CAMBRIDGE TEXTBOOKS IN LINGUISTICS

Syntax

Structure, meaning and function

Robert D. Van Valin, Jr. Randy J. LaPolla

SYNTAX

STRUCTURE, MEANING AND FUNCTION

ROBERT D. VAN VALIN, JR

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

RANDY J. LAPOLLA

CITY UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG AND ACADEMIA SINICA, TAIWAN



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1R P, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2R U, United Kingdom 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011–4211, USA 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1997

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1997

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in 9/13pt Times Ten [GC]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

ISBN 0521495652 hardback ISBN 0521499151 paperback

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book began as transcripts of lectures given in a syntax course by the first author. They were used in courses at several universities over the years, and during that time many people, both students and faculty, gave suggestions, made comments and contributed to them in many ways. We would like to thank everyone who read and commented on the earliest versions of this text. In the past two years the transcripts have undergone an intense process of rethinking, rewriting, revising and expansion, and the resulting text owes a great deal to the many linguists who have read and commented on drafts, provided data and contributed in important ways. We would like to thank first and foremost our two editors from the Textbooks in Linguistics series, Bernard Comrie and Nigel Vincent, for their valuable comments and guidance. Jean-Pierre Koenig read the entire manuscript and provided many very helpful criticisms and suggestions. Balthasar Bickel, Knud Lambrecht and David Wilkins also contributed very useful comments and ideas on different parts of the text. We would also like to thank the following people for their valuable comments and suggestions: Keith Allan, Melissa Bowerman, R. M. W. Dixon, Yoko Hasegawa, Jeri Jaeger, Beth Levin, Wataru Nakamura, Dan Slobin, James Watters and Richard Weist.

A version of the manuscript was used in the first author's Syntax 2 course at SUNY Buffalo in spring semester, 1996, and we would like to thank the graduate students in the course for all of the invaluable input they gave us, especially Shingo Imai and Heechul Lee.

We would like to express our gratitude to the following people who provided us with data and shared their ideas and intuitions about it with us: Seydou S. Bengali (Bamanakan [Bambara]), Giulia Centineo (Italian), R. M. W. Dixon (Dyirbal), Yoko Hasegawa (Japanese), Shingo Imai (Japanese), Jean-Pierre Koenig (French), Aylin Kuntay (Turkish), Richard Lungstrum (Lakhota), Wataru Nakamura (Japanese), Suda Rangkupan (Thai), Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson (Icelandic), Sabine Stoll (Russian), Charles Walton (Sama), David Wilkins (Mparntwe Arrernte) and Milena Žic-Fuchs (Croatian).

The first author did a lot of writing on the book during two stints as a visitor in the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group at the Max-Planck-Institut für

Acknowledgments

Psycholinguistik in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. He would like to acknowledge the wonderful intellectual environment and to thank the members of the Cognitive Anthropology Group and the other scholars at the Institute for stimulating interactions on a variety of issues related to the book.

Finally, we would like to thank our families for their patience during the long writing process and for their encouragement and support.

NOTES FOR INSTRUCTORS

The purpose of this book is to provide an introduction to syntactic theory and analysis which can be used with both beginning and advanced students. The theoretical orientation of the presentation is laid out in chapter 1 and placed in the context of contemporary linguistic theories. There is more material in the book than could be easily covered in a single semester; accordingly, it has been organized in such a way as to facilitate breaking it up for introductory and more advanced courses.

If used as an introductory text, the book presupposes a standard introduction to the basic notions in syntax and morphology. The recommended sections for an introduction to syntactic theory course are:

chapter 1: all (optional)

chapter 2: all (section 2.4 optional)

chapter 3: all

chapter 4: sections 4.0-4.5

chapter 5: sections 5.0-5.4

chapter 6: all

chapter 7: sections 7.0–7.3 (section 7.3.2 optional)

chapter 8: sections 8.0–8.4 chapter 9: sections 9.0–9.2

Epilog: all (optional)

There are a number of options available when using the book for more advanced courses. First, if the introductory course were based on this book as well, then the sections listed above could be reviewed and then the more advanced material in the remaining sections could be worked through. Second, if the introductory course were based on GB or another generative theory, then presumably the material listed above could be covered more quickly, due to the students' familiarity with the major issues in syntactic theory. Many of the topics that are of particular concern to GB and related theories, e.g. binding, subjacency and quantifier scope, are dealt with in sections from chapters 5, 7 and 9 not listed above. Chapter 1 and the Epilog should definitely be included in such a course, since chapter 1 contrasts the orientation

Notes for instructors

of this book with that of GB and the Epilog deals with the important issue of language acquisition.

The exercises at the end of each chapter are keyed to specific sections in the chapter. This is indicated by a section number in square brackets at the end of the text part of the problem, e.g. '[section 3.2.1]'. This means that the student should be able to do the exercise after having mastered the material in that section. This will allow the instructor to assign exercises that are appropriate for the material covered. Inquiries, comments and suggestions regarding the exercises are welcome; please direct them to VANVALIN@ACSU.BUFFALO.EDU. An instructor's guide, including solutions to all of the exercises, is available from the first author.

There are suggested readings at the end of each chapter, and they are not limited to work sharing the same theoretical orientation as the book; rather, they are intended to direct the student toward important work on a particular topic from a variety of theoretical perspectives. We have not included a glossary of terms used in syntactic theory and analysis; we recommend R. L. Trask's A dictionary of grammatical terms in linguistics (London: Routledge, 1993) as a companion to this volume, as it contains a comprehensive list of terms with definitions, exemplifications and references.

ABBREVIATIONS

A, ACT Actor, actor of transitive verb AAJ Argument adjunct ABS Absolutive ACC Accusative ACS Accessible ACV Active, activated Adj(P) Adjective (phrase) ADV Adverb AFD Actual focus domain AJT Adjunct ALL Allative AN(IM) Animate ANT Anterior ANTI Antipassive AOR Aorist APL Applicative ARG Argument AR/J Argument or argument adjunct ART Article ASC Associative ASP Aspect ATV Active voice AUG Stem augment AUX Auxiliary BEN Benefactive CatG Categorial Grammar CAUS Causative CD Complement of degree CL Classifier

CL-A Clausal actor CL-U Clausal undergoer

List of abbreviations

- CLM Clause linkage marker
- CMPL Complementizer
- CMPV Completive
- CNTR Contrastive
 - CogG Cognitive Grammar
 - COM Comitative
- ConG Construction Grammar
- CONJ Conjunction
- CONT Continuative
 - COP Copula
 - DAT Dative
 - DCA Direct core argument
 - DCT Direct
 - DEC Declarative
 - DEF Definite(ness)
- DEIC Deictic
- DEM Demonstrative pronoun
- DEP Dependent
- DEPR Deprecating
 - DES Desiderative
 - DET Determiner
 - DfP Different pivot
 - DIM Diminutive
 - DIR Directional
 - dl Dual
 - d.n.a. does not apply
 - DO Direct object
 - DP Detached phrase
 - DS Different subject
 - d-S Derived intransitive subject
 - DT Different topic
- DUR Durative
- ECS Extra-core slot
- ERG Ergative
- EVID Evidential
 - EX Exclusive
- EXCL Exclamation
 - EXH Exhortative
 - EXT Extent of action
- F. FEM Feminine
 - FG Functional Grammar

- FIN Finite
- FOC Focus
- FUT Future
- GB Government and Binding Theory
- GEN Genitive
- GPSG Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar
 - HAB Habitual
- HPSG Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar
 - HS Hearsay
 - IC Immediate constituent
 - IF Illocutionary force
 - IIF Indirect information flow
 - IMM Immediate past
 - IMP Imperative
- IMPER Impersonal
 - IMPF Imperfective
 - INA Inactive
 - INAN Inanimate
 - INC Inclusive
- IND(IC) Indicative
 - INF Infinitive
 - INGR Ingressive
 - INES Inessive
 - INST Instrument, instrumental voice
 - INT Interrogative
 - INTR Intransitive
 - INTS Intensive
 - INV Inverse
 - IO Indirect object
 - IRR Irrealis
 - ISC Invariable syntactic controller
 - LAD Language acquisition device
 - LDP Left-detached position
 - LFG Lexical-Functional Grammar
 - LNK Linker
 - LOC Locative
 - LS Logical structure
 - LSC Layered structure of the clause
 - LSNP Layered structure of the noun phrase
- M. MASC Masculine
 - MID Middle voice

List of abbreviations

MOD Modality

MOM Momentaneous

NASP Nominal aspect

NCBR Non-clause-bounded reflexive

NEC Necessity

NEG Negative

N, NEUT Neuter

NFIN Non-finite

NM Noun marker

NMZ Nominalizer

NOM Nominative

N(P) Noun (phrase)

NPIP NP-initial position

NPST Non-past

nsg Non-singular

NUC Nucleus

NUM Number

OBJ Object

OBL Oblique

OBLIG Obligation

OBV Obviative

OCA Oblique core argument

OP Operator

p Person

P Patient (object) of transitive verb

P&P Principles and Parameters Theory

PART Participle

PASS Passive

P(A)ST Past

PER Periphery

PERF Perfect

PFD Potential focus domain

pl Plural

PNCT Punctual

PNM Proper noun marker

PO Primary object

PoCS Postcore slot

POSS Possessive

P(P) Pre-/postposition (phrase)

PPP Past participle passive

PrCS Precore slot

xxvi

- PRDM Predicate marker
- PRED Predicate
- PRES Present
- PRFV Perfective
 - PRO Pronoun
- PROG Progressive
- PROP Proper noun
- PROX Proximate
 - PrP Pragmatic pivot
- PRPR Proprietive case
 - PRT Particle
- PRTV Partitive
 - PRV Preradical vowel
 - PSA Privileged syntactic argument(s)
- PSBL Possibility
- PSTP Past participle
- PURP Purposive
 - PVB Preverb
 - **Q** Question
- ONT Quantifier
- QUOT Quotation, quotative
 - RDP Right-detached position
- REAL Realis
 - REC Recent past
 - REF Referential NP
- REFL Reflexive
 - REL Relative clause marker
 - RelG Relational Grammar
- REPET Repetitive
 - RRG Role and Reference Grammar
 - S Subject of intransitive verb
 - SBJ Subjunctive
 - SEQ Sequential conjunction
 - SFG Systemic Functional Grammar
 - sg Singular
 - SIM Simultaneous action
 - SmC Semantic controller
 - SMLF Semelfactive aspect
 - SO Secondary object
 - SP Same pivot
 - SPEC (Referential-)specific

List of abbreviations

- S/R Switch-reference marker
 - SS Same subject
- STA Status
- SUB Subordinator
- SUBJ Subject
- SUFF Suffix
 - TEL Telic
 - TM Terminal marker
 - TNP Transitive, non-past
 - TNS Tense
 - TOP Topic
- TPAST Past tense earlier today
- TRANS Transitive
 - UG Universal grammar
- U, UND Undergoer
 - V(P) Verb (phrase)
 - VSP Variable syntactic pivot
 - WG Word Grammar
- YPAST Past tense yesterday

Arabic numbers refer to Bantu noun class agreement markers or person in other examples. Roman numerals refer to Dyirbal noun classes.

CONTENTS

	List of figures	Х
	List of tables	xv
	Acknowledgments	xix
	Notes for instructors	xxi
	List of abbreviations	xxiii
1	The goals of linguistic theory	1
1.0	Introduction	1
1.1	Goals of linguistic theory	2
1.2	Explanation in linguistics	4
1.3	Contrasting perspectives on the goals of linguistic theory	8
1.4	Concluding remarks	15
	Further reading	16
2	Syntactic structure, I: simple clauses and noun phrases	17
	Introduction	17
2.1	General theoretical issues	17
2.2	The layered structure of the clause in simple sentences	25
2.3	The layered structure of adpositional and noun phrases	52
2.4	Heads and headedness	67
2.5	Conclusion: the nature of morphosyntactic structure	69
	Further reading	75
	Exercises	76
3	Semantic representation, I: verbs and arguments	82
3.0	Introduction	82
3.1	A typology of states of affairs and their participants	82
3.2	The lexical representation of verbs and their arguments	90
	Summary	128
	Further reading	129
	Exercises	130
		vii

Contents

	4 Semantic representation, II: macroroles, the lexicon	
	and noun phrases	139
4.	0 Introduction	139
4.	1 Semantic macroroles	139
4.	2 Valence, transitivity and macrorole assignment	147
	3 Lexical entries for verbs	154
4.	The representation of adjuncts and operators	159
4.:	5 Linking syntactic and semantic representations	
	(a brief introduction)	172
	6 Lexical rules	178
4.	7 The semantic representation of nouns and noun phrases	184
4.8	3 Summary	195
	Further reading	195
	Exercises	196
5	5 Information structure	199
5.0) Introduction	199
	Focus structure	201
	2. Focus types	206
	The morphosyntactic coding of focus structure	210
	The formal representation of focus structure	214
	Focus structure and the scope of negation and quantification	219
	Intrasentential pronominalization	223
	Intersentential pronominalization	231
5.8	Syntactic templates, linking and focus structure	235
	Further reading	235
	Exercises	236
6	Grammatical relations	242
	Introduction	242
	Conceptions of grammatical relations	242
6.2	The cross-linguistic diversity of grammatical relations	250
	A theory of grammatical relations	274
	Discourse reference-tracking mechanisms and voice	285
6.5	Some typological issues	303
	Further reading	309
	Exercises	309
	Linking syntax and semantics in simple sentences	317
	Introduction	317
7.1	Semantic and syntactic representations: a brief review	320

		Content
7.2	2 The linking algorithms	324
7.3	3 Case marking, agreement and adposition assignment	352
7.4	The two phases of linking	384
7.5	5 Reflexivization	392
7.6	Focus structure, linearization and linking	417
7.7	7 Templates, constructions and linking	430
	Further reading	436
	Exercises	437
8	Syntactic structure, II: complex sentences and	
	noun phrases	441
8.0	Introduction	441
8.1	Theoretical issues	441
8.2	Levels of juncture	442
	Nexus relations	448
8.4	The interaction of nexus and juncture	454
8.5	Focus structure in complex sentences	484
8.6	The structure of complex noun phrases	492
8.7	Syntactic templates for complex sentences	505
	Further reading	507
	Exercises	508
9	Linking syntax and semantics in complex sentences	517
9.0	Introduction	517
9.1	Linking in clausal, core and nuclear junctures	517
9.2	Case marking in complex sentences	575
9.3	Linking in complex noun phrases	590
9.4	Reflexivization in complex sentences	604
9.5	Constraints on linking in WH-questions and related	
	constructions	615
	Further reading	634
	Exercises	634
	Epilog: the goals of linguistic theory revisited	640
	Notes	650
	References	676
	Index of languages	703
	Subject index	706

FIGURES

2.1	Transformational analysis of non-local case assignment	19
2.2	Organization of the theory of grammar to be presented	21
2.3	IC representation of Dyirbal and English clause structures	24
2.4	IC representation of Lakhota and English clause structures	24
2.5	Universal oppositions underlying clause structure	25
2.6	Components of the layered structure of the clause	26
2.7	Formal representation of the layered structure of the clause	31
2.8	English LSC	32
2.9	Japanese LSC	32
2.10	LSC of English and Dyirbal clauses	33
2.11	LSC of Lakhota and English clauses	34
2.12	English sentence with precore slot and left-detached position	36
2.13	Postcore slot in Japanese	37
2.14	Abstract LSC including extra-core slots and detached	
	positions	38
2.15	Operator projection in LSC	46
2.16	LSC with constituent and operator projections	49
2.17	English LSC	50
2.18	Japanese LSC	50
2.19	LSC of English sentences with verbal and adjectival	
	predicates	51
2.20	Prepositional phrases	53
2.21	Head-marking predicative and non-predicative PP	
	in Jakaltek	54
	LSNP in English	54
2.23	LSNP of English NP headed by deverbal nominal	55
2.24	The general schema of the LSNP	57
2.25	Parallels between events and things	58
2.26	LSNP with operators in English and Mandarin Chinese	59
.27	Possessive NP constructions in English and Lakhota	61
2.28	Representation of demonstrative pronouns	62