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Cosubordination
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Cosubordination[1]

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1. Introduction

The point of this paper is to discuss what has been called "cosubordination" in the framework of Functional Grammar[1]. In §2 I present the notion of cosubordination as it originated in Papuan studies and now functions in Role and Reference Grammar. I also discuss the few occurrences of the term "cosubordination" in FG publications. In §3 I turn to an analysis of the primitives in terms of which cosubordination has been defined, viz. dependency and embeddedness. I analyze how these notions fare in FG and I focus on the FG treatment of what have called "extra-clausal constituents". In §4 I claim that there are more extra-clausal constructions than have met the FG eye. In §5 I turn to cosubordination in the Papuan sense and I venture the hypothesis that there are at least two subtypes: some are to be analyzed as level four entities, others as level two entities. Both are taken to be connected with the main clause with a coordinative meaning. Throughout the paper the reader will sense that I ask more questions than I can solve.

2. Cosubordination

Layering, as it is known in FG, is in part inspired by layering as it was known in early Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1984), itself tributary to the work of the Papuanist Michael Olson (1981). The essential idea is very similar, but there are many differences, as has been discussed by Van Valin (1990) and Butler (1996). In RRG work layering is offered as one of the two dimensions of the structure of the complex clause. The complex clause is said to be a juncture or linking of units of clausal and subclausal nature, and these units are precisely the ones recognized in the layering hypothesis. Thus in (1) we find a juncture of two main clauses, entities RRG-wise consisting of nucleus-*cum*-core-*cum*-periphery, and in (2) we find a linking involving an RRG core entity *Fred's retiring*.

(1)   *Fred was playing with a ball* and Johnny was reading a book.
(2)   Everyone regretted *Fred's retiring*.

However, RRGrammarians point out, it is one thing to be able to identify the kinds of units that are involved in clause linkage. It is another thing – and this is the second dimension announced above – to be able to characterize the nature of the linkage itself, called "nexus". For (1) and (2) this is not too difficult. In (1) we find a coordination of units, and in (2) a subordination of one unit to the other. If this were all to it, there would just be two nexus types, viz. coordination and subordination.

But there is more to it. In Foley & Van Valin (1984: 240-244), Van Valin (1984), and Van Valin (1990: 216-222), coordination and subordination are defined as constellations of two independent features, viz. [± dependent] and [± embedded]. A clause type entity is coordinate if it can occur by itself — [- dependent] — and if it is not part of another clause type entity — [- embedded]. Under this definition *Fred was playing with a ball* in (1) will be coordinate. A clausal entity is subordinate if it cannot occur by itself – [+ dependent] – and if it is part of another clausal entity – [+ embedded]. *Fred's retiring* in (2) cannot occur by itself and it functions as the object of another clause, of which it is thus a part. Hence *Fred's retiring* is subordinate. Thus far we have illustrated two of the imaginable feature combinations, but there are two more. Can a clausal entity be independent yet embedded? Neither Foley & Van Valin (1984:393; 1990: 216) nor, implicitly, Van Valin (1985: 384, 1993: 106) think so, but Van Valin (1984:547), followed by Watters (1993: 537, 555), entertains the possibility that direct speech complements could illustrate this constellation. Indeed, *Go home* in (3) can occur by itself and is the object of the main clause.

(3)   The crowd shouted: "*Go home*".

Finally, can a clausal entity be dependent yet unembedded? Here (Foley and) Van Valin's answer is an unreserved "yes". They attach major importance to this particular constellation and approve of Olson's suggestion to call this "cosubordination"— a suggestion resounding outside of RRG too (e.g. Stirling 1993: 15, 198; Haspelmath 1995: 23). The textbook examples of cosubordination come from Papuan languages, e.g. Tauya in (4).

(4)   TAUYA (MacDonald 1990: 219)

Peima   fitau-fe-e-te   wate   tepau-a-?a.
carefully   throw-PFV-1/2SG-MED:DS   NEG   break-3SG-IND
   "Me having thrown it carefully, it didn't break."
   'I threw it carefully and it didn't break.'

peima fitau-fe-e-te cannot occur on its own. An approximate literal translation could be "me having thrown it carefully", although the Tauya verbal form is not participial, but something else, called "medial", and in something like (pseudo-)English *me having thrown it carefully, it didn't break* one could argue *me having thrown it carefully* to be a part – and adverbial modifier, to be more precise – of the main clause, whereas Papuanists argue that *peima fitau-fe-e-te* is not a part of the main clause.

The cross-classification of nexus types is summarized in (5).

(5)   EMBEDDED

                              +   –

		"subordinate"	"cosubordinate"
DEPENDENT	+	"subordinate"	"cosubordinate"
	–	direct speech complements	"coordinate"

Unlike layering, the idea of nexus types has not been taken up in FG. This is not to say that the four types have not been studied at all. Embedded entities have been analyzed most. This is no surprise, given the pivotal position of layering in FG theory and given that the layering proposal encompasses embedding, in the sense that inner layers are indeed embedded in the outer layers. For the dependent embedded subtype, i.e. the standard subordinate clause, studies exist, both for the complement clauses (Bolkestein 1990; Hengeveld 1990; Dik & Hengeveld 1991) and for the adverbial clause (Hengeveld 1996). For the independent embedded subtype, i.e. the direct speech complement, there is much less (but see some remarks in Hengeveld 1989: 147; Bolkestein 1990: 77, and esp. De Roeck 1994). There is not much on independent non-embedded nexus or coordination either (most recently and then

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only indirectly, Vet 1996), even though FG more or less started with coordination (Dik 1972). Dependent non-embedded structures, finally, the so-called "cosubordinate" ones, have also remained in the periphery of FG theory: what there is either relates to the study of topicality (Reesink 1983, 1987; Dik 1989: 272) or mainly endorses the RRG view that medial verb constructions are indeed cosubordinate, i.e. dependent yet not embedded (De Vries 1992: 6, 11).[2] Hengeveld (1989: 154) mentions the term "cosubordination" too: "[...] two constructions in a non-restrictive relation can be subordinate to shared higher operators, a phenomenon which Foley & Van Valin (1984), following Olson (1981) labeled COSUBORDINATION." He does not use it for Papuan medial constructions, but rather for the conditional in (6).
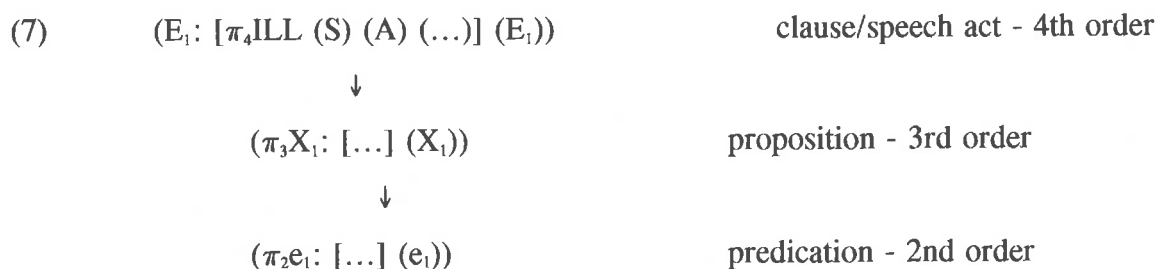
(6)   When he comes, I leave.

when he comes and *I leave* are called "coordinate", yet "subordinate" to common higher order operators, for short "cosubordinate". This use of the term "cosubordination" is not, it seems to me, true to its Papuanist and RRG origins, nor it is obvious that *when he comes* is not simply subordinate, not only dependent but also embedded. In later work, Hengeveld returns to the topic of non-restrictive satellites (Dik, Hengeveld, Vester & Vet 1990: 63), but the term "cosubordination" falls out of use and it is far from clear whether it could be applied at all, in the Hengeveld 1989 sense, for non-restrictive satellites are said to be outside of the scope of higher order operators.

3. Embeddedness and dependency in FG: extra-clausal constituents

Since cosubordination is defined in terms of two primitives, [± embedded] and [± dependent], it is useful to have a look at the FG status of the primitives. However, just as nexus has not been an issue in FG, the definition and use of these primitives has not been an issue in FG either. The reason is, I suspect, that the two notions are mostly coextensive and

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[2]   There may be differences, though. Thus De Vries (1992:12-13) claims says that quotatives are also dependent and unembedded.

that one could be tempted to think that they are always coextensive. Let us take a simplified Hengeveld style semantic representation.

(7) $(E_1: [\pi_4 ILL (S) (A) (...)] (E_1))$ clause/speech act - 4th order

                        ↓

        $(\pi_3 X_1: [...] (X_1))$ proposition - 3rd order

                        ↓

        $(\pi_2 e_1: [...] (e_1))$ predication - 2nd order

Obviously, all the entities except the E-entity at the top are dependent and embedded. A proposition, for instance, cannot occur by itself and is therefore dependent, and it is part of the clause and thus embedded. The top entity, the clause itself, is normally not embedded, in which case it is also independent. Admittedly, an E-entity such as *Go home* can be embedded, as is found in (3). But one could say that exactly when it is embedded, it is then also dependent. One cannot just embed *Go home* anywhere, the appropriateness being dependent on the occurrence of the right utterance predicate (cp. Lehmann 1988: 181, Hengeveld 1990: 15). If this is a valuable way of thinking about dependency, then the FG notions of embeddedness and dependency seem to be fully coextensive and it furthermore follows that a notion of subordinateness would have no discriminative value either. Anything that is embedded seems dependent, and *vice versa*, hence also subordinate.

There are two problems with this line of thinking. First, it confuses two notions of dependency. If [± dependent] is to refer to whether or not the clause can occur by itself, then it is irrelevant to point out that when it does not occur by itself it is licenced by a feature of the main clause. Interestingly, a distinction between two notions of dependency was present in the first RRG discussion of dependency and the two notions were even given different labels (Van Valin 1984: 544). Dependency as the inability to occur by itself was called "distributional dependence" and said to differ from "grammatical category dependence", which occurs when a linked clause depends upon a main clause for the expression of grammatical categories which are part of its interpretation. *he was there* in (8), for example, would combine distributional independence — *he was there* is a good main clause — with grammatical category dependence — the past tense of *was* depends on the past tense of the main verb *said*.

(8)   He said that *he was there*.

The dependency of *Go home* in (3) is of this kind too, the very possibility of embedding an imperative being dependent on a feature of the main clause, viz. the occurrence of a predicate like *shout*. Unfortunately, in later discussions Van Valin drops this distinction and "dependency" is only used for "distributional dependency".

The second problem with the coextensiveness claim of embeddedness and dependency concerns the entities that have been called "extra-clausal constituents". Examples of extra-clausal constituents are the italicized phrases in (9).

(9)   a. *As for the students*, they have already heard the news.

       b. He is out of prison now, *so they say*.

       c. They shoot horses, *don't they?*

Dik (1989:264-265) states that these constituents are "not part of the clause proper", which means, I assume, that they are not embedded. But at least some of them are dependent: *as for the students* truly cannot occur as a complete clause by itself. Dik (1989) does not say much about extra-clausals, states that they score pragmatic, interpersonal effects, and leaves them for later treatment in "TFG2". It is interesting to see Dik (1989: 376) claiming that a Dutch 'if'-clause, when resumed by the Dutch 'then' word as in (10) is extra-clausal too, a point of view repeated in Dik (1990: 237-238).

(10)   *Als*   *Jan*   *blijft*,   dan   gaat   Piet   weg.
       if   Jan   stays   then   goes   Piet   away
       'If Jan stays, then Piet goes away.'

That *als Jan blijft* is dependent is clear — it does not constitute a main clause — and that *als Jan blijft* is out of the clause proper makes good Germanic sense. In a garden-variety main clause in all Germanic languages except English, the finite verb occurs in the second slot. With respect to (10), this means that if *gaat* is in the second position, *dan* must be in the first position, and *als Jan blijft* must be in front of the first position. Dik (1990) captures this with the notion of "P2", popular in pre-layering days, but curiously absent in Dik (1989) —

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though still quoted with approval by Wakker (1994: 50-90). What makes (10) particularly interesting is that its extra-clausal constituent does not achieve any particular pragmatic effect. (10) is just an ordinary representational conditional.

Let us make an interim conclusion. Dik (1989, 1990) accepts extra-clausal constituents. These entities are dependent yet not-embedded. Hence they deserve to be called "cosubordinate", though the term has not been used for them at all. On the basis of these examples one can claim that extra-clausals come in at least two types. Some relate to the interpersonal level, others to the representational level.

Others Functional Grammarians to have discussed extra-clausals include Hengeveld (1989, 1990), Bolkestein (1990, 1992), Cuvalay (1995, 1996) and Wakker (1994, 1996). One can generalize about this discussion as follows. First, all of them except Wakker (1994, 1996) focus on interpersonal extra-clausals and Hengeveld and Cuvalay, who supply layering proposals for representational satellites, may thus be taken to imply that extra-clausals are necessarily interpersonal. Second, all of them face up to the same challenge, which could be called the "internalization of the outside". On the one hand, there is the idea that a constituent can be outside of the clause. On the other hand, there is the layering proposal, which at least in principle can be extended with further, outer layers. If what is felt to be outside is put on a new outer layer, then it is not really outside any longer. This challenge has not been dealt with satisfactorily. Take the vagueness in Bolkestein's (1990: 78) claim that extra-clausal entities such as *now, well, yes* and *come on* are to be situated "on" or "above" the highest layer. When Bolkestein (1992: 404) ruminates on "layering upward from E", one wonders whether "upward from E" means crossing the threshold of the clause or merely getting more closer to the edge. Similarly when Cuvalay (1996: 171) claims that extra-clausals are at "a more outside level in the structure", surely they are still inside the structure then, and not really outside. Compare Hengeveld (1989: 154) accepting the existence of extra-clausals for "things like Themes and Tails", which "fall outside the scope of all matrix clause operators", with Hengeveld (1990: 12-13) internalizing something like *if I may say so* as a new, outer "clause satellite" (σ_5).

(11) $(E_1: [\pi_4 ILL:\sigma_4 (S) (A) (...)] (E_1): \sigma_5 (E_1))$

$\Uparrow$

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Note how σ_5 is both outside and inside. σ_5 is outside, because it has scope over the clause ("E") and is thus truly extra-clausal. Yet σ_5 is inside in the sense that it at least occurs within the outmost brackets, but the thing between these outer brackets is not reified and so it is not really a thing after all. Yet a different approach is found in Cuvalay (1995). In her analysis clauses are dissociated from the E-variable, the latter being taken to refer to "Expressions" and clauses getting a "C" variable.

(12) $(\pi 5E_1: [...] (E_1): \sigma_5 (E_1))$ expression

                    $\downarrow$

         $\pi_4C_1: [...] (C_1): \sigma_4 (C_1)$ clause

In (12) extra-clausals go into σ_5, and they are indeed outside of the clause C in a clear way. However, it remains unclear whether they are also outside of E. Wakker (1994, 1996), finally, claims that extra-clausals are outside of all main clause operators yet "attachable at various levels". This is different still. I suppose that the appearance of σ_4 and σ_5 qualifies as an "attachment" at the C and E levels, but in her view, this attachment may involve lower levels too.

In essence, the challenge sketched above is due to the fact that there are two ways of conceiving of the term "extra-clausal". One either looks at the expression itself, and then it makes perfect sense to consider Dutch *als Jan blijft* in (10) to be outside and the very label "extra-clausal" makes sense too. Or one looks at the semantic representation, but then the semantic "translation" of *als Jan blijft* is simply inside and unless one uses a ploy like Cuvalay's non-outer C(lause) layer, the term "extra-clausal" does not make sense.

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(13) tabulates the kinds of extra-clausals discussed by Functional Grammarians under both points of view.

(13)

	expression	semantic representation
interpersonal satellites	outside	(special) outer satellite
representational satellites	outside	inner satellites
Theme, Tail constituents	outside	pragmatic functions

The task for the grammarian is to clarify both the form and the meaning. On the formal side, extra-clausals are similar in that they are all outside. On the semantic side, they are different. If one starts from the semantic representation, as in FG, there is a danger that the similarity on the expression side will become an epiphenomenon, which is not a very satisfying solution. Similarity is worthy of an attempt at explanation, and it should not constitute a coincidence. In FG fashion, one would presumably want the expression component of the grammar to explain the similarities, more specifically, one may suppose, the subcomponent that deals with word order. This task remains to be undertaken.

4. Other extra-clausal structures?

In the preceding section I have sketched how FG has been struggling with peculiar types of dependent yet non-embedded structures, called "extra-clausal constituents". Given the definition of "cosubordination", it follows that extra-clausal constituents are cosubordinate. But, of course, the term "cosubordination" was not intended for the extra-clausal constituents discussed in FG. How then can one distinguish between Papuan-style cosubordinates and the extra-clausals of FG? One can remark that Papuan cosubordination happens at the representational level. It constitutes a fully unmarked way of clause linking/combining and in this sense scores no special pragmatic or discourse effect. A Papuan cosubordinate clause does not seem to represent a satellite either. Can we then conclude that cosubordinate

structures in the Papuan sense are dependent and non-embedded, like the extra-clausals discussed above, but that they do not involve pragmatic functions, different from Theme and Tail extra-clausals, and that they do not involve satellites, different from the diverse types of conditional extra-clausals? Unfortunately, the answer is negative.

Consider first "extraposition" constructions like those in (14) and (15).

(14)   It is true *that Córdoba is beautiful.*

(15)   He saw to it *that I got a ticket too.*

In order to qualify as cosubordinate a construct has to be dependent and unembedded. That the extraposed *that Córdoba is beautiful* and *that I got a ticket too* are dependent is clear enough. Are they also unembedded? From a semantic, layering point of view they are not. What is true in (14) is of course the fact that Córdoba is beautiful and what the subject saw to in (15) was the state of affairs that the speaker got a ticket. However, the notion of "extra-clausal constituent", I have argued in the preceding section, makes most sense from the point of view of the expression and from that point of view *that Córdoba is beautiful* and *that I got a ticket too* do seem outside, as the old term "extraposition" suggests. In *It is true that Córdoba is beautiful*, for example, there seem to be two subjects, with *it* as an inner subject and *that Córdoba is beautiful* as an outer subject. Note the similarity with the conditional clause in (10). Much as the conditional is a correlative structure, with *als Jan blijft* correlating with *dan*, (14) and (15) are correlatives too, with their *that* clauses correlating with *it*.

Correlatives are als found in the domain of relative clauses. In English we only find them with proportional relatives, illustrated with (16).

(16)   *The harder you run*, the sooner you will get home.

the harder you run cannot occur by itself, so it is dependent; it is not part of *the sooner you will get home,* so it is not embedded.[3] In Mandarin, ordinary relatives can be correlative too.

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[3]   Interestingly, *the sooner you will get home* is dependent and non-embedded too. So here we have a complex structure composed of two cosubordinate clauses.

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(17)   MANDARIN (Lehmann 1984: 302)

Shéi   xiān   dào,   shéi   xiān   mai   piào.

who   first   arrives   who   first   buy   ticket

'He who arrives first will buy the tickets.'

And yet another related structure, but one that is not correlative, is the "adjoined" clause described for Walbiri by Hale (1976).

(18)   WALBIRI (Hale 1976: 78)

Ŋatju-lu   Ø-na   yankiri   pantu-nu,   *kutja-lpa   ŋapa   ŋa-nu.*

1SG-ERG   AUX   emu   spear-PST   SUB-AUX   water   drink-PST

'I speared the emu which was / while it was drinking water.'

kutja-lpa ŋapa ŋa-nu is claimed to be a dependent clause, but it is not a part of the other clause, nor is it even clear whether it is a satellite or restrictor.

We can conclude that even a cursory glance at the literature yields several other types of constructions, for which the terms "extra-clausal" and "cosubordinate" seem appropriate, even though the latter were not made for these constructions. The double task of explaining the similarities as well as the differences, alluded to at the end of the preceding section, confronts us here too.

5. Papuan cosubordinates

In the preceding sections we have seen that characterizing Papuan cosubordinates as dependent and non-embedded does not uniquely identify them. "Dependent" and "non-embedded" are necessary properties, but they are not sufficient. What are the remaining necessary features of Papuan cosubordinates? In this section I will deal with two of these. The first concerns the level of operation, the ontology of the cosubordinate in terms of the levels of the layered model.

From a perusal of some of the literature (Roberts 1987; MacDonald 1990; Müller-Bardey 1988: esp. 25, 33) one learns that cosubordinates come in at least two types. Some

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cosubordinates have an illocutionary value different from that of the main clause.

(19) TAUYA (MacDonald 1990: 227)
Mei fofe-a-te   pofei-ti   Ø-tu-ane-ne.
here come-3SG-DS   talk-CONJ   3SG-give-FUT.2SG-IMP
'He'll come here and you talk to him.'

In (19) the main clause is an imperative, but the cosubordinate is an assertion. This means that the this cosubordinate is a level four entity and that (19) is some sort of combination of two level four entities.

(20) $(E_1: [\pi_4 \text{ DECL (S) (A) } (\ldots)] (E_1))$ in combination with $(E_2: [\pi_4 \text{IMP (S) (A) } (\ldots)] (E_2))$

        cosubordinate clause   main clause

We normally think of level four entities are being distributionally independent. If the analysis in (20) is correct, then we see that this is not always the case.

    The second, more common subtype is the cosubordinate that shares the illocutionary force expressed in the main clause.

(21) TAUYA (MacDonald 1990: 227)
Yate-pa ni-a-e.
go-SS   eat-FUT.SG-IMP
'Go and eat'.

In (21) the main clause is an imperative, and so is, because of this, the cosubordinate. One could take this to mean that the cosubordinate in (21) is not an illocution in its own right and that (21) contains only one IMP operator, which has scope over both the cosubordinate construction and the main clause. If the cosubordinate is not a level 4 entity, what kind of entity is it then? It turns out that it is not a level three entity either. I suppose that *rafo-* in (22) is a propositional operator. It is expressed in the main clause but it has scope over the

cosubordinate.

(22)   TAUYA (MacDonald 1990: 239)

    Pomu-pa   mei-?afe-a-rafo-?a.

    fall-SS   cry-PROG-3SG-DUB-IND

    'Perhaps he fell and is crying.'

Cosubordinates do, however, allow the expression of relative tense and aspect (level two) or, for that matter, aspectuality (level one). The perfectivity operator in (4) may be an example of the latter, and the simultaneity, in (23) expressed through reduplication, may be taken to illustrate the former.

(23)   AMELE (Roberts 1987: 239)

    Ho   *bu-buak-en*   qo-in.

    pig   SIM-run.away-SG.DS hit-3PL.REMPST

    'The pig ran away and they killed it'

Hence one can conclude that some cosubordinates are level two entities, i.e. extended predications, designating states of affairs.

(24) $(E_1: [\pi_4 ILL\ (S)\ (A)\ (...)]\ (E_1))$

$$\downarrow$$

$$(\pi_3 X_1: [...]\ (X_1))$$

$$\downarrow$$

$(\pi_2 e_1: [...]\ (e_1))$ in combination with $(\pi_2 e_2: [...]\ (e_2))$

        cosubordinate predication   main clause predication

With level two cosubordinates, π_4 and π_3 operators are normally expressed on the main clause verb. Such is the case in (21) and (22). The very fact that *ni-a-e* in (21) and *mei-?afe-a-rafo-?a* in (22) are main clauses may tempt one to the hypothesis that the cosubordinate in fact combines with the full main clause, and not as in (24), with its predication. This

hypothesis gives us (25).

(25) $(\pi_2 e_1: [\ldots] (e_1))$ in combination with $(E_1: [\pi_4 ILL (S) (A) (\ldots)] (E_1))$

$$\downarrow$$

$$(\pi_3 X_1: [\ldots] (X_1))$$

$$\downarrow$$

$$(\pi_2 e_2: [\ldots] (e_2))$$

cosubordinate predication   main clause predication
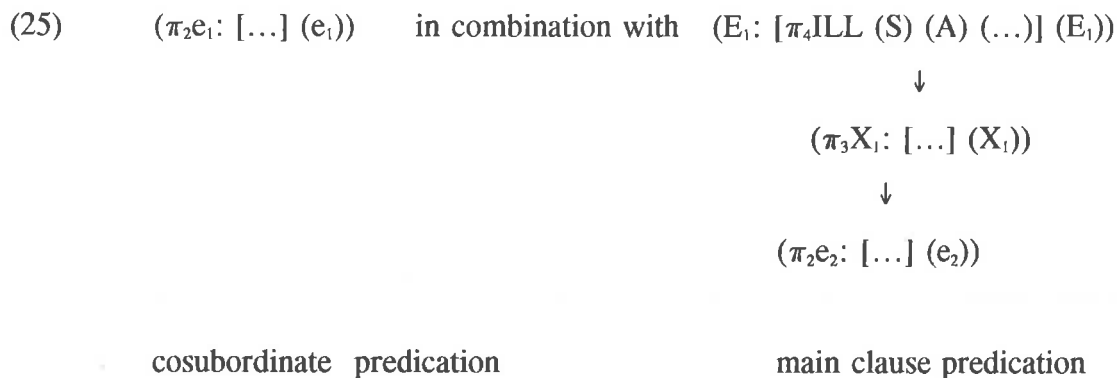
Still, I will resist this temptation and stick to (24). I support this decision with three arguments.

The first argument involves the fact that cosubordinates occasionally do contain the expression of a higher level operator, but then this operator normally has to agree with the operator expressed in the main clause. Consider the example in (26).

(26)   BARAI (Müller-Bardey 1988: 26)

Na   va-ekiro   isuame   una   rua-ke
1SG   go-MED:SS.DEL.IRR tomorrow   again   come-IRR
'I will go and then will return tomorrow.'

The Irrealis marker, called an expression of "epistemic mood" by Müller-Bardey might be a level three operator. It occurs in the cosubordinate form *va-ekiro*, but only when it also occurs in the main clause form *rua-ke* as well. This is reminiscent of the *consecutio temporum* in e.g. Latin subordinate clauses, which Dik et al. (1990: 42) analyze as a constellation of a subordinate clause that lacks its own tense operator but falls within the scope of a tense operator expressed higher up. The parallel to this is found only in (24). Term phrases provide further parallels. The definiteness operator, for example, has scope over an entire term phrase, independent of where and how often it finds an expression, just once as in English (28) — in the left periphery of the term phrase, in front of both the adjective and the noun — or twice as in Swedish (29) — on both the adjective and the noun.

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(27)   (d1x$_i$: house$_N$ (x$_i$): white (x$_i$))

(28)   the White House

(29)   SWEDISH
        Vita-a   Hus-et
        white-DEF   house-DEF
        'the White House'

Note that if definiteness is expressed more than once, there is agreement.

   The second argument refers to the fact that the higher level can sometimes be expressed exclusively in the cosubordinate, even though, as I interpret MacDonald (1990: 239), it has scope over the main clause as well. In Tauya, cosubordinates forbid the expression of a mood operator, but there is one exception. The dubitative marker *rafo* may occur in either the main clause, already illustrated in (22), or in the cosubordinate (30)

(30)   TAUYA (MacDonald 1990: 239)
        Yate-pa-rafo   ni-amu-ʔa.
        go-SS-DUB   eat-FUT.1SG-IND
        'Perhaps I'll go and I'll eat.'

   The third argument relies on the claim that the semantics of what is called "combination" in (24) and (25) is probably coordinative, in the sense that its meaning is the same as what English cares to express with the conjunction *and*. Normally conjunctions join entities of the same type. If the semantics of cosubordination is similar, then we would expect cosubordination to combine entities of the same type. This is found only in the constellation of (24), where we see one extended predication combining with another.

   Why now do I want to claim that the semantics is coordinative? The least one can say is that when the specialists translate cosubordination into English, they often resort to the conjunction *and* or at least liken it to ordinary English-style coordination, and that in some cases the medial marker is morphologically similar and probably derives from a coordinating conjunction (see e.g. Müller-Bardey 1988: 24 on Koita *ge*). Sometimes but perhaps rarely,

the cosubordination allows markers that make the relation between the two clauses more specific, but this does not mean that the relation loses its coordinative nature. The Wojokeso cosubordinate construction allows an antithetic prefix and a resultative conjunction (Müller-Bardey 1988: 27) and the Tauya cosubordinate allows suffixes which in the nominal realm are ergative and benefactive, yielding a resultative meaning (MacDonald 1990: 236-237). Of course, an ordinary English *and* can be strengthened into *and still* and *and so*, too, and the clauses so joined remain coordinated. So I propose to replace the phrase 'in combination with' in (20) and (24) with '$\wedge$'.

(31) $(E_1: [\pi_4 \text{DECL (S) (A) } (...)]\ (E_1))\ \wedge\ (E_2: [\pi_4 \text{IMP (S) (A) } (...)]\ (E_2))$

        cosubordinate clause   main clause

(32) $(E_1: [\pi_4 \text{ILL (S) (A) } (...)]\ (E_1))$

                          $\downarrow$

               $(\pi_3 X_1: [...]\ (X_1))$

                          $\downarrow$

     $(\pi_2 e_1: [...]\ (e_1))$ $\wedge$ $(\pi_2 e_2: [...]\ (e_2))$

    cosubordinate predication   main clause predication

There is, however, at least one problem: in both of the languages just mentioned the extra marking can also yield a conditional interpretation. (33) is an example from Tauya.

(33)   TAUYA (MacDonald 1990: 229)
    Pai   na-pi   yau-pa-ra   te   na-fe-pa   fofe-amu-?a.
    pig   2SG-GEN   see-SS-TOP   get   2SG-TR-SS   come-FUT.SG-IND
    'If I see your pig, I'll get it for you and come.'
    or 'I'll see your pig and get it for you and come.'

MacDonald (1990: 229) claims that Tauya future cosubordinates containing a topic marker optionally allow a conditional interpretation. If this interpretation is only a pragmatic inference of some kind, then we may assume that (33) will receive the default representation of cosubordinates, viz. something along the lines of (32). If the interpretation is a matter of semantics, however, then we may assume that the cosubordinate of (33) is underlyingly embedded, in the way analyzed for ordinary conditional satellites (Cuvalay 1996; Wakker 1994). In that case, we are dealing with a structure that is vague as to whether it is underlyingly embedded: under the conditional interpretation it is, but under the coordinative — better, "cosubordinative" one — it is not. If there are no other differences between a conditionally and a cosubordinatively interpreted structure, then a strategy of assigning two different underlying structures may be a bit embarrassing and one might prefer to work towards a single underlying structure, which abstracts from the difference between conditional an cosubordinative readings. If there are other differences (possibility of word order variation, possibility of backward pronominal anaphora, possibility of "extraction" — see Haspelmath 1995: 12-17, 24-25), then the assignment of two different structures would seem fully justified.[4]

6. Conclusion

In Role and Reference Grammar, nexus type plays a central role. It operates with the parameters [± embedded] and [± dependent], attributes major typological relevance to a notion of cosubordination, defined as [–embedded] and [+dependent] and exemplified in Papuan languages, and treats it on a par with subordination and coordination. I have tried to show why in FG nexus type and cosubordination do not play any central role: in a FG underlying semantic layered structure nearly everything that is embedded is also dependent,

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[4]   This relates to the problem of defining what have been called "converbs". Under one interpretation the term "converb" refers to specifically adverbial constructions, but under another interpretation the term would include converbs in the stricter sense but also cosubordinate structures (see van der Auwera in print).

and vice versa. With respect to this layered clause structure, nothing can be outside. Nevertheless, there is a notion around, not well accounted for, of "extra-clausal" constituents. These seem to be [+ dependent] and [- embedded] in a certain sense, but they are nevertheless quite different from cosubordinates. It is not clear how FG should deal with these extra-clausals. I have also shown that if one takes extra-clausality seriously, it does not take a lot of effort to find a variety of other phenomena, worthy of being called "extra-clausal". These include correlative and extraposed structures and also Hale's "adjoined" clauses. Again, I have made the point that it is not clear how FG is to deal with these. With respect to cosubordinate structures in the Papuan sense, I have argued that there are at least two subtypes: they can be level four as well as level two entities. For both types the relation between the cosubordinative and the main clause is coordinative, in the sense that it expresses what English expresses with the conjunction *and*. Allowing for level four cosubordinates is theoretically interesting, for it would constitute a level four entity that is distributionally dependent, a property that one would not normally associate with level four entities. A level two cosubordinate is a structure that obligatorily lacks independent level three and level four operators. Of special interest here is the fact that some of the structures that convey level two cosubordinates can also convey level two satellites, and it is unclear how this vagueness should be dealt with.

Abbreviations (in glosses)

1/2/3	1st./2nd/3rd person	NEG	negation
AUX	auxiliary	PFV	perfective
CONJ	conjunction	PL	plural
DEL	delayed	PROG	progressive
DS	different subject	PST	past
DUB	dubitative	REMPST	remote past
ERG	ergative	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	SIM	simultaneity
FUT	future	SS	same subject
IMP	imperative	SUB	subordinator
IND	indicative	TOP	topic
IRR	irrealis	TR	transitive
MED	medial		

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