

# Second degree transfer, simple transfer

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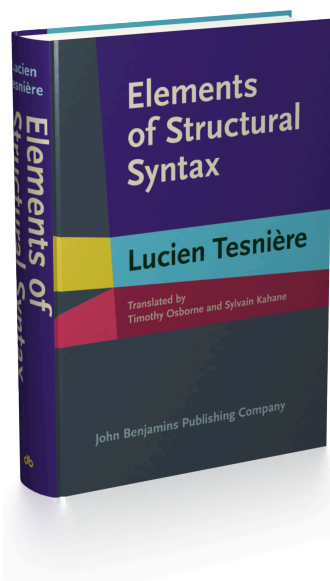
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## Second-degree transfer, simple transfer

### Chapter 239. Second-degree transfer

§1 We have already seen (Chapter 164, §14 and 15) that second-degree transfer is constituted by a verbal node moving to a different syntactic level. This node is reduced to the role of a simple element subordinate to a hierarchically superior node, but it retains all its inferior connections. Although the verb remains the center of the subordinate clause, it is thus merely an element of the main clause.

§2 We have shown (cf. Chapter 164, §16) that traditional grammar has implicitly recognized this characteristic because it calls second-degree transfer **subordination**.

§3 This is also the reason why 'subordinate mood' has been called **subjunctive** (Lat. *subiunctivus*, Gr. *hypotaktiké égklisis*) by traditional grammar. This mood is indeed frequent in subordinate clauses and its role is often, if not always, to mark subordination, at least in certain uses and in certain languages such as Latin and German.

§4 Since it stands in for first-degree transfer, second-degree transfer becomes necessary when first-degree transfer (and nominalization of the infinitive, for instance, with the loss of verbal characteristics) becomes rigid and loses its full functional ability.

§5 Secondary transfer is hence **young** in comparison to first-degree transfer, which is **older**.

§6 One is of course not dealing here with absolute age, but rather relative age, and it is in this sense that traditional grammars draw the distinction in morphology between primary and secondary formations.

§7 The relationship between secondary and first-degree transfer is hence entirely comparable to that between the compound and simple tenses. We endeavoured to show that the compound tenses are secondary morphological formations that are younger than the older formations of the simple tenses.<sup>273</sup>

§8 Just as the compound tenses are analytical, second-degree transfer is also **analytical**, and for the same reason, that is, it is marked by a word independent of the verb that is not agglutinated to the verb.

§9 Hence the verbal adjective *fascinating* (former participle, first-degree transfer), for example, is expressed synthetically in a single word, whereas the same transfer is expressed

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273. Cf. Lucien Tesnière, *Theorie structurale des temps composés* 'Structural theory of compound tenses', *Mélanges Bally*, Geneva, 1939, pp. 153ff., notably pp. 180–181.

analytically by two morphologically independent elements when it is of second degree: *that fascinates*; *a fascinating object* is an object *that fascinates*.

§10 The advantage of this process is that transfer does not alter the properties of the source at all. These properties are conserved in the target, since the translative remains entirely independent.

§11 This is why a verbal node that has been transferred to a noun by second-degree transfer retains all of its verbal characteristics, whereas these characteristics are likely to disappear when subjected to first-degree transfer by means of the infinitive, in particular concerning diathesis (cf. Chapter 185, §7), mood (cf. Chapter 186, §6), tense (cf. Chapter 187, §1), and above all, person (cf. Chapter 188, §1).

§12 Take for example an independent clause: *Alfred hits Bernard*. This clause stands as a whole, and its verb retains all its verbal characteristics when it is transferred to a noun by way of the translative *that*: *I believe that Alfred hits Bernard*.

§13 Thanks to the independence of the translative, second-degree transfer permits the verb to eventually acquire the characteristics of other grammatical categories (noun, adjective, adverb) without causing the verb to lose its verbal characteristics as it would in the case of first-degree transfer.

§14 The linear symbols for transfer (> or <, cf. Chapter 155, §1 and 3) and the stemmatic symbols (Symbol or Symbol, cf. *ibid.*, §7 and 11–12) are valid for second-degree transfer just as they are for first-degree transfer.

§15 However, it must be emphasized that when one is dealing with second-degree transfer and not with first-degree transfer, one should be precise. For this reason, the symbols used to separate source from target in cases of second-degree transfer will be “doubled” in a sense: >>, <<, and  $\overline{\text{T}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{T}}$ .

§16 Since the verb is susceptible to being changed by second-degree transfer to the same category as by first-degree transfer, we will distinguish between the following types of second-degree transfer: I >> O, I >> A and I >> E. The type I >> I is by definition excluded, since the verb cannot be transferred to itself.

§17 The value of the element (noun, adjective, or adverb) in the governing clause, which is that of the subordinate clause, is in general strongly perceived by the best instructors of primary education, whose main concern is to get their students to sense the analogy of function.

## Chapter 240. Correlation

§1 The connection that unites the governing clause with the subordinate clause is sometimes indicated morphologically by corresponding markers. One says that these markers are in **correlation** with each other.

§2 In the governing clause, the subordinate is hence announced by a word that prefigures it by epitomizing its category. This word is called the **antecedent**.

§3 The subordinate clause is merely the expansion of the antecedent, and it has a translativ as a marker. The form of the antecedent is often symmetrical to what we will call the **subsequent**. The latter translativ is placed obligatorily at the head (or if it is a postposed element, at the tail) of the clause that it transfers.

§4 The antecedent and the subsequent symmetrically correspond to each other. Some grammarians call this symmetry **balancing**, which indicates that the presence of the one presupposes the presence of the other. Hence the two form a couple. One calls them **correlatives**.

§5 Correlatives correspond two to two, the antecedent appearing in the governing clause and the subsequent in the subordinate clause.

§6 Pairs of correlatives are particularly abundant in certain types of languages, in particular in the Indo-European languages:

Correlatives		
	Antecedent	Subsequent
French	<i>tel</i> 'such'	<i>quel</i> 'which'
Latin	<i>talīs</i> 'such'	<i>qualis</i> 'which'
	<i>tantus</i> 'so great'	<i>quantus</i> 'as'
	<i>tam</i> 'so'	<i>quam</i> 'that'
	<i>tot</i> 'as many'	<i>quot</i> 'as'
	<i>tum</i> 'then'	<i>cum</i> 'as'
	<i>totiens</i> 'as many times'	<i>quotiens</i> 'as'
Greek	<i>oútōs</i> 'so'	<i>hōs</i> 'as'
	<i>tōte</i> 'then'	<i>hote</i> 'when'
	<i>tosoúton</i> 'as many'	<i>hoposon</i> 'as'
English	<i>there</i>	<i>where</i>
	<i>then</i>	<i>when</i>
German	<i>der</i> 'he'	<i>wer</i> 'who'
	<i>da</i> 'there'	<i>wo</i> 'where'
Russian	<i>takoj</i> 'such'	<i>kakoj</i> 'which'
	<i>tak</i> 'thus'	<i>kak</i> 'as'
	<i>togda</i> 'then'	<i>kogda</i> 'when'
	<i>stol'ko</i> 'so'	<i>skol'ko</i> 'that'

## Chapter 241. I >> O transfer

§1 Of the types of secondary verbal transfer, I >> O is the easiest to recognize. One is dealing with a case where an independent clause, the center of which is a verb (I), is transferred to a noun that is subordinate to the verb of the governing clause, and thus becomes a simple element within the governing clause.

§2 Take the independent clause *Alfred a raison* ‘Alfred is right’ as an example. I can transfer it by way of the translative *que* to a noun: *qu’Alfred a raison* ‘that Alfred is right’. This noun is susceptible to playing the role of the second actant of an independent clause. The two independent clauses are thus connected to each other, the one becoming the **governing clause** and the other the **subordinate clause**.

§3 An affirmative sentence word (*oui*) or the negative sentence word (*non*) can be transferred to nouns by the translative of second degree *que*: *Je crois que oui* ‘I think so’, *Je suis sûr que non* ‘I am sure no is the case’, *J’espère que si* ‘I hope yes’.

§4 In a similar case, Italian employs the translative of first degree *di*: *Dico di sì* ‘I say yes’, *Dico di no* ‘I say no’. The same holds in Occitan: *Vous dise pas de non* ‘I didn’t say you no’ (Lamouche, *Grammaire languedocienne*, p. 117).

§5 Second-degree transfer of the sort I >> O occurs when a sentence has an incomplete sentence word (Chapter 46, §5) (*voici* lit. ‘see here’, *voilà* lit. ‘see there’), or an adverbial of locution transferred to a sentence word: *Voici qu’on vient* ‘There is someone coming’, *Voilà qu’il pleut* ‘Look, it’s raining’; *Avec ça que l’ouvrier, échiné, sans le sou, méprisé par les bourgeois, avait tant de sujets de gaieté* ‘And so the worker, exhausted, without money, despised by the bourgeois, had so many reasons to be happy’, lit. ‘With that that...’ (Zola, *L’Assommoir*, VII).

§6 The subordinate clause plays the role of a second actant, that is, the role of what traditional terminology calls an **object complement**. The same terminology, which reserves the term complement for every subordinate clause that plays the role of a complement, should logically call the clause *qu’Alfred a raison* ‘that Alfred is right’ a subordinate **complement clause** (Fr. *proposition subordonnée complétive*).

§7 However, it also occurs that the clause *qu’Alfred a raison* ‘that Alfred is right’ can play the role of the first actant, that is, the role of what traditional terminology calls the subject: *Il est sûr qu’Alfred a raison* ‘It is certain that Alfred is right’. Traditional grammar cannot have been unaware of the fact that in both cases, the subordinate clause is of the same nature, the consequence being that both should be called complement clauses.

§8 Traditional terminology is therefore motivated to say that in the sentence *Il est sûr qu’Alfred a raison* ‘It is certain that Alfred is right’, the clause *qu’Alfred a raison* ‘that Alfred is right’ is a **subject complement clause**, which is a contradiction, since the same terminology views the subject as the precise opposite of the complement.

§9 This contradiction disappears if one considers what we have attempted to show above (cf. Chapter 51, §13), i.e. **the subject is a complement like the others**.

§10 Identity formulated in this manner is purely structural. It resides on the observation that regardless of whether one is dealing with a first actant or a second actant, one is always dealing with an actant (cf. Chapter 48, §6), that is, with a noun (O) directly subordinate to the verb (cf. Chapter 48, §10).

§11 In this study we will also avoid calling on the semantic opposition between the first actant and the second actant, and by not doing this, the accent is placed on the structural similarity of the types of subordinates. Thus the shared behavior of actants is emphasized. This is why we will call subordinate clauses that result from I >> O transfer **actantial** subordinates.

§12 This terminology is doubly advantageous. Firstly, it allows us to avoid the term subject complement clause and the detrimental contradiction that it establishes.

§13 Secondly, it is nicely integrated into the system of terminology that we have already adopted when we have to establish the opposition between **actantial** clause (I >> O) and **circumstantial** clause (I >> E, cf. below Chapter 254), these terms matching the distinction between **actant** and **circumstant** (cf. Chapter 48, §2ff.).

§14 An actantial clause is thus a verbal node transferred to an actant by second-degree transfer, and a circumstantial clause is a verbal node transferred to a clause by second-degree transfer.

§15 The possibilities for secondary nominal transfer are the same as for primary nominal transfer. For example, this type of transfer can render the verb capable of playing the role of an actant, just as is the case for the infinitive (cf. Chapter 184, §7). It is the same as for *réussir* 'to succeed' in *Alfred espère réussir* 'Alfred wants to succeed' (first-degree transfer) as with *qu'il réussira* 'that he will succeed' (second-degree transfer): *Alfred espère qu'il réussira* 'Alfred hopes that he will succeed', which is semantically equivalent to the true noun *la réussite* in *Alfred espère la réussite* 'Alfred wants success'.

§16 The nominal character of a verb that has been transferred to a noun by second-degree transfer is evident in the fact that it can eventually be conjoined with a true noun. Coordination of this sort is generally frowned upon from the perspective of style, in particular in French, but it occurs in German, which tends to be less prescriptive when it comes to questions of logic and style: *Was soll ich mir sonst wünschen, als die ewige Seligkeit und dass wir zwei, solange wir leben, gesund dabei bleiben?* 'What else should I hope for other than eternal spirituality and that we two remain healthy as long as we live?' (Grimm, *Fairy Tales, The rich and the poor*, p. 33).

§17 The identity of the subordinate clause as a noun in German is quite evident in the form *dass* 'that', which is none other than the neuter article itself (*das* 'the'), the only difference being purely orthographic. This alternative orthography was established at the beginning of the 16th century.<sup>274</sup>

§18 No less suggestive is the process in Spanish that consists of placing the article in front of a clause that has been transferred to a noun (I > O): *No impide el que no se pueda vivir*

274. Cf. H. Paul, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, see *dass* 1, page 1041.

*sin comer* ‘That does not prevent one from being able to live without eating’, lit. ‘That does not prevent **the that** one is not able to live without eating’.

§19 The nominal character of the actantial subordinate clause has been recognized by Bally: “The conjunction *que* ‘that’ introduces a clause that has been transposed to a noun and *que* can thus pass for a type of article”,<sup>275</sup> and “In French *tu réussiras* ‘you will succeed’ has an external marker of transposition in *Je crois que tu réussiras* ‘I think you will succeed’”.<sup>276</sup>

## Chapter 242. The marker of I >> O transfer

§1 The simplest manner to connect a verbal node to another node is simple parataxis. Parataxis can establish a true semantic connection without a marker.

§2 This process is commonly employed in a number of languages to connect independent clauses to declarative verbs, *Il dit: «Ils sont trop verts et bons pour des goujats»* ‘He said: “They are too green and good for the boors”’.

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<i>Le sage dit selon les gens:</i>	‘The sage says according to people:
<i>Vive le roi! Vive la ligue!</i>	Long live the king! Long live the league!’
(La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , II, 5, <i>La chauve-souris et les deux belettes</i> )	

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§3 However, one is not dealing here with a **connection** that is purely **semantic**. Indeed, the second verbal node plays the role of the second actant of the first verbal node. But the two propositions remain independent of each other. There is no structural connection between the two. In orthography, one is content to place a colon after the first and to put the second in quotation marks. One then designates the result as **direct speech** (Fr. *style direct*).

§4 It often occurs that the first clause is expressed in the middle of the second. One says that it has been **inserted**. In cases of insertion, the noun or index is produced after the verb: *C’est vrai, dit Alfred* ‘It’s true, Alfred said’, *Tu la troubles! Reprit cette bête cruelle* ‘You trouble her! This cruel beast went on’ (La Fontaine, *Fables*, 10, *Le renard et les raisins* ‘The wolf and the sheep’).

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275. Bally, *Linguistique générale et linguistique française*, 1st edition, §70, p 65. [In his 3rd revised edition, Bern, 1950, (conforming to the 2nd edition, 1944), Bally abandoned this redaction, but one can find the same ideas expressed in §188, p. 120.]

276. *Ibid.*, §153, p. 135, [Remark of the first editors: cf. 3rd edition, §297, p. 184 and §183, p. 117. *Que* appears in the category of *transposers* (Fr. *transpositeurs*), whereas the clause to be transferred takes the name *transponend*. It is interesting to compare this terminology with that of L. Tesnière, who seemed to have completely ignored Bally’s 2nd edition.]

§5 In writing, one places the insertion between two commas, and it is not necessary to place the subordinate in quotation marks: *Ils sont trop verts, dit-il, et bons pour des goujats* ‘They are too green, he said, and good for boors’ (La Fontaine, *Fables*, III, 11, *Le petit poisson et le pêcheur*).

§6 The insertions serve to report the words of someone else and are a common appearance. In addition to *dit-il*, lit. ‘said he’, in French, one finds a number of similar expressions:

<i>fit-il</i>	‘he made’
<i>reprit-il</i>	‘he went on’
<i>continua-t-il</i>	‘he continued’
<i>observa-t-il</i>	‘he observed’
<i>protesta-t-il</i>	‘he protested’
<i>risqua-t-il</i>	‘he dared to say’
<i>insinua-t-il</i>	‘he insinuated’
<i>suggéra-t-il</i>	‘he suggested’
<i>répondit-il</i>	‘he responded’
<i>rétorqua-t-il</i>	‘he retorted’

We are overlooking a group of similar expressions: *Alfred est, paraît-il, très intelligent* ‘Alfred is, it seems, very intelligent’, *Vous avez, ce me semble, attendu trop longtemps* ‘You have, it seems to me, been waiting too long.’ Further: *Un tiens vaut, ce dit-on, mieux que deux tu l’auras* ‘One have, it is said, is worth more than to will-haves’ (La Fontaine, *Fables*, V, 3, *Le petit poisson et le pêcheur* ‘The small fish and the fisherman’).

§7 Writers and above all journalists constantly strive to renew and increase the inventory of expressions like *dit-il* ‘he said’. In this use, one even finds *rit-il* ‘he laughed’, which is the style of serialized novels. One has extended this practice as far as *expira-t-il* ‘he gasped’ in a journal reporting on the hanging of Seyss-Inquart and his last words: *Je crois à Allemagne, expira-t-il* ‘I believe in Germany, he gasped’ (*Midi-Libre*, 17-X-1946).

§8 But in order for there to be true transfer and subordination of the transferred clause, a semantic connection alone does not suffice. There must also be a **structural connection**, in which case one says that the subordinate clause is in **indirect speech** (Fr. *style indirect*).

§9 In a number of languages, the transfer I >> O occurs without a marker, and the subordinate is morphologically indistinguishable from a coordinate clause in direct speech, Bantu: *Ba woni i lele* ‘They see (that) he is sleeping’.

§10 The absence of a marker is not limited to exotic languages and can hence not be regarded as a primitive manifestation of language. It is also common in a number of European languages: Ger. *Ich glaube er kommt* ‘I believe he is coming’, Eng. *I believe he is coming*, *No wonder Ruskin was fascinated by the place* (professor B..., 1934, in Lafourcade, *Recueil de textes de traduction*, Grenoble, Arthaud, 1941?).

§11 But the process that is most widespread in languages involves marking I >> O transfer using a translative:

French	<i>que</i>	<i>Et moi je vous soutiens que mes vers sont fort bons</i> ‘And me, I assure you that my verses are very good’ (Molière, <i>Le Misanthrope</i> , I, 2)
Greek	<i>hóti</i>	<i>Légō hóti kalón estin arété.</i> ‘I say that virtue is a good thing.’
Greek	<i>hos</i>	<i>Légei hos héxei.</i> ‘He says that he will come.’
German	<i>dass</i>	<i>Ich glaube, dass er spricht.</i> ‘I think that he speaks.’ (cf. Chapter 241, §17)
English	<i>that</i>	<i>I believe that he speaks.</i>
Russian	<i>čto</i>	<i>Ja dumaju, čto on govorit.</i> ‘I think that he speaks.’
Serbian	<i>da</i>	<i>Já mislim da govori.</i> ‘I think that he speaks.’
Czech	<i>že</i>	<i>Jà myslím, že mluví.</i> ‘I think that he speaks.’
Lithuanian	<i>ka</i>	<i>Vini stāsta, ka nepazīstuot dārza augl’us.</i> ‘They report that one does not know the fruits of the orchard.’
Romani	<i>heu</i>	<i>auke pende jo roma he godž, heu man hale ando veš o rua?</i> ‘and the peasants have said that the wolves devoured me in the forest?’
Hungarian	<i>hogy</i>	<i>Abban bizonyos vagyok, hogy el fog jönni.</i> ‘I am certain he will come.’
Turkish	<i>ki</i>	<i>İyi bil ki gevezeler hiç bir zaman temiz iş yapamazlar.</i> ‘Be aware that a chatterbox never does anything properly.’

It seems that the Turkish construction is borrowed into Turkish from the languages of Europe, and Turkish itself prefers first-degree transfer, which is typical of Turkish (cf. Chapter 188, §23). One encounters an analogous translative in Italian, Spanish, Romanian, Sanskrit, Armenian, and Georgian.

§12 The person corresponding to the first actant in the subordinate clause is of course rendered according to indirect speech. It is however necessary to note that Greek can leave the expression in direct speech even though it is part of a subordinate clause: *Légei Basileüs hóti humîn ouk eimi polémios* ‘The Great King says that he is not your enemy’, lit. ‘The Great King says that I am not your enemy’. This occurs as if the translative *hóti* were replacing the colon of direct speech: ‘The Great King says: I am not your enemy’.

§13 When the target O of I >> O transfer is the complement of the comparative (cf. below Chapter 265, §2–6), the translative of first degree for the complement of the comparative appears immediately in front of the translative of second degree I >> O transfer in the spoken chain.

§14 This sequence does not lead to any problems in languages where the two translatives have different forms. Such is the case in German for example, where the first translative (second in the spoken chain) is *dass* ‘that’ and the second translative (first in the spoken chain) is *als* ‘than, as’. The sequence *als dass* ‘than that’ is quite normal: *Ich möchte lieber dass er stirbt, als dass er so leidet* ‘I would rather that he dies than that he suffers so’.

§15 However, the situation is different in French, where the two translatives – although the one is for first-degree transfer and the other for second-degree transfer and the two thus mark essentially distinct instances of transfer – nonetheless both have the same form *que*, which results in the repetition (or dittology) *que que*, which is unsightly: *J’aimerais mieux qu’il meure que qu’il souffre ainsi* ‘I would rather like that he dies than that he suffers so’.

§16 French tries to manage the difficulty by replacing the second-degree transfer using the translative *que* ‘that’ with first-degree transfer (the infinitive) using *de* ‘of’, which leads to the sequence *que de*, which itself is not unusual: *J’aime mieux qu’il meure que de le voir souffrir ainsi* ‘I would rather that he die than to see him suffer so’.

§17 If the speaker does not have the verbal skill to succeed with this slight of hand, he can only reach to elliptical transfer to reduce the two *ques* down to just one: *Rien ne paraît plus normal que les cadavres de malheureux condamnés viennent aujourd’hui échouer sur les côtes de Vendée* ‘Nothing seems more normal than that the corpses of the unlucky condemned wash up today on the banks of the Vendée’ (*L’Intransigeant*, 10-11-1937), *J’aime mieux...y en vouloir que ce soye lui qui m’en veuille* ‘I prefer...to be resentful (myself rather) than it be him who is resentful of me’ (Henri Lavedan, *Avant l’oubli*, II, p. 47).

§18 We have seen (cf. Chapter 182, §5) that with declarative verbs, Latin ignores second-degree transfer and uses a propositional infinitive of first-degree transfer instead.

§19 However, this tendency is not absolute; secondary I >> O transfer is not entirely unknown in Latin. When one encounters it, the subordinate generally follows the governor (cf. §26). The translative in such cases is *ut* ‘that’: *Spero fore ut veniat* ‘I hope that he will come’, *Fac ut scia quando sis venturus* ‘Let me know when you will come’, lit. ‘Make that I know ...’, *Prope erat ut oppido potiretur* ‘He came to take the city’, lit. ‘He was near that he takes the city’, *Sie nihil haberet animus hominis nisi ut appeteret aut fugeret* ‘While the human spirit has no other perceptions than desire and aversion’ (Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, I, 24, 56).

§20 This sort of expression requires the use of Lat. *quod* in the sense of ‘the fact that’: Lat. *Praetereo quod eam sibi domum delegit* ‘I leave in silence **the fact that** he has chosen this residence’ (Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*).

§21 In Latin the translative can be the subjunctive, at least in familiar style: *Sine abeam*, lit. ‘Allow that I depart’, familiar for *Sine me abire* ‘Let me depart’.

§22 In contrast, languages that do not have primary I > O transfer (infinitive), like for example Bulgarian (cf. Chapter 180, §17) or modern Greek, must employ second-degree transfer: Bulgarian *Az moga da čakam* ‘I can wait’, lit. ‘I can that I wait’, modern Greek *Nomízō pòs eimai* ‘I believe I exist’, lit. ‘I believe that I am’.

§23 The situation where the infinitive is absent and second-degree transfer is hence dominant is also encountered in Romanian, Serbian, and Albanian: Romanian *Vreau să cant pălăria mea* ‘I want to look for my hat’, lit. ‘I want that I seek my hat’. In eastern Serbian first degree I > O transfer also tends to dominate: *Smem pitati* ‘I allow myself to demand’ is literary, whereas colloquial style tends to employ second-degree transfer: *Smem da pitam*, lit. ‘I permit myself that I demand’.<sup>277</sup>

§24 There is hence a part of the Balkans where a defective infinitive is supplemented by second-degree transfer I >> O. It is remarkable that the languages influenced by this tendency belong to different branches of the Indo-European family: Slavic branch (Bulgarian and to a minor degree eastern Serbian), Greek branch, Albanian branch, and Latin branch (Romanian). The Slovenian linguist Miklosich of Slavic supposed that this expression was due to a substratum of ancient Dacian.

§25 The same particularity is encountered at points of the globe far removed from the Balkans, in Bengali for example.

§26 French uses the same translative *que* with governing verbs that contain – in addition to their declarative value – a modal affective value of fear, desire, order, defense, permission, obligation, etc.:

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<i>Je veux qu'on me distingue.</i> (Molière, <i>Le Misanthrope</i> , I, 1)	‘I want one to recognize me.’
<i>Je consens qu'une femme ait des clartés de tout.</i> (Molière, <i>Les Femmes savantes</i> , I, 3)	‘I agree that a woman has clarity of all.’

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§27 But a number of other languages use a different translative at times. Such is the case in Latin, which has a type of second-degree transfer (cf. above §19). The Latin translatives are the conjunctions *ut*, *ne*, *quín*, *quominus*, etc.:

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277. Meillet & Vaillant, *Grammaire de la langue serbo-croate*, §205.

	Latin
<i>Nobis imperat ut loquamur.</i>	'He ordered <b>that</b> we speak.'
<i>Timeo ne veniat.</i>	'I am afraid <b>that</b> he is coming.' (Fr. <i>J'ai peur qu'il ne vienne</i> )
<i>Interdictum erat Pythagoreis ne fabis vescerentur.</i>	'The Pythagorians were prohibited <b>that</b> they eat beans.'
<i>Impedit valetudo ne exeam.</i>	'The state of my health prevents <b>that</b> I go out.'
<i>Orat...ne patiatu[r] civitatem...ab amicitia populi Romani deficere.</i> (Caesar, <i>The Gallic Wars</i> , VII, 39),	'He (Eporedorix) asked him (Caesar) <b>that</b> he (Caesar) does not permit the state (of Aedui)...to renounce the friendship of the Roman people'
<i>Nihil obstat qui exeamus</i> or even <i>Nihil obstat quominus exeamus.</i>	'Nothing prevents <b>that</b> we go out.'

§28 Similarly, Greek employs the translative *mé* with governing verbs expressing the notion of fear: *Dédoika mé hēmartékamen* 'I fear **that** we have made a mistake'.

§29 Russian employs the translative *čtoby* with governing verbs expressing volition (desire): *Ja želaju, čtoby on spal* 'I desire **that** he sleeps'. This translative has been borrowed in the same form into Mari, Udmurt, and Tatar.

§30 Finally, Latvian employs the translative *ja* (accented) when the governing verb expresses obligation: *Mann ir já-dara tuo pat* 'I must do the same', lit. 'To me is **that** it does the same thing'.

§31 The first actant of the subordinate clause sometimes appears as an anticipatory second actant in the governing clause. This occurs notably in Greek and French: Gr. *Légei Phillipon hóti téthnēke* 'He says that Phillip died', lit. 'He says **Phillip** that he died', Fr. *Nous allons voir le dénommé X..., ce qu'il sait faire* 'We are going to see **the one called X...**, what he can do' (heard in 1936), *Crois-tu, cette pauvre maman, qu'elle est dure à la détente* 'Do you believe, **this poor mother**, that she is a miser' (Denys and Monique Amiel, *Famille*, Petite Illustration, 1, I, 1938, II, 4).

## Chapter 243. Connective indirect interrogatives

§1 The cases where the verbal node transferred to an actant by second-degree transfer (I >> O) is interrogative raise a certain number of questions and they therefore merit particular examination.

§2 Just as one commonly calls indirect speech and discourse the mode by which the words of another are reported using second-degree transfer – that is, using a subordinate clause – one commonly calls a question with second-degree transfer an indirect question, that is, a question that is expressed as a subordinate clause:

Direct interrogative	Indirect interrogative
<i>Does Alfred hit Bernard?</i>	<i>I ask you <b>whether</b> Alfred hits Bernard.</i>

§3 The question contained in the direct interrogative behaves in principle as a verbal center and constitutes an independent clause.

§4 In indirect interrogatives, an independent verbal node becomes a second actant of the verb of another independent node: *I ask you...*, the latter hence becoming a governor.

§5 Conversely, an independent interrogative clause that contains the question becomes subordinate. The indirect interrogative is hence in reality a **subordinate interrogative**.

§6 While the subordinate that contains the question always implies interrogative force, it is not necessary for the governor to also explicitly express the idea of a question, but rather it is sufficient if it implicitly expresses this idea. Hence in addition to the sentence *I ask whether Alfred hits Bernard*, where the interrogative is explicit, one uses the same syntactic structure in *I don't know whether Alfred hits Bernard*.

§7 It is therefore important to determine, by the examination of structure in different languages, how subordination is marked in such cases, that is, in what way indirect interrogatives differ from direct interrogatives.

§8 We have seen (cf. Chapters 83 and 84) that the marker of a direct interrogative was variable depending on whether the interrogative is nuclear or connective. Nuclear and connective interrogatives correspond to different types of syntactic structures (cf. Chapter 83, §7). This distinction should not be neglected in the investigation of the markers of indirect interrogatives, nor should it be neglected in the investigation of the markers of direct interrogatives.

§9 Indirect connective interrogatives do not differ in any way from direct connective interrogatives. Such is the case in particular in Russian: *Pridět li Ivan?* 'Is John coming?' → *Ja ne znaju, pridět li Ivan* 'I do not know whether John is coming'.

§10 The same is true in the majority of Slavic languages: Serbian *Da li ga vidiš*, common for the more literary *Vidiš li ga* 'You see it?' → *Ja pitam da li ga vidiš* 'I ask you see it?'; Czech *Zdali ho znáš*, more common than the literary *Znáš-li ho?* 'You know him?' → *Ptám se tě, zdali ho znáš* 'I ask you, you know it'.

§11 The same holds in Breton: *Hag êt e'ch eo ma c'hoar da Baris?* 'Has my sister gone to Paris?' → *N'ouzon ket hag êt ec'h eo ma c'hoar da Baris* 'I do not know my sister has gone to Paris'.

§12 This situation is what is found in a large number of languages. Other languages, in contrast, have a marker for indirect interrogatives that is completely different from the **marker** for direct interrogatives.

§13 Hence in English, where the direct interrogative marker is the use of the auxiliary (for example *to do*), the marker for indirect interrogatives is a translative (*whether* or *if*): *Do you speak English?* → *I ask you if (whether) you speak English, Do you know if he is at home?*

§14 In German the translative for indirect interrogatives is *ob* ‘whether/if’, and in addition, *ob* being a subordinator (Fr. *subordonnant*), the verb occupies the last position, whereas it occupies the first position in direct interrogatives:<sup>278</sup> *Sprechen Sie deutsch?* ‘Do you speak German?’ → *Ich frage Sie, ob Sie deutsch sprechen* ‘I ask you if you speak German.’

§15 French (like the neo-Latin languages in general) also employs a marker for indirect interrogatives that is completely different from the direct marker. It is the same translative as for the I >> E transfer of an independent clause to a conditional causal subordinate clause (cf. Chapter 258, §16): *Parlez-vous français?*, lit. ‘Speak you French?’ (interrogative marked by inversion of the personal noun and the verb), or *Est-ce que vous parlez français?* ‘Do you speak French?’ (preposed translative *est-ce que*, lit. ‘is it that’, using the same inversion as with *est-ce*, where the *ce* ‘it’ is expanded in a subordinate clause introduced by *que*) → *Je vous demande si vous parlez français* ‘I ask you if you speak French.’

§16 This amphibology of the marker *si* ‘if’, which serves two quite disparate syntactic purposes, leads French speakers to incorrectly use the marker of the conditional for indirect interrogatives in foreign languages (Ger. *wenn*, Lat. *si*) instead of the correct marker for indirect interrogatives in these languages (Ger. *ob*, Lat. *num*): Ger. \**Ich frage Sie, wenn Sie deutsch sprechen* in place of the correct *Ich frage Sie, ob Sie deutsch sprechen* ‘I ask you if you speak German.’

§17 The same amphibology is encountered in Greek where the conjunction *ei* ‘if’ serves both as a marker of the conditional as well as as a marker of indirect interrogatives: *Aporô ei pheúgei* ‘I ask myself if/whether he is fleeing’. This phenomenon in Greek and French apparently rests on a deep structural tendency, the nature of which deserves acknowledgment and exploration.

§18 Finally in Latin, the marker of indirect interrogatives is the use of the subjunctive: *Aegrotatne pater tuus?* ‘Is your father sick?’, or if the expected response is negative: *Num aegrotat pater tuus?* ‘Your father isn’t sick, is he?’ → *Quaero aegrotatne pater tuus* ‘I ask whether your father is sick’, *Quaero num aegrotat pater tuus* ‘I ask whether your father is by chance sick.’

§19 In the case of disjunctive interrogatives (cf. Chapter 139, §5), the marker of the first term of disjunction is *utrum* and the marker of the second is *an*: Lat. *Quaero utrum aeger sis an valeas* ‘I ask whether you are sick or whether you feel well.’

§20 If the second term of the disjunction is the negative sentence word *nec*, the marker for the second term of a disjunctive interrogative is *-ne*, which is postposed: *Quaero utrum aeger sis necne* ‘I ask whether you are sick or not.’

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278. Lucien Tesnière, *Une survivance pédagogique: l'inversion et le rejet dans la phrase allemande* ‘A pedagogical relic: inversion and its rejection in the German sentence’, *Les langues Modernes*, March-April 1947, pp. A, 141ff.

## Chapter 244. Nuclear indirect interrogatives

§1 In sum, the differences between the markers of direct and indirect interrogatives are the same for nuclear interrogatives as for connective interrogatives.

§2 But since these markers themselves are not the same, it is imperative to examine the structural difference between the markers for direct and indirect interrogatives in various languages.

§3 In addition to the difference that they have with connective interrogatives, nuclear interrogatives obligatorily contain an **interrogative word** (cf. Chapter 79, §10) that expresses the question located in the nucleus. This word does not exist to establish a connective interrogative.

§4 The question word of nuclear interrogatives is present in both direct and indirect nuclear interrogatives.

§5 Hence if there is no need to mark the opposition between direct and indirect interrogatives, an indirect nuclear interrogative does not differ in any way from a direct nuclear interrogative.

§6 Such is the case in Russian and in the Slavic languages in the area of connective interrogatives (cf. Chapter 242, §9ff.):

	Direct question	Indirect question
Russian	<i>Kto pridët?</i> 'Who will come?'	<i>Ja ne znaju kto pridët.</i> 'I don't know who will come'
Serbian	<i>Ko ti je to kazao?</i> 'Who told you that?'	<i>Ne znam ko ti je to kazao.</i> 'I don't know who told you that'
Czech	<i>Kdo přišel?</i> 'Who has come?'	<i>Nevím, kdo přišel.</i> 'I don't know who has come'

§7 This is also the case in Breton: *Piou a zo deut?* 'Who has come?' → *N'ouzon ket piou a zo deut* 'I don't know who has come'.

§8 The identical appearance of direct and indirect nuclear interrogatives is present in a large number of languages.

§9 In other languages, however, the difference between direct and indirect interrogatives leads to a difference between the two types of nuclear interrogatives, despite the identical appearance of the relevant interrogative words.

§10 This is the case in particular in French, where inversion of the person noun and the verb – which is rigorously observed in direct interrogatives as it is for connective interrogatives – is not maintained in indirect interrogatives: *Qui êtes-vous?* 'Who are you?' → *Je vous*

*demande qui vous êtes* ‘I ask you who you are’, cf. also *Dis-moi qui tu hantes et je te dirai qui tu es* ‘Tell me who you prey on and I will tell you who you are’.

§11 In addition, the marker *que* of a direct nuclear interrogative (interrogative pronoun) appears in indirect nuclear interrogatives as *ce que* (relative pronoun). This difference actually indicates the presence of second-degree transfer of the sort I >> A > O (cf. Chapter 269, §2).

§12 English has the same inversion as French (cf. §10) for direct nuclear interrogatives: *Who are you?* → *I ask you who you are.*

§13 German has the same difference as French (cf. §10) for expressing direct nuclear interrogatives and connective interrogatives (cf. Chapter 243, §14), and one encounters the same word order as in French and English, although for a different reason:<sup>279</sup> *Wer sind Sie?* ‘Who are you?’ → *Ich frage Sie, wer Sie sind* ‘I ask you who you are?’.

§14 What distinguishes between indirect and direct nuclear interrogatives in Latin is the same as for connective interrogatives. Indirect interrogatives employ the subjunctive as a marker: *Quis venit?* ‘Who has come?’ → *Quaero quis venerit* ‘I ask who has come’.

§15 Unlike Latin, Greek does not have the optative (which is the equivalent of the subjunctive of subordination in Latin) as a marker for indirect interrogatives. The optative is only possible if the governing verbal node is in the past: *Ouk édein tís eíē ohûtos ho anér* ‘I didn’t know which this man was’. More normally, however, Greek places indirect interrogatives in the indicative: *Ouk édein tís estin ohûtos ho anér* or sometimes *Ouk édein tís ên ohûtos ho anér* ‘I didn’t know who that man was’. However in the present, Greek does not distinguish between indirect and direct interrogatives: *Tis estin ohûtos ho anér* ‘Who is this man?’ → *Ouk oída tís estin ohûtos ho anér* ‘I don’t know who this man is’.

## Chapter 245. I >> A transfer

§1 When second-degree transfer is of the sort I >> A, the subordinate clause is transferred to an adjective.

§2 Take for example the sentence *Les livres que vous avez sont précieux* ‘The books that you have are valuable’. It is evident that the subordinate clause *que vous avez* ‘that you have’ is an attribute that serves to characterize *les livres* ‘the books’ in the same way as the attributive adjective *rares* in *Les livres rares sont précieux* ‘The rare books are valuable’.

279. Lucien Tesnière, *Une survivance pédagogique: l'inversion et le rejet dans la phrase allemande, Les langues Modernes*, March-April 1947, p. A, 25.

§3 The transferred subordinate expression can be an incomplete sentence word (cf. above Chapter 46, §5), Fr. *voici, voilà: le livre que voici* ‘the book that is here’, *l’homme que voilà* ‘the man who is there’.

§4 For this reason, we will give an independent clause that has been transferred to an adjective the name **adjectival subordinate clause**.

§5 Concerning meaning, one distinguishes between two types of adjectival subordinate clauses depending on whether the adjective is indispensable or not to the meaning of the governor. We will call the first type of adjectival subordinate clause **essential**, and the second **accessory**.

§6 Essential adjectival subordinate clauses express a meaning that is indispensable to the meaning of the governing clause, and that as a consequence cannot be suppressed without changing meaning considerably. Take the sentence *Les enfants qui travaillent mal doivent être punis* ‘The children **who work poorly** must be punished’ as an example. It is evident that if one neglects the essential adjectival subordinate clause *qui travaillent mal* ‘who work poorly’, one obtains an independent clause, *Les enfants doivent être punis* ‘The children must be punished’ that has a much different meaning, since it signifies that all the kids must be punished, whether they work poorly or not.

§7 The adjectival subordinate clauses that are essential are known in general as **determinatives** [in traditional French grammars], a term with the drawback that it is too broad, since by definition all subordinates **determine** their governor (cf. Chapter 21, §9).<sup>280</sup>

§8 An essential adjectival subordinate clause must not be separated from its governor by a comma (or by two commas). Doing so would have the effect of reducing the importance of the clause: *L’hypocrisie est un hommage que le vice rend à la vertu* ‘Hypocrisy is an homage **that vice renders a virtue**’ (La Rochefoucauld, *Maximes*).

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*Adieu donc. Fi du plaisir  
Que la crainte peut corrompre!*  
(La Fontaine, *Fables*, I, 9, *Le rat  
de ville et le rat de champs*)

‘Goodbye then. No more pleasure  
That fear can corrupt!’

*Honteux comme un renard qu’une  
poule aurait pris,*  
(La Fontaine, *Fables*, I, 18,  
*Le renard et la cigogne*)

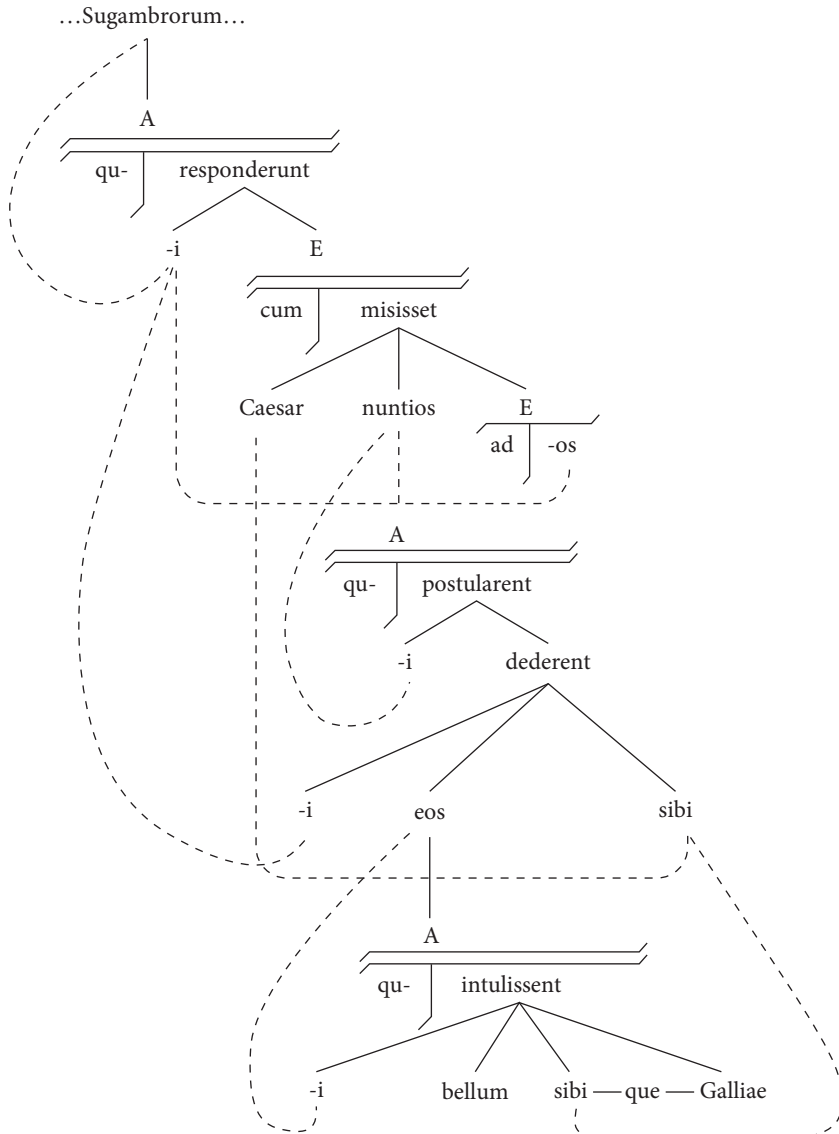
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‘Ashamed like a fox **that a hen  
has taken,**’

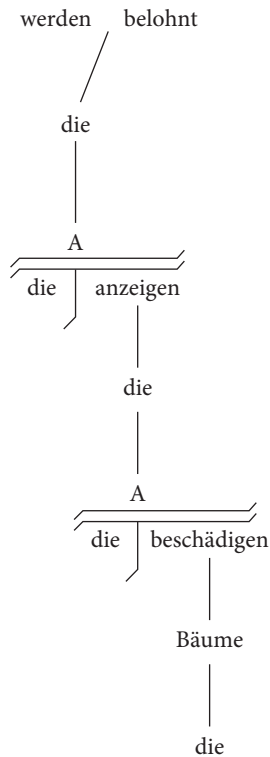
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280. Translators’ note: The distinction Tesnière is drawing here is between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. We maintain Tesnière’s terminology because he builds on it (e.g. *essential* vs. *accessory*).

§9 In particular, adjectival subordinate clauses with a noun that constitutes the title of a work (cf. Chapter 73, §18) are always essential adjectival clauses. In *La terre qui meurt* ‘The earth that dies’ by R. Bazin, one cannot omit the adjectival subordinate clause *qui meurt* ‘that dies’ without altering the meaning of the title significantly.



Stemma 343



Stemma 344

§10 Unlike essential adjectives, accessory adjectival subordinate clauses express a meaning that is not indispensable to the meaning of the governing clause. Take for example the sentence *Les enfants, qui sont jeunes, doivent être protégés* ‘The children, **who are young**, must be protected’. The accessory adjectival subordinate clause can be suppressed without the meaning of the governor being significantly altered, for *Les enfants doivent être protégés* ‘The children must be protected’ in any case.

§11 Accessory adjectival subordinate clauses are in general known as **explicatives** [in traditional French grammars], a term that is inexact, since the circumstantial notion that they incidentally contain (cf. Chapter 247, §4) need not be a **causal** circumstance (cf. Chapter 247, §4), but rather it can be most any circumstantial notion, for instance final (cf. Chapter 247, §6) or concessive (cf. Chapter 247, §7).

§12 The accessory adjectival subordinate clause takes advantage of being separated from its governor by a comma (or by two commas), which play the role of a sort of minor parenthesis and which emphasize that the subordinate is outside of the semantic nucleus of the

governor:<sup>281</sup> *Cet enfant, qui est votre neveu, est blond* ‘This infant, who is your nephew, is blond’.

§13 From a structural point of view, one has to take note that **cascading** transfer (cf. Chapter 6, §4) is encountered with first-degree transfer (type O > A, cf. Chapter 164, §6 and Stemma 294) as well as with second-degree transfer (I >> A): Lat. ...*Sugambrorum... Ad quos cum Caesar nuntios misisset, qui postularent eos, qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent, sibi dederent, responderunt...* ‘Caesar having sent messengers to them (the Sicambri), who were charged with demanding that they surrender to him those who had attacked him and Gaul, they responded...’ (Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, IV, 16, 3) (cf. Stemma 343), Ger. *Die, die die, die die Bäume beschädigen, anzeigen, werden belohnt* ‘Those who report those who damage the trees will be rewarded’ (public notice, the pleasant wording of which is attributed to the management of a public garden) (cf. Stemma 344).

## Chapter 246. The marker of I >> A transfer

§1 The simplest type of deverbal transfer I >> A occurs without a marker. Simple parataxis indicates the nature of the subordinate’s role.

§2 Transfer without a marker of the sort I >> A is encountered in a large number of languages.

Arabic	<i>kānat wāhida lā taḥbalu.</i> lit. ‘Was one, not she conceive.’ ‘There was a woman who did not conceive.’
Bantu	<i>in-zoka i tu bona</i> lit. ‘the serpent we it see,’ ‘the serpent that we see’

§3 Parataxis is also encountered in certain European languages: Eng. *the man I saw yesterday*. The same expression exists in Breton: *ar re ho kwel*, lit. ‘those you see’, that is ‘those who see you’.

§4 But the majority of languages prefer to use a marker that is called a **relative pronoun** in our European languages.

<sup>281</sup>. Translators’ note: The nucleus must be understood here as the projection of the node, that is, as a semantic constituent.

§5 For this reason, adjectival clauses are called **relative clauses** in traditional grammar, a term that ignores the syntax in order to focus on morphology.

§6 Before proceeding further, it is necessary to submit the relative pronoun to a detailed analysis.

§7 The first striking point is that while other translatives that mark a subordinate clause – *que* ‘that’ (cf. Chapter 242, §11) for actantial subordinates and *quand* ‘when’ and *si* ‘if’ (cf. Chapter 254, §5) for circumstantial subordinates – are invariable, the relative pronoun is **variable**: Eng. *who, whom, whose; what, which*; Fr. *qui, que, quoi, dont; lequel, laquelle, lesquels*; Lat. *qui, quae, quod*.

§8 In contrast, when one forces oneself to render a relative clause in a stemma, one quickly sees that one is forced to position the relative pronoun in two positions: 1) as a translative under the symbol  $\mathcal{T}$ , and 2) as an actant subordinate to the verb of the transferred clause and as a consequence, in connection with this verb.

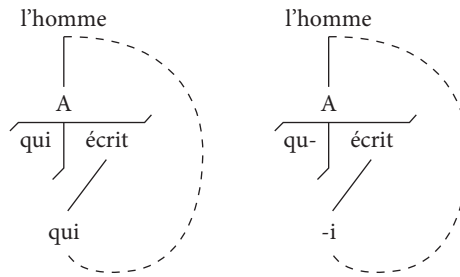
§9 Take for example the pronoun in the French sentence: *l’homme qui écrit* ‘the man who writes.’ The pronoun *qui* is a translative of the transferred clause the verb of which is *écrit*, because it transfers this clause to an adjective subordinate to *l’homme*. It is also the first actant of the same verb *écrit*, since as an anaphor it represents the word *homme* and is therefore the first actant of *écrit* (cf. Stemma 345).

§10 Yet all evidence suggests that the stemma – if it is to be a trustworthy representation of the sentence – cannot position a word in two positions if that word appears only once in the sentence in question.

§11 The relative pronoun is hence a word that has a **double nature**. It is composed of two syntactic elements that fall together, whereby the syntactic analysis reveals that these elements are in fact distinct. Each of these two syntactic elements occupies one of two positions in the stemma. The structural analysis is not clear due to the fused nature of the two elements.

§12 The element that occupies the interior of the symbol  $\mathcal{T}$  of the transferred verb is the proper **translative**, that is, it is the element that confers the value of an **adjective** to the subordinate. This element establishes transfer of the sort I >> A; it can be granted the same invariable characteristic as one grants to secondary translatives of the sort I >> O and I >> E (cf. Chapter 43, §12).

§13 Concerning the element that is subordinate to the verb in the transferred clause, it does not differ at all from a personal noun when one reduces it down to its essence. Like a **personal noun**, this element is an **anaphor**, or rather it is its anaphoric quality that makes a noun out of it, since it is anaphorically linked to a noun (*l’homme* ‘the man’). By virtue of its status as an anaphor, it must agree in gender and number with its antecedent, as is the case with all personal nouns. And it is this element that constitutes the variable aspect of the relative pronoun in general.



Stemma 345

Stemma 346

§14 Since we are inspired by received terminology to distinguish between morphemes and semantemes (cf. Chapter 23, §10), we will reserve the name **transfereme** for the element of the relative pronoun that plays the role of a translative and the name **anaphoreme** for the element that plays the role of an anaphor. **Transferemes** are hence morphemes, and **anaphoremes** are anaphors, that is, they are morphemes when they are isolated in the dictionary, but they are semantemes as soon as they appear in the structure of a sentence and receive a position in a stemma (cf. Chapter 43, §2).

§15 Evidently the isolation of each of the two elements is difficult. However if one nevertheless attempts to separate them in the stemma, one can say that although they are fused together solidly in a form such as Fr. *qui* ‘that.NOM’, the transfereme is *qu-* whereas the anaphoreme is *-i* (cf. Stemma 346).

§16 One can thus attempt to render the preceding stemma in a new way, where the pronoun *qui* correctly appears just once, but is split into two parts: *qu + i = qui* (cf. Stemma 346).

§17 This analysis leads to the insight that the personal relative pronoun of the European languages is probably the result of a prehistoric agglutination between the invariable **translative** element and a variable **anaphoric** element.

§18 An examination of the oldest forms of the personal pronoun in Indo-European languages does not provide irrefutable historic proof of this agglutination.

§19 But it is striking to observe that these forms are not contrary to the hypothesis suggested by the syntactic analysis, since they bear one or another trace of a former translative and/or a former anaphor: Lat. *\*que + is* → relative pronoun *qui*, the interrogative pronoun of which, *quis*, can conserve an older variant: Gr. ‘(< Indo-European *y-*) + *-os* relative pronoun *hōs*; Sanskrit *y + ah*, neuter *-ad* (in composition) → cf. demonstrative pronoun *sáh*, neuter *-tát*, relative pronoun *yah* ‘who’, neuter theme *yad*.

§20 Supposing that these forms retain the trace of distant agglutination, they have been subjected since that time – that is, since pre-Indo-European – to considerable alterations

that render the goal of making them fit historical forms elusive. These difficulties are accentuated in modern Indo-European languages such as French.

The alterations have generated confusion. At its origin, this confusion is perhaps due to the fact that the nominative was in fact a former ergative (cf. Chapter 52, §8 and Vaillant, *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, 37, 1936, p. 104).

## Chapter 247. The translative element of the personal pronoun

§1 The translative element of the personal pronoun, the invariable part, can appear in a prominent way in an adjectival clause.

§2 Hence one sometimes encounters the conjunction *as* in English instead of the relative pronoun *who*: *It was you as first made mention of her to me* (Dickens, *David Copperfield*, III, p. 237). The translative element here has completely eliminated the anaphoric element, which has no marker.

§3 It is also by way of the translative element in the personal pronoun and the subcategory of transfer that one can explain the circumstantial nuance that adjectival subordinate clauses often contain.

§4 This circumstantial nuance can be **causal**: Fr. *Les enfants, qui sont jeunes, doivent être protégés* ‘The children, who are young, must be protected’, that is, ‘The children must be protected because they are young’. Lat.

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<i>Ingrata es...ore quae nostro caput</i>	‘You are ungrateful...you who has withdrawn your head
<i>Incolume abstuleris et mercedem postules.</i>	Safe and sound and who now demands reward.’

(Phaedrus, *Fables*, I, 9, The wolf and the crane)

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Further: *Spero, quae tua est prudentia, fore ut me non in discrimen adducas* ‘I hope that you, in your wisdom, do not put me in jeopardy’.

§5 The causal nuance can be more conditional and in addition, even hypothetical (cf. Chapter 259, §1ff.). Such is the case with the **loaded relative** clause (Fr. *relatif prégnant*), to which J. Vendryes has recently drawn the attention of linguists.<sup>282</sup>

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<i>Ce vieux chêne a des marques saintes;</i>	‘This old oak has saintly marks
<i>Sans doute qui le couperait</i>	Without doubt, if someone hacks at it
<i>Le sang chaud en découlerait,</i>	The hot blood would flow
<i>Et l’arbre pousserait des plaintes</i>	And the tree would moan.’

(Tristan l’Hermite, *Promenoir de deux amants*)

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282. J. Vendryes, *Sur un emploi du relatif: le relatif prégnant* ‘On a use of the relative: the loaded relative’, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 444-I, pp. 21ff., 1948.

§6 The circumstantial nuance is **final** in the sense of Latin grammars, e.g. *Athenienses legatos miserunt, qui Apollinem consulerent* ‘The Athenians sent deputies who were charged with consulting Apollo’, lit. ‘...who would consult Apollo’.

§7 The circumstantial nuance is **concessive** in Fr. *Les grands, qui les dédaignaient, les révèrent* ‘The important men, who despised them, revere them’ (La Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, IX), that is ‘The great ones revere them (the citizens who study the government), although they have despised them (before), Lat. *Egomet, qui sero ac leviter Graecas litteras attigissem, tamen... complures Athenis*<sup>283</sup> *dies sum commoratus* ‘I, who has only of late and in small measure been taken by Greek texts, nevertheless remained for a few days in Athens’ (Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, 18, 82).

§8 Finally, this circumstantial nuance is sometimes so attenuated that the translative is reduced to the role of a simple junctive so that the transfer is no different than simple junction. The relative pronoun in such cases is what one calls a **link-word**, or more precisely, a **link relative pronoun**.

§9 The link relative pronoun is favored in the Latin sentence. It conveys a false syntactic bond to the sentence insofar as it generates the misleading appearance of an organized period that makes abundant use of hypotaxis. In reality, only parataxis is present: Lat. *Quod ubi audivit...*, lit. ‘What when he hears...’, that is, ‘When he hears that...’

§10 One is also dealing with a relative pronoun of liaison in French in expressions like *Je l’ai vu qui courait*, lit. ‘I saw him who was running’, which is indistinguishable in meaning from ‘I saw him and he was running’.

§11 Therefore one often says that in practice the relative pronoun at the beginning of a sentence is often the Latin equivalent of a junctive (*atque*) followed by a demonstrative pronoun (*id*): *quod = atque id* ‘and that’.

§12 Given these facts, we acknowledge the two elements in the relative pronoun the presence of which has been established above (cf. Chapter 246, §11–13): the translative element, which is reduced to the role of a junctive in the previous case, and the anaphoric element, a demonstrative pronoun playing the role of a personal noun.

§13 Finally, we sometimes find the same attenuated translative element as the first element of the sentence expressing a point of comparison after words expressing identity. Such is the case in the Lat. *Iisdem libris utor quibus tu* ‘I use the same books as you’. The same expression is also possible with *ac*.

§14 Similarly, after words expressing identity or difference, the translative element is sometimes reduced to the role of a simple junctive in Greek and Latin: Gr. *Tén autén patrída ékhei kai égó* ‘He has the same fatherland as I’, lit. ‘He has the same fatherland **and** I’, Lat. *Longe alius est atque erat* ‘He is entirely different than he was’, lit. ‘He is entirely other **and** he was’.

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283. [The ending of the sentence has been slightly modified in the interest of brevity.]

## Chapter 248. The anaphoric element in the personal pronoun

§1 In adjectival subordinate clauses, sometimes the anaphoric and variable part of the personal pronoun is predominant.

§2 The anaphoric part ensures that the personal pronoun is an actant subordinate to the verb of the adjectival clause.

§3 This actant can be the first actant, in which case it appears in the nominative in languages with case:

Nominative relative pronouns	
French	<i>le livre qui est sur la table</i> 'the book <b>that</b> is on the table'
Latin	<i>Ad Hypanim fluvium, qui in Pontum influit, Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci quae unum diem vivant</i> 'On the banks of the Hypanis river, <b>which</b> flows into the Pont, Aristotle pretended there were insects that live only a day.'
Greek	<i>Ohûtos ho hegemon, hós tén patrída stérgei.</i> 'This general, <b>who</b> loves his fatherland.'
English	<i>Sancho Panza blessed the man who invented sleep</i>
German	<i>das Buch, welches auf dem Tisch liegt</i> 'the book, <b>which</b> is lying on the table'
Russian	<i>čelovek kotoryj vas ljubit</i> 'a man <b>who</b> loves you'
Slovenian	<i>človek kteri je prišel</i> 'the man <b>who</b> has come'
Romani	<i>Mus mange te radov, so man tatiarla.</i> 'I have to find one of them, <b>which</b> warms me.'
Hungarian	<i>Azt a munkást varoom, aki tegnap itt járt.</i> 'I am awaiting the worker <b>who</b> was here yesterday'
Georgian	<i>Is šlida t'avis bolos, romelic' brcqinavda mzeded.</i> 'He (the peacock) spread its tail <b>which</b> shines from the sun.'

§4 The actant subordinate to the verb in the adjectival clause can also be the second actant, in which case it appears in the accusative in languages with case:

Accusative relative pronouns	
French	<i>le livre que vous voyez</i> 'the book <b>that</b> you see'
Latin	<i>animal, quem vocamus hominem</i> (Cicero, <i>De Legibus</i> , I, 22) 'the animal <b>that</b> we call man'

(Continued)

Greek	<i>ho adelphòs hòn stérgō</i> 'the brother <b>that</b> I love'
English	<i>a mother I love</i> (Byron)
German	<i>der Brief, welchen ich lese</i> 'the letter <b>that</b> I read'
Russian	<i>čelovek, kotorogo vy vidite</i> 'the man <b>that</b> you see'
Turkish	<i>Hoca Nasreddin efendinin bir kuzusu var imiş, ki gâyet ile besler imiş</i> 'Master Nasreddin had a lamb <b>that</b> he had raised with care.'

§5 In French the relative pronoun with double value, translative (I >> A) and anaphoric, has the same form *que* as the translative for I >> O, which only has translative value (cf. Chapter 242, §11): *le livre que vous voyez* 'the book **that** you see' (I >> A) (cf. ci-dessus §4) / *Je sais que vous voyez ce livre* 'I know **that** you see the book' (I >> O). One must take care to avoid the confusion that this homonymy generates between these two translatives with essentially distinct functions.

§6 Finally, an actant subordinated to the verb of the adjectival subordinate clause can be a third actant, in which case it appears in the dative in languages with case, or it is preceded (or followed) by a translative that marks the third actant in languages where the third actant is thus marked: Fr. *l'homme à qui je parle* 'the man to **whom** I speak', Lat. *Neminem praetermisit cui non eadem dixerit*, lit. 'He left out nobody, to **whom** he said the same thing', that is 'He did not fail to say the same thing to everyone', Gr. *ohûtos ho hegemon̄n hōi peithontai ohi stratiôtai* 'this general **who** the soldiers obey'.

§7 If two adjectival subordinate clauses are adjacent, Latin and Greek generally do not repeat the relative pronoun actant, the one serving for both clauses: Lat. *hic miles, qui patriam amat et fortiter pugnat* 'this soldier **who** loves his fatherland and fights bravely', Gr. *ohûtos ho stratiôtēs, hòs tén patrída stérgei kai gennaiōs máketai* (same meaning).

§8 But if the relative pronoun represented in the two subordinate clauses is a different actant across the two clauses, only its translative element can serve for the two clauses; the anaphoric element must be repeated. One utilizes the demonstrative pronoun to this effect, which is the personal noun, Lat. *hic dux, qui patriam amat, eique parent milites* 'this general **who** loves his fatherland and whom the soldiers obey', lit. '...**and him**...', Gr. *ohûtos ho hegemon̄n, hòs tén patrída stérgei, kai autōi peithontai ohi stratiôtai* (same construction and same meaning).

§9 The actant subordinate to the verb in the adjectival clause can be transferred to a circumstant (by way of a preposition or postposition, for example):

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 Relative pronoun in a circumstant
 

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French	<i>l'homme avec qui je cause</i> 'the man with whom I talk'
Latin	<i>homo, quocum loquor</i> (same meaning)
Greek	<i>ohi ánthrōpoi meth' hōn oikō</i> 'the people with whom I live'
English	<i>the merchants with whom</i> <i>I had travelled</i> (S. Johnson)
German	<i>der Mann, mit welchem ich spreche</i> 'the man with whom I speak'
Russian	<i>čelovek, s kotorym ja govorju</i> (same meaning as in German)

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§10 In Latin, where the translative is obligatorily a postposition with a personal locutive or allocutive noun (*mecum* 'with me', *tecum* 'with you'), the anaphoric element of the relative pronoun has the effect of generating a preference for the postposition (*quocum*) over the preposition (*cum quo* 'with whom').

§11 In a similar case, English readily postpones the translative to the whole subordinate clause: *The people whom I speak with*.

§12 Not only can the anaphoric element of the personal pronoun – that pronoun being an actant or a circumstant – be the direct and immediate subordinate of the verb in the adjectival subordinate clause, as is the case in the preceding example, but it can also be a mediated subordinate of the verb. Such is the case when the pronoun itself is transferred to an adjective by transfer O > A. In such a situation, the pronoun has as its governor a nominal actant or a circumstant that is itself subordinated to the verb of the adjectival subordinate clause.

§13 The personal pronoun the anaphoric element of which is a noun transferred to an adjective exists in a number of languages where this marker is, according to the typology of the language at hand, sometimes a preposed or postposed translative and sometimes the genitive (in languages with case). The resulting adjective can be an adjective of personal relationship in the latter case (possessive adjective, cf. Chapter 35, §18–21).

§14 For this adjective, one finds the syntactic form *dont* in French and the competing analytic form *de qui* 'of whom':

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*Il faut plaindre le sort du prince infortuné*  
*Dont le cœur endurci n'a jamais pardonné*  
(M.-J. Chénier)

'One should pity the fate of the unlucky prince  
**Whose** hardened heart has never pardoned  
another.'

*Ceux de qui la conduite offre le plus à rire*  
*Sont toujours, sur autrui, les premiers à médire.*  
(Molière, *Le Tartuffe*, I, 1)

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'Those **whose** behavior provides the most to  
laugh about  
Are always the first ones to slander others.'

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§15 If the relative pronoun is the adjective *quel* transferred to a noun by way of the article *le* (cf. Chapter 178, §5), *lequel*, its form when it has been retransferred to an adjective is always analytic: *duquel, de laquelle, desquelles*. The nucleus of the anaphoric element of the relative pronoun contains recessive double transfer of the sort  $A > O > A$ , where the first instance of transfer ( $A > O$ ) is marked by the definite article *le*, and the second ( $O > A$ ) by the preposition *de*. These two markers can collapse forming a contracted article of the sort *du*: *Les paysans attachés à la glebe étaient la propriété de leurs seigneurs, au pouvoir desquels rien ne pouvait les arracher* ‘The peasants tied up to the glebe were the property of their lords, from whose power nothing could free them’ (J.-J. Rousseau).

§16 The transferred pronoun *dont* in French must be placed at the front of the adjectival subordinate clause. This placement often prevents the pronoun from being subordinated to a noun that has been transferred to a third actant or to a circumstant by way of a preposition. This is why one cannot say: \**l’homme au frère dont j’ai donné ce livre* ‘the man to the brother of whom I gave the book’, or \**l’homme en compagnie dont je suis sorti* ‘the man in whose company I departed’. In this case, one has to appeal to the analytic pronoun *de qui* or to the retransferred pronoun of the sort *duquel*: *l’homme au frère de qui* (or *duquel*) *j’ai donné ce livre* ‘the man to whose brother I gave this book’, *l’homme en compagnie de qui* (or *duquel*) *je suis sorti* ‘the man in whose company I departed’.<sup>284</sup>

§17 In Latin the form of the relative pronoun *qui* transferred to an adjective by the genitive is *cuius*: *Athenienses ducem elegerunt, cuius ductu bellum gesserunt* ‘The Athenians chose a general, under whose leadership they waged war’.

§18 An equivalent form exists in a number of Languages: Gr. *ánthrōpos, ohú dómon horàis* ‘the man whose house you see’, Eng. *the man whose house you see*, Ger. *der Mann, dessen Haus du siehst* (same meaning).

§19 Russian possesses a synthetic form of the relative pronoun transferred to an adjective, *čej* ‘whose’, which is the relative pronoun corresponding to the possessive adjective of the sort *moj* ‘my’ (cf. Chapter 35, §19), *čelovek, čej dom vy vidite* ‘the man whose house you see’. This form can also be transferred to an adjective by the use of the genitive and can be subordinated to a noun that has itself been transferred to an adjective by the use of the genitive, that adjective having been subordinated to another noun contained in the adjectival clause. The absence of such a synthetic relative pronoun in French forces one to express the transfer of the relative pronoun analytically using the preposition *de* to transfer both the noun and the relative pronoun; the result is two instances of the translative *de*: Rus. *čelovek, čego doma kryšu vy vidite*, Fr. *l’homme de la maison de qui* (or *duquel*) *vous voyez le toit* ‘the man whose house you see the roof of’.

284. Concerning the difficulty using the oblique relative pronoun *dont*, cf. A. Moufflet, *Encore le massacre de la langue française*, II, 1935, pp. 111–112.

§20 A synthetic relative pronoun transferred to an adjective of the Russian type exists in most Slavic languages: Serbian *priroda čijim se čudesima davimo* ‘the nature whose wonders we admire’.

§21 In general, the greater the subordination of the relative pronoun to the verb governing the adjectival clause is mediated, the less fluid the sentence is: *un pays envahi trois fois en soixante-dix ans et dont un sixième de la population est sinistrée* ‘a country invaded three times in seventy years and a sixth of whose population was stricken’ (*France-Libre*, 11, X, 1948).

§22 The adjective to which the anaphoric element of the personal pronoun is transferred can be, as illustrated with examples above, an adjective of personal relationship, but it can also be a predicative adjective of a general quality (qualitative adjective) (cf. Chapter 35, §14–15).

§23 Such an adjective is common in Latin, where it appears in the form of the relative adjective *qualis*, the correlative antecedent of which is *talis*: *Amo te talem, qualis es* ‘I love you such as you are’.

§24 In French, the relevant relative pronoun of this correlative is generally reduced to a translative element: *Je t’aime tel que tu es* ‘I love you such as you are’.

## Chapter 249. Agreement of the anaphoric element

§1 Due to the anaphoric element that it contains, the relative pronoun is variable and it agrees with the noun to which it is linked by an anaphoric connection.

§2 This agreement can be person agreement. Such is the case in German where in the case of the autoontive and antiontive, one has to specify the person by having the personal index follow the relative pronoun: *ich, der ich spreche* ‘I who is speaking’, lit. ‘I who I am speaking’, *Vater unser der du bist im Himmel*, lit. ‘Our father, who you are in the sky’.

§3 Due to this precision, the relative pronoun and the verb are considered autoontive singular: *ich, der spricht* ‘I who is speaking’.

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<i>Mich, die neben dir so klein sich fühlt.</i> (Schiller, <i>The maid of Orleans</i> )	‘Me, who feels (herself) so small next to you.’
<i>Sie, die im ganzen Rat der Weiber bestochene Richter sitzen hat.</i> (Schiller, <i>Don Carlos</i> )	‘You, who has bribed judges in the entire committee of women.’

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§4 But most often only gender and number agreement is present: Lat. *epistula, quam accepi* ‘the letter that I received’. The relative pronoun *quam* ‘that’ is feminine singular because it has an anaphoric connection to its antecedent *epistula* ‘letter’, which itself is feminine singular.

§5 In principle, the relative pronoun does not agree in case with its antecedent, the case of the relative pronoun being determined by its proper function in its clause, and this function has nothing to do with the case of its antecedent in the governing clause.

§6 However, it can occur that by way of a sort of improper hyperesthesia for agreement, certain languages will allow this agreement, which is in itself not justified by any grammatical consideration. This improper agreement is known as **attraction**.

§7 Attraction is a common phenomenon in Greek. After a genitive or dative antecedent, the relative pronoun of a second actant can, instead of appearing in the accusative, appear in the same case as its antecedent: *tôn agathôn áxios, hôn* (instead of *á*) *ékhei* ‘worthy of the possessions that he has’; *taís heortaís parón, aís* (instead of *hàs*) *ágomen* ‘present at the festivities that we celebrate’.

§8 The same phenomenon of attraction is encountered in Latin. But in contrast to Greek, it is extremely rare in Latin and hardly correct. G. Cuendet even remarks that it is so exceptional that the example cited is always the same:<sup>285</sup> *notante iudice quo* (instead of *quem*) *nostri populo* ‘the people, judge that you know, noting it (disgrace)’ (Horace, *Satires*, I, 6, 14–15).<sup>286</sup>

§9 In contrast, attraction in Latin can reach up to the antecedent noun provided that this noun follows the relative pronoun in the spoken chain and is taken up by a demonstrative in connection with it but that is not the subject of attraction. Hence instead of Lat. *Litterae* (without attraction) *quas scripsisti me delectaverunt* ‘The letters that you wrote to me delighted me’, one can say *Quas scripsisti litteras* (with attraction), *eae* (without attraction) *me delectaverunt*.

§10 Outside of Greek, attraction is hardly encountered in the old Germanic languages, Gothic *bi waldufnja Þammei* (instead of *Þatei*) *frauja fragaf mis* ‘according to the power that the Lord has given me’ (Epistle to the Corinthians, II, 13), Old High German *thaz iz liuhte allen then* (instead of *thie*) *in huse sint* ‘so that he is brilliant for all those who are in the house’ (Tatian, 25, 2).<sup>287</sup>

§11 The general tendency of stultification and loss of inflection impacts the anaphoric element as is the case for all manifestations of inflection.

§12 This tendency has the effect of reverting the anaphoric element from a multiplicity of inflectional forms to a single unique non-inflected form, which ends up morphologically indistinguishable from the invariable translative.

285. G. Cuendet, *Sur l'expression de la particule relative*, *Mélanges Bally*, p. 94.

286. First editors' note: Note however the other examples in Riemann & Ernout, *Syntaxe latine*, new edition, 1940, §16 and Horace, *Satires*, published by Paul Lejay, Paris, Hachette, 1911, p. 178, note 15 and page 244, note 54. For the latter, this would not be a true instance of attraction, but rather it is an expression arising from ellipsis in colloquial language: *notante iudice quo iudice notari nosti*.

287. G. Cuendet, *Ibid.*

§13 One can follow this development in English starting with Old English: *Fēt drigde mid þāære līnvāede Þe hē was mid begyrt* ‘He washed the feet (of his disciples) with the cloth that covered him’ (John, 13, 5).<sup>288</sup>

§14 This tendency causes Scandinavian to make use of invariable particles like *er* and *sem* (*som*), which are veritable conjunctions today: Old Norwegian *Konungr graf Høkone swerþ, þat er hiplten vǫro ór gulle* ‘The king gave to Haakon a sword which (= of which) the decoration was in gold’ (Heimskringla),<sup>289</sup> Swedish *Vem var den flickan, som du slog?* ‘Who was the young girl that you hit?’

§15 Finally, the same tendency produces expressions in French like *imbécile que* (and not \**qui*) *je suis* ‘fool that I am’,<sup>290</sup> *l’homme que je suis* ‘the man that I am’ (cf. Chapter 75, §7).

## Chapter 250. Disjunction of the translative and anaphoric element

§1 In a large number of languages, the translative element and the anaphoric element are completely disjoint, and each is represented by a separate word, the first (the translative) being invariable and the second (the anaphor) being variable.

§2 This division is found in non-European languages, these languages not having realized the agglutination of the two elements prehistorically. In fact it is in light of the facts in non-Indo-European languages that we have been led to produce the hypothesis above (cf. Chapter 246, §17).

§3 However, one also encounters the division as a common form with a common origin in the Indo-European languages, where the old ossified form has tended or is tending to cede its position to a form that is more productive and expressive.

§4 The historical relationship between the former agglutinated form and the disjoint form that replaces it is hence analogous in every way to what we have already had the occasion to consider above (cf. Chapter 239, §6 and 7) with respect to certain primary and secondary forms.

§5 Like for these morphological forms, the secondary syntactic construction does not build on the primary one. The secondary construction has, rather, been substituted for the primary construction and now replaces it outright. By way of fatal linguistic intuition, speakers find themselves appealing to the same structural process, which is the only process available because it is the only process that conforms to the structure of our mind and

288. G. Cuendet, *Ibid.* p. 96.

289. G. Cuendet, *Ibid.* p. 97.

290. H. Lavedan, *Viveurs*, IV, p. 287.

to the interior form of the language that results from this mental structure and that governs structural syntax.

§6 Therefore instead of the relative pronoun, which is the only correct form, colloquial French readily employs the invariable translative *que* 'that', whereas the anaphoric element will be expressed by an index.

§7 If the relative pronoun is an **actant**, the personal index expressing its anaphoric element will be variable.

§8 With the first actant, one has: *C'est moi que je suis la providence* 'It is me **that** I am providence' (Pierre Chaine, *L'Heure H*, p. 20) instead of the correct sentence *C'est moi qui suis la providence* 'It is me **who** is providence'.

§9 With the second actant, one will have *l'homme que je le vois* 'the man **that** I saw **him**', instead of the correct form *l'homme que je vois* 'the man **who** I saw'.

§10 With the third actant, one will have *l'homme que je lui ai parlé* 'the man **that** I spoke **to him**', instead of the correct form *l'homme à qui j'ai parlé* 'the man **to whom** I spoke'.

§11 If the relative proform is a **circumstant**, the index expressing its anaphoric element will be a circumstantial index: *le village que tu en viens* 'the town **that** you came **from it**', instead of the correct form: *le village dont tu viens* 'the town **from where** you came'.

§12 The circumstant can be obtained by transfer of a noun using a preposition: *l'ami que tu vas chez lui* 'the friend **that** you are going **to him**', instead of the correct form *l'ami chez qui tu vas* 'the friend **to whom** you are going'.

§13 Finally if the relative proform is transferred to an **adjective** of personal relation by the use of the genitive, its personal element will be expressed by an adjective arising from a personal noun, that is, by the possessive adjective: *l'homme que j'ai vu son chapeau* 'the man **that** I saw **his** hat', instead of *l'homme dont j'ai vu le chapeau* 'the man **whose** hat I saw'.<sup>291</sup>

§14 This phenomenon has been studied in general by G. Cuendet<sup>292</sup> and, especially for Iranian languages, by E. Benvéniste.<sup>293</sup> We will henceforth indicate the source of our information by enclosing their names in parentheses as a means of citing their articles.

291. *C'est la jeune fille que sa mère nous a si bien reçus* 'It is the young girl **that** her mother has received us so well' (Moufflet, *Contre le massacre de la langue française*, I, 1930, p. 237); *la femme que je connais son mari* 'the woman **that** I know **her** husband' (A. Moufflet, *Encore le massacre de la langue française*, II, 1935, p. 113); *Il y a des dentistes que leurs doigts sentent le tabac* 'There are dentists **that** their fingers smell tobacco' (ibid., p. 142).

292. Georges Cuendet, *Sur l'expression de la particule relative*, *Mélanges Bally*, Geneva, 1939, pp. 93–100.

293. E. Benvéniste, *Un emploi du relatif dans l'Avesta*, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 44, 1948, pp. 72–73.

§15 Among non-Indo-European languages, the expression in question is obligatory in Semitic languages (Benvéniste, p. 72).

§16 It also exists in Turkish: *adam ki saçı sarıdır*, lit. ‘a man that his hair is blond’ (= ‘of whom the hair is blond’), although Turkish prefers first-degree transfer in such cases using the participle (cf. Chapter 199, §5ff.).

§17 The same expression is extremely widespread in the Indo-European languages.

§18 Even though the expression is incorrect in French, it is the only surviving form with the third actant or the circumstant for speakers of Occitan (Provençal, Languedocian) (Cuendet, p. 95):

<i>Sian tout d’ami galoi et libre</i>	‘We are all happy and free friends
<i>Que la Prouvènço nous fait gau</i>	<b>That</b> the Provence makes (us) happy’
(Mistral, <i>Cant di Felibre</i> )	
<i>...Dieu me counvido</i>	‘...God summons me
<i>A comparèisse au tribunau</i>	To appear at the tribunal
<i>Que sis arrest soun eternau</i>	<b>That</b> its rulings are eternal’ (= ‘the rulings of which are eternal’)
(Mistral, <i>Nerte</i> , I, I Lou Laroun)	

Occitan: *l’ome que n’en parle*, lit. ‘the man **that** I speak **of him**’, (Lamouche, *Grammaire languedocienne*, 1942, p. 62), *un homes que los Angles lo tenian* ‘a man **that** the English hold **him**’ (In *Vida e Miracles de Santa Flor*, p. 128, de Suzanne Kravtchenko-Dobelmann, *Syntaxe du dialecte de Cahors au moyen-âge*, Annales du Midi, Volume 64, N<sup>o</sup> 18, April 1952).

§19 This expression, which is familiar to speakers of Occitan, shows up each time in the Occitan substratum of French. Heard in the region of Montpellier around 1945: *L’autre jour, j’ai vu votre fils, qu’il était beau* ‘The other day I saw your son, **that he** was handsome’ (= ‘who was handsome’).

§20 It is no less frequent in colloquial Italian: *la bambina che le hai dato il pane* ‘the baby girl **that** you gave **her** the bread’ (= ‘to whom you gave the bread’) (Cuendet, p. 96).

§21 But Spanish has reduced its role: *la fuente que beben todos d’ella* (Cuendet, p. 96), lit. ‘the fountain **that** we all drink **from it**’ (= ‘from which we all drink’).

§22 Romanian has the mechanism as well, but it is avoided in the modern language (Cuendet, p. 96). This fact does not prevent one from commonly saying in this language: *cartea pe care l’am vandut*, lit. ‘the book **that** I sold **it**’ (= ‘that I sold’).

§23 The same expression is encountered in most Celtic languages: Breton *an den a gomzan anean a zo bras*, lit. ‘the man that I spoke of him (= ‘of whom I spoke’) is big’, Welsh *Teithi Hen a oresgynnwys mor y kyuoeth* (Cuendet, p. 97), lit. ‘Teithi Hen that the sea engulfed his

realm' (= 'whose empire the sea has engulfed'), Middle Irish *in fer is a scéal sin* 'the man that his history is this' (= 'the man whose history is this') (Cuendet, p. 97).

§24 In Middle High German, the expression also exists:

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<i>Ich hān einen man,</i>	I have a husband
<i>Das elliu disiu rīche zuo</i>	Who merits having all these kingdoms
<i>sinen handen solden stān.</i>	in his hands,' lit. 'that all these kingdoms should be between his hands'

(*Nibelungenlied*, line 815)

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§25 In modern German, this same expression is no more than a regionalism, which can be heard for example in Austrian Silesia: *Der Mann, was ich ihm hab' Geld geliehen*, lit. 'the man that I have loaned money to him', that is 'who I have loaned money to'.<sup>294</sup>

§26 The anaphor *sa-* precedes the translative *-ei* in Gothic *sa-ei: attā þeins saei saihwiþ in fulhsnja*,<sup>295</sup> lit. 'your father that he sees (= who sees) into the secret'.

§27 One finds a disjunction between the relative and anaphoric elements in Slavic: Czech *ten přítel, co k němu chodíš* (Cuendet, p. 98), lit. 'the friend that you are going to him' (= 'to whom you are going'), (everyday) Slovenian *človek, ki sem ga videl*, lit. 'the man that I saw him' (= 'who I saw').

§28 The same expression exists in modern Greek: *to peidi pou eida tē mētera tou* 'the child that I saw his mother' (= 'of whom I saw the mother') (Benvéniste, p. 72).

§29 In Iranian languages, this expression is attested in Persian: *mard ki ūrā pūl dādam* 'the man that I gave money to him' (= 'to whom I gave money') (Benvéniste, p. 72). We believed that this expression was contemporary with Middle Persian: *hān kas kēn yut hač avē...* 'this man that without him (= without whom) ...' (Benvéniste, p. 72). But very recently (1948), E. Benvéniste has shown that it is necessary to locate the appearance of this expression further back in time, since one finds it in the recent part of Avesta [that is, before the 4th century]: *ainhāzemō ... yał ahmi spānasča harasčā parairiθinti* 'of this earth that in it (= in which) dogs and men died'.

§30 Finally, this expression exists in Albanian. Christoforidis writes in the translation of the Gospels in Tosk dialect: *ky është ay që unë thashë për atë se* 'it is him that of him (= of whom) I said...' (Cuendet, p. 98).

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294. Bach, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, p. 108.

295. Mossé, *Manuel de la langue gotique*, p. 180.

§31 Benvéniste has correctly recognized (p. 73) that the innovation of which he wrote consisted of “dissociating the use of the relative and the case function”.

§32 Around 1939, Cuendet (p. 100), using slightly different terms, signaled “the universal tendency that existed to split the relative pronoun into two elements: a subordinate and an anaphor”.

§33 The one or the other linguist has been motivated to factually acknowledge the disassociation (cf. Chapter 246, §15), to which the structural analysis leads us, between a translatable element (cf. Chapter 246, §12) and an anaphoric element (cf. Chapter 246, §13) in the relative pronoun.

## Chapter 251. Syntactic disjunction of the agglutinated relative pronoun

§1 If we acknowledge disjunction morphologically in terms of a transfereme and an anaphoreme in Indo-European languages (cf. above Chapter 250, §2 and 15–16) and in the European languages that have evolved (ibid., §3 and 17ff.), we observe that syntactically, the same disjunction is present in the agglutinated relative pronoun (cf. above, Chapter 246, §17ff.).

§2 That is, when one encounters such a pronoun in a sentence, it is impossible to rationally construct the stemma of this sentence and as a consequence, it is impossible to render the structure and to comprehend the structure without assigning a different position in the stemma to each of the two elements constituting the relative pronoun (transfereme and anaphoreme) (cf. above Chapter 246, §15 and 16).

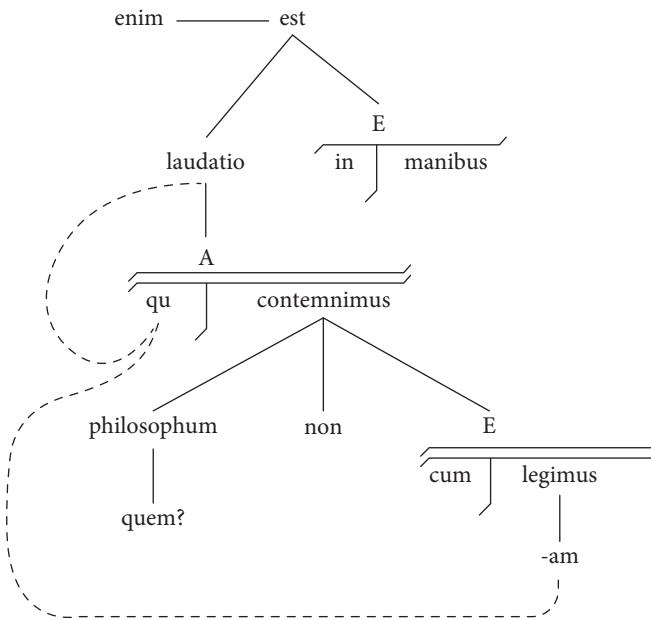
§3 If in the example given above (Chapter 246, §16), these two positions are separate, they are nevertheless both present in the sentence. But this is not always the case.

§4 In Latin in particular, it can occur that the anaphoreme is not in the same clause as the transfereme.

§5 Such is the case when a subordinate relative clause is both the governor of another subordinate clause and when this subordinate precedes it in the spoken chain.

§6 The three subordinates that constitute this structural set – the governing governing clause, the governing subordinate clause that depends on it, and the subordinate subordinate clause that depends on the latter – follow each other on the spoken chain in the following order (cf. above Chapter 5, §8): 1st governing governing clause, 2nd subordinate subordinate clause, and 3rd governing subordinate clause.

§7 Such is the case for example in the Latin sentence *Est enim in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus?* ‘Indeed everyone has the eulogy in their hands: when reading it, is there a philosopher that escapes our scorn?’ (Cicero, *Cato Major*, 4, 12) (Stemma 347), lit. ‘Indeed everyone has in their hands the eulogy, which when we read, which philosopher do we not condemn?’



Stemma 347

§8 Schema 348 shows the relationship of linear order to structural order (cf. above Chapter 4, §1).

Governing gov. clause	<i>Est enim in manibus laudatio</i>			
Governing sub. clause		<i>qu-</i>		<i>quem philosophum non contemnimus?</i>
Subordinate sub. clause			<i>-am cum legimus,</i>	
	‘Indeed everyone has in their hands the eulogy	wh-	-ich when we read	which philosopher do we not condemn?’

Schema 348

§9 The transfereme *qu-* of the relative pronoun *quam* that introduces the subordinate subordinate *quam cum legimus* is hence located in a favorable position for establishing an anaphoric connection to the antecedent *laudatio*, since the transfereme *qu-* constitutes the first part of the word that immediately follows this governing governing clause on the spoken chain.

§10 The other part of the transfereme *qu-* – even though it is placed on the spoken chain at the start of the subordinate subordinate clause *quam cum legimus* ‘which when we read’ – takes part in reality in the governing subordinate clause *quem philosophum non contemnimus?* ‘which philosopher do we not condemn?’, whereas its anaphoric element *-am* takes

part in the subordinate subordinate clause in such a manner that the two elements of the relative pronoun *qu-am* ‘wh-ich.ACC’, which initiates the subordinate subordinate clause in the spoken chain, belong syntactically to two different clauses. The translative element *qu-* belongs to the governing subordinate clause, and the anaphoric element *-am* to the subordinate subordinate clause.

§11 Given this position at the start of the subordinate subordinate clause, the translative element contained syntactically in the governing subordinate clause is no problem when one considers that every element contained in a subordinate clause is *ipso facto* part of the governing clause on which it depends (cf. Chapter 3, §4 to 6).

§12 It is no less true that this structure, although it is perfectly correct in Latin, often makes the sentences difficult to translate into languages where the syntactic disassociation of the agglutinated relative pronoun does not exist or no longer exists, as in French for example, where the expression that results (cf. above §7) in the literal translation “seems absolutely barbaric to us today”.<sup>296</sup>

§13 In the syntactic sets just described, the governing subordinate clause is by definition always a relative clause because it is introduced by a relative pronoun (*qu-am*), the translative element of which *qu-* belongs to it directly and the anaphoric element of which *-am* belongs to it as well, but indirectly, by way of the intermediate subordinate subordinate that contains it and that governs it.

§14 This relative pronoun can be charged with circumstantial nuance (cf. above Chapter 247, §3).

§15 Hence the governing subordinate clause can be **consecutive**: Lat. *Vestrane urbs electa est ad quam cum adirent ex Italia crucem civis Romani viderent?* ‘Was your town chosen (in order) that when one enters (it) coming from Italy, one sees the cross of a Roman citizen?’ (Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, 4, 26).

§16 This circumstantial nuance can also be **final**: Lat. *Noli... adversum eos me velle ducere cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem Italiam reliqui* (Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 4, 2), lit. ‘Do not attempt to pull me into the war that you are waging against these men, who I left Italy in order to not carry arms with (them) against you’, *Nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant comparari nova possint praesidia* ‘There are no other Alps that for (them) to cross would give us the time to raise new forces’ (Livy, 21, 41, 15).

§17 Of course the verb of the relative governing subordinate clause with a consecutive or final nuance appears in the subjunctive (see the examples given above, §15 and 16), like those of a consecutive clause (cf. below Chapter 261, §5) and those of the final clause (cf. below Chapter 262, §22).

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296. Cf. Riemann & Ernout, *Syntaxe Latine*, §18.

§18 While the governing subordinate clause is always a relative subordinate clause – regardless of the semantic circumstantial nuance with which it is charged – the subordinate subordinate clause can in contrast be of a different nature, and it is therefore in this respect that there is a diversity of manifestations of semantic disjunctions of the agglutinated relative pronoun. We will now consider the main varieties of these manifestations.

§19 When the subordinate subordinate clause is a relative clause like the governing subordinate clause, one has two relative pronouns in sequence, the anaphoric elements of which both belong syntactically to the subordinate subordinate clause, but only the translative element of the second relative pronoun belongs syntactically to the subordinate subordinate clause, whereas the anaphoric element of the first relative pronoun belongs to the governing subordinate clause syntactically. The relative subordinate subordinate clause can itself be transferred to a noun (I >> A > O) as in the following example: Lat. *Est enim... non satis politus in artibus, quas qui tenant eruditi appellantur* ‘He is thus insufficiently equipped with the insights that are necessary for one to be called a scholar’ (Cicero, *De finibus*, 1, 26), lit. ‘He is indeed insufficiently equipped with the insights that those who possess (them) are called scholars’.

§20 However, very often the subordinate subordinate clause is circumstantial. It is a **temporal** expression in the example that we produced above (§7) for our demonstration and to which we appealed above in Chapter 245, §13 (top of Stemma 343).

§21 The subordinate subordinate clause is **suppositional** (cf. below Chapter 259, §4) in Lat. *nolo... hunc... existimare ea me suasisse Pompeio quibus ille si parvisset... hic... tantas opes quantas nunc habet non haberet* ‘I do not want to see him (Caesar) think that I gave Pompey advice that, **if he had followed (it)**, he would not have as many means as he has at its disposal today’ (Cicero, *Ad familiares*, 6, 6, 5); *Vos... vadenti Hasdrubali ad Alpes Italiamque (qui si se cum frater coniunxisset, nullum iam nomen esset populi Romani)... obstitistis* (Livy, 26, 41, 13), lit. ‘You, you have blocked the route for Hasdrubal marching to the Alps and to Italy (that, if he had connected with his brother, the name of the Roman people would no longer exist today)’.

§22 The syntactic disjunction of the relative pronoun, which is impossible in modern French and for that reason difficult to translate, still existed in the French of the 17th century, probably due to the influence of the Latin of the writers of that time: *Il y a partout la difficulté à laquelle si on succombe, on périt* ‘There is always the difficulty that if one succumbs (to it), one dies’ (Bossuet, *Deuxième avertissement*, Volume XV, p. 254, ed. Lachat).

## Chapter 252. The antecedent of the relative clause

§1 Like every attributive adjective, the adjectival subordinate clause has a noun as its governor. The noun governing an adjectival subordinate clause is called its **antecedent**.

§2 Actually, it is not a structural antecedent in the sense that we have given to the word antecedent above (cf. Chapter 240, §2), that is, an antecedent of the translative element of the personal pronoun, but rather it is the antecedent of the relative pronoun's anaphoric element.

§3 However, due to the double nature of the personal pronoun, this term can be retained on condition that one makes it clear if need be that one is dealing with the **anaphoric antecedent**.

§4 The designation is justified by the fact that, whether translative or anaphoric, the antecedent is the same word and that on the spoken chain, it usually precedes the subordinate clause:

<i>Les livres</i>	<i>que vous avez</i>	<i>sont précieux.</i>
(antecedent)	(adjectival subordinate clause)	
'The books	that you have	are valuable.'

§5 When the antecedent is a personal noun (O), it can occur that it is marked only by the possessive adjective that is derived from it by transfer of the sort  $O > A$ : Lat. *Vostra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem imposuistis* 'They criticize the decision by which you conferred to me the greatest of dignities', lit. 'They criticize **your** decision, **who** conferred ...' (Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 85, 28). The antecedent of the adjectival clause introduced by the relative pronoun *qui* is the personal noun *vos* 'you' here, which is the source of the transferred possessive adjective *vostra* 'your'.

§6 The anaphor that joins the relative pronoun to its antecedent tends to have the effect of moving the two closer to each other on the spoken chain, that is, to place them in linear sequence. In fact, the antecedent practically always precedes the relative pronoun on the spoken chain: *l'homme qui vient, l'homme que je vois, l'homme à qui je parle, l'homme dont je parle* 'the man who is coming, the man that I see, the man to whom I speak, the man of whom I speak'.

§7 However, one can find examples where this sequence does not hold. When this happens, one is dealing with what is called a **differed relative clause**. Disjunction of this sequence is encountered either in elevated style or in colloquial style.

§8 In elevated style and in particular in verse, it has been employed by the best authors: *Phenix même en répond, qui l'a conduit exprès* 'Phoenix himself answered for it, who had intentionally guided it' (Racine), *George Sand ne s'y trompa point, qui avait du génie* 'George Sand was not mistaken, who had genius' (Emile Faguet, *Introduction to "Mariages de Paris"* of Edmond About). The Abbott d'Olivet was probably a little severe when he criticized this turn, which the Abbott Desfontaines admitted in verse.<sup>297</sup> One is less strict in our days: *Ma*

297. Cf. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 44, II, p. 121.

*femme cependant m'aidait, dont le mouvement le plus naturel est toujours le meilleur* 'My wife however helped me, whose most natural movement is always the best' (André Gide, *La Symphonie Pastorale*, 1st folder, February 10). See however the disapproval of A. Dauzat in his article in *Le Monde* from 8-11-1950.

§9 In colloquial style, the detached relative is generally awkward and it leads to amusing misunderstandings concerning the person of the antecedent: Fr. *Elle a acheté un caleçon à son mari, qu'elle a payé très cher* 'She bought trunks for her husband, that/which she paid a lot for' (heard by the author in 1944). Humorous almanacs abound with examples like *J'ai offert un ravissant petit chat à ma femme, qui a les oreilles noires* 'I offered a beautiful small cat to my wife, who/that has black ears'.

§10 The tendency to place the relative form as close as possible to its antecedent impacts adjectival subordinate clauses in major ways. For example, colloquial English readily includes the group formed by the adjectival subordinate clause in the group constituted by the antecedent when the former is transferred to an adjective by the use of the Saxon genitive. F. Mossé has proposed giving the name **global genitive** to this expression, which is becoming more prominent in English: *the man I saw yesterday's hat* instead of *the hat of the man I saw yesterday*.

§11 In all the preceding examples, the relative pronoun takes its proper value as a noun from its anaphoric connection to its antecedent, which is necessarily a noun.

§12 But such a connection may not occur, and then the relative form remains an adjective. In such cases, it is no longer appropriate to speak of a relative pronoun, but rather one is dealing with a relative adjective.

§13 In French the relative adjective is *lequel*, despite the transfer of the adjective *quel* to a noun by way of the article *le* (cf. Chapter 43, §16).

§14 In Latin and in Greek, the form of the relative adjective is the same as that of the relative pronoun: Lat. *adventum tuum cognovi, qui nuntius mihi gratissimus fuit* 'I learned of his arrival, news that pleased me greatly', lit. '... , which news pleased me greatly', *Caesari nuntiaverunt pulverem maiorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset* 'They announced to Caesar that one had seen more dust than in the normal case in the direction in which (direction) the legion was marching' (Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, IV, 32, 10), Gr. *Athēnai, hē pólis estin en tēi Attikēi* 'Athens, which (city) is located in Attica'.

## Chapter 253. Participle agreement

§1 We have seen (Chapter 225, §14) that an anterior participle that has been retransferred to a verb by way of the auxiliary (I > A > I) was solicited by two tendencies. As a verb (I), the participle tends to be insensitive to the nominal categories of gender and

number, but when it is changed to an adjective (A), it can take part in gender and number agreement.

§2 In fact the question arises in French, where participle agreement poses various problems, concerning the location of participle agreement. The rules of participle agreement are complicated.

§3 In order to see this agreement with the necessary clarity, one has to compare the mechanism in French with its equivalent in other languages that are susceptible to presenting the same phenomenon.

§4 This leads us to pose the preliminary question concerning the knowledge of what the problems are that arise and what the conditions are that have to be fulfilled so that they arise.

§5 First of all, the problems arise only in the compound tenses, since they are the only ones where the anterior participle is retransferred to a verb by way of an auxiliary (I > A > I).

§6 If the auxiliary is the verb 'be', the condition is satisfied in a number of Indo-European languages, in particular in Latin and Greek, and in the Slavic languages (cf. 225, §16–18).

§7 But if the auxiliary is the verb 'have', the linguistic horizon is more restricted. The Slavic languages are excluded, because they do not utilize this auxiliary to form the compound tenses (cf. Chapter 225, §16).

§8 On the other hand, the anterior participle has to be variable, which a priori excludes English and Breton, where it is invariable like all other adjectives.

§9 Finally, the anterior participle has to be variable not only when it is attributive, but also when it is predicative, since it plays the role of a predicative expression in the compound tenses. Yet in German, attributive adjectives are variable, whereas predicative adjectives are invariable. German is hence also excluded from the languages that are susceptible to developing agreement of the anterior participle in compound tenses formed with the auxiliary.

§10 The Slavic and Germanic languages excluded, only the Romance languages can furnish a point of comparison with French. The base for comparison is therefore quite narrow.

§11 The original tendency is that agreement obtains between an anterior participle that takes the auxiliary verb 'have' with the second actant subordinate to this verb. This is what occurs in Latin: *Habeo cognitam amicitiam* 'I have known friendship'.

§12 In the case of an adjectival clause, agreement has a deep foundation in the syntax. Since such a clause is equivalent to an adjective (cf. Chapter 245, §1–2) and it determines or qualifies the antecedent, it is normal for it to agree in the same way as an adjective. It is thus necessary to consider that it is the clause as a whole that takes the mark of agreement.

Adjectival clause	Adjective
<i>le livre que j'ai écrit</i> 'the book that I have written'	<i>un petit livre</i> 'a little book'
<i>les lettres que j'ai écrites</i> 'the letters that I have written'	<i>une petite lettre</i> 'a short letter'
<i>les livres que j'ai écrits</i> 'the books that I have written'	<i>de petits livres</i> 'short letters'
<i>les lettres que j'ai écrites</i> 'the letters that I have written'	<i>de petites lettres</i> 'short letters'

§13 But this tendency is not encountered in all cases, and the verbal preference for total invariability is realized in Occitan, Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian: Occ. *Las flours que m'aviàs demandat* 'the flowers that you demanded from me',<sup>298</sup> Sp. *los libros que he comprado* 'the books that I bought' (cf. *yo los he comprado* 'I bought them'), Port. *as mercadorias que tinha comprado* 'the merchandise that I bought', Rom. *cartea pe care l'am vandut* 'the book that I sold'.

§14 In Italian, the rule is to establish agreement when the participle follows the antecedent that is the second actant of the compound form: *le lettere che ho scritte* 'the letters that I write', *le ho scritte* 'I wrote them'.

§15 This rule is sensible. Indeed, as much as it is logical to establish agreement between the participle and a second actant that precedes it, it is illogical to demand agreement with a second actant that has not yet appeared, since that actant is unknown at the moment when it is appropriate to establish agreement.

§16 French has long hesitated and dithered in this area. The tendency toward invariability of the anterior participle with the auxiliary *avoir* 'have' is old. It was close to being established entirely at the end of the 12th century, when a reaction arose, probably due to the influence of grammarians.<sup>299</sup>

§17 The evolution thus halted, one stopped midway between variability and invariability. In the 16th century, Marot borrowed the practice from Italian that establishes agreement between the anterior participle and second actant when the latter precedes the former: *Je l'ai vue* 'I saw her', lit. 'I her have seen.FEM'.

§18 This practice took a long time to establish itself, and it only triumphed toward the end of the 18th century.

§19 One will note that the practice is obligatorily in force in relative clauses, since the relative pronoun always appears in front of the relative clause (cf. Chapter 252, §4).

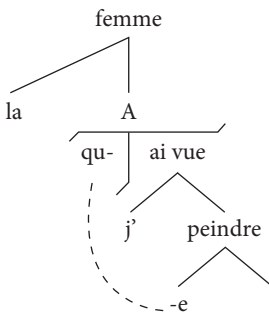
298. Lamouche, *Grammaire Languedocienne*, p. 72.

299. Brunot, *Grammaire historique de l'ancien français*, 1899, p. 524.

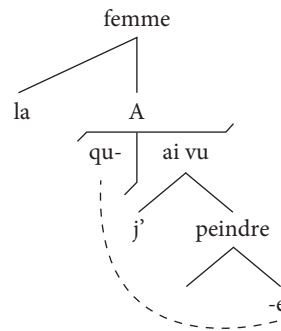
§20 But the established usage since the end of the 18th century is full of difficulties and the rules that govern usage are most often due to convention and hence arbitrary.<sup>300</sup>

§21 One therefore draws a distinction between *la femme que j'ai vue peindre* 'the woman that I saw painting' (cf. Stemma 349) and *la femme que j'ai vu peindre* 'the woman that I saw painted' (cf. Stemma 350), according to whether the woman is painting or being painted. Similarly: *Les blés que nous avons vu semer sont déjà en grange, mais ceux que nous avons vus germer ne sont pas encore coupés* 'The wheat that we saw (people) sewing is already in the barn, yet the wheat that we saw sprouting is not yet cut'.

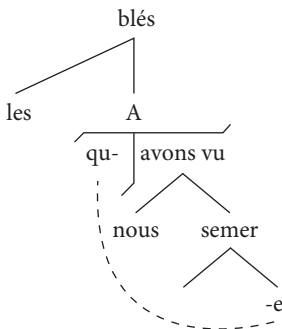
§22 These distinctions are so subtle that even the best minds get confused. Rendering these distinctions as stemmas can be of service in this regard. Hence the difference between the examples from §21 can be graphically registered by the stemmatic representation (cf. Stemmas 349, 350, 351, and 352).



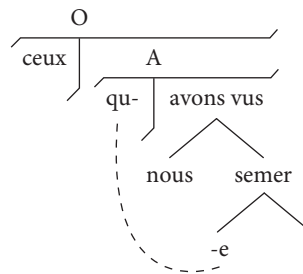
Stemma 349



Stemma 350



Stemma 351



Stemma 352

300. Brunot, *Ibid.*, p. 526.

§23 These subtleties, to which one formerly attached great importance, are no longer of interest to anyone, not even to grammarians, who have recognized the futility in the area and who are therefore the first to recommend a measure of tolerance concerning such matters.

§24 The distinction exists only in writing and is even absent from the spoken language of educated people. They can say without turning a hair: *la lettre que j'ai écrit* 'the letter that I wrote' rather than *la lettre que j'ai écrite*.<sup>301</sup> The rule has died due to the complexities. These complexities have effectively brought the anterior participle in French to the same status of invariability as in Provincial, Spanish, Portuguese, and Romanian.

## Chapter 254. I >> E transfer

§1 For this type of transfer, an independent clause is transferred to a circumstant on the verb of another clause that is independent and thus becomes its governor. Conversely, the transferred clause becomes a subordinate of this governing clause, and since it plays the role of a circumstant, we retain for it the traditional designation **circumstantial clause**.

§2 Since a circumstant is normally an adverb, the subordinate circumstantial clause will be the equivalent of an adverb in the governing clause. Hence if it occurs that you arrived yesterday, the sentence *I received you when you arrived* is the equivalent of *I received you yesterday*.

§3 This is why in one language or another, it can occur that the circumstantial clause (I >> E) is equivalent to a noun transferred to an adverb by first-degree transfer (I > E): Ger. *Als sie am nächsten Morgen aufgestanden war, sah sie den Schreiber auf dem Platz*, 'When she got up the next morning, she saw the clerk in the square' (I >> E) ↔ Fr. *Le lendemain, à son réveil, elle aperçut le clerc sur la place*, lit. 'The next morning, at her waking, she saw the clerk in the square' (I > E).<sup>302</sup>

§4 The translative is hence the conjunction of subordination *when*, without which the subordinate clause would be independent. It is the translative *when* that transfers the independent clause *you arrived* to the circumstantial subordinate clause *when you arrived*.

§5 In French, transfer of the sort I >> E can be realized by unique translatives of the sort *quand* (*quand vous voudrez* 'when you want'), *où* (*où vous voudrez* 'where you want'), *comme* (*comme vous voudrez* 'as you want'), *si* (*si vous voulez* 'if you want'). But these simple translatives are rare.

301. Gougenheim, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 1944, II, p. 104.

302. Malblanc, *Pour une stylistique comparée du français et de l'allemand*, Paris, 1963, §147.

§6 This is however the case when the affirmative sentence word (Fr. *oui* 'yes') or the negative sentence word (Fr. *non* 'no') is transferred to a conditional clause by way of the translative *si*: Fr. *Pouvez-vous venir me voir demain? Si oui, je vous attendrai à neuf heures. Sinon, je disposerai de ma journée* 'Can you come see me tomorrow? If yes, I will expect you at nine. If not, I will change my day'.

§7 This also occurs when a sentence word is the governor of a subordinate noun: Fr. *J'évite cet homme, non que je le craigne, mais...* 'I avoid this man, not because I fear him, but...'; lit. '..., **no that** I fear him, but...' (cf. below Chapter 256, §14).

§8 But most often, French replaces the simple translative (I >> E) with double transfer realized by way of the double translative composed of two translative parts: *alors que* 'while', *depuis que* 'since', *tandis que* 'whereas', *pendant que* 'while', *cependant que* 'whereas', *avant que* 'before', *après que* 'after', *dès que* 'as soon as', *pour que* 'in order that', *bien que* 'although'.

§9 The first translative, which is the last to appear on the spoken chain (cf. Chapter 209, §14) is invariably the same *que* 'that'. Yet this translative is that of the second-degree transfer I >> O.

§10 Hence the independent source clause is first transferred to a noun.

§11 Concerning the second translative (which is the first on the spoken chain), it is different for each transfer, and it is usually a translative of ordinary first degree, that is, a preposition: Fr. *depuis* 'since', *avant* 'before', *après* 'after', *dès* 'from', *pour* 'for'.

§12 Thus the noun O, which is the target of the first transfer of second degree (I >> O), is itself transferred to an adverb by first-degree transfer (O > E). There is hence a retransfer and the double transfer is of the sort I >> O > E.

§13 Indeed, take the independent clause *Vous arriverez* 'You will arrive': if it is transferred to a noun by second-degree transfer using the translative *que* (*J'espère | que vous arriverez* 'I hope | that you will arrive', like, *J'espère la réussite* 'I desire success', cf. Chapter 241, §15), it is entirely natural that the noun can in turn be transferred to an adverb by first-degree transfer using a translative of first degree: *J'irai vous voir dès | que vous arriverez* 'I will come see you as soon as you arrive', as *J'irai vous voir dès | votre arrivée* 'I will come see you upon your arrival'.

§14 This process, which permits the replacement of simple second-degree transfer I >> E with double second-degree transfer I >> O > E, is quite widespread in French. It is also found in several foreign languages.

§15 In the case of double transfer of the sort I >> O > E, the subordinate noun is frequently prefigured by an antecedent that takes it up and announces it (cf. Chapter 240, §2). In French, this antecedent is often a demonstrative neuter pronoun *ce* 'that': *Attends, jusqu'à ce que je revienne* 'Wait until I return'.

§16 It can occur that the antecedent is agglutinated to the second translative (the one that comes first on the spoken chain in French) and this agglutination is registered in

orthography: Fr. *Je l'aime, parce que c'est un honnête homme* 'I love him because he is an honest man' [literally *par ce que* is 'by that that'].

§17 The same situation is present in Russian: *Ja ego ljublju, potomu čto on čestnyj čelovek* (same meaning), cf. also Rus. *c tem čtoby* 'in order to'.

§18 Often the antecedent can be a noun that stands in a relation with the meaning of the subordinate that it announces: *de sorte que* 'in such a way that', lit. 'of sort that', *à condition que* 'under the condition that', *à moins que* 'unless'; with agglutination: *afin que* 'in order that' [lit. *à fin de* 'to end that'].

§19 In the case of junction between the transfers obtained by this process, it suffices to repeat the first translative *que*, and it is useless to repeat the second, that is, the preposition: *J'irai vous voir dès que vous arriverez, que vous aurez une chambre à l'hôtel et que vous y serez bien installé* 'I will come see you as soon as you arrive, as you get a room in the hotel and as you get comfortable there', like with *J'espère que vous arriverez, que vous aurez un chambre à l'hôtel et que vous y serez bien installé* 'I hope that you arrive, that you get a hotel room, and that you get comfortable there'.

§20 This tendency for double transfer (I >> O > E) is so essential to French that French speakers indirectly have the same sense with the simple translatives of the sort I >> E.

§21 Hence in the case of junction, these translatives, although they are simple, are treated as if they were double, and they are not completely repeated, but rather they appear only in the form of the translative for I >> O, which is *que*. Thus one will have, using the simple translative *quand*, the sentence: *J'irai vous voir quand vous arriverez, que vous aurez une chambre à l'hôtel et que vous y serez bien installé* 'I will come visit you when you arrive, (that) you get a room in the hotel, and (that) you get comfortable there'.

§22 With the simple translative *si*, one even has a change in mood: *J'irai vous voir si vous arrivez, que vous ayez une chambre à l'hôtel et que vous y soyez bien installé* 'I will come see you if you arrive, (that) you get a room in the hotel, and (that) you get comfortable'.

## Chapter 255. Circumstantials of time and place

§1 We have seen (cf. below Chapter 37, see in particular the table in §52) that the adverb category contains a certain number of subcategories: locality (temporal adverbs, locative adverbs), relations (adverbs of goal, cause, and manner).

§2 We will find the same subcategories in circumstantial clauses: temporal circumstantials, locative circumstantials, circumstantials of goal or finality, circumstantials of cause or causal clauses, circumstantials of manner).

§3 In temporal circumstantial clauses, many languages distinguish between subcategories of aspect, secution, and time.

§4 **Aspect** is the category of the degree of achievement of a process, and therefore of the duration of its different stages.

§5 **Terminative** aspect is the category of action that, after having lasted a certain time, stops in order to give way to another action or to the absence of action: Fr. *Attends, jusqu'à ce que je revienne* 'Wait, until I arrive.' The wait lasts a certain time and then ceases when the awaited person arrives.

§6 While French uses double transfer here (I >> O > E), Latin employs simple transfer I >> E, the marker of which is the translative *dum*: *Expecta, dum redeam* 'Wait until I return.' One has, with a mild nuance in aspect, Lat. *Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos* 'As soon as you are happy, you will count many friends' (Ovid). Your friends will disappear from that day on when you are no longer happy.

§7 Conversely, **inchoative** aspect is such that the action starts after another action or after the absence of an action and then lasts for an indefinite period of time: *Depuis que vous êtes arrivé, il fait beau* 'Since you arrived, the weather has been nice.' Nice weather is only envisioned from that moment forward starting with the arrival of the person at hand.

§8 Finally, **imperfective** or **durative** aspect combines the two preceding types of aspect in the envisioned action: the action is viewed as having lasted a while when another action intervenes and as lasting for an indefinite period of time after this other action: *Veillez m'attendre deux minutes, dans la cuisine, pendant que je vais faire une course* 'Would you wait two minutes for me, in the kitchen, while I am going to get something from the store.' The stay in the kitchen begins before the way to the store and it continues after it. Similarly, *Alfred lisait tandis que j'écrivais* 'Alfred read while I wrote.'

§9 In contrast to aspect, **secution** is the category of **relative time**, that is, of time dated relative to another time. Secution can hence be concomitant, posterior, or anterior.

§10 **Concomitant** secution is frequent in most languages, where it is marked by a translative. Often the translative is preposed:

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<b>French</b>	<i>quand</i>	<i>Quand le moment viendra d'aller trouver les morts, J'aurai vécu sans soins, et mourrai sans remords.</i> 'When the moment comes to go and see the dead persons, I will have lived without concern and will die without remorse.' (La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , XI, 4, <i>Le songe d'un habitant du Mogol</i> ) <i>Vous le verrez quand il viendra.</i> 'You will see him when he comes.'
<b>Italian</b>	<i>quando</i>	<i>Lo vedrete quando verrà.</i> 'You will see him when he comes.'
<b>Latin</b>	<i>quando</i>	<i>Eum videbis, quando venit.</i> 'You will see him when he comes.' And the indicative: <i>Cum eum videbis, cum veniet.</i>

Greek	<i>hote</i>	<i>Autòn ópsei hóte héxei.</i> 'You will see him when he comes.'
German	<i>wenn,</i> <i>als</i>	<i>Sie werden ihn sehen, wenn er kommt.</i> 'You will see him when he comes.'  Past semelfactive: <i>Als er kam, war er schon krank.</i> 'When he came, he was already sick.'
English	<i>when</i>	<i>You will see him when he comes.</i>
Russian	<i>kogda</i>	<i>Vy ego uvidíte, kogda on pridët.</i> 'You will see him when he comes.'
Romani	<i>koma</i>	<i>koma marel o manus</i> 'when the man dies'
Arabic	<i>lámamā</i>	<i>lámamā balaġat min al-'umri'ašar<sup>a</sup> sinin</i> 'when she reached the age of 10 years'
Hungarian	<i>mikor</i>	<i>Mindnyájan aludtunk, mikor a tűz kiütött</i> 'We were all sleeping when the fire went out.'
Subiya	<i>ha</i>	<i>ha ba i bona</i> 'when they saw him'
Samoan	<i>à</i>	<i>'a se tasata 'ua fela 'ula'i</i> 'when a man makes proof of duplicity'

§11 One can acknowledge the possibility of an equivalency across languages concerning second-degree transfer of a verb to a temporal adverb (I >> E) with double transfer of first degree (I > A > E), with only the instance of I > A being marked: Ger. *Als ich in Paris war, machte ich die Bekanntschaft...*<sup>303</sup> 'When I was in Paris, I got to know...' ↔ Fr. *Etant à Paris, je fis la connaissance de...* 'Being in Paris, I got to know...'; Ger. *Als er wieder zu ihnen kam, wurde er wie ein Prinz verhätschelt* 'When he returned to them, he was spoiled like a Prince' ↔ Fr. *Rentré chez eux, il fut gaté comme un prince*, lit 'Returned to them, he was spoiled like a Prince.'

§12 In other languages, translatives are postposed:

Eskimo	<i>me</i>	<i>kimek sinika-me</i> 'when the dog was sleeping'
Turkish	<i>zaman</i>	<i>arkadaşını gördünü zaman</i> 'when he saw his companions'
Chuvash	<i>te</i>	<i>puneke kene te</i> 'when they went into the room'

§13 Posterior secution expresses an action that occurs after another action: Fr. *On cherche ce qu'il dit après qu'il a parlé* 'One is looking for what he says after he has spoken' (Molière,

303. Malblanc, *Pour une stylistique comparée du français et de l'allemand*, Paris, 1963, §147.

*Les Femmes savantes*, II, 7). In other words, Trissotin is so over-subtle that people are still wondering what he wanted to say after he finished speaking. The sense that one is seeking in vain occurs after his speaking.

§14 Posterior secution is marked in many languages by a translative:

English	<i>after</i>	<i>after he had died</i>
German	<i>nachdem</i>	<i>nachdem er gestorben war</i> 'after he had died'

§15 Conversely, **anterior** secution expresses an action that occurs before another: Fr. *Avant que le coq chante, tu me renieras trois fois* 'Before the rooster crows, you will have renounced me three times' (Matthew, XXVI, 34 and 75). The time of disavowal by Saint Peter is dated in relation to the crowing of a rooster, which it precedes.

§16 Like posterior secution, anterior secution is marked in most languages by a translative.

Greek	<i>prín</i>	<i>Ou próteron epaúsanto prín pántas apékteinan.</i> 'They will not cease before he has killed everyone.'
Latin	<i>antequam</i> or <i>priusquam</i>	<i>Tempestas minatur, antequam surgat.</i> 'The storm is threatening before she arises.'
English	<i>before</i>	<i>You must read this book before your father returns.</i>
German	<i>bevor</i>	<i>Sie müssen dieses Buch lesen, bevor ihr Vater zurückkommt.</i> 'They must read this book before their father returns.'

§17 In Latin, the translative *priusquam* 'before' contains two elements that do not necessarily form a single word and can well be separated from each other on the spoken chain: Lat. *Prius periere quam quod petierant contingerent* 'They died before having obtained the object of their desire' (Phaedrus, I, 20, 5–6).

§18 Posterior secution and anterior secution are expressed in French by double translatives (I >> O > E). The translative of second degree (I >> O) is the input to transfer of first degree (O > E). The marker of second-degree transfer (I >> O) is the translative *que*, and that of first-degree transfer (O > E) is a clause, *après* 'after' or *avant* 'before' according to the context.

§19 In French, first-degree transfer is not marked when one is dealing with anterior secution:

<i>Il m'a dit qu'il ne faut jamais Vendre la peau de l'ours qu'on ne l'ait mis par terre.</i>	lit. 'He said to me that one should never Sell the pelt of a bear that one has not yet taken it down,' that is '...count one's chickens before they are hatched.'
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(La Fontaine, *Fables*, V, 20, *L'ours et les deux compagnons*)

§20 Circumstantial clauses in French are in general marked by a temporal adverb doubled from the translative *que*: *Maintenant que l'hiver est terminé, nous allons avoir beau temps* 'Now that winter is over, we are going to have nice weather', *Aujourd'hui qu'il fait beau, nous allons pouvoir aller nous promener* 'Today since it is nice, we are going to be able to take a walk'.

§21 The temporal adverb can be the result of transfer from a noun (O > E): Fr. *Les choses commencèrent un après-midi de grand soleil qu'Honoré fauchait sur la plaine* 'The matter began one sunny afternoon as Honoré was scything in the fields' (Marcel Aymé, *La jument verte*, p. 41).

§22 Concerning expressions like the preceding ones, other languages place the translative on the spoken chain before the noun that has been transferred to an adverb: Ger. *als er eines Abends uns besuchte* 'when he visited us one evening' Fr. *un soir qu'il nous rendait visite*, lit. 'one evening that he visited us'.

§23 Temporal adverbs of every subcategory are susceptible to being doubled in this way in French using the translative *que*: *Je m'y perdrais là-dedans, même avec une boussole, s'écrie Lucienne. Déjà que je n'ai pas le sens de l'orientation* 'I would get lost in there, even with a compass, exclaims Lucienne. What's more I don't already have a sense of orientation', lit. '... Already that I don't have a sense of orientation' (Achard, *Vers un monde nouveau*, p. 172); *depuis ce matin que nous sommes ici* 'since the morning that we have been here'.

§24 Concerning locative circumstantials, they are less common than temporal clauses.

French	<i>où</i>	<i>Restez où vous êtes.</i>	
Latin	<i>ubi</i>	<i>Mani ubi es.</i>	
Greek	<i>ohú</i>	<i>Méne ou eí.</i>	'Stay where you are.'
German	<i>wo</i>	<i>Bleibe, wo du bist.</i>	
English	<i>where</i>	<i>Stay where you are.</i>	

§25 In many languages, locative translatives can serve to introduce a temporal clause: Lat. *Haec ubi dixit, profectus est* 'After he said that, he departed', lit. 'Where he said that, ...'. In Latin, the locative translative can also serve to introduce an actantial clause. Hence in the following verses of Propertius, the causal clause forming the protasis is picked up again by *hinc* 'from there' in the governing apodosis clause, *hinc* expressing the meaning 'that is why':

*Seu, quia victa suis umeris haec arma ferebant,*  
*Hinc Feretri dicta est ara superba Iovis.*  
 (Propertius, *Elegies*, IV – 10 end)

'Or as the victors carried these arms on their shoulders, that is why one has given the name of Feretrius to the Jupiter of this superb sanctuary'

*Ego omnibus unde (= a quibus) petitur*  
*hoc consilii dederim*  
 (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, VII, II, 1)

'For me, I would permit myself to give consultation to all those from whom one demands justice' (that is, those who are prosecuted)'

§26 In French, the use of the locative translative is obligatory for temporal circumstantials if the temporal idea is expressed by an antecedent that is an adverb or a word transferred to an adverb: *Vous viendrez quand je vous le dirai* ‘You will come **when** I tell you to’, but *Vous viendrez le jour où je vous le dirai* ‘You will come on the day that I tell you’, lit. ‘You will come **on the day where** I tell you’.

§27 This permutation of categories presupposes that they are sensed as having a certain degree of abstraction. It is therefore natural that the permutation is hardly present in the languages that tend to be concrete, as for example in German and Russian, which are as reluctant to employ it as French is willing to use it: Ger. *der Tag als Sie gekommen sind* ‘the day **when** you came’ Fr. *le jour où vous êtes venu*, lit. ‘the day **where** you came’).

## Chapter 256. Causal clauses

§1 Just as we have acknowledged relational adverbs (cf. Chapter 37, §52 and below Chapter 255, §1), we will be led to discern various types of **relational circumstantial clauses** among circumstantial clauses in general.

§2 We will discern between causal clauses that are transferred to a causal adverb, final clauses that are transferred to a goal adverb, and modal clauses that are transferred to a manner adverb.

§3 In French, the most common translative that transfers an independent clause to a causal subordinate clause is *parce que* ‘because’: *Si l’on me presse de dire pourquoi je l’aimais, je sens que cela ne se peut exprimer qu’en répondant «Parce que c’était lui, parce que c’était moi»* ‘If one presses me to say why I loved him, I think that the answer can be given only with the response “Because it was him, because it was me”’ (Montaigne).

§4 It often occurs in French that a speaker seeking brevity is content to express the translative *parce que* without expressing the transferred clause. One guesses the weakly conclusive value of the causal clause, which is basically merely a disguised affirmation: *Mais comment se fait-il que tout le monde dise que c’est toi qui l’as guéri?... – Parce que. Pour une raison que je t’expliquerai plus tard et qui d’ailleurs n’a pas d’intérêt* ‘But how did he arrange it that everyone says that it is you who cured him?... – **Because**. For a reason that I will explain to you later and that is moreover not of interest’ (Jean Martet, *La partie de boules*, IV, p. 103).

§5 One sees that French does not proceed directly to simple transfer (I >> E) (cf. Chapter 254, §5), but rather it reaches to triple transfer (I >> A > O > E), since it uses the translative *parce que*, lit. ‘by that that’ (cf. Chapter 270, §10). The same obtains in Russian, where the translative is *potomy što* (cf. Chapter 254, §17).

§6 In Greek the translative of second-degree transfer is not expressed, since the conjunction has the form *dió(per)*. One observes the same thing in colloquial Russian: *Ja ego ljublju potomu on čestnyj čelovek* ‘I love him **because** he is an honest man’.

§7 The same situation obtains in English, where the antecedent is even a different noun (cf. Chapter 254, §17) to which the preposition that serves as the primary translative is agglutinated. The result is the translative *because*, a single word: *He could not come, because he was ill.*

§8 In Italian, the secondary translative *che* ‘that’ is expressed, but the antecedent is not, so that it is directly preceded by the primary translative *per* ‘for’. The two together are then written as the one word *perché*: *Ti parlo così, perché ti voglio bene* ‘I speak with you like this because I care about you’.

§9 It is probably due to Italian that one uses the translative *pourquoi* in regional French of the Midi, which in correct French gives the causal subordinate the appearance of the nuclear interrogative *pourquoi* ‘why’. It is, however, intended to be the response to this interrogative: *Je me repose, pourquoi je suis fatigué* ‘I am resting because I am tired’.

§10 The same expression is heard in German from people who speak Yiddish; they employ the interrogative *warum* ‘why’ as a translative when they say *Ich ruhe aus, warum ich bin müde* ‘I am resting because I am tired’.

§11 Finally, it frequently occurs in Italian that the secondary translative *che* ‘that’ is expressed alone: *Sbrigati, che ho fretta* ‘Hurry up because I’m in a hurry’.

§12 The influence of Italian is probably responsible for this in regional French of the Midi.<sup>304</sup> The proper causal translative is reduced down to its proper translative element, so that the transferred antecedent *parce* is not expressed. One commonly hears sentences in the Midi of France such as *Ne vous penchez pas, qu’il y a des voitures* ‘Don’t lean forward because there are cars’, lit. ‘...that there are cars’.

§13 In contrast, many languages use simple transfer with a unique translative to express causal clauses:

Latin	<i>quod</i> or <i>quia</i>	<i>Laudaris, quod bonus es.</i> ‘You are praised because you are good.’ <i>Ego primam tollo, quia nominor leo.</i> ‘I’m taking the first, because I call myself lion.’
German	<i>weil</i>	<i>Ich kann dich nicht begleiten, weil ich hier bleiben muss.</i> ‘I cannot accompany you because I must stay here.’
Hungarian	<i>mert</i>	<i>Nem utazhatom el, mert beteg vagyok.</i> ‘I cannot depart because I am sick.’

§14 In French – but this time in proper French – the causal translative *parce que* is reduced to a translative that is, properly stated, just *que* when it comes after a negative sentence

304. First editors’ note: It is certainly the substratum of Occitan that leads speakers from the South of France to such syntactic expressions. The translative *que* ‘that’ commonly has causal value in Occitan: *Es anat se passejà que fasiè beu* ‘He has gone for a walk because the weather was nice’. The same is true of *pourquoi* in §9, which translates *perchè* ‘because’.

word: *J'évite cet homme, non que je le craigne, mais...* 'I avoid that man, **not that (because)** I fear him, but...'

§15 The causal translative is also reduced to the conjunction *que* when there is disjunctive junction expressed by the junctive *soit*:

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*Un jour, soit que les tremblements de terre...  
eussent rompu la digue en un endroit, soit  
qu'une veine de rocher plus molle que les  
autres eût donné passage au courant, toute  
la masse liquide s'était jetée hors de son lit*

'One day **either because** the earthquakes...  
had broken the wall in one spot, **or because** a  
vein of rock softer than the others had given  
passage to the stream, the entire liquid mass  
had been ejected out of its bed'

(E. About, *Le roi des Montagnes*, IV)

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§16 In all the preceding examples, only the form of the translative for the causal clause varies, while the nature of the causal circumstance remains the same.

§17 We are going to now see some types of causal subordinate clauses that present a variety of meanings in comparison to the typical causal clause that we have examined above and that therefore are semantic variants of it.

§18 Whereas a purely causal circumstantial clause puts emphasis on the circumstance of the cause that **explains** the process expressed by the governing clause, a **consecutive causal** clause gives the impression at the same time that this causal circumstance **entails** this process as a consequence and that this circumstance is therefore expected. For this reason, the consecutive causal clause tends to precede its governing clause.

§19 In French, the translative of a causal consecutive clause is *comme* 'as': *Comme je m'ennuyais, je suis sorti* 'As I was bored, I left'. French also appeals to fixed conjunctive expressions to express the causal consecutive clause, for instance *vu que* 'seeing that', lit. 'seen that', *attendu que* 'considering that', lit. 'expected that', *étant donné que* '(being) given that':

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*J'eus un maître autrefois que je regrette fort  
Et que je ne sers plus, attendu qu'il est mort.*

'I once had a teacher who I miss strongly  
And who I no longer serve, **considering**  
**that** he has died.'

(Destouches)

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§20 In Latin the translative of a causal consecutive clause is the conjunction *cum* accompanied by the subjunctive: *Cum id cupias, proficiscar* 'As you desire it, I will depart'.

§21 The translative of the causal consecutive clause is preposed in a number of languages:

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Greek	<i>hōs</i>	<i>Hōs boulei ápeimi.</i> 'As you desire it, I will leave.'
German	<i>da</i>	<i>Da du es wünschest, werde ich fortgehen.</i> 'As you desire it, I will leave.'

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Hungarian	<i>mivel</i>	<i>Mivel engedetlen voltál, megbüntettelek.</i> 'As you were disobeying, I punished you'
Chinese	<i>yīn wei</i>	<i>yīn wei jiā lí dōng xī méi sòng</i> 'as the head of the family had not yet sent his party gift'

§22 Finally, in the **coercive causal** clause, the cause is not only given as leading to the result expressed by the governing clause, but the governing clause is understood as being the unavoidable consequence of the coercive causal clause:

French	<i>puisque</i>	<i>Puisque tu le desires, je partirai.</i> 'Since you want me to, I will leave.'
Latin	<i>quoniam</i>	<i>Quoniam id cupis, proficiscar.</i> 'Since you want me to, I will leave.'

The Latin translative *quoniam* 'since' clearly expresses what one wants to say, since it arises etymologically from agglutination of the two words *cum* 'as' and *iam* 'already', the first word of which is the causal consecutive translative and the second word of which expresses the logical rigor that differentiates the coercive meaning from the causal consecutive meaning.

## Chapter 257. Conditional sentences

§1 If the cause expressed in a causal clause is given as a condition without which the process expressed by the governor will not be realized, the subordinate is said to be conditional.

§2 In the sentence *Alfred ira se promener parce qu'il fait beau* 'Alfred is going for a walk because the weather is nice', the subordinate clause says only that the nice weather is the cause of the walk. The reality of this cause is not in question, which means the subordinate is simply **causal**.

§3 In the sentence *Alfred ira se promener s'il fait beau* 'Alfred will go for a walk if the weather is nice', in contrast, while it is true that the cause of the walk is also the nice weather, the reality of this cause is put in question. Alfred does not know whether it will come to pass, whether the weather will be nice or not. In the affirmative, he will go for a walk, but he will not in the negative. The cause that explains the walk is hence a condition and the subordinate is **conditional**.

§4 Joseph Wilbois has unified these two notions, cause and condition, in the following analysis:

"The causal word bears two different ideas, a proper cause and a simple condition. The proper cause is the one that contains the totality of the effect: hence the collision is what breaks the glass, the cold is the cause that freezes water, etc. The condition is merely the impetus that unleashes the true cause: a piano is the precondition for

listening to the pianist and war is the precondition for the emergence of a general, whereas neither the piano nor the war was the cause of the artist's talent or of the superior's attention. To produce the effect, the cause is sufficient, whereas the condition is merely necessary."<sup>305</sup>

§5 According to Wilbois, the cause is hence something more than the condition. He expresses the point as a logician. In grammar, matters are much different. The simplest grammatical concept is that of cause, and due to this concept, one can conceive of the concept of condition. In comparison to the mere cause, a condition is a restriction, that is, it is a complication because it contains an additional notion. The same is found in mathematics, where  $12 - 6$  is a smaller but more complex numeral notion than 12.

§6 Therefore in most languages, the conditional sentence in general is a matter of greater complexity and uses more complex means of expression than the mere causal clause.

§7 The notion of conditional clause is hence essentially a syntactic concept, since the conceived content determines the choice of the means of expression, that is, the morphological markers that express the content.

§8 The conditional is hence not a morphological notion, and it is due to an unfortunate abuse – the fallacious notion that mood is involved – that one employs the term to designate a group of two temporal paradigms in French.

§9 These temporal paradigms, which are grouped together incorrectly under the banner of conditional mood, are in reality a posterior past (past future) and an anterior posterior past (future anterior past) of the indicative mood: *Alfred pensait qu'il ferait beau* 'Alfred thought that it would be nice', *Alfred pensait qu'il aurait fait beau* 'Alfred thought that would have been nice'.

§10 These paradigms of the indicative sometimes (but not always) serve to mark the governing clause of a hypothetical conditional clause (cf. Chapter 259). But in principle, they never serve to express a proper conditional clause.

§11 One cannot emphasize enough that there is no **conditional mood** in French and how much difficulty the false notion of this alleged mood has caused for the sound grammatical conception of French. Moreover, the limits of use of this form do not agree with the expression of a condition, since it only exceptionally expresses a condition and is commonly used rather to express something quite different.

§12 The notion of conditional mood is particularly pernicious for foreigners (cf. Chapter 259, §13) because it blocks them completely from recognizing the real structure of the temporal system in French and the fine architecture of this system.<sup>306</sup>

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305. Wilbois, *Devoir et durée* 'Duty and duration', Paris, Alcan 1912.

306. Cf. Lucien Tesnière, *L'emploi des temps en français*, *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, Strasbourg, 1927, special issue, pp. 39ff.

§13 The abusive use of the term *conditional* in morphology is merely one example among a hundred others of this pilfered and nefarious terminology by which morphology has slowly produced a nomenclature that deprives syntax of the terminology that legitimately belongs to syntax and that enriches morphology to the detriment of syntax (cf. Chapter 15, §11; Chapter 51, §10, note 75; Chapter 97, §4, note 134).

§14 But while French does not have the **conditional mood** (a morphological notion), this fact does not mean that it does not have **conditional sentences** (a syntactic notion)

§15 We say “conditional sentence” and not “conditional clause” because one is not dealing with a clause, but rather with a sentence that is constituted of clauses that are at least two in number. One of these clauses alone expresses the condition, whereas the other is content to be subjected to the first.

§16 Yet most grammarians are content to describe the particularities of the conditional sentence without taking the precaution to make it clear which of the two clauses they are designating.

§17 The erroneous ambiguity makes it difficult to follow the majority of exposés on the grammar of conditional sentences. Hence foreigners generally do not find clarity in the French grammars they have in their hands, this clarity being so necessary for shedding light on such a delicate area.

§18 Take for example the sentence *S'il faisait beau, j'irais me promener* ‘If the weather was nice, I **would go** for a walk’. How can learners know that it is the first clause (in the indicative) that expresses the condition if the grammars do not produce a precise description of the clauses, while the second clause, which does not express a condition, contains the so-called conditional mood.

§19 It is hence appropriate to carefully designate the two clauses that the conditional sentence contains. It is advantageous to reach to the two terms used by classical rhetoric for the study of periods in general: **protasis** and **apodosis** (cf. Chapter 274, §6ff.).

§20 In the example cited above, *s'il faisait beau* ‘if the weather was nice’ is the protasis and *j'irais me promener* ‘I would go for a walk’ is the apodosis.

§21 The subordinate clause constitutes the protasis, whereas the governing clause constitutes the apodosis.

§22 With this terminology established, it is easy to make it clear that the condition is expressed by the protasis (the subordinate clause), whereas the apodosis (the governing clause) contains the mood that is incorrectly called conditional, incorrect because it does not actually express any condition.

§23 We will also call the first of the clauses (the protasis, the subordinate clause) the **conditioning clause**, because it presents the condition, and the second (the apodosis, the governing clause) the **conditioned clause**, because it supports the condition. Concerning the generic term **conditional**, which has the defect of failing to make it precise whether the

condition is super- or subordinate, we will reserve it for sentences or periods constituting the entirety of the conditioning and the conditioned clauses.

§24 With this essential point of terminology now established, it becomes possible for us to examine the markers of each of the clauses. We now have some ability to express our observations in a comprehensible way.

## Chapter 258. The conditioning clause

§1 The conditioning clause is a circumstantial subordinate; the circumstance is a condition. In the sentence *S'il fait beau, j'irai me promener* 'If the weather is nice, I will go for a walk', the clause *s'il fait beau* is a conditioning clause.

§2 The conditioning clause is usually a complete clause, but it can also be represented by a sentence word: *si oui, sinon* 'if yes, if no (if not)'. Hence the sentence word is transferred to an adverb of condition and the symbol of transfer is the following:  $\text{?}$  (cf. Chapter 45, §19) >> E.

§3 The subordinate conditioning clause is usually a protasis, the apodosis of which is a conditioned clause: *S'il fait beau* (protasis), *j'irai me promener* (apodosis) 'If the weather is nice, I will go or a walk'.

§4 The verb of the conditioning clause is usually in the indicative mood.

§5 Concerning the possible tense and secution of this verb, the two are only limited by the meaning, which demands that, due to the condition that they express, the protasis cannot be ordered in time after the apodosis, since the condition by definition cannot occur after the consequence that it entails.

§6 Hence if the condition is in the future, nothing prevents the conditioning clause from being in the present: *Si vous êtes d'accord* (present), *j'irai vous voir demain* (future) 'If you agree, I will come see you tomorrow'.

§7 Nothing prevents the conditioning clause and the conditioned clause from being in the same grammatical tense, provided that this tense allows for a chronological subdivision that orders conditioning time before conditioned time. Fr. *S'il fait beau cet après midi* (future meaning), *j'irai me promener* (future, posterior to the precedent future) 'If the weather is nice this afternoon, I will go for a walk'; *Si vous connaissez la question* (present), *vous devez comprendre combien elle est délicate* (present, posterior to the precedent present) 'If you know the question, you have to understand how delicate it is'.

§8 But it is evident that in a sentence such as *S'il fait beau demain, je vais me promener aujourd'hui* 'If the weather is nice tomorrow, I am going to go for a walk today', the tense of the conditioning clause (future meaning) is posterior to that of the conditioned clause (present tense) is impossible, because the idea that it expresses is illogical, absurd, and partially inconceivable.

§9 What is true of tense applies more strongly to secution, which means that the time of the conditioning clause must not be posterior to the time of the conditioned clause.

§10 It is therefore possible to say *Si vous avez lu cette lettre* (anterior present), *vous savez de quoi il est question* (present) ‘If you **have** read this letter, you **know** what it is about’ or even *Si vous avez visité Paris* (anterior present), *vous avez certainement vu la Tour Eiffel* (also anterior present, but posterior to the precedent) ‘If you **have visited** Paris, you certainly **have seen** the Eiffel Tower.

§11 In contrast, it is impossible to say *Si vous êtes d'accord* (present), *vous êtes venu me voir hier* (anterior present) ‘If you **agree**, you **have come** to see me yesterday,’ which would be absurd and contrary to common sense.

§12 When the expressed process occurs in the future in French, it is expressed by the verbal form of the present: *S'il fait beau cet après-midi, j'irai me promener* ‘If the weather is nice this afternoon, I **will go** for a walk.’

§13 The same holds in English and German: Eng. *If the weather is nice this afternoon, I shall have a walk*, Ger. *Wenn das Wetter heute nachmittag schön ist, werde ich spazieren gehen* (same meaning).

§14 The temporal form of the future does not generally appear in the conditioned clause. One sometimes has to allow for an exception to this rule, however, an exception that occurs very rarely. This exception appears when the marker *si* ‘if’ does not mark a condition which is by definition uncertain, but rather it signifies ‘if it is true that’ or ‘if it occurs that’ and thus expresses a reality: *Ne vous étonnez pas, dit-il, si pendant le souper Trüchen quittera souvent la table* ‘Do not be surprised, he said, if during dinner Trüchen **will leave** the table often’ (A. Dumas, *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*, p. 2762, *La campagne de Planchet*).

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*Le Reich est ainsi entré dans le jeu...  
Si la situation international n'en sera  
pas améliorée, on peut du moins espérer  
que la solidarité franco-britannique...  
s'en trouvera finalement raffermie*

‘The Reich has thus entered into  
the equation...If the international  
situation **will not be ameliorated**, one can  
at least hope that Franco-British  
solidarity...will finally be reaffirmed’

(*Dernières Nouvelles de Strasbourg*, 12-I-1936).

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§15 Outside of French and the Germanic languages, most languages allow the future to appear in the conditioning clause: Lat. *Id persequar, si potero* ‘I will do it, if I can’, lit. ‘...if I **will be able**’ (Cicero, *De re publica*), It. *Se farà bello, uscirò* ‘If it **will be** nice, I will go out’, Rus. *Esli u vas vremja budet, to pridite zavtra ko mne* ‘If you will have the time, come see me tomorrow’.

§16 In most European languages, the marker of the conditioning clause is a preposed translative:

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French	<i>si</i>	<i>Si vous êtes d'accord, nous pouvons aller nous promener.</i> 'If you agree, we can go for a walk.'
Italian	<i>se</i>	<i>Se non è vero, è bene trovato.</i> 'If it is not true, it is well found.'
Latin	<i>si</i>	<i>Si vis pacem, para bellum.</i> 'If you want peace, prepare for war.'
Greek	<i>ei</i>	<i>Ei tò déon práxeis díkaia akoúsei</i> 'If you do what you must, you will be called just.'
English	<i>if</i>	<i>If you don't care to go, we can stay.</i>
German	<i>wenn</i>	<i>Wenn Sie wollen, können wir spazieren gehen.</i> 'If you want, we can go for a walk.'
Russian	<i>esli</i>	<i>Esli èta kniga vam nraivsja, to možete èè èitat'.</i> 'If you like this book, you can read it.'

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§17 But in languages with **postpositions** such as Turkish, the marker of the conditioning clause is a postposed translative, for example *-sa* in Turkish: *On ikiden dört çıkarsa kaç kalır?* 'If one takes away four of twelve, how many remain?'

§18 In certain languages, the transfer of the independent clause to a subordinate conditioning clause can be marked by the position of the first actant; it appears after the verb: Ger. *Soll ich mit dir das Zimmer teilen, Pudel, so lass das Heulen* 'Am I to share the room with you, poodle, stop howling' (Goethe, *Faust*, I, 3rd part)

§19 The same construction is not unknown in French:

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*Avait-il envie de dormir dans le jour,  
il se secouait pour se réveiller, afin  
de mieux dormir la nuit suivante.  
Avait-il peur, il chantait pour donner  
peur à ceux qui la lui avaient donnée.  
Avait-il envie de s'amuser, il retardait  
jusqu'à ce qu'il eût fini son travail...*

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**Had he wanted to sleep in the day,**  
he would have made an effort to get up,  
in order to sleep better the next night.  
**Had he been afraid,** he would have sung  
to frighten those who had caused him fear.  
**Had he wanted to amuse himself,** he would  
have waited until his work was finished...

(George Sand, *Gribouille*, p. 4)

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§20 One is evidently dealing with what was originally an interrogative marker. This marker has become a marker of transfer indicating a subordinate conditioning clause. A similar evolution certainly caused the verb *est* 'be' in Russian followed by the interrogative marker *li* (cf. Chapter 84, §12) to become the translative for a subordinate conditioning clause: *est' li > esli* 'if' (cf. §16).

§21 When two conditioning clauses in French, the translative of which is *si*, are conjoined, simple transfer I >> E, which *si* marks, is syntactically decomposed to a double transfer I >> O > E, for which only the second component (the first on the spoken chain) *que* (marking the transfer I >> O) has to be repeated in the joined clause, where it in addition evokes

the subjunctive mood on the verb (cf Chapter 241, §16): *S'il fait beau et que vous ayez le temps, nous pouvons aller nous promener* 'If the weather is nice and (that) you have the time, we can go for a walk'.

§22 In the languages where transfer to a conditioning clause can be marked by the position of the first actant after the verb, this construction does not need to be repeated in the second of the two conjoined conditioning clauses: Old Swedish *Farr annær broþer köp-færþum ok annar hemæ i asku sitær, baþer aghu þer iammykit af arvi* 'If one of the brothers goes on a voyage as a merchant and the other remains at home (lit. in the cinders), they will both receive equal parts of the inheritance'.<sup>307</sup>

§23 Finally, the conditioning clause can also lack a marker. Its syntactic relationship to the conditioned clause results then from simple parataxis: Lat. *Negat quis, nego: ait, aic* 'If someone says no, I say no, if someone says yes, I say yes' (Terence, *Eunuchus*, 251), Rus. *Zaxočëš', pojdu* 'If you want, I will come' (cf. Chapter 133, §23).

§24 One can get close to such expressions in French: *Point d'argent, point de Suisse, et ma porte était close* 'No money, no Switzerland, and my door was closed' (Racine, *Plaideurs*, I, 1).

§25 In Russian, above all in colloquial Russian where transfer may or may not be marked, the verb of the conditioning clause and that of the conditioned clause can both appear as infinitives: *esli emu verit', to my vse duraki* 'If we believe him, we are both idiots', lit. 'If to believe him, . . .', *Volka bojat' cja, v les ne xodit'* 'When one fears the wolf, one should not go into the forest', lit. 'Have fear of the wolf, not go into the forest'.

§26 In a number of languages, the conditioning clause is usually summed up in front of the conditioned clause (cf. Chapter 240, §2): Ger. *so: Wenn Sie wollen, so können wir spazieren gehen* 'If you want, (then) we can go for a walk', Rus. *to: Esli èta kniga vam nravitsja, to mošete eë čitat'* 'If you like this book, then you can read it'.

§27 These nuances of the condition are extremely diverse. The result of this diversity is that there are numerous types of conditioning clauses.

§28 We will call those conditioning clauses *restricted* that limit the condition in some way. In a number of languages, this restriction is marked by the adjunction of a restrictive adverb to the translative of the conditioning clause, Fr. *si seulement* 'if only', Ger. *wenn nur* 'if only', Fr. *J'irai vous voir, si seulement il fait beau* 'I will come see you, if only it is nice' One sometimes employs a different translative, Eng. *provided that*, Fr. *pourvu que: J'irai vous voir, pourvu qu'il fasse beau* 'I will come see you provided that the weather is nice'.

307. Cf. A. Sommerfelt, C. R. de Akerlund, *Formnordiska ordföljdstudier*, Lund, 1935, in *Le Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 36, 1935, fasc. 3, p. 86.

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<i>Petit poisson deviendra grand</i>	‘Small fish will become big
<i>Pourvu que Dieu lui prête vie</i>	<b>Provided that</b> God grants it life’
(La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , V, 3, <i>Le petit poisson et le pêcheur</i> )	

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Lat. *dum*: *Oderint dum metuant* ‘They will hate, **provided that** they fear’ (cited by Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1, 28).

§29 We will call those restricted conditioning clauses **minimum clauses** if they have been reduced down to a minimum. In French, the translative expression in this case is *pour peu que*: *J’irai vous voir, pour peu qu’il fasse beau* ‘I will come see you, **as long as** the weather is nice’.

§30 We will call those clauses **restrictive conditioning clauses** that expressly limit the cases where the condition is called on to condition the conditioned clause. In many languages, this restriction is marked, like it is for the restricted conditioning clause (cf. §28), by the adjunction of a restrictive adverb to the translative of the conditioning clause. But this adverb is commonly placed, in relation to the restrictive translative, in the reverse order of the restricted conditioning clause. Instead of Fr. *si seulement* ‘if only’ and Ger. *wenn nur* ‘if only’, the translative expression is hence Fr. *seulement si* ‘only if’ and Ger. *nur wenn* ‘only if’: Fr. *J’irai vous voir seulement s’il fait beau* ‘I will come see you **only if** the weather is nice’.

§31 We will call those clauses **amplifying conditioning clauses** that broaden the cases where the condition is applicable. These clauses hence constitute the opposite of restrictive conditioning clauses (cf. Chapter 30). Similarly, the translative expression that marks these clauses is constituted by the adjunction not of a non-restrictive adverb, but of a magnifying adverb to the translative of the conditioning clause: *même si* ‘even if’ instead of *seulement si* ‘only if’. In French one can also call on the translative expression *quitte à*, which is constructed with the infinitive: *Tente la chance, quitte à échouer!* ‘Take a chance, **even if it means** failing!’.

## Chapter 259. Hypothetical sentences

§1 Just like the conditional sentence is a particular case of the causal clause, the hypothetical sentence is a particular case of the conditional sentence.

§2 A sentence is hypothetical when the condition expressed in the protasis is itself the expression of a hypothesis.

§3 In a hypothetical sentence, the conditioning clause (protasis) expresses a supposition and the conditioned clause (apodosis) expresses the conjecture that one bases on this supposition.

§4 Hence we will call the protasis the **suppositional clause** and the apodosis the **conjunctural clause**.

§5 It is clear that the hypothetical conditioning clause (the suppositional clause) expresses a supposition, so clear that colloquial French gladly uses the conjunctive idiom *une supposition que* ‘supposing that’ instead of the conjunction *si* ‘if’ as translative of the suppositional clause: *Une supposition que je sois riche, je ferais de beaux voyages* ‘**Supposing** I were rich, I would take a nice trip’.

§6 Grammarians continued distinguishing between two types of suppositional clauses according to whether the expressed supposition is realizable or not. If it is realizable, the supposition receives the name **potential**. If the supposition is contrary to actual reality, it receives the name **irreal**.

§7 In certain languages, hypothetical sentences are marked by subjunctive mood, which stands in opposition to the indicative mood, which is encountered in simple conditional sentences. Hence in contrast to the indicative that appears in conditional sentences, e.g. *Felix ero si amicum habebo* ‘I will be happy, if I have a friend’, Latin employs the subjunctive in hypothetical sentences. Future: *Felix sim, si amicum habeam* ‘I would be happy, if (later) I had a friend’, present: *Felix essem, si amicum haberem* ‘I would be happy, if (now) I had a friend’, past: *Felix fuissem, si amicum habuissem* ‘I would have been happy, had I had a friend’.

§8 Latin can also mark the suppositional clause with the translative *ut* and the subjunctive mood. The meaning of the suppositional clause cannot be irreal in such cases, which means it is always potential: *Ut desint vires, tamen nest laudanda voluntas* ‘Even if the ability is absent, the intention is nonetheless to be praised’ (Ovid, *Ex Ponto Epistulae*, 3, 4, 79).

§9 German also employs the subjunctive in place of the indicative of the conditional sentence to mark the hypothetical sentence, while the possible markers of the subordinate protasis remains the same (Chapter 258, §16–18): *Wenn Sie wollten, könnten wir spazieren gehen* ‘If you wanted, we **could** go for a walk’.

§10 In hypothetical sentences, Greek marks the potential with the optative mood and the irreal with the indicative mood, the suppositional clause being otherwise marked by a proposed translative and the conjunctural clause by the translative *án*: *Ei élthois, khairoimi án* ‘If you were to come, I would be happy’, *Ei ohi ánthropoi agathoi ésan, eudaimónoun án* ‘If the men were good, they would be happy’.

§11 In a number of languages, one employs the **past form** of the verb as a marker, not for marking past meaning, but rather for marking the hypothetical meaning of the conditional sentence. The matter is particularly striking in French, where the verb has future meaning when it is in a **present** tense form in the conditioning clause and in an imperfect **present past** form in the supposition clause, whereas it is in the **future** in the conditioned clause and the **past future** (improperly called conditional, cf. Chapter 257, §8ff.) in the conjunctural clause: *S’il fait beau, j’irai me promener* (conditional sentence) ‘If the weather

is nice, I **will go** for a walk', *S'il faisait beau, j'irais me promener* (hypothetical sentence) 'If the weather was nice, I **would go** for a walk', cf. also

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<i>Si Peau d'âne m'était conté</i>	'If Donkeyskin had been told to me
<i>J'y prendrais un plaisir extrême.</i>	I <b>would have been</b> extremely pleased.'

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(La Fontaine, *Fables*, VIII, 4, *Le pouvoir des fables*)

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§12 It often suffices in French to express the suppositional clause alone, the conjectural clause that it calls being foreseen: *Si j'étais roi* 'If I was king', *Si jeunesse savait, si vieillesse pouvait* 'If youth knew, if age could' (proverb).

§13 This use of the past future (conditional) in the suppositional clause already marked by the translative *si* is a misspeak denoting a coarse way of speaking: Fr. \**Si ce serait facile, ce serait déjà fait* 'If it **would be** easy, it would have already been done', instead of the correct sentence *Si c'était facile, ce serait déjà fait* 'If it **was** easy, it would have already been done'.

This misspeak is one that very often betrays non-native speakers of French. It has been picked out by A. Daudet: *Si j'aurais des actionnaires, si je réunirais des fonds* 'If I **would have** the shareholders, if I would have the funds', attributed to M. de Sieboldt, Bavarian scholar (*Contes du Lundi*, The blind emperor, I), *Si j'oserais demander à Mossié de vouloir bien signer son nom* 'If I would ask Mister to be so kind to sign his name', said by the Swiss woman who is the maid in the hotel Rigi-Kulm (*Tartarin sur les Alpes*, I).

§14 This is not to say that the past future cannot follow the translative *si* in French. But in such a case, the conjectural clause marked by the present past is independent of the conditioning clause marked by the translative *si*. This type of sentence is quite rare in French, where it lacks elegance: *Si, faute de vent, le Repton aurait eu grand'peine à rejoindre le Saint-Enoch, il pouvait envoyer ses embarcations* 'If, for lack of wind, the Repton **would have had** difficulty reaching the Saint-Enoch, he could have sent skiffs' (J. Verne, *Le Serpent de mer*, XI, p. 185).

§15 As a marker of hypothetical meaning in the sentence, English, like French, uses the past form of the verb. Instead of the auxiliary of the future (*shall, will*), it employs the past of this auxiliary (*should, would*), which results in a past future: *We **should be** happy, if you came; **Should** I swing for it...*

§16 The same holds in German, where the hypothetical is marked by a past subjunctive form: *Wenn er käme, wäre ich froh* 'If he came, I **would be** content', *Sollte uns der Feind angreifen...* 'If the enemy were to attack us...' Instead of the auxiliary of the future (*ich werde* 'I will'), one employs the past subjunctive of this form (*ich würde* 'I would') in the suppositional clause: *Wenn das Wetter schön wäre, würde ich spazieren gehen* 'If the weather were nice, I would go for a walk'.

§17 The same is true in Russian. The verb of the hypothetical (supposition or conjecture) is always in the preterit and accompanied by the particle *by*: *Esli by y menja bylo vremja, to ja by prišel k vam* 'If I had the time, then I would come see you'.

§18 In languages where the past form of the verb serves as the marker of hypothetical meaning (cf. above §11), one obviously cannot use the past form of the verb as a marker of past time. Past time in such cases has been deprived of its natural marker. One uses a marker of secution in such cases instead of an unavailable tense form. One employs anterior secution in place of past tense, which expresses past time in conditional and hypothetical sentences: Fr. *S'il avait fait beau, j'aurais été me promener* 'If it had been nice, I would have gone for a walk' (cf. above §11). The same is true of the very vulgar misspeak in the example above (cf. §13), which is charged with familiar humor: *\*Si j'aurais su que tu aurais venu, je m'aurais en allé* 'If I would have known that you would have arrived, I would have left', instead of the correct sentence *Si j'avais su que tu serais venu, je m'en serais allé* 'If I had known that you had arrived, I would have left'.

§19 In Latin, time in the hypothetical clause is marked both by secution and tense. If the hypothetical clause is in the future, one puts the verb in the future of the infectum: *Felix sim, si amicum habeam* 'I would be happy, if (later) I had a friend'. If it is in the present, one puts the verb in the past of the infectum (imperfect): *Felix essem, si amicum haberem* 'I would be happy (now), if I had a friend'. Finally if it is in the past, one puts the verb in the past of the perfectum (pluperfect): *Felix fuisset, si amicum habuissem* 'I would have been happy, if I had had a friend'.

§20 In Russian, it is not possible to mark a difference in tense in the hypothetical clause, and the sentence *Esli by u menja bylo vremja, to ja by prišël k vam* (cf. §17) can mean 'If I had had the time, I would have come to see you' (past) as well as 'If I had the time, I would come see you' (present and future).

§21 In certain languages, the conjectural clause is marked by a special translative that distinguishes it from the conditioned clause.

§22 In Greek this marker is *án*: *Ei élthois, kháiroimi án* 'If you come, I would be happy' (potential), *Ei élthes, ekhárên án* 'If you had come, I would have been happy'.

§23 In Russian, the marker is *by*, which obligatorily appears not only in the conjectural clause, but also in the suppositional clause: *Esli by u menja bylo vremja, to ja by prišël k vam* 'If I had the time, I would come see you' (cf. §17 and 20).

§24 It can happen that the suppositional clause is not marked and its hypothetical meaning is a result of the context alone: Fr. *Un degré de plus, il aurait été exorciste et investi du pouvoir de chasser les démons!* 'One more degree, he would have been an exorcist and invested with the ability to chase away demons' (E. About, *Le Roi des Montagnes*, IV).

§25 The hypothetical clause can combine with the comparative when the notion that serves as the point of comparison is itself the expression of a hypothesis. One is dealing with a **hypothetical comparative clause**.

§26 The translative of the hypothetical comparative clause is *comme si* 'as if' in French: *Alfred hurle comme si on l'égorgeait* 'Alfred bellowed as if someone had cut his throat'.

§27 Latin has numerous translatives for the hypothetical comparative clause: *quasi, tamquam, velut*: *Timent eum, quasi crudelis sit* ‘They fear him as if he were cruel’.

§28 In Russian, the hypothetical comparative is marked by the translative expression *kak budto by*, which often experiences the reduction of one of its three elements (*kak budto, budto by, kak by*) or even of two (*bydto*): *On smeëtsja, kak bydto ne ponimaet* ‘He laughs as though he does not understand’.

## Chapter 260. Concessive clauses

§1 While a causal clause expresses a cause that evokes the effect expressed by the governing clause, a **concessive** clause expresses a cause that might evoke a contrary effect.

Causal clause	<i>Afred est généreux, parce qu’il est riche.</i> ‘Alfred is generous because he is rich.’
Concessive clause	<i>Afred est généreux, bien qu’il soit pauvre.</i> ‘Alfred is generous, even though he is poor.’

§2 From this point of view, a concessive clause can be considered the **opposite** of a causal clause.

§3 This is why in the logical group formed by a causal clause and the governing clause which it evokes, it suffices to **change** the meaning of one of the clauses (and only of **one** of them) in order to transform causal meaning into concessive meaning. This change occurs in addition to the change of translative, of course.

§4 Take the sentence *Afred est généreux, parce qu’il est riche* ‘Alfred is generous because he is rich’ as an example. In addition to changing the translative, it suffices to put one of the two clauses in the **negative** in order to transform the second clause from causal meaning to concessive meaning.

Concessive meaning resulting from semantic reversal of the governing clause	<i>Afred n’est pas généreux, bien qu’il soit riche</i> ‘Alfred is not generous even though he is rich’ <i>Afred est mesquin, bien qu’il soit riche</i> ‘Alfred is stingy even though he is rich’
Concessive meaning resulting from semantic reversal of the causal subordinate clause	<i>Afred est généreux, bien qu’il ne soit pas riche</i> ‘Alfred is generous, although he is not rich’ <i>Afred est généreux, bien qu’il soit pauvre</i> ‘Alfred is generous, although he is poor’

§5 But of course if one adds negation to both of the clauses, the semantic relationship between the two remains causal: *Il n’est pas généreux, parce qu’il n’est pas riche* ‘He is not

generous because he is not rich' or *Il est mesquin parce qu'il est pauvre* 'He is stingy because he is poor'.

§6 The usual translative of a concessive clause is *quoique* or *bien que* 'although' in French: *Alfred est généreux, quoiqu'il soit pauvre* or *bien qu'il soit pauvre* 'Alfred is generous, although he is poor'.

§7 Whereas the causal clause appears in the indicative in French, the concessive clause appears in the subjunctive, probably because the two express opposite meanings.

§8 One also frequently encounters the translative *si* 'if' in French as the translative of a subordinate concessive clause meaning 'if it is true that'. But in such a case, the concessive clause appears in the indicative: *Je me résolus d'aller si lentement, et d'user de tant de circonspection en toutes choses, que, si je n'avançais que fort peu, je me garderais, au moins, de tomber* 'I decided to go so slow and to use so much circumspection in all matters that, **although I advanced only slowly**, I would guard myself, at least, against falling' (Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode*, II).

§9 The meaning of a concessive subordinate clause is also readily expressed in French by the idiom *avoir beau*, lit. 'have nice' (followed by the infinitive):

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*On avait beau heurter et m'ôter son chapeau,  
On n'entraît pas chez nous sans graisser  
le marteau.*

'Even if you knocked and took off your hat,  
You could not enter here without giving money  
(lit. greasing the hammer).'

(Racine, *Les Plaideurs*, I, 2)

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§10 In Latin, the translative is *cum* (and secondarily *quamvis* and *licet*) combined with the subjunctive, or *quanquam*, *etsi*, *tametsi* with the indicative: *Cum sis callidus, amen deceptus es*; *quanquam es callidus, tamen deceptus es* 'Although you are clever, you have been deceived'.

§11 In the Germanic languages, concessive clauses are also marked by a preposed translative: Eng. *Though Alfred is poor, he is very generous*, Ger. *Obschon Alfred arm ist, ist er dennoch sehr freigebig* (same meaning).

§12 In Russian, the translative of concessive clauses is *xotja*: *Xotja on bednyj, on očen' ščedryj* 'Although he is poor, he is very generous'. One should note that this translative, which is none other than the present participle of the Russian verb *xotet'* 'want', is related to Lat. *quamvis*. The genesis of this translative, which adds the notion of wanting in both Russian and Latin, probably arises from the same psychological process in both languages.

§13 One should also note the semantic similarity between the translative of concessive clauses and that of magnifying conditioning clauses *même si* 'even if' (cf. Chapter 258, §31 and above §8): Gr. *kaíper*, *kaí ei*, *kaí ean*, *kán*, Lat. *etsi*; Gr. *ei kaí*, *eàn kaí*, Ger. *obschon*, *obgleich*, Slovenian *dasiravvno*; all these translatives also have the meaning 'although'.

## Chapter 261. Consecutive clauses

§1 While the causal clause expresses the cause that evokes the effect expressed by the governing clause, the **consecutive** clause expresses the **consequence**, that is, the effect produced by the cause expressed in the governing clause.

§2 Like the concessive clause, but from a different point of view (cf. Chapter 260, §2), the consecutive clause is hence the **opposite** of the causal clause, since the consequence is the opposite of the cause from a logical point of view.

§3 The consecutive clause is hence a circumstantial clause expressing a consequence, that is, a clause that has been transferred to an adverb of consequence.

§4 The translative of a consecutive clause is *de sorte que* 'so that' in French, with the almost synonymous variants *de manière que*, *de façon que* 'in such a way that', *si bien que* 'so much so that'. Clauses introduced by these translatives are all constructed with the indicative: *Il pleuvait à verse de telle sorte que nous fûmes obligés de nous mettre à l'abri* 'It was pouring hard in such a way that we had to seek cover'.

§5 In Latin, the translative of consecutive clauses is *ut*, which is introduced in the governing clause either by the manner adverb *ita* or, if one is dealing with a degree of quality, by the quantity adverb *tam*. In contrast to French, the consecutive clause in Latin always takes the subjunctive: *Ita sunt territi, ut nemo resistere auderet* 'They were so afraid, that nobody risked resistance', *Tam sagax est hic homo, ut decipi non possit* 'This man is so shrewd, that he cannot be fooled'.

§6 The consecutive nuance is sometimes rendered by a mere relative pronoun (above Chapter 247, §3). In addition to the junctive element (*et, atque*) that was revealed by the mechanism mentioned above (Chapter 247, §11 and 12) and that permits one to decompose the relative pronoun *qui* into the elements *et + is*, it is necessary to substitute a true translative of attenuated value such as *ut* (cf. above Chapter 247, §8) and to semantically decompose the relative pronoun *qui* into *ut + is*: *Domus est, quae nulli mearum villarum cedat* 'It is such a house that she does not cede it to any of my villas' (cf. also the example cited above in Chapter 251, §19).

§7 In Greek, the translative of the consecutive clause is *hōste*, which is often introduced in the governing clause by the manner adverb *oútōs*. The consecutive clause sometimes appears with an infinitive and sometimes with the indicative: *Oútōs eusebés ên Sōkrátēs hōste oudèn áneu theôn gnómes epoiei* 'Socrates was so pious that he did nothing without the support of the Gods'.

§8 In German, the translative of the consecutive clause is *dass* followed by the indicative and eventually preceded by the manner adverb *so* or a noun transferred to an adverb by the genitive *der Art* 'of the sort': *Alfred war so müde, dass er nicht weiter gehen konnte* 'Alfred was so tired that he could no longer walk'.

§9 In Russian, the translative of a consecutive clause is *čto* followed by the indicative and sometimes preceded by the manner adverb *tak*: *On mne ne pisał, tak čto ja ne znaju, kogda on pridët* ‘He did not write to me, so I do not know when he is coming’.

§10 In sum, the expression of a consecutive clause is of the same sort in many languages of Europe. Only Latin is unusual because it uses the subjunctive mood when the other languages use the indicative.

## Chapter 262. Final clauses

§1 The **final** clause differs from the consecutive clause insofar as the consequence of the cause expressed in the governing clause is intentional and desired instead of accidental.<sup>308</sup>

§2 The final clause, just like the consecutive clause, is hence the **opposite** of the causal clause. This is perhaps the reason why it appears in the subjunctive in French, whereas the causal clause appears in the indicative.

§3 Since the intended and desired consequence is nothing other than a **goal**, a final clause is hence a clause transferred to a goal adverb. The circumstance that it expresses is the goal of the action expressed by the governing clause, that is, the intention of its first actant.

§4 The most common translative of a final clause in French is *afin que* ‘in order that’: *Vous réchauffez le serpent qui pique, afin qu’il pique plus sûrement* ‘You are warming the snake that bites, **in order that** he bites for sure’ (Fléchier).

§5 The transferred **antecedent** *afin* cannot be expressed if the governing clause contains volition marked by the use of the imperative. The translative is then reduced to its proper translative element *que*: *Approchez, que je vous voie* ‘Approach (so) **that** I see you’; *Ôte-toi de là, que je m’y mette* ‘Get out of there, (so) **that** I can sit down’.

§6 The fixed antecedent in the translative of second degree *afin* is the noun *fin*. The term *final* stems from this noun.

§7 One is of course dealing with the noun *fin* employed with the meaning ‘aim, goal’, as is still encountered in expressions like *La fin justifie les moyens* ‘The end justifies the means’, *à ces fins* ‘to this end’.

§8 But this meaning of the word *fin* is no longer its most common meaning in modern French, where the *fin* ‘end’ is sensed to be the opposite of ‘commencement’. The word *fin* with the meaning ‘aim, goal’ is somewhat aged and is no longer employed except in elevated language.

308. Cf. F. Brunot, *La pensée et le langage*, p. 843.

§9 It is also not a surprise that *fin* has become aged in a fixed form in the agglutinated form *afin*, where it is strongly competitive with younger nouns, like for example *intention* ‘intention’ and especially *but* ‘aim, goal’.

§10 Thus we can explain the insistence of some to penetrate into the good language of the word *but* ‘end, aim’ in the translative expression of the final clause, *dans le but de* ‘with the aim of’. This use of *but* is blocked by the desperate resistance of purists. The main argument of the purists is that one is aiming at a goal, whereby one is not inside the goal and therefore it is inappropriate to say *dans un but* ‘in a goal’.

§11 In spite of the theoretical validity of this argument, one can in fact observe a tendency of the word *but* ‘aim, goal’ to appear in final expressions.

§12 Such is the case with the interrogative nuclear final word, the only really productive form of which is *dans quel but?*, lit. ‘in which aim?’ (or much less common *dans quel dessein?*, lit. ‘in which design?’), whereas *à quelle fin?*, lit. ‘to which end?’, the only correct form, has quite obviously fallen out of favor.

§13 This tendency is not recent, and one still finds the interrogative nuclear expression *dans quel but?*, which is frequently employed in Alexandre Dumas the father: *Elle va en Angleterre, répondit Athos. – Et dans quel but? – Dans le but de faire assassiner Milor Buckingham* ‘She is going to England, responded Athos. – And to what end? – In order to have Milor Buckingham assassinated’ (A. Dumas, *Les trois Mousquetaires*, II, Chapter 10, cf. *ibid.*, II Chapter 13).

§14 The vitality of this expression is measured by its frequency, which appears to be continually increasing in the works of Alexandre Dumas: *Et dans quel but cette visite?* ‘And what is the purpose of this visit?’ (*Vingt ans après*, I, Chapter 45, cf. also *ibid.*, II, 12, *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*).

§15 The use of this nuclear interrogative expression has the increasingly common appearance of the conjunctive expression *dans le but de* as a consequence:

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*L'enquête ouverte sur ces mêmes faits en 1853 dans le but d'assurer l'exécution de legs stipulés par l'Empereur.*

‘The investigation opened on these same facts in 1853 in order to ensure the execution of the legacies stated by the Emperor.’

(Maupassant, *Contes*, A page of unedited history)

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§16 In spite of the desperate resistance of purists, the expression *dans quel but?* is encountered in our days under the feather of the most reputable authors: *La lettre avait été communiquée d'urgence à la presse par Poincaré lui-même. Dans quel but?* ‘The letter had been passed on to the press by Poincaré himself. To what end?’ (Roger Martin du Gard, *Les Thibault*, Summer 1914, III, 64, p. 143 and cf. *ibid.*, p. 149).

§17 Due to its structure and the fixed noun that it contains, the conjunctive expression *afin que* ‘in order that’ actually has the effect of being replaced by first-degree transfer using *afin de* ‘in order to’ followed by the infinitive.

§18 The translative of second degree *afin que* is thus trumped by the translative of first degree *afin de*.

§19 Since the final clause is also semantically related to the modal clause, a frequent occurrence is for the final clause to entail a translative expression containing the noun *manière* ‘manner’ (or *façon* ‘way’) such as in *de manière que* ‘in a manner that’, *de façon que* ‘in a way that’: *Soignez bien votre malade, de manière qu’il guérisse* ‘Take good care of your sick one, so that he gets better’.

§20 The translative expressions *de manière que* and *de façon que* have a regrettable propensity to grow – under the influence of expressions such as *de manière à*, *de façon à* – to *de manière à ce que*, *de façon à ce que*. The *à ce* in these expressions is superfluous and severely condemned, rightly so, by all grammarians,<sup>309</sup> which has not prevented the practice from spreading more and more. But what is the means to effectively combat this abominable slovenliness when academics, whose duty it is to defend good style, are the first ones to render themselves guilty of employing the practice.<sup>310</sup>

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*Arrangez-vous de façon à ce que si, par  
harsard, il (the king) vous adressait la  
parole, il ne vous prenne point la  
bouche pleine.*  
(A. Dumas, *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*)

‘Behave in a way that if  
by chance he addresses you,  
you are not caught with a  
full mouth.’

*Elle les avait placés de manière à ce  
qu’ils pussent voir le développement  
superbe du couvert.*  
(Zola, *L’Assommoir*, VII)

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‘She had placed them in a way  
that they could see the superb  
arrangement of the table settings.’

§21 In most languages, at least in the European languages, subordinate final clauses are marked by preposed translatives.

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Latin	<i>ut</i>	<i>Hanc vestem tibi do, ut induas.</i>
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Greek	<i>hína</i>	<i>Toúto tò himátion soi dídōmi, hína endúéis.</i>
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‘I’m giving you this dress,  
so that you will put it on.’

German	<i>damit</i>	<i>Ich gebe dir dieses Kleid, damit du es anziehst.</i>
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§22 Note that in Latin and Greek, the verb of a final clause appears in the subjunctive, as it does in French (cf. above §2).

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309. André Moufflet, *Contre le massacre de la langue française*, s. d. (1930), p. 133, *Encore le massacre de la langue française*, 1935, p. 228.

310. Translators’ note: We have reduced the number of examples here to avoid unnecessary redundancy of illustration.

§23 In Latin, final meaning is sometimes rendered in the same way as consecutive meaning (cf. below Chapter 261, §6), by the simple relative pronoun and the subjunctive: *Legatos Romam, qui auxilium ab senatu peterent, miserunt* ‘They sent ambassadors to Rome to request help from the Senate’.

## Chapter 263. Modal clauses

§1 Modal clauses are those that are transferred to a manner adverb.

§2 This is why they are commonly called **manner circumstantials**.

§3 The term **modal**, which we adopt here, is only a stopgap solution, for in colloquial French the modal adjective does not normally signify what relates to manner, but rather what relates to mood, and the noun **mood** has a denotation in French grammar that is much different from that of **manner**. The adjective **modal** can denote what is related to manner only in scholarly French, building on Lat. *modus* ‘manner’. But on the one hand it is difficult to find an adjective in French corresponding to the noun *manner* and on the other hand, it is also good to be able to designate the “circumstantial clause of manner” in some other way than by using this long periphrasis. We will therefore come to terms with this ambiguity, which is difficult to avoid, by being content to attract the reader’s attention to it as our best apology.

§4 A modal clause – a clause transferred to a manner adverb by second-degree transfer – is rare, at least in our European languages.

§5 However, one can find examples of such clauses in Latin, in particular for the negative modal: *Nemo fit doctus, quin multum laboret* ‘Nobody has ever become knowledgeable without working a lot’.

§6 In French, one finds the modal clause expressed by the subjunctive in expressions like *advienne que pourra* ‘come what may’, or with two subjunctives, the second by attraction, *coûte que coûte* ‘whatever the cost’, *vaille que vaille* ‘somehow’. The ordinary gloss for the latter expression as *tant bien que mal*, lit. ‘so well than badly’ or *à tout hasard* ‘by any chance’, shows that one is dealing with transfer to an adverb.

§7 In the avant-garde spoken French, the verbal notion is completely incorporated into the noun and the clause is reduced in the following way: *Brouillard ou pas brouillard, je prendrai la mer à midi* ‘Fog or no fog, I am setting to sea at noon’.

§8 This expression is very frequent in English, which readily reduces sentences down to their essential components: *Fog or no fog* (*Shipbuilders*, p. 68).

§9 But second-degree transfer is not common in this case in French, where one normally reaches to double first-degree transfer (I > A > E) in the form of the gerundive (cf. Chapter 224, §14).

§10 Second-degree transfer of the sort I >> E is often only elliptical transfer (cf. above Chapter 226 and 227), which is composed of a more complex group of two simple transfers.

§11 Take for example the French sentence *Quand je partais en vacances, mon voisin me gardait ma maison, moyennant quoi je lui abandonnais toute la récolte de fruits de mon jardin* 'When I went on vacation, my neighbor watched my house in return for which I sacrificed to him the entire harvest of fruit in my yard'. The second-degree transfer here (I >> E) is marked by the conjunctive expression *moyennant quoi*, lit. 'middleing what', which can be decomposed to:

1 (I >> A) second-degree transfer of the independent clause *Je lui abandonnais toute la récolte de fruits de mon jardin* 'I sacrificed to him the entire harvest of fruit in my yard' to an adjective marked by the translative element *qu-* contained in the relative pronoun *quoi* 'what'.

2 (A > E) first-degree transfer (more exactly, a transvaluation, cf. above Chapter 204) of the adjective thus obtained to an adverb by way of the translative *moyennant* 'middleing'.

§12 Consider next the French sentence *Décidez-vous à partir, auquel cas je me mettrai aussi en route* 'Decide to leave, in which case I will set off, too'. The second-degree transfer (I >> E) marked by the translative (conjunctive expression) *auquel cas* can be decomposed to:

1 (I >> A) second-degree transfer marked by the translative element *qu-* contained in the relative pronoun *auquel* 'to which'. This A depends on the O (case) that follows.

2 (O > E) first-degree transfer marked by the translative (preposition) *à* 'to' that is contained in the contracted form itself contained in the relative pronoun *auquel* [amalgam of *à* and *lequel*].

The target A of the first instance of transfer is hence connected to the source O of the second instance of transfer, and this connection is in the elliptical transfer I >> E.

§13 The manner in which something is done can be expressed by comparison with another. The modal clause is thus a **comparative clause**.

§14 In French, the translative of the comparative clause is *comme* 'as': *J'aurais pu la tuer comme on assomme un chien qui désobéit* 'I could have killed her as one knocks out a dog that desobeys' (Maupassant, *Contes*, Allouma, II); *Il parlait comme coule une fontaine* 'He spoke as a fountain flows' (*Ibid.*, Duchoux); *Ces gens-là mentent comme ils respirent*, lit. 'These people lie as they breath', that is, 'These people are compulsive liars'.

§15 In French, this type is also related to sentences subordinated by second-degree transfer with translative *selon que* 'depending on', lit. 'according as':

*Selon que vous serez puissant ou misérable,*

'Depending on whether you are powerful or miserable,

*Les jugements de Cour vous feront blanc ou noir.*

The Court's judgements will make you white or black.'

(La Fontaine, *Fables*, VII, 1, *Les animaux malades de la peste*)

§16 The same is true of subordinate sentences the translative of which is *à force de* ‘by dint of’, a nuanced expression for which Italian sometimes employs a repeated imperative: *Gira, gira, finalmente capitò in una viuzza* ‘By dint of wandering about (lit. Turn, turn), he arrived in an alley’ (A. Pézard, *Grammaire italienne*, p. 214).

§17 The comparative clause is very common across languages. One finds it for example in German, where it is introduced by the translative *wie*: *Die dänischen Könige, die im elften Jahrhundert über England herrschten, fühlten sich keineswegs als Fremde, wie z. B. Knut seine Gesetze in altenglischer Sprache abfassen liess* ‘The Danish kings, who ruled over England in the 11th century, saw themselves in no way as foreigners, as for example Knut had his laws drafted in the Old English language’ (Karl Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, I, p. 19).

## Chapter 264. Quantity clauses

§1 A quantity clause is a clause that has been transferred to a quantity adverb (cf. Chapter 37, §49).

§2 Quantity clauses are generally introduced by a translative expression that often contains a **quantity adverb** and a common translative such as Fr. *que* ‘that’.

§3 The translative of a quantity clause is for example a translative expression such as *autant que* ‘as much as’ or *tellement que* ‘so much that’: *Je travaillerai autant que vous voudrez* ‘I will work as much as you want’; *Il se retournait tellement que sa femme s’en inquiéta* ‘He turned over so much that his wife became concerned’ (Brillat-Savarin).

§4 In Latin, the translative of a quantity clause is *quantum*: *quantum in me erit* ‘as much as I can’.

§5 In Greek, the translative of a quantity clause is *hóson* or *hōs*: *hóson gé m’eidénai* ‘as much as I know’, *hōs eikásai* ‘as much as one can surmise’.

§6 In English, the expression that serves as the translative of a quantity clause is of the sort *as much as*: *for as much as I know, as far as I can judge*.

§7 In German, one utilizes the expression *so viel* as the translative of a quantity clause: *so viel als möglich* ‘as much as possible’.

§8 In Russian, the translative of a quantity clause is the same as the nuclear interrogative of quantity *skol’ko*: *Ty skaži naprjamik, skol’ko za nej dvižimogo i nedvižimogo* ‘Tell me squarely how much his fortune has climbed in possessions and real-estate’. (Gogol, *The Wedding*, I, 13), *skol’ko možno sudit’*, ‘as soon as one can judge’, *skol’ko ja znaju* ‘as far as I know’, without forgetting the common expression *skol’ko ugodno* ‘as long as you want’.

§9 The quantity clauses resulting from transfer can hardly be the result of **second-degree transfer**. One only ever encounters first-degree transfer with such clauses.

## Chapter 265. Generalized indeterminate clauses

§1 A **generalized indeterminate clause** is a type of concessive clause that does not contain a functional concession of the sort associated with a concessive clause (cf. Chapter 260), but rather it contains a **categorical concession** that bears on only one constitutive element in the clause.

§2 There are hence as many types of generalized indeterminate clauses as there are types of sentences and diverse ways to bring categories into play.

§3 The **translative** of a generalized indeterminate clause generally varies across languages; it is constituted by two elements, the one indicating **vagueness** and the other indicating **generalization**.

§4 The translative element indicating vagueness is usually a relative that has (or approximates) the same form as the interrogative of the same category: Fr. *qui* (*que vous soyez*) ‘who(ever you are)’, Lat. *qui(cumque)*, Gr. (*hós*)*tis*(*poté*), Eng. *who(ever)*, Ger. *wer* (*auch immer*)..., Rus. *kto ni*. All these expressions have the same meaning: Eng. *Whoever calls must be introduced at once*, Fr. *Il faut faire entrer quiconque se présentera* (same meaning).

§5 The translative element indicating generalization is the word designating the universal in the category of time in Greek, English, and German: Gr. (*óstis*) *poté*, Eng. (*who so*) *ever*, Ger. (*wer auch*) *immer* (cf. also Fr. *quiconque* < (\**qui qu*’) *onque(s)*). This element is sometimes reinforced by a manner adverb: *so* in English, *auch* in German.

§6 In Latin, the generalization is marked by agglutination of a relative – the relative expressing vagueness – with an element that contains the junctive of adjunction *-que* ‘and’: *quicumque*.

§7 In French, the marker of generalization is the usual relative *que*. Given that an **indeterminative** element has the form of an interrogative (cf. above §4) and this element often begins with the interrogative stem *qu-*, the result is that the translative expression of the generalized indeterminate clause often contains a repetition of the element *qu-*. Of these two *qu-*, the first marks vagueness, and the second generalization: *Qui que vous soyez* ‘whoever you are’, *quoi que vous fassiez* ‘whatever you do’, *quelle que soit votre intention* ‘whatever the nature of your intention’. This process is reminiscent of the doubling form *quisquis* in Latin. This double *qu-* in French, while it is not always euphonic, has the advantage of being characteristic. It even occurs that the element appears three times: *quelque riche que vous soyez* ‘however rich you are’.

§8 In Russian, the generalization is marked by the use of the particle *ni*: *Kto by to ni bylo* ‘whatever it is’.

§9 These diverse processes permit different languages to express the categorical concession of generalized indeterminate clauses with the most diverse categories.

§10 The generalized indeterminative clause can belong to the noun category: *Qui que tu sois, accueille-moi sous ton toit* ‘Whoever you are, take me in under your roof’.

§11 French also utilizes the translative *quiconque*:

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<i>Quiconque a beaucoup vu</i> <i>Peut avoir beaucoup retenu.</i>	‘Whoever has seen a lot Can have retained a lot.’
(La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , 1, 8, <i>L’Hirondelle et les petits oiseaux</i> )	

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There is thus elliptical transfer, double transfer of the sort I >> A > O being reduced to I >> O.

§12 Instead of Fr. *quiconque*, many foreigners find it convenient to employ an expression in French that has been translated from their language: \**chacun qui* ‘everyone who’: \**chacun qui a beaucoup vu...* ‘everyone who saw a lot...’. This expression, without being entirely unintelligible for French speakers, nevertheless constitutes a grave error. It is the sort of error that a native French speaker never makes and it infallibly betrays the non-Francophone. Foreigners are delighted when they learn that nothing is simpler than the correct use of *quiconque*, which they have carefully avoided because grammars have succeeded at presenting the use of this word as a spectre. In fact, it suffices to formulate the sentence incorrectly with *chacun qui*, then to **mechanically** substitute in *quiconque* without changing anything else in the structure of the sentence.

§13 The Latin translative of the generalized indeterminative clause for a noun is *quicumque* or *quisquis*: *quicumque es* or *quisquis es* ‘whoever you are’.

§14 When it is the second or third actant, the translative of the generalized indeterminative clause takes the mark of this actant in languages where it has a distinct form: Eng. *He took his hat off to whomsoever he met*.

§15 If the noun does not designate a person, but rather a thing, the indeterminative element of the translative expression has the form of the interrogative that one employs for a thing, Fr. *quoi que* ‘whatever’:

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<i>Sans la langue, en un mot, l’auteur le plus divin</i>	‘Without the language, in a word, the most divine author
<i>Est toujours, quoi qu’on fasse, un méchant écrivain.</i>	Is always, <b>whatever</b> he does, a horrible writer.’
(Boileau, <i>Art Poétique</i> , I, 161–162)	

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*Quoi que vous disiez, ma décision est prise* ‘No matter what you say, I’ve made my decision’, Eng. *whatever*: *Whatever he asks, he is sure to get*, Ger. *Was er auch immer sagen mag...* ‘Whatever he says ...’.

§16 French can also appeal to the translative *malgré* ‘in spite of’ constructed with the subjunctive: *Malgré que j’en eusse, il me fallut bien sourire* ‘In spite of the fact that I had some,

I had simply to smile' (G. Duhamel, *Le jardin des bêtes sauvages*), that is, etymologically (*quelque*) *mauvais gré que j'en eusse* '(some) bad taste that I had some', cf. Chapter 42, §17)

§17 One will of course strive in French not to confuse the translative *quoi que* 'whatever' (two words) of the generalized indeterminative clause designating things with the translative *quoique* 'although' (one word, cf. Chapter 260) of the concessive clause: *J'irai voir Alfred, quoique je ne le connaisse pas* 'I will go see Alfred, even though I do not know him'.

§18 In the adjective category, the generalized indeterminative is marked in French by the translative *quelque (...que)* 'whichever' (one word) if one is dealing with an attributive adjective and by the translative *quel que* 'whichever' (two words) if one is dealing with a predicative adjective: *Quelques décisions que vous prenez, vous vous en repentirez* 'Whichever decisions you take, you will regret taking them'; *Quelle que soit ton opinion, tu m'approuveras* 'Whatever your opinion is, you will agree with me'.

§19 In Latin, the translative of the generalized indeterminative adjective is *quicumque* 'whichever': *Quaecumque fortuna erat, patiebatur* 'Whatever his fate was, he bore it'.

§20 If one is dealing with an adjective of quality, Latin employs the translative *qualicumque* 'however', and if one is dealing with an adjective of quantity, the translative is *quantumcumque* 'however much': *Illud quod est, quaecumque est, probat* 'Whatever appears, whatever its quality, he accepts it' (Cicero, *Brutus*, 193); *Totum hoc, quantumcumque est..., totum est... tuum* 'All this glory, however much it is, belongs entirely to you' (Cicero, *Pro Marcello*, 2, 7).

§21 In German, the translative expression of a generalized indeterminative clause transferred to a quality adjective is *was es auch immer für ein* 'whatever', which corresponds to the interrogative adjective *was für ein* 'what kind of': *was er auch immer für Gründe haben mag* 'whatever his reasons are'.

§22 The translative expression that introduces a generalized indeterminative clause transferred to a temporal adverb is rare across languages. One generally manages to substitute the translative of the generalized indeterminate adjective for it (cf. below, §17): *Quel que soit le moment où l'on va chez lui, il est toujours sorti* 'Whenever the moment when one shows up at his place, he is always out'. However, the translative Rus. *kogda ni* is often employed in this way: *Kogda ni zaidës* 'Whenever the moment when one goes to him, he is always drunk'.

§23 In English, the translative expression *which(so)ever* of generalized indeterminate adjectives, which corresponds to the formula given above (cf. §4 and 5), is often supplanted by the translative expression of generalized determinate nouns denoting a thing *whatever*: *Whatever news you get, let us know at once; for any reason whatever*.

§24 The translative expressions that introduce a generalized indeterminate expression transferred to a locative adverb are of the sort *où que* 'wherever' in French: *Où que tu ailles, je te suivrai* 'Wherever you go, I will follow you'; *D'où que tu viennes, dis-le moi* 'Wherever you come from, tell me it'.

§25 In other languages, the translatives of generalized indeterminate expressions of place are of the following sort:

Greek	<i>opothén dépoté</i>	<i>opothén dépoté</i> ‘from wherever’
English	<i>wherever</i>	<i>Wherever you go, let me go with you.</i>
German	<i>wo auch immer</i>	<i>Wo ich ihn auch immer treffen kann...</i> ‘wherever I can find him’
Russian	<i>otkoda ni</i> ( <i>otkole ni</i> )	<i>Otkole ni voz’mis’, na vstreču mos’ka im</i> ‘Coming out from nowhere, a pug(dog) came to meet them.’ (Krylov, <i>Fables</i> , The elephant and the pug (dog)).

§26 The translative expressions that introduce generalized indeterminate clauses that have been transferred to a manner adverb are of the sort Fr. *comment que* ‘however’.<sup>311</sup> *Comment que tu t’y prennes, tu auras du mal à reussir* ‘However you behave, you will have difficulty succeeding’.

§27 The corresponding translative expression is *wie auch immer* in German and in Russian it is *kak ni*: *Kak ni toropis’, ne uspees’* ‘Even if you hurry, you won’t manage’.

§28 Translative expressions that introduce generalized indeterminate clauses that have been transferred to a quantity adverb are in general quite poorly represented in languages. However, one finds the quite common *skol’ko ni* ‘however much’ in Russian: *Skol’ko ni dumaj, luces xleba-soli ne pridumaes’* ‘However much one racks one’s brain, one cannot imagine better hospitality’.

§29 If one is dealing with an adverb of quantity subordinate to an adjective, the translative expression in French is *quelque... que, pour... que* ‘however’:

<i>Quelque riches que soient vos parents, leur fortune n’est pas inépuisable.</i>	‘However rich your parents are, their fortune is not infinite.’
<i>...scènes... que l’historien souhaiterait de rapporter dans l’ordre, avec toute la précision et la concision souhaitable, pour difficile que ce soit.</i> (G. Duhamel, <i>La Nuit de la Saint-Jean</i> , p. 263)	‘...scenes... that the historian would wish to put back in order, with the desired complete precision and concision, however difficult it is.’

§30 In most languages, even in Latin, generalized indeterminate clauses appear in the indicative: Lat. *Quaecumque fortuna erat patiebatur* ‘Whatever his fate was, he bore it’ (cf. above, §19). Yet French generally puts the clause in the subjunctive like it does a concessive clause (cf. Chapter 260, §7): *Qui que vous soyez* ‘whoever you are’; *quoi que vous fassiez*

311. First editors’ note: *comment que* is an idiomatic expression that Littré already described as “dated” (*Dictionnaire*, t. I, p. 683, first column, low on the page). He only cites an example taken from P. L. Courrier.

‘whatever you do’; *quelle que soit votre intention* ‘whatever your intention is’; *quelque riche que vous soyez* ‘however rich you are’. However, the translative *quiconque* is constructed with the indicative, as with Lat. *quicumque*.

§31 Russian can also sometimes form generalized indeterminative clauses with the imperative, which represents a former optative of Indo-European: *Otkuda ni voz ‘mic* ‘departing from somewhere or other’.

## Chapter 266. Structural and semantic aspects of subordinate clauses

§1 The value of subordination is essentially structural, whereas subordination has only secondary semantic value. The essential aspect of subordination is that there is a structural connection, but the meaning of the connection – that is, its semantic value – is in fact incidental. The semantic value of the connection remains practically the same when the structural relationship between the governor and the subordinate is reversed.

§2 Thus concerning meaning, one says indifferently *Il me dit qu’il fait beau* ‘He told me that the weather is nice’ or *Il fait beau qu’il me dit* ‘The weather is nice, which he told me’, lit. ‘The weather is nice that he told me’. Yet only the first structure is correct in French, whereas the second is familiar and neglected. But the two are semantically almost the same.

§3 This is proof of the independence of semantics from structure, a fact that we have already considered (cf. Chapter 20, §17), and further, it is proof of the inversely related hierarchical importance of semantics and structure (cf. Chapter 21, §8).

§4 Facts of this type are encountered in French more often than one imagines, not only in colloquial language, which is very much overlooked, but also in familiar style:

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*Ça ramène. «Ton pot!» qu’ils lui jetaient*  
(Céline, *Mort à crédit*, p. 21).

- *Donne moi mon chapeau!*

- *Mais non...*

- *Mon chapeau, que je te dis!*

(Marcel Aymé, *La jument verte*, p. 190)

*En achetant mes souliers neufs...  
trotteront-ils sur le pavé de Paris?*

*que je me disais*

(Mme Chéron de la Bruyère, *L’Epée du  
Donjon*, Hachette, 1903, Bibl. Rose, p. 142)

*Marco, que je lui ai fait alors, cherche M. Gail*  
(M. Génin, *Marco et Tonino*, IX, Magasin d’Education  
et de Récréation, 1881, I, p. 273)

‘It causes a fuss. “Your pot!”  
(that) they said to him’

‘- Give me my hat!

- But no...

- My hat, (that) I tell you!’

‘Buying my new shoes...  
will they pound the pavement of Paris?  
(that) I was saying to myself.’

‘Marco, (that) I then put to him,  
look for M. Gail’

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§5 From this manner of speaking, a new construction has developed that is increasingly frequent in colloquial French. This construction involves the interruption of a report of the words of a third person using the expression *Qu'il dit!*, lit. 'That he says!'. This expression of skepticism is now a true adverbial of doubt that lets one know that the reported speech should not be taken as a gospel of truth: *Alfred s'est conduit courageusement! – Qu'il dit!* 'Alfred was behaving courageously – That (is what) he says!'

§6 In English, it frequently occurs that no marker indicates the subordination of one of the two clauses to the other. In such cases, one can hesitate because it is not clear which clause is the governor: *Two thirds of army officers once were GIs, report says*. In this sort of expression, which is very frequent in journalistic style in English, in particular in the titles of articles, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the connection, that is, it is difficult to distinguish governing from subordinate clause. The only thing that is certain is that there is a connection between the two clauses, since if one were dealing with two independent clauses, the second would be of the type that is inserted and the verbal index of the first actant would be uttered after the verb (cf. above §4): *Two-thirds of army officers were once GIs, says report*.

§7 The ability to reverse the structural positions of the governing and the subordinate clause is available not only for actantial subordinate clauses, but also for circumstantial subordinate clauses. Hence with circumstantial subordinate clauses of time, one can also say the following in French: *Il nous fallut repartir, alors que nous étions à peine arrivés* 'We had to depart again, **even though** we had hardly arrived' and *Nous étions à peine arrivés, qu'il nous fallut repartir* 'We had hardly arrived, **when** (lit. **that**) we had to depart again'. Likewise, one will also even say *Je savais tout cela, dès que notre séance fut levée* 'I knew all that **as soon as** our meeting was over' and *Notre séance n'était pas plutôt levée, que je savais tout cela* 'Our meeting had just ended **when** (lit. **that**) I knew all that'.

§8 Similarly, one will also say with hypothetical subordinate clauses *Je ne serais pas autrement surpris, s'il apparaissait à la dernière minute* 'I would not otherwise be surprised if he appeared at the last minute' as well as *Il apparaîtrait à la dernière minute, que je n'en serais pas autrement surpris* 'He would appear at the last minute, **which** (lit. **that**) would not otherwise surprise me' (J. Verne, *Around the world in 80 days*, XXXVI).

§9 The independence of semantics from structure and the inverse relationship of their importance (cf. above, Chapter 3 and Chapter 21, §8), permits French to utilize the essential adjectival subordinate clause in an original way: to call attention to the antecedent. Hence French places a syntactic **accent of insistence** on the antecedent. The languages that have an **accent of intensity** use it instead, which is then generally noted in orthography by the spacing of characters [or uppercase]: Fr. *C'est mon père qui l'a dit* 'It was my father who said that' cf. Ger. *Mein Vater hat es gesagt* 'MY FATHER said it'. Further: *C'est lui qui m'a ravi l'amitié de mon père* 'It is him who took from me the friendship of my father' (Racine).

§10 The inverse hierarchical importance of semantics and structure offers the speaker a means to insidiously hide pointed remarks in the ultimate folds of a subordinate clause, where they seem to pass unnoticed structurally, pointed remarks to which the speaker attaches the greatest semantic importance. The adjectival clause that contains a point of **subordinate irony** is always an accessory adjectival subordinate clause, since if it were an essential adjectival subordinate clause, the ironic remark would not find enough of a hiding place. The trick is precisely to use an accessory means to present an idea that is not accessory.<sup>312</sup>

§11 The subordinate irony is all the more powerful if it hides under a most benign structural appearance, and it often approaches insolence, e.g. a jab put in a report by one of the most spiritual French diplomats: *Le colonel N..., dont l'esprit naturellement rigide n'a pas été assoupli par le métier militaire, m'assurait hier que...* 'The colonel, whose naturally rigid mind was not softened by the military profession, assured me yesterday that...'

§12 Subordinate irony is one of Edmond About's favorite stylistic measures, one of the most spirited French writers:

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*Ce diable d'homme, qui devait me couper le cou à la fin du mois, m'inspirait quasiment du respect.*  
(E. About, *Le Roi des Montagnes*, IV, p. 129)

'This devil of a man, who had to cut my neck at the end of the month, almost inspired respect in me.'

*Ma figure lui avait plu dès le premier coup d'œil. Je lui rappelais un frère cadet qu'il avait perdu en cour d'assises.*  
(*Ibid.*, VI, p. 219)

'My appearance made him cry at first sight. I reminded him of a fellow cadet that he had lost in the crown court.'

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§13 Anatole France and Abel Hermant also readily employ subordinate irony:

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*Les Romains aimaient la guerre, dit M. Goubin qui évitait soigneusement les paradoxes.*  
(A. France, *Sur la Pierre Blanche*, p. 368, in *Œuvres complètes*, t. XIII, Calmann-Lévy, 1948).

'The Romans loved war, said M. Goubin, who carefully avoided paradoxes.'

*M. de la Guit'hardière, que n'aime pas les vaincus, n'hésita pas à exprimer des sentiments russophiles.*  
(Abel Hermant, *Les Grands Bourgeois*, I).

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'Mr. de la Guit'hardière, who does not like the defeated, did not hesitate to express pro-Russian sentiments.'

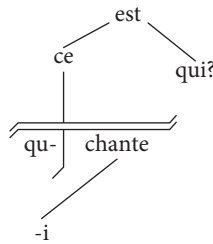
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312. We thus cannot be completely satisfied with A. Moufflet, who, without getting to the bottom of the matter and who abuses an appearance, writes that, according to a formula that in my opinion is lacking nuance, "the main clause is generally the expression of the main idea", *Contre le massacre de la langue française*, I, 1930, p. 239.

## Chapter 267. Advancement of the subordinate clause

§1 The independence of structural and semantic aspects and their inverse hierarchical importance have the effect of favoring the advancement of the subordinate clause at the expense of the governing clause.

§2 In particular, they permit French to renew its primary interrogative stock by way of a secondary system of reinforced interrogatives resting etymologically on subordination that is hardly sensed today (cf. Chapter 84, §16). Hence, by way of connective elliptical transfer, these interrogatives can serve as markers of direct interrogation exactly like primary interrogatives (cf. Stemma 353).



Stemma 353

§3 As a matter of fact, these secondary interrogatives are the **reinforced interrogatives** that we have already discussed in the area of standard interrogatives (cf. Chapter 81 and Chapter 84, §16). We overlooked the real nature of these secondary interrogatives because we had not yet properly studied transfer.

§4 The mechanism that leads to their structure – at least from the etymological point of view – consists of expressing the interrogative sentence in the form of a subordinate clause, the fixed antecedent of which is included in the connective elliptical transfer.

§5 This antecedent is the demonstrative pronoun *ce* ‘that’, which is the first actant of the verb *être* ‘be’ (cf. Chapter 67, and Chapter 207, §3). The verb is itself fixed and included in the connective elliptical transfer.

§6 Take the connected direct question in the sentence *Alfred est-il venu?* ‘Has Alfred come?’ as an example (cf. Chapter 84, §9), where the marker of interrogation is the inversion of the verb with the anontive index of the first actant. This primary index can be replaced by the secondary index *est-ce que*: *Est-ce qu’Alfred est venu?* ‘Has Alfred come?’ (cf. Chapter 84, §16).

§7 In this expression, the source of transfer is the independent clause *Alfred est venu* ‘Alfred has come’. The translative *que* ‘that’ ensures the transfer of the verb *est* ‘is’ to a subordinate actant. The verb *est* is contained in the interrogative governor *est-ce*, where interrogation is marked by inversion of the verb with the index of the first actant (cf. Chapter 84, §9).

§8 But the analysis of this structure is purely etymological. In fact, the governing clause *est-ce* and the translative *que* are merged by way of connective elliptical transfer in the single fixed interrogative word *est-ce que*, which remains unanalyzed by speakers who pronounce it [eskə] (cf. Chapter 84, §18)].

§9 The same fixed interrogative *est-ce que* helps the formation of secondary nuclear interrogatives.

§10 Thus the circumstantial primary interrogatives *où*, *quand*, *comment* ‘where, when, how’ are strongly in competition in French with the secondary interrogative groups *où est-ce que*, *quand est-ce que*, *comment est-ce que* ‘where, when, how’. Although in refined French one encounters *Où allez-vous?* ‘Where are you going?’, *Quand viendrez-vous?* ‘When are you coming?’, *Comment allez-vous?* ‘How are you doing?’, one prefers *Où est-ce que vous allez?* ‘Where are you going’, *Quand est-ce que vous viendrez?* ‘When are you coming?’, *Comment est-ce que vous allez?* ‘How are you doing?’ in spoken French (cf. Chapter 81, §5), even with the ellipsis of *est-ce* in popular French: *Où que tu l’as mise, ma belle œuvre?* ‘Where did you put it, my nice work?’ (Céline, *Mort à Crédit*, p. 18).

§11 Whereas the antecedent in the preceding cases is the pure translative and therefore the invariable element *que* ‘that’, secondary interrogative actants are formed etymologically by way of a transferred clause of the sort I > A, which is subordinated to these actants and which has the relative pronoun as its marker. The relative pronoun has a double value, both translative and connective, and it is therefore variable:

Primary interrogatives	Secondary interrogatives
<i>Qui chante?</i> ‘Who is singing?’	<i>Qui est-ce qui chante?</i> ‘Who is singing?’
<i>Qui voyez-vous?</i> ‘Who do you see?’	<i>Qui est-ce que vous voyez?</i> ‘Who do you see?’
<i>À qui donnez-vous ce livre?</i> ‘To whom are you giving this book?’	<i>À qui est-ce que vous donnez ce livre?</i> ‘To whom are you giving this book?’

§12 We have already seen (cf. Chapter 81, §9ff) the enrichment that occurs by way of the interrogative composed of the joint resources of the primary interrogative and the relative pronoun (cf. Chapter 81, §7ff.).

§13 Due to the influence of a desire for insistence (cf. Chapter 266, §9), independent clauses tend to become subordinate clauses. In time, one gained the ability to express all independent clauses as subordinate clauses, initiating these clauses with *que* ‘that’. Instead of saying, *je suis*, one was hence led to say *moi que je suis*, lit. ‘Me that I am...’ or *que je suis* ‘That I am...’.

§14 This matter is very clear in Low Breton, where the most banal independent clauses are normally constructed as subordinate clauses: *Me a zo...* ‘I am’, lit. ‘Me that I am...’, *Me a lavar* ‘I speak’, *Per a garan* ‘I love Peter’, lit. ‘Peter that I love him’.

§15 A number of French dialects appear to be based on a substratum, where this manner of expressing oneself was common. These dialects seem to have thus adopted, or have rather conserved, this manner of constructing sentences of the substratum, this substratum being visible underneath its neo-Latin exterior. This phenomenon is striking in the dialects of the Gascon or Béarnese type, where it has the effect of substituting the conjunction *que* ‘that’ for the personal indices *je, tu, il*, the conjunction being thus charged with the value of a personal index: Gascon *que souy* ‘I am’, probably understood originally as \*(*moi que (je) suis*) ‘(me) that (I) am’; Béarnese *que souy* (same meaning), *Lou baylet ques lhebât* ‘The servant got up’, probably originally understood as ‘the servant that he got up’.

§16 Hence this analysis is also probably applicable to the genesis of the conditional translative *que si* ‘if’, and perhaps also to its Latin prototype *quod si*: Fr. *Que si le ciel daigne favoriser mes vœux, rien ne manquera à votre félicité* ‘If the heaven deigns to favor my wishes, nothing will be lacking to my felicity’ (cf. Bescherelle, *Dictionnaire National*, see *si*).

§17 Finally, the range of French **translatives** is enriched with novel nuances by transforming an adverb contained in a clause into a subordinating element by way of *que*. The translative *même que* lit. ‘even that’ thus arose in colloquial and avant-garde French. This translative *même que* does not really express anything different than the simple *même* inside the clause:

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*Comment!... tu ne reconnaissais pas le cadeau que tu m'avais payé à ma fête, même que tu m'as donné une grande pièce blanche et qu'on t'en a rendu deux petites.* (Murger, *Le Sabot Rouge*, X), same meaning as *tu as même donné une grande pièce blanche...*

‘What!... you did not recognize the gift that you bought for me. You even gave me a large white coin, and two little ones were given back to you’

*...il s'entêtait à allumer leur fourneau sur le carré, même que, le samedi d'aparavant, mademoiselle Remanjou... était descendue à temps pour empêcher le petit Linguerlot d'avoir le corps tout brûlé* (Zola, *L'Assommoir*, II), same meaning as *le samedi d'aparavant, mademoiselle Remanjou était même descendue à temps pour empêcher...*

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‘...he persisted in lighting their stove on the square. The previous Saturday, Ms. Remanjou had even descended in time to avoid the burning of the small Linguerlot’