
PHASAL ECONOMY AND INCORPORATION

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In this squib, I show that, and meditate on why, an extension condition, dictated by [EPP/EF] feature(s), may be, when all else fails, satisfied by movement of a minimal category. The relevant data from Slovenian additionally shows that the clause with its clausal edge, *qua* Force in the Left Periphery (Rizzi, 1990), does not constitute a single phasal spell-out domain but, rather, that there exists at least one CP-internal transfer point in Slovenian.

1 INTRODUCTION

I empirically entertain motivating a principle of economy applying to movement operations targeting maximal categories. Aside from the standard economy principle of last resort (1a), I empirically motivate another possible principle (1b) which gives empirical and theoretical support to reducing movement of maximal categories to movement of minimal categories, (i.e., incorporation). The core theoretical appeal lies in connecting phrasal and head movement by looking at data which seems to suggest a need for \bar{A} -head-movement, under the assumption that all \bar{A} -processes are driven by Edge Features ([EF]).

- (1) “Avoid crash at all cost!”
- a. “As soon as possible!” (Strict Cycle, Minimal Link Conditions)
 - b. “Better late than never!” (to be derived from the A-over-A and Phase Impenetrability Conditions)

I show that, and meditate on why, an extension condition, or [EPP/EF],¹ may be satisfied by a movement of a minimal category. This goes against Roberts’s (2010) view “that incorporation is movement with *no* associated

¹ I try assuming as little as possible for purposes of full generality. While the relevant particle under investigation will be shown to associate with \bar{A} -processes, I find it needless to distinguish the (A-type) [EPP] from the (\bar{A} -type) [EF], insofar as they both (may) require movement of the maximal category to their edge (what we may still identify as the Specifier position).



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EPP (or EF) feature” (Roberts, 2010: 67, emphasis mine). I not only show that head movement has information-structuring and interpretative reflexes, but also that the clause with its clausal edge, *qua* Force in the Left Periphery (Rizzi, 1990), does not constitute a single phasal spell-out domain. Rather, that there exists at least one CP-internal transfer point in Slovenian, which is the language I draw on. If we are to maintain that the CP constitutes a single, and only one, phasal domain, then we are led to motivate empirically the existence of a dedicated supra-clausal layer (FrameP), which both part of the C-system but shows, or at least may show, PIC effect with respect to its complement ForceP.

With the advent of the phasal organisation of derivation (Chomsky, 2000, 2001), the search space of movement-triggering probes is reduced to structurally delimited space of derivation.

In any given derivation, only the edge of a phase, headed by $X^0_{[+\pi]}$, is eligible for movement in accordance with the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) given in (2) (I represent phases with $[+\pi]$).

(2) PHASE IMPENETRABILITY CONDITION (PIC):

In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky, 2000: 108)

As Chomsky (2000: 108) further notes, “Given $HP = [\alpha [H^0 \beta]]$, take β to be the domain of H and α (a hierarchy of one or more Specs) to be its *edge*. Now assume a head G^0 takes the said phase HP as complement. Further assume that G^0 is specified with a movement-triggering $[EF]$ feature. Assuming the latter is checked by movement of overt phrasal material to the specifier of its bearer, as per standard assumptions, then the only crash-obviating derivation is the one where α , the (strict) edge of H^0 , is overt ($[+\mathcal{A}]$) and non-empty. The resulting derivation is predicted to yield movement of α to Spec(GP), as per (3).²

$$(3) \left[\begin{array}{c} G^0 \\ | \\ [EF] \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} [HP_{[+\pi]} \\ | \\ \alpha \\ | \\ [+ \mathcal{A}] \end{array} \right] [H^0 \beta] \right] \rightsquigarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha_i \\ | \\ [+ \mathcal{A}] \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} G^0 \\ | \\ [EF] \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} [HP_{[+\pi]} \\ | \\ t_i [H^0 \beta] \end{array} \right] \right] \right]$$

\therefore Search space of G^0 corresponds to $\{H^0, \alpha\}$

Now assume another scenario where α in Spec(HP) is empty and only the head H is overt. Assuming there is no other way to check the $[EF]$ on G^0 (e.g. by virtue of expletion), the derivation in (4) would crash unless the head H is afforded the right to incorporate.

² I assume a Weak version of the PIC, as per Chomsky (2000: 108).

$$(4) \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{L}_{\text{GP}} \\ \text{G}^0 \\ | \\ [\text{EF}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{L}_{\text{HP}_{[+\pi]}} \\ \emptyset \\ | \\ \text{H}^0 \\ | \\ [+ \cdot] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{H}^0 \\ + \\ \text{G}^0 \\ | \\ [\text{EF}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{HP}_{[+\pi]} \\ \emptyset \\ [t_j \ \theta] \end{array} \right] \rightsquigarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{L}_{\text{GP}} \\ \text{G}^0 \\ | \\ [\text{EF}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{H}^0 \\ + \\ \text{G}^0 \\ | \\ [\text{EF}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{HP}_{[+\pi]} \\ \emptyset \\ [t_j \ \theta] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CRASH, otherwise} \end{array} \right. \\ \therefore \text{Search space of } \text{G}^0 \text{ and } \text{EDGE}(\text{HP}_{[+\pi]}) = \{\text{H}^0\}$$

It is the scenario in (4) that we explore in light of the empirical evidence from the Slovenian adversative marker suggesting that $[\text{EF}]$ may in fact be satisfied through incorporation. In the empirical section that follows, the phasal HP is CP and the G^0 an adversative conjunction marker (for which a supra-clausal placement is motivated in §4).

2 THE CONTRASTIVE *pa* MARKER IN SLOVENIAN

The Slovenian article *pa* marks contrast which features most frequently in contrastive expressions of adversative conjunction. Given that *pa* may co-occur with the standard conjunction marker *in*, *pa* is best analysed as residing somewhere in the C-system, associating with Focus and/or Topic.³ I propose that *pa* sits in a supra-clausal position c-commanding the top-most ForceP layer associating with the clausal phase.

While Mitrović (2010) tried providing *pa* with a syntactic status akin to the second-position (2P) conjunction *que* in Latin, according to which *pa* triggers movement of the minimal category, Marušič et al. (2011) have shown that, instead, *pa* moves phrases to its edge (specifier). The following data show that neither, or in fact both, accounts are partially on the right track.

The core point is the following – compare (5), taken from Marušič et al. (2011: ex. 1), to (6).⁴ I will refer to the medial placement of *pa* as 1P and the non-medial placement as 2P *pa* (i.e., first/second position with respect to the second conjunct).

- 3 Marušič et al. (2011) claim that *pa* is a Topic head. Given that *pa*-constructions may have exhaustive readings and feature verbal and negative elements in first position, the Topic analysis cannot be readily adopted (or maintained). I argue for this elsewhere, but the precise status of *pa*, whether it is topical or focal, is less relevant for the purposes of current paper. The safest, and most general, hypothesis would be to assume that *pa* originates in the Focus projection within the LP and head-moves up to Top^0 where topical readings obtain. This view is on a par with Roberts's (2012) take on the interrogative particle *li* in Ser-Bo-Croatian, which is argued to originate as Foc^0 before moving up to, and becoming, $\text{Force}_{[+Q]}^0$.
- 4 Medial/1P *pa* may also coordinate DPs, VPs, and TPs. While the non-medial/2P *pa* may only coordinate embedded CPs, it is unclear why matrix CP 2P *pa*-coordination is barred. I pursue this elsewhere.

- (5) Slišim, da Tone bere knjigo **pa** da Ana
 hear.1.SG that T reads.3.SG book.ACC CONJ.PTCL that A
 gleda TV.
 watches.3.SG TV.ACC
 ‘I hear that Tone is reading a book **and** that Ana is watching TV.
- (6) Slišim, da Tone bere knjigo da **pa** Ana
 hear.1.SG that T reads.3.SG book.ACC that CONJ.PTCL A
 gleda TV.
 watches.3.SG TV.ACC
 ‘I hear that Tone is reading a book **but** that Ana is watching TV.

Marušič et al. (2011) claim that *pa* triggers movement of the maximal category (7): “*pa* has to follow the first syntactic constituent rather than just the first head” (Marušič et al., 2011: 3, ii). However, *pa* may also trigger incorporation and thus not be followed by the first constituent: it may follow either the complementiser (6), negation (8), or the verb (9):

- (7) Vid se je usedel, [otroci z baloni v rokah]₁ **pa** t₁ so
 V REFL AUX sat children with balloons in hands PA AUX
 skočili.
 jumped
 “Vid sat down, while children with balloons in their hands jumped.”
 (Marušič et al., 2011: 3, ex. 10b)
- (8) Vedel je, da ne sme klepetati, [ne]₂ **pa** t₂ da se
 knew AUX that NEG allowed chat NEG PA that NEG
 ne sme smejeti
 allowed smile
 “He knew he wasn’t allowed to chat but not being allowed to smile
 is what he didn’t know.”
- (9) Janezek ima odprte oči, [bere]₃ **pa** t₃ knjige ne.
 J has open eyes, watch PA book.ACC NEG
 ‘Johnny has his eyes open but reading the book is what he is not
 doing.’

While (7) indeed requires movement of the complex DP into Spec(PAP), data in (6, 8, 9) reflect movement of the head. Therefore, another grammatical version of (7) would be to move the verb alone (11) in subject’s stead. Compare both with a more precise translation, showing that *pa*-hosts (i.e., those elements in the first position) are discursively marked for contrast by virtue of the [EF] on *pa*.⁵

5 Given the adversative meaning of 2P *pa*, I mark in the translations explicitly the expectation in the second conjunct that is denied.

- (10) Vid se je usedel, [otroci z baloni v rokah]₁ **pa** t₁ so
 V REFL AUX sat children with balloons in hands PA AUX
 skočili.
 jumped
 “Vid sat down but it was the CHILDREN who jumped.” (The identity of jumpers as kids was unexpected.)
- (11) Vid se je usedel, [skočili]₄ **pa** t₄ so otroci z baloni
 V REFL AUX sat jumped PA AUX children with balloons
 v rokah.
 in hands
 “Vid sat down but it was JUMPING that children did.” (The kids’ jumping was unexpected.)

The *pa*-host position clearly marks the element standing in the contrastive opposition to some question under discussion: either the act of jumping, contrasted with Vid’s sitting down, or the children with balloons, contrasted with Vid himself. The option of moving the [3.PL] auxiliary verb *so* is also acceptable as an emphatic *indeed*-construction marking broad focus on the entire clause.

- (12) Vid se je usedel, [so]₅ **pa** t₅ skočili otroci z baloni v
 V REFL AUX sat AUX PA jumped children with balloons in
 rokah.
 hands
 “Vid sat down but it was indeed, however, true (or, the case) that children with balloons jumped.” (The event of kids’ jumping was not expected.)

3 ALLOSEMY OF THE *pa* MARKER

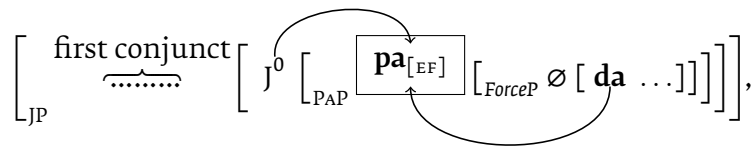
I adopt the notion of allosemy to account for contextually conditioned meanings of *pa*. Namely, in its strictly medial 1P placement (5), *pa* functions as a conjunction marker⁶, while it operates as a contrast-marking adversative conjunction when preceded by a conjunct-internal element (6).⁷ I will assume that 1P and 2P *pa* particles represent the same grammatical formative and are not homophonous incarnations of two dis-

6 There is a restriction on *pa* coordination: only embedded clauses may be *pa*-coordinated. While it is unclear why matrix CP coordination is excluded, the issue seems orthogonal for present purposes and is left out from the current paper.

7 Note that [EF] is employed an umbrella feature to cover interpretative features such as [CONTRAST] and/or [FOCUS]. The precise semantic nature of [EF] is irrelevant for the current purposes; what matters is the observation that [EF] *may* have semantic reflexes.

tinct categories.⁸ I propose that the $[\text{EF}]$ on pa may be checked by two distinct means: either by selection or internal merge. In the former case, pa is 1P and bears no discourse-related interpretation, in the latter case, pa is 2P and marks adversativity and contrast. This amounts to stating that there exists an *allosemy* (Marantz, 2011), i.e. context-determined meaning of pa which we state in (13) where the relevant context is the syntactic JP (Junction Phrase) structure for coordination:⁹

(13) In the context



$$\llbracket \begin{matrix} pa \\ [EF] \end{matrix} \rrbracket = \begin{cases} \llbracket \text{'and'} \rrbracket & \text{iff } [EF] \text{ checked selectionally by } J^0 \text{ (from above)} \\ \llbracket \text{'but'} \rrbracket & \text{iff } [EF] \text{ checked by movement of (Spec(CP) or } \\ & C^0 \text{ (from below)} \end{cases}$$

Semantically, the adversative conjunction ('but') makes the same assertive contribution as standard ('and') conjunction makes. The former, however, comes with an additional presupposition of contrast of the second conjunct. (See Toosarvandani 2014 for details.) It is reasonable to locate the source of the presuppositional content of adversativity in the $[\text{EF}]$, understood here as the relevant \bar{A} -feature.¹⁰

The presuppositionally contrastive meaning is reflected configurationally with regard to the dislocated element. The cases of phrasal movement (7) are expected under an $[\text{EF}]$ -driven movement analysis insofar as the maximal category is raised to satisfy the information-structuring and discourse related requirement on the clausal edge. What is empirically novel, and theoretically captivating, are the cases where minimal categories raise to check the same $[\text{EF}]$, as alleged in (4).

- 8 Occam's razor motivates this sufficiently (*entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*). See Slade (2011), Mitrović (2014), and those cited for further cross-linguistic evidence.
- 9 For now assume pa heads its own supra-clausal projection, details follow in the next section.
- 10 This view leaves open the question of interface mechanics and the allosemy of the $[\text{EF}]$, which appears sensitive to *how* it is checked. One answer would be to follow Sauerland (1999) and assume that 'internal' checking of $[\text{EF}]$ on pa does not – while 'external' and selectional checking does – delete the $[\text{EF}]$, yielding the distinction between the semantically vacuous (1P) and semantically contentful (2P) role of pa , insofar as its presuppositional content is concerned.

4 THE STRUCTURAL PARADOX & THE SUPRA-CLAUSAL PLACEMENT OF *pa*

If both 1P and 2P *pa* are virtually the same, as suggested in §3, *modulo* the ways in which [EF] on *pa* is checked, they are expected to have identical structural origins and statuses. Evidence from (5) and (6), on this hypothesis, suggests that *pa* occupies the coordinator position. Given that there is neither empirical nor theoretical motivation to positing [EF] in the conjunction structure, *pa* should reside elsewhere. Stronger evidence for this comes from the fact that *pa* may, in fact, co-occur with the standard conjunction *in* ('and') or disjunction *ali* ('or') at either DP (14a), vP (14b), or embedded CP (14c) (cf. fn. 6):

- (14) a. $[\text{DP Janezek}] \text{ in/ali } \text{ pa } [\text{DP Frančka}] \text{ molči-ita.}$
 J CONJ/DISJ PA F are.silent-DL
 "Johnny and/or Frannie are sitting."
 b. $\text{Janezek } [\text{vp molči}] \text{ in/ali } \text{ pa } [\text{vp opazuje}].$
 J is.silent CONJ/DISJ PA observes
 "Johnny is silent and/or observing."
 c. $\text{Janezek pravi, } [\text{cp da molči}] \text{ in/ali } \text{ pa } [\text{cp da}$
 J says that is.silent CONJ/DISJ PA that
 opazuje].
 is.observing
 "Johnny says he's quiet and/or that he's observing."

In light of the pair of data in (5) and (6), *pa* is supra-clausal, combining with embedded CPs and yet does occupy the coordination position (14). It, therefore, follows that *pa* occupies a position that is neither part of the clausal conjunct/disjunct (i.e., the core C-system, with Force at its root), nor conjunction/disjunction (DISJ/CONJ > PA > Force).

I adopt the notion of the clausal frame (FrameP), encoded as a left-most clausal layer. Following Wolfe (2016), who builds on and draws from Haegeman (2000), Sigurðsson (2004) and Giorgi (2010), I take the Frame projection to house the scene-setting functions of the clause.¹¹

I propose that *pa* occupy a supra-clausal, non-coordinating position from which its clausal complement shows PIC effects. Since Force marks the phasal boundary of the clause, phasal effects obtain, namely the impossibility of *pa*'s accessing anything other than the edge or the head.

Furthermore, the [EF] on *pa* in Frame⁰ may be checked, as is expected, either by selection or movement to its edge, as demonstrated in §3. Thus,

¹¹ Wolfe (2016) shows that Frame also anchors the speech act in terms of locative and temporal deixis and speech participants in Romance.

data like the one in (15) are therefore excluded since they involve a seemingly double checking of the [EF].

- (15) * Mojca pije kavu in Metka pa dela
 M drinks.3.SG coffee.ACC AND M PA works.3.SG
 ‘Mojca is drinking coffee and/but Metka is working.’

5 $\frac{A}{A}$ AND THE ELIMINATION OF THE XP/X DISTINCTION

The evidence from 2P *pa* constructions shows that the requirement for *pa*'s edge to be filled may be satisfied by a head, when no maximal category is available in the edge of its phasal complement. I sketched in (4) how this restriction is amenable to a phase-based analysis and derives from the (weak version of the) PIC. This, in fact, follows as a consequence of the proposal by Rackowski and Richards (2005) who derive the PIC effects from a minimal reformulation of the A-over-A ($\frac{A}{A}$) condition, to which I now turn.

Just like Roberts (2010), I consider the version of the $\frac{A}{A}$ given in (16), where I construe the notion of maximality and minimality as applying to category size.

- (16) If a transformation of the form $[_S \dots [_A \dots] \dots]$ for any category A, then it must be interpreted so as to apply to the *maximal* phrase of the type A. (Chomsky, 2006: 45)

The seeming economy of inclusivity underlying the $\frac{A}{A}$ condition (Chomsky, 1973; Bresnan, 1976) dictates that a maximal category containing the relevant and matching goal (A) undergoes movement, by virtue of the fact that the maximal set/object (S) contains a more inclusive. Assuming a strong version of the $\frac{A}{A}$ in fact guarantees obligatory pied-piping of the phrase containing the goal (Kayne 2007: 3, Hornstein 2009: 72–74, Donati 2006: 40, Roberts 2010: 33–38), and, inversely, provides conceptual evidence against the existence of head movement in narrow syntax. However, in cases when $\frac{A}{A}$ is prevented from applying, we could expect movement of minimal category as a matter of crash-avoiding economy, as per (4). In this regard, we adopt Rackowski and Richards's (2005) take on locality and their definition of “closest goal”:

- (17) A goal α is the closest one to a given probe if there is no distinct goal β such that for some X (X a head or maximal projection), X c-commands α but does not c-command β . (Rackowski and Richards, 2005: 579, ex. 29)

Everything else being equal, the $\frac{A}{A}$ should legislate against the movement of the more exclusive A, i.e. the head, contrary to the empirical

facts demonstrated here. Note also that Slovenian does not obey the doubly filled COMP filter and that topic- or focus-associating elements may move to Spec(ForceP), headed by *da* ‘that’ (18b). This straightforwardly accounts for the pair of options when movement to *pa* is concerned (19).¹² As per the PIC, only the edge and the head of the CP are accessible, no element within the clausal interior (19c).

- (18) a. Pravi, da so vsi vedeli ampak, [_{FORCEP} da [_{FOCP} FRANCKA ni vedela]].
 says that AUX all knew but that
 F NEG.AUX know
 ‘S/he says that everyone knew but that Frannie did not know.
- b. Pravi, da so vsi vedeli ampak, [_{FORCEP} FRANCKA da [_{FOCP} t₁ ni vedela]].
 says that AUX all knew but F that
 NEG.AUX know
 ‘S/he says that everyone knew but that Frannie did not know.
- (19) a. Pravi, da so vsi vedeli, da₂ pa [_{FORCEP} t₂ [_{FOCP} FRANCKA ni vedela]].
 says that AUX all knew that but F
 NEG.AUX know
 ‘S/he says that everyone knew but that Frannie did not know.
- b. Pravi, da so vsi vedeli, FRANCKA pa [_{FORCEP} t₃ da [_{FOCP} t₁ ni vedela]].
 says that AUX all knew F but that
 NEG.AUX know
 ‘S/he says that everyone knew but that Frannie did not know.
- c. * Pravi, da so vsi vedeli, ni₄ pa [_{FORCEP} FRANCKA da [_{FOCP} (FRANCKA) vedela]].
 says that AUX all knew NEG.AUX but F
 that know
 ‘S/he says that everyone knew but that Frannie did not know.

I now propose to derive tentatively the facts by stating a condition under which $\frac{A}{A}$ is (not) obviated in terms of the probe’s search domain (SD). Notions of categorial distinctness and opaqueness underly the condition given in (20).

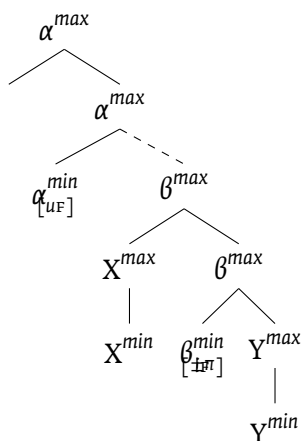
12 Note that the free-standing adversative conjunction *ampak* contains, at some word-internal level, both the IP contrastive conjunction *a* and the *pa* particle. I do not explore these morphological curiosities here.

(20) CONDITION ON $\frac{A}{A}$ OBVIATION:

- a. $\frac{A}{A}$ applies when the probe's SD is not opaque.
- b. $\frac{A}{A}$ is obviated when the probe is categorially not distinct from the goal and when the probe's SD is not opaque.
 - i. CATEGORIAL DISTINCTNESS: Two elements P and G in an Agree relation are (projectionally) categorially distinct if there is no (functional) category \mathcal{C} for which $P, G \notin \mathcal{C}$ holds. (E.g.: P, G are not part of the same v- or C-system.)
 - ii. SEARCH OPAQUENESS: A probe's SD is opaque iff (i) the goal's edge is empty and (ii) the probe's SD does not contain the goal's complement.

In this regard, consider the structure in (21) and the search space available to probe α^{min} , with respect to some feature $[(u)_F]$ valuable by the goal β^{min} , when the probe's SD is (21a) and is not (21b) a phase $[\pm\pi]$. For convenience, we label in subscript the subsets in the relevant SD. I also assume that $\alpha^{min}, \beta^{min} \notin \mathcal{C}$ in (21). Note that α 's SD in (21) is not opaque since the first clause of (20ii) is not met.

(21)



a. **Phasal goals:**

$$\text{AGREE}(\alpha^{min})(\beta_{[\pm\pi]}^{min}) \Rightarrow \\ \text{SD}(\alpha^{min}) = \left\{ \left\{_{\beta} X \right\}, \left\{_{\beta} \beta \right\} \right\}$$

b. **Non-phasal goals:**

$$\text{AGREE}(\alpha^{min})(\beta_{[-\pi]}^{min}) \Rightarrow \\ \text{SD}(\alpha^{min}) = \left\{ \left\{_{\beta} X \right\}, \left\{_{\beta} \beta, \left\{_{\beta} Y \right\} \right\} \right\}$$

In (21b), the non-phasal β^{min} and its interior are not opaque and are accessible to the probe and is therefore contained in $\text{SD}(\alpha)$. Since α and β are not part of the same category, $\frac{A}{A}$ legislates the movement of the entire maximal category. In this regard, consider (22), taken from Roberts (2010: 34, ex. 4a) who attributes it to Ross (1967).

(22) I asked you to [wash the car] and $\left[\text{cp} \left[\text{vp wash the car} \right]_1 \text{C}^0 \text{ you did } t_1 \right]$.

- a. $sd(C^0) = \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{D} \\ \text{T} \end{array} \right\}, T, \{v, \dots\} \right\}$
- b. Subset v of the goal C^0 is accessible; $C^0, v^0 \notin \mathcal{C} \Rightarrow \overset{A}{A}$ applies.

Assume now the scenario in (21b), where the goal is phasal and the probe does not see into its goal's complement as per PIC and (20ii). I propose that the relevant data in (19a–19b) instantiates such configurations. Since *pa*'s complement is a clausal phase, its *sd* is opaque, à la (21b). Note that the pied-piping of the entire CP, *qua* ForceP, is barred, for reasons of anti/locality. The only allowed structure that complies with $\overset{A}{A}$ is the one where *pa* contrastively conjoins two subordinate clauses, i.e. the more inclusive A (i.e. the entire CP) may pied-pipe only when that CP₁ passes through the edge of another clause (CP₂), such that $C_1^0, C_2^0 \notin \mathcal{C}$, as shown in (23).

- (23) Ne slišim, da Francka bere, $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CP}_2 \\ \text{CP}_1 \end{array} \right]$ da Tone pospravlja]₁ **pa**
 NEG hear that F reads that T cleans BUT
 (slišim) t_1]].
 hear

'I can't hear that Frannie is reading, but [that Tony is reading]₁ (I can (hear t_1)).

The $\overset{A}{A}$ cannot apply to a single clausal conjunct since this would require an instance of anti-local movement of ForceP into Spec(FrameP) within the same C-system.¹³

The sketch of the proposal above, in terms of opacity and categorial distinctness, is independent from the facts that are consistent with Rackowski and Richards's (2005) proposal (and presumably arise as evidence for their predictions). One such prediction concerns scenarios when head movement is blocked. Given (17), when a specifier of the GoalP is filled, that will always block the movement of the Goal head which Roberts (2010: 37) notes and which is borne out in Slovenian. Note that the Spec(ProbeP) in this case is, and has to be, categorially distinct from the Goal (i.e., Spec(GoalP), Goal $\notin \mathcal{C}$).

6 CONCLUSION & DISCUSSION

What I have shown is that the [EF], however different from [EPP] deep down, may be checked by a head when all else fails. The data I invoked

¹³ It may be argued that movement of a syntactic object into its own specifier is permissible only in semantically vacuous rotational contexts, i.e. when narrow-syntactic linearisation is operative (see Kayne 1994, Biberauer et al. 2014, and references therein).

unequivocally shows that a head may do a phrase's job by raising to check the relevant \bar{A} -feature on *pa* marking discourse contrast.

As Rackowski and Richards's (2005) definition of proximity and take on locality derives the PIC effects from the $\frac{\bar{A}}{\bar{A}}$, I have provided a tentative meditation on how, and why, head movement follows from their account. In fact, the availability of head movement falls out of Rackowski and Richards's (2005) system, which we have corroborated empirically. Here, I entertained the idea that head movement may be forced as an economy principle (1). Furthermore, there is additional support for Rackowski and Richards's (2005) assumption that the movability of a Goal is guaranteed by its phasal status. In terms of last-resort incorporation of the complementiser, this is (trivially) true since Force represents the phasal delimitation of the clause. In cases where movements from Spec(ForceP) to Spec(FrameP) are concerned, this is also (non-trivially) true since all 'words' are minimal phases (Marantz, 2001, 2006; Roberts, 2010) and the movement of their maximal categories is a reflex of the $\frac{\bar{A}}{\bar{A}}$ condition (since conditions for obviation cannot be derived in those cases).

I recast the obviation of $\frac{\bar{A}}{\bar{A}}$ by causally relating the probe's visibility into the first-level subsets of its goal. The other explanatory option would be to relativise the legislation of $\frac{\bar{A}}{\bar{A}}$ to categorial (or even phasal) distinctness of the probe-goal pair (I demonstrated this for the C-system). While it is more parsimonious to understand $\frac{\bar{A}}{\bar{A}}$ obviation in terms of a single principle, rather than two, I leave this, along with other theoretical meditations¹⁴, for future research.

14 One such avenue concerns den Dikken's (2007) predictions that, *ceteris paribus*, the analysis I proposed derives, or should derive, Phase Extension.

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