

# On two types of resumption in Igbo: implications for islandhood

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# Introduction

► topic: study of the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns (RPs) in  $\bar{A}$ -dependencies in Igbo (Benue-Kwa, Nigeria)

## Claims

- there are 2 types of RPs in Igbo:
  - ① RPs at the bottom of a base-generation dependency
  - ② RPs at the bottom of a movement dependency
- evidence from other languages: typically based on reconstruction effects; in Igbo: additional evidence from cyclicity effects
- type 2 RPs surface to satisfy PF-requirements → subtypes of type 2 RPs
  - realize oblique case
  - phonological EPP
- Igbo cannot repair islands by RPs → we can see which XPs are islands

# Outline

- ① Movement vs. base-generation
- ② RPs in movement dependencies
- ③ Implications for islandhood

# The Igbo language

- (1) Ézè hù-rù Àdá  
 Eze see-PST Ada  
 “Eze saw Ada.”

- basic word order: S-V-O
- 3 tones: low (à), high (á), downstep (ā) (Nwachukwu 1995)
- rich verbal morphology (Uwalaka:88): tense, aspect
- case (Anyanwu 2012):
  - Nom/Acc distinction in 2sg/3sg-pronouns

	Nom	Acc
(2) 2sg	í	gí
3sg	ó	yá

- pronouns, nouns: distinct genitive form (tone pattern)

# Formation of $\bar{A}$ -dependencies in Igbo

Amaechi & Georgi 2019:

- movement dependencies (gap): ex-situ wh/focus, see (3-a)
- base-generation (RP): topicalization, see (3-b)

(3) a. Àdá kà Ézé hụ-rù \_\_\_ / \*yá  
 Ada FOC Eze see-PST 3SG.ACC

“Eze saw ADA.”

*DO-focus*

b. Àdá, Ézè hụ-rù yá / \* \_\_\_  
 Ada Eze see-PST 3SG.ACC

“As for Ada, Eze saw her.”

*DO-topicalization*

(4) Evidence:

	island-sens.	reconstr.	cyclicity	pg-licens.	bottom
wh/foc	✓	✓	✓	✓	gap
topical.	*	*	*	*	RP

## Island-sensitivity

(5) Adjunct island (+ subject island, complex NP island)

a. Úchè pùrù túpú Ézè à-hù Àdá  
 Uche left before Eze PFX-see Ada  
 “Uche left before Eze saw Ada.”

b. \*Àdá kà Úché pùrù túpú Ézé à-hù \_\_\_\_  
 Ada FOC Uche left before Eze PFX-see  
 “Uche left before Eze saw ADA.”

*focus*

c. Àdá Úchè pùrù túpú Ézè à-hù yā  
 Ada Uche left before Eze PFX-see 3SG.ACC  
 “As for Ada, Uche left before Eze saw her.”

*topicalization*

## Reconstruction

(6) Strong cross-over:

a. Ó chère nà Ézè hù-rù Àdá.  
 3SG.NOM think that Eze see-PST Ada  
 “S/he<sub>j</sub> thinks that Eze<sub>j</sub> saw Ada<sub>k</sub>.”

b. Ònyé kà ó chère nà Ézé hù-rù —  
 who FOC 3SG.NOM think that Eze see-PST —  
 \*for which x, x thinks that Eze saw x  
 ✓for which x, y thinks that Eze saw x

*question*

c. Àdá, ó chère nà Ézè hù-rù yá  
 Ada 3SG.NOM think that Eze see-PST 3SG.ACC  
 ✓as for x, x thinks that Eze saw x  
 ✓as for x, y thinks that Eze saw x

*topicalization*

## Cyclicity effects

(7) Final high tone on the subject (Manfredi 2018): underlying tones = **Ézè**

a. Àdá kà **Ézé** hù-rù \_\_\_  
 Ada FOC Eze see-PST  
 “Eze saw ADA.”

*focus*

b. Àdá, **Ézè** hù-rù yá  
 Ada Eze see-PST 3SG.ACC  
 “As for Ada, Eze saw her.”

*topicalization*

(8) Perfective morphology:

a. **Ézè** à-hù-lá Àdá  
 Eze NMZL-see-PFV Ada  
 “Eze has seen Ada.”

b. Àdá kà **Ézé** \*à-hù-lá / ✓hù-rù \_\_\_  
 Ada FOC Eze NMZL-see-PFV see-PST  
 “Eze saw ADA.”

*focus*

c. Àdá **Ézè** à-hù-lá yā  
 Ada Eze NMLZ-see-PFV 3SG.GEN  
 “As for Ada, Eze has seen her.”

*topicalization*

► long movement: effects occur in every CP



# Overview

- 1 Movement vs. base-generation
- 2 RPs in movement dependencies**
- 3 Implications for islandhood

## RPs in wh-/foc-constructions

- so far: wh/focus movement → gap / \*RP
- observation: wh/foc-constructions with an obligatory RP

## (9) Complement of P:

- a. Úchè kwèrè nà Nǵózí      b. Nǵózí kà Úché kwèrè nà yǎ/\*     
 Uche believe P Ngozi      Ngozi FOC Uche believe P 3SG.ACC  
 “Uche believes in Ngozi.”      “Uche believes in NǵÓZÍ.”      (*focus*)

## (10) Possessors:

- a. Ézè hùrù [ nǵìtā Àdá ]      b. Àdá kà Ézé hùrù [ nǵìtā yā/\*    ]  
 Eze saw dog Ada      Ada FOC Eze saw dog 3SG.GEN  
 “Eze saw Ada’s dog.”      “Eze saw ADA’s dog.”      (*focus*)

## (11) Conjunct:

- a. Ézè hùrù [ Àdá nà Òbí ]      b. Òbí kà Ézé hùrù [ Àdá nà yǎ/\*    ]  
 Eze saw Ada and Obi      Obi FOC Eze saw Ada and 3SG.ACC  
 “Ézè saw Àdá and Òbí.”      “Ézè saw Àdá and OBI.”      (*focus*)

## RPs in wh-/foc-constructions: potential explanations

► 1st attempt: PPs, DPs, &Ps are islands

### 1 island repair by resumption

**problem:** other islands (CED/CNP-islands) cannot be repaired by resumption

(12) \*Àdá kà Úché pùrù túpú Ézé à-hù \_\_\_\_\_ / yā  
 Ada FOC Uche left before Eze PFX-see 3SG.GEN  
 “Uche left before Eze saw ADA.” *adjunct island*

### 2 base-generation instead of movement → RP

**problem:** The dependencies have all the properties of movement

(13) Evidence:

	island-sens.	reconstr.	cyclicity	pg-licens.	bottom
wh/foc	✓	✓	✓	✓	gap
topical.	*	*	*	*	RP
wh/foc-RPs	✓	✓	✓	✓	RP



## Evidence for movement: cyclicity effects

(14) High tone on the subject:

a. *Ńgózí kà Úché kwèrè nà yá*  
 Ngozi FOC Uche believe P 3SG.ACC  
 “Uche believes in *ŃGÓZÍ*.”

b. *Àdá kà Ézé hùrù [ níkìtā yā ]*  
 Ada FOC Eze saw dog 3SG.GEN  
 “Eze saw *ADA*’S dog.”

c. *Òbí kà Ézé hùrù [ Àdá nà yá ]*  
 Obi FOC Eze saw Ada and 3SG.ACC  
 “Ézè saw *Àdá* and *OBI*.”

(15) No perfective morphology:

a. *Ńgózí kà Úché \*é-kwè-rè-lá /*  
 Ngozi FOC Uche NMZL-believe-PFV /  
 ✓ *kwè-rè nà yá*  
 believe-PST P 3SG.ACC  
 “Uche believed in *ŃGÓZÍ*.”

b. *Àdá kà Ézé \*à-hù-lá /*  
 Ada FOC Eze NMZL-see-PFV /  
 ✓ *hù-rù [ níkìtā yā ]*  
 see-PST dog 3SG.GEN  
 “Eze saw *ADA*’S dog.”

c. *Òbí kà Ézé \*à-hù-lá / ✓ hù-rù*  
 Obi FOC Eze NMZL-see-PFV / see-PST  
 [ *Àdá nà yá* ]  
 Ada and 3SG.ACC  
 “Ézè saw *Àdá* and *OBI*.”

## Evidence for movement: Island-sensitivity

(16) Adjunct and complex NP island (Poss-extraction):

- a. \*Àdá kà Úché pùrù túpú Ézè à-hù [ ñkìtā yā ]  
 Ada FOC Uche left before Eze PFX-see dog 3SG.GEN  
 “Uche left before Eze saw ADA’s dog.”
- b. \*Àdá kà Úché mà nwókē hù-rù [ ñkìtā yā ]  
 Ada FOC Uche knows man see-PST dog 3SG.GEN  
 “Uche knows the man who saw ADA’s dog.”

## Evidence for movement: reconstruction effects

(17) Strong cross-over, P-complement:

a. Ó chère nà Ézè kwèrè nà N'gózí.

3SG.NOM think that Eze believe in Ngozi  
 "He<sub>i</sub> thinks that Eze<sub>j</sub> believes in Ngozi<sub>k</sub>."

b. N'gózí kà ó chère nà Ézé kwèrè nà yá.

Ngozi FOC 3SG.NOM think that Eze believe in 3SG.ACC  
 \*it is x that x thinks that Eze believes in x  
 ✓ it is x that y thinks that Eze believes in x

(18) Strong cross-over, possessor:

a. Ó chère nà Ézè hùrù n'kítā Àdá.

3SG.NOM think that Eze saw dog Ada  
 "S/he<sub>i</sub> thinks that Eze<sub>j</sub> saw Ada<sub>k</sub>'s dog."

b. Àdá kà ó chère nà Ézè hùrù n'kítā yā.

Ada FOC 3SG.NOM think that Eze saw dog 3SG.GEN  
 \*it is x that x thinks that Eze saw x's dog  
 ✓ it is x that y thinks that Eze saw x's dog

## Interim conclusion

- ⇒ RPs in wh/focus constructions occur at the bottom of a movement dependency
- ⇒ two types of RPs: movement-derived vs. base-generated RPs
  - similar splits have been observed in the previous literature:
    - reconstruction effects: Aoun et al. (2001)
    - optional vs. obligatory RPs: Bianchi (2004), Sichel (2014)
    - morpho-phonological shape of RPs: Adger (2011)
    - RPs in PPs & islandhood: Borer (1984)
  - Igbo: distribution of RPs is different (only obligatory resumption); additional evidence from cyclicity effects for movement vs. base-generation

## Analysis: the role of case

- Q Why do we find RPs only with movement of the complement of P, of possessors and of DP-conjuncts?
- A natural class: positions which bear oblique case: GEN or ACC

- (19) a. **Ó**            hù-rù    Àdá  
           3SG.NOM see-PST Ada  
           “S/he saw Ada.” *NOM*
- b. **Ézè** hù-rù    [ **ńkìtā yā**            ]  
           Eze see-PST dog 3SG.GEN  
           “Eze saw his/her dog.” *GEN*
- c. **Ézè** kwèrè    nà **yá**  
           Eze believe in 3SG.ACC  
           “Eze believes in him/her.” *ACC*
- d. [ **Yá**            nà **Òbí** ] hù-rù    Àdá  
           3SG.ACC and Obi see-PST Ada  
           “S/he and Obi saw Ada.” *ACC*



# PF-requirement

- support for a PF-requirement to pronounce oblique case (Pesetsky 1998, Bayer et al. 2001, Bianchi 2004, Landau 2010)
- Pesetsky (1998), see also Landau (2006):
  - pronunciation principles interact in an OT-fashion
  - Recoverability  $\gg$  Silent-t
- side issue: Why is the lower copy reduced to a pronoun at spell-out?  
see Pesetsky (1998), Landau (2006), van Urk (2018) for proposals

## Another type of movement-related RP

- *that*-trace configuration in Igbo can be repaired by resumption (similar pattern found in Vata (Koopman 1982) and Nupe (Kandybowicz 2007)):

- (20) a. Úchè chère \***(nà)** Òbí hūrù Àdá n'-áhiá  
 Uche thinks that Obi saw Ada P-market  
 "Úchè thinks that Òbí saw Àdá at the market."
- b. \*Òbí kà Úché chère **(\*nà)** — hūrù Àdá n'-áhiá  
 Obi FOC Uche thinks (\*that) — saw Ada P-market  
 "Úchè thinks that OBI saw Àdá at the market."
- c. Òbí kà **Úché** chère **nà** **ó** hūrù Àdá n'-áhiá  
 Obi FOC Uche thinks that 3SG.NOM saw Ada P-market  
 "Úchè thinks that OBI saw Àdá at the market."

- cyclicity effects in the main and the embedded clause  $\Rightarrow$  movement
- but: no oblique case on the RP!  $\Rightarrow$  **2nd type of movement-related RP**
- note: this RP is not an expletive – covaries in  $\phi$ -features with the antecedent
- proposal: another PF-requirement: \* C–V<sub>fin</sub> / phonological EPP  
 (Richards 2001, 2016, Boeckx 2003, Landau 2007, Kandybowicz 2007, Salzmann et al. 2013, van Urk 2018)

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## Consequences for islandhood

- ▶ PPs, DPs, &Ps in the previous examples are not islands
- variation: (sub)set of islands determined on a language-specific basis?
- **NO!** PPs, DP, &Ps can be islands in Igbo!

(21) PP-adjunct = island

a. Ézè hù-rù Àdá n'-àhíā

Eze see-PST Ada P-market

“Eze saw Ada at the market.”

b. \*àhíā kà Ézé hù-rù Àdá nà yá

market FOC Eze see-PST Ada P 3SG.ACC

“Eze saw Ada at the MARKET.”

(22) Complex NP island:

\*Ngózí kà Úché mà nwókē kwèrè nà yá

Ngozi FOC Uche knows man believe P 3SG.ACC

“Uche knows the man who believes in NGOZI.”

⇒ **true islands: CED-islands, CNP-islands**

## Consequences for islandhood

- previous &P-examples with RP: extraction of a conjunct
- observation: ungrammaticality with subextraction from a conjunct

- (23) a. Ézè kwèrè nà [ Àdá nà Òbí ]  
 Eze believe in Ada and Obi  
 “Eze believes in Ada and Obi.”
- b. Àdá kà Ézé kwèrè nà [ yá nà Òbí ]  
 Ada FOC Eze believes in 3SG.ACC and Obi  
 “Ada believes in ADA and Obi.”
- c. Ézè kwèrè [ nà Àdá ] nà [ nà Òbí ]  
 Eze believe in Ada and in Obi  
 “Eze believes in Ada and in Obi.”
- d. \*Àdá kà Ézè kwèrè [ nà yá ] nà [ nà Òbí ]  
 Ada FOC Eze believe in 3SG.ACC and in Obi  
 “Eze believes in ADA and in Obi.”

## Consequences for islandhood

- (24) a. Ézè kwèrè nà [ níkìtā Òbí nà Àdá ].  
 Eze believe in dog Obi and Ada  
 “Eze believes in Obi’s dog and Ada.”
- b. \*Òbí kà Ézè kwèrè nà [ níkìtā yā nà Àdá ]  
 Obi FOC Eze believe in dog 3SG.GEN and Ada  
 “Eze believes in OBI’S dog and Ada.”

⇒ CSC (Ross 1967):  
 the two parts of the CSC need to be separated: difference between extraction of a conjunct (possible) vs. extraction from a conjunct (prohibited)  
 (Grosu 1973, Postal 1998, Stjepanovic 2014, Oda 2017, Boskovic to appear)

# Conclusions

- 2 types of RPs in Igbo:
  - RP at the bottom of a base-generation dependency
  - RP at the bottom of a movement dependency
- comprehensive evidence that “exceptional” RPs in wh/focus constructions involve movement
- support that RPs in movement-dependencies satisfy PF-requirements
- true islands: CED-islands, CNP-islands
- support for the claim that the two part of the CSC need to be separated:  
&P = island for subextraction, transparent for extraction of conjuncts