

# Grammatical functions and Pragmatic considerations in clause combining

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## Overview & Premise

- Clause combining is both syntactically-governed and pragmatically affected;
- Combinations of clauses frequently permit (or require) one clause to be dependent on the other for some reference;
- Languages frequently ignore their own 'rules' for coreference and let pragmatics overrule

## Syntactically-governed constraints on reference:

- (1) I watched Beth and then \_\_\_ drank my tea.
- (2) While \_\_\_ drinking tea, I watched Beth.
- (3) Beth was watched and then \_\_\_ drank my tea.
- (4) While \_\_\_ drinking tea, Beth was watched.
- (5) I tickled the boy and then \_\_\_ laughed.
- (6) The boy hit me and then \_\_\_ felt remorse.
- (7) I dropped the vase and then \_\_\_ broke.

## Syntactically-governed?

- (8) The bus<sub>i</sub> hit the woman<sub>j</sub> [ while \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> crossing the road ].  
(Compare: While \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> crossing the road, the bus<sub>i</sub> hit the woman<sub>j</sub>.)

## Indonesian: 'baku':

- (9) Anjing            itu    meng-gigit    kucing.  
dog                that   ACT-bite    cat  
'The dog bit the cat.'

- (10) anjing [ yang — meng-gigit kucing ] itu.  
 dog REL ACT-bite cat that  
 'The dog that bit the cat.'
- (11) kucing [ yang — di-gigit anjing ] itu.  
 dog REL NONACT-bite dog that  
 'The cat that was bitten by the dog.'

**not 'baku', but not uncommon:**

- (12) kucing [ yang anjing meng-gigit — ]  
 dog REL dog ACT-bite  
 'the cat that the dog bit'

**Skou**

- (13) Tangí ke=moe toe, ( =Ø =pa =ko =te )  
 Tangí 3SG.NF=return 3.come ( =PROX =OBC =3SG.F.go )  
 táng=ing te=bíng fátà.  
 bird=DEIC 3PL=die.PL all  
 'Tangí came back home, and all of the birds were dead, ...'
- (14) Ka-ung\_a=wi\_a nì=moe kóeho loe,  
 just-now=this 1SG=return border come  
**ing\_a**  
 the  
 pa nì=hí-hí li.  
 water 1SG=wash-RED do  
 'I've just now come back from the border, that's why I want to wash.'
- (15) Ke=barí ke heng ke=ká i li  
 3SG.NF=headman 3SG.NF accusation 3SG.NF=hit be do  
**w-a=ko te**  
 3SG.F-come=OBV 3SG.F.go  
 ke=k-e ti Te Óeti.  
 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-ascend 3SG.NF.go Wutung  
 'Because the headman had accused him, he went to Wutung.'
- (16) Nì=re pá=fue\_a pále=ing\_a nì=fu-fu li.  
 1SG=go house=the pig=the 1SG=see.F-RED do  
 'I went to that house to look at the pig.'
- (17) Nì=re pá=fue\_a  
 1SG=go house=the  
 'I went to that house.'

- (18) Pále=ing\_a    nì=fu-fu                    li.  
 pig=the        1SG=see.f-RED            do  
 'I want to look at the pig.'

**Mandarin**

- (19) Ta        qu    shangdian,  
 3SG        go    shop  
 —        mai-le            pingguo,  
           buy-PERF        apple  
 —        hui    jia,  
           return                                    home  
 —        chi-le            —.  
           eat-PERF  
 'She went to the shops, bought (some) apples, returned home and ate them.'

**Tukang Besi**

- (20) No-mai        na                    ana    maka                    no-kede.  
 3R-come        NOM child and.then    3R-sit  
 'The child came and then sat down.'
- (21) Sa-mai-no                                    na                    ana                    no-kede.  
 when-come-3GEN NOM child                    3R-sit  
 'When the child came, s/he sat down.'
- (22) Sa-mai-no                                    no-kede            na                    ana.  
 when-come-3GEN                                    3R-sit            NOM child  
 'When the child came, s/he sat down.'
- (23) \* Sa-mai-no                                    na                    ana                    no-kede            na                    wowine.  
 when-come-3GEN NOM child                    3R-sit NOM woman  
 'When the child came, the woman sat down.'
- (24) Sa-mai-no                                    na                    ana                    ku-kede            di                    kadera.  
 when-come-3GEN NOM child                    3R-sit            OBL.PAST chair  
 'When the child came, I sat down.'

**Summary**

- Syntactic constraints on anaphora are widespread, and well-documented, and well-described;
- Pragmatic considerations are often let in through a morphological back door, but sometimes are simply there in the language;
- Pragmatic considerations *can* overrule syntactic constraints; but it's not a given.