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**ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS
IN THE LANGUAGES OF EUROPE**

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ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS
IN CHUVASH, DUTCH, MALTESE, BRITISH ROMANI, AND TURKISH

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0 Introduction

This paper gives some preliminary results of a typological comparison of the systems of adverbial subordination found in some European languages. The data for this paper were organized using a questionnaire prepared by Kortmann (this vol.), and obtained from the sources listed in table 1. The material on Dutch, Turkish, and British Romany seems to be reasonably complete, the material on the other two languages is of a more limited range.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Chuvash	Krueger (1961).
Dutch	Geerts et al. eds. (1984).
Maltese	Aquilina (1959), Sutcliffe (1936).
Romani, British	Sampson (1926).
Turkish	Ersen-Rasch (1980), Lewis (1967).

Table 1 Sources on the languages studied

Table 2 on the next page provides information on the genetic affiliations and approximate locations of the languages studied. It will be apparent from these data that this set of languages does not constitute a representative sample. Nevertheless, it may be useful, as a way of handling

the data, to act as if this set of languages did constitute a fully-fledged sample, by looking at the generalizations that can be arrived at on the basis of this limited set of languages. The results from this approach should then not be interpreted as statements concerning the typology of adverbial subordinators, but rather as tentative hypotheses that can be tested against a larger set of data. This proviso should be kept in mind in the interpretation of the statements in following sections.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>	<i>Location</i>
Chuvash	Altaic/Turkic/Bolgar	Chuvash ASSR - USSR
Dutch	Indo-European/Germanic	Netherlands, Belgium
Maltese	Semitic/Arabic	Malta
Romani, Br.	Indo-European/Indo-Iranian	Wales
Turkish	Altaic/Turkic/Common	Turkey

Table 2 Genetic affiliations and approximate locations of the languages studied

The hypotheses that will be offered pertain to different domains. Section 1 is concerned with the range of adverbial relations that can be expressed within a language. The generalization offered concerns the expression of negative interclausal relations by means of special subordinators. Section 2 studies the relation between morphological properties of the subordinator on the one hand, and the mono- or polyfunctionality of that subordinator on the other. In section 3 I go into the metalinguistic uses of adverbial subordinators, and in section 4, finally, I study the relation between certain adverbial relations on the one hand, and basic speech act types on the other.

1 Negative interclausal relations

In the five languages studied there is one group of interclausal relations on which there seems to rest a systematic restriction as far as its expression is concerned. This is the group consisting of subordinators expressing one of the negative interclausal relation *negative purpose* (NEG_PURP), *negative condition* (NEG_COND), and *negative concomitance* (NEG_COM). These three interclausal relations (IRs) are illustrated in the following examples (see Kortmann, this vol.):

- (1) *Negative purpose:*
Lest he should spear me I dance about
- (2) *Negative condition*
Unless you get there by 6 a.m., we'll leave without you
- (3) *Negative concomitance*
He just pushes on things, without taking advice

The generalization that emerges from the data can be represented in the form of a hierarchy as in (4):

- (4) NEG_PURP > NEG_COND > NEG_COM

This hierarchy reads as follows: if a language has a subordinator that can be used for the expression of any IR in this hierarchy, it will also have a subordinator for the IRs to its right. The data on which this hierarchy is based are listed in table 3. In this table a + indicates that the language concerned has a subordinator expressing the negative IR under consideration, a - that it doesn't. A blank indicates that no adverbial subordinator could be found for the expression of the IR considered, but that there there is no absolute certainty that it does not exist.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Interclausal relation</i>		
	<i>NEG_PURP</i>	<i>NEG_COND</i>	<i>NEG_COM</i>
Romani	+ (1)	+ (1)	
Dutch	-	+ (1)	+ (2)
Turkish	-	+ (1)	+ (2)
Maltese			+ (2)
Chuvash			+ (1)

Table 3 Negative adverbial subordinators

The number of conjunctions that can be used to express the negative IR under consideration is specified between brackets following a + in the table. The higher number of subordinators found for the expression of NEG_COM also suggest that this IR is the one that is most easily expressed by means of a negative adverbial subordinator.

2 Morphological fusion/complexity

Kortmann (this vol.) hypothesizes an inverse relation between the morphological complexity of an adverbial subordinator and its mono- or polyfunctionality as regards the expression of interclausal relations. Polyfunctional subordinators, i.e. subordinators expressing more than one IR, would exhibit a lower degree of morphological complexity than monofunctional ones do. I here determine the degree of morphological complexity of an adverbial subordinator by subdividing them into mono-morphemic and poly-morphemic ones. The latter group comprises both poly-morphemic single word subordinators and phrasal conjunctions.

The data for the five languages studied generally confirm Kortmann's hypothesis, as table 4 shows.

Type of subordinator	Language				
	Turkish	Chuvash	Dutch	Maltese	Romani
Monofunctional					
Monomorph.	16 (41%)	7 (54%)	19 (35%)	5 (28%)	0 (0%)
Polymorph.	23 (59%)	6 (46%)	<u>35 (65%)</u>	<u>13 (72%)</u>	<u>9 (100%)</u>
Polyfunctional					
Monomorph.	<u>12 (92%)</u>	<u>7 (78%)</u>	8 (53%)	1 (50%)	5 (71%)
Polymorph.	1 (8%)	2 (22%)	7 (47%)	1 (50%)	2 (29%)

Table 4 Functionality and morphological complexity

There are, however, important differences between the five languages as regards the extent to which they confirm the hypothesis. In table 4 for each language the figure that most strongly confirms the hypothesis is underlined. This shows that in Turkish and Chuvash there is a strong correlation between a subordinator being polyfunctional and its being monomorphemic, but not the other way around. In Maltese and Gypsy there is a strong correlation between a subordinator being monofunctional and its being polymorphemic, but, again, not the other way around. Dutch occupies an intermediate position, with a tendency towards the latter group.

In order to account for this discrepancy a second parameter has to be invoked: one that has to do with the types of subordinate construction found in the languages studied. Virtually all subordinate constructions in Turkish and Chuvash are non-finite, Romany and Maltese make a virtually exclusive use of finite subordinate constructions, and Dutch occupies an intermediate position.

In languages using finite subordinate constructions there is a general tendency to use polymorphemic subordinators of the type illustrated in (5) and (6)

Romani (Sampson 1926)

(5) ti-ni (CMPLR-NEG) 'unless, except'

Maltese (Aquilina 1959:300/Sutcliffe 1936:207)

(6) b-illi (with-REL/CMPLR) 'since, whereas'

The subordination of finite constructions often requires the element signalling the nature of the interclausal relation to be combined with a general subordinating element, the result being a polymorphemic subordinator.

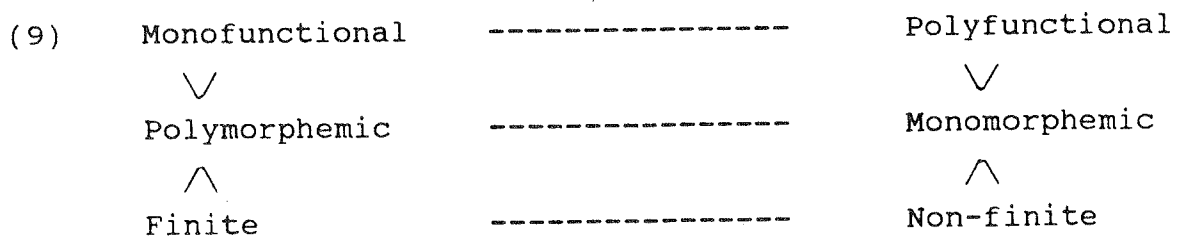
The situation is different in languages using non-finite subordinate constructions. In these, the interclausal relation is often signalled either by the non-finite form itself, as in (7), or by an adverbial subordinator that does not require the presence of a general subordinating element, as in (8).¹

Turkish (Lewis 1967:179,188,186)

(7) O gel-ince kalk-ar-ım
3sg come-GER get:up-AOR-1sg
'When he comes I shall get up'

(8) İnsan çalış-mak-sizİN para kazan-maz
one work-INF-without money earn-NEG.AOR.3sg
'One cannot earn money without working'

The examples in (5) and (6) are polymorphemic, yet polyfunctional, whereas those in (7) and (8) are monomorphemic, yet monofunctional. Thus, apart from the inverse relation between functionality and complexity, there is a second principle at work here, as represented in (9):



¹ Interestingly, these languages seem not to require a subordinating element even when the subordinate construction is finite.

The representation in (9) indicates that a monofunctional subordinator is likely to be polymorphemic, where this latter property fits in best with a finite subordinate construction. For polyfunctional subordinators the opposite holds.

This grouping of parameters explains why in figure 4 the strongest correlation is between monofunctional and polymorphemic subordinators in languages using finite subordinate constructions, and between polyfunctional and monomorphemic subordinators in languages using non-finite subordinate constructions. These combinations of features are harmonic and do not create a conflict. Other combinations do create such a conflict between the two tendencies, and it is exactly for these combinations that table 4 shows no significant correlations.

3 Metalinguistic use

Some of the languages studied are reported to allow the metalinguistic use of certain adverbial subordinators. In this use the adverbial relates to the speech act rather than to the event described within that speech act, as illustrated in (10)-(12):

- (10) I don't like him, if you really want to know
- (11) What's the time, because I've got to go out at eight
(Levinson 1983:249)
- (12) Before I forget it, did you buy milk?
(Kortmann, this vol.)

The following interclausal relations were reported to have a metalinguistic use in the five languages studied, but it seems unlikely that these are the only ones.

- (13) Maltese: CAUSE
 Turkish: CAUSE
 Dutch: CAUSE, CONDITION

Dutch and Turkish have adverbial subordinators, underlined in (13), which are exclusively used metalinguistically. In both languages these were found to express the interclausal relation CAUSE only.

Interestingly, the adverbials introduced by these conjunctions show main-clause characteristics. Consider the following example from Dutch:

Dutch

- (14) Zorg voor je zus-je,
 take.care.IMP of your sister-DIM
 want jij bent de oudste
 since you be.PRES.2sg the eldest
 'Since you are the eldest child, take care of your
 little sister' (Geerts et al. eds. 1984:1160)
- (15) Omdat jij de oudste bent,
 because you the eldest be.PRES.2sg
 geef ik jou de sleutel-s
 give.PRES.1sg I you the key-PL
 'I give the keys to you because you are the eldest
 child'
- (16) Jij bent de oudste
 you be.PRES.2sg the eldest
 'You are the eldest'

In (14) the clause introduced by *want* 'since' gives the speaker's motivation for the order expressed in the main clause. In (15) the clause introduced by *omdat* 'because' gives the reason for the occurrence of the event described in the main clause. Clauses introduced by *want* 'since' are the only adverbials with main clause word order in Dutch (compare (14) and (15) with (16)). For this reason *want* is often considered a coordinator, not a subordinator. However, since *want*

expresses an interclausal relation, in the sense that the clause introduced by it gives the motivation of the speaker for the speech act expressed by means of another clause, and since a clause introduced by *want* cannot occur on its own, I see no reason to exclude this form from the domain of adverbial subordination.

The following examples are from Turkish:

Turkish (Altaic, Lewis 1967:211)

- (17) *Mademki* anla-m-iyor-ø-sun,
 since understand-NEG-PROGR-PRES-2sg
 niçin kariş-iyor-ø-sun
 why interfere-PROGR-PRES-2sg
 'Since you do not understand, why do you interfere?'

In Turkish, clauses introduced by *madem(ki)* 'since' and the equivalent and the equivalent *değil mi ki* 'since' (NEG INT COMP, "is it not that") are finite unlike most other adverbial clauses.

Taken together the data suggest that CAUSE is the interclausal relation most likely to be expressed by means of specialized metalinguistic adverbial subordinators, and that the adverbials introduced by these subordinators are likely to have main clause characteristics.

4 Adverbials and speech acts

4.0 Introduction

Data from several of the languages studied suggest that certain types of adverbial clause are related to certain types of speech act. These relations may be related to the subordinator used (4.1) or to the sentence type of the adverbial clause (4.2).

4.1 Quotative particles

In Chuvash and Turkish a quotative particle, used in direct speech reports, is used as an adverbial subordinator as well. First consider the examples in (18) and (19):

Turkish (Ersen-Rasch 1980:86-7)

- (18) Pervin, baş-ım ağr-ıyor-ø diye
 Pervin, head-1sgPOSS hurt-PROGR-3sg QUOT
 yat-ti-ø
 lie:down-PAST-3sg
 'Pervin went to rest because she had a headache'
 "Pervin went to rest saying: «I have a headache»"
- (19) Pervin'-i gör-eyim diye gel-di-m
 Pervin-ACC see-OPT:1sg QUOT come-PAST-1sg
 'I came to see Pervin'
 "I came, saying: «Let me see Pervin»"

These sentences are examples of true direct speech reports, as can be derived from the fact that there is no shift in the personal references in the subordinate clauses. In (18) the speech act reported is an assertion, in (19) a wish. The subordinate clause in (18) is interpreted as specifying the reason for the event described in the main clause, in (19) it is interpreted as a purpose.

Next to these examples, the following occur:

Turkish (Ersen-Rasch 1980:86-7, Lewis 1967:139)

- (20) Pervin, baş-ı ağr-ıyor-ø diye
 Pervin, head-3sgPOSS hurt-PROGR-3sg QUOT
 yat-ti-ø
 lie:down-PAST-3sg
 'Pervin went to rest because she had a headache'
- (21) bu gömleği on-a giy-sin diye ver-di-m
 DEM shirt 3sg-DAT wear-IMP:3sg QUOT give-PAST-1sg
 'I gave this shirt for him to wear it'

Examples (20) and (21) are almost identical in structure to (18) and (19), except for the fact that a shift has taken place in the personal references in the embedded clause: *başım* 'my head' in (18) has been replaced by *başı* 'her head' in (20); the imperative form in (21) does not have a second person subject, as one would expect in a direct speech report, but a third person subject.

These examples suggest that languages may develop a causal and/or purposive subordinator out of a quotative particle, where the causal subordinator is related to a quotative particle embedding an assertion, and the purposive subordinator to one embedding an order or wish.

Chuvash makes an even more extensive use of the quotative strategy in the subordination of different types of adverbial. Consider the following overview:

Chuvash (Krueger 1961:189)

Cause

- (22) mën-šën ten-sen
 what-for say-GER
 'because' ("if one asks why")

Purpose

- (23) te-se + IMP/IRR:NR
 say-GER
 'in order to/so that' ("saying")
- (24) te-sen + NECESS/IRR
 say-GER
 'in order to' ("when one says")

Condition

- (25) te-sen
 say-GER
 'if' ("when one says")

It is unclear what the condition introduced by *tesen* 'if' in (25) looks like, since there are no examples of this construction type in Krueger (1961).

The interclausal relations expressed by means of the

quotative strategy in Chuvash and Turkish may be summarized as in (26):

- (26) Turkish: CAUS, PUR
 Chuvash: CAUS, PUR, COND

4.2 Sentence type

There are some other phenomena that suggest a relation between certain adverbial relations on the one hand, and certain speech act types on the other.

In Maltese the purposive conjunction *halli* is an imperative form of the verb meaning 'leave', i.e. 'let'. Its use can be illustrated by means of the following sentence:

Maltese (Sutcliffe 1936:208)

- (27) *ifrixli halli norgod*
 make.the.bed so.that I.sleep
 'Make the bed for me to sleep'
 "Make the bed let me sleep"

In Dutch conditionals may occur using the word order appropriate for questions. Consider the following examples:

Dutch (Geerts et al. eds. 1984:659)

- (28) *Als je je ziek voel-t, dan moet*
 if 2sg 2sgREFL ill feel-PRES:3sg then must:PRES:sg
je thuis blijv-en
 2sg home stay-INF
 'If you feel ill, then you should stay home'
- (29) *Voel je je ziek, dan moet*
 feel-PRES:3sg 2sg 2sgREFL ill then must:PRES:sg
je thuis blijv-en
 2sg home stay-INF
 'If you feel ill, then you should stay home'
 "Do you feel ill? Then you should stay home."

Example (28) is a regular conditional sentence, in which the condition is introduced by the subordinator *als* 'if'. The condition may also occur without a conjunction but with the verb in first position. This word order pattern is characteristic of questions, as (30) shows:

Dutch

(30) Voel je je ziek?
 feel-PRES:3sg 2sg 2sgREFL ill
 'Do you feel ill?

Similarly, as shown in 3, there is one type of causal adverbial in Dutch which is used with main clause declarative word order, all other adverbials using a different subordinate word order pattern.

As in the case of the quotative subordinators discussed in 4.1, the interclausal relations showing speech act characteristics are CAUSE, CONDITION, and PURPOSE.

4.3 Correlations between IRs and speech act types

On the basis of the findings presented in 4.1 and 4.2, the correlations between speech act type and type of interclausal relation in table 5 may be tentatively posited.

<i>IR type</i>	<i>Speech act type</i>	<i>Languages showing relation</i>
Reason	Assertion:	Turkish/Chuvash/Dutch
Purpose	Order-Wish:	Turkish/Chuvash/Maltese
Condition	Question:	Dutch/Chuvash?

Table 5 Relations between speech acts and adverbial relations

5 Conclusion

In the present paper I have provided a number of hypotheses concerning the typology of adverbial subordinators. As stated in the introduction, these are necessarily tentative and should primarily be regarded as providing promising fields of further study. Apart from requiring the study of a much larger number of languages, the hypotheses presented in 2 and 4 require the additional study of the internal structure of adverbials, both with respect to their finiteness, and with respect to their main clause characteristics.

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