

***pro* vs trace: modelling agreement locally**

Dalina Kallulli
Universität Wien

For languages with resumptive pronouns such as Hebrew, the distinction between pronouns and traces has been shown to be important (Doron 1982, Demirdache 1991, Sharvit 1999, a.o.). Likewise, for clitic doubling languages, the distinction between trace and *pro* is also well-motivated (Sportiche 1996). In this paper, I will provide evidence for a phonetically null (resumptive) pronoun (i.e., *pro*) also in languages like English, with properties different from traces. I will then show how postulating a (resumptive) *pro* allows for a uniform analysis of lack of superiority, Principle C and weak crossover effects across several construction types. My analysis crucially relies on and provides further support for Kratzer's (2008) view that although the locality constraints for bound variable pronouns are often hard to detect because of spell-out forms that obscure the presence of agreement chains, the relation between a bound variable pronoun and its antecedent is necessarily subject to locality constraints. More specifically, the central claim that I would like to put forth is that the lack of superiority, Principle C and/or weak crossover effects in the constructions under discussion is due to the existence of an (object) *pro* in a concealed relative clause, which is (d-)linked with a c-commanding constituent (either a wh-phrase or an R-expression, depending on the construction), which in turn is (externally) merged in the upper clause. I contend further that the linking of *pro* in the concealed relative clause and the wh-phrase/R-expression in the upper clause is mediated by an elided (or silent) DP in a phonetically null copular structure with which the wh-phrase/R-expression in the upper clause stands either in a part-whole or in an identificational relationship.