

慶應言語学コロキウム

The Interface between Syntax and Phonology, and The Theory of Grammar

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会場: 慶應義塾大学三田キャンパス東館8階 東館ホール
参加費無料 申込不要

This talk covers the following three topics:

[1] In Scandinavian Object Shift (OS), movement of object pronouns is dependent on verb movement (*Holmberg's Generalization*, Holmberg 1986): e.g. [Swe.] (a) *jag målade den inte* 'I did not paint it' VS (b) *jag sa att jag inte målade honom* 'I said that I didn't portray him.' Since no movement phenomenon other than OS in which movement of a sentential element is dependent on that of another sentential element has been found, OS has long been one of the most controversial issues in generative syntax (Chomsky 2001, among others). With the data showing that downstep occurs in the OS construction, i.e. in (a), but does not occur in (b), a new hypothesis on Scandinavian OS is presented: the object pronoun moves to cause downstep. I suggest the possibility that phonology affects syntax.

[2] A theoretical implication of the labeling algorithm framework (Chomsky 2013, 2014) is that movement operations that do not produce a new semantic effect can occur in syntax for any kind of categories, contrary to the phase-cartographic derivational system (Chomsky 2008, Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999). I pursue the way of deriving one of such movement operations, verb movement, in syntax. Assuming that only ϕ -features are inherited from C to T in V2 languages, whereas both ϕ -features and the tense feature are inherited from C to T in others, it is argued that the verbal head in v^* directly moves to C in the former, but moves to T in the latter, for feature valuation. The position where the verbal head is spelled out is determined by copy deletion in phonology.

[3] Contrary to Chomsky (2014), I show that the Halting Problem (Rizzi 2010), (the violation of) the Empty Category Principle and the Extended Projection Principle are given a unified account in terms of feature valuation, with the interface with phonology taken into consideration. It is claimed that Criterial Position (Rizzi 2006) corresponds to the position where a raised category must stop and completes the valuation of all of its own unvalued features. The *tha*Trace effect and the requirement of an overt subject in [Spec,TP] are attributed to the matter of phonology.

主催: 慶應義塾大学言語文化研究所
協力: 慶應義塾大学次世代研究プロジェクト B

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