

慶應義塾大学言語文化研究所

nd Linguis

From Pair-Merge of Heads to Pair-MERGE of Heads

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The main aim of this discussion is to reformulate problematic operations which, to some extent, weaken minimalist theory, in terms of the SMT (Strong Minimalist Thesis), evolvavility, simplicity, and/or computational efficiency. The SMT holds that "[l]anguage is an optimal solution to legibility conditions" (Chomsky (2000: 96)). The recent minimalist model (cf. Chomsky (2013, 2015a, 2016a, b, c, 2017a, b) and Chomsky, Gallego and Ott (to appear)) eliminates many stipulations specific to human language. The model simplified by the elimination suggests that the *sole* operation specific to the language capacity is Merge, and other things indispensable for C_{HL} (computational system for human language), which fundamentally yields the *language of thought*, conform to third-factor principles. The third-factor principles are not specific to language but assumed to follow the laws of nature, the laws that science attempts to explicate. Thus, we assume that the operations obeying the third factor are not flaws but fit the SMT in minimalist syntax.

To establish a derivational system involving Merge, the single operation specific to human language, however, we are required to reformulate operations such as pair-Merge, feature inheritance, and feature valuation. These operations seem to be specific to human language against the minimalist spirit. For the conceptual reasons discussed above, I reformulate these operations, particularly focusing on pair-Merge of heads. Furthermore, it will be shown that the reformulation explains various linguistic phenomena such as (non-)extractability of the indirect object in the double object construction and the non-referential cognate object in the cognate object construction, a symmetric problem in the *there* construction and among others.

Finally, I attempt to adapt the reformulated pair-Merge to "pair-MERGE." In this attempt, we discuss that Chomsky's (2015a) derivation possibly holds in the system based on "MERGE," which is proposed in Chomsky's recent work (particularly his READING lecture in 2017).

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