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## TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF SUBORDINATION

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## RESUMEN

La presencia de un pronombre catafórico en la cláusula principal de cierto tipo de períodos hipotácticos permiten la supresión de la cláusula subordinada sin afectar la gramaticalidad de éste. Esto sugiere una mayor autonomía sintáctica de la cláusula principal en comparación con los períodos hipotácticos en donde no hay un pronombre endofórico. El carácter discursivo de este tipo de oraciones subordinadas está marcado precisamente por la existencia de dichos pronombres.

Se propone que los dos extremos de la tipología propuesta por Bossong debe poseer dos niveles: la sintaxis del discurso y la sintaxis de la oración. Además (y más importante), los ejemplos presentados muestran que hay una transición gradual entre los dos niveles. Finalmente, hay dos estructuras que conectan el nivel discursivo y el oracional en ese continuo: las construcciones correlativas y las construcciones catafóricas. Cada una de ellas constituyen puntos de transición al extremo discursivo (parataxis), la primera, y al extremo oracional (hipotaxis), la segunda.

## TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF SUBORDINATION.

In an important article about the typology of subordination, G. Bossong (Bossong 1979:40) put forward the following classification of subordinate constructions:

Ausdruck der Hypotaxe	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Implikation} \\ \text{Explication} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Position} \\ \text{Grammemik} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Satzgebunden} \\ \text{Wortgebunden} \end{array} \right.$

Bossong concentrated mainly on the last means of subordination, especially on the actantial modification of the subordinate clause. We will focus our attention on the "satzgebunden" type and the relationships between this type and the implicational means of subordination. In this respect there is a type of hypotactic construction not considered altogether in Bossong's article, which in view of recent research, deserves careful attention, especially on the part of the typologists.

The following are some examples of the syntactic construction in question.

(1)

FRE *Je consens à ce qu' il vienne*  
 I agree to this that he comes  
 ' I agree to his coming '  
 (Le Bidois 1971,II:341)

(2)

LAT *In eo est peccatus, si non licuit*  
 in this is sin , whether is not licit  
 ' The sin consists in its not being licit '  
 (Rubio 1983:350)

(3)

EGL *They expect it of you that you cooperate*  
 (Emonds 1972:31)

(4)a.

GER *Der friedliche Charakter des Unternehmens*  
 the peaceful character of-the enterprise  
*schützt jedoch keineswegs*  
 protects nevertheless at all  
*davor, das eigene Leben dabei zu*  
 from-that the own live by that to  
*riskieren*  
 risk  
 ' The peaceful character of the enterprise doesn't  
 protect us at all from risking our lives in it '

b. *Ich bleibe deshalb zu Hause, weil ich*  
 I remain for this at home, because I  
*einen wichtigen Anruf erwarte*  
 an important call wait  
 ' I shall remain at home because I am waiting for  
 an important call '  
 (Schulz-Griesbach 1982:315)

(5)

SWE *Erik är på gott humör därför att Eva*  
 E. is in good humor for this that Eva  
*inte har gått ifrån honom*  
 not have gone from him  
 ' Erik is in good humor because Eva hasn't abandoned him '  
 (Andersson 1973: 178)

(6)  
 RUS *Ya zlılas' ot togó, shto nie ponimála*  
 I got angry from this, that not understood  
*yegó*  
 him  
 ' I got angry because I didn't understand him '

(7)  
 FIN *Tämä on tarpeelista sen vuoksi, että työ*  
 This is necessary this for, that work  
*on vaarallista*  
 is dangerous  
 ' This is necessary because the work is dangerous''

(8)a.  
 HUNG *Azért ült le, mert elfaradt*  
 this-for sit down, because felt tired  
 ' He sat down, because he felt tired '  
 (Bánhidı 1980:387)

b. *Ast hiszem, hogy igazad van*  
 this-acc. believe that truth-your is  
 ' I believe that you are right '  
 (Bánhidı 1980:387)

(9)  
 MAN *Yīnwei nàiběn zǐdiǎn tài jiù suǒyǐ*  
 because this dictionary too old for this  
*wǒ měi yǒu mǎi*  
 I not have buy  
 ' I haven't bought this dictionary because it is too old '  
 (Manual 1965:296)

As it can be immediately seen, the subordinate clause is referred to in the main clause by means of a pronoun (French *ce*; Latin *eo*, English *it*; Russian *togó*- genitive of *to*-; Finnish *sen*; Hungarian *az* - plus the ending *ért* -, *azt*, accusative of *az*). Sometimes these pronouns are included in an adpositional (pre- or postpositional) phrase (French *à ce*; Latin *in eo*; Russian *ot togó*; Finnish *sen vuoksi*). In other cases, what appears is a pronominal adposition that consists of a pronominal root plus an adposition [German *davor*, *deshalb*; Swedish *därför*; Chinese *suǒyǐ*].

The subordinate clause is introduced by a semantically neutral conjunction: French *que*; English *that*; Swedish *att*; Russian *shto*; Finnish *että*; Hungarian *hogy*. Or by a conjunction with a definite meaning: Latin *si*; German *weil*; Hungarian *mert*; Mandarin *yīnwei*.

The above examples are divided into two classes: those displaying a completive clause (3, (8b)) and those that present an adverbial clause governed by the main verb as 1, or ungoverned by the main verb: 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8a and 9.

Two important things are to be noted in connection with the sentences of (1). First, the presence in the main clause of a pronoun with an endophoric function marking the semantic relationship between the two clauses, makes possible to dispense with the subordinate clause without affecting its grammaticality, even in case that the subordinate clause is governed by the verb of the main clause, as in the following sentences:

(10)  
 EGL *They expect it of you*

(11)  
 HUNG *Ast hiszem*  
 that I believe  
 ' I believe that '

In case that the subordinate clause isn't governed by the verb of the main clause, this subordinate clause can be dispensed with without eliminating the semantic relationship between the two propositions:

- (12)  
FRE    *Je consens à ça*  
      ' I agree to this '
- (13)  
LAT    *In eo est peccatus*  
      'In this is sin '
- (14)  
RUS    *Ya zlilas' ot togó*  
      'I got angry for this '

In our opinion, these facts indicate that the main clause has more syntactic autonomy in this type of subordination than in the more conventional type in which there is no endophoric pronoun. In this sense, this strategy of subordination is more similar to a parataxis in which both clauses have a complete syntactic autonomy.

As has been shown in different occasions, anaphoric pronouns and repetitions are between the most recurrent means of discourse cohesion. This confirms once more the discourse-oriented character of sentences such as (1) in which a cataphoric pronoun refers to the subordinate clause and specifies – in cases of adverbial subordination – the semantic relationship between the two propositions.

The two extremes of the typology proposed by Bosson are to be placed at different levels: the syntax of discourse and the syntax of the sentence. The most important fact to be pointed out in relation with the subordinate construction we are considering here is that there is a gradual transition

between the two levels. The important proposal of G. Brettschneider about a dimension of "Kondensierung" is based on this hypothesis:

"In diesem Fall ergibt sich in einzelsprachlich spezifischer Abstufung von diskreten Konstruktionstypen ein Kontinuum, das vom Textstück bis hin zum einfachen Satz reicht" (Brettschneider 1981: 194).

From a diachronic point of view, the same has been proposed: the evolution from a discourse-oriented juxtaposition (parataxis) to a sentence-oriented subordination. An important article by J. Haudry (1973) has to be cited in this respect. The main hypothesis of this article is the following:

"Toute subordonnée est issue soit d'une création à partir d'une ancienne indépendante juxtaposée, ou d'une combinaison nouvelle de morphèmes préexistants aboutissant à une signification nouvelle, soit d'une subordonnée antérieure..." (Haudry 1973:147).

In the same vein, it is natural to suppose that correlation as means of subordination is even more discourse-oriented than cataphoric subordination. Actually, it displays a typical mechanism of discourse coherence: the repetition of words that refer to each other (Latin: *qualis... talis; quantum... tantum*), or the simple repetition of the same word.

Following the hypothesis of Brettschneider and J. Haudry we propose that the two levels of discourse and sentence are connected with each other by a series of intermediate syntactic constructions: the correlative and the cataphoric are two of these. The variation between languages obtains when each language chooses one of these constructions as a TURNING POINT (see Seiler 1976: 313). The constructions between this point and the discourse level are found only at this level and those between this point and the sentence level are found

only at the level of sentence syntax.

DISCOURSE		SENTENCE		
Parataxis	Correlation	Cataphoric subordin.	Hypotaxis	
1	2	3	4	

In Spanish the turning point is placed on member 4 of hierarchy. This means that in this language there is nothing like cataphoric subordination at the level of sentence syntax. But Spanish once had this construction at this level: in medieval Spanish it is very well documented:

(15) *Por esso vos lo do que la bien*  
 for this to-you it give that her well  
*curiedes*  
 take care  
 ' I give her to you for your taking care of her '

(16) *Por tal fago aquesto que sirven a*  
 for such make this that serve to  
*so señor*  
 their lord  
 ' I make this for them to serve to their lord '  
 (Lapesa 1980: 218)

Therefore, in the evolution of a language the turning point can change. Note that this change has taken place from position three to position four in the scale, following the continuity that it supposes.

As predicted by our hierarchy we can only find cataphoric subordination in present-day Spanish at the level of discourse. Thus, the following are possible pieces of text in Spanish:

(17)a. *Eso dijo. Que no sabía qué hacer.*  
 'This said. That he didn't know what to do'

b. *Por eso lo dijo. Porque no sabía qué hacer*  
 'For this said that. Because he didn't know  
 what to do'  
 (Cataphoric subordination)

(18)a. *Eso dijo. No sabía qué hacer*  
 'This said. He didn't know what to do'

b. *Por ello lo dijo. No sabía qué hacer*  
 'For this reason said this. He didn't know  
 what to do'  
 (Paratactic subordination)

An important qualification is in order here. The hierarchy doesn't say that all instances of parataxis are out of the sentence level – we would like to exclude, for example, coordination, a typical sentence – level device –; it refers only to the paratactic means of denoting a relationship of subordination between two clauses (the *Implikation* of G. Bossong in the aforementioned article).

In German, the turning point seems to be in position three; therefore German uses two constructions at the sentence level: the canonical, hypotactic and the endophoric (cataphoric). The same seems to be valid for Russian, Hungarian, French and Mandarin. In all these languages there are two strategies of subordination at the sentence level: the hypotactic and the endophoric (cata- or anaphoric); the other strategies could be found only at the discourse level. In Mandarin, for instance, it is possible to find at the sentence level expressions with only *yǐnwei*, without *suǒyǐ*:

(19)

MAN *Yīnwei tā méi you hǎohārde tīng*  
 because he not have very good hear  
*wǒ shuōde wèntí tā méi you tīngjian*  
 I spoken question he not have heard  
 'He hasn't understood my question because  
 he hasn't heard very good'

The corresponding paratactic construction can be found in Mandarin at the level of discourse; thus, expressions like:

(20)

MAN *Nèiběn zìdiǎn tài jiù, wǒ méi yǒu mǎi*  
 (Same translation as 9)

are highly restricted to contexts in which the casual relationship is self-evident. This expression can be found only in the appropriate contextual environment.

The proposals made in this paper are a result of reading the articles referred to above. The hierarchy is intended only as a preliminary suggestion for a typology of subordinate clauses and certainly must be further developed, revised and improved. However we think that the idea behind it is essentially correct and deserves the attention of the typologists and linguists in general.

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