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: http://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.
## Contents

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
2.4.3 Lexical categories within and across languages: The generality and the subclass problems

2.4.4 Summary, outlook

2.5 Defining lexical flexibility

2.5.1 Introduction

2.5.2 The criterion of compositionality: flexibility and semantic shift

2.5.2.1 Evans and Osada’s proposal and some alternatives

2.5.2.2 An integrative approach to semantics in flexible languages

2.5.3 The criterion of exhaustiveness: How flexible should a flexible language be?

2.5.4 The criterion of equivalent combinatorics: Bi-directional flexibility

2.5.5 Lexical flexibility: A summary

2.6 Summary

3 Dependent Clauses

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Dependent clauses and propositional functions

3.2.1 Slots and fillers

3.2.2 Structural coding in dependent clauses: Subordinating conjunctions and dependent verb forms

3.2.3 Rigid and flexible dependent clauses

3.2.4 Summary

3.3 Behavioural potential in dependent clauses: De-categorization and re-categorization

3.3.1 Introduction

3.3.2 Verbal and nominal feature hierarchies

3.3.2.1 Introduction

3.3.2.2 The verbal feature hierarchy

3.3.2.3 The nominal feature hierarchy

3.3.2.4 Summary, outlook

3.3.3 Feature mixing in DCs across languages: Cross-linguistic generalizations and functional motivations

3.3.3.1 Introduction

3.3.3.2 The typology of subordination (Cristofaro 2003)

3.3.3.3 The typology of nominalization (Malchukov 2004)

3.3.4 Summary, outlook

3.4 A two-step typology of dependent clauses

3.5 Summary
5.6.3.3 Modifiers 183
5.6.4 Summary 188
5.7 Conclusion, outlook 185

6 Dependent Clauses in the Languages of the Sample 187
  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: The problem of predicate clauses 211
    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 264
7.2.2 The parameter of structural DC type 264
7.2.2.1 Introduction 264
7.2.2.2 Global match for flexible constructions, differentiating for structural DC type 265
7.2.2.3 Global match for rigid constructions, differentiating for structural DC type 269
7.2.2.4 Summary 277
7.3 Specific functional matches: 278
Types and amounts of flexibility/rigidity in the PoS and DC domains
7.3.1 Introduction 278
7.3.2 Specific matches for flexible constructions 278
7.3.2.1 Introduction 278
7.3.2.2 Flexible match 1: Lexical contentives/non-verbs and contentive/multi-functional clauses 280
7.3.2.3 Flexible match 2: Nominals and nominal clauses 284
7.3.2.4 Flexible match 3: Modifiers and modifier clauses 287
7.3.2.5 Summary 288
7.3.3 Specific matches for rigid constructions 288
7.3.3.1 Introduction 289
7.3.3.2 Rigid match 1: Nouns and complement clauses 289
7.3.3.3 Rigid match 2: Adjectives and relative clauses 291
7.3.3.4 Rigid match 3: Manner adverbs and adverbial manner clauses 295
7.3.3.5 Summary 297
7.4 Summary, Conclusion 297
7.5 Language data 298

8 Discussion – Flexibility and Functional Transparency 313
8.1 Introduction 313
8.2 Theoretical background: 314
Trade-off effects between flexible and rigid constructions
8.3 Applying the complexity hypothesis to PoS and deranked DCs 320
8.3.1 Hypothesis 320
8.3.2 Results 322
8.3.2.1 Distribution of deranked DCs in languages with flexible PoS systems 322
8.3.2.2 Distribution of deranked DCs in languages with rigid PoS systems 331
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.3.3 Summary</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4 Balanced constructions: Functional transparency and other factors</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.1 Introduction</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.2 Functional transparency</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.2.1 Flexible balanced DCs in languages with flexible PoS systems</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.2.2 Flexible balanced DCs in languages with rigid PoS systems</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.3 Other factors: diachrony and cognition</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.4 Summary</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5 Summary</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Summary and Conclusion</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References for the Sample Languages</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I: Language Sample</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix II: Excluded Parts of Speech systems</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions. Key Examples</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary in English</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samenvatting in het Nederlands (Summary in Dutch)</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Vitae</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>