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REVIEW ARTICLE

The polysynthesis parameter. By MARK C. BAKER. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Pp. xix, 556.

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The Polysynthesis Parameter is an investigation into the nature of polysynthesis within a formal principles-and-parameters framework. The languages defined as polysynthetic by the author (hereafter B) have certain distinctive properties, which he classifies into two broad categories: nonconfigurational phenomena and noun incorporation. NONCONFIGURATIONAL PROPERTIES include (after Hale 1983) relative freedom of word order, pervasive dropping of noun phrase arguments, and the existence of discontinuous constituents. NOUN INCORPORATION must be productive, and nouns must regularly occur independently as an unincorporated nominal. The focus is on Mohawk (Northern Iroquoian), based largely on B's own field research at Kahnawake (near Montreal), but data is cited from six other languages (Ainu, Chukchee, Mayali, Nahuatl, Southern Tiwa, and Wichita), whenever it is available in published sources or via personal communication.

The goals of the book are ambitious: B aims to provide a comprehensive description of morphosyntactic phenomena of a single polysynthetic language (in Baker's sense), Mohawk, and of principles which he suggests are at the heart of the typological class of languages to which Mohawk belongs. B presents theoretical principles with characteristic ease and clarity. The attempt to extend theoretical hypotheses of a principles-and-parameters approach to a language outside of ones to which such a framework has been widely applied presents interesting challenges to the formal principles of the theory, to which B persistently seeks solutions. At the same time, B provides detailed and often subtle observations about a large class of constructions in Mohawk, and consistently cites published analyses that contradict his principles. Furthermore, B provides a goodly number of examples for each issue that he addresses.

Does the book live up to its ambitious goals? We think the answer to such a question depends, to some extent, on one's perspective on a number of issues we review below. We provide a basic summary of the claims of each chapter and offer certain criticisms after each. General criticisms, as well as comments pertaining to more than one chapter, are addressed at the end of the review. Although our review ultimately raises more negative points than positive ones, we applaud the serious undertaking this book represents.

The question B sets out to answer is What makes a polysynthetic language polysynthetic? The answer, he argues, is a MACROPARAMETER, a parameter general enough to affect the entire grammar of a language. The particular macroparameter that B posits is simple enough: whether arguments must be recorded via a morpheme on the predicator they depend on in order to be 'visible'. Mohawk and other polysynthetic languages are set positively for the parameter. The two ways to satisfy the parameters are via AGREEMENT MORPHOLOGY and via NOUN INCORPORATION.

B's hypothesis about the nature of polysynthesis is clearly innovative from a principles-and-parameters approach (although it draws from Jelinek's earlier work). But, in some sense, there is nothing earthshattering in this claim, since it basically amounts to saying that Mohawk is a consistently head-marking language. Otherwise put, B's claim simply recasts the very traditional idea that polysynthesis characterizes languages in which words can be sentences, so that predicate-argument relations, which are at the core of the structural make-up of sentences, are defined and satisfied within the word. What makes the book theoretically innovative is the attempt to derive so many properties of polysynthetic languages from this single fact. It is important to note that

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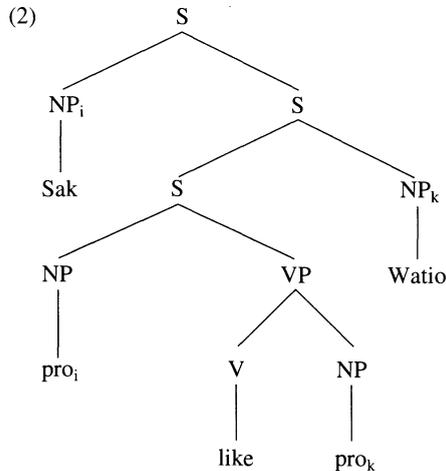
B's use of polysynthetic does not refer to an independently defined class of languages. In fact, for B polysynthesis is defined by the polysynthesis parameter. The question, then, is whether indeed the salient and distinctive properties of certain languages follow from a positive setting for this one parameter.

In B's analysis of Mohawk and other polysynthetic languages, predicate-argument relations are defined in the syntax, just as in English. The two classes of languages represented on the one hand by Mohawk, and on the other hand by English, differ in the morphophonological MARKING of these relations: polysynthetic languages REQUIRE that these relations be marked on the predicate. The two classes of languages are syntactically alike. There are several unfortunate consequences of this move, though. Conceptually, one might wonder why the morphophonological marking in such languages is so essential, given that the syntactic requirements are just as in English. B makes the existence of such languages puzzling. Moreover, certain intuitive consequences of the assumption that the morphology of polysynthetic languages plays the role of the syntax of analytic languages disappear. For example, the fact that the head verb determines 'quirky' selection of pronominal affixes is natural under the assumption that the affixes are arguments of the verb: it reduces to well-known quirky subcategorization properties of verbs. Under a theory where affixes are agreement morphemes, base-generated adjoined to an inflectional functional head, such selection is harder to account for.

Ch. 1 presents two basic properties of polysynthetic languages that B wishes to explicate with the macroparameter he labels the 'morphological visibility condition' (henceforth MVC): (i) all languages with productive noun incorporation are head-marking, and (ii) typically incorporated nouns and zero marking are in complementary distribution. Whereas many traditional approaches would treat 'agreement' morphemes as realizing the arguments of a verb, B assumes that the agreement morphemes are simply coindexed with the actual syntactic complements of the verb, which are null *pro* arguments in their expected syntactic positions (as sisters to Vs and in Spec of VPs). Moreover, these agreement morphemes are base-generated in adjoined positions to abstract functional categories: AGR and INFL, respectively. B claims that, in contrast to theories which posit an independent morphological component, the morphological structure of a Mohawk word can be derived from syntactic movement (see the end of the review for a critical appraisal of this claim).

Ch. 2 lays out the major claim of the book: either lexical NP's that correspond to thematic arguments are generated in adjunct position to S/IP and are coindexed with null *pros* in argument position or they represent the trace of incorporated nouns. The upshot of the proposal can be seen in example 1 and its (simplified) tree-structure in 2.

- (1) Sak ro-núhwe's Watio.
 Sak MASC.SG.SUBJ /MASC.SG.OBJ-like.HABITUAL Watio.
 'Sak likes Watio.'



The lexical NPs *Sak* and *Watio* are generated as sentential adjuncts. They are coindexed with null *pro* arguments in subject and object positions respectively. Finally, these true (null) arguments are themselves made visible by verbal affixes, such as *ro-* in 1.

Thus, according to B, three distinct elements are involved in the expression of an argument in Mohawk: (1) an empty category, which is the true argument of the verb (either a null *pro* or the trace of an incorporated noun); (2) a morpheme in the verb that makes the argument visible for thematic-role assignment; (3) an optional NP adjunct. Ch. 2 and the remainder of Part I are concerned specifically with 3.

B's analysis of the structure of basic Mohawk sentences is masterful, albeit its ultimate success is conditional on one's acceptance of many assumptions particular to the principles-and-parameters approach. Moreover, despite the tightness of the argumentation, the syntactic view of polysynthesis proposed by B misses an important typological question, as B himself notices: it provides no good explanation for the fact that heads must assign Case to adjoined agreement morphemes (thus forcing lexical NPs to be adjuncts to avoid a Case filter violation). Nor is there any explanation for the difference between this kind of agreement and subject agreement in nonpolysynthetic languages. Such a difference would fall out of a more traditional view that pronominal affixes are the actual realization of arguments of verbs in Mohawk.

B's construction-specific observations in Ch. 2, which pertain to phenomena such as (apparent) binding condition C violations, coreference versus disjoint reference, quantificational structure, reflexive marking, and *wh*-extraction, are important and reveal interesting and subtle properties of Mohawk and other polysynthetic languages, some of which have not been previously noted. His observation that Mohawk does not appear to possess truly distributive quantifiers parallel to English *every*, for example, seems to us convincing and significant. While the data in Chs. 5–10 are uncontroversial, and quite often contain crucial generalizations which have also been reported previously in the literature on Iroquoian (which B cites), the crucial data cited in Ch. 2, and also in Ch. 3 and Ch. 7.4, largely comprise constructed sentences. This methodology differs from a purely textual approach, such as Heath 1984. The sentences in these chapters tend to look like English sentences with Mohawk words. This results in part from the fact that Mohawk, and Iroquoian languages in general, rarely have more than one overt nominal per clause (and often no overt nominal at all), and clauses typically include a large number of syntactic and discourse particles, while the sentences in these chapters (crucially) include a nominal, and often more than one, and for the most part lack discourse particles. Such differences are notable, but they are not crucial to B's arguments. B clearly tried to find as natural contexts as possible, and it is also worth noting that B, at several points, is careful to point out when speakers are hesitant about judgments, or when they disagree with each other. Further, B cites similar observations about other polysynthetic languages wherever possible, so that crucial claims do not always depend on the particular Mohawk examples. But because the rich inventory of styles that one finds in Mohawk does not include as a conventionalized form the kinds of sentences needed to provide crucial support for specific claims B posits, it is difficult to get consistent results from speakers on some of the constructions, or on some of the grammatical judgments. We give here just two examples.¹

On p. 46 B suggests that a test for the constituenthood for a name and a possessed noun is the location of the 'second position clitic' *ka*, which is used in yes-no questions. He gives data with the yes-no question particle after the name plus possessed noun, but our collaborator said it was better in Oneida to have the yes-no question particle immediately after the name.² In Ch.

¹ These were checked with an Oneida speaker who is a sophisticated linguistic consultant and enjoys participating in the often difficult subtleties that this type of elicitation requires. Since Oneida is the language most closely related to Mohawk, data from Oneida are relevant.

² B gives several other arguments he claims support constituenthood of these possessed constructions; in addition he suggests (p.c.) that some languages (or some speakers) may place the question particle after the first phonological word, rather than after the first constituent. This example, then, simply shows the difficulty in obtaining consistent results.

2, B cites examples (e.g. 6a on p. 44) where only a disjoint reference reading is possible; in these examples a personal name occurs in the second clause. Our Oneida consultant, though, allowed also a coreferent reading. Again, we hasten to point out that such data do not (necessarily) refute B's claims in these chapters. However, the divergence from the types of utterances more usually encountered may leave some readers unconvinced that part of the ESSENTIAL nature of a polysynthetic language lies in those principles in particular that are supported only by such data.

In Ch. 3 B argues that NPs in Mohawk have the properties of left-dislocated NPs in Romance (cf. Cinque 1990), Greek, and apparently, Bantu. Mohawk differs from Romance only in that it must use a dislocation configuration more often because of the MVC. B argues against possible alternatives; in particular he concludes that Jelinek's (1984) appositional analysis of lexical NPs in polysynthetic languages is vague and inadequate, and that Speas's (1990) modifier analysis for overt NPs in Warlpiri does not account for all their properties and depends on the special status attributed to case morphemes on nouns. Since Mohawk does not have any case morphology, Speas's claim is not generalizable to Mohawk.

Ch. 4 introduces one of the other properties of polysynthetic languages, the characteristic existence of discontinuous constituents. B grants that Jelinek's proposal that instead of discontinuous NPs there are two simple NPs, both independently linked to the same argument position, is simple, elegant, and makes some nice predictions. But he argues it does not account for the severe limitations on alleged discontinuous constituents found in Mohawk or other polysynthetic languages. To account for their limited presence, B proposes a more restrictive adjunct licensing condition (basically, a given null pronoun can license only one (adjunct) lexical NP at a time.) Thus, following on a recurrent theme throughout the book B suggests that adjoined NPs in polysynthetic languages are licensed by the same mechanisms as clitic dislocation constructions in Romance. Ultimately, B argues that apparent discontinuous NPs do not form constituents at all (as in the case of *akwéku* 'all' or *éso* 'a lot', which are base-generated adverbs), or, when they do, are the result of moving NPs which are adjoined to full (null or not null) NPs.

In this chapter, B makes interesting observations on possible orders of constructions including the quantifier *akwéku* 'all' (actually *akwé:ku*, with a lengthened vowel), and constituents comprising a classificatory nominal plus a more specific nominal. Additional observations can be made. Thus for the example 4a on p. 140, *Ak-itshéna érhara wa-ha-níye-*' (my pet-dog-barked), our consultant suggested a parallel utterance in Oneida was possible, namely *Akitshená é-lhal lotya?tahtú-u* (my pet-dog-disappeared), but more natural is the order *Lotya?tahtú-u akitshená é-lhal* (disappeared-my pet-dog).³ The order *Akitshená lotya?tahtú-u é-lhal* (my pet-disappeared-dog) is not good, as B points out, but neither is any relative ordering that has *é-lhal akitshená* (dog-my pet). The example 1a on p. 138, *Akwéku wa'-e-tsaári-' ne onhúhsa'* 'she found all the eggs' (all-she found-the-eggs) gives another discontinuous expression. B notes that the alternative possibility, with *onhúhsa?* before the verb and *akwéku* after the verb is not good. However, neither the order (using the Oneida equivalent) *O?nhúhsa? akwékú wa?etshá-lí-* (eggs-all-she found) nor the order *Akwékú o?nhúhsa? wa?etshá-lí-* (all-eggs-she found) are terribly good.⁴

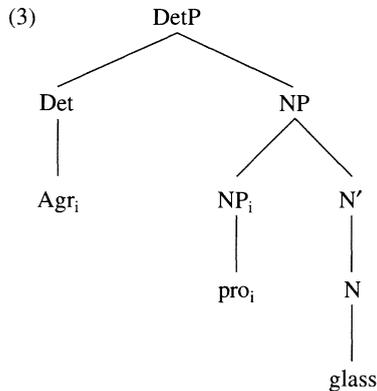
Ch. 5 and the remainder of Part II are concerned with the relation between null arguments (i.e. an empty category which is the true argument of the verb) and the morpheme in the verb that makes the argument visible for thematic-role assignment. The first part of the chapter deals with the basic agreement system, showing that transitive verbs have agreement morphemes that mark agents and themes or goals, and goals if both themes and goals are present. To account for triadic verbs—cases where a verb has one more argument than agreement factors—B hypothesizes a null-incorporated noun root, which, semantically, must be a neuter theme. The rest of

³ Our consultant substituted 'disappear' for 'bark'. Her feeling was the 'dog' was unnecessary in the Oneida equivalent of B's sentence, since only dogs bark, i.e. *wahahnyáni? akitshená* (he barked-my pet).

⁴ Actually, the best Oneida expression would be *Akwékú wa?e?nhuhsatshá-lí-* (all- she eggs found), with the noun root for 'eggs' incorporated into the verb for 'find'. Note that the Mohawk word for 'egg' is missing a glottal stop; it should be *o?nhúhsa?*.

the chapter deals with the distribution of agent and patient pronominal prefixes, which B calls ‘A-class prefixes’ and ‘O-class prefixes’, respectively, and argues that the distribution is determined by the identity of the verb under consideration. B makes the interesting claim that crosscutting the lexical classification there is a classification of verbs into unaccusative/unergative, which he suggests is supported by observations about the distribution of noun incorporation and the interpretation of quantifierlike adverbs (*akwéku*, *éso*).

Ch. 6 deals with nouns in Mohawk, which consist of a prefix, a root, and a suffix. B suggests (247) that nouns are DPs, whose Det head is filled by the prefix. The complement of the Det is an NP whose ‘referential’ thematic role is realized as a *pro* in specifier position, which agrees with the prefix. His analysis is shown in 3 for the noun *ó-wis-e?* ‘ice, glass’ (irrelevant details are omitted.) The structure of Mohawk nouns thus greatly resembles that posited for verbs and clauses. B suggests that possessed nouns, which mark features of an (alienable) possessor, are in fact relative clauses, with the added stipulation that the copular possessive verb in Mohawk is null.



B claims that nouns take agreement prefixes in Mohawk. So, the ‘referential’ thematic-role or R role of the head noun—intuitively, the argument position corresponding to the NP’s referent—must be assigned to an NP in the syntax. But then, this NP presumably has a noun with an R argument too, leading to a potential infinite recursion. An easy, but stipulative, way out of this difficulty is to distinguish between two kinds of NP’s: those that have an R role and those, *pro* NPs, that don’t (or those that have a head that has an R role and those that don’t). As far as we can see, this division of R-argument-bearing nominals versus non-R-argument-bearing is not independently justified. Of course, if one assumes the nominal prefixes are not independent phrases, but part of the morphological structure of Mohawk nouns, in the traditional sense, no difficulty arises: the affixes satisfy the nouns’ R argument (discharge the thematic role), without themselves being NPs with their own thematic grid and R-role to discharge.

Noun incorporation, which is the second way of satisfying the MVC, is discussed in Ch. 7. An incorporated noun satisfies the MVC by including in the verb a morpheme coindexed by a thematic argument. B begins by asking, since English and Mohawk have, by hypothesis, similar structures, why noun incorporation is so prevalent in Mohawk but not in English. His answer is that noun incorporation, interpreted as movement, is forced in Mohawk by the MVC. With respect to the long-standing debate about the semantics of incorporated nouns (definiteness, for example), B concludes from his research that incorporated nouns in Mohawk can have the full range of interpretations of any other nominals, except for those associated with focal stress, which he attributes to the ‘superficial phonological’ reason that incorporated nouns lose perceptual salience. B reasserts his earlier (1988) hypothesis that it is only direct-object nouns that are incorporable. He acknowledges however that this hypothesis is probably not empirically different from the semantic generalization that patients (i.e. theme roles) are incorporated. The remainder of the chapter shows how a syntactic movement analysis can be made compatible with recent changes in Chomsky’s program, and provides additional justification for a syntactic approach

in the face of considerable literature arguing that noun incorporation is morphological. In particular, B reviews lexicalists' account of noun incorporation, attributing to those accounts some nice results, but argues that, in the end, a syntactic account has advantages over a lexicalist account of NI. This does not mean that lexical compounding analysis of noun incorporation is impossible in UG. In fact, B ends up suggesting that both a lexical compounding analysis and a syntactic incorporation analysis are valid for Mohawk, although the syntactic analysis is the more 'fundamental' one, and that noun incorporation is 'primarily syntactic'.

As we alluded to previously, a more lexicalist approach to noun incorporation and polysynthesis in general suggests itself here. According to such a view, pronominal affixes are not simply morphological markers of (null) syntactically realized arguments, they satisfy a head's arguments and incorporated roots are not syntactically moved, nominal heads base-generated in object position, they morphologically realize a verb's argument. Although B at times argues against such a 'lexicalist' view, in particular when discussing noun incorporation, his view of what constitutes a possible lexicalist analysis is somewhat narrow. For example, he considers only compound-style analysis of noun incorporation (Mithun 1984, Rosen 1989, di Sciullo & Williams 1987), which make use of very little lexical information. Such lexicalist approaches ascribe only a relatively small informational load to lexical items. His arguments against a lexically oriented analysis of incorporation and polysynthesis in general therefore only pertain to that class of a 'lexicalist' approach. While B cannot be expected to rule out ALL lexicalist analysis in principle, it remains to be seen if richer lexicalist approaches such as those defended by lexical functional grammar or head-driven phrase-structure grammar could answer his challenges.⁵

Ch. 8 discusses complex predicates and addresses the observation that noun incorporation is common in polysynthetic languages, but certain other kinds of morphological structures, such as possessor-raising and morphological causatives, are quite restricted. The basic claim is that an incorporated noun expresses an argument, and thus helps satisfy the MVC, while incorporating a verb makes it impossible for the verb to express its arguments morphologically. Composing two predicates' (nonoverlapping) thematic grids would result in a list of arguments longer than the set of agreement markers typically available in polysynthetic languages and thus would lead to a violation of the MVC. Consequently, what looks like complex predicate formation in Mohawk is reanalyzed. In particular, B argues that causatives are a form of 'light verb' construction, eventually concluding that 'there is no such thing as argument structure composition' in polysynthetic languages.

Ch. 9 tackles PPs. The basic claim is that because of the MVC and the assumption that agreement can pertain only to NPs, Mohawk cannot have lexical (nonempty) prepositional arguments. In polysynthetic languages, either PPs are adjuncts (and are outside the purview of the MVC) or their head is null. It is only in the latter case that the MVC can be fully satisfied. Within the PP, null Ps cannot bear agreement morphemes. B stipulates that in such situations the MVC is satisfied vacuously and thus the NP complement is indeed visible to the null P head. Furthermore, because an empty P is 'transparent' with respect to morphosyntactic features, according to B, the PP takes on the features of its complement NP. The verb can therefore agree with the PP since it has taken on the features of the NP. Finally, apparent examples of P incorporation, involving for example the benefactive suffix, are argued to be higher verbs. By reducing all apparent instances of PPs to adjunct PPs, VPs, or PPs headed by an empty lexical head, B can reconcile the absence of 'prepositional agreement' with the MVC requirement that verbs morphologically mark arguments.

Ch. 10 deals with sentential subjects and complements. Although B argues that Mohawk does not contain any sentential subjects, he claims that Mohawk does have sentential objects in argument position. Such a hypothesis accounts for the fact, discussed in Ch. 2, that extraction and binding principles apply in Mohawk to sentential objects as they do in English. Of course, such an hypothesis runs counter to the MVC, since, as B shows, the verb does not agree with its sentential complement. Baker's solution is to say the CP is the complement of an incorporated

⁵ Malouf (1994) presents some arguments that they can.

noun meaning ‘claim,’ which sometimes is phonologically null. Extraction is then from the complement of this abstract noun, not from a sentential complement proper. Finally, B explains why polysynthetic languages don’t have infinitives. He claims that infinitives cannot license a Case-assigning INFL (which licenses agreement with an external argument), hence infinitive forms of transitive and unergative verbs are excluded. Infinitives of unaccusative verbs are also excluded, assuming Burzio’s generalization and the assumption that only Case-assigning functional heads license agreement. For languages that seem to have an infinitive, B claims the relevant structures do not involve infinitives proper, but rather nominalized verbs.

At various points when discussing individual chapters, we mentioned what we see as unwelcome consequences of B’s phrase-structural analysis of polysynthesis. To end with a more general critique of the book, we note two more general concerns such an approach to polysynthesis raises.

First, the phrase-structural analysis of polysynthetic languages presented by B seems to lead B to an unconstrained theory of morphology (we say *seem* because it is not clear to us whether this is a necessary consequence of this move, or simply a ‘natural’ one). At various points in the book, B refers to morphological fix-up operations (218 *inter alia*) whose effect is to change the morphological structure and/or the phonological realization of the morphemic analysis. No theory of this kind of operation is presented, nor is there any attempt at circumscribing such operations; why one occurs in a particular instance, but not in another is never discussed. Of course, such an unconstrained recourse to clean-up operations weakens B’s theory. One wonders what recalcitrant data could not be fixed up via the use of such machinery.

Second, by making polysynthesis a rather trivial property of agreement, B has made Mohawk and other polysynthetic languages more similar to English than previously thought. One necessary concomitant of this move is a theoretically alarming need for zeros. Not only are all (nonincorporated) NP arguments in fact zero *pro*’s in Mohawk, but there are also zero incorporated roots. Finally, in cases of three-place predicates such as -u- ‘give’, the goal argument is realized as a PP complement whose head is a null preposition and whose complement is a null *pro*! When one adds the stipulation mentioned above that null P heads are ‘transparent’ for morphosyntactic features—i.e. crucially differ from observed lexical material, the motivation for this proliferation of zeros (in particular zero Ps) seems rather thin.

Aside from these two content-related general concerns, the book suffers from three formal shortcomings, one rhetorical, two editorial. Rhetorically, the book sometimes suffers from hyperbole. To take one example, B in the first chapter claims that the syntactically driven account of morphology he presents accounts for morpheme order in polysynthetic languages without any of the stipulations of a theory relying on morphological subcategorization frames. But the result is overstated. The morpheme order is derived from one principle—predicate-argument asymmetry, and one assumption—adjunction is always to the left. But, of course, morphological subcategorization can easily and naturally incorporate the principle, since subcategorization (typically) recapitulates predicate-argument asymmetry. Furthermore, B admits that the directionality of adjunction might need to be parameterized (32). Given that an argument can only be situated on two positions relative to the head, this makes the assumption vacuous. Furthermore, his recourse to morphological fix-up at various points makes his claim of a restrictive theory of morphology difficult to assess. Until a theory of the possible effects of these fix-up processes is presented, comparing B’s theory with theories that do not avail themselves of such processes is premature.

Editorially, B’s book irritatingly lacks forward references. At several times, B makes a claim with strong implicatures that the reader learns a hundred pages or more later were erroneous. At the beginning of Ch. 3, p. 98 seq, for example, B points out the similarity of the relationship between lexical NPs and pronominal affixes in polysynthetic languages to clitic dislocation in Romance. Readers who know Romance will immediately note that the parallel does not hold: clitic dislocation does not lead to the licensing of (apparent) principle C violations, for example. In Ch. 7, on p. 267, B explains the difference! Mention of the difference and reference to his account of it would save the reader some unnecessary work. Similarly, on p. 17, when he introduces the MVC, B talks of ‘morphemes’ contained within a ‘word’. The reader expects a

run-of-the-mill notion of word and morphemes (within a principles-and-parameters approach, of course) only to discover on p. 482 that the definition of 'word' that is ultimately relevant is an LF definition which consists—to simplify—of a chain of X_0 positions! Again, such a new definition of the notion of word should be announced earlier.

A final editorial criticism is the quite disconcerting choice to present the Mohawk examples without vowel lengthening. Lengthened accented syllables alternate with short unaccented syllables, and unaccented syllables with laryngeals alternate with lengthened accented syllables without the laryngeals. However, neither alternation is fully automatic, and so lengthened vowels cannot simply be substituted in accented syllables for short vowels. All other publications, with the exception of Postal 1962, give Mohawk data in terms of a phonemic representation, with vowel length indicated. Although B cautions readers in Appendix B (p. 523) that 'the transcriptions are not in all cases accurate enough to be useful for phonological purposes', the substantial data in the book will undoubtedly be cited by others. Given that Mohawk is surely an endangered language, and since the representation of Mohawk forms in an idealized, underlying form in no way contributes to the morphosyntactic issues, such a choice is unfortunate.

In closing, this book represents a stimulating study of the morphosyntax of Mohawk and several other polysynthetic languages within a particular formal approach (principles and parameters). As such, the book represents a benchmark and should be read by anybody interested in polysynthesis.

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