Parts of speech and dependent clauses: A typological study

van Lier, E.H.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
Acknowledgments vii
List of Figures xi
List of Tables xiii
List of Abbreviations xix

1 Introduction 1

2 Parts of Speech 7
   2.1 Introduction 7
   2.2 Functional-typological attempts at defining parts of speech 8
   2.3 Hengeveld’s syntactic-pragmatic approach 12
       2.3.1 Slots and fillers 12
       2.3.2 The cross-linguistic perspective 15
       2.3.2.1 General introduction 15
       2.3.2.2 The Parts of Speech Hierarchy (Hengeveld 1992) 17
       2.3.2.3 Intermediate systems (Hengeveld, Rijkhoff & Siewierska 2004) 19
       2.3.2.4 More diversity (Hengeveld & Van Lier 2008, forthcoming) 22
       2.3.3 Summary 33
   2.4 Critique on the syntactic approach 33
       2.4.1 Introduction 33
       2.4.2 Croft’s Universal-Typological Theory of Parts of Speech 34
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section Title</th>
<th>Start Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sampling, Research Questions, Method</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>The language sample</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2</td>
<td>Global functional matching</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3</td>
<td>Global matching including differentiation for structural DC type</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4</td>
<td>Specific functional matching</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.5</td>
<td>Specific matching including differentiation for structural DC type</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Method</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Outlook</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Parts of Speech in the Languages of the Sample</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Overview of the language data</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Results in relation to implicational map of Parts of Speech</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Predicted and attested 'pure' systems</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>Predicted and attested 'intermediate' systems</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.4</td>
<td>Predicted but not attested systems</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(and attested but not predicted systems)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.5</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>The generality and the subclass problems in practice</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1</td>
<td>The generality problem</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2</td>
<td>The subclass problem</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2.1</td>
<td>Fuzzy boundaries</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2.2</td>
<td>Restricted classes</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Non-verbal predication</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Identifying flexibility</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.2</td>
<td>Languages with contentives</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.2.1</td>
<td>Semantic compositionality</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.2.2</td>
<td>Exhaustiveness</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.2.3</td>
<td>Equivalent combinatorics</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.3</td>
<td>Non-verbs, nominals, and modifiers</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.3.1</td>
<td>Non-verbs</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.3.2</td>
<td>Nominals</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6 Dependent Clauses in the Languages of the Sample

6.1 Introduction 187
6.2 DC constructions and propositional functions 187
   6.2.1 Introduction 187
   6.2.2 Rigid and flexible DCs: Attested types 188
      6.2.2.1 Preliminary considerations 188
      6.2.2.2 Language data 196
   6.2.3 Discussion 204
      6.2.3.1 Attested and predicted types 204
      6.2.3.2 Predicted but not attested types: 211
         The problem of predicate clauses
   6.2.4 Summary 216
6.3 DC constructions and behavioural potential 216
   6.3.1 Introduction 216
   6.3.2 Basic Data 217
      6.3.2.1 Formal parameters 217
      6.3.2.2 Language data 220
   6.3.3 A three-way typology of DCs according to behavioural potential 229
      6.3.3.1 Introduction 229
      6.3.3.2 Preliminary considerations 230
      6.3.3.3 Language data 235
   6.3.4 Behavioural potential of different structural DC types 242
6.4 An integrated DC typology: Functional possibilities of three structural DC types 251
6.5 Summary, outlook 259

7 Results 261
7.1 Introduction 262
7.2 Global functional matches:
   Flexibility versus rigidity in the PoS and DC domains
      7.2.1 Global matching without differentiating for structural DC types 262
         7.2.1.1 Introduction 262
         7.2.1.2 Global match for flexible constructions 262
         7.2.1.3 Global match for rigid constructions 264
7.2.1.4 Summary

7.2.2 The parameter of structural DC type

7.2.2.1 Introduction

7.2.2.2 Global match for flexible constructions, differentiating for structural DC type

7.2.2.3 Global match for rigid constructions, differentiating for structural DC type

7.2.2.4 Summary

7.2.2.1 Introduction

7.2.2.2 Global match for flexible constructions, differentiating for structural DC type

7.2.2.3 Global match for rigid constructions, differentiating for structural DC type

7.2.2.4 Summary

7.3 Specific functional matches:

Types and amounts of flexibility/rigidity in the PoS and DC domains

7.3.1 Introduction

7.3.2 Specific matches for flexible constructions

7.3.2.1 Introduction

7.3.2.2 Flexible match 1: Lexical contentives/non-verbs and contentive/multi-functional clauses

7.3.2.3 Flexible match 2: Nominals and nominal clauses

7.3.2.4 Flexible match 3: Modifiers and modifier clauses

7.3.2.5 Summary

7.3.3 Specific matches for rigid constructions

7.3.3.1 Introduction

7.3.3.2 Rigid match 1: Nouns and complement clauses

7.3.3.3 Rigid match 2: Adjectives and relative clauses

7.3.3.4 Rigid match 3: Manner adverbs and adverbial manner clauses

7.3.3.5 Summary

7.4 Summary, Conclusion

7.5 Language data

8 Discussion – Flexibility and Functional Transparency

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Theoretical background:

Trade-off effects between flexible and rigid constructions

8.3 Applying the complexity hypothesis to PoS and deranked DCs

8.3.1 Hypothesis

8.3.2 Results

8.3.2.1 Distribution of deranked DCs in languages with flexible PoS systems

8.3.2.2 Distribution of deranked DCs in languages with rigid PoS systems
8.3.3  Summary 334
8.4  Balanced constructions: Functional transparency and other factors 336
  8.4.1  Introduction 336
  8.4.2  Functional transparency 336
  8.4.2.1  Flexible balanced DCs in languages with flexible PoS systems 337
  8.4.2.2  Flexible balanced DCs in languages with rigid PoS systems 340
  8.4.3  Other factors: diachrony and cognition 344
  8.4.4  Summary 345
8.5  Summary 345

9  Summary and Conclusion 349

References 355
References for the Sample Languages 369

Appendices
  Appendix I:  Language Sample 379
  Appendix II:  Excluded Parts of Speech systems 381
  Appendix III:  Dependent Clause Constructions. Key Examples 387

Summary in English 453
Samenvatting in het Nederlands (Summary in Dutch) 467
Curriculum Vitae 481