

Typological Study of Word Order (21) : Portuguese, and (22) : Italian

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(21) : Portuguese

0. Introduction

This is the 21st installment of my typological study of word order, following Tsunoda (1988, 1989, 1990a-d, 1991a-c, 1992a-d, 1993a-c, 1994a,b). (Tsunoda 1988 deals with Japanese.)

I am most grateful to Miss Vania Dias Mendonça for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper and also for providing additional examples and information. Her variety of Portuguese is that of Rio de Janeiro, where she was born and brought up. Her parents, too, speak Portuguese.

1. Name of language

Portuguese. Its native name is *Português*.

2. Sources of information

Tomino and Takahashi (1974), supplemented with examples and information provided by Parkinson (1987) (often abbreviated as 'P') and by Miss Vania Dias Mendonça ('VDM'). Unless indicated otherwise, the information and examples presented below are taken from Tomino and Takahashi (1974), who deal with Brazilian Portuguese.

3. Genetic affiliation

Italic (also called Romance) branch of the Indo-European language family.

4. Geographical distribution

Portuguese is spoken in Portugal, Brazil and in many other countries of the world.

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Pronouns have a nominative-accusative system. Nouns, etc. have a neutral system, with just one case form indicating a transitive subject, a transitive object and an intransitive subject, and this case form will be simply left unglossed in the examples below.

'Portuguese distinguishes weak (clitic) pronouns from strong pronouns: the former are used as verbal objects, the latter as subjects or prepositional objects' (Parkinson p.272). When I present the word order of a sentence, I shall indicate clitic pronouns by means of a preceding or following equal sign ('=').

Verbs indicate the number and the person of a subject, and a subject pronoun (always in the nominative) can be omitted — provided that the meaning is clear. This omission is frequent with the first and the second persons.

Articles, adjectives, etc. show a distinction between masculine and feminine and also between singular and plural. However, these distinctions are not directly relevant to a discussion of word order, and they are *generally ignored in the glosses below*. Similarly, glosses for verbs, etc. generally do not indicate details of the words.

Abbreviations employed include the following: ACC, accusative; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase; AUX, auxiliary verb; DAT, dative; DO, direct object; F, feminine; FUT, future; IMPFCTV, imperfective; INDIC, indicative; INF, infinitive; IO, indirect object; M, masculine; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, object; PFCTV, perfective; PL, plural; PRES, present; PTCPL, participle; REFL, reflexive; REL, relative pronoun; S, subject; SG, singular; SUBJUNC, subjunctive; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; and, 3, third person.

6. Subject, object and verb

As noted in 5 above, pronouns in the accusative (for a direct object) and those in the dative (for an indirect object) are 'weak pronouns' or clitics. 'Weak object pronouns are *usually* enclitic to the verb in European Portuguese', e.g. (1) and 'proclitic in Brazilian Portuguese', e.g. (2) (Parkinson p.275; emphasis by TT).

(1) O pai deu-me um bolo.
 the father gave-1SG,DAT a cake (S V=IO DO)
 'Father gave me a cake.' (P p.275)

(2) O pai me deu um bolo.
 the father 1SG,DAT gave a cake (S IO=V DO)
 As above. (P p.275)

In Brazilian Portuguese, as alluded to above, clitic pronoun objects may be either proclitic to the verb or enclitic to it. In the spoken language, they are almost always proclitic. In the written language as well, a weak pronoun object is proclitic to the verb when the verb is preceded by a pronoun subject, e.g. (3), an adverb, a negation word, e.g. (4), a demonstrative, a relative clause marker or an interrogative word, e.g. (5). Examples follow.

(3) Ele me empresta a máquina
 3SG,M,NOM 1SG,DAT(=ACC) lends the machine
 de escrever.
 of write,INF
 'He lends me the typewriter.' (S IO=V DO)

(4) Não o conheço bem.
 NEG 3SG,M,ACC know,1SG well (NEG O=V ADV)
 'I do not know him well.'

(5) Quem me chama?
 who 1SG,ACC(=DAT) calls (S O=V)
 'Who is calling me?'

Unless a pronoun object is involved, the 'basic word order of Portuguese simplex sentence is subject-verb-object (SVO)' (Parkinson p.272), e.g.:

- (6) O gato comeu a galinha.
 the cat ate the hen (SVO)
 'The cat ate the hen.' (P p.272)

Generally, the subject — unless it is a pronoun and elliptical — immediately precedes the verb.

'In the absence of any morphological case marking, word order indicates grammatical subjects and objects, and little is varied. The order VS is common with intransitive verbs, especially those of temporal or locative content', e.g. (7), (8), 'reflexives', e.g. (9), and 'in sentences with heavy subject clauses', e.g. (10) (Parkinson p.273).

- (7) Chegou o domingo.
 came the Sunday (VS)
 'The Sunday came.' (P p.273)
- (8) Apareceu um homem no jardim.
 appeared a man in the garden (V S ADV)
 'A man appeared in the garden.' (P p.273)
- (9) Libertaram-se os escravos.
 freed-REFL the slave,PL (VS)
 'The slaves freed themselves' or 'the slaves were freed.' (P p.273)
- (10) Entraram dois homens gordos e um rapaz loiro
 came in two man,PL fat,PL and a boy fair-headed
 'Two fat men and a fair-headed boy came in.' (P p.273) (VS)

'This is closely related to the principle of thematic organisation which specifies that new information is placed at the end of the sentence for maximum prominence' (Parkinson p.273).

Miss Mendonça points out that, although (9) is grammatically correct, it is not generally used. In place of (9), she provides the following:

- (11) Os escravos se libertaram.
 the slave,PL REFL freed (SV(?))
 'The slaves freed themselves.' (VDM)

Miss Mendonça adds that (11) does not have the passive reading of (9). Note that the reflexive pronoun *se* precedes, rather than follows, the verb. (In such a case, the orthography does not employ a hyphen. Similarly for

(14.)

'Noun phrases may be dislocated for the purpose of topicalisation', e. g. (12), 'though objects cannot preposed without a pronominal copy', see

(13) (Parkinson p.273).

(12) *Comeu a galinha o gato.*
 ate the hen the cat (VOS)
 Literal translation by TT: '[It] ate the hen, the cat.' (P p.273)

(13) *A galinha, o gato comeu-a.*
 the hen the cat ate-3SG,F,ACC (O S V=O)
 Literal translation by TT: 'The hen, the cat ate-her.' (P p.273)

Miss Mendonça also points out that (13) does not sound natural. As a more natural version, she provides the following:

(14) *A galinha, o gato a comeu.*
 the hen the cat 3SG,F,ACC ate (O S O=V)
 'As above.' (VDM)

Note that in (14) the clitic pronoun *a* precedes, rather than follows, the verb.

7. Adposition

Portuguese possesses prepositions, but lacks postpositions.

(1) <i>em Portugal</i>	(2) <i>sobre a mesa</i>
in Portugal	on the table
'in Portugal'	'on the table'

Another example is *de* 'of' in (3) of 6. Additional examples are given below.

8. Genitive and noun

When the possessor is expressed by a noun, the genitive is marked by the preposition *de* 'of, from' and it follows the noun denoting the possessed, e.g.:

(1) <i>a casa da Maria</i>	(2) <i>o carro do Pedro</i>
the house of Maria	the car of Pedro
'Maria's house' (VDM)	'Pedro's car' (VDM)

(*Da* is a combination of the preposition *de* 'of, from' and the feminine singular article *a*. Similarly, *do* is a combination of *de* and the article *o* 'masculine, singular'.)

When the possessor is expressed by a pronoun, a form called 'possessive adjective' is used. It is placed before the noun denoting the possessed. The use of a definite article is optional here:

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (3) (o) meu país | (4) (a) nossa companhia |
| (the) my country | (the) our company |
| ' my country' | ' our company' |

However, when the noun referring to the possessed is preceded, for instance, by an indefinite article, a numeral, or a demonstrative, the possessive adjective generally follows the noun, e.g.:

- (5) um amigo teu
 a friend your (SG)
 'a friend of yours' (VDM)

Miss Mendonça notes that the form *teu* is commonly used in the southern parts of Brazil, and that in her own variety of Portuguese the corresponding third person form (*seu* 'his, her, their') is used instead. For additional examples of this use of *seu*, see (2)-(4) of 18 and (1), (3), (4) of 20.

9. Demonstrative and noun

A demonstrative precedes the noun it qualifies. Examples:

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| (1) este remédio | (2) esta caixa |
| this medicine | this box |
| 'this medicine' | 'this box' |

Other examples include 'this beach' in (2) of 14; 'this house' in (6) of 20; and, 'this objective' in (1) of 21.

10. Numeral and noun

A numeral precedes the noun it qualifies, e.g.:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| (1) duas salas | (2) três filhos |
| two,PL room,PL | three,PL son,PL |
| 'two rooms' | 'three sons' |

Other examples include 'two men' in (10) of 6.

11. Adjective and noun

Most of the adjectives follow the noun they qualify, although they can be placed before it to emphasize their meaning.

- (1) o menino brasileiro
 the boy Brazilian
 'the Brazilian boy'

Other examples include 'boy fair-headed' in (10) of 6.

Short adjectives such as *bom* 'good' and *mau* 'bad' are generally placed before the noun they qualify (this does not apply to all short adjectives), e.g.:

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| (2) bom tempo | (3) mau tempo |
| good weather | bad weather |
| 'good weather' | 'bad weather' |

Other examples include 'good appetite' in (1) of 22.

Certain adjectives show a semantic difference depending on whether they follow or precede the noun. Thus, a pair of examples involving *grande* 'big':

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| (4) o homem grande | (5) o grande homem |
| the man big | the big man |
| 'the big man' | 'the great man' |

Another pair of examples, involving *nova* 'new':

- (6) a casa nova
 the house new
 'the newly-built house'
- (7) a nova casa
 the new house
 'the house new to the owner or resident'
 (The house itself may not be new.)

12. Relative clause and noun

A relative clause follows the noun it qualifies, e.g.:

- (1) A casa [que tenho agora] é muito pequena.
 the house REL have,1SG now is very small
 'The house (that/which) I have now is very small.'

(The relative clause is indicated by means of square brackets.) *Que* cannot be deleted, in contrast with *that* or *which* in parallel sentences of English.

13. Proper noun and common noun

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

- (1) a Avenida Copacabana (2) o Rio Araguaia
 the avenue Copacabana the river Araguaia
 'Copacabana Avenue' 'Araguaia River' (VDM)

A title precedes the name :

- (3) o senhor Antônio (4) Dona Amélia
 the Mr. Antonio Miss, Mrs. Amélia
 'Mr. Antonio' 'Miss/Mrs. Amélia'
- (5) o Santa Cruz (6) o São Paulo
 the St. Cruz the St. Paul
 St. Cruz' 'St. Paul'
- (7) o professor Nunes (8) o Doutor Alfredo
 the professor Nunes the doctor Alfredo
 'Professor Nunes' 'Dr. Alfredo'

Unlike *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, *Miss*, *Dr.*, etc. of English, the titles *senhor*, *Dona*, *doutor*, etc. of Portuguese can be combined with a family name, e.g. (7), and also with given names, e.g. (3), (4), (8).

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

- (9) Mário Carvalho (10) Carlos Nunes

14. Comparison

The comparative of an adjective is formed by placing *mais* 'more' before it, while the superlative is obtained by placing the definite article in front of the comparative form. An example of the comparative :

- (1) Ele é mais talentoso (do) que ela.
 3SG,M,NOM is more talented (of the) than 3SG,F,NOM

'He is more talented than she.'

The use of *do* (a contracted form of the preposition *de* 'of, from' and the definite article *o* 'the') is optional. The word order is as follows:

Adjective + Marker of Comparison + Standard of Comparison.

An example of the superlative:

- (2) Esta praia é a mais bonita do Rio.
 this beach is the more beautiful of the Rio
 'This beach is the most beautiful in Rio.'

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

An auxiliary verb precedes the main verb, e.g.:

- (1) Estou procurando minha caderneta.
 be,1SG search,PRES PTCPL my notebook
 'I am looking for my notebook.' (AUX MAIN O)
- (2) Ultimamente temos feito muita coisa.
 recently have,1PL do,PAST PTCPL much thing
 'We have been doing many things lately.' (ADV AUX MAIN O)
- (3) Esta língua é falada por muitas
 this language be,3SG speak,PAST PTCPL by many,PL
 pessoas.
 person,PL
 'This language is spoken by many people.'

16. Adverb and verb

It is difficult to generalize about the position of adverbs. A few tentative comments are given below.

[1] Time adverbs may occur sentence-initially, e.g. *ultimamente* 'recently' (2) of 15, and also sentence-finally, e.g. *amanhã*, e.g.:

- (1) Parto amanhã.
 leave,1SG tomorrow (V ADV)
 'I will leave tomorrow.'

[2] Place adverbs. Examples include 'in the garden' in (8) of 6; 'here' in (2) through (4) of 18; and, 'in house' of (1) of 23.

[3] Manner adverbs, e.g. *bem* 'well', *despressa* 'quickly', and *rápido*, appear to generally (though not always) immediately follow the verb, e.g. :

- (2) O cachorro corre muito rápido.
 the dog runs very fast (S V ADV)
 'The dog runs very fast.'

Other examples include 'well' in (4) of 6, (1) of 23; and, 'slowly' in (1) of 23.

17. Adverb and adjective

Adverbs seem to immediately precede the adjective they qualify, e.g. 'very small' in (1) of 12. The same is true when an adverb modifies another adverb, e.g. 'very fast' in (2) of 16.

18. General questions

Portuguese lacks a question marker. General questions are formed by means of a final rise in intonation. Thus, the following sentences are accompanied by a final rise intonation :

- (1) Rosa aprende chinês?
 Rosa learns Chinese (SVO)
 'Is Rosa learning Chinese?'
- (2) O seu pai está aqui?
 the your(SG) father is here
 'Is your father here?' (P p.273)

General questions can also be formed by 'tag question', e.g. (3), and 'by means of *éque*', e.g. (4) (Parkinson p.273).

- (3) O seu pai está aqui, não é?
 the your(SG) father is here NEG is
 'Your father is here, isn't he?' (P p.273)
- (4) É que o seu pai está aqui?
 is that the your(SG) father is here
 'Is it [true] that your father is here?' (P p.273)

Miss Mendonça notes that (4) is not used as an ordinary question and that it means 'Is it *because* your father is here?'

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This inversion does not occur.

20. Special questions

Interrogative words occur sentence-initially. Special questions have a falling intonation, like declarative sentences. Thus, the following sentence has a falling intonation. Examples include (5) of 6, and:

(1) Quando morreu o seu pai ?
 when died the your(SG) father (ADV V S)
 'When did your father die ? (P p.273)

(2) Onde mora você
 where live 2SG,NOM (ADV V S)
 'Where do you live ? (P p.273)

Regarding (1), Miss Mendonça notes that, although it is correct, it sounds more natural when expressed as in (3):

(3) Quando é que morreu o seu pai ?
 when is that died the your (SG) father
 Literally, 'When is it that your father died ?' (VDM)

Miss Mendonça adds that we can also have:

(4) O seu pai morreu quando ?
 the your (SG) father died when (S V ADV)
 'When did your father die ?' (P p.273)

Note that the interrogative word in (4) occurs sentence-finally, and not sentence-initially. See also (7).

Regarding (2), Miss Mendonça states that it sounds poetic and that a more natural version is:

(5) Onde você mora ?
 where 2SG,NOM live (ADV S V)
 'Where do you live ?' (P p.273)

Note that, while the subject follows the verb in (2), it precedes in (5).

A preposition combined with an interrogative word must precede the latter, e.g.:

(6) De que é esta casa ?
 of what is this house

'What is this house (made) of?'

Note that prepositions of Portuguese cannot be stranded, in contrast with those of English. Compare (6) with its English translation.

Miss Mendonça notes that (7) is more natural than (6).

- (7) Esta casa é de que?
 this house is of what
 'As above.' (VDM)

Note that in (7) the interrogative word occurs sentence-finally.

21. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

Parkinson (p.273) states that, in special questions, this 'inversion is the rule after non-pronominal interrogatives', e.g. (1), (2) and (3) of 20. However, this inversion does not take place in (4) or (5), despite the fact these sentences each contain a non-pronominal interrogative. Similarly for:

- (1) Como você alcança esse objetivo?
 how 2SG,NOM achieve this objective (ADV S V O)
 'How do you achieve this goal?'

'As the interrogative pronouns *quem* 'who(m)', *o que* 'what' have no case marking, inversion is avoided and the *é que* form used in object interrogation' (Parkinson p.273), e.g.:

- (2) O que (é que) matou a galinha?
 what (is that) killed the hen
 'What killed the hen?' (P p.273) (Lit., 'what (is it that) killed the hen?')
- (3) O que é que o gato matou?
 what is that the cat killed
 'What did the cat kill?' (P p.273) (Lit., 'what is it that the cat killed?')

22. Negative sentences

Negation is expressed by means of negation words such as *não* 'not', *nunca* 'by no means', and *jámais* 'never'. Negation words must occur im-

mediately before the verb ('or the auxiliary' verb (Parkinson p.273)).

Negative sentences have a falling intonation.

- (1) Não tenho bom apetite.
 NEG have,1SG good appetite (NEG V O)
 'I do not have a good appetite.'

Other examples include (4) of 6.

Also, negation can be expressed by means of negation words such as *ninguém* 'nobody, not anybody', *nada* 'nothing, not anything', and *nenhum* 'not any', e.g.:

- (2) Ninguém veio.
 nobody came (S(NEG) V)
 'Nobody came.' (P p.273)

- (3) Nada fiz
 nothing did,1SG,NOM (O(NEG) V)
 'I did nothing.' (P p.273)

To such negative sentences, the negation word *não* can be added — although this may seem redundant to speakers of English. Again, *não* occupies the preverbal position. Thus, compare (2) and (4), and (3) and (5). Note the differences in the relative order of the subject and the verb.

- (4) Não veio ninguém.
 NEG came nobody (NEG V S(NEG))
 'Nobodycame.' (P p.273) (Lit., 'nobody did not come.')

- (5) Não fiz nada.
 NEG did,1SG nothing (NEG V O(NEG))
 'I did nothing.' (P p.273) (Lit., 'I did not do nothing.')

Miss Mendonça notes that, while (2) sounds natural, (3) does not, and that (5) is a natural-sounding version of (3).

Another example:

- (6) Eles não disseram quase nada a seu
 3M,PL,NOM NEG said,3PL almost nothing about your
 respeito.
 respect (S NEG V O(NEG))

'They said almost nothing about you.' (Lit., 'they did not say almost nothing about you.')

Parkinson (p.273) notes that double 'negation occurs with additional negative elements following the verb: when they precede it, *não* is not inserted'.

Similar 'double negation' sentences occur in Spanish as well, although the details are different.

Double negation sentences occur in certain varieties of English as well.

23. Conditional clause and main clause

A conditional clause may either precede or follow the main clause, but precedes the latter more frequently.

- (1) Se chover, ficaremos em casa.
 if rain, SBJUNC FUT, 3SG stay, INDIC FUT, 1PL in house
 'If it rains, we will stay home.' (V, V ADV)
- (2) Ele viajará se
 3SG, M, NOM travel, INDIC FUT, 3SG if
 tiver dinheiro.
 get, SBJUNC FUT, 3SG money (SV, VO)
 'He will travel if he gets money.'

24. Purpose clause and main clause

It seems that a purpose clause can either precede or follow the main clause, but that it follows more frequently.

- (1) Falei devagar para que vocês
 speak, INDIC PFCTV PAST, 1SG slowly for that 2PL, NOM
 me compreendessem bem.
 1SG, ACC understand, SBJUNC IMPFCTV PAST, 2PL well
 'I spoke slowly so that you could understand me well.'
 (S V ADV, S O=V ADV)

Referenecs

Abbreviations: JFLNU, Journal of 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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(22) : Italian

0. Introduction

This is the 22 nd installment of my typologicas study of word order.

I am most grateful to Miss Marija Kristina Hmeljak for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this paper and also for providing additional examples and information.

Miss Hmeljak was born and brought up in Trieste, Italy. Her father speaks Slovene and her mother speaks Italian. She was trained in linguistics at the University of Trieste.

1. Name of language

Italian. Its native name is *la lingua italiana* 'the Italian language' (Valgimigli 1960 : 21) or *l'italiano* 'the Italian' (Vincent 1987 : 300).

2. Sources of information

Valgimigli (1960) (often abbreviated as 'V1'), Komadina and Orifici (1969) ('K&O'), and Vincent (1987) ('Vn'), supplemented with Green (1987) regarding 3 and also with examples and information supplied by Miss Marija Hmeljak ('MH').

3. Genetic affiliation

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

4. Geographical distribution

Italian is spoken in Italy, Switzerland, Slovenia, Croatia, and also in many other parts of the world, e.g. North and South Americas and Australia (Vincent p.283, Miss Hmeljak).

'Standard Italian is based on the Florentine dialect, but the standard language used by the media has been influenced also by dialects spoken in other regions and is slightly different from Florentine, especially phonetically' (Miss Hmeljak).

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Roughly speaking, nouns, adjectives, articles, etc. inflect for number (singular and plural) and for gender (masculine and feminine). They exhibit no case distinction.

There are two types of pronouns (Valgimigli pp.83, 180; Komadina and Orifici p.109; Vincent pp.298-99): conjunctive and disjunctive pronouns. Conjunctive pronouns, which are also called unstressed pronouns, are clitics, and 'are used only in connection with a verb' (Komadina and Orifici p.109). They have the following three forms (although not all of these forms are distinct from one another in all of the clitic pronouns): accusative, dative, and reflexive. (They are respectively called 'direct object', 'indirect object', and 'reflexive' pronouns by Valgimigli and by Komadina and Orifici.) Disjunctive pronouns are free forms, and 'are used independently' of a verb. 'Most commonly, they are used as objects of prepositions' (Komadina and Orifici p.109). They lack case inflection.

Valgimigli (p.180) provides a list of conjunctive pronouns. However, Miss Hmeljak's view is different from Valgimigli's. That is, Valgimigli considers the subject pronouns to be conjunctive pronouns, i.e. clitic pronouns, while on the other hand, Miss Hmeljak regards them as free pronouns. She states as follows. 'Italian subject pronouns are not clitics; they can stand on their own as utterances'. Miss Hmeljak's view is supported by Vincent (p.299), who does not include subject pronouns in his table of clitic pronouns; see (1) of 6.

Verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, etc. and also for the person and number of the subject. Nominative/subject pronouns are often understood; the verbs (nearly always) indicate (the number and the person of) the subject. However, they must be used, for instance, for emphasis and for disambiguation (Valgimigli p.12, Komadina and Orifici p.12). (They are not used in imperative sentences; see 6 below.) Italian has a series of compound tenses, which consist of the auxiliary verb *avere* 'have' or *essere* 'be' and a past participle.

Verbs and pronouns of the second person exhibit a familiar-vs.-polite distinction. (Only the polite forms will be indicated as such in the glosses.)

When presenting constituent orders, I shall use an equal sign (=) — a following equal sign for proclitics and a preceding equal sign for enclitics. Italian orthography does not employ such signs, but my use of equal signs will facilitate discussions and understanding of Italian sentence structures.

Abbreviations employed include the following: ACC, accusative; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase; DAT, dative; DO, direct object; F, feminine; FUT, future; GER, gerund; IMPERA, imperative; IMPERF, imperfect; IMPERS, impersonal; INDIC, indicative; INF, infinitive; IO, indirect object; M, masculine; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, object; PL, plural; POL, polite; PRES, present; PRTTV, partitive; PTCPL, participle; REFL, reflexive; REL, relative pronoun; S, subject; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; St, transitive subject; SUBJUN, subjunctive; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

6. Subject, object, and verb

Before dealing with subject and object as manifested by independent NPs, we shall first look at the relative order of clitic/conjunctive pronouns and other clitics. Their basic order is as follows (Vincent p.299):

(1)	1SG	3SG,	2PL	2SG	1PL	REFL	3,ACC	
								DAT
	<i>mi</i>	<i>gli</i> (M)	<i>vi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>si</i>		<i>lo</i> (SG,M)
		<i>le</i> (F)						<i>la</i> (SG,F)
								<i>li</i> (PL,M)
								<i>le</i> (PL,F)

IMPERS PRTTV

si *ne*

(*mi* '1SG,ACC/DAT/REFL'; *vi* '2PL,ACC/DAT/REFL'; *ti* '2SG,ACC/DAT/REFL'; *ci* '1PL,ACC/DAT/REFL'; *si* '3SG/3PL, M/F, REFL', '2SG/2PL, POLITE,REFL', 'IMPERS,REFL')

In addition, there are clitic/conjunctive adverbs: *ci* and *vi* 'here'/ 'there'/ 'in it'; and *ne* 'from there'/ 'thence'. They, too, are 'used only in connection with a verb' (Valgimigli p.181). Their placement conforms

with the rules stated below for clitic pronouns (Valgimigli p.181). Examples include *ci* 'there' in (5) and (6) of 23.

Furthermore, although the sources do not state this explicitly, the negation marker *non*, too, is a clitic. (This has been confirmed by Miss Hmeljak.)

We shall first look at declarative sentences, and then imperative sentences. A brief note on interrogative sentences will be added; they are fully discussed in 18 to 21. In each type of sentences, we shall look at both affirmative and negative sentences, paying attention to the position of *non* 'negation'.

First, declarative sentences. Except for *Loro* '2PL,POLITE/DAT' and *loro* '3PL,M/F,DAT', which always follow the verb (Valgimigli p.180, Komadina and Orifici p.128, Vincent p.299), all the clitics, including clitic pronouns, precede and immediately precede the verb in the main clause. For subordinate clauses, see below.

With intransitive sentences, the subject cannot be expressed by a clitic pronoun, but it may be expressed by a nominative pronoun; see below.

Transitive sentences contain the order 'O=V', e.g.:

- (2) Io lo vedo.
 1SG,NOM 3SG,M,ACC see,PRES INDIC,1SG (S O=V)
 'I see him.' (V1 p.55)

With di-transitive sentences, Valgimigli (p.180) and Komadina and Orifici (p.128) state that the conjunctive pronoun IO precedes the conjunctive pronoun DO, that is, they contain the order 'IO=DO=V'. (Note that 'the *i* of *mi*, *ti*, *si*, *ci* and *vi* is changed to *e* when followed by a direct object pronoun (*lo*, *la*, *li*, *le*, *ne*)' (Valgimigli p.180; cf. also Komadina and Orifici p.128).)

- (3) Egli me lo darã.
 3SG,NOM 1SG,DAT 3SG,M,ACC give,FUT,3SG
 'He will give it to me.' (S IO=DO=V)

(This example was adapted from Valgimigli (p.180) and approved by Miss Hmeljak.)

(I shall use 'DO' and 'IO' only for di-transitive verbs. For transitive verbs, I shall just use 'the object' ('O').)

However, the above-cited statement by Valgimigli and by Komadina and Orifici is not entirely accurate. Note that in (3) the IO is a first person and the DO a third person. The situation is different when the DO is a first or second person. Miss Hmeljak states as follows. 'If the DO is a 1st or 2nd person, then clitics are not used for both objects. At least the IO is expressed with a full pronoun which follows the verb', e.g.:

- (4) Tu mi raccomandi a
 2SG,NOM 1SG,ACC recommend,PRES INDIC,3SG to
 'You recommend me to him.' (MH) (S DO=V IO)
 lui.
 3SG,M

'or, with more emphasis on the 1SG pronoun':

- (5) Tu raccomandi me a lui. (S V=DO IO)
 'You recommend me to him.' (MH)

(Note that the subject pronoun *tu* can be omitted (Miss Hmeljak).)

In (4) and (5) the DO is a first person, but the 'same is valid for the 2nd person' (Miss Hmeljak).

In compound tenses (see 16 below), clitic pronouns precede the auxiliary verb, and not the main verb. (This has been confirmed by Miss Hmeljak.)

- (6) Egli me lo ha
 3SG,NOM 1SG,DAT 3SG,M,ACC have,PRES INDIC,1SG
 dato.
 give,PAST PTCPL,SG,M (S IO=DO=AUX MAIN)
 'He gave it to me.'

(This example was adapted from Komadina and Orifici (p.128) and approved by Miss Hmeljak.)

(From now on, *ha* will be simply glossed 'has'. This is in order to save space.)

As alluded to above, there is just one deviation from the generalization made above. That is, *Loro* '2PL,POLITE,DAT' (though not *Loro*

'2PL,POLITE,NOM') and *loro* '3PL,M/F,DAT' always follow the verb. (This is the case in imperative sentences, too, as we shall see shortly, and also in interrogative sentences (see 18 to 21).)

- (7) Io lo do loro.
 1SG,NOM 3SG,M,ACC give,PRES INDIC,1SG 3PL,M/F,DAT
 'I give it to them.' (S DO=V=IO)

(This example was adapted from Valgimigli (p.180) and approved by Miss Hmeljak.

Negative versions are formed by placing the clitic *non* 'negation' before the verb, or, before the auxiliary verb (rather than the main verb) in compound tenses. *Non* precedes all clitics (cf. Valgimigli p.67, Komadina and Orifici pp.43, 74). Examples follow.

- (8) Io non dormo.
 1SG,NOM NEG sleep,PRES INDIC,1SG (S NEG=V)
 'I do not sleep.' (K&O p.12)

- (9) Egli non me lo
 3SG,M,NOM NEG 1SG,DAT 3SG,M,ACC
 'He did not give it to me.' (S NEG=IO=DO=AUX MAIN)
 ha dato.
 has give,PAST PTCPL,SG,M

(This example was approved by Miss Hmeljak.) Compare (9) with (3).

We now turn to imperative sentences. The morphology of verbs used in imperative sentences — affirmative and negative — is irregular and complicated (for example, the negative of the second person singular employs an infinitive form preceded by *non* 'negation', rather than a verb in the imperative mood); details are given in Valgimigli (pp.177-78) and in Komadina and Orifici (pp.121-22). We shall concentrate on the position of clitic pronouns and the negation marker *non*. It will be useful to mention the following three facts. First, 'There is no form for the first person singular imperative in Italian'. Second, 'Subject pronouns are NOT used with the imperative'. Third, 'The negative imperative is formed by placing *non* before the verb'. (See Komadina and Orifici pp.121-22).

We have seen that, in declarative sentences, clitic pronouns generally

precede the verb (i.e. except for *Loro* and *loro*). However, 'in the case of the imperative they may precede or follow the verb' (Komadina and Orifici p.122). That is, 'When used with the imperative affirmative in the second person singular and the first person and second person plural, the conjunctive pronouns (except *loro* and *Loro*) are joined to it [as enclitics, i.e. they follow the verb — TT] and form one word' (Valgimigli p.178; cf. also Komadina and Orifici p.123):

(10) Comprala.

buy, IMPERA, 2SG = 3SG, F, ACC (V=O)

'Buy it.' (VI p.178)

(*compra* 'buy, IMPERA, 2SG', = *la* '3SG, F, ACC'.)

(11) Dammelo.

give, IMPERA, 2SG = 1SG, DAT = 3SG, M, ACC (V=IO=DO)

'Give it to me.' (K&O p.128)

(*da=me=lo*.) ('When the conjunctive pronoun is attached to the monosyllabic imperatives ... the initial consonant of the conjunctive pronoun is doubled' (Komadina and Orifici p.123; cf. also Valgimigli p.179).)

'When used with the imperative negative, the pronouns may precede or follow the verb' (Valgimigli p.178):

(12) Non la comprare.

NEG 3SG, F, ACC buy, INF (NEG=O=V)

'Do not buy it.' (Negative imperative to a 2nd person singular) (VI p.178)

(13) Non comprarla.

NEG buy, INF = 3SG, F, ACC (NEG=V=O)

'As above.' (VI p.178)

(14) Non me lo dare.

NEG 1SG, DAT 3SG, M, ACC give, INF (NEG=IO=DO=V)

'Don't give it to me.'

(This example was approved by Miss Hmeljak.)

(15) Non darmelo.

(NEG=V=IO=DO)

'As above.' (MH)

(*dare=me=lo*.) (Miss Hmeljak notes that *darmelo* is written as one word.)

There are exceptions to the generalization given above. First, 'With the polite form of the imperative the pronouns (except *loro* and *Loro*) do not follow but precede the verb, when used either affirmatively or negatively' (Valgimigli p.178; cf. also Komadina and Orifici p.123), e.g.:

- (16) La compri, signora.
 3SG,F,ACC buy,IMPERA,2SG,POL lady,SG,F (O=V)
 'Buy it, madam.' (V1 p.178)
- (17) Non la compri, signora. (NEG=O=V)
 'Do not buy it, madam.' (V1 p.178)
- (18) Me lo dia.
 1SG,DAT 3SG,M,ACC give,IMPERA,2SG,POL (IO=DO=V)
 'Give it to me.' (K&O p.128)
- (19) Non me lo dia. (NEG=IO=DO=V)
 'Don't give it to me.'

(This example was approved by Miss Hmeljak.)

Second, as already noted above, *Loro* '2PL,POLITE,DAT' and *loro* '3 PL,M/F,DAT' always follow the verb (Valgimigli pp.179-80, Komadina and Orifici pp.74, 123, 128) — not only in declarative sentences, e.g. (7), but also in imperative sentences, e.g. (20).

- (20) Lo dia loro.
 3SG,M,ACC give,IMPERA,2SG,POL 3,PL,M/F,DAT
 'Give it to them.' (K&O p.128) (DO=V=IO)

The same applies to questions (Miss Hmeljak), e.g.:

- (21) Potrebbe darlo
 can,PRES,COND,3SG/POL,2SG give,INF = 3SG,M,ACC
 loro ? (AUX MAIN=DO=IO)
 3PL,DAT
 'Could you give it to them?' (MH)

(Miss Hmeljak notes that 'loro and Loro are used in the same way'.)

In interrogative sentences, the nominative/subject pronoun may either precede or follow the verb (or the auxiliary verb in the case of compound tenses), but clitics precede the verb. See also 18 to 21.

So far, we have looked at the position of clitic pronouns in relation to the finite forms of verbs. Now, in the following three instances of non-finite forms of verbs, clitic pronouns are added to the end of the verbs (as is the case with affirmative imperatives) (Valgimigli p.179, Vincent p.299):

(a) an infinitive, e.g. (22); .

(b) a gerund', e.g. (23), and;

(c) a past participle when used without an auxiliary verb, e.g. (24).

(22) Deve darmelo.

must,PRES INDIC,3SG give,INF=1SG,DAT=3SG,M,ACC

'He must give it to me.' (Vn p.299)

(AUX MAIN=IO=DO)

(= *me* '1SG,DAT', = *lo* '3SG,M,ACC'. Compare (22) with (6), in which the dative and the accusative clitic pronouns precede the auxiliary verb.)

(23) vedendola

see,GER=3SG,F,ACC 'seeing her/it' (V1 p.179)

(= *la* '3 SG,F,ACC')

(24) Compratola sono molto

buy,PAST PTCPL=3SG,F,ACC be,PRES INDIC,1SG very

felice.

happy,SG,M/F

'Having bought it, I am very happy.' (VI p.179)

Vincent (p.299) notes as follows. 'Certain verbs, however, which take a dependent infinitive allow the latter's clitics to "climb" and attach to the governing verb'. Thus, consider the following pairs of examples, taken from Vincent (p.299). Note the position of *ti/Ti* '2SG,DAT'.

(25) Vuole parlarti.

want,PRES INDIC,3SG speak,INF=2SG,DAT

'He wants to speak to you.'

(26) Ti vuole parlare.

'As above.'

(27) volendo parlarti

want,GER speak,INF=2SG,DAT

'wanting to speak to you'

(28) *volendoti parlare*

'As above.'

Recall in this connection that, in the case of compound tenses, clitic pronouns precede the auxiliary verb, rather than the main verb, e.g. (6) and (9) above.

Having dealt with sentences with clitic pronouns, we now turn to sentences which have free NPs for the subject and the object.

Vincent (p.300) states that Italian has the ordering principle: 'theme precedes rheme'. (In his definition, theme refers to 'what is being talked about', and rheme 'what is said about the theme', and, his concept of theme and rheme corresponds to that of topic and comment used by many other linguists.) Vincent goes on to say that 'In the unmarked case, a subject ... will constitute the theme, and will accordingly come first', and that, consequently, 'S V (O) is a natural order for sentences with any transitive and some intransitive verbs in Italian' (Vincent p.300). Examples of intransitive sentences include:

(29) *Giovanni dorme adesso.*
 John,SG,M sleep,PRES INDIC,3SG now (S V ADV)
 'John is sleeping now.' (K&O p.18)

(30) *Io dormo.*
 1SG,NOM sleep,PRES INDIC,1SG (SV)
 'I sleep.' (K&O p.12)

Examples of transitive clauses include:

(31) *Luigi conosce Milano bene.*
 Louis,SG,M know,PRES INDIC,3SG Milan,SG,M well
 'Louis knows Milan well.' (K&O p.96) (S V O ADV)

The DO generally precedes the IO, e.g. (32), although the reverse order is possible (Miss Hmeljak):

(32) *Carlo darà un libro*
 Charles give,FUT INDIC,3SG one,SG,M book,SG,M
 a Maria
 to Mary
 'Charles will give a book to Mary.' (MH) (S V DO IO)

Vincent (p.300) continues : - 'If, however, the subject is rhematic with respect to its verb, then it will normally follow' the verb, e.g. :

- (33) Verrà Giorgio.
 come,FUT,3SG George,SG,M
 'George will come.' (Vn p.300)
- (34) È già finita, la lezione.
 is already finish,PAST PTCPL,SG,F the,SG,F lesson,SG,F
 'The lesson has already finished.' (MH)

Vincent (p.300) adds as follows : - 'In appropriate circumstances and with suitable intonation the basic patterns can be reversed.' 'Moving the object from its post-verbal position is, by contrast, less easy and normally requires a pronominal copy' :

- (35) Quel libro, non lo
 that,SG,M book,SG,M NEG 3SG,M,ACC
 legge
 read,PRES INDIC,3SG nobody,SG,M
 'That book nobody reads.' (Vn p.300) (O NEG=O=V S)

'Similarly, it is rare and decidedly rhetorical for the subject to be interposed between verb and object' (Vincent p.300).

So far, we have separately dealt with clitic pronouns and free NPs. Naturally, however, a sentence can contain both clitic pronoun(s) and free NP(s). Examples include (2) and :

- (36) Maria mi vede.
 Mary,SG,F 1SG,ACC see,PRES INDIC,3SG (S O=V)
 'Mary sees me.' (V1 p.55)
- (37) Dalle subito il
 give,IMPERA,2SG=3SG,F,DAT quickly the,SG,M
 'Give her the telegram at once.' (V1 p.179) (V=IO ADV DO)
 telegramma.
 telegram,SG,M

(=le '3SG,F,DAT')

Further examples of 'give' are in (7) to (9) of 15; (9) of 20; and, (1) of 23.

7. Adposition

Italian possesses prepositions. Examples include :

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) con Paolo | (2) a Milano |
| with Paul | to Milan,SG,M |
| 'with Paul' (Vn p.285) | 'to Milan' (V1 p.21) |

Additional examples are given below.

Italian is generally said to be a prepositional language, but I have found one word which can be regarded as a postposition, namely, *fa* 'ago'. Although it is classified as an adverb, e.g., in Cassell's Italian-English dictionary, examples such as the following suggest that it is really a postposition. (Note that the English *ago* is really a postposition, although it is usually regarded as an adverb.)

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|------------------------------|-----|
| (3) due giorni | fa | (4) tre anni | fa |
| two day,PL,M | ago | three year,PL,M | ago |
| 'two days ago' (V1 p.130) | | 'three years ago' (V1 p.154) | |

8. Genitive and noun

Nouns and pronouns have different methods for indicating possession. First, when the possessor is a noun, possession is expressed by the preposition *di* 'of' (usually *d'* before a vowel) (Valgimigli p.51, Komadina and Orifici p.16), with the possessor following the possessed. E.g. :

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|----|-----------|
| (1) il | libro | di | Maria |
| the,SG,M | book,SG,M | of | Mary,SG,F |
| 'Mary's book' (V1 p.51) | | | |
| (2) il | padre | di | Maria |
| the,SG,M | father,SG,M | of | Mary,SG,F |
| 'Mary's father' (V1 p.62) | | | |

When the possessor is a pronoun, it is expressed by its possessive adjective form. 'Possessives are usually preceded by the definite article', and they 'agree in gender and number with the object possessed' (Komadina and Orifici p.56). They generally precede the possessed. E.g. :

- | | | |
|----------|---------|-----------|
| (3) il | mio | libro |
| the,SG,M | my,SG,M | book,SG,M |

'my book' (VI p.71)

- (4) i miei libri
 the,PL,M my,PL,M book,PL,M
 'my books' (VI p.71)

- (5) il suo denaro
 the,SG,M his/her,SG,M money,SG,M
 'his/her money' (K&O p.56)

'To avoid ambiguity, [(5) -- TT] may be replaced by' (6) or (7) (Komadina and Orifici p.56):

- (6) il denaro di lui
 the,SG,M money,SG,M of 3SG,M 'his money' (K&O p.56)

- (7) il denaro di lei
 the,SG,M money,SG,M of 3SG,F 'her money' (K&O p.56)

(These pronouns, used after a preposition, are disjunctive pronouns (Valgimigli p.83, Komadina and Orifici p.109).) In such instances, the pronoun possessor follows the possessed, as does a noun possessor.

A possessive adjective follows the possessed when used in direct address (Komadina and Orifici p.57):

- (8) Dove vai, amico mio ?
 where go,PRES INDIC,2SG friend,SG,M my,SG,M
 'Where are you going, my friend?' (K&O p.57)

- (9) Cosa fate, ragazzi miei ?
 what do,PRES INDIC,2PL boy,PL,M my,PL,M
 'What are you doing, my boys?' (K&O p.57)

9. Demonstrative and noun

Demonstratives exhibit 'only a two-term deictic opposition ... in modern usage, *questo* "this" vs. *quello* "that" (Vincent p.294). They inflect for number and gender (Valgimigli p.94, Komadina and Orifici p.25). They 'always precede the noun they qualify' (Komadina and Orifici p.25).

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) questo fiore | (2) questi fiori |
| this,SG,M flower,SG,M | this,PL,M flower,PL,M |
| 'this flower' (VI p.129) | 'these flowers' (VI p.129) |

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3) quella signora
that,SG,F lady,SG,F
'that lady' (MH) | (4) quelle signore
that,PL,F lady,PL,F
'those ladies' (VI p.94) |
|---|---|

10. Numeral and noun

Numerals 'always precede the noun they qualify' (Komadina and Orifici p.25). The numeral *uno* 'one' can be used as the indefinite article (cf. Valgimigli p.28, Komadina and Orifici p.19). It is the only numeral that inflects (for number and gender of the noun qualified), and other numerals are invariable (Valgimigli p.28, Komadina and Orifici p.19). Examples from Komadina and Orifici (pp.19, 25):

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) un cavallo
one,SG,M horse,SG,M
'one/a horse' | (2) una lettera
one,SG,F letter,SG,F
'one/a letter' |
| (3) due case
two house,PL,F
'two houses' | (4) quattro sedie
four chair,PL,F
'four chairs' |
| (5) cinque gatti
five cat,PL,M
'five cats' | (6) sei libri
six book,PL,M
'six books' |

Other examples include 'two days' in (3) of 7, and 'three years' in (4) of 7.

11. Adjective and noun

'All adjectives must agree in number and gender with the noun they qualify' (Valgimigli p.32, cf. also Komadina and Orifici p.23). The position of adjectives in Italian poses an interesting problem. First, 'The general rule for the position of adjectives is that they follow the noun, particularly where the adjective refers to colour, shape, nationality and religion' (Valgimigli p.33; cf. also Valgimigli p.89, Komadina and Orifici p.23). Examples from Valgimigli (p.33) and Komadina and Orifici (p.23):

- | |
|---|
| (1) un fiore rosso
one,SG,M flower,SG,M red,SG,M |
|---|

- 'a red flower'
- (2) una tavola rotonda
 one,SG,F table,SG,F round,SG,F
 'a round table'
- (3) una signora italiana
 one,SG,F lady,SG,F Italian,SG,F
 'an Italian lady'
- (4) una signora cattolica
 one,SG,F lady,SG,F Catholic,SG,F
 'a Catholic lady'

'There are, however, adjectives of common use which usually precede the noun, unless they are modified by an adverb or used emphatically' (Valgimigli p.89, cf. also Komadina and Orifici p.23):

<i>bello</i>	'beautiful'	<i>lungo</i>	'long'
<i>brutto</i>	'ugly'	<i>corto</i>	'short'
<i>breve</i>	'short'	<i>grande</i>	'big'
<i>giovane</i>	'young'	<i>piccolo</i>	'small, little'
<i>vecchio</i>	'old'	<i>buono</i>	'good'
<i>ricco</i>	'rich'	<i>cattivo</i>	'bad, naughty'
<i>povero</i>	'poor'	<i>santo</i>	'holy'
<i>bravo</i>	'good, able'	<i>nuovo</i>	'new'
<i>stesso</i>	'same'		

As examples, consider the following pairs, taken from Komadina and Orifici (p.25):

- (5) un cattivo ragazzo
 one,SG,M bad,SG,M boy,SG,M
 'a bad boy'
- (6) un ragazzo molto cattivo
 one,SG,M boy,SG,M very bad,SG,M
 'a very bad boy'
- (7) una bella ragazza
 one,SG,F beautiful,SG,F girl,SG,F
 'a beautiful girl'

- (8) una ragazza molto bella
 one,SG,F girl,SG,F very beautiful,SG,F
 'a very beautiful girl'

In each pair, the adjective follows the noun when modified by *molto* 'very'.

'Some adjectives vary in meaning according to their position' (Valgimigli p.89, cf. also Komadina and Orifici p.25, Vincent p.294). Examples from Valgimigli (p.89), Komadina and Orifici (p.25), and Vincent (p.294):

- (9) una povera donna
 one,SG,F poor,SG,F woman,SG,F
 'an unfortunate woman'
- (10) una donna povera
 'a poor woman (penniless)'
- (11) un uomo grande
 one,SG,M man,SG,M big,SG,M
 'a big man (size), or, a tall man'
- (12) un grand 'uomo
 one,SG,M big,SG,M man,SG,M
 'a great man (famous)'
- (13) un semplice soldato
 one,SG,M simple,SG,M soldier,SG,M
 'a mere soldier'
- (14) un soldato semplice
 'a private soldier'
- (15) numerose famiglie
 numerous,PL,F family,PL,F
 'many families'
- (16) famiglie numerose
 'big families'
- (17) certe persone
 certain,PL,F person,PL,F
 'a certain number of people'
- (18) certi miei colleghi
 certain,PL,M my,PL,M colleague,PL,M

- 'some of my colleagues'
- (19) *persone certe*
 person,PL,F certain,PL,F
 'people who are certain'
- (20) *diversi tuoi professori*
 diverse,PL,F your(SG),PL,M teacher,PL,M
 'several of your teachers'
- (21) *due caratteri diversi*
 two character,PL,M diverse,PL,M
 'two different characters'

Adjectives can 'sandwich' a noun, e.g. :

- (22) *una breve visita turistica*
 one,SG,F short,SG,F visit,SG,F touring,SG,F
 'a short sightseeing visit' (Vn p.294)

Contrary to Valgimigli's generalization cited above, Vincent (pp.294, 295) notes that 'most adjectives can occur in either position', and describes the difference as follows: - 'What distinguishes the two positions ... is the function of the adjective: if it is used in a distinguishing or restrictive sense, it follows; if the use is descriptive, rhetorical, emphatic or metaphorical, it precedes.' Thus, '*Pietre preziose* ["stone,PL,F precious,PL,F" — TT] are "precious stones" as opposed to ordinary ones, but one would refer to':

- (23) *i preziosi gioielli della contessa*
 the,PL,M precious,PL,M jewel,PL,M of the countess,SG,F
 'the countess's precious jewels' (Vn 295)

(*della*: the contracted form of *di* 'of' and *la* 'the,SG,F')

'where the value is taken for granted. ... Hence, whether an adjective precedes or follows will depend on how easily its inherent meaning lends itself to one or other or both types of use.' For example, 'Adjectives of place and nationality are normally contrastive and therefore tend to follow', e.g. 'one lady Italian' in (3) above, and:

- (24) *i turisti inglesi*
 the,PL,M tourist,PL,M English,PL,M

'English tourists' (Vn p.295)

- (25) l'industria settentrionale
 the,SG,F-industry,SG,F northern,SG,F
 'northern industry' (Vn p.295)

Vincent (p.295) concludes as follows. 'Italian has two equal but different adjective positions' and 'the typological parameter of adjective-noun order in such a language is rendered irrelevant.'

The sources do not discuss the relative order of different types of noun modifiers. But Miss Hmeljak states that their order is as follows:

- (26) Demonstrative + Possessive + Numeral + Adjective + N +
 Adjective + *di* 'of'.

(Note that the indefinite article can be regarded as the numeral 'one'.) Examples follow.

- (27) questi miei tre buoni libri italiani
 this,PL,M my,PL,M three good,PL,M book,PL,M Italian,PL,M
 'these three good Italian books of mine' (MH)

- (28) questi tre buoni libri italiani di
 this,PL,M three good,PL,M book,PL,M Italian,PL,M of
 Pietro
 Peter

'these three good Italian books of Peter's' (MH)

12. Relative clause and noun

Italian has several relative pronouns, the details of which are described in Valgimigli (pp.72-73) and in Komadina and Orifici (pp.94-95). (Komadina and Orifici (p.94) note that 'the relative pronoun is never omitted in Italian.') Relative clauses follow the head noun (Miss Hmeljak) E.g.:

- (1) La ragazza [che abita qui]
 the,SG,F girl,SG,F REL live,PRES INDIC,3SG here
 è
 be,PRES INDIC,3SG tall,SG,F
 alta.

'The girl who lives here is tall.' (K&O p.94)

(From now on, *è* will be simply glossed 'is'. This is in order to save

space.)

- (2) Il prezzo [che voi domandate]
 the,SG,M price,SG,M REL 2PL,NOM ask,PRES INDIC,2PL
 è alto.
 is high,SG,M
 'The price you are asking is high.' (VI p.38)
- (3) Ecco la penna [che mi ha
 here the,SG,F pen,SG,F REL 1SG,DAT has
 comprato mio padre].
 buy,PAST PTCPL my,SG,M father,SG,M
 'Here is the pen that my father bought for me.' (K&O p.80)
- (4) Ecco la penna [che mio padre
 here the,SG,F pen,SG,F REL my,SG,M father,SG,M
 mi ha comprato.
 1SG,DAT has buy,PAST PTCPL
 'As (3).' (MH)

In relative clauses, as in declarative sentences, the subject may precede the verb, e.g. (2), (4), or follow it, e.g. (3).

In the examples cited above, the relative clause immediately follows the head noun. However, in instances such as the following the relative clause is separated from the head noun by another noun:

- (5) La figlia dell'avvocato [la
 the,SG,F daughter,SG,F of the-lawyer,SG,M the,SG,F
 quale ha telefonato] è appena
 REL,SG,F has telephone,PAST PTCPL is just
 arrivata.
 arrive,PAST PTCPL,SG,F
 'The lawyer's daughter who (i.e. the daughter) has telephoned just arrived.' (K&O p.95)

(dell' 'of the' is the contracted form of *di* 'of' and *l'* 'the,SG,M'.)

Komadina and Orifici (p.95) note as follows: '*quale*, preceded by the definite article, ... is used to avoid ambiguity and it must agree in number and gender with its antecedent', i.e. the daughter, and not the lawyer, in

(5).

Although the sources do not state this explicitly, prepositions cannot be stranded in Italian. (This has been confirmed by Miss Hmeljak.) Thus, compare the following examples with their English translations.

(6) Questo è il signore [con cui
this,SG,M is the,SG,M gentleman,SG,M with REL
parlavo].

speak,IMPERF,1SG

'This is the gentleman I was speaking with.' (K&O p.94)

(7) La casa [in cui abitiamo] è
the,SG,F house,SG,F in REL live,PRES INDIC,1PL is
grande.

big,SG,F

'The house we live in is big.' (K&O p.94)

Another example of a relative clause is in (3) of 15.

13. Proper noun and common noun

The common noun precedes the proper noun. (Some of the instances involve the preposition *di* 'of'.)

(1) zio	Pietro	(2) zia	Maria
uncle,SG,M	Peter	aunt,SG,F	Mary
'Uncle Peter' (MH)		'Aunt Mary' (MH)	

(3) via Veneto
street,SG,F Venetia,SG,M
'Venetia Street' (K&O p.179)

(4) Porta San Paolo
gate,SG,F holy,SG,M Paul,SG,M
'Saint Paul's Gate' (VI p.168)

(5) il Lago di Como
the,SG,M lake,SG,M of Como
'Lake Como' (VI p.96)

(6) Teatro di Caracalla
theatre,SG,M of Caracalla

'Caracalla Theatre' (VI p.168)

The given name precedes the family name. (Some of the names involve the preposition *da* 'from'.)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (7) Marco Polo
(K&O p.212) | (8) Dante Alighieri
(VI p.155) |
| (9) Giacomo Puccini
(VI p.150) | (10) Leonardo da Vinci
(VI p.181) |

The title or the like precedes the name :

- | | |
|--|--|
| (11) il signor C. Toti
the,SG,M Mr.
'Mr. C. Toti' (K&O p.33) | |
| (12) il professor Melzi
the,SG,M professor,SG,M
'Professor Melzi' (K&O p.33) | |
| (13) la signora Valli
the,SG,F Mrs.
'Mrs. Valli' (VI 75) | (14) la signorina Valli
the,SG,F Miss
'Miss Valli' (MH) |
| (15) la contessa Valli
the,SG,F countess,SG,F
'Countess Valli' (VI p.21) | (16) San Marco
holy,SG,M Mark,SG,M
'Saint Mark' (VI p.192) |
| (17) Santa Maria
holy,SG,F Mary,SG,F
'Saint Mary' (VI p.181) | |

14. Comparison

The comparative of an adjective is formed by placing *più* 'more' or *meno* 'less' before the adjective, and the marker of comparison is the preposition *di* 'of, from' (preceding a noun, a pronoun, or a numeral) or the conjunction *che* 'that, than' (preceding other parts of speech) (Valgimigli pp.165-66, cf. also Komadina and Orifici pp.156-57). E.g. :

- (1) Venezia è più bella di Genova.
Venice,SG,F is more beautiful,SG,F of Genoa,SG,F
'Venice is more beautiful than Genoa.' (K&O p.156)

- (2) Caterina è più alta di me.
 Catherine,SG,F is more tall,SG,F of 1SG
 'Catherine is taller than I.' (V1 p.166)

The order of the relevant constituents is as follows: Adjective + Marker of Comparison + Standard of Comparison. (This has been confirmed by Miss Hmeljak.)

The superlative is formed by placing before an adjective an appropriate definite article and *più* (to express 'the most'), or an appropriate definite article and *meno* (to express 'the least') (Komadina and Orifici p.163).
 E.g.:

- (3) Questa è la più grande stanza
 this,SG,F is the,SG,F more big,SG,F room,SG,F
 della casa.
 of the house,SG,F
 'This is the biggest room of the house.' (K&O p.163)

- (4) Giacomo è il meno simpatico di
 James,SG,M is the,SG,M less charming,SG,M of
 tutti.
 all,PL,M
 'James is the least charming of all.' (K&O p.179)

'The comparative and superlative forms of adverbs are formed in exactly the same way as those of adjectives' (Valgimigli p.168), e.g. 'more late' in (6) of 23.

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

The auxiliary verb always precedes the main verb. (This has been confirmed by Miss Hmeljak.) Some examples follow.

(i) Compound tenses are formed by the auxiliary verb *avere* 'have' or *essere* 'be' and a past participle. *Avere* is used for all transitive verbs and some intransitive verbs, while other intransitive verbs employ *essere* (Valgimigli p.82, Komadina and Orifici pp.47, 149, Vincent pp.297-98). As noted in 6 above, in compound tenses, clitics precede the auxiliary verb, rather than the main verb. When the auxiliary verb is *essere*, the past par-

count: 'whereas the past participle ... does not normally agree with its object, clitic objects do trigger agreement'. Thus, compare the following pair of examples, taken from Vincent (p.299):

- (5) Ho trovato Maria.
 have,PRES INDIC,1SG find,PAST PTCPL Mary,SG,F
 'I found Mary.'
- (6) L'ho trovata.
 3SG,F,ACC=have,PRES INDIC,1SG find,PAST PTCPL,SG,F
 'I found her.'
- (*la*= '3SG,F,ACC.')

Miss Hmeljak notes as follows. 'I think the second explanation (by Vincent) is more appropriate, since the example (3) by Valgimigli sounds unnatural, and since clitics trigger agreement even when they follow, rather than precede, the auxiliary verb'. Miss Hmeljak provides the following examples:

- (7) aver dato la matita a Mario
 have,INF give,PAST PTCPL the,SG,F pencil to Mario,SG,M
 'to have given the pencil to Mario' (MH)
- (8) averla data a Mario
 have,INF=3 SG,F,ACC give,PAST PTCPL,SG,F to Mario,SG,M
 'to have given it/her to Mario' (MH)
- (=*la* '3 SG,F,ACC'.)

- (9) avergliela data
 have,INF=3SG,M,DAT=3SG,F,ACC give,PAST PTCPL,SG,F
 'to have given it/her to him' (MH)
 (= *glie* '3SG,M,DAT', =*la* '3SG,F,ACC'.)

In (7), the object is a free NP. Although it follows the auxiliary verb (and the main verb), the participle does not agree with it. (Miss Hmeljak adds that the agreeing form *data* 'give,PAST PTCPL,SG,F' is also possible, but less natural.) In contrast, in (8) and (9) the object is a clitic pronoun and triggers agreement.

Miss Hmeljak states that a dative clitic pronoun cannot trigger agreement.

Although the sources do not state this, in my view, the agreement in compound tenses exhibits an ergative pattern (Si/O vs. St); the agreement occurs with the intransitive subject, e.g. (1), and the object, e.g. (3), (4), (6), (8), (9), to the exclusion of the transitive subject.

(ii) 'The passive voice is ... formed by using the verb *essere* with the past participle' (Komadina and Orifici p.184), and the latter indicates the number and the gender of the subject (Miss Hmeljak). Examples include (34) of 6, and:

- (10) Maria è amata da Carlo.
 Maria is love,PAST PTCPL,SG,F by Charles
 'Mary is loved by Charles.' (MH)

(iii) Although the sources do not state this explicitly, the following can be regarded as a combination of an auxiliary verb and a main verb: *stare* 'stay, be' or *andare* 'go, walk' and a gerund, which forms 'a progressive construction' (Valgimigli p.136). (In Italian, gerunds are distinct from past participles and from present participles (Valgimigli p.136).)

- (11) Stiamo parlando.
 stay,PRES INDIC,1PL speak,GER
 'We are speaking.' (VI p.136)

(iv) There are a few other verbs which can be regarded as auxiliary verbs. The 'main verb' is an infinitive. Clitics indicating the object, etc. of the infinitive (are attached to and) follow, rather than precede, the infinitive — in contrast with compound tenses, where clitics generally precede, rather than follow, the auxiliary verb. See (22) ('must') and (25), (27) ('want') of 6. However, as noted there, these clitics can 'climb' to the main verb, e.g. (26), (28) of 6. The clitic *non* 'negation' precedes the auxiliary verb invariably. (This has been confirmed by Miss Hmeljak.) E.g.:

- (12) Non puoi entrare.
 NEG can,PRES INDIC,2SG enter,INF
 'You can't enter.' (K&O p.199)

Other examples of these auxiliary verbs include 'can' in (21) of 6; (1) of 24, and 'want' in:

- (13) Egli vuol stare a casa.
 3SG,M,NOM want,PRES INDIC,3SG stay,INF at house,SG,F
 'He wants to stay at home.' (VI p.101)

16. Adverb and verb

Valgimigli (p.126) states that 'As a rule the adverb is placed immediately after the verb', and similarly Vincent (p.300) remarks that 'Adverbs ... regularly separate verb and noun', e.g. :

- (1) Parla bene l'italiano.
 speak,PRES INDIC,3SG well the,SG,M-Italian,SG,M
 'He/she speaks Italian well.' (Vn p.300) (V ADV O)

However, these generalizations seem to concern adverbs only, and not adverb phrases. Also, even with adverbs, there are exceptions. Thus, *bene* 'well' in (31) of 6 follows the (noun) object, and not the verb.

Adverb phrases seem to be less fixed than adverbs in their positioning. Thus, compare (1) with (2), in which the adverb phrase 'very well' follows the object, and not the verb.

- (2) Tu parli italiano molto bene,
 2SG,NOM speak,PRES INDIC,2SG Italian,SG,M very well
 Roberto.
 Robert,SG,M
 'You speak Italian very well, Robert.' (VI p.38)

In this connection, Miss Hmeljak notes as follows. 'I think adverb phrases can be moved more freely. The word order in' (31) 'of 6 [repeated here for convenience — TT] .:

- (3) Luigi conosce Milano bene.
 Louis,SG,M know,PRES INDIC,3SG Milan,SG,M well
 'Louis knows Milan well.' (K&O p.96) (S V O ADV)

'sounds marked to me; a more unmarked example would be':

- (4) Luigi conosce bene Milano. (S V ADV O)
 'As above.' (MH)

'But with an adverb phrase, both':

- (5) Luigi conosce Milano molto bene.
 Louis know, PRES INDIC, 3SG Milan very well
 'Louis knows Milan very well.' (MH) (S V O ADV)

'and':

- (6) Luigi conosce molto bene Milano. (S V ADV O)
 'As above.' (MH)

'sound equally natural'. Miss Hmeljak's statement supports my impression that adverb phrases seem to be less rigidly fixed than adverbs in their positioning.

Additional examples of adverbs and adverb phrases, classified in terms of their semantics, follow.

(i) Adverbs (/adverb phrases) of modality or the like:

- (a) initial position: (7) below;
 (b) medial position: no example, and;
 (c) final position: no example.

- (7) Effettivamente avevo torto
 in fact have, INDIC IMPERF, 1SG wrong, SG, M
 anch'io.
 also-1SG, NOM
 'In fact I was also wrong.' (MH)

(*anche* 'also', *io* '1SG, NOM'.)

(ii) Adverbs (/adverb phrases) of time:

- (a) initial position: (8) below;
 (b) medial position: 'already' in (34) of 6; 'just' in (5) of 12, and;
 (c) final position: 'now' in (29) of 6; 'late' in (6) of 24.

- (8) Oggi non ho ricevuto
 today NEG have, PRES INDIC, 1SG receive, PAST PTCPL
 una lettera.
 one, SG, F letter, SG, F
 'I did not receive a letter today.' (V1 p.82)

(iii) Adverbs (/adverb phrases) of place, direction, etc.:

- (a) initial position: 'here' in (9) below;
 (b) medial position: 'here' in (10) below, and;

(c) final position: 'here' in (1) of 12 (in the clause-final position); 'at home' in (10) of 15; 'to Rome' in (2), (4) of 23 (in the clause-final position); and, 'at home' in (6) of 23 (in the clause-final position).

(9) Qui abita un mio amico.
 here live,PRES INDIC,3SG one,SG,M my,SG,M friend,SG,M
 'A friend of mine lives here.' (MH)

(10) Ho messo qui il
 have,PRES INDIC,1SG put,PAST PTCPL here the,SG,M
 tuo libro.
 your,SG,M book,SG,M
 'I have put your book here.' (MH)

Regarding *ecco* 'here', used in (3) of 12 and (3) of 15, Miss Hmeljak notes as follows. 'I think that "ecco" is not an adverb of place. It could also be translated as "look here" or "here you are".'

(iv) Adverbs (/adverb phrases) of manner, instrument, etc.:

(a) initial position: no example;

(b) medial position: 'quickly' in (37) of 6; 'well' of (1) and (4) above; 'very well' in (6) above, and;

(c) final position: 'well' in (31) of 6; 'in train' in (1) of 15; 'very well' of (2) and (5) above (in the clause-final position); 'well' in (3) above; 'hard' and 'well' in (2) of 24 (each in the clause final-position, after the verb); 'by car' in (6) of 24.

17. Adverb and adjectives

Adverbs precede the adjective they qualify. Such adverbs include *assai* 'very' (Komadina and Orifici p.163), *molto* 'very', and *troppo* 'too'. Examples include 'very happy' in (24) of 6; 'very bad' in (6) of 11; 'very beautiful' in (8) of 11; and:

(1) Il Lago di Como è molto bello.
 the,SG,M lake,SG,M of Como is very beautiful,SG,M
 'Lake Como is very beautiful.' (K&O p.163)

(2) Questo caffè sarà troppo forte
 this,SG,M coffee,SG,M be,FUT,3SG too strong,SG,M

per te.

for 2SG

'This coffee will be too strong for you.' (VI p.100)

See 14 for *più* 'more' and *meno* 'less', which likewise precede adjectives.

Similarly for adverbs modifying another adverb, e.g. 'very well' in (2), (5), (6) of 16.

There are other ways to express 'very' or the like. First, use of derivational suffixes. Thus, compare (1) with (3), involving the suffix *-issimo* 'very' (Komadina and Orifici p.163):

(3) Il Lago di Como è bellissimo.

the,SG,M lake,SG,M of Como is very beautiful,SG,M

'Lake Como is very beautiful.' (K&O p.163)

Examples of similar suffixes (Vincent pp.293-94) follows. Adjectives: *facile* 'easy', *facilino* 'quite easy', *caro* 'dear', *caruccio* 'quite expensive'.

Adverbs: *bene* 'well', *benone* 'very well', *benino* 'quite well'.

Second, 'Adjectives and adverbs are sometimes repeated to form the superlative absolute', e.g. *rosso rosso* 'very red' and *piano piano*, or, *pian pianino* 'very slowly, gently' (Valgimigli p.168, Miss Hmeljak).

18. General questions

Valgimigli (pp.38, 49) and Komadina and Orifici (p.16) describe question formations in Italian. Miss Hmeljak summarizes them as follows.

First, the spoken language. Word order is not decisive, but what is crucial is the intonation pattern employed. A sentence-final rising intonation turns any declarative sentence into a general question. Thus, consider:

(1) Carlo capisce

Charles,SG,M understand,PRES INDIC,3SG

l'italiano

the,SG,M-Italian,SG,M (cf. K&O p.16)

(SVO)

(2) Capisce Carlo l'italiano

(VSO)

(3) Capisce l'italiano Carlo

(VOS)

With a sentence-final falling intonation, (1) to (3) are declarative

Sentences involving the second method sound colloquial.

Both in the spoken and in the written language, the clitic *non* 'negation' precedes (other clitics and) the verb :

- (9) Non capisce Carlo l'italiano? (NEG=V S O)
 'Doesn't Charles understand Italian?'
- (10) Non capisce l'italiano Carlo? (NEG=V O S)
 'As above.'
- (11) Carlo non capisce l'italiano? (S NEG=V O)
 'As above.'
- (12) Non lo vedi tu? (NEG=O=V S)
 'Don't you see him?'
- (13) Tu non lo vedi? 'As above.' (S NEG=O=V)
- (Again Miss Hmeljak notes that the subject pronoun *tu* can be omitted.)

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This is irrelevant, since both in declarative sentences and general questions the subject may either precede or follow the verb.

20. Special questions

The sources do not explicitly discuss the position of interrogative words. But Miss Hmeljak states that interrogative words generally, though not always, occur sentence-initially. The subject often, though not always, follows the verb.

- (1) Dove legge libri Carlo?
 where read,PRES INDIC,3SG book,PL,M Charles,SG,M
 'Where does Charles read books?' (MH) (ADV V O S)
- (2) Carlo dove legge libri?
 'As above.' (MH) (S ADV V O)
- (3) Dove li=legge?
 where 3PL,M,ACC=read,PRES INDIC,3SG (ADV O=V)
 'Where does he read them?' (MH)
- (4) Egli dove li=legge?
 3SG,M,NOM where 3PL,M,ACC=read,INDIC PRES,3SG

'As above.' (MH) (S ADV O=V)

(Miss Hmeljak notes that *egli* is emphasized.)

(5) Chi l'ama ?
 who 3SG,F or M,ACC=love,INDIC PRES,3SG (S O=V)
 'Who loves her/him?' (MH)

(*la*= '3 SG,F,ACC' or *lo*= '3SG,M,ACC'.)

(6) Chi ama egli ?
 who love,INDIC PRES,3 SG 3SG,M,NOM (OVS)
 'Whom does he love?' (MH)

(The interrogative *chi* 'who, whom' lacks case inflection (Valgimigli p.42).)

(7) Chi ama Maria ?
 who love,PRES INDIC,3SG Maria,SG,F (SVO, or, OVS)
 'Who loves Maria?' or 'Whom does Maria love?' (MH)

Regarding the word order in special questions, Miss Hmeljak notes as follows. 'The verb tends to occur immediately after the interrogative word, although clitics may intervene between them. Therefore, if the subject is not an interrogative word, then it occurs before or after the combination of the interrogative word and the verb', e.g. (1), (2), (4), (6), and the second reading of (7).

If the subject is an interrogative word, it generally occurs sentence-initially, e.g. (5) and the first reading of (7), though not always; it may be preceded by an adverb (Miss Hmeljak).

Furthermore, the subject may be omitted altogether, if this is clear from the context or from the subject marking in the verb, as noted in 5 above.

As noted in 12, prepositions cannot be stranded in Italian. Thus, compare the following examples and their English translations.

(8) Con chi parlava Carlo ?
 with who speak,IMPERF,3SG Charles
 'Who was Charles talking to?' (MH)

- (9) A chi hai dato il
to who have, PRES INDIC, 2SG give, PAST PTCPL the, SG, M
libro ?
book, SG, M
'Who did you give the book to?' (MH)
- (10) Con che cosa hai colpito
with what thing have, PRES INDIC, 2SG hit, PAST PTCPL
il cane ?
the, SG, M dog, SG, M
'What did you hit the dog with?' (MH)

In these examples, the interrogative word occurs in the initial phrase, but not in the initial position. Consequently, it will be more adequate to say that interrogative words in Italian occur in the initial phrase.

Other examples of special questions include (8), (9) of 8.

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

This is irrelevant, since both in declarative sentences and special questions the subject may either precede or follow the verb.

22. Negative sentences

Verbs are negated by placing the clitic *non* before them. In compound tenses etc., *non* is placed before the auxiliary verb, and not before the main verb. *Non* always precedes other clitics. Examples of negative sentences include (8), (9), (12) to (15), (17), (19) of 6; (12) of 15; (8) of 16; and (9) to (13) of 18.

'In negative expressions Italian often uses the double negative form' (Komadina and Orifici p.75, cf. also Valgimigli p.120):

<i>non ... mai</i>	'never, ever'
<i>non ... niente</i>	'nothing, anything'
<i>non ... nulla</i>	'nothing, anything'
<i>non ... neanche</i>	'not even'
<i>non ... nemmeno</i>	'not even'
<i>non ... nessuno</i>	'nobody, no one'

non ... ne ... ne 'neither ... nor'
non ... più 'no more, no longer'
non ... mica 'not, not at all'

- (1) Margherita non capisce
 Margaret,SG,F NEG understand,PRES INDIC,3SG
 niente.
 nothing,SG,M (S NEG=V O)
 'Margaret does not understand anything.' (VI p.120)
- (2) Carlo non ha mai veduto
 Charles,SG,M NEG has never see,PAST PTCPL
 questa città.
 this,SG,F town,SG,F (S NEG=AUX ADV O)
 'Charles has never seen this town.' (VI p.120)

Other such examples include 'not ... nobody' in (35) of 6, and (6) of 23.

'Sometimes these negative expressions are used without *non* but in this case they must precede the verb' (Valgimigli p.120):

- (3) Mai scrivo.
 never write,PRES INDIC,1SG (ADV V)
 'I never write.' (VI p.120)
- (4) Nulla vediamo.
 nothing,SG,M see,PRES INDIC,1PL (O V)
 'We see nothing.' (VI p.120)
- (5) Nessuno viene.
 nobody,SG,M come,PRES INDIC,3SG (S(NEG) V)
 'Nobody comes.' (VI p.120)

Regarding (3) and (4), Miss Hmeljak notes that they are 'rather rhetorical, the negative expression is very much emphasized'.

In instances such as the following, *non* is not placed before the verb; it is placed before the word negated:

- (6) Ho alcune cravatte ma
 have,PRES INDIC,1SG some,PL,F tie,PL,F but
 non molte
 NEG many,PL.M
 'I have some ties but not many.' (K&O p.88)

23. Conditional clause and main clause

Conditional clauses are introduced by conjunctions such as *se* 'if', *purchè* 'provided that', *a patto che* 'on condition that', *caso mai* 'in case', and *a meno che...non* 'unless' (Komadina and Orifici pp.101, 199, Valgimigli p.100).

The clause with *se* 'if' generally precedes the main clause. It precedes in all of the 12 examples obtained from the sources :

- (1) Se lo vedrò, gli darò
 if 3SG,M,ACC see,FUT,1SG 3SG,M,DAT give,FUT,1SG
 la notizia.
 the,SG,F news,SG,F

'If I see him, I will give him the news.' (K&O p.205)

(O=V, IO=V DO)

- (2) Se andrò a Roma visiterò il
 if go,FUT,1SG to Rome,SG,F visit,FUT,1SG the,SG,M
 Vaticano.
 Vatican,SG,M

'If I go to Rome, I shall visit the Vatican.' (K&O p.205)

But it can also follow the main clause (Miss Hmeljak). Compare (1) with (3); and (2) with (4) :

- (3) Gli darò la notizia se lo vedrò.
 'As (1).' (MH)

- (4) Visiterò il Vaticano se andrò a Roma.
 'As (2).' (MH)

There is one example available for each of the other conjunctions listed above. In all of these examples, the conditional clause precedes the main clause, except for (5). (The verb in these conditional clauses is in the subjunctive mood, as is the case with clauses introduced by *affinchè* or *perchè* 'so that, in order that' (Komadina and Orifici p.199, cf. also Valgimigli p.173). For the latter two, see 24.)

- (5) Verranno purchè tu ci
 come,FUT,3PL provided that 2SG,NOM there
 sia.
 be,PRES SUBJUN,2SG
 'They will come provided that you are there.' (K&O p.199)
- (6) Caso mai non ci sia nessuno
 in case NEG there be,PRES SUBJUN,3SG nobody,SG,M
 a casa ritorna più tardi.
 at house,SG,F return,IMPERA,2SG more late
 'In case there is no one at home, return later.' (K&O p.199)

24. Purpose clause and main clause

Purpose clauses are introduced by the conjunction *affinchè* 'in order that' or *perchè* 'in order that' (Komadina and Orifici p.199, Valgimigli p.173). In the only two examples available, the purpose clause follows the main clause:

- (1) Apri la porta affinché egli
 open,IMPERA,2SG the,SG,F door,SG,F so that 3SG,M,NOM
 possa entrare.
 can,PRES SUBJUN,3SG enter,INF
 'Open the door so that he may enter.' (K&O p.199)
- (2) Lavora sodo perchè lo si
 work,PRES INDIC,3SG hard so that 3SG,M,ACC IMPERS
 paghi bene.
 pay,PRES SUBJUN,3SG well
 'He works hard so that they will pay him well.' (Vn p.296)

As exemplified above, purpose clauses generally follow the main clause. But they can also precede (Miss Hmeljak). Thus, compare (1) with (3):

- (3) Affinchè egli possa entrare,
 so that 3SG,M,NOM can,PRES SUBJUN,3SG enter,INF
 ho aperto la porta.
 have,PRES INDIC,1SG open,PAST PTCPL the,SG,F door,SG,F
 'I opened the door so that he might enter.' (MH)

Purpose can also be expressed by the combination of *per* 'in order (to)' and an infinitive (Miss Hmeljak), e.g. :

- (4) Ha rinunciato alla passeggiata per
 has give up,PAST PTCPL to the walk,SG,F in order to
 aiutarmi.
 help,INF=1SG,ACC
 'He/She gave up his/her walk to help me.' (MH)

(*alla* is the contracted form of the preposition *a* 'to, at' and the definite article *la* 'the,SG,F' (Valgimigli p.49). *aiutare* 'help, INF' and =*mi* '1SG, ACC'.)

- (5) Per aiutarmi, ha rinunciato alla passeggiata.
 'As above.' (MH)

Note the *per*-plus-infinitive can either follow or precede the main clause.

Negative purpose is expressed by *affinchè non*-plus-subjunctive, by *perchè non*-plus-subjunctive or by *pe non*-plus-infinitive (Miss Hmeljak), e.g. :

- (6) Affinchè non arrivi in ritardo,
 so that NEG arrive,PRES SBJUN,3SG late
 lo accampagnerò in macchina.
 3SG,M,ACC accompany,FUT INDIC,1SG by car,SG,F
 'I will give him a ride by car so that he won't be late.' (MH)
- (7) Non ti ho chiamata
 NEG 2SG,ACC have,PRES INDIC,1SG call,PAST PTCPL
 per non disturbarti.
 in order NEG disturb,INF=2SG,ACC
 'I didn't call you not to disturb you.' (MH)

(*disturbare* 'disturb,INF', =*ti* '2SG,ACC'.)

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