



Article

Absence of Clausal Islands in Shupamem

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Abstract: Decades-long research on islands has led to the conclusion that island constraints are candidates for language universals. A recent surge in research on islandhood in African languages has revealed some would-be island configurations that are transparent for \bar{A} -dependency formation. In this article, we show that in Shupamem, all clausal configurations expected to have the status of opaque island domains fail to block the formation of long-distance \bar{A} -dependencies involving object ex situ focus. In support of the claim that \bar{A} -movement has occurred in such cases, we rely on evidence from three *wh*-movement diagnostics (weak crossover effects, reconstruction phenomena and quantifier float). Furthermore, we show that non-movement dependencies across purported island boundaries in the language are also possible through the licensing of “island”-internal negative concord items by external non-local negators. We conclude that clausal island effects fail to materialize in Shupamem ex situ focus constructions and negative concord item-licensing domains. Based on an exploratory typological survey of islands in African languages, we indicate a trend toward varying degrees of island permeability in the area, concluding that while Shupamem is not an isolated example, it features one of the most permissive grammars known to date in this respect.

Keywords: island escape; clausal islands; absence of island effects; \bar{A} -dependencies; crossover effects; reconstruction effects; quantifier float; negative concord item licensing; Shupamem



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1. Introduction

Certain configurations that are expected to have the status of syntactic islands across languages seem to permit extraction¹ of categorially diverse arguments and adjuncts in Shupamem. For example, sentential subject constructions (1a), conditional clauses (2a), temporal clauses (3a), and clausal complements of definite nouns (4a) admit the displacement of domain-internal DP direct objects (1b), non-PP adverbs (2b), locative PPs (3b) and manner PPs (4b) to a left-edge focus position.²

- (1) a. [mí Rájè jíyèn rì: ɲkù:rə] vèt Mímʃə.
COMP Raye see.PST1 chair yesterday surprise.PST1 Mimshe
'That Raye saw the chair yesterday surprised Mimshe.'
- b. á pǎ rì: júó [mí Rájè jíyèn ____ ɲkù:rə]
EXPL COP.PRS chair REL COMP Raye see.PST1 yesterday
vèt Mímʃə nó.
surprise.PST1 Mimshe REL.PART
'It is the chair x that, that Raye saw x yesterday surprised Mimshe.'
- (2) a. [Mímʃə kə ñ-zíyèn ndáp ndiàʔjǐ] mbû: Rájè ná: tuó lóʔ.
Mimshe if PTCP-see house today then Raye IRR FUT1 depart
'If Mimshe sees the house today, then Raye will depart.'

- b. á pǎ ndiá?fii júó [Mímjǎ kə̀ ò-ʒíyən ndáp ____] mbú:
EXPL COP.PRS today REL Mimshe if PTCP-see house then
Rájè ná: tuó ló?
Raye IRR FUT1 depart
'It is today x that if Mimshe sees the house at time x, then Raye will depart.'
- (3) a. Mímjǎ tìim má ndàlè [kà tíí ò-gbì má tà
Mimshe exit.PST1 VIEWP³ classroom before tree PTCP-fall VIEWP LOC
tú jén ɲkù:rò].
head yard yesterday
'Mimshe left the classroom before the tree fell in the yard yesterday.'
- b. á pǎ má tà tú jén ɲá Mímjǎ tìim má
EXPL COP.PRS VIEWP LOC head yard REL Mimshe exit.PST1 LOC
ndàlè [kà tíí ò-gbì ____ ɲkù:rò nò].
classroom before tree PTCP-fall yesterday REL.PART
'It is in the yard's entry x that Mimshe left the classroom before the tree fell in x yesterday.'
- (4) a. ɲà:-nsím jù? pəsá?kíyə [mí tíí gbì nà kí tà
owner-farm hear.PST1 account COMP tree fall.PST1 with strength LOC
jé nsím ɲkù:rò] nà sápmə.
middle farm yesterday with sorrow
'The farmer sorrowfully heard the account that a tree quickly fell in the yard yesterday.'
- b. á pǎ nò kǐ ká: ɲà:-nsím jù? pəsá?kíyə [mí
EXPL COP.PRS with strength REL owner-farm hear.PST1 account COMP
tíí gbì ____ tà jé nsím ɲkù:rò] nà sápmə.
tree fall.PST1 ____ LOC middle farm yesterday with sorrow.REL.PART
'It is quickly x that the farmer sorrowfully heard the account that a tree fell in the manner x in the yard yesterday.'

The data are not only surprising from the standard Generativist perspective on islands, but they also suggest that island escape in Shupamem shows no sign of category-based selectivity of the type documented by Hein (2020a, 2020b, n.d.). We might entertain two broad analytical options with regard to the data in (1–4): either the prominent constituent (X) has undergone \bar{A} -movement out of the purported island or X is base-generated in its surface position and binds an empty category in the suspected island, as schematized in (5a) and (5b), respectively.

- (5) a. á X_i júó [_{TP} ...[Island.... X_i ...]] nò
b. á X_i júó [_{TP} ...[Island.... e_i ...]] nò

In this paper, based on several diagnostics, we argue for the analysis in (5a). Contrary to the expectation that the structures in (1–4) constitute syntactic islands, we conclude that they are transparent for the formation of *wh*- \bar{A} -movement dependencies and thus do not constitute syntactic islands in Shupamem. Explaining the absence of island effects in these domains and their implications for syntactic variation/parameterization (*à la* Kandybowicz 2009) is beyond the scope of this article and is left for future research.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides relevant background information on the grammar of Shupamem, the morpho-syntax of focus-cleft \bar{A} -configurations in the language, and the diagnostics that we will use to argue for \bar{A} -movement out of suspected islands. In Section 3, we present the apparent movement of a variety of constituents out of six purported island configurations. This includes the displacement of subjects, objects and adverbs out of sentential subjects, two complex noun phrase constructions (definite relative clauses and clausal complements of definite nouns), and three adjunct clauses (temporal, reason and conditional clauses). We argue for movement

out of these configurations in Section 4, based on three well-known diagnostics for \bar{A} -movement.⁴ In Section 5, we show that non-movement dependencies across purported island boundaries in the language are also possible by demonstrating the licensing of “island”-internal negative concord items by external non-local negators. Section 6 reviews other diagnostics that for independent reasons yield non-decisive results when applied to Shupamem and thus do not distinguish movement from in situ analyses in the language. Section 7 concludes.

2. Empirical and Analytical Background

Section 2.1 briefly reviews certain grammatical facts that will be relevant for the forthcoming discussion, namely, Shupamem word order, the complementizer system and pronominal resumption. Section 2.2 introduces the \bar{A} -configuration that we will consider with respect to “island” extraction in the language and presents the diagnostics that will be used to argue for \bar{A} -movement out of the relevant clausal domains in this paper.

2.1. Background on Shupamem

Shupamem (ISO 639-3: bax) is an Eastern Grassfields Bantu language whose speech community numbers approximately 420,000 speakers in the Western Province of central Cameroon (Eberhard et al. 2021). Figure 1 below situates the Shupamem speech community within Cameroon/Africa.

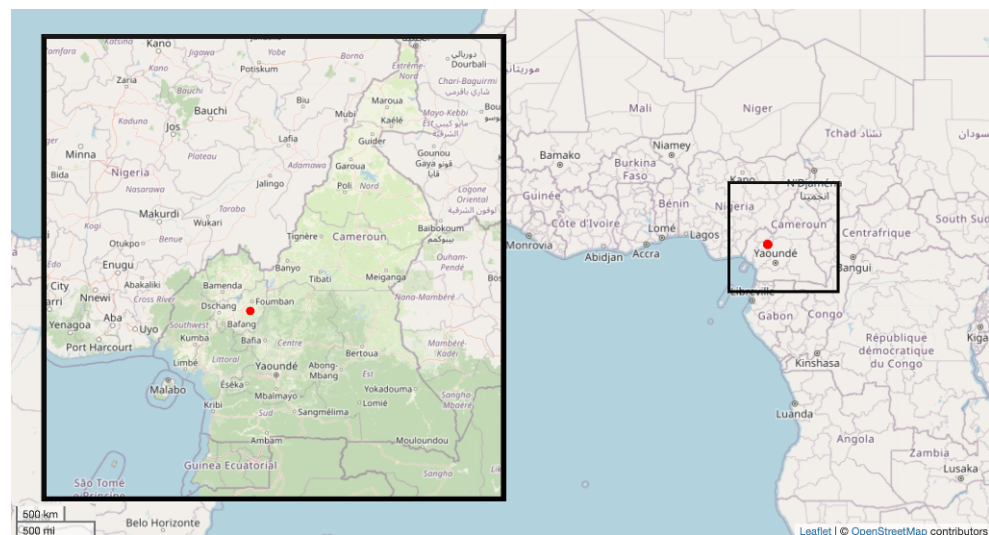


Figure 1. Homeland of the Shupamem speech community.

This section outlines a number of grammatical facts that will be relevant for the forthcoming discussion. The basic word order of the language is subject–verb–object–x (6a), where x may be an indirect object (6b) among other syntactic functions (6c).^{5,6}

- (6) a. Mímǝ kíp rì.
Mimshe break.pst1 chair
'Mimshe broke the chair.'
- b. Mímǝ fà nǝ? nà Rájè.
Mimshe give.pst1 flower to Raye
'Mimshe gave a flower to Raye.'
- c. Mímǝ fà pésá?kíyǝ nà lím ntìm.
Mimshe give.pst1 account with sweet heart
'Mimshe told the account happily.'

Much of the data in the following sections involve relative and complement clauses. Complement clauses in Shupamem are introduced by a single invariable non-inflecting

complementizer *mí* (7a), whereas relative clauses (RCs) feature one complementizer that follows the RC head and agrees with it in number and noun class (7b–7e) (e.g., *júá/púá/ká:/ḡá*) alongside the RC-final and morphologically invariable relative particle *nó*.

- (7) a. Mímǎ jù? pésá?kíyǎ **mí** Rájè jíyǎn gbáji.
Mimshe hear.PST1 account COMP Raye see.PST1 lion
'Mimshe heard the account that Raye saw the lion.'
- b. Mímǎ vǎ gbáji **j-úá** í-jíyǎn Rájè **nó**.
Mimshe catch.PST1 lion SG-REL 3SG-see.PST1 Raye REL.PART
'Mimshe caught the lion that saw Raye.'
- c. Mímǎ jíyǎn p-ìyǎn **p-úá** pǎ-jùǎp ḡkè **nó**.
Mimshe see.PST1 PL-person PL-REL 3PL-sing.PST1 song REL.PART
'Mimshe saw the people who sang.'
- d. Mímǎ jí fí? **ǎ-ká:** lérá? tánè món **nó**.
Mimshe know.PRS time NCL-REL teacher meet.PST1 child REL.PART
'Mimshe knows the time that the teacher met the child.'
- e. Mímǎ ná ḡǎí? ndáp **ǎ-ḡá** Rájè ñ-fù **nó**.
Mimshe PROG PTCP-love house NCL-REL Raye PTCP-live.PRS REL.PART
'Mimshe loves the house where Raye lives.'

Pronominal resumption is implicated in a number of constructions considered in this article. It varies primarily based on syntactic position and animacy, being obligatory in the focus of fronted subjects (8a), human/animate-denoting direct (8b, 8c), indirect (8d) and oblique (8e) objects. (Overt) resumption is unavailable when inanimate-denoting direct objects are focused (8f).

- (8) a. á pǎ **Mímǎ** júá *(í)-jíyǎn rí: nó.
EXPL COP.PRS Mimshe REL 3SG-see.PST1 chair REL.PART
'It is Mimshe who saw the chair.'
- b. á pǎ **lérá?** júá Rájè jíyǎn-*(í) ḡkù:rǎ nó.
EXPL COP.PRS teacher REL Raye see.PST1-3SG yesterday REL.PART
'It is the teacher who Raye saw yesterday.'
- c. á pǎ **mǎsí** júá Mímǎ jíyǎn-*(í) nó.
EXPL COP.PRS bird REL Mimshe see.PST1-3SG REL.PART
'It is the bird that Mimshe saw.'
- d. á pǎ **Rájè** júá Mímǎ fǎ nǔ? nǎ-*(í) nó.
EXPL COP.PRS Raye REL Mimshe give.PST1 flower to-3SG REL.PART
'It is Raye that Mimshe gave a flower to.'
- e. á pǎ **mbún** júá Mímǎ fǎfǎ rí: *(mìn)
EXPL COP.PRS nail REL Mimshe repair.PST1 chair OBL.3SG.INAN
nó.
REL.PART
'It is the nail that Mimshe repaired the chair with.'
- f. á pǎ **jí** júá Mímǎ jíyǎn-*(í) nó.
EXPL COP.PRS machete REL Mimshe see.PST1-3SG REL.PART
'It is the machete that Mimshe saw.'

These resumption patterns vary in the context of RC configurations. Definite RCs lack resumption in direct object positions (9a), but obligatorily resume subjects (9b, 9c), indirect objects (9d), and oblique constituents such as instruments (9e).

- (9) a. mǎ jí món júá Músá jíyǎn-*(í) nó.
1SG know.PRS child REL Musa see.PST1-3SG REL.PART
'I know the child that Musa saw.'

- b. mǎ jí mǎmbà: júó *(í)-jùn ndáp má.
 1SG know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST house REL.PART
 ‘I know the man who bought the house.’
- c. mǎ jùn rì: júó *(á)-kìp ŋkù:rè nǒ.
 1SG buy.PST1 chair REL 3SG.INAN-break.PST1 yesterday REL.PART
 ‘I bought the chair that broke yesterday.’
- d. mǎ jíyèn lérà? júó Mímjǒ fà lèrwà nè-*(í) nǒ.
 1SG see.PST1 teacher REL Mimshe give.PST1 book to-3SG REL.PART
 ‘I saw the teacher that Mimshe gave the book to.’
- e. mǎ jíyèn mbún júó Mímjǒ fífǒ rì: *(mìn) nǒ.
 1SG see.PST1 nail REL Mimshe fix.PST1 chair OBL.3SG.INAN REL.PART
 ‘I saw the nail that Mimshe fixed the chair with.’

An anonymous reviewer suggests that resumption may be pervasive and pronouns obligatorily present in syntax even in phonetically null positions like direct object positions (e.g., 8f, 9a), as Saah (1992, 1994) has argued for in Akan. This hypothesis receives preliminary support in Shupamem from resumption patterns in “topic drop” dialogues. In this context, an object pronoun must be pronounced (10B–B’) in a clause immediately following the mention of a *human*-denoting antecedent (e.g., *Rájé* in (10A)). In contrast, a null position is licit (11B) if it resumes an *inanimate*-denoting antecedent in the immediate context (e.g., *ndǒmbù*, ‘bananas’, in 11A), suggesting the presence of a null pronoun in (11B). Together with the pattern of obligatory resumption in focus-cleft constructions (8), obligatory resumption in such dialogues, which precludes a movement analysis, is seemingly consistent with an Akan-like analysis of pervasive resumption in Shupamem.⁷

- (10) A: Rájé pǒ: jà:?
 Raye FOC where.Q
 ‘Where is Raye?’
- B: *lérá? tè ò-tánè _____ ŋkù:rè.
 teacher already PTCP-meet.PST1 _____ yesterday
 Intended: ‘The teacher already met her yesterday.’
- B’: lérá? tè ò-tán-*(í) ŋkù:rè.
 teacher already PTCP-meet.PST1-3SG yesterday
 ‘The teacher already met her yesterday.’
- (11) A: ndǒmbù pǒ: jà:?
 bananas FOC where.Q
 ‘Where are the bananas?’
- B: p-ón fà _____ nè Ndàm.
 PL-child give.PST1 _____ to Ndam
 ‘The children gave them to Ndam.’

Data from epithet licensing, however, suggest that null positions in focus-cleft constructions represent traces in the language. Recent advances in the debate over the categorial status of epithets seem to rule in favor of a structure in which a pronoun serves as an anchor to the epithetic expressive material (Patel-Grosz 2012). Moreover, it has been shown that an epithet can *only* anchor to a pronoun, not a trace (Demirdache and Percus 2011). This makes epithets an ideal tool to determine whether null positions in certain contexts represent null resumptive pronouns or traces. When R-expression direct objects are focus-clefted in Shupamem, they may be resumed using a resumptive pronoun in the form of an epithet. If the object is human-denoting, a weak resumptive pronoun must be used for both expressions to corefer (12a). In the absence of a pronominal anchor, coreference is unavailable (12b).

- (12) a. á pǎ ø-sún Mímǎǎ júó ngà-ndántén jíyǎn-**áp**
 EXPL COP.PRS PL-friend Mimshe REL owner-store see.PST1-3PL
 pà-ŋkpén nó.
 PL-donkey REL.PART
 ‘It is [Mimshe’s friends]_i that the store owner saw [them, the asses]_i.’
- b. * á pǎ ø-sún Mímǎǎ júó ngà-ndántén jíyǎn
 EXPL COP.PRS PL-friend Mimshe REL owner-store see.PST1-3PL
 pà-ŋkpén nó.
 PL-donkey REL.PART
 ‘It is [Mimshe’s friends]_i that the store owner saw [the asses]_i.’

Faced with inanimate-denoting extractees, which lack overt resumption morphology in the language (8f), we find that expressive material in situ may not anchor to the linearly adjacent null position to serve as an expressive descriptor of the ex situ content (13b).

- (13) a. Méfíré fì ndá wǎrí nà nǎ.
 Mefire sell.PST1 house dump to mother
 ‘Mefire sold the house, the dump, to mother.’
- b. * á pǎ **ndáp** júó Méfíré fì — wǎrí nà nǎ
 EXPL COP.PRS house REL Mefire sell.PST1 — dump to mother
 nó.
 REL.PART
 Intended: ‘It is the house x such that Mefire sold x, the dump, to mother.’

We conclude that in such focus-cleft configurations, the null object position reflects the presence of a trace, as a (null) resumptive pronoun would be expected to yield a well-formed epithetic structure in the language.⁸

2.2. \bar{A} -Movement in Shupamem

Building on the base sentence in (14a), the focus-clefting of a prominent constituent in indicative (14b) and interrogative mood (14c) is a productive \bar{A} -configuration in Shupamem.

- (14) a. Mímǎǎ jíyǎn rì.
 Mimshe see.PST1 chair
 ‘Mimshe saw the chair.’
- b. á *(pǎ) **rì** *(júó) Mímǎǎ jíyǎn — nó.
 EXPL COP.PRS chair REL Mimshe see.PST1 — REL.PART
 ‘It is the chair that Mimshe saw.’
- c. à (*pǎ) **rì** *(júó) Mímǎǎ jíyǎn — nê?
 EXPL COP.PRS chair REL Mimshe see.PST1 — REL.PART.Q
 ‘Is it the chair that Mimshe saw?’

Focus-cleft constructions are best described in terms of relativization, where the prominent constituent, preceded by an expletive subject *a*, heads a relative clause (RC). The prominent constituent is followed by the present-tense copula *pǎ* in positive declarative clauses (14b), but in casual speech it may form a portmanteau with the expletive subject, resulting in the form *áǎ*. The copula is absent altogether in interrogative clauses (see Nchare 2012, p. 452).⁹ More often than not, the focus-clefting of direct objects entails a change in the tonal melody of the transitive predicate selecting that direct object (as in (14b–c)). In ex situ question formation (i.e., interrogative focus-clefts) but not in affirmative indicative focus-clefts, this change is accompanied by an H melody on the ex situ constituent. A focus marker is absent in focus-cleft constructions and a left-edge relativizer must follow the focused constituent (14b) (Table 1) in tandem with a right-edge relativizer particle.

Table 1. Morphosyntactic properties of focus-cleft constructions in Shupamem.

	Expletive Subject	Copula	Focus Marker	Relativizer
Indicative Focus-cleft	✓	✓	✗	✓
Interrogative Focus-cleft	✓	✗	✗	✓

If focus-cleft constructions in Shupamem are amenable to a head raising analysis of RCs à la Kayne 1994, it would follow that prominent constituents (i.e., focus-clefted XPs) are \bar{A} -extracted from their original external merge positions.¹⁰ To determine whether this is the case and ultimately argue in favor of a movement account of these \bar{A} -configurations in the language, we will employ several diagnostics of \bar{A} -extraction in this section, namely weak crossover effects, reconstruction for scope, and quantifier float.

Crossover phenomena concern binding relations between \bar{A} -moved elements and more deeply embedded pronouns. They come in several varieties. According to two widely known crossover generalizations, \bar{A} -moved elements cannot move across c-commanding pronouns that they end up binding (Strong Crossover, see Wasow 1979) (15a), nor can they move across non c-commanding pronouns that they bind (Weak Crossover, see Postal 1971) (15b).

- (15) a. * **Who**_i did they inform him_i that Joan would call ____? (Postal 1993, p. 543)
 b. * **Who**_i did his_i sister call ____ a moron? (Postal 1993, p. 540)

When a *wh*-object crosses over a non c-commanding pronoun in subject position, weak crossover effects (16) are observed in Shupamem. This fact is consistent with an analysis in which the prominent/relativized constituent has undergone \bar{A} -movement.¹¹

- (16) à **wə** júá món-ì jíyən-í nə?
 EXPL who REL child-3SG see.PST1-3SG REL.PART.Q
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that y’s child saw x?’
 * ‘Who is the x such that x’s child saw x?’

Reconstruction effects regard any configuration in which an \bar{A} -displaced constituent behaves as if it occupies a lower structural position with respect to interpretive considerations. Reconstruction phenomena are not all equally reliable as diagnostics for movement in \bar{A} -dependency formation. Reconstruction for Condition A of the binding theory, whereby an anaphor must be locally c-commanded by its antecedent (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993; Guéron 1979; Reinhart 1976) is controversial. The controversy is especially salient with respect to *picture noun* anaphoric expressions (e.g., Safir 2004, p. 116), which are seemingly exempt from Condition A (see Charnavel and Bryant 2023, for a recent analysis of the facts in English).¹² Condition C of the binding theory, whereby R-expressions must be universally free, offers a more promising route, but it introduces a different set of challenges.¹³ Therefore, we capitalize on *wh*-quantifier interaction in reconstruction for scope to determine whether \bar{A} -dependencies that implicate movement are present in Shupamem. We assume that scope ambiguities in configurations that involve an *ex situ wh*-item and an *in situ* quantifier phrase (QP) are due to syntactic reconstruction of the *wh*-item in a position below the QP (Aguero Bautista 2001). In the absence of reconstruction, the *wh*-object in (17) admits a single, individual entity reading in Spanish, but reconstruction yields the availability of a pair-list reading, such that each witness in (17) refers to a different person as the direct object of *pegar* (‘hit’).

- (17) A **quién** dijo cada testigo que María le-quería pegar?
 to whom said each witness that Maria him-wanted to.hit
 ‘Whom did each witness say that María wanted to hit?’ (Aguero Bautista 2001, p. 172)

The availability or not of pair-list readings in *wh*-quantifier interactions has been recently used to argue against *wh*-movement in the relevant contexts in Awing, another Grassfields Bantu language of Cameroon (Fominyam 2021).¹⁴ To ensure the reliability of this test in Shupamem, we must exclude the possibility that quantifier raising (QR) can derive a pair-list reading by raising to a position above the *ex situ* constituent in question at LF. If QR can derive pair-list readings in the language, such interpretations are expected to be available when an indefinite noun subject c-commands a universally quantified direct object, contrary to fact (18a). In such constructions, the indefinite expression takes scope over the universal quantifier but not vice versa (18a). In stark contrast, only the pair-list reading is available when the QP is focus-clefted to a position above the indefinite subject (18b). These facts suggest the absence of a QR operation in the language.

- (18) a. lô:tá mìn-fārènǰí tánè nǰǰǰə món má jé jén.
 doctor person-France meet.PST1 each child VIEWP middle yard
 ‘A French doctor met each child in the yard.’ [$*\forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
- b. áǎ nǰǰǰə món júó lô:tá mìn-fārènǰí táné _____
 EXPL.COP each child REL doctor person-France meet.PST1
 má jé jén nó.
 VIEWP middle yard REL.PART
 ‘It is each child that a French doctor met in the yard.’ [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $*\exists > \forall$]

In critical response to this conclusion, one might argue that the subject position is special in its topical properties (a recurring proposal in Bantu linguistics, see Bresnan and Mchombo 1987; Downing and Hyman 2016; Givón 1976; Henderson 2006, among many others), forcing a singular, individual reading of the subject, which would force the unavailability of wide-scope (pair-list) readings in (18a). Not only does the lack of scope ambiguity (and the concomitant unavailability of an individual reading) in the *ex situ* variant in (18b) speak against this hypothesis, but the same effect is observed when the relevant DP occupies a direct object position alongside an indirect object QP, as in paradigm (19).

- (19) a. wǎ fà mō:mví nkí? nè nǰǰǰə món.
 father give.PST1 baby.goat small to each child
 ‘Dad gave a small baby goat to each child.’ [$*\forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
- b. áǎ nǰǰǰə món júó wǎ fà mō:mví nkí? n-í
 EXPL.COP each child REL father give.PST1 baby.goat small to-3SG
 nó.
 REL.PART
 ‘It is each child x that dad gave a small baby goat to x.’ [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $*\exists > \forall$]

Since the universal quantifier cannot outscope the *in situ* indefinite object in (19a), we conclude that QR cannot derive pair-list readings in structures involving QPs that are c-commanded by other scope-taking material, making the interaction between *wh*- *ex situ* and more deeply embedded quantifiers a reliable diagnostic of reconstruction and thus \bar{A} -movement in the language. Having ruled out QR as the source of pair-list readings, we conclude that for structures that involve a universally quantified subject c-commanding a *wh*- pronoun (20a), scope ambiguity, and specifically the availability of a pair-list reading in their *wh*- *ex situ* counterparts, as in example (20b), must be the result of reconstruction of the *wh*- element to a more deeply embedded *in situ* position in which the quantifier outscores it. If it were not for reconstruction into the *in situ* position of the *wh*- object, response B would be infelicitous as an answer to (20b). In fact, such pair-list answers are felicitous, making reconstruction for scope a reliable diagnostic test for \bar{A} - movement in the language.

- (20) a. nǰǰǰə món ɲkwòt kǐyò?
 each child receive.PST1 what.Q
 ‘What did each child receive?’ [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]

- b. à **kíyó** júó nfəfə món ɲkwót _____ nə?
 EXPL what REL each child receive.PST1 REL.PART.Q
 ‘What is the x such that each child received x?’ [$\forall > \exists$; $\forall \exists > \forall$]
- A: lèrwà
 book
 ‘A book.’ [$\exists > \forall$]
- B: Rájè ɲkwót lèrwà. Mímśó ɲkwót màfì.
 Raye receive.PST1 book Mimshe receive.PST1 computer
 ‘Raye received a book. Mimshe received a computer.’ [$\forall > \exists$]

Additional corroborative evidence for \bar{A} -extraction out of the domains in question comes from quantifier float data. Quantifier float (QF) refers to configurations in which a quantifier is construed together with its associate noun or *wh*-item despite a non-local relation between them. If quantified items are licensed syntactically, then QF configurations are expected to be unavailable when the associate vacates a strong island configuration, as in Irish English (McCloskey 2000) and French (Baunaz 2008). Root clauses with quantified *wh*-objects (21a) facilitate QF configurations in the language (21b), which yield the same interpretations as when the quantifier and its associate appear together in situ (21a) or in a fronted position (21c).

- (21) a. món jùn **kíyó mǎntén** ɲkù:rə nə?
 child buy.PST1 what all yesterday Q
 ‘What all did the child buy yesterday?’
- b. à **kíyó** júó món jùn _____ **mǎntén** ɲkù:rə nə?
 EXPL what REL child buy.PST1 all yesterday REL.PART.Q
 ‘What is the x such that the child bought all x yesterday?’
- c. à **kíyó mǎntén** júó món jùn _____ ɲkù:rə nə?
 EXPL what all REL child buy.PST1 yesterday REL.PART.Q
 ‘What is the x such that the child bought all x yesterday?’

The reliability of the floating quantifiers diagnostic hinges on the possibility that we reject an alternative analysis under which floating quantifiers do not float after all, but rather attach to in situ null pronouns that corefer with inanimate ex situ *wh*-items. This alternative analysis is strengthened at first glance by the fact that clause-medial quantifiers may attach to null in situ anaphoric pronouns in “topic drop” contexts (22B) in which movement is excluded.¹⁵

- (22) A: Mímśó lèrwà pǒ: jà:?
 Mimshe PL.book FOC where.Q
 ‘Mimshe, where are the books_i?’
- B: pón fà _____ mǎntén nè Mèfìrè.
 Pl.child give.PST1 all to Mefire
 ‘The children gave them_i all to Mefire.’

Although this puts movement and base-generation analyses of purportedly floating quantifiers as in (21b) on equal footing at first, the demonstrated unavailability of stranded epithets in the focus-clefting of inanimate-denoting objects (13b) favors the view that left-edge prominent constituents are \bar{A} -extracted and leave behind traces in the relevant cross-clausal constructions in which we observe syntactic connectivity effects in Section 4. Because the quantifier in structures like (21b) is right-adjacent to a trace (and crucially not a null resumptive pronoun), it is truly floating. As will be demonstrated below, floating quantifiers are admissible in Shupamem when a quantified *wh*-object is focus-clefted out of suspected strong clausal island configurations.

Once we demonstrate the possibility of focus-clefting arguments and adjuncts internal to suspected island structures in Section 3, we adduce evidence for \bar{A} -extraction of the prominent constituent (Section 4) based on the three \bar{A} -diagnostics discussed in this

section. Although subjects, objects and adjuncts may all serve as prominent constituents linked to positions in the relevant “islands” (Section 3), the diagnostics that we employ in this article are applied to direct objects. Subjects cannot be used as extractees in crossover scenarios that require *Ā*-displaced elements to move over “island”-internal pronominal expressions that they end up binding. Therefore, only more deeply embedded constituents within a purported island may be focus-clefted to test for their coreference with a pronoun in a subject position. Reconstruction effects similarly require structures in which moved elements are c-commanded by structurally higher “island”-internal material at some level of analysis, thus precluding the application of the diagnostic to subjects.

3. Extraction Out of Clausal Domains is Pervasive

The following subsections illustrate the focus-clefting of subjects, objects and adjuncts internal to sentential subject constructions (Section 3.1), complex NP constructions (Section 3.2) and adjunct clauses (Section 3.3).

3.1. Sentential Subject Constructions

Sentential subject constructions (23a) admit the focus-clefting of subjects (23b), objects (23c) and adverbial adjuncts (23d).

- (23) a. [mí Rájè jíyèn rì: ɲkù:rə] vèt Mímɸə.
COMP Raye see.PST1 chair yesterday surprise.PST1 Mimshe
‘That Raye saw the chair yesterday surprised Mimshe.’
- b. à wə júó [mí í-jíyèn rì: ɲkù:rə] vèt
EXPL who REL COMP 3SG-see.PST1 chair yesterday surprise.PST1
Mímɸə nə?
Mimshe REL.PART.Q
‘Who is the x such that, that x saw the chair yesterday surprised Mimshe?’
- c. à kíyə júó [mí Rájè jíyèn ____ ɲkù:rə] vèt
EXPL what REL COMP Raye see.PST1 yesterday surprise.PST1
Mímɸə nə?
Mimshe REL.PART.Q
‘What is the x such that, that Raye saw x yesterday surprised Mimshe?’
- d. à jíjà ɸ? júó [mí Rájè jíyèn rì: ____] vèt
EXPL which time REL COMP Raye see.PST1 chair surprise.PST1
Mímɸə nə?
Mimshe REL.PART.Q
‘What time x is such that, that Raye saw the chair at time x surprised Mimshe?’

3.2. Complex Noun Phrase Constructions

The CNPCs that we investigate in this paper are definite relative clauses (subject RCs (24a) and object RCs (24b)) and clausal complements of definite nouns (24c).

- (24) a. Rájè jì [məmbà: júó í-jùn ndáp ɲkù:rə nó].
Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1 house yesterday REL.PART
‘Raye knows the man who bought the house yesterday.’
- b. Rájè jíyèn [ndáp júó məmbà: jùn ____ ɲkù:rə nó].
Raye see.PST1 house REL man buy.PST1 yesterday REL.PART
‘Raye saw the house that the man bought yesterday.’
- c. Mímɸə jù? [pésá?kíyə mí Rájè jì pən ɲkù:rə].
Mimshe hear.PST1 account COMP Raye eat.PST1 fufu yesterday
‘Mimshe heard the account that Raye ate the fufu yesterday.’

It is possible to focus-cleft subjects (25a), direct objects (25b) and temporal adjuncts (25c) internal to definite RCs. In the cases of argument movement considered below, a subject is extracted from an object RC (25a), whereas an object is extracted from a subject RC (25b).

- (25) a. à **wè** júó Rájé jíyòn [ndáp júó í-jùn ηkù:rè
EXPL who REL Raye see.PST1 house REL 3SG-buy.PST1 yesterday
nô]?
REL.PART.Q
'Who is the x such that Raye saw the house that x bought yesterday?'
- b. à **kíyó** júó Rájé jì [mèmbà: júó í-jùn _____
EXPL what REL Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1 _____
ηkù:rè nô]?
yesterday REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that Raye knows the man who bought x yesterday?'
- c. à **jíjà fí?** júó Rájé jì [mèmbà: júó í-jùn ndáp
EXPL what time REL Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1 house
_____ mâ]?
REL.PART.Q
'What time x is such that Raye knows the man who bought the house at time x?'

Clausal complements of definite nouns attest to similar facts concerning focus-clefting (26).

- (26) a. à **wè** júó Mímíó jù? [pésá?kíyò mí í-jì péñ
EXPL who REL Mimshe hear.PST1 account COMP 3SG-eat.PST1 fufu
ηkù:rè] nô?
yesterday REL.PART.Q
'Who is the x such that Mimshe heard the account that x ate the fufu yesterday?'
- b. à **kíyó** júó Mímíó jù? [pésá?kíyò mí Rájé jì
EXPL what REL Mimshe hear.PST1 account COMP Raye eat.PST1
_____ ηkù:rè] nô?
yesterday REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that Mimshe heard the account that Raye ate x yesterday?'
- c. à **jíjà fí?** júó Mímíó jù? [pésá?kíyò mí Rájé
EXPL what time REL Mimshe hear.PST1 account COMP Raye
jì péñ _____] nô?
eat.PST1 fufu REL.PART.Q
'What time x is such that Mimshe heard the account that Raye ate the fufu at time x?'

3.3. Adjunct Clauses

In Shupamem, temporal clauses, reason clauses and conditional clauses, all of which constitute strong islands cross-linguistically, align with sentential subject constructions and complex NP configurations in the language with respect to their transparency for focus-clefting of core and non-core constituents.

3.3.1. Temporal Clauses

We use example (27a) as a base temporal clause. With a matrix verb in the present progressive form (*tâ ñ-zún*, 'be buying') and a future-oriented temporal adverb (*fámzú*, 'tomorrow') inside the adjunct clause, we preempt matrix readings of adverbs when the adverb serves as the prominent constituent. Subjects (27b), objects (27c) and adjuncts (27d) internal to temporal adjunct clauses may all be focus-clefted.

- (27) a. ní-tâ ñ-zún lénómì [kà Rájé ñ-zíyón ndáp fámzú].
1SG-PROG PTCP-buy mirror before Raye PTCP-see house tomorrow
'I'm buying the mirror before Raye sees the house tomorrow.'

- b. à **wə** júó ní-tâ ò-3ún lénómì [kà í-ò-3íyón ndáp
EXPL who REL 1SG-PROG PTCP-buy mirror before 3SG-PTCP-see house
fám3ú] nò?
tomorrow REL.PART.Q
'Who is the x such that I'm buying the mirror before x sees the house tomorrow?'
- c. à **kíyó** júó ní-tâ ò-3ún lénómì [kà Rájé ò-3íyèn ____
EXPL what REL 1SG-PROG PTCP-buy mirror before Raye PTCP-see
fám3ú] nò?
tomorrow REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that I'm buying the mirror before Raye sees x tomorrow?'
- d. à **jíjà** **ñ?** júó ní-tâ ò-3ún lénómì [kà Rájé
EXPL what time REL 1SG-PROG PTCP-buy mirror before Raye
ò-3íyèn ndáp ____] mō?
PTCP-see house REL.PART.Q
'What time x is such that I'm buying the mirror before Raye sees the house at time x?'

3.3.2. Reason Clauses

Reason clauses are introduced in Shupamem by *mə ŋǎ ká:...* ('because', literally translated as 'on the matter that...'), as in our base sentence (28a). Like temporal clauses, reason clauses also permit the focus-clefting (28b) of material internal to them.

- (28) a. Mím3ó tâ ò-3íyó [mə ŋǎ ká: Rájé lǎp rì:
Mimshe PROG PTCP-angry on matter REL Raye hit.PST1 chair
ŋkù:rò nò].
yesterday REL.PART
'Mimshe is angry because Raye hit the chair yesterday.'
- b. à **wə** júó Mím3ó tâ ò-3íyó [mə ŋǎ ká:
EXPL who REL Mimshe PROG PTCP-angry on matter REL
í-lǎp rì: ŋkù:rò nò]?
3SG-hit.PST1 chair yesterday REL.PART.Q
'Who is the x such that Mimshe is angry because x hit the chair yesterday?'
- c. à **kíyó** júó Mím3ó tâ ò-3íyó [mə ŋǎ ká: Rájé
EXPL what REL Mimshe PROG PTCP-angry on matter REL Raye
lǎp ____ ŋkù:rò nò]?
hit.PST1 yesterday REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that Mimshe is angry because Raye hit x yesterday?'
- d. à **jíjà** **ñ?** júó Mím3ó tâ ò-3íyó [mə ŋǎ ká: Rájé
EXPL what time REL Mimshe PROG PTCP-angry on matter REL Raye
lǎp rì: ____ nò]?
hit.PST1 chair REL.PART.Q
'What time x is such that Mimshe is angry because Raye hit the chair at time x?'

3.3.3. Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses in the language are formed using the conditional morpheme *kə*, preceded for the most part by the logical subject (29a). As with the other domains investigated in this section, material internal to such clauses may be focus-clefted (29).

- (29) a. [Mím3ó kə ò-3íyèn ndáp ndíà?jǐí] mbû: Rájé ná: tuó ló?
Mimshe if PTCP-see house today then Raye IRR FUT1 depart
'If Mimshe sees the house today, then Raye will depart.'

- b. à **wè** júó [í-kè ò-ṣíyón ndáp ndià?jii] mbû: Rájè ná: tuó
 EXPL who REL 3SG-if PTCP-see house today then Raye IRR FUT1
 ló? nò?
 depart REL.PART.Q
 ‘Who is the x such that if x sees the house today, then Raye will depart?’
- c. à **kíyó** júó [Mímjé kè ò-ṣíyón ____ ndià?jii] mbû: Rájè ná:
 EXPL what REL Mimshe if PTCP-see ____ today then Raye IRR
 tuó ló? nò?
 FUT1 depart REL.PART.Q
 ‘What is the x such that if Mimshe sees x today, then Raye will depart?’
- d. à **jíjà fí?** júó [Mímjé kè ò-ṣíyón ndáp ____] mbû: Rájè
 EXPL what time REL Mimshe if PTCP-see house ____ then Raye
 ná: tuó ló? nò?
 IRR FUT1 depart REL.PART.Q
 ‘What time x is such that if Mimshe sees the house at time x, then Raye will depart?’

If the data presented in this section instantiate \bar{A} -movement, as we argue in Section 4, then all domains reviewed in Section 3 are unexpectedly transparent for \bar{A} -extraction of core and non-core constituents in Shupamem and therefore cannot be considered islands.

4. Arguments for \bar{A} -Movement Out of Clausal Domains

In this section, we apply three diagnostics to test and ultimately argue for \bar{A} -extraction out of the clausal domains under investigation. In all configurations, focus-clefting of material inside the domain in question gives rise to both crossover and reconstruction effects. Additionally, quantifier float data furnish corroborating evidence that \bar{A} -extraction from the domains in question has taken place. In what follows, we apply the diagnostics exclusively to direct objects in each configuration for the reasons enumerated at the end of Section 2.2.

4.1. Sentential Subject Constructions

When material internal to sentential subjects is focus-clefted, weak crossover effects (30) are observed (i.e., the focus-clefted *wh*-object cannot bind a higher non c-commanding pronoun).

- (30) à **wè** júó [mí món-ì jíyón-í] vèt Mímjé nò?
 EXPL who REL COMP child-3SG see.PST1-3SG surprise.PST1 Mimshe REL.PART.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?’

Reconstruction effects are observed when *wh*-objects inside sentential subjects (31a) are focus-clefted (31b).

- (31) a. [mí nfəfə món tá:fə kiyè ndià?] vèt nă nò?
 COMP each child sew.PST1 what today surprise.PST1 mother Q
 ‘That each child sewed what today surprised mother?’ [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
- b. à **kíyó** júó [mí nfəfə món tá:fə ____ ndià?]
 EXPL what REL COMP each child sew.PST1 ____ today
 vèt nă nò?
 surprise.PST1 mother REL.PART.Q
 ‘What is the x such that, that each child sewed x today surprised mother?’
 [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
 A: Each child sewed a shirt. [$\exists > \forall$]
 B: Mimshe sewed a shirt, Mefire sewed trousers, etc. [$\forall > \exists$]

The availability of a pair-list interpretation, as made evident by the fact that (31B) is a possible answer to both examples in paradigm (31), indicates that the displaced *wh*-item in this structure is base-generated in a low position inside the sentential subject construction where it is c-commanded by the domain-internal universally quantified subject.

Sentential subject constructions that contain a quantified *wh*-object yield the same interpretation when the quantifier and its associate are both in situ (32a) and when the *wh*-item is focus-clefted and the quantifier is stranded (32b).

- (32) a. [mí Rájè pì? kǐyó mǎntén ɲkù:rə] vèt Mímʃə?
 COMP Raye move.PST1 what all yesterday surprise.PST1 Mimshe
 ‘That Raye moved what all yesterday surprised Mimshe?’
- b. á kǐyó júó [mí Rájé pì? — mǎntén ɲkù:rə]
 EXPL what REL COMP Raye move.PST1 — all yesterday
 vèt Mímʃə?
 surprise.PST1 Mimshe
 ‘What is the x such that, that Raye moved all x yesterday surprised Mimshe?’

If the relation between the quantifier and its associate is syntactic, and a trace underlies the null position adjacent to the quantifier, in line with the argument from epithet stranding (Section 2.1), then QF data provide further evidence that objects internal to sentential subject constructions can vacate their external merge position inside this clausal domain.

4.2. Complex Noun Phrase Constructions

Focus-clefting of material internal to definite relative clauses gives rise to weak crossover effects (33).¹⁶

- (33) à wə júó ù-fáʔfə mǎmbà: [júó mǎr-ì jǐyən-í]
 EXPL who REL 2SG-greet.PST1 man REL brother-3SG see.PST1-3SG
 nə?]
 REL.PART.Q
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that you greeted the man y such that y’s brother saw x?’
 * ‘Who is the x such that you greeted the man x such that x’s brother saw x?’

In clausal complements of definite nouns as well, focus-clefting of clause-internal material gives rise to weak crossover effects, as illustrated in example (34).

- (34) à wə júó Mímʃə jù? [jǐkét mí mǎn-ì jǐyən-í]
 EXPL who REL Mimshe hear.PST1 news COMP child-3SG see.PST1-3SG
 nə?
 REL.PART.Q
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe heard the news that y’s child saw x?’
 * ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe heard the news that x’s child saw x?’

In the same vein, reconstruction effects are observed when material that is internal to definite RCs (35a) and clausal complements of definite nouns (36a) is focus-clefted (35b, 36b). As before, using an ex situ *wh*-object in both complex NP structures yields a scope ambiguity in its interaction with a c-commanding domain-internal universally quantified subject. This is consistent with the hypothesis that \bar{A} -extraction is implicated in the focus-clefting of material internal to definite relative clauses and clausal complements of definite nouns.

- (35) a. ù-kúmʃə [ɲkwát ɲá ɲʔfə mǎn nə kǐyó m-fá]
 2SG-remember.PST1 feast REL each child cook.PST1 what PTCP-give
 nə nə nə?]
 to mother REL.PART.Q
 ‘You remembered the feast when each child cooked what for mother?’
 [✓∀ > ∃; ✓∃ > ∀]

- b. à **kíyó** júó ù-kúmǵó [ɲkwát ɲá ɲǵǵǵ món
EXPL what REL 2SG-remember.PST1 feast REL each child
nǵǵǵ _____ m-fǵǵ nǵ nǵǵ nǵǵ]?
cook.PST1 _____ PTCP-give to mother REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that you remembered the feast when each child cooked
x for mother?' [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
A: 'The children all cooked rice.' [$\exists > \forall$]
B: 'Mimshe cooked rice and beans. Raye fried doughnuts, etc.' [$\forall > \exists$]
- (36) a. ù-jù? [ásìyà mí ɲǵǵǵ món fǵǵ kǵyǵ nǵ wǵ] nǵ?
2SG-hear.PST1 secret COMP each child give.PST1 what to father Q
'You heard the secret that each child gave what to father?'
[$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
- b. à **kíyó** júó ù-jù? [ásìyà mí ɲǵǵǵ món fǵǵ
EXPL what REL 2SG-hear.PST1 secret COMP each child give.PST1
_____ nǵ wǵ] nǵ?
to father REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that you heard the secret that each child gave x to father?'
[$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
A: 'The children gave father a computer.' [$\exists > \forall$]
B: 'One child gave him a computer, another - a car, etc.' [$\forall > \exists$]

Quantified *wh*- objects that are focus-clefted out of relative clauses (37a) and clausal complements of definite nouns (38a) are construed together with floating clause-internal quantifiers as if they both occupy a position inside the complex noun phrase construction (37b, 38b).

- (37) a. ù-jǵyǵn ndáp [ɲá kámíndǵ lǵyǵm **kǵyó mǵntén** nǵ]?
2SG-see.PST1 house REL carpenter keep.PST1 what all REL.PART.Q
'You saw the house where the carpenter kept what all?'
- b. à **kíyó** júó ù-jǵyǵn ndáp [ɲá kámíndǵ lǵyǵm _____
EXPL what REL 2SG-see.PST1 house REL carpenter keep.PST1
mǵntén nǵ]?
all REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that you saw the house where the carpenter kept all x?'
- (38) a. Rǵjè jù? pésǵ?kǵyǵ [mí Mímǵó kǵp **kǵyó mǵntén** nǵ]?
Raye hear.PST1 account COMP Mimshe break.PST1 what all Q
'Raye heard the account that Mimshe broke what all?'
- b. à **kíyó** júó Rǵjè jù? pésǵ?kǵyǵ [mí Mímǵó
EXPL what REL.PART Raye hear.PST1 account COMP Mimshe
kǵp _____ **mǵntén**] nǵ?
break.PST1 all REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that Raye heard the account that Mimshe broke all x?'

Our diagnostics are thus consistent with the conclusion that \bar{A} -movement derives the position of prominent constituents originating in a variety of complex NP configurations.

4.3. Adjunct Clauses

The adjunct clauses investigated in the following subsections (temporal, reason and conditional clauses) align with the transparency of sentential subject constructions and complex NPs with respect to the \bar{A} -movement diagnostics considered in this article.

4.3.1. Temporal Clauses

Focus-clefting of material inside adjunct temporal clauses gives rise to weak crossover effects (39).

- (39) à **wè** júó Mímǎ sèn lénómì [kà mǎn-ì n-ǎíyón-í]
 EXPL who REL Mimshe break.PST1 mirror before child-3SG PTCP-see-3SG
 nǎ?
 REL.PART.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?’

Reconstruction effects are observed when *wh*-elements inside adjunct temporal clauses (40a) are focus-clefted (40b). Whether a universally quantified embedded subject c-commands the interrogative pronoun (40a) or not (40b), a pair-list answer to such questions is available alongside a unique entity answer. These data are consistent with an analysis in which the derivation of such examples implicates \bar{A} -extraction of the left-edge *wh*-item from a position internal to the temporal adjunct clause.

- (40) a. Mímǎ juéǎfǎ kǎ:kǎ tǎ kǐfún [mǎ nǎóm kǎ: nǎǎfǎ mǎn
 Mimshe wash.PST1 stuff in kitchen on back REL each child
 jǐ kǐyǎǎ]?
 eat.PST1 what.REL.PART.Q
 ‘Mimshe washed stuff in the kitchen after each child ate what?’
 [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
- b. à **kǐyǎ** júó Mímǎ juéǎfǎ kǎ:kǎ tǎ kǐfún [mǎ nǎóm kǎ:
 EXPL what REL Mimshe wash.PST1 stuff in kitchen on back REL
 nǎǎfǎ mǎn jǐ _____ nǎ]?
 each child eat.PST1 REL.PART.Q
 ‘What is the x such that Mimshe washed stuff in the kitchen after each child ate x?’ [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
 A: ‘They ate doughnuts with chocolate.’ [$\exists > \forall$]
 B: ‘Molu ate doughnuts, Raye ate cooked corn, etc.’ [$\forall > \exists$]

Facts from the domain of QF are also consistent with this analysis. Temporal clauses that host quantified *wh*-items (41a) facilitate QF. In example (41b), the focus-clefted *wh*-object is construed with its in situ floating quantifier.

- (41) a. ũ-tǎ mǎ-fǐǎ tǎbé [kà Rǎjè n-ǎíyón **kǐyǎ mǎntén**
 2SG-PROG PTCP-build table before Raye PTCP-see what all
 fǎmǎú nǎ]?
 tomorrow REL.PART.Q
 ‘You are building the table before Raye sees what all tomorrow?’
- b. à **kǐyǎ** júó ũ-tǎ mǎ-fǐǎ tǎbé [kà Rǎjè n-ǎíyón
 EXPL what REL 2SG-PROG PTCP-build table before Raye PTCP-see
 _____ **mǎntén** fǎmǎú nǎ]?
 all tomorrow REL.PART.Q
 ‘What is the x such that you are building the table before Raye sees all x tomorrow?’

4.3.2. Reason Clauses

Weak crossover effects (42) materialize when constituents internal to reason clauses undergo focus-clefting.

- (42) à **wè** júó ũ-lǎ? [mǎ ǎǎ kǎ: mǎn-ì làǎ-í
 EXPL who REL 2SG-depart.PST1 on matter REL child-3SG hit.PST1-3SG
 nǎ]?
 REL.PART.Q
 ✓ ‘Who is the x such that you departed because y’s child hit x?’
 * ‘Who is the x such that you departed because x’s child hit x?’

Reconstruction effects are observed when a *wh*- item that is c-commanded by a universal quantifier in reason clauses (43a) is displaced in a focus-cleft construction (43b).

- (43) a. pà-lérá? jí:yò mò ngǎ ká: nǵǵò ngàlé túpfò kíyó
 PL-teacher angry.PST1 on matter REL each pupil indicate.PST1 what
 nè nsún-ì nè?
 to friend-3SG REL.PART.Q
 'The teachers were angry because each pupil showed what to his friend?'
 [$\forall > \exists$; $\forall \exists > \forall$]
- b. à kíyó júó pà-lérá? jí:yò mò ngǎ ká: nǵǵò ngàlé
 EXPL what REL PL-teacher angry.PST1 on matter REL each pupil
 túpfò — nè nsún-ì nè?
 indicate.PST1 to friend-3SG REL.PART
 'What is the x such that the teachers were angry because each pupil showed
 x to his friend?' [$\forall > \exists$; $\forall \exists > \forall$]
 A: 'Each pupil showed the exam to his friend.' [$\exists > \forall$]
 B: 'Mimshe showed the book he was reading to Raye, Njikam showed a beautiful
 bird outside to Molu, etc.' [$\forall > \exists$]

Evidence from floating quantifier configurations provides further support for the status of fronted constituents as \bar{A} -extractees that originate inside reason clauses. Quantifiers that are stranded under focus-clefting of their *wh*- associate yield grammatical structures (44b) that are interpreted as if their *wh*- associates never moved (44a).

- (44) a. Ndám tâ ñ-jí:yò [mò ngǎ ká: Mímjó kíp kíyó
 Ndam PROG PTCP-angry on matter REL Mimshe break.PST1 what
 móntén ɲkù:rò nè]?
 all yesterday REL.PART.Q
 'Ndam is angry because Mimshe broke what all yesterday?'
- b. à kíyó júó Ndám tâ ñ-jí:yò [mò ngǎ ká: Mímjó
 EXPL what REL Ndam PROG PTCP-angry on matter REL Mimshe
 kíp — móntén ɲkù:rò nè]?
 break.PST1 all yesterday REL.PART.Q
 'What x is the x such that Ndam is angry because Mimshe broke x all yesterday?'

4.3.3. Conditional Clauses

Weak crossover effects arise in the focus-clefting of constituents that are thematically linked to a position in conditional clauses (45).

- (45) à wò júó [món-ì kò ñ-íyón-í] mbû: Rájè ná: tuó ló?
 EXPL who REL child-3SG if PTCP-see-3SG then Raye IRR FUT1 depart
 nè?
 REL.PART.Q
 ✓ 'Who is the x such that if y's child sees x, then Raye will depart?'
 * 'Who is the x such that if x's child sees x, then Raye will depart?'

Furthermore, reconstruction effects are observed when *wh*- items inside conditional clauses (46a) are focus-clefted over c-commanding domain-internal QPs (46b).

- (46) a. [nǵǵò kámíndá kò ñ-fíjò kíyó ɲkú mò sí fìtmòm]
 each carpenter if 3SG-PTCP-build what VIEWP in front Tuesday
 mbû: ntì-ú ná: tuó lím mò?
 then heart-2SG IRR FUT1 sweet Q
 'If each carpenter fixes what before Tuesday, then you will be happy?'
 [$\forall > \exists$; $\forall \exists > \forall$]

- b. à kǐyó júó [nǝǝǝ kámíndá kə̀ m-fǐǝǝ _____ ɲkú mà
EXPL what REL each carpenter if 3SG-PTCP-build VIEWP in
sí fǐtmòm] mbû: ntì-ú ná: tuó lím mà?
front Tuesday then heart-2SG IRR FUT1 sweet REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that if each carpenter fixes x before Tuesday, then you
will be happy?' [$\checkmark \forall > \exists$; $\checkmark \exists > \forall$]
A: 'The new table.' [$\exists > \forall$]
B: 'I'll be happy if by then, Mimshe fixes the bed, Njikam fixes the table, etc.'
[$\forall > \exists$]

Considerations involving quantifier float also support this analysis. QF configurations in which a conditional clause-internal floating quantifier is construed with its focus-clefted associate (47b) give rise to grammatical structures that are semantically equivalent to their in situ counterparts (47a).

- (47) a. [Mímǝǝ kə̀ n-kíp kǐyó mǝ́ntén ndǎa?] mbû: Ndám ná: tuó
Mimshe if PTCP-break what all today then Ndam IRR FUT1
ǝí:ǝǝ?
be.angry.Q
'If Mimshe breaks what all today, then Ndam will be angry?'
- b. à kǐyó júó [Mímǝǝ kə̀ n-kíp _____ mǝ́ntén ndǎa?] mbû:
EXPL what REL Mimshe if PTCP-break all today then
Ndám ná: tuó ǝí:ǝǝ?
Ndam IRR FUT1 be.angry.Q
'What is the x such that if Mimshe breaks all x, then Ndam will be angry?'

4.4. Interim Summary

All clausal domains reviewed in Section 3, which are expected to be opaque for \bar{A} -extraction, give rise to weak crossover effects and manifest reconstruction effects within each domain when domain-internal direct objects are focused-clefted. In addition, QF data suggest connectivity between the prominent peripheral expression and the embedded clausal domain. Lastly, we found no new or exotic resumption patterns in the cases considered. That is, the resumption patterns attested in ex situ constructions that do not involve clausal embedding (8) are identical to those found in the instances involving clausal domains considered in this section, suggesting a unified derivational analysis. We conclude that analysis (5a) is an adequate account of the focus-clefting of constituents internal to these domains. The classic island configurations reviewed in Section 3 are thus transparent for \bar{A} -extraction of material internal to them and therefore do not constitute islands for *wh*-dependencies in Shupamem, at least as far as direct object extractions are concerned.

5. Additional Evidence for Absence of Clausal Islands in Shupamem

This section presents evidence from negative concord item (NCI) licensing as an additional argument for the non-island status of the clausal domains investigated in this article. We demonstrate that NCIs embedded within the relevant clausal domains are licensed by matrix negation. Thus, we argue that the permeability of clausal domains in the language is not limited to \bar{A} -extraction, but extends to probes "looking into" such configurations.

If the domains previously considered are indeed porous for \bar{A} -dependency formation, then we might expect constituents within those domains to be accessible to outside probes. In this section, we show that this prediction is borne out, relying on data from the licensing of N-words—*a.k.a* NCIs—which, in Shupamem, take the form of *nǝǝ*-initial lexical items, as in (48a) (Nchare 2012, p. 404). NCIs are expressions that are licensed in the presence of root clause-level negation (48a) (they give rise to infelicitous NCI readings of N-words in the absence of negation in the language (48b)), yield single negation readings (48a) (Jespersen 1922), and may be used as fragment negative answers (49) (Giannakidou 2006).

(48) a. Ràjè **mâ** ò-ʒìyèn-ì **nfə-mìn**.
 Raye NEG PTCP-see-3SG NEG-person.SG
 ‘Raye didn’t see anybody.’

b. *Ràjè jíyèn **nfə-mìn**.
 Raye see.PST1 NEG-person.SG

(49) A: à kíp kiyò?
 EXPL break.PST1 what.Q
 ‘What broke?’

B: nfə-jím!
 NEG-thing
 ‘Nothing!’

NCI licensing is island-sensitive. This is motivated by considerations from various languages such as West Flemish (Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991) and Spanish, in which matrix negation cannot license an island-internal NCI (50) (Aranovich 1994, p. 209).

(50) *No encontré los cigarillos [que fuma **ninguno** de tus amigos].
 NEG find.PST the cigarettes REL smoke.PRS NEG/person of your friends
 Intended: ‘I have not found the cigarettes that any of your friends smoke.’

The clause-mate requirement on negation is also documented in Xhosa factive clauses by Carstens and Mletshe (2016). This is consistent with NCI licensing being a narrow syntactic phenomenon. Syntactic analyses of NCI licensing that are relevant for our discussion here involve feature agreement via the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001). See Zeijlstra 2008 for an analysis centered on agreement with [Negation] features and Carstens and Mletshe 2016 for an analysis involving [Focus] feature agreement.¹⁷

Further evidence that (some of) the Shupamem clausal domains considered in this article do not have island status comes from the fact that NCIs embedded in them are successfully licensed by domain-external negative morphemes. Consider first Complex NP Constructions. As discussed above, the RC domain constitutes a barrier to external NCI licensing in languages where RCs are strong islands. The data in (51) show that this domain is accessible to matrix negation in Shupamem, a fact that follows from the finding that RCs fail to have island status in the language. This finding generalizes to all RCs in the language. Kandybowicz and Nchare (2023) show that RC-internal NCIs in both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Shupamem are licensed by domain-external negative morphemes.

(51) a. mǎ pí **mâ** ò-ʒí-à mǎmbà: [júó í-jíyèn
 1SG PST3 NEG.PST PTCP-know-1SG man.SG REL 3SG-see.PST1
nfə-mìn nó].
 NEG-person.SG REL.PART
 ‘I didn’t know the person that saw anybody.’

b. *mǎ pí jí mǎmbà: [júó í-jíyèn **nfə-mìn** nó].
 1SG PST3 know man.SG REL 3SG-see.PST1 NEG-person.SG REL.PART

Other complex noun phrases align with RCs as far as the licensing of NCIs is concerned. Non-local negation may license NCI interpretations of N-words embedded inside clausal complements of nouns (52a) that are otherwise unavailable (52b). These facts are consistent with our analysis that clausal complements of nouns in Shupamem are not islands.

(52) a. Ràjè **mâ** ò-ʒù?-ní ndám [mí Mólí ɲkwàt **nfə-jím**].
 Raye NEG PTCP-hear.PST1-3SG rumor COMP Molu eat.PST1 NEG-thing
 ‘Raye didn’t hear the rumor that Molu ate anything.’

b. *Ràjè jù? ndám [mí Mólí ɲkwàt **nfə-jím**].
 Raye hear.PST1 rumor COMP Molu eat.PST1 NEG-thing

N-words embedded within reason clauses are similarly licensed under the scope of domain-external matrix negation (53a).

- (53) a. Mímʃó **mâ** ñ-fí:yà-ní [mò ɲgǎ ká: Ndám kíp
Mimshe NEG PTCP-angry-3SG on matter REL Ndam break.PST1
ñfà-jím mó].
NEG-thing.SG REL.PART
'Mimshe isn't angry because Ndam broke anything.'
- b. * Mímʃó fí:yà [mò ɲgǎ ká: Ndám kíp **ñfà-jím** mó].
Mimshe angry on matter REL Ndam break.PST1 NEG-thing REL.PART

Thus, evidence from three suspected strong island configurations in the language indicates that they are porous for long-distance syntactic dependencies that do not involve movement. We are unable to bring forth evidence from the licensing of NCIs in the other clausal domains considered in this article (i.e., sentential subjects, temporal clauses, and conditional clauses) because of confounding factors. Properties specific to these three domains influence whether an N-word in Shupamem will be interpreted as an NCI or a Negative Polarity Item (NPI) (see Nchare (2012, p. 404) for more on the flexible bivalent NCI/NPI status of N-words in Shupamem). For example, in presupposition-dependent downward entailing environments that license NPIs (Condoravdi 2010; Von Stechow 1999) such as temporal clauses, conditional clauses, and sentential subjects under the scope of factive matrix predicates like 'surprise' (54a), N-words may be licensed in the absence of matrix negation. Because the addition of matrix negation has no effect on the licensing of N-words in these environments (54b), the NCI licensing diagnostic is not applicable in such domains.

- (54) a. [mí ñfà-mìn mē:] vèt món.
COMP NEG-person come.PST1 surprise.PST1 child
'That anyone came surprised the child.'
- b. [mí ñfà-mìn mē:] mâ ñ-vēr-ì món.
COMP NEG-person come.PST1 NEG.PST PTCP-surprise-3SG child
✓ 'That anyone came didn't surprise the child.'
* 'That no one came surprised the child.'

6. Other (Indecisive) Diagnostics for \bar{A} - Movement Out of Clausal Domains

While other tests may be used to detect \bar{A} - movement, at least four other possible diagnostics prove indecisive in the context of Shupamem clausal extractions: parasitic gap licensing (Section 6.1), superiority effects (Section 6.2), idiom formation (Section 6.3) and sluicing (Section 6.4). We discuss their applicability in Shupamem (a) in order to assure readers that a wide range of extraction diagnostics were considered and (b) to inspire confidence in skeptical readers that the diagnostics applied in Section 4 are truly the most decisive diagnostics we can appeal to.¹⁸

6.1. Parasitic Gap Licensing

Parasitic gap licensing (Engdahl 1983) is observed when the creation of a non c-commanding \bar{A} - gap (55a) licenses an otherwise illicit gap (55b). The other gap is thus "parasitic" on this \bar{A} - dependency and its licensing serves as evidence that \bar{A} - movement has occurred.

- (55) a. Here is the influential professor that John sent his book to ____ in order to impress _____. (Engdahl 1983, p. 11)
- b. * John sent his book to the influential professor in order to impress ____.

The unacceptability of a base sentence with a single illicit embedded gap is a prerequisite for the applicability of this diagnostic. If (55b) were acceptable, the grammaticality of (55a), with gaps in both positions, would not be decisive between movement and non-movement analyses.

In Shupamem, the ungrammaticality that results from there being an unpronounced position in the second occurrence of the object *ndáp* ('house') in sentence (56a), as in (56b), is remedied once the matrix object is focus-clefted (56c), indicating that the gap in the adjunct clause is parasitic on the creation of a non-c-commanding gap, in line with the \bar{A} -extraction of the focus-clefted constituent from its external merge position.

- (56) a. Mímǎ́ǎ jǐyèn ndáp kà í-ń-ǵún ndáp.
Mimshe see.PST1 house before 3SG-PTCP-buy house
'Mimshe saw the house before buying the house.'
- b. *Mímǎ́ǎ jǐyèn ndáp kà í-ń-ǵún _____.
Mimshe see.PST1 house before 3SG-PTCP-buy
Intended: 'Mimshe saw the house x before buying x.'
- c. áǎ ndáp júó Mímǎ́ǎ jǐyèn ____ kà í-ń-ǵún
EXPL.COP house REL Mimshe see.PST1 before 3SG-PTCP-buy
____ nǎ.
REL.PART
'It is the house x that Mimshe saw x before buying x.'

The data in (56b) and (56c) thus suggest that parasitic gap licensing might constitute another reliable \bar{A} -movement diagnostic in the language. Despite this promising result, parasitic gap licensing is not a stable test of \bar{A} -movement in Shupamem and thus it is unreliable at the current stage of this research project. During the first period of fieldwork on this study (December 2020–April 2021), the focus-clefting of inanimate-denoting material internal to suspected island configurations gave rise to parasitic gap licensing patterns like the one shown in (56b) vs. (56c). However, upon re-elicitation (May 2021–September 2021), base examples with single embedded gaps (i.e., structures like (56b)) were judged acceptable. This discrepancy in the data makes parasitic gap licensing a currently unreliable diagnostic when attempting to distinguish \bar{A} -movement from base-generation analyses in Shupamem. In the remainder of this subsection, we present the initial results of the parasitic gap licensing test as it was applied to the "island" domains under consideration in this paper. In these trials, otherwise illicit gaps were licensed once inanimate-denoting expressions were focus-clefted out of all suspected island domains, thus furthering the argument that the clausal domains in question lack island status based on parasitic gap licensing.

The focus-clefting of material internal to sentential subjects appears to license parasitic gaps inside subject CPs (57b) that are not licensed in the absence of focus cleft constructions (57a). Recall that in this and subsequent examples, the judgement of base sentences containing gaps has proved variable, which renders this diagnostic favorable to our movement approach, but presently unreliable until the data can be checked against judgements from more native speakers.

- (57) a. * [mí Rájè jì pèn kà í-ń-ná ____] vèt
COMP Raye eat.PST1 fufu before 3SG-PTCP-cook surprise.PST1
Mòlì.
Molu
Intended: 'That Raye ate the fufu x before cooking x surprised Molu.'
- b. à kǐyó júó [mí Rájè jì ____ kà í-ń-ná
EXPL what REL COMP Raye eat.PST1 before 3SG-PTCP-cook
____] vèt Mòlì?
surprised Molu.q
'What is the x such that, that Raye ate x before cooking x surprised Molu?'

Similarly, when constituents internal to complex NPs are focus-clefted, otherwise illicit gaps (58a, 59a) appear to be licensed, as we illustrate below with definite relative clauses (58b) and clausal complements of definite nouns (59b).

- (58) a. * Rájè jì [mèmbà: júó í-jùn ndáp kà
Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1 house before
í-ñ-ǵíyón ____ nò].
3SG-PTCP-see REL.PART
Intended: ‘Raye knows the man who bought the house x before seeing x.’
- b. à kǐyó júó Rájè jì [mèmbà: júó í-jùn ____
EXPL what REL Raye know.PRS man REL 3SG-buy.PST1
kà í-ñ-ǵíyón ____ nò]?
before 3SG-PTCP-see REL.PART.Q
‘What is the x such that Raye knows the man who bought x before seeing x?’
- (59) a. * Mímǵò jù? [pésá?kǐyó mí Rájè jùn ndáp kà
Mimshe hear.PST1 account COMP Raye buy.PST1 house before
í-ñ-ǵíyón ____].
3SG-PTCP-see
Intended: ‘Mimshe heard the account that Raye bought the house x before seeing x.’
- b. à kǐyó júó Mímǵò jù? [pésá?kǐyó mí Rájè jùn
EXPL what REL Mimshe hear.PST1 account COMP Raye buy.PST1
____ kà í-ñ-ǵíyón ____] nò?
before 3SG-PTCP-see REL.PART.Q
‘What is the x such that Mimshe heard the account that Raye bought x before seeing x?’

The remaining strong “island” configurations that were investigated align with sentential subject and complex NP constructions with respect to parasitic gap licensing. Thus, otherwise illicit gaps inside reason clauses (60a) were licensed following the focus-clefting (60b) of material internal to them.

- (60) a. * Mímǵò lǒ? [mè ngǎ ká: Rájè jùn ndáp kà
Mimshe depart.PST1 on matter REL Raye buy.PST1 house before
í-ñ-ǵíyón ____ nò].
3SG-PTCP-see REL.PART
Intended: ‘Mimshe departed because Raye bought the house x before seeing x.’
- b. à kǐyó júó Mímǵò lǒ? [mè ngǎ ká: Rájè jùn
EXPL what REL Mimshe depart.PST1 on matter REL Raye buy.PST1
____ kà í-ñ-ǵíyón ____] nò?
before 3SG-PTCP-see REL.PART.Q
‘What is the x such that Mimshe departed because Raye bought x before seeing x?’

Similarly, the focus-clefting (61b) of material internal to conditional clauses appears to license otherwise illicit gaps inside these clauses (61a).

- (61) a. * [Mímǵò kò ñ-siét lèrwà kà í-ñ-ǵún ____] mbú: Rájè
Mimshe if PTCP-tear book before 3SG-PTCP-buy then Raye
ná: tuó lǒ?
IRR FUT1 depart
Intended: ‘If Mimshe tears the book x before buying x, then Raye will depart.’

- b. à **kíyó** júó [Mímǎfó kà ò-siét _____ kà í-ń-zún
EXPL what REL Mimshe if PTCP-tear before 3SG-PTCP-buy
_____] mbû: Rájè ná: tuó ló? nò?
then Raye IRR FUT1 depart REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that if Mimshe tears x before buying x, then Raye will depart?'

A similar pattern is observed in temporal clauses. When an illicit gap occurs in a temporal 'after' clause that is embedded in a structurally higher 'before' clause (62a), the focus-clefting of a co-referential object in the higher clause embedded below the matrix predicate renders grammatical the otherwise illicit gap (62b).

- (62) a. * ù-fù: Rájè [kà ù-m-fá lèrwà nò Ndám mà nǎm
2SG-call.PST1 Raye before 2SG-PTCP-give book to Ndam on back
ká: ù-jún _____ ńkù:rò nò].
REL 2SG-buy.PST1 yesterday REL.PART
Intended: 'You called Raye before you gave the book x to Ndam after buying x yesterday.'
- b. à **kíyó** júó ù-fù: Rájè [kà ù-m-fá _____ nò
EXPL what REL 2SG-call.PST1 Raye before 2SG-PTCP-give to
Ndám mà nǎm ká: ù-jún _____ ńkù:rò nò]?
Ndam on back REL 2SG-buy.PST1 yesterday REL.PART.Q
'What is the x such that you called Raye before giving x to Ndam after buying x yesterday?'

6.2. Superiority Effects

Superiority effects are observed in questions with multiple *wh*- elements when a structurally lower *wh*- item moves over a higher *wh*- item yielding ungrammatical outputs. Under the movement analysis sketched in (5a), otherwise licit 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 (5b), however, would predict the absence of superiority effects in these cases, making the consideration of superiority effects a potentially decisive diagnostic for teasing apart movement from base-generation analyses in cases of purported island escape in the language.

Unfortunately, this diagnostic is not applicable in Shupamem due to the absence of superiority effects in the language (63–64), as in other West African languages such as Ikpana (Kandybowicz et al. 2023), Krachi (Torrence and Kandybowicz 2015), Akan (Saah 1994), and Yoruba (Adesola 2006).

- (63) a. à fù: wǎ wè?
EXPL call.PST1 who who.Q
'Who called whom?'
- b. à **wè** júó í-fù: _____ wè nò?
EXPL who REL 3SG-call.PST1 who REL.PART.Q
'Who is it that called whom?'
- c. à **wè** júó wè fù: _____ nò?
EXPL who REL who call.PST1 REL.PART.Q
'Who is it that who called?'
- (64) a. Mímǎfó fà kǐyó nò wè?
Mimshe give.PST1 what to who.Q
'What did Mimshe give to whom?'
- b. à **kíyó** júó Mímǎfó fà _____ nò wè nò?
EXPL what REL Mimshe give.PST1 to who REL.PART.Q
'What is it that Mimshe gave to whom?'

- c. à wə júó Mímʃó fà kǐyó nə-í nə?
 EXPL who REL Mimshe give.PST1 what to-3SG REL.PART.Q
 ‘Who is it that Mimshe gave what to?’

The data in (63) and (64) show that in multiple *wh*- question constructions, any *wh*- expression may undergo focus-clefting. In the absence of focus-clefting asymmetries in multiple *wh*- source structures, we do not have recourse to the use of superiority effects as a diagnostic of \bar{A} - extraction in Shupamem.

6.3. Idiom Formation

Focus-clefting of “island”-internal idiom chunks would be predicted to yield idiomatic interpretations under the movement analysis sketched in (5a), on the assumption that all parts of the idiom must form a constituent at some stage of the derivation (as in English). Under the base-generation approach in (5b), only literal interpretations would be predicted to be available in these cases. In this way, idioms could offer a potentially decisive diagnostic between movement and base-generation analyses of purported cases of island extraction in the language.

Unlike idioms in English, 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 (65b, 66b, 67b) and A- movement (65d, 66d), precludes idiomatic interpretations, both movement and base-generation analyses correctly predict the absence of non-literal interpretations when “island”-internal idiom chunks are focus-clefted. These properties of Shupamem idioms are illustrated below for three distinct idiomatic expressions (‘X shockingly succeeded’ (65), ‘X is in deep trouble’ (66)), and ‘Who the hell is X?’ (67).¹⁹

- (65) a. kǐjǐ? tò: ndəm nǐ.
 idiot pierce.PST1 drum chief
 Literally: ‘The idiot pierced the chief’s drum.’
 Idiomatically: ‘S/he shockingly succeeded.’
- b. áá ndəm nǐ júó kǐjǐ? tò: _____ nó.
 EXPL.COP drum chief REL idiot pierce.PST1 REL.PART
 ‘It is the chief’s drum that the idiot pierced.’
 (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)
- c. á pǎ jè kǐjǐ? tò: ndəm nǐ.
 EXPL COP.PRS like idiot pierce.PST1 drum chief
 Literally: ‘It seems like the idiot pierced the chief’s drum.’
 Idiomatically: ‘It seems like s/he shockingly succeeded.’
- d. kǐjǐ? pǎ jè ká: í-tò: ndəm nǐ.
 idiot COP like COMP 3SG-pierce.PST1 drum chief
 ‘The idiot seems like s/he pierced the chief’s drum.’
 (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)
- (66) a. Mímʃó vè láp ɲgǐə.
 Mimshe grab.PST genitals leopard
 Literally: ‘Mimshe grabbed the leopard’s genitals.’
 Idiomatically: ‘Mimshe is in deep trouble.’
- b. áá láp ɲgǐə júó Mímʃó vè _____ nó.
 EXPL.COP genitals leopard REL Mimshe grab.PST1 REL.PART
 ‘It is the leopard’s genitals that Mimshe grabbed.’
 (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)
- c. á pǎ jè Mímʃó vè láp ɲgǐə.
 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. Mímǎǎ pǎ jǎ kǎ: í-vǎ lǎp ǎǎǎ.
 Mimshe COP.PRS like COMP 3SG-grab.PST genitals leopard
 ‘Mimshe seems like he grabbed the leopard’s genitals.’ (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)
- (67) a. Mímǎǎ mǎn wǎ?
 Mimshe child who.Q
 Literally: ‘Mimshe is WHOSE child?’
 Idiomatically: ‘Who the hell is Mimshe?’
- b. à wǎ júǎ Mímǎǎ *(pǎ) mǎn-ǎ nǎ?
 EXPL who REL Mimshe COP.PRS child-3SG REL.PART.Q
 ‘Who is the x such that Mimshe is x’s child?’ (= ‘Who is Mimshe the child of?’)
 (idiomatic reading unavailable)

Appealing to idioms, therefore, is not an effective diagnostic of \bar{A} -movement out of clausal domains in Shupamem.

6.4. Sluicing

Sluicing is a type of ellipsis where, in most cases, everything except for a *wh*-expression is elided (Merchant 2001; Ross 1969), as in the dialogue in (68).

- (68) A: Mímǎǎ jǎn [jǎm].
 Mimshe buy.PST1 thing
 ‘Mimshe bought something.’
- B: kǎǎǎ?
 what.Q
 ‘What?’

Sluicing is island-sensitive in some languages, implicating movement in the derivation of the sluice (e.g., Nupe, see Mendes and Kandybowicz 2023). Given island sensitivity, the movement analysis (5a) would make the prediction that sluices containing surviving *wh*-expressions that originate in any of the so-called island structures under discussion in this paper should be unavailable, while the base-generation analysis (5b) would predict the possibility of such sluices. If this were true for Shupamem, then sluicing could serve as a decisive diagnostic between movement and base-generation analyses of purported long-distance \bar{A} -dependencies across “islands”.

Despite the promising nature of this test, 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.²⁰ Paradigm (69) below shows that sluicing of the second conjunct of an NP coordinate structure (69A), an island in the language (70), is possible (69B).

- (69) A: Mímǎǎ kǎp [rǎ: pǎ: jǎm].
 Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ thing
 ‘Mimshe broke the chair and something.’
- B: kǎǎǎ?
 what.Q
 ‘What?’
- (70) *à kǎǎǎ júǎ Mímǎǎ kǎp [rǎ: pǎ: ____] nǎ?
 EXPL what REL Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ REL.PART.Q
 Intended: ‘What is the x such that Mimshe broke the chair and x?’

The acceptance of sluicing a second conjunct *wh*- despite the opacity of the second conjunct for extraction in NP coordinate structures (70) supports a move-and-delete derivation of such fragment answers in the language, as represented in (71). The source of sluice (69B) appears to be a *wh*-in situ structure.

- (71) a. Mímǝ́ kíp [rì: pò: kǝ̀ǝ̀]?
 Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ what.Q
 ‘What is the x such that Mimshe broke the chair and x?’
 ⇒
 b. ~~Mímǝ́ kíp~~ ~~_____~~ ~~[rì: pò: kǝ̀ǝ̀]~~?
 Mimshe break.PST1 chair CONJ what.Q

Further evidence that the source of sluice (68B) is a *wh*- in situ structure comes from the tonal realization of *kǝ̀ǝ̀* (‘what’). In situ occurrences of *kǝ̀ǝ̀* surface with L tones (71a), while focus-clefted *kǝ̀ǝ̀* surfaces with H tones (64b).²¹ The L realization of ‘what’ in (69B), therefore, supports the *wh*- in situ source structure of Shupamem sluices. This entails that example (69B) does not necessarily involve actual *wh*- movement, but rather a *wh*- in situ + delete derivation. In further support of the in situ derivation of fragment answers in Shupamem, consider N-words that, by definition, can serve as fragment answers in the language (example (49) from Section 5 is repeated below as (72)).

- (72) A: à kíp kǝ̀ǝ̀?
 EXPL break.PST1 what.Q
 ‘What broke?’
 B: nǝ̀ǝ̀-jím!
 NEG-thing
 ‘Nothing!’

Shupamem N-words cannot be fronted, as shown by the unacceptability of the focus-cleft variant (73b) of example (73a) with the N-word *nǝ̀ǝ̀-jím* as the direct object to be fronted.

- (73) a. Músá **mâ** n-ǝ̀ǝ̀n-nǝ̀ **nǝ̀ǝ̀-jím** ndǝ̀ǝ̀?
 Musa NEG PTCP-buy-3SG NEG-thing today
 ‘Musa didn’t buy anything today.’
 b. * áǎ **nǝ̀ǝ̀-jím** júó Músá **mâ** n-ǝ̀ǝ̀n-nǝ̀ _____ ndǝ̀ǝ̀?
 EXPL.COP NEG-thing REL Musa NEG PTCP-buy-3SG _____ today
 nǝ̀.
 REL.PART
 Intended: ‘It is anything that Mimshe didn’t buy today.’

These data are consistent with an in situ derivation of the N-word fragment answer in (72B).²²

Consequently, because of its *wh*- in situ source structure in the language, sluicing cannot be used as a decisive diagnostic to test whether movement out of the “islands” considered in this paper has occurred.

7. Conclusions

Focus-clefting direct objects out of the clausal domains discussed in this paper triggers weak crossover effects, gives rise to reconstruction effects based on *wh*-quantifier interaction, and feeds quantifier float in Shupamem. In addition, long-distance licensing of negative concord items across some of these domains suggests that these configurations are porous for (non-movement) dependencies that are otherwise unexpected across them. Furthermore, parasitic gap licensing within the structures in question, although presently not a stable judgement pattern, has been observed. The findings summarized in Table 2, capturing only those diagnostics for which we presented data from all relevant configurations, suggest an absence of clausal islands in the language.

Table 2. Arguments for \bar{A} -movement out of Shupamem clausal domains.

	Crossover Effects	Reconstruction Effects	Parasitic Gap Licensing	Quantifier Float
Sentential Subjects	✓	✓	(✓)	✓
Definite Relative Clauses	✓	✓	(✓)	✓
Cl. Complements of N	✓	✓	(✓)	✓
Temporal Clauses	✓	✓	(✓)	✓
Reason Clauses	✓	✓	(✓)	✓
Conditional Clauses	✓	✓	(✓)	✓

This result is very surprising from the perspective of domain-specific Generativist theory inasmuch as the conceptual necessity for computationally efficient syntactic derivations entails the universality of strong islands (Chomsky 2008).²³ The pervasive transparency of these domains in Shupamem also challenges domain-general accounts that center on the observation that long-distance \bar{A} -dependencies tax the human parser in different ways (Abrusán 2014; Kluender 1998, and references therein). Such accounts reduce island effects to considerations of online language processing. For example, given a relative notion of complexity in language processing that affects variation in acceptability across types of domains and types of fillers (see Hawkins 1999, for example), islands are not the universal product of syntax or its interfaces, but an emergent property of language that is expected to arise in different languages due to domain-general limitations on language processing. From this perspective, the across-the-board transparency of clausal domains in Shupamem is somewhat perplexing. This begs the question of the grammatical properties that facilitate their pervasive transparency above and beyond what the languages of Europe will have us hypothesize.²⁴

From the perspective of crosslinguistic and areal variation in this domain as represented in the literature, the lack of clausal opacity in Shupamem is remarkable in its pervasiveness, but it cannot be dismissed as a unique quirk. Temporal and conditional adjunct clauses in Norwegian, unlike reason clauses, do not have the status of strong islands (Bondevik et al. 2021; Faarlund 1992; Kush et al. 2018)²⁵ and in Ancash Quechua, both arguments and adjuncts can \bar{A} -move out of *wh*-in situ islands so that they fail to have the status of weak islands (Cole and Hermon 1994). Similarly, recent papers on islands in the languages of Africa point to an areal trend whereby one or more suspected island configuration is transparent for the formation of long-distance \bar{A} -dependencies. Outside of Shupamem, we have identified seven such languages. All languages except for Swahili cluster areally in western Africa, of which four, including Shupamem, are Grassfields Bantu languages. The results of our survey of the literature at the time of writing are reported in Table 3, in which a “–” stands for currently unavailable data, “✓” represents permissible extraction and “✗” represents impossible extraction from the domain in question.

Table 3. Patterns of \bar{A} -dependency formation out of clausal domains in some languages of Africa.

	Akan ^a	Avatime	Awing	Ikpana	Limbum	Medumba	Swahili
Sentential Subjects	✓	–	–	✗	–	N/A	–
Definite RCs	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓
Cl. Compl. of N	✓	✓	–	✗	✓	✓	–
Temporal Clauses	–	✗	✓	✓	–	✓	✓
Reason Clauses	✓	–	✓	✓	✓	–	✓
Conditional Cls.	–	–	–	✓	–	–	–

^a Here Akan relates specifically to Asante Twi.

Shupamem remains the one language to date with the most clausal domains documented to be transparent for \bar{A} -extraction. The Asante Twi variety of Akan (Hein and Georgi 2021; Korsah and Murphy 2019) comes closest to it with at least four out of six transparent “island” domains. Regardless of the possible transparency of temporal and

conditional clauses, though, Asante Twi is more restrictive than Shupamem since only DPs can \bar{A} -extract from “island” configurations in the former.²⁶ In the Ghana-Togo Mountain language Ikpana, adjunct clauses of all varieties are transparent domains for \bar{A} -extraction, but other classic strong islands have strong island status (Kandybowicz et al. 2023). In Avatime, another Ghana-Togo Mountain language, clausal complements of definite nouns are \bar{A} -transparent inasmuch as a *wh*-item can be fronted from within (Devlin et al. 2021; Major and Torrence 2021), but relative clauses and temporal clauses are opaque domains (Devlin et al. 2021).²⁷ Of the remaining languages in Table 3, three belong to the Grassfields Bantu group in Cameroon, like Shupamem, but do not have porous clausal domains to the same extent. In Awing, long-distance \bar{A} -dependencies can seemingly be formed between an ex situ *wh*-item and the position with which it is linked inside relative clauses, temporal clauses, and reason clauses (Fominyam 2021).²⁸ In Limbum, clausal complements of Ns, definite RCs, and reason adjunct clauses are transparent for \bar{A} -extraction (Hein 2020a, n.d.). In Medumba, complex NPs and temporal clauses are escapable when it comes to \bar{A} -extraction (Keupdjio 2020). Finally, in Swahili, at least definite RCs (Gould and Scott 2019) and temporal and reason clauses (Scott 2021) allow for \bar{A} -extraction. Although this sample is admittedly limited for the purposes of making novel typological generalizations, it is clear that as previously argued for in other areas of grammar (see Bresnan 1990; Henderson 2011), an Africanist perspective is essential to refining syntactic theory in the domain of islands and locality.²⁹

To conclude, in this paper we deployed several standard Generative diagnostics and argued for \bar{A} -extraction of direct objects out of a number of purported island domains in Shupamem. It is premature to conclude that Shupamem features transparent “island” configurations that undermine the universality of islands without also considering whether each of the domains in question truly has the syntactic structure requisite for it to be considered an island. For example, recent work by Sichel (2014, 2018) and Cinque (2020) argues that what appear to be surprising instances of successful extraction from relative clause “islands” in Mainland Scandinavian, Romance, and Hebrew do not actually involve movement out of complex NP structures (i.e., strong islands), but more accurately represent instances of extraction out of CPs of the sort that constitute weak islands in the languages. The clausal domains involved in such apparent violations of strong island constraints differ structurally from strong islands as traditionally construed in the Generative framework (Chomsky 1986, 2001). Therefore, they count among instances of “surface island variation” in the sense of Phillips (2013b) and do not undermine the validity of a universal constraint that derives the ungrammaticality of \bar{A} -dependencies across island configurations. Such surface island variation contrasts with “deep island variation” in Phillips’ typology of island violations, whereby no argument presents itself to support any structural differences between the extraction domains in question and strong island configurations, but \bar{A} -extraction from these domains is nonetheless grammatical. The next natural step is therefore to consider whether each clausal domain in Shupamem has the structure of a traditional island (from the Generativist perspective) and account for its \bar{A} -extraction transparency. We speculate that the transparency of all clausal “islands” in Shupamem is closely connected to the syntax of relativization, given that the syntax of relative clauses is implicated in all cases of \bar{A} -extraction discussed in this paper.

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Notes

- ¹ The notion of extraction assumes a movement operation has taken place. We refer the reader to Sections 2.2 and 4, where \bar{A} -movement diagnostics for the relevant “islands” are deployed.
- ² All data are based on fieldwork with one native speaker of the language, the third author. We transcribe the data using the International Phonetic Alphabet even though Shupamem has a writing system (see Omniglot [<https://omniglot.com/writing/bamum.htm>] (accessed on 17 September 2023)) or LearnBamun [<http://www.learnbamun.com/study-now>] (accessed on 17 September 2023)). Abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules with minor deviations and include: 1 first person; 2 second person; **COMP** complementizer; **CONJ** conjunction; **COP** copula; **DEM** demonstrative; **EXPL** expletive; **FOC** focus; **FUT** future; **INAN** inanimate; **INF** infinitive; **IRR** irrealis; **LOC** locative; **NCL** noun class; **NEG** negative; **OBL** oblique; **PART** particle; **PL** plural; **PROG** progressive; **PST** past; **Q** question; **REL** relativizer; **SG** singular; **VIEWP** viewpoint
- ³ Nchare and Terzi (2014) discuss prenominal viewpoint markers in Shupamem. See Nchare and Terzi 2014 for a prepositional analysis of viewpoint markers in the language and further details on their extraction properties.
- ⁴ For reasons of space, we focus on a subset of suspected strong island configurations to the exclusion of weak islands in this article. See Schurr forthcoming for discussion of weak islands and successful extraction from them in the language.
- ⁵ Shupamem has four surface tones: high (x̌), low (ẋ), rising (x̋) and falling (x̌). We have taken great pains in this paper to represent the tones as accurately as possible. Our tonal transcriptions are surface tonal transcriptions. The reader can rest assured that most, if not all, apparent inconsistencies in the representation of tones are due to various rules and alternations that make the Shupamem tone system rather complex.
- ⁶ By basic word order, we refer to the “elsewhere” common order in indicative clauses in the absence of pragmatically informative functions such as topic shift or identificational focus (see Dryer 1995; Van der Wal 2015).
- ⁷ See Schurr forthcoming for a more detailed discussion of resumption in the language.
- ⁸ We assume that resumptive pronouns are obligatorily spelled out copies (Landau 2006; Pesetsky 1998). Nchare (2012, pp. 519–20) provides an overview of personal pronouns in Shupamem. See Schurr forthcoming for further discussion of resumption, epithets and epithet-like expressive terms in the language.
- ⁹ A negative copula is licit in negative focus-cleft constructions, but yields unacceptability in negative topicalization constructions (Nchare 2012, p. 455). We note one other possible position for copulae in the \bar{A} -configurations discussed in this article. We have recently discovered that in focus clefts (though not in topicalization structures), an overt pre-nasalized copula (Yiangnigni 2016, p. 122) may surface post-nominally under certain conditions (i). Crucially, however, the overt copula *pã* may not occur in this environment.

(i) A: món kíp rì.
 child break.PST1 chair
 ‘The child broke the chair.’

B: á (*pã) jì rì: ìn-bó júá món kíp — m̂?
 EXPL COP.PRS DEM chair PTCP-COP REL child break.PST1 REL.PART.Q
 ‘Is it this chair that the child broke?’
- ¹⁰ Cardinaletti (2019)’s proposal regarding a relation in the Romance language family between clause-internal resumption and the availability of extraction points in the same direction, in so far as cliticization implicates extraction from a Big DP.
- ¹¹ The expletive subject surfaces with an H tone in indicative clauses, but in interrogative clauses it takes an L tone alongside a clause-final relative particle that bears an interrogative L tone, as in (16) (see Nchare 2012, sct. 5, p. 497ff).
- ¹² By ‘picture noun’ anaphors we refer to expressions such as *a picture of himself* in example (ii).

(ii) Tom_i believes that there is [a picture of himself_i] hanging in the post office. (Jackendoff 1972, p. 133)

We acknowledge an anonymous reviewer’s comment that such expressions may be locally bound by a null logophoric pronoun (in the spirit of [Charnavel and Bryant 2023](#)). In fact, preliminary results of an exploratory study in Shupamem suggest this may be the case in the language. See [Schurr forthcoming](#) for further discussion.

- 13 A rather widely accepted view is that R-expressions reconstruct for Condition C if they are embedded inside arguments, but Condition C is not violated when R-expressions are embedded inside adjuncts (first reported in [Riemsdijk and Williams 1981](#)). Against this view, [Bruening and Al Khalaf \(2019\)](#) bring forth evidence from English that the correct generalization distinguishes R-expression complements of nouns, which do not reconstruct for Condition C, from R-expression complements of (non-nominal) prepositions, which do reconstruct, yielding a Condition C violation. This special status of nouns appears to apply in Shupamem, making Condition C a potentially reliable diagnostic for \bar{A} -dependencies. For example, in VP ex situ structures, a Condition C violation is observed when focus-clefting a transitive verb with its proper name object, excluding coreference between it and the embedded third person subject pronoun in example (iii.a). However, if the rigid designator is more deeply embedded as the complement of a noun in the object position (‘the brothers of Mimshe’ in (iii.b)), Condition C is not violated.

- (iii) a. áǎ ìm-métá Mímǎ́ júó pà-lòtá jù? mí í-yét nó.
EXPL.COP INF-scratch Mimshe REL PL-doctor hear.PST1 COMP 3SG-do.PST1 REL.PART
‘It is scratching Mimshe_i that the doctors heard that he_{j/k}_i did.’
b. áǎ ìn-ngbǐntà ø-sǎsí Mǎ́lè júó pà-lérá? ò-gúpmá mí í-yét nó.
EXPL.COP INF-insult PL-older.brother Molu REL PL-teacher PTCP-think.PRS COMP 3SG-do.PST1 REL.PART
‘It is insulting [Molu_i’s older brothers]_j that the teachers think that he_j did.’

The discrepancy between the observed reconstruction in (iii.a) and lack thereof (iii.b) in VP ex situ structures could, in principle, be attributed to further nesting of the R-expression in the complement of the ex situ verb in (iii.b). If this were true, proper name complements of displaced constituents would be expected to reconstruct and yield a Condition C violation, as in the base sentence in (iv.a), contrary to fact. Condition C is not violated when the object *pètñzòm Mèfirè* (‘the junior brothers of Mefire’) is displaced to the left-edge in focus-cleft constructions (iv.b).

- (iv) a. í-jèt ø-pètñzòm Mèfirè.
3SG-congratulate.PST1 PL-junior.brother Mefire
‘She_{i/j} congratulated [Mefire_j’s junior brothers]_k.’
b. áǎ ø-pètñzòm Mèfirè júó í-jèt-áp _____ mó.
EXPL.COP PL-junior.brother Mefire REL 3SG-congratulate.PST1 REL.PART
‘It is [Mefire_j’s junior brothers]_k that she_{i/j} congratulated.’

We leave considerations from Condition C regarding the transparency of clausal domains for future research. Condition C in Shupamem is briefly discussed by [Nchare \(2012, p. 547\)](#). [Schurr \(forthcoming\)](#) explores Condition C with respect to suspected clausal islands in more detail.

- 14 *Wh*-quantifier interactions are similarly used as a movement diagnostic in Shona, a Bantu language of Zimbabwe and Mozambique (see [Zentz 2016](#)).

- 15 The absence of cross-clausal syntactic connectivity effects with the licensing *discourse* environment (the immediately preceding discourse in (22A) forces us to assume the quantifier modifies a null pronoun in example (22B), not a trace. We thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting that we test whether quantifiers may be licensed by in situ pronouns.

- 16 Extraction out of definite relative clauses gives rise to weak crossover effects regardless of whether the RC head is an RC-internal argument, as in example (33), or not, as illustrated below in example (v).

- (v) à wə júó ũ-jì fí? [ká: mǎr-ì jǐyón-í nò]?
EXPL who REL 2SG-know.PRS time REL brother-3SG see.PST1-3SG REL.PART.Q
✓ ‘Who is the x such that you know the time that y’s brother saw x?’
* ‘Who is the x such that you know the time that x’s brother saw x?’

- 17 We acknowledge the existence of alternative analyses in which NCI-licensing involves movement that is sensitive to clause boundaries, as [Haegeman and Zanuttini \(1991\)](#) put forth for West Flemish. Whether or not (covert) movement is implicated in deriving the relevant configurations in Shupamem, we consider this evidence against their status as opaque clausal domains.

- 18 [Schurr \(forthcoming\)](#) discusses additional indecisive considerations regarding strong crossover effects and reconstruction for Condition A of the binding theory in the language.

- 19 An anonymous reviewer remarks that “light verb idioms”, composed of a non-straightforwardly predictable verb and a more transparent contribution on the part of a collocated noun, do support the distinction between A- and \bar{A} -dependencies in English. In Shupamem, such idioms, as in (vi.a) using the light verb *fà* (‘gave’), appear to pattern with the “opaque” idioms we study in this section in view of the absence of an idiomatic interpretation in the ex situ object variant (vi.b). We conclude that idiom formation cannot be used to detect \bar{A} -dependencies in the language.

- (vi) a. í-fà ngìó? nè Mímǎ.
 3SG-give.PST1 hell to Mimshe
 Literally: 'He gave hell to Mimshe.'
 Idiomatically: 'He drove Mimshe crazy.'

- b. # áǎ ngìó? júó í-fá _____ nè Mímǎ ná.
 EXPL.COP hell REL 3SG-give.PST1 to Mimshe REL.PART
 Literally: 'It is hell that he gave to Mimshe.' (Idiomatic interpretation unavailable)

20 *Wh-* in situ sources of sluices are also reported in other languages, such as English (Hankamer 1979; Kimura 2010; Morgan 1973), German (Ott and Struckmeier 2016), Dutch (Ott and Struckmeier 2016), Japanese (Abe 2015), and Spanish (Stigliano 2022).

21 Paradigm (vii) demonstrates the distinction between L and H tone inanimate *wh-* objects in clause-internal position (vii.a) and focus-cleft constructions (vii.b), respectively.

- (vii) a. Rájè jù? pésá?kíyǎ [mí Mímǎ kíp kíyǎ]?
 Raye hear.PST1 account COMP Mimshe break.PST1 what.Q
 'Raye heard the account that Mimshe broke what?'
- b. à kíyǎ júó Rájè jù? pésá?kíyǎ [mí Mímǎ kíp _____ mǎ]?
 EXPL what REL Raye hear.PST1 account COMP Mimshe break.PST1 REL.PART.Q
 'What is the x such that Raye heard the account that Mimshe broke x?'

22 An analysis of N-word fragment answers in Shupamem as in situ sluices aligns with Kroll (2019)'s observation of polarity reversal under sluicing in English. While N-words cannot be fronted in Shupamem (73), they may occupy in situ focus positions in inversion constructions, in which the verb precedes the in situ logical subject (viii.b). This dovetails nicely with an in situ derivation of the polarity-reversed fragment answer in (72B) along the lines of the *wh-* in situ sluice in (71).

- (viii) a. nǎ-jím mǎ ñ-kíβ-ì!
 NEG-thing NEG PTCP-break-3SG
 'Nothing broke!'
- b. á mǎ ñ-kíβ-ì nǎ-jím!
 EXPL NEG PTCP-break-3SG NEG-thing!
 'NOTHING broke!'

23 Accounts of the opacity of islands as due to the interaction between the syntactic component and the interfaces (Fox and Pesetsky 2005; Pesetsky 1982) or due to the opacity of some domains for agreement processes (and therefore to any movement that involves Agree relations, e.g., Boeckx 2003; Rackowski and Richards 2005) may fare differently.

24 The existence of uncontroversial effects of processing difficulty encountered in or at the edge of island domains does not exclude any role for narrow syntax in the formal makeup of islands (as argued previously in Phillips 2013a).

25 See Müller 2019 for a recent review of the permeability of adjunct islands in Mainland Scandinavian.

26 Schurr (forthcoming) considers the derivation of categorially diverse prominent constituents in \bar{A} -configurations in the language. See also endnote 13.

27 Major and Torrence (2021) show that the transparency is only apparent because the structure in question is actually a serial verb construction, not a clausal complement of N.

28 Fominyam (2021) argues that these dependencies do not actually implicate \bar{A} -movement. On the other hand, covert \bar{A} -extraction is arguably involved in licensing in situ *wh-* items in the same domains (Fominyam 2021).

29 We have not included possible violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint in Table 3 since these do not necessarily reflect clausal domains, which make up the focus of this article. To show the promise of an Africanist perspective in this regard, it suffices to mention a number of apparent violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint in African languages. Possible \bar{A} -extraction from Coordinate NP constructions is documented in Igbo, in which clausal domains including sentential subjects, complex NPs and adjunct clauses all have the status of islands (Georgi and Amaechi 2020; Goldsmith 1981), and Medumba (Keupdjio 2020). In the same vein, Khoekhoegowab shows an asymmetry in extraction from VP conjuncts where the object can topicalize from the first conjunct but not from the second (Kusmer 2018).

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