

# Resumption and Case: a new take on Modern Standard Arabic

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# HPSG theories of resumption

- ▶ Areas of convergence (Taghvaipour, 2005; Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013; Crysmann, 2012)
  - ▶ Resumption and gap-type dependencies modelled via SLASH
    - ▶ motivated by ATB extraction
    - ▶ no RESUMP feature, in contrast to (Vaillette, 2001)
    - ▶ distinction between *index* and *local* percolation
  - ▶ Resumptive function decided on governing head (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013; Crysmann, 2016)
- ▶ Areas of dissent
  - ▶ Island-sensitivity
    - ▶ None; deemed extra-grammatical (Borsley, 2010; Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)
    - ▶ weight of percolated material (Crysmann, 2012)
  - ▶ Top-down control over distribution of gaps/resumptives
    - ▶ constructional information (Taghvaipour, 2005)
    - ▶ none (Borsley, 2010)
    - ▶ case (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)
    - ▶ weight (Crysmann, 2012)

# Outline

- ▶ Overall goal:
  - ▶ Provide a unified approach to resumption across different languages
  - ▶ account for the similarity of the phenomenon
  - ▶ leave space for variation
- ▶ Structure of the talk
  - ▶ Resumption and Gaps in MSA (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)
  - ▶ Baseline analysis (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)
  - ▶ Problems with case
  - ▶ A weight-based reanalysis
  - ▶ ATB constraint

Alotaibi & Borsley (2013):

Resumption and Gaps in MSA

# Obliques (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ MSA permits extraction by both gap and resumptive strategies
- ▶ Some local governing heads require presence of a resumptive
  - ▶ complement of preposition
  - ▶ possessed nouns
- ▶ Case mismatch:
  - ▶ possessed nouns and preposition *ʔilai* locally assign genitive
  - ▶ (wh-)filler indiscriminate bears nominative case

- (1) a. ʔayy -u/\*-i      ɖʒaamiʃat-in      ɖahaba      Aħmad-u  
which -NOM/-GEN university-GEN went.3SM Ahmad-NOM  
ʔilai -ha / \*∅ ?  
to -it  
'Which university did Ahmad go to?'      (A&B 2013, p. 7)
- b. ʔayy -u/\*-i      muʔallif-in      garaʔa      Aħmad-u  
which -NOM/-GEN author-GEN read.3SM Ahmad-NOM  
kitaab-a -hu / \*∅ ?  
book-ACC -his  
'Which author's book has Ahmad read?'      (A&B 2013, p. 7)

## Direct objects (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ Direct objects may employ either strategy in principle
- ▶ Choice of strategy correlates with difference in case
  - ▶ Gap-type extraction displays a case-matching effect (accusative)
  - ▶ Resumptive strategy induces nominative filler for objective function

(2) ?ayy-a      T-tullaab-i      qaabala l-qaa?id-u      Ø ?  
which-ACC the-students-GEN met.3SM the-leader-NOM  
'Which of the students has the leader met?'      (A&B 2013, p. 8)

(3) ?ayy-u      T-tullaab-i      qaabala-**hum** l-qaa?id-u      ?  
which-NOM the-students-GEN met.3SM-them the-leader-NOM  
'Which of the students has the leader met?'      (A&B 2013, p. 8)

# Direct objects (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ Distribution of gaps/resumptives controlled by top of dependency
  - ▶ wh-filler: both (see above)
  - ▶ definite relative (ex. (4); complementiser *llaðii*): both
  - ▶ indefinite relatives (ex. (5); null complementiser): resumptive

(4) qaabaltu r-rajul-a [llaðii    ?arifu  $\emptyset$  /                    -hu ]  
met.1    SM            the-man- ACC    that knew.1SM            him  
'I met the man that I knew.' (A&B 2013, p. 9)

(5) qaabaltu rajul-an [ʔaʕrifu    -hu / \* $\emptyset$  ] ?  
met.1SM man-ACC knew.1SM -him  
'I met a man that I knew' (A&B 2013, p. 9)

## Direct objects: Long extraction (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ MSA permits long extraction out of strong islands (e.g. relative clauses), see ex. (18)
- ▶ Long extraction requires resumptive at the extraction site, cf. ex. (7)

- (6)      ?ayy-u          bint-in    ra?aita    l-?asad-a      llađii  
which-NOM girl-GEN saw.2SM the-lion-ACC that  
?akala-ha  
ate.3SM-him  
'Which girl did you see the lion that ate?' (A&B 2013, p. 12)
- (7)      \* ?ayy-a          bint-in    ra?aita    l-?asad-a      llađii ?akala    ∅  
which-ACC girl-GEN saw.2SM the-lion-ACC that ate.3SM  
'Which girl did you see the lion that ate?' (A&B 2013, p. 12)



# Subjects (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ subject extraction does not give rise to overt resumptives

(8) ʔayy-u      Tullaab-in      ʕaraf-uu      l-ʔijaabat-a?  
which-NOM students-GEN knew.3PM the-answer-ACC  
‘Which students knew the answer?’      (A&B 2013, p. 10)

- ▶ Arabic is a null-subject language: extraction site may be
  - ▶ gap ?
  - ▶ zero pronominal (resumptive) ?
- ▶ Pro-drop triggers full agreement (person/gender + **number**)

(9) a. laqad qaabala Aħmad-a  
indeed met.3SM Ahmad-ACC  
‘He met Ahmad.’      (A&B 2013, p. 10)

b. laqad qaabaluu Aħmad-a  
indeed met.3PM Ahmad-ACC  
‘They met Ahmad.’      (A&B 2013, p. 10)

# Subjects (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

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(8) ʔayy-u      Tullaab-in      ʔaraf-uu      l-ʔijaabat-a?  
which-NOM students-GEN knew.3PM the-answer-ACC  
‘Which students knew the answer?’      (A&B 2013, p. 10)

- ▶ Arabic is a null-subject language: extraction site may be
  - ▶ gap ?
  - ▶ zero pronominal (resumptive) ?
- ▶ In situ non-null subjects only show person/number agreement

(9) qaabala / \*qaabaluu T-tullaab-u      Aḥmad-a  
met.3SM met.3PM the-students-NOM Ahmad-ACC  
‘The students met Ahmad’      (A&B 2013, p. 9)

## Subjects (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ subject extraction does not give rise to overt resumptives

(8) ʔayy-u      Tullaab-in      ʕaraf-uu      l-ʔijaabat-a?  
which-NOM students-GEN knew.3PM the-answer-ACC  
'Which students knew the answer?'      (A&B 2013, p. 10)

- ▶ Arabic is a null-subject language: extraction site may be
    - ▶ gap ?
    - ▶ zero pronominal (resumptive) ?
  - ▶ Pre-verbal subjects
    - ▶ are restricted to definites
    - ▶ display full agreement (person/gender + **number**)
- ⇒ pre-verbal subjects are topics (cf. Aoun et al. 2010), i.e. extracted

(9) T-tullaab-u      qaabaluu / \*qaabala Ahmad-a  
the-students-NOM met.3PM      met.3SM Ahmad-ACC  
'The students met Ahmad'      (A&B 2013, p. 9)

## Subjects (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ subject extraction does not give rise to overt resumptives

(8) ʔayy-u      Tullaab-in      ʕaraf-uu      l-ʔijaabat-a?  
which-NOM students-GEN knew.3PM the-answer-ACC  
'Which students knew the answer?'      (A&B 2013, p. 10)

- ▶ Arabic is a null-subject language: extraction site may be
    - ▶ gap ?
    - ▶ zero pronominal (resumptive) ?
  - ▶ Agreement with extraction patterns like
    - ▶ zero subjects
    - ▶ topics
- ⇒ subject extraction site features a zero resumptive

(9) ʔayy-u      Tullaab-in      ʕarafuu      / \* ʕarafa  
which-NOM students-GEN knew.3PM      knew.3SM  
l-ʔijaabat-a?  
the-answer-ACC  
'Which students knew the answer?'      (A&B 2013, p. 10)

Baseline analysis:

Alotaibi & Borsley (2013)

# Alotaibi & Borsley (2013) I

- ▶ Resumptives involve INDEX sharing, yet do not involve LOCAL sharing (Borsley, 2010)
- ▶ Disjunctive SLASH introduction:

$$(10) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{word} \\ \text{SS|NLOC|SL } \left\{ \boxed{1} \left[ \text{INDEX} \quad \boxed{2} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \dots \left( \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{NLOC|SL} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{LOC|CONT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{pro} \\ \text{IND} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \vee \right) \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

## Alotaibi & Borsley (2013) II

- ▶ If, with resumptives, SLASH values are not reentrant with LOCAL, hence not with CAT, a matching effect is not enforced
- ▶ Alotaibi & Borsley (2013) control the correlation between filler case and resumption via a constraint at the bottom, exceptionally assigning nominative to SLASH corresponding to pronominal arguments
  - ▶ zero subjects
  - ▶ pronominal affixes (in the sense of Miller & Sag 1997)

$$(11) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{word} \\ \text{SLASH} \quad \left\{ \boxed{1} \left[ \text{INDEX} \quad \boxed{2} \right] \right\} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \dots \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{pro} \\ \text{INDEX} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \text{SLASH} \left\{ \boxed{1} \left[ \text{CASE} \quad \textit{nom} \right] \right\} \right]$$

# Baseline (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ Case constraint is redeployed to constrain the distribution of gaps:
  - ▶ Lexical entry of *indefinite zero complementiser* selects for nominative NP (hence: resumptive)
  - ▶ Lexical entry of definite complementiser *llaði* underspecifies for case (hence: gap or resumptive)

$$(12) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PH} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{HD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{comp} \\ \text{MOD} \quad \text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{DEF} \quad - \\ \text{IND} \quad \bar{i} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \left\langle \text{S} \left[ \text{SLASH} \left\{ \text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CASE} \quad \textit{nom} \\ \text{IND} \quad \bar{i} \end{array} \right] \right\} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$



## Baseline (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013)

- ▶ Case constraint is redeployed to constrain the distribution of gaps:
  - ▶ Lexical entry of indefinite zero complementiser selects for nominative NP (hence: resumptive)
  - ▶ Lexical entry of **definite complementiser** *llaði* underspecifies for case (hence: gap or resumptive)

$$(12) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PH} \quad \langle \text{llaði} \rangle \\ \text{HD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{comp} \\ \text{MOD} \quad \text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{DEF} \quad + \\ \text{IND} \quad \boxed{i} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \text{S} \left[ \text{SLASH} \left\{ \text{NP} \left[ \text{IND} \quad \boxed{i} \right] \right\} \right] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

## Problems for the case-based account

## ATB

- ▶ MSA observes the ATB restriction
- ▶ Asymmetric extraction from 1 conjunct illicit
- ▶ Simultaneous extraction from both conjuncts fine

- (13) a. \* man [tuhibu  $\emptyset$  wa tušadʒifu Aħmad-a fii  
who like.2SM and support.2SM Ahmad-ACC in  
nafs-i l-waqt-iŋ]  
same-GEN the-time-GEN  
‘Who do you like and support Ahmad at the same time?’  
(A&B 2013, p. 13)
- b. man [tuhibu  $\emptyset$  wa tušadʒifu  $\emptyset$  fii nafs-i  
who like.2SM and support.2SM in same-GEN  
l-waqt-iŋ]  
the-time-GEN  
‘Who do you like and support at the same time?’ (A&B  
2013, p. 13)

# ATB

- ▶ MSA observes the ATB restriction
- ▶ Asymmetric extraction from 1 conjunct illicit
- ▶ Simultaneous extraction from both conjuncts fine
- ▶ ATB treats resumptives on a par with gaps

- (13) a. \* man [tuhibu  $\emptyset$  wa tušadžiŋu Ahmad-a fii  
who like.2SM and support.2SM Ahmad-ACC in  
nafs-i l-waqt-iŋ]  
same-GEN the-time-GEN  
'Who do you like and support Ahmad at the same time?'  
(A&B 2013, p. 13)
- b. man [tuhibu  $\emptyset$  wa tušadžiŋu **-hu** fii nafs-i  
who like.2SM and support.2SM -him in same-GEN  
l-waqt-iŋ]  
the-time-GEN  
'Who do you like and support at the same time?' (A&B  
2013, p. 14)'

## ATB and case: a paradox

- ▶ Mixing of gap and resumptive strategy may give rise to case conflicts on SLASH values (problem noted by A & B 2013)
- ▶ Mixing possible with unambiguously case-marked fillers
- ▶ Case matching with gap fully acceptable
- ▶ Nominative marking marginally acceptable

- (14) a.    ʔayy -a    Tullaab-in    [qaabalta ∅    wa  
          which -ACC students-GEN met.2SM   and talked.2SM  
          taħaddaθta ʔilai-**hum**]?  
          to-them  
          ‘Which students have you met and talked to?’
- b.    ? ʔayy -u    Tullaab-in    [qaabalta ∅    wa  
          which -NOM students-GEN met.2SM   and talked.2SM  
          taħaddaθta ʔilai-**hum**]?  
          to-them  
          ‘Which students have you met and talked to?’ (A&B 2013,  
          p. 21)

## ?anna clauses

- ▶ Complementiser ?anna takes an accusative filler argument plus the clause from which it is extracted
- ▶ Extraction site must be a resumptive
- ▶ Case constraint for resumptive fails to correspond to both overt case at the top and expected objective case at the bottom

(15)    hasiba            Aħmad-u    [?anna l-?awlaad-a    ðahabuu].  
thought.3.S.M Ahmad-NOM that    the-boys-ACC left.3.P.M  
'Ahmad thought the boys had left' (A & B 2013, p. 19)

(16)    ʕalimtu    [?anna l-qiSat-a            gara?a-**ha**    Ahmad-u]  
knew.1S.M that    the-story-ACC read.3S.M-it Ahmad-NOM  
'I knew that (as for) the story, Ahmad read it.' (A & B 2013, p. 23)

(17)    \* ʕalimtu    [?anna l-qiSat-a            gara?a            Ahmad-u    Ø]  
knew.1S.M that    the-story-ACC read.3S.M Ahmad-NOM

## Long extraction

- ▶ Long extraction possible, e.g. out of *llađi* relatives

(18) ʔayy-u        bint-in    raʔaita    l-ʔasad-a    llađii  
which-NOM girl-GEN saw.2SM the-lion-ACC that  
ʔakala-ha  
ate.3SM-him

‘Which girl did you see the lion that ate?’ (A&B 2013, p. 12)

- ▶ While the complementiser *llađi* permits both gaps and resumptives at the bottom of the dependency it binds, long extracted filler must bind a resumptive
- ▶ Facts may be captured by having *llađi* restrict the case of the remaining SLASH member
- ▶ Conceptual problem
  - ▶ non-local case assignment to an NP it neither selects, nor locally constructs with

# Synopsis

- ▶ Case-based theory of resumption
  - ▶ does not generalise to languages without case
  - ▶ counter-intuitive
    - ▶ *?anna* clauses: no correspondence of case in SLASH to either top or bottom of the dependency
    - ▶ long extraction: inside-out case assignment to an unrelated dependent
  - ▶ fails to capture why gaps and resumptives observe different locality conditions
- ▶ Case matching only ever needed for gaps
- ▶ Case assignment with resumptives only detectable at the top of the dependency
  - ▶ nominative for wh-fillers
  - ▶ accusative for complement of *?anna*
- ▶ Resumptives with long extraction: strong island

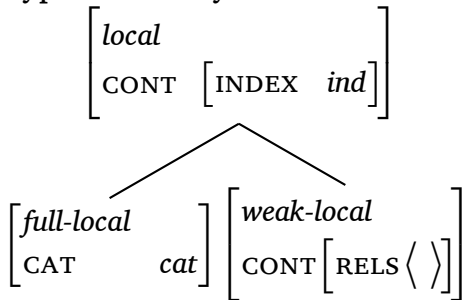


A weight-based account

## Weight-based extraction

- ▶ Crysmann (2012) proposes to control the distribution of gaps and resumptives in Hausa by reference to the amount of information on SLASH
- ▶ approach previously applied to complement vs. adjunct extraposition in German (Crysmann, 2013)
- ▶ local values are distinguished according to the amount of information they may carry

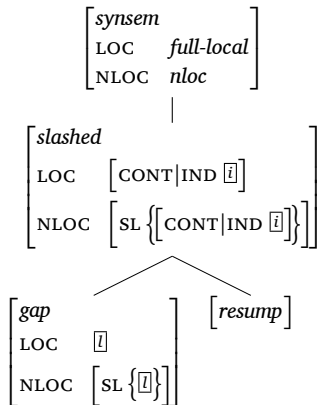
(19) Types hierarchy of *local* values



# Weight-based extraction

- ▶ Constraints on slashed *synsem* can be
  - ▶ underspecified (Hausa): resumptives may replace gaps

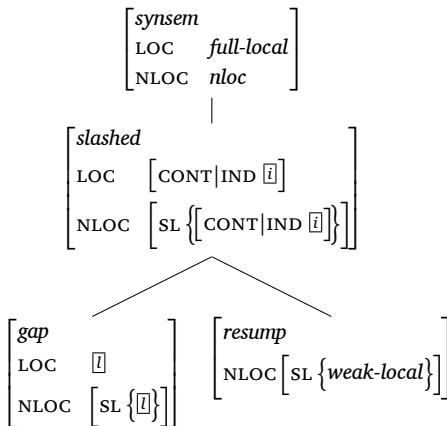
(20) Partial type hierarchy for *synsem* values



# Weight-based extraction

- ▶ Constraints on slashed *synsem* can be
  - ▶ disjoint (MSA): gaps and resumptives have different distributions

(20) Partial type hierarchy for *synsem* values



# A weight-based account of MSA I

(21) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{filler-head-rule} \\ \text{SS} \quad \left[ \text{NLOC} | \text{SL} \quad \textit{set}(\textit{weak-local}) \right] \\ \text{F-DTR} \quad \left[ \text{SS} | \text{LOC} \quad \boxed{\text{L}} \right] \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad \left[ \text{SS} | \text{NLOC} \quad \left[ \text{T-B} | \text{SL} \quad \left\{ \boxed{\text{L}} \right\} \right] \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- ▶ Standard head-filler rule implements matching effect
- ▶ Reentrancy with LOCAL coerces SLASH to *full-local*
- ▶ Compatible with underspecified resumptives (Hausa)
- ▶ Incompatible with strict resumptives (MSA)

# A weight-based account of MSA II

(22)

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{resump-filler-head-rule} \\ \text{F-DTR} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \end{array} \right]$$
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SS|L} \\ \text{SS|NLOC} \end{array} \right]$$
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \\ \text{T-B|SL} \end{array} \right]$$
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HD} \quad \textit{noun} \\ \text{VAL} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SPR} \\ \text{COMPS} \end{array} \right] \langle \rangle \langle \rangle \\ \text{IND} \quad \boxed{i} \end{array} \right]$$
$$\left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{weak-local} \\ \text{CONT|IND} \quad \boxed{i} \end{array} \right] \right\}$$

- ▶ Nominative fillers in strict resumptive dependencies require a parochial head-filler constraint
- ▶ Prediction: nominative fillers should be possible in long extraction when case matching fillers are ruled out

# A weight-based account of MSA III

(23) Null indefinite relative complementiser

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PH} \\ \text{HEAD} \\ \text{COMPS} \end{array} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \langle \rangle \\ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{comp} \\ \text{MOD } \bar{N} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{DEF} \quad - \\ \text{IND} \quad \boxed{i} \text{ ref-index} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \left\langle \text{S} \left[ \text{SLASH} \left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{weak-local} \\ \text{CONT|IND} \quad \boxed{i} \end{array} \right] \right\} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right\rangle \right]$$

# A weight-based account of MSA IV

(24) Definite relative complementiser *llaði*

PH	$\langle \text{llaði} \rangle$														
HEAD	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;"><i>comp</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">CASE</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"><math>\boxed{c}</math></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">MOD</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"><math>\bar{N}</math></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;"></td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">CASE</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"><math>\boxed{c}</math></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">DEF</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">+</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">IND</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"><math>\boxed{i}</math> <i>ref-index</i></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	<i>comp</i>		CASE	$\boxed{c}$	MOD	$\bar{N}$		<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">CASE</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"><math>\boxed{c}</math></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">DEF</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">+</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">IND</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"><math>\boxed{i}</math> <i>ref-index</i></td> </tr> </table>	CASE	$\boxed{c}$	DEF	+	IND	$\boxed{i}$ <i>ref-index</i>
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CASE	$\boxed{c}$														
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IND	$\boxed{i}$ <i>ref-index</i>														
COMPS	$\langle S \left[ \text{SLASH} \left\{ \boxed{s} \left[ \text{CONT}   \text{IND} \quad \boxed{i} \right] \right\} \cup \text{set}(\text{weak-local}) \right] \rangle$														
TO-BIND	$\left[ \text{SLASH} \quad \boxed{s} \right]$														

- ▶ unselective for the type of dependency it binds
- ▶ transparent for weak (= resumptive) dependencies



# A weight-based account of MSA V

(25) ?anna

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CASE} \quad \textit{acc} \\ \text{IND} \quad \boxed{i} \end{array} \right], \text{S} \left[ \text{SLASH} \quad \{ \boxed{s} \} \cup \textit{set} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{TO-BIND} \left[ \text{SLASH} \left\{ \boxed{s} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{weak-local} \\ \text{IND} \quad \boxed{i} \end{array} \right] \right\} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

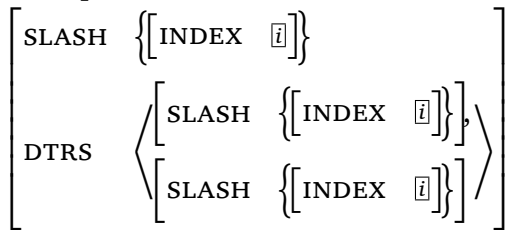
- ▶ ?anna locally assigns accusative case
- ▶ requires the dependency to be of the weak type
- ▶ underspecifies the type for dependencies passing through

# ATB constraint revisited

- ▶ Standard ATB constraint apparently too strong for MSA
- ▶ Coordination permits sloppy matching not licensed otherwise
- ▶ Proposed solution:

(26) Minimally distribute index sharing over conjunct daughters already controls for matched arity

*coord-phr* →



## ATB constraint revisited

- ▶ Standard ATB constraint apparently too strong for MSA
- ▶ Coordination permits sloppy matching not licensed otherwise
- ▶ Proposed solution:

(26) Impose mother's local type on at least one daughter

*coord-phr* →

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{SLASH } \{ \boxed{S} \} \\ \text{DTRS } \left\langle \left[ \text{SLASH } \{ \boxed{S} \} \right] \right\rangle \bigcirc \textit{list} \end{array} \right]$$

- ▶ Difference in markedness may be related to closest conjunct effect

# Conclusion

- ▶ Evidence for case matching with resumptive dependencies quite weak
  - ▶ nominative case of objective resumptives stipulated
  - ▶ no matching in *?anna* clauses
  - ▶ long-distance case assignment with long extraction
- ▶ Need to control for different locality constraints:
  - ▶ independently required to model variation among resumptive languages
- ▶ Weight-based approach
  - ▶ motivated by the quasi-anaphoric nature of resumptive dependencies
  - ▶ generalises more easily to languages without case
- ▶ ATB constraint can be relaxed to impose
  - ▶ minimal INDEX sharing on all conjuncts and
  - ▶ full sharing on a single conjunct

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