Getting One's Words into Line

On Word Order and Functional Grammar

Jan Nuyts
Georges de Schutter (eds.)

FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR SERIES 5

FORIS PUBLICATIONS

Getting One's Words into Line

On Word Order and Functional Grammar

Jan Nuyts
Georges de Schutter (eds.)

1987
FORIS PUBLICATIONS
Dordrecht - Holland/Providence RI - USA

Published by:
Foris Publications Holland
P.O. Box 509
3300 AM Dordrecht, The Netherlands

Sole distributor for the U.S.A. and Canada:
Foris Publications USA, Inc.
P.O. Box 5904
Providence RI 02903
U.S.A.

Sole distributor for Japan:
Sanseido Book Store, Ltd.
1-1, Kanda-jimbocho-cho
Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 101, Japan

CIP-DATA KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, DEN HAAG

Getting

Getting One's Words into Line: on Word Order and Functional Grammar / Jan Nuyts and Georges de Schutter (eds.). - Dordrecht [etc.]: Foris. - (Functional Grammar Series; 5)
With ref.
ISBN 90-6765-349-7
SISO 805.1 UDC 801.5
Subject heading: word order / functional grammar

ISBN 90 6765 349 7

© 1987 Foris Publications - Dordrecht

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the copyright owner.

Printed in the Netherlands by ICG Printing, Dordrecht.

Preface

This volume contains twelve papers which were originally presented at the Second International Conference on Functional Grammar, held at the University of Antwerp, September 1-5, 1986. A number of other contributions to this conference are published in a companion to this volume, *Ins and outs of the predication*, edited by Johan van der Auwera and Louis Goossens. The 'division of labour' between these volumes is mainly according to a distinction which can be made between two more or less delimited (though, of course, closely related) subdomains of investigation within the theory of Functional Grammar (FG), viz.

i. predication: the problem of putting one's thoughts together in a predication, of 'finding one's words';
ii. expression: the process of expressing the predication in an utterance, of 'getting one's words into line'.

While the companion volume is mainly concerned with (i), the present volume mainly deals with questions falling under (ii). Yet, the formulation under (ii) is too restricted to cover everything that is included in this volume, and this has to do with some recent developments in the research interests in FG which transcend the division between (i) and (ii), and to a certain degree even blur it.

Originally, FG was nearly exclusively concerned with problems of predication and expression in utterances taken in isolation. But more recently, there has been a growing awareness that many of the phenomena occurring at the sentence level might be dependent on contextual factors. Many of the decisions a speaker takes in constituting an utterance depend on the way he is constituting the entire text of which this utterance is a part, i.e. on the way he is grouping his thoughts together in States of Affairs, and the way he is ordering States of Affairs in complex sentences and sentence complexes. Supra-sentential phenomena such as topic continuity and topic shift are clearly connected with sentential decisions such as

the choice between full-fledged nominal phrases and pronouns of various kinds, the selection of active or passive constructions, of theme- or tail-constructions, etc.

Of course, in a certain sense this 'grouping and ordering of thoughts' also has to do with 'getting one's words into line'. Hence the present volume also contains papers which are explicitly concerned with pragmatic factors of a supra-sentential nature and their influence on decisions within sentences (A.M. Bolkestein, A. Siewierska, and to a large extent also A. Maes and R. Geluykens), next to papers which mainly deal with problems of word order at the sentence level itself, approaching problems falling under (ii) in a way which is more 'traditional' to FG. These include investigations of the functions (pragmatic or otherwise) of the special positions (P1, P2, etc.) which are distinguished in the functional sentence pattern (G. de Schutter, G. Wakker, A. Moutaouakil, and J. van der Auwera), and investigations of word order typology in various languages (V. Bubenik, S. Stanchev, A. de Schryver, and J.N.M. Rijkhoff).

The ordering of the papers in this volume is more or less in line with the development of two tendencies throughout them, which to a large extent appear to coincide (though their mapping is not perfect):

i. The volume starts with papers which take up and/or elaborate topics and views belonging to the well-established core of FG-research, and gradually moves towards papers which confront the reader with topics that are less traditional. The further one moves on in this volume, the more suggestions one will find for elaboration and/or modification of some of the basic principles of the theory as it has been developed up to this moment.

ii. The volume starts with papers which are mainly concerned with purely syntactic aspects of word order, and moves towards papers which are also involved with pragmatic aspects of word order, on the sentence level, and gradually also on the 'deeper' textual level.

The first set of four papers focuses on a topic which has been

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

at the core of linguistic interest in FG from the very beginning, viz. the problem of the typological classification of languages according to their basic word order patterns. They mainly discuss two at first sight rather diverse syntactic problems, which on closer inspection appear to be intimately related, however: cliticization typology, and prefield/postfield typology, together with the SOV-SVO-VSO trichotomy.

In his paper *Word order tendencies in two Prefield subtypes* Rijkhoff investigates some word order characteristics in Prefield (OV-) languages, especially those that may be called non-rigid. Taking the order 'attributive material - head' as the normal pattern in this type, he tries to trace back deviant orderings to a universal underlying 'Principle of Head Proximity'. This principle states that there is a general tendency in languages to keep the kernel part of two constituents having a dependency relation as close together as possible. This principle sometimes clashes with the traditional Prefield-Postfield principle, resulting in 'mixed' orderings such as 'genitive - noun - adjective'. On the assumption that deviations in the ordering will be common only in non-rigid Prefield languages, two hypotheses concerning such deviating orderings deriving from the new principle are tested against a sample of rigid and non-rigid Prefield languages. The results appear to be in accordance with the principle.

De Schryver's paper *The position of the Subject in Rif-Berber* deals with the preferred place of the Subject in Tarifit. It challenges the general view that this language belongs to the VSO-type. The author claims that there is a marked tendency towards a typological change, as the Subject-NP (pronominal as well as nominal) is predominantly placed in what must have been Pl originally. This process of syntactization appears to be still in progress at present, but its result might be well established already, as is shown by the fact that a new Pl-position has been created. The author also indicates a striking parallelism between the emergence of the syntactic function of Subject and the progressing fixation of word order.

In *Some observations on the order of constituents in Bulgarian*

Stanchev tries to elucidate the dynamism of word order within the limits of pragmatically 'neutral' clauses, though a number of remarks on marked clauses are included as well. On the whole the author tries to apply the non-pragmatic ordering principles accepted in FG, but in doing so he brings an illustration of the limitations of his purely syntactic treatment, the syntactic rules being supplemented and often counteracted by pragmatic factors. The contents of this paper, dealing to a large extent with clitics and other pronouns, may be fruitfully compared with the next one, in which the problem of cliticization is explicitly dealt with in a more encompassing way.

Bubenik's paper *The study of clitics in Functional Grammar* starts with an extensive study of clitics in Czech. This leads the author to a definition of problems not yet addressed by FG, such as the types and degrees of cohesion between clitics and their hosts, and the correlation with the general typological status of languages in the VSO-SVO-SOV trichotomy. Bubenik argues that there is a sort of clash between the fundamental dichotomy of preverbal-postverbal position with pronouns, as opposed to the trichotomy for nominal arguments. This is in part traced back to the principle known as Wackernagel's law, but other factors are considered as well.

A second group of papers concerns the function and filling in of the 'special' positions (P1, P2, etc.), which in the FG-view of word order are generally claimed to be pragmatically determined. In *Complementizers as P2 fillers*, however, Van der Auwera takes the position that P1 and P2 are to a large degree syntacticized, at least in subordinate clauses. He takes as a starting point that complementizers and other subordination markers of whatever kind take up one of the initial 'pragmatic' positions in the clause, and he argues that P2, contrary to P1, may be doubly or even multiply filled. His discussion leads him to the claim that interrogative and relative constituents occur in P1, whereas subordinating conjunctions occur in P2. Evidence is adduced from Germanic languages, though the author claims a wider cross-linguistic application for this principle.

The other papers in this group rather aim at determining the roles of special sentence positions in terms of pragmatic functions. The first one, Moutaouakil's *VXS en Arabe*, adduces further evidence for the fundamentally pragmatic character of word order in Modern Standard Arabic. Since this paper is written in French, we will elaborate a bit more fully on its contents. The basic order in Modern Standard Arabic is generally admitted to be VSO. However, VOS and more generally VXS (in which X stands for any type of constituent, i.e. Object, Recipient, Locative, Temporal, etc.) is frequent as well. The author tries to demonstrate that only part of these 'deviant' constructions are really of the VXS-type, the other ones displaying the structure 'predication - Tail'. He also argues that the remaining VXS-constructions are pragmatically marked, X being a special pragmatic position which may be taken by a constituent with Topic function. These points together are called the 'Topic hypothesis', which is confronted with two other hypotheses concerning the phenomena involved, viz. the 'Tail hypothesis' and the 'scrambling hypothesis'. Evidence in favour of the Topic hypothesis is found primarily in differences between the pragmatic characteristics of constructions with the Subject immediately after the verb, and constructions with the Subject separated from the verb by another constituent. In this way, the author ends up by postulating a sentence pattern for Modern Standard Arabic in which the number of typical sentence-initial and -final positions accepted in FG is extended to five, and in which a sixth special position is admitted within the VSO 'core', immediately after the verb (cf. his schema (30)). He rounds off his discussion by considering reasons for placing the Topic in this special post-verbal position, rather than in the more common pre-verbal position. The former seems to be restricted to sentences with a rather intricate pragmatic structure, mostly implying questioning or contrast.

As is suggested by the title *Purpose clauses in Ancient Greek*, Wakker's paper is concerned with factors determining the ordering of purpose-expressing constructions relative to their main clauses in Greek, but the author claims cross-linguistic validity for her

analysis, which is supported by means of English examples. The distribution of purpose clauses over different positions in complex sentences is argued to be pragmatically based. Sentence-final purpose clauses appear to have Tail function, hence they can be said to be in P3. The status of sentence-initial clauses may be Theme (occupying P2), or Focus (occupying P1). In the latter case the clauses mostly bear some formal marker relating them to one of the sentence constituents. The pragmatic status of sentence-internal purpose clauses is ambiguous, however, and Wakker discusses the implications of various kinds of solutions for the FG-view on pragmatic functions and positions.

De Schutter's *Pragmatic positions: The case of modifying clauses in Dutch* is closely related to the foregoing paper, both in its topic and in its approach. The author tries to throw more light on the functional status of P2 and P1 in terms of the pragmatic value of the constituents occupying them. He argues that these constituents do have a clear pragmatic status on the extra-sentential and intra-sentential level respectively, without automatically entailing the Theme or Topic function, however. Evidence for this view is found in the behaviour of the three main types of modifying clauses in Dutch (conditionals, concessives, and commentatives) as well as in the distribution of different sub-types.

The tendency to take into account more complex constructions and to look across the borders of the sentence proper was already apparent in the last two papers; the remaining papers in this volume are explicitly concerned with the relationship between intra-sentential and extra-sentential phenomena. Still belonging to the group of papers considering the role of special positions in the sentence, Geluykens' *Tails (right-dislocations) as a repair mechanism in English conversation* contains a criticism of the FG-treatment of constituents in P3-position from the perspective of their use in conversation. Considering a (rather restricted) set of occurrences of the construction in English conversation, the author suggests that Tails are mainly a repair-mechanism by means of which the speaker adds information the hearer might need for a proper

identification of some element in the main clause. The main point he makes is that for an appropriate account of the function of constructions one has to look beyond the limits of single sentences.

In *The pragmatic value of cataphoric relations* Maes also takes up these topics, in the framework of a more encompassing approach to the problem of 'backward anaphora'. He argues that cataphora can have two distinct functional values, namely a qualificational one, when the cataphoric relation is used to indicate interactional changes between the speaker, the addressee and the topic of the discourse, and an identificational one, when the cataphoric relation is used to identify the referents of a discourse (Geluykens' repair-mechanism belongs to this category). Again, a strong emphasis is laid on the insufficiency of structural characteristics of the utterance itself for distinguishing between the different types of cataphoric relations.

In *Postverbal Subject pronouns in Polish in the light of topic continuity and the Topic-Focus distinction* Siewierska demonstrates the limitations of Givón's notions of 'topic continuity' and 'topic shift' for explaining the distribution of subjectless as opposed to postverbal-Subject-pronoun constructions in Polish, and argues that the FG-notions of Topic and Focus are more appropriate for this. She claims that the choice between the alternatives can be grasped in terms of shifts in the Topic and Focus functions across successive clauses. The author also discusses the occurrence of preverbal Subject pronouns, arguing that they might be in contrastive Focus.

Another opposition which is quite common in functional linguistic studies but which has received little explicit attention in FG so far, is the background-foreground distinction. This factor figures prominently in the last paper of this volume, Bolkestein's *Discourse functions of predications*. Following a rich tradition in discourse pragmatics (which is extensively surveyed in this paper) the author tries to establish correlations between this discourse opposition and sentence level distinctions which are commonly associated with it, viz. the choice between perfect and imperfect

tense, and the choice between active and passive voice. The results of a statistical investigation based on Latin texts may be disappointing for those who believe in a direct correlation between the two levels, but they do show a great number of very significant differences between the clause types, which call for further investigation.

In sum, the papers in this volume taken together make a strong case for the view of word order in natural languages which is accepted in FG. No matter whether they are trying to apply, to refine, to elaborate, or to challenge current FG-claims on individual points, they all somehow reinforce the core of the FG-theory on this topic, i.e. the view that the structural organization of utterances is basically determined by a great number of pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic factors, which may interact - and even counteract - partly in a universal, partly in a language specific way in determining word order tendencies in natural languages.

To conclude, we would like to express our gratitude to all those who have helped us to bring our editorial work to a (good?) end. To Johan van der Auwera and Louis Goossens for their help in selecting the papers for this volume, and for their collaboration in finding solutions to all kinds of practical problems. Even more to our typist, Ann Verhaert, who accepted the challenge to decipher the 'over-edited' manuscript, which nevertheless appeared to be under-edited since she still had to (and managed to) filter out (too) many editorial lapses. We also acknowledge the financial support of the Belgian National fund for Scientific Research and the Universitaire Instelling Antwerpen, both for the organization of the conference and for the publication of the two volumes emerging from it.

Antwerp, June 1987

Jan Nuyts
Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research

Georges de Schutter
University of Antwerp (UIA)

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

Table of Contents

Preface v

Word order tendencies in two Prefield subtypes

Jan Rijkhoff

0. Introduction 1
1. Word order in Functional Grammar 2
2. The PHP and Prefield languages 6
3. The sample: rigid and non-rigid Prefield languages 8
4. Results: the first hypothesis 10
5. Results: the second hypothesis 12
6. The PHP and word order change 14
7. Conclusions 15

The position of the Subject in Rif-Berber

Ann de Schryver

0. Introduction 17
1. Verbal patterns in the corpus 17
1.1. The Subject is not expressed 17
1.2. The Subject is expressed 18
2. Analysis of the sample 20
2.1. Distribution of verbal patterns in main, declarative, affirmative sentences 20
2.2. Discussion of the distribution 21
3. Other declarative sentence-types 22
3.1. Presentative sentences 22
3.2. Non-verbal sentences 24
3.3. Summing up 28
4. SVO-patterns in the corpus 29
5. Conclusions 30

Some observations on the order of constituents in Bulgarian

Svillen Stanchev

0. Introduction 33
1. Is Bulgarian a SVO-language? 34
2. Word order in questions 35
2.1. The 'normal' construction 35
2.2. Alternative constructions 35
2.3. Conclusions 37
3. The place of the pronominal Object 37
3.1. Full and clitic forms 37
3.2. Post- and preverbal position 38
3.3. Combinations with complex verb forms 39
3.4. Conclusion 40
4. Clitic doubling 40

5. Constructions with more than one 'Object' 41
6. Conclusions 43

The study of clitics in Functional Grammar

Vit Bubenik

0. Introduction 45
1. The Czech pronominal system 46
2. Cliticization and Wackernagel's Law 49
3. Typology of cliticization 52
4. Conclusions 56

Complementizers as P2 fillers

Johan van der Auwera

0. Introduction 61
1. The similarity between COMPs and SC WHs 63
2. Some 'simple' facts 65
3. Some 'hard' facts 66
4. Some cross-linguistic facts 70
5. Conclusions 70

VXS en arabe

Ahmed Moutaouakil

0. Introduction 73
1. L''Hypothèse de la Queue' 75
1.1. 'Perspective' et ordre des constituants 75
1.2. VOS ou 'predication, Queue'? 75
2. L''Hypothèse du brouillage' 79
2.1. La règle de 'brouillage' 79
2.2. 'Structure sémantique' vs 'structure informationnelle' 80
3. L''Hypothèse du Topic' 81
3.1. Arguments 81
3.2. Reformulation de la structure positionnelle de la phrase verbale 83
3.3. Topic pré-verbal vs. Topic post-verbal 84
4. Conclusions 87

Purpose clauses in Ancient Greek

G.C. Wakker

0. Introduction 89
1. The position of purpose expressions in the sentence 90
2. Frequency differences between the various kinds of purpose expressions in non-final position 92
3. Pragmatic function of sentence-final purpose expressions 94
4. Pragmatic function of sentence-initial purpose expressions 95
5. Purpose expressions within the main clause 98
6. Conclusions 100

Pragmatic positions: The case of modifying clauses in Dutch

Georges de Schutter

0. Introduction 103
1. Modifying clauses 106
2. The position of initial modifying clauses 109
2.1. General facts 109
2.2. Conditional clauses 113
2.3. Commentative clauses 114
3. The pragmatic character of P1 and P2 115
4. Conclusions 116

Tails (right-dislocations) as a repair mechanism in English conversation

Ronald Geluykens

0. Introduction 119
1. Tails in discourse: a quantitative appreciation 120
2. A functional analysis of Tails in conversation 120
2.1. Preliminaries 120
2.2. Tails and repair 122
2.3. Tails and the given/new distinction 124
3. Conclusions 127

The pragmatic value of cataphoric relations

Alfons Maes

0. Introduction 131
1. CR in functional terms 131
2. 'Strategic' types of CR 132
2.1. CR as an identificational device 134
2.2. CR as a qualificational device 135
2.2.1. Interactional effects of CR 136
2.2.2. A pragmatic interpretation 139
2.2.3. Qualificational CR and Topic/Focus 140
3. Conclusions 143

Postverbal Subject pronouns in Polish in the light of topic continuity and the Topic/Focus distinction

Anna Siewierska

0. Introduction 147
1. The data base 148
2. Location in the utterance 150
3. Topic, Focus and topic continuity 152
3.1. Topic shift 153
3.2. Interference 157
4. Preverbal Subject pronouns 158
5. Conclusions 160

Discourse functions of predications: The background/foreground distinction and tense and voice in Latin main and subordinate clauses

A. Machtelt Bolkestein

0. Introduction 163
1. Formal correlates of the pragmatic distinction? 166
1.1. Foreground/background and parataxis/hypotaxis 166
1.2. Foreground/background and tense/aspect 168
1.3. Consequences of the foreground/background distinction for active/passive variation and/or TFA? 169
2. The interaction of tense, voice, and parataxis/hypotaxis in Latin 170
2.1. The perfect/imperfect tense 170
2.2. Main clauses vs. subordinate clauses 171
2.3. Semantic types of predications 173
2.4. Clauses differing in Topic-Focus distribution 175
3. Conclusions 176

References 179

Author index 191

Language index 193

Subject index 195

Word order tendencies in two Prefield subtypes

Jan Rijkhoff
Institute of General Linguistics, University of Amsterdam

*0. Introduction**

Since the publication of Greenberg's (1966) essay on language universals it has been well established that languages tend to display certain cooccurring ordering patterns. On the basis of a systematic study of thirty randomly selected languages Greenberg has formulated some forty universals of grammar, about half of which relate to syntax. Two of them are:

> Universal 1: In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.
>
> Universal 17: With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, languages with dominant order VSO have the adjective after the noun.

Universal ordering tendencies are also quite conspicuous in the classification of 142 languages that he provided in the same study. Languages were classified according to the following parameters:

i. the position of the main verb relative to nominal Subject and Object;
ii. the position of the noun relative to the adjective and the genitive/possessor phrase;
iii. the position of the adposition, i.e. preposition or postposition.

Recently Hawkins (1983) has been able to expand this sample to over 300 languages and an adapted version of this sample is given in Table 1. Notice that V-1 stands for V-initial languages so as to capture the small number of languages that are supposed to have VOS order (cf. Universal 1), and that the adposition parameter has been omitted since it is of no interest here (see below). This leaves us with twelve classes. Dashes indicate the position of A and G when they occur on the same side of the head noun.[1]

Table 1: classification of languages

1. V-1 & N--	38	5. SVO & N--	56	9. SOV & N--	21
2. V-1 & ANG	13	6. SVO & ANG	17	10. SOV & ANG	0
3. V-1 & --N	2	7. SVO & --N	19	11. SOV & --N	98
4. V-1 & GNA	0	8. SVO & GNA	17	12. SOV & GNA	55
	53 lgs.		109		174

Together these data indicate that those are, what Greenberg called, harmonic relations (ibid: 100):

(1) VS & VO & NA & NG [cf. class 1]
SV & OV & AN & NG [cf. class 11]

In the theory of Functional Grammar (FG) universal ordering tendencies are captured by principles of constituent ordering and to account for the harmonic relations that Greenberg found two proposals have been put forward: one that we may call the Prefield/Postfield Principle (Dik 1983b), and the other the Principle of Head Proximity (Rijkhoff 1986). Although to a considerable extent these principles define identical patterns, they also differ in several of their consequences.

For example, on the basis of the Principle of Head Proximity it can be hypothesized that, first, the order of constituents in the term phrase and, second, the position of auxiliary verbs and the like, will not be the same in rigid and non-rigid Prefield (or SOV) languages. In this paper these two hypotheses are tested against a representative sample of twenty two Prefield languages of either subtype.

1. Word order in Functional Grammar

In the theory of Functional Grammar the order of constituents in a linguistic expression is ultimately determined by language particular placement rules, which apply to unordered but fully specified underlying predications. These placement rules are governed by general principles of constituent ordering, which together more or

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com