

Typological study of word order (10) : Swedish, and (11) : Q'eqchi'

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(10) : Swedish

0. Introduction

The present work is the 10th installment of my typological study of word order, following Tsunoda 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1991, forthcoming. (Tsunoda 1988 deals with Japanese.)

I am most grateful to Professor U. G. E. Hammarström for providing questionnaire data on Swedish, and to Mr. Michael Björn for commenting on and correcting the draft of this work and for providing additional examples.

1. Name of language

English name : Swedish. Indigenous name : *svenska* 'Swedish' or *svenska språket* 'the Swedish language' (Ozaki p. vii).

2. Source of information

Questionnaire data provided by U. G. E. Hammarström (often abbreviated as 'H') as well as information obtained from McClean 1947 ('M'), Ozaki 1955 ('O'), and Haugen 1987, supplemented with information provided by Michael Björn ('B').

3. Genetic affiliation

The Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family (Hammarström; Ozaki p.vii).

4. Geographical distribution

Swedish is spoken in Sweden, and also in Finland, Estonia, etc. (Ozaki

p. vii).

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Nouns have the neutral case system (St=Si=O), in which one and the same case marks these three syntactic functions. This case form will be left unglossed in the examples below. Nouns also have the genitive case. They have two genders (common and neuter) and two numbers (singular and plural). There is an indefinite article: *en* 'common' and *ett* 'neuter'. There are two definite articles: one is suffixed to the noun and the other precedes adjectives. The singular forms of the former are *-en* (or *-n*) 'common' and *-ett* (or *-t*) 'neuter'. For the definite article preceding adjectives, see 11. Pronouns have the nominative, accusative/dative and (in the third person only) genitive cases. (See 8.) Adjectives have two declensions: definite and indefinite declensions (see 11). Verbs inflect for tense, mood, etc. but in the colloquial language they have lost the number-plus-person distinction.

Abbreviations employed include the following: ACC/DAT, accusative/dative; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase; AUX, auxiliary verb; C, common; COMPARA, comparative; DEF, definite; F, feminine; GEN, genitive; IMPERA, imperative; INDEF, indefinite; INF, infinitive; M, masculine; N, neuter; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, (direct) object; PL, plural; PRES, present; PTCPL, participle; REL, relative pronoun; S, subject; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; St, transitive subject; SUPERL, superlative; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

6. Subject, object, and verb

Word order in Swedish, as that in many other languages, differs among declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences. Furthermore, as in German and Dutch, it differs between main or independent clauses and subordinate clauses.

First, we look at independent or main clauses. In declarative sentences, the verb occupies the second position. The subject generally

occurs sentence-initially. That is, among the various relative orders of the S, O and V, 'The normal word-order in Swedish is: subject-verb-object, as in English' (McCean p. 101), e. g. (a), (b). For intransitive sentences, the usual order is SV, e. g. (c).

(a) Nils åt maten.
 Nills eat, PAST food, DEF (SVO)
 'Nils ate the food.' (Adapted from Hammarström)

(b) Han slog mig i ansiket.
 3SG, NOM strike, PAST 1SG, ACC/DAT in face, DEF
 'He struck me in the face.' (M 114) (S V O ADV)

(c) Våren kommer.
 spring, DEF come, PRES 'Spring will come.' (O 337) (SV)

'But when the sentence opens with a word which is not the subject—a construction which is very usual in Swedish—then the subject is at once placed after the verb. This is known as "inverted word-order."... The sentence may begin with an adverb or an adverbial phrase' (McCean p. 101). Thus, compare :

(d) Han bor här.
 3SG, M, NOM live, PRES here (S V ADV)
 'He lives here.' (O 344)

(e) Här bor han. 'As above' (O 344) (ADV V S)

Additional examples :

(f) Sedan åt Nils maten.
 then eat, PAST Nils food, DEF (ADV V S O)
 'Then, Nils ate the food. (B)

(Note that the ex. (f) exhibits the VSO order. Another example of VSO is (k) below.)

(g) Snart kommer sommarn.
 soon come, PRES summer, DEF (ADV V S)
 'Soon summer will come.' (O 337)

(h) Om somrarna bor vi på
 about, around summer, PL, DEF live, PRES 1PL, NOM on

landet.

country, DEF (ADV V S ADV)

'In the summer(s) we live in the country.' (M 101)

'The sentence may begin with the object to bring emphasis on the word' (McClellan p. 102):

(i) Ägg har vi inte.
egg have, PRES 1PL, NOM NEG (O V S NEG)

'We do not have eggs.' (M 102)

(j) Maten åt Nils.
food, DEF eat, PAST Nils 'Nils ate the food.' (OVS)

(Note that the exx. (i) and (j) exhibit the OVS order.)

If the sentence contains an auxiliary verb and the main verb, then the auxiliary verb is inverted with the subject, and the main verb follows the subject, e. g. (b), (d), (g) of 15.

'The inversion also occurs when a principal [i. e. main—TT] clause is preceded by a subordinate clause' (McClellan p. 101, c.f. Ozaki p. 338, also Hammarström). (That is, the subordinate clause as a whole is regarded as one single constituent which occupies the first position of the sentence, and as usual the verb occurs in the second position of the sentence, i. e. immediately following the subordinate clause.)

(k) När jag kom hem, rökte jag
when 1SG, NOM come, PAST home smoke, PAST 1SG, NOM
en cigarr.
INDEF cigar

'When I got home, I smoked a cigar.' (M 101) (S V ADV, V S O)

For additional examples of a main clause following a subordinate clause, see (c) of 12; (a), (c), (e) of 23; and (b) of 24.

In imperative sentences, the verb occurs initially. The subject is generally elliptical, but when it does occur, it follows the subject (Ozaki p. 339).

(l) Gå (du) din väg!
go, IMPERA (2SG, NOM) your(SG), C, SG way (VS)
'Get away!' (O 339)

- (m) Läs (du) denna bok.
 read, IMPERA (2SG, NOM) this book (VSO)
 'Read this book.' (B)

Although this does not seem mentioned in the sources consulted, Björn states that in imperative sentences the subject is generally not used, and that if it is used at all, it gives the sentence a somewhat ironical flavour. For example, when the ex. (m) contains the subject, it will mean something like 'You can read this book if you want to, but it won't help you.'

In general questions the verb (or the auxiliary verb) occurs sentence-initially; see 18. In special questions, the verb (or the auxiliary verb) is inverted with the subject and, furthermore, it is preceded by an interrogative word; see 20.

We now turn to subordinate clauses. 'Subordinate clauses have (contrary to German) the same SVO order as independent clauses' (Haugen p. 173, cf. also Ozaki p. 339). For examples, see 12, 23 and 24.

Finally, we look at the order of the DO and IO. Ozaki (pp. 342-43) states as follows :- The normal order is for IO to precede DO when the IO is not accompanied by a preposition (cf. also McClean p. 164), e. g. (n) and (o); and for DO to precede IO when IO is accompanied by a preposition, e. g. (p) and (q). Examples from Ozaki (pp. 342-43) :

- (n) Jag gav gossen en bok.
 1SG, NOM give, PAST boy, DEF INDEF book (S V IO DO)
 'I gave the boy a book.'
- (o) Jag gav honom den.
 3SG, M, ACC/DAT that, SG, C (S V IO DO)
 'I gave that to him.'
- (p) Jag gav en bok åt gossen.
 INDEF book to boy, DEF (S V DO IO)
 'I gave a book to the boy.'
- (q) Jag gav den åt honom.
 that, SG, C to 3SG, M, ACC/DAT (S V DO IO)
 'I gave that to him.'

Another example, involving 'teach', is (c) of 20.

Ozaki (p. 343) notes that naturally inversion may apply to sentences with DO and IO. Examples from Ozaki (p. 343):

- (r) En bok gav jag åt gossen.
 INDEF book give, PAST 1SG, NOM to boy, SG, DEF
 'As (n).' (DO V S IO)
- (s) Honom gav jag den.
 3SG, M, ACC/DAT tha, SG, C (IO V S DO)
 'As (o).'
- (t) Den gav jag honom. 'As above.' (DO V S IO)

7. Adposition

Swedish possesses a fair number of prepositions (McClellan p. 171, Ozaki p. 215). E. g.:

- (a) fran huset
 from house, DEF 'from the house' (H)

Further examples are given elsewhere in the present work.

Prepositions govern the accusative/dative case (Ozaki pp. 215-16). Recall, however, that the accusative/dative is distinct from the nominative case only in (personal) pronouns.

Ozaki (p. 241) notes that prepositions such as *mellan* 'between', *emellan* 'between', *emot* 'towards', *utefter* 'along', *förutan* 'without', *om* 'round, about', *igenom* 'through' may be placed after their head noun, and in fact they are usually placed in that position. In effect, Ozaki states that these words are usually used as postpositions, rather than as prepositions. Similarly, McClellan (p. 171) notes that 'In certain fixed expressions some Prepositions are placed after the word they govern'. Examples from McClellan (p. 171):

- (b) oss emellan (c) jorden runt
 1PL, ACC/DAT between world, DEF round
 'between us' 'round the world'

Prepositions are stranded when the word they govern are placed in the sentence initial position (Ozaki p. 241). Thus, compare the following

pair of sentences adapted from Ozaki (pp. 241-42) :

- (d) Vi får inte tänka på det.
 1PL, NOM must, PRES NEG think, INF on that, SG, N
 'We must not think about that.'
- (e) Det får vi inte tänka på.
 that, SG, N must, PRES 1PL, NOM NEG think, INF on
 'Roughly as above.' (Perhaps more literally, 'That, we must not think about.')

Prepositions are also stranded in relative clauses (see 12 below) and in special questions (see 20 below).

8. Genitive and noun

We shall look at nouns first, and then at pronouns. When the possessor is a noun, it takes the genitive suffix *-s* (McClellan p. 62, Ozaki p. 68), and it precedes the possessed noun (Hammarström). Examples provided by Björn :

- (a) Karls hus (b) Gretas kompis
 Karl, GEN house Greta, GEN friend
 'Karl's house' 'Greta's friend'

When the possessor is a pronoun, it is expressed in one of the following two ways, depending on the person of the possessor. First, the first and second persons lack the genitive form (Ozaki p. 110), and instead what are called 'Possessives adjectives' are employed. They precede the possessed noun, agreeing with it in gender and number (McClellan p. 64, Ozaki p. 129). Examples from Ozaki (p. 130) :

- (c) min avhandling (d) mitt hus
 my, SG, C article, SG, C my, SG, N house, SG, N
 'my article' 'my house'
- (e) mina avhandlingar (f) mina hus
 my, PL article, PL, C my, PL house, PL, N
 'my articles' 'my houses'

Other examples include 'my father' in (c) of 14 ; 'our town' in (c) of 14 ; 'your brother' in (b) of 17 ; and 'my thesis' in (c) of 18.

(Possessive adjectives as well as adjectives lack the gender distinction in the plural (McClellan pp. 64, 67).) (In the examples above, the gender and also number of nouns are indicated—in order to illustrate the agreement. For other examples, the gender of nouns is not indicated.)

Second, the third person pronouns lack 'Possessive adjectives', and instead they possess the genitive forms (McClellan p. 64, Ozaki p. 129). They precede the possessed noun (like possessive adjectives) but they do not agree with the possessed noun (in contrast with possessive adjectives) (Ozaki pp. 112, 129). Examples from Ozaki (p. 113) :

(g) hans bok (h) hennes bok
 3SG, M, GEN book 3SG, F, GEN book
 'his book' 'her book'

(i) deras bok
 3PL, GEN book 'their book'

McClellan (p. 63) also provides the following account of possession-related expressions and examples :- 'The construction with *av* 'of' usually indicates provenance or origin', e. g.:

(j) Hertiginnan av Gloucester
 duchess, DEF of Gloucester 'the Duchess of Gloucester' (M63)

A similar example :

(k) konungen av Sverige
 king, DEF of Sweden 'the king of Sweden' (M 96, O 354)

'In expressions like "the university of London", Swedish sometimes uses a preposition', e. g. (l), 'sometimes an -s genitive', e. g. (m) :

(l) universitetet i Uppsala (m) Lunds universitet
 university, DEF in Uppsala Lund, GEN university

McClellan (p. 63) furnishes the following pair of examples ;

(n) Stockholms stad (o) staden Göteborg
 Stockholm, GEN town town, DEF Göteborg
 'the city of Stockholm' 'the city of Göteborg'

9. Demonstrative and noun

Swedish has the following demonstratives (McClellan p. 108, Ozaki p. 151-

52) :

Common	Neuter	Plural
<i>den</i> 'that'	<i>det</i> 'that'	<i>de</i> 'those'
<i>denna</i> 'this'	<i>detta</i> 'this'	<i> dessa</i> 'these'
<i>den där</i> 'that'	<i>det där</i> 'that'	<i>de här</i> 'those'
<i>den här</i> 'this'	<i>det här</i> 'this'	<i>de här</i> 'these'

 (*här* 'here', *där* 'there')

Demonstratives precede the noun they qualify (Hammarström). The noun does not take the definite article when it is modified by *denna* 'this', *detta* 'this' or *dessa* 'these', e. g. (a). With the other demonstratives, the definite article is required. (McClellan p. 109, Ozaki p. 152). Examples from Ozaki (p. 152):

- | | |
|--|--|
| (a) <i>denna bok</i>
this book
'this book' | (b) <i>den här boken</i>
this book, DEF
'this book' |
| (c) <i>den flickan</i>
that girl, DEF
'that girl' | (d) <i>den där flickan</i>
that girl, DEF
'that girl' |
| (e) <i>de barnen</i>
those child, PL, DEF
'those children' | (f) <i>de där barnen</i>
those child, PL, DEF
'those children' |

Other examples include 'this book' in (m) of 6; 'that fountain pen' in (c) of 12; 'this overcoat' in (b) of 15; and 'that present' in (g) of 20.

10. Numeral and noun

Numerals precede the noun they qualify (Hammarström). Examples from McClellan (p. 58) :

- | | |
|--|--|
| (a) <i>två stolar</i>
two chair, PL
'two chairs' | (b) <i>tre kuddar</i>
three cushion, PL
'three cushions' |
| (c) <i>sex hästar</i>
six horse, PL
'six horses' | (d) <i>åtta stolar</i>
eight chair, PL
'eight chairs' |

11. Adjective and noun

Adjectives precede the noun they qualify (Hammarström). McClean (pp. 67-68) describes the inflection of adjectives as follows (cf. also Ozaki pp. 70-71, 77) :- 'There are two declensions of adjectives : (a) the Indefinite Declension, used when the adjective is preceded by the indefinite article or used in isolation before a noun ; (b) Definite Declension, used when the adjective is preceded by the definite article of the adjective or other determinant, such as a demonstrative or possessive. When in English a noun is preceded by the definite article and adjective, Swedish uses two articles, one, a special form *den, det* or *de* [SG, C ; SG, N ; and PL for both genders ; respectively—TT ; cf. Ozaki p. 70], placed in front of the adjective, the other the usual terminal article added to the noun'. The indefinite declension is as follows :

Singular		Plural
Common	Neuter	Both genders
<i>grön</i> 'green'	<i>grönt</i>	<i>gröna</i>

Examples (McClean p. 67) :

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| (a) en grön färg | (b) ett grönt blad |
| INDEF green colour | INDEF green leaf |
| 'a green colour' | 'a green leaf' |
| (c) gröna färger | |
| green colour, PL | |
| 'green colours' | |

The definite declension 'has one form, singular and plural, for both genders ; it has the ending *-a* and is thus the same as the plural of the Indefinite Declension' (McClean p. 68). Examples (McClean p. 68) :

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (d) den gröna fägen | (e) det gröna bladet |
| SG, C colour, DEF | SG, N leaf, DEF |
| 'the green colour' | 'the green leaf' |
| (f) de gröna färgerna | |
| PL colour, PL, DEF | |
| 'the green colours' | |

Another pair of examples, involving the two declensions :

- (g) ett stort hus (h) det stora huset
 INDEF big house SG, N big house, DEF
 'a big house' (H; O 77) 'the big house' (O 77)

Other examples include 'the oldest man' in (c) of 14.

Adjectives generally precede the head noun, as exemplified above. However, 'Occasionally the Attributive Adjective follows the Noun' (McClellan p. 163). Examples provided by Björn:

- (i) sommarn den gröna
 summer, DEF DEF green
 'the wonderful (literally, green) summer'
- (j) flickan den sköna
 girl, DEF, SG DEF beautiful 'the beautiful girl'

The relative order of the various types of noun modifiers is as follows:- Genitive or Possessive adjective or Demonstrative+Numeral+ Adjective(+Noun).

Attested orders of various types of noun modifiers are the following:

- (k) Numeral+Adjective+Noun, e. g. (o);
 (l) Possessive adjective+Adjective+Noun, e. g. (p);
 (m) Genitive+Adjective+Noun, e. g. (q), (r);
 (n) Demonstrative+Adjective+Noun, e. g. (s).

Examples :

- (o) sju vackra sjuksköterskor
 seven beautiful, INDEF, PL nurse, PL
 'seven beautiful nurses' (adapted from Ozaki p. 15)
- (p) mitt nya hus
 my, N, SG new, DEF house, N 'my new house' (Ozaki p. 81)
- (b) hans gamla bil
 3SG, M, GEN old, DEF car 'his old car' (Ozaki p. 80)
- (r) pojkens nya kostym
 boy, DEF, GEN new, DEF suit
 'the boy's new suit' (McClellan p. 72)
- (s) detta stora hus
 this, N, SG big, DEF house 'this big house' (Ozaki p. 18)

- (t) Görans tre stora bilar
 Göran, GEN three big, DEF car, PL 'Göran's three big cars' (B)

12. Relative clause and noun

Relative clauses follow the noun they qualify (Hammarström). Swedish has four relative pronouns (McClellan pp. 117-18, Ozaki p. 134). 'The commonest relative pronoun and practically the only one used in conversation is *som*; it is invariable and may be used for both genders, singular and plural. It can serve... as the subject of a sentence [e. g. (a) and—TT] 'as the object of a sentence' (McClellan p. 117), e. g. (b):

- (a) Mannen [som dödade Nils] är i huset.
 man, SG, DEF REL kill, PAST Nils be, PRES in house, DEF
 'The man who killed Nils is in the house.'

(Adapted from Hammarström)

- (b) Jag lämnade tillbaka pengarna,
 1SG, NOM deliver, PAST back money, PL, DEF
 [som jag hade lånat].
 REL 1SG, NOM have, PAST borrow, SUPINE
 'I returned the money that I had borrowed.'

(In these examples, relative clauses are enclosed in square brackets for clarification.) ('Supine' is a special form of the past participle which is only used for forming the perfect together with the auxiliary verb 'have' (McClellan p. 85). See also 15.)

Som cannot be used with a preceding preposition, and the preposition has to be 'stranded' (McClellan p. 117, Ozaki p. 135, Haugen p. 174):

- (c) Den reservoarpenna, [som jag nu skriver
 that fountain pen REL 1SG, NOM now write, PRES
 med], har jag köpt i Amerika.
 with have, PRES 1SG, NOM buy, SUPINE in America
 'The fountain pen I am writing with now, I bought in America.'
 (O 136)

- (d) Han är en man, [som jag
 3SG, M, NOM be, PRES INDEF man REL 1SG, NOM

kan lita på].
 can,PRES rely,INF on
 'He is a man I can rely on.' (M 117)

13. Proper noun and common noun

The common noun precedes the proper noun (Hammarström):

- (a) Farbror Nils
 father's brother Nils 'Uncle Nils' (adapted from Hammarström)
- (b) Moster Greta
 mother's sister Greta 'Aunt Greta' (M 294)
- (c) Restaurant Viktoria (d) Familjen Tamm
 restaurant Victoria family,DEF Tamm
 'Restaurant Victoria' (M 233) 'the Tamm family' (M 298)
- (e) staden Stockholm
 town,DEF Stockholm
 'the city of Stockholm' (O 367)

See also (l) to (o) of 8 above.

Titles or the like generally precede the names :

- (f) Herr Petersson (g) Fru Greta Svensson
 Mr. Petersson Mrs. Greta Svensson
 'Mr. Petersson' (M 84) 'Mrs. Greta Svensson' (M 166)
- (h) Fröken Dagmar Svensson (i) Konung Gustav
 Miss Dagmar Svensson king Gustav
 'Miss Dagmar Svensson' (M166) 'King Gustav' (O 367)
- (j) Drottning Sylvia (k) prins Carl
 queen Sylvia prince Carl
 'Queen Sylvia' (B) 'Prince Carl' (M 37)
- (l) prinsessan Ingrid (m) Professor Greta Svensson
 princess Ingrid professor Greta Svensson
 'Princess Ingrid' (M 186) 'Professor Greta Svensson' (M 166)
- (n) Doktor Ek (o) General Uggla
 doctor Ek general Uggla
 'Dr. Ek' (O 376) 'General Uggla' (O 366)

- (p) *Biskop Rudbeck* (q) *Statsrådet Hansson*
 bishop Rudbeck minister Hansson
 'Bishop Rudbeck' (O 376) 'Minister Hansson' (O 375)
- (r) *konsul Pettersson*
 consul Pettersson
 'Consul Pettersson' (O 111)

The given names precede(s) the family name, e. g. (g), (h), (m), and:

- (s) *Anders Zorn* (M 106) (t) *Gustav Vasa* (M 163)
 (u) *August Strindberg* (O 107) (v) *Alfred Nobel* (128)

14. Comparison

The comparative form of adjectives is formed by means of the suffix *-are/-re* or the word *mer/mera* 'more', and the superlative by means of *-ast/-aste/-st/-ste* or *mest* 'most', depending on the adjective (McClellan pp. 74-76, Ozaki pp. 96-99, Haugen p. 169).

- (a) *Nils är längre än Ingrid.*
 Nils be,PRES tall,COMPARA than Ingrid
 'Nils is taller than Ingrid.' (Adapted from Hammarström)
- (b) *Han är längre än jag.*
 3SG,M,NOM be,PRES tall,COMPARA than 1SG,NOM
 'He is taller than I.' (M 76)

The order is as follows (unless inversion applies):- Adjective+Marker of comparison+Standard of comparison.

Examples of the superlative include:

- (c) *Min far är den äldsta mannen*
 my,SG,C father be,PRES DEF old,SUPERL man,DEF
i vår stad.
 in our,C,SG town
 'My father is the oldest man in our town.' (M 294)

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

Auxiliary verbs of Swedish may be divided into three groups in terms of

the shape of the main verb. (i) *Ha* 'have' is combined with supines (a special form of the past participle) to form compound tenses. (ii) *Skola* 'shall', *vilja* 'will', *kunna* 'can', etc. are combined with infinitives. (iii) *Bliva* 'become' is combined with past participles to form passives. (McClellan pp. 86-88, 123, Ozaki pp. 158, 262, Haugen pp. 171-72.) Examples of (i) include (b), (c) of 12, (b) of 16, (f) of 18, (c) of 20, (c) of 22, and :

- (a) Nils har ätit maten.
 Nils have,PRES eat,SUPINE food,DEF (S AUX MAIN O)
 'Nils has eaten the food.' (Adapted from Hammarström)
- (b) Den här överrocken har jag köpt
 this overcoat,DEF have,PRES 1SG,NOM buy,SUPINE
 i London.
 in London (O AUX S MAIN ADV)
 'I bought this overcoat in London.' (M 189)
- (c) Jag har aldrig hört maken.
 1SG,NOM have,PRES never hear,SUPINE like,DEF
 (S AUX NEG MAIN O)
 'I have never heard of such a thing.' (M 190)
- (d) I morgon har jag läst boken.
 in morning have,PRES 1SG,NOM read,SUPINE book,DEF
 (ADV AUX S MAIN O)
 'I (shall) have read the book tomorrow.' (O 138)

Examples of (ii) include 'must' in (d), (e) of 7, (c) of 23; 'can' in (d) of 12, (d) of 18, (d) of 20, (b), (e) of 22, (a), (b) of 23, (a) to (c) of 24; 'shall' in (c) of 16, (a), (b) of 24; 'will' in (e) of 18; and :

- (e) Jag kan inte komma hem i kväll.
 1SG,NOM can,PRES NEG come,INF home in evening
 (S AUX NEG MAIN ADV ADV)
 'I can't come home this evening.' (M 201)
- (f) Jag vill skicka ett telegram.
 1SG,NOM will,PRES send,INF INDEF telegram
 'I wish to send a telegram.' (M 201) (S AUX MAIN O)

- (g) Det skall jag göra.
 that shall,PRES 1SG,NOM do,INF
 'I shall do that.' (M 102) (O AUX S MAIN)

Examples of (iii) include :

- (h) Han blev sårad i kriget.
 3SG,M,NOM become,PAST wound,PAST PTCPL in war
 'He was wounded in the war.' (M 88) (S AUX MAIN ADV)

In declarative sentences, as noted in 6 above, the verb occupies the second position of the sentence (as in German and Dutch). When a given sentence contains an auxiliary verb as well as a main verb, then it is the auxiliary verb that occupies the second position, e. g. (b), (d), (g). The main verb follows the auxiliary verb, but (in contrast with German and Dutch) it does not occur sentence-finally—unless no other word follows.

16. Adverb and verb

The position of adverbs and adverb phrases does not seem rigidly fixed. But there are certain tendencies. Thus, in main/independent clauses, adverbs such as the following—they are short adverbs—are usually placed after the verb (and immediately after an auxiliary verb if the sentence contains one) (McClellan pp. 136, 161-62, Ozaki pp. 343-44, Hammarström):—*inte* 'not', *icke* 'not', *ej* 'not', *bara* 'only', *aldrig* 'never', *alltid* 'always', *ofta* 'often', *snart* 'soon', *sällan* 'seldom', *ingalunda* 'certainly not', *antagligen* 'probably', *förmodligen* 'probably', *möjligen* 'maybe', *gärna* 'willingly'. Examples involving *ofta* 'often':

- (a) Han kommer ofta hit.
 3SG,M,NOM come,PRES often hither
 'He comes here often.' (O 334)
- (b) Jag har ofta sett honom
 1SG,NOM have,PRES often see,SUPINE 3SG,M,ACC/DAT
 här.
 here
 'I have often seen him here.' (M 136)

Other examples include 'soon' in (g) of 6.

In subordinate clauses these adverbs are normally placed before the verb (or an auxiliary verb) (McClellan pp. 136, 162, Ozaki p. 344). An example involving *snart* 'soon':

- (c) Han sade, att han snart
 3SG,M,NOM say,PAST that 3SG,M,NOM soon
 skulle komma tillbaka.
 shall,PAST come,INF back
 'He said that he soon would be back,' (O 344)

However, demonstrative adverbs and adverbs of time are usually placed after the verb not only in main/independent clauses, but also in subordinate clauses (McClellan p. 162, Ozaki p. 344). An example involving *här* 'here':

- (b) Jag tror, att tåget stannar här.
 1SG,NOM believe,PRES that train,DEF stop,PRES here
 'I believe that the train stops here.' (M 162)

Other examples include 'here' in (a), (b) above, (d), (e) of 6, (j) of 22; and 'now' in (c) of 12, (g) of 22, (a), (b) of 23.

For examples of *inte* 'not' and *aldrig* 'never', see 22 and also (a), (e) of 15.

Other examples of adverbs and adverb phrases include the following :-

(i) Adverbs of modality or the like :

- (e) Lyckligtvis är hon gift.
 happily be,PRES 3SG,F,NOM married
 'Luckily, she is married.' (O 197)

(ii) Adverbs of time :

- (f) Nils sprang fort igår.
 Nils run,PAST fast yesterday
 'Nils ran fast yesterday.' (Adapted from Hammarström)

Other examples include 'then' in (f) of 6; 'in the summer' in (h) of 6; 'tomorrow' in (d) of 15, (d), (e) of 23; 'this evening' in (e) of 15; 'until tomorrow' in (c) of 23; 'early' in (c) of 24.

(iii) Adverbs of place, direction, etc. include 'in the face' in (b) of 6; 'in the country' in (h) of 6; 'in the house' or 'home' in (k) of 6,

(a) of 12, (e) of 15, (d), (e) of 23, (a), (b) of 24; 'back' in (b) of 12, (c) of 16; 'in America' in (c) of 12; 'in London' in (b) of 15; 'in the war' in (h) of 15; 'out into the town' in (b) of 23, (a), (b) of 24.

(iv) Adverbs of manner, instrument, etc. include 'fast' in (f) above, and :

- (g) Barnet sover fridfullt.
 child,DEF sleep,PRES peacefully
 'The child is sleeping peacefully.' (M 188)

17. Adverb and adjective

Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify (Hammarström). E. g.:

- (a) Nils är mycket lång.
 Nils be,PRES very tall
 'Nils is very tall.' (Adapted from Hammarström)
- (b) Varför är din bror så lat?
 why be,PRES your (SG),C,SG brother so lazy
 'Why is your brother so lazy?' (M 96)
- (b) Jag är rasande hungrig.
 1SG,NOM be,PRES furiously hungry
 'I am furiously (i. e. ravenously) hungry.' (M 130)

18. General questions

Although this is not stated in the sources, Swedish can form general questions by using a sentence-final rising intonation (Björn).

Swedish lacks a question marker (Hammarström). But general questions can be formed by placing the verb (or an auxiliary verb if the sentence contains one) in the sentence-initial position (McClellan p. 56). The subject immediately follows the verb (or the auxiliary verb). Thus, compare the following pair of examples (adapted from Hammarström):

- (a) Nils åt maten.
 Nils eat,PAST food,DEF 'Nils ate food.' (SVO)
- (b) Åt Nils maten? 'Did Nils eat the food?' (VSO)

Another example :

- (c) Talar du svenska?
 speak,PRES 2SG,NOM Swedish (VSO)
 'Do you speak Swedish?' (O 61)

Examples involving an auxiliary verb :

- (d) Kan du köra bil?
 can,PRES 2SG,NOM drive,INF car (AUX S MAIN O)
 'Can you drive a car?' (O 158)
- (e) Vill du läsa min uppsats?
 will,PRES 2SG,NOM read,INF my,SG,C thesis
 'Do you want to read my thesis?' (B 96) (AUX S MAIN O)
- (f) Har du läst morgontidningen?
 have,PRES 2SG,NOM read,SUPINE morning paper,DEF
 'Have you read the morning paper?' (O 46) (AUX S MAIN O)

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

Indeed, the subject and the verb (or an auxiliary verb) are 'inverted' in general questions. But this inversion may be said to take place only in a weak sense. This is because, in declarative sentences, the subject does not always precede the verb (or the auxiliary verb).

20. Special questions

The interrogative word occurs sentence-initially (Hammarström). Thus, compare the following pair of examples (adapted from Hammarström).

- (a) Nils dödade Ingrid.
 Nils kill,PAST Ingrid 'Nils killed Ingrid.' (SVO)
- (b) Vem dödade Ingrid? (SVO ; OVS)
 who

Hammarström notes that this sentence is ambiguous: (i) 'Who killed Ingrid?' (SVO), and (ii) 'Whom did Ingrid kill?' (OVS).

Björn states that there is also some ambiguity in (a) when it appears as an answer to (b)—that is, it can mean 'Ingrid killed Nils' (OVS) as well—and that otherwise it cannot normally have that meaning.

Other examples of special questions include :

- (c) Vem har lärt dig det?
 who have,PRES teach,SUPINE 2SG,ACC/DAT that,SG,C
 'Who taught you that?' (M 190) (S AUX MAIN IO DO)
- (d) Ver kan jag skicka ett telegram?
 where can,PRES 1SG,NOM send,INF INDEF telegram
 (ADV AUX S MAIN O)
 'Where can I send a telegram?' (M 90)
- (e) När kommer du?
 when come,PRES 2SG,NOM 'When will you come?' (O 243)

Other examples include 'why' in (b) of 17.

The interrogative word is immediately followed by the verb (or the auxiliary verb), which is in turn followed by the subject--unless the subject itself is the interrogative word, as in (c) and the first reading of (b).

Prepositions are usually stranded when the interrogative word they govern occurs initially (McClellan p. 146, Ozaki p. 241):

- (f) Vem talade du med?
 who speak,PAST 2SG,NOM with
 'Who were you speaking with?' (M 146)
- (g) Vem fick du den presenten av?
 who get,PAST 2SG,NOM that present,DEF from
 'Who did you get that present from?' (M 146)
- (h) Vad tänker du på?
 what think,PRES 2SG,NOM on
 'What are you thinking about?' (O 242)

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

This inversion may be said to take place. But it occurs only in a weak sense because (i) in declarative sentences the subject does not always precede the verb and because (ii) in special questions the subject precedes the verb if it is an interrogative word.

22. Negative sentences

Swedish has several words for negation (Ozaki p. 315). Verbs are negated by one of the negation adverbs such as *inte* 'not' and *aldrig* 'never'. In terms of the position, they belong with the short adverbs listed in 16. That is, in main/independent clauses, they are generally—though not always—placed after the verb, or after an auxiliary verb if the sentence contains one (McClellan p. 161, Ozaki p. 343-44)

(a) Han äter inte bröd.
 3SG,M,NOM eat,PRES NEG bread (S V NEG O)
 'He does not eat bread.' (Adapted from Hammarström)

(b) Jag kan inte tro det.
 1SG,NOM can,PRESS NEG believe,INF that,SG,N
 'I can't believe that.' (O 345) (S AUX NEG MAIN O)

(c) Jag har aldrig rökt en pipa.
 1SG,NOM have,PRES never smoke,SUPINE INDEF pipe
 (S AUX NEG MAIN O)

'I have never smoked a pipe.' (M 161)

Additional examples: *inte* 'not' in (i) of 6, (d), (e) of 7, (e) 15, (d), (e) of 23; and *aldrig* 'never' in (c) of 15.

In subordinate clauses, these negation adverbs precede the verb, or the auxiliary verb (McClellan p. 162, Ozaki p. 345, Hammarström). Thus, compare (a) and (d); (b) and (e); and (c) and (f):

(d) Han sa att han inte äter
 3SG,M,NOM say,PAST that 3SG,M,NOM NEG eat,PRES
 bröd.
 bread (S V, S NEG V O)
 'He said that he does not eat bread.' (Adapted from Hammarström)

(e) Jag säger, att jag inte kan
 1SG,NOM say,PRES that 1SG,NOM NEG can,PRES
 tro det.
 believe,INF that (S V, S NEG AUX MAIN O)
 'I am saying that I can't believe that.' (O 345)

- (f) Jag sade, att Jag aldrig har
 1SG,NOM say,PAST that 1SG,NOM never have,PRES
 rökt.

smoke,SUPINE

(S V, S NEG AUX MAIN)

'I said that I never smoked.' (Adapted from M 162)

In negative imperatives, the negation adverb follows the verb—though not necessarily immediately :

- (g) Plåga mig inte nu!
 bother,IMPERA 1SG,ACC/DAT NEG now

'Don't bother me now.' (M 96)

(V O NEG ADV)

- (h) Säg inte det.
 say,IMPERA NEG that

(V NEG O)

'Don't say that' (M 188)

In negative general questions the negation adverb follows the subject, which in turn follows the verb :

- (i) Frågade jag inte dig?
 ask,PAST 1SG,NOM NEG 2S,ACC/DAT

(V S NEG O)

'Didn't I ask you?' (Adapted from (M 93)

Other negation words, e. g. the negation pronoun/adjective *ingen/intet/inga* 'no, nobody, none' (C, N, PL, respectively) (McClellan pp. 143-44), occur in the position that would be occupied by the equivalent non-interrogative words. E. g. :

- (j) Jag känner ingen här.
 1SG,NOM know,PRES nobody here

(SVO)

'I know nobody here.' (M 144)

- (k) Jag har ingen kniv.
 1SG,NOM have,PRES no knife

(SVO)

'I have no knife.' (M 144)

23. Conditional clause and main clause

Conditional clauses may be explicitly introduced by one of the several conditional conjunctions: *om* 'if', *därest* 'in case' (archaic), *ifall* 'in case', etc. (McClellan p. 225, Ozaki p. 221, Haugen p. 174).

- (a) Om du köper biljetterna nu, kan
 if 2SG,NOM buy,PRES ticket,PL,DEF now, can,PRES
 vi gå ut på stan.
 1PL,NOM go,INF out on town,DEF

(S V O ADV, AUX S MAIN ADV)

'If you get the tickets now, we shall be able to go into the town.'
 (Adapted from M 162)

- (b) Du kan gå nu, om du vill.
 2SG,NOM can,PRES go,INF now if 2SG,NOM will,PRES

(A AUX MAIN ADV, S AUX)

'You can go now if you want to.' (O 159)

- (c) Ifall det blir regn, så får
 in case it become,PRES rain (a noun) then must,INF
 vi skjuta upp resan till i morgon.
 1PL,NOM postpone,INF travel,DEF to in morning

'If it rains, (then) we will have to postpone the travel until tomorrow.' (Adapted from O 222)

('When a Conditional Clause is followed by a Principal Cause, the latter is often introduced by *så* "then"' (McClellan 225).

When a conditional contains a conjunction 'if', it may either precede or follow the main clause (Ozaki p. 301, Hammarström). In the examples at hand, it precedes (in 13 examples) more frequently than follows (9 examples).

When the conditional clause precedes the main clause, the conditional may be dropped if the verb (or the auxiliary verb) precedes the subject, i. e. if they are 'inverted' (Ozaki p. 301, cf. also McClellan p. 161, Haugen p. 174). Thus, compare the following pair of examples (Ozaki p. 339).

- (d) Om du kommer i morgon, är jag
 if 2SG,NOM come,PRES in morning be,PRES 1SG,NOM
 inte hemma.

NEG at home

(S V ADV, V S ADV)

'If you come tomorrow, I won't be home.'

- (e) Kommer du i morgon, är jag
 come,PRES 2SG,NOM in morning be,PRES 1SG,NOM
 inte hemma.
 NEG at home (V S ADV, V S ADV)
 'As above.'

Note that, when the main clause follows the conditional clause, its subject and the verb (or the auxiliary verb) are inverted; cf. 6. In (d) both clauses involve the inversion.

24. Purpose clause and main clause

Purpose clauses are introduced by one of the purpose conjunctions: *att* 'that', *för att* 'so that', *på det att* 'in order that', *på det att...icke* 'lest, so that...not' (McClellan p. 26, Ozaki p. 221). They may either precede or follow the main clause, but they usually follow (Ozaki p. 352, Hammarström). Thus, compare the following pair of examples (adapted from Hammarström):

- (a) Nils stannade i huset för att Ingrid skulle
 Nils stay,PAST in house,DEF so that Ingrid shall,PAST
 kunna gå ut på stan.
 can,INF go,INF out on town,DEF
 (S V ADV, S AUX AUX MAIN ADV ADV)
 'Nils stayed home so that Ingrid could go into the town.'
- (b) För att Ingrid skulle kunna gå ut på stan stannade Nils i huset.
 'As above.' (S AUX AUX MAIN ADV ADV V S ADV)

(Note the 'inversion' in the main clause.)

Other examples include:

- (c) De reste tidigt, för att de skulle
 3PL,NOM travel,PAST early so that 3PL,NOM shall,PAST
 komma fram före nattens inbrott.
 arrive,INF before night,DEF,GEN arrival
 'They travelled early so that they could arrive before the night-
 fall.' (O 221)

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, University of Tsukuba); UNP, University of Nagoya Press.

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(11) : Q'eqchi'

0. Introduction

The present work is the 11th installment of my typological of word order.

I am grateful to Francis Eachus and Ruth Carlson, and to Yoshiho Yasugi for providing data on word order in Q'eqchi'. I am particularly indebted to Joseph DeChicchis for allowing me access to two of his works on Q'eqchi' (DeChicchis 1988, 1989), providing additional examples and

information on aspects of Q'eqchi' grammar, and assisting me in standardizing the terminologies and notation systems which differ among the sources consulted.

1. Name of language

Q'eqchi'. Also spelt K'ekchi', etc.

2. Genetic affiliation

The Quichean branch of the Mayan language family (England 1983: 7).

3. Geographical distribution

Spoken in Guatemala and Belize of Central America (DeChicchis 1989: 1).

4. Sources of information

Questionnaire data provided by Francis Eachus and Ruth Carlson (often abbreviated as 'E&C'); questionnaire data supplied by Yoshiho Yasugi ('Y'); and DeChicchis (1988, 1989, p. c.) ('D 1988'; 'D 1989'; 'D, p. c.'). Information on 2 has been supplemented with England (1983). The sources consulted deal with different dialects. They also employ different orthographies. In the following, examples will be presented in the current Guatemala standard orthography. (Belize has no spelling policy—DeChicchis, p. c.)

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Q'eqchi' has crossreferencing pronouns which operate ergative-absolutive (ERG#ABS=ABS; St#Si=O); see 6. Free/independent pronouns as well nouns, etc. have a neutral case system (St=Si=O), in which one and the same case form indicates all of the St, Si and O. This case form will be left un glossed in the following examples.

There are two determiners (*li* and *aj*) and a combination thereof, *laj* (<—**li+aj*). *Li* is the basic determiner and its functions include definiteness and nominal head marking, while *aj* is associated with the notion

of agency or power; typically used with men and with certain animals endowed with significant spirit (DeChicchis, p. c.). In the sources consulted, the determiners are sometimes followed by a hyphen, and sometimes written separately from the following word. I shall write them as they are presented in the sources.

Abbreviations employed include the following: ABS, absolutive; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase; AUX, auxiliary; DET, determiner, DETRANS, detransitiviser; ERG, ergative; FUT, future; NEG, negation; O, object; p. c., personal communication; PL, plural; PRES, present; Q, question; S, subject; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; St, transitive subject; V, verb; Vi, intransitive verb; Vt, transitive verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

6. Subject, object and verb

We shall first examine the relative order of the elements within the verb complex, and then the relative order of the verb complex and the subject object as manifested by independent/free NPs.

'In Q'eqchi', tense and temporal aspect is indicated by prefixes which occur at the beginning of the verbal complex. The order of morphological slots is: (i) tense-modality-aspect marker, (ii) absolutive person marker, (iii) ergative person marker, and (iv) verb root (simple) or derived stem (derived)' (DeChicchis 1989: 76, cf. also DeChicchis 1988: 61). Tense-modality-aspect markers are termed AUX (DeChicchis 1988: 61).

The structure of an intransitive verb complex is:

(a) AUX-ABS-Vi.

That is:

(b) Si-Vi. (Or, simply S-V)

Examples include:

(c) x-oo-hilah.

AUX-1PL, ABS-rest 'We rested.' (D 1988: 62) (Vi-Si)

The structure of a transitive verb complex is:

(d) AUX-ABS-ERG-Vt.

That is :

(e) O-St-Vt. (Or, simply O-S-V)

Examples include :

(f) x-at-in-sak'. (O-St-Vt)

AUX-2SG, ABS-1SG, ERG-hit 'I hit you.' (D 1988 : 77)

(*'Pauses occur routinely at the boundary between the absolutive and enegative markers, but they do not occur elsewhere in the verb complex. The morphological import of the boundary is indicated by older transcription, . . . , which place spaces after the tense-absolutive formations'* (DeChicchis 1989 : 78-79).

We now turn to the relative order of the verb complex on the one hand and the subject and the object as manifested by free/independent NPs on the other. DeChicchis (1989 : 100) states as follows :

The canonical word order of Q'eqchi' is verb-object-subject (VOS). Although typologically rare, VOS order is common among the Mayan languages. Even so, Q'eqchi' word order is not categorically fixed, and we can find many examples of clauses with object and subject nominals preposed to the verb. In fact, the range of word orders found in a single Q'eqchi' narrative can be nearly exhaustive : in one story . . . , we find VOS, SVO, OVS, VSO, VO, VS, SV, OV, as well as the shared argument patterns VSV and VOSVO, and even the shared verb pattern SVS.

All of the possible orders of the S, O and V are attested (DeChicchis 1988 : 65), and their relative order is influenced by numerous factors such as focus, emphasis, etc. (Eachus and Carlson).

Examples of the 'V O S' order include (a) of 18, and :

(g) ki-x-k'am chaq li-tumin li-ch'ina-'al.
AUX-3ERG-carry back DET-money DET-little-boy (VOS)
'The little boy brought back the money.' (D 1988 : 65)

(h) x-kamsi laj Guillermo laj Juan.
AUX, 3ERG-kill DET Bill DET John (VOS)
'Juan (or John) killed Guillermo (or Bill).' (E&C)

Examples of other orders include :

- (i) li ixq na-r-il-eb li
 DET woman AUX-3ERG-see-PL DET
 q-as-b-iitz'iin
 1PL, ERG-older brother-1PL, ERG-younger sibling (SVO)
 'The woman cures our people.' (D 1988 : 65)

(DeChicchis notes that the third person ergative *-x/-r* does not distinguish [number (DeChicchis 1989 : 77, Table 7.1). He adds that 'An optional suffix *eb* on the verb root or an *e'* (or *eb* occasionally) in the ABS position marks plurality' (DeChicchis, p. c.) (Ergative prefixes can express possessors; see 8.)

- (j) in-lampara t-kw-aj la'in chan.
 1SG, ERG-lamp AUX-1SG, ERG-want 1SG QUOTE (OVS)
 'I want my lamp, he said.' (D 1988 : 65)
- (k) t-aa-taw la'at aa-tyu'am.
 AUX-2SG, ERG-find 2SG 2SG, ERG-life (VSO)
 'You can find your life.' (D 1988 : 65)

Additional examples are (a), (b) of 23 (S V O).

Finally, we look at intransitive sentences. Examples of 'V S' include

(a) of 16; (c), (d) of 23; and :

- (m) ki-nume' jun li-paadre.
 PAST-pass one DET-priest (VS)
 'A priest passed by.' (D 1989 : 103)

Examples of 'S V' include (b) of 16; (a), (b) of 23; and (a), (b) of 24.

7. Adposition

Q'eqchi' possesses prepositions (Eachus and Carlson; Yasugi): *sa'* 'in, at, from' and *chi* 'at, with' (and possibly a third preposition) (DeChicchis, p. c.) e. g.:

- (a) sa' r-ochoch
 in, at, from 3ERG-house 'in/at/from his/her/thier house' (E&C)

Additional examples are in (b) of 10; (a) of 12; (a) of 14; (a) of 15; (b) of 16; (c) of 18; and (a), (b) of 24. (Although they are termed

prepositions, in the sources they are often presented as if they were prefixes, followed by a hyphen.)

8. Gentive and noun

An ergative prefix can indicate the number-plus-person of a possessor, e. g.:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------|-----|------------------|
| (a) | li | r-choch | (b) | in-sik' |
| | DET | 3ERG-house | | 1SG,ERG-tobacco |
| | | 'his/her/their house' (E&C) | | 'my tobacco' (Y) |

Additional examples are in (i), (j), (k) of 6; (a) of 7; (c) of 9; (a) of 10; (a) of 14; (a), (b) of 17; and, (c) of 18.

When the possessor is a third person, it can be expressed by a noun (with no suffix or the like) in addition to the ergative prefix:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|------------|-----|--|
| (c) | li | r-ochoch | laj | Juan |
| | DET | 3ERG-house | DET | Juan 'Juan's house' (E&C) |
| (d) | r-uq' | che | | |
| | 3ERG-arm | tree | | 'an arm of a tree', i. e. 'branch' (Y) |

Other examples include 'Guillermo's father' in (a), (b) of 23.

As demonstrated by (c) and (d), the possessor noun follows the possessed noun.

The following is an example of 'possessor's possessor':

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|
| (e) | x-sib-el | in-sik' |
| | 3ERG-smoke-? | 1SG,ERG-tobacco 'the smoke my tobacc' (Y) |
- (-el is a derivational suffix whose meaning is not understood well.)

9. Demonstration and noun

A demonstrative follows the noun it qualifies (Eachus and Carlson):

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------------|------|-----|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) | li | ococh | a'in | li | tz'i' | a'an |
| | DET | house | this | DET | dog | that |
| | | 'this house' (Y) | | | 'that dog' (Y) | |
| (c) | li | r-ochoch | a'in | | | |
| | DET | 3ERG-house | this | | | 'this hous of his/hers/theirs (E&C) |

10. Numeral and noun

A numeral precedes the noun it qualifies (Eachus and Carlson). Examples include 'one priest' in (m) of 6, and :

- (a) kwib li r-ochoh
 two DET 3ERG-house 'the two house of his/her/theirs'

Note that the numeral precedes the determiner as well.

Also, in compounds, the numeral precedes the noun—at least, in the example at hand, e. g.:

- (b) as'-jun-kutan
 in-one-day 'on one day' (D 1989 : 105)

11. Adjective and noun

An adjective can either precede or follow the noun, but it usually follows (Eachus and Carlson). Thus, a pair of examples :

- (a) li nimla kab (b) li kab nim
 DET big house DET house big
 'the big house' (E&C) 'the big house' (E&C)

(The meaning of *-la* does not seem to be understood well.) Another example :

- (c) li kab ch'ina'us
 DET hous pretty 'the beautiful house' (E&C)

In compounds, however, the adjective precedes the noun—at least, in the examples at hand, e. g. 'little boy' in (g) of 6, and :

- (d) li-ch'ina-lool
 DET-little-lool bird 'the little lool bird' (D 1989 : 104)

12. Relative clause and noun

A relative clause follows the head noun (Eachus and Carlson)

- (a) li kwiinq [li x-kamsi-n r-e
 DET man DET AUX-kill-DETRANS 3ERG-mouth
 laj Guillermo] kwan sa' kab.
 DET Bill be in house (S [V O] V ADV)

'The man who killed Guillermo is in the house.' (E&C)

The relative clause is enclosed in the square brackets. (Regarding *r-e*, DeChicchis (p. c.) notes as follows: - It marks semantic object of the verb. Like the Latin ablative, it has somewhat amorphous functional range; however, it usually marks the indirect object.

13. Proper noun and common noun

No information available.

14. Comparison

Judging by the example provided by Eachus and Carlson, the usual order seems to be 'Adjective+Marker of comparison+Standard of comparison':

- (a) laj Juan najt r-oq chi-r-u laj
 DET John long 3ERG-leg at,with-3ERG-face DET
 Guillermo.
 Bill

'Juan is taller than Guillermo.' (E&C)

(DeChicchis (p. c.) notes that *chi-r-u* means 'in the face of that of' or 'with respect to that of'. Then, literally, this sentence means something like 'Juan, long are his legs with respect to Guillermo' (DeChicchis, p. c.).)

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

The auxiliary verb precedes the main verb (Eachus and Carlson). The only example available involves *yoo*:

- (a) yuu chi beek laj Juan.
 active,alive with walking DET John.
 'Juan was walking.' (E&C)

Like other Mayan languages, such as Mam and Jacalteco, Q'eqchi' does not use many auxiliary verbs.

16. Adverb and verb

Adverbs (and adverb phrases) usually precede the verb, but they can also follow when the sentence contains a manner adverb (Eachus and

Carlson).

- (a) kaw ki-aalinak laj Juan ekwer.
 hard,fast AUX-run DET John yesterday (ADV V S ADV)
 'Juan ran fast yesterday.' (E&C)
- (b) ekwer laj Juan ki-aalinak chi kaw.
 yesterday DET John AUX-run with hard,fast
 'As above.' (E&C) (ADV S V ADV)

Other examples of adverbs (or adverb phrases) include 'back' in (g) of 6; 'in the house' in (a) of 12; (a), (b) of 24; 'with me' in (c) of 18; 'to the river' in (a), (b) 24; 'early' in (c) of 24; and, 'a lot' in (c) of 24.

17. Adverb and adjective

An adverb precedes the adjective (Eachus and Carlson):

- (a) laj Juan k'axal najt r-oq.
 DET John very tall 3ERG-foot 'Juan is very tall.' (E&C)
- (b) k'axal najt r-oq laj Juan.
 very tall 3ERG-foot DET John 'As above.' (E&C)

18. General questions

Q'eqchi' has a question maker for forming general questions. It is *ma*, and it occurs sentence-initially (Eachus and Carlson; Yasugi). Thus, compare :

- (a) x-kwa' li kwa laj Juan.
 3ERG-eat DET tortilla DET John (VOS)
 'Juan ate the tortilla.' (E&C)
- (b) ma w-kwa' li kwa laj Juan?
 Q 3ERG-eat DET tortilla DET John (Q V O S)
 'Did Juan eat the tortilla?' (E&C)

Another example :

- (c) ma t-aat-xik chi-w-ix?
 Q AUX-2SG, ABS-go with-1SG, ERG-covering, skin, peel
 Will you go with me? (Y)

(Literally, this sentence means something like 'Will you go with my skin?')

Q'eqchi' can form general questions by using a rising intonation, but not so productively as in English (DeChicchis, p. c.).

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This inversion does not occur (Eachus and Carlson; Yasugi). Compare (a) and (b) of 18. Strictly speaking, however, this issue is irrelevant, since in declarative sentences the relative order of the subject, object and verb is not categorically fixed — although the SVO order may be considered canonical.

20. Special questions

The interrogative word occurs sentence-initially (Eachus and Carlson; Yasugi). Compare (a) of 18 above (VOS) with the following (OVS; SVO):

- (a) k'a'ru x-kwa' laj Juan?
 what AUX-eat DET John
 'What did Juan eat?' (E&C) (OVS)
 'What ate Juan?' (SVO) (SVO)

(Note that this sentence is ambiguous (DeChicchis, p. c.).)

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

This inversion does not occur (Eachus and Carlson; Yasugi). See 19.

22. Negative sentences

Q'eqchi' has the negation word *ink'a'*, and 'as do all sentential adverbs *ink'a'* negates the predication; it means "it's not the case that..." (DeChicchis, p. c.).

In transitive sentences, *ink'a'* may occur sentence-initially, e. g. (a), or, follow the subject, e. g. (b) (Eachus and Carlson):

- (a) ink'a' x-kamsi laj Guillermo-a laj Juan.
 NEG AUX, 3ERG-kill DET Bill-? DET John

'Juan did not kill Guillermo.' (NEG V O S)

(The meaning of *-a* is not understood.)

(b) laj Juan ink'a' x-kamsi laj Guillermo.

DET John NEG AUX, 3ERG-kill DET Bill

'Juan did not kill Guillermo.' (E&C) (S NEG V O)

In intransitive sentences, *ink'a'* occurs sentence-initially (Eachus and Carlson).

(a) ink'a' x-kamsi-n.

NEG AUX-kill-DETRANS (NEG V)

'He did not do the/any killing.' (Example supplied by Eachus and Carlson, and translation by DeChicchis)

(d) ink'a' x-ko'o laj Juan.

NEG AUX-go DET John (NEG V S)

'Juan did not go.' (D, p. c.)

In a subordinate clause, *ink'a'* occurs in the initial position of the clause, e. g. (c), (d) of 23 below.

23. Conditional clause and main clause

The conditional clause may either precede or follow the main clause, depending on focus/emphasis. Thus, in (b), the emphasis is on 'father' (Eachus and Carlson):

(a) kwi laj Juan na-x-kamsi laj Guillermo

if DET John PRES-3ERG-kill DET Bill

li x-dyukwa' laj Guillermo ta-josq'oq'.

DET 3ERG-father DET Bill FUT-be angry (SVO, SV)

'If Juan kills Guillermo, Guillermo's father will be angry.' (E&C)

(b) lix-dyukwa' laj Guillermo ta-josq'oq' kwi laj Juan

na-x-kamsi laj Guillermo.

'As above (with emphasis on 'father').' (E&C) (SV, SVO)

Another pair of examples :

(c) wi na-chal li hab, ink'a' n-in-xik.

if AUX-come DET rain NEG AUX-1SG, ABS-go

(V S, NEG V)

'If it rains (literally, the rain comes), I will not go.' (Y)

(d) ink'a' n-in-xik wi na-chal li hab. 'As above.' (NEG V, V S)

Regarding the difference between the two alternative orders, DeChicchis (p. c.) notes as follows: - 'The orders mark only a focus difference which is used for rhetorical or other pragmatic effect.'

24. Purpose clause and main clause

The purpose clause usually follows the main clause, e. g. (a), but it may be fronted for emphasis, e. g. (b) (Eachus and Carlson):

(a) lai Juan kikaka sa' kab re naq laj Guillermo
 DET John stayed(?) in house in order that DET Bill
 ta-xik sa' nima'.
 FUT, 3ABS-go to river (S V(?) ADV, S V ADV)

'Juan stayed home so that Guillermo could go to the river.' (E&C)

(The meaning of *kikaka* is not understood.)

(b) re naq laj Guillermo taxik sa' nima', laj Juan kikaka sa' kab.

(S V ADV, S V(?) ADV)

'As above (with emphasis on the purpose clause).' (E&C)

Another example:

(c) t-ex-chaalq eq'ela re naq ta-qa-bicha
 FUT-2PL, ABS-come early in order that FUT-1PL, ERG-sing
 nabal li bich.
 a lot DET song (V ADV, V ADV O)

'Come early so that we will sing songs a lot.' (Y)

(*Nabal* is an adveeb (DeChicchis, p. c.).)

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