A timing approach to escape hatch dependencies

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Non-standard escape hatches

- Adger (2024): specifiers are opaque except from their edges (Spec of Spec).
- Objects are specifiers, so only edges of embedded CPs are transparent → successive-cyclic movement (SCM) w/o phases.
- Heads have max. one complement and one specifier (as in Kayne 1994; Brody 2000).
- **Problems:** opaque specifiers? Adjuncts? Multiple SCM?

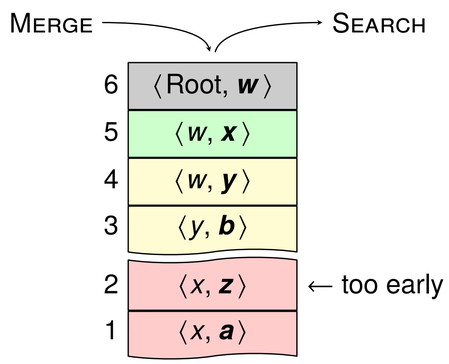
Ordered dependencies

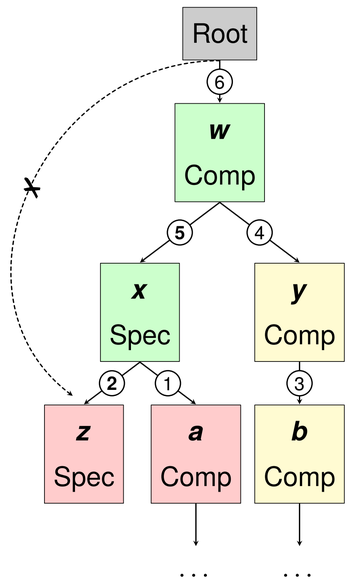
- MERGE(α, β) generates the dependency ⟨ α, β ⟩, where α and β are atomic elements.
  → no head-phrase distinction (cf. Brody 2000)
- All dependencies in a sentence are cyclically pushed to a memory stack (Krivochen 2023).
- **Problem:** MERGE doesn't create nodes, so only complements extend the root node.
- Let's revise the Extension Condition: dependents just can't take dependents of their own.

Sequential search algorithm

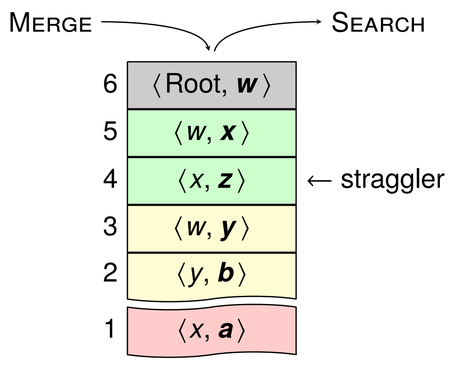
- SEARCH pops dependencies from the stack to identify sequences of connected dependencies (=paths) from the root.
- A goal for any probe is found if it is a dependent in a path identified by SEARCH.

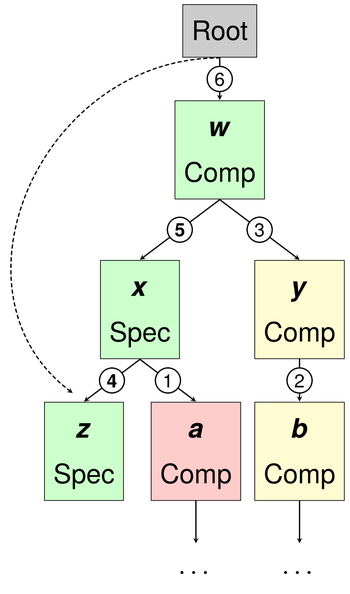
Scenario 1





Scenario 2





Order and opacity

- ***Unfinished Business Condition***
  Independent extension of a root node ends once another root node is extended.
  → build specifiers up to their roots ASAP.
- ***Depth–first Search Corollary***
  Any paths from a node α are **ignored** by SEARCH once a lower sister of α in the stack is found.
- **The escape hatch:** dependents that don't extend the root of a specifier can merge later and be visible to SEARCH ("stragglers").

Empirical coverage

- Stragglers don't have to be specifiers of specifiers (objects of PP adjuncts).
- Non-complements don't have to be stragglers (languages w/o definite articles and w/o LBE)
- Multiple Spec,Cs (hyperraising, multiple *wh*-movement w/ single-pair readings).
- **Bonus:** freezing comes for free — even stragglers are invisible once their parent moves.

References and data

GEORG-AUGUST-UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN IN PUBLICA COMMODA SEIT 1737
RTG 2636 Form-meaning mismatches
DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft