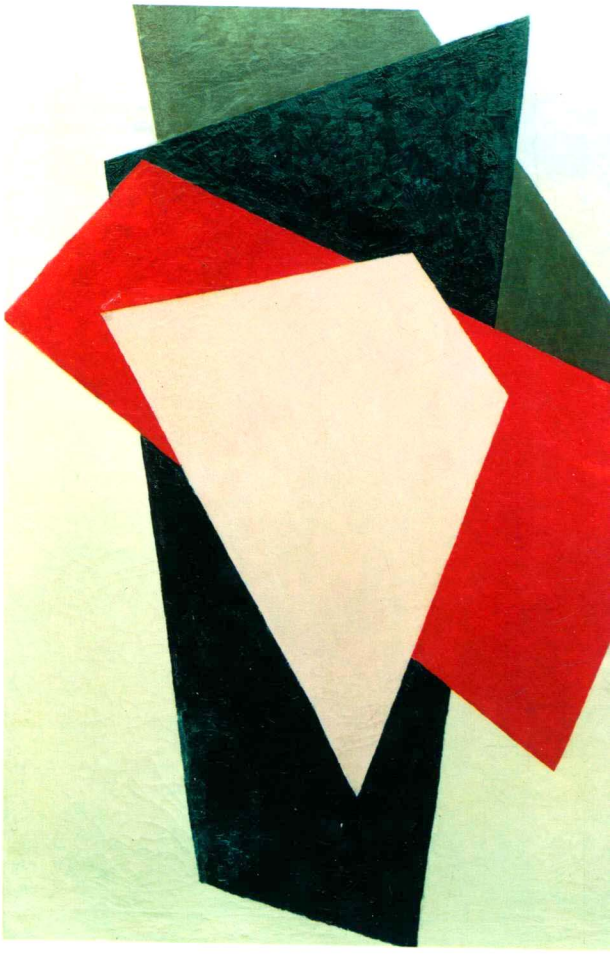
The Blackwell Companion to

Syntax

VOLUME V



Edited by

Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk

Blackwell Publishing

The Blackwell Companion to Syntax

Volume V

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With editorial assistance from Rob Goedemans and Bart Hollebrandse

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Praise for *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, Volumes I–V

"When I first started studying linguistics in 1960 it was possible for an assiduous student to read almost everything in the field. The success of the discipline has meant that those happy days are, happily, gone forever. Syntax is now so big that no one can read even a fraction of what is on offer. There have been two unfortunate results: first, today's syntacticians keep rediscovering old facts, often reinventing eccentric wheels; second, they keep complaining that other linguists ignore their work. The usual excuses are that the material we ought to have referred to is distributed, seemingly at random, among hundreds of books and articles; life is finite; institutional pressures are unrelenting; and it is hard enough keeping up with work done in one's own framework on one's own area of special interest, without trying to see what rival theorists in adjacent areas might have had to say on the matter at hand, however relevant in the long term their contribution might be.

Such excuses will no longer do. *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax* provides a comprehensive overview of the progress and achievements made in syntax over the last 35 years. A galaxy of international stars under the leadership of two distinguished linguists, Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk, has constructed an unparalleled and monumental survey of empirical facts and theoretical insights covering the entire field. Whether you are interested in parasitic gaps, Icelandic logophors, or quantifier scope ambiguity, you will find here the essential background to your own contribution. This is a major achievement and the Companion will rapidly become essential reading for all serious linguists."

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"For any serious researcher interested in theoretical linguistics, this incredible companion will remain an important and extremely useful source of reference for years to come."

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The compendium of puzzles will be a great resource for young investigators, joining the river at some point and wanting to know what was upstream as they find their way downstream."

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"In a rapidly moving field, it is essential to have an accessible repository of the empirical generalizations that fueled the theoretical debates. These generalizations have not only a historical value. It is often the case that the latest theoretical constructs tend to focus on the most recent empirical issues being discussed and ignore the previous ones. In this respect, this book provides a constant reminder of what needs to be incorporated in the current debate. It can be considered the empirical memory of the field."

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"*The Blackwell Companion to Syntax* will be an indispensable source for theoretical, descriptive, and applied linguists alike. Much of the syntactic knowledge accumulated since the *Aspects* is not easily accessible and some of it may even be in the world of oblivion for many linguists. Younger scholars may have difficulties to understand some of the work done in a by now obsolete theoretical framework. Others may want to have easy access to the analytic knowledge of earlier work in their daily research activities. Since the knowledge presented in the Companion is largely independent of the various stages of syntactic theorizing, it can profitably be used by researchers working on syntactic problems whatever their theoretical background may be. The contributions of the present encyclopedia have been written by top scholars in the field covering practically all important issues addressed in syntax during the last forty years or so. It will certainly serve as an essential research tool for a great number of linguists for many years to come."

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"*The Blackwell Companion to Syntax* is a very important accomplishment. Everaert and Van Riemsdijk have brought together a large group of internationally reputed researchers, each of whom analyzes a particular empirical domain that has played a central role in the development of syntactic theory. It is a valuable reference and pedagogical tool. I have no doubt that this work will benefit not only undergraduate and postgraduate students of linguistics but anyone interested in syntax and in the remarkable intellectual history of the field."

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"This is the most impressive collective endeavor in the field of syntax ever attempted. It summarizes the (basic) descriptive results obtained for a great many syntactic phenomena in the last fifty years of research in generative grammar. It is an indispensable work of reference for students and researchers alike."

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"Since the beginnings of generative grammar, our knowledge of the syntactic aspects of the human language faculty has increased exponentially, with every investigation giving rise to ever deeper investigations and to cross-linguistic research. Every time I write a paper, prepare my lectures, or advise students on their research, I am confronted with the problem of accessing a vast body of syntactic knowledge. With 77 case studies written by leading syntacticians, *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax* is certain to help address this fundamental problem."

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"The past 30 years have seen an explosion in the breadth and depth of linguistic research, as focused theoretical perspective has sharpened empirical investigations. The Companion is a time capsule for the results of empirically significant projects, ensuring that the results of the past are not lost in the future. Any scholar who opens the volumes will find there a wealth of wide-ranging, scholarly, and theoretically informed discussion of just about every syntactic phenomenon currently known to the field – from double nominatives to topicalization; from the spray/load alternation to SOV languages. The insightful and rich chapters come from some of the extraordinary researchers of the time period. If the next generation of scholars does not utilize this marvelous resource, it will not be the fault of the editors and authors, and they can be sure that current researchers will profit immediately from this outstanding project."

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Preface

Generative grammar has always set its aims high. From its inception in the 1950s, the ambition has been to go beyond observational and descriptive adequacy to reach explanatory bliss. Important work would be about 'conditions on transformations' rather than on 'some properties of *wh*-movement in English', about the 'transformational cycle' rather than on verb clusters.[1] This is what science should be like. And while earlier attempts at achieving a semblance of an explanatory theory were often clumsy and inadequate, these past forty or so years have shown that truly fundamental questions can now be asked and addressed.[2] This emphasis on theory has not, of course, altered the fact that linguistics is a thoroughly empirical science, but data and analyses are seen as what they are: tools to help us understand the structure and properties of the human language faculty. It is the fate of tools that when the product is finished they are put away. When some (as it turns out controversial) data from Italian had suggested that the notion of bounding node should be parameterized, we then forgot about the Italian data and happily proceeded with the idea of parameters.[3] Numerous other examples could be added.

More generally, the data and analyses that at some point in the history of generative grammar played an important, sometimes even a crucial, role have a tendency to fade into the background rather quickly.[4] This effect is particularly strong when the piece of theorizing they helped to establish becomes obsolete, but it is even true when the theoretical insight persists over time. As time went on, and as generative grammar (using the term in the broad sense, including all its theoretical diversity), in its explosive success, expanded to dozens of countries, hundreds of universities and colleges, and many hundreds of researchers, the muckheap of once useful but then discarded empirical material continued to grow. Old hands in the field may still be served by a good memory, helping them to dig out some of these rejects if they seem useful at some later stage, but successive new generations of young linguists simply don't have access to the wealth of data, generalizations, and analyses that might be terribly important to their research if only they knew about them.

But it is not only a problem for younger generations. Researchers who like to keep track of developments, particularly (but not only) in those subfields that are not directly related to their own research, or who work in closely related disciplines such as, for instance, psycholinguistics or sociolinguistics, find it increasingly difficult to keep track. Current handbooks are often concerned with current theorizing, but only marginally with the history of the various versions of the theory and even less with the empirical generalizations underlying those theories. As a consequence, an ever smaller percentage of the potentially useful empirical material is treated in standard textbooks, and hence the rest is not part of the knowledge that researchers and students in the field may be expected to possess.

It might be objected that the articles in which all this wisdom is stored are, after all, still around in the journals, in the books, in the libraries. But given their theoretical focus, the titles are often unrevealing as far as the empirical domain is concerned, keywords are notoriously absent or unreliable, relevant data are scattered over several articles, and, most importantly, the presentation of the data in these articles is subservient to the theoretical claims that are made and hence not presented in succinct, didactically useful ways.[5] So searching for the relevant materials, even if you know what to look for, is often hard. For young researchers, such a search task is doubly difficult because very often the descriptive generalizations are presented in a jargon and formalism that were characteristic of the theoretical framework at the time, sometimes decades ago. Who thinks to look up the term 'backward equi' when looking for data relevant to what we now call exceptional case marking (ECM)?[6]

Having a good, theoretically oriented mind is not enough. You cannot gain an understanding of the abstract properties of Universal Grammar without having any ideas about interesting empirical areas that might provide the crucial evidence (or counter-evidence) for your claims. But these flashes of empirical insight can only come if you have enough knowledge in your head to start the neurons firing away. And you can only have that knowledge if you have been taught about a certain range of phenomena in a variety of languages, or if you have had access to a repository of such materials to work through by yourself. The problem is that such courses are rarely taught, the reason being more often than not that the relevant data are not available in a form that is didactically usable.

This is the lacuna that we are hoping to fill with *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. In these five volumes, we offer you 77 case studies of syntactic phenomena that should, at least partly, fill the gap and constitute an important research tool for the working linguist and for teachers and students of syntax (and its interfaces). In bringing these chapters together, we were guided by a working definition of what a syntactic case study was supposed to be. The following properties were thought to be central: *a well-delimited empirical area (both as to the construction(s) involved and as to the languages in which the phenomena are found) whose analysis has, at one time or another in the history of generative grammar, played an important role in the theoretical debates at that time.* More often than not, we will find that such results are relatively robust in the sense that they will stand and

be interpretable regardless of various innovations or adaptations of the version of the theory in which they first saw the light.

The so-called 'verb-raising' construction in Continental-West Germanic languages (chapter 75) will serve as an example. Much has been published on this subject, a reasonable degree of consensus exists about the most important properties of the construction, its analyses have been frequently used to support theoretical proposals, etc. Nevertheless, the existence of this complex of facts is hardly known outside the small group of specialists in this field, the main properties cannot be presupposed as common knowledge, and no one in the field can be properly held responsible for ignoring the verb-raising construction. In a situation like that, the chapter's presentation will be oriented toward combining views and formulating them in such a way that they will be accessible to researchers from various approaches to the theory of grammar.

In addition, of course, the delimitation had to be such that the empirical subdomain in question could be treated in manageable chapters. It would have been unthinkable to include a case about relative clauses: even a thick monograph would not do such a topic justice. But the subtopic of free (headless) relative clauses (chapter 27), a topic that in the late 1970s and the 1980s generated a considerable literature, is a typical example of what we had in mind.

What about the theory? We wanted to make the empirical generalizations, the insights into the properties of constructions, the main focus of each chapter. But wherever useful and possible, of course, reference can be and is made to the theoretical issues that the phenomena in question were or even are relevant to. This introduces a certain bandwidth, and indeed some of our authors stress the empirical side more strongly while others swerve more easily into theoretical discussions. With a project this size it has been impractical to impose more uniformity than we have achieved here. It was, frankly, not always easy to convince our authors to take time away from their primary theoretical research to write the chapters we asked them to. And it was also on occasion hard to curb the attention that they tended to give to theoretical issues and their own role in those theoretical developments. More generally, wherever possible we suggested that theoretical issues be addressed in robust, sustainable ways, not in terms that would reflect the fads and the terminological peculiarities typical of a specific brief period in the short history of generative grammar.

It does not take a great deal of knowledge of the field to realize that an enterprise such as the present one is a highly open-ended affair. Even if we had achieved complete coverage at the time of appearance, new cases would soon present themselves. But complete coverage is unattainable in the first place. It is always possible to come up with other potential cases, not represented in the present work. Even now we already have a number of ideas about cases that might be added and which may at some point be added to the present collection. Nevertheless, we believe that the coverage that the present collection achieves is very considerable. So much ground is covered that already it seems doubtful that future graduate students of linguistics could be expected to work through all of this material. If a student manages part of it and has the rest at his or her disposal

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