

## A General Inventory of Surface-Syntactic Relations in World Languages Part Two<sup>1</sup>

A universal list of surface-syntactic relations [SSyntRels] is compiled based on the idea that a SSyntRel **r** is “the same” in different languages if and only if this **r** has the same set of core functions in all these languages (just like the nominative in different languages is still a nominative since it is used everywhere for nomination—its core function; its other functions might be different). A few remarks are formulated on the Deep-Syntactic structure: 12 universal deep-syntactic relations are briefly introduced, and a list of 30 fictitious lexemes is presented (they are used in DSyntSs to represent syntactic constructions carrying lexical-type meanings). After a concise characterization of SSyntRels, the paper offers a list of 112 SSyntRels known in world languages: subordinate and coordinate; the subordinate SSyntRels are divided into clause-level and phrase-level SSyntRels, with further subdivision into valence-controlled vs. non-valence-controlled and then into Noun Phrase SSyntRels, Adpositional Phrase SSyntRels, etc.

*Keywords:* General syntax, dependency syntax, deep-syntactic relations, fictitious lexemes, surface-syntactic relations.

### I.2 Phrase-Level SSyntRels: 43–102

#### I.2.1 The SSyntRel Possible in Any Type of Phrase, Non-Valence-Controlled: 43

43. **Restrictive** (expresses DSyntRel ATTR; the G is any lexeme, and the D is a particle)

*still*←restr→*taller*; [*is*] *still*←restr→*here*; *not*←restr→*here*

*not*←restr→*me*

*so*←restr→*rich*; *too*←restr→*tired*; *that*←restr→*far*; *boys*→restr→*only*;

*not*←restr→*only*←restr→*me*

[*Alan*] *just*←restr→*arrived*.

Rus. *my*→restr→*ved'*, *ved'*←restr→*my*, *my*→restr→*že* ≈ ‘but we’ (VED' and ŽE are clitic particles that express contrast)

- 1. The **restrictive** SSyntRel is repeatable, but, as far as I can see, only two times; for instance:
 

$\swarrow$   $\xrightarrow{\text{restr}}$   
*still not*←restr→*here* or Rus. *ved'*←restr→*my*←restr→*že* ≈ 'but as for us'.  
 Is this a violation of Criterion C3 (the ban on limited repeatability) or is it a manifestation of pragmatic constraints? An open question...
- 2. The linear position of the **restrictive** particle is controlled by one of its syntactic features («antepos» or «postpos»).

## I.2.2 Nominal Phrase SSyntRels: 44–72

### I.2.2.1 Valence-Controlled SSyntRels: 44–49

44. **Agentive-attributive** (expresses DSyntRel I; the G is an N, and the prototypical D is a phrase  $\text{PREP}_{(\text{pass})} \rightarrow \text{N}$  or an N in an oblique case)

[a] *translation*–**agent-attr**→*by* [McGuire]; *objections*–**agent-attr**→*by* [the minister]

*arrival*–**agent-attr**→*of* [the President]

*shooting*–**agent-attr**→*of* [the hunters: 'the hunters shoot something'; *Genitivus Subjectivus*]

[a] *translation*–**agent-attr**→*of* [McGuire: 'McGuire translated the piece'; *Genitivus Subjectivus*]

- But cf.: [a] *translation*–**patient-attr**→*of* [McGuire: 'Somebody translated a text by McGuire']. However, \**a translation of Verlaine of McGuire* is ungrammatical; the correct expression is [a] *translation of Verlaine by McGuire*.

45. **Patientive-attributive** (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is an N, and the D is a phrase  $\text{PREP}_{(\text{attr})} \rightarrow \text{N}$  or an  $\text{N}_{\text{GEN}}$ )

*shooting*–**patient-attr**→*of* [the hunters: 'the hunters are shot at'; *Genitivus Objectivus*]

*John's description*–**patient-attr**→*of* [Alan] ~ \**Alan's description*–**agent-attr**→*of* [John] [in the sense of 'John describes Alan'; the correct expression is *Alan's description*–**agent-attr**→*by* John]

$\uparrow$   $\xrightarrow{\text{attr}}$   $\downarrow$   
 $\uparrow$   $\xrightarrow{\text{agent-attr}}$   $\downarrow$   
 Sp. *el retrato*–**patient-attr**→*de* Enrique VIII *de* Holbein *del* barón Thyssen

'the portrait of Henry VIII by Holbein owned by Baron Thyssen'

46. **Actantial-attributive** (expresses DSyntRel I or II, without corresponding to the Subject or the Direct Object; the G is an N, and the D is a phrase  $\text{PREP}_{(\text{attr})} \rightarrow \text{N}$  or an  $\text{N}_{\text{GEN}}$ )

*tons*–**act-attr**→*of* [debris]; *hundreds*–**act-attr**→*of* [books]

Fr. *farine*–**act-attr**→*de* [*maïs*] lit. ‘flower of corn’, *effet*–**act-attr**→*de* [*ses actions*] lit. ‘effect of his actions’

These three actantial **attributive** SSyntRels are distinguished from the “simple”—that is, non-actantial—**attributive** SSyntRel and among themselves because of different placement of their Ds:

Rus. *kuča*–**act-attr**→*peska* *ogromnogo razmera* lit. ‘pile of sand of huge size’

vs. \**kuča ogromnogo razmera peska*

Fr. *moulin*–**act-attr**→*à* [*café*] *à* [*piles*] lit. ‘grinder for coffee with batteries’

vs. \**moulin à piles à café*

Fr. *pompe*–**patient-attr**→*d'*[*essence*] *du* [*camion*] lit. ‘pump of gas of the truck’

vs. \**pompe du camion d'essence*

47. **Actantial-appositive** (expresses DSyntRel II or III; the G is an N, and the prototypical D is an N)

Russian

*vesom*–[*odna*]–**act-appos**→*tonna*<sub>NOM</sub> lit. ‘[having] weight one ton’

[*pri*] *vysote*–[*odin*]–**act-appos**→*metr*<sub>NOM</sub> lit. ‘with height one meter’

*vesom*–**act-appos**→*v* [*dve tonny*] lit. ‘[having] weight into two tons’

[*po*] *cene*–[*tri*]–**act-appos**→*rublja*–**act-appos**→*štuka*<sub>NOM</sub>

lit. ‘at the price three rubles piece’

French

*ticket*–**act-appos**→*restaurant* lit. ‘ticket restaurant’ = ‘meal voucher’

*espace*–**act-appos**→*enfants* lit. ‘space children’; *assurance*–**act-appos**→*vie* ‘life insurance’

*début*–**act-appos**→*mai* lit. ‘beginning May’; *mai*–**act-appos**→*2016* ‘May [of] 2016’

48. **Elective** (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is an ADJ<sub>SUPERL</sub> or a NUM, and the D is a PREP→N phrase)

[*the*] *poorest*–**elect**→*among* [*peasants*]; [*the*] *best*–**elect**→*of* ⟨*from*⟩ [*these boys*]

[*the*] *most*–[*intelligent*]–**elect**→*of* ⟨*from*⟩ [*these boys*]

*one*–**elect**→*of* [*them*]; *five*–**elect**→*of* [*these books*]

• But: *the poorest*–**elect**→*of* *the region's peasants* vs.

*the poorest*–[*peasants*]–**attr**→*in* *the region* ~ *these peasants*, *the poorest*–**attr**→*in* *the region*

*the best*–**elect**→*of* *national announcers* vs.

*the best national*←**modif**–*announcer* ~ *the best*–[*announcer*]–**attr**→*of* *the nation* ~ *this announcer*, *the best*–**attr**→*of* *the nation*

49. **Sequential** (does not express a DSyntRel, but links the SSynt-“reflexes” of DSynt-actants **II** and **III** of L; the G is an N, and the D is an N)  
*man*–sequent→*machine* [*interaction*<sub>L</sub>]; [*flights*<sub>L</sub>] *Paris*–sequent→*London*  
*English*–sequent→*German* [*dictionary*<sub>L</sub>]; *English*–sequent→*to*  
 [*German translation*<sub>L</sub>]

### I.2.2.2 Valence-Controlled and Non-Valence-Controlled SSyntRelS: 50–55

50. **Possessive** (expresses DSyntRel **I**, **II** or **ATTR**; the G is an N, and the D is an N in the possessive form)

*Alan's*←poss–*arrival*; *Alan's*←poss–*book*  
 [*Last*] *year's*←poss–*wishes* [*are this*] *year's*←poss–*apologies*.

51. **Compositive** (expresses DSyntRel **I**, **II** or a fictitious lexeme; the G is an N, and the D is an N)

*man*←compos–[*machine*]–*interaction*; *car*←compos–*repair*; *noun*←compos–*phrase*  
*fax*←compos–*transmission*←compos–*network*←compos–*access*←compos–*cost*←compos–*optimization*←compos–*proposal*  
 [secure] *smartphone*←compos–*shipping*←compos–*box*

NB: As one sees, a compositive Dependent [*shipping*] that is the Governor of another compositive Dependent [*smartphone*] can accept an adjectival modifier [*secure*]; this is one of the facts preventing the treatment of compositive phrases in English as compound words—otherwise, an internal component (here, *shipping*) of a presumed compound noun (*smartphone shipping box*) would have its own modifier outside the compound.

*color*←compos–*blind*

*road*←compos–*test* [*a car*]; *guest*←compos–*conduct* [*an orchestra*]

52. **Absolute-modificative** (expresses DSyntRel **I**—with head-switching and possible omission of the copula verb—and the fictitious lexeme «AFTER», «WHILE» or «WITH»; the G is an N, and the prototypical D is an ADJ, including participles)

[*With the Central*] *Bank*–abs-modif→*refusing* [*to budge, there were no ruble buyers.*]

[*Without*] *me*–abs-modif→*asking* [*her, Mary offered me help.*]

[*He went out, his*] *anger*–abs-modif→*gone*.

[*His first*] *attempt*–[*a*]–abs-modif→*failure*, [*John decided to try again.*]

[*He went out, (with) his*] *gun*–abs-modif→*in* [*his left hand.*]

– *Ablativus Absolutus*:

(11) Latin

- a. *Ciceron+e-abs-modif*→*viv+o* [*bellum civile Romae erat.*]  
 Cicero SG.ABL alive MASC.SG.ABL war civil in.Rome was  
 ‘With Cicero alive, there was a civil war in Rome’.
- b. *Oppid+is-abs-modif*→*incens+is* [*exercitus signa movit.*]  
 town PL.ABL set.alight NEU.PL.ABL army standards moved  
 ‘With the towns set on fire, the army marched away’.

53. **Attributive** (expresses DSyntRel **ATTR** and/or the fictitious lexeme «BE» or «HAVE»; the G is an N, and the prototypical D is a PREP<sub>(attr)</sub>→N phrase or an N<sub>GEN</sub>)

*years-attrib*→*of* [*war*]; [*the*] *bed-attrib*→*of* [*Alan*]

*learners-attrib*→*with* [*different backgrounds*]; *dress-attrib*→*of* [*a beautiful color*]

[*a*] *man-attrib*→*of* [*courage*]; [*a*] *man-[the same]-attrib*→*age*

[*a young*] *man-attrib*→*from* [*Nantucket*]; *Detroit-attrib*→*after* [*dark*]

[*the*] *most-[expensive car]-attrib*→*in* [*France*] ~ [*this car, the*] *most-[expensive]-attrib*→*in* [*France*]

• But: [*the*] *most-[expensive]-elect*→*of* [*French cars*]

[*every*] *path-attrib*→*on* [*the island*]; *life-attrib*→*abroad*

Fr. *gâteau-attrib*→*au* [*chocolat*] ‘chocolate cake’

– A special use of the **attributive SSyntRel**:

MY HUSBAND-ATTR→«BE»-II→IDIOT ⇔ *my idiot-attrib*→*of* [*a husband*]

54. **Qualifying-attributive** (expresses DSyntRel **ATTR**; the G is an N, and the prototypical D is a PREP<sub>(attr)</sub>→N phrase, where the N is non-definite—that is, has no article)

French (and a number of other languages—Romance languages, in the first place) necessitates a special **qualifying-attributive SSyntRel**.

French

*carnet-qualif-attrib*→*d'* [*étudiant*] ‘student gradebook’

*course-qualif-attrib*→*à* [*obstacles*] ‘obstacle race’

*tronc-qualif-attrib*→*d'* [*arbre*] ‘tree trunk’ vs. *tronc-act-attrib*→*de* [*l'arbre*] ‘trunk of the tree’

*roue-qualif-attrib*→*de* [*vélo*] ‘bicycle wheel’ vs. *roue-act-attrib*→*du* [*vélo*] ‘wheel of the bicycle’

*robe-qualif-attrib*→*de* [*mariée*] ‘wedding dress’ vs. *robe-attrib*→*de* [*la mariée*] ‘dress of the bride’

• Cf. *un carnet-qualif-attrib*→*d'étudiant périmé* ‘a student grade book out of date’ vs. *un carnet-[périmé]-attrib*→*de l'étudiant* ‘the student’s grade book out of date’.

55. **Descriptive-attributive** (expresses DSyntRel ATTR<sub>descr</sub> and a fictitious lexeme, for instance, «BE\_FROM»; the G is an N, and the prototypical D is a PREP<sub>(loc)</sub>→N phrase or an N)

[Professor] Wanner, –**descr-attr**→**from** [Stuttgart, was also present.]

• But: [a] professor–**attr**→**from** [Stuttgart was also present.]

[Professor] Wanner, –**descr-attr**→Stuttgart, [was also present.]

The semantic contrast between restrictive and non-restrictive (= descriptive, or qualifying) modifiers is well known: a restrictive modifier restricts a set of possible referents of the governor to a narrower subset ('the dogs **that are healthy**' is a subset of 'dogs'), while a descriptive modifier expresses an additional characterization of the elements of the same set ('these dogs, **which are healthy**' is the same set as 'these dogs').

It is worthwhile to indicate the following proportionalities (Mel'čuk & Pertsov 1987: 152):

modif	:	descr-modif	:	modif-circum	=
attrib	:	descr-attrib	:	attrib-circum	=
appos	:	descr-appos	:	appos-circum	

### I.2.2.3 Non-Valence-Controlled SSyntRels: 56–72

56. **Determinative** (expresses DSyntRel ATTR; the G is an N, and the D is a determiner)

**a**←**determ**–*bed*; **those**←**determ**–*beds*; **my**←**determ**–*bed*

57. **Quantitative** (expresses DSyntRel ATTR; the G is an N, and the D is a NUM<sub>(quant)</sub>)

**three**←**quant**–*beds*; [**three**←**num-junct**–]**thousand**←**quant**–*people*

• But: *thousands*–**attr**→**of-prepositional**→*people* (here THOUSAND is an N)

58. **Approximate-quantitative** (expresses the fictitious lexeme «MAYBE»; the G is an N, and the D is a NUM<sub>(quant)</sub>)

(12) Russian

a. *knig*–**approx-quant**→**dvadcat**' 'maybe twenty books' ~  
**dvadcat**'←**quant**–*knig* 'twenty books'

b. *knig*–[*na*]–**approx-quant**→**dvadcat**' 'maybe for twenty books' ~  
[*na*] **dvadcat**'←**quant**–*knig* 'for twenty books'

59. **Ordinal** (expresses DSyntRel ATTR; the G is an N, and the D is an ADJ<sub>(ordin)</sub>)

[*the*] **third**←**ord**–*rank*; [*on the hundred forty*]–**third**←**ord**–*day*

60. **Approximate-ordinal** (expresses the fictitious lexeme «MAYBE»; the G is an N, and the D is an ADJ<sub>(ordin)</sub>)

(13) Russian

*den'*–[*na*]–**approx-ord**→*šestoj* lit. 'day on sixth' = 'maybe on the sixth day' ~

[*na*] *šestoj*←**ord**–*den'* 'on the sixth day'

61. **Modificative** (expresses DSyntRel **ATTR**; the G is an N, and the D is an ADJ)

*comfortable*←**modif**–*beds*; *visible*←**modif**–*stars*; *French*←**modif**–*production*

*nothing*–**modif**→*interesting*; [*a*] *house*–**modif**→*ablaze*

*secretary*–**modif**→*general*, *notary*–**modif**→*public*; *God*–**modif**→*Almighty*, *knight*–**modif**→*errant*

**NB:** These examples represent phraseologized phrases, namely collocations.

Fr. *dernier*←**modif**–*jour* 'last day'; *message*–**modif**→*inattendu* 'unexpected message'

Fr. *personne*–**modif**→*curieuse*1 'curious/indiscreet person'

Fr. *curieuse*2←**modif**–*personne* 'strange/bizarre person'

Fr. *Jugement*–**modif**→*Dernier* 'Last Judgment', Rus. *papa*–**modif**→*rimskij* lit. 'Pope Roman'

**NB:** The **modificative** SSyntRel covers the most typical and semantically neutral adjectival modification in language **L**. The position of the ADJ with respect to the N it modifies is controlled by general syntactic rules of **L**, the type of the ADJ (anteposed/postposed), the type of the N (e.g., a "genuine" N vs. a pronoun), the phraseological character of the ADJ, etc. However, in some cases, the position of the ADJ expresses a meaning, thus creating a different SSyntRel, which semantically contrasts with the **modificative** SSyntRel,—the **special-modificative** SSyntRel.

62. **Special-modificative** (expresses DSyntRel **ATTR** plus a semantic addition; the G is an N, and the D is an ADJ)

[*All*] *stars*–**spec-modif**→*visible* [*are named after famous astronomers.*] vs.

[*All*] *visible*←**modif**–*stars* [*are named after famous astronomers.*]

[*Every*] *cent*–**spec-modif**→*available* [*was put into the project.*] vs.

[*Every*] *available*←**modif**–*cent* [*was put into the project.*]

In English, special-modifying adjectives (they are postposed) express "ephemeral," temporary properties; in French, special-modifying adjectives (they are anteposed) express subjective, emotional evaluation; in Russian, special-modifying adjectives (postposed) express terminological—rather than qualifying—character of the expression; etc.

63. **Descriptive-modificative** (expresses DSyntRel **ATTR**<sub>descr</sub>; the G is an N, and the D is an ADJ)

[*these*] *beds*–**descr-modif**→*comfortable* [*and not expensive*], ...

64. **Relative** (expresses DSyntRel ATTR; the G is an N, and the D is a  $V_{FIN}$ , the head of a relative clause)

[*the*] *paper*–[*that I*]–rel→**read** [*yesterday*]; [*the*] *paper*–[*I*]–rel→**read** [*yesterday*]

*the girl*–[*who*]–rel→**came** [*first*]

[*the*] *country*–[*where I*]–rel→**could** [*live*]; [*the*] *country*–[*I*]–rel→**could** [*live*–obl–obj→*in*]

Spanish

[*¡Lo*] *hermosas*–[*¡que*]–rel→**son** [*esas chicas!*] lit. ‘The beautiful which are these girls!’ = ‘How beautiful are these girls!’

65. **Descriptive-relative** (expresses DSyntRel ATTR<sub>descr</sub>; the G is an N, and the D is a  $V_{FIN}$ )

[*this*] *paper*,–[*which I*]–descr-rel→**read** [*yesterday, ...*]

*Alan*,–[*who*]–descr-rel→**loves** [*her so much, should return.*]

66. **WH-relative** (expresses DSyntRel ATTR; the G is a PRON<sub>(rel)</sub>, and the D is a  $V_{FIN}$  from a small lexical set)

[*He disappeared*] *God*] **knows**←WH-rel–*where*.  
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{obl-obj} \\ \text{dir-obj} \end{array} \right.$

[*He does*] *you will*←WH-rel–[*never guess*]–*what*.

67. **Qualifying-appositive** (expresses the fictitious lexeme «BE»: G–ATTR→«BE»–II→D; the G is an N<sub>(prop)</sub>, and the prototypical D is an ADJ)

*Peter*–[*the*]–qual-appos→**Great**; *Nicholas*–qual-appos→**II**

Rus. *Pëtr*–qual-appos→**Pervyj** lit. ‘Peter First’

- But: *pervyj*←ordin–*Pëtr* lit. ‘[the] first Peter’, because here the ordinal ADJ specifies one of several Pëtrs.

68. **Identifying-appositive** (expresses the fictitious lexeme «BE»: G–ATTR→«BE»–II→D; the G is an N, and the prototypical D is an N)

[*the*] *term*–ident-appos→“**suffix**”

[*the Polish*] *word*–ident-appos→**CIASTKO**

69. **Descriptive-appositive** (expresses the fictitious lexeme «BE»: G–ATTR<sub>descr</sub>→«BE»–II→D. The G is an N, and the D is an N)

[*This*] *term*–descr-appos→(“**suffix**”) [*will be considered later.*]

*John*,–[*a professional*]–descr-appos→**vet**, [*came over.*]

[*You forget about*] *me*,–[*your*]–descr-appos→**mother**.

[*The sales totaled*] \$10,000,–descr-appos→**down** [*from June.*]



70. **Title-appositive** (expresses the fictitious lexeme «TITLE»: G-ATTR→«TITLE»-II→D; the G is an N, and the D is an N denoting a title)

**General**←title-appos–Wanner vs. Wanner, –[a]–descr-appos→general in the Catalan army, ...

**Mother**←title-appos–Teresa vs. Teresa, –[your]–descr-appos→mother, ...

**Father**←title-appos–Patrick; **Sir**←title-appos–Nicholas

- Cf. **General**←title-appos–Wanner, –[the]–descr-appos→commander [of 32<sup>nd</sup> Catalan division]

71. **Naming-appositive** (expresses the fictitious lexeme «NAME»: G-ATTR→«NAME»-II→D; the G is an N, and the D is an N<sub>(PROP)</sub> or of N<sub>(PROP)</sub>)

[the] **Gobi**←naming-appos–desert; [the] **Volga**←naming-appos–river

[the] **Vancouver**←naming-appos–island

[the heavy] cruiser←naming-appos→“Saratoga”; [the] **USS**←naming-appos→Enterprise

Lake←naming-appos→Erie

[the] river←naming-appos→Thames

[the] island←naming-appos→of [Madagascar]

**NB:** The choice of the linear position for the proper name in cases such as the *Volga* river vs. the river *Thames* or the *Vancouver* island vs. the island of *Madagascar* is done according to the syntactic features of the proper name.

[the] town←naming-appos→of [Mount-Royal]

equation←naming-appos→(23); Section←naming-appos→B; World War←naming-appos→II

- But: *Nicholas*←qual-appos→II (No. 67), since here “II” is not the name of Nicholas.

72. **Reduplicative** (expresses a fictitious lexeme depending on the language; subordinates a reduplicate of L to L)

*Resolutions*, –redupl→schmesolutions: the fictitious lexeme is «DERISION»

Hindi *do*←redupl→do [larke] lit. ‘two two boys’ = ‘two boys at a time’: the fictitious lexeme is «DISTRIBUTIVE»

Hindi *roz*←redupl→roz lit. ‘day day’ = ‘every day’: the fictitious lexeme is «EVERY»

73. **Adnominal-linking** (has no correspondence in the DSyntS, but is introduced by DSynt-to-SSynt-rules; the G is an N, and the D is a linker – a clause element that is used to introduce postposed modifiers and attributes of various types; as a rule, a linker agrees with its G)

(14) Albanian

– The linker introduces an ADJ:

*sistem*<sub>(masc)</sub>+∅                    +∅←adnom-link→i[–modif→mirë]  
 system                    SG.NOM    NON-DEF                    SG.NOM.NON-DEF    good  
 ‘a.system good’ = ‘a good system’

<i>sistem</i> <sub>(masc)</sub> + <i>e</i>	+ $\emptyset$ — <b>adnom-link</b> → <i>të</i> [— <b>modif</b> → <i>mirë</i> ]
system PL.NOM NON-DEF	PL.NOM.NON-DEF good
‘systems good’	
<i>sistem</i> <sub>(masc)</sub> + $\emptyset$	+ <i>i</i> — <b>adnom-link</b> → <i>i</i> [— <b>modif</b> → <i>mirë</i> ]
system SG.NOM DEF	SG.NOM.DEF good
‘the.system good’	
<i>sistem</i> <sub>(masc)</sub> + <i>e</i>	+ <i>t</i> — <b>adnom-link</b> → <i>e</i> [— <b>modif</b> → <i>mirë</i> ]
system PL.NOM DEF	PL.NOM.DEF good
‘the.systems good’	

– The linker introduces a genitive N:

<i>sistem</i> <sub>(masc)</sub> + $\emptyset$	+ $\emptyset$ — <b>adnom-link</b> → <i>i</i> [— <b>attr</b> → <i>edukim+i</i> + <i>t</i> ]
system SG.NOM NON-DEF	SG.NOM.NON-DEF education SG.GEN DEF
‘a.system of.the.education’	
<i>sistem</i> <sub>(masc)</sub> + <i>e</i>	+ $\emptyset$ — <b>adnom-link</b> → <i>të</i> [— <b>attr</b> → <i>edukim+i</i> + <i>t</i> ]
system PL.NOM NON-DEF	PL.NOM.NON-DEF education SG.GEN DEF
‘systems of.the.education’	
<i>sistem</i> <sub>(masc)</sub> + $\emptyset$	+ <i>i</i> — <b>adnom-link</b> → <i>i</i> [— <b>attr</b> → <i>edukim+i</i> + <i>t</i> ]
system SG.NOM DEF	SG.NOM.DEF education SG.GEN DEF
‘the.system of.the.education’	
<i>sistem</i> <sub>(masc)</sub> + <i>e</i>	+ <i>t</i> — <b>adnom-link</b> → <i>e</i> [— <b>attr</b> → <i>edukim+ i</i> + <i>t</i> ]
system PL.NOM DEF	PL.NOM.DEF education SG.GEN DEF
‘the.systems of.the.education’	

### I.2.3 Adpositional Phrase SSyntRels, Valence-controlled: 74–75

74. **Prepositional-completive** (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is a PREP, and the prototypical D is an N)

*in*—**prepos-compl**→*bed*; *without*—[*three hundred*]**prepos-compl**→*dollars*

*to*—**prepos-compl**→*go to*—**prepos-compl**→*bed*

[*Do you ever do anything*] *besides*—**prepos-compl**→*offer* [*your apologies?*]

Fr. *sans*—**prepos-compl**→*parler* ‘without to.speak’ = ‘without speaking’

Fr. [*permettre*] *de*—**prepos-compl**→*partir* ‘allow to leave’

Fr. [*aider*] *à*—**prepos-compl**→*partir* ‘help to leave’

[*The iota operator is different*] *in*—**prepos-compl**→*that* [*its interpretation depends on the context.*]

*Given*—[*this*]**prepos-compl**→*postulate*, [*what are the allowable values for the velocity?*]

**NB:** Here, GIVEN is a preposition.

Fr. [*Il faut battre le fer*] *pendant*—**prepos-compl**→*qu’*[*il est chaud*]  
lit. ‘You have to.strike the iron while that it is hot’.

Sp. [*El hecho*] *de*—**prepos-compl**→*que* [“*gordo*” *funciona como un nombre no afecta*] *a*—**prepos-compl**→*si* [*es fraseologizado*]  
lit. ‘The fact of that “*gordo*” functions as a noun does not affect to whether [it] is phraseologized’.

75. **Postpositional-completive** (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is a postposition, and the D is an N)

[*ten*] **centuries**←**postpos-compl**—*ago*

[*a few*] **years**←**postpos-compl**—*back*

[*the whole*] **month**←**postpos-compl**—*through*

[*The motion passed, our*] **objection**←**postpos-compl**—*notwithstanding*.

(15) Hungarian

a. a **szobá+n**←**postpos-compl**—*kívül* ‘outside the room’  
the room SUPERESS(ive) outside

b. **anya+ Ø**←**postpos-compl**—*szerint* ‘according to Mother’  
Mother NOM(inative) according

Hungarian does not have prepositions, only postpositions.

## I.2.4 Verbal Phrase (= Analytical Form) SSyntRels, Non-Valence-Controlled: 76–85

Analytical SSyntRels are needed to describe analytical forms, of the type [*He*] *has*→*written*, [*He*] *was*→*writing*, [*It*] *was*→*written*, or *more*←*intelligent*, *least*←*intelligent*, etc. Since at the DSynt-level, an inflectional form of a lexeme is always represented by one node, the analytical SSyntRels do not correspond to any DSyntRels.

An analytical form consists minimally of a lexical part, or a full lexeme (WRITE, INTELLIGENT), and an auxiliary part, or a grammatical lexeme, which serves as the marker of the corresponding grammeme (HAVE: expresses PERFECT; BE: expresses PROGRESSIVE or PASSIVE; MORE: expresses COMPARATIVE; MOST: expresses SUPERLATIVE).

There are two major types of analytical forms:

1) The full lexeme is the governor, while the auxiliary lexeme—the grammeme marker—is a (mostly invariant) particle, syntactically depending on it: *more*←*intelligent*, *most*←*intelligent*. For the SSyntRels describing this type of construction, since its dependent is a grammatical marker, the general name marker-analytical can be proposed.

2) The auxiliary lexeme—the grammeme marker—is the syntactic governor of the full lexeme; in all such cases known to me the auxiliary lexeme is the Main Verb of the clause, while the lexical verb, which depends on it, is in one of its non-finite forms: an infinitive, a participle, a converb, etc., as in *has*→*written*, etc. The SSyntRels that describe these analytical forms can be generally called lexical-analytical, since their dependent member is a full lexeme.

Let us now consider the two families of analytical SSyntRels in more detail.

**Marker-analytical SSyntRels.** If in a language **L** analytical markers are used only with lexemes of one part of speech, this construction can be naturally described by one SSyntRel, which will be simply **marker-analytical**. But if **L** uses such markers with two or three parts of speech, for instance, verbs, nouns, and adjectives, these constructions do not have a prototypical dependent and different SSyntRels are needed: **verb-marker-analytical**, **noun-marker-analytical**, and **adjective-marker-analytical**. The first one links the analytical tense-aspect-voice markers to verbs, the second—the analytical number-case markers to nouns, and the third—the analytical degree markers to adjectives. Such a situation obtains in Polynesian languages:

(16) Maori

- a. *kei.te* ← **verb-mark-analyt**–*moe* ‘be sleeping’  
*kua* ← **verb-mark-analyt**–*moe* ‘have slept’  
*i* ← **verb-mark-analyt**–*moe* ‘slept’  
 [MOE means ‘sleep’]
- b. *Kua moe te tamaiti* ‘The child has slept’.  
 PERF sleep the child  
*Kua whakareri te tamaiti i* ← **noun-mark-analyt**–[*te*]–*rama*  
 PERF prepare the child ACC the torch  
 ‘The child has prepared the torch’.  
*Kua moe+a te tamaiti e* ← **noun-mark-analyt**–[*te*]–*nanakia*  
 PERF sleep PASS the child INSTR the monster  
 lit. ‘Has been.slept.with the child by the monster’. =  
 ‘The monster has taken the child as wife’.
- c. *pai* ~ *pai*–**adj-mark-analyt** → *atu* ~ *pai*–**adj-mark-analyt** → *rawa*  
 good more most

Thus, in this family we can expect three SSyntRels plus an additional one for a special case of a verbal analytical marker in Romance languages: 76-79.

## 76. Verb-marker-analytical

– The marker of the future tense:

- Bulg. *piša* ~ **šte** ← **verb-mark-analyt**–*piša* ‘I will write’  
 I.write will I.write  
*pišeš* ~ **šte** ← **verb-mark-analyt**–*pišeš* ‘you will write’  
 you.write will you.write

– The marker of the conditional-subjunctive mood:

- Rus. *pisal*–**verb-mark-analyt** → *by* ‘would/should write’  
 wrote

– The marker of the imperative mood:

- Russian  
*Puskaj/Pust* ← **verb-mark-analyt**–[*on*]–*ujdět*!  
 lit. ‘That he goes!’ = ‘Let him go!’

Hawaiian

**E←verb-mark-analyt**–*hele* 'oe i ke kula!

lit. 'Let go you to the school!' = 'Go to school!'

**E←verb-mark-analyt**–*hele* kākou i ke kula!

lit. 'Let go we to the school!' = 'Let's go to school!'

**E←verb-mark-analyt**–*hele* ia i ke kula!

lit. 'Let go he to the school!' = 'Let him go to school!'

– The marker of the reflexive:<sup>2</sup>

Fr. **se←verb-mark-refl-dir-analyt**–*laver* 'wash oneself  
oneself wash-INF

– The marker of the "gérondif"– that is, of the converb

Fr. **en←verb-mark-analyt**–*lavant* ≈ '[while] washing'  
wash-PRES.PART(iciple)

– A separable derivational/inflectional prefix:

Ger. *Er macht*–[*die Tür*]–**verb-analyt-mark**→*auf*  
he makes the door up

'He opens [lit. 'makes up'] the door'.

Hung. *El+utazott* [*Párizsba*]

'[S/he] travelled to.Paris' vs.

[*Nem*] *utazott*–**verb-analyt-mark**→*el* *Párizsba*

'[S/he] did.not travel to.Paris'.<sup>3</sup>

– An idiomatic verbal adjunct:

'**put**–**verb-mark-analyt**→**up**<sup>1</sup> [*for the night*];

'**bring**–**verb-mark-analyt**→**down**<sup>1</sup>

• But: *climb*–**circum**→**up**, *run*–**circum**→**away**, etc. Cf.: *Up he climbed!*  
vs. \**Up he put me!*

### 77. Verb-marker-indirect-reflexive-analytical

Fr. **se←verb-mark-indir-refl-analyt**–*laver* [*les mains*]  
to.oneself wash-INF

'wash one's hands'

lit. 'to.oneself wash the hands'

It. **Si←verb-mark-indir-refl-analyt**–*asciuga* [*la faccia*]  
to.oneself dries

'[He] dries his face'.

lit. 'To.himself [he] dries the face'.

Bulg. *Po cjal den* **si←verb-mark-indir-refl-analyt**–*vali*  
during whole day to.oneself rains

'It is raining nonstop the whole day'.

### 78. Noun-marker-analytical

Tagalog

– The nominal plural marker MGA /máŋa/:

**mga←noun-mark-analyt**–*aklat*; **mga←noun-mark-analyt**–*anak*  
PL book PL child

## 79. Adjective-marker-analytical

*less*←adj-mark-analyt→*intelligent* [*than his brother*]

*as*←adj-mark-analyt→*intelligent* [*as his brother*]

**Lexical-analytical SSyntRels.** In this family, the auxiliary verb—in “cooperation” with the inflectional form of the lexical verb—in principle expresses all verbal semantic grammemes: voice, aspect, tense, polarity, etc.

## 80. Passive-analytical

*was*→pass-analyt→*written*

## 81. Perfective-analytical

*has*→perf-analyt→*written*

Serb. *sam*→perf-analyt→*pisao*

lit. ‘am having.written’ = ‘I have written’

(17) Swahili

*ni + li* + *kuwa*→perf-analyt→*ni + me + soma* ‘I had read’.

1.SG PAST be 1.SG PERF read lit. ‘I.was I.have.read’.

## 82. Progressive-analytical

*was*→progr-analyt→*writing*

(18) Swahili

*ni + li* + *kuwa*→progr-analyt→*ni + ki + soma* ‘I was reading’.

1.SG PAST be 1.SG SIMULT read lit. ‘I.was I.read’.

## 83. Preterit-analytical

Catalan

*vaig*→pret-analyt→*manjar* lit. ‘I.go eat’. = ‘I ate’.

## 84. Future-analytical

*will*→fut-analyt→*write*

Sp. *Van*→fut-analyt→*a* [*escribir*] ‘They.are.going to write’.

Rus. [*Ja*] *budu*→fut-analyt→*pisat* ‘I will write’.

Serb. (i) [*Ja*] *ću*→fut-analyt→*pisati* ‘I will write’. =

(ii) [*Ja*] *ću*→fut-analyt→*da*[-subord-conj-compl]→*pišem*

‘I will write’ = lit. ‘I will that I.write’

(iii) *Pisa*←fut-analyt→*ću* (← *pisati* *ću*) lit. ‘write I.will’

## 85. Assertive/negative-analytical

This SSyntRel appears as **assertive**, for instance, in English and as **negative**, for instance, in Finnish.

*He does*→assert-analyt→*understand*.

*He does*→[not]→assert-analyt→*understand*.

(19) Finnish, the verb ANNA- 'give'

<i>anna</i> + $\emptyset$	+ <i>n</i>				
	PRES	1.SG			'I.give'
~ <i>e</i>	+ <i>n</i>	<b>neg-analyt</b>	→	<i>anna</i> + $\emptyset$	
don't	1.SG			PRES	'I.don't give'.
<i>anno</i> + <i>i</i>	+ <i>t</i>				'you.gave'
	PAST	2.SG			
~ <i>e</i>	+ <i>t</i>	<b>neg-analyt</b>	→	<i>anta</i> + <i>nut</i>	'you.didn't give'
don't	2.SG			PAST.PARTICIPLE	
<i>anta</i> + <i>isi</i>	+ $\emptyset$				'he.would.give'
	IRREAL	3.SG			
~ <i>ei</i>	+ $\emptyset$	<b>neg-analyt</b>	→	<i>anta</i> + <i>isi</i>	'he.wouldn't have.given'
don't	3.SG			IRREAL	

## I.2.5 Conjunctional-completive Phrase SSyntRels, Valence-controlled: 86–96

86. **Subordinate-conjunctional-completive** (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is a CONJ<sub>(subord)</sub>, and the prototypical D is a V<sub>FIN</sub>)

[*I'll never be the same*] **since**–[*he*]–**subord-conj-compl**→**came** [*into my life.*]

[*Even*] **if**–**subord-conj-compl**→**drunk**, *Alan was elegant.*

[*Obama's voting record*] **while**–**subord-conj-compl**→**senator** [*made him the most liberal person in Congress.*]

For empty complementizers (such as THAT, Fr. QUE 'that', etc.), which do not appear in the DSyntS, the **subord-conj-compl** SSyntRel is postulated by analogy:

[*Suppose*] **that**–[*Alan*]–**subord-conj-compl**→**comes**.

87. **Subordinate-conjunctional-infinitival-completive** (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is a CONJ<sub>(subord-inf)</sub>, and the D is a TO→V<sub>INF</sub> phrase)

「*so as*<sup>1</sup>–[*not*]–**subord-conj-inf-compl**→**to** [*irritate Leo*]

「*as if*<sup>1</sup>–**subord-conj-inf-compl**→**to** [*show his support*]

「*in order*<sup>1</sup>–**subord-conj-inf-compl**→**to** [*avoid irritating Leo*]

These subordinate conjunctions cannot introduce a completive THAT-clause.

88. **Coordinate-conjunctional-completive** (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is a CONJ<sub>(coord)</sub>, and the prototypical D is a lexeme of the same part of speech as the G of the CONJ<sub>(coord)</sub>)

[*Alan*] **and**–**coord-conj-compl**→**Helen**

[*Alan,*] **but**–[*not*]–**coord-conj-compl**→**Helen**

[*Do you have a place for us*] **or**–[*we*]–**coord-conj-compl**→**must** [*leave now?*]

89. **Comparative-conjunctive-completive** (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is a CONJ<sub>(compar)</sub>, and the prototypical D is an N)

*than-compar-conj-compl* → *Helen*

[*more*] *than*-[*Vanya*]-*compar-conj-compl* → *does*

*as-compar-conj-compl* → *always*

[*We are never as unhappy*] *as-compar-conj-compl* → *when* [*we lose love.*]

In Russian, the morphological case of a nominal comparate (= what the comparand is being compared with) depends on the case of the comparand, while there is no direct syntactic link between the two. As a result, Russian requires five comparative SSyntRels. Each of these results from the ellipsis of a DSynt-configuration where the semantic relations are explicitly shown. Thus, for No. 90, we have the DSynt-configurations ... SIL'NYJ<sub>COMPAR</sub>-II → LJUBIT'-I → VANJA, i.e. 'more than Vanya loves' and KAK-II → LJUBIT'-I → VANJA, i.e. 'like Vanya loves'.

**NB:** The same situation obtains in any language that has nominal case, such as other Slavic languages, German, Hungarian, Finnish, etc.

90. **Subject-comparative-conjunctive-completive**

[*On*<sub>NOM</sub> *ljubit Lenu*<sub>ACC</sub> *sil'nee,*] *čem-subj-compar-conj-compl* → *Vanja*<sub>NOM</sub>

'He loves Lena more than Vanya does'.

[*On*<sub>NOM</sub> *ljubit Lenu*<sub>ACC,] *kak-subj-compar-conj-compl* → *Vanja*<sub>NOM</sub></sub>

'He loves Lena like Vanya does'.

91. **Direct-object-comparative-conjunctive-completive**

[*On*<sub>NOM</sub> *ljubit Lenu*<sub>ACC</sub> *sil'nee,*] *čem-dir-obj-compar-conj-compl* → *Vanju*<sub>ACC</sub>

'He loves Lena more than he does Vanya'.

[*On*<sub>NOM</sub> *ljubit Lenu*<sub>ACC,] *kak-dir-obj-compar-conj-compl* → *Vanju*<sub>ACC</sub></sub>

'He loves Lena like he does Vanya'.

92. **Indirect-object-comparative-conjunctive-completive**

[*Emu*<sub>DAT</sub> *dostalos' bol'se,*] *neželi-indir-obj-compar-conj-compl* → *Vane*<sub>DAT</sub>

lit. To.him [it] got more than to.Vanya'.

[*Ja tebe*<sub>DAT</sub> *verju,*] *kak-indir-obj-compar-conj-compl* → *Vane*<sub>DAT</sub>

'I believe you as I believe Vanya'.

93. **Oblique-object-comparative-conjunctive-completive**

[*On privjazan k Maše bol'se,*] *neželi-obl-obj-compar-conj-compl* → *k* [*Vane*]

'He is.attached to Masha more than to Vanya'.



#### 94. Circumstantial-comparative-conjunctive-completive

The SSyntRel No. 94 is not valence-controlled; it is placed in this subsection by analogy.

[*Teper' oni živut lučše,*] *čem–circum-compar-conj-compl*→*v* [*Kazani*]  
 'Now they live better than [they lived] in Kazan'.

#### 95. Absolute-conjunctive-completive (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is a CONJ<sub>(subord, abs)</sub>, and the D is an N)

This SSyntRel subordinates an absolute construction.

Fr. [*Une fois*<sup>1</sup>–[*le*]–*abs-conj-compl*→*bateau*–[*abs-modif*→*redressé, stabilisez-le*]

'Once the boat [is] straightened up, stabilize it'.

#### 96. Elliptic-absolute-conjunctive-completive (expresses DSyntRel II; the G is a CONJ<sub>(subord, ellipt-abs)</sub>, and the prototypical D is an ADJ)

[*The baby,*] *if–ellipt-abs-conj-compl*→*young enough to be easily controlled, need not be regularly dressed.*

*If*–[*a*]–*ellipt-abs-conj-compl*→*pronoun*, [*the grammatical subject may ...*]  
*while–ellipt-abs-conj-compl*→*in* [*bed*]; *once–ellipt-abs-conj-compl*→*here*

### I.2.6 Word-Like Phrase SSyntRels, Non-Valence-controlled: 97–103

97. **Numeral-junctive** (has no correspondence in the DSyntS, where a compound numeral is represented by one node, but is introduced by DSynt-to-SSynt-structure rules; the G is a NUM/ADJ<sub>(ordin)</sub>, and the D is a NUM<sub>(quant)</sub>)

*two*←*num-junct–hundred*←*num-junct–fifty*←*num-junct–three*;  
*fifty*←*num-junct–third*

– The lexeme AND (and its equivalents in other languages) in compound numerals is not a CONJ<sub>(coord)</sub>:

*two*←*num-junct–hundred*←*num-junct–and*←*num-junct–three*  
*one*←*num-junct–hundred*←*num-junct–and*←*num-junct–third*

Ger. *drei*←*num-junct–junct–und*←*num-junct–vierzigster* [*Band*]  
 lit. 'three and fortieth volume [of a periodical]' = 'forty-third volume'

- But: *three*→*and*–[*five*]–*coord-conj*→*sixths* '3' ([*one*] SIXTH, as all fractions, is an N); here, AND is a coordinate conjunction.

98. **Name-junctive-1** (has no correspondence in the DSyntS, where a compound human name is represented by one node, but is introduced by DSynt-to-SSynt-structure rules; the G is an N<sub>(prop, hum, first\_name)</sub>, and the D is a N<sub>(prop, hum, second\_name)</sub>)

99. **Name-junctive-2** (has no correspondence in the DSyntS, where a compound human name is represented by one node, but is introduced by DSynt-to-SSynt-structure rules; the G is an  $N_{(\text{prop, hum, first\_name})}$ , and the D is a  $N_{(\text{prop, hum, last\_name})}$ )

Sp. *Margarita*–name-junct-1→*Alonso Ramos*

Rus. *Igor'*–name-junct-1→*Aleksandrovič Mel'čuk*

100. **Colligative** (has no correspondence in the DSyntS, but is introduced by DSynt-to-SSynt-structure rules; the G is a  $\text{PART}_{\text{PASS}}$ , and the D is a stranded  $\text{PREP}$ )

[*is*] *operated*–collig→*upon*

[*John was*] *done*–[*away*]–collig→*with*.

- But: [*the*] *problem* (*which*) *we deal*–obl-obj→*with* in *Chapter 7*; here, the complement of the preposition  $\text{WITH}$  is the relative pronoun  $\text{WHICH}$ , which can be omitted on the surface.

101. **Correlative** (has no correspondence in the DSyntS, but is introduced by DSynt-to-SSynt-structure rules; the G is a  $\text{PRON}_{(\text{demonstr})}$ , and the D is a complementizer or a  $V_{\text{FIN}}$ )

[*Mary has*] *such*–[*beautiful eyes*]–correl→*that* [*she got a job as a make-up model.*]

[*Mary was*] *so*–[*tired*]–correl→*that* [*she could not eat.*]

Ger. *darauf*–[*beharren,*]–correl→*dass* [*wir zu dieser Frage konsultiert werden*] lit. ‘on.that insist that we on this question consulted are’ = ‘insist that we (should) be consulted on this issue’

Russian

[*Verněmsja k*] *tomu,*–[*o čěm my*]–correl→*govorili*

lit. ‘Let’s.return to that about what we were.talking’.

[*Pogovori s*] *temi,*–[*komu ty*]–correl→*posylal* [*pis'mo*]

lit. ‘Talk to those to.whom you have.sent.the.letter’.

*nastol'ko*–[*proščě, naskol'ko èto*]–correl→*bylo* [*vozmožno*]

lit. ‘so simpler as.much.as it was possible’ = ‘simpler to the extent that it was possible’

102. **Intraphrasemic** (has no correspondence in the DSyntS, but is introduced by DSynt-to-SSynt-structure rules; describes idioms and syntactic phrasemes in which each component, except the first one, follows his predecessor immediately and is invariant)

‘*kingdom*–intraphras→*come*<sup>1</sup>’; ‘*by*–intraphras→*far*<sup>1</sup>’; ‘*as*–intraphras→*yet*<sup>1</sup>’; ‘*as*–intraphras→*if*<sup>1</sup>’; ‘*as*–intraphras→*of*–intraphras→*yet*<sup>1</sup>’

[*for*] ‘*each*–intraphras→*other*<sup>1</sup>’

Rus. *Zavtra*, –intraphras → *tak* –intraphras → *zavtra* lit. ‘Tomorrow, so tomorrow’.

‘I don’t care whether this is tomorrow or not’ (a syntactic phraseme: X, TAK X, which expresses a fictitious lexeme; see the **NB** on page 79, Part One, 2.2).

103. **Pronominal-junctive** (corresponds to a subtree of the DSyntS, expressing a DSynt-to-SSynt-ellipsis; the G is a WH-pronoun, and the D is a V<sub>FIN</sub>)

[*John lives*] *God knows* ← –pron-junct– *where*.

[*John escaped you*] *would* ← –pron-junct– [*never guess*] – *how*.

## II Coordinate Surface-Syntactic Relations: 104–112

104. **Coordinative** (expresses DSyntRel **COORD**; the G is a lexeme of any part of speech, and the prototypical D is a lexeme of the same part of speech as G)

*John*, –coord → *Mary*, –coord → *Pete*

*fast*, –coord → *gently*, –coord → *skillfully*

*John*, –coord → *and* [–coord-conj → *Mary*]; *fast*, –coord → *but* [*gently*]

*John was* – [*reading*,] – coord → *and* – [*Mary patiently*] – coord-conj → *waited*.]

*three* – coord → (*or*) *four* [*times a year*]

Fr. *trois*, –coord → (*ou*) *quatre* [*fois par année*]

105. **Elliptical-coordinative** (expresses DSyntRel **COORD**; the G is a lexeme of any part of speech, and the prototypical D is also a lexeme of any part of speech)

[*He*] *works* – [*a lot*,] – ellipt-coord → *but* [*only at night*].

[*He eats*] *vegetables*, – [*however, not*] – ellipt-coord → *boiled*, [*but fried*].

Russian has a special coordinate construction, in which different actants and circumstantials of a verb—if they are all expressed by interrogative or negative pronouns—are conjoined by the conjunction I ‘and’, although they must be in different grammatical cases: Rus. *Kto, kogo, komu i kak poslal?* lit. ‘Who<sub>NOM</sub>, whom<sub>ACC</sub>, to.whom<sub>DAT</sub> and how sent?’ or *Nikogo, nikto i ničem ne kormil* lit. ‘Nobody<sub>ACC</sub>, nobody<sub>NOM</sub> and with.nothing<sub>INSTR</sub> fed’. To properly specify the cases of these actants, Russian needs five more **coordinative** SSyntRels (at the DSynt-level, this construction is described by actantial DSyntRels linking the Main Verb to each actant and without the conjunction I ‘and’):

106. **Subject-coordinative**

Rus. *Nikogo*,–**subj-coord**→*nikto* [*i ničem ne kormil*]

lit. ‘Nobody<sub>ACC</sub>, nobody<sub>NOM</sub> and with.nothing not fed’. = ‘Nobody fed anybody with anything’.

107. **Direct-object-coordinative**

Rus. *Kto*,–**dir-obj-coord**→*kogo* [*i komu poslal?*]

lit. ‘Who, whom and to.whom sent?’

108. **Indirect-object-coordinative**

Rus. *Kto*,–**indir-obj-coord**→*komu* [*i kogo poslal?*]

lit. ‘Who, to.whom and whom sent?’

109. **Oblique-object-coordinative**

Rus. *Kto*,–**obl-obj-coord**→*čem* [*i kogo kormil?*]

lit. ‘Who, with.what and whom fed?’

110. **Circumstantial-coordinative**

Rus. *Kto*,–**dir-obj-coord**→*kogo*,–**indir-obj-coord**→*komu*–**circum-coord**→*i kak* [*poslal?*]

lit. ‘Who, whom, to.whom and how sent?’

111. **Pseudo-coordinative** (expresses DSyntRel **PSEUDO-COORD**)

The **pseudo-coordinative** SSyntRel resembles normal coordination only in its formal aspect: the D follows the G, has the same form, and carries the enumeration prosody; but a coordinate conjunction in this construction is, impossible. Semantically, the **pseudo-coordinative** D adds, roughly speaking, a more detailed characterization to its G.

*in*–[*Siberia*,]–**pseudo-coord**→*on*–[*the Ob shore, not*]–**pseudo-coord**→*far* from *Novosibirsk*

[*six*] *dollars*–[*80*]–**pseudo-coord**→*cents*

*tomorrow*–**pseudo-coord**→*night*

*Monday*–[*next*]–**pseudo-coord**→*week*

*from*–[*fifty*]–**pseudo-coord**→*to* [*seventy pounds*]

[*Responses ranged*] *from*–[*the indifferent*]–**pseudo-coord**→*to*–[*the surly*]–**pseudo-coord**→*to* [*the down-right obscene.*]

*out\_of*–[*political limbo*]–**pseudo-coord**→*towards* [*the bright lights of liberty*]

*Saturday*–**pseudo-coord**→*night, at* [*a quarter to eleven*]

*Saturday*,–**pseudo-coord**→*at*–[*night*,]–**pseudo-coord**→*after*–[*dinner*,]–**pseudo-coord**→*at* [*a quarter to eleven*]

[*He had*] *everything*–[.]–**pseudo-coord**→*family*, [*friends, good health.*]

[*Such are all voiced*] *consonants*–[*in particular*]–**pseudo-coord**→/b/.

Pseudo-coordinative dependents, or pseudo-conjuncts, are prominent in Korean (SUBJ is the subjective case, which marks the Subject and the Subject's pseudo-conjuncts; Mel'čuk 2015a):

- (20) a. *Kay+ eykey John+ i*—**pseudo-coord**→*son + i*  
 dog DAT SUBJ hand SUBJ  
*mul+li + ess + ta*  
 bite PASS PAST DECLAR(ative)  
 lit. 'By.dog John hand was.bitten'. = 'John was bitten by the dog on the hand'.
- b. *Kay+ ka John+ il*—**pseudo-coord**→*son+il*  
 dog SUBJ ACC hand ACC  
*mul+ Ø + ess + ta*  
 bite ACT PAST DECL  
 lit. 'Dog John hand bit'. = 'The dog bit John on the hand'.

The pseudo-coordinative SSyntRel is used to describe the verb series (Haspelmath 2015):

- (21) a. Ewe  
*ku*— [tsi]—**pseudo-coord**→ *klɔ̃ ŋkú.me*  
 2.SG.scoop water wash face  
 'Scoop some water and wash your face'.
- b. Paamese (Oceanic)  
*Ma+ kuri + ko*—**pseudo-coord**→*lo + va + haa*  
 1.SG IMMED.take 2.SG 1.DU.INCL IMMED go  
 'I'll take you with me'. = lit. 'I'll.take.you me.and.you.will.go'.

There is an interesting particular case of the verb series: Russian double verbs (Vajs 2000), which can also be described by means of the **pseudo-coordinative** SSyntRel:

- (22) Russian  
 [*Ona*] *sidit*—**pseudo-coord**→*xoxočet* lit. '[She] is.sitting is.laughing. uproariously'.  
 [*Oni*] *xodjat*—**pseudo-coord**→*pobirajutsja* lit. '[They] are.walking. around are.begging'.  
*Davaj*—**pseudo-coord**→*eš'* lit. 'Give<sub>IMPER</sub> eat<sub>IMPER</sub>!' [reinforced incitement]

112. **Explanatory-coordinative** (expresses DSyntRel **PSEUDO-COORD**; the G is a V<sub>FIN</sub>, and the D is another V<sub>FIN</sub> having the PRON<sub>(rel)</sub> WHICH as its Subject)

- [*Mary*] *gave*—[*me a smile, which*]—**explan-coord**→*was* [*nice.*]  
 [*Smoking*] *is*—[*harmful, which*]—**explan-coord**→*is* [*well known.*]

### An important remark: Binary Conjunctions and Similar Expressions

For readers who are well acquainted with the dependency syntactic descriptions carried out in the Meaning-Text framework the following updating seems to be in order. I have to correct error that has been committed for many years; it concerns the binary conjunctions and a motley set of expression similar to them.

Binary conjunctions are also known as correlative coordinators/subordinators (Quirk et al. 1991: 935–941, 999–1001). The typical examples include:

- Binary coordinating conjunctions: BOTH ... AND and EITHER ... OR.
- Binary subordinating conjunctions: IF ... THEN, 「NO SOONER」 ... THAN and 「THE ... THE」.

The surface-syntactic description of these conjunctions was considered, within the Meaning-Text approach, to be as follows: both components of a binary conjunction are directly linked by a special—**binary-junctive**—SSyntRel; this description is found in numerous previous publications. (In the present context it is irrelevant what is the orientation of this dependency—in different cases it can be oriented differently, mainly from the obligatory component to the omissible one.) For instance:

#### “Traditional” representation

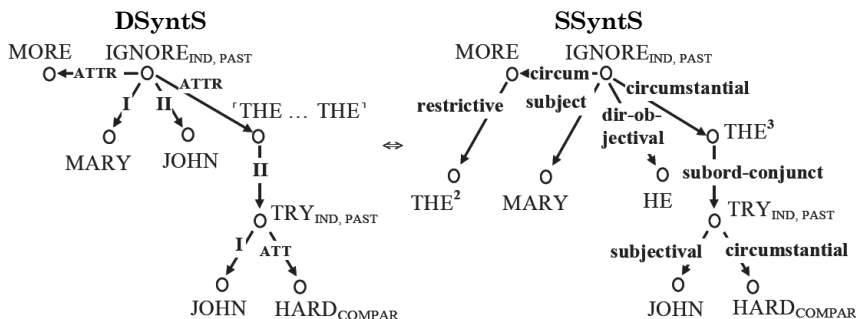
(21) a. *I liked **both** the movie **and** the play.*

b. *If you get good grades, **then** you will get into a good college.*

However, it has become obvious that the presumed **binary-junctive** SSyntRel does not satisfy Criterion A for the presence of syntactic dependency between two lexemes in a given utterance (Mel'čuk 2015b: 412–417): lexemes  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  linked by a direct syntactic dependency must form or be able to form a phrase (under specific conditions), and this is not the case with binary conjunctions. Therefore, the **binary-junctive** SSyntRel must be rejected (= excluded from the general inventory of SSyntRels). I cannot explain in detail the newly adopted description of binary conjunctions and similar expressions, and I will limit myself to an illustration: the representation of the binary subordinating conjunction 「THE ... THE」 in the Deep- and the Surface-Syntactic Structure of sentence (22).

The idiomatic conjunction 「THE ... THE」 is—as all idioms—expanded in the SSyntS: one of its components, THE<sup>3</sup>, functions as a genuine surface subordinating conjunction, which introduces the subordinate clause *John tried harder*; the other component, THE<sup>2</sup>, appears as a particle modifying the comparative adverb depending on the top node of the sentence.

(22) *The harder John tried, the more Mary ignored him.*



The **binary-junctive** SSyntRel proscribed, the surface-syntactic structures of the sentences in (21) are as follows:

### “Modern” representation

(23) a. *I liked **both**←restrictive–[the]–movie→**and**→the play.*

b. *If–[you]→get good grades, **then**←circumstantial–[you]–will get into a good college.*

The same description is reserved for all binary expressions of other types, which were also analyzed in a wrong way. Thus, the French double negation NE ... PAS and the idiom 「NE ... QUE」<sup>1</sup> ‘only’:

### “Traditional” representation

(24) French

a. *Je **ne** dors –restrictive→**pas** ‘I am not sleeping’.*

b. *Je **ne** lisais alors **que**←restrictive–[des]–polars ‘I read then only whodunits’.*

### “Modern” representation

(25) French

a. *Je **ne**←restrictive–dors–restrictive→**pas** ‘I am not sleeping’.*

b. *Je **ne**←restrictive–lisais alors **que**←restrictive–[des]–polars ‘I read then only whodunits’.*

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- <sup>1</sup> The present text is the continuation of Part One of this paper, published in *Moscow Linguistics Journal*, 17: 2, 75–103. Part II of the paper presents the second fragment of the list of SSyntRel—namely, SSyntRels Nos. 43–112. A synopsis of the whole list of SSynt-relations possible in various languages is:

### I Subordinate Surface-Syntactic Relations: 1–103

#### I.1 Clause-Level SSyntRels: 1–42

##### I.1.1 Valence-Controlled = Actantial

##### I.1.2 Non-Valence-Controlled SSyntRels

###### I.1.2.1 Actantial SSyntRels

###### I.1.2.2 Copredicative SSyntRels

###### I.1.2.3 Circumstantial SSyntRels

###### I.1.2.4 Extra-structural SSyntRels

#### I.2 Phrase-Level SSyntRels: 43–103

##### I.2.1 Any Type of Phrase SSyntRels, Non-Valence-Controlled

##### I.2.2 Nominal Phrase SSyntRels

###### I.2.2.1 Valence-Controlled

###### I.2.2.2 Valence-Controlled and Non-Valence-Controlled

###### I.2.2.3 Non-Valence-Controlled

##### I.2.3 Adpositional Phrase SSyntRels, Valence-Controlled

##### I.2.4 Verbal Phrase (= Analytical Form) SSyntRels, Non-Valence-Controlled

##### I.2.5 Conjunctive Phrase SSyntRels, Valence-Controlled

##### I.2.6 Word-like Phrase SSyntRels, Non-Valence-Controlled

### II Coordinate Surface-Syntactic Relations: 104–112

- <sup>2</sup> (4, No. 76, p. 106) In the SSyntS, the lexeme SE depends on the lexical verb via two different SSyntRels: **verb-mark-reflexive-direct-analytical** and **verb-mark-reflexive-indirect-analytical**. This is necessary in order to ensure that in the DMorphS lexes of SE have different cases: the accusative *us*. the dative. Different cases are, in their turn, required by rules for clitic cooccurrence and clitic ordering. Thus, the dative SE clitic precedes an accusative pronominal clitic, while the accusative SE does not cooccur with a dative pronominal clitic: *Elle se<sub>DAT</sub> le prend* lit. ‘She to.herself it takes’ vs. \**Elle se<sub>ACC</sub> lui donne* lit. ‘She herself to.him gives’ [correct expression: *Elle se donne à lui* ‘She gives herself to him’]. The same situation holds in other Romance languages, which justifies the introduction of the **verb-mark-indir-refl-analytical** SSyntRel in our general inventory.
- <sup>3</sup> (4, No. 76, p. 106) Interestingly, a Hungarian separable verbal prefix (Imrényi 2013) can precliticize on the auxiliary of the future: *El←verb-mark-analyt-fog utazni Párizsba* ‘S/he will travel to.Paris’; FOG is the future tense auxiliary. Note that in a positive answer to the question ‘Did s/he travel to Paris?’, we have *Igen, el fog* ≈ ‘Yes, s/he did’. This is a little known case of clitic behavior.



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Annex 2

### Index of Passive SSynt-Valences of Word Classes

(numbers of SSyntRels of which a lexeme of the given class may be a Dependent)

This index is supposed to help the reader find the SSyntRel that represents a given construction. For instance, how does one describe the phrase [*Few writers*] *could resist*<sub>V<sub>INF</sub></sub> *joining*<sub>V<sub>ING</sub></sub>...? The form *resist* is here a V<sub>INF</sub>, so that we have to choose between SSyntRels Nos. 11, 18, 19, 74 and 83 – 85; only No. 11 (the **infinitival-objectival** SSyntRel) is good. Similarly, *joining* is a V<sub>ING</sub>, and the possible choices are SSyntRels Nos. 1, 7, 34, 52 and 82; No. 7 is good—the **direct-objectival** SSyntRel.

<b>N</b>	1 – 5, 7 – 9, 14 – 16, 20 – 24, 29 – 31, 34, 36, 40, 41, 44 – 47, 49 – 51, 53, 55, 68 – 70, 72, 74, 75, 89 – 93, 95
<b>N</b> <sub>(pron.pers)</sub>	28
<b>N</b> <sub>(proper)</sub>	40, 71, 98, 99
<b>V</b>	
<b>V</b> <sub>FIN</sub>	1 [in a headless relative], 7 [in a headless relative or an asyndetic completive], 12 [in a Direct Speech clause], 39 [in a Direct Speech clause], 64 – 66, 81, 82, 86, 101, 103
<b>V</b> <sub>INF</sub>	11, 18, 19, 74, 83 – 85
<b>V</b> <sub>ING</sub>	1, 7, 34, 52, 82
<b>V</b> <sub>PART</sub>	80, 81
<b>ADJ</b>	22, 24 – 26, 30 – 32, 35, 52, 61 – 63, 67, 96
<b>ADJ</b> <sub>(determ)</sub>	56
<b>ADJ</b> <sub>(ordinal)</sub>	59, 60
<b>ADJ</b> <sub>(pron)</sub>	33, 56

<b>Linker</b>	73
<b>NUM</b> <sub>(quant)</sub>	57, 58, 97
<b>ADV</b>	1, 7, 34, 35, 37, 38
<b>ADV</b> <sub>(interj)</sub>	40
<b>THERE</b>	6
<b>PREP</b>	7 [in some languages], 13 – 25, 37, 44 – 48, 53 – 55, 93, 94, 100
<b>TO</b> <sub>(inf)</sub>	1, 6, 7, 10, 87
<b>CONJ</b>	
<b>AS</b>	38
<b>CONJ</b> <sub>(coord)</sub>	104 – 110
<b>CONJ</b> <sub>(subord)</sub>	34
<b>CONJ</b> <sub>(compar)</sub>	27
<b>CONJ</b> <sub>(complement)</sub>	1, 6, 7, 74, 84, 101
<b>PARTICLE</b>	43, 76 – 79
Rus. <b>ÈTO</b>	42