

LONG-DISTANCE WH-MOVEMENT IN CHAMORRO*

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In long wh-movement, an element appears to move directly from an A- or \bar{A} -position to a higher \bar{A} -destination, ignoring weak island constraints and bypassing the intermediate landing sites that are characteristic of successive-cyclic wh-movement (Cinque 1990; Chung 1994, 1998). This sort of movement is incompatible with the Minimalist Program's (MP; Chomsky 1999) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). This condition prevents a probe (C from a higher clause) from locating a goal (the moved DP) that is embedded multiple clauses below the probe's phase, but this is exactly what appears to happen in long wh-movement. Further, Chamorro verbal morphology seems to confirm the notion that successive-cyclic movement fails to occur in long-movement cases. This paper presents an analysis of long wh-movement that reconciles the PIC with the facts of long wh-movement. Long movement is analyzed as resumption: The DP that appears to have moved does not necessarily undergo movement at all, and it binds a lower resumptive pronoun.

1. INTRODUCTION

The notion of the phase is central to the Minimalist Program (MP; Chomsky 1999), yet the phenomenon of long wh-movement seems to defy the limitations that the phase imposes on syntactic derivations. According to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), a probe may not locate a goal embedded multiple phases below the probe's phase. In long wh-movement, an element undergoes \bar{A} -movement across a long distance but does not stop in the usual intermediate landing sites that are characteristic of successive-cyclic wh-movement (Cinque 1990; Chung 1994, 1998). This movement, which is also not constrained by certain kinds of islands, violates the PIC because it skips the intermediate landing sites.

This paper presents an analysis of long wh-movement that resolves the conflict between the PIC and the evidence that certain items can opt out of the successive-cyclic movement that the PIC mandates. Chamorro is an interesting language in this regard because its verbal morphology provides evidence for long movement beyond the island facts presented by, e.g., Cinque (1990). In the analysis developed here, long movement is really an instance of resumption. The item that appears to have undergone long movement is base-generated in its surface position, and it binds a null resumptive pronoun located in the position from which the overt DP appears to have moved. Movement across long distances is not required, so the PIC is not violated after all.

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2. LONG WH-MOVEMENT AND WH-AGREEMENT

Chamorro verbal morphology lends support to the notion that certain DPs may participate in a non-successive-cyclic form of movement. Special verbal morphology (glossed below as “WH[]” with the case of the agreement in the brackets; infixes are underlined>) appears when wh-movement occurs. The morphology varies with the case of the moved item, or more accurately, the case that would be assigned to the CP out of which the item moved if the CP were a DP. Following Chung (1994, 1998), I call this morphology “Wh-Agreement.” In (1), the moved item is the subject of the embedded clause, and the Wh-Agreement is consequently nominative.

- (1) Hayi chumätgi-n mämaisä gui' t ?
 who? WH[nom].laugh.at-L self.Prog him
 ‘Who was laughing at himself?’ (Chung 1998:237)

The details of this agreement relation are too complex to address here. Its importance is that it provides evidence for successive-cyclic movement. Every clause along the path of movement expresses the appropriate agreement morphology. For example, in (2), the moved DP, *Hafa* ‘what?’ moves from its A-position as the object of the embedded clause to the specifier position of the embedded CP. This movement triggers objective Wh-Agreement in the embedded clause. *Hafa* then moves to the specifier position of the matrix CP, triggering oblique Wh-Agreement in that clause.

- (2) Hafa malago' -ña si Magdalena [t pära ta-chuli' t]?
 what? WH[obl].want-agr Magdalena Fut WH[obj].agr-bring
 ‘What does Magdalena want us to bring?’ (Chung 1998:249)

Further investigation leads to the conclusion that each \bar{A} -movement operation triggers an instance of Wh-Agreement (Chung 1994, 1998). However, Wh-Agreement is sometimes unexpectedly absent in certain constructions. For example, in the constructions in (3), the moved DPs originate in the embedded clause and move to the matrix specifier of CP, just as in (2). But unlike (2), Wh-Agreement only appears in the embedded clauses in (3).

- (3) a. Hafa na patti gi atumobit malägu' hao [u-ma-fa'maolik t]?
 what? L part Loc car agr.want you WH[nom].agr-Pass-fix
 ‘Which part of the car do you want to be fixed?’ (Chung 1998:248)
 b. Manu na patgun sinangani hao as Jess mumu-ña?
 which? L child agr.Pass.say.to you Obl Jess WH[obl].fight-agr
 ‘Which child did Jess tell you that he fought with?’ (S. Chung, p.c.)

This is evidence that the moved items in (3) move directly from their A-positions to their surface positions, bypassing the embedded specifiers of CP. Since only a single movement operation occurs in each example, only one instance of Wh-Agreement appears. In other words, these are cases of long movement. Further corroboration for this conclusion is found in the fact that such constructions obey the restrictions on long movement detailed by Cinque (1990). Only certain DPs—roughly those that are “referential” in Cinque’s terminology—may participate in long movement. As (4) shows, movement of nonreferential DPs requires Wh-Agreement on every clause along the path of movement. (4a) shows movement of a nonreferential DP from an embedded clause to the matrix specifier of CP. Wh-Agreement appears in both clauses, and the sentence is grammatical. However, when Wh-Agreement is removed from the matrix clause as in (4b), the sentence is no longer grammatical (cf. (3), where the moved DPs are referential).¹

- (4) a. Lao kuantu i asagua-mu ma’a’ñaõ-ña [t pära un-apasi i
but how.much? the spouse-agr WH[obl].afraid-agr Fut WH[obj2].agr-pay the
atumobit t]?
car
‘But how much is your husband afraid you might pay for the car?’ (Chung 1998:357)
- b. *Lao kuantu i asagua-mu ma’a’ñaõ [pära un-apasi i atumobit t]?
but how.much? the spouse-agr agr.afraid Fut WH[obj2].agr-pay the car
(But how much is your husband afraid you might pay for the car?) (Chung 1998:358)

Long movement is not limited to questions. The examples below show movement out of embedded clauses in clefts (5) and relative clauses² (6). In each example, Wh-Agreement appears in the embedded clause but not the matrix clause. Just as in (3), this is evidence that the embedded specifiers of CP are bypassed in the movement operation.

- (5) a. I chi’lu-hu lahi malägu’ si Carmen [pära ali’e’-ña t].
the sibling-agr male agr.want Carmen Fut WH[obl].meet-agr
‘Carmen wants to meet *my brother*.’ (Chung 1994:20)
- b. I pänglao ma’a’ñaõ yu’ [pumätcha t ni bälis].
the crab agr.afraid I WH[obj].infin.touch Obl stick
‘I’m afraid to touch *the crab* with a stick.’ (Chung 1994:20)
- (6) a. Guäha [kariñosu [O ni malägu’ si Juan [pära asuddä’-ta t]]].
agr.exist nice comp agr.want Juan Fut WH[obl].meet-agr
‘There’s somebody nice who Juan wants us to meet.’ (Chung 1994:23)

¹The analysis developed here focuses on the mechanisms of long movement itself and assumes that the limitation on referential DPs has an independent explanation.

²In relative clauses, the item that moves in the null relative operator “O.”

- b. Hu-sodda' i [palao'an [O ni inistótotba si Juan [ni
agr-find the woman comp agr.be.disturbed.prog Juan comp
minahalang i che'lu-ña lahi t]]].
WH[obl].lonely the sibling-agr male
'I found the woman who it disturbs Juan that his brother is lonely for.' (Chung 1994:22)

I take examples like these to be the basic pattern of long movement in Chamorro. Only the lowest clause has Wh-Agreement in the basic pattern. (In fact, more generally, agreement is always required in the lowest clause.) Variations on this pattern are exemplified by the sentences in (7). In these constructions, Wh-Agreement appears in a higher clause in addition to the lowest clause. There are three embedded clauses in each example in (7), and the moved DP moves from the most deeply embedded clause to the matrix specifier of CP. In (7a), Wh-Agreement appears on the highest and lowest clauses but not the middle clause. In (7b), Wh-Agreement appears in the two lowest clauses but not the highest clause. We can tell these are instances of long movement because Wh-Agreement fails to appear on one of the clauses along the path of movement.

- (7) a. Hayi malago'-mu [t pära u-ma'a'ña si Carmen [pära ali'e'-ña t]]?
who? WH[obl].want-agr Fut agr-afraid Carmen Fut WH[obl].meet-agr
'Who do you want Carmen to be afraid to meet?' (Chung 1998:365)
- b. Esti na pitsonas ni ma'a'ña yu' [man-malagu'-ñiha [t pära
this L person comp agr.afraid I WH[obl].agr-want-agr Fut
uma-kuentusi t]].
WH[obj].agr-speak.to
'It's this person who I'm afraid they want to speak to.' (Chung 1998:365–366)

The next section develops an analysis of the basic pattern of long movement exemplified by (3)–(6). I return to the variations exemplified by (7) in Section 4. But before addressing long movement itself, I discuss successive-cyclic movement, whose mechanisms provide the basis for an analysis of long movement in terms of resumption.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE BASIC PATTERN

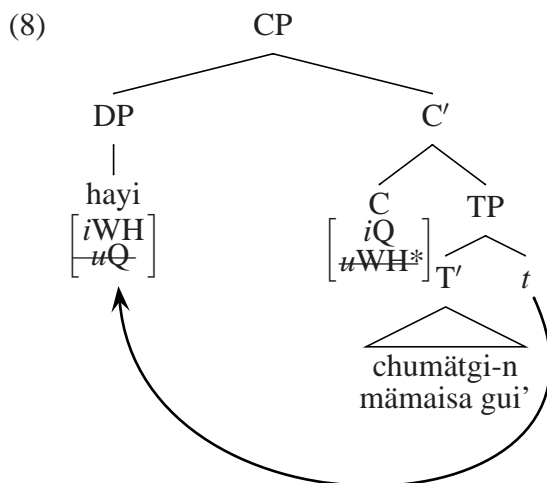
3.1. Successive-Cyclic Movement

I assume that successive-cyclic wh-movement in questions is driven by [WH] and [Q] features.³ For reasons of space, I will discuss only questions, but this analysis can be generalized to other kinds of constructions. The probes, each ν and C along the path of wh-movement, have uninterpretable and strong [WH] features.⁴

The goal, the moved DP, has an interpretable [WH] feature. This DP moves to the specifier of each ν and C, checking each [u WH*] feature on those heads. The DP is active because it has an uninterpretable [Q] feature.

[Q] is only interpretable on a C that heads a question. When the DP reaches the specifier position of this C, the DP checks C's [u WH*] feature, and C checks DP's [u Q] feature. The DP is consequently rendered inactive.

(8), using (1) as an example, illustrates these mechanisms. The strong [WH] feature on C compels movement of the DP to the specifier of CP. In this position, C's [WH] feature and DP's [Q] feature are checked.



As I argue immediately below, this feature system, with perhaps one addition, is sufficient for

³I mark strong features with an asterisk. Interpretable and uninterpretable features are indicated with i and u , respectively.

⁴Perhaps [WH] marks DPs that have semantic properties appropriate for restrictive clauses (see Chung et al. (1995)).

an analysis of long movement. This analysis treats long movement as a case of resumption and does not require movement across any unusually long distances. Long movement in Chamorro is therefore not necessarily incompatible with the PIC. Viewed as resumption, long movement can be construed as consistent with this core Minimalist condition.

3.2. Long Movement as Resumption

In the basic pattern, Wh-Agreement appears only in the lowest clause of a wh-construction. Since Wh-Agreement is a reliable diagnostic for wh-movement, this points to two conclusions: First, movement always occurs in the lowest clause of the construction because Wh-Agreement always appears there. Second, since there is no Wh-Agreement in the highest clause, the overt DP that appears to have undergone long movement to the specifier position of the matrix CP must have arrived in that position by some mechanism other than movement. Movement of the overt DP would have triggered Wh-Agreement.

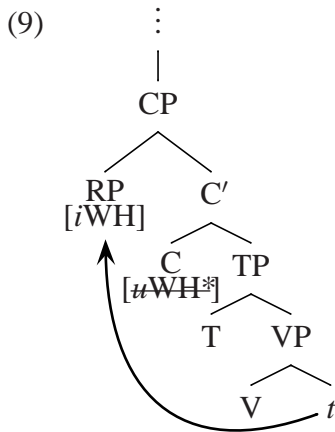
Also, because of the PIC, the overt DP cannot have originated in the lowest clause. These conclusions suggest that long movement constructions involve resumption rather than movement. The DP that appears to have moved does not actually move, but instead binds a resumptive pronoun in the lowest clause of the wh-construction. Since the DP does not move, it does not trigger Wh-Agreement in the matrix clause. But the resumptive pronoun is free to move in the lowest clause of the construction, triggering Wh-Agreement there.

Such an analysis has two parts: A resumptive pronoun and the overt DP. The null resumptive pronoun⁵ (RP) appears in the lowest clause, where it is assigned the θ -role that the overt DP appears to fill.⁶ It moves successive-cyclically (as evidenced by the Wh-Agreement in the lowest clause) to the immediately higher specifier of CP, where it stops.

This movement is sketched in (9). It is driven by the same [WH] feature that drives successive-cyclic movement. C's strong [WH] feature attracts RP to C's specifier position, where RP checks C's [WH] feature.

⁵Or perhaps PRO, following the analysis of Jaeggli (1982).

⁶Null pronouns are well attested in Chamorro (e.g. in topicalization; see Chung (1998)), and they can appear in all positions from which wh-movement can occur (S. Chung, p.c.). The pronoun I posit here fits the description of resumptive pronouns from McCloskey (forthcoming).



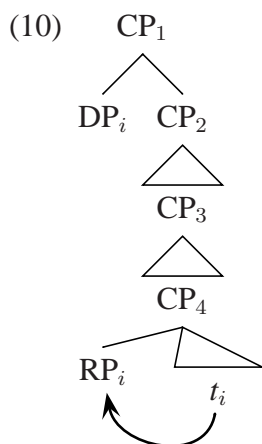
What (uninterpretable) feature makes RP an active goal? It will not move to the matrix CP, so [Q] is of no use here: An uninterpretable [Q] feature can be checked only by the matrix C, and RP will not move far enough to make this option possible.

Two options present themselves. Perhaps RP has some other uninterpretable feature that is checked by the immediately higher C. If this is the correct approach, it is not obvious what this new feature could be. On the other hand, we might take this as evidence that goals do not need uninterpretable features to be active. More broadly, this raises the question of what drives movement in the Minimalist Program. This question will arise again later, but I leave it as a topic for future research.⁷

The overt DP (the one that appears to have undergone long movement) is base-generated in its surface position, the matrix specifier of CP. It checks this C's strong [WH] feature and has its own [Q] feature checked. It also binds the resumptive pronoun. This is how its semantic content becomes associated with RP's θ -role.

The two halves of this analysis are shown schematically in (10). The overt DP is base-generated in the specifier position of the matrix CP (CP₁ in (10)). The resumptive pronoun appears in the lowest clause of the construction (CP₄) and moves to this clause's specifier of CP. Coindexation indicates the binding relation between DP and RP. Finally, RP's movement accounts for Wh-Agreement in the lowest clause.

⁷Under a third possibility, if RP is actually PRO, then perhaps movement is required because PRO cannot be governed by lexical heads, following the reasoning of Jaeggli (1982:139).



As (10) makes clear, RP may be embedded within many clauses. It is therefore inaccessible to the matrix C. Base generation of the overt DP is the only way to check this C's [WH] feature. The intervening clauses (CP₂ and CP₃) are ordinary declarative CPs.

Under this analysis, no new mechanisms are needed except possibly for the new uninterpretable feature on RP. Long movement simply exploits mechanisms that are independently necessary for successive-cyclic movement.

Because this analysis uses the same mechanisms for successive-cyclic and long wh-movement, it predicts that the elements involved in long movement (RP and the overt DP) can themselves move successive-cyclically. The overt DP may be merged into a non-matrix specifier of CP (say, CP₂ from (10)) to check this C's [WH] feature and then move successive cyclically to the matrix specifier of CP, triggering Wh-Agreement along the way.

On the other hand, if RP is not rendered inactive by the immediately higher C, it can move into the next higher clause (CP₃ in (10)) if C and *v* in that clause have the appropriate features. The movement will trigger Wh-Agreement in this clause. These options allow for distributions of Wh-Agreement that do not fit the basic pattern. Successive-cyclic movement of either DP or RP will trigger Wh-Agreement in clauses beyond the lowest clause of the wh-construction.

Should restrictions be imposed on the patterns of Wh-Agreement allowed by the current analysis, or is the existing system sufficiently restrictive? The patterns of Wh-Agreement generated by the current analysis are just those that meet the criteria in (11). Movement of DP in the higher clauses can trigger Wh-Agreement there (11a), but if DP does not move (as in the basic pattern), these higher clauses will not have Wh-Agreement. The clauses (if any) between the higher clauses through which DP moves and the lower clauses through which RP moves will have no Wh-Agreement (11b). Finally, movement of RP is obligatory, but the extent of its movement is variable, depending on the featural configurations of the lowest clauses in the wh-construction. Consequently, at least one of the lowest clauses in the construction must have Wh-Agreement (11c).

- (11) Patterns of Wh-Agreement generated by the analysis:
- a. Any number of higher clauses (including zero) may have Wh-Agreement.
 - b. Any number of intermediate clauses (including zero) may have no Wh-Agreement.
 - c. One or more lower clauses must have Wh-Agreement.

Distributions of Wh-Agreement that are not generated by this analysis are those that meet either of the criteria in (12). Movement of RP is required, so at least the lowest clause must have Wh-Agreement (12a). (12b) holds because the only items that can trigger Wh-Agreement are DP and RP. (These are the only items that undergo wh-movement.) DP must end up in the highest clause of construction. Otherwise, its [Q] feature will remain unchecked, and the highest C's [WH] feature will be unchecked. As a result, any sequence of clauses that have Wh-Agreement from DP's movement must include the highest clause. Similar logic holds for RP: RP necessarily originates in the lowest clause, so any clauses that have Wh-Agreement from RP's movement must include this lowest clause.

- (12) Patterns of Wh-Agreement that are not generated:
- a. There is no Wh-Agreement in the lowest clause.
 - b. Some contiguous string of clauses has agreement but does not include either the highest or lowest clause.

To summarize, Wh-Agreement may appear in two places: In a string of clauses at the top of construction (from DP's movement), or in a string of clauses at the bottom of the construction (from RP's movement). There may be clauses between these sequences that have no Wh-Agreement. To my knowledge, these are correct predictions. No examples in either Chung (1994) or Chung (1998) have the patterns of Wh-Agreement described by (12). While allowing for the possibility of successive-cyclic movement increases the number of predicted patterns, the current analysis appears to remain sufficiently restrictive.

In particular, successive-cyclic movement of DP and RP accounts for the data that do not conform to the basic pattern, such as the questions in (7a) and (7b). These examples are the topic of the next section.

4. VARIATIONS ON THE BASIC PATTERN

The constructions in (7a) and (7b), repeated below as (13) and (14), show long movement where the agreement patterns are different from that in (3a). In (3a), only the lowest clause had agreement. Here, higher clauses have agreement too. That these are both long movement constructions is apparent from the fact that in each one, some clause in the wh-construction does not have Wh-Agreement (the middle clause in (13) and the highest clause in (14)). How are these constructions generated?

- (13) Hayi malago'-mu [t pära u-ma'a'ñaõ si Carmen [pära ali'e'-ña t]]?
 who? WH[obl].want-agr Fut agr-agraid Carmen Fut WH[obl].meet-agr
 'Who do you want Carmen to be afraid to meet?' (Chung 1998:365)
- (14) Esti na pitsonas ni ma'a'ñaõ yu' [man-malagu'-ñiha [t pära
 this L person comp agr.afraid I WH[obl].agr-want-agr Fut
 uma-kuentusi t]].
 WH[obj].agr.speak.to
 'It's this person who I'm afraid they want to speak to.' (Chung 1998:365–366)

Movement of the overt DP accounts for (13). RP moves to the specifier position of the lowest CP, triggering Wh-Agreement in that clause as usual. The overt DP is base-generated in the intermediate specifier of CP, and it moves successive-cyclically to the matrix specifier of CP. This movement triggers Wh-Agreement in the highest clause. No wh-movement occurs in the intermediate clause, so no agreement appears there.

The pattern of agreement seen in (14) is generated by movement of RP. With no Wh-Agreement in the highest clause, the overt DP must have been base-generated in its surface position as in the basic pattern. RP moves successive-cyclically to the specifier of the lowest CP, triggering Wh-Agreement in that CP. It then moves to specifier position of the intermediate CP, triggering Wh-Agreement there as well.

The sorts of structures exemplified by (13) and (14) are expected in the context of the current analysis. Since long movement uses the mechanisms that generate successive-cyclic movement, we expect to find “hybrid” constructions that show both long movement and successive-cyclic movement. As these examples show, this expectation is borne out.

Finally, the current analysis predicts that both the resumptive pronoun and the overt wh-phrase can move successive-cyclically in the same construction. There are no such examples in Chung (1994) or Chung (1998), but this may be an artifact of complexity. Such a construction would require at least four clauses. Two lower clauses with Wh-Agreement would show successive-cyclic movement of the resumptive pronoun, and Wh-Agreement in the highest clause would reflect the movement of the overt DP. A fourth clause with no agreement is needed between these two sets of clauses to show conclusively that the construction is not a normal successive-cyclic wh-construction. It may be difficult to elicit reliable judgments on constructions with this kind of embedding, so their absence is not surprising.

5. ISLANDS

This section addresses that status of islands in long-movement constructions. In the analysis proposed here, movement does not (necessarily) occur in every clause in a long-movement construc-

- what? L problem not agr-know who? can WH[nom].uncover
 ‘Which one of the problems do you not know who can solve *t*?’ (Chung 1998:354)
- b. Hafa malago’-mu [t pära un-ma-fa’nu’i [taimänu ma-cho’gue-nña t
 what? WH[obl].want-agr Fut agr-Pass-show how? WH[adj].Pass-do-agr
]]?’

‘What do you want to be shown how to do (lit. how (it) is done)?’ (Chung 1998:354)

If RP’s obligatory movement is blocked, why are these constructions grammatical? As before, we’re left wondering what compels RP to move and why it need not move in these cases. It seems as though RP *must* move only when it *can* move. This situation cannot arise if RP is an active goal by virtue of possessing an uninterpretable feature that must be checked: The lack of movement in (18) means that this feature cannot be checked. It may prove fruitful to pursue the idea that goals do not need such uninterpretable features, in which case RP has no requirements that are left unsatisfied when it does not move. Its (typically) obligatory movement is driven solely by C, so when some other suitable goal exists (as in (18)), RP need not move. I leave these questions for future research.

6. CONCLUSION

To summarize, under the analysis developed here, long movement does not involve movement across long distances. Rather, it is reduced to a case of resumption. An overt DP is base-generated in its surface position, and it binds a null pronoun, which (in Chamorro, at least) undergoes successive-cyclic movement.

The conflict with the PIC is eliminated. Because the item that appears to skip landing sites is actually base-generated in its surface position, no exceptions to successive-cyclic movement are necessary. Long wh-movement now looks more similar to, for example, partial wh-movement in German (McDaniel 1989).

There are, of course, a number of outstanding issues. The discussion above assumed that the only null resumptive pronouns in Chamorro are DPs (and the only antecedents for resumptive pronouns are DPs). This is not an essential claim. There is evidence that other categories may have null resumptive forms. The current analysis predicts that any form that is eligible for wh-movement and has a null resumptive pronoun counterpart may participate in long movement. Are those elements that participate in long movement just those that have null resumptive pronoun counterparts, as the current analysis requires?⁸

I do not attempt to answer this question completely here, but a preliminary look at the evidence

⁸I thank Sandra Chung for bringing this question to my attention.

suggests that the answer may be yes. Non-DP elements, such as certain adjuncts and PPs, may undergo wh- or focus movement, but only some of these are eligible for long movement. For example, some IP adjuncts have plausible null pronominal forms. These adjuncts may participate in long movement. On the other hand, VP adjuncts do not have plausible null pronominal forms and are, as expected, ineligible for long movement (S. Chung, p.c., citing Chung (1998)).

If these first approximations hold up under further scrutiny, they provide strong evidence for the analysis developed here. This analysis predicts a correlation between the existence of a null resumptive pronominal counterpart for an element and the element's ability to participate in long movement. The apparent plausibility of this correlation lends support to the analysis, although more research is clearly needed. It appears, though, that as long as we acknowledge the existence of non-DP resumptive pronouns, the current analysis can be extended to cases of long movement involving non-DPs.

This paper has also not addressed the fact that long movement is available to only "referential" DPs. I assume that this fact is tangential to the focus of the above analysis. The grammar makes the mechanisms of long movement available, and other factors (e.g., parsing considerations; see Kluender (1998)) restrict the set of DPs that may participate in this operation. And finally, this analysis may also provide evidence that goals do not need uninterpretable features to be active.

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