Clause types

(based on material by Manfred Krifka)
Clause types

Literature: König & Siemund, “Speech act distinctions in grammar”

- Introduction
- speech act classification
- types of main clauses
- declarative clauses
- negation
- interrogative clauses
- imperative clauses
- types of embedded clauses
Type of sentence usage

- We do not just talk to express facts; it is possible to perform actions by using language, so-called **illocutionary acts**. (Austin 1962, *How to do things with words*; Searle 1968, *Speech Acts*)

- *Explicitly performative speech acts* express the type of speech act with a verb
  
  - I (hereby) open the meeting.
  - I (hereby) order you to take out the garbage.
  - I (hereby) promise to take out the garbage.
  - I (hereby) declare that I will run for office

- To be distinguished from pure speech act reports
  
  - I (*hereby*) opened the meeting.
  - I ordered you to take out the garbage.
  - I promised to take out the garbage.
Classification of speech acts according to Searle

- Searle distinguishes five classes of speech acts
  1. assertives = speech acts that commit a speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition
  2. directives = speech acts that are to cause the hearer to take a particular action, e.g. requests, commands and advice
  3. commissives = speech acts that commit a speaker to some future action, e.g. promises and oaths
  4. expressives = speech acts that expresses on the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards the proposition, e.g. congratulations, excuses and thanks
  5. declarations = speech acts that change the reality in accord with the proposition of the declaration, e.g. baptisms, pronouncing someone guilty or pronouncing someone husband and wife?
The three basic clause types

- languages frequently distinguish three types of clauses grammatically:

1. Statements: **declarative** clauses
   - *John takes out the garbage*  
   - SVO

2. Questions: **interrogative** clauses
   - *Does John take out the garbage?*  
   - Aux-SVO  
   - *Who brings out the garbage*  
   - Wh-fronting

3. Commands, requests: **imperative** clauses
   - *Take out the garbage!*  
   - VO, no subject
The three basic clause types

- Basic clause types do not distinguish more subtle contrasts, like question vs. request
- Clause types are not restricted to their prototypical illocutionary force
  - Declaratives: can be used for explicitly performative acts
    \[ I \text{ hereby declare you wife and husband. } \]
  - Interrogatives: rhetorical questions
    \[ \text{Did he ever take out the garbage?} \]
  - Imperatives: questions
    \[ \text{Tell me, did John take out the garbage?} \]
### Imperfect match speech acts / clause types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech act types</th>
<th>Clause types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>assertives</td>
<td>declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>directives</td>
<td>interrogatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) questions</td>
<td>imperatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) requests</td>
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<tr>
<td>commissives</td>
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<tr>
<td>expressives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>declarations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grammaticalized distinctions in various languages

- Greenlandic: inflection
  - Iga-voq
  - cook-DEC.3.SG
  - ‘He cooks.’
  - Iga-va
  - cook-INT.3.SG
  - ‘Does he cook?’
  - Iga-git / -guk
  - cook-IMP.2.SG / -IMP.2/3.SG
  - ‘Cook (something) / it!’

- Nama (Khoisan): particle
  - Declarative: NP + DEC + PredP (DEC = ke, km)
  - Interrogative: NPà + (INT) + PredP (INT = kxa)
  - Imperative: NPà + PredP + (IMP) (IMP = rë)
Grammaticalized distinctions in various languages

- Korean: agglutination, interaction with honorificaton
Grammaticalized distinctions in various languages

- In many languages, declarative mood is basic.

For example:

**Shona**

a. ndi-nó-tàür-à
   1.SG-PRES-speak-DEC
   ‘I speak.’

b. ndi-nó-tàür-à
   1.SG-PRES-speak-DEC
   ‘Do I speak?’

**Japanese**

a. Sakana-o tabe-ro/-te (kudasai)!
   fish-ACC eat-IMP
   ‘Eat the fish!’

b. Sakana-o tabe-ru.
   fish-ACC eat-PRES.DEC
   ‘I eat fish.’

c. Sakana-o tabe-ru-ka?
   fish-ACC eat-PRES.DEC-INT
   ‘Do you eat fish?’

How is this in English, German, … ?
Embedded clauses and clause types

- many languages distinguish clause types in embedded clauses
- English: different subordinators:
  - embedded declaratives: *that*
    
    John knows that Bill took out the garbage.

  - embedded interrogatives: *if, whether, wh-*
    
    John knows whether/if Bill/who took out the garbage

  - embedded imperatives: infinitive marker *to*
    
    John asked Bill to take out the garbage

- Greenlandic: verbal inflection
  
  *neri-suitit* ‘that you eat’

  *neri-guit* ‘whether you eat’
Declarative clauses

- declarative clauses are typically used for assertive speech acts, but have many different usages

- additional markings:
  - strength of the declaration: particles, question tags
    *You are quite happy, aren't you?*
  - Evidentiality
Negation: symmetric/asymmetric

- in some languages, negation can be combined with most clause types in a modular way; so-called **symmetric negation**
  - example: German
    
    *Peter kommt heute.* / *Peter kommt heute nicht.*
    
    *Peter kam gestern.* / *Peter kam gestern nicht.*
    
    *Kommst du?* / *Kommst du nicht?*
    
    *Komm bitte!* / *Komm bitte nicht!*

- some languages have **asymmetric negation**
  - example: Finnish, negative verb
    
    *tule-n* ‘I am comin’    *e-n tule* ‘I am not coming.’
    
    *tul-i-n* ‘I came’         *e-n tulut* ‘I did not come.’
  
    example: Burmese, negation replaces tense/aspect morpheme
    
    *θwa-dé* 'he came/is coming'          *ma-θwa-bu* 'he will not come'
    
    *θwa-mé* 'he will come'              *θwa-bí* 'he has come'
    
    *θwa-bí* 'he has not come'
Negation: symmetric/asymmetric

- WALS map
Expressions of negation

- negation particle: German
  *Anna kommt nicht*

- negative verb: Finish
  *ne du-da   bla   ne yi-da   bla du*
  1SG thresh-PRT rice 1SG NEG-PRT rice thresh

- negative verbal morphology: Yukhagir
  *met numö-ge el-jaqa-te-je*
  1SG house-LOC NEG-reach-FUT-INTR.1SG
  'I will not reach the house.'

- double negation: French
  *Je ne vois pas la lune.* 'I do not see the moon.'

- negative determiner: German
  *Ich aß kein Fleisch.*
Expressions of negation

- WALS map
Negation and indefinite pronouns

- In many languages, indefinite pronouns have special forms under negation
  - Russian: predicate negation + negative indefinite ("negative concord")
    
    Nikto ne prishel.         Ja ne videla nichego.
    nobody NEG cam           I NEG saw nothing
    'Nobody came'           'I haven't seen anybody'

- English: predicate negation + negative polarity item (NPI)
  
  John didn't see anybody.

- German: negative indefinite does not co-occur with predicate negation
  
  Niemand ist (*nicht) gekommen.

- German dialects like Bavarian: negative concord
  
  Gesdan han e neamd ned gseng
  Yesterday have I nobody not seen ("Yesterday I didn't see anybody")

- negative existential construction: Nelemwa (Oceanic, New Caledonia)
  
  Kia agu i uya
  not.exist person 3SG arrive
  'Nobody came.'
Negation and indefinite pronouns

- WALS map
- note that the German/Dutch type is typologically quite rare
Questions

• Three types of questions:
  
  • Yes-no questions
    Will Mary meet that person tomorrow?
  
  • Constituent questions
    Who will meet that person tomorrow?
    Whom will meet Mary tomorrow?
    When will Mary meet that man?
    – multiple questions
      Who will meet whom when?
  
  • Alternative questions
    Will Mary or John meet that man tomorrow?
Constituent questions

- Function of constituent questions
  *Whom will Mary meet tomorrow?*
  'For what person x does it hold: Mary will meet x tomorrow?'

- wh-pronoun represents a variable the value of which is being asked for

- case/agreement signals syntactic function

- type (in/animate etc.) signals semantic sort
Position of question pronouns

- possible syntactic positions
  - "in situ": Japanese
    \[\text{Mariko-san wa nani o tabemashita ka?}\]
    Mariko-Sir TOP what ACC eat.PAST Q
    also possible in German in echo questions
    \[Du \text{ hast was gesagt?}\]
  - clause initial (English, German)
  - in multiple questions:
    - only one wh-phrase fronted: English: \textit{Who will eat what?}
    - all wh-phrases fronted: Romanian, slavic languages:
      \[Cine ce t-a spus\]
      who what you-have told
  - movement into focus position, for instance

(5) Basque (Saltarelli et al. 1988: 6)
Position of question pronouns

- WALS map
- correlation with word order
Types of interrogative pronouns

• some languages have only one interrogative pronoun

• many languages make animate/inanimate distinction (who vs. what)
## Types of interrogative pronouns

- **German:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wer/wem/wen/wessen</td>
<td>PERSON</td>
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<tr>
<td>was/wessen</td>
<td>THING</td>
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<tr>
<td>weshalb</td>
<td>REASON</td>
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<td>weswegen</td>
<td>REASON</td>
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<td>wessentwegen</td>
<td>REASON</td>
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<tr>
<td>(um) wessentwillen</td>
<td>REASON</td>
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<tr>
<td>wann</td>
<td>TIME</td>
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<td>welch-</td>
<td>SELECTION</td>
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<td>warum</td>
<td>REASON</td>
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<td>wie</td>
<td>MANNER</td>
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<tr>
<td>wieso</td>
<td>REASON</td>
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<tr>
<td>inwieweit</td>
<td>EXTENT, EXPLANATION (?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>inwiefern</td>
<td>EXTENT, EXPLANATION (?)</td>
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<td>wieviel</td>
<td>QUANTITY</td>
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<tr>
<td>wievielt-</td>
<td>RANK</td>
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<td>wo</td>
<td>PLACE</td>
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<td>woher</td>
<td>PLACE FROM</td>
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<td>wohin</td>
<td>PLACE TO</td>
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<td>wobei</td>
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<td>wodurch</td>
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<td>wofür</td>
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<td>wogegen</td>
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<td>wohinter</td>
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<td>wonach</td>
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<td>woran</td>
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<td>worauf(hin)</td>
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<td>woraus</td>
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<td>worüber</td>
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<td>worunter</td>
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<td>wozu</td>
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<td>wozwischen</td>
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</table>
Types of interrogative pronouns

- Tamil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yăr</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>what/which (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yărudeiya</td>
<td>‘whose’</td>
<td>of what/which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yărukku</td>
<td>‘for who’</td>
<td>for what/which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yärei</td>
<td>‘whom’</td>
<td>what/which (object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yărudan</td>
<td>‘with whom’</td>
<td>with what/which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eval</td>
<td>‘who (masculine)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evan</td>
<td>‘who (feminine)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evar</td>
<td>‘who (honorific)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evai</td>
<td>‘what/which (plural)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enna</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Formal properties of interrogative pronouns

- in Indo-European languages, interrogative pronouns are regular (English: wh-)
- similar regularities in other languages:
  - Apalai (Caribbean): o-
  - Kilvila (Austronesian): a-
  - Tamil: e-
  - Thai: -ay
- There are also languages without obvious regularities:
  - Wardaman (Australian):
    - Yinggiya 'who'
    - ngamanda 'what'
    - gua 'where'
    - nyangurlang 'when'
    - gungarma 'how'/how many'
Interrogative pronouns and indefinites

• in many languages, there is a close relationship between interrogative and indefinite pronouns

• example: German
  • identity of form
    Er hat gestern in dem leeren Gebäude wen gesehen.
    Sie hat was interessantes herausgefunden.
    Er hat das Messer wo hingelegt.

• Korean: no fronting of interr. phrases, thus genuine ambiguity
  Mary-k nwues-ul masi-ess-ni?
  Mary-NOM what/something-ACC drink-PRET-Q
  'Did Mary drink anything?'/"What did Mary drink?"
Interrogative pronouns and indefinites

- Derivation of indefinites from interrogatives: German
  
  _Es wird schon irgendwer da sein._
  _Wir werden das irgendwie schaffen._

- Example: Nivkh (Paleo-Siberian)
  
  _sid 'what   sid-lu 'something'_
  _an 'who'   an-lu 'somebody'_
  _rain 'where' rain-lu 'somewhere'_
  _rad 'which' rad-lu 'some'_

- this pattern is quite common; indefinite is always more complex in such systems
Interrogative pronouns and indefinites

- WALS map
Markings of yes-no questions

- Intonation usually rising
- Interrogative particle
  - Clause final: -ka in Japanese
  - Clause initial: ci in Yiddish, est-ce que in French
- Question tags: He went to New York, didn't he?
  Non-obligatory, always sentence final, can be sensitive to polarity of the question, as in English, cf. He didn't go to NY, did he?
- Disjunctive structures, for instance in Chinese:
  - ta zai jia bu zai jia?  ni hui bu hui da-zi?
    3SG at home NEG at home  2SG know.how NEG know.how type
    'Is he home'  'Do you know how to type?'
- Question marking as part of verbal inflection: Greenlandic
  - takuvoq 'He sees.' takua? 'Does he see?'
Markings of yes-no questions

- WALS map
- note that marking via word order, though common in Europe, is otherwise rare
- position of polar question particle
Type of answers to polar questions

● Yes/No systems: “yes” for positive and “no” for negative answer, as in English

● Agree/Don't agree systems, like Japanese
  Kyoo wa atai desu ka? (“Is it hot today?”)
  - Hai, kyoo wa atui desu. (“Yes, it is hot.”)
  - Iie, atuku wa arimasen. (“No, it is not hot.”)
  Kyoo wa atukunai desu ka? (“Isn't it hot today?”)
  - Iie, Kyoo wa atui desu (“No, it is hot.”)
  - Hai, soo desu ne. (“Yes, it is not hot.”)

● Answer particle for positive answer to question with negative tendency: German *doch*

● Echo-systems: no short answers, repetition of the verb. Example: Welsh
  A wlwch chwi hwy? - Gwelaf. 'I see.'
  'Do you see her?' - Na welaf. 'I don't see.'
Imperatives

• Express orders, requests, wishes:
  *Give me that book!*
  *Please take more cake.*
  *Take care!*

• Typically directed towards addressee of utterance (2nd person); category of imperative also includes:
  • Hortative: *Let's go!* (directed towards 1st person)
  • Optative: *May he be well.* (directed towards 3rd person)
Marking of imperatives

- Special imperative marking on the verb, for instance Limbu, Tibeto-Burman, Nepal

- Fusion with person maker, e.g., Evenki (Tungusiaon, Siberia)
  \[ Purta-va-s \text{ min-du} \text{ bu:-} \text{ kel} \]
  knife-ACC.DEF-2SG.POSS 1SG-DAT give-2SGIMP

- Imperatives are expressed by bare verb stem, e.g., German

- Special imparative stems (suppletion):
  German: \textit{nehmen}/\textit{nimm}, \textit{geben}/\textit{gib}
# Imperative marking in Evenki (Tungusian)

- Full marking for all persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.sg</td>
<td><code>baka-kta</code></td>
<td>‘let me find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.sg</td>
<td><code>baka-kal</code></td>
<td>‘find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg</td>
<td><code>baka-gin</code></td>
<td>‘let him/her find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.pl.excl</td>
<td><code>baka-kta-vun/baka vvun</code></td>
<td>‘let us find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.pl.incl</td>
<td><code>baka-gat</code></td>
<td>‘let us find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.pl</td>
<td><code>baka-kallu</code></td>
<td>‘(you pl) find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.pl</td>
<td><code>baka-ktyn</code></td>
<td>‘let them find’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Morphological marking of imperatives

- WALS map
Prohibitives

- Negative imperatives are not just negations of orders, but orders not to do something (probitives)
  \textit{Komme nicht!} $\neq$ I do not order you to come.
  $\neq$ I order you not to come.

- Marking strategies:
  - Simple negation (cf. German)
  - Special negation
    - English \textit{Don't be stupid!} (*\textit{Aren't stupid!*})
    - Evenki: \textit{Tala e-kel girku-ra}
      there NEG.AUX2.SG.IMP go-PART
    - Finnish: \textit{Al-kää tul-ko}
      NEG-2PL.IMP come-IMP
    - Special imperative form with negation: Spanish
      \textit{Canta!} 'Sing!' (sg) \textit{Cantad} 'Sing!' (pl)
      \textit{No cantes} 'Don't sing!', \textit{No Cantéis} 'Don't sing!'
Marking of prohibitives

- WALS map
Exclamatives

- Don't serve to convey a proposition (the expressed proposition is usually presupposed), but to express emotional attitudes of the speaker about a proposition
  
  What a naughty dog he is!
  What an amazing game that was!
  How well everyone played!

- In many languages syntactically related to interrogatives

- Frequently syntactic form subordinate questions, but special intonational contour

- Sometimes specific particles:

  Boy, that's interesting.
  Ist das aber interessant!