

Steven Franks. *Syntax and Spell-Out in Slavic*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2017. xiii + 346 pp. ISBN 9780893574772.

Reviewed by Jacek Witkoś

Big and novel ideas come into the universe of syntactic research constantly, and many of these disappear completely, undeservedly so, because they are not communicated and delivered in a way accessible not only to the microcommunity of experts on backward control in Tsez or Differential Object Marking in South Saami but to larger audiences, including advanced students of syntax and linguistic apprentices from all walks of linguistic life. It is a genuinely rare skill to be able to write clearly and lucidly about complex issues without losing the interest of the (less expert) reader after a few pages (paragraphs in the extreme case). The volume lying in front of me is absolutely astonishing in this respect: if you are looking for a primer on the multidominance (multiattachment) approach, pick this volume and use chapter two as perfect classroom material for your students, even if your course does not concern Slavic at all. Steven Franks does a great job of discussing and comparing the most crucial aspects of current minimalist theories of syntactic “movement”, with the aim of juxtaposing them with his view of how multi-attachment structures of his own design capture the traditional characteristics of movement, eschewing many problems that the “copy and merge” theories grapple with: locality of movement, identity of intermediate movement sites, *wh*-copying phenomena, etc.

Following the introductory chapter one, where core notions from the realm of generative syntax are introduced and discussed, chapters two and three form the core of the book, presenting the details of the multi-attachment approach and its application to the problem of the relationship between movement and its PF reflex. The first two chapters constitute an ideal introduction to minimalist syntax for advanced students, as Franks not only reviews the basic notions of phrase structure and projection of arguments and adjuncts in different positions but also forcefully argues for a particular view of these processes, sometimes different from the received truth in the field. So, for instance, he argues for both subject- and direct-object raising out of their thematic positions in overt syntax in English (pp. 24–25), following work by Howard Lasnik.

Chapter 2 is crucial for understanding Franks’ theory of multi-attachment, and starting with diagram (32) on p. 50, the author carefully leads the

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reader through the meandering ways of the conversion from the “standard” minimalist structure and terminology used in the copy theory of movement and phase theory to the novel addresses, pointers, and three basic steps in (metaphorical) movement: Agree, direct, and unconstrained probing down the structure (ex. 33, p. 51); pied-piping driven by the needs of the Spell-Out of the target of Agree (ex. 34, p. 54); and, ultimately, movement seen as multi-attachment (ex. 35, p. 55). One of the key differences between Franks’ multi-attachment and the standard copy theory is that movement as such, that is Step III, does not target intermediate positions. So this step takes the goal right to its final destination. The key element in detecting trouble on the way is Step II, surveying every category identical to that of the target (C), and checking for compatible/conflicting features. Should the features conflict, the search under Step I terminates, as diagrams (38) and (54) in the text illustrate for appropriate examples. *Wh*-islands, and other Minimal Link Condition effects, I gather, show exactly the conflicting features on the relevant probing heads. Franks sets off to explore attributes of “copy theory” movement through intermediate positions that show certain idiosyncratic and less welcome properties. For instance, he amply borrows from the theory of linearization in Nunes (2004) to argue that *wh*-copying in movement in certain German dialects shows that it is not the full copy of the moved *wh*-phrase that is involved here but a C-head which bears *wh*-features. The gist of the theory of *wh*-movement is concisely presented in (50–52) on p. 64:

- (1) a. Step I: [+Q] is freely linked with any [uQ].
 - (i) This happens as soon as [+Q] enters the structure.
 - (ii) [+Q] is consequently at the top, so linking can only be downward (i.e., not with some higher [uQ]).
 - (iii) [+Q] can link with as many [uQ] as it wants, except:
 - if it links with none, then the derivation crashes in LF;
 - for non-multiple question languages (e.g., Italian), it links with just one.
- b. Step II: [+Q] traverses the tree in search of phrasal constituent(s) containing [Q] linked in Step I.
 - (i) C becomes entangled with similar heads, especially other C.
 - (ii) if the intervening head has values (for similar features), then the search cancels (further searching is blocked).
 - (iii) it can apply not at all (for languages lacking overt *wh*-movement), only once, or iteratively, depending on the language.
- c. Step III: *wh*-movement of accessed lexical material to [+Q].

It must be said that Franks is very convincing in bringing out the advantages of the new approach and presents the strongest arguments in its favor quite early on:

- (2) a. *who [TP ~~who~~ thinks [CP what (that) Julia read ~~what~~]]?
 b. [CP Who [TP ~~who~~ thinks [CP (that) [TP Julia read what]]]]?

The point is that it is not very clear how to avoid (2a) without look-ahead in a bottom-up derivation as *what* does not “know” if it has to move until the matrix vP is constructed. It should at least give the derivation the benefit of the doubt and advance at least to the intermediate [spec, CP]. But this never happens, and the *wh*-phrase apparently remains in its bottom position and is pronounced there, rather than in the head position of the failed *wh*-movement chain. Franks provides the answer: it is pronounced at the bottom because the actual movement happens only as Step III if it is possible and, crucially, impossible movement never leaves the launch pad, see (1b-iii).

In subsequent sections, Franks discusses how a system based on (1) can successfully handle cases of multiple *wh*-movement in various languages, including English, where the second or third *wh*-phrase is reached and involved in scope relations with the visibly moved first one, while placed inside islands. This shows, as he repeatedly states, that Step I corresponds to LF movement (or Agree), where neither pied-piping nor actual secondary attachment is required. The arguments are clear and well presented, supported with data from various languages. Yet, since movement in all its guises is such a prevailing phenomenon, certain doubts about this new picture in (1), above, linger. One could wonder, for instance, how this system handles Antecedent Contained Deletion constructions, whose unique property is the apparent LF pied-piping of the relative clause, bleeding Principle C in the process:

- (3) Mary₁ showed him₂ [every collection of stamps [Mike₂ wanted]].

Somehow, *Mike*₂ is removed from the c-domain of the indirect object, although no overt movement is visible.

Another, methodologically more subtle, question comes to mind concerning intermediate landing sites in movement chains, which should never contain phrasal categories, only entangled Cs. We find the following pair of examples on page 70:

- (4) a. [CP **Which picture of herself** did [TP *Mary* say [CP *which picture of herself* (that) [TP Bill bought ~~which picture of herself~~]]]]
 b. *[CP **Which girl** [TP ~~which girl~~ said [CP *which picture of herself* (that) [TP Bill bought **which picture of herself**]]]]

This pair of examples illustrates the claim that Step I in (1a) supersedes LF-movement and the bottom *wh*-phrase is never raised to a position in which it can be bound. But once this point is granted, and coupled with the claim that intermediate positions in “actual movement chains of mainstream minimalism” do not translate to points of multi-attachment in that only the relevant heads (here C) are entangled with Step II in determining the size of the node to be pied-piped to matrix C, one wonders how the subject in the intermediate clause can ever successfully bind *herself*. After all, matrix C reaches the *wh*-phrase under (1a), Step II determines the size of the node to be pied-piped and checks for non-conflicting features on intermediate C, and then Step III attaches the *wh*-phrase to the root of the tree. Apparently, none of these operations places [_{wh} ... *herself*] in a position where *Mary* can bind it without violating either Principle A ([_{wh} ... *herself*] is attached at the target C) or the Specified Subject Condition ([_{wh} ... *herself*] is attached under the embedded VP). Yet it turns out that the theory of movement Franks has designed can cope with this problem via a very careful, though not immediately articulated, definition of Step II. In chapter two (p. 54), we read only the following introductory definition of this step:

- (5) In order to pronounce something, Spell-Out needs not only just an isolated [+Q] feature, but rather morphologically and **semantically** cohesive bundles of features that will be large enough to provide corresponding lexical items under eventual vocabulary insertion.

So Step II primarily defines the size of the constituent to be eventually pied-piped but also (in bold) searches for a semantically cohesive constituent. In chapter three (p. 138), in the context of parasitic gap licensing, we learn that:

- (6) ...the entanglement with an intermediate C⁰ established by the search in Step II still **provides the rest of the *wh*-operator’s information**.

So Step II not only searches for and gauges the constituent to be eventually linked to the matrix [Spec, CP] but can also “imprint” the restriction of the operator to be moved on an intermediate C (or its specifier to be precise). So unlike Step I (which is plain Agree), Step II seems to perform the role of covert [operator + restriction] raising—covert, because under the terms of the timeline of operations in (1), it applies prior to Step III, the visible movement/attachment. Step II is then entrusted with a considerable task if the *wh*-operator’s information is quite contentful, as in cases originally discussed in Fox (1994):

- (7) [which of his essays for Ms. Brown] did every student think [**which of his essays for Ms. Brown** (that) she would mark [~~which of his essays for Ms. Brown~~] the following week?

It is the intermediate unpronounced copy (in bold) which is relevant for the LF interpretation that satisfies both the variable binding requirement and Principle C. Well, with Step II defined above in (1, 4, and 5), it seems that the multi-attachment system presented in this volume is, after all, not so radically different from mainstream minimalism, which declares that multiple copies exist in the representation but are subsequently pruned so that only one survives in the LF and one in the PF representation (with scattered deletion included as an option). Although Franks declares that his model eschews creation of intermediate phrasal copies, his Step II seems to achieve exactly this end, although without actual movement. So his strongest argument against successive cyclic movement through intermediate positions rests on the fact that it is either the top or bottom copy in the chain that is pronounced but never the second highest, see (2) above. Thus, his system does in fact rebel against PF-relevant copies in intermediate [Spec, CP] positions but allows for (Step II-induced equivalents of) LF-relevant copies in these positions.

The discussion of the multi-dominance equivalent to Nunes' analysis of sideward movement at the end of chapter two would benefit from a more thorough step-by-step analysis of its internal workings. It is true that a "freezing of copies for later use" must be prohibited in the original account, but the discussion presented here does not really spell out too many details. For instance, how many *whats* are there in the multi-dominance structure corresponding to his ex. (80):

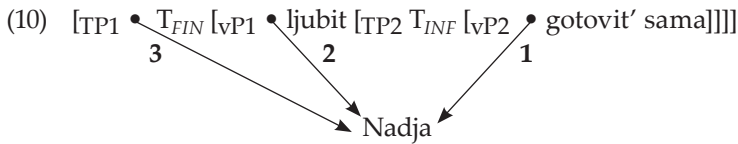
- (8) **What** did [John read ~~what~~ [after he reviewed *pg*]]?

And how can we make sure that both *whats* refer to one and the same variable? The sideward-movement approach provides a clear answer: it is the same element moved between the phrase markers, so the interpretation of both *whats* is identical. Franks (p. 80) says: "the information needed for PF is attached both inside the main clause and inside the adjunct clause, although the latter is inaccessible." Now one should wonder how the two *whats* have come into being. Having said that, and trying to argue in favor of Franks' theory, one should assume that thematic roles could be treated as features—see ex. (9) and the discussion of control—so that a single occurrence of *what* (a single address, rather) could be accessed by two pointers for theta assignment/checking. This would mean that *what* in the main clause is accessed by Steps I, II, and III, while the predicate in the adjunct clause would have to access it for Step I only. But the island status of the adjunct domain is a problem here as the adjunct, with *what* inside it, should be inaccessible as a separate Spell-Out

domain, excluding the *what* in the main clause. So maybe such a scenario is out, but generation of such ill-formed scenarios is the risk that Franks himself has decided to take by not moving beyond a bare outline of a solution. Yet this seems to be an extremely valid point when trying to prove supremacy of multi-dominance over the (sideward) “copy and merge” strategies.

Chapter 3 forms a central section of the book and addresses the issue of movement and pronunciation of its outcome, typically in the familiar form of pronouncing the head of the chain but also pronouncing its tail in well-defined circumstances. This chapter begins with a multi-attachment-style analysis of a control structure, which looks very similar to a non-movement version of Hornstein’s (2001) theory of control which eschews PRO:

- (9) [Nadja [~~Nadja~~ ljubit [~~Nadja~~ gotovit’ sama]]] (Russian)
 Nadja_{NOM} likes prepare_{INF} self_{NOM}
 ‘Nadya likes cooking on her own.’



The DP *Nadja* is involved in a number of Agree relations (Step I-type) for thematic role assignment and nominative case and a movement relation (Steps II and III) with T_{FIN}. Yet all the Agree relations take place in (9) as long as they do not become entangled and do not cause intervention. So (9) constitutes an elegant sample of a multi-attachment-style theory of Obligatory Control. This example, and others in this chapter from the realm of *wh*-movement, show clearly that Franks takes his version of Agree (Step I) to be unbounded and unconstrained by derivational phases (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008, 2013); in general there seems to be little room left for them in this system. On the other hand, Steps II and III in *wh*-movement are sensitive only to fatal entanglement and are otherwise insensitive to the requirements of the phase-bounded, step-wise derivation. In the multi-attachment approach, island effects are reduced either to intervention effects (fatal entanglement) or separate Spell-out. The latter case covers Subject and Adjunct Island effects (CED effects), with subject and adjunct domains spelled out separately from the main spine of the structure, in line with the postulates of structure geometry articulated in Kayne (1994) and Uriagereka (1999). A subsequent section is devoted to the discussion of ellipsis and its subtypes in the multi-attachment scenario, where a procedure of delinking a call from position A to node B results in its failure to be spelled out. Such a notion of delinking corresponds to the standard view that ellipsis does not disturb covert relations (so, relations established under Step I), and it “repairs” island violations (so there are no Steps II and III

which are sensitive to islands). The delinking procedure is flexible enough to accommodate the merits of both gapping (Citko 2012) and Across the Board movement approaches to Right Node Raising (Johnson 2009). They make similar predictions in most cases but in certain aspects it appears that plain gapping has a wider empirical scope, as it does not have to observe constraints on movement:

- (11) I know someone who wants to buy ~~a copy of this old manuscript~~,
and you know someone who wants to sell # a copy of this old
manuscript.
- (12) John introduced his ~~parents to the dean~~ # and Mary introduced her #
parents to the dean.
- (13) John believes that ~~Mary will get a job~~ # and Peter claims that # Mary
will get a job.

The ATB-based account faces problems in (11–13), either because it is supposed to remove an element out of a relative clause, which is an island, see (11), or because the purported movement of a non-constituent is involved, see (12), or because some step of movement is too short and violates Anti-Locality, see (13), where the TP complement to C is supposed to move out of its maximal projection using [Spec, CP] as the escape hatch. Having said that, the plain gapping approach faces the challenge of accounting for examples like (14) below, where the distributive reading of *different songs* requires this constituent to be moved to a single position on the right which c-commands subjects of both clauses.

- (14) John sang and Mary recorded two quite different songs.

In view of these facts Right Node Raising is said to be able to be derived in both ways (Abels 2003, Barros and Vicente 2011). Interestingly, although delinking is just a technical device that can be put in service of both approaches, Franks also contributes to the debate by bringing up his earlier proposal that embedded finite clauses can project only up to the TP level when selected by bridge verbs and when *that* is optional. In these cases, *that* is optionally added on the PF side of grammar. In all other cases, embedded clauses are genuine CPs throughout the derivation. This distinction is detectable via an intonation break, possible only before *that* in CP *that*-clauses but possible both before and after *that* with TP *that*-clauses. This test is then ingeniously put to good use as a diagnostic of RNR strategies in complex cases, such as the one below:

- (15) John believed [] and Mary claimed [] (that) each other's pictures would be on sale.

The diagnostic indicates that here the ATB approach is employed and the TP constituent can be moved to a position where the reciprocal pronoun is bound by both subjects (the Anti-Locality violation is avoided as the TP is not moved out of CP, absent in narrow syntax).

The delinking procedure coupled with late vocabulary insertion in a Distributed Morphology fashion is also employed in a discussion of ATB *wh*-movement in Polish forcing additional case syncretism on the Wh-pronoun:

- (16) dziewczyna, której_{1/2} Janek nigdy przedtem nie
 girl which_{GEN/DAT} Janek never before NEG
 widział *t*₁ a dzisiaj pożyczył *t*₂ pieniędzy
 saw and today loaned money
 'the girl who Janek never saw before and loaned money to today'

A concise summary of the way Steps I, II, and III conspire to produce results of overt and covert syntactic operations, as well as ellipsis, which erases structures built up by syntax, is presented on page 123:

- (17) Order of derivational processes and operations subsumed under Spell-Out:
- a. Ellipsis delinking
 - b. Steps II and III
 - c. LCA [Linear Correspondence Axiom] linearization
 - d. Multi-attachment resolution
 - e. Vocabulary insertion
 - f. Optimization phenomena

Spell-Out proper begins with (17b). As for phenomena subsumed under (17f), they concern cases of copy pronunciation in multiple-*wh*-movement languages which avoid homophonous sequences, defined in the following manner on p. 133:

- (18) Pronounce highest
- a. With identical copies, all but the highest copy are silent.
 - b. With multiple attachments, all but the highest link are severed.

And these cover the well-known cases of:

- (19) a. *Co co spowodowało (Polish)
 what_{NOM} what_{ACC} caused
 intended: 'What caused what?'
- b. Co spowodowało co?
 what_{NOM} caused what_{ACC}
 'What caused what?'

Yet, Franks convincingly demonstrates, through the use of arguments based on Bošković (2001), that the chain with the copy pronounced at the bottom is a chain of overt movement as it licenses a parasitic gap, an impossible task for an Agree (Step I)-based relation, which the English translation shows:

- (20) Ce_1 \textcircled{ce}_2 [\textcircled{ce}_1 precede ce_2], [fără să influențeze pg_2]? (Romanian)
 'What precedes what without influencing it/*pg?'

These facts support the view of grammar and morphosyntax argued for in this volume and indicated in (1) and (17): Spell-Out is a much more powerful operation (or rather a stage in the derivation) than a simple transfer point of the Chomskyan vintage. Franks advocates a view of grammar where narrow syntax is quite narrow indeed; limited to structure building itself (of which little is said in the volume), Step I, and partly Step II (which evaluates the size of the node accessed by Step I and recreates its interpretive LF content in available intermediate positions, provided there is no fatal entanglement, and thus feeds interpretive processes relevant for LF). All the rest is subsumed under an impressive scope of Spell-Out in (17). Spell-Out happens both when it can and when it has to. The former case concerns a chunk of right-branching structure in which all features have been valued. The latter case is driven by the LCA and construction of complex left branches to the main projection line; they must be converted to opaque nodes via Spell-Out steps separate from the Spell-Out of the entire structure. In a way, the picture a linguist bent on comparative studies gets from (17) is nearly the opposite of Chomsky's, where Transfer (Spell-Out) is fairly boring and narrow syntax is hip and rife with points for parametric difference. According to the views expressed in this volume, all the fascinating stuff relevant for idiosyncrasies of particular grammars happens at Spell-Out in (17).

Chapter 4 concerns the topic of the pronunciation of clitics and includes a maze of facts and accounts of analyses concerning mostly South Slavic pronominal clitics. Franks builds a comprehensive picture of their placement in the light of the multi-attachment model. First, he carefully defines clitics as

elements deficient in a number of ways: prosodically, semantically, and syntactically. In presenting these deficiencies in turn, Franks draws on his extensive expertise in the field. He points out idiosyncrasies in clitic placement in individual languages, or sometimes particular dialects, of Slovenian, Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian—grouped into BCS—and Bulgarian and Macedonian. In this part of the book, Franks becomes more of a 19th-century philologist concerned with providing each linguistic fact with its most appropriate description, matching each example with a counterexample and an exception. For instance he defines prosodic deficiency in the following manner:

- (21) The prosodic deficiency; Clitics cannot project prosodic feet.

And immediately afterwards he provides multiple examples showing that (21) does not prevent clitics from being stressed, once they become a part of a larger P-word, or cases in Slovenian where pronominal clitics are exceptionally allowed to bear stress if stranded by ellipsis. The syntactic deficiency of the clitic is taken to imply maximal deficiency in structural composition, following the assumptions of Bare Phrase Structure conclusions reached in multiple publications by Željko Bošković and in Cardinaletti and Starke 1994. So the clitic is said to be merged as a functional head/non-branching projection in a relevant position into the structure and then moved up the tree: a sister to V as the direct object and a specifier of VP or the Applicative Phrase as the indirect object. The inflected verbal auxiliary clitic is likewise first merged as a specifier of a silent head whose complement is VP and then moved up (p. 157–59):

- (22) a. [VP [V' V K⁰/K^{max}]]
 b. [AppIP K⁰/K^{max} [AppI' Appl [VP ...]]]
 c. [FP [F' F [XP [Aux] [X' 0 [VP ... V ...]]]]]

Ultimately, clitics show the following deficiencies (p. 160):

- (23) a. The prosodic deficiency: clitics cannot project prosodic feet.
 b. The semantic deficiency: clitics cannot instantiate lexico-conceptual features.
 c. The syntactic deficiency: clitics cannot express syntactic complexity.

These initial assumptions set the stage for what is to come in the form of further movements, clitic-cluster formation, and constituent splitting, in which clitics play an important role. Franks also uses constituent splitting as a diagnostic for complex-head status of particular clusters and concludes that, for

instance, in Bulgarian the cluster of pronominal clitics and the third person singular auxiliary clitic *-e* cannot be broken up, so these elements form a complex head at T, while inflected auxiliaries (at Agr) can be separated from that cluster. In Macedonian, on the other hand, the pronominal clitics cannot be separated from the inflected auxiliary, so they form a cluster at the Agr head. In the sections that follow, Franks discusses in detail the application, and constraints thereon, of three competing strategies for constituent splitting (p. 166):

- (24) a. PF deletion or distributed deletion (Fanselow and Ćavar 2002)
- b. Remnant movement (Franks and Progovac 1994)
- c. Left Branch Extraction, LBE (Bošković 2005)

Although originally the authors of these proposals vehemently argued against the others, Franks concludes that there are good grounds to assume that all three are applied in different construction types. For instance, PF deletion suits the splitting of focalized DPs in Bulgarian and Macedonian, which, as DP languages, do not allow for LBE. In general, Franks admits that all three could be placed in the arsenal of UG and put to good use (p. 179). Further sections of the chapter are devoted to a detailed discussion of prosodically driven clitic placement (i.e., operations which form a part of Spell-Out in (16) and apply to the outcome of LCA), which becomes obscured on the surface. Prosodic requirements may undo its results, as a careful discussion of the placement of the interrogative particle *li* in South Slavic shows. LCA returns structures which constitute input to rules of prosody-driven rearrangement; these allow for local rearrangements driven by language-specific phonological properties of particular clitics:

- (25) a. Prosodic restriction_{P-WORD}: A clitic may not initiate a P-word.
- b. Prosodic restriction_{I-PHRASE}: A clitic may not initiate an I-phrase.
- c. Prosodic restriction_{UTTERANCE}: A clitic may not initiate an Utterance.

This element of the larger account of clitic placement (including the interrogative and emphatic *li*) corroborates the view that clitic placement, at least in Slavic, is never the result of syntactic processes alone (although in Franks' account, clitics are raised and adjoined to T (pronominal clitics) or Agr (inflected auxiliaries)) or of phonological processes alone. Both types of rules are involved, but the latter are fed by the former and apply on the "final straight" of the derivation. Yet, it must be admitted that the idea that LCA applies but its job is further obscured somehow dents the initial appeal of this principle. It is very appealing as an aid in acquisition of syntactic structure: if LCA, a prominent part of UG, is worked backwards, linear strings feed only particular

constrained structural representations. With further PF-relevant reordering of lexical items occurring independently of LCA, some of this appeal is lost.

The final chapter focuses on two major themes: 1) the placement and function of the auxiliary *je* and use of participial constructions without relevant auxiliaries and 2) PCC effects with pronominal clitic placement. The first part of the chapter is devoted to the issue of the difference in the placement of the auxiliary clitic *je* in Slovenian vs. BCS *je* and Bulgarian and Macedonian *e*. The placement of *je* in the clitic cluster shows that it is fairly ill-disciplined: unlike other auxiliary clitics, it follows clitic pronouns. Franks proposes to place *je* in the position Tense while other agreeing auxiliary clitics are placed in a higher position of Agr (p. 225):

- (26) [AgrP [Agr sam] [TP [T (j)e] [vP ... [VP ...]]]]

The future auxiliary clitic in Slovenian is also placed in T. Both are followed by pronoun clitics, which (multiply) left-adjoin to T. This basic observation is followed by a detailed analysis of various clausal contexts in BCS, where *je* is used as tonic support for the agreeing auxiliaries. A similar, though not entirely identical, function is played by *e* in Bulgarian. Crucially, Slovenian does not show the tonic use of *je*. The tonic usage of *je* in BCS leads to allomorphic variation with regard to the following clitic pronoun. While discussing truncated perfects in Serbian, Franks enters into a dispute with Progovic (2008), (p. 244):

- (27) Umro Petar
 died_{M,SG} Petar_{NOM}
 ‘Peter has died.’

Progovic argues that these constructions constitute root small clauses, representing “living fossils” and remnants of the protosyntactic evolutionary stage. Following a careful comparison of (27) to its equivalents in Slovenian, as well as other similar cases of truncated perfects with the auxiliary verbs missing, Franks proposes to treat (27) as a case of AuxP/TP deletion, allowed for in BCS in certain contexts but prohibited in Slovenian. A part of his argument is that if (27) were a living fossil, it would probably hold of all (South) Slavic languages to a similar degree.

Part two of chapter five is devoted to the discussion of one of the issues that Steven Franks’ work in the field is known for: pronominal clitic placement. The presented analysis is comprehensive, theoretically coherent, and conceptually appealing. It also provides many points for parametric variation (e.g., the issue of multiple Agree for Slovenian, p. 277) and constitutes a cornerstone of a general theory of pronominal clitic placement in Slavic. The chapter draws on previous work by the author in this area, and there is no

doubt that Franks shows full command of the subject area and various aspects of the discussion concerning the Person Case Constraint, which, as he observes, has less to do with case, as Bonet (1991) would have liked it, but more to do with the ordering of the clitics with respect to each other, depending on the distinction in person (Béjar and Řezáč 2003 and Stegovec 2016). The ordering condition to be accounted for is the one in which the 3rd person accusative pronoun typically comes at the end of the cluster.

In the first part of section 5.2, the author provides an overview of different versions of the PCC holding in different Slavic languages. In further sections he presents an analysis whose basic ingredients come in the form of assumptions in (96), (98), (99), and (101). Person features are decomposed into three inclusive sets, where [person] is 3rd person, [person + participant] is 2nd person, and [person + participant + author] is 1st person. Weak/clitic pronouns are said to be deficient not only phonologically (Cardinaletti and Starke 1994) or only semantically but also syntactically in that they may also fail to contain certain morphosyntactic information. They need to compensate for it via an Agree relation with Person as a probe on a functional category, called Agr. Different arrangements of the various subfeatures account for different preferred orders of clitic/weak pronouns (the PCC effects). The author also presents the picture of two repair strategies if PCC were to be violated in particular languages: the scrambling of the clitic/weak pronouns in Polish, Czech, and Slovenian and the use of tonic pronouns rather than their more deficient equivalents in other Slavic languages.

Franks proposes that the Agr head involved in Agree for person features with clitic pronouns is either Agr_o, an Applicative head, or a “point of view node”. Importantly, this is a head distinct from the head licensing nominative case and subject/verb agreement. Yet at this point the reader would profit from a more comprehensive discussion of a possibly intertwined relationship between the licensing of nominative case on the subject and correcting the deficiency of the clitic/weak pronouns. Most importantly, the question that should be addressed is in what way the Agr head licensing the clitics is linked to the T_{FIN}/Agr head (possibly in tandem with C to derive Cl-2) licensing the nominative case on the subject and ϕ -features on the verb. In many traditional accounts, it is the same head (see Borsley and Rivero 1994, Ćavar and Wilder 1992) or finds itself in the same complex head, following head movement, etc. Now, if Agr/Appl/logophoric center is a head different from T/Agr relevant for the licensing of the subject, then it remains to be explained why it does not act upon the subject, for instance, upon the subject pronoun. Why does the subject (pronoun) not cause defective intervention with regard to the clitic pronouns? If it is removed from the intervening position by raising to [Spec, TP], the issue of the cycle and the order of operations also comes into the picture now, as the relevant Agr head should attract clitics after the subject has moved up the structure. Or maybe these details of computation are irrelevant

as the PCC effects and all agreement effects are “a matter of Spell-Out” (p. 298). These issues of a more general derivational nature and order of operations could be clarified in more detail.

The discussion in this section also provides an interesting vista on the relationship between genuine clitic pronouns and their closest cousins in the form of weak pronouns (e.g., in Polish). What seems to me to be a particularly interesting and promising area of further research into this troublesome distinction is the close affinity between the two types corroborated on three separate occasions in the text. First, Franks discusses the fact that Polish apparently has no PCC effects, although the data mentioned are not crystal clear and evoke mixed judgements (pp. 263–68, notes 76 and 81). But why look at the PCC effects holding among pronominal elements, which are very non-clitic? Is this a methodologically sound procedure? It certainly is if they are not that very non-clitic after all. Second, genuine pronominal clitics in Czech and Slovenian share a peculiar property with Polish weak pronouns in the form of a scrambling movement affecting maximal projections. Incidentally, the author does not dwell on the issue of how this scrambling should be understood in terms of the clitic-movement strategy. Is Bare Phrase Structure put to service in this case to allow for the scrambling of “heads/max projections”? For decades it has been argued, including much work by the author himself, that the weak pronouns in Polish are distinct from other West and South Slavic clitic pronouns. Now assuming the scrambling strategy to be available to both seems to obliterate that difference, at least a sketch of how this movement is possible would be welcome. Third, towards the very end of the section, the author offers an interesting speculation that Polish weak pronouns may owe their peculiar (non-clustering, non-PCC sensitive) properties to the fact that they bear a specification for [+Auth] [+Part] features which is fuller than their South- and other West-Slavic cousins. With these features placed on them, they do not need to undergo Agree with the Agr-head and consequently are insensitive to the PCC effects, which Franks forcefully argues to be a result of this Agree relation. Great! Ultimately the puzzle of the difference between clitic and weak pronouns has been solved! This is a great insight in itself, but it opens another lead: Polish weak pronouns seem to occupy an end position in a continuum of featurally impoverished pronominal elements, but they belong to the same family as South and West Slavic clitics. So it could be the feature composition rather than the projection status (head or maximal projection) that distinguishes the two. Certainly another point worth exploring is the connection between the feature composition and the projection status.

Perusal of an outstanding scholarly piece should leave one with the “Aha... effect”, showing that one has understood or seen a truly interesting presentation of a (complex) set of facts followed by a remarkable and novel explanation of their surface complexity. This is the effect *Syntax and Spell-Out in Slavic* evokes in a careful reader: a maze of facts and phenomena of high

complexity (e.g., multiple *wh*-movement, auxiliary clitic placement, pronominal clitic placement, and the PCC effects) all arranged neatly in consistent patterns and accounted for in an elegant manner, inspired by current theoretical accounts and itself inspiring and inviting further analyses. And all that appended with a detailed and clear introduction to multi-dominance syntax. This volume constitutes an outstanding summary of Steven Franks' recent research results. It is a must for linguists following current developments in the field, a double must for Slavic linguists, and a triple must for any researcher in South Slavic morphosyntax. The text genuinely whets the appetite of the reader for an all-inclusive theory of multi-attachment.

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Adam Mickiewicz University
 Niepodległości 4
 61-874 Poznań, Poland
 wjacek@amu.edu.pl

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