Resumption in Lebanese Arabic: Movement minus stranding

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Abstract:

Aoun, Choueiri, and Hornstein (2001) and Boeckx (2003) analyze certain cases of resumption as movement plus stranding: The resumptive pronoun undergoes merge with its antecedent; later in the derivation, the antecedent moves to a higher position, while the resumptive pronoun is stranded or left behind. In this paper, I present data from Lebanese Arabic to show that resumption as movement does not involve stranding. I also show briefly that the nonstranding approach extends beyond Lebanese Arabic and is able to account for resumption in two South Asian languages, Telugu and Assamese.

Keywords: Resumption – Across-the-board movement – Lebanese Arabic

1. Introduction

Resumption is a relation of obligatory coreferentiality between a pronominal element (a weak pronoun, a strong pronoun, or an epithet) and an antecedent in a given structure. The pronominal element occupies a position that would normally be filled with a gap – or probably *pro* (see Ouhalla 2001) – in languages like English. For example, the pronominal clitics *–o/-un* 'him/them' in sentences (1a–b) from Lebanese Arabic (hereafter LA) are resumptive elements that are coreferential with the antecedents *l-rizzeel* 'the man' and *l-wleed* 'the children' respectively.

(1) a. *l-rizzeel jalli seeʕadt-**o** faʔiir ktiir*

the-man that helped.2SG-him poor very

'The man that you helped is very poor.'

b. *hajdool* *hinne*[1] *l-wleed* *jalli* *xabbart-ak* *ʕann-**un***

these are the-children that told.1SG-you about-them

kill-un

all-them

Roughly: 'These are the children that I told you about them all.'

According to Aoun, Choueiri, and Hornstein (2001), Choueiri (2002), and Aoun, Benmamoun, and Choueiri (2010), among others, relative clauses of the type presented in (1) are derived by movement. More specifically, Aoun, Choueiri, and Hornstein (2001) hold that the antecedent undergoes first merge with the resumptive element low in the structure. Later in the derivation, the antecedent moves (copy plus merge), and the resumptive element is stranded (see Boeckx 2003 and Kayne 2002 for similar analyses). As (2) illustrates, a resumptive element that is a weak pronoun occupies the D position of a DP, while the antecedent occupies the specifier position prior to movement. If a strong pronoun or an epithet is involved, it base-generates as an adjunct to the antecedent before the latter undergoes movement.

(2) antecedent … [$_{DP}$ ~~antecedent~~ [$_{D}$ weak pronoun] [$_{DP}$ strong pronoun]

Assuming that *kill-un* 'all of them' in (1b) is a strong pronoun, as Benmamoun (1999) argues, sentences (1a–b) derivationally look like (3a–b). The antecedent starts out in the relative clause, occupying the specifier of a DP headed by a weak pronoun. If there is a strong pronoun, it merges with DP as an adjunct. At PF, the lower copy of each antecedent is deleted for the purpose of linearization (see Section 3 for more details), and the weak pronoun cliticizes to the verb or preposition.

[1] In Arabic, 3rd person pronouns may function as copula in equational sentences. See Eid (1983) for an analysis of such usage in Egyptian Arabic.

(3) a. *l-riʒʒeel* *jalli* *seeʕadt* *[$_{DP}$ ~~l-riʒʒeel~~ [$_{D}$ –o]]* *faʔir* *ktiir*

the-man that helped.2SG [$_{DP}$ the-man [$_{D}$ -him]] poor very

'The man that you helped is very poor.'

b. *hajdool* *hinne* *l-wleed* *jalli* *xabbart-ak* *ʕan*

these are the-children that told.1SG-you about

[$_{DP}$ ~~lwleed~~ [$_{D}$ -un] [$_{DP}$ kill-un]]

[$_{DP}$ the-children [$_{D}$ -them] [$_{DP}$ all-them]]

'These are the children that I told you about them all.'

In the rest of this article, I adopt the structure of the lower DP in (2) as proposed by Aoun, Choueiri, and Hornstein (2001). However, I will argue that resumption as movement in LA does not involve stranding. That is, the antecedent does not move alone; the whole DP that contains the antecedent undergoes movement, as (4) illustrates. Decisions regarding which copies are pronounced or deleted are determined at PF. Normally, the antecedent is pronounced upstairs while the resumptive pronoun is pronounced downstairs.

(4) [$_{DP}$ antecedent [$_{D}$ weak pronoun] [$_{DP}$ strong pronoun]] …

[$_{DP}$ antecedent [$_{D}$ weak pronoun] [$_{DP}$ strong pronoun]]

Evidence for (4) comes from two sources: (i) structures with copies of the resumptive elements phonologically realized, not only in the subordinate clause, but also in the matrix clause; and (ii) across-the-board (ATB) constructions with resumptive elements realized in two

conjuncts. Section 2 lays out the relevant details of the former and shows how the phenomenon provides support for resumption minus stranding. Section 3 focuses on ATB constructions; it provides an analysis of ATB structures as proposed by Nunes (2004) and presents the relevant LA ATB data in order to argue for a nonstranding approach to resumption. Section 4 briefly extends the analysis to other languages. Section 5 is a conclusion.

2. Structures with resumptive elements in the matrix clause

One point is in order before presenting the relevant data. According to Aoun, Choueiri, and Hornstein (2001), lexical DPs in LA may base-generate in bigger DPs that contain a strong pronoun, (5a), or a weak pronoun, (5b), or both, (5c).

(5) a. [$_{DP}$ lexical DP [$_{DP}$ strong pronoun/epithet]]

b. [$_{DP}$ lexical DP [$_{D}$ weak pronoun]]

c. [$_{DP}$ lexical DP [$_{D}$ weak pronoun] [$_{DP}$ strong pronoun/epithet]]

It is desirable to see these structures attested in LA independently of resumption. In fact, LA readily allows the structure in (5a), as (6) illustrates.

(6) *see ʕadet* ***l-wleed*** ***kill-un*** *bi-druus-un*

helped.1SG the-children all-them in-studies-their

'I helped the children all with their studies.'

However, evidence for (5b) and the base generation of lexical DPs with weak pronouns seems to be less readily available (see Kayne 2002, fn 39 who points out the same problem for English). For example, the only way to express (7a) in LA is through the use of a dative case-marker and clitic doubling, (7b).

(7) a. **see ʕadt-**un** **l-wleed** bi-druus-un*

helped.1SG the-children in-studies-their

'I helped them the children with their studies.'

b. *see ʕadt-**un** **la-l-wleed** bi-druus-un*

helped.1SG DAT-the-children in-studies-their

'I helped them the children with their studies.'

Shlonsky (1997), following Borer (1984) and Jaeggli (1982, 1986), suggests that the *la-* is "viewed as a dummy Case marker inserted once the Case typically assigned by the head of the phrase [in this case, the verb] to its complement is absorbed by the clitic" (195). This observation is known as Kayne's generalization and holds that "an object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if there is an independent Case marker for this NP" (Rizzi 2000: 88). Under this view, *la-* may be viewed as a dative case marker that the verb checks on the lexical DP when it has already checked accusative case on the clitic. In other words, (7b) may be viewed as evidence for the availability in LA of the DP structure presented in (5b). See, however, Aoun (1996) for a different analysis of clitic doubling in LA.

In addition, sentence (8) shows that a lexical DP may be realized with both a weak pronoun and a strong pronoun. Thus, LA licenses the structure in (5c).

(8) *see ʕadt-**un** **la-l-wleed** **kill-un** bi-druus-un*

helped.1SG-them DAT-the-children all-them in-studies-their

'I helped the children all with their studies.'

According to the stranding approach, when the lexical DPs in (5a–c) undergo movement, they move alone, leaving behind the weak and strong pronouns. Observe, however the sentences

in (9). In (9a), the strong pronoun is pronounced downstairs as the stranding approach predicts. At the same time, it may be pronounced upstairs, adjoined to the lexical DP, (9b), contra the prediction of the stranding analysis.

(9) a. *seeʕadit* *l-wleed* *jalli* *xabbart-ni* *ʕann-un*

helped.1SG the-children that told.2SG-me about-them

kill-un

all-them

'I helped all the children that you told me about.'

b. *seeʕadit* *l-wleed* ***kill-un*** *jalli* *xabbart-ni*

helped.1SG the-children all-them that told.2SG-me

ʕann-un

about-them

'I helped all the children that you told me about.'

Similarly, sentence (10a) shows that the weak pronoun may be pronounced, not only in its base position as a resumptive element, but also in the matrix clause in the vicinity of the lexical DP/antecedent. At the same time, copies of both the strong and weak pronouns may be realized in the matrix clause, as (10b) illustrates.

(10) a. *seeʕadt-**un*** *la-l-wleed* *jalli* *xabbart-ni* *ʕann-**un***

helped.1SG-them DAT-the-children that told.2SG-me about-them

'I helped the children that you told me about.'

b. *seeʕadt-**un*** *la-l-wleed* ***kill-un*** *jalli*

helped.1SG-them DAT-the-children all-them that

xabbart-ni *ʕann-un*

told.2SG-me about-them

'I helped all the children that you told me about.'

The structures in (9) and (10) are an indication that a nonstranding approach as proposed in (4) above is viable. The strong and weak pronouns undergo base-generation with their antecedent, but they are not stranded. They move as part of the whole DP. At PF, the lower copy of the antecedent is deleted, while the higher copy is pronounced. The strong pronoun may be phonologically realized in its base position or in the landing site. The weak pronoun, on the other hand, has to be pronounced in its base position, and it may be pronounced in the landing site.

Before addressing the issue of pronunciation and deletion of copies, I should point out that the data presented in this section is not definitive regarding whether stranding should be eliminated from the analysis of resumption in LA or not. Given that the pronunciation of the weak and strong pronouns in the higher positions of the structures in (9) and (10) is optional, the data seem to suggest that the movement of these pronouns is itself optional. In other words, resumption may or may not involve stranding. The purpose of this paper, however, is to show that stranding must be completely eliminated from the analysis of resumption in LA, as well as in other languages. Section 3 provides an argument to this effect based on ATB constructions.

3. ATB constructions and resumption

This section is divided into two parts. Section 3.1 presents an analysis of ATB constructions as sideward movement as proposed by Nunes (2001, 2004). Section 3.2 presents the relevant LA ATB structures and analyzes them within Nunes's framework.

It is worth noting that other analyses are also available. For example, ATB constructions have been analyzed as instances of external remerge and multidominance (e.g., de Vries 2009) or parallel merge (Citko 2005), to mention only a couple of recent approaches. As a matter of fact, the discussion in this section may potentially be recast in terms of these approaches while still serving the main purpose of this paper, namely, proving that resumption as movement does not involve stranding. However, I choose Nunes's Copy-plus-Merge Theory of Movement mainly because it has a more articulated mechanism that explains multiple copy spellout phenomena, a point that is central to the topic of resumption minus stranding as presented here.

3.1. *ATB Structures as Sideward Movement*

In the Government and Binding version of Principles and Parameters, movement was considered a primitive of the computational system and was formulated as Move α. With the advent of the Minimalist Program, movement was reanalyzed as comprising two primitives, copy plus merge (Chomsky 1995), a welcome step both theoretically and empirically. Nunes (2001, 2004) reformulated Chomsky's Copy Theory of Movement as the Copy plus Merge Theory of Movement, arguing that movement is the outcome of four independent steps: Copy – Merge – Form Chain – Chain Reduction. For example, *Tom* in (11) base-generates in the complement position of the passive verb *was rescued*. The movement of *Tom* to the subject position is made up of four steps: (i) *Tom* copies out of its initial position, making itself available in the

computational workspace (12a); (ii) it merges in the subject position (12b); (iii) the two copies of *Tom* form a chain (12c); and (iv) at PF only one of the copies in the chain is pronounced, while the other copy is deleted (12d).

(11) *Tom was rescued.*

(12) a. Copy: was rescued Tom → Tom

b. Merge: Tom was rescued Tom

c. Form Chain: Tom was rescued Tom

d. Chain Reduction: Tom was rescued ~~Tom~~

Form Chain is contingent on nondistinctiveness and c-command. That is, two copies form a chain only if the following two conditions apply: (i) they are nondistinct, which technically means that they are copies of the same element in the numeration, and (ii) they are in a c-command relationship.

Chain Reduction, in its turn, is contingent on Form Chain in the sense that it can only target copies in a chain. It takes place for the purpose of linearization which maps a structure into a linear order at PF in accordance with Kayne's (1994:33) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) as stated in (13).

(13) Linear Correspondence Axiom: Let X, Y be nonterminals and x, y terminals such that X dominates x and Y dominates y. Then if X asymmetrically c-commands Y, x precedes y.

The LCA, along with its asymmetric c-command restriction, dictates that if an element x precedes y at PF, x cannot simultaneously follow y. For example, if the two copies of *Tom* in (12c) are pronounced at PF, *Tom* will both precede and follow *rescued*, which is a violation of the LCA. As a result, the structure cannot be linearized. In order for the structure to converge at

PF, one of the copies has to be deleted. Usually, Chain Reduction targets the lower copy because it has more unchecked features.

Nunes's approach to movement as comprising four independent steps has done away with the restriction that movement has to proceed to a c-commanding position. In other words, the four-step approach has made possible what Nunes calls sideward movement, or interarboreal movement between two unconnected syntactic objects (see also Bobaljik 1995, and Bobaljik and Brown 1997). For example, α in (14a) may copy out of the syntactic object L and merge in the unconnected syntactic object M. Subsequently, L and M undergo merge in (14b). Although the two copies of α in (14b) are nondistinct, they do not form a chain because they are not in a c-command relationship. However, if/when the structure expands as K and α moves to a higher position as a daughter of K, (14c), the higher copy of α c-commands the two lower copies and forms a chain with each of them. At PF, Chain Reduction applies; as a result, all but one copy are deleted, (14d).

(14) a. $[_L\ \alpha \ldots] \rightarrow$ COPY $\alpha \rightarrow$ MERGE $\alpha \rightarrow [_M\ \alpha\ [\ldots]]$

b. $[_M\ [_M\ \alpha\ [\ldots]]\ [_L\ \alpha \ldots]]$

c. $[_k\ \alpha\ [_M\ [_M\ \alpha\ [\ldots]]\ [_L\ \alpha \ldots]]]$

d. $[_k\ \alpha\ [_M\ [_M\ \cancel{\alpha}\ [\ldots]]\ [_L\ \cancel{\alpha} \ldots]]]$

Nunes analyzes ATB constructions in the framework of his Copy-plus-Merge Theory of Movement, including sideward movement. Consider sentence (15). According to Nunes (2001:336–338), (15) has the derivation in (16) – with only the relevant details highlighted. The two conjuncts form independently, and [which paper] undergoes sideward movement, copying out of the lower conjunct and merging in the higher conjunct, (16a–b). The two conjuncts then undergo merge and project as a conjunction phrase andP, (16c). Upon the formation of andP, CP

projects and [which paper] moves to Spec,CP, (16d). At this point, the highest copy of [which paper] enters a c-command relation with the lower copies, forming a chain with each of them. At PF, Chain Reduction applies, and the two lower copies are deleted, (16e).

(15) *Which paper will John file and Mary read?*

(16) a. $[_{TP}$ Mary will read [which paper]] ⟶ [which paper]

b. $[_{TP}$ John will file [which paper]] ⟵

c. $[_{andP}[_{TP}$ John will file [which paper]] $[_{and'}$ and $[_{TP}$ Mary will read [which paper]]]]

d. $[_{CP}$[which paper] will $[_{andP}[_{TP}$ John file [which paper]] $[_{and'}$ and $[_{TP}$ Mary read [which paper]]]]]

e. $[_{CP}$[which paper] will $[_{andP}[_{TP}$ John file [~~which paper~~]] $[_{and'}$ and $[_{TP}$ Mary read [~~which paper~~]]]]]

In the following section, I present LA ATB constructions and analyze them as instances of sideward movement à la Nunes (2001). The data is further evidence that resumption as movement in LA does not involve stranding.

3.2. *LA ATB Constructions*

Observe sentences (17) through (19). These sentences are similar to the sentences in (1) in that they contain a relative clause each. They are different, however, in that each relative clause contains a conjunct clause presented as andP. Each conjunct contains a resumptive pronoun linked to the antecedent in the matrix clause.

(17) *hajde hijje r-riseele [$_{CP}$ jalli [$_{andP}$[$_{TP}$ ʒamiil katab-**a***

this is the-letter that Jamil wrote.3.MAS.SG-it

*mbeeriħ]] [$_{and'}$ w- [$_{TP}$ ħanaan baʕtit-**a*** *la-zaynab lyoom]]]*

yesterday and- Hanan sent.3FEM.SG-it to-Zaynab today

'This is the letter that Jamil wrote yesterday and Hanan sent to Zaynab today'

(18) *ween l-wleed [$_{CP}$ jalli [$_{andP}$[$_{TP}$ seeʕad-**un*** *ʒamiil]]*

where the-children that helped.3.MAS.SG-them Jamil

*[$_{and'}$ w- [$_{TP}$ ʃaʒʒaʕit-**un*** *ħanaan]]]*

and- encouraged.3.FEM.SG-them Hanan

'Where are the children that Jamil helped and Hanan encouraged?'

(19) *hajdool hinne l-ftʕaayer [$_{CP}$ jalli [$_{andP}$[$_{TP}$ ʒamiil*

these are the-pies that Jamil

*ħadʕdʕar-**un**]] [$_{and'}$ w- [$_{TP}$ ħanaan ʔaklit-**un**]]]*

prepared.3.MAS.SG-them and- Hanan ate.3.FEM.SG-them

'These are the pies that Jamil prepared and Hanan ate.'

Each conjunct in sentences (17) through (19) contains a resumptive pronoun linked to the antecedent in the matrix clause. If either of the conjuncts fails to contain a pronoun that resumes the antecedent, the result is ungrammaticality, as sentences (20) through (23) illustrate. Sentences (20–21) are similar to (17–18) except that the resumptive pronoun in the first conjunct of the relative clause is replaced by a lexical DP that is not linked to the antecedent; the

sentences are unacceptable. In (22–23), the second conjunct contains a lexical DP instead of a resumptive pronoun; the sentences are equally unacceptable.

(20) **hajde hijje r-riseele jalli ʒamiil katab* ***ʔis ʕa***

this is the-letter that Jamil wrote.3.MAS.SG story

mbeeriħ w- ħanaan baʕtit-a la-zaynab lyoom

yesterday and-Hanan sent.3.FEM.SG-it to-Zaynab today

'This is the letter that Jamil wrote a story yesterday and Hanan sent it to Zaynab today.'

(21) **ween l-wleed jalli seeʕad* ***bint-o*** *ʒamiil*

where the-children that helped.3.MAS.SG daughter-his Jamil

w-ʃaʒʒaʕit-un ħanaan

and-encouraged.3.FEM.SG-them Hanan

'Where are the children that Jamil helped his daughter and Hanan encouraged them?'

(22) **hajde hijje r-riseele jalli ʒamiil katab-a*

this is the-letter that Jamil wrote.3.MAS.SG-it

mbeeriħ w- ħanaan baʕtit ***hdiyye*** *la-zaynab lyoom*

yesterday and-Hanan sent.3.FEM.SG gift to-Zaynab today

'This is the letter that Jamil wrote yesterday and Hanan sent a gift to Zaynab today'

(23) **ween* *l-wleed* *jalli* *seeʕad-un* *ʒamiil*

where the-children that helped.3.MAS.SG-them Jamil

w-ʃaʒʒaʕit ***bint-a*** *ħanaan*

and-encouraged.3.FEM.SG daughter-her Hanan

'Where are the children that Jamil helped and Hanan encouraged her daughter?'

Building on Nunes's (2001, 2004) analysis of ATB constructions, we conclude that sentences (17) through (19) have a derivational history similar to the one delineated in (16). Take sentence (19), for example. It has the derivation in (24), using English words for convenience. The two conjuncts form independently, and [the pies] copies out of the lower conjunct and merges with the higher conjunct, an instance of sideward movement, (24a–b). Next, the two conjuncts merge as a conjunction phrase andP, (24c). This is when relative CP projects, and [the pies] moves to the matrix clause, (25d). The higher copy of [the pies] forms a chain with each of the lower copies. At PF, all but the highest copy are deleted, (25e).

(24) a. $[_{TP}$ Jamil prepared [the pies]] ⟶ [the pies]

b. $[_{TP}$ Hanan ate [the pies]] ⟵

c. $[_{andP}[_{TP}$ Jamil prepared [the pies]] $[_{and'}$ and $[_{TP}$ Hanan ate [the pies]]]]

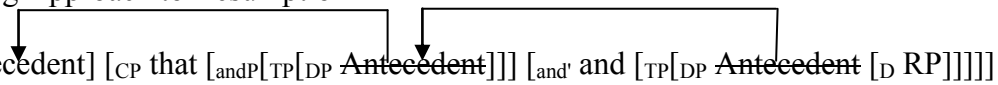
d. These are [the pies] $[_{CP}$ that $[_{andP}[_{TP}$ Jamil prepared [the pies]] $[_{and'}$ and $[_{TP}$ Hanan ate [the pies]]]]]

e. These are [the pies] $[_{CP}$ that $[_{andP}[_{TP}$ Jamil prepared [~~the pies~~]] $[_{and'}$ and $[_{TP}$ Hanan ate [~~the pies~~]]]]]

A main difference between LA and English that is not highlighted in (24) is that, unlike English, LA ATB constructions involve resumptive pronouns. The stranding approach to resumption predicts that the resumptive pronoun in these sentences will only be pronounced in

the site of its base generation – that is, in the lower conjunct inside the relative clause. The reason is that only the antecedent undergoes movement, landing first in the higher conjunct and then in the matrix clause. The resumptive pronoun, on the other hand, is stranded, as (25) illustrates. This prediction is not borne out. If the higher conjunct does not contain a resumptive pronoun, the structure is unacceptable, as (26) demonstrates. Compare with (19) above.

(25) Stranding Approach to Resumption



(26) ** hajdool hinne l-ftʿaayer [CP jalli*

these are the-pies that

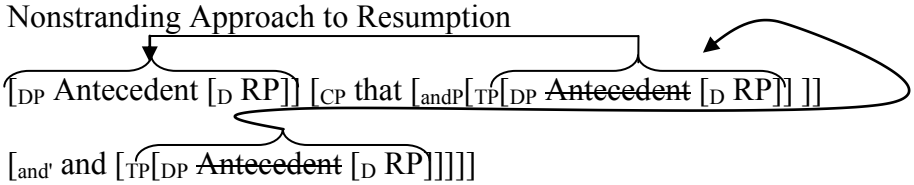
[andP[TP ʒamiil ħadʿdʿar-Ø]] [and' w- [TP ħanaan ʔaklit-un]]]

Jamil prepared.3.MAS.SG and- Hanan ate.3.FEM.SG-them

'These are the pies that Jamil prepared and Hanan ate.'

Alternatively, I suggest a nonstranding approach to resumption as presented in (27). The resumptive pronoun and the antecedent base-merge as [DP Antecedent [D RP]] in the lower conjunct, and they undergo sideward movement to the higher conjunct before they move to the matrix clause. The antecedent in the matrix clause c-commands the two lower copies, forming a chain with each of them. At PF, the two lower copies of the antecedent are deleted, while the copy in the matrix clause is pronounced.

(27) Nonstranding Approach to Resumption



Note that if the highest copy of [$_{DP}$ Antecedent [$_{D}$ RP]] is a complement to a category that accommodates clitics, such as a verb or a preposition, the deletion of the resumptive pronoun upstairs becomes optional, as (28) shows and as we saw in Section 2.

(28) *ʃift-**un** / ħlimit fijj-**un*** *la-l-ft ʕaayer* *[$_{CP}$ jalli*

saw.1SG-them / dreamt.1SG of-them dat-the-pies that

*[$_{andP}$[$_{TP}$ ʒamiil ħad ʕd ʕar-**un**]]* *[$_{and'}$ w- [$_{TP}$ ħanaan* *ʔaklit-**un**]]]*

Jamil prepared.3.MAS.SG-them and- Hanan ate.3.FEM.SG-them

'I saw/dreamt of the pies that Jamil prepared and Hanan ate.'

A word about the pronunciation of the resumptive pronouns in sentence (28) is in order. The copies in the relative clause do not enter a c-command relationship. That is, they do not form a chain and accordingly their pronunciation does not violate the LCA. The copy in the matrix clause, on the other hand, is in a precedence relation with the lower copies – either c-commanding them or dominated by a node that c-commands them. In principle, the pronunciation of two nondistinct copies in a precedence relation should induce a violation of the LCA. Accordingly, it should not be possible for the structure to be mapped into a linear order at PF.

Closer examination, however, shows that no such violation is induced in (28). According to Nunes (2004), if two nondistinct copies are in a precedence relation, yet at least one copy has undergone fusion with another head, the two copies cannot be detected at PF as nondistinct and thus do not pose a problem for linearization. In (28), all three copies of the resumptive pronoun undergo fusion in the form of cliticization with another head (verb or preposition). In fact, the pronoun/clitic and the head form a new prosodic word that is phonologically different from the head without the clitic. Compare, for example, ['see.ʕa.dit] 'you (SG.MAS) helped' with

[see.ʕad.t-o] ‘you (SG.MAS) helped him’ in (1). In this sense, the pronouns are not detected at PF as nondistinct, and pronouncing all copies does not induce a violation of the LCA.

What about strong pronouns? Sentences (17–19) and (28) include weak pronouns as resumptive elements. Sentence (29) shows that the resumption site may also include a strong pronoun.

(29) *hajdool hinne l-wleed jalli ʒamiil seeʕad-un*

these are the-children that Jamil helped.3.MAS.SG-them

w-ħanaan ʃaʒʒaʕit-un ***kill-un***

and-Hanan encouraged.3.FEM.SG-them them-all

Roughly: ‘These are the children that Jamil helped and Hanan encouraged all of them.’

The outcome in (29) is expected under the stranding approach to resumption: The antecedent and the strong pronouns undergo first merge in the lower conjunct. Next, the antecedent moves to the higher conjunct and then to the matrix clause, leaving behind the strong pronoun. Sentences (30) and (31), however, show that the strong pronoun *kill-un* ‘all of them’ may be pronounced in the resumption site of the higher conjunct or in the vicinity of the antecedent.

(30) *hajdool hinne l-wleed jalli ʒamiil seeʕad-un*

these are the-children that Jamil helped.3.MAS.SG-them

kill-un *w-ħanaan ʃaʒʒaʕit-un*

them-all and-Hanan encouraged.3.FEM.SG-them

Roughly: ‘These are the children that Jamil helped all of them and Hanan encouraged.’

(31) *hajdool* *hinne* *l-wleed* ***kill-un*** *jalli* *ʒamiil*

these are the-children all-them that Jamil

see ʕad-un *w-ħanaan* *ʃaʒʒa ʕit-un*

helped.3.MAS.SG-them and-Hanan encouraged.3.FEM.SG-them

Roughly: 'These are the children all of them that Jamil helped and Hanan encouraged.'

The stranding approach fails to account for (30) and (31). The nonstranding approach, on the other hand, is able to handle the data. According to this approach, the antecedent and the strong pronoun undergo first merge in the lower conjunct. Instead of being stranded, however, the strong pronoun moves along with the whole DP that contains the antecedent to the higher conjunct and to the matrix clause. At PF, one of the three copies is pronounced.

The strength of the nonstranding approach to resumption, or any linguistic approach, lies in part in its ability to apply beyond a specific language. The following section briefly shows that this is indeed the case.

4. Beyond Lebanese Arabic

Haddad 2010 and 2011 analyzes a similar, though not identical, case of resumption, namely, resumptive or copy control, in two South Asian languages: Telugu (Dravidian) and Assamese (Indo-Aryan). These languages license control into adverbial or conjunctive participle (CNP) adjuncts, whereby the subject of the adjunct and the subject of the matrix clause have to be coreferential. Interestingly, the two subjects may be pronounced as exact copies, as the Telugu example (32a) illustrates. Alternatively, the matrix copy may be realized as a pronoun or an epithet, (32b). Sentence (33) shows that the same options are available in Assamese. In other

words, the matrix subject may be an exact copy of the CNP subject, or it can be a coreferential pronoun or epithet.

(32) Telugu (from Haddad 2010:110–111 (4b) and (6b))

a. *[Kumaar-ee annam vand-i]*

[Kumar.NOM-EMPH rice make-CNP]

Kumaar-ee padesaa-du

Kumar.NOM-EMPH threw away-3.MAS.SG

'Kumar threw away the food although it is he who cooked it.'

b. *[Kumaar-ee$_i$ annam vand-i]*

[Kumar.NOM-EMPH rice make-CNP]

atanu-ee$_{i/*k}$/aa pichooDu-ee$_{i/*k}$ padesaa-du

he.NOM-EMPH/that idiot.NOM-EMPH threw away-3.MAS.SG

'Kumar threw away the food although it is he who cooked it.'

(33) Assamese (from Haddad 2011:111 (2b))

[Prɒxad-ɒr$_i$ lobɦi lag-i]

[Proxad-GEN greed feel-CNP]

xi$_{i/*k}$/gadɦa-to-e$_{i/*k}$/Prɒxad-e cake-to khal-e

he.NOM/donkey-CL-NOM/Proxad-NOM cake-CL ate-3

'Proxad got greedy, and he ate the cake.'

The case of resumption in (32) and (33) is unusual because the pronouns and epithets show up in the matrix clauses. Under the assumption that control is movement (Hornstein 2001) and that the resumptive element and the antecedent undergo first merge in the subordinate clause, the stranding approach to resumption predicts that the resumptive elements would occupy

the CNP clauses and thus fails to account for the case of resumption in (32) and (33). The nonstranding approach, however, argues that the resumptive element undergoes movement as part of the DP that contains its antecedent. Under this approach the phonological realization of a resumptive pronoun or an epithet in the matrix clause is no longer mysterious. See Haddad 2010 and 2011:141–149 for more details.

5. Conclusion

The last decade or so has witnessed a number of syntactic approaches that attributed construal to movement. Resumption is one of the phenomena that have been given a construal-as-movement analysis. Under this analysis, resumption involves an antecedent and a pronominal element that undergo first merge as a DP. The antecedent copies out of this DP and merges in a higher position, while the pronominal element is stranded. This paper provided evidence from Lebanese Arabic to show that resumption as movement does not involve stranding. When the antecedent moves, the whole DP that contains the antecedent also moves. The paper also showed that the analysis may be extended to two other languages, Telugu and Assamese. I leave it for future research to examine the viability of the nonstranding approach against data from more languages.

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