

Ash Asudeh. 2012. *The logic of pronominal resumption*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. xix + 463. £37.00 (softcover).

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The book provides a novel analysis of pronominal resumption centred around the syntax–semantics interface and semantic composition. The cornerstones of the proposed account are McCloskey’s Generalization and the Resource Sensitivity Hypothesis (henceforth, RSH), which posits that a natural language is resource-sensitive, i.e., the meaning of each part of a linguistic expression is used only once in the computation of the meaning of the expression.

The book consists of six parts. Part I introduces background information concerning the phenomenon of resumption, as well as the syntactic and semantic theory adopted in the book. Part II focuses on the main theoretical contribution of the book, i.e., the RSH and the Resource Management Theory of Resumption (henceforth, RMTR). Parts III and IV deal with syntactically active and syntactically inactive resumptives, respectively, while Part V concentrates on processor resumptives and copy pronouns in copy raising. Part VI contains the appendices.

Part I is divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 is an Introduction. In chapter 2, resumption is examined in light of McCloskey’s Generalization, which identifies resumptive pronouns as ordinary pronouns. Relying on data from Irish and Hebrew, Asudeh argues that both their form and interpretation favour a treatment as ordinary pronouns. He also examines the distribution of resumptive pronouns cross-linguistically, noting that Irish allows resumptive pronouns in every type of unbounded dependency, including relative clauses, *wh*-questions, clefts, and comparatives. Other languages (e.g., Hebrew, Welsh, and Palestinian Arabic), however, host resumptives in a more limited number of contexts. Asudeh also discusses the behaviour of resumptive pronouns and gaps in islands, weak crossover, reconstruction, across-the-board extraction, and form-identity effects, and concludes that only in some languages, such as Swedish and Vata, do resumptives pattern with gaps, whereas in others, for instance in Irish, they are different from gaps. This distinction leads Asudeh to posit two types of resumptive pronouns, namely syntactically inactive resumptives (henceforth, SIRs), found, for example, in Swedish and Vata, and syntactically active resumptives (henceforth, SARs), present, for instance, in Irish. The third type of resumptives Asudeh distinguishes are the so-called processor resumptives (or intrusive pronouns), attested, for example, in English. The fourth and final type of resumption that Asudeh sets out to analyse are copy pronouns found in copy raising.

Chapters 3 and 4 briefly review the basic tenets of Lexical Functional Grammar and Glue Semantics, based on Kaplan and Bresnan (1982), Dalrymple et al. (1999), Dalrymple (2001), and Crouch and van Genabith (1999), among others.

Part II contains two chapters, the first of which centres around the formal theory behind the RSH, while the other elaborates on the RMTR. In chapter 5, Asudeh argues that resumptive pronouns constitute surplus resources for semantic composition, i.e., their meaning constructors are not consumed by the relative operator and therefore they need to be associated with some other consumer if the RSH is to be maintained.

The consumers of pronominal resources, or licensors of resumptive pronouns, correspond to manager resources, and therefore the theory that Asudeh proposes is called the Resource Management Theory of Resumption. The RMTR, described in chapter 6, highlights the fact that the two types of resumptive pronouns, i.e., inactive — syntactically similar to gaps — and active — syntactically different from gaps — are licensed by means of the same semantic composition mechanism based on manager resources. Likewise, resumptive pronouns in unbounded dependencies and copy pronouns in copy raising both instantiate resumption and are licensed by manager resources. The difference between the latter two classes lies in the choice of licensor of the resumptive pronoun only. Consequently, resumption is viewed as a problem of semantic composition. Manager resources for resumptive pronouns frequently correspond to complementizers. The role of the manager resource is to remove the resumptive pronoun from semantic composition without affecting the rest of the composition. The surplus meaning resource provided by the resumptive pronoun is thus taken care of and the resulting structure is perfectly licit.

Part III, devoted to SARs, consists of two chapters. Chapter 7 demonstrates how the RMTR works for Irish resumptive pronouns, extensively analysed in McCloskey (1979, 2002). Asudeh argues that the difference between unbounded dependencies with gaps and resumptive pronouns in Irish lies in the lexical specification of the complementizers that introduce these dependencies, i.e. *aL* and *aN*, respectively. It is the complementizer *aN* that functions as a manager resource for the resumptive pronoun. The complementizer *aN* licenses the resumptive pronoun by binding it over an arbitrarily long distance, subject to the Highest-Subject Restriction, which bans resumptive pronouns in the subject position immediately following the relative head.

Chapter 8 presents a brief analysis of resumption in Hebrew. Hebrew differs from Irish in that it allows the same complementizers to co-occur with resumptive pronouns and with gaps, without having one specialised complementizer to license resumptives. However, long-distance binding of the resumptive pronoun by the unbounded dependency works in the same way in Hebrew and Irish. The more limited distribution of resumptives in Hebrew, when compared with Irish, results from the fact that Hebrew resumptive pronouns, in contradistinction to gaps, are sensitive to D-linking. For Hebrew, Asudeh proposes an analysis analogous to that of Irish, except that the manager resource this time is not one specific complementizer as in Irish, but rather complementizers in general. This is implemented by associating the resumptive pronoun licensing information with the morphological feature +COMP, present in the lexical entry of the licensor.

Part IV covers two chapters, 9 and 10, which focus on SIRs in Swedish and Vata, respectively. Asudeh argues that resumptive pronouns in these two languages are licensed in the same way as their counterparts in Irish and Hebrew, namely the meaning constructors supplied by resumptive pronouns are consumed by manager resources, which remove the resource surplus created by the pronoun and thus allow successful composition and licensing of the pronoun. Although the licensing mechanism of SIRs is the same as the one proposed for SARs, the way these pronouns are integrated into the f-structure is different. Although in Swedish and Vata the resumptive pronoun represents a pronoun in c-structure, it comes to correspond to a gap

in f-structure. The manager resource for the resumptive pronoun in Swedish, as in Hebrew, is the complementizer system as a whole, rather than any particular complementizer, as in Irish. This, again, is encoded in the feature +COMP of the resumptive pronoun licensor, but this time the complementizer licenses a resumptive pronoun only in a local subject position, and not in any other sentence position. In Vata, the resumptive pronoun is licensed by the left-periphery focus and relative clause particles, as well as by right-periphery question particles, which all share a morphological feature +WH.

Part V is composed of chapters 11 and 12, which address the problem of processor resumptives and copy pronouns, respectively. Processor resumptives come in three types, i.e., complexity, island, and COMP resumptives. Asudeh opts for incremental speech production, i.e., the model in which structure building proceeds in chunks. In other words, at each incremental step, the grammar builds a local structure and then tries to integrate the filler, which may correspond to a gap or a resumptive pronoun. Asudeh argues that English processor resumptives are locally well formed, i.e., they form incrementally well-constructed chunks. However, they are globally ill formed, i.e., they give rise to an ill-formed output of parsing, because they cannot be integrated into the overall structure due to, for instance, island intervention or memory limitations. This explains why they are frequent, but judged ungrammatical by native speakers (this conclusion is also supported by experimental work by Swets and Ferreira 2003). Although ungrammatical, processor resumptives may allow partial interpretations if the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun is definite or indefinite, but not when it represents a quantified NP.

Copy raising is analysed in *like*-complements of verbs such as *seem* and *appear*. Asudeh notes that native speakers systematically differ as to whether they allow the copy pronoun only in the subject position or elsewhere in the sentence. He argues that a copy pronoun is a kind of resumptive pronoun, and therefore in his model it requires a manager resource to be licensed. For a copy pronoun in the subject position, the manager resource corresponds to a local subject, namely the subject of the copy raising verb, and is specified in the lexical entry of the raising verb. For those native speakers that allow copy pronouns also in other sentence positions, the lexical entry of the copy raising verb must be accordingly modified.

The book offers new insights into the nature and licensing of resumption cross-linguistically. It is written in a lucid way, which makes it accessible even to those who have no prior knowledge of Lexical-Functional Grammar or Glue Semantics. It will be of interest both to semanticists and syntacticians who want to get a better understanding of the complex phenomenon of resumption.

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Neil Smith. 2010. *Acquiring phonology: A cross-generational case study*. In the series *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics* 124. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. xvii + 265. US\$107.00 (hardcover).

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This is the second of two books on phonological acquisition that Neil Smith has authored. The first, *The acquisition of phonology: A case study* (1973), documented the linguistic development of his eldest son, Amahl (A). The present work documents the linguistic development of his son's eldest son, Zachary (Z), in which Smith uses theoretical advancements in the field to reinterpret previous data and to compare it cross-generationally. From the beginning, Smith admits to the possible limitations of his work but makes no apologies for the 'old school' system of diary study he uses as it, too, holds descriptive validity that can be extended to inform theory.

Smith assumes the Chomskyan view of the language faculty and language acquisition, in terms of its innateness, and adopts the Principles and Parameters framework. Departing from Chomsky, however, he maintains that any theory of phonological acquisition that aspires to achieve "psychological reality" must deliberately avoid using rule ordering so as to limit the number of possible learnability issues that accompany processing problems. It is worth noting that Smith does not do away with phonological rules altogether; rather he advocates for the lack of rule ordering in child language acquisition, which places this book in contrast with his first title on the topic.

In the first chapter, Smith explores aspects of phonological acquisition that can be explained in terms of perceptual and motor maturity and gives a quick rundown of the linguistic development timeline. The author also reviews key concepts such as competence and performance, levels of adequacy, levels of representations and their units, learnability, universals, innateness, and continuity.

The second chapter focuses on Smith's past findings, which used a rule-based framework. His major claims were that by the time children begin to speak, their