

Islands and Resumption in Asante Twi

Sampson Korsah and Andrew Murphy

1. Introduction

Since Ross (1967), it has been known that there is a relation between resumption and islands. For example, the adjunct island violation in (1a) is improved for many speakers if the dependency terminates in a resumptive pronoun (1b) (Ross 1967:433).

- (1) a. *King Kong is a movie which₁ you'll laugh yourself sick [_{CP} if you see ___₁]
b. King Kong is a movie which₁ you'll laugh yourself sick [_{CP} if you see *it*₁]

The classical view is that there are essentially two ways to derive an \bar{A} -dependency: (i) by movement leaving a gap (2a), (ii) by base-generation of an operator binding a pronoun (2b).

- (2) a. [_{CP} DP₁ [_{TP} ... [... ___₁]]] (Movement)
b. [_{CP} DP₁ [_{TP} ... [... pro₁]]] (Base generation and binding)

These two options show distinct properties in many languages. For example, Irish is a language in which gaps alternate with resumptives, however only gaps are island-insensitive (McCloskey 1979, 2002) (also see Hebrew; Borer 1984 and Tuki; Biloa 2013 for similar data):

- (3) *Gaps are island-sensitive in Irish* (McCloskey 1979:32):
*Bean₁ nachN bhfuil fhios agam [_{CP} an bpósfadh duine ar bith ___₁]
woman NEG.COMP I know INT.PRT would marry person any
'a woman who I don't know if anyone would marry'
(4) *Resumptives are not island-sensitive in Irish* (McCloskey 1979:33):
Sin bean₁ nachN bhfuil fhios agam [_{CP} an bpósfadh duine ar bith *í*₁]
that woman NEG.COMP I know INT.PRT would marry person any her
'That's a woman who I don't know if anyone would marry her'

Furthermore, gaps show weak crossover effects (5a), whereas resumptives do not (5b).

- (5) *No WCO with resumptives in Irish* (McCloskey 2011:110):
a. *[_{DP} fear_i [_{CP} a d'fhág [_{a_i} bhean] ____i]]
man *a^L* left his wife
'the man_i who his_i wife left *e_i*'
b. [_{DP} fear_i [_{CP} a d'fhág [_{a_i} bhean] *é*_i]]
man *a^N* left his wife him
'the man_i who his_i wife left him_i'

This suggests that, in Irish, gaps result from a movement derivation (2a), whereas resumptives are the result of base-generation and binding (2b). However, there are also languages in which resumptive pronouns have the same properties as gaps in Irish, and therefore involve a movement derivation (6).

* Sampson Korsah, University of Cape Coast, Ghana, sampson.korsah@ucc.edu.gh. Andrew Murphy, Universität Leipzig, andrew.murphy@uni-leipzig.de. For helpful discussion, we would like to thank Martin Salzmann, Ivy Sichel and Željko Bošković, as well as the participants of WCCFL 36 at UCLA.

- (6) $[_{CP} DP_1 [_{TP} \dots [\dots RP_1]]]$ (Movement)

One such language is Vata, as described by Koopman & Sportiche (1982, 1986). In Vata, resumptives show gap-like behavior, i.e. island-sensitivity (7) and WCO effects (8).

- (7) *Resumptives are island-sensitive in Vata* (Koopman & Sportiche 1986:370):

*Ál₁ ñ nylá nyí [CP nā ð₁ dí mé] lá?
 who you wonder COMP 3SG cut it WH
 ‘Who do you wonder whether he cut it?’

- (8) *WCO with resumptives in Vata* (Koopman & Sportiche 1982:143):

*Ál_i [ð_i nó] gùgù nā ð_i mlì lá?
 who his mother think that 3SG left WH
 ‘Who_i did his_i mother think left?’

This presents us with a rather neat picture: island-insensitivity and lack of WCO/reconstruction together diagnose base-generation, whereas island-sensitivity coupled with WCO/reconstruction effects support a movement-based derivation of resumption (see section 4 for a more refined picture). What is then unexpected on this view is a language with island-insensitive resumption, in spite of otherwise robust evidence for movement. In this paper, we show that Asante Twi presents precisely such a language with mixed properties. We will argue that this enriches the typology of \bar{A} -resumptive dependencies by showing that it is possible to have a movement derivation such as (6) without concomitant island-effects.

2. Islands and resumption in Asante Twi

On the surface, Asante Twi seems to show a distinction between gaps and resumptives. Extraction of an animate DP triggers obligatory resumption in its base position (9b), whereas extraction of an inanimate DP leaves a gap (9c).¹

- (9) a. Yaw ma-a Saka siká.
 Yaw give-PST Saka money
 ‘Yaw gave Saka money.’
 b. Hwáñ₁ na Yaw má-a { *___₁ / no₁ } sika?
 Who FOC Yaw give-PST 3SG money
 ‘Who did Yaw give money to?’
 c. Déén₁ na Yaw má-a Saka { ___₁ / *no₁ }?
 what FOC Yaw give-PST Saka 3SG
 ‘What did Yaw give to Saka?’

If these two options correspond to distinct derivations, i.e. movement vs. base-generation, we would expect the same difference in island-sensitivity that has been reported for languages like Irish. However, both \bar{A} -dependencies with both resumptives (10) and gaps (11) are robustly island-insensitive.

- (10) *Island insensitivity with resumptives* (Saah 1994:172; Korsah 2017:117):

- a. Hwáñ₁ na wo-hú-u [DP onípa ko [CP áa ɔ-bó-ɔ no₁ no]] ?
 who FOC 2SG-see-PST person DEF REL 3SG-hit-PST 3SG CD
 ‘Who did you see the person who hit him?’ (CNP island)
 b. Ám¹má₁ na Kofí bísá-a [CP sé hwán na ε-dó nó₁ nó]
 Amma FOC Kofi ask-PST that who FOC 3SG-love 3SG CD
 ‘It is Ama who Kofi asked who loves her.’ (wh-island)

¹ Asante Twi is a dialect of Akan, spoken in Ghana. Abbreviations: CD - clausal determiner, DEF - definite determiner, FOC - focus, NEG - negation NMLZ - nominalizer PERF - perfective, POSS - possessive PST - past, PROG - progressive, REFL - reflexive REL - relativizer, WH - question particle YE - aspectual particle

- c. Ám¹má₁ na Yaw ré-sú [CP éśánesé Kofi dó **nó**₁ nó]
 Ama FOC Yaw PROG-cry because Kofi love 3SG CD
 ‘It is Ama that Yaw is crying because Kofi loves her.’ (adjunct island)
- d. Hwáń₁ na [CP sé Kofi dó **nó**₁ nó] á-ma abusuá mmienú nó á-bóń.
 Who FOC that K love 3SG CD PERF-give family two DEF PERF-reconcile
 ‘Who is [that Kofi loves her] has made the two families reconcile.’ (sentential subject)

(11) *Island insensitivity with gaps* (Saah 1994:172,197):

- a. Déén na wo-níń [DP onipa ko [CP áa ɔ-tó-ɔ-é ____₁ nó]] ?
 who FOC 2SG-know person DEF REL 3SG-buy-PST-YE CD
 ‘What do you know the person that bought?’ (CNP island)
- b. Deen₁ na Mary bisa-a [CP sé hwán na ɔ-ye-e ____₁ nó] ?
 what FOC Mary ask-PST that who FOC 3SG-make-PST CD
 ‘What did Mary ask who made?’ (wh-island)
- c. Siká₁ na Yaw ré-sú [CP éśánesé Kofi dó ____₁ nó]
 Ama FOC Yaw PROG-cry because Kofi love CD
 ‘It is money that Yaw is crying because Kofi loves.’ (adjunct island)
- d. Déén₁ na [CP sé Kofi dó ____₁ nó] á-ma abusuá mmienú nó á-bóń
 Ama FOC that K love CD PERF-give family two DEF PERF-reconcile
 ‘What does [that Kofi loves] has made the two families reconcile.’ (sentential subject)

From this, we could simply conclude, as others have (e.g. Saah 1994; Saah & Goodluck 1995), that both types of \bar{A} -dependency involve base-generation and binding of a (possibly null) pronoun. In what follows, however, we will show that this view is problematic in light of other evidence that resumption has properties of genuine \bar{A} -movement. We argue that the lack of island-sensitivity in Asante Twi does therefore not necessarily diagnose a lack of movement. Instead, we argue that island-insensitive \bar{A} -dependencies involve a movement derivation in syntax. The lack of island-insensitivity is the result of a PF process that turns the lowest movement copy into an ‘intrusive’ pronoun, which ameliorates island violations. The following section provides evidence in support of this view.

3. Resumptives are derived by movement

3.1. Nominal gaps are not gaps

The first argument is that the surface distinction between gaps and pronouns in (9) is actually spurious. Instead, we argue that both extraction of animate and inanimates results in resumption, however there is an independent process of pro-drop affecting inanimate pronouns in general (see Korsah 2017). Ordinarily, anaphoric pronouns (including resumptives) are obligatorily dropped in object position, however there are at least three contexts in which this does not apply: (i) clause-final adverbs, (ii) change-of-state verbs, (iii) secondary predicates. We see the same effect with resumptive pronouns. In each of these three contexts, while inanimate resumptives are normally dropped, they become obligatory in each of the contexts in (11):

- (12) *Inanimate resumption with clause final adverb:*
- a. Aduane nó₁ na Kofí pé (*no₁)
 food DEF FOC Kofi like 3SG
 ‘It’s the food that Kofi likes.’
- b. Aduane nó₁ na Kofí pé *(no₁) anɔpá
 food DEF FOC Kofi like 3SG morning
 ‘It’s the food that Kofi likes in the morning.’

(13) *Inanimate resumption with change-of-state verbs:*

- a. Akonwa nó₁ na Kofi ḱŕa-a (*no₁).
 chair DEF FOC Kofi import-PST 3SG
 ‘It’s the chair that Kofi imported.’
- b. Akonwa nó₁ na Kofi bú-u *(no₁).
 chair DEF FOC Kofi break-PST 3SG
 ‘It’s the chair that Kofi broke.’

(14) *Inanimate resumption with secondary predication:*

- a. Aduane nó₁ na Kofí pé [SC *(no₁) hyehyééhyé]
 food DEF FOC Kofi like 3SG very.hot
 ‘It’s the food that Kofi likes very hot.’
- b. [DP Aduane nó₁ [CP áa Kofí pé *(no₁) hyehyééhyé nó]] nie
 food DEF REL Kofi like 3SG very.hot CD this
 ‘This is the food that Kofi likes very hot.’

This suggests that there is actually no deep distinction between nominal resumptives and gaps in the language. \bar{A} -movement of nominals always results in syntactic resumption in the base position, however the phonological realization of this resumptive is sensitive to other factors. Since nominal extraction always results in resumption, this is what we assume is ultimately responsible for its island-insensitivity.

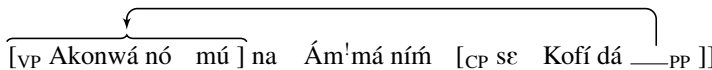
3.2. *Islands reappear with true gaps*

This conclusion predicts that the availability of a resumptive should correlate with sensitivity to islands. Indeed, this is what we seem to find with extraction of non-nominal categories. For example, extraction of a PP does not trigger resumption (15b) (even when obligatory *pro*-drop contexts are controlled for).

(15) *Extracted PPs lack resumptives:*

- a. Kofí da [PP akonwá nó mú]
 Kofi lie chair DEF in
 ‘Kofi is lying in the chair.’
- b. [PP Akonwá nó mú] na Kofí dá { ___PP / *hɔ }
 chair DEF in FOC Kofi lie there
 ‘Kofi is lying IN THE CHAIR.’

Furthermore, PPs can also undergo long-distance \bar{A} -movement across a finite clause boundary (16).

- (16) 
 [VP Akonwá nó mú] na Ám'má níím [CP sɛ Kofí dá ___PP]
 chair DEF in FOC Ama know that Kofi lie
 ‘Ama knows that Kofi lies IN THE CHAIR.’

Strikingly, however, PP extraction differs from DP extraction in that it is sensitive to islands:

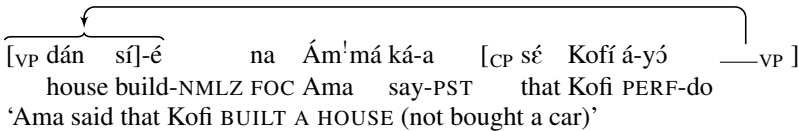
(17) *PP extraction from Complex NP island:*

- a. Ám'má níím [DP neá níí [CP áa Kofí dá [PP akonwá nó mú]]]
 Ama know thing because.of REL Kofi lie chair DEF in
 ‘Ama knows the reason why Kofi lies in the chair.’
- b. *[PP Akonwá nó mú] na Ám'má níím [DP neá níí [CP áa Kofí dá ___PP]]
 chair DEF in FOC Ama know thing because REL Kofi lie
 ‘Ama knows the reason why Kofi lies IN THE CHAIR.’

(18) *PP extraction from adjunct island:*

- a. Amma ání á-gye [CP ésánsé Kofí da [PP akonwá nó mú]]
 Ama eye PERF-collect because Kofi lie chair DEF in
 ‘Ama is happy because Kofi is lying in the chair.’
- b. *[PP Akonwá nó mú] na Ám¹má ání á-gye [CP ésánsé Kofí dá ____PP]
 chair DEF in FOC Ama eye PERF-get because Kofi lie
 ‘Ama is happy because Kofi is lying IN THE CHAIR.’

The same argument can be made from VP fronting. In Asante Twi, VPs can be long \bar{A} -moved (19).

- (19) 
- ‘Ama said that Kofi BUILT A HOUSE (not bought a car)’ (Hein 2017:9)

There are no obvious pro-forms for VPs.² As expected, movement of VPs is then also island-sensitive:

(20) *Island sensitivity of VP movement* (Hein 2017:10):

- a. ?*[VP dán sí]-é na mé-ń-té-e [DP atétésém bíará [CP sé Kofí á-yó
 house build-NMLZ FOC 1SG-NEG-hear-PST rumour.PL any that Kofi PERF-do
 ____VP]]
- ‘I didn’t hear any rumours that Kofi has BUILT A HOUSE.’ (Complex NP island)
- b. ?*[VP dán sí]-é na Á¹má bísá-a [CP sé dabén na Kofí yó-ɔ-é ____VP]
 house build-NMLZ FOC Ama ask-PST that when FOC Kofi do-PST-YE
 ‘Ama asked when Kofi BUILT A HOUSE.’ (wh-island)

These data show that there is a link between the availability of resumption and island-sensitivity. If resumption is obligatory (as with nominals), then island effects are obviated, whereas extraction of categories lacking resumptives is still constrained by islands.

3.3. *Evidence for successive-cyclicity in Asante Twi*

As pointed out by Salzmann (2017:192ff.), cyclicity effects can provide a potentially important argument for a movement derivation of resumption. One of the strongest pieces of evidence for successive-cyclic movement involves morphological reflexes of movement (see e.g. Georgi 2017). The most well-known case is Irish, where complementizers are argued to have different forms (*go* vs. *a^L*) depending on whether or not movement takes place in that clause (McCloskey 2002). As can be seen in (5), resumptive dependencies differ from gap dependencies in having yet another complementizer *a^N*, further suggesting that they involve different derivations. On the other hand, some languages such as Welsh (Rouveret 2008) and Scottish Gaelic (Adger & Ramchand 2005) have been claimed to show movement-like reflexes with resumptive \bar{A} -dependencies, however, this is not too surprising since they are island-sensitive in the languages in question. What would be most interesting would be to find movement reflexes with island-insensitive resumptive dependencies.

This is what we find in Asante Twi. Korsah & Murphy (2016, 2017) argue that there is a tonal alternation in Asante Twi that tracks successive-cyclic movement, where low tones on the verb become high when crossed by an \bar{A} -dependency (21). Korsah & Murphy (2016, 2017) analyze this as a reflex of successive-cyclic movement through *vP*.

² Note that verb doubling is reported by Hein (2017) to be island-sensitive (i) (despite being unbounded). This suggests that one cannot conceive of verb doubling as actual resumption.

(i) *Verb doubling is not possible inside islands* (Hein 2017:10):

- *Sí-(é) na mé-ń-té-e [DP atétésém bíará [CP sé Kofí á-sí dán]]
 build-NMLZ FOC 1SG-NEG-hear-PST rumour.PL any COMP Kofi PERF-build house
 ‘I didn’t hear any rumours that Kofi has BUILT a house.’

(21) *Overwriting affects all verbs in a long-distance dependency* (Korsah & Murphy 2017):

- a. [CP Kofi **kaé** [CP sɛ Ám'má **kita** bayéré]]
 Kofi remember that Ama hold yam
 ‘Kofi remembers that Ama is holding a yam.’
- b. [CP Déɛn₁ na Kofi **kaé** [CP sɛ Ám'má **kítá** —₁]] ?
 what FOC Kofi remember that Ama hold
 ‘What does Kofi remember that Ama is holding?’

Importantly, we also find this effect with extraction terminating in a resumptive pronoun (22).³

(22) *Resumption triggers tonal reflex* (Korsah & Murphy 2017):

- a. [CP Kwame **nim** [CP sé Ám'má **hu-u** Efua]]
 Kwame knows that Ama see-PST Efua
 ‘Kwame knows that Ama saw Efua.’
- b. [CP Hwáɛ́₁ na Kwame **nín** [CP sɛ Ám'má **hú-u** no₁]]
 who FOC Kwame knows that Ama see-PST 3SG
 ‘Who does Kwame know that Ama saw?’

Thus, despite the general island-insensitivity of Asante Twi nominal extraction, we still find what seems to be evidence of successive-cyclic movement.⁴ Descriptively, this presents us with apparently conflicting evidence for movement (island-sensitivity vs. movement reflexes). There is still the possibility that resumptive dependencies employ genuine \bar{A} -movement, whereas those reaching into an island employ base-generation (Aoun et al. 2001). We would then expect to find tonal overwriting in non-island contexts. As (23) shows, this cyclicity effect is still found with resumptive dependencies into an island.

(23) *Reflex of successive-cyclicity with extraction from island:*

- a. Me-hu-u [DP onipa ko [CP áa ɔ-**bɔ**-ɔ Kofi nó]]
 1SG-see-PST person DEF REL 3SG-hit-PST 3SG CD
 ‘I saw the person who hit Kofi’
- b. Hwáɛ́₁ na wo-**hú-u** [DP onípá ko [CP áa ɔ-**bɔ**-ɔ nó₁ nó]] ?
 who FOC 2SG-see-PST person DEF REL 3SG-hit-PST 3SG CD
 ‘Who did you see the person who hit?’ (CNP island)
- c. Yaw **re-su** [CP éśánesé Kofi **ɔ** Ám'má nó]
 Yaw PROG-cry because Kofi love 3SG CD
 ‘It is Ama that Yaw is crying because Kofi loves her.’
- d. Ám'má₁ na Yaw **ré-sú** [CP éśánesé Kofi **ɔ** nó₁ nó]
 Ama FOC Yaw PROG-cry because Kofi love 3SG CD
 ‘It is Ama that Yaw is crying because Kofi loves her.’ (adjunct island)

³ In light of what was shown in section 3.1, this is perhaps not all too surprising if there is no real distinction between gaps and resumptives with nominal extraction.

⁴ Of course, one could still argue that this reflex is the result of successive binding dependencies where the reflex tracks external merge of an operator, as McCloskey (2002) argued for Irish. One reason to reject this view is that we may expect to find ‘mixed chains’ of the kind in (ia) (McCloskey 2002:190). Here, it is possible to have the reflex in the top clause only and not in intermediate positions (ib). No such constructions are possible in Asante Twi.

- (i) a. [DP fir [CP **ar** shíl Aturnae an Stáit [CP **go** rabh *siad* díleas do'n Rí]]
 men a^N thought Attorney the State *go* were they loyal to.the king
 ‘men that the Attorney General thought they were loyal to the king’
- b. [DP ... [CP *pro*_i [C' a^N [TP ... [CP *go* [TP ... RP_i ...]]]]]]

3.4. Reconstruction effects with resumption

Another argument for a movement derivation of resumptives comes from reconstruction effects at the position of the resumptive. Such effects have been reported for languages with island-sensitive resumption (but cf. Adger & Ramchand 2005). However, island-insensitive resumption in Asante Twi also shows a whole host of reconstruction effects.

3.4.1. Reconstruction for binding

The first set of reconstruction effects pertains to binding phenomena. As in English, the reflexive *ne hó* is subject to Condition A and requires a local c-commanding antecedent (24a). When this phrase is \bar{A} -moved leaving a resumptive behind, co-reference with the embedded subject is still possible (24b).

(24) *Reconstruction for Condition A:*

- a. Kofí_i pɛ [CP sé Ám¹má_j pírá [DP ne hó_{j/*i}]]
 Kofi wants that Ama hurt 3SG REFL
 ‘Kofí_i wants Ama_j to hurt (her)self_{j/*i}’
- b. [DP Ne hó_{j/*i}]₁ na Kofí_i pé [CP se Ám¹má_j pírá **no**₁ seesiá]
 3SG REFL FOC Kofi wants that Ama hurt 3SG now
 ‘It is (her)self_i that Kofi wants Ama_j to hurt now.’

Condition C also holds, meaning that a pronoun cannot c-command a co-referent R-expression (25a). Furthermore, even if the DP is moved (again leaving a resumptive), the Condition C effect pertains (25b), suggesting that there is reconstruction to the position occupied by the resumptive.

(25) *Reconstruction for Condition C:*

- a. *ɔ_i-pɛ [DP Kofí_i ífónírí yí]
 3SG-like Kofi picture this
 ‘He likes the picture of Kofi’
- b. *[DP Kofí_i ífónírí yí]₁ na Ám¹má níím [CP se ɔ_i-pɛ **no**₁ paa]
 Kofi picture this FOC Ama think that 3SG-like 3SG really
 ‘It’s this picture of Kofi that Ama thinks he really likes’

Finally, a bound variable must be c-commanded by an operator, such as a quantifier (26a). Even if the phrase containing the variable is moved, the bound reading is still possible (26b).

(26) *Reconstruction for variable binding:*

- a. *Abán* *bíará_i* dwéne [DP *ne_i-máńfó-ó* *yíe-yó hó*] dáá
 government every think POSS-people-PL well-be self every day
 ‘Every_i government thinks about the well-being of its_i people every day.’
- b. [DP *ne_i-máńfó-ó* *yíe-yó hó*]₁ na *abán* *bíará_i* dwéné **no**₁ dáá
 POSS-people-PL well-be self FOC government every think 3SG every day
 ‘It’s the well-being of its_i people that every_i government thinks about every day.’

Again, this indicates reconstruction of the moved phrase to the position of the resumptive (also see Aoun & Benmamoun 1998:581 for similar data).

3.4.2. Weak Crossover

We also find WCO effects in Asante Twi relative to the position of the resumptive (27b).

- (27) a. $\overbrace{\text{Hwáń}_i \text{ na } \text{ɔ}_i\text{-tán} \text{ né}_i\text{-núá}} \text{ (nó) ?}$
 who FOC 3SG-hate POSS.3SG-brother CD
 ‘Who hates his brother?’
- b. $\overbrace{??\text{Hwáń}_i \text{ na } \text{né}_i\text{-núá} \text{ tán } \mathbf{no}_i} \text{ (nó) ?}$
 who FOC POSS.3SG-brother hate 3SG CD
 ‘Who_i does his_i brother hate?’

This is particularly revealing, since WCO effects are typically found for languages with island-sensitive resumption, such as Vata (8), and absent with base-generation, as in Irish (5).

3.4.3. Scope reconstruction

Another diagnostic involves reconstruction of the *wh*-phrase to a position below a universal quantifier to derive wide scope (e.g. Agüero-Bautista 2001; Panitz 2014).

- (28) *Scope reconstruction to resumptive in Spanish* (Agüero-Bautista 2001:172):
 A quién_i dijo cada testigo [CP que María **le**_i quería pegar] ?
 A whom said each witness that Maria him wanted hit.INF
 ‘Who did each witness say that Maria wanted to hit?’ (∇ > *wh*, *wh* > ∇)

In Asante Twi, we also find that a resumptive dependency still permits wide-scope of the universal quantifier, i.e. a pair-list reading (29).

- (29) $\text{Hwáń}_i \text{ na } \text{Kofí} \text{ ká-a } [\text{CP} \text{ sé } \text{abɔ́r} \text{á} \text{ bíará} \text{ dɔ́ } \mathbf{no}_i] ?$
 who FOC Kofi say-PST that child every love 3SG
 ‘Who did Kofi say that every child loves?’ (∇ > *wh*, *wh* > ∇)

3.4.4. Idiom reconstruction

Idiomatic interpretation is often assumed to require adjacency at LF (e.g. Chomsky 1993:38f.). This means that extracted idiom chunks must reconstruct in order to maintain a non-literal interpretation (30).

- (30) a. [_{DP} the headway₁ [_{CP} that we made ___₁]] was satisfactory (Schachter 1973:31)
 b. Those strings₁, he wouldn’t pull ___₁ for you (Gazdar et al. 1985:238)

We find evidence of idiom reconstruction at the resumption site in Asante Twi. For example, the expression *to ndwóm* (‘throw song’) has a non-compositional reading ‘to sing’ (31a). If part of this idiom chunk is extracted leaving a resumptive behind, the idiomatic meaning is still maintained (31b).

- (31) *Extracted idiom chunks reconstruct:*
- a. $\text{Kofí} \text{ to-o } \text{ndwóm} \text{ éńóra}$
 Kofi throw-PST song yesterday
 ‘Kofi sang yesterday’
- b. $\text{Ndwóm}_i \text{ na } \text{Kofí} \text{ tó-o } \mathbf{no}_i \text{ éńóra}$
 song FOC Kofi throw-PST 3SG yesterday
 ‘It was SINGING that Kofi did yesterday.’

Assuming that reconstruction is a necessary condition for the idiomatic reading, there must again be reconstruction to the position of the resumptive pronoun.

3.4.5. Reconstruction into islands

Aoun et al. (2001) argue that, in Lebanese Arabic, a base-generation derivation of resumption is employed only when movement is not possible (i.e. out of islands) and this goes hand-in-hand with the

lack of reconstruction. We can rule out such a possibility for Asante Twi since we still find reconstruction effects with resumptives inside islands. This is shown for Condition C reconstruction in (32) and (33).

(32) *Condition C reconstruction into Complex NP island:*

[_{DP} Ám'má; adúané nó]_I na m-á-té [_{DP} atetésém bí [_{CP} sé ó*_{ij}-dí **no**_I
 Amma food DEF FOC 1SG-PERF-hear rumour INDEF that 3SG.NOM-eat 3SG
 dáá]]
 every day
 'It's Ama's_i food that I have heard a rumour that s/he*_{ij} eats every day.'

(33) *Condition C reconstruction into adjunct island:*

[_{DP} Ám'má; adúané nó]_I na Yaw ré-sú [_{CP} ésánesé ó*_{ij}-dí **no**_I dáá]
 Amma food DEF FOC Yaw PROG-eat because 3SG.NOM-eat 3SG every day
 'It's Ama's_i food that Yaw is crying because s/he*_{ij} eats every day.'

4. Consequences for the theory of resumption

We have seen that resumptive \bar{A} -dependencies in Asante Twi have a surprising profile. On the one hand, they are robustly island-insensitive, whereas on the other, they show hallmarks of movement such as cyclicity effects, weak crossover and a whole host of reconstruction effects. These two diagnostics seem to conflict: on the one hand, island-insensitivity suggests a lack of movement, whereas the other strongly point towards a movement derivation. This suggests that the simple picture presented by languages such as Irish and Vata, where island-sensitivity is a reliable diagnostic for movement or base-generation is actually more complicated. This has already been noted for resumption in languages such as Scottish Gaelic (Adger & Ramchand 2005), Welsh (Rouveret 2008) and Mandarin Chinese (Pan 2016), which is sensitive to (strong) islands, but nevertheless does not show typical properties of \bar{A} -movement such as cyclicity or reconstruction effects. As (34) shows, this type of language, which we call Type III, involves a mismatch between island-sensitivity and other potential diagnostics for movement. Asante Twi presents a mismatch in the other direction. While (nominal) resumption is island-insensitive, it shows seemingly unequivocal evidence for \bar{A} -movement.⁵ This finding therefore enriches the typology of resumptive \bar{A} -dependencies in (34) to include yet another case where island-sensitivity mismatches with other diagnostics for movement, albeit with the mismatch going in the opposite direction.

(34)	<i>Island-sensitive?</i>	<i>Evidence for \bar{A}-movement?</i>	
Type I	✗	✗	(e.g. Irish)
Type II	✓	✓	(e.g. Vata)
Type III	✓	✗	(e.g. Scottish Gaelic, Welsh)
Type IV	✗	✓	(e.g. Asante Twi)

What this tells us is that the simple picture presented by languages such as Irish and Vata, where island-sensitivity straightforwardly diagnoses either movement or base-generation, cannot be taken for granted. The reality is in fact often more complicated. For Type III languages, it has been proposed that sensitivity to islands, in the absence of other evidence for movement, can be attributed to something independent of movement (i.e. locality constraints imposed on Agree). For Asante Twi, we can take a similar approach. In the face of independent converging evidence for movement, the island-insensitivity of resumptive dependencies must result from something other than the lack of \bar{A} -movement. Concretely, we propose that it is resumption that is directly responsible for island-insensitivity. A compelling argument for this was shown in section 3.2, where island restrictions reappear when the extracted category independently lacks a resumptive. We therefore suggest that Asante Twi has a movement derivation of resumption in the syntax, however the lowest copy of a moved item is converted into a pronoun at PF by a process of *Pronoun Conversion* (35) (analogous to *Trace Conversion* at LF; cf. Fox 1999).

⁵ It is important to mention that Guillot & Malkawi (2006) reported a similar mismatch for Jordanian Arabic, where reconstruction effects into islands were found with otherwise island-insensitive resumption. This led them to propose an account where two full copies are base-generated with deletion under identity in the lower one. Korsah & Murphy (2017) argue against this analysis for Asante Twi, based on an independently-motivated haplology diagnostic.

(35) *Pronoun Conversion:*

$$[_{CP} DP_1 [_{TP} \dots [\dots \langle DP \rangle_1]]] \Rightarrow [_{CP} DP_1 [_{TP} \dots [\dots pro_1]]]$$

We argue that this process has the effect of ‘intrusive’ or ‘facilitating’ resumptives (cf. Sells 1984; Erteschik-Shir 1992), which can obviate island effects. Since there is a movement derivation in the syntax and a full DP copy in the base-position at LF, we straightforwardly account for both cyclicity and reconstruction effects. One may wonder why this is not also the case for Type II languages such as Vata with island-sensitivity and positive movement diagnostics. One way of accounting for this is the timing of PF operations: In Asante Twi, Pronoun Conversion would apply prior to the evaluation of islands at PF, thereby bleeding island-induced ungrammaticality (much in the same way as ellipsis; cf. Merchant 2001). If PC took place after island violations were checked, then resumption would be island-sensitive, since PC would apply too late. In sum, while the status of intrusive resumption has proven somewhat controversial for English (e.g. Heestand et al. 2011; Beltrama & Xiang 2016), a deep connection between resumption and island-obviation seems to be empirically well-motivated for Asante Twi.

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