

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-58857-7 - Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure,
Second Edition - Volume I

Edited by Timothy Shopen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Language Typology and Syntactic Description

Second edition

Volume I: Clause Structure

This unique three-volume survey brings together a team of leading scholars to explore the syntactic and morphological structures of the world's languages. Clearly organized and broad-ranging, it covers topics such as parts of speech, passives, complementation, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, inflectional morphology, tense, aspect, mood, and deixis. The contributors look at the major ways that these notions are realized, and provide informative sketches of them at work in a range of languages. Each volume is accessibly written and clearly explains each new concept introduced. Although the volumes can be read independently, together they provide an indispensable reference work for all linguists and field workers interested in cross-linguistic generalizations. Most of the chapters in the second edition are substantially revised or completely new – some on topics not covered by the first edition. Volume I covers parts-of-speech systems, word order, the noun phrase, clause types, speech act distinctions, the passive, and information packaging in the clause.

Timothy Shopen (1936–2005) was Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at the Australian National University. He had over forty years' experience of teaching and researching a variety of the world's languages, and also held posts at Indiana University and the Center for Applied Linguistics in Arlington, Virginia. In addition to *Language Typology*, he was editor of *Standards and Dialects in English* (1980), *Standards and Variables in English* (1981), *Languages and their Speakers* (1987), and *Languages and their Status* (1987).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-58857-7 - Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure,
Second Edition - Volume I

Edited by Timothy Shopen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Language Typology and Syntactic Description

Second edition

Volume I: Clause Structure

Edited by

Timothy Shopen[†]



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-58857-7 - Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure,
Second Edition - Volume I

Edited by Timothy Shopen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521588577

© Cambridge University Press 2007

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1985

Second edition published 2007

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-521-58156-1 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-58857-7 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to
in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such
websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>List of contributors</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
<i>List of abbreviations and symbols</i>	xvi
1 Parts-of-speech systems	1
PAUL SCHACHTER AND TIMOTHY SHOPEN [†]	
0 Introduction	1
1 Open classes	3
1.1 Nouns	5
1.2 Verbs	9
1.3 Adjectives	13
1.4 Adverbs	19
2 Closed classes	22
2.1 Pronouns and other pro-forms	24
2.2 Noun adjuncts	34
2.3 Verb adjuncts	40
2.4 Conjunctions	45
2.5 Other closed classes	52
3 Suggestions for further reading	60
2 Word order	61
MATTHEW S. DRYER	
0 Introduction	61
1 Some basic word order correlations	61
1.1 Verb-final languages	61
1.2 Verb-initial languages	64
1.3 svo languages	68
1.4 Object-initial languages	71
1.5 Interim summary	72
1.6 Conclusion	73
2 Identifying basic word order	73
3 Identifying constructions cross-linguistically	78
3.1 Identifying the order of subject, object, and verb	78
3.1.1 Identifying subjects	78

3.1.2	The order of subject, object, and verb	79
3.1.3	Lexical noun phrases versus pronouns	80
3.2	Identification of manner adverbs	80
3.3	Identification of prepositions and postpositions	81
3.3.1	Adpositions versus case affixes	82
3.3.2	Case affixes versus adpositional clitics	82
3.3.3	Adpositions and relational nouns	85
3.3.4	Languages without adpositions	86
3.4	Identification of genitives	86
3.4.1	Alienable versus inalienable possession	86
3.4.2	Lexical genitives versus possessive pronouns	87
4	Exceptions to word order generalizations	87
5	Other word order characteristics that correlate with the order of object and verb bidirectionally	89
5.1	Verb and adpositional phrases	89
5.2	Verb and non-argument noun phrases	90
5.3	Main verb and auxiliary verb	90
5.4	Copula verb and predicate	91
5.5	Question particles	91
5.6	Complementizer and clause	93
5.7	Article and noun	94
5.8	Subordinate and main clause	96
6	Word order characteristics that correlate with the order of object and verb unidirectionally	96
6.1	Noun and relative clause	96
6.2	Plural word and noun	98
6.3	Intermediate unidirectional and bidirectional cases	99
6.3.1	Subordinator and clause	99
6.3.2	Complementizer and clause	100
7	Word order characteristics that do not correlate with the order of object and verb	101
7.1	Adjective and noun	101
7.1.1	The absence of a correlation with the order of object and verb	101
7.1.2	Identifying adjectives	102
7.2	Demonstrative and noun	104
7.3	Numeral and noun	105
7.4	Negative particle and verb	105
7.5	Tense-aspect particle and verb	107
7.6	Degree word and adjective	107
8	Other typological characteristics correlating with the order of object and verb	108
8.1	Position of interrogative expressions in content questions	108
8.2	Affix position	110
8.3	The use of case in distinguishing transitive arguments	110
9	Other sorts of implicational generalizations	110
10	Order among elements at the same level	111
11	Languages with flexible word order	113
12	Typological versus language-particular description of word order	114

Contents	vii
13 Examples of summaries of word order properties	115
13.1 Siyin Chin	116
13.2 Batad Ifugao	120
14 Summary	129
15 Suggestions for further reading	130
3 The major functions of the noun phrase	132
AVERY D. ANDREWS	
0 Introduction	132
1 Preliminaries	135
1.1 Semantic roles	135
1.1.1 Agent and patient	137
1.1.2 Other semantic roles	140
1.2 Coding strategies	141
1.2.1 Order and arrangement	141
1.2.2 NP-marking	142
1.2.3 Cross-referencing	145
1.3 Pragmatic functions	148
1.3.1 Topics and topic-comment articulation	149
1.3.2 Focus-presupposition articulation	150
1.3.3 Thetic articulation	150
2 Overview of grammatical functions	152
2.1 Types of grammatical function	152
2.2 External functions	154
2.3 Oblique functions	157
2.3.1 Obliques (PPs) in English	157
2.3.2 Obliques in Warlpiri	161
3 Core grammatical functions	164
3.1 Subjects	165
3.1.1 A concept of subject	166
3.1.2 Subjects and coding features in ordinary main clauses	166
3.1.3 Subject ellipsis	168
3.1.4 Coding features in non-main clauses	174
3.1.5 Switch reference	176
3.1.6 Reflexivization	177
3.1.7 Other properties of subjects	179
3.2 Other core grammatical relations	180
3.2.1 Direct objects and second objects	180
3.2.2 Indirect objects	188
3.2.3 Other core relations	191
3.3 Syntactic ergativity	193
4 Reconsidering grammatical relations	197
4.1 Mixed syntactic ergativity	198
4.2 The Philippine type	202
4.3 The universal status of a- and p-subjects	211
4.3.1 Manipuri	212
4.3.2 Split intransitivity	216
5 Conclusion	222
6 Suggestions for further reading	222

viii	Contents	
4	Clause types	224
	MATTHEW S. DRYER	
0	Introduction	224
1	Nonverbal predicates	224
1.1	Types of copulas	225
1.2	Adjectival predicates	227
1.3	Nominal predicates	229
1.4	Equational clauses versus clauses with true nominal predicates	233
1.5	Optional copulas	236
1.6	Locative predicates / existential clauses	238
1.6.1	Locative copulas	238
1.6.2	Existential clauses	240
1.6.3	Existential clauses for expressing predicate possession	244
1.6.4	Other types of existential clauses	246
1.7	Minor types of clauses with nonverbal predicates	247
2	Verbal predicates	250
2.1	Transitive versus intransitive clauses	250
2.2	Ergative versus accusative patterns	251
2.3	Ditransitive clauses	253
2.4	Subtypes of intransitive clauses	259
2.4.1	Stative versus nonstative clauses	259
2.4.2	Split intransitivity	261
2.4.3	Zero-intransitive (or ambient) clauses	267
2.5	Semi-transitive clauses	270
2.6	Clauses with derived verbs	274
3	Suggestions for further reading	275
5	Speech act distinctions in grammar	276
	EKKEHARD KÖNIG AND PETER SIEMUND	
1	Speech acts and sentence types	276
2	Declarative sentences	284
2.1	Declaratives in relation to the other basic types	285
2.2	Interaction with evidentiality	288
3	Interrogative sentences	290
3.1	Polar interrogatives	292
3.1.1	Intonational marking	292
3.1.2	Interrogative particles	294
3.1.3	Interrogative tags	296
3.1.4	Disjunctive-negative structures	297
3.1.5	Change in the order of constituents	298
3.1.6	Verbal inflection	299
3.2	Constituent interrogatives	299
4	Imperative sentences	303
4.1	Positive imperatives	304
4.2	Negative imperatives (prohibitives)	308
4.3	Indirect strategies	311
4.4	Related constructions	313
5	Some minor sentence types	316
5.1	Exclamatives	316

Contents	ix
5.2 Echo questions	318
5.3 Nonfinite presentatives	319
5.4 Answers to questions	320
6 Summary and conclusion	322
7 Suggestions for further reading	323
6 Passive in the world's languages	325
EDWARD L. KEENAN AND MATTHEW S. DRYER	
0 Introduction	325
1 Passive as a foregrounding and backgrounding operation	325
2 Basic passives	328
2.1 General properties of basic passives	328
2.2 The syntactic form of basic passives	332
2.2.1 Strict morphological passives	333
2.2.2 Periphrastic passives	336
2.3 The semantics of basic passives	339
2.3.1 Aspectual differences	340
2.3.2 Degree of subject affectedness	341
3 Non-basic passives	342
3.1 Passives with agent phrases	342
3.1.1 Agent phrases in non-passive constructions	342
3.1.2 The form of agent phrases	343
3.2 Passives on non-transitive verbs	345
3.3 Passives on ditransitive verb phrases	348
3.4 Other passives with non-patient subjects	350
4 Constructions that resemble passives	352
4.1 Middles	352
4.2 Unspecified subject constructions	354
4.3 Inverses	356
4.4 Antipassives	359
5 The functional load of passive in grammars	359
6 Suggestions for further reading	361
7 A typology of information packaging in the clause	362
WILLIAM A. FOLEY	
0 Introduction	362
1 On verbal semantics and packaging options	364
1.1 Conceptual events, participants, and perspective	364
1.2 Parameters governing actor choices	370
1.3 Parameters governing undergoer choices	374
1.4 Intransitive verbs and the unaccusative/unergative split	380
2 On argument structure and pivots	383
2.1 The nature of argument structure	383
2.2 The notion of pivot	389
2.3 A typology of pivots	394
3 On information structure	402
3.1 The discourse status of noun phrases	402
3.2 The information status of noun phrases	409

x	Contents	
	3.3 The animacy hierarchy	413
	3.4 Topics, pivots, and prominence	416
4	On voice: clause-internal packaging options	418
	4.1 Passive constructions	418
	4.1.1 Foregrounding passives	422
	4.1.2 Backgrounding passives	423
	4.1.3 Summary	427
	4.2 Antipassive constructions	429
	4.2.1 Foregrounding antipassives	430
	4.2.2 Backgrounding antipassives	433
	4.3 Applicative constructions	437
	4.4 Summary of clause-internal packaging constructions	441
5	On clause-external packaging options: topicalizations, left dislocations, and right dislocations	442
6	Suggestions for further reading	446
	<i>Bibliography</i>	447
	<i>Subject index</i>	470

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-58857-7 - Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure,
Second Edition - Volume I
Edited by Timothy Shopen
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Figures

3.1	Organization of grammatical structure	<i>page</i> 134
3.2	Taxonomy of grammatical functions	152
5.1	Sentence types	279
5.2	Mood distinctions	281

Tables

1.1	Igbo adjectives	<i>page</i> 14
3.1	Warlpiri cases	161
5.1	Markers of sentence type in relation to speech levels in Korean	280
5.2	Evidentials of Hidatsa	288
5.3	The imperative paradigm of Evenki	306
5.4	Subcategories of imperatives	314
6.1	Conjugation of Latin <i>amare</i>	335
7.1	Summary of passive constructions	428
7.2	Foregrounding passives and antipassives	432
7.3	Summary of antipassive constructions	438
7.4	Summary of voice constructions	442

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-58857-7 - Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure,
Second Edition - Volume I

Edited by Timothy Shopen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contributors

PAUL SCHACHTER, University of California, Los Angeles

TIMOTHY SHOPEN, Australian National University

MATTHEW S. DRYER, University at Buffalo

AVERY D. ANDREWS, Australian National University

EKKEHARD KÖNIG, Frei Universität, Berlin

PETER SIEMUND, Universität Hamburg

EDWARD L. KEENAN, University of California, Los Angeles

WILLIAM A. FOLEY, University of Sydney

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-58857-7 - Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure,
Second Edition - Volume I

Edited by Timothy Shopen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgements

Language typology studies what the languages of the world are like. When people ask ‘What is linguistics?’, from my point of view one of the best answers is ‘the study of what the languages of the world are like’. I am honoured to have been joined by some excellent linguists in the achievement of this second edition of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* for Cambridge University Press.

I am especially grateful to Matthew Dryer for coming in as co-editor when my health began to fail. Many thanks also to Lea Brown, for the invaluable help she gave Matthew in preparing the manuscript.

The Australian National University has always been generous in its support of my work. Except for the two and a half years I lived in Cairns, 2001 to 2003, it has been my base since I moved to Australia in 1975. I recognize the support I received from James Cook University during my time in Cairns.

I came up with the idea used to organize the first edition at a conference on field work questionnaires held at the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, DC. I said the best way to prepare for field work is to gain a good idea of what to look for. People thought this was right so I was asked to do the organizing. There have been surveys in the past but, I believe, none with this scope. The first edition has served as a reference manual and a textbook around the world and I have no doubt the second edition will as well. I have been pleased by the number of good linguists who have told me they have referred to our survey while doing field work valuable to us all.

Interest in the question of what the languages of the world are like is a longstanding one, but in the modern era Joseph Greenberg is an outstanding scholar who did important early work himself and was a model for others to do the same.

In an obituary for Joseph Greenberg by Steve Miller the distinction is made between taxonomists who are lumpers and splitters. Steve Miller says:

It is fitting that it was Darwin who first thought of the distinction between lumpers and splitters; the OED gives him the first citation of the words as applied to taxonomists. Lumpers gloss over or explain differences in pursuit of hidden unities; splitters do the opposite, stressing diversity.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-58857-7 - Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure,
Second Edition - Volume I

Edited by Timothy Shopen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgements

xv

Joseph Greenberg was a linguistic lumper and his dream of recreating the ur-language of humanity must stand as one of the greatest lumping dreams of all time. He dreamed of deep unity, and he spent an extremely long career pursuing evidence for it. He was still publishing highly technical evidence when he died, at age 85.

It is sad that he never published a manifesto, but he was a scientist and his inductive sensibility was not prone to making sweeping statements unsupported by minute attention to evidence. The nearest he came was in his conclusion to the controversial 1987 *Language in the Americas*, a book that grouped all languages in the western hemisphere into three families: 'The ultimate goal is a comprehensive classification of what is very likely a single language family. The implications of such a classification for the origin and history of our species would, of course, be very great.' Very great, as in, language was invented once and we might even have some ideas about what that language sounded like.

I was with Joseph Greenberg at Stanford University when he was doing his work, scouring through the part of the library that had grammars, making his counts: if you find construction *x* in a language you will always find, or you will be likely to find, construction *y*. This kind of commonality intrigued him. More from Steve Miller:

The splitters of linguistics have this problem: they're just not as interesting as the lumpers. The splitters' story is that the origins of language are irretrievable, so we should value every language for its expressive ability, but not for its place in the grand drama of linguistic diffusion. Greenberg, and the Nostraticists, and others who have tried to talk about language as a unity, dreamed something that may never be provable, but will continue to inspire us as a story that unites the human race as part of an ongoing story.

We give aid to both the lumpers and the splitters but, I believe, most of all to the lumpers. Languages differ from each other but only to a certain degree. Humankind is united in its use of language. This is an important message for us all as we go about our pursuits and combine with others to deal with the world.

Canberra, Australia
September 2004

TIMOTHY SHOPEN

Abbreviations and symbols

The following are abbreviations for grammatical terms used frequently in the glosses for examples. Other abbreviations are explained as they are presented.

A	subject of transitive clause
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ACT	actor
ADESS	adessive
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AFFIRM	affirmative
AG	agent
ALL	allative
ANIM	animate
ANT	anterior
ANTIPASS	antipassive
AOR	aorist
AP	actor pivot
APPLIC	applicative
ART	article
ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
BP	benefactive pivot
CAUS	causative
CF	counterfactual conjunction
CLSFR	classifier
COMP	complementizer
COMPAR	comparative
COMPLET	completive
CONCUR	concurrent

CONJ	conjunction
CONTIN	continuous
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEBIT	debitive
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DEP	dependent
DET	determiner
DIR	directional
DIST	distal
DL	dual
DO	direct object
DP	directional pivot
DS	different subject
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
ESS	essive
EXCL	exclusive
EXIST	existential
EXIST(NEG)	existential negator
EZ	ezafe
F, FEM	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HABIT	habitual
HORT	hortative
IMPER	imperative
IMPERF	imperfect(ive)
IMPRS	impersonal
INAN	inanimate
INCEP	inceptive
INCL	inclusive
INCOMP	incompletive
INDEF	indefinite
INDIC	indicative
INFER	inferential
INFIN	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental

xviii	Abbreviations and symbols
INT	interrogative
INTENS	intensifier
INTRANS	intransitive
INV	inverse
INVOL	involuntary
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
LD	locative-directional
LINK	linker
LOC	locative
M MASC	masculine
MED	medial (intermediate between proximal and distal)
MID	middle
MOM	momentary
MONIT	monitory
MOT	motion
NC	noun class
NEAR	time close to now
NEG	negative
NEUT	neuter
NFN	non-finite
NOM	nominative
NOMIN	nominalization
NONLOCUT	nonlocutor
NONSPEC	nonspecific
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
OBJ	object
OBLIQ	oblique
OBV	obviative
OM	object marker
OP	object pivot
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal
P	object of transitive clause
PAR	partitive
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PC	paucal
PERF	perfect/perfective
PFX	prefix
PIV	pivot

PL	plural
PN	proper name / proper noun
POSS	possessive
POSSD	possessed
POTENT	potential
PP	prepositional phrase
PRED	predicative
PredP	predicate phrase
PREFL	possessive reflexive
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
PRO.ADJ	pro-adjective
PROG	progressive
PROHIB	prohibitive
PROL	prolative
PRT	particle
PTCL	particle
PTCPL	participle
PTV	primary transitive verb
PUNCT	punctual
PURP	purposive
Q	question marker
QUOT	quotative
REAL	realis
REC.PAST	recent past
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative clause marker
REM	remote
REM.PAST	remote past
S	subject of intransitive clause
SEQ	sequential marker
SG	singular
SJNCT	subjunctive
S.O.	someone
SS	same subject
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subject
SUBORD SUFF	subordinative suffix
SUFF	suffix
SUPEREL	superrelative

xx	Abbreviations and symbols
TNS	tense
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
TRANS	transitive
UNSPEC.OBJ	unspecified object
LONSPEC.SUBJ	unspecified subject
V	verb
VOL	volitional
VP	verb phrase
V.INTR	intransitive verb
V.DTR	ditransitive verb
V.TR	transitive verb
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1SG	first person singular (etc.)
3PL	third person plural (etc.)
∅	zero marking
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
< >	infix
*	ungrammatical phrase or sentence
/	high tone
	low tone
^	rise – fall tone or falling tone
??	only marginally grammatical
\	falling into nation contour [chapter 5]
/	rising into nation contour [chapter 5]

Unless otherwise indicated in a chapter, Roman numerals are used for noun classes.
‘NC’ with a subscript number ‘x’ means ‘Noun class x’.