

Locus of Gender Resolution: on Goal or on Probe?

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Two lines of theoretical approaches have dominated discussion on locus of gender resolution in the context of Slavic conjunct agreement. A long line of mainstream research assumes resolved value is provided on ConjP ready to be copied onto Probe, *Goal Resolution accounts* (Bošković 2009, Franks and Willer-Gold 2014, Marušič et al. 2015, Murphy and Puškar 2018, a.o.). In contrast, supported by Multi-valuation framework, Citko (2004, 2018) argues for resolution on Probe once gender values have been copied from conjuncts, *Probe Resolution account*. In order to experimentally inform this ongoing theoretical discussion, the talk revisits experimental data on conjunct agreement in gender from South Slavic. One of the most promising but overlooked pieces of data comes from Willer-Gold et al. (2016) elicited production study. Analysis of production times taken for the full utterance (ConjP-Aux-Ptcp-Adv) for the nine gender combinations in preverbal order shows they strongly correlate with uniformity of agreement exponence with the shortest time recorded for MM=M,M,M condition and longest for FN=F,N,M. Taken at face value, this data could provide support for *Probe Resolution account* as it suggests parallel activation of conjunct agreement strategies is resolved by competition at the level of morphological exponents, i.e. gender value produced on the participle. However, production times taken in this particular study are a gross measure in need of further examination. The rest of the talk presents a self-paced reading experiment in Croatian native speakers designed to circumvent the above raised issue in order to address the main question under discussion *Where is the locus of Gender Resolution - on Goal or on Probe?*

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