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

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(8) Rumanian

0. Introduction

The present work is the eighth installment of my typological study of word order, following Tsunoda (1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1991). (Tsunoda 1988 deals with Japanese.) Starting with Tsunoda (1991), this series has a shorter title, and deals with languages outside the Pacific region as well.

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1. Name of language

English mame: Rumanian. Indigenous name: *Limba română* 'language Rumanian'.

2. Source of information

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

with 'AA'.

3. Genetic affiliation

The Italic branch of the Indo-European language family.

4. Geographical distribution

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

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

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

details, see Mallinson 1986 : 206, 247–52.) Thus :

(a) un   om
       INDEF,M,SG man,INDEF,M,SG   'a man'
(b) om-ul
       man-DEF,M,SG   'the man'

(The use of the definite and indefinite forms of Rumanian does not always exactly correspond to that of the definite and indefinite articles of English.)

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

6. Subject, object and verb

Mallinson (1987 : 315) notes as follows : — 'The basic order is : subject-verb-object (SVO), though variations occur under a variety of circum-stances'.   See also Mallinson (1986 : 91, 188).

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

    [1] SVO. This is the usual order. E.g. :

(a) Ion l-a   lovit   pe   Radu.
       Ion 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit,PAST PTCPL ACC Radu
       'Ion hit Radu.' (AA)   (SVO)

(Strictly speaking, this sentence contains an auxiliary verb and a main verb.   However, I shall simply present them as 'V'. For auxiliary verbs, see 15.)

    [2] SOV. An SOV sentence by itself does not sound natural.

(b) ?Ion pe   Radu l-a   lovit.

      ACC   3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit-PAST PTCPL

                               (AA) (SOV)

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

An SOV sentence becomes acceptable when the object is contrasted with another object. E.g. :

(c) Ion pe Radu l-a lovit, nu pe   Maria.

                      not ACC Maria   (SOV, O)

    'Ion hit Radu, and not Maria.' (AA)

[3] OSV.   An OSV sentence generally does not sound natural, but it is acceptable when the object is the topic. E.g. :

(d) Pe   Radu Ion l-a   lovit.

      ACC Radu Ion 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit,PAST PTCPL

    'As for Radu, Ion hit him.' (AA)   (OSV)

[4] VSO.   A VSO sentence is less acceptable than SOV and OSV sentences. E.g. :

(e) ??L-a   lovit   Ion pe   Radu.

      3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit,PAST PTCPL Ion ACC Radu

    Intended meaning : 'Ion hit Radu.'   (VSO)

However, it becomes somewhat more acceptable when it continues as in the following example :

(f) ?L-a lovit Ion pe Radu, dar şi   Radu pe   Ion.

                      but also   ACC   (VSO, SO)

    'Ion hit Radu, but Radu hit Ion back.' (AA)

[5] VOS.   A VOS sentence sounds unnatural, but may be used in a context where what Ion did is the topic.

(g) ?L-a lovit pe Radu Ion.   (VOS)

    Tentative translation : 'What Ion did was to hit Radu.'

[6] OVS.   An OVS sentence sounds unnatural. E.g. :

(h) ?Pe   Radu l-a   lovit   Ion.

      ACC Radu 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG hit,PAST PTCPL Ion

    Intended meaning : 'Ion hit Radu.' (AA)   (OVS)

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

(i)   Pe Radu l-a lovit Ion, şi   pe   Maria a
                           but ACC Maria have,3SG

        lovit-o   Petre.
        hit-3SG,F,ACC Petre   (OVS, OVS)
        'Ion hit Radu, but Petre hit Maria.' (AA)

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

(j)   Ion i-a   dat   un
        Ion 3SG,DAT-have,3SG give,PAST PTCPL INDEF,F,SG
        buchet   Mariei   pentru mine.
        bouquet,INDEF,N,SG Maria,GEN/DAT for   1SG,ACC
                                                     (S V DO IO)
        'Ion gave Mary a bouquet for me.' (Mallinson 1986 : 81)
        Examples of intransitive sentences include the following:

SV order : (b) of 12 ; (d) of 16 ; (a) of 18 ; (n) of 20 ; (a) of 22 ; (a),
           (b) of 23 ; (a) to (c) of 24.
VS order : (a) of 19.

7.   Adposition

Rumanian possesses prepositions, but lacks postpositions. Examples:

(a)   în casă
        in house,INDEF,F,SG   'in the house' (M,Q ; AA)

(b)   într-o   casă
        in-INDEF,F,SG house,F,SG,INDEF   'in a house' (AA)

(c)   pe casă
        on house,INDEF,F,SG   'on the house' (AA)

(d) pe o   casă
     on INDEF,F,SG house,INDEF,F,SG   'on a house' (AA)
(e) sub   casă
     under house,INDEF,F,SG   'under the house' (AA)
(f) sub   o   casă
     under INDEF,F,SG house,INDEF,F,SG
     'under a house' (AA)

Most prepositions govern the accusative case, but a few govern
the genitive, and a few others the dative (Avram). The example
involving the accusative is 'for me' in (j) of 6. (Recall that nouns
have lost the nominative-vs.-accusative distinction and the genitive-vs.-
dative distinction.)

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

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

8. Genitive and noun

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

(a) casa   ei
     house,DEF,F,SG 3SG,F,GEN/DAT   'her house' (AA)
(b) casa   lui
     house,DEF,F,SG 3SG,M,GEN/DAT   'his house' (AA)

Examples of nouns. We shall first look at common nouns, and
then proper nouns. Examples involving the common nouns *bărbat*

'man', and *femeie* 'woman'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That is, when the genitive noun is proper and masculine, a GEN/DAT definite article must intervene between the possessed noun and the genitive noun, e.g.　(h). However, when the genitive noun is proper but feminine, no definite article can intervene (except for those proper and feminine nouns which have an unusual ending) ; simply, the genitive noun follows the possessed noun, e.g. (e). (Avram)

9. Demonstrative and noun

Some of the demonstratives can either precede or follow the noun they qualify. Among them, *acesta* 'this' and *acela* 'that' agree with the noun in terms of definiteness/indefiniteness (as well gender and number). That is, both noun and demonstrative take the definite suffix when the noun precedes, and neither takes the suffix when the demonstrative precedes. (Avram; cf. also Mallinson 1986 : 104, 107).

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

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

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

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

10. Numeral and noun

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

(a) trei   bărbaț-i
       three man-INDEF,M,PL   'three houses' (AA)

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

11. Adjective and noun

Mallinson (1986 : 105) notes as follows : — 'Adjectives are normally found after the noun they modify, but they can also occur before. The latter order represents a topicalized pattern. Both the following are possible, but the second is more marked'. Both Mallinson (QD) and Avram note that, when the adjective precedes, this is for emphasis.

(a)   o   poetă   talentată

INDEF,F,SG poet,INDEF,F,SG gifted,INDEF,F,SG

                                        'a gifted poet' (AA)

(b)   o talentată poetă   'a *gifted* poet' (AA)

(c)   o   casă   mare

INDEF,F,SG house,INDEF,F,SG big,INDEF,F,SG

                                        'a big house' (M,Q)

(d)   o mare casă   'a *big* house' (M,Q)

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

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

(e)   o   biată   fată

INDEF,F,SG poor,INDEF,F,SG girl,INDEF,F,SG

'a poor girl' (Mallinson 1986 : 105)

(f)   un   animal   domestic

INDEF,F,SG animal,INDEF,M,SG domestic,INDEF,M,SG

'a domestic animal' (Mallinson 1986 : 105)

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

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

(g)   o   carte   nou-ă

INDEF,F,SG book,INDEF,F,SG new-INDEF,F,SG

'a new book' (in a new condition, or newly published)

(Mallinson 1986 : 105)

(h)   onou-ă carte

'a new book' (another book, i. e. new only to the owner)

(Mallinson 1986 : 105)

Avram provides three additional pairs of examples, i. e. (i) to (n), but he notes that adjectives which can show a semantic difference depending on their position are few.

(i)   o   întrebare   simplă
        INDEF,F,SG question,INDEF,F,SG simple,INDEF,F,SG
        'an easy question' (AA)

(j). o simplă întrebare   'a mere question' (AA)

(k)   un   funcţionar   înalt
        INDEF,M,SG official,INDEF,M,SG tall,INDEF,M,SG
        'a tall official' (AA)

(l)   un înalt funcţionar   'a high official' (AA)

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

(n)   o sărmană femeie   'an unfortunate woman' (AA)

12. Relative clause and noun

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

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

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

(c)   Acesta   e   băţ-ul   [cu   care
        this,M,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG stick-DEF,M,SG with REL

am   lovit   un   cîine].

have,1 hit,PAST PTCPL INDEF,M,SG dog,INDEF,M,SG

'This is the stick with which I hit a dog, or, I hit a dog with.'

(AA)

(d) Am   pierdut   cuţit-ul   [cu   care ai

have,1 lose,PAST PTCPL knife-DEF,M,SG with REL have,2SG

taiat   carne-a].

cut,PAST PTCPL meat-DEF,F,SG

'I lost the knife with which you cut the meat' (Mallinson 1986 :
63) or '. . . the knife that you cut the meat with'.

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

(e) *Am pierdut cuţitul   [care ai tăiat carnea cu].

knife-DEF,M,SG   with

Intended meaning : 'As above.' (Mallinson 1986 : 63)

(The demonstratives have one set of forms for the adjectival use
and another for the pronominal use. See Mallinson 1986 : 262–63.)

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

In relative clauses, the subject generally follows the verb.

(f) Aceasta   e   casa   [pe   care

this,SG,F be,PRES,INDIC,3SG house,DEF,F,SG ACC REL

a   cumpărat-o   Ion].

have,3SG buy,PAST PTCPL-3SG,F,ACC Ion

'This is the house that Ion bought.' (AA)

13. Proper noun and common noun

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

(a) unchi-ul   Ion

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

(b) mătuşa   Maria

aunt,DEF,F,SG Maria   'Aunt Maria' (AA)

(c)   Universtitate-a   Bucureşti
        university,DEF,F,SG Bucharest,M,SG
        'Bucharest University' (AA)

(d)   rîu-l   Olt
        river-DEF,N,SG Olt,M,SG
        'the Olt River' (AA)

Similarly, titles or the like precede the name, e.g. (e) and (f).

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

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

(f)   dr. Andrei Avram   'Dr. Andrei Avram' (AA)

14. Comparison

Adjectives can be turned into the comparative by placing the compa-
rative marker *mai* 'more' before them; and into the superlative by fur-
ther adding the demonstrative determiner *cel* (whic varies in shape in
terms of person, number, gender and case) before *mai* 'more' (Mal-
linson, QD; see also Mallinson 1986 : 165, 168).   (The demonstrative
determiner is similar to, but is slightly different from, the demonstra-
tive pronouns dicussed in 9; see Mallinson 1986 : 262–64.)   Examples,
provided by Mallinson (QD):

(a)   bun
        good,INDEF,M,SG   'good'

(b)   mai bun   'better'

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

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

(d)   Ion e   mai   mare   decit Radu.
        Ion be,PRES,INDIC,3G more big,INDEF,M,SG than Radu
        'Ion is bigger than Radu.' (Mallinson 1986 : 166)

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

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

(e)　Ion e   cel   mai
　　　　Ion be,PRES,INDIC,3SG DEM DET,M,SG more
　　　　înalt   de acolo.
　　　　tall,INDEF,M,SG of there
　　　　'Ion is the tallest there.' (AA)

(f)　Ion e cel mai înalt din clasa.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　of　class,INDEF,F,SG
　　　　'Ion is the tallest in the class.' (AA)

(g)　Ion e cel mai înalt dintre studenţi.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　among student,INDEF,M,PL
　　　　'Ion is the tallest among the students.' (AA)

15.　Main verb and auxiliary verb

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

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

(a)　Un   englez   a
　　　　INDEF,M,SG English,INDEF,M,SG have,3SG
　　　　construit   casa.
　　　　build,PAST PTCPL house,DEF,SG,F
　　　　'An Englishman built the house.' (Mallinson 1986:268)

Mallinson (1986 : 275) notes that 'Rumanian does not follow the western Romamce pattern of distinguishing between verbs that take "have" and those that take "be" in the perfect tense form'.

[2] Future tense : 'future auxiliary verb' + verb stem (or short infinitive) (Mallinson 1986 : 268, 276, Avram).

(b) Un englez va   construi   casa.

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

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

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

[3] Passive voice : *fi* 'be'+past participle (Mallinson 1986 : 268).

(c) Casa   a   fost

house,DEF,F,SG have,3SG be,PAST PTCPL

construită   de un

build,PAST PTCPL,F,SG,INDEF by INDEF,M,SG

englez.

English,INDEF,M,SG

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

(d) Casa va   fi   *construită de un englez.*

FUT,3SG be,INF

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

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

16. Adverb and verb

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

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

(a) Joi-a   mă   duc   la
Thursday-DEF,F,SG REFL,1SG go,PRES,INDIC,1SG to
tîrg   iar duminic-a   mă
market,INDEF,N,SG and Sunday-DEF,F,SG REFL,1SG
duc   la biserica.
go,PRES,INDIC,1SG to church,INDEF,F,SG
'On Thursdays I go to the market while on Sundays I go to church.' (Mallinson 1986 : 95)

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

(b) M-am   dus   repede acasă ieri.
REFL,1SG-have,1SG go,PAST PTCPL quickly home yesterday.
'I went home quickly yesterday.' (Mallinson 1986 : 97)

(c) Ieri m-am dus repede acasă.
'Yesterday I went home quickly.' (Mallinson 1986 : 97)

Another example :

(d) Ion a   alergat   repede ieri.
Ion have,3SG run,PAST PTCPL quickly yesterday
'Ion ran fast yesterday.' (M,Q)

Other examples of adverbs and adverb phrases include the following :

Time : 'today' in (a) of 22 ; 'yesterday' in (d) to (i) of 22.
Place : 'in the house' in (a), (b) of 12 ; 'in the kitchen' in (a) to (d), (k) of 20 ; 'home' in (a), (b) of 23, (a) to (c) of 24.
Destination : 'to the shop' in (a) to (f) of 18 ; (n), (o) of 20.
'with somone' : 'with Ion' in (n) of 20 ; (a) of 24.

17. Adverb and adjective

Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify (Mallinson, QD). E. g. :

(a) Ion e   foarte mare.
       Ion be,PRES,INDIC,3SG very   big,INDEF,M,SG
       'Ion is very big.' (M,Q)

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

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

18. General questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

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

(a)   Vine   Ion.
        come,PRES,3SG Ion
        'Ion is coming.' (Mallinson 1986 : 5)   (VS)
(b)   Vine Ion?   'Is Ion coming? (Mallinson 1986 : 5)   (VS)
That is, the inversion of S and V by itself does not produce general
questions, and it is not a feature of general questions of Rumanian.

20. Special quesions

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

(a)   Maria pregătește   mîncare-a   în
        Maria prepare,PRES,3SG food-DEF,F,SG in
        bucătărie.
        kitchen,INDEF,F,SG

'Maria is preparing the food in the kitchen.' (AA) (S V O ADV)

(b) Cine pregăteşte mîncare-a în bucătărie?

who   (S V O ADV)

'Who is preparing the food in the kitchen?'

(c) Ce   pregăteşte Maria în bucătărie? (AA)

what   (O V S ADV)

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

(d) Ce pregăteşte în bucătărie Maria?

'As above.' (AA)   (O V ADV S)

(e) Unde pregăteşte Maria mîncare-a?

where   (ADV V S O)

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

(f) Unde pregăteşte mîncare-a Maria?

'As above.' (AA)   (ADV V O S)

(g) De ce pregăteşte Maria mîncare-a?

why   (ADV V S O)

'Why is Maria cooking the food?'

(*de ce* 'why'.)

(h) De ce pregăteşte mîncare-a Maria?

'As above.' (AA)   (ADV V O S)

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

(i) De ce Maria pregăteşte mîncare-a?

why   (ADV S V O)

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

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

(j) *Unde Ion pregăteşte   mîncare-a?

where Ion prepare,PRES,3SG food-DEF,F,SG   (ADV S V O)

Intended meaning : 'Where is Ion preparing the food?' (Mallinson

1986 : 9)

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

Avram notes that the following pattern is also possible :

(k) Maria ce   pregăteşte   în bucătărie?

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

(S O V ADV)

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

(l) Maria unde pregăteşte mîncare-a?

where   (S ADV V O)

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

(m) Maria de ce pregăteşte mîncare-a?

why   (S ADV V O)

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

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

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

(n) Maria a   mers   la piaţ-ă

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

cu   Ion.

with Ion

'Maria went to the market with.' (AA)   (S V ADV ADV)

(o) Cu   cine a mers la piaţă Maria?

with who   (ADV V ADV S)

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

(p) Cu cine a mers Maria la piaţă?

'As above.' (AA)   (ADV V S ADV)

The unacceptability of preposition stranding is demonstrated by the ungrammaticalness of the following example :

（q ） *Cine a mers la piață Maria cu ?
　　　 who   with
　　　 Intended meaning : 'Who did Maria go to the market with ? '
　　　 (AA)

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

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

21. Inversion of subject in special questions

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

22. Negative sentences

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

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

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

（b ） Nu   voi   pleca.
　　　 NEG FUT,1SG leave,INF
　　　 'I will not leave.' (Mallinson 1986 : 134)

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

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

Affirmative sentence :

(d)　Maria l-a　　　　　　　　　văzut　　　　　　　pe　Ion
　　　Maria 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG see,PAST PTCPL ACC Ion
　　　ieri.
　　　yesterday
　　　'Maria saw Ion yeterday.' (AA)
　　　Negation of the verb :

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

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

　　　Negation of the subject :

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

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

(h) Nu   pe   Ion l-a văzut Maria ieri.
     NEG ACC
     'It was not Ion whom Maria saw yesterday.' (AA)   (Perhaps,
     literally, 'Not Ion, Maria saw him yesterday.'

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

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

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

(l) Nu   lui Ion i-a dat o carte Maria. 'As above.' (AA)
     NEG

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

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

(o) Nu   ieri   l-a   văzut
     NEG yesterday 3SG,M,ACC-have,3SG see,PAST PTCPL

Maria pe   Ion.
　　　ACC

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

(P) Nu   în Bucureşti   l-a văzut Maria pe Ion.
　　　NEG in Bucharest,M,SG

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

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

	Subject	Direct object	Indirect object	Adverb
First method	+	+	+	+
Second method	+	?	?	−

23. Conditional clause and main clause

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

tional clauses. Examples :

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

24. Purpose clause and main clause

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

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

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

(b) Ion a   stat   acasă pentru ca Maria
       Ion have,3SG stay,PAST PTCPL home so that   Maria
       să   poată   merge la cumpărături.
       so that can,SUBJUN,3SG go,INF to shopping
       'Ion stayed home so that Maria could go shopping.' (AA)
(c) Pentru ca Maria să poată merge la cumpărături Ion a stat acasă.
       'As above.' (AA)
(For the formation of purpose clauses, see Mallinson (1986 : 72–73).)

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

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(9): Spanish

0. Introduction

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

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

1. Name of language

English name: Spanish. Indigenous name: *el español* 'the Spanish'.

2. Source of information

Kasai (1932), Wilson (1939), Hills and Ford (1941), Walsh (1946), and Green (1987), supplemented with information provided by Yukiko Taka-yanagui. (In the following, the examples supplied by her will be indi-cated with 'YT'.)

3. Genetic affiliation

The Italic branch of the Indo-European language family.

4. Geographical distribution

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

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

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

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

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

boy will do.)

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

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

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

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

6. Subject, object and verb

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

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

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

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

(b) Lo   tomo.   (OV)
       3SG,M,ACC   'I take it.'

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

(c) Nos   lo   mandaron.
       1PL,DAT 3SG,M,ACC send,PAST DEF,3PL
       'They sent it to us.'   (IO DO V)

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

(d) Elena compró   un   coche.
       Elena buy,PAST DEF,3SG INDEF ART,M,SG car,M,SG
       'Elena bought a car.'   (SVO)

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

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

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

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

(f) Detrás de la   casa
       in back of DEF ART,F,SG house,F,SG
       tenía   mi   tío
       have,PAST,IMPFCT,3SG my,M,SG uncle,M,SG
       un   jardín.
       INDEF ART,M,SG garden,M,SG   (VSO)
       'My uncle had a garden behind the house.'

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

(g) Han   llegado   todos
      have,PRES,INDIC,1PL arrive,PAST PTCPL all,M,PL
      los   pasajeros   de la
      DEF ART,M,PL passenger,M,PL of DEF ART,F,SG
      Compañía   X.
      company,F,SG   (VS)
      'All the passengers travelling with Company X have now arrived.'

The S obligatorily follows the S in existential sentences:

(h) Viven   gitanos   en las
      live,PRES,INDIC,3PL gypsy,M,PL in DEF ART,F,PL
      cuevas.
      cave,F,PL
      'There are gypsies living in the caves.'   (V S ADV)

7. Adpositon

Spanish possesses prepositions, but lacks postpositions.

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

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

8. Genitive and noun

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

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

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

When the possessor is denoted by a pronoun, it takes the form of what is termed 'possessive adjective' and it always precedes the pos-

sessed noun.   The possessive adjective agrees with the possessed noun
in gender and number.   Examples include 'my uncle' in (f) of 6, and :

(c)   mi   libro
        my,M/F,SG book,M,SG   'my book'

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

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

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

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

9.   Demonstrative and noun

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10.   Numeral and noun

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

(a)   dos flores
        two flower,F,PL   'two flowers'

(b) tres libros

three book,M,PL   'three books'

The numeral 'one' is identical with the indefinite article. It agrees with the noun in gender and number.   Examples are in 11 below.

11. Adjective and noun

Most adjectives follow the noun they qualify:

(a) la   casa   blanca

DEF ART,F,SG house,F,SG white,F,SG

'the white house'

(b) un   hombre   alto

INDEF ART,M,SG man,M,SG tall,M,SG   'a tall man'

Adjectives agree with the noun in gender and number.

A few adjectives can either follow or precede the noun, but show a semantic differentiation.   Examples involving *pobre* poor':

(c) una   pobre   mujer

INDEF ART,F,SG poor,M/F,SG woman,F,SG

'an unfortunate woman'

(d) una mujer pobre   'a poverty-stricken woman'

Examples involving *nuevo* 'new':

(e) un   nuevo   libro

INDEF ART,M,SG new,M,SG book,M,SG

'another book'

(f) un libro nuevo   'a new book (just published)'

Note that, in English as well, adjectives such as *poor* and *new* each have two meanings like the corresponding Spanish adjectives.   However, English does not utilize word order to distinguish these meanings.

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

12. Relative clause and noun

Relative clauses follow the noun they qualify.

(a) Este   es   el
this,M,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG DEF ART,M,SG
libro   [que quiero].
book,M,SG REL want,PRES,INDIC,1SG
'This is the book (that) I want.'

(Unlike *that* of English, *que* cannot be deleted.)

(b) El   tren   [en   que
DEF ART,M,SG train,M,SG   in,on REL
iba   mi   padre]
go,PAST,IMPFCT,INDIC,3SG my,M,SG father,M,SG
se   desarrló.
REFL,3 derail,PAST DEF,3SG
'The train on which my father was travelling got derailed.'

(c) El   lápiz   [con   que
DEF ART,M,SG pencil,M,SG with REL
escribo]   es   corto.
write,PRES,INDIC,1SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG short,M,SG
'The pencil with which I write is short', or 'The pencil I write
with is short.'

Unlike prepositions of English, those of Spanish cannot be stranded.
Thus, compare (c) with the ungrammatical :

(d) *El lápiz [que escribo con] es corto.
              REL   with
Intended meaning : 'The pencil I write with is short.'

13. Proper noun and common noun

The common noun precedes the proper noun :

(a) el   tío   José
DEF ART,M,SG uncle,M,SG Jose   'Uncle Jose'
(b) la   tía   Isabel
DEF ART,F,SG aunt,F,SG Isabel   'Aunt Isabel'
The given name precedes the family name :
(c) Eduardo Barrios   (d) Roberto Esparza

The title precedes the name.

(e) el señor   Eduardo Barrios
        master,M,SG   'Mr. Bduardo Barrios'

(f) Sr. Barrios
        Mr.   'Mr. Barrios'

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

(h) Sra. Mendoza
        Mrs.   'Mrs. Mendoza'

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

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

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

(l) San Diego
        James   'St. James'

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

14. Comparison

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

(a) rico
        rich,M,SG   'rich'

(b) más rico
        more   'richer

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

A sentential example involving a comparative form :

(d) Ella   es   más hermosa

3SG,F,NOM be,PRES,INDIC,3SG more beautiful,F,SG

que yo.

than 1SG,NOM

'She is more beautiful than me.'

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

A sentential example involving a superlative form :

(e) Este   caballo   es   el

this,M,SG horse,M,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG DEF ART,M,SG

más hermoso   de todos

more beautiful,M,SG of all,M,PL

'This horse is the most beautiful of all (the horses).'

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

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

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

(a) La   criada   está

DEF ART,F,SG servant,F,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG

limpiando   la   habitación.

clean,PRES PTCPL DEF ART,F,SG room,F,SG

'The maid is cleaning the room.'

Another example is (b) of 16.

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

(b) Las   muchachas   han

DEF ART,F,PL girl,FEM,PL have,PRES,INDIC,3PL

comido.

eat,PAST PTCPL   'The girls have eaten.'

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

[3] 'Passive' : *ser* 'be' + Past Participle. (With the passives, though not with compound tenses, the past participle agrees with the subject in gender and number.)

(c) La   puerta   es
       DEF ART,F,SG door,F,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG
       abierta   por el   criado.
       open,PAST PTCPL,F,SG by DEF ART,M,SG servant,M,SG
       'The door is opened by the servant.'

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

(d) Felipe ha   comido
       Felipe have,PRES,INDIC,3SG eat,PAST PTCPL
       el   pan
       DEF ART,M,SG bread,M,SG (YT)   (S AUX MAIN O)
(e) Ha comido Felipe el pan (YT)   (AUX MAIN S O)
(f) Ha Felipe comido el pan (YT)   (AUX S MAIN O)

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

16. Adverb and verb
The following discussion of adverbs includes adverb phrases.
       Adverbs such as *desgraciadamente* 'unfortunately', which modify
the whole sentence, usually occur sentence-initially (as in English).
(a) Desgraciadamente Juan partió   ayer.
       unfortunately   Juan leave,PAST DEF,3SG yesterday (YT)
       'Unfortunately, Juan left yesterday.'

Time adverbs seem to enjoy a fair degree of freedom regarding
their position.   For example, *ayer* 'yesterday' in (a) occurs sentence-
finally, *siempre* 'always' in (b) sentence-initially, and *mañana* 'tomor-
row' in (c) sentence-medially.

(b) Siempre estaba   comprando
       always be,PAST,IMPFCT,INDIC,3SG buy,PRES PTCPL
       sombreros.
       hat,M,PL
       'She was always buying hats.'

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

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

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

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

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

17. Adverb and adjective

Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify:

(a) El   español   es   muy
       DEF ART,M,SG Spanish,M,SG be,PRES,INDIC,3SG very
       interesante.
       interesting,M/F,SG
       'Spanish is very interesting.' (YT)

Similarly for *más* 'more'; see 14.

18. General questions

Spanish lacks a question marker.   General questions can be obtained

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(d)   ¿Tienes   tú   un
         have,PRES,INDIC,2SG 2SG,NOM INDEF ART,M,SG
         libro ?
         book,M,SG   (VSO)
         'Do you have a book ?'

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

(e)   ¿Compró   tu   padre
         buy,PAST DEF,3SG your(SG),M/F,SG father,M,SG
         todas   estas   casas ?
         all,F,PL this,F,PL house,F,PL   (VSO)

'Did your father buy all these houses?'

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

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

20. Special questions

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

(a) ¿Quién vive   en la
        who   live,PRES,INDIC,3SG in DEF ART,F,SG
        casa   de su   primo?
        house,F,SG of your(SG),M/F,SG cousin,M,SG   (S V ADV)
        'Who lives in your cousin's house?

(b) ¿Que   compró   Vd.?
        what buy,PAST DEF,3SG 2SG   (VOS)
        'What did you buy?'

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

(c) ¿Qué ha   dicho   Vd. al
        what have,PRES,INDIC,3SG say,PAST PTCPL 2SG to the
        abogado?
        lawyer,M,SG
        'What did you say to the lawyer?'   (DO V S IO)

(*Al* is the contracted form of *a* 'to' and *el* 'DEF ART,M,SG'.)

(d) ¿De   dónde es   Vd.?
        from where be,PRES,INDIC,3SG 2SG   (ADV V S)
        'Where do you come from?'

(e) ¿ Con quién habla   Vd. ?
    with who,SG speak,PRES,INDIC,3SG 2SG   (ADV V S)
    'Who are you speaking with ?'
(f) ¿ Con quien Vd. habla ?   (ADV S V)
    'As above.' (YT)

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

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

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

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

22. Negative sentences

The negative word *no* 'not' is placed before the verb :

(a) Isabel no   escribe   la
    Isabel NEG write,PRES,INDIC,3SG DEF ART,F,SG
    carta.
    letter,F,SG
    'Isabel doesn't write the letter.'   (S NEG V O)
(b) ¿ No escribe la carta Isabel ?
    'Doesn't Isabel write the letter ?'   (NEG V O S)
(c) ¿ No escribe Isabel la carta ?   'As above.' (YT) (NEG V S O)

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

(d) Vd. no   ha   escrito
    2SG NEG have,PRES,INDIC,3SG write,PAST PTCPL

    la   carta.

    DEFART,F,SG letter,F,SG   (S NEG AUX MAIN O)

    'You have not written the letter.'

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

The following feature of Spanish negative sentences should be metioned. That is, some negative word must precede the verb. The negative word employed may be *no* 'not', as in (a) to (c). It may also be one of other negative words, e. g. *nadie* 'nobody', *nada* 'nothing', *ninguno* 'no, not any', *nunca* 'never', *ni* 'nor', *tamoco* 'neither', *jamás* 'never'. Thus :

(e)   Nadie   vino.

      nobody come,PAST DEF,3SG   'Nobody came.'   (S/NEG V)

(f)   Nada   tengo.

      nothing have,PRES,INDIC,1SG

      'I have nothing.'   (O/NEG V)

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

(g)   No   tengo nada.

      NEG   (NEG V O/NEG)

      'I have nothing.' (Lit. 'I do not have nothing.')

(h)   No   he   visto   a   nadie.

      NEG have,PRES,INDIC,1SG see,PAST PTCPL ACC nobody

      'I have seen nobody.' (Lit. 'I have not seen nobody.')

That is, in these negative sentences, *no* 'not' and another negative word sandwich the verb. Such negative sentences are reminiscent of expressions such as *I can't get no satisfaction* (the Rolling Stones) and *We don't need no education* (Pink Floyd), which are observed in certain varieties of English. A similar, though not identical, phenomenon is observed in Polish and Czech, among others.

23. Conditional clause and main clause

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

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

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

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

24. Purpose clause and main clause

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

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

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

(b) Para que los discípulos le comprendan, el profesor habla despacio. (YT)

'*In order that the pupils understanbd him,* the teacher speaks slowly.'

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