

## Resumptivity and non-movement

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Pesetsky 1998, following a sporadic tradition in the literature, claims that resumptive pronouns are the ‘minimal pronunciation’ of traces possible when extraction takes a wh-phrase out of an island. This, he posits, is the result of an optimality interaction between the constraints enforcing islands and the constraint that traces should be unpronounced. In this paper, I take issue with this claim, and show that a novel cross-linguistic generalization follows if the wh-phrases that bind resumptive pronouns inside islands are not moved from the site of the resumptive, but rather are base-generated in an A'-position.

The primary data I will be concerned with are exemplified by the contrasts in (1)-(3), from Greek, where the putative resumptive pronoun is underlined.

- (1) \* {Pjos / pjon } psaxnun enan giatro pu na ton voithisi?  
*who.NOM who.ACC they.seek a doctor that SUBJ him helps*  
‘Who are they looking for a doctor who can help him?’
- (2) O Giannis ine o andras {pu / \*ton opion } i Maria efige apo to parti otan ton idhe.  
*the Giannis is the man that the which.ACC the M left from the party when him saw*  
‘Giannis is the man who Maria left the party when she saw him.’
- (3) O Giannis ine o andras {pu / \*ton opion } psaxnun mia gineka pu na ton pandrefti.  
*the Giannis is the man that the which.ACC seek.3pl a woman that SUBJ him marry*  
‘Giannis is the man who they’re looking for a woman who will marry him.’

The generalization is simple: a wh-phrase that binds a resumptive pronoun in an island cannot be case-marked. In questions, this means that no resumptive strategy will be available in Greek; in relative clauses on the other hand, only *pu*-relatives admit true resumptive pronouns.

Greek forms part of a generalization based on an examination of seventeen languages. These languages fall into three classes: **1.** those that never show case alternations on wh-operators (Irish, Welsh, Hebrew, the various varieties of spoken Arabic, Palauan), **2.** those that always show some case-marking on these operators (German, Russian, Czech), and **3.** those that sometimes do (Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, varieties of non-standard German, and perhaps English and Swedish). Class 1 languages are those that have the most robust resumptivity strategies, and are best investigated for this property. Class 2 languages have no resumptive pronouns at all. Class 3 languages allow resumptives only with non-case marked wh-operators, essentially only in *that*-relatives and clefts. I argue that these classes and the generalization above are predicted by Case theory: a wh-XP *x* must check its Case in a local relation to a Case-assigning head, but if *x* is base-generated in an A'-position, it will never be able to do so. Null operators, then, do not bear their own Case features. This patterning of the data across languages is completely unexpected on a Pesetsky-style approach, where movement out of islands is possible, and supports the more traditional wisdom that operators that bind resumptive pronouns in islands do not reach their A'-position by movement.