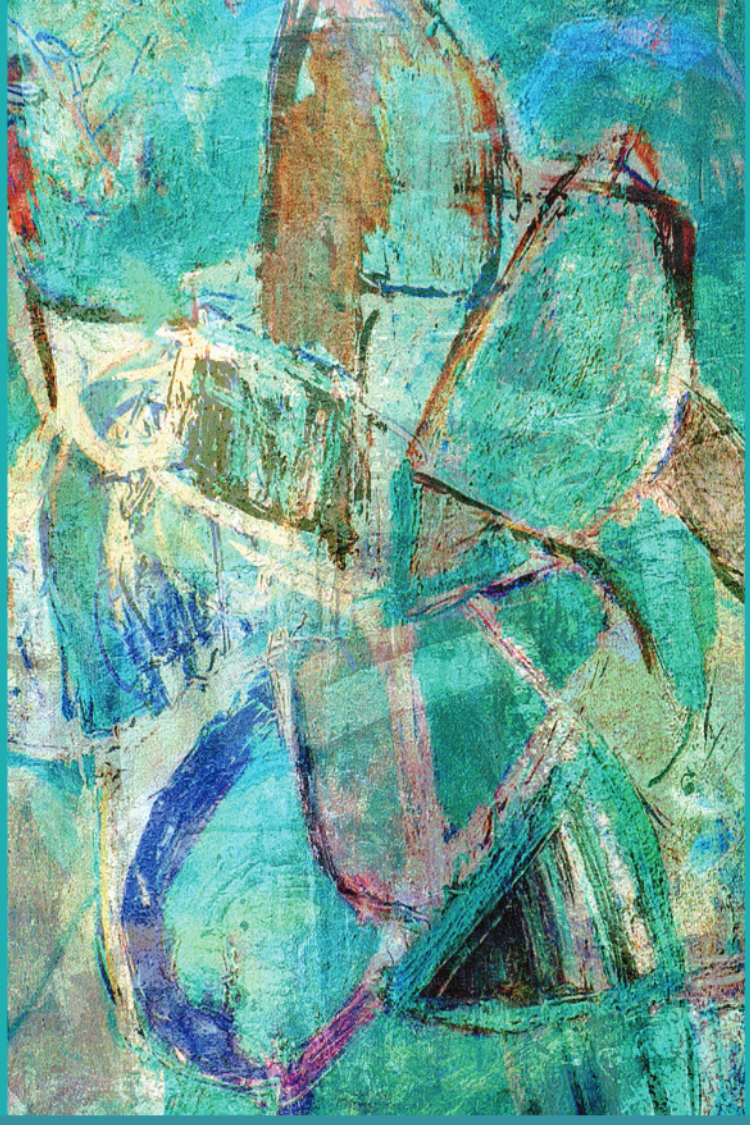

LEXICAL-FUNCTIONAL SYNTAX

JOAN BRESNAN, ASH ASUDEH,
IDA TOIVONEN AND STEPHEN WECHSLER

SECOND EDITION

WILEY Blackwell

Lexical-Functional Syntax

Second Edition

Joan Bresnan
Stanford University

Ash Asudeh
University of Oxford & Carleton University

Ida Toivonen
Carleton University

Stephen Wechsler
The University of Texas at Austin

WILEY Blackwell

This second edition first published 2016

© 2016 Joan Bresnan, Ash Asudeh, Ida Toivonen, and Stephen Wechsler

Edition History: Blackwell Publishers Ltd (1e, 2001)

Registered Office
John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

Editorial Offices
350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK
The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Joan Bresnan, Ash Asudeh, Ida Toivonen, and Stephen Wechsler to be identified as the authors of this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book.

Limit of Liability/Disclaimer of Warranty: While the publisher and authors have used their best efforts in preparing this book, they make no representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy or completeness of the contents of this book and specifically disclaim any implied warranties of merchantability or fitness for a particular purpose. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services and neither the publisher nor the author shall be liable for damages arising herefrom. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bresnan, Joan, author.
Lexical-functional syntax / Joan Bresnan. – Second edition.
pages cm. – (Blackwell textbooks in linguistics)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4051-8781-7 (paperback)
1. Grammar, Comparative and general–Syntax. 2. Lexical-functional grammar. I. Title.
P291.B726 2015
415–dc23

2015006866

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

Cover image: © dpaint / Shutterstock

Set in 10/13pt Sabon by Aptara Inc., New Delhi, India

1 2016

Contents

Preface to the First Edition xi
Preface to the Second Edition xv
Acknowledgments xvii

I Motivation for the LFG Architecture 1

1 Nonconfigurationality 3
Further reading 10

2 Movement Paradoxes 11
2.1 Theoretical assumptions 15
Further reading and discussion 19

3 Lexicality and Argument Structure 21
3.1 Two approaches to passive relation changes 21
3.2 The lexicality of relation changes 23
3.2.1 English passive verb forms 24
3.2.2 Adjectives versus verbs 24
3.2.3 Participle–adjective conversion 25
3.2.4 Passive participles convert to adjectives 25
3.2.5 Differences between adjectival and verbal passives explained 27
3.2.6 Differences between adjectival and verbal passives unexplained 28
3.2.7 Conclusion: passivization is lexical 32
3.3 Passivization with and without movement 32
Further reading and discussion 36

II Formally Modeling the Architecture 39

4 A Formal Model of Syntactic Structure 41
4.1 Design principles 41
4.1.1 Principle I: variability 41
4.1.2 Principle II: universality 42
4.1.3 Principle III: monotonicity 43

4.2 The definition of f-structures 44
4.3 The description of f-structures 46
4.4 The correspondence between c- and f-structures 48
4.5 The solution algorithm 54
Problems 58
4.6 Defining versus constraining equations 59
4.7 Completeness and coherence 62
Problems 63
4.8 Functional uncertainty 63
4.9 Sets of f-structures 70
4.10 Conclusion 71
Further reading 72

5 Monotonicity and Some of Its Consequences 73
5.1 Monotonicity 73
5.2 Relation changes and monotonicity 76
5.3 Information and form 79
5.3.1 The fragmentability of language 79
5.3.2 The nonconfigurationality of language 82
5.3.3 Apparent information flow through external structure 83
5.3.4 Noncompositionality 84
5.4 Conclusion 85

III Inflectional Morphology and Phrase Structure Variation 87

6 A Theory of Structure–Function Mappings 89
6.1 Grammatical functions 94
6.1.1 Basics of grammatical functions 94
6.1.2 Classification of grammatical functions 100
6.2 The organization of c-structure categories 101
6.2.1 Endocentricity and X′ structures 101
6.2.2 Endocentric mapping to f-structure 104
Problems 111
6.3 Exocentric categories 112
6.3.1 Lexocentricity and S 112
6.3.2 S and endocentricity 115
6.3.3 Nonprojecting words 116
6.3.4 Summary of the structure–function principles 117
6.4 Toward a typology 118
6.5 Effects of economy of expression 119
Further reading and discussion 124
Appendix: X′ theory 125

7 Endocentricity and Heads 129
7.1 Head mobility 129
7.1.1 Verb order in Welsh 130
7.2 Endocentricity and extended heads 135
7.3 Distributed exponence 138
7.3.1 Wambaya c-structure 139
7.3.2 The Wambaya tense system 144
7.4 Conclusion 146
Problems 147
Exercise 147

8 Pronoun Incorporation and Agreement 151
8.1 Chicheŵa 157
8.1.1 Word order 161
8.1.2 Independent pronouns 162
8.1.3 Contrastive focus 164
8.1.4 Interrogatives and relatives 165
8.1.5 Other syntactic and phonological differences 166
8.1.6 Functional ambiguity of subject and topic 167
8.2 Navajo 171
Exercise 1 180
Exercise 2 180
8.3 Plains Cree and inverse agreement 182
Exercise 3 185
Problems 186
8.4 Two types of agreement: INDEX and CONCORD 186
Exercise 4 192
8.5 Conclusion 192
Further reading and discussion 193

9 Topicalization and Scrambling 196
9.1 English topicalization 196
9.2 Russian topicalization 199
9.3 Economy of expression 205
Problems 207
9.4 Topicalization versus scrambling 207
9.5 Detecting empty categories 210
Exercise 223
Further reading and discussion 223
The crossover effect 223
Two types of null pronominals 224
Generalization to operator complexes 225
Other factors 226

IV On Functional Structures: Binding, Predication, and Control 227

10 Basic Binding Theory 229
10.1 Basic concepts 229
10.2 A toy binding theory 231
10.3 Principle C 239
Further reading and discussion 246
10.4 Formalization of the binding constraints 247

11 Types of Bound Anaphors 254
11.1 Dimensions of anaphoric binding 254
11.2 Icelandic: subjective and anti-subjective pronouns 256
11.3 Norwegian: subjective/nuclear pronouns 259
11.4 Logophoricity versus subjectivity 261
Further reading and discussion 273
11.5 The typology of reflexives and the origins of nuclearity 275
Further reading and discussion 283
11.6 Formalization 284

12 Predication Relations 286
12.1 Predicate complements versus adjuncts 286
12.2 F-structures of XCOMPs 289
Exercise 1 295
Exercise 2 295
12.3 F-structure of PP complements 295
12.4 C-structure of predicate complements 301
12.5 Raising 304
Further reading and discussion 307

13 Anaphoric Control 309
13.1 Gerundive versus participial VPs in English 309
13.2 Structure of gerundive VPs 311
13.3 Anaphoric control versus functional control 319
13.4 Conclusion 323
Problems 323
Further reading and discussion 323

14 From Argument Structure to Functional Structure 324
14.1 What is argument structure? 326
14.2 The theory of a-structures 329
14.3 Mapping a-structures to syntactic functions 333
14.4 Examples and consequences 334
14.4.1 Unaccusatives 334
14.4.2 Resultatives 336
14.4.3 "Fake" reflexives and "nonsubcategorized objects" 336
14.4.4 Word order of internal/external arguments 337