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

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(17): French

0. Introduction

This is the 17th installment of my typological study of word order, following Tsunoda (1988, 1989, 1990a–d, 1991a–c, 1992a–d, 1993a–c). (Tsunoda 1988 deals with Japanese.)

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

1. Name of language

French. Its native name is *le français* 'the French' or *la langue française* 'the French language'.

2. Source of information

Jenkins (1961) (often abbreviated as 'J'), Harris (1987) ('H'), Reynaud (p. c.) ('R'), and Bouderlique (p. c.) ('B'), supplemented with Green (1987) regarding 3 and with Perlmutter (1971) regarding 5 and 6.

3. Genetic affiliation

The Italic branch of the Indo-European language family (Green p. 203).

4. Geographical distribution

French is spoken, within Europe, in France, Monaco, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Italy, etc. and, outside Europe, in Quebec (Canada), Louisiana (USA), Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, etc. (Harris pp. 211–12).

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

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

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

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

The French orthography does not explicitly mark clitics distinctly

from words, etc. However, in presenting the word order of sentences, I shall use an equal sign (' = ') to indicate clitics -- a preceding equal sign for an enclitic, and a following equal sign for a proclitic. This will faciliate discussions and understanding of sentence and phrase structures in French.

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

6. Subject, object, and verb

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

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

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

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

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

Examples of conjunctive pronouns follow. Some of the examples also involve *ne* 'negation'. (For additional examples of *ne*, see 22.) Ex-

amples of *y* 'there' include (30) below; (6), (7) of 16; (7) of 22; and (4) of 23. Examples of *en* 'of it' include (1) of 17; and (12) of 22.

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

(2)   Il   parlait.
      3 SG, M, NOM   speak, IMPERF, 3 SG   (S=V)
      'He was speaking.' (J p. 73)

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

(3)   Il   est
      3 SG, M, NOM   be, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG
      arrivé.
      arrive, PAST PTCPL, 3 SG, M   (S=AUX MAIN)
      'He has arrived.' (J p. 59)

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

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

(4)   Il   me   voit.
      3 SG, M, NOM   1 SG, ACC   see, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   (S=O=V)
      'He sees me.' (J p. 111)

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

(5)   Il   m'   a
      3 SG, M, NOM   1 SG, ACC   have, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG
      vu.
      see, PAST PTCPL   (S=O=AUX MAIN)
      'He saw me.' (R)

(Form now on, *a* will be simply glossed 'has'; this is in order to save space.)

Third, di-transitive sentences, which involve a three-place verb:

(6)   Tu   me   le   donneras.
      2 SG, NOM   1 SG, DAT   3 SG, M, ACC   give, FUT, 2 SG
      'You will give it to me.' (R)   (S=IO=DO=V)

(7)   Je   le   lui
      1 SG, NOM   3 SG, M, ACC   3 SG, M/F, DAT

présente.

introduce, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG

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

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

(8) Je   vous   présente   à

       1 SG, NOM   2 PL, ACC   introduce, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   to

       elle.

       3 SG, F   (S＝DO＝V IO)

       'I introduce you to her.' (J p. 115)

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

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

(9) Il   vient   me   voir

       3 SG, M, NOM   come, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   1 SG, ACC   see, INF

       ce   matin.

       this/that, SG, M   morning, SG, M   (S＝AUX O＝MAIN ADV)

       'He is coming to see me this morning.' (J p. 112)

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

We now turn to imperative sentences. The (clitic pronoun) subject
does not occur. In affirmative imperatives, clitic pronouns (other than
nominative forms) and the other two clitics (*y* 'there' and *en* 'of it') imme-
diately follow the verb, and, in orthography, they are joined to it by hy-

phens. *Me* '1 SG, ACC/DAT/REFL' and *te* '2 SG, ACC/DAT/REFL' are replaced by the corresponding disjunctive pronouns, *moi* '1 SG' and *toi* '2 SG' (Jenkins p. 112), e. g. (11), (13). E. g. :

(10) Regardez-le !

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

'Look at it/him !' (R)

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

(11) Regardez-moi !

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

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

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

(12) Donnez-le-lui !

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

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

(13) Dites-le-moi !

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

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

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

Examples follow in which the DO is 1st person or a 2nd person and the IO a 3rd person. The DO is expressed by a 'disjunctive' pronoun (preceded by a hyphen) and the IO is expressed pressed by a prepositional phrase, involving *à*. (See also (8).)

(14) Présentez-moi   à   eux !
      introduce, IMPERA, 2 PL-1 SG   to   3 PL, M   (V DO IO)
      'Introduce me to them !' (R)

(15) Présentez-nous   à   eux !
      introduce, IMPERA, 2 PL-1 PL   to   3 PL, M   (V DO IO)
      'Introduce us to them !' (R)

(16) Présentez-vous   à   eux !
      introduce, IMPERA, 2 PL-2 PL   to   3 PL, M   (V DO IO)
      'Introduce yourselves to them !' (R)

In contrast with affirmative imperatives, clitics in negative impera-
tives conform with the order shown in (1)(Jenkins p. 112).   Thus, com-
pare (11) with :

(17) Ne   me   regardez   pas !
      NEG   1 SG, ACC   look at, IMPERA, 2 PL   NEG
      'Don't look at me !' (J p. 112)   (NEG = O = V NEG)
(For negation, see also 22.)

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

(18) Pierre   parle.
      Pierre, SG, M   speak, INIDIC, PRES, 3 SG   (S V)
      'Pierre speaks/is speaking.' (R)

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

(19) Pierre   voit   Marie.
      Pierre, SG, M   see, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   Marie, SG, F   (S V O)
      'Pierre sees Marie.' (R)

For di-transitive sentences, the usual order seems to be 'S V DO IO' :

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

When the IO is a noun, it always requires the preposition à (cf. Jenkins p.

162). There is no French sentence equivalent to the English 'John gave Mary the book'. (This point has been confirmed by Reynaud (p. c.).)

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

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

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

(23) Donnez-le   à   votre
     give, IMPERA, 2 PL-3 SG, M, ACC   to   your (PL), SG, F
     soeur !
     sister, SG, F   (V = DO IO)
     'Give it to your sister !' (J p. xviii)

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

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

(ii) Wishes, e. g. :

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

(25) Puissiez-vous   être   heureux !
     can, SUBJUN, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM   be, INF   happy, SG, M
     'May you be happy !' (J p. 157)   (AUX = S MAIN ADJ)

(When *vous* is used to express respect for a singular addressee, the adjective takes the singular form (Jenkins p. 28, Harris p. 224).) The inverted subject is a noun in (24), and a conjunctive pronoun in (25).

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

(26) «Donnez-le-moi !»,

     give, IMPERA, 2 PL-3 SG, M, ACC-1 SG

     dit-il.

     say, PAST HIST, 3 SG-3 SG, M, NOM   (D = DO IO, V = S)

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

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

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

(27) Je   commencais   à   manger quand

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

     arriva   Jacob.

     PAST HIST, 3 SG   Jacob, SG, M

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

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

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

(28) Peut-être viendra-t-il   demain.

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

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

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

   Harris (p. 229) notes that instances such as (28) are found in formal styles, being survivors from an earlier stage of French in which the verb

came in the second position (as it still does in main clauses in modern German).   Similarly, Reynaud (p. c.) notes that this inversion is bookish and is avoided in the spoken language.

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

(29) Un   seul   Dieu   tu
      one, SG, M   only, SG, M   god, SG, M   2 SG, NOM
      adoreras !
      worship, FUT, 2 SG   (O S＝V)
      'One God only shalt though worship !' (J p. 80)

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

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

(30) Il   y   a   des   fleurs   dans
      3 SG, M, NOM   there   has   some, PL   flower, PL, F   in
      le   vase.
      the, SG, M   vase, SG, M
      'There are some flowers in the vase.' (J p. 20) Literally, 'It there has some flowers in the vase.'   (S＝*y*＝V O ADV)

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

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

(31) Pierre,   il   parlait.
      Pierre, SG, M   3 SG, M, NOM   speak, IMPERF, 3 SG   (S S＝V)
      'Pierre was speaking.' (R)

(Reynaud (p. c.) notes that the comma is necessary in (31).)   Parallel de-

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

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

'we find, in appropriate pragmatic circumstances':

(33) Moi, je déteste Marie.
      1 SG   'As above.' (H p. 230)   (S S = V O)
(34) Je déteste Marie, moi. 'As above.' (H p. 230)   (S = V O S)
(35) Marie, je la   déteste.
                   3 SG, F, ACC   'As above.' (H p. 230)   (O S = O = V)
(36) Je la déteste, Marie. 'As above.' (H p. 230)   (S = O = V O)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Harris (p. 230) notes : - 'From these examples, it will be noted that not only is the subject clitic *je* retained even if *moi* is present elsewhere in the

sentence but that there is in addition a clitic coreferential with the direct
object when this constituent is displaced (e. g. [(35) to (37) -- TT] and
even with the indirect object, thus *lui = à Pierre* in' (38). 'In this way, ...
both [(39) and (40), taken from Harris (p. 230) -- TT] mean "I love Ma-
rie" ':

(39) Je   l'aime,   moi,
      1 SG, NOM   3 SG, F, ACC-love, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   1 SG
      Marie.
      Marie, SG, F   (S=O=V S O)
(40) Je l'aime,   Marie,   moi.   (S=O=V O S)

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

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

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

7. Adposition

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

(1) par avion   (2) en auto   (3) avec moi
       by plane, SG, M   by car, SG, F   with 1 SG
       'by plane' (J p. 18)   'by car' (J p. 18)   'with me' (J p. 18)

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

8. Genitive and noun

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

(1) le   livre   de Jean
     the, SG, M   book, SG, M   of   Jean 'Jean's book' (J p. 134)

(2) mon   crayon   (3) ma   pomme
     my, SG, M   pencil, SG, M   my, SG, F   apple
     'my pencil' (J p. 116)   'my apple' (J p. 34)

(4) mes   livres   (5) son   fils
     my, PL   book, PL, M   his/her, SG, M   son, SG, M
     'my books' (J p. 116)   'his/her son' (J p. 27)

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

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

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

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

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

In such instances, the possessor 'sandwiches' the possessed. The pronoun
possessor that follows the possessed is a disjunctive pronoun, preceded by
the preposition *à*. There is another circumstance under which a disjunc-

tive pronoun possessor, preceded by $\hat{a}$, follows the possessed ; see (27) of 11.

Examples of 'possessor's possessor' include :

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

9. Demonstrative and noun

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5)   ce   livre-là
         this/that, SG, M   book, SG, M-there
         'that book' (J p. 36)

10. Numeral and noun

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

(1) trois   sacs
       three   bag, PL, M
       'three bags' (J p. 45)

(2) vingt   hommes
       twenty   man, PL, M
       'twenty men' (J p. xxi)

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

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

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

11. Adjective and noun

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

(1) la   maison   blanche
       the, SG, F   house, SG, F   white, SG, F
       'the white house'

(2) la   table   ronde
       the, SG, F   table, SG, F   round, SG, F
       'the round table'

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

(3) la   jeune   fille
       the, SG, F   young, SG, F   girl, SG, F
       'the girl'

(4) le   petit   pois
       the, SG, M   small, SG, M   pea, SG, M
       'the pea'

(5)   un   jeune   homme
        one, SG, M   young, SG, M   man, SG, M
        'a youth'

(6)   un   petit   chien
        one, SG, M   small, SG, M   dog, SG, M
        'a pup'

'These rules have numerous exceptions, especially in the literary language, where for purposes of style all kinds of variations of usage are possible' (Jenkins p. 31). The exceptions are listed below.

The adjective precedes the noun under the following circumstances:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(i) 'When the adjective is a long one, especially if the noun is

monosyllabic' (Jenkins p. 32). Examples from the same:

(12) un   chant   harmonieux
      one, SG, M   song, SG, M   sweet, SG, M   'a sweet song'

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

(13) un   champ   oblong
      one, SG, M   field, SG, M   oblong, SG, M   'an oblong field' (J p. 32)

(14) une   robe   noire
      one, SG, F   dress, SG, F   black, SG, F   'a black dress' (J p. 32)

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

(15) un   livre   français
      one, SG, M   book, SG, M   French, SG, M   'a French book' (J p. 32)

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

(16) une   chambre   grande   comme la
      one, SG, F   bedroom, SG, F   big, SG, F   as   the, SG, F
      main
      hand, SG, F
      'a bedroom as big as your hand' (J p. 32)

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

(17) ma   chère   femme
      my, SG, F   dear, SG, F   wife, SG, F   'my beloved wife'

(18) une   robe   chère
      one, SG, F   dress, SG, F   dear, SG, F   'an expensive dress'

(19) un   grand   homme
      one, SG, M   big, SG, M   man, SG, M   'a great man'

(20) un homme grand   'a tall man'

(21) une   pauvre   femme
      one, SG, F   poor, SG, F   woman, SG, F   'an unfortunate woman'

(22)   une femme pauvre   'a poor (without money) woman'
An additional pair, involving *brave* 'brave, honest' (adapted from Reynaud, p. c.) :

(23)   un   brave   homme
       one   honest, SG, M   man, SG, M   'an honest man'
(24)   un   homme   brave
       one   man, SG, M   brave, SG, M   'a brave man'

Reynaud (p. c.) states to the effect as follows : - The preceding adjective always has a more abstract, metaphorical meaning, while the following adjective states a concrete quality.   However, Reynaud's statement does not seem to be supported by the examples given above.

   Two adjectives may 'sandwich' a noun, e. g. :

(25)   une   petite   table   ronde
       one, SG, F   small, SG, F table, SG, F   round, SG, F
       'a little round table' (J p. 33)

(As noted above, *petite*, being a short and common adjective, precedes the noun, while *ronde*, being an adjective of shape, follows the noun.)

   Although the sources do not discuss this, the relative order of a noun, articles and other noun modifiers is as a rule as follows (Reynaud, p. c.) : -

(26)   Article   ⎫
       Demonstrative   ⎬ + Numeral + Adjective + Noun + Adjective
       Possessive adjective ⎭

An example :

(27)   ces   trois   grandes   maisons   à   moi
       this/that, PL three   big, PL, F house, PL, F to   1 SG
       'these three big houses of mine' (R)

There are, however, deviations from (26).   Thus, *tous* 'all, every' always (?) precedes a definite article, e. g. (2) of 12, (8) of 16.   Judging by the examples in Jenkins (p. 30), *feu* 'late, deceased' may either precede or follow a definite article or a possessive adjective.

12. Relative clause and noun

Relative clauses are introduced by a relative pronoun or a relative adverb.

Relative pronouns and adverbs 'must never be left out in French' (Jenkins p. 117). Relative clauses follow the head noun. E. g. :

(1) Je   cherche   une   maison
       1SG, NOM look for, INDIC, PRES, 1SG   one, SG, F   house, SG, F
       [qui   aurait   un   jardin].
       REL, NOM   have, COND, 3 SG   one, SG, M   garden, SG, M
                                                                (S = V O, [S V O])
       'I'm looking for a house that would have a garden.' (H p. 227)

(2) Les   personnes   [que   je
       the, PL   person, PL, F   REL, ACC   1 SG, NOM
       vois   tous   les   jours]   ne
       see, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   every, PL   the, PL   day, PL, M   NEG
       sont   pas   tous   mes   amis.
       be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL   NEG   all, PL, M   my, PL   friend, PL, M
       'The people that I see everyday are not all my friends' (J p. 120, R)

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

(3) L'homme   [avec   qui   vous
       the, SG, M-man, SG, M   with   REL, NOM   2 PL
       parliez]   est   mon   oncle.
       speak, IMPERF, 2 PL   is   my, SG, M   uncle, SG, M
       'The man you were speaking with is my uncle.' (J p. 118)

(4) Le   garçon   [à   qui   il
       the, SG, M   boy, SG, M   to   REL, NOM   3 SG, M, NOM
       écrit]   est   malade.
       write, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   is   ill, SG, M
       'The boy he is writing to is ill.' (J p. 118)

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

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

the relative clause :

(5)   La   maison   dans   le   jardin   [de
        the, SG, F   house, SG, F   in   the, SG, M   garden, SG, M   of
        laquelle   j'aime   me
        REL, SG, F   1 SG, NOM–like, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   1 SG, REFL
        reposer]   est   celle   où   je
        set, INF   is   the one, SG, F   where   1 SG, NOM
        suis   né.
        be, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   bear, PAST PTCPL, SG, M
        'The house in the garden of which (i. e. in whose garden) I like to
        rest is that where I was born.' (J p. 119, R)

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

(6)   J'ai   remarqué
        1 SG, NOM–have, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   notice, PAST PTCPL
        l'effet   [que   produisit
        the, SG, M–effect, SG, M   REL, ACC   produce, PAST HIST, 3 SG
        ce   discours].
        this/that, SG, M   speech, SG, M   (S = AUX MAIN O,   [O V S])
        'I noticed the effect which this speech produced.' (J p. 120)

13. Proper noun and common noun

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

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

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

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

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

(5) la   Banque   de   France
       the, SG, F   Bank, SG, F   of   France, SG, F
       'the Bank of France' (J p. 18)

(6) la   ville   de   Paris
       the, SG, F   town, SG, F   of   Paris, SG, M   'Paris' (J p. 7)

(7) Université   de   Lausanne
       university, SG, F   of   Lausanne   'University of Lausanne'

       A title or the like precedes the name, e. g :

(8) Monsieur   Dubois   (9) Madame   Dubras
       Mr.   Dubois   Mrs.   Dubras
       'Mr. Dubois' (J p. 78)   'Mrs. Dubras' (J p. 27)

(10)   Mademoiselle   Dupont   (11)   Saint   Luc
       Miss   Dupont   saint, SG, M   Luke
       'Miss Dupont' (R)   'Saint Luke' (J p. 138)

(12)   la   reine   Élisabeth
       the, SG, F   queen, SG, F   Elisabeth   'Queen Elisabeth' (J p. 14)

(13)   le   président   de Gaulle
       the, SG, M   president, SG, M   de Gaulle
       'President de Gaulle' (J p. 14)

       The given name precedes the surname :

(14)   Le   Docteur   Jean   Dupont
       the, SG, M   doctor, SG, M   Jean   Dupont
       'Dr. Jean Dupont' (R)

14. Comparison

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

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

(1) Jean   est   plus   grand   que   son
       Jean, SG, M   is   more   big, SG, M   than   his, SG, M

frère.

brother, SG, M

'Jean is taller than his brother.' (J p. 41)

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

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

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

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

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

'Less' and 'least' are expressed likewise:

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

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

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

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

(7)   Il   marche moins vite que vous.
                     less

'He walks less quickly than you.' (J p. 99)

(8) De   ces   garcons,   c'est   lui
       of   this/that, PL   boy, PL, M   this/that, SG, M–is   3 SG, M
       qui   marche   le   plus   vite.
       REL, NOM   walk, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   the, SG, M   more   quickly
       'It is he who walks the most quickly among these boys.' (R)

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

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

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

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

(1)   Elle   est   punie.
        3 SG, F, NOM   is   punish, PAST PTCPL, SG, F
        'She is punished.' (J p. 61)   (S = AUX MAIN)
Another example is (5) of 12.

(iii)   Jenkins (pp. 84–85) lists five other 'auxiliary verbs'.   Their main verbs are all in the infinitive form.   The clitic pronoun objects of the main verb are placed before the main verb, and not before the auxiliary verb (cf. Jenkins p. 112).   In addition, certain adverbs, such as *pas* 'negation', can intervene between the auxiliary and the main verbs.   Ex-

amples of these auxiliary verbs (listed by Jenkins) and of other verbs which can perhaps be regarded as auxiliary verbs include 'come (to do)' in (9) of 6 ; 'can' in (25) of 6 (the clitic subject is inverted), (22) of 18, (4) of 23 ; (1) of 24 ; 'begin to' in (27) of 7 ; 'going (to)' in (6) of 18 ; 'dare' in (5) of 22 ; 'stop' in (6) of 22 ; 'prefer' in (7) of 22 ; and :

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

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

16. Adverb and verb

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

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

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

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

(3) Elle   vient   ici   bien   souvent.
       3 SG, F, NOM   come, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   here   very   often
       (J p. 97)   (S = V ADV ADV)

(4)   Bien   souvent   elle   vient   ici.   (J p. 97)   (ADV S = V ADV)
    'In a compound tense short adverbs usually precede the Past Partici-
ple, others follow' (Jenkins p. 159), e. g. :

(5)   J'ai   trop
    1 SG, NOM–have, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   too much
    vu.
    see, PAST PTCPL, SG, M
    'I have seen too much.' (J p. 160)   (S = AUX ADV MAIN)

(6)   Nous   y   sommes   souvent
    1 PL, NOM   there   be, INDIC, PRES, 1 PL   often
    allés.
    go, PAST PTCPL, PL, M
    'We often went there.' (J p. 97)   (S = y = AUX ADV MAIN)
(Note that y is a clitic (cf. 6 above), although semantically it resembles ad-
verbs.)

(7)   Elle   y   est   allée
    3 SG, F, NOM   there   is   go, PAST PTCPL, SG, F
    régulièrement.
    regularly
    'She went there regularly.' (J p. 160)   (S = y = AUX MAIN ADV)
    Some examples of adverbs (and adverb phrases) as classified accord-
ing to their semantic types follow.

    (i)   Sentence adverbs, modal adverbs :
(a)   initial position : 'perhaps' in (28) of 6.
(b)   medial position, and (c) final position : no example.
    (ii)   Adverbs of time :
(a)   initial position :
(8)   Toute   cette   année
    all, SG, F   this/that, SG, F   year, SG, F
    j'ai   travaillé   dur.
    1 SG, MOM–have, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   work, PAST PTCPL   hard
                                    (ADV S = AUX MAIN ADV)
    'I've worked hard all this year.' (J p. 152)

(b) medial position : 'already' in (17), (18), (24) of 18.
(c) final position : 'this morning' in (9) of 6 ; 'tomorrow' in (28) of 6 ;
       'everyday' in (2) of 12 (in the final position of a relative clause) ;
       'too late' in (5) of 17 ; 'tonight' in (6) of 18, (7) of 22 ; and, 'to-
       morrow' in (1) of 23 (in the final position of the main clause).

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

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

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

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

17. Adverb and adjective

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

(1) Oui, j'en   suis   bien
       yes   1 SG, NOM-of it   be, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   very

       content.
       pleased, SG, M

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

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

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

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

       tout   seul.
       all, SG, M   only, SG, M

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

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

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

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

       'He arrived too late.' (R)

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

18. General questions

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

(1) Vous   venez.
       2 PL, NOM   come, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL   (S = V)

'You come.' (J p. 74)

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

As another example :

(3)   Vient-il ?

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

'Is he coming ?' (H p. 230)   (V = S)

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

(4)   J'ai   fini.

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

'I have finished.' (J p. 74)   (S = AUX MAIN)

(5)   Ai-je   fini ?   'Have I finished ?' (J p. 74)   (AUX = S MAIN)

An additional example :

(6)   Va-t-il   chanter

go, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG-*t*-3 SG, M, NOM   sing, INF

ce   soir ?

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

'Is he going to sing tonight ?' (J p. 160)   (AUX = *t* = S MAIN ADV)

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

(7)   Vous   n'êtes   pas

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

sorti.

go out, PAST PTCPL, SG, M   (S = NEG = AUX NEG MAIN)

'You did not go out.' (J p. 74)

(8)   N'etes-vous   pas   sorti ?   (NEG = AUX = S NEG MAIN)

'Did you not go out ?' (J p. 74)

An additional example, involving an accusative clitic pronoun :

(9) Les   avez-vous

  3 PL, M, ACC   have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM

  vus   à   la   foire ?

  see, PAST PTCPL   at   the, SG, F   fair, SG, F

              (O=AUX=S MAIN ADV)

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

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

(10) Mes   parents   sont   ici.

  my, PL   parent, PL, M   be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL   here

  'My parents are here.' (J p. 74)   (S V ADV)

(11) Mes parents sont-ils   ici ?

      -3 PL, M, NOM   (S V=S ADV)

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

(12) L'autobus   n'est   pas

  the, SG, M-bus, SG, M   NEG-be, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   NEG

  parti.

  leave, PAST PTCPL, SG, M

  'The bus has not left.' (J p. 74) (S NEG=AUX NEG MAIN)

(13) L'autobus   n'est-il   pas   parti ?

      -3 SG, M, NOM

  'Has not the bus left ?' (J p. 74) (S NEG=AUX=S NEG MAIN)

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

ing set of examples, which involve a clitic pronoun subject, demonstrate the two methods of question formation : subject–verb inversion and use of *Est–ce que* :

(14)   Vous   aimez   le   café.
       2 PL, NOM   like, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL   the, SG, M   coffee, SG, M
       'You like coffee.' (R)   (S = V O)

(15)   Aimez-vous   le   café ?
       'Do you like coffee ?' (J p. 160)   (V = S O)

(16)   Est-ce   que   vous   aimez   le   cafe ?   (Q S = V O)
       'As above.' (J p. 160)

Additional examples, involving a noun subject :

(17)   Les   parents   sont   déjà
       the, PL   parent, PL, M   be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL   already
       partis.
       leave, PAST PTCPL, PL, M
       'The parents have already left.' (J p. 75)   (S AUX ADV MAIN)

(18)   Est-ce   que   les   parents   sont   déjà   partis ?
       'Have the parents already left ?' (J p. 75)   (Q S AUX ADV MAIN)

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

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

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

(19)   Vous   aimez   le   café ?
       2 PL, NOM   like, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL   the, SG, M   coffee, SG, M
       'You like coffee ?' (J p. 100)   (S = V O)

Other examples include :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(23) Nous   allons   à   Paris,
      1 PL, NOM   go, INDIC, PRES, 1 PL   to   Paris, SG, M

n'est-ce pas ?

Q   (S=V ADV Q)

'We are going to Paris, aren't we ?' (J p. 75)

(24) Elles   sont   déjà
      3 PL, F, NOM   be, INDIC, PRES, 3 PL   already
      arrivees,   n'est-ce pas ?
      arrive, PAST PTCPL, PL, F   Q   (S=AUX ADV MAIN Q)
      'They have already arrived, haven't they ?' (J p. 75)

(25) N'est-ce pas que   je   suis
      Q   that 1 SG, NOM   be, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG
      la   plus   belle ?
      the, SG, F   more   beautiful, SG, F
      'I am the most beautiful ?' (R)

(Note the use of the conjunction *que* 'that'.)

    The interjection *hein* '(Expressing surprise) Eh? what?' is glossed as
equivalent to *n'est-ce pas* in Harrap's Shorter French and English Dic-
tionary.   It can be 'used to make a statement into a question' (Jenkins p.
156), without the subject-and-verb inversion (Reynaud, p. c.) It can occur
either sentence-finally (cf. Jenkins p. 156), e. g. (26), or sentence-initially
(Reynaud, p. c.), e. g. (27).

(26) Vous   aimez   ça,   hein ?
      2 PL, NOM   like, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL   that   Q   (S=V O Q)
      'You like that, eh ?' (J p. 156)

(27) Hein que   vous   aimez-ça ?
      Q   that 2 PL, NOM   like-INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-that
      'You like that, eh ?' (R p. c.)   (Q S=V =O)

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

  (i) Inversion of the conjunctive pronoun subject and the verb ;
  (ii) Involving a noun subject : inversion of the conjunctive subject
         and the verb ;
  (iii) *Est-ce que* and no inversion ;
  (iv)   VERB=*ti* ;

(v)   Rising intonation ;

(vi)   *N'est-ce pas* and no inversion, and ;

(vii)   *Hein* and no inversion.

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This inversion occurs under the conditions (i) and (ii) listed in 18.   It only involves conjunctive pronoun subjects, and not any other subjects.

20. Special questions

Interrogative words generally occur sentence-initially (but see below). Thus, compare :

(1)   Pierre   aime   Marie.

Pierre, SG, M   love, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   Marie, SG, F   (S V O)

'Pierre loves Marie.' (R)

(2)   Qui   aime   Marie ?

who, NOM/ACC   (S V O)

'Who loves Marie ?' (R)

Other examples include :

(3)   Quelle   femme   est là ?

which, SG, F   woman, SG, F   is   there   (S V ADV)

'Which woman is there ?' (J p. 36)

In special questions, as in general questions, a clitic pronoun subject is inverted with the verb, e. g. (4), (5), (6), or with the auxiliary verb if one occurs, e. g. (7), (8) ; this inversion is obligatory in literary language (Harris p. 231).

(4)   Quel   livre   désirez-vous ?

which, SG, M   book, SG, M   want, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM

'Which book do you want ?' (J p. 36)

(5)   Où   vas-tu ?

where   go, INDIC, PRES, 2 SG-2 SG, NOM   (ADV V = S)

'Where are you going ?' (H p. 231)

(6)   Comment   vous   portez-vous ?

how   2 PL, REFL   carry, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM

(ADV O=V=S)

'How are you ?' (J p. 157) (Lit. 'How do you carry yourself ?')

(Only subject clitic pronouns are inverted, and other clitics, e. g. reflexive pronouns, are not.)

(7)   Qu'avez-vous   fait ?
        what-have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM   do, PAST PTCPL
        'What did you do ?' (J p. 102)   (O AUX=S MAIN)

(8)   Où   avez-vous   trouvé
        where   have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM   find, PAST PTCPL
        ce   livre ?
        this/that, SG, M   book, SG, M   (ADV AUX=S MAIN O)
        'Where did you find this book ?' (J p. xvii)

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

(9)   À   qui   parliez-vous ?
        to   who   speak, IMPERF, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM
        'Who were you speaking to ?' (J pp. 122, 158)

(10)   De quoi   avez-vous   parlé ?
        of   what   have, INDIC, PRES, 2PL-2PL, NOM   talk, PAST PTCPL
        'What did you talk about ?' (J 123)

(11)   Avec   quoi   l'avez-vous
        with   what   3 SG, M, ACC-have, INDIC, PRES, 2 PL-2 PL, NOM
        fait ?
        make, PAST PTCPL
        'What did you make it with ?' (J p. 158)

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

We have seen so far that a clitic pronoun subject and the verb are inverted. Harris (p. 231) notes, however, that 'in specch, however, this can be avoided in at least four ways'. Thus, in addition to (5) cited above, 'Where are you going ?' can be expressed as follows (examples taken from Harris (p. 231)) :

(12) Où   est-ce   que   tu   vas ?
      where is-it   that   2 SG, NOM   go, INDIC, PRES, 2 SG
      Lit. 'Where is it that you are going ?'

(Cf. *East-ce que* in 18 on general questions.)

(13) Où   que   tu   vas ?   (ADV *que* S=V)
(14) Où   tu   vas ?   (ADV S=V)
(15) Tu   vas   où ?   (S=V ADV)

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

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

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

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

(18) Quand   la   lettre   est-elle
      when   the, SG, F   letter, SG, F   is-3 SG, F, NOM
      arrivée ?
      arrive, PAST PTCPL, SG, F
      'When did the letter arrive ?' (J p. 160)   (ADV S AUX=S MAIN)

(In instances such as (18), in which the subject is a noun and some other word is the interrogative word, the conjunctive pronoun for the subject, e. g. *elle* in (18), is obligatory (Reynaud, p. c.).)

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

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

(i) if the subject is a conjunctive pronoun, then the interrogative word for DO can occur sentence-intially with the conjunctive pronoun

subject and the verb (or the auxiliary verb) inverted, i. e. O (what/who) V=S, e. g. (16), or, O (what/who) AUX=S MAIN ;

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

(20) *Qui   Pierre   aime ?
       who, NOM/ACC   Pierre, SG, M   love, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG
       Intended meaning : 'Whom does Pierre love ?   (O S V)

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

(21) Qui   Pierre   aime-t-il ?
                      -*t*-3 SG, NOM, M   (O S V-*t*-S)
       'Whom does Pierre love ?' (R)

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

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

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

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

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

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

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

22. Negative sentences

In the literary language, negation of verbs utilises an embracing structure, with the clitic *ne* 'negation' before the verb and another negation element

-- pronoun, adverb or simply 'reinforcer' -- after the verb (Harris p. 231). (As demonstrated in (1) of 6, *ne* follows a clitic pronoun subject, but precedes other clitics. Recall, however, that in imperative sentences a clitic pronoun subject does not occur, with the consequence that *ne* occurrs in the initial position. For examples of negative imperative, see (17) of 6. Note, also, that *ne* can occur initially when a clitic pronoun subject is inverted with the verb, e. g. (8) of 18.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'*Pas* may be omitted with the verb *pouvoir* ["can" -- TT], *oser* ["dare" -- TT], *savoir* ["know" -- TT], and *cesser* ["stop" -- TT]' (Jenkins p. 102), e. g. :

(5) Ils n'osèrent entrer.
 3 PL, M, NOM   NEG-dare, PAST HIST, 3 PL   enter, INF
 'They did not dare enter.' (J p. 101)   (S = NEG = V V)

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

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

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

(7) Je préfère ne pas y
 1 SG, NOM   prefer, INDIC PRES, 1 SG   NEG   NEG   there
 aller ce soir.
 go, INF   this/that, SG, M   evening, SG, M
                (S = V NEG = NEG = *y* = INF ADV)
 'I prefer not to go there tonight.' (J p. 74)

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

(8) Elle n'est jamais allée en
 3 SG, F, NOM   NEG-is   (n)ever   go, PAST PTCPL, SG, F   in
 France.
 France, SG, F   (S = NEG = AUX MAIN ADV)
 'She has never been to France.' (J p. 102)

(9) Il n'a rien dit.
 3 SG, M, NOM   NEG-has   nothing   say, PAST PTCPL
 'He said nothing.' (J p. 101)   (S = NEG = AUX O(NEG) MAIN)

(10) Nous n'avons vu
 1 PL, NOM   NEG-have, INDIC, PRES, 1 PL   see, PAST PTCPL
 personne.
 no one, M, INVARIABLE   (S = NEG = AUX MAIN O(NEG))
 'We have seen nobody.' (J p. 101)

(11) Vous n'avez aucune idée.
 2PL, NOM   NEG-have, INDIC, PRES, 2PL   no, SG, F   idea, SG, F

'You have not any idea.' (J p. 101)   (S = NEG = AUX O(NEG))

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

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

(12)   Il   n'en   a   jamais   rien
       3 SG, M, NOM   NEG-of it   has   (n)ever   nothing
       dit.
       say, PAST PTCPL   (S = NEG = *en* = AUX NEG O(NEG))
       'He never said anything about it.' (J p. 102)

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

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

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

(14)   Jamais écolier   ne   fut   plus
       (n)ever schoolboy, SG, M   NEG   be, PAST HIST, 3 SG   more
       heureux   que   lui.
       happy, SG, M   than   3 SG, M   (NEG S NEG = V ...)
       'Never was a schoolboy happier than he.' (J p. 19)

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

Also, *personne* 'no one', etc. can occur initially :

(15)   Personne   est   là.
       no one, M, INVARIABLE   is   there   (S(NEG) V ADV)
       'Nobody is there.' (J p. 102)

The spoken language exhibits certain deviations from the situation describd avove. Harris (p. 231) notes as follows : ‐ 'the preverbal article *ne* is now frequently omitted in spoken French, including educated speech, formal *je ne sais pas* "I don't know" [1 SG, NOM   NEG   know, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG NEG ‐‐ TT] being read [∫sepa], i. e. *j'sais pas*. We can therefore safely argue that alongside the embracing construction, there exists an alternative structure in which the post-verbal elements, whether *pas* or a more specific item, alone carry the negative value. From this position, *pas* has become the everyday negator in virtually all other environments… Interestingly, double negation has in effect returned in the most popular registers, ' :

(16) Je   ne   sais   rien.
       1 SG, NOM   NEG   know, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG   nothing
       'I know nothing.' (H p. 231)   (S = NEG V O(NEG))

'passing, via' :

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

'to' :

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

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

The methods of verb negation can be summarised as follows : ‐

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

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

Jenkins (p. 101) seems to state to the effect that constituents other than verbs are negated by *non*, and that *non* is placed immediately before the constituents negated.

(19) Non   loin   de   la   forêt   je
      NEG   far(ADV)   from   the, SG, F   forest, SG, F 1 SG, NOM
      vois   une   chaumière.
      see, INDIC, PRES, 1 SG one, SG, F cottage, SG, F
      'Not far from the forest I see a cottage.' (J p. 100)   (ADV S=V O)

(20) Il   est   non   seulement   pauvre,   mais   aussi
      3 SG, M, NOM   is   NEG   only   poor, SG, M   but   also
      très   malade.
      very   ill, SG, M
      'Not only is he poor, he is also very ill.' (J p. 100)

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

(21) Pas   loin   de   la   forêt
      NEG   far   from   the, SG, F   forest, SG, F
      'Not far from the forest' (R)

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

23. Conditional clause and main clause

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

(1) S'il   pleut   demain,
       if-3 SG, M, NOM   rain, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   tomorrow
       je   resterai   à   la   maison.
       1 SG, NOM   stay, FUT, 1 SG   at   the, SG, F   home, SG, F
       'If it rains tomorrow, I shall stay at home.' (J p. 81)

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

(*au* is the contracted form of the preposition *à* 'to, at' and the definite ar-
ticle *le* 'the, SG, M' (Jenkins p. 12).)

     Examples in which the conditional clause follows, include :

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

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

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

(5)   Quand même   il   me   le
      even though   3 SG, M, NOM   1 SG, DAT   3 SG, M, ACC
      dirait,   je   ne   le
      tell, COND, 3 SG   1 SG, NOM   NEG   3 SG, M, ACC
      croirais   pas.
      believe, COND, 1 SG   NEG
                            (S=IO=DO=V, S=NEG=O=V NEG)
      'Even if he told me so, I should not believe it.' (J p. 82)

     Reynaud (p. c.) provides (6), which does not involves *quand même*.
In this example, too, the concessive clause precedes the main clause.

(6) Me   le   ditrait-il, je   ne   le   croirais.
      'Even if he told me so, I should not believe it.' (R)

24. Purpose clause and main clause

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

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

(1) Pierre   resta   à   la
       Pierre, SG, M   ramain, PAST HIST, 3 SG   at   the, SG, F
       maison   pour   que   Marie   puisse
       house, SG, F   for   that   Marie, SG, F   can, SUBJUN, PRES, 3SG
       aller   faire   les   courses.
       go, INF   do, INF   the, PL   shopping, PL, F
       'Pierre stayed home so that Marie could go shopping.' (R, B)

(2) Pierre   parle   fort   pour   que   les
       Pierre   speak, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   loudly   for   that   the, PL
       gens   puissent   l'entendre.
       poeple, PL, M   can, SUBJUN, PRES, 3PL   3SG, M, ACC–hear, INF
       'Pierre speaks loudly so that the people can hear him.' (R, B)

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

(3) Pierre   reste   à   l'intérieur
       Pierre   stay, INDIC, PRES, 3 SG   at   the, SG, M–inside, SG, M
       de   la   maison   de   peur   qu'il
       of   the, SG, F   house, SG, F   for   fear   that–3 SG, M, NOM
       ne   pleuve.
       NEG   rain, SUBJUN, PRES, 3 SG
       'Pierre stayed inside the house for fear that it may rain.' (J p. 93, B)

Note that *de peur que* has 'an expletive or untranslatable *ne* before the following verb' (Jenkins p. 93).

References

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

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———.   1993 c.   Typological ... (16) : Alyawarra.   SLLL 24 :

(18) : Bengali

1. Name of language

Bengali.   Its native name is *baMNlaM* 'the Bengali language' (Klaiman p. 492).   Incidentally, the name of the country, Bangladesh, consists of *baMNlaM* 'the Bengali language' and *deS* 'country' (Klaiman p. 492).

2. Source of information

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

3. Genetic affiliation

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

4. Geographical distribution

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

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

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

Ray, Hai and Ray, which follows this phenemic notation system.

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

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

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

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

6. Subject, object, and verb

Klaiman (pp. 507, 511) surveys word order in Bengali and states as fol-

lows: – 'Word order within the Modern Bengali noun phrase is ... strict. An adjective or genitive expression is always placed before the noun it modifies.' '... the mutual ordering of noun phrases within the sentence is strict as well... The subject noun phrase generally comes first in a Modern Bengali sentence, followed by an indirect object if one occurs; next comes the direct object if one occurs; after which an oblique object noun phrase may be positioned.' The verb comes in the final position.

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

Examples of transitive clauses include :

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

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

(3) moS   bagh mer-eche.
    buffalo   tiger kill-3, PRES PERF   (SOV)
    'The buffalo has killed the tiger.' (R&H&R p. 63)
    Examples of three-place clauses include :

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

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that there are three levels of politeness in Bengali (cf. also Klaiman, p. 501), and that *din*, which I tentatively gloss 'give, IMPERA', belongs to the highest level of politeness, and she suggests that *din* expresses a request.)

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

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

Examples of intransitive clauses include :

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

(7)   mee-Ta   e-lo.
         girl-DET   come-3, PAST   (SV)
         'The girl came.' (R&H&R p. 27)
         Examples of imperative clauses include (4), (5) and :

(8)   edike   aSun.
         this way   come, IMPERA   (ADV V)
         'Would you please come this way.' (R&H&R p. 27)

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

(9)   phire   ja.
         back   go, IMPERA   'Go back.' (R&H&R p. 27)   (ADV V)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(15)   amar   EkTa   chilo   purono   gaRi.

'I had once upon a time an old car.'

(16)　amar　chilo　EkTa　purono　gaRi.

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

(17)　amar　chilo　purono　EkTa　gaRi.

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

(18)　amar　chilo　purono　gaRi　EkTa.

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

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

(19)　ram　e-Seche.

Ram　come-3, PRES PERF　'Ram has come.'　　　　　　　　(SV)

(20)　e-Seche　ram.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(VS)

'The one who has come is Ram.'

(21)　tini　ukil.

3, NOM　lawyer　'He is a lawyer.'

(22)　ukil　tini.

'The one who is a lawyer is he.'

7. Adposition

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

(1)　gOla　　　　porjonto　jOl

neck, NOM　up to　　　water

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

(2)　ram　baRi　theke　e-lo.

Ram　house　from　come-3, PAST　　　　　　　　(S ADV V)

'Ram came from the house.' (Bh)

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

8. Genitive and noun

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

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

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

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

       Examples of 'possessor's possessor' include :

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

9. Demonstrative and noun

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

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

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that *Dako* belongs to the middle level of politeness.)

(2) bakSo-Ta
box-DET 'that box' (R&H&R p. 28)

(2) goru-gulo   rasta   aTk-eche.
cow-DET   road   block-3, PRES PERF   (SOV)
'Those cows there have blocked the road.' (R&H&R p. 36)

(3) chele-gulo
boy-DET 'those boys' (R&H&R p. 36)

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

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

(4) ey   kOlom-Ta
this   pen-DET
'this pen' (R&H&R p. 8)

(5) Se   deS
that very   country
'that very country' (R&H&R p. 55)

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

10. Numeral and noun

Numerals generally seem to precede the noun they qualify.

(1) tin   din   col-lo.
three   day   do-3, PAST   (ADV V)
'He/she/they did for three days.' (R&H&R p. 63)

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

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that (1) and (2), taken from Ray, Hai and Ray, are not good sentences.)

(3) guTi   duy   ru-Ti
about   two   bread-DET
'about two pieces of bread' (R&H&R p. 42)

However, a numeral can follow the noun it qualifies under certain conditions. Thus, Mrs. Bhattacharjee stated that (4) is sometimes acceptable. Compare (1) with :

(4)   din   tin   co-lo.

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

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

(5)   ru-Ti   guTi   duy

bread-DET   about   two 'about two pieces of bread' (Bh)

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

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

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

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

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

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

(10)   ? boi   khana   tin
         book   CLASS   three
         Intended meaning : 'three books' (Bh)

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

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

Mrs. Bhattacrarjee stated that *khana* and *tin* should be together. Note, however, that (11) is unacceptable despite the fact that *khana* and *tin* are

adjacent to each other.   The conditioning factors involved are not understood.   See also (10) to (18) of 6.

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

(13)	Ek	raja		(14)	Ek	jon	raja
	one	king			one	CLASS	king
	'a certain king'				'one king'		

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

(15)	du	gOj	kapoR		(16)	gOj	duy	kapoR
	two	yard	cloth			yard	two	cloth
	'two yards of cloth'					'about two yards of cloth'		

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

11. Adjective and noun

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

Examples of adjectives include:

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

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

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

(3)	*phul	lal		(4)	*kagoj	purono
	flowers	red (Bh)			newspaper	old (Bh)

Other examples of adjectives include:

(5)   boRo   baRi
        big   house   'a big house' (Bh)
(6)   uni   boRo   ukil.
        3 NOM   big   lawyer   'He is a big lawyer.' (R&H&R p. 71)

The sources do not specify the relative order of different types of noun modifiers, but the following order is attested : G + A + N, e. g. :

(7)   amar   Onegdiner   bondhu
        1 SG, GEN   old   friend
        'an old friend of mine' (R&H&R p. 59)

12. Relative clause and noun

Klaiman (pp. 509–10) states that clauses in Bengali complex sentences can be divided into marked clauses and unmarked ones. 'By "marked clause" is meant either a non-finite subordinate clause or a clause whose function within the sentential frame is signalled by some distinctive marker ; an instance of such a marker being *jodi*, the particle of the finite conditional clause. As a rule, in a Bengali sentence containing two or more clauses, marked clauses tend to precede unmarked. ... Relative clauses in Bengali likewise generally precede main clauses, since they are marked (that is, with relative pronouns) ; Bengali, then, exhibits the correlative sentential type...', e. g. :

(1)   [je   boi-Ta   en-echo]   ami
         which, NOM   book-DET   bring-2, PRES PERF   1 SG, NOM
         se-Ta   kichu   din   rakh-bo.
         that one-DET   some   day   keep-1, FUT
         'I shall keep the book you have brought for a few days.' (K p. 510)

13. Proper noun and common noun

It seems that generally the proper noun precedes the common noun :

(1)   gopal   maSTar
        Gopal   teacher
        'Teacher Gopal' (R&H&R p. 55)

(2)   mothura   puri
         Mathura   city
         'Mathura city' (R&H&R p. 78)
(3)   horibhabini   debi
         Haribhabini   lady
         'Lady Haribhabini' (R&H&R p. 68)
(4)   Sibu   Thakurer
         Siva   lord
         'Lord Siva' (R&H&R p. 77)
(5)   phrans   deS
         France   country
         'the country France' (R&H&R 37)

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

(7)   SonnaSi   upgupto
         monk   Upagupta 'the monk Upagupta' (R&H&R p. 78)

The given name precedes the surname. This seems unsual for an SOV language.

(8)   Rupa bhaTTacharji
         'Rupa Bhattacharjee' (Bh)

The title follows the name :

(9)   ram   babu   (10)   bose   babu
         Ram   Mr.   Bose   Mr.
         'Mr. Ram' (R&H&R p. 70)   'Mr. Bose' (Bh)

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

14. Comparison

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

(1)   aro   lal
         more   red   'more red' (R&H&R p. 69)
(2)   beSi   bhalo
         more   good   'better' (R&H&R p. 55)
(3)   aro   bhalo
         more   good   'still better' (R&H&R p. 55)

(4) gach-ti   oi   gacher   chey   aaro   baRo.
       tree-DET   that   tree   than   more   tall
       'This tree is taller than that tree.' (Bh)

   An example of the superlative :

(5) gach-ti   shab   gacher   moddhey   shabchey   baRo.
       tree-DET   all   trees   among   most   tall
       'This tree is the tallest among all the trees.' (Bh)

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

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

(1) jan-te   ca-i.
       know-INF   want-1, PRES   'I want to know.' (K p. 503)

(2) uTh-te   par-e.
       rise-INF   can-3, PRES   'He/she/they can rise.' (R&H&R p. 508)

(3) kor-le   par-tam.
       do-COND   can-COND, 1
       'I could as well have done.' (R&H&R p. 44)

(4) o-ke   pa-oa   gE-lo.
       3-ACC   get-VERBAL NOUN   go-3, PAST
       'He was found.' (Lit. 'Him was gotten.') (K p. 506)

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

16. Adverb and main verb

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

   (i) Time.

(1) Sitkale   khub   ThanDa   pORe.
       winter   very   cold   gets
       'It gets very cold in winter.' (R&H&R p. 27)

(The tense of *pORe* is 'Tense 3' in Ray, Hai and Ray's terminology (p. 27).)

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

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

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

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

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

   (ii) Place, destination, etc.

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

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

   (iii) Manner, instrument, etc.

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

(7) khub   bol-eche.
       very much, very often   speak-3, PRES PERF
       'He/she/they has/have spoken very much, very often.' (R&H&R p. 56)

(8)   bhalo   phuTbOl   khElen.
        well   football   play, played
        'He/she/they plays/play football well.' (R&H&R p. 63)

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

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

17. Adverb and adjective

Adverbs precede -- and immediately precede -- the adjective they qualify.
   Examples include 'very' in (1) of 16, and :

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

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

(2)   *bhalo   khub
         good   very
        See also *aro* 'more', *beSi* 'more' and *shabchey* 'most' in 14.

18. General questions

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

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

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

(2)   bagh   ram   mer-eche ?   (OSV)
        'Did Ram kill the tiger ?' (Bh)

In Mrs. Bhattacharjee's pronunciation of (2), there is a stress on *mer-eche* and this word has a sharp falling intonation.   She states that word

order is irrelevant to the formation of general questions and that (2) would normally be a statement, i. e. unless it has the stress and intonation pattern described above.

An example involving negation :

(3)　tumi　　　　na　　ja-be ?

　　　　2 SG, NOM　NEG　go-2, FUT

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

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

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

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

(4)　tumi　　　　ki　ekhane　chatro ?

　　　　2 SG, NOM　Q　here　　　student　'Are you a student here ?'

(5)　tumi　　　　ekhane　ki　chatro ?

　　　　2SG, NOM　here　　Q　student　'Is it here that you are a student ?'

(6)　tumi　　　　ekhane　chatro　(na)　　ki ?

　　　　2 SG, NOM　here ᶜ　　student　(NEG)　Q

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

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

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

　　　　ram　ki　bagh　mer-eche ?

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

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee accepted my translation 'Is it Ram who killed the ti‐

ger ?' According to this reading, *ki* is placed after the focus of question.)

(8)   ram   bagh   mer-eche   ki ?
        'Did Ram kill the tiger ?' (Bh)   (S O V Q)

(9)   'Was it Ram who killed the tiger ?' was requested :
        ram   mer-eche   ki   bagh ? (Bh)   (S V Q O)

(In this sentence, *ki* is placed after the focus of question.)

(10)   'Was it the tiger that Ram killed ?' was requested.
        bagh   ki   ram   mer-eche ? (Bh)   (O Q Ṡ V)
        'Was it the tiger that Ram killed ?'

(In this sentence, *ki* is placed after the focus of question.)

       Other examples include :

(11)   ami   ekhane   ki   thak-bo ?
       1 SG, NOM   here   Q   stay-1, FUT   (S ADV Q V)
       'Will I stay here ?' (R&H&R p. 53)

(12)   apni   ki   ta-ke   cinen ?
       2 SG, NOM   Q   3 SG-ACC   know   (S Q O V)
       'Do you know him ?' (R&H&R p. 81)

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

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

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

20. Special questions

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

(1)   'Who killed the tiger ?' was requested :
        bagh   ke   mer-eche ?
        tiger   who   kill-3, PRES PERF (Bh)   (OSV)

(2)   'Whom did Ram kill ?' was requested :
        ram   kakey   mer-che ?
        Ram   whom   kill-3, PRES PERF (Bh)   (SOV)

(3) 'What did Ram kill ?' was requested :

    ram   ki   mer-eche ?

    Ram   what   kill-3, PRES PERF (Bh)   (SOV)

(4) 'Where did Ram kill the tiger ?' was requested :

    ram   kothay bagh mer-eche ?

    Ram   where   tiger   kill-3, PRES PERF (Bh)   (S ADV O V)

(5) 'Whom did Ram send the book to ?' was requested :

    ram   kakey boi   pathieche ?

    Ram   whom book sent   (Bh)   (S IO DO V)

(6) 'Where did Ram come from ?' was requested :

    ram   kotha theke e-lo ?

    Ram   where from   come-3, PAST (Bh)   (S ADV V)

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

(7) ke   bagh mer-eche ?[5]

    who tiger kill-3, PRES PERF   (SOV)

    'Who killed the tiger ?' (Bh)

    *'Whom did the tiger kill ?'

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

(8) ki   ram   mer-eche ?

    what Ram kill-3, PRES PERF   (OSV)

    'What did Ram kill ?' (Bh)

    *'What killed Ram ?'

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

This inversion does not to occur.

22. Negative sentences

Klaiman (pp. 508-09) describes negation in Begali as follows : - 'The particle of sentential negation in Bengali is *na*. In independent clauses it generally follows the sentential verb ; in subjoined clauses (both finite and non-finite), it precedes. Thus : '

(1) boslam   na.
　　　sit-1, PAST   NEG   'I did not sit.' (K p. 509)

(2) jodi tumi   na   bOs-o
　　　if   2 SG, NOM   NEG   sit-2, PRES   'if you don' sit' (K p. 509)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(7) ami   Sekhane   beSikkhon   thag-bo   na.
　　　1 SG, NOM   there   for a long time   stay-1, FUT   NEG
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(S ADV ADV V NEG)
　　　'I shall not stay there long.' (R&H&R p. 62)

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

　　Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that there is another negation word, namely, *ni*, and she illustrates the difference between *ni* and *na* as follows.

(8)   ram   bagh   mar-e   ni.

      Ram   tiger   kill-3, PRES   NEG   (Bh)   (S O V NEG)

      'Ram has not killed the tiger.' (Translation by Mrs. Bhattacharjee)

(Mrs. Bhattacharjee states that the meaning of (8) is as follows : - Ram habitually kills tigers, but this time he has not killed the tiger yet.)

(9)   ram   bagh   mar-e   na.   (S O V NEG)

      'Ram never kills tigers (although he may kill anything else).' (Bh)

    Apart from the addition of the negation word, negetaive sentences do not differ from affirmative snetences in terms of word order

23. Conditional clause and main clause

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

(1)   jodi   tumi   kaj-Ta   sar-be   (tObe)

      if   2 SG, NOM   work-DET   finsih-2, FUT   (then)

      e-so.

      come-IMPERA

      'If/when you finish the work, (then) come over.' (K p. 508)

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

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

(2)   tumi   kaj-Ta   sar-le   (tObo)

      2 SG, NOM   work-DET   finish-IMPERF COND   (then)

      e-so.

      come-IMPERA

      'As above.' (K p. 508)

    For a another contrasting pair of examples of the two types of conditional clauses, see (2) and (3) of 22.

As alluded to in 12, conditional clauses -- a type of marked clauses -- tend to precede main clauses.   Indeed, the conditional clause precedes the main clause in all of the 9 examples at hand.

Other examples include :

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

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

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

24. Purpose clause and main clause

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

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

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

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