

The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax

Syntax – the study of sentence structure – has been at the center of generative linguistics from its inception, and has developed rapidly and in various directions. *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax* provides a historical context for what is happening in the field of generative syntax today, a survey of the various generative approaches to syntactic structure available in the literature, and an overview of the state of the art in the principal modules of the theory and the interfaces with semantics, phonology, information structure, and sentence processing, as well as linguistic variation and language acquisition. This indispensable resource for advanced students, professional linguists (generative and non-generative alike), and scholars in related fields of inquiry presents a comprehensive survey of the field of generative syntactic research in all its variety, written by leading experts and providing a proper sense of the range of syntactic theories calling themselves generative.

MARCEL DEN DIKKEN is a professor of linguistics at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.



CAMBRIDGE HANDBOOKS IN LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Genuinely broad in scope, each handbook in this series provides a complete state-of-the-field overview of a major sub-discipline within language study and research. Grouped into broad thematic areas, the chapters in each volume encompass the most important issues and topics within each subject, offering a coherent picture of the latest theories and findings. Together, the volumes will build into an integrated overview of the discipline in its entirety.

Published titles

The Cambridge Handbook of Phonology, edited by Paul de Lacy The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching, edited by Barbara E. Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio

The Cambridge Handbook of Child Language, edited by Edith L. Bavin

The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages, edited by Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank

The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics, edited by Rajend Mesthrie
The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics, edited by Keith Allan and

The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics, edited by Keith Allan and Kasia M. Jaszczolt

The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy, edited by Bernard Spolsky

The Cambridge Handbook of Second Language Acquisition, edited by Julia Herschensohn and Martha Young-Scholten

The Cambridge Handbook of Biolinguistics, edited by Cedric Boeckx and Kleanthes K. Grohmann

The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax, edited by Marcel den Dikken

Further titles planned for the series

The Cambridge Handbook of Communication Disorders, edited by Louise Cummings

The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics, edited by Stockwell and Whiteley

The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology, edited by Enfield, Kockelman and Sidnell

The Cambridge Handbook of Morphology, edited by Hippisley and Stump

The Cambridge Handbook of Historical Syntax, edited by Ledgeway and Roberts

The Cambridge Handbook of Formal Semantics, edited by Maria Aloni and Paul Dekker

The Cambridge Handbook of English Corpus Linguistics, edited by Douglas Biber and Randi Reppen

The Cambridge Handbook of English Historical Linguistics, edited by Merja Kytö and Päivi Pahta



The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax

Edited by

Marcel den Dikken





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521769860

© Cambridge University Press 2013

This publication 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 2013

415-dc23

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by the MPG Books Group

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

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax / Edited by Marcel den Dikken.
pages cm
Handbook of Generative Syntax
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-521-76986-0
1. Grammar, Comparative and general – Syntax. 2. Generative grammar. I. Dikken,
Marcel den, 1965– editor of compilation. II. Title: Handbook of Generative Syntax.
P291.C326 2013

2013017092

ISBN 978-0-521-76986-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of contributors		page vii
Pref	ace	ix
Par	t I Background	1
1	Introduction Marcel den Dikken	3
2	Brief overview of the history of generative syntax	
	Howard Lasnik and Terje Lohndal	26
3	Goals and methods of generative syntax Frederick J. Newmeyer	61
Par	t II Modern generative approaches to the study of sentence	
	structure	93
4	Principles and Parameters theory and Minimalism	
	Żeljko Bošković	95
5	Minimalism and Optimality Theory Hans Broekhuis and	
_	Ellen Woolford	122
	Lexical-Functional Grammar Peter Sells	162
7	Phrase structure grammar James P. Blevins and Ivan A. Sag	202
8	Tree Adjoining Grammar Robert Frank	226
Par	t III Syntactic structures	263
9	Argument structure and argument structure	
	alternations Gillian Ramchand	265
10	The syntax of predication Caroline Heycock	322
11	Lexical categories and (extended) projection Norbert Corver	353
12	The functional structure of the sentence, and	
	cartography Luigi Rizzi	425
13	Adverbial and adjectival modification	458



vi Contents

Par	t IV Syntactic processes: their nature, locality, and motivation	485
14	Economy of derivation and representation Samuel D. Epstein,	
	Hisatsugu Kitahara, Miki Obata, and T. Daniel Seely	487
15	Syntax, binding, and patterns of anaphora Ken Safir	515
16	Raising and control Maria Polinsky	577
17	Agreement and Case Mark C. Baker	607
18	The locality of syntactic dependencies Marcel den Dikken	
	and Antje Lahne	655
Par	t V Syntax and the internal interfaces	699
19	Ellipsis phenomena Jeroen van Craenenbroeck and	0,5
1)	Jason Merchant	701
20	Tense, aspect, and modality Karen Zagona	746
21	Negation and negative polarity Hedde Zeijlstra	793
22	The syntax of scope and quantification Veneeta Dayal	827
23	Syntax, information structure, and prosody Daniel Büring	860
Par	t VI Syntax and the external interfaces	897
24	Microsyntactic variation Sjef Barbiers	899
25	Parameters: the pluses and the minuses Rosalind Thornton	
	and Stephen Crain	927
26	Syntax and the brain Jon Sprouse and Ellen F. Lau	971
References		
Index of language names		1140
Index		1143



Contributors

Artemis Alexiadou, Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Stuttgart

Mark C. Baker, Professor, Department of Linguistics, Rutgers University Sjef Barbiers, Professor, Meertens Institute (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences), and Utrecht University

James P. Blevins, Assistant Director of Research, University of Cambridge **Željko Bošković**, Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Connecticut

Hans Broekhuis, Senior researcher, Meertens Institute (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences)

Daniel Büring, Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Vienna

Norbert Corver, Professor, Utrecht Institute of Linguistics (Onderzoeksinstituut voor Taal en Spraak), Utrecht University

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck, Assistant Professor, Center for Research in Syntax, Semantics, and Phonology (CRISSP), Hogeschool-Universiteit Brussel

Stephen Crain, Distinguished Professor, Department of Linguistics and ARC Centre of Excellence in Cognition and its Disorders, Macquarie University

Veneeta Dayal, Professor, Department of Linguistics, Rutgers University **Marcel den Dikken,** Professor, Linguistics Program, CUNY Graduate Center

Samuel D. Epstein, Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan

Robert Frank, Professor, Department of Linguistics, Yale University **Caroline Heycock**, Professor, Department of Linguistics and English Language, University of Edinburgh



viii List of contributors

- **Hisatsugu Kitahara,** Professor, Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Keio University
- **Antje Lahne,** Assistant Professor, Department of Linguistics, Universitity of Konstanz
- **Howard Lasnik,** Distinguished University Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Maryland
- **Ellen F. Lau,** Assistant Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Maryland
- **Terje Lohndal**, Associate Professor, Department of Modern Foreign Languages, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim
- **Jason Merchant,** Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago
- **Frederick J. Newmeyer,** Professor Emeritus, Department of Linguistics, University of Washington; Adjunct Professor, University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University
- **Miki Obata,** Assistant Professor, Faculty of Humanities, Law, and Economics, Mie University
- Maria Polinsky, Professor, Department of Linguistics, Harvard University Gillian Ramchand, Professor, Institute for Linguistics/CASTL-Center for Advanced Study in Theoretical Linguistics, University of Tromsø
- **Luigi Rizzi,** Professor, Interdepartmental Center of Cognitive Studies on Language (Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Cognitivi sul Linguaggio), University of Siena
- Ken Safir, Professor, Department of Linguistics, Rutgers University
 Ivan A. Sag, Professor, Department of Linguistics, Stanford University
 T. Daniel Seely, Professor, Linguistics Program, Eastern Michigan
 University
- **Peter Sells,** Professor, Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York
- **Jon Sprouse,** Assistant Professor, Department of Cognitive Sciences, University of California, Irvine
- **Rosalind Thornton,** Associate Professor, Department of Linguistics and ARC Centre of Excellence in Cognition and its Disorders, Macquarie University
- **Ellen Woolford,** Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
- **Karen Zagona,** Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Washington
- **Hedde Zeijlstra,** Assistant Professor, Department of Dutch Linguistics, University of Amsterdam



Preface

This handbook was an ambitious project – and as Sir Humphrey Appleby would never fail to remind his (Prime) Minister, Jim Hacker, in the episodes of the legendary BBC series *Yes Minister* and *Yes Prime Minister*, the epithet 'ambitious' usually means 'beyond an individual's capacity' or even 'dangerous'. If I have managed to avoid the many potential pitfalls of an undertaking of this magnitude and complexity, and have steered clear of the dangers inherent in it, I certainly have many people to thank for it.

Before I thank the people who have helped bring this project to fruition, I should mention the essential role played, at the very outset, by Maria Polinsky. If Masha had not suggested my name to the people at Cambridge University Press as a potential editor of the syntax handbook that they were seeking to publish, and had not instilled in me the necessary confidence to take this project on, I would never have been in the happy position to write this preface and to present this book to you, the reader. I will be eternally grateful to Masha for giving me this opportunity and for convincing me that I could pull this off.

Two of my compatriot colleagues, Hans Broekhuis and Norbert Corver, and my CUNY colleague Christina Tortora, also made immensely valuable contributions to this project at its inception. They served as sounding boards for the ideas that I had put together on the content and organization of the handbook. Whatever its shortcomings, the finished project is infinitely better than it would have been if I had not listened to and acted upon their input.

Masha, Hans, and Norbert all ended up contributing chapters to the handbook, and Christina served as the reviewer of one of the chapters. This leads me to some heartfelt words of gratitude toward the authors and reviewers for the handbook. It was very gratifying to see so many colleagues respond immediately and enthusiastically to my invitation to



Preface

contribute a chapter to the book. Almost all the linguists I approached signed on to the project. There were a few personnel changes along the way (I am especially grateful to Jon Sprouse and Ellen Lau for stepping in so late in the game, and for going about the writing of their difficult chapter so expeditiously and efficiently), and three of the chapters originally planned and solicited did not materialize; but overall, the response to this project has been overwhelmingly positive. I thank the authors for their excellent work on their chapters.

Each chapter, besides being commented on by the editor, was sent to one external reader. The reviewers were asked to evaluate their chapter for content and presentation as well as adherence to the detailed guidelines provided by the editor to the authors. I am very grateful for the highly valuable input provided by the reviewers, which led to many substantive and presentational improvements.

At the Press, I thank Helen Barton and Joanna Breeze for their excellent support throughout the project, and Adrian Stenton for his copy-editing work. Helen deserves special thanks for always backing me on my suggestions, responding promptly to my queries, and keeping my spirits up with her positive attitude.

At the CUNY Graduate Center, I am very grateful to Michelle Johnson for helping me to keep track of progress (there was a time at which some chapters had not been written at all, others were being reviewed, a third set was being revised, and a few chapters were already finished in their revised form; Michelle's spreadsheets helped me to stay on top of things), and for her wizardry with Word's index function in linking the index entries to their occurrences in the chapters.

Finally, my special thanks go to my most precious one, my friends and my family for their support throughout this period.