

# On the Absence of (Certain) Islands in Shupamem

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## 1 Introduction

Certain configurations that are expected to be stable syntactic islands across languages seem to allow movement out of them in Shupamem:

- Sentential Subjects (1)
- Complex NPs (2-3)
- Adjunct Clauses (4-6)
- Factive Clauses (7)
- Embedded Questions (8)

### (1) Sentential Subjects

- a. [mí Râjè jíyèn rì:] vět Mímǵè.  
COMP Raye see.PST1 chair surprise.PST1 Mimshe  
'That Raye saw the chair surprised Mimshe.'
- b. á pò: rì: [mí Râjè jíyèn \_\_\_\_] vět Mímǵè.  
EXPL TOP chair COMP Raye see.PST1 surprise.PST1 Mimshe  
'As for the chair, that Raye saw (it) surprised Mimshe.'

### (2) Complex NPs (Relative Clauses)

- a. Râjè jì [mèmbà juó í-jùn ndáp nó].  
Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1 house REL.COMP  
'Raye knows the man who bought the house.'
- b. á pò: ndáp Râjè jì [mèmbà juó í-jùn \_\_\_\_ nó].  
EXPL TOP house Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1 REL.COMP  
'As for the house, Raye knows the man who bought (it).'

(3) Complex NPs (Clausal Complements of Nouns)

a. Mímǎǎ jù? [sàŋgǎm mí Râjè jì pén].  
Mimshe hear.PST1 story COMP Raye eat.PST1 fufu  
'Mimshe heard the story that Raye ate the fufu.'

b. á pò: **pén** Mímǎǎ jù? [sàŋgǎm mí Râjè jì \_\_\_\_].  
EXPL TOP fufu Mimshe hear.PST1 story COMP Raye eat.PST1  
'As for the fufu, Mimshe heard the story that Raye ate (it).'

(4) Adjunct Clauses (Temporal Clauses)

a. Mímǎǎ sèn lénómì [kà Râjè n-zíyèn ndáp].  
Mimshe break.PST1 mirror before Raye REAL-see.INF house  
'Mimshe broke the mirror before Raye saw the house.'

b. á pò: **ndáp** Mímǎǎ sèn lénómì [kà Râjè n-zíyèn \_\_\_\_].  
EXPL TOP house Mimshe break.PST1 mirror before Raye REAL-see.INF  
'As for the house, Mimshe broke the mirror before Raye saw (it).'

(5) Adjunct Clauses (Reason Clauses)

a. Mímǎǎ lǒ? [mè ŋǎ ká: Râjè lǎp rì: nǒ].  
Mimshe left.PST1 on reason REL Raye hit.PST1 chair REL.COMP  
'Mimshe left because Raye hit the chair.'

b. á pò: **rì:** Mímǎǎ lǒ? [mè ŋǎ ká: Râjè lǎp \_\_\_\_ nǒ].  
EXPL TOP chair Mimshe left.PST1 on reason REL Raye hit.PST1 REL.COMP  
'As for the chair, Mimshe left because Raye hit (it).'

(6) Adjunct Clauses (Conditional Clauses)

a. [Mímǎǎ kè n-zíyèn ndáp] mbû: Râjè ná: tuó ló?  
Mimshe if REAL-see.INF house then Raye IRR FUT1 leave  
'If Mimshe sees the house, then Raye will leave.'

b. á pò: **ndáp** [Mímǎǎ kè n-zíyèn \_\_\_\_] mbû: Râjè ná: tuó ló?  
EXPL TOP house Mimshe if REAL-see.INF then Raye IRR FUT1 leave  
'As for the house, if Mimshe sees (it), then Raye will leave.'

(7) Factive Clauses

a. Mímǎǎ fá?á ŋwàr-ì [mí Râjè jíyèn rì:].  
Mimshe feel.sorry.PRS body-3SG COMP Raye see.PST1 chair  
'Mimshe regrets that Raye saw the chair.'

b. á pò: **rì:** Mímǎǎ fá?á ŋwàr-ì [mí Râjè jíyèn \_\_\_\_].  
EXPL TOP chair Mimshe feel.sorry.PRS body-3SG COMP Raye see.PST1  
'As for the chair, Mimshe regrets that Raye saw (it).'

(8) Embedded Questions

- a. Mímǎǎ píǎǎ [mí Râjè jùn kî].  
 Mimshe ask.PST1 COMP Raye buy.PST1 what  
 ‘Mimshe asked what Raye bought.’
- b. á pò: **Râjè** Mímǎǎ píǎǎ [mí í-jùn kî].  
 EXPL TOP Raye Mimshe ask.PST1 COMP 3SG-buy.PST1 what  
 ‘As for Raye, Mimshe asked what she bought.’
- c. Mímǎǎ píǎǎ [mí á **kî** juó Râjè jùn \_\_\_\_ nó].  
 Mimshe ask.PST1 COMP EXPL what REL Raye buy.PST1 REL.COMP  
 ‘Mimshe asked what it was that Raye bought.’
- d. á pò: **Râjè** Mímǎǎ píǎǎ [mí á kî juó í-jùn \_\_\_\_ nó].  
 EXPL TOP Raye Mimshe ask.PST1 COMP EXPL what REL 3SG-buy.PST1 REL.COMP  
 ‘As for Raye, Mimshe asked what it was that she bought.’

Not all expected island configurations are transparent to movement. Noun phrase coordinate structures have island status, but only with respect to the second conjunct (9b-9c).

(9) Noun Phrase Coordinate Structures

- a. Mímǎǎ kîp [rî: pò: té:bè] nè kí.  
 Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ table with strength  
 ‘Mimshe broke the chair and the table quickly.’
- b. á pò: **rî:** Mímǎǎ kîp [\_\_\_\_ pò: té:bè] nè kí.  
 EXPL TOP chair Mimshe break.PST1 CONJ table with strength  
 ‘As for the chair, Mimshe broke (it) and the table quickly.’
- c. \*á pò: **té:bè** Mímǎǎ kîp [rî: pò: \_\_\_\_] nè kí.  
 EXPL TOP table Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ with strength  
 Intended: ‘As for the table, Mimshe broke the chair and (it) quickly.’

With regard to the data in (1-8) we can entertain two analytical options:

- (i) The topicalized constituent (X) has undergone  $\bar{A}$ -movement out of the relevant “island”:  
 á pò: X<sub>i</sub>, [TP ...[Island... t<sub>i</sub>...]]
- (ii) X is base-generated in its surface position and binds an empty category in the “island”:  
 á pò: X<sub>i</sub>, [TP ...[Island... e<sub>i</sub>...]]

In this talk, we will argue for analysis (i), concluding that the constructions in (1-8) do not constitute islands in Shupamem. *Explaining* the absence of these island effects is beyond the scope of this talk.

## Roadmap of Talk

- Section 2: Background on Shupamem
- Section 3:  $\bar{A}$ -movement in Shupamem
- Section 4: Arguments for  $\bar{A}$ -movement Out of “Islands”
- Section 5: Other (Indecisive) Diagnostics for  $\bar{A}$ -movement
- Section 6: Conclusion

## 2 Background on Shupamem

Shupamem (ISO 639-3: *bax*) is a Grassfields Bantu language of the Western Province of central Cameroon, spoken by approximately 420,000 speakers (Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig 2021).

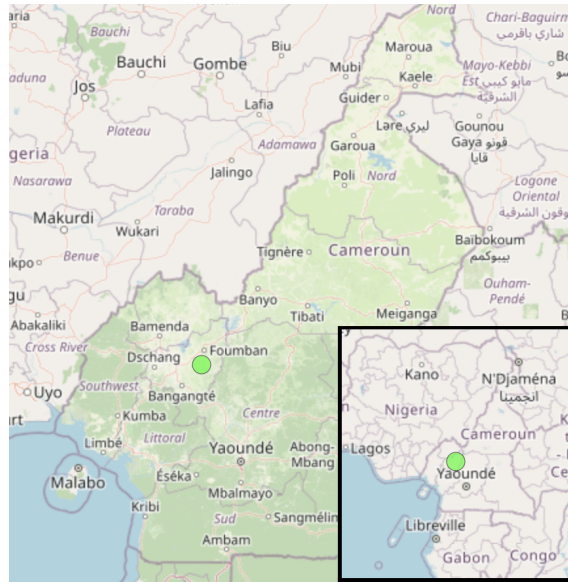


Figure 1: Homeland of the Shupamem speech community

This section reviews certain grammatical facts that will be relevant for our forthcoming discussion (Shupamem word order, the complementizer system and pronominal resumption).

All data is based on field work with the third author and native speaker of the language. We transcribe the data using the International Phonetic Alphabet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shupamem has a writing system: <https://omniglot.com/writing/bamum.htm>  
See also: <http://www.learnbamum.com/study-now>

The basic word order is Subject–Verb–Object–X (10a), where X may be an oblique phrase or an indirect object (10b).<sup>2</sup>

- (10) a. Mímǰǎ kíp rì.  
 Mimshe break.PST1 chair  
 ‘Mimshe broke the chair.’  
 b. Mímǰǎ fà nǵò? nè í.  
 Mimshe give.PST1 flower to 3SG  
 ‘Mimshe gave a flower to him/her.’

In the Shupamem complementizer system, some subordinate clauses are introduced by a single invariable complementizer—e.g. *mí* in complement clauses (11)—while others involve two complementizers.

- (11) Mímǰǎ jù? sàŋgǎm **mí** Râjè ŋǵ? gbáǵì.  
 Mimshe hear.PST1 story COMP Raye kill.PST1 lion  
 ‘Mimshe heard the story that Raye killed the lion.’

Relative clauses (RCs) feature two complementizers (12): one follows the RC head and agrees with it in noun class morphology (e.g. *juǵ/puǵ/ká:*), while the other is RC-final and formally invariable (*nǵ*).

- (12) a. Mímǰǎ ŋǵ? gbáǵì **j-uǵ** í-jíǵèn Râjè **nǵ**.  
 Mimshe kill.PST1 lion SG.AN-REL 3SG-see.PST1 Raye REL.COMP  
 ‘Mimshe killed the lion that saw Raye.’  
 b. á p-ín **p-uǵ** pǵ-juǵèp ŋkè **nǵ**.  
 EXPL PL-person PL.AN-REL 3PL-sing.PST1 song REL.COMP  
 ‘It is people who sang.’  
 c. Mímǰǎ lǵ? [mè ŋǵǎ **ká:** Râjè lǵp rì: **nǵ**].  
 Mimshe left.PST1 on reason REL Raye hit.PST1 chair REL.COMP  
 ‘Mimshe left because Raye hit the chair.’

Pronominal resumption varies based on syntactic position and animacy. It is obligatory for topicalized subjects (13) and human/animate-denoting (in)direct objects (14), but unavailable for topicalized inanimate-denoting (in)direct objects (15).

- (13) á pò: **Mímǰǎ** \*(í)-jíǵèn rì.  
 EXPL TOP Mimshe 3SG-see.PST1 chair  
 ‘As for Mimshe, he saw the chair.’  
 (14) a. á pò: **Râjè** Mímǰǎ fà nǵò? nè \*(í).  
 EXPL TOP Raye Mimshe give.PST1 flower to 3SG  
 ‘As for Raye, Mimshe gave a flower to her.’

<sup>2</sup> Shupamem has four surface tones: high (á), low (à), rising (ǵ) and falling (ǵ).

- b. á pò: **mìn** Mímǰó jíyàn-\*(í).  
 EXPL TOP person Mimshe see.PST1-3SG  
 ‘As for the person, Mimshe saw him.’
- c. á pò: **mésì** Mímǰó jíyàn-\*(í).  
 EXPL TOP bird Mimshe see.PST1-3SG  
 ‘As for the bird, Mimshe saw it.’
- (15) a. á pò: **títí** Mímǰó lǎp rì: mìn (\*í).  
 EXPL TOP branch Mimshe hit.PST1 chair with 3SG  
 ‘As for the branch, Mimshe hit the chair with (it).’
- b. á pò: **ní** Mímǰó jíyàn-\*(í).  
 EXPL TOP machete Mimshe see.PST1-3SG  
 ‘As for the machete, Mimshe saw (it).’

### 3 $\bar{A}$ -movement in Shupamem

Two relevant  $\bar{A}$ -configurations in Shupamem are the focus cleft construction (17) and the topicalization construction (18).

- (16) Mímǰó jíyàn rì:  
 Mimshe see.PST1 chair  
 ‘Mimshe saw the chair.’
- (17) á (\*pǎ) **rì:** \*(juó) Mímǰó jíyàn \_\_\_\_\_ nó.  
 EXPL COP.PRS chair REL Mimshe see.PST1 REL.COMP  
 ‘It is the chair that Mimshe saw.’
- (18) á (\*pǎ) pò: **rì:** \*(juó) Mímǰó jíyàn \_\_\_\_\_.  
 EXPL COP.PRS TOP chair REL Mimshe see.PST1  
 ‘As for the chair, Mimshe saw (it).’

Predicative RC structures in which the RC head is the focused/topicalized constituent appear to underlie both focus clefts (17) and the topicalization construction (18). Both constructions involve an expletive subject, followed by an obligatorily null copula in positive declarative clauses (see Nchare 2012, 450ff).<sup>3</sup> Relativizers must be overt in the case of focus clefts (17), but null in topicalization constructions (18).

Table 1: Formal properties of focus clefts and topicalization constructions in Shupamem

	Expletive Subject	Overt Copula	Overt Relativizer
Focus Cleft	✓	✗	✓
Topicalization	✓	✗	✗

<sup>3</sup> A negative copula is licit in focus clefts, but yields unacceptability in topicalization constructions (Nchare 2012).

In this way, focus clefts and topicalization constructions both involve relativization and therefore  $\bar{A}$ -movement of the prominent constituent, assuming a head raising analysis of RCs *à la* Kayne 1994.

In order to diagnose  $\bar{A}$ -movement we will rely on the following diagnostics:

- **Crossover effects:**  $\bar{A}$ -moved elements cannot move across c-commanding pronouns that they end up binding (Strong Crossover) nor can they move across non-c-commanding pronouns that they end up binding (Weak Crossover).

### Strong Crossover

- (19) a.  $\acute{i}$ - $\acute{j}\acute{i}\gamma\grave{e}n$  w\`e?  
 3SG-see.PST1 who  
 ‘Who did he/she see?’
- b.  $\acute{a}$  w\`e ju\`o  $\acute{i}$ - $\acute{j}\acute{i}\gamma\grave{e}n$ - $\acute{i}$  n\`e?  
 EXPL who REL 3SG-see.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q  
 ‘Who did he/she see?’  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that y saw x?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that x saw x?’

### Weak Crossover

- (20) a.  $m\`on$ - $\grave{i}$   $\acute{j}\acute{i}\gamma\grave{e}n$  w\`e?  
 child-3SG see.PST who  
 ‘Who did his/her child see?’
- b.  $\acute{a}$  w\`e ju\`o  $m\`on$ - $\grave{i}$   $\acute{j}\acute{i}\gamma\grave{e}n$ - $\acute{i}$  n\`e?  
 EXPL who REL child-3SG see.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q  
 ‘Who did his/her child see?’  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that y’s child saw x?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that x’s child saw x?’

- **Parasitic gap licensing:** An illicit gap is licensed in the presence of a non c-commanding  $\bar{A}$ - gap.

- (21) a.  $M\acute{i}m\acute{s}\acute{e}$   $\acute{j}\acute{i}\gamma\grave{e}n$  nd\`ap k\`a  $\acute{i}$ -n- $\gamma\acute{u}n$  nd\`ap.  
 Mimshe see.PST1 house before 3SG-REAL-buy.INF house  
 ‘Mimshe saw the house before buying the house.’
- b. \*  $M\acute{i}m\acute{s}\acute{e}$   $\acute{j}\acute{i}\gamma\grave{e}n$  nd\`ap k\`a  $\acute{i}$ -n- $\gamma\acute{u}n$  \_\_\_\_.  
 Mimshe see.PST1 house before 3SG-REAL-buy.INF  
 Intended: ‘Mimshe saw the house before buying (it).’
- c. ✓  $\acute{a}$  p\`o: nd\`ap  $M\acute{i}m\acute{s}\acute{e}$   $\acute{j}\acute{i}\gamma\grave{e}n$  \_\_\_\_ k\`a  $\acute{i}$ -n- $\gamma\acute{u}n$  \_\_\_\_.  
 EXPL TOP house Mimshe see.PST1 before 3SG-REAL-buy.INF  
 ‘As for the house, Mimshe saw (it) before buying (it).’

- **Reconstruction effects:** An  $\bar{A}$ -displaced constituent behaves as if it occupies a lower structural position with respect to binding theoretic considerations.

- (22) a. Mímǰó jíyǎn fítú ŋwàr-ì.  
 Mimshe see.PST1 picture body-3SG  
 ‘Mimshe<sub>i</sub> saw a picture of himself<sub>i</sub>.’
- b. á pò: fítú ŋwàr-ì Mímǰó jíyǎn \_\_\_\_.  
 EXPL TOP picture body-3SG Mimshe see.PST1  
 ‘As for the picture of himself<sub>i</sub>, Mimshe<sub>i</sub> saw (it).’

## 4 Arguments for $\bar{A}$ -movement Out of “Islands”

In this section we present arguments for  $\bar{A}$ -movement out of six purported syntactic islands based on the diagnostics presented in section 3. In all six cases, movement out of the “island” in question gives rise to crossover effects, licenses parasitic gaps inside the “island”, and manifests reconstruction effects.

### 4.1 Sentential Subject Constructions

- **Crossover effects**

*Wh*-clefting of material internal to sentential subject configurations gives rise to both strong (23a) and weak (23b) crossover effects.

- (23) a. á wə juó [mí í-jíyǎn-í] vət Mímǰó nǎ?  
 EXPL who REL COMP 3SG-see.PST1-3SG surprise.PST1 Mimshe REL.COMP.Q  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that that y saw x surprised Mimshe?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that that x saw x surprised Mimshe?’
- b. á wə juó [mí món-ì jíyǎn-í] vət Mímǰó nǎ?  
 EXPL who REL COMP child-3SG see.PST1-3SG surprise.PST1 Mimshe REL.COMP.Q  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that that y’s child saw x surprised Mimshe?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that that x’s child saw x surprised Mimshe?’

- **Parasitic gap licensing**

Topicalization of material internal to sentential subjects licenses parasitic gaps inside subject CPs (24b) that are not licensed in the absence of topicalization (24a).

- (24) a. \* [mí Râjè jì pén kà í-n-ńá \_\_\_\_] vət Mòlì.  
 COMP Raye eat.PST1 fufu before 3SG-REAL-cook.INF surprise.PST1 Molu
- b. ✓ á pò: pén [mí Râjè jì \_\_\_\_ kà í-n-ńá \_\_\_\_]  
 EXPL TOP fufu COMP Raye eat.PST1 before 3SG-REAL-cook.INF  
 vət Mòlì.  
 surprised Molu  
 ‘As for the fufu, that Raye ate (it) before cooking (it) surprised Molu.’



- **Reconstruction effects**

Reconstruction effects are observed when anaphor-containing constituents inside sentential subjects are topicalized.

- (25) á pò: sàṅgām mǎjǐ? ḡwàr-ì [mí Râjè sǎ: \_\_\_\_] vĕt Mímǎ.   
 EXPL TOP story about body-3SG COMP Raye tell.PST1 surprise.PST1 Mimshe   
 ‘As for the story about herself<sub>i</sub>, that Raye<sub>i</sub> told (it) surprised Mimshe.’

## 4.2 Complex Noun Phrase Constructions

- **Crossover effects**

*Wh-* clefting of complex NP-internal material gives rise to both strong (26a, 27a) and weak (26b, 27b) crossover effects.

(26) Complex NPs (Relative Clauses)

- a. á wĕ juó Râjè jì [mĕmbà juó í-jǐyĕn-í nĕ]?   
 EXPL who REL Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-see.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q   
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Raye knows the man y who saw x?’   
 \* ‘Who is the x such that Raye knows the man x who saw x?’
- b. á wĕ juó Râjè jì [mĕmbà juó món-ì jǐyĕn-í nĕ]?   
 EXPL who REL Raye know.PRS man REL child-3SG see.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q   
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Raye knows the man y whose child saw x?’   
 \* ‘Who is the x such that Raye knows the man x whose child saw x?’

(27) Complex NPs (Clausal Complements of Nouns)

- a. á wĕ juó Mímǎ jù? [sàṅgām mí í-jǐyĕn-í] nĕ?   
 EXPL who REL Mimshe hear.PST1 story COMP 3SG-see.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q   
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe heard the story that y saw x?’   
 \* ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe heard the story that x saw x?’
- b. á wĕ juó Mímǎ jù? [sàṅgām mí món-ì jǐyĕn-í] nĕ?   
 EXPL who REL Mimshe hear.PST1 story COMP child-3SG see.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q   
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe heard the story that y saw x?’   
 \* ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe heard the story that x saw x?’

- **Parasitic gap licensing**

Topicalization of complex NP-internal material licenses parasitic gaps in relative clauses (28b) and clausal complements of nouns (29b) that are not licensed in the absence of topicalization (28a, 29a).

(28) Complex NPs (Relative Clauses)

a. \*Râjè jì [mèmbà juó í-jùn ndáp kà í-n-ʒíyèn \_\_\_\_  
Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1 house before 3SG-REAL-see.INF  
nó].  
REL.COMP

b. ✓ á pò: ndáp Râjè jì [mèmbà juó í-jùn \_\_\_\_ kà  
EXPL TOP house Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1 before  
í-n-ʒíyèn \_\_\_\_ nó].  
3SG-REAL-see.INF REL.COMP]  
'As for the house, Raye knows the man who bought (it) before seeing (it).'

(29) Complex NPs (Clausal Complements of Nouns)

a. \*Mímǎ jù? [sàngǎm mí Râjè jùn ndáp kà í-n-ʒíyèn  
Mimshe hear.PST1 story COMP Raye buy.PST1 house before 3SG-REAL-see.INF  
\_\_\_\_].

b. ✓ á pò: ndáp Mímǎ jù? [sàngǎm mí Râjè jùn \_\_\_\_ kà  
EXPL TOP house Mimshe hear.PST1 story COMP Raye buy.PST1 before  
í-n-ʒíyèn \_\_\_\_].  
3SG-REAL-see.INF  
'As for the house, Mimshe heard the story that Raye bought (it) before seeing (it).'

• Reconstruction effects

Reconstruction effects are observed when anaphor-containing material that is internal to relative clauses (30a) and clausal complements of nouns (30b) is topicalized.

(30) a. Complex NPs (Relative Clauses)

á pò: fítú ɲwàr-ì Râjè jì [mèmbà juó í-jíyèn \_\_\_\_  
EXPL TOP picture body-3SG Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-see.PST1  
nó].  
REL.COMP

'As for the picture of himself<sub>i</sub>, Raye knows the man<sub>i</sub> who saw (it).'

b. Complex NPs (Clausal Complements of Nouns)

á pò: fítú ɲwàr-ì Mímǎ jù? [sàngǎm mí Râyè siēt \_\_\_\_].  
EXPL TOP picture body-3SG Mimshe hear.PST1 story COMP Raye tear.PST

'As for the picture of herself<sub>i</sub>, Mimshe heard the story that Raye<sub>i</sub> tore (it).'

## 4.3 Adjunct Clause Constructions

### 4.3.1 Temporal Clauses

- Crossover effects

*Wh*- clefting of material inside adjunct temporal clauses gives rise to both strong (31a) and weak (31b) crossover effects.

- (31) a. á wè juó Mímǎǎ sèn lénómì [kà í-n-ǎǎyèn-í] nê?  
 EXPL who REL Mimshe break.PST1 mirror before 3SG-REAL.see.INF-3SG REL.COMP.Q  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe broke the mirror before y saw x?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe broke the mirror before x saw x?’
- b. á wè juó Mímǎǎ sèn lénómì [kà món-ì n-ǎǎyèn-í]  
 EXPL who REL Mimshe break.PST1 mirror before child-3SG REAL-see.INF-3SG  
 nê?  
 REL.COMP.Q  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe broke the mirror before y’s child saw x?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe broke the mirror before x’s child saw x?’

- Parasitic gap licensing

Topicalization of material inside adjunct temporal clauses licenses parasitic gaps inside those clauses (32b) that are not licensed in the absence of topicalization (32a).

- (32) a. \* Mímǎǎ piě? lèrwà [kà í-n-ǎǎnkè \_\_\_\_].  
 Mimshe take.PST1 book before 3SG-REAL-read.INF
- b. ✓ à pò: lèrwà Mímǎǎ piě? \_\_\_\_ [kà í-n-ǎǎnkè \_\_\_\_].  
 EXPL TOP book Mimshe take.PST1 before 3SG-REAL-read.INF  
 ‘As for the book, Mimshe took (it) before reading (it).’

- Reconstruction effects

Reconstruction effects are observed when anaphor-containing constituents inside adjunct temporal clauses are topicalized.

- (33) á pò: fítú gwàr-ì Mímǎǎ sèn kàmèrá [kà Râjè n-ǎǎyèn \_\_\_\_].  
 EXPL TOP picture body-3SG Mimshe break.PST1 camera before Raye REAL-see.INF  
 ‘As for the picture of herself<sub>i</sub>, Mimshe broke the camera before Raye<sub>i</sub> saw (it).’

### 4.3.2 Reason Clauses

- **Crossover effects**

*Wh-* clefting of reason clause-internal material gives rise to both strong (34a) and weak (34b) crossover effects.

- (34) a. á wè juó Mímǎǎ lǎʔ [mè ŋǎ ká: í-lǎβ-í nê]?  
 EXPL who REL Mimshe leave.PST1 on reason REL 3SG-hit.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe left because y hit x?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe left because x hit x?’
- b. á wè juó Mímǎǎ lǎʔ [mè ŋǎ ká: món-ì lǎβ-í nê]?  
 EXPL who REL Mimshe leave.PST1 on reason REL child-3SG hit.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe left because y’s child hit x?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe left because x’s child hit x?’

- **Parasitic gap licensing**

Topicalization of reason clause-internal material licenses parasitic gaps inside those clauses (35b) that are not licensed in the absence of topicalization (35a).

- (35) a. \* Mímǎǎ lǎʔ [mè ŋǎ ká: Râjè jùn ndáp kà í-n-ǎíyèn  
 Mimshe leave.PST1 on reason REL Raye buy.PST1 house before 3SG-REL-see.INF  
 \_\_\_\_ nê].  
 REL.COMP
- b. ✓ a pò: ndáp Mímǎǎ lǎʔ [mè ŋǎ ká: Râjè jùn \_\_\_\_ kà  
 EXPL TOP house Mimshe leave.PST1 on reason REL Raye buy.PST1 before  
 í-n-ǎíyèn \_\_\_\_ nê].  
 3SG-REAL-see.INF REL.COMP  
 ‘As for the house, Mimshe left because Raye bought (it) before seeing (it).’

- **Reconstruction effects**

Reconstruction effects are observed when anaphor-containing material that is internal to reason clauses is topicalized.

- (36) á pò: fítú ŋwàr-ì Mímǎǎ lǎʔ [mè ŋǎ ká: Râjè jíyèn \_\_\_\_  
 EXPL TOP picture body-3SG Mimshe leave.PST1 on reason REL Raye see.PST1  
 nê].  
 REL.COMP  
 ‘As for the picture of herself<sub>i</sub>, Mimshe left because Raye<sub>i</sub> saw (it).’

### 4.3.3 Conditional Clauses

- **Crossover effects**

*Wh*-clefting of material internal to conditional clauses gives rise to both strong (37a) and weak (37b) crossover effects.

- (37) a. á wè juó [í kè n-ʒíyèn-í] mbû: Râjè ná: tuó lóʔ nê?  
 EXPL who REL 3SG if REAL-see.INF-3SG then Raye IRR FUT1 leave REL.COMP.Q  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that if y sees x, then Raye will leave?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that if x sees x, then Raye will leave?’
- b. á wè juó [món-ì kè n-ʒíyèn-í] mbû: Râjè ná: tuó lóʔ nê?  
 EXPL who REL child-3SG if REAL-see.INF-3SG then Raye IRR FUT1 leave REL.COMP.Q  
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that if y’s child sees x, then Raye will leave?’  
 \* ‘Who is the x such that if x’s child sees x, then Raye will leave?’

- **Parasitic gap licensing**

Topicalization of material inside conditional clauses licenses parasitic gaps inside those clauses (38b) that are not licensed in the absence of topicalization (38a).

- (38) a. \* [Mímʃó kè n-siět lèrwà kà í-n-ʒún \_\_\_\_] mbû: Râjè ná:  
 Mimshe if REAL-tear.INF book before 3SG-REAL-buy.INF then Raye IRR  
 tuó lóʔ.  
 FUT1 leave
- b. ✓ á pò: lèrwà [Mímʃó kè n-siět \_\_\_\_ kà í-n-ʒún \_\_\_\_]  
 EXPL TOP book Mimshe if REAL-tear.INF before 3SG-REAL-buy.INF  
 mbû: Râjè ná: tuó lóʔ.  
 then Raye IRR FUT1 leave  
 ‘As for the book, if Mimshe tore (it) before buying (it), then Raye will leave.’

- **Reconstruction effects**

Reconstruction effects are observed when anaphor-containing constituents inside conditional clauses are topicalized.

- (39) á pò: fítú ɲwàr-ì [Mímʃó kè n-siět \_\_\_\_] mbû: Râjè ná: tuó lóʔ.  
 EXPL TOP picture body-3SG Mimshe if REAL-tear.INF then Raye IRR FUT1 leave  
 ‘As for the picture of himself<sub>i</sub>, if Mimshe<sub>i</sub> tears (it), then Raye will leave.’

## 5 Other (Indecisive) Diagnostics for $\bar{A}$ -movement

Three possible diagnostics for  $\bar{A}$ -movement that prove indecisive in the context of Shupamem “island” extraction are SUPERIORITY EFFECTS (section 5.1), IDIOMS (section 5.2), and SLUICING (section 5.3).

## 5.1 Superiority Effects

Superiority effects are observed in questions with multiple *wh*- elements when a structurally lower *wh*- item crosses over a higher *wh*- expression yielding ungrammatical outputs.

Under the movement analysis sketched in (i)(p. 3), otherwise-legal focus clefting of “island”-internal *wh*- items would be predicted to be blocked in the presence of a higher interrogative expression. The base-generation approach in (ii)(p. 3), however, would predict the absence of superiority effects in these cases, making the consideration of superiority effects a potentially decisive diagnostic in movement vs. base-generation analyses of purported island extraction in the language.

Unfortunately, this diagnostic is not applicable in Shupamem due to the absence of superiority effects in the language (40-41), as in other West African languages, such as Ikpana (Kandybowicz et al. to appear), Krachi (Torrence and Kandybowicz 2015), Akan (Saah 1994) and Yoruba (Adesola 2006).

- (40) a. á fù: wǎ wè?  
 EXPL call.PST1 who who  
 ‘Who called whom?’
- b. á wè juó í-fù: wè nê?  
 EXPL who REL 3SG-call.PST1 who REL.COMP.Q  
 ‘Who is it that called whom?’ (✓ *wh*<sub>1</sub> moves over *wh*<sub>2</sub>)
- c. á wè juó wè fù:-ŋí nê?  
 EXPL who REL who call.PST1-3SG REL.COMP.Q  
 ‘Who is it that who called?’ (✓ *wh*<sub>2</sub> moves over *wh*<sub>1</sub>)
- (41) a. Mímǰó fà kí nè wè?  
 Mimshe give.PST1 what to who  
 ‘What did Mimshe give to whom?’
- b. á kǐ juó Mímǰó fà — nè wè nê:?  
 EXPL what REL Mimshe give.PST1 to who REL.COMP.Q  
 ‘What is it that Mimshe gave to whom?’ (✓ *wh*<sub>1</sub> moves over *wh*<sub>2</sub>)
- c. á wè juó Mímǰó fà kí nè í nê:?  
 EXPL who REL Mimshe give.PST1 what to 3SG REL.COMP.Q  
 ‘Who is it that Mimshe gave what to?’ (✓ *wh*<sub>2</sub> moves over *wh*<sub>1</sub>)

## 5.2 Idioms

Topicalization of “island”-internal idiom chunks would be predicted to yield idiomatic interpretations under the movement analysis sketched in (i) on p. 3, on the assumption that all parts of idioms must form a constituent at some stage of the derivation. Under the base-generation approach in (ii) on p. 3, only literal interpretations would be predicted to be available in these cases.

In this way, idioms could offer a potentially decisive diagnostic in movement vs. base-generation analyses of purported island extraction in the language.

However, this diagnostic is not applicable because idioms in Shupamem are a purely surface phenomenon.

Only when all parts of the idiom appear linearly adjacent do idiomatic interpretations become available. Since movement of any sort—i.e. both  $\bar{A}$ -movement (42b, 43b) and A-movement (42d, 43d)—bleeds idiomatic interpretation, both movement and base-generation analyses correctly predict the absence of those interpretations when “island”-internal idiom chunks are topicalized.

(42) a. IDIOM 1

kìjǐ tò: ndàm nǵì.  
 idiot pierce.PST1 drum chief

Literally: ‘The idiot pierced the chief’s drum.’  
 Idiomatically: ‘The idiot shockingly succeeded.’

b. á pò: **ndàm nǵì** kǐjǐ tò: \_\_\_\_.  
 EXPL TOP drum chief idiot pierce.PST1

‘As for the chief’s drum, the idiot pierced (it).’ (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)

c. á pǎ jè kǐjǐ tò: ndàm nǵì.  
 EXPL COP.PRS like idiot pierce.PST1 drum chief

Literally: ‘It seems like the idiot pierced the chief’s drum.’  
 Idiomatically: ‘It seems like the idiot shockingly succeeded.’

d. **kǐjǐ** pǎ jè kâ: í-tò: ndàm nǵì.  
 idiot COP.PRS like COMP 3SG-pierce.PST1 drum chief

‘The idiot seems like he pierced the chief’s drum.’ (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)

(43) a. IDIOM 2

Mímǵó vĕ láp ɲǵìə.  
 Mimshe grab.PST1 genitals leopard

Literally: ‘Mimshe grabbed the leopard’s genitals.’  
 Idiomatically: ‘Mimshe is in deep trouble.’

b. á pò: **láp ɲǵìə** Mímǵó vĕ \_\_\_\_.  
 EXPL TOP genitals leopard Mimshe grab.PST1

‘As for the leopard’s genitals, Mimshe grabbed (them).’ (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)

c. á pǎ jè Mímǵó vĕ láp ɲǵìə.  
 EXPL COP.PRS like Mimshe grab.PST1 genitals leopard

Literally: ‘It seems like Mimshe grabbed the leopard’s genitals.’  
 Idiomatically: ‘It seems that Mimshe is in deep trouble.’

- d. **Mímǰó** pǎ jè kâ: í-vě láp ɲgǰə.  
 Mimshe COP.PRS like COMP 3SG-grab.PST genitals leopard  
 ‘Mimshe seems like he grabbed the leopard’s genitals.’ (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)

### 5.3 Sluicing

Sluicing is a type of ellipsis where, in most cases, everything except for a *wh*- expression is elided (Merchant 2001).

- (44) A. Mímǰó jùn jǐm.  
 Mimshe buy.PST1 thing  
 ‘Mimshe bought something.’  
 B. kǐ?  
 what  
 ‘What did Mimshe buy?’

Sluicing in some languages is island-sensitive (e.g. Nupe, see Mendes & Kandybowicz 2021), implicating movement in the derivation of the sluice. In this case, the movement analysis (i) would make the prediction that sluices originating in any of the so-called “island” structures in (1-8) should be unavailable, while the base-generation analysis (ii) would predict the possibility of such sluices.

If this were true for Shupamem, then sluicing could serve as a decisive diagnostic for movement vs. base-generation analyses of purported  $\bar{A}$ -movement out of “islands.”

Unfortunately, sluicing is not a decisive diagnostic of overt  $\bar{A}$ -movement in Shupamem because sluicing in the language appears to have a *wh*- in-situ source structure.<sup>4</sup> Example (45B) below shows that sluicing of the second conjunct of an NP coordinate structure, an island in the language (46), is possible.

- (45) A. Mímǰó kǐp [rǐ: pò: jǐm].  
 Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ thing  
 ‘Mimshe broke the chair and something.’  
 B. kǐ?  
 what  
 ‘What?’
- (46) \* á pò: **té:bè** Mímǰó kǐp [rǐ: pò: \_\_\_\_] nè kǐ.  
 EXPL TOP table Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ with strength  
 Intended: ‘As for the table, Mimshe broke the chair and (it).’

The data in example (47) supports the conclusion that sluicing in Shupamem does not have a move-and-delete derivation. The source of a sluice appears to be a *wh*- in-situ structure.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly in other languages: Morgan 1973; Hankamer 1979; Abe 2015; Ott & Struckmeier 2016; Stigliano 2020.



- (47) a. Mímjǎ kíp [rì: pô: kǐ]?  
 Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ what  
 ‘What is the x such that Mimshe broke the chair and x?’  
 $\Rightarrow$   
 b. ~~Mímjǎ kíp~~ [~~rì:~~ ~~pô:~~ kǐ]?  
 Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ what

Therefore, (45B) does not involve actual *wh*-movement, but rather a *wh*-in-situ + delete derivation. Consequently, sluicing cannot be used as a decisive diagnostic to test whether movement out of the “islands” considered in this paper has occurred.

## 6 Conclusion

The purported “island” configurations in Shupamem discussed in this paper (1-6) exhibit strong and weak crossover effects, allow parasitic gap licensing and manifest reconstruction effects (Table 2).

Table 2:  $\bar{A}$ -movement diagnostics in Shupamem syntactic “island” configurations

	Crossover Effects	Parasitic Gap Licensing	Reconstruction Effects
Sentential Subject Constructions	✓	✓	✓
Complex NPs (Relative Clauses)	✓	✓	✓
Complex NPs (Clausal Complements of N)	✓	✓	✓
Temporal Clauses	✓	✓	✓
Reason Clauses	✓	✓	✓
Conditional Clauses	✓	✓	✓
Factive Clauses	—	—	—
Embedded Questions	—	—	—

This serves as evidence in favor of  $\bar{A}$ -movement out of these domains. Therefore, we conclude that these constructions do not constitute syntactic islands in Shupamem.

Although we did not apply our diagnostics to embedded questions (8), we expect them to align with complex NP constructions of the relative clause type (2) since their formation involves a RC structure.

We did not apply our diagnostics to factive clauses (7) and the *wh*-in-situ variety of embedded questions (8a,b), but we expect them to behave the same.

In conclusion, certain domains that one expects to be syntactic islands do not have the status of islands in Shupamem. Our findings here parallel those recently discovered in other languages. For example, like Shupamem, all adjunct clauses in Ikpana are transparent for  $\bar{A}$ -movement (Kandybowicz et al. to appear) and in Norwegian, temporal and conditional adjunct clauses (but not reason clauses) fail to have strong island status (Bondevik et al. 2019; Faarlund 1992; Kush et al. 2018).

We speculate that the reason that  $\bar{A}$ -movement is available in all of these cases concerns the syntax of relativization, given that the syntax of relative clauses is implicated in all cases of  $\bar{A}$ -movement discussed in this talk.

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