

A non-stranding approach to resumption: Evidence from South Asia¹

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Abstract

Two types of resumption are argued for in the literature: (i) base-generated resumption and (ii) resumption as movement (Aoun et al. 2001; Boeckx 2003). The latter is analyzed as involving stranding. A DP merges in its base position with a resumptive element adjoined to it. Movement targets the DP, while the resumptive element is left behind – or stranded. This article presents evidence from Copy Control in Telugu to show that a stranding approach fails to account for movement-related resumption in this South Asian language. As an alternative, the article offers a non-stranding account and extends it to another South Asian language, Assamese.


1. Introduction

There are two types of resumptive elements argued for in the literature. These are (i) base-generation resumptive elements that relate to their antecedent via binding, and (ii) resumptive elements that are the result of movement (Aoun et al. 2001; Boeckx 2003). Aoun et al. label base-generated resumption as true resumption, and they consider resumption that is the outcome of movement as apparent resumption.² True resumption takes place only if movement, and

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 2. Boeckx (2003), building on Sells (1984), generally agrees with the distinction made by Aoun et al. (2001), but he names the two types of resumption differently. He labels base-generated resumption as intrusive resumption and resumption that is the outcome of movement as true resumption.

thus apparent resumption, fails. In other words, true resumption is a last resort device, blocked by the more prevalent and more economical device, apparent resumption.

Aoun et al. analyze resumption in Lebanese Arabic. They argue that Lebanese Arabic licenses both types of resumption. What is most relevant for the purpose of this article is that they analyze apparent resumption as involving stranding. A resumptive element (more specifically, a strong pronoun or an epithet) starts out as an appositive adjoined to its antecedent. Later in the derivation, the antecedent moves, and the resumptive element is left behind, or stranded:³

- (1) antecedent ... [_{DP} ~~antecedent~~ [_{DP} strong pronoun/epithet phrase]]
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Aoun et al. limit their discussion to Lebanese Arabic. Boeckx (2003) adopts the same approach to resumption and applies it cross-linguistically. The main purpose of this article is to show that an analysis in terms of stranding à la Aoun et al. (2001) and Boeckx (2003) (see also Kayne 2002) does not work for all languages. In particular, it does not work for the Dravidian language Telugu. Telugu licenses a special type of apparent resumption (hereafter resumption) which Haddad (2009) labels as Copy Control (see also Polinsky and Potsdam 2006: 174). In the following sections, I present evidence to show that Telugu Copy Control may only be analyzed as resumption *minus* stranding.

The article is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the relevant data from Telugu. Central to the discussion is the assumption that Copy Control is the outcome of movement rather than base-generation. Section 3 rules out base-generation, suggesting that Copy Control is more likely to be movement. Section 4 shows that a stranding approach to resumption fails to account for the data and offers a non-stranding alternative. Section 5 provides answers to some unresolved issues. Section 6 briefly extends the analysis to another South Asian language, Assamese. Section 7 concludes the article.

2. Domain of investigation

Telugu is a subject pro-drop, head-final, SOV language that licenses non-nominative subjects (Krishnamurti 1997, 2003; Subbarao and Bhaskararao 2004).

3. According to Aoun et al., stranding also applies to weak pronouns. Unlike with strong pronouns, however, when a weak pronoun is involved, it occupies the head position of a DP, while the antecedent occupies the specifier position, as (i) shows. Later in the derivation, the antecedent moves and the pronoun is stranded.

(i) antecedent ... [_{DP} ~~antecedent~~ [_D weak pronoun]]

Sentences (2a) and (2b) are examples. Both sentences may be realized with a null subject. In (2a) the subject is nominative, while in (2b) it is dative.⁴

- (2) a. *(atanu) bhoojanamu tinna-Du.*
 he.NOM dinner ate-3.M.S
 'He ate dinner.'
 b. *(atani-ki) jwaram waccin-di.*
 he-DAT fever.NOM came-3.N.S
 'He had a fever.'

Telugu has non-finite adjuncts known as conjunctive participle (CNP) clauses. The language licenses Obligatory Control into CNP clauses. Obligatory Control is an obligatory relation of coreferentiality between two arguments in a given structure. In the case of Telugu, the two arguments are the matrix and CNP subjects, as (3a–e) illustrate.⁵ Note that the two subjects would be case-marked differently in (3a–b) and the same in (3c–e). Disjoint subjects are disallowed.

- (3) a. [$\Delta_{i/*k}$ *jwaram wacc-i*] *Kumaar_i hospital⁶*
 [Δ .DAT fever.NOM come-CNP] Kumar.NOM hospital
weLLaa-Du.
 went-3.M.S
 'Having had a fever, Kumar went to the hospital.'
 b. [$\Delta_{i/*k}$ *aa maaTa win-i*] *Naa boss-ki_i koopam*
 [Δ .NOM that matter hear-CNP] my boss-DAT anger.NOM
waccin-di.
 came-3.N.S
 'Having heard the news, my boss got angry.'
 c. [$\Delta_{i/*k}$ *niiLLu kaac-i*] *Sarita_i tea tayaruru*
 [Δ .NOM water boil-CNP] Sarita.NOM tea prepare
ceesin-di.
 did-3.N.S
 'Having boiled the water, Sarita prepared the tea.'

4. Abbreviations: 1 '1st person', 3 '3rd person', ACC 'accusative', CL 'classifier', CNP 'conjunctive participle', DAT 'dative', EMPH 'emphatic', F 'feminine', GEN 'genitive', HON 'honorific', LOC 'locative', M 'masculine', N 'neuter' also used for 'feminine', NEG 'negative', NOM 'nominative', P 'plural', S 'singular'.

5. The CNP verbs in (3a–d) are participial; the one in (3e) is durative. For the purpose of this article, I will gloss both types of verbs as CNP.

6. Words borrowed from English are presented in English spelling.

- d. [$\Delta_{i/*k}$ *kuuragaayalu kon-i*] *Kumaar vanTa*
 [Δ .NOM vegetables buy-CNP] Kumar.NOM cooking
ceesaa-Du.
 did-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar bought vegetables and cooked.’
- e. *Kumaar_i* [$\Delta_{i/*k}$ *sinimaa cuus-tuu*] *paapkaarn*
 Kumar.NOM [Δ movie watch-CNP] popcorn
tinnaa-Du.
 ate-3.M.S
 ‘While watching a movie, Kumar ate popcorn.’

The sentences in (3) are instances of Forward Control in which the matrix subject is pronounced, determining the identity of the unpronounced CNP subject. In addition, Telugu licenses Copy Control into CNP clauses, as (4a–c) illustrate. In these structures, the matrix and CNP subjects are obligatorily coreferential and are both pronounced.⁷

- (4) a. [*Kumaar-ee tappu cees-i*] *Kumaar-ee*
 [Kumar.NOM-EMPH mistake do-CNP] Kumar.NOM-EMPH
edavatam modalupettaa-du.
 crying started-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar started crying although he has made a mistake.’
- b. [*Kumaar-ee annam vand-i*] *Kumaar-ee*
 [Kumar.NOM-EMPH rice make-CNP] Kumar.NOM-EMPH
padesaa-du.
 threw away-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar threw away the food although it is he who cooked it.’
- c. [*Kumaar-ee kuuragaayalu kon-i*]
 [Kumar.NOM-EMPH vegetables buy-CNP]
Kumaar-ee vanta ceesaa-du.
 Kumar.NOM-EMPH Cooking did-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar bought vegetables and cooked too.’

7. I thank Ganga Bhavani Manthini for the sentences in (4). I also thank Sashikiran Chowdary, Suhitha Reddy Chigarapalli, Karthik Boinapally, Mahesh Tanniru, and Santhosh Kopidaka for the data in (5) and (6). It is worth noting that while the sentences in (4) through (6) were judged as acceptable by all the Telugu native speakers I consulted, Ganga Bhavani Manthini and K.V. Subbarao only found the ones in (4) with both the emphatic markers and exact copies as acceptable; they considered the structures in (5) and (6) as degraded or ungrammatical. I do not have an explanation for this discrepancy at this point, although it is important to point out that age might have been a factor. All the consultants who volunteered the sentences in (5) and (6) and/or judged them as acceptable were younger native speakers of Telugu (in their 20’s or early 30’s), which seems to imply that the Copy Control in (5) and (6) comprise a recent phenomenon. However, this is only a speculation that warrants further investigation.

The subjects in each of (4a–c) involve an emphatic marker. This is not a requirement, however, as the examples in (5) demonstrate.

- (5) a. [**Kumaar-ki** lottery tagil-i] **Kumaar** Egaradam
 [Kumar-DAT lottery win-CNP] Kumar jumping
modalupettaa-Du.
 started-3.M.S
 ‘Having won the lottery, Kumar started jumping.’
- b. [**Kumaar** mottaniki exam-loo pass ayy-i]
 [Kumar.NOM at last exam-LOC pass
Kumaar andariki ceppaa-Du.
 happen-CNP] Kumar.NOM everyone tell-3.M.S
 ‘Having finally passed the exam, Kumar told everybody.’
- c. [**Kumaar-ki** jwaram wacc-i] **Kumaar** hospital
 [**Kumar.DAT** fever.NOM come-CNP] **Kumar.NOM** hospital
weLLaa-Du.
 went-3.M.S
 ‘Having had a fever, Kumar went to the hospital.’
- d. [**Naa boss** aa maaTa win-i] **Naa boss-ki**
 [**my boss.NOM** that matter hear-CNP] **my boss-DAT**
koopam waccin-di.
 anger.NOM came-3.N.S
 ‘Having heard the news, my boss got angry.’
- e. [**Sarita** niiLLu kaac-i] **Sarita** tea tayaru
 [**Sarita.NOM** water boil-CNP] **Sarita.NOM** tea prepare
ceesin-di.
 did-3.N.S
 ‘Having boiled the water, Sarita prepared the tea.’

The two subjects may be realized as exact copies of the same NP, as in (4) and (5). Alternatively, the matrix subject may be realized as a pronoun or an epithet, (6a–g).

- (6) a. [**Kumaar-ee** tappu cees-i] **atanu-ee/aa**
 [Kumar.NOM-EMPH mistake do-CNP] he.NOM-EMPH/that
pichooDu-ee edavatam modalupettaa-du.
 idiot.NOM-EMPH crying started-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar started crying although he has made a mistake.’
- b. [**Kumaar-ee** annam vand-i] **atanu-ee/aa**
 [Kumar.NOM-EMPH rice make-CNP] he.NOM-EMPH/that
pichooDu-ee padesaa-du.
 idiot.NOM-EMPH threw away-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar threw away the food although it is he who cooked it.’

- c. [**Kumaar-ee** *kuuragaayalu kon-i*] **atanu-ee**
 [Kumar.NOM-EMPH vegetables buy-CNP] he.NOM-EMPH
vanta ceesaa-du.
 cooking did-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar bought vegetables and cooked too.’
- d. [**Kumaar-ki** *lottery tagil-i*] **atanu** /
 [Kumar-DAT lottery win-CNP] he.NOM /
aadruṣṭawantuDu *egaradam modalupettaa-Du.*
 the lucky guy.NOM jumping started-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar won the lottery, and he/the lucky guy started jumping.’
- e. [**Kumaar** *mottaniki exam-loo pass ayy-i*]
 [Kumar.NOM at last exam-LOC pass happen-CNP]
atanu / **aadruṣṭawantuDu** *andariki ceppaa-Du.*
 he.NOM / the lucky guy.NOM everyone tell-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar finally passed the exam, and he/the lucky guy told every-
 body.’
- f. [**Kumaar-ki** *jwaram wacc-i*] **atanu** / **aa**
 [Kumar.DAT fever.NOM come-CNP] **he.NOM** / **that**
pichooDu *hospital weLLaa-Du.*
idiot.NOM hospital went-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar had a fever, and he/the idiot went to the hospital.’
- g. [**Sarita** *niiLLu kaac-i*] **aame** *tea tayaruru*
 [Sarita.NOM water boil-CNP] **she.NOM** tea prepare
ceesin-di.
 did-3.N.S
 ‘Sarita boiled the water, and she prepared the tea.’

Building on work by Hornstein (1999, 2003) and Nunes (1995, 2004), Haddad (2009) analyzes control into CNP clauses in Telugu as sideward movement. This is a special type of movement that allows an element to copy out of one phrasal structure and merge in another independently formed and unconnected phrasal structure. To illustrate, the derivational history of the aforementioned instances of control may be summarized as (7). The CNP clause and the matrix clause form independently in (7a). The CNP subject copy-plus-merges with the matrix clause in (7b). In (7c), the CNP clause merges with the matrix clause sentence-internally, probably at vP. At PF only one of the copies is pronounced. At PF, (7d), the lower copy is deleted, and the result is Forward Control similar to (3a–d) above.

- (7) a. [Matrix Clause ...] [CNP Clause Subject ...]
 ↓
 b. [Matrix Clause Subject] [CNP Clause Subject ...]

- c. [[Matrix Clause Subject] [CNP Clause Subject ...]]
- d. PF: [[Matrix Clause Subject] [CNP Clause Subject ...]]

However, under the right conditions, both subjects may be pronounced, resulting in Copy Control similar to the structures in (4) through (6) above. This is possible only if (i) the CNP clause merges sentence-initially, probably at CP, and (ii) the CNP subject is an r-expression (non-pronominal), as (8) illustrates.

- (8) [CP[CNP Clause Subject^{r-expression} ...] [CP[Matrix Clause Subject]]]

If either condition is violated, the result is ungrammaticality. For example, sentences (9a–b) are ungrammatical because they do not abide by these conditions. In (9a), the CNP clause is sentence-internal; in (9b), the CNP subject is not an r-expression. See (Haddad 2009) for a detailed analysis.

- (9) a. **Kumaar* [Kumaar-ki jwaram wacc-i] hospital
Kumar.NOM [Kumar.DAT fever.NOM come-CNP] hospital
weLLaa-Du.
 went-3.M.S
 ‘Having had a fever, Kumar went to the hospital.’
- b. **atanu aa maaTa win-i* atani-ki koopam
he.NOM that matter hear-CNP] he-DAT anger.NOM
waccin-di.
 came-3.N.S
 ‘Having heard the news, he got angry.’

Recall that the subjects in Copy Control constructions may be realized as identical copies of an r-expression, (4) and (5). From a movement perspective, this outcome is not problematic. An r-expression undergoes first merge in the CNP clause. Subsequently, sideward movement takes place, and the r-expression copies out of the CNP clause and merges in the matrix clause as an exact copy. The result is (10a).⁸ In addition, the matrix copy may be realized as a pronoun or an epithet, as illustrated in (6) above. In other words, the two options (10b) and (10c) are also available, which is unexpected from a movement perspective, whereby movement is copy-plus-merge.

- (10) a. [[CNP Clause **r-expression** ...] [Matrix Clause **r-expression**]]
 b. [[CNP Clause **r-expression** ...] [Matrix Clause **pronoun**]]
 c. [[CNP Clause **r-expression** ...] [Matrix Clause **epithet**]]

8. One might argue that the two copies are not exactly identical if they are realized with different Case values. Following Bejar and Massam (1999), I assume that multiple Case checking is possible and that Case feature checking occurs sequentially. When an element moves into a new Case position, the new Case overwrites the previous one.

In Section 4, I show that this variation is possible only if Copy Control is analyzed as resumption minus stranding. Nevertheless, such an analysis is contingent on the assumption that Copy Control is in fact movement. There is a possibility, however, that Copy Control obtains as a result of base-generated resumption. That is, each subject would be base-generated in the clause in which it is pronounced, and the two subjects would relate to each other through binding. Section 3 explains why this cannot be the case.

3. Copy Control as movement: Diagnostics

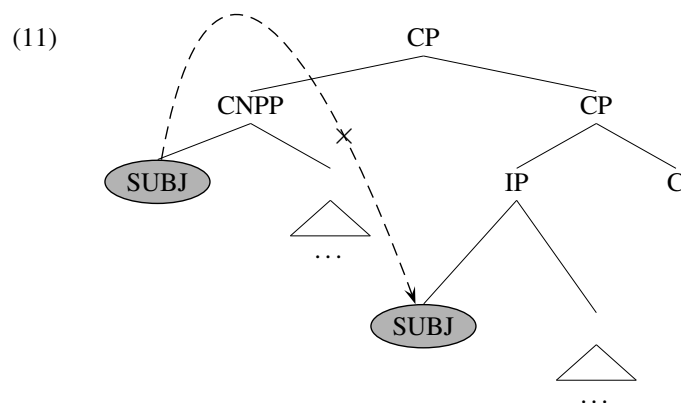
There are at least four reasons to rule out base-generation and to believe that Copy Control is the result of movement. To begin with, base-generated resumptive elements show up in positions out of which movement is illegal. For example, they show up in complex noun phrases, *wh*-islands, and adjunct islands (Aoun et al. 2001: 372; McCloskey 2005: 11–12). Let us assume that movement out of CNP clauses, including sideward movement, is illegal for the simple reason that CNP clauses are adjuncts. In this case, one would expect a resumptive element to be realized inside the CNP clause all the time, contrary to facts. Copy Control obtains only if the CNP clause is sentence-initial. If the CNP clause is sentence-internal, Copy Control is unacceptable. This implies that sideward movement out of CNP clauses is legal and that no base-generated resumptive elements are involved. The conclusion is in line with the assumption that the CNP subject undergoes sideward movement before the CNP clause acquires the status of an adjunct; that is, before it actually adjoins to the matrix clause (Rodrigues 2004:114 and works within).

In addition, McCloskey (2005: 1–3) observes that a resumptive element may be either a pronoun (clitic, strong pronoun, or even *pro* [Cinque 1990]) or an epithet. “That is, resumptive pronouns simply are (formally) pronouns”. As we saw in (4) and (5) above, both pronounced subjects in a Copy Control construction may be *r*-expressions. McCloskey does not mention whether his observation targets base-generated resumption or resumption that is the outcome of movement or both. Assuming that it targets both, the exceptions to this observation in (4) and (5) are more easily accommodated if the matrix subjects are the outcome of movement. The reason is that movement is understood as copy-plus-merge (Chomsky 1995). The CNP subject copies out of the CNP clause and merges in the matrix clause as an exact copy. Compare to the view that the sentences in (4) and (5) are the outcome of base-generated resumption. Under this view, it is difficult to explain how a resumptive element base-generates as an exact copy of the element it resumes.

Further, resumptive elements normally appear in what otherwise is the locus of a gap or a trace (Boeckx 2003: 14; McCloskey 2005: 94; Sells 1984;

Shlonsky 1992; among several others). Assuming that “movement always proceeds from a subordinated to a subordinating domain”, as Nunes (2001: 327–329) convincingly argues, this means that gaps occupy a subordinate structure. Similarly, resumptive elements must be restricted to subordinated domains. If Copy Control were the result of base-generated resumption, one would expect the subordinate/CNP subject to be a resumptive pronominal and the matrix subject to be an r-expression. This is not the case, however. In Copy Control constructions, the subordinate subject *has to be* an r-expression; otherwise, the structure is ungrammatical. It is hard to imagine how a base-generated resumptive pronominal could be realized as an r-expression that has to relate to an antecedent – possibly a pronoun or an epithet – via binding.

Finally, base-generation means that the resumptive element and its antecedent are related via binding. Binding assumes c-command. Nevertheless, the two subjects in a Copy Control structure do not enter a c-command relation, as the dotted arrows in (11) indicate. The reason is that the CNP clause merges with the matrix clause at CP. If the two subjects enter a c-command relationship, it should not be possible for the c-commanded subject to be realized as an r-expression as this will induce a violation of Condition C. See Section 5 for more details.



The discussion thus far indicates that Copy Control is not an instance of base-generated resumption. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the two coreferential subjects are related by movement. It can be argued that the two subjects are coreferential due to a semantic restriction that they be so. In other words, a semantic rather than a syntactic analysis of Copy Control should be possible, which makes the movement approach unnecessary.

As far as I know, the different semantic approaches to control (e.g., Bresnan 1982; Cormack & Smith 2004; Jackendoff & Culicover 2003, and works within) provide an analysis of control into complements, relying crucially on

the selection properties and lexical decomposition of the matrix predicate. The data under investigation are instances of control into adjuncts. In this type of control, the lexical decomposition of the matrix predicate is irrelevant simply because the matrix predicate does not select the adjunct. This is why I believe that a syntactic approach provides a more straightforward analysis and that Copy Control is an instance of resumption. This section has ruled out base-generated resumption. We are left with resumption as movement.

This section has tried to show that the pronominal subject in Copy Control constructions is unlikely to be a base-generated resumptive element. The reasons can be summarized as follows. First, base-generated resumptive pronominals show up in islands (adjuncts, NP clauses) that are immune to movement, and they show up all the time. Copy Control, on the other hand, is not restricted by the adjunctive nature of the CNP clause. Rather, it is restricted by the position of the CNP clause with respect to the matrix clause – that is, whether the CNP clause merges sentence-initial at CP or sentence-internal at vP.

Second, resumptive elements are strictly pronominal (pronouns or epithets). Although the matrix subject in Copy Control structures may be a pronoun or an epithet, it may also be realized as an r-expression that is a non-distinct copy of the CNP subject. Resumptive r-expressions can be straightforwardly accounted for if they are considered as the outcome of movement, but not as straightforwardly if they are considered to be base-generated.

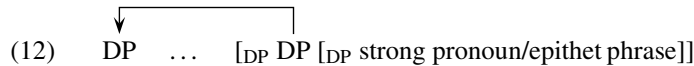
Third, resumptive elements only show up in subordinated domains that usually fail to function as launching sites for movement. When a pronominal subject is pronounced in a Copy Control construction, it shows up in the landing site: the matrix clause.

Finally, base-generation resumption assumes binding, which in turn assumes c-command. The two subjects in a Copy Control structure do not enter a c-command relation. Therefore, the two subjects cannot be related through binding.

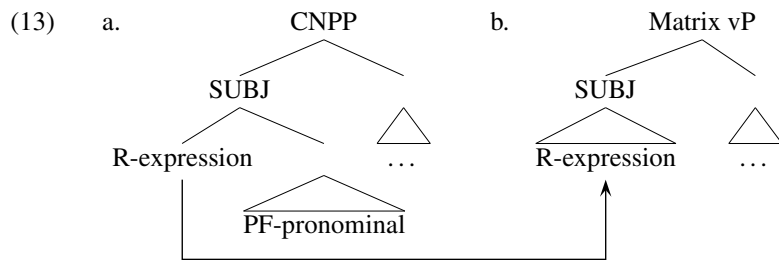
The discussion in this section is not meant to spell out a theory of resumption. This task is beyond the scope of the present work. It is simply a brief diagnosis in order to show that Copy Control is unlikely to be an instance of base-generated resumption. The following section assumes that Copy Control is movement and that the two subjects in the constructions under examination are co-referential because they are identical copies of the same element. It shows that a stranding approach to resumption is not able to account for the Telugu data under investigation. As an alternative, it offers a non-stranding approach.

4. Resumption minus stranding

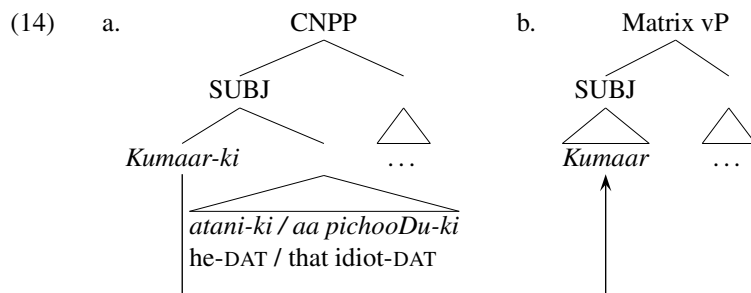
In this section, I will refer to pronouns and epithets that are residues of movement as PF pronominals. As I mentioned in the introduction, in their analysis of resumption in Lebanese Arabic, Aoun et al. (2001: 372; [3]) analyze PF pronominals (more specifically, strong pronouns and epithets) as appositives adjoined to DPs. The DP moves, and the PF pronominal is stranded. This idea is illustrated in (12).



Let us assume with Nunes (2004) that movement only takes place from a subordinated to a subordinating domain. If this is correct, then the subject in a Copy Control construction copies out of the CNP clause and merges into the matrix clause rather than the other way around. In this case, (12) predicts that the r-expression in (13) below must copy out of the CNP clause (13a) and merge into the matrix clause (13b). The stranded CNP copy must be a PF pronominal.

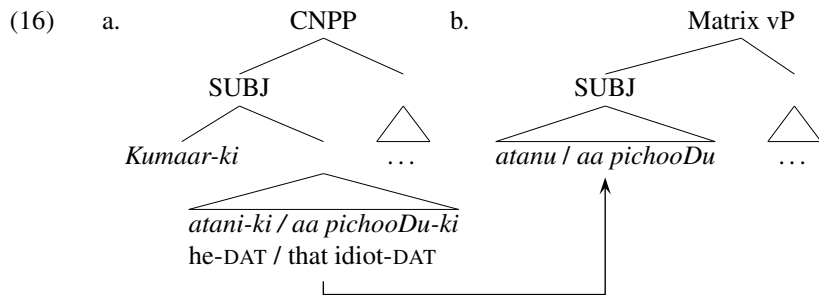


This prediction is not borne out. Consider (14). The CNP subject has the structure proposed in (12). The r-expression copies out of the CNP clause (14a) and merges in the matrix clause (14b). The PF pronominal is stranded in the CNP clause. The outcome is the ungrammatical structure in (15). The reason is that the CNP subject has to be an r-expression rather than a PF pronominal in order for Copy Control to obtain.



- (15) **[atani-ki / aa pichooDu-ki koopam wacc-i]*
 [**he-DAT / that idiot-DAT** anger.NOM come-CNP]
Kumaar *akkadi-nunci wellipoyinaa-Du.*
Kumar.NOM there-from left-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar got angry, and he/the idiot left.’

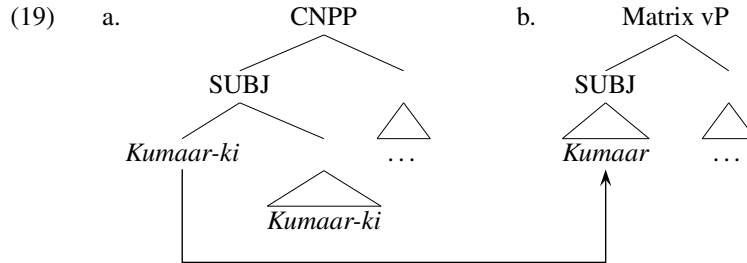
It can be assumed that linear order dictates that the r-expression appear first. Since linearly the CNP clause is realized first, the r-expression appears in the CNP clause. In this way, instead of moving the r-expression to the matrix clause and stranding the PF pronominal, the computational system moves the PF pronominal to the matrix clause and strands the r-expression, as illustrated in (16a–b). The result is the grammatical structures in (17).



- (17) [**Kumaar-ki** *koopam wacc-i*] **atanu / aa**
 [**Kumar-DAT** anger.NOM come-CNP] **he.NOM / that**
pichooDu *akkadi-nunci wellipoyinaa-Du.*
idiot.NOM there-from left-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar got angry, and he/the idiot left.’

Although the outcome in (17) is grammatical, the stranding analysis still fails to account for the instances of Copy Control in which both copies are r-expressions, such as (18). In order for (12) to be able to account for (18), the CNP subject must start as an r-expression whose appositive is an exact copy, (19). Subsequently, one of the copies moves into the matrix clause and the other is stranded.

- (18) [**Kumaar-ki** *koopam wacc-i*] **Kumaar**
 [**Kumar-DAT** anger.NOM come-CNP] **Kumar.NOM**
akkadi-nunci wellipoyinaa-Du.
 there-from left-3.M.S
 ‘Having got angry, Kumar left.’

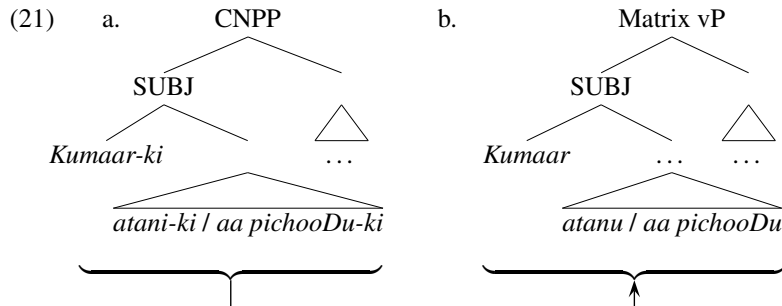


Appositives as presented in (12) may take the form of an epithet (or a strong pronoun), as (20a) illustrates.⁹ I do not know of a case, however, where the appositive is an exact copy of the expression it attaches to. At least in Telugu, such structures are unacceptable, as (20b) shows.

- (20) a. **Kumaar aa pichooDu akkadi-nunci**
Kumar.NOM that idiot.NOM there-from
wellipoyinaa-Du.
 left-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar the idiot left.’
- b. ***Kumaar Kumaar akkadi-nunci wellipoyinaa-Du.**
Kumar.NOM Kumar.NOM there-from left-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar Kumar left.’

A non-stranding alternative to Aoun et al.’s (2001) approach can help account for the Telugu data. Instead of only copying a part of the CNP subject (e.g., the r-expression) and stranding the rest (e.g., the PF pronominal), I suggest that the whole CNP subject copy-plus-merges into the matrix clause, as (21) demonstrates.

9. A pronominal appositive is attested in American Sign Language. If a signer is talking about a person or an object, s/he “first signs the person or object noun being discussed, then either points or gazes to a particular point in space in front of the body. This sets that location as a representation of the original noun. From that point on in the conversation, the signer need only point to that location as a pronominal reference to the original noun” (Tserdanelis and Wong 2004: 459).



The outcome of (21) is (22) below where both the CNP subject and the matrix subject comprise an r-expression with an appositive. At PF, the CNP subject is pronounced as an r-expression. Further, the phonological component decides how the matrix subject is pronounced. Three options are available: an r-expression, a pronoun, or an epithet.

- (22) **[Kumaar-ki [atani-ki / aa pichooDu-ki]] koopam**
[[Kumar-DAT [he-DAT / that idiot-DAT]] anger.NOM
wacc-i] [Kumaar [atanu / aa pichooDu]]
 come-CNP] **[Kumar.NOM [he.NOM / that**
akkadi-nunci wellipoyinaa-Du.
idiot.NOM]] there-from left-3.M.S
 ‘Kumar got angry, and he/the idiot left.’

The following section addresses some unanswered questions.

5. Unresolved issues

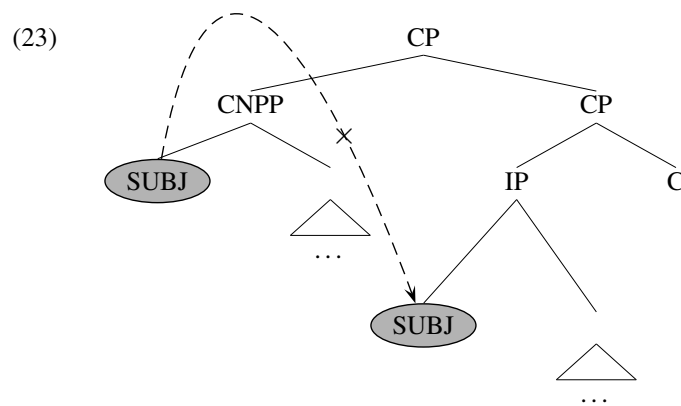
Let us assume that the non-stranding approach presented in Section 4 to account for the Telugu data is on the right track. Two questions remain unanswered:

Question 1: How is it possible for the matrix copy to be realized as an r-expression, a pronoun, or an epithet.

Question 2: Why does the CNP subject have to be an r-expression? In other words, why are the other two options not available for the CNP subject?

Recall from Section 2 that Copy Control structures involve a CNP clause that is adjoined to the matrix clause at CP, resulting in two subjects in a non-c-command relationship. This idea is illustrated in (23). Lack of c-command means that Condition C is not involved. In other words, whatever enforces an r-expression in the CNP clause and allows a PF pronominal in the matrix clause

is unlikely to be Condition C. This is certainly a desired conclusion. Here is why. If we consider (24a), with a pronoun as a CNP subject, ungrammatical due to a Condition C violation, then we have to find a way to explain why (24b), with an r-expression as a matrix subject, is grammatical despite a Condition C violation. According to Condition C, the r-expression in the matrix clause must be simply free (Chomsky 1986: 164–165). That is, it cannot be bound by any element; this includes a PF-pronominal, as well as the r-expression in the CNP clause.



- (24) a. **[atanu Sarita-too naaTyam cees-tuu] Kumar*
 [**he.NOM** Sarita-with dance do-CNP] **Kumar.NOM**
aami-ki katha ceppaa-Du.
 her-DAT story told-3.M.S
 ‘While Kumar was dancing with Sarita, he told her a story.’
- b. [**Kumar** Sarita-too naaTyam cees-tuu]
 [**Kumar.NOM** Sarita-with dance do-CNP]
Kumar aami-ki katha ceppaa-Du.
Kumar.NOM her-DAT story told-3.M.S
 ‘While Kumar was dancing with Sarita, he told her a story.’

It is worth noting that the same observation applies to the object NPs in (24b) above. The CNP object is an r-expression and the matrix object is a pronoun. Obviously the former does not c-command the latter. Yet, if the CNP object is a pronoun and the matrix object is an r-expression, as (25a) illustrates, the result is ungrammaticality under the designated reading. By the same token, both object NPs can be co-referential r-expressions without inducing a violation, (25b).

- (25) a. **Kumaar* [*aami-too_i* *naaTyam cees-tuu*] *Sarita-ki_i*
 Kumar.NOM [**her-with** dance do-CNP] **Sarita-DAT**
katha ceppaa-Du.
 story told-3.M.S
 ‘While Kumar was dancing with her, he told Sarita a story.’
- b. **Kumaar* [*Sarita-too* *naaTyam cees-tuu*] *Sarita-ki*
 Kumar.NOM [**Sarita-with** dance do-CNP] **Sarita-DAT**
katha ceppaa-Du.
 story told-3.M.S
 ‘While Kumar was dancing with Sarita, he told her a story.’

The examples in (25) indicate that the case of the subject NPs in Telugu Copy Control is not control-related. Rather, it follows from a more ubiquitous restriction on cataphoricity – or the ability of a pronominal element to refer to an r-expression that linearly follows it. Unlike English and other similar languages, Telugu lacks cataphoricity. Each of the sentences in (26–27) involves an r-expression and a pronoun that are not in a c-command relationship. In the (a) sentences, the r-expression linearly precedes the pronoun. The sentences are grammatical. In the (b) sentences, the pronoun linearly precedes the r-expression. The sentences are ungrammatical under the designated reading. Notice that the English equivalents are considered acceptable, at least by some speakers. I suggest that lack of cataphoricity also disallows Copy Control structures with a PF pronominal linearly preceding a coreferential r-expression.¹⁰

- (26) a. *pillalu_i* *cuus-ina aa-movie waalla-nu_i*
children.NOM see-INF that-movie **them-ACC**
bayapettin-di.
 frighten-3.N.S
 ‘That movie which the children watched frightened them.’
- b. **waallu_i* *cuus-ina aa-movie pillala-ni_i*
they.NOM see-INF that-movie **children-ACC**
bayapettin-di.
 frighten-3.N.S
 ‘That movie which they watched frightened the children.’

10. Napoli (1992) builds on work by Larson (1988) and Jackendoff (1990) to show that c-command is not the only way to establish domains (in the sense of binding domains) and that linear precedence plays a role as well.

- (27) a. *ninna nenu pillala-ni_i cuusaa-nu appaDu*
yesterday I.NOM **children-ACC** saw-1.S at the time
waallu_i aDukuntunna-ru.
they.NOM were playing-3.M.P
‘Yesterday I saw the children and they were playing.’
- b. **ninna nenu waalla-nu_i cuusaa-nu appaDu*
yesterday I.NOM **them-ACC** saw-1.S at the time
pillalu_i aDukuntunna-ru.
the children.NOM were playing-3.M.P
‘Yesterday I saw them and the children were playing.’

The discussion assumes that information regarding cataphoricity is handled on the phonological side of the computation. This is a fair assumption given that cataphora constraints are linear order restrictions rather than structural restrictions, and linear order is supposed to be encoded at PF (Chomsky 1995).

This brings us to the second question: Why does the CNP subject have to be an r-expression? That is, why is it not possible for the CNP subject to be a pronominal, even if the matrix subject is itself a pronominal? This is exemplified in the ungrammaticality of (28).

- (28) **[atani-ki koopam wacc-i] atanu akkadi-nunci*
[**he-DAT** anger.NOM come-CNP] **he.NOM** there-from
wellipoyinaa-Du.
left-3.M.S
‘Kumar got angry, and the idiot left.’

I take the ungrammaticality of (28) as a language specific behavior. Sentences (29–30) from Dakkhini and Karnataka Konkani suggest that other languages of South Asia might not have this restriction (Arora & Subbarao 2004: 40 [80–81]).

- (29) Dakkhini
[us-ku bukhaar aa-ke] uno mar.gayaa.
[**he-DAT** fever.NOM come-CNP] **he.NOM** died
‘Having had a fever, he died.’
- (30) Karnataka Konkani
[tak-ka taap yewa-nu] tO gellO.
[**he-DAT** fever.NOM come-CNP] **he** died
‘Having had a fever, he died.’

In addition, if the matrix and CNP subjects in a Telugu Copy Control structure bear an emphatic marker, a pronoun in the CNP clause becomes acceptable only if the matrix subject is an exact copy, as (31a–b) show.

- (31) a. [*vaad(u)-ee andari-ki cepp-i*]
 [he.HOM.NOM-EMPH all-DAT tell-CNP]
vaad(u)-ee ceppa-leedu ani antunnaa-du.
 he.HON.NOM-EMPH tell-NEG COMP said-3.M.S
 ‘He himself having said this, he himself said that he didn’t say it.’
- b. [*aame-ee tana pillala-ki abaddaalu cepp-i*]
 [she.NOM-EMPH self’s children-DAT lies tell-CNP]
aame-ee tana pillala-ni paadu ceesin-di.
 she.NOM-EMPH self’s children-ACC spoil did-3.N.S
 ‘She herself having told lies to her children, she herself ruined her children.’ (Subbarao, p.c.)

Based on the above discussion, we can conclude that the forms of the subjects, r-expressions vs. PF pronominals, in Copy Control structures follow from the language-specific constraint against cataphoricity. A stranding approach to resumption fails to generate a structure that obeys this constraint. A non-stranding approach, on the other hand, is able to do so.

6. Beyond Telugu

The type of resumption introduced in the previous sections, although rare, is not unique to Telugu. Other South Asian languages license the same structure, as examples (29) and (30) indicate. Another language that licenses Copy Control is Assamese, an Indo-Aryan language. As far as resumption is concerned, Assamese Copy Control is identical to its Telugu counterpart, as the sentences in (32) illustrate. In other words, Assamese Copy Control also obtains if the CNP clause is realized sentence-initially and if the CNP subject is an r-expression. If the CNP clause is not sentence-initial, (33a), or if the CNP subject is not an r-expression, (33b), the result is ungrammaticality.¹¹

- (32) a. [*Ram-dr_i bfiagor lag-i*] *Ram xui thakil.*
 [Ram-GEN exhaustion feel-CNP] Ram.ABS sleep kept
 ‘Having felt exhausted, Ram now fell asleep.’
- b. [*Ram-dr_i khovj uth-i*] *Ram-e mor gfivr-to*
 [Ram-GEN anger raise-CNP] Ram-NOM my
bfiavjil-e.
 house-CL destroyed-3
 ‘Having got angry, Ram destroyed my house.’

11. I thank the following consultants for the Assamese data: Upanita Goswami, Priyankoo Sarmah, Randeep Pratim Khaund, and Sakib R. Saikia.

- c. [**Proxad-*or*** *ga bea hɔ-i*] **Proxad-*e***
 [Proxad-GEN body bad become-CNP] Proxad-NOM
dɔrob lol-e.
 medicine took-3
 ‘Having got sick, Proxad took a medicine.’
- d. [**Sarita-*r*** *laz lag-i*] **Sarita tai room-ot**
 [Sarita-GEN shy feel-CNP] she.ABS her room-LOC
gal.
 went
 ‘Having felt shy, Sarita went to her room.’

- (33) a. ***Ram** [**Ram-*or***_i *bfiagɔr lag-i*] *xui thakil.*
 Ram.ABS [Ram-GEN exhaustion feel-CNP] sleep kept
 ‘Having felt exhausted, Ram now fell asleep.’
- b. ***[tar**_i *bfiagɔr lag-i*] *xi / Ram xui*
 [he.GEN exhaustion feel-CNP] he.ABS / Ram.ABS sleep
thakil.
 kept
 ‘Having felt exhausted, Ram now fell asleep.’

The latter restriction is also due in part to the lack of cataphoricity in Assamese, as (34) demonstrates. Both (34a) and (34b) contain an r-expression and a co-referential pronoun that are not in a c-command relationship. Sentence (34a) is acceptable because the r-expression linearly precedes the pronoun, while (34b) is unacceptable because the pronoun precedes the r-expression.

- (34) a. *moy lora-sowali-bur-ok_i kali dekhil-o tahat-e_i*
 I.NOM boy-girl-CL.P-ACC yesterday saw-1 they-NOM
tetiya kheli asil.
 at the time play were
 ‘I saw the children yesterday and they were playing.’
- b. **moy tahat-ok_i kali dekhil-o lora-sowali-bur-e_i*
 I.NOM them-ACC yesterday saw-1 boy-girl-CL.P-NOM
tetiya kheli asil.
 at the time play were
 ‘I saw them yesterday and the children were playing.’

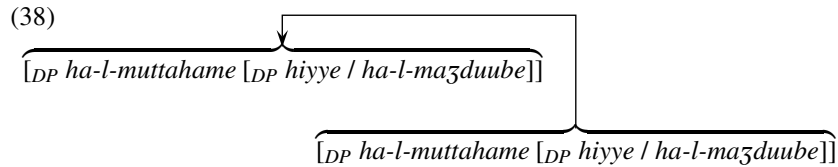
And just like in Telugu, the matrix subject in Assamese Copy Control structures may be realized as a pronoun or an epithet, (35). See Haddad (2007) and Haddad and Potsdam (to appear) for a more detailed discussion.

- (35) a. [Ram-*vr* khub bfiok lag-i] xi /
 [Ram-GEN very hunger feel-CNP] he.NOM /
besera-tu-e posa bfiat khal-e.
 poor guy-CL-NOM stale rice ate-3
 ‘Ram felt very hungry, and he/the poor guy ate stale rice.’
- b. [Ram-*vr* khøj uth-i] xi / gadfiat-tu-e
 [Ram-GEN anger raise-CNP] he.NOM / donkey-CL-NOM
mor gfiir-to bfiat-il-e.
 my house-CL destroyed-3
 ‘Ram got angry, and he/the donkey destroyed my house.’
- c. [Prxad-*vr* ga bea h-i] xi /
 [Proxad-GEN body bad become-CNP] he.NOM /
besera-to-e drob lol-e.
 poor guy-CL-NOM medicine took-3
 ‘The man got sick, and he/the poor guy took a medicine.’
- d. [Sarita-*r* laz lag-i] tai tai room-ot gal.
 [Sarita-GEN shy feel-CNP] she. ABS her room-LOC went
 ‘Sarita felt shy, and she went to her room.’

Now the question is whether resumption-*minus*-stranding qualifies as superior to resumption-*plus*-stranding cross-linguistically. As an attempt to answer this question, let us examine an instance of movement-related resumption in Aoun et al. 2001. Observe the Lebanese Arabic example (36) (based on [10] and [15] in original). According to the stranding approach, the r-expression *ha-l-muttahame* ‘this suspect’ merges in its base position with a resumptive pronominal *hiyye/ha-l-mazduube* ‘she/this idiot’ adjoined to it. Later, movement targets the DP and the resumptive pronominal is left behind, (37). According to the non-stranding approach proposed in this article, the r-expression *ha-l-muttahame* ‘this suspect’ also merges in its base position with a resumptive pronominal *hiyye / ha-l-mazduube* ‘she/this idiot’ adjoined to it. Later, however, movement targets the DP, as well as the resumptive pronominal, (38).

- (36) *ha-l-muttahame* ʔrəfto ʔanno hiyye / *ha-l-mazduube*
 this-the-suspect.S.F know.2P that she / this-the-idiot.S.F
nħabasiit.
 imprisoned.3SF
 ‘Concerning this suspect, you know that the idiot was imprisoned.’

- (37) \downarrow
ha-l-muttahame ... [_{DP} *ha-l-muttahame* [_{DP} *hiyye / ha-l-mazduube*]]



In the case of Telugu (the same applies to Assamese), the language-specific constraint on cataphoricity ensures that the r-expression linearly precede the resumptive pronominal at PF. Further, the lack of c-command allows both copies to be realized as r-expressions without inducing a Condition C violation. Now consider (36, 38). The copy in the matrix clause, not only linearly precedes the subordinate copy, but also c-commands it. This brings Condition C into the picture. Assuming that Condition C applies at PF, this means that the subordinate copy may only be realized as a pronominal.

Note that resumption-*plus*-stranding, (37), and resumption-*minus*-stranding, (38), are both able to account for sentence (36). In other words, the non-stranding approach fares as well as the stranding approach when it comes to movement-related resumption in Lebanese Arabic. In this sense, neither can be considered superior. What makes the non-stranding approach superior, however, is that it generalizes across Copy Control in Telugu and Assamese and resumption in Lebanese Arabic.

7. Conclusion

This article introduced a non-stranding alternative to Aoun et al.’s (2001) and Boeckx’s (2003) analysis of resumption-as-movement in order to account for resumption in Telugu, as well as Assamese, Copy Control structures. The authors argue that a resumptive element is a part of a DP’s first merge. Subsequently, the DP moves, and the resumptive element is stranded. Although this analysis works well for Lebanese Arabic, as well as for other languages (Boeckx 2003), it does not work for the South Asian control data presented in this article. Telugu and Assamese Copy Control suggests that, not only the DP, but the whole phrasal structure copies and merges in the subordinating domain. Decisions concerning the pronunciation of copies are made at PF. Lack of cataphoricity in Telugu and Assamese – plus other language-specific restrictions – enforces the CNP subject to be realized as an r-expression, while the matrix subject is allowed to take on one of three forms: (i) a pronoun, (ii) an epithet, or (iii) an r-expression.

Finally, while non-stranding approach to resumption proves superior to a stranding approach when it comes to Telugu and Assamese Copy Control –

and possibly Lebanese Arabic – it remains to be determined whether the same is true cross-linguistically.

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