

## 2. GENERATIVE GRAMMAR AND FUNCTIONAL EXPLANATION

### (1) **The Autonomy of Syntax:**

The syntactic rules and principles of a language are formulated without reference to meaning, discourse, or language use

(2) A typical functionalist remark about the compatibility of generative grammar and functional explanation:

The autonomy of syntax cuts off [sentence structure] from the pressures of communicative function. In the [formalist] vision, language is pure and autonomous, unconstrained and unshaped by purpose or function. (Bates and MacWhinney, 1989: 5).

(3) Chomsky does not exclude the idea that grammars are shaped in part by function:

Surely there are significant connections between structure and function; this is not and has never been in doubt. ... Searle argues that 'it is reasonable to suppose that the needs of communication influenced [language] structure'. I agree. (Chomsky, 1975: 56-58).

See also his remarks in Chomsky, 1995 on how movement rules exist to aid processing and discourse.

(4) Other systems are both autonomous (in the relevant sense), yet explained functionally:

- a. Chess and other games.
- b. Our bodily organs.

(5) The structure-dependence of syntactic rules: Sentences are analyzed in terms of abstract phrases and rules/processes refer to these phrases

(6) A functional explanation for structure-dependence:

... in general structure-independent operations are difficult for people to perform on temporally sequenced strings; for instance, it is difficult to give a fluent reading of the alphabet, or a well-known telephone number, backwards without practice. (Comrie, 1989: 23)

### **To demonstrate the autonomy of syntax one must show that:**

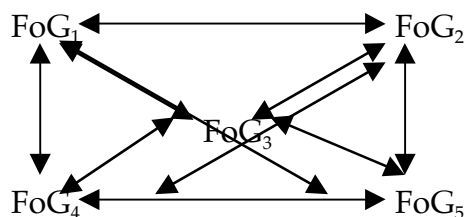
(7) a. there exists an extensive set of purely formal generalizations orthogonal to generalizations governing meaning or discourse.

b. these generalizations 'interlock' in a system

(8) a. A set of formal generalizations (FoGs):

FoG<sub>1</sub> FoG<sub>2</sub> FoG<sub>3</sub> FoG<sub>4</sub> FoG<sub>5</sub> etc.

b. that 'interlock' in a system:



### Displaced *wh*-elements

- (9) a. **Who** did you see?  
 b. The book **which** I read
- (10) **Some descriptive generalizations about displaced *wh*-elements:**
- a. Displacement is almost always to the left rather than to the right.
  - b. Displacement is far more common in VO than in OV languages:
    - 71% of V-final languages lack *Wh*-Movement
    - 42% of V-medial languages lack *Wh*-Movement
    - 16% of V-initial languages lack *Wh*-Movement (Dryer, 1991)
  - c. Displacement is subject to locality conditions (e.g. Subjacency)
    - i. What did you put on the table?
    - ii. What did you ask John to put on the table?
    - iii. Where did you ask John to put the book?
    - iv. \*What did you wonder where John put?
- (10)' **These generalizations have functional explanations:**
- a.' i. *Wh*-expressions set up operator-variable structures. It is natural that operators should precede variables (since variables depend on operators — see Hawkins, 2001).
  - ii. *Wh*-expressions function as scope markers. It is natural that a scope marker should precede the element(s) in its domain (Hawkins, 2001).
  - iii. *Wh*-question elements focus on a single element demanding the hearer's attention. It is natural that conversationally 'urgent' elements should appear early in the sentence (Givón, 1988).
  - iv. *Wh*-relative elements are anaphoric to the head of the relative clause. It is natural for anaphoric elements to follow their antecedents (Hawkins, 2001) and to be close to them (Haiman, 1985). So movement will be to the left, not to the right.
  - b.' Hawkins, 1995: 95 notes that heads, in general, are the best identifiers of their subcategorized arguments. If one hears the verb *give*, for example, one is primed to expect two associated internal arguments, one representing a recipient and the other an object undergoing transfer. On the other hand, a human NP might or might not be a recipient and an inanimate NP might or might not be an object undergoing transfer. Hence, if arguments precede their heads, as they do in OV languages, extra cues are useful to identify their thematic status. Such can be accomplished by keeping them contiguous to the head (that is, by restricting their movement possibilities) and / or by endowing them with case marking that uniquely identifies their thematic role or helps to narrow down the possibilities.

c.' Processing-based explanations for the existence of Subjacency go back at least to Erteschik-Shir, 1973 (for a discourse-processing account) and to Berwick and Weinberg, 1984 (for a purely syntactic parsing-based account).

**So, given that *wh*-fronting has a functional explanation, do we still need the apparatus of formal grammar to characterize it? Yes, for several reasons:**

(11) a. Functions help to restrict the positing of *wh*-elements, but they do not *determine* those positions. Hence we need formal statements characterizing those positions.

b. *Wh*-expressions in particular languages partake of a *formal system* with other (formal) elements — that is, there are purely formal generalizations in language (and individual languages) only remotely, if at all, related to functional generalizations.

c. Functions can conflict with each other. Autonomy is a natural response to conflicting functions.

**In the simplest cases, fronted *wh* is a scope marker and an operator:**

(12) What did Mary eat? = for what *x*, Mary ate *x*

**Appositive relatives are not operator-variable structures:**

(13) Ralph Nader, who several million Americans voted for, lost the election.

**Absence of weak crossover effects with appositive relatives (Lasnik and Stowell, 1991):**

(14) a. Gerald<sub>*i*</sub>, who<sub>*i*</sub> his<sub>*i*</sub> mother loves *t<sub>i</sub>*, is a nice guy.

b. This book<sub>*i*</sub>, which<sub>*i*</sub> its<sub>*i*</sub> author wrote *t<sub>i</sub>* last week, is a hit.

**But '*wh*' not always a scope marker:**

(15) a. niṅ-ṅe aarə talli (Malayalam — Jayaseelan, 2002)

you-acc. who beat (past)

'Who beat you?'

b. \* aarə niṅ-ṅe talli

who you-acc beat (past)

**Partial *Wh*-Movement in German and Romani (McDaniel, 1989):**

(16) Was<sub>*i*</sub> glaubt [<sub>IP</sub> Hans [<sub>CP</sub> mit wem]<sub>*i*</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Jakob jetzt *t<sub>i</sub>* spricht]]?

what think Hans with who Jacob now speak

'With whom does Hans believe Jacob is now talking?'

(17) So<sub>i</sub> [[<sub>IP</sub> o Demiri mislinol [<sub>CP</sub> [kas]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> I Arifa dikhl'a t<sub>i</sub>]]]]

what that Demir think who the Arif saw

'Whom does Demir think Arifa saw?'

**Multiple *wh* phrases, where one is left in situ**

(18) Who remembers where we bought which book (Baker, 1970)

(19) Two interpretations of (18) (Chomsky, 1973: 283):

- a. For which *x*, *x* remembers for which *z*, for which *y*, we bought *y* at *z*
- b. For which *x*, for which *y*, *x* remembers for which *z* we bought *y* at *z*

**Fronted *wh*-phrases in different constructions play very different roles in terms of information structure:**

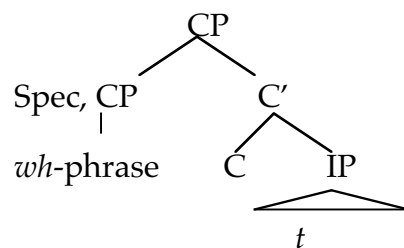
(20) **Who** did you see? (QUESTIONS: *wh*-phrase a focus)

(21) The woman **who** I saw (RELATIVES: *wh*-phrase a topic)

(22) I'll buy **what(ever)** you are selling. (FREE RELATIVES: *wh*-phrase fills the semantic functions of the missing head noun.)

(23) **What** John lost was his keys. (WH-CLEFTS: *wh*-phrase prepares the hearer for the focused (new) information in sentence-final position)

(24)



**Subjacency accounts for ungrammaticality where there is no movement:**

(25) \*Mary is taller than I believe the claim that Susan is.

**A simple (but incorrect) generalization about case assignment — displaced NPs bear the case of their surface position; displaced *wh*-phrases bear the case of their subcategorized (underlying) position:**

(26) a. She / \*Her was seen by Mary.

b. She / \*Her is easy to please.

(27) a. \*Who / Whom did you see?

b. Who / \*Whom saw Mary?

**A classical TG rule ordering account:**

(28) a. Passive

b. Case Assignment

c. *Wh*-Movement

**But notice the case when the subject of a passive is *wh*-fronted:**

(29) Who / \*Whom do you think was seen by John?

The cycle accounts for this automatically

**Constraint violations that pose no parsing difficulties:**

- (30) a. \*What did you eat beans and \_\_\_\_?  
 b. What did you eat beans with \_\_\_\_?
- (31) a. \*Who were you hoping for \_\_\_\_ to win the game? (Fodor, 1984)  
 b. \*What did the baby play with \_\_\_\_ and the rattle?

**Equal problems for the parser, but differing grammaticality: (Fodor, 1984)**

- (32) a. \*John tried for Mary to get along well with \_\_\_\_.  
 b. John is too snobbish for Mary to get along well with \_\_\_\_.
- (33) a. \*The second question, that he couldn't answer \_\_\_\_ satisfactorily was obvious.  
 b. The second question, it was obvious that he couldn't answer \_\_\_\_ satisfactorily.

**Lightfoot, 1999 on the incidentally dysfunctional consequences of a functionally-motivated constraint:**

- (34) Traces of movement must be lexically governed

**Condition (34) explains the following contrast:**

- (35) a. Who<sub>i</sub> was it apparent [e<sub>i</sub> that [Kay saw e<sub>i</sub>]]?  
 b. \* Who<sub>i</sub> was it apparent yesterday [e<sub>i</sub> that [Kay saw e<sub>i</sub>]]?

(36) Jay's picture

(37) [Jay<sub>i</sub>'s [picture e<sub>i</sub>]]

(38) the picture of Jay's

(39) \*the picture of [Jay<sub>i</sub>'s [e e<sub>i</sub>]]

- (40) **Lightfoot notes that the condition might be functionally motivated:**

... the general condition of movement traces ... may well be functionally motivated, possibly by parsing considerations. In parsing utterances, one needs to analyze the positions from which displaced elements have moved, traces. The UG condition discussed restricts traces to certain well-defined positions, and that presumably facilitates parsing. (Lightfoot, 1999: 249)

**Condition (34) blocks the straightforward extraction of subjects:**

- (41) a. \*Who<sub>i</sub> do think [e<sub>i</sub> that e<sub>i</sub> saw Fay]?  
 b. \*Who<sub>i</sub> do you wonder [e<sub>i</sub> how [e<sub>i</sub> solved the problem]]?

**Strategies for undoing the damages of the lexical government condition:**

- (42) a. Adjust the complementizer to license the extraction.  
 b. Use a resumptive pronoun in the extraction site.  
 c. Move the subject first to a nonsubject position and then extract.

**Strategy (42a) — English:**

(43) Who do you think saw Fay?

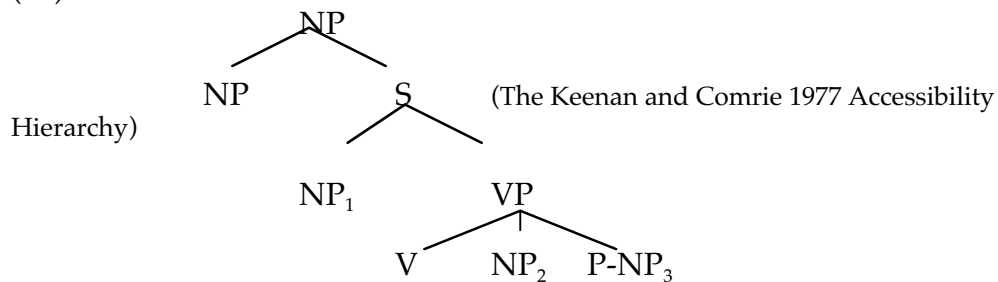
**Strategy (42b) — Swedish:**

(44) Vilket ord<sub>i</sub> visste ingen [hur det/\*e<sub>i</sub> stavas]?  
 Which word knew no one how it/e<sub>i</sub> is spelled?  
 'Which word did no one know how it is spelled?'

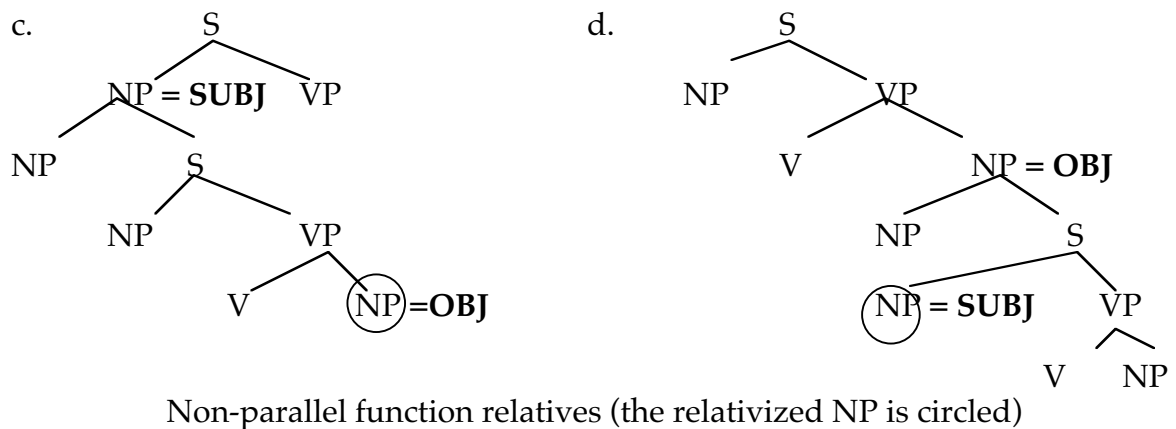
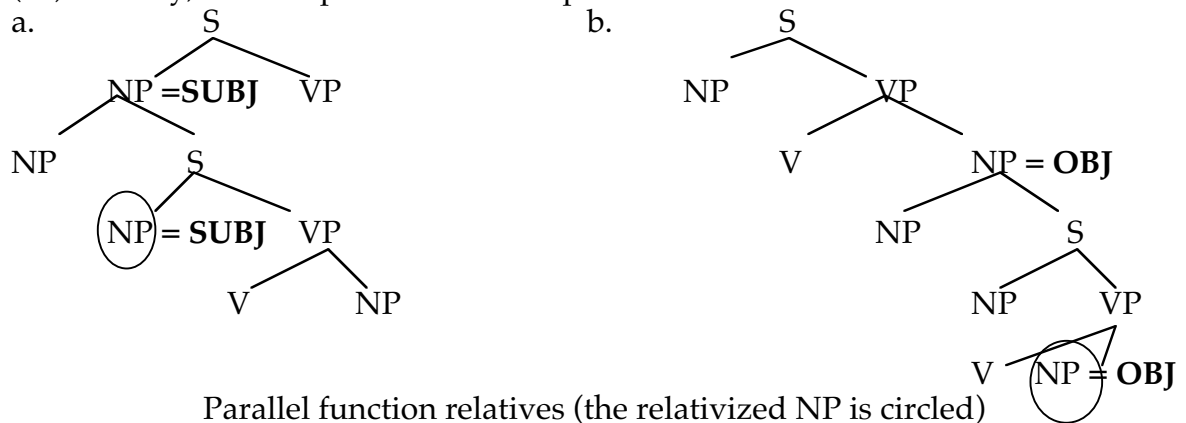
**Strategy (42c) — Italian:**

(45) Chi<sub>i</sub> credi [che abbia telefonato e<sub>i</sub>]?  
 who do-you-think that has telephoned?  
 'Who do you think has telephoned?'

(46)



(47) Kirby, 1998 on parallel and non-parallel function relatives:



(48) **The factor that best explains why a person's grammar has the properties that it has is *conventionality*:**

... a central aspect of a speaker's use of language is convention. When I say *Who did you meet yesterday?*, I put the interrogative pronoun *Who* at the beginning of the sentence because that is the convention of my speech community. I know the conventions of my speech community, and my use of language will serve its purpose best most of the time if I conform to the conventions of my speech community. It may be that the initial position of *Who* is partly motivated by pragmatic universals of information structure, or partly specified by an innate Universal Grammar. In fact, one (or both) of those factors may be the motivation for the origin of the convention. But that is not why I have put it there in that utterance. (Croft, 2000: 7)

(49) **BASIC PROBLEM FOR A DIRECT LINKING BETWEEN FORM AND FUNCTION:** the forces (functional or otherwise) that bring a construction into a language aren't necessarily the same ones that keep it there.

**The two genitives of Modern English:**

- (50) a. GEN-N: Mary's mother's uncle's lawyer  
b. N-GEN: the leg of the table

(51) **The functional differentiation of the genitive in Early Modern English** (Kroch, 1994; Rosenbach and Vezzosi, 2000)

- a. GEN-N began to be favored for animate genitives  
b. N-GEN began to be favored for inanimate genitives

- (52) a. the table's leg (inanimates can occur in the GEN-N construction)  
b. the treachery of the enemy (animates can occur in the N-GEN construction)

(53) **Pressures for maintaining both the GEN-N and N-GEN orders in English:**

- a. The pressure of conventionality.  
b. The pressure to have animate specifiers and inanimate complements  
c. Purely structural pressure, caused by the existence of noun phrases with the structure [NP's N] and [N of NP] where there is no semantic possession at all:  
i. Tuesday's lecture  
ii. the proof of the theorem

- (54) L<sub>1</sub> has property X, X motivated by external function FU-EX<sub>1</sub>  
L<sub>2</sub> has property Y, Y motivated by external function FU-EX<sub>2</sub>

Can we say that FU-EX<sub>1</sub> *explains* why L<sub>1</sub> has X and  
FU-EX<sub>2</sub> *explains* why L<sub>2</sub> has Y?

**No!**

(55) **What functionalists have to say about ‘innateness’:**

linguistic abilities is that they are part of a more general cognitive-learning schema, the avenue of ‘explaining’ some phenomenon by declaring the rule describing it to be innate is not available... (Foley and Van Valin, 1984: 13)

However, as an empirical claim innateness remains empty because it is ... just a name given to the set of language universals, and using this name should not blind us to the fact that a name is not an explanation. (Comrie, 1989: 25).

(56) The Baldwin Effect: A mechanism by which advantageous traits can be incorporated into the genome even if they don’t directly increase the survival and reproductive possibilities of those that have them.

(57) Some ‘Baldwinian’ (functional) explanations for innate constraints: Berwick and Weinberg, 1984 ; Newmeyer, 1990 , 1991; Kirby, 1998; Kirby and Hurford, 1997; Bresnan and Aissen, 2002.

(58) Three classes of Arguments from the Poverty of the Stimulus for innateness:

a. The *abstractness and/or complexity* of the principle is so great that no conceivable mechanism of inductive learning could have resulted in its acquisition.

b. The principle *appears at such an early age and so rapidly* that, again, no theory other than one that posits its innate origins can reasonably explain its possession by the child.

c. Some aspect of verbal behavior (normally judgments of sentential acceptability) is at great remove from anything likely to have been experienced. Therefore an innate principle must underlie that behavior (even though we may not know the precise nature of the principle).

Two examples of type (58a):

I. Chomsky, 1975 on structure-dependence: Chomsky’s well-known and often repeated argument for the innateness of the *structure-dependent* nature of grammatical rules.

Chomsky reasons as follows: Suppose that a child learning English always forms questions such as (59b) from declaratives such as (59a):

(59) a. The man is tall.  
b. Is the man tall?

(60) In principle, the child could be working with one of two hypotheses:  
a. To form questions one simply inverts the first occurrence of *is* (or an auxiliary).  
b. More complexly, the child analyzes the sentence into abstract phrases and preposes the occurrence of *is* (or an auxiliary) that occurs after the first noun phrase.

Questions formed from declaratives such as (61a) decide the matter — the child assumes the second hypothesis. Given the first hypothesis, the child would incorrectly produce (61b). However, following the second, the child correctly produces (61c):

(61) a. The man who is tall is in the room.  
b. \*Is the man who tall is in the room?



- c. Is the man who is tall in the room?

How did the child come to have the second hypothesis? Chomsky argues that:

It is certainly absurd to argue that children are trained to use the structure-dependent rule, ...A person may go through a considerable portion of his life without ever facing relevant evidence, but he will have no hesitation in using the structure-dependent rule, even if his experience is consistent with hypothesis 1. ... The principle of structure-dependence is not learned, but forms part of the conditions for language learning. (Chomsky, 1975: 32-33)

II. Hoekstra and Kooij, 1988 on *Subjacency*. Subjacency prohibits the formation of *wh*-questions if a *wh*-phrase intervenes between the filler and the gap. Thus it predicts correctly that (62a) is ambiguous as to the scope of *where*, while (62b) is not.

In (62a), *where* can refer both to the place of John's saying and the place of getting off the bus, while in (62b), *where* can refer only to the place of John's asking:

- (62) a. Where<sub>i</sub> did John say \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> that we had to get off the bus \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>? (ambiguous)  
b. Where<sub>i</sub> did John ask \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> whether we had to get off the bus \*\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>? (not ambiguous)

H&K suggest that there is no way that the child could have learned this inductively.

An example of type (58b):

The discussion of the acquisition of anaphoric binding in Crain and McKee, 1986. Consider (63a-d):

- (63) a. The Ninja Turtle danced while he ate pizza.  
b. While he danced, the Ninja Turtle ate pizza.  
c. His archrival danced while the Ninja Turtle ate pizza.  
d. He danced while the Ninja Turtle ate pizza.

In (63a-b) *he* can be coreferential with *the Ninja Turtle*,  
In (63c) *his* can be coreferential with *the Ninja Turtle*,  
However, in (63d) *he* and *Ninja Turtle* cannot corefer.

Even though the relevant principles are quite complex and abstract, Crain and McKee, 1986 have shown that even children as young as two years old accept (63a-b) and reject (63d).

They conclude that the principles of anaphoric binding must be innate.

An example of type (58c):

English speakers consistently judge (64) as well-formed and (65a-b) as ill-formed. Yet 'parasitic gap' sentences are extremely rare in actual discourse. Therefore the principles guiding these judgments must be innate.

- (64) This is the paper that I filed before reading.  
(65) a. \*I filed the paper before reading.  
b. \*This is the paper that I filed the notes before reading.

## (66) WHY SYNTAX IS AUTONOMOUS

- Language serves many functions, which pull on it in many different directions (thought / communication)
- For this reason, virtually all linguists agree that there can be no *simple* relationship between form and function.
- However, two functional forces do seem powerful enough to have 'left their mark' on grammar — the force pushing form and meaning into alignment (pressure for iconicity) and the force favoring the identification of the structure of the sentence as rapidly as possible (parsing pressure).
- Even these two pressures can conflict with each other, however — in some cases dramatically (for ex, any case where parsing pressure to postpose proper subpart of some semantic unit) (or where preference for topic before predication conflicts with pressure to have long-before-short, as in Japanese)
- The problem, then, is to provide grammar with the degree of stability rendering it immune from the constant push-pull of conflicting forces.
- A natural solution to the problem is to provide language with a relatively stable core *immune* to the immanent pressure coming from all sides.
- That is, a natural solution is to embody language with a *structural system* at its core.
- Put another way, an autonomous syntax as an intermediate system between form and function is a clever design solution to the problem of how to make language both learnable and usable:

This system allows language to be

- nonarbitrary enough to facilitate acquisition and use

and yet

- stable enough not to be pushed this way and that by the functional force of the moment

*So autonomous syntax is functionally motivated!*

## REFERENCES

- Baker, C. L. 1970. Notes on the Description of English Questions: The Role of an Abstract Question Morpheme. *Foundations of Language* 6: 197-219.
- Bates, E. and B. MacWhinney. 1989. Functionalism and the Competition Model, eds. B. MacWhinney and E. Bates, *The Crosslinguistic Study of Sentence Processing*, 3-73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Berwick, R. C. and A. Weinberg. 1984. *The Grammatical Basis of Linguistic Performance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bresnan, J. W. and J. Aissen. 2002. Optimality and Functionality: Objections and Refutations. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21.
- Chomsky, N. 1973. Conditions on Transformations, eds. S. Anderson and P. Kiparsky, *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, 232-286. New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston.
- Chomsky, N. 1975. *Reflections on Language*. New York: Pantheon.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Comrie, B. 1989. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: 2nd Edition*. Second ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Crain, S. and C. McKee. 1986. Acquisition of Structural Restrictions on Anaphora. *North Eastern Linguistic Society*, 94-110.
- Croft, W. 2000. *Explaining Language Change: An Evolutionary Approach*. London: Longman.
- Dryer, M. S. 1991. SVO Languages and the OV:VO Typology. *Journal of Linguistics* 27: 443-482.
- Erteschik-Shir, N. 1973. On the Nature of Island Constraints. Ph. D., MIT.
- Fodor, J. D. 1984. Constraints on Gaps: Is the Parser a Significant Influence?, eds. B. Butterworth, B. Comrie, and Ö. Dahl, *Explanations for Language Universals*, 9-34. Berlin: Mouton.
- Foley, W. A. and R. D. Van Valin. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Vol. 38, *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Givón, T. 1988. The Pragmatics of Word Order: Predictability, Importance and Attention, eds. M. Hammond, E. Moravcsik, and J. Wirth, *Studies in Syntactic Typology*, 243-284. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hawkins, J. A. 1995. Argument-Predicate Structure in Grammar and Performance: A Comparison of English and German, eds. I. Rauch and G. F. Carr, *Insights in Germanic Linguistics I*, 127-144. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hawkins, J. A. 2001. *Efficiency and Complexity in Grammars*. University of Southern California: Unpublished ms.
- Hoekstra, T. and J. G. Kooij. 1988. The Innateness Hypothesis, ed. J. A. Hawkins, *Explaining Language Universals*, 31-55. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jayaseelan, K. A. 2002. Question Movement and How Some SOV Languages Handle It.
- Keenan, E. L. and B. Comrie. 1977. Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 63-99.
- Kirby, S. 1998. *Function, Selection and Innateness: The Emergence of Language Universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kirby, S. and J. Hurford. 1997. Learning, Culture, and Evolution in the Origin of Linguistic Constraints, eds. P. Husbands and H. Inman, *Proceedings of the Fourth European Conference on Artificial Life*, 493-502. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kroch, A. 1994. Morphosyntactic Variation, ed. K. a. o. Beals, *Papers from the 30th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 180-201. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Lasnik, H. and T. A. Stowell. 1991. Weakest Crossover. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 687-720.

- Lightfoot, D. W. 1999. *The Development of Language: Acquisition, Change, and Evolution*. Vol. 1, *Blackwell/Maryland Lectures in Language and Cognition*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- McDaniel, D. 1989. Partial and Multiple Wh-Movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 7: 565-604.
- Newmeyer, F. J. 1990. Speaker-Hearer Asymmetry as a Factor in Language Evolution: A Functional Explanation for Formal Principles of Grammar. *Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 241-247.
- Newmeyer, F. J. 1991. Functional Explanation in Linguistics and the Origins of Language. *Language and Communication* 11: 3-28.
- Rosenbach, A. and L. Vezzosi. 2000. Genitive Constructions in Early Modern English: New Evidence from a Corpus Analysis, eds. R. Sornicola, E. Poppe, and Shisha-Halevy, *Stability, Variation, and Change of Word Order over Time*, 285-307. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

#### 4b. ECONOMY AND SIMPLICITY IN LANGUAGE STRUCTURE

(1) **Ways in which ‘economy’, ‘simplicity’, least-effort’, etc. have been used:**

- a. In the sense of ‘Occam’s Razor’, driving all empirical investigation.
- b. As a distinct functional force, corresponding to ‘iconicity’, ‘parsing’, and so on.
- c. As a construct internal to generative-grammar.

(2) **The two major criticisms of ‘economy’, as it is used within generative grammar:**

- a. Generative grammarians are interested only in a formal ‘playing with symbols’ economy — a sense of ‘economy’ that excludes a host of psychologically-relevant facts about grammars.
- b. Generative grammarians focus too narrowly on economy within one component of the grammar (in particular, syntax), without consideration of the consequences for the ‘economy’ of the system as a whole.

*On (1a) — Occam’s razor:*

(3) **A sometimes-heard argument that would appear to challenge Occam’s razor:**

Language is a biological system and, like all such systems, is full of redundancy. Therefore, it is a mistake to search for the simplest (i.e. most non redundant) analysis of any phenomenon.

**The fallacy here is ignoring the fact that one searches for the simplest analysis consistent with the facts**

(4) **Functionalists appeal to Occam’s razor as frequently as formalists do:**

If grammar is autonomous ... then any attempt to relate grammatical theory to broader cognitive capacities is doomed to failure. ... [But in fact] syntactic structures are grounded in ordinary spatial thought via conceptual metaphor. ... It will be argued at length that basic grammatical properties emerge as metaphoric inferences out of basic inferential patterns applicable to ordinary physical objects. (Deane 1992: 2-3).

**Deane never argues that it is impossible to formulate autonomous rules to capture island constraints — His argument is based on an Occam’s razor appeal to elegance, given a set of facts.**

*On (1b) — Economy as a functional force:*

(5) **All external explanations are appeals to ‘economy’ / ‘least effort’**

- a. ‘Deletions’ under formal or discourse identity allow the speaker to economize production effort.

- b. An iconic relation between form and meaning is economical for both speaker and hearer as it leads to less ‘mental computation’ for each
- c. Redundancy (as in grammatical agreement) is economical for the hearer, as it facilitates the recovery of relations among grammatical elements
- d. Appeals to ‘metaphorical extension’ as part of an explanation for grammatical form presuppose that the organization of grammatical structure is simpler / more economical when there are established cognitive links among related elements.
- e. Etc.

**Better, therefore, not to use the term ‘economy’ at all in this sense**

### On (1c) — Simplicity within generative grammar:

A legacy of Prague School structuralism is that the correct grammar is the most economical in terms of number of symbols employed, rules written, etc.

**A problem: noted in Chomsky and Halle 1968: (6a-b) and (7a-b) are equal in their number of distinctive feature specifications. But the (a) rules are more natural / common than the (b) rules:**

- (6) a.  $\phi \rightarrow \text{ə} / \text{C} \_\_\_ [+son]\#$   
 b.  $\phi \rightarrow \text{k} / \text{C} \_\_\_ [+son]\#$

- (7) a.  $[\text{k}, \text{g}] \rightarrow [\text{č}, \text{ǰ}] / \_\_\_ [\text{i}, \text{e}]$   
 b.  $[\text{p}, \text{b}] \rightarrow [\text{t}, \text{d}] / \_\_\_ [\text{i}, \text{e}]$

(8) **Some principles of GB, *very* informally (and rather inaccurately) stated:**

- a. *Binding*. An anaphor is coreferential to its **closest** possible antecedent.
- b. *Bounding*. An element can move only to its **closest** potential landing site.
- c. *Government*. A head governs elements in its **local** domain.
- d. *Case*. Verbs and prepositions case-mark elements in their **local** domain.
- e. *Theta*. A head theta-marks elements in its **local** domain.
- f. *Control*. PRO takes its **closest** possible antecedent as a controller.

**The leading idea of the minimalist program is to distill core of each principle into one overriding ‘economy’ principle**

- (9) **Chomsky on the economy of language design and language use:**  
 Language design appears to be problematic from a parsing-theoretic perspective, though elegant regarded in isolation from considerations of use. (Chomsky 1991: 448)

*On criticism (2a) — Generative grammarians are interested only in a formal ‘playing with symbols’ economy — a sense of ‘economy’ that excludes a host of psychologically-relevant facts about grammars.*

(10) Givón on the 'gutting of the data base'  
[T]he pseudotheoretical baggage which transformational-generative linguistics carried into structuralism was coupled with another — equally ominous — development: the gutting, beyond recognition, of the concept of *relevant data* in linguistics. ... Thus by dissociating itself from the consideration of communicative function, speech processing, cognitive-perceptual structure, diachronic, ontogenetic and phylogenetic evolution, and world-view pragmatics and ontology, transformational linguistics had already restricted itself to the narrow band of language-internal data covered by the Bloomfieldians. (Givón 1979: 23)

- (11) **Statements like Givón's raise two questions:**
- What data are relevant for the construction of a grammatical theory?
  - Are we in a position to *use* all forms of potentially relevant data?

Short answer to (11a) — *all* data are *potentially* relevant

Short answer to (11b) — 'No'

- (12) **A fallacious argument:**  
Language users attend closely to frequency, as is evidenced by the relationship between frequency of use of a form and facts about grammars and how they change. Therefore grammars have to incorporate facts about relative frequency.

**This argument is fallacious because X can affect Y without being part of a system that includes Y.**

- (13) **Paraphrase of an argument by Sandra Thompson:**  
Chomsky says that phrases like *the shooting of the hunters* are ambiguous. But I have scanned thousands of pages of text and found hundreds of examples of structures of the form 'the N of the NP' and have discovered that in 96% of the cases, the NP is interpreted as the object of the gerund, not as the subject. Therefore, Chomsky is wrong.

But grammars encode structural possibilities — not propensities for taking advantage of these possibilities

*On criticism (2b) — Generative grammarians focus too narrowly on economy within one component of the grammar (in particular, syntax), without consideration of the consequences for the 'economy' of the system as a whole.*

This criticism has a lot to recommend it.

- (14) **The 'Definiteness Effect':**
- ?There is the meeting in room 205 today.
  - ?There's the dog running loose somewhere in the neighborhood.

(15) **Syntactic accounts of the definiteness effect:** Milsark 1977; Reuland 1985; Safir 1985

(16) Ward and Birner 1995 — The correct account is a pragmatic one — in such sentences are required to represent a hearer-new entity. Hence (17b) is fine.

(17) There were the same people at both conferences.

**Croft 1995 on the three components of the autonomy of syntax:**

- (18) a. At least some elements of syntax are arbitrary (ARBITRARINESS);  
b. The arbitrary elements participate in a system (SYSTEMATICITY);  
c. That system is self-contained (SELF-CONTAINEDNESS).

**Some (likely) arbitrary facts about English syntax:**

- (19) a. He is likely to be late.  
b. \*He is probable to be late. (*likely*, but not *probable*, allows raising)
- (20) a. He allowed the rope to go slack.  
b. \*He let the rope to go slack. (*let* doesn't take infinitive marker)
- (21) a. He isn't sufficiently tall.  
b. \*He isn't enough tall. / He isn't tall enough. (*enough* is only degree modifier that occurs postadjectivally)

(22) **The weakening of 'self-contained' syntax in some recent work:**

a. The incorporation of theta-roles into grammatical description, where theta-roles are 'semantic properties assigned by heads' (Chomsky 1986: 93). For example, consider the idea that syntactic structure is a projection of lexical structure, where lexical structure is stated in terms of 'theta-grids'. In its extreme form, this involves trying to derive 'C-Selection' from 'S-Selection', utilizing lexical representations like:

*persuade* \_\_\_\_ goal proposition  
*hit* \_\_\_\_ patient goal

b. The idea that movement is triggered by features of functional categories with semantic content:

Syntactic movement ... must be triggered by the satisfaction of certain quasi-morphological requirements of heads. ... [S]uch features have **an interpretive import (Wh, Neg, Top, Foc, ...)**: they determine the interpretation of the category bearing them and of its immediate constituents ..., function as scope markers for phrases with the relevant quantificational force in a local configuration, etc. (Rizzi 1997: 282)

c. The idea that form and meaning are in a one-to-one relationship:

In fact, a restrictive theory should force a one-to-one relation between position and interpretation (20) ... **each projection has a specific semantic interpretation**. (132) (Cinque 1999)

(23) **Culicover and Jackendoff 2001 on control:**

- a. **Mary** attempted to take a vacation. (Agent control)  
b. Bill told **Mary** to come visit him. (Addressee control)  
c. I persuaded **John** to see the doctor. (Patient control)  
d. We taught **the dog** to roll over. (Recipient control)  
e. **Sam** promised Mary to write more often. (Source control)



f. Tom required **Alice** to hand in the assignment. (Holder control)

(24) **Coindexing, but no coreference:**

- a. [no qualified applicants]<sub>i</sub> presented [themselves]<sub>i</sub>
- b. it<sub>i</sub> seems e<sub>i</sub> to be raining
- c. John is easy [O<sub>i</sub> [to please t<sub>i</sub>]]

(25) **The coindexing - coreference distinction parallels the distinction between**

- a. Grammatical gender and 'natural' gender
- b. Formal features involved phenomena such as classifiers and their (approximate) semantic counterparts
- c. Etc.

**The Grammar-internal Structure-Preserving Constraint of Emonds 1976 prohibits:**

- (26) a. \*John regretted that liver he would never eat.  
b. \*Mary feared that speaking at today's lunch would be our congressman.

**Hooper and Thompson 1973 noted that the following sentences seem fully acceptable:**

- (27) a. John said that liver he would never eat.  
b. Mary repeated that speaking at today's lunch would be our congressman.

If Hooper and Thompson are right, then syntax is / can still be autonomous, just 'smaller'

MORAL: Grammar-internal economy cannot focus just on syntax

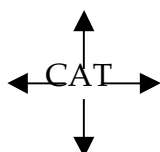
## REFERENCES

- Chomsky, N. 1986. *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use*. New York: Praeger.
- Chomsky, N. 1991. Some Notes on Economy of Derivation and Representation, ed. R. Freidin, *Principles and Parameters in Comparative Grammar*, 417-454. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. and M. Halle. 1968. *Sound Pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Croft, W. 1995. Autonomy and Functionalist Linguistics. *Language* 71: 490-532.
- Culicover, P. W. and R. Jackendoff. 2001. Control Is Not Movement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32.
- Deane, P. D. 1992. *Grammar in Mind and Brain: Explorations in Cognitive Syntax*. Vol. 2, *Cognitive Linguistics Research*, The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Emonds, J. E. 1976. *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Givón, T. 1979. *On Understanding Grammar*. New York: Academic Press.

- Hooper, J. and S. A. Thompson. 1973. On the Applicability of Root Transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4: 465-498.
- Milsark, G. 1977. Toward an Explanation of Certain Peculiarities of the Existential Construction in English. *Linguistic Analysis* 3: 1-30.
- Reuland, E. J. 1985. Representation at the Level of Logical Form and the Definiteness Effect, eds. J. Guéron, H.-G. Obenauer, and J.-Y. Pollock, *Grammatical Representation*, 327-362. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rizzi, L. 1997. The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery, ed. L. Haegeman, *Elements of Grammar: Handbook of Generative Syntax*, 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Safir, K. J. 1985. *Syntactic Chains*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ward, G. and B. Birner. 1995. Definiteness and the English Existential. *Language* 71: 722-742.

### 5a. Prototypes and Syntactic Categories

- (1) The standard generative view of categories: The grammar manipulates discrete formal objects drawn from a universal vocabulary.
- (2) The challenge from prototype theory: Categories have a 'best case' and deviations from that best case, where the best case is semantically and/or pragmatically characterizable:



- (3) Categorical Prototypicality:  
 a. **Grammatical categories have 'best case' members and members that systematically depart from the 'best case'.**  
 b. The optimal grammatical description of morphosyntactic processes involves reference to degree of categorial deviation from the 'best case'.

- (4) Fuzzy Categories  
 The boundaries between categories are nondistinct.

- (5) The Fake NP Squish (Ross 1973a)

- |    |                        |                                |
|----|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | Animates               | ↓<br>lower degree of NP status |
| b. | Events                 |                                |
| c. | Abstracts              |                                |
| d. | Expletive <i>it</i>    |                                |
| e. | Expletive <i>there</i> |                                |
| f. | Opaque idiom chunks    |                                |

- (6) a. John is likely to be shown to have cheated.  
 b. ?The performance is likely to be shown to have begun late.  
 c. \*No headway is likely to have been shown to have been made.

- (7) The Nouniness Squish (Ross 1973b: 141)  
*that* clauses > *for to* clauses > embedded questions > Acc *ing* complements > Poss *ing* complements > action nominals > derived nominals > underived nominals

- (8) Preposition deletion  
 — must apply before *that* and *for-to* complements (9a),  
 — may optionally apply before embedded questions (9b), and  
 — may not apply before more nouny elements (9c)

- (9) a. I was surprised (\*at) that you had measles.  
 b. I was surprised (at) how far you could throw the ball.

c. I was surprised \*(at) Jim's victory.

	Syntactic Category		
	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Adjective</i>	<i>Verb</i>
Semantic class	Object	Property	Action
Valency	0	1	≥1
Stativity	state	state	process
Persistence	persistent	persistent	transitory
Gradability	nongradable	gradable	nongradable
Pragmatic function	Reference	Modification	Predication

Table 1  
*Prototypical correlations of syntactic categories* (Croft 1991: 55, 65)

(10) **A prototypicality hierarchy for nouns**

- a. 1st and 2nd person pronouns
- b. 3rd person pronouns
- c. proper names
- d. human common nouns
- e. nonhuman animate common nouns
- f. inanimate concrete common nouns
- g. abstract nouns



decreasing  
 prototypicality

- (11) For adjectives: age, dimension, value, color are said to be most prototypical
- (12) For verbs: causative action verbs are said to be most prototypical

**The two central claims of prototype theory as far as morphosyntax is concerned go back to old work in markedness:**

- (13) **SYNTAGMATIC SIMPLICITY** — prototypical member of a category requires no more morphemes (or are in general shorter) than a nonprototypical member
- (14) **PARADIGMATIC COMPLEXITY** — prototypical members manifest more
  - a. structural elaboration
  - b. inflectional possibilities
 than nonprototypical members

- (15) English pronouns (more prototypical than nouns):  
 a. SS — they are shorter than nouns  
 b. PC — they distinguish between nominative and accusative case and nouns  
 do not
- (16) German singulars (more prototypical than plurals)  
 a. SS — nominative sing. doesn't have suffix; nom. pl. does  
 b. PC — nominative singular can have definite article *der, die, das*  
 nominative plurals only *die*
- (17) Special morphemes to indicate nonprototypical  
 a. *happi+ness*  
 b. the fly+*ing* object
- (18) Predication Hierarchy  
 Action word (V) < Property word (A) < Object word (N)  
 No language will require a special morpheme for verbal predication if  
 it does not require one for adjectival and nominal predication  
 No language will require a special morpheme for adjectival predication  
 if it does not require one for nominal.
- (19) **More illustrations of Paradigmatic Complexity:**  
 a. Structural elaboration:  
 — many more rules can apply to animates than to inanimates  
 (in many languages, only animates can passivize)  
 b. Inflectional possibilities:  
 — infinitives & participles are nonprototypical verbs (restricted in  
 tense, aspect & agreement)  
 — stative verbs don't occur in progressive  
 — predicate nouns & adjectives are nonprototypical (often don't  
 inflect, eg German predicate adjectives don't show agreement)  
*das rote Buch; \*das Buch ist rote/rotes*
- (20) **The strongest claim about prototypicality and grammatical  
 description:**  
 These [markedness, hierarchy, and prototype] patterns are universal, and are  
 therefore part of the grammatical description of any language. Language-  
 specific facts involve the degree to which typological universals are  
 conventionalized in a particular language; e.g. what cut-off point in the  
 animacy hierarchy is used to structurally and behaviorally mark direct objects  
 (Croft 1990: 154)

The following examples show that there is no cut-off point for progressive  
 morphology in English on an absolute scale of prototypicality:

- (21) a. Mary was throwing the ball.  
 b. \*Mary was containing 10 billion DNA molecules.
- (22) a. The portrait is hanging on the wall of the bedroom.  
 b. I'm enjoying my sabbatical year.
- (23) \*I'm noticing a diesel fuel truck passing by my window.
- (24) a. Tomorrow, the Mariners are playing the Yankees.  
 b. \*Tomorrow, the Mariners are playing well.

Likewise for a variety of other processes (25-29):

Various subject alternations:

- (25) a. The world saw the beginning of a new era in 1492.  
b. 1492 saw the beginning of a new era.
- (26) a. We sleep five people in each room.  
b. Each room sleeps five people.
- (27) a. The middle class will benefit from the new tax laws.  
b. The new tax laws will benefit the middle class.

*There*-Insertion:

- (28) a. A ship appeared on the horizon.  
b. There appeared a ship on the horizon.

Locative inversion:

- (29) a. A flowering plant is on the window sill.  
b. On the window sill is a flowering plant.

**Measure verbs and passive:**

- (30) a. The book cost a lot of money.  
b. John weighed 180 pounds.
- (31) a. \*A lot of money was cost by the book.  
b. \*180 pounds was weighed by John.
- (32) a. The boys make good cakes. (Bresnan 1978)  
b. The boys make good cooks.
- (33) a. Good cakes are made by the boys.  
b. \*Good cooks are made by the boys.

*Passives in (31a-b) and (33b) are impossible because the post-verbal phrases are not arguments of the verb. The 'prototypicality' of the verb does not enter directly into the explanation.*

***There* as a nonprototypical NP.**

- (34) The Fake NP Squish
  - a. Animates
  - b. Events
  - c. Abstracts
  - d. Expletive *it*
  - e. Expletive *there*
  - f. Opaque idiom chunks

Why call it expletive *there* a NP?

- it raises over the verb *seem* and others of its class (35a);
- it occurs as a passive subject (35b);
- it inverts over auxiliaries (35c);
- it can be coindexed with tags (35d):

- (35) a. There seems to be a problem.  
 b. There was believed to be a problem.  
 c. Is there a problem?  
 d. There is a problem, isn't there?

How does expletive there behave like a 'non-prototypical NP? According to Ross:

- it doesn't undergo the rule of 'promotion' (36a-b);
- it doesn't allow raising to reapply (37a-b);
- it doesn't occur in the '*think of ... as X*' construction (38a-b) or the '*what's ... doing X*' construction (39a-b);
- it doesn't allow '*being-deletion*' (40a-b);
- it doesn't occur in dislocation constructions (41a-b);
- it doesn't undergo *tough*-movement (42a-b),
- topicalization (43a-b),
- 'swooping' (44a-b),
- 'equi' (45a-b),
- or conjunction reduction (46a-b).

*Promotion:*

- (36) a. Harpo's being willing to return surprised me. / Harpo surprised me by being willing to return.  
 b. There being heat in the furnace surprised me. / \*There surprised me by being heat in the furnace.

*Double Raising:*

- (37) a. John is likely \_\_\_ to be shown \_\_\_ to have cheated.  
 b. ?\*There is likely \_\_\_ to be shown \_\_\_ to be no way out of this shoe.

*Think of ... as NP:*

- (38) a. I thought of Freud as being wiggly.  
 b. \*I thought of there as being too much homework.

*What's ... doing X?:*

- (39) a. What's he doing in jail?  
 b. \*What's there doing being no mistrial?

*Being Deletion:*

- (40) a. Hinswood (being) in the tub is a funny thought.  
 b. There \*(being) no more Schlitz is a funny thought.

*Left Dislocation:*

- (41) a. Those guys, they're smuggling my armadillo to Helen.  
 b. \*There, there are three armadillos in the road.

*Tough Movement:*

- (42) a. John will be difficult to prove to be likely to win.  
 b. \*There will be difficult to prove likely to be enough to eat.

*Topicalization:*

- (43) a. John, I don't consider very intelligent.  
 b. \*There, I don't consider to be enough booze in the eggnog.

*Swooping:*

- (44) a. I gave Sandra my zwieback, and she didn't want any. / I gave Sandra, and she didn't want any, my zwieback.  
 b. I find there to be no grounds for contempt proceedings, and there may have been previously. / \*I find there, which may have been previously, to be no grounds for contempt proceedings.

*Equi:*

- (45) a. After he laughed politely, Oliver wiped his mustache. / After laughing politely, Oliver wiped his mustache.  
 b. After there is a confrontation, there's always some good old-time head busting. / \*After being a confrontation, there's always some good old-time head-busting.

*Conjunction Reduction:*

- (46) a. Manny wept and Sheila wept. / Manny and Sheila wept.  
 b. There were diplodocuses, there are platypuses, and there may well also be diplatocodypuses. / \*There were diplodocuses, are platypuses, and may well also be diplatocodypuses.

**The ungrammaticality of the starred sentences follows from the meaning of *there* (abstract setting, conceptual space) and pragmatic conditions on the use of an element with that meaning. There is no reason for the grammar to make reference to the lack of prototypicality of *there*.**

- (47) The square circle elapsed the dragon.

### English idiom chunks

**Ross 1981 and Lakoff 1987 argue that idioms can be ranked *internally* in terms of their degree of prototypicality:**

- (48) a. to stub one's toe  
 b. to hold one's breath  
 c. to lose one's way  
 d. to take one's time
- ↓  
less prototypical

**Only *to stub one's toe* can be converted into a past participle - noun sequence.**

- (49) a. A *stubbed toe* can be very painful.  
 b. \**Held breath* is usually fetid when released.  
 c. \*A *lost way* has been the cause of many a missed appointment.  
 d. \**Taken time* might tend to irritate your boss.

***To stub one's toe* and *to hold one's breath* allow gapping in their conjuncts:**

- (50) a. I stubbed my toe, and she hers.  
 b. I held my breath, and she hers.  
 c. \*I lost my way, and she hers.  
 d. \*I took my time, and she hers.

**Pluralization with conjoined subjects distinguishes *to stub one's toe* from *to hold one's breath* and both of these from *to lose one's way* and *to take one's time*:**

- (51) a. Betty and Sue stubbed their toes.  
 b. \*Betty and Sue stubbed their toe.  
 c. Betty and Sue held their breaths.  
 d. Betty and Sue held their breath.  
 e. \*Betty and Sue lost their ways.  
 f. Betty and Sue lost their way.  
 g. \*Betty and Sue took their times.  
 h. Betty and Sue took their time.



**All but to take one's time allow pronominalization:**

- (52) a. I stubbed my toe, but didn't hurt *it*.  
 b. Sam held his breath for a few seconds, and then released *it*.  
 c. Harry lost his way, but found *it* again.  
 d. \*Harry took his time, but wasted *it*.

*The following examples show that the above facts have nothing to do with the 'prototypicality' of the idiom:*

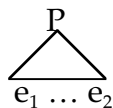
- (53) a. \*Held cats often try to jump out of your arms.  
 b. \*The taken jewels were never returned.  
 (54) A lost child is a pathetic sight.  
 (55) a. I lost my way, and she her way.  
 b. I took my time, and she her time.  
 c. ?I ate my ice cream and she hers.  
 d. In the race to get to the airport, Mary and John lost their way, but we didn't lose ours (and so we won).  
 (56) a. \*Betty and Sue broke their leg.  
 b. \*My bowl is full of rices.  
 (57) a. **Harry took his time, and wasted it.**  
 b. Harry took his time, which doesn't mean that he didn't find a way to waste it.

**Event structure and inflectional possibilities.**

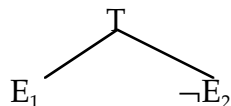
- (58) The event structure representations in Pustejovsky 1991:  
 a. States:



- b. Processes:



c. Achievements and Accomplishments have the same schematic structure (both are called 'transitions'), though the former are non-agentive and the latter agentive:



**The more complex the Event Structure, the more aspectual possibilities  
 — and hence the richer the Functional Structure  
 — and hence the more inflectional possibilities**

**In other words, one can derive a large part of paradigmatic complexity *without any reference to prototypes***

Two possible objections to an exclusively semantic account of restrictions on inflection:

(59) In some languages, inflections are restricted to some forms, but not others, even though there is no semantic incompatibility between the form and the inflection.

(60) Some inflections seem to be semantically empty (e.g. agreement)

### Prototypes and markedness

Some markedness hierarchies:

(61) Number (Greenberg 1963): singular < plural < dual < trial/paucal

(62) Animacy (Dixon 1979: 85): 1st, 2nd person pronouns < 3rd person pronouns < proper names < human common nouns < nonhuman animate common nouns < inanimate common nouns

(63) Definiteness (Croft 1990): definite < referential indefinite < nonreferential indefinite

What is the difference between prototypicality and (un)markedness?

Markedness is relative; prototypicality is absolute

(64) a.  $k\check{e}-\phi$  'to' /  $dari-\phi$  'from' + noun phrase denoting a place (Malay)

b.  $k\check{e}-\underline{pada}$  'to' /  $dari-\underline{pada}$  'from' + noun phrase denoting a person

### Fuzzy categories

#### Ross 1972 on *near*

*Near* seems to be something between an A and a P:

(65) a. The shed is near to the barn. (like an A)

b. The shed is near the barn. (like a P)

But it meets all tests for A:

(66) a. The gas station is near to the supermarket.

b. Near enough to the supermarket

c. Nearer to the supermarket

d. The near shore

And it meets all tests for P:

(67) a. The gas station is near the supermarket.

b. \*The gas station is near enough the supermarket.

c. The gas station is right near (\*to) the supermarket.

(68) The gas station is nearer the supermarket than the bank.

(69) The seaplane right now is more over the lake than over the mountain.

*The nouniness squish:*

(70) The 'Nouniness Squish':

*that* clauses > *for to* clauses > embedded questions > Acc *ing* complements > Poss *ing* complements > action nominals > derived nominals > underived nominals

Ross says that the nounier the complement, the harder to extract from it:

- (71) a. I wonder who he resented (it) that I went steady with.  
b. I wonder who he would resent (it) for me to go steady with.  
c. \*I wonder who he resented how long I went steady with.  
d. ?I wonder who he resented me going out with.  
e. ??I wonder who he resented my going out with.  
f. ?\*I wonder who he resented my careless examining of.  
g. ?\*I wonder who he resented my careless examination of.  
h. ?\*I wonder who he resented the daughter of.

Ross says that pied-piping is sensitive to the degree of nouniness; the more nouny, the easier to pied-pipe:

- (72) a. \*Eloise, [for us to love [whom]] they liked, is an accomplished washboardiste.  
b. \*Eloise, [us loving [whom]] they liked, is an accomplished washboardiste.  
c. \*Eloise, [our loving [whom]] they liked, is an accomplished washboardiste.  
d. ?\*Eloise, [our loving of [whom]] they liked, is an accomplished washboardiste.  
e. ?Eloise, [our love for [whom]] they liked, is an accomplished washboardiste.  
f. Eloise, [a part of [whom]] they liked, is an accomplished washboardiste.

#### **Both can be accounted for in 'discrete' terms**

#### REFERENCES

- Bresnan, J. W. 1978. A Realistic Transformational Grammar, eds. M. Halle, J. Bresnan, and G. Miller, *Linguistic Theory and Psychological Reality*, 1-59. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Croft, W. 1990. *Typology and Universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Croft, W. 1991. *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55: 59-138.
- Greenberg, J. H. 1963. Some Universals of Language with Special Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements, ed. J. Greenberg, *Universals of Language*, 73-113. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pustejovsky, J. 1991. The Syntax of Event Structure. *Cognition* 41: 47-81.
- Ross, J. R. 1972. The Category Squish: Endstation Hauptwort. *Chicago Linguistic Society*, 316-328.
- Ross, J. R. 1973a. A Fake NP Squish, eds. C.-J. N. Bailey and R. Shuy, *New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English*, 96-140. Washington: Georgetown.
- Ross, J. R. 1973b. Nouniness, ed. O. Fujimura, *Three Dimensions of Linguistic Theory*, 137-258. Tokyo: TEC Company, Ltd.
- Ross, J. R. 1981. Nominal Decay. *Unpublished ms.*, MIT.

**6b. Discussion of Martin Haspelmath (H) 'Explaining article-possessor complementarity: Economic motivation in noun phrase syntax'. (*Language* 75: 227-243; 1999).**

OVERVIEW OF PAPER: H sets out to explain the common prohibition against definite articles cooccurring with possessive phrases. He argues that appealing to a single structural position for 'determiners' will not work. Instead he puts forward a functional explanation: since possessed NPs are usually definite, 'economic motivation' dictates that there is no need for definite articles and possessors to cooccur.

SUMMARY EVALUATION: H's arguments against the structural explanation are quite convincing. However, issues not discussed by H undercut to a certain degree the functional explanation that he puts forward.

**A. ECONOMY VERSUS REDUNDANCY**

Pressure for economy, to be sure, is an important motivating force in language. But grammars are also filled with *redundancy*. Charles Hockett has offered the opinion that:

In every language, redundancy, measured in phonological terms, hovers near 50%. ... It may be that the redundancy figure would be about the same were it measured in grammatico-lexical terms ... (Hockett 1963: 24)

Here is a more recent statement, from the point of view of functional-cognitive linguistics:

[G]rammar is massive and highly redundant, rather than stripped down and economical. (Kemmer and Barlow 2000: ix)

Presumably, redundancy is also motivated functionally, as repetition of some grammatical feature is an aid to hearer comprehension. The question, then, is when economy-effects tend to be dominant and when redundancy-effects tend to be dominant (and why). In the absence of an answer to this question, any appeal to economy (or redundancy) has the danger of vacuity.

Economy effects are most manifest in 'non-local' contexts, that is where structure/meaning is recoverable from earlier stretches of structure or from the discourse itself. Typical examples are 'deletions under identity' (1) and null arguments (2):

(1) John promised to help Mary on Tuesday and he did [~~help Mary on Tuesday~~].

(2) Chinese (Huang 1984: 533)

SPEAKER A: Zhangsan kanjian Lisi le ma?  
 Zhangsan see Lisi LE Q  
 'Did Zhangsan see Lisi?'

SPEAKER B: e kanjian e le  
 [he] see [him] LE  
 'He saw him'

Redundancy effects, on the other hand, tend to be *local* (for discussion, see Lapointe 1988). That is, they show up in specifier-head configurations and affect features such as number, gender, case, person, declension class, tense, aspect, mood, voice, and **definiteness**. Some examples of definiteness agreement (all taken from Ferguson and Barlow 1988):

(3) ha-isha ha-tov-a (Hebrew)  
 the-woman the-good-FEM.SG  
 'the good woman'

(4) al-mu<sup>c</sup>allim-u al-jadiid-u (Classical Arabic)  
 DEF-teacher(MASC.SG)-NOM DEF-new(MASC.SG)-NOM  
 'the new teacher'

(5) he gune he agath-e (Classical Greek)  
 the.FEM.SG woman the.FEM.SG good-FEM.SG  
 'the good woman'

If it is the case that definiteness is a feature more likely to be repeated than economized on, then H's explanation for definite article - possessor complementarity does not go through

## B. DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE ARTICLES

H's argument is based on the idea that since possessed phrases are usually definite, economy dictates that the definite article is dispensable. The prediction would seem to follow, then, that when the possessed phrase is *indefinite*, the indefinite article (if there is one in the language) would be *more* likely to occur. That is, we should find languages where indefinite articles occur with possessive NPs, but not definite articles, but no languages in which the reverse situation holds. (This prediction is parallel to H's explanation (p. 231) for why we find special case marking on animate patients and overt coding of possession of alienable nouns.)

Is the prediction fulfilled? From H's few remarks on indefinite articles, it would appear not to be. So for example, H tells us (p. 240) that in Romanian the definite article cooccurs with the possessive, but the indefinite article does not:

(6) a. profesorul meu  
 teacher-the my

- b. \*un professorme  
a teacher my

What is needed for H's argument, then, is a survey of both kinds of articles and a demonstration that a significant number of languages allow structures like (7a), but not like (7b):

- (7) a. a my book  
b. the my book

### C. ON H'S UNIVERSAL 1

Universal 1: If possessed NPs show the definite article, then so do nonpossessed NPs.

This universal allows economical inexplicit languages (e. g. English), explicit uneconomical languages (e. g. Italian), and languages that completely lack definite articles (e. g. Russian), but it excludes uneconomical inexplicit languages that (uneconomically) have the definite article in possessed NPs but (inexplicitly) lack the definite article in nonpossessed NPs. (H, p. 234)

Things are more complicated than that, however. Let us look at the four language types, as far as the 'features'  $\pm$ ECONOMICAL and  $\pm$ EXPLICIT are concerned:

<i>Language type</i>	<i>Instantiated by</i>	<i>Example</i>
+ECO +EXP	Brazilian Portuguese	the my book my book
+ECO -EXP	English	*the my book my book
-ECO +EXP	Italian	the my book *my book
-ECO -EXP	NONE	the my book *the (old) book

As H notes, within individual NPs, economy conflicts with explicitness. However, looking at *languages as a whole*, we see that *both* economical and explicit constructions are possible. Brazilian Portuguese is a testament to that. Presumably, when economy is called for by the discourse situation, then a BP speaker will be more likely to say *my book* and when explicitness is called for, then the speaker will be more likely to say *the my book*. The question, then, is why more languages are not like Brazilian Portuguese? That is, if H's theory predicts why there are no uneconomical inexplicit languages, then it would also seem to predict (incorrectly) that there should be lots of language in which both economy and explicitness are possible.

Furthermore, there is probably an explanation (quasi-structural, quasi-semantic) for the nonexistence of the fourth type of language that does not appeal directly to either economy or explicitness. Note that in such languages, the equivalent of (8a) is possible, but not that of (8b):

- (8) a. DEF ART - POSS PRON - N  
b. \*DEF ART - N

In such a language, the full expansion of NP would be possible, but not a reduced expansion in which a semantically optional element is missing ('semantically optional', since not all nouns are possessed).

We would not expect such a state of affairs to exist, both on structural and on semantic grounds. In other words, H's fourth type of language should be rare for the same reason that we would not expect to find languages in which (9a) is possible, but not (9b); or (10a), but not (10b):

- (9) a. the old book  
b. \*the book  
(10) a. an old book  
b. \*a book

The explanation of (9) and (10) is surely parallel to that of (8), even though neither 'economy' nor 'explicitness' appears to be playing a role.

#### D. ON H'S UNIVERSAL 2

Universal 2: If possessed NPs with a preposed possessor show the definite article, then so do possessed NPs with a postposed possessor.

The fact that articles are more likely to be omitted with preposed possessors finds a natural explanation within my economy-based approach: if the possessor preceded the head noun, then at the time the hearer encounters the head noun he or she already has the information about its probable definiteness. Thus, overt indication of definiteness is still more redundant under these circumstances. (H, p. 235)

In other words, we should not find language in which (11a) is possible, but not (11b):

- (11) a. that John's book  
b. that book of John's

And H gives, on p. 234, examples of a number of languages to instantiate that point.

The question, though, is whether H's explanation is general enough. Emonds 1976 observed that English in general does not allow full phrases between the determiner and the head of an NP, even though they are allowed in post-head position:

- (12) a. \*the [<sub>PP</sub> on the table] book  
 b. the book [<sub>PP</sub> on the table]
- (13) a. \*the [<sub>AP</sub> fond of her job] woman  
 b. the woman [<sub>AP</sub> fond of her job]
- (14) a. \*the [<sub>CP</sub> that I read yesterday] book  
 b. the book [<sub>CP</sub> that I read yesterday]
- (15) a. \*the [<sub>VP</sub> running at full speed] fax machine  
 b. the fax machine [<sub>VP</sub> running at full speed]

Hawkins 1994 provides a parsing-based explanation for this tendency that generalizes to all VO languages (I believe that H's illustrative languages on p. 234 are all VO). Hawkins explanation would appear to subsume H's. (It would be interesting to see what the situation is for OV languages, where H's and Hawkins's predictions might differ.)

### E. ON H'S UNIVERSAL 3

Universal 3: If possessed NPs with a kinship term as head noun show the definite article, then so do possessed NPs with a nonkinship term as head noun.

I propose that articles are more likely to be omitted with kinship nouns because the possessive relation inherent in them ... (H, p. 235)

This universal is illustrated by H (p. 236) for Italian (16) and Brazilian Portuguese (17), as well as a few other languages:

- (16) a. la mia casa 'my house'  
 b. \*la mia madre 'my mother'
- (17) a. a minha casa 'my house'  
 b. \*a minha mãe 'my mother'

I don't question the basic universal, but the explanation might be more complex than the one suggested by H in terms of 'relationality'. In Italian (Cinzia Russi, p. c.) the definite article is possible with *plural* kinship terms, even though one's sisters are as 'relational' as one's mother:

- (18) le mie sorelle

Furthermore, the definite article is required with *singular* kinship terms, if the term is a diminutive or term of endearment:

- (19) a. la mia mamma  
 b. \*mia mamma
- (20) a. la mia sorellina  
 b. \*mia sorellina



## REFERENCES

- Emonds, J. E. 1976. *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ferguson, C. A. and M. Barlow. 1988. Introduction, eds. M. Barlow and C. A. Ferguson, *Agreement in Natural Language: Approaches, Theories, Descriptions*, 1-22. Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Hawkins, J. A. 1994. *A Performance Theory of Order and Constituency*. Vol. 73, *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hockett, C. F. 1963. The Problem of Universals in Language, ed. J. H. Greenberg, *Universals of Language*, 1-29. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Huang, J. 1984. On the Distribution and Reference of Empty Pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15: 531-574.
- Kemmer, S. E. and M. Barlow. 2000. Introduction: A Usage-Based Conception of Language, eds. M. Barlow and S. Kemmer, *Usage-Based Models of Language*, vii-xxviii. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Lapointe, S. G. 1988. Toward a Unified Theory of Agreement, eds. M. Barlow and C. A. Ferguson, *Agreement in Natural Language: Approaches, Theories, Descriptions*, 67-87. Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

## 7. Processing explanations and discourse-based explanations

- (1) Two important external (functional) explanations:
  - a. **Parsing:** There is pressure to shape grammar so the hearer can determine the structure of the sentence as rapidly as possible.
  - b. **Information flow in discourse:** There is pressure for the syntactic structure of a sentence to mirror the flow of information in discourse
- (2) The most comprehensive attempt to demonstrate how parsing pressure has influenced grammatical structure is Hawkins 1994

Central insight — it is in the interest of the hearer to recognize the syntactic groupings in a sentence as rapidly as possible.

- (3) **This preference is realized both in language use and in the grammar itself.**
  - a. **Use:** when speakers have the choice, they will follow the parser's preference
  - b. **Grammar:** facts about grammars will reflect parsing preferences

Central principle: EIC:

- (4) **Early Immediate Constituents (EIC)**  
The hearer (and therefore the parsing mechanism) prefers orderings of elements that lead to the most rapid recognition possible of the structure of the sentence

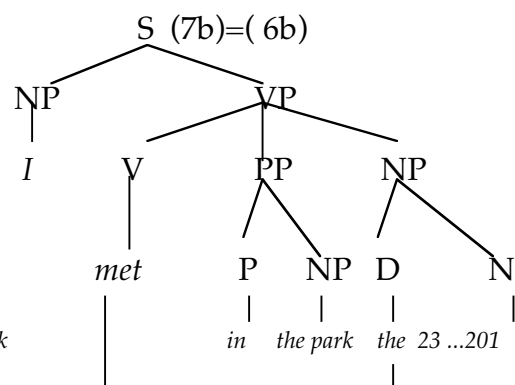
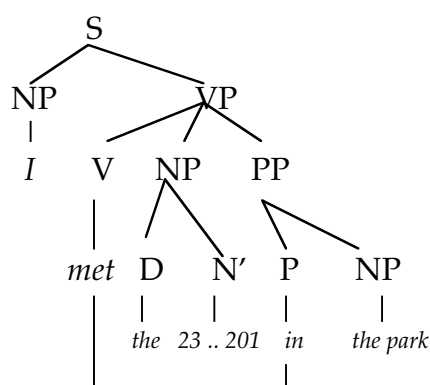
EIC Explains why long (or heavy) elements tend to come after short (or light) ones in VO languages

Why, for example, (5b) sounds better than (5a) and why (6b) sounds better than (6a)

**Examples of long (or 'heavy') elements (in boldface) tending to follow short (or 'light') elements (in italics):**

- (5)
  - a. ?I consider **everybody who agrees with me and my disciples about the nature of the cosmos** *smart*.
  - b. I consider *smart* **everybody who agrees with me and my disciples about the nature of the cosmos**.
- (6)
  - a. ?I met **the twenty three people who I had taken Astronomy 201 with last semester** *in the park*.
  - b. I met *in the park* **the twenty three people who I had taken Astronomy 201 with last semester**.

(7a)=(6a)



Notice that the distance between V and P in (7a) is much longer than the distance between V and D in (7b). So (6b) sounds much better than (6a).

- (8) Typological predictions of the EIC  
 a. VO langs tend to extrapose S' subjects  
 b. OV languages, like Japanese, tend to prepose S' objects.

- (9) a. That John will leave is likely.  
 b. It is likely that John will leave.

- (10) a. Mary-ga [kinoo John-ga kekkonsi-ta to] it-ta  
 Mary yesterday John married that said  
 'Mary said that John got married yesterday'  
 b. [kinoo John-ga kekkonsi-ta to] Mary-ga it-ta

EIC provides an explanation: By extraposing the sentential subject in English, the space in which the main clause constituents can be recognized is dramatically shortened, as illustrated in (11a-b).

By preposing the sentential object in Japanese, we find an analogous recognition domain shortening, as in (12a-b):

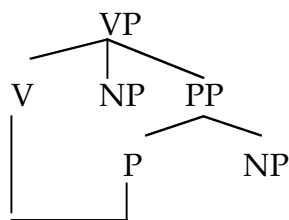
- (11) a.  $s_{S'}[ \text{that } s[ \text{John will leave} ] ]_{VP}[ \text{is likely} ] ]$   
 b.  $s[ \text{NP}[ \text{it} ] ]_{VP}[ \text{is likely } s'_[ \text{that } s[ \text{John will leave} ] ] ] ]$

- (12) a.  $s_1[ \text{Mary-ga }_{VP}[ s'_[ s_2[ \text{kinoo John-ga kekkonsi-ta} ] \text{to} ] ] \text{it-ta} ] ]$   
 b.  $s_2[ s'_[ s_1[ \text{kinoo John-ga kekkonsi-ta} ] \text{to} ] ] \text{Mary-ga }_{VP}[ \text{it-ta} ] ]$

EIC explains why VO languages have prepositions and OV languages have postpositions.

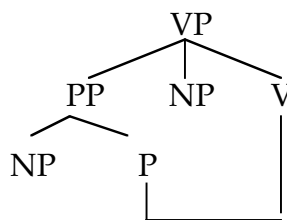
There are four logical possibilities, illustrated in (13a-d): VO and prepositional (13a); OV and postpositional (13b); VO and postpositional (13c); and OV and prepositional (13d):

(13) a.

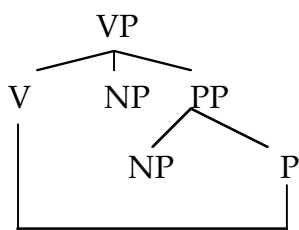


VO and prepositional (common)    OV and postpositional (common)

b.

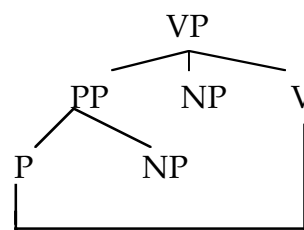


c.



VO and postpositional (rare)

d.



OV and prepositional (rare)

In (13a) and (13b), the two common structures, the recognition domain for the VP is just the distance between V and P, crossing over the object NP

But in (13c) and (13d), the uncommon structures, the recognition domain is longer — it involves the object of the preposition as well.

Another important processing principle proposed in Hawkins 1997:

(14) **Dependent Nodes Later:** If node B is dependent on node A for a property assignment, the processor prefers B to follow A.

(15) Examples of Dependent Nodes Later:

- a. Fillers tend to precede gaps
    - i. *Wh*-questions
    - ii. Relative clauses
    - iii. Control structures
    - iv. A wide variety of 'deletion' constructions
  - b. Antecedents tend to precede anaphors
  - c. Topics tend to precede predications (cf. Japanese *wa*)
  - d. Restrictive relative clauses tend to precede appositives
  - e. Agents tend to precede patients
  - f. Quantifiers/operators tend to precede elements within their scope
-

## Explanations based on information flow in discourse

(16) 'Free word order' languages, where all orders of S, V, and O are possible (Example from Russian):

- a. Lenin citiruet Marksa.
- b. Lenin Marksa citiruet.
- c. Citiruet Lenin Marksa.
- d. Citiruet Marksa Lenin.
- e. Marksa Lenin citiruet.
- f. Marksa citiruet Lenin.

(17) The principle of '**Communicative Dynamism**' (Mathesius 1929; Firbas 1964; Firbas 1966; Vachek 1966): Information moves from 'more thematic' to 'less thematic' (essentially, from old information to new information) as the sentence progresses

(18) The principle of '**Communicative Task Urgency**' (Givón 1988): Information moves from new to old; from more important to less important

(19) **John** is the person that I talked to

(20) **Three criteria for identifying convincing functional explanations:**

- a. precise formulation
- b. demonstrable linkage between cause and effect
- c. measurable typological consequences

**By these criteria, processing explanations do very well and information flow explanations very poorly.**

*The two competing theories about how information flow in discourse is supposed to influence grammar:*

1. Communicative Dynamism (old information precedes new information)
2. Communicative Task Urgency (new information precedes old information)

Both can't be right at the same time!

old-before new is generally true for VO languages

new-before-old is generally true for OV languages

Jack Hawkins's parsing theory (EIC) predicts:

- short-before-long for VO languages (e.g. in English, post-verbal PP's tend to be ordered in terms of **increasing** length)
- long-before-short for OV languages (e.g. in Japanese, *-ga*, *-o*, and *-ni* phrases tend to be ordered in terms of **decreasing** length)

In other words, where EIC predicts short-before-long, you get old-before new  
where EIC predicts long-before-short, you get new-before-old

But old information is *shorter* than new information —

So both 'Communicative Dynamism' and 'Communicative Task Urgency' are **parsing effects**  
— they have nothing to do with discourse principles affecting grammatical structure!

(21) The fact that (short) topic constituents tend to precede (long) comment constituents, even in OV languages, might seem to support Communicative Dynamism

But this is *also* a processing effect:

- a. New information is generally *predicated of* old information (Dependent Nodes Later principle at work — it is easier for the hearer if a ‘dependent’ node (the comment) follows an ‘independent’ node (the topic))
- b. There are processing advantages for the speaker too (Arnold, Wasow, Losongco, and Ginstrom 2000)

(22) General difficulties with information flow-based arguments designed to explain the nature of syntactic structure:

- a. Word order facts can be reduced to the effects of parsing pressure to a great extent.
- b. The desire to maintain structural parallelism is more important than the desire to model information flow.
- c. There is little reason to believe that the conveying of information is a central ‘function’ of language.
- d. Information flow-based explanations attribute to speakers and hearers more knowledge than they actually are likely to have.
- e. The recognition of form takes precedence over the recognition of the information conveyed by that form.

(23) a. I counted on your son.

b. I played in the rain.

(24) a. I counted on your son yesterday.

b. I played in the rain yesterday.

(25) a. I counted [on your good-for-nothing son] yesterday.

b. I played [in the hard driving rain] yesterday.

(26) a. ? I counted yesterday [on your good-for-nothing son].

b. I played yesterday [in the hard driving rain].

(26a) involves breaking up a syntactic/semantic dependency, (26b) does not.

---

## REFERENCES

- Arnold, J. E., T. Wasow, A. Losongco, and R. Ginstrom. 2000. Heaviness Vs. Newness: The Effects of Structural Complexity and Discourse Status on Constituent Ordering. *Language* 76: 28-55.
- Firbas, J. 1964. On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Analysis. *Travaux Linguistique de Prague* 1: 267-280.
- Firbas, J. 1966. Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English. *Travaux Linguistique de Prague* 2: 229-236.
- Givón, T. 1988. The Pragmatics of Word Order: Predictability, Importance and Attention, eds. M. Hammond, E. Moravcsik, and J. Wirth, *Studies in Syntactic Typology*, 243-284. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hawkins, J. A. 1994. *A Performance Theory of Order and Constituency*. Vol. 73, *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hawkins, J. A. 1997. Some Issues in a Performance Theory of Word Order, ed. A. Siewierska, *Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe*, 729-780. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Mathesius, V. 1929. Zur Satzperspektive Im Modernen Englisch. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 155: 202-210.
- Vachek, J. 1966. *The Linguistic School of Prague: An Introduction to Its Theory and Practice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

**9b. Discussion of Bernard Comrie (C) 'Reference-tracking: Description and explanation. (*Sprachtypol Univ. Forsch.* 51: 335-346; 1998).**

OVERVIEW OF PAPER: C sets out to explain a set of generalizations about reference-tracking:

- If a language has 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person reflexives, it will also have 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexives. *Explanation: 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person referents are unique. But 3<sup>rd</sup> person referents are open-ended. It is therefore more 'useful' to have 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexives, since they serve to narrow down the class of possible referents. Within a given domain, if a language makes a less-than-useful distinction, it will also make a useful one.*<sup>1</sup>
- Explicit coreference marking is more common in a local domain than in a nonlocal domain. *Explanation: Such marking serves a useful function, since 'the normal situation ... is for an action that includes more than one participant to have an agent acting on a patient that is a distinct entity from the agent'.*
- Noncoreference marking is more common in an extended domain than in a local domain. *Explanation: The unmarked situation is to have referential continuity, so special marking is used to indicate deviation from this pattern.*

SUMMARY EVALUATION: C's first explanation seems reasonable, but a better functional explanation for the facts is possible that does not demand appeal to the notion of 'usefulness'. There are serious problems with C's second and third explanations.

**ON GENERAL APPEALS TO 'USEFULNESS' IN FUNCTIONAL EXPLANATION**

Unlike appeals to parsing-efficiency as a functional explanation, which are predictive, general appeals to 'usefulness' have a post-facto feel to them. One observes a generalization and comes up with a plausible story to account for it. But there is nothing *predictive* about accounts like C's. One can come up with any number of things that it would be useful for a language to do (or for language in general to do), but which never occur. One needs a theory — which is now lacking — of why some useful features result in grammatical coding, and some do not.

Jack Hawkins has made the following perceptive observation on C's first argument:

This explanation appeals, ultimately, to the number of occasions on which a formal distinction is useful in actual communication. I find it highly plausible. And yet it raises a fundamental question. When can we refer to such discourse considerations in general, and when not? After all, there are lots of useful real-world distinctions that could potentially be grammaticalized in languages which either never receive their own separate morphemes or structures, or which do so only rarely. Speakers regularly have occasion to refer deictically to objects

---

<sup>1</sup> This argument first appeared in print in Faltz 1977/1985: 120.



on their left as opposed to their right side, or vice-versa. Yet deictic systems across languages are not organized on this basis. The height of an object in relation to the speaker is another potentially useful distinguishing criterion, and here there are some languages that incorporate a height dimension into systems of spatial deixis (e.g. Daga and Dyirbal, cf. Anderson and Keenan 1985), but the majority operate only with a system of relative distance from the speaker (and in some cases from the hearer as well, cf. Anderson and Keenan 1985). Hence, although Comrie's explanation for his reflexive universal is very convincing, it is somewhat after the fact. If other similar motivations for the grammaticalization of real-world distinctions do not result in distinctive grammatical morphemes or structures in this way, when can we appeal to a discourse-pragmatic explanation and when not? And can we assume that there will be a simple correlation between the degree of usefulness of some real-world distinction, and the frequency of its grammaticalization across languages? (Hawkins 1988: 12).

### ON AMBIGUITY-REDUCTION AS A MOTIVATING FORCE

All three of C's arguments are based, essentially, on ambiguity-reduction as a motivating factor in language. It is well known that language tolerates a tremendous amount of (formal) ambiguity, particularly in the reference system. Consider the inclusive/exclusive pronoun distinction. According to Nichols 1992, a minority of languages (about 42%) make this distinction. And the distinction is heavily areal — only in Australia, Oceania, and South America do more than 60% of languages manifest it. Yet the distinction is quite 'useful' from an ambiguity-reduction perspective. We all have been in many situations where we or someone else have said "We are going to do X, Y, and Z" and it has not been clear whether the person addressed was included in the "we" or not.

One could make the same point about the falling together of 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural pronouns in English (where it is total) and in other European languages (where it affects the polite form).

Consider also the fact that a majority of the world's languages are null subject. The point is that overwhelmingly (I think) argument reference can be assigned from the discourse. Why should there be functional pressure at all to mark 3<sup>rd</sup> person coreference? In real life, how much more uncertain is the reference of a 3<sup>rd</sup> person object than that of a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup>?

To be convincing, C should take a language like Old English, which does not have a special 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive form, and show that a significant amount of confusion arises from that fact.

### A BETTER FUNCTIONAL EXPLANATION OF THE SAME FACTS

There is an explanation of the fact that the existence of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person reflexive pronouns in a language implies the existence of 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexive pronouns that does not involve problematic appeals to 'usefulness'. In

languages that have reflexive pronouns in all three persons, 3<sup>rd</sup> person reflexives are *used more frequently* than 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>. Consider English. In a million-word collection of British English texts (Johansson and Hofland 1989), 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular reflexives were 5.8 times more likely to occur than 1<sup>st</sup> person and 10.5 times more likely to occur than 2<sup>nd</sup> person (see Table I).

Reflexive pronoun	Number of occurrences in corpus
myself	169
yourself	94
himself	511
herself	203
itself	272
TOTAL 3 <sup>RD</sup> PERS. SG.	986

Table I  
Reflexive Pronoun Occurrence in English

Language users (for whatever reason) more frequently use identical subjects and objects in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person than in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup>. Given the well-accepted dictum that more frequently used expressions are more likely to be lexicalized / grammaticalized than less frequently used ones, the implicational relationship among reflexive pronouns follows automatically. There is no need to appeal to ambiguity-reducing 'usefulness'.

#### SUPPOSE THAT THE FACTS WERE THE OPPOSITE ...

A tell-tale sign of a weak argument is that a reversal of the facts also lends itself to a 'neat' explanation. Let's make the counterfactual assumption that many languages have reflexive pronouns in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person, but not in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Can we 'explain' why such should be true?

The answer appears to be 'yes'. First note that a long-standing assumption is that 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person is more 'prototypical' than 3<sup>rd</sup> person. In particular, consider the Animacy Hierarchy (Silverstein 1976; Dixon 1979):

- (1) Animacy Hierarchy (Dixon 1979: 85): 1<sup>st</sup> Person Pronoun > 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Pronoun > 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Pronoun > Proper Noun > Human Common Noun > Animate Common Noun > Inanimate Common Noun

Many grammatical processes appeal to degree of animacy, the most prototypically animate nouns being 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person. This hierarchy appears to be implicated in phenomena as diverse as case-marking and the number of honorific pronoun forms (for the latter, see Brown and Levinson 1978/1987). Now, it is a staple of markedness / prototype theory that the more prototypical / less marked member of an opposition shows more morphosyntactic complexity than the less prototypical / more marked member. Consider German gender distinctions, for example. In the nominative case, German makes three overt distinctions in the (unmarked) singular, while there is only one form for the (marked) plural. It 'stands to reason', then, that more overt distinctions (e.g. *me* vs. *myself*) would be made for pronouns in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person than in the 3<sup>rd</sup>.

This bad (but why bad?) argument might be supported by the observation that in informal conversation (but not in more formal genres) 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person reference is more common than 3<sup>rd</sup>:

Egophoric reference is defined as reference to speech act participants and generic reference. As shown by adult conversational data from Swedish, English, and Spanish, and longitudinal data from one Swedish child, the majority of all animate arguments of verbs in conversation are egophoric. (Dahl 2000: 37).

For other studies that confirm this claim, see Ariel 2000.

Given that frequency correlates with both prototypicality and morphosyntactic elaboration, it 'follows' that languages would be more likely to have 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person reflexives than 3<sup>rd</sup>.

### C'S CORE EXPLANATION AND EXPANDED BINDING DOMAINS

In C's analysis, non-coreference is marked in local domains because 'the normal situation ... is for an action that includes more than one participant to have an agent acting on a patient that is a distinct entity from the agent'. As C observes, many languages allow an extended binding domain for reflexives. C implies that what we have here is an innocuous extension of a functionally-motivated formal generalization to a situation where the function is not directly served. (An analogy might be drawn from case-marking. It is functionally useful for a language to distinguish nominative from accusative case. But no harm is done for a case-marking language to mark nominative case on NP subjects of intransitive verbs, even though the function of distinguishing subjects from objects does not apply.)

But extending the domain of reflexivization is downright *counter-functional*, given C's theory. C claims that the function of the reflexive pronoun is to signal a non-prototypical situation. More often than not, however long-distance reflexives will be used in *prototypical* situations. So consider the following sentence from Korean (from Moon 1995):

- (2) John<sub>i</sub>-un [Tom<sub>j</sub>-i caki<sub>i/j</sub>-lul pipanhayss-ul ttay] amwu-malto an hayssta  
John-top Tom-nom self-acc criticize-comp when anything did not say  
'John<sub>i</sub> did not say anything when Tom<sub>j</sub> criticized him<sub>i</sub>/himself<sub>j</sub>'

*John* is not only a possible antecedent for the reflexive *caki*, but is actually the *preferred* antecedent. This fact is quite troublesome for C's account. The sentence in which *caki* occurs is 'normal' according to C, since agent and patient have different reference. Yet the reflexive pronoun occurs in it.

For Korean (and possibly for other languages with long-distance anaphors) the farthest antecedent is the most preferred — that fact runs counter to the explanation that C offers for the role of anaphors.

So the question is why languages would develop extended binding domains (long-distance anaphors) in the first place, if the motivation for reflexive pronouns is what C says it is.

### **TOWARDS A BETTER FORMAL (AND THEREFORE FUNCTIONAL?) ACCOUNT OF THE BINDING FACTS THAN THAT PROVIDED BY C**

In many ways, the account of anaphor binding in C is remarkably similar to the now 'classic' binding theory of Chomsky 1981. Both assume that the normal 'unmarked' situation for anaphor binding is that it take place in a very restricted local domain. The evident fact that many, probably most, languages, have a much more expanded domain is an embarrassment for both approaches.

A more adequate approach to binding is provided in Burzio 1996. For Burzio, reflexives are *always* possible, no matter how far from the antecedent, unless blocked by some relevant intervening category. There is an implicational relationship among blockers, going from strongest (on the left) to weakest (on the right):

(3) **Blocking hierarchy for anaphor binding: tensed indicative clauses > tensed subjunctive clauses > infinitival clauses > noun phrases / perception verb complements**

Some other facts that are built into Burzio's theory:

(4) **Languages that do not have verb agreement, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, permit anaphors as subjects of tensed clauses:**

- (5) a. \*John said that himself would come.  
b. Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> shuo [ziji<sub>i</sub> hui lai]  
Zhangsan said [self will come]  
'Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> will come]

(6) **Long distance anaphors are consistently monomorphemic, while those that *do* have strict locality conditions are bimorphemic:**

- a. English has only one (inflected) anaphor, *him/her/itself*, which must be local.  
b. Korean has monomorphemic anaphors, *caki* and *casin*, which can be long-distance and an compound anaphor, *cakicasin*, which must be local.

(7) **There is a strong correlation between the class of elements that can serve as *antecedents* for anaphors and those elements that *block* anaphor binding:**

(8) Experiencers in Chinese and other languages can serve as antecedents for anaphor binding, but when they occur between a potential antecedent and an anaphor, they block binding.

(9) **Possessive anaphora are a subcase of long-distance anaphora.**

Hence in English there is no form like (10):

(10) \*Mary read herself's book.

Burzio ties all of these observations/ claims together in a formal analysis that need not concern us here. But the point is, if he is (largely) correct, then the ultimate functional explanation of the generalization(s) governing the distribution of reflexives would have to be very different from that envisioned by C.

### ON THE INDEPENDENT NEED FOR FORMAL ANALYSIS

C never dismisses the need for formal analysis of reference-tracking systems. He merely states that 'an explanatory account ... will often have to go beyond the purely formal statement of the generalizations ...' (p. 346). But since a commonly-heard view is that, given a functional explanation, one *doesn't need* formal principles, it is worth pointing out why such principles are indeed needed.

Take English, which comes as close as any language to instantiating C's prototypical agent-action-patient situation where we find reflexives. Interestingly, however, we find reflexives possible where the reflexive is in an oblique phrase (11a-b) and even (in 11b), where the antecedent is a direct object:

- (11) a. John smeared the peanut butter on himself.  
b. I talked to Mary about herself.

The reflexive need not even have a thematic relation to the verb, as 'exceptional case marking' sentences show:

(12) Sally believes herself to have won.

Most interestingly of all, English allows a reflexive which is a (logical) subject of a lower clause and where there is not even a surface grammatical relation with the verb whose subject is antecedent of the reflexive:

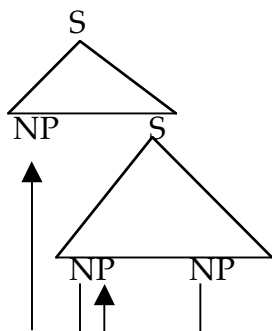
(13) Tom would prefer [<sub>CP</sub> for himself [<sub>IP</sub> to be the one chosen]]

All of these cases follow from the formal account presented in the classic binding theory. To the extent that this account gets the facts right, it would appear that such an account is needed, since C's functional explanation is much too broad-brush to capture the details of anaphor binding in English.

Another reason that a formal account is needed is that there is not necessarily a one-to-one relationship between formal generalizations and functional explanations. A centerpiece of the classic binding theory is the (a priori unexpected) parallel between constraints on anaphora and those on 'NP

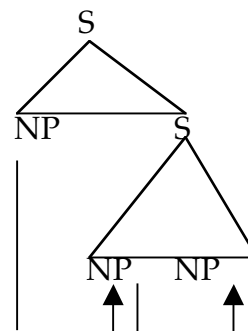
movements' (passive, raising, etc.). Both are constrained by both c-command and locality:

(14) a.



legitimate movement operations

b.



legitimate anaphoric relations

Assuming that this generalization is a real one, it would never have been discovered by a search for purely 'functional' principles, in the absence of a theory that searches for formal generalizations independently of functional explanations.

#### REFERENCES

- Anderson, S. R. and E. L. Keenan. 1985. Deixis, ed. T. Shopen, *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Volume 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon, 259-308. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ariel, M. 2000. The Development of Person Agreement Markers: From Pronoun to Higher Accessibility Markers, eds. M. Barlow and S. Kemmer, *Usage-Based Models of Language*, 197-260. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Brown, P. and S. C. Levinson. 1978/1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Vol. 4, *Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burzio, L. 1996. The Role of the Antecedent in Anaphoric Relations, ed. R. Freidin, *Current Issues in Comparative Grammar*, 1-45. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Vol. 9, *Studies in Generative Grammar*, Dordrecht: Foris.
- Dahl, Ö. 2000. Egophoricity in Discourse and Syntax. *Functions of Language* 7: 33-77.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55: 59-138.
- Faltz, L. M. 1977/1985. *Reflexivization: A Study in Universal Syntax*. Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics, New York: Garland.
- Hawkins, J. A. 1988. Explaining Language Universals, ed. J. A. Hawkins, *Explaining Language Universals*, 3-28. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Johansson, S. and K. Hofland. 1989. *Frequency Analysis of English Vocabulary and Grammar Based on the Lob Corpus*. Volume 1: Tag Frequencies and Word Frequencies. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Moon, S. C. 1995. *An Optimality Approach to Long Distance Anaphors*. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- Nichols, J. 1992. *Linguistic Diversity in Space and Time*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Silverstein, M. 1976. Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity, ed. R. M. W. Dixon, *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*, 112-171. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

### 10a. Typology and generative grammar

Typological facts are *irrelevant* to generative grammar

- (1) This claim does not mean to imply:  
 (a) that one does not need to study as many languages as possible  
 (b) that typology lacks theoretical interest

	VSO	SVO	SOV
Prep	6	10	0
Postp	0	3	11

Correlations between word order  
 and adposition order (Greenberg 1963)  
 Table 1

- (2) UG characterizes the notion '**possible** human language', not the notion '**probable** human language'.

Chomsky's early view of Greenberg's work:

Insofar as attention is restricted to surface structures, *the most that can be expected is the discovery of statistical tendencies, such as those presented by Greenberg (1963)*. (Chomsky 1965: 118; emphasis added)

Chomsky's more recent view:

There has also been very productive study of generalizations that are more directly observable: generalizations about the word orders we actually see, for example. The work of Joseph Greenberg has been particularly instructive and influential in this regard. *These universals are probably descriptive generalizations that should be derived from principles of UG*. (Chomsky 1998: 33; emphasis added)

VO correlate	OV correlate
adposition - NP	NP - adposition
copula verb - predicate	predicate - copula verb
'want' - VP	VP - 'want'
tense/aspect auxiliary verb - VP	VP - tense/aspect auxiliary verb
negative auxiliary - VP	VP - negative auxiliary
complementizer - S	S - complementizer
question particle - S	S - question particle
adverbial subordinator - S	S - adverbial subordinator
article - N'	N' - article
plural word - N'	N' - plural word
noun - genitive	genitive - noun
noun - relative clause	relative clause - noun
adjective - standard of comparison	standard of comparison - adjective
verb - PP	PP - verb
verb - manner adverb	manner adverb - verb

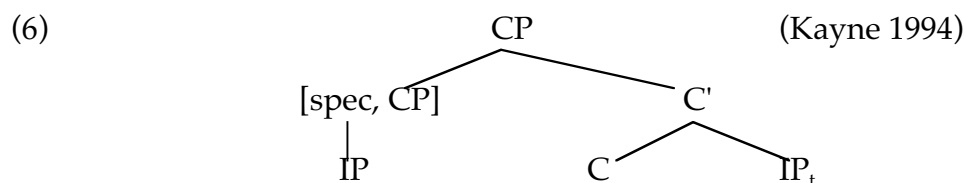
Correlation pairs reported in Dryer (1992)  
 Table 2

- (3)  $W_1 - W_2 - W_3 - \dots - W_n \longrightarrow W_n - \dots - W_3 - W_2 - W_1$

- (4) Guiding assumption in mainstream generative work: there is no disparity between the notions ‘**typologically** significant generalization’ and ‘**linguistically** (i.e. grammatically) significant generalization’

Chinese is consistently head final except in rule expanding  $X'$  to  $X^0$  (if the head is verbal it precedes the complement)

- (5) (Huang 1994):
- a.  $XP \rightarrow YP X'$
  - b.  $X' \rightarrow YP X'$
  - c.  $X' \rightarrow$ 
    - c'.  $X^0 YP$  iff  $X = [+v]$
    - c''.  $YP X^0$  otherwise



- (7) \*NDem & NumN predicted by Kayne  
 But Berber, Welsh, Hebrew, Zapotec, etc. have this correlation  
 These languages have an extra movement of demonstratives (Cinque 1996)

(8) Possible orders of V, direct object, complement  $PP_1$ , and adjunct  $PP_2$ :

- a.  $PP_2 PP_1 NP V$
- b.  $PP_2 PP_1 V NP$
- c.  $PP_2 NP V PP_1$
- d.  $PP_2 V NP PP_1$
- e.  $PP_1 NP V PP_2$
- f.  $PP_1 V NP PP_2$
- g.  $NP V PP_1 PP_2$
- h.  $V NP PP_1 PP_2$

	HEADEDNESS	THETA	CASE	LANGUAGE
a.	final	left	left	Japanese
b.	final	left	right	Chinese (future)
c.	final	right	left	*
d.	final	right	right	Chinese (pres)
e.	initial	left	left	Kpelle (past)
f.	initial	left	right	*
g.	initial	right	left	Kpelle (present)
h.	initial	right	right	English

Combinations of the headedness, direction of theta-role assignment, and direction of case assignment parameters (Travis 1989)

Table 3

For specific proposals concerning marked values to entail testable claims, these claims will have to hold in an ‘external’ domain, a domain other than that of the distribution of morphemes or grammatical well-formedness. Claims to explanatory adequacy will have to be grounded in such domains. *Natural candidates for such a*



*domain wherein markedness proposals make empirically testable claims are language change and acquisition. (Lightfoot 1979: 76-77; emphasis added)*

[In] determining which notions are encoded in a language's morphology, the child is faced with a formidable search problem ... [B]y imposing a weighting on the child's hypotheses, one could account for the large disparities in the prevalence of various grammatical encodings in the world's languages, and in the speed of acquisition of various encodings by children. (Pinker 1984: 168-171)

One intriguing possibility is that the relative accessibility for children of alternative schemes for partitioning meaning in a given conceptual domain is correlated with the *frequency with which these schemes are instantiated in the languages of the world*. ... It is plausible that relative frequency is correlated with 'ease' or 'naturalness' for the human mind. (Bowerman 1985: 1306).

Three hypotheses linking typological generalizations to aspects of I-language:

- (9) a. Cross-linguistically frequent properties of language are reflected by correspondingly simple (unmarked) properties of grammars.  
b. Cross-linguistically frequent properties of language are acquired early by the child.  
c. Cross-linguistically frequent properties of language are diachronically stable.

If (9a-c) were right, then typology would be relevant to gram theory in two complementary ways:

1. One could appeal to grammatical theory to explain typological distribution
  2. Typological distribution would be a reliable heuristic for grammatical analysis
- But they are not right!

*Emonds 1980: Irish and other VSO languages are underlyingly SVO: they have rule that fronts the verb. Their grammars are 'more complicated, therefore rarer' (p. 44).*

### **Preposition-Stranding:**

- (10) a. Who did you talk to?  
b. Mary was spoken to.

### **Stranding grammars are simpler than non-stranding grammars:**

- (11) a. NON-STRANDING LANGUAGES: The lexical categories N, V, and A are proper governors. The lexical category P is not a proper governor.  
b. STRANDING LANGUAGES: All four lexical categories are proper governors.

### **A popular reanalysis approach to stranding:**

- (12) a. You talked<sub>pp</sub>[to who] > You<sub>v</sub>[talked to] who > Who<sub>i</sub> did you<sub>v</sub>[talk to] e<sub>i</sub>?  
b. e was spoken<sub>pp</sub>[to Mary] > e was<sub>v</sub>[spoken to] Mary > Mary<sub>i</sub> was<sub>v</sub>[spoken to] e<sub>i</sub>

### **But reanalysis demands implausible lexical items:**

- (13) a. Which shoes did you [walk across Europe in] \_\_\_? (Jones 1987)  
 b. Which of the two knives did you [pay twice for] \_\_\_? (Inada 1981)

**Gapping doesn't treat the V-P complex as a verb:**

- (14) a. \*John looked at Mary and Bill \_\_\_ Sue.  
 b. John looked at Mary and Bill \_\_\_ at Sue.

**Nor does Heavy NP-shift:**

- (15) a. John looked at [the woman he loved] very often.  
 b. John looked very often [at the woman he loved]  
 c. \*John looked at very often [the woman he loved].

**Extrapolation out of a lexical item would be necessary:**

- (16) What did you [talk to that guy \_\_\_ about] \_\_\_ who was here yesterday?

**Mutually incompatible analyses, where *wh*-movement and passive both apply:**

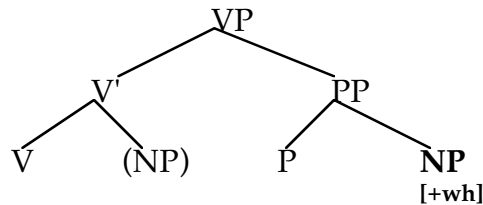
- (17) a. Which problems has Harry been [[talked to] e about] e?  
 b. Who would you like to be [[sung to] e by] e?

**If P is a proper governor, then V and P don't have to be adjacent:**

- (18) a. Who did you give all those books about golf to?  
 b. Which burner did you leave the pot on?

**Most interesting prediction of my analysis: stranding is possible with extraction of NP from PP adjuncts to VP:**

(19)



**This is correct:**

- (20) a. Which shoes did you walk across Europe in?  
 b. Which ball park did Ruth hit the most home runs in?  
 c. Which knife shall we use to cut the turkey with?  
 d. Which red-headed man is Mary standing beside?

	V-final	SVO	V-initial
<i>Wh-in situ</i>	71	42	16
Final Q particles	73	30	13

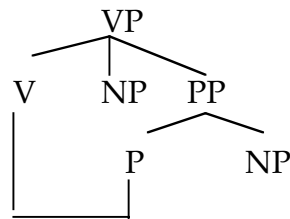
Proportion of languages with *Wh-in situ* and final question particles, by word order type (Dryer 1991)  
Table 4

- (21) **There is little or no correlation between age of acquisition and typological frequency:**
- American children acquire P-stranding *before* pied-piping (Karin Stromswold, personal communication)
  - French-speaking children have the verb-raising parameter from the earliest multi-word utterances (Pierce 1992)
  - there is no period during which German-speaking children fail to set the V2 parameter (Poeppl and Wexler 1993)
  - the null subject parameter is set very early, regardless of whether the language is null subject or not (Valian 1991)
  - children acquiring English, German, and French evidence strong knowledge of locality in *wh*-extraction domains at early ages (Roeper and De Villiers 1994)

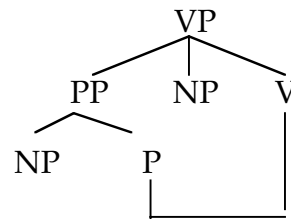
(22) **The Strong Continuity Hypothesis:** The parameters of UG are set early and are not subject to change in the course of development (see especially Lust, Suñer, and Whitman 1994)

(23) **Early Immediate Constituents (EIC)** (Hawkins 1994): The parser prefers orderings of elements that lead to rapid recognition of the immediate constituents of the phrase being processed.

(24) a.

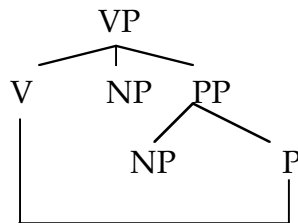


b.



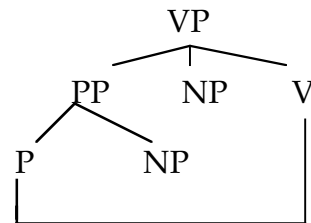
VO and prepositional (common)    OV and postpositional (common)

c.



VO and postpositional (rare)

d.



OV and prepositional (rare)

**The Greenbergian correlations hold better at surface level than at deep level.**

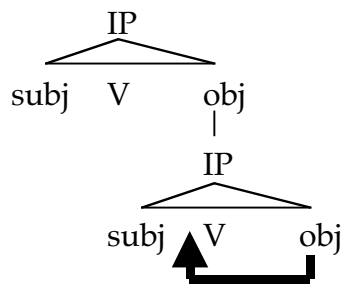
- (25) German and Dutch:  
 a. main clause declaratives: SVO  
 b. subordinate clauses: SOV

Virtually all generative grammarians have argued underlyingly they are underlyingly SOV (Bach 1962; Bierwisch 1963; 1966; Koster 1975; Bennis and Hoekstra 1984)

(26) **Structure Preserving Constraint** (Emonds 1976): Rules that distort phrase structure configurations apply only in main clauses

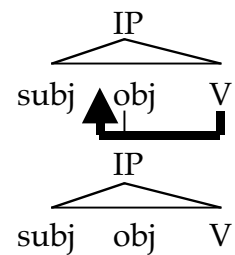
If this constraint is right, German and Dutch *have to be* SOV.

(27) a.



SVO underlying order —  
 Movement violates SPC

b.



SOV underlying order  
 Movement obeys SPC

But German and Dutch are not *typologically* SOV

(28) SURFACE ORDER AND TYPOLOGICAL GENERALIZATIONS

- a. Dutch and German are more 'consistent' at the surface than underlyingly.  
 b. Despite Bach (1970a), Amharic is typologically more like an OV than a VO language.  
 c. Languages with discourse-governed word order (where it is hard to make a case for one or another deep order of elements) manifest the correlations associated with that surface order having the highest text frequency (see Table 5).  
 d. Some languages have been argued by generativists to have *no* underlying order of subject, object, and verb (Kiss 1987 for Hungarian, Hale 1992 for Warlpiri, etc.) Clearly, in such languages the Greenbergian correlations cannot be captured at D-structure.

Ute	72%	GenN, Po
Tlingit	67%	GenN, Po, RelN
Huallaga Quechua	69%	GenN, Po, RelN
Trumai	65%	GenN, Po
Koryak	66%	GenN, Po
Tacana	86%	GenN, Po, Clause-final subordinator
Takelma	85%	GenN, Po
Hupa	53%	GenN, Po
Cherokee	(more frequent)	GenN, Po
Korana	89%	GenN, Po, Clause-final Q, etc.

Frequency of OV order and OV characteristics among languages with purely discourse-governed orders (Dryer 1989)  
Table 5

(29) Transformational theories in which ordering of elements is a low-level phenomenon: Sanders 1970; Staal 1967; Peterson 1971; Hudson 1972;

... and Chomsky 1995.

Language design appears to be problematic from a parsing-theoretic perspective, though elegant regarded in isolation from considerations of use. (Chomsky 1991: 448)

#### REFERENCES

- Bach, Emmon. 1962. 'The Order of Elements in a Transformational Grammar of German', *Language* 38, 263-269.
- Bach, Emmon (1970). Is Amharic an SOV language? *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 8: 9-20.
- Bennis, Hans and Teun Hoekstra. 1984. 'Gaps and Parasitic Gaps', *Linguistic Review* 4, 29-87.
- Bierwisch, Manfred. 1963. *Grammatik Des Deutschen Verbs (= Studia Grammatica, Vol. 2)*, Studia Grammatica, Berlin.
- Bierwisch, Manfred. 1966. 'Regeln Für Die Intonation Deutscher Sätze', *Studia Grammatica* 7, 99-201.
- Bowerman, Melissa (1985). What shapes children's grammars? The crosslinguistic study of language acquisition, vol. 2. Theoretical issues ed. by Dan I. Slobin. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, pp. 1257-1319.
- Chomsky, Noam (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam (1991). Some notes on economy of derivation and representation. *Principles and parameters in comparative grammar*, ed. by Robert Freidin. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 417-454.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, Noam (1998). Noam Chomsky's minimalist program and the philosophy of mind. An interview [with] Camilo J. Cela-Conde and Gisèle Marty. *Syntax* 1: 19-36.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (1996). The 'antisymmetric' program: Theoretical and typological implications. *Journal of Linguistics* 32: 447-465.

- Dryer, Matthew S. (1989). Discourse-governed word order and word order typology. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 4: 69-90.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (1991). SVO languages and the OV:VO typology. *Journal of Linguistics* 27: 443-482.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (1992). The Greenbergian word order correlations. *Language* 68: 81-138.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. (1963). Some universals of language with special reference to the order of meaningful elements. *Universals of language*, ed. by Joseph Greenberg. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 73-113.
- Hale, Kenneth (1992). Basic word order in two 'free word order' languages. *Pragmatics of word order flexibility*, ed. by Doris Payne. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 63-82.
- Hawkins, John A. (1994). A performance theory of order and constituency. *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics* 73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huang, C.-T. James (1994). More on Chinese word order and parametric theory. *Syntactic theory and first language acquisition: Cross-linguistic perspectives*, vol. 1: Heads, projections, and learnability ed. by Barbara Lust, Margarita Suñer, and John Whitman. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, pp. 15-35.
- Hudson, Grover. 1972. 'Is Deep Structure Linear?' *UCLA Papers in Syntax* 2, 51-77.
- Inada, T. (1981). Problems of reanalysis and preposition stranding. *Studies in English Linguistics* 9: 120-131.
- Jones, Charles (1987). P for proper governor. *WCCFL* 6, 115-130.
- Kayne, Richard S. (1994). *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kiss, Katalin É. (1987). Configurationality in Hungarian. *Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Koster, Jan. 1975. 'Dutch as an SOV Language', *Linguistic Analysis* 1, 111-136.
- Lightfoot, David W. (1979). *Principles of diachronic syntax*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lust, Barbara, Margarita Suñer, and John Whitman, Eds. (1994). *Syntactic theory and first language acquisition: Cross-linguistic perspectives 1: Heads, projections, and learnability*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Peterson, Thomas H. 1971. 'Multi-Ordered Base Structures in Generative Grammar', *Chicago Linguistic Society* 7, 181-192.
- Pierce, Amy (1992). *Language acquisition and syntactic theory: A comparative analysis of French and English child grammars*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Pinker, Steven (1984). *Language learnability and language development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Poeppel, David and Kenneth Wexler (1993). The full competence hypothesis of clause structure in early German. *Language* 69: 1-33.
- Roeper, Thomas and Jill De Villiers (1994). Lexical links in the *wh*-chain. *Syntactic theory and first language acquisition: Cross-linguistic perspectives*, vol. 2: Binding, dependencies, and learnability ed. by Barbara Lust, Gabriella Hermon, and Jaklin Kornfilt. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, pp. 357-390.
- Sanders, Gerald A. 1970. 'Constraints on Constituent Ordering', *Papers in Linguistics* 2, 460-502.

- Staal, J. F. 1967. *Word Order in Sanskrit and Universal Grammar*, Foundations of Language Supplementary Series, Vol. 5, Reidel, Dordrecht.
- Tomlin, Russell S. (1986). *Basic word order: Functional principles*. London: Croom Helm.
- Travis, Lisa (1989). Parameters of phrase structure. *Alternative conceptions of phrase structure*, ed. by Mark R. Baltin and Anthony S. Kroch. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 263-279.
- Valian, Virginia (1991). Syntactic subjects in the early speech of Italian and American children. *Cognition* 40: 21-81.

### 11a. OPTIMALITY THEORY AND FUNCTIONAL EXPLANATION

name	grammatical constraint	corresponding user constraint
STAY (Grimshaw 1997, Speas 1997)	"Do not move"	Leaving material in canonical position helps the hearer to identify grammatical relationships and reduces processing costs for the speaker
TELEGRAPH (Pesetsky 1998)	"Do not pronounce function words"	Leaving out function words reduces pronunciation costs for the speaker in a way that is minimally disruptive for understanding by the hearer
RECOVERABILITY (Pesetsky 1998)	"A syntactic unit with semantic content must be pronounced unless it has a sufficiently local antecedent"	Omitting a meaning-bearing element in pronunciation makes the hearer's task of extracting the intended meaning from the speech signal very difficult unless it can be inferred from the context

Table I

Some OT constraints and their possible functions (Haspelmath 1999)

- (1) **Thematic Hierarchy** Agent > Beneficiary > Recipient/ Experiencer > Instrumental > Theme/ Patient > Location
- (2) **Relational Hierarchy** Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparative
- (3) **Animacy Hierarchy** 1<sup>st</sup> Person Pronoun > 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Pronoun > 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Pronoun > Proper Noun > Human Common Noun > Animate Common Noun > Inanimate Common Noun
- (4) **Person Hierarchy** Local (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>) > 3<sup>rd</sup>
- (5) **Prominence Hierarchy** Discourse Prominent > Not Discourse Prominent
  
- (6) **Relational:** Subject > Object > Oblique
- (7) **Person:** Local (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>) > 3<sup>rd</sup>
- (8) **Thematic Role:** Agent > Patient
- (9) **Prominence:** Discourse Prominent (X) > Not Discourse Prominent (x)
  
- (10) a. \*Su/Pat  
 b. \*Su/x  
 c. \*Obl/Local
  
- (11) a. \*Su/Pat » \*Su/Ag  
 b. \*Su/Ag » \*Su/Pat



V(Agt/3/x,Pat/1/X)	*Su/x	*Su/Pat	*GR/Pers
ACTIVE Agt/Su/3/x-Pat/Oj/1/X	*!		**
☞ PASSIVE Pat/Su/1/X-Agt/Obl/3/x		*	**

Tableau I  
English (prominent patient) (Aissen 1999: 689)

- (12) **Animacy:** Human > Animate > Inanimate  
(13) **Definiteness:** Personal Pronoun > Proper Noun > Definite NP > Indefinite Specific NP > Non-specific NP  
(14) a. \*Oj/Hum » \*Oj/Anim » \*Oj/Inam  
b. \*Oj/Pro » \*Oj/PN » \*Oj/Def » \*Oj/Spec » \*Oj/NSpec  
(15) \* $\emptyset_C$  'Star Zero': Penalizes the absence of a value for the feature CASE.

Local conjunction of * $\emptyset_C$ with the subhierarchy on object animacy (14a)	Local conjunction of * $\emptyset_C$ with the subhierarchy on object definiteness (14b)
*Oj/Hum & * $\emptyset_C$ » *Oj/Anim & * $\emptyset_C$ » *Oj/Inam & * $\emptyset_C$	*Oj/Pro & * $\emptyset_C$ » *Oj/PN & * $\emptyset_C$ » *Oj/Def & * $\emptyset_C$ » *Oj/Spec & * $\emptyset_C$ » *Oj/NSpec & * $\emptyset_C$

Table II  
Local conjunction of \* $\emptyset_C$  with object-oriented subhierarchies (Aissen 2000: 9)

- (16) \*STRUC<sub>C</sub>: penalizes a value for the morphological category CASE

Hebrew specific, indefinite patient

Patient: specific indefinite	*Oj/Def & * $\emptyset_C$	*STRUC <sub>C</sub>	*Oj/Spec & * $\emptyset_C$	*Oj/NSpec & * $\emptyset_C$
Oj: specific indefinite CASE: ACC		*!		
☞ Oj: specific indefinite CASE: none			*	*

Tableau II  
Hebrew specific indefinite patients (Aissen 2000: 14)

Turkish specific, indefinite patient

Patient: specific indefinite	*Oj/Def & * $\emptyset_C$	*Oj/Spec & * $\emptyset_C$	*STRUC <sub>C</sub>	*Oj/NSpec & * $\emptyset_C$
☞ Oj: specific indefinite CASE: ACC			*	
Oj: specific indefinite CASE: none		*!		*

Tableau III  
Turkish specific indefinite patients (Aissen 2000: 15)

- (17) NO LEXICAL HEAD MOVEMENT: A lexical head cannot move

(18) LEFT EDGE (CP): The first pronounced word in CP is a function word related to the main verb of that CP

(19) a. Je crois que Pierre a faim.

b. \*Je crois Pierre a faim.

(20) a. I found a book for you to think about.

b. \*I found a book you to think about.

name	grammatical constraint	corresponding user constraint
NO LEXICAL HEAD MOVEMENT (Grimshaw 1997)	"A lexical head cannot move"	Moving a lexical head away from its dependents makes it difficult for the hearer to pair heads and dependents
LEFT EDGE (CP) (Pesetsky 1998)	"The first pronounced word in CP is a function word related to the main verb of that CP"	Not explicitly marking embedded clauses in terms of their boundaries and finiteness impedes rapid recognition of their meaning and role

Table Ia

Possible functions for NO LEXICAL HEAD MOVEMENT and LEFT EDGE (CP)

(21) OP-SPEC: Syntactic operators must be in specifier position

(22) HEAD-RIGHT: Heads uniformly follow their complements and adjuncts

(23) Versions of the Thematic Hierarchy:

a. Fillmore 1968: 33

Agent > Instrumental > Objective

b. Jackendoff 1972

Agent > Location/ Source/ Goal > Theme

c. Ostler 1980

(relational predicates) Theme > Goal > Source > Path

(actional predicates) Source > Path > Theme > Goal

d. Givón 1984: 139

Agent > Dative/ Beneficiary > Patient > Locative > Instrument/  
Associative > Manner

e. Kiparsky 1985: 20

Agent > Source > Goal > Instrument > Theme > Locative

f. Carrier-Duncan 1985: 7

Agent > Theme > Goal/ Source/ Location

g. Larson 1988: 382-383

Agent > Theme > Goal > Location (and other obliques)

h. Wilkins 1988: 211

Agent > Patient > Location/ Source/ Goal > Theme

- i. Randall 1988: 138 (for effects of lexical rules on argument structure)  
Theme > Agent > Instrument/ Source/ Path/ Goal/ Location/ ...
  - j. Bresnan and Kanerva 1989: 23; Bresnan and Moshi 1990: 169; Alsina 1996: 688  
Agent > Beneficiary > Recipient/ Experiencer > Instrumental > Theme/ Patient > Location
  - k. Baker 1989: 544  
Agent > Instrument > Patient/ Theme > Goal/ Location
  - l. Grimshaw 1990: 8  
Agent > Experiencer > Goal/ Source/ Location > Theme
  - m. Jackendoff 1990: 261  
Agent > Patient/Beneficiary > Theme > Source/ Goal/ Reference Object > Identificational Goal/ Reference Object
  - n. Langacker 1990  
Agent > Instrument > Patient/ Mover/ Experiencer ('Energy Flow Hierarchy' for subject choice)  
Agent > Experiencer > Other ('Initiative Hierarchy')
  - o. Speas 1990: 16  
Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Goal/ Source/ Location > Manner/ Time
  - p. Dowty 1991; Rugemalira 1994  
Proto-Agent > Proto-Patient
  - q. Kiefer 1995  
Actor > Agent > Beneficiary > Theme/Patient > Instrument
  - r. Van Valin and Lapolla 1997: 127 (continuum in terms of LS (=logical structure) argument positions) — this is an elaboration of Foley and Van Valin 1984:59:  
Agent > Effector/ Mover/ User/ etc. > Location/ Perceiver/ Cognizer/ Experiencer/ etc. > Theme/ Stimulus/ Implement/ etc. > Patient/ Entity
- (24) a. **Mary** attempted to take a vacation.  
b. Bill told **Mary** to come visit him.  
c. I persuaded **John** to see the doctor.  
d. We taught **the dog** to roll over.  
e. **Sam** promised Mary to write more often.  
f. Tom required **Alice** to hand in the assignment.
- (25) **Relational Hierarchy:** Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparative
- (26) a. John kills the ducklings.

- b. The ducklings are killed by John.
- (27) The higher in prominence a direct object, the more likely it is to be overtly case marked.
- (28) Animacy Hierarchy: 1<sup>st</sup> Person Pronoun<sub>a</sub> > 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Pronoun<sub>b</sub> > 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Pronoun<sub>c</sub> > Proper Noun<sub>d</sub> > Human Common Noun<sub>e</sub> > Animate Common Noun<sub>f</sub> > Inanimate Common Noun<sub>g</sub>
- (29) Definiteness Hierarchy: Personal Pronoun<sub>a</sub> > Proper Noun<sub>b</sub> > Definite NP<sub>c</sub> > Indefinite Specific NP<sub>d</sub> > Non-specific NP<sub>e</sub>
- (30) Grammars in which object case is overtly marked choose a point on the Animacy and/or Definiteness Hierarchies and mark case at that point and at every point of higher prominence.
- (31) a. Hebrew: Object case-mark point c on the Definiteness Hierarchy.  
b. Turkish: Object case-mark point d on the Definiteness Hierarchy.
- (32) If an individual can lift a weight of x pounds, then he or she can lift a lighter weight.
- (33) a. Smith can lift 200 pounds.  
b. Jones can lift 300 pounds.

## REFERENCES

- Aissen, Judith. 1999. 'Markedness and Subject Choice in Optimality Theory', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 17, 673-711.
- Aissen, Judith. 2000. 'Differential Object Marking: Iconicity Vs. Economy', *Unpublished ms., UCSC*.
- Alsina, Alex. 1996. 'Passive Types and the Theory of Object Asymmetries', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14, 673-723.
- Baker, Mark C. 1989. 'Object Sharing and Projection in Serial Verb Constructions', *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 513-553.
- Bresnan, Joan W. and Jonni Kanerva. 1989. 'Locative Inversion in Chichewa: A Case Study of Factorization in Grammar', *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 1-50.
- Bresnan, Joan W. and Liobi Moshi. 1990. 'Object Asymmetries in Comparative Bantu Syntax', *Linguistic Inquiry* 21, 147-185.
- Carrier-Duncan, Jill. 1985. 'Linking of Thematic Roles in Derivational Word Formation', *Linguistic Inquiry* 16, 1-34.
- Dowty, David R. 1991. 'Thematic Proto-Roles and Argument Selection', *Language* 67, 547-619.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. 'The Case for Case', in E. B. a. R. Harms (ed.), *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, pp. 1-90.
- Foley, William A. and Robert D. Van Valin. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, Vol. 38, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Givón, Talmy. 1984. *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction, Vol. 1*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

- Grimshaw, Jane. 1990. *Argument Structure*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 1997. 'Projection, Heads, and Optimality', *Linguistic Inquiry* **28**, 373-422.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1999. 'Optimality and Diachronic Adaptation', *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* **18**, 180-205.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1972. *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1990. *Semantic Structures*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Kiefer, Ferenc. 1995. 'Thematic Roles and Compounds', in A. Crochetière, J.-C. Boulanger and C. Ouellon (eds.), *Proceedings of the Xoth International Congress of Linguists*, Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, pp. 167-170.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 1985. *Morphology and Grammatical Relations*, Unpublished ms, Stanford University.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1990. *Concept, Image and Signal: The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Larson, Richard K. 1988. 'On the Double Object Construction', *Linguistic Inquiry* **19**, 335-392.
- Ostler, Nicholas. 1980. *A Theory of Case Linking and Agreement [Truncated Version of Unpublished 1979 MIT Ph. D. Dissertation Entitled Case Linking: A Theory of Case and Verb Diathesis, Applied to Classical Sanskrit]*, Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington.
- Pesetsky, David M. 1998. 'Some Optimality Principles of Sentence Pronunciation', in P. Barbosa, D. Fox, P. Hagstrom, M. McGinnis and D. Pesetsky (eds.), *Is the Best Good Enough?: Optimality and Competition in Syntax*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 337-384.
- Randall, Janet H. 1988. 'Inheritance', in W. K. Wilkins (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 21: Thematic Relations*, Academic Press, New York, pp. 129-146.
- Rugemalira, Josephat M. 1994. 'The Case against the Thematic Hierarchy', *Linguistic Analysis* **24**, 62-81.
- Speas, Margaret J. 1990. *Phrase Structure in Natural Language*, Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, Vol. 21, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Speas, Margaret J. 1997. 'Optimality Theory and Syntax: Null Pronouns and Control', in D. Archangeli and D. T. Langendoen (eds.), *Optimality Theory: An Overview*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 171-199.
- Van Valin, Robert D. and Randy J. Lapolla. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, Meaning, and Function*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Wilkins, Wendy K. 1988. 'Thematic Structure and Reflexivization', in W. K. Wilkins (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 21: Thematic Relations*, Academic Press, New York, pp. 191-214.