

ANTI-CATAPHORA EFFECTS, AGREE AND POSSESSORS AS GOALS

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INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- I. Is the empirical scope of Binding Condition C the same in English and Polish, or is it different? Does it subsume the Anti-Cataphora Effect (ACE)?

- II. To what extent is the ACE in Polish due to the difference in the structural position of pronominal possessives in Polish vs. English? To what extent other factors are at play, such as:
 - the depth of embedding of the possessive,
 - the grammatical function of the NP containing the possessive,
 - the distance between the proximate possessive and the coindexed name,
 - intervention by other possessive NPs placed between the pronoun and the coindexed name,
 - elements of the information structure (topic/focus),
 - discourse properties.

- III. Current theory of syntax relies on two basic structural relations driving morpho-syntactic operations: Agree and Move. In the context of the ACE, which of these two relations licenses this effect? Is it driven by movement of the proximate possessive pronoun to some position from which it c-commands the coindexed name or is it driven by some version of Agree which does not presuppose any movement on the part of the proximate possessive?

THE ACE: C-COMMAND

- Serbo-Croatian vs. English:
 - (1) a. *Njegov_i najnovij_i film je zaista razočarao Kusturicu_i.
 his latest movie is really disappointed Kusturica
 b. *Kusturicin_i najnovij_i film ga_i je zaista razočarao.
 Kusturica's latest movie him is really disappointed
 - (2) a. His_i latest movie really disappointed Kusturica_i.
 b. Kustrurica_i's latest movie really disappointed him_i.
- Despić (2011, 2013) and Bošković (2012) submit that prenominal possessives are adjuncts to the maximal projection of the NP in S.C. Thus they trigger Condition C and B. In English a functional projection of DP dominates the possessive element.

THE ACE: CONDITION C

- (3) a. Binding Condition C: An R-expression is free. (Chomsky 1981, 1986a)
b. An R-expression is pronoun-free. (Lasnik 1989)
- Condition C applies across clauses and limits the distribution of names and epithets:
- (4) a. *He_i finally realized that Oscar_i is unpopular.
b. *It surprises him_i that John_i is so well liked.
c. *He_i hates people who criticize Nixon_i.
d. *John_i/he_i realizes that the sissy_i is going to lose.
e. [his_i mother] loves John_i.
- Condition C seems to hold of personal pronouns in English and one-degree embedded possessives in BCMS.

THE ACE: NOMINAL STRUCTURE

- (5) a. English/DP Slavic lgs: [DP his [D' 0 [NP movie]]] (Bosković 2005, 2012)
 b. [DP Mary/each other [D' [D 's] [POSSP my/their/her [POSS' Poss [NP friends]]]]] Despić (2015)
 c. NP Slavic lgs: [NP his [NP movie]]
- Polish pronominal and nominal possessives occupy different positions; the pronominal ones look like S.C.:
- (6) a. *Jego_i siostra bardzo pocieszyła Janka_i.
 his sister_{NOM} very comfort_{PAST} Janek_{ACC}
 'His sister comforted John very much.'
 b. Siostra Janka_i bardzo go_i pocieszyła.
 sister_{NOM} Janek_{GEN} very him_{ACC} comfort_{PAST}
 'Janek's sister comforted him very much.'
- (7) [NP jego [NP siostra]]
 his_{GEN} sister_{NOM}
- (8) [FP [NP siostra] [F [POSSP [NP Janka] [Poss [NP siostra]]]]
 sister_{NOM} Janek_{GEN} 'Janek's sister'

THE ACE: NOMINAL STRUCTURE

- Despić on SC: the possessor c-commands from below a demonstrative:

(9) *<sub>[NP ovaj [<sub>NP njegov_i [_{NP papagaj]]]]} je juče ugrizao Jovana_i.
 this his parrot is yesterday bitten John
 ‘This parrot of his_i yesterday bit John_i.’</sub></sub>

- Genitive-assigning Qs confine the c-domain of the pronominal possessor in S.C. and Polish:

(10) [<sub>QP pet/mnogo [<sub>NP njegovih_i [_{NP filmova]]]}] je proslavilo Kusturicu_i.
 five/many his-GEN movies-GEN is made.famous Kusturica
 ‘Five/many of his movies made Kusturica famous.’</sub></sub>

(11) [_{QP sześć (z) jego_i nowych powieści]} bardzo podbudowało Janka_i.
 six_{ACC} (of) his-GEN new-GEN novels-GEN very strengthened-3SG.NEUT Janek-ACC
 ‘His six new novels/six of his new novels strengthened John a lot.’

THE ACE AS A RESULT OF PRONOUN MOVEMENT (LATERZA 2016)

- LaTerza (2016) argues for the movement of possessives from a deeper position to the outer edge of the containing NP/DP from which they c-command

A) possessives embedded deep within NPs in SC also cause Condition C (and Condition B) effects:

(12)*_{[NP Prijatelj [_{NP} njegove_i [_{NP} majke]]]} je zagrlio Marka_i.
 friend his mother Aux hugged Marko
 ‘His_i mother’s friend hugged Marko_i.’

B) Bulgarian/Macedonian constructions analogous the ones in SC in (1) also cause Condition C effects:

(13) *Negovijat_i papagal uhapal Ivan_i včera. Bg.
 his. the parrot bit Ivan yesterday.
 ‘His_i parrot bit Ivan_i yesterday.’

(14) *Ivanovijat_i papagal nego_i uhapal včera. Bg.
 Ivan’s_{DEF} parrot him_{TON} bit yesterday
 [Intended] ‘Ivan_i’s parrot bit him_i yesterday.’

THE ACE AS A RESULT OF PRONOUN MOVEMENT (LATERZA 2016)

- (15) *[Markova_i majka]] je zagrlio njega_i.
 Marko's mother Aux hugged him
 'Marko_i's mother's hugged him_i.'
- (16) *[_{NP} Prijatelj [_{NP} Markove_i majke]] je zagrlio njega_i.
 friend Marko's mother Aux hugged him
 [Intended]'A friend of Marko_i's mother's hugged him_i.'
- (17) [_{NP} Prijatelj [_{PP} od Marka Markoviča_i]] je zagrlio njega_i.
 friend from Marko Markovic Aux hugged him
 'A friend of Marko Markovic_i hugged him_i.'

- Prenominal possessives (both pronominal and nominal) raise in LF to a position at the edge of the largest containing nominal from which they c-command:

- (18) Markove_i [_{NP} prijatelj [_{NP} ~~Markove~~_i majke]] je zagrlio njega_i.
 Marko's friend Marko's mother Aux hugged him
 'Marko_i's mother's friend hugged him_i.'

THE ACE AS A RESULT OF PRONOUN MOVEMENT (FRANKS 2019)

- Embedding the pronominal possessive under a demonstrative and a quantifier (or both) considerably ameliorates Condition C effects:

(19) a. *Nejnite_i problemi pritesnjavaxa Marija_i mnogo.

her_{DEF} problems troubled Maria much

[Intended] ‘Her_i problems made Maria_i very uneasy.’

b. Tezi nejnite_i problemi pritesnjavaxa Marija_i mnogo. vs. (9) in BCMS

these her problems troubled Maria much

‘These problems of hers_i made Maria_i very uneasy.’

(20) Mnogoto nejni_i problemi pritesnjavaxa Marija_i. vs. (10) in BCMS

many_{DEF} her problems troubled Maria

‘Her_i many problems made Maria_i uneasy.’

Possesives move to [spec,DP] overtly but movement to this position is blocked by demonstratives and quantifiers/numerals causing MLC effects. In covert syntax the possessive adjoins to DP (ex. 21d)

(21) a. [DP possessive D_[+DEF] [NP ~~possessive~~ ...]]

b. [DP possessive D_[+DEF] [QP numeral/quantifier [Q' Q [NP ~~possessive~~ ...]]]]

c. [DP demonstrative D_[+DEF] [NP possessive ...]]

d. [DP possessive [DP ~~possessive~~ D_[+DEF] [NP ~~possessive~~ ...]]]]

THE ACE IN POLISH (WILLIM 1989)

- Empirical expectations for Polish: as a Slavic NP language it should follow the pattern of BCMS (modulo lack of prenominal full NP possessors), rather than Bulgarian.
- (22) a. *He_k likes John_k
 b. *She told him_k that John_k is intelligent
 c. *His_k book about John_k
- (23) a. *on_k lubi Janka_k
 b. *ona powiedziała mu_k że Jan_k jest inteligentny
 c. *jego_k książka o Janku_k
- Willim (1989: 80-83) provides the following examples which, at first blush, should constitute firm evidence in favour of Condition C violations:
- (24) *Jego_k matka kocha Janka_k.
 his_k mother loves John_k
- (25) (*) [jego_k mama] niepokoi się o Lucusia_k, ale jest z niego_k dumna.
 [his_k mother] worries about Lucuś_k but (she) is proud of him_k
- However, she proposes that these examples do not show that Condition C is involved but some **preference factors**.

THE ACE IN POLISH (WILLIM 1989)

- Willim points to inconsistent judgments in similar constructions, where the distance between the possessive pronoun and the name is larger and they appear in separate clauses (ex. 26-27) or in NP-embedded positions (ex. 28-29):

- (26) a. Kiedy zadzwoniłam, jego_k matka powiedziały mi, że Janek_k wraca z Londynu za tydzień
 when (I) called, his_k mother told me that John_k would be returning from London in a week
- b. jego_k siostra wychodzi z domu, kiedy Janek_k zaczyna ćwiczyć na skrzypcach
 his_k sister leaves the house when John_k begins to practice the violin
- (27) a. *powiedz mu_k że Janek_k nie dostał stypendium
 tell him_k that John_k has not been given a scholarship
- b. powiedz jego_k siostrze, że Janek_k nie dostał stypendium
 tell his_k sister that John_k has not been given a scholarship

THE ACE IN POLISH (WILLIM 1989)

- (28) a. *dałam jej_k stare zdjęcia Marii_k
I have given her_k old photographs of Mary_k
- b. dałam jej_k siostrze stare zdjęcia Marii_k
I have given her_k sister old photographs of Mary_k
- (29) a. *[jego_k opowieść o Janku_k] rozbawiła mnie.
his_k story about John_k made me laugh
- b. [opowieść jego_k matki o Janku_k] rozbawiła mnie.
story his_k mother about John_k made me laugh

THE ACE IN POLISH (WITKOS 2008)

(30) **Backward Pronominalisation Constraint (BPC):**

(Pol) *..._[NP pron_i N] ...>... NP_i ...

A pronoun cannot almost c-command the A-position of its nominal antecedent (A almost c-commands B if A c-commands B or the projection C that dominates A c-commands B; Hornstein 1995: 108).

- Witkoś (2008) points out that embedding of the possessive pronoun considerably mitigates the negative effect of backward pronominalisation for many speakers:

(31) a. ? [ta jego_i zwariowana siostra] naprawdę kocha Piotra_i
 this his crazy sister_{NOM} really loves Piotr_{ACC}

‘This crazy sister of his really loves Peter.’

b. ?[stos [nowych zdjęć [jego_i mamy] w czerwonym kapeluszu]] właśnie zasypał Piotra_i
 pile_{NOM} new pictures his mother_{GEN} in red hat just buried Piotr_{ACC}

‘A pile of new pictures of his mother in a red hat has just spilled over Peter.’

PRELIMINARY EXPERIMENT: POSSESSIVE PRONOUN EMBEDDING AND THE ACE (ŁĘSKA AND GOGŁOZA 2017)

Aims: To test the Anti-cataphora effects with possessive pronouns in Polish; To check if the ACE varies depending on the position of the possessive (subject/IO); To check if deeper embedding of the possessive in the nominal structure obviates the ACE.

Position: subject vs indirect object vs direct object (control condition)

(32) **Jej_i córka** pokazała **Marii_i Tomka** (Subject)
her daughter_{NOM} showed **Maria_{DAT} Tomek_{ACC}**

(33) Tomek pokazał **jej_i córce** **Marię_i** (Indirect object)
Tomek_{NOM} showed her daughter_{DAT} **Maria_{ACC}**

(34) Tomek pokazał **Marii_i jej_i córkę** (Direct object)
Tomek_{NOM} showed **Maria_{DAT} her daughter_{ACC}**

Embedding: [poss [NP]] vs [NP [poss [NP]]]

(35) **Koleżanka jej_i córki** pokazała **Marii_i Tomka** (Subject)
friend_{NOM} her daughter_{GEN} showed **Maria_{DAT} Tomek_{ACC}**

(36) Tomek pokazał **koleżance jej_i córki** **Marię_i** (Indirect object)
Tomek_{NOM} showed friend_{DAT} her daughter_{GEN} **Maria_{ACC}**

(37) Tomek pokazał **Marii_i koleżankę jej_i córki** (Direct object)
Tomek_{NOM} showed **Maria_{DAT} friend_{ACC} her daughter_{GEN}**

MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

Materials: 18 condition sentences, 18 fillers (per experimental list, 6 lists, each participant saw each condition twice); verbs which take IO_{DAT} and DO_{ACC} (*pokazać* ‘show’, *polecić* ‘recommend’, *narysować* ‘draw’)

Method: acceptability judgments on a 7-point Likert scale (1-totally unacceptable, 7- totally acceptable)

Procedure: the sentence was preceded by a short contextual adverbial and followed by the intended interpretation (in brackets) on which the acceptability of the sentence was rated, as shown below.

CONTEXT + INTENDED INTERPRETATION

Podczas przygotowań do pokazu mody (...). + (to stylistka projektanta)

During the preparations to fashion show (...) + (this is designer’s stylist)

TARGET SENTENCES

- (38) a. [Asystentka jego_i stylistki] pokazała projektantowi_i modelkę.
 assistant_{NOM} his stylist_{GEN} showed designer_{DAT} model_{ACC}
- b. Stylistka pokazała [asystentce jego_i modelki] projektanta;
 stylist_{NOM} showed assistant_{DAT} his model_{GEN} designer_{ACC}
- c. Stylistka pokazała projektantowi_i [asystentkę jego_i modelki]
 stylist_{NOM} showed desiner_{DAT} assistant_{ACC} his model_{GEN}

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Participants: 84 native speakers of Polish (78 women, 6 men), students of higher education, $M_{age} = 20,96$; $SD = 2,52$.

Descriptive results:

Possessive position	Sentence	deeper embedding	no embedding
Subject	a. * (Koleżanka) jej _i córki pokazała Marii _i Tomka.	2,99	3,08
IO	b. * Tomek pokazał (koleżance) jej _i córki Marię _i .	2,18	2,31
DO	c. Tomek pokazał Marii _i (?koleżankę) jej _i córki.	4,54	5,71

Statistics: ANOVA by items, 3x2 design

position: $p = .000$; possessive pronouns in subjects and IO_{DAT} are rated as unacceptable (induce the ACE). This effect is significantly stronger for possessives in IO_{DAT} than in subject position. Only the pronouns in DO_{ACC} are felicitous.

embedding: $p = .002$; deeper embedding of possessives is rated significantly lower in general;

position*embedding: $p = .003$; deeper embedding is rated significantly lower for possessives in DO_{ACC} (no ACE contexts), $p=.000$. However, deeper embedding has no significant effect on possessives in subjects ($p=.727$) and IO_{DAT} s ($p=.608$), which are the ACE contexts.

QUESTIONS TO THE LF-MOVEMENT ANALYSIS

- Questions to the LF-movement scenario of LaTerza (2016) and Franks (2019):

First, the LF movement of the prenominal possessive from the position of [spec, DP] to a DP-adjoined position violates Anti-Locality. **Second**, the antecedent should occupy an A-position. Is the possessive in (18) or (21d) in an A position? Only **overt** movement produces such results: in OVS the landing position of the object shows A-properties, anti-reconstruction in Generalised Inversion (Baylin 2004, 2012; Nikolaeva 2014; Germain 2017; Citko et. al. 2018):

- (39) a. *[jego_I mama] woła Tomka_I.
his mother_{NOM} called Tom_{ACC}
[intended] ‘Tom was called by his mother.’
- b. Tomka_{I,ACC} woła [jego_I mama]_{NOM}.
Tom_{ACC} called his mother_{NOM}
‘Tom was called by his mother.’

QUESTIONS TO THE LF-MOVEMENT ANALYSIS

Third, the interrelation between A-binding and LF-movement. DenDikken (1995) and Lasnik (1999) provide evidence showing that LF-movement to an A-position does not expand the c-domain of the binder:

- (40) a. The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trails.
b. *The DA proved [there to have been two men at the scene] during each other's trails.
- (41) a. Some linguistic seems to each other [t to have been given good job offers]
b. *There seem to each other [t to have been some linguists given good job offers]

Lasnik (1999: 177) shows that satisfaction of Condition C cannot be delayed after LF movement operations have taken place:

- (42) a. Which book that John_i read did he_i like?
b. *He_i liked every book that John_i read.
c. *I don't remember who thinks that he_i read which book that John_i likes.

If Condition C must be fed or bled by overt operations, possessive raising applying at LF should not affect it.

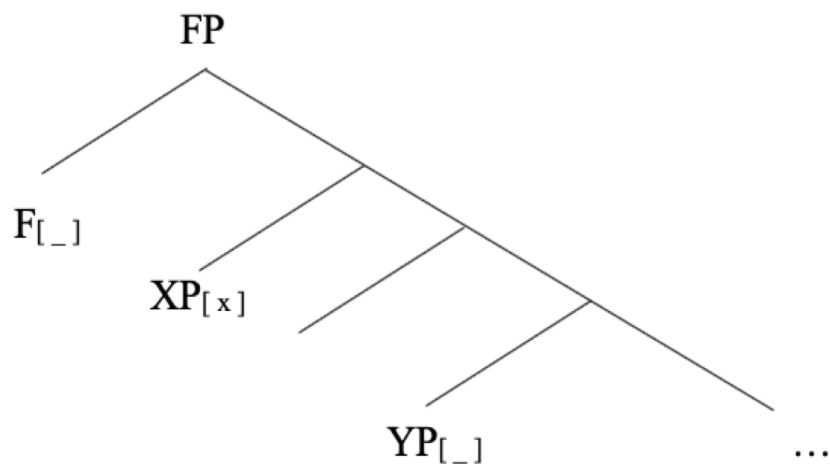
ANALYSIS

- On the basis of the review of the data in Polish, BCMS and Bulgarian/Macedonian, we conclude that the ACE is a regular grammatical phenomenon (though a decent amount of speaker variation is involved), contra Willim (1989). At the same time we agree with a crucial empirical observation she makes in ex. (26-28), namely the ACE is clause bounded, unlike genuine Condition C. This challenges claims made by Despić and Bošković. Thus we argue for a middle position between the two extreme positions: ACE is a condition of grammar but it is independent of Condition C, though related to it.
- Our account of ACE relies on the concept of a functional head dedicated to a particular task in syntax; topic/focus (Rizzi 2013, 2014), clitics/scrambling (Sportiche 1991), A-binding in Russian (Zubkov 2018), T/v as heads facilitating control (Landau 2000).

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

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(43)



- The head F c-commands XP and YP which share the same feature(s). XP occupies a more prominent syntactic position and is closer to F. The head has unvalued features which become valued by the closer XP and subsequently become checked against the more distant YP under the feature sharing approach to feature checking (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007). In certain cases the more prominent XP does not c-command YP but clearly F c-commands them both.

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

- We assume that in Slavic languages such a dedicated head F is projected on the main spine of the diagram whenever a pronoun enters the derivation.
- F is projected in a position immediately dominating the pronoun or the constituent that contains it.
- F acts as a probe and obtains the value for its [pron] feature under Agree from the relevant close pronoun.
- Subsequently F scans its domain for any other occurrences of the same feature. Should it find them, ACE shows:

(44) ...[FP [F' F_[pron -v, -i] [TP [NP poss pron_[vI] [NP ...]] ... [VP V [NP N_{[v*1, 2]]]]]] see (1a), (6a)}

- We assume that among speakers of Slavic languages F_{proxy} comes in two varieties:

(45) F_[pron -v, -i]

(46) F_{[D/N], [pron -v, -i]}

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

Head F performs its minimal search in line with the proposals in Rackowski and Richards (2005:582):

- (47) a. A probe must Agree with the closest goal α .
- b. A goal α can move if it is a phase.
- c. A goal α is the closest one to a probe if there is no distinct goal β such that for some X (X a head or a maximal projection), X c-commands α but not β .
- d. Once a probe P is related by Agree with a goal G, P can ignore G for the rest of the derivation (Richards 1998, Hiraiwa 2001).

(47) combines the contents of Richards' PMC, Chomsky's A/A Principle and PIC: (47c-d) refer to minimality effects: although the local intervening phase can be incapacitated by (47d) the more remote Agree is still subjected to locality requirements.

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

$F_{[\text{pron -v, -i}]}$ accesses possessives in BCMS/Polish (ex. 2a/5; 6a/7) and Bulgarian (ex. 13/19):

(48) ... [FP [F' $F_{[\text{pron -v, -i}]}$ [TP [DP $\text{pos}_{[\text{vI}]}$ [D' D [$\text{PossP } \text{pos}_{[\text{vI}]}$ Poss [NP ...]]] ... [VP V [NP $N_{[\text{vI}, 2]}$]]]]]]]

Although we assume that DP is featurally more richly equipped than [pron] (Rizzi 2013, 2014), under (47c), both the DP boundary and the possessive pronoun are equidistant from F_{proxy} (there is no head or maximal projection that c-commands the possessive pronoun but does not c-command the DP; the DP does not c-command the possessive because it dominates it). This is how (47c) derives the 'edge effect' or the PIC effects.

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

Our (47c) predicts that a possessive pronoun embedded under a demonstrative inside a different projection, cannot be reached by $F_{[\text{pron} -v, -i]}$:

(49)...[FP [F' $F_{[\text{pron} -v, -i]}$ [TP [DP dem D [$F_{\text{PossP}} \text{pos}_{[vI]}$ Poss [NP ...]]] ... [VP V [NP $N_{[vI, 2]}$]]]]]]

The demonstrative pronoun is now a closer goal to F_{proxy} , because there is a head (D) which c-commands the possessive pronoun but does not c-command the demonstrative. This is how our proposal converges on the observations in Franks (2019) concerning the correlation between the prominent position of the possessive in Bulgarian DP and ACE in ex (19b/20).

We make an important assumption that all elements that can be used in the pronominal possessive function bear the feature [pron] and as such can act as interveners for the relation between F_{proxy} and the possessive pronoun.

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

If the demonstrative and the possessive pronoun are both adjuncts to NP (ex. 9) in SC, F_{proxy} can access the pronoun under (47c), because the two elements are equidistant:

(50)...[FP [F' F_[pron -v,-i] [TP [NP dem [NP pos_[v1] [NP ...]]] ... [VP V [NP N_[v*1,2]]]]]]]

F_{proxy} accesses the pronoun, values its own [pron] feature and searches its complement domain for any DP/NP with the same value of the [var] feature.

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

The difference between (45) and (46) captures judgements with embedded possessives: (12) in S.C. and (35) in Polish. Speakers with $F_{[D/N[-v,-i], \text{pron}[-v,-i]]}$ reject (12) and (35), in line with (47d): F_{proxy} agrees with DP/NP, ignores it, the [pron] probe accesses the pronoun and the ACE shows:

(51) ... [FP [F' F_[D/N] [pron -v,-i] [TP [NP₁ N₁ [NP₂ POS_[v3] [NP₂ N₂]]]] ... [VP V [NP N_[v(*)3]]]]]]

Speakers with $F_{[\text{pron}[-v,-i]]}$ find (12) and (35) acceptable, because $F_{[\text{pron}[-v,-i]]}$ cannot penetrate the DP/NP boundary and cannot access any goal below D'/N'. We assume that speakers of all Slavic languages have access to the two types of F_{proxy} in (45-46), so the embedding effect can show in all Slavic languages but this is still a tentative conclusion, subject to further empirical findings.

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

As for the blocking of the ACE for pronouns embedded under quantifiers (ex. 10-11), we assume that QP bears features [Q], [D/N] and [pron] and is richer in its specification than either the [pron] or [D/N] probes on F_{proxy} in (45-46). The definition in (47d) predicts that neither probe on F_{proxy} can access a pronoun inside QP. QP remains impenetrable and the ACE is bled:

(52)...[FP [F' F_[D/N] [pron -v,-i] [TP [QP [Q_[Q] [D/N] [pron] [DP/NP POS_[v1] [NP ...]]] ... [VP V [NP N_[v1, 2]]]]]]]]]

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

Finally, we look at cases where a pronoun embedded in an adnominal PP causes ACE. The examples come from Polish but Nikolaeva (2014) observes similar facts for Russian:

(53) *[_{NP} ta książka [_{PP} o nim_I]] zirytowała Janka_I.
this book about him_I irritated John_I

- (54) a. ?[jej₂ książka [o nim_I]] wzburzyły Piotra_I.
her book_{NOM} about him_{LOC} exasperated Peter_{ACC}
'Her book about him exasperated Peter.'
- b. ?[nowa książka Marii [o nim_I]] ucieszyła Piotra_I.
new book_{NOM} Maria_{GEN} about him pleased Peter_{ACC}
'Mary's new book about him pleased Peter.'

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

We propose two alternatives to deal with these cases, each assuming that a PP embedded pronoun must be matched with $F_{[D/N] \text{ [pron -v,-i]}}$, as most native speakers we have consulted reject (53).

(55) ...[FP [F' F_{[D/N] [pron -v,-i]} [TP [NP_I N_I [PP P pron₂]] ... [VP V [NP N_[v(*)2]]]]]]

The first alternative is based on the idea that PP is penetrable to F_{proxy} by definition, as if it were not a phase.

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

The second alternative is based on Kayne (1994): PP is topped with AgrP and the pronoun moves to [spec, AgrP] for case licensing, although its copy at the bottom of the movement chain is pronounced:

(56)...[FP [F' F_[D/N] [pron -v,-i] [TP [NP_I N_I [AgrP pron₂ [Agr [PP P ~~pron~~₂]]]] ... [VP V [NP N_[v(*)2]]]]]]]

The [pron] probe on F_{proxy} accesses the pronoun in [spec, AgrP] the same way it can access it in [spec, DP/NP] in (48) above. This alternative shares with LaTerza (2016) and Franks (2020) the step of LF-movement of the pronoun.

ANALYSIS: THE PROXY F

In ex. (54a-b) ACEs are ameliorated, because of intervention. Under definition (47c) the possessor is a closer goal to F_{proxy} :

(57)...[FP [F' F_[D/N] [pron -v,-i] [TP [NPI poss₃ [NPI N₁ [AgrP pron₂ [Agr [PP P ~~pron~~₂]]]]]... [VP V [NP N_[v2]]]]]]]]

The [pron] probe cannot by-pass the possessive pronoun adjoined to NP or occupying [spec, DP] in (54a-b), because under (47c) the PP-internal pronoun is the more distant goal; N and P c-command pron₂ but they do not c-command poss₃.

ANALYSIS: CONCLUSIONS

(58) Advantages of the ‘proxy F’ approach:

- (a) Locality of the ACE is explained; Agree by F_{proxy} is subject to RM/MLC (closer goal counts, PIC operates);
- (b) No LF movement-induced expansion of the c-domain of the possessor is necessary;
- (c) Similarities between Slavic NP-languages (BCMS/Polish) and DP-languages (Bulgarian/Macedonian) with respect to the ACE are captured;
- (d) Genuine Condition C effects do not rely on F but on direct c-command domain of the pronoun (phase-command, Bruening 2014). This relation is not constrained by intervention or clause bounded.

THANK YOU!

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