

A Descriptive and Comparative Analysis of Texts in French and  
English: an Application of Grammatical Theory.

by

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### Preface

The present study falls into two parts. The first, which is much the larger in scope and depth of detail, attempts to apply a particular theory of grammar to the description of a French text. The theory is most fully presented in M.A.K. Halliday's "Categories of the Theory of Grammar", Word 17, (1961), pp.241-292. It is assumed that the reader will have some knowledge of this work, so that it has not been felt necessary to begin with a detailed statement of the underlying theory. Instead, the description is presented from sentence to word, and theoretical discussion is incorporated at points where theoretical terms are introduced or where particular features of the description may throw some light on the relationships between the categories and the scales of abstraction.

The text chosen consists of four novels by François Mauriac:

- 1) Le Baiser au Lépreux (1922), Grasset, Paris; 1947 edition
- 2) Thérèse Desqueyroux (1927), Grasset, Paris; 1960 edition
- 3) Le Mystère Frontenac (1933), Grasset, Paris; 1954 edition
- 4) La Fin de la Nuit (1935), Grasset, Paris; 1947 edition

The description is at the level of formal grammar. The formal relationships and likenesses between different parts of the text are accounted for by establishing descriptive categories which are particular instances of the more general categories of the theory. Description in other words relates the textual data to the theoretical categories by means of the various scales of abstraction.

There is of course no attempt at an exhaustive description. Relationships cutting across sentence boundaries are ignored and arbitrary limits have been set to the depth of detail given in the discussion of classes, structures and systems of the units that are considered. On the other hand it is hoped that the description will not be restricted in validity to the particular text; that the descriptive categories

established will be justifiable by renewal of connection with other texts in French.

Part I concludes with an appendix giving the number of occurrences of certain of the descriptive categories: the NGp, its subclasses and elements of structure.

Part II includes a short description of the English NGp. The French and English NGps are compared briefly by examining their formal properties, their place in the framework of the grammar of the respective languages, and secondly by relating the French text to an English translation. The translation used was in all cases that by Gerard Hopkins:

- 1) A Kiss for the Leper, published with Genetrix by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1950.
- 2) Thérèse Desqueyroux )
- 3) The End of the Night ) published in "Thérèse", Penguin Books, 1959.
- 4) The Frontenac Mystery, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1951.

Quotations are throughout accompanied by page and line references to the texts. B, T, F and M refer respectively to the four French texts listed above, BE, TE, FE and ME to the translations of them. The symbol \* indicates a non-textual ungrammatical or unacceptable form, a non-textual but grammatical one.

Where a piece of text is analysed into elements of structure, the different elements are delimited by / and symbols for the elements are given after the reference; / indicates discontinuity: an element marked off by / ... / interrupts a larger element delimited /.../. Brackets enclose parts of the cotext whose structure is not given. In cases where the quotation is analysed at two ranks, / separates elements at the higher rank, + at the lower rank. Symbols for the elements at the lower rank are given in brackets.

I should like to express my thanks to Monsieur B. Quémada, Director of the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée at the University of Besançon for allowing me to use a number of the punched-card counting and sorting machines at the Centre for several days at the end of my year's stay there. The figures given in Chapters 7 and 8 could not have

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To my principal supervisor, Dr. Michael Halliday,<sup>now</sup> Director of the Communication Research Centre, University College, London, my debt is inestimable. Not least I am grateful to him for his encouragement in the periods of depression that befall most research students from time to time. It will be clear from what was said earlier that most of the theoretical framework of the study derives from his writings and teaching, though the responsibility for the interpretation and application of the theory remains of course with me alone. He has taken moreover a constant interest in the thesis, and was kind enough to read through it in manuscript, making numerous comments and suggestions.

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Part I

Towards a categorial description of the French text

## Chapter 1: The Sentence

### 1.1 The Rank Scale

For the description of our text we recognise a rank scale on which are ordered five units: sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme. Using Dr. Halliday's conversational terms "high" and "low" to refer to the two extremes of the scale<sup>1</sup>, we may say that the sentence is the highest unit, the morpheme the lowest. The latter will concern us only marginally: although each part of the description theoretically presupposes every other part, in that the categories at whatever degree of generality are not defined independently but by their relations with other categories, by their place in the total description, nevertheless in the present study we shall confine ourselves to the presentation<sup>2</sup> of those parts dealing with the sentence, clause and group. This will involve the syntax of the word, but its morphology<sup>3</sup> - and thus the syntax of the morpheme - will not be presented systematically.

"Unit" is the category established to account for the fact that the grammatical patterns of recurrent likenesses and choices occur over, or are carried by, stretches of varying extent. In saying that the sentence is the highest unit, we mean simply that it is the highest about which grammatical statements will here be made. We do not exclude the possibility of there being a higher unit - say the paragraph - but no attempt is made to give a categorial description of any such higher unit.

The five units are ordered in a taxonomic hierarchy. All except the

- 
1. M.A.K. Halliday: "Categories of the Theory of Grammar", Word 17, p 251. (Hereafter referred to as "Categories").
  2. Presentation as opposed to description, which is in turn to be distinguished from theory.
  3. Syntax in the sense of 'operation in the unit above or, by rankshift, in other units'; morphology in the sense of (internal) structure. See "Categories", p 262.

morpheme, that is to say, consist of one or more members of the unit situated one place lower down the hierarchy<sup>4</sup>. The way in which one unit is made up of members of the next lower-ranking unit is described by use of the category "structure". For each unit except the lowest we establish a structure, (or, less generally, structures) an ordered arrangement of elements in syntagmatic relation<sup>5</sup>.

The restrictions on what may occur at each of these elements are accounted for by the category "class". This is a grouping of members of a particular unit on the basis of their likeness with reference to their operation at elements in the structure of the unit next above<sup>6</sup>. "Operation at" is a relation of exponence: a class then is the exponent of, or expounds, an element of structure of the unit next above.

The class-element exponence relation however is not always (or even most often) bi-unique: it is not the case that a given element must be expounded uniquely by a given class occurring uniquely at that element. Structure and class account for different kinds of likenesses: this is why it is important to treat a structure as made up of elements rather than (directly) of classes. Structure is concerned with "the repetition of like events"<sup>7</sup> and relations; class with likeness in potentiality of expounding the terms in these relations. The theory does not require that there be complete congruence between the two kinds of likeness; indeed a number of the theoretical points raised in the present study will be concerned with some of the forms of incongruence, with various departures, that is, from a bi-unique exponence relation between class and element.

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4. "Categories", p 251.

5. Ibid. p 254 ff

6. Ibid. p 260 ff

7. Ibid. p 254

Likenesses of structure and class are variable in generality. Hence we recognise a scale of abstraction, named "delicacy"<sup>8</sup>, on which are ranged all descriptive categories other than the different units. The most general, or "primary", categories account for broad likenesses, more detailed distinctions within the primary categories being dealt with at "secondary" delicacy. The scale of delicacy is a "cline": it cannot be regarded as comprising a finite number of discrete points. Again it is useful to have conversational terms to refer to relative position on the scale: the most convenient are perhaps "early", for the highly general part of the scale, "late" for that part concerned with the most finely differentiated categories.<sup>9</sup>

We said above that a unit consists of one or more members of the unit next below. The only exception to this taxonomic relation arises in the case of rankshift<sup>10</sup>: here, instead of filling a place in the structure of the next higher unit, a (member or exponent of a) unit operates at an element in the structure of an equal or lower-ranking unit. The most frequent examples of rankshift in our text are:

- 1) the filling of the element "qualifier" in the nominal group by a clause,

l'endroit où il fallait frapper son ennemi P180/15

or (adverbial) group

la visite du curé B79/1

- 2) the operation of nominal groups at the element "complement" in the structure of adverbial phrases:

devant ce juge B79/7

Rankshift bears some relation to Pike's "feed-back"<sup>11</sup>; he uses the term when

8. Ibid. pp 272 - 3  
 9. These terms were suggested by Mr. J.D. Mountford.  
 10. "Categories", p 251

"a complex lexical item of a type which normally fills only slots of a higher-level syntagmatic structure is found filling a lower-level slot. (...) Such a situation occurs in the "phrase-word" the King of England's hat. Here the phrase the King of England is a high-layered lexical item grammatically structured with a high degree of internal tagmemic complexity. Yet the entire morpheme sequence is put in the slot preceding the possessive 's where normally only a low-layered structure would occur."<sup>12</sup>

In terms of the theory underlying the present study, a stretch of text is assigned exponentially to a given unit:

- 1) because it has the potentiality of occurring in the unit next above;
- 2) because the elements of its own structure are filled by members of the unit next below.

Actual occurrence in the structure of a group will not prevent our regarding a stretch of text as an exponent of the unit clause if it could operate in sentence structure and if its morphology is describable in terms of the clause elements "subject", "predicator", "complement", "adjunct" and so on. Rankshift thus represents a departure on the paradigmatic axis from a one-to-one correlation between element and class: the element *q* in NGp structure is expounded by the class noun of the unit word or by a rankshifted item, clause or group - où il fallait frapper son ennemi in the above example is only a clause: it is not a word, nor do we need to say that it is being used as a word.

Members of a unit may thus be shifted down the rank scale - but not up: the

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11. K.L. Pike: "Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour", Summer Institute of Linguistics, Glendale, California, 1954, 55, 60; III p 80b
  12. Ibid. III p 74a - though the term "feed-back" is not actually used on this page.

theory "does not allow for upward rankshift"<sup>13</sup>. Thus the sentence

Quelle remontée! M273/18

consists of a single clause expounded by a single group (nominal). The latter is not shifted up the rank scale for it is described as operating not at a place in sentence structure but at one in clause structure. The sentence element is filled by a clause which happens to contain only one group, so that what is in substance the same piece of text operates both in a sentence qua clause and in a clause qua group. The theory allows for this feature of language by recognising "simple" structures (those consisting of only one place), and this it is which excludes upward rankshift. Any piece of the text consisting of at least one sentence is to be described in terms of categories established for all the five units - in contrast to IC analysis where the number of moves down the hierarchy is a function of the structure of the particular item under description. It is thus unfortunate that in borrowing the term rankshift from Dr. Halliday, Mrs. Strang has fundamentally changed its meaning: for her a morpheme may be rank-shifted upwards to function as a word in her example: What we suffer from is too many isms and too little tolerance.<sup>14</sup>

The relation between units adjacent on the rank scale is constant throughout the scale. Ranks cannot, as it were, be bypassed, so that in this respect the scale differs from the otherwise rather similar lexical hierarchy of Pike. In his model "Some, but not all, sentences are clauses: some sentences are made up of two or more clauses, whereas other sentences - especially those filling an utterance-response slot - may be made up of nonclause phrases or words."<sup>15</sup>

13. "Categories", p 251

14. B.M.H. Strang: "Modern English Structure": London 1962, p 83. In fact, of course, -ism is not functioning as a word here, for isms is bi-morphemic. The difference between ism in the example and in, say, idealism, is one of class, not rank.

15. K.L. Pike: op. cit III p 7a

## 1.2 The delimitation of the sentence

Unit is a theoretical category, sentence is a descriptive one. The sentence, that is to say, is a particular instance (or exponent) of unit established in order to describe the French text in terms of the theory. It follows that although we may use the label "sentence" for units in different languages, the categories so designated are not identical. The sentence is not a universal: what we call sentence in French is a different unit with a different definition from the sentence in English, and so on.

The special difficulty in delimiting or defining the sentence in French arises from the fact that it cannot be recognised by its operation in the structure of a higher unit. Our position is thus the same as that of Bendor-Samuel in respect of the similarly designated unit in Jebero: "The sentence is the largest piece for which grammatical statements are made, and the term grammatical function does not apply to it."<sup>16</sup>

This feature is in itself part of the definition of the sentence, of course. Indeed it is the basis of Bloomfield's definition: "A sentence is a construction (or form) which, in the given utterance, is not part of any larger construction."<sup>17</sup> Pike rejects such a definition, "insisting that units have first relevance in reference to occurrence in a higher-level structure."<sup>18</sup> Although obviously sympathetic in theory to such a view, we have not been able to adopt it here for the reasons already given - that it has not been possible to establish elements of structure for a higher unit.

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16. J.T. Bendor-Samuel: "The Verbal Piece in Jebero"; Word 17, Supplement, p 10
17. L. Bloomfield: "A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language"; Language 2, p 156. Bloomfield, however, treats the sentence as a universal or theoretical category, as indeed do many other linguists: cf the discussion and references in C.C. Fries: "The Structure of English", New York 1957, Ch II.
18. K.L. Pike: op.cit III p 30a

In French, therefore, we must say that the sentence is that unit whose structure is as described below, the elements being expounded by (classes of) clauses. In fact, just as for English Harris "squints" at the level of phonology - "Sentences of particular types may be characterised as those segments of speech (or writing) over which certain intonations occur or within which certain structures occur."<sup>19</sup> - we frequently need to look over to graphology for supplementary criteria. For we have not been able to find purely grammatical criteria that will distinguish what is (graphologically) a sequence of sentences as

*La fraîcheur du ruisseau le réveilla. Il sortit du fourré. De la résine scouillait sa veste. M143/4*

from sequences of clauses in a single, compound sentence:

*Elle ne quitte plus son lit, elle laisse son confit et son pain. T196/13*

It must be admitted that the two dimensions of presupposition described below - dependence and coordination - do not account for all the relations between clauses combining to form (what is graphologically marked as) a single sentence. Thus in

*Il admirait qu'aucune difficulté ne résiste à un esprit droit et qui raisonne juste; même au lendemain d'une telle tourmente, il était prêt à soutenir que l'on n'est jamais malheureux, sinon par sa faute. T168/15*

there are certainly no relations of dependence operating across the division marked by the semi-colon, nor do there appear to be any formal grounds for regarding the sentence as being composed of clauses coordinated by juxtaposition.

The delimitation of the sentence from a graphological and also from a grammatical point of view may be complicated by the presence of "direct speech", as in the following example:

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19. Z.S. Harris: "String Analysis of Sentence Structure"; The Hague 1962, p 7

Ayant répété: "Je ne suis pas quelqu'un de bien", elle entendit glisser, sur le parquet, la chaise basse. F41/28

where one must ask whether the piece in direct speech is to be regarded as a sentence, and if so whether it is rankshifted to a place in the structure of the larger sentence.

Further analysis might reveal a third type of relation between clauses, exemplified in the following sentences:

Regardez mes photos: j'étais une petite fille blafarde. T141/7

Entre une heure et quatre heures, M. Jérôme Péloueyre exigeait un silence solennel: ce temps sacré de son repas l'aidait à ne pas mourir de nocturnes insomnies. B10/5

At present however we must simply be willing to recognise structures containing two or more occurrences of a given element without there being any specific syntagmatic relations between them.

### 1.3 The dimension of dependence

#### 1.31 Dimension

The use of different criteria in the analysis of a unit may lead to the establishment of different sets of elements of structure (or classes and systems), each set contributing to a description of how the language works at the rank in question. A unit may thus carry a number of independent, or partially independent, contrasts. The application of different criteria, that is, may yield a network of interlocking classifications - classification in the wide sense of categorisation in terms of structure, class and system. Each such classification may be called a "dimension".

This term was used by Dr. Halliday in his "Grammatical Categories in Chinese" to refer to cross-systematization: "It is useful to stress the multi-dimensional nature of this systematization: a form may be ordered in the language by its being placed in a number of dimensions - that is, by its being assigned as a term

to a number of different systems."<sup>20</sup> More recently, Schachter<sup>21</sup> has suggested that one weakness of transformational theory, as at present formulated, is its inability to deal satisfactorily with independent sets of contrasts like mass versus count and abstract versus concrete in the English noun; he speaks of the possibility of introducing a rule which would allow a class to be divided along dimensions (or, in his terms, axes) simultaneously. Cross (or multi-dimensional) classification has perhaps been most thoroughly considered by Pike who, drawing analogies from phonetics and phonology where tables have long been used to display simultaneously interlocking sets of contrastive features, establishes multi-dimensional matrices of considerable complexity.<sup>22</sup>

A dimension may or may not be chain-exhausting. A chain-exhausting dimension is one where every member of the relevant unit (with the possible exception of rankshifted ones) is an exponent of a category established along the dimension. For example every place in clause structure may be categorised in terms of the dimension of predication, that is, every group (or rankshifted clause) operating directly in clause structure fills one of the elements S, P, C, A, Z, and every group belongs to one of the three classes nominal, verbal and adverbial. An example of a dimension which is not chain-exhausting would be that of polarity as applied to clause structure. Here we need to recognise only one element, N (negative element) - though it is subdivided later in delicacy; not all the places in clause structure are accounted for by N - there will be some places to whose description the dimension is irrelevant.

Non-chain-exhausting dimensions can never have primary status in delicacy. We do not, however, exclude the possibility of there being two (or more) primary

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20. T.P.S. 1956, p 179. We would add: "or as an exponent of a number of different classes or elements of structure".

21. In a review of R.B. Lees' "Grammar of English Nominalizations"; I.J.A.L. 28, pp 134 - 146

22. K.L. Pike: "Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions"; Language 38, pp 221 - 244

chain-exhausting dimensions applicable to a given rank - though in the above-mentioned paper Dr. Halliday suggests that only one dimension may be primary: "A class is said to be primary when it is the unique term operating at a particular place in structure. (...) Other classes, including both integral subdivisions of the primary classes and systems in other dimensions cutting across the primary classes, are said to be secondary, the former direct secondary and the latter indirect secondary classes."<sup>23</sup>

Whereas different sets of contrasts operating at a given rank are assigned to different dimensions, similar sets of contrasts operating at different ranks may be considered as belonging to a single dimension. We need for example to distinguish singular and plural nominal groups on the one hand, singular and plural nouns on the other. This terminological parallelism is of course not fortuitous since the contrasts in the two cases are closely related: we can account for this by establishing a single dimension of number yielding systems of the NGp and of the noun. Dimensions which are relevant to the structure of more than one unit will be called "long", others "short". Coordination would thus be a long dimension, phase (which is mainly concerned with the number of non-coordinated predicators in the clause) a short one.

Although a dimension may be rank-free in the sense just defined, namely that it is applicable to units of more than one rank, two dimensions may not yield different unit-boundaries. Thus a piece that is assigned to a class of, say, the unit group on the first dimension cannot be either more or less than a group on the basis of criteria on the second dimension.

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23. T.P.S. 1956, p 181

### 1.32 Primary elements $\alpha$ and $\beta$

Sentences may be simple or compound. There are restrictions on the ways in which clauses may combine to form a compound sentence. These we account for in terms of presupposition; in a colligation of two clauses, one presupposes the other. One kind of presupposition may be called dependence. Thus in both of the following sentences, the second clause is dependent upon, or presupposes in dependence, the first:

La vie s'infiltré en Yves de partout, / à mesure que le sommeil se retire. N261/1

Blanche apparut, / la figure cachée par une voilette épaisse. N97/3

$\alpha$  may be used to symbolise the presupposed element,  $\beta$  the presupposing, the structures of the above sentences being thus  $\alpha\beta$ . From these elements we derive<sup>24</sup> the two primary classes of the clause, independent and dependent respectively. Dependent clauses do not expound simple sentences, or more generally occur in sentences only in syntagmatic relation with the independent clause that they presuppose. This at least holds good in the great majority of cases; there are however three marginal (or non-favourite) kinds of sentence in which a clause classified as dependent on the basis of its operation in favourite sentences, does not colligate in dependence relation with an independent clause in the same sentence; such occurrences do not affect the assignment of the clauses to the dependent class. The three kinds of sentence are:

1) Answers - for which the criteria are contextual or graphological:

Thérèse, sans répondre, soupira: "Pauvre Marie!"

-- Pourquoi: pauvre Marie?

-- Parce qu' aux vacances du jour de l'an, il n'y aura pas de baignades ni de siestes au moulin ... F107/15

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24. This formulation should not be taken to imply that the elements have theoretical, descriptive or procedural priority over the classes. They are merely presented first.

## 2) Interrupted sentences:

Si tu voulais, Thérèse ... Oui je sais bien que ta position est délicate. T89/6

The most characteristic exponents of such sentences consist, like the one just given, of a clause beginning with the group si. Other types do occur too however, witness

→ Et puisque la messe, pour vous, ne signifie rien ... T191/1

## 3) Relatives - occasionally what is morphologically marked as a relative clause

(see below 1.33) is found operating as a simple sentence:

La veille, un camarade lui avait rapporté ce mot du maître: Quel ennui! il va falloir que je donne à ce petit Frontenac une idée de moi conforme à son tempérament ..." Ce qui n'avait pas laissé de refroidir Yves. M181/25

1.33 System of dependence-kind

We have said that the primary element  $\beta$  presupposes in dependence the primary element  $\alpha$ . At the next stage of delicacy  $\beta$  breaks down systemically, according to the kind of dependence relation, into the secondary elements  $\beta^i$ ,  $\beta^j$  and  $\beta^x$  yielding the subclasses completive, parenthetic and conditioning clauses. These subclasses are thus terms in a system, which itself stands in the relation of exponent to the primary element  $\beta^{25}$ , and accounts for the choice at  $\beta$  between the three subclasses of dependent clause. The terms in a system are always secondary choice classes: they cannot be primary classes because the system itself is the exponent of a primary (or secondary) element which defines the place at which the choice is made<sup>26</sup>. They are choice classes in the sense that at the place of operation of the system

25. Cf "Categories", p 264

26. Cf M.A.K. Halliday: "Class in Relation to the Axes of Chain and Choice in Language": draft of a paper given at the ASLIB Symposium on Classification in Linguistics, 18 May 1963, p 6. (Hereafter referred to as "Chain and Choice")

only one term may be chosen. This is not to say that two subclasses from the same system may not colligate - they do for example in the sentence

comme il ne fut jamais aimé, / il n'imagine pas / que son fils puisse  
connaître ce bonheur. B38/10  $\beta\alpha\beta$

Here the first  $\beta$  is expounded by a conditioning, the second by a completive clause. But the basis for the systematization is not their syntagmatic relations in such sentences but the contrastive selection of one term rather than the others which is made at every  $\beta$  element.

A systemic choice is always finite (and generally small) - this it is which distinguishes it from the much less powerful (or informative, in the information theory sense) selection from among the total list of exponents of an open class.

The three terms in the system of dependence-kind will now be discussed in turn. In any colligation of two clauses where one presupposes the other, it will be convenient to refer to the presupposed one as the higher-order clause, the presupposing as the lower-order clause (and similarly in respect of the elements at which they operate.) These terms will be explained in 1.35.

### 1.331 Completive clauses

These presuppose a preceding higher-order clause containing an imputing group. Most frequently this coincides with what on the dimension of predication is a verbal group, as in

La servante lui dit que ces messieurs avaient déjeuné en ville; B14/15

Thérèse protesta qu'elle y pensait depuis longtemps, F73/8

The subclass of VGp operating in this way is rather large; the following list contains the majority of those found in the text but is not intended to be exhaustive. The groups are given in the infinitival form except in the case of impersonal VGps, and reference is made to one occurrence of each:

accepter	F55/3	entendre	B114/9	prouver	F72/23
admettre	M106/20	entrevoir	T84/17	rappeler	T58/14
admirer	B11/10	envisager	M73/12	redouter	B43/1
ajouter	F73/16	éprouver	B151/15	repartir	T112/4
s'apercevoir	T67/17	estimer	M31/10	répéter	M254/13
assurer	F81/17	s'étonner	F34/13	répondre	T114/5
avertir	F80/20	faire signe	F72/2	révéler	B37/3
avoir conscience	F152/23	se figurer	M284/13	savoir	T112/16
avoir peur	T200/10	gronder	M59/4	sentir	M105/10
balbutier	F101/15	inférer	B64/4	souhaiter	T114/9
bougonner	M91/3	s'informer	F222/3	soutenir	T120/7
caler	M241/3	insinuer	F39/26	se souvenir	T51/10
calculer	B88/10	inventer	B54/2	télégraphier	M90/2
comprendre	M257/19	jurer	T55/20	téléphoner	M280/9
convaincre	M227/23	lire	T180/3	témoigner	F93/11
craindre	M123/12	manifeste	B85/13	tenir	B104/7
crier	T173/7	nier	T123/22	voir	T58/11
croire	T61/11	noter	F34/29	vouloir	T114/4
déceler	M193/25	opposer	T123/13	il arrive	B17/13
découvrir	M289/24	penser	M122/19	il n'empêche	M21/16
demander	M87/5	persuader	T102/13	il faut	F67/23
démontrer	M126/18	préférer	T16/2	il importe	B38/2
déplorer	T138/9	prétexter	M286/16	il paraît	F68/14
deviner	F37/26	prévenir	M239/23	il se peut	B129/8
dire	T65/10	professer	B128/15	il vaut (mieux)	F205/16
douter	F136/24	promettre	M74/21	voici	T38/5
écrire	T65/11	protester	F73/8	voilà	F56/27
empêcher	B67/7				

Alternatively, the imputing group may be a NGp or AGp following a copulative predicator, either impersonal:

ce serait très heureux que Jean se mariât. B34/12

or personal:

je suis sûre qu'il ne préfère à toute autre; F36/5

Le spécialiste (...) était d'avis qu'elle ne devait plus se passer d'ascenseur, F113/6

Indeed, such groups may occur alone, without the copulative P:

Inimaginable que ce silence nocturne fût fait de milliers d'étreintes et d'agonies. F158/12

This still does not exhaust the structural possibilities of the higher-order clause, for we would wish to include examples like the following:

Cela n'aurait eu aucune importance que cet imbécile disparût du nombre des vivants, T162/21

and perhaps also

Il avait émis le vœu qu'elle devint plus simple. T55/5

Later in delicacy the completive subclass is itself broken down into a system of three terms. The subclass completive and the secondary system of completion-kind thus both stand in the relation of exponent to the secondary element  $\beta^i$ . The three terms are:

#### 1) que-completives

il faut que Georges se sente libre; F177/7

This is the most frequent of the three terms, and the one into which fall all the examples given so far. The initial (or forward-tending, see 2.4) element is que; or rather que or de ce que as we would allow the latter to belong to the same subclass (at this stage of delicacy) on the basis of the equivalence between

Thérèse s'étonnait qu'ils crussent encore aux préséances. F34/14

and

Joséfa (...) s'étonna de ce qu'il ne consultait aucun carnet. M230/21

We must distinguish this use of de ce que from that where de is a prepositional element and ce que the first element of a rankshifted clause:

Thérèse eut honte de ce qu'elle éprouvait, F10/29

The line between the two categories is difficult to draw; perhaps the most satisfactory criterion would be that where ce que has the value of complement, there is rankshift, de being outside the clause, as in the second example; and where de ce que has the value of adjunct the clause is completive (not rankshifted).

Adoption of this criterion will lead us to include as completive clauses introduced by à ce que and perhaps one or two other items too, witness

Vous tenes à ce que tante Félicia habite le château de ses pères, M32/7

This destroys the descriptive parallelism between the above pattern and tenir à + NGp, but a large number of the VGps given in the list may be followed by either a NGp complement or a completive clause introduced by que and we would not analysis the latter as rankshifted to the complement position.

The vast majority of que-completive clauses contain a (finite) P; isolated examples do however occur where there is no P at all: these are restricted to patterns like the following:

Mais je suis bien sûre que non. F190/14

- 2) I-completives. These are introduced by a subclass of binding group which may be called the interrogative binding group (see 2.31) including as exponents such items as où, qui, quand, ce qui etc. Examples

Vous n'avez pas besoin de me rappeler / quel oncle vous êtes pour mes petits ... M27/14 aß

Elle lui demanda / à quoi il pensait. M269/11 aß

voilà donc où la petite voulait en venir; F56/27

Thérèse lui demanda ce qu'elle comptait faire. F68/23

I-completives generally contain a finite VGp; a few examples occur with an infinitival one (in which case the imputing group in the higher-order clause is normally savoir):

Il ne sut / que répondre. F96/15 *ap*

elle savait à quoi penser; F194/12

or with no VGp at all:

sans qu'elle sût pourquoi. M249/11<sup>27</sup>

3) si-completives. These are introduced by the group si; examples:

Bernard ne savait pas si elles en contenaient assez pour qu'on pût s'empoisonner. T55/1

Il me demanda si j'avais lu la vie du Père de Foucauld par René Bazin; T115/13

In a more delicate analysis it would be necessary to set up subclasses of the imputing group according as they occur in clauses presupposed by the three subclasses of completive clauses: many of those listed above may be followed only by que-completives.

1.332 Parenthetical clauses.

These contain an imputing group, (more delicately a subclass within the latter reporting group) and the clause itself or else its VGp generally has interrogative mood (see 2.22). Example:

Son père et sa mère, *+* songeait-elle, *+* étaient morts d'une maladie de coeur. M33/19 *ap*

Relatively rarely, the mood is affirmative, there being in the spoken language intonational markers of dependence:

Mais qui allait croître, elle en était sûre, l'envahir, la posséder toute entière. F164/23

27.

It will be noticed that in this example (and some later ones) the higher-order clause is itself dependent: such structures are explained in 1.35.

## 1.333 Conditioning clauses.

At the next stage of delicacy these subdivide into a system with the following terms: relative, absolute, appositional and circumstantial clauses.

- 1) Relative clauses are morphologically marked by the presence of a relative binding group, qui, que, où etc. (see 2.31). At this point some explanation should perhaps be given of the terms "marked" and "unmarked", as they tend to be used for rather different kinds of contrasts. Thus in one sense, a category may be marked in contrast with another in that it is the less frequent or that a positive explanation is needed for its selection - in this sense we would say that feminine is marked in contrast to masculine in the system of gender operating in the noun (since, for example, hypostatizations and clauses rankshifted to operate at the head of a NGp behave for purposes of concord like masculine nouns); or again the sequential order  $\overline{\alpha\beta}$  is unmarked in contrast to the less frequent and less generally possible  $\overline{\beta\alpha}$ .

Secondly, a term may be unmarked in that it serves as the basis or starting-point for a statement of the exponential differences between the two (or more) categories - it is for example easier to derive the exponents of the masculine noun from the feminine than vice versa.<sup>28</sup>

Thirdly, a category may be marked by the fact that it contains within it some morphological (or alternatively phonological, etc.) features which may serve as a recognition criterion for the category; for example, negative VGps in French are marked in that they contain the item ne. The term exponent is sometimes used for this kind of marking, but this is not really desirable since the exponence relation (as described in the "Categories") is not between ne and the class negative VGp but rather between the groups containing the word ne and

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28. Cf L. Bloomfield, "Language"; London 1935, p 217.

the class. We shall continue to refer to terms as marked and unmarked in all the above senses, specifying which is meant in cases where there may be ambiguity. In the present instance then, relative clauses are marked in the third sense, that is, morphologically.

Relative clauses cannot precede the higher-order clause; they either follow it:

Ainsi songe Thérèse qui voudrait bien ne pas rejoindre les deux hommes, T15/17

or interrupt it:

Ces gardiens, dont elle écoute la plainte sourde, la verraient languir au long des hivers, haleter durant les jours torrides; T169/17

Still later in delicacy we distinguish three subclasses of relative clauses:

- i Post-emphatic: the higher-order clause contains c'est (with mood, tense, polarity and phase variable) followed by a NGp, AGp or rankshifted clause; the post-emphatic relative has in initial position either qui (as subject) or que (complement or adjunct):

"C'est moi-même qui parle.." M141/1

C'est par habitude que l'on donne une importance infinie à l'existence d'un homme. T163/6

N'était-ce pas une démente qui parlait ainsi? F223/18

Mais ce ne pouvait être d'elle qu'il s'agissait: F50/13

C'est après l'avoir vu que vous avez eu votre syncope. F244/15

We would also include the following, although the relative element is neither qui nor que - it is an example of rather archaic syntax:

Ah! c'était cela vers quoi il fallait avancer, F64/25

- ii Group-antecedent - these are relative clauses, other than post-emphatic ones, where the number and gender concordial categories of the relative element are determined by a NGp antecedent in the higher-order clause. Examples

Ses cheveux abondants, dont elle devait être fière, semblaient dévorer sa substance; N81/23

On dut réveiller Jean Férouyre qui avait dormi d'un sommeil profond. B57/4

Occasionally the antecedent is not a NGp but a word substitute for one, operating at an element within the VGp, as in

- Je te l'avais dit, la voilà qui s'emballé. N42/10

il y en a qui n'ont pas dessaculé pendant un mois après les distributions des actions, N180/4

Only a small subclass of the VGp - voir, entendre etc. - can contain the antecedent within their structure in this way.

There may be ambiguity between the subclasses i and ii, inasmuch as the clause presupposed by the latter may also contain c'est + NGp or AGp, as in

C'était Yves qui avait rabattu sur sa tête son capuchon N55/25

There would, however, be a difference in phonic substance, described phonologically as a difference in tonality - if the relative is of the post-emphatic subclass, the sentence would correspond to one tone group; two if the relative is of the group-antecedent subclass; there would probably also be a difference in stress.<sup>29</sup>

The following sentence illustrates a possible ambiguity as between a post-emphatic and a rankshifted relative clause:

Ce n'est pas la ville de pierres que je chéris, ni les conférences, ni les musées, c'est la forêt vivante qui s'y agite, et que creusent des passions plus forcenées qu'aucune tempête. T238/21

Here que je chéris is a post-emphatic relative, whereas qui s'y agite and et que creusent des passions plus forcenées qu'aucune tempête are rankshifted

29. See footnote 33

qualifiers in NGp structure - again there are phonological distinctions carried at the rank of the tone group. (For rankshifted relative clauses, see 2.13)

iii **Clause-antecedent:** the antecedent of the relative element is a clause.

This subclass can generally be distinguished from i and ii by the exponent of the relative element, which almost always contains the word ce -

trois mille hectares qui avaient en partie été rasés par son père, - ce qui expliquait que, pour l'instant, ses revenus fussent tellement réduits;

F72/8

More rarely, the relative element consists of preposition + quoi. Here there is exponential overlap between the group - and clause - antecedent subclasses. Example:

Elle pensait bien que "la mistress" ne le savait pas: sans quoi elle aurait empêché "lou prau moussu", (...) de passer toutes ses après-midi avec le fils Pleuchon; B125/8

2) Absolute clauses may precede, follow or interrupt the higher-order clause. We may distinguish, morphologically

i Those consisting of a NGp subject and a participial VGp predicator (with or without other elements):

L'absence ayant adouci dans son souvenir les traits de Jean Péloueyre, elle avait comme recréé son époux B111/8

Le cauchemar dissipé, de quoi parleront-ils ce soir, Bernard et Thérèse? T21/21

ii Those consisting of two NGps or a NGp + an AGp related in such a way that the first element is the goal of intensivity of the second, (for the extensive - intensive contrast see 2.212). Examples:

elle le guettait, /la lampe haute/ et venait à lui avec un sourire  
d'accueil, B66/2 afa

Il demeurait immobile, /les yeux fixes F151/9 aß

or

Fernand Casenave, / sa fourchette en l'air, / interrogeait le visage  
maternel. B33/5 aß

Jean-Louis, le "calibre 24" sur l'épaule, croyait chasser les  
écureuils, N54/1

3) Appositional clauses may likewise precede, follow or interrupt the higher-order clause. Unlike absolute clauses they never contain a subject element (in the clause or within the VGp). Morphologically we may distinguish

i Those containing a participial predicator:

Ives (...) entendait tout de même - dominant le bruit du cercueil râclé  
contre la pierre et le halètement des fossoyeurs à tête d'assassins - la  
voix implacable, la voix satisfaite de Dussol: N224/5

Ives marchait, /délivré d'il ne savait quoi, N61/13 aß

ii Those containing an intensive NGp but no predicator; the goal of intensivity is contained within the higher-order clause.

Bon pasteur, /il n'avait eu souci que de son troupeau. B132/11 aß

Elle, naguère si jalouse de son autorité, lui demandait conseil pour  
tout ce qui concernait les enfants. N39/8

Apposition has been the subject of considerable discussion among French grammarians,<sup>30</sup> and the term is used with considerable variation in coverage. For some, only a noun (in contrast to adjective) may have appositional function - Galichet for example says that a word "ne peut exercer cette fonction que si elle

30. See for example: le Français Moderne 25, pp 181-185; 27, pp 140-142; 29, pp 252-257; 30, pp 172-192; le Français dans le Monde, No.7 "l'Apposition dans le français d'aujourd'hui", by A. Lombard in "Mélanges Michaëlsson", Göteborg 1952, pp 322-350.

désigne un 'être'. Or l'adjectif n'exprime pas l'être. Il ne peut exprimer qu'un caractère de l'être. Par conséquent, il ne peut exercer la fonction apposition."<sup>31</sup> Lombard<sup>32</sup> on the other hand remarks how the term is used in the Grammaire Larousse du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle to describe the function of all the underlined items in the following examples: Paris, capitale de la France; le maréchal Foch; mes deux frères et moi, nous étions (...); la ville de Paris; la place Malesherbes; j'ai la certitude que vous réussirez; le bourgeois gentilhomme; j'assiste, esprit sans joie, à ce splendide amour; légère et courte vêtue, elle allait à grands pas; les barques plates passaient, muettes.

For our purposes, appositional is a (secondary) class of the clause, not of the group - and much less of the word. Like all grammatical terms, it cannot be defined contextually, but only with reference to its interrelations with other categories. Appositional clauses are distinguished from qualifiers operating in NGp structure either by position in sequence (qualifiers may not be discontinuous from the rest of the NGp except as described in 5.32) or by intonation - non-rankshifted appositional clauses begin with a new tone group<sup>33</sup>, whereas qualifiers do not. Thus in

Thérèse, immobile a posé la lanterne dans l'herbe. T130/13

immobile is a clause operating at  $\beta$  in sentence structure; it consists of a single group (nominal) which itself consists of a single word (noun). But in

elle rejoignit sur sa couche l'homme immobile; T61/17

immobile has no rank status higher than word: it is a word (noun) operating at an element in NGp structure. (For the use of this criterion of tonality in the

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31. Le Français Moderne, 25, p 183

32. Op. cit.

33. This statement presupposes an analysis of French phonology in terms of a theory of phonology consistent with the theory of grammar underlying the present work. In fact, no such analysis has been made. All that can be said at present therefore is that it appears likely that the substantial, phonic difference which is the criterial basis for the grammatical distinction we are here making could be described phonologically in terms of a high-ranking unit, the tone group; more particularly in terms of tonality or the division of a piece into tone groups.

case of rankshifted clauses, see 2.13)

In a more delicate study it might be possible to subdivide appositional clauses, distinguishing what might be called colon apposition from comma apposition, (the punctuation here being a label not a crucial characteristic).

Thus on the one hand

Plusieurs générations avaient laissé des cannes dans le porte-cannes: la canne-fusil du grand-oncle Ousialanne, la canne à pêche et la canne à épée du grand-père Lapeignine et celles dont les bouts ferrés rappelaient des villégiatures à Bagnères-de-Bigorre. B12/12

Les deux aînés, (...) avaient pris leurs livres: les deux premiers tomes des Camisards d'Alexandre de Lamothe. M13/6

Il n'avait qu'un désir, quitter cette échoppe, cette odeur, cet affreux garçon. MB3/14

on the other hand, the examples given earlier and

Un instant, il crut voir à ses pieds, pareille à un chêne déraciné, sa Foi. B18/13

A clear grammatical difference lies in the latter kind's greater mobility of position relative to the higher-order clause.

- 4) Circumstantial clauses too may precede, follow or interrupt the higher-order clause. And they too admit of more delicate subdivisions. We need to distinguish

- i Conditional clauses - these must be separated out in order that we may account for relations of tense sequentiality between the VGps in the higher and lower-order clauses. Examples:

"Si Fernand se marie, ma bru mourra." B32/11

Pardonnez-moi si je vous blesse, F74/6

These are morphologically marked by the presence of si in initial position

(a different use of this item from that where it marks *si*-completive clauses - see 1.331) or alternatively by an interrogative VGp with a limited tense and mode choice:

il reviendrait au pays, s'imposerait à cette femme, jouirait d'elle, dût-elle en crever! B39/20

Elle n'était pas curieuse des autres, fût-ce de sa propre mère. F52/15

- ii Comparative clauses - these are introduced by the adjunct comme (which however also occurs as a binding element in non-comparative clauses) or occasionally by que (see below). This subclass is distinguished because it defines the place at which there is a systemic choice between zeugmatic and non-zeugmatic comparatives. The latter contain a finite predicator - characteristically the substitute VGp faire with or without the substitute word le:

Devant la traversée solitaire d'une soirée, d'une nuit, elle s'était raccrochée, comme elle avait toujours fait, à la première créature venue. F10/18

Vous vous jugez vous-même comme l'ont fait les gens de Saint-Clair et d'Argelouse. F40/13

In zeugmatic clauses there is no finite P and generally one (or more) of the elements derives its value from its parallelism with an element in the higher-order clause, or in a group within the higher-order clause:

Bernard la lâcherait dans le monde, comme autrefois dans la lande, cette laie qu'il n'avait pas su apprivoiser. T219/4

Ives parlait comme à un homme au chien couvert de boue. M123/20

In certain cases the comparative clause consists of comme alone, in which case it is presupposed by a lower-order dependent clause (see 1.35):

Et pourtant elle était sûre d'avoir atteint une extrémité: comme lorsque le trimardeur s'aperçoit qu'il a suivi un chemin ne menant nulle part F15/3

In the colligation comme si, one may hesitate between such an analysis as this on the one hand, and treating comme si as a single compound binding group on the other.

The comparative clause may be introduced by que when there is in the higher-order clause a group containing the item préférer:

je préfère attendre que d'être réveillée au milieu de mon premier sommeil. M188/5

The dimension of Zeugma is applicable also to coordinated clauses: it is described more fully in 1.43.

iii Neutral - this, the unmarked term in the system, comprises all circumstantial clauses other than conditional and comparative ones. Examples:

Quand elle ouvrait les yeux, il était loin déjà: B69/6

M. Jérôme sanglotait, feignait une attaque, tant il était lâche devant la minute d'angoisse d'une séparation! B35/19

Morphologically we may distinguish among circumstantial clauses

- i Those containing a finite P - as in all the examples above except the zeugmatic comparative clauses;
- ii Those containing a non-finite P: the P in such cases is generally infinitival

L'adolescent se pencha sur le ruisseau pour voir les longues chevelures vivantes des mousses. M54/20

or a present participle (preceded by en)

Yves, en se déshabillant, regardait la lune au-dessus des pins immobiles et recueillis. M64/7

A few examples are found, however, with a past participle at P:

Bernard n'avait éprouvé qu'une sorte de joie tremblante, après un grand péril écarté: T168/8

Et elle, pleine de force, avec la figure mouillée par la pluie,  
 (...) F224/16

Here the division between circumstantial and absolute clauses is somewhat ill-defined. Perhaps the best criterion is that clauses with a past participle P, or no P at all, are not circumstantial unless they are zeugmatic comparative ones or else contain a binding group which characteristically occurs in circumstantial clauses with a finite P. By this criterion we would contrast

lorsque la place nette, on peut recommencer sa vie sur nouveaux frais. T30/8  
 circumstantial, with

A peine son fils au lit, il se coucha lui aussi, B113/16

Il rencontrerait Blanche, les enfants, avec cette femme à son bras

M47/21

which are both absolute.

This slight indeterminacy of the boundary between the categories might be described as a case of paradigmatic non-discreteness. A clearer example occurs in the following sentence:

D'avance elle savait ce que la petite allait lui dire: qu'elle ne s'entendait pas avec son père, F22/25

Here the last clause has characteristics of the appositional and completive subclasses. Paradigmatic non-discreteness we would distinguish from exponential non-discreteness or dual class membership - here the same item may expound two (secondary) classes. There is for example a very large measure of exponential non-discreteness between post-emphatic and group-antecedent relative clauses, but the subclasses are nevertheless paradigmatically discrete in that though many items may expound them both, they cannot do so simultaneously in one occurrence.

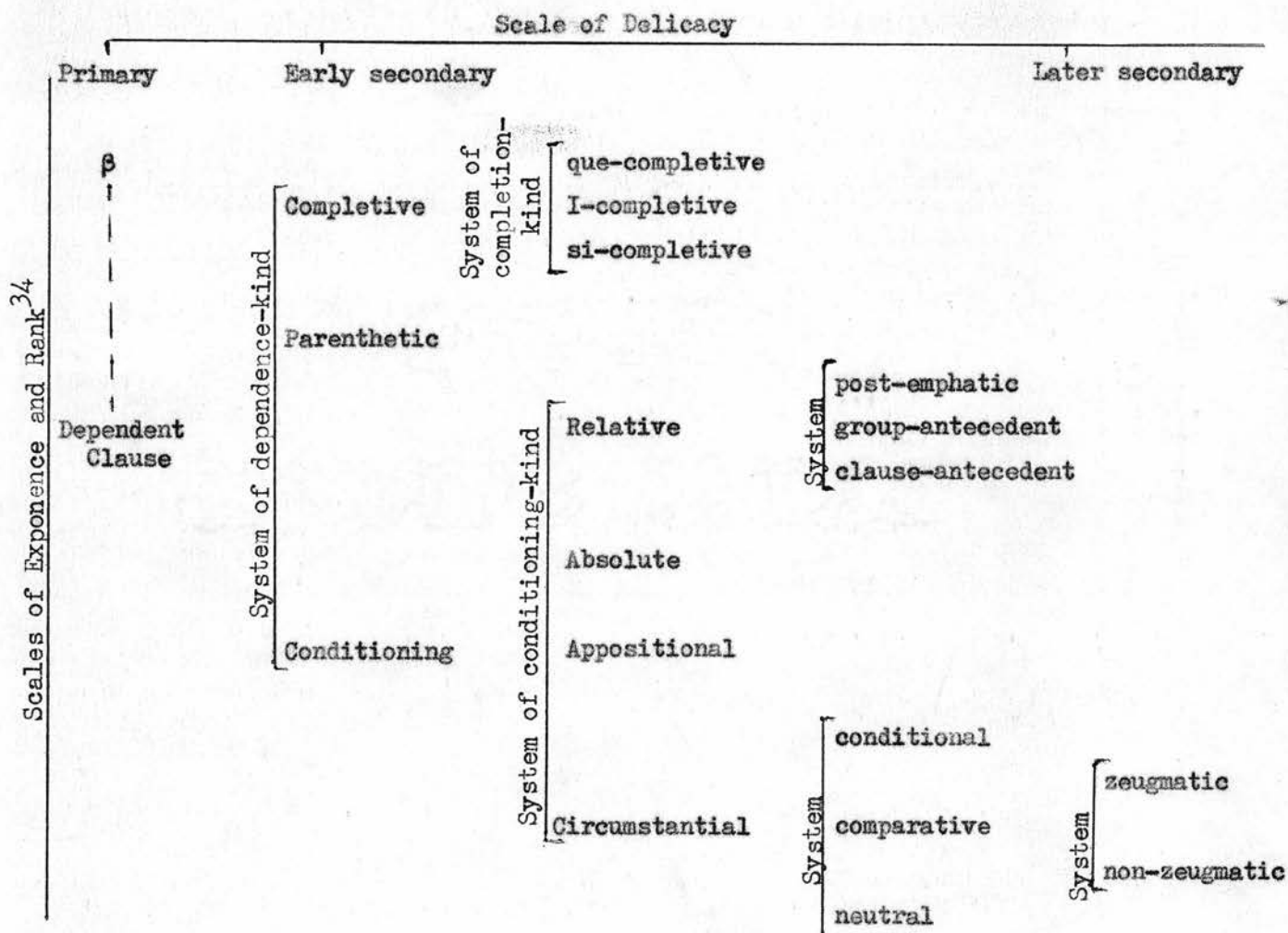
There is, finally, a small measure of non-discreteness on the syntagmatic

axis, as illustrated by the following sentences:

C'est à cette confrontation qu'il faut que Thérèse se prépare F239/26  
cet Argelouse où voici qu'elle retourne furtive et protégée par la  
nuit. T38/5

Here the first que in the first sentence and the où in the second do not self-evidently belong to only one of the two dependent clauses.

1.334 Summary of dependent clauses. Sections 1.331 - 1.333 may be summarised diagrammatically as follows:



34.

These are distinct scales of abstraction, but in the case illustrated here a move in exponence from an element of structure of the unit sentence ( $\beta$ ) to the clause class that operates there (dependent) is at the same time a move down the rankscale - see "Categories", p 270.

There is only one move in exponence, whether at the primary or secondary degree of delicacy, namely that between structure (more precisely, element of structure) and class; the successive steps in delicacy do not affect the exponence relation<sup>35</sup>, which is the same between  $\beta$  and dependent clause class as between  $\beta^i$  and completive (dependent) clause sub-class. Subdivisions have been shown therefore only in respect of clause classes. The subclasses on each of the secondary dimensions are systemic.

#### 1.34 Paradigm of dependent clauses.

Class and system are syntactic categories - though morphological features may be used as additional criteria in their definition. They are established, that is, with reference to the unit next above. "Syntactic", of course, is not the same as "syntagmatic". For as we saw earlier the contrast between subclasses expounding terms in a system is established on the paradigmatic not on the syntagmatic axis, but the system and the subclasses are nevertheless syntactic in that they represent the range of choice between classes of a unit that is made at a place in the structure of the unit above. Morphological (as opposed to syntactic) categories corresponding to the class and system are respectively the morphological type and the paradigm.<sup>36</sup> The latter is traditionally confined to the rank of the word or group, and is item-bound - that is, one element of structure is kept constant in terms of its formal item exponent. As Robins<sup>37</sup> points out, one use for such a

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<sup>35</sup>. Cf "Categories", p 262-3, footnote 50.

<sup>36</sup>. See "Chain and Choice", p 3: "the morphological set (of items which are alike in their own structure) may then be referred to as a 'type' in contrast to the term 'class', which should be reserved for the syntactic set." In the "Categories", however, it is paradigm which is opposed to class: "When a name is needed for morphological groupings, groupings of items on the basis of likeness in their own structure, the term 'paradigm' is available", (p 262) - though the items in the example given, viz works, working, worked are members of a type, but also, more delicately, terms in a paradigm, just as the members of the class dependent clause can be grouped primarily into a single class, and secondarily into subclasses expounding terms in a system.

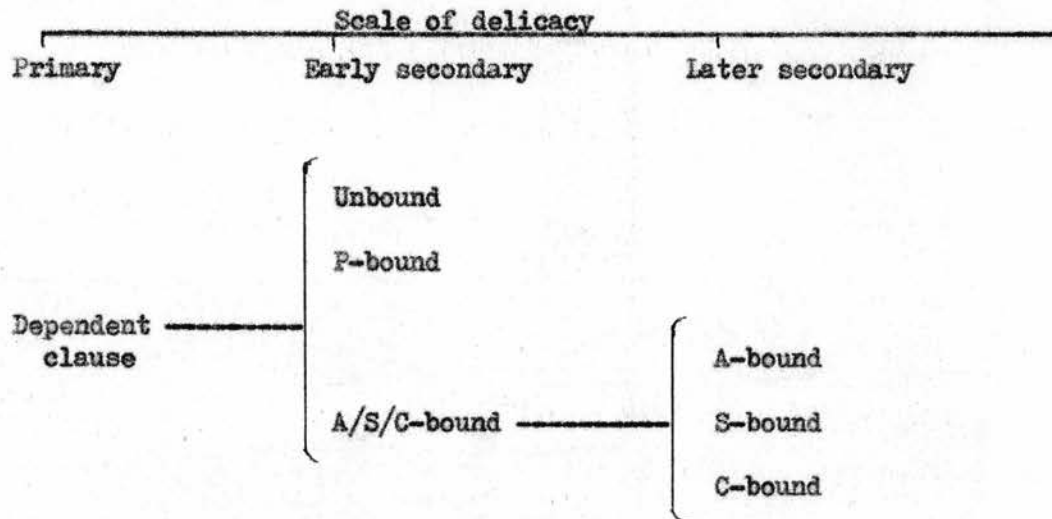
<sup>37</sup>. R.H. Robins: "In defence of WP", TPS 1959, pp 116-144

paradigm is to display case and number variations in the noun, or tense, mode, voice, number and person variations in the verb; it is especially valuable in those languages like Latin where it is often not possible to find phonologically discrete exponents for the morphemes making up the compound words in the paradigm. It does not follow though (as Robins appears to suggest) that, say, English took should be regarded as monomorphemic - at the level of grammar it may be analysed as made up of two morphemes which do not here have discrete realizations. One of these morphemes is to be found in take and this indeed is the most satisfactory grammatical justification for their inclusion in the same paradigm.

In addition to such item-bound paradigms it may be useful to recognise categorial ones, and at all ranks (other than the lowest of course, which by definition has no structure). The paradigm would then be a set of types showing some degree of morphological likeness and unlikeness, just as a system is a set of classes with some degree of syntactic likeness and unlikeness. Whereas the terms in a system can all be referred exponentially to the same primary element of structure, this need not be so of the paradigm, though where it is, the system and paradigm may be co-extensive. Case in the group in German is a clear example of a paradigm which is not a system, in that there is no single primary element of clause structure which may be expounded by each and all of the cases of the nominal group: it is in fact likely that analysis would show the terms in the case paradigm to be primary classes of the group. An example in French is the verbal (word) paradigm, for again not all the terms can be related exponentially to the same element of V<sub>Gp</sub> structure: see p .

Even where the terms are referable to a single primary element, it does not necessarily follow that they should be regarded as forming a system as well as a paradigm. We would not for example grant systemic status to the following paradigm of dependent clauses, which displays the different ways in which a clause may be morphologically marked as dependent. For most dependent clauses contain in initial

(or forward-tending) position a secondary element B<sup>38</sup> expounded by the class binding of the unit group. This element may coincide variously with any of the elements S (subject), P (predicator), C (complement) and A (adjunct) established on the primary dimension of predication (see 2.21) yielding the paradigm:



A-, S-, C- and P-bound clauses are thus those where the binding element is coincidental with A, S, C and P respectively. Unbound clauses have no B element - though this does not necessarily mean that they are exponentially the same as items from the independent class of clause. The following table illustrates the interrelations between the syntactic and morphological analyses - the numbers refer to the examples following the table.

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<sup>38</sup>. Secondary because the dimension on which it is established is, as far as clause structure is concerned, non-chain-exhausting. For a more detailed account of the exponents and subdivisions, see 2.31.

	A-bound	S-bound	C-bound	P-bound	Unbound
<b>Completive:</b>					
que-completive	1	-	-	-	-
I-completive	2	3	4	-	-
si-completive	5	-	-	-	-
Parenthetic	6	-	-	-	7
<b>Conditioning:</b>					
Relative	8	9	10	-	-
Absolute	11	-	-	12	13
Appositional	-	-	-	14	15
Circumstantial	16	-	17	18	-

- 1) il grondait trop souvent /"qu'il fallait le secouer". M59/4 aß
- 2) Vous allez voir comme c'est peu de chose: F149/19
- 3) Jean-Louis lui demande ce qui ne va pas. M281/4
- 4) Elle sui demanda combien de mois il consacrerait à cette thèse. M70/4
- 5) il ne savait pas s'il irait à droite, à gauche M272/14
- 6) "ils aiment les êtres" /qu'ils disent; M186/5 aß
- 7) - Non, protesta Marie, il ne s'agit pas de cela! F74/21
- 8) Jean résolut d'attendre le fils Pieuchon de qui la chambre ouvrait sur le vestibule. B14/16
- 9) C'est toujours nous-même qui parlons à nous-même.. M141/3
- 10) Le pauvre oncle, / qu'avait terrifié l'établissement à Paris d'un de ses neveux, / avait tout fait pour en détourner Yves. M181/6 aß
- 11) Les carrosseries noires glissaient sur la chaussée /avec de brefs abois aux croisements. F101/1 aß
- 12) Ceux-ci atteints, /il ne savait pas (...) M272/14 aß
- 13) Jean Péloueyre, la bouche amère, se leva. B9/5
- 14) Thérèse, songeant à la nuit qui vint ensuite, murmure: T59/23

- 15) Thérèse verse dans l'eau le chloroforme dont le nom, plus familier, lui fait moins peur T181/20
- 16) Il ouvrit, sans qu'elle grinçât, la porte huilée, B12/3  
Yves se retourna pour voir passer l'auto de madame Escarraguel M81/11
- 17) Quoi qu'il pût advenir, /la petite ne l'aurait pas, F135/17 (a)
- 18) les enfants dussent-ils y perdre une fortune, elle pousserait son beau-frère au mariage. M50/2

Infinitival VGps have not been regarded as binding, as they may expound the predicator of independent clauses:

D'ailleurs, à quoi bon crier dans ce désert? F206/12

### 1.35 Depth of dependence.

Sentence structure on the dimension of dependence is recursive. That is, the presupposition relation may be repeated in depth; to use Dr. Halliday's terms: "Language also exhibits a different kind of structure, the 'recursive' structure. Here, as the name implies, an element of structure, or a combination of elements, is repeated 'in depth'."<sup>39</sup> If a structure has three elements  $X^1$ ,  $X^2$ ,  $X^3$  such that the relation of  $X^3$  to  $X^2$  is the same as that of  $X^2$  to  $X^1$ , we would say that the elements are ordered in depth, that they occur at successive positions on a scale of depth. Thus in

Il assura qu'il ne souhaitait pas qu'elle le laissât tranquille; F225/4  
the last clause qu'elle le laissât tranquille presupposes in dependence the second, qu'il ne souhaitait pas, which in turn presupposes the first, il assura.

Differences in dependence-kind (1.33) are not considered to invalidate the principle of recursiveness. So that in

Marie fit signe que c'était bien ainsi qu'il fallait circonscrire le débat. F72/2

39. "Chain and Choice", p 8.

the relative clause qu'il fallait circonscrire le débat is at one lower position in depth than the completive que c'était bien ainsi.

We have spoken so far as though of two clauses related by presupposition in dependence, one only were presupposing. In fact the relation is often mutual to some extent. Clauses containing an imputing VGp, for example, presuppose to a high degree the presence of a completive clause; there is, too, strong mutual presupposition between the clauses in combinations like the following:

à peine la jument eut-elle senti sur ses flancs ces jambes craintives, qu'elle partit au galop. M65/12<sup>40</sup>

Nevertheless, criteria such as greater or less potentiality for expounding a simple sentence (other than answers to questions etc., where the distinction between dependent and independent clauses is to some extent neutralized) and absence or presence of a binding group enable us to give priority to one direction in the presupposition relation. This will be the basis for the placement of the items on the scale of depth. The conversational terms high and low are again useful for reference to position on this scale; as the relation in depth between elements is one of order, we may speak of high-order and low-order clauses, so that of two clauses at consecutive positions on the scale of depth, the presupposed will be the higher-order one.

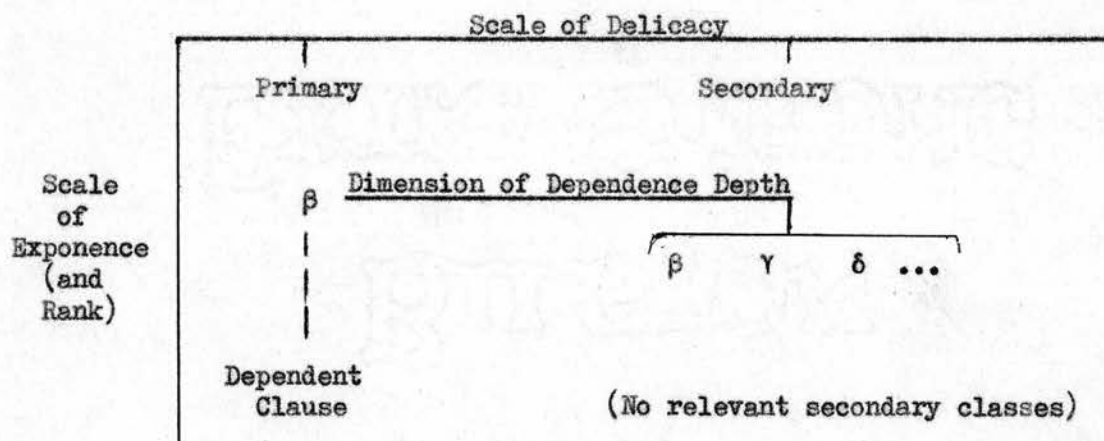
The first two positions on the depth-scale of dependence serve to define, by the relation of exponents, the two primary clause classes independent and dependent. But there is no class distinction corresponding to a move from second to third, third to fourth position etc. This is a normal feature of elements ordered in depth - to quote Dr. Halliday again: "It is a characteristic of

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40. The following clause however does not enter into any presupposition relations, but is significantly different from the example under discussion in respect of the tense of its VGp:

A peine entendit-il une sirène sur le fleuve. M196/6

recursive structures that they cannot be used to differentiate classes. Apart from the first term in the series, which may be distinguished by class (...), each element of structure represented by a term in the recursive series has as exponent one and the same class."<sup>41</sup> Since then the first move in depth is here different from all subsequent ones in that it involves a class distinction, we would give primary status on the scale of delicacy to two elements only,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , subdividing the latter secondarily into  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$  etc. The subdivision of  $\beta$  into  $\beta^i$ ,  $\beta^j$ ,  $\beta^k$  (1.33) was based on distinctions on the choice axis, that into  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$  is on the chain axis: we are concerned with syntagmatic relations. Diagrammatically then:



Order of depth need not be marked by place in sequence. That is, a move in sequence does not necessarily involve a move in depth for one (or more) of the following reasons:

- 1) A clause may precede, follow or interrupt the higher-order clause.

This is not to say of course that place in sequence is irrelevant, but rather that the distinctions it does carry are more delicate, and on a different dimension from that of depth of dependence. It provides, as we have seen, one criterion for the distinction of certain subclasses on the dimension of dependence-kind (some

<sup>41</sup>. "Chain and Choice", p 10.

dependent clauses, notably relatives, may not precede the higher-order clause). Further where more than one arrangement in sequence is possible, distinction must be made between the structures  $\overline{\alpha\beta}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\alpha}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\beta}$ . This entails the recognition of a system operating at  $\beta$  with terms  $\beta^{\leftarrow}$ ,  $\beta^{\rightarrow}$  and  $\beta^{( )}$  according as  $\beta$  follows, precedes or interrupts  $\alpha$ . The primary relation between  $\beta$  and  $\alpha$  is one of dependence-presupposition: order in sequence can thus be accounted for secondarily and systemically, (see also 5.52(4)). A detailed study would examine the factors determining the choice and describe the possibilities of interruption of one clause by another. The most usual places for interruption are after the initial adverbial group

Mais à peine rentré, Jean-Louis prit une décision que la famille admira et qui irrita au plus haut point son petit frère. M76/4

and, probably more frequently, after the subject:

Une fourmi, peut-être celle qu'il avait délivrée, grimpa le long de sa jambe; M142/23

En vain Thérèse, pour l'apaiser, s'efforçait-elle de retrouver cette voix un peu rauque dont elle connaissait le pouvoir; F177/17

But this by no means exhausts the possibilities; witness

Tous les quinze jours, le vendredi, quelque temps qu'il fût, il partait d'Angoulême vers trois heures, M22/18

penses-tu qu'après beaucoup d'efforts, on puisse transformer, si peu que ce soit, la destinée d'un homme? M192/20

The sequential arrangement of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  (and of  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  etc.) is much less variable than that of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , for order in depth cannot here be marked by

class differences. Normally then  $\beta$  precedes  $\gamma$ .  $\alpha$  may follow them both:

Bien que M. Jérôme ne lui eût jamais montré / qu'il se souciait de sa tenue, /  
Jean Péloueyre ne pose aucune question; B26/4  $\beta\gamma\alpha$

$\gamma$  may also interrupt  $\beta$ , especially after the initial binding element:

Promets-moi / qu' / une fois la chose faite, / tu n'y penseras plus.  
M74/21  $\alpha\beta\gamma$

Only very exceptionally does  $\beta$  follow  $\gamma$ , and in these cases  $\alpha$  occurs between the two:

Si papa avait vécu, / je pense / que c'eût été pareil... M122/9  $\gamma\alpha\beta$

- 2) Clauses may be coordinated, in which case they are generally at the same depth of dependence - see 1.4
- 3) A clause may be simultaneously presupposed by two (or more) others without there being necessarily any relations of coordination or dependence between the two presupposing clauses - eg.

Ils attendaient / que Thérèse eût quitté la salle, / pour se demander l'un 'a  
l'autre: (Mais qu'est-ce qu'on lui a fourré dans la tête au couvent?)

T86/10  $\alpha \beta^1 \beta^2$

Although there is in principle no limit to depth, in the text sentences with four positions are comparatively rare. Examples:

j'aurais voulu / qu'il répondit / que mieux valait ne faire aucun bruit /  
jusqu'à ce que fût passé le troupeau; T114/4  $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$

Quand elle lui affirmait, par serment, / que ce n'était pas elle / qui se  
trouvait dans cette auto, auprès du garçon avec qui elle avait dansé la veille, /  
il s'en laissait convaincre, M228/14  $\beta\gamma\delta\alpha^{42}$

Isolated examples occur with five degrees of depth:

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42. avec qui elle avait dansé la veille is a rankshifted clause operating as qualifier in NGp structure.

Qui sait pourtant / si ce n'est pas à elle / qu'il songe / lorsqu'il met  
 les disques du Trio à l'Archiduc / dont elle se souvient de lui avoir parlé,  
 un soir? F247/22 a6Y8E

#### 1.4 The dimension of coordination

##### 1.41 Introduction

We have so far considered one form of presupposition relation holding between clauses combining to constitute a sentence: one clause may presuppose another by being dependent upon it. Secondly, however, one may presuppose another by being coordinated with it, as in

Dussel avait pris à part oncle Xavier, et Blanche Frontenac les suivait d'un  
 oeil inquiet. M138/2

The dimension of coordination is established to account for these relations. It is primary (on the scale of delicacy) in that, firstly it is chain-exhausting and secondly it does not provide a framework for making subdivisions within categories already established on another dimension: that is, there is no priority in delicacy between dependence and coordination (see 1.44). The dimension is moreover long in that it is relevant to the description of all units other than the morpheme.

Coordination, like dependence, may be treated recursively, inasmuch as there is no theoretical limit to the number of clauses that may be related to each other by coordination, and also because it does not provide a basis for the establishment of primary classes in the way characteristic of place-ordered structures (though see 1.42 and 1.43). Coordination is nevertheless different from dependence in one important respect. If in the structure  $X^1 X^2 X^3$  the elements are ordered in dependence, then the relation of  $X^3$  to  $X^2$  is the same as that of  $X^2$  to  $X^1$ , but different from that of  $X^3$  to  $X^1$ , which is an indirect relation. If the elements are ordered in coordination, then  $X^3$  is to  $X^2$  as  $X^2$  is to  $X^1$  and as  $X^3$  to  $X^1$ . In

coordination, moreover, order is almost exclusively marked by sequence.

The use of Roman (lower-case) letters may be generalised for indicating place in coordination: "a" is then the highest-order element on this dimension, then "b", "c" etc.

Within coordination we recognise two secondary dimensions, which are themselves also long.

#### 1.42 Linkage

At any place on the scale, a clause may or may not be morphologically marked as coordinated by the presence of a linking group. This gives us a system of secondary clause classes, linked and unlinked. Thus in the sentence

Jean Azévédo ne décrivait Paris, ses camaraderies, / et j'imaginai un royaume dont la loi eût été de "devenir soi-même". T121/19 ab

the element a is expounded by an unlinked, b by a linked clause. Similarly in the following example, though here the coordinated clauses are dependent:

il n'avait rien fait pour la diminuer aux yeux de Marie, ni pour la rendre odieuse... P44/14

Linked coordination presents a problem in any grammar recognising a scale of rank: namely, to what rank should the linking item be assigned? Three possible solutions offer themselves. The first is to regard it as a mere structural marker, without a place of its own on the rank scale; such seems to be the approach of Hockett in his section on I.C. analysis<sup>43</sup> - though the latter model does not of course have a rankscale in the same sense as that defined in the theory underlying the present study.<sup>44</sup> It would in fact destroy the crucial taxonomic relationship between units on the rankscale, in that a member of a given unit would no longer necessarily consist solely of one or more complete members of the unit next below (with or without rankshifted members of other units.)

43. C.F. Hockett: "A Course in Modern Linguistics"; New York 1958, p 153.

44. Cf "Categories", p 249 fn. 21.

The second solution would be to treat the linking item as being a constituent of the item that it marks as linked. Thus in the above example, et would be (an exponent of) a linking group filling a place L in the structure of the second clause. The difficulty here is that the morpheme, being the lowest unit, cannot by definition have a structure in which the linking item could figure. However, morpheme coordination is very rare in French and is unlikely to involve more than two places.

Thirdly, we could regard the linker as of the same rank as the items it links. The above-quoted sentence would in this case be analysed as consisting of three clauses, the second expounded by et. It would however be a weak use of the categories to have such a large number of clauses (viz those expounded by et and other members of that class) to which the rest of the description of clauses was irrelevant. Moreover, the statement of the recursive nature of coordination would be complicated in that what is repeated would no longer simply be a clause, but rather either a single clause or a sequence of a linking clause and a non-linking clause. We adopt therefore the second solution, especially as there are no examples in the text of linkage between morphemes.

Linked clauses therefore contain a linking group: et, où, mais etc. The delimitation of members of the latter class itself presents a number of difficulties, which are discussed in 2.36.

In linked circumstantial clauses containing a finite P, the substitute binding group que is generally used instead of a repetition of the binding group in the higher-order clause:

parce qu'il n'arrive jamais rien et que rien ne peut plus m'arriver, F20/18

Comme la jeune femme n'ouvrait d'autre livre que son paroissien et que son état de jeune fille bien née et pauvre l'avait tenue à l'écart de toute intime compagnie, aucune fiction, nulle confidence ne l'aurait éclairée sur cette secrète exigence en elle. B102/13

As in dependence, there is some measure of mutual presupposition between coordinated clauses. This is especially so in such sentences as

(...) cette manie de souffler et de s'essuyer le front, à la fois pour se donner une contenance et pour montrer l'effort que lui coûtait son exactitude.

F125/6

So too in the following examples, if one regards the clauses, as I think one should, as related in coordination rather than dependence:

Autant qu'on lui en donnerait, à cette garce, autant qu'elle en boirait. T196/17

Et plus venimeuses étaient les paroles qui montaient à ses lèvres, sans effort, d'un flot continu, plus sa voix prenait de suavité. F180/18

Sa face blême demeurait levée vers Mondoux, soit qu'elle voulût accroître encore la souffrance de Georges, soit qu'elle espérât retrouver le souffle, F116/10

For in the next example the clauses are undoubtedly coordinated:

Plus sa poésie rallierait de coeurs et plus il se sentirait appauvri; M152/10

The linking groups here are respectively plus (simple) and et plus (compound); in the earlier example they are plus venimeuses and plus ... de suavité (the et in the first clause has of course no relevance to the coordination relation between the two clauses cited).

Linked clauses may occur at any place of coordination. Though their probability of occurrence is greater at the last rather than the first place they are nevertheless by no means infrequent at a:

- Vous en êtes loin!

Et il tirait un mètre de sa poche, mesurait le tronc. Et triomphant:

- Tenez, avouez que je ne me suis pas trompé de beaucoup... M130/8

Linked clauses may be discontinuous; a characteristic pattern is for a dependent clause to interrupt a linked independent one after the linking group:

L'oeil égaré, elle avait glissé deux doigts dans son corsage, et tandis que le curé lui racontait ses démêlés avec le maire, elle pensait à l'agonie, à la mort, au jugement de Dieu, au partage des propriétés. M137/14  $\beta / a \alpha / a \overset{\downarrow}{\alpha} / b \beta / a;$

The clause tandis que le curé lui racontait ses démêlés avec le maire presupposes in dependence the clause et ... elle pensait à l'agonie, à la mort, au jugement de Dieu, au partage des propriétés, which itself presupposes in coordination the first independent clause, elle avait glissé deux doigts dans son corsage.

Unlinked clauses are not morphologically marked as being coordinated. The recognition of their syntactic role thus presents some problems. We may use the term "juxtaposition" when an unlinked clause follows a clause which it presupposes in coordination; "contiguity" can then refer to the succession of two clauses without any relations of coordination presupposition holding between them.

Juxtaposition is exemplified in

- Je t'ai choisi, je t'ai mis à part des autres, je t'ai marqué de mon signe. M141/13

and contiguity in

Qu'on le laisse tranquille, il ne demande rien. M141/17

The main marker of juxtaposition is phonological, so that there will be frequent indeterminacy in a written text where there is scarcely any indication of tone. Grammatically one could invoke as a covert criterion the possibility of adding a linking group to the second clause; but more useful would be an overt criterion to the effect that morphological similarity between the clauses and syntactical similarity of dependence depth and kind is likely to be indicative of juxtaposition rather than contiguity. This criterion is particularly applicable to dependent clauses - thus there is coordination in each of the following sentences, which contain two conditioning and three completive clauses respectively:

Il n'eut pas besoin de marcher longtemps / pour ne plus entendre les éclats de rire, / pour ne plus sentir l'odeur des cigares. M136/7  $\alpha/a \beta/a \beta/b \beta/c$

Jean-Louis pensait / que l'humble Joséfa était entrée dans le mystère Frontenac, / qu'elle en faisait partie, / que rien ne l'en pourrait plus détacher. M284/19  
 $\alpha/a \beta/a \beta/b \beta/c$

In the following sentence the morphological similarity consists of the presence in initial position of lexically related adjuncts:

L'hiver, ce garçon raisonnable suivait à Paris des cours de droit; l'été il ne donnait que peu de jours à sa famille: T42/2

#### 1.43 Zeugma

The second dimension yielding secondary distinctions within coordination contrasts zeugmatic and non-zeugmatic clauses, the former being the marked term - marked in the sense of requiring positive explanation. We saw earlier that the system of zeugma is relevant also to comparative dependent clauses: it was discussed briefly in 1.333.

Any clause at any place in coordination may be zeugmatic or non-zeugmatic, irrespective of whether it is linked or unlinked. There are thus four possibilities which are exemplified in the second clause in each of the following sentences:

1) Zeugmatic linked:

- Vous êtes si bon! et moi si méchante! F89/11

2) Zeugmatic unlinked:

Elle avait joué un beau rôle, s'était complu dans des attitudes. F96/26

3) Non-zeugmatic linked:

Jean Péloueyre défendait à Noémi de l'embrasser, mais il acceptait l'imposition de sa main fraîche sur son front. B129/13

4) Non-zeugmatic unlinked:

Vous savez que les Deguilhan exigent un délai, qu'ils demandent à réfléchir ... T167/3

In a zeugmatic clause, the value of the constituents derives in part from the higher-order clause which it presupposes in coordination. Thus in

l'une défendant son couvent, l'autre son lycée. T32/18

the relation of l'autre to son lycée, namely that of subject to complement, derives from the relation of l'une to son couvent in the preceding clause: the relation is

as it were carried over into the zeugmatic clause which has its own exponents for the terms in the relation. Similarly the value of les ténèbres in the following example - viz. that of subject - is determined by la forêt in the clause to which it is linked:

*La forêt ne me fait peur, ni les ténèbres.* T161/13

Morphologically we may distinguish two types of zeugmatic clause:

- 1) Those containing only one place in structure (with or without a linking group too). There will be an element of the same value in the higher-order clause - or a verbal equivalent of one within the P of the higher-order clause, for the VGp has subject, complement and adjunct elements in its own structure, expounded by word classes: see 4.22. For us to recognize two clauses rather than a single clause containing coordinated groups, at least one of the conditions below must be met. Otherwise we keep to the general principle of treating coordination at the lowest rank possible, so that, for example, in

*Danièle et Marie épouseront des types sans situation ...* M122/3

the coordination is between words - the clause has only one subject expounded by a single but compound NGp. To treat coordination at a higher unit than is necessary leads to an increase in the number of categories expounded in the text and thus detracts from the simplicity of the description. The conditions then under which we recognise a zeugmatic coordination of clauses are:

- i There is discontinuity between the similar elements:

*D'ailleurs, le premier geste accompli, avec quelle fureur lucide elle avait poursuivi son dessein! avec quelle ténacité.* T230/16

- ii There is a phonological or graphological mark of disjunction between them:

*Bernard s'intéressait au poids de Thérèse, - mais aussi à ses propos'*  
T221/14

*Je lisais, justement, un article dans le Temps, où l'on démontrait que*

le Grec et le Latin, enfin les Humanités préparent les grands capitaines d'industrie... M126/18

iii The whole is followed by a lower-order zeugmatic clause whose rank is clear:

Elle croit pourtant l'entendre respirer, / frappe, / écoute, / frappe encore. F168/18

Here (the first) frappe is discontinuous with the similar element (elle) croit in the first clause; écoute is not discontinuous with the preceding frappe but is followed by the two-element zeugmatic clause frappe encore; thus the sentence structure is a b c d. In the following examples, however, we have juxtaposed (verbal) groups within, in each case, a single clause:

ces régions indéterminées où Thérèse a vécu, a souffert? T33/3

elles qui s'entendent si bien, pourtant, à recouvrir, à ensevelir leurs ordures: T77/4

iv The second element is presupposed by a dependent clause:

c'était + elle / qui, maintenant, prenait Yves dans ses bras / et + lui / qui, parfois, résistait. M53/9 a/a (PC) β/a a/b (A/LC) β/a

v There is "repolarisation": that is, the polarity - negative or positive - of the first clause is appropriate to the first of the two similar elements, but not the second. Thus in

Bernard avait consenti à ne pas habiter sa maison, mais celle de Thérèse. T97/8

la jeunesse n'est le commencement de rien, mais au contraire une agonie... F86/15

the negative polarity of the first clauses is cancelled by the special linking item mais and mais au contraire. Conversely in

Les freins d'un autobus couvraient tous les autres bruits, mais non celui qu'elle devina, plutôt qu'elle ne l'entendit, de la porte du palier; F101/2

The positive polarity of the initial clause is here reversed by the negating linker mais non. Structures involving que are not regarded as fulfilling this requirement, so that

*il n'éprouvait rien qu'un peu de fatigue;* B116/8

is a single clause containing two coordinated complements.<sup>45</sup>

2) Those where the zeugmatic clause contains two or more elements (with or without a linking group). We may distinguish two patterns :

i The relation between two (or more) elements in the zeugmatic clause is parallel to that between similar elements in the presupposed clause.

Thus in

*Il venait peu à Argelouse, plus souvent à Saint-Clair,* T104/11

the relation of peu to à Argelouse is carried over to the adjuncts plus souvent and à Saint-Clair, but the P (il venait) which is essential to the understanding of the relation between the adjuncts in the first clause, is not repeated in the second: it is this which makes it zeugmatic.

Similarly in

*Marie + se sentait + la tête + froide, / l'esprit + attentif.* F228/13

where attentif is intensive with respect to l'esprit in the same way as

froide is to la tête, the structure is a (SPC<sup>E</sup> C<sup>I</sup>) b (C<sup>E</sup> C<sup>I</sup>). Again in

*On a tout de même mis un chapelet entre les doigts de la vieille impie, un crucifix sur sa poitrine.* T182/13

*le vestibule où les placards déversent leur odeur de confitures et de moisissures, la cuisine ses relents de graisse.* B12/5

Probably the most frequent type of this structure is that where one of the elements is a finite predicator, the number and gender categories being in concord with, determined by, that of the VGp in the higher-order clause:

<sup>45</sup>. For a more detailed discussion of que see 2.35.

Il haussait les épaules, affectait le détachement; T99/4

José, qui se tenait mal et mangeait voracement, M60/3

Much less often the parallelism may be between non-finite P's:

A chaque instant une étincelle peut naître, un courant s'établir F100/21

sur des objets qui, jusqu'alors, avaient pu l'occuper, l'inquiéter et même le faire un peu souffrir, M226/16

We should also mention the special case where the zeugmatic clause precedes the non-zeugmatic one; the most frequent pattern here is that where the zeugmatic clause contains a binding group plus another element and the following clause repeats the binding group:

L'innocente ne se doutait pas que ce masque cruel et rusé, cette bouche serrée, ces yeux froids, que tout cela constituait pour la plupart de ceux qui l'avaient connue, la véritable Thérèse. F32/26

Elle éprouvait que les pins innombrables, aux entailles rouges et gluantes, que les sables et les landes incendiées la garderaient à jamais prisonnière. B151/15.

- ii Only one of the elements in the zeugmatic clause has an equivalent in the presupposed clause, but it enters into relations with the other elements in its clause which are not applicable to its equivalent. For example, in

Elle portait des mitaines de fil et, à son cou, un médaillon où étaient peints deux amours luttant avec un bouc. B111/2

the adjunct à son cou is related only to the second of the two complements.

Similarly in

Elle trébuchait, se tordait les pieds dans les ornières, T128/23

les pieds is complement only to se tordait, not to the first VGp.

Zeugma may affect units of different ranks at the same time. Examples of this have already been given: where the presupposed clause has at P a VGp

containing its own subject but the zeugmatic one has a subjectless VGp with its number and gender categories determined by the first, both the clause and its VGp can be regarded as zeugmatic: such is the case in the last example above. More complicated constructions occur when the VGp in the zeugmatic clause consists of a past participle parallel with a past participle in a finite VGp in the higher-order clause:

La tenture des murs et les rideaux avaient été changés, les meubles recouverts d'une autre étoffe. F219/24

It is not only the VGp which may be affected, however, witness the following example where the zeugma extends to the AGp:

Celui-là se disait qu'entre l'explication au tableau de demain matin, qu'entre le cours d'allemand où M. Roche peut-être le battrait, et le coucher de ce soir, une nuit bénie s'étendait: M13/24

Here there is only partial parallelism between the adjuncts, and the zeugmatic nature of the first is emphasised by the fact that entre normally presupposes either a plural or a double complement.

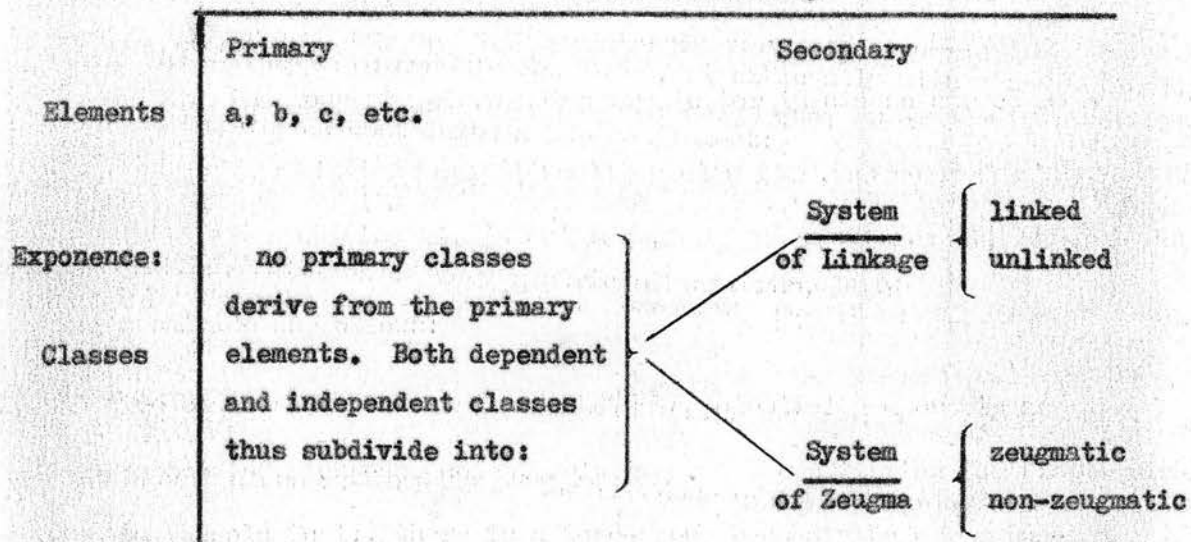
In a few marginal cases, of two clauses related in coordination both may be zeugmatic. Such is the most (contextually) viable interpretation of the following sentence:

les deux enfants n'ébauchèrent pas un geste, ne prononcèrent pas une parole de tendresse. M71/10

The second clause is here zeugmatic by virtue of the absence of a subject, the first because of the absence of a qualifier in the NGp complement - for de tendresse is related not only to the head parole but also to geste.

Elements and systems derived from the dimension of coordination as it applies to sentence morphology and clause syntax may be summarised as follows:

## Scale of Delicacy

1.44 Coordination and dependence in interrelation

The dimensions of coordination and dependence have been treated separately and each granted primary status in delicacy. For in the first place there is no positive reason for considering one secondary to the other. And secondly they are not systemically related: that is to say, we would not establish a single primary dimension of presupposition with a presupposed and a presupposing element, the latter being split secondarily and systemically into dependent and coordinated. There are three reasons for not establishing such a system:

1) A clause may be simultaneously at  $\beta$  in dependence and  $b$  in coordination.

*il importe que les Péloceyre fassent souche et que rien d'eux ne risque de passer à tante Félicité ni à Fernand Cazeneuve. B38/2 a/a  $\beta/a$   $\beta/b$*

If we said that of the two presupposing clauses, the first presupposes in dependence, the second in coordination, we should not be accounting for the dependence relation between the third clause and the first: that is to say, there is no systemic choice between dependence and coordination for a given clause may presuppose one higher-order clause in dependence and another in coordination.

2) It is not the case that at any place other than the first non-presupposing one, there is a choice between a move in dependence and a move in coordination: this is indeed the normal situation but we must recognise also the possibility of there

being a move on neither scale or on both. The sentence (-part)

Pendant qu'ils mangeaient, / Noémi lui demanda / si son travail d'histoire  
était achevé; B116/21  $\beta\alpha\beta$

contains two clauses at depth  $\beta$  in dependence, but they are not related to each other in coordination. However, in

Il eût voulu retenir chaque minute / et que le soir ne vint (sic)  
jamais. B65/7  $\alpha/\alpha \beta/\beta$

the second clause presupposes the first in both dependence and coordination.

- 3) Whereas dependence yields clause classes, this is not so with coordination itself - subclasses derive from systemic distinctions within coordination.

Nevertheless, the two dimensions are interrelated in that normally only clauses of the same order of dependence are coordinated: clauses at  $\alpha$ , or at  $\beta$  or at  $\gamma$  etc; only rarely are there relations of coordination between one clause at  $\beta$  and one at  $\alpha$ . With the exception of the last one, all examples of coordination so far given have been congruent in this sense, and no further illustrations need to be given at this stage. Exceptions are few; they may arise:

- 1) When the VGp expounding the first P in the higher-order clause belongs both to the class of imputing groups and to the class which may expound the first P in recursive phase structures (see 2.23), e.g.

il fallait les entourer de tentures, de meubles, de berceaux, / et que chacun  
d'eux y creusât son trou... M190/13  $\alpha/\alpha \beta/\beta$

Il fit signe qu'il ne voulait pas parler, ni qu'on lui adressât la parole, ni  
manger M248/25

In the following example, there is cohesion not between an infinitive and a clause as above, but between an adjunct and a clause:

Elle pensa à ses vieilles mains qui étaient abîmées, marquées de légères  
tavelures et qu'il les découvrait à cette seconde même. F143/27



- 2) When there is cohesion between an adjunct and a circumstantial clause: this is the most frequent pattern of incongruence:

Il n'avancait plus que lentement à cause du sable dans ses souliers et parce qu'un pieux enfant est toujours porté par les anges: W57/9

- 3) In a few other instances when the linking item is mais:

Ils vous ont mise dans leur jeu, mais sans rien expliquer. F191/13

In the case of coordination between dependent clauses, congruence of depth of dependence is generally accompanied by congruence of dependence-kind. That is, conditioning clauses are not coordinated with completive ones - we should be less ready to consider them systemically opposed if this were not so. Even within these two subclasses, there is more often than not congruence in terms of more delicate distinctions - cf

J'en suis à me demander si je rêve ou si je veille, W57/5

A conditional is unlikely to be coordinated with any clause except another conditional one:

N'eût-elle autrefois accompli aucun geste irréparable et même si elle était restée toute sa vie Mme. Bernard Desqueyroux, (...) sa fille n'en aurait davantage existé pour elle; F69/19

or an absolute except with another absolute:

Le repas achevé et M. Jérôme sommeillant, B67/1

Incongruent coordination between a relative and an appositional clause is less rare than other asymmetries, witness

son fils Fernand Cazenave, homme considérable, président du conseil général, et chez qui elle vivait à B... - B17/8

si sa mère, morte physique et qu'il n'avait pas connue, l'eût aimé. B16/20

The following is a rare example of coordination between an absolute and an appositional clause:

Noir de poil, mais le teint couleur de grenade, de ses longs yeux de mule andalouse, sans vergogne déjà il guettait ceux de Noémi. B117/12

Significantly this sentence belongs to the register of physical description, one of the formal markers of which is precisely the listing in juxtaposition of NGPs, absolute and relative clauses in structures less clearly integrated than is the case with other registers - cf

Elle vit d'abord qu'il ne s'agissait pas du personnage ridicule qu'elle avait imaginé: des épaules frêles, le dos rond, mais dans un visage d'enfant des yeux d'une limpidité presque insoutenable et qui valaient bien qu'on lui pardonnât son habit de confection, ses grosses bottines lacées dont les crochets montraient la couleur du cuivre. F114/11

Debout il paraissait énorme, une tête fine et pure, des yeux candides; mais le cou dans les épaules, un corps squelettique. F171/12

There are further examples at F244/24, M232/20, B105/18.

As far as independent clauses are concerned, we are not able to make any more delicate statement concerning congruence in coordination, though the prediction might be risked that more detailed study would reveal that coordination is generally between clauses of like mood.

Finally we should add that in some cases the distinction between dependence and coordination is not entirely clear-cut: we have seen that the system of zeugma applies to comparative as well as coordinated clauses, and with such items as aussi bien que or tant ... que one might hesitate between regarding them as involving dependent comparison on the one hand or coordination on the other - compare

Oui, ce n'est pas tant le drame en lui-même que votre existence pendant plusieurs années ... F67/22

ce n'était pas seulement son argent qu'il jouait, mais celui de la famille.

Chapter 2: The Clause2.1 Clause Rankshift2.11 Primary classification

The category of class is, as we have seen, defined by its relation to the other basic categories of the theory. In particular, a class is a grouping of members of a given unit alike in their potentiality of occurrence in the next higher-ranking unit. When a clause is rankshifted to operate as, say, head in a NGp, it does not thereby belong to the class of the unit word which is defined by its operation at the element head, since only words, not clauses, may be members of a word class. Rankshift is thus an instance of the lack of one-to-one correlation on the paradigmatic axis between element of structure and class.

We do not need, however, to recognise a primary class of clause in respect of each primary element at which members of the unit may operate. For the exponential overlap between clauses operating at  $\beta$  in sentence structure and those which are rankshifted is such that we may conflate them into a single primary class: this we have called "dependent". At primary delicacy then, there are only two classes of the clause - independent and dependent. The secondary classification of clauses along the dimension of coordination - linkage 1.42 and zeugma 1.43 - is applicable to rankshifted clauses as well as to non-rankshifted ones. But the secondary classification of dependent clauses outlined in 1.33 was based on their operation in sentences, and cannot be applied without modification to rankshifted clauses. We now present, therefore, a more delicate classification of the latter; where there is a high enough proportion of common exponents to warrant it, the same class names will be used as those given in 1.33, but this is a matter of descriptive convenience and must not blind us to the fact that the values will be somewhat different, as the classes will be defined by different syntactic criteria.

Rankshift may involve recursive structures in two ways. In the first place, the rankshift itself may be recursive: an item is rankshifted to operate in the structure of a larger item which is itself rankshifted.<sup>47</sup>

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47. cf "Chain and Choice", p 8 ff.

The most characteristic example of this is illustrated in the following group:

dans la lueur d'une lampe de chevet M287/12

Here the NGp chevet is rankshifted to the element c in the structure of the AGp de chevet; this in turn operates, by rankshift, as qualifier in the NGp une lampe de chevet; this is rankshifted into the AGp d'une lampe de chevet which is q in the NGp la lueur d'une lampe de chevet; finally this NGp is rankshifted to c in the AGp dans la lueur d'une lampe de chevet. Such recursive rankshift may be described in terms of depth of rankshift; see 7.2(3).

In the second place, two (or more) clauses related in depth on the dimension of dependence may be jointly rankshifted while retaining these dependence relations. Thus in

les moyens dont Yves avait usé pour prévenir cet examen: M183/8

the circumstantial clause pour prévenir cet examen maintains in rankshift its dependent relation vis-à-vis the preceding relative clause dont Yves avait usé. One relation between them is carried over into the NGp in which they are here operating. This presents no difficulty in description because the dimension of dependence is relevant to the NGp (and AGp) as well as to sentence structure. The relative clause can thus be said to be at q (a secondary division of  $\beta$ ) and the circumstantial one at  $\gamma$ . Similarly in the more complex example:

l'Être infini qui avait permis qu'elle fût sourde et laide, qu'elle mourût sans avoir jamais été aimée ni possédée. T105/7

Here the first rankshifted clause is presupposed in dependence by two coordinated completive clauses, the second of which is itself presupposed by a lower-order circumstantial clause. The four clauses are thus all rankshifted, filling respectively the elements  $\beta$   $\gamma/a$   $\gamma/b$   $\delta$  in NGp structure. In such cases there may again be the syntagmatic non-discreteness between a relative and a completive

clause mentioned in 1.333, e.g.

le parti auquel d'abord ma mère aurait voulu que nous nous arrêtions, T170/17

In such cases of multiple rankshift, it is convenient to refer to the clause which is the highest-ordered in dependence among the rankshifted series, as a first-order rankshifted clause and all the others as second-order ones. Now the subclassification of second-order rankshifted clauses is in no way different from non-rankshifted dependent clauses; there need therefore be no further discussion of them. The following subclassification applies, then, only to first-order rankshifted clauses.

The first subdivision contrasts clauses rankshifted to the head of a NGp

with those operating at lower-order elements in nominal or adverbial group structure: not a systemic contrast of course, as there is clearly no single place at which the choice is made.

### 2.12 Head clauses

These may operate in NGps at S or C in clause structure:

Ce qui s'était passé, quinze années plus tôt, / ne la concernait / en rien.

F55/6 SPA

elle avait fait / ce qu'elle devait faire; F46/21 PC

or as complement in AGp structure (see 1.331):

des enfants (...) se désespèrent à propos de ce qu'ils y découvrent ... F56/14

Il fit des plans pour quand Jean Péloueyre aurait "clampsé". B135/16

The following more delicate subclasses may be established secondarily within the head class:

1) Ce-clauses: marked by the presence of the word ce in the first element, as in

J'ai feint d'éprouver ce qu'il était convenable de ressentir devant une telle révélation ... F55/26

"Suis-je ce qu'on appelle une mère dénaturée?" F26/9

parce qu'il rendait clair pour moi ce dont je souffre confusément depuis mon adolescence: F139/19  $\beta$  (APC<sup>I-B</sup>)

There may occasionally be ambiguity as between such structures and those involving an I-completive clause.

Il me demande / ce que je ne peux lui donner.

may thus be an exponent of the structure PC (= "he asks of me something that I cannot give him") or of  $\alpha\beta$  (= "he asks me what it is that I cannot give him").

The difference lies in the fact that the initial element of the head clause must begin with ce, whereas in the non-rankshifted ones, the first position may be expounded by comment, combien etc.

Ce-clauses frequently occur in NGps at S preceding the VGp être; usually,

but not invariably, they are recapitulated by the word ce operating in VGp structure:

Mais ce qui accaparait, en cette minute, toute la puissance de son attention, c'était le souvenir d'un incident survenu l'année précédente: F47/20

Ce qu'il avait dit à l'oncle était horrible M118/22

- 2) Que-clauses: marked by que in initial position; they occur in NGps operating at S before a copulative P (and the mode of their own P is subjunctive); recapitulatory ce is again often found:

Mais que l'enfant fût capable de jalousie, était-ce le signe irrécusable qu'elle était aimée de lui? F117/15

Clauses which are the goal of an intensive complement (2.212) are not analysed as rankshifted:

Il jugeait + nécessaire / qu' + on suivit + le malade. M119/6 a(PC<sup>I</sup>) β(APC)

Elle trouvait + injuste / que + les flammes + choisissent + toujours + les pins, T144/22 a(PC<sup>I</sup>) β(ASPAC)

In these cases it is not clear whether the nominal or the verbal group in the higher-order clause should be regarded as the imputing one: perhaps both.

- 3) Qui/quoi clauses: the first element is qui or de quoi, the qui and quoi having here no anaphoric reference:

(et souhaitais) que / chaque minute / n'apportât / de quoi + vivre. T114/9  
ASPC (AP)

Épouse / qui + tu voudras, F68/15 PC(OP)

These too should be distinguished from non-rankshifted I-completives, as in

Ils ne comprennent pas / qui tu es ... M122/1 aβ

The criterion is the same as that given in (1) above, viz. the commutability of qui in I-completives but not the rankshifted clauses with items like comment

etc. Moreover, the rankshifted clause itself commutes much more readily with NGps - the above example continues, significantly with a zeugmatically coordinated clause containing a NGp complement:

"Epouse qui tu voudras, mais pas une landaise!"

- 4) Indefinites: clauses of very restricted patterns, like

il ne savait qui M203/2

n'importe qui T60/7

These are discussed further in the section on the NGp. See 5.24(3)

- 5) Infinitival clauses: marked by the presence of an infinitival VGp at P.

Like ce- and que- clauses, they characteristically precede a copulative P (and often occur as complement to one, too). The VGp may or may not contain the initial element de (see 4.234)

et vivre, c'était de demeurer assise F120/10

être embarqué, c'est être arrivé. F140/8

nous ne nous doutions pas que d'avoir vingt ans pût paraître aux autres  
comme une merveille. M185/10

- 6) Participial clauses: those containing a participial VGp at P: such clauses occur in groups at C<sup>I</sup>:

elle se trouvait / livrée + sans force + à toutes les furies de l'imagination, +  
à toutes les tentations de l'esprit. F18/1 PC<sup>I</sup>(PAAA)

lui aussi, aurait voulu (...) finir étouffé par ce baiser. B77/19

There is however, a certain amount of indeterminacy here, as the line between participial clauses and NGps is not clearly defined (see 4.251).

- 7) Circumstantial clauses: in a delicate analysis we should further have to account for circumstantial clauses operating as head of groups expounding c in AGp structure:

La paix d'avant que cet homme la possédât B102/7

The rank of il y a deux ans in the following example is less clear: it is perhaps better analysed as an AGp than a clause, with il y a operating as preposition in group structure not a predicator in clause structure -

cette scie d'il y a deux ans M250/17

### 2.13 Non-head clauses

We subdivide as follows:

- 1) Relative clauses: this class has the same potential membership as non-rankshifted group-antecedent relatives. The criterion for distinguishing them is phonological: there is a tone-group boundary before a non-rankshifted one. Thus the distinction corresponds<sup>to</sup> that frequently made between defining (our rankshifted) and non-defining relatives. The contrast is exemplified in the following piece:

Dans la piece nette, où étincelaient les casseroles de cuivre qui ne servaient jamais, Anna était assise. F110/24

Here the clause qui ne servaient jamais is rankshifted to q in the NGp acting as subject of the non-rankshifted relative où étincelaient les casseroles de cuivre qui ne servaient jamais. Graphologically, the distinction is often carried by punctuation: a preceding comma marking the non-rankshifted clause. However, this criterion is very far from being foolproof - a large number of non-rankshifted relatives are not preceded by a comma. This characteristically happens when there is a comma after the relative element as in

Un soir, + à Paris / où, + sur le chemin du retour, + ils s'arrêtèrent, / Bernard + quitta + ostensiblement + un music-hall T61/17 α(AA' SPAC) β(AAP)

But the absence of punctuational marking of the non-rankshifted relative can be noted in numerous other instances where the possibility of actual ambiguity is minimal:

Ives se retourna/pour voir passer l'auto de madame Escarraguel/qui avançait dans un bruit de ferraille. M31/11 αβγ

Thérèse, (toujours sur la chaise basse) découvrait machinalement son front /  
 dont Georges détournait les yeux. F154/15 ap(ASFC)

In fact, from a formal point of view, these are ambiguous: in interpretation the choice between the two possible formal meanings (rankshift or non-rankshift) is made by an appeal to the level of context. "Squinting" of this kind has been adopted freely in the textual analysis underlying the statistical treatment of the NGp given in Ch 7. The fact that contextual criteria are used in the analysis does not mean that the categories are not formal, for context is used not in the definition of the categories but in the assignment of items exponentially to them in cases where there is no overt formal marking in the text.

- 2) Clauses containing in initial position a phrasing element (see 2.23) or a (past or present) participle:

un type capable de piger N74/8

l'air remué par sa robe de percole. B30/2

All these items may expound the non-rankshifted appositional class, the distinguishing criteria being tonality and mobility of position, as described in 1.333. Not all appositional clauses have rankshifted counterparts however. Adjectives, for example, which may stand as head of a simple NGp operating in a simple appositional clause, are not assigned to the unit clause when expounding *q* in group structure: there is no morphological or syntactic reason for such an assignment.

- 3) Prepositional clauses - all are infinitival, e.g.

la question de savoir si l'on est encore aimé F143/2

De la table à ouvrage, / le linge à reprendre / coulait. B103/7 ASP

- |                                    |   |                                      |
|------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 4) Circumstantial (finite) clauses | } | a relatively small number of items   |
| 5) Completive clauses              |   | which are potential members of these |

two non-rankshifted subclasses were found occupying places in group structure:

Impossible de se représenter sa vie lorsqu'il ne lui resterait que de quoi ne pas mourir de faim. F79/19

A travers l'espace, il sentait la joie de sa bien-aimée, sa joie parce qu'il n'était plus contre elle couché. B89/16

En revanche, il demeurait toujours dans la crainte que sa famille ne découvrit l'existence de Joséfa. M85/6

- 6) Variable depth clauses. All the above sub-classes of first-order rankshifted clauses occur at the element  $\beta$  (more delicately  $q$ ) in NGp structure. The present subclass may be found at  $\beta$  or a lower-order element in nominal or adverbial group structure. They presuppose at the next-higher order element a member of a small system of words: plus, moins, trop, assez (all with or without the morpheme de, seep<sup>207</sup>), autre, même, tel, meilleur, pire, moindre, aussi, si, tellement, tant, autant, mieux, pis. The clauses may be more delicately classified as follows:

i Non-comparative

- (a) The presupposed item is trop (de), or assez (de): these clauses may be either infinitival, with pour as the first element
- une volonté assez puissante pour la ramener, après quinze années, dans ce petit salon où son crime fut conçu. F219/22

or finite, with pour que as clause-initial element

Sa demi-sœur Anne lui paraissait trop jeune alors pour qu'il pût lui accorder quelque attention. T42/8

- (b) The presupposed item is si, autant, tant or tellement; these clauses all contain a finite P and are introduced by que

Mais tu es tellement idiote que tu perdras tout ... M91/13

une émotion si douce qu'elle retarda l'instant de s'étendre sur son lit. B105/17

ii Comparative. The presupposed item is any of those in the above list other than trop or assez; comparative clauses have que in initial position and may be either

(a) non-zeugmatic, containing a finite P:

une connaissance plus profonde qu'il n'imaginait. M77/25

un être tel que nous le livre l'amour. F138/15

(b) zeugmatic - there is no finite P, the value of one or more of the elements being derived from their parallelism with elements in the clause in which is functioning the group into which the comparative clause is rankshifted (see 1.333, 1.43)

Mais sa solitude lui est attachée plus étroitement qu'au lépreux son ulcère: T157/20

son ulcère parallels sa solitude and au lépreux lui.

Elle redoutait plus que tout l'insomnie: F17/28

Alternatively the parallelism may be between an element in the zeugmatic clause and the (deictic +) head of the group in which the clause is operating:

La maladie même (...) comportait plus de joies que de peines, M52/7

Azévédo niait qu'il existât une déchéance pire que celle de se renier. T123/22

In other cases there may be no explicit parallelism at all:

Angoulême lui paraissait être beaucoup plus près de Bordeaux que naguère. M36/4

Il se rappela cette composition de lecture où, ayant lu mieux qu'aucun autre, il avait été tout de même classé dernier. E16/17

As with non-rankshifted comparatives, the clause may consist of a single item (in the case of rankshifted ones: que) and be followed by a lower-order dependent clause (second-order rankshift):

Jean-Louis leva les yeux vers Yves (...) qui faisait, pour pleurer, la même grimace que quand il était petit. M214/10

The comparative clause is here at  $\gamma$ , presupposing the  $\beta$  element même while the circumstantial clause quand il était petit is rankshifted to  $\delta$ .

The following examples illustrate the variability in depth of this subclass: at  $\beta$

En avouer assez pour détourner d'elle ce garçon; F127/22

Noémi (...) qui, vue d'aussi près, lui apparaît telle que sous une loupe. B43/15

at  $\gamma$

Le même soleil que la veille, la même brume. F79/7

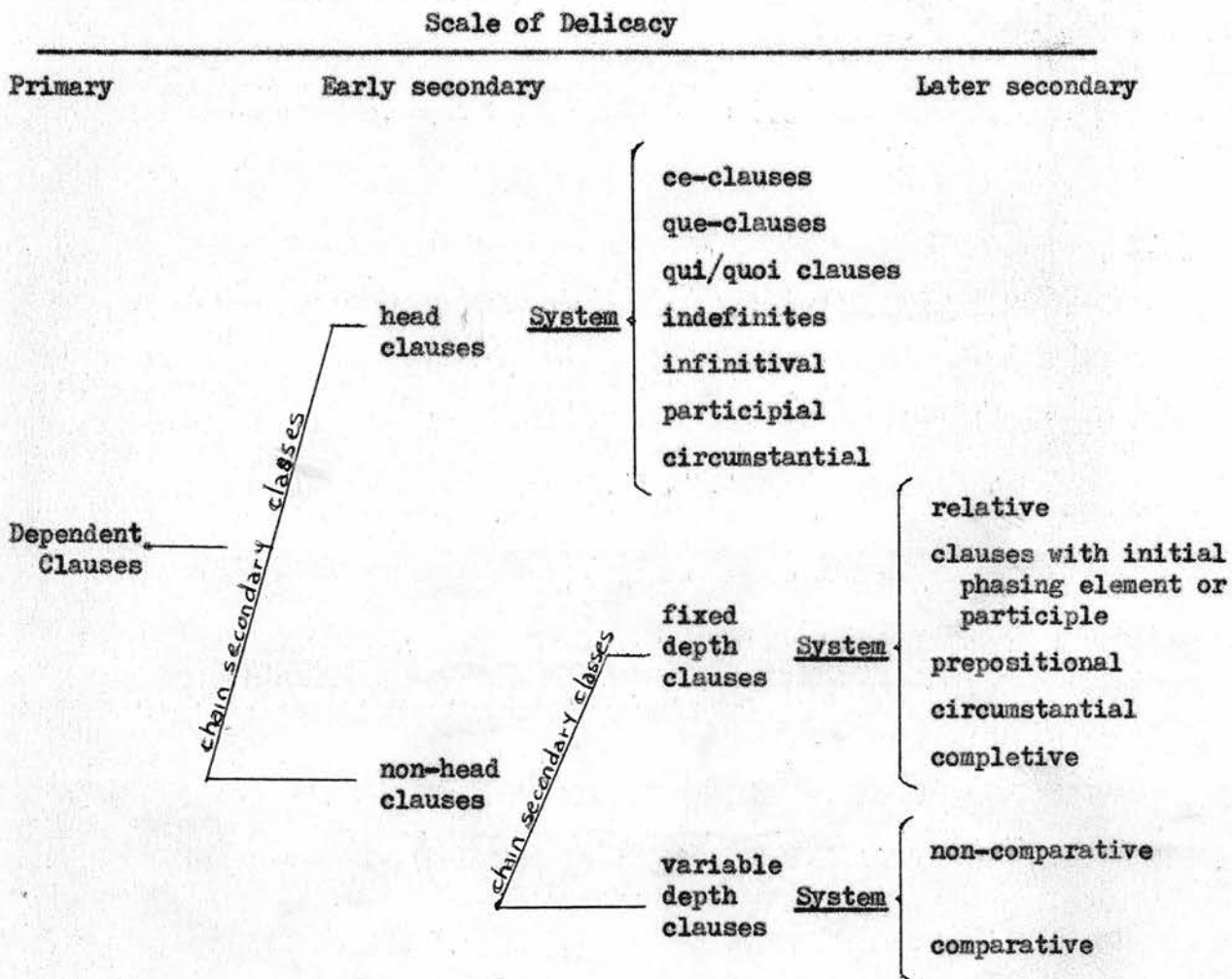
Elle n'était point si épaisse que la voyait Yves. M135/9

at  $\delta$

Beaucoup s'étonneront que j'aie pu imaginer une créature plus odieuse encore que tous mes autres héros. T8/16

L'espoir allait s'étendre sur sa vie, aussi faussement inaltérable, hélas, que le ciel des grandes vacances. M84/7

2.14 Summary of secondary classification of first-order rankshifted clauses:



2.2 The dimension of predication.

2.21 Elements and classes.

2.211 The elements S, P, C and A.

We have already had frequent occasion in speaking of clause classes to refer to the primary dimension of predication and elements established along it; it is basic to the description of clause morphology and yields three primary classes of the group. We first recognise four primary elements: predicator (P), adjunct (A),

complement (C) and subject (S).

The predicator stands in a one-to-one exponence relation with the VGp - every P is expounded by a VGp and every VGp expounds a P. S and C we recognise as two elements, not one, because they stand in different relationship to the P; but they yield the same primary class. Such a departure on the syntagmatic axis from the one-to-one exponence relation is possible because the overlap between the formal items operating at the two places is sufficiently great to warrant class conflation at the primary degree of delicacy. "Sufficiently great" is a descriptive variable; the set of formal items expounding two elements of structure may have all members in common, none at all, or any proportion in between. The theory does not lay down any absolute measure of overlap as a prerequisite for conflation. In the present case, there are three arguments in favour of deriving a single class from S and C: exponence, delicacy, morphology.

- 1) A very high proportion of the exponents of S (though not all) may also occur at C; a smaller, but still high, proportion of the exponents of C may also occur at S. It is preferable to emphasise this large-scale overlap at the primary degree of delicacy, leaving the exponential differences to be accounted for secondarily.
- 2) These differences can in fact for the most part be fairly simply described by reference to subdivisions within the primary elements - in particular the splitting of C into  $C^I$  and  $C^E$ , intensive and extensive complement respectively: see 2.212.
- 3) The structure of the unit group cannot be generalised: that is to say, no single dimension will yield elements applicable alike to the morphology of all classes of the group. All (or almost all) exponents of S and C can, however, be described in terms of a single set of elements: we can thus achieve greater congruence between the syntactical and morphological descriptions if we establish

one class here, which we may call "nominal".

This last argument we also use in assigning certain exponents of A to the NGp rather than to the AGp, which latter is defined by its exponence relation to A.

Thus in such a clause as:

Attends une seconde ... F52/22

une seconde is a NGp at A. Here the situation is different from that considered above. The exponential overlap between A on the one hand and S, C on the other is not very great, and the differences (or similarities) cannot be accounted for in terms of secondary structures. But overlap there is - une seconde etc. could expound S or C; rather than have dual membership (for our classes are more powerful, the more discrete they are) we use morphology (une seconde has the structure of a NGp) as an additional criterion. This does not make the NGp a morphological type rather than a (syntactic) class: it is both. For the nominal and adverbial categories of the group are set up primarily by reference to their potentiality of operation in the unit above; their structure in terms of word classes is brought in only secondarily to deal with those cases where the primary syntactic criteria are non-distinctive.<sup>48</sup>

We would not therefore go so far as to agree with Bendor-Samuel who writes<sup>49</sup>: "Syntactic function is the chief criterion for the establishment of word classes. However, morphological features are used to give a formal definition of the four word classes, while syntactic features are used to define further sub-classes of the four main classes. There is here a distinction between the syntactic factors which have largely determined the word classes and the morphological features which have been used to provide a formal definition of these classes." For us, the distinction

48. Cf M.A.K. Halliday: "Chain and Choice", p 2.

49. Op. cit., p 56.

is not between factors which largely determine and factors which define classes, but between primary and secondary criteria, the latter being used to increase the discreteness of the primary classes.

### 2.212 The dimension of extension.

Early in secondary delicacy it is necessary to make a far-reaching distinction within C, yielding the (choice) elements  $C^E$  and  $C^I$ , extensive and intensive complement. The distinguishing criteria are:

- 1)  $C^E$  may be replaced by a substitute word operating as verbal complement in a VGp, the word's number and gender categories being determined by the group for which it is a substitute. Obviously no direct examples can be given from the text of this characteristic of  $C^E$  because it involves performing an operation on the text; the following provide indirect illustrations however;

Elle tenta un geste de dénégation et, soulevant un peu la main droite, la posa sur les cheveux rebelles, les rejeta comme elle eût fait pour découvrir le front de son fils avant le baiser du soir. F130/5

Marie connaîtra ce bonheur, et Georges aussi le connaîtra. F162/3

$C^I$  - more accurately, only  $C^I \rightarrow S$  dir (see below) - may be replaced by the invariable substitute le operating as  $c^I$  in VGp structure. Again we give an indirect illustration:

Non, je ne suis pas folle. Jamais je ne l'ai moins été. F212/25

(note the lack of the feminine morpheme of concord in été)

- 2)  $C^I$  but not  $C^E$  may colligate with a passive predicator:

le gâteau dénommé fougasse ou rouadjade: F136/18

- 3) Clauses containing an active P and extensive C may be transformed into clauses of structure  $sp_{passive}$ , the exponent of  $C^E$  in the first becoming S in the second,

whereas no corresponding transformation exists in the case of  $C^I$ . Thus Jean is an exponent of  $C^E$  in

Le bruit des épingles à cheveux sur du marbre, éveilla Jean de sa léthargie. B94/12

for

† Jean fut éveillé de sa léthargie par le bruit des épingles à cheveux sur du marbre

is a possible and acceptable sentence, but there is no

\* malade est été par vous?

corresponding to

Vous êtes malade? F24/21

where malade is  $C^I$ . Although transformation, more rigorously formalised, has been taken as part of the model for a linguistic theory, it remains available in other approaches as one of the procedures which the linguist may apply criterially to language material in the discovery or description of his categories.

- 4) There are exponential differences. The most important is that  $C^I$  but not  $C^E$  may be expounded by a non-determinate NGp (see 5.41) - one with neither a deictic nor a free head: e.g.

chaque destinée est particulière; T122/12  $SPC^I$

- 5) When  $C^E$  precedes a P containing a past participle, there is concord:

quelle scène il m'a faite! F179/24

whereas  $C^I$  when expounded by an adjective is in concord with the goal of its intensivity - contrast

mais demain, serait-elle vivante? F117/25

Georges Filhot était vivant; F184/15

- 6) There are secondary class distinctions within the VGp, such that the copulative

subclass may colligate with  $C^I$  but not  $C^E$ . This of course is a recognition rather than a distinctive criterion, for these VGp subclasses derive in the main precisely from the  $C^I - C^E$  opposition.

In spite of these considerable differences, there is enough in common as far as exponents and place in sequence is concerned to justify our regarding  $C^E$  and  $C^I$  as subdivisions of the same primary element. It is indeed part of the value of the scale of delicacy that it enables us to describe both similarities and differences between our categories: the statement of the latter does not involve the sacrifice of the former.

Cutting across the  $C^E - C^I$  opposition - which we may call the dimension of extension - and to some extent leading to a modification of the criteria for it, we recognise, later in delicacy, a distinction between complements following a "personal" and these following an "impersonal" P:  $C^u$  and  $C^{imp}$  respectively. Impersonal VGps contain the invariable il at s or in the case of être, ce, and of faire ca at S, (there being no anaphoric reference for il, ce and ca); n'empêche and mieux vaut are also to be included, and so too, probably, voici and voilà although these do not satisfy the first of the following criteria.  $C^{imp}$  may not be replaced by a substitute word in the VGp, other than en. It cannot be thematic (see. 2.37). It may colligate with a reflexive P (where the reflexive element coincides with c):

il ne s'y passait rien N68/24

or alternatively with a passive P, though this pattern is not realized in the text. And when the P is non-reflexive active, there is generally a class difference in the VGp according as the C is personal or impersonal: so that venir, arriver etc. which do not occur with a personal  $C^E$  may be followed by an impersonal one:

il me vient une idée F71/16

Pourvu qu'il ne fût rien arrivé à Xavier! M245/25

An adjectival  $C^{imp}$  is in the unmarked number and gender categories viz. masculine singular, and there are otherwise no concordial relations between  $C^{imp}$  and P.

Indeed, a case could be made out for treating  $C^I$ ,  $C^E$  and  $C^{imp}$  as forming a three-term opposition on a single dimension. The description given above, however, has been preferred on the grounds that it gives priority in delicacy to the intensive-extensive contrast which is of far greater importance for the (sub-) classification of the NGp than is that between personal and impersonal.

The element  $C^I$  may itself be further subdivided along two separate systemic dimensions: intensivity-goal and intensivity-kind.

1) The intensivity relation may be between the complement and

- i the subject (or verbal s) - in the same clause, or when the C is in a zeugmatic clause, in the higher-order one:

(des clartés) qui / me paraissaient / admirables T115/3  $SPC^I \rightarrow S$

Où pourrait-il souffrir tranquille? B24/20

- ii the complement (or verbal c)

les ouvriers / trouvèrent / le geste / comique M166/19  $SPC^E C^I \rightarrow C$

maintenant que la voilà sauve, T26/15

$C^I$  generally follows its goal in these structures; the reverse sequence is however found, witness

Ce ne lui serait qu'un jeu de rendre / possible / sa vie auprès de Bernard. T29/9  $P C^I \rightarrow C C^E$

This mobility of place provides a (generally covert) criterion for distinguishing a sequence of  $C^E C^{I-C}$  from a single  $C^E$  expounded by a NGp containing a qualifier. In spoken French the two structures can also be distinguished by intonational features.

When there is a reflexive element at c in the VGp, the distinction between i and ii is hardly relevant: we may symbolise the C in such cases as  $C^I \rightarrow R$ ;

je m'occupe tout entière. T213/19

iii the rankshifted complement in an adverbial group - this is rather rare and does not occur with direct intensive C's (see below):

des paroles qu' / elle marmonnait / pour elle / seule. M221/26 CPAC<sup>I</sup> → A

iv the goal of the intensivity may be unmarked.  $C^I \rightarrow U$  generally occurs in clauses containing a non-finite P, either infinitival:

dont la loi eût été de "devenir soi-même. T121/21

or participial:

Enterrée vive, je soulevais une pierre qui m'étouffait. F93/18

The following is an unusual example after a finite P:

Qu'avait-elle fait de l'anneau qui rend invisible? F14/15

2) We distinguish the following kinds of intensivity:

i direct, as in

les ténèbres / ne sont / pas / froides: T194/16 SPAC<sup>I</sup> dir

L'assouvissement / la rendait / douce. F180/20 SPC<sup>I</sup> dir

ii indirect:

les métros / roulaient / presque vides / vers l'Etoile. M249/13 SPC<sup>I</sup> ind<sub>A</sub>

(la même (bibliothèque) qui était autrefois dans sa chambre de jeune fille, à Argelouse, au temps de son innocence,) mais / qui / l'a vue aussi / jeune femme, F11/17 ASPAC<sup>I</sup> ind

iii distributive:

Descends / toi-même / à la cuisine. T34/7 PC<sup>I</sup> dist<sub>A</sub>

(cette espèce d'êtres) que / l'histoire de leur propre cœur / accapare / tout entiers. F140/20 C<sup>E</sup>SPC<sup>I</sup> dist

Among the distinguishing criteria we would mention:

1.  $C^I$  dist is in part definable by the limited range of its exponents. These include moi-même etc., tout entier (but not entier alone) as in the above examples; and moi aussi etc.:

ces passants eux aussi échappaient à Thérèse. F19/7

tout, with or without a cardinal numeral:

comme / ils font / tous, M180/3  $APC^I$  dist → S

les voilà / tous, M258/2  $PC^I$  dist → C

seul

Seul / M. Jérôme / s'épanouissait. B71/20  $C^I$  dist<sub>SP</sub>

(cette angoisse) qu' / elle / seule / aurait pu / calmer F129/3  $C^E SC^I$  dist<sub>FP</sub>

le premier

Jean-Louis / s'avança / le premier M58/23  $SPC^I$  dist

and l'un or l'autre in such patterns as

Elles étaient / debout / l'une / en face de l'autre. F37/12  $PAC^I$  dist<sub>A</sub>

s'interrogeant / les uns / les autres / sur le sort du chat, de la rainette, des parapluies. M73/20  $PC^I$  dist  $C^I$  dist<sub>A</sub>

These items are not, however, confined to  $C^I$  dist, witness the following examples

comme / Jean-Louis / en était / le premier... M35/2  $ASPC^I$  dir

c'est / tout. F51/13  $PC^I$  dir

(Elle souffrait de la poitrine) mais / n'avait / plus / pour / de mourir / seule: F185/2  $APAPC^I$  ind

Ils la laissaient / seule F19/12  $PC^I$  dir

- ii Only  $C^I$  dir (with S-goal) may be replaced or recapitulated by the invariable substitute le operating in the VGp:

c'était une femme d'affaires. Du moins le serait-elle devenue M216/4

Pure, je l'étais: T36/12

iii  $C^I \text{ dir}$  (with S-goal) is more fully integrated into the structure of the clause in the sense that it tends to occur with predicators which cannot normally stand without a complement (or adjunct). Its occurrence is indeed limited to structures involving the copulative class of the VGp.

iv  $C^I \text{ dir} \rightarrow S$  is incompatible with  $C^E$ .

v  $C^I \text{ dist}$  may combine with any of the three kinds of  $C^I$  (including another  $C^I \text{ dist}$  as in the example of les uns les autres above):

nous naissons / tous / esclaves B95/21  $PC^I \text{ dist } C^I \text{ ind}$

seul / demeurait / sombre / le corridor M39/19  $C^I \text{ dist } PC^I \text{ dir}_S$

$C^I \text{ dir}$  and  $C^I \text{ ind}$  cannot combine, and there are also severe restrictions on the adjuncts which may colligate with  $C^I \text{ dir}$  - it does not occur with what might be called  $A^I$  (see below).

vi Demourette and Pichon<sup>50</sup> contrast their "dianathète" and "diamphithète" (roughly equivalent, respectively, to  $C^I \text{ dir}$  and  $C^I \text{ ind}$ ), including among their criteria the fact that étant may be inserted before the latter, whereas comme étant can often be inserted before the former.

vii Place in sequence is more freely variable with  $C^I \text{ dist}$ . It may precede S

(Je lui dirai)que / seule / la géographie humaine / m'intéresse:

M266/18  $AC^I \text{ dist } SP$

interrupt the SP sequence:

(des milliers de figures)qui / toutes / furent / des figures d'enfants.

B96/9  $SC^I \text{ dist } PC^I \text{ dir}$

as well as follow the P.  $C^I \text{ dir}$  does not occur in either CSP (unless C is thematic or recapitulated as in the example given in ii above) or SCP structures. The latter is probably best treated as possible for  $C^I \text{ ind}$ ,

50. J. Demourette and Ed. Pichon, "Essai de grammaire de la langue française"; Paris, 1911-1952; Vol II Ch XI.

A marginal case is provided by structures like the following:

Sans doute, la prenait-il pour une petite fille avide. F232/12

un de ces fonctionnaires qualifiés de "modestes" MB2/18

No  $C^I$  could replace the AGps here - the prepositions pour and de are required but in these patterns the complement element in the AGp may be expounded by a NGp consisting of an adjective, and in such cases there is concord, as is characteristic of intensive complements.

A further point is that a subclass of the AGp, recognisable morphologically by the fact that the head word ends with the morpheme -ment, cannot stand as the only A in structures with a personal copulative P and no  $C^I$ ; thus

\* il était lentement

is not a possible clause.

The parallelism between C and A should not however be exaggerated. We would not wish to consider the following as two clauses, for example, as we would if there were a NGp in place of the AGp:

Les gentianes, d'un bleu de regard, ne fleurissaient plus. B77/5

## 2.213 The distinction between S, C and A.

No single criterion can be given for distinguishing S and C (and A, when it is expounded by a NGp). The VGp contains within its structure (see 4.22) the elements verbal subject (s), verbal complement (c) and verbal adjunct (a), which can be distinguished - as far as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person members are concerned - almost entirely by exponents:

at s - il, elle, ils, elles, on, ce;

at c - le, la, les, en, se;

at a - lui, leur, y, en, se.

Groups containing these elements may be symbolised as  $V^S$ Gp,  $V^C$ Gp,  $V^A$ Gp respectively and be said to operate at  $P^S$ ,  $P^C$ ,  $P^A$ ; we can use the symbol  $V^{-S}$ Gp (and  $P^{-S}$ ) etc.

for groups not containing the given elements; composite symbols may be used when necessary, e.g. a  $V^{SC}Gp$  contains both s and c

In discussing the clausal elements S and C it is convenient to consider first clauses containing  $P^{-S}, -C$ . Even here, however, we need to give a series of distinguishing criteria, ordered in delicacy: that is, decreasing progressively in power in the sense that the more delicate ones account for fewer instances. A move in delicacy can thus be made for any of the following reasons:

- 1) To account for subdivisions within a category, the subdivisions being made on the basis of more detailed distinctions than those criterial for the establishment of the category, but not otherwise leading to any modification of the category. A clear example is provided by the VGp which is a primary class of the group, subdividing secondarily and exhaustively into finite and non-finite subclasses (see 4.35).
- 2) To account for categories established on non-chain-exhausting dimensions: it is convenient to be able to consider such categories as the binding group without reference to the dimension of predication, without regarding it that is as a subdivision of the nominal, adverbial and verbal groups because it is established by criteria different from and cutting across those relevant to the distinction between these three primary classes. The latter, however, are of far greater importance for the total framework of the grammar than are the non-chain-exhausting classes; and this we bring out by according them priority in delicacy.
- 3) To account for marginal utterances which do not fit into the more general patterns described earlier in delicacy. Thus we do not require that our categories and criteria be 100% valid. Examples that the categories do not cater for are not to be regarded as arguments for discarding the categories, but rather as needing more detailed and particular treatment later in delicacy. A number of examples have already been given - among them the cases of syntagmatic non-discreteness between dependent clauses. (1.333)

- 4) To provide additional criteria for a category already established - as in the case of S and C presently under discussion. In the first three types of move in delicacy, we were concerned with the establishment of more delicate categories, whereas here we are mainly concerned with a set of criteria for the exponential assignment of NGps to the primary elements of clause structure.

Returning, then, to clauses with  $P^{-S} - C$ :

- 1) S is (expounded by) that NGp which could be replaced by a verbal subject operating in the VGp, C the one which could be replaced by a verbal complement. This of course is a purely covert criterion: we must therefore seek overt correlates for it.

- 2) S is that NGp immediately - that is, with no intervening NGp - preceding P:

La jeune fille / assumait / tout le service de Thérèse: F221/6 SPC

Le saint homme / développait / ce thème. B81/18 SPC

- 3) Non-determinate NGps - that is, those with neither a deictic nor a free head - may expound  $C^I$  but not S: in clauses with  $P^{-S}$  where they occur, S may precede P and thus be identified by rule (2)

pour que / cette illusion / devint / réalité F112/9 ASPC

or follow P, being identified negatively - that is, as the NGp not at C:

Et / plus venimeuses / étaient / les paroles qui montaient à ses lèvres, sans effort, d'un flot continu, (plus sa voix prenait de suavité.) F180/20 ACPS

Seul / demeurait / sombre / le corridor M39/19 CPCS

- 4) The relative element in relative clauses has different exponents according as it is subject (qui)

(le notaire) qui / avait levé / le pied? M216/11 SPC

(there is here no conflict with rule (2)); or complement (que). In the latter case S may precede the P as in

(il rappelle les vertus de Noémi) que / M. le curé / a choisie / entre  
toutes B38/13 CSPA

or follow, with negative definition as in (3)

(au bétail) qu' / attirait / l'auge d'acajou B93/18 CPS

- 5) The interrogative NGps que and quel may expound C but not S; the latter may then follow the P:

Que / pouvait / le triste garçon / contre cette complicité? B83/17 CSPA

quelle / est / ta mission? F205/4 CPS

The interrogative qui may be at S or C<sup>I</sup>, in which latter case, S may follow P:

Qui / était mort / dans la famille? F50/11 SPA

Qui / est / Mondoux? F106/17 CPS

S may also follow P when certain interrogative AGps occur in clause-initial position: comment, où etc. (but not pourquoi<sup>51</sup>) provided there is no C

Comment / font / ceux qui meurent de chagrin? B141/10 APS

de quoi / se mêlait / cet ensoutané? B34/6 APS

- 6) Rule (2) must be modified to allow the intercalation of certain NGps between S and P, namely those expounding A - recognisable intonationally and to some extent lexically:

mais / le mécanisme, / cette fois, / n'avait / pas / joué. M209/12 ASAPA

or those expounding C<sup>I</sup> (see 2.212):

(une loi Frontenac) qui / seule / avait puissance / sur lui. M49/9 SCPA

- 7) There can be no S in clauses where at P there is an imperative VGp:

Laissons / cela... F34/4 PC

an infinitival VGp:

Pourquoi / plaindre / Marie? F112/10 APC

51. Cf M. Grévisse: "Le Bon Usage": 6th edition 1955, Paris; p 130.

Et / cette fois, / quelle excuse / invoquer? F120/1 AACF

or, occasionally, an impersonal finite one, viz. voici, voilà, n'empêche and (mieux) valait

n'empêche (qu'il est temps.) M115/15 P

Mieux / valait (que ce fût le berger ...) F224/4 AP

Extensive C's cannot occur in past participial clauses, nor S in rankshifted participial clauses.

- 8) In zeugmatic clauses, NGps are assigned exponentially to S or C (or A) on the basis of structural parallelism between the zeugmatic clause and the clause higher-ordered in coordination or dependence, or containing the item into which the zeugmatic clause is rankshifted. In fact, at the formal level there may often be ambiguity<sup>52</sup>, but there are nevertheless a number of formal markers of the structure of the zeugmatic clause:

- i The clause has a P of the same number and person categories as that in the higher-order clause, and the P is not preceded by a NGp: in this case it will be without S, this subjectlessness being precisely the mark of the zeugma:

Thérèse + hésite + un instant, / prend + un livre, / le repose, / ferme + la bibliothèque, / se rapproche + de la glace. F11/29 a (SPA) b (PC) d (FG) c (PA)

- ii In a zeugmatic clause containing no P, we consider the transitivity of the higher-order clause (see 2.24): if it is intransitive, a NGp in the zeugmatic clause will probably be at S:

Elle en était secouée / comme + une Pythie M43/7 a(P) β(AS)

It is when the higher-order clause is transitive that there is most likely to be indeterminacy, at the formal level, in the assignment of a NGp to S or C:

Madeleine l'écoutait avec attention, comme si cet avenir l'intéressait

52. In which case we have assigned the group to Z (see 2.214) as far as the statistical part of the analysis is concerned.

autant que lui. M69/22

The boundary between the levels of context and grammar is least clear-cut high on the rank scale and late on the delicacy scale. In seeking criteria for an unambiguous structure for this last type of clause, we may be tempted to make delicate class distinctions whose justification however is not indisputably formal rather than contextual. An example would be that between VGps which (in the active voice) occur only with an animate S and those which have an inanimate S, between those which have an animate C and those where it is inanimate. So that in

elle redoutait plus que tout l'insomnie F17/23

tout would be assigned to C rather than S because it belongs to the inanimate subclass (with the other C, l'insomnie) whereas redouter generally has an animate NGp (or a verbal substitute as in the example) as its subject. The establishment of such classes is more acceptable in a grammar dealing in terms of probabilities than say, in a transformational approach, where it leads to the rejection as ungrammatical of numerous sentences which a native speaker would recognise as possible if unusual: that is, it narrows the scope of the data with which renewal of connection may be made.

- 9) In non-zeugmatic clauses containing  $P^{-S}$  not preceded by a NGp, S will be expounded by the first NGp, specific or determined, following the P:

Quand / vinrent / les premiers beaux jours, B91/19 APS

En face d'elle, / s'ouvrait / sur le trottoir / une boucherie chevaline.

F65/14 APAS

It is rare for both S and  $C^E$  to follow the P.

10) There is number and person concord between S and P - the number and person categories of the latter being carried by the finite element in the VGp. Priority in delicacy has been given to position rather than concord as a criterion for distinguishing S and C for the following reasons:

- i Other things being equal, we will prefer overt criteria to covert ones - covert in the sense that they involve operations performed on the text: operations of substitution, commutation, deletion, expansion etc., whereas overt ones can be applied by as it were a non-manipulative examination of the text. In fact our primary criterion is covert, depending on the replacement of NGps by word-substitutes operating in VGp structure: it is more simply stated and needs less modification than the positional criterion. But this very fact of having chosen a covert criterion as primary leads us to prefer an overt one as the earliest secondary criterion. Overt and covert are terms on a cline<sup>53</sup> rather than a dichotomous scale; concord for instance is sometimes overtly distinctive as in

Jean Péloueyre payait les consommations. B90/5

sometimes, i.e. when both NGps belong to the same number and person categories ( and, in spoken French, when there is no exponential difference between singular and plural VGps) only covertly distinctive, as in

Jean Péloueyre paya l'addition B94/6

Le cocher contemplait Thérèse T17/22

where Jean Péloueyre and le cocher are recognisable as S by sequence, not concord.

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53. Cf M.A.K. Halliday: "Categories", p 249; "instead of being made up of a number of discrete terms a cline is a continuum carrying potentially infinite gradation."

- ii There may be discord between S and P when the former is expounded by a "collective" NGp like la plupart:

*la plupart, d'ailleurs, ne m'ont pas lu, M185/7*

- iii Concord is used to distinguish secondarily between two kinds of coordination between NGps: additive and alternative (see 5.443).

Up to this point we have been considering only clauses with  $P^{-s-c}$ . Where the VGp does contain a verbal s or c, the assignment of NGps to elements of clause structure is correspondingly easier.  $P^c$  is incompatible with an extensive C except when the latter is thematic, as in

*Le grillon, elle l'aurait toute sa vie et jusque dans ses draps. B53/20*

The thematic element T is established on the secondary dimension of clause theme discussed in 2.37; here we are concerned with the assignment of the group operating at T to an element on the dimension of predication. It is generally the recapitulatory or anticipatory pro-thematic element that indicates the value of the thematic group. Thus in

*Ah! ceux-là, qu'elle aurait voulu les fuir! F19/13*

ceux-là expounds not only T but also  $C^E$ , as is marked by the recapitulatory les operating at c in the (second) VGp; similarly in

*C'est grave, les dettes. M169/19*

where the verbal s ce anticipates the thematic clause subject les dettes.

In non-thematic clauses with  $P^c$ , NGps may be recognised as operating at S, A or  $C^I$  according to the principles already given.  $P^s$  is incompatible with S except

- 1) Where S is thematic

*L'irréremédiable, c'est de croire, malgré et contre tout, à la vie éternelle. M270/8*

- 2) Where the VGp is of interrogative mood, the verbal s recapitulating the clausal S

A peine Balionte avait-elle emporté les restes d'un repas rapide. T186/8

Comment Thérèse ne l'avait-elle pas prévu? F22/29

Otherwise NGps will be at C or A.

NGps at A cannot be replaced by a substitute operating in the VGp. They do not enter into relations of concord. They are compatible with C<sup>E</sup> - whereas there can only be one C<sup>E</sup> in any single phase (see 2.23) clause except for coordinated C's:

nous ferons, / ce soir, / le tour du parc, N59/25 PAC<sup>E</sup>

Moreover, like other adjuncts, their place in structural sequence is much more variable than is the case with other elements, witness the following examples:

une nuit / Marie / avait reçu / le jeune homme / dans sa chambre F48/10

ASPCA

les deux hommes, / un instant, / observèrent / la jeune femme immobile, T13/1

SAPC

(ce n'était rien)que / sa mère / eût / un jour / éprouvé / le désir de se rendre libre. F102/17 ASPAC

Il ne croira / pas / un instant (que je viens le relancer;) F78/2 PAA

Finally, NGps at A show a restricted range of patterns, morphologically and lexically.

The exponential overlap between A and C, S discussed above has been formal: we have been concerned with those formal - or, better, grammatical - items which may fill both places. There is also, however, a further considerable overlap in substantial exponents which does not parallel any identity in form. This is because there are two different grammatical items both manifested by de: one operates at the place p in AGp structure, the other as deictic - or as a morpheme within a compound deictic - in NGp structure. Thus in

Marie connaissait de nom Mme Garcin. F210/16

de nom is an adverbial group at A, in contrast with

Alors je ne lui dis pas de nom? F80/26

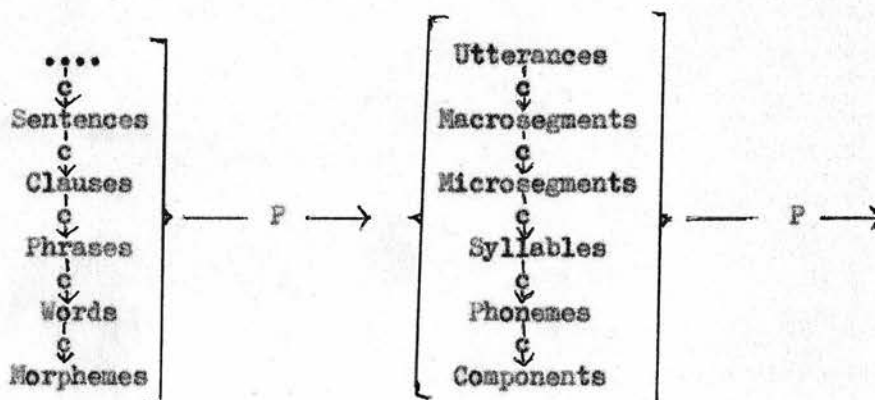
where de nom is a NGp at C. When le or les immediately follow de, there is fusion or overlaying: du and des (similarly au and aux for à + le, à + les); so that again there will be non-distinctness in substance between nominal and adverbial groups, witness

(c'est) que / tu puisses / être compris / des gens du métier: M74/8 APPA

Des gens encombrés de paniers / montèrent / à Beautiran. M75/6 SPA

In such AGps as des gens du métier it is not possible to assign discrete phonological or graphological exponents to the two elements of structure, viz. preposition and complement.

The theory of levels (of language or linguistics) which is basic to the grammatical theory underlying the present work<sup>54</sup> requires that the categories in the grammar and in the phonology be defined separately and rejects the model of a rank scale on which morphemes are higher-ranking than phonemes in the same way as words are placed higher than morphemes<sup>55</sup>. In fact, few linguists now accept such a model. In his "Linguistic Elements and their Relations"<sup>56</sup> for example, Hockett rejects the "composed of" relation between morphemes and phonemes, and adopting what he calls the duality hypothesis, replaces it by a "mapped or programmed into" relation between two strata each containing a scale where the "composed of" relation holds: thus he has (for English)



54. See, inter alia, J.R. Firth. "The Technique of Semantics", TPS 1935; and M.A.K. Halliday: "Categories", pp 243-244.

55. Cf "Categories", p 281.

56. Language 37, pp 29-53.

Difficulties in the P relation arise from the fact different kinds of abstractions from the phonic substance are involved in the two scales. All manifestations of a particular phonological item have some degree of phonic similarity, but this is not necessarily the case with grammatical items, which are established to account for formal relations.

The attempt to attach phonological labels to grammatical items may thus lead to two sorts of problem. One, because the item may have more than one phonological exponent: contrast the manifestation of the feminine morpheme in heureuse and in petite. The second because the relation "composed of" or "consists of" may be realised formally, in Dr. Halliday's terms<sup>57</sup>, as sequence, inclusion or conflation; in this last case it is not possible to refer the conflated items individually to any particular segment of the utterance or of its phonological representation; so that fit would not be divided into two phonological segments one of which corresponds to the item expounding the verbal word structure element head, the other to the simple past suffix.

As we come down the grammatical rank scale, the amount of phonological information that we can give about the formal items will diminish. Realisations - that is, formal item exponents - of the highest grammatical unit, the sentence, will almost invariably be describable in terms of all the phonological units, but the clause, and smaller units especially, may be coextensive with less than a tone group. Now just as we may thus be unable to describe the intonation of a particular realisation of the unit group, we may also be unable to describe the "phonemics" of a realisation of a morpheme: this is the case with the two morphemes in fit. In the AGp des gens du métier we have reached such a point at the rank of the group. The attempt to assign a phonological exponent to the two elements in such structures leads Nida<sup>58</sup> to set up alternants of à and le

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57. "Categories", p 251.

58. E.A. Nida: "The identification of morphemes", Language 24 p 437.

which are respectively / o- / and / -o / where the underlining implies that the phoneme is "possessed" simultaneously by both morphemes: having done this, of course, he must then state that the distribution of these allomorphs is so restricted that each occurs only with the other. Such linguistic games become unnecessary when it is recognised that phonological items are not directly related to grammatical items by exponence, though they may be indirectly related in the sense of having the same manifestation in phonic substance.<sup>59</sup>

#### 2.214 The element Z.

S and C are distinguished by their different relations to the predicator - in the same clause or, zeugmatically, in a higher-order clause. In (non-zeugmatic) clauses where there is no P, the distinction is irrelevant, and we therefore recognise an element Z to account for NGps in such cases. Where the NGp is one that may expound A, there will be formal ambiguity between A and Z.

(Oui ...) ce soir, dîner? M238/18

Z occurs both in independent clauses:

Tendances, inclinations, lois du sang, lois inséductables. T180/1

and in dependent ones (generally appositional or absolute):

ennemis dans la chair, ils s'unissaient dans cette imploration du soir; B76/4

We also recognise Z in clauses containing a P when there is a NGp which does not satisfy the criteria for S, C or A and which may combine freely with these elements. The most typical case is the "vocative group", most often expounded by a NGp with a /; these generally occur in independent clauses:

Parle / pour toi, / mon petit Yves. M123/8 PAZ

Tu verras / ce brave Dussol, / Jean-Louis M114/15 PCZ

- Maman, / ce sont / des ogres. M144/1 ZPC

The following is an example of such a Z in a dependent clause:

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<sup>59</sup>. Cf W.S. Allen "Structure and System in the Abaza verbal complex;" TPS 1956, p 145.

tous les fruits défendus à ta bouche, Jean Pélouseyre!. B14/12

In the statistics of the NGp, we have also included under Z NGps which are ambiguous between S and C.

More delicately three secondary elements are recognised as subdivisions of Z:  $Z^G$  (goal - Z),  $Z^I$  (intensive Z),  $Z^U$  (unmarked Z). For Z's may combine in a relationship similar to that between S and intensive C in clauses containing a P; thus

Le plus précis des hommes, ce Bernard: T32/22  $Z^I Z^G$ .

$Z^I$  may be expounded by a non-determinate NGp such as occur characteristically at  $C^I$ , and is thus the element found in appositional clauses:

(Parfois une goutte de pluie giclait sur le balcon,) distincte de toutes les autres. F50/18  $Z^I$

$Z^G$  is found in absolute clauses, with either  $Z^I$  or A ( $A^I$ ). The following example shows both types in coordinated clauses:

le cou dans les épaules, et les yeux clignotants, on eût dit d'un oiseau lâché dans le grand jour. B49/7

$Z^U$  is used for those Z's which are neither goal nor intensive.

Z thus accounts for NGps (other than those at A) where the S-C distinction is irrelevant. We must also mention the case where S and C (or S and A) combine into a syncretised element, as in

Thérèse écoute décroître ses pas dans l'escalier, F109/23

where ses pas has the relation of C to the first P and of S to the second: it may be symbolised C-S. This pattern is discussed under the system of phase, 2.23.

## 2.215 Coordination.

The dimension of coordination extends to the structure of the clause. Here,

however, priority in delicacy is given to the dimension of predication. Each of the elements derived from the latter may be repeated in depth of coordination, yielding the secondary elements  $S^a, S^b, S^c \dots, P^a, P^b, P^c$  etc. Incongruent coordination - between different primary elements - is rare, occurring only between an intensive C and an intensive A, as illustrated in 2.212.

The systems of linkage and zeugma apply too; they will be briefly discussed under each of the three primary classes of the group.

The recursive repetition in coordination of nominal and adverbial groups is greater depth (in the text) than that of clauses and verbal groups, cf

(Chaque heure débordait de travail,) amenait / le goûter, / l'étude, / le retour en omnibus, / l'escalier monté quatre à quatre, / l'odeur du dîner, / nanan, / l'île mystérieuse, / le sommeil. N52/3  $PC^aC^bC^cC^dC^eC^fC^gC^h$ .

The recursive repetition may be complicated by the kind of "layering" exemplified in the following clause:

Qu'importe d'aimer tel pays ou tel autre, les pins ou les érables, l'Océan ou la plaine? T238/17

where there is coordination between three complexes, each consisting of two coordinated groups: the pattern is clarified by the alternation of linked and unlinked groups. The structure could perhaps best be represented by the use of brackets: CPP  $[C^a C^b]^a [C^c C^d]^b [C^e C^f]^c$ .

Having examined the elements of structure on the dimension of predication, we are now in a position to consider the clause systems set up to account for some of the different colligations involving them.

## 2.22 The system of mood.

This system is concerned with the relations between S and P in clauses with  $P^{-s}$ ; clauses containing  $P^s$  fall outside the scope of the clause mood system - in

in these cases mood contrasts are carried at group rank. Zeugmatic clauses other than those containing S and P should probably also be excluded from the operational domain of the system.

Even within clauses where clause mood is relevant, we do not establish a single system to describe it: independent and dependent clauses are dealt with separately because

- 1) the choice in dependent clauses is partially determined by secondary class distinctions on the dimension of dependence-kind,
- 2) we would consider the choice as operating later in delicacy in dependent clauses than in independent ones.

We thus adopt what Firth and others have termed a polysystemic approach.<sup>60</sup>

#### 2.221 Independent clause mood.

There are four terms, yielding the following four secondary (choice) classes of independent clauses:

- 1) Affirmative; this subclass can be broken at the next stage in delicacy into

- i Neutral affirmative:

L'avocat / ouvrit / une porte. T11/1 SPC

cette nuit / jamais / n'arrivera: B52/17 SAP

- ii Inverse affirmative:

et / vint / le jour où il put donner à tous le même sourire, la même gratitude sans nuance. B144/9 APS

- 2) Interrogative:

que / chuchotait / Fernand Cazenave / à un oncle de Noémi? B60/6 CPSA

quand / donc / finirait / ce débat exténuant? F57/4 AAPS

- 3) Subjectless, which again subdivides as follows

- i Imperative, i.e. containing an imperative VGp:

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60. Cf the references in M.A.K. Halliday: "Categories", p 249 fn. 22

ne me dites / pas / le contraire, / maman F29/10 PACZ

ii Impersonal, i.e. containing an impersonal VGp:

N'empêche (que si elle fait des siennes, on saura bien te retrouver,)

T219/21 P

iii Non-finite, i.e. containing a non-finite VGp:

D'ailleurs, à quoi bon crier dans ce désert? A qui le crier du  
fond de ce tombeau? F206/12

4) Minor:

L'étrange jalousie d'Ives! N72/5

It is a crucial feature of neutral affirmative clauses that S precedes C: we may symbolise this by the use of an arrow- $\overrightarrow{SP}$ . Rather than make the cut between affirmative and interrogative clauses depend directly on the relative order (as carried by sequence) of S and P, we have used a less overt criterion. Where S follows P and could be replaced by a substitute operating in an interrogative VGp, the clause is interrogative; where the substitute would occur in an affirmative VGp, the clause is inverse affirmative. The advantages of this analysis are:

- 1) There is greater congruence between the levels of formal grammar and context: the difference between the two varieties of affirmative clause is less important contextually than that between affirmative and interrogative. This "squinting" at the level context does not mean that our categories are not formal, for it is important to recognise, with Palmer<sup>61</sup> "the distinction

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61. F.R. Palmer: "Grammatical categories and their phonetic exponents"; Preprints of Papers for the Ninth International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge, Mass p 234.

between the formal nature of the description of the grammatical categories and the not-wholly-formal criteria that are implicit in the choice of grammatical statement ... Grammar is formal in the sense that all its categories have phonetic exponents ... But the criteria for choosing one method of statement rather than another are of a variety of types, and there is no shame in admitting that some of them may be semantic".

- 2) Interrogative clauses can now be said, with only a few marginal exceptions, to begin with an interrogative group (see 2.32).
- 3) Use is made of the important difference between the circumstances under which P may precede S on the one hand, and the finite verbal element precede the verbal subject on the other.

The disadvantage is that it is a covert criterion and thus gives rise to a certain hesitancy in its application. For although there are no examples in the text of an interrogative VGp occurring other than in a question or after an interrogative element, it is not indisputably impossible for it to do so.

Subjectless clauses are marked, as their name implies, by the absence of a subject element, and the subvarieties by the relevant subclass of the VGp. Non-finite independent clauses are almost exclusively infinitival. Much later in delicacy we should have to account for examples like the following which do not fit into any of the categories given above:

Elle (...) murmura: "Il n'y a pas de raison ... pourquoi vous intéresserais-je?"  
Et enfin reçut en plein coeur la parole attendue, bien qu'elle l'entendît à peine: F129/17

We should probably have to introduce a category of zeugmatic sentence for such cases.

Minor clauses do not generally enter into relations of dependence (as the

presupposed item of course); but a few counter-examples do occur in the text, witness:

(Si elle n'eût pas été une mère,) pourquoi / cette joie (lorsque Marie avait franchi son seuil, hier soir?) F70/22 AZ

## 2.222 Dependent clause mood.

This system operates later in delicacy than the one just described: in fact, it would be more accurate to set up more than one system for the choice is not the same for all the subclasses of dependent clause. Again there are four terms, the criterial features being the same as in the independent clause mood system.

### 1) Affirmative:

#### i Neutral

(une parole terrible) que / son coeur malade / ne pourrait / pas / supporter. F129/7 CSPAP

#### ii Inverse; these most often occur in relative clauses:

(Tuer ces remords) dont / s'engraisse / notre orgueil, F64/8 APS

But examples are also found in circumstantial clauses:

Quand / vinrent / les premiers beaux jours, B91/19 APS

ne les eut-il balayés, si ne l'avait pas jugulée une autre loi plus haute que son instinct? B154/8

rank-shifted head clauses:

Ce que / pouvait / éprouver / sa mère, ((...)) n'avait aucune réalité.) F54/4 CPPS

or completives:

(n'avez-vous pas vu) à quoi / tendaient / toutes mes paroles, F146/21 APS

### 2) Interrogative: these are confined to the parenthetical subclass -

(- Je te laisse avec ton oncle -) dit / Blanche / à Jean-Louis. M125/10

## 3) Subjectless:

## i Participial - in absolute or appositional clauses:

(Le fils et le petit-fils,) devenus marchands de biens, (avaient fait une fortune énorme pendant la guerre.) F34/19 PC

## ii Infinitival - isolated examples in I-completives and relatives:

(je ne sais pas)comment / exprimer (ce que j'ai à vous dire) F121/19 AP

(aucun visage) sur qui / reposer / ses yeux. T58/2 APC

## iii Impersonal - a few instances in relative or completive clauses:

(ce défilé) où / me voilà, T83/8 AP

(Je crois) que / voilà / Madame... F66/14 APC

## 4) Minor: in appositional and absolute clauses mainly, but there are also isolated examples in completive and circumstantial clauses:

(Les deux époux se taisaient,) l'œil / vague. T85/12  $z^G z^I$

(Sans qu'elle sût) pourquoi, M249/11 A

## 2.23 The system of phase.

We have seen that elements of clause structure may be repeated recursively in coordination. A second form of recursive structure involves the repetition in phase of one or more elements as in

(Géo devait voyager cet été ...) Yves / n'avait / pu / obtenir / de savoir

(où) M241/4

where the clause has three phases, the last, de savoir, presupposing the second, obtenir, which in turn presupposes the first, Yves n'avait pu. The secondary symbols  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  etc. may be used to indicate the position in depth of phase of the elements, so that the above clause would be analysed as  $S^\alpha P^\alpha P^\beta P^\gamma$ . The system of phase has two terms, giving secondary (choice) subclasses of the clause:

## 1) Single-phase clauses:

Elle mena une vie plus active, B108/9

## 2) Multiple-phase clauses:

Elle laissa Marie dresser la table devant le feu, F25/27

Most multiple-phase clauses have only two phases, as in this last example.

Clauses attaining depth  $\gamma$  are however by no means infrequent, witness

Mais on va vous le faire croire. F192/3

Il fallait dire à Burthe de la réparer. W55/7

There is no theoretical limit to the depth of phase, though Pottier<sup>62</sup> claims that four seems to be the maximum. This is indeed the case in our text, where moreover depth  $\delta$  is very rare:

Et / eux / feignaient / de ne vouloir / pas / entendre / parler / d'un mariage  
qu'ils jugeaient humiliant. F34/10  $A^{\alpha} S^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} A^{\beta} P^{\gamma} P^{\delta} A^{\delta}$

elle ne pourrait / se retenir / d'aller / ensuite / boire / un verre / de  
boîte / en boîte ... F12/14  $P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} P^{\gamma} A^{\gamma} P^{\delta} C^{\delta} A^{\delta} A^{\delta}$

A number of systemic choices, at varying stages of delicacy, are made in respect of each phase other than  $\alpha$ :

## 1) Centricity.

The relation of S (or s) to the higher-order P may be carried over to the lower-order P, in which case the lower-order phase is endocentric:

lorsque / Thérèse / a voulu / la prendre. T142/18  $A^{\alpha} S^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} P^{\beta}$

je renonce / à vivre / près de vous; F57/29  $P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} A^{\beta}$

In exocentric phase, this is not so:

<sup>62</sup>B. Pottier, "Introduction à l'étude des structures grammaticales fondamentales"; 1962, Publications Linguistiques de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Nancy, p 32 - though he is speaking solely of the combination of verbal "auxiliants".

Elle suppliait / Marie / d'être / raisonnable, F44/10

Here, Marie stands in the relation of C to the first P and of S to the second: its structural value may be represented by the symbol  $C^{\alpha} - S^{\beta}$ , so that the whole clause has the structure  $P^{\alpha} C^{\alpha} - S^{\beta} P^{\beta} C^{\beta}$ .

Where the higher-order VGp is reflexive, the lower-order phase is regarded as exocentric:

elle se forçait / à boire / un anis F64/7  $P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} C^{\beta}$

The reflexive item is the exponent of the syncretised element - which may be at clause or (verbal) group rank.

- 2) Within exocentric phase we distinguish those cases where the exocentricity is marked by the presence of a syncretised element, as in

comme si / elle eût entendu / le sang / courir F8/1  $A^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} C^{\alpha} - S^{\beta} P^{\beta}$

and those where there is no such morphological marking. The former variety is much the more frequent, but there are a number of examples of the latter, especially where the higher-order P is expounded by faire, entendre, laisser etc. or an impersonal VGp:

je faisais / souffrir T36/15  $P^{\alpha} P^{\beta}$

On entendait / tousser / dans la chambre. E131/13  $P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} A^{\beta}$

Thérèse / laissa / entendre que(c'était tout de même regrettable) F91/13  
 $S^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} P^{\beta}$

La concierge / conseille / de surveiller / Thérèse. F188/16  $S^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} C^{\beta}$

Mais / maintenant, / il fallait / recommencer / cette lutte épuisante.

F44/8  $A^{\alpha} A^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} C^{\beta}$

- 3) Also within exocentric phase we must make a distinction according as the lower-order S is syncretised with a higher-order C or A:

- i Syncretism of S and C (or s and c)

elle avait chargé / le notaire, / à l'insu de son mari, / de les lui  
fournir. F72/19  $P^{\alpha} C^{\alpha} - S^{\beta} A^{\alpha} P^{\beta}$

comme / Thérèse / le priait / d'avertir / M. Fillot F80/2  $A^{\alpha} S^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} C^{\beta}$

the VGp at P<sup>a</sup> in this last example containing the element C-S.

ii Syncretism of S and A (or s and a)

Ives / fit signe / au sommelier / de verser / le champagne. M250/5

S<sup>a</sup> P<sup>a</sup> A<sup>a</sup> - S<sup>β</sup> P<sup>β</sup> C<sup>β</sup>

The first element of such adjuncts is most usually expounded by à; it may however also be par, as in

ce qu'elle a entendu dire par une amie plus âgée, F30/22

In speaking of a syncretised element we wish to imply simply that it has dual structural value; not that there are two items in fusion: A-S is expounded by a single formal item, which is a member of the class adverbial of the unit group. This is the only pattern (in the text) where S is expounded by an AGp.

- 4) We need also to account for morphological variations within the VGp in lower-order phases. The first contrast is between infinitival and participial. The former is much the more frequent, but we must allow for the latter, of which there are a few examples: either present participial -

Tu ne me vois pas faisant la classe toute ma vie... M70/1

Je me vois encore entraînant ma mère à pas rapides. F150/10

une jupe (...) qui allait s'évasant. M63/15

or past participial:

La pauvre femme a eu le crâne défoncé par les fers. M31/25

Infinitival groups vary according as the prepositional element is expounded by de or à or has no exponent; the contrast is relevant to both endo- and exocentric phase:

Elle aura craint de me réveiller ... F61/5

Thérèse les méprisait de confondre vertu et ignorance: T37/8

Thérèse hésite à entrer. F80/14

- Georges m'a aidée à dépasser ce stade... F40/28

comme il aimait faire, B80/3

elle ne se sentait pas souffrir, F63/16

A marginal fourth choice, occurring only after a higher-order finir or commencer, is par

elle finira par sortir. F189/20

and we should probably also include pour in the following example:

il ne passe pas pour engendrer la mélancolie. M265/10

where pour is distinctive in that the structure could not be changed to one with pour que and a finite VGp.

Phrasing generally centres round, or is carried by, the predicator. It has the characteristic of recursive structures that classes cannot be derived from position in depth, but VGps may be subclassified according to whether or not they may be followed by a lower-order phase; where they may, we recognise more delicate subclasses according to the phasal contrasts just described. Again, the following lists are intended to be indicative, not exhaustive, VGps are cited in the infinitive; the presence of the reflexive se is not to be taken as implying that the given item belongs to the particular subclass only when it is reflexive (although this is the case in some instances). References are given to one occurrence:

1) VGps which may be followed by endocentric phase.

i The lower-order VGp contains the item de

accepter	T120/14	avoir hâte	M144/10	cesser	F159/2
achever	M227/23	avoir honte	F238/13	choisir	M290/23
attendre	T77/22	avoir horreur	M46/22	continuer	F89/29
avoir besoin	F67/2	avoir peur	F165/28	craindre	F61/5
avoir coutume	M65/8	avoir soin	M207/14	demander	M17/18
avoir envie	F64/4	avoir tort	T72/2	désespérer	M60/10

désirer	T135/2	jurer	F225/2	proposer	M198/12
détester	T25/3	laisser <sup>64</sup>	M182/4	redouter	M18/4
douter	F196/27	manquer	F54/18	refuser	T192/8
envisager	B83/14	menacer	F208/23	regretter	M244/3
essayer	F80/1	obtenir	M241/5	résoudre	F79/17
éviter	F46/22	oublier	F125/5	risquer	M85/11
faire <sup>63</sup>	F208/18	parler	F213/25	souffrir	B60/2
faire semblant	F186/29	pouvoir <sup>65</sup>	T63/18	souhaiter	F135/21
feindre	F55/26	préméditer	T147/2	tâcher	M34/19
finir	F129/13	prendre soin	F184/11	tenter	F162/20
frémir	B37/9	projeter	F120/23	venir <sup>66</sup>	F121/4
imaginer	M84/4	promettre	F108/22	vivre	T26/14

and the following passive VGps:

être forcé	M275/1	être prié	B109/10	être tenté	B73/19
être obligé	F67/4				

ii The lower-order VGp contains à

aimer	M199/20	commencer	M36/12	renoncer	F57/29
apprendre	F251/12	consentir	F45/13	réussir	F181/2
arriver	F64/16	hésiter	F80/14	servir	M183/8
aspirer	T106/10	incliner	F126/11	songer	F52/13
avoir	F160/20	jouer	B96/13	suffire	T30/10
avoir peine	M21/16	parvenir	F85/10	tenir	B114/2
chercher	F82/11	prétendre	F239/4	veiller	B75/5

63. Only in colligation with certain adjuncts and in certain tenses; the two main patterns are exemplified in:

tu ferais aussi bien de dormir. T132/7

l'autre avait eu vite fait de lui mettre le grappin! F208/18

64. With negative polarity only:

Ce qui n'avait pas laissé de refroidir Yves. M182/4

65. Only in the pattern n'en pouvoir plus: e.g.

parce qu'ils n'en pouvaient plus d'être ensemble: T63/18

66. Only in the simple present and present in past tenses:

le courrier venait de m'apporter une lettre de Georges. F121/4

and the passive:

être prédestiné B142/5

iii The lower-order VGp has no prepositional element

aller	see below	devoir	F48/13	paraître	F47/26
aimer	B80/3	espérer	F116/13	pouvoir	F50/13
assurer	B72/20	faire <sup>67</sup>	F19/2	préférer	F230/5
avoir beau	F221/23	faillir	F215/3	prétendre	F140/15
compter	F201/19	feindre	F125/20	savoir	F144/5
croire	F46/9	imaginer	M84/4	venir	F22/22
désirer	T141/12	oser	F49/9	vouloir	F52/29

and the passive:

être censé M184/23

Two uses of aller should be distinguished:

(a) where it can occur only in the simple present or present in past tenses:

il va suivre les cours des sciences Politiques. F35/11

The clause could be transformed into a single phase one with a simple future, suivra, with much less change in contextual meaning than in (b).

(b) where there are no tense restrictions on aller; the clause could be

transformed into a sequence of two, in the dependence relation  $\alpha\beta$  by

the insertion of the binding group pour before the second P. Example:

j'irai télégraphier à ton père, dès l'ouverture du bureau de post...F58/12

2) May be followed by exocentric phase.

i The lower-order P had de

(a) The syncretism is between S and C

67. Only when followed by que as in:

je ne fais qu'entrer et sortir, F82/2

accuser	T111/10	s'excuser	B33/16	persuader	T149/7
admirer	M167/1	se garder	F49/23	prier	F80/20
charger	F72/19	se glorifier	B149/8	presser	B39/17
défier	T166/18	se hair	B75/14	se réjouir	T160/4
détourner	M50/4	s'inquiéter	T76/5	remercier	F125/15
dispenser	T159/4	se lasser	B66/13	retenir	F213/27
s'efforcer	F101/28	mépriser	T37/8	se souvenir	M71/6
s'empêcher	F89/2	s'occuper	T121/13	supplier	T21/14
s'étonner	F100/8				

(b) The syncretism is between S and A

conseiller	B94/3	faire signe	F160/19	pardonner	F149/6
défendre	M242/10	inspirer	M47/3	se reprocher	T175/7
demander	M105/15	interdire	T115/23	souhaiter	M254/22
dire	F172/27	ordonner	F213/11	valoir	F167/9

and the following impersonals:

il appartient	F166/4	il importe	F140/26	il tarde	T172/15
il arrive	M172/1	il suffit	F52/17	il fut donné	B138/6

ii The lower-order P has à

(a) The syncretism is between S and C

aider	F53/16	dresser	M60/6	inviter	M223/13
s'amuser	M277/19	s'entendre	T77/4	se mettre	F225/17
s'appliquer	F167/22	s'épuiser	T27/3	obliger	F94/21
s'attendre	M104/5	forcer	B83/6	pousser	M201/8
autoriser	T107/14	s'habituer	M194/5	se résigner	F223/3
décider	M95/21	inciter	M86/13		

(b) The syncretism is between S and A

apprendre M270/7

and the impersonal

il reste F197/16

iii The lower-order P has no prepositional element

(a) The syncretism is between S and C

écouter	F109/23		s'imaginer	F231/1		regarder	F182/15
---------	---------	--	------------	--------	--	----------	---------

entendre	F49/13		laisser	see below		sentir	F63/16
----------	--------	--	---------	-----------	--	--------	--------

faire	see below		se rappeler	T116/2		voir	F70/6
-------	-----------	--	-------------	--------	--	------	-------

(b) The syncretism is between S and A

faire	see below		laisser	see below
-------	-----------	--	---------	-----------

and the impersonal

il faut F61/27

With faire, the syncretism is between S and A when the lower-order phase has a C (or verbal c, or nominal element in the VGp - see 4.231), or is followed by a completive clause or a passage of direct speech:

l'écolier à qui elle faisait répéter ses leçons M168/17

pour lui faire lâcher prise, T97/7

c'était le sourire attendri de Thérèse, qui faisait croire au garçon qu'elle le méprisait. F131/7

où le soleil déclinant lui fit dire: La chaleur va tomber. B22/21

Otherwise the syncretism is between S and C.

la maîtresse s'efforçait de faire durer la conversation, F8/19

Laisser may pattern in the same way as faire cf

Lui laisser croire cela! F43/15

or alternatively it may colligate with a syncretised C-S element irrespective of the morphology of the lower-order phase:

Je (...) le laissai prendre une grande place dans ma vie d'écolier, F148/12

In all the examples discussed so far, P has been the phasing element. We would also include within the domain of the system, however, structures where the phasing element is  $C^I$ ,  $A^I$  or Z, the exponents being classifiable, like the VGps above, according to the centrality and morphology of the lower-order phase.

1) The phasing element is  $C^I$

- i with S-goal; the lower-order phase may be endo- or exocentric, and in the former case, the prepositional element may be de or à:

il n'est / aucunement nécessaire / d'avoir connu / la première  
Thérèse. F5/5  $P^{\alpha} C^{I\alpha} P^{\beta} C^{E\beta}$

je n'étais / pas / digne / de vous approcher M238/10  $P^{\alpha} A^{\alpha} C^{I\alpha} P^{\beta}$   
même au lendemain d'une telle tourmente, / il était / prêt / à  
soutenir (que l'on n'est jamais malheureux, sinon par sa faute.)  
T168/17  $A^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} C^{I\alpha} P^{\beta}$

- ii with C-goal, this C syncretising with the lower-order S, so that the lower-order phase is exocentric; the prepositional choice is between de and à:

Tu me crois capable de ne pas répondre à l'appel de ma belle-soeur? M90/10

- iii with unmarked goal; the phase is endocentric:

Dès lors elle crut politique de se tenir à l'écart, B64/10  
si vous trouvez excessif de payer la moitié des frais pour la maison  
de Preignac, je consens à me charger de tout. M30/23

2) The phasing element is  $A^I$ ; structures as with  $C^I$  above -

c'est le seul plaisir que vous soyez en droit d'attendre d'elles. F180/29  
Elle était de force à tout compromettre. T209/21  
une coupe (...) que la maison Frontenac - Dussol était en train de  
négocier. M263/16

c'était au tour de Noémi de prendre l'aspect d'uesommeil, B73/16

La voici au moment de regarder en face l'acte qu'elle a commis. T145/13

In the following A is syncretised with S; the phasing element is therefore perhaps best regarded as being être:

c'est à vous de me dire ... F172/14

- 3) Phasing items of the classes exemplified in (1) i and (2) above may also have this function when there is no predicator:

(il ne bougea pas), soucieux / d'éviter / tout mouvement. N247/23  $Z^{Ia} P^{\beta} C^{\beta}$

(Le curé, homme scrupuleux) mais / trop enclin / à entrer / dans le destin des autres, (interrogeait son cœur.) B132/5  $A^{\alpha} Z^{Ia} P^{\beta} A^{\beta}$

(les êtres) incapables / d'aimer, F168/7  $Z^{Ia} P^{\beta}$

A chacune / de courir / sa chance. F118/17  $A^{\alpha} P^{\beta} C^{\beta}$

Quelle honte / d'éprouver / une telle terreur! B39/11  $Z^{\alpha} P^{\beta} B^{\beta}$

impossible / de / rien / changer / au total de ses actes. F17/15  $Z^{Ia} P^{\beta} C^{\beta} A^{\beta}$

Phasing elements other than P almost always (in the text) occur at depth  $\alpha$ ; the following is a rare example of a phasing  $C^I$  at  $\beta$ :

(Elle avait maigri) et / prétendait / n'être / pas / impatiente / de revoir / son fiancé. F246/24.  $A^{\alpha} P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} A^{\beta} C^{I\beta} P^{\gamma} C^{E\gamma}$

Order in sequence is generally congruent with order in phasal depth. There are, however, a number of departures from a one-to-one correspondence (we leave out of account here the question of adjuncts, whose position in sequence is more variable than that of other elements - see 2.4 - and whose position in phasal depth is in many cases also less significant):

- 1) Relative and interrogative groups (2,3) occur in initial position in the clause, irrespective of their phasal depth:

(une espérance) qu' / il m'était / impossible / de combler, F198/2  $C^{\beta} P^{\alpha} C^{\alpha} P^{\beta}$

(une allusion) qu' / elle était / seule / à ne pouvoir / saisir F47/19

$C^{E\gamma} P^{\alpha} C^{Ia} P^{\beta} P^{\gamma}$

ce qu' / il fallait / éviter / à tout prix, c'était (...), F17/27  $C^{\beta} P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} A^{\beta}$

In the following, ce que is best regarded as at  $\beta$  even though there is no P in phase  $\beta$  - for plaire cannot occur in a single-phase transitive clause:

(Imagine) ce qu' / il te plaira. F47/5  $C^\beta P^\alpha$

Compare:

(il était libre de croire) tout ce qu' / il lui plairait / d'imaginer  
F128/12  $C^\beta P^\alpha P^\beta$

In the next example, the interrogative element is discontinuous:

combien / faudrait - il / mettre / de timbres? M75/1  $C^\beta P^\alpha P^\beta$

- 2) The syncretised element is not necessarily initial in the lower-order phase: it may follow the P (and A too) as in

et / ils entendront / renaitre / sans cesse / autour d'elle / la parole  
terrible: F49/13  $A^\alpha P^\alpha P^\beta A^\beta A^\beta C^\alpha - S^\beta$

- 3) Word substitutes operating in VGp structure may occur in a higher-order VGp than that to which they are phasally related. Thus in

- Il faudra que je vous le fasse connaître. F107/4

the VGp je vous le fasse is at  $P^\alpha$ , connaître at  $P^\beta$ ; but whereas the words je and vous are at the same position in phase as fasse, le is not: it is the substitute for a complement at depth  $\beta$ . This pattern occurs when the higher-order VGp contains faire, laisser, entendre etc., and especially in the case of reflexive items, witness:

Elle ne se fit pas prier. F34/6

- Fais - les moi passer, dès ce soir; M74/3

Elle se laissait pourtant dévêtir F192/14

Here the  $\beta$  phase is unmarked exocentric; se, les, moi and se are of phase  $\beta^{68}$ .

With pouvoir, vouloir and devoir there are examples in the text of both the above pattern and the normal or unmarked one, viz. that where the word substitutes occur in the VGp with which they are identical in phase; (as far as these items are concerned, only the latter pattern has wide currency in modern French):

68. When, however, the reflexive element refers to the subject of the lower, not the higher-order subject, it occurs within the lower-order VGp:  
un rige (...) qui / faisait / se retourner / les passants. M271/2  
 $S^\alpha P^\alpha P^\beta C^\alpha - S^\beta$

Stupeur que cette joie lui pût être accordée une fois encore! F116/7

Les propriétaires (...) y voulaient installer leur dernier fils T55/16

mais je n'ai pas pu les retrouver... M124/2

Elle aurait voulu la retenir, F7/8

There is clearly a great deal in common between the recursive structures of completive dependence on the one hand, and phase on the other - in particular there is widespread exponential overlap between imputing and phasing elements. In assigning the former to sentence structure and the latter to clause structure, we have wanted to give weight especially to two crucial differentiating factors:

- 1) In the completive - dependence chain, each clause may select a finite P, whereas only the highest-order phase may do so - all lower-order phases have a non-finite P.
- 2) There is no equivalent in completive-dependence of endocentric phasing, nor of syncretised elements.

Part of the meaning of the rank scale, we would say, is that items lower down the scale are more closely interdependent in that they have less potentiality for standing in isolation than those at the top: this is one reason for treating je, me, lui etc. as operating in VGp rather than clause structure, and it seems relevant also to the present distinction between dependence and phase.

#### 2.24 The System of transitivity.

This system accounts for the presence or absence of an extensive complement. Like mood, it may be carried at the rank of the group - more precisely, in the VGp - or of the clause. In the former case, that is where the VGp is transitive or semi-transitive, the clause falls outside the scope of the system of clause transitivity:

Leurs naïves flagorneries l'irritaient, et surtout leur maladresse à feindre les sentiments religieux, lui faisait mal. M191/14

The first of these clauses contains a transitive VGp, the second a semi-transitive one (marked by mal; see 4.231).

Clauses where the VGp is non-transitive fall into two systemic subclasses:

- 1) Transitive clauses - marked by the presence of  $C^E$ :

Il inclina / la tête. F150/25  $PC^E$

- 2) Intransitive clauses - marked by the absence of  $C^E$ :

Déjà l'auto démarrait. M201/25

un Jean Péloueyre n'est pas "variable". B36/11

In multiple - phase clauses, transitivity is carried by the lowest - order phase: in the higher order phases, the presence or absence of C (or c) is accounted for by the contrasts of phasal centricity. Thus

Il voudrait / surprendre / sa mère, / une fois encore; M200/3

is transitive, with structure  $P^{\alpha} P^{\beta} C^{E\beta} A^{\beta}$ , whereas

elle sentit / ses joues / devenir / brillantes. F144/9

is intransitive, with structure  $P^{\alpha} C^{E\alpha} - S^{\beta} P^{\beta} C^{I\beta}$ .

A clause may contain more than one  $C^E$  only when:

- 1) They are coordinated - see 2.215
- 2) They are in different phases - see 2.23
- 3) They are related thematically:

Une mère qui ne s'intéresse pas à son enfant, vous pouvez inventer toutes les excuses que vous voudrez, je trouve ça ignoble. T213/10

The dimension of transitivity, operating in the clause or the VGp, provides the framework for the establishment of subclasses of the verb according to their potentiality and probability of operating in transitive VGps or in VGps at P in

transitive clauses.

The systems of mood, phase and transitivity account for the occurrence and relations of the elements S, P and C<sup>E</sup>. The presence or absence of C<sup>I</sup> or A (or Z) is not held to constitute a systemic choice. In his detailed study of transitivity in French, Blinkenberg widens the scope of the system to deal not only with direct objects (our C<sup>E</sup>) but also with indirect ones: indirect in that they are introduced by prepositions, considering de and à "comme nettement établies dans la fonction de simples termes de liaison dans la transitivité indirecte".<sup>69</sup> Thus in avoir besoin de quelque chose, s'accoutumer à quelque chose, compter sur quelqu'un, de quelque chose, à quelque chose, sur quelqu'un are, for him, all indirect objects. In the present study, the analysis of the adjunct has not been taken far enough in delicacy to distinguish these from other adjuncts, though we admit the desirability of treating separately such cases where the choice of prepositional item is determined by the VGp. The difficulty is in finding satisfactory criteria: some of those suggested by Blinkenberg are applicable only to direct objects (and then not exhaustively) - e.g. passive transformation and the "passive infinitive" transformation (emporter du vin → du vin à emporter). More promising is the criterion of place in sequence: the object follows the P; it cannot stand in thematic position unless it is recapitulated by a substitute operating in the VGp; but again the difficulties in applying the criterion are such that he must admit that "Le 'critère' proposé ici souligne ainsi l'impossibilité de principe de trouver en fin de compte une délimitation d'une application nette et sûre et portant sur tous les cas".<sup>70</sup> Most dubious is his distinction in the case of reflexive VGps between the "groupe verbal pronominal" which is intransitive

69. A. Blinkenberg: "Le problème de la transitivité en français moderne"; Copenhagen 1960, Historisk - filosofiske Meddelelser, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab 38 No.1, p 82.

70. Ibid. p 68.

(se noyer, s'endormir, s'effacer etc.) from those where the reflexive element is an object and which are thus transitive (se jeter etc.); the criterion here is frankly contextual: "Pour que nous parlions d'un groupe verbal pronominal, une condition doit donc être nécessairement remplie, à savoir l'atténuation avancée de la notion d'une action pour ainsi dire extérieure du sujet sur lui-même."<sup>71</sup> In view of this lack of rigorous criteria, we confine the domain of the system of transitivity to a consideration of C<sup>E</sup>, A being for the present treated non-systemically.

#### 2.25 Summary of categories deriving from the dimension of predication

The systems, elements and classes discussed in 2.21 to 2.24 may be summarised as follows:

##### 1) Systems of secondary (choice) classes of the clause

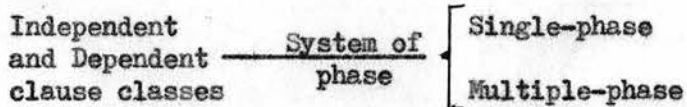
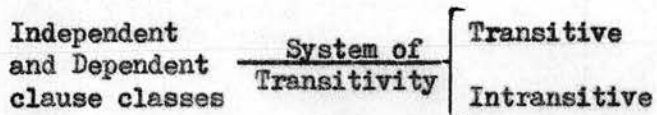
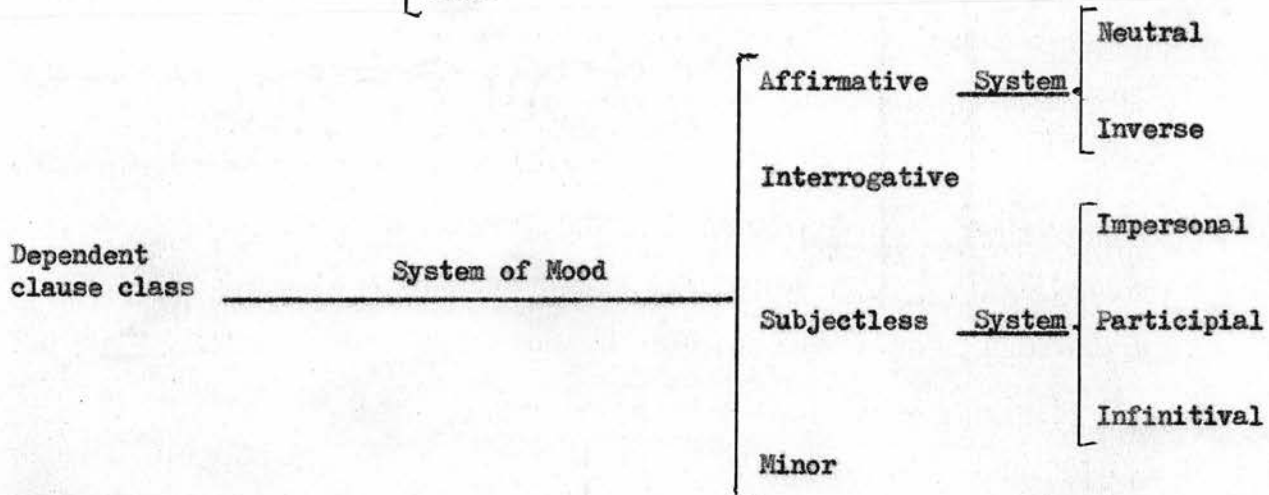
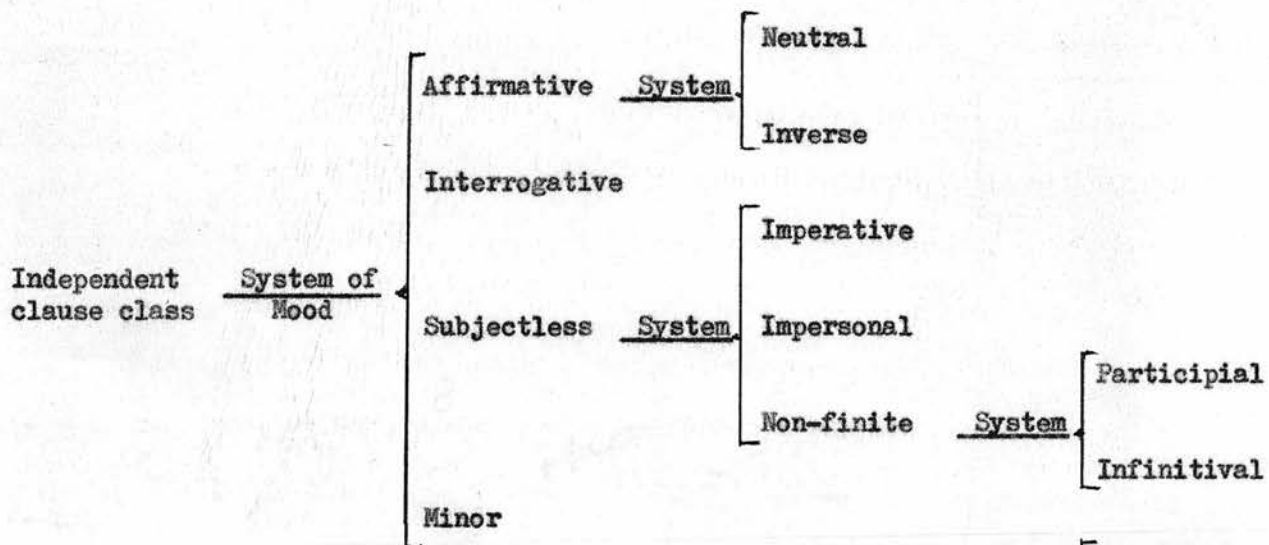
The systems of mood and transitivity are not choice-exhausting in that clauses where these contrasts are carried by the VGp fall outside the systems:

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<sup>71</sup>. Ibid, pp 129-30

Scale of Delicacy

Primary                                      Early Secondary                                      Later Secondary



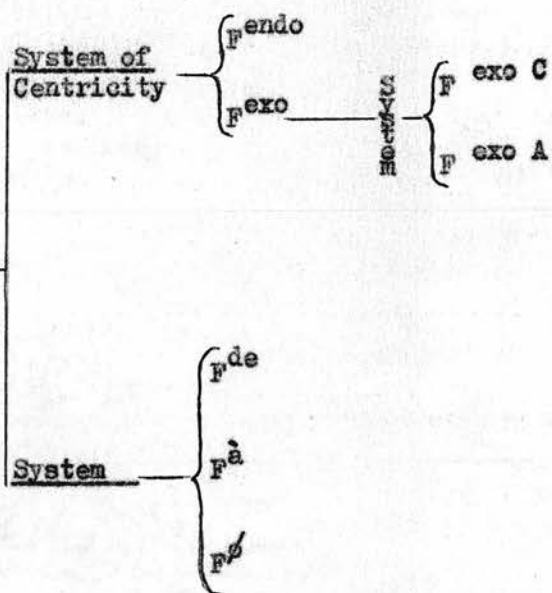
Scale of Delicacy

Primary                      Early Secondary                      Later Secondary

A      System of Extension       $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A^E \\ A^I \end{array} \right.$

Z \_\_\_\_\_  $\begin{array}{cccc} z & z & z & z \\ \text{G} & \text{I} & \text{V} & \text{u} \end{array}$

$C^I, A^I, Z^I$  \_\_\_\_\_ F (Phasing Element)



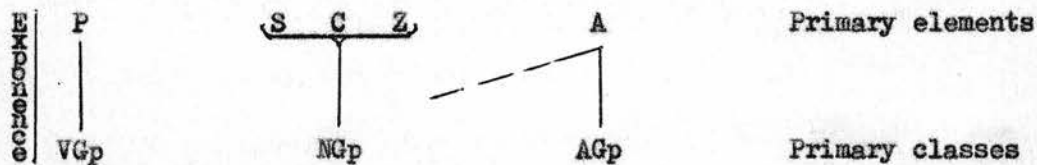
(F<sup>exo A</sup> means that the lower-order phase is exocentric and that the syncretism is between A and S).

2.3 Non-chain-exhausting dimensions of clause structure

2.31 The binding element, B.

The dimension of dependence, primary in sentence structure, is also relevant, secondarily and non-chain-exhaustingly, to clause structure inasmuch as it yields the secondary element B, which is present as morphological marker in most

2) Primary elements and classes



3) Secondary elements (X being a generalised symbol for any primary element)

		Scale of Delicacy		
Primary		Early Secondary		Later Secondary
X	<u>Dimension of Coordination</u>	<u>Chain Elements</u> $X^a X^b X^c \dots X^a$		
X		<u>System of Linkage</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} X \text{ linked} \\ X \text{ unlinked} \end{array} \right.$	
X		<u>System of Zeugma</u>		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} X \text{ zeugmatic} \\ X \text{ non-zeugmatic} \end{array} \right.$
X	<u>Dimension of Phase</u>	<u>Chain Elements</u> $X^\alpha X^\beta X^\gamma \dots$		
C		<u>System</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} C^{Imp} \\ C^u \end{array} \right.$	
C	<u>System of Extension</u>	<u>System of Intensivity</u> kind		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} C^I \text{ dir} \\ C^I \text{ indir} \\ C^I \text{ dist} \end{array} \right.$
		<u>System of Intensivity</u> goal	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} C^{I \rightarrow S} \\ C^{I \rightarrow C} \\ C^{I \rightarrow R} \\ C^{I \rightarrow A} \\ C^{I \rightarrow u} \end{array} \right.$	

dependent clauses (see 1.34). It is expounded by the binding group, which cuts across the primary group classification established on the dimension of predication. More delicate distinctions within it derive from its operation in the various subclasses of dependent clauses (see 1.33 and 2.1).

The earliest subdivision contrasts systemically B Gps operating in completive clauses and those in conditioning clauses.

The next step in delicacy breaks the completive subclass down into:

- 1) Si: this class has only one formal item exponent, si, and cannot therefore be further subdivided in delicacy - this is the point where the scales of exponence and delicacy meet.<sup>72</sup> However si enters into the system qua class - the exponence relation is between a class and a term in a system, rather than (directly) between a formal item and the term. Example:

sans doute la concierge avait-elle promis d'aller se rendre compte dans la soirée, si la vieille n'avait besoin de rien. F20/25

- 2) Direct - these occur in que-completive clauses. There are three members - que, de ce que, à ce que. Example:

Croyez-vous que je sois venue pour autre chose? F31/23

- 3) Interrogative - these occur in I-completive clauses. This is not a closed class in the sense of all its members being able to be listed. But it may be broken down systemically into the following subclasses

- i Personal; exponents vary according to distinctions on the dimension of predication:

S or C	A
<u>qui</u>	preposition + <u>qui</u>

72. Cf M.A.K. Halliday: "Categories, " pp 272 - 3.

Devine qui qui dîne avec nous ce soir? F89/4

- ii Non-personal; here we must make yet a further subdivision according as the VGp in the clause is finite or infinitival:

	S	C	A
Finite VGp	<u>ce qui</u>	<u>ce que</u>	} preposition + 73 <u>quoi</u>
Infinitival VGp		<u>que</u>	

elle ne voyait pas ce qui, humainement, aurait pu le retenir. M42/15

vous ne savez pas ce qu'il est devenu. F30/8

Il ne sut que répondre. F98/15

chacun de nous sait pour quoi il saigne. M290/20

elle savait à quoi penser; F194/12

- iii Neutral - or unmarked, contextually, as far as the distinction between personal and non-personal is concerned. Exponents:

S or C	A
NGps containing the words <u>quel</u> or <u>combien (de)</u> at places in their structure.	preposition + such NGps <sup>74</sup> ; <u>comme</u> , <u>comment</u> , <u>quand</u> , <u>pourquoi</u> , <u>où</u> or preposition + <u>où</u>

(Under quel are subsumed quels, quelle and quelles)

vous n'avez pas besoin de me rappeler quel oncle vous êtes pour ses petits... M27/14

Elle lui demanda combien de mois il consacrerait à cette thèse. M70/4

Elle lui demanda à quelle heure il commencerait ses démarches. F173/27

sans savoir comment cette nuit finirait; F5/13

vous allez voir comme c'est peu de chose: F149/19

It will be clear from the above that the fully grammatical items that carry the contrasts and patterns do not all have the same rank and status -

73. There is no realisation in the text of ce dont.

74. The NGp may be at a lower depth of rankshift, as in  
Il jouait à deviner pour le compte de quel vice, ce monsieur à monocle et la lèvre pendante, chassait. B96/13.

status referring to the rankshifted versus non-rankshifted opposition. They may thus be groups operating in clause structure (si, où etc.), groups operating at c in AGp structure (où) or words operating in NGp structure - at the head element (qui, quoi, ce qui<sup>75</sup> etc.) or head or deictic element (quel, combien (de)).

Returning to the conditioning BGps, the next division in delicacy here is between those that occur in rankshifted clauses (rankshifting groups) and those that do not. The former breaks down systemically into the following subclasses:

1) Head rankshifting - these mark the clause as rankshifted to the element head in NGp structure. More delicately:

i Neutral; exponents

S	C	A
<u>ce qui</u>	<u>ce que</u>	<u>ce dont</u> <u>ce à quoi</u> etc.

Ce qui leur donnait, à ses yeux, un prix inestimable, ne dépendait pas d'eux. M15/2

J'ai feint d'éprouver ce qu'il était convenable de ressentir devant une telle révélation... F55/26

Tout ce dont je suis coupable échappe à la loi. F186/6

Ses deux frères feraient, ici-bas, ce pour quoi ils étaient venus.  
M192/9

ii Absolute;

---

<sup>75</sup>. For these do not always occur in simple groups: they may colligate with tout or AGp qualifiers of structure de + NGp - see p 128

(S) C	A
<u>qui</u>	<u>de quoi</u>

Epouse qui tu voudras, F68/15 76

-Il n'y a pas de quoi se moquer.... M177/7

- iii Que - again (like si) there is only one member: que may thus be used to refer either to the category or to the formal item expounding the class. It is always at A.

qu'un autre que lui dans la maison fût malade, c'est ce qui pouvait jeter ce doux hors des gonds. B115/14

- 2) Non-head - i.e. occurring in clauses rankshifted to elements other than  $\alpha$ . More delicately:

- i Relative; yet further subdivisions must be made according as the item has only a personal or only a non-personal antecedent, or is unmarked in respect of this contrast:

Antecedent	A	S	C
Personal	preposition + <u>qui</u>	/	/
Non-personal	<u>où</u> , <u>que</u> , preposition + <u>quoi</u> , <u>où</u>		
Unmarked	masc. { sing. preposition + <u>lequel</u> pl.       "     + <u>lesquels</u> fem. { sing.       "     + <u>laquelle</u> pl.         "     + <u>lesquelles</u>	dont <u>qui</u>	<u>que</u>

l'homme qui débouchait de la garenne, M94/16

le monde secret que sa poésie tirait des ténèbres. M60/22

76. Here qui is at C<sup>β</sup> - see 2.23.

ce fond de mon être sur quoi toujours je retombe? F93/20

les êtres au milieu desquels Thérèse étouffait, vingt années plus tôt. F23/9

le corps d'où il était sorti. M13/23

que occurs at A only when the group in which the clause operates is a NGp of the type which itself may occur at A:

Le curé, chaque fois qu'il se jugeait, se renvoyait absous.

B152/12

ii Participial - expounded by a participial VGp at P; e.g.

le problème posé la veille B28/1

iii Variable depth - expounded by the three AGps que, pour, pour que:

Pour être aussi pure que tu l'es T37/2

Among non-rankshifting conditioning groups, the following systemic distinctions are made:

1) Relative:

i Clause-antecedent

S	C <sup>E</sup>	A
<u>ce qui</u>	<u>ce que</u>	preposition + <u>quoi</u> <sup>77</sup>

Et en adoration devant Bernard, ce qui ne gêne rien. T52/10

ii Post-emphatic

S	C, A
<u>qui</u>	<u>que</u>

ce n'est pas moi qui vous fais peur? F235/27

c'était pour savoir qu'il voulait revenir... F119/2

<sup>77</sup>. Ce dont is not realised in the text.

iii Group antecedent: this subclass may be conflated with the rankshifting relative groups given in (2); above, for they have the same exponents.<sup>78</sup>

Comme si une femme de son âge pouvait être solidaire d'une vieille femme hystérique, qui d'ailleurs devait grossir son aventure à plaisir.... F55/7

2) Circumstantial; more delicately

i pre-infinitive - these occur in infinitival circumstantial clauses.

The exponents, all AGps, include (with references to one occurrence):

à	T72/3	au lieu de	F114/5	loin de	F138/2
à condition de	F57/27	au point de	F164/9	pour	F44/14
afin de	F118/10	avant de	F46/25	sans	F130/29
à force de	T89/19	de peur de	M151/18	sous prétexte de	M275/9
après <sup>79</sup>	F70/7	jusqu'à	M216/3		

A entendre Thérèse, il ne fallait pas donner trop d'importance aux caprices d'une petite fille. T72/3

Le jeune homme répondit, sans regarder son associé, M160/10

ii pre-finite: i.e. occurring in clauses with a finite VGp (though some may also operate in minor clauses) -

(a) Comparative - the AGp comme (or que)

il fallait qu'elle sût, comme Thérèse, que le bonheur n'existe pas. T81/8

(b) Conditional - a one-member class expounded by the AGp si:

Si elle sortait, elle tomberait dans les pièges tendus.

F189/13

78. Except that que expounds A only in rankshifted clauses.

79. Only with a past-in-present-in-neutral infinitive:  
Après avoir vécu des années sous le même toit, F70/7.

- (c) Concessive - a subclass of the binding group defined by its effect on mood: it is described under the element I (2.32)
- (d) Neutral - defined negatively as not (a), (b) or (c). The majority of the exponents are AGps; they include

afin que	B28/13	de façon que	B30/12	parce que	M100/2
alors que	F158/14	de même que	T116/15	pendant que	F146/9
à mesure que	F98/15	de peur que	M57/15	pour que	F122/22
à moins que	F113/8	depuis que	F84/7	puisque	F143/9
au cas où	F78/4	de sorte que	F129/23	quand	F215/21
au point que	B14/19	dès que	M18/13	que	F15/23
avant que	F153/11	du moment que	F193/22	quoique	T149/5
bien que	F99/4	jusqu'à ce que	F150/28	sans que	F147/8
comme	B102/13	lorsque	F209/11	tant que	F146/1
de façon à ce que	F237/5	maintenant que	T26/15		

Further subdivisions could be made according as the mode of the VGp is indicative or subjunctive. Examples:

Lorsqu' Anna entra, Thérèse fit semblant d'être endormie. F209/11

Il mangeait avec lenteur, bien que les deux femmes eussent depuis longtemps leurs assiettes vides. F99/4

The class does however contain also a number of NGps, viz. those containing the deictics tant de, tellement de:

(...) imaginai que je troublais un rendez-vous, tant / son visage / montrait / de confusion. T110/1 C SP

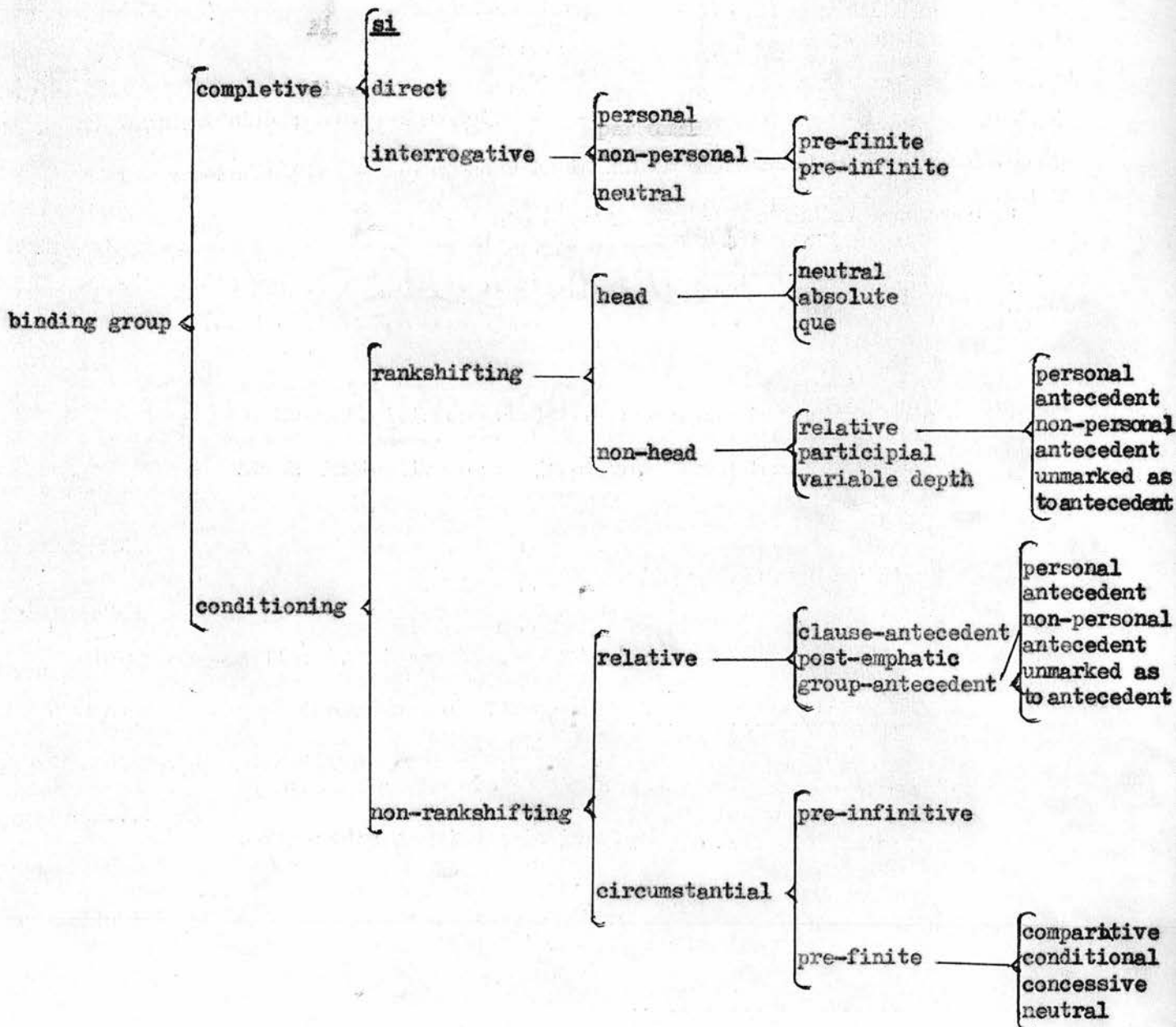
Thérèse avait lancé ce dernier trait d'un ton presque joyeux, tellement cette offre d'abandonner tout ce qui lui appartenait en propre lui causait déjà d'allègement. F72/27

The subdivisions of the binding group may be summarised thus:  
 (distinctions of number and gender are omitted).

Scale of Delicacy

Earliest Secondary

Late Secondary



## 2.32 The interrogative element, I.

The secondary element I is established to account in part for the occurrence of interrogative mood, carried by the clause or VGp. The first subdivision is on the chain axis, in to  $I^1$  and  $I^2$ ;  $I^1$  is followed by interrogative mood or by  $I^2$  + affirmative mood; compare:

Que / savait - elle - / exactement? F29/29  $I^1$  / C P A

Qu' / est - ce que / cela / signifie, M164/21  $I^1$  / C  $I^2$  / A S P

Peut - être / Marie / avait - elle pris / le train de

Bordeaux; F60/15  $I^1$  / A S P C

peut - être même / que / ça / leur plairait ... M186/18  $I^1$  / A  $I^2$  / A S P

(découvrir ses vrais parents,) aussi rares, / aussi disséminés / fussent - ils. T195/5  $I^{1a}$  / C  $I^{1b}$  / C P

(ce corps contre son corps,) aussi léger / qu' / il fût, (l'empêchait de respirer;) T194/8  $I^1$  / C  $I^2$  / A P

$I^2$  is expounded by the three AGps est-ce que, est-ce qui and que.

Est-ce qui alone may occur after S, and this is its only role:

qu'est - ce qui te prend? M90/9

Est-ce que may occur without a preceding  $I^1$ ;

Est-ce qu'on existe à ses yeux? F25/4

and there is one example of que in clause initial position - in a parenthetic clause, where otherwise interrogative mood would be required:

"ils aiment les êtres" qu'ils disent, M186/5

The secondary group class derived by exponence from I may be conflated with the set of items which mark a clause as having question function, though it must be admitted that the formal standing of this category is at present rather uncertain. We thus include items operating at S (with affirmative mood) or Z (in minor clauses):

Quelles calomnies? F184/1

so too, with A:

Pourquoi ce visage crispé?

and in subjectless clauses:

, Que te donner? F71/7

There are moreover exceptional cases of affirmative mood with interrogative items other than subject:

Et par qui vous êtes attendue? F209/24

The systemic subdivision of IGps is as follows:

1) Question groups:

- i Phoric, i.e. groups with cataphoric or anaphoric reference; nominal phoric groups, and the complements of adverbial ones show morphological variation marking their number and gender categories, the selection for gender being determined concordially by the NGp to which they have phoric reference. Exponents

	S,C,Z		A	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
singular	<u>lequel</u>	<u>laquelle</u>	prep + <u>lequel</u>	prep + <u>laquelle</u>
plural	<u>lesquels</u>	<u>lesquelles</u>	prep + <u>lesquels</u>	prep + <u>lesquelles</u>

Entre les mille besognes qui obligeaient de courir autour de son banc, ces fourmis humaines, laquelle aurait pu l'asservir? N274/2

ii Non-phoric

(a) Personal:

S, C, Z	A
<u>qui</u>	preposition + <u>qui</u>

Qui as-tu rencontré ce matin? F237/4

Par qui était - elle attendue? F209/4

## (b) Non-personal:

S, C	Z	A
<u>que</u> <sup>80</sup>	<u>quoi</u> <sup>81</sup>	preposition + <u>quoi</u>

Qu'en pensent les Filhot? F39/22

-Eh bien, chérie, tu ne me demandes pas?...(...) - Quoi? M176/18

A quoi l'eût - elle comparée? F28/10

## (c) Neutral:

S, C, Z	A
NGps containing the words <u>quel</u> or <u>combien(de)</u>	preposition + such NGps; <u>pourquoi</u> , <u>quand</u> , <u>où</u> , <u>comment</u> , <u>que</u> , <u>à quoi bon</u> <sup>82</sup>

Quel était son gain en cette affaire? B132/10

De quel droit étiez-vous entrée dans sa vie? F177/25

Où est ton père? F22/13

Que n'était - il empereur, roi nègre.... M132/9

- 2) Non-question groups: with these, interrogative mood is rarely carried at clause rank; i.e. they may be followed by I<sup>2</sup> or an interrogative - mood VGp but do not, with rare exceptions in the case of (ii), occur in interrogative clauses. There are two subdivisions:
- i Concessives - a subclass of binding group; they are almost always followed by que at I<sup>2</sup> (but cf the example given at the beginning

80. At S, que is always followed by est-ce qui.

81. Quoi may also occur at C in non-initial position (see 2.4)  
Expliquer quoi? M135/24

82. This does not occur in clauses with a finite VGp - cf  
à quoi bon insister? M177/11

of 2,32). The text shows no occurrence of this class at S; the exponents are:

C <sup>E</sup>	C <sup>I</sup>	A
<u>quoi</u> ; NGps containing the deitic <u>quelque</u>	<u>quel</u> ; NGps containing the submodifier <u>aussi</u> (also <u>si peu</u> )	<u>où</u> ; AGps containing <u>aussi</u> as submodifier preposition + gps containing <u>aussi</u>

Quoi qu' on ait pu vous raconter à mon sujet, F134/11

quelque temps qu'il fit, M22/18

quels que fussent leurs motifs, F38/17

aussi bien que j'eusse joué, mon interprétation n'aurait pas valu les enregistrements qu'il possède F91/10

Le gardien saluait Xavier, d'aussi loin qu'il

l'apercevait. M26/8

- ii Non-concessive - a small number of AGps which it is not easy to delimit, as they are not always followed by an interrogative VGp<sup>83</sup>. We would certainly include such items as peut-être, sans doute, du moins, aussi, à peine (and NGps or AGps containing à peine).

sans doute obéissait - elle à une pudeur; B135/2

Du moins détenait - elle l'autre part F232/6

A peine quelques secondes put-il soutenir le feu de ce regard tendre et désespéré: F254/6

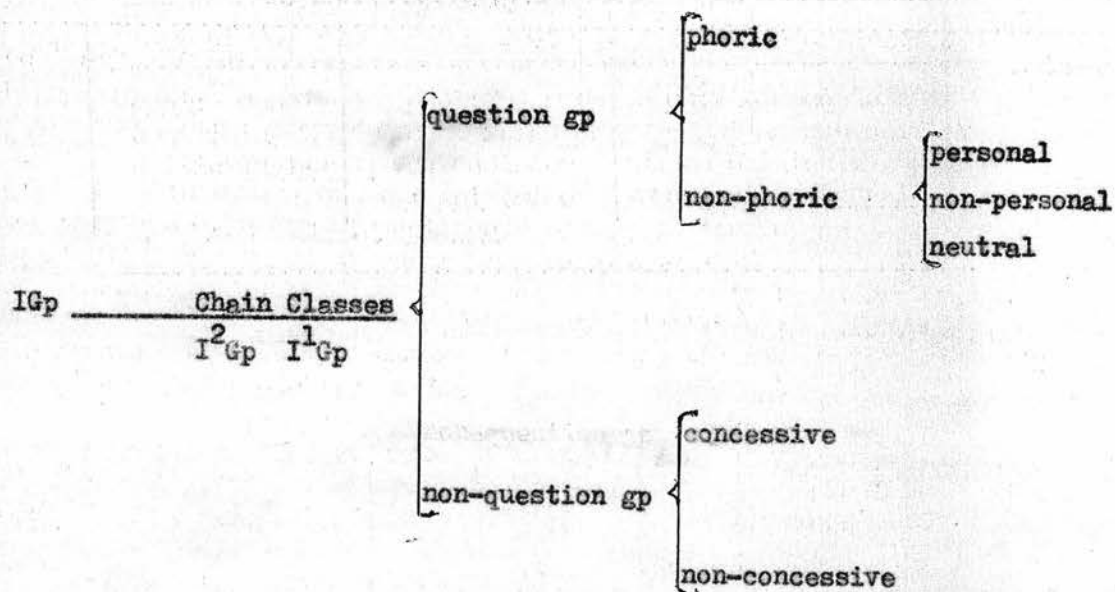
Subdivisions of I may be summarised as follows:

83. Cf Peut-être, je mourrai, M14/3

## Scale of Delicacy

Early Secondary

Late Secondary

2.33 The exclamatory element E.

A number of items expounding B and/or I (and some others similar to them morphologically) also occur in initial position in clauses where the criteria for regarding them as B or I are not satisfied. As their place in sequence is fixed, we would not wish to treat them as theme (T), for this element is concerned (mainly) with the contrastive occurrence of items in initial position. We therefore establish a fourth element, E (exclamatory) in order to account for them. The class operating at E (EGp) is not clearly delimited, but the following may be regarded as among the most frequent exponents:

S only	S, C, Z	A
<u>ce qui</u>	NGps containing the deictics <u>quel</u> and <u>que de</u> or the submodifier <u>combien</u>	<u>que, ce que, comme, combien</u> ; preposition + NGps containing the deictic <u>quel</u> ; <u>si, heureusement que, non que, pourvu que...</u>

Et ce qui suivit! T151/15

Quel drôle de type tu es tout de même! T120/9

mais/que/le jeune docteur/montrait/donc/de dévouement! B139/14 A E/C SPA

Mais combien étouffée et lointaine était devenue la voix. M273/9

Si je m'attendais à celle - là! F249/1

Que je ne te revoie plus! M118/2

### 2.34 Microclasses.

Intersecting dimensions may be brought into relation by reference to the exponents of the categories they yield. The term microclass may be used for the grouping of items which are alike in their membership of classes derived from different dimensions - cf Dr. Halliday :

"Any given item, to be fully identified, may require to be simultaneously classified on all such dimensions. In this way it can be assigned to a 'microclass', this representing its value in respect of all the properties which have been found relevant to the way it patterns in the language."<sup>83</sup>

Microclasses may be displayed as in the table below. Distinctions of number and gender are again omitted, as are (marginal) uses not realised

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83. "Chain and Choice", pp 7-8.

in the text. Direct reference is made to a number of earlier footnotes.  
~~Only items belonging to at least two of the early secondary classes binding,~~  
~~interrogative and exclamatory are shown.~~ No identification is made across  
primary class boundaries: that is the "same" item may belong to a number  
of different secondary classes but to only one primary class - hence the  
two entries for que, one qua NGp, one qua AGp, and similarly for ce que;  
(but combien de + head is regarded as nominal whether at S, C or A,  
its primary syntactic assignment being determined by secondary  
morphological criteria - see p 67 ).

SCALE OF DELICACY	BINDING GP.													INTERROGATIVE GP.				ITEMS			
	COMPLETIVE			CONDITIONING										I <sup>1</sup> GP.							
	INTERROGATIVE			RANKSHIFTING					NON-RANKSHIFTING					QUESTION		NON-QUEST <sup>84</sup>					
	DIRECT	NON-PERS <sup>72</sup>		HEAD		NON-HEAD			RELATIVE		PRE-FINITE CIRCUMSTANTIAL		NON-PHORIC		CONCESSIVE	NON-CONCESSIVE	I <sup>2</sup> GP.		E GP.		
		PERSONEL	PRE-FINITE	PRE-INFINITIVE	NEUTRAL	NEUTRAL	ABSOLUTE	QUE	RELATIVE	GROUP-ANTECEDENT	COMPARATIVE	NEUTRAL	PHORIC	PERSONAL						NON-PERSONAL	NEUTRAL
PRIMARY ELEMENTS							PERSONAL ANTECEDENT	NON-PERS. ANTECEDENT	UNMARKED AS TO ANTEC.	VARIABLE DEPTH	CLAUSE ANTECEDENT	POST-EMPHATIC	PERSONAL ANTECEDENT	NON-PERS. ANTECEDENT	UNMARKED AS TO ANTEC.						
S		X									X									X	<u>ce qui</u>
C		X									X										<u>ce que</u>
A																					<u>ce que</u>
A				X																	<u>ce dont</u> <sup>73</sup> , <u>ce à</u> <u>quoi</u> <sup>77</sup> etc.
S only								X				X									<u>qui</u>
S, C only	X				X																<u>qui</u>
S, C, Z			X																		<u>que</u> (NGp)
C only								X				X									<u>que</u> (AGp)
S or C	X					X	X	X	X		X					X	X				<u>quoi</u>
A									X												<u>dont</u>
C only								X													<u>ou</u>
C or Z								X													<u>prep + où</u>
A		X						X					X								<u>prep + qui</u>
A		X	X					X					X								<u>prep + quoi</u>
A		X	X			X <sup>84</sup>		X					X								<u>lequel</u> <sup>84a</sup>
S, C, Z								X													<u>prep + lequel</u> <sup>84a</sup>
A				X																	<u>quel</u>
C <sup>1</sup>				X																	<u>quel + head</u>
S, C, Z				X																	<u>combien</u> (de + head)
S, C, Z, A				X																	<u>comme</u>
A				X																	<u>quand</u>
A				X																	<u>combien</u>
A only												X	X								<u>comment, pourquoi</u>
A				X																	<u>prep + gps with quel, combien</u>
																					<u>aussi, peut-etre</u>

84. Only de quoi is realised here

84<sup>a</sup>. There are no textual occurrences of prep + lequel as interrogative binding groups: hence, no phoric - non-phoric contrast has been included for interrogative binding groups.

### 2.35 The dimension of polarity.

The dimension of polarity is secondary and long: secondary in that, in its application to structure, it is non-chain-exhausting; long in that it is relevant to the syntax and morphology of the clause and the group. Any group operating in clause structure - or indeed any rankshifted group too - selects for polarity between negative (the marked term) and positive. These selections are not, however, made independently: the features of mutual determination can best be described by recognising a system of polarity operating at clause rank. This gives us two secondary choice classes: Positive and Negative. The latter are morphologically marked by the presence of at least one negative group, which may be said to operate at the element N. Thus

*Thérèse inclina la tête.* F204/13

is positive, the following negative:

*Rien ne n'étonne.* F204/25

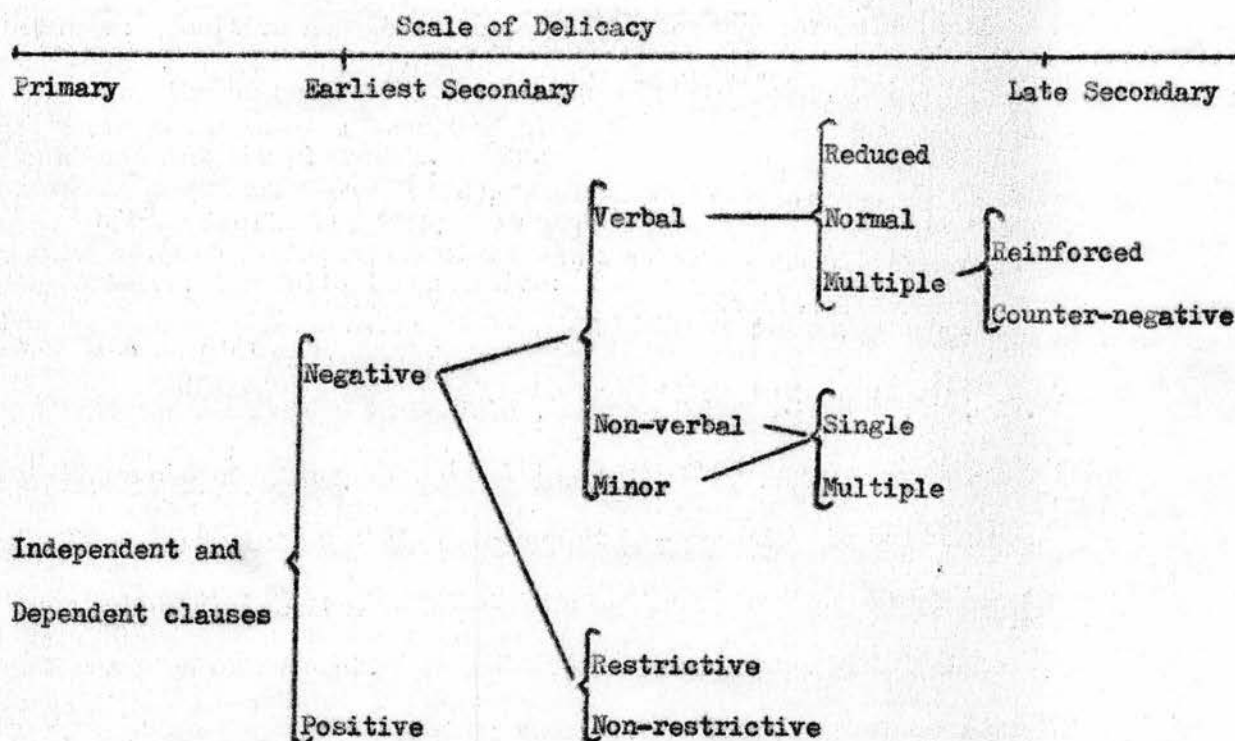
At the next stage in delicacy, we subdivide N into  $N^D$ ,  $N^F$ ;  $N^U$ .<sup>85</sup>  $N^D$  is expounded by any VGp containing ne:  $N^U$  by que or groups containing it (though que does not always occur at N - see its microclass description in 2.34);  $N^U$  may not precede the P to which it stands in the relation of adjunct.  $N^F$  subdivides yet more delicately into  $N^{FS}$ , expounded by pas and point; and  $N^{FW}$ , expounded by groups containing the following words - rien, personne, jamais, plus, guère, ni, non, aucun, aucunement, nul, nullement.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>85</sup>. Cf the terms discordantiel, forclusif and uniceptif used by Damoïrette and Pichon in op.cit Vol VI, chapts. 5 and 6.

<sup>86</sup>. We should probably also include mot in such patterns as:

*Le curé (...) ne disait mot.* B148/18

These provide the criterial basis for the following systemic matrix of negative clauses. One system is concerned with the polarity of the VGp: we distinguish clauses containing  $N^D$ , those with P but no  $N^D$ , and those with no P. A second system, which may be labelled intensity of negativity, accounts for the number of negative elements; where there is more than one we contrast cases where they are complementary and cases where they are contradictory. Finally, the system of restriction deals with the presence or absence of  $N^U$ . Clause classes on the dimension of polarity may be summarised thus:



### 1) Verbal negative - non-restrictive

- i Normal - these contain one  $N^D$  and one  $N^F$ , which may coincide with S, C or A - in which latter case it may be marked by a negative NGp at c in AGp structure. Thus

Aucune caresse / n'eût ajouté / à cette joie... W71/22

S/ $N^F$  P/ $N^D$  A

Ives / (...) feignit / de n'avoir / rien / entendue. M262/5  
 S P P/N<sup>D</sup> C/N<sup>F</sup>

-Tu ne me comprendrais / pas; P205/27 P/N<sup>D</sup> A/N<sup>F</sup>

Sa destinée / ne l'intéressait / en rien. M16/18  
 S P/N<sup>D</sup> A/N<sup>F</sup>

The adverbial N<sup>F</sup> may also have the function of linking element  
 (Elle ne se leva pas, ce jour - là,) ni / ne fit / sa toilette.  
 T195/12 A/L/N<sup>F</sup> P/N<sup>D</sup> C

Most often the two negative elements are in the same phase, but  
 examples are found where they are at different depths:

car / elle n'aurait voulu / lui causer / aucune peine. M235/16 A<sup>a</sup> P<sup>a</sup> / N<sup>D</sup> P<sup>B</sup> C<sup>F</sup> / N<sup>F</sup>

ii Reduced - there is only one negative element, viz. N<sup>D</sup>; this  
 subclass is characteristically, but not obligatorily, used under  
 the following conditions:

(a) When the lexical item in the VGp is pouvoir, oser, savoir or  
cesser; most examples are from multiple-phase clauses:

on ne peut condamner sa porte M69/7

il n'osait lui sourire; B23/8

Mais les coqs surtout ne cessent de chanter jusqu'à  
 l'aube, B27/5

As a counter-example of a normal negative clause, we may cite  
 the following:

Mais je n'ai pas osé lui répondre M87/19

(b) In questions with an interrogative - mood VGp:

ne serait - il plus convenable, le lendemain, de pousser  
 les volets et de rendre le salut? B105/13

Que n'avait - elle couru après lui! F165/17

- (c) In completive clauses where the imputing group in the higher-order clause is expounded by the VGps douter, craindre, avoir peur etc.:

Elle avait peur qu 'Yves ne prit froid M63/21

Elle ne pouvait plus douter que la décision de Xavier ne fût prise. M86/25

je crains qu'ils n'aient raison. M123/12

or by such NGps as impossible:

mais impossible qu'on ne l'eût avertie suffisamment

(...) F27/14

- (d) In circumstantial clauses where the binding group is

à moins que, de peur que ...

à moins qu'il n'ait découvert, dans la poche de la veille pèlerine, ce paquet de poisons... T178/2

- (e) In finite rankshifted comparative clauses where the next higher-order element is plus, moins, meilleur, pire, mieux or pis:

une connaissance plus profonde qu'il n'imaginait. M77/25

Papa et bonne-maman m'ont reçue mieux que je ne m'y attendais. F120/18.

iii Multiple - where there are at least three negative elements

(other than  $N^U$ ). More delicately:

- (a) Counter-negative: the only realisation of this subclass is in multiple-phase clauses, where it is possible, though rare, for there to be two negative VGps:

Cette bourgeoise un peu épaisse / ne pouvait / pas / ne /  
pas / se dépasser / elle-même: B154/12 S<sup>c</sup> P<sup>c</sup> / N<sup>D</sup> A<sup>c</sup> / N<sup>F</sup> P<sup>S</sup> / N<sup>A</sup> / N<sup>C</sup> IP

(b) Reinforced: one  $N^D$ , two (or more)  $N^F$ 's:

Binaud ne se mit plus jamais à côté d'Ives dans l'autobus

MBO/20

on ne saurait jamais rien T77/6

Il n'opposerait à personne aucun refus. M149/17

and, with varying phasal depth:

il n'imaginait même pas d'en voir jamais le bout; M84/4

Negative clauses containing coordinated elements often have reinforced negativity:

Thérèse ne pensait plus à Marié, ni à Georges, ni à personne; F112/17

Compare the normal negative:

Le grand-père ni le père de Xavier ne pouvaient souffrir le moindre propos graveleux; M46/7

with the reinforced

ni ce camarade Daniel Trassis, ni cet abbé maître de rhétorique, ne comprirent ses regards de chien perdu. B17/22

When there is coordination between units lower-ranking than the group, there may be syncretism between negative elements of clause structure, as in

Ces étranges symboles ne l'avaient ni inquiété ni surprise M92/3  
ni lui, ni Duros ne s'en fussent aperçus. T14/15

Both these clauses we would regard as reinforced negative, although the first has only one, the second two negative groups. So too in

Les morts ne tricotent ni ne parlent... M279/15

where there are two  $N^D$ 's, but not in counter-negativity. Syncretism is thus to be distinguished from fusion: the latter is concerned with the non-discreteness, through overlaying, of exponents and is found in the structure of AGps like des gens du métier (see p 87); syncretism on the other hand is concerned with the dual function (on a given dimension) of a single item, as when one and the same NGp has the function of subject and complement in multiple phase exocentric constructions (see p 97) or as here when a single group has the structural equivalence of two (or more) negative elements.

2) Verbal negative - restrictive. Only two of the subclasses in the system of intensity are realisable here:

i Normal - where there are two negative elements, one  $N^D$ , one  $N^U$ : que, which carries the mark of restriction, may be a simple group, as in

nous ne pouvons / que / nager F35/16  $P^A/N^D$   $A/N^U$   $P^B$

or it may be operating as the initial element in nominal or adverbial groups:

1 n'y a que José qui manque à l'appel.  $P/N^D$   $C/N^U$  M259/2

ils n'avaient parlé que de ses poèmes. M63/13  $P/N^D$   $A/N^U$

ii Multiple - there is one or more  $N^F$  in addition to the above.

$N^{FW}$  marks the clause as reinforced:

Il n'avancait plus que lentement M57/9

"Tu ne seras jamais qu'une nouille" M66/3

Ainsi, dans le Bourideys d'aujourd'hui, ne subsistait plus que la chrysalide abandonnée de ce qui fut son enfance et son amour. M286/10

As this last example illustrates, S may coincide with  $N^U$  only in inverse affirmative clauses.

The word que may have the dual role (but not in syncretism as different dimensions are involved) of marking a group as an exponent of  $N^U$  and of linking it in coordination, the higher-order group being itself negative and usually containing rien or personne:

en face d'elle / il n'y avait / rien / que le choeur. T183/22  
 $A P/N^D C^2/N^F C^3/N^U$

Noémi / (...) ne pensait / à rien / qu' à cette poussièreuse route (...). B151/9  $S P/N^D A^a/N^F A^b/N^U$  87

$N^{FS}$  marks the clause as counter-negative:

il n'y avait pas que les cicatrices laissées par les jeux d'un écolier turbulent: F137/7

il n'y avait pas que sa mère au monde. P209/3

- 3) Non-verbal. These have a finite predicator but no  $N^D$ ; intensity depends on the number of negative elements: most examples contain only one.  $N^U$  cannot be the only negative element in such clauses; and  $N^{FS}$  cannot occur at all. They characteristically occur under the following conditions:

i In questions:

Avions - nous jamais vu ça de notre temps, Dassol? M157/2

- ii In clauses containing the exclamatory group non que which is itself an exponent of  $N^F$ :

Non qu' / il se crût / un martyr. B130/5  $A/E/N^F P C^1$

- iii In completive clauses where the higher-order clause is negative

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87. Rien que may also occur as a modifier in certain binding groups, especially where the head is à or en: cf

rien qu'en étant là il épuisait cette jeune vie. B71/16

Je les haïrais, rien que parce qu'aucun d'eux ne m'a jamais demandé des nouvelles de maman. M186/12.

or has an interrogative - mood VGp:

Oh! surtout ne va pas croire que nous faisons rien de mal. T68/11

mais croyez - vous qu'elle ait rien de meilleur à attendre  
de sa destinée que cette souffrance? T112/13

- iv In completive clauses where the imputing group in the higher-order clause is nier ...

elle niait à présent qu'elle l'eût jamais prononcée... M236/9

- v In multiple-phase clauses where the next higher-order phasing element is dispenser, désespérer, incapable, impossible ...

Ces jacassements dispensaient les époux d'échanger aucune parole. T159/3

Ives désespérait de trouver aucune parole; M120/20

Incapable de diriger un cercle d'études ni aucune oeuvre  
Jean Pélousyre ne devait pas tenir plus longtemps l'emploi de  
l'ouvrier inutile. B81/15.

This last example is reinforced multiple negativity, carried by  
ni aucune oeuvre which expounds a syncretised element.

- vi In circumstantial clauses where the binding group is sans or  
sans que:

Thérèse entra dans le salon sans quitter son chapeau, ni  
son manteau fripé. T66/23

sans que cela comporte aucun engagement de notre part. M96/5

- vii In conditional clauses

Je ne le crois plus si je l'ai jamais cru. T226/12

viii In rankshifted relative clauses where the next higher-order element is seul ....

N'irait - il donc plus à ce rendez-vous - le seul qui ait jamais été assigné au cloporte Jean Péloueyre? B22/18

ix In rankshifted variable depth clauses:

ayant lu mieux qu'aucun autre. B16/8

et je vis trop loin de ma fille pour avoir aucune opinion ... F83/7

Finite rankshifted comparative clauses may thus have  $N^D$  (see (1) ii (e) above) or  $N^{FW}$ , as here: the combination leads to a normal negative clause:

Yves parut plus amer qu'il n'avait jamais été. M226/2<sup>88</sup>

4) Minor - or, more accurately, those without a contrastively positive or negative

VGp

i Non-restrictive; all the examples contain a single  $N^F$ , which may be  $N^{FS}$  or  $N^{FW}$ :

Pas à moi, les meubles? M91/19

Aucun ami. T138/2

Presque personne dans l'autobus. F201/11

So too the zeugmatic clause

(Elle trouvait injuste que les flammes choisissent toujours les pins,)

jamais / les hommes. T144/22 A/ $N^F$  C

ii Restrictive:

(a) Single - these may be zeugmatic:

Rien + ne lui était / que + cette douleur; M240/19 a(S/ $N^F$  P/ $N^D$ )

b (A/L/ $N^H$  S)

88. This list, like that given above in (1) ii is not intended to be exhaustive; ultimately the determining factors in the choice are contextual; the formal features given here can thus be no more than indicative. They do not for instance account explicitly for such examples as

Folie d'espérer qu'il y puisse rien entendre! T123/10

or absolute:

vous ne sortirez + d'ici / que + les poings + liés. T170/4

a (P/N<sup>D</sup> A) β (A/N<sup>U</sup> S P)

Circumstantial clauses may exhibit a certain paradigmatic non-discreteness between the terms in the system when the initial element is que, for although they may contain a VGp selecting for polarity there cannot be a direct relation between the que and a following negative VGp and hence we would wish to include them in the present subclass - cf

cette espèce d'êtres (...) qui ne sortirent de la nuit qu'en sortant de la vie. F6/15

and similarly infinitival zeugmatic clauses like the following:

je ne ferais+rien/que+d'expliquer+la pensée des autres. M123/13

a (P<sup>α</sup>/N<sup>D</sup> C<sup>α</sup>/N<sup>F</sup>) b (A/L/N<sup>U</sup> P<sup>β</sup>C<sup>β</sup>)

il ne songeait+qu'à prendre+le large,/qu'à retrouver+sa chambre

F154/2 a(P<sup>α</sup>/N<sup>D</sup> A/N<sup>U</sup> P<sup>β</sup> C<sup>β</sup>) b (A/N<sup>U</sup> P<sup>β</sup> C<sup>β</sup>)

(b) Multiple -

Plus que deux années à attendre, M127/10

The closed system items that are the basic markers of negativity are thus words occurring in either simple or compound groups. In general, there is congruence at different ranks on the dimension, in that the presence of a negative word marks a group as the exponent of N. Syncretism illustrates one minor form of incongruence; conversely there are cases where a group is positive from the point of view of its operation in clause structure even though it contains a negative word or a negative rankshifted group:

1) The AGp à jamais

Ah! l'écarter une fois pour toutes et à jamais! T79/2

2) AGps of structure sans + NGp ('s)

Soudain, l'indiscret, sans aucune vergogne, lui demanda: M79/8

3) NGps containing the words rien, personne (and mot: see footnote 86) preceded by a deictic:

Parce qu'elle est un monstre, Thérèse sent profondément que cela est possible et que pour un rien... T180/7

Ives se repliait, se concentrait sur cette étrange torture dans le rien M272/3

4) Nominal (and adverbial) groups containing jamais or non as submodifiers:

que pouvait-il comprendre (...) à ces gestes jamais hésitants? T134/1

il se souvenait d'une joie non terrestre. M71/14

## 5) Certain other structures involving recursive rankshift:

Donner le nom de Frontenac à une femme de rien, M51/9

2.36 The linking element, L

We saw in 1.42 that clauses at any place of coordination may be linked or unlinked. In the former case they are morphologically marked by the presence of a linking element, which we may symbolise L, expounded by the secondary class linking of the unit group. Most members of the class are adverbial, but as there are also a number of NGps we would not wish to treat the class simply as a subdivision of the AGp.

Again, it is not easy to give an exhaustive and definitive list of the exponents of the class. The most indisputable members are et, ou, mais and compound groups containing them - et pourtant, et puis, et ensuite, ou bien, ou encore, ou plutôt, mais aussi, mais pourtant etc.:

il parut ne pas l'entendre ou plutôt n'attacher aucune importance à ses propos. F27/17

We would also include puis itself, which does not occur <sup>non</sup>/initially except in the compound et puis.

Ni et non and mais non occur only in zeugmatic or dependent clauses:

Ne craignez-vous pas qu'on fasse des réflexions sur cette idiote, ni qu'on la croie folle? M51/22

Ils m'aiment pour moi-même et non pour mon oeuvre. M185/9

The pairs of linking groups à la fois ... et, soit ... soit, ni ... ni, tantôt ... (et) tantôt and NGps containing plus (see p 43) occur in clauses where the mutual nature of the presupposition relation is strongest, cf

Tantôt c'est la femme et tantôt c'est l'homme que la musique délivre de l'autre... F92/9

and the examples on p 43. Similarly non seulement ... mais (encore):

non seulement il avait réuni les mots par des lettres de hasard, mais encore il avait tracé partout de faux jambages. M183/10

The following sentence (-part) shows the layering of coordination referred to on p 90 so that the second clause contains two linking groups, one et in respect of the outer layer, the other, non seulement, in respect of the inner layer where there is the marked mutual linkage:

elle entre dans toutes ses raisons et non seulement lui trouve des excuses mais les approuve F27/3

Car is included in the list by many grammarians. Like those given above, it occurs in initial position, and as Togeby points out<sup>89</sup>, it is incompatible with et - but he does not mention its equally significant non-occurrence with binding groups: no other linking group may occur exclusively in independent clauses. Its syntactic difference from the contextually similar parce que is often alluded to<sup>90</sup>, but we would agree with Pottier that the fact that, unlike parce que, car may not occur in a clause preceding the higher-order one, "permet seulement de conclure

89. K. Togeby: "Structure Immanente de la langue française", p 253; Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Copenhague, VI (1951)

90. B. Pottier: "Systématique des éléments de relations"; Paris 1962, pl48 footnote 320;

que or, car, donc sont à différencier de parce que."<sup>91</sup> It is clear that formal grounds can be found for considering car as an exponent of the linking group or the binding group. In favour of the former we may add that it is more likely than the binding groups to occur in clauses expounding a simple sentence, or, more accurately, in clauses which do not presuppose another one in the same sentence, witness:

C'était peut-être ce qui l'aidait à ne pas mourir sous les coups qu'il recevait. Car aucun autre appui ne lui restait, aucun secours ne lui venait de sa famille. M229/18

On balance, however, those in favour of the second solution - viz its mutual exclusiveness with other members of the binding class, and its non-occurrence as a linker between dependent clauses or between units lower-ranking than the clause - seem the more powerful. In the sentence

Ils parlaient (...) des appeaux qu'il faudrait monter, car les ramiers, qui précèdent les palombes, ne tarderaient pas. M135/17

it is difficult to regard the clauses qu'il faudrait monter and car les ramiers... ne tarderaient pas as related in coordination rather than dependence, as the second bears little syntactic resemblance to the class of relative clauses of which the first is an exponent. We might further add that an analysis at the contextual level would probably lend support to the view that car is best analysed as a binding group.

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91. Ibid p 148. Pottier does however extend his use of the term coordination to cover a very wide range of phenomena - cf the sections "La coordination à un terme: les nombrants" and "la coordination à un terme: les infixes," pp 152-184; semiological equivalence is moreover invoked to bring within the domain of coordination such structures as Pierre est très grand (= \*Pierre est grand et grand) or les deux tables (= \*la table et la table), p 117. From the point of view of linguistic form, (and, we would be tempted to add, of contextual meaning) the relations between the items in such cases are of a quite different order from those we account for on the dimension of coordination.

Or is incompatible both with the above linking groups and with binding groups; it occurs only in independent clauses. But as it is most characteristically the first group in the first clause in the sentence, we would not consider its role to be that of linking clauses within sentence structure -- cf

c'était voler les Frontenac, estimait-il, que d'en distraire un sou. Or, il avait promis à Joséfa de placer en son nom, pendant dix années, à chaque premier janvier, une somme de dix mille francs; M48/16

There are a number of other adverbial groups whose contextual meaning is similar to that of the linking groups discussed. They include: pourtant, cependant, néanmoins, d'ailleurs, donc and so on. However, not only may these follow et, mais, ou and ni, but they may also occur in non-initial position. The presupposition relations they imply are much weaker than is the case with et etc. and are probably better described in terms of the lexico-grammatical category of cohesion<sup>92</sup> - we have excluded them therefore from the linking class.<sup>93</sup>

Que generally links items of group rank: it may however also operate as a linker of clauses in zeugmatic coordination, as illustrated on p138.

### 2.37 The thematic element T

The dimension of theme yields a system of two terms, expounded by (choice) subclasses of the clause: thematic and non-thematic. They are exemplified respectively in the following citations:

Cette mémoire, il faudrait la reconstruire en lui, M221/5

Madame Frontenac haussa les épaules: M167/21

Thematic clauses are morphologically marked by the presence of a thematic (secondary) element T, which cuts across the primary elements established on the dimension of predication, in that it may coincide with S, C or A (and also Z, see below): C as in the example above, S in

92. Cf M.A.K. Halliday: "The Linguistic Study of Literary Texts", Preprints for the Ninth International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge, Mass. 1962; p 198

93. The <sup>term</sup> mot-phrase, used by certain French grammarians to describe these and other AGps - cf inter alia, Pottier op.cit p 151) seems a most unhappy choice, reflecting the lack of any coherent theory of rank.

- C'est long, ce déjeuner. M137/8

A in

Voyons, il ne faut pas venir me raconter des histoires, à moi. M219/11

Within T we recognise later secondary elements to account respectively for

- 1) Themes which are marked only by place in sequence:  $T^{pl}$  - by a departure, that is, from the normal, non-thematic ordering in sequence of elements of structure.  $T^{pl}$  occurs in clause-initial position; as this is the normal place in sequence for binding, linking, interrogative and exclamatory groups, these cannot be thematic for  $T^{pl}$  implies contrastive initial positioning. Examples:

- Pour rien au monde je ne la ramètrai. F209/28

En septembre, elles pouvaient sortir après la collation. T47/19

Place-themes are adjuncts - indeed this is one criterion used by Blinkenberg for distinguishing A and C (see p109).

- 2) Themes -  $T^{sub}$  - which are marked by recapitulation or anticipation by a substitute or pro-thematic item operating at an equivalent (equivalent on the dimension of predication) element either in the clause or within the VGp:

le silence, l'étouffement, je ne connais que ça. T16/9

Tu les vois, les petits? M258/12

An anticipated thematic S following the predicator être often contains the word que in initial position:

D'ailleurs, c'était la raison même que cette femme, M219/9

The delimitation of the category of theme presents a number of problems.

Where the pre-thematic item is s or c in VGp structure there is little difficulty, though even here we must distinguish, with intonational differences criterial, thematic clauses like

Il s'est bien moqué de vous, M. Filhot! F209/25

where the last item is  $T^{sub}$  (il being the anticipatory item), from the non-thematic

Il pensa à louer le costume tailleur, le renard; M267/15

And we must also distinguish recapitulation of a thematic S from that of a non-thematic one when the VGp is of interrogative mood:

Que de fois Marie s'était-elle penchée sur cet abîme de tristesse d'où  
Georges remontait si rarement jusqu'à elle! F206/21

In the following example, C is thematic, recapitulated by les; S is non-thematic, recapitulated by il in the interrogative VGp:

Mais de tels obstacles, l'instinct de Noémi ne les eût-il balayés, B154/7

Where the pro-thematic item is a verbal adjunct, the theme may be an adverbial group, as in

Autant qu'on lui en donnerait, à cette garce, T196/17

Je ne lui en veux plus, à ton père, F215/7

or, when it is initial, a NGp

Ainsi l'amour dont Thérèse a été plus sevrée qu'aucune créature, elle en  
est possédée, pénétrée. T199/2

Le mystère Frontenac, ils n'en soupçonnent pas la grandeur. M186/15

T is probably best analysed as coinciding with Z in such cases.

We should perhaps also treat T as coinciding with Z, when the clause contains an initial "vocative" element (though this represents a less obviously contrastive sequential positioning):

José, regarde-moi M176/25

A further problem lies in circumscribing the pro-thematic element in clause structure. ça and cela are the most typical:

Tandis que la tuer, ça pourrait être dès ce soir, tout de suite. M241/22

et il aurait eu cela, du moins, les retours de chasse, les champignons  
ramassés. B143/11

though ça may itself be thematic:

ça, ce serait chic... M74/12

The items tout, rien, tel, celui-là, là etc. show in certain patterns similarities with the substitutes ça and cela, but the line delimiting the domain of the system of theme has been drawn so as to exclude them:

La solution la plus simple, c'est toujours à celle-là que nous ne pensons jamais. T161/8

Ce monde inconnu de sensations où un homme la forçait de pénétrer, son imagination l'aidait à concevoir qu'il y aurait eu là, pour elle aussi peut-être, un bonheur possible. T60/13

We have likewise excluded the following where mon, while having anaphoric reference to the initial item, cannot be said to recapitulate it:

Moi, mon esprit est une passoire: M162/24

#### 2.4 Order in sequence of elements of clause structure

Much has been written on "word-order" in French<sup>94</sup>, and no attempt will be made here to give more than the most cursory treatment of the subject: it was in any case discussed in some detail in 2.213 and 2.22 where it has a criterial bearing on elements and classes. It is hardly necessary to point out at this stage that any grammar recognising a scale of rank will not describe the sequence of items solely in terms of words: the different patterns of ordering are described for the different ranks.

There are a number of elements of clause structure which tend to occur early in sequence - in initial position unless there is more than one of them. These forward-tending elements, as we may call them are L, B, T, I, E and S (or P<sup>S</sup>). This tendency is weakest in the case of S (and P<sup>S</sup>) which follows any of the other five (except an anticipated T<sup>sub</sup>) when it does not coincide with them. A non-thematic recapitulated S may however precede I as in

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94. Cf especially A. Blinkenberg: "L'ordre des mots en français moderne"; Copenhagen, 1933.

Barbey d'Aurevilly, que de fois trahit-il le Fils de l'Homme pour un  
baiser? B28/7

ces pierres ensevelies mais toujours présentes, sans doute, inspiraient-elles  
à José un sentiment religieux, M60/15

Of the other forward-tending elements, L has priority in sequence: it never  
occurs other than initially as the numerous examples of linked clauses already  
cited have shown. B is incompatible with E and I (except when it coincides with  
I - namely in the case of concessive groups: see p 123). When B and T occur  
together, B precedes T<sup>pl</sup>:

ce corps que jamais il n'avait contemplé qu'endormi. B89/1

Jean Péloueyre (...) balbutia (...) que toujours il avait préféré dormir à  
l'étroit, B114/17

and T<sup>sub</sup> is generally anticipated rather than recapitulated so that it occurs late  
in sequence:

Ce fut surtout après le départ d'Azévédo que je l'ai connu, ce silence. T125/22  
T<sup>pl</sup> and a recapitulated T<sup>sub</sup> precede I and E:

Ce jour-là surtout, comment osait-il risquer une rencontre avec Fernand  
Cazenave B31/9

Ah! ceux-là, qu'elle aurait voulu les fuir! F19/13

Les êtres que nous connaissons le mieux, comme nous les déformons dès qu'ils  
ne sont plus là! T160/13

I and E are incompatible

The relative positions of S and P are accounted for by the system of mood.  
C generally follows except when it coincides with one of the forward-tending  
elements, though C<sup>I dist</sup> has considerable freedom of position (see p 74). The  
complements tout and rien may interrupt a single P before the past participle or a  
sequence of two P's in phase:

Le pauvre oncle (...) avait tout fait pour en détourner Yves. M161/6

il ne pourrait rien y avoir dans les journaux de ce matin. F172/39

- Vous allez tout me raconter en détail: F89/16

whereas rien (like simple negative adjuncts) may come between ne and the infinitive at any depth of phase:

Ah! ne rien prévoir. T27/15

A is the element whose place in sequence is most variable. When not coincidental with a forward-tending element, it generally follows P, either before or after C. But it is also found between S and P:

Cette nuit jamais n'arrivera: B52/17

Le seul plaisir de Jean était de penser que la main de Noémi à ce papier s'appuya ,  
B90/13

or within P, either before the nominal element

Il prit, à cette minute-là, conscience de l'amour qu'elle lui inspirait,

M202/22

or before the past participle:

Aucun n'eût, plus simplement que lui, donné sa vie. M190/22

No further discussion will be given here concerning the factors - rhythm, emphasis, class membership and so on - which contribute to the selection of its position.

## Chapter 3: The Adverbial Group

### 3.1 Primary Syntax

The adverbial group is that primary class of the unit group which operates at A in clause structure, though as we have seen (p67), the exponence relation is not bi-unique, in that NGps may also occur at A. Rankshifted groups may be assigned on an exponential and morphological basis to the primary classes nominal and adverbial. Most adverbial groups may be rankshifted (generally to elements in NGp structure); but rankshift does not serve to define a secondary class, as rankshifted AGps may be conflated, for class purposes, with those that have the potentiality of occurrence at A<sup>I</sup>.

### 3.2 Group and Phrase

Group structure cannot be generalised. The VGp is quite distinct morphologically as well as syntactically from the AGp and the NGp. The latter and one type of the AGp have certain structural similarities such that we may use the same elements to describe them, but this sameness cannot be maintained long in exponence or delicacy. AGps fitting into this pattern may be said to belong to the (primary) morphological category AGp-type. A third set of elements is required for the morphology of AGps consisting of a preposition + rankshifted NGp; these may be terminologically distinguished from the AGp-type by use of the label "phrase" - APhr (-type). The distinction then is morphological rather than syntactic, though the correspondence between the group-type and those groups which cannot occur at A<sup>I</sup> (or be rankshifted) might be thought large enough to enable us to regard the groups and phrases as belonging to different secondary classes.

The statement of AGp structure is complicated not only by this primary type contrast but also by the fact that a number of AGps consist of (or include) items

whose morphology it is scarcely profitable to describe inasmuch as they enter into systems or classes qua formal items rather than as exponents of productive patterns. They are dealt with at that point in the grammar where the scales of exponents and delicacy meet, and little is added by continuing the description down the rank scale beyond this point. The textual examples of such "fossilised" AGps are given below in fair detail because of their bearing on the statistical examination of the NGp - nominal items included within them have been excluded from the count:

1) Compound prepositional groups:

à bord de	au-dessus de	en prévision de
à bout de	au-devant de	en quête de
à cause de	au fond de	en signe de
à fleur de	au lever de	en vue de
à l'abri de	au long de	faute de
à la faveur de	au milieu de	hors de
à l'affût de	au nom de	le long de
à la hauteur de	auprès de	loin de
à l'opposé de	au prix de	lors de
à partir de	au ras de	près de
à perte de	au sein de	en proie à
à vol de	au sortir de	face à
au bas de	autour de	grâce à
(jusqu') au bout de	au vu et au su de	ainsi que
au coin de	du fond de	en tant que
au coeur de	du haut de	d'entre
au cours de	en dehors de	par dessus
au dedans de	en dépit de	à même
au delà de	en face de	à travers
au-dessous de	en lisière de	

## 2) AGps - generally non-rankshifted:

à bout	auprès	en deça
à califourchon	au vrai	(en dedans)
à demi	aux aguets	en dessous
à jeun	d'abord	en face
à mi-corps	d'ailleurs	en outre
à mi-jambes	(d'arrache-pied)	en particulier
à mi-voix	de cesse	en retard
à peine	d'emblée	en suspens
à reculons	de frais	en vain
à tâtons	de haut	par derrière
à tue-tête	de même	par devant
à l'abri	de nouveau	tout à fait
à la dérobée	d'orès et déjà	tout à l'heure
à la fois	de plus	tout de même
au dehors	du moins	tout de suite
au delà	du tout	au jour le jour
au fond	en arrière	de gauche à droite
au loin	en avant	de proche en proche
au moins	en bas	
au plus	en commun	

## 3) The binding groups listed on pp 118-119 and the phasing groups

de force	en droit	en train
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and the imputing group d'avis.

3.3 The structure of the group-type

There are two primary elements head and modifier. The latter is repeatable in depth so that we may regard the structure as being on the dimension of dependence, with elements  $\alpha$  (head)  $\beta$  (modifier), the  $\beta$  subdividing into  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$  etc.

It does however show characteristics of both place-ordered and depth-ordered structural types. The elements are place-ordered in that  $\gamma$  precedes  $\beta$  which precedes  $\alpha$ , except in the comparatively rare instances of rankshifted modifiers as in

*Heureusement pour la Maison* M223/3

and secondly in that it is rarely possible to reverse the order (in depth and sequence) of two items forming a compound group: the items très and gentiment for instance cannot be ordered other than as très gentiment (M177/16). Nevertheless no clearly discrete classes can be derived from the primary elements: we would, rather, recognise a single primary word-class adverb defined by its operation at any element in the structure, establishing a secondary class within it - which we may call pre-adverb-derived from the element  $\beta$ , but most adverbs would be included within the secondary class. A second recursive characteristic is the similarity of the relations between  $\gamma$  and  $\beta$  and between  $\beta$  and  $\alpha$  - compare

*un peu / plus / tard* M288/9  $\gamma \beta \alpha$

(where un peu is regarded as expounding a single element) and

*un peu / plus* T40/12  $\beta \alpha$

Thirdly variable depth clauses (see 2.13) may be rankshifted to  $\beta$  or  $\gamma$  (or, theoretically,  $\delta$ ...) witness

*juste/ assez / pour rendre son mari odieux* M206/15  $\beta \alpha \beta$

*trop / tard / pour se sauver* M81/18  $\beta \alpha \gamma$

*si / mal / qu'on avait préparé un drap / pour l'ensevelir* M111/7  $\beta \alpha \gamma \delta$

The  $\delta$  in this last example is expounded by a second-order rankshifted clause, and again the description is simpler if the relation of dependence presupposition between pour l'ensevelir and qu'on avait préparé un drap can be shown in the same way when they are rankshifted as when they are operating in sentence structure.

A final reason for giving priority to the recursive nature of the structure is that this enables us to generalise structure between the NGp and the AGp-type, the arguments in favour of a recursive treatment of the NGp being slightly more

powerful.

Little can be said on the basis of the present short textual analysis about secondary classes of the adverb derivable from different places in structure, because in fact the majority of AGp-types are simple, or at most contain two elements. A much larger-scale analysis would be necessary before such classes could be confidently established. A more detailed description would also take account of secondary word classes derived from operation at AGps expounding secondary elements of clause structure on dimensions other than that of predication.

For present purposes we need to recognise two secondary classes of adverb, for these will concern us elsewhere in the grammar: one is the preadverb alluded to above and including among its members such items as plus, moins, si, tellement, assez, trop, beaucoup, peu, un peu, très, presque, bien, absolument etc. The second, the linking adverb, is defined by its operation as head of linking AGps. Compound linking groups like et pourtant etc. (see p. 139) are best regarded as composed of two heads. The linking class of adverb is thus expounded by such items as et, ou, mais, ni, aussi, même, puis ... ; though defined with reference to linking AGps this class also operates as the marker of linked coordination between groups.

### 3.4 The structure of the phrase-type.

There are three primary elements: complement (c), prepositional element (p) and modifier (m). p is expounded by rankshifted compound prepositional groups as listed on p 149 or by the primary word class preposition: the exponential overlap between p in the APhr-type and a in the AGp-type is not sufficiently great for us to wish to conflate them into a single class at primary delicacy, though admittedly the overlap is greater in modern colloquial French.

The most frequent prepositions are de, à, dans, en, sur, sans etc.<sup>95</sup>: the class of prepositions, but not of the compound prepositional groups, is probably closed, so that it can be regarded as forming a system.

The element c is in the majority of cases expounded by a rankshifted NGp, as in

depuis / des années M232/7 p c

We must however also allow for the small number of groups where it is filled by:

1) An AGp-type:

depuis longtemps M226/6

2) An included, rankshifted APhr-type:

(elle sortait) de / chez + elle T187/10 p c (p c)

3) A rankshifted clause:

malgré tout ce que je vous reproche M34/10

dans tout ce que tu racontes F30/27

Most such clauses belong to the head class (more delicately, ce-clauses); the following is an isolated example of a circumstantial clause rankshifted to c:

Il fit des plans pour quand Jean Péloueyre aurait "clampsé" B135/16

The modifier is expounded by the secondary word-class pre-adverb. That is to say, the element m, though primary in APhr structure, does not serve to define a primary word class because the class of items operating there can be derived from the morphology of the AGp type, such cross-derivation of classes, though it is a further departure from the bi-unique exponence relation between

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95. See the list in Grévisse: op.cit p 763 - though we would not include voici and voilà which we analyse as VGps.

class and element of structure, has the descriptively powerful advantage of reducing the inventory of classes and of diminishing thereby the amount of exponential overlap between classes. Examples of APhrases, showing the three elements:

m	p	c	
bien	après	la communion	B64/2
jusque	dans	ses draps	B53/21
même	sans	particule	M186/15
non	loin de	Bordeaux	M47/4
peu	après	sa naissance	F27/16
presque	sans	rides	F102/1
tout	près <sup>d</sup>	Ives	M125/12
tout de suite	après	les premières lampées	T73/7
très	au-dessus <sup>d</sup>	elle	M233/9

m is repeatable in depth in the same way as the modifier in the Gp-type:

at the next stage in delicacy therefore m is subdivided into the chain elements  $m^{\alpha} m^{\beta} m^{\gamma}$  etc.  $m^{\beta}$  and lower-order elements may be expounded by variable depth clauses as in the second of the following examples:

(il est) le / plus / près de / Dieu M146/15  $m^{\beta} m^{\alpha} p c$

(Angoulême lui paraissait être) beaucoup / plus / près de / Bordeaux / que naguère. M86/4  $m^{\beta} m^{\alpha} p c m^{\beta}$

One place-ordered secondary element must be recognised within m:  $m^L$ , the place at which operates the secondary class of linking adverbs:

(ce n'était pas des larmes de colère) ni / de / désespoir. F208/5  $m^L p c$

The following example shows coordination of modifiers:

très haut et très loin au-dessus de leurs cimes. M292/2

There is one sub-type of phrase that needs separate mention: here there are two c's both expounded by the same formal item (generally a simple rankshifted NGp) and one preceding, one following the prepositional element:

minute par minute F163/19

tour à tour M139/5

peu à peu F241/1

point par point T145/16

and, with a modifier:

presque mot pour mot F141/15

un à un is assigned to A and the APhr on the basis of its morphological similarity with the above patterns, but it also has the characteristic of C<sup>I</sup> that the nominal elements in it are concordially related to the goal of intensivity:

les portes se rouvraient une à une. T144/3.

## Chapter 4: The Verbal Group

### 4.1 Primary Syntax

The VGp is that class of the unit group which operates at the element P in clause structure. The VGp and the element P are in a bi-unique exponence relation: that is, P is expounded only by (members of) the class VGp and conversely the class operates only at P. VGps are not rankshifted - though they may of course occur in rankshifted clauses.

### 4.2 Structure: elements and their subdivisions

#### 4.21 Inventory of elements.

In the description of the clause we saw that a number of dimensions relevant to that unit extend also to the VGp: that is, that certain contrasts are carried either by the clause or by the VGp. In addition the VGp carries systems unique to itself (and to word-classes operating in it). Hence the need to recognise an unusually large number of primary elements of structure - established on what we may call the basic dimension of VGp structure. They may conveniently be discussed under the following headings:

- 1) The substitute elements c s and a: These frequently (in the third person at least) but not invariably have anaphoric (or cataphoric) reference to NGps, which determine their gender and number. They stand in an equivalent relation to the elements v and p as the clause elements S, C and A respectively do to P - hence their criterial importance for the recognition and distinction of the clause elements ( see 2.213).
- 2) Elements expounded by classes derived, at primary delicacy, from places in the structure of the AGp or NGp. These are the nominal elementf, the modifier m,

the linking element l and the prepositional element d. The element p though expounded at primary delicacy by the noun, is more appropriately discussed under (4).

- 3) The negative element n.
- 4) The two elements which carry the characteristically verbal systems of tense, mode, finiteness and voice. They are the verbal element v and the past participial element p.

#### 4.22 The substitute elements s, c and a.

##### 4.221 The verbal subject.

The verbal subject s has already been discussed to some extent in connection with the subject element in clause structure. It is expounded by the primary word class subjectival. The traditional part of speech pronoun is not strictly a class in the sense in which that category is used in the present description. For the pronoun is generally defined not by its operation at a given place in structure (of clause or group) but rather by virtue of its being a substitute for a NGp.<sup>96</sup> The term covers a syntactically rather heterogeneous set of items, some of which operate in NGp, others in VGp structure. Moreover, whereas the exponential overlap between the clause elements S and C is such that they yield a single primary class, the verbal substitutes for these elements are much more exponentially discrete and are furthermore broken down into somewhat different systems: hence we derive a primary word class from the primary element s in the normal way.

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96. Cf, inter alia, Grévisse; op cit p 361 - "Le pronom est un mot qui souvent représente un nom, un adjectif, une idée ou une proposition exprimés avant ou après lui:"; Grammaire Larousse du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, Paris 1936, p 168: "Le pronom est, en effet, un mot qui remplace le nom dans la phrase." R.L. Wagner and J. Pinchon: "Grammaire du français," Paris 1962, however give a more structural description - "Les pronoms sont des mots qui, n'appartenant ni à l'espèce des substantifs, ni à celle des adjectifs, assument néanmoins les fonctions, ou une partie des fonctions de ces termes dans la phrase: sujet, attribut, complément d'objet, complément déterminatif", p 159.

The subjectival class comprises a small number of fully grammatical items. A multi-dimensional systemic matrix breaks the primary class down into a number of one-member subclasses - or rather, since the systems cut across each other, microclasses. They may be displayed as follows:

		1st person	2nd person	3rd person			
				Personal		Impersonal	
				indefinite	definite	formal	informal
Singular	masculine	<u>je</u>	<u>tu</u>	<u>on</u>	<u>il</u>	<u>ce</u>	
	feminine				<u>elle</u>		
Plural	masculine	<u>nous</u>	<u>vous</u>	-	<u>ils</u>		
	feminine			-	<u>elles</u>		

l'on is a (phonologically conditioned or free) variant of on: cf

toutes les excuses que l'on voudra F205/8.

At the level of form, however, they are one and the same item.

The first and second persons (and third person indefinite) show no morphological marking of gender: in any given occurrence, however, they belong to only one of the gender categories - which one it is is determined contextually and may be formally observable by virtue of concord (see 4.39), as in

J'ai été créée à l'image de ce pays aride T161/15

where the feminine gender of je (it is a woman, Thérèse Desqueyroux, who is speaking) is marked by the agreement of the past participle créée.

The subclasses singular and plural in the above table refer to terms in the system of verbal number. In the system of nominal number, the breakdown is as follows (third person as above; gender omitted as it again has no morphological correlates):

		1st person	2nd person
Singular	informal	<u>je</u>	<u>tu</u>
	formal	<u>nous</u>	<u>vous</u>
Plural			

The (contextual and grammatical) meaning of the formal versus informal distinction is however different in the two persons. (There are no realisations in the text of on as an informal plural).

As for the contrast between impersonal il and ce, the terms formal and informal are intended to give merely a rough indication of the contextual meaning of the choice in those cases where the selection of one or the other is not determined by purely formal features. ce may occur only in a copulative VGp; il may also occur here except where there is the potentiality of a post-emphatic relative clause. The il - ce contrast is in the main restricted to VGps preceding an intensive phrasing or imputing element<sup>97</sup>:

qu'il eût été bon de se perdre, T187/4

Que ce serait bon de dormir! W277/15

ce is the more frequent in such groups, but in general only il is followed by a verbal adjunct:

Il m'était insupportable de soupçonner d'une telle horreur cet être extraordinaire. F230/28

#### 4.222 The verbal complement and adjunct.

The elements c and a are the VGp equivalents to the clause elements C and A. They are both primary elements, but we derive only a single primary word class

97. Cf Kr Sandfeld: "Syntaxe du français contemporain"; Vol I - les pronoms; Paris 1928, p 286: "Si l'attribut est un adjectif on son équivalent, la règle de la langue littéraire est qu'on emploie il neutre pour annoncer ce qui va suivre (...) Mais la langue parlée préfère le démonstratif neutre dans la plupart des cas".

from them for the following reasons:

- 1) They have most of their exponents in common;
- 2) They are for the most part subdivided along the same systemic dimensions;
- 3) The statement of their relative order in sequence requires the recognition of secondary elements which to some extent cut across the primary distinction between *c* and *a*.

This class then, we may call the objectival class. It too is made up of fully grammatical items and may be broken down into microclasses by the following contrasts:

- 1) Reflexion - *c* or *a* may be reflexive or non-reflexive. The choice is in the main contextually determined although there are some verbs - souvenir and so on - which occur only with a reflexive element. Reflexive objectivals (which may be said to operate at the secondary element *r*) have the same referent as the subject, or - in the case of imperative VGps - as the addressee; otherwise se is the (contextually) unmarked reflexive.
- 2) Tonicity - tonic objectivals may not precede the element *v*, nor atonic ones follow it unless they are themselves followed by a tonic: that is, where two objectivals follow *v*, the second position is filled by a tonic, the first by an atonic.
- 3) Extension - the contrast between  $C^E$  and  $C^I$  at clause rank is applicable also to *c*: hence the secondary elements  $c^E$  and  $c^I$  (see p 68). The sole exponent of  $c^I$  is le. The contrast is not relevant to *a*.
- 4) Within  $c^E$  we distinguish a partitive complement from a non-partitive one; the sole exponent of the former is en. The contrast depends on the structure of the NGp for which the *c* is potentially a substitute: NGps containing the

deictics de, du, de la, des are replaced by en, others by non-partitives.

- 5) Verbal adjuncts may be subdivided into à personal ( $a^{dp}$ ), à non-personal ( $a^{dn}$ ) and de ( $a^E$ ) according to the structure of the AGps for which they are substitutes. In general  $a^{dp}$  replaces AGps of structure à + personal NGp,  $a^{dn}$  (of which the sole exponent is y) replaces AGps of structure à (or dans, en etc) + non-personal NGp or the AGp là; and  $a^E$  (exponent: en) replaces AGps of structure de + NGp (usually /personal). This statement of equivalences is only approximative: in

elle songe à son mari

for example, the NGp son mari may be replaced by the substitute lui (itself a NGp) but the verbal adjunct lui cannot replace the AGp à son mari. A more detailed account is given by Valdman.<sup>98</sup>

- 6) The gender system with terms masculine and feminine is relevant in two ways:
- i non-partitive  $c^E$  is concordially related to a following active past participle - see 4.39.
  - ii there are certain morphological variations according to the gender category of the NGp for which the  $c$  is a substitute or of the NGp at complement in the AGp for which the  $a$  is a substitute. There is never conflict between i and ii.
- 7) Number applies in the same way as gender: the relevant system here is that of nominal number, not verbal. We must thus make the additional distinction within the singular between formal and informal (see 4.221).
- 8) Person - three terms: first, second and third.

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98. A. Valdman: "Applied Linguistics - French"; Boston 1961, pp 7-14.



4.23 Elements expounded by cross-derived classes: f, m, l and d.

4.231 The nominal element f.

Whereas c is that position in the VGp expounded by substitutes for the NGp, f accounts for the occurrence of a number of nouns within VGp structure. That is, there are certain colligations of verbal and nominal items that we would wish to describe at group rather than clause rank, for the following reasons:

- 1) The nominal element occurs without a deictic, which is barely possible in the case of NGps at C<sup>E</sup> in clause structure;
- 2) The nominal element is generally modified, if at all, not by an adjective but by a pre-adverb:

avait - il si peur de ce qui sans retour l'apaiserait? T99/19

les gens, maintenant, ne tiennent plus assez compte des principes, T172/4

though there are isolated counter-examples:

Non qu'elle ait pu lui faire grand mal. F183/5

Thus we contrast

les pins (...) / lui + faisaient + signe / de prendre / le large

T218/13 S<sup>a</sup> P<sup>a</sup> (a v f) P<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup>

il + fit / un vague signe d'assentiment. B39/17 P(s v)C

- 3) There is no possibility of passive or thematic transformation, or of replacement of the nominal element by an objectival.
- 4) The colligation of verbal and nominal element may expound such classes as imputing or phasing group - avoir tort, avoir envie, faire signe etc. (see the lists in 1.331 and 2.23).

VGps containing the element f may conveniently be referred to as V-phrases - which is thus the name of a morphological type. f may not occur without a preceding verbal element, (-unless we were to consider examples such as the

following as containing zeugmatic V-phrases:

-Je vous fais peur, Bernard?

Il murmura: "Peur? Non: horreur". T165/4

however, as there are two paragraphs here we have treated (the second) peur and horreur as Z's rather than P's).

The element f does not yield a primary word class, but serves rather to define a secondary class of the noun, which is itself derived from NGp structure: a t primary delicacy then there is cross-derivation of the class. The secondary class is not large, though it is doubtful whether a closed and definitive list could be given for the language as a whole. The following includes the majority of those realised in the text; references are given to one occurrence and the preceding verbal element is cited in the infinitival form:

faire abandon	M49/5	prendre congé	M43/5	prendre fin	M200/23
avoir accès	F94/28	lier connaissance	T84/17	avoir foi	F173/7
donner accès	B88/6	prendre connaissance	F177/1	prendre forme	M84/2
avoir affaire	F115/10	reprandre connaissance	B21/12	avoir froid	F16/23
faire allusion	F39/24	avoir conscience	T36/9	prendre froid	M25/1
faire appel	B104/9	prendre conscience	M202/22	faire front	T15/22
retrouver appétit	T121/6	perdre contenance	F109/10	demander grâce	B134/17
faire attention	T216/4	prendre corps	T229/25	faire grâce	T129/17
avoir barre	F209/6	avoir cours	M185/14	rendre grâce	B67/15
avoir besoin	T37/2	avoir coutume	B22/15	faire gras	M42/5
porter honneur	B72/6	faire date	M52/11	avoir hâte	T54/5
avoir chaud	T111/7	faire défaut	F48/26	perdre haleine	T158/18
perdre coeur	B139/10	faire diversion	T183/1	faire halte	M132/2
tenir compagnie	F11/3	avoir droit	B53/14	avoir honte	F10/29
demander compte	B130/17	avoir envie	T50/12	avoir horreur	F64/21
rendre compte	T99/11	faire escale	F62/13	faire horreur	B33/20
tenir compte	F185/17	faire face	M12/15	faire illusion	B66/10
avoir confiance	F37/27	avoir faim	T99/3	faire jour	M43/12
mériter confiance	M115/14	prendre feu	M112/24	rendre justice	T15/13
perdre confiance	M 73/1	prendre figure	F172/5	avoir lieu	F150/9

faire mal	T118/3	faire place	F224/21	faire signe	T218/14
prendre mal	M44/10	porter plainte	T14/22	faire silence	T122/16
recevoir mission	F208/23	faire plaisir	F75/22	avoir soif	B123/22
faire mouche	F69/8	lâcher prise	T97/7	avoir soin	M207/14
demander pardon	M27/11	faire profession	M222/9	prendre soin	F184/11
avoir part	M170/15	avoir puissance	M49/9	avoir sommeil	M25/23
prendre parti	B83/7	chercher querelle	M39/7	faire souche	B38/3
faire partie	T117/8	reprendre racine	F63/8	avoir souci	B132/11
avoir peine	M97/5	avoir raison	T23/12	reprendre souffle	T65/14
payer pension	F79/4	avoir recours	T16/18	tenir tête	B45/4
avoir peur	T11/6	avoir rendez-vous	M266/3	avoir tort	T102/5
faire peur	T68/4	donner rendez-vous	T126/6	faire tort	F161/2
perdre pied	M196/3	prendre rendez-vous	T118/16	porter tort	F45/20
avoir pitié	T95/1	avoir réponse	F73/26	avoir trait	B18/7
faire pitié	F130/14	faire semblant	B73/3	faire violence	F173/23

There are in addition one or two doubtful cases where the nominal element is an adjective rather than a substantive as it is in the above list; we have also included avoir beau T93/1 and (se) faire fort T72/5 but not such pieces as peser lourd F36/6, filer doux M220/11 etc.

#### 4.232 The modifying element m.

This presupposes in dependence the nominal element f discussed above. It is expounded by the secondary word class pre-adverb, cross-derived from  $\beta$  in AGp structure. Members realised in the text include si, plus, moins, assez, trop etc.... Like the modifier in the AGp, it is repeatable in depth, though its occurrence at all is rare and few of the recursive possibilities are realised. The following example shows two degrees of depth:

(ce qui)me / fera / le / plus / plaisir M37/21 a v m<sup>6</sup> m<sup>5</sup> f

#### 4.233 The linking element l

VGps may be linked in coordination, linked VGps being morphologically marked

by the presence of a linking element l. It is expounded by the secondary class of linking adverbs, cross-derived from AGp structure.

#### 4.234 The prepositional element d.

In discussing the system of phase, we saw that some phasing groups select a lower-order VGp containing de, others one containing à and a third subclass VGps without any such item. The place in VGp structure at which de and à (and, marginally, par and pour: see p 99 ) operate is the prepositional element. At primary delicacy the class expounding d is cross-derived from the similarly-named element in A-Phr structure; d serves to define a secondary class of preposition.

#### 4.24 The negative element n.

VGps operating at  $N^D$  in clause structure are morphologically marked by the presence of the word ne filling the negative polarity element n. Although ne may be grouped in the same class as other words on the secondary dimension of polarity, as far as the present chain-exhausting and primary basic dimension of VGp structure is concerned, n cannot be regarded as a secondary division of any earlier delicacy element, nor can its exponent be classified by cross-derivation as it operates only at n. We thus have a situation unique in the grammar of a primary class having but one member; the scales of exponence and delicacy meet at the earliest point and ne may hence be used to designate either the formal item or the primary class of which that formal item is the sole realisation.

#### 4.25 The elements v and p.

##### 4.251 The word classes verb and past participle.

The elements v and p yield by exponence two distinct classes of the word: verb and past participle. We would thus not agree with Robins when he says:

"The separate recognition of participles as a class in their own right is uneconomical, as all and only verb roots can occur as participles."<sup>99</sup> The main similarity between the verb and the past participle is morphological and is thus best described by means of the category paradigm (see 1.34): so that the two classes will be separate terms in a single verbal word paradigm. Syntactically however - that is, in terms of their operation in the VGp - they are very different. The chief reasons for not regarding them as falling together in the same primary class are as follows:

- 1) They are not systemically related: that is, there is no place in VGp structure where a choice between them is made: v and p are indeed place-ordered chain elements.
- 2) There is a fundamental difference in their relations with the other constituents of the VGp in that s, c, f (and therefore indirectly m too) a, d and n all presuppose (in the sense: cannot occur without) v, but no primary element presupposes p.
- 3) The systems which break them down into subclasses are quite different in the two cases - see below.
- 4) Whereas the class verb has a high measure of exponential discreteness vis - à - vis other word classes,<sup>100</sup> there is very extensive non-discreteness

99. R.H. Robins: "The treatment of word classes in the European Grammatical Tradition"; draft of a paper given at the ASLIB Symposium on Classification in Linguistics, 18 May 1963, p 9. Robins is not concerned with French, but the points at issue are the same. Note that from our point of view the past participle and the present participle do not belong to the same primary word class.
100. Except that; infinitives (a subclass of verb) may theoretically occur as head of  $\beta$ -determinate NGps - cf  
*au sortir de la gare* T224/17  
 but in fact there are few realisations of this pattern; ii present participles have for the most part homonymous adjective counterparts: but only the latter, not the former, enter into systems of gender and (nominal) number.

between past participles and the noun; more delicately, the adjective. We would not indeed grant primary status to the past participle class, but regard it, rather, as a subdivision of the adjective. Such a treatment enables us to account more satisfactorily for the fact that there is frequently a certain amount of indeterminacy between two possible analyses of a piece of text: when a past participle occurs after the verb être, or without a preceding verb, we may hesitate between considering it as part or all of a VGp on the one hand and as an intensive NGp on the other; cf

Thérèse fit semblant d'être endormie. F209/12

Mme Arnaud-Miqueu était sauvée. M110/22

Le train n'était pas formé encore. T32/5

Bernard (...), satisfait d'avoir vu dans le moins de temps possible ce qui était à voir. T61/2

#### 4.252 Subdivisions of the verb:

- 1) The earliest system operating at v is that of finiteness, with two terms expounded by the subclasses of verb, finite verb and non-finite verb. The former is then subdivided along a number of interlocking systemic dimensions.
- 2) The system of person, with three terms: first, second and third person.
- 3) The system of verbal number, with two terms: singular and plural.
- 4) The system of mode, with four terms: indicative, imperative, conditional and subjunctive.
- 5) The system of tense markers: the system of tense is carried by the VGp (see 4.38) and involves both the elements v and p; distinctions within v however contribute to the morphological marking of the different tenses. We therefore establish within the verb a system of tense markers with four terms, which we may call past, present, future and recursive: this last indicates that the word itself marks the group as having recursive tense.

Abbreviations for the elements:  $\checkmark^{pst}$ ,  $\checkmark^{pr}$ ,  $\checkmark^{fut}$  and  $\checkmark^{rec}$ .

- 6) The non-finite verb is divided into the infinitive and present participle subclasses.

The systems of the verb may be summarised and exemplified as follows - the root element of the verb is kept constant in form (though not in manifestation) so that the table is an item - bound paradigm, or rather part of one: to be complete we should have to add été, an exponent of the past participle word class.

# Scale of Delicacy

Element

Scale of Exponence

Primary      Early Secondary      Next step in Secondary

System of finiteness

V <sup>f</sup>	System of person	V <sup>1st</sup> V <sup>2nd</sup> V <sup>3rd</sup>
	System of number	V <sup>sg.</sup> V <sup>pl.</sup>
	System of mode	V <sup>indic</sup> V <sup>imper</sup> V <sup>cond</sup> V <sup>subj</sup>
	System of tense markers	V <sup>rec.</sup> V <sup>pst.</sup> V <sup>pr.</sup> V <sup>fut.</sup>
V <sup>nf</sup>	System of non-finite kind	V <sup>inf</sup> V <sup>pr. pt.</sup>

Class and Formal Item

Verb System of Finiteness

Finite verb

non-finite verb

	Singular			Plural		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
rec. Indic.	étais		était	étions	étiez	étaient
pst.	fus		fut	fûmes	fûtes	furent
pr.	suis	es	est	sommes	êtes	sont
fut.	serai	seras	sera	serons	serez	seront
Imper. pr.	—	sois	—	soyons	soyez	—
Cond. pr.	serais		serait	serions	seriez	seraient
Subj. pst.	fusse	fusses	fût	fussions	fussiez	fussent
pr.	sois		soit	soyons	soyez	soient

Infinitive	Pres. Participle
être	étant

## 4.253 Subdivisions of the past participle.

- 1) p is subdivided on the chain axis into
- $p^1$
- and
- $p^2$
- cf

toutes ces routes barrées qui lui avaient été prédites, N273/13

l'autre avait eu vite fait de lui mettre le grappin! F208/18

where the VGps lui avaient été prédites and avait eu ... fait have the structures  $v p^1 p^2$  and  $v p^1 p^2$  respectively. The secondary elements  $p^1$  and  $p^2$  do not serve to differentiate secondary classes of the past participle as they have the same exponents: however, as there are not more than two places,<sup>101</sup> we can hardly speak of a recursive repetition in depth.

- 2) Past participles operating at the last p - which we may represent
- $p^+$
- : i.e.
- $p^2$
- where there is one, otherwise
- $p^1$
- are broken down by the system of voice, with terms active and passive. In compound VGps, the word preceding the passive past participle belongs to the paradigm of
- être
- ; e.g.

ils sont atteints par la crise F35/1

- 3) Active past participles subdivide more delicately into S - directed and C - directed subclasses, according as there is (potentially) concord between the past participle and the subject or the complement (clausal or verbal in both cases). The word preceding an S - directed past participle belongs to the paradigm of
- être
- ; that preceding a C - directed one to the paradigm of
- avoir
- in non-reflexive VGps and of
- être
- in reflexive VGps. Thus in

lui qui avait fini son devoir N273/21

tout le monde (...) s'était trompé T173/23

fini and trompé are C - directed, whereas in

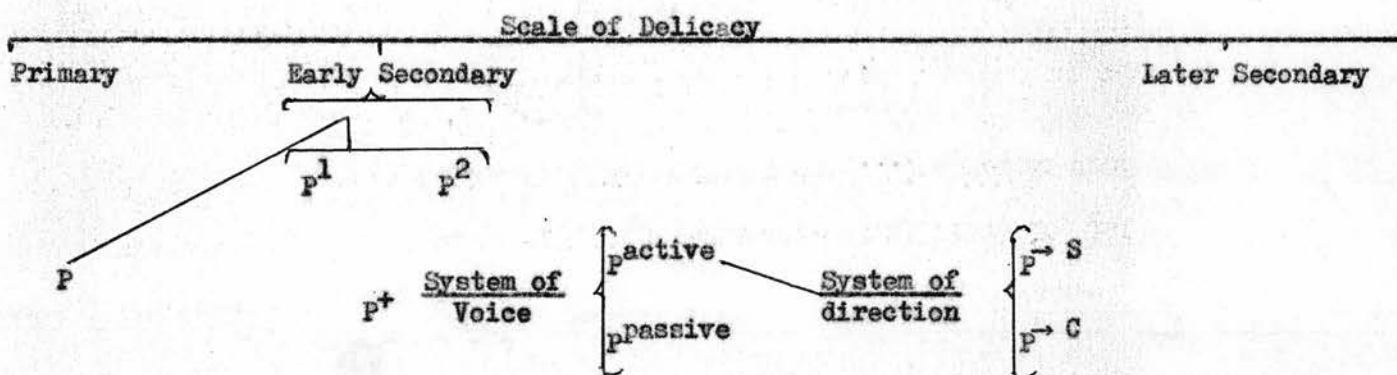
101. Cf P.Imbs: "L'emploi des temps verbaux en français moderne"; Paris 1960, p 134 - "On ne constate, dans la liste de nos exemples, aucun des cas de forme surcomposée passive. C'est que le passif est déjà, dans les formes composées du passé, un surcomposé (cf cela a été entendu); le surcomposé en ferait un supersurcomposé, à quoi la langue semble répugner."

il était mort sur le bateau T177/19

mort is S - directed. These elements, which we symbolise  $p \rightarrow S$  and  $p \rightarrow C$  yield secondary choice classes of the past participle. The former is rather small, having such exponents as venu, arrivé, resté, mort, né etc. The classes do exhibit a certain amount of exponential overlap, sorti, monté ... belonging to both.

Passive and S - directed p's are incompatible with c and f and occur only in groups operating in intransitive clauses.

This section may be summarised as follows;



#### 4.26 Coordination of elements.

The only elements entering into relations of coordination are:

- 1) p, either passive or active:

Elle avait accepté d'être jugée et condamnée par cette petite  
Desqueyroux. F27/9

Le temps n'a recouverte, ensevelie.... F36/15

- 2) v, either finite or non-finite; only in the former case may there be other elements in the group:

il tournait ou pliait la page F243/27

cette femme auprès de laquelle il lui faudrait vivre et mourir F251/23  
Aimant et plaignant son père, B24/13

#### 4.27 Order in sequence of the elements.

The order in sequence of elements is as follows:

l d s n c a v p m f; cf:

je / ne / m' / en / suis pas rendu / compte T147/11 s n a a v p f

The following clarifications are needed:

- 1) d and s are incompatible; the former presupposes an infinitive at v, the latter a finite verb. The above shows the unmarked position of s; it may also occur after v: see 4.31.
- 2)  $\vec{c}av$  is the unmarked sequence for these three elements. In positive imperative VGps objectivals follow v, in all other cases they precede it. Where there is more than one objectival, the relative sequence is stated by reference to secondary classes derived from place-ordering and colligational compatibilities:

i In pre-v position; i.e. in negative and non-imperative VGps -

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
<u>me</u>				
<u>te</u>	<u>le</u>			
<u>se</u>	<u>la</u>	<u>lui</u>	<u>y</u>	<u>en</u>
<u>nous</u>	<u>les</u>	<u>leur</u>		
<u>vous</u>				

There may be only one selection from a given secondary class; (a) and (c) are incompatible, as are (c) and (d) and also (d) and (e). There can therefore be only one c, but there may be two a's provided the second is en. There are no examples in the text of groups with more than two objectivals:

ils se la cassent M200/15

Tu ne me les as (pas) demandés M33/6

elle s' y connaissait M39/2

elle le lui défendit F117/4

je m' en chargerai M74/3

## ii In post-v position:

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
	<u>le</u>	<u>me</u>			
<u>nous</u>	<u>la</u>	<u>te</u>	<u>lui</u>	<u>Y</u>	<u>en</u>
<u>vous</u>	<u>les</u>	<u>moi</u>	<u>leur</u>		
		<u>toi</u>			

Again there can be only one selection from each class; and only two selections altogether. The following are mutually incompatible: (a), (c) and (d); (d) and (e); (e) and (f). The last or only objectival is tonic, the penultimate atonic. Few of the combinatorial possibilities are realised in the text. Example:

Fais-les moi passer M74/3

3) The VGp may be interrupted by other elements of clause structure as follows:

- i After *n* in negative infinitival VGps, there may occur a negative adjunct (pas, plus, jamaïs) or complement (vien)

Jean-Louis le supplia encore de ne pas se monter le cou: M74/12

elle désirait ne plus rien posséder en commun. T141/12

This order is not obligatory, witness

au point de n'avoir pas la force de se déshabiller. T174/11

Exceptionally, the interruption may come after the objectival rather than after ne:

le désir de n'en pas laisser M130/20

- ii Between *κ* and *p*<sup>1</sup> there may occur an adjunct or the complements tout or rien (see 2.4):

Il n'avait pas voulu être méchant; M119/20

ni lui, ni Burthe (...) n'avaient jamais vu le moindre Prussien. M119/23

This position is obligatory for the negative adjuncts pas, plus, jamais, point, quère except when they are thematic:

Bien que jamais il ne se fût tant hai B9/4

iii Adjuncts may occur before (m) f (see 2.4)

#### 4.3 Systems of the VGp

The foregoing description of the structure of the VGp will allow us to deal briefly with its systems, for there is a high measure of congruence between morphology and syntax: only in tense is there any appreciable incongruence.

##### 4.31 The system of mood.

Mood contrasts are carried by the clause or by the VGp (see 2.22). The system of verbal mood is applicable to groups containing s: all others fall outside the system. There are two terms:

1) Affirmative - marked by the order  $s \overline{(n c a)} \bar{v}$

Elle / avait / répondu: T55/11 s v p

2) Interrogative - marked by the order  $\overline{(n c a)} v s (p f)$

Ne / pourrait / -elle (en avoir des échantillons?) T56/7 n v s

je rarely follows verbs other than the most frequent ones like suis, ai, puis etc.

##### 4.32 The system of transitivity.

There are three terms:

1) Transitive - marked by the presence of  $c^E$

(le contact d' une jambe) la / réveillait; B73/11  $c^E v$

2) Semi-transitive - marked by the presence of f

je / vous / demande / pardon. F55/23 s a u f

3) Non-transitive - marked by the absence of  $c^E$  and f

elle / avait / désarmé; F55/21 s v p

j' / ai / perdu (la tête) F55/25 s v p

Non-transitive thus indicates that the selection for transitivity is not made in the VGp, but in the clause.

#### 4.33 The system of reflexion.

This system applies only to groups containing v; there are two terms:

- 1) Reflexive - marked by the presence of the secondary element r

(Yves)se / sentit (triste) M134/14 r/c v

- 2) Non-reflexive - there is no r element

(Yves)le / sentit (perdu) M124/17 c v

#### 4.34 The system of verbal polarity.

There are two terms; the system applying only to groups with v

- 1) Negative - marked by the presence of n

(pour)ne / faire (aucun geste) B40/17 n v

- 2) Positive - there is no n element

Il / s' / observait B40/17 s c v

#### 4.35 The system of finiteness.

There are two terms:

- 1) Finite - marked by the presence of a finite verb at v

Il sonnait B72/4

- 2) Non-finite - has no finite verb; there are three subclasses of non-finite

VGp: infinitival, present participial, past participial, the first two containing verbs, the last no v element.

(sans)lever (les yeux) B33/21 v<sup>inf</sup>

(en)les / suçant B9/10 c v<sup>pr</sup> pt

(la formule)inscrite (sur l' enveloppe) T28/12 p

#### 4.36 The system of voice.

There are two terms:

- 1) Passive - marked by the presence of a passive past participle at p<sup>+</sup>

le bourg même ne serait pas épargné T144/20

Elle fut réveillée par le bruit du balai mécanique F60/1

- 2) Active - has either an active past participle at p<sup>+</sup> or no p at all

J'aurais dû t'envoyer la voiture B113/3

il se coucha B113/17

VGps containing no verb but just a past participle are generally passive:

la date imprimée sur chacune des trois enveloppes T64/8

sa confession finie, Bernard la relèverait T34/1

There are however a few examples of active ones:

un incident survenu l'année précédente F47/22

Fin de rire M272/3

A passive past participle may be replaced by the substitute le, witness

Comme s'il appartenait aux hommes de décider qu'un crime n' a pas été accompli, lorsqu'il l' a été en effet! F15/28

In such cases le is analysed as c<sup>I</sup>; only the group n' a ... été accompli is passive.

#### 4.37 The system of mode.

This system is applicable to finite VGps only; there are four terms:

indicative, imperative, conditional and subjunctive. The dimension extends to the verb (see above 4.252) which is the distinguishing marker of the terms in the group system. Two complicating factors may be mentioned here, though discussion of them lies outside the scope of the present study:

- 1) The exponents of the conditional class operate also as indicative groups in the tense II system: that is, where tense is sequentially determined.
- 2) A conditional verb may in most circumstances be replaced by a past subjunctive one, although the converse is not true. Compare

Comme si la découverte qu'il avait faite dans le cahier d'Yves, eût dû le détourner de ce plaisir, comme si tout, désormais, aurait dû lui paraître fade... M67/10

#### 4.38 The system of tense.

We are here concerned with non-sequent tense only: that is, where the selection of the term in the tense system is not conditioned by the selection made in the VGp of a clause higher-ordered in dependence.

Separate systems are recognised for each of the four modes and for non-finite groups, as the range of choice varies. The names given to the terms, being in any case derived from the contextual meaning, need not however be changed from system to system as long as it is remembered that a present which is opposed to past only does not have the same meaning as one which contrasts with both past and future.

The earliest distinction is between simple and recursive tense. Here there is a certain incongruence between syntax and morphology; whereas simple tenses have a verb but no past participle not all recursive ones contain the latter, for as we saw in 4.252 the verb itself may be the marker of recursive tense. The further subdivisions are illustrated in the following table which exemplifies them from the paradigm of faire and shows the distinctive morphological markers: the subclass of verb at v and a number representing the number of active past participles (the tense with two being inapplicable to passive VGps):

	INDICATIVE			IMPERATIVE	CONDITIONAL	SUBJUNCTIVE		INFINITIVE	PRESENT PARTICIPLE	PAST PARTICIPLE		
	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE			PAST	PRESENT					
RECURSIVE	SIMPLE <sup>102</sup>	$V_{PR} + O$ VOUS FAITES	$V_{FUT} + O$ VOUS FEREZ	$V_{PR} + O$ FAITES	PRESENT FERIEZ	$V_{PST} + O$ VOUS FISSIEZ	$V_{PR} + O$ VOUS FISSIEZ	NEUTRAL	NEUTRAL	NEUTRAL		
		$V_{REC} + O$ VOUS FAISIEZ							$V_{INF} + O$ FAIRE	$V_{PRP} + O$ FAISANT		
		$V_{PST} + I$ VOUS ÊTES FAIT	$V_{PP} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT	$V_{FUT} + I$ VOUS AUREZ FAIT	$V_{PR} + I$ VOUS AURIEZ FAIT	$V_{PST} + I$ VOUS EUSSIEZ FAIT	$V_{PR} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT	$V_{PR} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT			P FAIT	
RECURSIVE	PRESENT IN <sup>103</sup>	$V_{PST} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT	$V_{REC} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT						$V_{INF} + I$ AVOIR FAIT	$V_{PRP} + I$ AVANT FAIT		
		$V_{PST} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT	$V_{REC} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT									
		$V_{PST} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT	$V_{REC} + I$ VOUS AVEZ FAIT									

102. Read: Simple past, simple present etc; Present in past, present in neutral etc.

103. There is no textual occurrence of vous avez eu fait (Past in past in present).

#### 4.39 Concord.

The concordial relations into which the VGp enters are of two kinds: those where the morphological marking of the concordial category is in the verb, and those where it is in the past participle. In the former case we may conveniently speak of verbal concordial categories; in the latter of nominal concordial categories.

The concord is either external or internal. In external, or inter-group concord, the VGp and a NGp agree in the selection of concordial categories. In internal or intra-group concord, the agreement is between different elements within a single VGp. In both cases we need to recognise systems of the VGp, not simply of the verb or past participle: in external concord because the relation is between groups; in internal concord because the group is the unit wherein there cannot be more than one different selection in respect of the concordial categories. Verbal concord thus yields systems applicable to finite VGps, nominal concord systems applicable to VGps containing p.

#### 4.391 Verbal concordial categories:

- 1) The system of person, with three terms: 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person.
- 2) The system of verbal number, with two terms: singular and plural.

There is external concord in respect of these categories between the clause subject and a finite VGp at P<sup>0</sup> (except in the case of "collective" subjects: see p 84 ) or internal concord between the verbal subject and the verb.

des hommes debout entouraient la table F80/12

je ne crains pas le bruit F82/29

vous n'avez qu' à monter F80/22

Note that when a plural thematic subject is recapitulated or anticipated by

ce, the verb is singular; (and so too any concorded  $C^I$ ):

- c'est grave, les dettes M169/19

4.392 Nominal concordial categories:

- 1) The system of gender, with two terms: masculine and feminine.
- 2) The system of nominal number, with two terms: singular and plural

There is concord in respect of these categories:

- 1) Between S or s and a passive past participle -

ces pages consolantes ont été écrites F6/21

- 2) Between S or s and an active, S - directed past participle -

Thérèse était restée souvent avec les hommes. T53/13

- 3) Between  $C^E$  or  $c^E$  and a following C - directed past participle -

la chaise basse qu'elle avait rapprochée du feu; M11/3

(where the complement que derives its number and gender categories from its antecedent);

quelle scène il m'a faite! F179/24

elle s'était rassise F55/15

Dès qu'elle les eut rejoints, F97/1

and note the following example of a (nominal) singular nous:

comme si ce que nous embrassions ne nous avait pas fui, M272/8

Three modifications must be made to the statement of this third relation of concord:

- i There is concord only between items in the same phase; thus in toutes les raisons que j'aurais pu vous donner, T228/3

the C que (masc.pl.) is at phase  $\beta$  whereas the VGp containing the past participle pu is at phase  $\alpha$  - hence the lack of concord.

ii The past participle in impersonal VGps is invariably masc.sing.:

des malheurs qu'il y a eu dans sa famille T67/10

iii The past participle fait when operating in a phasing group is not concorded:

Je les aurai fait entrer chez la femme que j'entretiens M260/20

contrast:

Que de fois (...) t' ai - je vue tourner en rond T8/11

4) When the past participle is in a simple VGp we distinguish three cases:

i The VGp is at P in a clause rankshifted to q in NGp structure.

Here there is concord between the past participle and the head of the NGp:

l'espérance contenue dans le titre F5/15

ii The VGp is at P in an appositional clause: there is concord between the past participle and the goal of the apposition:

Son amie, demeurée sur le talus, la voyait au milieu du seigle T48/22

iii The VGp is at P in an absolute clause: there is concord between the past participle and S:

Ceux-ci atteints, il ne savait pas s'il irait à droite, à gauche M272/14

On the basis of these nominal concord relations, VGps containing the element p may be divided into two subclasses, terms in a system of direction of potential concord: S - directed and C - directed. Passive VGps and active ones containing  $p \rightarrow S$  (resté etc., see 4.253) belong to the former, all others to the latter - including reflexive VGps, witness

l'image que s'étaient toujours faite d'elle les enfants Frontenac. M232/19

where the concord (marked by the past participle faite) is between P and C<sup>E</sup> (que), not between P and S.

#### 4.4 Systems of the VGp - continued.

##### 4.41 Systems within coordination..

Only groups containing the element *v* may enter into relations of coordination.

Secondary distinctions yield the following systems:

##### 4.411 The system of linkage.

There are two terms, linked and unlinked. The former is marked by the presence of a linking adverb at 1. In the following example the first group is unlinked, the second linked:

J'aime et je déteste les landes... F85/6

The linker ni in

Il ne s'agissait ni de mourir, ni de vivre, M277/15

marks the groups as operating at  $N^F$  in clause structure; it is irrelevant to the system of verbal polarity described in 4.34.

##### 4.412 The system of zeugma.

Again we contrast zeugmatic and non-zeugmatic. The only patterns of zeugma realised in the text are exemplified in

1) ils s'enfougaient, / s'abîmaient / dans l'histoire, M13/11

where only the first contains *s*; the clause structure is  $P^a P^b A$ .

2) Jean-Louis s'était levé et rapproché de la fenêtre ouverte M121/4

The coordination here is between the clauses not the VGps, but both the second clause and the second VGp are zeugmatic (see p 49-50).

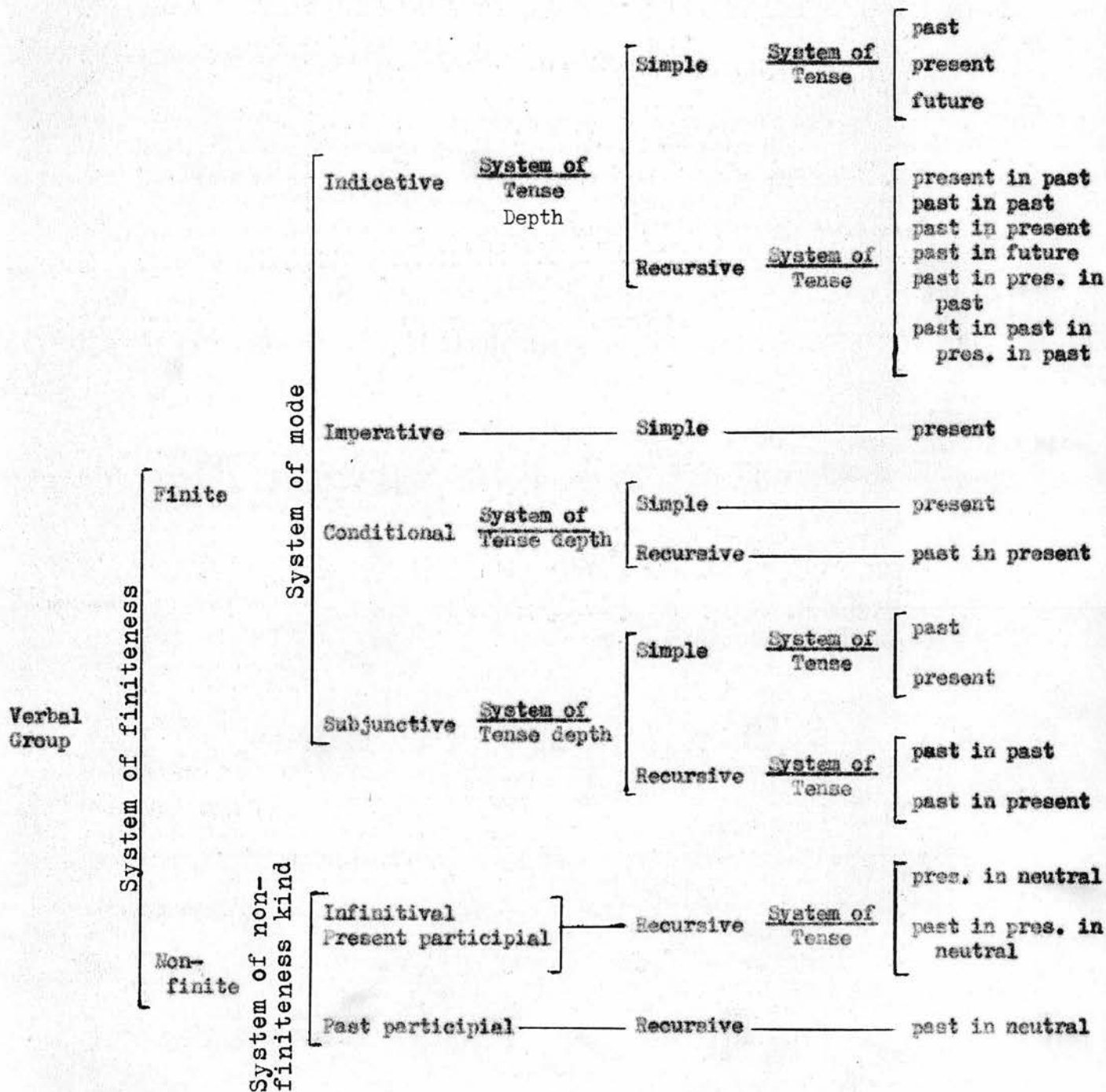
##### 4.42 Summary of VGp systems.

Scale of Delicacy

Primary

Early Secondary

Later Secondary



VGp System of Voice [ Active  
Passive

VGp System of Transitivity [ Transitive  
Semi-transitive  
Non-transitive

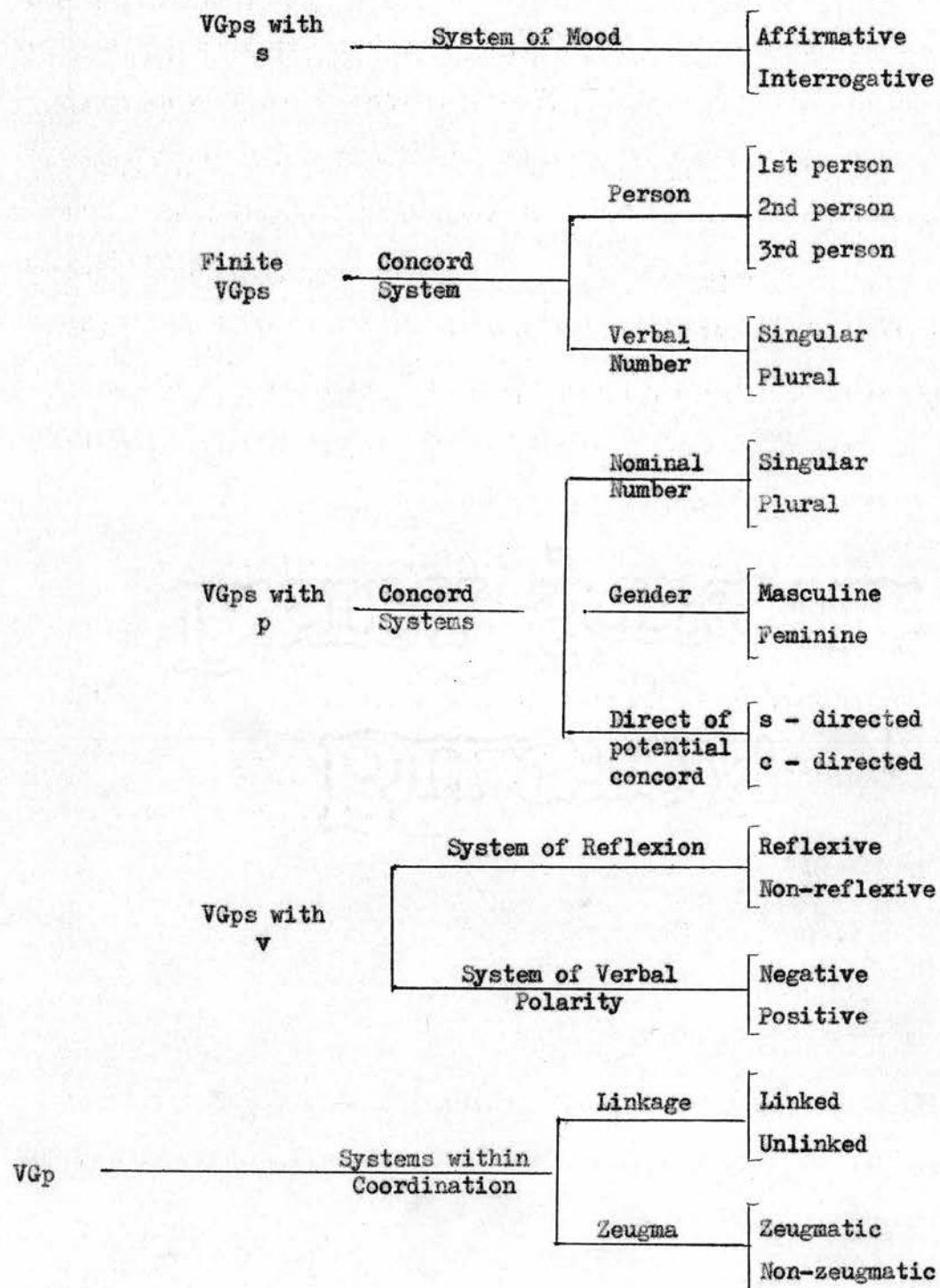
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 Scale of Delicacy
 

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Primary

Early Secondary



## Chapter 5: The Nominal Group

### 5.1 Primary Syntax and Secondary Chain Classes

The NGp is that primary class of the unit group which expounds the clause elements S and C, these being sufficiently non-discrete exponentially to yield a single class. The NGp fills too the position Z and may also occur marginally at A (see 2.211). Rankshifted groups are assigned to the primary classes nominal and adverbial on the basis firstly of their potential occurrence at places in clause structure, and secondly of their own morphology.

At the earliest stage of secondary delicacy, the NGp subdivides according to its actual occurrence at different places in structure. We recognise three secondary chain classes:

- 1) Rankshifted NGps - defined by operation at c in A-Phr structure or at q in the structure of a larger NGp.
- 2) Intensive NGps - defined by operation at the elements  $G^I$  or  $Z^I$  in clause structure.
- 3) Extensive NGps - defined by operation at the elements S,  $C^E$ ,  $Z^G$ ,  $Z^U$ ,  $Z^V$  and A in clause structure.

These classes exhibit considerable exponential non-discreteness. In particular most members of the extensive class have the potentiality of operation at places defining the other two classes. In spite of this consequence we have nevertheless selected actual as opposed to potential occurrence at the different structural elements as criterial, because there are morphological differences in the classes so derived which can be stated in terms of probabilities, as illustrated in 7. These probabilistic statements could then in turn be used of course to group items according to their probability of occurring at the different elements. But this would not add anything to the description and we have thus

confined ourselves to the above - defined chain classes.

## 5.2 The Structure of the NGp

### 5.21 Primary elements.

We have seen that the elements of structure of a unit may be related in choice or in chain. The choice relation is between secondary elements only: at  $v$  in the VGp there is, for example, a systemic choice of finiteness yielding the secondary elements  $v^f$  and  $v^{nf}$ . The chain relation may be between primary or secondary elements; chain-related elements may, further, be ordered either in depth (recursively) or in place. This "either-or" however does not represent a systemic choice<sup>104</sup>, for the two kinds of structure are not dichotomous. Rather must we recognise a cline with "most recursive" at one end-point, "least recursive" at the other. For most often both kinds are relevant to the structure of a unit: it is interesting to note that in his "etic" characterisation of the "clause" (that is, a description of the clause that is general as opposed to particular to a given language) Pike suggests that unlike the sentence and the (nominal) phrase, the clause is non-subordinate - which would mean, in our terms, that its elements are not ordered in depth of dependence.<sup>105</sup>

The basic difference between depth-ordered and place-ordered structuring is that in the former but not the latter there is a constant relation between the successive elements (successive in depth, that is) with no clear and absolute limit to the number of repetitions of the relation. Whether the elements yield discrete classes, whether they occur in a fixed sequence: these factors are not crucial to the distinction. This does not mean that they are irrelevant, however,

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104. System being used here of course in a wider sense than that which gives its name to one of the four basic categories.

105. K&L. Pike: "Language", Pt III, p 66. Pike's statement illustrates the danger of inter-language generalisations about categories as particular as the clause, for in fact the elements of clause structure, as that unit is defined for the present description of French, are - at secondary delicacy - ordered in depth: see the system of phase, 2.25

for a structure in which the elements both yield separate classes and occur in a fixed sequence is much more likely to be place-ordered than depth-ordered. In deciding for the NGp whether to give priority in delicacy to depth-ordering or to place-ordering, we may thus briefly consider all three factors: element class correlations, order in sequence, and likeness of the relations between the elements.

1) Element - class correlations. (In such a group as)

le chemin qu'a parcouru sa pensée T83/2

different sets of items are commutable with le and with qu'a parcouru sa pensée.

Similarly in

son esprit étrangement lucide T192/19

where items commutable with lucide are different from those with the same potentiality of occurrence as étrangement. On the other hand there is a high measure of exponential overlap between the head and qualifier elements, as illustrated by the following pairs:

{ c'était voler les Frontenac M48/16

{ les pins Frontenac M285/20

{ l'ennemi n'a pas été long à profiter (...) F203/7

{ pareils à l'armée ennemie F169/17

{ l'essentiel était qu'elle ramenât la petite à la maison T65/21

{ ce principe essentiel T105/16

{ ce liquide verdâtre T34/15

{ manquant d'argent liquide F72/18

{ cette bête recrue F59/2

{ cette écriture bête F118/3

{ ce visiteur inconnu F185/9

{ cet inconnu qui lui remet une ordonnance T15/2

{ la petite avait répondu F36/27

{ cette petite fille B66/16

- 2) Order in sequence. The elements in any structure must be ordered in sequence, with its three possibilities: succession, interruption, fusion. Thus, in a structure  $X^1 X^2$ ,  $X^1$  must precede, follow, interrupt, be interrupted by or fuse with  $X^2$ . The reason for distinguishing order from sequence is that the latter is only one type of order. Sequence, though unlikely to be totally irrelevant, may or may not be crucial in marking the distinction between elements. It is criterial for instance in the contrast between S and C, whereas AGps and VGps are assigned to the primary elements A and P whatever their order in sequence in the clause. In the above-quoted

le chemin qu' a parcouru sa pensée

the three elements, expounded respectively by le, chemin and qu' a parcouru sa pensée, could not occur in any other sequence. NGp structure does however exhibit a certain amount of variability in sequence. In the groups

la pluie épaisse T195/21

l' épaisse chaleur M33/19

the relation of pluie to épaisse in the first is more like that in the second of chaleur to épaisse than of épaisse to chaleur. More like in terms of the commutational possibilities, direction of presupposition and of relations with other possible elements - and also in terms of contextual meaning. It would thus be desirable to treat épaisse as filling the same primary element in the two groups, distinguishing the structures at secondary delicacy.

- 3) Likeness of the relations between the elements. There are clear differences in the relations between le and chemin on the one hand, and qu' a parcouru and chemin on the other. Nevertheless, they do have this in common: that both le and qu' a parcouru sa pensée presuppose - cannot occur without - chemin. Moreover this presupposition relation is repeatable. In the other group quoted

son esprit étrangement lucide

étrangement presupposes in this sense lucide, just as lucide does esprit.

It is carried one step further in

un garçon vraiment bien ordinaire F123/29

where vraiment presupposes bien, which presupposes ordinaire, which itself presupposes the head garçon (as also does un). There is no theoretical limit to the number of such steps. Moreover, two (or more) clauses may be rankshifted into NGp structure in such a way that the same relations of presupposition in dependence hold between them as between clauses operating in sentence structure: cf the distinction between first and second order rankshift discussed in 2.11.

celui dont, le coeur délivré, elle avait salué le départ B112/8

ce foyer où sa mère avait tant désiré qu'il pût trouver un abri,  
quand elle ne serait plus là. M235/1

Variable depth clauses (see 2.13) have a constant relation to the element they presuppose, whether the latter is the head, qualifier or presupposes the qualifier. In the following complex example such a variable depth clause is itself presupposed by two (unlinked) coordinated second-order rankshifted clauses:

des propos aussi simples que ceux qui leur suffisaient à cette aube  
de leur amour, au long de ce déjeuner interminable, où les compotiers  
bourdonnaient de guêpes, où la bombe glacée s'affaisait dans son jus  
rose. M136/5

If we give priority in delicacy to the recursive features, we may account for these likenesses in the successive relations primarily, distinguishing the relation of the deictic to the head and of the qualifier to the head at secondary delicacy. A further argument in favour of such a treatment lies in the fundamental difference in the structure of extensive groups and (most) intensive ones. Words occurring as qualifier and submodifier - the element which presupposes

the qualifier - in the former class may be found at the elements head and qualifier respectively in intensive groups. By giving priority to the recursive dependence relation, we can, at primary delicacy, generalise the structure of the NGp, while the secondary differences between the extensive and intensive types may be economically stated in terms of upgrading on the scale of depth - see 5.34.

We recognise three values as primary:  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ . Primary structure derives, that is to say, from the long dimension of dependence.<sup>106</sup>

#### 5.22 The model for secondary elements and word classes.

The primary structure of all NGps can, then, be stated in terms of the same set of elements,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ . This degree of generalisation is not however possible in the secondary structures. For the statement of these we take the extensive group as a model. Modifications are then made to this model description in order to make it applicable to the other classes of the group. The extensive group is adopted as model because it is here that there is the maximum of structural differentiation.

We have already made considerable use of the concept of model in the establishment of classes, for it is implied in cross-derivation. The AGp, for example, is the model for the primary class assignment of the exponents of  $m$  in VGp structure. Here we extend the use of the concept for the derivation not only of classes but also of secondary structures. Unless specifically stated to the contrary therefore, we shall henceforth be concerned with extensive NGps, though examples may be cited from the other classes in cases where the model description is applicable without modification.

#### 5.23 The primary word class noun.

The exponential overlap between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , illustrated in 5.21 (1) above, is such that at primary delicacy we derive from them only a single class of the

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106. Contrast Valdman, op.cit p 29, where the primary distinction is between pre-head, head and post-head items.

unit word. This we shall call the noun, which is thus a higher generality term than substantive and adjective, these being secondary classes of the noun - see 5.33. The noun is the last of the primary word classes that we need to recognise: the exponents of the element  $\gamma$  are classified by cross-derivation - they belong to the class adverb, or, more delicately, pre-adverb.

#### 5.24 Subdivision of $\beta$ : the deictic $d$ .

At the earliest stage of secondary delicacy,  $\beta$  subdivides along the dimension of dependence - kind into two choice elements: the deictic  $d$  and the qualifier  $q$ .

The deictic is analysed as at depth  $\beta$  in that it presupposes a following noun head; most of the exponents that is, are bound. The presupposition relation is however markedly mutual in that (in extensive groups) most noun heads cannot stand without a deictic: this feature has been used criterially for the delimitation of the exponents of  $d$ .

The deictic is expounded by the article, a secondary class of the noun. Like the preposition, the article is one of those classes of which it is doubtful whether a closed list (apart from the cardinal numerals, an open and infinite set constituting one subclass of article) can be given for the language as a whole.

The articles realised in the text may be broken-down into subclasses by the following multi-dimensional matrix:

				Singular		Plural	
				masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Specific	Unmarked Interrogative Demonstrative	verbal number	Singular	1st person	<u>le</u>	<u>la</u>	<u>les</u>
				2nd person	<u>quel</u>	<u>quelle</u>	<u>quels</u> <u>quelles</u>
				3rd person	<u>ce</u>	<u>cette</u>	<u>ces</u>
	Possessive		Plural	1st person	<u>mon</u>	<u>ma</u>	<u>mes</u>
				2nd person	<u>ton</u>	<u>ta</u>	<u>tes</u>
				3rd person	<u>son</u>	<u>sa</u>	<u>ses</u>
					1st person	<u>notre</u>	<u>nos</u>
					2nd person	<u>votre</u>	<u>vos</u>
					3rd person	<u>leur</u>	<u>leurs</u>
	Quantifiers		Numerative	Non- numerative	unmarked evaluative comparative	<u>un</u> <u>une</u> cardinals	
<u>beaucoup de, peu de</u> <u>trop de, assez de,</u> <u>plus de, moins de</u> <u>autant de</u> <u>tant de, tellement de</u> <u>combien de, que de,</u> <u>ce que...de, maintes</u>							
Non-specific	Non- quantifiers	partitive	positive	<u>tout</u>	<u>toute</u>	<u>tous</u>	<u>toutes</u>
				<u>chaque</u>	---	---	---
			negative	<u>aucun</u>	<u>aucune</u>	---	---
				<u>nul</u>	<u>nulle</u>	---	---
			marked unmarked	<u>de</u>			
				<u>du</u>	<u>de la</u>	<u>des</u>	---
	<u>quelque</u>			---	<u>quelques</u>	---	
	---			---	<u>plusieurs</u>	---	
			<u>tel</u>	<u>telle</u>	<u>(tels)</u>	<u>telles</u>	
			---	---	<u>certains</u>	<u>certaines</u>	
	---	---	<u>divers</u>	<u>diverses</u>			
	<u>n'importe</u> <u>quel etc.</u>						

Commentary on the table:

- 1) The bracketed form tels is not realised, but its absence is not significant. This is not so with the singular forms corresponding to certain, nor with the plural forms corresponding to aucun(e) and nul(le): though the missing items are found in some varieties of French, their occurrence is very rare. Similarly in the case of maintes, which itself is realised only twice in the text, both times in the group

maintes fois T149/14; B23/10

- 2) The morphology of the cardinal numerals will not be described in detail here. The distinction must however be made between compound and submodified cardinals. In

Cinq cents hectares avaient brûlé du côté de Louchats: T144/13

cinq cents is analysed as a single (grammatical) word, expounding one element in the group, namely d. This contrasts with

plus de / vingt / hectares F35/3

près de / dix huit / ans M90/6

where the compound words plus de and près de presuppose in dependence the cardinals vingt mille and dix-huit respectively, so that the structure of these last two groups is  $\gamma \beta \alpha$ .

In the following example, quelques is rankshifted to a place in the structure of the cardinal numeral:

à quelques cent mètres du cheval B133/18<sup>107</sup>

in contrast to the possible

† à quelque cent mètres du cheval

where quelque is at  $\gamma$ , submodifying the deictic.

Finally we may subsume under the cardinal numeral subclass rankshifted NGps, as in

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107. This example is quoted by Damourette and Pichon, op.cit. Vol. 7, p 31.

(Tu ne vas pas risquer de perdre) une centaine de mille francs M265/12

where the structure is  $\alpha$ :

- 3) With n'importe quel ... may be grouped je ne sais quel, il / elle ne savait quel and so on:

pour je ne sais quelle idée que tu t'es mise en tête M265/13

elle voulait être rassurée contre elle ne savait quel péril T54/6

These are all regarded as single articles. An alternative would be to treat only the quel as expounding  $\alpha$ ; the rest being a rankshifted imputing clause (or group)<sup>sub</sup>/modifying quel. This would simplify the statement of the morphology of the items and would have the added advantage that these rankshifted clauses or groups could also be said to operate at  $\beta$  with the heads qui, quoi etc.

les dames parlaient d'il ne savait qui M203/2

Je vois bien qu'il imagine Dieu sait quoi! F45/4

N'importe qui sait préférer des paroles menteuses; T60/7

Such a solution would however involve additional rankshift, and to a place in structure moreover where it would not otherwise be required, for no other proposed submodifiers or qualifiers may be expounded by a clause. This argument gains weight from the fact that the items involved are of a very restricted pattern: either the invariable n'importe or clauses containing an imputing group with savoir at  $v$  and almost always negative polarity.

Furthermore it is the qui, quel etc. that presuppose the imputing clause rather than the reverse, so that it would be inappropriate to regard the clause as the lower-ordered in dependence. Given then that the pattern can hardly be said to be productive, it seems preferable to treat the wholes as filling only one place in structure: they enter into the systems of the article qua formal items, and at this point the analysis may stop.

- 4) It is often pointed out, especially in grammars designed for English speakers<sup>108</sup> that the possessive article is concorded for gender with the following noun head rather than with the "possessor". The table above, together with what has been said earlier (4.221 and 4.39) on concord, provides an explanation for this feature. For of the two sets of concordial categories the system of person operates like that of verbal number, the system of gender like that of nominal number. The possessive articles are then, different from other articles in that they lie within the operational domain of the verbal concordial systems, but they are like other exponents of the deictic in that they agree with the head of the group in respect of the nominal concordial categories. Our distinction between nominal and verbal number is thus shown to ~~the~~<sup>b.</sup> the more necessary and powerful.
- 5) The article des has been classified with du and de la rather than with un, contrary to the practice of a number of grammarians.<sup>109</sup> Such an analysis has the following advantages:
- i There is greater congruence between morphology and syntax; du, de la and des are all compound articles consisting of de + le, la and les respectively, though with exponential overlaying in the case of du and des. (These articles are of course distinguished from the homophonous pieces resulting from the overlaying or fusion of the preposition de and the articles le, la, les when they are the first word of NGp complements see p 86). Moreover, des, like du and de la, but in contrast to un, cannot occur in a NGp at c after the preposition de, for the two different items de cannot occur consecutively in sequence.
  - ii Rather than set up a NGp system of countability in which des, like un marks the group as countable, while du and de la mark it as uncountable.

108.

Cf., inter alia, J.E. Mansion: "A Grammar of Present-day French"; London 1952, p 116.

109.

For example, Wagner and Pinchon; op. cit. p 95; Grévisse: op. cit. p 245.

we would recognise a system of discreteness operating only in singular NGps. Un is a marker of discreteness, du, de la of non-discreteness, but des, being plural, is irrelevant: it is in this sense no more like un than like du.

iii de is the marked member of the partitive class in that it rather than the unmarked members occurs:

(a) In NGps at  $\theta^E$  in non-restrictive negative clauses -

mais elle n'a pas d'argent T177/6

On n'accepte pas de politesses quand on n'a plus le moyen  
de les rendre F29/13

Admittedly de tends to occur here to the exclusion also of un:

je n'y voyais point d'obstacle T114/15

but not obligatorily so, and not at all in the following use.

(b) In NGps containing a pre-head qualifier:

D'impatientes mains avaient saisi les poignets de Thérèse F42/11

This is not to say that the compound article may not precede a qualifier; it does so in the following groups:

des jeunes gens B97/9

des jeunes filles B59/7

des bons petits M248/15

des jeunes femmes T192/22

de la mauvaise volonté T205/16

de la grosse toile F75/26

du mauvais sang M234/7

des petits chiens M285/1

There is in fact a meaningful systemic contrast between de on the one hand, du, de la, des on the other; and in this respect des is like du and de la rather than like un.

iv un shares with the cardinal numerals, but not with des the potentiality of being submodified by plus de etc.

il n'était pas de héros ni de saint qui n'eût fait plus d'une  
fois le tour de soi-même. T124/1

- iv Des on the contrary is submodified in the same way as du a nd de la (see p 223 )
- 6) pas un has not been analysed as a compound article<sup>110</sup>. It is distinctive in that only in this colligation does pas precede the predicator:

pas une porte ne devait se fermer ni s'ouvrir, B10/10

du petit homme (...) qui, pas une fois, ne se retourna vers sa fille; T14/11

This can however be accounted for in the statement of the potential positions of pas. In the post-predicator position, pas un is not significantly different from pas le etc.

- 7) The subclass of non-numerative quantifiers (which is not exhaustive for all varieties of French) is expounded by compound words. That is to say, tant and de etc. have the rank of morphemes, so that there is here a further lack of congruence between the analyses at the grammatical and graphological levels. Bendor-Samuel is willing to recognise sub-units between the units in the grammatical hierarchy: "The demonstrative expression (in Tereno) is considered a grammatical sub-unit. It is clearly useful to be able to group together a number of words and clitics of different classes and make general statements about their occurrence as elements of the nominal phrase. On the other hand to set up another level<sup>111</sup> between word and phrase would lead to a very redundant and cumbersome statement. It seems quite unnecessary for all words to pass through an expression level en route to the phrase. The category of sub-level or sub-unit avoids this."<sup>112</sup>

In favour of applying such an approach to tant de etc. is the fact that tant without de may expound the head of the NGp. But this in no way justifies the considerable modification to the category unit that the introduction of a sub-unit would entail, with its weakening of the power of the taxonomic relation between the units.

110. Contrast Grévisse: op.cit., p 334

111. In our terms: rank.

112. J.T. Bendor-Samuel: "A structure-function description of Terena phrases"; Canadian Journal of Linguistics 8, p 67.

One other item, not listed above, may perhaps be included in the present subclass on morphological grounds: pour cinq louis de in:

une blonde (...) à mi-voix lui promet pour cinq louis de bonheur, B93/19

Alternatively pour cinq louis de bonheur could be regarded as an A-Phr of structure  $\rho$  (pour) + NGp complement: the distinction between A and C, AGp and NGp is here somewhat indeterminate; on commutational grounds we would regard the clause as transitive. The pattern is exponentially very restricted, in that cinq louis can be replaced only by another expression of measurement.

- 8) The subclasses at d are related in choice not chain: no group contains more than one deictic (except when there is coordination between them). A number of nouns however may operate both at d and at q, so that there may in fact be sequences of two of the items shown in the above table:

les / deux / époux B67/2      un / certain / rigorisme M46/5  
ces / quelques / heures M271/6      un / tel / sacrifice F99/26

All these groups have the structure dqa. The crucial criterion for the distinction between d and q derives from the inability of most heads (more specifically, of bound heads - see 5.28) to expound a simple extensive group: they must be preceded by a deictic. The presence or absence of a qualifier however has less bearing on the syntactical potentialities of the group. In the example above époux cannot stand without either les or deux (or some other article), but it is not necessary that it be preceded by both les and deux. Only one of them therefore need be regarded as having the value of d. Place in sequence may then be used as a secondary criterion to assign les, ces, un to d, deux, quelques, certain, tel to q.<sup>113</sup>

We recognise two different formal items tout (and similarly tous, toute toutes). Firstly there is the article tout, systemically contrastive with the other deictics. Secondly there is the adverb tout which may occur as submodifier at the next lower

113. This being also the more congruent with analysis at the level of context; only in the case of certain might there be hesitation in this respect.

order of dependence preceding the non- interrogative specific articles

(le, ce, mon etc.) and also un: Thus

toute / nourriture F190/3 d a.

toutes / ses / lectures M148/10 y d a

tout / un / mois M199/5 y d a

The deictic tout occurs almost exclusively in singular groups, whereas the submodifier is not significantly more frequent in singular or plural groups (see 7.3).

Tout, then, expounds the class article only when it contrasts with other articles.

So that groups consisting of tout + the free heads ça, cela, celui, ce qui etc.

or tout + a cardinal numeral have no deictic:

Comment font-ils, tous ceux qui connaissent leurs crimes? T30/19

La crise a flanqué tout ça en l'air: F83/26

Tout ce que l'on met de côté se perd; F30/13

Tous trois la regardaient avec une telle expression qu'elle leur  
demanda: T190/2

Les + cardinal does occur:

La voix (...) appartient toujours à celui des deux qui n'a rien à  
ménager, M209/18

But so too does tous + les + cardinal

Parfois ils parlaient tous les deux ensemble M95/18

so that the tous of tous trois is not regarded as in systemic contrast with  
les.

## 5.25 Subdivision of $\beta$ : the qualifier q.

### 5.251 Exponents.

The secondary element q may be expounded by

- 1) A noun or, much less frequently, a rankshifted  $NQp$ : both may be subsumed under the cover term nominal qualifiers,  $q^{nom}$ .

- 2) A rankshifted A-Phr or, again much less frequently, an adverb: these we shall refer to as adverbial qualifiers,  $q^{adv}$ .
- 3) A rankshifted clause: clausal qualifiers,  $q^{cl}$ .

As there is no word class defined by operation at  $q$ , and as in any case many of the exponents are rankshifted, the above distinctions do not yield subclasses.

#### 5.252 Nominal qualifiers.

These may be further subdivided along four inter-locking dimensions: range of active presupposition, range of passive presupposition, intra-group concord, sequential relations with the head. Each of these dimensions yields a two-term systemic choice, although - with the probable exception of concord - the terms in the systems are not exponentially dichotomous but are, rather, ranged on a cline. Here the language works, in Dr. Halliday's words<sup>114</sup>, "by contrasting 'more likely' with 'less likely' rather than 'possible' with 'impossible'". Thus we will generally not be able to say that a given noun may expound term A but not term B, though we could in theory range nouns on a scale of probability showing the likelihood of their operating at term A or term B. This factor of non-discreteness does not invalidate the systemic status of the contrasts, for the terms remain discrete in structure.

- 1) Range of active presupposition. The two terms are bound and free, the crucial distinctive criterion being transformational: structures involving a free  $q^{nom}$  can be transformed so that the exponent of the latter place becomes the head of a NGp at  $C^I$ . Thus

ses yeux attentifs      E278/2

may be transformed into

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114. "Categories", p 275. Cf also A. Juilland: op.cit. p 45 - "This means that instead of operating with either / or choices, decisions are made on a more / less basis: to the qualitative concepts that characterise the dichotomic approach in phonology, grammar opposes quantitative concepts which are much more suited to give an adequate account of the complexities that characterise higher levels."

ses yeux étaient attentifs.

Compare the following textual examples which provide an indirect illustration of the transformation:

les ancêtres bergers M60/14

le grand-père était berger T82/6

Further examples of free qualifiers are found in the following groups:

un écolier turbulent F137/8

une minuscule cuvette B30/7

cette crainte absurde F164/21

son crâne chauve B11/5

ses pieds nus B52/21

In the case of bound qualifiers, such transformation is not possible.

Examples:

In post-head position -

ton service militaire M127/4

sa ville natale M200/5

du nid natal M190/8

son intérêt propre F84/20

sa vie privée M47/5

des réminiscences scolaires B21/3

l'année dernière T87/16

la semaine prochaine M167/14

la question religieuse T114/20

le char funèbre de la fabrique B80/10

l'affaire Dreyfus T82/13

le lendemain soir M44/3

deux fines Maison M251/25

dentelles crème M12/25

un bon champagne nature F66/9

ce triomphant et juvénile dieu potager B23/6

In pre-head position

son futur gendre B51/12

un vrai (petit) enfant M232/12

le prochain taxi F65/10

ton pauvre père M120/9

son propre verdict F26/24

le moindre mot M182/21

les premières chaleurs T143/10

la même voix F178/29

l'autre versant F236/23

Joséfa mettait la dernière main à une robe du soir M38/15

As the crucial distinctive criterion is transformational, we may expect a certain amount of indeterminacy, for the transform will not always be clearly either acceptable or unacceptable. Exponential non-discreteness is illustrated by the following pairs:

- { sa loi propre T122/11 bound,
- { son odeur de savonnette et de linge propre B30/3 free,
- { au petit jour sombre T191/14 bound,
- { cette petite pièce très éclairée F24/18 free,
- { en pleine poitrine M208/12 bound,
- { le faux marbre plein d'éraflures M225/19 free,

What is involved is not simply the exponent of  $q$  but the colligation head-qualifier, so that amoureuses is bound in colligation with entreprises (B45/4) but would be free when qualifying, say, (jeunes) filles. Similarly, whereas the transforms

- \* l'affaire est Dreyfus,
- \* la question est religieuse,
- \* le jour est petit,
- \* sa loi est propre,

are not acceptable, they could be made so by changing either of the nouns:

‡le jour est tiède,

‡le jardin est petit.

The choice thus involves both grammatical and lexical factors, and it may be that large-scale collocational studies would suggest that one grammatical item may correspond to different lexical items according as it is in free or bound position.<sup>115</sup>

2) Range of passive presupposition. The two terms are classificatory and specific.

i Classificatory qualifiers cannot be presupposed in dependence by a submodifier. Examples:

du barreau bordelais T24/10

du pays girondin B40/13

du journal parisien F49/24

and other 'locative' qualifiers;

vin blanc B47/10

les yeux marrons F85/26

ses joues couleur de cendre M198/22

and other 'colour' qualifiers;

les ancêtres bergers N60/14

le frère aîné M170/19

leurs (basses) habitudes quotidiennes T81/14

le seul plaisir de Jean Péloueyre B90/13

ii Specific qualifiers are, or have the potentiality of being, submodified.

Examples - with submodification realised:

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115. Lexical items being defined by lexical criteria rather than being taken over from the grammar.

le vent plus frais M107/25  
 la femme la plus ignorante F115/12  
 la voix redoutablement douce M125/1  
 des yeux si tristes B121/7  
 un si pauvre bonheur B92/15  
 un très léger frémissement F144/12  
 un tout autre sens M120/1

Again there is considerable overlapping of exponents: many items which may expound the classificatory qualifier also occur with submodifiers; "colour" words are an obvious example:

les pommettes trop rouges B114/20

Nevertheless many items with such dual class membership most frequently and characteristically occur as classifiers, so that this could be considered their unmarked syntactic role.

More delicately, we would amend the formulation of the distinctive criterion so that post-positioned submodifiers presupposing a "colour" qualifier are compatible with the latter's occurrence as a classifier:

la maison blanche de lune M127/16

In this connection we must distinguish the structure qualifier + submodifier as in this last example from qualifiers expounded by a rankshifted NGp, as in

des paupières couleur de safran B118/18

cet abbé maître de rhétorique B18/1

Classifiers include a considerable number of free qualifiers and almost all the bound ones. Exceptions among the latter include premier and dernier, though even here submodification seems to be limited to the adverb tout:<sup>110</sup>

le tout dernier cri M128/14

116. avant-dernier is analysed as a single compound word rather than as modifier + noun - cf  
 1' / avant - dernier / siècle M128/14 d q a

A large-scale study might show some degree of correlation between the deictic and the choice between classificatory and specific qualifiers. It is not at present clear for instance how much significance can be attributed to the fact that in the text only classifiers colligate with aucun + head:

aucun esprit critique F201/26  
 aucune joie charnelle B38/16  
 aucune eau vive T164/19  
 aucune circonstance atténuante F70/16  
 aucune parole prononcée F58/29  
 aucune oreille humaine B22/6  
 aucun goût commun T46/18  
 aucun geste irréparable F69/20  
 aucun parc séculaire M277/6  
 aucun hotel suisse M89/19

Note also that autre, specific in colligation with un (see above) is classificatory with aucun:

aucune autre parole B82/5

3) Intra-group concord. Concord within the NGp (see 5.43) provides the basis for a two-term system at q<sup>nom</sup> with terms non-concorded and concorded.

i Non-concorded q's are all bound, though they represent only a small proportion of the bound category. Examples:

deux fines Maisons M251/25  
 des mots contrepoison F140/23  
 dentelles crème M12/25  
 d' (autres) enfants Frontenac M288/6  
 un (bon) champagne nature F66/9  
 une voiture Foullaron M128/1

Many are proper nouns (see 5.272). And we would also include post-head cardinal numerals, as in

le "calibre 24" M54/1

l'aphorisme 260 de Par delà le bien et le mal B18/6

24 and 260 being here qualifiers, not deictics.

ii Concorded q's agree with the head. This accounts for the majority of nouns at q. Examples:

deux anges gardiens B61/10

les ancêtres bergers M60/14

leurs lits jumeaux M14/12

des pins géants T25/6

de vilaines oreilles pâles T137/1

The criterion of concord may of course be covert rather than overt in that two nouns may belong non-significantly to the same concordial category, as in

le mariage Deguilhem T82/13

where, as commutation shows, there is no concord between mariage and Deguilhem. No attempt has been made to distinguish concord of number on the one hand, of gender on the other.

There is a certain amount of idiolectal variation in respect of concord. Grammars frequently list many "colour" nouns as falling outside the concordial systems, especially when they are coordinated or modified; cf, for example, Grévisse<sup>117</sup>: "Le nom employé pour désigner une couleur peut être simple ou composé; dans les deux cas il reste invariable, parce qu'il est le complément du mot "couleur" sous-entendu: des étoffes marron". The following cases of concord are among those found in the text; the first

117. Op.cit. p 289; his 'nom' is contrasted with 'l'adjectif'. Cf also Grammaire Larousse pp 219-220; Wagner and Pinchon: op.cit. p 132.

contrasts with that given by Grévisse:

les yeux marrons un peu louches F85/26

les stores jaunes et rouges T228/17

la maison blanche de lune M127/16<sup>118</sup>

In the text, *même* is variable when it precedes a:

les mêmes exigences M111/17

and invariable when it follows:

les temps même M170/3

This is the only clear case of non-concord, all the other post-head occurrences<sup>119</sup> of *même* being in singular groups. Grévisse<sup>120</sup> distinguishes post-head adjectival use where there is concord and adverbial use where there is not. However, there seem to be differences of usage on this point<sup>121</sup>, and we have not attempted to make any distinction between occurrences of *même* in post-head position: all have been classified as adverbs rather than noun qualifiers.

- 4) Place in sequence relative to the head. In discussing the category "system" we have emphasised that for there to be a systemic choice between two terms there must be an earlier delicacy element at which the choice is made. But the use of the word "at" must not be taken to imply that the choice is made at a given place in sequence. This is indeed often so but it may also happen that the operational domain of a system is an element ordered in depth rather than sequence. In such cases place in sequence relative to another element may in fact be the crucial feature distinguishing the terms in the system.

Place in sequence does not serve to define the qualifier which is related to  $\alpha$  in depth. We may thus establish a system operating at  $q^{\text{nom}}$  with terms pre-head ( $q^{\leftarrow}$ ) and post-head ( $q^{\rightarrow}$ ).

- 
118. It is not intended to suggest that all "colour" qualifiers are concorded, but simply that there is a certain amount of indeterminacy between those which are and those which are not.
119. Apart from the *nous-mêmes* type which are treated as compound heads (5.282).
120. Op. cit. pp 355-356
121. Cf Wagner and Pinchon: op. cit. p 119.

It is well known that there is considerable exponential overlap between these terms, witness the following pairs of examples:

- { les femmes fortes B60/1
- { les fortes hanches M68/16
- { le vacarme uniforme de la rue M272/22
- { leur uniforme et chaste bonheur T46/16
- { la communion hebdomadaire M38/5
- { l'hebdomadaire fléau B25/7
- { les yeux sombres B40/9
- { les larges et sombres yeux B44/11
- { la révolution future M277/3
- { une future comère d'Argelouse F49/22
- { la muraille froide M269/22
- { le froid carrelage B53/1
- { du sommeil éternel F161/16
- { l'éternelle plaidoirie F174/14
- { son histoire ancienne M133/1
- { des anciennes cretonnes M23/8
- { la pièce basse F22/10
- { aux basses délectations B29/8
- { des draps propres T200/6
- { son propre corps T143/2
- { des situations fausses T224/1
- { le faux marbre M225/19
- { l'année prochaine M189/12
- { le prochain taxi F65/20

It is nevertheless possible to make statements about the probabilities of items occurring in one or other of the positions. The unmarked term in the system is  $q^{\sim}$ , as most nominal qualifiers occur most often after the head.

On the basis of an extensive study it would be possible in theory to place them on a scale according to their probability of occurring in the unmarked position. The present text is of course infinitely too small for an exhaustive analysis on these lines to be viable, and the following is intended to give only a rough indication:

- Non-concorded q's; most bound q's (except those listed below)
- Classifiers other than seul and the ordinals (the probability is high but not 1 in all cases - witness the pre-head occurrence of hebdomadaire cited above)
- Past participles: this subclass of noun is defined by operation in the VGp; its relevance to the present dimension makes the cross-derivation of the category more powerful. The only pre-head examples are
  - du nommé Binaud N31/17
  - une feinte tendresse B85/3
- Free, concorded, specific, qualifiers, and futur
- grand, petit, jeune, vieux, seul, autre and the ordinals
- concorded même, quelques, cardinals except when non-concorded, vrai and certain when bound, aucun.<sup>122</sup>

One other category of nominal qualifier invariably occurs at  $q^{-}$ ; the textual realisations of it are as follows:

(Jean Férouyre entendit le conseiller grogner:) "Salopes de / cloches," B32/17

Quel / drôle de / type (tu es tout de même!) T120/9

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122. Analysed as q in  
sans exception aucune N275/3

Quel / amour de / petite / fille: M237/3

cet / imbécile de / docteur / Pédeyay T34/19

(ce que Madame d'Artailhi appelait)" un / bête de / mariage."

B154/5

(J'aime) ces / grandes carcasses de / femmes M189/8

(Oui, parfaitement:) cette / espèce de / phtisique / pour lequel

ils avaient fait a grandir Vilméja.... T65/7

Following Frei,<sup>123</sup> Damourette and Pichon,<sup>124</sup> Bally<sup>125</sup> and Imbs,<sup>126</sup> we take

the noun following the de<sup>127</sup> to be the head: viz. cloches, type, fille,

docteur, mariage, femmes, phtisique. Salopes de is thus lower-ordered in

dependence than cloches not de cloches than salopes. This is particularly

clear in the fourth example where un agrees with mariage, whereas bête,

when at a in a determinate group is feminine. Imbs states that where the article

agrees with the preceding rather than the following noun, it is nevertheless

the latter that determines the number and gender categories of the group

as far as inter-group concord is concerned.<sup>128</sup> Our last example<sup>129</sup> shows

a lack of concord between cette and the head phtisique, but the group as a

whole does not enter into any external concord relations.

The structure of the groups is thus (d) q (q) α (q), d being expounded

by quel, quel, un, ces, cette; and the first q by salopes de, drôle de, bête de,

123. H. Frei: La grammaire des fautes; Paris-Geneva-Leipzig 1929; pp 274-5.

124. Op.cit. vol II, p 213.

125. Ch. Bally: Linguistique générale et linguistique française, Berne 1944, p 234.

126. P Imbs: Remarques sur la fonction épithète; in "Melanges de linguistique offerts à A. Dauzat, Paris 1950, pp 147-166.

127. With the possibility of an intervening q<sup>nom</sup> as in our third example.

128. Cf the example he quotes, after Damourette and Pichon:  
cette petite fripouille d'embusqué a eu la chance de n'être pas pris.

129. Imbs, however, excludes un(e) espèce de on the grounds that it is determinative not qualificative.

grandes carcasses de, espèce de. These are compound words whose first element of structure may be expounded (as in the penultimate example) by a rankshifted NGp.

< The question of the position of the nominal qualifiers is again one where both grammar and lexis are involved. All comprehensive French grammars give lists of adjectives whose contextual meaning varies appreciably according as they precede or follow the head.<sup>130</sup> A collocational study might be expected to show that for each of these grammatical items there correspond two lexical items. Even when the variation does not correlate with a distinction of lexical items, it will still be profitable to consider collocations - of Guiraud:<sup>131</sup> "Il faut d'abord relever que l'opposition séquentielle n'est pas un caractère de l'adjectif mais de la combinaison adjectif - substantif; ainsi il n'y a pas d'opposition possible à chien blanc, mais il y en a une à colombe blanche". In our terms blanc is clearly classificatory in collocation with chien, but ambiguously classificatory or specific in collocation with colombe. Hence the choice of position in the latter case: post-position will normally indicate that blanc is being used classificatorily, pre-position specifically.

Guiraud continues later<sup>132</sup>

"Dans le cas d'une séquence variable, l'adjectif est postposé avec sa valeur spécifique - y compris les irréguliers normalement antéposés en séquence fixe - et il est antéposé avec une valeur générique."<sup>133</sup>

130. Cf, inter alia, Damourette and Pichon: op.cit. vol II pp 45-99; Grévisse: op.cit. p 303; Grammaire Larousse, p 226.

131. P. Guiraud: "La syntaxe du français"; Paris 1962 (Series "Que sais-je? No. 984), p 109.

132. Ibid. p 113.

133. Guiraud's spécifique - générique distinction is different from that we have made between classificatory and specific.

Mais l'opposition valeur spécifique - valeur générique s'actualise en effets de sens différents selon le contexte lexical; à la limite l'effet de sens peut être nul et l'opposition indifférente".

Factors to be taken into account include therefore:

- i The noun's membership of subclasses on the dimensions of range of active and passive presupposition,<sup>134</sup> and of concord.
- ii<sup>6</sup> The (lexical) exponents of the head and the qualifier: that is, their collocational - colligational relations.

It should also be mentioned that the exponent of d and the syntactic role of the whole group may to some degree be related to the position and choice of nominal qualifier. These factors will be examined further, statistically, in Ch. 7.

#### 5.253 Adverbial qualifiers.

The following types are subsumed under this category:

##### 1) Rankshifted A-Phr's:

la / peur / du silence B43/2 d a q<sup>adv</sup>

##### 2) The words -ci and -là; these immediately follow the head and occur only in groups containing a demonstrative article or head:

ce jour-là T107/5

celle-ci n'avait pas eu le temps de descendre F188/11

Their commutability here with relative clauses and A-Phr's is the basis for their assign<sup>n</sup>ment to the rank word.

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134. Cf Guiraud's remarks on "adjectifs de relations", which would be included among our "classifiers": il y a certains adjectifs qui sont difficilement déplaçables, en particulier les adjectifs de relation, formés sur des substantifs: équestre, atomique, ferreux etc."; ibid p 110

## 3) A few other words classified as adverbs by cross-derivation:

cette immense et uniforme surface de gel où toutes les âmes ici  
sont prises F122/6.

une insolence dont la grossièreté même le dégrisa. M118/9

## 5.254 Clausal qualifiers.

These were discussed in 2.13. Apart from a few marginal examples,  
they fall into the following subclasses:

## 1) Relative:

des choses qu'il pensait M179/9

## 2) Clauses with initial participle or phasing element:

## i Present participial:

un chemin ne menant nulle part F15/15

## ii Past participial:

la métairie nommée Tartehume B151/4

## iii Intensively - phased:

le camarade en train de le rassurer M172/23

un coeur capable de Vous connaître et de Vous aimer B67/16

## 3) Prepositional

la volonté de nuire F152/13

5.26 Subdivisions of  $\gamma$ .

1) The earliest subdivision contrasts submodifiers presupposing the deictic  
and those presupposing the qualifier: they may be symbolised as  $\gamma^{-d}$  and  
 $\gamma^{-q}$  respectively.

2)  $\gamma^{-d}$  is then further broken down according to compatibility with the various  
subclasses of article:

i tout, toute, tous, toutes may occur as described in 5.24 (8).

- ii un(e) and the cardinals may be submodified by plus de, moins de, près de, environ and encore:

elle devait parcourir encore trois kilomètres. B151/14

cet effort que je pus accomplir moins de deux années. T176/12

il fallait attendre encore une heure F20/7

vous êtes restés près d'une demi-heure ensemble... F90/28

As the examples show, this pattern of submodification is characteristic of groups operating at A in clause structure.

- iii The articles tout (etc.), chaque, un(e) and the cardinals may be submodified by presque:

presque chaque soir F250/13

- iv Non-numerative quantifiers may be submodified by variable depth clauses as described in 2.13, and by certain pre-adverbs as follows:

trop de by un peu -

un peu trop de hâte F99/13

trop de and assez de by A-Phr's of structure pour + complement

assez d'argent pour le wagon - restaurant F23/16

peu de by aussi, si, très and bien

si peu de gêne T221/11

très peu de fautes M97/25

bien peu de temps F18/28

- v The unmarked partitive article may be submodified by bien,

La servante avait dû entendre bien des ragots. F61/25

Votre oncle se fait bien du souci. M234/4

- vi We would also include as exponents of  $\gamma^{-d}$  the linking adverbs et, ou, ni, mais, que etc.

(Marie a encore la nuque) et / les / bras (brûlés...)

F105/16  $\gamma^{-d}$  d a

And also certain other adverbs, including que (marking the group as an exponent of  $N^H$ ), invariable même (except in post-head position), peut - être, surtout, parfois, jusqu' à ... (the distinction between linking and non-linking adverbs being somewhat blurred in these cases).

See also 5.29

(dont il ne distinguait) que / le / front M264/2 y d a

les poutres sculptées de l'auvent, parfois une cheminée en marbre témoignent de leur ancienne dignité. T40/12

au problème du mal et de la prédestination où la femme la plus ignorante, si elle est habile, embarrasserait jusqu' aux élus. F115/11

### 3) The exponents of $\bar{Y}^q$ include

#### i The secondary word class pre-adverb:

des salons très fermés M186/2

le vent plus frais M107/25

le / scapulaire / un peu / déteint B63/8 d a  $\bar{Y}^q$  q

une limpidité presque insoutenable F114/14

son air légèrement hagard F114/8

#### ii Rankshifted A-Phr's:

une maison voisine de celle des Larroque T41/20

There is often a strong mutual expectancy between the particular qualifier and the exponent of the preposition in the A-Phr. Thus plein and différent (and the above voisin) for example are generally followed by de:

les landes pleines d'eau M299/1

une joie différente de toutes celles qui l'ont précédée T113/15

pareil and dangereux by à

les yeux pareils à des fleurs noires B37/18

une saison dangereuse aux poitrinaires B107/21

In other cases the selection of the preposition is not formally determined:

une femme seule dans Paris T194/22

un pouls calme en dépit d'une forte fièvre T149/15

There is also one instance of a rankshifted NGp at  $\gamma$ , though it is of the type that characteristically occurs at A in clause structure:

cette route si ténébreuse ce soir T32/12

iii First-order rankshifted clauses:

une écriture plus ferme que d'habitude F197/10

In 2.13 variable depth clauses (as in this last example) were contrasted with other varieties of non-head clauses by their potentiality of occurrence at  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$  etc., whereas the others occur at  $\beta$ . Later in delicacy this statement must be modified for prepositional clauses occasionally occur at  $\gamma$  too. Examples:

une / chose / affreuse / à penser F54/20 d a q  $\gamma$

un voyage impossible à remettre M263/2

Such structures are distinguished from those involving a rankshifted multi-phase clausal qualifier:

les / musiques / prêtes à jaillir F20/11 d a q

The distinguishing criterion is transformational: the last group may be transformed into

\*les musiques qui jaillissent

whereas there is no equivalent transformation in respect of the other examples (which is not to say that une chose qui pense is ungrammatical but that it does not stand in the same relation to une chose affreuse à penser as les musiques qui jaillissent does to les musiques prêtes à jaillir.)

iv All the above submodifiers presuppose  $q^{\text{nom}}$ . Second-order rankshifted clauses may submodify  $q^{\text{cl}}$ :

un / homme / à qui l'on révèle / qu'il a vécu, durant des années  
et à son insu, dans l'intimité d'un fou furieux. F168/11 d a q  $\gamma$

4) Submodifiers precede or follow the next-higher order element. In general words precede, groups and clauses follow. Exceptions are as follows:

i encore at  $\gamma^{\rightarrow d}$  may precede d or follow a

encore une fois F162/16

une fois encore F116/8

il s'accorda dix minutes encore de solitude et de silence M187/14

ii Occasionally pre-adverbs follow  $\gamma^{\rightarrow q}$ : again encore is the most frequent:

la maison blanche encore F198/18

iii In addition a few of the fixed A-Phr's precede  $\gamma^{\rightarrow q}$

une idée sans doute extravagante F74/10

une tasse à demi pleine F252/3

Pre-head  $q^{\text{nom}}$  is submodified by either

i a preceding pre-adverb:

un tout autre sens B154/6

cette très ancienne famille B50/1

ii a variable depth clause following the head:

une / telle / torpeur / que la pensée fut engourdie F106/5 d q a  $\gamma^{\rightarrow q}$

and similarly at depth  $\delta$ :

de trop bons enfants pour faire des réflexions M248/12

5) The submodifier is repeatable in depth. As no class distinctions are derived from the recursion, the lower-order elements are taken to be secondary chain divisions within  $\gamma$ . The most frequent exponents of  $\delta$  are variable depth clauses and le, la, les presupposing plus or moins at the next-higher order element:

si / peu de / joie / qu'il fut déçu M36/16  $\gamma^{\sim}$  d a  $\delta$   
 un tuberculeux aussi avancé que le fils Peuchon B118/14  
 les / êtres / les / plus / purs T29/22 d a  $\delta$   $\gamma$  q

though there are also a few examples of adverbs:

ta / main / un peu / trop / grande T8/10 d a  $\delta$   $\gamma$  q  
 d'un ordre infiniment plus élevé M47/18  
 une / créature / plus / odieuse / encore / que tous mes autres héros  
 T8/17 d a  $\gamma$  q  $\delta$   $\delta$

6) Concord is irrelevant to the submodifier except

- i There is a concorded selection from the class tout, toute, tous, toutes when it occurs at  $\gamma^{\sim d}$ . At  $\gamma^{\sim q}$  there is concord first in respect of gender:<sup>135</sup>

une attention toute matérielle F221/16

concord in number applying only when a feminine adverb is selected.

- ii In post-head position there is a concorded selection from le, la, les presupposing plus or moins, themselves submodifying  $q^{\text{nom}}$

les torts les plus graves F44/11

5.27 Subdivisions of a.

5.271 The system of bondage.

The earliest system operating at a is that of bondage, with terms free and bound. The former but not the latter have the potentiality of standing without a deictic. We are still of course using the extensive group as model.

Thus in

Thérèse laissa éteindre sa cigarette; T77/16

the first NGp contains the free head Thérèse, whereas cigarette in the second is bound. Free and bound are here used in a way that is slightly different from the customary one: the criterion is not whether the head can expound a simple gp but whether it can stand without a deictic. This allows us to include among

<sup>135</sup>. And this only in certain phonological conditions - viz. when there is no liaison.

the free heads the demonstratives celui, celle, ceux, celles which are always followed by a qualifier.

### 5.272 Free heads.

Free heads may be further subdivided as follows:

Specific	}	Hypostatisations
		Relative-time nouns
		Proper Nouns
		Disjunctive pronouns
		Demonstrative heads
		Q-heads
Non-specific	}	Quantifiers
		Non-quantifiers

These subclasses will be briefly discussed in turn, showing the further breakdown in delicacy.

#### 1) Specific heads:

- i Hypostatisations. In principle any formal (or indeed phonological) item may be hypostatized<sup>136</sup> to function as head of a NGp. Such heads are free, witness

en Allemagne, "professeur" vaut un titre de noblesse... M17/22

Mais Marie est très, très intelligente, insista-t-elle en appuyant sur très F126/10

They may also occur with a deictic:

elle avait été tout près d'entendre ce "je vous aime" F131/10

Les "cœurs sur les mains" n'ont pas d'histoire; T8/20

Qualifiers are found both with and without a preceding deictic:

les hue! di! du petit-fils de Cadette B115/19

mais "pauvre chéri" dans sa bouche m'avait surprise. T209/4

- ii Relative-time nouns: this subclass has the following exponents:

avant-hier, hier, aujourd'hui, demain, après-demain. They have very

136. For a detailed discussion of hypostatisation, see K.L. Pike op.cit. Pt 1, pp 49-50.

restricted syntactical potentialities: they do not colligate with d; aujourd'hui is never qualified, whereas the others may be qualified only by the items soir, matin...

La fille est venue me surprendre hier soir F61/3

Lendemain, which may be similarly qualified, does not belong to the class, as it never occurs without an article:

La dame partait le lendemain matin pour Guéthary. M198/10

These items generally occur in groups at A in clause structure as in the above examples, or in rankshifted groups:

une fille d'aujourd' hui F23/11

- iii Proper nouns: the formal definition and subclassification of this category is somewhat indeterminate. It is useful to make a distinction of rank among proper names, contrasting proper nouns, a subclass of nouns operating at  $\alpha$ , and proper NGps. Among the latter we include such items as:

le Bois de Boulogne T127/17

la Bibliothèque Nationale B61/5

la Séquestrée de Poitiers T210/17

Par delà le bien et le mal B18/6

La Lande Conservatrice T19/8

They are graphologically marked by capital letters and sometimes also by italics and quotation marks. The Gp may include qualifiers which are not part of the name as such:

le Semeur de dimanche T16/1

They are made up of words and rankshifted items such as occur in ordinary NGps - hence the difficulty in defining them:

le Midi T166/2                    les Sciences Politiques F35/22  
 la Maison M121/21                la Place T136/8  
 le Christ M140/23                l'Alsacienne F7/10

We would nevertheless wish to distinguish them because the exponents of the  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  elements presuppose each other qua items to a much greater degree than in other NGps. La Hure for instance (the name of a stream: cf T48/1) operates as a fixed combination of words - Hure never occurs without the article la. So too, often, with qualifiers:

La Petite Gironde F48/28  
 au Chapon Fin M197/7

though admittedly the fixity is not so great here, witness

le Bois de Boulogne T127/17      le Bois T72/13  
 l'océan Atlantique M107/1      l'Océan T39/11<sup>137</sup>

Free proper names may occur in simple groups. They include

- (a) Personal names: Thérèse, Bernard etc. Monsieur, madame, mademoiselle, maître (and the corresponding plurals: messieurs, mesdames, mesdemoiselles) have been analysed as forming part of the head. Thus in

Croyez-vous que j'eusse exposé Mme Dussol.... M159/9

the  $C^E$  is expounded by a simple NGp of structure  $\alpha^F$ . These items may also stand alone as the head - though, except for groups at  $Z^V$  (the "vocative" element), this usage is more or less confined to the language of servants:

-Madame n'a plus à faire ici? T18/7

Mademoiselle attend Madame depuis six heures F66/15

137. Note also:

l'Atlantique T188/8

Un mouchoir suffira, madame... B117/20<sup>138</sup>

They may also precede an article + noun:

M. le curé B38/13

messieurs les jurés F49/4

Mais monsieur votre père a le droit de connaître mes intentions: F83/28

Here le curé, les jurés and votre père are NGps rankshifted to a place in the structure of the noun at  $\alpha^F$ .

The kinship terms papa, maman... also belong to the class of proper nouns:

Mais c'est moi, maman F21/8

Oncle, tante, bonne-maman... may be contained within  $\alpha^F$  139

Oncle Xavier (était très malade.) M240/4  $\alpha^F$

Bonne-maman Arnaud-Miquet agonisait dans une chambre d'hôtel, M107/16

But these and other kinship terms more generally occur after the unmarked specific article le, la (and les)

la / tante / Clara (leur épargnait tous les ennuis du ménage) T97/11

(la minute où) le père Cazavieilh (les laissait seuls) M69/9

where the structure is  $d \alpha^B q^{nom}$ . Compare

les enfants Frontenac M253/2

la famille Frontenac M73/4

le mystère Frontenac M291/19

Personal names may colligate with an article:

plus croyante qu'aucun la Trave T105/5

quelle Marie? F21/7

138. monsieur is however operating as a bound head in the following example:  
le monsieur qui est devant nous s'est retourné T231/14

139. As also saint(e) - cf  
Sainte Locuste T9/3

especially les which marks the group as plural, there being no morphological marking of number in the name (at least as far as the textual examples are concerned):

les Frontenac ne l'avaient jamais soupçonné d'aucune  
indélicatesse, M238/2

Qualifiers generally presuppose the presence of a deictic - most often le or la:

le raisonnable Jean-Louis M177/20

la Thérèse prête à toutes les morsures F180/1

Exceptions are either groups at Z<sup>v</sup> containing a pre-head q:

Mais tu es malade, pauvre Jean! B112/16

or very marginal cases like the following:

Il se reprochait d'être allé au-devant de tant d'amis: de la  
fatigue, de la dépense, et Joséfa qui jouerait à la dame. M88/7

- (b) Other names include place-names, again occurring in simple or compound groups:

Paris n'est pas si grand T131/2

à travers le Paris nocturne T79/5

And calendar-names; more delicately:

days of the week - dimanche, lundi etc. - which may be qualified  
and/or preceded by a deictic -<sup>140</sup>

ce mardi de décembre B57/3

c'est lundi soir M212/20

sans attendre le jeudi B63/6

---

140. Special contrasts being carried by the presence or absence of le.

months of the year - janvier, février etc.:

Juillet désséchait le triste Bordeaux MB1/2

en juillet dernier F86/28

le pluvieux décembre et ses brèves journées ne permirent  
plus aux époux de se fuir - B82/10

and the names of certain festivals: Pâques, Noël etc. <sup>141</sup>

iv Disjunctive pronouns. These may be further broken down into micro-classes as follows:

		Singular		Plural		
		masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	
Unmarked	1st pers.	sg	<u>moi</u>	---		
		pl	<u>nous</u>		---	
	2nd pers.	sg	<u>toi</u>	---		
		pl	<u>vous</u>		---	
	3rd pers.	sg	<u>lui</u>	<u>elle</u>	---	---
		pl	<u>soi</u>		<u>eux</u>	<u>elles</u>
Marked	1st pers.	sg	<u>moi-même</u>	---		
		pl	<u>nous-même</u>	<u>(nous-mêmes)</u>		
	2nd pers.	sg	<u>toi-même</u>	---		
		pl	<u>vous-même</u>	<u>(vous-mêmes)</u>		
	3rd pers.	sg	<u>lui-même</u>	<u>elle-même</u>	---	---
		pl	<u>soi-même</u>		<u>eux-mêmes</u>	<u>elles-mêmes</u>

141. The names of some festivals have bound heads:

le jour de la Fête-Dieu T143/16

Again we must contrast verbal and nominal number; in the marked subclass there is no exponential overlap between the terms in the system of nominal number - though in fact the plurals nous-mêmes and vous-mêmes are not realised in the text.

The marked reflexives soi and soi-même have been classified as singular in both systems. All the occurrences of soi are in simple, rankshifted groups:

Même le don de soi, c'est le don de moins que rien... F64/20

"il allait de soi" qu'il devait vendre l'étude. M47/11

Le Bernard sûr de soi T229/15

Soi-même may be similarly rankshifted:

il n'était pas de héros ni de saint qui n'eût fait plus d'une fois le tour de soi - même, T124/1

otherwise it occurs in colligation with VGps containing on or (singular)

se:

on ne pouvait tuer que soi - même F170/11

Infirmité de ne pouvoir se duper soi - même F119/26

The marked class occurs only in simple groups with the exception of:

Il s'agirait d'entretenir la vie d'un autre lui - même qu' à Paris déjà quelques initiés portaient aux nues. M251/20

The unmarked class may be qualified by a relative clause:

Elle qui ne pleurerait jamais, que lui arrivait-il ce soir? F42/4

and also occur with following aussi:

on le croyait capable de finir, lui aussi, devant le râtelier commun. M122/6

The only occurrences of the first and second person classes in NGps at S were:

(a) In the absolute clause -

Moi disparu, c'est elle qui, à vingt ans, aurait eu la propriété. T166/5

- (b) when followed by seul at C<sup>I</sup> dist,

Toi seul connais ce que tu éprouves. T101/13

- (c) when recapitulated by a subjectival:

Moi, je crois que ça finira mal. M206/12

There are no such restrictions in the case of the (non-reflexive) third person:

lui périssait d'ennui loin de ses fusils, T63/20

v The demonstrative heads yield a two-term system non-personal and neutral

- (a) The non-personal subclass has three exponents: ça, cela and ceci, the latter being the marked member. They normally occur in simple groups, but may be presupposed by the adverb tout or, rarely, a relative clause:

De cela même qui ne fut pas mon partage, je les aurai  
semblés. F162/6

- (b) The neutral demonstrative class is broken down further by the nominal concordial systems of number and gender:

	masc.	fem.
singular	<u>celui</u>	<u>celle</u>
plural	<u>ceux</u>	<u>celles</u>

The selection for gender, and sometimes also for number, is generally determined anaphorically:

la voix d'Anna et celle d'un homme F101/6

je ne connais pas mes crimes. Je n'ai pas voulu celui dont  
on me charge. T30/20

il comprit, à quelques mots de son frère, que celui-ci  
revenait de Léojets, M67/9

It is in these conditions that the class is unmarked as to the personal - non-personal contrast. When the items are qualified by a relative clause, and are not anaphorically determined in respect of gender, they are personal only:

c'est le mystère du Christ et de ceux qui imitent le Christ. M140/23

il n'eût même pas été permis à sa fille, à sa petite Marie, de retrouver dans un album la figure de celle qui l'a mise au monde. T17/3

This subclass does not occur in simple groups: they are invariably followed by a qualifier, which may be an AGp of structure de + complement, a relative clause, a de - prepositional clause or the adverbs - ci or - là:

partagés entre le désir de n'en pas laisser, et celui de montrer de bonnes manières. M132/19

Pourquoi était - elle allée chercher celui - là, au lieu de tant d'autres, celui - là qu'il aimait? M240/24

A (non-rankshifted) appositional clause may however be intercalated between  $\alpha$  and  $q$ :

cette horreur des tares apparentes n'a d'égale que leur indifférence à celles, bien plus nombreuses, qui ne sont pas connues. T76/19

For colligation with the adverb tout see 5.24 (8).

vi Q-heads: qui, que, quoi, ce qui, ce que, ce dont... lequel etc.

The syntax of groups containing these heads was discussed in 2.3. Those containing the morpheme ce may be preceded by tout. Qui, que, quoi, ce qui and ce que may be qualified by an AGp of structure de + (submodifier +) adjective:

elle (...) cherchait à démêler ce qui'il y avait de bizarre en lui F32/9

Qu'y a -t- il de plus grave au monde? F37/21

These qualifiers, which we may call intensive phrasal q's, occur only with certain subclasses of free head; their own structure is discussed on pp 261-262. They are discontinuous with the head when the latter precedes the clause predicator, as illustrated in the above examples.

## 2) Non-specific free heads.

i Quantifiers: these are subdivided as follows:

		Singular		Plural	
		masc.	fem.	m	or f
Numerative		<u>un</u>	<u>une</u>	cardinals	
Non- numerative	{ unmarked evaluative comparative { incong congruent interrogative	<u>beaucoup, peu</u>			
		<u>trop, assez</u>			
		<u>plus, moins</u>			
		<u>autant</u>			
		<u>combien</u>			

(a) The free heads un and une occur either in simple groups or with a qualifier. The latter is generally an A-Phr of structure de + NGp, and in these cases the gender selection between un and une is determined cataphorically:

Ainsi s'exprimait une de ses maîtresses. T36/1

the head being optionally preceded by the unmarked specific article:

l'une des langoustes sentait fort. B59/19

Otherwise the gender is generally anaphorically determined:

Elle avait un maillot, petit à la vérité, mais elle en avait un. M159/6

ses chapeaux de jardin que l'on n'osait pas donner et que l'on ne pouvait jeter (il y en avait un très ancien, où des hirondelles étaient cousues.) M230/12 -

(author's parentheses).

In these cases of anaphoric determination of gender, un and une are invariably in groups at C in clause structure and the preceding VGp contains en. In the following there is no such anaphoric reference (except to en) and here un(e) is no longer unmarked as to the personal - non-personal contrast: it can only be personal:<sup>142</sup>

Dans le feuillet de Charles Mérouvel ... En voilà un qui les connaît. M245/10

Les courtiers filaient doux avec elle. En voilà une qui savait limer un bordereau, M220/11.

The free heads un, une should be distinguished from the bound heads un, une, uns, unes where there is a selection for number as well as gender. These latter occur only with the unmarked specific article, and have no qualifiers. They characteristically colligate with l'autre or les autres, especially in the distributive C<sup>I</sup> position; gender is determined anaphorically:

les deux dames dont l'une demandait à l'autre: M202/1

Les gens se disent les uns aux autres: T153/7

- (b) The cardinals show no morphological variation in respect of gender (other than those containing the morphemes un or une in final position). They nevertheless enter into the system inasmuch as they determine the concordial category of the group in which they are head. The selection is normally determined either anaphorically:

qu'il aurait des enfants, qu'il en perdrait deux, M136/1

or cataphorically:

Deux de ces vieilles demeures pourtant sont encore des maisons de maîtres. T40/16.

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142. The only exception is in a non-productive pattern:  
 -Je vous attendais... j'en ai une bien bonne... Tenez-vous bien!  
 Devinez. M41/16.

In rankshifted groups, however, there may be no such determination:

elle rêvait d'une vie commune à trois; F122/23

couper les cheveux en quatre. T231/19

Further steps in delicacy must be taken here before we can account for the personal - non-personal contrast.

The cardinals also occur with a preceding article:

ils parlaient tous les deux ensemble, F95/18

ses propriétés lui rapportaient du quatre et demi et jusqu' à du cinq. M217/19

the heads being bound in these cases.

- (c) The non-numerative quantifiers are morphologically unmarked for gender and number. The only instances in the text where concordial categories are distinctively relevant are of beaucoup at  $\alpha$  in groups expounding the subject:

beaucoup croient qu'elle est tombée en enfance; E33/10

The heads may be presupposed in dependence by the same items as occur lower-ordered than the corresponding articles:

il en a pris très peu... M290/19

c'était plus que de la neurasthénie... F226/29

They also occur with adverbial and clausal q's:

il fallut beaucoup de ces allées et venues T91/8

and, discontinuously with the head:

Combien en restait - il dont le souvenir fût pour elle sans amertume? F18/26

Plus and moins are also found as bound heads in groups containing the deictic le; characteristic qualifiers are possible and AGps of structure de + NGp:

ses paroles qui m'avaient donné le plus de joie, T69/17

en faisant le moins de bruit possible, M198/7

de donner la maison et le plus possible de son bien à la  
jeune femme, B132/2

Compare also the fixed A-Phrs au plus, au moins, du moins...

ii The non-quantifiers break down as follows:

		Singular		Plural	
		masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Negative	non-personal unmarked {	<u>tout</u>	---	---	---
		---	---	<u>tous</u>	<u>toutes</u>
		<u>chacun</u>	<u>chacune</u>	---	---
	personal {	<u>rien</u>	---	/	
		<u>aucun</u>	<u>aucune</u>		
		<u>personne</u>	---		
		<u>nul</u>	---		
Indefinite	non-personal unmarked personal {	<u>quelque chose</u>	---	---	---
		---	---	<u>quelques-uns</u>	<u>(quelques-unes)</u>
		<u>quelqu'un</u>	---	---	---
	personal {	<u>autre chose</u>	---	/	
		<u>autrui</u>	---		
		unmarked {	/		<u>certain</u>
				<u>plusieurs</u>	
	non-personal personal {	<u>n'importe quoi</u>	---	/	
		<u>n'importe qui</u>	---		

It will be noticed that only the unmarked terms in the systems contrasting personal and non-personal show variation in gender: the marked terms whether personal or non-personal, are all masculine singular. More delicately we again distinguish cases where the gender is phorically determined (the head being then either personal or non-personal), and on the other hand cases where there is no such determination (these are personal only.) Examples:

(a) With phoric determination of gender: personal or non-personal -

(...) tressait des liens tels qu'il ne les put briser qu'en un immense effort. Pourtant, un à un, tous se rompirent B144/6  
elle n'attendait plus rien maintenant de cette confrontation avec les créatures inventées: toutes disparaissaient F9/11  
aucun des époux ne demandait la lampe B116/18  
Xavier, lui détestait les vers. Mais maintenant quelques - uns lui revenaient. M44/17.  
partager certaines de ses idées, F56/24

(b) Without phoric determination of gender: personal only -

Tous savaient qu'il s'agissait du fils Pieuchon B122/20  
Aucun n'eût, plus simplement que lui, donné sa vie. M190/22  
il faut se soumettre à ce morne destin commun; quelques - uns résistent: d'eù ces drames sur lesquels les familles font silence. T122/13

Mais plusieurs qui pourtant croient à la chute et au rachat de nos âmes tourmentées, eussent crié au sacrilège T9/4

All the textual occurrences of nul are of this latter kind: hence its classification as personal. Under n'importe qui / quoi we subsume il ne savait qui, Dieu sait quoi etc. (see 5.24 (3))

Quelle chose and autre chose are both single words, distinguished from the homophonous two word colligations in which chose is a feminine bound head - cf

(la force de sacrifier) l' / autre / chose... F123/4 d q<sup>non</sup> c<sup>B</sup>

There are no similar contrasts to justify the analysis of tout le monde as a single word expounding the term personal in the first of the above subclasses:

Qualification of the non-quantifiers is very restricted in pattern. Tout is qualified, discontinuously, by a relative clause, but the example is from the register of proverbs:

Tout est bien qui finit bien T24/5

Relative clauses occur also with rien, personne, quelque chose, quelqu'un, aucun and plusieurs:

Les jeunes gens n'ont personne à qui parler. F238/10

pareil à quelque chose que je pourrais toucher T69/3

Prepositional clauses, with à as first element, may qualify rien and quelque chose:

Mais Thérèse n'a plus rien à examiner. T148/22

Rankshifted A-Phr's, generally with de as preposition, qualify chacun(e), aucune(e), rien, personne, quelqu'un, quelque chose and certain(e)s:

Chacune de ses paroles F126/13

Intensive phrasal q's occur with rien, personne, quelque chose and quelqu'un:

ce qui (...) n'offre rien de répréhensible F40/16

pour avoir attaché tant de prix à quelqu'un d'aussi médiocre. F124/10

Finally we would also include among free heads a few nouns indicating parts of the body or clothing - viz. (textually) tête, pieds, bouche, robe and manches.<sup>143</sup>  
For example:

Sur la cheminée, la même dame en bronze, robe montante et manches longues, représentait la Foi. R12/16

143. And further cartes in  
jouer cartes sur table F205/5

il avançait, tête basse M220/3

Bouche bée et la gorge gonflée, elle attendait, elle attendait - B152/21

These are clearly on the border-line between free and bound, for their freedom is limited to groups in absolute clauses. Groups in this position generally contain an article:

il se coucha, le nez au mur, B114/11

Ils lurent donc les épreuves en faisant le tour du paré, leurs têtes rapprochées. B97/21<sup>144</sup>

#### 5.273 Bound heads:

Little further need be said on bound heads. Like free ones, they are subdivided by the systems of gender and number. We must also recognise, though later in delicacy, a contrast between personal and non-personal, because of its relevance to the choice between qui and quoi in a following relative group (see p 116 ). A further system at  $\alpha^{\beta}$  contrasts heads expounded by substantives and adjectives respectively; this opposition is described in 5.32.

#### 5.28 Coordination of elements.

The dimension of coordination yields secondary elements of group structure ordered recursively. Only elements at the same depth of dependence may be related to each other in coordination, and the congruence of the coordinates is indeed maintained to a considerable degree of delicacy. The coordinates may be linked or unlinked.

#### 5.281 Coordination of heads.

There is congruence in respect of bondage. There are textual examples of coordination between:

---

144. The use of the possessive rather than the unmarked specific article is also rare.

## 1) Two or more proper nouns:

(les propos) qu' / échangeaient, / derrière lui, / oncle Alfred + et  
Dussol M215/11 C P A S ( $a^a a^b$ )

Mme Frontonac, oncle Xavier et Jean-Louis se réunirent dans le  
petit salon M114/3

## 2) Two disjunctive pronouns, or a proper noun and a disjunctive pronoun:

Argelouse n'est pas si éloigné que Jean et moi ne puissions nous  
rejoindre. T68/6

The person category of the whole group is first person if one of the coordinates  
is moi or nous (see the above example), second person if toi or vous occur  
without moi or nous; otherwise third person:

Mais au cas où vous suriez un jour une décision à prendre, Marie  
et vous, P82/4

## 3) Two negative heads:

Rien ni personne pour elle n'existait, hors cet absent T92/7

## 4) Two cardinal numerals:

les paysans d'Argelouse en font sept ou huit T215/7

5) Two or more bound heads: this is comparatively rare, as coordination is  
generally at group rank when the heads are bound:

elle lui toucha le front et le cou M37/6

Of the examples that do occur, most are in groups with no d or q, even in  
extensive position, so that our original statement of the free-bound distinction  
needs minor modification at this stage of delicacy. Examples:

douleurs et joies naissaient des plus innocents plaisirs T36/18

Thérèse le veillant nuit et jour T149/4

afin de ne pas perdre le temps des allées et venues. M76/10

## 5.282 Coordination of qualifiers.

The patterns realised are:

## 1) Coordination between nominal qualifiers.

## i In pre-head position

les / larges / et sombres / yeux B44/1 d q<sup>a</sup> q<sup>+b</sup> e

sa timide et tenace jalousie M169/14

## ii In post-head position

un / désir / à la fois horrible / et enivrant M132/6 d e q<sup>+a</sup> q<sup>+b</sup>

cette chaîne sans fin de monstres tout à tour dévorants et

dévorés; M140/19

un dessin large et ferme F85/28

une pluie menue, serrée. T188/14

Nominal qualifiers are congruent in respect of their classification in the four systems discussed in 5.251. Only free and concorded nominal q's are coordinated:

ces têtes rondes et tondues M14/15

la fumée résineuse et refoulée T186/6

though "colour" words coordinate freely with non-colour words:

aux entailles rouges et gluantes B151/16

une jambe squelettique et brune M37/3

When an adverb precedes two coordinated nominal qualifiers, it generally submodifies them both:

le timbre plus aigu et aigre de Xavier M124/15

## 2) Coordination between adverbial qualifiers

l' / odeur / de fournil / et de brouillard T14/4 d e q<sup>a</sup> q<sup>+b</sup>

le / mystère / de ses timidités / de ses phobies, / de ses insuffisances, /

de ses obsessions d'anxieux M45/22 d e q<sup>a</sup> q<sup>b</sup> q<sup>c</sup> q<sup>d</sup>

The coordinates generally contain the same preposition:

un long réquisitoire contre son père et contre sa grand' mère F28/27

In the following example, however, it is the complement that is common to both the A-Phr's:

cette puissance forcée en moi et hors de moi T31/1

The coordination is much more frequently at the depth of rankshift shown in the above examples than between complements within a single AGp q, as in

le / choix / entre + cette fille + et une autre créature F9/4

d a q (p c<sup>a</sup> c<sup>+b</sup>)

leurs / propos / touchant + les métayers, + les poteaux de mines, + la gomme, + la térébenthine T53/14 d a q (p c<sup>a</sup> c<sup>b</sup> c<sup>c</sup> c<sup>d</sup>)

- 3) Coordination between clausal qualifiers: in almost all cases where a NGp contains two or more q<sup>cl</sup>'s, they are coordinated. There is generally congruence in respect of the subclass of the clause:

l' / heure / où Bernard ne souffrait plus, / où il sentait de nouveau en lui sa jeunesse toute-puissante T108/19 d a q<sup>a</sup> q<sup>b</sup>

aux paroles qu'elle n'avait pas su retenir et qu'il repasserait indéfiniment dans son cœur F144/5

le pouvoir de l'inquiéter, de l'humilier jusqu'à l'angoisse M224/1

The following has incongruent coordinates:

une jupe serrée sur les fortes hanches et qui allait s'évasant M68/15

- 4) There are also a few examples of coordination cutting across the q<sup>nom</sup> - q<sup>adv</sup> - q<sup>cl</sup> distinction:

i Nominal and adverbial: in all the examples the q<sup>adv</sup> is a phrase of structure sans + simple NGp:

une créature étrangère et sans nom T67/19

cette femme inculte et sans intelligence B151/19

- ii Nominal and clausal; except in the first example,  $q^{\text{nom}}$  occurs in the first place of coordination:

la rue mal éclairée et encore bruyante F100/27

la rue bruyante et qui sentait fort M198/23

cette voix un peu rauque et dont la plus simple parole avait pour lui une valeur, une importance démesurée. F138/6

There is one example involving a pre-head  $q^{\text{nom}}$ :

un franc rire et qui faisait se retourner les passants M271/3

- iii Adverbial and clausal: there are even fewer examples. The A-Phr occurs in the first place of coordination:

un enfant à bout de résistance et qui déjà s'abandonne T131/4

The following marginal example includes the only rankshifted absolute clause in the text:

ce monsieur à monocle et la lèvre pendante B96/14

### 5.283 Coordination of deictics:

The only examples are between numerative quantifiers, the head being plural:

deux / ou trois / hommes M268/13  $d^a d^{+b} a$

une ou deux questions F50/9

### 5.284 Coordination of submodifiers.

Only postposed submodifiers presupposing a  $q$  are coordinated. The examples are of rankshifted A-Phr's:

un / garçon / plein / de curiosité / et d'angoisse F94/23  $d a q Y^a Y^{+b}$

une vie brûlante d'inspiration, d'expériences dangereuses M150/24

### 5.29 Simple and compound dependence.

Three or more elements  $X^1, X^2, X^3$  ordered in depth of dependence may be so related that  $X^3$  presupposes  $X^2$  which in turn presupposes  $X^1$ : they are then

said to be ranged on a simple scale of depth. AGp structures of elements ordered in simple dependence have already been amply illustrated. A clear example is

(ses jours de) plus / grande / souffrance B141/20

where plus ( $\gamma$ ) presupposes grande ( $\beta$ ) which presupposes souffrance ( $\alpha$ ).

Alternatively,  $X^1$ ,  $X^2$  and  $X^3$  may be ordered in such a way that  $X^2$  presupposes  $X^1$ , while  $X^3$  presupposes the  $X^1 - X^2$  complex. Here we shall speak of compound dependence. It may be of two types. Where there is a class distinction between the exponents of  $X^3$  and  $X^2$ , we shall represent them as  $\gamma$  and  $\beta$  respectively. The  $\gamma$ 's in simple and in compound dependence may be distinguished at secondary delicacy as  $\gamma^S$  and  $\gamma^C$  respectively.  $\gamma^S$  is exemplified by plus in the above group, or by trop in

sa trop facile résignation. M226/6

$\gamma^C$  most often coincides with  $\gamma^{-d}$ , as in

et ces ogresses M186/8

presque le seul homme T143/18

It must be admitted that the distinction between  $\gamma^S$  and  $\gamma^C$  is somewhat ill-defined, and thus it is that elements ordered in this first type of compound dependence are not distinguished at primary delicacy from those related in simple dependence.

In the second type there are no primary class differences marking the distinction between  $X^3$  and  $X^2$ . In such cases we regard them both as  $\beta$ , subdividing secondarily into  $\beta^\beta$  and  $\beta^\alpha$  respectively. Thus in the group

semis / de quinze ans / en pleine croissance F72/12

there is no class distinction between the two AGp qualifiers de quinze ans and en pleine croissance; we represent the structure as  $\alpha \beta^\alpha \beta^\beta$ .

In the subsequent discussion the  $\beta^\alpha - \beta^\beta$  chain contrast (which is further repeatable in depth yielding the elements  $\beta^\gamma$ ,  $\beta^\delta$  etc.) is regarded as operating at

a later stage in delicacy than the choice contrast between  $d$  and  $q$ .<sup>145</sup> So that

un / coup / de sonnette / formidable F203/7

has the structure  $d \alpha q^{\alpha} q^{\beta}$ : the symbol of  $q^{\beta}$  implies three steps in delicacy in the description of formidable - first we assign it to  $\beta$ , secondly to  $q$ , thirdly to  $q^{\beta}$ : it presupposes the head-qualifier combination coup de sonnette.

Since the scale of compound dependence does not yield classes there may in certain structures be formal ambiguity. This occurs when one  $q$  precedes and another follows  $\alpha$ . For here we must distinguish cases where:

1) The two  $q$ 's separately presuppose the head, as in

de / vilaines / oreilles / pâles T137/1  $d q \alpha q$

where vilaines and pâles are not related to each other in either coordination or compound dependence.

2) The pre-head  $q$  is higher-ordered in compound dependence than the post-head one:

ce / jeune / homme / frêle M233/24  $d q^{\alpha} \alpha q^{\beta}$

3) The post-head  $q$  is the higher-ordered:

un / grand / médecin / consultant T149/23  $d q^{\beta} \alpha q^{\alpha}$

These last two examples thus provide a clear illustration of the difference between sequence and order.

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145. An alternative and perhaps better treatment would have the two dimensions as interlocking at the same degree of delicacy, so that deictic and qualifier might be (though not necessarily would be) at different depths on the compound scale of dependence. The structure of

les / trois / derniers / jours F250/18  
would thus be  $\beta / d \beta / q \beta / q \alpha$

We are not able to give rigorous recognition criteria for the distinction of these three structures, but three factors may be mentioned as relevant:

- 1) The systems of active and passive range applicable to  $q^{nom}$ : bound and classificatory  $q$ 's are more likely to occur at  $q^a$  than at  $q^b$  - cf

au / petit / jour / sombre T191/14 d  $q^a$  a  $q^b$  (d over-laying the preposition à)

le / gros / mangeur / de la famille M136/14 d  $q^a$  a  $q^b$

le / bon / sens / incarné M219/10 d  $q^a$  a  $q^b$

- 2) Collocation: we must be prepared to recognise relative frequency of collocation with the exponent of  $a$  as criterial - cf

A. Juilland who deplores that in current practice "physico-statistical considerations are never allowed to affect the syntagmatic and systemic choices through which the analysis is pursued at the various levels: sometimes mentioned in the description of particular languages, properties of this order seldom contribute to the making of the decisions through which the structure is reached or determined."<sup>146</sup> He goes on to suggest that statistical relations "represent an immense, largely untapped reservoir of criteria awaiting to be exploited for the benefit of linguistic analysis."<sup>147</sup>

We have already suggested in the discussion of the sequential position of  $q^{nom}$  relative to  $a$  that the statistical study of colligation-restricted collocations might prove fruitful. Thus, judging impressionistically, jeune frequently collocates with such items as fille, homme in the colligation  $q^a$ , and there is therefore likely to be a tendency for it to occur at  $q^a$  rather than at  $q^b$  when qualifying these items. Again there is

146. A. Juilland: op.cit. p 35.

147. I bid p 39.

greater mutual prediction between médecin and consultant than between médecin and grand - which does not imply that consultant collocates with médecin more often than does grand, but rather that médecin is likely to be more prominent in the cluster of collocates of consultant than of grand.

Similarly coup is often followed by an AGp q of structure de + simple NGp, and this we may therefore expect to be at  $q^{\alpha}$ , as in

un / rapide / coup / à'oeil F131/23 d  $q^{\beta}$  a  $q^{\alpha}$

un / léger / coup / de sonnette F195/7 d  $q^{\beta}$  a  $q^{\alpha}$

(compare the already quoted un coup de sonnette formidable).

This same factor of collocational frequency affects the choice between the marked and unmarked partitive articles before a pre-head q: the selection of the unmarked term may be taken as a reliable signal that the q is at  $q^{\alpha}$ :

des / petits / chiens / dans une corbeille M285/1 d  $q^{\alpha}$  a  $q^{\beta}$

- 3) Sequence, while not always marking order, is nevertheless more often congruent with it than incongruent: in only three of the above examples does  $q^{\beta}$  precede  $q^{\alpha}$ .

Where the qualifiers follow the head, order in sequence does signal order in depth<sup>148</sup> - though we would say that it is depth that determines sequence. There are moreover other features than sequence that correlate with order in depth:

- 1) AGps in compound dependence - the following tendencies are evident from the text:

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148. Though it does not distinguish coordination from dependence: this contrast is carried by intonation and the presence, actual or potential, of linking items.

- i Groups containing a simple NGp as complement are more likely to occur at  $q^a$  than at  $q^b$ :

les / joues / en feu / des jeunes filles B102/3 d a  $q^a q^b$

le jet sans défaut des pins M61/9

les souliers de chasse du jeune homme B140/6

In some cases however both  $q^a$  and  $q^b$  are so structured:

un jour d'été sans déclin B95/16

du départ de Blanche pour Vichy M94/1

- ii Groups containing de as preposition are more likely to occur at  $q^a$  than at  $q^b$

l'imposition de sa main fraîche sur son front. B129/15

au tintement d'une petite cuiller contre une soucoupe B112/12

The first of these tendencies would appear the more powerful, taking precedence over the second in the event of a clash.<sup>149</sup>

la mise à mort du cochon F199/8

l'établissement à Paris d'un de ses neveux M181/17

- 2) Clausal qualifiers are most generally ordered in coordination rather than dependence. However relative clauses are found preceding a prepositional clause lower-ordered in dependence:

la demande qu'elle lui fit de transmettre une commande à son libraire de Bordeaux T186/2

ce désir qu'avait José de s'engager au Maroc M189/21

An alternative analysis would be to consider the second clause as at Y in second-order rankshift rather than at  $q^b$ . We have preferred to treat them as  $q^b$  on the grounds that the relative clause could in each case be omitted without affecting the grammaticalness of the group, suggesting that the

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149. An exception in a group with 3  $q$ 's is:  
ce mouvement du bras de gauche à droite M261/13

dependence relation between the infinitival clause and the head is more direct than is the case between  $\gamma$  and  $\alpha$ .

- 3) Nominal and adverbial qualifiers: nouns are generally higher-ordered than

A-Phrs:

l'aide spirituelle de son directeur B101/6

ces jours purs de sa vie T45/23

une version avouable du drame qu'ils ont vécu T22/15

Contrast however:

une préparation d'artillerie foudroyante M172/24

ce costume de voyage très ajusté T238/1

Again collocational factors influence the order - witness

le char funèbre de la fabrique B80/10

but it must be admitted that in some cases the orders may be in more or less free variation:

une crise de rhumatismes aigüe M210/16

une crise aigüe de rhumatismes T150/16

- 4) Nominal and clausal qualifiers: the former are the higher-ordered:

un / jeune / homme / qui souffrait à cause d'elle T193/11 d  $q^{\alpha}$  a  $q^{\beta}$

le seul baiser qu'il ait jamais connu B37/22

des portraits anciens qu'avait pris Bernard T189/7

les termes exactes dont Thérèse s'était servie F139/22

- 5) Adverbial and clausal qualifiers: the former are almost invariably the higher-ordered:

du coup au coeur que lui donnait toujours le bruit de la porte refermée F9/9

l'odeur de remèdes qui saturait la chambre B37/1

un terrain de rencontre où se heurter T140/4

There are isolated counter-examples, witness the following where salle à manger might be regarded as a single lexical item:

la salle à manger de Preignac M257/18

### 5.3 The structure of the NGp - continued.

#### 5.31 Order in sequence of the elements.

- 1) d precedes  $\alpha$ .
- 2)  $q^{adv}$  and  $q^{cl}$  follow  $\alpha$ .
- 3) The position of  $q^{nom}$  relative to  $\alpha$  is accounted for systemically; it always follows d.
- 4) The position of Y relative to the next higher order element is accounted for systemically.
- 5) The relative sequence of post-head q's is determined by position on the scales of coordination and compound dependence.
- 6) The relative sequence of pre-head q's merits further discussion. No group in the text contains more than two of them. Two patterns may be distinguished:
  - i The q's are coordinated: the relative sequence is, formally, free-  
 leur uniforme et chaste bonheur T46/16  
 cette immense et uniforme surface de gel T122/6
  - ii There is no coordination. Study of a larger corpus is needed before it can be decided whether compound dependence is the only alternative ordering to (marked or unmarked) coordination. The following examples seem clearly to be ranged on the compound scale, the second q in sequence being the higher-ordered:
 

les premiers beaux jours B91/19  
 son habituelle bonne foi M32/21

un / vrai / petit / enfant T142/2

le / beau / jeune / homme B46/9

les / trois / derniers / jours F250/18<sup>150</sup>

son / seul / bon / repas / de la journée T100/15

where the structure is thus  $d q^{\beta} q^{\alpha} \alpha (q)$ ; though in other cases we may hesitate in assigning such a structure, for example in:

ces quatre simples mots F164/25

Any establishment of place-ordered secondary elements must remain flexible. Groups in the present text do not for instance fit into the framework suggested by Valdman<sup>151</sup> who recognises four pre-head positional classes exemplified as follows:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<u>autre</u>	<u>nouveau</u>	<u>mauvais</u>	<u>grand</u>
ordinals	<u>jeune</u>	<u>faux</u>	<u>petit</u>
	<u>vieux</u>	<u>bon</u>	
	<u>vrai</u>	<u>beau</u>	
		<u>joli</u>	

Although jeune does occur coordinated with another  $q^{\text{nom}}$ :

cette jeune et lourde femme féconde M190/6

in two groups it follows grand (which it never precedes):

une grande jeune femme F88/23

ce grand jeune homme debout sur le palier duquatrième F81/3

150. There are no examples of an ordinal preceding a cardinal numeral; such structures though relatively rare, are also explicable in terms of depth.

151. Op.cit. p 30. We would also disagree with the classification of the first positional class as non-predicative, the remainder as predicative, for

i autre may be used (in Valdman's terms) predicatively:

elle se sentait autre B101/15

ii more significant than whether the items may occur at all at  $C^I$  is the relation to the head in any given structure - cf our free - bound distinction.

We would therefore tentatively suggest replacing Valdman's table by the following less rigid representation (which gives only the unmarked terms in the concordial systems):

Y		d			q	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
	<u>quel</u>					
		cardinals				
	<u>le</u>					
	<u>son</u>	<u>quelques</u>		ordinals		
<u>tout</u>	<u>ce</u>			<u>seul</u>		
				<u>même</u>		
	<u>un</u>		<u>certain</u>			
			<u>tel</u>	<u>autre</u>	<u>bon</u>	
<u>tout</u>					<u>beau</u>	<u>jeune</u> <u>petit</u>
non-numerative quantifiers					<u>grand</u>	
	<u>chaque</u>					
	<u>aucun</u>					
	<u>nul</u>					
	<u>de</u>					
	<u>du</u>					
	<u>quelque</u>					
	other articles					

Remarks:

- (a) Only one selection can be made from column (2) and from column (3).
- (b) The possibility of quel + cardinal, le / son + quelques is allowed for, although these patterns are not realised in the text.
- (c) No double selection occurs from column (4), though the possibility

of it is not excluded; items from column (4) are certainly not freely combinable. Only autre among them occurs with a non-specific article:

aucune autre jeune fille F81/24

(d) Double selection from column (5) may occur in coordination or compound dependence. In the latter case there is a tendency for certain adjectives to precede others. Rather than set up even roughly discrete place-ordered secondary classes, it seems better to consider the items as being ranged on a scale: jeune for example tends to occur late, but nevertheless generally before petit. The place of the latter (in its atonic form) can be fairly confidently asserted.<sup>152</sup>

(e) There is no coordination across column boundaries:

8) In general there is no discontinuity in sequence between the elements of structure. Exceptions are marginal and confined to:

i Clausal qualifiers, especially relative clauses:

A ce doux, toute souffrance était invisible qui n'était pas la sienne. B71/20

ii Intensive phrasal qualifiers when the NGp is at I or B:

Que savait Marie, au fond, de précis, en ce qui concernait sa mère? F27/11

iii The articles combien de, plus de, que de, tant de... when the group is at C/I, C/B or C/E:

que le jeune docteur montrait donc de dévouement B139/14

iv Variable depth clauses:

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<sup>152</sup>. Cf C.D. Herisson: Le diminutif hypocoristique "petit"; le français moderne 24, pp 35-47, 111-123; 27, pp 298-307; 28, pp 25-36.

ces sanglots de petite fille / avaient / plus de+pouvoir / sur  
la servante / qu'aucune supplication. F194/25 S P C (d a γ) A

### 5.32 Substantive, adjective and article.

The primary word class noun, defined by operation at  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , breaks down at the earliest stage of secondary delicacy into the three subclasses substantive, adjective and article. The latter consists of those nouns with the potentiality of expounding  $d$ ; syntactical differences at  $\alpha$  have priority in delicacy as far as criteria for distinguishing substantive and adjective are concerned. The extensive group remains the model for the following ordered list of criteria:

- 1) Nouns with the potentiality of operating at  $\alpha$  are substantives unless classified as adjectives by any of the following criteria.
- 2) Adjectives cannot expound a free head. The  $q$  in the following group is thus a substantive:

la maison Péroueyre B88/12

- 3) Nouns operating at  $\alpha$  with a pre-adverb as the next-lower order item are adjectives:

le plus sage était de rentrer F53/29

Ainsi les plus patients obtenaient - ils un sifflet M43/19

il n' y a pas plus putain que ces femmes - là M245/10

il faisait trop noir pour que j'aie vu sa figure; T154/19

So too in the following rankshifted group:

le ton qu'on prend avec les tout petits. M258/18

- 4) Except as in (2) above, nouns whose gender category is cataphorically or anaphorically determined, or which otherwise occur only with the article le in its homophoric use (or, rarely, with du) are adjectives. In most cases criterion (3) is relevant too. Examples:

**i Cataphoric determination of gender -**

le plus muet des amours M65/9

la plus importante des revues d'avant-garde M152/16

les meilleurs d'entre nous T124/6

**ii Anaphoric determination:**

Thérèse avait déchiffré avec soin la date imprimée sur chacune des trois enveloppes; et déjà elle ouvrait la plus ancienne. T64/8

elle disait "la famille" comme s'il n'en eût existé qu'une seule au monde. M237/23

il demeurait là, son chapeau melon dans la main gauche; et de la droite, (...) il coupait les "gourmands" des rosiers vivaces. M26/23.

ces deux chômes, (...) il y avait les mères dans la salle à manger de Preignac M257/17

Such is the analysis also of the rankshifted group in the following productive pattern:

un esprit des plus distingués B50/12

**iii In colligation with homophoric le, or with du:**

Elle émouvait chez Jean le meilleur et le pire, B29/6

le plus drôle, c'est que les ouvriers n'admirent d'être malin, M166/25

un pays où le plus pauvre est propriétaire. T106/9

L'étrange est que Thérèse ne se souvient des jours qui suivirent le départ d'Anne et des la Trave que comme d'une époque de torpeur. T97/1

vous avez du nouveau sur le chantier? M262/14

The ordinal numerals premier, dernier, second, deuxième, troisième etc. are a border-line case. Generally selection for gender is determined either cataphorically:

le dernier des Frontenac M207/2<sup>153</sup>

or anaphorically:

Les premières pages de ses livres, il les zébrait de notes, et les dernières, il ne les coupait pas. B30/18

They do however occur in two patterns which distinguish them from the adjectives described above:

- i dernier (or dernière) may follow the demonstrative article the whole group being replaceable by one containing a demonstrative head; (the example is, non-significantly, a rankshifted group)

les propos qu'échangeaient (...) oncle Alfred et Dussol (on avait dit à ce dernier:) M215/12 (author's parentheses)

The gender is here determined by the preceding Dussol, so that this may be regarded as an adjectival use.

- ii Ordinals other than dernier may occur in such structures as

ce troisième d'une maison ancienne F11/28

and similarly, in rankshifted groups:

le palier du quatrième F81/8

j'étais au collège, en troisième F148/3

le compartiment de première T33/14

Explanation of the gender in these groups by reference to the words étage and classe belongs in a diachronic rather than in a synchronic analysis. We would regard them as here belonging to the class substantive with gender free but - contextually as well as formally - meaningful.

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153. It is not strictly accurate to describe this as determination of gender as ‡ la dernière des Frontenac is also possible; the basic relations are however the same as in le plus muet des amours cited above

In the other examples we would classify the ordinals as adjectives. For the classes substantive and adjective are not totally discrete in exponents, even though we have selected and ordered our criteria with a view to reducing dual membership to a minimum.

The category of possessive heads does not fully satisfy the present criterion. It is broken down into one-member classes by the nominal and verbal concordial systems:

		Singular		Plural	
		masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Singular	1st pers.	<u>mien</u>	<u>mienne</u>	<u>miens</u>	<u>miennes</u>
	2nd pers.	<u>tien</u>	<u>tienne</u>	<u>tiens</u>	<u>tiennes</u>
	3rd pers.	<u>sien</u>	<u>sienne</u>	<u>siens</u>	<u>siennes</u>
Plural	1st pers.	<u>nôtre</u>		<u>nôtres</u>	
	2nd pers.	<u>vôtre</u>		<u>vôtres</u>	
	3rd pers.	<u>leur</u>		<u>leurs</u>	

These are like adjective heads in that they generally occur only with the unmarked specific article.<sup>154</sup> Selection for gender is often anaphorically determined:

la jalousie n'est pas toujours comique; la sienne l'était. F180/4

il voulut (...) que sa mère vînt remercier la mienne. F150/3

However there need not be any such determination, in which case they function as personal heads:<sup>155</sup>

flatté surtout de ce que les siens avaient déjà recours à sa femme. T72/9

There is only one occurrence with qualification:

la sienne propre F236/1

The class thus has properties of both adjective and substantive. As there are no occurrences at  $\beta$ <sup>156</sup>, we group them with the substantives.

154. The only exception being: si elle fait des siennes T219/22, a non-productive pattern.

155. The only exception is again des siennes

156. The rare pattern †unomien ami is not realised in the text.

5) Colligation with the marked partitive article de in positive clauses is criterial in the assignment of autre(s) to the class adjective:

d'autres suivirent. M142/25

It has often, like other adjectives, phorically determined gender, though it does not itself contain any morphological marking:

Qu'importe d'aimer tel pays on tel autre, T238/17

ce parfum des premiers feux en contenait beaucoup d'autres: F17/4

However, where the gender is not so determined, autre(s) is personal:

il est parti sans laisser d'adresse ... avec une autre ... F212/15

Tout autre qu'eux se fût réjoui de ce calme. M170/12

Autre(s) is further distinct from other adjectives in colligating with a wide range of articles, as the above examples illustrate. It is rarely qualified, though qualification by  $q^{nom}$ ,  $q^{adv}$ , or  $q^{cl}$  is possible - witness

elle eut (...) une première crise d'étouffement qu'une piqûre conjura, et une autre plus violente pendant la nuit, où elle faillit passer. F220/15.

### 5.33 Regrading

#### 5.331 Movement in depth.

It follows from the previous section that the unmarked exponence relations are between substantive and  $\alpha$  on the one hand; article or adjective and  $\beta$  on the other. As the elements  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are ordered in depth, we may describe departures from the unmarked exponence relations in terms of movement on the scale, using downgrading for the occurrence of substantives at  $\beta$ , upgrading for adjectives and articles at  $\alpha$ . Like rankshift, the term used for (downward) movement on the rank scale, the process terminology of up and down grading is not intended to reflect any mental processes in the speaker. It is a descriptive device to account for certain occurrences of items in places other than those criterial for their syntactical classification on a given dimension. Nor is it intended to reflect historical change: it has thus little in common with Tesnière's "translation", which he uses for the movement of an item from

one class to another in cases where there is often no longer any synchronic relevance.<sup>157</sup>

### 5.332 Downgrading of substantives.

Substantives, then, may be downgraded to operate at  $q^{nom}$ . They tend to be bound rather than free, classificatory rather than specific, non-concorded rather than concorded, and they are always post-head. Examples.

#### 1) Non-concorded:

une lampe Pigeon M148/25

des mots contrepoison F140/23

des mosaïques modern-style M151/16

le col médicis M90/17<sup>158</sup>

#### 2) Concorded:

leurs lits jumeaux M14/12

deux anges gardiens B61/10

Their syntax in respect of the four systems is thus similar to that of rankshifted NGps:

des livres bon marché F169/13

des paupières couleur de safran B118/18

### 5.333 Upgrading of articles and adjectives.

#### 1) Certain articles may be upgraded to occur at $\alpha^F$ as illustrated in 5.272(2).

As they are in any case distinguished from other free heads by the systems operating at  $\alpha^F$ , no special element needs to be recognised.

#### 2) Adjectives may be upgraded to expound $\alpha^B$ in the patterns illustrated in 5.32.

In an interesting series of articles, Yvon argues that in cases of anaphorically or cataphorically determined gender selection it is not the adjective which is

157. L. Tesnière: "Éléments de syntaxe structurale"; Paris 1959. Four translations are said to be involved, for example, in "un atout": adjective (tout) → substantive (unmarked translation); substantive → adverb (marked by à); adverb → adjective (unmarked); adjective → substantive (marked by un); p 532.

158. une Frontenac tout craché M237/6 is an isolated example of a non-concorded adjective.

the head but rather le, la or les (which he would then call pronouns). His argument is that as article (in our terms, as deictic) le "tire son genre et son nombre du nom qu'il accompagne, tandis que le pronom portant ceux du nom qu'il évoque les communique éventuellement aux termes du groupe qui sont en rapport avec lui."<sup>159</sup>

Homophoric uses of le he still regards as the article, thus contrasting Damourette and Pichon's examples:

Le bleu est l'une des sept couleurs du prisme.

Quel manteau Madame mettra-t-elle? - Donnez-moi le bleu.

To analyse the first le bleu as  $\beta\alpha$  and the second as  $\alpha\beta$  would be, in our view, to grant too high a priority in delicacy to the distinction. By differentiating the structures so early we should be failing to account for their considerable similarities: in particular, the range of possible replacements for bleu and the set of possible qualifiers. It would also be less congruent with analysis at the phonological level, complicating the statement of correspondences between tonic syllables and elements of (grammatical) structure.

Adjectives at  $\alpha^B$  differ from substantives in qualification, so that we need to distinguish two choice elements:  $\alpha^B$  sub and  $\alpha^B$  adj. Qualifiers of the latter are:

i Pre-adverbs; that is, items normally occurring at  $\gamma$ : plus, moins, tout etc. as already illustrated in 5.32

ii APhr's of structure de + NGp:

le pire des drames T168/20

iii pire, meilleur, seul and même are also occasionally qualified by a rankshifted clause:

il ne connut à Paris d'autre église que la Madeleine, la seule qu'il rencontrât entre son hôtel et le café de la Paix, B98/19

<sup>159</sup>. H. Yvon: "Le, la, les: articles ou pronoms"; le français moderne 17 pp 251-264; 18 pp 17-31 and 247-258. The quotation is from p 254 of the first article.

### 5.344 Upgrading of adverbs

The upgrading of an adjective or article to **a** may entail the upgrading of an adverb to **q**, indicated structurally as  $q^{up}$  in contrast to the unmarked **q** discussed in 5.25. Thus:

*le / plus / chétif / de ses garçons* M15/21

has the structure  $d q^{up} \alpha q^{adv}$ , the order in compound dependence being  $d q^{\alpha} \alpha q^{\beta}$

Items which characteristically occur before the deictic at  $\gamma^C$  may be upgraded to  $q^{up}$  in colligation with certain free heads:

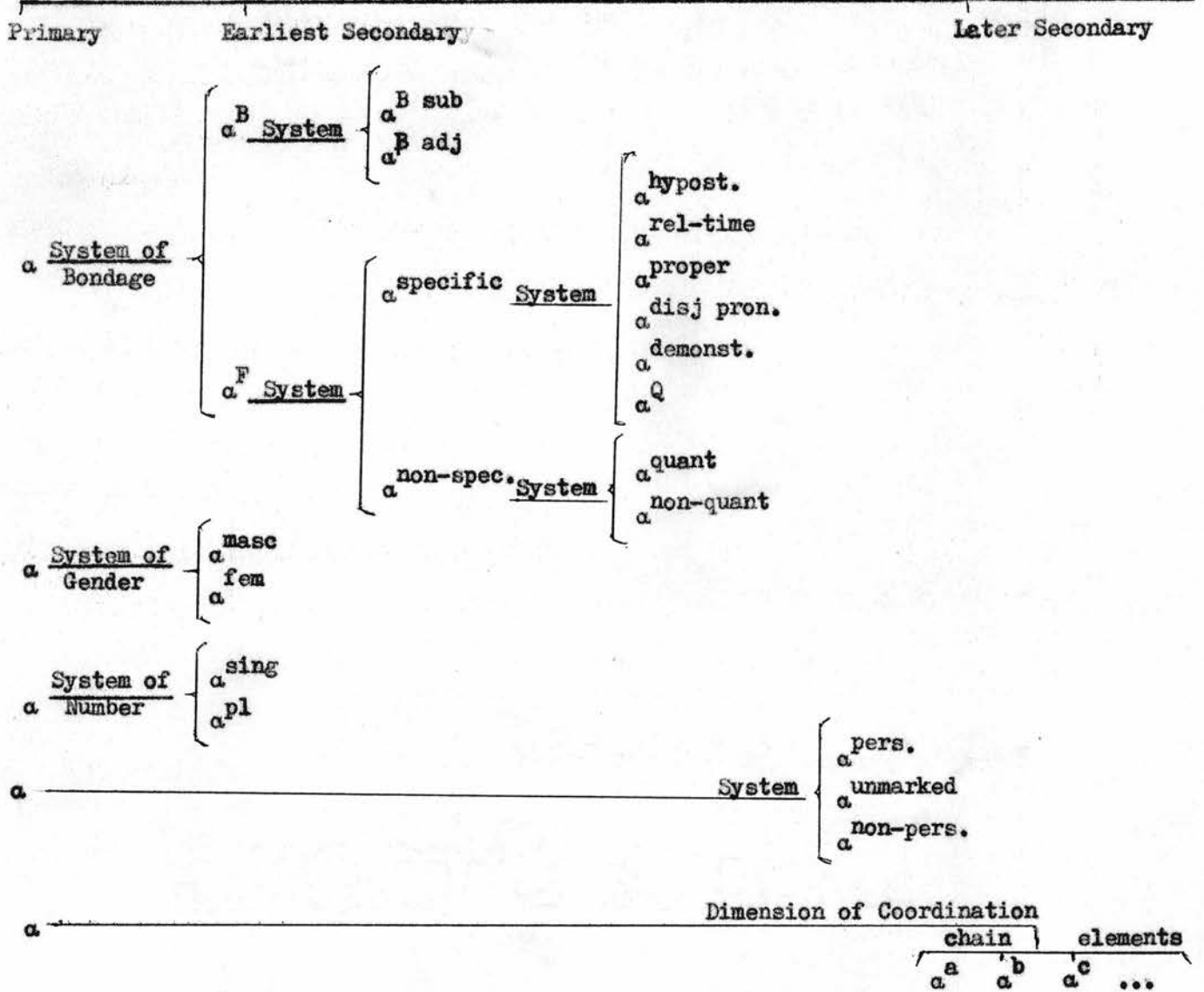
*presque personne* F201/11

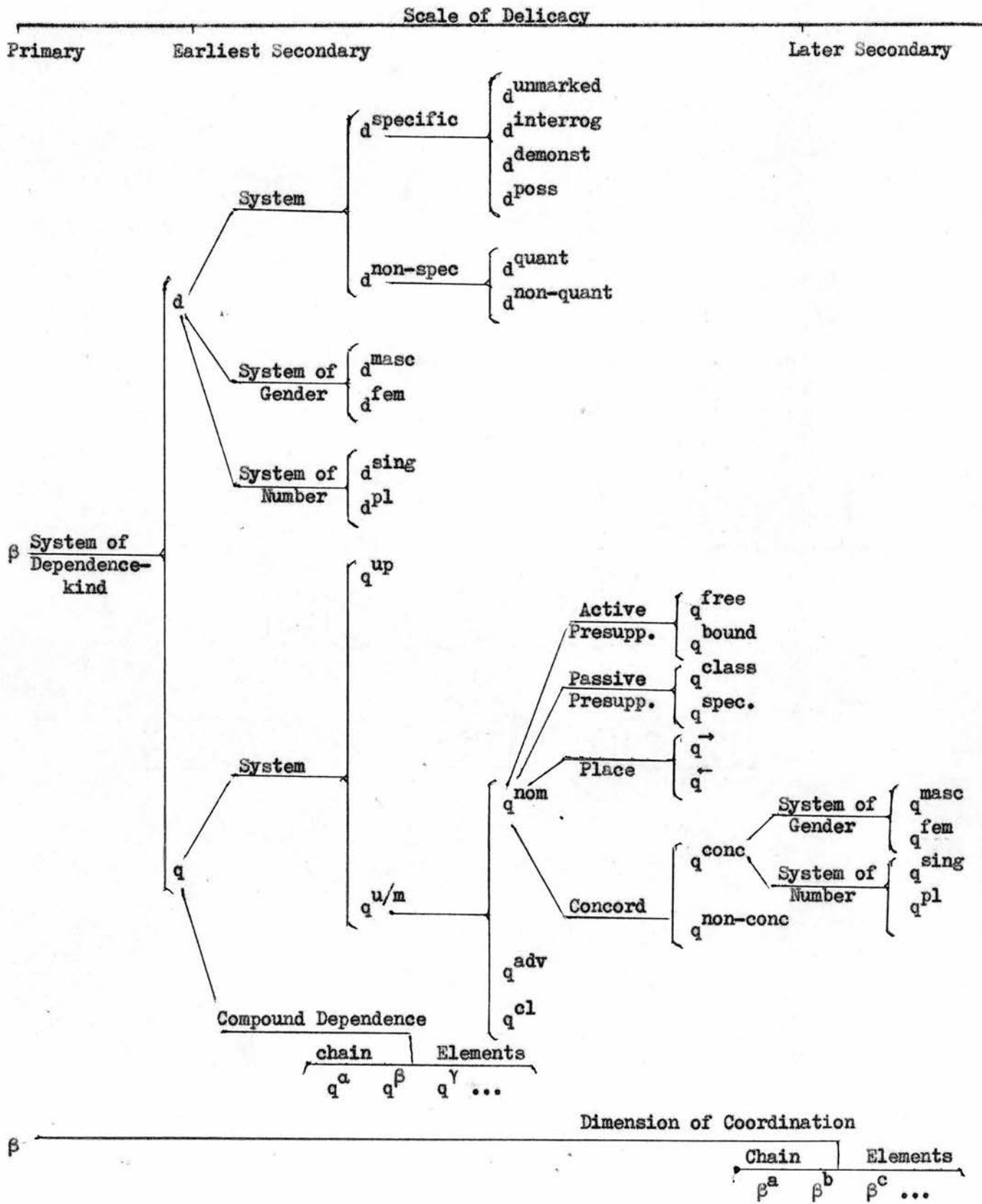
*tout ceci* F136/7

### 5.34 Summary of elements of NGp structure

The elements of NGp structure may be summarised schematically as follows, though not all the later delicacy distinctions are included:

Scale of Delicacy





Scale of Delicacy		
Primary	Earliest Secondary	Later Secondary
Y	System	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \gamma^d \\ \gamma^q \end{array} \right.$
Y	System of place	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \gamma^r \\ \gamma^s \end{array} \right.$
Y	Depth of Dependence	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \gamma^t \\ \gamma^u \end{array} \right.$
	Chain Elements	$\gamma \delta \epsilon \dots$
Y	Simple v Compound dependence	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \gamma^b \\ \gamma^c \end{array} \right.$
Y	Coordination	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \gamma^a \\ \gamma^b \end{array} \right.$
	Chain Elements	$\gamma^a \gamma^b \gamma^c \dots$

### 5.35 Application of the model to rankshifted groups.

- 1) The structure of rankshifted groups differs from that of the model in one important respect: the subclass of noun defined by operation in the model at  $\alpha^B$  may occur with or without an article in rankshifted groups:

**i With article**

(Chaque bruit du dehors s'isolait) de / la + rumeur + humaine,

F15/8 p c (d a q)

dans le bureau où nous traitions les marchés! M222/16

ses parents étaient hostiles à ce mariage. T75/3

**ii Without article:**

une chanson de soldats M208/4

une cravate noire à pois blancs M211/25

The systemicness of this contrast is discussed in 5.41. Formal features correlating with the choice include:

- i The exponent of the preceding preposition - NGps following sans and en generally contain no deictic whereas those following dans are like extensive groups in this respect. Compare

En famille et dans le village, chacun savait (...) M66/8

Etre sans famille! T195/1

Qui était mort dans la famille? F50/11

- ii More delicately: where the A-Phr containing the rankshifted NGp is itself rankshifted to q in a larger NGp, there is some degree of correlation between the choice of article in the larger NGp and the choice between presence and absence of article in the smaller NGp. Compare

{ le ton de ce refus B119/18

{ un signe de refus F117/18

{ la tentation de la mort M276/14

{ un verdict de mort T99/7

{ la vase de son coeur B19/12

{ une maladie de coeur T192/14

There are, though, many counter-examples:

{ la visite du curé B79/1

{ une lettre du curé B99/8

{ les odeurs de sauce F80/29

{ une odeur de sauce F96/4

Both of these factors are discussed in more detail in Ch. 7.

- 2) There are two patterns involving upgraded adjectives which are characteristic of rankshifted groups:

- i In intensive A-Phr's, which are themselves generally rankshifted to qualify

certain free heads - rien, personne, quoi etc. (see 5.272 (2)). The preposition in the rankshifted A-Phr is always de:

(quelqu'un) d' / aussi + médiocre F124/11 p c (q<sup>up</sup> α<sup>adj</sup>)

There are a few examples in non-rankshifted AGps; the preposition is again most often de, though, pour, en occur in certain colligations:

ceux qui ont compris votre généreuse pensée se sont fait traiter  
de jaunes M180/6

Il passait pour très riche. M167/13

In all these structures the number and gender categories of the adjective are determined by concord with the goal of intensivity - the head of the NGp in the first example, the (clause or verbal) subject in the last two.

- ii In groups containing homophoric le, q<sup>up</sup> plus, and an A-Phr q with preposition de: These groups occur as complement to à or de:

du plus profond de lui-même M151/12 (and F10/26)

au plus épais de la forêt B142/21

### 5.36 Application of the model to intensive groups.

- 1) The intensive class displays a striking structural difference from the model, in that in the majority of cases the head is expounded by an upgraded adjective; and the qualifier, where present, by an upgraded adverb or by other items capable of occurring at Y in the model.

sa poésie / est / profondément + mystique M164/16 SPC<sup>L</sup> S (q<sup>up</sup> α<sup>adj</sup>)

(cela me paraissait) si / étrange / que je l'écoutais / sans l'interrompre.

T113/18 q<sup>up</sup> α<sup>adj</sup> γ δ (δ being expounded by a second-order rankshifted clause).

une femme qui se dit folle de tes poèmes, M185/21

leur gorge qu'on eût dit pleine de millet et de maïs M68/3

The number and gender categories of the adjective are determined by the goal of intensivity.

- 2) Bound substantives may occur at  $\alpha$  without a preceding article; this pattern is characteristic of groups at  $Z^I$  in appositional clauses:

ennemis / dans la chair (ils s'unissaient dans cette imploration  
du soir) B76/4  $\alpha^B$  sub  $q$  adv

It is also found at  $C^I$ :

Cette larve (...) qui a besoin (...) pour devenir papillon, d'infliger  
à des fourmis cette atroce agonie. M140/1

Ce que José appelait question sociale ne se poserait plus aux belles  
âmes de son espèce. M275/3

Although it is not possible to establish rigorous and discrete subclasses, there is nevertheless a tendency for the substantive in these structures to be personal, and more delicately, at  $C^I$  dir  $\rightarrow$  S for it to indicate profession, occupation etc.

tu veux être fonctionnaire! M116/8

tu ne vas pas devenir marchand de bois? M63/16

Substantives in these patterns may be qualified by an upgraded adverb, though this is rather rare:

ce poème où Yves, presque enfant, racontait (...) M287/25

Et moi, comment était-je? Très famille, je me souviens T111/7

- 3) In the model we saw that a post-head/<sup>sub-</sup>modifier plus (or moins) may be presupposed by a concorded le, la or les:

la cause la plus basse T166/14

Such groups may occur at intensive elements:

il pouvait être le convive le plus sinistre M198/4

But in addition, intensive groups display a contrast between a concorded le, la, les at d and an invariable le at Y. Compare

la pudeur qui les séparait fut la plus forte. M287/18

Thérèse tremblait d'avoir encore une fois fait tout le nécessaire pour que Georges et Marie fussent le plus malheureux possible. F162/15

Thus only a small proportion of intensive groups have the structure d a<sup>sub</sup>, the most frequent type in the model. Examples:

"c'est l'âge, ça passera..." M78/12

-C'est la fièvre, le docteur Chatard l'a dit. M175/13

il n'était qu'un enfant... M118/21

l'amour n'est pas forcément le mal.... F41/13

#### 5.4 Paradigm and system in the NGp

##### 5.4.1 The paradigm of determinacy.

NGps are ranged in a paradigm with, at earliest secondary delicacy, two terms: determinate and non-determinate. These two morphological types are marked, the first by the presence of a deictic or free head, the second by the absence of these elements.

The interrelated contrasts between free and bound heads on the one hand, deictic and qualifier on the other, are based on the non-occurrence at extensive elements of non-determinate groups. Exceptions involve less than 1% of extensive groups (see 7.2) and thus do not invalidate the model description. They are accounted for late in delicacy. The small number of non-determinate extensive groups occur as follows:

1) At the unmarked Z element in moodless independent clauses.

(Oui... ce soir,) dîner? M238/18 Z<sup>u</sup>

Des piqûres de morphine l'assoupissaient. Repos! B127/15

Tendances, inclinations, lois du sang, lois inéluctables. T180/1

2) At Z<sup>V</sup> - though here the heads are on the border-line between free and bound:

- Chéri, j'ai une idée pour lui... M189/1

Madame Frontenac (...) cria: - Enfants! M59/22

3) At impersonal C<sup>E</sup>, with either substantival head:

On peut à peine dire qu'il y ait eu scandale, T51/23

Il n'y a pas prescription, Dieu merci! T164/2

or adjectival head (especially after il fait etc.):

il faisait doux; F223/24

Mais Thérèse ne ruait que dans les brancards. Libre peut-être n'y aurait-il pas plus raisonnable. T220/1

(The adjective could not stand without the qualifying plus in this last example.)

- 4) At C<sup>E</sup>: the following examples show similarities with the verbal phrase construction: we have not analysed them as the latter because of the presence of an adjunct between verb and substantive:

Georges Filhot découvrit ailleurs chaussure à son pied, F72/25

il m'est interdit de donner à ton père sujet de se plaindre F57/15

Note also the following example, at non-impersonal C<sup>E</sup>; again plus could not be omitted from the group:

ils ont fait plus difficile que cela. F204/26

- 5) At A when the group is a proper NGp containing rue, boulevard, quai etc.  
at a<sup>B</sup>

Il se logea dans le premier hôtel qu'il rencontra quai Voltaire. B97/1

Il lui importait par-dessus tout de ne pas revenir rue du Bac. F62/19

- 6) When the group is coordinated or contains coordinated heads:

cela n'avait ni queue ni tête M12/7

Joues creuses, pommettes, lèvres aspirées, et ce large front, magnifique, composent une figure de condamnée T26/16

dégel, brusque printemps, Thérèse les connaissait! F28/4

Both types in the paradigm may be rankshifted or intensive: see 5.35 and 5.36. Indeed in rankshifted groups, the contrast might be considered syntactical as well as morphological, so that determinacy would here be a system, not simply a paradigm.

Compare for instance:

- { les pas des enfants M104/19
- { les coeurs d'enfants M19/18
- { le bas des pins T47/7
- { les écorces de pins M54/9
- { la vie de cet homme F94/27
- { la vie de garçon T169/3
- { la fraîcheur de la nuit T106/22
- { la table des enfants B60/4
- { la table de huit M92/4

At the next stage of delicacy, both determinate and non-determinate NGps are further subdivided. In the determinate type we distinguish, again morphologically:

- 1)  $\beta$  - determinate: the determinacy is marked by the presence of an article at d.
- 2)  $\alpha$  - determinate: the determinacy is carried by the presence of a free substantive at  $\alpha$ .

Groups containing both a deictic and a free substantive are analysed as

$\beta$  - determinate: cf

je sens bien que la Thérèse qui, d'instinct, écrase sa cigarette parce qu'un rien suffit à mettre le feu aux brandes, (...) cette Thérèse - là est aussi réelle que l'autre, T232/3

Non-determinate groups subdivide into:

- 1) Substantival - the head is expounded by a substantive.
- 2) Adjectival - the head is expounded by an upgraded adjective.

### 5.42 The system of discreteness.

The operational domain of this system is the singular subclass of the NGp. There are three terms: discrete, non-discrete and unmarked. The contrast between discrete and non-discrete is marked by the deictic in  $\beta$  - determinate groups, by the head in  $\alpha$  - determinate groups; only the former are considered here.

- 1) The discrete class is morphologically marked by the presence at d of un(e) or chaque<sup>160</sup>:

une joie T32/9                      chaque visite B105/18

- 2) The non-discrete class is morphologically marked by the presence at d of non-numerative quantifiers or the unmarked partitive article du and de la:

de la joie F125/2                      de l'inquiétude B116/3

trop d'importance T72/4              tant de pitié T177/12

si vous aviez reçu de la visite... F185/3

La vie de garçon a du bon, d'ailleurs, T169/3

- 3) Other deictics leave the group unmarked as to discreteness:

aucune importance T162/22              toute laideur B143/10

aucune caresse M71/22                  quelle torture T228/2

The system of discreteness is attributed to the rank of the group rather than to the word at  $\alpha$  for the following reasons:

- 1) The group may be marked as discrete by either head or deictic.
- 2) Although certain substantives - especially the personal subclass - tend to occur in discrete rather than in non-discrete groups, it is not possible to use ability to operate at distinct terms in the system as a basis for the establishment of

---

160. The little evidence provided by the text suggests that tel(le) should also be included as a marker of the discrete class.

classes (note the overlap in the few examples quoted above). Damourette and Pichon, indeed, go so far as to maintain "qu'il n'est pas de substance nominale qu'il soit interdit à un locuteur plus ou moins hardi de concevoir soit comme numérative soit comme massive." 161

- 3) It is precisely through colligation with the article that the value of the substantive is brought out; contrast

quand elle avait un souci, M280/3

Votre oncle se fait bien du souci, M234/4

or again

Jean reconnut, entre les mains paternelles, un Montaigne. B24/4

L'oncle (...) citait du Boileau: M112/6<sup>162</sup>

- 4) The qualifier too is involved, in that its occurrence in non-discrete groups is relatively rare: Compare

du silence B36/1

un silence solennel B10/7

du bruit F188/22

un bruit familier M104/20

de l'importance F230/18

une importance infinie T163/6

#### 5.43 Concordial systems.

##### 5.431 Nominal concord.

The two interlocking systems are

- 1) Gender, with terms masculine and feminine.
- 2) (Nominal) number, with terms singular and plural.

161. Op. cit. Vol 1, p 444.

162. Mass groups containing the names of writers etc. at α are invariably masc. sing., and in this resemble those with an upgraded adjective as head: cf the already quoted

vous avez du nouveau sur le chantier? M262/14

There is inter-group concord in respect of these categories:

- 1) Between S or C and P, as described in 4.392.
- 2) Between a non-determinate adjectival group and the goal of its intensivity:

l'intelligence de Thérèse était fameuse; T43/3

sa présence rendait inoffensives les ténèbres extérieures; T126/2

qu'une de ses ordonnances ne fut pas tout entière de sa main. T153/6

Noémi, curieuse, poussait les volets, B103/13

Where the head of an intensive group is a substantive, there is often congruence in number and gender between it and its goal:

un dévouement (...) dont son fils était le bénéficiaire? B131/2

Incongruence however, is by no means exceptional, witness

cette "peur de manquer" dont les vieillards de sa famille avaient été la proie... F20/3

elle est le charme même. T235/2

There is a higher probability of congruence when both groups are personal, especially if the intensive group has no deictic:

le grand - père était berger.... T82/6

Victor de la Trave (...) que sa mère, veuve, avait épousé "sans le sou", T142/4

Nevertheless, we would still speak of congruence rather than concord in such cases.

- 3) Cataphoric and anaphoric determination of gender and number has already been discussed in connection with free substantive and upgraded adjective heads.

Example:

la mère que ses petits dévorent vivante. M17/17

There is here concord between C<sup>I</sup>, vivante, and its goal que, the categories - feminine singular - of the latter being determined anaphorically by mère.

There is intra-group concord at all those elements where a selection for number and gender is made, viz.

- 1) The head,
- 2) The deictic, though not all subclasses of article show morphological variation in respect of concord.
- 3) The nominal qualifier in most cases: earlier in delicacy than the selection for number and gender there operates in fact the system contrasting concorded and non-concorded qualifiers (see 5.252 (3).)
- 4) The <sup>sub-</sup>modifier and q<sup>up</sup> in the few instances described in 5.26 (6).

**Examples:**

- |                                                         |          |                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|
| ce masque cruel et rusé                                 | F32/27   | masc. sing.; concord        |
| between d, α and the two q's.                           |          |                             |
| les êtres les plus purs                                 | T29/22   | masc. pl.; concord between  |
| d, α, δ and q                                           |          |                             |
| une âme toute simple                                    | T123/5   | fem. sing.; concord between |
| d, α, γ, q                                              |          |                             |
| les phrases habituelles dans nos discussions de famille | T116/14; | fem.                        |
| pl.; concord between d, α and q                         |          |                             |

**5.432 Verbal concord.**

The two systems are:

- 1) Person, with terms first, second and third person.
- 2) (Verbal) number, with terms singular and plural.

These systems are established later in delicacy than those accounted for in the preceding section for the following reasons:

- 1) All NGps belong to the third person except those containing at α (first or second person) disjunctive pronouns or relative Q-heads, which are themselves late delicacy subclasses of the noun.

- 2) There is no diveragence between nominal and verbal number except, rarely, in the first and second persons.
- 3) They have no bearing on concord within the NGp.

There is inter-group concord in respect of these categories between S and P, as described in 4.391. Anaphoric and cataphoric determination of the selection applies in the same way as to the nominal concordial systems - cf

moi qui n'ai pas de génie, M74/4

vous qui croyez m'aimer.... F146/8

#### 5.44 Systems within coordination.

The long dimension of coordination yields secondary elements of clause structure. Place on the scale does not serve to define classes; but at each place there operate systems of zeugma and linkage, giving subclasses of the group as they do of the clause.

##### 5.441 The system of linkage.

Again we contrast linked and unlinked groups, the former morphologically marked by the presence of a linking adverb at  $\gamma$  (or  $q^{up}$ )

##### 1) Linked:

à ses yeux, ni sa mère, ni son oncle ne sortaient amoindris du débat. M119/1

Jean tourne non la tête mais les yeux; B43/2

##### 2) Unlinked:

Thérèse découvrait du jambon, des oeufs, du beurre, des biscuits. F24/2

In lists involving three or more places of coordination, it is most frequently the case that only the last group, if any, is linked:

l'haleine du bassin sentait le poisson, le varech et le sel. B61/6

but linked groups may also occur at earlier elements:

et elle revoit, en un bref instant, la Fête - Dieu accablante, l'homme solitaire écrasé sous une chape d'or, et cette chose qu'il porte des deux mains, et ce...

lèvres qui remuent, et cet air de douleur; T181/10

#### 5.442 The system of zeugma.

There are two terms, zeugmatic and non-zeugmatic. The former is the marked term, in the sense that it is the one requiring positive description. A piece is regarded as constituting two NGps in zeugmatic coordination when an element at a given depth presupposes at the next-higher order of depth two (or more) items which themselves enter separately into other presupposition relations. This pattern is realised in the following examples:

les décisions et les réglementations de Bernard Desqueyroux F26/22

Le vieux Frontenac ou le vieux Péloueyre qui se fût réveillé d'entre les morts en cet endroit du monde, M289/21

In the first, the rankshifted AGp de Bernard Desqueyroux qualifies both the heads décisions and réglementations; but these colligate separately with the two deictics. The first group, les décisions, is thus zeugmatic unlinked, the second is non-zeugmatic linked. Similarly in the second example, though here the relative clause is at  $q^{\beta}$ , the two heads being separately presupposed both by a deictic and by an adjective at  $q^{\alpha}$ .

These examples illustrate the most frequent type of zeugma, that where the last group contains a post-head qualifier related to both or all the heads. Much less frequent is that involving the non-numerative quantifying deictics beaucoup de etc.:

si peu de compréhension et de pitié F121/27

combien de garçons et de filles F141/4

Here the zeugma extends down the rank scale in that the second group contains a zeugmatic deictic de. Conversely, a zeugmatic NGp may mark an AGp as zeugmatically coordinated, as in

le sujet d'un roman et d'une pièce dont elle a pris connaissance M162/18

The following is a rare example of a submodifier presupposing two higher-order elements:

un esprit aussi équilibré, aussi solide que le sien, T224/5

where the variable depth clause que le sien is at  $\delta$ , presupposing the two aussi's which submodify équilibré and solide respectively.

In the NGp, as elsewhere, the system of zeugma is independent of that of linkage. Compare for example,

le respect, l'affectation d'Anna F63/9

le visage et les mains de Jean Péloueyre B113/6

The statement of the criteria crucial for zeugma is such as to exclude the following, which are each analysed as a single group:

une piété un peu miâtieuse et aride M17/2

la chose la plus simple, la plus aisée M267/1

#### 5.443 Coordination and concord.

One further contrast applies to the coordination of NGps. We must recognise two scales of coordination: additive and alternative, the former being the unmarked one. NGps ranged on the additive scale enter globally into relations of concord, as in

La commode et l'armoire se faisaient face. M12/14

Les fauteuils capitonnés, la chauffeuse avaient changé de place. F109/25

Here the addition of two singular NGps, or of one plural and one singular, determines the selection of a plural VGp.

The presence of one or more masculine groups on the additive scale determines the selection of masculine gender in any group concorded with the coordinates - the selection is for feminine only when all the coordinates belong to the feminine class:

Les inscriptions, les initiales et les dessins charbonnés sur les murs étaient aussi nets que l'an dernier. F224/22

Here the NGp at  $C^I$  is masculine although the first two subjects are feminine.

On the alternative scale, one, generally the last, of the coordinates determines the concordial categories:

sa fille, son enfant, l'écrivait F122/26

La victoria ou le coupé, selon la température, l'attendait à la gare. M22/21

As far as number concord is concerned, the scales are contrastive only when the coordinates are singular.<sup>163</sup>

Coordinates on either scale may be zeugmatic, in which case the contrast applies to intra-group as well as to inter-group concord. Examples:

1) Additive -

une femme et un petit enfant endormis M193/25

un B. et un F. entrelacés M143/17

2) Alternative -

dont la plus simple parole avait pour lui une valeur, une importance démesurée. F138/8

There is considerable correlation between choice of scale and linkage.

Where one of the coordinates is linked by et or ni the scale is generally additive - cf

le silence ni le recueillement ne duraient. M108/4

Groups linked by ou most often occur on the alternative scale - see the example of la victoria ou le coupé cited above. These correlations are not absolute however, witness the following example of coordination at word rank.

tel que le voyaient Marie, Mondour ou Mme Garcin F124/6

Where all the coordinates are unlinked, both scales are commonly found; compare

un piano, un violon, un violoncelle emplissent l'après-midi sombre F247/4

leur crime, leur vice, leur tare n'offre aucune espèce d'importance. F64/17

5.45 Summary of paradigms and systems of the NGp.

<sup>163</sup>. There are no textual examples of alternative coordination between groups differing in respect of number.

## Scale of Delicacy

Primary

Earliest Secondary

Later Secondary

NGp Paradigm of Determinacy { Determinate Paradigm {  $\beta$ -determinate  
 $\alpha$ -determinate  
Non-determinate Paradigm { substantival  
adjectival

NGp System of Gender { Masculine  
Feminine

NGp System of Nominal Number { Singular System of Discreteness { Discrete  
Non-discrete  
Unmarked  
Plural

NGp \_\_\_\_\_ System of Verbal Number { Singular  
Plural

NGp \_\_\_\_\_ System of Person { 1st person  
2nd person  
3rd person

NGp \_\_\_\_\_ System of Linkage { linked  
unlinked

NGp \_\_\_\_\_ System of zeugma { zeugmatic  
non-zeugmatic

## Chapter 6: The Word

The primary classes of the word are:

1) Noun, defined by operation at  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  in the extensive NGp. The exponence relation is not however bi-unique as

i  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  may be expounded by a rankshifted clause, A-Phr or NGp, or by an adverb. Words at  $\beta$  may be classified as adverbs both because of their potentiality of operation in AGp structure, and because they do not, with rare exceptions, enter into the systems of concord.

ii The noun may operate at p and f in VGp structure.

The principal subclasses of the noun are substantive, adjective and article, the past participle being a more delicate subclass within the adjective.

2) Verb, defined by operation at v in the VGp. Here the exponence relation is bi-unique.

3) Subjectival, a class of fully grammatical items in bi-unique exponence relation with s in VGp structure.

4) Objectival, a class of fully grammatical items derived by conflation of the exponents of c and a in VGp structure.

5) Ne, a one-member class related by bi-unique exponence to the negative element n in the VGp.

6) Preposition, a limited class of words operating at p in A-Phr structure.

This element may also be expounded by a prepositional phrase. A small subclass of preposition operates at d in the VGp.

7) Adverb, an open class operating at elements in the structure of the adverbial group-type. Subclasses include:

i The pre-adverb which expounds the modifier in the AGp (phrase or group-type), NGp and VGp, and submodifier in the NGp.

ii The linking adverb which operates as the linking element in any class of group.

APPENDIX TO PART IChapter 7: A frequency count of classes and elements of the NGp7.1 Scope of the count.

The figures given in the tables below are based on a count of all NGps in the text with the following exceptions:

- 1) Those operating as complement of fixed A-Phr's, see pp.149-150.
- 2) Those with Q-heads.
- 3) Those entering into zeugmatic coordination of NGps, whether as the zeugmatic or non-zeugmatic member.
- 4) Those with more than four qualifiers.
- 5) Those in quotations from other works (e.g. the one from Nietzsche, B15/11-21).
- 6) Those indicating time of day (e.g. (à) dix heures B67/7), date of year (e.g. le 2 octobre B35/12) or those occurring in telegrams (e.g. Suis appelée à Vichy auprès mère très mal. M89/16)
- 7) Those marked by punctuation as unfinished (e.g. Sous la protection de... F36/21).
- 8) Many names. As indicated in 5.272 (1), the formal delimitation of this category is somewhat indeterminate. The only names included in the count are:
  - i Personal names - Bernard etc.
  - ii Names where the head of the group has a lower-case initial letter: la gare d'Orléans B87/5 (though the rankshifted Orléans is excluded).
  - iii Those consisting of an article plus a head which is also found in non-proper groups - la Place T136/8 etc.

The categories used are those described in the preceding chapters. There are however four minor differences.

- 1) Rankshifted completive or circumstantial clauses are not included among the qualifiers.
- 2) Multi-phase clauses where the initial and phasing element is (a NGp consisting of) an adjective were analysed in the count as adjective + submodifier. Thus

les êtres incapables d'aimer T168/6

was treated as d α q<sup>nom</sup> γ rather than as d α q<sup>cl</sup>.

- 3) Where two or more qualifying A-Phr's or clauses enter into relations of zeugmatic coordination, they were counted as filling a single q element. Thus

la puissance de ces murs, de ces plafonds que sa souffrance avait  
comme saturés; F62/21

was treated as d α q<sup>adv</sup>.

- 4) Post-head invariable même was not treated as expounding q<sup>adv</sup>; it was not distinguished from même at γ<sup>c</sup>, and similarly other items with the potentiality of occurring in both places.

Percentages are correct to the number of decimal places given.

## 7.2 The Paradigm of determinacy.

- 1) In relation to the chain classes extensive, intensive and rankshifted.

i Number of occurrences.

	Extensive	Intensive	Rankshifted	Total
Determinate: {	β-det. 11670	871	9518	22059
	α-det. <u>4182</u>	<u>337</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>6458</u>
	15852	1208	11457	28517
Non-determ. {	Subst. 210	187	2750	3147
	adj. <u>11</u>	<u>2404</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>2478</u>
	221	2591	2813	5625
Total	16073	3799	14270	34142

ii As percentage of the total number of NGps.

	Extensive	Intensive	Rankshifted	Total
Determinate	$\beta$ -det. 34.18	2.55	27.88	64.61
	$\alpha$ -det. <u>12.25</u>	<u>0.99</u>	<u>5.68</u>	<u>18.91</u>
	46.43	3.54	33.56	83.52
Non-determin.	Subst. 0.62	0.55	8.05	9.22
	adj. <u>0.03</u>	<u>7.04</u>	<u>0.18</u>	<u>7.26</u>
	0.65	7.59	8.24	16.48
	47.08	11.13	41.80	100.00

iii As percentages of the total in each of the morphological types

	Extensive	Intensive	Rankshifted	Total
Determinate	$\beta$ -det. 52.90	3.95	43.15	100.00
	$\alpha$ -det. <u>64.76</u>	<u>5.22</u>	<u>30.02</u>	<u>100.00</u>
	55.59	4.24	40.18	100.00
Non-determin.	Subst. 6.67	5.94	87.38	100.00
	adj. <u>0.44</u>	<u>97.01</u>	<u>2.54</u>	<u>100.00</u>
	3.93	46.07	50.01	100.00
	47.08	11.13	41.80	100.00

iv As percentages of the total in each of the chain classes.

	Extensive	Intensive	Rankshifted	Total
Determinate	$\beta$ -det. 72.61	22.93	66.70	64.61
	$\alpha$ -det. <u>26.02</u>	<u>8.87</u>	<u>13.59</u>	<u>18.91</u>
	98.63	31.80	80.29	83.52
Non-determin.	Subst. 1.30	4.92	19.24	9.22
	adj. <u>0.07</u>	<u>63.28</u>	<u>0.47</u>	<u>7.26</u>
	1.37	68.20	19.71	16.48
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

2) In relation to a more delicate statement of the chain classes:

	C <sup>E</sup>	S	non-intens. Z	A		C <sup>I</sup>	Z <sup>I</sup>	comp. to <u>de</u>	comp. to <u>à</u>	other rk. shtd.	Total
Det. {	β-det	6167	3938	918	647	671	200	3269	2032	4217	22059
	α-det	798	2827	479	78	291	46	851	297	791	6458
		6965	6765	1397	725	962	246	4120	2329	5008	28517
Non-det. {	subst	23	8	155	24	69	118	1704	247	799	3147
	adj	11	-	-	-	1904	500	61	-	2	2478
		34	8	155	24	1973	618	1765	247	801	5625
	6999	6773	1552	749	2935	864	5885	2756	5809	34142	

3) In rankshifted groups, determinacy correlates to some extent with the choice of the preceding preposition, as indicated in 5.35. The correlation is illustrated by the following table; the count was restricted to groups of structure deictic / no deictic + unmarked head, with no qualifier (an unmarked head being one expounded by a bound substantive other than un(e)(s) or the possessive sien etc.)

Preposition	<u>de</u>	<u>à</u>	<u>dans</u>	<u>vers/sur</u>	<u>en</u>	<u>sans</u>	others	Total
Determinate	1902	1037	653	395	29	13	987	5016
Non-determ.	1472	158	-	8	293	209	171	2311
	3374	1195	653	403	322	222	1158	7327

The rare structures are thus

i sans + determinate gp, as in

sans les domestiques, on ne saurait jamais rien. F77/6

Sans la foi, que serais-je devenu? B20/11

ii en + determinate gp, as in

ses lunettes qu'autrefois elle lui défendait de porter en sa présence; F224/11

There are only five instances where the NGp has the deictic le: they are all

en l'air F83/26, 141/26; B33/6; M90/18, 244/10

iii sur + determinate gp (there being none with vers); these are all groups which might be considered fixed A-Phrs: e.g.

sur place M106/22;

sur parole F42/24

sur pied T148/5.

The choice of preposition itself correlates with depth of rankshift (see 2.11). The figures below, based on the same groups as those used for the preceding table, contrast depth 1 on the one hand, depth, 2, 3 etc. on the other. Thus in

la longue résistance opposée au directeur de la plus importante des revues d'avant - garde M152/16

the NGp le directeur de la plus importante des revues d'avant - garde is at the first depth of rankshift, la plus importante des revues d'avant - garde is at the second, les revues d'avant - garde is <sup>at</sup> the third and avant - garde at the fourth. Whereas 37.33% of NGps at depth 1 are complement to de, the percentage for groups at depth 2 (+) is 88.71:

Preposition	<u>de</u>	<u>à</u>	<u>dans</u>	<u>vers/sur</u>	<u>en</u>	<u>sans</u>	others	Total
Depth 1	2313	1151	636	397	309	201	1124	6131
Depth 2 (+)	1061	44	17	6	13	21	34	1196
	3374	1195	653	403	322	222	1158	7327

### 7.3 The deictic

- 1) The relative frequency of the deictics is as follows; no differentiation is shown in respect of the concordial categories, exponents being given of the unmarked terms in these systems.

Category	Exponents	Number	% of total			
Specific	Unmarked	<u>le</u>	11299	51.22		
	Interrog.	<u>quel</u>	119	0.54		
	Demonst.	<u>ce</u>	2025	9.18		
	Possess.	<u>son</u>	3635	16.48		
			17078	77.42		
Non-Specific	Num.	<u>un</u>	3047	13.81		
		<u>deux</u>	273	1.24		
	Quant.	Non-num.	<u>beaucoup de, peu de</u>	43	151	0.68
			<u>trop de, assez de</u>	22		
			<u>plus de, moins de</u>	18		
		<u>autant de</u>	2			
		<u>tant de, tellement de</u>	42			
		<u>combien de, que de, ce que de</u>	22			
		<u>maintes</u>	2			
			3471	15.73		
	Non-quant	Non-quant	<u>tout</u>	94	394	1.79
			<u>chacue</u>	92		
			<u>aucun</u>	197		
<u>nul</u>			11	951	4.31	
<u>de</u>			202			
<u>du</u>			749			
<u>quelque</u>			107	165	0.75	
<u>plusieurs</u>			30			
<u>tel, certains, divers</u>			21			
<u>others</u>			7			
		1510	6.85			
		4981	22.58			
		22059	100.00			

2) The contrast in the number system between tout article and tout adverb may be seen in the following table. It shows on the one hand all occurrences of tout article, on the other the number of groups<sup>of</sup>/structure tout + le / ce / son + head:

Structure	Total No.	No. of Plural	% of Plural
<u>tout</u> (q) α (q)	94	14	15
<u>tout</u> <u>le</u> / <u>ce</u> / <u>son</u> α	175	88	50

Moreover, of the 14 plural groups in which tout is deictic, three have a cardinal numeral as head, and six are more or less fixed phrases:

de toutes façons T89/11 (and F249/16)  
 de toutes parts M58/8 (and T183/3)  
 de toutes pièces T196/11  
 à tous égards T205/2

The only two in extensive groups are:

tous frais / défalqués M217/17 SP  
 L'appartement était vide, toutes portes verrouillées. F202/13

#### 7.4 The qualifier.

The figures in this section are of groups containing an unmarked head.

#### 7.41 Nominal adverbial and clausal qualifiers.

	nom q	adv q	cl q	Total
Numbers	5286	4766	1838	11890
Percentage	44.46	40.08	15.46	100.00

#### 7.42 Nominal qualifiers.

1) The breakdown into pre- and post-head is as follows:

	Pre-head	Post-head	Total
Numbers	2164	3122	5286
Percentage	40.94	59.06	100.00

Of the post-head q's, 220 are non-concorded

- 2) The next table shows the frequency of certain pre-head qualifiers in colligation with different deictics

deictic	<u>premier</u> <u>dernier</u> <u>prochain</u> + ordinals	<u>autre</u>	cardinal numerals	<u>même</u>	<u>pire,</u> <u>moindre</u> <u>meilleur</u> adjs sub modified by <u>plus/</u> <u>moins</u>	<u>seul</u>	<u>tel</u>	<u>propre</u>	<u>certain</u>	<u>quelques</u>	Total number of pre- head q <sup>nom</sup>
<u>le</u>	147	28	66	72	59	18	28	2			864
<u>un</u>	22	41		3	1	39	28		15		465
<u>son</u>	28	3	20	5	5	3	26	26			260
<u>ce</u>	12	1	10	14		2				3	240
partit.		20			3		5				104
<u>aucun</u>		12									12
<u>tout</u>		4									5
no deictic	7	6	-	6	2	1	-	-	-	-	190
Total	216	115	96	95	70	63	33	28	15	3	2150

Commentary:

- i Propre occurs almost exclusively with the possessive deictic.

The two occurrences with le are:

la propre sœur de son père F24/2  
les propres termes qu'il emploie dans sa lettre F121/23

- ii Même occurs characteristically with ce or le. It occasionally colligates with un<sup>164</sup>, as in

On n'échappe pas deux fois dans une même vie à la Police... F175/9

The six non-determinate groups containing même are all en même temps (F173/21 etc)

164. Contra Valdman; op. cit. p 30.

iii All singular groups containing tel have un as deictic, plural groups have de, as in

Prononçait-il de telles paroles avec intention? T122/1

iv Seul is found most frequently with un; its single occurrence in a non-determinate group is:

Toujours Jean Péloueyre avait aimé (ccc) cet accord secret avec son cœur des champs de millade moissonnés, des landes fauves connues de seules palombes, des troupeaux et du vent. B137/12

v Autre is rarely found in non-determinate groups; the six occurrences are in rankshifted groups: three after the preposition sans:

sans autre témoin que l'enfant de chœur T139/8

three in the AP<sup>h</sup> d'autre part (F71/29 etc)

#### 7.43 Adverbial qualifiers

1) Here the breakdown is:

	prep + NGp	-ci or -là	others	Total
Numbers	4613	75	78	4766
Percentage	96.79	1.57	1.64	100.00

2) Adverbial qualifiers of structure prep. + NGp may be further subdivided as follows:

Preposition	NGp structure	Example	No.	%
<u>de</u>	unmarked $\alpha \frac{\pm}{-} q$	son professeur de rhétorique M63/3	874	26
<u>de</u>	<u>le</u> + unmarked $\alpha \frac{\pm}{-} q$	une extrémité de la terre T39/1	986	29
<u>de</u>	<u>un</u> + unmarked $\alpha \frac{++}{-} q$	la destinée d'un homme M192/22	162	5
<u>de</u>	<u>son</u> + unmarked $\alpha \frac{\pm}{-} q$	cette aube de leur amour M136/7	286	8
<u>de</u>	<u>ce</u> + unmarked $\alpha \frac{\pm}{-} q$	le sentiment de cette grandeur T163/23	92	3
<u>de</u>	any other NGp	une réplique d'elle- même T179/20	611	18
			3011	89
any other	any NGp	des perruches à aigrettes B93/9	364	11

There are, further, correlations between the structure of the qualifier and the choice of deictic in the larger NGp, as suggested in 5.35. In NGps with le as deictic, only 10% of the phrasal q's are of the first of the above types, whereas 41% are of the second type. Comparison with other deictics yields the following results.

Deictic	Percentage of <u>de</u> + unmarked $\alpha \frac{\pm}{-} q$	$q^{adv}$ with structure <u>de</u> + <u>le</u> + unmarked $\alpha \frac{\pm}{-} q$
<u>le</u>	10	41
<u>un</u>	62	5
<u>son</u>	51	9
<u>ce</u>	46	11
<u>de, du</u>	66	2

#### 7.44 Clausal qualifiers

1) The breakdown into subclasses is as follows:

	Relative	Participial	Others	Total
Numbers	1244	273	321	1838
Percentage	67.68	14.85	17.46	100.00

2) We may further subdivide the relative clauses into seven morphological types (leaving out of account the three containing no subject, either clausal or verbal):

i The relative group is at S:

le prêtre qui devait recevoir la confession de Thérèse F6/23

ii The relative group is at C and is followed by  $P^{+S}$ :

lui demander pardon des choses qu'il pensait M179/9

iii The relative group is at A and is followed by  $P^{+S}$ :

les êtres au milieu desquels il évoluait à Paris M184/15

iv The relative group is at C, followed by  $\overline{S + P}$ :

l'appétit que M. Jérôme assurait avoir perdu depuis quinze ans B72/20

v The relative group is at A, followed by  $\overline{S + P}$ :

la chambre où son mari était étendu T19/21

vi The relative group is at C, followed by  $\overline{P + S}$ :

une brume qu'avait aspirée et rejetée sa bouche T200/18

vii The relative group is at A, followed by  $\overline{P + S}$ :

la table où était assise la gérante F80/3

The proportions of these types are:

Type	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	Total
Number	443	272	181	96	158	55	36	1241
Percentage	36	22	15	8	13	4	3	100

#### 7.45 Groups containing two qualifiers (only).

1) Two nominal qualifiers; five possible orders are distinguished.

Structure	Example	Number
$q^{\beta} q^{\alpha} \alpha$	une grande bonne foi M32/21	18
$q^{\alpha} q^{\beta} \alpha$	son unique et suffisante lumière T35/19	5
$q \alpha q$	la jeune barbe vigoureuse M114/14	149
$\alpha q^{\alpha} q^{\beta}$	l'ordre social chrétien M147/13	5
$\alpha q^{\alpha} q^{\beta}$	une pluie menue, serrée T188/14	88
		<u>265</u>

2) Two adverbial qualifiers: we distinguish coordination and compound dependence.

Structure	Example	Number
$\alpha q^{\alpha} q^{\beta}$	les paniers de reines-claude et de pêches M53/1	96
$\alpha q^{\alpha} q^{\beta}$	les rideaux de fer des magasins F100/28	87
		<u>183</u>

3) Two clausal qualifiers: the corresponding figures here are

Structure	Example	Number
$\alpha q^{\alpha} q^{\beta}$	la réponse dont j'avais besoin et qu'elle n'a pas manqué de m'asséner F231/10	81
$\alpha q^{\alpha} q^{\beta}$	aux raisons que Georges pouvait avoir de provoquer cette rupture F200/15	8
		<u>89</u>

## 4) Mixed qualifiers:

Structure	Example	Number
q <sup>nom</sup> a q <sup>adv</sup>	son unique tentative de suicide F16/7	268
a q <sup>nom</sup> q <sup>adv</sup>	les yeux inquiets de Jean-Louis M120/18	238
a q <sup>adv</sup> q <sup>nom</sup>	une idée de moi conforme à son tempérament M182/3	19
q <sup>nom</sup> a q <sup>cl</sup>	l'affreuse douleur que ses vers exprimaient M99/12	130
a q <sup>nom</sup> q <sup>cl</sup>	du personnage ridicule qu'elle avait imaginé F114/12	135
a q <sup>cl</sup> q <sup>nom</sup>	la rue mal éclairés et encore bruyante F100/27	1
a q <sup>adv</sup> q <sup>cl</sup>	les paroles d'humilité stupide que balbutiait l'enfant F130/1	98
a q <sup>cl</sup> q <sup>adv</sup>	les palombes aux yeux crevés et qui servent d'appeaux M289/15	4
		893

In only 25 of these 893 groups are the qualifiers ordered in coordination.

7.46 Proportion of groups containing one or more qualifiers.

Again we are concerned only with q<sup>nom</sup>, q<sup>adv</sup> and q<sup>cl</sup>.

1)  $\beta$ -determinate groups with unmarked head.

Deictic	No. with q	No. without q	Total	% with q
<u>le</u>	4843	6012	10855	44.62
<u>un</u>	1847	1144	2991	61.75
<u>son</u>	806	2808	3614	22.30
<u>ce</u>	1132	851	1983	57.09
<u>de, du</u>	417	523	940	44.36
others	232	837	1069	21.70
Total	9277	12175	21452	43.52

## 2) All groups other than non-determinate adjectival ones:

## i By chain classes:

	No.with q	No.without q	Total	% with q
Extensive	5402	10660	16062	33.6
Intensive	798	597	1395	57.2
rankshifted	4472	9735	14207	31.5
Total	10672	20992	31664	33.7

ii By morphological types:

	No.with q	No.without q	Total	% with q
$\beta$ -determined	9444	12615	22059	42.8
$\alpha$ -determined	545	5913	6458	8.4
non-det. subst.	683	2464	3147	21.7
Total	10672	20992	31664	33.7

### 7.5 The head.

The final table shows the number of occurrences of the different subclasses of free head in  $\alpha$ -determinate groups at the various places in structure:

	Intens.	Extensive				Rank-shifted	Total		
		C <sup>E</sup>	S	non-intens. Z	A				
Specific	Hypost.		16	3	2		3	24	
	Relative-time	5		1	1	76	94	177	
	Personal names	49	285	2193	314		864	3705	
	Disj. pronouns	149	25	131	61		695	1061	
	Coordinated names or disj. pronouns	2	2	37	9		9	59	
	Demonst. { <u>ca...</u> <u>celui...</u>	19	54	184	9		38	304	
		33	37	32	9		58	169	
	257	419	2581	405	76	1761	5499		
Non-specific	Quant. { Num. { <u>un</u> <u>cardinal</u>	8	14	6	1	1	7	37	
		1	5	3	1		5	15	
	Non-num.	14	26	3	3	1	16	63	
		{ <u>tout</u> <u>tous/toutes</u> <u>chacun(e)</u>	16	61	50	1		37	165
	19			4	3		17	43	
				21	1		6	28	
	{ <u>rien</u> <u>aucun(e)</u> <u>personne</u> <u>nul</u> <u>Coord.</u>	15	208	90	37		43	393	
			2	8	1		1	12	
			22	22	9		18	71	
				9				9	
				1				1	
	Non-quant.	<u>quelque chose</u>		12	1			4	17
		<u>quelques-uns</u>			4				4
		<u>quelqu'un</u>	6	11	20	4		8	49
		<u>autre chose</u>	1	7				4	12
		<u>autrui</u>		1				5	6
		<u>certain(e)s</u>		1	1				2
		<u>plusieurs</u>			1			1	2
		<u>n'importe qui</u>		9	2	1		6	18
	parts of body etc.				12			12	
	80	379	246	74	2	178	959		
Total	337	798	2827	479	78	1939	6458		

End of Part I

## PART II

Chapter 8: A brief comparison of the French and English NGps8.1 General and particular categories.

Exponence, as we have seen, is that scale of abstraction which, in description, relates the basic categories of the theory to language data.<sup>165</sup> At one endpoint of the scale, the most abstract, are situated, then, the categories unit, structure, class, system, type, paradigm. These are general and universal. The categories themselves, and statements about their interrelations are not restricted in validity or application to a particular language, for at this degree of abstraction from the data, the differences between languages are irrelevant.

Once we leave this highest point of abstraction and establish categories which are particular instances of, or stand in the relation of exponent to, the basic theoretical categories, then our statements are valid only for the language under description. The clause in French is an exponent of the more abstract category unit, the VGp is an exponent of class: but there are no universal categories clause and VGp of which they are particular instances.

For the French clause, VGp etc. are formally defined by the place they occupy in the total framework of the language, by their interrelations, that is, with the other descriptive categories of the language. Except then at the highest degree of abstraction, "classifications and categories made wholly in formal terms are of necessity peculiar to each language, and cannot of themselves lay any claim to kinship with the formal categories of other languages".<sup>166</sup>

There is nothing standing in the same relation to grammar, (or, more generally, form) as phonetics does to phonology. The categories of grammar and phonology are in

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165. "Categories", p 270.

166. R.H. Robins: "Noun and Verb in Universal Grammar;" Language 28, p 293

fact different kinds of abstraction from the same phonic substance. The latter can in part be described in terms of a general classificatory matrix (established in "general phonetics") - the categories having general validity because they are defined physiologically (or acoustically). Robins<sup>167</sup> points out clearly the fallacy in Hjelmslev's parallelism between the relation of the sound system to human physiology on the one hand, and that of the grammatical system to human psychology on the other: "Statements about mental or psychological operations and faculties cannot be based on direct observation, except perhaps in the limited and purely personal field of introspection, and are bound to be largely constructions out of other data, not least those of linguistic behaviour. For such reasons, an appeal to 'common mentality' or general human psychological characteristics to justify a belief in universal grammatical categories, parallel to the categories of general phonetics, is unjustified and in great part circular".

The same criticism applies to Pike's extension of his etic - emic contrast to the level (or "hierarchy") of grammar. In the etic approach, one is concerned with making generalized statements about the data in terms of a classificatory system of description created by the analyst before studying the particular culture, a system valid for all cultures. The emic approach on the other hand is structural: "the investigator assumes that human behaviour is patterned,"<sup>168</sup> and it is his task not to impose a classification on the data but to discover the patterns and structure that underlie them. Items may be etically different to the extent that the trained analyst can recognise them as physically or purposively distinct, but whether or not they are emically different depends on their function within the particular language, on whether the natives of the culture react to them as different.

Now there are two interrelated purposes of an etic study: firstly, to make a universal classification; secondly to help in discovering the emic patterning. Both are relevant to general phonetics, but surely only the second to general morphetics

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167. I, *ibid.*, P292

168. K.L. Pike: "Language", Vol I, p 8

and grammatics. For whereas an etic phone such as [ p ] or [ h ] may genuinely be said to have general theoretical validity, this is not the case with etic morphs. Etic morphs and emic morphs (morphemes) are alike particular to a given language: the difference between them is purely procedural - the etic morph belongs to the early stages of investigation, and further analysis may show it to be a morpheme, a variant of a morpheme, just part of a morpheme, or a sequence of morphemes.

### 8.2 Comparison of categories.

If we nevertheless attach the same terminological labels to formal categories established in the description of different languages, the implication is of course that they are in some way similar, comparable. We use the same term, that is, if the categories are sufficiently alike in meaning. Both contextual and formal meaning are here involved, but the former has logical priority over the latter in that we would not make a formal comparison before ascertaining that they had a certain amount of similarity of contextual meaning. To quote Robins again "when word-classes have been designated noun and verb etc. in the grammatical structure of two or more languages, valid comparisons can, of course, be made between the intra-linguistic meaning of a word-class within the structure of one language and the intra-linguistic meaning of a similarly designated word-class in another language. But such comparisons must be operationally subsequent to the designation of the classes to be compared and cannot be the basis for such designation."<sup>169</sup>

For categories as abstract in exponents and in delicacy as the NGp the contextual comparison can most conveniently be based on a study of texts one of which is a translation of the other. Translation may, for present purposes, be said to consist of the replacement of a text in one language (the source language or SL) by a text

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169. R.H. Robins, op. cit. p 297, fn 43.

in a second language (the target language or TL) such that the contextual meanings of the two texts are as nearly as possible the same: the closer the approximation to sameness, the better the translation.<sup>170</sup>

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to compare via translation the NGp categories in French and English, the former being the SL, English the TL. The formal meaning of the French NGp was described in some detail in Part I; the English NGp will be treated infinitely more cursorily, the aim being to establish its approximate formal correspondence with the French one: "A formal correspondent is any TL category which may be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the economy of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL".<sup>171</sup>

### 8.3 Chain syntax of the English NGp.

In English, as in French, we need to recognise a rank scale of five units which may again be designated sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme.

Elements of English sentence structure are established along the two primary dimensions of dependence and coordination, so that there is a large measure of formal correspondence between the languages in respect of their highest unit. This formal correspondence is paralleled by textual equivalence, in that successive sentences of the SL text are normally translated by successive TL sentences in a one-to-one relation with them. This is to be expected because the sentence is the unit which, in general, "does the language work in situations."<sup>172</sup>

The primary dimension of clause structure is that of predication, with elements P, A, S, C and Z. The first two are expounded by the classes verbal and adverbial of the unit group, whereas at primary delicacy no class distinction is made between the exponents of S, C and Z: as in French they are brought together in a single class,

170. Cf J.C. Catford: "Towards a theory of translation;" mimeographed, Edinburgh 1962.

171. *Ibid* p 7.

172. "Categories", p 252.

nominal. An important formal difference is that in English there are no elements of VGp structure corresponding to, or acting as substitutes for, the clausal subject and complement: I, me, he, him etc. are analysed as NGps operating in clause structure. The systems of mood and transitivity, accounting respectively for the relations of S and P and for the presence or absence of C are carried uniquely at the rank of the clause. Since S and C do not, in the majority of cases, differ exponentially, place in sequence is taken as the primary criterion for the distinction: S is that NGp which, in affirmative mood, precedes P with no intervening NGp. The primary elements occur at varying depths of phase, as in French:

She / asked / Bernard / to send / an order / to his bookseller in  
Bordeaux, TE 92/5 S<sup>a</sup> P<sup>a</sup> C<sup>a</sup> / S<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup> C<sup>b</sup> A<sup>b</sup>

The dimension of extension yields secondary choice elements C<sup>I</sup> and C<sup>E</sup> (and also A<sup>I</sup> and A<sup>E</sup>, Z<sup>I</sup> and Z<sup>E</sup>):

The room / was / empty: FE 266/26 SPC<sup>I</sup>

She / closed / the door. FE 266/30 SPC<sup>E</sup>

A further dimension, with no formal correspondent in French, yields chain elements C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup>, place-ordered subdivisions of C<sup>E</sup>:

(I don't mean) that / you / ever / gave / anyone / an overdose of  
medicine F252/38 A S A P C<sup>1</sup> C<sup>2</sup>

The closest French correspondent to structures containing C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> has an adjunct (where the AGp has à at the prepositional element) - or a verbal substitute - plus a C<sup>E</sup>; compare

Elle + ne + se + posait / pas / la / question, F158/19 P (s n a v) A C<sup>E</sup> →

She / did / not / ask / herself / the question, FE 260/17 SPA C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>

English is again like French in that the adjunct, which is normally expounded by the AGp, may also be expounded by groups whose morphology and potentiality of operation at S and C leads us to classify them primarily as nominal. Compare

Mais / ce soir, / Marie / serait / là. F96/19 A A S P A→

But / this evening / Mary / would be / there FE 220/16 A A S P A

where both ce soir and this evening are NGps at A.

The two elements to which the NGp is most frequently rankshifted are:

1) Complement in A-Phr structure, as in French:

pour / la première fois T167/23 p c →

for / the first time TE 84/1 p c

2) Stem in the structure of words operating as deictic in a larger NGp:

my daughter's love FE/198/31

The exponent of the deictic in this group consists of the rankshifted my daughter plus the morpheme 's. The closest correspondent in French is exemplified in the group of which the above is the translation:

l'affection de ma fille F62/28

The equivalent of my daughter viz. ma fille, is a rankshifted complement to the preposition de in a n AGp qualifier.

#### 8.4 Chain syntax equivalence between the French and English NGps.

The preceding section reveals a high measure of formal correspondence in the chain syntax of the two NGps. Both are primary classes of the third-highest of five units. Both operate in the next higher unit at the primary elements designated S, C, Z and, marginally, A. Both, moreover, may be rankshifted.

In this section we consider the contextual equivalence which underlies this formal correspondence. The translation of the French text was examined to find in what proportion of cases there is in the TL text a discrete equivalent of individual SL NGps. Where there is we have more delicately distinguished cases where this equivalent is, formally, an English NGp operating at the "same" place in structure as the French one. "Same" here refers to formal correspondence and is of course variable in delicacy. French and English NGps have been regarded as having the same value in chain syntax if they both operate at S, at C<sup>E</sup>, at C<sup>I</sup>, at A or if they

both rankshifted.<sup>173</sup>

This gives then a total of three possibilities.

1) The French NGp has a discrete contextual equivalent in the TL text:

i The equivalent is a NGp at the same place in structure. Examples

la pluie / fouettait / les vitres. F221/28 SPC<sup>B</sup> →

the rain / was lashing / the windows FE298/35 SPC<sup>B</sup>

à / l'époque où chacun louait son intelligence T103/17 p c →

at / a time when everyone was praising her intelligence TE53/31 p c

ii The equivalent is not such a NGp:

La maison était engourdie dans le silence pluvieux F234/16 →

A rainy silence pressed about the house. FE 307/4

Here the contextually equivalent NGps are firstly la maison at S and the house which is rankshifted; secondly le silence pluvieux which is rankshifted and a rainy silence at S. Similarly

(Félicité) flaira le morceau, B33/7 →

(Félicité) sniffed at a piece of the meat, BE 26/24

In the majority of such cases, the equivalent is, as in the examples given, a NGp operating at a different place in structure. There are marginal instances (generally when the French NGp is at A) where the equivalent is not a NGp but an AGp or even a clause:

elle avait dit un jour: B32/10 →

she had once said: BE 26/5

Bernard, les jours de Beau temps, chassait; F246/3 →

Bernard, when it was fine, went out shooting. FE314/25

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173. TL Groups at Z were not included in the comparative analysis.

## 2) The French NGp has no discrete contextual equivalent:

les carottes sont cuites, comme on dit. T12/9 →

We've got it, as they say, served up on a plate. TE11/19

In this example, there is an equivalent for the clause les carottes sont cuites,

but not for the individual constituent groups of the clause. Again in

-Je suis un monstre - dit - il à haute voix. M132/11 →

"I'm a monster!" - was what he said aloud. ME 84/12

the AGp à haute voix has aloud as equivalent, but the included rankshifted

NGp haute voix does not itself have a translation equivalent. Two further

examples may be quoted:

le vent de ce crépuscule M285/25 →

the evening breeze MB 181/33

Les + platanes / s'égouttaient / sur la place. F239/7 →

The + plane - trees + on the square / were dripping. FE310/10

In the first, the contextual equivalent of the NGp ce crépuscule is of word, not group, rank. In the second, les platanes has no equivalent at group rank, for in the English clause the subject contains the contextual equivalents of the French subject and adjunct: the structures are respectively S (d α) P A and S (deictic head β ←) P. Thus for a NGp to be regarded as having a discrete equivalent in the TL text, it is necessary that the contextual equivalent constitute the whole, not just a part, of a group.

The following tables, then, give the actual numbers and the percentages in respect of these three categories. Not all the French NGps were included in this analysis: the comparison was restricted to NGps of certain structures and operating at certain places in clause (or, by rankshift, group) structure. With the exception mentioned below, groups were considered only if they:

## 1) Operate at the following places in structure:

i Non-thematic S in pre-P position;

ii Non-impersonal, non thematic C<sup>E</sup> in clauses containing at P;

- iii Complement, at any depth of rankshift, after the preposition de;
- iv Complement, at the first depth of rankshift only, after other prepositions;
- v A

and 2) Have the following structures:

- i Unmarked head with the deictics le, un, mon, ce, du or no deictic at all, and with or without a single relative clause, A-Phr or (not submodified) adjective qualffier;
- ii Unmarked head with the deictics le, un, mon, ce preceded by the submodifier tout;
- iii Unmarked head with any other deictic except aucun, nul and de: these were omitted as the dimension of polarity requires separate treatment.
- iv A free head expounded by a personal name, disjunctive pronoun, relative time noun, demonstrative, and the non-specific heads other than the negative rien, personne, aucun and nul: in all cases with or without a single  $q^{nom}$ ,  $q^{adv}$  or  $q^{cl}$ .

In addition groups consisting simply of an adjective and operating at  $C^{I-S}$  dir were included.

The figures show variation according to both place of operation and internal structure of the French NGp:

1) According to place of operation:

Place of operation	Number	No Equivalent	Equivalent with different syntactic value	Equivalent with same syntactic value
S	5123	744	408	3971
$C^E$	5207	1445	1073	2689
A	584	89	210	285
Rankshifted	12436	4107	1022	7307
$C^I$	897	380	42	475
Total	24247	6765	2755	14727

Expressed as percentages:

Place of Operation	Number	No Equivalent	Equivalent with different syntactic value	Equivalent with same syntactic value
S	100	14.5	8.0	77.5
C <sup>E</sup>	100	27.8	20.6	51.6
A	100	15.2	36.0	48.7
Rankshifted	100	33.0	8.2	58.8
C <sup>I</sup>	100	42.4	4.7	53.0
Total	100	27.9	11.4	60.7

The high percentage of groups at A having an equivalent with a different syntactic value is explicable in part by the fact that in many cases (107 out of the 216) English has at A an A-Phr of structure preposition + NGp; compare

*Thérèse (...) demeura un instant immobile, F157/18 →*

*Thérèse (...) stood for a moment motionless; FE259/32*

There is more delicate variation within rankshifted groups according to the preceding preposition:

Preposition	Number	No Equivalent	Equivalent with different syntactic value	Equivalent with same syntactic value	
<u>de</u>	No.	5265	1872	469	2924
	%	100	35.6	8.9	55.5
<u>à</u>	No.	2257	812	222	1223
	%	100	36.0	9.8	54.2
others	No.	4914	1423	331	3160
	%	100	29.0	6.7	64.3

NGp complements to de and à thus differ significantly from those following other prepositions. The relatively low percentage of syntactically same equivalents

in respect of NGps following de and à correlates with two factors:

- i The even lower corresponding percentage in respect of NGps with structure unmarked head without deictic: the majority of these groups occur as c to the preposition de.
- ii Adverbial qualifiers containing these prepositions are often translated by pre-head modifiers of word rank: see below

2) According to internal structure:

Structure	Number	No Equivalent	Equivalent with different syntactic value	Equivalent with same syntactic value
$\phi$ unmarked $\alpha \pm q$	2663	1521	101	1041
d unmarked $\alpha \pm q$	16046	4154	2069	9823
personal name $\pm q$	3128	208	368	2552
other free $\alpha \pm q$	1513	502	175	836
$\phi$ adj $\alpha \phi$	897	380	42	475
Total	24247	6765	2755	14727

As percentages

Structure	Number	No Equivalent	Equivalent with different syntactic value	Equivalent with same syntactic value
$\phi$ unmarked $\alpha \pm q$	100	57.1	3.8	39.1
d unmarked $\alpha \pm q$	100	25.9	12.9	61.2
personal name $\pm q$	100	6.6	11.8	81.7
other free $\alpha \pm q$	100	33.2	11.6	55.2
$\phi$ / adj $\alpha \phi$	100	42.4	4.7	53.0
Total	100	27.9	11.4	60.7

## 8.5 Morphology and choice syntax of the English NGp.

### 8.51 Primary elements.

The morphology of the English NGp, like that of its French counterpart, displays features of both place-ordered and depth-ordered structures. In a non-comparative description of English, most linguists would agree in assigning priority in delicacy to the place-ordering, recognising three primary elements in pre-head, head, and post-head position. In comparison however we may legitimately give added weight to certain features in order to bring the description more into line with that of the other language under comparison. To treat English NGp structure as primarily ordered in depth on the dimension of dependence implies a generalisation at the highest degree of abstraction (in delicacy) of the relations of pre- and post-head elements to the head itself - the generalised relation being that of presupposition in dependence. Moreover it enables us to bring out first the similarities between the two NGps, and provides a framework for discussing the differences.

The primary elements in English then, as in French, are  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ .  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are expounded, though not uniquely, by the primary word class noun;  $\gamma$  again not uniquely, by the adverb, a class whose defining syntactic role is operation at the head element in AGp structure.

### 8.52 Subdivisions of $\beta$ .

#### 8.521 Pre - and post-head $\beta$ .

The earliest subdivision of  $\beta$  is into  $\beta^{\rightarrow}$  and  $\beta^{\leftarrow}$ , terms in a system of position relative to  $\alpha$ . For  $\beta^{\rightarrow}$  the label "modifier" is available,  $\beta^{\leftarrow}$  we will not name: it is commonly called "qualifier" but it is doubtful whether the formal correspondence between French  $q$  and English  $\beta^{\leftarrow}$  is sufficiently great to warrant our using the same term.

At the next stage in delicacy, the modifier breaks down into four chain elements,  $d$ ,  $o$ ,  $e$  and  $n$ , which we will briefly discuss in turn.

## 8.522 The element d, deictic.

This element is expounded by the secondary word class article. Although the members cannot be listed exhaustively, d may be broken down by a multi-dimensional systemic matrix into more delicate choice elements, one of which (the complex possessive) is expounded by an open class, the remainder by one-member classes. The following table<sup>174</sup> does not however attempt to display all the steps in delicacy.

		Specific	Non-Specific
Non-selective		<u>the</u>	<u>a, another,</u> <u>some, any,</u> <u>either,</u> <u>enough</u>
Selective	Simplex possessive 1st person { sg <u>my</u> pl <u>our</u> 2nd person { sg <u>your</u> pl 3rd person { non { masc <u>his</u> interrog { sg fem <u>her</u> neut <u>its</u> pl <u>their</u> interrog <u>whose</u> Complex 3rd person NGp + 's		
	non possessive	<u>this, these</u> <u>that, those,</u> <u>which, what,</u>	<u>both, all,</u> <u>every, each,</u> <u>no, neither.</u>

174. Cf "Chain and Choice", p 7.

8.523 The element *o*, ordinator.

This element is expounded by the secondary word-class numeral. Further subdivisions are as follows:

		Unidentified	Identified				
I		<u>one, two, three...</u>	<u>first, second, third, i..</u>				
II	unmarked	<table> <tr> <td>mass</td> <td><u>little, much</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>plural</td> <td><u>few, many; several, myriad</u></td> </tr> </table>	mass	<u>little, much</u>	plural	<u>few, many; several, myriad</u>	<u>next, last, least, most</u>
mass	<u>little, much</u>						
plural	<u>few, many; several, myriad</u>						
	compared	<table> <tr> <td>mass</td> <td><u>less</u></td> <td rowspan="2">} <u>more</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td>plural</td> <td><u>fewer</u></td> </tr> </table>	mass	<u>less</u>	} <u>more</u>	plural	<u>fewer</u>
mass	<u>less</u>	} <u>more</u>					
plural	<u>fewer</u>						

All those above, except much, may be preceded by an article. A more delicate description would list particular colligational possibilities and restrictions - only few, little and myriad among the unidentified class II may, for instance, immediately follow the deictic *a*. Examples.

all the myriad causes which had prompted her act TE63/13

It carved a myriad courses through low-lying meadows TE28/23

the many letters he began to receive from unknown admirers NW71/27

the two little girls SE10/24

every third day BE59/4

Double or multiple selection from *o* may occur as follows - though without impairing the systemic status of the above-tabulated contrasts:

1) The identified class I ("ordinal") numerals and next, last may precede the unidentified class I ("cardinal") numerals and few:

the first few glasses of wine TE40/1

the next ten years BE32/8

- 2) The same items may, less frequently, follow the cardinal numerals and few, many, several, fewer, more:

the two first volumes of Alexandre de Lamothe's Canisards ME10/8

a few last shots BE45/30

- 3) The cardinal numerals may be compounded, with various relations between the places; the first place in such compound constructions is sometimes expounded by many, several, (a) few...

several hundred drops. BE67/15

a few hundred yards in front of his horse's head BE85/1

sixty thousand francs ME138/15

- 4) The compared numerals may follow any of the members of the unidentified class (except myriad) - though there may not be incongruence between successive o's in respect of the mass - plural distinction: less may follow only little and much. E.g.

one more station TE24/1

two more years ME81/5

### 8.524 The element e, epithet.

This element is expounded by the secondary word class adjective: assignment of nouns to this class depends on their being able to occur at e. The earliest subdivision of e is along the chain axis, giving  $e^A$  and  $e^B$ .

The former occurs either between d and o, or immediately after o; when either d or o is not present, it still precedes  $e^B$ . Exponents are few: they include such words as whole, entire, single, various, other, own, same, certain, past, present, future, intervening, following, very, only, sole, extra, additional, further, etc.

#### Examples:

the / intervening / fifteen / years FE166/33 d e<sup>A</sup> o a

a / single / quick / movement FE186/3 d e<sup>A</sup> e<sup>B</sup> a

entire good faith FE 240/7

her whole gloomy existence TE58/5

the past two days TE 66/24

her own terrible existence TE21/25

his only solid meal of the day TE52/16

the very farm waggons BE12/1

We would also include every when following a possessive deictic:

his / every / thought BE96/12 d e<sup>A</sup> α

There are occasional double selections from e<sup>A</sup>, the relative order in sequence being generally fixed:

the very same day BE30/31

the only other person TE45/13

More delicate distinctions within e<sup>B</sup> account for differences in the characteristic patterning of adjective modifiers. Categories established here cannot be rigidly defined because the tendencies involved are at a considerable remove from the highest order of probability. Among the interrelated contrasts we may mention:

- 1) Range of active presupposition. As in French we distinguish bound epithets from free; where the epithet is free the construction may be transformed so that the adjective becomes the exponent of an intensive complement. In, for example,

his coarse lower lip FE301/5

coarse is free, lower bound: one could say

‡ his lip was coarse

but not (without a radical change in the formal and contextual value of

lower)

\* his lip was lower

Further examples: free

this barren land TE81/2

an enormous fortune FE181/1

bound:

an expectant mother TE68/5  
 a social conscience ME106/22  
 your military service ME80/31

2) Potential submodification. The contrast here is not only between adjectives which normally may and those which normally may not be submodified, but also between different forms of potential submodification. We thus distinguish secondary elements according as they are expounded by adjectives submodified by:

i very, too, so... and other pre-adverbs:

a very small income FE205/19  
 his rather thick accent BE75/7

ii much, far etc. : adjectives containing the comparative morpheme -er:

a far deeper knowledge ME50/10

iii much, well, badly and other adverbs:

the badly-lit landing TE76/23  
 a never-ending discussion TE73/14

iv a noun:

the tailor-made suit FE163/2  
 a twig-encumbered couch TE14/7  
 the ice-cold current TE28/24  
 a life-giving freshet BE82/20  
 no centuries-old park ME176/17

Under this category we include the following pattern:

the glass-fronted bookcase FE165/33  
 a serious-minded (...) woman BE37/19  
 the (...) three-panelled mirror BE29/12

v dark or light etc.

her dark brown cape ME58/11

and other 'colour' adjectives.

vi no submodification: unstressed old, young, little etc. and, generally, other bound epithets. Thus in  
the gentle old man BE49/11

gentle is submodifiable by very, but old cannot be submodified at all - or rather not without a change in its structural value, marked in this case by a listing intonation. For many words which normally belong to categories iii - vi may, rarely, be submodified by very, but in this case they take on the formal value of category i. Participles (present or past) are a subclass of adjective which also operate in VGp structure and figure in the verbal word paradigm. On the present dimension some belong to category i, others to categories iii and iv.

3) Coordination. Coordination between adjectives, whether linked or unlinked, (unlinked coordination being marked phonologically by a listing intonation, graphologically by commas) generally implies that the epithets stand in the same relation to the head, that they are alike, that is, in respect of the other contrasts. Examples:

the pink and russet heather ME39/6

a high-necked, long-sleeved dress ME9/26

a young and lonely woman ME12/4

a whining, sleepy voice BE19/2

Contrast the non-coordinated

his pinched little face BE11/6

its coarse black nails TE17/11

4) Place in sequence. When two or more adjectives occur in non-coordinated succession, certain tendencies can be noted in their relative position. The following subcategories are listed in order of the (intuitively - estimated) probability of their occurring early in sequence:

- i Adjectives submodified by most or more, or containing the morphemes est or -er. These may also precede *o*, so that we may indeed hesitate between assigning them exponentially to  $e^A$  on the one hand or  $e^B$  on the other; an alternative analysis would be to regard them as operating at *o*, given their formal and contextual similarity to such ordinatorials as first, last, fewer etc.
- ii Adjectives submodified or submodifiable by very...
- iii Adjectives submodified by well, badly etc. or by a noun.
- iv Unstressed old, little, young.
- v Colour adjectives.
- vi Non-submodified participles (other than those normally submodifiable by very), bound epithets, and adjectives not normally submodified.

**Examples:**

the old blue curtains ME9/21  
 a hideous yellow jumper FE172/21  
 the same hard little voice FE304/18  
 the slightest little bit TE36/33  
 the little local train TE17/27  
 a deaf old spinster TE25/6  
 his precious profit-sharing schemes ME140/9  
 the same old woollen wrap ME92/17  
 a queer little cowed monk ME36/25

**Counter-examples:**

her old expensive habits FE166/33  
 his great hairy hand TE73/34

(great being here bound).

Adjectives submodified by too, so, how, however, precede the deictic a:

however / small / a / degree FE205/18 y e<sup>B</sup> d a

so incomprehensible a game ME47/8

### 8.525 The element n.

This element, which almost invariably follows e, may be expounded by:

- 1) The secondary word class substantive - defined by its potentiality of operation at a. This class accounts for the great majority of n's. Examples:

his goatskin coat FE312/22

the family estates ME14/17

Madame Frontenac's / elderly / bachelor / brother ME30/22 d e n a

- 2) A sub-set of the class defined by operation at d: viz. words consisting of a rankshifted.NGp + 's. Whereas at d there is no restriction on the structure of the rankshifted NGp, groups containing a deictic cannot be rankshifted into words at n. Examples:

a / confectioner's / shop FE275/24 d n a

a three days' trip ME26/24

a last year's frock TE45/37

- 3) Rankshifted items, clock times etc. and a few adverbs (defined by potentiality of operation at the head of an AGp):

that out-of-the-way corridor TE11/1

the four o'clock recess FE236/5

what an Al notion ME32/10

the / wooden / outside / lavatory TE102/22 d e<sup>B</sup> n a

Double selection at n is possible though rare.

8.526 The element  $\beta$ 

Post-head items at  $\beta$  may be subdivided morphologically as follows:

## 1) Rankshifted A-Phrs.

a few crumbs of biscuit ME11/21

the finer spirits among mankind ME175/6

## 2) Rankshifted clauses:

## i With finite P -

that same ailment of which Father de Nole had cured her. ME25/21

the name he loved so well ME154/11

## ii With non-finite P -

his many abortive attempts to send Jean away to school BE27/28

a man with his collar turned up TE11/4

a schoolboy brimming over with life and intelligence ME11/6

## 3) Rankshifted NGps of very limited pattern:

the room next door FE196/32

a hundred francs a day TE104/31

4) Substantives, the article enough and adjectives, the latter being, except for a few more or less fixed expressions, submodified (generally by an A-Phr.):

proof positive TE82/17

good sense incarnate ME140/7

the / ordinary / chatter / customary / on such occasions TE71/21 d e a  $\beta$   $\gamma$

passions more violent than any storm TE115/21

time enough to realise what was coming to her ME154/7

## 5) Adverbs:

the girl's / evening / out FE163/24 d a  $\beta$

the night ahead TE16/17

Multiple  $\beta^-$ 's are ordered in coordination or in compound dependence. Coordination is normally between items alike in respect of the above morphological classification; in compound dependence there is a tendency for clauses to be lower-ordered than other types of  $\beta^-$ . Examples:

the / small / of fog / and of baking bread TE12/13 d  $\alpha$   $\beta^{-a}$   $\beta^{-b}$   
 the / sound / of their feet / on the entrance-steps NE42/1 d  $\alpha$   $\beta^{-a}$   $\beta^{-b}$   
 the / throb / of her heart / which always came to her at the sound of the  
 front door slamming FE164/18 d  $\alpha$   $\beta^{-a}$   $\beta^{-b}$

### 8.53 Subdivisions of $\gamma^-$ .

Distinctions within  $\gamma^-$  are established on four dimensions:

1) Simple versus compound dependence. Here we distinguish

i  $\gamma^S$ , which submodifies and presupposes only a single next-higher order element:

her / own / much / milder / tobacco TE93/16 d e<sup>A</sup>  $\gamma^S$  e<sup>B</sup>  $\alpha$

ii  $\gamma^C$ , which submodifies and presupposes two or more (generally following) items. Most occurrences are in pre -d position:

quite a different tone FE214/15

such a sweet little girl NE151/1

twice his usual dose TE74/22

many a time BE20/6

precisely the right times BE45/13

both their minds TE45/13

We would also consider most as an exponent of  $\gamma^C$  in the

the most heart-rending sighs BE72/27

where it submodifies not heart but the  $\gamma$  e complex, heart-rending. Initial linking adverbs and, or ... occur at  $\gamma^C$ .

2) Subdivisions of  $\beta$ . Distinctions within  $\beta$ , as outlined in 8.52, have repercussions on  $\gamma$ , so that we must account separately for submodification of:

i d; all, every, each, any, enough may be submodified by nearly, almost.

almost every night FE317/15

ii o; the cardinal numerals may be submodified by almost, nearly, about:

about seven thousand acres FE204/25

The identified numerals, plus few, little, many, much, may be submodified by very:

a very few steps ME144/24

the very next day ME33/10

Few, little, many, much may also be submodified by how, however, too, so, as, rather, in which case, however, there cannot be a preceding deictic:

how many months ME45/17

Note also:

a / great / many / people ME22/14 d  $\gamma$  o a

iii e; there is no submodification of  $e^A$ ; that of  $e^B$  was discussed in 8.524 (2).

iv n;  $\gamma^{-n}$  may be expounded by

(a) a noun: substantive (no textual examples) or adjective:

the small-town society TE86/10

the narrow-gauge track FE284/33

(b) certain numerals, especially the cardinals and ordinals:

this third-floor flat FE166/5

any last-minute surprises TE11/8

a thousand-franc box ME130/26

(c) a few adverbs (though not, generally, very)

an almost animal surrender FE226/24

v Adjectives at  $\beta^-$ : as for adjectives at  $e^B$  -

any depravity worse than the denial of self TE63/21

vi Clauses at  $\beta^-$ : second-order rankshifted clauses -

the Eternal Being who had let her become deaf and ugly, who had decreed that she should die without ever having been loved or possessed by a man TE54/23

- 3) Depth. Submodification is recursive, so that at secondary delicacy we distinguish  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ , etc. Yet more delicately we should need to state the colligational compatibilities between exponents of  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  etc. Examples:

very / much / the / same / thing FS221/20  $\delta \gamma^C d e^A \alpha$

rather / too / perfunctory / a / manner FE239/16  $\delta \gamma^S e^B d \alpha$

an almost exclusively male society TE26/17

too strongly scented flowers BE33/3

- 4) Position. As in French we contrast  $\vec{\gamma}$  and  $\vec{\gamma}^-$ . When the latter presupposes  $\beta^-$  it normally, though not invariable, follows the head. No further illustration of  $\vec{\gamma}$  is necessary; examples of  $\vec{\gamma}^-$ :

the / most / squalid / reason / imaginable TES3/15  $d \vec{\gamma}^- e \alpha \delta^-$

a / different / taste / from anywhere else TE36/2  $d e \alpha \vec{\gamma}^-$

a / big / enough / envelope ME48/19  $d e \vec{\gamma}^- \alpha$

the / same / remorse / as now set him pacing this childhood's room ME32/2  $d e \alpha \vec{\gamma}^-$

a / more / than usually / alarming / crisis TE75/28  $d \vec{\gamma}^- \delta^- e \alpha$

### 8.54 Subdivisions of $\alpha$ .

The first cut here distinguishes strong and weak heads; the former may, and generally do, stand without a deictic, and they cannot normally be modified by an adjective.

#### 8.541 Strong heads.

These may be further subdivided as follows:

Specific	{	Hypostatisations
		Relative-time nouns ( <u>today</u> , <u>yesterday</u> , <u>tomorrow</u> )
		Proper nouns
		Possessive nouns
		Pronouns
		Demonstratives
Non-specific	{	Wh-nouns ( <u>which</u> , <u>who(m)</u> , <u>whose</u> , <u>what</u> + the morpheme <u>ever</u> )
		Quantifying
		Non-quantifying

Some of these subcategories break down more delicately still as follows:

1) Possessive nouns

Simplex	{	1st person	{	sg	}	<u>mine</u>	
			pl	<u>ours</u>			
		2nd person	{	sg	}	<u>yours</u>	
			pl				
3rd person	{	non-interrog	{	sg	}	m.	<u>his</u>
				f.		<u>hers</u>	
		interrog	pl	n.	<u>its</u>		
							<u>theirs</u>
							<u>whose</u>
Complex							NGp + 's

2) Pronouns

	1st person		2nd person		3rd person			
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg m f n			pl
possessive	<u>mine</u>	<u>ours</u>	<u>yours</u>		<u>his</u>	<u>hers</u>	<u>its</u>	<u>theirs</u>
subject <sup>175</sup>	<u>I</u>	<u>we</u>	<u>you</u>		<u>he</u>	<u>she</u>	<u>it</u>	<u>they</u>
Comp.	unmkd	<u>me</u> <u>us</u>	<u>you</u>		<u>him</u>	<u>her</u>	<u>it</u>	<u>them</u>
	marked	<u>myself</u> <u>ourselves</u>	<u>yourselves</u>		<u>himself</u>	<u>herself</u>	<u>itself</u>	<u>themselves</u>

## 3) Demonstratives:

	Singular	Plural
I	<u>this</u>	<u>these</u>
II	<u>that</u>	<u>those</u>

## 4) Quantifiers:

I		<u>one, two, three...</u>	
II	unmkd	{ mass <u>little, much</u> { pl <u>few, many, several</u>	<u>enough</u>
	compared	{ mass <u>less</u> { pl <u>fewer</u>	<u>more</u>
	superl.		<u>most</u>

175. In the translation these occur also at C<sup>I</sup>

## 5) Non-quantifiers:

	Singular	Plural
{ non-pers.	<u>all</u>	-
unmarked	-	<u>all, both</u>
{ non-pers.	<u>everything</u>	-
unmarked	<u>each</u>	-
personal	<u>everyone, everybody</u>	-
{ non-pers.	<u>nothing</u>	-
unmarked	} <u>none</u>	
	<u>neither</u>	-
personal	<u>no-one, nobody</u>	-
{ non-pers.	<u>something</u>	-
unmarked	} <u>some</u>	
personal	<u>someone, somebody</u>	
{ non-pers.	<u>anything</u>	
unmarked	} <u>any</u>	
personal	<u>anyone, anybody</u>	

## 8.542 Weak heads.

This element is normally expounded by the secondary word class substantive. Adjectives and identified numerals may also be upgraded to operate here when modified by the (with homophoric, cataphoric or anaphoric function); adverbs presupposing in dependence the adjectives (or numerals) will be upgraded to  $\beta$ , more delicately  $\alpha$ . Examples:

the / most / ignorant / of women FE232/31 d a  $\alpha$   $\beta$

even / the / poorest TE55/8  $\gamma^c$  d  $\alpha$

the really pure in heart TE19/32

the still untouched TE33/17

the first of the envelopes TE37/13

Among the substantives we include the substitutes one and ones:

Did he think these poems less good than the earlier ones? ME63/24

Upgrading of adjectives to  $\alpha$  and adverbs to  $a$  without a preceding deictic is frequent in groups at intensive elements:

(His remarks (...) seemed to him to have been) completely / innocent / of offence. ME9/5  $a \alpha \beta$

### 8.55 Coordination.

8.551 Internal coordination. There is a high measure of congruence between the coordinates, though occasional instances are found of coordination between a numeral and an adjective.

the one and only Love ME92/23

those two and differing loves ME122/11

Apart from rather rare exceptions, coordination is between  $e^B$ 's,  $\beta$ 's and  $\alpha$ 's:

his neck and face TE36/18

a hunger and thirst after sincerity TE63/10

she and Jean-Louis ME86/17

8.552 External coordination.

As in French we need to recognise systems of linkage and zeugma. Examples:

his narrow shoulders and weak arms ME50/17

their chaste, their formless happiness TE28/34

the chest-of-drawers and the wardrobe ME9/23

### 8.56 Systems of the NGp.

8.561 The system of number.

This system applies to all NGps, though only those at S enter into external relations of concord, (with P). There are two terms: singular and plural. It is regarded as a system of the NGp as well as of the noun, for although the group is generally marked for number by the choice at  $\alpha$ ,  $d$  and  $o$  are also affected.

Among the deictics, both, these and those occur only in plural groups. Either, neither, this, that, each occur only in singular groups. So too do a, another and every unless there is a selection for plural at  $\alpha$ :

another two years ME55/15

every three days TE106/3

a few words FE185/18

Other d's occur indifferently in singular or plural groups.

Among numerals at  $\alpha$ , the unidentified class subdivide into singular (one, little, much, less and more), and plural (the rest, together with more).

The only relevance of the system at  $\gamma$  is that both occurs at  $\gamma^c$  only in plural groups:

both their minds TR45/37

The selection made at  $\alpha$  has no bearing on substantives and numerals at  $n$  and  $\gamma$ : at these elements there is no systemic choice in respect of number, though items occur here which are classified as singular or plural on the basis of their potentiality of occurrence as singular or plural head (or ordinator).

all those good-conduct ribbons TR23/9

the long three-panelled mirror BE29/12

a sales conference ME141/9

Adjectives, identified numerals and adverbs make no selection for number.

#### 8.562 The system of discreteness.

Common nouns at  $\alpha$  in singular groups may be subdivided according to their probability of colligating with certain articles or numerals. Thus enough water and a table are much more normal than a water and enough table. In order to account for these tendencies we establish a system of discreteness whose operational domain, then, is the singular subclass of the NGp. Here we consider only groups with common noun heads. There are three terms:

- 1) Discrete - marked by the presence of a, another, each, every (and one should probably add either and neither) at d, one at o:

a sound FE278/19

each detail TE56/24

every moment TE47/23

- 2) Non-discrete; this term further subdivides:

- i Mass - marked by enough at d, little or much at o

too much hope F225/6

so much money ME162/20

so little hair NE64/28

- ii Unmarked - groups without d or o:

death TE89/8

wine ME90/11

such loving care ME111/16

she loathes music FE228/5

- 3) Neutral - all others:

some woman of the family ME110/13

some milk FE165/3

the coffee FE279/15

the cup FE307/31

the truth FE201/29

## 8.6 Morphology and choice syntax in comparison

### 8.61 Translation equivalence.

The figures in this section are based on a comparison of the SL and TL texts in respect of the NGps listed in 8.4 with the following additional restrictions:

- 1) The morphology was considered only when the French NGp was translated by an English NGp with the 'same' value in chain syntax.
- 2) Groups containing the submodifier tout or a pre-head adjective listed in columns 3 or 4 on p 248, and non-determinate groups were excluded.

## 8.611 The deictic.

The most frequent deictics will now be examined in turn. Three main categories of equivalence are recognised for each:

- 1) Those where the deictic and the head and/or qualifier do not have discrete translations at elements of the corresponding depth in the equivalent English NGp. Thus in

la / fenêtre / de sa chambre M152/9 d α q →

his / bedroom / window ME97/7 d n α

the deictic la and the qualifier de sa chambre are jointly translated by his (d) + bedroom (n). Again in

un métayer B24/17 →

one of the tenant farmers B<sup>#</sup>21/2

there is no equivalence between the two β's and the two α's: there is as it were a regrading, so that what is β in the French group becomes α in the English, the French α becoming English β.

- 2) There is nothing in the English equivalent corresponding to the French deictic: e.g.

un remords le rongait, M48/11 →

Remorse still gnawed at him NE32/1

un has here nil equivalent.

- 3) The deictic has an equivalent in the English group at depth β (or in a few cases the translation of the deictic fills two β places or a γ + β). E.g.

la cuisine T189/21 → the kitchen TE93/32

Subdivisions are made within this category according to the class or item which is the equivalent.

1) le, la, les

	Total	No discrete equivalent at $\beta$	Nil equivalent	discrete equivalent	<u>the</u>	<u>a</u>	simplex possessive	<u>this, there</u>	<u>that those</u>	Expansion	Others
No	5174	552	705	4617	3284	116	428	15	20	23	21
%	100	10.7	13.6	75.8	63.4	2.2	8.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.4

The rather high percentage with no discrete equivalent is in part to be explained by the fact that in 252 cases an English possessive article (generally complex) translates jointly French le + q (de + NGp). Examples:

l'appétit des enfants M94/6 → the children's appetite ME60/18

les yeux de Thérèse F163/1 → her eyes FE263/4

The relatively large number with nil equivalent is a reflection of the different meaning of deictic in the two languages. The absence of d (and o) in English may mark a group as non-discrete, the contextual meaning being mass, abstract or general. French le in its homophoric use normally has these latter two meanings: it is most frequently in such cases that it has nil equivalent. Examples:

le Fils de l'Homme B28/8 → the son of Man BE23/16

l'indignation le rendait loquace F249/5 →

Indignation made him loquacious FE316/25

souvent l'amour ne tient aucun compte des apparences, F137/28

→ love often takes no account of appearances, FE247/6

In groups without a q, the percentage with nil equivalent is 16.9, in those with a, q it is only 7.4.

More than half (266) of the simplex possessive deictics occur before nouns belonging to the lexical sets<sup>176</sup> "parts of the body" and "articles of clothing";

176. The set being a formal lexical category established on the paradigmatic axis: a grouping of lexical items alike in their collocations. See "Categories" p276. At present, the establishment of such sets can be done only on an intuitive or contextual basis.

the majority of these examples are of groups at C:

Il secona la tête: F135/6 → He shook his head FE245/21

There are also a number occurring with "kinship" heads:

Le père ne songe pas à protester; E38/9 →

his father did not so much as dream of protesting BE30/6

The remainder of the translations, other than the unmarked the, scarcely admit of generalised comment. The first of the following examples possibly represents a more productive pattern than the others:

le goût du sel M142/18 → a taste of salt ME90/31

le premier jeudi du mois M66/17 →

the first Thursday of each month ME43/12

effacer les taches M221/7 → wipe away these alien stains. ME141/13

les métairies B27/8 → all the outlying farms BE22/22

2) The possessive deictic mon etc.

	Total	No discrete equivalent at β	Nil equivalent	Discrete equivalent	simplex possessive	<u>the</u>	<u>a</u>	Expansion	Others
No	1894	95	44	1755	1589	69	11	71	15
%	100	5.0	2.3	92.7	83.9	3.6	0.6	3.7	0.8

There is a higher degree of equivalence between the French possessive article and the English simplex possessive than between any other subclasses of article. Moreover, in many of the cases classified as expansions, the translation consists of a simplex possessive + own at e<sup>A</sup>:

sa chambre T174/7 → his own room TES7/4

3) The demonstrative deictic ce etc.

	Total	No discrete equivalent at β	Nil equivalent	Discrete equivalent	<u>this</u> <u>these</u>	<u>that</u> <u>those</u>	<u>the</u>	simplex possessive	<u>a</u>	Expansion	Others
No	759	88	8	663	226	99	171	59	25	60	23
%	100	11.6	1.1	87.3	29.8	13.0	22.5	7.8	3.3	7.9	3.0

In groups containing a q the most frequent equivalent is the, the relevant figures being: this - 66; that - 43; the - 93:

ce goût de graisse T192/8 → the smell of fat TE94/36

il avait hâte d' essayer ce chien que Balion dressait pour lui T72/15 →  
He couldn't wait to try out the dog that Balion was training for him TE39/27

In groups without q, this is more than twice as frequent a translation as the. This is in part explicable by the fact that there are 53 occurrences of this in groups at A, whereas the is not found at all in such structures:

Elle arrive ce soir... F246/9 → she'll be here this evening FE314/30

The percentage of expansions is more than twice as high as with any other deictic. The most characteristic pattern is that the English group has the + β̄:

cette époque T102/20 → the period in question TE53/14

ce bonheur était possible; F123/1 →

The happiness to which she was looking forward was perfectly possible FE237/31

#### 4) Un, une.

	Total	No discrete equivalent at β	Nil equivalent	Discrete equivalent	<u>a</u>	<u>the</u>	simplex possessive	<u>some</u>	<u>one</u>	Expansion	Others
No	1111	86	69	956	771	57	32	26	45	21	4
%	100	7.7	6.2	86.1	69.4	5.1	2.9	2.3	4.1	1.9	0.4

A is thus a great deal more frequent than one, though un is itself doubtless the highest probability translation equivalent of the latter. Moreover, of the 45 occurrences of one, 34 are in groups at A - a is hardly found in such structures:

Un matin, Marie demanda à sa mere (...) F246/5 →

One morning Marie asked her mother (...) FE314/27

The relatively high percentage of nil equivalents is again to be explained in part by the differences in the systems of discreteness. In particular

"abstract" nouns in French occur more frequently in discrete groups (marked as such by the deictic un) than they do in English - cf

dans un grand silence N94/3 → in complete silence ME60/15

une angoisse l'attendait, M152/7 →

agony lay in wait for him, ME97/6

5) The unmarked partitive du etc.

	Total	No discrete equivalent at β	Nil equivalent	Discrete equivalent	<u>some</u>	<u>the</u>	simplex possessive	<u>a</u>	numeral ± d or Y	Others
No	288	51	141	96	17	22	14	19	14	10
%	100	17.7	49.0	33.3	5.9	7.6	4.9	6.6	4.9	3.4

The unmarked partitive is the most characteristic marker of non-discreteness: hence the high percentage of nil equivalents. We saw above that le frequently has nil equivalent in English groups where the meaning of non-discreteness is "abstract" or "general"; in the case of du the meaning is "mass". Examples:

de l'argent T21/16 → money TE16/2

de l'argent M150/7 → some money ME95/25

des tisons T175/2 → a few embers TE87/11

de l'expérience F74/27 → so much experience FE206/22

The remainder of the deictics treated were considered only in groups of structure d a. Percentages are not given as the numbers are small.

6) The cardinal numerals.

Total	No discrete equivalent at β	Nil equivalent	Discrete equivalent	cardinal	<u>the</u>	simplex possessive	Expansions
75	17	1	57	44	1	1	11

## Examples:

elle a eu deux crises. F227/1 → she's had two crises FE302/11

prit à deux mains le visage de sa mère F215/8 →

(she) took her mother's face between her two hands FE294/37

cet enfant de seize ans ME39/24 → the boy of sixteen ME39/10

This last pattern of translation accounts for nine of the seventeen cases where there is no discrete equivalent at  $\beta$ .

7) Quelque(s)

Total	No discrete equivalent at $\beta$	Nil equivalent	Discrete equivalent	<u>a few</u>	<u>some</u>	<u>several</u>	others
40	10	1	29	15	4	2	8

A few is especially frequent as a translation of plural quelques. Examples:

quelques encouragements ME161/5 → a certain amount of encouragement ME103/17

Elle prononça quelques mots à voix presque basse; F41/16 →

she added a few words almost in a whisper FE185/18

Elle se défend contre quelque influence F221/18 →

she is fighting against some influence FE298/27

8) Chaque

Total	No discrete equivalent at $\beta$	Nil equivalent	Discrete equivalent	<u>each</u>	<u>every</u>	<u>any</u>	Expansion	others
47	1	-	46	24	11	3	7	1

## Examples:

souhaitais que chaque minute m'apportât de quoi vivre T114/9 →

was beginning to demand that each minute bring something to live for TE 59/1

Ives avait raturé chaque ligne. ME182/18 →

Ives had carefully erased every line ME116/27

à chaque instant F226/19 → at any moment FE302/1

à chaque instant T231/8 → at every moment of the day TE111/38

9) quel

- Of the 13 examples, 7 are translated by what, 4 by what a. In English, the syntactic distinction between interrogative and exclamatory groups is paralleled by a morphological difference: what occurs in interrogative groups and plural exclamatory ones, what a in singular exclamatory groups:

quelle excuse invoquer? F120/1 → what excuse had she? FE236/2

Quelle auxiliaire les ennemis de Thérèse trouveraient dans cette fille! F186/22 →

what an ally her enemies would have in her servant! FE277/3

## 8.612 The qualifier.

The three principal types will be examined in turn. Two categories of equivalence are distinguished:

- 1) There is no discrete equivalent at depth  $\beta$  (or  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ ); the few instances of nil equivalent are included under this heading. Examples:

le bruit de la cloche MB1/18 → the tinkling ME52/28

le feu du ciel T46/20 → the blazing sky TE27/36

sa belle âme B47/16 → the beauty of his feelings BE35/22

- 2) There is such an equivalent.

- 1) A-Phr qualifiers.

	Total	No discrete equivalent at $\beta$	Discrete equivalent	A-Phr	n	e	$\gamma + n$	$\gamma + e$	clause	others
No	1542	541	1001	706	168	50	12	9	39	17
%	100	35.1	64.9	45.8	10.9	3.2	0.8	0.6	2.5	1.1

252 of the 541 without an equivalent were in the pattern of translation discussed above under the deictic le. In a further 43 cases the head-qualifier combination is translated by a compound head in which the first element stands in the relation of modifier to the second (these are distinguished from n a structures by rhythm - the latter has two stressed syllables, the compound head only one).

une goutte de pluie F50/18 → a raindrop FE191/10

Exemples where there is an equivalent:

aux portes de la mort F239/22 → the very gates of death FE310/22

l'humidité de l'hiver M23/8 → winter damp ME15/31

un intérêt de coeur F228/24 → a sentimental interest FE303/18

une loge de mille francs M204/19 → a thousand-franc box ME130/26

cette rumeur autour de lui B49/3 → all the hullabaloo that raged  
about him. BE36/17

## 2) Adjective qualifiers.

	Total	No discrete equivalent at $\beta$	Discrete equivalent	e	n	$\gamma + e$	$\gamma + n$	A-Phr	clause	others
No	1198	234	964	799	33	46	3	37	29	17
%	100	19.5	80.6	66.7	2.7	3.8	0.3	3.1	2.4	1.4

For pre-head q's the percentage of equivalents at e is rather higher than for post-head ones: 72.8 as against 63.8. It will be noted that the percentage of adjectives with an equivalent at n is considerably smaller than is the case with A-Phr qualifiers. Examples

une inquiète joie T218/20 → an uneasy happiness TE106/12

le lit nuptial B121/10 → the marriage bed BE77/9

la pluie épaisse T195/21 → the solidly falling rain TE96/24

les hôtels suisses M38/16 → the hotels of Switzerland ME56/22

les capitaux nécessaires F74/16 → the capital he needs FE206/12

## 3) Relative clause qualifiers.

	Total	No discrete equivalent at $\beta$	Discrete equivalent	clause	e	A-Phr
No	299	45	254	238	8	8
%	100	15.1	84.9	79.6	2.7	2.7

## Examples:

la nuit qui suivit T218/20 (at A) → that night TE106/12

l'affaire dont parlait Dussol M283/11 →

the deal about which Dussol had been speaking ME80/14

les gouttes qui tombaient dans votre verre T229/5 →

the drops falling into your glass TE110/33

les oiseaux qui passent T161/17 → passing birds TE81/3

la pudeur qui les séparait M287/18 → the shyness between them. ME183/2

## 8.613 The head.

Again two categories of equivalence are distinguished, according as there is or is not a discrete equivalent at  $\alpha$ , or at  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .

## 1) Proper names:

2061 (83.0%) of the 2484 names in simple groups are translated by a proper name in English; 376 (15.1%) by a pronoun:

Mme Frontenac emporta les reliefs de la "dînette". M19/1 →

she removed the remains of the midnight feast. ME13/20

There are 33 instances where the English group has the or my etc. + unmarked head - boy, child, girl etc. colligating characteristically with the; mother, wife, daughter etc. with the simplex possessive:

lorsque Marie reparut F241/9 → when (...) the girl returned FE311/18

Thérèse la suivait des yeux F26/2 →

her mother followed her with her eyes FE175/10

## 2) Disjunctive pronouns:

Again, there is a high measure of equivalence between this subclass and the English pronouns. In simple groups the figures are as follows:

## i Unmarked disjunctive pronouns:

Total	Unmarked Pronoun	Reflexive	Others
384	347	20	17

No distinction is made in these figures between the subject (and intensive complement) pronouns and the (extensive or rankshifted) complement ones.

**Examples:**

loin d'eux F19/11 → far from them FE170/33

un type qui ne peut détourner de lui son attention... F229/7 →

the kind of man who can never not be conscious of himself... FE303/28

se pencha vers lui M159/1 → leaned closer to the speaker ME102/4

**ii Marked disjunctive pronouns.**

Total	Reflexive	Unmarked Pronoun	Others
36	23	6	7

**Examples:**

cette image menteuse d'elle-même... F110/12 →

that lying image of herself FE229/21

lui-même irait y passer quelques semaines T191/10 →

He meant to join them there for a few weeks TE94/22

De lui-même, il ne serait jamais parti M163/18 →

He would never have left of his own accord ME105/4

**3) Demonstrative heads.**

**i Non-personal.**

The figures are for simple groups with ça or cela as head: none of the few with ceci as head have a syntactically corresponding translation:

Total	<u>that</u>	<u>this</u>	<u>it</u>	others
117	34	3	56	24

**Examples:**

il avait dit cela, F202/23 → He had said that, FE286/33

pourquoi m'avoir fait ça? F204/15 →

why did you do this to me? FE287/57

ça ne nous regarde pas, M259/16 → it doesn't concern us ME165/13

cela paraissait trop beau MB6/16 →

the prospect seemed so wonderful MB36/26

**ii Neutral demonstratives:**

In groups of structure celui + A-Phr or relative clause q the figures are:

Total	<u>that</u> or <u>those</u>	<u>the</u> + a the	others
46	21	15	10

In no case does this (or these) occur as the equivalent, for it does not colligate with a  $\beta$ . Examples:

ceux du bourg B27/7 → those in the little town BE22/21

celle des Péloueyre B40/13 → the one belonging to the Péloueyres BE31/25

Aucun visage (...) hors celui d'Anne T58/2 →

no face save Anne's TE33/9

**4) Tout**

Here we must distinguish singular tout (invariable) and plural tous, toutes.

The figures for simple groups containing the former are:

Total	<u>everything</u>	<u>all</u>	others
76	27	17	32

The majority of those marked "others" are expansions. Examples:

tout pouvait se réparer encore. M33/4 →  
 everything could be put right ME22/10  
 tout ne fût pas fini entre eux F216/26 →  
 all was not over between them FE296/2  
 Inutile de tout déranger M201/10 →  
 It would be idiotic (...) to upset all their plans ME128/23

The most frequent translation of the plural tous is all: it accounts for 9 of the 13 occurrences:

Tous savaient qu'il s'agissait du fils Pieuchon B122/20 →  
 All knew that he was referring to young Pieuchon BE78/4  
 imposait à tous le silence B65/1 →  
 enjoined complete silence on everybody BE45/15

5) Unmarked substantive head.

	Total	No discrete equivalent at %	Discrete equivalent	Expansion
No	9447	881	8566	886
%	100	9.3	90.7	9.4

In more than 10% of cases where there is a discrete equivalent, the French head is expanded into a  $\alpha \beta(\beta)$  colligation. Examples:

une goutte M121/7 → a drop of rain ME77/2  
 son bonheur B49/22 → her good fortune BE37/5  
 la sourde T154/10 → the deaf old spinster TE77/28  
 la chaleur B32/16 → the morning heat BE26/11  
 le voyageur B85/3 → the man who was now going from her BE56/1  
 une longue somnolence B139/20 → a long spell of dozing BE88/4  
 l'ombre où se mouvait un corps B153/3 →  
 the deep patch of shadow in which someone was moving BE95/29

Further, there are more than 300 instances where the head in English contains a nominal modifying element, as in

le bourg B104/21 → the townspeople B67/22

### 8.62 Formal correspondence.

It will be clear from the juxtaposition of the descriptions of the French and English NGps and from the study of translation equivalents that the high measure of formal correspondence noted in respect of their chain syntax is not maintained in their morphology and choice syntax. Although at primary delicacy the elements of structure may in both cases be regarded as ordered on the depth-scale of dependence, the secondary divisions with  $\beta$ , and to a lesser degree within  $\gamma$  and  $\alpha$ , show certain important differences.

- 1) The most crucial structural difference is that in English the earliest cut in  $\beta$  depends on place in sequence relative to  $\alpha$ , contrasting  $\beta^{\rightarrow}$  and  $\beta^{\leftarrow}$ . Only at the next stage in delicacy does  $\beta^{\rightarrow}$  subdivide into d, o, e and n. In French, however, we must distinguish the deictic from other  $\beta$ 's (i.e. from q) at the earliest stage of secondary delicacy. This difference reflects the fact that in English common nouns have a much greater potentiality for expounding simple NGps than they do in French, where the presence of a deictic is almost obligatory. There are three consequences of the difference.
  - i As the English deictic is defined by class and place in sequence, it is not necessary to take the extensive class as a model for the morphological description.
  - ii French has no close formal correspondent to the English element o. We do recognise categories of cardinal and ordinal numerals in French, but the cardinals have the value of deictic or qualifier, and the ordinals that of qualifier. Other exponents of (unidentified) o tend to have equivalents among the French deictics, but no very powerful generalisations can be made at this stage of delicacy: effective comparison must be in respect of the formal items.

iii In English the absence of *d* (more precisely, of both *d* and unidentified *o*) marks the group, if singular, as non-discrete whereas in French the discrete - non-discrete distinction is carried by the selection from among the different exponents of the deictic. This formal difference correlates with a contextual one: in English the non-discrete class has a wider contextual meaning than its French counterpart - besides "mass", it may also mean "abstract" or "general". In the former case absence of *d* is frequently equivalent to French du, in the latter case to French le (see 8.611).

2) Abstracting *d* and *o* from  $\beta$ , the other  $\beta$  elements may be subdivided according as they are expounded by nominal or adverbial items (i.e. words or groups) or by clauses. This much the languages have in common, but in English the nominal items have a much larger role:

- i There is no close formal correspondent in French to the English *n* element. The most frequent equivalent is probably a rankshifted A-Phr (see 8.612) - or rather the latter is equivalent to the *n* together with any submodifiers it may have. For at this place in the framework of the grammar both languages exhibit a considerable degree of recursion: the difference is that in French the recursion much more often involves rankshift.
- ii In French the participle occurs in pre-head position only very exceptionally, whereas in English both present and past participles do so freely. Moreover they frequently enter into non-rankshifted recursive structure which are generally the equivalent of a French post-head rankshifted clausal qualifier.

It follows from both these points that there is a greater range and variety of submodification in English; non-rankshifted recursion plays a more prominent part, so that the word class noun is frequently found operating at any of the three primary elements.

- 3) In French, the unmarked position for adjectival qualifiers is after the head, whereas adjectives occur here only rarely in English. In pre-head position, place-ordered subdivisions in the epithet exhibit greater complexity than they do in the French  $q^{-}$ .
- 4) The concordial categories, on the other hand, are much more important in French than in English.
- i The three-term system of gender is relevant in English only insofar as it bears on the selection of the pronoun substitutes he, she and it. In French there is both inter- and intra - group concord in respect of the two gender categories.
- ii English has nothing corresponding to the distinction between nominal and verbal number, to the difference for instance between nous - même and nous-mêmes. Compare
- c'est toujours nous - même qui parlons à nous - même... M141/1 →  
it is always ourselves speaking to ourselves M889/32
- Thus when groups like the committee, the team etc. occur at S with a plural VGp at P, we would consider the structure to exhibit a (meaningful) lack of concord. French inter-group concord in respect of nominal number has likewise nothing corresponding in English. As for intra-group concord, this too is far more extensive in French than in English, where there is just a marginal degree of concord between d, o and a.

END OF PART II

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