Linearizing remnant movement in a multidominant syntax: Challenges and consequences

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Multidominance (MD) theories of syntax relax the Single Mother Condition in order to allow for two main configurations: Parallel Merge and Internal Remerge. Since such theories make no representational distinction between fillers and gaps, displacement must be derived as a by-product of the linearization mechanism (e.g. Wilder 1999; Bachrach & Katzir 2009, 2017; Johnson 2012, 2020; Gracanin-Yüksek 2013). In this talk, I will discuss remnant movement constructions, showing that they create a linearization problem for multidominant structures and suggest how to solve this problem.

While theories of linearization in MD differ in the details, a common idea is that multidominated material is 'ignored' until its highest occurrence in the structure. This can be captured by Wilder's (2008) concept of *full dominance*. Following Wilder, a node X fully dominates Y if (i) X dominates Y, and (ii) every path from Y to the root contains X. We can then assume that linearization in MD roughly involves stating that for every branching node that all of the nodes dominated by one daughter will either precede or follow all the nodes dominated by the other daughter (depending on headedness). Importantly, an exception has to be made for multidominated nodes. Here, we can add the stipulation that only nodes fully dominated by the branching node are considered. The central problem posed by remnant movement derivations is that the evacuee is not completely dominated in its extracted position and therefore cannot be pronounced there by a linearization algorithm based on full dominance.

I propose to solve this problem by introducing a version of the *Proper Binding Condition* that singles out remnant movement configurations, while allowing other licit MD configurations (cross-conjunct sharing, smuggling). Since there are no traces in MD, I will show that the PBC must be defined in terms of paths to the root. I propose that, if a structure violates the PBC, the branch connecting it to its lower mother is eliminated. This derives, I argue, a well-known generalization about remnant movement, namely that the evacuee cannot reconstruct back into the remnant at LF. This is known as *Barss' Generalization* and is exemplified by both scope reconstruction (*How likely to talk to every senator is some journalist*; *$\forall > \exists$) and idiom reconstruction (*Gegeben hat sie ihm einen Korb*; $\neq$ `she rejected him'). Using Johnson's (2012) semantics for MD structures, I will show how this follows as a natural consequence of severing the branch between the evacuee and the remnant phrase.