

Summary and conclusions

The aim of this work was to provide an account of the distribution and interpretation of PRO in English, Polish and Irish within the most recent version of the MP. The areas covered by this study comprise the distribution and categorial status of non-finite clauses, the licensing of overt subjects in non-finite clauses, the typology of control, analysis of various control types, and factors determining the interpretation of PRO. Let us go over each of these issues briefly again in order to test whether the languages scrutinised lend themselves to a uniform analysis in all these respects. This overview of the major topics of this book will also highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the version of MP adopted in this study.

Non-finite clauses in English and Polish exhibit the following non-finite forms: the infinitive, the gerund and the participles; in Irish, only one non-finite form exists, namely the so-called verbal noun. It has been demonstrated that the term *verbal noun* is misleading, as it implies that any element called like this should behave simultaneously like a noun and like a verb. It has been argued in Chapter V, section 1.1 that it is more adequate to treat the verbal noun as either a noun or a verb depending on the properties it shows in a particular context. The distribution of non-finite clauses in the three languages analysed is summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Non-finite clauses	Subject position	Complement of a V, A, P or N	Adjunct	Independent clause
in English	yes	yes	yes	no
in Irish	yes	yes	yes	yes
in Polish	yes	yes	yes	no

Table 1 shows that all three have a similar distribution of non-finite clauses, except for the use of non-finite sentences as independent clauses, which is allowed only in Irish. Furthermore, the lists of predicates that can take non-finite complements are very much alike in the three languages (cf. (1) in Chapter II, section 2.1.3 in Chapter III and (16) in Chapter V).

Only in English and in Polish can non-finite clauses be introduced by an overt C, while the corresponding Irish clauses lack a C altogether. The C which typically introduces non-finite complements in Polish is *żeby*. It has been argued that *żeby* does not result from the incorporation of the particle *by* into the C *że*

'that', the way Borsley and Rivero (1994) analyse it, but rather represents a C with a complex structure. After Szczegielniak (1999), we have treated *że* as occupying Force and *by* as being located in Finiteness, in terms of the more articulated CP structure due to Rizzi (1997).

As regards the categorial status of non-finite clauses, it has been shown to be uncontroversial only in those cases where an overt C or [Spec, CP] is present. Otherwise two possibilities exist, namely a uniform analysis treating all non-finite clauses as CPs, no matter whether they have an overt C (or [Spec, CP]) or not, and a non-uniform treatment, according to which non-finite clauses can be either TPs or CPs depending on whether there appears lexical material in C or [Spec, CP]. It has been argued that the former analysis is valid for English and Irish, whereas the latter seems to be applicable to Polish. What underlies this different treatment of non-finite clauses is that English and Irish lack a productive rule of Restructuring, while Polish does exhibit Restructuring even if only in those non-finite clauses that lack an overt C or [Spec, CP]. This argues strongly for a distinct categorial status of non-finite clauses with and without an overt C in Polish.

The diagnostics of Restructuring in Polish comprise the following tests: Clitic Climbing, Long Scrambling, Anaphor Binding, the Genitive of Negation and NPIs. It has been demonstrated that Restructuring in Polish is not lexically constrained, unlike for instance in German. The only restriction on the application of Restructuring in Polish is the presence of overt material in C or [Spec, CP]. The analysis of Polish Restructuring has not appealed to either overt or covert Verb incorporation, as in many other analyses of Restructuring in various languages, including Polish (cf. Witkoś (1998)). Instead, it has been based on the concept of phase and Chomsky's (2001b:13) assumption reproduced in (1) below.

(1)

Phase PH₁ is interpreted/evaluated at the next relevant phase PH₂.

If Polish non-finite clauses without an overt C or [Spec, CP] are TPs, then they are not phases and therefore their interpretation/evaluation can be delayed till the next higher phase, i.e. the matrix clause, and hence Clitic Climbing, Long Scrambling and Anaphor Binding across the non-finite TP-boundary are perfectly licit. However, non-finite clauses with overt material in C or [Spec, CP] are CPs, hence phases, and therefore their interpretation/evaluation cannot take place at a higher phase level (the lower phase in the non-finite CP is a vP and hence the non-finite CP is the next higher phase). For this reason none of the processes just mentioned can apply across a non-finite CP-boundary.

In order to account for long distance Genitive of Negation in Polish it has been necessary to introduce a new set of assumptions, presented in (2) below (cf. (99) in Chapter III):

(2)

- a. Case is checked at the next higher phase.
- b. Accusative and the Genitive of Negation are checked in the same configuration.
- c. Accusative is checked in a configuration distinct from other cases.
- d. The Genitive of Negation is checked wherever possible, subject to locality.

Assumption (2a) seems to be the most controversial, as it puts Case, a formal property, on a par with interpretation and evaluation (cf. (1)). A much less controversial alternative might be to delay not Case checking but Case realisation till the next higher phase. This move would yield identical results as assumption (2a) without being problematic. Although the account of long distance Genitive of Negation makes reference to Case checking configurations (cf. (2b, c)), no attempt has been made to analyse the exact mechanisms of Case checking in Polish. This is too complex a problem to be tackled here and must be left for further research. The analysis of long distance Genitive of Negation based on the assumptions listed in (2) predicts that wherever the conditions for checking the genitive are met, i.e. there occurs negation on the verb and a configuration where accusative can be checked is present, the genitive should be morphologically realised. This, however, is not always the case, as there exist structures where long distance Genitive of Negation is optional. These are problematic for the analysis proposed here, as they are, too, for other available analyses.

The languages analysed differ as to the possibility of hosting overt subjects in non-finite clauses. Overt subjects are allowed in English and Irish, whereas they are banned from Polish. It has been argued that overt subjects in English and Irish are licensed via different mechanisms. The reason is that overt subjects in English are licensed in non-finite non-ECM clauses mainly in the presence of the overt *C for* and they are, for the most part, in complementary distribution with PRO (but cf. (3) below), while in Irish overt subjects are in free variation with PRO, i.e. they occur in exactly the same contexts as PRO. It has been suggested in Chapter V, section 3.1.2 that lexical subjects in Irish non-finite clauses are licensed by non-anaphoric Agr in T, capable of checking nominative Case, whereas PRO is licensed by anaphoric Agr in T, which can check just null Case. Since Irish can host two types of Agr in T, it displays the lack of complementa-

rity between lexical subjects and PRO, depending on what kind of Agr has been selected from the lexicon. Similarly to Irish, English shows PRO and lexical subjects in free variation in non-finite complements to verbs like *want*, as in (3) below:

- (3)
- a. I want [for her to get a medal].
 - b. I want [her to get a medal].
 - c. I want [PRO to get a medal].

However, the analysis proposed to deal with the free variation of PRO and overt subjects in Irish is not applicable to English, as it treats Agr in T as the head licensing either PRO or overt subjects and completely ignores the role that C plays in overt subject licensing (as Irish lacks overt Cs in non-finite clauses). Consequently, it runs into the problem of how to block sentences like (4):

- (4)
- * I want [for PRO to get the medal].

Therefore it has been argued in Chapter II, section 4, following Bošković (1996, 1997), that lexical subjects in English non-finite clauses are licensed by the complex comprising the C *for* (or its null equivalent) and *to* located in T, which checks accusative Case on the lexical subject and afterwards *for* (or its null equivalent) moves to C to check the uninterpretable tense feature of C against its own tense feature (cf. (3a, b)). As for PRO, it is licensed in Polish in the same way as in Irish, namely by anaphoric Agr in T, which checks its null Case (cf. (3c)).

The postulation of two distinct types of Agr in T in Irish non-finite clauses has been shown to have some bearing on the analysis of the differences between both Northern and Southern dialects of the language. The former allow both an overt subject and object to precede the non-finite verb, while in the latter only one overt element can come before the verb. The analysis advanced in this book does not refer to competition for Case between lexical subjects and objects in the Southern dialects, commonly proposed in the literature (cf. Guilfoyle (1994), Noonan (1994) and Duffield (1995)), nor is it based on the split VP hypothesis, which makes wrong predictions for Irish (cf. Chapter V section 3.3.1), but relates to the differing status of the particle *a*. In the Northern dialects the particle is always treated as a transitivity marker and hence is located in v. In these dialects the object always precedes v, as it gets moved to [Spec, vP] either to have its Case checked or to satisfy the EPP-feature of v. In the Southern dialects, on the other hand, the particle *a* can either be a transitivity marker or lexicalise non-

anaphoric Agr in T; if the former option is taken, then only the object can precede the verb (after having moved to [Spec, vP] to have its Case checked or to satisfy the EPP-feature of v); if the latter option is chosen, then only the subject can have its Case checked pre-verbally and the object must have its Case checked by the verbal noun. This explains the apparent competition for Case between subjects and objects in non-finite clauses in Southern dialects.

The issue of what triggers movement of subjects and objects in the Irish dialects, both Northern and Southern, has been thoroughly considered. Two possibilities were taken into account, i.e.:

- 1) Movement takes place to check the EPP-feature of T or v.
- 2) Movement takes place to check Case.

The former view is held by Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b), while the latter was his view in Chomsky (1995b). The Irish data seem to indicate that Chomsky's older proposal is on the right track and that Case checking can motivate movement. If movement in Irish were motivated by EPP-feature checking, not by Case checking, then it would be a mere coincidence that all movement in this language is related to Case. It would also be totally mysterious why Irish, unlike English, lacks expletives, items whose sole role is to satisfy the EPP.

The typology of control offered in this study basically follows the one put forward for English by Landau (2000). The main division line is placed between OC and NOC, which in all languages show the following properties (cf. (21) in Chapter II, (43) in Chapter IV and (43) in Chapter V):

- (5)
 - a. Arbitrary Control is impossible in OC, possible in NOC.
 - b. Long-distance Control is impossible in OC, possible in NOC.
 - c. Strict reading of PRO is impossible in OC, possible in NOC.
 - d. *De re* reading of PRO is impossible in OC (only *de se*), possible in NOC.

In contradistinction to Hornstein (1999, 2001, 2003), we have not treated c-command by an antecedent and the impossibility of control by a split antecedent as prerogatives of OC, as there appear OC structures which do not respect these two restrictions. Just like Landau (2000), we have distinguished two subclasses within OC, namely EC, where the reference of PRO is identical with the reference of its controller, and PC, where the reference of PRO covers, but is not identical with, that of its controller. EC obtains in English, Irish and Polish in untensed

complements to modals, aspectuals and implicatives, while PC is found in tensed complements to factives, desideratives, interrogatives and propositional predicates. PC is subject to the following generalisation:

(6)

In tensed complements, PRO inherits all ϕ -features from the controller, including semantic plurality, but not necessarily semantic singularity.

(Landau (2000:60))

The above generalisation captures two facts: firstly, that PC PRO can only inherit semantic plurality, but not semantic singularity, from its controller, and secondly, that PC PRO can never be syntactically plural.

Our analysis of the two types of OC, i.e. EC and PC, has been based on Landau's (2000) account proposed for English. In order to analyse EC and PC, the following assumptions were adopted:

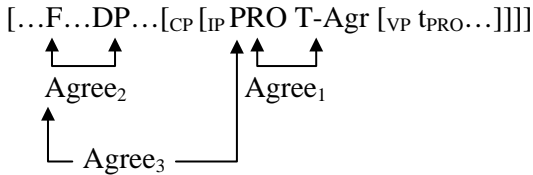
(7)

- a. DP's, including PRO, enter the derivation with valued ϕ -features.
- b. Functional heads enter the derivation with unvalued ϕ -features.
- c. Semantic plurality (SP): +/- on DPs, +/- ϕ on functional heads.
- d. Matching: ϕ (i.e. no SP) and [-SP] are non-distinct on functional heads.
- e. PRO and infinitival Agr are anaphoric.
- f. PRO, being anaphoric, cannot value unvalued functional heads.

(Landau (2000:31))

As regards EC, Landau's account has been demonstrated to be applicable to Irish and Polish without any modifications. Just like in Landau's system, it has been argued that EC in Irish and Polish is derived by three Agree operations: one holding between the embedded T-Agr and PRO, the second between F (the matrix functional head corresponding to T in the case of subject control and to *v* in the case of object control) and the matrix DP, the controller of PRO, and the third between F and PRO in the embedded clause. The EC configuration is schematised in (8):

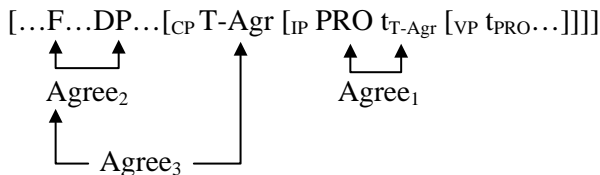
(8)



Since PRO itself enters the Agree operation with F, any mismatch in features between these two elements leads to ungrammaticality. Since F inherits its features from the controller of PRO via Agree, the analysis of EC just presented predicts that PRO and its controller must always match in features.

The analysis of PC turns out to be more controversial. The mechanism utilised by Landau (2000) to derive PC and adopted for our analysis of English has been based on T-to-C movement, which applies in tensed clauses only, i.e. in clauses that possess an uninterpretable tense feature in C. Since PC complements, unlike the EC ones, are tensed, they are affected by T-to-C movement (cf. (6)). After T-to-C movement has applied, anaphoric Agr in T serves as a closer Goal for the matrix Probe than PRO and hence enters Agree with F. Just like in the case of EC, also here three Agree operations apply, as schematised in (9):

(9)



This account of PC crucially relies on the assumption that in this case Agr in T is anaphoric and the anaphoricity of PRO is only parasitic on the anaphoricity of Agr in T. Since PRO is not targeted by Agree from the matrix clause, the PC effect, i.e. the presence of a singular controller with a semantically plural PRO appears, as shown in (10):

(10)

$$[{}_{\text{Agree1}} \text{T-Agr}_\phi, \text{PRO}_+], [{}_{\text{Agree2}} \text{F}_-, \text{DP}_-], [{}_{\text{Agree3}} \text{F}_-, \text{T-Agr}_\phi]$$

No feature mismatch appears in (10) under assumption (7d) that [-SP] and [ϕ SP] are non-distinct on functional heads. A different scenario, in which a semantically plural controller appears with a semantically singular PRO, is banned (cf. (6)), as it gives rise to feature mismatch, as can be seen in (11):

(11)

* [_{Agree1} T-Agr₊, PRO₋], [_{Agree2} F₊, DP₊], [_{Agree3} F₊, T-Agr₊]

In (11) feature mismatch arises between PRO, which is [-SP], and T-Agr, which is [+SP], making impossible the ‘downwards’ reading for PRO. The analysis just presented accounts for all the properties of PC mentioned in (6).

A different account has been provided for PC in Polish. Our major criticism of the movement-based approach to PC relates to the fact that in Polish T-to-C movement lacks theory external motivation. In addition to that, the movement-based analysis of PC heavily relies on the assumption that all non-finite clauses are CPs. As has already been noted, this is problematic for Polish, especially in the light of the evidence obtained from Restructuring. Our analysis of PC in Polish has crucially relied on binding, with the following assumptions:

(12)

- a. Anaphoric PRO is licensed via Agree with the matrix T or v, and anaphoric Agr is licensed via binding by the matrix Agr or v.
- b. Anaphoric Agr inherits its features from its binder.
- c. The binding domain is extended to the matrix clause in tensed clauses, but not in untensed ones.

The most questionable assumption (12c) has been justified by drawing a parallelism between anaphoric Agr in T and overt anaphors like *swój* ‘self’s’, which in non-finite clauses must have their binding domain extended to the matrix clause, as they can be bound by the matrix subject. This is illustrated in (13):

(13)

Marek₁ kazał Ewie₂ [PRO₁ przynieść swoje_{1/2} książki].
 Mark told Eve to-bring his/her books
 ‘Mark told Eve to bring his/her books.’

The binding domain extension affects only tensed clauses, i.e. it is restricted only to PC-complements, and it never applies in untensed EC-complements. The binding-based analysis has allowed us to derive PC in the following way:

(14)

- a. [DP T-Agr₁...[_{TP} PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]] subject control
 [-SP] [-SP] [+SP] [ϕSP]
 ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
 Agree₂ Agree₁
 T-Agr₂ bound by T-Agr₁
- b. [DP₁ v DP₂ [_{TP} PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]] object control
 [-SP] [-SP] [+SP] [ϕSP]
 ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
 Agree₂ Agree₁
 T-Agr₂ bound by v

The two Agree operations in (14) guarantee the match in features between PRO and the embedded T-Agr on the one hand, and the DP, the controller of PRO, and the matrix T-Agr or v on the other. The third Agree operation between the matrix T-Agr or v and the anaphoric Agr in T does not apply, in contradistinction to Landau's account of PC (cf. (9)). Instead, the anaphoricity of the embedded Agr in T is licensed via binding by the matrix T-Agr in the case of subject control and the matrix v in the case of object control. The PC effect arises if the semantically plural PRO co-occurs with anaphoric Agr in T, which is [ϕSP], and which is bound by the [-SP] matrix T-Agr or the [-SP] v. No feature mismatch arises, as, in accordance with (7d), [ϕSP] and [-SP] count as non-distinct on functional heads. The 'downwards' reading for PRO is blocked, as it yields a feature mismatch, as shown in (15):

(15)

- * [DP T-Agr₁...[_{TP} PRO T-Agr₂ [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]]
 [+SP] [+SP] [-SP] [+SP]
 ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
 Agree₂ Agree₁
 T-Agr₂ bound by T-Agr₁

In (15) [-SP] PRO co-occurs with [+SP] T-Agr, which inherits this feature from its binder, namely the matrix T-Agr. Since PRO and the embedded T-Agr show opposing feature values, the representation in (15) is illicit. In this way the PC-generalisation in (6) has been accounted for.

The binding-based analysis of PC in Polish has been shown to get additional support from the analysis of those non-finite clauses in which PRO must obligatorily be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, as in (16):

Mark wants so-that to-clean flat

‘Mark wants for somebody to clean the flat.’

(17)

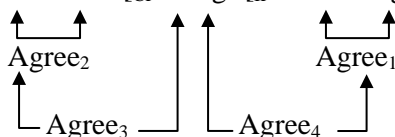
(18)

Evidence has been provided that neither the movement-based nor the binding-based analysis is capable of accounting for PC in Irish. The former lacks independent motivation in Irish, a language without T-to-C movement. The latter makes wrong predictions for Irish, a language in which the binding domain

does not extend to the matrix clause for anaphors found in non-finite clauses. Consequently, a third analysis has been offered for Irish PC, based on Landau's (2000) suggestion. It is proposed that C in tensed clauses contains Agr features and hence can be targeted by Agree from the matrix clause. As a result, PC in Irish is derived by means of four Agree operations, schematised in (19):

(19)

a. [...F...DP...]_{CP} C-Agr [_{IP} PRO T-Agr [_{VP} t_{PRO}...]]



b. [_{Agree1} T-Agr_φ, PRO₊], [_{Agree2} F₊, DP₋], [_{Agree3} F₊, C-Agr₋], [_{Agree4} C-Agr₋, T-Agr_φ]

Just like in the case of English PC (cf. (9) above), PRO in (19) does not enter Agree with any matrix functional head, but it is C with Agr features together with anaphoric Agr in T that enter Agree relations and therefore derive the PC effect: the semantically plural PRO appearing with a semantically singular controller. The 'downwards' reading for PRO in PC is blocked in the following way:

(20)

* [_{Agree1} T-Agr_φ, PRO₋], [_{Agree2} F₊, DP₊], [_{Agree3} F₊, C₊], [_{Agree4} C₊, T-Agr_φ]

The illicit operation in (20) is Agree₄, in which C, being [+SP], and T-Agr, being [φSP], do not match in semantic plurality (cf. (7d)). In this way the PC generalisation in (6) follows from the analysis just offered.

In fact, the analysis of PC postulated for Irish may also be adopted for English. This might be a welcome step, as it reduces the number of analyses put forward for PC from three to two. Actually the analysis of PC in Irish can be adopted for English without any modifications. Although the analysis just offered for PC in Irish would work well also for Polish (cf. Chapter IV, section 4.1.2), it seems more advantageous to keep to the binding-based approach in the case of Polish, as it covers not only PC, but also instances of disjoint PRO, as in (16), and cases of obviation.

In addition to EC and PC, one more type of obligatory control has been distinguished in Irish, which is totally absent from English and Polish, i.e. the so-called anomalous control. What is controlled in this case is the prepositional complement, not the subject of the non-finite clause. The analysis of anomalous control advanced in Chapter V, section 4 has adopted the basic insights of Mc-

Closkey and Sells' (1988) account. A novel approach has been offered to the way co-reference is established in this type of structure. Unlike McCloskey and Sells, we do not derive co-reference by means of A-chains not resulting from movement, but following Kayne's (2002) ideas, we treat co-referential elements as a single constituent, from which one element gets moved to have its Case checked (or to satisfy the EPP-feature of T). The movement in question has been shown to obey cyclicity, i.e. it is constrained by the MLC and the PIC, which accounts for the fact that only notional subjects can be controlled in this kind of structure.

It has been argued that in English and in Irish PRO bears null Case, while in Polish PRO can have null, Nominative or Objective Case. PRO bears null Case in NOC and in instances of disjoint PRO (cf. (16)), it is marked Nominative in the case of subject control by a nominative DP, and it bears Objective in object control structures. The evidence for the Case marking of PRO in Polish comes from case patterns exhibited by adjectival predicates. Predicative adjectives can bear nominative in instances of subject control by a nominative DP and are marked instrumental elsewhere. It has been argued that two distinct functional heads are involved in Case checking of PRO, i.e. the embedded T-Agr and the matrix T-Agr. In NOC structures, where there is no controller for PRO, PRO has its null Case checked via Agree with the non-finite T-Agr. In the case of exhaustive control by a nominative subject, PRO has its Case checked via Agree with the matrix T, which also determines its ϕ -features (cf. (8)). Since the matrix T is a Nominative Case checker, it checks this Case on PRO. In PC, the Case of PRO is once again checked by the non-finite T-Agr, which this time has inherited the Case-checking properties from its binder, i.e. either the matrix T-Agr (in the case of subject control) or from the matrix *v* (in the case of object control). In the former case PRO is marked Nominative, and in the latter, Objective. The case borne by the adjectival predicate shows agreement with the Case of PRO, under the assumption that instrumental on the adjective is the elsewhere case, i.e. it appears wherever nominative is not possible. This account of Case checking of PRO has relied on the binding mechanism postulated for PC in Polish (cf. (14)), and the novelty consists in the claim that the Case feature, just like ϕ -features, can be inherited via binding. Another innovation relates to the fact that the anaphoricity of PRO is perceived as referring not only to ϕ -features, but also to Case, which is checked together with ϕ -features.

The account of the distribution of PRO presented in this work has been based on the Case theoretic approach to PRO first proposed by Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) and shares all the weaknesses of that approach (for detailed criticism cf. Chapter I, section 2.1.4). Still, it is demonstrated that the alternative movement-based analysis, in addition to all its theoretical shortcomings (cf. section 2.2.2),

is incapable of accounting for the case patterns characteristic of predicative adjectives in Polish. If PRO were just a copy of its controller, then one would expect the two to bear the same Case. This prediction is not borne out, since in object control structures predicative adjectives are always instrumental, regardless of the Case of the object controlling PRO. Consequently, the movement theory of PRO cannot be regarded as a serious alternative to the Case-theoretic account.

The analysis of NOC in English, Irish and Polish has aimed at determining whether NOC PRO represents an empty pronoun or a logophor. It is argued that NOC PRO in English and in Irish bear close resemblance to logophors, whereas in Polish PRO in NOC structures displays both pronominal and logophoric traits and therefore cannot unambiguously be taken as either the one or the other. It is also demonstrated that Landau's (2000) claim that only OC is found in non-finite complements, whereas NOC is restricted to subject and adjunct clauses is problematic, even for English, for which it was originally made. Evidence has been provided that verbs of declaring like *comment on*, *rave about*, and propositional predicates such as *condemn*, *criticise* and *approve* do allow NOC PRO within their complements. It has been pointed out that a similar situation obtains in Polish complements like (16) above, where PRO, which is obligatorily disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, shows all the properties of NOC PRO listed in (5). Adjuncts constitute another exception to Landau's generalisation. Although Landau's account predicts that adjuncts should trigger NOC only, in fact they normally exhibit OC by the matrix subject. The problematic character of adjunct control has only been hinted at without being analysed in detail.

As regards the interpretation of PRO in English, Irish and Polish, arguments have been provided that deriving the interpretation solely from the MDP leads to numerous problems, the most notorious of which are the incapability of accounting for subject control with verbs of commitment like *promise* and the lack of explanation for control shift and split control. Since the usefulness of the MDP is highly restricted, it is argued that it should be done away with altogether and the interpretation of PRO should be left to semantics and pragmatics.

The model adopted for the analysis of the distribution and licensing of PRO in English, Irish and Polish has been the MP of Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b). The following elements of the model have been tested against the relevant data from the three languages: the operations Agree and Move, the concept of phase, cyclicity, Defective Intervention Effects, the PIC, and the MLC. Agree has turned out to be particularly useful in accounting for EC in all the three languages and for PC in English and Irish. It has been argued that Agree cannot be restricted to a Goal with valued (interpretable) features and a Probe with unvalued (uninterpretable) features, but must also be possible between a Probe with valued unin-

interpretable features and a Goal with unvalued uninterpretable features. This scenario holds, for instance, in PC structures in English such as (9), where both F and T-Agr, with uninterpretable ϕ -features, enter Agree₃. The operation Move has been shown, at least for Irish, to be motivated by the necessity to check Case rather than the EPP-feature of T. The cyclicity of A-movement, which is derived by Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b) from the EPP-feature of *v* and T, has been shown to follow equally well from Takahashi's (1994) requirement that movement be as short as possible. The cyclicity of movement also follows from the PIC, which has been modified along the lines postulated by Landau:

(21)

Modified PIC

In a structure [...X...[_{YP}...Z...]], where YP is the only phase boundary between X and Z, Z is accessible to X:

- i) Only at the head or edge of YP, if Z is uninterpretable.
- ii) Anywhere in the YP phase, if Z is interpretable. (Landau (2000:69))

The modified PIC makes PRO, which has interpretable features (cf. (7a)), a possible Goal for Agree from the matrix clause in spite of the fact that PRO does not occupy the edge of the CP phase. Although the concept of phase has played a minor role in our account of cyclicity of A-movement, it has been crucial for our analysis of Restructuring in Polish, as it has enabled us to analyse this phenomenon without making reference to overt or covert verb incorporation, both of which are highly dubious in modern theorising. The MLC, as already noted, can be held responsible (together with the PIC) for the notional subject restriction operating in anomalous control structures in Irish. Finally, an appeal to Defective Intervention Effects has been made while discussing long Genitive of Negation in Polish and dialectal variation in Irish.

Two points have not been thoroughly examined in this study, namely Case checking and binding in Polish. Exploring the former would be particularly illuminating in that it might enable us to account for the peculiarities of long distance Genitive of Negation. Discovering why PRO must sometimes be opaque to binding might shed light on why only subject control is possible with the verb *obiecać* 'promise' in Polish. These questions have been left for further research.