

THE SYNTAX OF ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

LEONARD H. BABBY

Princeton University, New Jersey



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

List of abbreviations

page xv

Introduction	1
1 The structure of argument structure	11
1.0 Introduction	11
1.1 The internal structure of the diathesis	13
1.2 The hierarchical organization of argument structure	18
1.3 The autonomy of the theta and categorial tiers	19
1.4 External subcategorization	23
1.4.1 The typology of external arguments	24
1.5 The final form of the diathesis	26
1.5.1 The theta tier's fourth position	27
1.5.2 Causativization in Turkish	28
1.5.3 Passivization in Russian	28
1.6 Projecting phrase structure from argument structure	32
1.6.1 The universal law of diathesis conservation	32
1.6.2 The mapping between argument structure and syntactic structure	33
1.7 Projected syntactic asymmetries	36
1.8 Monadic verbs	37
1.8.1 The impersonal ~ derived unaccusative alternation	40
1.9 Causativization and the universal architecture of the diathesis	45
1.9.1 Language-specific diversity	50
1.10 Romance causativization	52
1.11 Nominalization and causativization	54
1.11.1 The properties of Russian derived nominals	56
1.11.2 The <i>by</i> -phrase in derived nominal phrases	57
1.11.3 The <i>by</i> -phrase in causative sentences and derived nominal phrases	58
1.11.4 The nominalization of monotransitive verbs	62
1.11.5 The possessive genitive in derived nominals	66

1.12	Constraints on alternations	67
1.13	Arguments, adjuncts, and complex predicates	69
1.14	Theta-role conversion	71
1.15	Concluding remarks	72
2	The argument structure of adjectives	74
2.0	Introduction	74
2.1	Russian adjectives	75
2.2	The predicate LF paradox	78
2.3	Dedicated and understood subjects	80
2.4	The syntactic properties of the LF and SF	82
2.5	The structure of SF small clauses	83
2.6	The control of depictive adjectives	84
2.6.1	Object-controlled aP _i	87
2.6.2	Russian noun phrases	88
2.7	The predicate LF	89
2.8	Head suppression	93
2.9	nP diagnostic I: agreement with <i>vý</i> ‘you (polite)’	95
2.10	nP diagnostic II: third person personal pronouns	96
2.10.1	<i>tak</i> + SF and <i>takoj</i> + LF	97
2.11	nP diagnostic III: the predicate genitive	98
2.12	nP diagnostic IV: <i>kak</i> + nP _{<1>}	100
2.13	Predicate nominals with unsuppressed heads	103
2.14	aP _{<1>} adjoined to nP	107
2.15	The derivation of -en- participles	110
2.15.1	Departicipial -enn- adjectives	114
2.16	The copula: syntactic merger or diathetic composition	115
2.16.1	<i>budući</i> + SF	115
2.17	Summary	122
3	Hybrid verbal adjuncts	123
3.0	Introduction	123
3.1	The syntactic representation of hybrid categories	124
3.2	Participles in Russian	127
3.2.1	-šč-participles and -en-participles	131
3.2.2	The interaction of external-argument altering suffixes	134
3.2.3	Accusative case assignment	137
3.2.4	Reflexive binding in participle phrases	141
3.2.5	-em-participles	143

3.3	Hybrid adverbials in Russian	148
3.3.1	Earlier analyses of gP_i	151
3.3.2	The s-predicate analysis of hybrid adverbials	152
3.4	The syntactic distribution of gP_i	156
3.4.1	gP_i in participle phrases	156
3.4.2	gP_i in gP_i	159
3.5	gP_i in infinitive projections	159
3.5.1	SAM_i in infinitival complements	162
3.5.2	Agreement of SAM_i adjoined to gP_i	165
3.6	Hybrid adverbials in derived nominals	168
3.7	Hybrid adverbials in passive sentences	169
4	The derivation and control of infinitives	172
4.0	Introduction	172
4.1	Independent infinitive clauses	176
4.2	Control	177
4.3	Nonfinite verbal categories	179
4.4	Subject control and infinitive s-predicates	181
4.4.1	Subject-controlled infinitive clauses	183
4.5	Object control	186
4.5.1	Infinitive clauses with overt dative subjects	188
4.6	The case agreement and binding of kP_i	190
4.6.1	The default nominative	194
4.7	Diachronic change in progress: object-controlled infinitive s-predicates	195
4.7.1	Depictive adjectives in infinitive complements	196
4.8	Locality restrictions on vertical binding	199
4.8.1	Infinitive complements of nouns	199
4.8.2	Infinitives with complementizers	201
4.8.3	Infinitive clauses as subjects	202
4.8.4	Conjoined subject-controlled infinitive complements	203
4.9	Hybrid adverbials in infinitive complements	205
4.10	Nominative direct objects in Old Russian infinitive clauses	208
4.11	<i>obeščat'</i> 'to promise'	213
4.12	The bare infinitive complement of auxiliary verbs	220
4.12.1	Infinitive complements of impersonal verbs	224
5	Deriving the predicate instrumental	228
5.0	Introduction	228
5.1	The distribution of the PI, LF, and SF	228
5.2	The Bailyn–Bowers hypothesis	231

5.3	The PI in the light of the LF and SF	232
5.4	Evidence that PIs head bare adjective phrases: argument I	234
5.4.1	The case of predicate adjectives in infinitive clauses	236
5.4.2	The case of depictive adjectives in infinitive clauses	237
5.5	<i>Budući</i> + PI predicate adjectives: argument II	237
5.5.1	Diathetic composition vs. syntactic merger	239
5.6	Evidence that PIs head s-predicates: argument I	243
5.7	<i>Byt'</i> + PI: argument II	245
5.7.1	An anomalous agreement pattern?	248
5.8	Assigning the PI	249
5.9	Licensing the PI	251
5.10	Depictive adjectives in infinitive clauses	253
	<i>Notes</i>	260
	<i>Bibliography</i>	291
	<i>Index</i>	302