

## ANTI-CATAPHORA EFFECTS, AGREE AND PHASES

Jacek Witkoś (wjacek@amu.edu.pl)

Paulina Łęska (paulina.leska@amu.edu.pl)

**Keywords:** binding, anti-cataphora, pronouns, Condition C

This study concerns cataphoric relations in English and Slavic (Polish). Backward pronominalisation (BP) is banned when pronouns c-command names but in English it is allowed when pronouns are within DPs that c-command names, as (3).

- (1) \*He<sub>i</sub> believes that John<sub>i</sub> is clever.
- (2) \*On<sub>i</sub> wie, że Maria<sub>k</sub> mówi, że Jan<sub>i</sub> jest zdolny.  
he knows that Maria says that Jan is gifted  
'He<sub>i</sub> knows that Maria says that John<sub>i</sub> is gifted'
- (3) [<sub>DP</sub> his<sub>i</sub> latest movie] really disappointed Kusturica<sub>i</sub>.

In contrast, Slavic (including Polish) shows Anti-Cataphora Effects (ACE), stronger than BP, where c-command by the pronoun is less obvious (Despić 2013, 2015):

- (4) \*[njegov<sub>i</sub> najnoviji film] je zaista razočarao Kusturicu<sub>i</sub>. (BCMS)  
his latest movie is really disappointed Kusturica  
'His latest movie really disappointed Kusturica.'

We address the following questions: **(A)** Does Condition C subsume the ACE? **(B)** Is it licensed by Agree or Move? [Ad. A] Willim (1989) and Witkoś (2008), express doubts as to whether the ACE is reducible to Condition C, as it depends on the depth of embedding and intervention (5- 6), unlike (2):

- (5) (?) [przyjazd [jego<sub>1</sub> rodziców]] zupełnie Janka<sub>1</sub> zaskoczył.  
arrival his parents completely John surprised  
'His<sub>1</sub> parents' arrival surprised John<sub>1</sub> completely'
- (6) ? [jej<sub>2</sub> historie [o nim<sub>1</sub>]] wzburzyły Piotra<sub>1</sub>.  
her stories about him exasperated Peter  
'Her stories<sub>NOM</sub> about him<sub>LOC</sub> exasperated Peter<sub>ACC</sub>'

[Ad. B] Despić (2013, 2015) argues that the unacceptable status of (4) stems from Condition C. He claims that in contrast to English, in Slavic NP-lgs possessives are placed in an adjunct position from which they command outside NP in (8).

(7) **English, Slavic DP-lgs:** [<sub>DP</sub> his [<sub>D</sub> 0 [<sub>NP</sub> movie<sub>N</sub>]]]

(8) **Slavic NP-lgs:** [<sub>NP</sub> his [<sub>NP</sub> movie<sub>N</sub>]]

A different analysis appears in LaTerza (2016) and Franks (forthcoming) who argue for LF- raising of the possessives to account for (4) in Bulgarian. We develop alternative proposal involving notion of 'phase command' defined in Bruening (2014):

(9) X phase-commands Y iff (i) there is no ZP, ZP a phasal node, such that ZP dominates X but it does not dominate Y. Phasal nodes: CP, vP, NP (but not PP); (ii) X precedes Y.

(10) **Condition C** (Minimise Restrictors): A definite description of the form *the A* (name) may not refer to a discourse referent in active set C if A could be dropped (become pronoun) without affecting either (i) the denotation of the description or (ii) its various pragmatic effects.

Phase command and Condition C in (10) account for core cases of the ACE in (4): possessives are adjuncts (unlike in English) and on definition (9) NP is not the first phase node dominating them; only CP is.

Furthermore, Bošković (2007) shows that phases (PIC) constrain Move but they need not constrain Agree (LD Agree in Chukchee). We combine (9-10) with the notion of PIC resistant Agree (both on the upward and downward leg of command). This move delivers several immediate bonuses. The PP in (6) is not treated as a phase and the pronoun commands from within it. Since intervention effects hold of Agree, (5-6) are accounted for. Finally, under PIC resistant Agree we can explain why Slavic DP-languages and Slavic NP-languages look alike for the Agree-based ACE while differ w.r.t. Left Branch Extraction.

Words: 404

**Selected references:** Bošković, Ž. 2005. On the locality of left branch extraction and the structure of NP. *Studia Linguistica* 59(1): 1–45. Bruening, B. 2014. Precede-and command revisited. *Language* 90 (2): 342-388. Despić, M. 2013. Binding and the structure of NP in Serbo-Croatian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44(2). 239–270. LaTerza, I. 2016. Binding in English and South Slavic and the parametrized DP hypothesis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 47 (4): 741-753. Nikolaeva, L. 2014. *The secret life of pronouns*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.