Object pronouns and backward anaphora

In his study of adverbial domains in Czech, Biskup (2011) observes that a pronoun in the main clause may be coreferential with a name in an adverbial clause provided two conditions are met: (a) Condition C effects (stemming from) c-command are avoided, and (b) the Background Adjunct Coreference Principle holds (BACP, Biskup 2011: 203):

(1) Coreference between an R-expression within an adjunct clause and a pronoun in a clause distinct from the adjunct clause is possible only if the R-expression is backgrounded in the adjunct clause.

Effects of BACP are also confirmed in Bianchi (2009) and Reinhart (2011). In Czech and Polish the [+backgrounded] (subject) antecedent is placed in a pre-verbal position, (e.g. ^{ok}2, ^{ok}6, ^{ok}8 vs.*3, *5,*7,*9). When considering examples analyzed by Biskup, one notices overlap in judgements with Polish data. Yet, in all examples analogous to his (2-5), the cataphoric pronoun is the subject (pro). It is, therefore, worthwhile to broaden the scope of his analysis to the object pronoun as well, see (6-9):

(2) [Zanim Piotr$_1$ wyjechał]   pro$_1$ pocałował   Marię$_2$.
    before Peter$_1$ left   [he$_1$] kissed   Maria$_2$.

(3) *[Zanim wyjechał Piotr$_1$]   pro$_1$ pocałował   Marię$_2$.

(4) *Pro$_1$ pocałował   Marię$_2$ [zanim   Piotr$_1$ wyjechał].

(5) *Pro$_1$ pocałował   Marię$_2$, [zanim   wyjechał Piotr$_1$].

(6) [Zanim Maria$_1$ wyjechała]   Piotr$_2$ ją$_1$ pocałował.
    [before Maria$_1$ left]   Peter$_2$ her$_1$ kissed

(7) *[Zanim wyjechała Maria$_1$] Piotr$_2$ ją$_1$ pocałował.

(8) Piotr$_2$ ją$_1$ pocałował,   [zanim Maria$_1$ wyjechała].
    Peter$_2$ her$_1$ kissed   before Maria$_1$ left

(9) *Piotr$_2$ ją$_1$ pocałował   [zanim wyjechała Maria$_1$].

Ex. (4-5) show that Condition C sets in and causes ungrammaticality with right adjunct clauses (following the main clause), because the subject pronoun (pro) c-commands them. This happens even though the BACP is met in (4), so Condition C takes priority over BACP. Yet, backward anaphora need not be ruined with the right adjunct clause when the object pronoun is involved, i.e. (8). This grammatical example shows that that the object pronoun does not c-command the right adjunct clause, probably attached 'high' at the TP level. This presentation takes this observation further and so: (a) it identifies the placement of the right adjunct clause following the notion of phase-command in Bruening (2014); (b) it identifies the position of the object pronoun in (6-9) and (c) in the context of backward binding, it compares the alleged Condition C effects between right adjunct clauses and complement clauses including both object and subject pronouns (pro).

References:

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