慶應言語学コロキアム

Do Exocentric Structures Exist in Syntax?

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*参加費無料・事前申込不要 （会場にて参加者カードへの記入が必要となります）

The main goal of this discussion is to argue that exocentric structures do exist in syntax.

I will first rehash some of the history of generative syntax from phrase structure rules where exocentric structures were common (Chomsky 1957), over X-bar theory where the notion of projection was introduced and residues of exocentric structures existed (Chomsky 1970; Jackendoff 1977), to its development until the 1980s and Bare Phrase Structure theory where exocentric structures were completely abandoned (Chomsky 1986, 1994).

Then some background will be provided on the framework in "Problems of Projection" and its extensions (Chomsky 2013, 2015). Issues to be addressed include Third Factor conditions on labeling, the interaction between labeling and Internal Set Merge, the purpose of labeling, as well as the possibility of labeling failures (Chomsky, Gallego & Ott 2017 *inter alia*). Based on Blümel (2017), I will give reasons for returning to exocentric structures in a narrow set of contexts and show that syntactic root phenomena as in verb second-languages (V2) provide evidence for unlabeled structures. This perspective yields an elegant solution to the problem why an XP has to precede the finite verb in declarative root clauses in these languages. Various ramifications for different types of V2-languages will be laid out.

Based on these considerations, a related problem will be addressed: What is the role of head movement to C in V2-languages? This, also a root phenomenon, has been dubbed the "KRR effect" (Kayne 1982, Rizzi & Roberts 1989) – a term meant to capture phenomena slightly outside the narrow V2-family like English (McCloskey 2006), or clearly outside the V2-family like French. Building on Chomsky's (2015) recasting of head movement in terms of Internal Pair Merge of heads, I will present ongoing work (Blümel & Goto in progress) in which we argue that head raising of the finite verb to C yields an amalgam <V/T, C>, in which relevant features of C are "hidden." A consequence of this opacity is that agreement by *Minimal Search* (as per Kinjo 2018; Epstein, Kitahara & Seely 2018) is obviated. Obviation of agreement, in turn, is a prerequisite for failure to detect a label.

Finally, I will tentatively touch upon three broad problems the sketched analyses open up: First, is the exocentricity of root clauses parametrized? Or do syntactic derivations vary in the way they deliver exocentric structures? Recent work opens up the exciting possibility that syntactic variation is not an effect of lexical parameters, but rather varying options of ordering operations in (optimal) syntactic derivations (Baptista, Obata & Epstein 2015). I.e. parameters do not exist, strictly speaking. Secondly, what role does Feature Inheritance (Richards 2007; Chomsky 2008) from a phase head to its proxy play in the derivation of root clauses, if any? Third, if head movement of a verb to C indeed has the properties the above analysis suggests, this gives rise to the expectation of analogous processes at the TP-level – *modulo* missing root properties – and suggests a rethinking of traditional analyses in the languages in question (e.g. French and Greek, cf. Pollock 1989, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998).