

Resumptives as a diagnostic for the structure of coordination and pseudocoordination

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1. Overview. In this talk we will use the distribution of resumptive pronouns in Swiss German as a diagnostic for the structure of coordination and the nature of the Coordinate Structure Constraint. This will lead us to reject several widely-adopted proposals for Across the board movement. Furthermore, so-called ‘exceptional’ resumptives will help us detect pseudo-coordinations.

2. Introduction. Data involving resumptive pronouns have shown that the classical view that the CSC is a constraint on movement is problematic. Zaenen et al. (1981) observed for Swedish that no CSC violation obtains if one conjunct contains a gap while the other one hosts a resumptive pronoun:

- (1) Där borta går en man som jag ofta träffar__ men inte minns vad **han** heter.
There goes a man that I often mett but don't remember what he is.called

Zaenen et al. (1981) conclude from this that resumption in Swedish is the spell-out of a trace left behind by movement. Otherwise, the CSC would no longer be a constraint on movement.

3. The CSC as a constraint on vacuous quantification. While this may work for Swedish, languages like Palauan, which do not seem to have movement, but only base-generation with resumption, pose a problem. As shown in Georgopoulos (1985), Palauan is subject to the CSC, but can satisfy it if both conjuncts contain a resumptive pronoun (silent or overt). As pointed out in e.g. Munn (1993), the CSC is thus more generally a constraint on variables rather than traces of movement. If one conjunct lacks a variable (trace or resumptive) the structure is ruled out by vacuous quantification.

4. Resumption in Swiss German (SG) relativization. SG relatives (van Riemsdijk 1989) feature gaps for subjects and direct objects while oblique positions require resumptives (*wo* is a relative complementizer, the relative operator is silent):

- (2) a) de Maa, wo (*er) taub isch b) de Maa, wo (*en) käne gsee hät
the man C (he) deaf is the man C him no.one seen has
‘the man who is always late’ SU ‘the man no one has seen’ DO
- (3) a) de Maa,wo mer*(em) öppis ggëë hät b) de Maa,won i mit *(em) gretd han
the man C one he.DAT something given have the man C I with him talked have
‘the man who we gave something to’ DAT ‘the man who I talked to’ PP

5. Gaps and resumption in Coordination. Like other languages, SG is subject to the CSC. variables inside conjuncts are only licensed if all conjuncts contain a variable. Furthermore, as in Swedish, gaps and resumptives can co-occur in (putative) ATB-extraction:

- (4) De Maa,won i [geschter __ käne gleert han] und [hüt Aabig **mit em** is Kino gang]
the man C I yesterday met have and today evening with him in moviego
‘the man wo I met yesterday and tonight will go to the movies with’

As opposed to Swedish, however, we will show that there is ample evidence that resumption involves base-generation while gaps are the result of movement: There are asymmetries in sensitivity to locality and interpretation that strongly argue against assigning gap and resumptive relatives the same analysis.

6. Implications: Against ATB and Sharing. (4) has important consequences for the analysis of extraction from conjuncts: A classical ATB-analysis is certainly inappropriate since different derivations (movement vs. base-generation) are involved in the two conjuncts. The same holds for sharing approaches because it can be shown that moved and base-generated operators differ in formal features so that sharing would lead to a feature clash. There is additional evidence against ATB-movement: Sells (1984) makes the following observation for Hebrew: While the combination of gap and resumptive is possible in ATB-contexts, the gap must always be located in the first conjunct (resumptives for direct objects are optional in Hebrew):

- (5) a) haiš še [Rina roca __] ve [ohevet **oto** yoter mikulam]
the.man that Rina wants and loves him more than.anyone
‘the man Rina wants loves more than anyone’
- b)*haiš še [Rina roca **oto**] ve [ohevet __ yoter mikulam]
the.man that Rina wants him and loves more than.anyone

These facts follow under an ATB-analysis: If extraction takes place from the second conjunct

and the operator also ends up binding the resumptive in the first conjunct, we obtain a Crossover configuration so that (5b) is correctly predicted to be ungrammatical. SG, however is not subject to this restriction. In SG, the gap can be in the first conjunct as in (4) or in the second one:

- (6) S Mäitli, wo [de Hans mit **em** gredt hät] und [___ zum Fäscht iiglade hät]
 the girl C the John with it talked has and to.the party invited has

7. Against the Parasitic-Gap approach to ATB-movement. Munn (1993) proposed reanalyzing ATB-movement as Parasitic Gaps with the extraction in the second conjunct actually being operator movement. This view is directly compatible with the facts described above: Since there are two independent operator-variable relations, movement and base-generation in the same coordination do not lead to a conflict. There are, however, two rather strong arguments against Munn's approach: First, there are arguably no Parasitic Gaps in German and its varieties (Kathol 2001). Secondly, while according to Munn (1993) the gap in the second conjunct is subject to semantic restrictions, i.e. has to be of the individual-denoting type, no such restriction can be observed in SG. The following example illustrates amount ATB-relativization (i.e. there is abstraction of a degree):

- (7) di zwäi Wuche, won [iich im Büro gsii bin] und [miin Soon am Strand gläge isch]
 the two weeks C I in.the office been am and my son on beach lay is

8. The proposal. It is quite clear that we are neither dealing with traditional ATB-movement nor with a Parasitic Gap construction involving chain composition. Rather, we will argue in favor of a conjunction reduction approach where the two operator variable dependencies are syntactically independent (thereby adopting insights by George 1980). We will discuss in some detail the very weak parallelism requirement in SG and the conditions on deletion.

9. Resumptives as a diagnostic for pseudo-coordination. In the last part of our talk we will show that the distribution of resumptives in SG can be a diagnostic to detect pseudo-coordinations: It has been known for quite some time that not every construction that looks like a coordination at the surface actually involves coordination syntactically. Typically, these are cases where the Coordinate Structure Constraint is – apparently – violated (cf. Postal 1998):

- (8) the stuff which Arthur sneaked in and stole ___

Now recall from above that resumptives in SG only occur in oblique positions, but not for subjects and direct objects. Consequently, we do not expect resumptives for these positions in ATB-contexts. However, such examples can be found, the were first mentioned in Binz (1888):

- (9) aine, wo [**nem** si Herr alles überlot] und [**er** desswäge macht, was er will]
 someone C he.DAT his boss everything leave.to and he therefore does whathe wants

The subject resumptive in the second conjunct is unexpected, but the sentence is fully grammatical. Crucially, we will show that coordinations that feature such exceptional resumptives have many of the properties that Postal (1998) describes for apparent violations of the CSC in English (choice of coordinator, conjunct order, semantic relationship between the conjuncts). Consequently, what looks like a resumptive is actually just a coreferential anaphorically bound pronoun.

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