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AGREE, MOVE AND THE SCOPE OF THE PHASE IMPENETRABILITY CONDITION

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses a certain contradiction in the application of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) to domains involving the long-distance Genitive of Negation (GoN) and wh-movement in Polish. It appears that in syntactic domains of the tensed sentence including an infinitive complement, there is a tension between a long-distance dependency (holding between NEG in the main clause and the embedded object in genitive) and a cyclic operation of wh-movement. The operation of wh-movement, a classic example of Chomsky's Move, observes cyclicity and the PIC, judging by the standard tests based on reconstruction (Chomsky 1995; Heycock 1995; Fox 1999; Safir 1999; Legate 2003; Witkoś 2003; Lebeaux 2009), while the Agree-based case marking requires the PIC to be inoperative in exactly the same context and in the same domain. Both operations place contradictory requirements on the PIC, which implies that this condition does not apply to them in the same manner: it always holds of Move but does not always hold of Agree.

Keywords: Minimalism; Agree; Move; long-distance relations; the Phase Impenetrability Condition.

1. Introduction

One of the cornerstones of the minimalist phase-theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008, 2013) is the notion of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC):

(1) Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC)
   a. The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP (with ZP the smallest strong phase), only H and its edge are accessible to such operations (Chomsky 2001: 14).

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b. Interpretation/evaluation of phase α takes place uniformly at the next higher phrase, i.e., Ph_1 is interpreted/evaluated at the next relevant phase Ph_2 (Chomsky 2001: 13).
c. [$_{ZP}$ Z…[$_{HP}$ α [H YP]]] with ZP and HP as strong phases (Chomsky 2001: 14)

The role of the PIC in contemporary theory of syntax cannot be overestimated and its multiple consequences and applications are comprehensively reviewed and summarised in Citko (2014), among others.[3] This contribution casts some light on the question of applicability of the PIC to both Agree-based and Move-based phenomena. In an ideal world ruled by an ideal theory of syntax, the PIC should apply to both Agree and Move to an equal degree if, after all, both are 'operations' in the sense of the definition above and Move is taken to be Agree plus displacement, driven by an [+EPP] property on the head acting as the probe for Agree. In other words, the probe and the goal should not be placed in distinct phases, unless one or the other occupies an edge position. Chomsky (2001: 14), while commenting on the concept of the PIC, explicitly says:

(2) If Z is C [in (1c), JW], its complement TP is immune to extraction to a strong phase beyond CP, and only the edge or head of HP (a strong phase CP or v*P) is accessible for extraction to Z. The same holds for Z = v*, and **the observations extend to Agree**. But T in the domain of Z can agree with an element within its complement, for example with the in-situ quirky nominative object of its v*P complement.

Thus Move and Agree are put on a par with respect to the restrictions imposed by the PIC. Citko (2014: 34–38) also stresses equal status of Agree and Move in the light of (1) above and corroborates the predictions made by Chomsky in (2). While comparing the merits of the strict and the more relaxed versions of the PIC, she uses Agree as a relation making the difference. On the assumption that nominative case results from Agree between T and a DP, she argues that nominative objects in Icelandic and Polish in (3) confirm that T should be able to reach into the complement domain of v*, which is possible on the strength of (1) but not on its stricter equivalent:[4]

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[3] As an overarching and universal principle of syntax the Phase Impenetrability Condition makes an ideal 'measuring stick' or 'tertium comparationis' of comparative linguistic studies, an area so dear to Prof. Jacek Fisiak and so prominent in his research legacy (Fisiak 1978).

[4] The stricter equivalent is the definition of the PIC from Chomsky (2000):
The domain of H is not accessible to operations outside HP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(3) a. Henni höfðu leiðst þeir.
her$_{DAT}$ had$_{3PL}$ bored.at they$_{NOM}$
'She had found them boring.'
b. Marii podobała się ta książka.
Maria$_{DAT}$ please REFL this book$_{NOM}$
'Maria liked this book.'

On such analysis of (3) Agree is taken to be subject to the PIC in (1), just like Move.[5] In further sections one particular construction is submitted to careful scrutiny: Long Distance Genitive of Negation in Polish, more precisely a combination of this construction in (4a) and an application of wh-movement, as in (4b):

(4) a. Jan nie chce pić wody.
Jan$_{NOM}$ not wants drink$_{INF}$ water$_{GEN}$
'Jan does not want to drink water.'
b. Czego Jan nie chce pić?
what$_{GEN}$ Jan$_{NOM}$ not wants drink$_{INF}$
'What does John not want to drink?'

It will transpire in the process that in constructions equivalent to (4b) the Move-based operation (wh-movement) seems to respect the PIC, judging by the standard tests based on reconstruction (Chomsky 1995; Heycock 1995; Fox 1999; Safir 1999; Legate 2003; Witkoś 2003; Lebeaux 2009), while the Agree-based case marking requires the PIC to be inoperative in exactly the same context. Both operations place contradictory requirements on the PIC, which implies that, this principle does not apply to them in the same manner. The following section provides relevant information on the Genitive of Negation in Polish.

2. Long Distance Genitive of Negation

Let me briefly review selected properties of the Polish Genitive of Negation (GoN).[6] The GoN is an obligatory process of the case shift from accusative to genitive on direct objects of transitive verbs triggered by sentential negation.

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[5] Citko also discusses proposals, where phases are not simultaneous and they do not overlap either for LF and PF criteria (Marušić 2005, 2009) or for Agree and Move (Bhatt 2005 and Bošković 2007).

[6] For a full review of properties of the GoN in Polish and Russian, see Pesetsky (1982), Willim (1989), Tajsner (1990), Franks (1994), Przepiórkowski (1999, 2000), Brown (1999), Błaszczak (2001, 2010), Borschev & Partee (2002), among others.

So (5b) and (5d) show GoN, while (6) does not, as only constituent negation is involved:[7]

(5) a. Maria czyta gazetę.
Maria$_{NOM}$ reads newspaper$_{ACC}$
'Maria is reading a newspaper.'
b. Maria nie czyta *gazetę/gazety.
Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG reads newspaper$_{*ACC/GEN}$
'Maria is reading a newspaper.'

(6) Maria czyta nie gazetę ale książkę.
Maria$_{NOM}$ reads NEG newspaper$_{ACC}$ but book$_{ACC}$
'Maria is reading not a book but a newspaper.'

No other cases on nominal complements on transitive verbs (here dative and instrumental) are affected by the presence of clausal negation:

(7) a. Maria pomaga córce.
Maria$_{NOM}$ helps daughter$_{DAT}$
'Maria is helping her daughter.'
b. Maria nie pomaga córce/*córki.
Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG helps daughter$_{DAT/*GEN}$
'Maria is helping her daughter.'

(8) a. Maria spekulowała akcjami.
Maria$_{NOM}$ speculated stock$_{INST}$
'Maria speculated on stock.'
b. Maria nie spekulowała akcjami.
Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG speculated stock$_{INST}$
'Maria did not speculate on stock.'

Prepositional objects in accusative are not affected by clausal negation either:[8]

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[7] Unlike its Russian equivalent, the Polish Gentitive of Negation does not show any sensitivity to the specificity/definiteness status of the affected NP. Cf. Borschev & Partee (2002) and Kagan (2012) for a comprehensive review of the Russian GoN and Błaszczak (2008, 2010) for differences between the Polish and the Russian GoN constructions.

[8] The GoN also affects a limited set of subjects: the subject of the locative/existential construction in Polish also changes to genitive in the scope of clausal negation:
(i) Na stole jest piwo.
on table is beer$_{NOM}$
'There is beer on the table.'
(ii) Na stole nie ma piwa.
on table NEG is beer$_{*NOM/GEN}$
'There is no beer on the table.'

(9) a. Jan patrzy na Marię.
Jan$_{NOM}$ looks at Maria$_{ACC}$
'Jan is looking at Maria.'
b. Jan nie patrzy na Marię/*Marii.
Jan$_{NOM}$ NEG looks at Maria$_{ACC/*GEN}$
'Jan is not looking at Maria.'

Significantly for what is to come further, the GoN can also apply long distance, i.e., negation in the main clause causes the case shift on the nominal direct object in the embedded infitive (of both the control and raising type). This is the so-called Long Distance GoN, cf. Witkoś (1998, 2008). The presence of lexical material in the CP area (either the Complementizer or a wh-phase) excludes the Long GoN:

(10) a. Maria kazała Janowi [PRO czytać listy]
Maria$_{NOM}$ told Jan$_{1,DAT}$ [PRO1 read$_{INF}$ letters$_{ACC}$]
'Maria told Jan to read letters.'
b. Maria nie kazała Janowi [PRO czytać *listy/listów]
Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG told Jan$_{1,DAT}$ [PRO1 read$_{INF}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$]
'Maria told Jan to read letters.'
c. Maria nie pozwoliła [żeby Jan coś/*czegoś zabrał]
Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG let so-that Jan$_{NOM}$ something$_{ACC/*GEN}$ took
'Maria did not let Jan take anything.'
d. Maria nie wie [komu czytać bajki/*bajek]
Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG knows whom$_{DAT}$ read$_{INF}$ bedtime stories$_{ACC/*GEN}$
'Maria doesn't know whom to read bedtime stories.'

As expected, the dative nominal in the scope of negation does not shift to genitive (Jan$_{DAT}$ in 10b). The following section shows an impact of the Long Distance GoN for the notion of the derivational phase.

3. The Long Distance GoN and the derivational phase

This section is devoted to a discussion of the impact of long distance GoN on the definition of the derivational phase. Consider a case below, where negation on

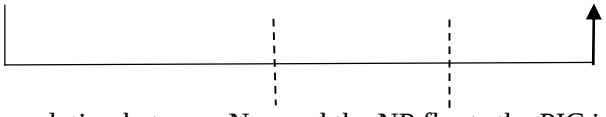
the main clause predicate predictably impacts the case of the direct object of the embedded verb:

(11) Maria nie kazała Janowi czytać *listy/listów]
Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG told Jan$_{1,DAT}$ read$_{INF}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$]
'Maria did not tell Jan to read letters.'

(11) illustrates the context for an Agree relationship holding between a probe (Neg) and a goal (the NP object). Theoretical accounts of (11) recognise joint impact of NEG and v on the NP object (see Section 6 below for a more local alternative). E.g.,Witkoś (1998, 2008) proposes to treat NEG and v as two parts of a combined probe that participates in an Agree relation with the NP object as goal. The combined probe involves NEG and v in the same derivational search space, with the former c-commanding the latter. In effect, the main clause NEG needs to reach the embedded v and the NP object, which constitutes a prima facie challenge to the rigid formulation of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) in (1) above.[9]

When the CP projection and Polarity Phrase (the minimal maximal projection including both parts of the 'split' probe) are taken to constitute derivational phases, (11) has the following partial representation:

(12) [$_{PolP}$ Neg$_{nie}$ [$_{vP}$ v-told Jan$_{DAT}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ PRO T [$_{PolP}$ read$_{INF}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$]



Quite clearly the relation between Neg and the NP flouts the PIC in (1).[10]

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9 The construction in (11) above could possibly be treated as involving a truncated or reduced infinitive complement, e.g., a VP, cf. Wurmbrandt (2001). There are at least two reasons to be sceptical about this possibility. First, Witkoś (1998) shows that the embedded constituent must be larger than VP because it could also include NegP:

(i) Maria kazała Janowi nie czytać *listy/listów
Maria$_{NOM}$ told Jan$_{1,DAT}$ NEG read$_{INF}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$
'Maria told Jan to not read letters.'

Second, if the diagnostics in Landau (2000) concerning time adverbials are taken into account, the embedded infinitive has its own future orientation:

(ii) Wczoraj Maria nie kazała Janowi czytać jutro *listy/listów.
Yesterday Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG told Jan$_{1,DAT}$ read$_{INF}$ tomorrow letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$
'Yesterday Maria didn't tell Jan to read letters tomorrow.'

As Partial Control is admitted in these examples, Landau the infinitive is not only a TP but also a CP on Landau's diagnostics.

10 It would be tempting to say that the PIC holds of long distance Agree in GoN through covert

At this stage several options present themselves. One alternative, ultimately adopted independently in Błaszczak (2001), Witkoś (2008), and Ruda (2018), is to assume that the phase must be extended to accommodate (11):

(13) PIC holds of Agree but the phase must be extended, for instance: the phase is the smallest relevant convergent domain (PolP and CP).

This proposal is consistent with the notion of phase sliding or extension in den Dikken (2007) and Gallego (2010), as well as the definitions proposed by Svenonius (2004) and Pesetsky (2013):

(14) DP undergoes Spell-out only after it is Vergnaud-licensed (case-marked, J.W.) Pesetsky (2013: 89).
(15) A straightforward assumption is that a phase is spelled out when all uninterpretable features on its head are checked. (Svenonius 2004: 264).

But then the problem is that the derivation would sometimes have to wait for many steps for the features to be valued. In (11) they are valued when NegP is projected. The positive Polarity head does not affect GoN licensed in the lower clause:

(16) Jan [$_{PolP}$ Pos [$_{vP}$ kazał Marii [$_{NegP}$ nie [$_{vP}$ czytać tego artykułu/*ten artykuł]]]]]
Jan$_{NOM}$ told Maria$_{DAT}$ NEG read$_{INF}$ this$_{GEN/*ACC}$ article$_{GEN/*ACC}$
'Jan told Maria to not read this paper.'

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movement of the direct object. So there would be an overt movement, with copy pronunciation at the bottom of the chain. This proposal is used to account for 'main V'/embedded DPo' agreement in Hindi-Urdu (Bhatt 2005) and for similar facts in Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001):

(i) Ram-ne [rotii khaa-nii] chaah-ii Hindi-Urdu
Ram$_{ERG}$ [bread$_{F}$ eat$_{INF.F}$] want$_{F.SG}$
'Ram wanted to eat bread.'
(ii) Ram-ne [rotii khaa-naa] chaah-aa
Ram$_{ERG}$ [bread$_{F}$ eat$_{INF.M}$] want$_{M.SG}$
'Ram wanted to eat bread.'

Whenever the direct object is specific or definite the main verb shows agreement with it, see (i). If the direct object is indefinite or non-specific the main verb agrees with the head of the infinitive clause, see (ii). Applied to the GoN, this strategy would return the following LF representation:

(iii) [$_{PolP}$ Neg$_{nie}$ [$_{vP}$ v-told Jan$_{DAT}$ [$_{CP}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$ [$_{C'}$ C [$_{TP}$ PRO T [$_{PolP}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$ [$_{Pol'}$ read$_{INF}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$]

The problem with this proposal is that Polish, unlike Russian, requires the GoN of both non-specific and specific/definite NPs and no optionality is involved. So there is little evidence for such movement.

So it would be tempting to tweak the definition of the phase instead, so that only particular types of (extended) vP and CP qualify as derivational phases:

(17) The PIC holds but it requires positive evidence for the phase status of particular heads, so in Polish:
  a. only a 'contentive' CP is a phase ([C-T_{fin}, C_{wh}]);
  b. only NegP is a phase ([PolP NEG ..])

This option may be conceptually inconvenient but empirically adequate.[11] Infinitival, affirmative CPs seem to be transparent to Agree in (11) and Polarity Phrases with positive heads do not close off the NP case domain to external influence, while NegPs do. A similar position taken in Landau (2000) to allow for Exhaustive Control into wh-infinitives:

(18) John wonders [$_{CP}$ how [PRO to solve this puzzle t]]

Landau (2000) takes infinitive CPs to not constitute derivational phases in the context of his Agree-based control theory, and Zubkov (2018) does not take either CP_{inf} and vP to be phases in the context of his Agree-based theory of binding.[12] Landau (2000: 69) discusses exhaustive control of PRO in the context of the PIC and notices that it must be accessible to the V or T probe from the main clause to facilitate (exhaustive) control:

(19) Modified PIC:
In a structure […ₓ …[$_{YP}$…Z …]], where YP is the only phase boundary between X and Z, Z is accessible to X:
  a. only at the head or edge of YP, if Z is uninterpretable;
  b. anywhere in the YP phase, if Z is interpretable.

The problem is that a definition like (17), and in fact any liberal definition like the ones proposed by Svenonius and Pesetsky, appear to bleach the notion of the phase altogether and lead to further complications. The nature of these

[11] A suggestion similar in spirit to (17) is expressed in Landau (2008), Bošković (2011), and Stepanov (2012). These authors argue for island (phase) effects amelioration through head movement of the phase head: silent phase heads move to the selecting verb/head and through movement nullify the phase status of their maximal projections. On the strength of this hypothesis only the non-silent contentive Cfin (introduced by the obligatory lexical Complementizer *że* 'that') and Neg (*nie* 'not') head genuine phases, with other potential phases vanishing in thin air due to head movement.

[12] On the basis of Russian data, i.e., reflexive binding available across transitive infinitival clauses, supported with data from other Slavic languages showing long-distance relations, Zubkov (2018) claims that preserving Agree-based account of anaphoric dependencies requires transparency of infinitival CPs and vPs for operations of feature valuation.

complications shows clearly in cases where one and the same construction requires an application of both: an LD GoN and wh-movement. A specific property of wh-movement, namely reconstruction, was used as one of key arguments in favour of phase-based syntax. The following section recapitulates the argument for phases based on reconstruction.

4. Phases and movement

A strong argument in favour of derivational phases is provided by cases of reconstruction, discussed extensively in Chomsky (1995), Heycock (1995), Fox (1999), Safir (1999), and Lebeaux (2009), among others. The general idea of the phase theory is that only phase heads should bear the [+EPP] property that drives displacement from within their complement domains. This means that only phase heads should project specifier positions through which movement proceeds. If phase heads are taken to include C and v, then [spec, CP] and [spec, vP] are expected to accommodate intermediate traces/copies and provide for loci for reconstruction. A strong claim in this respect would be to say that only the [spec, CP] and [spec, vP] positions are expected to provide loci for reconstruction.

An ingenious method for detecting such loci for reconstruction was proposed in Fox (1999) in the form of the so-called 'reconstruction trap': the moved wh-phrase contains two elements whose interpretation depends on c-command relations with two distinct elements in the clause. Only one position is eligible for both interpretations and this is the position to which the (restrictor of) the wh-phrase reconstructs at LF. This phenomenon is illustrated through the following examples from Fox (1999: 175):

(20) [*which of the books that he_1 asked Ms. $Brown_2$ for] did every $student_1$ [__] get from her_2 [*__]?

(21) [*which of the papers that he_1 wrote for Ms. $Brown_2$] did every $student_1$ [__] get her_2 to grade [*__]?

The wh-phrase contains a pronominal variable and a name. The pronominal variable (he_1) must be interpreted in the c-domain of the QP *every student*$_1$ placed in [spec, TP]. The name (*Ms. Brown*$_2$) must be reconstructed to a position outside the c-domain of the pronominal *her*$_2$, lest Condition C should be violated. In principle the restrictor of the wh-operator can be interpreted in three positions: the top position in the A'-chain, equivalent to the phrase pronounced at PF, the middle copy and the bottom copy in the A'-chain. Assuming that only one copy is interpreted at LF (Chomsky 1995), the top position in [spec, CP] does not qualify, as the pronominal variable remains unbound, although the name remains free. The bottom copy is not suitable either, as the name becomes bound, which

violates Condition C. The only position in which both requirements are met is the middle copy in [spec, vP], within the c-command domain of the QP *every student*$_1$ but out of the c-domain of the pronoun *her*$_2$. Why does this copy come into being at all? Well, if vP is a derivational phase (and v bears the [+EPP] property), its specifier position is the escape hatch from the phase and it must be used as a transfer point by every constituent moving out of the vP. The reconstruction sites at [spec, vP] confirm the proposal that vP is a derivational phase and in general, ligitimise the phase theory.

Witkoś (2003) observes analogous phenomena in Polish double object constructions: reconstruction accesses the copy at the edge of the verbal projection, most probably in [spec, vP]. The examples below involve Binding Condition A and Condition C effects (Polish does not show the Specified Subject Condition effects within the nominal domain). In (22) the reflexive pronoun can depend for its interpretation either on the clausal subject (*Maria*$_2$) or the possessor (*Piotr*$_1$) but the dative pronoun *mu* 'him' cannot bear index 1 for this would trigger a violation of Condition C vs. the NP-embedded possessor *Piotra*$_1$. This set of conditions changes slightly in (23), where the dative pronoun *mu* 'him' can bear index 1:[13]

(22) Maria$_2$ oddała mu$_{*1/3}$ wczoraj [$_{NP}$ tamte książki Piotra$_1$ o sobie$_{1/2}$].
Maria$_{NOM}$ returned him yesterday those books Piotr$_{GEN}$ about self
'Maria returned to him those books of Peter's about himself/her yesterday?'

(23) które książki Piotra$_1$ o sobie$_{1/2}$ Maria$_2$ oddała mu$_{1/3}$ wczoraj?
which books Piotr$_{GEN}$ about self Maria$_{NOM}$ returned him yesterday
'Which of Peter's books about himself/her Maria returned to him yesterday?'

(24) [$_{wh}$ *which books Piotr$_1$ about self$_{1/2}$] Maria$_2$ [__] returned him$_{1/3}$ yesterday [*__]

This additional interpretive results from reconstruction of the restrictor on the wh-operator to the intermediate position at [spec, vP] in representation (24): only there is the reflexive pronoun placed in the c-domain of the matrix subject (to provide for interpretation 2), while the name (*Piotr*$_1$) is kept out of the c-domain of the indirect object *mu*$_1$'him'.

The same reconstruction option appears in constructions with infinitives showing object control:[14]

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[13] The Polish reflexive pronoun *siebie* 'self' shows no morphological distinction in person, number and gender features. It only inflects for case.

[14] For some speakers interpretation 3 in (25–26), with the object controller acting through the medium of the subject of the infinitive (PRO), is difficult to obtain. However many others find it accessible, although not prominent.

(25) Maria$_2$ kazała mu$_{*1/3}$ [PRO$_{*1/3}$ przeczytać [$_{NP}$ pięć historii Piotra$_1$ o sobie$_{1/2/3}$].
Maria$_{NOM}$ told him$_{DAT}$ read$_{INF}$ five stories Piotr$_{GEN}$ about self
'Maria told him to read five of Peter's stories about himself/her/him.'

(26) [$_{whP}$ ile historii Piotra$_1$ o sobie$_{1/2/3}$] Maria$_2$ kazała mu$_{1/3}$ [PRO$_{1/3}$ przeczytać]?
how many stories Piotr$_{GEN}$ about self Maria$_{NOM}$ told him$_{DAT}$ read$_{INF}$
'How many complaints about Peter did Maria tell him to read?'

(27) [*how many stories Piotr$_{GEN,1}$ about self$_{1/2/3}$] Maria$_{NOM,2}$ [__] told him$_{DAT,1/3}$ [PRO$_{1,3}$ read$_{INF}$ [*__]]

In (25) the dative pronoun *mu* 'him' in the matrix clause cannot depend for its interpretation on *Piotr*, as this would lead to a Condition C violation. Yet, in (26) this interpretation is available, although it is not the most prominent one. Again, as shown in representation (27), it is available due to reconstruction to the medial position in [spec, vP] of the matrix clause, where the reflexive pronoun is c-commanded by the matrix subject and the name (*Piotr*) is outside the c-domain of the dative pronoun *mu* 'him'. Either copy at the extreme points of the A'-chain fails: the top one does not provide for interpretation 2 on the reflexive (Condition A failure) and the bottom one leads to the violation of Condition C (*mu*$_{1/3}$'him' > *Piotr*$_1$).

Having set the scene, I am now about to present an example that combines both the Long Distance GoN and reconstruction in wh-movement.

5. The clash over the PIC

Consider constructions combining both a case of long distance Agree and an independent instance of movement. Initially, only phase heads were allowed to have EPP features and drive movement to their specifier positions to provide for necessary escape hatches. Now, let us devise the movement dependency in such a way that an intermediate position is necessary for reconstruction, in the spirit of Fox (1999), Legate (2003), and Lebeaux (2009):

(28) a. Jan$_1$ nie kazał Marii$_2$ [PRO$_2$ pokazać mu$_3$ [listów Tomka$_{*3/4}$ do siebie$_{1/2/4}$]]
Jan$_{NOM}$ NEG told Maria$_{DAT}$ show$_{INF}$ him$_{DAT}$ letters$_{GEN}$ Tom$_{GEN}$ to self
'Jan did not tell Maria to show him Tom's letters to him/her/himself.'

(29) [[ilu listów Tomka$_{3/4}$ do siebie$_{1/2/4}$] Jan$_1$ nie kazał Marii$_2$ [PRO$_2$ [$_{vP}$ t' pokazać mu$_3$ t wczoraj]]]
how many letters$_{GEN}$ Tom$_{GEN}$ to self Jan$_{NOM}$ NEG told Maria$_{DAT}$ show$_{INF}$ him$_{DAT}$ yesterday

‘How many of Tom’s letters to him/her/himself did Jan not tell Maria to show him yesterday?’

(28) shows that Neg in the main clause forces genitive on the direct object of the predicate in the embedded infinitive; it also shows three interpretation possibilities for the reflexive pronoun (Polish shows subject-oriented binding which respects the Tensed Sentence Condition, while it does not respect the Specified Subject Condition), where *siebie* ‘self’ can be bound by the main clause subject *Jan*$_1$, the embedded clause subject PRO$_2$, controlled by *Maria*$_{2,DAT}$ and the nominal possessive *Tomek*$_{*3/4,GEN}$. Importantly, *Tomek*$_{*3/4,GEN}$ must be obviative with regard to *mu*$_{3,DAT}$, as the indirect object c-commands the direct one and a Principle C violation must be avoided. Thus the stage is set for (29), where wh-movement fronts the direct object to the main clause left peripheral position. Here and additional interpretation appears, where *Tomek*$_{3/4.GEN}$ can be coindexed with the indirect object of the embedded predicate. Now, assuming that one copy is interpreted at LF, this copy must be placed in such a position where the indirect object *mu*$_{3,DAT}$ does not c-command *Tomek*$_{3/4,GEN}$ and at the same time PRO$_2$ c-commands *siebie*$_{1/2/3}$ to provide for interpretation marked by index 2. What is this position? It is t’ at the edge of the embedded vP (PolP) in (29). Why does t’ come into being at all? The classic phase theory-inspired answer is: t’ comes into being because the wh-phrase needs to move successive cyclically through phase edges and vP is a phase. But at the same time the embedded vP phase is the phase that the long distance Agree relation between Neg and the embedded direct object cannot tolerate. The grammatical example in (29) places contradictory requirements on the derivational machinery. I believe it to show that phase extension may turn out to be an ultimately lethal medication for problems with phases. What now?

Now, either we turn to a theory, where Spell-Out is non-simultaneous or we say that what is a phase for Move is not a phase for Agree. Marušić (2005, 2009) proposes that the section of the phrase marker fed to PF need not be of equal size to the section of the phrase marker fed to LF. Applying this reasoning to our (29) the phrase marker including the main clause NegP and stretching to the embedded direct object NP is one LF-relevant Spell-Out domain. At the same time the embedded vP is a PF-relevant phase.

It appears that (29) and the derivational setup described above lends strong support to a proposal that removes Agree from the purview of the PIC, which applies to movement only. Such a proposal is explicitly articulated in Bošković (2007), where it is assumed that the Phase Impenetrability Condition constrains Move but it does not constrain Agree:

(30) PIC holds of Move but it does not hold of Agree:

Bošković provides several arguments to substantiate (30). For instance, he points to languages that allow for agreement to reach into a finite CP, for instance Chukchee. In this language the matrix v optionally agrees with the object in the embedded clause, which clearly violates the PIC in (1) (Bošković 2007: 613–614):

(31) ənən qəlγilu ləŋərkə-nin-et [iŋqun 0-rətəmŋəv-nen-at qora-t]
He regrets-3-PL that 3SG-lost-3-PL reindeer-PL
'He regrets that he lost the reindeers.'

But (30) does not mean that Bošković allows for unconstrained Agree. It is subject to a locality restriction, which he dubs 'Agree closest' but this restriction is just another instantiation of a comprehensive constraint such as Relativised Minimality (Rizzi 1990) or Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995). Bošković submits that the reason for which the matrix T or v does not value case on the subject of the embedded CP in the configuration in (32) is not the PIC, although it might deceptively look so, but an intervention effect (his 'Agree closest'):

(32) T/v … [$_{CPfin}$ … [$_{IP}$ NP …]]

The probe T/v cannot reach the NP because the finite CP is the closer candidate for φ-feature valuation than the NP. Bošković provides two arguments to show that the finite CP can value φ-features on T/v. First, a coordination of two finite CPs in the subject position requires plural agreement on T:

(33) That he'll resign and that he'll stay in office seem at this point equally possible.

Second, the treatment of clausal subjects as topicalised constituents conflicts with the observation that multiple topicalisation is disallowed, cf. (34a). In (34b) the sequence of the topic followed by the clausal subject is legitimate, so the status of the two constituents cannot be the same:

(34) a. *To John, that book, Mary gave.
b. To me, that John likes Mary seems obvious.

In the context of 'Agree closest' the Chukchee example in (31) involving Long Distance Agree between the matrix v and the embedded DP object, is treated by Bošković (2007) as involving optional lack of φ-features on the embedded finite CP. As a result, the CP does not constitute the closer goal for v and the embedded

object becomes the further legitimate goal.[15] On the basis of this as well as further arguments Bošković concludes that the PIC does not confine Agree.[16] In this context, the Polish LDGoN looks like a less extreme version of the Chukchee long distance agreement, as the long distance GoN can reach only into infinitive complements in (11–12) mentioned earlier in section 3:

(11) Maria nie kazała Janowi czytać *listy/listów]
Maria$_{NOM}$ NEG told Jan$_{DAT}$ read$_{INF}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$]
'Maria did not tell Jan to read letters.'

(12) [$_{PolP}$ Neg$_{nie}$ [$_{vP}$ v-told Jan$_{DAT}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ PRO T [$_{PolP}$ read$_{INF}$ letters$_{*ACC/GEN}$]

15 Bošković (2007) does not discuss how the embedded subject (pro) facilitates this LD relation across it.

16 His further arguments include (a) treatment of 'first conjunct agreement' cases, (b) control into CP infinitives proposed in Landau (2000) and mentioned in (18–19) above, and (c) French in-situ wh-questions. Bošković considers the following contrast in agreement and movement in expletive constructions:
(i) There is [a woman and five men] in the garden.
(ii) *A woman is [t and five men] in the garden.
(iii)*A woman and five men are in the garden.
(iv) A woman and five men are in the garden.
He proposes that the conjunction phrase (Agr&P) is dominated by a functional projection (BP) which is a phase but cannot support a specifier position. He proposes to treat the Coordinate Structure Constraint as an instantiation of PIC in (1), with BP as a phase without a specifier; the first conjunct cannot move out due to PIC in (ii) by it can be accessed by Agree in (i). Only the whole phase BP can be moved and then it requires a plural agreement. French has optional wh-in situ but it never works long distance, in such cases wh-movement must be overt:
(i) *Jean et Pierre croient que Marie a vu qui?
Jean and Pierre believe that Marie has seen whom
'Whom do Jean and Pierre believe that Marie saw?'
(ii) Qui Jean at Pierre croient-ils que Marie a vu?
(iii) Marie a vu qui?
Bošković (2007) submits that this pattern is best captured when his PIC resistant Agree as well as 'Agree closest' are applied in tandem. He assumes that 'Agree closest' is quite coarse grained and is sensitive to the feature type ([wh]) rather than the value specification on the feature (so [+wh] vs. [-wh]). Hence a goal with a [-wh] feature blocks access to a further goal with [+wh] specification. This is the case of the embedded declarative CP: its [-wh] feature blocks the Agree for [wh] reation between the matrix C and *qui* 'whom' in (v). Successive cyclic movement of the wh-phrase solves this problem in (vi). The wh-in situ in the simple clause in (vii) trivially obeys 'Agree closest'.

As for intervention effects from the CP, or 'Agree closest', I assume that the infinitive complement in Polish may (optionally) not have φ-features either, so NEG from the main clause can access embedded v and the NP object.[17] PRO in the subject position should not cause intervention, specifically when taken to be a copy/trace of its antecedent on Hornstein's (2001, 2003) theory of control. The dative object (the A-chain including the controller and PRO) should not count either on the following reading of RM: elements bearing inherent case do not interfere with relations relevant for structural case.[18]

One more aspect of the LDGoN is worth underscoring. Since this phenomenon applies to infinitive domains, it is tempting to consider an analysis involving restructuring, whereby a bi-clausal domain turns into a monoclausal one. Yet, (29) does not yield to such a treatment easily. Consider a recent proposal in the spirit of restructuring/reanalysis of infinitive complements formulated in Müller (2017, 2018). Müller submits that the menu of basic syntactic operations needs to be enriched with operation Remove, a mirror reflection of operation Merge. Remove cancels already constructed phrase markers in a very regular manner, it is subject to the Strict Cycle Condition, it is feature driven (in the case of cancelling CP the relevant feature rests on the selecting matrix verb), and affects either maximal projections or heads. Müller (2017, 2018) argues that Removal accounts for a number of puzzling hybrid constructions whose internal structure shows ambiguous properties (e.g., the fronting of complex constituents to V-2 pre-field in German or restructuring contexts). In the latter case, he follows in the footsteps of earlier analyses of restructuring/reanalysis (DiSciullo & Williams 1987; Roberts 1993; Pesetsky 1995). However, he shows that Removal applies at a well-defined point in the derivation and is feature driven. The selecting restructuring verb (optionally) bears relevant features: V[[·C·] > [-C_o-]] forcing operations in the left-to-right order. So first, CP is externally merged as a complement to V and then removed in a cyclic manner. One of the advantages of this operation is that the structure of a control sentence functions as a bi-clausal construct for a part of the derivation and as a monoclausal construct for another part. Müller presents relevant phenomena for German and shows also how successive-cyclic wh-movement takes place in the context of the C (CP) which is present and attracting the wh-phrase when it is raised to [spec,CP] via Indirect Feature Driven Movement of Chomsky (2001)). In the next derivational step C is removed, its CP projection cancelled, and the wh-phrase

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17 The infinitive clause may become the subject in Polish, so on these occasions it should bear the
φ-feature:
(i) [Spotkać się z nim prywatnie] wydawało się niemożliwe.
meet$_{INF}$ with him privately seemed$_{3NEUT.PAST}$ REFL impossible
'It seemed impossible to meet him privately.'

18 For an analysis of control as Move in Polish see Witkoś (2010, 2013).

reassociated now in the position of [spec,VP], from which it can move further to [spec,vP]. In Polish, control structures show bi-clausal properties such as separate initial argument structures, separate temporal specification (relevant for Partial Control, Landau 2000), and selection requirements but also monoclausal ones, such as clitic/weak pronoun climbing, reflexive binding, and LDGoN (cf. Willim 1989; Tajsner 1990; Witkoś 1998; Przepiórkowski 1999, 2000; Błaszczak 2001, 2010; Bondaruk 2004). To what extent can structure removal account for the facts in (28)–(29). It appears that despite its initial appeal and successful application to other constructions, it does not help here. Müller (2017, 2018) is adamant that structure removal should apply cyclically within the derivation and, just like other restructuring operations, it is unidirectional, turning bi-clausal domains into monoclausal ones:

(35) Restructuring: bi-clausal > monoclausal

But the problem is that it is critical for the LDGoN that the structure should initially be monoclausal in the following sense: if we replace the notion of the clause with the notion of the phase, LDGoN requires that the complement domain of NEG in the main clause should be 'monophasal'. So we have structure removal à rebours: first there should be no phase boundaries of CP and vP between NEG and the object to facilitate case valuation and next, they should crop up to allow for successive cyclic wh-movement in a countercyclic manner (CP and vP cannot be removed before they force the wh-phrase to reach their specifiers). That is assuming, as I have been throughout, that genitive is valued on the NP object in the same position and manner in (28) and (29), and that it is valued on the NP before it starts wh-movement. So what is apparently necessary in this case is countercyclic 'structure insertion', a bizarre mirror image of structure removal. This complication is avoided if PIC is taken to regulate only Move but not Agree.

6. An apparent complication

An alternative view of the LDGoN was recently presented in Ruda (2018), where what Witkoś (1998, 2008) and Błaszczak (2001, 2008) take as a long distance relation holding between matrix NEG and the embedded verb plus the nominal object, is presented as a sequence of local Agree relations (a type of chain Agree) where every subjacent head bears feature [NEG]. Ruda analyses an example from Przepiórkowski (2000: 5) where the nominal object is multiply embedded in infinitival structures and presents a representation analogous to (36):[19]

[19] For many speakers the nominal object which is that far away from NEG can remain in ACC.

(36) Nie musisz zamierzać przestać studiować algebry.
not must$_{2SG}$ intend$_{INF}$ stop$_{INF}$ study$_{INF}$ algebra
'You don't have to intend to stop studying algebra.'

(37) [$_{\Sigma P}$ $\Sigma_{[Pol:neg]}$ [$_{ModP}$ must$_{Mod[Pol;neg]}$ [$_{VP}$ intend$_{V[pol:neg]}$ [$_{CP}$ $C_{[pol:neg]}$ [$_{TP}$ $T_{[pol:neg]}$ [$_{VP}$ stop$_{V[pol:neg]}$ [$_{CP}$ $C_{[pol:neg]}$ [$_{TP}$ $T_{[Pol;neg]}$ [$_{VP}$ study$_{V[Pol:neg]}$ algebra$_{[Case: v, neg]}$]]]]]]]]

The head introducing [polarity: negation] (Σ) bears a valued interpretable [neg] feature and every subjacent head bears an unvalued instance of the same feature. Successive-cyclic applications of local Agree and the notion of feature-sharing of Frampton & Gutman (2000) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2004, 2007) lead to the situation in which the whole chain of Agree relations and feature-sharing reaches the bottom of the syntactic object in (36). The nominal object enters into an Agree relation with the verb and shares features [case: v, neg] with it. The morphology of Polish takes the combination of features [case: v, neg] on the object to spell-out as the genitive case. Ruda (2018: 4, fn. 6) explicitly notes that the construction of the feature sharing chain and a sequence of local Agree relations, specifically the inclusion of the [polarity: neg] feature on C, helps to negotiate the strictures of the PIC. This is an advantage of this approach as, technically, in (37) the PIC is not violated by the LDGoN anymore.[20]

Although this declaration seems to have huge impact on the problem addressed in this contribution, there are at least two reasons to remain sceptical about the nature of such compatibility of the LDGoN with the PIC. First, Ruda herself points out (2018: 11) that her account still needs to recognise the fact that the Spell-out of the entire syntactic object in (36–37) must be delayed and all the intermediate phases must be rolled up into one, headed by Σ. After all, in the syntactic object constructed incrementally from bottom to top, all instances of the unvalued [Pol:neg] feature on every head (Vs, Ts and Cs) must wait to be valued by the [pol:neg] feature on Σ, the head of the root projection. According to the definitions in (1) the complement domain to the phase head can be transferred to

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More 'local' LD cases typically involve the ACC to GEN shift on the object.

[20] By no means is this the only merit of the analysis in Ruda (2018). E.g., this analysis, unlike many others, can account for an intriguing pattern showing with contrastive ellipsis:

(i) Anna często kupuje truskawki, ale nigdy nie jagody/*jagód.
Anna often buys strawberries$_{ACC}$ but never not blueberries$_{ACC/*GEN}$
'Anna often buys strawberries but never blueberries.'

The nominal object in the remnant surfaces as Accusative rather than Genitive, despite the presence of NEG. Ruda submits that deletion of the verb before external merge of the head Σ into the structure leads to the situation, where the verb bears only the feature [v], this feature is valued on the NP [case: v] and spells out as accusative. The addition of Σ to the structure after the deletion of the verb (where its deletion also deletes its features relevant in the syntax, Baltin (2012)) does not affect the case, as in this approach Σ is never involved in a direct relation with the nominal object.

LF and externalised to PF only after all of its uninterpretable features have been valued. So, practically, whether Σ participates in a long distance Agree with NP in (37) or a sequence of local Agree relations, its domain constitutes one phase (according to the definitions presented in (1) above, also adopted by Ruda). But if so, why do we see evidence for cyclic wh-movement in (29), confirmed by reconstruction sites, within an alleged single spacious derivational phase, if this cyclic movement and the reconstruction sites are forced by the phase theory? A possible answer is that Move and Agree are treated differently by the PIC, as proposed here.[21]

Second, assuming that the feature sharing chains and local Agree sequences are the answer to the issue of alleged long distance Agree relations spanning phase boundaries, the question appears why this option is unavailable to all feature types. E.g., why does the [+wh] feature work differently? Why cannot it percolate via a feature-sharing chain down the diagram across phase boundaries? This would obliterate the need for local movement. Instead, Move shows traits of successive cyclic application. The reconstruction facts in (23), (26), and (29) above, plus ample examples from the literature, show that wh-movement operates differently from the locally sequential long distance Agree. But this is exactly the central point of this contribution: Agree and Move are affected by the PIC in different ways. While the former can selectively violate it, by bridging it through formation of a local feature sharing sequence, etc., the latter needs to obey it in a very strict fashion.

7. Conclusions

This contribution adds to the debate on the purview of Chomsky's (2001) PIC in (1): does it apply to both Move and Agree with equal force or does it limit its application to Move-based operations exclusively? It is argued here that the latter view is correct, namely that there is evidence that certain instances of Agree are not constrained by the PIC. Specifically, (29) shows that Agree and Move pull in opposite directions as to how the PIC should work. In one and the same example the LDGoN requires that main clause NEG should reach the embedded object to contribute to its case marking as genitive (ignoring the CP and vP phase boundaries in the process), while wh-movement of this object demonstrates its

[21] The same point applies to any solution based on case overwriting, as defined in Pesetsky (2013). Assuming that Σ could overwrite as genitive the structural case (accusative) licensed by the embedded v in a local configuration, the whole complement domain to Σ would have to be an 'active' phase in narrow syntax by the time Σ is merged. This implies tension between successive-cyclic wh-movement, apparently targeting phase edges, and LD case overwriting applying within one extended phase.

successive-cyclic nature and use of the intermediate landing sites at CP and vP phase edges (forced by the PIC) through reconstruction properties. The conclusion drawn from these facts confirms the view expressed in Bošković (2007) that Agree is not regulated by the PIC and the locality of Agree is due to 'Agree closest', an instantiation of intervention phenomena.

Finally, this contribution has focussed on solutions to the problem posed by (29) available in mainstream minimalist literature recognising overt movement as part of syntax proper and the PIC as its relevant safeguard. This example is not a problem for generative approaches where locality of grammatical operations is dealt with through alternative means. For instance (29) receives a fairly natural account in the multiattachment theory laid out in Franks (2017). Franks proposes that operations related to LF movement or Agree are in principle unbounded, subject to Relativized Minimality considerations (equivalent to Bošković's 'Agree closest'). Thus the probing feature on NEG reaches the embedded v and NP object unimpeded. As for wh-movement, the [Q] feature of the main clause C scans the entire syntactic object and engages with ("entangles" in Franks' terms) with heads which could in principle contain conflicting features. [22] In (29) these potentially conflicting features would rest on the heads C and v and their entanglement with the matrix C leads to them becoming reconstruction sites without actual wh-movement through these positions. The actual wh-movement is taken to be a pure PF phenomenon: the Spell-Out of the category sharing the [Q] feature with matrix C in the vicinity of this head.

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[22] Franks (2017: 57–58): "…when a probe encounters a categorically similar node, in order to keep the search 'alive' it must stop to examine that node's features. […] if there is a conflict – in particular an already valued feature of the same type – then the search dies. Island effects, relativized minimality, and reconstruction are therefore all going to be side effects of the need to adapt syntactic representations for the purpose of initiating Spell-Out".

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