Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

Tasaku TSUNODA

(8) Rumanian

0. Introduction


I am most grateful to Graham Mallinson for providing questionnaire data and for additional information; and to Andrei Avram for his assistance in the class mentioned in 2 below and for reading and commenting on the final draft of the paper.

1. Name of language


2. Source of information

(i) Questionnaire data provided by Graham Mallinson, supplemented by Mallinson (1986, 1987). (ii) Information elicited from Andrei A. Avram, in the class A41 0301 ‘Kijutsu gengogaku’ (literally, ‘descriptive linguistics’) during the 1990 academic year at the University of Tsukuba. Mr. Avram is a trained linguist as well as a native speaker of Rumanian, born and brought up in Bucharest. In the following, the examples taken from Mallinson’s questionnaire data will be indicated by ‘M,Q’, and the examples supplied by Avram will be marked
with ‘AA’.

3. Genetic affiliation
The Italic branch of the Indo-European language family.

4. Geographical distribution
Mainly spoken in Rumania. For details, see Mallinson (1986, Introduction).

5. Morphological and other relevant facts
Rumanian has two types of pronouns: independent/free pronouns and clitic pronouns. It may be said that Rumanian has the following five cases: the nominative (for St and Si), the accusative (for DO), the dative (for IO), the genitive, and the vocative. However, this is an oversimplification. For example, the nominative-vs.-accusative distinction has been lost in the main and is retained only in clitic pronouns and certain of free pronouns. Nouns, adjectives, etc. as well as most of the free pronouns have just one case form for all of the St, Si, and DO. This case form will be left unglossed in the examples below. Similarly, the genitive-vs.-dative distinction is retained only in a limited way. Nonetheless, with nouns and free pronouns the preposition pe (which also means ‘on’, e.g. (c), (d) of 7) can mark the DO and may be considered the accusative case marker. The conditions under which the accusative pe is used are rather complicated. For example, it is used with ‘NPs high on the animacy hierarchy, mainly personal pronouns and personal names, but also definite human-reference NPs’ (Mallinson 1986: 193). If the DO (either a noun or a free pronoun) is crossreferenced by a clitic pronoun, then it will be preceded by pe. And so on. For details, see Mallinson (1986: 89–90). There are two numbers (i.e. singular and plural) and three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter). There is an indefinite article, as in many other languages, e.g. a/an of English and un/une of French, whereas definiteness is expressed largely by a suffix.
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

details, see Mallinson 1986:206, 247-52.) Thus:
(a) un om
   INDEF,M,SG man,INDEF,M,SG ‘a man’
(b) om-ul
   man-DEF,M,SG ‘the man’
(The use of the definite and indefinite forms of Rumanian does not always exactly correspond to that of the definite and indefinite articles of English.)

Abbreviations employed include the following: — ACC, accusative; ADV, adverb (or adverb phrase); DAT, dative; DEF, definite; DEM, demonstrative; DO, direct object; F, feminine; FUT, future; GEN, genitive; INDEF, indefinite; INDIC, indicative; INF, infinive; IO, indirect object; M, masculine; N, neuter; NEG, negation; O, (direct) object; PL, plural; PRES, present; PTCPL, participle; Q, question; QD, questionnaire data; REFL, reflexive; REL, relative pronoun; S, subject; SG, singular; SI, intransitive subject; ST, transitive subject; SUBJUN, subjunctive; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

6. Subject, object and verb
Mallinson (1987:315) notes as follows: — ‘The basic order is: subject-verb-object (SVO), though variations occur under a variety of circumstances’. See also Mallinson (1986:91, 188).

Regarding the six different orders of the S, O and V, Avram states as follows.

[1] SVO. This is the usual order. E.g.:
(a) Ion l-a lovit pe Radu.
   Ion 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit,PAST PTCPL ACC Radu
   ‘Ion hit Radu.’ (AA) (SVO)
   (Strictly speaking, this sentence contains an auxiliary verb and a main verb. However, I shall simply present them as ‘V’. For auxiliary verbs, see 15.)

(b) Ion pe Radu 1-a lovit.
   ACC 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit-PAST PTCPL
   (AA) (SOV)

But the ex. (b) is marginally acceptable with the reading 'As for Ion, it was Radu that he hit'.

An SOV sentence becomes acceptable when the object is contrasted with another object. E.g.:
(c) Ion pe Radu 1-a lovit, nu pe Maria.
   not ACC Maria
   'Ion hit Radu, and not Maria.' (AA)

[3] OSV. An OSV sentence generally does not sound natural, but it is acceptable when the object is the topic. E.g.:
(d) Pe Radu Ion 1-a lovit.
   ACC Radu Ion 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit,PAST PTCPL
   'As for Radu, Ion hit him.' (AA) (OSV)

[4] VSO. A VSO sentence is less acceptable than SOV and OSV sentences. E.g.:
(e) ??L-a lovit Ion pe Radu.
   3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit,PAST PTCPL Ion ACC Radu
   Intended meaning: 'Ion hit Radu.' (VSO)

However, it becomes somewhat more acceptable when it continues as in the following example:
(f) ?L-a lovit Ion pe Radu, dar și Radu pe Ion.
   but also ACC
   'Ion hit Radu, but Radu hit Ion back.' (AA) (VSO, SO)

[5] VOS. A VOS sentence sounds unnatural, but may be used in a context where what Ion did is the topic.
(g) ?L-a lovit pe Radu Ion.
   Tentative translation: 'What Ion did was to hit Radu.' (VOS)

[6] OVS. An OVS sentence sounds unnatural. E.g.:
(h) ?Pe Radu 1-a lovit Ion.
   ACC Radu 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit,PAST PTCPL Ion
   Intended meaning: 'Ion hit Radu.' (AA) (OVS)
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

However, it becomes acceptable when it shows contrast with the sentence that follows, as in:

(i) Pe Radu l-a lovît Ion, și pe Maria a
    but ACC Maria have,3SG
    lovît-o Petre.
    hit-3SG,F,ACC Petre (OVS, OVS)
    ‘Ion hit Radu, but Petre hit Maria.’ (AA)

Mallinson (1986: 91–92) seems to suggest that, when the sentence contains both DO and IO, the usual order is ‘S V DO IO’, with the DO preceding the IO. However, Avram states that it is difficult to decide which order is the more natural, the DO preceding or the IO preceding. Examples involving both DO and IO include (j) of 22, and:

(j) Ion i-a
dat
Ion 3SG,DAT-have,3SG give,PAST PTCPL INDEF,F,SG
buchet Mariei pentru mine.
bouquet,INDEF,N,SG Maria,GEN/DAT for 1SG,ACC
(S V DO IO)

‘Ion gave Mary a bouquet for me.’ (Mallinson 1986: 81)

Examples of intransitive sentences include the following:

SV order: (b) of 12; (d) of 16; (a) of 18; (n) of 20; (a) of 22; (a), (b) of 23; (a) to (c) of 24.

VS order: (a) of 19.

7. Adposition

Rumanian possesses prepositions, but lacks postpositions. Examples:

(a) in casă
    in house,INDEF,F,SG ‘in the house’ (M,Q; AA)
(b) într-o casă
    in-INDEF,F,SG house,F,SG,INDEF ‘in a house’ (AA)
(c) pe casă
    on house,INDEF,F,SG ‘on the house’ (AA)
Most prepositions govern the accusative case, but a few govern the genitive, and a few others the dative (Avram). The example involving the accusative is ‘for me’ in (j) of 6. (Recall that nouns have lost the nominative-vs.-accusative distinction and the genitive-vs.-dative distinction.)

As noted in 5, nouns exhibit a definite-vs.-indefinite distinction, e.g. casă ‘house, INDEF, F, SG’ and casa ‘house, DEF, F, SG’. However, the definite suffix disappears when a noun is governed by an accusatively governing preposition and not otherwise modified. (There are two prepositions which ignore this rule.) (Avram; cf. also Mallinson 1986:103, 248). That is, in effect, under this condition definite nouns are superficially identical to indefinite nouns, as demonstrated by the examples above. That is, what are termed indefinite forms are really unmarked as to the definiteness-vs.-indefiniteness opposition.

In Rumanian, ‘prepositions cannot be stranded’ (Mallinson 1986:102). See (c) to (e) of 12; and (n) to (q) of 20.

8. Genitive and noun
The genitive follows the noun it qualifies (Mallinson, QD). See also Mallinson (1986:111-12). Examples involving pronouns:

(a) casa el
    house, DEF, F, SG 3SG, F, GEN/DAT  ‘her house’ (AA)

(b) casa lui
    house, DEF, F, SG 3SG, M, GEN/DAT  ‘his house’ (AA)

Examples of nouns. We shall first look at common nouns, and then proper nouns. Examples involving the common noun bărbat
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

'man', and femeie 'woman'.

(c) casa bărbat-ul-ui
    house, DEF, F, SG man, DEF, M-SG, GEN/DAT
    'the man's house' (AA)

(Cf. bărbat-ul un bărbat
    man, DEF, M, SG INDEF, M, SG man, INDEF, M, SG
    'the man' 'a man')

(d) casa femeii
    house, DEF, F, SG woman, DEF, F, SG, GEN/DAT
    'the woman's house' (AA)

(Cf. femeia o femeie
    woman, DEF, F, SG INDEF, F, SG woman, INDEF, F, SG
    'the woman' 'a woman')

The exx. (c), (d) involve common nouns. Among human and animal proper nouns there is a difference between masculine and feminine nouns. Thus, examples involving the feminine Maria and the masculine Ion:

(e) casa Mariei
    house, DEF, F, SG Maria, SG, F, GEN/DAT
    'Maria's house' (M, Q; AA)

(f) *casa lui Maria
    SG, GEN/DAT (AA)

(g) *casa Ion-ului
    house, DEF, F, SG Ion-SG, M, GEN/DAT (AA)
    Intended meaning: 'Ion's house'

(h) casa lui Ion
    SG, GEN/DAT 'Ion's house' (M, Q; AA)

That is, when the genitive noun is proper and masculine, a GEN/DAT definite article must intervene between the possessed noun and the genitive noun, e.g. (h). However, when the genitive noun is proper but feminine, no definite article can intervene (except for those proper and feminine nouns which have an unusual ending); simply, the genitive noun follows the possessed noun, e.g. (e). (Avram)
9. Demonstrative and noun
Some of the demonstratives can either precede or follow the noun they qualify. Among them, *acesta* ‘this’ and *acela* ‘that’ agree with the noun in terms of definiteness/indefiniteness (as well gender and number). That is, both noun and demonstrative take the definite suffix when the noun precedes, and neither takes the suffix when the demonstrative precedes. (Avram; cf. also Mallinson 1986:104, 107).

(a) această casă
   this,INDEF,F,SG house,INDEF,F,SG
   ‘this house’ (M,Q; AA)

(b) casa aceasta
    house,DEF,F,SG this,DEF,F,SG
    ‘as above’ (M,Q; AA)

The forms *acesta* and *acela* are literary forms. When colloquial forms, e.g. *ăsta* ‘this’ and *ăla* ‘that’, are used, only the Noun+Demonstrative order is allowed. E.g.:

(c) casa asta
    house,DEF,F,SG this,DEF,F,SG
    ‘as above’ (AA)

10. Numeral and noun
The numeral precedes the noun (Mallinson, QD). (See also Mallinson 1986:104, 108.) E.g.:

(a) trei bărbaṭ-i
    three man-INDEF,M,PL ‘three houses’ (AA)

(b) trei case
    three house,INDEF,F,PL ‘three houses’ (AA)

11. Adjective and noun
Mallinson (1986:105) notes as follows: — ‘Adjectives are normally found after the noun they modify, but they can also occur before. The latter order represents a topicalized pattern. Both the following are possible, but the second is more marked’. Both Mallinson (QD) and Avram note that, when the adjective precedes, this is for emphasis.
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

(a) o poetă talentată
INDEF,F,SG poet,INDEF,F,SG gifted,INDEF,F,SG
‘a gifted poet’ (AA)

(b) o talentată poetă
‘a gifted poet’ (AA)

(c) o casă mare
INDEF,F,SG house,INDEF,F,SG big,INDEF,F,SG
‘a big house’ (M,Q)

(d) o mare casă
‘a big house’ (M,Q)

(The great majority of adjectives agree with the head noun in terms of number, gender and case (Avram; cf. also Mallinson 1986: 105-06).)

Mallinson (1996:105) continues as follows: ‘On the other hand, there are some adjectives whose unmarked position is before the noun they modify’, e.g. (e), ‘and some adjectives can only occur after the noun’, e.g. (f):

(e) o biată fată
INDEF,F,SG poor,INDEF,F,SG girl,INDEF,F,SG
‘a poor girl’ (Mallinson 1986:105)

(f) un animal domestic
INDEF,F,SG animal,INDEF,M,SG domestic,INDEF,M,SG
‘a domestic animal’ (Mallinson 1986:105)

(As regards biată, Avram notes that it can only occur before the noun, and cannot occur after it, that is, the prenominal position is its only possible position, rather than the unmarked position.)

Mallinson (1986:105) adds as follows: — ‘Finally, the position of the adjective may determine not its topical status but in fact its basic sense’. E.g.:

(g) o carte nou-ă
‘a new book’ (in a new condition, or newly published)
(Mallinson 1986:105)

(h) onou-ă carte
‘a new book’ (another book, i.e. new only to the owner)
(Mallinson 1986:105)
Avram provides three additional pairs of examples, i.e. (i) to (n), but he notes that adjectives which can show a semantic difference depending on their position are few.

(i) o intrebare simplă
INDEF,F,SG question,INDEF,F,SG simple,INDEF,F,SG
‘an easy question’ (AA)

(j) o simplă intrebare ‘a mere question’ (AA)

(k) un funcționar înalt
INDEF,M,SG official,INDEF,M,SG tall,INDEF,M,SG
‘a tall official’ (AA)

(l) un înalt funcționar ‘a high official’ (AA)

(m) o femeie sărmană
INDEF,F,SG woman,INDEF,F,SG poor,INDEF,F,SG
‘a poverty-stricken woman’ (AA)

(n) o sărmană femeie ‘an unfortunate woman’ (AA)

12. Relative clause and noun

Mallinsson (1986:56) notes that ‘the head noun precedes the relative clause. It will be immediately in front of the clause in most circumstances…’ (See also Mallinsson 1986:104.) Examples follow. Relative clauses are indicated by a square bracket.

(a) Bărbat-ul [care l-a ucis
man-DEF,M,SG REL 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG kill,PAST PTCPL
pe Ion] e in casă.
ACC Ion be,PRES,INDIC,3SG in house,INDEF,F,SG
‘The man who killed Ion is in a house.’ (M,Q)

(b) Radu a intrat în casa
Radu have,3SG enter,PAST PTCPL in house,DEF,F,SG
[pe care am cumpărat-o].
ACC FEL have,1 buy,PAST PTCPL-3SG,F,ACC
‘Radu entered the house that I bought.’ (Mallinsson 1986:55)

(c) Aceasta e băt-ul [cu care this,M,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG stick-DEF,M,SG with REL
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

am lovît un cîine].
have, I hit,PAST PTCPL INDEF,M,SG dog,INDEF,M,SG
'This is the stick with which I hit a dog, or, I hit a dog with.'
(AA)

(d) Am pierdut cutit-ul [cu care ai have, I lose, PAST PTCPL knife-DEF, M, SG with REL have, 2SG tait carne-a].
cut, PAST PTCPL meat-DEF,F, SG
'I lost the knife with which you cut the meat' (Mallinson 1986 : 63) or '... the knife that you cut the meat with'.

As noted in 7, prepositions of Rumanian cannot be stranded. Thus, compare (d) with (e), the latter which is ungrammatical. (See Mallinson 1986 : 63.)

(e) *Am pierdut cutitul [care ai tăiat carnea cu].
knife-DEF, M, SG
Intended meaning: 'As above.' (Mallinson 1986 : 63)
(The demonstratives have one set of forms for the adjectival use and another for the pronominal use. See Mallinson 1986 : 262-63.)

Other examples of relative clauses are given in 22. The exx. (m) and (n) contain the genitive/dative form of care 'REL'.

In relative clauses, the subject generally follows the verb.

(f) Aceasta e casa [pe care this, SG, F be, PRES, INDIC, 3SG house, DEF, F, SG ACC REL a cumpărât-o Ion].
have, 3SG buy, PAST PTCPL-3SG,F, ACC Ion
'This is the house that Ion bought.' (AA)

13. Proper noun and common noun

The common noun precedes the proper noun (Mallinson, QD). E.g.:

(a) unchi-ul Ion
uncle-DEF,M, SG Ion 'Uncle Ion' (M, Q)

(b) mătușa Maria
aunt, DEF,F, SG Maria 'Aunt Maria' (AA)
Similarly, titles or the like precede the name, e.g. (e) and (f).

(e) profesor-ul Ionescu
professor-DEF,M,SG Ionescu ‘Professor Ionescu’ (AA)

The given name precedes the family name, e.g.:

(f) dr. Andrei Avram ‘Dr. Andrei Avram’ (AA)

14. Comparison

Adjectives can be turned into the comparative by placing the comparative marker mai ‘more’ before them; and into the superlative by further adding the demonstrative determiner cel (which varies in shape in terms of person, number, gender and case) before mai ‘more’ (Mallinson, QD; see also Mallinson 1986:165, 168). (The demonstrative determiner is similar to, but is slightly different from, the demonstrative pronouns discussed in 9; see Mallinson 1986:262–64.) Examples, provided by Mallinson (QD):

(a) bun
good,INDEF,M,SG ‘good’

(b) mai bun
‘better’

(c) cel mai bun
DEM DET,MASC,SG ‘best’

With the comparative, the standard of comparison is indicated by decit ‘than’ (if the standard of comparison is a noun phrase, etc.) and by ca ‘than’ (if the standard of comparison is a clause). (Avram; cf. also Mallinson 1986:166).

(d) Ion e mai mare decit Radu.
Ion be,PRES,INDIC,3G more big,INDEF,M,SG than Radu
‘Ion is bigger than Radu.’ (Mallinson 1986:166)
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish 13

The order is as follows: — Adjective + Marker of Comparison + Standard of Comparison.

With the superlative comparison the marker introducing the standard is the preposition de ‘of’ (followed by an adverb), e.g. (e), din ‘of’ (followed by a singular noun), e.g. (f), or dintre ‘between, among’ (followed by a plural noun), e.g. (g). (Etymologically, din consists of de ‘of’ and în ‘in’, and dintre is made up of de ‘of’ and între ‘between’.) (Avram; cf. also Mallinson 1986:169). E.g.:

(e) Ion e cel mai

Ion be,PRES,INDIC,3SG DEM DET,M,SG more
inalt de acolo.
tall,INDEF,M,SG of there
‘Ion is the tallest there.’ (AA)

(f) Ion e cel mai înalt din clasa.

of class,INDEF,F,SG
‘Ion is the tallest in the class.’ (AA)

(g) Ion e cel mai înalt dintre studenti.

among student,INDEF,M,PL
‘Ion is the tallest among the students.’ (AA)

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

There are three auxiliary verbs in Rumanian: avea ‘have’, vrea ‘want’, and fi ‘be’. The auxiliary verb always precedes the main verb — except for uncommon inversion for stylistic purposes, etc. Adverb phrases, etc. may intervene between them. (Avram) The uses of these auxiliary verbs include the following.

[1] Past tense: avea ‘have’ + past participle (Mallinson 1986: 275). Many examples have already been given. An additional example:

(a) Un englez a construit casa.

INDEF,M,SG English,INDEF,M,SG have,3SG build,PAST PTCPL house,DEF,SG,F
‘An Englishman built the house.’ (Mallinson 1986:268)
Mallinson (1986:275) notes that ‘Rumanian does not follow the western Romance pattern of distinguishing between verbs that take “have” and those that take “be” in the perfect tense form’.


(b) Un englez va construi casa.

FUT,3SG build,INF house,DEF,F,SG

‘An Englishman will build the house.’ (Mallinson 1986:268)

(According to Avram, the verb ‘want’ has two sets of forms: one set for use as an ordinary verb and the other for use as an auxiliary verb for the future tense. Similarly, Mallinson (1986:276) notes that this auxiliary verb ‘derives from a Latin verb expressing a wish or desire, but has no such modal nuance’.)


(c) Casa a fost house,DEF,F,SG have,3SG be,PAST PTCPL
construită de un build,PAST PTCPL,F,SG,INDEF by INDEF,M,SG English,INDEF,M,SG

‘The house was built by an English man.’ (Mallinson 1986:268)

(d) Casa va fi construită de un englez.

FUT,3SG be,INF

‘The house will be built by an English man.’ (Mallinson 1986:268)

Past participles employed in passive sentences have the adjectival status and agree with the subject (Mallinson 1986:268).

16. Adverb and verb

Mallinson (1986:92, 95) notes as follows: — ‘Adverbials occur in the form of adverbs proper, prepositional phrases, noun forms and adverbial clauses. They have a range of functions, but the main ones relate to time, manner and place.’ ‘Normally they follow the verb complex, but they can occur in sentence-initial position for topicalization purpose
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

or emphasis. This particularly applies to time or frequency adverbials [e.g. (a)—TT], less typically to manner and place adverbials.

(a) Joi-a mä duc la Thursday-DEF,F,SG REFL,1SG go,PRES,INDIC,1SG to tirg iar duminic-a mä market,INDEF,N,SG and Sunday-DEF,F,SG REFL,1SG duc la biserica.

go,PRES,INDIC,1SG to church,INDEF,F,SG
do "On Thursdays I go to the market while on Sundays I go to church." (Mallinson 1986:95)

Mallinson (1986:97) also notes as follows: — ‘adverbials with different functions can co-occur... , the order is manner, place, time — though the relative freedom of time adverbials complicates matters:’

(b) M-am dus repede acasă ieri.

REFL,1SG-have,1SG go,PAST PTCPL quickly home yesterday.

‘I went home quickly yesterday.’ (Mallinson 1986:97)

(c) Ieri m-am dus repede acasă.

‘Yesterday I went home quickly.’ (Mallinson 1986:97)

Another example:

(d) Ion a alergat repede ieri.

Ion have,3SG run,PAST PTCPL quickly yesterday

‘Ion ran fast yesterday.’ (M,Q)

Other examples of adverbs and adverb phrases include the following:

Time: ‘today’ in (a) of 22; ‘yesterday’ in (d) to (i) of 22.

Place: ‘in the house’ in (a), (b) of 12; ‘in the kitchen’ in (a) to (d),

(k) of 20; ‘home’ in (a), (b) of 23, (a) to (c) of 24.

Destination: ‘to the shop’ in (a) to (f) of 18; (n), (o) of 20.

‘with someone’: ‘with Ion’ in (n) of 20; (a) of 24.

17. Adverb and adjective

Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify (Mallinson, QD). E.g.:
(a) Ion e foarte mare.
   Ion be, PRES, INDIC, 3SG very big, INDEF, M, SG
   'Ion is very big.' (M, Q)

(b) Ion e foarte fericit.
   happy, INDEF, M, SG
   'Ion is very happy.' (Mallinson 1986 : 99)

(Mallinson (1986 : 99) uses the term 'intensifier' to refer to words such as foarte 'very'.)

18. General questions

Mallinson (1986 : 4) notes as follows: — 'Normally, the only marker of yes-no questions is special intonation. With a final fall, [the following sentence—TT] is a statement, and with a final rise it is a question.'

(a) Copil-ul se duce la magazin.
   child-DEF, M, SG REFL, 3 go, PRES, 3SG to shop  (SV)
   'The child is going to the shop.' (Mallinson 1986 : 4)

(b) Copil-ul se duce la magazin?
   'Is the child going to the shop?' (Mallinson 1986 : 4)  (SV)

Avram notes that the word oare, which literally means 'really', is sometimes used rather like a question marker.

(c) Oare copil-ul se duce la magazin?
   Q  (AA)  (SV)

(d) Copil-ul oare se duce la magazin?
   Q  (AA)  (SV)

(e) Copil-ul se duce oare la magazin?
   Q  (AA)  (SV)

(f) Copil-ul se duce la magazin oare?
   Q  (AA)  (SV)

As can be seen in the examples above, oare can occur sentence-initially, -medially, and -finally. In each case, the focus of the question can be either the whole sentence or one single sentence constituent (e.g. subject, verb complex, adverb phrase). When a sentence constituent is the focus of question, it is the constituent that is stressed, rather...
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

than the constituent that precedes or follows oare. For example, in (f), if copil-ul is stressed, the sentence means ‘Is it the child who is going to the shop?’ If se duce is stressed, the sentence means ‘Is the child really going to the shop?’ If la magazin is stressed, the sentence means ‘Is it the shop that the child is going to?’ If there is no marked stress, then the whole sentences is the focus of question, meaning literally ‘Is it the case that the child is going to the shop?’ (Avram)

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

An noted in 6, the order of the subject and the verb is not rigid. Although SV (O) is the most common order, the verb may precede the subject under certain conditions. This applies to general questions as well. Thus, the following two examples have the VS order. The ex. (a) ‘is a statement, marked by a final falling intonation, and [(b)—TT] a question, marked by a rising pattern’ (Mallinson 1986:5):

(a) Vine Ion.

come, PRES, 3SG Ion
‘Ion is coming.’ (Mallinson 1986:5) (VS)
(b) Vine Ion? ‘Is Ion coming? (Mallinson 1986:5) (VS)

That is, the inversion of S and V by itself does not produce general questions, and it is not a feature of general questions of Rumanian.

20. Special questions

The interrogative word occurs in the sentence-initial position, with the exceptions noted below; see (k) to (m). Special questions have a falling intonation at the end, rather like declarative sentences, and greatest prominence is given to the interrogative word. (See Mallinson 1986:7.) Compare the following set of examples, provided by Avram:

(a) Maria pregătește mîncare-a in

Maria prepare, PRES, 3SG food-DEF,F,SG in
kitchen, INDEF,F, SG

bucătărie.
'Maria is preparing the food in the kitchen.' (AA) (SVO ADV)

(b) Cine pregătește mincare-a in bucătărie?

who

'Who is preparing the food in the kitchen?' (SVO ADV)

(c) Ce pregătește Maria in bucătărie? (AA)

what

'What is Maria preparing in the kitchen?' (AA)

(d) Ce pregătește in bucătărie Maria?

'As above.' (AA)

(e) Unde pregătește Maria mincare-a?

where

'Where is Maria preparing the food?' (AA)

(f) Unde pregătește mincare-a Maria?

'As above.' (AA)

(g) De ce pregătește Maria mincare-a?

why

'Why is Maria cooking the food?'

(de ce 'why'.)

(h) De ce pregătește mincare-a Maria?

'As above.' (AA)

In special questions, the subject always follows the verb, e.g. (c) to (h)—except when the subject is expressed by an interrogative word, e.g. (b), and also except when the subject is the focus. (Aram) An example of the latter case is:

(i) De ce Maria pregătește mincare-a?

why

'Why is it Maria that is cooking the food (and not someone else)?' (AA)

Otherwise, a special question is ungrammatical if the subject precedes, rather than follows, the verb, e.g.:

(j) *Unde Ion pregătește mincare-a?

where Ion prepare,PRES,3SG food-DEF,F,SG (ADV SVO)

Intended meaning: 'Where is Ion preparing the food?' (Mallinson
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish 1986:9)

Providing the subject follows the verb, the object or an adverb phrase can intervene between them, e.g. (d), (f), (h). (See Mallinson 1986:8-9.)

Avram notes that the following pattern is also possible:

(k) Maria ce pregătește in bucătărie?

Maria what prepare,PRES,3SG in kitchen,INDEF,F,SG

(SOV ADV)

'As for Maria, what is she preparing in the kitchen?' (AA)

(l) Maria unde pregătește mincare-a?

where

(S ADV V O)

'As for Maria, where is she preparing the food?' (AA)

(m) Maria de ce pregătește mincare-a?

why

(S ADV V O)

'As for Maria, why is she preparing the food?' (AA)

In this pattern, the subject is stressed and precedes the interrogative word.

As in relative clauses, prepositions cannot be 'stranded'. Thus, compare:

(n) Maria a mers la piatã

Maria have,3SG go,PAST PTCPL to market-INDEF,F,SG

with Ion.

with who 'Maria went to the market with.' (AA) (SV ADV ADV)

(o) Cu cine a mers la piatã Maria?

(ADV V ADV S)

'With whom did Maria go to the market?' Or, 'Who did Maria go to the market with?' (AA)

(P) Cu cine a mers Maria la piatã?

(ADV V S ADV)

'As above.' (AA)

The unacceptability of preposition stranding is demonstrated by the ungrammaticalness of the following example:
(q) *Cine a mers la piață Maria cu?
who with
Intended meaning: ‘Who did Maria go to the market with?’

(AA)

Another example of special question which does not involve preposition stranding:

(r) De unde ai venit?
from where have,2SG come,PAST PTCPL (ADV V)
‘Where did you come from?’ (Mallinson 1986:10)

21. Inversion of subject in special questions

In declarative sentences, the verb usually follows the subject, although it may precede under special circumstances (see 6). In special questions, the verb always precedes the subject—except for when the subject is indicated by an interrogative word. That is, in contrast with general questions, the VS order is an obligatory feature of special questions—except for those with an interrogative word as the subject and also except for those in which the subject is the focus. To conclude, it may be said that the inversion of the subject and the verb takes place, but only in a weak sense.

22. Negative sentences

Mallinson (1986:134) notes as follows:— ‘The main negative element is nu “not”, which negates constituents as a whole or the entire sentence.’ It precedes the verb (Mallinson, QD):

(a) Ion nu vine astăzi.
Ion NEG come,PRES,3SG today
‘Ion isn’t coming today.’ (Mallinson 1986:134)

Nu precedes any auxiliary verb or clitics (Mallinson 1986:134):

(b) Nu voi pleca.
NEG FUT,1SG leave,INF
‘I will not leave.’ (Mallinson 1986:134)
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish  21

(c) Nu l-am văzut.
NEG 3SG,M,ACC-have,1 see,PAST PTCPL
'I did not see him.' (Mallinson 1986:135)

According to the information obtained from Avram, negation of a sentence constituent other than the verb is achieved as follows. Compare the following examples.

Affirmative sentence:
(d) Maria l-a văzut pe Ion
Maria 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG see,PAST PTCPL ACC Ion ieri.
yesterday
'Maria saw Ion yesterday.' (AA)

Negation of the verb:
(e) Maria nu l-a văzut pe Ion ieri.
NEG
'Maria did not see Ion yesterday (although she may have heard him).' (AA)

If the verb is stressed, it is the verb that is negated. ('Maria did not see Ion yesterday.) Otherwise, the entire sentence is negated. ('It is not the case that Maria saw Ion yesterday.') That is, when nu 'NEG' is placed before the verb, the marked reading indicates negation of the verb, while in the unmarked reading the entire sentence is negated.

Negation of the subject:
(f) Nu Maria l-a văzut pe Ion.
NEG
'It was not Maria who saw Ion yesterday.' (AA) (Literally, 'Not Maria saw Ion.')

Negation of the direct object:
(g) Nu Maria a fost cea [care
NEG have,3SG be,PAST PTCPL DEM,F,SG REL
l-a văzut pe Ion ieri].
3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG see,PAST PTCPL ACC Ion yesterday
'Maria was not the one who saw Ion yesterday.' (AA)
(h) Nu pe Ion i-a văzut Maria ieri.
NEG ACC
'It was not Ion whom Maria saw yesterday.' (AA) (Perhaps, literally, 'Not Ion, Maria saw him yesterday.'

(i) ?Nu Ion a fost cel pe [care i-a văzut Maria ieri].
NEG Ion DEM,M,SG ACC REL
'Ion was not the one whom Maria saw yesterday.' (AA)
Negation of the indirect object. Compare:

(j) Maria i-a dat o carte lui Ion.
Maria 3SG,DAT-have,3SG give,PAST PTCPL INDEF,F,SG carte lui Ion.
'Maria gave Ion a book.' (AA)

(k) Nu lui Ion i-a dat o carte Maria.
NEG SG,GEN/DAT Ion 3SG,M,DAT-have,3SG dat Maria o carte.
give,PAST PTCPL Maria INDEF,F,SG book,INDEF,F,SG
'It was not to Ion that Maria gave a book.' (AA) (Literally, 'Not to Ion Maria gave a book.')</n
(l) Nu lui Ion i-a dat o carte Maria. 'As above.' (AA)
NEG

(m) ?Nu Ion a fost cel [căruia i-a dat Maria o carte].
NEG have,3SG be,PAST PTCPL DEM,M,SG [căruia i-a dat Maria o carte].
REL,M,SG,GEN/DAT
Intended meaning: 'Ion was not the one to whom Maria gave a book.' (AA)

(n) ?Nu Ion a fost cel [căruia i-a dat o carte Maria].
'As above.' (AA)
Negation of an adverb or an adverb phrase:

(o) Nu ieri l-a văzut
NEG yesterday 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG see,PAST PTCPL
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

Maria pe Ion.

ACC

'It was not yesterday that Maria saw Ion.' (AA) (Literally, 'Not yesterday Maria saw Ion."

(p) Nu in București l-a văzut Maria pe Ion.

NEG in Bucharest, M, SG

'It was not in Bucharest that Maria saw Ion.' (AA) (Literally, 'Not in Bucharest Maria saw Ion."

As can be seen, there are two ways for negation of sentence constituents other than the verb. One involves the placement of nu 'NEG' and the negated constituent, usually in the sentence-initial position. The other method involves a relative clause, with the negated constituent again in the sentence-initial position. (Relative clauses are indicated by a square bracket.) In either method, the subject always follows the verb—except when the subject is negated and placed in the sentence-initial position. (Recall that, in relative clauses and in special questions too, the subject generally follows the verb—except when the subject is expressed by an interrogative word.) The first method is acceptable to all of the subject, the direct object, the indirect object and adverbs. However, with the second method, the acceptability correlates with what is essentially identical with Keenan and Comrie's (1977) noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. The second method is inapplicable to adverb/adverb phrases (and also to the verb). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Direct object</th>
<th>Indirect object</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First method</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second method</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. Conditional clause and main clause

Although the conditional clause may in general either precede or follow the main clause, most types of conditional clauses usually precede the main clause. (Avram) The conditional clause precedes in virtually all of the examples in Mallinson's (1986:75-77) discussion of condi-
tional clauses. Examples:

(a) Dacă Maria merge la cumpărături, Ion va sta acasă.
   if Maria go, PRES, 3SG to shopping Ion FUT, 3SG
   stay, INF home
   'If Maria goes shopping, Ion will stay home.' (AA)

(b) Ion va sta acasă dacă Maria merge la cumpărături.
   'As above.' (AA)

24. Purpose clause and main clause

Avram states as follows: — The elements which introduce a purpose clause can be divided into two groups. With the first group, the purpose clause can only follow the main clause. An example involving să ‘so that’:

(a) Ion a stat acasă cu copiii
   Ion have, 3SG stay, PAST PTCPL home with child, PL, M, DEF
   să se poată odihni Maria.
   so that REFL, 3SG can, SUBJUN, 3SG rest, INF Maria
   'Ion stayed home with the children so that Maria could rest.'
   (AA)

With the second group, the purpose clauses may either follow or precede the main clause. However, the usual order is the one in which the purpose clause follows. Examples involving *pentru ca* ‘so that’ in addition to să ‘so that’:

(b) Ion a stat acasă pentru ca Maria
   Ion have, 3SG stay, PAST PTCPL home so that Maria
   să poată merge la cumpărături.
   so that can, SUBJUN, 3SG go, INF to shopping
   'Ion stayed home so that Maria could go shopping.' (AA)

(c) Pentru ca Maria să poată merge la cumpărături Ion a stat acasă.
   'As above.' (AA)

(For the formation of purpose clauses, see Mallinson (1986: 72-73).)
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

References

Abbreviations: JFLNU, Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University; SLLL, Studies in Language and Literature, Language (published by the Institute of Literature and Linguistics, University of Tsukuba); UNP, University of Nagoya Press.


(9): Spanish

0. Introduction

This is the ninth installment of my typological study of word order.

I am most grateful to Miss Yukiko Takayanagui (a native speaker of Spanish from Mexico) for reading and commenting on the draft of this work.

1. Name of language

English name: Spanish. Indigenous name: el español ‘the Spanish’.
2. Source of information
Kasai (1932), Wilson (1939), Hills and Ford (1941), Walsh (1946), and Green (1987), supplemented with information provided by Yukiko Takayanagui. (In the following, the examples supplied by her will be indicated with 'YT'.)

3. Genetic affiliation
The Italic branch of the Indo-European language family.

4. Geographical distribution
Spanish is spoken in Spain and elsewhere in the world, including many countries of the Americas, such as Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Cuba, and Dominican Republic.

5. Morphological and other relevant facts
Pronouns have the nominative-accusative system, with the nominative for the St and Si, and the accusative for the DO. (They possess the dative forms as well, but the dative forms are identical with the accusative forms except for third persons.) Nouns, demonstratives, etc. have lost the nominative-accusative opposition and have just one case form. This case form will be left unglossed in the examples below. However, the preposition a, which otherwise means 'to, at', is placed before the DO if the latter is a proper noun, or if it refers to a specific, not just any, person or personified thing. Thus, compare:

(a) Busco un muchacho.
   search,PRES,INDIC,1SG INDEF ART,M,SG boy,M,SG
   'I am looking for a certain/specific boy (not just any boy. I have someone in mind.)'

(b) Busco a un muchacho.
   'I am looking for a boy. (I do not have anyone in mind. Any
boy will do.)

When used as in (a), a may be termed the accusative case marker. In the examples below, it will be glossed ‘ACC’ when it indicates the DO, but will be glossed ‘to’ or ‘at’ otherwise.

There are two numbers (singular and plural) and three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter).

Verbs indicate the number and person of the subject, and consequently a subject pronoun is usually understood. It is only used to indicate focus, contrast, emphasis, or the like.

Abbreviations employed are the following: — ACC, accusative; ADV, adverb; AUX, auxiliary verb; DAT, dative; DEF ART, definite article; DO, direct object; F, feminine; FUT, future; IMPFCT, imperfect; INDIC, indicative; INDEF ART, indefinite article; IO, indirect object; M, masculine; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, (direct) object; PAST DEF, past definite; PAST PTCPL, past participle; PL, plural; PRES, present; PRES PTCPL, present participle; REFL, reflexive; REL, relative pronoun; S, subject; SG, singular; SUBJUN, subjunctive; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

6. Subject, object and verb

The relative order of the S, O and V cannot be uniquely determined. Nonetheless, there are certain rules and tendencies.

Those elements indicating new information are, as a general rule, located towards the end of the sentence. See (e) below.

With respect to the DO, it follows the verb if it is a noun, e.g. (a). (In everyday language, this rule is obligatory, and a noun DO cannot precede the verb.) If the DO is a pronoun, it usually precedes the verb, e.g. (b).

(a) Tomo el libro. (VO)
    take,PRES,INDIC,1SG DEF ART,M,SG book,M,SG

'I take the book.'
(b) Lo tomo.

3SG,M,ACC 'I take it.'

When a sentence contains two pronoun objects, one for the DO (in the accusative) and the other for the IO (in the dative), the IO precedes the DO. (Recall, however, that only third person pronouns have separate forms for the accusative and the dative.)

(c) Nos lo mandaron.

1PL,DAT 3SG,M,ACC send,PAST DEF,3PL 'They sent it to us.'

The position of the S is more difficult to narrow down. In the spoken language, the SVO order is very frequent, especially where the S consists of just one proper name or a very short phrase, e.g.:

(d) Elena compró un coche.

Elena buy,PAST DEF,3SG INDEF ART,M,SG car,M,SG 'Elena bought a car.'

(SVO)

Compare (d) with (e), in which the S occurs sentence-finally and marks focus, i.e. the most essential part of new information:

(e) Compró el coche Elena.

buy,PAST DEF,3SG DEF ART,M,SG car,M,SG Elena 'It was Elena (not Maria,...) who bought the car.'

(VOS)

The preceding account is Green's (1987:254). However, according to Takayanagui, the difference between (d) and (e) may be shown as follows: (d) means 'It is Elena who bought a car', while (e) means 'Elena did buy the car'. That is, the sentence-initial position seems to indicate focus, contrast, emphasis or the like.

In more formal styles, the VSO order is common, e.g.:

(f) Detrás de la casa

in back of DEF ART,F,SG house,F,SG tenían mi tío

have,PAST,IMPFCT,3SG my,M,SG uncle,M,SG un jardín.

INDEF ART,M,SG garden,M,SG 'My uncle had a garden behind the house.'
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish 29

In all styles, an unusually long subject appears to the right of the V. An example involving an intransitive subject:

(g) Han llegado todos have, PRES, INDIC, 1PL arrive, PAST, PTCP all, M, PL
los pasajeros de la DEF ART, M, PL passenger, M, PL of DEF ART, F, SG
Compañía X.
company, F, SG

‘All the passengers travelling with Company X have now arrived.’

The S obligatorily follows the S in existential sentences:

(h) Viven gitanos en las live, PRES, INDIC, 3PL gypsy, M, PL in DEF ART, F, PL
cuevas.
cave, F, PL

‘There are gypsies living in the caves.’ (V S ADV)

7. Adposition

Spanish possesses prepositions, but lacks postpositions.

(a) de Chile (b) en Chile
from Chile in Chile

‘from Chile’ ‘in Chile’

Prepositions of Spanish cannot be stranded, unlike those of English.
See 12 and 20.

8. Genitive and noun

When the possessor is expressed by a noun, it follows the possessed noun, with the preposition de ‘of, from’ intervening between them.

(a) el cuarto de Juan
DEF ART, M, SG room, M, SG of Juan ‘Juan’s room’

(b) la madre de María
DEF ART, F, SG mother, F, SG of Maria ‘Maria’s mother’

When the possessor is denoted by a pronoun, it takes the form of what is termed ‘possessive adjective’ and it always precedes the pos-
sessed noun. The possessive adjective agrees with the possessed noun in gender and number. Examples include 'my uncle' in (f) of 6, and:

(c) mi libro

(d) mis libros
  my,M,F,PL book,M,PL  'my books'

(e) nuestra casa
  our,F,SG house,F,SG  'our house'

(f) nuestras casas
  our,F,PL house,F,PL  'our houses'

(Note that the gender and person of the possessive adjective are those of the possessed noun, and not the possessor.)

9. Demonstrative and noun

Demonstratives precede the noun they qualify, agreeing in gender and number.

(a) este hombre
  this,M,SG man,M,SG  'this man'

(b) esta mujer
  this,F,SG woman,F,SG  'this woman'

The demonstratives have the following three-way distinction: 'this', 'that (near you)' and 'that (yonder)'. Thus:

(c) este libro
  this,M,SG book,M,SG  'this book'

(d) ese libro
  that,M,SG book,M,SG  'that book near you'

(e) aquel libro
  that,M,SG book,M,SG  'that book yonder'

10. Numeral and noun

Numerals precede the noun they qualify, e.g.:

(a) dos flores
  two flower,F,PL  'two flowers'
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

(b) tres libros
three book,M,PL 'three books'
The numeral 'one' is identical with the indefinite article. It agrees
with the noun in gender and number. Examples are in (a) below.

11. Adjective and noun
Most adjectives follow the noun they qualify:
(a) la casa blanca
DEF ART,F,SG house,F,SG white,F,SG
'the white house'
(b) un hombre alto
INDEF ART,M,SG man,M,SG tall,M,SG 'a tall man'
Adjectives agree with the noun in gender and number.
A few adjectives can either follow or precede the noun, but show
a semantic differentiation. Examples involving pobre 'poor':
(c) una pobre mujer
INDEF ART,F,SG poor,M/F,SG woman,F,SG
'an unfortunate woman'
(d) una mujer pobre
'a poverty-stricken woman'
Examples involving nuevo 'new':
(e) un nuevo libro
INDEF ART,M,SG new,M,SG book,M,SG
'another book'
(f) un libro nuevo
'a new book (just published)'
Note that, in English as well, adjectives such as poor and new each
have two meanings like the corresponding Spanish adjectives. However, English does not utilize word order to distinguish these meanings.

There are also several adjectives which can either follow or pre-
cede the noun, but which do not show such a semantic difference.
They include bueno 'good' and pequeño 'little, small'.

12. Relative clause and noun
Relative clauses follow the noun they qualify.
Unlike that of English, *que* cannot be deleted.

(Unlike prepositions of English, those of Spanish cannot be stranded.

Thus, compare (c) with the ungrammatical:

(d) *El lápiz [que escribo con] es corto.

Intended meaning: ‘The pencil I write with is short.’

### 13. Proper noun and common noun

The common noun precedes the proper noun:

(a) el tío José

DEF ART,M,SG uncle,M,SG Jose

‘Uncle Jose’

(b) la tía Isabel

DEF ART,F,SG aunt,F,SG Isabel

‘Aunt Isabel’

The given name precedes the family name:

(c) Eduardo Barrios

(d) Roberto Esparza
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

The title precedes the name.

(e) el señor Eduardo Barrios
    master, M, SG
    ‘Mr. Eduardo Barrios’

(f) Sr. Barrios
    Mr.
    ‘Mr. Barrios’

(g) la señora Mendoza
    lady, F, SG
    ‘Mrs. Mendoza’

(h) Sra. Mendoza
    Mrs.
    ‘Mrs. Mendoza’

(i) el doctor Octavio Cruz
    doctor, M, SG
    ‘Dr. Octavio Cruz’

(j) el profesor Gómez
    professor, M, SG
    ‘Professor Gomez’

(k) San Francisco
    holy, M, SG Francis
    ‘St. Francis’

(l) San Diego
    James
    ‘St. James’

(m) Santa Bárbara
    holy, F, SG Barbara
    ‘St. Barbara’

14. Comparison

The comparative of an adjective is generally formed by placing más ‘more’ before the adjective, and the superlative is obtained by placing the definite article or a possessive adjective before the comparative form.

(a) rico
    rich, M, SG
    ‘rich’

(b) más rico
    more
    ‘richer’

(c) el más rico
    DEF ART, M, SG
    ‘the richest’

A sentential example involving a comparative form:
Ella es más hermosa
3SG,F,NOM be,PRES,INDIC,3SG more beautiful,F,SG
que yo.
3SG,NOM
She is more beautiful than me.'

The order is: — Adjective + Marker of Comparison + Standard of Comparison.

A sentential example involving a superlative form:

Este caballo es el
this,M,SG horse,M,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG DEF ART,M,SG
más hermoso de todos
more beautiful,M,SG of all,M,PL
'This horse is the most beautiful of all (the horses)'

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

The auxiliary verb always precedes the main verb. Examples include the following:

[1] 'Progressive': estar 'be' + Present Participle.

(a) La criada está
DEF ART,F,SG servant,F,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG
limpiando la habitación.
clean,PRES PTCPL DEF ART,F,SG room,F,SG
'The maid is cleaning the room.'

Another example is (b) of 16.

[2] 'Compound tense': haber 'have' + Past Participle.

(b) Las muchachas han
DEF ART,F,PL girl,FEM,PL have,PRES,INDIC,3PL
comido.
eat,PAST PTCPL 'The girls have eaten.'

Other examples include (g) of 6; (c) of 20; and (c), (h) of 22.

[3] 'Passive': ser 'be' + Past Participle. (With the passives, though not with compound tenses, the past participle agrees with the subject in gender and number.)
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

(c) La puerta es abierta por el criado.

The auxiliary verb generally *immediately* precedes the main verb, e.g. (d), (e). However, according to the information obtained from Takayanagui, the subject can intervene between the auxiliary and main verbs, e.g. (f).

(d) Felipe ha comido el pan

(e) Ha comido Felipe el pan

(f) Ha Felipe comido el pan

All of these three sentences are acceptable. They are declarative sentences (‘Felipe has eaten the bread’) if accompanied by a falling intonation, but they are general questions (‘Has Felipe eaten the bread?’) if accompanied by a rising intonation. In view of this ambivalence, no punctuation marks are added to these sentences. (See 18 for general questions.)

16. Adverb and verb

The following discussion of adverbs includes adverb phrases.

Adverbs such as *desgraciadamente* ‘unfortunately’, which modify the whole sentence, usually occur sentence-initially (as in English).

(a) Desgraciadamente Juan partió ayer.

Unfortunately Juan left, PAST DEF, 3SG yesterday (YT)

‘Unfortunately, Juan left yesterday.’

Time adverbs seem to enjoy a fair degree of freedom regarding their position. For example, *ayer* ‘yesterday’ in (a) occurs sentence-finally, *siempre* ‘always’ in (b) sentence-initially, and *mañana* ‘tomorrow’ in (c) sentence-medially.
(b) Siempre estaba comprando
always be,PAST,IMPFCT,INDIC,3SG buy,PRES PTCPL
sombreros.
hat,M,PL
‘She was always buying hats.’

(c) Compraré mañana el
buy,FUT,IMPFCT,INDIC,1SG tomorrow DEF ART,M,SG
libro.
book,M,SG
‘I will buy the book tomorrow.’

Much the same seems to apply to adverbs of place. Examples
include ‘behind the house’ in (f) of 6; and ‘in your cousin’s house’ in
(a) of 20.

Manner adverbs regularly follow the verb—though not necessarily
immediately:

d) El aprenderá
3SG,M,NOM learn,FUT,IMPFCT,INDIC,3SG
el español pronto.
DEF ART,M,SG Spanish,M,SG quickly, soon
‘He will learn Spanish quickly (or, soon).’

Despacio ‘slowly’ in (a) of 24 immediately follows the verb.

17. Adverb and adjective
Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify:

(a) El español es muy
DEF ART,M,SG Spanish,M,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG very
interesante.

interesting,M/F,SG
‘Spanish is very interesting.’ (YT)

Similarly for más ‘more’; see 14.

18. General questions
Spanish lacks a question marker. General questions can be obtained
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish  37

by assigning a rising intonation at the end of the sentence, with no change in word order. Declarative sentences have a falling intonation. Thus, compare:

(a) Felipe come pan
    Felipe eat, PRES, INDIC, 3SG bread, M, SG
    'Felipe is eating bread.' (SVO)

(b) Felipe come pan
    'Is Felipe eating bread?' (SVO)

Additional examples are (d) to (f) of 15.

In the written language, which lacks intonation, general questions are obtained by putting the verb in the initial position:

(c) ¿Come pan Felipe?
    'As above.' (VOS)

(In the written language, interrogative sentences are sandwiched by an inverted question mark and a normal question mark.)

In the spoken language, general questions, e.g. (b), have a rising intonation at the end, in addition to the placement of the verb in the initial position.

When the subject is indicated by a pronoun, it generally (though not always) immediately follows the verb:

(d) ¿Tienes tú un libro?
    'Do you have a book?' (VSO)

When a general question contains both the subject and the object, the object generally (though not always) precedes the subject, e.g. (c). To be somewhat more specific, the object precedes the subject if it is longer, e.g. (c), but follows if it is longer:

(e) ¿Compró tu padre todas estas casas?
    'Did your father buy all these houses?' (VSO)
‘Did your father buy all these houses?’

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

As seen in 6, in declarative sentences, the subject frequently occurs sentence-initially, but its occurrence elsewhere is also common. In general questions, the subject follows the verb (in the written language, at least). Therefore, this inversion may be said to take place, but only in a weak sense.

20. Special questions

Interrogative words occur sentence-initially. (Special questions start with a stress and high pitch on the interrogative word, which then gradually lowers, with a slight rise at the end of the sentence.)

(a) ¿Quién vive en la casa de su primo?

‘Who lives in your cousin’s house?’

(b) ¿Qué compró Vd.?

‘What did you buy?’

(When the subject is the honorific pronoun Vd. ‘2SG’ or Vds. ‘2PL’, the verb takes the third person form.)

(c) ¿Qué ha dicho Vd. al abogado?

‘What did you say to the lawyer?’

(d) ¿De dónde es Vd.?

‘Where do you come from?’
Typological study of word order (8): Rumanian, and (9): Spanish

(e) ¿Con quién habla Vd.?
   with who, SG speak, PRES, INDIC, 3SG 2SG (ADV V S)
   ‘Who are you speaking with?’

(f) ¿Con quien Vd. habla?
   (ADV S V)
   ‘As above.’ (YT)

Green (1987:254) states that the VS order is obligatory in special questions. However, according to Takayanagui, the S can precede the V in this type of questions, e.g. (f).

As in relative clauses, prepositions of Spanish cannot be stranded, in contrast with those of English. Thus, compare (d) to (f) with the respective English translations.

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions
Both in declarative sentences and special questions, the subject may either precede or follow the verb. That is, this inversion does not take place.

22. Negative sentences
The negative word no ‘not’ is placed before the verb:

(a) Isabel no escribe la
   Isabel NEG write, PRES, INDIC, 3SG DEF ART, F, SG carta.
   letter, F, SG
   ‘Isabel doesn’t write the letter.’ (S NEG V O)

(b) ¿No escribe la carta Isabel?
   ‘Doesn’t Isabel write the letter?’ (NEG V O S)

(c) ¿No escribe Isabel la carta? ‘As above.’ (YT) (NEG V S O)

   When the sentence contains an auxiliary verb and a main verb, no comes before the auxiliary verb—in contrast with English, in which not intervenes between the auxiliary verb and the main verb. Thus, compare the following example with its English translation.

(d) Vd. no ha escrito
   2SG NEG have, PRES, INDIC, 3SG write, PAST PTCPL
DEFART,F,SG letter,F,SG  (S NEG AUX MAIN O)
‘You have not written the letter.’

Apart from the restriction on the position of no, negative sentences
do not seem to have any special feature regarding word order.

The following feature of Spanish negative sentences should be
mentioned. That is, some negative word must precede the verb. The
negative word employed may be no ‘not’, as in (a) to (c). It may
also be one of other negative words, e.g. nadie ‘nobody’, nada ‘noth-
jamás ‘never’. Thus:

(a) Nadie vino.
   nobody come,PAST DEF,3SG  ‘Nobody came.’  (S/NEG V)
(b) Nada tengo.
   nothing have,PRES,INDIC,1SG
   ‘I have nothing.’  (O/NEG V)

Now, if such an interrogative word follows (rather than precedes) the
verb, the preverbal position still has to be occupied by some negative
word. In this case, no ‘not’ is placed in this preverbal position—
although this may seem redundant, say, to Japanese speakers. Thus,
compare (f) with:

(c) No tengo nada.
   NEG  (NEG V O/NEG)
   ‘I have nothing.’ (Lit. ‘I do not have nothing.’)
(d) No he visto a nadie.
   NEG have,PRES,INDIC,1SG see,PAST PTCPL ACC nobody
   ‘I have seen nobody.’ (Lit. ‘I have not seen nobody.’)

That is, in these negative sentences, no ‘not’ and another negative word
sandwich the verb. Such negative sentences are reminiscent of ex-
pressions such as I can’t get no satisfaction (the Rolling Stones) and
We don’t need no education (Pink Floyd), which are observed in
certain varieties of English. A similar, though not identical, phenom-
enon is observed in Polish and Czech, among others.
23. Conditional clause and main clause

According to the information obtained from Takayanagui, the situation seems to be as follows:—The conditional clause generally precedes the main clause, e.g.:

(a) Si él habla en español,
   if 3SG,M,NOM Speak,PRES,INDIC,3SG in Spanish
   le comprendemos.
   3SG,M,ACC understand,FUT,INDIC,1PL
   'If he speaks in Spanish, we will understand him.'

To be precise, however, the conditional clause may also follow the main clause. When it follows, it is used for emphasis: emphasis of the main clause (i.e. ‘We will understand him’ in the case of (b)) or emphasis of the conditional clause (i.e. only if he speaks in Spanish):

(b) Le comprendemos si él habla en español.
   'As above.' (YT)

24. Purpose clause and main clause

According to the information obtained from Takayanagui, the situation seems to be as follows:—The purpose clause generally follows the main clause. (In fact, this is always the case in the examples available in the published sources listed in 2 above.) E.g.:

(a) El profesor habla despacio para que los discípulos le comprendan.
   DEF ART,M,SG teacher,M,SG speak,PRES,INDIC,3SG
   slowly for that DEF ART,M,PL pupil,M,PL 3SG,M,ACC
   understand,PRES,SUBJUN,3PL
   'The teacher speaks slowly so that the pupils will understand him.'

To be precise, however, the purpose clause may also precede the main clause. When it precedes, it is emphasized:

(b) Para que los discípulos le comprendan, el profesor habla despacio. (YT)
‘In order that the pupils understand him, the teacher speaks slowly.’

References