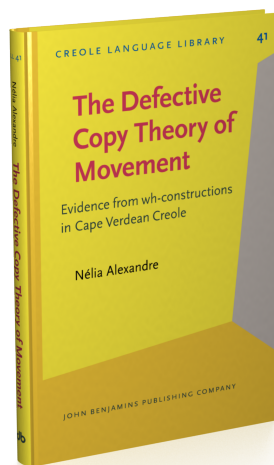


# Table of contents

 <https://doi.org/10.1075/cll.41.toc>



Pages v–x of

**The Defective Copy Theory of Movement: Evidence from  
wh-constructions in Cape Verdean Creole**

**Nélia Alexandre**

[Creole Language Library, 41] 2012. xvi, 249 pp.

© John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. For any reuse of this material written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: [www.copyright.com](http://www.copyright.com)).

For further information, please contact [rights@benjamins.nl](mailto:rights@benjamins.nl) or consult our website at [benjamins.com/rights](http://benjamins.com/rights)

*To my family,  
Ricardo and Mariana*



# Table of contents

|                                                                    |      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| List of tables                                                     | XI   |
| Preface                                                            | XIII |
| Abbreviations                                                      | XV   |
| CHAPTER 1                                                          |      |
| Introduction                                                       | 1    |
| 1.1 The language under study: Cape Verdean Creole                  | 1    |
| 1.2 Methodological issues                                          | 3    |
| 1.3 Theoretical framework                                          | 6    |
| 1.4 Outline of the dissertation                                    | 6    |
| CHAPTER 2                                                          |      |
| Aspects on the syntax of Cape Verdean Creole                       | 9    |
| 2.1 Introduction                                                   | 9    |
| 2.2 Clause functional structure and verb movement                  | 9    |
| 2.2.1 V-to-T movement in CVC (Baptista 2002)                       | 13   |
| 2.2.2 “An almighty TP”: Absence of V movement in CVC (Pratas 2007) | 17   |
| 2.2.3 No verb movement in CVC                                      | 19   |
| 2.3 The pronominal system                                          | 33   |
| 2.3.1 A tripartite pronominal system                               | 34   |
| 2.3.2 Wh-constituents                                              | 36   |
| 2.3.2.1 <i>Ken/kenha</i>                                           | 37   |
| 2.3.2.2 <i>Kusé</i>                                                | 41   |
| 2.3.2.3 <i>Kantu/kal(s)</i>                                        | 43   |
| 2.3.2.4 <i>Modi/pamodi</i>                                         | 45   |
| 2.3.2.5 <i>Undi</i>                                                | 46   |
| 2.3.2.6 <i>Ki N</i>                                                | 47   |
| 2.4 DP structure                                                   | 51   |
| 2.4.1 Determiners and quantifiers                                  | 52   |
| 2.4.2 Relative clauses                                             | 56   |

|         |                                         |    |
|---------|-----------------------------------------|----|
| 2.5     | The complementizer system               | 61 |
| 2.5.1   | The data                                | 61 |
| 2.5.1.1 | The complementizer <i>di</i> 'of'       | 61 |
| 2.5.1.2 | The complementizer <i>ki</i> 'that'     | 63 |
| 2.5.1.3 | The complementizer <i>ma</i> 'for'      | 64 |
| 2.5.1.4 | The complementizer <i>pa</i> 'for'      | 66 |
| 2.5.1.5 | The complementizer <i>pamodi</i> 'to/Ø' | 68 |
| 2.5.1.6 | The complementizer <i>si</i> 'if'       | 69 |
| 2.5.1.7 | The complementizer Ø                    | 69 |
| 2.5.2   | The non-Split-CP hypothesis             | 72 |
| 2.6     | Summary                                 | 74 |

## CHAPTER 3

**Wh-questions in Cape Verdean Creole**

77

|       |                                                                    |     |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.1   | Introduction                                                       | 77  |
| 3.2   | Wh-questions with overt wh-movement                                | 78  |
| 3.2.1 | The gap strategy                                                   | 79  |
| 3.2.2 | The gap strategy with PP pied-piping                               | 81  |
| 3.2.3 | The preposition stranding with a spelled out trace (PSST) strategy | 82  |
| 3.2.4 | The P-chopping strategy                                            | 84  |
| 3.3   | Wh-questions without wh-movement                                   | 89  |
| 3.3.1 | The resumptive strategy                                            | 89  |
| 3.3.2 | In situ wh-questions                                               | 91  |
| 3.4   | Towards an analysis of wh-questions in CVC                         | 94  |
| 3.5   | Summary                                                            | 104 |

## CHAPTER 4

**Restrictive relative clauses in Cape Verdean Creole**

107

|         |                                                                      |     |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.1     | Introduction                                                         | 107 |
| 4.2     | Relativization strategies                                            | 107 |
| 4.2.1   | Relativization with A'-movement                                      | 113 |
| 4.2.1.1 | The gap strategy                                                     | 113 |
| 4.2.1.2 | The preposition stranding with a spelled out trace (PSST) strategy   | 116 |
| 4.2.1.3 | The P-chopping strategy                                              | 121 |
| 4.2.2   | Relativization without A'-movement – Resumption                      | 124 |
| 4.3     | The structure of restrictive relative clauses                        | 129 |
| 4.3.1   | The complement-of-N <sup>0</sup> analysis (Platzack 2000)            | 129 |
| 4.3.2   | The [ <sub>DP</sub> D <sup>0</sup> CP] analysis (Bianchi 1999/2002a) | 133 |
| 4.4     | Summary                                                              | 139 |

## CHAPTER 5

**Extensions of the Copy Theory of Movement** 141

- 5.1 Introduction 141
- 5.2 The preposition stranding with a spelled out trace (PSST) strategy 146
  - 5.2.1 The nature of the defective copy *el* 147
    - 5.2.1.1 The distribution of *el* 147
    - 5.2.1.2 The defective copy *el* is a variable in the narrow syntax 149
  - 5.2.2 PSST involves wh-movement 157
    - 5.2.2.1 Sensitivity to long and successive-cyclic movement 160
      - 5.2.2.1.1 Sensitivity to long movement 160
      - 5.2.2.1.2 Sensitivity to successive-cyclic movement 166
    - 5.2.2.2 Rejection of pied-piping and of  
P-stranding + null gap 167
  - 5.2.3 How does the Copy Theory of Movement  
(Chomsky 1995b) account for PSST? 176
  - 5.2.4 How does the Copy + Merge Theory of Movement  
(Nunes 2004) account for PSST? 179
  - 5.2.5 The defective Copy Theory of Movement 183
    - 5.2.5.1 How does the stranding analysis of resumption  
(Boeckx 2003a) account for PSST? 186
    - 5.2.5.2 The mechanism of 'defective copying' 195
- 5.3 Resumption in CVC 203
  - 5.3.1 Defective chains vs. resumptive chains 208
- 5.4 Summary 219

## CHAPTER 6

**Conclusions** 223

- 6.1 Synthesis of the research findings 223
- 6.2 Further research 226

**References** 235**Index** 247**Language index** 249

