Further Reflections on Movement and Resumption
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A Choice

The syntax of natural language seems to make available two options for the construction of a binding-relation between two positions $\alpha$ (higher) and $\beta$ (lower):

A: the creation of a filler-gap dependency between position $\beta$ and position $\alpha$ (or a position close to $\alpha$)

B: binding of a pronoun in position $\beta$ from position $\alpha$

(1) a. the guy that I was talking to
   b. the guy that I was talking to him

Irish:

(2) a. an bhéiri a bhí siad ag iarraidh a shábháil
   the two C be [PAST] they try [PROG] save [-FIN]
   ‘the two that they were trying to save’ RADIO REPORT

b. an bhéiri a raibh siad ag iarraidh iad a shábháil
   the two C be [PAST] they try [PROG] them save [-FIN]
   ‘the two that they were trying to save them’ RADIO REPORT

(3) a. na tréithe nár mhór a bheith ann
   the traits that+should be [-FIN] in-him
   ‘the traits that it is necessary for him to have’ CTP 153

b. na tréithe eile nár mhór don mhúinteoir iad a bheith aige
   the traits other that+should to-the teacher them be [-FIN] at-him
   ‘the other traits that a teacher should have’ CTP 1541

Positions for which the option is available (See McCloskey (1990) for the details):

1. prepositional object position
2. possessor position
3. within an island
4. within a coordinate structure

Just one position in which resumptive pronouns are unacceptable (HIGHEST SUBJECT RESTRICTION):

(4) *an fear a raibh sé breoite
   the man C was he sick
   ‘the man that (he) was sick’

A Question: Why should the filler-gap option be available at all?

Effability

(5) a. caisleán mbéifidhe an bhuaithe i ndiaidh na scáfadh a bhí bainiuineach anas
   a castle C would-be after the scaffolding C was take [PROG] the
   mháise de a chaithreamh anas
   beauty of-it cast [-FIN] down
   ‘a castle that one would have just taken down the scaffolding that was depriving it of its beauty’ MRE 253

b. chun an ghoirt úd a mbraithim pé díth sláinte a
   to the field DEMON C I-feel whatever lack health [GEN] C
   bhíonn orm ag dul ann dom ag scaradh liom le linn é
   is on-me go [PROG] into-it to-me fall [PROG] from-me as it
   dom to-me
   ‘to that field that I feel whatever ill-health I suffer from as I enter it falling from me as I leave it’ AI 238

c. an fear ar tháigh sé a thír féin fiche bláin roimsín
   the man C left he his country [REFL] twenty year before that
   ag teicte le n’ann uaidh
   flee [PROG] with his-soul from-him
   ‘the man that he had left his own country twenty years before, fleeing for his life from him’ SBNI 63
The Choice: Morphosyntactic Correlates

TWO PATTERNS:

(8) a. an t é i d t h tá idh do dhiaidh – 
the country [PAST] leave-you after-you
‘the country that you left behind’
b. an fear a-r imigh muid gan é 
the man [PAST] left we without him
‘the man that we left without him’

(9) PATTERN A \([cp aL \ldots \ldots]\)

PATTERN B \([cp aN \ldots pro \ldots]\)

LONG-DISTANCE DEPENDENCIES

Two principal patterns:

PATTERN A:

(10) \([cp aL \ldots [cp aL \ldots [cp aL \ldots \ldots]]]\)

(11) Aon bhliain déag is dóigh liom a deireadh m’-athair a bhí sé
one year ten c-I-think c say-[PAST-HABIT] my father c was he
nuair a bhí c[SPOT]-[PAST] ann.
when c was the famine in-it
‘it's eleven years old that I think my father used to say that he was when the
famine occurred’ GOG 142

PATTERN B:

(12) \([cp aN \ldots [cp go \ldots [cp go \ldots pro \ldots]]]\)

(13) Broinglóid \(\ldots ar \) deacair liom a chreidiúint inniú gu-r
dream c+cop hard for-me believe [-FIN] today c-[PAST]
tharla sé happened it
‘a dream that it’s hard for me to believe today that it happened’ PAA 136

AN IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION

Beside patterns a and b, there exists a range of ‘mixed’ patterns (‘mixed’ in the sense
that they seem to involve elements of the morphosyntax of movement and the
morphosyntax of resumption), understanding which is a big focus of McCloskey (2002).
We return to this issue.
Constructing an Initial Understanding

(i) The complementizer aL signals the existence of a filler-gap dependency in the clause which it heads.
(ii) The complementizer aN signals the existence of a filler-resumptive pronoun dependency in the clause which it heads.
(iii) The default complementizer go is used otherwise.
(iv) Whatever mechanism lies behind the filler-gap relationship must be at work in each clause which contains a gap but not its associated filler. (Apparently unbounded dependencies are in fact compositions of local dependencies.)

THE EXPECTED CORRELATIONS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATTERN A</th>
<th>PATTERN B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sensitive to island effects</td>
<td>insensitive to island effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sensitive to ECP effects</td>
<td>insensitive to ECP effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sensitive to CSC effects</td>
<td>insensitive to CSC effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shows atb effects</td>
<td>does not show atb effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shows weak crossover effects</td>
<td>the successive cyclic effect is obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it's not</td>
<td>it's not</td>
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ACROSS THE BOARD APPLICATION (PATTERN A):

(14) a. Is beag a chuala mé a tháinig ar ais agus a chuair
    cop[pres] few cA heard I cA came back and cA put
    fúthu aris an oileán
    under-them again on the island
    ‘There were very few that I heard that came back and settled again on the island’ IM 11
b. sé an chloch a d'úirt Sir Walter Scott a bhí diamháir agus a
    this the stone cA said cA was magical and cA
    d’hreagróidh ceisteanna
    answer [cond] questions
    ‘This is the stone that Sir Walter Scott said was magical and would answer questions’ TD 95

INSSENSITIVITY TO COORDINATE STRUCTURE CONSTRAINT (PATTERN B):

(15) fir a rabh lámh a’s focal cadar iad agus mnaoi
    men aN be [past] hand and word between them and woman
    ‘men that were engaged to a woman’ MOC 251

INSSENSITIVITY TO WEAK CROSSOVER (PATTERN B)

(16) fear a-t lean a mhadra go dtí an tsochraíd é
    man c-[past] follow [past] his dog to the funeral him
    ‘a man that his dog followed him to the funeral’ DR 98

The Full Distribution Pattern

The patterns of observation just documented extend to the entire range of unbounded dependency constructions:

CONSTITUENT QUESTIONS:

(17) Agus caidé a dubhairt sé a bhí de dhith ortha?
    and what cA said he cA was of need on-them
    ‘and what did he say that they needed?’ CLM 196

COMPARATIVE AND EQUATIVE CLAUSES:

(18) a. Tá be mé claon bit nóille na a shíl mé a
    be [pres] I bit little more late [comp] than cA thought I cA
    bhéinn
    be [cond] I
    ‘I’m a tiny bit later than I thought I would be.’ GA 105
b. Ní raibh an buille leath comh nimheach is a shaol mé a
    neg be [past] the blow half so painful as cA thought I cA
    bheadh sé
    be [cond] it
    ‘The blow wasn’t half as painful as I thought it would be.’ D 129

EXCLAMATIVES:

(19) Ní chreidfeadh siad a olcas a bhí siad
    neg believe [cond] they its badness cA be [past] they
    ‘They wouldn’t believe how bad they were.’ CTP 16

PARENTHEMATICAL AS-CLAUSES:

(20) Chuaidh sé ’un an aonaigh mar a dubhairt sé a rachadh
    went he to the fair as c said he c go [cond]
    ‘He went to the fair as he had said he would.’ OS 29
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES OF CERTAIN TYPES:

(21) Nuair a thiocfaidh an t-earrach ansú agus a bheadh seo tirim when the spring would come then and this would be dry’ TGC 150

EMPHATIC NEGATIVE CLAUSES:

(22) Dheamhan cos a chuirim I-put amuigh out deoif door anocht tonight ‘Not a damn foot will I set outside this door with you tonight’ TGC 150

WH CONCESSIVE CLAUSES (UNCONDITIONS):

(23) Pé ar bith maitheas cheap a dhéanfadh do [COND] whatever good they thought it would do’ See McCloskey (1990, 2001a) for detailed evidence and exemplification.

AN IMPORTANT ADEQUACY REQUIREMENT:

Importantly then, whatever the true analysis of patterns A and B is, it must extend to the entire range of unbounded dependency constructions, and not be dependent on properties exclusive to a proper subset of them.

Constructing a Second-Level Understanding

a Dependencies ending in a gap are to be analyzed as involving movement from the position of the gap to an A-position.
b Therefore pattern A is an instance of successive-cyclic movement—movement to the edge of successfully higher phases.
c The morphophonological bundle here abbreviated al is the realization of a phase-defining head (probably a member of the c-family) whose featural make-up determines movement to the phase-edge. See McCloskey (2001a) for detail on the realization mechanisms.
d Therefore, al must appear at each clause-edge included in the dependency (otherwise the needed movement could not and would not take place).
e Hence (in a certain sense) the other contrasts documented above between pattern A and pattern B: weak crossover, the coordinate structure constraint and associated atb format and so on.

Questions Still Open

question 1: A core assumption of the analysis just sketched has been challenged (namely that pattern a involves movement). How to respond?
question 2: As far as pattern B is concerned (the resumption pattern), all the interim analysis says is that it does not involve movement. There is surely a little more to be said than that.
question 3: What exactly are the mechanisms which determine the form of c?

Determining the Form of C

What we want to be able to say (one way or another):

(24) a. c whose specifier is unfilled is realized as go.
    b. c whose specifier is filled by internal merge is realized as al.
    c. c whose specifier is filled by external merge is realized as aN.

resumption: On this view, the connection between choice of aN and use of a re- sumptive pronoun, is indirect. Among the elements which can be merged in the specifier of c (triggering appearance of aN) is the kind of element which will ultimately end up binding a pronoun which it happens to find in its scope. But (24) leaves room for other possibilities:

(25) a. Cad chuige a-r éirigh tú a-ás? what to-it cn[PAST] rise you out-of-it ‘Why did you resign?’
    b. Cén fáth a raibh tú ann? what reason cn were you there ‘Why were you there?’

(26) Cad chuige a cheapannn tú a gcuireann Cátín béaldath dearg ar a why cA think you cn put [PRES] lipstick red on her lips ‘Why do you think that Cátín puts red lipstick on her lips?’ AGMTS 138

EXTERNAL MERGE of cad chuige in lower specifier of c followed by raising to the higher specifier of c. A range of such ‘mixed patterns’ (involving both resumption and successive-cyclicity) can now be understood; see McCloskey (2002, 202–206)
for detailed discussion. Perhaps also (27):

(27) a. Chuir sé an cheist air a raibh faitios air roimh an put he the question on-her C_B was fear on-him before the bhfíreagra. answer

   He put the question to her that he was afraid of the answer (to it). NGTT 32

   b. Chuir sheas aiche ag déanamh pá mhaith work steady at-him now C_B was he make [PROG] pay good

   'and he now had steady work that he was making good pay (for it)' IM 123

**The crucial consequence:** There is no morphosyntactic connection between the resumptive pronoun and its ultimate binder.

**Agreement between the Resumptive and its Binder?**

**Agreement in grammatical gender:**

Sometimes yes:

(28) an eochair bhrise ar eol dom í a bheith i dtaisce the key extra C_B-[PAST] knowledge to-me it [FEM] be [FIN] hidden

   sa scio ból in-the barn

   'the extra key that I knew (it) was hidden in the barn' FF 28

Sometimes no (over-ridden by the default masculine in (29)):

(29) Briogáid … ar deacair liom a chredaitint inniu gu-the man C_B-[COP][PRES] hard for-me believe [FIN] today C-[PAST]

   tharla sé happened it

   'a dream that it's hard for me to believe today that it happened' PAA 136

**Trumped by natural gender in (30):**

(30) a. an duine deireanach san domhan a raibh súil agam í the person last in-the world C_B was expectation at-me her

   a fheicteal ann see [-FIN] there

   'the last person in the world that I expected to see her there' IAE 279

b. an t-aon duine a rabh eagla orthai the one person C_B was fear on-her

   'the only person that (she) was afraid' MOC 187

**Trumped by the grammatical gender of a discourse referent of the actual syntactic binder in (31):**

(31) báisna Ghaelach … rud ar chóir dún ceann faoi a bheith orainn go ritual Irish thing C_B we-should be [FIN] on-us C

   raibh sí ann ariamh was it [FEM] extant ever

   'an Irish ritual … something that we should be ashamed that it/she was ever prevalent' OCF 103

First and second person resumptives bound by 3rd person heads (for the difficult issues raised by such cases, see Kratzer (2006, 2008); Heim (2005); Cable (2005)):

(32) a. Chan mise an fear ar mhaith liom lámh NEG+COP[PRES] me the man C_B-[COP][PRES] pleasing to-me hand

   a leagan liom to-me lámh

   'I am not the man that I would like to lay a hand on you.' SAD 165

b. is sé sinne an bheirt ghasúr ar dhiol tú ár loistín fadó COP[PRES] we the two boys that you paid our lodging long ago

   'We are the two boys that you paid our lodging long ago' SHS 119

**The feminine of affection**

Boats, cars, trains, books and other objects of affection may optionally be referred to by way of a pronoun feminine in form: (Katz (1970, 1972, 1973), McCawley (1971), Malone (1981)).

(33) Tá baol ann go tionsfári i. is danger in-it C upturn [FUT-AUT] her

   'There's a danger that she'll be capsized.'

This use of the feminine (trumping grammatical gender) routine in a resumptive:

(34) a. báid a rachadh fir a dh'iascainreacht go Boilg Chonaill léi boat C_B go [COND] men fish [PROG] to Conall’s Reef with-her

   'a boat that men would go fishing with her as far as Conall’s Reef’ MBB 169
b. leabhar . . . a rabh suasáintidheachta ar an mhéid a bhí inntí 
book wondered about the size 
'a book that there was wonder concerning the size that she/it possessed' 

INTERIM CONCLUSION: These are the patterns of agreement and non-agreement typical of cross-sentential anaphora, not of a morphosyntactic agreement relation.

Where Are We?

1. The choice we opened with (between the filler-gap dependency and the resumptive dependency for implementing $\lambda$-binding) turns out to reflect at bottom the choice between two simple variants of the core syntactic operation

MERGE.

2. That's a tiny technical distinction, but it's ramifications are large. PATTERN B is free of the hobbles of morphosyntactic locality constraints.

(a) Hence the usefulness of resumption

(b) Hence the ordinariness of resumption (I know of no report of a language in which pronouns in the resumptive function show a distinctive form).

3. The two complementizers implicated in $\lambda$-binding constructions in the language are the two which force the appearance of temporarily uninterpretable material in their specifier positions. That means that they will occur only in larger syntactic contexts in which that material can ultimately be semantically integrated (relative clauses, constituent questions, clefts and the like).

4. The choices involved here (between the three complementizers) are local and blind—fixed as each phase is constructed. Subsequently, things fall out as they can.

5. Note the large difference between the purview of semantics and the purview of syntax implied by these conclusions (variable-binding is not constrained by any kind of locality).

Two Challenges

CHALLENGE ONE

Resumptive pronouns are movement-derived (are incompletely eliminated lower copies).

But when full copies are available, it seems that the locality conditions are exactly those of normal WH-movement, as seen in Alber's careful (2006) study of Tyrolean:

(35)  a. Prum glapsch du prum dass dr Hons net kemmen isch?  
why think you why c not come is  
'Why do you think Hans did not come' (Alber, 2006, (21a))

b. die Freindin mit der wos sie glap mit der wos die Maria spieln 
the friend with whom c she thinks with whom c 
the friend with whom she thinks that Maria should play.  
would 
'the friend with whom she thinks that Maria should play.' (Alber, 2006, (21b))

CHALLENGE TWO

Neither PATTERN A nor PATTERN B involves movement—Adger and Ramchand (2005). PATTERN B (the filler-gap pattern with $aL$) rather involves a chain of AGREE relations, with a null pronominal at the base, which agrees with the next highest $c$, which in turn agrees with the next highest $c$, which in turn …. Movement operations depend on prior-established agreement relations. Movement applies iff the agreeing head (the probe) has the EPP property. The complementizer $aL$ in Scots Gallic merely agrees with a lower element (the goal). It does not in addition attract the element that it agrees with, because it lacks the EPP property. Locality conditions reflect conditions on AGREE rather than MOVE.

TWO PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS

1. There are no ‘Identity Effects’

2. Parasitic Gaps are not licensed in $\lambda$-binding constructions in Gaelic.

But in Irish at least reconstruction effects are rampant …

Reconstruction Effects for Pattern A

CONDITION A

(36) Chonaic siad aghaidheanna a chéile sa dorcha. 
saw they faces each other in-the darkness
'They saw each other's faces in the darkness.'

(37) 'Shíl siad go rabh a chéile as baile. 
thought they c was each other out-of home
'They thought that each other was away from home.'
(38) Shocaigh siad roimh ré e. *Bheadh a chéile ag caint le-n a settled they in advance it be [COND] each other talk [PROG] with their lucht tacaiocha. people support [GEN]

*They settled it in advance. Each other would contact their supporters.

(39) a. Ní in aghaidh a chéile atá siad is-not against each other CA-be-[PRES] they

'It's not opposed to each other that they are.' IDS 1.46

b. is ag comhlannú a chéile atá siad cop[pres] complement [PROG] each other CA-be-[PRES] they

'It's complementing each other that they are.' IDS 1.46

c. is dócha gur ag malartú a chéile cop[pres] probable C swap [PROG] crutches with each other atáimid CA-be-[PRES] [Pst]

'Probably it's swapping crutches with each other that we are.' IDS 1.67
d. nach ag pógadh a chéile a bhi féin agus a bhean NEG INTERC kiss [PROG] each other CA was he and his wife

'Wasn't it kissing each other that he and his wife were?' CM 1.44

e. Nach ag fóin a chéile a bheadh muid amach lucht people le-n with their lucht

'It's being sold that they are.'

BOUND VARIABLE ANAPHORAS

(40) Ní a chlann a bhí fear ar bith acu ag smaointeamh is-not on his family CA was man any of-them think [PROG]

'It wasn't about his family that any of them was thinking.'

(41) a. Ba ar a leas féin a bhí achain hear ag smaointeamh. cop[past] on his benefit own CA was every man think [PROG]

'Was of his own advantage that every man was thinking.'

AGREEMENT—STATIVE PREDICATES

(42) a. Tá mé imo chodladh/ sheas air sa dhúiseacht. be [PRES] I in-my sleeping/standing/waking 'I am asleep/standing/waking

b. *Tá mé ina chodladh/ sheas air sa dhúiseacht. be [PRES] I in-his sleeping/standing/waking

'I am asleep/standing/waking'

(43) a. Imo chodladh is dóiche a bhi mé in-my sleeping CA+COP probable CA was I 'It's asleep that it's probable I was.'

b. *Ina chodladh is dóiche a bhi mé in-his sleeping CA+COP probable CA was I 'It's asleep that it's probable that I was.'

AGREEMENT—PROGRESSIVE PASSIVE


'They are being sold.' (McCloskey and Sells 1988)

b. Dá ndíol is dóiche atá siad is Dá ndíol sell [PROG] CA+COP probable CA be [PRES] they

'It's being sold that they are.'

OBLIGATORILY BOUND PRONOUNS

(45) a. Rinne mé mo dhicheall. did I my best

'I did my best.'

b. Fuair mé mo dhóthain. got I my fill

'I had plenty'

(46) a. Ag iarraidh a dhicheall a dhéanamh is dóiche a bhí sé. try [PROG] his best to do [FIN] CA-COP probable CA was he 'It's trying to do his best that it's probable he was.'

b. Mo dhóthain a fuair mé. my fill CA got me

'It's plenty that I got.'

IDIOM CHUNKS

(47) a. Sheas sé an fód. stood he the sod

'He stood his ground.'

b. Ní raibh aon fear eile a sheasodh an fód a sheas sé NEG was any man other CA stand [COND] the sod CA stood he 'There was no other man who would stand his ground as he did.'

(48) a. Fuair sé bás. got he death

'He died.'
(49) a. Rith sé an sean.
   ran he the chance
   'He took a chance.'
   b. i gcomórtas an tsean a rith tú
   in competition the chance cA ran you
   'compared to the chance that you took'

(50) Is é do choileach a ghlaigh nuair a casadh Bob Rolder
   COP[PRES] it your rooster cA called when cA met
   ort!
   'It was your lucky day when you happened to meet Bob Rolder'

CONDITION B

(51) a. *Bhí Ciarán ag smaointeámh aír.
    be [PAST] think [PROG] on-him
    'Ciarán was thinking about him.' (with coreference)
   b. *Ba ag smaointeámh aír
    COP[PAST] think [PROG] on-him cA+COP probable cA was Ciarán.
    'It was thinking about him that it's probable that Ciarán was.'(with coreference)

CONDITION C

(52) a. *Shíl sé go raibh tú ag smaointeámh ar Ciarán.
    thought he c be [PAST] you think [PROG] on
    'He thought that you were thinking of Ciarán.'
    (* with coreference)

   b. *Ag smaointeámh ar Ciarán a shíl sé a bhí tú.
    think [PROG] on cA thought he cA be [PAST] you
    'It was thinking about Ciarán that he thought you were.'
    (* with coreference)

Parasitic Gaps

Nobody has yet found or constructed an acceptable example of a parasitic gap construction in the Gaelic languages. How safe is the inference from that observation to the conclusion that there is no \( \lambda \)-movement?

Conditional Conclusion

\( \lambda \)-dependencies featuring the complementizer \( al \) do involve movement. Or at least they do if the currently conventional wisdom about reconstruction effects is on the right track—that they depend on an occurrence of an element appearing lower than its pronounced position in a position commanded by some element with interesting scope or binding properties.

Two Final (and Related) Questions

question 1: What actually moves?
question 2: What, in detail, are the mechanisms which determine the shape of \( c \)?

A property that the analyses of Adger and Ramchand (2005) and McCloskey (2002) share is the assumption that the gap in a filler-gap construction involving \( al \) is a null pronominal operator—\( pro \) with an operator feature. (See also McCloskey (1979).)

(53)

We now assume that what is merged (probably in both cases) is a contentful \( \lambda \) (the 'ultimate' binder).

Back to (24):

(54) a. c whose specifier is unfilled is realized as go.
   b. c whose specifier is filled by internal merge is realized as \( al \).
   c. c whose specifier is filled by external merge is realized as \( aN \).

An implication: the form of a head is sensitive to the mode of introduction of material in its specifier.
THE ACTUAL 2002 PROPOSAL:

(55) a. c which bears an Operator feature (uninterpretable) and the EPP property is realized as al.
   b. c which bears only the EPP property is realized as aN.
   c. c which bears neither feature is realized as go.

THE EPP:
The EPP property of a head H is satisfied iff H has a specifier which is not licensed by selectional properties of H.

This analysis presupposes that movement operations must always piggy-back on priorly-established agreement relations.

WORRIES AND CONCERNS
1. We were led to the conclusion that what undergoes movement in an $\lambda$-dependency is not a null operator but rather the phrase itself which is the ultimate head of the $\lambda$-chain. In addition:
2. the phrase-types which undergo movement but which have no natural pronominal counterpart (cleft VP's and AP's, comparative and equative clauses, exclamatives, expressions of frequency and duration—all the ones that disallow resumption).

(56) a lúaithe a gheofa isteach
   its earliness CA get [COND] [S1] in
   'as soon as you get in' MB 85

(57) Cé chomh h-ard is atá sí?
   WH as tall as CA-be [PRES] she
   'How tall is she?'

(58) Ca fhad a bhí tú thall?
   WH length CA be [PAST] you over-there
   'How long were you (over) there?'

3. These considerations jointly render less plausible (on language-internal grounds) the idea that there is an AGREE relation which underpins the movement.
4. this isn't really an agreement system in any case; the complementizer al simply registers an application of $\lambda$-movement within its domain. It's form does not co-vary with any property of the element which undergoes movement.

An Alternative?

Back to (24) again:

(59) a. c whose specifier is unfilled is realized as go.
   b. c whose specifier is filled by internal merge is realized as al.
   c. c whose specifier is filled by external merge is realized as aN.

(60) a. c which lacks the EPP property is realized as go.
   b. c (which has the EPP property and) whose specifier is occupied by a syntactic object which has a lower occurrence within the phase headed by C is realized as al.
   c. c (which has the EPP property and) whose specifier is occupied by a syntactic object which has no other occurrence within the phase headed by C is realized as aN.

Demonic Negation

(61) a. Dheamhan a gcuimhním orthu á rá mar sin
demon CA remember [PRES] [S1] on-them saying-it like that
   'Damned if I remember them saying it like that.' M 70
b. Dheamhan a bhfuil mé i rocht é a tharraingt
demon CA be [PRES] I in capacity it pull [−FIN]
   'Damned if I'm able to pull it.' CC 48
   C. Diabhal a gcuimhním anois ar an áit
devil CA remember [PRES] [S1] now on the place
   'Damned if I can remember the place now.' DGD 117

(62) [CP NEG CA [TP ... ]]

(63) a. dheamhan mónrán eolais a bhailliomar uaidh
demon much information CA gather [PAST] [P1] from-him
   'Hardly any information did we gather from him.' CTP 149
b. dheamhan smaoineamh a rinne mé air
demon thought CA made I on-it
   'Not a thought did I give it.' TGC 94
c. dheamhan amharc direach a thig le Séimin a thabhairt air
demon look straight CA come with give [−FIN] on-it
   'Not a straight look could Séimin give to it.' TGC 98
d. diabhal ceist a chuirfeadh ort
devil question CA will-be-put on-you
   'Not a single question will you be asked.' DGD 121

(64) [CP NEG XP CA [TP ...  ... ]]
in which XP is often an indefinite unselectively bound by the negative operator:

But not always:

(65) a. Diabhal isteach a théim ar chor ar bith
devil in \(C_A\) go [PRES] [S1] at-all
'I'm damned if I'll go in.' EB 129
b. dheamhan níos fearr a thiocfadh leis a bheith
demon more better \(C_A\) come [COND] with-it be [−FIN]
'It couldn't be better.' TGC 89
c. dheamhan leathshástú a bheadh siad
demon half-satisfied \(C_A\) be [COND] they
'They wouldn't be (even) half-satisfied.' TGC 159

A PROPOSAL:

1. \(C\) has the EPP property throughout.
2. the negative operator realized as diabhal or deamhan is externally merged in the specifier of \(C\).
3. XP raises to (the second) specifier of \(C\).
5. Variation in the form of \(C\) now follows.

Drawing the Threads Together

In descending order of confidence:

CONCLUSION 1: The filler-gap construction marked by aL (PATTERN A) is correctly understood as involving (successive-cyclic) movement

CONCLUSION 2: Resumption (PATTERN B) in Irish involves no morphosyntactic relation between the resumptive pronoun and its binder.

CONCLUSION 3: What undergoes movement in the case of PATTERN A is not a null pronominal operator, but rather a fully articulated phrase (the ultimate binder of the gap).

CONCLUSION 4: If the latter conclusion is correct, then the case for an AGREEMENT relation, upon which movement is parasitic, becomes, on language-internal grounds, much less persuasive.

CONCLUSION 5: If agreement turns out to be irrelevant as a prerequisite for \(\lambda\)-movement in Irish, then we are closer to an overall conception like that explored in Chomsky’s ‘Beyond Explanatory Adequacy’.

What keeps me awake at night?

WORRY 1: Is there reconstruction under resumption?

WORRY 2: How do we understand Condition C effects for resumptive pronouns?

WORRY 3: How do we understand the Highest Subject Restriction—a Condition B effect?

Appendix: The Data-Base

* a collection of 9700 or so examples
* coded for 250 syntactic features
* searchable by script
* representing all the major dialects, including many now extinct, the oldest from the end of the 19th century
* 249 published texts represented, not including items taken from radio broadcasts, newspapers, or periodicals
* The average page-length of the published texts is 217.94, suggesting an overall 'corpus'-size of 18 to 19 million words

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