II

Language typology and syntactic description

Complex constructions

Edited by Timothy Shopen

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Volume II

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Edited by
TIMOTHY SHOPEN
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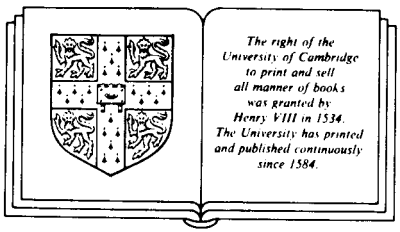

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This work began at a conference on field work questionnaires initiated by Rudolph Troike at the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL). The participants agreed that the best way to prepare for field work is to develop an idea of what to look for, and this led to the idea of a typological survey that could serve as a reference manual and a textbook for students.

Many people have helped us in the work that we now present. I will name only a few here. Rudolph Troike and John Hammer of CAL, and Alan Bell of the National Science Foundation did much to help in the organization of the project, and the National Science Foundation provided generous financial support without which the work would not have been possible. Diana Riehl of CAL was a reliable and capable intermediary in the complex administration of the project. Carmen Silva-Corvalan and Sandra Thompson deserve special thanks for their work at UCLA, while here in Australia many people provided help. The Australian National University has been very generous in its support of my work. I am grateful to Penny Carter and Julia Harding of Cambridge University Press for the careful work in the production of our books. Three people that have been especially helpful to me in the final stages of the editing are Edith Bavin, Jean Harkins, and above all, Rosemary Butt. My thanks to all.

Timothy Shopen
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Abbreviations for grammatical terms

The following are abbreviations for grammatical terms used frequently in the glosses for example. Other abbreviations are explained as they are presented.

ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative
ACT	Actor
AG	Agent
ART	Article
ASP	Aspect
ASSOC	Associative
AUX	Auxiliary
BEN	Benefactive
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Completive
COND	Conditional
DAT	Dative
DECLAR	Declarative
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DO	Direct object
DU	Dual
EMPH	Emphasis
ERG	Ergative
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HABIT	Habitual
IMP	Imperative
IMPERS	Impersonal
INCOMPL	Incompletive
INDIC	Indicative
INF	Infinitive
INSTR	Instrumental
IO	Indirect object
IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative
NOM	Nominative
NZN	Nominalization
NZR	Nominalizer
OBJ	Object
OBL	Oblique
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive
PCL	Particle
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PREP	Preposition
PRES	Present
PRO	Pro form
PROG	Progressive
Q	Question marker
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relativizer
RPRO	Relative pronoun
SG	Singular
SJNCT	Subjunctive
SUBJ	Subject
TNS	Tense
TOP	Topic
VN	Verbal noun
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person

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Introduction

Complex constructions is the second of three volumes comprising the work *Language typology and syntactic description*. The first volume is *Clause structure* and the third is *Grammatical categories and the lexicon*. Our purpose has been to do a cross-linguistic survey of syntactic and morphological structure that can serve as a manual for field workers, and for anyone interested in relating observations about particular languages to a general theory of language.

There are five chapters in this volume. The first is by John Payne on complex phrases and complex sentences. He examines the notion of co-ordination in phrases, especially in noun phrases, and in sentences. He establishes a semantic typology for types of co-ordination and illustrates their use in a variety of languages.

The second chapter is by Michael Noonan on complementation. He looks at the morphology and syntax of complementation with concern for such notions as equi-deletion, raising, parataxis and serialization, with the view that a good deal in the form of complements follows from the semantics of the complement-taking predicate.

The third chapter is by Edward Keenan on relative clauses. He defines the major types of relative clauses and describes the ways in which various languages give formal realization to these types. Included in his discussion is concern for the interaction of relative clause formation and other syntactic operations.

The fourth chapter is by Sandra Thompson and Robert Longacre on adverbial clauses. They show that the meanings expressed in adverbial clauses can always be expressed in other ways, but are presented as they are for reasons of discourse structure. The first half of the chapter presents a typology of adverbial clauses and the second provides a set of notions for understanding the function of these clauses in discourse.

The last chapter of the volume is by Robert Longacre with the title 'Sentences as combinations of clauses'. Looking at complex sentences from this point of view he develops a typology for the way in which

various languages combine clauses into larger structures, with sketches of some representative languages.

Note: References to chapters in all three volumes of *Language typology and syntactic description* are preceded by the volume number. For example: chapter II.1 (chapter 1, this volume), chapter I.3 (chapter 3, Volume I).

1 Complex phrases and complex sentences

JOHN R. PAYNE

0 Preliminaries

0.1 *Types of co-ordination*

All languages, seemingly without exception, possess strategies which permit various types of co-ordination to occur at the phrasal as well as the sentential level, thereby forming complex phrases of various grammatical categories.

From a logical point of view, it is possible to distinguish five basic co-ordination types which are realized linguistically both at phrasal and sentential levels: these are *conjunction* (p and q), *postsection* (p and not q), *presection* (not p and q), *disjunction* (p or q), and *rejection* (not p and not q; not ... p or q).

In most languages, postsection and presection are treated analytically as a combination of conjunction and negation, but rarely they may be realized by a distinct synthetic form. Similarly, rejection may be treated analytically as a combination of conjunction and negation, or of disjunction and negation; alternatively, there may be a distinct synthetic form, as with English *neither ... nor*. Other co-ordination types (like English *for*) occur only at the sentential level, and will not be considered in this chapter.

On the basis of this primarily logical division (though the logical connectives, of course, do not exhaust the meanings of the corresponding linguistic ones, particularly at phrasal levels when no sentential paraphrase is available), further semantic subdivisions may be made. The ones we shall adopt are in most cases similar to those suggested by Dik (1972:279). They may be expressed in feature form, with attribution of markedness (in the Praguian sense) to the plus-valued member: [±Adversative], [±Separate] and [±Emphatic]. Table 1.1 illustrates the most usual occurrences using adjectival co-ordinations from English.

The feature [±Adversative], which specifies whether or not the conjuncts are to be contrasted, subdivides all the basic types except disjunction, with which it appears to be incompatible. In general, the marked value is realized in English by the co-ordinating conjunction

Table 1.1 *Co-ordination types*

(i) Conjunction (p.q)	±Adversative	±Separate	±Emphatic: rich, happy, and wise
			+Emphatic: rich, and happy, and wise
		+Separate	±Emphatic: both rich, happy, and wise
			+Emphatic: both rich, and happy, and wise
	+Adversative: rich, but happy		
(ii) Postsection (p.$\bar{q}$)	±Adversative	±Emphatic: rich, happy, and not wise	
		+Emphatic: rich, and happy, and not wise	
	+Adversative: rich, but not happy		
(iii) Presection ($\bar{p}$.q)	±Adversative:	±Emphatic: not rich, happy, and wise	
		+Emphatic: not rich, and happy, and wise	
	+Adversative: not rich, but happy		
(iv) Disjunction (pvq)	±Separate	±Emphatic: rich, happy, or wise	
		+Emphatic: rich, or happy, or wise	
	+Separate	±Emphatic: either rich, happy, or wise	
		+Emphatic: either rich, or happy, or wise	
(v) Rejection ($\bar{p}.\bar{q}$) = ($\overline{pvq}$)	±Adversative	±Emphatic: neither rich, happy, nor wise	
		+Emphatic: neither rich, nor happy, nor wise	
	+Adversative: not rich, but not happy		

but. While '[$_{AP}$ rich *but* happy]' always has an adversative sense, the corresponding unmarked form '[$_{AP}$ rich *and* happy]' may perhaps in context require an adversative reading, but is essentially vague.

The feature [±Separate], which specifies that emphasis is to be placed on the separateness of the conjuncts, and in the case of phrasal co-ordination implies the existence of a sentential paraphrase, is realized in English by the addition of *both* in the case of conjunction and *either* in the case of disjunction. While '[$_{NP}$ *both* John *and* Mary] got married' always implies that John and Mary should be considered as separate individuals undertaking marriage (and therefore most probably not with each other), the corresponding unmarked '[$_{NP}$ John *and* Mary] got married' is neutral and equally likely to imply a reciprocal inter-

pretation. The feature [+Separate] does not co-occur with the feature [+Adversative], as is evidenced by the impossibility of *'[$_{AP}$ *both* rich *but* happy]'. In combination with negation, as in presection, postsection or rejection, it results in at least some degree of awkwardness or deviance. This deviance is particularly evident with NP co-ordinations: compare the acceptable '[$_{NP}$ John *and not* Mary]' with the unacceptable *'[$_{NP}$ *both* John *and not* Mary]'.

The feature [±Emphatic], which in its marked form specifies that the co-ordination itself is to be emphasized, is realized in English by the repetition of a co-ordinating conjunction between three or more conjuncts. Such repetition is clearly impossible with only two conjuncts, which provides an explanation for the incompatibility of the features [+Emphatic] and [+Adversative].

Whereas individual languages may lack the strategies which enable these marked forms of co-ordination to achieve distinct expression in any simple way, it can be predicted that all languages possess some strategy for each unmarked form, even if that strategy is merely simple juxtaposition of the conjuncts. Table 1.1 therefore presents a universal schema as far as the unmarked co-ordination types are concerned, and covers the marked types which are most likely to be found. Further marked types are found in isolated languages, and a survey of these is given in section 1.5. This section, I expect, is far from any pretension to completeness.

Corresponding to their theoretical status, the marked forms of co-ordination are discussed first, in section 1 of this chapter. Section 2 is then devoted to the unmarked realization of each basic type of co-ordination.

0.2 *A putative category hierarchy*

One major focus of concern in this chapter is the extent to which essentially sentential co-ordination strategies are permitted at phrasal levels. For example, English *and* is used ubiquitously to conjoin sentences ('[$_{S}$ John left *and* Mary left]'), verb phrases ('John [$_{VP}$ got up *and* left]'), adjectival phrases ('John is [$_{AP}$ rich *and* famous]'), prepositional phrases ('John spoke [$_{PP}$ to me *and* to Mary]') and noun phrases ('[$_{NP}$ John *and* Mary] left') plus a variety of subphrasal categories. Such a pattern is widespread, recurring for example in French *et*, Welsh *a*, Russian *i* and Tagalog *at*, but is by no means universal. The Fijian conjunction *ka* for instance may conjoin sentences, verb phrases, adjectival phrases and prepositional phrases, but *not* noun phrases, where a distinct form *kei* is used (cf. section 2.1).

In general, the phrasal categories appear to form a hierarchy: S – VP –

AP – PP – NP. Individual strategies are used to cover contiguous categories, so that for instance Fijian *ka* covers the categories S to PP, and *kei* solely the category NP. It is claimed therefore that a language will not use one strategy for S and NP alone unless the intervening categories also permit the same strategy. Numerous examples of the operation of the hierarchy are given throughout the chapter.

To some extent the hierarchy itself is probably too weak a constraint on the possible forms of co-ordination at phrasal levels. Is there any language which uses one strategy for S and VP conjunction, a separate strategy for AP and PP conjunction, and yet a third strategy for NP conjunction? In general the patterns observed are the following: for postsection, presection, rejection and disjunction, and also for the marked co-ordination types [+Adversative] and [+Separate], the sentential strategy may be permitted at some or all phrasal levels, or none at all. The extent to which the sentential strategy 'reaches down' is subject to the category hierarchy. Unmarked conjunction may behave somewhat differently: because of the greater semantic discrepancies between phrasal (particularly NP) and sentential levels, phrasal strategies may arise independently of the sentential ones. A notable example of this is the frequent use of a comitative form for NP conjunction (independently of any comitative meaning). This strategy may then spread in the opposite direction 'up' the category hierarchy.

1 Marked forms of conjunction

1.1 *The feature 'adversative'*

Co-ordinations with the marked feature [+Adversative] differ from the unmarked ones by specifying that a contrast exists between the conjuncts, or between the implications of the conjuncts. The most general realization in English is with the co-ordinating conjunction *but*. Because of the very nature of contrast, the number of conjuncts is almost universally restricted to two, and we very rarely find the iterated co-ordinators which frequently occur in other co-ordination types. Compare '[$_{AP}$rich *and* happy *and* wise]' with the unacceptable *'[$_{AP}$rich *but* happy *but* wise]'.

From a notional point of view, at least three varieties of adversative conjunction may be distinguished:

1.1.1 *Semantic opposition*

Semantic opposition (the term is taken from Lakoff 1971) implies that the relationship between the conjuncts is simply one of contrast or opposition, uncomplicated by further presuppositions or dependencies.

At the sentential level, the conjuncts are similar in topic and structure, but different in lexical content:

(1) a. [$_S$ John is rich *but* I am poor]
b. [$_S$ In France it rains, *but* in England the sun shines]
(Conjunction)

(2) a. [$_S$ John *isn't* rich *but* he is handsome]
b. [$_S$ In France it *doesn't* rain, *but* in England it does (rain)]
(Presection)

(3) a. [$_S$ John is rich *but* he *isn't* handsome]
b. [$_S$ In France it rains, *but* in England it *doesn't* (rain)]
(Postsection)

(4) a. [$_S$ John is*n't* rich *but* he *isn't* poor (*either*)]
[$_S$ John is*n't* rich *but neither* is he poor]
b. [$_S$ In France it *doesn't* rain, *but* in England it *doesn't* rain (*either*)]
[$_S$ In France it *doesn't* rain, *but neither* does it rain in England]
(Rejection)

Note the existence of a dual strategy for rejection in English at the sentential level.

1.1.2 *Denial of expectation*

Denial of expectation (this term is also taken from Lakoff 1971) implies a contrast which is pragmatically based. A co-ordination of this type with the form 'A *but* B' is taken to mean: given A, it might be expected that *not* B, nevertheless B holds. Contrary to semantic opposition, there is no need for any similarity in general topic or structure between the conjuncts themselves, for example:

(5) a. [$_S$ John is rich, *but* the party will take place]
b. [$_S$ John *isn't* rich, *but* the party will take place]
c. [$_S$ John is rich, *but* the party *won't* take place]
d. [$_S$ John is*n't* rich, *but* the party *won't* take place]

The meaning of (5a) is: John is rich, and therefore it might have been expected that the party would not take place (perhaps the guest list is restricted to the poor, but John, who is rich, turns up); nevertheless, the party will take place. Similar interpretations may be given to the other

examples. Note that in the case of rejection, (5d), a version with *neither* (or *either*) is unacceptable under this interpretation:

(6) a. ?[$_S$ John *isn't* rich, *but* the party *won't* take place *either*]
b. ?[$_S$ John *isn't* rich, *but neither* will the party take place]

From the semantic point of view, sentences involving denial of expectation with the co-ordinating conjunction *but* are similar to sentences with the subordinating conjunction *although*. Sentence (5a) may be paraphrased:

(7) Although John is rich, the party will take place

1.1.3 *Preventative*

Preventative forms of adversative involve a hypothetical first conjunct. In general, a co-ordination of this type with the form 'A *but* B' has the following meaning: A, which otherwise would take place, will fail to take place on account of B:

(8) a. [$_S$ I would go, *but* Bill has the money]
b. [$_S$ I *wouldn't* go, *but* Bill has the money]
c. [$_S$ I would go, *but* Bill *hasn't* the money]
d. [$_S$ I *wouldn't* go, *but* Bill *hasn't* the money]

In (8a), for example, the interpretation is that Bill's possession of the money prevents me from going, and similarly in (8b), Bill's possession of the money prevents me from *not* going, hence I most probably will go.

The preventative form of adversative is similar to the denial of expectation form in that for rejection the *neither* (or *not ... either*) strategy is not permitted:

(9) a. *[$_S$ I *wouldn't* go, but Bill *hasn't* the money *either*]
b. *[$_S$ I *wouldn't* go, but *neither* has Bill the money]

It differs from both denial of expectation and semantic opposition adversatives, however, in the requirement that the first conjunct be hypothetical. This has the important consequence that phrasal forms lower on the category hierarchy than verb phrase are automatically excluded.

The English co-ordinating conjunction *but* may be used in all the three forms of adversative discussed, and possibly more. Indeed, this seems to be a very common strategy: many languages likewise employ a

single co-ordinating conjunction with a variety of functions. In Latin we have, for example:

(10) a. [S *Non* ego erus tibi *sed* servus sum]
not I master to you but slave I am
'I am not a master to you but (I am) a slave'
(Plaut. Capt. 2,1,44)

b. [S Difficile factu est *sed* conabor tamen]
difficult do is but I will try nevertheless
'It is difficult to do but I will try nevertheless'
(Cic. Rep. 1,43,66)

The first sentence is clearly a case of semantic opposition, and the second a case of denial of expectation, reinforced by co-occurrence with the adverb *tamen*.

As in English, the adversative co-ordinating conjunction may contrast with a conjunction unmarked for that feature. In German, for instance, the adversative *aber* contrasts with the unmarked *und* (example (11)); and in Tagalog (example (12)) the adversative *pero* contrasts with the unmarked *at* (Schachter and Otanes 1972:544):

(11) [S Ich rief dich an, *aber* du kamst *nicht*]
I rang you up but you came not
'I rang you up but you didn't come'

(12) [S *Hindi* namin magagawa ngayon, *pero* gagawin namin
not we can do today but will do we
bukas]
tomorrow
'We can't do it today, but we will do it tomorrow'

In languages like Vietnamese, (13) (Thompson 1965:262) and Japanese, (14) (Dunn and Yanada 1958:69) however, a co-ordinating conjunction is used for the adversative even though in non-adversatives the strategy involves simple juxtaposition of the conjuncts with no intervening conjunction (cf. section 2.1):

(13) [S Tôi chò nó, *song le* nó *không* dên]
I wait him but he not come
'I waited for him but he didn't come'

(14) [S Niwa ni neko wa imasu *ga* inu wa *imasen*]
garden in cat TOP be but dog TOP not be
'In the garden there's a cat but not a dog'

It is further possible for a language to possess two (or more) adversative co-ordinating conjunctions with distinct nuances of meaning. For ex-