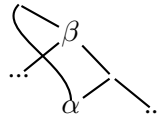


## Movement and C-Command as Merger: A Problem and a Solution for Multidominance

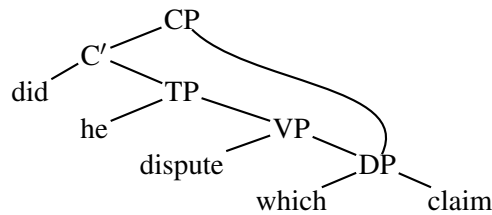
Multidominance structures, which arise in a theory of syntax where the input to *merge* ( $\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta) = \{\alpha, \beta\}$ ) is unrestricted and movement is in fact (*re*)*merger* (1) (Epstein et al. 1998, Gärtner 1999, Chomsky 2001 (who dubs this *internal merge*), Kracht 2001, Starke 2001, Wilder 1999, *inter alia*), solve several empirical, computational, and conceptual problems in current syntactic theory. *Remerger* allows the elimination of “xerox-copying”, which is crucial in more traditional copy theory (Nunes 2004), and thus removes the need to mark distinct elements as “copy-identical” through indices or chains (both violations of the hypothesis of *inclusiveness*, Chomsky 2001:4). It also explains why lower copies seem to be affected by feature checking/valuation of higher copies (2). Furthermore, *remerger*, which is the simple addition of a relation/location pointer to a structure, is inherently simpler than the computationally unwieldy *copy* operation, which we argue is nearly as computationally complex as rebuilding the relevant structure entirely. Finally, *remerger* explains the puzzling existence of *displacement* in human language: As Chomsky (2001:8) notes, with unrestricted merge, the surprising thing would be *lack* of displacement. However, since moved elements in multidominance trees appear in multiple positions but remain one single object, such representations run into serious empirical difficulties when faced with phenomena that require that movement result in multiple syntactic objects/copies. One such phenomenon are the so-called *Lebeaux Effects* (3). Lebeaux’s (1991) analysis of Condition C obviation through late merger of adjuncts (3b), but not arguments (3a), finds a natural place in either trace theory or (“xerox-”)copy theory. While arguments are present from the beginning of the derivation, and so trigger Condition C effects (4a), adjuncts can be added later in the derivation to a higher copy, and so no Condition C effect is observed (4b). We show that this analysis cannot be successfully applied in a multidominance system with a representationally-defined c-command relation (5a), even under Chomsky’s (2001) *pair-merge* and *simplification* approach to adjunction. Despite the possibility of adjunction after movement/*remerger* of *which claim* (6), the relative clause in (3b) appears structurally below the c-commanding pronoun *he* (6c). However, we show that a shift to a derivational approach to c-command (5b) (Epstein et al. 1998) correctly predicts the well-known cases of Lebeaux effects: *he* c-commands all and only the syntactic objects contained in the element(s) with which it was merged. When *he* is merged, the relative clause is not present (6a). When the adjunct is added acyclically (6c), the c-command relations for *he* are not recomputed, since *he* is not part of either of the merged elements. And so the expected Condition C effect is obviated. Furthermore, we show that, beyond solving the problem posed by traditional Lebeaux effects, this derivational system makes the surprising and correct prediction of an argument/adjunct asymmetry with respect to Condition C effects caused by possessors (7). Again, this is due to the fact that *his* in (7b) does not c-command into the late-merged relative clause. One class of cases appears to be incorrectly predicted by this approach: Adjunct clauses should fail to trigger condition C effects in very simple cases, like those in (8). But these predictions are not borne out, since we must assume, even in a copy or trace theory with a representational approach to c-command (5a), that adjunction cannot take place within previously spelled-out terms. In particular, under a phase-based theory (Chomsky 2001), we argue that adjuncts can be added only to phases that have not yet been spelled out.

- (1)  $\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta)$  where  $\alpha$  is contained in  $\beta$  =

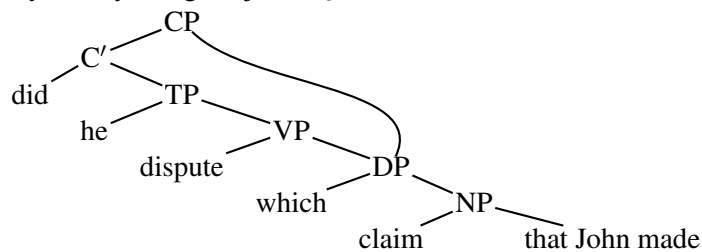


- (2)  $[_{CP} \text{What}[\sqrt{F}] \text{C}[\sqrt{F}] \text{do you think } [_{CP} \text{what}[\text{?F}] \text{Mary said } [_{CP} \text{what}[\text{?F}] \text{Bill bought what}[\text{?F}]]]]?$
- (3) a. \*Which claim that John<sub>i</sub> was asleep did he<sub>i</sub> dispute?

- b. Which claim that  $\text{John}_i$  made did  $\text{he}_i$  defend?
- (4) a.  $[_{CP} [_{DP} \text{which claim that John was asleep}]_i [_{C'} \text{did he dispute } [_{DP} \text{which claim that John was asleep}]_i]]$   
\*  
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- b.  $[_{CP} [_{DP} \text{which claim } [_{CP} \text{that John made}]]_i [_{C'} \text{did he dispute } [_{DP} \text{which claim}]_i ]]$
- (5) a. X c-commands Y iff Y is contained in the sister of X (where containment is reflexive).  
 b. If  $\text{Merge}(X,Z)$ , then X c-commands all and only the elements Y contained in Z at the point of merger (where containment is reflexive).
- (6) a. Pre-move Structure:  $[_{C'} \text{did he dispute } [_{DP} \text{which claim}]]$   
 b. Move  $[_{DP} \text{which claim}]$  to Spec-CP (some structure omitted):



- c. Acyclically Merge adjunct  $[_{CP} \text{that John made}]$  with 'claim' (some structure omitted):



- (7) a. \*Which of  $\text{his}_i$  claims that  $\text{John}_i$  was asleep did Mary refute?  
 b. [Context: John has many arguments for his point of view. Some he thinks are good (logically sound, etc.), others more tenuous. Mary has criticized John's point of view, and even criticized one of John's good arguments. We're wondering...]  
 Which of  $\text{his}_i$  arguments that  $\text{John}_i$  thought were good did Mary criticize?
- (8) a. \* $\text{He}_i$  likes the book [that  $\text{John}_i$  bought].  
 b. \*Which claim that  $\text{he}_i$  bought a book [that  $\text{John}_i$  likes] did Mary overhear?

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