Spelling out Pronouns as Half-Baked Reflexives Solves a C-command Riddle.

On the basis of (3-4) Despić (2011, 2013, 2015) and Bošković (2012) propose that adjectival and pronominal possessives in BSC are adjuncts (so they c-command outside NP and trigger Principle B-C effects), while they are specifiers in English. In Polish only pronominal possessors seem to act as adjuncts (ex. 5-6). Yet, Despić (2013) admits that ex. (7) constitutes a significant problem for this account (no expected Principle B violation shows) but leaves this paradox unresolved. The same effect holds in Polish (8). Two more examples complete the picture: in (9) the nominal phrase to which the pronominal possessor is adjoined c-commands the reflexive pronoun in line with Principle A; in (10) the pronominal possessor does not c-command the reflexive, and a violation of Principle A ensues. Despić accounts for the difference between (9) and (10) by saying that the reflexive must be bound by the entire subject rather than any of its parts, so the possessor adjunct does not constitute a legitimate binder on its own.

I subscribe to the way Despić excludes ex. (10) but I propose to apply it within a paradigm devised in Safir (2014) and Nikolaeva (2014), recognizing different LF and PF aspects of binding. Here, an undifferentiated element (D-bound/Index; [+anaphor, -pronominal]) is fed into the derivation, becomes co-indexed with its antecedent (relevant for LF) and spelled out as reflexive or pronominal depending on whether it ends up locally c-commanded by its antecedent (relevant for PF). The D-bound/Index performs covert (head) movement (Index Raising) and adjoins to functional heads v/T, which accounts for its subject-orientation. In the context of (3-10), I propose this Lexicalisation Rule (modelled on Nikolaeva 2014):

(1)   The bottom copy of the chain of the D-bound/Index is spelled out as reflexive iff:

    a.   The D-bound/Index is adjoined to v/T;

    b.   it shares the index of the c-commanding NP category in the specifier position of the said v/T;

    c.   the said index is an attribute of the whole NP category, rather than any of its parts (unambiguous c-command is PF-relevant only);

    d.   Otherwise it is spelled out as pronominal.

In examples (8-9) the pronoun *go* 'him' is first-merged as a D-bound/Index ([+ anaphoric; - pronominal]), while the other (*jego* 'his') is a genuine pronoun ([- anaphoric; + pronominal]). So only the former needs to be bound and undergoes Index Raising. In the process, the accusative D-bound-Index needs to adjoin to v/T. I assume that *jego* 'his' c-commands it in this position and shares its index with it:

(2)   [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ his$_1$][$_{NP}$ parrot]] [$_{v'}$ index$_1$-v [$_{VP}$ bit [$_{DP}$ index$_{??}$]]]]]]

Plain c-command is sufficient for LF-relevant binding. Next, the lexicalisation of the D-bound/Index is determined but now c-command by the entire category rather than any of its parts (unambiguous c-command) is relevant. Thus ex. (7-8) and (10) illustrate two equivalent derivations which differ only by the last step of lexicalising the D-bound/Index. Ex. (7-8) obeys (1c), while (10) violates it: *go* 'him' is a half-baked reflexive, bound at LF, lexicalised as a pronoun.

(3)   a.   His$_i$ latest movie really disappointed Kusturica$_i$.

        b.   Kustrurica$_i$'s latest movie really disappointed him$_i$.

(4)   a.   *[$_{NP}$ Njegov$_i$ [$_{NP}$ najnovij film]] je zaista razočarao Kusturicu$_i$.

                his latest movie is really disappointed Kusturica

        b.   *[$_{NP}$ Kusturicin$_i$ [$_{NP}$ najnovij$_i$ film]] ga$_i$ je zaista razočarao.

                Kusturica's latest movie him is really disappointed

(5)   a.   *[$_{NP}$ Jego$_i$ [$_{NP}$ 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.'

(6)   a.   [$_{NP}$ jego [$_{NP}$ siostra]]

                his$_{GEN}$ sister$_{NOM}$

                'his sister'

        b.   [$_{FP}$ [$_{NP}$ siostra] [F [$_{PossP}$ [$_{NP}$ Janka] [Poss [$_{NP}$ ~~siostra~~]]]]

                sister$_{NOM}$ Janek$_{GEN}$

                'Janek's sister'

(7)   Jovan je razočaran. [$_{NP}$ Njegov [$_{NP}$ omiljeni papagaj]] ga je juče ugrizao.

        John is disappointed His favourite parrot him is yesterday bitten

        'John is disappointed. His favourite parrot bit him yesterday.'

(8)   [$_{NP}$ Jego$_1$ [$_{NP}$ papuga$_2$]] go$_1$ wczoraj ugryzła.

        his$_{GEN}$ parrot$_{NOM}$ him$_{ACC}$ yesterday bit

        'His parrot bit him yesterday.'

(9)   [$_{NP}$ Jego$_1$ [$_{NP}$ papuga$_2$]] zobaczyła siebie$_2$ w lustrze.

        his$_{GEN}$ parrot$_{NOM}$ saw self$_{ACC}$ in mirror

        'His parrot saw herself in the mirror.'

(10)   *[$_{NP}$ Jego$_1$ [$_{NP}$ papuga$_2$]] zobaczyła siebie$_1$ w lustrze.

        his$_{GEN}$ parrot$_{NOM}$ saw self$_{ACC}$ in mirror

        'His parrot saw him(*self) in the mirror.'

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