Typological Study of Word Order (17): French, and (18): Bengali

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(17): French

0. Introduction

I am most grateful to Denis Reynaud, formerly of the University of Nagoya, for commenting on an earlier version of the present work and for providing additional information; and to Joël Bouderlique, of the University of Tsukuba, for supplying two examples and further information. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any errors that may remain.

1. Name of language
French. Its native name is *le français* ‘the French’ or *la langue française* ‘the French language’.

2. Source of information

3. Genetic affiliation
The Italic branch of the Indo-European language family (Green p. 203).
4. Geographical distribution
French is spoken, within Europe, in France, Monaco, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Italy, etc. and, outside Europe, in Quebec (Canada), Louisiana (USA), Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, etc. (Harris pp. 211-12).

5. Morphological and other relevant facts
Verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, etc. and also for the person and number of the subject. In addition, ‘There is a whole range of compound tenses formed with ... avoir [“have”-- TT] (or être [“be”-- TT] in the case of certain intransitive verbs) and the past participle’ (Harris p. 221).

Nouns exhibit a gender distinction: masculine and feminine. They inflect for number: singular and plural. Adjectives inflect for gender and number. (Harris (pp. 221, 222, 228) notes, however, that the number distinction in nouns and adjectives is largely orthographic, and not phonetic.) Nouns, adjectives, etc. have the neutral case-marking system (St =Si =O); one and the same case form is used to mark these three syntactic functions. This case form will be left unglossed in the examples cited below.

There are two sets of pronouns (Jenkins pp. 108, 114, Perlmutter p. 54, Harris p. 223): disjunctive pronouns (also known as ‘strong forms’) and conjunctive pronouns (also referred as ‘weak forms’). Disjunctive pronouns ‘can occur independently of a verb’ (Harris p. 223). They each have only one case form; this case form will be left unglossed. Conjunctive pronouns are clitics (Perlmutter p. 57, Harris p. 229); they can be either proclitic or enclitic, depending on the environments in which they occur. They ‘can occur only immediately preceding [or following -- TT] a verb’ (Harris p. 223) or another clitic pronoun (Reynaud, p. c.). They each have the following five forms (although, in certain pronouns, not all of these forms are distinct from one another -- cf. Jenkins p. 108): nominative, accusative, dative, and reflexive (Perlmutter p. 57). (They are referred to by Jenkins (p. 108) as ‘subject’, ‘direct object’, ‘indirect object’, and ‘reflexive’ pronouns.)

The French orthography does not explicitly mark clitics distinctly
from words, etc. However, in presenting the word order of sentences, I shall use an equal sign ('=' ) to indicate clitics -- a preceding equal sign for an enclitic, and a following equal sign for a proclitic. This will facilitate discussions and understanding of sentence and phrase structures in French.

Abbreviations employed include the following:-- ACC, accusative; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase; AUX, auxiliary verb; COND, conditional; DAT, dative; DO, direct object; F, feminine; FUT, future; HIST, historic; IMPERA, imperative; IMPERF, imperfect; INDIC, indicative; INF, infinitive; IO, indirect object; M, masculine; MAIN, main verb; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, object; p. c., personal communication; PL, plural; PRES, present; PTCPL, participle; Q, question; REFL, reflexive; REL, relative pronoun; S, subject; SG, singular; SUNJUN, subjunctive; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; and, 3, third person.

6. **Subject, object, and verb**

I shall first look at the relative order of conjunctive pronouns before turning to that of independent NPs.

Conjunctive pronouns and three other clitics -- *ne* 'negation', *y* 'there' and *en* 'of it' -- generally precede, and immediately precede, the verb (Jenkins p. 113, Perlmutter p. 57). (A deviation from this generalization, i.e. the occurrence of these clitics after the verb, occurs under certain circumstances; they will be discussed below.)

In compound tenses these clitics are 'placed before the auxiliary verb' (Jenkins p. 111). I shall provide such examples as well -- when adequate examples are available.

The relative order of these clitics can be shown as follows (the following is a slight modification of the chart in Perlmutter (p. 57)):

(1) NOM *ne* 1 or 2, 3, ACC 3, DAT *y* *en* ACC or DAT

Examples of conjunctive pronouns follow. Some of the examples also involve *ne* 'negation'. (For additional examples of *ne*, see 22.) Ex-
amples of y 'there' include (30) below; (6), (7) of 16; (7) of 22; and (4) of 23. Examples of en 'of it' include (1) of 17; and (12) of 22.

First, intransitive sentences. The order is S=V:

(2) Il parlait.

3 SG, M, NOM speak, IMPERF, 3 SG (S=V)
‘He was speaking.’ (J p. 73)

In compound tenses, the order is S=AUX MAIN:

(3) Il est

3 SG, M, NOM be, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG
arrive, PAST PTCPPL, 3 SG, M (S=AUX MAIN)
‘He has arrived.’ (J p. 59)

(The combination of the present indicative of avoir ‘have’ or être ‘be’ and a past participle indicates the perfect (Jenkins pp. 48, 59); see 15.) (From now on, est will be simply glossed ‘is’; this is in order to save space.)

Second, transitive sentences. The order is S=O=V.

(4) Il me voit.

3 SG, M, NOM 1 SG, ACC see, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG (S=O=V)
‘He sees me.’ (J p. 111)

In compound tenses, the order is S=O=AUX MAIN:

(5) Il m’a

3 SG, M, NOM 1 SG, ACC have, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG
vu.
see, PAST PTCPPL (S=O=AUX MAIN)
‘He saw me.’ (R)

(From now on, a will be simply glossed ‘has’; this is in order to save space.)

Third, ditransitive sentences, which involve a three-place verb:

(6) Tu me le donneras.

2 SG, NOM 1 SG, DAT 3 SG, M, ACC give, FUT, 2 SG
‘You will give it to me.’ (R) (S=IO=DO=V)

(7) Je lui

1 SG, NOM 3 SG, M, ACC 3 SG, M/F, DAT
préserve.
introduce, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG

'I introduce him to her (or to him).' (J p. 115) (S = DO = IO = V)
The relative order of DO and IO is not fixed, since it conforms with that shown in (1). The IO precedes the DO in (6), but follows in (7). Other examples include S = DO = IO = V in (38) below, and S = IO = DO = V in (5) of 23.

In (6) and (7), the DO is a 3rd person. However, if the DO is a 1st or a 2nd person pronoun, 'a disjunctive pronoun is used for the indirect object' (Jenkins p. 115), in place of the conjunctive pronoun (in the dative). The DO is still a conjunctive pronoun. Thus, compare (7) with (8):

(8) Je vous présente à
1 SG, NOM 2 PL, ACC introduce, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG to elle.
3 SG, F (S = DO = V IO)
'I introduce you to her.' (J p. 115)

In such instances, the IO follows the verb. (See also (14) to (16) below.)

We have seen above that in compound tenses, the clitics in question precede the auxiliary verb, and not the main verb. However, in other combinations of an auxiliary verb and a main verb (see 15 below), object clitic pronouns (and other clitics) of the main verb are placed before the main verb, and not before the auxiliary verb (cf. Jenkins p. 112). Examples include:

(9) Il vient me voir
3 SG, M, NOM come, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG 1 SG, ACC see, INFce matin.
this/that, SG, M morning, SG, M (S = AUX O = MAIN ADV)
'He is coming to see me this morning.' (J p. 112)

(The auxiliary verb is vient, and the main verb voir.)

We now turn to imperative sentences. The (clitic pronoun) subject does not occur. In affirmative imperatives, clitic pronouns (other than nominative forms) and the other two clitics (y 'there' and en 'of it') immediately follow the verb, and, in orthography, they are joined to it by hy-
phens. *Me* '1 SG, ACC/DAT/REFL' and *te* '2 SG, ACC/DAT/REFL' are replaced by the corresponding disjunctive pronouns, *moi* '1 SG' and *toi* '2 SG' (Jenkins p. 112), e. g. (11), (13). E. g. :

(10) Regardez-le!

    look at, IMPERA, 2 PL-3 SG, M, ACC  \( V=O \)

    "Look at it/him!" (R)

(2nd person plural forms -- of pronouns and of verbs -- are used to express respect to a singular addressee (Harris p. 224).)

(11) Regardez-moi!

    look at, IMPERA, 2 PL-1 SG  'Look at me!' (J p. 112)  \( V\ O \)

(*Moi* is generally considered as a 'strong'/disjunctive pronoun (Reynaud, p. c.). However, in (11) it is preceded by a hyphen. Although I am not certain of this, it may be that *moi* can be used as a conjunctive pronoun as well. Similarly for (13). In presenting the relative order of a 'disjunctive' pronoun used in such a way, I will continue to present it as a disjunctive pronoun, not as a conjunctive pronoun. That is, I will not use an equal sign when indicating its word order.)

In affirmative imperatives with a three-place verb, the order of DO and IO is different from that shown in (1) above; the order is: \( \text{DO} + \text{IO} + y + \text{en} \) (Jenkins p. 113), e. g. (26) below and:

(12) Donnez-le-lui!

    give, IMPERA, 2 PL-3 SG, M, ACC-3 SG, M/F, DAT  \( V=\text{DO}=\text{IO} \)

    'Give it to him/her!' (J p. 114)

(13) Dites-le-moi!

    say, IMPERA, 2 PL-3 SG, M, ACC-1 SG  \( V=\text{DO} \ IO \)

    'Say it to me!' (J p. xvi)

Perlmutter (p. 57) notes that, in affirmative imperatives, the 1st person and 2nd person object pronouns follow the 3rd person accusative pronouns (for DO). See (13) for an example.

Examples follow in which the DO is 1st person or a 2nd person and the IO a 3rd person. The DO is expressed by a 'disjunctive' pronoun (preceded by a hyphen) and the IO is expressed pressed by a prepositional phrase, involving \( \acute{a} \). (See also (8).)
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(14) Présentez-moi à eux !
introduce, IMPERA, 2 PL-1 SG to 3 PL, M
‘Introduce me to them!’ (R)

(15) Présentez-nous à eux !
introduce, IMPERA, 2 PL-1 PL to 3 PL, M
‘Introduce us to them!’ (R)

(16) Présentez-vous à eux !
introduce, IMPERA, 2 PL-2 PL to 3 PL, M
‘Introduce yourselves to them!’ (R)

In contrast with affirmative imperatives, clitics in negative imperatives conform with the order shown in (1) (Jenkins p. 112). Thus, compare (11) with:

(17) Ne me regardez pas !
NEG 1 SG, ACC look at, IMPERA, 2 PL NEG
‘Don’t look at me!’ (J p. 112) (NEG = O = V NEG)

(For negation, see also 22.)

Having discussed sentences with conjunctive pronouns, we now look at those with nouns. For intransitive sentences, the usual order is ‘S V’:

(18) Pierre parle.
Pierre, SG, M speak, INIDIC, PRES, 3 SG
‘Pierre speaks/is speaking.’ (R)

For transitive sentences, the usual order is ‘S V O’, and ‘standard literary French is often said to be a canonical SVO language’ (Harris p. 229), e. g.:

(19) Pierre voit Marie.
Pierre, SG, M see, INIDIC, PRES, 3 SG Marie, SG, F
‘Pierre sees Marie.’ (R)

For ditransitive sentences, the usual order seems to be ‘S V DO IO’:

(20) J'ai donné un cadeau à la fillette.
1 SG, NOM-have, INIDIC, PRES, 1 SG give, PAST PTCPL
un cadeau to the, SG, F girl, SG, F
‘I gave a present to the girl.’ (J p. 163) (S = AUX MAIN DO IO)

When the IO is a noun, it always requires the preposition à (cf. Jenkins p.
There is no French sentence equivalent to the English ‘John gave Mary the book’. (This point has been confirmed by Reynaud (p. c.).)

Naturally, it is possible -- and indeed, common -- to have sentences which contain both a conjunctive pronoun/pronouns and a noun/nouns. Examples include:

(21) J’ouvre la porte.
   1 SG, NOM-open, INIDC, PRES, 1 SG the, SG, F door, SG, F
   ‘I open the door.’ (J p. 162)  (S=V O)

(22) Je lui apprends
   1 SG, NOM 3 SG, M/F, DAT teach, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG
   le français.
   the, SG, M French, SG, M
   ‘I teach him/her French.’ (J p. 162)  (S=IO=V DO)

As illustrated above, the subject -- whether it is a conjunctive pronoun (in the nominative) or an independent NP -- generally precedes the verb. However, the subject and the verb are inverted under certain circumstances. (Recall also that object conjunctive pronouns follow the verb in affirmative imperatives.) Jenkins (pp. 157-58) lists and exemplifies these circumstances:

(i) Questions. A conjunctive pronoun subject can be inverted with the verb; see 18 and 20.

(ii) Wishes, e. g.:

(24) Vive le roi!
   live, SUBJUN, 3 SG the, SG, M king, SG, M
   ‘Long live the King!’ (J p. 157)  (V S)

(25) Puissiez-vous être heureux!
   can, SUBJUN, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM be, INF happy, SG, M
   ‘May you be happy!’ (J p. 157)  (AUX=S MAIN ADJ)
(When *vous* is used to express respect for a singular addressee, the adjective takes the singular form (Jenkins p. 28, Harris p. 224).) The inverted subject is a noun in (24), and a conjunctive pronoun in (25).

(iii) ‘After the reported conversation there is inversion of such verbs as *dire* (Jenkins p. 157) ‘say, tell’, etc., e.g.:

(26) «Donnez-le-moi !»,

give, IMPERA, 2 PL-3 SG, M, ACC-1 SG
dit-il.
say, PAST HIST, 3 SG-3 SG, M, NOM

(D=DO IO, V=S)

‘Give it to me !’, he said. (J p. xix)

In all the examples provided by Jenkins (p. 157), the inverted subject is a conjunctive pronoun.

(iv) After the relative pronouns *que* and *ce que*, and the conjunctions *que* ‘that’, *comme* ‘as’, *lorsque* ‘when’, and *quand* ‘when’ (Jenkins p. 157):

(27) Je commencais à manger quand

1 SG, NOM begin, IMPERF, 1 SG to eat when

arriva Jacob.
PAST HIST, 3 SG Jacob, SG, M

‘I began to eat when Jacob arrived.’ (R) (S=V, V S)

‘The inversion here is a matter of style. It is quite correct not to make it’ (Jenkins p. 158). Similarly, Reynaud (p. c.) notes that this inversion is rare with temporal adverbial phrases. For an example of inversion in a relative clause, see (6) of 12.

(v) After the conjunctions *à peine* ‘scarcely, hardly’, *aussi* ‘and so, therefore’; also after *peut-être* ‘perhaps’ and sometimes after *en vain* ‘in vain’ (Jenkins p. 158), e.g.:

(28) Peut-être viendra-t-il demain.

perhaps come, FUT, 3 SG t-3 SG, M, NOM tomorrow

‘Perhaps he’s coming tomorrow.’ (H p. 229) (ADV V=S ADV)

(*t* is inserted ‘in order to prevent a clash of vowels’ (Jenkins p. 74).)

Harris (p. 229) notes that instances such as (28) are found in formal styles, being survivors from an earlier stage of French in which the verb
came in the second position (as it still does in main clauses in modern German). Similarly, Reynaud (p. c.) notes that this inversion is bookish and is avoided in the spoken language.

A noun object can precede the conjunctive pronoun subject plus the verb. I have found one example:

(29) Un seul Dieu tu adoreras!
one, SG, M only, SG, M god, SG, M 2 SG, NOM
worship, FUT, 2 SG

'O One God only shalt though worship!' (J p. 80)

Reynaud has confirmed that such expressions are archaic and fossilised, though modern expressions such as (33) do occur.

'There is' is expressed by Il y avoir, literally, 'It there have':

(30) Il y a des fleurs dans le vase.
3 SG, M, NOM there has some, PL flower, PL, F in
the, SG, M vase, SG, M

'There are some flowers in the vase.' (J p. 20) Literally, 'It there has some flowers in the vase.'

(Articles in French -- definite, e. g. le; indefinite; and partitive, e. g. des -- lack a gender distinction in the plural (Jenkins pp. 12, 18, 20). For indefinite articles, see also 11.)

What has been described above is largely the situation in the written language. Harris (pp. 227, 229-30) notes, however, that the spoken language exhibits certain deviations from it. Thus, 'conjunctive [subject -- TT] pronouns ... have become ... tightly bound to the verb ... , to the extent that they are found not only when a disjunctive pronoun of equivalent value is also present [e. g. (33) -- TT], ... but, in popular speech, increasingly even when there is an overt nominal subject' (Harris p. 227), e. g.:

(31) Pierre, il parlait.
Pierre, SG, M 3 SG, M, NOM speak, IMPERF, 3 SG

'Pierre was speaking.' (R)

(Reynaud (p. c.) notes that the comma is necessary in (31).) Parallel de-
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Velopments occurred with conjunctive non-subject pronouns (Harris p. 227). Due to these developments, 'there is a wide variety of ... possible
[... word -- TT] orders, involving the dislocation of one or more of the
nominal elements associated with a verb to the left and/or to the right of
the core sentence. Thus alongside':

(32) Je déteste Marie.
1 SG, NOM loathe, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG Marie, SG, F
'I loathe Mary.' (H p. 230) (S=V O)

'we find, in appropriate pragmatic circumstances':

(33) Moi, je déteste Marie.
1 SG 'As above.' (H p. 230) (S S=V O)

(34) Je déteste Marie, moi. 'As above.' (H p. 230) (S=V O S)

(35) Marie, je la déteste.
3 SG, F, ACC 'As above.' (H p. 230) (O S=O=V)

(36) Je la déteste, Marie. 'As above.' (H p. 230) (S=O=V O)

'and even double dislocations to the right, to the left or both', e. g. :

(37) Je la déteste, moi, Marie. 'As above.' (H p. 230)
(S=O=V S O)

(Jenkins (p. 114) states that use of a disjunctive pronoun subject
together with a conjunctive pronoun is in order to show emphasis.)

Harris (p. 230) continues: - 'treble dislocations of the type' shown be-
low 'are not unknown':

(38) Je le lui
1 SG, NOM 3 SG, M, ACC 3 SG, M/F, DAT
ai donné, moi, le
have, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG give, PAST PTCPL 1 SG the, SG, M
livre, à Pierre.
book, SG, M to Pierre (S=DO=IO=AUX MAIN S DO IO)
'I gave the book to Pierre.' Lit. 'I gave it to him, me, the book, to
Pierre.' (H p. 230)

(Harris (p. 230) states that 'The commas are conventional'.)

Harris (p. 230) notes: - 'From these examples, it will be noted that not
only is the subject clitic je retained even if moi is present elsewhere in the
sentence but that there is in addition a clitic coreferential with the direct object when this constituent is displaced (e. g. [(35) to (37) -- TT] and even with the indirect object, thus \textit{lui = à Pierre in'} (38). ‘In this way, ... both [(39) and (40), taken from Harris (p. 230 -- TT] mean "I love Marie":

(39) Je l’aime, moi,  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
1 SG, NOM & 3 SG, F, ACC-love, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG & 1 SG \\
Marie. \\
Marie, SG, F & (S=O=V S O) \\
\end{tabular} 

(40) Je l’aime, Marie, moi.  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
(S=O=V O S) \\
\end{tabular} 

Reynaud (p. c.) notes that, in such instances, there is a pause in the spoken version where there is a comma in the written version.

Harris (pp. 227, 230) suggests that a combination of a verb and clitic pronouns can be regarded as one single, polymorphemic word. (My use of equal signs -- unlike the French orthography -- clearly represents this fact.)

Harris (p. 230) concludes that ‘we can certainly agree that popular spoken French has a highly flexible word order of the kind often called “free”’. Note, however, that the clitic pronouns rigidly conform with the rules stated above; it is independent NPs that exhibit a ‘free' word order.

7. Adposition

French possesses prepositions. May examples have already been given above, e. g. à ‘to' in (8), (14) to (16), (20), (23), (38) of 6; \textit{dans} ‘in' in (30) of 6, and many more will be given below. Other examples include:

\begin{tabular}{llll}
(1) par avion & (2) en auto & (3) avec moi \\
by plane, SG, M & by car, SG, F & with 1 SG \\
‘by plane' (J p. 18) & ‘by car' (J p. 18) & ‘with me' (J p. 18) \\
\end{tabular} 

Jenkins (pp. 117, 158) states to the effect that prepositions in French cannot stranded -- either in relative clauses or in special questions. (See also 12 and 20 below.)
8. Genitive and noun

The situation differs between noun possessors and pronoun possessors.

Very roughly speaking, when the possessor is a noun, possession is expressed by the preposition *de* 'of, from', and the possessor follows the possessed, e.g. (1), (9), while on the other hand, when the possessor is a pronoun, it occurs in a 'possessive adjective' form, and precedes the possessed, e.g. (2) to (6):

(1) le livre de Jean

(2) mon crayon
    my, SG, M pencil, SG, M
    'my pencil' (J p. 116)

(3) ma pomme
    my, SG, F apple
    'my apple' (J p. 34)

(4) mes livres
    my, PL book, PL, M
    'my books' (J p. 116)

(5) son fils
    his/her, SG, M son, SG, M
    'his/her son' (J p. 27)

(6) sa mere
    his/her, SG, F mother, SG, F
    'his/her mother' (J p. 34)

Other examples include 'your sister' in (23) of 6; 'my friends' in (2) of 12; 'my uncle' in (3) of 12; 'his brother' in (1) of 14; 'my children' in (5) of 14; and, 'my parents' in (10), (11) of 18.

The gender and number of a possessive adjective agree with those of the possessed, not those of the possessor (Jenkins p. 34). But the gender of the possessor can be indicated in instances such as (Jenkins p. 34):

(7) sa mere a lui
    his/her, SG, F mother, SG, F to, of 3 SG, M
    'his mother' (J p. 34)

(8) sa mere a elle
    his/her, SG, F mother, SG, F to, of 3 SG, F
    'her mother' (J p. 34)

In such instances, the possessor 'sandwiches' the possessed. The pronoun possessor that follows the possessed is a disjunctive pronoun, preceded by the preposition *a*. There is another circumstance under which a disjunct-
tive pronoun possessor, preceded by à, follows the possessed; see (27) of 11.

Examples of ‘possessor’s possessor’ include:

(9) le chien de mon ami
    the, SG, M dog, SG, M of my, SG, M friend, SG, M
‘my friend’s dog’ (J p. 134)

9. Demonstrative and noun

Demonstrative adjectives (Jenkins p. 36), which are distinct from demonstrative pronouns (Jenkins p. 116), precede the noun they qualify. They agree with the modified noun in number and (in the singular only) in gender. Examples from Jenkins (p. 36):

(1) ce crayon (2) cette maison
    this/that, SG, M pencil, SG, M this/that, SG, F house, SG, F
‘this/that pencil’ ‘this/that house’

(3) ces amis
    these/those, PL friend, PL, M
‘these/those friends’

Other examples include ‘this morning’ in (9) of 6; ‘these ... houses’ in (27) of 11; ‘this speech’ in (6) of 12; ‘these boys’ in (8) of 14; ‘this year’ in (8) of 16; ‘this evening’ in (6) of 18, (7) of 20; ‘this book’ in (8) of 20.

As the glosses given above show, demonstrative adjectives themselves lack proximity opposition, but ‘this opposition is marked by the suffixes -ci and -la “here” and “there” ’ (Harris p. 225):

(4) ce livre-ci
    this/that, SG, M book, SG, M here
‘this book’ (J p. 36)

(5) ce livre-là
    this/that, SG, M book, SG, M there
‘that book’ (J p. 36)
10. **Numeral and noun**

Numerals precede the noun they qualify (Jenkins p. 45), e. g.:

1. *trois sacs*  
   three bag, PL, M
   ‘three bags’ (J p. 45)

2. *vingt hommes*  
   twenty man, PL, M
   ‘twenty men’ (J p. xx)

3. *cent hommes*  
   hundred man, PL, M
   ‘one hundred men’ (J p. 19)

Another example is ‘... three ... houses’ in (27) of 11.

The numeral ‘one’ can be used as the singular indefinite article, e. g. (20), (29) of 6. Additional examples are given in 11 below.

11. **Adjective and noun**

Adjectives generally agree with the modified noun in number and gender (Jenkins p. 22, Harris p. 222). Jenkins (pp. 31–33) describes the position of adjectives as follows: ‘The general rule is that the adjective follows its noun’. Examples taken from Jenkins (p. 31):

1. *la maison blanche*  
   the, SG, F house, SG, F white, SG, F
   ‘the white house’

2. *la table ronde*  
   the, SG, F table, SG, F round, SG, F
   ‘the round table’

   ‘However, the adjective may come in front of the noun when both are considered as a single idea, a single unit of thought’. Examples from Jenkins (p. 31):

3. *la jeune fille*  
   the, SG, F young, SG, F girl, SG, F
   ‘the girl’

4. *le petit pois*  
   the, SG, M small, SG, M pea, SG, M
   ‘the pea’
These rules have numerous exceptions, especially in the literary language, where for purposes of style all kinds of variations of usage are possible' (Jenkins p. 31). The exceptions are listed below.

The adjective precedes the noun under the following circumstances:

(i) 'When the adjective is a short and common one, and especially when the noun has several syllables' (Jenkins p. 31). Examples from the same:

(7) un petit appartement
one, SG, M small, SG, M flat, SG, M
'a small flat'

(8) un long voyage
one, SG, M long, SG, M trip, SG, M
'a long journey'

'Other adjectives which generally precede are grand, big, tall; gros, big; haut, high; beau, beautiful; joli, pretty; vilain, ugly; jeune, young; vieux, old; court, short; bon, good, kind; mauvais, bad' (Jenkins p. 31).

(ii) 'When the adjective is considered as the usual and fitting one' (Jenkins p. 31). Examples from the same:

(9) le brave soldat
the, SG, M brave, SG, M soldier, SG, M 'the brave soldier'

(10) la douce mère
the, SG, F sweet, SG, F mother, SG, F 'the sweet mother'

(11) la terrible catastrophe
the, SG, F terrible, SG, F catastrophe 'the terrible catastrophe'

However, the adjective follows the noun under the following circumstances.

(i) 'When the adjective is a long one, especially if the noun is
monosyllabic’ (Jenkins p. 32). Examples from the same:

(12) un chant harmonieux

one, SG, M song, SG, M sweet, SG, M ‘a sweet song’

(ii) ‘When it is an adjective of colour or shape’ (Jenkins p. 32), e. g. ‘white’ in (1), ‘round’ in (2), and:

(13) un champ oblong

one, SG, M field, SG, M oblong, SG, M ‘an oblong field’ (J p. 32)

(14) une robe noire

one, SG, F dress, SG, F black, SG, F ‘a black dress’ (J p. 32)

(iii) ‘If it is an adjective of nationality’ (Jenkins p. 32), e. g.:

(15) un livre français

one, SG, M book, SG, M French, SG, M ‘a French book’ (J p. 32)

(iv) ‘If the adjective is followed by a phrase’ (Jenkins p. 32), e. g.:

(16) une chambre grande comme la main

one, SG, F bedroom, SG, F big, SG, F as the, SG, F hand, SG, F

‘a bedroom as big as your hand’ (J p. 32)

‘Some adjectives vary in meaning when they are put before or after a noun’ (Jenkins p. 32). The English equivalents of some of these French adjectives -- e. g. dear, big, poor -- each have the two meanings as do their French equivalents. But word order can NOT be used for disambiguation in English. The examples below are taken from Jenkins (p. 32):

(17) ma chère femme

my, SG, F dear, SG, F wife, SG, F ‘my beloved wife’

(18) une robe chère

one, SG, F dress, SG, F dear, SG, F ‘an expensive dress’

(19) un grand homme

one, SG, M big, SG, M man, SG, M ‘a great man’

(20) un homme grand

‘a tall man’

(21) une pauvre femme

one, SG, F poor, SG, F woman, SG, F ‘an unfortunate woman’
(22) une femme pauvre ‘a poor (without money) woman’
An additional pair, involving brave ‘brave, honest’ (adapted from Reynaud, p. c.):
(23) un brave homme
    one honest, SG, M  man, SG, M  ‘an honest man’
(24) un homme brave
    one man, SG, M brave, SG, M  ‘a brave man’
Reynaud (p. c.) states to the effect as follows: The preceding adjective always has a more abstract, metaphorical meaning, while the following adjective states a concrete quality. However, Reynaud’s statement does not seem to be supported by the examples given above.

Two adjectives may ‘sandwich’ a noun, e. g.:
(25) une petite table ronde
    one, SG, F  small, SG, F table, SG, F  round, SG, F  ‘a little round table’ (J p. 33)
(As noted above, petite, being a short and common adjective, precedes the noun, while ronde, being an adjective of shape, follows the noun.)

Although the sources do not discuss this, the relative order of a noun, articles and other noun modifiers is as a rule as follows (Reynaud, p. c.;)
(26) Article
    Demonstrative + Numeral + Adjective + Noun + Adjective
    Possessive adjective
An example:
(27) ces trois grandes maisons à moi
    this/that, PL  three big, PL, F  house, PL, F  to 1 SG
    ‘these three big houses of mine’ (R)
There are, however, deviations from (26). Thus, tous ‘all, every’ always (?) precedes a definite article, e. g. (2) of 12, (8) of 16. Judging by the examples in Jenkins (p. 30), feu ‘late, deceased’ may either precede or follow a definite article or a possessive adjective.

12. Relative clause and noun
Relative clauses are introduced by a relative pronoun or a relative adverb.
Relative pronouns and adverbs ‘must never be left out in French’ (Jenkins p. 117). Relative clauses follow the head noun. E.g.:

(1) Je cherche une maison
   1SG, NOM look for, INDIC, PRES, 1SG one, SG, F house, SG, F
   [qui aurait un jardin].
   REL, NOM have, COND, 3 SG one, SG, M garden, SG, M
   (S=V O, [S V O])

‘I’m looking for a house that would have a garden.’ (H p. 227)

(2) Les personnes [que je vois tous les jours] ne see, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG every, PL the, PL day, PL, M NEG
   sont pas tous mes amis.
   be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL NEG all, PL, M my, PL friend, PL, M

‘The people that I see everyday are not all my friends’ (J p. 120, R)

Jenkins (p. 117) states to the effect that prepositions in French cannot be not stranded, e.g.:

(3) L’homme [avec qui vous parliez] est mon oncle.
   the, SG, M-man, SG, M with REL, NOM 2 PL speak, IMPERF, 2 PL is my, SG, M uncle, SG, M

‘The man you were speaking with is my uncle.’ (J p. 118)

(4) Le garçon [à qui il écrit] est malade.
   the, SG, M boy, SG, M to REL, NOM 3 SG, M, NOM write, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG is ill, SG, M

‘The boy he is writing to is ill.’ (J p. 118)

Reynaud (p. c.) states that there are exceptions to Jenkins’ statement and that preposition in French can be stranded, for stylistic reasons. Unfortunately, no example is available.

In the examples cited above, the relative clause immediately follows the head noun. However, it does not follow immediately in instances such as the following, in which the head noun maison is separated from
the relative clause:

(5) La maison dans le jardin [de laquelle j'aime me repose] est celle où je me reposer est celle où je me reposer.

'The house in the garden of which (i.e. in whose garden) I like to rest is that where I was born.' (J p. 119, R)

As noted in 6 above, after the relative pronoun que 'REL, ACC' and ce que 'that which', the subject and the verb can be inverted (Jenkins pp. 120, 158).

(6) J'ai remarqué l'effet que ce discours a produit.

'I noticed the effect which this speech produced.' (J p. 120)

13. Proper noun and common noun

The common noun precedes the proper noun, e.g.:

(1) rue Lepic (2) Oncle Pierre
street, SG, F Lepic uncle, SG, M Pierre, SG, M
'Lepic Street' (H p. 17) 'Uncle Pierre' (R)

(3) Tante Marie
aunt, SG, F Marie, SG, F
'Aunt Marie' (R)

Certain instances involve the preposition de 'of, from':

(4) le Pays de Galles
the, SG, M country, SG, M of Wales, SG, F 'Wales' (J p. 131)
14. **Comparison**

Generally, adjectives can be turned into their comparative form by placing the adverb *plus* ‘more’ before them, and into their superlative form by placing the definite article plus *plus* before them (Jenkins p. 40).

With the comparative, the marker of comparison is the conjunction *que* ‘that, than’ (Jenkins p. 41). The order is: Adjective + Marker of comparison + Standard of comparison.

(1) Jean est plus grand que son

Jean, SG, M is more big, SG, M than his, SG, M
frère.
brother, SG, M
'Jean is taller than his brother.' (J p. 41)

(2)
Elle est plus petite que lui.
3 SG, F, NOM is more small, SG, F than 3 SG, M
'She is shorter than he.' (J p. 114)

(In (2), lui is a disjunctive pronoun.) Another example is (14) of 22.

With the superlative, the range of comparison is expressed by the
preposition de 'of' (Jenkins p. 41), e. g.:

(3)
Jean est le plus grand garçon
Jean, SG, M is the, SG, M more big, SG, M boy, SG, M
de la classe.
of the, SG, F class, SG, F
'Jean is the tallest boy in the class.' (J p. 41)

Another example of the superlative is in (25) of 18.

'Less' and 'least' are expressed likewise:

(4)
Suzanne est moins grande que Pierre.
Suzanne is less big, SG, F than Pierre
'Suzanne is less tall than (i. e. not so tall as) Pierre.' (J p. 41)

(5)
Suzanne est le moins beau de mes
Suzanne is the, SG, M less beautiful, SG, M of my, PL
child, PL, M
'Suzanne is the least beautiful of my children.' (J p. 42)

The comparative and the superlative of adverbs parallel those of ad-
jectives (Jenkins p. 98), e. g.:

(6)
Il marche plus vite que
3 SG, NOM walk, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG more quickly than
vous.
2 PL
'He walks more quickly than you.' (J p. 99)

(7)
Il marche moins vite que vous.
less
‘He walks less quickly than you.’ (J p. 99)

(8) De ces garçons, c’est lui of this/that, PL boy, PL, M this/that, SG, M is 3 SG, M qui marche le plus vite.

REL, NOM walk, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG the, SG, M more quickly ‘It is he who walks the most quickly among these boys.’ (R)

15. **Main verb and auxiliary verb**

The auxiliary verb always (?) precedes the main verb. Some examples of auxiliary verbs follow.

(i) As noted in 5 above, there is a whole range of compound tenses, which consist of *avoir* ‘have’ (or *être* ‘be’ for certain intransitive verbs) as the auxiliary verb and a past participle as the main verb. (When the auxiliary verb is *être*, the main verb indicates the number and gender of the subject (Jenkins p. 59).) As noted in 6, clitics precede the auxiliary verb (cf. Jenkins p. 111). However, words such as *jamais* ‘(n)ever’ and *pas* ‘negation’ can intervene between the auxiliary and the main verbs. (For negation, see 22.) In addition, in questions a clitic pronoun subject (in the nominative) and the auxiliary verb can be inverted (see 18 and 20). Examples of compound tenses include (3), (5), (20), (38) of 6; (5) to (8), (10) of 16; (4), (5), (7) to (9), (12), (13), (17), (18), (24) of 18; (7), (8), (10), (11), (18), (19) of 20; and, (3), (4), (8) to (12) of 22.

(ii) Passive (the auxiliary verb is *être* and the main verb is a past participle; the latter indicates the number and gender of the subject):

(1) Elle est punie.

3 SG, F, NOM is punish, PAST PTCPL, SG, F ‘She is punished.’ (J p. 61) (S = AUX MAIN)

Another example is (5) of 12.

(iii) Jenkins (pp. 84-85) lists five other ‘auxiliary verbs’. Their main verbs are all in the infinitive form. The clitic pronoun objects of the main verb are placed before the main verb, and not before the auxiliary verb (cf. Jenkins p. 112). In addition, certain adverbs, such as *pas* ‘negation’, can intervene between the auxiliary and the main verbs. Ex-
amples of these auxiliary verbs (listed by Jenkins) and of other verbs which can perhaps be regarded as auxiliary verbs include ‘come (to do)’ in (9) of 6; ‘can’ in (25) of 6 (the clitic subject is inverted), (22) of 18, (4) of 23; (1) of 24; ‘begin to’ in (27) of 7; ‘going (to)’ in (6) of 18; ‘dare’ in (5) of 22; ‘stop’ in (6) of 22; ‘prefer’ in (7) of 22; and:

(2) Je savais bien parler le
1 SG, NOM can, IMPERF, 1 SG well speak, INF the, SG, M français.
French, SG, M
‘I could speak French.’ (J p. 85)  
(S=AUX ADV MAIN O)

(3) Il ne peut pas marcher.
3 SG, M, NOM NEG can, PRES INDIC, 3 SG NEG walk, INF
‘He cannot walk.’ (J p. 85)  
(S=NEG=AUX NEG MAIN)

16. Adverb and verb

Jenkins (pp. 97, 159) describes the position of adverbs and adverb phrases as follows: ‘In French the adverb generally follows the verb, but may be put for greater emphasis at the beginning of the sentence’ (Jenkins p. 97). Thus, compare:

(1) Elle pleure bien souvent.
3 SG, F, NOM cry, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG very often (S=V ADV)
‘She cries very often.’ (J p. 97)

(2) Bien souvent elle pleure.
(ADV S=V)
‘Very often she cries.’ (J p. 97)

‘What we must never do in French is to put the adverb between the [clitic -- TT] subject and the verb as we do in English: “She very often comes here”. This must be either [(3) -- TT] or [(4) -- TT] in French’ (Jenkins p. 97). (This is natural, since conjunctive pronouns are clitics. They would not be clitics if a word could intervene between them and the verb.)

(3) Elle vient ici bien souvent.
3 SG, F, NOM come, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG here very often
(J p. 97)  
(S=V ADV ADV)
(4) Bien souvent elle vient ici. (J p. 97)  (ADV S=V ADV)
   'In a compound tense short adverbs usually precede the Past Participle, others follow' (Jenkins p. 159), e. g. :
(5) J'ai trop
   1 SG, NOM=have, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG too much
   see, PAST PTCPL, SG, M
   'I have seen too much.' (J p. 160)  (S=AUX ADV MAIN)
(6) Nous y sommes souvent
   1 PL, NOM there be, INDIC, PRES, 1 PL often
   allés.
   go, PAST PTCPL, PL, M
   'We often went there.' (J p. 97)  (S=y=AUX ADV MAIN)
(Note that y is a clitic (cf. 6 above), although semantically it resembles adverbs.)
(7) Elle y est allée
   3 SG, F, NOM there is go, PAST PTCPL, SG, F
   régulièrement.
   regularly
   'She went there regularly.' (J p. 160)  (S=y=AUX MAIN ADV)
Some examples of adverbs (and adverb phrases) as classified according to their semantic types follow.
( i ) Sentence adverbs, modal adverbs :
(a) initial position : 'perhaps' in (28) of 6.
(b) medial position, and ( c ) final position : no example.
( ii ) Adverbs of time :
(a) initial position :
(8) Toute cette année
   all, SG, F this/that, SG, F year, SG, F
   j'ai travaillé dur.
   1 SG, MOM=have, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG work, PAST PTCPL hard
   (ADV S=AUX MAIN ADV)
   'I've worked hard all this year.' (J p. 152)
(b) medial position: ‘already’ in (17), (18), (24) of 18.
(c) final position: ‘this morning’ in (9) of 6; ‘tomorrow’ in (28) of 6; ‘everyday’ in (2) of 12 (in the final position of a relative clause); ‘too late’ in (5) of 17; ‘tonight’ in (6) of 18, (7) of 22; and, ‘tomorrow’ in (1) of 23 (in the final position of the main clause).

(iii) Adverbs of place, direction, destination, etc.:
(a) initial position: ‘not far from the forest’ in (19) of 22.
(b) medial position: ‘here’ in (3) above.
(c) final position: ‘in the vase’ in (30) of 6; ‘here’ in (4) above; ‘at the fair’ in (9) of 18; ‘here’ in (10), (11) of 18; ‘to Paris’ in (23) of 18 (in the final position of the main clause ?); ‘there’ in (3) of 20, (15) of 22; ‘in France’ in (8) of 22; ‘at home’ in (1) of 23, (1) of 24 (in the final position of the subordinate clause); and, ‘to the cinema’ in (2) of 23.

(iv) Adverbs of manner, degree, instrument, etc.:
(a) initial position: ‘very often’ in (2), (4) above.
(b) medial position: ‘well’ in (2) of 15; ‘too much’ in (5) above; and, ‘often’ in (6) above.
(c) final position: ‘very often’ in (1), (3) above; ‘regularly’ in (7) above; ‘hard’ in (8) above; ‘on his own’ in (4) of 17; ‘without you’ in (3) of 23; and:

(9) Il marche vite.
3 SG, M, NOM walk, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG quickly (S=V ADV)
‘He walks quickly.’ (J p. 99)

(10) Elle m’a frappé avec
3 SG, F, NOM 1 SG, ACC-has hit, PAST PTCPL with
un marteau.
one, SG, M hammer, SG, M
‘She hit me with a hammer.’ (J p. 133) (S=O=AUX MAIN ADV)
17. Adverb and adjective

Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify, e.g.:

(1) Oui, j'en suis bien
    yes 1 SG, NOM of it be, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG very content.
pleased, SG, M

'Yes, I am very pleased with it.' (J p. 111) (S=en=V ...)

(2) Ils sont tout heureux.
    3 PL, M be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL quite happy, PL, M

'They are quite happy.' (J p. 103)

(3) Il est assez grand pour voyager
    3 SG, M, NOM is enough, fairly big, SG, M for travel, INF tout seul.

'He is old enough to travel on his own.' (J p. 104)

(Note that unlike the English 'enough', the French assez precedes the adjective.) Other examples include 'more ADJECTIVE' in (1) to (3) of 14; 'less ADJECTIVE' in (4), (5) of 14, and; 'very ill' in (20) of 22.

Similarly, adverbs precede an adverb they qualify, e.g. 'very often' in (1) to (4) of 16; and 'too late' in:

(4) Il arriva trop tard.
    3 SG, M, NOM arrive, PAST HIST, 3 SG too late

'He arrived too late.' (R)

Other examples include 'more ADVERB' in (6), (8) of 14; and 'less ADVERB' in (7) of 14.

18. General questions

Harris (pp. 230-31) describes the formation of general questions as follows: 'Old French made use of ... subject-verb inversion as a principal mode of question forming. This structure still survives when the subject is a conjunctive pronoun' (Harris 230). Thus, compare:

(1) Vous venez.
    2 PL, NOM come, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL (S=V)
‘You come.’ (J p. 74)

(2) Venez-vous ? ‘Are you coming?’ (J p. 74)  
\( V = S \)

As another example:

(3) Vient-il ?

come, INDIC, PRES, 3 G-3 SG, M, NOM

‘Is he coming?’ (H p. 230)  
\( V = S \)

In sentences which have both auxiliary and main verbs, it is the auxiliary verb, not the main verb, that is inverted with the conjunctive pronoun subject (cf. Jenkins p. 74). Thus, compare:

(4) J’ai fini.

1 SG, M, NOM-have, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG finish, PAST PTCPL

‘I have finished.’ (J p. 74)  
\( S = AUX \; MAIN \)

(5) Ai-je fini ? ‘Have I finished?’ (J p. 74)  
\( AUX = S \; MAIN \)

An additional example:

(6) Va-t-il chanter

go, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG-1-3 SG, M, NOM sing, INF

cette soir ?

this/that, SG, M evening, SG, M

‘Is he going to sing tonight?’ (J p. 160)  
\( AUX = t = S \; MAIN \; ADV \)

As can be seen from the examples above, in questions, a clitic pronoun subject follows the verb. However, other clitics (i. e. \textit{ne} ‘negation’, accusative and dative clitic pronouns, \textit{y} ‘there’ and \textit{en} ‘of it’, cf. (1) of 6 ) still precede the verb. Thus, consider the following pair of examples, which contain \textit{ne}:

(7) Vous n’êtes pas sorti.

2 PL, NOM NEG-be, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL NEG

‘You did not go out.’ (J p. 74)  
\( S = NEG = AUX \; NEG \; MAIN \)

(8) N’êtes-vous pas sorti ?

(NEG = AUX = S NEG MAIN)

‘Did you not go out?’ (J p. 74)

An additional example, involving an accusative clitic pronoun:
(9) Les avez-vous
3 PL, M, ACC have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM
vus à la foire ?
see, PAST PTCPL at the, SG, F fair, SG, F
(O=AUX=S MAIN ADV)

'Did you see them at the fair ?' (J p. 112)

Harris (pp. 230-31) continues: - Subject-verb inversion as a method of question formation also still survives 'in written French, in a construction known as fausse inversion ['"false inversion" -- TT] ... , when the subject is a noun' (Harris p. 231); the noun subject is placed before the verb (Jenkins pp. 74, 160). Thus, consider the following pairs of examples:

(10) Mes parents sont ici.
my, PL parent, PL, M be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL here
'My parents are here.' (J p. 74) (S V ADV)

(11) Mes parents sont-ils ici ?
-3 PL, M, NOM (S V = S ADV)

'Are my parents here?' (J p. 74)

(12) L'autobus n'est pas parti.
the, SG, M-bus, SG, M NEG-be, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG NEG partic.
leave, PAST PTCPL, SG, M
'The bus has not left.' (J p. 74) (S NEG=AUX NEG MAIN)

(13) L'autobus n'est-il pas parti ?
-3 SG, M, NOM (S NEG=AUX=S NEG MAIN)

'Has not the bus left?' (J p. 74)

We have so far illustrated inversion. Harris notes, however, as follows: - 'In practice, alongside the rise of SVO as the normal order in declarative sentences, interrogative inversion was progressively ousted from spoken French, questions being marked either by the use of intonation alone -- [rising intonation -- Reynaud, p. c. ] --, or by the use of an element est-ce que, originally a phrase meaning "is it (a fact) that?" but now better analysed as /esk(ə)/, a question forming particle' (Harris p. 231). This question marker occurs in the sentence-initial position. The follow-
ing set of examples, which involve a clitic pronoun subject, demonstrate the two methods of question formation: subject-verb inversion and use of *Est-ce que* :

(14) Vous aînez le café.

2 PL, NOM like, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL the, SG, M coffee, SG, M

‘You like coffee.’ (R) (S = V O)

(15) Aimez-vous le café ?

‘Do you like coffee?’ (J p. 160) (V = S O)

(16) Est-ce que vous aînez le café ?

‘As above.’ (J p. 160)

Additional examples, involving a noun subject:

(17) Les parents sont déjà

the, PL parent, PL, M be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL already

leave, PAST PTCPL, PL, M

‘The parents have already left.’ (J p. 75) (S AUX ADV MAIN)

(18) Est-ce que les parents sont déjà partis ?

‘Have the parents already left?’ (J p. 75) (Q S AUX ADV MAIN)

In *fausse inversion*, a conjunctive pronoun subject which is coreferential with a noun subject occurs, e. g. (11), (13). However, in the *Est-ce que* method, if the subject is a noun, the corresponding conjunctive pronoun does NOT occur, e. g. (18). That is, this method does not affect the constituent order of sentences (Jenkins pp. 57, 160) -- apart from the addition of the question marker *Est-ce que* itself.

As a rule, adverbs (and adverb phrases) do not occur sentence-initially in any of the question forming methods discussed so far (see also 6 above). (Reynaud, p. c.) In special questions, however, interrogative adverbs can occur in the sentence-initial position; see 20.

The rising intonation method does not affect constituent order. Thus compare (14) (and also (15) and (16)) with:

(19) Vous aînez le café ?

2 PL, NOM like, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL the, SG, M coffee, SG, M

‘You like coffee?’ (J p. 100) (S = V O)
Other examples include:

(20) Vous n'aimez pas le poivre?
2 PL, NOM NEG-like, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL NEG the, SG, M pepper, SG, M
"You don't like pepper?" (J p. 101)  
(S = NEG = V NEG O)

Harris (p. 231) describes an interesting phenomenon which is observed in spoken French: ‘Perhaps the most interesting development in this area is that of the particle /ti/, (written ti, ty, t'y etc.) found in structures such as’:

(21) Tu viens-ti?
2 SG, NOM come, INDIC, PRES, 2 SG-Q
"Are you coming?" (H p. 231)
(S = V = Q)

‘Still very much regarded as substandard, this particle arose through a popular reanalysis of forms such as vient-il? [e.g. (3°) above -- TT] as stem (/vjē/) and interrogative marker (/ti/); thus also with aime-t-il [love, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG-t-3 SG, M, NOM, “Does he love?”; for t, see (28) of 6, and also (6°) above -- TT]. The particle gradually detached itself from the third person, and became usable in principle with any form of the verb, thus’ (Harris p. 231):

(22) J’puis-t’y entrer ?
1 SG, NOM-can, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG-Q enter, INF
"Can I come in?" (H. p. 231)  
(S = AUX = Q MAIN)

This question marker seems to follow the verb, e.g. (21), or the auxiliary verb if the sentence has both auxiliary and main verbs, e.g. (22).

‘A further method of forming the Interrogative is to make a statement and follow it by n’est-ce pas?’ (Jenkins p. 75) (literally, ‘NEG is it NEG’), without the subjec-and-verb inversion. Presumably, this can be analysed as a question marker, like est-ce que. It occurs either sentence-finally (cf. Jenkins p. 75), e.g. (23), (24), or sentence-initially (Reynaud, p. c.), e.g. (25).

(23) Nous allons à Paris,
1 PL, NOM go, INDIC, PRES, 1 PL to Paris, SG, M
n’est-ce pas?
(S = V ADV Q)
‘We are going to Paris, aren’t we?’ (J p. 75)
(24) Elles sont déjà
3 PL, F, NOM be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL already
arrivees, n’est-ce pas?
arrive, PAST PTCPL, PL, F Q (S = AUX ADV MAIN Q)
‘They have already arrived, haven’t they?’ (J p. 75)
(25) N’est-ce pas que je suis
Q that 1 SG, NOM be, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG
la plus belle?
the, SG, F more beautiful, SG, F
‘I am the most beautiful?’ (R)
(Note the use of the conjunction que ‘that’.)

The interjection hein ‘(Expressing surprise) Eh? what?’ is glossed as equivalent to n’est-ce pas in Harrap’s Shorter French and English Dictionary. It can be used to make a statement into a question’ (Jenkins p. 156), without the subject-verb inversion (Reynaud, p. c.) It can occur either sentence-finally (cf. Jenkins p. 156), e.g. (26), or sentence-initially (Reynaud, p. c.), e.g. (27).
(26) Vous aimez ça, hein?
2 PL, NOM like, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL that Q (S = V O Q)
‘You like that, eh?’ (J p. 156)
(27) Hein que vous aimez-ça?
Q that 2 PL, NOM like-INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-that
‘You like that, eh?’ (R p. c.) (Q S = V = O)

The methods used for forming general questions can be summarized as follows:

(i) Inversion of the conjunctive pronoun subject and the verb;
(ii) Involving a noun subject: inversion of the conjunctive subject and the verb;
(iii) Est-ce que and no inversion;
(iv) VERB = ti;
(v) Rising intonation;
(vi) N'est-ce pas and no inversion, and;
(vii) Hein and no inversion.

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions
This inversion occurs under the conditions (i) and (ii) listed in 18. It only involves conjunctive pronoun subjects, and not any other subjects.

20. Special questions
Interrogative words generally occur sentence-initially (but see below).
Thus, compare:
(1) Pierre aime Marie.
   Pierre, SG, M love, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG Marie, SG, F (S V O)
   'Pierre loves Marie.' (R)
(2) Qui aime Marie?
   who, NOM/ACC (S V O)
   'Who loves Marie?' (R)

Other examples include:
(3) Quelle femme est là?
   which, SG, F woman, SG, F is there (S V ADV)
   'Which woman is there?' (J p. 36)

In special questions, as in general questions, a clitic pronoun subject is inverted with the verb, e. g. (4), (5), (6), or with the auxiliary verb if one occurs, e. g. (7), (8); this inversion is obligatory in literary language (Harris p. 231).
(4) Quel livre désirez-vous?
   which, SG, M book, SG, M want, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM
   'Which book do you want?' (J p. 36)
(5) Où vas-tu?
   where go, INDIC, PRES, 2 SG-2 SG, NOM (ADV V =S)
   'Where are you going?' (H p. 231)
(6) Comment vous portez-vous?
   how 2 PL, REFL carry, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM
'How are you?' (J p. 157) (Lit. 'How do you carry yourself?')
(Only subject clitic pronouns are inverted, and other clitics, e.g. reflexive pronouns, are not.)

(7) Qu'avez-vous fait ?
what have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM do, PAST PTCPL

‘What did you do?’ (J p. 102) (O AUX = S MAIN)

(8) Où avez-vous trouvé this/that, SG, M book, SG, M
where have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM find, PAST PTCPL

ce livre ?

‘Where did you find this book?’ (J p. xvii)

Jenkins (pp. 123, 158) explicitly states to the effect that prepositions in French cannot be stranded. (See also 12 regarding relative clauses.) E.g.:

(9) À qui parlez-vous ?
to who speak, IMPERF, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM

‘Who were you speaking to?’ (J pp. 122, 158)

(10) De quoi avez-vous parlé ?
of what have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM talk, PAST PTCPL

‘What did you talk about?’ (J 123)

(11) Avec quoi l'avez-vous fait ?
with what 3 SG, M, ACC-have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM

make, PAST PTCPL

‘What did you make it with?’ (J p. 158)

Since interrogative words are preceded by a preposition in these instances, it will more more adequate to say that interrogative phrases — rather than interrogative words — occur in the initial position.

We have seen so far that a clitic pronoun subject and the verb are inverted. Harris (p. 231) notes, however, that 'in speech, however, this can be avoided in at least four ways'. Thus, in addition to (5) cited above, ‘Where are you going?’ can be expressed as follows (examples taken from Harris (p. 231)):
(12) Où est-ce que tu vas ?
where is-it that 2 SG, NOM go, INDIC, PRES, 2 SG
Lit. 'Where is it that you are going?'
(Cf. *East-ce que* in 18 on general questions.)

(13) Où que tu vas ?
(ADV que S=V)

(14) Où tu vas ?
(ADV S=V)

(15) Tu vas où ?
(S=V ADV)

Note that in the last method, e. g. (15), the interrogative word does NOT occur in the initial position. However, in the other methods, e. g. (12) to (14), the interrogative word still occurs in the initial position.

As additional examples of the first method, used for (12), compare the following pairs of sentences:

(16) Qui voyez-vous ?
who see, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM (O V=S)
‘Whom do you see?’ (J p. 122)

(17) Qui est-ce que vous voyez ?
who REL, ACC
‘Who is it that you see?’ (J p. 122)

(18) Quand la lettre est-elle arrivée ?
when the, SG, F letter, SG, F is-3 SG, F, NOM arrive, PAST PTCPL, SG, F
‘When did the letter arrive?’ (J p. 160) (ADV S AUX=S MAIN)
(In instances such as (18), in which the subject is a noun and some other word is the interrogative word, the conjunctive pronoun for the subject, e. g. *elle* in (18), is obligatory (Reynaud, p. c.).)

(19) Quand est-ce que la lettre est arrivée ?
‘When is it that the letter arrived?’ (J p. 160)

When the interrogative word is the subject, it can simply occur sentence-initially, e. g. (1), (3). When the interrogative word is the direct object, and:

(i) if the subject is a conjunctive pronoun, then the interrogative word for DO can occur sentence-intially with the conjunctive pronoun
subject and the verb (or the auxiliary verb) inverted, i.e. O (what/who) V = S, e.g. (16), or, O (what/who) AUX = S MAIN;

(ii) if the subject is a noun, then the pattern of (20), i.e. O (what/who) S V, is not acceptable. Instead, use must be made of the pattern of (21), or that of (22) (Reynaud, p. c.).

(20) *Qui Pierre aime ?
who, NOM/ACC Pierre, SG, M love, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG

Intended meaning: ‘Whom does Pierre love?’

(Compare (20) with (1), (2).)

(21) Qui Pierre aime-t-il ?
- t- 3 SG, NOM, M

‘Whom does Pierre love?’ (R)

(For -t-, see (28) of 6, and the paragraph below (21) of 18.)

(22) Qui est-ce que Pierre
who, NOM/ACC is it that Pierre, SG, M
aime ?
love, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG

‘Who is it that Pierre loves?’ (R)

(Compare (22) with (12), (17), (19).)

In exclamatory sentences, which look similar to special questions, a conjunctive pronoun subject is NOT inverted (Jenkins pp. 104, 159), e.g.:

(23) Comme elle est belle !
how 3 SG, F, NOM is beautiful, SG, F
‘How beautiful she is!’ (J pp. 104, 159)

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions
This inversion occurs in instances such as (4) to (11), (16), (18), (21) of 20. Note that this inversion only involves conjunctive pronoun subjects, and not any other subjects.

22. Negative sentences
In the literary language, negation of verbs utilises an embracing structure, with the clitic ne ‘negation’ before the verb and another negation element
-- pronoun, adverb or simply 'reinforcer' -- after the verb (Harris p. 231).
(As demonstrated in (1) of 6, ne follows a clitic pronoun subject, but precedes other clitics. Recall, however, that in imperative sentences a clitic pronoun subject does not occur, with the consequence that ne occurs in the initial position. For examples of negative imperative, see (17) of 6. Note, also, that ne can occur initially when a clitic pronoun subject is inverted with the verb, e.g. (8) of 18.)

The most usual 'reinforcer' is pas (which etymologically means 'a step') (cf. Jenkins pp. 73, 101, Harris p. 231). Thus, compare the following examples, taken from Jenkins (p. 73):

(1) Il parlait.
3 SG, M, NOM speak, IMPERF, 3 SG (S=V)
'He was speaking.'

(2) Il ne parlait pas.
NEG NEG (S=NEG=V NEG)
'He was not speaking.'

Other examples include (2) of 12; (20) of 18; and, (3), (5), (6) of 23.

In compound tenses, etc., ne... pas sandwiches the auxiliary verb, and not the main verb (Jenkins pp. 73, 101), with pas being placed before the main verb. Thus, compare the following examples, taken from Jenkins (p. 101):

(3) Il a parlé.
3 SG, M, NOM has speak, PAST PTCPL (S=AUX MAIN)
'He spoke.'

(4) Il n'a pas parlé.
NEG-has NEG (S=NEG=AUX NEG MAIN)
'He did not speak.'

Similarly for other auxiliary verbs. Other examples include (3) of 15; (7), (8), (12), (13) of 18; and, (5) of 23.

'Pas may be omitted with the verb pouvoir ['can' -- TT], oser ['dare' -- TT], savoir ['know' -- TT], and cesser ['stop' -- TT]' (Jenkins p. 102), e.g.:
(5) Ils n’osèrent entrer.  
3 PL, M, NOM NEG-dare, PAST HIST, 3 PL enter, INF
‘They did not dare enter.’ (J p. 101)  
(S=NEG=V V)

(6) Il ne cessa de pleurer.  
3 SG, M, NOM NEG stop, PAST HIST, 3 SG to cry, INF
‘He did not stop crying.’ (J p. 102)  
(S=NEG=V V)

(It seems that in such instances all these verbs function as the auxiliary verb, followed by an infinitive as the main verb. See (iii) in 15.)

‘In the case of the Infinitive, both ne and pas are put before’ it (Jenkins p. 74), e. g.:

(7) Je préfère ne pas y aller ce soir.  
1 SG, NOM prefer, INDIC PRES, 1 SG NEG NEG there go, INF this/that, SG, M evening, SG, M

(S=V NEG=NEG=y=INF ADV)

‘I prefer not to go there tonight.’ (J p. 74)

Examples of those negative elements -- pronoun, adverb, or ‘reinforcer’ -- which follow the verb, are given below (cf. Jenkins p. 101):

(8) Elle n’est jamais allée en France.  
3 SG, F, NOM NEG-is (n)ever go, PAST PTCPL, SG, F in France, SG, F

(S=NEG=AUX MAIN ADV)

‘She has never been to France.’ (J p. 102)

(9) Il n’a rien dit.  
3 SG, M, NOM NEG-has nothing say, PAST PTCPL

‘He said nothing.’ (J p. 101)  
(S=NEG=AUX O(NEG) MAIN)

(10) Nous n’avons vu personne.  
1 PL, NOM NEG-have, INDIC, PRES, 1 PL see, PAST PTCPL

no one, M, INVARIBLE

(S=NEG=AUX MAIN O(NEG))

‘We have seen nobody.’ (J p. 101)

(11) Vous n’avez aucune idée.  
2 PL, NOM NEG-have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL no, SG, F idea, SG, F
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‘You have not any idea.’ (J p. 101) (S = NEG = AUX O(NEG))

Jenkins (p. 102) notes that aucun ‘not any’, nul ‘not any’, etc. come before the word they modify, e. g. (11), and that, in compound tenses, personne ‘no one’ comes after the past participle, e. g. (10), while jamais ‘(n)ever’, rien ‘nothing’, etc. come before it, e. g. (8), (9).

‘Two negatives may combine’ (Jenkins p. 102), i. e. double negation can occur, e. g.:

(12) Il n’en a jamais rien
3 SG, M, NOM NEG−of it has (n)ever nothing
dit.
say, PAST PTCPL (S = NEG = en = AUX NEG O(NEG))

‘He never said anything about it.’ (J p. 102)

(Note that in English the equivalent to (12), ‘He did not say nothing’, is considered substandard. Similarly for (16) and (18).)

Among these elements, at least pas and jamais can occur in the sentence-initial position:

(13) Pas un seul soldat
NEG one, SG, M single, SG, M soldier, SG, M
n’échappa.
NEG−escape, PAST HIST
‘Not a single soldier escaped.’ (J p. 102)

(14) Jamais écolier ne fut plus
(n)ever schoolboy, SG, M NEG be, PAST HIST, 3 SG more
heureux que lui.
happy, SG, M than 3 SG, M (NEG S NEG = V ...)

‘Never was a schoolboy happier than he.’ (J p. 19)

(In contrast with the English never, the occurrence of jamais in the sentence-initial position does not affect the constituent order in the rest of the sentence (Jenkins p. 159); see the English translation of (14).)

Also, personne ‘no one’, etc. can occur initially:

(15) Personne est là.
no one, M, INvariably is there (S(NEG) V ADV)
‘Nobody is there.’ (J p. 102)
The spoken language exhibits certain deviations from the situation described above. Harris (p. 231) notes as follows: 'the preverbal article *ne* is now frequently omitted in spoken French, including educated speech, formal *je ne sais pas* "I don’t know" [1 SG, NOM NEG know, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG NEG -- TT] being read [ʃ sepa], i.e. *j’sais pas*. We can therefore safely argue that alongside the embracing construction, there exists an alternative structure in which the post-verbal elements, whether *pas* or a more specific item, alone carry the negative value. From this position, *pas* has become the everyday negator in virtually all other environments... Interestingly, double negation has in effect returned in the most popular registers,':

(16) Je ne sais rien.

1 SG, NOM NEG know, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG nothing

'I know nothing.' (H p. 231) \( S = \text{NEG V O(NEG)} \)

'passing, via':

(17) Je sais rien. 'As above.' (H p. 231) \( S = \text{V O(NEG)} \)

'to':

(18) Je sais pas rien. 'As above.' (H p. 231) \( S = \text{V NEG NEG(O)} \)

'though this is certainly regarded as non-standard' (Harris p. 231).

The methods of verb negation can be summarised as follows:

(1) *ne* = VERB NEG  e.g. (2), (4), (8) to (12), (16);
( ii ) *ne* = VERB INF  e.g. (5), (6);
( iii ) NEG V  e.g. (15);
( iv ) V NEG  e.g. (17);
( v ) V NEG NEG  e.g. (18);
( vi ) *ne pas* INFINITIVE  e.g. (7), and;
( vii ) *pas/jamais ne* VERB  e.g. (13), (14).

(I am not certain if (13) is an instance of verb negation; it may be one of NP negation.)

Jenkins (p. 101) seems to state to the effect that constituents other than verbs are negated by *non*, and that *non* is placed immediately before the constituents negated.
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(19) Non loin de la forêt je
NEG far(ADV) from the, SG, F forest, SG, F 1 SG, NOM
vois une chaumière.
see, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG one, SG, F cottage, SG, F

‘Not far from the forest I see a cottage.’ (J p. 100) (ADV S=V O)

(20) Il est non seulement pauvre, mais aussi
3 SG, M, NOM is NEG only poor, SG, M but also
très malade.
very ill, SG, M

‘Not only is he poor, he is also very ill.’ (J p. 100)

However, Reynaud (p. c.) provides an example in which an adverb is negated by *pas*, and not by *non*.

(21) Pas loin de la forêt
NEG far from the, SG, F forest, SG, F

‘Not far from the forest’ (R)

Apart from the addition of negation elements, negative sentences do not differ from affirmative sentences in terms of word order -- except that when *rien* ‘nothing’ is used as the object, in compound tenses it precedes the main verb. Note that, generally, a non-clitic object follows the main verb; compare (9) to (12).

23. **Conditional clause and main clause**

Conditional clauses are introduced by the conjunction *si* ‘if’, *a moins que... ne* ‘unless’ or *pourvu que* ‘provided that, if only’ (Jenkins p. 142). I have virtually no information on the latter two. As far as *si* is concerned, the conditional clause can either precede or follow the main clause. Among the examples at hand, it precedes in 10 examples, and follows in 4 examples. Examples in which the conditional clause precedes include:

(1) S’il pleut demain,
if-3 SG, M, NOM rain, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG tomorrow
je resterai à la maison.
1 SG, NOM stay, FUT, 1 SG at the, SG, F home, SG, F

‘If it rains tomorrow, I shall stay at home.’ (J p. 81)
(2) S'il pleuvait, j'irais
if-3SG, M, NOM rain, IMPERF, 3SG 1SG, NOM-go, COND, 1SG
au cinéma.
to the cinema, SG, M
‘If it were to rain, I should go to the cinema.’ (J p. 81)

(au is the contracted form of the preposition à ‘to, at’ and the definite article le ‘the, SG, M’ (Jenkins p. 12.).)

Examples in which the conditional clause follows, include:

(3) Je partirai sans toi si tu n'es pas sage.
1SG, NOM leave, FUT, 1SG without 2SG NEG well-behaved, SG, M
‘I shall leave without you if you are not well-behaved.’ (J p. 80)

(4) Je pourrais y aller si je voulais.
1SG, NOM can, COND, 1SG there go, INF want, IMPERF, 1SG
‘I could go there if I wanted to.’ (J p. 85)

There are two example of the concessive conjunction quand même ‘even though’ (cf. Jenkins p. 142). The concessive clause precedes the main clause in each of them.

(5) Quand même il me ditrait.
3SG, M, NOM 1SG, DAT 3SG, M, ACC
even though me tell, COND, 3SG NOM NEG 3SG, M, ACC
dirait, je ne le croirais.
croirais pas.
believe, COND, 1SG NEG

(S=IO=DO=V, S=NEG=O=V NEG)
‘Even if he told me so, I should not believe it.’ (J p. 82)

Reynaud (p. c.) provides (6), which does not involves quand même.

In this example, too, the concessive clause precedes the main clause.

(6) Me le ditrait-il, je ne le croirais.
‘Even if he told me so, I should not believe it.’ (R)
24. **Purpose clause and main clause**

Purpose clauses are introduced by the conjunction *de sorte que* ‘so that’ (Harris, p. 226), *afin que* ‘in order that’ or *pour que* ‘in order that’ (Jenkins, p. 141). (Harris (p. 226) states that ‘*de sorte que* “so that” with the indicative marks a result, and with the subjunctive a purpose.’)

A purpose clause may either follow or precede the main clause (Reynaud, p. c.). But he implies that the order in which the purpose clause follows is the preferred order.

1. **Pierre resta à la maison pour que Marie puisse aller faire les courses.**
   - 'Pierre stayed home so that Marie could go shopping.' (R, B)

2. **Pierre parle fort pour que les gens puissent l’entendre.**
   - 'Pierre speaks loudly so that the people can hear him.' (R, B)

Negative purpose is expressed by *de peur que... ne* or *de crainte que... ne* ‘for fear that’ (Jenkins, p. 93). These clause may either precede or follow the main clause (Reynaud, p. c.).

3. **Pierre reste à l’intérieur de la maison de peur qu’il ne pleuve.**
   - 'Pierre stayed inside the house for fear that it may rain.' (J p. 93, B)

Note that *de peur que* has ‘an expletive or untranslatable *ne* before the following verb’ (Jenkins, p. 93).
References
Abbreviations employed are the following: - JFLNU, Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University; SLLL, Studies in Language and Literature, Language (published by the Institute of Literature and Linguistics, the University of Tsukuba); and, UNP, University of Nagoya Press.


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———. 1993 b. Typological ... (15) : Warlpiri. SLLL 24 :

———. 1993 c. Typological ... (16) : Alyawarra. SLLL 24 :
1. **Name of language**
Bengali. Its native name is *baMNlaM* 'the Bengali language' (Klaiman p. 492). Incidentally, the name of the country, Bangladesh, consists of *baMNlaM* 'the Bengali language' and *deS* 'country' (Klaiman p. 492).

2. **Source of information**
Ray, HIai and Ray (1966) (often abbreviated as 'R&H&R') and Klaiman (1987) ('K'), supplemented by Baldi (1987) regarding 3. Additional information and examples were provided by Mrs. Rupa Bhattacharjee ('Bh'), who was born in New Delhi, moved to Calcatta at the age of 8 and was brought up and lived there until she came to Japan in 1992. I am most grateful to Mrs. Bhattacharjee for commenting on the drafts of the paper and providing examples and other relevant information.

3. **Genetic affiliation**
The Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family (Baldi p. 40).

4. **Geographical distribution**
Bengali is mainly spoken in Bangladesh and in the state of West Bengal of India (Klaiman p. 493). What follows is based on standard Bengali, i.e. the dialect spoken in and around Calcatta (Klaiman p. 512, Bhattacharjee, p. c.), except for (6) of 18, which is taken from the Dacca dialect.

5. **Morphological and other relevant facts**
The Bengali phoneme inventory contains the following phonemes (Ray, Hai and Ray, p. 11): */i, u, e, o, E, O, a, y, w, Y, W, N, m, n, l, R, r, h, S, s, z, k, g, c, j, T, D, t, d, p, b, kh, gh, ch, jh, Th, Dh, th, dh, ph, bh/. Stops written with a capital letter, e.g. *T, D*, are retroflex. *N* represents the velar nasal and *M* nasalisation of the preceding vowel. The notation system employed below is that employed by
Ray, Hai and Ray, which follows this phenemic notation system.

‘Morphology in Modern Bengali is non-existent for adjectives, minimal for nouns and very productive for verbs’ (Klaiman p. 499).

Adjectives show no differentiation regarding gender, case, and number. Gender is no longer productive in nouns. Nouns and pronouns inflect for number: singular and plural. (However, plural marking for nouns occurs only under certain conditions, and it will be left unglossed in the examples below.) They have the following cases: nominative, accusative, genitive and locative-instrumental. The nominative case has no overt marking. (The accusative is referred to as the objective by Klaiman and as the dative by Ray, Hai and Ray.) The accusative marking for nouns occurs only under certain conditions, and their nominative case, with no overt case-marking, is used for the object under other conditions. The nominative of nouns will be generally unglossed in the examples below. There are different forms of pronouns reflecting sociolinguistic factors such as the relative status of, or, intimacy between, the speaker and the hearer, but these differences will be ignored in the glosses provided below.

Verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, person, etc. but they do not inflect for number. In addition, they inflect for sociolinguistic factors such as those mentioned above. Again, these differences will be -- often, though not always -- ignored in the glosses below.

Abbreviations employed include the following: - ACC, accusative; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase; CLASS, classifier; COND, conditional; DET, determiner; DO, direct object; FUT, future; GEN, genitive; HAB, habitual; IMPERA, imperative; IMPERF, imperfect; INF, infinitive; IO, indirect object; LOC/INST, locative/instrumental; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, object; PERF, perfect; PL, plural; PRES, present; Q, question; S, subject; SG, singular; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

6. Subject, object, and verb
Klaiman (pp. 507, 511) surveys word order in Bengali and states as fol-
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lows: - 'Word order within the Modern Bengali noun phrase is ... strict. An adjective or genitive expression is always placed before the noun it modifies.' '... the mutual ordering of noun phrases within the sentence is strict as well... The subject noun phrase generally comes first in a Modern Bengali sentence, followed by an indirect object if one occurs; next comes the direct object if one occurs; after which an oblique object noun phrase may be positioned.' The verb comes in the final position.

What are meant by 'oblique object noun phrases' seem to be postpositional phrases or noun phrases in the locative-instrumental case.

Examples of transitive clauses include:

(1) cheleThi ciThi-Ta poR-lo.
   boy letter-DET read-3, PAST  (SOV)
   'The boy read the letter.' (K p. 508)

(2) bagh moS mer-eche.
   tiger buffalo kill-3, PRES PERF  (SOV)
   'The tiger has killed the buffalo.' (R&H&R p. 63)

(3) moS bagh mer-eche.
   buffalo tiger kill-3, PRES PERF  (SOV)
   'The buffalo has killed the tiger.' (R&H&R p. 63)

   Examples of three-place clauses include:

(4) Ek-Ta rumal din to.
    one-DET handkerchief give, IMPERA please  (DO V)
    'Please give me a handkerchief.' (R&H&R p. 61)

   Examples of intransitive clauses include:

(5) du-To dOS pOYSar TikiT din to.
    two-DET ten postal ticket give, IMPERA please
    'Please give me two ten cent stamps.' (R&H&R p. 9)  (DO V)

   (The IO is understood in (4) and (5).)

   Examples of intransitive clauses include:
Examples of imperative clauses include (4), (5) and:

(6) chele-Ta e-lo
    boy-DET come-3, PAST
    ‘The boy came.’ (R&H&R p. 27)

(7) mee-Ta e-lo.
    girl-DET come-3, PAST
    ‘The girl came.’ (R&H&R p. 27)

Examples of imperative clauses include (4), (5) and:

(8) edike aSun.
    this way come, IMPERA
    ‘Would you please come this way.’ (R&H&R p. 27)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that aSun, which I tentatively gloss ‘come, IMPERA’, belongs to the highest level of politeness and that it indicates a request.)

(9) phire ja.
    back go, IMPERA ‘Go back.’ (R&H&R p. 27)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that ja belongs to the plain, direct level of politeness and that it indicates an order.)

Contrary to Kliman’s statement cited above, Ray, Hai and Ray (pp. 71-72) state that Bengali clauses enjoy ‘free word order’, and they provide the following examples to illustrate the free word order. (Translations are those by them.)

(10) amar Ek-Ta purono gaRi chi-lo.
    1SG, GEN one-DET old car exist-3, PAST
    ‘I had an old car.’

(11) amar purono EkTa gaRi chilo.
    ‘I had of old things a car.’

(12) amar purono gaRi EkTa chilo.
    ‘I had by way of old cars just one.’

(13) EkTa purono gaRi chilo amar.
    ‘An old car was what I had.’

(14) amar purono gaRi chilo EkTa.
    ‘By way of old cars, I did have one.’

(15) amar EkTa chilo purono gaRi.
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'I had once upon a time an old car.'

(16) amar chilo EkTa purono gaRi.

'As regards me, I had an old car.'

(17) amar chilo purono EkTa gaRi.

'As regards my having anything, there was that old thing of a car.'

(18) amar chilo purono gaRi EkTa.

'As regards my having anything like an old car, there was one.'

Although Ray, Hai and Ray do not discuss this, the word order differences seem to correlate with pragmatic differences, such as 'old' v. 'given' information, etc. Additional examples to suggest this correlation include the following, taken from Ray, Hai and Ray (p. 63). The translations are by them. The translations suggest that topic, old/given information, theme or the like precedes comment, new information, rheme or the like.

(19) ram e-Seche.

Ram come-3, PRES PERF 'Ram has come.'

(20) e-Seche ram.

'The one who has come is Ram.'

(21) tini ukil.

3, NOM lawyer 'He is a lawyer.'

(22) ukil tini.

'The one who is a lawyer is he.'

7. Adposition

Bengali possesses postpositions, but appears to lack prepositions. The case of the nouns governed by postpositions is either the nominative, the accusative, the genitive or the locative-instrumental (Ray, Hai, and Ray pp. 43-44, Klaiman p. 508). E. g.:

(1) gOla porjonto jOl

neck, NOM up to water

'water up to the neck' (R&H&R p. 43)

(2) ram baRi theke e-lo.

Ram house from come-3, PAST

'SADVV'

'Ram came from the house.' (Bh)
Other examples include 'from there' in (5) of 16; and 'at, to' in (1) of 24.

8. Genitive and noun
The genitive case can express possessors, among other things (Ray, Hai and Ray p. 35). As noted in 6 above, a 'genitive expression is always placed before the noun it modifies' (Klaiman p. 507). (However, see (10) to (18) of 6, which show that a genitive can be separated from the modified noun.) Examples of the genitive include:

(1) amar bhay
   1 SG, GEN brother
   'my brother' (R&H&R p. 62)

(2) horibhabini debi-r mee
    Haribhabini Lady-GEN daughter
    'daughter of Lady Haribhabini' (R&H&R p. 68)

(3) amar bondhu (4) ram-er boi
    1 SG, GEN friend Ram-GEN book
    'my friend' (R&H&R p. 59) 'Ram's book' (Bh)

Examples of 'possessor’s possessor’ include:

(5) sti-r culc-r kaMTa-r
    wife-GEN hair-GEN pin-GEN
    'of the pin of the hair of the wife' (R&H&R p. 59)

9. Demonstrative and noun
There are what are referred to as determiner suffixes, such as -Ta (and its variants) ‘that undivided unit’, and -gulo/-guli ‘more than one unit, undivided units in a surveyable group’ (Ray, Hai and Ray p. 36). Semantically, they seem to be similar to demonstratives. Examples:

(1) puliS-Ta-ke Dako.
    policeman-DET-ACC call, IMPERA
    'Call that policeman.' (R&H&R p. 36)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that Dako belongs to the middle level of politeness.)
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(2) bakSo-Ta
    box-DET 'that box' (R&H&n R p. 28)
(2) goru-gulo rasta aTk-eche.
    cow-DET road block-3, PRES PERF (SOV)
    'Those cows there have blocked the road.' (R&H&n R p. 36)
(3) chele-gulo
    boy-DET 'those boys' (R&H&n R p. 36)

Additional examples are in (1), (6), (7) of 6; (1) of 12; (4) of 14; and (1), (2) of 23.

In addition, Bengali possesses a fair number of demonstratives, whose semantic differences are discussed in Ray, Hai and Ray (p. 46). They precede the noun they qualify. Examples include:

(4) ey kOlom-Ta
    this pen-DET
    'this pen' (R&H&n R p. 8)
(5) Se deS
    that very country
    'that very country' (R&H&n R p. 55)

Additional examples are in (4), (5) of 14.

10. Numeral and noun

Numerals generally seem to precede the noun they qualify.

(1) tin din col-lo.
    three day do-3, PAST (ADV V)
    'He/she/they did for three days.' (R&H&n R p. 63)
(2) tin din-e col-lo.
    three day-LOC/INST do-3, PAST (ADV V)
    'They/he/she did in three days.' (R&H&n R p. 63)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that (1) and (2), taken from Ray, Hai and
    Ray, are not good sentences.)
(3) guTi duy ru-Ti
    about two bread-DET
    'about two pieces of bread' (R&H&n R p. 42)
However, a numeral can follow the noun it qualifies under certain conditions. Thus, Mrs. Bhattacharjee stated that (4) is sometimes acceptable. Compare (1) with:

(4) din tin co-lo.

day three do-3, PAST ‘He/she/they did for three days.’ (Bh)

As another example, Mrs. Bhattacharjee accepted (5). Compare (3) with:

(5) ru-Ti guTi duy

bread-DET about two ‘about two pieces of bread’ (Bh)

The conditioning factor that allows a numeral to follow the noun it qualifies, is not understood.

Bengali possesses ‘around a dozen classifier words, principally numeral classifiers’ (Klaiman p. 511). (See also Ray, Hai and Ray (pp. 51-52.).)

(6) du jon chatro  (7) tin khana boi
two CLASS student three CLASS book
‘two students’ (K p. 511) ‘three books’ (K p. 511)

(jon ‘human classifier’, and khana ‘flat thing classifier’ (Klaiman p. 511). Mrs. Battacharjee states that the classifier is necessary in each of (6) and (7).)

Word orders other than demonstrated by (6) and (7) are possible. Thus, compare (7) with (8) to (12).

(8) boi tin khana  (9) khana tin boi
book three CLASS three CLASS book
‘three books’ (Bh) ‘three books’ (Bh)

(10) ? boi khana tin
book CLASS three

Intended meaning: ‘three books’ (Bh)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee stated that (10) is ‘not very good’.)

(11) *khana boi tin  (12) *tin boi khana
CLASS book three (Bh) three book CLASS (Bh)

Mrs. Bhattacharjee stated that khana and tin should be together. Note, however, that (11) is unacceptable despite the fact that khana and tin are
adjacent to each other. The conditioning factors involved are not understood. See also (10) to (18) of 6.

In certain instances, the absence versus presence of a classifier seems to create a semantic difference. Examples taken from Ray, Hai and Ray (p. 51):

(13) Ek raja
    one king
    ‘a certain king’

(14) Ek jon raja
    one CLASS king
    ‘one king’

‘There is also a contrast between their placement relative to the numeral’ (Ray, Hai and Ray p. 51). Examples from Ray, Hai and Ray (pp. 51-52):

(15) du gOj kapoR
    two yard cloth
    ‘two yards of cloth’

(16) gOj duy kapoR
    yard two cloth
    ‘about two yards of cloth’

Other examples of numerals include ‘two ten cent stamps’ in (5) of 6.

11. Adjective and noun

As noted in 6 above, an adjective is always placed before the noun it modifies (Klaiman p. 507). Even in instances such as (11) to (18) of 6, the adjective precedes the noun -- though not always immediately.

Examples of adjectives include:

(1) lal phul
    red flowers
    ‘red flowers’ (R&H&R p. 55)

(2) purono kagoj
    old newspaper
    ‘old newspaper’ (R&H&R p. 62)

Mrs. Bhattacharjee rejected (3) and (4), in which the adjective follows the noun.

(3) *phul lal
    flowers red (Bh)

(4) *kagoj purono
    newspaper old (Bh)

Other examples of adjectives include:
(5) boRo baRi
    big house ‘a big house’ (Bh)
(6) uni boRo ukil.
    3 NOM big lawyer ‘He is a big lawyer.’ (R&H&R p. 71)
The sources do not specify the relative order of different types of
noun modifiers, but the following order is attested: G + A + N, e. g.:
(7) amar Onegdiner bondhu
    1 SG, GEN old friend
    ‘an old friend of mine’ (R&H&R p. 59)

12. Relative clause and noun
Klaiman (pp. 509–10) states that clauses in Bengali complex sentences can
be divided into marked clauses and unmarked ones. ‘By “marked clause”
is meant either a non-finite subordinate clause or a clause whose function
within the sentential frame is signalled by some distinctive marker; an in-
stance of such a marker being jodi, the particle of the finite conditional
clause. As a rule, in a Bengali sentence containing two or more clauses,
marked clauses tend to precede unmarked. ... Relative clauses in Bengali
likewise generally precede main clauses, since they are marked (that is,
with relative pronouns); Bengali, then, exhibits the correlative sentential
type...', e. g.:
(1) [je boi-Ta en-echo] ami
    which, NOM book-DET bring-2, PRES PERF 1 SG, NOM
    se-Ta kichu din rakh-bo.
    that one-DET some day keep-1, FUT
    ‘I shall keep the book you have brought for a few days.’ (K p. 510)

13. Proper noun and common noun
It seems that generally the proper noun precedes the common noun:
(1) gopal maSTar
    Gopal teacher
    ‘Teacher Gopal’ (R&H&R p. 55)
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(2) mothura puri
Mathura city
'Mathura city' (R&H&R p. 78)

(3) horibhabini debi
Haribhabini lady
'Lady Haribhabini' (R&H&R p. 68)

(4) Sibu Thakurer
Siva lord
'Lord Siva' (R&H&R p. 77)

(5) phrans deS
France country
'the country France' (R&H&R 37)

However, the reverse order obtains at least in one example:

(7) SonnaSi upgupto
monk Upagupta 'the monk Upagupta' (R&H&R p. 78)
The given name precedes the surname. This seems unusual for an
SOV language.

(8) Rupa bhaTTacharji
'Rupa Bhattacharjee' (Bh)
The title follows the name:

(9) ram babu
Ram Mr.
'Mr. Ram' (R&H&R p. 70)

(10) bose babu
Bose Mr.
'Mr. Bose' (Bh)

(*ram is a given name, while bose is a surname.)*

14. Comparison
The comparative seems to involve the word *aro* 'more' or *beSi*, e. g.:

(1) aro lal
more red 'more red' (R&H&R p. 69)

(2) beSi bhalo
more good 'better' (R&H&R p. 55)

(3) aro bhalo
more good 'still better' (R&H&R p. 55)
(4) gach-ti oi gacher chey aaro baRo.
tree-DET that tree than more tall
‘This tree is taller than that tree.’ (Bh)

An example of the superlative:
(5) gach-ti shab gacher moddhey shabchey baRo.
tree-DET all trees among most tall
‘This tree is the tallest among all the trees.’ (Bh)

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb
The auxiliary verb follows -- and immediately follows -- the main verb. The form of the main verb is infinitive, conditional, a verbal noun, etc., depending on the auxiliary verb employed (Ray, Hai and Ray pp. 44-45, Klaiman pp. 506, 508). Examples include:

(1) jan-te ca-i.
   know-INF want-1, PRES ‘I want to know.’ (K p. 503)
(2) uTh-te par-e.
   rise-INF can-3, PRES ‘He/she/they can rise.’ (R&H&R p. 508)
(3) kor-le par-tam.
   do-COND can-COND, 1
   ‘I could as well have done.’ (R&H&R p. 44)
(4) o-ke pa-oa gE-lo.
   3-ACC get-VERBAL NOUN go-3, PAST
   ‘He was found.’ (Lit. ‘Him was gotten.’) (K p. 506)

Other examples include ‘could’ in (1), (2) of 24.

16. Adverb and main verb
As noted in 6, adverbs(/adverb phrases) precede the predicate verb and follow the indirect object and/or the direct object -- if they or either of them occur/occurs. (Ray, Hai and Ray (p. 69) note that ‘Adverbs are not distinguished at all from adjectives or nouns.’) Examples of adverbs/adverb phrases follow.

( i  ) Time.
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(1) Sitkale khub ThanDa poRe.
winter very cold gets
'It gets very cold in winter.' (R&H&R p. 27)
(The tense of poRe is 'Tense 3' in Ray, Hai and Ray's terminology (p. 27).)

(2) ami roj Sat-TaY uTh-i.
1 SG, NOM everyday seven-o'clock rise-1, PRES
'I get up at seven every day.' (R&H&R p. 27)

(3) o roj bikele phuTbOl khel-to.
3, NOM every afternoon football play-3, PAST HAB
'He used to play football every afternoon.' (R&H&R p. 28)

(4) ami kal ja-bo.
1 SG, NOM tomorrow go-1, FUT
'I shall go tomorrow.' (R&H&R p. 63)

(5) amra okhane kal ja-bo.
1 PL, NOM there tomorrow go-1, FUT
'We shall go there tomorrow.' (R&H&R p. 68)

Other examples include 'for three days' in (1), (4) of 10; 'in three days' in (2) of 10; 'for a few days' in (1) of 13; 'for a long time' in (7) of 22.

(ii) Place, destination, etc.

(5) tini Sekhan theke dilli gechen.
3, NOM there from Delhi went
'From there he went to Delhi.' (adapted from R&H&R p. 27)

Other examples include 'this way' in (8) of 6; 'back' in (9) of 6; 'from the house' in (2) of 7; 'here' in (4) to (6), (11) of 18; 'here' in (4) of 23; and, 'home' and 'to the river' in (2) of 24.

(iii) Manner, instrument, etc.

(6) Omon ho-y na.
that way become-3, PRES NEG
'It does not happen that way.' (R&H&R p. 27)

(7) khub bol-eche.
very much, very often speak-3, PRES PERF
'He/she/they has/have spoken very much, very often.' (R&H&R p. 56)
(8) bhalo phu TbOl khElE
   well football play, played
   ‘He/she/they plays/play football well.’ (R&H&R p. 63)

(9) Sundor bol-eche.
   beautifully say-3, PRES PERF
   ‘He/she/they has/have said it beautifully.’ (R&H&R 69)

Other examples include (4) of 23; and, ‘loudly’ in (2) of 24.

17. **Adverb and adjective**

Adverbs precede -- and immediately precede -- the adjective they qualify.

Examples include ‘very’ in (1) of 16, and:

(1) khub bhalo
   very good ‘very good’ (R&H&R p. 55)

Mrs. Bhattacharjee rejected (2), in which the adverb follows the adjective:

(2) *bhalo khub
   good very

See also aro ‘more’, beSi ‘more’ and shabchey ‘most’ in 14.

18. **General questions**

Ray, Hai and Ray state that declarative sentences have a low falling intonation (p. 9) and that general questions can be obtained by assigning a high falling intonation (p. 8).

Data obtained from Mrs. Battacherjee supports the statements cited above. Thus, she gave (1), a declarative sentence, and (2), a general question:

(1) ram bagh mer-eche.
   Ram tiger kill-3, PRES PERF (SOV)
   ‘Ram killed the tiger.’ (Bh)

(2) bagh ram mer-eche ?
   ‘Did Ram kill the tiger?’ (Bh)

In Mrs. Bhattacharjee’s pronunciation of (2), there is a stress on _mer-eche_ and this word has a sharp falling intonation. She states that word
order is irrelevant to the formation of general questions and that (2) would normally be a statement, i.e. unless it has the stress and intonation pattern described above.

An example involving negation:

(3) tumi na ja-be?
  2 SG, NOM NEG go-2, FUT

'Aren't you supposed to go?' (R&H&R p. 8)

(Ray, Hai and Ray (p. 9) state that (3) indicates a challenge and that it has a high rising intonation.)

It seems that Bengali is unusual in that its general questions have a falling, rather than rising, intonation. (Note, however, that sentences indicating a challenge, e.g. (3), have a rising intonation.)

In addition, Bengali possesses a question marker, i.e. ki. Regarding its use, Klaiman (p. 509) notes as follows: 'The sentential interrogative marker ki may appear in almost any position in a Bengali sentence other than absolute initial; however, sentences vary in their presuppositional nuances according to the placement of this particle, which seems to give the most neutral reading when placed in the second position (i.e. after the first sentential constituent). To illustrate, compare the following examples from Klaiman (p. 509):

(4) tumi ki ekhane chatro?
  2 SG, NOM Q here student 'Are you a student here?'

(5) tumi ekhane ki chatro?
  2SG, NOM here Q student 'Is it here that you are a student?'

(6) tumi ekhane chatro (na) ki?
  2 SG, NOM here student (NEG) Q

'Oh, is it that you are a student here?'

Contrary to what I expected initially, ki does not seem to necessarily occur after the focus of question. Consider the following examples.

(7) 'Did Ram kill the tiger?' was requested:

ram ki bagh mer-eche?

Ram Q tiger kill-PRES PERF (Bh) (S Q O V)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee accepted my translation 'Is it Ram who killed the ti-
eral.' According to this reading, \textit{ki} is placed after the focus of question.)

(8) \textit{ram bagh mer-eche ki?}  

‘Did Ram kill the tiger?’ (Bh)  

(9) ‘Was it \textit{Ram} who killed the tiger?’ was requested:  

\textit{ram mer-eche ki bagh?} (Bh)  

(In this sentence, \textit{ki} is placed after the focus of question.)

(10) ‘Was it \textit{the tiger} that Ram killed?’ was requested.  

\textit{bagh ki ram mer-eche?} (Bh)  

‘Was it the tiger that Ram killed?’  

(In this sentence, \textit{ki} is placed after the focus of question.)

Other examples include:

(11) \textit{ami ekhane ki thak-bo?}  

1 SG, NOM here Q stay-1, FUT  

‘Will I stay here?’ (R&H&R p. 53)

(12) \textit{apni ki ta-ke cinen?}  

2 SG, NOM Q 3 SG-ACC know  

‘Do you know him?’ (R&H&R p. 81)

(The example (12) is taken from the Dacca dialect.)

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This is irrelevant; see Mrs. Bhattacharjee’s commeng on (2) of 18.

20. Special questions

The interrogative word seems to generally occur in the second position of a sentence.

(1) ‘Who killed the tiger?’ was requested:  

\textit{bagh ke mer-eche?}  

\textit{tiger who kill-3, PRES PERF (Bh)}

(2) ‘Whom did Ram kill?’ was requested:  

\textit{ram kakey mer-che?}  

\textit{Ram whom kill-3, PRES PERF (Bh)}
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(3) ‘What did Ram kill?’ was requested:
ram ki mer-eche?
Ram what kill-3, PRES PERF (Bh) (SOV)

(4) ‘Where did Ram kill the tiger?’ was requested:
ram kothay bagh mer-eche?
Ram where tiger kill-3, PRES PERF (Bh) (S ADV O V)

(5) ‘Whom did Ram send the book to?’ was requested:
ram kakey boi pathieche?
Ram whom book sent (Bh) (S IO DO V)

(6) ‘Where did Ram come from?’ was requested:
ram kotha theke e-lo?
Ram where from come-3, PAST (Bh) (S ADV V)

Although the conditioning factors are not known, the interrogative word can occur sentence-initially, e. g.:

(7) ke bagh mer-eche?
who tiger kill-3, PRES PERF (SOV)
‘Who killed the tiger?’ (Bh)
‘Whom did the tiger kill?’

(The asterisk indicates that the translation was rejected. Compare (7) with (1), (2).)

(8) ki ram mer-eche?
what Ram kill-3, PRES PERF (OSV)
‘What did Ram kill?’ (Bh)
‘What killed Ram?’

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions
This inversion does not to occur.

22. Negative sentences
Klaiman (pp. 508–09) describes negation in Bengali as follows: ‘The particle of sentential negation in Bengali is na. In independent clauses it generally follows the sentential verb; in subjoined clauses (both finite and non-finite), it precedes. Thus:’
(1) boslam na.
sit-1, PAST NEG 'I did not sit.' (K p. 509)

(2) jodi tumi na bOs-o
if 2 SG, NOM NEG sit-2, PRES 'if you don't sit' (K p. 509)

(3) tumi na bos-le
2 SG, NOM NEG sit-2, IMPERF COND
'if you don't sit' (K p. 509)

Other example of negation include (6) of 16; (3) of 18; and:

(4) ja-bo na.
go-1, FUT NEG 'I shall not go.' (R&H&R p. 42)

(5) ja-bena na!
go-FUT IMPERA NEG 'Don't go!' (R&H&R p. 42)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee notes as follows: - The actual translation of 'Don't go!' should be ja-be na, whereas (5) is used when the speaker already knows that the hearer is not going. Mrs. Bhattacharjee suggests the following translation for (5): 'You are not going! No?'

(6) koro na!
do NEG 'Don't do it!' (R&H&R p. 42)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that koro belongs to the middle level of politeness, and that it expresses a request, rather than a command or an order. In view of this, I suspect that the translation 'Please don't do it' will be more adequate than 'Don't do it'.)

(7) ami Sekhane beSikkhon thag-bo na.
1 SG, NOM there for a long time stay-1, FUT NEG
(S ADV ADV V NEG)

'I shall not stay there long.' (R&H&R p. 62)

(The example (3) of 18 seems to be an independent clause, but na precedes the verb -- apparently contrary to Klaiman's statement cited above.)

Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that there is another negation word, namely, ni, and she illustrates the difference between ni and na as follows.
(8) ram bagh mar-e ni.
Ram tiger kill-3, PRES NEG (Bh) (S O V NEG)
‘Ram has not killed the tiger.’ (Translation by Mrs. Bhattacharjee)
(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that the meaning of (8) is as follows: - Ram habitually kills tigers, but this time he has not killed the tiger yet.)

(9) ram bagh mar-e na.
Ram never kill tigers although he may kill anything else. (Bh)
Apart from the addition of the negation word, negative sentences do not differ from affirmative sentences in terms of word order.

23. Conditional clause and main clause
Klaiman (p. 508) describes conditional clauses in Bengali as follows: -
‘Conditional expressions occur in two forms in Modern Bengali. The conditional clause may be finite, in which case there appears the particle jodi, which is a direct borrowing from a functionally similar Sanskrit particle yadi. To illustrate:’

(1) jodi tumi kaj-Ta sar-be (tObe)
if 2 SG, NOM work-DET finish-2, FUT (then)
e-so.
come-IMPERA
‘If/when you finish the work, (then) come over.’ (K p. 508)
(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that e-so belongs to the middle level of politeness.)

Klaiman continues: - ‘An alternative way of framing a conditional is by means of the non-finite conditional verbal form (imperfect conditional)... In this case no conditional particle is used; e. g.’:

(2) tumi kaj-Ta sar-le (tObo)
2 SG, NOM work-DET finish-IMPERF COND (then)
e-so.
come-IMPERA
‘As above.’ (K p. 508)

For another contrasting pair of examples of the two types of conditional clauses, see (2) and (3) of 22.
As alluded to in 12, conditional clauses -- a type of marked clauses -- tend to precede main clauses. Indeed, the conditional clause precedes the main clause in all of the 9 examples at hand.

Other examples include:

1. *ami jodi thaki taho-le tumi*
   
   1SG, NOM if stay stay-IMPERF COND 2SG, NOM je-o.
   go-IMPERA
   ‘If I stay, then you should go.’ (R&H&R p. 61)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that *je-o* belongs to the middle level of politeness.)

2. *uni ekhane e-le amra*
   
   3SG, NOM here come-IMPERF COND 1PL, NOM EkSoNge ja-bo.
   together go-1, FUT
   ‘When/if he comes over here, we shall go out together.’ (R&H&R p. 65)

24. **Purpose clause and main clause**

In the two examples obtained, the purpose clause precedes the main clause.

1. *ram baRi te thak-lo jate kore jadu nodi te jete*
   
   Ram house at stay-3, PAST so that Jadu river to go pari.
   could
   ‘Ram stayed home so that Jadu could go to the river.’ (Bh)

2. *ram jore katha bal-lo jate kore Sabai*
   
   Ram loudly talking talk-3, PAST so that people Sunte pai.
   could hear
   ‘Ram talked loudly so that the people could hear him.’ (Bh)
References


