

Resumption in Slavic: Phases, Cyclicity, and Case*

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1 Introduction

This paper examines the distribution and theoretical consequences of Resumptive Pronouns (RPs) in Slavic.¹ Resumption is a strategy for relative clause formation in which a pronoun appears, rather than a gap, in the site of relativization. Consider the (b) examples in (1-2):

(1) Ukrainian

a. Ce toj dim, jakyj ja
this the house:NOM.MASC.SG which:ACC.MASC.SG I:NOM
bačyv *t* včora.
saw yesterday

b. Ce toj dim, ščo ja
this the house:NOM.MASC.SG COMP I:NOM
joho bačyv včora.
RP:ACC.MASC.SG saw yesterday

‘This is the house that I saw yesterday.’

(2) Polish

a. On spotkał tego chłopca,
he met the boy:ACC.MASC.SG
którego widziałeś *t* wczoraj.
whom:ACC.MASC.SG you-saw yesterday

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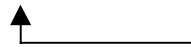
¹ This paper focuses on RPs in Ukrainian and Polish. RPs in Czech are treated here only briefly. For more discussion on relative resumption in Czech, see Toman 1998.

- b. On spotkał tego chłopca, **co**
 he met the boy:ACC.MASC.SG COMP
go widziałeś wczoraj.
 RP:ACC.MASC.SG you-saw yesterday

‘He met the boy that you saw yesterday.’

I’ll propose the following structures for the (a-b) examples in (1-2) in (3a-b):

- (3) a. DP [_{CP} *wh*-OP C^o [_{TP} ... *t* ...]]



- b. DP [_{CP} null-OP [_C *ščo/co* [_{TP} ... *pro*_{RP} ...]]]

The choice between a gap (a *wh*-trace) and an RP is reflected in the internal structure of CP: a fully-inflected relative pronoun in Spec-CP patterns with a gap, while a morphologically-invariant complementizer in C^o (plus, by hypothesis, a base-generated null operator antecedent in Spec-CP) patterns with an RP. Thus (3a) involves movement of the relative pronoun, whereas in (3b), a pronoun appears in the position of the gap.

In non-island contexts, the resumption versus relative pronoun strategy appears to be in free distribution. This (apparent) optionality is the first theory-internal problem that we face. So Slavic has “True” or “Genuine” resumption (Boeckx 2001), as opposed to resumption as a last resort strategy that is limited in function to circumventing island violations, such as the English example in (4b):

- (4) a. *Which picture of John were you wondering [whether ___
 was going to win the prize at the exhibition]?
 b. ?Which picture of John were you wondering [whether **it**
 was going to win the prize at the exhibition]?

[Pesetsky 1998:362]

Resumptive pronouns in Slavic (as in Irish, Hebrew, Arabic, and elsewhere) are famously island-insensitive, as shown in the examples in (5) from Polish:

(5) Polish

- a. To jest ten samochód, co mój sąsiad
 this is the car:NOM.MASC.SG COMP my neighbor
 właśnie dał [NP ogłoszenie, [że go
 just gave advertisement that RP:ACC.MASC.SG
 sprzeda]].
 will-sell
 ‘This is the car that my neighbor just placed an
 advertisement that he wants to sell (it).’
- b. Czy to ten mężczyzna, co Ewa nie
 PRT this the man:NOM.MASC.SG COMP Ewa NEG
 chce ci powiedzieć [CP kiedy go
 want you:DAT to-say when RP:ACC.MASC.SG
 zaprosi]?
 will-invite
 ‘Is this the man that Ewa doesn’t want to tell you when she
 will invite (him)? [Bondaruk1995:41-42]

Following standard assumptions (McCloskey 1990, Shlonsky 1992), I will take examples such as those in (5) to indicate that the resumptive pronoun strategy does not involve operator movement. That is, island-insensitivity is taken as a diagnostic for non-movement. This is further shown on the basis of the ungrammatical counterparts to (5a-b), in which movement of a relative pronoun is indeed shown to be island-sensitive. See (6a-b):

(6) Polish

- a. *To jest ten samochód, który
 this is the car:NOM.MASC.SG which:ACC.MASC.SG
 mój sąsiad właśnie dał [NP ogłoszenie, że
 my neighbor just gave advertisement that
 sprzeda *t*].
 will-sell

- b. *Czy to ten mężczyzna, którego
 PRT this the man:NOM.MASC.SG whom:ACC.MASC.SG
 Ewa nie chce ci powiedzieć [CPkiedy
 Ewa NEG want you:DAT to-say when
 zaprosi t]?
 will-invite

As in much other recent work on resumptive pronouns, I will discuss the relationship between RPs and complementizer selection, island-insensitivity, the resumptive pronoun as a variable, and the optionality of resumptive pronouns in non-island contexts (see McCloskey 1990, Shlonsky 1992, Bondaruk 1995, Broihier 1995, Toman 1998, Pesetsky 1998, Boeckx 2001, and McCloskey, to appear, among many others). What is new about this paper is: (i) the introduction of previously unexamined data from Ukrainian that enrich the paradigm in an interesting way with respect to Case; and (ii) its focus on the problem posed by resumption for the cyclic Spell-Out system in Chomsky's (2001) Derivation by Phase framework (see McCloskey's most recent work). The potential counter-cyclicity in RP constructions is the second theory-internal problem that we face.

The two theory-internal problems that arise in RP constructions are summarized in (7):

- (7) a. The Optionality Problem [in non-island contexts]: A last resort resumptive strategy exists alongside a movement strategy, in apparent free distribution.
- b. The Cyclicity Problem: The phonological shape of material dominated by v^o appears to depend on material that has not yet been merged (that is, the structure of CP).

A third, Slavic-specific, empirical problem with theoretical consequences concerns the distribution of RPs with respect to the Case-assigning strategy (i.e., structural versus quirky). This problem will be taken up shortly.

2 The Framework: Derivation by Phase (Chomsky 2001)

2.1 Cyclic Spell-Out

Under the Derivation by Phase (DbP) framework of Chomsky 2001, the syntax sends material to the interfaces in a series of cycles, rather than all at once, as was assumed in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). A phase is a subsection of the derivation consisting of the phase-defining Head, its edge (specifier), and complement. The complement is sent off to the interfaces upon completion of the phase (after its uninterpretable features are checked / valued). The edge is an escape hatch for further syntactic activity. An important concept for the discussion of cyclicity that follows is Chomsky's (2001) **Phase Impenetrability Condition**, given in (8):

(8) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)

In phase α with head H, the domain of H (its complement) is not accessible to operations outside of α ; only H and its edge are.

As a result of the PIC, any complement of v that needs to undergo movement outside of the phase (e.g., for the purposes of *wh*-movement), must move to the edge before Spell-Out. All phases are equipped with EPP features for this purpose. So movement to a phase edge occurs in order for the DP to be visible for subsequent movement at a later phase. Once a given cycle (a phase) has been completed--that is, once it has been spelled out at PF and sent to LF for interpretation--its material is no longer available to further syntactic processes. The DbP system thus exhibits a form of strict cyclicity. Note, additionally, that phases can be either "strong" or "weak" depending on whether or not the phase-defining head has a complete set of agreement (ϕ -) features. Weak phases (those whose head is ϕ -incomplete) are not subject to the PIC.²

² Slavic presents a wide range of potential cyclicity issues within the DbP framework, in addition to resumptive pronouns. Note, for example, Genitive of Negation and nominative object constructions. In both cases, it appears that the v phase must be stated as

As we saw in (1-2), the choice between a gap (*wh*-trace) and an RP in relative clauses appears to be governed by the structure of CP: a fully-inflected relative pronoun in Spec-CP patterns with a gap, while a morphologically-invariant complementizer in C° patterns with an RP. This is consistent with the crosslinguistic observation that RPs occur with a special complementizer, distinct from *wh*-operator constructions. So under DbP, which involves cyclic Spell-Out at the completion of each phase, the Spell-Out of material dominated by v° appears to depend, in counter-cyclic fashion, on material that has not yet entered the structure (CP). This is precisely the kind of computational complexity that the cyclic-Spell-Out approach is designed to eliminate.

There are two ways of approaching this problem. The first is to assume that the occurrence of gaps versus RPs is not determined until the CP phase is completed. The second way is to generate either a gap or an RP in the initial phase and then let the syntax take care of the rest.

The theoretical goal of this paper is to examine the feasibility of this second approach, which is designed to circumvent a cyclicity violation (see (7b)). The question is how the choice of gap versus an RP constrains the rest of the derivation. This discussion will rely, in part, on the framework developed in Frampton and Gutmann, to appear, in which it is argued that each step in a derivation has to be “locally correct”, that is, it must properly extend what has already been merged (“Crash-Proof Syntax”). If successful, this analysis should also account for the Optionality Problem mentioned above in (7a).

2.2 *The Distribution of RPs and Case*

Before proceeding, let us examine the relation between resumption in Slavic and the Case-marking strategy of the relativized constituent. Broihier (1995), Pesetsky (1998), and Toman (1998) suggest

weak in order to allow the DP object to be valued by a higher head. The problem (for cyclicity) is that the status of v as a weak phase must be known before the higher licensing head is merged. See Harves 2002 for a discussion of the Genitive of Negation in this framework.

that structural case need not, and, therefore, must not, be resumed because it is “recoverable” even if not phonetically represented (in contrast to oblique Case, which needs “phonetic support” and is therefore always resumed).³ There are several empirical problems with this kind of analysis. First, in Polish, the FEM.ACC seems to require an RP in the invariant *co*-complementizer construction and, for many speakers, the inanimate MASC.ACC does as well. So Polish diverges here from Czech (as described in Toman 1998) in that unambiguous instances of structural case (in the former) **do** appear to need phonetic support (in the form of RPs) as shown in (9-10).

- (9) a. Polish: Object Relativization: FEM.ACC
 Rozmawialiśmy o tej dziewczynie, co
 we-were-talking about the girl:LOC.FEM.SG COMP
 *(**ja**) Janek spotkał.
 RP:ACC.FEM.SG Janek met
 ‘We were talking about the girl that Janek met.’
- b. Polish: Object Relativization: MASC.ACC.INANIM
 Ten samochód, co *(**go**) Janek
 the car:NOM.MASC.SG COMP RP:ACC.MASC.SG Janek
 widział wczoraj, zniknął tajemniczo.
 saw yesterday disappeared mysteriously
 ‘The car that Janek saw yesterday disappeared
 mysteriously.’ [adapted from Fisiak et al. 1978:163]
- (10) a. Czech: Object Relativization: FEM.ACC (colloquial
 orthography, following Toman 1998)
 To je ta holka, co sme
 that is the girl:NOM.FEM.SG COMP AUX.1.PL
 (* **ji**) viděli ve škole.
 RP:ACC.FEM.SG saw in school
 ‘That’s the girl that we saw in school.’

³ In the DbP framework, structural accusative is “valued” via an Agree relation with a ϕ -complete probe in *v*; oblique (quirky) case is assigned by Lexical V at merge. Note that the cyclicity problem arises in the event of either Case-assigning strategy.

- b. Czech: Object Relativization: MASC.ACC.INANIM
 To je ten nůž, co (* **ho**)
 that is the knife:NOM.MASC.SG COMPL RP:ACC.MASC.SG
 Petr našel na stole.
 Petr found on table
 ‘That’s the knife that Petr found on the table.’
 [Toman 1998]

A larger empirical problem for the theory that structural case is not resumed is that **any** relativized accusative DP, regardless of gender or animacy, may be resumed in invariant *ščo* relative clauses in Ukrainian, as shown in the examples in (11):⁴

- (11) a. Ukrainian: Object Relativization: FEM.ACC
 Zhaduju pro tu knyhu, ščo
 I-recall about the book:ACC.FEM.SG COMP
jiji vydaly ukrajins’ki pys’mennyky.
 RP:ACC.FEM.SG published Ukrainian writers
 ‘I recall the book published by Ukrainian writers.’
- b. Ukrainian: Object Relativization: MASC.ACC.INANIM
 Ce druhyj holovnyj sposib
 this other main means:NOM.MASC.SG
 vidnosnoji spoluky, ščo **joho** znaje
 of-relative connection COMP RP:ACC.MASC.SG knows
 ukrajins’ka mova.
 Ukrainian language:NOM
 ‘This is the other main relative clause formation strategy
 that the Ukrainian language knows.’

⁴ It is clear from written sources and informants’ judgments that resumption in these instances is possible, though it does not appear to be obligatory for all speakers.

- c. Ukrainian: Object Relativization: PL.ACC
 Košty, ščo **jix** deržava
 expenses:NOM.PL COMP RP:ACC.PL state
 asyhnovuje na budivnyctvo, ležat' sobi.
 designates for construction lies REFL:DAT
 'The money that the state designates for construction is just
 lying around'
 [Wieczorek 1997:85]

On the basis of these Ukrainian examples, let us propose that Ukrainian shows overtly a syntactic process that is covert for some speakers of Polish (and for all speakers of Czech). Namely, as I will show shortly, it must be the case that Polish and Czech have null resumptive pronouns where they appear overtly in Ukrainian (that is, for structural accusative). We will return to the purpose of null resumptives in a moment.

An additional problem for an approach to RPs that relies on the distinction between structural- and quirky-Case-assigning strategies is that non-embedded structural nominative **prohibits** RPs in most of the world's languages, including Slavic, as illustrated in (12) from Polish. So structurally-Case-marked relativization sites do **not** form a natural class: structural accusative allows overt resumption in most cases in Polish and in all cases in Ukrainian, while neither language allows non-embedded structurally-marked nominative subjects to be relativized by overt resumptives.⁵

⁵ Nominative subject RPs in **embedded** contexts, however, do occur as a last resort (ECP-circumvention) mechanism, since movement in such instances is disallowed. Note the following example from Polish:

(i) Polish: Resumption of Embedded Subject
 Te psy, co myśliwi mówią, że ***(one)** są najlepsze, zostały
 the dogs COMP hunters say that RP:NOM.PL are best AUX:PAST
 sprowadzone z Anglii.
 brought from England
 'The dogs that the hunters say are the best were brought from England.'
 [Bondaruk 1995:40]

(12) Polish: Resumption of Non-Embedded Subjects

Ten człowiek, co (* **on**)
the man:NOM.MASC.SG COMP RP:NOM.MASC.SG
siedzi w więzieniu, był kiedyś moim sąsiadem.
is-sitting in prison was at-one-time my neighbor
'The man who is in prison used to be my neighbor.'
[Bondaruk 1995:37]

Animate accusatives (that are syncretic with the genitive) and obliques require resumption in all three languages with the invariant complementizer *ščo/co*:

(13) Oblique Site of Relativization

a. Ukrainian: INST

Inakše jak možna zberehty sebe dlja služinnja
otherwise how possible to-preserve REFL for service
spravi, ščo *(**neju**) trymajet'sja
matter:DAT.FEM.SG COMP RP:INST.FEM.SG is-held
svit.
world:NOM
'Otherwise, how can one save oneself to serve the cause
that holds the world together.'

[Wieczorek 1997:85]

b. Polish: ACC.ANIM

To jest ten chłopiec, co *(**go**)
this is the boy:NOM.MASC.SG COMP RP:ACC.MASC.SG
widziałeś wczoraj.
you-saw yesterday
'This is the boy that you saw yesterday.'

[Fisiak et al. 1978:163]

c. Czech: DAT

To je ten chlap, co *(**mu**)
this is the guy:NOM.MASC.SG COMP RP:DAT.MASC.SG
každěj pomáhá.
everyone helps
'This is the guy that everyone helps.' [Toman 1998:305]

Putting oblique relativization aside, since the facts are uncontroversial, let us return to the resumption of structural accusative. I am assuming a null resumptive pronoun for those instances in Polish and Czech where structural accusative is not overtly resumed. This follows from a requirement of recent checking theory whereby structural Case on DPs is checked by the ϕ -features of the heads T and v .⁶ Case checking, then, is a requirement of the licensing functional heads, rather than of the DPs themselves. This is essentially the idea of Lasnik's "Inverse Case Filter." The null resumptive then satisfies the Inverse Case Filter (that is, it checks, or is valued by, v 's uninterpretable ϕ -features) in the same way that overt RPs do.

I now turn to the structure of these clauses, and to a proposed solution to the Cyclicity and Optionality problems.

3 Structure of RP Constructions and the Problems of Cyclicity and Optionality

3.1 On the Status of the RP as a Variable

I will assume that RPs, like *wh*-traces, are variables, and, as such, require binding by an A-bar antecedent in Spec-CP. That RPs are variables, rather than referential pronouns, is based on the intuition that in the RP construction, *the man that I saw him*, *him* and *man* are connected in the same way as the trace and *man* in the *wh*-structure, *the man who I saw t*. *Him* and the trace are variables bound by an operator in CP, while the whole relative clause is predicated of the head noun.⁷

⁶ See Chomsky 2000 and Pesetsky and Torrego 2001. The idea that structural Case is a reflex of agreement is originally due to George and Kornfilt (1981).

⁷ Bondaruk (1995) identifies RPs in an apparent Parasitic Gap (PG) construction, given in (i), where the PG is standardly held to be licensed by the presence of a real gap, a variable, in this case, according to Bondaruk, the RP *go*:

Basic intuitions aside, it would be nice to identify an RP in a construction that is well known to contain a variable. Note, for example, the weak crossover configuration, in which a pronoun is coindexed with a variable to its right, yielding an ungrammatical interpretation. This is shown in (14a) on the reading in which the indirect object is relativized (that is, where *mu* ‘him:DAT’ is an RP).⁸ (14b) gives the operator-variable structure, anticipating the discussion to follow. The example in (14c) shows that this sentence is likewise ruled out with a *wh*-operator (*któremu*: DAT.MASC.SG), indicating that the RP in (14a) should be treated on a par with a *wh*-trace with respect to its status as a variable.

(14) Polish: Weak Crossover

a. RP

??? To jest ten mężczyzna_i, co jego_i matka
 this is the man:NOM.MASC.SG COMP his mother
 mu_i kupiła książkę.
 RP:DAT.MASC.SG bought book:ACC
 ‘This is the man who his mother bought him a book.’

-
- (i) To jest ten list, co *(go) Piotr wyrzucił
 this is the letter:NOM.MASC.SG COMP RP:ACC.MASC.SG Piotr threw-away
 bez przeczytania *e*.
 without reading

‘This is the letter that Piotr threw away without reading.’ [Bondaruk 1995:52]

On this basis, one could propose the following operator-variable structure as in (ii):

- (ii) To jest ten list [_{CP} OP_i [_C co [_{IP} go_i Piotr wyrzucił [bez [_{CP} OP_j [_{IP} PRO
 przeczytania PG_j]]]]]]]

However, the question of whether this is a genuine PG construction was raised by two FASL 11 participants (Barbara Partee and Roland Meyer) as well as others (Barbara Citko and Jacek Witkoś, personal communication). Evidence for a PG construction turns on whether the proposed parasitic gap is licit **without** the variable. Preliminary evidence, such as the examples in (iii-iv), suggests that Polish does not have the construction. These are sentences in which there is either no trace at all (as in (iii)) or a trace left by NP-movement (as in (iv))--that is, in both cases, the gap appears to occur grammatically without a licensing variable:

- (iii) Piotr wyrzucił ten list bez przeczytania.
 Piotr threw-away the letter:ACC without reading
 (iv) Ten list został wyrzucony *t* bez przeczytania.
 this letter:NOM AUX:PAST thrown-away without reading

⁸ I thank Barbara Citko for this example.

- b. ???To jest ten mężczyzna [_{CP} OP_i [_{CO} [_{IP} jego_i matka mu_i kupiła książkę]]].
- c. *wh*
 ??? To jest ten mężczyzna_i, któremu_i jego_i matka kupiła *t_i* książkę.

Note finally that treating the RP as a variable is consistent with other, independently-motivated, accounts of this construction across a range of languages (see McCloskey 1990, to appear, on Irish, and Shlonsky 1992 on Hebrew and Palestinian Arabic).

Thus, proceeding on the hypothesis that the RP in relative clause constructions is a variable, I adopt the following structure (for DO RPs), repeated from (3b):

(15) DP [_{CP} null-OP [_C *ščo/co* [_{TP} ... pro_{RP} ...]]]

Notice that there is no movement involved here. The null operator is base-generated in Spec-CP. It bears no Case-features, just an OP-feature.⁹ The non-movement analysis accounts for the fact that resumptive pronouns circumvent island violations (see (5-6)).

The alternative structure proposed by Broihier (1995), Pesetsky (1998), and Toman (1998) involves movement and a minimally-spelled-out trace. This latter mechanism is supposed to account for the island-insensitivity facts (by means of an OT-type constraint for Broihier and Pesetsky). The movement analysis can be represented as in (16):

(16) DP [_{CP} null *wh*-OP [_C *ščo/co* [_{TP} ... *t_{RP}* ...]]]

Island-circumvention in such cases is taken to be the result of a reduced copy (such as clitics, rather than full pronouns), though this is not the case in Ukrainian, which lacks clitic pronouns (and, indeed, the presence of RPs in Ukrainian disproves any theory that implies a connection between the resumption strategy and the

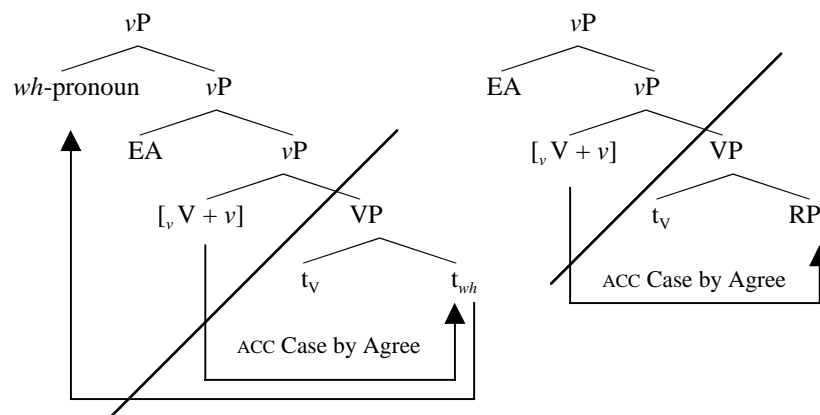
⁹ As we will see in the following section, transitive *v*'s uninterpretable ϕ -features are checked by the RP itself, not by the null operator.

referential, Case-marked pronoun, as in (17b), the RP will remain in the domain of v^o and be Spelled-Out upon completion of the vP phase. The crucial point here is that while a *wh*-phrase valued for Case is still active, since it has an unvalued, uninterpretable *wh*-feature, the RP contains just the Case feature. It can be valued and Spelled-Out immediately.¹⁰

The vP -phase structure for (17a-b) is given in (18a-b):¹¹

(18) a. *wh*-movement

b. Resumption



To review, the RP is a variable that bears a relation to the structure of CP. Namely, the RP affects the choice of operator in Spec-CP that will bind it. The problem for the DbP framework, as we have seen, is that the vP phase is completed before C^o is merged. Without “look ahead,” the choice between an RP and a *wh*-trace would appear to be unmotivated. In similar fashion, assuming the PIC, the OP-probe in C^o cannot look inside a vP that has already been spelled-out. The question, then, to which we turn imme-

¹⁰ Chomsky (2001) makes the necessary stipulation that traces are interpreted at LF one phase-level up. Thus, while the direct-object RP valued for Case is Spelled-Out at PF upon completion of the vP phase, as a variable it will survive the derivation to CP for interpretation at LF. I thank Stephanie Harves for bringing this technical detail to my attention.

¹¹ The diagonal lines in (18a-b) indicate what is spelled-out at the vP phase.

diately, is how the choice of RP versus *wh*-trace might be determined before higher structure is built.

3.3 Cyclicity and Optionality

Let us return to the structure of CP. Of the four possible CP configurations given in (19), Slavic makes use of only (19b-c) (see Pesetsky 1998):

(19) CP System

- a. *Overtly fill both Spec and C
- b. Overtly fill only the Spec
- c. Overtly fill only C
- d. *Overtly fill neither

First, note that Slavic does not permit a doubly-filled Comp, as in (19a). The configuration in (19b) corresponds to the relative pronoun strategy. (19c) corresponds to the resumption strategy. Finally, (19d) is hopelessly bad for Slavic. The question is how to correlate the type of A-bar binding with the relativization strategy in a way that doesn't violate cyclicity or make use of optional steps in the derivation.

Recall the CP structures for the two constructions, which are repeated in (20):

(20) a. DP [_{CP} *wh*-OP C^o [_{TP} ... *t* ...]]

b. DP [_{CP} null-OP [_C *ščo/co* [_{TP} ... pro_{RP} ...]]]

The proposal is that the specifier of C is filled by move in (20a) and base-generated (by external Merge) in (20b). Since the null-OP is base-generated in Spec-CP for the RP construction, it must be Caseless. Recall that this causes no problem for *v*'s uninterpretable ϕ -features, which value structural accusative, since structural accusative is valued on the RP itself.

The solution to the cyclicity problem falls out from combining the facts in (18) and (19). The derivation need not be delayed until the CP is formed (though, to be sure, this could be achieved by

means of stipulating a weak ν P phase). Instead, in “Crash Proof” style, CP will be formed based on what features and constituents are still active in the derivation. In other words, no step in the CP formation will be taken that does not lead to a convergent derivation. This is what Frampton and Gutmann (to appear) mean by the idea that all local steps in a derivation must be correct.

Since the syntax of Ukrainian, Polish, and Czech allows only the options listed in (19b-c), in the case of the relative pronoun strategy, (19b) has to be selected: the relative pronoun has survived the ν P phase with an unvalued *wh*-feature. The probe in C° , in conjunction with C° 's EPP-feature, targets the relative pronoun and attracts it for movement into its specifier. The *wh*-feature on the goal is valued, and the CP phase is complete. In the case of the resumption strategy, C° 's *wh*-feature will require a merge (rather than movement) for the RP to be A-bar bound. The probe in C° searches for any unvalued features before completing the phase. Merging the null operator completes the derivation. This is the only version of CP that is compatible with what has already taken place in the derivation. It is the only locally correct move. Base-generation of a null operator is obligatory since there is no other constituent accessible to C° 's *wh*-probe with the appropriate features.

The only optional step in the derivation is the first instance of Merge (of an RP or *wh*-pronoun). From that point on, all moves are fully determined by the features of the functional heads involved, the probes.¹² Moreover, Strict Cyclicity, as a principle of syntactic derivations, remains intact. At no point was reference made to CP in constructing the ν P. The correlation between the structure of CP and the possibility of resumption, as it is usually stated, indeed

¹² To be sure, it is not clear what governs the felicity of the resumption strategy for a given language in the first place. Why do some languages have genuine resumption for all Case-assigning strategies--which is truly optional at this first instance of merge--, while other languages allow resumption only in those cases where a trace would be ungrammatical? We have noted only that the relevant “parameter” does not involve the availability of clitic pronouns as a lexical resource (as Toman 1998 notes himself, after some speculation).

appears countercyclic. The correlation itself, however, is just a descriptive generalization, not a principle of grammar.

4 Conclusion

The derivation of resumptive relative pronouns does not involve “look ahead.” The choice of which element to pronounce in the CP system (the specifier or the head) depends on what unvalued features are present in the structure that C^o merges with. The invariant C^o head is pronounced only in case there is no subsequent requirement for an overt occurrence (of a relative pronoun) in Spec-CP.

Previously unexamined data from Ukrainian enriched the paradigm in two significant ways. First, the data confirmed that the resumption strategy applies equally well to structural accusative, suggesting the possibility of null resumption in certain instances in Polish and Czech. Second, the Ukrainian resumptive pronouns are not “minimal Spell-Outs” in the sense of the clitic pronouns in Polish and Czech, suggesting that the movement approach to resumption cannot rely on the notion of minimal copies.

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