, many of them (such as idea, notion, thought, etc.) are countable and can be numericalized by all usual means, and are therefore apt to be assimilated to individual nouns. Some of them have a peculiar regimen, accepting numericalization only by special means such as: a piece of (advice, etc) an item of (news, information, etc.).

It is true, on the other hand, that countability (and therefore the possibility for numericalization), usually decreases in proportion with the increase in the degree of abstractization. Individual acts or actions, instances of behaviour, are perceptible individually or numerically, while states, attitudes, feelings, have less concrete manifestations, and therefore situate themselves on a higher plane of abstraction, being uncountable by their very nature.



To all this is added an element in the field of lexicology: certain suffixes, such as -hood, -ship, -ness, -ism generally confer a mere abstract, uncountable nature upon nouns. Even in the rare cases when such "highly abstract" nouns are used in the plural, for stylistic purposes, (of intensification of the effect - e.g. hopes, raptures, ecstasies) numerical determinatives are excluded.

The next semantic-grammatical criterion to be discussed is whether the noun is singular or plural in meaning. Although the great majority of English nouns evince congruency between meaning and form, - very much as it happens in other languages - in this language there are a certain number of nouns which do create difficulties. In fact the question can be seen from two angles: there is a clear incongruency between form and meaning in certain cases (names of sciences such as physics, mathematics), as well as hesitations of usage (with nouns such as gymnastics, statistics, equations and works - factory) ; moreover, there are nouns such as advice, money, information which on the one hand suggest a plurality of component elements (therefore being at least to a certain extent associated with the notion of collective) and on the other hand have plural equivalents in certain foreign languages (as far as money is concerned there are languages in which the equivalent is also singular - French, German - languages in which the equivalent is only plural - Russian, Rumanian - and languages in which there are both singular and plural equivalents - Italian).

We must not forget that this problem of singular or plural meaning is also connected with the agreement of the predicate and with the substitutes.

The distinction countable - uncountable is relevant for all purposes and assumes extreme significance both for students of English and for translators. In spite of the cardinal importance of this problem, it is given due attention by an insufficient number of grammar books - and among lexicographers, only by Hornby.

We must by all means devote full attention to this problem in the contrastive analysis of English nouns, but we ought to be aware that the problems raised are different because there are several possible situations:

- some nouns are countable in the normal way, falling under the heading "Individual Nouns Proper", a most extensive category - but the ways of forming the plural are, as we know, rather different;

- others are countable in one meaning or in certain meanings and uncountable in another or in others;

- the plural of some nouns differs in meaning from their singular;

- some nouns are used in the plural only for stylistic purposes - e.g. nouns of material;

- some nouns are uncountable in all their meanings - and the category of uncountable nouns is not restricted to abstractions as is usually considered, but it includes geographical names, names of persons, etc.

Another distinction is that between common nouns and proper names. Usually it is considered primordial, being one of the first points discussed by grammar books. Although it has certain relations with capitalisation and with the problem of countability, yet, a deeper analysis and consideration of the problem sug-

gests that the point is not so relevant for the grammatical regimen as a whole.

We should not forget what Jespersen says : "When a proper name is used in the plural, it loses its nature of a proper name. "But this can be extended to the singular as well, if we think of antonomasia and of various other situations.

A point which can hardly be overlooked is the distinction animate-inanimate. Although it may appear of smaller importance for contrastive analysis, because usually the same words will have the same value in the two languages compared, in English there is a rather special situation: as gender is not grammatical, this distinction gives us a clue to the extremely ticklish problem of personifications, and generally, of the use of the proper substitutes.

Next we should consider criteria which we have grouped under the heading "Lexical Proper", although as we shall see, they may have some bearing on style as well.

First of all we have to discuss the frequency and spreading of nouns. Several problems are raised by this point: one is that of the relation to the basic word stock, which is essential for purposes of correct utilisation of certain words.

Then we have to investigate the presence of the noun in a certain area of the vocabulary; the conclusions derived from it will indicate to us the possibility of using the respective noun in certain contexts or under certain circumstances.

A criterion which might prove useful is the presence of a certain noun in the speech or writing of people who possess a minimum, average or extensive vocabulary. As this is difficult to

establish, we shall probably rely rather on the presence of the respective noun in dictionaries of various sizes, that is we shall take as a guide for usage the competence of lexicographers who have deemed the respective noun worthy of being included in small, medium-sized, large dictionaries or only in comprehensive ones.

The utilization of a noun in minimal contexts - such as syntagms, idioms or proverbs - is also a useful indication for its utilization, although of course this criterion is closely bound up with the presence of the noun in the basic word stock of the language.

Another lexical criterion with stylistic implication is that of the age of a noun. It is important to know whether the noun is old or old-fashioned (or on the contrary, modern) in order not to give rise to undesirable stylistic effect - sometimes humorous. To give one example, the word sport has long been in existence in English - though its meaning has been very much enlarged and changed - while it is but recent in Romanian or in other languages.

Within the same set of criteria, we are concerned with the linguistic stratum or stylistic colouring of a noun in order to establish whether it is an archaism or archaicism, a regional or general term, whether it belongs to the literary or elevated or, on the contrary, popular or slang vocabulary, whether it is a technical or colloquial term, etc. These distinctions have to be indicated for a proper utilization of a noun by learners or

- 
1. Valuable indications are provided by the "Stylistic classification of the English vocabulary" in I. R. Galperin's Stylistics, Higher School Publishing House, Moscow, 1971, pages 62-114.

translators. Otherwise, mistakes may arise which are sometimes just unpleasant but may also be ridiculous.

Also connected with this set of criteria is the problem of synonymy. It is necessary to know whether the synonymy of a noun is rich or poor, and to establish its place within the synonymic series, function of the stylistic colouring, for the same purpose of indicating the right word for the right context. If no synonyms can be found, this should also be stated because an indication in this respect is quite valuable.

In spite of the close interdependence between morphology and syntax as well as between grammar and semantics, and for the difficulties encountered in keeping them apart (difficulties which have appeared in an even stronger light in the preparation of this paper) we have tried to separate morphological criteria from syntactical ones.

But the first of the morphological criteria, namely the category to which the noun belongs, has so many semantic implications that it is really difficult to say whether it has its place among semantic-grammatical criteria where we discussed it, or among morphological ones.

One of the first morphological criteria to be mentioned is the problem whether the noun is singular or plural in its form, that is whether it bears the mark of the plural - suffix or ending as some grammarians call it - or appears in what is commonly known as the singular form. The difficulty is of course increased in the case of nouns with an identical form in the plural (e.g. - series or species) and in the case of individual nouns of multitude (sheep, deer, etc.). Of course, most English nouns are free from any complications, but there are a few which do raise pro-

blems and create difficulties, (e.g. - mathematics, gymnastics, billiards, measles, etc.). If we consider the implications of this problem in the field of syntax - agreement and substitutes - we realize its importance. Unfortunately, a mere classification will be found insufficient, and the indications will have to be provided for each of these nouns with a special grammatical regimen.

Another point to be included in the description of an English noun is the way of forming the plural if it is singular in form and especially in meaning - provided it is countable - and on the other hand the way of forming the singular if it has a plural form and meaning - and again provided it is countable. The problem of numericalization will be dealt with in connection with the determinatives, but for the time being we are concerned with aspects of form. The whole problem is of great practical importance in English - a language in which there is quite a long list of manners of forming the plural, as well as of ways of forming the singular. In the case of nouns of Latin, Greek and other origins, it is not sufficient to know the etymology and the declension which the noun used to follow in the source language, because sometimes we have double plurals (generally with stylistic implications) and sometimes they have been assimilated into the English vocabulary to the extent that they follow the rules for the formation of the plural.

The criterion of gender comes next and although we usually rejoice at the common simplification to the effect that in English gender is natural and therefore we are not supposed to bother about it as much as in the case of other languages, when we go

into details we find that the problem is extremely complicated and to a great extent unsolved yet. One of the first complications which we encounter is pointed out by the gender of personifications, which as we know is far from being perfectly established and is subject to variations, to peculiarities, to the personal preferences of English and American authors. The situation of the common gender is not yet completely clarified, grammarians of the English language ignore it altogether, or deny its existence or accept it to various extents. A complete contrastive study of English nouns should include long lists of nouns which fall under one of the four headings and the indications in the chart of each noun will sometimes have to be of necessity twofold or even threefold (since such a noun as children, for instance, may be masculine, feminine, or common in gender, if we come to think of it). The singular child may be masculine, feminine, or neuter - all this depends on the context).

However strange it may be, the notion of collective nouns is closely connected with the problem of gender, for reasons which become obvious on a closer study of the problem. Usually the word "collective" causes us to think of a group of human beings, with its well-known implications in the domain of agreement. On the other hand, if we follow Zandvoort's reasoning, we can discriminate various categories of nouns whose meaning is in a way collective: nouns denoting collectivities of human beings (subdivided by Professor Levitchi into collective proper - e.g. crowd, crew, team, etc. - and nouns of multitude - the gentry, the clergy, the police, etc.); nouns denoting a plurality of animals (therefore animate - e.g. flock, herd, etc.); nouns denoting a plurality of human or other beings (e.g. - host, group);

nouns denoting a plurality of things (e.g. - foliage, leafage, heap, forest, etc.) and nouns denoting a plurality of plants and trees for which a singular is used instead of the plural (e.g. - the oak, the beech, goldilock - cf. Zandvoort A Handbook of English Grammar § 259-264). Of course gender will differ from one category to another.

Whenever we consider gender, we should not overlook the problem of substitutes. This will be one more reason in support of the idea that the gender of a noun cannot be fully and properly established outside its context.

As concerns the third morphological category of the noun - case -, what is relevant for contrastive analysis is the way in which the noun forms its genitive. Another way of looking at this matter is to establish which type of genitive is preferably used with a certain noun. For the time being - and we do not know yet how long this time will be - we have to confine ourselves to the synthetic and analytic genitives, because usage has not yet clearly established which categories of noun can resort to the implicit genitive, and grammar books say practically nothing about it. For the first two types of genitives, Professor Levičohi's classification of nouns according to the idea of number and to their grammatical regimen provides ample indications.

Among syntactical criteria we shall take up first those which are closely connected with the morphology of the noun, more or less forming a bridge between two parts of grammar.

Our attention is first claimed by determinatives connected with the classification of nouns - which provides ample and valuable indications. Nevertheless, more complete solutions will be



given by a detailed classification of a rather practical nature, referring to smaller groups of nouns (e.g. feelings, animals, names of factories, hospitals, cinemas, theatres, etc., names of professions and callings).

We have to consider specific determinatives first, because sometimes they characterise groups or whole categories of nouns: the zero article or determination is known to be the usual form for abstractions, nouns of material, for some categories of geographical names, etc., while the definite article is indispensable with substantivized adjectives, names of mountain ranges or massifs, archipelagoes, etc.

As concerns generic determinatives, we broadly know from the classification of nouns which categories of the latter take one kind of generic determination or another (though sometimes, either the definite or the indefinite article may be used for this purpose).

Numerical determinatives are associated with the idea of numericalisation and although the classification of nouns provides many indications in this respect, our analysis should go further, down to smaller groups of nouns.

It is common knowledge that the agreement between the predicate and the subject in English is of particular difficulty for foreign students. Of course the references to morphology and semantics are to a certain extent helpful in discriminating between nouns which require agreement in the singular and those which take a plural verb, but we know how many particular cases have to be mentioned and to what extent logic can be a guide in usage. It is therefore necessary to indicate agreement in the chart of each noun, but some-

times we shall have to admit that there are fluctuations of usage, hesitations, personal preferences as well as current tendencies which are not yet fully established.

The problem of specific modifiers may not seem very important and in fact it arises only in connection with certain nouns for which foreigners have the tendency of using the wrong attributes in English. Although it is rather unusual for grammar books or dictionaries to give indications of this nature, we may realize through the analysis of certain nouns that to point out the possible collocations would be useful and sometimes indispensable. For instance, if we take two adjectives tall and high, most foreign students would show preference for the latter, and yet, on investigating usage, we find that tall collocates with house, man, tree, horse, etc. and high with much fewer nouns, and particularly with abstract ones. This is, of course, rather a surprise, even for teachers. In order to realize the full extent of the problem and in order to obtain valuable help, we may resort to that interesting book The Rodale Word Finder<sup>1)</sup> - which provides a vast list of collocations.

Another point which has some importance in the analysis of certain nouns at least, refers to the specific prepositions which precede them. For instance, many foreign students will find it difficult to find the right preposition in the collocations in man, in animals, with children, etc.

Much in the same way, we are bound to investigate the specific prepositions which follow certain nouns. This problem is on the one hand of vaster proportions, because it occurs with a

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1. The Word Finder, compiled and edited by J.I. Rodale, Rodale Books, Emmaus, Pennsylvania, 1967.

great number of nouns, but, on the other hand, a classification of nouns by smaller categories may solve part of it, e.g. attitudes and feelings are followed by the prepositions at or towards, etc.

The last syntactical problem, that of possible substitutes for a noun, naturally has its roots in semantics and morphology. As we have already seen in connection with gender and number, it is these elements that govern the choice of substitutes, but we should not overlook the presence of the context. The problem offers an enormous number of difficulties for foreign students and indications should be provided for very many English nouns, in order to avoid preconceived ideas based on the students' mother tongue (for instance in the case of advice, child, money, etc.), as well as wrong inferences from the form of the noun (e.g. - news, mumps, police, the constabulary, brains).

X

X

X

Having proposed the lists of criteria for the contrastive analysis of nouns, we may proceed to a hierarchization of these criteria in the order of their importance. On the other hand, more useful seems to be an attempt at dividing them in keeping with the purpose which they could serve:

1. for the elaboration of studies (possibly monographs concerning the English noun as a whole (the category of the Noun), in comparison with the category of the Noun in other languages;
2. for compiling dictionaries of various sizes and levels, comprising grammatical indications - that is grammatical dictionaries of the English and French languages, of English and German, etc.

3. For teaching at various levels - establishing the minimum of elements which should be known by the learners of various grades;

4. as a consequence of all this, they could be utilized for working out hand-books or manuals of various levels;

5. they can guide translators much more safely in choosing the right word for a certain context.

Therefore, we notice that there are criteria indispensable for all the above-mentioned purposes, - we could call them common criteria, while other ones are relevant only for certain of these purposes.

There is, moreover, a sort of hierarchy of the degree of difficulty which these criteria offer. Some criteria are easily established or elucidated - for instance those connected with writing.

Some criteria hold good for all meanings of the nouns while other ones - even in this domain, e.g., capitalization, have to be applied differently for the different meanings of a noun.

On the other hand, certain criteria necessarily discriminate between the different meanings of a noun, (as concerns their concrete or abstract nature, their countability or uncountability, their plural, their agreement, etc.) therefore requiring an analysis by meanings.

A study of the English noun conducted in keeping with these criteria may therefore be of some value for the theoretical analysis of the vocabulary of a language, for helping people to choose the word which is the most suitable (from the semantic and stylistic points of view) and to use it correctly from the grammatical point of view.

ADJECTIVES AS NOUN MODIFIERS IN  
POST-VERBAL POSITIONS

by Ieana Poenaru

The present paper is an attempt at establishing the class appurtenance and the function discharged by some lexical forms such as motionless, sick, dead, etc. in verbal collocations of the type.

- (1) sit motionless
- (2) come here sick
- (3) lie down dead
- (4) survive almost intact
- (5) listen breathless
- (6) fight wild
- (7) sleep light
- (8) sweep the room clean
- (9) boil the eggs hard
- (10) buy something cheap

Traditional grammar considers the forms underlined above as straddling two classes, namely that of adjectives and that of adverbs discharging the function of "quasi-predicatives" or of "subjective and objective complements". In Romanian the accepted term is "element predicativ suplimentar".

Structuralist grammar adopts a somewhat different view-

point. Such forms are either adjectives or adverbs in the function of verb modifiers<sup>1)</sup>.

The following few pages try to demonstrate that these lexical elements are adjectives at the level of form class, and noun modifiers at the level of function class. This approach will receive support from componential analysis and the following tests: semantic paraphrase, factive nominalization<sup>2)</sup> and passivization (with structures 8-10).

In our argument, the structuralist point of view mentioned above will be, implicitly, invalidated.

The thesis of regressive derivation can hardly be upheld since in most cases there are no corresponding adverbs in {-ly}

Such forms as

1. In his book "A Synopsis of English Syntax", Eugene Widda writes: "... these adjectives may be treated as adverbs derived from the corresponding adjectives by zero derivative, and thus being words with alternate derivative forms, one with -ly, and the other zero" (p.155) and later on "These may be treated as attributive to the verb for they may occur in verb expressions without any subject, as in, To go back sick meant disastrous consequence at that time. To sleep light is the best alarm-clock under the circumstances (p.156).
2. We base our idea on the distinction in co-occurrence between action nominalizations (verbal nouns) and factive nominalizations (gerunds). Action nominalizations occur with adjectives, and factive nominalizations occur with adverbs. Compare :

his rapid hitting of the anvil....  
His hitting the anvil rapidly ....

Admitting only of verb modifiers, factive nominalizations are quite relevant to this problem. If the forms under consideration were verb modifiers, they would modify gerunds. If they do not fulfil this function, it means that they modify either the subject or the object of the sentence, and consequently, they are adjectives and noun modifiers.

See also Bruce Fraser, Some Remarks on the Action Nominalization in English, published in R.Jacobs & P.Rosenbaum, Reading's In English Transformational Grammar, Ginn and Company, 1970.

- \*sit motionlessly
- \*survive intactly
- \*put the room straightly

having a certain degree of grammaticality (adverb adj.+ -ly) ;  
are unacceptable, whereas forms as

- sit motionless
- survive almost intact
- put the room straight

meet the requirements of both grammaticality and acceptability.

There are however parallel forms - non derived or derived by the suffix -ly, but both of them are adjectives without any corresponding adverbs. Words like sick (bolnav), sickly (bolnăvicio), which both get the comparative inflexions {-er} and {-est}, and form nouns by means of the suffix {-ness}, are descriptive adjectives, distributed both attributively and predicatively. They differ however, in syntactic and semantic markers, in occurrence and in underlying structures

For the structure ADJ NP the following description obtains:

- sick → + { + noun  
+ animate }  
+ { + temporary } → a sick man (un om bolnav)
- sickly<sub>1</sub> → - { + noun  
+ animate }  
< + permanent } → a sickly child (un copil bolnăvicio)
- sickly<sub>2</sub> → { + noun  
- animate }  
< + apparent } → a sickly plant/flower (o plantă/flarea firavă)
- sickly<sub>3</sub> → { + noun  
+ animate }  
< + causative } → a sickly smell (un miros greș)

For the structure NP VP :

- sick<sub>1</sub> → { + noun  
+ animate } / + Vbe / + { +sick<sub>1</sub> }  
< +general > + { adv. of time }  
→ he has been sick today (a fost bolnav azi / nu s-a simțit bine azi)

sick<sub>2</sub> → / + noun / + animate / + Vbe / + { { + sick<sub>2</sub> } }  
 { { + particular } } → he is  
 sick (fi este greață)

sick<sub>3</sub> → / + noun / + animate / + Vbe / + { { + sick<sub>3</sub> } }  
 { { + evocative } }  
 { { + causative } } → Prep.Ph.  
 { { + resultative } }

→ he is { sick for home } (tinjește după casă)  
 { sick at heart } (e ahătut)  
 { sick of fever } (e bolnav de febră)

sickly<sub>1,2</sub> → / + noun / + animate / + { Vbe / Vlook } + sickly<sub>1,2</sub> → the  
 plant looks sickly (planta arată prost/  
 se pare că nu-i merge bine)

Coming back to the structure He came home sick (8-a inter-  
 vers acasă bolnav), the underlying structure may be :

He came home {  
 He was sick { → He came home sick

and not

He came home {  
 He was sickly { → blocked transformation

It is obvious that sick is an adjective referring to the  
 state of the agent, without any semantic relation either to the  
 adverb home or to the verb come.

The test frame of nominalization demonstrates that these  
 nominalizations in which sick might function as a verbal or an ad-  
 verbial modifier are neither grammatical nor acceptable:

\*His sick coming home {  
 \*His coming sick home { (made us unhappy)

(\*Venirea lui bolnavă acasă ne-a întristat)

The acceptable nominalization manifests the same relations  
 as the structure from which it has been derived:



He came home sick → His coming home sick (made us  
unhappy)

(A venit acasă bolnav → Venirea lui acasă bolnav ne-a  
intristat)

In Romanian there are also two adjectives - perfect equivalents of their English counterparts : sick - bolnav, sickly - bolnăvicios, but they are subject to some co-occurrence restrictions. Sick<sub>1</sub> - bolnav behaves identically in both languages : He has been sick for three days - Este bolnav de trei zile. Sick<sub>2</sub> has a perfect correspondent in Romanian only in the old expression He was sick of fever - A fost bolnav de febră. For the other collocations with prepositional phrases, Romanian resorts to either a link verb + an adjective:

He is sick at heart - È abătut

or to a verb + a prepositional phrase :

He is sick for home - Tinjește după casă

For sick<sub>3</sub>, Romanian equivalents are reflexive constructions with the subject in the dative :

He is sick - Lui îi este greață; lui i se face greață

One more test is worth mentioning, namely that of comparative paraphrasing which obtains similar results in both languages:

He came home sicker than we expected him to be

He came home sicker than we expected him to come

Therefore, it is not his coming home (venirea lui acasă)

that was sick (bolnavă), but the agent was sick when he came home.

As this test, however, cannot be applied with generalizing force; no more reference will be made to it.

Similarly dead in (3) is an adjective with the features

{+animate} <-temporary> activity. in contrast with other adjectives in {-ly} :



deadly<sub>1</sub> → { + { -animate } } / { <+causative> } + NP → deadly weapons  
 deadly<sub>2</sub> → { + { +animate } } / { <+evocative> } + NP → deadly enemies/  
 deadly hatred  
 deadly<sub>3</sub> → { + { -animate } } / { <+evocative> } + NP → deadly paleness

In this case there are two kind of adverbs, one of the "dead" form and one of the "deadly" form, but they differ from dead in (3). Both of them are intensifiers, therefore adverbs of second modification emphasizing the quality of the adjective or of the verb they modify. They are in fact, lexical superlatives:

deadly pale - palid ca moartea

dead beat - mort de oboseală

dead drunk - beat mort

In (3) dead is an adjective modifying the agent who lies down and remains as motionless as if he were dead. Its possible underlying structure might be :

He lies down { He lies down like a dead one →  
 He is like a dead one { → He lies down like one that is  
 dead → He lies down dead

In Romanian dead in (3) is rendered by a comparative construction: He lies down dead - sage ca mort.

By applying the nominalisation rules we can see that the factive nominalisation works, while the action nominalisation does not:

His lying down dead (frightened me) - Zăcerea lui ca mort  
 m-a inspăimântat

\*His dead lying down (frightened me) - \*Zăcerea lui moartă/  
 Zăcerea lui mort  
 (m-a inspăimântat)

The latter Romanian construction is possible. In that case

mort corresponds to some other meaning of the English dead, namely dead<sub>2</sub> marked <+ animate> <- life>.

As it was already shown in commenting on (2), Romanian nominalization is more illustrative, owing to the agreement between the adjective and the noun it modifies.

The adjectives in (1) and (5) are identical in form, but they differ in their markers and underlying structures. Motionless marked <+ animate> <- activity> has the paraphrase:

motionless → one that does not move

and the sentence He sat motionless may be derived from

He sat  
He was motionless } → He sat motionless

Breathless<sub>1</sub> in (5) has the features <+ animate> <+ evocative> and may be derived by a string of transformations including relativization and passivization :

breathless<sub>1</sub> → one that is made short of breath by something

Breathless<sub>2</sub> - obtained by the same paraphrase as motionless, namely

breathless<sub>2</sub> → one that does not breathe

is semantically different from motionless :

breathless<sub>2</sub> → <+ animate> <- life>

The difference in features accounts also for breathless<sub>3</sub> in a breathless evening marked <- animate> <+ evocative>. Breathless<sub>3</sub> acts apparently as an "active" counterpart of breathless<sub>1</sub> :

a breathless evening → an evening that makes one short of breath

In Romanian there is a perfect equivalent to he sat motionless (sedea nemiscat), namely : the English construction is formed

of a stative verb + an adjective derived from a noun with a verb underlying it; the Romanian construction - of a stative verb + an adjective derived from a participle. In both languages the respective adjectives are the negative members of a pair without positive counterparts :

sit motionless - \*sit motionful  
stai nemișcat - \*stai mișcat<sup>4)</sup>

Here are the nominalisations of these constructions:

\*His motionless sitting (embarrassed me) - \*Sederea lui nemișcat mă stînjenea

His sitting motionless (embarrassed me) - Sederea lui nemișcată mă stînjenea

\*His breathless listening (to the concert) {

His listening breathless (to the concert) {

1. \*Ascultarea / audierea lui (?) fără suflare / cu suflul la gură

2. Ascultarea / audierea (concertului) de către el fără suflare / cu suflul la gură

The Romanian structure 1. is ambiguous because of the nature of the transitive verb a asculta / a audia which takes two objects. "Lui" may be interpreted here as either the subject or the indirect object of the sentence. The Romanian structure 2., in which passivisation is involved, excludes ambiguity, but nevertheless is somewhat awkward and irrelevant besides, as the Romanian prepositional phrases are unmarked in gender and number. Compare:

4) It is noteworthy that one of the thesis, according to which adjectives derived from action verbs or from nouns with action verbs underlying them, are themselves action adjectives, is invalidated by both motionless and breathless :

\*He is being breathless

\*He is being motionless

\*He is being breathful

\*He is being motionful

Their sitting motionless - Sederes lor nemisoați  
Their listening breathless (to the concert) - Audierea concertului de către ei fără suflare / cu suflul la gură.

Apparently fără suflare straddles the classes of adjectives and adverbs, but semantic interpretation brings some light. The noun audierea implies the occurrence of an animate agent, but its semantic marker is inanimateness, which cannot be cu suflul la gură. Audierea is a nominalized form derived from a verb by means of affixation and this substantive nominalization is not relevant to our problem. As in all the structures analysed above only the factive nominalization is relevant. That is obvious in both English and Romanian. Compare :

Their careful listening to what I was saying - ascultarea lor atentă la ceea ce spuneam

Their listening carefully to what I was saying - ascultarea lor în mod atent la ceea ce spuneam

Therefore, if both action nominalizations and substantive nominalizations co-occur with adjectives, and factive nominalizations co-occur with adverbs we have to admit that both breathless and motionless in (5) and (1) are adjectives modifying the agent.

Close to this interpretation is the analysis of (6) and (7) :

They fought	}	They fought their fighting
Their fighting was wild		that was wild → They fought their fighting wild- → They fought wild
They slept	}	They slept their sleeping
Their sleeping was light		that was light → They slept their sleeping light- They slept light

In both languages wild (sălbateo) and light (ușor) may be either adjectives or adverbs. We consider them in (6) and (7) as

adjectives because they do not work in the action nominalisation:

\*Their wild fighting (of the fight) made me angry

\*Their light sleeping (of the sleep) saved their lives

but only in the factive nominalisation :

Their fighting (the fight) wild made me angry

Their sleeping (the sleep) light saved their lives

The cognate objects of these sentences can be easily recovered and their presence in the underlying structure is quite relevant to the surface structure. If the verbs were to be modified the structures would be :

Their fighting (the fight) wildly ...

Their sleeping (the sleep) lightly ...

The same holds in Romanian where

\*Luptarea lor sălbatecă (m-a mîniat)

\*Dormirea lor ușoară (le-a salvat viața)

are not acceptable whereas structures built up of a non-derived noun modified by an adjective are correct:

Lupta lor sălbatecă ...

Somnul lor ușor ...

The structures (8)-(10) consisting of a noun (subject) + a transitive verb + a noun (object) + an adjective seem to bring support to this point of view. Their underlying structures might be:

(8) He swept the room

The room\*became/was clean

} → He swept the room clean

In Romanian this construction can be paraphrased by introducing a time clause : A măturat camera pînă cînd (camera) a devenit / a ajuns să fie curată. /

(9) He bought something }  
 Something was cheap } → He bought something cheap

In Romanian there is a perfect correspondance: A cumpărat ceva ieftin. In both languages the construction is ambiguous. It may be interpreted either as He bought something that was not expensive/ that did not cost much or as He bought a valueless object. The construction can be disambiguated by the semantic description of cheap

cheap<sub>1</sub> → <+ value> <- cost>  
 cheap<sub>2</sub> → <- value>

and by the intonation used in each situational context.

(10) He boiled the eggs }  
 The eggs were/became hard } → He boiled the eggs hard

The agreement in Romanian supports our idea: Tari in A fierț ouăle tari is 'an adjective modifying the noun ouă.

An attempt at deriving passive sentences from 8-10 will not bring any new information. The relations between the constituent elements of the passive sentence are the same as the relations implied in the active construction, e.g.

The room was swept clean

can be paraphrased.

The room was swept and it was/is clean, etc.

The best test - nominalisation- will give the same results as in the sentences 1-7.

- \*His clean sweeping of the room - \*Măturarea curată a camerei de către el.
- \*His cheap buying of something - \*Cumpărarea ieftină a ceva de către el....
- \*His hard boiling of the eggs - \*Fierberea tare a ouălor de către el..



- His sweeping the room clean - Măturarea camerei pînă  
cînd s-a făcut curată..
- His buying something cheap - Cumpărarea a ceva ce a  
costat ieftin....
- His boiling the eggs hard - Fierberea/ fiertul ouălor  
tari ...

The structures 1-10 are but a sample of numberless similar constructions. Adjectives as noun modifiers in post-verbal position are to be found with :

a) transitive, intransitive and ergative verbs:

She held her promise sacred

Her eyes shone dark

Alabaster cuts very smooth and easy.

b) action verbs, state verbs, link verbs; with animate and inanimate nouns :

He walked lame

It weighs heavy

He looked angry

c) derived and non derived adjectives:

sit close/still/tight/heavy/ill/helpless/noiseless

come easy/natural/expensive/cheap/undone/untied/  
loose, etc.

Sometimes the adjective modifies the noun subject, some other times the noun object. In this respect the traditional approach is quite reliable. The problem is not as simple as it has been presented here. The relations between the constituents of such constructions are rich and still to be discovered. The only conclusion to be drawn from this scant presentation is that they are contracted sentences with more or less recoverable deleted elements.

For teaching purposes the problem is not easy either for the Romanian learners of English or for the English speakers who



study Romanian. The latter get accustomed to the agreement between the adjective and the noun, which however, does not work in all these situations. Another difficulty lies in Romanian equivalents. Such English structures have a variety of counterparts in Romanian which raise important problems of syntax in addition to lexical ones.

For Romanian learners such constructions should be learned as set collocations until further investigation can establish the subclasses of verbs and of adjectives co-occurring as such. Since he is aware of his tendency to use adjectives instead of adverbs, the Romanian learner is almost always tempted to use adverbs in these collocations owing to the post-verbal position of the adjective and to the lexical homonymy between adverbs and adjectives in Romanian.

*Cda 106/074 Fasc 3*

TOWARDS A SEMANTIC DESCRIPTION OF 'TENSE' AND 'ASPECT'  
IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

by Alexandra Petrovann-Cornilescu

0.0. The present study is a contrastive analysis of the verb forms called 'tenses of the indicative' in English and Romanian (fig.1). The area of the indicative tenses is the focal point of a large proportion of the difficulties that exist in grammatical description and pedagogical presentation. It is also a very difficult area for the Romanian learner of English. This paper will concentrate on the 'semantics' of these verb forms because error analysis in this field has proved that Romanian learners of English have comparatively less difficulty in mastering the correct 'morphologic'<sup>1</sup> forms of the English tenses. On the other hand, confronted with the richness of the English tense system, the Romanian learner is baffled, shocked and often finds it difficult to choose the right form; he does not know what the English tense means. His task is unusually complex. He must reinterpret his 7 native tenses in terms of the corresponding 16 English tenses. This requires not only an adequate knowledge of the meaning of the English tenses but also a better understanding of the tenses of his own language, as it is very often the case that both languages are able to render the same meaning even without any contextual help.

1. Morphological errors are frequent however in the earlier stages of the learning process.

with the difference that English is more explicit and/or more redundant.

Forms considered for discussion (Figure 1)

<u>English</u>	<u>Non continuous</u>	<u>Continuous</u>
Present	I ask	I am asking
Present Perfect	I have asked	I have been asking
Future	I shall/will ask	I will be asking
Future Perfect	I shall/will have asked	I shall/will have been asking
Past Tense	I asked	I was asking
Past Perfect	I had asked	I had been asking
Future in the Past	I should/would ask	I should/would be asking
Future Perfect in the Past	I should/would have asked	I should/would have been asking

Romanian

Present	intreb
Perfect compus	am intrebat
Imperfect	intrebam
Perfect simplu	intrebai
Mai mult ca perfect	intrebasem
Viitor	voi intreba
Viitor anterior	voi fi intrebat

0.1. Theoretical premises of the contrastive analysis:

0.11. A linguistic analysis has a contrastive character if its aim is to compare two linguistic systems - the first one belonging to the so-called base language B (in this case Romanian), and the second one to a target language T (in this case English), and to find out the best solutions for making easier the acquisition of T by the native speakers of B.

0.12. The systems here discussed are those of the indicative tenses in English and Romanian.

0.2. Concerning the stages of a contrastive analysis there are different complementary points of view.

0.21. According to some linguists, the analysis of two systems in contact includes the following stages<sup>2</sup>:

- 1) selection of research topics relating to problematical points of contact between the specific systems in contact through observation and experimentation
- 2) in-depth studies of the topics furnished by the preliminary processing of the data
- 3) the description of approximative systems at various levels and
- 4) the prediction and explanation of the sequencing of such systems

0.22. Others consider that the first stage of a contrastive analysis is the complete description of the linguistic systems of B and T, the comparison of the descriptions and consequently, the making up of a list with the more difficult problems for the native

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2. See W.Nemser and Tatiana Slama Casaou, A Contribution to Contrastive Linguistics (A Psycholinguistic Approach; Contact Analysis), ERIC no.2, p.122.

speaker of B in the acquisition of T<sup>3</sup>. Starting from these sensitive points of contact, probable sources of interference, the researcher tries to devise special drills. A variant of this model<sup>4</sup>, also adopted in this paper considers as a first stage the comparative description of B and T systems. The second stage will establish the list of linguistic facts likely to become sources of interference; this will be a list of hypothetical errors<sup>5</sup> which can or cannot be validated through the concrete sequences of a native speaker's speech. These sequences must be analyzed in the framework of approximative systems<sup>6</sup>, the linguist thus reaching the third stage of the analysis. Finally, the last stage consists in formulating the kind of drills necessary to correct the native

- 3 This point of view, though theoretically unexplained, is adopted by F.B. Agard and R.J.D. Pietro (see The Grammatical Structures of English and Italian, The University of Chicago Press, 1965), by R.S. Stockwell, J.D. Bowen and J.W. Martin (see The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish, The University of Chicago Press, 1965).
4. This point of view is theoretically explained in I. Vincenz's "Sentence Contraction in Romanian and English: The Nominalization" pg.71-73, The Romanian English Contrastive Analysis Project, The Bucharest University Press, 1972.
5. See R. Lado, Linguistics across Culture, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1957, p.72. "The list of problems resulting from the comparison of the foreign language with the native language will be a most significant list for teaching, testing, research and understanding. Yet it must be considered a list of hypothetical problems until final validation is achieved by checking it against the actual speech of students. The final check will show in some instances that a problem was not adequately analysed and may be more of a problem than predicted".
6. "An approximative system is the deviant linguistic system actually employed by the learner attempting to utilize the target language. Such approximative systems vary in character in accordance with proficiency level; variation is also introduced by learning experience, ... communication function, personal learning characteristics etc."; see W. Nemser, Approximative Systems of Foreign Language Learners p.2 ms. (Forthcoming IRAL).

speaker's deviant utterances. In fact the last view point is a variant of the second one. We consider that both of them allow a better hierarchy of the linguistic facts - sources of interference - because they take into account the hierarchy of the respective systems themselves.

0.23 Our point of view also includes the construction of a transfer grammar of two languages A and B as defined by Harris<sup>7</sup>. In our case, we ought to formulate a set of semantic rules able to interpret the tenses of B (English), a set which is composed of the rules necessary to interpret the tenses of A (Romanian) plus the rules necessary to account for the difference B-A. "Since the set of instructions B-A interprets sentences of (B) from other sentences of A, it can be viewed as an appendix to the grammar of A"<sup>8</sup>.

In other words, in order to translate ~~from his own language~~ (A) the speaker uses the rules of his own language modified according to the differences between A and B. We have chosen Romanian as language A. This is in accordance with Joos' view : 'Of the two [i.e., the structure of the target language and that of the native language] the native language structure is the more important to pedagogy, simply because the whole native structure is always present and ready to create conflicts, while the foreign structure can be dealt with piecemeal'<sup>9</sup>.

7. See Z.Harris, Transfer Grammar in Papers in Structural and Transformational Linguistics, D.Reidal Publishing Company, New York, 1960, p.139-149.

8. Harris, op.cit., p.140.

9. M.Joos. Linguistic Prospects in the United States, p.13, Mohrman, et al. (eds.) 1961, apud Ota (1971) (see Comparison of English and Japanese with Special Reference to Tense and Aspect in Working Papers in Linguistics, vol.3, no.4, April 1971 p.121-165.

Of the conflicts created by the native language, particular attention will be paid to overgeneralization. Usually a certain tense from F in the native language has several equivalents in the target language, each of which covers part of the meaning area that F covers. Consequently, the students, learning only partial correspondence first, tend to extend, naturally and mistakenly, the correct correspondence to areas where correspondence no longer exists. This is called overgeneralization.

### 0.3. Premises of the linguistic analysis

The general framework of the paper is that of interpretive semantics. Tense forms will be assigned semantic interpretations, definitions. The global sense of a verb form, however, is given not only by the semantic marker of the tense morpheme<sup>10</sup>, but also by various semantic contextually conditioned processes, which operate at the level of the sentence S, within the temporal sphere.

0.31. In assigning meanings to tense morphemes, one of the most important semantic processes is that which decides the compatibility or incompatibility of the tense morpheme (T) with a certain adverbial of time. The adverbial of time (T<sub>A</sub>) can repeat the temporal specification of the tense in which case the adverbial is optional. e.g.

10. As understood here the term 'tense morpheme' designates any segment (auxiliary verb, suffix, or both) which is part of a tense form, other than the verbal lexeme itself. We adopt the point of view of Klaus Baumgartner and Dieter Wunderlich: (see Vers une sémantique du système temporel de l'allemand in Langues 26 Juin, 1972 p.95-116), "On ne peut pas rendre compte des temps qui, au niveau morphématique sont composés, en se fondant sur une sémantique des morphèmes particuliers, qui les composent. Autrement dit, leur sémantique est indépendante de leur statut syntaxique. Les morphèmes des temps verbaux ont, syntaxiquement des statuts différents les uns des autres mais cela reste sans influence sur le niveau sémantique de la grammaire", p.96.

He came here some time ago

The adverbial can modify the value of the tense where there is partial agreement of the two. Then the adverbial is obligatory and it 'conditions' the interpretations of the whole sentence.e.g.

He is coming tomorrow vs. He is coming.

The adverbial can contradict the temporal specification of the tense morpheme and then the interpretation process is blocked.e.g.

\* He had come tomorrow

The adverbial here TA is understood as either an adverb of time or a Prep N G, 'having this function, an adverbial clause of time or as a temporal specification imposed by a higher clause on the embedded clause.

0.32. Different contextual factors come to the fore in the interpretation of aspect. It is well known that semantic features like [ ± duration ], [ ± perfective ], [ ± limited duration ] play a significant role in the understanding of aspect, and consequently in choosing the right aspectual form. Such features may be inherent semantic markers of the verbal lexeme. Thus a verb like to sleep is [ + durative ] while a verb like to slam is [ - durative ]. A verb like to drown is inherently imperfective in the sense that the action is perfected from the first moment of its duration; it is a homogeneous action. However, the features of the verb are likely to be changed through the amalgamation of the verb with its subject, object(s) adverbials of duration and frequency etc. All of them will define the semantic character of the predication (understood as a unit of semantic interpretation resulting from the amalgamation of those factors).<sup>11</sup>

11. On the notion of predication see Robert L. Allen, The Verb System of Present Day American English, Mouton, The Hague, 1966, Ch.VIII-IX and Geoffrey Leech, Towards a Semantic Des-



Thus; to play bridge its [- limited duration, + Perfective] while to play a rubber of bridge is [+ limited duration, -perfective]. More on this will be said in the paragraph dealing with types of predication pg. 48-56.

It thus appears that the interpretation of tense and aspect involves semantic processes very often affecting the whole clause.

### 1. Tense - a deictic grammatical category

1.1. In his 'Philosophy of Grammar', Jespersen<sup>12</sup> makes the well known assertion that tenses 'deal with the linguistic expression of time and its subdivisions'. However, this definition is not accurate as tenses do not express time, its duration, but the order of events in time as related to the speaker who perceives those events. Tense is thus a deictic category. Time is not an event which can be classified in any fashion. It is an objective, linear, infinite entity which cannot be inferred otherwise than from the perception of the order and seriality of events, and this order is meaningless unless set in direct relation to the ego perceiving order. What is before, after and simultaneous must be so in terms of the experience of the ego observing these relations. Grammatical tense is related to physical time; tense, person and local deixis form an essential part of the system of orientation of every speaker, a part of his 'ego - hic - nunc', owing to which the speaker associates the objects and events belonging to extralinguistic

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cription of English, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1959, p.22 - 23 and p.252: "Predication - A semantic unit having one two or three clusters (among which one is verbal) or equivalent elements as its constituents".

12. Otto Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1924, p.254.

reality to the sentences he utters. Tenses, Jakobson said<sup>13</sup>, belong both to the code and to the message; their essential characteristic is that they relate the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of the utterance (the time of the utterance being 'now').

Linguistic tenses thus form an order system whose prime axis is the time of the discourse. Events are placed in intervals of time which are simultaneous, before or after the moment of the utterance. The number of specific tense distinctions recognized by the verbal system varies from language to language. However, despite the great variety of tense distinctions made by each language (English and Romanian are good cases in point) every two tense systems will have a common semantic area owing to the fact that all men experience time in a similar fashion.

1.2. Hence Bull's<sup>14</sup> idea that one might set up a universal hypothetical tense system, a universal semantic grid against which one could arrange the tenses of all languages. A comparison of English and Romanian with respect to this system (briefly described below) will reveal some of their major characteristics.

1.21. Bull's hypothetical tense system. The central idea is that man can deal with events in only three ways. He can perceive them, recollect them and anticipate them. The speaker in the speech situation may contemplate all time abstractly and bidirectionally ← PP → (PP = Present Point). However, the present of the speech act keeps moving forwards in time. A new Present Point is

13. Roman Jakobson, Shifters, Verbal Categories and the Russian Verb in Selected Writings Vol. II, Mouton, The Hague, p.130-140

14. William F. Bull, Time, Tense and the Verb: A Study in Theoretical and Applied Linguistics with Particular Attention to Spanish, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1960.

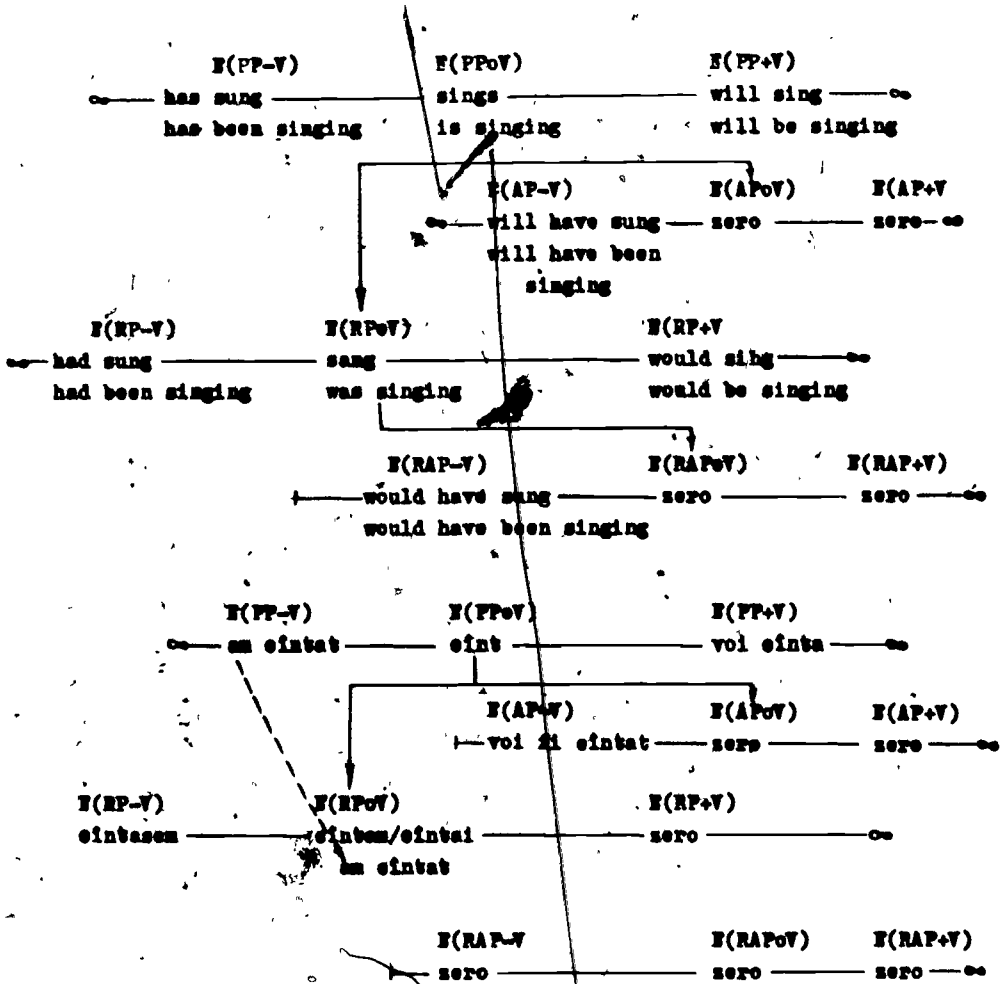
defined from which the speaker can recall the events experienced at the former Present Point which now becomes a Retrospective Point, a retrospective axis of orientation. In addition the speaker may recollect that at the former present (now RP) he looked backwards and forwards in time  $\leftarrow$  RP  $\rightarrow$  PP  $\rightarrow$ . Once again at PP, the speaker can also anticipate events which he has not experienced, thus defining a new axis of orientation (AP - anticipatory point). Similarly, a speaker may remember that at a given RP he anticipated an axis which would be a retrospective anticipatory axis (RAP)  $\leftarrow$  RP  $\leftarrow$  RAP  $\leftarrow$  PP  $\leftarrow$  AP  $\rightarrow$ . It should now be obvious that we are dealing with an open system in which the projectional possibilities are theoretically infinite. From each of these axes, the speaker can always go on to another and still another defining new intervals of time. The result of Bull's system is the division of time into a series of ordered intervals. The axes are before or after the Present Point, events (marked E) are simultaneous with the axis (marked V, where V = vector); they happen before the axis (marked -V) or after the axis (marked +V).

1.22. We give below the position of English and Romanian tense in Bull's chart (Fig.2).

1.23. A look at the two charts will immediately lead to the following remarks:

- For every chronological position in the chart, English has two aspectual forms. In Romanian this situation occurs only in the case of the 'perfect compus', 'perfect simplu' and 'imperfect'.
- English tenses overtly specify four axes of orientation. No Romanian form is overtly marked for RAP. The Romanian system lacks symmetry.

Figure 2: Position of English and Romanian tenses in Bull's chart



- One Romanian form, the 'perfect compus' occupies two chronological positions, being ambiguous even at this level of linguistic description

- 1.23. Bull's charts show that for both systems, from the point of view of either PP or RP, the axes of AP and RAP are variant conceptualizations of the plus vector; the four axes do not enjoy equal status.

This is the consequence of the more general fact that while the present and past events are real, anticipated events are unreal, potential. Events happening at AP or RAP are projections of events. As Ivănescu<sup>15</sup> puts it, "la représentation du temps sous la forme d'une ligne droite, passé, présent - futur est un concept physico - mathématique plutôt que linguistique; dans la langue le futur s'oppose au réel qui s'identifie au passé et au présent. La parenté entre le futur et le subjonctif ne peut être niée; le futur a une expression modale. Mais le futur apparaît cependant aussi comme un temps à côté du passé et du présent dans la langue". At least for languages like English and Romanian, futurity is a notion that cuts across the distinction of mood and tense. This is why for instance in English would sing is both conditional and future-in-the-past, while the Romanian 'imperfect' can function as both future in the past and Past Conditional (ex: Mi-a spus că pleacă din țară; Dacă plecam la timp, ajungeam).

The main deictic opposition expressed by the tense systems of English and Romanian is one between now and then, between present and past. PP and RP may be considered prime axes of orientat-

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15. Ivănescu Gh. p.35, Le temps, l'aspect et la durée de l'action dans les langues indo-européennes, Mélanges Linguistiques, p.23-61, Bucarest, 1957.

ion defining two subsystems, the present tenses. The English subsystems are symmetrical; a systematic contrast occurs between present and past forms, and even Bull needed two 'anticipatory' axes, one which is present and the other one which is past (AP and RAP).

As can be seen in figure 2, the Romanian system is asymmetrical with respect to the two main axes of orientation.

2. In the following paragraphs, a description of the chronological values of the Romanian and English tenses will be attempted. Each tense will be associated with one (or several) temporal structure(s) [+STRF], function of the interval in which the tense situates the event in relation to the speech situation. This analysis heavily relies on the models presented by Martin<sup>16</sup>, Reichenbach<sup>17</sup> and especially Baumgartner-Wunderlich<sup>18</sup>. The superiority of this analysis (over Bull's for instance) comes from the fact that it situates the interpretation of the tense morphemes at the level of the sentence. We must "associer à chaque phrase une structure temporelle qui comporte toutes les relations temporelles nécessaires pour sa compréhension pragmatique. Cette structure doit être constituée en parlant du morphème de temps obligatoire et des compléments temporels facultatifs"<sup>19</sup>. This view allows for the semantic processes of compatibility between verbs and adverbs (briefly touched upon on page 7). The result is that the analysis is more flexible and that more than one temporal structure can be associated with each tense. This is why although languages do not

16. Martin R., Toward a Systematic Pragmatics, Amsterdam, 1959, Ch. III.

17. Reichenbach, Hans Elements of Symbolic Logic, The Macmillan Company, 1966, p.288-298.

18. Baumgartner, K. and Wunderlich, D. op.cit.note 10.

19. Baumgartner, K. and Wunderlich, D. op.cit.note 100.

possess forms for every position in Bull's chart, they are able to express all the temporal distinctions defined there.

2.2. The elements used in the chronological definition of tenses will be time intervals.

The fundamental relation between intervals is that of precedence in time conveyed by the transitive relative system before/after.

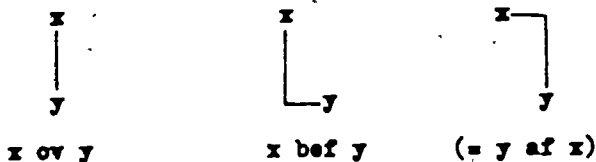
The following relations are obtained:

- (1) [Int<sub>1</sub> bef Int<sub>2</sub>] (Int<sub>1</sub> comes before Int<sub>2</sub>)
- (2) [Int<sub>1</sub> af Int<sub>2</sub>] (Int<sub>1</sub> comes after Int<sub>2</sub>)
- (3) [Int<sub>1</sub> ov Int<sub>2</sub>] (Int<sub>1</sub> bef Int<sub>2</sub>) . ~ (Int<sub>2</sub> bef Int<sub>1</sub>)

(. = logic conjunction; ~ = logic negation; ov = overlaps)

In the description of tense, the length of the interval is irrelevant, only their order is significant.

The following graphic devices are used to represent relations (1) - (3) :



2.3. The definition of the terms will be specified in terms of mainly the following intervals: the interval of discourse (T-Discourse time) the interval of the predication (T-Pred) and the interval from which the speaker contemplates the action, called interval of perspective (TPersp). TPerp defines Bull's axes of orientation.

The prime interval to be taken into consideration is that of the speech act. Its presence in the definition of every tense

will mark tenses as always belonging to the code and the message. This interval corresponds to the duration of the utterance understood as an act of communication wherein the hearer is included. The 'now' is common to hearers and speakers.

The symbol T-Pred (time of the predication) stands for the time interval of the act, for its duration as lexically expressed by the predication (ex: the interval which is implied in all the sentences of the class I washed the dishes). This interval measures the 'duration of the predication'. A classification of predications in terms of duration will be made in the chapter dealing with 'aspect'.

Finally, the symbol T-Persp represents the interval where the speaker places himself or transposes himself to observe the verbal act. As already mentioned, this interval defines an axis of orientation; it is a purely psychological interval. T-Pred and T-Disc could be measured by the clock and observable by an outsider. This could not be done for T-Persp. In a communication situation, the same perspective must be shared by speaker and hearer. Though a psychological interval, T-Persp has linguistic manifestation: thus forms like has sung/ had sung differ only in terms of T-Persp. Speakers use different tense forms in Have you read the book/Did you read the book? because they want to imply different perspectives. Likewise, in the Romanian sentence, Ieri, Maria termina călătoria de trei zile the adverb ieri is not related to the verb a termina. The time of a termina is marked by the phrase de 3 zile (meaning acum 3 zile). Ieri marks the psychological interval from which the action is contemplated.

For the basic tenses or for the basic values of the tenses (= those which are not contextually conditioned) it is often the case that two of those intervals coincide.



T Persp is also convenient in the definition of tenses. We thus have a ready means to obtain certain contextually conditioned values of the tenses, disassociating intervals which originally intersect or which overlap some adverbial (TA) which is obligatorily present in the sentence.

Such displacement within a temporal structure can be systematically described by means of transposition rules operating on the basic contextfree temporal structures of the verb forms. Configuration derived through transposition rules will be attributed the feature [Transp (TStr)]. Transposition rules are conditioned by the presence of a certain adverbial in the sentence. The transposition rule disassociates intervals which overlap in the basic configuration. The obligatory temporal specification T<sub>A</sub> will be related to T-Pred (in cases marked [Transp TStr] concern (= concerning) TPred] or to T-Persp (in cases marked [Transp TStr] concern T Persp]. This means that the temporal specification of T<sub>A</sub> will be incorporated either in the meaning of T Pred or in the meaning of T<sup>P</sup> Persp. Adverbial specification for an interval will be marked (\*) when the adverbial is optional or = when the adverbial (TA) is obligatory (ex: T-Persp (=)).

3. Analysis of the chronological systems of Romanian and English. The following analysis starts from the Romanian tenses which are fewer in number and more ambiguous. TStrs common to one tense form in English and Romanian are given on the left-hand side column with illustrative examples<sup>20</sup>.

20. Examples given in this paper generally represent our translation of English attested examples. Examples marked (N) are taken from Nandris, G., Colloquial Romanian, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1945; examples marked (AP) are taken from Augerot, J.E. and Popescu, F., Modern Romanian, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1971. Both books give both the Romanian sentences and their English equivalents.

When a tense has a value not shared by its basic equivalent that value is listed separately under Romanian or English respectively.

We have also tried to indicate probable sources of interference and to give the instruction necessary to construct the grammar of transfer.

Note: Our analysis of the chronological systems includes the perfect tenses. This is because we share the view expressed by Bull, among others, that there is a close connection between the notions of order (i.e., tense) and aspect. Thus an event which is simultaneous with the act of speaking is said to be imperfect. An event which is anterior to the act of speaking is perfected. In other words, in terms of a single axis of orientation, anterior, past, perfected may all describe the same order relationship to the axis. Thus at least at PP the difference between aspect and order is a difference in the conceptualization of the same basic fact<sup>21</sup>.

This analysis is by no means exhaustive. In particular we did not study the relations between conjunctions and tenses (use of the tenses in the if-clause, the when-clause, etc.). We hope, however, that the proposed framework can be used for further specialized study.

### 3.1. The 'present' and the Present Tense

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21. Bull, W.F., op.cit. p.26.

Romanian and English

TS1r<sub>1</sub>

T-Disc  
T-Forep  
T-Fred (M)

1. Mă joc cu pinion I'm playing with the cat
2. Faci zgomot. (AF) You're making noise
3. Ionușcu s-a scutit de linșerie Ionușcu shoots and scores.
4. Zăpezii au frânt vântul Trees have green leaves.

TS1r<sub>2</sub>

T-Disc  
T-Forep  
T-Fred

5. Ion pleacă mâine John leaves/is leaving tonight
6. Fiee căsuțică dar mă întorc săptămâna viitoare (N) I'm going tonight but I return next week.
7. Bine, atunci revin mai târziu. (AF) O.K. I'll call back later.  
= I call back later.  
= I'm calling back later
8. —Am nevoie de hirtie. 'I need some paper.'  
—Găsești pe birou (N) 'You'll find it on the desk.'
9. — Bei ceva ? 'Will you have a drink?'  
'= Do you have/are you having a drink?'
- Se plimbă? 'Shall we go for a walk?'

Romanian

TS1r<sub>1</sub>

T-Disc  
T-Forep<sup>M</sup>  
T-Fred

10. Cu toate că este cel sfârșitul se apropie să se termine (N) Although he knew that his end was approaching, he did not cease to work
11. Am sunat că se află în oraș și am sursă că-l văd (N) I heard he was in the town and I went to see him.

TS1r<sub>2</sub>

T-Disc  
T-Forep  
T-Fred

12. Speram că te anunțai Mihai. I hoped that Mihai would announce you
13. O întrebă unde pleacă luni. He asked her where she was going on Monday.

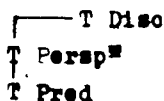
English

I heard he was in the town and I went to see him.

I hoped that Mihai would announce you

He asked her where she was going on Monday.

TStr<sub>3</sub>



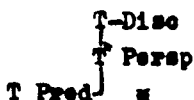
14. Călătorul străin,  
 flămînd cum era,  
 nemaiasteptînd multă  
 poftire se aşază  
 jos lingă oei doi. (N)

The foreign traveller,  
 hungry as he was,  
 without waiting for  
 further invitation  
 seats himself beside

Romanian

English

TStr<sub>4</sub>



Locuiesc aici I have been  
 de doi ani living here  
 for two years.

31.2 Comparison of English and Romanian with respect to the use of the Present Tense/present.

3.1.21 In both languages the Present may be used to express actions taking place at the moment of speech or reported at the moment of speech (TStr 1, ex. 1-3). In both languages the present is used to express general truths (ex.4) due to the fact that in both languages the present perspective can be extended indefinitely (unrestrictive or extended present).

Adverbial specification is optional.

Pres 1 [+ TStr [T Pred (≡) ov T Persp] [T Persp ov T-Disc]]

3.122 The English Present as well as the Romanian 'present' can be used with a future meaning TStr 2, ex. 5-9 .

Pres 2 [+ TStr [T Pred af T Persp] [T Persp ov T-Disc]]

Usage, however, differs significantly in the two languages. In

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English only a limited group of non-stative verbs occur with this value. This group includes verbs expressing movement (go, go, leave, return etc.), verbs expressing planned activity (begin, end, start, meet etc.). Adverbials indicating futurity (tomorrow, next week etc.) seem to be obligatory in English. In Romanian, the 'present' is very frequently used with a future meaning. Whenever certainty about the future occurrence is implied, and the actual situation excludes TStr 1, the 'present' may be understood as referring to the future, sometimes even without adverbial specification, if the verb is [- durative] (see ex.8).

The 'present' frequently occurs in so-called modal questions<sup>22</sup>, i.e., questions asking about what the subject is to do in the (near) future. The English equivalents of such questions generally contain future (or conditional) forms where the auxiliaries have obvious modal meaning (ex.8-9).

Romanian learners are in danger of uttering the starred sentences 5-9, due to overgeneralisation.

3.1-23 TStr 3 defines the historical present for both languages.

The present is used as an equivalent of the Past Tense in narrative discourse. T Presp must be contextually specified as past (see ex. 14) at least once in a narrative passage. From the stylistic point of view, this tense adds vividness to the narrative. While still used in colloquial Romanian, the historical present is bookish in English, hence it receives the specification [-coll].

22. The term 'modal question' is used by Klun Arne, (see Verbe et adverbe, Almqvist and Wiksell, Upsala, 1961) "On se couche un peu? Il est évident que le présent est ici fortement modal. Il s'agit d'une question modale, d'une question que je (on, nous) pose à autrui (ou par fois à soi-même pour savoir ce qu'on doit faire ou fera plus tard", p.165-166.

Pres 3  $R \left[ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{coll} \\ \text{F}[-\text{coll}] \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \text{Transp} \left[ +\text{Tstr concern T Persp} \right] \langle \text{TA} \left[ \text{bef T-Disc} \right] \rangle \rightarrow \right.$   
 $\left. \rightarrow \left[ \text{Tstr} \right] \text{T Pred ov T Persp} \right] \left[ \text{T Persp bef T Disc} \right]$

3.1.24 TStr 4 is a transposed value of the Romanian 'present'. The transposition concerns T Pred which must be specified by an adverbial indicating a period of time beginning before the present but continuing into the present (open period) ex. de un an, de cind eram copil etc. (for a year, since I was a child etc.). As will be seen not every kind of Predication can be used in this structure.

Pres 4  $R. \left[ \text{Transp} \left[ +\text{Tstr.} \right] \text{concern T Pred} \right] \langle \text{TA} \left[ \left[ \text{bef T Disc.} \right] \right. \right.$   
 $\left. \left. \left[ \text{ov T Disc} \right] \right] \rangle \rightarrow \left[ +\text{Tstr} \left[ \text{T Pred} \right] \text{ bef T Persp} \right] \left[ \text{T Persp ov T Disc} \right]$

On the basis of this rule, Romanian learners of English might utter sentences of the type (a), (unacceptable with the meaning of TStr 4).

(a) I live/am living here for two weeks

The transfer grammar of Romanian and English must block this transposition rule and replace it with an instruction for the use of the English Present Perfect, which has the required temporal configuration.

3.1.25 TStr 5 and TStr 6 characterize only the Romanian 'present'. They are transposed forms of TStr 1 and TStr 2 respectively. In both cases the transposed configurations differ from the basic ones in that the relation  $\left[ \text{T Persp ov T Disc} \right]$  is replaced by  $\left[ \text{T Persp} \right] \text{ bef T Disc}$ . The relation  $\left[ \text{T Persp ov T Disc} \right]$  characterizes all the non-transposed values of the 'present'. This new relation  $\left[ \text{T Persp} \right] \text{ bef T Disc}$  is contextually marked by a TA, where TA is in most cases the temporal specification of a main

clause where the given 'present' is embedded. (T Persp is simultaneous with TA, the overall meaning of the Romanian present being simultaneity with an orientation axis).

Pres 5 R [Transp [+ TStr.] concern T Persp] < Ta [bef T Disc] > →  
[+ TStr [T Pred ov T Persp<sup>m</sup>] [T Persp<sup>m</sup> bef T Disc]] ex.12-14

Pres 6 R [Transp [+ TStr.] concern T Persp] < TA bef T Disc > →  
[+ TStr [T Pred af T Persp<sup>m</sup>] [T Persp<sup>m</sup> bef T Disc]]

Mention must be made of the fact that these transposed definitions of the present (as well as their English counterparts) order the action only with respect to T Persp, not in relation to T Disc. Thus an act which takes place after a past T Persp can be situated either before or after T Disc. This is shown by the fact that a sentence like (a) below can be followed by both (b) and (c).

- (a) Spunea că vine ...
- (b) ... așa că îl aștept.
- (c) ... dar n-a venit

In English these transposition rules are blocked. The following type of sentences likely to be uttered by Romanians on the basis these rules are not acceptable in English, (at least in certain styles).

- \* He told me you're there      Mi-a spus că ești acolo
- \* He told me it is 5 o'clock  
so I left      Mi-a spus că e cincîi, așa  
că am plecat
- \* I thought we are not  
allowed to smoke.      Am crezut că nu avem voie  
să fumăm
- \* Peter had said he leaves  
yesterday.      Pentru spusese că pleacă  
ieri

The transfer grammar of Romanian and English specifies that these transposition rules are blocked and replaces them by rules specify-

ing the use of the proper English form. In this case they are Past Tense (see ex 10-11) and Future in the Past or Past Continuous with a future-in-the-past-meaning (ex 12)

4. The Romanian Past Tenses

This area, which contains the 'perfect compus', 'imperfect' and 'perfect simplu' is the most interesting one for contrastive purposes. It is more and more difficult to find one to one equivalences. On the one hand, Romanian is richer than English and offers three tense forms where English has only two forms (R: perfect compus/imperfect/perfect simplu versus E: Past Tense and Past Tense Continuous), on the other hand, one Romanian tense corresponds to two English forms (R: perfect compus versus E: Present Perfect and Past Tense). We will try to follow the same arrangement as before, indicating the points of correspondence.

R: Perfect compus and E: Present Perfect

Romanian and English

Romanian

TS<sub>1</sub>

TS<sub>2</sub>

T-Disc  
T Perap  
T Pred-(m)

T Disc  
T Perap  
T Pred

1. S-a tăiat la  
deget

He's cut his  
finger

5. N-a fost în  
stare să-mi  
spună unde l-a  
1-a văzut (N)

He was unable  
to tell me where  
he had seen him

2. Nu l-am vă-  
zut de un  
car de ani

I haven't seen  
him for ages.

6. Am auzit că a  
sosit în oraș  
și am mers  
să-l văd (N)

I heard that he  
had arrived in  
the town and I  
went to see him

4. Tocmai a  
sosit

He's just ar-  
rived



Perfect, compus,  
Perfect simplu,  
Imperfect

Past Tense, Past  
Tense Continuous

TStr<sub>3</sub> | T Disc  
| T Persp  
| T Pred (N)

7. Niștea

It was snowing

8. A venit ieri

He came yesterday

9. Duminica, venea  
intotdeauna pe  
la noi

On Sundays, he  
always called on  
us.

10. Găsiră un pui  
micuț de șarpe,  
il luară, il  
aduseră acasă  
și il culcară  
între dinșii  
(P. Ispirescu; N)

They found a wee  
baby snake, took it,  
brought it home, and  
put it to bed between  
them.

11. Acum era în vremea  
foamei și el a  
muncit o săptămî-  
nă pe un câș de  
grâu. Apoi s-a  
dus la rîșniță  
cu ele (M. Măines-  
cu; N)

Now it was in time  
of famine and he  
worked for a week  
on a sheaf of  
grain. Then he went  
with it to the hand  
mill.

Imperfect

Past Tense  
Continuous

Imperfect

TStr<sub>4</sub>

TStr<sub>5</sub>

| T Disc  
| T Persp  
| T Pred (N)

| T Disc  
| T Persp  
| T Pred N

12. Spunea că tre-  
nul pleca pes-  
te 5 minute

He said that the  
train was leaving  
in 5 minutes.

14. Locuia ac- He had been  
lo de trei living there  
ani for three years

13. În dimineața  
următoare, bă-  
tea la ușa  
mea

The next morning  
she was tapping  
on my door

15. O iubea de He had been in  
ani de zi- love with her  
le. for years.

Mai mult ca perfect

Past Perfect

TStr<sub>6</sub>

T Disc

T Persp

T Pred

16. Se făcuse ziua când  
am ajuns în sat (N)

Daylight had dawned  
when we arrived in  
the village.

17. Numele acesta îi  
aducea aminte de  
toate cele ce se  
petrecuseră.

This name reminded  
him of all that  
had happened.

4.1. Perfect compus, Present Perfect and Past Tense. The ambiguity of the Romanian 'perfect compus'. The chronological ambiguity of the Romanian 'perfect compus' was already apparent in Bull's chart (Fig.2) where this tense form occupied two distinct positions. A comparison with English makes this ambiguity even more obvious. This Romanian tense collapses the major uses of two English tenses which belong to different subsystems: the English Present Perfect which belongs to the subsystem of the present and the English Past Tense belonging to the past subsystem. (see TStr 1 and 3).

Diachronically speaking, in early Romanian this tense was, like the English Present Perfect, an aspectual form indicating the result of an activity expressed by a transitive verb.

(1) Am scrisoarea scrisă — (2) Am scris scrisoarea.

I have the letter written → I have written the letter.

Form (2) was then generalised for both transitive and intransitive verbs, the result being what is generally called the resultative value of the 'perfect compus' i.e., event happening at a (non-specified) time in the past having results in the present.

Am văruit peretele → Peretele e văruit  
A sosit. → Î aici

The position of the 'perfect compus' in Fig.2 offers a clue to the understanding of its further evolution. Romanian interpreted the aspectual value of anteriority of the 'perfect compus' as an order formula. An action perfected at the present axis of reference is a past action. Conversely, any tense oriented to the retrospective axis is normally anterior to the present. Through its position in the system (PP - V) in Fig.2, the perfect compus had a latent potential value (RPoV) in fig.2. The evolution of this tense is thus from an aspectual form indicating anteriority to an order form indicating past time. This development manifests itself in the capacity of the 'perfect compus' to co-occur with all the adverbs indicating definite past time (that is defining the retrospective axis).

A venit ieri.                      He came yesterday.  
A plecat luna trecută.        He left last Monday.

From the point of view of its temporal structure, the 'perfect compus' becomes a chronological synonym of the 'imperfect' and the 'perfect simplu', as well as of the English Past Tense (see TStr 3).

4.2. Perfectul compus, imperfectul, perfectul simplu. The backbone of the Romanian past tense system is the 'imperfect', a tense which is the perfect counterpart of the present tense often described as 'present transposed in the past'. Besides the three tenses mentioned in the subtitle the past subsystem has one more tense form, the 'mai mult ca perfect', which occupies a distinct position in Bull's chart. The opposition between these three tenses

('perfect compus', 'imperfect', 'perfect simplu') which have the same temporal structure (TStr. 3) is aspectual<sup>23</sup>. Generally speaking the 'imperfect' shows an imperfective, durative action while either of the two 'perfect' tenses denotes a perfected action. However, the imperfect contracts different oppositions with each of the other two tenses: the opposition 'imperfect/perfect compus' (or 'mai mult ca perfect') is made in terms of the feature [+ anteriority]. Compare

Am răspuns deja la scrisoarea ieri după amiază

(I already answered the letter yesterday afternoon - the letter was written).

Ieri după amiază răspundeam deja la scrisoarea

(Yesterday afternoon I was already answering the letter - i.e.,

I was in the process of writing it)

The 'imperfect' thus denotes an action which being still in process when it is reported, has duration. Contrasted with the [+ durative] 'imperfect' the meaning of the 'perfect simplu' has specialised in showing [- durative] actions which are again viewed as perfected.

The 'perfect simplu' does not express anteriority; hence, it does not co-occur with the adverb deja<sup>25</sup> (already). It explains the ingressive or egressive aspects of processes taking place in

23. See Iorgu Iordan, Limba Română Contemporană, București 1956, p.423.

24. Iorgu Iordan, op.cit., p.424. Cronologic vorbind, imperfectul arată o acțiune concomitentă cu a perfectului oăoi ambele acțiuni se petrec în aceeași vreme. Urmează oă deosebirea dintre ele se reduce la aspect; acțiunea imperfectului este ne-terminată, aceea a perfectului este terminată".

25. deja is a marker of anteriority, of perfectivity. See Traugott, Elizabeth Gloss and John Waterhouse, Already and Yet: a Suppletive Set of Aspectual Markers? in Journal of Linguistics No.5, Vol.2 p.287-304, 1970.

the past. Being non-durative, it does not normally occur with adverbials which indicate duration of the activity up to or even after the moment of reference like de 3 săptămîni (for three weeks). As both 'perfects' function in opposition with the imperfect the opposition between them is almost inexistent<sup>26</sup>. There are very few contexts where they are not interchangeable. Thus both can function as narrative tenses. A story can be told in the 'perfect simplu' scrie pg 23 or in the 'perfect compus' scria pg 23. However, they can be contrasted precisely in contexts which presuppose [+ anteriority] or [+ duration].

Aa scris deja scrisoarea.

Scrisa deja scrisoarea.

Scrisa scrisoarea.

A lăcut aici de trei săptămîni.

Lăcut aici de trei săptămîni

In standard Romanian the difference between these two tenses is largely stylistical. Through its capacity to refer to the present, the 'perfect compus' is felt to be a livelier form, which brings the action closer to the present. That is why this tense is extensively used in dialogues where the 'perfect simplu' is excluded. While the 'perfect compus' expresses association with the present, the 'perfect simplu' expresses disassociation from the present.

26. Commenting on the difference between the 'perfect simplu' and the 'perfect compus'. Iorgu Iordan (op. cit. p. 623) says: "Perfectul simplu arată o acțiune trecută care a durat (teoretic) o singură clipă, așadar perfectivă, fără precizarea momentului săvîrșirii considerat din punct de vedere al prezentului, pe cînd perfectul compus raportează acțiunea la momentul vorbirii, înfățișînd-o ca terminată în momentul cînd are loc relatarea faptului. Forma de prezent a auxiliarului face ca acțiunea exprimată să fie arătată din punct de vedere al prezentului... Perfectul compus apropie acțiunea de momentul vorbirii. De aceea, în operele literare, autorul folosește perfectul compus pentru faptele relatate de el însuși și perfectul compus în dialogul eroilor".

Hence it is used as an objective past, as a mainly narrative tense form. A stylistical opposition is thus constituted in Romanian between an objective past, the past of the author, of the omniscient, impersonal writer and a subjective past, the past of the character. This opposition, fully made use of by Romanian writers, provides for greater variety of expression, as in the following passage :

Cînd sosi Alexandru Vodă, sfînta slujbă începuse și boierii erau toți adunați. Apropiindu-se de Alexandru Vodă, boierii se închinară pînă în pămînt...

When Prince Alexander arrived, the sacred Liturgy had begun, and the boyars were all assembled. Drawing near to Prince Alexander, they bowed down to the ground...

Bine ați venit, boieri, sîc această silîndu-se a simbi...

"Welcome, boyars," he said, forcing himself to smile.

Să fii Măria ta sănătoș, răspunseră boierii...

"Good health to your Highness," replied the boyars.

Am auzit, urmă Alexandru, de bîntuirile țării și am venit s-o mîntuim, știm că țara mă aștepta cu bucurie.

"I have heard", continued Alexander, "of the misfortunes of the country and I came to save it; I know that the country awaits me with joy".

(C. Negrussi, Alexandru Lăpușeanu. N)

4.3. Present Perfect and Past Tense. We have seen that English has different tense forms for TStr 1 and TStr 3, a fact which causes serious difficulties to the Romanian learner. The chronological equivalence of (PP - V) and (RPoV) in fig. 2 (both show an action taking place before the present) was differently exploited by the English system, which contrary to Romanian, creates two very specialised tense forms. In distinguishing these two tenses the following elements become important for the Romanian learner:

TStr 1 (the present perfect) specifies the relation [ T Persp ov T Disc ]. The perspective is present. Hence adverbials which co-occur with this tense include the present moment (or come very close to it).

Ex: today, this week, lately, recently, just, already, yet, for the last few weeks, for two weeks now, since Monday. Mention must be made of the fact that many of them can be used equally well with the past. T Persp is a psychological interval and the speaker can look at an accomplished action as being past or as being still relevant at the present moment.

Hence Palmer's comment that the two forms are often interchangeable. "These two forms do not indicate chronological difference :

I've seen John this morning.

I've mended it three times today.

He's written the letter.

In all three cases, the activity took place in the past. The same actions could have been reported by past tense forms:

I saw John this morning.

I mended it three times today

He wrote the letter

What this proves is that the periods of time indicated by the present perfect and the past overlap, and that an action performed in the past may be included in either of them<sup>27</sup>.

An explanation in terms of current relevance and periods that include the present is not entirely adequate for distinguishing between TStr 1 and TStr 3 in English. The Romanian learner might ask why it is not correct to say "They've come last Monday, meaning that they came on Monday and are still here. A more adequate explanation for the difference between Present Perfect and Past Tense could be made in terms of indefinite time versus defi-

27. Palmer, F.R., A Linguistic Study of the English Verb, London, Longmans.

nite time. The Present Perfect reports action which took place at an indefinite moment in the past and is now looked upon from the point of view of the present. The definition of the Past Tense (TStr 3) stipulates that the perspective of the speaker is past.

T Persp bef T Disc . The Past axis of orientation is always implied and in most cases explicitly expressed by means of some definite time adverbial. Phrases with ago (two weeks ago , etc.), last (last Monday), question with when, all of which indicate definite past time, are among the most frequent means of creating this past perspective. The Past Tense is so much dependent on definite past time adverbials that Allen asserts that the Past Tense is "an anaphoric marker of a definite time adverbial"<sup>28</sup>.

Did you go downtown yesterday? anticipates the identifying past time expression yesterday.

Along the same lines he notices that an action reported by a Past Tense i.e., referring to a definite past, presupposes an action in the Present Perfect, i.e., referring to an indefinite past. This reminds us of the presuppositions holding between definite and the indefinite articles<sup>29</sup>.

I saw her yesterday → I've seen her.

I saw the boy → There is a boy

Using this very refined network of anaphoric function, English can express subtle meanings, not accessible to Romanian at this level of expression.

Compare:

(a) I've been to Carnegie Hall only once.

Did you hear the New York Philharmonic (on that occasion)

27. Allen, R.L., op.cit. p.155

28. Allen, R.L., op.cit. p.155-158



b) I've been to Carnegie Hall only once.

Have you heard the New York Philharmonic (that is not on that occasion)

4.4. So far we have discussed TStr 1 and TStr 3. Their definitions are given below.

R: Perfect compus E: Present Perfect

Def. 1 [+Tstr [T Pred (w) bef T Persp] [T Persp ov T Disco] [T Pred bef T Disco]] .

R: Perfect compus/perfect simplu/imperfect E: Past Tense, Past Tense Continuous

Def. 2 [+Tstr [T Pred ov T Persp] [T Persp bef T Disco] [T Pred bef T Disco]] .

4.5. The Romanian learner will tend to overgeneralize either TStr 1 or TStr 3. TStr 1 is more likely to be generalized if we take into account the morphological similarity of the 'perfect compus' and the Present Perfect (have/ a avea + past participle). On the other hand, it is also possible that the student will generalize the first structure he becomes familiar with in the learning process.

If structure 1 is generalized errors of the following type will occur :

"He has seen your brother an hour ago.      Ti-a văzut fratele acum o oră

"Yesterday I have bought a new pair of shoes.      Ieri mi-am cumpărat pantofi noi

The Present Perfect is used instead of the Past Tense.

If TStr 3 is overgeneralized, the Past Tense will be used instead of the Present Perfect, on the model of the corresponding Romanian sentences:

"Oh, you had an accident! (I can see the bruises)      Ai avut un accident!

"You played with fire, I can smell it (instead of You've playing with fire).      Te-ai jucat cu focul. Miroase.

"I was reading since three o'clock  
and I still am. (instead of I have  
been reading ...)

Am citit de la ora trei si  
mai citesc inca.

The transfer grammar must provide rules for splitting up the domain of the 'perfect compus' into TStr 1 and TStr 3.

TStr 1 of the Romanian 'perfect compus' may be transferred into the English Present Perfect. The following rule must be added: Transfer the TStr of the 'perfect compus' to the English Present Perfect only if reference to a definite past time is not expressed or implied in the context. Transfer TStr of the 'perfect compus' on to the English Past Tense whenever reference to a definite past time is expressed. The first part of the rule takes into account the fact in the majority of cases an English Present Perfect is translated by a Romanian 'perfect compus'. The second part of the rule shows the importance of temporal adverbials in learning the correct use of the Present Perfect and Past Tense.

4.5. Further disambiguation of TStr 3 regarding the use of the 'imperfect' and 'perfect simplu' and Past Tense and Past Tense Continuous will be possible when aspectual differences are taken into consideration.

4.6. TStr 2 of the Romanian 'perfect compus' is the outcome of a transposition rule. It differs from TStr 1 of the 'perfect compus' in that the relation [T Persp ov T Disc] is replaced by [T Persp<sup>N</sup> bef T Disc] .

The shift of perspective is again specified by an adverbial TA.

The 'perfect compus' becomes a chronological synonym of the Past Perfect (ex: 5 -6 pg. 22).

Def. 3 R: 'perfect compus' [Transp [+TStr,] concern T Persp<sup>x</sup>]  
 <TA [bef T Disc] - [+TStr [T Pred bef T Persp<sup>x</sup>]  
 [T Persp<sup>x</sup> bef T Disc]] .

This transposition rule which does not function in English is a potential source of errors of the type :

"He told me he has already had breakfast.	imi spunea că a luat deja micul dejun.
--	---

The transfer grammar must block this rule and give the instruction for the corresponding use of the Past Perfect, which has the right TStr.

4.7. Configuration TStr 4 is common to the Imperfect and Past Tense Continuous (as well as to other tense forms like Future in the Past, was to + inf. urma să...). What these forms express in both languages is posteriority in relation with a past axis. Both the Past Continuous and the 'imperfect' are very often used - in independent sentences (see ex: 13 pg.2 with adverbs of posteriority of the types, in clipa următoare, un an mai târziu, the next week, a few hours later, (see ex.13).

The adverbial will be understood as referring to T Pred. T Persp is still past. Compare:

Spunea mine (mine defines a present perspective in this sentence)

Mi-a spus că învăța mine (mine shows posteriority with respect to the past perspective  
mi-a spus)

Imperfect and Past Tense Continuous Def.2 [Transp [+TStr concern T Pred]

<TA [at T Persp] -> [+TStr [T Pred<sup>x</sup> af T Persp] [T Persp bef T Disc]]

4.8. TStr 5 is a transposed value of the Romanian 'imperfect'. The transposition concerns T Pred which must be specified by an adverbial indicating a period of time beginning before the past axis but still not over at that past axis (i.e., an open period of time).

ex: de patru ani, de cind m-am insurat etc.

Imperfect Def 3 [Transp [+TStr] concern T Pred<sup>n</sup>] < TA [[Bef T Disco] [ov T Disco]] → [+TStr [T Pred bef T Pers] [T Persp bef T Disco]]

On the basis of this rule, Romanian learners of English might utter sentences of the type (a) unacceptable with the meaning of TStr 4.

(a) I was living there for locuiam acolo de doi ani  
TWO YEARS.

The transfer grammar of Romanian and English must block this transposition rule and replace it with an instruction for the use of the English Past Perfect, which has the required temporal configuration.

4.9. TStr 6 characterizes the Romanian 'mai mult ca perfect' and the English Past Perfect. Both tenses show actions completed before a past T Persp: [T Pred bef T Persp]. The two tenses are perfect equivalents.

R: mai mult ca perfect E: Past Perfect Def [+TStr T Pred bef T Persp] [T Persp bef T Disco]].

### 5. The Future Tenses

#### 5.1. The Romanian 'Viitor' and its English equivalents

The position of the future tenses in Bull's chart (fig.2) is ambiguous. A first interpretation is (PP+V), i.e., T Persp. is still

present and the future tense shows posteriority with aspect to the present; alternatively the future can be defined as (APoV), i.e., T Persp is future and the event is included in this future T Persp. In both cases the pragmatic value of the future is the same - in both cases this tense specifies that the predication takes place after T Disc. At first glance, such a differentiation (see TStr 1 and TStr 2 below) might appear unnecessary. It seems, however that at least for some speakers and in some contexts the two temporal structures are distinct.

Romanian and English

Vitter

Future

Romanian

English

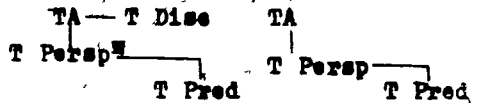
Vitter

Future in the Past

TSTR<sub>1</sub>



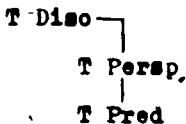
TSTR<sub>3</sub>



1. Acum, e să plec      Now, I'll go
2. Am să-mi cumpăr      I'm going to buy  
o casă nouă      a new house
3. Sper că intr-o zi  
te vei căsători

6. Am sperat că      I hoped one  
intr-o zi te      day you would  
vei căsători      get married

Tstr<sub>2</sub>



4. Spectacolul va      The performance will  
începe la ora 5      start at 5 o'clock
5. Voi reveni săptămîna viitoare      I'll be back next week.

Allen, for instance interprets the difference between TStr 1 and TStr 2 as a difference between 'unidentified time in the future' or simply 'time later than now' and 'identified time in the future'. He gives the following examples:

I will think about it.

I will see you tomorrow night.

"The difference between these two sentences seems to be primarily the difference between reference to a non-identified time in the future and reference to an identified time in the future. The use of a verb cluster of the form will/ shall + verb to refer to an identified time in the future as opposed to its use to refer to a non-identified time in the future is signaled not by a change in the form of the verb, but by the presence of a future time expression (either in the same sentence, or in a preceding sentence) as opposed to the absence of any such time expression"<sup>31</sup>.

Other examples which seem to imply a future perspective are the following:

- (a) Tomorrow at five o'clock I will be watching T.V.
- (b) Next year in June, I'll be travelling back home.
- (c) Mina la 5. voi sorie deja sorisoarea.
- (d) "Voi sorie deja sorisoarea.
- (e) Voi sorie sorisoarea.

In examples (a) - (c), it is obvious that the speaker contemplates the going-on activity from a future perspective. That adverb deja (already) in (c) shows anteriority in relation to the future perspective mina la ora 5 (at five tomorrow). Hence the oddity of (d) where the future axis is not expressed while (e) is a good sentence obviously interpretable as TStr 1. However, there are

<sup>31</sup>. Allen, R.L., op.cit., p.157

many examples in which a distinction between TStr 1 and TStr 2 is hard to make; the interpretation of a given sentence will often be subjective, depending on the individual speaker.

On the other hand, we have already mentioned the modal value of the future. Pure futurity is only one of the meanings of shall and will in English. (For a discussion of the modal shall and will see Palmer pg. 108-116). Forms which are usually termed 'equivalents of the future' also have modal meaning, showing intention, obligation, etc.

I'm going to do it tomorrow.

I am to do it tomorrow.

Romanian future markers seem to be more grammaticalized, and perhaps we could speak of 'pure' futurity in Romanian. However, least in the case of English, we could take into account the modal value of the future tenses in terms of an optional feature [+ modality included] in their definition.

Viitor and the Future Tense

Def 1 [± modality] [+TStr T Pred af T Persp] [T Persp ov T Disc]

Def 2 [± modality] [+TStr [T Pred ov T Persp] [T Persp af T Disc]]

5.2. Configuration 3 is characteristic of the Romanian 'viitor' only. This is a transposed future obtained by means of a transposition rule we are already familiar with. The tense is shifted from the present time sphere to the past time sphere. This shift is contextually indicated by a temporal specifier  $T_A$  which is almost always the orientation axis of the sentence in which the clause containing the shifted future is embedded. Like the English Future in the Past, the shifted 'viitor' shows futurity only with respect to this contextually defined axis  $T_A$ . A transposed future

may or may not show an action taking place after T Disc<sup>32</sup>. That is why sentence (a) can be followed by both (b) and (c).

- (a) Mi-a spus că va sosi la trei.
- (b) ..., dar e patru și el n-a venit.
- (c) ..., deci am să-l aștept.

Def 3 R. Viitor [Transp[+Str cnoenrn T Persp] < TA [bef. T Disc] > + [ +Str [ T Pred af T Persp ] [ T Persp bef T Disc ] ].

Again, the Romanian learner is likely to produce sentences such as:

"He told me he will come at five, but he Mi-a spus că va veni la 5 dar n-a venit. didn't.

The transfer Romanian English grammar must block this transposition rule. The transposed future must be replaced by an English Future in the Past. Notice that the two structures are perfectly similar. English uses different forms to show orientation to the present and past axis respectively; but unless a past T Persp is

32. That this is true has been emphasized by Bull, *op.cit.*, p.24, "The hypothetical system just described is a construct based on relativity which means that the interrelationship of the 4 axes of orientation cannot be conceptualized in terms of the axiom that all events are serial and sequent. It is true that RP, which is recalled is always anterior to PP, while AP which is anticipated always posterior to PP, and therefore to RP. RAP cannot be explained in terms of a direct relationship to PP; RAP may be anterior to PP, actually identical with PP, or posterior to PP".

The same remark is made by Al. Philipide in Gramatica limbii române, p.106, "Această valoare a timpurilor indicativului nu este însă constantă, astfel ca de pildă în orice timp ne-am raporta cu mintea, prezentul să fie întotdeauna prezentul actual, viitorul să reprezinte numai viitorul față de prezentul actual, ci sfera timpului se schimbă după vorbitor. Astfel dacă vorbitorul a vorbit în trecut, atunci prezentul reprezintă prezentul față cu momentul acelu trecut al vorbitorului, viitorul reprezintă viitorul față cu momentul acela trecut, etc. Cu-nici un preț însă nu poate primi un timp al indicativului sfera sa de la un alt verb decât de la acela care anunță o vorbire indirectă".

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defined clusters with should and would mark the conditional mood.

Compare:

- (a) A pickpocket made his inconspicuous way into the square, automatically identifying the plainclothesman coming down the steps. It would soon be necessary to make more elaborate arrangements to avoid increased vigilance of the police.
- (b) It would be necessary to make more elaborate arrangements to avoid increased vigilance of the police.
- (a) He said he would come tomorrow if he had time.
- (b) He would come tomorrow if he had time.

5.3. Viitorul anterior, the Future Perfect and the Future Perfect in the Past.

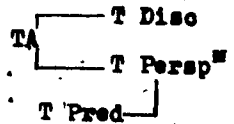
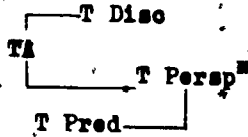
Viitor anterior and Future Perfect

Viitor anterior

Future Perfect in the Past

TStr 1

TStr 2



Tu vei fi ajuns cind tu vei  
perni (N) I shall have arrived when you leave

Mi-a spus ca va fi ajuns acolo cind tu vei porni. He told me he would have arrived there when you left

In iunie viitor. By next June, he  
va fi locuit aici will have been  
de doi ani. living here for  
(AP) two years.

These tenses express an action which is accomplished before a future perspective. ([T Pred bef T Persp]). T Persp is specified as posterior to the T Disc or to a past axis of orientation (TA) obligatorily specified in the context).

Comparison of Romanian and English regarding the use of these tenses:

In both languages these tenses are infrequently used. TStr 1 is common to both languages. TStr 2 is a transposed Romanian 'viitor' anterior which substitutes for the English Future Perfect in the Past. What we said about the 'viitor' and the Future in the Past applies to the viitor anterior and Future Perfect in the Past (see 5.2).

viitor anterior                      Future Perfect

Def 1 [+ TStr [ T Pred bef T Persp ] [ T Persp af T Disco ]]

viitor anterior

Def 2 [ Transp [ TStr concern T Persp ] < TA [ bef T Disco ] > -  
[ +TStr [ T Pred bef a T Persp ] [ T Persp af TA ] [ TA bef T Disco ]]

6. New Tendencies in the use of the sequence of tenses in English

The present remarks are restricted to the use of the indicative tenses in the direct object clause. Furthermore, we are interested in cases when the tense of the main clause is past, not present.

When the tense in the main clause is a present tense (T Persp ev T Disco), the tense of the subordinate clause is deictically used in the sense that a direct relation can be established between the time of the predication (T Pred) and the moment of utterance (T Disco).

When the tense in the main clause is past, the time of the event is established by reference to the processes expressed in the next higher clause. T Pred is no longer in direct relation with T Disco, the tense is no longer deictically used.

6.1 The preceding analysis has proved that, owing to various semantic processes, more than one tense is able to express the same temporal relation. When the tense of the main clause is past, the



following picture is obtained regarding the tense forms used in the direct object clause.

6.1.2. The action of the subordinate clause is simultaneous with the one in the main clause:

[ + T Str [ T Pred ov T Persp<sup>n</sup> ] [ T Persp bef T Disc ] ]

Romanian - 'imperfect'

English - Past Tense

transposed 'present'

Spunea { oă nu se simțea bine  
oă nu se simte bine.

He said he was unwell

6.1.3. The action of the subordinate clause is posterior to the action of the main clause.

[ + T Str [ T Pred af T Persp<sup>n</sup> ] [ T Persp<sup>n</sup> bef T Disc ] ]

Romanian transposed 'viitor'

English Future in the Past.

transposed 'imperfect'

transposed Past Con-

transposed 'present'

tinuous

O întreabă { oind va pleca la mare  
oind pleca la mare  
oind pleacă la mare

He asked her | when she would  
go the seaside.

| when she was going  
to the seaside.

6.1.4. The action in the subordinate clause is anterior to the one in the main clause

[ + T Str [ T Pred bef T Persp ] [ T Persp bef T Disc ] ]

Romanian 'mai mult oa perfect'

English

Past Perfect

transposed 'perfect

compus'

Spunea { oă îl văzuse la petrecere  
oă l-a văzut la petrecere

She said she had seen him at  
the party.

Once more it is seen that English uniformly uses formal markers to express orientation of the subordinate tense to the tense of the main clause.

6.2. In a recent paper<sup>33</sup> investigating present tendencies in the use of the sequence of tenses - based on the analysis of 19 contemporary English and American plays, Edith Iaroviçi quotes a considerable number of examples where the sequence of tenses is 'broken'. Here are a few examples quoted in the above mentioned paper:

I told you I don't fancy it.      The Past Tense is replaced by the Present Tense.  
I said I don't know.

You asked me what brings me here.

You told me he won't look at them until fall.      The Future in the Past is replaced by the Future.

To his last day in court, Steve never gave up the idea that Dad made him do it.      The Past Perfect is replaced by the Past Tense.

The author of the paper concludes that: "All these must be due to the following causes: the speaker's tendency to establish an even closer connection between their thoughts and the way of expressing them, between logic and grammar; the frequent interference between direct and indirect speech; the obsolete character of a number of grammar rules"<sup>34</sup>.

6.3. Dealing with the same phenomenon - the breaking of the sequence of tenses - R. Huddleston<sup>35</sup> proposes a different interpretation.

33. See Edith Iaroviçi, Tendințe de dezvoltare în folosirea și corespondența timpurilor în limba engleză contemporană, in Analele Universității București, p.7-17.

34. Edith Iaroviçi, op.cit. p.17.

See Huddleston Rodney, Some Observations on Tense and Deixis in English in Language Vol.45, No.4, 1969, p.777-806

tation. According to him the breaking of the sequence of tenses is a process of reorientation - the speaker reorients the tense with respect to his own speech act (i.e. reestablishes a direct connection between T Pred and T Disc). He replaces tenses non-deictically used. One should emphasize the fact that according to Huddleston this reorientation process can take place only when there are no conflicts between the original speaker's tense and the tense of the reporter. A few examples will make this point clear:

- 6.3.1.      1. John intends to leave on 21 June.  
              2. Peter said John intended to leave on 21 June.  
              3. Peter said John intends to leave on 21 June.

Given 1) we may have 3) with deictic intends, provided 3) is uttered before 21 June; otherwise, the intention could no longer be present. "A deictic present can therefore only be used with a process which lasts long enough to be present both for the original speaker and for the reporter; hence, the unacceptability of

"He told me it's five o'clock, so I left"<sup>36</sup>

Note that the word for word equivalent of the English starred sentence is perfectly acceptable in Romanian: Mi-a spus că e cincisprezece ore.

6.3.2 Future in the Past can be reoriented only if it is still future in relation with the reporter's T Disc.

4. John will leave us soon.  
5. Peter said John would leave us soon.  
6. Peter said John will leave us soon.

Again sentence 6) is acceptable only if John has not left.

<sup>36</sup> Huddleston, op.cit., p. 204.

7. Peter said John would leave us and so he did.

8. \* Peter said John will leave us and so he did.

The word-for-word translation of 8 is a good Romanian sentence:  
Petru a spus că Ion ne va părăsi, și în adevăr ne-a părăsit.

6.3.4. Sentences with the Past Perfect can always be reoriented since what was Past for the original speaker will always be past for the reporter:

9. John died in 1913.

10. She said John had died in 1913.

11. She said John died in 1913.

6.4. These facts presented by Huddleston as well as other similar facts presented by Allen show that the rules of the sequence of tenses are not purely formal rules. Hence they cannot always be broken.

Once again we can emphasize the importance of the speech situation, of the speaker, in the choice and the semantic interpretation of tense forms. It is seen once more that tenses belong both to the code and to the message, that tense is a deictic category.

From the point of view of the contrastive analysis of English and Romanian at least formally, the new English structure comes closer to the Romanian structures. But as the new rules do not replace the old ones but supplement them, it is unclear to the present writer whether they make the English grammar easier or more difficult for the Romanian student.

#### 7. Concluding remarks on the chronological systems of Romanian and English.

7.1. In both languages, tense is an obligatory feature of the sentence, so that there is no sentence whose temporal specification is

7.2. Both languages use tense morphemes to express the order of events in relation to the speaker; tense is an important component of the deictic systems of English and Romanian.

7.3. Both languages are able to express almost the same temporal relations, but they differ as to how they express these relations.

7.4. Both systems can be profitably described as being formed of two subsystems - the subsystems of the present tense and the subsystem of the past tenses.

7.5. The English system is richer and more explicit. It is more explicit in as much as it systematically marks formally the belonging of a given tense to one of the subsystems. However, contextual help is sometimes necessary, e.g., in the case of the interpretation of would + inf and would have + past participle as either Future in the Past or Conditional; in the interpretation of the Past Tense Continuous form as either Past Tense Continuous or Future in the Past.

7.6. The Romanian system has fewer tenses which are therefore more ambiguous. The system is more flexible. Tenses have more than one temporal structure. The flexibility of the Romanian system is a necessary consequence of its having fewer forms. Contextual processes become more important in finding out which TStr a given form expresses.

The characteristic of the Romanian system is the existence of what we called transposition rules - semantic rules which allow for contextual processes of amalgamation of temporal verb morphemes with other temporal specifiers to be found in the context. The result of these rules is the creation of new temporal configurations which substitute for non-existing forms or double already existing temporal configurations.

7.7. The transposition processes which we described constitute a major source of the 'lack of formal correspondance' in the use of tenses in English and Romanian. They were mainly of two types:

7.7.1. The transpositions concerning the T Persp- All the Romanian tenses for which we had the relation [T Persp ov/af T Disc] can be shifted from the present sphere into the past sphere. Those rules account for the lack of correspondance of English and Romanian with respect to the 'sequence of tenses'. The situation is even more intricate if we take into account that besides shifted forms, non-shifted forms are also used in Romanian (where available).

ex. 5.1

He said he had already

Spunea că nu se sîntea bine.  
shifted 'present'

Spunea că nu se sîntea bine.  
non-shifted 'imperfect'

He said he had already  
had breakfast

Spunea că a luat sîcoul dejun  
shifted 'perfect compus'

Spunea că luase sîcoul dejun  
non-shifted 'mai mult ca perfect'

7.7.2. transposition concerning the T Pred - Two of them are of interest in as much as they explain the correspondance of

'present'	—	'Present Perfect'
'imperfect'	—	'Past Perfect'

under certain contextually defined conditions (see 3.1.24 and 4.8 above).

7.8. The ambiguity of the Romanian 'perfect compus' is the source of its having two English equivalents

'perfect compus'	↗	'Present Perfect'
	↘	'Past Tense'



## 8. Aspect in English and Romanian

"If the minimum requirement for a tense system is a symbol for the event and a morpheme to indicate the three order relations, the minimum requirement for an aspectual system is the symbol for the event and devices to express perfective and imperfective aspect".

W.F. Bull

8.0 The grammatical category of aspect is perhaps one of the hardest to define. In very general terms one would say that aspect describes the quality of the event while it is observed by the speaker. The action can be seen as accomplished or as not yet accomplished, as a developing durative process or as a non-durative already completed process.

Aspect deals with the temporal contour of the event, not with its location in time. Unlike tense, aspect is not a deictic category, it is not relative to the time of the utterance.

8.1. Types of Predications - As aspect deals with the quality of the process when it is perceived by the speaker, there is a close interrelationship between the grammatical category of aspect and the lexical meaning of the verb (or predication) because the verbal lexeme (or predication) itself contains a characterization of the event in terms of its duration and quality (i.e., perfective versus imperfective event). Some events are homogeneous; they are realized as soon as they begin; they are inherently perfective (to walk, to sleep, to know) while others are heterogeneous - they take time before they are accomplished (to drown) or they presuppose the attainment of a certain goal (to drink a cup of coffee, to eat one apple, etc.); they are inherently imperfective. Events also differ from the point of their duration. Consider a few exam-

to plan / to live, to play bridge / to play a card etc.

Even from the limited number of examples given above, it is to be seen that the quality of an event is not given by the inherent, lexical specification of the verb alone (though this is undoubtedly an important factor), but also by the association of the verb with its object, subject, adverbials indicating frequency etc., i.e., its association with contextual elements which can change the meaning of the verb from the point of view of its duration and perfectivity. It is seen that aspect involves interpretive semantic processes at the level of the whole sentence. That is why we shall rather classify predications than verbs. The various types of predications are the linguistic image of the structure of the events in the extralinguistic reality.

9.1. As suggested above two criteria will be employed in this discussion of predication types.

a) the duration of the predication - this measures the length of the time span associated with the referent of each predication (T Pred). T Pred includes all that is pragmatically relevant for that predication, the results of the predication, the concomitants of the event, etc.

b) the quality of the predication - this takes into account the distinction between perfective and imperfective predications.

9.2. Countable and Uncountable Predications. As applied to predications this contrast aims at distinguishing between predications which have unlimited, unmeasurable duration, which like mass nouns are uncountable and predications which have limited duration and are countable. This distinction might be identified with the only drawn distinction between state predications and event pre-

dications. As shown by Leech there are two reasons why the event/state opposition although quite widely recognized has remained somewhat indeterminate in comparison with the parallel distinction located grammatically in noun groups.

The first reason is the obvious one that verbs are not overtly marked for countability, as nouns are by their ability to be inflected for the plural. The second reason is that the classification was applied to verbs, not to predications, with the result that verbs were frequently moved from one category to the other:

I know Russian. (+ state)

As soon as I saw him, I knew that there was something wrong. (+ event)

The following are some major criteria for identifying event predications and state predications (see Leech<sup>37</sup> and Ota<sup>38</sup>).

a) Only event predications are answers to a question such as 'What are you doing?'

What are you doing?

I'm reading a letter.

I'm walking.

What are you doing?

" I know English.

" I like music.

b) Event predications can occur with adverbials within the semantic categories 'number of times' or 'frequency': e.g. twice, every Friday, etc.

I often go to France.

I visit him twice a week.

" I often know English.

" I like music twice a week.

37. Leech, G., op.cit., p.135-136.

Ota, A., op.cit., p.130-131.

c) In a narrative, verbs in a sequence are semantically related by temporal successivity with event predications and by simultaneity with state predications.

He saw me and ran away (normally) ≠ He ran away and saw me.

MĂ văzu și fugi ≠ Fugi și mă văzu

He loved his country and adored his wife = He adored his wife and loved his country

Si-a iubit tara si si-a adorat nevasta = Si-a adorat nevasta si si-a iubit tara

d) With transitive verbs, pre-modifying past participles of event predications refer to the present result of a past process; with state predications, they refer to a present continuing state.

Un scaun stricat

a broken chair

a chair that has been broken

un dusman temut

a feared opponent

an opponent who is feared ≠ an opponent who has been feared

e) State predications are not used in the progressive (in English).

\* I am knowing English.

Countable predications are further subdivided into singular and plural predications. Features from the system of countability and singular/plural are frequently shared by more than one term within the same predication, due to a process of 'semantic concord'. Semantic concord is analogous to syntactic concord in that it consists in the distribution of matching properties among different elements of a sentence. Semantic concord seems to play an important role in the elimination of ambiguity in the field of tense

and aspect; the semantic interpretation of aspect thus often involves semantic processes at the level of the whole sentence. Compare for instance the following three sentences:

- a) John enjoys life. [- Cou]
- b) John enjoys the films. [+ Cou + pl]
- c) John enjoyed the film. [+ Cou + sg]

In a) the uncountable complement life invites interpretation of the predication as an undivided state [- Cou], the plural countable complement films in b) leads one to interpret the verb iteratively (i.e., to extend the feature [+ Cou + pl] of the object to the verb). Likewise, the singular the film permits the interpretation of a single complete action in the past.

The distinction between countable and uncountable predications, refers to duration in that it opposes predications which seem to have no discernable beginning or end (uncountable predications) which are undivided, to predications which have a limited, measurable duration (countable predications).

In the class of countable predications, some denote activities which can be prolonged for an indefinite time (to weep, to speak, to run, to sleep). Others denote processes whose duration is definite (pragmatically restricted): (to die, to drown, to get up, to walk a mile, to knit a pair of socks / a muri, a se ineca, a se scula, a merge o mila, a impleti o pereche de ciorapi).

Finally, there are events conceived of as lacking duration, as occurring 'all at once', 'all in a moment'. They are usually termed 'momentary predication': to hit, to name, to slam / a lovi, a numi, a izbi, etc.

3. Perfective and Imperfective Predications - This opposition separates predications which are 'accomplished' realized from the

first moment of their duration and throughout their duration, [+ perfective] from those which take time before they are realized [- perfective]. Garey<sup>39</sup> suggests the answer to the following questions as a criterion for distinguishing between perfective and imperfective predications: "If one was verbing but was interrupted, has one verbed? If the answer is yes, the action evidently does not have to reach a goal or conclusion to be fully realized, but is realized as soon as it begins. If the answer is no, this means that the interruption must have prevented the action from reaching the goal or conclusion; the verb is imperfective"<sup>39</sup>. The main characteristic of perfective actions is their homogeneity. All the attributes of a perfective action are observable at the instant of its initiation: to live, to know, to look for, to fly towards a tree, to eat potatoes, to sleep, to read, to drink wine, to go to school every day, a trăi, a ști, a căuta, a sbura spre un copac, a mîncă cartofi, a dormi, a citi, a bea vin, a merge la școală în fiecare zi are all homogeneous, perfective predications. They do not come to an automatic termination, and can be, at least theoretically, prolonged indefinitely. Actually the beginning as well as the end of these predications are conceptualized as entirely different events :

<u>to move in</u>	<u>to live in a place</u>	<u>to move out</u>
<u>a se muta (în)</u>	<u>a locui</u>	<u>a se muta (din)</u>
<u>to be born</u>	<u>to live</u>	<u>to die</u>
<u>a se naste</u>	<u>a trăi</u>	<u>a muri</u>
<u>a dormi</u>	<u>a dormi</u>	<u>a se trezi</u>
<u>to fall asleep</u>	<u>to sleep</u>	<u>to wake up</u>

Predications which are imperfective are accomplished only after a certain definite (pragmatically specifiable) duration. They are heterogeneous, developing towards the attainment of a certain goal. (Hence, they have been termed telic or bounded predication): to drown, to die, to come to the station, play a game of chess, to walk a mile, to read two pages, to fall / a se îneca, a muri, a veni la gară, a juca o partidă de şah, a merge o milă, a citi două pagini, a cădea. The two classifications intersect in various ways. The class of perfective predications will naturally include state predications (= - Cou), event predications whose duration, though limited, is indefinite, just because the described activity is homogeneous (to wake, to laugh, to weep, to talk, to speak / a umbla, a ride, a plinge, a vorbi = Cou + sg); iterative predications (= + Cou + pl to write plays, to go to concerts, to enjoy films/ a scrie piese, a merge la concerte, a-i place filmele). Momentary predications are also normally perfective.

Imperfective predications are usually [+ Cou + sg]; (see examples). One should emphasize that as it enters into the interpretation of aspect, the distinction between event predications and state predications is more a psychological projection than an objective property of the real world.

A good case in point is offered by the habitual or characteristic predications in sentences such as:

Gorden often goes to concerts.

Everyday he rises early in the morning.

Gorden works in a factory.

They are interpretable as either [+ Cou + pl] predications or [- Cou] predications. The sentence "Gorden works in a factory"

for example, may be thought of in two ways; it can either designate

a series of events ("Whenever Gordon is at work, he works in a factory" = [+Cou + pl] predication) or it can designate a permanent state of employment "Gordon is a factory worker" = [- Cou] predication"<sup>40</sup>. Of course, this is possible because in both cases we have common semantic features - in either interpretation the predication is perfective and of unlimited duration. The difference between these two possibilities has nothing to do with what Gordon does with his life, it is merely a matter of whether the speaker thinks of the occupation as an intermittent or continuous affair.

10. Among the contextual factors which influence the adequate choice of tenses in English and Romanian, adverbials designating periods of time (marked [+ period]) play an important part. Such adverbials designate time as a continuum (all day long, since last year) as distinct from time considered as a point on a continuum (at eight o'clock); they distinguish time with duration from time without duration. For the purpose of this contrastive analysis, it is suitable to divide [+ period] adverbials into two groups:

(a) adverbials indicating open periods of time, [+ open period]. They indicate only the beginning of an interval which is still open overlapping the axis of reference and going beyond it. Typical [+ open period] phrases are those containing since (since childhood, since noon / de copil, de la prinz) and for (for two hours / de două ore, for a long time / de mult).

(b) adverbials indicating closed periods of time, [- open period]. They measure whole, rounded up intervals of time which, at most, include the referential axis: e.g., all my life, all day long, the whole afternoon, from three to five / toată viața, toată ziua, toată după amiaza, de la trei la cinci.



Note: Phrases with for ... /de ... can be interpreted as either a) or b) above, depending on the tense with which they occur. In Romanian phrases with de ... designate closed intervals if they can be substituted with corresponding phrases containing  timp de ...

I studied for two hours      Am studiat ( timp de două ore.

I have been studying for      Studiez de două ore  
two hours      \*Studiez timp de două ore

It will be seen that different (groups of) tenses behave differently in relation with [ + period ] adverbials.

11. The central aspectual opposition expressed by the verbal systems of English and Romanian is the one between perfective and imperfective aspect. This fundamental opposition was interpreted in two distinct (non-contradictory) ways. On the one hand, the perfective aspect shows that the action has been realized, accomplished (has already become perfective) before the moment when the speaker considers it. The perfection of the aspect is anterior to the moment of observation. The imperfective aspect then shows that the action is still non-perfective, still developing when the speaker perceives it. The action is simultaneous with the moment when it is observed. This, aspectual difference is represented in both Romanian and English by the opposition perfect/ non-perfect tenses in pairs such as:

I have written      scris  
I am writing      scriesem.

This aspectual opposition can also be interpreted as an order formula, the perfect tenses showing that the action is anterior to the moment of reference (see p.17). Perfect tenses will be marked

by the feature [+ anteriority]. On the other hand, the aspectual opposition perfective/ imperfective aspect can represent "two different ways of viewing predications". Using the framework of description employed in the first part of this paper we might define aspect as a relation between T Persp and T Pred. T Persp delimits the time field from which the predication is observed. The Predication may be included in the perspective field. The action is seen as a whole, from the outside. Its duration is immaterial. An action viewed as a whole, as an entity - appears as perfected. On the other hand, the duration of the predication can be conceived of as more extensive than the perspective time field. T Pred overlaps T Persp and goes beyond it. The speaker's perspective is representable as a limited closed interval 'included' in the predication. The predication is viewed from within, intrusively. The action is seen as a developing, unfinished, imperfective process. What the speaker knows is that the action has duration at the time when he perceives it (T Persp) and he represents only part of it, as much as he chooses to take into his T Persp.

Compare the following two sentences:

- a) Yesterday he walked to school      Ieri <sup>a mere</sup> | merse la școală pe jos.
- b) Yesterday he was walking to school. Ieri mergeam la școală pe jos.

In a) the action is viewed from the outside, inclusively. The time field (T Persp) embraces the whole time span of the predication (T Pred) which is seen as perfective. Sentence b) does not say whether the action was completed. The speaker's perspective (T Persp) is limited to a part of the action (T Pred). We learn that the speaker spent some time walking to school, i.e., that the action had duration at the time when it was observed.

We have chosen Allen's<sup>41</sup> terms to designate this aspectual opposition: "If aspect is defined as a speaker's way of 'looking at' a Predication that he makes, it will be seen that there are only two aspects : Inclusive Aspect (perfective, non durative aspect) and Intrusive Aspect (imperfective durative aspect)".

This aspectual contrast is expressed in English by the opposition continuous tenses versus non-continuous tenses.

12. The morphological category of aspect in English and Romanian.

12.1. English has explicit morphological markers for both aspectual oppositions discussed above. The opposition [+ anteriority] is marked by  $\$$  /have-en, the distinction inclusive/intrusive aspect shows up as the formal opposition  $\$$  /- be-ing.

12.2. In Romanian only the feature [+ anteriority] is morphologically marked. Romanian grammars usually interpret the [+ anteriority] feature as a vector formula, its aspectual value is rarely taken into consideration. The tendency to interpret the [+ anteriority] tenses as order markers is stronger in Romanian not only because the 'perfect compus' is actually the commonest Romanian

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41. Allen, R.L., op.cit., p.219: our paper adopts his interpretation of aspect in English, "each predication represented in Fig.16 is included within the boundaries of its reference field, while each predication represented in Fig.19 overlaps in some way or other the axis which is its reference point. A recognition of the difference between these two different ways of viewing predications - that is, as either included within a time-field to which they are oriented or else as overlapping a point (or axis) to which they are oriented - is essential to an understanding of the ways in which the English verb system functions. If we imagine ourselves as standing at the apex of first one triangle and then the other, we can see that we would be viewing the x's and arrows in the triangle in Fig.16 'inclusively', that is, from without as wholes, but would be viewing the triangle in Fig.19 'intrusively', that is from within, without regard to either end of any arrow.

past tense, but also because only with these forms is the Romanian speaker aware of chronological axes of orientation different from the moment of speech, because of pairs like:

voi face

faceam

fac

voi fi făcut

faceam

să fi făcut

Romanian tense forms are not overtly marked for + inclusive /+ intrusive aspect with one exception - the 'perfect simplu'. From this point of view aspect is a covert category in Romanian.

Note: We use the terms overt and covert grammatical category in the sense of Whorf<sup>42</sup> (1945). "An overt category is a category having a formal mark which is present in every sentence containing a member of the category ... A covert category is one that is marked not by morphemic tags but by types of patterning, e.g., by the systemic avoidance of certain morphemes, by lexical selection, by word order ... in general by association with definite linguistic configurations. A covert category is marked only in types of sentences and not in every sentence in which a word or element belonging to a category occurs. The class membership of the word is not apparent until there is a question of using it in one of these special types of sentence and then we find that this word belongs to a class requiring some sort of distinctive treatment".

12.3. It is of interest to mention that Romanian used to have special morphologically marked forms for indicating imperfective aspect. They were similar to the English continuous forms, composed by means of the auxiliary a fi (to be) and the present participle - ind / ind :

42. See Whorf, Benjamin, L., Grammatical Categories, p.88, 89 in 'Language Thought and Reality: Selected Papers', edited by John B. Carroll, New York, Wiley, 1956.

100

100

e.g. am fost cîntînd / am cîntat  
voi fi cîntînd / voi cînta

None of these forms survived in contemporary Romanian, though they may still occur in the written language.

12.4. Taking into account their position in Bull's chart (fig.2) and their chronological structure, the Romanian 'present' and 'imperfect' are able to express both intrusive and inclusive aspect. Their temporal structures specify actions which are simultaneous with the reference axis, actions which from the point of view of the speaker situated at the axis can be looked at from the inside, as well as from the outside. In contrast, anterior and anticipated actions are viewed from the outside, as accomplished or potential wholes. An overall picture of the Romanian system could be the following, also given by Ivănescu<sup>43</sup> (Fig. 3):

Imperfective	Perfective
present	viitor, viitor anterior
imperfect	perfect simplu, perfect compus mai mult ca perfect

If we do not take the [+ anteriority] forms into the picture, the model presented in Fig.4 can be set up. [+ Anteriority] tenses are easily separated as those tenses which collocate with deja (already) but with which this adverb is redundant. In sentences containing the 'present' or the 'imperfect' deja brings about a change of meaning (the ingressive aspect is expressed). Deja does not occur with the 'perfect simplu' and the 'viitor'.

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43. Ivănescu, Gh., op.cit., p.42

A citit deja = A citit      Citește deja = A început să citească  
 Citise deja = Citise      Citea deja = Începuse să citească  
 Va fi citit deja = Va      \*Citi deja  
                                 fi citit      (?) Va citi deja.

The model presented in Fig. 3 needs further correction in that the 'present' and the 'imperfect' can be used to express inclusive and intrusive aspect depending on their temporal structure<sup>44</sup>, and on the type of predication. When they substitute for other tenses the 'present' and 'imperfect' will take on the aspectual values of those tenses :

- A vionul zboară [ T Str 1, pg. 17; + intrusive<sup>45</sup> ]  
A vionul zboară miina la 5 [ T Str 2, pg. 17; + inclusive ]  
Cind l-am văzut, venea la voi [ T Str 3, pg. 24; + intrusive ]  
Mi-a spus că omul venea miina [ T Str 4, pg. 25; + inclusive ]

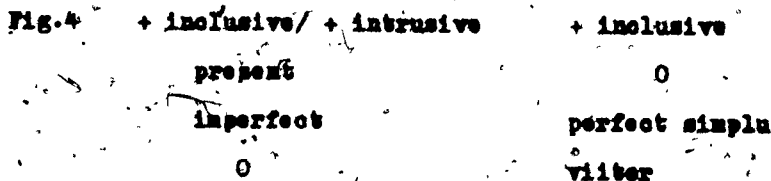
The intrusive character of the present and imperfect is best seen in that they are the only tenses with which imperfective predications maintain their imperfective character.

44. Klun, A., op.cit., p. 79 makes the following remarks: "Nous tenons dès maintenant à signaler les prémisses des valeurs aspectuelles du présent et de l'imparfait. Nous disons bien les valeurs. On sait suffisamment que le présent et l'imparfait sont normalement de l'aspect duratif, mais seulement là où leur fonction est définie par les formules F(PPoV) et F(RPoV). Dès que le présent a la fonction F(PP+V) et que l'imparfait a la fonction F(RP+V) il se produit une permutation aspectuelle et les deux séries verbales normalement duratives seront inévitablement de l'aspect non-duratif. La même transformation aspectuelle aura en principe lieu quand le présent et l'imparfait rempliront la fonction vectorielle négative F(PP-V) et F(RP-V)""

45. We include the 'viitor' among the [+inclusive] tenses adopting the point of view of Ivănescu op.cit. and Klun op.cit., who, however, makes the following comment (p. 78), "Disons pour terminer cette longue discussion sur la fonction vectorielle et la valeur aspectuelle du futur, que la position F(APoV) existe et qu'il se peut que le futur soit parfois de l'aspect duratif, et que l'aspect non-duratif, fondamental à notre avis est susceptible de se neutraliser faute d'opposition durative".

Scrie un roman vs a scris un roman / ya scris un roman  
Scria un roman vs scriise un roman / scriisese un roman

The arrangement shown in fig. 4 easily explains why the aspectual impact of the 'imperfect' and 'perfect simplu' is so clearly felt, while the aspectual values of the other tenses are almost ignored.



Further proof of the different aspectual functions of the Romanian tenses is brought by their behaviour towards [+ period] adverbials. [+ Anteriority] tenses collocate with both types of [+ period] adverbials and consequently do not participate in this distinction.

Am locuit aici toată viața [- open period]

Am locuit aici de două luni [+ open period]

The 'present' and the 'imperfect' always choose [+ open period] adverbials when their meaning is retrospective.

- |                                |                                 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. a. Locuiesc aici de doi ani | 3. a. Știam poezia de copil/ de |
| b. *Locuiesc aici toată viața  | e lună                          |
| 2. a. Invăț de două ore        | b. *Știam poezia toată viața    |
| b. *Invăț toată ziua           | 4. a. Cîntam de la trei         |
|                                | b. *Cîntam toată ziua           |

[If the above starred sentences are at all acceptable, their interpretation is widely different from the interpretation of the a) sentences; 1b and 2b might be interpreted as future decisions, 4b might be interpreted as expressing a repeated action in the past].

On the other hand, the 'perfect simplu' and the 'viitor' collocate with [- open period] adverbials but not with [+ open] adverbials

Locui acolo toată viața.

Va locui acolo toată viața

\*Locui acolo de doi ani

\*Va locui acolo de doi ani

Lucrez toată ziua

Vă lucrez toată ziua

\*Lucrez de două ore

\*Va lucrez de două ore

[However durind | va locui acolo de doi ani is acceptable, a future axis is defined, in relation to which the 'viitor' functions as a 'viitor anterior']

12.5 The equivalent of the Romanian perfect simplu will always be the English Past Tense, that is, a tense which has the same temporal structure (T Str3 pg 24) and the same aspectual value [+ inclusive].

Pe frate-său nu-l văzu o vreme, dar o întâlni pe soră-sa și-i dădu cartea (N)

He did not see his brother for a while, but he met his sister and gave her that book

13. Tenses marked [+ anteriority] in English and Romanian

This feature is overtly and more or less uniformly marked in both languages. The morphological markers are the following: in English have + past participle for all the tenses; in Romanian, have + past participle for the 'perfect compus', future of a fi + past participle for the 'viitor anterior' and a verbal suffix in the case of the 'mai mult/oa perfect'.

Present Perfect

Perfect compus

have lived/ had been living

am locuit



Past Perfect

had lived/ had been living

Mai mult ca perfect

locuises

Future Perfect

will have lived/ will have been living

Viitor anterior

voi fi locuit

Future Perfect in the Past

would have lived/would have been living

13.1. A formal and semantic characteristic of these tenses is that they occur with the adverbs I deja / I already and yet and that from the semantic point of view, these adverbs, which are themselves markers of perfectivity are redundant with the [+ anteriority] tenses. With [- anteriority] tenses such adverbs either do not occur or contribute important semantic information:

He was already doing it = he had begun doing it.

He had already done it = he had done it.

Yeni aici. \*Yeni deja aici. A venit (deja) aici.

13.2. An important formal characteristic of the English Perfect Tenses is that they can occur with [+ open period] adverbials. In Romanian, this property is shared not only by the perfect tenses but also by the 'present' and the 'imperfect'. Hence English perfect forms have sometimes two Romanian equivalents:

He had lived there for two years < Locuia acolo de doi ani  
Locuise acolo de doi ani

14. Semantic values of the [+ anteriority] tenses.

It is assumed that there is a basic meaning common to all [+ anteriority] forms; this is the meaning of the grammatical category of the perfect. The various semantic values of these tenses in

concrete utterances depend on the interaction of this basic meaning with other factors - the type of the predication, the type of time adverbials, and last but not least, the aspectual dichotomy intrusive/inclusive.

Roughly speaking, the values of the perfect tenses are the same in both languages. Lack of formal correspondence may arise when these tenses combine with period adverbials or with the intrusive/inclusive aspect.

14.1. "What the perfect qua perfect does in fact express is simply this: the action is viewed not as a past event but as being in a state of completion at the point of reference, having taken place once or repeatedly within a span of time which is distinct from the point of reference and anterior to it. The perfect does not say anything about how long the action lasted or about when it happened, their time sphere is mere anteriority to an axis of reference"<sup>46</sup> (That is why in the first part of this paper the relation T Préd bef T Persp uniformly characterized the temporal configurations attributed to [+ anteriority] tenses).

Even when they collocate with adverbials of period, the period actually measures how long the action has existed as perfected rather than how long it took to accomplish it.

The basic semantic value ('action accomplished at the point of reference') occurs with almost all types of predication, though there are differences in usage, certain predications occurring more frequently than other with this value.

This basic value of the perfect tenses is best expressed in terms of presuppositions entailed by these tenses. Examples will be

46. Bauer, Gero, The English 'Perfect' Reconsidered in Journal of Linguistics, No.4, 1970, p.190.

given for the 'perfect copus' and Present Perfect and sometimes for the Past Perfect and 'mai mult ca perfect'. Similar examples can be always built for the Future Perfect and Future Perfect in the Past.

1. He has written the letter → A scris scrisoarea → Scrisoarea e scrisă  
The letter is written
2. He has come → He's here A venit → E aici
3. I've hit Tom → Tom is hit L-am lovit pe Tom → Tom e lovit
4. He's been here before → A mai fost aici → A fost aici  
He's been here at least once oel puțin odată
5. He has lived here → He's lived A locuit aici → A locuit  
here at least once aici oel puțin odată

With imperfective predications (ex. 1-2) and with momentary predications (ex. 3) 'accomplished action' means that the goal of the action has been fulfilled and the activity has results at the point of reference. The 'resultative perfect', an extremely frequent use, appears to be the outcome of the basic meaning of the perfect (action accomplished at the point of reference) when combined with imperfective ~~and~~ momentary predications.

With perfective durative predications (ex. 4-5), as they are completed as soon as they begin, what the perfect asserts is that the predication existed (was accomplished) at least once in the specified interval and is relevant when contemplated by the speaker. This value, which is infrequent, has been called 'the perfect of experience'<sup>47</sup>. A good example of this use of the perfect and an interesting comment on it is offered by Allen. "There seems to be

47. See Zandvoort, R.W. (1932), On the Perfect of Experience in English Studies 14, p.11-20.

one kind of reference for which perfect tenses may be used even in non-bounded (i.e. perfective) predications. This is reference to some such meaning as 'a little - some experience of, as in the following example:

I've read, I've listened to the radio, I've watched TV, I've played classical music on my record player - but I haven't enjoyed anything as much as sitting and doing nothing<sup>48</sup>.

Am citit, am ascultat radioul, m-am uitat la televizor, am pus muzică clasică la pickup<sup>48</sup> - dar nimic nu mi-a plăcut mai mult decât să stau degeaba.

The semantic unity of the perfect tenses in sentences (1) - (5) is also proved by the fact that for all our examples the negative conjunction of each pairs of statements (in the relationships of implication) is a logical contradiction.

He has written the letter but the the letter is not written.

A scris scrisoarea, dar scrisoarea nu e scrisă.

He has come here , but he's not here.

A venit, dar nu e aici.

He has been here before but he's never been here.

A (mai) fost aici dar n-a fost niciodată aici.

He has lived here, but he's never lived here.

A locuit aici, dar n-a locuit niciodată aici.

The action may take place once or several times in the interval referred to and then the meaning is repeated activity.

I have often visited England.

Am vizitat Anglia adesea.

He has knocked on the door several times.

A bătut la ușă de mai multe ori.

He has lived here twice.

A locuit aici de două ori.

48. Allen, R.L., op.cit., p.203.

14.2. English and Romanian [+ anteriority] tenses collocate with [+ period] adverbials. The [+ period] adverbials refer to how long the action has been in a state of completion not to how much time was necessary to make the action complete. Thus the Romanian sentence (6) means (7) or (8) (due to the chronological ambiguity of the 'perfect compus', while sentence (9) in English is wrong if understood to refer to the time necessary to accomplish the action.

6. Am scris scrisoarea de două ore
7. I have written the letter since two hours ago
8. I wrote the letter two hours ago
9. I have written the letter for two hours

For the same reason, the passives of (6) and (9) which measure the duration of the result of the action are acceptable.

Scrisoarea a fost scrisă de două ore      The letter has been written for two hours

14.2.2. Again, if the predication is contextually specified [+ plural], it is understood that it has occurred repeatedly within the time interval anterior to the reference and delimited by the [+ period] adverbial :

10. He has always succeeded so far.      Până acum a reușit întotdeauna.
11. I've played football all my life.      Toată viața am jucat fotbal.
12. You have asked this question for weeks now      De săptămîni | mi-ai tot pus | întrebarea asta. |  
imi tot pui |
13. The team has lost for half a year now      Echipa | a pierdut | (seriu) de jumătate de an. |  
pierde

14.2.3. Momentary predications combined with [+ period] adverbials express repeated actions :

- 14.a I have knocked on the door for an hour | Bat Am bătut | la ușă de o oră
- b I have knocked on this door all morning | \*Bat Am bătut | la ușă toată dimineața

14.2.4. With uncountable (= state) predications the use of a [+ period] adverbials is not only allowed, but it is virtually obligatory if the predication is to be interpreted as a state predication [- Cou]. In the absence of such an adverbial, state predications are recategorized as [+ Con] (see 14.2) above. Leech<sup>49</sup> notices that "some predications, ill suited to interpretation with [+ Cou] event are almost meaningless in the perfective unless an adverbial of duration is added".

15. "Paris has stood on the Seine" "Parisul a stat pe Sena .

There is no difficulty with such sentences if some phrase as for ages / de secole is added. Sometimes such a phrase is implicit.

16. He had lived a pleasant life. Trăise trai bun.

As uncountable predications are inherently perfective, the period adverbial measuring 'how long the action has existed as perfected' actually measures the duration of the state verb. Hence the value of 'continuative perfect'. The continuative perfect is the result of the basic meaning of the perfect when two contextual factors are present: the uncountable character of the predication and the [+ period] adverbial.

Consider the following examples :

49. Leech, G., op.cit. p.153 :

17. I have loved him all my life. / L-am iubit toată viața.  
/ Il iubisem toată viața.
18. I have loathed hypocrisy all my life. / Am urit ipocrizia toată viața.  
/ Urisem ipocrizia toată viața.
19. I have been here for two weeks now. / Am fost aici de două săptămâni.  
/ Sint aici de două săptămâni.
20. The castle has been a ruin since the end of the war. / Castelul a fost o ruină de la  
sfârșitul războiului.  
/ Castelul e o ruină de la sfârșitul războiului.
21. She has hated him since they got married. / L-a urit de oind s-au căsătorit.  
/ Il urăște de oind s-au căsătorit.
22. I had known him for two years. / Il cunoscusem de doi ani.  
/ Il cunoșteam de doi ani.

The examples given in this paragraph reveal an important contrastive feature of English and Romanian. In both languages, perfect tenses occur with [+ open period] adverbials as well as with [- open period] adverbials. In Romanian it is possible to use the 'present' and the 'imperfect' with [+ open period] adverbials only. The 'present' and the 'imperfect' become synonyms of the 'perfect compus' and the 'mai mult ca perfect' respectively. Hence there will be a one-to-two type of correspondence between English and Romanian in sentences containing [+ open period] adverbials + Present Perfect/ Past Perfect (ex. 12, 13, 14a, 19-22). In this retrospective meaning the 'present' and the 'imperfect' are (much) more frequent than the corresponding [+ anteriority] tenses. When closed period adverbial are used (ex. 10, 11, 14b, 17, 18) there is one-to-one correspondence between English and Romanian.

14.3. The English Perfect Continuous Tenses. Interesting semantic changes occur when the features [+ anteriority] and [+ intrusive] combine.

Note : The English Perfect Continuous tenses appear to be contradictorily marked for both 'perfective' [+ anterior] and 'imperfective' [+ intrusive] aspect. Things become clear if we take into account that the two features refer to different things. The imperfective aspect refers to the fact that the duration of the predication (T Pred) is longer than the interval of perspective [T Persp] which in this case is the sphere of anteriority. The speaker who uses perfect progressive tenses refers to only a part of the action which may be going on, or could have gone on after the time when the action is reported.

I have been writing the letter.

I have been walking.

On the other hand, the time allotted to accomplish or to contemplate the predication is considered to have come to an end. From this point of view the tenses are 'perfective'.

Thus the [+ anteriority + intrusive] tenses assert that part of the predication has been accomplished (with imperfective predications) or that the action has been in progress for some time within the time sphere of the perfect (with perfective predications).

14.4 The effects produced by the feature [+ intrusive] depend on whether the predication is perfective or imperfective.

14.4.1. With imperfective predication, the introduction of the feature [+ intrusive] brings about a change in the truth value of the sentence:

23. I have been writing the letter  
the letter is not yet written.

a. Scriu scrisoarea.  
b. Am scris la scrisoare.

24. I had been ironing your shirt  
the shirt was not yet ironed.

a. Îți oăloam oămașă.



25. I had been working on my paper  
the paper was not yet ready

- a. Imi lucram lucrarea.
- b. Lucram la lucrarea.
- c. Lucrasem la lucrarea.

The goal of the action has not yet been reached. Romanian will also use devices of expressing imperfective actions. Sometimes, Romanian [+ intrusive] tenses are used (23a, 24a, 25a.b). Alternatively, perfect tenses are used when other means of marking the predications as imperfective are present in the sentence. An example is furnished by the preposition la above. There is a clear cut meaning difference between:

Am trigotat iacobina

Am trigotat la iacobina

Compare also: -

Who has eaten my pie ?

Cine mi-a mncat piinta?

Who has been eating my pie?

Cine mi-a mncat din piinta?

14.4.2. With perfective predications no important semantic changes occur when the [+ intrusive] feature is added. As G. Bauer shows "with atelic (perfective) actions the 'progressive' or imperfect aspect may in many cases be felt to be redundant"<sup>51</sup>. This is particularly true when the sentence contains a [+ period] adverbial:

I have learned this poem all day long.

I have been learning this poem all day long.

Especially when there is no [+ period] adverbial "in the sentence there seems to be significant differences of usage between the non-continuous and the continuous forms. As shown in 14.1 the non-continuous perfect of these predications is not frequent. On the other hand, perfective predications in the perfect continuous form occur very frequently. They show that the action has been progres-

50. Bauer, G., op.cit., p.191.

51. Bauer, G., op.cit., p.196.

sive for some indefinite time within the time sphere of the perfect. Sentences such as the ones below are extremely common :

26. What have you been doing up to now ?                      Ce-ai făcut pînă acum?
27. I have been reading.                      Am citit.
28. I have been walking.                      M-am plimbat.

The Romanian learner will probably find this usage difficult, just because there is no meaning difference between the simple and the continuous form of the perfect with perfective predications. He is likely to replace 26, 27, 28 above by 29, 30, 31; the latter are less acceptable if not wrong.

29. What have you done ?
30. I have read.
31. I have walked.

Note Jespersen's comment: "It would be impossible to use the perfect of a transitive verb without any object: \*I have read. But the expanded perfect may very well stand along, because of the idea of incompleteness attached to it: I have been reading"<sup>52</sup>.

Perfective predications in the perfect continuous forms are translated by Romanian perfect tenses unless an adverbial of the type [+ open period] is added :

- You've been playing in the mud.                      Te-ai jucat în noroi.
- Someone has been tampering with the lock.                      Cineva a umblat la broască.
- I've been learning for this exam all day long.                      Am învățat pentru examenul asta toată ziua.

52. Jespersen, Otto, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1949, Vol. IV, p. 196.

If a [+ open] period adverbial is used, the 'present' and 'imperfect' alternate with the 'perfect compus' and 'mai mult ca perfect' as already shown in the preceding paragraphs.

15. Analysis of the Romanian 'present' and 'imperfect' and of their English equivalents.

15.0. It is a major characteristic of the Romanian system of tenses that it has two basic tenses with parallel functions<sup>53</sup> forming the core of the present and the past subsystems respectively.

15.0.1 These two tenses are highly ambiguous. Part of their ambiguity was solved at the chronological level where each of them was assigned several temporal structures, the English correspondent being indicated in each case. Mention was made in our discussion of aspect in Romanian, that in their transposed chronological functions these tenses are aspectually [+ inclusive] more often than not.

That is why the present chapter concentrates on the analysis of these tenses in their specific temporal functions, attention being paid to their aspectual values. Both tenses can express intrusive and inclusive aspect as well. As the aspectual value of the tense varies, the Romanian learner will use the Present of the Present Continuous and the Past Tense and the Past Tense Continuous respectively. As Romanian has no explicit marker of aspect, roughly speaking, the aspectual value of the tense will depend on the type of predication.

53. This parallelism is emphasized by Iorgu Iordan, *op.cit.*, p.426, "Ca timp absolut, imperfectul poate fi asimilat cu prezentul; ceea ce este prezentul pentru momentul vorbirii este imperfectul pentru un moment trecut. Imperfectul este un prezent transpus in trecut ... In toate aceste cazuri, vorbitorul 'vede oamenii, lucrurile ca și cum' ar trăi sub ochii lui, așa-dar in prezent, dar de la o anumită distanță in timp.

15.1 Countable singular predications. With such predications the 'present' and 'imperfect' express intrusive aspect. Imperfective predications are presented as developing towards their realisation and still unfulfilled; perfective predications are shown as having duration, existing as such when the event is observed.

Type of predication: [+ Cou + sg] Aspect: [+ intrusive]

<u>Present</u>	Imi beau ceaiul.	<u>Present Continuous</u>	I'm drinking my tea.
	MA plimb.		I'm walking.
<u>Imperfect</u>	Imi beam ceaiul.	<u>Past Tense</u> <u>Continuous</u>	I was drinking my tea.
	MA plimbam		I was walking.

Note. The choice of the intrusive aspect in English is extremely important with the Present Tense. With the Past Tenses the speaker often has the choice as to whether he will treat a predication inclusively or intrusively (especially when the predication is perfective)<sup>54</sup>. Thus with reference to yesterday afternoon he may ask either of the following questions:

What did you do yesterday afternoon?

What were you doing yesterday afternoon?

I walked.

I was walking.

The intrusive aspect for [+ Cou + Sg] predications seems to be the norm in sentences concerning present events. This restriction

54. See Allen, R.L. op.cit. p.220 and Anna Granville Hatcher, The Use of the Progressive Form in English in an language, Vol. 37, 1951, p.254-280, p.265. "If we consider the preterit tense, it is obvious that we may find, in predications of a single event, a great freedom in the possibilities of alternation: He read or was reading the newspaper; She washed or was washing the dishes".

in the use of the present is pragmatic in nature. Indeed "we have no choice whatever as to the way in which we perceive a present event. How else may we imagine something to be happening 'now' except as in the midst of happening - as having already begun but not yet ended"<sup>55</sup>.

15.1.2. Predications in the intrusive aspect extend before and after the axis of reference. Hence they can act as 'frames' for actions taking place at the time indicated by the axis of reference. The two sentences are often connected by pe cînd, în vremea ce / while or cînd / when etc.

Ion citește ziarul în timp ce nevastă-sa gătește.

John is reading the papers while his wife is cooking.

M-am tăiat la deget în timp ce curățam cartofi.

I cut my finger while I was peeling potatoes.

Se înserează cînd am ajuns acasă.

It was growing dark when I arrived home.

The imperfect and the Past Tense Continuous are often used as descriptive tenses, to depict a general state of affairs existing at a given moment in the past. This past moment is indicated by an adverb (such as: atunci / then, în vremea aceea / at that time, curînd / soon, în clipa următoare / the next moment), by a clause, or is otherwise implicit in the context:

Am sosit la București dimineața. Ploua. Lumea se îndrepta grăbită spre lucru.

I arrived in Bucharest in the morning. It was raining. People were rushing to work.

În clipa următoare Maria plîngea. Se certau pentru înfrîngerea oară.

The next minute, Mary was crying. They were having their first quarrel.

55. Hatcher, A.G., op.cit., p.265.

15.1.3. [+ Cou + 8g + momentary + repetitive] predication - This long description designates momentary repetitive events: to kick, to twinkle, to hit - a lovi cu piciorul, a clipi, a lovi. Their present tense is sometimes conceived as describing one occurrence in the process.

I'm hitting the ball. Lovesco-mingea.

When this happens the event is no longer conceived as momentary. When the event is viewed as [+ momentary], the 'present and 'imperfect' and the corresponding Present Continuous and Past Tense Continuous describe repeated actions.

Loveste mingea cu piciorul. He is kicking the ball.  
Clipea. He was twinkling.

15.1.4. There are situations when the speaker refers to a [+ Cou + 8g] predication as a psychologically undivided whole, as an event taking place in its entirety at the moment of speech. This type of present is generally called the 'instantaneous present'. If we admit that one of the essential components in the meaning of a predication containing a non-progressive verb form is reference to the whole of the predication, it is easily explained why English uses the inclusive aspect in such cases. The instantaneous present is restricted to certain contexts such as cooking, demonstrations, ceremonial utterances, stage directions<sup>56</sup>.

He shoots and scores.

Şutează şi înscrie.

The Queen walks slowly to the throne.

Regina se îndreaptă încet spre tron.

56. A very interesting discussion of the various stylistic effects of the instantaneous present and of the reasons why this tense is used in different types of discourse is offered by Hirtle, W.H. in The Simple and Progressive Forms, an Analytical Approach, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, 1967, p.33-43.

I boil the meat, I beat two  
eggs.

Se fierbe carnea. Se bat  
două ouă.

The Rumanian 'present' cannot express the difference between 'durative' and 'instantaneous' present. A broader context is necessary. The interpretation of the Rumanian 'present' as [+ inclusive] or [intrusive] depends on the type of predication. English is richer, as it has explicit aspectual markers, it can alternate them with the same type of predication, getting 'special effects'.

15.1.5 [+ Cou + sg + momentary - repetitive]. This formula is intended to describe the so-called performative verbs, whose nature is such that they are usually seen as perfective, as wholes. Their accomplishment has a special characteristic - it unrolls completely in the time required by the act of language. It is but natural that English uses the inclusive aspect with such verbs.

I appoint you President.

Te numesc președinte.

I declare the meeting open.

Declar ședința deschisă.

When used in their proper function, these verbs occur in the first person singular. Used with other persons and tenses they behave like any [+ Cou + sg] predication.

He is naming the ship Victor.

15.1.6. The transfer grammar of the two languages can establish the principle that [+ Cou + sg] predications in the 'present' and 'imperfect' can be translated by the corresponding predications in the Continuous Present or in the Continuous Past Tense respectively. Exceptions to this rule regard the class of performative verbs (see 15.1.5), the use of the Present Tense in certain types of discourse (see 15.1.4) and the relative freedom in the choice

of aspect with the Past Tenses in English (see note on page 74).

15.2 Uncountable Predications [- Cou]. Tenses properly express state predications only when their perspective interval can stretch indefinitely, only when they have 'extended' or 'unrestrictive' uses; (sometimes period adverbials can be used with the same effect see 16).

15.2.1. The grammars of English and of Romanian always speak of the unrestrictive / extended or timeless present. The unrestrictive present denotes a state (- Cou predication) of affairs continuing through the present moment; it is unrestrictive in the sense that no initial or terminal point of the state is given unless it is factually or contextually implied or made explicit by an adverbial. General timeless truths, proverbs, predications which express characterization of the subject fall into this category. Uncountable predications are perfective, homogeneous. Hence with uncountable predications the Romanian 'present' (whose aspectual value is now 'inclusive') is translated by the English Non-Continuous Present.

Apa conține hidrogen și oxigen.

Water contains hydrogen and oxygen.

Casa aparține mamei mele.

The house belongs to my mother.

Dunărea se varsă în Marea Neagră.

The Danube flows into the Black Sea.

Îmi plac trandafirii.

I like roses.

Petru are ochi albaştri.

Peter has blue eyes.

Ion scrie romane.

John writes novels.

Petru înoată ca un pește.

Peter swims like a fish.

Nu fumez țigări de foi.

I don't smoke cigars.

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Ioana predă engleza.

Joan teaches English.

Petre seamăna cu tatăl lui. Peter resembles his father.

**Note:** If originally uncountable predications are used in the intrusive aspect they are no longer interpretable as state predications. They no longer refer to 'states of unlimited duration' but designate events i.e. [+ Cou + sg predications] of limited duration processes, activities.

Compare the sentences :

Percy resembles his father. [- Cou]

Percy is resembling his father more and more.  
[+ Cou + sg + process]

The pail leaks.

The pail is leaking.

Hamdan lies at the foot of Mt. Alvand.

My hat is lying on the table in the hall.

Here is Allen's comment regarding the last pair of sentences:

"The Predication in the first sentence refers to a state with no foreseeable termination; nor would the beginning of the event, even if its time was known, play a significant part. The Predication in the second sentence is different: my hat does not always lie on the table in the hall - it has probably been put there recently and will probably not stay there indefinitely"<sup>57</sup>.

15.2.2. In the past time sphere the two languages are different.

The Romanian 'imperfect' is an 'unrestrictive past' and consequently can express [- Cou] predications in the past. As [- Cou] predications are perfective, they normally select a perfective tense in the past time sphere, i.e., the Past Tense.

Cei doi tineri vorbeau curent engleza.

The two young men spoke English fluently.

57. Allen, R.L., op.cit., p.223.

Avea ochi albaștri

He had blue eyes.

Petre inota ca un pește.

Peter swam like a fish.

The observation has often been made that the Past Tense refers to a complete action in the past<sup>58</sup> (in other words, that the Past Tense expresses past events rather than past states). In Leech's opinion "to explain the notion of 'completeness' accompanying the use of the Past Tense we must say that there is no use of the Past Tense corresponding to the unrestricted present. That is, the definition of the Past Tense, always contains the as description feature [ + Cou ]"<sup>59</sup>.

This might be the consequence of the fact that the English Past Tense functions mainly as a narrative tense; hence, it shows a succession of limited actions, rather than actions indefinitely stretching in the past. Romanian has a special narrative tense, the 'perfect simplu'.

Leech's remark is also supported by Lyons, who notices that when used in the Past Tense, state predications are often recategorised as event predications. "It must be noted that the 'non-progressive verbs' in English are not necessarily statives when they combine with the past tense: e.g. As soon as I saw him, I knew that there was something wrong. In this sentence the verb knew refers to an event, to the beginning of a state, rather than to

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58. See Leech, G., *op.cit.*, p.142-143, "The connotation of 'complete event' is indeed general to the simple past, even with a verb like 'live', which is generally associated with states rather than events. I lived here for ten years carries the inference 'I no longer live here' as opposed to I have lived here for ten years, which indicates continuation up to the present".

59. Leech, G., *op.cit.* p.143.

the state itself"<sup>60</sup>. That is why from the point of view of Romanian, a sentence like I knew him can be interpreted as either (a) or (b).

a. I knew him = I-am cunoscut meaning 'I got to know him yesterday, last week, etc.' knew [+ Cou] .

b. I knew him = Il cunosteam meaning 'I knew him at that time' [- Cou] . When an English sentence specifically refers to a [-Cou] predication, a special device is used: the used to + inf phrase.

I knew him at that time = I used to know him.

I knew him yesterday = "I used to know him yesterday.

The 'used to' phrase very frequently expresses characteristic attributes of the subject in the past, and as such, very often translates a Romanian imperfect.

La colț se afla o prăvălie.

There used to be a shop on the corner.

Bea multă bere.

He used to drink a lot of beer.  
"He drank a lot of beer.

Pe vremea aceea, avea o voce foarte frumoasă.

At that time, she used to have a very nice voice.

Minea multă carne.

He used to eat a lot of meat.  
"He ate a lot of meat.

The 'used to' phrase is unnecessary in the present where the unrestricted present is available. Where the context excludes the interpretation of a state predication as [+ Cou], a [- Cou] interpretation is chosen.

Ferma aparținea unui unchi al său.

The farm belonged to an uncle of his.

Avea doi copii.

He had two children.

60. Lyons, John, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, Cambridge University Press, 1968, p.316.

Îi plăceau trandafirii. He liked roses.

15.2.3 The transfer grammar will specify that the Romanian 'present' and 'imperfect' express perfective aspect when used with state predications (this is the consequence of the fact that state predications are perfective). Their English equivalents are tense forms in the inclusive (perfective) aspect: The Simple Present and the Past Tense. While there is perfect semantic correspondence between the Present and the 'present', the Past Tense is not a perfect synonym of the 'imperfect'. English can use specific devices to express [- Ocu] predications in the past such as used to + inf.

15.3 Countable plural predications. These are perfective predications and they usually select the inclusive tense forms in English. The Present and Imperfect also express inclusive aspect.

Present *Duminica merg la concert.* Present On Sundays he goes to concerts.

*Trece întotdeauna pe la noi în drum spre casă.*

He always calls on us on his way home.

*(De obicei) mă scold mai devreme decât ceilalți.*

I (usually) get up earlier than the others.

Imperfect *Cînd priveam la copil, acesta simbea.*

Past Tense Whenever I looked at the child he smiled.

*De obicei mă sculam mai devreme decât ceilalți.*

I usually got up earlier than the others.

*Trecea întotdeauna pe la noi în drum spre casă.*

He always called on us on his way home.

The use of the non-expanded forms for repeated or habitual predications follows naturally from the fact that when we refer to an event occurring more than once we commonly refer to the whole of each occurrence; that is, it follows naturally from the fact that

they are perfective predications like [- Cou ] predications -  
[+ Cou + pl ] predications stretch over an unlimited period of  
time. [Cou + pl ] predications are frequently accompanied by ad-  
verbials indicating frequency and repetition: e.g., adesea / often,  
mereu / again and again, frecvent / frequently, totdeauna / always,  
niciodată / never, rareori / seldom, rarely, de fiecare dată / every  
time, de obicei / usually. With the English and Romanian present  
tenses, and with the Romanian imperfect adverbials indicating fre-  
quency are optimal. This is because these tenses can refer to un-  
limited periods of time. Because of its specific meaning, discussed  
in the preceding paragraphs, with the Past Tense adverbial speci-  
fication is obligatory or else other devices to specify the  
predication as [+ pl ] are used. We refer to the would + infinitive  
and used to + infinitive forms. Sometimes both adverbials and used  
to or would + inf phrases are employed in the same sentence.

Vara, cind era frumos cinam  
pe terasa.

In summer, when it was fine, we  
would have dinner on the terrace.

Lua masa la prins cu parintii.  
☞

He used to have lunch with his  
parents.  
☞ He had lunch with his parents

Stătea ore în șir în balcon  
și se uita la mare.

He would sit on the balcony for  
hours and (would look) at the  
sea.

Nu-și învăța niciodată lecția.

He would never learn his lessons.

După cină fuma o țigară de  
foia.

After dinner he used to/ would  
smoke a cigar ☞ After dinner  
he smoked a cigar.

It can be seen that predications in the sentences above are ambig-  
uous between a [ + Cou + pl ] interpretation and a [- Cou ] interpre-  
tation. This is particularly true when the repeated actions are  
thought of as a characteristic of the subject. Due to this ambiguity

we could record here as well as in the preceding paragraph the following particular instance of this use of the imperfect. A number of verbs such as a deschide / to open, a iesi / to come out, a porni / to start, a scrie / to write etc. when associated with a noun having the feature (- Animate) as subject may express failure of the thing designated by the noun to work properly. In this case, the English equivalents of the 'imperfect' will be would + inf.

Am încercat, dar ușa nu se deschidea.

I tried, but the door wouldn't open.

Pata nu iese.

The stain wouldn't come out.

Motorul nu pornea. Probabil că mașina nu mai avea benzină.

The car wouldn't start. The car had probably run short of gas.

15.4 In English [+ Cou + pl] predications (which are perfective and of unlimited duration) are sometimes used in the intrusive aspect (which is specifically associated with processes of limited duration (see Palmer pg. 82 on this)). The result is a new semantic value: temporary habit. Adverbials of the type: these days, in these days are often found in such sentences. They might help the Romanian speaker to choose the continuous form to get sentences. They might help the Romanian speaker to choose the continuous form to get sentences such as:

He's going to work by bus this week.

We're eating a lot of meat these days.

A special use that can perhaps be treated under the heading of limited duration is that of showing increasing or decreasing ac-

tivity. Adverbs like more and more suggest limited duration. The

[ + Cen + pl ] predication is recategorized as [ + Cen + sg ] .

More and more people are buying television sets.

They are visiting us more and more.

15. The major results of this analysis regarding the aspectual values of the 'present' and the 'imperfect' and of their equivalents are summarized in the chart below.

Romanian tense form	Type of Predication		Type of Aspect	Romanian example	English tense form	English example
	Perfectivity	Duration				
present	+ perfective	+ Cou + sg	intrusive	Vorbese	Continuous Present Tense	I'm speaking
	- perfective			Scriem e scrisoare	Continuous Past Tense	I was writing a letter.
imperfect	+ perfective	+ Cou + pl. - Cou	inlusive	Merge des la teatru Preda en-gleza	Present Tense	He often goes to the theater He teaches English.
				Mergea des teatru <del>Preda en-gleza</del>	Past Tense (or, used to + inf, would + inf)	He often went to the theater He taught English



## MAIN FUTURE EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

by Elena Birk

It is sometimes assumed that there must be some grammatical device in English available only for 'pure prediction' with practically no modal overtones, as is apparently found in Romance languages, Romanian included.

The present discussion starts from the controversy whether to written forms will/shall/'ll and their speech correspondents [wɪl, ʃəl, ɪl] in English, and the forms voi/vei/ve/vom/veti/vor as well as -oi/-ei/-o/-e/-oti(ati)/-or in Romanian are future tense markers and whether the grammatical constructions containing them are specialised in expressing pure futurity.<sup>1</sup>

In English (E) all the constructions, containing will/shall/'ll have been labelled future tenses. Likewise, the forms am/are/is going + to - Infinitive and even am/are/is about + to Infinitive are often referred to as near future, being, therefore regarded as specialised future expressions.

Similarly in Romanian (R) the tenses containing voi/vei/ve/vom/veti/vor and -oi/-ei/-o/-e/-oti(ati)/-or are called FUTURE TENSES (ritorul I and II)

<sup>1</sup> 'Pure futurity' will be understood as the 'pure' prediction of a future event or state free of any modal colouring, while 'coloured future' will be used for the future time reference accompanied by various modal overtones, personal attitudes etc.

This paper will assume that the forms will/shall/'ll in B and voi/vei/va/vom/veti/vor as well as -oi/-o/-om/-oti(kti)-or in K are not future tense markers<sup>3</sup> and that the label future expressions is a matter of convenience.

The first argument on which our assumption is based is that, like any other means of future reference, the constructions with will/shall/'ll contain by definition an element of prediction but almost always they contain an additional semantic modal overtone (intention, determination, promise, willingness etc.). It seems, therefore, that will/shall/'ll are semantic combinations of prediction and modality, the element of prediction generally prevailing.

In the sentences

- (1) I will/shall/'ll be twenty next month.
- (2) We will/shall/'ll all grow old.

the semantic element of prediction is much stronger than in the sentences

- (3) That's the phone, I 'll get it.
- (4) Who will post these letters for me? 'I will'.
- (5) 'Please, don't do that!' 'I certainly will'.

where the modal overtones of unpremeditated intention, willingness, determination seem to dominate.

It should be pointed out that an examination of present-day English shows that shall has a much weaker hold on the expression of future time than will and that it seems difficult to avoid the prediction that 'shall' is moving slowly towards its final disappearance, as already prophesied by some grammarians.

Extremely significant in support of our assumption is the theory formulated by R.A. Close who, investigating the main expres-

sions of futurity in English, distinguishes three dimensions:

- 1) pure futurity;
- 2) present indications of what the future may bring, and
- 3) personal attitudes.

As typical of 'pure prediction' he chooses the 'auxiliary' will and as the type for personal attitudes the 'modal' will. Speaking about two separate linguistic items, Glose actually admits the existence of two semantic components of one and the same verb, 'will'. The two components are often so inextricably mixed that it is necessary to resort to an external element to act as disambiguator.

The sentence

(6) You will work here, madam

is ambiguous; it may be a mere statement about the future or it may be an order. In order to remove the modal colouring the association with the continuous marker be-ing is usually resorted to. Thus the sentence.

(7) You will be working here, madam.

is just a statement about the future.

Julian Boyd and J.P.Thorne (in Semantics of Modal Verb, J.L., vol.5, number 1, April 1969) extend the notion of 'speech act' to the analysis of 'modal verbs, which are treated as indicating' in the surface structure the illocutionary potential of the sentences in which they occur.

Thus the differences and similarities between, for example

- |  |            |
|--|------------|
| (1) He <u>goes</u> to London tomorrow            | end        |
| (2) He <u>will go</u> to London tomorrow         | or between |
| (3) Nitric acid <u>dissolved</u> zinc            | end        |
| (4) Nitric acid <u>will dissolve</u> zinc        | or between |
| (5) He <u>sits</u> there for hours doing nothing |            |

end

(6) He will sit there for hours doing nothing

are accountable for in terms of difference in illocutionary potential and similarity in illocutionary force. From the point of view of speech acts (1), (3) and (5) make up the propositional content of a statement whereas (2), (4) and (6) make up the propositional content of a prediction. So, (1) and (2), (3) and (4), (5) and (6) have different illocutionary potentials but at the same time they have almost identical illocutionary force.

Thus, they emphasize that the only function of the modal verb will in any sentence in which it occurs is to indicate that the illocutionary potential of the sentence is that of being a prediction not a statement. Like command, order, promise etc., prediction is viewed as the kind of speech act involved in uttering the sentence, that is as its illocutionary force. Thus 'will' is in all its occurrences a genuine modal verb.

If this kind of analysis were applied to all forms containing 'will', on the one hand, and the other future expressions, on the other hand, it could be stated that the differences and similarities between them are explicable in terms of different illocutionary potentials and similar illocutionary force.

Similarly, the paradigms voi/vei/ve/vom/veti/vor and -oi/-oi/-o/-om/-oti(ăti)/or in Romanian contain a prevailing element of prediction but they may carry various modal meanings.

They are also used as forms of the tenses called 'presumptive':

As modern descendants of the Latin 'volo' and of the older Romanian verb 'voi' from the sentence:

- (8) Voi's vă întreba pe dumneavoastră, cinstiți boieri,  
drag vă este pământul acesta?

the forms voi/vei/va/vom/veți/vor and - oi/o/om/oti/or respectively still preserve part of the original meaning namely, to wish, to be willing, to want etc.

For example, in the sentence

- (9) "Cine vrea s-o ajute pe bunica?" "O voi ajuta eu"  
voi contains the dominant element of prediction but it obviously has the modal overtone of willingness, promise. But these forms can convey a wide range of modal meanings e.g.

In the sentence

- (10) "Hai promite-mi că vii." "La șase voi fi acolo negreșit."

'voi' implies promise.

In

- (11) "Nu vreau să mă duc, tată", "Vei face ce-ți spun eu,  
te vei duce, vei suna și-i vei da mingea înapoi."

'vei' carries the modal weight of an order.

In

- (12) "Se va mărita cu el, asta am hotărît și nu mai discutăm".

va expresses the speaker's determination.

In

- (13) "Până la anul poate ne-om lua și noi mașină"  
-om implies possibility and hope (prezuntiv).

In (14) "Sunt cineva, o/va fi poștașul (prezuntiv)  
o/va means probability/ see the English "It'll be the postman/.

In (15) "Unde-i Nicolae?" "Nu știu, caută-l la crîșmă o/va  
fi acolo (prezuntiv).

e/va is highly coloured modally, its meaning, strong possibility or probability.

The modality carried by

(16) "Dece vi ege tirziu acasă? Oi/vei fi fost ieri la cinema?" (presumptiv) and

(17) "O/va fi eflat și ce vesteă între timp, (presumptiv) is high probability very close to certainty.

The time reference in the last four examples is not future but present (in 14 and 15) or past (in 16 and 17), which is a further and stronger argument in favour of the existence of a modal semantic component in these forms.

Moreover, in Romanian, besides voi, vei, va, vom, veți, vor and their contracted forms -oi, ai, o, on, oți (ăți), or, the auxiliaries am, ai, era(e), avem, ești, au and the invariable g are also used to form the tense labelled Viitor I, their frequency of occurrence being much higher in speech.

It seems obvious, therefore, that will/shall/'ll in English and voi/vei/ve/vom/veți/vor as well as -oi/o/on/oti/or in Romanian are not markers of the future tense and that the constructions containing them are not specialized in expressing pure futurity. The fact that they may express pure futurity is just one of their multiple uses. One could even go a step further and postulate a historical and yet very modern point of view namely that, besides their not being markers of the future tense, they may be regarded as present tense forms of certain main verbs. But this is not the object of the present discussion.

The second argument supporting the statements made before would be the multitude and diversity of grammatical constructions that may be used to express futurity in both English and Romanian,

all of them containing the prediction component and being more or less coloured modally.

The main available expressions of futurity have been listed and exemplified below. Table A includes structures used to express the actual future in English; their number increases if we take into account that most of them may occur in the passive; some of these forms may be infrequent but they are quite possible grammatically (e.g. the patient has been examined/ will be being examined/ will have been being examined etc.)

Table B lists the so-called shifted future expressions in English; here again the number increases considering that not all continuous forms and no passive forms have been included. Table C contains the main expressions of futurity used in Romanian.

It is very hard to say which of the constructions listed may be considered the favourite or most frequent future-expressing device as the choice depends on so many factors including the kind of verb, the character of the subject, the context, the style, the dialect or idiolect etc. Some frequency counts<sup>1</sup> suggest that the present tense and shall/will + Infinitive are the most frequent future expressions in written E; others, however, maintain that the 'going to' form would occur more frequently. We do not know of any similar counts in Romanian, but a native speaker's intuition as well as the examination of a limited corpus point to a higher frequency in speech or the present with future reference and of the colloquial forms o or am/si/avem/aveti/su+Conjunctiv than of the

<sup>1</sup>Report on a Verb-Form-Frequency Count, Hyderabad, 1963, pp.8-9, mentioned by Danir Kalogjera, The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian English Contrastive Project, A Reports 4, p.54.

Vitor (voi/vei/vs etc.+Infinitiv) or any other construction listed in the inventory.

For this reason, the label of Future tense attached to those expressions which contain will/shall/'ll and voi/vei/vor/vom/veti/vor or -oi/-o/-om/-oti/-or respectively, when there are several other constructions, some of which occurring even more frequently, seems to be a conventional matter of methodological or didactic convenience.

The existence of multiple future expressions raises several problems. First, not all the grammatical constructions listed for English and Romanian may be used with any verb. Between the semantic feature of verbs and the use of one or the other expression of futurity there are very close relations which are rarely or never mentioned in teaching. For instance, the present indefinite, present continuous, future continuous etc. are not available to all verbs; there are restrictions based on the nature of the verb, on its semantic features.

There are no complete and systematized lists of verbs which can be used with one or the other future construction. This statement holds good for R. too, as there are no studies on the compatibility or incompatibility of some classes of verbs to occur with certain future expressions.

Second, the definition of the difference in meaning and use among the various expressions of futurity is a very hard task, which is made even more difficult by the fact that the semantic features of the verb are often decisive for the temporal meaning of a certain future-expressing device. The English teaching books for foreigners have generally tried to define and differentiate the meaning of the various future expressions. In the Romanian courses



for foreigners, however, the differences in meaning and use of the various future devices are not systematically pointed out. We don't know whether besides the difference of formal or less formal style, of written or spoken language, there are also other differences in meaning between for example, the use of viitor containing voi/vei/ve + Infinitiv, of the one with -oi/-o/-on etc. + Infinitiv, of the forms with o or sa/si/sre etc. + Conjunctiv present or of the present.

Generally, the translation equivalents are given without insisting on the possible differences in meaning. Third, which of the listed constructions should be introduced first in teaching is another important problem. Starting probably from the idea that it is the form the most frequently found in written sources and therefore the most representative for future, most English courses teach first the form shall/will/'ll + Infinitive. There are also a few more modern courses, mostly American, which start with the form going + to - Infinitive. Both forms are extremely useful for the beginning because they seem to be 'universal' in the sense that any English verb may refer to future by means of both these devices (which is not true of the present indefinite, present continuous while the other expressions are either highly coloured modally or less frequent).

We think, however, that the introduction of other future expressions should not be delayed too long for two reasons; first because they are indispensable to natural and coloured speech and, second, because if introduced too late they may not fit easily into the learner's framework of English. But, according to some very good pedagogical principles, certain forms with future reference (present indefinite, present continuous, present perfect) should

be introduced only when their basic uses have been internalized.

In Romanian, reasons bearing un tradition, symmetry written language would favour the early introduction in teaching of the future forms voi/voi/ya/voi/vati/vor + Infinitive. Conversely, strong arguments of frequency, speech, colloquial style recommend the use at the beginning of the forms am/ai/are + Conjunction present or of the present with future reference.

Fourth, within the future time where a distinction is sometimes pointed out in the literature between: "near(er) future" on the one hand and "Future detached from the present" on the other hand, Close and Cattel, for instance, claim that the forms going + to - Infinitive and be about + to - Infinitive are present-oriented, expressing nearer future as a continuation of the present into the future, and that the forms will/shall/'ll + Infinitive are future-oriented, expressing the idea of future detached from the present. In the sentences:

(18) I'm going to sell the house

(19) I'm about to start my report on the negotiations, the speaker's concern seems to be the present, while in

(20) I'll sell the house next year

(21) I'll be selling the house,

the speaker's vision is directed towards the future.

However, this distinction is not generally accepted. M. Joon, for instance, denies the existence in English of forms for cutting away the future from the present.

In Romanian this distinction has not received much attention probably, we think, because the most frequent future expressions are used to refer to near (er) future and to a more remote future as well.

In the sentences

(22) Am hotărît, îi vind case, mine facem ectele.

(23) Sînt pe cale (punctul) de a vinde case, mine facem ectele

the form present expresses near(er) future

where in

(24) Am hotărît, la anul vînd case și ne mutăm la țară.

it refers to a more remote future time.

x

x

x

Present t m + will/shall/'ll + V stem (will/shall/'ll examining).

This form is labelled in most grammar books future indefinite tense (sometimes future of intention, promise and determination when will is used with first persons, and shall with second and third persons.

Examples:

(25) The President will make a public speech tomorrow (formal newspaper announcement)

RTE<sup>1</sup> Președintele va ține mine un discurs public.

(26) We shall all grow old (a more remote certain future event)

RTE. Toți vor îmbătrîni/toți îmbătrînim.

(27) I'll know tomorrow.

RTE O să știu/voi ști/știu/ mine.

Am să știu/ /eflu/

(28) I bet it will rain tomorrow.

RTE Periez că mine plouă/o să plouă/ va ploua.

<sup>1</sup>RTE = Romanian translation equivalent.

(28) If I see him, I'll tell him (the future event depends on external circumstances)

"If I'll see him, I'll tell him.

RTE Dacă-l văd /fi spun

- (e) am să-l văd/e/am să-i spun

- l voi vedea/fi voi spune

(29) The bus will probably be full when it arrives

"The bus will probably be full when it will arrive

RTE Autobuzul o să fie probabil plin când o să vină/  
ve fi vs veni

(30) "There's someone knocking at the door; I'll go see who it is

RTE Bate cineva la ușă; mă duc să văd cine e(ste).

o/am să mă duc are possible grammatically but unlikely in speech.  
mă voi duce

(31) "Will you lend me some money?" (request) "No, I won't" (refusal)

RTE (Vrei să) - îmi împrumuți niște bani, te rog? "Nu, nu vreau" "Nu-ți împrumut"

(32) "Will you come in?" (invitation)

RTE Peftim înăuntru/intră te rog.

(33) Will you turn the radio off at once (command)

RTE Stinge imediat radioul.

The Romanian translation equivalents (RTE) of the English future tense are the forms voi/vai/va/voe/vati/vor or the abbreviated forms -oi/-ei/-e/-em/(ati(ăi))/-or + Infinitiv, a or am/să/are/avea/arati/am + Coniunctiv present and prezentul. It should be pointed out that in Romanian, viitorul with voi/vai/va etc. is

characteristic of written sources and a more formal style. The abbreviated variant -oi/-ăi/-o/-oa/-ați/ăți/or + Infinitiv (Ex. m-oi duce, te-oi duce, e-o duce, ne-oa duce, v-ați duce, e-or duce), besides its more hesitant future time reference, may carry various modal meanings (possibility eg: "ne-oa face și noi oasă până la anul", threat: "Eu m-oi face eu bine să-i arăt eu lui etc.) It is more frequent in an informal style and dialectal speech. Similarly the forms o and am/a/are/avea/aveți/au + Coniunctiv prezent as well as prezent occur much more frequently in oral communication and a less formal, more colloquial style.

The Romanian future form și + coniunctiv prezent may occur instead of the imperative, e.g. "ei să pleci imediat"; it expresses an even more imperative order than the prezent (e.g. du-te imediat și adu-și certee). This future may also be used in Romanian to attenuate an order, e.g.: am să te rog să fii ouvincios".

Like the historical present, Viitor I may be used instead of the past tense to relate past events; after a series of verbs in the past the following sentence may occur: "țărănișee română din Transilvenia îl va întâmpina cu bucurie pe Mihai Viteezul". The same device is used in newspaper reports for dramatic effects; there is an example reporting the hearing of a case in the law court: iar cînd președintele îl va întreba ce voia să feacă cu banii, consuțul va răspunde "imi trebuiau penăru e plăti o detorie".

Present t m + will/shall/'ll + be-ing + V stem (will/shall /'ll be examining)

called the futura continuous tense is used:

e) to describe a future scene in progress at a certain future time or to denote an action that will continue before and after a certain future moment (with no definite limits).

(35) This time next year you'll be travelling through Europe

RTE. La anul pe vremea asta vei călători/a/si să călătorești  
prin Europa.

(36) When I get there, it will probably be raining.

RTE. Când o/am a-ajung acolo o/ara să plouă probabil  
vei ajunge acolo va ploua probabil

(37) When George gets home Jane will be cooking dinner

RTE. Când George o să ajungă acasă, o va găsi pe Jane pre-  
gătind masa.

va ajunge

b) to express a less definite more casual future event,  
with or without a time adverbial.

(38) I'll be meeting him (tomorrow morning)

RTE. Mă intilnesc (mîine) cu el/ Il intilnesc mîine  
O/am să mă intilnesc mîine cu el/o să-l intilnesc mîine.  
Mă voi intilni mîine cu el/ Il voi intilni mîine.

(39) George and Jane will be going on holidays in two weeks

RTE. George și Jane pleacă în vacanță peste două săptămîni.  
o/or/au să plece  
vor pleca

c) to disambiguate second person questions and in general  
to mark the absence of modality which is felt when 'will' and  
'shall' are used.

(40) Will you stay with us the whole month? is ambiguous. It may  
be a simple question.

RTE stai la noi toată luna?

o/si să stai

vei sta

or b) e request

RTE. Stei, te rog, la noi toată luna.

(41) Will you be staying with us the whole month? is a mere question about the future.

d) There are cases when future continuous is not a mere statement about the future; it carries a modal overtone of supposition, puzzlement, surprise, wonder, disapproval etc., of a future activity, generally introduced by 'the next thing you know'... e.g.

(42) A few days ago he borrowed 25 lei; now he is borrowing 100; the next thing you know he'll be borrowing a month's salary.

RTE. Acum ai luat 25 lei; acum împrumuti 100; mine poimine (curind curind) o să împrumuti cu siguranță un salariu întreg.

The present continuous tense may be substituted for the future continuous in b) and c) e.g.

(43) I'm asking him tomorrow morning

RTE Il întilnesc/mă întilnesc cu el mine dimineată where the present continuous is said to express a deliberate more definite future action.

(44) Are you staying with us the whole month?

RTE Stei la noi toată luna?

o/ei să stei

vei ste

The use of the future continuous in questions is sometimes regarded as more polite.

(45) When will you be going back to your country?

RTE Cînd (o să) vă întorceti, în țere dumneavoastră?

vă veți întoarce

Replacement of the future continuous by the present continuous in sense a) would suggest a different time relation, thus altering the sense of the sentence e.g.

(46) When George gets home, Jane is cooking dinner

RTE Cind (după ce) George  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{o să ajungă} \\ \text{va ajunge} \end{array} \right\}$  acasă, Jane ve  
pregăti masa (se ve apuca să pregătească masa).

There is no one-to-one relation between the future continuous and one specific form in Romanian, as is the case with all English continuous tenses. The RTE are Viitorul with voi/vei/ya etc. + Infinitiv, or am/si/sre etc. + conjunctiv present and presental, the choice depending on the meaning of the verb, the style and other such reasons.

Present t m + will/shall/'ll + have -en + Vataz (will/shall/'ll have examined also labelled future perfect tense or before future.

It denotes an action which will be completed at or before a future time (possibly before another future action) e.g.

(48) Jane hopes that by the end of the holidays she will have become as brown and sunburnt as last summer.

RTE. Jane speră că până la sfârșitul vacanței se ve bronză/ sau va fi bronzată la fel de tare ca ve trecută.

or Jane speră că la sfârșitul vacanței o să fie/ve fi la fel de bronzată ca și în ve trecută.

(49) By the time we get back to Bucharest, we'll have run out of money.

RTE a) Până ajungem la București terminăm toți banii.

b) Cind ajungem la București, nu mai avem un ban.



c) Când o să ne întorcem la București n-o să mai avem  
ne vom întoarce, nu vom mai avea  
nici un ban.

d) Până când ne întorcem/vom întoarce la București vom  
fi terminat toți banii.

Because of the restriction on the occurrence of 'will'  
and 'shall' in subordinate temporal and conditional clauses, the  
meaning of the futura perfect is there expressed by the present  
perfect tense e.g.

(49) I shall have finished this book by dinner time; when I have  
finished it, I'll give it to you.

RTE. Până la masă termin cartea; după ce-o termin și-o dau ție.

e/am să termin cartea; când e/am s-o termin,  
o/am să și-o dau ție.

voi termina cartea; când o voi termina și-o  
voi da ție

voi fi terminat cartea; când o voi fi terminat  
și-o voi da ție.

This is a quite complex form with a special temporal mean-  
ing, which in teaching will require much attention from both the  
teacher and learner even at an advanced stage.

The RTE are present the future forms with e/am etc. +  
Conjunctiv prezent, viitorul with voi/vei etc. + Infinitiv and some-  
times the form called viitor II (t m + 'voi' + stem 's fi' + ppm +  
V stem = voi fi examinat). This form is either very formal (bookish)  
or dialectal and consequently its occurrence is very unlikely and  
infrequent in every-day speech; much commoner seem to be presentul  
and the other future forms, the choice depending, however, on the  
meaning of the verb and various other reasons.

Pr ta + will/shall/'ll + have -an + be -ing + Vaten (will/shall/  
'll have been examining).

also labelled futura perfecti actiua.

This construction is used occasionally for a very long action which will not be completed at some definite time in the future e.g.

(50) By the end of May, I'll have been working here for five years.

RTE La sfirşitul lui mei (se) implinesc cinci ani de cind  
lucrez aici.

o/am să implinesc cinci ani de cind  
lucrez aici.

o/or să se implinescă cinci ani de  
cind lucrez aici.

voi/se vor implini cinci ani de cind  
lucrez aici.

voi/se vor fi impliniţi cinci ani de  
cind lucrez aici.

La sfirşitul lui mei voi fi lucret aici de cinci ani.

Sometimes it is used to denote a long action which will be finished at a certain time in future e.g.

(54) When I retire next year, I'll have been working here for twenty-five years.

RTE La anul cind iss le pensie (se) implinesc 25 de ani de  
cind lucrez aici.

se vor/voi implini

se vor/voi fi impliniţi

voi fi lucret aici de 25 de ani.

This future expression is not very common and therefore not essential in elementary courses. It should however be properly explained and practiced by advanced students of English just because of its low frequency of occurrence in texts. Its RTE are more commonly the forms present and future and rarely the tense viitorul II which is very formal and bookish.

The meaning of the future perfect continuous is signalled in temporal and conditional subclauses by the present perfect continuous tense.

(52) Next year, when I've been working here twenty-five years,  
I'll retire.

Present tm + be - ing + go + to - Vatan (am/are/in going in examining) else labelled near future

Exemples:

(53) Mother is going to bake a really good cake today (intention)  
RTE Mama o /ere să facă o prăjitură groasăă azi.

face

ve face

(54) Now children, I'm going to tell you a story (preparation  
for an immediate future notion which is certain)

RTE Acum copii, o/en să vă spun

vă vei spune

vă spun

o poveste

{ vreau  
am de gând  
am intenție }

să vă spun

(55) The bus is not coming, I'm going to be late for class  
(the notion is certain or highly probable)

RTE Nu vine autobuzul, o/am să intîrzi la școală  
intîrzi  
voi intîrzi

(56) Put your coat on, it's going to rain in a few minutes!  
(obvious symptoms of what the future will bring).

RTE Pune-ți haina (pe tine), o să plouă în cîteva minute  
va ploua peste cîteva minute  
peste cîteva minute plouă

The meaning of this structure can perhaps be best defined in  
Closse's terms, namely that the focus is on some obvious present  
indications of some future event; the indications may be personal  
intention, decision, preparation, objective symptoms of what the  
future will bring (mostly with inanimate subjects) etc.

This construction is common in conversational style and much  
rarer in formal written English.

Its RTE are the forms g or am/sî/are etc. + Continuativ pre-  
sent, viitor with voi/vai/ve + Infinitiv, and present; the phrases  
"a avea intenția", "a avea de gînd", are also possible in certain  
contexts.

Considering its high frequency in speech and colloquial  
style, this form should be introduced early in teaching and treat-  
ed as a completely new grammatical structure, as a problem of to-  
tal learning.

Present t m + Vaten. (examine/examines) + time specification.

(Present Indefinite with future reference)

Examples:

(57) Our plane leaves at Otopeni Airport at eight in the morning.

RTE Avionul nostru ajunge la aeroportul Otopeni la ora opt  
dimineata.

(58) We'd better hurry; the play starts in ten minutes!

RTE Trebuie sa ne grabim; piesa incepe peste zece minute.

(59) We leave here at six, arrive in Bucharest at eight and take  
a plane on to Constanta.

RTE Plecam de aici la sase, ajungem la Bucuresti la opt si  
luam avionul spre (de) Constanta.

(60) I'm free tomorrow afternoon.

RTE Sint liber(a) mine dupa amiaza.

(61) Her husband retires next year.

RTE Soțul ei iese la pensie la anul.

a) The present tense with future reference is used to give the time of planes, trains, theatre and cinema performances, for planned future actions (or series of actions when these concern a journey), usually when everything has been fixed in accordance with a program and nothing interferes with the realization of the event. With this form a time adverbial or some kind of time specification is required to complete the future reference.

The verbs of motion ('coming' and 'leaving' and related meanings) are frequently used in this way; but it should be pointed out that this statement is too narrow because not only motion verbs can be used in this tense but also all verbs which denote activities for which prediction, planning, previous arrangements can be made (see (60) and (61)).

It is frequently stated that, unlike motion verbs, the so-called 'private' and 'status' verbs cannot express future reference by means of the present tense, they requiring will/shall/  
'll or 'going to'.

- (62) <sup>2</sup> I like the dress tomorrow.
- (63) <sup>2</sup> I know the result tomorrow.
- (64) <sup>2</sup> I differ from her tomorrow.
- (65) <sup>2</sup> She takes after her mother in a few years.
- (66) <sup>2</sup> I look tired tomorrow.
- (67) <sup>2</sup> I'm hungry tomorrow.

This restriction applies to all verbs which do not admit of planning or prediction with certainty (e.g. rain, snow, be ill, die, etc.).

- (68) <sup>2</sup> It rains tomorrow.
- (69) <sup>2</sup> I'm ill tomorrow.
- (70) <sup>2</sup> He dies tomorrow (unless it refers to somebody's scheduled execution).

Also these verbs cannot occur in the present tense with future time reference in independent sentences and main clauses, but they do occur in subordinate temporal and conditional clauses (according to the restriction on the occurrence of will/shall/'ll in temporal and conditional clauses).

- (71) If I like the dress, I'll buy it tomorrow.
- (72) If I know the result tomorrow, I'll make a decision.
- (73) When I differ from him, I'll let you know.
- (74) If she takes after her mother when she grows up, it'll be fine.
- (75) If I look tired tomorrow, I won't go to the party.

b) The English present tense may refer to futurity in temporal and conditional clauses; even the verbs which do not occur in the present tense with future time reference in independent sentences may do so in temporal and conditional clauses e.g.

- (76) The teacher will be angry if I'm late again tomorrow.

RTF Profesoare o/aşe să se supere dacă o/sa să întârzie şi mine.  
se ve supăra voi întârziă

In Romanian, the tense indicativ prezent with future time reference has indeed a very high frequency of occurrence in speech and informal, colloquial style in both main and subordinate temporal and conditional clauses. There seems to be no restriction on this use as even the Romanian semantic equivalents of English 'private', 'status' and other verbs that are not used to express futurity in the present tense form may refer to future time in the present tense in main clauses e.g.

(77) a) Aşa îmi place rochia dar mine nu-mi mai place, o să vezi.

b) Dacă mine-mi place rochia o cumpăr.

(78) a) Mine ştiu (aflu) răspunsul .

b) Dacă ştiu (aflu) mine răspunsul, ieu o hotărâre.

(79) a) Mine nu mai sînt de acord cu ea, ascultă-mă pe mine.

b) Dacă mine nu mai sînt de acord cu ea, îţi spun şi ţie.

(80) a) Peste cîtiva ani seamănă cu mama ei, ştiu eu ce spun.

b) Dacă peste cîtiva ani seamănă cu mama ei, e bine.

(81) a) Mine arăt prost dacă nu mă culc devreme.

b) Dacă mine arăt prost, nu mă duc la petrecere.

(82) a) Mine plouă sigur, mă dor toate încheieturile.

b) Dacă mine plouă nu mă duc la munte.

In Romanian a time adverbial may be used with the indicativ prezent to show the future, reference (e.g.: "plec mine la Braşov) but it is not obligatory; in the sentence "termin de scris şi vin şi eu după voi" the meanings of the verbs show that the action is future actually.

The 'indicativ prezent' may occur instead of the imperative with future time reference, e.g. "te duci" imediat şi îmi aduci





limited to verbs referring to events for which human arrangements can be made.

Unlike the present indefinite, the present continuous with future reference does not necessarily require a future time adverbial, provided it is clear from the context or situation that it does not refer to the present; very often the time is immediate future. It may occur in main clauses as well as in subordinate temporal and conditional clauses.

The RTE are normally present tense forms. The future forms with o/am etc. + Conjunctiv present and voi/vai/ve etc. + Infinitiv are also possible but less probable.

The Romanian learner of English will be faced with a problem of 'total learning'. Care should be taken that this use is presented after the present time meaning of the present continuous has been internalised, but, on the other hand, its introduction should not be delayed too long.

Present t + Have - am + Vataz (have/has examined).

The present perfect tense with future reference.

It has already been mentioned that, as will/shall/'ll do not normally occur in temporal and conditional clauses, the meaning of the future perfect is there expressed by the present perfect tense e.g.

(86) We shall go and live in the country next year, if we have found a house by then.

RTE. La anul ne ducem să locuim la țară, dacă până atunci găsim o casă.

La anul o să ne ducem/ne vom duce să locuim la țară dacă până atunci o să găsim/vom găsi/vom fi găsit o casă.

(87) You won't have any dinner until you have washed your hands

RTE. Nu vă dau de mâncare pînă nu vă spălați pe mîini.

Nu vă dau de mâncare pînă n-o să vă spălați/nu vă veți spăla/nu vă veți fi spălat pe mîini.

The RTE are presentul, the future forms o/am etc. + Conjunctiv present, vai/voi etc. + Infinitiv and rarely the form called viitor II which is more formal and therefore much less frequent in speech .

Present t m + 'BE' + to + Vstem (am/are/is to examine).

BE + to - Infinitive e.g.

(88) "I must be at the University before ten; the Minister of Education is to be there.

"Oh, if the Minister is to be there, I'd like to go too!"

RTE "Trebuie să fiu la universitate înainte de 10; vine /trebuie să vină/urmează să vină ministrul învățămîntului".

O, dacă vine ministrul învățămîntului, eu vreau să merg și eu.

(89) Mother says you are to come home at once (firm definite order)

RTE A spus mama să vii imediat acasă/ vino imediat acasă, așa a spus mama.

(90) The little child is not to be comforted for the loss of her kitten

RTE. Bieța fetiță e nemângîiată/nimic nu o poate mîngîia de cînd și-a pierdut pisicuța.

(91) a) The President is to open the exhibition tomorrow

b) President to Open Exhibition Tomorrow

RTE Președintele va deschide urmează să deschidă aline expoziția. deschide..

The verb 'BE' patterns in this construction like a modal verb; so, besides futurity, it expresses an array of modal meanings. This expression is commonly used in journalism; in newspaper headlines it is sometimes used reduced to the Infinitive (see (91) b). The passive Infinitive may also be used with future reference e.g.

(92) He's preparing a report for the congress to be held in London next week.

RTE Scris un raport pentru congresul ce urmează să aibe loc/  
ve avea loc la Londre săptămîna viitoare.

The construction BE + to + Infinitive occurs in main as well as in temporal and conditional clauses.

The RTE vary according to its meaning; it may be a present or a future form, a modal verb + Conjunctive, the Conjunctive, the Imperative etc.

Present tm + BE + about + to + Vata (am/are/is about to examine)  
BE about + to Infinitive

(93) There goes the bell; the train is about to pull out.

RTE Auzi semnalul, trenul gata de plecare.

(94) If the train's about to pull out, we must get on quickly.

RTE. Dacă trenul e gata de plecare, trebuie să ne urcăm repede.

This form is used for immediate future in written styles where 'going to' would be considered too informal. It occurs in main as well as in temporal and conditional clauses.

M. Joss observed that BE about + to - Infinitive seems to occur in the affirmative only.

Depending on a larger context, its RTE may be 'e fi gets +

{<sup>H</sup> Infinitive}; e fi pe punctul de + {<sup>H</sup> Infinitive}; e fi pe cele de + Infinitive; 'e fi oit pe ce' + conjunctive.

Present t m + BE + certain/pure + to - Vaten (am/are/is certain to examine).

BE certain/sure + to = Infinitive.

(95) He's certain/sure to come tomorrow (there's no doubt).

RTE	{ Vine o/ere să vină ve veni	mîine	{ sigur cu siguranță negreșit
-----	---------------------------------------	-------	--

Nu se poate să nu vină mîine.

(96) Be sure and come tomorrow (don't fail to come)

RTE Vino neapărat/nu omve să nu vii mîine  
negreșit

Alongside the future time reference, this construction also carries the modal meaning of certainty, absence of any doubt, earnest request concerning the future event.

The RTE are present or future forms accompanied by modal expressions such as 'sigur', 'cu siguranță', 'negreșit', 'neapărat' etc.

PRESENT T M + BE bound + to + Vaten (am/are/is bound to examine)

BE bound + to = Infinitive e.g.

(97) The boy is bound to win

RTE Băiatul ve câștiga sigur/su siguranță  
o/ere să câștige  
câștigă

(98) The boy is bound to come (obliged, compelled, destined) to come etc.

RTE Băieţul trebuie să vină

Băieţul vine/o să vină/ve veni sigur.

The modal meaning attending the future reference in this construction is certainty or inevitability.

Depending on the context the RTE is either the modal verb 'trebuie' + Conjunctiva or a present or future form and a modal expression.

Present T + BE + due + (to + Vstem) am/are/is due (to examine)  
BE due + (to - Infinitive)

(99) The train is due (in) at 7,30.

RTE Trenul trebuie să sosească/ere sosirea la 7,30.

(100) The boy is not due (here) until eleven.

RTE. Băieţul nu trebuie să vină înainte de ora 11.

This form is used to refer to future events that will take place as a result of a previous plan, arrangement, schedule etc. The RTE is the modal verb 'trebuie' + Conjunctiva or, possibly, in the case of time tables; the verb 'a avea + Noun (sosirea, plecarea etc.).

Ta + modal V + Vstem (can/may/must examine)

Modala + (to) Infinitive

One of the features of modal verbs (other than will/shall/'ll) which seems to be taken for granted in teaching, is that they may occur with future reference in some of their meanings.

'Can', for instance, refers to future in association with future time adverbials when 'permission' or 'availability' is meant (but not capacity) in independent sentences e.g.

(101) You can ride my bicycle tomorrow.

RTE Te leş/si voie/iţi deu voie/poţi să te plimbi cu bicicleta mea mâine.

'Can', however, occurs in temporal and conditional clauses even when capacity is meant e.g.

(102) If you can ride my bicycle by the end of the week, you can keep it.

RTE. Dacă până la sfârșitul săptămânii (o/si să) poti/vei putea să mergi cu bicicleta mea, și-o dau tie/ve fi e te.

As the modal verbs are going to be extensively dealt with elsewhere, we will only give here a few more examples of future time reference and their RTE.

(103) He may/might get here before seven

RTE Poate că ajunge înainte de șapte.

E posibil/s-ar putea să sosească înainte de șapte.

(104) You may/might have my bicycle tomorrow

RTE. Ieși/iți dau voie/si voie/te las să îmi mîine bicicleta mea.

(105) It's no good staying here; we might (just) as well go home

RTE. N-are nici un rost să stăm aici; mai bine ne-am duce acasă

er fi mai bine poate să  
ne ducem acasă.

(106) I must finish the book by tomorrow night (necessity or inferences):

RTE. Trebuie să termin cartea pînă mîine.

Probabil că termin cartea pînă mîine.

(107) You'd better see a doctor early tomorrow morning.

RTE Ar trebui/er fi bine/ ei face bine să te duci la doctor mîine, dimineată devreme.

(108) Shall we go to the theatre tonight? (suggestion or a question about a possible future event).

RTE: Hai să mergem la teatru dăseară.

Mergem la teatru dăseară?

(109) I'd stay home and watch the T.V.

RTE: Prefer să stăm cossă să mă uit la televizor.

(110) You should finish this book by tomorrow night (obligation or supposition).

RTE: Ar trebuie să termini cartea pînă mîine seară.

The Romanian translation equivalents include a variety of forms, the choice depending on the modal verb used and the modal overtone it expresses. The most frequent Romanian equivalent seems to be a modal verb or expression plus conjunctiv present; in some cases a modal verb followed by a past participle is also possible as an equivalent for an English modal + passive infinitive construction, e.g. English: the paper must be handed in by the end of the week; RTE: lucrarea trebuie predată pînă la sfîrșitul săptămîinii.

Also, among the RTE, there occurs the form called Optativ Present to express a more remote possibility, advisability, supposition, obligation, hesitation etc. on the part of the speaker.

The form optativ present may be used with future time reference in Romanian e.g.

(111) M-as duce și eu la meci duminică (tú ce zici?)

(112) As lăsa-o la teatru cu copil. mîine (tu ce părere e?)

It expresses a wish for the future or it implies hesitation, lack of determination etc. on the part of the speaker requesting the interlocutor's opinion.

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This construction occurs with an inverted order in curses and imprecations, e.g.

luș-te-er naiba, vedeș-te-eș oiaș mi-oi vedeș ceafa etc.  
in vulgar language.

The Romanian form conjunctiv prezent may express future reference when it is used in place of the optativ, e.g. Să vie odetă vară! expressing a wish, desire etc.

tm + Vstem (expect, hope etc.) + to-Infinitive (hope to examine)

As many of the future - expressing devices already mentioned, and mostly those implying personal attitudes, are ambiguous, very frequently the speaker will choose what Glose calls a 'more precise expression of futurity', which he thinks will better convey his exact meaning. One such pattern consists of a verb of a certain type followed by a to-Infinitive. The group of verbs which may pattern in this way includes: agree, expect, hope, intend, long offer, plan, promise, refuse etc.

(113) I hope to be promoted by the end of the year.

RTE Sper să fiu avansat pînă la sfîrșitul anului.  
că voi fi avansat  
să mă evanseze

(114) I have decided to go to the mountains for the holidays.

RTE. (M)-am hotărît să mă duc la munte în vacanță.  
că mă voi duce.

The RTE of the pattern V+to-Infinitive are the semantic equivalents of the respective English verbs followed by either the conjunctive, a future form or prezentul with future time reference

A mistake frequently made by foreign learners of English is the use of a subordinate clause containing a verb in the future



tense after a verb that really needs an infinitive. Likewise, mistakes may occur when the learner generalizes the pattern V + to - Infinitive and uses it after verbs requiring a gerund e.g.

(115) \* I suggest to go to the mountains for the weekend,  
instead of

(116) I suggest going to the mountains for the weekend

RTE. Propun să mergem la munte la sfârșitul săptămânii.

(117) I insist on your leaving at once

RTE. Insist să pornești îndată.

Among the verbs that may pattern like this are: insist on, object to, recommend etc.

The RTE of this pattern is the semantic equivalent of the English verb followed by conjunctive.

The imperative and the forms labelled equivalents of the imperative are also used with future reference e.g.

(118) Tell him tomorrow to finish the job by the end of the week

RTE. Spune-i mâine să termine treaba până la sfârșitul săptămânii.

(119) Let us/her/us them tell him tomorrow to call you up.

RTE. (Lasă să-ți spun eu mâine să-ți telefonez).

că-i

The RTE are either the Romanian imperative or the verb 'lăsa' followed by conjunctive or by a clause containing a verb in the present or future.

Another problem which, although important and significant for present-day English, tends to be neglected in teaching and elaboration of grammar books, is the so-called future-in-the past

or shifted-future. This label is usually applied to the form will/shall/'ll + infinitive shifted to would/should/'d + infinitive when the introductory verb is in the past tense.

(120) I'll go on a long trip when I've finished this job becomes,

(121) I said I'd go on a long trip when I'd finished the job.

But many of the other future expressions are shifted in the same way and there is no reason why the term should not be applied to them as well; they should at least be called equivalents of the future-in-the past.

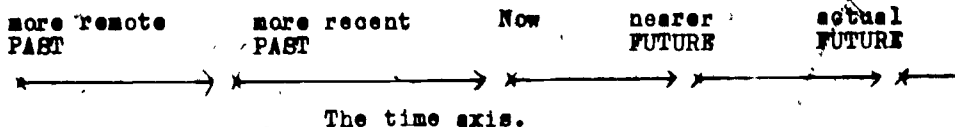
(122) I'm leaving (tomorrow).

(123) I said I was leaving (tomorrow) where  
(the next day)

the present continuous with future time reference becomes past continuous with future reference.

The process of tense-shifting including the shifted future expressions is generally taught and learned mechanically in connection with reported speech and the phenomenon of sequence of tenses.

This could be more effectively done if the meaning of the process of shifting were connected in teaching to the temporal relations on the time axis; this would make it easier for learners to grasp certain exceptions from the mechanical rule, whose frequency in the language seems to be increasing.



All the unshifted future expressions refer to actions occurring after the moment 'now', they being oriented towards the actual future. All shifted future devices show a different relation to the moment of speaking.

In (120) I'll go on a trip when I've finished this job the speaker's concern is focused on the moment now when he makes the statement and the future action is directed towards the actual future.

In (121) I said I'd go on a trip when I'd finished the job, however, the speaker's concern is shifted to the past moment when he made the original statement; the future action may be oriented on the time axis towards:

- 1) a more recent past;
- 2) the present or
- 3) the actual future.

If the speaker's vision is directed to the real future, we may come across unshifted tenses, an increasingly frequent phenomenon in present-day English.

(124) I said I'll go on a long trip when I've finished this job.

(125) I said I'm leaving (tomorrow).

The non-observance of the so-called rules of sequence of tenses, the non-shifting therefore, is usually taught in connection with the present tense expressing 'universal truths' while the non-shifted future expressions do not seem to receive due attention.

As the phenomenon of tense shifting does not occur in Romanian, probably through contrastive interference, it remains a stumbling-block even to advanced learners of English. If the relatively frequent cases of non-shifting in English were insisted upon in teaching, then the situation would be similar to Romanian and the teaching/learning process might be facilitated.

It must be pointed out, however, that the shifting of person and sometimes of time indicators occurs in Romanian as well e.g.

(126) Mă duc aiine la munte

(127) A spus că se duce a doua zi la munte.

There are in English two verb forms used to express an intended (planned) but unfulfilled future notion; the meaning of these constructions is a continuation of the past into a more recent past, the present or the future and, although they are not introduced by a verb in the past tense, they may be included among the shifted future tenses. One of these forms is the past continuous tense associated with a time adverbial e.g.

(128) He was making a public speech yesterday (but he didn't)-.

(129) He was making a public speech today (but isn't now).

(130) He was making a public speech tomorrow (but won't now).

To avoid the possible ambiguity (see 128), this construction is usually accompanied by a fall-rise intonation which means 'but' ... and by nuclear stress on the auxiliary and sometimes on the time adverbial; this intonation is not required when the context shows clearly that the action was planned but not accomplished.

(131) I was calling her up today but I forgot all about it.

The past tense of the verb BE + to - Infinitive (was/were + to - Infinitive/Perfect infinitive) may be used in the same way for an arrangement made in the past and changed later on.

(132) They were to leave/to have left for England last Sunday.

(133) They were to leave/have left for England today.

(134) They were to leave/have left for England next Sunday.

Although these forms are not introduced by another verb in the past, it is obvious that the speaker's concern is the past moment when the intention was expressed, when the decision or arrangement for the future action was made. This is oriented towards

a more recent past in (128) and (132), the present in (129) and (133), and the actual future in (130) and (134).

These constructions seem to be neglected even at a more advanced state in the process of teaching/learning English. The RTE of this type of shifted future tenses are usually the past tense of the modal 'trebuie' + Conjunctiva or the verbs 'a urma', 'a ramane' in a past form + Conjunctiva.

(135) 

Trebuie
Urma
Rămăsece

să-1 telefonas

ieri
azi
măine

dar...

Obviously in R too the speaker's attention is focused on the past moment when the future activity was initiated; hence the use of a past form of the verbs 'trebuie' 'urma', 'ramane' which imply the idea of plan, arrangement, intention.

4. ACTUAL FUTURE EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH

Form	Description	Label
I	1. <del>ts</del> will/shall/'ll + Vstem	Future Indefinite
	2. <del>ts</del> will/shall/'ll + be-ing+Vstem	Future Continuous
	3. <del>ts</del> will/shall/'ll + have+Vstem	Future Perfect
	4. <del>ts</del> will/shall/'ll + have+be-ing+Vstem	Future Perfect Cont.
II	1. <del>ts</del> be-ing+go+to+Vstem	Near Future
	2. <del>ts</del> be-ing+go+to+be-ing+Vstem	Near Future Cont.
III	1. <del>ts</del> +Vstem	Present Indefinite
	2. <del>ts</del> be-ing+Vstem	Present Continuous
	3. <del>ts</del> have+en+Vstem	Present Perfect
	4. <del>ts</del> have+en+be-ing+Vstem	Present Perfect Cont.
IV	1. <del>ts</del> be+to+Vstem	to - Infinitive
	2. <del>ts</del> be+to+be-ing+Vstem	to - Infinitive
	1. <del>ts</del> be+about+to+Vstem	about + to-Inf.
	2. <del>ts</del> be+about+to+be-ing+Vstem	about + to-Inf.
	1. <del>ts</del> be certain+to+Vstem	certain/sure+Inf.in.
	2. <del>ts</del> be certain/sure+to+be-ing+Vstem	certain/sure+Inf.in.
	d. <del>ts</del> be due (adv.)(to+Vstem)	due+(adv.)(to Inf.)
	e. <del>ts</del> be bound+to+Vstem	bound + to Inf.
V	1. <del>ts</del> can/may/must/have to/ought to etc.+Vstem	MODALS+(to) Infinitive
	2. <del>ts</del> have better + Vstem	had better+Infinitive
	3. <del>ts</del> may/just as well+Vstem	may/might (just) as well
	4. <del>ts</del> will rather + Vstem	would rather+Infinitive
VI	1. <del>ts</del> +V expect long plan	V + to - Infinitive
	agree hope decidedly + to + Vstem	
	intend propose determine	
VII	1. <del>ts</del> +Vstem (suggest, object to-ing+Vstem)	V + Gerund
	insist on, recommend	
VIII	1. Vstem	Imperative
	let me/him, her, it/us	



B. SHIFTED FUTURE EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH

PAST FUTURE

I.	1 + past-will/shall/'ll+Vstem	would/should/'d examine	Future Indefinite in the Past
	2 + past-will/shall/'ll+be-ing+Vstem	would/should/'d examine	Future Continuous in the Past
	3 + past-will/shall/'ll+have-en+Vstem	would/should/'d have examined	Future Perfect in the Past
	4 + past +will/shall/'ll+have-en+be-ing+Vstem	would/should/'d have been examining	Future Perf.Cont.in the Past

II	1 + (pers.m) +be-ing+go+to+Vstem	was/were going to examine	near Future in the Past
	2 + (pers.m) +be-ing+go+to+be-ing+Vstem	was/were going to be examining	

III	1 + past + Vstem	examined	Past Indefinite
	2 + {person} + be-ing + Vstem	was/were examining	Past Continuous
	3 + past + have-en + Vstem	had examined	Past Perfect
	4 + past + have-en + be-ing+Vstem	had been examining	Past Perfect Continuous

IV	1 + {person} + BE + to + Vstem	was/were to examine	was/were + to Infinit.
	2 + past + BE about + to + Vstem	was/were about to examine	was/were about + to
	3 + past +BE certain/sure + to + Vstem	was/were certain/sure to examine	was/were certain/sure
	4 + past + BE due + (adv.) (to + Vstem)	was/were due (in) (to arrive)	was/were do +(adv.)/(to-Inf.)
	5 + past + BE bound + to + Vstem	was/were bound to examine	was/were bound + to -Inf.

V	1 + past+will/shall/can/may/have to etc.+ Vstem	should/would/'d/could/might/had to examine	Modals + (to) Infinit.
---	---	--	------------------------

VI	1 + {pers.m} + be-ing + Vstem	was/were examining	Past Continuous (for intended future act.)
	2 + {pers.m} + be. + to + Vstem	was/were to examine	was/were + to-Infinitive (for intended future activities)
	3 + past + be + be-ing + Vstem	was/were to be asking	
	4 + past + be + have-en +to + Vstem	was/were to have asked	







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THE PREPOSITIONAL AND ADVERBIAL PARTICLE IN  
POST VERBAL POSITION IN ENGLISH AND IMPLICATIONS  
FOR THE STUDY OF ENGLISH BY THE ROMANIAN STUDENT

by Nora Tomoşiu

Transcribing a conversation from a tape, Charles Hockett in "A Course of Modern Linguistics" faithfully renders the hesitations and breaks which the speaker who utters the following sentences makes:

"It's uh... it's uh not ... I mean he... (throat cleared) actually well he he we ... we had just sort of...in many ways sort of given up... trying to do very much... until...bedtime. Unless it's something that he can be included in... whereupon he will... usually isn't interested for long enough to really...carry through with it".

It is obvious that, for some reason or other, the speaker is not very sure of what he is going to say next he does not even utter until in the same breath-group with bedtime, the short pauses permitting him to cheese his words.

However, there is no doubt that, in his mind, given up, included in, carry through with, belong together as he gives no sign of hesitation when uttering them.

The Verb-Particle combination is a very frequently met phenomenon in English, not to be overlooked when dealing with ways and means of word-formation in this language and to be treated

with care when teaching it. If we try to give the Romanian translation of the combinations in Hockett's examples, given up, included in<sup>1</sup>, carry through with, we will find that it is only included in which has a perfectly equivalent Romanian translation:

included in = inclus in

In order to find out to what extent the Verb-Particle combination is specific to the English language and how the phenomenon is to be treated when teaching English to Romanian students the first step is to obtain a classification of the various types of Verb-Particle combinations in English.

Having a look at Hockett's examples which comprises verbs and what we have provisionally termed "particles", differences among them will be noticed at several levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic.

The differences are more strongly felt in apparently more similar combinations, like:

He ran up/ He ran up a bill/ He ran up a hill.

He looked down and saw us in the street/ He looked down on us/ She brought up the child with care/ The porter brought up the luggage/ The porter brought it up the stairs.

The classification we propose to obtain has two levels: using formal<sup>2</sup> criteria, we try to obtain a clear-cut distinction-

1. Even this is only true for the verb particle taken separately, as a translation of the whole sentence:

"It's something that he can be included in"

"Fapt se va in care el nu poate fi inclus"

has no perfect structural equivalent in Romanian either.

between the particle as an adverb and the particle as a preposition.

- basing on the adverb-preposition distinction and using semantic criteria, we try to separate the combinations into semantic classes.

I. Classification of Particles according to Formal Criteria

There are cases in which there is no doubt as to the prepositional or adverbial nature of the particle.

Thus, in:

I look at him

at can only be a preposition, this being its sole function, according to O.E.D.

The same goes for:

I look for him.

where for can only be a preposition as the word is enlisted in O.E.D. either as a preposition or as a conjunction, when it is "introducing a new sentence or series of sentences containing proof of or reason for believing what has been previously stated", which is by no means the case here.

Likewise, in :

He put the book aside

or . He put money aside.

the particle can only be an adverb as the only other function of the word aside as recorded by O.E.D. is that of a noun which obviously cannot be accepted in this context.

But there are multiple cases<sup>1</sup>, where the prepositional or

---

1. Like for instance the examples already mentioned on page 2.

adverbial quality of the particle is by no means clear<sup>1</sup>. In order to solve this problem, some criteria have to be found to meet the following conditions:

- their number must be as restricted as possible;
- they must be generally valid: if exceptions are likely to occur, they should be easily detectable and numerically insignificant.

The facts we know for sure and intend to base our criteria on are:

1) If the verb-particle combination has one object<sup>2</sup> and if that object occupies medium position, separating the verb from the particle:

V - Obj - Prt

1. G. Dietrich in "Adverb oder Präposition", Halle, Saale 1960, page 9, points out the lack of precision in the adverbial and prepositional use of the particle in all grammars and monographs: "Den Kategorien der "reinen" Adverbien wie aside, away, back, forth, together, ush. und der ausschliesslich präpositional gebrauchten Formwörter wie at, for, from, of, till, with, usw., about, above, across, along, around, before, behind, below, between, beyond, by, down, in, inside, near, off, on, out, outside, ever, past, round, through, throughout, under, up, usw. gegenüber, die sowohl in adverbialer wie in präpositionaler Verwendung auftreten und über die vielfach in Grammatiken und selbst in monographischen Darstellungen bisweilen noch eine überraschende Unklarheit herrscht".
2. What we accept under the label of an object is either what would be generally called a Direct Object of the V-Prt taken together, if the particle was proved to be an adverb, Ex.: He gave up/the idea, or a Prepositional Object if the particle was proved to be a preposition. Ex.: He looked/at me. Many authors also consider me in this context to be the direct object of the verb look at. The more so as, the distinction Direct-Prepositional object is not relevant for our purpose. What matters is not to have complements interfere. For instance the combination He turned out a failure, where turn out is an intransitive - He turned out to be a failure will be treated like V-Prt-O, object slot being left unfilled. Not so with: They turn out steel, where steel is a direct object of turn out and will be treated like V-Prt-Obj. It suits our purpose at least at this stage to adopt this latter view and consider all verbs + particles together, the object following being a direct object of the whole combination and accepted here under the generic name "object".

then that particle can only be an adverb<sup>1</sup>.

2) When the object is unstressed, that is when expressed by a personal pronoun, it cannot be placed after the particle if the latter is an adverb.

I put the book down            I put it down  
I put down the book           \*I put down it<sup>2</sup>.

3) Irrespective of the adverbial or prepositional nature of the particle, the combination may or may not be followed by one object of the type described.

Ex.: He gave up the idea.

He never gave up.

He came down the road.

He came to.

This is the man we spoke about.

According to fact 3, we may divide the combinations into the following 2 patterns:

A: V - Prt - Obj

B: V - Prt - O

1. To mention only one of the authors stating this idea: trying to make the distinction adverb-preposition, A.Hill in "Introduction to Linguistic Structures" mentions: "Of all the situations, however, that of Verb-Complement-Adverb is the clearest. A sentence such as: John looked her hat over "can only be containing an adverb".
2. There is one exception in this case: the use of the object in a situation of contrast, either expressed or implied. Ex: "I rang up you is generally unacceptable, but it may be used when something like... "not your brother" follows or is implied. However, we can afford neglecting this exception, it being quite insignificant. Hill mentions this form to exist in his idiolect "only as a contrast form". Xenia Anastasiewicz, in her doctoral thesis "Dvočleni Glagol u Sovremenom Engleskom Jeziku" found that out of 1300 cases where the object was expressed by a personal pronoun, only one accepted this order.

Pattern A V - Prt - Obj

According to fact 1, the positional variation may bring out the difference between the particle as an adverb and the particle as a preposition.

Thus, in case the position V - Obj - Prt is correct and acceptable in the English language, the particle can only be an adverb.

Let this positional variation be the first criterion of differentiation.

According to fact 2, we take as a second criteria, the behaviour of the unstressed object, that is of the object expressed by a personal pronoun.

We include the two criteria in a table. We test the validity of the table, by means of the 2 particles already mentioned, whose function is clear.

	V - Obj - Prt	V - Prt - Obj
Obj. = pers. pr.	put it aside ⇒ look him at	⇒ put aside it look at him.
	1)	2)

Analysing the table, we obtain :

square 1 : sentence correct : Prt = Adv.

sentence incorrect : Prt = Prep.

square 2 : sentence correct : Prt = Prep.

sentence incorrect : Prt = Adv.

The above table and its results may be used to make a differentiation in all clauses where  $Obj \neq 0$ , except for the situation of contrast mentioned above.

The table should be used as a sort of Procuſte's bed. All verb particle combinations ſhould be made to fit the table.

Two operations are to be done to this end. Firſt, all other parts of ſpeech except for the verb, particle and object will be diſcarded.

Ex.: Barbara left the light on all night →

left the light on

You ſhould write down what I ſay →

write down what I ſay.

That'll add to the noiſe →

add to the noiſe.

Care ſhould be taken not to have the leaſt alteration done in the meaning of the combination or elſe their rich polyeny might lead to erroneous reſults.

Secondly, no matter what the object is expreſſed by, the reſpective word or phraſe or clause will be replaced by the correſponding perſonal pronoun with no change in the order of words.

Ex.: left the light on — left it on

write down what I ſay — write down it

add to the noiſe — add to it.

The combination thus obtained is fitted into the table which yields the reſults:

Ex.: left it on  
V - Obj - Prt

{ fits ſquare 1

{ is correct

on = Adv

write down it

V - Prt - Obj

{ fits ſquare 2

{ is not correct

down = Adv



add to it (fits square 2  
V Prt - Obj (is correct  
to = Prep

PATTERN B

In cases where there is no object of the type described following the verb, we preserve the criteria used for pattern A and add one more: that of transitivity.

The following situations may occur:

(a) The verb-particle combinations may be intransitive of the types:

come in, go out - verb + locative particle  
stand out, give in - idiomatic combinations

These types of verbs are not and cannot be followed by an object.

It is obvious that in this case, the particle can only be an adverb as a preposition in such situation would deny the very reason of existence of the preposition - that is its role of linking.

(b) There are verb-particle combinations which are not followed by an object but nevertheless the object exists in a position preceding the verb. This may occur in interrogative sentences, attributive clauses, causative or passive constructions.

Ex.: what shall we take out ?

what has he spoken about ?

Here is everything I could find out.

This is the man whom I was speaking about.

I'll have it written down.

He must be looked after.

This project is likely to be given up.

In any of these cases, inversions or transformations are made in the sentence which can bring the respective object in post-verbal position - it does not matter whether before or after the particle - and then they are dealt with just like pattern A cases.

Ex.: What shall we take out ? →

We shall take out what ←

take out what →

take out it

{ fits square 2

{ is incorrect

out = Adverb

what has he spoken about ? →

he has spoken about what →

spoken about it

{ fits square 2

{ is correct

about = Prep

Here is the man whom I was speaking about →

I was speaking about whom →

speaking about whom →

speaking about him.

{ fits square 2

{ is correct

about / Prep

He must be looked after →

Somebody must look after him →

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look after him

{fits square 2

{is correct

after = Prep

(c) The third case comprises these verb particle combinations which are potentially transitive but the object is not expressed anywhere in the sentence, either because the action is generalized or because the object has been expressed somewhere else in the text and is only implied in the respective clause.

Ex. : You should never give up.

A smoke signal from the colonel. Agreed on between us.

An operation of addition is made in this case.

A personal-pronoun direct object is conventionally added so that the combination is turned into a shape to fit pattern A.

Then, a pattern A procedure will be used.

Ex. : You should never give up it —

give up it

{fits square 2

{is not correct

up = adverb

Agreed on between us →

Agreed on it between us →

Agreed on it

{fits square 2

{is correct

on = Prep.

To conclude:

To solve cases included in pattern B, the following operations are made:

- the transitivity of the combination is analysed.

If the combination is intransitive, it belongs to type B a, then the particle is an adverb.

If it is transitive, type B-b object may be expressed in the sentence in some place preceding the verb; then the object is brought in post-verbal position and the combination treated like a pattern A one;

- type B g, the object may not exist anywhere in the sentence, then a conventional personal pronoun direct object is added and the combination treated like a pattern A one.

#### Misleading cases

Special attention should be paid to misleading cases like

"What is this bath-tub for?"

"To wash the baby in".

Consisting of: Trans.Vt + Direct object + Prep. governing an implied prepositional object which can easily be taken for a combination of pattern A - square 1.

To avoid errors in this connection, the status of the object should be ascertained. If the object belongs to the verb alone and not to the verb + particle taken together, that is if the object stays on, with the same meaning, while conventionally discarding the particle (To wash the baby), then we can conclude that the combination is not a pattern A one but merely a transitive.Vb + its object + a preposition standing for the whole prepositional set it is supposed to govern.

Treatment of - ing Form objects

Separate mention should be made of combinations V - Prt - ing form. To save further analysis on the nature of the ing form, it suits our purpose simply to discard it altogether and treat the combination like a V - Part - O one, namely Pattern B - point c.

We add the pronominal object to fill in the third slot and apply the table square 2. If the resulting sentence is correct in English, the particle is a preposition, if it is incorrect, it is an object.

He kept on reading	He insisted on reading
He kept on it	He insisted on it
(fits square 2	(fits square 2
(is incorrect	(is correct
Prt = Adv.	Prt = Prep.

II. CLASSIFICATION OF COMBINATIONS ACCORDING TO SEMANTIC CRITERIA

In order to obtain a semantic classification of the verb-adverb and respectively verb-preposition combinations, the semantic value of each of the two components will be compared to the semantic value of the whole.

Let us consider  $x$  to stand for the semantic value of the verb taken separately,  $y$  for the semantic value of the adverb or preposition when in isolation,  $xy$  for the semantic value of the combination.

Irrespective of the adverbial or prepositional nature of the particle, three large classes may be distinguished according to the semantic value of the combination as against its components.

A :  $xy = x + y$

B :  $xy \neq x + y$

$\neq x$

$\neq y$

C :  $xy = x$

A :  $xy = x + y$

(a) Verb + Adverb

This category comprises the intransitive free combinations verb - adverbial particle with a locative meaning. Ex.: go out, fly up, go back, rush in, drive by.

They can be considered to be free combinations for the following reasons:

- The added meanings of the 2 components equal the meaning of the combination.
- both the adverb and the particle may be substituted, with the respective change in meaning, this pointing to the 0 degree of fusion between the components.

Ex.: go out - rush out, drive out, come out  
go in, go by, go through

Some of these components are, more than others felt to belong together owing to their high frequency of occurrence: go out, come in.

(b) Verb + Preposition

The free combinations Verb + Preposition (+ Noun Phrase) fall into this category.

Ex.: He came into the house / This is the house he came into.  
He drove by the house / This is the house he drove by.

The preposition brings in its own meaning..

Semantically, the preposition + the Noun Phrase together play the role performed by the Adverb alone in category a. Most often, the Prep. + N. Phrase may be substituted by the corresponding adverb.

- He drove by the house    He drove by.
- He came into the house    - He came in.

B   X   \*   X + Y  
         \*   X  
         \*   Y

(c) Verb + Adverb

This category comprises the Verb + Adverb combination whose meaning cannot be deduced from that of the components, the fusion between them being complete.

Ex.: Give up, bring up.

This type of combination can only be substituted as a whole.

Ex. : give up    - renounce  
      bring up    - educate

(d) Verb + Preposition

The same type of semantic relations as in (c) exists in combinations of this category.

Ex. / stand for, look after.

Just like type (c) combinations, they usually allow for no separate substitution of the components.

Ex. : stand for    represent  
      look after    watch

though accidentally, there might be similarities in meaning, as in

She fell for him  
She went for him

Q-----X.Y---X.

(e) Verb + Adverb

There are cases when the meaning of the Verb-Adverb combination is equivalent to the meaning of the verb alone.

Ex. : check up = check.

From a strictly semantic point of view, the particle is used redundantly. Sometimes, the use of the particle in this case points to dialectal or stylistic differences.

(f) Verb + Preposition

There are two types of combinations observing the conditions:

{ X.Y = X  
{ Prt = Prep.

We will label them separately f and g.

(f) Combinations of the type visit with where the meaning of the preposition is 0, and we may drop it with no change - semantic or other - in the combination.

This type has probably appeared on the basis of an analogy with category (e).

(g) Here, we include the so-called verbs with obligatory prepositions, of the type think of, succeded in, where the meaning of the preposition does not add anything new to that of the verb, yet the preposition cannot be discarded if it governs an object either immediately following it or in displaced position.

Compare : type e = check up the translation  
may become : check the translation

type f = visit with friends  
may become : visit friends



type g = think of John , succeed in your work  
may not be changed into

\* think John

\* succeed your work

Type a c

There is one more category of verb-particle combinations, and namely, that of the type sat up, read on, where the particle - and adverb in this case - does bring a new meaning which is added to that of the verb and from this point of view they could be included in category a. Only the meaning brought in by the adverb is not the meaning it usually carries when in isolation. It is a new meaning, only acquired by the adverb when in such combinations with verbs, or, as Marchand<sup>1</sup> puts it a "class meaning in combination". From the point of view of the new meaning acquired by the particle, this type of combination has also some points in common with category (c). However, if we try to put it into a formula, something of the type :

$$X Y = X + Y_1$$

will result - which is more similar to category a than to c.

Therefore, we suggest placing it side by side with category a, under the label ag.

III. INDICATIONS FOR CONTRASTIVE STUDY

To have a clear idea of how the Verb-Particle combinations should be treated when taught to Romanian students or trans-

1. Hans Marchand: The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation.

lated into Romanian, a summarizing scheme drawn on the basis of the twofold classification obtained so far might be useful.

	$xy = x + y$ (free combination)		$xy \neq x + y$ idiom	$xy = x$ semantically insignificant particle	
ad- verb	come in drive by walk about	eat up read on	give up give in make up	check up	
	a	ao	c	e	
pre- po- si- tion	come into (the house) drive by (the house) walk about (the house)	make for stand for look after		visit with	succeed in think of
	b	d		f	g

Category a:

This type of combination presents no difficulties in teaching it or translating it into Romanian. A comprehensive contrastive study should include all such particles in English - their number being finite - together with their translation.

It is not equally simple to enlist all verbs capable of getting into such combinations, but it is not important to do so either, as most of them are generally motion verbs easily substitutable with each other and the study of the particles in combination with one or two of them should be sufficient.

Category b:

It is irrelevant to study this category contrastively. What it boils down to is just a free combination of a verb + a linking preposition + a noun phrase each of these three parts ringing in their own meaning.

The number of prepositions is limited but the number of verbs and noun phrases is not and there is no other link between the 3 components than the plain connection between them in the semantic sphere according to the speaker's free choice.

Category ag:

This type allows for an exhaustive contrastive study.

It is the particle which should be paid special attention to in this case. The number of particles as well as their class meanings in combination are limited. They might be studied in comparison with type g.

The study of up, for example, in type ag combinations as compared to up in type g combinations might look like below

F type a	R	F type a c	R
<p><u>up = to or in a high (er) place. position, degree (ORD)</u></p> <p>Go <u>up</u> !</p> <p>The balloon flew <u>up</u></p>	<p>Mergi <u>sus</u> !</p> <p>Balonul a zburat <u>in sus</u></p>	<p><u>up-completeness of an action</u></p> <p>Eat <u>up</u> !</p> <p>The stream has dried <u>up</u></p>	<p>Mănincă <u>tot</u></p> <p>A secat <u>complet</u></p>
		<p><u>up-nearness to the place in question or where the speaker is.</u></p> <p>Come <u>up</u> to me !</p>	<p>Vino <u>plin</u> la mine.</p>
		<p><u>up=increase in intensity</u></p> <p>speak <u>up</u></p> <p>sing <u>up</u></p>	<p>Vorbeste mai <u>tare</u></p> <p>Cântă mai <u>tare</u></p>

Types c and d :

These two types of combinations may be treated as idiomatic on two levels :

- first, from a semantic point of view, as it is utterly impossible to infer the meaning of the combination from that of the components.

- secondly, from the point of view of word-formation it is a means specific to the English language.

That is why we propose to include a contrastive study of these types within a separate study of English idioms.

Anyway, whether the Romanian equivalent of such an idiom is a plain verb (give up - a renunța) or another idiom (stand by - fiți gata), one thing is obvious: the idiomatic combinations of types c and d should always be treated as a whole.

Types e and f :

They are idiomatic not from the first point of view mentioned above, but from the second, the semantically insignificant particle being probably introduced in these cases strictly by analogy with cases c and d respectively.

In teaching them, the redundancy of the particle or its dialectical or stylistic implications might be pointed out.

Ex. 1

R	E
a verifica	<u>check</u> check up
a vizita	<u>visit</u> (Am) visit with

Type E :

This type must be carefully dealt with in teaching or translation as it is responsible for a great number of errors.

Such verbs with obligatory prepositions exist in Romanian as well as in English, only their transitivity, the compulsory nature of the preposition of the number of preposition accepted by the verb may vary in the two languages.

Complete-parallel tables should be drawn for the benefit of the student of English.

C o n c l u s i o n s

When dealing with verb-particle combinations, the type they belong to should be first determined.

In deciding upon the adverbial or prepositional nature of the particle, care should be taken to include the respective case in the right pattern, and this can be done by paying particular attention to the existence or non-existence of what we have termed here objects of the combinations.

As for the semantic classes we must mention they do not claim to bring in a very strict delimitation as there are cases where the inclusion of the combination in one category or another depends to a certain extent on the speaker's point of view. For instance, it is difficult to definitely state whether a combination like get up (rise from bed) belongs to type c (idiom) or to type a (free combination).

However, the number of doubtful cases is low, the semantic classes set up being able to cover most of the material.

So far as a contrastive analysis is concerned, the present paper has only attempted to sketch some directions of study to be further developed and improved upon.

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A PEDAGOGICAL GRAMMAR OF MODAL SENTENCES WITH MAY/MIGHT  
AND CAN/COULD AND THEIR NEAREST ROMANIAN EQUIVALENTS.

by Elena Biră

0. The present paper is an attempt to give a description of English sentences containing the modal verbs may/might, can/could and of their nearest Romanian equivalents on two co-ordinates; their grammatical form and their semantic content.

The description of the grammatical component will account for the formal markers occurring in the modal verb phrases examined (tense, person, modal, perfect, continuous, passive, reflexive markers). A modified version of the formal system proposed by Twaddell will be used for the grammatical analysis.

The semantic analysis will take into account several dimensions: 1) the semantics of the modal verbs, namely the illocutionary potential of a sentence, or the speaker's attitude to the proposition of a sentence; 2) the semantics and function of the formal markers (past, perfect, continuous, passive, reflexive); 3) the use the speaker makes of a certain modal meaning namely the illocutionary force of a sentence or the speaker's purpose; 4) the function of the context; 5) the time relations; 6) negation with modals. Basic to the semantic analysis are Boyd and Thorne's "The Semantics of Modal Verbs" and Ehrman's "The Meanings of the Modals in Present-Day American English". For the analysis of the Romanian equivalents several works have been consulted: Valeria Guțu, "Semiauxiliarele de mod"; D. Crașoveanu, "In jurul categoriei predicatului" (cu privire la verbele de modalitate și de aspect); Gh.N. Dragomirescu, "Auxiliarele modale"; Gramatica Academiei etc.



1. Analysis of the grammatical component.

The English modal verbs 'may' and 'can' and the adverb 'maybe' as well as their Romanian counterparts the modals 'a putea' and 'a veni' and the modal adverb 'poate (ca)' will be examined.

'May' and 'can' are defective verbs; they can only take another form 'might'/'could' when they bear the past-marker; they are never marked for person ('mays', 'cans) or mood either ('to may', 'to can', 'saying', 'sanning etc.)

'A putea' exhibits tense, person and mood markers, in other words it appears in all tenses, persons and moods, even the non-personal ones, e.g. 'put', 'putei', 'putea', exhibits person and tense markers (present tense, first, second and third persons singular); 'am putea' exhibits person, tense and mood markers (first person singular, present conjunctive); 'a' in 'a putea' is the infinitive marker; the '-ind' suffix in 'neputind' is the marker of the 'gerunziu' mood.

'A veni' has only tense and mood markers, that is it can appear in all tenses and moods, but it is invariable for person, e.g.

Present tense .....

Imperfect

first person: am vin

am venea

second person ai vin

ai venea

third person: ei vin

ei venea

etc.

A veni = infinitiv

am-mi vin = present conjunctiv

venindu-mi = gerunziu

Being non predicative verbs the modals 'may' and 'can' are followed by what has been labelled 'the short infinitive' of a

lexical verb (whose meaning they modify).

The Romanian modal 'a putea' is followed by a lexical verb in either the short infinitive (without the 'a' marker) or the form labelled 'conjunctiv', e.g.

pot lucra; a putut lucra

pot să lucrez; a putut să lucrez

Valeria Guțu Romale noticed a marked preference for the infinitive in contemporary Romanian (E. Sadoveanu uses only 'a putea + infinitive' in the first twenty-four pages of 'Aventură în luna Dumării'). We have found, however, that in spoken Romanian this is not exactly the case.

There are cases when 'a putea' is followed by a long infinitive (a) in old texts, e.g.

a) Ca să putea și noi a derepta toate lucrările. (Coresi)

b) when the normal order is inverted, e.g.

Dar de-i umbra ei aceea atunci ea un inger este

Însă aripile-i albe lume-g le vedea nu poate (Eminescu)

Erau patru saci mari, plini plinuți ... încît

nici a-i duce nu putea (Botezanni)

The Romanian modal 'a veni' is normally followed by a lexical verb in the conjunctive, e.g.

Îi venea să-și gusta limba

or rarely by a long infinitive, e.g.

I-a venit a rida.

Nu-mi venea a crede.

There are cases when may/might, can/could can also stand by themselves:

a) in cases of deletion, when the lexical verb which should follow them was mentioned before and is not repeated, e.g.

He wanted to help her but unfortunately he couldn't.

b) in short answers, e.g.

May I go now? Yes, you may. No, you may not.

Can he cook? Yes, he can. No, he can't.

c) in question tags, e.g.

You can swim, can't you?

d) in addition to remarks introduced by 'so' or 'nor' (neither),  
but, e.g.

Jim, can speak Spanish and so can his wife.

He can't come and neither can his sister.

She can't eat oysters but I can.

1.3.1. Similarly, in Romanian 'a putea' may stand by itself:

a) to avoid repetition of the lexical verb mentioned before, e.g.

Descurcă-te băiete dacă poți.

Îi înbrăcăm și noi cu ce putem.

Mmcesco și eu cît pot.

b) when the second verb is not expressed but may be deduced from  
the context, e.g.

Cînd nu mai poate și-i ajunge cuțitul la os, atunci izbucnește  
(missing verb = suporta, îndura).

c) in short answers, e.g.

Peți veni cu noi? 'Da, pot'. 'Nu, nu pot'.

d) 'a putea' in the reflexive is used alone as an equivalent of the  
modal phrase 'e posibil', e.g.

Se poate să me dați și nouă o cană cu apă?

Se poate, bucură!

'May' and 'can' optionally co-occur with perfect (have-en),  
continuous (be-ing) and passive (be-en) markers attached to the  
lexical verb, that is the infinitive following them may be perfect,  
continuous, passive. These markers have important roles in the  
interpretation of the overall semantics of the modal sentence.

These markers are potentially co-occurrent, in all possible  
combinations, but in practical situations constructions with four

or five markers are not frequent, e.g.

It can be being examined.

It could have been being examined.

'A putea' also may occur with a perfect, a passive, a reflexive, or a reflexive passive infinitive or conjunctive, or combinations of the four markings, e.g. poate să se rezolve = poate + reflexive passive conjunctive; se poate rezolva = poate + reflexive passive infinitive; poate să se fi rezolvat = poate + perfect reflexive passive conjunctive; poate să fi fost rezolvată = poate + perfect passive conjunctive .

The reflexive pronoun (marker) belonging to the infinitive precedes the modal 'a putea' which points to a close fusion between the modal and the lexical verb, e.g.

Lasă-l, se poate apăra și singur.

Se înfurie că nu-și putea aduce aminte.

Problema nu se poate rezolva așa ușor.

When 'a putea' is followed by a conjunctive, the reflexive pronoun accompanies the conjunctive, e.g.

Puteam să ne prăpădim .

Dao-ar putea să-ți ia și pielea de pe tine.

2. The semantic analysis. Central to this description proposed by Boyd and Thorne is the idea that the modals have the function of marking the illocutionary potential of a sentence, to signal the speaker's attitude, that is the decision how to assess the truth of a proposed statement. In the case of 'may' and 'can', on the one hand, and 'a putea' and 'a veni' on the other hand, the speaker's attitude is that he thinks the proposition is possible, permissible, hypothetical etc. Sentences therefore can be characterized as being made up of the components.

S - illocutionary potential + proposition

(speaker's attitude)

modal

The job of, for example, the modal 'might' is to indicate that the illocutionary potential of 'He might have left the room' is that of being hypothetical (I, speaker, think hypothetical: he left the room). But Boyd and Thorne's analysis has to be complicated a little as the speaker's purpose in uttering a sentence is not always the same as his attitude to its propositional content. For example: 'you might shut the door' may be understood as a reproach or a mild imperative. In this case 'might', although showing that the sentence is potentially hypothetical is part of an utterance that is said to have the illocutionary force of a casual command. Therefore, modals signal the speaker's attitude (illocutionary potential of a sentence) which may or may not coincide with the speaker's purpose (the illocutionary force) in an utterance.

Here is a modified version of R.A. Jarvis' summary chart of Boyd and Thorne's analysis of the modals under discussion:

SPEAKER SAYS

<u>Speaker's attitude</u>	<u>Proposition</u>	<u>Modal</u>
<u>Speaker Think Possible</u>	<u>Proposition</u>	<u>may; might; could</u>
<u>Speaker Think Possible</u>	<u>Neg. Proposition</u>	<u>may not; might not</u>
<u>Speaker Permit</u> <u>Somebody</u>	<u>Proposition</u>	<u>may / can</u>
<u>Neg. Speaker Permit</u> <u>Somebody</u>	<u>Proposition</u>	<u>may not; can not</u>
<u>Speaker Suggest</u>	<u>Proposition</u>	<u>might; could</u>
<u>Speaker Think Hypothetical</u>	<u>Proposition</u>	<u>might; could</u>

This analysis does not seem satisfactory for a pedagogical grammar in that it does not cover all the occurrences of the modals examined and does not account for their very frequent and subtle stylistic uses. That is why, we think, the analysis had to be reconsidered in a few details.

3. Sentences with 'may' in the surface structure tend to be ambiguous. For example, 'He may come' may be roughly interpreted as either 'I don't deny he comes' (possible may) or as a denial that someone /something forbids his coming 'I deny that someone/something forbids he comes' (permissive may). That is why we shall analyse every occurrence of 'may' (and 'can' for that matter) in context, as contextual features may help to remove the ambiguity.

(1) With luck I may/might succeed.

RTE: Cu puțin norod pot/  
se putea reuși/să reușesc  
 or: se poate/s-ar putea să reușesc  
 or: e posibil să reușesc  
 or: poate (că) reușesc

(2) You may/might be right but I don't think you are

RTE: Poti avea/să ai dreptate  
 or: dar eu nu cred că ai.  
s-ar putea să ai dreptate.  
 or: Se poate să ai dreptate.  
 or: E posibil să ai dreptate.  
 or: Poate (că) ai dreptate  
 or: Qi avea dreptate

(3) We'd better be early; there may/might be a crowd.

RTE: Ar fi bine să ajungem din  
 din timp: poate fi/să fie  
inghesială.  
 or: s-ar putea să fie inghesială.  
 or: se poate să fie inghesială  
 or: e posibil să fie inghesială  
 or: poate (că) e inghesială  
 or: e fi inghesială.

Description of the grammatical component of the above English verb forms containing 'may':

± past marker + modal + V stem  
 'may' BE NP  
 Adj.  
 Adv.

Semantic description or speaker's attitude:



Speaker says: speaker thinks proposition possible.

The RFE of these forms are:

a) the modal 'a putea' bearing present tense and person markers followed by either an infinitive or a conjunctive

pot reuși/să reușesc

poți avea/ să ai

poate fi/ să fie

b) the impersonal reflexive form of 'a putea' (se poate) or the modal phrase 'e posibil' followed by conjunctive:

se poate/ e posibil să reușesc

se poate/ e posibil să ai

se poate/ e posibil să fie

c) the adverb 'poate' optionally followed by the conjunction și and by the present indicative tense:

poate (și) reușesc

poate (și) ai

poate (și) e(ste)

d) the mood labelled 'presumptiv':

o ai avea dreptate

o fi înghesuhă

Note that possible variants of 'may' in the above examples are 'might' and 'could' and that the function (speaker's purpose) of the past tense marker is to indicate a lower degree of possibility.

The time reference is either present or future, generally signalled by contextual features (time adverbials or general meaning of the context).

(4) I can't use my right foot;  
I may/might have broken my  
ankle; I may possibly have  
done so.

RFE: Am ova la piciorul drept  
poate (și) mi'am fractu-  
rat glezna.

or: mi-ei fi fracturat glezna  
or: se poate să-mi fi fractu-  
rat glezna.

or: s-ar putea să-mi fi fracturat  
or: e posibil să-mi fi fracturat.

(5) 'I wonder what's happened to the others'.

RTE: "Ce s-o fi întâmplat ou ceilalți?"

"Their car may/might have broken down."

"Poate(că) au avut o pană.  
or: Oț fi avut o pană.

or: "Se poate/s-ar putea/e posibil să fi avut o pană.

In (4) and (5) the modal verb co-occurs with the perfect marker (have-en). Its function is not just to signal current relevance but to indicate past time reference, permitting the past-marked 'might' to carry only hypothesis and show a lower degree of possibility.

The RTE are:

a) The adverb 'poate' optionally followed by the conjunction 'că', and the 'tense labelled "perfectul compus"

poate (că) mi-am fracturat...  
poate (că) au avut...

b) the tense called 'prezuntiv perfect'

mi-oi fi fracturat ...  
vor/or fi avut o pană ...

c) the impersonal reflexive form 'se poate', 's-ar putea' or the modal phrase 'e posibil' followed by conjunctiv perfect.

se poate/ s-ar putea/ e posibil să-mi fi fracturat  
se poate/ s-ar putea/ e posibil să fi avut...

In Romanian the past time reference is signalled by the use of either 'perfectul compus' or 'prezuntiv perfect'.

(6) We think that he may/might be hiding in the woods.

RTE: Poate(că) se ascunde s-a ascuns in pădure.

or: s-o fi ascuns astunzind in pădure.

or: se poate/s-ar putea/ e posibil să se ascundă să fie ascuns să se fi ascuns



(7) This time next year we may/might be travelling round the U.S.

RTE: La anul pe vremea asta poate (oă) vom călători prin S.U.A.

or: Se poate/s-ar putea/ e posibil să călătorim prin S.U.A.

(8) He may/might have been hiding in the woods.

RTE: Poate (oă) se ascundea în pădure.

or: se putea/a-ar fi putut/ era posibil să se fi ascuns.

or: va/o fi fost ascuns în pădure.

The English continuous marker (be-ing) co-occurring with the modal (possible 'may') in the above examples which Twaddell defined as signalling 'limited duration', has no one-to-one correspondent in Romanian. The time reference is either present in (6), future in (7) or past in (8). The RTE of may/might continuous infinitive are: a) the adverb poate (oă) followed by 'indicativ prezent' or 'viitor' (when the time reference is future);

b) 'prezuntiv' c) Se poate/s-ar putea/ e posibil +conjunctiv perfect  
conjunctiv perfect pasiv.

o) prezuntiv trecut.

(9) You shouldn't leave it here; It may/might be stolen

RTE: n-ar trebui s-o lași aici; poate/s-ar putea fi furată  
or: se poate/e posibil s-o fure cineva/să fie furată

or: poate(să) o fure cineva

(10) This may/might be easily solved

RTE: Chestiunea aceasta se poate rezolva ușor.

or: poate să se rezolve ușor.

or: poate fi rezolvată ușor  
or: poate să fie rezolvată ușor.

- (11) 'Where's the car?'  
'I don't know, it may/might  
have been stolen.

RTE: "Unde-i mașina",  
Nu știu, poate(oă) a furat-o  
cineva  
poate oă a fost furată  
orî o fi furat-o cineva/o fi fost  
furată.  
or: se poate/s-ar putea/e posibil  
s-o fi furat cineva/să fi fost  
furată.

The traditional semantic characterization of the passive marker (be-en) is fairly adequate; it shows that the subject referent undergoes the action or its effect.

The RTE of may/might + passive infinitive (5) are:

a) the modal 'a putea' in the present indicative or present Conditional + passive infinitive:

e.g.: poate/ar putea fi furată;

b) poate/ se poate/s-ar putea/e posibil+conjunctive (either

active or passive):

e.g. poate/se poate /s-ar putea /e posibil s-o fi furat cineva/să  
fi furată;

c) the modal adverb 'poate' (ea) + present indicative

e.g.: poate (oă) o fură cineva.

However the RTE of may/might + passive infinitive in (10) are:

a) the modal 'a putea' + passive reflexive infinitive:

although belonging to the infinitive, the reflexive pronoun 'se'  
precedes the modal:

e.g. se poate rezolve

b) 'a putea' + passive reflexive conjunctive:

e.g.: poate să se rezolve

c) 'a putea' passive infinitive:

e.g.: poate fi rezolvată

d) 'a putea' + passive conjunctive:

e.g. 1 poate să fie rezolvată.

The RTE of may/might + perfect passive infinitive (11) are:

a) the modal adverb 'poate' (că) + perfectul compus (active or passive).

e.g. poate (că) a furat-o cineva / a fost furată

b) prezuntiv perfect (active or passive).

e.g. o fi furat-o cineva / o fi fost furată.

c) (se) poate /s-ar putea / e posibil + conjunctiv perfect (active or passive).

e.g. 1 (se) poate/s-ar putea / e posibil s-o fi furat cineva (să fi fost furată).

When 'may' associates with the past marker, the latter adds to the meaning of the modal some type of non-actuality, of remoteness: 1) remoteness (earlierhness) in time from the moment of coding or of a point of reference in a narrative (and this means past time) eg.:

(12) He said he might  
be late that night

RTE A spus că s-ar putea întârzia în seara aceea.

or: s-ar putea să întârzie

or: poate (să) întârzie ...

or: poate va întârzi ...

In (12) the past time reference is achieved by both the use of might after a past form and the time adverbial.

(13) We thought he might  
be hiding in the woods.

RTE Am crezut că se ascundea în pădure

se ascunde

se ascundea

era ascuns

se ascunseser

oric/era posibil (se putea) să se {ascundă  
fi ascuns

or: ... să s-o fi {ascuns  
ascunzând

This shifting of 'may' to 'might' following an introductory past tense form has the following Romanian correspondents:

- non-shifted forms:
- a) poate+Prezent Indicativ (se asunde / se ascuns)
  - b) e posibil/se poate+Conjunctiv prezent/perfect (să se ascundă/să se fi ascuns)
  - c) Prezumiiv, prezent (s-o fi ascuns / s-o fi ascunzind)

- shifted forms:
- a) putea+Imperfectul or Mai mult ca perfectul  
e.g. putea se ascunde/se ascunsesse  
era ascuns
  - b) se putea/era posibil+Conjunctiv perfect (să se fi ascuns)

2) a). remoteness from the reality immediately perceptible at the moment of coding (and this means hypothesis). All forms expressing this type of remoteness are hypothetical. One type of hypothesis expressed by the past marker may be a lower degree of illocutionary potential expressed by the modal, a more remote possibility, for example (see examples (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11)).

This remoteness is marked in Romanian by the use of moods and tenses expressing unreality.

Conditional: aş putea să ...  
s-ar putea să ...

prezumiiv prezent: oi avea dreptate  
perfect: mi-oi fi fracturat piciorul.

The hypothetical 'might' is best illustrated in conditional sentences and its time reference may be either present or future.

- (14) If we wave to him he might give us a lift.      RTB. Dacă-l facem ou mîna s-ar putea să ne ia
- (15) If you said that she might be offended.      RTB. Dacă-ai spune asta ar putea fi jignită  
să se offenseze  
s-ar putea offensea

b) All verb forms expressing remoteness from the immediately perceptible reality are hypothetic and of these some are marked by

a special type of unreality namely 'contrary to fact'. The perfect marker (have-en) acts as a disambiguator as it signals past time thus permitting the past-marked modal to carry only hypothesis (counter-to-fact) rather than be ambiguous for past time, hypot. is or not.

(16) Perhaps she would have taken the other road; it might have been shorter. (past possibility, not put to the test).

RTB: Poate că era mai bine s-o fi luat pe celălalt drum; poate (că) era/ar fi fost mai scurt.  
ori: s-ar putea să fi fost mai scurt.  
or: s-ar fi putut să fie mai scurt

(17) You might have warned us that the dog was dangerous.

RTB: Puteai să ne avertizezi că...  
ori: ne puteai avertiza că...  
or: Ai fi putut să ne avertizezi; ne-ai fi putut avertiza

The illocutionary force (speaker's purpose) of (17) is reproach for the non-performance of an action in the past.

(18) The child came home alone; you shouldn't have let him do that; he might have got lost (past possibility; action unaccomplished).

RTB: Copilul a venit singur acasă; se putea rătăci/putea să se rătăcească.  
or: s-ar fi putut rătăci/ar fi putut să se rătăcească.

(19) That idiot nearly knocked me down with his car; I might have been killed.

RTB: Idiotul ala mai mă să mă calce cu mașina; putea să mă omoare; mă putea omori.  
ar fi putut să mă omoare  
m-ar fi putut omori  
puteam fi/să fiu omorît  
m-aș fi putut fi/să fiu omorît

The RTB of (16), past possibility not put to the test are:

- a) the adverb 'poate'(că) + Imperfect / Conditional perfect  
era / ar fi fost.
- b) Conditional present of 'a putea' + Conjunctiv perfect, s-ar putea + să fi fost.
- c) Conditional perfect of 'a putea' + Conjunctiv prezent perfect.

a-ar fi putut + să fie/ să fi fost

The RTE of (17), reproach-for the non-performance of a past possibility are:

- a) Imperfect + Conjunctiv prezent / Infinitiv
- b) Conditional perfect + Conjunctiv prezent/ Infinitiv of 'a putea'

The RTE of (18) which expresses an unaccomplished past possibility are the same as above:

- a) Imperfect of 'a putea' + Infinitiv /Conjunctiv prezent
- b) Conditional perfect of 'a putea' + Infinitiv/Conjunctiv prezent.
- c) Imperfect of 'a putea' + Infinitiv Pasiv/Conjunctiv (first person, sing)
- d) Conditional perfect + Infinitiv Pasiv/ Conjunctiv prezent/ first person singular pasiv.

The past-marked form 'might' may also have the illocutionary force of a suggestion, implying a casual command between friends, a mild, imperative, a request, reasonable action. etc.

(20) I say, you might shut the door

RTE Inchide ușa  
Ai putea să închizi ușa  
Poate - închizi (și) ușa

(21) You might post these letters for me

RTE Pune-mi și mie scrisorile astea la poștă.  
Ai putea să-mi pui și mie scrisorile astea la poștă.  
Poate îmi pui și mie scrisorile..

(22) I think I left my glasses in your office; you might ask your secretary to look for them for me (request).

RTE Cred că mi-am lăsat ochelarii în biroul tău; poate-o rogi pe secretara ta să-i caute/fi bun și roag-o pe secretara ta să-i caute.

(23) You might tell me what he said (request and annoyance)

RTE. Ai putea să-mi spui și mie ce-a zis/hai spune-mi și mie ce-a zis/ de ce nu-mi spui și mie ce-a zis?

The RTE of this form may be either a) the imperative (inchide, pune, spune-mi) or b) the adverb poate + prezent indicativ (poate închizi, etc) or c) conditional present of 'a putea' + conjunctiv prezent.

The English adverb 'maybe' (obviously formed of 'may' and 'be') has its Romanian counterpart = 'poate' (că).

The possible 'may/might' frequently co-occurs with the adverb 'possibly' which has an effect of intensification. In Romanian intensifiers such as 'foarte', 'foarte bine' are used in similar contexts.

(24) I may possibly have done so.

RTE: E foarte posibil să fi făcut asta.

Se prea poate să fi făcut

Se poate foarte bine să fi făcut asta.

Modal sentences with 'may' where its illocutionary potential is permission:

Speaker says: Speaker /somebody/something Permit Proposition (I am not stating that someone/something is forbidding something). Permission derives most frequently from human authority but it may also derive from rules, legislative ruling, axioms etc. An alternative form is 'can' but permission expressed by 'may' is more formal and it may carry the connotation of superior social status of the granter of the permission.

(25) You may go now.

RTE: Poți pleca/ să pleci

(26) Well, if I may say so...

RTE: Păi, dacă-mi dați voie/permiteți/ pot spune așa ...

(27) His mother says he MAY go there now

RTE: Mama lui zice că se poate duce acolo

or: poate să se ducă acolo

or: îi lasă să se ducă acolo

or: îi dă voie să se ducă  
are voie să se ducă

(28) Here's a list of what  
undergraduates may or may  
not do

RTE Iată o listă cu ce pot sau nu  
pot face/să facă studenții  
(Ambiguous)

or: au sau nu au voie să facă  
or: le este sau nu le este per-  
mis

(29) Two parallel lines in the  
middle of the street mean that  
you may not overtake

RTE: Două linii paralele pe mijlocul  
drumului înseamnă că nu poți  
depăși /să depășești (ambiguu)

or: nu ai voie să depășești  
or: depășirea e interzisă.

The RTE are forms with the modal 'a putea' followed by either  
the Infinitive or the Conjunctive, but these may sometimes be  
ambiguous; this is why other semantic equivalents are preferred in  
some cases: a avea voie, a da voie, a lăsa, a-ți fi permis, a permite.  
etc.

Permissive 'may' /might' are fairly common in polite requests.

(30) May /might I use your phone?

RTE Pot da/să dau un telefon de la  
dvs?

Aș putea da /să dau ...

Îmi dați voie /permițeți să dau  
un telefon de la dvs.

Co-occurrence with the 'past-marker' carries an indication of  
diffidence and greater uncertainty about the answer. This is conveyed  
in Romanian by the use of the present conditional of 'a putea'  
(followed by either an infinitive or conjunctive). The formal style  
suggested by may/might would normally require the use of the verb  
'a permite' a da voie' used in the reverential second person plural  
e.g. îmi /ne/le permițeți/dati voie.

The time reference is present or future.



The past marked 'might' is frequently used after an introductory past tense but it may or may not suggest remoteness in time. In such cases it is the larger context that acts as disambiguator

(31) He said we might	RTE A zis că putem lua/să luăm
<u>use</u> his car yesterday	mașina ieri
today	azi
tomorrow	mine
whenever we liked	oricind vrem
	A zis că ne lasă /ne dă voie
	să luăm mașina ieri
	azi
	mine
	oricind vrem

The shifting of 'may' to 'might' in such cases is not paralleled by a similar phenomenon in Romanian where there is no shifting of tense although there may be shifting of person and some times time adverbials.

The behaviour of the continuous marker, 'be-ing' with may might reflects a separation between permissive 'may' and the other meanings; permissive 'may' cannot co-occur with the 'be-ing' marker whereas possible 'may' can; e.g.

(32) His mother says he	RTE Mama lui spune că se poate
may go there now (permissive)	duce/poate să se ducă; are voie/ îi dă voie/îi lasă să se ducă acolo acum.

(33) His mother says he may	RTE Mama lui spune că poate că se
be going there now /possible/	duce acolo acum:
	... E posibil să se ducă, să fie în drum spre...

There being no corresponding continuous marker in Romanian, this is rendered by the use of different constructions: modal 'a putea + infinitive or conjunctive or one of the verb phrases 'g avea voie, a da voie, a lăsa' to express permission and the adverb 'poate (că)' or the phrase 'e posibil' + conjunctive to express possibility.



'May/might' may be part of an utterance whose illocutionary force is concession. The speaker's purpose in a may/might sentence may be to express concession (in a more formal style) e.g.

(34) However, rich she may be, I don't envy her.      RTE Poate să fie/fi oricît de bogată, eu n-o invidiez. Oricît de bogată ar fi eu n-o invidiez.

(35) Whatever may/happen, you will always be glad that you tried to do your best.      RTE Poate să se întimplă orice, Orice s-ar întimpla/întimplă-se orice ...

(36) Run as he might he could not overtake me.      RTE: Putea s-a lerge oricît/oricît de tare ar fi alergat tot nu putea/n-a putut să mă ajungă.

In Romanian, an overtone of concession is expressed by the modal 'a putea' e.g.

(37) Puteam să strigăm cît ne lua gura tot nu ne auzea nimeni

(38) Poți să mă bați, poți să mă omori, eu tot nu plec.

In this latter example 'a putea' seems to have lost much of its lexical meaning, being very close to the value of a concessive conjunction or phrase (deși, cu toate că, chiar dacă, chiar să etc.)

Contrary to may, the use of 'a putea' to express concession is not characteristic of formal style, where Romanian prefers the conditional accompanied by a concessive conjunction.

'May/might' are also used to express purpose in final sub-clauses, a more colloquial variant being can/could.

(39) I'll wait one week so that he may have time to think it over.      RTE: O să aștept o săptămîină ca să aibă/să poată avea timp să se gîndească.

(40) He died so that others might live      RTE: A murit pentru ca alții să poată să trăiască/trăi.

Some grammarians claim that the occurrence of may/might, can/could in purpose and concessive subclauses is not modal at all, their use being similar to that of the primary auxiliaries.

The speaker may also wish to express wonder, uncertainty, approximation, sometimes with a suggestion of condescension, of superiority.

(41) She looks so young!  
How old may/might she be?

RTE: Arată așa de tânără!  
Câți ani poate să aibă/avea?  
or: Câți ani ar putea să aibă?  
or: " " o fi avînd?  
or: Oare câți ani are?

(42) Well, who may you want  
what may you want?

RTE: Da dumneata cine mai ești  
și ce dorești?  
or: Cine-oi mai fi și d-ta și  
ce-oi mai fi vrînd?  
or: Dar d-ta cine ești, dacă nu  
sînt indisoret (more polite)?

In Romanian these overtones may be expressed by

a) the modal 'a putea' + infinitive/ conjunctive; b) the use of the mood 'prezumtiv' accompanied by such words and phrases that express uncertainty, wonder etc.

e.g. 'mai', 'dacă nu-s indisoret' etc.

Another use of 'may' would be to express formal wishes, hopes in set phrases:

(43) May you both be happy!

RTE: Să fiți fericiți (avîndoi)

(44) Long may she live to  
enjoy her good fortune!

RTE: Să trăiască să se bucure de  
norocul ei!

(45) May he rest in peace!

RTE: Odihnească-se în pace!

The Romanian equivalent of this use of 'may' is the conjunctive.

There are some constructions in English used in the affirmative only where may/might are used to suggest that, the speaker thinks: there is good reason, it seems reasonable to do so, there is just as much to be said in favour of doing something as there is against it.

The phrases are: may well, may/might as well, may/might just as well.

(46) You may well say so      RTE: Poți foarte bine să spui asta  
Ai dece/esti îndreptățită/ai  
toate motivele să spui asta.

(47) I don't think I'll succeed      RTE: Nu cred că o să reușesc dar pot  
but I may/might as well try.      să încerc/încerc.  
or: ... merită să încerc;  
or: ... e bine să încerc;  
or: ... de ce să nu încerc?  
or: ... nu strică să încerc;

(48) We may as well stay where we are      RTE: Putem rămâne unde ne aflăm.  
or: e mai bine\*/mai cuminte\* să stăm  
pe loc

(49) You might just as well go or not.  
RTE: Poți/ ai putea la fel de bine/  
tot așa de bine să pleci sau  
să rămâi.

4. Sentences with can/could and their Romanian equivalents.

Under the semantic analysis of Boyd and Thorne "can" is a modal verb, that is it marks the illocutionary potential of the sentence only when it is an alternative form of 'may' or in the case of 'cannot' as the negative counterpart of 'must'. Under this interpretation there are at least three non-modal 'cans'. We think, however, that in a pedagogical grammar, modal or non-modal, all occurrences of these verbs should be included.

The first non-modal can is the one paraphrasable by 'be able to' that is expressing ability, capacity.

(50) He can lift that heavy      RTE: Poate ridica/să ridice cutia  
box with one hand.      aceea grea cu o mână.

(51) She can swim (over a mile)      RTE: Știe/poate înota/(mai mult de o  
milă)



The third non-modal 'can' is to be found in sentences like.

(57) Scientific conferences can be boring.

(58) You don't know how silly this girl can be. Notice that these sentences have paraphrases with 'sometimes'.

(59) Sometimes scientific conferences are boring.

(60) You don't know how silly this girl is sometimes.

It seems, therefore, that 'can' and 'sometimes' carry information about the aspect of the sentence, an aspect which Boyd and Thorne have termed the 'sporadic aspect'.

The RTE are            Sesiunile științifice sînt/pot fi atît  
for (57)(55)            de plictisitoare citeadată/uneori.

for (58),(60)        Nici nu știi cît de proastă este/ poate fi  
fața asta citeadată/uneori.

So, in Romanian the sporadic aspect is similarly indicated by the use of the modal 'a putea' and by the time adverbials citeadată, uneori. Notice that these adverbials may optionally occur in sentences already containing the modal 'a putea', probably to reinforce the sporadic aspect.

'Can' is an alternative form of 'may' to express permission in an informal colloquial style; the granter of the permission may be the speaker, someone else or rules and regulations, e.g.

(61) You can ride my bicycle if you wish.  
RTE: Poți să te plimbi/te poți plimba  
cu bicicleta mea dacă vrei.

or: Te las/ai voie/iți dau voie să  
te plimbi cu bicicleta mea dacă  
vrei.

(62) You can only cross the road when the light is green.  
RTE: Poți să traversezi/traversea  
strada cînd semaful este pe ver-  
de.

or: E voie/ e permis ...  
cu traversarea e permisă ...

When stressed and in questions 'can' is used to express astonishment, puzzlement, despair etc., sometimes it is accompanied by such emphatic words as 'ever, the deuce, the devil etc.; e.g.

(63) What can he mean? RTE: Ce-o fi vrind (oare) să spună  
or: Ce naiba/d-zeu o, fi vrind să spună

(64) Wherever can they be? RTE: Unde pot să fie/fi oare?  
or: unde-or fi oare?

The RT equivalents are: a) the modal 'a putea' + an infinitive or conjunctive, b) the lexical verb in the presumptive mood accompanied by such words as oare, naiba, d-zeu etc. expressing doubt, uncertainty, curiosity, etc.

'Can' occurs in English comparative constructions which actually express a superlative degree of a feeling, sensation or of an adverbial.

(65) She is as happy as can be.

(66) I want it back as soon as can be.

Can be functions here similarly to the adjective 'possible'.

This construction is equated in Romanian by several superlative expressions containing 'a putea'. e.g.

cît se poate de fericitã  
cum nu se mai poate de fericitã  
cît mai fericitã cu putințã  
or: nu mai poate de fericitã  
nu mai putea de bucurie/foame etc.

'Could'. As with all past marked forms we will see that for 'could' there are two areas of meanings to be considered: A) all the meanings described for 'can' and b) the meanings of the remote marking itself. Thus 'could' may express capacity, ability due to circumstances, permission.

(67) He could lift that heavy  
box if he tried

RTE: Ar putea ridica/sã ridice  
lada aceea grãa dacã ar vrea

(68) I could get you a copy  
if you want one.

RTE: Ti-as putea face rost de un  
exemplar dacă vrei.

(69) You could borrow my car.

TE: Poți lua/să iei mașina mea,  
ai putea lua/ să iei

The RTE are present conditional forms of the modal 'a putea'.  
Notice that the time reference in (67), (68), (69) is not past but  
present or future.

The past marking adds to these familiar meanings the two kinds  
of remoteness which it is capable of indicating: first, remoteness  
in time from the moment of coding or a point of reference in the  
narrative; rules of the sequence of tenses is the most common reason  
for past marking but the shifting of 'can' to 'could' may or may not  
suggest remoteness in time.

(70) When I was twenty I could  
dance all night,

RTE: "Oind aveam/eram de 20 de ani  
puteam dansa/să danses toată  
noaptea.

without being tired,

or: ... eram în stare să danses

(but now I'm too old)

or: ... dansam ....

(71) I was there yesterday when  
the children asked whether they  
could go for a swim.

RTE: Eram acolo ieri când copiii  
au întrebat dacă pot (și lasă  
le dă voie să se ducă să  
însoțe.

The context clearly shows that in these sentences the time  
reference is past, signalled in Romanian by the use of the tense  
labelled 'Imperfect' (puteam, eram în stare, dansam) or of past time  
adverbials (ieri). Notice that in the RTE of (71) there is no shif-  
ting of tense after an introductory past tense, the modal 'a putea'  
or its semantic equivalents being used in the present (pot, și lasă,  
le dă voie).



The second kind of remoteness, signalled by past-marking is non-actuality (unreality, hypothesis), e.g.

- (72) We could meet there      RTE: "Am putea să ne întâlnim/ne-am  
or: I could pick you up      putea întâlni acolo sau aş putea  
at your hotel.                      să te iau/te-aş putea lua de la  
hotel.

The RTE of this kind of unreality is conditional present (conditional being a mood for unreality).

The hypothetical 'could' is often used in polite requests to express deference, e.g.

- (73) Could you possibly show      RTE: Aţi putea să-mi arătaţi/mi-aţi  
me the way to ...                      putea arăta pe unde s-o iau ca  
   să ajung la ...  
or: Puteţi să-mi spune-ţi, vă rog,  
      cum s-ajung la ...  
or: Viţi vă rog amabil şi ...

In Romanian the conditional present form of a putea used in the differential second person plural and other polite formulas would convey this meaning.

'Could' is also used to express bewilderment, despair, indignation and then it bears primary stress, e.g.

- (74) How could you!                      RTE: Cum e/ a fost cu putinţă să faci  
  undă ca asta?  
(75) How could you be so                RTE: Cum ai putut să fi atât de rău?  
      unkind?

In some cases hypothetical 'could' seems to be marked as expressing a counter-to-fact proposition, e.g.

- (76) If looks could kill,                RTE:  
      the man would have been            Dacă privirile ar ucide, (omul  
      dead.                                      acela) ar fi fost un om mort.  
(77) It's so hot, we could be        RTE: E cald de parcă am fi în Africa.  
      in Africa (we are in Washington)

The RT equivalents are present conditional forms of 'a putea' or constructions of unreal comparison like 'de parcă am fi ...'

The past-marked could may mean feel inclined to do something (you'd like to do something but you don't or won't).

(78) I could smack his face! RTE: Imi vine/vremea să-l plesnesc să nu se vadă.

(79) I could laugh for joy RTE: Imi vine/venea să râd de bucurie.  
or: nu mai puteam de bucurie

(80) I could have wept RTE: Imi venea să plîng. Deabea /ou greu imi țineam plînsul.

In Romanian this inclination is expressed by means of another modal verb namely 'a(ți)veni followed by a conjunctive. The meaning of 'a veni' is sometimes closer to possibility than inclination or wish, e.g.

(81) Mă mir cum îți mai vine să vorbești de tine.  
meaning: mă mir cum poți să mai vorbești de tine .

(82) Nu-i vena să creadă (nu putea crede că ...)

This is also noticeable in English e.g.

(83) I really couldn't think of it.

The modal 'a vefi' occurs with all moods and tenses and is followed by a verb in the conjunctive only; also, it is invariable; namely it doesn't take person markers, e.g.

(84) Imi/îți/ii etc. vine oțeodată să mă /te/se dau/dai/dea cu capul  
de pereți(present tense)

(85) Imi/îți/ii venea să-mi /ți/și mușo/muști/muște limba (Imperfect)

(86) Se uita la femeie de parcă nu i-ar fi venit a crede (Past Pre-  
sumptive).

The perfect marker have+en, besides adding its own meaning of 'current relevance', points to past time thus permitting the past-marked 'could', to carry only hypothesis.

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(87) Who could have taken  
the book?

ME: a) Cine a putut lua/să ia cartea  
or: b) Cine putea lua/să ia cartea  
or: c) Cine ar fi putut lua/să ia  
cartea  
or: d) Cine e/să fi luat cartea?

(87) is obviously ambiguous, we don't really know whether the action was accomplished or not; two ME, i.e. b) and c) are also ambiguous for either performance or non-performance of the action; a) and d), however are equivalents for cases when we are sure that the larger context shows that the action was accomplished in the past (someone did take the book).

(88) If I'd brought my camera

I could have taken pictures

ME: Dacă mi-aș fi adus/im/ aduceam  
aparatul/aș fi putut/puteam  
face/să fac fotografii.

(88) is an instance of contrary -to-factness of the type action not-performed, which is equated in Romanian by either the imperfect or the perfect conditional. Notice that in both (87) and (88) the verb forms containing 'could' are identical and therefore ambiguous; it is generally the larger context that clears the ambiguity as to the type of hypothesis and time reference.

5. Negation of the English modals is complex for two reasons: first, one of the characteristics of the modals is that they may be negated directly by 'not' or 'n't' but merely adding the negative particle after the modal does not always give the opposite meaning; thus 'cannot' is sometimes the negation of 'can', and 'need not' that of 'should' or 'must'; second, the sentence has been analysed as containing two elements, the speaker's attitude, (illocutionary potential) expressed by the modals, and the proposition. There are therefore two possible negations for many sentences, since either of the two constituents may be negated, e.g.

S---> Neg. > M + Proposition  
or S---> M + Neg . : Proposition.

Negation may be immediate (a term borrowed by M.Ehrman from N.Francis) when it refers to the modal, or eventual (a term borrowed from M.Joos) when it refers to the proposition. Also, the negative particle 'not', normally occurring immediately after the modals, may signal immediate negation with some of their meanings while with others it indicates eventual negation. Thus, behaviour of negation with 'may/might' reflects a separation between the permissive 'may/might' and the other ranges of meaning. With permissive 'may/might' negation is immediate, e.g.

(89) Candidates may not bring textbooks into the examination room.

RTF: Candidații nu pot aduce/să aducă manuale în sala de examen.

or: ... nu au voie să aducă

or: ... nu le este permis

or: ... este interzis candidaților să aducă ...

(90) Two parallel lines in the middle of the road mean that you may not overtake.

RTF: Două linii paralele pe mijlocul drumului înseamnă că nu poți/depăși/să depășești.

or: ... nu se poate depăși

or: ... depășirea este interzisă

(89) and (90) have the illocutionary potential of a statement that someone or something forbids something.

With possible 'may' negation is eventual, e.g.

(91) He may/might not know that you are here.

RTF: Poate să nu știe că ești aici  
or: Poate că nu știe că ești aici

(92) This may or may not be true.

RTB: Aceasta poate să fie sau poate să nu fie adevărat.  
or: Poate că este sau poate că nu este adevărat.

(91) and (92) have the illocutionary potential of a denial by the speaker that he asserts the proposition (I don't say he knows you are here and I don't say this is true).

Negation with can/could is normally immediate, e.g.

(93) I can type but I can't do short hand (ability)

RTB: Știu/pot să bat/ bate la mașină dar nu știu/pot să stenografiez/stenografia.

(94) He read the message but couldn't understand it.

RTB: A citit mesajul dar nu l-a putut înțelege

(95) You can't travel first class with a second class ticket.(permission)

RTB: Nu poți călători/e întârzi să călătorești la clasa întâia cu bilet de clasa a două.

(96) While I worked there junior clerks couldn't use the front door.

RTB: Cîț am lucrat acolo funcționarii inferiori nu puteau/nu aveau voie să folosească intrarea principală.

When negation with 'can/could' is eventual, it is marked by features like contrastive stress or an interposed 'just', e.g.

(97) He can just not go

RTB: Poate (pur și simplu) să nu se ducă.

In Romanian the type of negation is normally indicated by the position of the negative adverb 'nu'.

When negation is immediate, the negative nu precedes the modal 'am/putea', e.g.

(98) Nu poți pleca înainte de șase (You can't leave before six).

(95) Nu pot ridica cutia aceea (I can't lift that box).

In Romanian the negative adverb 'nu' cannot be inserted between the modal and the infinitive following it. In present - day Romanian we do not find poate nu scrie or poate a nu scrie as alternatives of nu poate scrie.

When negation is eventual, that is the propositional context of the sentence is negated, Romanian prefers the construction modal verb 'a putea', followed by conjunctiv, e.g.

(100) Poate să nu știe că ești aici.

(101) Poate să nu fie adevărat,

or more frequently the modal adverb poate (că) followed by present, imperfect, perfect compus, etc. e.g.

(100 b) Poate(că) nu știe că ești aici.

(100 b) Poate(că) nu e adevărat.

There are cases when the negative forms can't/couldn't express negative deduction (inference, probability) their positive counterpart being must not can /could, e.g.

(102) Can I have some sweets?

I'm hungry?

You can't be hungry,

you've just had dinner.

RTB: "Pot să iau câteva

bomboane? Mi-e foame.

Nu se poate, imposibil să-

ți fie foame, abia ai min-

cat.

(103) A man answered the phone; it

must have been her husband.

No, it couldn't have been her

husband; he's been dead

for years.

RTB: A răspuns un bărbat la

telefon; trebuie să fi fost,

era probabil soțul ei.

Nu putea să fie soțul ei;

e mort demult.

Notice that in both English and Romanian negation is immediate in such cases.

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A. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF NEGATION  
IN ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH<sup>x)</sup>

by Marie-Anne Lupas and  
Alexandra Receris

Of The negation occupies a special place in linguistic studies, being it seems, a category that exists in all languages. It is hard to imagine a language having no negation, thus no means of commenting the validity of a hypothesis, of manifesting approval or disapproval of something, or even indifference towards a statement or some other attitude implying the correlation affirmation/negation.<sup>1</sup>

On comparing the negation of linguistics with that of mathematics, we notice that they differ as to their essence (in spite of the identity of terms), in that the former transforms a linguistic term into its exact opposite - the so-called "contradictory term", thus opposing non-existence to existence, while the latter<sup>2</sup>

x) The present study is based on material gathered by a group of research workers in the English Department of the University of Bucharest (particularly by Marie-Anne Lupas "Analiza contrastivă a negației în limbile română și engleză" published in Analele Universității București, seria Limbi Germanice, XII, 1970).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in this respect the suggestions made by Robert J. Di Pietro, Contrasting Languages: A Transformational Approach, Georgetown University, a study that we consulted in manuscript form; now published under the title Language Structures in Contrast, Rowley Mass., 1971).

<sup>2</sup> Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, vol. 4, 1909-1949, p. 446.



reflects a situation in which a negative term is a point situated at the same distance below zero as the positive pair is situated above zero.

From the point of view of linguistics, the negation is a modal category as in the process of communication it marks the position of the speaker towards the reality of a previously formulated statement, generally representing his opposition. It constitutes a self-contained unit different from all other modal categories in that it alone can distinguish between two main types of modal categories - the affirmative, and the negative.

Their common function of negation brings together, within one and the same language, terms presenting quite heterogeneous morphological structures, syntactic potentials and semantic elements.

Even a summary investigation in a number of languages reveals the variation of the characteristics of the negation from one language to another and the necessity of a comparative study of its structures.

Therefore we set ourselves the task of making a contrastive analysis of the negation in Romanian and English.

2. A negative statement may be expressed in several ways, both in Romanian and in English.<sup>1</sup> The negation may refer to a whole sentence, to its essence:

Rom. Nu voi dormi în după-amiază această.

Engl. I shall not sleep this afternoon.

or only to some part of the sentence:

Rom. Am văzut-o nu de mult.

<sup>1</sup> As well as in other languages, to be sure, but they do not concern us in the present study.

Engl. I saw her not long ago.

In the first case, the negation accompanies the predicate of the sentence, i.e. the sentence is negative; in the second case, it negates some other part of the sentence, the sentence itself remaining positive. Hence, the negation of the various parts of the sentence is not equally essential to the negative character of the whole sentence.

According to the position occupied by the negation, we distinguish between two main types of negative sentences:

- 1) The wholly negative statement or integral negation, and
- 2) The partially negative statement or partial negation.

We shall proceed now to the description of these types of negative sentences.

2.1. We shall first examine the wholly negative statement.

In order to give a negative content to the whole sentence, the negation must be joined to the verbal predicate or to the link-verb of the nominal predicate.

In Romanian, the negation may be simple, double or multiple.

In contrast with Romanian, in English the negation forms an alternative system, i.e. if it negates the content of a statement, the use of any other negation in this same statement (excepting non-predicative groups) is excluded.

The allowed number of negations differs in the two languages, Romanian tolerating several negations whereas English only one.

2.1.1. The simple negation contains only one negation, that of the predicate. Therefore, this type of sentence is less difficult when translating from Romanian into English, it being somewhat symmetrical with the English type of sentence.

Rom. Nu știu.

Engl. I don't know.

We say "less difficult", because there are, still, structural differences between these two sentences. In contrast with Romanian, in English the negative signal not (abbreviated n't)<sup>1</sup> must be preceded by an auxiliary or a modal verb. If it is not, the negation becomes partial, affecting only part of, and not the whole sentence:

Engl. He was speaking not to himself, but to somebody else.

Rom. Verbes nu am sine însuși, ci cu altcineva.

The above examples illustrate a similar situation in Romanian and in English: we notice that the negation becomes partial in both languages as a result of the postposition of the negation relative to the predicate. Yet, each language has its specific word-order<sup>2</sup>: for a sentence to be wholly negative in the English language, the negation must be preceded by an auxiliary or modal verb, being thus placed in the center of the predicate, whereas in Romanian the negation must precede the predicate, whether the latter be compound or not, being thus placed outside the predicative group proper.<sup>3</sup>

The negations not, n't are classified by Robert J. Di Pietro (op. cit.), as "sentence" negators.

Precious observations on the place of the negation in the sentences of various languages are to be found in an article by Richard Lang, Locul negației în topicul limbilor engleză, germană, franceză, română și latină, in Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Seria Philologica, Fasciculus 1, 1972, Cluj, p.19-25.

<sup>3</sup> Mention must be made of the fact that in Old English, the position of the negation was identical with that in Romanian; in the sentence "ic ne secge" (eu nu spun), the symmetry of the negative construction in the two languages can be easily noticed. Nevertheless, the particle ne was often followed, after the verb, by another particle noht (derived from naviht, the present-day nothing) which in Middle English changed into not, giving the above sentence the following aspect: I ne seye not (where the meaning "nothing" is considerably weakened).

The particle ne was so weakly stressed that it was lost on the way, leaving the negating function to the particle not, which be-

Mention must be made of a tendency towards a semantic differentiation between the forms not and n't, a tendency observed a century ago already, by Henry Sweet.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the sentence: Engl. He is not a fool, may be expressed in the ways: either 1) He isn't a fool, or 2) He's not a fool. In the first case, the negation, being linked to the auxiliary, i.e. to a word devoid of meaning, will necessarily modify the whole statement which will become equivalent to the sentence: "I deny that he is a fool".

Our own findings confirm this observation on the semantic differentiation between n't and not, with the specification that it is limited to the link-verb of the nominal predicate. Here are some illustrative samples:

But it/the pass/ was not half as kind as Linda's  
(Katherine Mansfield, Prelude).

came the common negator: I saye not.

Up to the 15th-17th century, the English verbs could form the negative by simply adding a not (in post-position), although, word-order being not yet very rigorous, not could also appear before the predicate: I not doubt; it not appears to me; she not denies it; and if I not perform, bad let me never thrive.

Nevertheless, not was much more frequently employed in post-position: I like not when a woman has a great beard. (W. Shakespeare, The Merry Wives of Windsor, II 2).

I like not fair terms and a villain's mind. (W. Shakespeare, The Merchant of Venice).

I know not why I am so sad. (idem).

Let not your hearts be troubled. (Bible).

This form of negation is used by certain modern poets as a stylistic device:

Speak not- whisper not;

Here bloweth thyme and bergemot" (Walter de la Mare, The Sunken garden).

Beginning with the 14th century, the auxiliary do, (does, did) came to be used in negative statements alongside with the particle not, when the latter was not preceded by another auxiliary or modal verbs, eventually replaced the negation formed with not only, leading to the situation existing in present-day English.

<sup>1</sup> Henry Sweet, A New English Grammar, Oxford, 1892, 1898 p. 366.

It's all wrong, it's all wrong, ... It's not the scene,  
it's not the setting for ...

(Katherine Mansfield,  
At the Bay).

You're not very fond of your room by day. (idem)

In these cases, the form n't would not be replaced by the  
form not.

2.1.2. Double and multiple negation presupposes, alongside  
with predicate negation, supplementary negations, either of some  
other part of the sentence, as in the case of double negation:

Rom. Nu s-a intimplat nimic.

or of several parts of the sentence, as in the case of multiple  
negation:

Rom. Nici unul din ei n-a făcut nici o ispravă.

We could ask ourselves: is the well-known assertion two  
negatives equal an affirmative erroneous? A more attentive analysis  
shows that it is not, as it refers either to the cases when both  
negations are attached to the same word: nici neobisnuit (nor un-  
common), nu fără teamă (not without fear); or the negation of the  
same predicative nucleus which contains either two negations:

Engl. You're rich. And you can't not be rich. (Bennett).

Rom. Ești bogat. Și nu poți să nu fi bogat.

or a negation and some word with negative meaning (implied negative):

Engl. I don't deny this fact.

Rom. Nu neg acest fapt.

In all other cases, the repetition of the negation gives not an  
affirmation but a negation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Of. also with the interesting commentary of L.M. Myers: "A speaker  
who applies two negatives to different words usually means to  
strengthen the negative idea rather than to reverse it; and his

**N O T E:** double and multiple negation, so frequent in Romanian is a rarity in modern English and when it appears, it characterizes uneducated speech. The existence of multiple negation may be explained by the speaker's desire to stress the negative character of his statement, by using negation not only with his predicate but also with any other word capable of receiving it. Thus, instead of limiting the negation to a single position, the speaker gives a negative colouring to his whole sentence.

For example:

Rom. El n-a spus niciodată nimic nimănui.

This sentence may be rendered in English in four different ways:

Engl.: He didn't ever say anything to anybody.

He never said anything to anybody.

He said nothing to anybody ever.

To nobody did he ever say anything.<sup>1</sup>

Intention is usually perfectly clear to the audience. I have money I haven't no money. It is silly to say that, the third sentence "really means" the same thing as the first. But it is quite accurate to say that it is not standard English. Most educated people carefully avoid clear-cut double negation of this type. Guide to American English, Englewood Cliffs, N.Y. 1963, p.347. Robert J. Di Pietro (op.cit.) discusses this situation in the following terms: "In any event, sentences like I don't want nothing would be considered ungrammatical before they would be thought of as yielding an affirmative: "I want something". For Allan F. Hubbell, there is also a social aspect of this phenomenon: "Among these who have had comparatively little formal schooling and whose social and occupational status is relatively low, the construction is extremely common. Among the well-educated and privileged it is rare almost to the point of non-existence. Multiple Negation (in) Essays on Language and Usage, Leonard F. Dean and Kenneth G., Wilson ed., New York 1965, p.262.

<sup>1</sup> This situation may be found in other Romance languages as well, when compared with the English language. Cf. Frederick, B. Agard, Robert, J. Di Pietro, The Grammatical Structures of English and Italian, Chicago, 1965, p.85; Robert P. Stodwell, J. Donald Bowen and John W. Martin, The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish, Chicago, 1965, p.219.

The above examples illustrate the intolerance of more than one negation in an English sentence, the counterpart of which in Romanian accepts the impressive number of four. We may also notice that English is provided with a number of negative non-negative pairs<sup>1</sup> which correspond to the Romanian negation as follows:

ROMANIAN	ENGLISH	
	Positive predicate	Negative predicate
	Negative term	Non-negative term
nimeni	nobody	(not) anybody
	no one	(not) anyone
nimic	nothing	(not) anything
nicăieri	nowhere	(not) anywhere
niciodată	never	(not) ever
nici un (e)	no (adj.)	(not) any
	none (pron.)	(not) any
de loc ...	not at all	(not) at all ...
nici ... nici	neither... nor	(not) either...or
nici cea mai mică	not the slightest	(not) the slightest
	not the least	(not) the least

Another structural observation deriving from the analysis of the four above-mentioned English sentences is the fact that, if there is in English the possibility to attach the negative element to more than one word of the statement, the tendency is to attach it to the first.

This is especially true when the subject is negated. Thus one can say for instance:

Engl. No one ever gave her money.

or Never did anyone give her money.

but never: Anyone never gave her money.

<sup>1</sup> By "non-negative" we mean only the formal aspect of the word, as we perceive its content as negative.

<sup>2</sup> The non-negative terms appear either in the presence of a negated predicate, or in the presence of some negative terms which opens the series of terms that may receive the negation within that statement.

or:

Ever did no one give her money.

Also, to say: Anybody would never do that, instead of Nobody would ever do that, would be nonsense, and the same holds true for the Romanian: Cineve nu ar face niciodată aceea. But here, with a change of word-order, we may obtain a correct Romanian sentence: Niciodată nu ar face cineve aceea; whereas, in English this is not possible.

A negation in an English sentence automatically imposes the use of non-negative doublets wherever Romanian places supplementary reinforcing negations:

Rom. N-am spus nimănui nimic.

Engl. I didn't tell anybody anything.

Rom. Nici mie nu mi-e plăcut de lui.

Engl. I didn't like him at all, either.

We must also mention that if the English sentence contains the words nobody in the Nominative, and never, formally and obligatorily the statement becomes partially negative because the predicate remains positive, despite the fact that the meaning of the statement is wholly negative:

(Rom. Nimeni nu l-a văzut plecând).

Engl. Nobody had seen him go.

(Rom. Nu am fost niciodată peste hotere).

Engl. I have never been abroad.

Therefore, on learning English, special attention must be given to the structure of its negative sentence, so different from that in Romanian.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>It must be mentioned that, for a long time, English had permitted the use of both double and multiple negation. In the 16th



Concerning the double and multiple negation, we should mention an interesting case in modern English which might be included in this category, and namely the so-called resumptive negation. This is a sort of negative supplement, with an obvious emphatic role, functioning as a reinforcement to a negative statement:

Engl. I couldn't let you touch me, not if I was starving.

(S. Maugham, Of Human Bondage)

I didn't like to, not after what happened. (ibid.)

I'll never do such a thing, not I!

As one cannot draw a rigid boundary between sentences, this supplementary negation could be considered as belonging to the main statement which would thus contain two negations.

Double negation may appear in English in the case of an enumeration of things lacking which culminates in the word nothing (Rom. nicio):

Engl. ... no paper, no pen, no ink, no nothing.  
No milk in the house, no nothing!

and 17th centuries it was still very much used, so that Shakespeare did not find it at all wrong to say:

Thou hast spoken no word all this while--none understood none neither.

I know not, nor I greatly care not.

Nor this is not my nose neither.

First he denied you had in him no right.

My father has no child but I, nor none is like to have.

I have one heart ... no never none shall mistress be of it save I alone.

Neither did Francis Bacon; he was never no violent man; or even in the 18th century Oliver Goldsmith; George never left the kingdom, nor never was married. (The Vicar of Wakefield).

In the 19th century this type of negation disappeared from educated English, probably, as Albert C. Baugh conjectures, as a result of a false application of logic to the language. It is still abundant in uneducated speech where we find it illustrated, perhaps with some exaggeration, by various authors:

Nobody ever went and hinted no such a thing, said Pegotty.  
(Ch. Dickens, David Copperfield).

All he (the butler) hopes is, he may never hear of no foreigner never boring nothing out of no travelling chariot.  
(Ch. Dickens, Dombey and Son).

We never thought of nothing wrong. (Thackeray, Pendennis).

This obviously emphatic construction is colloquial, as one would normally end the enumeration with the words not anything.

Double negation may also appear in English when people use the words hardly<sup>1</sup> or scarcely, words with a negative meaning usually not associating with the negator not, even by well-known writers such as Shaw, Kipling, Wells, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Engl. You can't hardly tell who anyone is. (Shaw).

He wasn't changed at all hardly. (Kipling).

They don't seem hardly able to help it (Wells).

I don't hardly care to stay. (Bennett).

There is not a yard of it, scarcely, that has not been made by human hands. (Ward).

There are also cases in which hardly and scarcely are associated with indirect negations, of the without type, although they are considered ungrammatical:

Engl. Without scarcely hearing a word. (Thackeray).

Refusing to acknowledge hardly any fiction that was not classic. (Norris).

In contrast with English, in Romanian the use of the correspondents of hardly = abia, cu greu, and scarcely = abia da, is excluded in association with a negation.

<sup>1</sup>The negations hardly, no one, nothing, etc., are classified by Robert J. Di Pietro (op.cit.) as "specific lexical items with negation built into them".

<sup>2</sup>"Usage" differentiates between degrees of tolerance in the association of the negation not with this type of words. Cf. L.M. Myers, Guide to American English, Englewood Cliffs, N.Y., 1963, p.347: "Look at these three sentences: There aren't but two of them. He hasn't made hardly any effort. There aren't only two days left. The first of these is standard, in spite of theoretical objections; the second is a careless slip, which should be corrected in revision; the third is practically illiterate".

Rom. Nu poți spune despre nimeni cine este  
Cu greu ai putea spune despre cineva cine este.

Nu era de loc schimbat.  
Abia dacă era schimbat.

Nu par să se poată abține.  
Par să se abțină cu greu.

Nu țin de loc să rămîn.  
Cu greu s-ar spune că se țin să rămîn.

Nu e nici un singur yord din el care să nu fi fost ...  
Cu greu poți găsi vreun yord care să nu fi fost ...

2.2. We shall proceed now to examine the partially negative statement or the partial negation.

This type of negation affects the various parts of the sentence with the exception of the verbal predicate or of the link verb of a nominal predicate, having an effect only on the syntactic element which it accompanies; it does not affect the character of the whole statement the sentence itself remaining positive. Partial negation is expressed either by adding to the word that is to be negated a negative prefix of the type:<sup>1</sup>

Rom. ne(nefericit, nereal), in(inuman), in(imposibil),  
des(desfăcut, descălecat), dez(desordine).

Engl. un(unhappy, unreal), in(inhuman), in(impossible),  
dis(dismount, disorder, disorganized).

n(o) - only in English and today no longer

productive: no, none, no~~ght~~, neither, nor, never, nobody, no one,  
nothing, nowhere, nohow;

or by placing the adverb nu (not or no) before the part of the sentence that is to be negated:

<sup>1</sup>For an ampler description of the types of words formed by adding negative prefixes in Romanian, cf. Alexandra Rocoșo-Alexandrescu, La sémantique de la négation, *CLTA V*, 1968, p.187-207.

a) Subject:

Rom. Nu eu ți-am cerut ajutorul.

Engl. Not I asked you for help.

b) Predicative:

Rom. Nu e mea a fost vina.

Engl. Not mine was the fault.

c) Attribute:

Rom. Aceasta e apă proaspătă, nu stătută.

Engl. This is fresh, not stale water.

d) Direct complement:

Rom. Ar trebui să înveți engleza, nu italiana.

Engl. You should learn English, not Italian.

Rom. Puteai crede că duce în mână un mănunchi de flori nu o mătură.

Engl. You might have thought she was carrying a bunch of flowers, not a broom.

e) Indirect complement:

Rom. Mă adresez, nu ție, ci celor care vor să mă asculte.

Engl. I speak, not to you, but to those who will listen to me.

f) Adverbial modifier of place:

Rom. Timpul ni-l petrecem nu în încăperi închise, ci în aer liber.

Engl. We spend our time not in classrooms, but in the open air.

g) Adverbial modifier of time:

Rom. Nu deseori i se întâmplă să cunoască o doamnă atât de drăgută.

Engl. Not often did he happen to meet so charming a lady.

h) Adverbial modifier of cause:

Rom. Nu pentru greșelile tale să-ți pară rău, ci pentru că îți lipsește voința să te îndrepti.

Engl. Not for your faults should you be sorry, but for your lack of willingness to improve.

1) Adverbial modifier of instrument:

Rom. Nu cu vorba, ci cu fapta să-ți arăți prietenia.

Engl. Not by words, but by deeds, should you prove your friendship.

2) Adverbial modifier of manner:

Rom. Mergea pe stradă, nu drept ca de obicei ci aplecat de multele-i griji.

Engl. He was walking, not erect as usual, but bent by his many cares.

2.3.1. In principal, the difference between integral and partial negation is quite clear, yet practice shows that it isn't always easy to decide whether the statement should be considered wholly or only partially negative. Between the sentences: Rom.: nu e uman (Engl.: It is not human) and Rom.: E inuman (Engl.: it is inhuman) there is almost no difference (stylistically, the latter is more emphatic), although, formally one is a wholly negative statement and the other only a partially negative one. But if we add to both statements an adverb of the prea type (very in negative sentences and too in affirmative ones) the difference suddenly becomes quite obvious: Rom. nu prea uman (Engl. it is not very human) and Rom. e prea inuman (Engl. it is too inhuman).

Sometimes we encounter wholly negative statements in which the negation that accompanies the predicate refers in reality to some other part of the sentence. Thus, in the sentence: Nu, nu-s eu vinovat (Sadoveanu), although the predicate is negative, it is the subject that is really negated. Conversely, in the English sentence (He'll come back). Not he!, Not he is the really negated word, but the unexpressed predicate.

A similar situation may appear in the complex sentence, when the negation in the main clause refers in fact to the subordinate clause. The sentences below:

complex sent.: Rom. N-am venit să-ți tulbur somnul (Vlășuță)  
simple sent.: Engl. I did not come to curse thee, lead to contradiction because in fact, I "came", but with some other purpose in mind. The same considering the sentences:

Rom. Nu sîntem aici ca să stăm degeaba, ci ca să lucrăm.

Engl. We aren't here to sit idle, but to work.

we notice that to say: Nu sîntem aici (we aren't here) is nonsense, the meaning of the above sentences being: Sîntem aici nu ca să stăm degeaba, ci ca să lucrăm (We are here, not to sit idle, but to work). The negation clearly refers to the adverbial modifier of purpose and not to the predicate, hence the statement is only partially negative.

The attraction which the predicate exerts upon the negation, even when the latter refers to some other part of the sentence, sometimes leads to semantically ambiguous statements, such as, for instance:

Rom. Nu am vorbit pentru că ~~mi era~~ teamă.

Engl. I didn't speak because I was afraid.

This statement may be understood in two ways: 1) "I was afraid and that was the reason why I didn't speak", or 2) "It was not fear that caused me to speak, but some other reason". In spoken language, the distinction between these two meanings is achieved by intonation.

**NOTE:** in Romanian, the tone rises on the word vorbit when it indicates the reason for not having performed the action, and falls on the word vorbit when it indicates some other motive for

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having performed the action than the one mentioned. In contrast, in English the tone falls in case 1) and rises in case 2).<sup>1</sup> Although the intonation of the same statement is so different in the two languages, there still remains an aspect common to Romanian and English and namely the fact that for meaning 1) both languages make a short pause before the word: Rom. pentru că (Engl. because), a pause which does not exist for meaning 2).

2.3.2: Coming back to the distinction between whole and partial negation, we want to draw the attention to the English auxiliary do, which by its presence indicates a wholly negative statement, its absence determining a partial negation:

Engl. I found myself not very well.

She died not long after.

He seems not certain of his way.

When do cannot be used, it is not always easy to decide to whom the negation not belongs:

Engl. Tom's object was not to be seen.

The statement becomes clear only with the help of the accent: if the letter falls on was, which in this case will assimilate not becoming wasn't, the sentence implies that "Tom's object wasn't that of being seen"; if the accent falls on not, "Tom's object was that of not being seen".

NOTE: The above problem does not exist in Romanian where the position of the negation is different in the two cases, the distinction between the wholly negative statement and the partially negative one being perfectly clear.

<sup>1</sup>Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, vol. 4, pg. 434.

On analysing both integral and partial negation one realizes that in Romanian, as well as in English, there are two contradictory tendencies: one of attraction of the negation to the predicate even when it logically belongs to some other part of the statement, and one of attraction of the negation to any other word of the statement that has the capacity of becoming negative. These, contradictory tendencies are more pronounced in English where the first tendency particularly characterizes colloquial speech, while the second is specific for literary language as it allows a more elegant phrasing. Thus, the colloquial construction: We didn't see anybody, corresponds to the literary construction: We saw nobody, for one and the same Romanian construction: Nu am văzut pe nimeni.

3. As regards the parts of speech that may have a negating function in Romanian and in English, we have registered the following categories:

1) The Adverb of the type:

a) adverb of negation proper:

Rom.: nu, ba

Engl.: no, not, nay.

as well as the reinforcing adverb: nici, necum, nicidecum.

b) adverbs of time with negative value:

Rom.: niciodată, nicicând.

Engl.: never, nevermore.

c) adverbs of place with negative value:

Rom.: nicăieri, niciunde.

Engl.: nowhere, nowhither, nowhence.

d) adverbs of manner with negative value:

Rom.: nicicum, nicidecum.

Engl.: nohow, noway(s), nowise.



2) The adverbial phrase, which presents categories similar to those of the adverb of negation:

a) of negation proper:

Rom.: ba nu, de loc, de fel, cituși de puțin, nici gînd, nici pomeneală, nici vorbă, nici discuție, (de) de unde.

Engl.: not at all, none too + adj. in the comparative degree, no such thing, not in the least.

b) of time with negative value:

Rom.: (regional tint) pînă-î lumea, cit vescul.

Engl.: never in one's life, never to the end of time.

c) of place with negative value:

Rom.: nici într-o parte, nici într-un loc.

Engl.: (in) no place, nowhere else.

d) of manner with negative value:

Rom.: în/cu nici un chip, nici chip, pentru nimic în lume, nici de frică.

Engl.: by no means, in no way, not for the world, on no account, not for the life of (me).

3) The negative pronoun and pronominal adjective:

Rom.: nimeni, nici(o, un), nimic.

Engl.: nobody, no one, not one, nothing, neither, no.

4) The conjunction with adverbial value derived from the adverb with copulative value:

Rom.: nici, necum, nicidecum.

Engl.: neither, nor.

as well as the correlative conjunctions:

Rom.: nici ... nici ... (with its diverse variants)

Engl.: neither ... nor, not.

Rom.: nu ... ci

Engl.: not ... but.

5) The preposition:

Rom.: fără

Engl.: without

6) The interjection:

Rom.: să (1)!, ă!, nu!, Apoi nu!, A!

Engl.: tak, taki, pooh! Oh, no!, Ah!, nonsense!,  
fiddlesticks!

The negation may also be expressed by a series of specific lexical and grammatical constructions with a stylistic-emotional tint and negative value, such as, for instance, the following phrases or syntagms.

Rom.: Doamne ferește!, ferit-să sfițtă!, pe dracu!(1)!

Engl.: God beware!, Heaven forbid!, the devil!

or by affirmative-exclamative constructions with a negative-ironic meaning:

Rom.: ți-si găsit!, (șea) să creși dumpești!, ești un  
model de delicățetă!

Engl. That's what you may think, you are a pattern of tact!

4.1. The Syntax of the parts of speech with negating function:

1) The adverbs and adverbial phrases. The most important are the adverbs of negation proper which present the following characteristics:

- they can negate a whole sentence, by negating the predicate, and thus determine a wholly negative statement:

Rom. De nu faci nimic: sate nu mă poate descureja.  
(Garagiile, Cum se naște o revistă).

Engl.: "I did not know this machine was at fault",  
he said. (J.Steinbeck, Tortilla Flat).

- they can negate only a part of the sentence, thus determining a partially negative statement:<sup>1</sup>

Rom. Nu întodeauna ee cîntea atît de veselă ca azi.  
Engl. Not always did she feel so elated as today.

- they can be self-contained, summing up a negative statement

a) in answer to a positive question, in opposition to da (yes):

Rom.: Va veni înainte de a se însera? Cred că nu.  
Engl.: Will she come before dark? I think not.

In English this use of not is limited to the verbs of the type: hope, expect, am afraid, think, believe, suppose, regret, and appears mainly in conversation, in order to avoid the repetition of a previous observation or question.

b) or in answer to a negative question:

Rom.: - Neapăsulescu? Ce! nu știu.  
- Nu. (Caregiale)

Engl.: "Don't you remember what night it is?" he asked.  
"No. What is it?" (J. Steinbeck, Tortilla Flat).

c) or in acceptance of a negative statement:

Rom.: Deci nu vrei să vii? NU.  
Engl.: So you won't come? No..

In Romanian, after a positive predicate in a foregoing sentence nu alone may appear in the following sentence instead of the negative form of the predicate, even when this nu is preceded by a subject, a thing impossible in English. Compare:

Rom.: Vrei să vii ori nu?  
Engl. Will you come or not?

with:

<sup>1</sup> Oh. also the chapter on the partially negative statement.

Ros.: Fetitei îi plăceau prăjiturile, dar băiețului nu.  
Engl.: The girl liked cakes but the boy didn't.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we see that in English, if there is a subject, the negation not obligatorily requires the presence of the auxiliary do without which it cannot be used.

**NOTE:** the above examples show that for one and the same negative adverb in Romanian, there are two forms in English, no and not, with a different syntactic behaviour:

a) no can form an unanalysable negative main clause functioning as an answer to a previously formulated question, or it can accompany a noun within a partial negation;

b) not can form only a subordinate unanalysable negative direct object clause in the presence of verbs of the type: hope, expect, etc. (already mentioned), or it can accompany the predicate within an integral negation.

In the sentences:

Engl.: 1. I see no book there.

2. I do not see a book there

the use of one or the other of the two negators determines the following semantic differentiation: the first sentence corresponds to the Romanian: Nu văd nici o carte acolo, this latter construction suggesting the existence of an alternative ("but I see something else"). In order that sentence 2. may have the meaning of sentence 1. it is necessary to add to it the non-negative doublet of no - any placing it before the word book. We thus obtain:

<sup>1</sup> We should mention the Romanian phrase nu și nu with the meaning of "to oppose stubbornly", used predicatively without any mention of person or tense:

Rp.-: Cucoane nu și nu! că i-î urît greul. (Bădăvesnu).

3. I do not see any book there (Where any plays the role which in Romanian is played by the reinforcing negation nici).

With respect to the syntax of the English negator not we should also mention that in interrogative sentences, the place of not varies with the type of subject:

- if the subject is a noun, the order is:  
do (did) + Negator + NOUN + (short) Infinitive.

Engl.: Did not John follow his instruction?  
/the child/

The use of the abbreviated form n't reduces the two variants to the unique formula:

Do (did) n't + Noun or Pronoun + (short) Infinitive

Semantically, besides the negating role they play, the negations:

Rom.: nu, and Engl. not respectively, may make in both languages certain suggestions concerning the terms they accompany. Thus, with quantitative terms, they always mean less:

- Rom.: nu mulți = puținii
- Engl.: not many = few
- Rom.: nu grozav = mediocru
- Engl.: not terribly = medium.

with numerical terms, they generally mean more:

- Rom.: nu odată (oi de zece de ori)
- Engl.: not once or twice (but scores of times);
- Rom.: Nu sute ci mii de oameni îl așteptau să sosească.
- Engl.: Not hundreds, but thousands of people were waiting for him to arrive.

The Romanian adverb of negation proper, ba, suggests disagreement, negation or refusal. When it sums up a negative statement,

in opposition with da (like the adverb nu) it acquires, stylistically, a provincial colouring, resembling to a certain extent the English negative adverb may, having the same function but a rather archaic tint.

Rom.: La scara te putesi uita, dar le dinse be.

Engl.: Bernardo: Who't there?

Francisco: Nay, answer me. (W.Shakespeare, Hamlet)

But two months dead! Nay, not so much, not two.

(Shakespeare, *idem*).

Generally, the Romanian ba corresponds semantically to the adverb dimpotrivă, appearing in replies and expressing an opinion opposed to that of the interlocutor. In this role, it may accompany both the adverb of negation and the adverb of affirmation, or other words used as answers.

Rom.: Hai stai! Ba pleci!

Among the adverbs of negation proper we must also mention the negative adverbs of reinforcement such as nicidecum, and the phrases: de loc, de fel, nici de fel, citugi de puțin, which have the function of intensifying the negation, giving the statement a categorical tone:

Rom.: Moartea nu ne sperie nicidecum.

Copilul nu creștea de loc.

Nu s-a supărat citugi de puțin.

We notice, therefore, that in Romanian and in English as well, the adverbs of negation proper may appear both within a partial negation and within an integral negation.

The other negative adverbs of time, place and manner, manifest a different syntactic behaviour, not only on comparing them with the adverbs of negation proper, but also on comparing the two languages.

In Romanian , these adverbs can appear only in a double integral negation, i.e. they obligatorily require the negation of the verbal predicate or of the link verb in a compound nominal predicate.

Rom.: Nu l-am putut găsi nicăieri.

Nu e atent niciodată.

N-am să încerc nicicum.

On the contrary, in English, they can appear only in a partial negation, i.e. in a statement with a positive predicate:

Engl., I could find him nowhere.

He is never attentive.

How will you do it? Howew.

For the first example, with the adverb of place, it should be mentioned that it is characteristic of literary language, as in every day speech it is more usual to formulate the sentence by negating the predicate and employing the non-negative doublet of the respective adverb; in our case anywhere, within a wholly negative statement:

Engl.: I couldn't find him anywhere.

In the case of the negative adverb of time, this is always used as such, i.e. in a partially negative statement, as the use of its doublet (ever) in a wholly negative statement would bring about a slight semantic change: I shan't ever write to him - meaning: n-am să-i scriu vreodată, rather than: n-am să-i scriu niciodată.

The use of the negative form of the adverb and not that of its non-negative doublet becomes obligatory when the sentence begins with the respective negative adverb, be it of place, time or manner. This determines a change in the structure of the sentence

is that the auxiliary do is introduced before the subject (if the sentence doesn't already contain an auxiliary or a modal which is transferred before the subject), the main verb turning into an infinitive:

Engl.: Nowhere could/did I find him.

Never shall I write to him any more.

On no account will I do it.

The position of the adverbs of negation determines the meaning of the sentences which contain them, i.e. the statement becomes more emphatic if it begins with the adverb of negation. This is true for both Romanian and English.

**NOTE:** in Romanian, nevertheless, the displacement of the adverb of negation does not bring about any changes in the structure of the respective sentence:

Rom.: (nicăieri) nu l-am putut găsi (nicăieri).

(nicicum) n-am să încerc (nicicum).

The adverbial phrases of place, time and manner with a negative function behave very much like the above analysed adverbs: in Romanian they can only appear in wholly negative statements, whereas in English they can only appear in partially negative sentences. If the English sentence is wholly negative, it is their non-negative doublets that appear instead.

Rom.: N-am să-l mai văd cît veacul.

Năzdrăvășul de copil nu sta nici într-un loc.

Engl.: She behaved none the better for all my scolding.

She didn't behave any the better for all my scolding.

You will find it nowhere else, I'm sure.

You won't find it anywhere else, I'm sure.



The adverbial phrases of negation proper show in Romanian certain characteristics which distinguish them from the corresponding simple adverbs in that they, unlike, the latter, cannot appear in partially negative statements while the adverbs can, their use being restricted to wholly negative statements. They diverge thus markedly from the behaviour of the English adverbial phrases with negative function which can appear only in partially negative sentences, i.e. in the presence of a positive predicate:

Rom.: Ba nu ai dreptete!  
Nici vorbă să pleci acum!  
Nu-mi place de loc/citui de puțin/ de fel.

Engl.: I am not at all angry, you may believe me:

Compare with:

Engl.: I am not angry at all.

where not is the negation of the predicate, at all being the non-negative doublet of not at all, required by the wholly negative character of this statement.

Engl.: I think you not in the least responsible for the accident.

He took not the least notice of us.

She paid not the slightest attention to him.

2) The negative pronoun and pronominal adjective with negating function shows the following syntactic characteristics:

In Romanian, it can appear only within a double integral negation, whatever its role in the sentence:

Rom.: Nu știam nimic  
Nu credeam nici un cuvânt  
Nu era nici unul de față  
Nu vorbea cu nimeni  
Nimeni nu venise  
Nimic nu se întâmplase  
Nici une nu îmi plăcea.

In English, it can appear only within a partial negation. When the pronouns no one, nobody, not one, nothing, neither, function as subject of the sentence, the statement must obligatorily be partially negative:

Engl.: No one said a word  
Nobody was absent  
Nothing was missing  
Not one had been taken away  
Neither was chosen.<sup>1</sup>

When the same pronouns function as adjectives or objects, the statement may be partially negative if we employ the negative doublet, or wholly negative if we employ the non-negative member of the pair.

Engl.: I saw no one in the room  
I didn't see anyone in the room  
He said nothing  
He didn't say anything  
I liked neither of them  
I didn't like either of them  
I gave her no money  
I didn't give her any money.

3) The conjunction with adverbial value derived from the negative adverb with copulative value:

Rom: nici, neam

Engl.: neither, nor

as well as the correlative conjunctions:

Rom.: nici ... nici

Engl.: neither ... nor

with its diverse variants.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mention must be made of a similar situation in the Romanian language of the 16th century, when it was not at all necessary to negate the predicate in the presence of a negative pronoun in subject function: *Nimeni era e. g. de-a dreapta* (Dicoanul Coresi, Carte cu învățătură (1581), Buc. 1914, vol. I, p. 90/20).

<sup>2</sup> We shall come back to this aspect in more detail in the chapter "The negation in co-ordination".

In English, its use determines a partially negative statement whereas in Romanian, it generally determines wholly negative statements with double negation:

Rom.: Nu știe nici să scrie, nici să citească.

Engl.: She could neither read nor write.

The adversative negative conjunction neam in Romanian links a positive main clause to a negative direct object subordinate clause, consequently it is used in an affirmative statement:

Rom.: Am vrut să-l ajut, neam să-l încerc.

a statement which could be transformed as follows:

Nu am vrut să-l încerc, ci să-l ajut (wholly negative statement)

with the mention that the first formulation is more emphatic.

4) The preposition in Romanian fără, in English without, with a negative lexical meaning, is opposed to the preposition

Rom.: cu, Engl.: with, and can form negative constructions with the predicative, the attribute and the adverbial modifier of association, instrument or manner.

In contrast with the parts of speech hitherto analysed, it can negate all the above mentioned parts of speech within the sentence, without modifying the positive content of the predicate, hence of the statement as a whole. This preposition is excluded from the construction of the negative form of the subject, predicate (either nominal or verbal) and direct and indirect object.

The situation is the same, both in Romanian and in English.

Thus:

Rom.: El e un om fără idei.

Engl.: He is a man without ideas.

Rom.: Nu pot trăi fără tine.

Engl.: I cannot live without you.

Rom.: Nu poți tăia pâinea fără cuțit.

Engl.: You cannot cut bread without a knife.

Rom.: El păși fără teamă în berca ce se legăna periculos.

Engl.: He stepped without fear into the dangerously swaying boat.

Besides, in Romanian, fără may be followed by verbal forms and namely by the infinitive and the subjunctives:

Rom.: Vorbes fără a face vreo pauză.

Ha îl asculta fără să spună un cuvânt.

The English preposition without may also be followed by a verbal form and namely by the indefinite participle:

Engl.: He took the box without looking inside.

To this construction corresponds another, formed by the conjunction and + a negative infinitive:

Engl.: They had scarcely anywhere else they could go and be recognized. (without being ...) Th. Dreiser, An American Tragedy).

The English preposition without may appear in statements with double negation because the speaker uses still another word with implied negative without being conscious of it.

Examples may be found even with well-known writers such as Thackeray: Without scarcely hearing a word ... (Vanity Fair). But such constructions should be avoided.

The Romanian preposition fără<sup>1</sup> enters the construction of a great number of adverbial or adjectival phrases fără oală, fără

<sup>1</sup>The preposition fără may be reinforced by the negative adjective nică un(o) and it may appear in phrases such as: fără nici un câ-

căpătii, fără gres, fără îndoială, fără (de) margini, fără (de) minte, fără soț. It may also function as a conjunction or may enter the conjunctive phrase fără ca, serving to build up adverbial clauses of manner, concession or opposition with a negative meaning:

El intră în casă fără ca ea să-l audă.

5) The interjection and other emotional means of expressing negation. These have a syntactic behaviour quite different from the parts of speech analysed so far as they appear most frequently independent of the parts of the sentence, generally forming an independent sentence (a possibility common to all words of negation) or constituting a reinforcing element for the sentence they accompany:

Rom.: - A! este nu e bine, domnule maior, sic eu; tutunul este o'otrevă .. (Caragiale, Visita).

M: Vorbești ceva secret?

G: Aș! (Caragiale, CFR)

- Zi gă-ți lasă o mie, tot e bine.

- Apoi nu! Sicul e să lăse două. (Caragiale, Diplomatie).

- Ți! nu știu ... nu știu ... Fetița nu știu ce face. (Sedoveanu, Opere).

- Ei aș! (Caragiale, Cadou)<sup>1</sup>

pătii, fără nici o îndoială, etc.

- Mă tem că nu te întorci fără nici o ispravă. (Ispirescu).

A semantic observation: the English interjection tak, tak does not have the strictly negative meaning which its Romanian correspondent țț = no may have. Their common meaning is rather that of disagreement, disapproval, as for instance in:

Rom.: Avocatul (plictisit): Țț ... Ce-are e face ecuma poliției? (Caragiale, Art. 214)

Engl.: "Tak, tak! Had I not told you not to go there?"

Engl.: "You seem terribly upset".

"Nonsense! What makes you believe that?"

Lady D.: Ah, Don't say that, Lady Windermere!  
(O.Wilde, Lady Windermere's Fan)

"Some neighbour will see you take it".

"Oh, no", said Pilon. (J.Steinbeck, Tortilla Flat).

Only in Romanian, the interjection may function as a part of the sentence accompanying the predicative group and giving it an emotional colouring (disapproval or opposition):

Rom.: Strig, strig, da el ași să audă.

Certain negative phrases with emotional colouring refer to supernatural elements: Dumnezeu (God):

Rom.: Doamne fereste!

Engl.: God forbid!

saints (especially in Romanian):

Rom.: Ferit-a sfintul!

the devil:

Rom.: Pe dracu(1)!

pe naiba!

dracul știe!

Engl.: the deuce!

Here are some examples:

Rom.: Făcuși ceva? Pe dracu ghem!

Ferit-a sfintul să-i vorbești!

Engl.: "He likes you very much".

"The deuce he likes me!"

Sometimes irony gives a negative meaning to a positive statement and this may be achieved by intonation.

Rom.: Ești grozav de deștept! (= nu ești de loc deștept)

Engl.: Mighty clever you are! (= in fact you are rather silly)

You are a pattern of tact! (= you are not at all tactful)

4.2. The negation in co-ordination and subordination presents specific elements of expression and namely the so-called negative correlative conjunctions, i.e. conjunctions grouped in pairs. The situation is similar in the two languages.

4.2.1. In co-ordination, Romanian makes use of the following negative correlative conjunctions: *nici ... nici*; (with the variants, *nici nu ... nici nu*, *nu ... nici*, *nu ... nici nu*, *nici nu ... nici*), *nu ... oi*, *nu ... dar*, *nu ... însă*, *nu numai ... ci și*, *nu numai (oă) ... dar și*, *nu numai ... oi însă* (archaic).

In English the selection is somewhat restricted: neither ... nor (with its doublet either ... or), not ... nor, not only ... but (also), not ... but.

These negative correlative conjunctions, whether copulative (Rom.: *nici ... nici*, *nu numai ... ci și*, Engl.: neither ... nor, not only ... but also) or adverbative (Rom.: *nu ... oi /dar/, însă*, Engl.: not ... but) may determine both wholly negative statements and partially negative ones.

a) wholly negative statements:

Rom.: *Nu minca, nici (nu) bea, atit(a) era de supărat.*

Engl.: He neither ate, nor drank, so upset was he.

Rom.: *Nici usturoi n-a mincat, nici gura nu-i miroase.*  
(here the correlative negation has an emphatic function):

Engl.: I don't like either his talk or his behaviour.

(In Romanian, the place of these non-negative doublets is occupied by reinforcing negations).

b) Partially negative statements.

Rom.: Noul sistem permite nu numai o producție sporită,  
dar și o producție de calitate superioară.  
(the negation refers to the direct object).

Engl.: "Give the thoughts no tongue, nor any unpropor-  
tion'd thought, his set" (idem).

Engl.: I have neither time nor disposition (the negation  
refers to the predicative).

Rom.: Nu numai animalele, ci și oamenii, au instincte de  
pradă (the negation refers to the subject).

Engl.: Not only animals, but man also has predatory in-  
stincts (idem).

Engl.: She admired him not for his integrity, but for his  
political cunning. (the negation refers to the pre-  
positional object).

In adversative constructions where co-ordination is effect-  
ed between non-predicative groups, a common tendency may be ob-  
served for both languages of attraction of the first element of  
the correlative conjunction by the predicate, the sentence no  
longer remaining partially negative but becoming wholly negative<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, the initial statement:

Rom.: Îi admir nu fața ei, vocea.

Engl.: I admire not her face but her voice.

may become:

Rom.: Nu-i admir fața, ci vocea.

Engl.: I don't admire her face, but her voice.

On comparing the above examples with:

Rom.: Nu fugе ci zboară.

Engl.: He does not walk but run.

<sup>1</sup>A tendency mentioned in the chapter on partial negation.



We observe that in the first case the predicate is illogically negated, but that negation is justified in the second case.

As far as the negative correlative conjunction not ... nor is concerned, we consider its use to be correct only within a compound sentence;

Engl.: She could not sleep, nor could she find a moment's rest.

whereas in a simple sentence its use gives rise to a double negation:

Engl.: Not a bus, tram nor taxi was in sight.

Here not should have been correlated with or, or nor with neither, as the existence of the word not in an English sentence excludes the use of another negation within the same sentence.

Another case of co-ordination is illustrated by the relation between two sentences, the second of which contains a disjunctive question referring to the predicate of the first. In this case, Romanian makes use of the invariable formula nu-i așa? whereas English offers a variety of possibilities:

a) If the predicate in the first sentence is expressed by an auxiliary or modal verb in the affirmative, the disjunctive question in the second sentence must be in the negative:

Rom.: Ai studiat, nu-i așa?

Engl.: You've been studying, Haven't you?

b) If the same type of predicate contains a negation, the disjunctive question must be in the affirmative:

Rom.: Nu ești bucurat, nu-i așa?

Engl.: You aren't glad, are you?

c) If the predicate in the first sentence contains neither an auxiliary, nor a modal verb, the disjunctive question that

follows must contain the auxiliary do which behaves as in the previously mentioned cases:

Rom.: Mergi la școală, nu-i așa?

Engl.: You go to school, don't you?

Rom.: Nu mergi la școală, nu-i așa?

Engl.: You don't go to school, do you?

**NOTE:** in certain English grammars this type of questions is classified under the name of "tag-questions", or "question-phrases".

#### 4.2.2. The negation in subordination:

The following cases should be pointed out:

a) When the main clause is negative, the whole complex sentence has a negative character, even if the subordinate clause is positive:

Rom.: Nu știam să vorbesc englezește când eram mică.

Engl.: I couldn't speak English when I was little.

b) When the main clause is affirmative, the complex sentence is considered to be affirmative even if the subordinate clause is negative:

Rom.: În case unui prieten eu am să mă așez chiar dacă nu mă poftesc nimeni.

Engl.: I'll do that even if you don't like it.

c) When both the main clause and the subordinate clause are negative, the complex sentence is negative in both languages

Rom.: Nu a venit pentru că nu l-a invitat.

Engl.: He didn't come because you didn't ask him to.

**NOTE:** In such a case in Romanian a litotes may sometimes

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appear (i.e. an affirmation resulting from the reciprocal annulment of the negation in the main clause with that of the subordinate):

Rom.: Nu putem să nu fim de acord cu această propunere.

In English, the litotes can appear only within a simple sentence:

Engl.: It is impossible for us not to agree to your proposal.

"Tis not unknown to you Antonio." (Shakespeare)

By means of this stylistic device, an affirmation either becomes more emphatic - as in the first example or is somewhat toned down - as in the second<sup>1</sup>.

On analyzing the predicates that constitute a litotes we may notice that we have always to do with verbs of incomplete predication, such as: a putea (can), a crede (believe), a fi (be) a trebui (must), a nega (deny), a merita etc.

In this chapter we should also mention the so-called, "paratactic" negation, i.e. the negation in a subordinate clause which depends on a main clause containing a predicate with implied negation of the type: a nega (deny), a interzice (forbid), a împiedica (hinder), a se îndoi (doubt). Here, in fact, we have to do with a double negation which appears because the speaker does not realize the negative character of these verbs and thus introduces a secondary negation. This type of construction is not at all rare, either in Romanian, or in English, although it is grammatically incorrect.

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<sup>1</sup>It seems that the English spoken in Ireland is characterized by the frequent use of the litotes (This little rasher will do you no harm; Paddy Walsh is no chicken now).

Rom.: Nu m-am putut împiedica de a nu-î spune

Engl.: I never doubted that you would not become  
our best pupil soon.

5. In conclusion, the most important traits that distinguish the negation in Romanian from the negation in English are the following:

- Whereas in Romanian the existence of a negation within a statement does not exclude the use of further negations within the same statement, in English the use of any other negation within the same statement is excluded.

- In contrast with Romanian, the negative signal not (n't) at the English predicate must obligatorily be preceded by the auxiliary do in the absence of other auxiliaries or modals.

- The existence of a negation in the English sentence automatically requires the use of the non-negative doublets wherever Romanian uses supplementary reinforcing negations.

- For the invariably negative disjunctive question in Romanian correspond several types of questions, either negative or affirmative, in English.

- To the Romanian edverb nu correspond two forms in the English language, no and not, with different syntactic behaviour, the former being able to form unanalysable simple negative sentences functioning as an answer to a previously formulated question, or being able to accompany a noun within a partial negation, the latter being able to form only unanalysable subordinate negative direct object clauses, or being able to accompany the predicate within an integral negation, or other parts of speech within a partial negation.

- In contrast with Romanian, English is provided with a specific element which helps to distinguish between whole and partial negation, namely the auxiliary do which by its presence indicates a wholly negative statement, its absence determining a partial negation. Romanian achieves this distinction only by word order.

- Changing the place of the English negative adverb of place, time or manner brings about alterations in the structure of the statement, whereas in Romanian the structure of the sentence is not at all affected.

SOME REMARKS ON THE SEMANTIC FIELD OF TERMS FOR  
PHYSICAL PAIN IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

by Florica Băncilă

0. Frequent hesitation as well as great uncertainty in the correct use of terms denoting physical pain by Romanian speaking students of English have suggested the choice of the subject of the present paper. From the difficulties encountered in teaching this section of the English vocabulary to Romanian students of English it can be inferred that the semantic field of terms for physical pain is one of the areas of contrast in which the two languages offer their native speakers a different classification of extralinguistic reality reflected in a different organisation of the terms within the given field.

The present paper is also an attempt to test the validity of componential analysis as a method of research in the contrastive study of the semantic structure of the vocabulary by applying it to the investigation of the use of terms denoting physical pain in English and Romanian.

The following reasons suggested the choice of the above-mentioned method of research: the terms are grouped together forming a semantic field dominated by the common semantic feature 'physical pain', which is shared by all its members (1); at the

1. The content of the concept or 'semantic field' used in this paper is based on E. Coseriu, *Structure lexicale et enseignement du vocabulaire*, Rapport, Actes du premier colloque international de linguistique appliquée, 1964, Nancy; p.212.

lexical-semantic level it seemed possible to differentiate the meaning of each member of the field from all of its other synonyms<sup>2</sup>.

Two parameters were thought to be relevant in the analysis: the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic.

1.0. This paper is the first stage of a more comprehensive analysis of the field of terms for physical pain in English and Romanian, and will confine itself to the study of the nouns belonging to it. Figurative terms as well as stylistic variants, i.e. archaic, obsolete, scientific terms, will not be discussed here<sup>3</sup>. Neither is the paper intended to go into the specific problems of usage and frequency of the analysed terms. It is only at a more advanced stage of research that these problems can be dealt with in an adequate way.

1.1. In order to establish the corpus of the analysis it was found necessary to isolate the semantemes<sup>4</sup> which are characterized by the common semantic feature 'physical pain' and which appear as basic or derived meanings in a number of polysemantic lexemes. In their turn the semantemes have been analysed into senses<sup>x</sup>).

In order to discover the distinctive semantic features that structure the field under discussion the hypothesis was con-

2. The concept introduced by Saussure is very useful in a structural analysis; on the concept of 'valeur' see F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, 1971.
3. The main source used to collect the terms of the following analysis is Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, 1960, London.
4. The terms 'semanteme' and 'seme' are used in the sense suggested by B. Pottier in *Vers une sémantique moderne*, TLL, II, 1, Strasbourg, 1964

x) In this paper the terms 'distinctive semantic feature' and 'seme' are synonyms.

sidered according to which there is a close interrelation between the syntagmatic and paradigmatic parameters in linguistic analysis. In the functioning and structuring of the vocabulary it was observed that the different distribution of the terms as well as the selection they impose on the syntagmatic level are criteria of the utmost importance in delimiting the senses that structure a given semantic field.

2.0. The result of the paradigmatic analysis of the terms denoting physical pain in English and Romanian is presented in two tables. The two tables offer a tentative analysis of the terms having the common sense 'physical pain', and they will be used as source for the comments which will bring out the differences between English and Romanian in the structuring of the semantic field under discussion<sup>x(5)</sup>.

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x) For able advice and help in writing this paper I am profoundly grateful to Rodica Mihăilă, research worker at the Center for Research in Phonetics and Dialectology, Martin J. O'roghan, visiting professor at the English Department of the University of Bucharest in 1971-72, Adrian Niculescu, lecturer at the English Department of the University of Bucharest, as well as to Mihail Stursa, D.M.

5. To set up the semantic content of the terms analysed in the table the following dictionaries have been used: The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Oxford, 1933; A.S. Hornby, F.V. Gatenby, H. Wakefield, The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English; The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, New York, 1968; Dicționarul limbii moderne, București 195 ; L. Levițchi, A. Bantaș, Dicționar englez-român, București 197 ; L. Levițchi, Dicționar român-englez, București, 1965; A. Manuila, L. Manuila, M. Nicolae, E. Lambert, Dictionnaire français de médecine et de biologie, Paris, 1972.



ENGLISH	diffuse	continu- ous	sudden	profound	local- ized	physical agent
pain <sub>1</sub>	0	0	0	0	0	0
pain <sub>2</sub>	-	0	0	0	0	0
ache	+	+	-	+	+	0
headache	+	+	-	+	+	0
toothache	+	+	-	+	+	0
ear-ache	+	+	-	+	+	0
stomach-ache	+	+	-	+	+	0
....						
stitch	-	0	+	+	+	0
twinge	-	0	+	+	0	0
sting	-	+	+	-	0	+
priek	-	0	+	-	0	+
cramp	-	+	+	+	0	0
heartburn	+	+	-	+	+	0
neuralgia	+	+	-	+	+	0
cramps	+	-	0	+	+	0
colic	+	-	0	+	+	0
<b>ROMANIAN</b>						
durere	0	0	0	0	0	0
junghi	-	0	+	+	0	0
intepitură	-	0	+	0	0	+
cifocel	-	+	+	+	0	0
arsuri	+	+	-	+	+	0
nevralgie	+	+	-	+	+	0
crampe	+	-	0	+	+	0
colici	+	-	0	+	+	0

The semantic field of the above-mentioned terms is structured by six sets of senses which reveal two types of oppositions. The first four pairs of senses consist of oppositions whose second terms is the negative of the first. This type of opposition admits

of three ways of characterising a semanteme, i.e. +, -, and 0. The last two oppositions admit only of + or 0 as possible descriptions of the terms denoting physical pain.

The opposition 'diffuse- non-diffuse' analyses physical pain from the point of view of its area of extension. Pain may be felt over a comparatively wide area or part of the body (e.g. the head, the stomach, (diffuse), or it may be experienced as being restricted to a small area of localization (non-diffuse or compact).

The sense 'continuous' in the analysis of the terms of pain is opposed to the sense 'non-continuous' or 'intermittent'. This opposition differentiates types of physical pain according to the presence or absence of variations of intensity.

The opposition 'sudden - non-sudden or gradual' classifies physical pain with respect to the criterion of its onset.

'Localized - non-localized' is an opposition expressing the presence or absence of a specific area of manifestation of pain. When a term is marked for the feature 'localized' it expresses in an explicit or implicit way the organ or part of the body where pain is experienced: e.g. Engl. headache, stitch (in the side); Rom. arsură. When unmarked for the same feature a term may be used to refer to any organ or part of the body, e.g. Engl. pain; Rom. durere. It is impossible to conceive of physical pain outside its local manifestation. Thus it follows that a term belonging to the field of physical pain cannot be marked negatively for this feature.

The last opposition refers to the presence or absence of a (physical) agent producing pain. The terms marked for this feature are transferred from other semantic fields, e.g. Engl. prick, sting, Rom. înțepătură. They may form a separate subclass in so far as they

express a very close relation of cause and effect. Thus both English and Romanian reveal a rather superficial type of causality in the way in which they analyse the phenomenon of physical pain at word level, which is by no means unusual if we take into account the difficulties encountered when trying to find the hidden processes whose reflection on the sensory level is pain.

2.1. Following Bernard Pottier's model it was found that the unmarked term (archilexeme) dominating the field in English is 'pain<sub>1</sub>', which is formally distinguished from 'pain<sub>2</sub>' by not being used in the plural. It occurs in such phrases as to be in (great etc.) pain, to cry with pain, to feel (no) pain, which reveal its basic characteristic, i.e. absence or markedness for all sets of senses, except the semantic feature common to all the terms making up the field.

In Romanian the corresponding archilexeme is the term 'durere', which is characterized by the same feature as its English equivalent, e.g. a avea durere<sup>x)</sup>, a plinge de durere, a simți durere / dureri<sup>x)</sup>.

2.2. Romanian learners of English often encounter difficulties in acquiring the precise meaning and use of the English terms 'ache' and 'pain<sub>2</sub>'. Here Romanian makes use of a single term, 'durere', which covers the meanings of both Engl. 'ache' and 'pain'. It was found that through frequent use in compounds such as 'head-ache, toothache, stomach-ache, etc.', the term 'ache' acquired distinct senses, which clearly differentiate it from its closest synonym; dif. +, cont. +, sudden -, as against 'pain<sub>2</sub>' which is marked as follows: dif. -, cont. 0, sudden 0. The difference in meaning

x) The Romanian plural is intensive.

between the two terms is present mainly in the opposition 'diffuse - non-diffuse' where the terms appear as directly opposed to each other. Thus the phrases to have a headache and to have a pain in the head differ in meaning owing to the fact that the senses making up the meaning of the nouns 'headache' and 'pain (in the head)' are differently marked.

Romanian lacks the opposition 'diffuse - non-diffuse' at word level. This opposition appears only as a redundant feature of the main opposition, which classifies the main terms of the field according to the sudden or gradual onset of physical pain. Thus Romanian presents the two terms of high frequency, the unmarked noun durere and the noun junghi marked for 'sudden' and 'non-diffuse', which are essential in the structuring of the whole field, while English has two marked terms, pain<sub>2</sub> and -ache, corresponding to the unmarked term 'pain<sub>1</sub>'.

2.3. The Romanian term junghi is more general as compared to any of its possible English equivalents in so far as it is unmarked for the feature 'localized'. Its meaning is partly covered by the Engl. terms stitch (which is restricted to indicating pain in the intercostal region), twinge, which are both characterized by a comparatively low frequency of use, as well as by the descriptive phrase sharp pain. Here is another important point of contrast between English and Romanian, which may lead to the prediction of difficulty in the acquisition of the terms especially for English speaking learners of Romanian.

2.4. A brief look at the opposition 'localized - non localized' on the two tables reveals another difference between English and Romanian in the rendering of various aspects of physical pain.

Leaving aside the group of terms originating in the scientific vocabulary of both languages (Engl. neuralgia, cramps, colic; Rom. nevralgie, crampe, colici) whose formal similarity points to their common origin it can be noticed that English has a number of terms which are marked for 'localized' while in Romanian most terms are unmarked for the same feature. Taking into consideration the high frequency of use of most of these terms in both languages it will naturally result that the opposition 'localized - non-localized' is an essential feature in the classification of terms denoting pain in English. Thus English shows a tendency to describe various kinds of physical pain also by indicating the place (organ or part of the body) where it is experienced. On the contrary, Romanian does not reveal the same feature of classification as essential at word level.

3.0. The syntagmatic level reveals the distribution and use of the lexemes denoting physical pain in English and Romanian. At this level both in English and in Romanian most terms denoting pain are used in a phrase including the verb to have = a avea in which they fill the slot of the direct object:<sup>x)</sup>

Engl. to have a headache	Rom. a avea o durere de cap
a toothache	a avea o durere de dinți
an ear-ache	o durere de urechi
a stomach-ache	o durere de stomac
(a) heartburn	arsuri (la stomac)
a stifeh (in the side)	un junghi in coastă
a pain in the foot	o durere la picior
	etc.

x) The terms coming from other semantic fields are an exception: when functioning as semantemes denoting pain they combine with the verb to feel, e.g. Engl. to feel a sting, prick; Rom. a simți o înțepătură; when used after the verb have they express their basic meaning. Thus the two meanings of the above terms are kept apart by their co-occurrence with different verbs.

3.f. Intensity of pain, a feature which is often present in the process of linguistic communication, is expressed at phrase level both in English and in Romanian:

e.g. Engl. to have a severe / splitting, etc. headache

Rom. a avea o durere mare / îngrozitoare, etc. de cap.

This feature is only sporadically revealed in the meaning of the terms under consideration, e.g. Engl. sting; prick; Rom. junghi; înțepătură.

The opposition 'intense - non-intense' has not been introduced in the two tables presenting the analysis of the terms denoting physical pain because it does not appear as an inherent semantic feature structuring the field under discussion. Its presence in the semantic content of the above-mentioned examples is due to the association of the semanteme denoting pain with the one denoting its cause: Engl. sting = pain produced by a sting of an insect or by another agent producing a similar type of physical pain; prick = pain produced by a needle; Rom. junghi = pain produced by a dagger (jungher<sup>x</sup>); înțepătură = pain produced by a pointed object (țeapă, etc.). In Romanian the two terms are used in a general sense in so far as they usually denote the type of pain rather than the physical agent producing it. The conclusion of these remarks is that the semantic feature 'intensity' may be considered a redundant seme characterizing isolated members of the semantic field under consideration.

- x) Most native speakers of Romanian are no longer aware of the link which must have justified the relation between agent and type of pain in the case of the noun 'junghi', because the term 'jungher' is hardly ever used in present-day spoken Romanian. It is however possible that the motivation is indirectly preserved through the verb 'a înjunghia' (to stab).

3.2. The expression of localization of physical pain is one of the major points of contrast between English and Romanian. Being an essential element in the description of the physical sensation of pain it is nearly always present in the process of linguistic communication.

The Romanian learner of English is often bewildered by the wealth of terms and phrases used in English and he experiences great difficulty in acquiring the forms and precise meaning of a number of terms which appear to him at first sight as a confusing collection of words whose use does not seem to be governed by any detectable rules. The apparent disorder is partly due to the difference existing between English and Romanian in expressing the localization of pain.

If the analysis of this feature is restricted to the fundamental terms in both languages, leaving aside those coming from the specialized vocabulary of medicine (Engl. neuralgia, cramps, colic, and their Rom. equivalents), the following remarks can be made :

In English localization of pain is expressed at two levels:

a) - word level, e.g. headache; toothache, etc., stitch, backpain, heartburn.

b) - phrase level, e.g. a pain in the finger

in the head

in the knee

in the neck, etc.

a stitch in the side, back, chest

The phrases have a very regular structure: N<sub>1</sub> in Det. N<sub>2</sub>.

In Romanian the same feature is expressed only at phrase level. The structure of the Romanian phrase is more varied; it

admits of the use of three prepositions :  $N_1$  de/la/in  $N_2$ . The phrases including the prepositions de and la are equivalent, but owing to the more abstract semantic content of the prep. de they mark the opposition 'non-definite - definite' (6). Thus it appears that apart from expressing localization of pain, the prepositional phrase also gives formal expression to the opposition 'diffuse - non-diffuse' which is revealed in the two English words of high frequency pain<sub>2</sub> and ache.

For pain felt in various parts of the body covering a relatively extended and indefinite area the phrase including the prepositions de is used:

- e.g. durere de cap (headache)
- durere de stomac (stomach-ache)
- durere de picioare (sore feet)
- durere de gât (sore throat)
- durere de șale (lower-back pains)

For a more limited and definite area of localization the phrases including the preposition la may be used<sup>x)</sup>:

- e.g. durere la cap (pain in the head)
- durere la genunchi (pain in the knee)
- durere la picior (pain in the leg)

6. An analysis of Romanian phrases including the preposition de was presented by R. Mihăilă in 'Analiza semantică a sintagmei număr 1 de număr 2' paper held at the Center for Research in Phonetics and Dialectology in Feb. 1973.

x) As already mentioned in I.O. the frequency of use of the terms and phrases analysed in this paper has not been taken into account. The main interest was focussed on discovering the way in which various semantic features combine to structure the field under discussion, and on accounting for the multiple possibilities of choice facing the native speakers of English and Romanian.

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The preposition în adds the same 'profound' to the meaning of the preposition la :

- e.g. durere în piept (pain in the chest)
- durere în timpla dreaptă (pain in the right temple)
- junghi în umăr (sharp pain in the shoulder)
- junghi în piept (stitch in the chest)

X  
X X

The foregoing analysis brings out the following major remarks.

The semantic field for terms denoting physical pain is structured in very similar ways in English and Romanian. The same sets of oppositions exist in both languages enabling the native speakers to give formal expression to various features of their experience in this field of human suffering.

On the paradigmatic level English reveals a greater variety of terms and consequently a larger number of combinations of senses which bring out the essential relation existing between the area of localisation and various other features characterising physical pain. On this level Romanian distinguishes as basic the opposition of an unmarked term (durere) and a term marked for 'sudden'. Localisation of pain is absent on this level. The different organisation of the terms within the field justify the prediction of difficulty in the acquisition of the terms used in the target language by native speakers of both English and Romanian.

At phrase level Romanian reveals by compensation a greater variety of structures. These are used to adapt the meaning of the general unmarked term to the concrete needs of linguistic communication. The semantic features 'localisation' and 'definiteness' are given formal expression mainly on this level.