

Structure of the simple sentence

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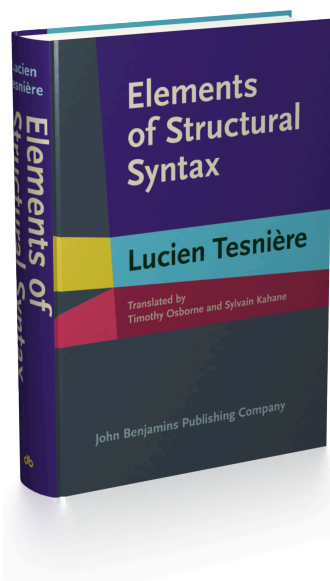
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Elements of Structural Syntax
Lucien Tesnière
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Structure of the simple sentence

Chapter 48. The verbal node

§1 The verbal node, found at the center of the majority of European languages (Chapter 3, §7 and Chapter 32, §5), is a **theatrical performance**. Like a drama, it obligatorily involves a **process** and most often **actors** and **circumstances**.

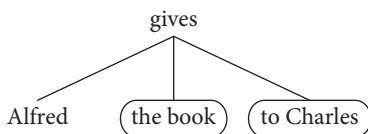
§2 Transferred from the theatre to structural syntax, the process, the actors, and the circumstances become respectively the **verb**, the **actants**, and the **circumstants**.

§3 The **verb** expresses the **process**. Thus in the sentence *Alfred hits Bernard* (Stemma 6), the process is expressed by the verb *hit*.

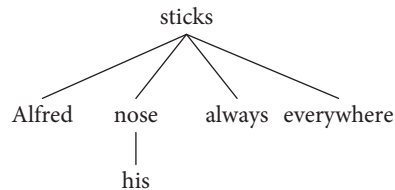
§4 The **actants** are the beings or things, of whatever sort these might be, that participate in the process, even as simple extras or in the most passive way.

§5 Thus in the sentences *Alfred gives the book to Charles* (Stemma 77), *Charles* and *the book* are no less actants than *Alfred* ((64), although they do not actually act (Chapter 64, §15).

§6 **Actants** are always nouns or the equivalents of **nouns**. In return, nouns in principle always assume the function of actants in the sentence.



Stemma 77



Stemma 78

§7 **Circumstants** express the circumstances of time, place, manner, etc. in which the process unravels. Thus in the sentence *Alfred always sticks his nose everywhere* (Stemma 78), there are two circumstants, one of time (*always*) and one of place (*everywhere*).

§8 **Circumstants** are always **adverbs** (of time, of place, of manner, etc...) or the equivalents of adverbs. In return, adverbs in principle always assume the function of circumstants.

§9 We have seen that the verb is at the center of the verbal node (Chapter 47, §2), and as a consequence, it is at the center of the verbal sentence (Chapter 47, §8). It is therefore the **governor** of the entire verbal sentence.

§10 Some grammarians keen on logic have maintained that every simple sentence has a verb as its central node. Others have argued for the existence of nominal, adjectival, and adverbial sentences to contest the assertion, which results in a seemingly irreconcilable **antinomy**.

§11 The **problem** is **poorly formulated** and in terms that are too absolute. In a simple sentence, the central node is not necessarily a verb, but when there is a verb, this verb is always the central node of the sentence.

§12 It is therefore misguided that German grammarians (Morhof, 1682, Gottsched, 1730) have baptized the noun as *Hauptwort* 'main word'. In reality, this designation is better suited to the verb than to the noun.

§13 As for actants and circumstants, they are the **immediate subordinates** of the verb.

§14 **Graphically**, we represent this in stemmas, by placing the actants on the left and the circumstants on the right as much as possible. The sentence *Alfred speaks well* is represented by Stemma 48.

§15 The **symbolic stemma** of the verbal sentence will hence always be of the type shown in Stemma 47.

Chapter 49. Subject and predicate

§1 The representation of the verbal sentence as established in the preceding chapter differs considerably from the representation adopted by **traditional grammar**.

§2 Founded on the principles of **logic**, traditional grammar strives to find the **logical** opposition between **subject** and **predicate** in the sentence, the subject being what is being spoken about and the predicate what is being said.

§3 Hence in the sentence *Alfred speaks slowly*, the subject would be *Alfred*, and the predicate *speaks slowly*, which corresponds to Stemma 79.

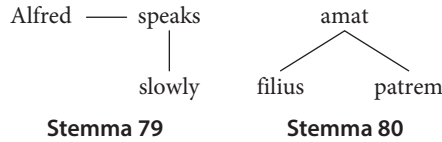
§4 This conception of the sentence is merely a **remnant** that has not yet been eliminated from the epoch that extends from Aristotle to Port-Royal, when all grammar was founded on logic.

§5 Indeed, all arguments that can be invoked against the concept of the verbal node and in favor of the opposition between subject and predicate come **a priori from formal logic**, which has nothing to do with linguistics.

§6 Concerning strictly linguistic observations about the **facts of language**, the conclusions drawn a posteriori are of a much different nature. There is no purely linguistic fact in any language that suggests the existence of the subject-predicate opposition.

§7 Take for example the Latin sentence *Filius amat patrem* 'The son loves his father' (Stemma 80). The word *amat* 'loves' here is an agglutinated form of the predicative element *ama-* and the subject element *-t*. The **break between the subject and the predicate** is not

marked by a word break. In contrast, such a break exists between the elements composed of the subject *filius...t* and the predicate *ama-...patrem*.

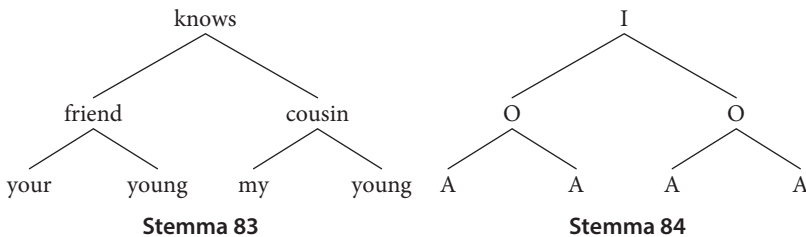
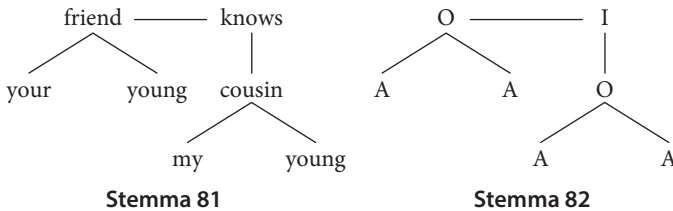


§8 The **overlapping** of subject and predicate elements does not sit well with the opposition between the two notions, whereas it poses no difficulty for the hypothesis that the verbal node is the central node.

§9 Furthermore, it is **difficult to place the subject on equal ground** with the predicate. The subject often consists of a single word and cannot be fully expressed. The enunciation of the predicate, in contrast, is obligatory and in the majority of cases, the predicate contains many more elements than the subject.

§10 The objection formulated in the preceding paragraphs is all the more serious because the predicate can contain elements whose internal **nature** and **structure** are entirely **comparable to those of the subject**.

§11 Take for example the sentence *Your young friend knows my young cousin* (Stemma 81); the element *my young cousin* is a noun node of the same type as *your young friend*, as shown by their identical virtual stemmas (Stemma 82). These facts do not suggest that the two should be placed on different levels. But this fatal mistake occurs if one acknowledges the subject-predicate opposition (Stemmas 81 and 82).

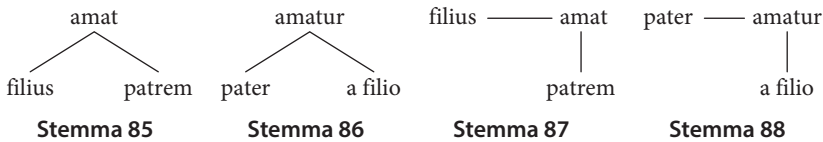


§12 This inconvenience disappears as soon as the verbal node is acknowledged as the central element and the stemmas constructed accordingly. The parallelism between the two noun nodes is reestablished (Stemmas 83 and 84).

§13 The subject-predicate opposition prevents the representation of the structural equilibrium in the sentence, since it leads to the isolation of one of the actants as the subject, to the exclusion of the others which are placed within the predicate pell-mell with the verb and all the circumstants. A **disproportionate importance** is thus accorded to one of the elements in the sentence, which is not justified by any strictly linguistic fact.

§14 In particular, the subject-predicate opposition masks the **interchangeable character of the actants**, which is at the base of the active-passive mechanism.

§15 Take the Latin sentence *Filius amat patrem* 'The son loves the father.' This sentence is rendered in the passive as *Pater amatur a filio* 'The father is loved by the son' by simple inversion of the actants, the first actant being *pater* instead of *filius*, the second being *a filio* instead of *patrem*, each remaining on the same level.



§16 In contrast, the subject-predicate opposition introduces a measure of **dissymmetry**, each actant being on a different level according to whether or not it is the subject (Stemmas 87 and 88).

§17 By masking the mechanism of voice, the subject-predicate opposition negates the theory of **actants** and the **valency** of verbs.

§18 In addition, it prevents the illustration of the facts of **junction** and **transfer**, which are so clear if the verbal node is central.

§19 It is not by accident that traditional grammar has failed to acknowledge these notions. Falsely building on a foundation of pure logic, which has nothing to do with grammar, traditional grammar simply could not acknowledge them.

§20 Conversely, the development of our conception of the verb as center in the following chapters will be, a posteriori, the best proof of the strong foundation of this conception.

Chapter 50. Actants

§1 We have seen (Chapter 48, §4) that **actants** are persons or things that participate to some degree in the process.

§2 Furthermore, we have seen that the actants are in principle always **nouns** (Chapter 48, §6) and that they are **immediate subordinates of the verb**.

§3 Actants differ from each other in their **nature**, which is itself a function of their **number** in the verbal node. The question concerning the **number of actants** is therefore of primary interest to the structure of the verbal node.

§4 All verbs do **not have the same number of actants**. Furthermore, one and the same verb does not always have the same number of actants.

§5 There are verbs with **no actants, one actant, two actants, and three actants**.

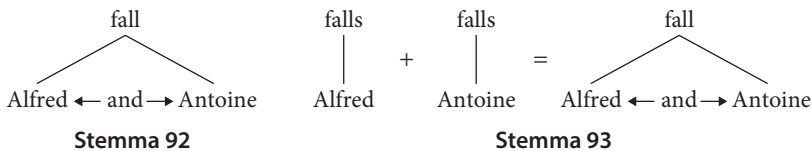
§6 The verbs **without actants** express a process that takes place of its own accord, without any participants. This is essentially the case for verbs that denote meteorological phenomena. Thus in the Latin sentence *Pluit* 'It is raining', the verb *Pluit* depicts an action (the rain) without an actant. The stemma here is reduced to a simple nucleus (Chapter 22, §4), since due to the absence of actants, there cannot be a connection between them and the verb (Stemma 89).

§7 The French sentences *Il pleut, Il neige* 'It is raining, It is snowing', where *il* 'it' appears to be an actant do not provide a legitimate objection, for *il* in reality is merely an **index** of the third person singular and designates neither a person nor a thing capable of participating in any way in the process of raining. *Il pleut* forms only one nucleus, and the stemma is identical to the preceding one (Stemma 90). Traditional grammar acknowledges this situation by qualifying *il* as an **apparent subject**.



§8 Comparing these sentences with a small drama (Chapter 48, §1), we say that in the case of a verb without an actant, the curtain is lifted on a **scene** where rain or snow is falling, but **no actors are present**.

§9 Verbs with a **single actant** express a process in which only a single person or thing participates. Thus in the sentence *Alfred falls* (Stemma 91), Alfred alone participated in the action of falling, and realization of the process did not require the participation of anything other than Alfred.



§10 Based on the preceding definition, one might object that the verb *fall* has two actants in a sentence like *Alfred and Antoine fall* (Stemma 92). That is not the case, however. The same actant is represented more than once. The same role is played by more than one person. In other words, *Alfred and Antoine fall* = *Alfred falls* + *Antoine falls* (Stemma 93). There is a simple phenomenon of duplication (Chapter 135) here. The phenomenon of **duplication** does not influence the number of actants.

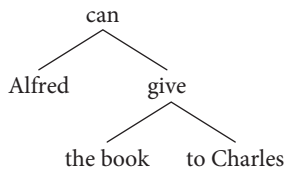
§11 Verbs with **two actants** express a process in which two people or things participate (without duplication of course). Thus in the sentence *Alfred hits Bernard*, (Stemma 6), there are two actants, the first *Alfred*, who does the hitting, and the second *Bernard*, who receives the blows. The process with two actants could not take place without both taking part, each performing its role.

§12 Verbs with **three actants** express a process in which three people or things take part (of course still without duplication). Thus in the sentence *Alfred gives the book to Charles* (Stemma 77), there are three actants, the first *Alfred*, who does the giving, the second *the book*, which is given to *Charles*, and the third *Charles*, who receives the book. The process with three actants cannot take place without all three actants taking part, each in its role.

§13 With verbs that take three actants, the first and the third actant are in principle **persons** (*Alfred, Charles*), and the second is a **thing** (*the book*).

§14 The introduction of an auxiliary (of mood or tense) does not influence the presence of actants: The organization of actants in the sentence *Alfred can give the book to Charles* (Stemma 94) does not differ in any way from the sentence *Alfred gives the book to Charles* (Stemma 77)

§15 In the stemmatic representation, one is better off adopting the principle of always placing the first actant to the left of the second actant, and the second actant to the left of the third actant (Stemma 77).



Stemma 94

Chapter 51. Types of actants

§1 The various actants do not have the same **function** with respect to the verb that they are subordinate to.

§2 From this point of view, we acknowledge as many **types of actants** as a verb can have, that is three, since there are verbs that take three actants (Chapter 50, §5).

§3 We distinguish between the actants based upon numerical ordering: **first actant**, **second actant**, and **third actant**.

§4 The ordinal number of actants can never be **higher** than the number of actants that the verb has. Thus while it is evident that a verb without an actant can have no type of actant, it is no less evident that a verb with just one actant cannot have a second actant, nor a third, and that a verb with two actants cannot have a third actant.

§5 Of course a **first actant** is present in principle in all sentences that have one, two, or three actants; a **second actant** is present in all sentences that have two or three actants; and a **third actant** is present in all sentences that have three actants.

§6 From a **semantic** point of view, the first actant is the one that **performs the action**.

§7 The first actant is known in traditional grammar as the **subject**, a term which we also retain here.

§8 Hence in the sentence *Alfred speaks* (Stemma 1), *Alfred* is structurally the first actant and the one that performs the action.

§9 From a semantic point of view, the second actant is the one that **bears the action**.

§10 The second actant was known at one time in traditional grammar as the **direct complement**. This designation was replaced by the term **object complement** (Fr. *complément d'objet*) in 1910.⁷⁴ We will call it the **object**, pure and simple.

§11 There is reason to observe that while the subject-object distinction (§7 and Stemma 12) is motivated from a semantic point of view, there is no structural **opposition** between the first and the second actant, just a simple **distinction**.

§12 From the structural point of view, the subordinate, be it a first or second actant, is always a complement that completes the governor (Chapter 21, §10) in one way or another. In both cases (subject or object), it is a noun governing all the subordinated elements contained in the group of which it is the center.

§13 From this point of view, and to express the matter in traditional terms, one can say without hesitation that **the subject is a complement like the others**. This seems to be paradoxical at first, although it is easy to demonstrate, assuming that it is made clear that the structural, not the semantic, point of view is what counts.

§14 Thus in the sentence *Alfred hits Bernard* (Stemma 6), *Bernard* is structurally the second actant and is semantically the object of *hits*.

74. This is an example of the successive plunderings that have deprived syntax of all terminology to the benefit of morphology (cf. Chapter 15, §10, 11). The terms **direct complement** (expressed by the Latin **accusative**) and **indirect complement** (expressed by the Latin **dative**) designated perfectly clear syntactic notions. These notions became morphological concepts; every complement that appears without a preposition was called direct and every complement that does appear with a preposition was called indirect. This reform, which a few rare grammarians rebelled against with good reason (Cf. A. Moufflet, *Contre le massacre de la langue française* 'Against the destruction of French language', I, 1930, pp. 202 and 203), was even less necessary since it is possible to simply say **prepositional complement** or **non-prepositional complement**. What is more, it is of doubtful pedagogical virtue for elementary education, for the practice means that children get used to no longer acknowledging the abstract syntactic fact that lies behind the presence or absence of a preposition. This fact alone is the source of true insight that can prepare the young intellect for the study of foreign case languages, be they **ancient** languages (Greek and Latin) or **modern** languages (German, Russian, etc.).

§15 We have so far defined the second actant from the most frequent situation, that of the **active diathesis** (Chapter 100, §3). It now becomes necessary to envisage the case of the **passive diathesis**, where the action is conceived of in the reverse direction (Stemma 6 and Stemma 95).

§16 While the second actant of an active verb is what is acted upon (§9 and Stemma 6), the **second actant of the passive verb** is what performs the action: *Bernard is hit by Alfred* (Stemma 95).

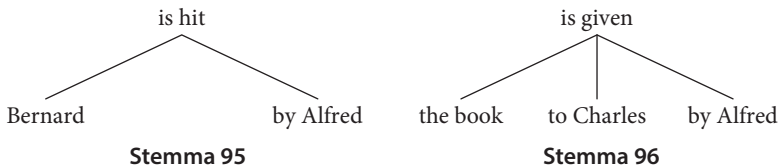
§17 From a structural point of view, we distinguish the **second passive actant** from the second active actant. We refer to the latter simply as the second actant.

§18 From a semantic point of view, the first passive actant is present in traditional grammar under the name **passive complement** or **agent complement**. We give it the name **counter-subject**, since it stands in opposition to the active subject just as the passive stands in opposition to the active.

§19 From the semantic point of view, the third actant is what **benefits or takes detriment from the action**.

§20 In this respect, the third actant was once known in traditional grammar under the name **indirect complement**, a designation that has recently been replaced (§10, note 75) by **complement of attribution**.⁷⁵

§21 The third actant is not affected in the least by the **exchange of actants** and by the change over from active to passive. In both forms of diathesis, the third actant remains unchanged: *Alfred gives the book to Charles* (Chapter 48, §5) → *The book is given to Charles by Alfred* (Stemma 96).



§22 The semantic value of the third actant is sometimes **wider** than what has been defined above in §16. Its value easily extends in a general way to a person related to the envisaged process: Lat. *Gomphos pervenit, quod est oppidum primum Thessaliae venientibus ab Epiro*

75. The term is more or less appropriate. In the French sentence *Le préfet accorde une bourse à l'élève* 'The headmaster is according a scholarship to the student', it is understood that the *élève* is the complement of attribution. But it is less clear in the French sentence *Le préfet refuse la bourse à l'élève* 'The headmaster refuses [to give] the scholarship to the student'. It is also a poor choice to expose the possible risk of confusion between the term **attribution** and the term **attribute** (Chapter 66). Moreover, the term *attribution* has been the target of other criticism (see G. Galichet, *Physiologie de la langue française*, 1949, pp. 76–77).

'He is arriving in Gomphes, which is the first city in Thessaly for those coming from Epirus' (Caesar, *De bello Civili*, III, 80, 1).

§23 In Latin, this semantic value is readily that of the third actant of a past passive verb, which cannot accommodate the complement of the passive because it is by definition perfective and therefore expresses a completed process (cf. §18). In Latin, the third actant is expressed by the ablative preceded (or not) by *ab* (cf. Chapter 52, §18) indicating an infectum, which would be absurd since it would imply current participation in a process that is already terminated: Lat. *Mihi consilium captum iamdiu est* 'For me, the decision was taken a long time ago'.

§24 Since actants are always nouns, we will represent them symbolically with the letter O, to which we can add a first index (O'), second index (O''), and third index (O'''), according to whether we are dealing with the first, second, or third actant.

§25 Concerning the second passive actant (counter subject), since it is the counterpart to the second active actant, we will represent it in the inverse manner, by placing the second index before the O ("O), pronounced "counter second O".

§26 The characteristics of these diverse types of actants are summarized in the following table:

		Point of view				Representation	
Structural		Semantic				Symbol	Enunciation
Name	Character: appears in sentences with	Name			Character		
		Traditional		In the present work			
		Old	New				
First actant	1, 2, and 3 actants	Subject			Does the action	O'	O prime
Second actant (active)	2 and 3 actants	Direct complement	Object complement	Object	Does the action (of the passive verb)	O''	O second
Second actant (passive)	2 and 3 actants	Passive complement Agent complement		Counter-subject	Does the action (of the passive verb)	"O	O counter second
Third actant	3 actants	Indirect complement	Complement of attribution		Action occurs to its benefit or detriment	O'''	O third

Chapter 52. Types of actants across languages

§1 For a sentence to be comprehensible, the various actants must be supplied with sufficient **distinctive signs** to differentiate between them.

§2 These distinctive signs are either **indices** (Chapter 41), which are more or less agglutinated forms (prepositions and postpositions, prefixes, suffixes, or endings), or the **position** of the actants on the spoken chain.

§3 Among these diverse processes, different languages make, for each actant, the most varied **choices**.

§4 In languages without case, the first actant is considered as the **normal actant** and receives no distinct sign whatsoever. This situation is particularly the case of French and English, for example *Alfred is speaking* (Stemma 97).

§5 In languages that have case, the first actant appears in the **nominative**. This is what takes place in Latin and Greek, for example Gr. *Ho Aléxandros légei* ‘Alexander is speaking’, Lat. *Aulus loquitur* ‘Aulus is speaking’ (Stemma 98 and Stemma 99).

§6 Finally, certain languages of a very archaic sort, such as Basque and the languages of the Caucasus, in particular Georgian, mark the **acting** character of the first actant very clearly, using an ending.

§7 In Basque, the subject of verbs of action has an ending that brings out the active character, whereas the subject of verbs of state does not have an ending. One says *gizona* in the sentence *Gizona ona da* ‘The man is good’, but *gizonak* in the sentence *Gizonak erraiten du* ‘The man is speaking’ (Stemmas 100 and 101).

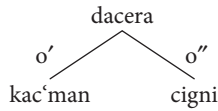
is speaking Alfred	légei ho Aléxandros	loquitur Aulus	da ona gizona	du erraiten gizonak
Stemma 97	Stemma 98	Stemma 99	Stemma 100	Stemma 101

§8 In Georgian, the same phenomenon only occurs when the verb is in the perfective. The first actant, instead of being in the nominative, is put into a special case, the **ergative**⁷⁶ or **active**, indicating its value quite clearly, for example Geor. *Kac'man cigni dacera* ‘The man wrote the book’ (Stemma 102).

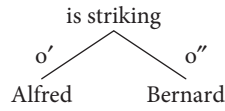
§9 **Second actant.** In languages without case, in general no index distinguishes the second actant from the first actant. They resort to the position of the actant, a fixed position being

76. Cf. A. Vaillant “L’ergatif indo-européen”, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 37, 1936, pp. 93–108.

attributed to each actant that bears the subject or object function. This is what happens in French and English, where the position in front of the verb is the position of the subject and the position after the verb is that of the object, for example Fr. *Alfred frappe Bernard*, Eng. *Alfred is striking Bernard* (Stemma 103).



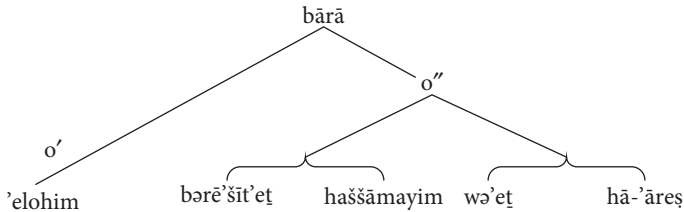
Stemma 102



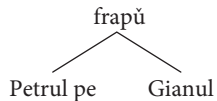
Stemma 103

§10 The same is true of Chinese, where simple inversion of the first and second actant suffices to change the meaning of the sentence: *Ni dǎ wǒ* 'You strike me'; *Wǒ dǎ nǐ*, 'I strike you.'

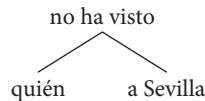
§11 Certain languages without case rely on a **preposition** to indicate the second actant. This occurs in Ancient Hebrew, Romanian and often in Spanish, for example Heb. *Bārē šīt bārā' ʔlōhīm ʔt haššāmayim wə ʔt ha ʔreš* 'Elohim created the sky and the earth' (Stemma 104); Rom. *Petrul frapū pe Gianul* 'Peter is striking John' (Stemma 105); Sp. *Quién no ha visto a Sevilla?* 'Who did not see Seville?' (Stemma 106).



Stemma 104



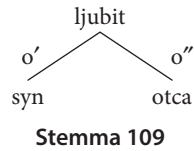
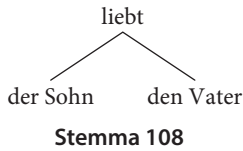
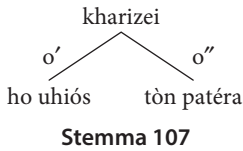
Stemma 105



Stemma 106

§12 In languages that have case, the second actant appears in the accusative. This is what happens in Greek, Latin, German, and Russian: Gr. *Tòn patéra kharízei ho uhiós* 'The son loves his father' (Stemma 107); Lat. *Filius amat patrem* (same meaning) (Stemma 85); Ger. *Der Sohn liebt den Vater* (same meaning) (Stemma 108), Rus. *Syn ljubit otca* (same meaning) (Stemma 109).⁷⁷

77. See the very interesting remarks of E. Benvéniste on the original non-distinction of the "nominative-accusative" neuter (cf. *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, p. 95), see also Chapter 52, §4.

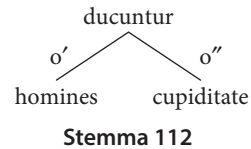
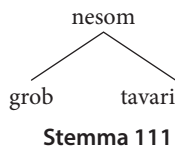
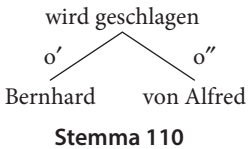


§13 The variety of processes, although very simple, employed by diverse languages to distinguish the second actant is the source of repeated mistakes made by those who are learning a foreign language.

§14 The common mistake of French speakers is to forget to put the second actant into the accusative in languages that have case.

§15 Slavic speakers make the opposite mistake. Accustomed to their languages that have case, they have great difficulty understanding that the nature of actants is bound to their position and that there is a difference between *Alfred hits Bernard* or *Bernard hits Alfred*. Furthermore, as the position of actants in their language has a stylistic value that they incorrectly attempt to render in French (or English), they often end up saying exactly the opposite of what they intended.

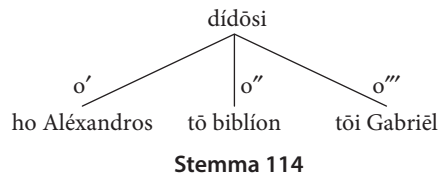
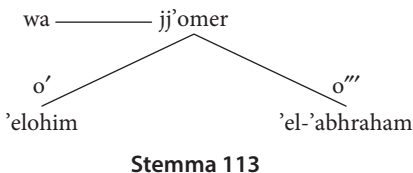
§16 The second passive actant (Chapter 51, §17ff.) is most often marked by a preposition, even in languages that have case, e.g. Ger. *Bernard wird von Alfred geschlagen* (Stemma 110) as well as in languages that lack case, e.g. Eng. *Bernard is hit by Alfred* (Stemma 95).



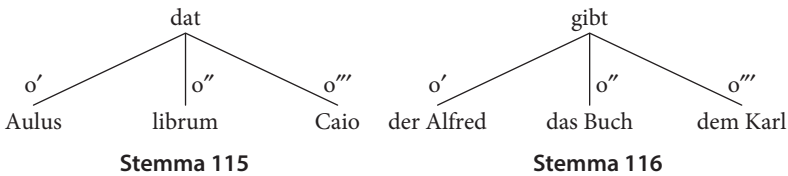
§17 But some languages with a developed case system rely on the use of a case alone. This occurs in Russian, for example *Grob nesom tavoriščami* 'The coffin is carried by the comrades', which uses the instrumental (Stemma 111).

§18 Latin marks the counter subject (Chapter 51, §18) with the preposition *ab* and the ablative when it is a person, and by the ablative alone when it is a thing, for example *Pater amatur a filio* 'The father is loved by the son' (Stemma 86), but *Homines cupiditate ducuntur* 'Men are guided by passion' (Stemma 112).

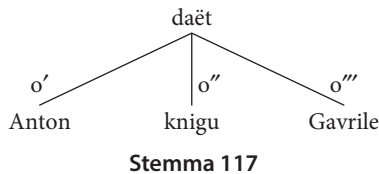
§19 Greek marks the counter subject by the preposition *hupò* reinforced by the genitive *Paideúomai hupò tou didaskáλου* 'I am instructed by my teacher'.



§20 **Third actant.** In languages without case, the third actant is marked with a preposition: Eng. *Alfred gives the book to Charles* (Stemma 77), Heb. *wayyō'mer ʔlōhīm ʔl-ʔbrāhām šema!* 'and God said unto Abraham: Listen!' (Stemma 113).



§21 In languages with case, the third actant is marked by the dative, for example Gr. *Hō Aléxandros didōsi tō biblīon tōi Gabriēl* 'Alexander gives the book to Gabriel' (Stemma 114), Lat. *Aulus dat librum Caio* (same meaning) (Stemma 115), Ger. *Der Alfred gibt dem Karl das Buch* (same meaning) (Stemma 116), Rus. *Anton daët knigu Gavriile* (same meaning) (Stemma 117).



Chapter 53. Personal nouns

§1 In addition to the nouns examined so far, there exists a category of nouns that are few in number but occur frequently. Instead of designating people and objects by way of their **appellation** (*the father, the book*), they designate by way of their **grammatical person**, that is, in terms of interlocutors: *I, you, he*.

§2 We call these nouns **personal nouns**. Structurally, they are constructed essentially like true nouns, and in particular, they can be preceded by a preposition: *for me, for you, for him*, as in *for Alfred*.

§3 Traditional grammar calls these nouns **personal pronouns**. But this designation has the major drawback that it grants a very special meaning to the term **pronoun**, which, in all other cases, is applied to the nominal forms of determinative adjectives (Chapter 34, §4).

§4 If the terminology is generalized (Chapter 178, §3), it is clear that a personal **noun** is not a pronoun, since it is a noun of its own right, and not by nominalization of an adjective.

§5 The notion of **person** should be made more precise. Traditional grammar distinguishes between three persons: first person, the one **who** speaks, second person, the one **to whom** one speaks, and third person, the one **of whom** one speaks.

§6 At first, this classification seems to be perfectly defensible, since it is based on the common observation that the first person is the one who is most directly of interest to the **speaker** or **locutor** and the third person is the one who is least directly of interest to the speaker.⁷⁸

§7 It is for the same reason that the first person trumps the second person, and the second person trumps the third person. Indeed, it is also clear that in general an *I* (first person) and a *you* (second person) make a *we* (first person), and a *you* (second person) and a *he* (third person) make a *you* (second person).⁷⁹

§8 But when this situation is examined more closely, the classification appears more **psychological** than logical, since it rests essentially on the ethical observation that “charity begins at home”. It is only human for the speaker to have the tendency to subjectively consider himself as automatically having the right to be the center of interest.

§9 Therein lies an example of **grammatical boorishness**. The example is analogous to the desire for the grammar – which was originally produced by men and not by women – to place the masculine before the feminine, even when the morphological facts suggest that it might be placed after the feminine, as for example in Latin or Greek, where the feminine, which is the first declension, is distinguished from the masculine and neuter, which both belong to the second declension and are thus more appropriately grouped after the feminine.

§10 Moreover, it is not the case in all languages that grammarians conjugate verbs beginning with the first person. In the **Semitic** languages (Hebrew, Arabic), the practice is to conjugate the personal forms beginning with the third person, the perfective form of which generally represents the root of the verb, followed by the second person, and finally the first person. The same is true of Sanskrit, where the numbers of the third persons are the opposite of what our European grammarians acknowledged when they based their ideas upon the Greek model.

§11 In these conditions and by reason of the imperfection of the terminology based on person numbering, Damourette and Pichon, who distinguish between the **locutive** (first person), **allocutive** (second person), and **delocutive** (third person), have appropriately introduced a terminology that presents the advantage of using terms that indicate **characteristics** of the designated notions. In so doing, they avoid arbitrary numbering.

§12 Damourette and Pichon’s terminology has been roundly criticized. It would be easy to reply that, if such a need for new terms was felt, it only occurred because there were new notions to be expressed. However here it is a notion that has already been proposed, but was poorly designated. In any case and although the new terminology is too different from

78. Georges Galichet, *Essai de Grammaire Psychologique*, p. 102.

79. Georges Galichet, *Essai de Grammaire Psychologique*, p. 103, §12.

current terminology to be adopted without further ado, it presents a very helpful observation that constitutes undeniable progress, and it would be unfortunate to reject it as a matter of policy (Chapter 91, §5 and note 127).

§13 But while from this point of view, the terminology of Damourette and Pichon is far from being poor, it is nonetheless susceptible to criticism insofar as the structure of the notion of person on which it is founded does not seem to correspond to reality.

§14 This terminology, as **psychological** as it is, is not confirmed by the majority of languages, which have, on the contrary, a very different and much deeper **syntactic** structure.

§15 This deep syntactic structure has been masterfully brought to our attention by E. Benvéniste in the study that he dedicated to the structure of person relations in the verb (*Structure de relations de personne dans le verbe*) in the *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* (43, 1947, issue 1, pp. 1–12).

§16 By examining corroborating facts from a large number of languages, Benvéniste's study shows that the ternary character of the psychological structure is based on superficial appearance. In reality, all the facts of language that can be invoked come together to show that there are in fact two **binary correlations** that are superimposed on each other, that of personality and subjectivity.

§17 The **personality** correlation sees person (first and second person) in opposition to **non-person**, which Arabic calls *al-ġā'b* 'the one who is absent'. It is also the form of the verb that Sanskrit grammarians cite, whereas the first person is cited in Greek (cf. above, §10). Finally, this non-person (third person) has many traits in a number of languages that are similar to those of a noun.

§18 The **subjectivity** correlation places the person who is speaking in opposition to the person to whom he is speaking. The opposition to the **not-self** has the speaker becoming psychologically conscious of his subjective personality, of his **self**.

§19 From this point of view, we immediately see the weak point in the terminology of Damourette and Pichon, which completely fails to recognize the double correlation and in which, on the contrary, it is the locutive (first person) that goes it alone against the allocutive (second person) and the delocutive (third person, both with a prefix).

§20 Given this state of affairs, the desire is to find a terminology that has the advantage of conserving the strengths of Damourette and Pichon's terminology at the same time as it acknowledges the two correlations highlighted by Benvéniste.

§21 One could for example knit together the Latin suffix *-ive*, which was adopted by Damourette and Pichon, and the theme *ont-*, which, being the present participle of the verb 'be' in Greek, seems particularly suited to signify the essence of person. An opposition between the **anontive** (third person, the non-person of Benvéniste) and the **ontive** (first and second person) would first be acknowledged. Then within the **ontive**, the **autoontive** (first person) could be distinguished from the **antiontive** (second person), becoming aware of the notion of "I" through this opposition.

§22 Given the numbering differences for person between the Semitic languages, Sanskrit, and our European languages, the summary in the following table is helpful:

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Greek	prosōpon prōton ⁹⁹ 'first person'	prosōpon deutron 'second person'	prosōpon triton or aprosōpōs 'third person'
Sanskrit	uttama puruṣa 'last person'	madyama puruṣa 'intermediate person'	prathama puruṣa '1st person' <i>bhārati</i> 'he carries'
Arabic	al-mutakallimu 'the one who speaks'	al-muḥāṭabu 'the one to whom one speaks'	al-ḡāyibu 'the one who is absent'
Damourette and Pichon	locutive	allocutive	delocutive
			non-person
Benvéniste		personality correlation ←-----→	
	subjectivity correlation ←-----→		
Terminology proposed here	autoontive	ontive antiontive	anontive

§23 Like the other nouns, the personal nouns are variable in case (in the languages that have case), in gender, and in number. The variations in gender and number are the most interesting to study here; they are examined below.

Chapter 54. Gender of personal nouns

§1 In French and in the majority of European languages, gender distinctions (masculine, feminine, and potentially neuter) appear almost only in the anontive personal noun: *lui* 'him', *elle* 'her', *eux* 'them (masc.)', *elles* 'them (fem.)'.

§2 But there are languages, Semitic and Hamitic for instance, where the personal noun is sensitive not only to the anontive gender distinction, but also to the antiontive and sometimes even to the autoontive:⁸¹

80. Translators' note: The Greek designations in this first row were added by the editors of the first edition. Tesnière had left the cells blank.

81. Translators' note: The editors of the first edition added the following note at this point: "The Kabyle examples follow A. Basset and A. Picard, *Éléments de grammaire berbère*, Alger, 1948.

Singular	Anontive		Antiontive		Autoontive	
	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.
Hebrew	<i>hīʾ</i>	<i>hūʾ</i>	<i>ʾaṭ</i>	<i>ʾattāh</i>	<i>ʾanī ʾanōkī</i>	
Arabic	<i>hiya</i>	<i>huwa</i>	<i>ʾanti</i>	<i>ʾanta</i>	<i>ʾanā</i>	
Kabyle	<i>neṭṭaǎ</i>	<i>neṭṭa</i>	<i>kem</i>	<i>kečč</i>	<i>nekk</i>	
Tuareg	<i>entat</i>	<i>enta</i>	<i>kem</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>nek</i>	
English translation	‘she/her’	‘he/him’		‘you’	‘I/me’	

Plural	Anontive		Antiontive		Autoontive	
	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.
Hebrew	<i>hēn</i>	<i>hēm</i>	<i>ʾatten</i>	<i>ʾattem</i>		<i>ʾanāhnū</i>
Arabic	<i>hunna</i>	<i>hum</i>	<i>ʾantunna</i>	<i>ʾantum</i>		<i>naḥnu</i>
Kabyle	<i>entenetidh</i>	<i>entenidh</i>	<i>kametidh</i>	<i>kaouenidh</i>	<i>nekkenetidh</i>	<i>nekkenidh</i>
Khasi	<i>neṭṭaǎ</i>	<i>neṭṭa</i>	<i>kem</i>	<i>kečč</i>		<i>nekk</i>
Tuareg	<i>ka</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>pā</i>	<i>mē</i>		<i>nā</i>
English	‘they/them’			‘you’		‘we/us’

§3 In the same languages, the gender distinction exists not only in the personal noun, but also in the verb.⁸²

Plural	Anontive		Antiontive		Autoontive
	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	
Hebrew	<i>kāṭḅu</i>		<i>kaṭḅten</i>	<i>kaṭḅtem</i>	<i>kāṭaḅnū</i>
Arabic	<i>katabna</i>	<i>katabū</i>	<i>katabtunna</i>	<i>katabtum</i>	<i>katabnā</i>
Kabyle	<i>-tt</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>ṭ—m ṭ</i>	<i>t—m</i>	<i>-m</i>
Tuareg	<i>-nt</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>t—mt</i>	<i>t—m</i>	<i>-n</i>
English	‘they wrote’		‘you wrote’		‘we wrote’

Concerning Tuareg, for which there is no recent grammar, we employ the dated transcription of A. Hanoteau, *Essai de grammaire de la langue tamachek*, Alger, 1896.

82. Evidently the persons of the verb originally stem from personal nouns that agglutinated through time to the verb as they lost their autonomy and in so doing became simple personal affixes (Chapter 55, §3 and Chapter 61, §13). But it is from the verbal noun that the gender distinction stems, this distinction extending in the verb to the **anontive** and the **autoontive** forms.

§4 Likewise, gender appeared in the preterit of the Slavic languages, which is a former active participle and which, as such, agrees in gender (and number) with the subject, regardless of which person is concerned. Hence one finds a preterit in Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian that is a compound tense of the present form of the verb 'be' and its participle:

	Fem.	Masc.	
Serbo-Croatian	<i>ona je pisala</i>	<i>on je pisao</i>	'she/he wrote'
	<i>ti si pisala</i>	<i>ti si pisao</i>	'you wrote'
	<i>ja sam pisala</i>	<i>ja sam pisao</i>	'I wrote'
	Fem.	Masc.	
Bulgarian	<i>tja e pisala</i>	<i>toj e pisal</i>	'she/he wrote'
	<i>ti ci pisala</i>	<i>ti si pisal</i>	'you wrote'
	<i>az s'm pisala</i>	<i>ti si pisal</i>	'I wrote'

§5 In Czech, the auxiliary is tentatively beginning to disappear from the **antiontive** and **autoontive**.⁸³ It has completely disappeared from the **anontive**:

	Feminine	Masculine	
Czech	<i>(ona) psal</i>	<i>(on) psal</i>	'she/he wrote'
	<i>(ty)s psala</i>	<i>(ty)s psal</i>	'you wrote'
	<i>(já) (jsem) psala</i>	<i>(já) (jsem) psal</i>	'I wrote'

§6 In Russian, where the verb *be* is never expressed in the present of a nominal sentence (*Dom nov* 'The house is new'), the same participle, being employed in an attributive function, constitutes the preterit alone, without an auxiliary.

	Fem.	Masc.	
Russian	<i>ona pisala</i>	<i>on pisal</i>	'she/he wrote'
	<i>ty pisala</i>	<i>ty pisal</i>	'you wrote'
	<i>ja pisala</i>	<i>ja pisal</i>	'I wrote'

83. V. Mazon, *Grammaire Tchèque* 3, 1952, §104, p. 169.

§7 In Polish, matters have gone even further. The auxiliary remains as a postposed form, agglutinated to and elided from the **antiontiv**, where *czytałaś* evidently represents evolution from the former *czytała si*. The same explanation is sometimes given for the **autoontive**. But in this case, the absence of *ś* and of the entire radical in the auxiliary *jestem* suggests rather that this is an analogous reconstruction:

	Fem.	Masc.	
Polish	<i>pisala</i>	<i>pisal</i>	'he/she wrote'
	<i>pisalaś</i>	<i>pisaleś</i>	'you wrote'
	<i>pisalam</i>	<i>pisalem</i>	'I wrote'

§8 Be that as it may, the forms of the personal endings of the Polish preterit now constitute a veritable conjugation of the preterit, which differs across the masculine and the feminine for the three persons.

Chapter 55. Number in personal nouns

§1 Number variation appears in the personal noun, which is quite natural, since the personal noun is a noun. As with gender variation, number variation also spread to the verb where it must have started with the **anontive** form, which is **the most nominal verb form**. The impact of this development is that the plural of the verb in certain languages, for example Turkish (Chapter 32, §9), is exactly the same as that of a noun:

Turkish	Noun		Anontive verb	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
	<i>ev</i> 'house'	<i>ev-ler</i> 'houses'	<i>sever</i> 'he/she/it loves'	<i>sever-ler</i> 'they love'

§2 These facts are to be compared with those of Slavic, in particular of Czech and Polish, where the **anontive** also presents a purely nominal form of the plural, Cz. *psali* 'they wrote', Pol. *pisali*, whereas support from the auxiliary grants the **antiontiv** and the **autoontive** a character that is more essentially verbal.

§3 But while everything seems to suggest a nominal origin for the verbal plural, it is not always straightforward when dealing with **personal nouns**.

§4 Indeed, A. Meillet astutely remarked that *I*, being by definition singular, **cannot be put in the plural**. It is true that *they* can be *he + he* or *she + she*. In the same way, *you two*

can be *you* (sg.) + *you* (sg.) when one employs the antiontive to address two people.⁸⁴ But it is impossible to say that *we* is *I + I*. Since there can be no other *I* besides myself, *we* is necessarily *I + another*, that is, *I + you* (sg.) or *I + he/she*. Likewise, the antiontive is used to address a sole interlocutor, it is not possible to have *you + you*, but rather it must be *you* (pl.) + *he, she, or they*. It is only by way of an abstraction that is so deep that it departs from reality that it is possible to conceive of a plural form of autoontive *I* or the antiontive *you*.

§5 Many languages were incapable of producing this effort of abstraction. These languages, instead of having a sole plural corresponding to the singular *I*, have two plurals, a *we = I + you*, and another *we = I + he/she*. This is the case in **Maori**. Or to be more exact, since Maori additionally distinguishes the dual from the plural in the personal pronouns, *we = I + you* and *we = I + he/she* are the dual forms, which do not exclude the plurals *we = I + you* or *we = I + they*. In Maori, there are therefore no fewer than four ways to express the *we* of English:

Maori	Autoontive + antiontive	Singular	= <i>taua</i> ‘we’	<i>I + you</i>
	Autoontive + antiontive	Plural	= <i>itatou</i> ‘we’	<i>I + you guys</i>
	Autoontive + anontive	Singular	= <i>mauo</i> ‘we’	<i>I + he/she</i>
	Autoontive + anontive	Plural	= <i>imatou</i> ‘we’	<i>I + they</i>

§6 The terms **inclusive** and **exclusive** are used to distinguish between dual forms and plural forms of the personal noun according to whether or not they designate the **antiontive**, in addition to the autoontive which is implied in both cases. A form of the personal noun (dual or plural) that designates both the autoontive and the antiontive is said to be **inclusive**. Conversely, a form of the personal noun, dual or plural, that designates both the autoontive and the anontive, to the exclusion of the antiontive, is said to be **exclusive**.

§7 Schmidt’s atlas provides a **distribution of the world’s languages** that has the inclusive vs. exclusive distinction.⁸⁵ It can be found in more or less all exotic languages:

Languages that encode the inclusive vs. exclusive distinction

Africa	Khoekhoe, Bushman, Somali, Malagasy
Asia	Dravidian and Munda languages, Tungusic, Manchu, to which one must add Tibetan
Oceania	Malaysian and other Austronesian languages, languages of South-East Australia, to which one must add Papuan
Americas	Algonquian, Sioux, and a large part of the Amerindian languages

84. Translators’ note: In Modern English, the former plural form *you*, first used only as a polite form, is now the only possible singular form.

85. P. W. Schmidt, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde*, Atlas of 14 maps, map 11.

It should be noted that this large enumeration completely leaves out the languages of Europe – with the exception of certain languages of the Caucasus – as if the phenomenon were absolutely unknown in Europe.

§8 And yet the distinction between inclusive and exclusive is so natural that traces can even be found in Europe. The fact that Schmidt did not take account of it indicates that he either ignored it or did not recognize it as such. Hence it is possible that it exists in other regions in addition to the ones shown on Schmidt's map.

§9 The languages of Europe to which the previous paragraph alluded are none other than the Romance languages, starting with French, where the attribute *autres* in *nous autres*, *vous autres* indicates exclusivity: *nous autres* 'we others' (we but not you) as opposed to *vous autres* 'you others' (you but not us).⁸⁶ It should be noted that this opposition between the autoactive and antioactive overlooks the anontive almost entirely; the analogous expression *eux autres* 'they others' is encountered only very rarely.⁸⁷

§10 In **Italian**, the forms corresponding to *noialtri* 'we others', *voialtri* 'you others', are written as one word, which seems to indicate a more advanced agglutination than in French between the personal noun and the attribute.

§11 In **Spanish**, the development has progressed even further. Not only are *nosotros* and *vosotros* agglutinated forms in writing, like in Italian, but these forms have taken on such an extension in use that they have completely eliminated the simple forms *nos* and *vos*. The development is so advanced that they are used in every case, so that *-otros* has totally lost its etymological value of exclusion. The words *nosotros*, *vosotros* today represent nothing more than Eng. *we*, *you*.

§12 The same type of form is encountered in **Old Catalan** *nosaltros*, cf. H. Gutter, *Grammaire de la langue du "Llibre d'Ave Maria" of Ramon Llull*, p. 18, §50 and p. 79, 13–14.

§13 The exclusive forms of this type even seem to be particularly contagious, since they are sporadically encountered even in **German**. Finck locates them in Goethe's writings: *uns andere Laien* 'we other secular people';⁸⁸ and also in Sudermann's writings: *Wir anderne wollen wir Hölzer suchen* 'The rest of us, we want to seek wood'.⁸⁹

86. It is evidently from the inclusive personal noun *vous autres* [vuzot(ɪ)] that the Creole (of Reunion) *zot* 'you.PL' arises by apheresis: *Ça que zot' y appelle patois créole* 'That that *zot* call creole patois' (Georges Fourcade, *Z'istories la caze* 'Stories of the house', Tananarive, 5th edition, pp. 3ff.).

87. Cf. however A. Moufflet, *Contre le massacre de la langue française*, I, 1930, p. 360.

88. Reineke Fuchs VII, 171–173, cf. Finck, *Die Haupttypen des Sprachbaus*, p. 91.

89. *Der Katzensteg*, 6.

Chapter 56. Circumstants

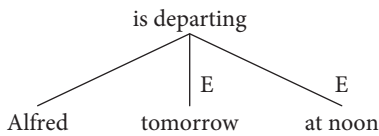
§1 We have seen (Chapter 48, §7) that **circumstants** express the circumstances in which the process takes place.

§2 Moreover, the function of circumstants is always assumed by an adverb, or by a group of words that is equivalent to an **adverb** (Chapter 48, §8). In addition, the grammatical terminology of German designates the adverb with the compound *Umstandswort*, lit. ‘word of circumstance’, the first element being *Umstand*, which signifies **circumstance** (Lat. *circumstantia*), of which it is merely a calque (*um-* = *circum*, *-stand* = *stantia*).

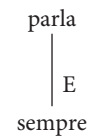
§3 There are therefore as many **types of circumstants** as there are types of adverbs: time, place, manner, etc. (Chapter 37).

§4 Unlike the number of actants, the number of circumstants is **not limited**. There can be no circumstants at all, just as there can be an **unlimited** number of them.

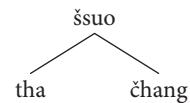
§5 However, it is evident that there can only be two circumstants of the same sort as long as they do not exclude each other. Such is the case in the sentence *Alfred is departing tomorrow at noon* (Stemma 118), with two circumstants of time, *tomorrow* and *at noon*, because the circumstant *at noon*, which expresses the hour, merely makes the circumstant *tomorrow*, which indicates the day, more precise without contradicting it. On the other hand, the two circumstants *sometimes* and *always* cannot depend on the same verbal node, since they assign incompatible temporal conditions.



Stemma 118



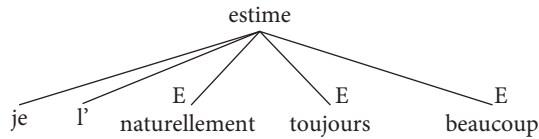
Stemma 119



Stemma 120

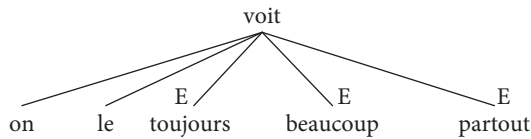
§6 In **centrifugal languages** (Chapter 14, §4), the circumstant follows the verb it depends on: Fr. *Il parle toujours* ‘He talks all the time’, It. *Parla sempre* (Stemma 119), Breton *Eñ a gomz bepred*.

§7 On the contrary, the circumstant in **centripetal languages** appears in front of the verb that it depends on: Chinese *Tā zǒng shuō* ‘He talks all the time’ (Stemma 120), Rus. *On vseгда govorit*, Eng. *He always speaks*. The same is true of Ukrainian, White Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Latin, Romanian, Udmurt, Mari, Chuvash, Komi, Basque, and Armenian. Further: Georgian *Is amagad daseirnobda* ‘He strolls proudly’, Romani *Kaj tu salas kana joda brošindelas?* ‘Where did you go when it rained so much?’

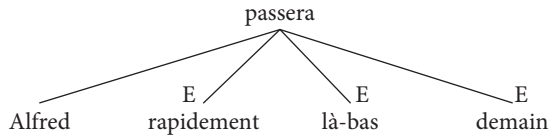


Stemma 121

§8 Circumstants tend to appear in a certain **order**. Thus circumstants of manner are usually placed before those of general time, those of general time before those of quantity, and those of quantity before those of place, and finally, those of place before those of particular time: Fr. *Je l'estime naturellement toujours beaucoup* 'I naturally always value that a lot', *On le voit toujours beaucoup partout* 'One always sees him a lot everywhere', *Alfred passera rapidement là-bas demain* 'Alfred will stop off quickly there tomorrow' (Stemmas 121, 122, 123), Ger. *Er ist immer da* 'He is always there'.



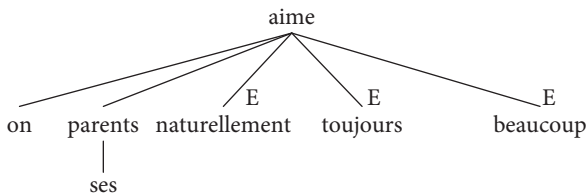
Stemma 122



Stemma 123

§9 The **position of circumstants in relation to actants** is generally as follows. They all appear after the first actant, but

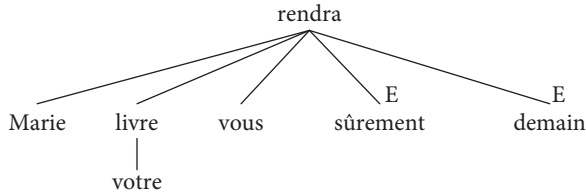
1. circumstants of manner, general time, and quantity usually appear **after** the first actant and **before** the second actant, the third actant, and the auxiliary verb, whereas



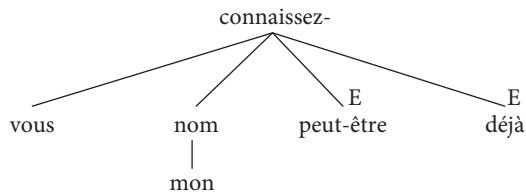
Stemma 124

2. circumstants of place and particular time ordinarily appear **after** the second and third actant (and the auxiliary verb that precedes them): *On aime naturellement toujours*

beaucoup *ses parents* ‘One always of course loves one’s parents much’, *Marie vous rendra sûrement votre livre demain* ‘Marie will surely return your book tomorrow’, *Alfred fourre toujours son nez partout* ‘Alfred always sticks his nose everywhere’ (Stemmas 124, 125, and 78), *J’ai naturellement toujours beaucoup aimé mes parents* ‘I of course also loved my parents a lot’, *Marie vous aura sûrement rendu votre livre demain* ‘Marie will surely have returned your book to you tomorrow’.

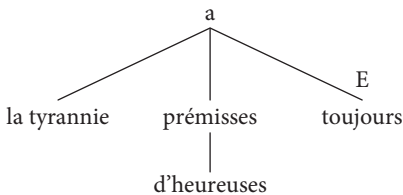


Stemma 125

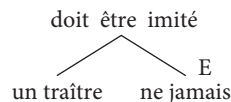


Stemma 126

§10 The position after the actants is the most natural position for circumstants. But it remains as a matter of course that every circumstant can be removed from its ordinary position and placed in a **prominent position**, for example at the front of the sentence. Doing so is a matter of style: *Peut-être connaissez-vous déjà mon nom?* ‘Perhaps you already know my name?’, *Toujours la tyrannie a d’heureuses prémisses* ‘At all times, tyranny has good intentions’ (Racine), *Un traître jamais ne doit être imité* ‘Never should a traitor be imitated’ (Le Franc de Pompignan) (Stemmas 126, 127, and 128). These two latter sentences are more prominent than *La tyrannie a toujours d’heureuses prémisses*, and *Un traître ne doit jamais être imité*, which are more common and leveled.



Stemma 127



Stemma 128

§11 It can be seen from the preceding examples that by and large, circumstants appear after actants. For this reason, we always place them in the stemma to the right of the actants (Chapter 48, §14), regardless of their real position in the linear sequence.

Chapter 57. The dividing line between actants and circumstants

§1 At first blush, the **dividing line** between actants and circumstants is clear. But upon closer inspection, the distinction proves difficult to establish with precision. The actant bearing the highest numeral index – that is, the third actant – shows some characteristics of circumstants. Conversely, certain circumstants share some characteristics with actants, which suggests that a closer examination of the criteria is necessary to distinguish between actants and circumstants.

§2 Two such **criteria** are that of form and that of meaning.

§3 From the point of view of **form**, an actant, being in principle a noun, is self-sufficient as a dependent of the verb, for example *Alfred hits Bernard*, whereas a circumstant, which is only capable of functioning as an adverb, must in addition, if it is a noun, receive an adverbial marker in the form of a preposition (cf. Chapter 201, §2), for example *Alfred walks with a cane*.

§4 From the point of view of **meaning**, an actant stands solidly behind the verb to the point that it is often indispensable for completing the meaning of the verb, for example *Alfred hits Bernard*. It is difficult to understand *Alfred hits* without the second actant. On the contrary, circumstants are essentially optional: *Alfred walks* is sufficient on its own, without the necessity to indicate what he uses to walk, not even if he needs something to help him walk.

§5 Furthermore, the third actant and even the second actant, if they are undoubtedly actants by form in a language that possesses a dative and an accusative, approach the circumstants in languages where they are signaled by prepositions: *Alfred gave the book to Charles* (Chapter 52, §20 and Stemma 77), Romanian *Petruț frapă pe Gianul* (Chapter 52, §11 and Stemma 105).

§6 Conversely, certain complements that look like circumstants because they have a preposition are actually actants because their connection to the verb is very tight. The verb seems incomplete without them, e.g. Fr. *Alfred change de veste* ‘Alfred changes his jacket’.

§7 But *de veste* cannot be an actant, since it does not fit the definition of the first actant, which performs the action (Chapter 51, §6), nor that of the second actant, which supports the action (Chapter 51, §9), and finally, nor that of the third actant, which receives benefit or detriment from the action (Chapter 51, §19). Not being an actant, it can only be a circumstant. Indeed, *de veste* expresses one of the circumstances that accompanies and defines the action of *changer*. Circumstants of this type are therefore adverbs of **quiddity** (Chapter 37, §35) in a sense. The sought-after dividing line is therefore located between the third actant and the circumstant of the type *de veste*.

§8 One should note that this division classifies the majority of complements that appear in the dative (for example in Latin) or with the preposition *à* in French as third actants: *plaire à quelqu’un* ‘be pleasing to someone’, *nuire à quelqu’un* ‘be harmful to someone’, Lat. *nocere*

alicui. These complements can actually be assimilated to the verbs of **giving** (Chapter 106, §8): *donner du plaisir à quelqu'un* 'give pleasure to someone', *donner de la nuisance à quelqu'un* 'cause someone trouble', *porter envie à quelqu'un* 'make someone envious'.

§9 Conversely, the majority of complements are classified as circumstants when they appear in the genitive (for example in Latin) or with the preposition *de* in French: *dépendre de quelqu'un* 'depend on someone', *changer de chaussettes* 'change socks', *se souvenir de quelque chose* 'remember something', *se tromper de porte* 'take the wrong door'.

§10 One should note in particular the propensity of verbs of **remembering** to take a circumstant of this type, for example Fr. *Je me souviens de mon enfance* 'I remember my childhood', which rubs off, in colloquial French, on *Je me rappelle mon enfance* 'I remember my childhood' giving the incorrect form *Je me rappelle de mon enfance*.

Chapter 58. The structure of the verbal node in German

§1 We have seen (Chapter 48, §13) that the immediate subordinates of the verb are actants and circumstants. The **construction of the German sentence** furnishes us with strong confirmation of this state of affairs.

§2 The **principle** of the construction of the German sentence (excluding interrogative or exclamative sentences, and those introduced by a subordinator) is to express at the head of the sentence one of the actants or one of the circumstants directly subordinated to the verb; then the verb, and then the (other) actants and circumstants directly subordinated to the verb. The latter appear in a precise order that will not interest us here. Thus one would construct variations as follows, the different orders carrying nuances but **no variations** in meaning, strictly speaking:

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Mein Sohn</i> 'My son	<i>besuchte</i> visited	<i>gestern</i> yesterday	<i>mit einem Freunde</i> with a friend	<i>das Museum.</i> the museum.'
<i>Gestern</i>	<i>besuchte</i>	<i>mein Sohn</i>	<i>mit einem Freunde</i>	<i>das Museum.</i>
<i>Mit einem Freunde</i>	<i>besuchte</i>	<i>mein Sohn</i>	<i>gestern</i>	<i>das Museum.</i>
<i>Das Museum</i>	<i>besuchte</i>	<i>mein Sohn</i>	<i>gestern</i>	<i>mit einem Freunde.</i>

Each of these variants is equally correct. The sole difference between them is that the fronted element is more prominent.

§3 Fourquet quite correctly compares this structure to a **key ring** where the direct dependents of the verb (actants as well as circumstants) are represented by the keys and the verb by the ring that binds the keys together. The German sentence behaves as if one key is held bottom up, with the key ring below, followed by all the other subordinate keys, hanging from the ring (Figure 129).

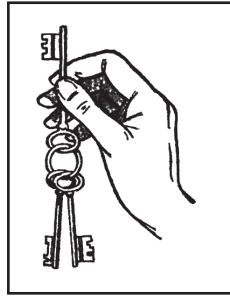


Figure 129

§4 This structure leads to the distinction of a certain number of **positions** in the German sentence and to the observation that the secret of German sentence structure resides above all in the verb's position. In interrogative and exclamative sentences, the verb occupies the first position; it occupies the last position in clauses that are introduced by a subordinator and the second position in all other clauses.

§5 The conclusion is that word position in German sentences is not **relative**, as is too often taught with respect to the theory of **inversion**, which actually confuses matters. It is actually **absolute**, since the verb does not appear **after** one word or another, but in a position that is determined by the nature of the clause at hand. This position is fixed and determined in its own right.⁹⁰

§6 Regarding the other positions, each subordinate of the verb, be it an actant or a circumstant and however extensive it may be, occupies **one position** in the clause, and **only one**. Each of these subordinates of the verb can in turn be a governor and therefore drag along with it all its subordinates. This situation is consistent with the principle formulated above (Chapter 3, §4), whereby a governor and all its subordinates occupy just a single position.

1	2
Alfred	schenkte mir ein Buch.
Alfred	gave me a book

1	2
<i>Mein Vater, der mich sehr gern hat und nie eine Gelegenheit vermisst mir eine Freude zu machen, besonders wenn diese zu meiner Erziehung beitragen kann,</i>	schenkte mir ein Buch
'My father, who adores me and never misses an opportunity to make me happy, especially when the opportunity contributes to my education,	gave me a book.'

90. For everything that concerns the structure of the German sentence, see Lucien Tesnière *Une survivance pédagogique: l'inversion et le rejet dans la construction de la phrase allemande* 'A pedagogical remnant: inversion and rejection in the construction of the German sentence', *Les Langues Modernes*, n^o 2, mars-avril 1947, pp. 21ff.

Whether the noun is alone, as with *Alfred*, or accompanied by a whole slew of subordinates, as with *Vater* – which governs not only *mein*, but also the string of subordinates *der mich sehr gern hat und nie eine Gelegenheit vermisst mir eine Freude zu machen, besonders wenn dieselbe zu meiner Erziehung beitragen kann* – the whole node occupies a single position.

§7 Therefore for a German sentence to be complete, its structure requires that the actants and circumstants be the **immediate subordinates** of the verb, since each of them, regardless of the node it may be composed of and which it tows with it, always occupies one ‘position’ in the construction of the German sentence. The German sentence can always be **deduced** logically in this way, and only in this way, from the structure of the verbal node.

§8 Conversely and given its strictness, German sentence structure furnishes – this time not by the deductive method, but by the inductive method – a precise **method for investigating the structure of the sentence** and the deep essence of types of words.

§9 The German sentence can provide useful insights into, for example, the nature of **infinitives** and **participles**. Indeed, these two types of words occupy a special position in the German sentence, which is not that of the verb:

2

<i>Ich</i>	<i>werde</i>	<i>dieses Buch</i>	<i>morgen</i>	<i>fertig</i>	<i>gelesen</i>	<i>haben.</i>
I	will	this book	tomorrow	finished	read	have

‘I will have finished reading this book tomorrow.’

In the interrogative structure:

1

<i>Werde</i>	<i>ich</i>	<i>dieses Buch</i>	<i>morgen</i>	<i>fertig</i>	<i>gelesen</i>	<i>haben?</i>
will	I	this book	tomorrow	finished	read	have

‘Will I have finished reading this book by tomorrow?’

And in the subordinate clause:

<i>Du glaubst nicht</i>	<i>dass</i>	<i>ich</i>	<i>dieses Buch</i>	<i>morgen</i>	<i>gelesen haben</i>	<i>werde.</i>
You believe not	that	I	this book	tomorrow	read have	will

‘You do not think that I will have finished reading this book by tomorrow.’

§10 As can be seen from the preceding examples, the **auxiliary** *werde* alone is considered as the **verb**, since it alone occupies the position of the verb, whereas the **auxiliated** forms,

i.e. the participle *gelesen* and the infinitive *haben*, are treated as **different** types of words, since they occupy their own position, which is not the position of the verb. We will see in what follows (Chapter 180 and 198) that this conclusion is confirmed by the analysis of these words.

Chapter 59. Indices

§1 The immediate subordinates of the verb, especially the nouns, naturally tend to **form a sequence** (Chapter 6, §5) with the verb that they depend on, and as a consequence, they are placed as close to it as possible in the spoken chain. Hence in French orthography, the actants can never be separated from the verb by a comma.⁹¹ It is correct to punctuate without a comma *Mon père aime la chasse* ‘My father loves hunting’, whereas it would be incorrect to use a comma as in **Mon père, aime la chasse* or **Mon père aime, la chasse*.

§2 With this **universal gravitation** of immediate subordinates of the verb to the verb, it appears that the personal nouns have a tendency even more marked than for other nouns not to distance themselves from the verb.

§3 This situation is evident for example in French, where the usual order is *Je donne le livre à mon frère* ‘I give the book to my brother’, with a second and a third nominal actant, but if one of these two nouns is replaced with a personal noun, the order is *Je le donne à mon frère* ‘I give it to my brother’, *Je lui donne le livre* ‘I give him the book’. In these last two sentences, it can be seen that the personal noun has the **priority** in terms of proximity to the verb, regardless of whether it is a second or third actant.

§4 The situation is no less clear in German, where the sentence *Ich gebe meinem Bruder das Buch* ‘I give my brother the book’, can be compared to *Ich gebe es meinem Bruder* ‘I give it to my brother’ and *Ich gebe ihm das Buch* ‘I give him the book’.

§5 The same is true in English, where it is *I give the book to my brother*, but *I give it to my brother* and *I give him the book*.

§6 In certain languages, personal nouns, which gravitate into the immediate vicinity of the verb, tend to lose their autonomy. Phonetically, they **lose their accent**. Morphologically,

91. To be more precise, they can never be separated from the verb by a **single** comma, although they can be separated off by two commas that function as a parenthesis, the first opening the parenthesis that the other closes: *Mon père, qui a le tempérament sanguin et qui éprouve le besoin de faire beaucoup d'exercice, aime la chasse* ‘My father, who has a sanguine temperament and feels the need to get a lot of exercise, loves hunting’.

they tend to **agglutinate** to the verb; they are integrated into the verb as an affix (prefix or suffix). In European languages, this process can be seen in particular in the Romance and the Slavic languages (but not in Russian).

§7 The forms of the personal nouns that are incorporated into the verb differ from the forms of autonomous personal nouns, since they are treated differently in terms of phonetics due to their atonic nature. In French a clear distinction is encountered between *Il me le donne* 'He gives it to me' and *Donne-le moi* 'Give it to me'. In the first case, *me* is atonic and treated phonetically as such, whereas in the second case, *moi* requires the phonetic treatment of an accented syllable.

§8 Deprived of their phonetic and morphological autonomy, the personal nouns are increasingly specialized in their role as **additives** to the verb. In this way subject personal nouns tend to become simple indicators of the person of the verb (Chapter 60, §16). We hence call them **personal indices**. Indeed in the French *je parle* 'I speak', *je* serves much less to mark the speaker than to indicate that the verb is autoontive (Chapter 53, §21).

§9 The result of this is that it is necessary to formally condemn the term **personal pronoun**, not only because it is not a pronoun (Chapter 53, §3 and 4), but also because it has the inconvenience of grouping two types of obviously distinct words under the same banner, the personal noun and the personal index.

§10 The **personal noun** is easily recognized, since it always maintains its accent and can appear with a preposition. The form *avec moi* is used just like *avec Alfred*, and *Il se moque de moi* 'He makes fun of me' just like *Il se moque d'Alfred* 'He makes fun of Alfred'.

§11 Conversely, the **personal index** is recognized insofar as it does not bear any accent and is merely a subsidiary word (Chapter 29, §3), an addition to the verb. Thus in the Fr. *je parle*, the word *je* is effectively deprived of autonomy and cannot appear alone. It is not possible to say *avec je*, only *je parle*, where *je* indicates merely that the verb *parler* is employed as an autoontive.⁹²

§12 The opposition between the personal noun and the personal index appears clearly when there is insistence on the person indicated by the index. In such a case, the index no

92. It is not necessary to account for formulations of the sort *Je, soussigné Jean-Pierre Durand, notaire à Saint-Jean, certifie par les présentes, que...* 'I, undersigner Jean-Pierre Durand, notary at Saint-Jean, certify by the present documents, that...' Indeed this form, which is the only case in which the personal index is still employed as a personal noun, is an archaic and isolated occurrence. It is preserved in juristic and administrative jargon, but is no longer alive in productive language. Translator's note: Apart from the previous kind of texts, *je* 'I' can only be separated from the verb by other clitics: *Je le lui donne* 'I give him it', but **Je, tu sais, viens seulement demain* 'I, you know, am arriving only tomorrow'.

longer suffices and an additional noun must be used, for example Fr. *Toi, tu chanteras, moi, je danserai* 'You, you will sing, me, I will dance'.

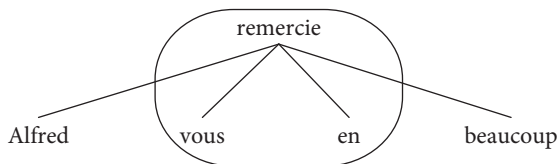
French	<i>Il me frappe.</i> <i>Qui? – Moi</i>	'He hits me. Who? – Me.'
Italian	<i>Egli mi tocca.</i> <i>Chi? – Me.</i>	'He hits me. Who? – Me.'
Spanish	<i>El mi ama.</i> <i>A quien? – A me.</i>	'He loves me. Who? – Me.'
Serbo-Croatian	<i>On me je video.</i> <i>Koga? – Mene.</i>	'He sees me. Who? – Me.'

§13 Colloquial speech sometimes deletes the subject index or its equivalent. This suppression gives the sentence a careless allure: Fr. *Ah, nom de Dieu, Déodat, pour un facteur, êtes un sacré facteur...* 'Ah, name of God, Deodat, for a messenger, [you] are a sacred messenger...' (Marcel Aymé, *La Jument verte*, p. 103). This type of sentence is not a modern innovation. It can be found in Alexandre Dumas: *Bonsoir, Grimaud, dit-il, comment va?* 'Good evening, Grimaud, he said, how's [it] going?' (*Le vicomte de Bragelonne*).

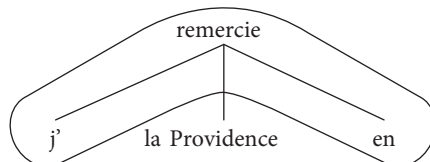
§14 In English, the same phrase serves as an abbreviation, and is quite common in colloquial language: *Here's Mr. Maldon, begs the favour of a word, Sir* (Dickens, *David Copperfield*, I, 16).

§15 These diverse examples show that, just as in the languages where person is normally indicated by an index, the index can be absent. But in such cases, the verb is always in a form that suffices to indicate the person (*êtes, va, begs*).

§16 In the stemma, the indices retain their status as actants and circumstants, but they are included in the circle drawn around the verbal nucleus: *Alfred vous en remercie beaucoup* 'Alfred thanks you a lot for that', *J'en remercie la Providence* 'I thank Providence for that' (Stemmas 130 and 131).



Stemma 130



Stemma 131

Chapter 60. Oblique personal indices

§1 While the personal noun as first actant has the tendency to become a simple personal index, it is not alone in doing so. A personal noun as second or third actant can also become a personal index. In such a case, it is not a personal subject index, but rather an **oblique personal index**. Thus in the Fr. *Je le lui donne* 'I give it to him', *je* is a personal index as first actant, whereas *le* and *lui* are oblique personal indices, *le* the personal index of the second actant and *lui* the personal index of the third actant.

§2 The oblique masculine personal index can designate an idea contained in a **preceding phrase or sentence**: Fr. *Ce fut ainsi qu'elle mourut un soir du mois d'octobre. Le jour de l'arrivée des grives, comme Isidore le fit observer à son père* 'It was thus that she died one evening in the month of October. The day the thrushes arrived, as Isidor remarked to his father' (Murger, *Le Sabot rouge*, X). The oblique index *le* anaphorically designates the idea that it was on the day that the thrushes arrived that the heroine died.

§3 Oblique personal indices are found in the majority of languages where there are personal subject indices:

French	<i>Je le vois.</i>	
Italian	<i>Lo vedo.</i>	
Breton	<i>Me am eus en ewelet.</i>	'I see it.'
Serbian	<i>Ja sam ga vidao.</i>	

§4 But it is evident that only the personal index of the first actant is likely to initiate the system of endings and personal prefixes and, as a consequence, of conjugation, since the verb always agrees in person with the first actant.

§5 The anontive personal index *le* or *la* in front of a vowel is elided in *l'*, which tends to be pronounced as a geminate *ll'* in colloquial speech and in certain dialects.

§6 Despite what A. Moufflet thinks (*Contre le massacre de la langue française*, 1930, p.16), it is not because of an improbable danger of being confused with *gelé* 'frozen' that the *l'* is generally pronounced as *ll'* in *Je l'ai* 'I have it'. It is actually because it is the only way of distinguishing between the first actant *il* 'he' in the common phrase *qui l'*, which has a contrary meaning to *qu'il*: *l'homme qui l'* (colloquially pronounced *ll'*) *a vu* ≠ *l'homme qu'il a vu*. In

<i>Apprenez que tout flatteur</i>	'Know that every flatterer,
<i>Vit aux dépens de celui qui l'écoute.</i>	Lives at the expense of he who listens to him.'
(La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , I, 2, <i>Le Corbeau et le Renard</i> 'The crow and the fox', cf. Chapter 271, §3)	

The correct pronunciation of *l'* has the serious drawback that it is confused with *qu'il*, which gives the sentence a diametrically opposed meaning and does not justify the moral

of the fable. This is the reason why the pronunciation *ll'*, while incorrect, has a good chance of being adopted into academic pronunciation, which is less clear due to the ambiguity.

§7 The tendency of indices to agglutinate to the verb has the effect of bringing the indices to the same position right in front of the verb in the spoken chain. The result is that they are grouped together in a manner that makes them more or less inseparable, for example, Fr. *Vous le lui donnez* 'You give it to him', where the three personal indices of the first, second, and third actant congregate immediately in front of the verb. In this manner, they form an **inseparable block**.

§8 The cohesion is particularly strong between the indices of the second and third actants, which are, for example in French, always adjacent to each other in the spoken chain and in the same respective order, whereas the index of the first actant can appear on the other side of the verb, as for example in interrogative sentences, cf. Fr. *Le lui donnerez-vous?* 'Did you give it to him?', or it can even be completely absent, as is the case with the imperative, cf. Fr. *Donnez-le lui!* 'Give it to him!'.

§9 In the preceding examples, the two oblique personal indices, i.e. the second actant *le* and the third actant *lui*, tend to form an inseparable block *le lui* (see §7), be this block placed on the spoken chain immediately before or immediately after the verb: *Vous le lui donnez* 'You give it to him' and *Le lui donnez-vous?* 'Do you give it to him?' vs. *Donnez-le lui!* 'Give it to him!'. We call this block (*le lui*) the **block of oblique indices**.

§10 Finally, all subordinates introduced by the prepositions *de* and *à*, which can be actants or circumstants, can be represented by an index. In these cases, the index *en* takes the place of subordinate phrases that begin with the preposition *de*, and the index *y* takes the place of all subordinate phrases that begin with the preposition *à*.

§11 The index *en* can be an actant as in *Pour avoir de vrais amis, il faut être capable d'en faire et digne d'en avoir* 'To have true friends, one has to be capable of making them and worthy of having them' (La Rochefoucauld), where *en* takes the place of *des amis*. It can also be a **circumstant** of place, as in *Alfred est à Paris, Bernard en vient*, where *en* stands for *de Paris*.

§12 The index *y* can be an actant, as in *C'est lorsque nous sommes éloignés de notre pays que nous sentons surtout l'instinct qui nous y attache* 'It is when we are distant from our country that we sense most the instinct that ties us **to it**' (Chateaubriand), where *y* signifies *à notre pays* 'to our country'. It can also be a circumstant of place as in *Ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant, c'est la simplicité des mœurs de la ville de Vevey; on ne m'y connaît que comme peintre, et j'y suis traité pourtant comme à Nancy* 'What is more interesting is the simplicity of the customs in the city of Vevey; I am only known as a painter **there**, and I am yet treated **there** as in Nancy' (De Boufflers), where both *y* signify *à Vevey*.

§13 French is becoming more and more resistant to employing the indices *en* and *y* when people are involved. In this regard Balzac writes: *C'est un jeune homme et il a du cœur. Nous ne pourrons jamais nous en emparer à son entrée à Fougères* 'He is a young man with courage. We will never be able to get hold **of him** as he enters Fougères' (*Les Chouans*). French

has an ever greater tendency to say: *Nous ne pourrons jamais nous emparer de lui à son entrée à Fougères*. Likewise, where the dictionary of the Academy specifies *C'est un honnête homme, fiez-vous y*, French has an ever greater tendency to say *C'est un honnête homme, fiez-vous à lui* 'He is an honest man, trust **him**'.

§14 The indices *en* and *y* constitute one of the great originalities of the Latin languages and in particular of French, since they express as much as the subordinates that they replace and that are sometimes very long. In general, **foreign speakers** of French do not know how to use them and, when a text, even written correctly in French, has been written by a foreign speaker, it is easy to detect due to the total absence of the indices *en* and *y*, whereas they appear quite naturally under the feather of native French speakers.

§15 Although they are so intimately associated with the verb that they are practically agglutinated to it, the personal indices continue to be written as separate words in French: *Vous le lui donnez* 'You give it to him'. But even French orthography acknowledges the agglutination via a **hyphen**, when the construction causes the inversion of the verb and the indices, so that the indices, which usually appear before the verb, come to appear immediately after it, as in interrogative and imperative sentences: *Le lui donnez-vous?* 'Are you giving it to him?', *Donnez-le lui!* 'Give it to him!', *Donnez-lui le livre!* 'Give him the book!'.

§16 In Spanish and in Italian, the oblique personal indices amalgamate to a single word in orthography and, if they follow the verb, also with the verb: It. *Lei glielo dà* 'You give it to him', *Glielo dia!* 'Give it to him!', *Bisogna darglielo* 'It should be given to him'; Sp. *escribiéndolo* 'writing it', *prometiéndoselo* 'promising it to him'. For this reason, the grammatical terminology of these languages often calls the personal indices **joint personal pronouns**.

§17 The joint personal pronouns can be agglutinated to a noun to which they are subordinate: It. *Comunicare numero riferimento e numero circolare ministeriale esatti specificando ogettole* 'Communicate the reference number and the number of the exact ministerial bill by specifying its object'.

§18 The agglutinated forms are also written with a single word in certain French dialects, as for example in Gascon, where it would be practically impossible to write *m* alone in a sentence like *Dechem droumi!* 'Let **me** sleep!'.

§19 The same is true in Breton where there are veritable **joint personal pronouns** as there are in Italian and Spanish. These personal indices agglutinate to the verb and are written as a single word together with the verb, e.g. *-i* 'it' in *keméret-i* 'take it'.

§20 In the languages where the indices are always written as a single word together with the verb on which they depend, they are called **affix pronouns**. Such is the case for example in Hebrew, where there is *Kātab* 'He wrote', but *Ktābō* 'He wrote it', or in Aramaic, in the celebrated sentence that the Gospel of Matthew and Mark attribute to Jesus as he was dying on the cross: *Eli, Eli, lama šabhaqtani* 'My God, my God, why have **you** abandoned **me**', where the verb *šabhaq* is followed by the two agglutinated indices *-ta-* 'you' (first actant) and *-ni* 'me' (second actant).

§21 The affix pronouns exist very rarely in the Germanic languages. However, they can be found in dialects of German, for example in dialects of Alemannic: *sagi* for *sage ich* ‘say I’, *bringem* for *bring ihm* ‘bring him’ (Hebel, *Alemanische Gedichte*, Preface).

§22 This means that the indices, which were originally perfectly autonomous personal nouns, have progressively become simple elements of the verb of which they have come to form a central part of in a number of languages. During this evolution, which has gradually caused them to lose their liberty of position in the sentence, they end up being trapped against the verb, around which they originally gravitated. But it is also evident that they have become immobile in the position that they occupied at the point when agglutination trapped them by robbing them of their original liberty of movement.

§23 The result from the process described in the preceding paragraphs is that the rules that govern the order of agglutinated indices reflect the mechanism of their construction at a time when they were still autonomous. It is therefore possible to explain certain apparent anomalies, which in reality are merely a remnant of the free play of the original construction of personal nouns. For example, in French, when the index of a second actant coexists with the index of a third actant, the index of the third actant is placed after the index of the second actant, except if it is the autoontive or antiontive plural, in which case the index of the third actant is placed before that of the second actant: *Donnez-le moi* ‘Give it to me’, *Donnez-la lui* ‘Give it to him’, but *Donnez-nous la* ‘Give it to us’, *Tenez-vous le pour dit*, ‘You won’t be told again!’ lit. ‘Take it to you for said’.

§24 In modern French, the position of the block of oblique indices (see §9) is not the same as in the 17th century when it depends on a dependent infinitive of a verb of volition (modal auxiliary: *vouloir* ‘want’, *pouvoir* ‘can’, *devoir* ‘must’). In the 17th century, the block of oblique indices preceded the verb of volition, whereas nowadays the block appears after the verb of volition but before the infinitive to which it is subordinate:

17th century	<i>Je le lui veux donner.</i>	‘I want to give it to him.’
Now	<i>Je veux le lui donner.</i>	‘I want to give it to him.’

The elements of the block remain frozen together, but the group that they form is no longer fixed to the verb in the same position as it was in the 17th century. This situation proves that the freezing in the 17th century was not yet solid and definitive. After having tended to fix the block to the verb in one position, the block has finally come to be fixed definitively in another position.

§25 In a conversation, it is easy to determine who the speaker is, and who the listener is. The speaker designates himself by employing the autoontive, and the listener is designated using the antiontive. But it is much more delicate to determine the person who is being spoken about, because the anontive can apply to any third party, person or even thing. That is the reason why anontive nouns and indices are in principle always anaphors (Chapter 43). Thus in the French sentence *Je vous assure qu’il est parti* ‘I assure you that he

has left, it is naturally understood that *je* designates the person who is speaking, and *vous* the person to whom s/he is speaking. But it is impossible for anyone who was not present at the beginning of the conversation and is therefore incapable of knowing the semantic source (Chapter 42, §14) of the anaphoric connection resulting in *il* to determine who is being spoken about and to know whether *il* is someone who has left or something, for instance a package, that has been sent by mail.

§26 An oblique personal index can be governed by an incomplete sentence word (Chapter 46, §2ff.): *Me voici, te voici, le voici qui vient*, lit. 'Here I am, here you are, here he is who comes.'⁹³

Chapter 61. Indices and conjugations

§1 We have seen (Chapter 53, §1) that the personal nouns designate people by their grammatical person. Their essential function is thus to **designate the person**. Moreover, in many languages, especially exotic ones, personal conjugation is uniquely assured by the personal noun of the first actant, whereas the verb itself is invariable. Such is the case, for example, in Chinese and Samoan:

Chinese			
Singular	Anontive	<i>tǎ dǎ</i>	'he hits'
	Antiontive	<i>nǐ dǎ</i>	'you hit'
	Autoontive	<i>wǒ dǎ</i>	'I hit'
Plural	Anontive	<i>tǎ men dǎ</i>	'they hit'
	Antiontive	<i>nǐ men dǎ</i>	'you hit'
	Autoontive	<i>wǒ men dǎ</i>	'we hit'
Samoan			
Singular	Anontive	<i>na te alofa</i>	'he loves'
	Antiontive	<i>e te alofa</i>	'you love'
	Autoontive	<i>ou te alofa</i>	'I love'
Plural	Anontive	<i>latou te alofa</i>	'they love'
	Antiontive	<i>tou te alofa</i>	'you love'
	Autoontive	<i>tatou te alofa</i>	'we love'

93. Translators' note: Fr. *voici* is the frozen form of *vois (i)ci* 'see here' and still has some verbal properties.

§2 Insofar as the personal noun of the first actant does not conserve its autonomy but rather becomes a simple atonal index, it no longer serves any other purpose than to mark the person of the **verb** and to thus assure the **personal conjugation**. Such is the case for example in Breton and English, where the index alone assures the personal conjugation, called impersonal in Breton, of the verb, whereas the verb itself remains completely invariable:

Breton			
Singular	Anontive	<i>eñ a gar</i>	'he loves'
	Antiontive	<i>te a gar</i>	'you love'
	Autoontive	<i>me a gar</i>	'I love'
Plural	Anontive	<i>i a gar</i>	'they love'
	Antiontive	<i>c'houi a gar</i>	'you love'
	Autoontive	<i>ni a gar</i>	'we love'

English		
Singular	Anontive	<i>he loved</i>
	Antiontive	<i>thou loved</i>
	Autoontive	<i>i loved</i>
Plural	Anontive	<i>they loved</i>
	Antiontive	<i>you loved</i>
	Autoontive	<i>we loved</i>

§3 The personal index of the subject thus plays exactly the same role as the personal ending. This situation is evident in the typological **comparison of Latin and French**:

	Latin	French	
Anontive	<i>am-at</i>	[il-ɛm] <i>il aime</i>	'he loves'
Antiontive	<i>am-as</i>	[ty-ɛm] <i>tu aimes</i>	'you love'
Autoontive	<i>am-o</i>	[ʒ-ɛm] <i>j'aime</i>	'I love'

This table shows that the French personal indices [il], [ty], and [ʒ], which only function to indicate person, play exactly the same role as the Latin endings *-at*, *-as*, *-o*.

§4 Agglutination of the verb to the personal noun of the subject is thus one of the most natural procedures by which languages develop their system of prefixes, affixes, or personal endings, that is, of their conjugation in general. In this way, the **Semitic** verb seems to have originally formed its perfect by agglutinating a postposed personal index and its imperfect by agglutinating a preposed personal index. This situation is still transparent in

the majority of Semitic languages. For example in Hebrew, where the masculine singular allocutive personal noun has the form *ʾattāh* ‘you’, the corresponding verbal forms are *kātabtā* ‘you have written’ in the perfect and *tiktob* ‘you will write’ in the imperfect.

§5 The preceding examples render the **glossogenetic hypothesis**, which has already been appropriately formulated, immensely probable. According to this hypothesis, personal endings stem from past personal nouns in all languages. This observation grants significant importance to the fact that in a number of languages, verbal endings present more or less striking analogies to the personal nouns. Thus in the Indo-European languages, it is characteristic for the endings of the anontive to be marked by a *-t*, which is identical to the theme *-t* of the demonstrative. In Latin *ama-t*, for example, could well be the mere agglutination of the demonstrative to the verb, which has survived as such in Rus. *to* ‘that’ and as an article in Gr. *tó*, cf. Lat. (*is*) - *tud* ‘that’.

§6 The result of all this is that in the Latin phrase *Aulus amat* ‘Aulus loves’, the first actant is actually expressed **two times**, the first time purely etymologically by the ending *-t*, which is the residue of a former personal noun, and a second time by the word *Aulus* itself, which is the first actant and perceived as such. Saying *Aulus amat* is a little bit like saying *Alfred il aime* in French. And so the Latin form *amat* is employed equally with or without an accompanying overt subject. The form *amat* ‘he loves’ and *Aulus amat* ‘Aulus loves’ are therefore equally correct.

§7 In this respect, speaking of **agreement** between the verb and first actant amounts to observing that the verb has already incorporated the first actant in a syntactically identical function to the currently existing first actant.

§8 As the anontive personal indices become simple verbal endings, they tend to no longer contain an anaphoric link (Chapter 43, §9), since they no longer serve to designate an actant. Such is the case for example with the so-called **impersonal** verbs. Indeed, *il* in French *Il pleut* ‘It is raining’ and *es* in Ger. *Es regnet* in no way imply that there is an actant that performs the action of raining, but rather just that the verb designates a meteorological process, since this verb cannot be expressed as an autoontive or an antiontive. Instead, it must be expressed as an anontive as in Lat. *Pluit* ‘It is raining’ (Chapter 50, §6 and 7, Chapter 98, §1ff.).

§9 This situation also occurs in sentences that contain a so-called **apparent subject**. This element is in no way an actant, since the true subject is identified further away; it is, rather, merely a grammatical tool serving to indicate that the verb is anontive. Thus in Fr. *Il pleut des hallebardes* ‘It is raining cats and dogs’, the one actant is *des hallebardes* ‘halberds’, not *il*, since *il* functions merely to indicate that the verb is anontive. Therefore, *il*, which is singular, cannot designate *des hallebardes* anaphorically, which is plural (Chapter 99, §6).

§10 Insofar as the personal index of the first actant becomes a simple personal ending and as a consequence loses its semantic value as first actant, it becomes necessary to express the first actant as the **real subject**, if a true first actant is to be expressed. This situation is evident in the frequent German saying *Es lacht der Mai* ‘The (month of) May laughs’

(Goethe). The first actant here is *der Mai*, and not *es*, which functions merely to indicate that the verb is anontive. And so *es*, which is neuter, cannot designate *der Mai* anaphorically because *der Mai* is masculine.

§11 The real first actant, instead of being an ordinary noun, can also be a personal noun with full value. This personal noun with full meaning is thus far from performing a double function with the personal index, which has been emptied of meaning. In languages that have a personal index for the first actant, it is necessary to use the personal noun when one intends to **emphasize** the person of the first actant. The index that has lost its meaning is incapable of performing this role (Chapter 59, §12). This situation occurs in both French and Latin:

	Latin	French	
Anontive	<i>ille amat</i>	<i>lui, il aime</i>	'he loves'
Antiontive	<i>tu amas</i>	<i>toi, tu aimes</i>	'you love'
Autontive	<i>ego amo</i>	<i>moi, j'aime</i>	'I love'

In this table, the French group has exactly the same value as the corresponding Latin group, and it would be a grave mistake to view *ego* and *je* as equal and to translate *ego amo* as *j'aime*.

§12 The index that lacks meaning cannot support the weight of an opposition. In such a case, it is necessary to appeal to the personal noun: Fr. *Toi, tu chanteras, moi, je danserai* 'You sing, me, I dance' (cf. Chapter 72, §11 and Chapter 59, §12).

§13 In the preceding paragraphs, we have seen that the personal noun, as it gradually becomes a personal index and then a personal ending, arrives at a point where it furnishes the verb with its elements of **personal conjugation**. The emergence of the verb, which is not a universal fact of language (Chapter 32 §5), is a result of the agglutination of an action noun and a personal noun. This conclusion confirms the remarks that have already been made about the nominal **origin of the verb** (Chapter 32, §5; Chapter 54, §3, note 83; and Chapter 55, §3).⁹⁴

Chapter 62. Object conjugation

§1 We have seen that when personal indices of the subject have progressed to the point where they are completely agglutinated to the verb, they provide the personal endings that constitute conjugation, and it is this agglutination that causes the verb to agree in person, number, and sometimes even in gender with the first actant that depends on it.

94. Cf. Vaillant, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 37 (1936), p. 104, and Benvéniste, *Origine de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, p. 173.

§2 But it can also occur that the verb agglutinates with the second actant to also make a personal ending. In these forms, the personal ending no longer indicates the person of the first actant, but rather, of course, that of the second actant. A verbal form of this type evidently agrees no longer with the first actant, but with the second actant that depends on it.

§3 Agreement between the verb and its object must arise originally from agglutinations of this type. The fact seems rare enough, but a striking example can be found in the **object conjugation** of Hungarian.⁹⁵

§4 Object conjugation in Hungarian occurs in principle when the verb possesses a second actant. The verb *látni* ‘see’, next to its single infinitive form, therefore has two forms when it is the singular autoontive form of the present indicative. One form is employed when there is no second actant, and the other when there is a second actant. It is therefore *Én látok* ‘I see’, but *Én látom a fát* ‘I see the tree’, and also *Én látom* ‘I see it’, such that *Én látom a fát* in reality signifies ‘I see it the tree’.

§5 In this regard, object conjugation constitutes at times a completely parallel pattern to **subject conjugation**, for example, in the present of the indicative in Hungarian:

		Subject conjugation		Object conjugation	
Singular	Anontive	<i>ö lát</i>	‘he sees’	<i>ö lát-ja</i>	‘he sees it’
	Antiontive	<i>te lát-sz</i>	‘you see’	<i>te lát-od</i>	‘you see it’
	Autoontive	<i>én lát-ok</i>	‘I see’	<i>én lát-om</i>	‘I see it’
Plural	Anontive	<i>ök lát-nak</i>	‘they see’	<i>ök lát-ják</i>	‘they see it’
	Antiontive	<i>ti lát-tok</i>	‘you see’	<i>ti lát-játok</i>	‘you see it’
	Autoontive	<i>mi lát-unk</i>	‘we see’	<i>mi lát-juk</i>	‘we see it’

§6 Note that nothing in the current morphology of Hungarian enables the indication of the agglutination of the personal index of the second actant. The forms of the personal noun and those of the conjugation do not have a common characteristic. In other words, the proof that the endings of the indices are the basis of object agreement is not delivered by morphological observations. Object conjugation is only plausible from a syntactic

95. Translators’ note: Tesnière uses the now outdated terms *subject conjugation* and *object conjugation* for the Hungarian data. Alternative terms that may be more accurate and widespread nowadays are *indefinite conjugation* (instead of subject conjugation) and *definite conjugation* (instead of object conjugation). When the second actant in Hungarian is indefinite, conjugation occurs with the subject, not with the object. “Object conjugation” occurs almost exclusively when the anontive second actant is definite, a fact that Tesnière does not mention.

point of view, and because, even though no index agglutination is historically provable, it is nevertheless true that in its actual state, the object agreement of Hungarian involves the **notion of an incorporated second actant**.

§7 Hungarian makes use of object conjugation each time a verb has a second actant:

Object conjugation in Hungarian

a determined noun	<i>Ő lát-ja a fát.</i>	'He sees a tree.'
	<i>Ő lát-ja azt a fát.</i>	'He sees this tree.'
a proper noun	<i>Ő lát-ja Ernőt.</i>	'He sees Ernest.'
a demonstrative pronoun	<i>Ő lát-ja ezt.</i>	'He sees this.'
a complement clause, that is, with a clause that functions as the second actant (Chapter 241, §6ff.) and is introduced by <i>hogy</i> 'that' (Chapter 242, §17)	<i>Ő lát-ja, hogy szegény fiú vagy.</i>	'He sees that you are a poor child.'
an anontive personal noun	<i>Ő lát-ja őt.</i>	'He sees him (or her).'
	<i>Ő lát-ja őket.</i>	'He sees them.'
a reflexive or reciprocal personal noun of whatever person (not only anontive, but also ontive)	<i>Ő lát-ja magát.</i>	'He sees himself.'
	<i>Én lát-om magamat.</i>	'I see myself.'
	<i>Mi lát-juk egymást.</i>	'We see each other.'

§8 Note that, except with the reflexive and reciprocal, object conjugation is employed only with the anontive. For the ontive, Hungarian employs subject conjugation: *Ő lát engem* 'He sees me'; *Ő lát magamat* 'He sees only me', lit. 'He sees myself'.

§9 Hungarian possesses a special suffix to indicate **incorporation** of a second **anontive** actant into the verb. The suffix *-lak (-lek)* serves this purpose: *Én látlak téged* 'I see you_{SING}'; *Én látlak titeket* 'I see you_{PLUR}'.

§10 While there are great similarities in structure across subject and object conjugation, the former having incorporated the index of a first actant and the latter that of a second actant, there remain considerable differences across the two processes. The verb **agrees** in number and person with the first actant, whereas with the second actant, the verb agrees only in person, but not in gender or number.

§11 For example, *Ő lát-ja a fát* 'He sees the tree' presents the same form *lát-ja* with a second singular actant as with a second plural actant, *Ő lát-ja a fákat* 'He sees the trees'.

§12 Likewise, with an anontive second actant, the same form *látlak* is present with the singular second actant *téged* as with the plural second actant *titeket*: *Én látlak téged* 'I see you_{SING}'; *Én látlak titeket* 'I see you_{PLUR}'.

§13 Hence when the anontive second actant is unexpressed, *Ő látja* can mean ‘He sees him (or her)’ as well as ‘He sees them’, and when the antiontive second actant is unexpressed, the sentence *Én látlak* can mean ‘I see you_{SING}’ as well as ‘I see you_{PLUR}’.⁹⁶

§14 In conclusion, object conjugation and the suffix *-lak* (*-lek*) provide an interesting and suggestive parallel to conjugation coming, via agglutination, from the index of the first actant, showing that whatever form it takes on, conjugation always seems to stem from agglutination of personal indices to the verb, that is, of elements that were originally nouns.

§15 When discussing object conjugation in Hungarian, it is impossible not to address the middle voice, which the similarity of Sanskrit and Greek leads us to attribute to Indo-European. Like in Hungarian, it is not possible to detect agglutination of a personal index using morphological analogies, but the meaning of middle forms show that they have incorporated the semantic content of a personal reflexive index.

§16 Take the Greek form *ahiroûmai* ‘I take for me’, i.e. ‘I choose’, which is a form of the active *ahirō* ‘I take’. This form indicates that the action, which has been performed by the speaker, has been done for the benefit of the speaker and according to his interest, in such a way that it includes the notion of this speaker and is expressed by the corresponding personal noun. French, which has no middle diathesis, can merely give an idea of this by expressing the personal noun *moi* in its full form, because in such a case, it cannot use a form reduced to an index or personal ending.

§17 In the case of middle diathesis, the index that is incorporated is not that of a first actant nor that of a second actant, and it is not even that of a third actant. It is, rather, that of a circumstant, since the person referenced is not engaged in the capacity of being a person, but rather in the capacity of being a final cause: ‘for me’. In the Occitan expression *Me la suce o me la manje, l’irange?* ‘Do I suck it (for me) or do I eat it (for me), the orange?’. The index *me* is not a third actant with the meaning ‘to me’, but rather a circumstant of goal with the meaning ‘for me’.

§18 It should also be noted that a number of these Occitan uses of the middle voice exist precisely for the verbs that are middle in Greek, cf. *Me pense que vendràs* ‘I think you will come’, where the verb *penser* is a middle as is its correspondant in Gr. *oiōmai*.

§19 The Occitan expression exists also in Italian, you may hear *Me lo merito* ‘I deserve it’, lit. ‘(I) me-DAT it-ACC earn’.

§20 When the index of the third actant is an antiontive, it often constitutes a well-known type of expression known as the **ethical dative**, which is generally interpreted as if the third actant was called to witness the expressed occurrence:

96. Translators’ note: Tesnière was incorrect here. Both pairs prefer the singular reading if the second actant is omitted. The plural reading requires the appearance of the second actant.

<p><i>Le renard sort du puits, laisse son compagnon Et vous lui fait un beau sermon</i> (La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i>, III, 5, <i>Le renard et le bouc</i>)</p> <p>Philaminte: <i>Vous ne voulez pas, vous, me la faire sortir</i> (Molière, <i>Les Femmes savants</i> ‘The learned ladies’, II, 6)</p> <p><i>Prends-moi le bon parti: laisse là tous les livres</i> (Boileau, <i>Satires</i>, VIII, 179)</p>	<p>‘The fox climbs out the well, leaves his companion And gives him a nice sermon for you.’</p> <p>‘Philaminte: You don’t want to get her to leave for me’</p> <p>‘Make the right choice for me: leave all the books there.’</p>
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§21 The ethical dative can simultaneously have two personal indices of the singular antionitive, the normal form and the polite plural form which is redundant with it, *te vous* ‘you you’.

<p><i>Avez-vous vu comme je te vous lui ai craché à la figure.</i> (Victor Hugo, <i>Les Misérables</i>, IV, V, 13)</p> <p><i>Je te vous lui aurais coupé la margoulette</i> (Victor Hugo, <i>Les Misérables</i>, III, VIII, 20)</p> <p><i>Comme je te vous lui flanquerais un bonne sommation respectueuse.</i> (Victor Hugo, <i>Les Misérables</i>, IV, VIII, 7)</p>	<p>‘Have you seen how I spat in his face for you?’</p> <p>‘I would have cut his face for you.’</p> <p>‘How I would treat him to a nice respectable summons for you.’</p>
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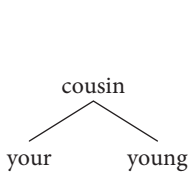
Chapter 63. The attributive adjective

§1 Just as the verb governs a certain number of subordinates, which are actants and circumstants, these subordinates themselves have different types of subordinates.

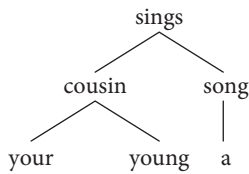
§2 We have seen (Chapter 48, §6) that actants are generally nouns, be they personal nouns or not. These nouns are therefore structurally the point of confluence of a number of connections, and consequently form a node, known as the **nominal node**. It is important to understand that the ability of nouns to join connections together to form a node is not a result of the noun’s status as a first, second, or third actant, but because of its quality as a noun.

§3 If a noun governing a given node is a second instead of a first actant, only the connection above this node is sensitive to the distinction. The connections below the noun are unaffected; these lower connections remain **unchanged**. In other words, a dependent follows the fate of the noun that it depends on (Chapter 3, §4).

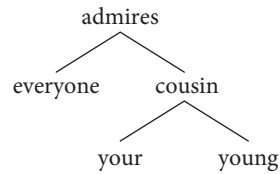
§4 Take for example the nominal node *your young cousin*. The noun *cousin* governs both the qualitative adjective *young* and the possessive adjective *votre* (Stemma 132, cf. Stemma 18). The noun *cousin* and the two adjectives that it governs and with which it constitutes a nominal node can be a first, second, or third actant without the internal structure being affected by the nature of its superior connections with the verb. It can be a first actant, *Your young cousin sings a song* (Stemma 133), or a second actant, *Everyone admires your young cousin* (Stemma 134), or a third actant, *Alfred gives a book to your young cousin* (Stemma 135).



Stemma 132



Stemma 133

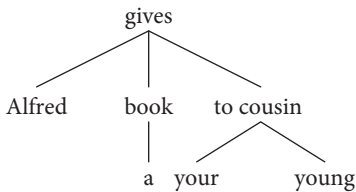


Stemma 134

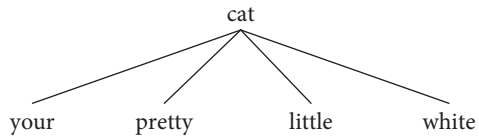
§5 Among the subordinates of the noun that make up the nominal node, the most ordinary of these is the **attributive** adjective, which serves to qualify the noun that it depends on. Thus in the sentence *A green light indicates an open road* (Stemma 19), *green* is an attributive adjective that qualifies *light*. Without this adjective, the sentence would not be meaningful, since the color of the light would be unknown. Likewise, if the adjective *green* were replaced with the adjective *red*, the sentence would take on an entirely different meaning and would express a contrary reality, since a red light does not signal an open road, but quite the opposite, a closed one.

§6 In principle, an adjective modifies the noun: *a green light*, *a red light*, *your young cousin*.

§7 While the number of actants of the verb is limited to three, the number of attributes of the noun is unlimited: *your pretty little white cat* (Stemma 136).



Stemma 135



Stemma 136

§8 In languages that have gender, the connection between a noun and an attributive adjective governed by the noun is marked by agreement. The attributive adjective takes the same gender, number and case as that of the noun it depends on: Fr. *un grand arbre* 'a **big** tree', *une grande fabrique* 'a **big** factory', Ger. *ein großer Baum* 'a **big** tree', *ein großes Haus* 'a **big** house', Gr. *ho eurús potamós* 'the broad river'.

§9 But in English, there is of course no such agreement, since the adjective is always invariable: *a big tree*, *a big factory*, *a big house*.

§10 Invariability of the adjective is the exception in French: *feu mon père* 'my **late** father', *feu ma mère* 'my **late** mother'.

§11 In a stemma, the connection between a noun and its attributive adjective will in principle be marked by a vertical line: *a magnificent book* (Stemma 137). In the case of multiple attributive adjectives, the vertical lines must of course be slanted (Chapter 3, §8). Take for example the sentence *Your young cousin gave a magnificent book to my poor nephew*, its

§14 Conversely, the following languages are centripetal:

Chinese	<i>hǎo rén</i> good man	'good man'
Russian	<i>xorošij čilovek</i> good man	'the good man'
Turkish	<i>eğri gemi</i> curved boat	'curved boat'
German	<i>ein weißes Buch</i> a white book	'a white book'
English	<i>a white book</i>	
Dutch	<i>een wit boek</i> a white book	'a white book'
Lithuanian	<i>turtingas žmogus</i> rich man	'the rich man'
Latvian	<i>bagats cilvēks</i> rich man	'the rich man'
Romani	<i>zeleno carori</i> green grass	'the green grass'
Georgian	<i>didi kac'i</i> big man	'big man'
Armenian	<i>harust mard</i> rich man	'rich man'

The same is true of modern Scandinavian (cf. B.S.L p. 36, p. 87), Finno-Ugric languages (in particular in Komi, Chuvash, Mari, Udmurt), Tatar, Mongolian, and Tungusic languages (cf. B. S. L. p. 36, p. 135)

§15 It should be noted that the locality of Hennebont in Lower Brittany seems to have a very old centripetal construction: *hen bont* 'old bridge', in a region where the native language is still Breton today. The construction is confirmed by the appearance of the adjective *hen* in other Brythonic languages of every era.

Chapter 64. The attributive adjective in mitigated languages

§1 In mitigated languages (cf. Chapter 9, §2), it can happen that two orderings of noun and attributive adjective are possible, whereby a difference in meaning is obtained across the two. Such is the case in French: while *un homme brave* necessarily means 'a brave man', *un brave homme* means 'a good man'; while *une femme bonne* means 'a good woman', *une bonne femme* simply means 'a woman' in a pejorative sense.

§2 The normal order in French, i.e. the productive order, is centrifugal, since it is possible to say *un livre rouge* 'a red book', *un chien intelligent* 'an intelligent dog', whereas it is

absolutely impossible to say **un rouge livre*, **un intelligent chien*. In these conditions, the normal form is therefore *un homme brave*, *une femme bonne* (Chapter 56, §7).

§3 In the case of centripetal order (*un brave homme*, *un bonne femme*), the adjective tends to more or less agglutinate to the following noun in such a way that a new noun is formed, which is a **veritable composite noun**.

§4 The tendency towards agglutination is evident in four areas:

1. in orthography in terms of the tendency to use a hyphen, or even to write a **single word**;
2. in morphology in terms of the tendency to sense an intimate bond between the noun and the adjective, which often results in **liaison** in pronunciation;
3. in syntax in terms of the use of *des* instead of *de* as the **partitive article**;
4. in semantics in terms of the tendency for each of the two words to lose its meaning and thus present a **new and original meaning** together; it is difficult to assign each of the component words a clear compositional meaning.

§5 Agglutination can be tracked in orthography, starting from words that remain graphically independent (*un brave homme* ‘a good man’, *votre jeune cousine* ‘your young cousin’, *un petit garçon* ‘a little boy’) to words that take a hyphen (*petit-fils* ‘grand-son’, *grand-père* ‘grand-father’) all the way to words that are written as a single word (*bonhomme* ‘man’, lit. ‘good man’, *plafond* ‘ceiling’, lit. ‘flat bottom’) (Chapter 11, §9). The intermediate stages sometimes attest orthographic hesitation. This can be seen in the fact that *bonhomme* is still written as a single word, but *bonne femme* as two (Chapter 10, §15). Likewise, *grand-père* takes a hyphen, whereas *grand’mère* is deprived of this hyphen in favor of an apostrophe.

§6 Liaison is not obligatory between a noun and a following adjective. It is equally acceptable to say *un mouvement accéléré* ‘an accelerated movement’ without liaison [œmvmvã akseleʁe] as well as with liaison [œmvmvãtakseleʁe]. But it is obligatory when the reverse order is present. It is impossible to say *un bon enfant* [œbɔnãfã] ‘a good child’ without liaison.⁹⁷

97. Translators’ note: From a synchronous point of view, it has often been argued that the root of the French adjective is the feminine form and that the final consonant of the masculine form is truncated: *une pierre blanche* [blãʃ], *un caillou blanc* [blã] ‘a white stone’ (*pierre* and *caillou* both mean ‘stone’, but *pierre* is feminine and *caillou* is masculine), *une pierre verte* [vɛʁt], *un caillou vert* [vɛʁ] ‘a green stone’. When the final consonant is [n], the vowel is nasalized (*bonne* [bɔ̃n] gives *bon* [bɔ̃]). When the liaison is required, the final consonant remains and the complete root is used. This is why *bon* is pronounced [bɔ̃n] here even when the noun with which it agrees is masculine.

§7 This also marks the distinction between *un savant allemand* ‘a German savant’, where **savant** is a noun and *allemand* an adjective, and *un savant Allemand* ‘a learned German’, where liaison suffices to make *savant* an adjective and *Allemand* a noun.

§8 Likewise, *le beau idéal* ‘ideal beauty’ signifies a conception of the beautiful that is ideal, whereas *le bel idéal* ‘beautiful ideal’ would signify an ideal that is beautiful.⁹⁸ In English the expression *beau-ideal*, which is borrowed from French, is attested since 1801, where *beau* is a noun and *ideal* an adjective: *the beau-ideal of domestic comfort* (Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, Chapter XI). However, it can be seen that, due to the centripetal structure of English, English-speakers tend to view *ideal* as the noun (cf. Oxford Dictionary, *beau-ideal*).

§9 The sequence in which the adjective precedes the noun is sometimes so strongly agglutinated semantically that the two words are treated syntactically as a true noun. It is a known fact that when the adjective precedes the noun, the partitive article *des* of the plural is replaced with the preposition *de*. Therefore it is *de savoureuses pommes* ‘tasty apples’ yet *des pommes savoureuses* ‘apples that taste good’. While *jeune* is still more or less an adjective in *de jeunes filles* ‘young girls’ or *de jeunes gens* ‘young people’, who are young women or young men, by contrast the use of *des* in *des jeunes filles* and *des jeunes gens* clearly shows that *jeunes filles* and *jeunes gens* are no longer perceived as compound nouns. *Une jeune fille* ‘a young girl, generally a teenager/unmarried female’ is a completely different social type from *une fille jeune* ‘a young girl’. A *jeune fille* could well be aged 50 or even more.

§10 Conversely, when a compound group consisting of a noun and an adjective freezes and agglutinates, it does so readily in centripetal order, even when the group was originally centrifugal and it was therefore necessary to reverse the order of the elements. In Old French the term *mère-grand* existed, but the form *grand’mère* is the one that has been fixed.

§11 Finally, when the adjective precedes the noun, the tendency is for the two to form a single word, with a new meaning, and as a consequence, the original meaning of the adjective is somewhat modified. If the adjective follows the noun, the meaning of the group is the **sum** of the meaning of the component parts. If on the contrary the adjective precedes the noun, the group that forms takes on a new meaning, which is only vaguely related to the sum of the meanings of the component parts.

§12 Take for example the adjective *brave* ‘brave’, which is a synonym of *courageux* ‘courageous’. The meaning is intact in the phrase *un homme brave* ‘a brave man’, which continues to signify *un homme courageux*. The meaning is that of the combined parts *homme* and *brave*. In contrast, in *un brave homme* the combination of the words creates a semantically new word for designating the social type of *brave homme*. This type evokes very complex

98. Translators’ note: Although *idéal* is a masculine noun in French, the form of the adjective ‘beautiful’ is not *beau* [bo], but the complete radical, that is, the oral feminine form [bɛl], which is written as *bel* in this case rather than as *belle* (*une belle femme* ‘a beautiful woman’).

qualities: honesty, benevolence, good-natured character, simplicity, etc. but is not necessarily *un homme brave*.

§13 Likewise, *un saint homme* ‘a saint’ is an expression infinitely more nuanced than *un homme saint* ‘a holy man’. In *le saint homme*, there is more leniency, unction, and sanctity than in *l’homme saint*, which possesses more real virtue. Thus just as *un brave homme* is not necessarily *un homme brave*, *un saint homme* is not necessarily a saint nor a man: *un saint homme de chat*, as written by La Fontaine (*Fables, Le chat, la belette et le petit lapin* ‘The cat, the weasel and the little rabbit’, VII, 16, Chapter 196, 1ff.).

§14 The two possibilities for the position of the adjective in French thus furnish a mass of richly nuanced expressions. In *un vieil ami* ‘an old friend’, it is the friendship that is old, and the expression is nuanced with tenderness and affection, whereas in *un ami vieux* ‘a friend that is old’, the friend himself is old and the expression is more objective and carries less affection.

§15 Alfred Sommerfelt wrote in a report (*B. S L.* 36, p. 87): “It is of significance in Celtic that the verb always appears in first position and the attributive adjective always follows the noun”⁹⁹ This judicious remark implies that the structural relationship between a verb and its actants is of the same nature as that between a noun and its adjective, for when one sequence is marked by centrifugal order, so is the other. This situation demonstrates, as suggested above, that the actants are subordinates of the verb, and not vice versa (Chapter 48, §9).

§16 This confirmation is important because the relationship between a verb and its actants is not as evident at first as the relationship between a noun and its attributive adjectives.

Chapter 65. Non-adjectival attributes

§1 The role of an attribute is not always played by an adjective in the strict sense of the term. It can also be played by elements that, while clearly not adjectives per se, **behave syntactically** as adjectives (Chapter 151, §17).

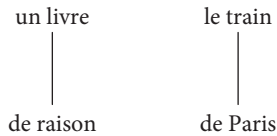
§2 The most frequent **attributive subordinate** of the noun after the adjective is the preposition *de* in French (and *of* in English). We will see below (Chapter 152, §2–5) under what conditions the noun preceded by *de* can function like an adjective. It is in this way that we have expressions of the type *le livre de Pierre* ‘Peter’s book’, *un livre de raison* ‘a book

99. Translator’s note: A note was included here addressing the fact that Sommerfelt uses the term *attributif* instead of the term *épithète* following the grammatical terminology of Germanic studies. Indeed, the *adjectif attributif* of French translates to *predicative adjective* in English, and the *adjectif épithète* of French translates to *attributive adjective* in English. This changeover has been performed consistently throughout this translation.

of reason', *le train de Paris* 'the Paris train', where the *de*-phrases all function exactly like adjectives.

§3 The same process exists in languages that have case, with the difference that the attribute of the noun, instead of being preceded by the preposition *de*, is put in the genitive, for example: Lat. *puer egregiae indolis* 'a child of good nature', Rus. *čelovek vysokogo rosta* 'a man of high stature'.

§4 We will represent these phrases in **stemmas** as if they were really adjectives, since they function like adjectives and since the stemmas are tantamount to functional representations (Stemmas 32, 139, 140, and Chapter 152, §3).



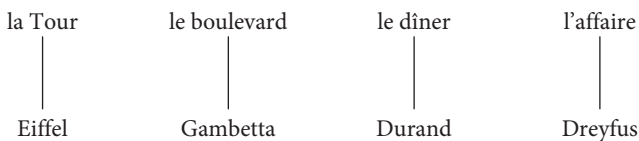
Stemma 139

Stemma 140

§5 These phrases, beginning with the preposition *de*, can be represented by the index *en* (Chapter 60, §10), for example, in Racine's verse *Nourri dans le sérail, j'en connais les detours* 'Nourished/raised in the seraglio, I know the hidden recesses of it' (Bajazet IV; 7, p.1424). In this case, *en* has an anaphoric connection to *sérail* 'seraglio'; it stands for *du sérail*.

§6 The word *en* is therefore a veritable **adjective**, since it takes the place of an adjective in syntax. But traditional grammars and dictionaries do not seem to have recognized this aspect of *en*, which they view as a **personal pronoun**. This is an error on their behalf that makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend the true structure of a sentence that contains *en*.

§7 The presence of the preposition *de* is not indispensable for the dependent noun to appear as an attribute, as seen in phrases such as *Tour Eiffel* 'Eiffel tower', *le boulevard Gambetta* 'Gambetta boulevard', *le dîner Durand* 'Durand dinner', *l'affaire Dreyfus* 'Dreyfus affair'. In these expressions, *Eiffel*, *Gambetta*, *Durand* and *Dreyfus*, which are all evidently nouns since they designate people, function like attributive adjectives, modifying *tour*, *boulevard*, *dîner*, *affaire* (Stemmas 141, 142, 143, 144).



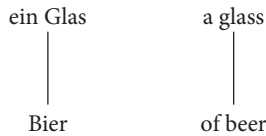
Stemma 141

Stemma 142

Stemma 143

Stemma 144

§8 In the same manner, a noun in German can serve as, for example, a subordinate of another noun: *ein Glass Bier* 'a glass of beer' (Stemmas 145 and 146).



Stemma 145

Stemma 146

§9 **Compound** nouns are formed by this process in a large number of languages (Chapter 175, §1ff.). One of the two nouns retains its syntactic status as governor, and the other assumes the function of an adjective, that is, it plays the subordinate role of an attributive adjective that qualifies the governing noun. Across languages, the noun that functions like an attributive adjective is itself generally constructed like an attributive adjective.

§10 We find **centrifugal compound nouns** in the following languages:

Samoan	<i>itu-taua</i> party war	‘war-party’
Coptic	<i>remēnkēmi</i> man of Egypt	‘Egyptian’
Ancient Egyptian	‘t-sb’, (S. Coptic <i>anzēbe</i>) room of teaching	‘school’

§11 This order is not common in Greek, in which it can only be expressed by an archaic form or by a substrate. However, the order is attested in words such as:

	<i>hippopotamos</i> horse river	‘hippopotomus’
Greek	<i>philánthrōpos</i> friend man	‘philanthropist’
	<i>philósophos</i> friend wisdom	‘philosopher’

§12 The German example *Frauenzimmer* ‘young woman’, lit. ‘women room’, is explained quite differently by a restriction of meaning. The word first designated a room in which the young woman resided, then by way of the reduction of the number of entities denoted, a single woman, then the young woman herself.

§13 **Centripetal compound nouns** are found in the following languages:

Chinese	<i>shū fáng</i> book house	‘study’
Greek	<i>hudrophobia</i> water fear	‘fear of water’

§14 This type is extremely frequent in Greek and is the base of a very large number of modern scientific words:

Latin	<i>agricultura</i> field cultivation	'agriculture'
German	<i>Briefträger</i> letter carrier	'postman'
English	<i>postman</i>	

§15 This English sort of expression has penetrated French, where it even caused a trend at the start of the 20th century. At that time it was a fashion of questionable taste to produce English compositions such as *Montpellier's bar* and *Fouquet's* (hotel).

§16 German draws a distinction between its compound words that are centripetal and syntactical groups of two nouns that are not compound and that adopt centrifugal order instead. The same elements come to have different meanings according to whether they are **compound** (centripetal) or merely **syntactically juxtaposed** (centrifugal). This particularity enables the distinction between different meanings and word plays, such as the one used by Bismark, who enjoyed saying to Frankfurters: *Früh morgens ein Bierfass, spät abends ein Fass Bier* 'In the early morning a beer barrel, in the late evenings a barrel of beer'.

§17 It is also in German that the adjectival nature of the subordinate noun is perhaps most evident in compounds, since there can be several of them that qualify the same governing noun (Chapter 63, §7), for example *der Brief- und Paketträger* 'the letter and package carrier (the postman)'.

§18 **Compound** nouns are basically of a nature that is semantically, if not syntactically, close to **derived** forms. It suffices that the syntactic relationship is gradually reversed so that the governing element, which is more important from a structural point of view, loses its prerogative to the benefit of the subordinate element, so that the word becomes a derived form. Take for example:

Eskimo	<i>sila-mio</i> earth resident	'resident of the earth'
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The element *mio* is not felt to be the governor of *sila*, but rather serves as a suffix to produce the derivative form *sila-mio*, which can be translated as *earthling*.

§19 It is just as common to encounter cases where an autonomous noun utilized as the second part of a compound gradually loses its autonomy to become a simple **suffix** to the first element of the compound that it originally governed. The change of a personal noun to a suffix brings to mind the progressive change of personal nouns to personal indices and endings of verb conjugation (cf. 174, §20).

§20 The Germanic languages, in particular English and German, furnish good examples of current **suffixes that stem from formerly autonomous nouns**. Take for example Ger. *Gottheit* ‘divinity’. It is the agglutination of the much older Gothic forms *gudis haidus* ‘manner of being God’. Similarly, the German suffix *-tum* corresponds to the autonomous Gothic noun *dōms* ‘judgement’, and the German suffix *-lich* corresponds to the Gothic *leik* ‘body’, cf. Ger. *Leiche* ‘corpse’ (Chapter 174, §21ff.). Still further, the German suffixes *-sam* and *-haft* correspond respectively to the autonomous Gothic adjectives *sama* ‘the same’ and *hafts* ‘that comprises’ (Lat. *captus*).

§21 Finally, the same fate certainly awaits, in a more or less distant future, the German compounds with the second element *-mann*, such as *Kaufmann* ‘business man’ and *Seemann* ‘sailor’, where the element *-mann* seems destined to become quite simply a suffix designating names of professions.¹⁰⁰

§22 When creating **Esperanto**, Doctor Zamenhof exploited this particularity so well that it is often not clear, given a particular word in Esperanto, if the word is a derived or compound form. Zamenhof borrowed from the generic Greek nouns *Atrides*, *Pelopides*, *Peleides*, a generic suffix *-id-*, which designates relatedness. For example, in addition to the Esperanto words *la koko* ‘the rooster’ and *la hundo* ‘the dog’, Zamenhof created the derivatives *la kokido* ‘the chick’ and *la hundido* ‘the puppy’, but at the same time, he employed the suffix *-id-* as a root in the noun *la ido* ‘the child’. Consequently, the word *kokido* can be viewed just as well as a derived form, like Fr. *coquet* from *coq* ‘rooster’, or as a compound form ‘the child of the rooster’.

§23 Finally, in addition to the subordinate noun that functions like an attributive adjective, it is necessary to acknowledge the **subordinate clause that functions like an attributive adjective**, since it too is connected to the noun node. In the phrases *the man who writes*, *the man who you see*, etc..., the phrases *who writes* and *who you see* serve as attributive modifiers of *the man* in effect. We can therefore, more or less provisionally,¹⁰¹ stemmatize these sentences (Stemmas 147 and 148) like the previous ones (Stemmas 139–146).

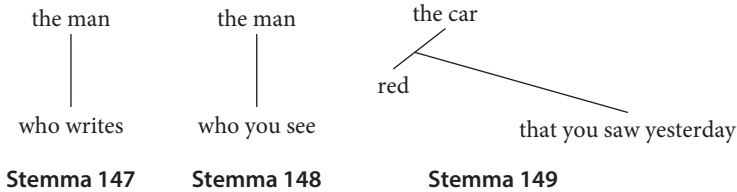
§24 Not all subordinates depend as **closely** on the noun as others. Some of them **relate to the noun directly**, whereas others are related to it **more loosely** (cf. Chapter 11, §11–13) and are placed further away. They can be so distant that they seem to depend not on the noun controlling the node but on the node formed by the noun and one of its subordinates.

§25 In order to represent these nuances, which merit a more detailed analysis than can be produced here, it is possible (but not necessary in the standard practice of stemmas)

100. See Charles Bally, *Linguistique générale et linguistique française*, Paris, 1932, pp. 100, 233, and 311. Concerning formations that are thus at the dividing line between compound and derivation, see also Andvoort, *Grammaire descriptive de l'anglais contemporain*, translator Bouvet, I.A.C., 1949, §819 and 820.

101. We will see below (Chapter 246, §9–15) that the stemma containing embedded clauses can be represented in a manner that is more precise, though roughly faithful to the decisions taken here.

to adopt longer lines for more extended subordinates, and rather than connecting them directly to the node, to connect them to a point along the connection line between the noun and one of its close subordinates. By this process, the phrase *the red car that you saw yesterday* can be analyzed structurally in such a way that the connection line extending upward from the subordinate clause reaches the connection line connecting *red* to *car*. This means that *that you saw yesterday* is connected not to *car* but to *red car*, since what you saw yesterday was not the car, but the red car (Stemma 149).



Chapter 66. The predicative adjective

§1 The attributive adjective is not the only type of adjective encountered. Adjectives can also appear in the sentence with the quality of a **predicate**. In the example *the big house*, *big* is an attributive adjective. In contrast, the sentence *The house is big* has *big* as a predicative adjective.

§2 To form a complete sentence, it suffices to pronounce a first actant and its predicate. We reserve the designation **predicate sentence** for this type of sentence.

§3 We have seen (Chapter 63, §14) that in many languages, the **attributive** adjective is pronounced before the noun that it depends on. Yet we observe that in the same languages, the **predicative adjective** occupies the opposite position with respect to the verb, that is, it follows the verb. Take for example the Komi *bur kiv* ‘a good tongue’. The same words in the reverse order *Kiv bur* mean ‘The tongue is good’. In other words, the adjective *bur* ‘good’ is an attributive adjective if it precedes the noun and a predicative adjective if it follows the noun. This law of position is at the core of the syntax of the majority of Ural-Altaic languages, which occupy almost all of central Asia and Siberia:

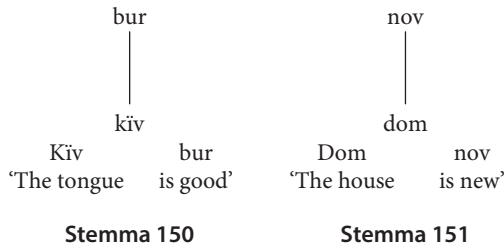
Turkish	<i>Dil iyi</i> tongue good	
Tatar	<i>Til yorš</i> tongue good	
Chuvash	<i>Šelxe laix</i> tongue good	‘The tongue is good.’
Udmurt	<i>Kil dzeć</i> tongue good	

The phenomenon has even spread into Russian, where *novyj dom* means ‘the new house’, and *Dom novyj* ‘The house is new’.

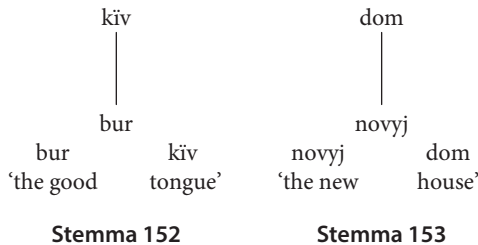
§4 The interpretation of these facts is instructive. Should one conclude that these languages, which are centripetal when the adjective is attributive, cease to be centripetal when the adjective is predicative? That would be absurd, for, if the deep structural tendency of the language varied at the same time as the value of the attributive or predicative adjective, it would be impossible to understand this value, since it is based on position. We are forced, then, to admit that the marker of the adjective’s value lies with the difference between the two constructions, and whether the adjective precedes or follows the noun determines whether it is attributive or predicative.

§5 The opposition between antecedence and subsequence is thus parallel to the opposition between attributive and predicative. In a language that is consistently centripetal, it appears therefore that if the attributive adjective is subordinate to the noun, then the predicative adjective must be its governor.

§6 But since the governor of the noun is normally a verb, the conclusion reached is that the predicative adjective plays the same structural role as the verb. In other words, in the Komi and Russian sentences cited above, the words *bur* ‘good’ and *nov* ‘new’ must be constructed like verbal nodes that the nouns *kiv* ‘tongue’ and *dom* ‘house’ depend on (Stemma 150 and 151).



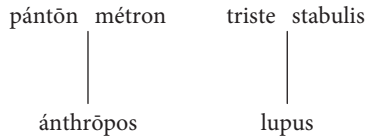
§7 In these stemmas, the nouns depend on the adjective-verbs, and the structure is exactly the reverse of the structure of attributive adjectives (Stemmas 152 and 153).



§8 Predicate sentences also exist in Latin, where one can say *Domus nova* ‘The house is new’, lit. ‘House new’. This sentence is of the same sort as the **nominal sentence** in Latin, as

inherited from Indo-European. The same is true in Greek: *Pántōn métron ánthrōpos* ‘The man is the measure of all things’, (cf. Stemma 154).

§9 In the Latin sentence *Triste lupus stabulis* ‘The wolf is a harmful thing for the stables’ (Stemma 155), the attribute *triste* is of course an adjective, but an adjective taken as a noun. The proof of this fact is that it is neuter and does not agree with the first actant.



Stemma 154

Stemma 155

§10 In nominal sentences, the adjective plays the role of a predicate, since it expresses a quality that is attributed to the first actant. It is precisely this trait that makes the adjective the structural equivalent of the verb, which is the part of the sentence that governs an action. When I say *Domus nova*, lit. ‘House new’, I observe simply the state of newness of the house.

§11 In addition to the predicate of a first actant in the nominative, there is a predicate in the instrumental in Russian. There is hence a difference between a nominative and an instrumental predicative adjective. The nominative predicative adjective expresses a permanent intrinsic quality of the first actant, whereas the instrumental expresses a passing and accidental quality thereof. Therefore there is a contrast between *Anton byl kučer* (nominative) ‘Antoine was coachman’, and *On sidel kučerom* (instrumental) ‘He was sitting performing the role of coachman’. In the former case, we are dealing with a man whose profession is that of a coachman, and in the latter case, we are dealing with a man who performed the function of coachman on that day, but who was not a coachman by profession.

§12 In the examples above, the predicative adjective alone can play the role of a verb without it being necessary to employ the verb *être/be* as in French and English. This expression without the verb *être/be* seems normal; it is probably the most frequent way of expressing predicative expressions across languages. Moreover, it is not completely excluded from French, since it appears in sentences of the sort *Trois fois quatre douze* ‘Three times four (is) twelve’. It also occurs in German, e.g. *Frankreich hoch!* ‘Long live France!’.

§13 In languages that normally employ the verb ‘be’ with a predicative adjective (for example French and German), this expression is reserved for exclamative or interrogative sentences: Fr. *Votre ami! un as* ‘Your friend! An ace’, Ger. *Wer da?* ‘Who (goes) there?’

Madame Blandin: ... *Nous, des viveurs? Ah! Ah! Des sous-viveurs tout au plus.* 'Mrs. Blandin: ...Us pleasure seekers? Ah! Ah! At most sub-pleasure seekers.'

(H. Lavedan, *Viveurs*, acte IV)

§14 Incidentally, most often the usual order of words is reversed, so that the predicative adjective is pronounced before the subject, which gives the utterance a particularly vigorous character: *Très joli, votre tableau!* 'Very pretty, your painting!', *Excellent, votre poulet!* 'Excellent, your chicken!' *Remarquable, ce livre!* 'Remarkable, this book!'

Un des jeunes gens: *Gai, le Durand de ce soir, hé!* 'One of the young people: Happy, the Durand of this evening!'

Heureux qui, comme Ulysse, a fait un beau voyage! 'Happy he who, like Ulyssus, has had a good trip!'

Beinheureux les pauvres d'esprit! Translation of *Beati paupers spiritu* of the Gospel (Matthew, V, 3). 'Blessed the poor of wit!'

Ger. *Heil Hitler!*

§15 This type of sentence is strongly compatible with a predicate, since it is not strictly speaking, an adjective:

Participle	<i>Déchirés les Compactats, enfuie la dernière chance d'accommodement entre Rome et la Bohême ultraquiste!</i> (V. L. Tapié, <i>Une église tchèque au XVe siècle, l'unité des Frères</i> , p. 59)	'Torn the agreements, run away the last chance of compromise between Rome and Utraquist Bohemia'
	<i>Toute plissée sa jupe...</i> (Céline, <i>Mort à credit</i> , p. 21)	'All pleated her skirt...'
Noun	<i>Pas un endroit réservé, mon dos?</i> (Angry protest of a human billboard at election time, cf. <i>Le Matin</i> , 27-XII-34)	'Not a reserved spot, my back?'
Noun (third actant)	<i>À moi les gateaux, à toi les pénitences.</i>	'For me cakes, for you penitence.'
	<i>À bon chat bon rat.</i>	'Tit for tat,' lit. 'To good cat good rat.'
Temporal circumstant	<i>À cœur vaillant rien d'impossible.</i>	'For brave heart, nothing impossible' [Jacques Cœur's motto]
	<i>À demain les affaires sérieuses!</i>	'Tomorrow, serious matters!'
Adverbial locution	<i>Mais dans quel but cette trappe et cet escalier?</i> (Alexandre Dumas, <i>Le Vicomte de Bragelonne</i> , Visite domiciliaire)	'But to what end this trap and this stair?'

Chapter 67. Sentences with *be*

§1 In a number of languages, especially European languages, the dominance of the verbal sentence is so strong that it even appears in predicate sentences. The verb that is then chosen as the structural center is usually *be*, because *be* is the verb that most naturally expresses a state. In this respect, we call the verb *be* a nominal verb. It is hence possible to distinguish two types of sentences with predicative adjectives, the pure predicate sentence, which was examined in the preceding chapter, and the *be* sentence.

§2 The *be* sentence competes with the pure predicate sentence, even in Latin, and it is just as Latin to say *Domus est nova* ‘The house is new’ as *Domus nova* ‘House new’.

§3 Other languages completely ignore the pure predicate sentence and can only express the predicative adjective by placing the nominal verb in front of it. This situation is true of French, e.g. *La langue est bonne* ‘The tongue is good’, and of a large number of other European languages.

Italian	<i>La lingua è buona.</i>	
Provençal	<i>La lenga es bona.</i>	
Occitan	<i>La lenga es bona.</i>	
Spanish	<i>La lingua es buena.</i>	
Romanian	<i>Limba este bună.</i>	
Low Breton	<i>An teod a zo mad.</i>	
German	<i>Die Zunge ist gut.</i>	
Flemish	<i>De tong is goed.</i>	‘The tongue is good.’
English	<i>The tongue is good.</i>	
Latvian	<i>Mele ir laba.</i>	
Polish	<i>Język jest piękny</i>	
Ukranian	<i>Jazyk je harnym.</i>	
White Russian	<i>Jazik ěsc’ krasivym.</i>	
Serbo-Croatian	<i>Jeik je dobar.</i>	

§4 The predicative adjective of German often takes on a **resultative** value (Chapter 37, §47).

§5 Thus employed, the verb *be* is sometimes called a **copula**, since its purpose is to unite the first actant and the predicate. This assumption does not do justice to the facts. The predicate that functions like a verb is structurally in the same position as the nominal verb, so its role is not to unify the nominal first actant and the predicate. It instead joins with the predicate and thus serves to mark the verbal role (Chapter 207, §8).¹⁰²

102. Concerning the opposition between the nominal verb and the copula, cf. what Vaillant says in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, p. 37, p. 104.

§6 The result of this is that the nominal verb and the predicate together form a **dissociated nucleus** (Chapter 23, §8), in which the nominal verb is the **auxiliary**, because it assures the structural function, and the predicative adjective is the **auxiliated**, because it assures the semantic function. In the sentence *La langue est bonne*, the auxiliary *est* has the structural role of being the center of the sentence, whereas the auxiliated *bonne* merely expresses the quality that is assigned to the first actant. Due to the presence of the nominal verb, it is possible to utilize an adjective as the auxiliated, which for that matter does not present any distinction with an attributive adjective.

§7 For this reason, a predicative adjective, just like an attributive adjective, **agrees** in gender, number, and case with the first actant that it governs.¹⁰³

§8 The intimate union of the nominal verb with the predicate in a dissociated nucleus is also marked morphologically in certain languages.

§9 Thus in ancient Greek, it is clear that a nominal verb employed as an auxiliary is no more than a simple grammatical tool, deprived of its autonomy, that loses its accent, becoming an **enclitic**: *agathós estin* ‘It is good’ (with a sole accent for the nucleus group).

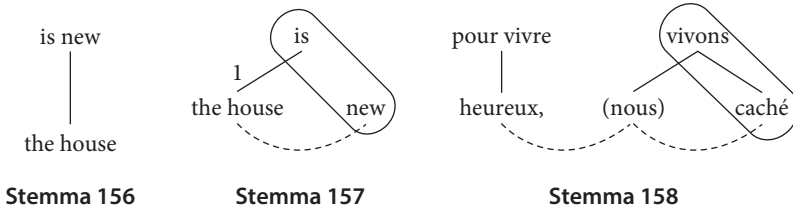
§10 Likewise in Georgien, the nominal verb, the form of which is *aris* ‘is’, is generally reduced to the **atonic** form *-a*, which then functions as a veritable suffix: *Melani šavi-a* ‘The ink is black’.

§11 In the case where the predicate is supported structurally by the presence of the auxiliary *be*, the position of the predicate in the stemma coincides with that of the auxiliary verb and the logical thing to do is to produce the stemma of the sentence *The house is new* by positioning *is new* in the same hierarchical position (Stemma 156, also Stemmas 151 and 157).

§12 But this move would have the drawback that it would force two elements into one position. In this regard, it would be better to show the difference graphically between the elements. The drawback would become even more severe if the predicate itself were constituted by multiple elements, since all these elements would have to be put in the same block as the auxiliary. This situation would prevent any graphic rendition and would thus be contrary to the very notion of stemmatic representations. We therefore agree to place the predicates on the same horizontal level as the actant that they govern. As well as being unavoidable, this move does not result in a serious problem, for it is possible, if need be, to enclose the predicate inside the same nucleus circle that contains the auxiliary that supports it structurally (in order not to confuse it with an actant) and then mark the semantic connection between the predicate and the actant that the predicate governs by way of a dashed anaphor line (Chapter 42, §3). In this manner, the underlying connection survives, even though the predicate is graphically removed from the auxiliary where the connection

103. Translators’ note: Nevertheless, in German the predicative adjective does not agree with the first actant, as explained in Chapter 70 §7, although the attributive adjective agrees with its governor.

line ends (Stemma 157). Further, the structural connection that connects the actant to the nucleus can only reach to the auxiliary verb, which, since it is inside the dissociated nucleus, assumes the structural function entirely.



§13 In such cases we call the stemma an **expanded stemma**, in order to indicate that the internal structure of the dissociated nucleus is analyzed graphically in its entire extension and in full detail. We therefore find ourselves faced with two possibilities for rendering the stemmas: **abbreviated stemma** vs. **expanded stemma**. Our choice of stemma type will depend on the necessities of the demonstration at hand, and we will use an expanded stemma only in the event that the abbreviated stemma does not sufficiently present the graphic analysis of the point at hand.

§14 Just as an attributive phrase, instead of being an adjective, can be a noun preceded by the preposition *of* (Chapter 65, §2), a predicative phrase, instead of being an adjective, can also be a phrase of this kind. Thus in the sentence *Alfred is of excessive friendliness*, the nominal node *excessive friendliness*, which is preceded by the preposition *of*, constitutes the predicate that governs the first actant.

§15 The same phenomenon can be observed in many languages, for example in Russian: *On byl vycokogo rosta* ‘He was of high stature’ (Chapter 65, §3).

§16 Just like the attributive role, the predicative role can be played by a noun that is not preceded by *of* (Chapter 65, §2): *In the kingdom of the blind, the one-eyed are kings*. The same in Greek: *Hē sophía estin arkhé tēs eutukhías* ‘Wisdom is the beginning of happiness’.

§17 In addition to the proper nominal verb, there is a certain number of related verbs that are susceptible to combining with a predicate. These verbs are *become*, *remain*, *seem*, *count as*, etc. The predicate that appears with these verbs expresses a quality of the **first actant**:

French	<i>On devient cuisinier, mais on naît rôtisseur.</i> (Brillat-Savarin, <i>Physiologie du goût</i> , <i>Aphorisme du professeur</i> , IV)	‘One becomes a cook, but one is born a griller.’
Latin	<i>Cicero creatus est consul.</i> <i>Ego nominor Leo.</i>	‘Cicero was made consul.’ ‘I am called Leo.’
German	<i>Das heißt gelogen.</i>	‘That is a lie,’ lit. ‘That is called lied.’

§18 Finally, we will see below that the predicate function can be fulfilled by a participle: *My plan is stopped*, by a personal noun: *I become myself again*, by an infinitive: Fr. *Souffler*

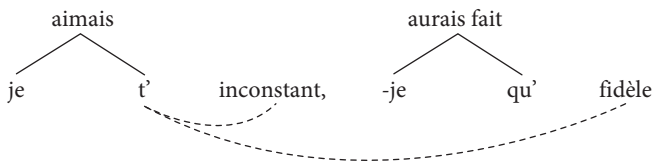
n'est pas jouer 'Huffing is not a real move', lit. 'To huff is not to play', and by an adverb: *This man is well* (Chapter 177ff.).¹⁰⁴

§19 When an adjective serves as the predicate over a personal noun, this personal noun can still be reduced to the role of an index, or even to the role of an incorporated complement to the verb. In such a case, it will be represented covertly by a **virtual** node, to which on one side a connection line extends coming from the verb or elsewhere and to which on the other side a dashed anaphor line extends from the predicative adjective: *Pour vivre heureux, vivons cachés* 'To live well, (we) live secretly' (Stemma 158).¹⁰⁵

Chapter 68. Predicates of the second and third actants

§1 In addition to the predicate over the first actant, the second actant can also have a predicate. The quality expressed by this predicate is not assigned to the first actant, but to the second actant. Such is the case in French in the sentence *J'appelle un chat un chat et Rolet un fripon* 'I call a spade a spade and Rolet a rascal', lit. 'I call a cat a cat...' (Boileau, *Satire I*, v. 52), where the quality of 'cat' is assigned to the second actant *un chat* and the quality of being a rascal to the second actant *Rolet*. Another example: *Je te baptise carpe* 'I baptize you a carp', where the quality of being a carp is assigned to the dish denoted by the antientive personal index *te*.

§2 In *Je t'aimais inconstant, qu'aurais-je fait fidèle?* 'I loved you **fickle**, what would I have done (if you had been) **faithful**' (Racine, *Andromaque*, IV, 5, see 1365), the predicate *inconstant* 'fickle' indicates the quality by which the person designated by the personal index *t'* 'you' (Pyhrrus) was loved. This famous sentence contains a quite drastic instance of ellipsis, since *fidèle* 'faithful', although in the second sentence, is also the predicate of *t'*, which is in the first sentence (Stemma 159).



Stemma 159

104. Translators' note: Interestingly however, most adverbs cannot appear as predicative expressions, e.g. **They were happily*.

105. Translators' note: *vivons* 'let's live' is a 1st person (autoentive) plural imperative, so there is no expressed subject.

§3 Just as there are verbs that normally co-occur with a predicate over the first actant (Chapter 67, §17), there are certain verbs that co-occur with a predicate over the second actant. Principle examples of such verbs are *make*, *render*, *take for*, *call*, *name*, *find*, e.g. *call you responsible*, *name someone general*, *find someone quite pale*.

§4 In languages that have case, the second actant appears in the accusative and its predicate also appears in the accusative: Lat. *creare aliquem consulem* ‘name someone **consul-ACC**’, *appellare aliquem regem* ‘declare someone **king-ACC**’, Gr. *Ahiroúntai auton arkhonta* ‘They choose him as leader-ACC’.

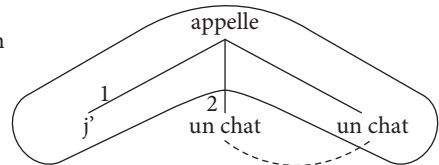
§5 This mechanism is merely a development of the previous one and the relationship between the first actant and the quality assigned to it remains the same. It is only insofar as the first actant becomes the second actant that the quality expressed by the predicate follows it into its new role. In the Lat. *Romani creaverunt Ciceronem consulem* ‘The Romans elected Cicero consul’, the relationship between *Ciceronem* and *consulem* is the same as between *Cicero* and *consul* in *Cicero erat consul* ‘Cicero was consul’. But this relationship, instead of being observed as a simple state, is given as the result of the intervention of the new actant *Romani*, which takes the position of the first actant, while the former first actant *Cicero* is relegated with its predicate *consul* to the role of second actant. This complex relationship is illustrated in the Schemas 160 and 161.

§6 The preceding points suggest that in Russian, a predicate over the first actant can, when it denotes a fleeting quality, occur as a predicate over the second actant; it remains in the instrumental and has the same nuance. We therefore have *Pëtr byl astronom* (nominative) ‘Peter was an astronomer’, but *On nazval svoju cobaku Astronomom* (instrumental) ‘He had named his dog Astronomer’. In the first case, it is a man whose profession is astronomy, whereas in the second case, it is simply a quality assigned to a dog by pleasantry used as a name, but the dog is not really and will never be an astronomer.

erat consul
|
Cicero

Romani — creaverunt

consulem
|
Ciceronem



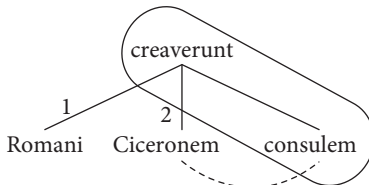
Schema 160

Schema 161

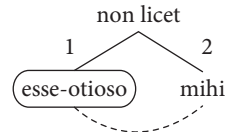
Stemma 162

§7 Under the same condition, a predicate can express a quality assigned to a third actant. In languages with case, a predicate can appear in the same case as the **third actant**, that is, in the dative. Take for example Lat. *Mihi non licet esse otioso* ‘One does not allow me to be idle’. The predicate *otioso* is in the dative because the quality that it expresses is assigned to the personal noun *mihi*, which is also in the dative by virtue of being the third actant of *licet*.

§8 In stemmas containing a predicate over a second or third actant, it is usual to use the expanded stemma, since it would otherwise be impossible to distinguish the predicate over the second or third actant from a predicate over the first actant. The situation is evident with sentences like *J'appelle un chat un chat* 'I call a spade a **spade**' (§1), *Romani Ciceronem consulem creaverunt* 'The Romans elected Cicero **consul**', or *Otioso mihi esse non licet* 'One does not allow me to be idle' (Stemma 162, 163 and 164).



Stemma 163



Stemma 164

In the preceding stemmas, we have positioned the predicate to the right of the actant that it governs. For the sake of clarity, we adopt this convention each time it is possible, that is, when a dissociated nucleus is present containing both an auxiliary verb and a full predicate.

§9 This arrangement, as in Stemma 163, reproduces the economy of Schema 161 consistently, with the sole difference being that it takes the form of a proper stemma because the verb appears at the top as the structural center of the sentence.

Chapter 69. The apposition

§1 An apposition is a noun that takes part in a noun node. Take the following sentence: *Louis XIV, king of France, protected the letters and the arts*. The noun *king* here is said to be in apposition to *Louis*.

§2 The noun in apposition is part of the nominal node associated with the superordinate noun. *King* is commanded by *Louis*. Indeed, *king* has a semantic connection directly to *Louis*, for which it is merely a **hypostasis**.

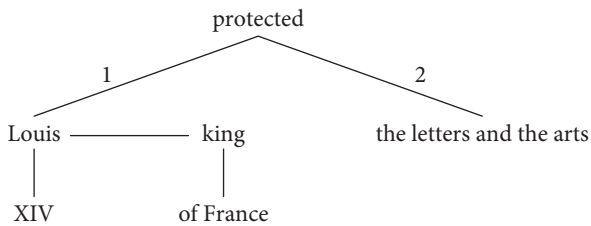
§3 As stated, the word *king* has a connection directly to *Louis*. It is now appropriate to study the nature of this connection.

§4 It was apparent early on that this connection is not vertical (despite Chapter 2, §7). Structurally, one sees that *king* is on the same plane as *Louis*. The two nouns are alike, and as a consequence, they should not appear on separate levels. This sentiment is so evident that it inspired the term **apposition**. The term itself indicates that the two nouns are **equi-level**; the one is not **above** or **below** the other.

§5 On the other hand, the apposition is not connected directly to the verb. It does not depend directly on the verb, but rather it is mediated by the noun node. Thus *king* is not connected directly to *protected*, but only to *Louis*, which in turn does have a direct connection to *protected*.

§6 If I say *Louis XIV protected the letters and the arts*, this certainly implies that the king of France protected the letters and the arts, since Louis XIV was the king of France. This situation does not prevent one from assuming that it was Louis XIV (and not the king of France) to whom I attribute the role of protecting the letters and arts. It is up to my interlocutor to extract the consequence from my words and in doing so, to deduce that, since Louis XIV protected the letters and the arts, it was exactly also the king of France who protected the letters and the arts. But that is not what I said. I am content to establish a connection between *Louis* and *king*. From the structural point of view, I indeed want to set *Louis* and the *king* equal. But while the two elements are equivalent to each other, that does not force the conclusion that they are identical. Structurally, a specific difference survives between the two: *Louis* alone is the first actant of *protected*, whereas *king* is merely a predicate over *Louis*.

§7 From a **graphic** point of view, we will fix the connection between the noun, the center of the nominal node, and its apposition using a horizontal line. But only the nominal center of the node will receive a connection line reaching to the verb since, as we have seen, the noun in apposition does not have a connection to the verb (Stemma 165).



Stemma 165

§8 This arrangement permits one to make it clear that it was *Louis* alone who I state to have protected the letters and the arts. The king of France may not have participated in this affirmation at all, a fact that is seen in the horizontal line and mediation of *Louis*.

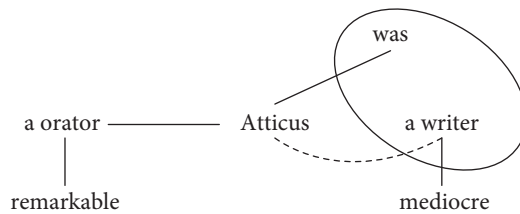
§9 The apposition is thus fully distinguished on the one hand from an attribute, and on the other hand from a predicate. Both of these elements are vertically connected to the central noun of the nominal node. What this means is that these elements are also connected to the apposition, since the apposition appears on the same horizontal level as the central noun.

§10 It is necessary to pay attention, so as to not confuse the **apposition**, which is attached structurally to an actant, with an **apostrophe**, which is expressed with the vocative in languages that have case. The topic is discussed in Chapter 71.

§11 In certain sentences, confusion is possible that leads to a big misinterpretation. The saying *Souffre, enclumeau, frappe, marteau* ‘Suffer, anvil, beat, hammer’ would be misunderstood if one considered *enclumeau* ‘anvil’ and *marteau* ‘hammer’ as apostrophes, as if one ordered the anvil to suffer and the hammer to beat. They are, rather, in apposition to the unexpressed first actant of the imperative verb (Chapter 71, §11). In this latter, correct interpretation, one understands that the given order is to suffer in the role of an anvil and to beat in the role of a hammer, that is, to be flexible enough to bend when necessary and to take advantage of the situation when possible.

§12 The preceding example could thus be glossed in English in the following manner: ‘Suffer when (or if) you are the anvil, beat when (or if) you are the hammer.’ This is where the exact value of the apposition appears, which, since it is not itself an actant, tends to readily take on the light nuance of a circumstant (when, temporal, or if of condition) at the same time that it remains entirely connected horizontally to the noun to which it is in apposition.

§13 This circumstantial nuance can be variable. Thus in the sentence *A remarkable orator, Atticus was a mediocre writer*, if the quality of being a mediocre writer is attributed to Atticus by the predicate, this quality stands in contrast to the quality that *Atticus* receives from the apposition. The latter can even take on the meaning of a concessive circumstant: *Although a remarkable orator, Atticus was a mediocre writer*.



Stemma 166

§14 In languages that have case, the apposition, being attached to the central nominal node by definition and thus playing essentially the same role, appears in the same case: Lat. *urbs Roma* ‘the city of Rome’, *Hannibal debellavit urbem Romam* ‘Hannibal destroyed the city of Rome’.

§15 Regarding these two examples, we will see below (Chapter 195, §8) that in the structure of *the city of Rome* or *the city of Paris*, the expressions *of Rome* or *of Paris* are not appositions like the ones currently being examined, but rather they are attributes.

§16 But while the noun in apposition agrees in case with the central noun of the node, it need not agree with it in gender, nor in number. It is not an attributive adjective, but rather a noun, and as such, it has its own gender and number, whereas its function is the same as that of the central nominal node. This is why one says *urbs Lugdunum* ‘the city of Lyon’ in

Latin with the neuter *Lugdunum* in apposition to the feminine *urbs*, or *urbs Athenae* with the plural *Athenae* in apposition to the singular *urbs*.

§17 In order to bring out the circumstantial nuance of the apposition, it can be expedient, when translating from Latin, to invert the roles and produce a circumstant that one subordinates to the apposition from the center of the former verbal node, *Admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae fuit* ‘It was at an advanced age that he passed the law **Cincia**’ (Cicero, *de Senectute*, 4, 10).

§18 Sometimes it is very difficult to arrive at the translation necessary to render a circumstantial nuance of Latin. It is thus absolutely impossible to translate literally the exclamation attributed by Suetonius to Nero as he was dying: *Qualis artifex pereo!* (*Vita Neronis*, 49). The English translation ‘Which artist, I am dying!’ is not comprehensible. But one can note that all good attempts at translation tend to bring the notion of circumstant into play in one form or another: ‘What artist died in me!, Which artist died in my person!’

§19 Greek tends to make a sort of apposition from an adjective when it wants to emphasize the quality expressed by the adjective. It suffices for it to substantivize the adjective by means of an article (Chapter 173, §3, 4, and 6) in such a manner that one is in the presence of two veritable nouns, whereby the second is in apposition to the first. Hence to the attributive adjective *agathós* of *ho agathós patér* ‘the good father’, Greek readily substitutes the adjective nominalized in apposition in *ho patér ho agathós* ‘the father, the good’, where the quality of goodness is expressed with more energy.

Chapter 70. The adjective in apposition

§1 We have seen (Chapter 65, §7) that the role of an attribute, which is normally played by an adjective because the connection is vertical and it is therefore necessary to choose a type of word that can be subordinate to a noun, can also be played by a noun. Conversely, while the role of an apposition is normally played by a noun, an adjective can also take on this role: Lat. *Aristides mortuus est pauper* ‘Aristides died **poor**’, Gr. *Autòs éken* ‘He came **himself**’.

§2 An adjective in apposition behaves like a noun; it takes on the nuance of a circumstant (locative, temporal, manner):

Latin

Locative	<i>Duobus summis oratoribus, Crasso et Antonio, L. Philippus proximus accedebat</i> (Cicero, <i>Brutus</i> , 47, 173).	‘L. Phillipus was the one who got closest to the two eminent orators Marcus Crassus and Marc Antony.’
Temporal	<i>Assiduus in oculis fuerat.</i>	‘He had been constantly in view.’
Manner	<i>Praeceptis abiit.</i>	‘He departed hastily.’

§3 In the examples above, circumstantial character is expressed by an adverb in English, but it can also be expressed by an adverbial expression in the form of a noun (either a personal noun or an infinitive) preceded by a preposition:

Latin	French	
<i>Rediit incolumis.</i>	<i>Il est revenu en bon état.</i>	'He returned uninjured .'
<i>Haud timidi resistunt.</i>	<i>Ils résistent avec intrépidité.</i>	'They resist without trepidation .'

§4 The role of the adjective apposition itself can be taken by a participle:

<i>Etant petit garçon, je lisais son roman.</i>	'Being a small boy, I read his novel,
<i>Et je le lis encore, ayant la barbe grise.</i>	And I still read it, having a gray beard .'
(La Fontaine, <i>Poésies diverses</i> , VII, Ballade, 15–16)	

The translations have the same adverbial character:

Latin	
<i>Faciam libens.</i>	'I will do it willingly .'
<i>Diversae duae legiones proeliabuntur.</i>	'Two legions fought separately .'
<i>Feci non invitus.</i>	'I acted of my own free will .'
<i>Sapiens nihil facit invitus.</i>	'The sage does nothing in spite of himself .'
<i>Non rogatus venit.</i>	'He came without being asked .'

§5 Greek is particularly fond of expressions containing a participle in apposition:

Greek	
<i>Epaúsato makhómenos.</i>	'He stopped struggling .'
<i>Élathe ekhthròs ón.</i> (Xenophon)	'He did not let it be known that he was an enemy', lit. 'He remained hidden being an enemy.'
<i>Toúton humeís epístasthe hêmás prodónta.</i>	'You know that he betrayed us.'
<i>Deíxō ohútō taúta ékhonta.</i> (Plato)	'I will show that he is of that sort.'

§6 In contrast to the noun in apposition, which does not show gender and number agreement, the adjective and the participle in apposition agree with the noun to which they are in apposition not only in case, but in gender and number as well. Accusative: Lat. *Eos non*

possum retinere invitos ‘I cannot keep them **despite them**’; dative: *Quorum rerum altera mihi vivo nunquam eripietur, altera ne mortuo quidem* ‘The first (of these passions), one will never take it from me **alive**, and death will not separate the second from me’.

§7 The German adjective in apposition remains invariable. We are therefore dealing with a proper adjective or participle:

<i>Fest gemauert in der Erden,</i>	‘Firmly built in the earth
<i>Steht die Form aus Lehm gebrannt.</i>	Stands the form of cooked clay.’

(Schiller, *Das Lied von der Glocken*, 1–2)

German shares this particularity with the predicative adjective: *Die Form ist in der Erde fest gemauert* ‘The form is solidly **built** in the earth’. One can conclude from this observation that in German, the adjective or the participle does not agree with an inferior connection (attribute) or a horizontal connection (apposition), but only with the superior connection: *die in der Erde fest gemauerte Form* ‘the form **built** firmly into the earth’.

§8 When a word is in apposition to a personal noun (cf. Chapter 67, §19), this noun can still be reduced to the role of an index or even incorporated into the verb. In such a case, it is represented **covertly** by a **virtual** node, to which a horizontal line reaches from the apposition on the one hand and a vertical connection line reaches coming from the verb on the other hand. This is what happens in a sentence like *Mortuus est pauper* ‘He died **poor**’, where *pauper* is in apposition to the first actant of *mortuus est*. This actant is incorporated into the verb and is no longer expressed overtly (Stemma 167).

§9 Although the apposition occurs in principle with an actant, it can also appear with a non-actant noun. Expressions of this sort are more or less acceptable by virtue of the nature of the anacolutha that they present:

<i>Voisin de l'une des parties les plus giboyeuses de la forêt et entouré de toutes parts par une agglomération de bois communaux, la position accidentée de ce hameau en rendait la surveillance plus difficile.</i>	‘ Neighbor to the most bountiful part of the forest and sourrounded by a conglomeration of communal forest in every direction, the hilly position of this hamelet rendered its surveillance more difficult’.
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(Murger, *Le Sabot rouge*, I)

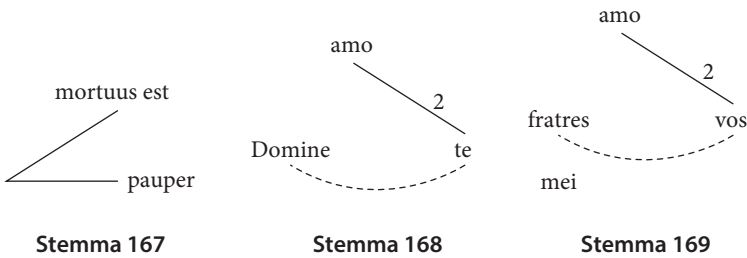
In this example, the appositional nodes governed by the noun *voisin* ‘neighbor’ and the participle *entouré* ‘surrounded’, which are masculine, can only refer to the masculine noun *hameau* ‘hamelet’, which is incorrect, since *hameau* is itself not an actant, but rather it functions as an attribute qualifying the word *position* ‘position’, which is feminine.

§10 The anacolutha is even more solid when the apposition does not become an actant, but an idea that is not expressed by a noun:

*D'ailleurs il était question
d'améliorer ce service en le
logeant plus au large, tout un
vaste local sous une des ram-
pes du Rosaire et dont on
préparait déjà l'aménagement*

'Besides, it was a question of
improving the service by acco-
modating it more in the open, an
extensive area which was under
one of the slopes of the Rosaire
and was already accommodated'

(Zola, *Lourdes*, IV)



Chapter 71. The apostrophe

§1 The apostrophe is an appellation that the speaker uses to capture the attention of his interlocutor by naming him. Thus in the sentence *Nicole, apportez-moi mes pantoufles* 'Nicole, bring me my slippers' (Molière, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, II, 4), *Nicole* is an apostrophe because it allows Monsieur Jourdain to call Nicole, or to be more exact, it directs her attention to the order that he is about to give her.

§2 By way of its appellation and the manner in which it corresponds directly to its purpose, which is to grab attention, the apostrophe is generally placed at the front of the sentence. But it can also be located at the end of the sentence: *Prends un siège Cinna* 'Take a seat, Cinna' (Corneille, *Cinna*, V. 1) (cf. Stemma 170). In this case, the appellation is less imperative and corresponds to a more moderate tone.

§3 Since it serves to call, the noun of the apostrophe is essentially an antiontive. In languages with case, this antiontive character is marked by a special case, the **vocative**, e.g. Lat. *Domine!* 'Lord'.

§4 The noun of an apostrophe can serve to capture the attention of someone who is not directly implicated in the process and who as a consequence is expressed by an anontive or autoontive node: anontive *My God, this country is so beautiful!*, autoontive *My God, I am so tired!*.

§5 But as soon as the person called appears as an actant of the verbal node, an automatic anaphoric connection is established between the noun of the apostrophe and this actant, since both designate the same person.

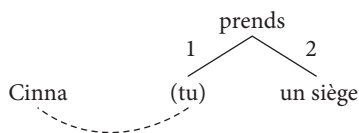
§6 In the case where it is the second actant that is antiontive, an anaphoric connection is established between the word of the apostrophe and the second actant: Lat. *Amo te, Domine* ‘I love you, Lord’, *Amo vos, fratres mei* ‘I love you, my brothers’ (Stemmas 168 and 169).

§7 The preceding examples permit one to show clearly the difference that exists between an apostrophe and an apposition. The proof that one is not dealing with an apposition is that in languages that have case, the word of the apostrophe does not appear in the same case as the actant to which it refers, but in the vocative, which corresponds to a structural position that is outside of the verbal node. Thus in the Latin examples above, *Domine* and *fratres mei* are vocatives. The singular form of the vocative is different from the nominative form *Dominus*. The plural form of the vocative is the same as the nominative for *fratres*, but the form *mei* is clearly not that of the accusative.

§8 If instead of being an apostrophe, the words *Domine* and *fratres mei* were in apposition, they would agree with the second actant and thus appear in the accusative: *Amo te Dominum, Amo vos fratres meos*. But the meaning would be much different: ‘I love you as Lord, because you are the Lord’ and ‘I love you as brothers, because you are my brothers.’

§9 In the case where the first actant is antiontive, the matter is less clear, because the vocative borrows from the nominative every time there is no proper form, which generates confusion, but the principle is the same. The apposition to the first actant appears in the nominative, whereas the noun of an apostrophe is vocative, for example in Latin: *Quousque tandem, Catilina, abuteris patientia nostra?* ‘How long, **Catilina**, will you abuse our patience’ (Cicero, *In Catilinam*, I, 1).

§10 But if the verb is in the imperative, since the imperative is inherently antiontive due to the fact that the order that one gives is addressed to the listener, there is necessarily an anaphoric connection between the word of the apostrophe and the first covert actant *you* of the imperative: *Prends un siège, Cinna* ‘Take a seat, **Cinna**’ (Stemma 170).



Stemma 170

§11 In this case the apostrophe, which is not a proper actant, behaves structurally as the virtual **first actant of an imperative verb**.

§12 The reason for this is that the person called by the apostrophe using an imperative sentence is the one who would function as the first actant if the same sentence were in the indicative, for example *Nicole apporte les pantoufles de Monsieur Jourdain; Cinna s’assied* ‘Nicole is bringing the slippers of Monsieur Journal; **Cinna** sits down.’

§13 The Latins and Greeks experienced the event so clearly (but very rarely, and only in poetry) that they placed the attribute to the unexpressed first actant in the vocative:¹⁰⁶ Lat. *Venias hodie* ‘Come today’ (Tibulle, I, 7, 53), Gr. *Ólbie, koure, génoio* ‘Happy, young man, be’ = ‘Be happy, young man’ (Théocrite, idylls, 17, 66).

§14 This is also the reason why the imperative agrees in number with the noun of the apostrophe. If Auguste says *prends* ‘take’, he does so because he is addressing Cinna alone. If, in contrast, *Allons* ‘let’s go’ is plural in the first verse of the Marseillaise *Allons, enfants de la Patrie* ‘Go, children of the Fatherland’, that is because the verse is addressed to the children of the Fatherland, which are plural. The case of *Nicole, apportez-moi mes pantoufles* ‘Nicole, bring me my slippers’ is isolated, since the plural of *apportez* is not the plural of agreement, but the plural of politeness.

§15 Just like the imperative to which it corresponds, the apostrophe takes from the nature of the interjection. The apostrophe is an actant employed with the value of an interjection just like the imperative is employed with the value of an **interjection**.

§16 Similarly, the interjective form of the verb is the imperative and that of the noun is the vocative, which, as we have seen (§7), the languages that have case distinguish from the nominative.

§17 The fact that the vocative and imperative have morphological characteristics in common is not merely a matter of chance, for example the *-e* in Latin and Greek in the theme inflection: Lat. *Parce, Domine* ‘Have pity, Lord’, Gr. *Lége, ó Kúrie* ‘Speak, Lord’. We are in effect dealing with the same Indo-European form with the suffix **-e*, but without inflection. It is the bare theme, non-inflected, which answers more closely to the invariable character of the interjection.

§18 The interjection is an **appellation** by definition, a sort of **shout** that must immediately capture the attention of the person addressed. The core aspect of this call is that it must be immediately evident upon utterance. But since inflection appears at the end of words in Indo-European languages, inflection is of little use in an interjection.

§19 This very situation is the reason why in colloquial Russian, a new vocative is arising that is characterized by the apocope of the nominative endings. This new vocative is in addition to the ancient vocative that survives in six clerical words of Slavonic origin.

Nominative		Vocative
<i>staryxa</i>	‘old woman’	<i>staryx</i>
<i>Nikita</i>	‘Nikita’	<i>Nikit</i>
<i>Anja</i>	‘Johnny’	<i>An’</i>
<i>Atja</i>	‘Papa’	<i>At’</i>

106. V. Riemann, *Syntax latine*, edition revised and corrected by Ernout, §28, number 2.

§20 The tendency to focus attention on the start of the vocative forms is readily evident in the domain of accents. Thus in Greek, one observes that in cases where the vocative differs from the nominative in intonation, the accent slides forward in the vocative from its position in the nominative:

Nominative		Vocative
<i>patér</i>	‘father’	<i>páter</i>
<i>anér</i>	‘man’	<i>áner</i>
<i>gastér</i>	‘stomach’	<i>gáster</i>
<i>guné</i>	‘woman’	<i>gúnai</i>
<i>rhétōr</i>	rhéteur	<i>rhêtor</i>
<i>daér</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>dāer</i>
<i>daímōn</i>	‘demon’	<i>daîmon</i>
<i>despótēs</i>	‘master’	<i>déspota</i>
<i>Dēmétēr</i>	‘Demeter’	<i>Dēmēter</i>
<i>authádē</i>	‘sufficient’	<i>aúthades</i>
<i>Apóllōn</i>	‘Apollo’	<i>Ápollon</i>
<i>thugátēr</i>	‘sister’	<i>thúgater</i>
<i>adelphós</i>	‘brother’	<i>ádelphe</i>
<i>Poseidón</i>	‘Poseidon’	<i>Póseidon</i>

In any case, the accent slides as far forward as it can without breaking any of the complicated laws of accentuation in Greek:

Nominative		Vocative
<i>Agamémnōn</i>	‘Agamemnon’	<i>Agámemnon</i>
<i>eleémōn</i>	‘merciful’	<i>eléēnon</i>

§21 The words are rare that do not exploit the possibility to move the accent in the vocative to maximum potential. But even in this case, the direction of the movement is backward all the same:

Nominative		Vocative
<i>basileús</i>	‘king’	<i>basileû</i>
<i>euódēs</i>	‘odiferous’	<i>euôbes</i>
<i>stratiótēs</i>	‘soldier’	<i>stratiôta</i>

§22 One finds this reduction in Sanskrit, where the vocative *pítār* ‘god’ shows a change of accent in relation to the nominative *pitāā* and in the accusative *pitāram*.

§23 Finally, the same shift occurs in the feminine plural of certain Serbo-Croatian words: nominative plural *žène*, vocative plural *žène* ‘women’. The low accent represents an accent in Serbian that has moved from one syllable and that therefore was otherwise on the final syllable of the word, whereas the double low accent represents a more brief accent that has not changed and that was, therefore, formerly on the first syllable. At this earlier stage, the vocative accent, which was still on the initial syllable, experienced a change in relation to the nominative.

§24 The diverse works on pre-Indo-European, in particular those of E. Benveniste, have shown that the alternative *e/o/zero* seemed to depend on the accent, the full degrees coming from accented forms, the zero degree coming from atonic forms. It is appealing to note that the Indo-European vocative of themes in **-ā-* is also characterized by the zero degree **-ə* in front of the full degree **-ā* of the nominative, for instance Homeric Greek nominative *númphē*, vocative *númpha*, nominative Old Slavic, Czech *žena*, Serbo-Croatian *žèna*, Polish *głowa* – vocative Old Slavic, Czech *ženo*, Serbo-Croatian *žèno*, Polish *głowo*. But the **-ā* of the nominative represents a former **e₂*, the degree *e* of which reveals an accented vowel in pre-Indo-European, while the **ə* of vocative represents a pre-Indo-European *ə₂*, the zero degree of which reveals a former vowel that falls away because it was atonic. As the last vowel of the word, for it was an ending, the accent was on the previous syllable. The question is whether it would be the trace of a backward movement of the accent in the pre-Indo-European vocative.

Chapter 72. The projection of actants

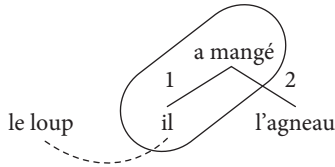
§1 Actants in certain languages sometimes have such pronounced autonomy that it is difficult to discern whether or not they partake in the verbal node at all. They are no longer related to the verbal node by a proper structural connection per se, but rather by an indirect semantic connection.

§2 This is the case for example in French where the expression, which exists in familiar language, is extremely expressive. For example, the sentence *Le loup a mangé l'agneau* ‘The wolf ate the lamb’ is readily replaced, notably in the language of children, by the following sentence, which is much more lively and vigorous: *Le loup, il a mangé l'agneau*, lit. ‘The wolf, he ate the lamb’.

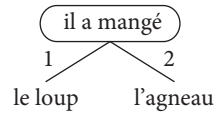
§3 In the last sentence of the preceding paragraph, the actant *loup* ‘wolf’ belongs to the stemma of the sentence only by virtue of the anaphoric connection that relates it to the personal index *il*, which is in turn related to the verb. The index has been more or less incorporated into the verb by a structural connection (Stemma 171).

§4 While the semantic connection between the verb and the actant *loup* is thus indirectly assured by the intermediate personal index *il*, the structural connection in contrast is extremely loose, and the actant has a certain structural autonomy. This autonomy is

marked in the spoken chain by a pause, represented in orthography by a comma or even by a colon: *Le nez de Cléopâtre: s'il eût été plus court, toute la face de la terre aurait changé* 'The nose of Cleopatra: if it had been shorter, the entire face of the world would have changed' (Pascal, *Pensées*, II, 162, ed. Brunschvieg).



Stemma 171



Stemma 172

§5 Detached from the verb in this manner, the actant is **strongly emphasized** and appears to be projected outside of the verbal node. That is why we say there is a **projection of an actant** in such a case.

6. The phenomenon can be presented differently: the index, since it is completely incorporated into the verb, is considered part of the verb's nucleus. The actant *loup* is then analyzed as the subject dependent of this nucleus (Stemma 172). But this conception has the drawback of not accounting for the phonetic autonomy of the phrase *le loup*, which is projected away from the verb on the spoken chain.

§7 The noun that is projected at a **distance from** the verb is separated from the words of the verbal nucleus. Take for example the sentence *Le loup a mangé l'agneau* 'The wolf ate the lamb'. If we project *le loup*, we get *Le loup, il a mangé l'agneau* 'The wolf, he ate the lamb', where *le loup* forms a **separate group**. If, however, we project *l'agneau*, *l'agneau* will form a **separate group**: *L'agneau, le loup l'a mangé* 'The lamb, the wolf ate her'.

§8 The result of this is that the projected actant can appear equally before or after the verbal group. In the preceding examples, the projected actant is placed before the verbal group on the spoken chain, but it could just as well be placed after the verbal group: *Il a mangé l'agneau, le loup* 'He ate the lamb, the wolf'; *Le loup l'a mangé, l'agneau* 'The wolf ate her, the lamb'.¹⁰⁷

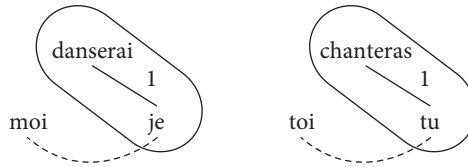
§9 Insofar as the actant is projected at a distance from the verbal center and is consequently separated from the verb on the spoken chain, the **sequence** that expresses this connection with the verb (Chapter 6, §5) is **broken**. This is why it is indispensable to reestablish the connection, at least semantically, by use of an anaphoric connection. The anaphoric connection is thus the inevitable **price** to pay for the **break in the sequence**, and

107. Translators' note: Left and right dislocations are possible in English, but they are much more productive in French, especially in spoken language.

that is why every actant projection is necessarily accompanied by an anaphoric connection and thus by an anaphor.

§10 The anaphor is an anontive personal index in principle, but it can also be a demonstrative pronoun: *Ah! C'est un vrai type, ton père!* 'Ah! He's the real thing, your father!'; lit. 'Ah! That's a real guy, your father!' (Denys Amiel, *Ma Liberté*, acte I, p. 10).

§11 Concerning the projected actant, it is usually a noun, but it can also be a personal noun: *Toi, tu chanteras; moi, je danserai* 'You, you will sing; me, I will dance' (Stemma 173). Due to the autonomy of the actant, this construction has the effect of elevating the actant to an extremely pronounced position (Chapter 61, §12).



Stemma 173

§12 A projected actant can take part in a subordinate clause, in which case it must be entirely separated in the spoken chain from the subordinate clause: *Je suis surpris, vous qui voyagez beaucoup, que vous ne le sachiez pas*, lit. 'I am surprised, you who travels a lot, that you do not know that' (Jean-Jacques Bernard, *Nationale 6*, p. 11). It can even be separated from it by the main clause: *Vous qui voyagez beaucoup, je suis surprise que vous ne le sachiez pas*, lit. 'You who travels a lot, I am surprised that you did not know that'. Or further, it can be projected inside the main clause: *Regarde Jean, quelle drôle de tête il a* 'Look at John, how funny he looks' (Maupassant, *Contes: La Reine Hortense*) (cf. Chapter 61, §12).

§13 The projected actant need not be the first actant. It can also be the **second or third actant**:

Projected second and third actants		
Second actant	<i>Mon doigt, l'abeille l'a piqué. Ma mère, je la vois.</i> (Meilhac & Halévy, <i>Carmen</i> , I)	'My finger, the bee stung it. My mother, I see her.'
Third actant	<i>Mon malheureux cousin, je lui ai offert un beau livre.</i>	'My poor cousin, I offered him a nice book.'

§14 The projection can also concern a **circumstant**: *Là-bas, je n'y vais jamais*, lit. 'Over there, I never go there'.

§15 But if this **circumstant** is a **noun preceded by a preposition**, the noun alone is projected. Thus it is correct to say *Paris, j'y vais souvent* 'Paris, I go there often', but not *À Paris, j'y vais souvent* 'To Paris, I go there often'.

§16 The projection can take place for multiple actants from the same sentence. In such cases, we say that there is a **multiple projection**. For example, there is a double projection in *L'abeille, elle l'a piqué, mon doigt* 'The bee, it stung it, my finger'.

§18 But it is more difficult to project the two actants on the same side of the verb: *L'abeille, mon doigt, elle l'a piqué*, lit. 'The bee, my finger, it stung it', or even *Elle l'a piqué, mon doigt, l'abeille*, lit. 'It stung it, my finger, the bee'. These latter sentences are clumsy and familiar enough to border on vulgar.

§19 The greater the number of projected actants (and circumstants), the more the sentence is lax and familiar: *Il la lui a donnée, à Jean, son père, sa moto*, 'John's father gave him his motorbike', lit. 'He gave it to him, to John, his father, his motorbike' (from a student in 1936).

§20 This construction seems to be the very prototype of the sentence in **Bantu languages**, where it is favored by the large number of genders, known as categories. Many of these languages possess up to twenty of these categories, for example: personal gender, lively gender, neuter gender, organic gender, individual gender, diminutive gender, abstract gender, superficial gender, interior gender, and even the singular and plural of these genders.

§21 The presence of this gender richness allows these languages to have a great variety of anaphors without risking confusion, since due to the twenty genders that a noun can have, there is relatively little possibility that the three or four actants present will have the same gender. The nouns are represented in the verbal node by an anaphoric index marking function. The anaphor alone indicates, by way of gender agreement, the anaphoric element to which each projected noun is related.

§22 Take the **Subiya** example:

<i>Mulala</i>	<i>in-</i>	<i>zoka</i>	<i>iyo</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>sumpwa.</i>
Mulala	ANIMAL	snake	this	it.ANIMAL	was called
‘This snake was called Mulala.’					

The anaphoric index *i* – which is the first actant of the verb *sumpwa* and with which it is in sequence on the spoken chain – has animal gender and therefore refers to the noun *zoka*, which itself is preceded by the classifier *in-*, which also shows animal gender. And hence one understands that the first actant of *sumpwa* is *in-zoka*.

§23 The same situation occurs in the following **Subiya** sentence:

<i>Abo</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>kazana</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>manze</i>
these.HUM	HUM	girls	it.ANIMAL	they.HUM	ate	all.HUM
‘It ate all these girls.’						

The center of the sentence is the phrase *i ba mini* ‘it ate them’. The index of the first actant in this phrase, which is of the animal category, refers anaphorically to the noun *zoka* ‘snake’, which appears in the preceding sentences and is preceded by the classifier *in-*, also an animal classifier. This situation indicates by ricochet that the snake is the first actant. The index of the second actant *ba-*, which indicates the human plural category (cf. *ba-ntu* ‘men’, plural of *mu-ntu* ‘man’), refers anaphorically to the noun *kazana* ‘young girls’, which is preceded by the classifier *ba-*, also a classifier showing human plurality. This situation indicates by ricochet that the index of the second actant represents the young girls. It is by way of this mechanism that one understands that the snake has eaten the young girls, and not the other way round.

§24 Take the **Tongan** sentence *Ba-lavu ba-ba-luma ba-ntu* ‘The lions bit the men’, lit. ‘The lions, they bit them, the men’. The first actant *ba-* and the second actant *-ba-* have the **same gender**. Despite this situation, there is no confusion for two reasons: 1) because the meaning indicates clearly that it is the lions that bit the men and not the men who bit the lions, and 2) because the first actant precedes the verbal group, whereas the second actant follows it.

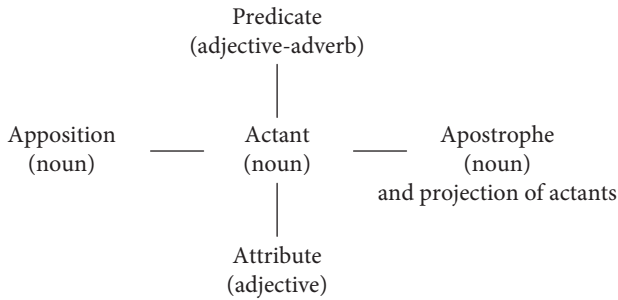
§25 Hence the projection of actants, which is a highly expressive process in French, seems to be the normal mechanism in a Bantu language such as **Subiya**.

§26 The mechanism of Bantu seems to exist in other languages, for example in **Chinook**, an Amerindian language:¹⁰⁸

<i>Tgi</i>	<i>génxaute</i>	<i>ikanāte</i>	<i>tEmewālEma.</i>
they it	watch	the soul	the spirits
‘The spirits watch the soul.’			
lit. ‘They watch it, the soul, the spirits’			

§27 The preceding chapters show that the noun node is in turn susceptible to exerting influence by way of the connections that can extend outward from it in all directions. By its inferior connections, it governs **attributes**; by its superior connection, it is governed by the **predicate**, by its horizontal connections, it commands **appositions**, and with its horizontal semantic connections, it commands **apostrophes** and permits the projection of actants. The set of all these connections is summarized by the following schema:

108. Boas, *Handbook of American-Indian Languages*, I, p. 647, cited by Benvéniste, “Structure des relations de personne dans le verbe”, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 43, 1947, p. 7.



Schema 174

Chapter 73. The nominal sentence

§1 Every noun node alone suffices to constitute a sentence, assuming it is not subordinated to another syntactic unit, e.g. to a verb – if it is subordinated to a verb, it is an actant. But in the absence of a verb, the nominal node alone can establish a sentence that is called a **nominal sentence**.

§2 The nominal sentence is particularly apt at expressing a **description**. To accomplish this, the simple utterance of the noun or nouns designating the persons or objects being described can suffice. Each noun may or may not be accompanied by elements that are subordinate to it and that constitute a nominal node with it.

§3 Several nominal sentences can follow each other. Such a sequence constitutes **nominal style**, which is more lively and more striking than the ordinary sentence. But it should be used sparingly since it is casual, quite invariable and so quickly becomes monotone. Let us give here the beginning of a long description using only nominal sentences:

Pavillons de tous les pays, russes, grecs, suédois, tunisiens, américains... Les navires au ras du quai, les beauprés arrivant sur la berge comme des rangées de baïonnettes. Au dessous les naïades, les déesses, les saintes vierges et autres sculptures de bois peint qui donnent le nom au vaisseau; tout cela mangé par l'eau de mer, dévoré, ruisselant, moisi... De temps en temps, entre les navires, un morceau de mer, comme une grande moire tachée d'huile... Dans l'enchevêtrement des vergues, des nuées de mouettes faisant de jolies taches sur le ciel bleu, des mousses qui s'appelaient dans toutes les langues¹²⁸

'Flags of every country, Russian, Greek, Swedish, Tunisian, American... The ships level with the quay, the bowsprits pulling up to the bank like rows of bayonets. Below the nymphs, the goddesses, the holy virgins, and other sculptures in painted wood that give the vessel its name; everything eaten by the sea water, consumed, streaming, mouldy... From time to time, between the ships, a piece of sea, like a big moiré stained with oil... In the entanglement of yards, flocks of gulls making pretty stains on the blue sky, ship boys calling to each other in all languages.'

(A. Daudet, *Tartarin of Tarascon*, first episode, XIV).

109. Translators' note: The example that Tesnière cites here is much longer than just one paragraph. We have reduced the length of the cited passage in the interest of getting to the point.

§4 Due to its casual character, the nominal sentence is particularly well-suited to **conversational style**, and that is why it is readily employed by dramatic authors:

Madame Blandin: [...] *Je me suis faite noceuse enragée, à jet continu, la vie de Saint Guy, du matin au soir et du soir au matin, sans raison, sans but, comme des hystériques ou des fous. Saint Lazare et la Salpêtrière.*

‘Mrs Blandin: I became a furious reveler, in an endless stream, the life of Saint Guy, from morning to evening and from evening to morning, without reason, like hysterical or mad people. Saint Lazare [prison for women] and la Salpêtrière [hospital].’

(H. Lavedan, *Viveurs*, act IV)

Gustave: *Pyjamas ou chemises de nuit...*
 Ravier: *Décidément vous ne pensez qu’à dormir... Je pars vingt-quatre heures, le smoking, linge de soirée... et pyjamas de soie.*

‘Gustave: Pyjamas or night shirts...’
 Ravier: You are clearly only thinking about sleeping... I leave for twenty-four hours, the dinner jacket, evening wear...and silk pyjamas.’

(P. Armont & L. Marchand, *Le Valet Maître*, Act IV, Scene 4, *Petite Illustration Journal* of May 7, 1938).

§5 The noun forming the center of the nominal sentence can appear in **negative form**:

Salomon: *...On ne se quitte pas, malgré tout, après quatre ans, sans un petit machin.*

‘Salomon: We won’t separate, despite everything, after four years, without a little thing.

Madame Blandin: *Non mon cher. Pas de petit machin...pas le moindre. Un grand accablement et un bon débarras...*

Madame Blandine: No my dear. No little thing...not in the least. Much despondency and good riddance.’

(H. Lavedan, *Viveurs*, act IV)

§6 The nominal sentence is particularly well-suited to **titles** of literary, artistic, and other works, which are sentences like the others and for which there is no reason to pass over them in silence: *Horace*, *Le Cid* (Corneille), *Le Misanthrope*, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (Molière), *Le Corbeau et le Renard* ‘The crow and the fox’, *La cigale et la fourmi* ‘The cicada and the ant’, *Le loup et l’agneau* ‘The wolf and the lamb’ (La Fontaine), *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Tempest* (Shakespeare).

§7 In plays, the nominal sentence is not only used to indicate the title, but also to give **scenic indications** (characters and scenery).

Un salon. — A gauche, au premier plan, une cheminée; au deuxième, une porte; au troisième, une console. — A droite, ...

‘A living room. — On the left, in the foreground, a fireplace; in the middle distance, a door; in the background, a console table. — On the right, ...’

(Meilhac & Halévy, *La Petite Marquise*, Act I, scene 1)

§8 Indicators of this nature can also be encountered at the start of a novel, which gives the narrative a more lively tone: *Quatre heures du soir au mois de septembre* ‘Four o’ clock in the evening in the month of September’ (F. Deschamps, *Les Petits Poussargues*, Chapter 1, Bibliotheque rose).

§9 The central noun of the nominal sentence can be accompanied by a third actant:

<i>À tout seigneur tout honneur.</i>	‘To every lord every honor.’
<i>À tout péché miséricorde.</i>	‘To every sin forgiveness.’

§10 Moreover, even though it is a simple noun and dependent on no verb, the central noun of the nominal sentence can be conceived of as a third actant: *À d’autres!* ‘A likely story!’; lit. ‘To others!’.

§11 Finally, this same noun can be an infinitive, the infinitive being, as we will see (Chapter 180), the nominal form of the verb: *Que faire?* ‘What to do?’

French	<i>Et dire que les vives préoccupations d’une personne non tout-à-fait dépourvue de sens se trouvent parfois sous la dépendance d’une querelle de roquets.</i> (J.-H. Fabre, <i>Nouveaux souvenirs entomologiques</i> , Chapter 6, <i>Les Odynères</i>) <i>...Quoi? Toujours, malgré mes remontrances, Heurter le fondement de toutes les sciences.</i> (Molière, <i>Les Femmes savantes</i> , II, 6).	‘And to say that the deep concerns of a person not completely without sense are sometimes subordinate to a quarrel of grouches.’ ‘What? Every time, despite my reprimands, Go against the foundation of all the sciences.’
Latin	<i>Tam nullo consilio gesta esse omnia!</i> <i>Omnes per urbem discurrere pavidī; alii alios sciscitari; auctorem nuntii requirere.</i>	‘Did it have to be the case that everything was done without prudence!’ ‘Everyone ran through the city alarmed; they questioned each other; they sought the author of the news.’

§12 As we have said, the noun that functions as the center of the noun node can be accompanied by various **subordinates**, for example

Attributive adjective	<i>Charles X a soixante treize ans. Il est très grand et très mince. Les cheveux tout blancs.</i> (L. Verneuil, <i>Vive le Roi</i> , II, 3)	‘Charles X is seventy-three. He is very tall and very thin. Hair all white.’
Temporal circumstant	<i>Après nous le déluge</i> (Madame de Pompadour).	‘After us the downpour’

Locative circumstant	<i>Il ne doute pas de l'effet que ses allusions vont produire dans l'esprit du prince, son jeune parent, à l'esprit si doux, qui règne sur un pays neutre avec le juste souci de son bonheur et de sa prospérité: Satan sur la montagne.</i> (L'Officier de réserve, number 7, 1935, p. 106)	'He does not doubt the effect that his allusions are going to produce in the prince's mind, his young parent, so gentle, who rules over a neutral country with just concern about its happiness and prosperity: Satan on the mountain .'
Manner circumstant	<i>Chaque compagnie des autres régiments comptait des piquiers, des mousquetaires et des grenadiers. Les mousquetaires en gris, bleu ou blanc, ...</i> (H. de Régnier, <i>Le Bon Plaisir</i> , Chapter VII).	'Each company of the other regiments contained pikemen, musketeers and grenadiers. The musketeers in grey, blue, or white... '
	<i>Fallait voir ses hanches! Un vrai scandale sur pétard.</i> (Céline, <i>Mort à crédit</i> , p. 21)	'You should have seen her hips! That arse was a public scandal', lit. 'A real scandal on buttocks .'

§13 The subordinate of the noun that functions as a nominal node can be the result of first-degree transfer (O > E, cf. Chapter 201), e.g. *Trêve de plaisanteries!* 'Enough of this joking!', lit. 'Truce of jokes' and of second degree (I >> A, cf. Chapter 245), e.g.

<i>Le chat qui la regarde D'un petit air fripon.</i> (<i>Il était une bergère</i> , popular simple round dance, 3rd couplet)	'The cat that watches her with mischief.'
<i>Même le vieux Rabbe, qui est prêt à s'engager, si on veut de lui!</i> (Roger Martin du Gard, <i>Les Thibault</i> , Summer 1914, 71, p. 226)	'Even the old Rabbe, who is ready to get involved, if he is wanted!'

§14 Like a normal sentence, a nominal sentence can be **interrogative**: *Le moyen d'apaiser un auteur irrité?* 'The way to calm down an irritated author?', *Je le plains sans doute, mais quel remède?* 'I certainly feel sorry for him, but what cure?'

§15 Similarly, the nominal sentence can be **exclamative**. As such it is capable of expressing the most diverse sentiments: emotion *Ah! Mon vieil ami!* 'Ah! My old friend!', exasperation *La peste de l'animal!* 'Goddammit!', lit. 'Plague of the animal', irony *La belle avance! Le beau mérite! Le grand mal!* 'What good use!, What good merit!, What great harm!', malicious surprise *Et les cadeaux qu'elle se fait donner par les grandes grues qui viennent ici!* 'And the gifts that she gets from the tall hookers who come here!' (H. Lavedan, *Viveurs*, I).

§16 The sentiment can be expressed by enormity of the event that provokes amazement, this being denoted by the neuter pronoun *ce*: *Ce qu'elle est gourmande!* 'What a gourmande she is!' (H. Lavedan, *Viveurs*, I).

§17 The central noun of the nominal sentence can be followed by a determinative complement composed of the preposition *de* and the infinitive (cf. Chapter 221, §4): *Grenouilles aussitôt de sauter dans les ondes* 'Frogs to jump straight into the waves'

(La Fontaine, *Fables*, II, 14), *Et grenouilles de se plaindre, Et Jupin de leur dire...* ‘And frogs to complain, And Jupin to say to them:...’ (La Fontaine, *Fables*, III, 4), Occitan *E mi dos furo de s’esquiha* ‘And my two mice to escape’ (Frédéric Mistral, *Nouvelle prose d’almanach*, p. 278).

§18 The central noun of the nominal sentence can also be followed by a subordinate relative phrase. This type of sentence is particularly frequent in titles, for instance in the titles of La Fontaine’s fables:

<i>L’Homme qui rit</i> (V. Hugo)	‘The laughing man’, lit. ‘The man who laughs’
<i>La Terre qui meurt</i> (R. Bazin)	‘The dying earth’, lit. ‘The earth that dies’
<i>L’Avaro qui a perdu son trésor</i> (La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , IV, 20)	‘The miser who lost his treasure’
<i>Le Chien qui lâche sa proie pour l’ombre</i> (La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , IV, 17)	‘The dog who releases his prey for a shadow’
<i>Les Grenouilles qui demandent un Roi</i> (La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , III, 4)	‘The frogs who demand a king’
<i>Le Chien à qui on a coupé les oreilles</i> (La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , X, 8)	‘The dog whose ears were cut off’

The relative subordinate, having a verb as its center, can be expanded indefinitely. Some of these titles hence become veritable abbreviated narratives: *L’Homme qui court après la fortune et l’Homme qui l’attend dans son lit* ‘The man who runs after fortune and the man who awaits it in his bed’ (La Fontaine, *Fables*, VII, 12).

§20 Finally, the central noun of the nominal sentence can be followed by an element of the sentence that is introduced by *que* ‘that/than’:

<i>De vrais petits sauvages que mes neveux!</i> (Mme Chéron de la Bruyère, <i>L’Épée du Donjon</i> , Chapter 2, <i>Bibliothèque rose</i>)	‘My nephews are true little savages!’, lit. ‘True little savages that my nephews!’
<i>Rien de plus compliqué qu’un barbare</i> (Flaubert, <i>A Sainte-Beuve</i> , December 1862)	‘Nothing more complicated than a barbarian’

Chapter 74. The adjectival node

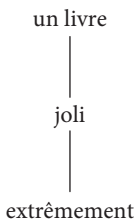
§1 As we descend further down the hierarchy of nodes, the number of possible types of subordinates diminishes. For the adjective, practically the only possible subordinate is the adverb. The possibilities for the adjective node are therefore quite restricted.

§2 The normal subordinate of the adjective is hence the adverb, which, in this function, is represented stemmatically below the adjective by a vertical connection line: *un livre extrêmement joli* 'a very cheerful book' (Stemma 175).

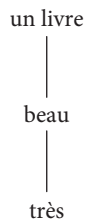
§3 On the spoken chain, the adverb generally appears in front of the adjective that it depends on: Fr. *très bon*, Ger. *sehr gut*, Eng. *very good*, Rus. *očen' xorošo*. However, in certain languages with mitigated centrifugal order, the adverb can follow the adjective, for example in the Austronesian languages Maori and Samoan:

	<i>E</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>hoa</i>	<i>iti</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>rahi</i>
Maori	O	my	friend	little	dear	very
	<i>O mon très cher petit ami</i> 'O my very dear little friend' (P. Loti, <i>Mariage de Loti</i> , p. 295).					

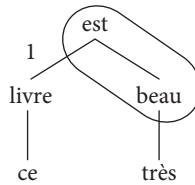
	<i>tele</i>	<i>lava</i>
Samoan	big	very
	'very big'	



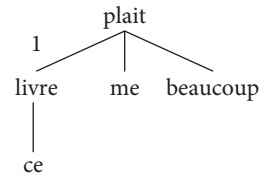
Stemma 175



Stemma 176



Stemma 177



Stemma 178

§4 Due to its ability to accept adverbs as subordinates, that is, to accept circumstants, the adjective resembles a verb to a certain degree. That is why it can function as a verb, which is, as we have seen, the very definition of a predicative adjective.

§5 Unlike the verb, which can govern both actants and circumstants, the adjective can only govern circumstants. It is this difference that, structurally speaking, marks the essential difference between verbs and adjectives.¹¹⁰

110. Translators' note: Tesnière's claim here is contrary to modern accounts. Adjectives such as *proud*, *satisfied*, *angry*, etc. govern actants, e.g. *proud of his children*, *satisfied with it*, *angry at them*, etc. The actants that adjectives govern are, however, always introduced by a preposition.

§6 It is possible to uncover the trace of this difference in adverbs, although it is rare. Two adverbs with the same meaning, *très* ‘very’ and *beaucoup* ‘a lot’, are preferably employed with an adjective and a verb, respectively: *un très beau livre* ‘a very pretty book’ (Stemma 176), *Ce livre est très beau* ‘This book is very pretty’ (Stemma 177), but *Ce livre me plaît beaucoup* ‘This book pleases me a lot’ (Stemma 178).

§7 In analyzing further the difference between verb and adjective, we find that the verb is essentially the means to express a process, action, or state. Yet it is precisely because it expresses process-actions that it needs to be able to govern actants. In contrast, if it is a verb of state or a predicative adjective, only circumstants are required.

§8 A new distinction is imposed according to the nature of the circumstants. All circumstants, regardless of their type, can be called upon to qualify a process. But while spatial circumstants (of location and time) are almost indispensable for determining the conditions of an action or state process in space and time (they therefore often modify predicative adjectives), they cannot occur as modifiers of attributive adjectives because attributive adjectives lack the notion of a process. This is the reason why attributive adjectives have only manner and quantitative adverbs as dependents.

§9 What is valid for the adjective is also valid of course for the types of words that can take the place of adjectives in the varying circumstances that we have seen in preceding chapters:

Noun	<i>Elle est très grande dame.</i>	‘She is very much the great lady’, lit. ‘She is very great lady’, where <i>très</i> ‘very’ is a modifier of <i>grande dame</i> ‘great lady’ and not of <i>grande</i> ‘great’.
	<i>Il est très professeur de Sorbonne.</i>	‘He is very much the Sorbonne professor, lit. ‘He is very professor of Sorbonne’
Adverb	<i>un monsieur très bien</i>	‘a very decent man’, lit. ‘a man very well’
	<i>une dame très comme il faut</i>	‘a fine upstanding woman’, lit. ‘a woman very as it need be’

§10 In addition to proper adverbs, adjectives can have dependants that are adverbial formulations introduced by prepositions, the most frequent of which are *de* and *à*:

<i>de</i> ‘of, from’	<i>capable de</i> ‘capable of’, <i>différent de</i> ‘different from’, <i>fier de</i> ‘proud of’, <i>jaloux de</i> ‘jealous of’ (Chapter 60, §10), <i>redevable de</i> ‘indebted to’, <i>susceptible de</i> ‘susceptible to’; <i>J’aime trop la valeur pour en être jaloux</i> (La Harpe). ‘I like their value too much to be jealous of them’
<i>à</i> ‘to’	<i>sensible à</i> ‘sensitive to’, <i>apte à</i> ‘capable of’, <i>enclin à</i> ‘inclined to’, <i>fidèle à</i> ‘faithful to’, <i>pareil à</i> ‘same as’, <i>hostile à</i> ‘hostile to’, <i>propre à</i> ‘specific to’, <i>contraire à</i> ‘contrary to’, <i>rebelle à</i> ‘rebellious to’, <i>semblable à</i> ‘similar to’, <i>sujet à</i> ‘subject to’, <i>utile à</i> ‘useful for’, <i>une salle pleine à craquer</i> ‘a room fit to burst’, lit. ‘a room full to burst’

<i>avec</i> 'with'	<i>compatible avec</i> 'compatible with ', <i>incompatible avec</i> 'incompatible with '
<i>pour</i> 'for'	<i>utile pour</i> 'useful for', <i>bon pour</i> 'good for'
<i>en</i> 'in'	<i>riche en miel</i> 'rich in honey', <i>fertile en incidents</i> 'rich in incidents'
<i>par</i> 'by'	<i>célèbre par ses crimes</i> 'famous for his crimes'
<i>sur</i> 'on'	<i>haut sur pattes</i> 'long-legged'

§11 In the languages with case such as Latin and Greek, it is of course case markers that play the role of the French/English prepositions:

	Accusative	Dative	Ablative
Latin	<i>murus decem pedes altus</i> 'a wall ten feet high' Fr. <i>un mur haut de dix pieds</i>	<i>utilis</i> 'useful', <i>par</i> 'equal', <i>similis</i> 'similar'	<i>dives</i> 'rich', <i>orbis</i> 'private', <i>dignus</i> 'worthy'
Greek	<i>plērēs</i> 'full', <i>áxios</i> 'dignified'	<i>hómoios</i> 'similar', <i>ísos</i> 'equal'	

§12 Moreover, the same adjective can have many circumstantial complements, each corresponding to a different notion. Hence Fr. *plein* 'full' can be constructed both with *de* and *à*: *plein de blé* 'full of wheat' expresses the complement of means, that is, the object of which the sack or the basket is full; *plein à craquer*, in contrast, expresses a complement of manner, that is, the extent to which the sack is full to the point of bursting.

§13 We can see that the multiplicity of possible complements is no more limited than that of circumstants.

§14 This can be explained by the fact that most adjectives are former participles (Chapter 36, §8), that is, they were originally verbal forms, and as a consequence, they could contain circumstants. The circumstants that they originally governed when they were verbs have given rise to adverbs, and these adverbs continue to depend on them, even though they have become adjectives.

§15 Indeed, take the Lat. *latus* 'wide' as an example; it is a former past participle **stlatus* 'stretched' of a verb denoting 'stretch over'. The verb itself no longer survives in Latin, e.g. *centum pedes latus* strictly speaking means 'stretched over a hundred feet'.

§16 Similarly, *plenus* 'filled' is merely a former anterior participle in *-no-*, formed on the stem *ple-* from Lat. *im-ple-re*, cf. Gr. *plērēs*; it therefore signifies 'filled' rather than 'full'. The same is also true of the Fr. *plein* 'full' which, under its easy-going appearance as an adjective, hides a former participle etymologically. When all is said and done, the French

construction with *de* is merely a circumstant that reproduces, at a distance and more or less faithfully, the circumstant that was etymologically that of the verb *remplir*.

§17 All these considerations lead to the insight that if in a number of cases, the adjective can govern circumstants like the verb does, this only occurs because the adjective has developed from an adjectival form of the verb – the participle. In other words, the circumstant **remains consistent**, whether it depends on a verb or on an attributive adjective.

§18 But there is a sort of adverb that is completely different from the others, first by its use, since it can only serve as a circumstant for the adjective, and second by its form, which does not differ from its adjectival form and which, therefore, is also variable. The adverbs in question are those that behave like the French adjectives *tout* ‘all’ and *grand* ‘wide’ in the expression *toute grande ouverte* ‘entirely wide open’, lit. ‘all-FEM wide-FEM open-FEM’.

§19 Adverbial expressions of this sort are not very common, but they are characteristic of certain French turns of phrases. The main examples are:

1. *tout* before an adjective: *Elle est toute honteuse* ‘She is very ashamed’, *la toute bonne* ‘the very good one’, *les toutes belles* ‘the very pretty ones’.
2. *tout* before a variable adverb: *Cette porte est toute grande ouverte* ‘this door is entirely wide open’.
3. Certain common adjectives which take on an adverbial function in front of another adjective or adjectival equivalent: *Elle est arrivée bonne dernière* ‘She arrived the very last one’, lit ‘She arrived good last’; *une porte grande ouverte* ‘a wide open door’; *un parfait honnête homme* ‘a perfectly honest man’, lit. ‘a perfect honest man’.

§20 What is noteworthy about these expressions is that the word that functions like an adverb behaves morphologically like a true adjective. As an adjective, it agrees in gender and number with the adjective that, as a circumstant, it modifies.

§21 This state of affairs is difficult to observe with precision in French because the construction has been eviscerated by grammarians, who claim to have applied to it the norms of Latin grammar (Chapter 27, §12). Having thus established a universal maxime, which is in reality just a principle of Latin grammar, they wanted to render the French adverb invariable just like the Latin adverb. They succeeded in imposing their conception on French orthography every time the adverb *tout* could seem to be invariable, that is, before a feminine adjective beginning with a vowel or a silent *h*: *Elles sont tout étonnées* ‘They are really surprised’, *Elles sont tout heureuses* ‘They are really happy’.

§22 But faced with the facts, they were obliged to acknowledge and allow agreement of the adverb with the adjective before a consonant or aspirated *h*: *Elles sont toutes confuses, toutes honteuses* ‘They are really confused, really ashamed’. The result of this on French has been grammatical confusion and spelling mistakes, which could have been easily avoided had it been acknowledged that French and Latin are not alike and that variable adverbs

actually do exist in French. French common sense has in part rejected this negative influence insofar as both *toute entière* and *tout entière*, lit. ‘all entire’, are acceptable today.

§23 Despite the inopportune influence of grammarians, who do nothing more than sew confusion and disorder on issues that used to be clear and ordered, it is clearly the case that the adverb, far from always being invariable by definition as in Latin, can in fact be quite variable, agreeing with its governing adjective, as is the case sometimes in French.

Chapter 75. The adjectival sentence

§1 Contrary to a principle that is still too often taught but that is a flagrant contradiction of fact, the adjectival node, like the nominal node, can alone make up a sentence (Chapter 48, §10). This is the case when there is no higher syntactic unit that is capable of taking on this function, for it is always the highest syntactic element that automatically becomes the center of the sentence, just as it is also the highest rank that takes control over the sentence, which does not necessarily mean that a high rank is required to take command.

§2 The sentence composed only of an adjectival node is what we call an **adjectival sentence**. It is entirely governed by an adjective.

§3 Like the nominal sentence, the adjectival sentence is particularly alert and alive, but also casual and amorphous. It is characteristic of a simple style, but does not give an impression of being entirely correct. It is a **sentence in shirt-sleeves**; it judges its author.

§4 The adjectival sentence can be composed completely and entirely of an attribute that is applied to someone expressed in the anontive:

La duchesse de Berry, jeune, vive, ardente et brune, parle avec un très léger accent italien. Elle est la gaieté même. Jolie et sympathique.
(L. Verneuil, *Vive le Roi*, p. 19)

‘The Duchess of Berry, young, lively, fiery and brunette, speaks with a very light Italian accent. She is gaiety incarnate. **Pretty and likeable.**’

Blandin: *Es-tu enfant! Gentille mais peu sérieuse.*
(Henri Lavedan, *Viveurs*, act IV, p. 291)

‘Blandin: You are a child! **Sweet but hardly serious.**’

§5 The adjective can be replaced by a participle (Chapter 196, §2):

Mme Rémusat: *Tiens, Alain! Mais je ne vous savais pas à Annonay!*
Alain: *Débarqué nuitamment.*

‘Mrs Rémusat: Hello, Alain! But I didn’t know you were in Annonay!’
Alain: **Landed** in the night.’

(D. Amiel, *La Maison Monestier*, epilogue, scene 2,
Petite Illustration, June 17, 1939)

§6 The adjective sentence can also be made up of an adjective that only serves as an attribute to an idea expressed by a clausal infinitive, whereby the infinitive clause seems to depend on the adjective, although it could also be considered to be the first actant. The adjective would therefore be the “predicate”, that is, a predicative adjective. The sentence in both cases is an adjectival sentence: *Inutile d’insister davantage* ‘Pointless to insist any further’ (P. Lester & L. Millot, *Les Races humaines*, p. 192), *Libre à vous d’agir à votre guise* ‘free to you to do as you like.’

§7 Finally, the person of the adjective sentence can be the autoontive; the sentence becomes a simple exclamation followed by a complement, either in the form of a determinative or in the form of a subordinate clause:

Determinative complement	French	<i>Pauvre de moi!</i> ‘Poor me!’, lit. ‘Poor of me’ ¹³⁰
	Occitan	<i>Paure de ieu</i> ‘Poor me!’
	Gascon	<i>Praube de nous autes!</i> ‘Poor us!’
	Béarnese	<i>Pauvre d’eux</i> ‘Poor them’ ¹³¹
	Spanish	<i>Triste de mí!</i> ‘Poor me!’ (Chapter 196, §6) ¹³²
Subordinate clause	French	<i>Imbécile que je suis!</i> ‘Imbecile that I am!’ (Chapter 249, §15)

Chapter 76. The adverbial node

§1 While the adjective can only have an adverb as a subordinate, the adverb, which is situated lower in the hierarchy of nodes, should also obviously not be able to take other types of subordinates. Since the adverb is to the verb what the adjective is to the noun, as we have seen (Chapter 32, §18), the adverb shares with the adjective not only the characteristic of being a subordinate by definition, but also the inability to govern anything other than another adverb.

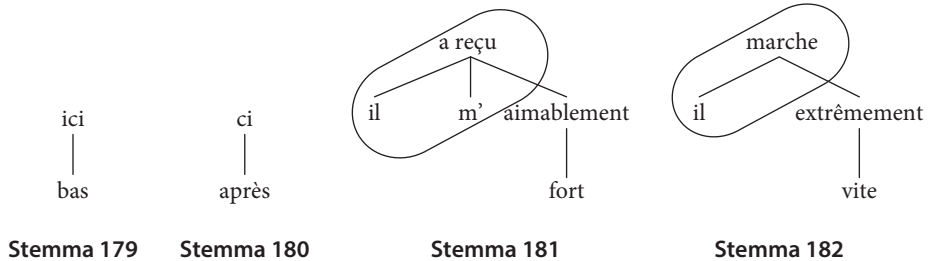
§2 We have seen an example of an adverb governing another adverb in double adverbs of the sort *ici-bas* ‘down here’ and *ci-après* ‘henceforth’. In the first case, the adjective *bas* ‘low’

111. Mme Chéron de la Bruyère, *L’Épée du Donjon*, Paris, 1903, Hachette, Bibliothèque Rose, pp. 90, 100, 106, 129, 150, 214, 246, 252.

112. Combarrous, *Mamette*, Montpellier, about 1943, p. 46.

113. P. Laborde, *Marivaux et El si de las niñas*, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, vol. LXIX, 1946, p. 142 (Da. Francisca).

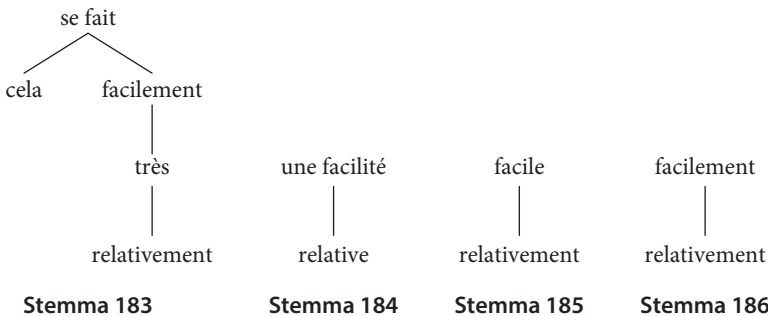
is in reality employed as an adverb of the same type as the preposition *après* ‘after’, and it is subordinate to the adverb *ici* ‘here’, just as *après* ‘after’ is subordinate to the adverb *ci* ‘here’ (old form only used in compound today, cf. *ici* ‘here’). The order of the two adverbs is hence centrifugal, as can be seen in the Stemmas 179 and 180.



§3 But **centripetal** order is also very frequent with adverbs in *-ment* ‘-ly’, or with an adverb of quantity like *très* ‘very’ or *fort* ‘most’: *Il m’a reçu fort aimablement* ‘He received me **most** aimably’ (Stemma 181), *Il marche extrêmement vite* ‘He walks **extremely** fast’ (Stemma 182).

§4 Once descended down the hierarchy of nodes to the level of adverbs, theoretically nothing limits the number of adverbs that can be subordinated to each other. However, a **cascade of three subordinated adverbs** is quite rare: *Cela se fait relativement très facilement* ‘That is done relatively very easily’ (Stemma 183). These expressions are unwieldy because of the weight of the adverbs ending in *-ment*. Sequences of two adverbs in *-ment* are practically impossible. It is ugly to say: *Cela se fait relativement facilement* ‘That is done relatively easily’.

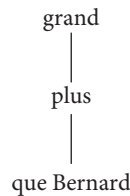
§5 The adverbs in *-ment* ‘-ly’ are usually derived from adjectives. The derivational suffix *-ment* has the effect of lowering them by one level in the hierarchy of nodes. Therefore on one level there is *une facilité relative* ‘relative ease’ (Stemma 184), and one level down *relativement facile* ‘relatively easy’ (Stemma 185), and another level down *relativement facilement* ‘relatively easily’ (Stemma 186). The latter is practically condemned by its extreme weight.



The form of the stemmas shows that, while the set of nodes is lowered gradually as they become progressively more adverbial, the positions of governor and subordinate in relation to each other always remain the same hierarchically.

§6 If in order to generate adverbs, adjectives that have adverbial groups introduced by prepositions are lowered by one level, these adverbial groups survive as possible complements of adverbs of the type: *indépendamment de* ‘independently of’, *préféablement à* ‘preferably to’, *proportionnellement à* ‘proportionally to’, *heureusement pour* ‘luckily for’. For example, in the sentence (*Vous serez rémunéré*) *proportionnellement à votre travail* ‘You will be paid proportionally to your work’, the word *proportionnellement* is an adverb that depends on *serez rémunéré* ‘will be paid’, and *à votre travail* ‘to your work’ is an expression of the adverbial sort that in turn depends on *proportionnellement*. It is easy to account for this situation by raising the group by one level in the hierarchy: (*Votre rémunération sera*) *proportionnelle à votre travail* ‘(Your pay will be) proportional to your work’.

§7 The comparative element of the adjectival node, e.g. *plus grand que Bernard* ‘bigger than Bernard’, constitutes (with the complement of the comparative) an adverbial node; it therefore contains one more structural level than the **absolute** (Chapter 78, §7, note 116), as Stemma 187 shows. This situation is normal given that the notion of quantity is added to the simple expression of quality (cf. Chapter 148, §1–4).



Stemma 187

Chapter 77. The adverbial sentence

§1 An adverb can form a sentence alone if it is not accompanied by a governor. An adverb can, for instance, be preceded by a noun preceded by *de*, the noun and *de* functioning together as an adverb, i.e. as a circumstant: *Charles X a soixante-treize ans... Infiniment de majesté, de grâce et de séduction* ‘Charles X is seventy-three years old... With infinite majesty, grace and seduction’, lit. ‘Infinitely of majesty, grace and seduction’ (L. Verneuil, *Vive le Roi*, p. 19).

§2 The sentence can itself be composed of a noun that is introduced by a preposition, the whole phrase functioning as an adverb: *Charles X a soixante-treize ans... En habit mauve brodé, avec le cordon du Saint-Esprit... En uniforme chamarré* ‘Charles X is seventy-three

years old... In mauve embroidered clothes, with the cord of the Holy Spirit.... In a richly decorated uniform' (L. Verneuil, *Vive le Roi*, p. 19).

§3 Sentences of this type appear most frequently with the preposition à 'to', which can express 1) the length of time before the next meeting: *Au revoir* 'Good bye', lit. 'To the see again', *A demain* 'See you tomorrow', lit. 'Until tomorrow', *A l'année prochaine* 'See you next year', lit. 'Until the next year'; 2) devoted loyalty: *A votre service* 'At your service'; 3) a wish or desire: *A votre santé* 'Cheers', lit. 'To your health' (in a toast), *A la gloire de nos alliés* 'To the glory of our allies' (on a monument); or 4) manner: *A la guerre comme à la guerre* 'We'll just have to make the best of things', lit. 'In war as in war'.

§4 In certain cases, an expression of the manner in which the action occurs is **enough to evoke the action** without it being explicitly expressed, but the first actant is indicated as if the action had been expressed by a verb:

Claude: ...*Oh! Tu sais, j'ai bien peur que tout le monde ne tire un peu ce mois-ci. Janine a des élèves qui ne l'ont pas encore payée, et puis maman a la première échéance de sa dent à pivot. Il n'y a que Nicole. Celle-là, rubis sur l'ongle!*

'Claude: Oh, you know, I am quite afraid that everyone will take a little this month. Janine has pupils who have not paid her yet, and then Mom has the first due date of her pivot tooth. There is only Nicole. Her, cash on the nail!'

(D. Amiel & Mrs Monique Amiel-Petry, *Famille*, act II, scene 5, *Petite Illustration*, 1, I, 1938)

§5 The adverbial sentence can be made up of an **adverb governing a subordinate clause** introduced by *que*. In such cases, which are frequent in spoken language, the adverb of the governing clause is generally an adverb ending in *-ment*. This adverb is often *heureusement* 'luckily':

Blandin: *Heureusement que je suis là.*
(H. Lavedan, *Viveurs*, act IV, p. 291).

'Luckily, I am here.'

Alice: ...*Heureusement que ta femme aime ce genre de musique.*
(D. Amiel, *Ma Liberté*, act II, p. 16)

'Luckily, your wife likes this type of music.'

Mais heureusement qu'elle a d'autres qualités
(A. Lichtenberger, *Petite Madame*, p. 34)

'Luckily however, she has other qualities.'

Sûrement qu'il s'est trompé.
Certainement que je viendrai!
Dans quel guêpier...

'Surely he is mistaken.'
'Certainly I will come!'

– *Si vous voulez m'y suivre.*
– *Certainement que je vous y suivrai*
(A. Dumas, *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*,
Montalais et Malicorne)

'In which can of worms...'
– If you want to follow me there.
– Certainly I will follow you there.'

Mais oui, qu'on peut, certainement, qu'on peut, pourquoi pas.
(heard in 1945).

'But yes, we can, certainly we can, why not.'

§6 The circumstant acting as a governing clause can itself be an adverbial locution instead of an adverb:

<i>Peut-être qu'il viendra.</i>	'Perhaps he will come.'
<i>Sans doute que vous lui avez écrit.</i>	No doubt you wrote to him
<i>Sans doute que son inquiétude cessa,</i> <i>car il vida son assiette de</i> <i>ce qu'elle contenait...</i>	Probably his uncertainty ceased, because he emptied his plate of everything on it.'

(H. de Régnier, *Le Bon Plaisir*, p. 31)²

§7 The governing adverb can be represented by a noun introduced by a preposition: *Avec ce pantalon que tu iras à la messe!*, lit. 'With these trousers (that) you will go to mass!' (Marcel Aymé, *La Jument Verte*, p. 78).

§8 ¹¹⁴

§9 The subordinate clause, instead of beginning with *que* 'that', can be a condition introduced by *si* 'if':

<i>Du diable si je devine à quel</i> <i>mobile vous obéissez!</i> (E. Augier, <i>Lions et Renards</i> , 4, VII)	'I will be in hell before guessing what motive you are obeying', lit. 'The devil if I guess ...'
<i>Du tonnerre si nous remettons jamais</i> <i>les pieds dans votre baraque</i> (Zola, <i>L'Assommoir</i> , Chapter III, towards the end).	'The thunder will fall on us before we set foot in your shed, lit. 'The thunder if we never ...'
<i>A peine s'ils pouvaient se servir de leurs mains</i> (F. Deschamps, <i>Les Petits Poussargues</i> , Bibliothèque rose, XI, in fine).	'They were hardly able to use their hands', lit. 'Hardly if they were able ...'

§10 Sentences of this sort, where the governing clause is an adverb, can be found in Greek: *Thaumatōs hōs ploúsiós estin* 'He is surprisingly rich'.

§11 In German, the role of the main clause is played by one of those separable particles that are actually adverbs of movement (cf. Chapter 37, §41, §42, §45 and §46):

<i>Fort!</i>	'Away!'
<i>Herein!</i>	'Herein!'
<i>Hinaus!</i>	'Out!'
<i>Weiter!</i>	'Continue!'

114. Translators' note: §8 has been omitted because the example Tesnière uses is not representative of modern French.

§12 Note that the complement of these expressions can be a circumstant, which is generally introduced by the preposition *mit* 'with': *Heraus damit!* 'Bring it out!', lit. 'Out with it', *Hinaus mit ihm!* 'Get him out of here!', lit. 'Out with him!'

§13 The adverb that serves as the main clause node can govern a third actant: Ger. *Wohl dem, der seiner Väter gern gedenkt* 'Good comes to those who remember their ancestors', lit. 'Well those who ...'.

§14 German also frequently employs adverbial sentences where there is a correlation between two adverbs of the same type: *Je eher, je lieber* 'The sooner, the better', *Je länger, je lieber* 'The longer, the better', lit. 'Ever longer, ever better'.

§15 As always, the role of the adverb can be played by a noun introduced by a preposition: *Aus den Augen, aus dem Sinn* 'Out of sight, out of mind'.