

Non-agreeing RPs

▶ Subject position in Akan (Asante Twi)

- Third person singular inanimate $\{\epsilon\}$ (Korsah 2016)
- Local subject displacement (Spec vP to Spec TP):

(1) A-sukuu-foɔ, no tumi $\{_i / \epsilon_r\}$ / *wɔ- tu ndwom
PL-student-PL DET can 3SG.IN-/ 3PL.AN-sing song
'The students can sing.'

For object resumption see Korsah & Murphy 2019 and Hein & Georgi 2021

▶ Object position in Cantonese

- Third person singular $\{keoi\}$ (Cheung 1992, Man 1998, Xu 1999)
- Local object displacement/obj. shift (Spec VP to Spec vP):

(2) Nei jiu zoeng di syu, tai-jyun $\{_i / keoi\} / *keoidei\}$
2SG must DISP CL.PL book read-finish 3SG 3PL
'You must finish reading the books.'

▶ Key features

- The phi-feature mismatch (person, number, animacy)
- Can be local to their antecedent (within the same TP)
vs. Agreeing RPs cannot be local: Condition B violation
- Movement properties vs. Agreeing RPs do not have mvt properties

Two claims

▶ Two types of resumptive pronouns in Akan (Asante Twi) and Cantonese

- Non-agreeing RPs involve movement

$[XP_{\text{phi}} \dots 3SG(IN)_i]$
movement dependency

- Agreeing RPs involve base-generation

$[XP_{\text{phi}} \dots \text{pronoun}_{\text{phi}}]$
anaphoric dependency

▶ Copy Deletion applies partially to derive the non-agreeing resumptive pronouns

$[DP_{[D],[\text{phi}],[n],\nu} \dots <DP_{[D],[\text{phi}],[n],\nu}> = 3SG(IN)]$
 $[D] \leftrightarrow 3SG(IN)$ by VI

Partial CD

▶ Vocabulary Insertion (DM, Halle & Marantz 1993)

- The phonological content of pronouns are inserted post-syntactically in accord to SynSem features
- [D] realizes as the default 3SG(IN)

(8) Akan pronouns (9) Cantonese pronouns

[D, +animate, +pl]	↔ wɔ-	[D, +author]	↔ ngo
[D, +author, +pl]	↔ ye-	[D, +addressee]	↔ nei
[D, +addressee, +pl]	↔ mo	[D, +pl]	↔ dei
[D, +animate]	↔ ɔ-	[D]	↔ keoi
[D, +author]	↔ me-		
[D, +addressee]	↔ wo-		
[D]	↔ ɛ-		

▶ Partial Copy Deletion

- Copy Deletion in movement chains (Chomsky 1995, Nunes 1995)
- Partial application: del. everything except the label distributed/scattered deletion: Fanselow & Cava 2002, Bošković 2015
- The label of DP = [D] = default 3SG(IN)
→ Phi-feature mismatch
see Takita 2019 for the role of labels in Linearization

- For similar proposals, See Scott (2021) for Swahili and Georgi & Amaechi (2021) for Igbo

Movement properties: Agreeing RPs vs. Non-agreeing RPs

▶ 1. Idiom preservation \checkmark gaps, \checkmark non-agreeing RPs, \times agreeing RPs

- Non-agreeing RPs: Idiomatic meaning → mvt.; Agreeing RPs: only literal meaning → base-gen.

(3) Me ponko_i dabiara $\{_i / \epsilon_r\}$ / ɔ- pe ntem (SV idioms)
POSS horse daily 3SG.IN 3SG.AN want quickly
Literal: 'My horse is always eager.' (gap, ɛ-, ɔ-)
Idiomatic: 'I am always in a hurry.' (gap, ɛ-) [Akan]

(4) Di seoi_i nei jinggoi ceoi-maai $\{_i / keoi\} / keoidei\}$ sin (VO idioms)
CL.PL water 2SG should blow-ALSO 3SG 3PL SFP.first
Literal: 'As for those (that) water, you should blow them first.' (gap, keoi, keoidei)
Idiomatic: 'As for those gossips, you should finish them first.' (gap, keoi) [Cantonese]

▶ 2. Island effects \checkmark gaps, \checkmark non-agreeing RPs, \times agreeing RPs

- Non-agreeing RPs: banned in islands → mvt.; Agreeing RPs: ameliorate island violations → base-gen.

(5) Go di $[_{CP} [_{Adjunct} j\ddot{y}ugwo\ ngodei\ laai-saai\ \{_i / *keoi\} / keoidei\}]$ (adjunct island)
that CL.PL if 1PL arrest-PERF 3SG 3PL
daaigaa zau wui hou hoisam] ge taamgun;
everyone then will very happy MOD corrupt.official
'Those corrupt officials, who if we arrested them, all everyone will be very happy' [Cantonese]
Same for Akan

▶ 3. Strong crossover effects \checkmark gaps, \checkmark non-agreeing RPs, \times agreeing RPs

- Moves across a c-commanding co-referential pronominal elements
- Non-agreeing RPs: have SCO effects → mvt.; Agreeing RPs: no SCO effects → base-gen.

(6) Politicians ben_i na Ama te-e $[_{CP} \epsilon \text{ } \epsilon \text{ } wɔ\ dwene]$ (SCO in wh-movement)
Politicians which FOC Ama hear-PST COMP 3PL think
 $[_{CP} \epsilon \text{ } \{_i / *keoi\} / wɔ- \}$ be di nkonim]]
COMP 3SG.IN-/ 3PL.AN-will eat victory
'Which politicians, did Ama hear that they_i think that they_i will win?' [Akan] Same for Cantonese

▶ 4. Weak crossover effects \checkmark gaps, \checkmark non-agreeing RPs, \times agreeing RPs

- Moves across a non-c-commanding co-referential pronominal elements
- Non-agreeing RPs: have WCO effects → mvt.; Agreeing RPs: no WCO effects → base-gen.

(7) Go di sailou_i ne, Aaming gokdak $[_{CP} [keoidei\ aamaa]]$ (WCO in topicalization)
that CL.PL child TOP Ming think 3PL.POSS mum
jinggoi gaauhou $\{_i / *keoi\} / keoidei\}$
should teach.well 3SG 3PL
'As for those kids_i, Ming thinks that they_i mum should teach them_i to behave well.' [Cantonese]
Same for Akan

- Note: In Akan, gaps are not available in A'-movement (but available in A-mvt, see Subj mvt. in (1))

More examples

