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Preface

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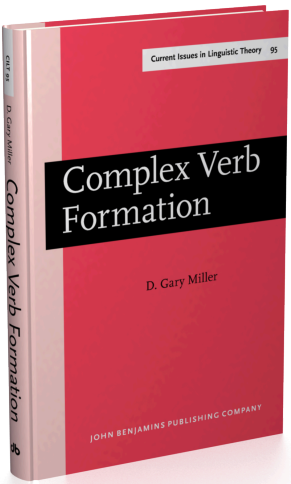

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Complex Verb Formation
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PREFACE

Objectives of the Study. This is not a general treatise on morphology. It is an investigation of complex verb formation that seeks to identify and clarify the way(s) in which a base verb becomes 'complex'. At the risk of circularity, a 'complex' verb will be understood as one that has undergone some sort of derivation to alter the form, meaning, or argument structure of the base verb (or verb 'root'). For the most part, only affixation is treated, although a novel approach to compounding is introduced in connection with certain grammatical principles and the Functional Phrase hypothesis.

This study builds on and tests two specific approaches to morphology. One is the 'Principles and Parameters' syntactic ('Phrase Structure') approach, primarily represented by Sproat, Walinska de Hackbeil, Baker, and Hale & Keyser. Works in this framework maintain that (1) there is no need for Word Formation Rules, (2) a wide array of data can be subsumed under a few general principles and a single rule involving head movement. This study elaborates on that research, but simultaneously shows that (a) there is a range of data difficult to account for, and (b) in most cases (at least) one 'lexical(ist)' approach persistently offers a reasonable alternative analysis. The question raised is why that should be the case. The answer defended may be compared roughly to traditional 'lexicalization' in phonology: what begins as syntactic incorporation becomes 'opacated' and ceases to be derived by incorporation. The dynamics of the replacing mechanism (affixation) are investigated. Thus, the second approach tested here is 'lexical'. Then, since the primary objection by the Phrase Structure (PS) morphologists to lexical approaches is that such approaches are stipulative rather than explanatory, a lexical theory elaborated from work of Lieber and others and based on free affix application and the independently needed principles of licensing and c-command is designed to avoid such potential objections.

Very little empirical evidence for either lexical or PS accounts of word formation has been adduced in the literature. Most analyses consist of a demonstration that the data *can* be treated in one account or the other, freely ascribing to the other domain anything that resists a feasible solution in the area under consideration. Thus, syntactic morphologists generally relegate the 'ad-

jectival passive' to the lexicon, while lexicalists like Di Sciullo & Williams attribute to syntactic composition any Romance compound that cannot be explained by their approach to morphology. Criteria for why a structure *should* be formed in one place or the other are seldom discussed. The argument generally takes the following form: this theory accounts for a wide array of facts; other facts cannot be accommodated by this theory; therefore those other facts must belong to another domain. To complicate the issue, the positions are not mutually exclusive. There are syntactic PS accounts (Walinska de Hackbeil, Baker), syntactic non-PS accounts (of inflection at least: Anderson), lexical PS accounts (Hale & Keyser), and lexical non-PS accounts (most 'lexicalists'). What all of these unequivocally demonstrate is that there is more than one way to derive a word.

This work takes the radical position that it is not accidental that most data admit of either a syntactic or lexical, PS or non-PS, analysis, and that the reason for it is that both are likely to be valid — under different circumstances. Both approaches are therefore consistently defended in an attempt to illustrate the complementarity of the two and ascertain which is the better formulation for a given set of data. In an attempt to broach that question, a number of tests are adduced/applied, e.g., productivity, formal and semantic compositionality, derivational opacity, (in)visibility to syntax (sensitivity to syntactic movement, presence or absence of functional phrases, stranding, etc.), and whether a derived item (however derived) is subject to subsequent morphological processes that are or are not predictable from the stem, the affixes, or a combination of the two. Since it is not intuitively obvious what these criteria mean, considerable discussion is devoted to their elucidation. At the same time, this does not pretend to be a definitive study. Since the very question of how/when incorporation is replaced by lexical affixation has never been asked before, the development of a range of adequate criteria will require substantial research on the properties of syntactic and lexical, PS and non-PS derivations — beyond the scope of this work, which defines the issue.

This study brings together a wide range of data and differing viewpoints into a Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach. At the same time, there is little criticism of other approaches. If no commonality in terms of 'leading ideas' is present, those works are merely referred to as alternative points of view. The important point here is the (re)interpretation (in a P&P framework) of timely issues regarding complex verb formation. Obviously, to present everyone's arguments and analyses, together with counterarguments, and the analysis advocated here, would render this study interminable. Consequently, analyses are presented in the framework(s) investigated here, and the reader is referred to other sources for discussion and alternative analyses.

It is hoped that this somewhat unusual approach will be found justifiable because of the novelty of the ideas and analyses offered. There has been no hesitation to present numerous original and unique analyses (and solutions to long-standing problems) in each chapter. This study raises novel issues that are not raised elsewhere, e.g., on causative-passive interactions, where in fact new theories of the passive and of the causative are combined. It is the first work to investigate the potential significance of the Functional Phrase hypothesis to morphological theory. This hypothesis is explored in some detail and an array of problems are presented and solutions suggested. Perhaps the most unique and important feature of this study is that it is the first to discuss language change within the incorporation framework, and to suggest how and why incorporated structures change. A number of changes from syntactic to lexical derivation are documented, imparting to this study implications for a modified paradigm, one in which language change may be researched in a manner that is beneficial to theoretical studies. Since whatever criteria turn out to determine whether incorporation or lexical affixation is the best analysis for a given set of data will be the same criteria that set the stage for opacation and change, there are important implications for the cooperation of historical linguists and theoreticians toward the common goal of ascertaining the full range of relevant criteria.

Plan of the Book. Five recent theories are combined in this work. First is the extremely valuable contribution of Mark Baker (e.g., 1988a), which will be referred to as 'Standard Incorporation Theory' (STINT). Second is the idea that Functional Phrases (FPs) select Lexical Phrases (LPs), often called the 'DP hypothesis', as elaborated primarily in Abney (1987) and Leffel (1988). Third is the idea that 'logical subjects' are base-generated in <SPEC,VP> (read: 'specifier of VP') position, the core of much recent research. The fourth includes related ideas on 'auxiliation' (e.g., Schwegler 1988) and other recent accounts of the development of modals and auxiliaries (e.g., Pollock 1989; Pearce 1990). And the fifth can be termed the 'Structural Integrity Hypothesis' which disallows structural 'collapses' ('clause union', etc.). It is shown, in a Principles and Parameters framework, that the interaction of these five factors with each other and with other standard grammatical principles can explain simply and elegantly the core facts of complex verb morphology and syntax.

By consistently making use of the Functional Phrase hypothesis, especially AuxP (the FP still regarded as the most problematical), this study demonstrates a number of advantages of the FP framework over alternatives; for instance, (1) clause union is no longer needed; (2) subject/object-to-object raising is no longer needed; (3) various necessary landing sites are provided for verb and

DP/NP movement; (4) the frequent F^0 incorporation and incorporation of L^0 into its FP are neatly accounted for; and (5) a number of previously idiosyncratic properties of compounds are explained. These advantages alone suffice to reveal the potential significance of the FP hypothesis to linguistic theory.

Incorporation is expanded to include more types of verb formation, and simultaneously constrained, both in terms of complement structures for which a given verb/affix subcategorizes, and as a tool of linguistic analysis. In a sense, it is a book about Structural Integrity – of clauses, phrases, and words. Each chapter presents problems for STINT. The suggestion is that what begins as incorporation can become opacated and replaced by affixation (most likely in the lexicon). Syntactic and lexical(ist) theories are consequently viewed as complementary rather than opposed. The question for linguistic theory then becomes, When is a lexicalist account of complex verb formation preferable to a STINT account? Possible avenues of research for answering this question are suggested.

Chapter 1 outlines some basic assumptions about morphology and the lexicon and introduces an affix-type that is neither inflectional nor derivational (by the usual criteria) and has recursive properties associated with syntax. Preliminary morphological and syntactic considerations suggest the need for a 'level' of (derivational) word formation prior to the initial string of lexical insertion (traditional 'D-structure') — in contrast to inflection, which mirrors post-movement (traditional 'S-structure') syntax.

Chapter 2 surveys some theories of morpheme order. Especially relevant are the 'polysynthetic' affixes which are freely and recursively combinable. A consequence of verb raising to INFL is illustrated from Polish, where some INFL/AGR elements are 'stranded' and appear as clitics. Russian strands a complementary set, implying a close affinity between morphology and syntax.

Chapter 3 clarifies the essential assumptions of this work. It expands on the idea that morphology and syntax are governed by the same principles by surveying a variety of morphological problems for which explanations have been offered in a Principles and Parameters framework.

Chapter 4 discusses some consequences to morphology of positing a (syntactic) distinction between FPs and LPs. It is shown that 'compounds' typically involve LPs without FPs, while (noun) incorporation prototypically involves L^0 movement out of DP. F(P)s can also be incorporated; a language is (poly)synthetic to the degree to which it allows (or requires) incorporation of F(P)s, especially those connected with verbal categories.

Chapter 5 shows that Preposition Incorporation (PI) is not likely to be the correct (synchronic) derivation of any of the P-V constructs in Greek or

Latin, even though the UTAH (§3.12) requires it in some cases and historically PI was the origin of the constructs. All of the forms can (and, it is argued, should) be derived by (some version of) 'inheritance' of argument structure, so long as other factors (such as default semantic Case relations) are permitted to alter an (otherwise) expected thematic grid. Applicatives and V-P Reanalysis in English (and related phenomena) are also discussed. A problem is raised for the UTAH, which requires that Eng. *-ee* originate as D-structure argument of the P in V-P constructions, which allows no way to account for the category.

Chapter 6 discusses ECM, subject control (subsumed under FP theory), and antipassivization in Eskimo. While it is true that an incorporation account of Grammatical Function Changing (GFC) processes is more 'explanatory' than lexicalist accounts, advocates of syntactic accounts are bound to the claim that it is fortuitous that lexicalist accounts should 'work' at all, and it is totally unexpected that they should account for the same data in a simple manner.

Chapter 7 ventures a new, non-argument theory of the passive (located in AuxP), which is tested in subsequent chapters. Crucial aspects of middle and ergative formation are also discussed. All three share in common the property of projecting no external argument to <NP,IP> position and allowing an internal argument to become the sentential subject.

Chapter 8 treats 'inherent' and morphological reflexives. Typical properties of Reflexive Incorporation include (i) incorporation of only a 'weak' reflexive, (ii) strictly local binding, and (iii) 'dative shift' phenomena.

Chapter 9 embeds historical morphology in its syntactic context. It is a case study in the addition of RI to the grammar of Old Norse, followed by its opacation and eventual loss in Modern (East) Scandinavian, where its reflex is a primarily passive affix. Empirical evidence is documented for lexicalization of (reflexive) incorporation and the non-argument status of the passive marker.

Chapter 10 reviews languages in which reflexive, ergative, middle, and passive are encoded by the same formative. Passive typically patterns with non-argument functions, supporting the analysis in chapter 7. A problem for the UTAH is that not all formatives which encode the same theta-role functions can be analyzed as arguments in syntax. This supports the evidence in chapters 5 and 9 that 'affixation' is a typical synchronic reflex of an older incorporation process.

Chapter 11 adduces (as a minimum) the data claimed by others to require 'coanalysis', 'reanalysis', 'clause union', etc., and shows that such unconstrainable devices are neither necessary nor warranted. New analyses of the Romance and other causative constructions are presented. Causative structures are subdivided into three types, depending on whether or not CAUSE and the lower verb can passivize independently. The variety of causative structures

encountered in natural languages is explained by the selection of alternate complement structures (CP, IP, AuxP, etc.) in conjunction with parameters of Case and 'bounding' theory.

Chapter 12 shows why 'Type 1' causative passives are obligatory in languages with 'clause union' effects, but simply one option in languages without clause union. Clause union is reanalyzed as the 'compounding' of CAUSE and the verb (selection of V(P) rather than AuxP): both CAUSE and the root verb passivize as a unit, and only one passive morpheme appears in the construct. In structures without 'compounding', CAUSE selects AuxP (or V-affix) and both CAUSE and the verb/affix can be c-commanded by a passive morpheme. Finally, some complex derivations in Eskimo provide the strongest evidence that affixation can be a synchronic reflex of earlier incorporation.

A Note on Representations and Tree Diagrams. Although Chomsky (1992) abandons D-structure (as a unique level) and S-structure, going directly from movement to SPELL-OUT, the traditional terms, D- and S- structure, are here maintained simply as convenient labels for the pre- and post- movement structures. In fact, Chomsky's insistence that lexical insertion takes place at various points and that (at least) some functional categories (e.g., auxiliaries) might be inserted at a later point in the derivation is quite congenial to the theory pursued here that Lexical Phrase syntax is different from Functional Phrase syntax. The growing convergence on the nature of the Functional and Lexical Phrases is welcome confirmation of a variety of recent proposals.

The familiar notations for ungrammatical '*' and marginal '?' are used for all languages, including those that are ancient and dead. The warrant for this is the long-standing idea (well expressed in various places by Robin Lakoff, David Lightfoot, A. Machtelt Bolkestein, and many others) that one can have judgments on ancient and dead languages. Realizing the risks in asserting those judgments, I will keep them to a minimum. Where it is important to establish the authority, a quote from an ancient author will be used, or an unattested example (unless indicated as my own) will be marked '(*)'.

It is important to distinguish what is crucial to morphology and what is not. Trees are generally defoliated to their barest essentials, and 'free projection' is used to conserve space. As will be explained in the relevant sections, I assume INFL to be the head of S (but sometimes S is used for simplicity), some version of 'expanded' INFL, and a fully elaborated FP hypothesis. But if every tree contained all of this structure, it would be expositionally confusing and space-wasting. Moreover, trees are customarily given in a 'mixed' structure, i.e., S-structure minus incorporation or, in recent terminology, a post-movement structure, less incorporation. Since incorporation is generally evident, this

practice facilitates comprehension of the point of a tree diagram at a glance. Changes from one tree to another are intended for simplicity and should not be construed as contradictory in any theoretical sense.

A potentially confusing abbreviation in trees should also be mentioned. Again, to prevent every tree from taking up two pages, FPs and their LPs are generally written together, e.g., DP/NP means DP *and* NP, AuxP/VP means AuxP *and* VP, etc., generally when one or the other is null, but sometimes this abbreviation is used even where both are instantiated.