

EUROTYP theme group on
ADVERBIAL RELATIONS, OPERATORS, and CONNECTIVES

QUESTIONNAIRE:
THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE
OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Amsterdam, december 1991.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE PROJECT

0 Introduction

The kind of phenomena that this project is concerned with can be illustrated by means of the following examples from Modern Greek and Turkish:

Modern Greek (Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton 1987:31)

- (1) írΦame na se voiΦíso
 come.PAST.1PL SBJV2SG.ACC help.1PL
 'We came (in order) to help you'

Turkish (Lewis 1967:167-8)

- (2) Çarşı-ya git-mek üzere otobüs-e bin-di
 market-DATgo-INF in.order.to bus-DAT get.on-PAST.3
 'She got on the bus to go to the market'

Both (1) and (2) contain an adverbial of purpose. In Modern Greek this adverbial is obligatorily expressed by means of a subjunctive clause. In Turkish such an adverbial usually takes the form of an infinitival clause. Although the *semantic type* of the adverbial is the same, its *expression format* is different in the two languages. The project is concerned with the study of the relationship between these two aspects of adverbials.

1 Aims, means, and limitations

The aims of the project can be formulated as follows:

- (i) to find out whether there are systematic correlations between the semantic types of adverbials on the one hand and their expression formats on the other both within and across the languages of Europe;
- (ii) to find out whether these correlations are connected with other features of the languages concerned, in particular:
 - (iia) their general system of subordination.
 - (iib) their system of complementation.
 - (iic) their parts-of-speech system.

The data necessary for (iic) will be collected in a separate project at a later stage, and need not concern us any further here. To achieve the remaining aims three kinds of information on individual European languages will be needed:

- (i) a description of the types of subordinate construction found in the languages concerned;
- (ii) an inventarization of the expression formats used for different types of adverbial;
- (iii) an inventarization of the expression formats used for different types of complement.

Given the wide range of data needed, and in order to keep the amount of data in hand, the project will be restricted to:

- (i) subordinate constructions based on a verbal predicate;
- (ii) a limited number of adverbials and complements.

2 Data collection

The data needed for the project are collected through the questionnaire in part B, which consists of three parts:

I Subordinate constructions

In this part of the questionnaire you are asked to provide a description of the full array of expression formats used for subordinate constructions in the language concerned, generalizing over the different syntactic environments in which the subordinate construction may occur. The organization of the data to be provided in this section is such that every expression format can be identified by means of a numerical code (e.g. '2.2.4.1' for a specialized converb, '1' for a quotative construction, '2.1.2' for a finite construction with a verb in a subordinate mood, etc.). This section provides the basic information on the system of subordination the language has and thus lays the foundation for part II and III of the questionnaire.

II Adverbial clauses

In this part of the questionnaire the focus is on the expression formats used for the realization of different types of adverbial. The latter represent the semantic types alluded to in the introduction, the morphosyntactic realizations of which are the central issue of the project. For each adverbial the main question is by means of which of the expression formats identified in part I of the questionnaire it can be realized.

III Complement clauses

This part of the questionnaire is comparable to the second part: the focus is on the expression formats used for the realization of different types of complement. For each type of complement the central question is by means of which of the expression formats identified in part I of the questionnaire it can be realized.

3 Analysis

On the basis of the data collected by means of the questionnaire it will be possible to answer questions like the

following:

(i) Which of the expression formats used for subordinate constructions available within a given language are exclusively/primarily/seldomly/never used for the realization of adverbial clauses? Examples of more specific questions of this type: To what extent are participial forms used for the realization of adverbial clauses? Are non-finite expression formats found more often in adverbial clauses than in other types of subordinate construction?

(ii) Are there systematic correlations between certain expression formats and certain types of adverbial clause? Examples of more specific questions of this type: Is a reason clause expressed by means of a finite subordinate construction more often than other types of adverbial? Is a manner clause expressed by means of a non-finite subordinate construction more often than other types of adverbial?

(iii) Is there an implicational relation between the expression format(s) used for a certain type of adverbial clause and the one(s) used for other types? Examples of more specific questions of this type: Does the use of a finite expression format for a simultaneity clause imply the use of this expression format for conditional and reason clauses? Does the use of a non-finite expression format for a result clause imply the use of this expression format for anteriority clauses?

(iv) Is there a systematic correlation between the expression formats used for certain types of adverbial clause and those used for certain types of complement clause? Examples of more specific questions of this type: Is there a relation between the expression format used for conditions and the one used for indirect questions? What is the relation between purpose adverbials and indirect commands?

4 Theory

The correlations found on the basis of an analysis of the data should ultimately lead to a general theory concerning the connection between semantic types and expression formats. An outline of a theory that has led me to formulate the questions in the way they are presented here can be found in Hengeveld (1989, 1990), where I try to set up a typology of higher order entities, making use of and elaborating on Lyons' (1977) distinction between first, second and third order entities. In Dik & Hengeveld (1991) this typology is applied to perception verb complements. This is not the place to repeat the typology, but it may be important to note that it is such that it provides us with a classification of semantic types that is not tight to the particular syntactic function of a subordinate construction, and thus allows for generalizations across adverbials and complements in a coherent way.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

This questionnaire consists of three parts. Part I should be completed before parts II and III, but the latter two may be completed in any order. The design of the questionnaire is such that it should be filled in by a professional linguist, but of course the help of a native speaker of the language concerned may prove to be useful. When filling in the questionnaire the following should be kept in mind:

(i) For the processing of the data at a later stage it will be very helpful if each example is provided with an interlinear morphemic translation, following the indications in 'Toward a standardization of interlinear morphemic translations' published in *EUROTYP Newsletter* 2, Dec. 1990, a copy of which is enclosed. With respect to the abbreviations used for grammatical categories it would be helpful if you could make use of those provided by Lehmann (1982), a copy of which is enclosed as well.

(ii) Another piece of information that may prove very useful at a later stage is the source of the examples. If you use a single reference grammar, just give the page number where the example can be found. If you use more than one, give the first letter of the (first) author's last name followed by the page number where the example can be found. If the example is provided by yourself or by another informant, indicate so by means of an *I* (for *Informant*), and identify the informant in the header of the questionnaire.

(iii) If you don't have an answer to some question in the questionnaire, please indicate so by means of a *D* (for *Don't know*).

(iv) The answers to the questionnaire can be provided on separate sheets. If you use a word-processor, it would be helpful if you could hand in the data in computer-readable form as well.

In the following the questions are presented together with a, sometimes quite extensive, explanation necessary for their correct interpretation.

HEADER

Please start with a header containing the following general information:

Language:

Sources (reference grammars and informants):

Data collected by:

PART I SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS

Preliminary information

This first part of the questionnaire is meant to lead to a description of the full range of expression formats used for subordinate constructions in the language. In order to arrive at comparable descriptions of the systems of subordination of all languages studied, a unified set of classifying parameters will be used. These classifying parameters are hierarchically organized, in such a way that each expression format can be provided with a numerical code indicating its position in the hierarchy. The result is the following taxonomy.

1. DIRECT SPEECH
2. NON-DIRECT SPEECH
 - 2.1 FINITE
 - 2.1.1 SUPERORDINATE MOOD
 - 2.1.1.1 INDICATIVE
 - 2.1.1.1.1 SUPERORDINATE WORD ORDER
 - 2.1.1.1.2 SUBORDINATE WORD ORDER
 - 2.1.1.2 OPTATIVE
 - 2.1.1.2.1 SUPERORDINATE WORD ORDER
 - 2.1.1.2.2 SUBORDINATE WORD ORDER
 - 2.1.1.3 etc.
 - 2.1.2 SUBORDINATE MOOD
 - 2.1.2.1 SUBJUNCTIVE
 - 2.1.2.2 CONDITIONAL
 - 2.1.2.3 etc.
 - 2.2 NON-FINITE
 - 2.2.1 VERBAL
 - 2.2.1.1 PRESENT
 - 2.2.1.2 PAST
 - 2.2.1.3 etc.
 - 2.2.2 NOMINAL
 - 2.2.2.1 PRESENT
 - 2.2.2.2 PAST
 - 2.2.2.3 etc.
 - 2.2.3 ADJECTIVAL
 - 2.2.3.1 PRESENT
 - 2.2.3.2 PAST
 - 2.2.3.3 etc.
 - 2.2.4 ADVERBIAL
 - 2.2.4.1 CONTEXTUAL
 - 2.2.4.1.1 PRESENT
 - 2.2.4.1.2 PAST
 - 2.2.4.1.3 etc.
 - 2.2.4.2 SPECIALIZED
 - 2.2.4.2.1 SIMULTANEITY
 - 2.2.4.2.2 ANTERIORITY
 - 2.2.4.2.3 POSTERIORITY
 - 2.2.4.2.4 etc.

Each of the splits in this taxonomy is explained below:

1/2 DIRECT VERSUS NON-DIRECT SPEECH

The distinction between direct and non-direct speech will in general be easy to make. The basic criterion is that in subordination of direct speech the deictic pointers of the original utterance remain unaffected, whereas in non-direct speech they are adapted to the current speech situation:

DIRECT SPEECH

(3) He said: "I will go there"

INDIRECT SPEECH

(4) He said that he would come here

2.1/2.2 FINITE VERSUS NON-FINITE CONSTRUCTIONS

The basic criterion for finiteness is that the subordinate verb form in finite constructions is one that (i) allows the encoding of (most of) the categories characteristic of main verbs (Tense, Mood, Aspect, Person), while (ii) these categories are encoded on the subordinate verb form in the same way as they are on main verbs. Three remarks are in order with respect to this criterion:

(i) The definition of finite verb forms as those allowing the encoding of (most of) the categories characteristic of main verbs does not mean that every finite verb form can be used as a main predicate. Verb forms in a subordinate mood such as the subjunctive cannot be used as main verbs, yet they are finite.

(ii) The distinction between finite and non-finite forms is least problematic in languages having subject agreement on main verbs. In these languages all subordinate verb forms on which subject agreement is expressed in the same way as on main verbs can be considered finite (see Noonan 1985:49).

(iii) The class of finite subordinate constructions includes so-called *clausal nominalizations* (cf. Comrie & Thompson 1985:392f, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1988:32f) in which the head retains its verbal status, as in the following example from Quechua (quoted from Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1988:34):

(5) Pedro ya-n [ñuka Agatu-pi kawsa-ni]-ta
 Pedro think-3 I Agato-LOC live-1sg]-ACC
 'Pedro thinks that I live in Agato'

In this example the accusative case marker is the only nominal characteristic of the subordinate clause. The predicate of the subordinate construction retains the verbal subject affix characteristic of main verbal predicates, which is indicative

of its finite status. This feature should be taken as decisive when it comes to the classification of subordinate constructions. Thus, where a nominalized clause is simply a finite clause with an article, case marker etc. added to it, it should be classified as a finite construction.

2.1.1/2.1.2 SUPERORDINATE VERSUS SUBORDINATE MOOD

A superordinate mood is one that can be used in main clauses, a subordinate mood one that can be used in subordinate clauses only, or with very few exceptions. In a subordinate mood the expression of tense and aspect distinctions may be more restricted than in a superordinate mood in the same language.

2.1.1.1/2.1.1.2 SUPER- VERSUS SUBORDINATE WORD ORDER

Similarly, a superordinate word order is one that can be used in main clauses, a subordinate word order one that can be used in subordinate clauses only.

2.2.1/2/3/4 NON-FINITE FORMS

The classification of non-finite forms is complicated by the fact that each grammatical tradition uses its own terminology, where what is called e.g. a 'gerund' in a grammar of one language may be something totally different from the form that carries the same name in the grammar of another language. In order to avoid this type of confusion I here classify non-finite forms on the basis of the functions they may fulfill in the construction of clauses and noun phrases. The syntactic functions to be recognized are the following:

Verbal: A verbal non-finite form is one that can be used as the head of a non-finite construction, while having the governing properties of the corresponding finite verbal form.

Nominal: A nominal non-finite form is one that can be used as the head of a non-finite construction, while having (at least some of) the governing properties typical of nouns.

Adjectival: An adjectival non-finite form is one that can be used as a modifier of a noun.

Adverbial: An adverbial non-finite form is one that can be used as a modifier of a verb or clause.

There are two important points to be noted with respect to this classification:

(i) Only those forms that can be formed productively in the language concerned should be considered, not lexical forms the formation of which is limited to a restricted number of items.

(ii) Non-finite verbforms may often be used in more than one

of the functions listed here. Consider for instance the following examples:

- (6)a *Verbal*
The girl started smok-ing a cigarette
- b *Nominal*
The girl's smok-ing of a cigarette irritates me
- c *Adjectival*
A girl smok-ing a cigarette entered the room
- d *Adverbial*
A girl entered smok-ing a cigarette

In order to deal with the polyfunctionality of non-finite verbforms these have to be classified for each of their functions, since for each of these functions the non-finite verbform may show a different syntactic behaviour. Thus, the English *-ing* form occurs at four different places in the classification of expression formats for subordinate constructions in English.

2.2.1/2.2.2 VERBAL AND NOMINAL NON-FINITE FORMS

In order to determine whether a non-finite verbform is nominal or verbal, three of its properties are particularly relevant:

- (a) encoding of the arguments of the non-finite form (in so far as these can be expressed):
 nominal encoding: genitive, possessive, or associative case forms or adpositions on the arguments, and/or possessive markers on the non-finite verbform.
 verbal encoding: other case forms or adpositions (nominative, absolutive, ergative, ...) on the arguments, and/or object markers on the non-finite verbform.
- (b) encoding of manner expressions:
 nominal encoding: adjectival modifier.
 verbal encoding: adverbial modifier.

Consider the following example:

- (7) I dislike John's careless driving of the car

The productively formed non-finite verbform *driv-ing* has three properties typical of nouns: (a) the subject *John* is in the possessive rather than the nominative case, the object *the car* is introduced by the possessive preposition *of* rather than being in the accusative case, (b) the verbform is modified by the adjective *careless* rather than by the manner adverb *carelessly*. Thus the subordinate verbform in (7) behaves like a noun in these different respects and should be classified as a

nominal form.

Now consider the following example:

(8) It is necessary for John to drive the car carefully

The productively formed non-finite verbform *driv-e* has none of the nominal properties mentioned above: (a) the subject is introduced by the preposition *for*, which is not typical of the nominal domain, the object is in the accusative case, and (ii) the verbform is modified by an adverb. Thus the subordinate verbform in (8) behaves like a verb in these different respects and should be classified as a verbal form.

The distinction between nominal and verbal forms is not always as clearcut. Consider example (9):

(9) I dislike John's carelessly driving the car

In this example only one of the nominal characteristics of (7) is retained: the subject is expressed in the possessive case. The object is now in the accusative case, and the subordinate verbform is modified by an adverb. Thus the subordinate verbform in (9) has both nominal and verbal characteristics. It is important to note that for the classification of non-finite subordinate constructions asked for in the questionnaire these intermediate forms should be listed as nominal ones. For these forms you will be asked to list their nominal properties.

2.2.3/2.2.4 ADJECTIVAL AND ADVERBIAL NON-FINITE FORMS

Only those non-finite forms that can *by themselves* be used in adjectival and adverbial function should be classified as belonging to these categories. Verbal and nominal non-finite forms can be used in adverbial or adjectival function only when provided with an adposition, conjunction or case marker, and do not qualify as adjectival and adverbial non-finite forms.

2.2.4.1/2.2.4.2 CONTEXTUAL VERSUS SPECIALIZED ADVERBIAL FORMS

Following Nedyalkov & Nedyalkov (1987), within the class of adverbial non-finite forms a further distinction may be made between *contextual* and *specialized* ones. Contextual adverbial non-finite forms are those that acquire a particular adverbial interpretation (e.g. manner, cause, condition, simultaneity) depending on the context in which they are used. Specialized adverbial non-finite forms are those that for their interpretation do not depend on the context in which they occur, i.e. carry their own specific adverbial meaning.

2.2.4.2.1/2/3/.. SPECIALIZED ADVERBIAL FORMS

Specialized adverbial forms may be further classified for the

specific adverbial meaning they express.

FURTHER SUBDIVISIONS

Within most of the categories discussed above further subdivisions are possible: within the class of finite constructions in a superordinate mood there may be differences with respect to e.g. word order, within the class of non-finite constructions with respect to e.g. temporal, aspectual, modal, or voice distinctions. Some of these have been incorporated in the taxonomy given above, but for the description of individual languages it may be necessary to include more specific distinctions.

Questions

Please provide a description of the system of subordination found in the language using the taxonomy and numerical coding given and explained above. Create further subdivisions where necessary, until every expression format for subordinate constructions has a unique position in the classification. Provide new subdivisions with a numerical code which builds on the ones supplied above.

Please provide the following additional information following each numerical code and category label within the description resulting from Q1:

- (i) -All categories: the formal properties of the verb form used within the category concerned.
- (ii) -Subordinate moods (2.1.2) only: list restrictions on the expression of tense and aspect distinctions, if any, in subordinate moods as compared with superordinate moods.
-Non-finite verbforms (2.2) only: indicate whether the arguments of the non-finite verbform can be expressed and how they are expressed.
- (iii) -Nominal non-finite verbforms (2.2.2) only: indicate whether manner expressions are realized adjectivally or adverbially.

By way of example, the answer to these questions is given here for Spanish:

EXAMPLE: Subordinate constructions in Spanish.

1. DIRECT SPEECH (i) intonation break.
2. NON-DIRECT SPEECH
 - 2.1 FINITE
 - 2.1.1 SUPERORDINATE MOOD
 - 2.1.1.1 INDICATIVE (i) indicative verb form.
 - 2.1.2 SUBORDINATE MOOD
 - 2.1.2.1 SUBJUNCTIVE (i) subjunctive verb form (ii) no future tense, no aspect.
 - 2.2 NON-FINITE
 - 2.2.1 VERBAL (i) verb suffix *-r*, (ii) subject (agent in active, patient in passive constructions) cannot be expressed, agent in passive constructions is introduced by agentive preposition *por*, patient in active constructions in accusative case.
 - 2.2.2 NOMINAL (i) verb suffix *-r*, (ii) patient is introduced by genitive preposition *de*, agent is introduced by agentive preposition *por*, (iii) manner adjective.
 - 2.2.3 ADJECTIVAL
 - 2.2.3.2 PAST
 - 2.2.3.2.1 PASSIVE (i) verb suffix *-d* + agreement marker, (ii) patient/subject cannot be expressed, agent is introduced by agentive preposition *por*.
 - 2.2.4 ADVERBIAL
 - 2.2.4.1 CONTEXTUAL
 - 2.2.4.1.1 PRESENT (i) verb suffix *-ndo*, (ii) subject in nominative case, patient in active constructions in accusative case, agent in passive constructions introduced by agentive preposition *por*.
 - 2.2.4.1.2 PAST
 - 2.2.4.1.2.1 PASSIVE (i) verb suffix *-d* + adjectival agreement marker, (ii) patient/subject in nominative case, agent is introduced by agentive preposition *por*.

II ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Preliminary information

This second part of the questionnaire makes use of the description of the system of subordination you have created in part I. You are asked to indicate and illustrate which expression formats are used for several types of adverbial. The list that follows below contains only those adverbials that seem to be the most central ones, with one exception: I have subdivided the class of causal adverbials into several subtypes. The reason for this is that I intend to supplement the more general treatment of the relation between meaning and form of adverbials with a more detailed analysis of one particular group of adverbials. I have selected the causal group, since it is in this group that a wide range of different meanings and uses can be found.

In many cases more than one expression format can be used for the realization of a particular type of adverbial. For instance, if there are several adverbial subordinators expressing the adverbial relation under investigation, some may require an expression format that differs from the one required by others. The expression format may also differ depending on the tenses, moods, and aspects used. Expression formats may furthermore differ depending on whether the subject of the adverbial is different from or identical to the subject of the main clause.

Example sentences are provided with each type of adverbial. These are meant to illustrate the type. When you work with an informant, you could of course ask for the possible translations of the example sentences given. But other example sentences from the language can also be used, as long as they contain the same type of adverbial.

For each type of adverbial there are illustrative sentences containing adverbials with same and different subject. This fact should not be misinterpreted: only one example has to be given if the language does not make a difference between adverbials with same and different subject. On the other hand, as stated above, there may be other factors that lead to differences in expression formats within one class of adverbials in the language you are studying, that should be mentioned and exemplified, even though there are no illustrative sentences capturing the relevant opposition.

Questions

For each of the types of adverbial listed below, please specify:

- (i) The expression format (in the form of a numerical code) by means of which it can be realized.
- (ii) The conditions under which the expression format is used (only if more than one expression format may be used).
- (iii) An example sentence with a morpheme translation illustrating this use of the expression format.
- (iv) The source of the example.
- (v) Any further characteristic that you consider relevant.

In those cases in which more than one expression format is used, please repeat this procedure until all expression formats used for this particular type of adverbial are described. Note that if for a certain type of adverbial there are several subordinators which are all used with the same type of subordinate construction, you do not have to give examples for all different subordinators. The subordinators themselves are not part of the subject matter of this project.

An example of what an entry in this part of the questionnaire might look like is given here for Spanish:

EXAMPLE: Purpose expressions in Spanish

13 Purpose

- (i) 2.1.2.1
- (ii) Different subject
- (iii) Te lo digo para que
2sg:DAT 3sg:ACC:N say:INDV.PRES:1sg in.orderCMPLR
lo sepa-s
3sg:ACC:N know:SBJV:PRES-2sg
'I'm saying this to you in order that you know it'
- (iv) I.
- (i) 2.2.1
- (ii) Same subject
- (iii) Vengo para invit-ar-te
come:INDV:PRES:1sg in.order.to invite-INF-2sg:ACC
'I come to invite you'
- (iv) I.

Purpose adverbials are expressed in Spanish by means of finite subjunctive clauses (2.1.2.1) if the subject is different from the one used in the main clause, and by means of infinitival constructions (2.2.1) if the subject is the same as the one used in the main clause. For glossing conventions and source references see the introduction.

The list of adverbials in which I am interested follows here. It is partly based on Thompson & Longacre (1985), Kortmann (1990) and Sæbø (fc.). Many examples were taken from these sources and from Thomson & Martinet (1960).

1 **Simultaneity**. Describes an event taking place simultaneously with the main clause event.

- (10) Different subject
I found out about the accident when she came home
- (11) Same subject
I found out about the accident when I came home home

2 **Anteriority**. Describes an event taking place before the main clause event.

- (12) Different subject
I found out about the accident after she came home
- (13) Same subject
I found out about the accident after coming home

3 **Posteriority**. Describes an event taking place after the main clause event.

- (14) Different subject
I found out about the accident before she came home
- (15) Same subject
I found out about the accident before coming home

4 **Manner**. Describes the way the main clause event is executed.

- (16) She left crying

5 **Cause**. Describes the (non-intentional) event causing the main clause event.

- (17) Different subject
The fuse blew because we had overloaded the circuit
- (18) Same subject
The fuse blew because it had become wet

6 **Reason**. Describes a consideration that led a main clause participant to engage in the main clause event.

- (19) Different subject
We camped there because it was too dark to go on
- (20) Same subject
I went home because I was tired

7 **Explanation.** Describes background information or evidence substantiating the claim made in the main clause.

- (21) Different subject
Jenny isn't here, for I don't see her
- (22) Same subject
Bill has gone to France, for he told me he would

8 **Condition.** Describes a real, hypothetical, or unreal condition on the validity of the main clause.

- (23) Different subject
The cat will skcratch you if you pull her tail
If someone tried to blackmail me I would tell the police
If our documents had been in order we could have left at once
- (24) Same subject
If you want to lose weight you must eat less bread
If I had a map I would lend it to you
If I had known you were coming I would have met you at the airport

9 **Potential circumstance.** Describes the event potentially accompanying the main clause event.

Note: The difference between a *Condition* and a *Potential circumstance* is that the latter does not affect the validity of the main clause. Thus, in (23) *I'll come tomorrow* holds true whether *Ann wants me* holds true or not, whereas in the first sentence in (21) *The cat will skcratch you* holds true only if *you pull her tail* holds true (see Thomson & Martinet 1986 [1960]).

- (25) Different subject
I'll come tomorrow in case Ann wants me
- (26) Same subject
I carry a spare wheel in case I have a puncture

10 **Concession.** Describes a fact in view of which the main clause event would not be expected.

- (27) Different subject
His English accent is perfect although he has never been to the UK
- (28) Same subject
He got the job although he had no qualifications

11 **Concessive condition.** Describes a possibility in view of which the main clause event would not be expected.

- (29) Different subject
Even if you drink just a little, they will fire you
- (30) Same subject
Even if you don't like him you can still be polite

12 **Result.** Describes the event resulting from the main clause event.

- (31) Different subject
She is a good lecturer, so that all her courses are full
- (32) Same subject
We have friends visiting over the weekend so that we won't be able to attend John's birthday

13 **Purpose** describes the event intended to result from the main clause event

- (33) Different subject
We bring this shirt for you to wear it on your birthday
- (34) Same subject
He bought this shirt to wear it on his birthday

14 **Means** describes the means by which the main clause event is achieved.

- (35) They escaped by sliding down a rope

15 **Addition** describes an event taking place in addition to the main clause event.

- (36) Different subject
Apart from the fact that I'm too busy, my passport is out of date
- (37) Same subject
Apart from doing the cooking I look after the garden

III COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Preliminary information

As stated in the introduction, one of the aims of the current project is to find out whether there are systematic correlations between certain types of adverbial and certain types of complement. Data on complementation are collected through this third part of the questionnaire, which has the same structure as part II. You are asked to indicate and illustrate which expression formats recognized in part I are used for the complements of several types of complement-taking predicate. The classes of complement-taking predicates to be investigated have been chosen in such a way as to allow for a comparison with the various classes of adverbial studied in part II in terms of their semantic types, taking into account differences in factivity, time dependency, subject identity, and the like.

Questions

For the complements of each of the classes of complement-taking predicate listed below please specify:

- (i) The expression format (in the form of a numerical code) by means of which it can be realized.
- (ii) The conditions under which the expression format is used (only if more than one expression format may be used).
- (iii) An example sentence with a morpheme translation illustrating this use of the expression format.
- (iv) The source of the example.
- (v) Any further characteristic that you consider relevant.

In those cases in which more than one expression format is used, please repeat this procedure until all expression formats used for this particular type of adverbial are described.

Again, examples with same and different subject are given, but this doesn't mean that both their equivalents have to be provided if the language treats these cases in the same way. And again, there may be other factors triggering different expression formats not captured by the examples given here

An example of what an entry in this part of the questionnaire might look like is given here for Spanish:

EXAMPLE: Complements of desiderative verbs in Spanish

9 Desiderative

- (i) 2.1.2.1
- (ii) Different subject
- (iii) Quier-o que vengas
 want-INDV:PRES:1sg CMPLR come:SBJV:NPRT:2sg
 'I want you to come'
- (iv) I.

- (i) 2.2.1
- (ii) Same subject
- (iii) Quier-o ven-ir
 want-INDV:PRES:1sg come-INF
 'I want to come'
- (iv) I.

In Spanish complements of desiderative predicates contain a finite subjunctive verb form if the subject of the complement is different from the subject of the main clause, and an infinitive if the subjects are the same.

The following types of complement-taking verbs are of interest. The classification is based on Noonan (1985).

1 **Utterance predicates: direct speech.** Just give one example to show how direct speech reports are construed. The type of the reported speech act is unimportant.

- (38) He said: "John has been here to see you"

2 **Utterance predicates: indirect speech: assertion**

- (39) Different subject
 He said that John had been here to see me
- (40) Same subject
 He said that he had been here to see me

3 **Utterance predicates: indirect speech: question**

- (41) Different subject
 The policeman asked if I had seen the accident
- (42) Same subject
 I asked the policeman if I could leave

4 **Utterance predicates: indirect speech: order**

(43) He ordered me to go

5 Propositional attitude predicates: positive

- (44) Different subject
Pete thought that Tom had been at the party
- (45) Same subject
Pete thought that he had seen you before

6 Propositional attitude predicates: negative

- (46) Different subject
Pete doubted if Tom had been at the party
- (47) Same subject
Pete doubted if he had seen you before

7 Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge

- (48) Different subject
Pete discovered that Tom had been at the party
- (49) Same subject
Pete discovered that he had seen you before

8 Commentative predicates

- (50) Different subject
Pete regretted that Sally had left Herman
- (51) Same subject
Pete regretted that he hadn't gone to the party

9 Desiderative predicates (wanting)

- (52) Different subject
I wanted her to leave
- (53) Same subject
I wanted to leave

10 Manipulative predicates

- (54) Pete forced Sally to leave Herman

11 Immediate perception predicates

- (55) The woman saw the man steal the chicken

12 Phasal predicates

(56) He continued going down

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