THE BLOOMSBURY COMPANION TO SYNTAX

EDITED BY
SILVIA LURAGHI
& CLAUDIA PARODI

BLOOMSBURY

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	adjective
A	agent argument of a transitive clause or agent-like argument of a canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb, adverbial
AGR, agr	agreement
AgrP	agreement phrase
ALL	allative
AN	Adjective-Noun
ANTIP	antipassive
AP	Adjectival Phrase
APPL	applicative
ARG-ST	Argument structure (feature)
Art	Article
ASP	aspect
Aux	Auxiliary, auxiliary constituent
B, P	classes of Garifuna verb stems
BCG	Berkeley Construction Grammar
BEN	benefactive
C	Complementizer, complementizer head
CAUS	causative
C-I	Conceptual Interface
CIRC	circumstantial
CL, CLF	classifier
CNP	common noun phrase
CNTXT	Context (feature)
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONN	connective
COP	copula
CP	complementizer phrase
CVB	converb

D	determiner (category)
DA	Distinguished argument
DAT	dative
DE	Definiteness Effect
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
Dem	Demonstrative
Det	Determiner
DIR	direct
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DO	direct object
DP	Determiner Phrase
DTRS	Daughters (feature)
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EA	external argument
EPIS	epistemic
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
ERG	ergative
EST	Extended Standard Theory
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
EXPL	expletive
F	feminine
Foc	Focus
FoFC	Final over Final Constraint
FPL	feminine plural
FPR	Focus Prominence Rule
fr	Frame
FSG	feminine singular
FUT	future
FV	final vowel
G	goal argument of a three-argument clause
GB	Government and Binding
GEN	genitive
GN	Genitive-Noun
HD-DTR	Head daughter (feature)
HPSG	Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar
I, II	classes of Chickasaw agreement markers
I	inflection (Infl)
I′	intermediate-level phrase headed by I (Infl)
IA	internal argument
IC	Independent clause
IE	Indo-European
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INCL	inclusive

IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
Infl	inflection (category)
INFL	inflection node
INS	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
INV	inverse
IO	indirect object
IP	inflectional phrase
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LF	logical form
LOC	locative
M, Ma	masculine
MP	Minimalist Program
MSU	Meaning shift unit
MTR	Mother (feature)
N	neuter, noun
N-	non- (e.g. NSG: nonsingular, NPST: nonpast)
N′	intermediate-level phrase headed by N
NA	Noun-Adjective
n-constituent	negative constituent
NEG	negation, negative
NegP	negation phrase
N-F	non-feminine
NG	Noun-Genitive
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
NOM	nominative
NP	Noun phrase; Noun-Postposition
NPST	nonpast
NQA	Nominal-Quantificational asymmentry
NSR	Nuclear Stress Rule
NTC	No Tempering Conditions
O, OBJ	Object
OBL	oblique
OBV	obviative
OS	object-subject (constituent order)
OSV	Object Subject Verb
OT	Optimality Theory
OV	Object Verb
OVS	object-verb-subject (constituent order)
P	passive
P	patient argument of a two-argument transitive clause, patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb, Possessor, Preposition/Postposition
P1	first position, one-place predicate

P2	second position; two-place predicate
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PG	parasitic gaps
PHON	Phonology (feature)
PL	plural
PLD	Primary Linguistic Data
PN	Preposition-Noun
POS	Part-of-speech
POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional phrase
PRED	predicative
PRES	present
PRF	perfect
PRO	null subject pronoun in a control clause
Pro	Pronoun
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal/proximate
PRS	present
PST	past
PTC	partice
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive, purpose
PVF	perfective
Q	question: particle/marker
QUOT	quotative
R	Relative Clause
REC.PST	recent past
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative, relitivizer
REM.PST	remote past
RES	resultative
S(OV)	subject object verb
S(VO)	Subject verb object
S	sentence, single argument of canonical intransitive verb, Subject
Sa	single agent role argument of an intransitive clause
SAI	subject auxiliary inversion
SBCG	Sign-Based Construction Grammar
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SEM	Semantics (feature)
SG	singular
SO	subject-object (constituent order)

SOV	subject-object-verb (constituent order)
Sp	single patient role argument of an intransitive clause
Spec	Specifier, specifier position (X-bar theory)
SR	same reference, switch reference
STAT	stative
SUB	subordinate
SV	Subject Verb
SVO	subject-verb-object (constituent order)
SYN	Syntax (feature)
T, P, R	classes of Garifuna agreement markers
T	tense (category), theme argument of a three-argument clause
t	trace
TDPST	today past
TNS	tense
TOP, Top	Topic
TopP	Topic Phrase
TP	tense phrase
TR , TRANS	transitive
TVZ	Tlacolula Valley Zapotec
UG	Universal Grammar
UTAH	Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis
V S	verb-subject (constituent order)
v	light verb
V	verb (category)
V′	intermediate-level phrase headed by V
V1	Intransitive verb
V2	Verb second, Transitive verb
V3	Verb which occurs with a prepositional phrase
V4	Verb which typically occurs with a sentential object (complementizer)
VAL	Valence (feature)
VIS	visible
VO	Verb Object
VOC	vocative
VOS	verb-object-subject (constituent order)
vP	light verb phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
VS	Verb Subject
VSO	verb-subject-object (constituent order)
WCO	weak cross over
X	head (X-bar theory), intermediate projection
X′	intermediate-level phrase (X-bar theory)
X^0	head
XP	maximal projection
XP	phrase headed by X (X-bar theory), X phrase (with X = variable)

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Introduction

Syntax is perhaps the field of linguistics that has generated the biggest number of competing theoretical frameworks, to the effect that mutual communication is often virtually inexistent. It is therefore a big challenge to try and induce dialogue among researchers and students of different theoretical persuasions. In this book we present a collection of articles that touch on a wide range of aspects of syntactic research, with the aim to bring together different theoretical treatments of partly similar issues. In this way we offer a point of departure for those who are willing to foster intertheoretical dialogue.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part, which is focused on methodology, contains papers that discuss the way in which hypotheses are formulated and tested as well as current practices in data collection, in particular in field research and by handling electronic corpora. The second part, which constitutes the bulk of the volume, is an exhaustive collection of papers that discuss a variety of topics, including constituency and constituent structure, word order variation and special word order patterns, such as those in which certain items occur in second position in a sentence, grammatical relations, verbal voice and transitivity, coordination and subordination, negation, syntactic change and language acquisition. All these topics are treated from specific theoretical viewpoints, including formal and functional ones. In the third part we present some current approaches to syntax which we hold to be especially promising, and can provide the reader with some insight in the variety of possible directions for future research. A brief overview of the content of each chapter is given below.

In Chapters 1 and 2, "Hypothesis formation" and "Hypothesis testing in the Minimalist Program," William Croft and Mark Baker take opposite stances on the issue of how hypotheses are formed and tested when doing syntactic, or more in general linguistic research. While Croft suggests a distributional analysis as the basis for hypothesis formation, in which linguistic data play a crucial role in directing the linguist's theoretical assumptions, Baker favors an approach in which "one first considers the logical consequences of some theory that one finds appealing, and then goes on to test whether those consequences match up with observable data." Thus Croft favors a bottom up approach, while Baker suggests that a top down view is more promising. The contrast provides the reader with insights in two opposite ways of conceiving of the proper object and methodology of linguistic research.

The next two chapters, 3 "Field methods in syntactic research" by Marianne Mithun and 4 "Corpus methods in syntax" by Maria Freddi, go deeper into the issue of linguistic data, and show that the way in which they are collected is far from being only a practical matter. In particular, Mithun stresses the importance of avoiding interference from the linguist's native language when eliciting data from typologically distant languages. She shows that even widely used parallel corpora provided by translations that are commonly considered idiomatic, such as Bible translations, may not reflect actual language usage thus inducing false assumptions regarding language structure. The likelihood of certain topics to occur in spontaneous discourse has consequences on the type of grammatical constructions used by speakers and on their entrenchment in cognition. With data from her own fieldwork, Mithun illustrates a number of syntactic characteristics of Mohawk, including constituency, topic and antitopic construction, word order and subordination. She also shows how independent evidence is gained by the study of intonation, which can help isolate syntactic units. Attention for actual data and their frequency is not only crucial when describing "exotic" languages: much to the contrary, making use of wide collections of data changes one's understanding of language and syntax in general, by prompting "a novel view of syntax as inherently probabilistic," "challenging a categorical modeling of language" and replacing "grammaticality judgments with the recognition of variability, gradience and fuzzy phenomena" as Freddi puts it. Freddi further shows how research based on distribution and collocations favors a view of language that refrains from rigid separation of syntax from other linguistic levels, most notably the lexicon. This view is in line with recent approaches to constructions as instantiated in various versions of Construction Grammar (see for example Goldberg 1995, Lancaster 1987).

The second part of the book opens with three papers which view constituency form different perspectives. Chapter 5 "Constituents," by Marja-Liisa Helasvuo, takes a usage-based approach to language, whereby structure is viewed as emerging form usage in actual discourse, a process she calls "emergent constituentization." In much the same way as Mithun, Helasvuo also stresses the importance of prosody and intonation as means for singling out units in discourse. Based on data from speakers' repair practices and production of co-constructions in languages such as English, Japanese and Finnish, she further shows how researchers can observe the way in which speakers monitor the emergence of syntactic structures. Jairo Nunes discusses "X-bar Structure and Minimalism" in Chapter 6, thus following what Baker would call a typical top down approach to constituency. Under the assumption that "words combine into larger units with hierarchical structure," Nunes shows how the Minimalist Program has provided and is currently providing new insights to the issue of constituency as treated within the generative grammar framework. Chapter 7 "The Structure of NPs: Some insights on Case, empty

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