Conceptual bases and structural correlates of government

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E1   a.   APPLE ($\underline{x}$): 'apple' applies to x; x is an apple

        b.   GREEN ($\underline{x}$): 'green' applies to x; x is green

        c.   SLEEP ($\underline{x}$): 'sleep' applies to x; x sleeps

        d.   ABOVE ($\underline{x}$, y): 'above y' applies to x; x is above y

        e.   ELDER_BROTHER ($\underline{x}$, y): 'y's elder brother' applies to x; x is y's elder brother

        f.   ELDER_BROTHER (x, $\underline{y}$): 'x is y's elder brother' applies to y; y is such that x is his elder brother

        g.   GIVE (x, y, $\underline{z}$): 'x gives y to z' applies to z; z is given to y by x

Table 1. Pronominal indices on predicates in Yucatec Maya

number person	singular		plural	
1st	*u suku'n-en*	I am his elder brother	*u suku'n-o'n*	we are his elder brothers
2nd	*u suku'n-ech*	you are his elder brother	*u suku'n-e'x*	you are his elder brothers
3rd	*u suku'n*	he is his elder brother	*u suku'n-o'b*	they are his elder brothers

E2   "Eyah, pa't-ik-e'x-i',   taat-e'x!"
Yuc   hey   wait-INCMPL-2.PL-LOCF   sir-2.PL

           k-u   t'aan   le   chaan   áak-o'.
           IMPF-SBJ.3 speak(INCMPL)   DEM little   turtle
           "Hey, wait there, gentlemen!" said the little turtle. (ts'oon_062)

E3   Ba'xten   túun ma' uts   t-a   t'aan-e'x-i'
Yuc   why   then NEG good LOC-POSS.2   speech-2.PL-NEGF

           in   waalak'   ba'lche'-e'x?
           POSS.1.SG domestic.animal   animal-2.PL
           Why then don't you like her, my animals? (ts'òon_110)

Classes of notions which are generally conceived as relational:

1. Situation types involve participants in diverse semantic roles:

    a) a property involves a participant that bears it, and possibly another entity with respect to which it bears it; e.g. GREEN (x), RESEMBLE (x, y);

b) a state involves a participant that is in it, and possibly other entities involved in different roles; e.g. WET (x), ANGRY (x, y), SIT (x, y), OWE (x, y, z);

c) a (non-agentive) process involves a participant undergoing it, and possibly another participant; e.g. MELT (x), DREAM (x, y);

d) an action involves a participant controlling it, and possibly other participants; e.g. RUN (x), BEAT (x, y), EXPLAIN (x, y z);

e) a (non-agentive) event involves a participant undergoing it and possibly another one; e.g. BURST (x), SNEEZE (x), FALL (x, y), FORGET (x, y);

f) an act involves a participant controlling it, and possibly other participants; e.g. HOP (x), HIT (x, y), SAY (x, y, z), PAY (x, y, z).

2. Relatives involve an animate being that they bear that kin relation to; e.g. NIECE (x, y).

3. A part of another entity involves its respective whole; e.g. HEAD (x, y).

4. A spatial region involves a physical object that possesses it; e.g. TOP (x, y).

5. A number involves a set of entities whose cardinality it is; e.g. THREE (x).
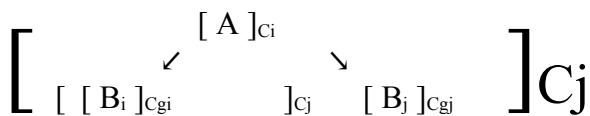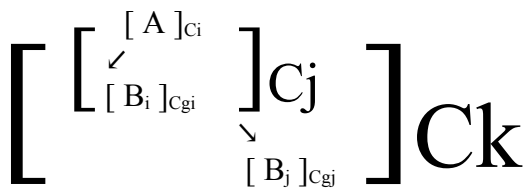

E4   a. Linda was president / blue.

b. We elected Linda president.

c. We painted Linda blue.

E5   a. Linda stood there.

b. Linda went upstairs.

c. Linda put the bag down/here.

E6   a. Linda behaved badly.

b. Linda treated her students condescendingly / as if they were children.

Diagram 1. Empathy hierarchy

position	property
1	speech-act participant
2	other human being
3	animal
4	individual object
5	non-individual object
6	place
7	proposition

Diagram 2. Dependency

$$\left[\, \left(\begin{array}{c} [\,A\,]_{Ci} \\ \downarrow \quad S \\ [\,B\,]_{Cd} \end{array} \right) \,\right] Cj$$
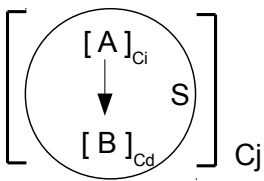
1. The category of S (Cj in Diagram 2) may be identical to the category of A (Ci). Schematically: $[\ [\ A\ ]_{Ci}\ [\ B\ ]_{Cd}\ ]_{Ci}$. That entails that S is endocentric.[1] That is, elements of the category Cd may again be combined with S, and the category of the resulting syntagma will again be Ci. In other words, B – or its category Cd - contributes nothing to the categorization of S (as Ci). This dependency relation is **modification**, where B modifies A. The potential of members of Cd to modify a member of Ci is a grammatical property of Cd.

2. There are three distinct categories Ci, Cd, Cj as follows: $[\ [\ A\ ]_{Ci}\ [\ B\ ]_{Cd}\ ]_{Cj}$. Thus, Cj is exocentric;[2] the combination of A with B converts the syntagma into the category Cj. A member of Ci may only combine once with a member of Cd.[3] This dependency relation is **government**,[4] where A governs B. The potential of members of Ci to govern members of Cd is a grammatical property of Ci.

$$\left[\ {}_{[\ [\ B_i\ ]_{Cgi}} \overset{\overset{\displaystyle [\ A\ ]_{Ci}}{\nearrow \quad \searrow}}{} {}_{]_{Cj}\ [\ B_j\ ]_{Cgj}}\ \right] Cj$$

Diagram 3: Stacked government

$$\left[\ \left[\ {}_{\overset{\nearrow}{[\ B_i\ ]_{Cgi}}} {\overset{[\ A\ ]_{Ci}}{}}\ \right] Cj \atop {}_{\searrow \atop [\ B_j\ ]_{Cgj}}\ \right] Ck$$

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1 Contrary to canonical American structuralism (e.g. Hockett 1958:184f) and in consonance with modern understanding, the notion of endocentricity is restricted to constructions which have exactly one head. Thus if, in the formula above, Cm = C1, then the relation is not one of modification, and the construction is not endocentric.

2 Hockett (1958, ch. 22.2) does not hesitate to subsume governing constructions under exocentric constructions. Quite a few more contemporary authors subsume them under endocentric constructions, occasionally admitting some degree of imprecision there. Cf. also Van Valin 1987:373-375. On the other hand, there is sometimes a supposition (e.g. Van Valin 1987:373) that an actant in a dependent-marking construction (i.e. one whose case is governed) is obligatory, while an actant in a head-marking construction (i.e. one without case) is optional. By the same token, the former construction is exocentric, the latter endocentric (o.c. 375). Actually, both constructions are exocentric, since the syntagma constituted by the dependency relation does not combine again with a dependent in the same relation and therefore belongs to a different category than its head.

3 Zwicky (1985:13) claims that the head of a construction – including a government construction – is "of the same general type" as the construction as a whole. If this notion could be made explicit, it would probably be useful.

4 Matthews 1993:101ff prefers 'complementation' to 'government'.

E7 [[gab]$_{Vditr}$ [dem Jungen]$_{NPdat}$]$_{Vtr}$ [das Geschenk]$_{NPacc}$]$_{Vintr}$
German gave the boy the present

E8 I showed the guest the housemaid.

List of categories that recur in languages with the potential of governing complements:

a) verbs, e.g. *rain, sleep, hit, give, bet*

b) relational nouns, e.g. *mother, top, name*

c) relational adjectives, e.g. Engl. *worthy (of), angry (with), available (to)* (Moravcsik 1993:707)

d) adpositions (which are relational adverbs), e.g. *beneath, before, despite*; these may include conjunctions, e.g. *before, although*)[5]

e) numerals.

E9 Der Rotwein bekam ihr schlecht.
German the red:wine became her bad
'The red wine did her bad (disagreed with her).'

E10 a. She wants to sleep.

b. She will sleep.

E11 a. I guessed that it was Irvin.

b. *I guessed Irvin.

E12 a. The red and the green car collided.

b. *The green car collided.

E13 a. Linda poured milk into the glass.

b. *Linda poured a lump of sugar into the glass.

E14 Mary-ga naihu-de John-o sasi-ta
Jap Mary-NOM knife-INST John-ACC stab-PRT
"Mary stabbed John with a knife."

E15 Maria Iohannem cultro percussit.
Lat Mary:NOM.SG John:ACC.SG knife:ABL.SG stab:PRF:3.SG

E16 a. Linda put the pencil in the desk.

b. Linda put the pencil on the desk.

c. Linda put the pencil away.

d. *Linda put the pencil.

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5 Hockett (1958:192f) subsumes adpositional and conjunctional government under one common construction type which he opposes to verbal government ('objective constructions').

E17	Linda	metió	el	lápiz	(en	el	escritorio).
Span	Linda	stick:PST:3.SG	DEF.M.SG	pencil	in	DEF.M.SG	desk

'Linda stuck the pencil (in the desk).'

E18	Meine	Freunde	wachten	auf.
German	my:NOM.PL	friend:PL	wake:PST:3.PL	up

'My friends woke up.'

E19	H	ah-o'b	in	láak'-o'b
Yuc	PRFV	wake(CMPL)-ABS.3.PL	POSS.1.SG	friend-PL

E20	teen-e'	t-in	wah-s-o'b	in	láak'-o'b
Yuc	me-TOP	PRFV-SBJ.1.SG	wake(CMPL)-CAUS-ABS.3.PL	POSS.1.SG	friend-PL

'I woke my friends up'

E21 A proper consideration … has made us less urgent and peremptory in our demands for justice, than duty … would … have required. (*The addresses and messages of the presidents of the United States …*; p. 414)

E22 I have come and gone as my other activities have required. (ambergriscaye.com/pages/town/article18.html, consulted 24/08/2011)

E23 We always receive our orders on time, and Glenda is able to do somewhat rushed orders when we have required, but maintains a superb level of quality. (www.jadedlittlepages.ca/)

E24	domos	abeamus	nostras
Latin	house(F):ACC.PL	off:go:SUBJ.PRS:1.PL	our:F.ACC.PL

'let's go to our homes' (Pl. Poen. 814)

E25	ut	ab	urbe	abesset
Latin	that	from	city(F):ABL.SG	off:be:IMPF.SUBJ:3.SG

	milia	passuum	ducenta
	thousand(N):ACC.PL	pace(M):GEN.PL	two:hundred:N.ACC.PL

'that it was 200,000 paces away from the city'

E26	a.	Caesar	Hannibali	epistulam	misit.
Latin		Caesar(M.NOM.SG)	Hannibal(M):DAT.SG	letter(F):ACC.SG	send:PRF.IND:3.SG

'Caesar sent Hannibal a letter.'

	b.	Caesar	ad Hannibalem	epistulam	misit.
		Caesar(M.NOM.SG)	to Hannibal(M):ACC.SG	letter(F):ACC.SG	send:PRF.IND:3.SG

'Caesar sent a letter to Hannibal.'

E27	Cesar	envió	una	carta	a	Anibal.
Span	Caesar	send:PST:3.SG	IND:F	letter(F)	to	Hannibal(M)

Diagram 4. Mediate government by case relator

head	A(⊤)		
modification	↓	|	
case relator	⊥C⊤	|	*mediate government*
government	↓	↓	
dependent	[B]NP		
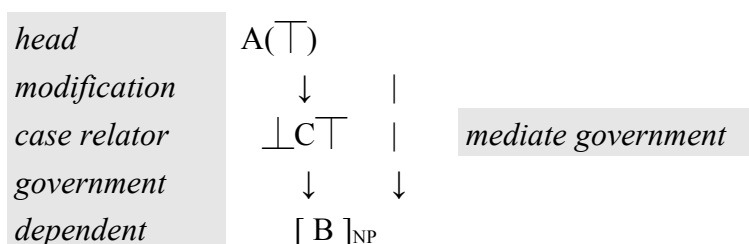
Diagram 5. Mediate government by cross-reference

head	A⊤		
government	↓	↘	*mediate government*
	C	→	[B]$_{NP}$
	pronominal	*anaphora*	*dependent*
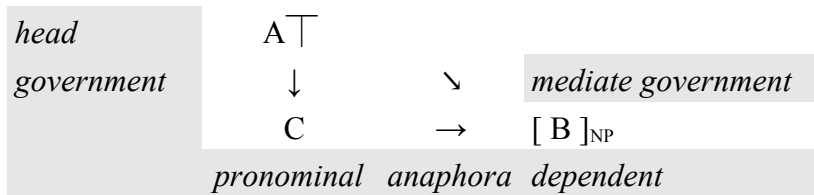
Structural formation of semantic relationships

1. The members of the subset become grammatical slots for complements, among them actant slots.

2. Optionally, one of the actant slots is marked as the primary slot.

3. The primary slot is either a referential or a predicative slot.

    a) If it is a referential slot, the stem is a noun stem.

    b) A predicative slot is optionally specified as modifying.

        i. If it is, the stem is an adjective or adverb stem.

        ii. Otherwise, it is a verb stem.

        In other words, a verb stem is a stem with neither a referential nor a modifying slot. This leaves open the following possibilities:

        • It has no grammatical slots at all, i.e. it has no valency.

        • It does have grammatical slots, all of them being complement slots.

        • One or none of the grammatical slots is a predicative slot.

The primary slot is occupied, semantically, by the argument that the notion applies to as a semantic predicate. Syntactically, it is occupied depending on its further specification:

a) If it is a referential slot, it may be occupied by the noun itself. In languages like English, that entails that it disappears as a grammatical slot.

b) If it is a predicative slot, then

    i. if it is a modifying slot, it is occupied by the modificatum,

    ii. otherwise, by the subject.

E28 grandparent – grandchild

E29 a. I am her aunt

     b. She is my niece.

E30 borrow – lend

E31 a. Linda sold those books in two days.

     b. Those books sold in two days.

E32   lend – be lent

E33   Mit diesem Brief hat es eine besondere / folgende / keine Bewandtnis.
German   with this   letter has   it   a   particular   following   no   significance
          'This letter has a specific / the following / no significance.'

E34   Mit diesem Brief hat es folgendes / nichts auf sich.
German   with this   letter has   it following(N)   nothing   on itself
          'This letter has the following / no remarkable background.'

E33'   Dieser Brief hat eine besondere / folgende / keine Bewandtnis.

E34'   Dieser Brief hat folgendes / nichts auf sich.

E35   Dein Rücklicht tut's nicht.
German   your backlight   does it   not
          'Your backlight is not working.'

Grammatical relations and propositional operations

- Reference occupies an argument position. It is, thus, sterile in terms of grammatical relationality.

- Modification is based on predication; it is subordinate predication.

- Government is the relation which is neither based on reference nor on predication. It is, thus, neutral as to the propositional acts.

E36   The farmer kills the duckling.

E37   a.   h   ah-ech
Yuc   PRFV wake(CMPL)-ABS.2.SG
        'you woke up'

       b.   t-in   wah-s-ech
          PRFV-SBJ.1.SG   wake(CMPL)-CAUS-ABS.2.SG
          'I woke you up'

E38   t-in   wiknal   (yaan-ech)
Yuc   LOC-POSS.1.SG   nearness   EXIST-ABS.2.SG
        '(you are) at my place'

E39   in   watan(-ech)
Yuc   POSS.1.SG   wife-ABS.2.SG
        '(you are) my wife'

E40   Erna verkaufte   dem   Teufel ihre   Seele
German   Erna sell:PST:3.SG   DEF:DAT.SG.M   devil   her:ACC.SG.F   soul

        für / gegen /   um / zum   Preise   von
        for / against /   for / at:DEF:DAT.SG.M   price:DAT   of

        ein(em)   Leben   in Luxus.
        IND.N.SG.ACC/DAT life   in luxury
        'Erna sold the devil her soul for a life in luxury.'

E41	Erna vertraute	ihrem	Ehemann / auf ihren	Ehemann.
German	Erna trust:PST:3.SG	her:DAT.SG.M husband	/ on her:ACC.SG.M husband	

'Erna trusted her husband'

E42	Erna erinnerte	sich	ihres Ehemanns	/ an ihren	Ehemann.
German	Erna remember:PST:3.SG	REFL	her:GEN.SG.M husband	/ at her:ACC.SG.M husband	

'Erna remembered her husband'

E43 a. Die Gruppe folgt ihrem Führer.
German DEF:NOM.SG.F group follow:3.SG her:DAT.SG.M guide
'The group followed their guide.'

   b. Der Donnerstag folgt auf den Mittwoch.
DEF:NOM.SG.M thursday follow:3.SG on DEF:ACC.SG.M wednesday
'Thursday follows on wednesday.'

E44 a. Erna läuft im Wald.
German Erna run:3.SG in:DEF.DAT.SG.M wood
'Erna runs in the wood.'

   b. Erna läuft in den Wald.
Erna run:3.SG in DEF.ACC.SG.M wood
'Erna runs into the wood.'

folgen 1) + dat: follow; 2) + auf + acc.: come after

in 1) + dat.: [inessive]; 2) + acc.: [illative]

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