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Comments on Newmeyer Presentation
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(1) Newmeyer's guess: A great percentage of both formalist and functionalists would assume that if one believes in autonomy of syntax one then gives up any hope of providing explanations based on language use for why grammatical systems have the properties they have.

(2) "It is possible, though hardly necessary, that general properties of grammar might be explained, at least in part, in terms of the exigencies of performance." Chomsky and Lasnik (1977)

(3) "Where it can be shown that structures serve a particular function, that is a valuable discovery." Chomsky (1975)

(4) "I have argued against a pure processing account of locality constraints on movement. I have offered no arguments against (and I have no objection to) another sort of functional account: one that takes the formal grammatical principles to have arisen to satisfy some functional need, perhaps a processing need. Could that have happened? Of course it could have, and the investigation of that question is potentially extremely enlightening, for formalists and functionalists alike, and it surely should be pursued." Lasnik (1999)

(5) Ross's (1967) Complex NP Constraint: No element in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation.

(6) The hat [which [I believed [(?*the claim) that Otto was wearing ___]]] is red

(7) Chomsky's (1973) Subjacency (subsuming several of Ross's constraints, and some additional ones): No rule can move Y to X if Y is not subjacent to X.

(8) Y is subjacent to X if there is at most one cyclic category (NP or S) that contains Y and does not contain X.

(9) (10) and (11) "are difficult to process because the grammatical-functional relations in the deeply embedded clause are hard to reconstruct, given the deletion, the lack of morphological indicators, and the fact that there is a large gap between the head noun *the man* (object of *bit*) and the verb of which it is the object." Givón (1979)

(10) *The man who I saw the dog that bit _ fell down

(11) *Who did you see the dog that bit _

(12) Subjacency (unlike Ross's 'island' constraints) entails that apparent long movement is composed of a series of short movements, as does Givón's processing account.

(13) Evidence for the stepwise decomposition of long movement:

(14) →Irish complementizer alternation (McCloskey (1991)):

(15) Dúirt sé [gur bhuail tú é]
said he COMP struck you him
"He said that you struck him"

(16) an fear [a bhuail tú __]
the man [COMP struck you]
"The man that you struck"

(17) an rud a shíl mé a dúirt tú a dhéanfá
the thing COMP thought I COMP said you COMP do [Cond S2]
"the thing that I thought you said you would do"

(18) →Spanish verb fronting (Torrego (1984)):

(19) Marta quiere café
"Martha wants coffee"

(20) Marta quiere qué
"Martha wants what?"

(21) Qué quiere Marta?
"What does Martha want?"

(22) *Qué Marta quiere?

(33) Qué pensaba Juan que le había dicho Pedro que había publicado la revista?
"What did John think that Peter had told him that the journal had published?"

(23) *Qué pensaba Juan que Pedro le había dicho que la revista había publicado?

(24) →Spanish complementizer alternation (Torrego (1983)):

(25) Lamento (que) no estés contenta con tu trabajo.
"I lament (that) you are not happy with your job."

(26) La película que de veras siento (que) no llegasa a ver es *El matrimonio de Maria Braun*.
"The movie that I am really sorry that you didn't get to see is *The Marriage of Maria Braun.*"

(27) La película que de veras siento *(que) no intentaras que proyectaran en tu clase es *El matrimonio de Maria Braun.*
"The movie that I am really sorry that you did not try to have shown in your class is *The Marriage of Maria Braun.*"

(28) Is absolute distance the determining factor in acceptability of long movement?

(29) The hat [which [I believed [(?*the claim) that Otto was wearing _]]] is red

(30) The hat [which [I believed [that Mary claimed [that Otto was wearing _]]] is red

(31) What did you say that John and the other boys really believe that the old drunken sailor actually saw

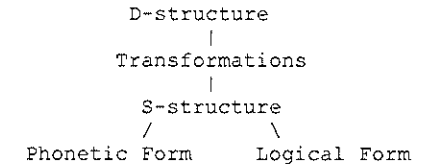
(32) Spanish long movement with no 'trail' (and in spite of potential ambiguity):

(33) En qué medida Juan había pensado que Pedro le había asegurado que la revista se arriesgaría a publicar eso?
"To what extent had John thought that Peter assured him that the journal would risk publishing that?"

(34) *Por qué no sabes [qué libro te harbrán regalado _ _]
Why don't you know [what book they have given _ to you _]

(35) 'Covert' movement of WH in situ. An argument for a processing account? (Pritchett (1991))
"While there seems no natural way to capture this in grammatical theory, a processing account offers a clear explanation. It is, as we have seen, the actual overt dislocation of the Wh-word and the necessity of locating its D-structure position online that is the source of the difficulty. LF movement involves the movement of an unambiguous in situ Wh-word to an unambiguous adjoined position. In other words the parser need not fill a gap and consequently, no 'Subjacency' effect results." [p.334]

(36)



(37) ?*What did she wonder [where [John put _ _]]
(38) Who wondered [where [John put what _]]

(39) *What did you meet the woman that wrote
(40) Who met the woman that wrote what

(41) Ni xiangxin Lisi mai-le sheme de shuofa?
"You believe the claim that Lisi bought what?"
(42) John-wa Mary-ga nani-o katta kadooka siritagatte iru no?
"John wants to know whether Mary bought what?"

(43) BUT...there are island effects with adjuncts in situ (Huang (1982); Lasnik and Saito (1984;1992)):
(44) *Ni xiangxin Lisi weisheme lai de shuofa?
"You believe [the claim [that [Lisi came why]]]?"
(45) *John-wa Mary-ga naze sore-o katta kadooka siritagatte iru no?
"John wants to know [whether [Mary bought it why]]?"

(46) The Empty Category Principle (ECP) - another locality constraint defined in terms similar to those of Subjacency. It particularly constrains the movement of non-arguments. (47) violates Subjacency. (48) violates both Subjacency and ECP.
(47) ?*What do you wonder [whether [John read _]]
(48) *Why do you wonder [whether [John read the book _]]
(49) Why do you think [[John read the book _]]

(50) ?*What do you believe [the claim [that John read _]]
(51) *Why do you believe [the claim [that John read the book _]]

(52) Chomsky's alternative functional explanation (lectures in 1994 and 1995): There is no grammatical difference between e.g. (47) and (48). Rather, extraction of adjuncts out of islands creates 'garden paths', because, as noted earlier, there are numerous structural positions from which an adjunct could have fronted.

(53) Problems for this functional account:
(54) Island effects in wh-in-situ languages (as in (44) and (45) above)).
(55) Acceptable long distance movement of adjuncts out of non-islands (as in (49)
(56) Why do you think [John said [Mary went home _]]?
(57) How do you think John said [[Mary solved the problem _]]?

(58) I would still maintain that it makes perfect sense to explore why languages have locality constraints (though I think this is a much harder question than is sometimes assumed). However, I would argue that even if we can answer that question successfully, the answer will tell us only a fraction of what there is to know about the precise nature of the locality constraints. In this, assuming I am understanding him correctly, I am in full agreement with Newmeyer.

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