

**Resumption in Chimiini Passives**  
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**I. Preliminaries: Prepositions and the Associative construction in Chimiini<sup>2</sup>**

- Bantu lgs generally have few true prepositions. In Chimiini maybe just one or two.
  - na* 'and, with, by'
  - ka* 'for, at, through'
- The associative construction is used to relate two syntactic phrases. Highly variable semantics. The marker is –a and agrees with the first nominal.

(2) Illustrating with Swahili

<b>material:</b>	<i>nyumba za mawe</i>	'houses made of stone'
<b>contents:</b>	<i>chupa ya maji</i>	'a bottle of water'
<b>place of origin:</b>	<i>mtu wa Utete</i>	'a person from Utete'
<b>place of use:</b>	<i>saa ya mkono</i>	'wrist-watch' (clock for the arm)
<b>time of use:</b>	<i>chakula cha asubuhi</i>	'breakfast' (food for morning)
<b>function:</b>	<i>miti ya kujengea</i>	'sticks for building'
<b>possessor:</b>	<i>kisu cha Hamisi</i>	'Hamisi's knife'

- Phrases which would be translated as prepositional phrases in English also use the associative construction. Particular nominals are adapted and take a more functional meaning (again, this is Swahili):

(3)	<i>chini ya</i>	below	<i>chini</i>	'ground'
	<i>juu ya</i>	over, about	<i>juu</i>	'high'
	<i>kabla ya</i>	before (time)	<i>kabla</i>	'before'
	<i>mbele ya</i>	in front of	<i>mbele</i>	'front'
	<i>baada ya</i>	after (time)	<i>baada</i>	'after'
	<i>nyuma ya</i>	behind	<i>nyuma</i>	'behind' (place)
	<i>ndani ya</i>	inside	<i>ndani</i>	'interior'
	<i>kati ya</i>	between	<i>kati</i>	'middle'
	<i>katikati ya</i>	among	<i>katikati</i>	'center'
	<i>nje ya</i>	outside	<i>nje</i>	'out'

<sup>1</sup> As in all my work on Chimiini I am deeply grateful to Charles Kisseberth for sharing his work both current and past, including unpublished data. Studying data he collected brought this phenomena to my attention and much of the current examples come from his work with Geilani Dini. Errors are all my own.

<sup>2</sup> Given responsibilities of organizing ACAL, I didn't have the time I needed to prep for this talk. This handout is terrible. If a student used it, I'd give them a C-.

- ‘ya’ here agrees with the noun, all of which happen to be class 9. In Chimiini, at least a few of them are not.<sup>3</sup>

(4)                mu-kée=w-e)                Ø-simeme                chinume cha                Omári)  
                          1.wife=cl1-3sg.poss 3sg.sm-stand.pst    7.behind 7.asc                Omari  
                          ‘His wife stood behind Omari’

## II. Resumption

- Resumptive pronouns are (a non-distinct set of) pronouns that are bound by a DP in some non-thematic position, often appearing “in a position in which a gap might have appeared” (McCloskey 2017).
- Typically discussed in the context of A-bar movement. RPs are usually optional when in a position from which movement is allowed:

(5) Irish (McCloskey 2017)

- a. an ghirseach a                ghoid na síogáí \_  
     the girl                C.PAST stole the fairies  
     ‘the girl who the fairies stole away’
- b. an ghirseach ar                ghoid na síogáí í  
     the girl                C.PAST stole the fairies her  
     ‘the girl who the fairies stole away’

- And possible/obligatory in positions from which movement is disallowed (famously, within islands):

(7) Irish (McCloskey 2017)

na hamhráin sin    nach bhfuil fhios    cé a chum    iad  
 the songs                DEMON C-NEG is    knowledge who c composed them  
 ‘those songs for which it isn’t known who composed them’                WH-ISLAND

- Resumption also cannot be ‘too close.’ McCloskey 1990’s Highest Subject Restriction, taken to be due to something like an A-bar domain version of Principle B (the A-bar Disjointness Requirement), though this does not seem to be universal.

(8) a. \*fear nár                fhan    sé sa    bhaile  
       man C-NEG.PAST remained he in-the home  
       ‘a man that didn’t stay at home’                IRISH

b. fear nár                fhan    \_ sa    bhaile  
       man C-NEG.PAST remain    in-the home  
       ‘a man that didn’t stay at home’                IRISH

<sup>3</sup> Note in Chimiini data right parenthesis indicate the right boundary of prosodic phrases. Accent marks indicate pitch-accent which is penultimate in most prosodic phrases, but final in some grammatical contexts. Ø represents a null morpheme, chiefly 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

- Chimiini exhibits A-bar resumption with topicalized and relativized DPs in familiar patterns. Resumption with an extracted local subject is rare, but does occur:

(9) Muusa/ mux̣taa (ye)/ Ø-iló/ mi/ n-ch-andikaa xaṭi  
 M. time 3.sg.pro 3sg-come.pst.rel 1.sg.pro 1<sup>st</sup>-narr-write 9.letter  
 ‘Muusa, when he came, I was writing a letter’

- Extraction from object position optionally results in object-marking on the verb (preferred with animate objects, dispreferred with inanimates):

(10) muntu w-a Ali/ Ø- mw-eenó/ Ø-olosh-ele  
 1.person 1.rel Ali 3sg-3sg.obj-see.pst.rel 3sg-leave-pst  
 ‘the man that Ali saw left’

(11) pesa zaa ye/ Ø-les-elo madrasaa=ní  
 10.money 10.asc 3.sg.pro 3sg-bring-pst.rel school=loc  
 ‘the money that she/he brought to the school’

- Extraction from PP and AscP domains, however, results in obligatory resumption.

(12) a. n-fakeṭe kati y-a waantú)  
 1sg-run.pst between 9-asc2.people  
 ‘I ran between the people.’

b. wánthu w-aa mí) n-fakeṭo kati y-aa wó)  
 2.people. 2-rel 1.sg.pro 1.sg.sm-run.pst.rel between 9.asc 3.pl.pro  
 ‘the men that I ran between (them)’

c. \*wá-ntu w-aa mí) n-fakeṭo kati y-á \_\_)  
 ‘the men that I ran between’

- Another common construction is to dislocate a noun and use an impersonal passive. You can tell it is impersonal because of default class 9 agreement on the verb.

(13) a. i-kalenṭa naa=Omári)  
 9.sm-stay.pst.pass with-Omari  
 ‘there was staying with Omari

b. Omári) i-kalenṭa náa=ye)  
 Omari 9.sm-stay.pst.pass with-3sg.pro  
 ‘Omari, there was staying with him’

Other examples:

(14) a. i-lanila na Núuru)  
'there was quarreling with Nuuru'

b. Núuru) i-lanila náa=ye)  
'there was quarreling with Nuuru'

(15) a. i-chi-jowa na w-aaná=w-e)  
'there was eating with the children'

b. w-aaná=w-e) i-chijowa náa=wo) (wo = 'them')  
'the children, there was eating with them'

- Rezac (2011) argues that nothing about the nature of resumption should limit it to the A-bar domain.
- Ingredients of resumption (McCloskey 2002)
  - a. A nonthematic position to base-generate a DP
  - b. A mechanism to interpretively link the DP to a pronoun
  - c. Satisfiability of the featural requirements of the structure.
- It is (c) that tends to make resumption more limited in the A-domain where the locality conditions on phi-Agreement and Case Domains come into play for many languages. In particular, when T projects a non-thematic TP and T has downward-agreeing phi-features, the interpretation of a DP merged in that Spec,TP will be limited by that phi-Agree relation. Given locality conditions on phi-Agree, the result is typically the closest thematically-related element. If that goal is in the same Case domain as the element in Spec,TP, the result is A-movement (copy deletion); if it is in a separate Case domain, the copy cannot be deleted and the result is A-resumption. A third possibility is when an expletive is merged in Spec,TP and associated with the goal.
- Rezac argues this is why A-resumption often seems limited to Copy Raising (11e): the locality restrictions on phi-Agree of the matrix T restrict the possibilities for A-resumption.

- (16) a. It seems that Nessa really enjoys cooking  
b. Nessa seems \_\_\_ to really enjoy cooking  
c. \*Nessa seems that she really enjoys cooking.  
d. It seems like Nessa really enjoys cooking.  
e. **Nessa<sub>i</sub> seems like she<sub>i</sub> really enjoys cooking.**

Side note: Chimiini also exhibits Copy Raising constructions, though limited because Chimiini doesn't have a lot of raising verbs:

(17) N-na-m-suḷa                      Muusáí/ yéí/      kh-shinda maṭezó  
 1sg-pres-3sg.obj-want M.      3sg.pro inf-win      6.game  
 'I want Musa to win the game.'

- Rezac (2011) argues that the limitations on A-resumptions imposed by phi-Agree are lifted in languages where the feature requirements of T are otherwise satisfied locally. In that case, a DP in Spec,TP can receive interpretation by binding any thematically-linked matching pronoun in its domain. Celtic languages like Irish and Breton as well as Arabic and Hebrew exhibit double subject constructions in which a DP 'broad subject' is argued to be in an A position and corresponds with a local resumptive pronoun.
- Rezac argues that in these constructions, T that introduces the non-thematic DP doesn't enter a phi-Agree relationship with the bound variable because T's requirements are satisfied locally (either by agreement with something else or because it lacks phi-features).
- However, Rezac doesn't consider other constructions in which the phi features of T might have other local goals in the A-domain. In particular, if Spec,TP is a non-thematic position in a clause without a thematic subject or object, the closest available goal could be a copy within another case domain, namely in a PP or Associative construction.
- This is what Chimiini exhibits in passives: objects of PP and AscP phrases can be passivized and the result is local A-resumption:

(18) a.      safári) i-darbeṭa                      jisa súura) náa=yo)  
 9.trip    9.sm-prepare.pst.pass very well with-9.pro  
 'the trip was prepared well for it'

b.      safári) zi-darbeṭa jisa súura) náa=zo)  
 'the trips were prepared well for them'

(19) a.      m-bwá)              Ø-ṭezeza                      naa yé)  
 9.dog              3.sg-play.pst.pass              with 3sg.pro  
 'the dog was played with'

b.      m-bwá)              s-ṭezeza                      naa zó)  
 10.dog              10-play.pst.pass              with 10.pro  
 'the dogs were played with'

(20) w-áana) wa-kesheza naa=wó)  
 2.children 3pl-stay.up.pst.pass with=3pl.pro  
 'the children were stayed up all night with'

- We also find this with the preposition *ka*. However, the resumptive pronoun in this case looks different, taking on a locative form.

(21) mú-ke) Ø-cholokowa káa-k-e) ka + k-e \*kaa-ye  
 1.woman 3sg.go.pass ka-15-3sg  
 'the woman was gone to'

- It's preferred, however, to do dislocation:

(22) a. i-cholokowa kaa múke)  
 'there was going to the woman'  
 b. mú-ke) i-cholokowa káake)  
 'the woman, there was going to her place'

- In the associative construction, a reduced set of pronominal enclitics are used, /-e/ for third person singular and /-wo/ for third plural. Noun class isn't reflected.

(23) a. mí) n-simeme chi-nume ch-a Hamadí)  
 1sg.pro 1sg-stand.pst 7.behind 7.asc H.  
 'I stood behind Hamadi'

b. Hamadí) Ø-simema chi-numé=ch-e)  
 'Hamadi was stood behind'

(24) a. mí) n-faṭeme chi-nume ch-a faṭuurá)  
 1sg.pro 1sg-hide.pst 7.behind 7.asc 9.car  
 'I hid behind the car'

b. faṭúura) i-faṭema chi-numé=ch-e)  
 'the car was hid behind'

c. ma-gári) ya-faṭema chi-nume=ch-áawo)  
 'the cars were hidden behind.'

- (25) a. nyúnyi) Ø-ulushile ilu y-aa mí-ti)  
 'the bird flew above the trees'
- b. mí-ti) ya-'ulushi<sub>l</sub>a ilu=y-áawo)  
 'the trees were flown above them'

- Sometimes, however, we do not see agreement with the associative morpheme and the prepositional noun. Instead, we get *k-*. This might be analyzed as the associative morpheme showing class 15 agreement. The latter is the locative class, but could also be understood as a default agreement. Recall the preposition *ka*. Historically, this has been analyzed as a general or locative associative morpheme. I do not yet understand the distribution of this variation.

- (26) a. Omári) Ø-panzile ilu y-a lkúta) 'Omari climbed over the wall'  
 b. l-kúta) l-panzi<sub>l</sub>a ilú=k-e) 'the wall was climbed over it' (??ilu y-e)
- (27) a. Ø-kalent<sub>h</sub>e ilu y-aa chí-ti) 'he sat on the chair'  
 b. chí-ti) sh-kalent<sub>h</sub>a ilú=k-e) 'the chair was sat on'
- (28) a. mí) n-inenzele kati y-a may<sub>t</sub>i) 'I walked among the corpses'  
 b. máy<sub>t</sub>i) z-inenze<sub>l</sub>a kati káawo) 'the corpses were walked among them'

If the analysis here is on the right track, it should not be possible to passivize out of a PP/AsCP when there is an intervening goal since this will block phi-Agree between T and the goal. This is the case: passivization isn't possible when the verb has an object.

- (29) a. mí) m-beshelee chi-tí) m-bele y-a Omári)  
 'I placed the chair in front of Omari'
- b. chí-ti) chi-weshe<sub>l</sub>a m-bele y-a Omári)  
 'the chair was placed in front of Omari'
- c. \*Omári) Ø -weshe<sub>l</sub>aa chi-ti mbele=ke  
 'Omari was placed the chair in front of'

Another prediction of this account is that if a language happens to have a lower non-thematic position for DPs, resumption from this position should also be available. Chimiini does happen to allow this. I take this to be a non-thematic Spec,vP position, perhaps the same as the case position of ECM verbs. It is possible to move the object of a PP/AsCP to this position and resume it:

- (30) a. Osmáani) Ø-kalente ilu y-aa chíti)  
 O. 3sg-sit.pst on.top 9.asc 7.chair  
 'Osmaani sat on a chair'
- b. Osmáani) Ø-kalente chí-ti) ilú=k-e)  
 O. 3sg-sit.pst 7.chair on.top=k-3.sg  
 'Osmaani sat the chair on it'

### Conclusions:

Resumption in Chimiini passives offer yet another piece of evidence that resumption is not limited to A-bar domains. It is also compatible with Rezac's hypothesis that A-resumption is constrained by phi-Agree and Case domains, generally appearing only when the resumptive pronoun transmits an index to a non-thematic DP via phi-Agree and resides in a distinct Case domain (in constructions where phi-Agree is relevant).

### References

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