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LANGUAGE  
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SERIES 137

# Casebook in Functional Discourse Grammar

*Edited by*

J. Lachlan Mackenzie

Hella Olbertz

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

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J. Lachlan Mackenzie

VU University Amsterdam

Hella Olbertz

University of Amsterdam



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Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Casebook in functional discourse grammar / Edited by J. Lachlan Mackenzie,  
Hella Olbertz.

p. cm. (Studies in Language Companion Series, ISSN 0165-7763 ; v. 137)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Functional discourse grammar. I. Mackenzie, J. Lachlan, editor of compilation. II. Olbertz, Hella, 1953- editor of compilation.

P147.C37 2013

415--dc23

2013019111

ISBN 978 90 272 0604 6 (Hb ; alk. paper)

ISBN 978 90 272 7158 7 (Eb)

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John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands  
John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

## Casebook in Functional Discourse Grammar

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### **Volume 137**

Casebook in Functional Discourse Grammar  
Edited by J. Lachlan Mackenzie and Hella Olbertz

## Abbreviations

### Non-standard abbreviations in glosses

AI	animate intransitive verb
ANIM	animate
ANT	anterior
APPROP	appropinquative
CL	clitic
CONN	connective
CONTR	contrastive
DED	deduction
DEP	dependent
DIR	direction, directional
DRCT	direct
DS	different subject
EMPH	emphatic
EXCT	exact
EXT	extent of action
FIN	finite
FNS	final nominal suffix
HUM	human
II	inanimate intransitive verb
INAN	inanimate
INCH	inchoative
INDEP	independent
INFER	inferential
INTER	interrogative
INTNSF	intensifier
INV	inverse
NF	non-feminine
NML	nominal
NONPST	non-past
NONVIS	non-visual
NSPEC	non-specific
OBV	obviative
PERC	event perception

PERL	perlative
POL	polite
PUNCT	punctual
REAL	realis
REC	recent
REM	remote
REP	reportative
SEQ	sequential
SIM	simultaneous
SS	same subject
SUPES	superessive
TA	transitive animate verb
TEL	telic
TI	transitive inanimate verb
TITH	transitive inanimate verb
	theme suffix
V	verbal
VIS	visual
VS	verbal suffix

### Abbreviations used in representations

#### *Interpersonal level*

$\Sigma$	modifier
[ $\pm$ A]	involving the addressee
[ $\pm$ S]	involving the speaker
$\pm$ id	identifiable
$\pm$ s	specific
A	addressee
A <sub>1</sub>	discourse act
C <sub>1</sub>	communicated content
DECL	declarative
emph	emphasis
EXCL	exclamative
F <sub>1</sub>	illocution

Foc	focus
M <sub>1</sub>	move
P <sub>1,2</sub>	speech-act participant
R <sub>1</sub>	subact of reference
rep	reportative
S	speaker
SA	subact
T <sub>1</sub>	subact of ascription

*Representational level*

π	operator
σ	modifier
Φ	semantic function
A	actor
Abl	ablative
Aff	affected
All	allative
anim	animate
ant	anterior
C	causee
Circ	circumstance
deo	deontic
dist	distal
e <sub>1</sub>	state-of-affairs
ep <sub>1</sub>	episode
epi	epistemic
f <sub>1</sub>	property
f <sup>c</sup>	configurational property
f <sup>l</sup>	lexical property
fut	future
ipfv	imperfective
inh	inherent
L	locative
l <sub>1</sub>	location
m	plural, more than one
N	noun
nec	necessity
neg	negation
p <sub>1</sub>	propositional content

Perl	Perlative
post	posterior
pres	present tense
Ref	reference
s <sub>1</sub>	situational concept
subj	subjective
t <sub>1</sub>	time
U	undergoer
V	verb
v <sub>1</sub>	variable
vol	volitive
x <sub>1</sub>	individual

*Morphosyntactic level*

Adpw <sub>1</sub>	adposition
Adpp <sub>1</sub>	adpositional phrase
Advp <sub>1</sub>	adverb phrase
Advw <sub>1</sub>	adverbial word
Aff <sub>1</sub>	affix
Cl <sub>1</sub>	clause
DirObj	direct object
Gw	grammatical word
IndObj	indirect object
Le <sub>1</sub>	linguistic expression
Np <sub>1</sub>	noun phrase
p <sup>2</sup>	second position
p <sup>F</sup>	final position
p <sup>I</sup>	initial position
p <sup>M</sup>	medial position
Subj	subject
Vp <sub>1</sub>	verb phrase
Vr <sub>1</sub>	verbal root
Vs <sub>1</sub>	verbal stem
Vw <sub>1</sub>	verbal word

*Phonological level*

f	falling
h	high
IP	intonation phrase

PP	phonological phrase
PW	phonological word
r	rising
U	utterance

#### Other abbreviations

FDG	Functional Discourse Grammar
MU	moment of utterance
TAM	tense, aspect, mood



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# Introduction

J. Lachlan Mackenzie & Hella Olbertz

VU University Amsterdam / University of Amsterdam

The *Oxford Compact English Dictionary* defines ‘casebook’ as “a book containing a selection of source materials on a particular subject, used as a reference work or in teaching”. This is exactly what we have in mind with this book, a collection of articles written by practitioners of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008) who apply the theory in different domains of linguistic analysis, with respect to a variety of languages. The articles have all been submitted to a rigorous process of peer-reviewing by fellow-authors, by experienced linguists from outside the theory and by the editors; the result is a representative and reliable sample of current work in a relatively new framework that has already led to a plethora of books and special issues (Mackenzie & Gómez-González 2004; Mackenzie & Gómez-González 2005; Dall’Aglio Hattner & Hengeveld 2007; García Velasco & Rijkhoff 2008; Hengeveld & Wanders 2009; Keizer & Wanders 2009; Keizer & van Staden 2009; Wanders & Keizer 2010; García Velasco & Wanders 2012; Keizer et al. submitted). Each chapter of this book has been conceived as a case-study that showcases the potential of FDG while also presenting new results that have value within and beyond the confines of the theory.

At the same time, this *Casebook* is a ‘Keesboek’ (to be pronounced very much like ‘casebook’), a tribute to the intellectual father of FDG, the Dutchman Kees Hengeveld. It was Kees who first proposed the outlines of the theory in 2000. Having become Professor of Theoretical Linguistics at the University of Amsterdam in 1997, he devoted himself in the initial years of his incumbency to two major tasks: participating actively in the rapidly growing field of language typology (cf. Hengeveld 1998) and giving leadership to the discussion that arose after the tragically early death of his predecessor, Simon C. Dik, in 1995. Dik had devoted his career to the development of Functional Grammar, with a series of books (1978, 1989) that oriented the work of a generation of scholars in the Netherlands and beyond. Hengeveld was Dik’s closest associate and oversaw the publication of his posthumous *magnum opus* (1997).

The debate among the adherents of FG on how to continue Dik’s work centred on the role to be attributed to ‘discourse’. Dik (1997) had included a final chapter on this subject, exploring various avenues but without laying out a clear path towards

future research lines. One possibility involved extending the existing treatment of clausal structure in FG ‘upwards’ into discourse, identifying categories of verbal interaction that could be submitted to analysis in much the same way as grammatical units. The other line of inquiry argued that the spontaneity of discourse could not be captured within the rigorous framework of a grammatical theory and that discourse was incommensurable with grammar if the latter was to be understood as a theory of the expression in clausal structure of underlying semantic distinctions. The debate was very much in evidence in the publications of those years (cf. Bolkestein & Hannay 1998) but no resolution or consensus appeared to be forthcoming.

It was at the regular biennial conference on Functional Grammar in 2000, held at the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia in Madrid, that Hengeveld sketched out a new model dubbed ‘Functional Discourse Grammar’, the name of which gave ‘discourse’ a very literal central place in FG. The key advantage of this approach was that it integrated the strong points of both sides of the unresolved debate. Hengeveld showed how the actional nature of discursive behaviour could be captured in terms of the same type of structure (layering, see below) that had characterized semantic structure in FG, but also how ‘discourse’ could be modelled in a separate module of the grammar to be known as the Interpersonal Level, continuing – but also giving separate status to – a notion that had already been present in Dik (1997). That 2000 paper, ultimately to be published as Hengeveld (2004a), proposed that a Functional Discourse Grammar should consist of three Levels, the Interpersonal, Representational and Expression Levels, all of which would display a fundamentally identical form of internal structure. The proposal was thus a synthesis of the two sides of the debate of the late nineties and laid the basis for further refinements in the first decade of the new century, which ultimately led to the major publication in FDG, Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008), in which the currently accepted architecture was laid out, now with four Levels: Interpersonal and Representational (together dealing with ‘formulation’, the organization of cognitive content and communicative intention as linguistically relevant distinctions) and Morphosyntactic and Phonological (both covering ‘encoding’, the distribution of formal distinctions over the two modalities of linguistic form). This four-level grammar also came to be inserted into the global framework of an overall theory of communication, in which the grammar interfaces with further components that represent cognitive content and communicative intention (the Conceptual Component); the discoursal and situational context in which linguistic expressions are formed (the Contextual Component); the processes that translate the phonological representation into spoken, written or gestural form (the Output Component). The result was the overall architecture of a theory of verbal interaction built around FDG, as shown in Figure 1.

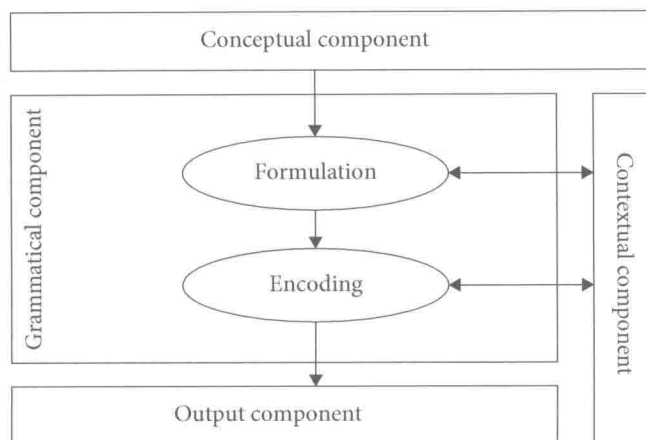


Figure 1. The overall architecture of FDG theory of verbal interaction

It is important to emphasize that although FDG seeks to encompass the effects of conceptual, contextual and articulatory settings on language organization, it remains fundamentally a grammar. And not, as some have supposed, a ‘grammar of discourse’, whatever that might be (cf. Levinson 2006: 46). Rather, FDG is a theory of the internal organization of linguistic expressions as encoding Discourse Acts. It takes as its starting point the observation that human verbal action divides into Discourse Acts, units each of which makes its own contribution to the ongoing communication. Some of these may take the form of clauses (and it is arguable that, in certain genres at least, the clause is the default realization), but others may appear as either more or less than a single clause. Consider (1), in which FDG recognizes the expression of three Discourse Acts, each with its own communicative function (a name with a vocative function, a clause with an imperative function, and a sequence of auxiliary and pronoun with an emphatic function).

- (1) Bill, get that bike into the garage, will you?

In analytical practice, it is not a straightforward matter to reliably identify Discourse Acts (cf. Steen 2005; Simon & Degand 2011), but their theoretical importance as the central object of inquiry within FDG is undoubted (cf. Hannay & Kroon 2005 on the specifically communicative, strategic, nature of the Discourse Act).

In (1), the Discourse Acts clearly go together to form a larger unit. This larger unit, known as the Move (abbreviated as M), represents the highest layer recognized within the Interpersonal Level. A Move is defined either as a Reaction or, as in (1), a discourse unit that provokes a Reaction; it can consist of a single Discourse Act (A), or of an in principle unlimited number of them, as shown in the FDG notation in (2).

$$(2) \quad (M_1; [(A_1), (A_2), \dots (A_n)] (M_1))$$

(2) is an example of a principle that is fundamental to FDG, that of layering, mentioned above in passing. All four Levels of FDG are characterized by internal structuring that involves the nesting of one layer of analysis within another, higher layer (until the highest layer is reached). Layering was first proposed within the framework of FG by Hengeveld (1989) and was quickly incorporated by Dik into what he knew as the ‘underlying representation’. The notion of layering has counterparts in many other approaches (cf. ‘constituency’ in phrase-structure grammars or in Role & Reference Grammar; cf. Butler & Taverniers 2008 for an overview of approaches that invoke layering in various ways). Only in FDG, however, is layering rigorously applied to an Interpersonal Level.

Let us now, by way of providing some general background to the chapters of this volume, consider how the various Levels of FDG are internally structured. In order to do so, it is essential to first introduce a refinement: where one layer (x) is nested within another layer (y), whether the nesting is immediate or not, the relationship between the elements of (x) and (y) is said to be hierarchical. Thus in (2), the relationship between  $(A_1)$  and  $(M_1)$  is hierarchical. Where more than one element is present within the same layer, without any hierarchical relationship, the relationship is said to be configurational, and the elements within the configuration are grouped between square brackets. Thus in (2), the relationship between  $(A_1)$ ,  $(A_2)$ , etc. is configurational. Hierarchical and configurational relationships are found at all four Levels of FDG. These notions will return below.

As to the internal organization of the Interpersonal Level, FDG proposes that the Discourse Act  $(A_1)$  has nested within it a configuration containing up to four elements: an Illocution  $(F_1)$ , the Speaker  $(P_1)_S$ , the Addressee  $(P_2)_A$  and the Communicated Content  $(C_1)$ . In the case of the second Discourse Act in (1) above, the Illocution is IMPerative, there are a Speaker and an Addressee present, and the Communicated Content represents what is imparted. The Communicated Content, in turn, has nested within it a configuration of Subacts, which involves an interplay of referential activity (Subacts of Reference  $(R_1)$ ,  $(R_2)$ , etc.) and of predication activity (Subacts of Ascription  $(T_1)$ ,  $(T_2)$ , etc.). In the second Discourse Act of (1), there are Subacts of Reference corresponding to *that bike* and *the garage* and Subacts of Ascription corresponding to *get*, *bike* and *garage*. The Interpersonal Level is thus thoroughly actional, showing the hierarchical arrangement of making Moves, performing Discourse Acts, issuing Illocutions, conveying Communicated Contents and indulging in predication and reference. The result is shown in (3), the overall structure of the Interpersonal Level.

$$(3) \quad (M_1; [(A_1; [(F_1; \text{ILL } (F_1)) (P_1)_S (P_2)_A (C_1; [(T_1) (R_1) \dots] (C_1))] (A_1)), (A_2), \dots (A_n)] (M_1))$$

The same principles apply at the other Levels. The Representational Level displays all aspects of meaning not covered by the Interpersonal Level, i.e. the ideational content (or ‘semantics’) of the Discourse Act under analysis. In the case of the first Discourse Act in (2) above, there is no ideational content, since the vocative is a purely interactional act, and so the Representational Level will be bypassed; in the second Discourse Act, as in the majority of Discourse Acts, there is ideational content to be organized hierarchically and configurationally, which is work for the Representational Level.

The highest layer of the Representational Level is that of the Propositional Content (p), a term chosen to emphasize its complementary status with regard to the Communicated Content of the Interpersonal Level. The Propositional Content layer indicates the language user’s belief status (‘propositional attitude’) with regard to the ideational content. Within it is nested the Episode (ep) layer, which typically contains at the next hierarchical layer down a configuration of at least one State-of-Affairs (e). Whereas the Episode layer (in relevant languages) indicates the absolute tense that pertains to all the States-of-Affairs it contains, these States-of-Affairs can stand in a relationship of relative tense to each other. A State-of-Affairs is typically itself a configuration of elements that are linked in a relationship of valency; this is known as a Configurational Property (f: [...]) (f)), since it is a grouping of semantic categories of various kinds. A typical configuration is the one needed for the analysis of the second Discourse Act in (1) above, involving a (non-configurational) Property (f<sub>i</sub>), corresponding to *get*, an Individual (x<sub>i</sub>) corresponding to the unexpressed Actor (subscript A), another Individual corresponding to the Undergoer (U) *that bike* (x<sub>j</sub>) and a Location (L) corresponding to *into the garage* (l<sub>i</sub>), as shown in (4):

$$(4) \quad (e_i: (f_i: [(f_j: \text{get} (f_j)) (x_i)_A (x_j: (f_k: \text{bike} (f_k)) (x_j))_U (l_i: (f_l: [(f_m: \text{in} (f_m)) (l_j: ((f_n: \text{garage} (f_n)) (l_j))_{\text{Ref}}] (f_i)))] (l_i)_L (f_i)) (e_i))$$

Actor, Undergoer and Location are cover terms for the semantic functions attributed to the arguments within the Configurational Property, in this case (x<sub>i</sub>), (x<sub>j</sub>) and (l<sub>i</sub>). Notice that in (4), which is an actual analysis, the numerical subscripts on the variables have been replaced with letters, commencing with i.

The full hierarchical and configurational structure of the Representational Level is shown in (5), where (f<sub>2</sub>: ♦ (f<sub>2</sub>)) is a Lexical Property, the symbol ♦ standing for a lexical item. Notice that, as in (3), configurations are shown within square brackets:

$$(5) \quad (p_1: (ep_1: [(e_1: (f_1: [(f_2: \diamond (f_2)) (x_1) \dots] (f_1)) (e_1)), (e_2) \dots (e_n)] (ep_1)) (p_1))$$

The two structures together display all the aspects of ‘meaning’ that are relevant for the characterization of the linguistic unit under analysis. In the FDG view, these

units involve a continual interplay of interpersonal and representational elements: in a 'simple' NP like *a new car*, for example, the indefiniteness, the presence of ascription (*new* and *car*) and the presence of reference (the entire NP) are interpersonal features, while the status of *car* as an individual, the singular number and the relationship of 'restriction' between *car* and *new* are representational features. In order to understand how these matters are represented, it will be necessary to add some refinements to the structures we have developed so far. These refinements apply equally to the two Levels.

Firstly, any of the variables we have introduced (M, A, p, ep, etc.) can be preceded by an operator with specific effects on the morphosyntax or phonology of the corresponding linguistic expression. Thus it is the presence of the indefiniteness operator (–d) on the relevant Subact of Reference that in English induces the indefinite article in morphosyntax; or the presence of the operator Past on the relevant Episode that leads to the verbs in question appearing in the past tense. Notice that definiteness and tense are not universal distinctions: only in the analysis of languages where the relevant distinctions are made will the specific corresponding operators be required; what is universal is the existence of operators. Secondly, any of the layers we have distinguished may contain modifiers, i.e. further lexical content that restricts the application of the 'head'. Thus a declarative Illocution may be specified by a modifier whose lexical content is 'honestly', or an Episode with a past operator may be further specified by a modifier whose lexical content is 'yesterday'. To show how operators and modifiers are notated, see (6a) and the analysis of its episode layer (6b). Again, not all languages use modification to the same extent and in the analysis of any one linguistic expression many layers will not contain any modification, but what is universal is the potential for modification.

- (6) a. My neighbour washed his car yesterday.  
 b. (past ep<sub>i</sub>: (e<sub>i</sub>: (f<sub>i</sub>: –my neighbour wash his car– (f<sub>i</sub>)) (e<sub>i</sub>)) (ep<sub>i</sub>):  
 (f<sub>i</sub>: yesterday (f<sub>i</sub>)) (ep<sub>i</sub>))

In (6b) we see the positioning of the operator 'past' (immediately before the variable in its scope) and that of the modifier 'yesterday' as a property of the episode that restricts the semantic unit that precedes the semi-colon (:). Note also that units that are not analysed in a representation are by convention placed between dashes. Thus (6b) reads "episode in the past such that 'my neighbour wash his car', such that my neighbour's washing of his car had the property 'yesterday'".

Thirdly, as has already been implicit, FDG allows for recursion in its meaning representations, but without imposing it as a requirement for well-formedness. Within the Configurational Property of the Representational Level, for example,

one or more of the elements in the configuration may be of a hierarchically higher type as in (7), in which the Propositional Content ( $p_j$ ) expressed as *he was innocent* is an argument in the Configurational Property ( $f_k$ ):

- (7) a. Keith claimed that he was innocent.  
 b. ( $p_i$ : (past  $ep_i$ : ( $e_i$ : ( $f_i$ : [ $(f_j$ : claim ( $f_j$ )) ( $x_i$ )<sub>A</sub> ( $p_j$ : ( $ep_j$ : ( $e_j$ : ( $f_k$ : [ $(f_i$ : innocent ( $f_i$ )) ( $x_i$ )<sub>U</sub> ( $f_k$ )) ( $e_j$ )) ( $ep_j$ )) ( $p_j$ )<sub>U</sub> ( $f_i$ )) ( $e_i$ )) ( $ep_i$ )) ( $p_i$ ))

Much the same applies where the item is lexical rather than configurational, as in (8):

- (8) a. Keith claimed innocence.  
 b. ( $p_i$ : (past  $ep_i$ : ( $e_i$ : ( $f_i$ : [ $(f_j$ : claim ( $f_j$ )) ( $x_i$ )<sub>A</sub> ( $p_j$ : ( $f_k$ : innocence ( $f_k$ )) ( $p_j$ )<sub>U</sub> ( $f_i$ )) ( $e_i$ )) ( $ep_i$ )) ( $p_i$ ))

The Morphosyntactic and Phonological Levels, too, are layered. Since most of the chapters in the present volume say little about the Phonological Level, we will here limit ourselves to some introductory remarks on the Morphosyntactic Level (ML; see Mackenzie, submitted, for further details). The layers recognized at the ML are those of the Linguistic Expression (Le), the Clause (Cl), the Phrase (Xp), and the Word (Xw), which contains a configuration of stems (Xs) and affixes (Aff). A Linguistic Expression is any configuration of two or more representatives of the same layer which is not otherwise classifiable. Thus, to return to (1) above, repeated her for convenience as (9a), the morphosyntax of the whole is that of a Linguistic Expression containing a Noun word, a Clause, and another Linguistic Expression linking two Phrases, as shown in (9b):

- (9) a. Bill, get that bike into the garage, will you?  
 b. ( $Le_i$ : [ $(Nw_i)$  ( $Cl_i$ ) ( $Le_j$ : [ $(Vp_i)$  ( $Np_j$ )] ( $Le_j$ ))] ( $Le_i$ ))

The order of the elements in a Clause, Phrase or Word is handled in FDG by assuming the presence of at least one absolute position and the potential existence of further, relative positions, in the manner explained by Hengeveld (this volume). From left to right, the absolute positions are the initial, second, medial and final positions. Although the FDG architecture in some ways resembles the sequence of events in language production (conceptualization, formulation, encoding, articulation, cf. Levelt 1989), the order in which elements are positioned morphosyntactically is not designed to reflect the incremental production of utterances. Rather, it is a matter of the implementation of the analytical process. For example, a distinctive feature of FDG is that hierarchically organized units are positioned in the morphosyntax before configurationally organized units; in addition, units originating at the Interpersonal Level are given priority over units from the Representational Level. This means that operators and modifiers at 'higher'



layers will have ‘first claim’ to the absolute positions at the Morphosyntactic Level, so that – for example – adverbials, rather than being ‘attached to’ or ‘inserted into’ already existent ‘core structures’, are placed first. The result is that ‘lower’ elements, for example the occupants of the Configurational Property, have to make do with what remains, unless they also carry operators from higher structures.

Consider the following example, which assumes the correctness of the claim in Hengeveld (this volume) that in English the Actor belongs in the initial field and the Predicate and Undergoer share the medial field:

(10) Yesterday the doctor accidentally left his watch in my house.

This clause has three adverbials: *yesterday* is a modifier of the Episode, *in my house* a modifier of the State-of-Affairs and *accidentally* a modifier of the Configurational Property *leave (doctor, watch)*. The remaining elements are the Actor *the doctor*, the Predicate *leave* and the Undergoer *his watch*. In the dynamic implementation of FDG, *yesterday* as the hierarchically highest element is first to be positioned, in  $P^I$  (initial position); then *in my house* is next for placement, in  $P^F$  (final position); *accidentally* then is placed in  $P^M$  (medial position), no other positions being available – English, unlike e.g. Dutch or Tzotzil, has no absolute second position ( $P^2$ ). *The doctor* is accordingly now placed in  $P^{I+1}$ , remaining in the initial field but pushed one place to the right, as it were; analogously, *left* goes to  $P^{M+1}$  and *his watch* to  $P^{M+2}$ .

For ease of exposition, all the data used above have been from English. However, it is important to bear in mind that FDG has a strong cross-linguistic orientation, seeking to provide descriptions of data from languages of all types without privileging any language type. This is reflected not only in Kees Hengeveld’s own work, which from the outset has been concerned with a multiplicity of languages (cf. Hengeveld 1992), but also in the present volume, in which three of the chapters (Dall’Aglio Hattner, Hengeveld and Mackenzie) are explicitly typological, while other chapters are concerned with the detailed application of FDG to languages of different types (Connolly on Welsh, García Velasco and Olbertz & Gasparini Bastos on Spanish, Genée on Blackfoot, Van de Velde on Dutch); even the chapters that deal with English (Keizer, Leufkens) do so from a typological perspective, viewing it against the backdrop of typological variation.

The opening chapter of this book, by Kees Hengeveld (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands), develops the approach to constituent ordering outlined in Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008) and summarized above. There has been some dissatisfaction in typological circles with the convenient but ultimately unconvincing six-way classification of ordering at clause-level as VSO, SVO, SOV (the predominant orders) plus VOS, OVS and OSV. It is beyond dispute that ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are not applicable to all languages and that V – which itself may not be