

## Resumptive *versus* defective wh-chains in Capeverdean Creole

Nélia Alexandre (Univ. Lisboa / CLUL-LinSe), [nelia\\_alexandre@clix.pt](mailto:nelia_alexandre@clix.pt)

The goals of this paper are threefold. Departing from data on wh-questions in Capeverdean Creole (CVC), I will first distinguish resumptive wh-chains from defective wh-chains; secondly, I will argue for a movement analysis of defective wh-chains; and, thirdly, I will show that the Copy Theory of Movement must be reformulated in order to account for this kind of chains.

The CVC data exhibit at least two kinds of discontinuous objects when a PP is questioned. These are informally presented in (1) and exemplified in (2) and (3), respectively:

- (1) a. [wh ... el], formed by a ‘pronominal’ strategy;  
b. [wh ... es], the output of a resumptive strategy.

The chain [wh ... es] in (1b.) obligatorily occurs in syntactic islands and it ends with a 3PL pronoun that occurs in the tail of this discontinuous object associated to a [+PL] head, i.e. a pronoun with spelled out number features. Taking the possibility to occur in islands as evidence for absence of movement, I will assume these structures to be derived as a ‘resumptive wh-chain’.

In this paper I will concentrate on the chain [wh ... el] in (1a.). This chain cannot occur in syntactic islands environments (cf. (3)). I will call this syntactic object ‘defective wh-chain’ because, as it will be illustrated, the extraction site of this chain has to be overt, i.e. it shows up in the form of a 3SG pronoun, regardless of the number marking of the head it is coindexed with. This pronominal element has the nature of a null syntactic variable (e.g. it licenses parasitic gaps (see (4)) and it exhibits Strong Crossover effects, as in (5)).

Moreover, the ‘defective wh-chain’ involves wh-movement, contrary to the ‘resumptive wh-chain’, for it is sensitive to long and successive-cyclic movement (cf. (6) and (7), respectively). Besides, not allowing long movement in a weak island context (as in (6)), CVC proves to be a language with strong requirements on locality conditions.

The problems that this wh-chain raises consist of (i) having a chain formed by internal Move whose foot is spelled out, and (ii) the spelled out foot is not a (perfect) copy of the head, which apparently violates the Inclusiveness Condition. According to Chomsky (1995), the formation of a chain derived by internal Move implies the deletion of the lower copy in the phonological component. Nunes (2004) reformulates Chomsky’s (1995) Copy Theory of Movement in terms of the Linear Correspondence Axiom but reaches the same results.

The proposal I will put forward is based on Boeckx’s (2003) analysis on resumption, according to which the resumptive strategy involves wh-movement and the resumptive pronouns are left stranded. Specifically, I will suggest that the chain [wh ... el] is a ‘defective chain’, with some idiosyncratic properties that are distinct from the ‘(pure) resumptive chains’, although there are a few similarities. I intend to show that the occurrence of the strategy of building ‘defective chains’ is better explained if we take into consideration the formal features of  $C^{\circ}$  and the way the features of the questioned element are valued (in the sense of Pesetsky and Torrego, 2004).

This solution overcomes the problems left open by Chomsky’s (1995) and Nunes’ (2004) Copy Theory of Movement, since *el* respects the Inclusiveness Condition, being part of the initial array of Numeration, and by assuming that *el* belongs to category different from the questioned element that it is linked with.

## Examples

- (2) [DP Ki skolas]<sub>i</sub> ki Maria ta trabadja [PP/OBL<sub>Access</sub> n' [el/\*es]<sub>i</sub>]?  
Which schools that Mary IPFV work in.3SG/3PL  
Lit.: 'Which schools is that Mary works in it?'
- (3) [Ki mudjeris]<sub>i</sub> ki dja bu atxa Complex NP Island  
Which women that already 2SG find(PFV)  
[DP un ómi [CP ki papia ku-[es/\*el]<sub>i</sub>]]?  
a man that talk(PFV) with-3PL/3SG  
Lit.: 'Which women is that you found a man that talked with them?'
- (4) [Ki mudjeris]<sub>i</sub> ki Djon papia ku-[el]<sub>i</sub>  
Which women that John talk(PFV) with-3SG  
[CP sen e konxe pgi]?  
without 3SG know  
Lit.: 'Which women is that John talked with him without knowing?'
- (5) \*[Ki mininus femia]<sub>i</sub> ki [Maria ku Tareza]<sub>i</sub> fla [CP ma  
Which boys female that Maria with Tareza say(PFV) that  
Djon ka ta papia ku-[el]<sub>i</sub>?  
Djon NEG IPFV talk with-3SG  
Lit.: 'Which girls is that Maria and Tareza said that Djon does not talk with him?'
- (6) [Ki batukaderas di Pó di Téra]<sub>i</sub> ki Djon sabe Wh-Island  
Which batoku.players of Pó di Téra that Djon know(IPFV)  
[CP [pamodi]<sub>j</sub> ki Maria ka ta papia ku-[es/\*el]<sub>i</sub> [pamodi]<sub>j</sub>]?  
why that Maria NEG IPFV talk with-3PL/3SG  
Lit.: 'Which batoku players of Pó di Téra is that Djon knows why Maria doesn't talk with them/him?'
- (7) [Ki mininas]<sub>i</sub> ki Djon ta konxe [DP un omi Complex NP Island  
Which girls that Djon IPFV know DET man  
[CP ki ka ta studa ku-[es/\*el]<sub>i</sub>]]?  
That NEG IPFV study with-3PL/3SG  
Lit.: 'Which girls is that Djon knows a man that doesn't study with them/him?'

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