## On Multiple Spec-CP Structures\*

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Yu, Chong-Taek. 1998. On Multiple Spec-CP Structures. Linguistics, 6-1, 273-292. The [+wh]-features of wh-words should be checked against the [+Q]-feature of C in the computational system ( $C_{HL}$ ) in order to obey both the Last Resort (LR) and the Condition on the Feature-checking of Multiple Wh-words (CFM). Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Korean, Japanese, Chinese and English languages are sure to obey the CFM in the multiple Spec-CP structures. According to the Condition on the (Multiple) Spec-CP Structure of an English Question (CSEQ), an English question should contain a (multiple) Spec-CP structure at least such as NQ: [ $_{CP}$  a wh-word ([ $_{C'}$  FF( $_{a}$  wh-word) [ $_{C'}$  ···) (an aux.) C [ $_{TP}$  ···]](]]) or EQ: [ $_{CP}$  FF( $_{a}$  wh-word) [ $_{C'}$  ···) (FF( $_{a}$  mh-word) [ $_{C'}$  ···) (FF( $_{a}$  mh-wo

## I. Introduction

All the grammatical operations in C<sub>HL</sub> are assumed to be triggered by feature-checking requirements. Here is the principle of Last Resort (LR) assumed in Collins (1997):1

#### (1) Last Resort

Move raises  $\alpha$  to the checking domain of a head H with a feature F only if the feature F of H enters into a checking relation with a feature of F of  $\alpha$ .

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<sup>1.</sup> Collins (1997) Justifies this particular formulation of Last Resort like the following: First, this definition of Last Resort is local. Second, it allows him to account for ECM and successive cyclic movement. Third, using it, he can account for cases of improper movement.

Features visible at LF are accessible to the C<sub>HL</sub> throughout, whether checked or not, whereas features invisible at LF are inaccessible to C<sub>HL</sub> once checked. Thus all the [±Interpretable] features of lexical items are checked against the features of targets in C<sub>HL</sub>, obeying the LR.

Nevertheless, there seem to be wh-words in situ which remain unchecked even at LF and apparently violate the LR. Let us now examine some infinitival idiolects taken from Postal (1974) and their logical forms:

- (2) a. We believe him to be guilty.
  - b. We [vP FF(him)j believe-v [INFP him(tj); [INF' [INF 0MAX to INF] [InfP ti be guilty]]]
  - c. He is believed to be guilty.
  - d. [CP Hei is believed [INFP t'i to [InfP ti be guilty]]]
  - e. Who believes who to be guilty?
  - f. [CP Who<sub>k</sub> [vP  $t_k$  FF(who)j believes-v [INFP who(tj)i to [InfP  $t_i$  be guilty]]]]?

Here (2b, d, f) are the logical forms of (2a, c, e), respectively. In (2b), a believe-verb merges with not a CP, but an infinite phrase (INFP).<sup>2</sup> The formal features (FF) of an infinitival subject him —FF<sub>(him)</sub>— move covertly to the Spec of vP in a matrix verb, checking its D- and  $\varphi$ -features (including Case) against those of a complex verb believe-v. In

<sup>2.</sup> As already pointed out in Morin (1979), verbs like believe have the strange property of being able to assign a Case across a sentence boundary to their complement subject. Chomsky (1981) assumes that English has a marked rule of S-bar deletion for complements of verbs of the believe-category, permitting the verb to govern the subject of embedded complement, thus excluding PRO and permitting phonetically-realized NP. On the contrary, Kayne (1984) assumes following Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) that believe-type-verbs take a Φ complementizer which has the essential property of transmitting government. Yu (1996a, b, 1997) assumes following Chomsky (1981) that a believe-type verb selects an INFP-complement.

(2d), an infinitival subject he moves overtly to a subject position in a matrix passive sentence. Likewise, the FF(who) in (2f) also moves covertly to the Spec of vP in a matrix verb, checking its D- and  $\varphi$ -features (including Case) against those of a complex verb believe-v. However, it seems to me that the [+wh]-feature of  $FF_{(who)}$  is left unchecked at LF. It cannot move to the Spec-CP in a matrix sentence, since the other wh-word who has already took it up. As the result, the sentence (2e) comes to violate the LR, but it is convergent without fail. If we are to follow Groat & O'Neil (1996), a solution to such a syntactic problem is very simple; the who in situ is licensed by an LF process of absorption.3 In fact, such an assumption seems to lack explanatory power, since it has never established what is called feature-absorber.' If so, then I cannot but ask the following question to myself: "How has the [+wh]-feature of FF(who) been checked?" A possible answer to the question is that the [+wh]-feature of FF(who) should continue to move to the other wh-word who in the matrix Spec-CP to obey the LR. I therefore conjecture that English questions can also contain multiple Spec-CP structures like some other languages.

## 2. Multiple Spec-CP structures

Let us first find evidence of the presence of the multiple Spec-CP structure in English. To be sure, the Minimal Chain Condition (MCC) explains the Superiority Condition, as shown below:

(3) a. [CP1 Whom; did John persuade t; [CP2 [INFP PRO to visit whom]]]? b.\*[cp1 Whom; did John persuade whom [cp2 [INFP PRO to visit tj]]]?

<sup>3.</sup> Groat & O'Neil (1996) assumes following Watanabe (1992) that, as in English, only one phrase is moved to the Spec-CP; others remain in situ and are licensed by an LF process of absorption. At LF, the DP out of which the null operator moved adjoins to the operator in the Spec-CP.

Sentences (3a-b) are derived from the same numeration (N). In (3a), an object *whom* in a matrix clause is attracted to the Spec-CP<sub>1</sub>, whereas, in (3b), an object *whom* in a subordinate clause is attracted to the Spec-CP<sub>1</sub>. As the result, the former operator-chain is shorter than the latter operator-chain. That is why a derivational structure (3a) is convergent, but a derivational structure (3b) is unconvergent. Thus (3a) obeys the MCC, whereas (3b) violates it.

As pointed out in (3), the MCC, which is the Principle of Shortest Move, applies strictly to an operator-chain. Nevertheless, there seem to be some counterexamples containing multiple wh-words:

- (4) a. i. [cp What; did [TP you buy t; where]]?
  - ii. [CP Where; did [TP you buy what ti]]?
  - b. i. [cp What, did [TP you buy t, when]]?
    - ii. [cp When; did [TP you buy what ti]]?
  - c. i .\*[CP Where, did [TP who go ti]]?
    - ii.\*[cp When; did [TP who go ti]]?

Derivational structures (4a i - ii, b i - ii) are all convergent, but (4c i - ii) are both unconvergent. Here (4a i) and (4b i) follow the MCC without fail, whereas (4a ii) and (4b ii) violate it exceptionally. It is because wh-words such as where and when can cross over another wh-word what which is in shorter distance from the Spec-CP than they. Contrary to (4a ii) and (4b ii), derivational structures (4c i - ii) must obey the MCC, since wh-words such as where and when cannot cross over a subject who which is in shorter distance from the Spec-CP than they. We therefore come to an assumption that the subject who pied-piping EPP- and [+wh]-features should be checked overtly against

<sup>4.</sup> As mentioned in Kuno & Robinson (1972), time and place wh-words, such as when and where, can cross over another wh, but they cannot cross over the wh in the subject position. They call such a constraint Wh Crossing Constraint.

C prior to the feature-checking of another wh-word. If time and place wh-words such as when and where cross over another wh-word freely, violating the MCC, it shows us that the MCC cannot be a perfect principle in Minimalist Theory. As exemplified in (3a-b), each pair in (4a, 4b) are derived from the same N, respectively. Such a syntactic phenomenon tells us that wh-words such as when and where always select their own [+wh]-features from lexicon (Lex) for N. Nevertheless, if one wh-word where in (4a ii) is attracted overtly to the Spec-CP, violating the MCC. we expect that the other wh-word what, which has already selected a [+wh]-feature from Lex like (4a i), will lose it so that where can obey the MCC. It may be a wrong operation, since it refers to not morphological local algorithm but look-ahead global complexity. I therefore propose the Condition on the Feature-checking of Multiple Wh-words (CFM):

(5) Condition on the Feature-checking of Multiple Wh-words (CFM) [+Wh}-features of multiple wh-words are checked against the [+Q]-feature of C in Chi.

If so, how are multiple [+wh]-features in situ checked except for the first one in the Spec-CP? An expected answer to the question is that they should be checked against the [+Q]-feature of C in the Spec-CP. In case of English, their feature-checking cannot be realized in overt syntax. That is why double dislocation is responsible for the crash of a derivation:<sup>5</sup>

(6) a.\*[CP Where; what; did [TP you do t; t;]]?
b.\*[CP What; who; [TP t; did t;]]?

<sup>5.</sup> It seems clear that double dislocation is responsible for the ungrammaticality of a sentence containing two moved wh-words. It might be for the same reason that only one wh-word can be preposed in question. See Kuno & Robinson (1972).

c.\*[ $_{CP1}$  What; did [ $_{TP}$  John say [ $_{CP2}$  t'; where; [ $_{TP}$  he bought t; t;]]]]? d.\*[ $_{CP1}$  Where; did [ $_{TP}$  John say [ $_{CP2}$  t'; what; [ $_{TP}$  he bought t; t;]]]]?

In (6a-b), two disorderly moved wh-words yield unconvergent derivations, since they violate what is called the Constraint on Double dislocation of Wh-words (CDW). Both what attracted to a CP<sub>1</sub> in (6c) and where attracted to a CP<sub>1</sub> in (6d) also violate the CDW, the very moment they pass through their own Spec-CP<sub>2</sub>. Although the head C can check its [+Q]-feature against the interpretable [+wh]-features of multiple wh-words, English has not yet permitted the CDW.

Nevertheless, there are peculiar constructions containing wh-words that pass through a wh-conjunction whether in the Spec-CP. They are very similar to the multiple wh-questions that have not yet permitted the CDW. Let us in turn examine whether-questions diachronically:

- (7) a. [CP1 Ech man loke [CP2 whether [COMAX that C] [TP I ly]]].
  - ···about 1395, Plowman's T, 834

(Each man looks whether I lie down.)

- b. [CP] Whether does [TP] Doubting consist in embracing the Alternative or Negative Side of a Question]]?
  - ...1713, Berkeley Hylas & Phil. 1, (1725). 5
- c. [CP Whether do [TP you demonstrate these things better in Homer or Hesiod]]?
  - ···about 1822, Shelley lon Pr. Wks, 1888 II, 115
- d. [CP1 Which books; are C1 [TP you not sure [CP2 whether t'i C2 [or not] [TP you should read ti]]]]?
  - ···Kuno & Robinson (1972)
- e.?[cP1 Whoi did C1 [TP you wonder [cP2 whether t'i C2 [TP Bill saw ti]]]]?
  - ···Radford (1981)

As mentioned in Yu (1995), whether in the Spec-CP merges with a

relative or conjunctive subordinant just like if since Old English (OE).6 By the suppression of the second alternative did a wh-conjunction whether in (7a) introduce a simple dependent question, and become the ordinary sign of indirect interrogation before that or  $\Phi_{\text{(that FPSF)}}$  in both OE and ME. A wh-conjunction whether in (7a-b) had expressed a doubt between alternatives as an interrogative particle introducing disjunctive direct question from OE till late ModE. It had behaved just like the other interrogative wh-words during those periods. Although both which books in (7d) and who in (7e) are attracted to their own Spec-CP<sub>1</sub>, passing through their own Spec-CP<sub>2</sub>, their derivational structures seem to be convergent or less convergent. Since one attracted wh-word should pass through the other wh-conjunction whether in situ, I will call such a computational operation the Quasi-double Movement of Wh-words (QMW). In short, violating the CDW always causes a derivation unconvergent, whereas following the convergent or less convergent. If so, which QMW causes it to be books in (7d) checks its [+wh]-feature against the [+Q]-feature of C in the Spec-CP2 and subsequently against that of C in the Spec-CP1. Likewise, who in (7e) checks its [+wh]-feature against the [+Q]-feature of C twice. As mentioned in Yang (1998), an attracted wh-word to the Spec-CP2 is proliferated beneath whether by Tuck-in, which is a movement that is exempted from the Extension Condition due to the Principle of Minimal Compliance (PMC).8 Both CFM and QMW show us

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<sup>6.</sup> Relative or conjunctive subordinants in ME were often reenforced by pat (that) or as: how that, whan (when) that, which that, which as, where as, per (there) as, whaym (who) that, if that, though pat, sith (since) pat, after pat, bycause pat, also soone as at, etc. See The Oxford English Dictionary (OED), Cassidy & Ringler (1971) and Mosse (1975)

<sup>7.</sup> The pseudo-double movement of wh-words seems to violate the Wh-Island Condition; clauses introduced by a wh-phrase (who, whether, etc.) are islands. Although most of native speakers think the derivation is rather awkward, I cannot help but recognize this phenomenon as an significant syntactic change in late ModE, which had never happened during the OE and ME periods. See Chomsky (1962, 1981).

that even in ModE may the [+wh]-features of multiple wh-words be attracted overtly to the Spec-CP and checked against the [+Q]-feature of C cyclically.

There are some languages in the world that permit the feature-checking of multiple *wh*-words in overt or covert syntax. Let us first examine Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian multiple *wh*-fronting constructions, as exemplified in Koizumi (1994):

- (8) a. Zavisi od tova, [CP1 kog koko C [TP pruv e udaril]].

  depends on it who whom first is-CL hit

  (It depends on who hit whom first.)
  - b.\*Zavisi od tova, [CP1 kog pruv koko C [TP e udaril]].

    depends on it who first whom is-CL hit

    (It depends on who hit whom first.)
- (9) a. Zavisi od tova [CP ko koga C [TP prvi udari]]?

  depends on it who whom first hits

  (It depends on who hit whom first.)
  - b. Zavisi od tova [CP ko C [PolP prvi koga Pol [TP udari]]?
    depends on it who first whom hits

    (It depends on who hit whom first.)
  - c. Zavisi od tova [cp ko [AdvP prvi] koga C [PolP [TP udari]]?

Among multiple wh-fronting languages, Bulgarian as well as Romanian permits the double dislocation of wh-words, as illustrated in (8a), and sequences of preposed wh-phrases cannot be interrupted by an adverb (and/or a clitic), as illustrated in (8b). In (8a), the [+wh]-features of kog (English who) is checked against the [+Q]-feature of C by the MCC, and that of koko (English whom) is subsequently checked against the

<sup>8.</sup> According to Extension Condition proposed in Chomsky (1995), Merge and Move extend K to K\*, which includes K as a proper part. According to the Richards' (1997) PMC, a constraint need not be satisfied more than once with respect to a head in a cycle. See Yang (1995, 1996) in detail.

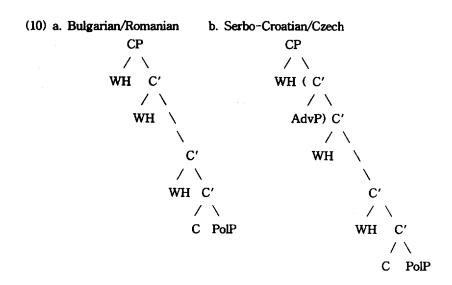
[+Q]-feature of C by Tuck-in movement. Serbo-Croatian permits the double dislocation of wh-words like Bulgarian, as illustrated in (9a), and it also permits the interruption of a adverb (and/or a clitic) unlike Bulgarian, as shown in (9b). As the result, he assumes that the first attracted ko (English who) checks its [+wh]-feature against the [+Q]-feature of C in a CP, but the second attracted koga (English whom) checks its [+wh]-feature against the feature of Pol in a PolP.9 However, it seems that this assumption lacks explanatory power. It is because a head Pol has no [+Q]-feature except for [Top(ic)]- and [Neg(ative)]-features. If an AdvP is tucked optionally in the Serbo-Croatian Spec-CP irrespective of Extension Condition, both of them may have the same multiple Spec-CP structures. I therefore assume that the logical form of (9a) is not (9b) but (9c). In short, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian languages are sure to obey the CFM as well as the LR.

The following is the layered specifiers analysis of multiple wh-fronting:

<sup>9.</sup> Johnson (1989) assumes that there is a polarity phrase (PoIP) between IP and VP, as illustrated in (1a). Notice that so, too, and not all relate to the polarity of the clause: too and so asserting the validity of the clause, and not asserting its falsehood. Contrary to him, Authier (1992) assumes an iterated CP to be there instead of a PoIP, as illustrated in (1b):

<sup>(1)</sup> a. Becky said [CP that [PolP these books [Pol only with great difficulty [Pol can [AGRaP she carry]]]]]

b. John swore [cp that [cp [spec under no circumstance] [c would] he accept their offer]]



Contrary to Koizumi (1994), Serbo-Croatian as well as Bulgarian has the layered specifiers, as shown above so that a head C may check its [+Q]-feature overtly against the [+wh]-features of multiple wh-words. These diagrams show us that only a head C can attract wh-words in all languages.

Let us secondly examine Korean and Japanese multiple wh-fronting constructions, as illustrated in (11) and (12), respectively:

(11) a. [CP Nu-ka mues-ul enchey edise eddekey oay C [TP who-NOM what-ACC when where how why hay-ss- o]]?

do- PST-INT

(\*Who what when where how why did?)

<sup>10.</sup> When Bulgarian multiple wh-words move overtly to the Spec-CP, only the first wh-movement obeys Extension Condition, Superiority, Subjacensy, etc., and the other subsequent wh-moments attracted by the same C are free from the constraints that the first has already obeyed in the cycle. Confer Yang (1998).

b. [cp Nu-ka C [rp hay-ss- o, mues-ul enchey edise who-NOM do- PST-INT what-ACC when where eddekey oay]]?

how why

(?Who did what when where how why?)

c. [cp C [Tp Hay-ss- o, nu-ka mues-ul enchey edise do- PST-INT who-NOM what-ACC when where eddekey oay]]?

how why

(\*Did who what when where how why?)

(12) a. [CP Darey-ka nani-o iz dogodey dousidey nazey C who- NOM what-ACC when where how why [TP si-da- no]].

do-PST-INT

(\*Who what when where how why did?)

b. [cp Darey-ka C [Tp si- da- no, nani-o iz dogodey who-NOM do- PST-INT what-ACC when where dousidey nazey]]
how why

(?Who did what when where how why?)

c. [CP C [TP Si-da- no, darey-ka nani-o iz dogodey do-PST-INT who- NOM what-ACC when where dousidey nazey]] how why

(\*Did who what when where how why?)

As exemplified in (11a), a Korean wh-word Nu-ka (English who) is attracted overtly to the Spec-CP by the MCC, and the rest are attracted overtly there by Tuck-in movement. Thus their [+wh]-features can be checked against the [+Q]-feature of C.11 Although Korean multiple

<sup>11.</sup> As assumed in Yeo (1977), Korean has a multiple Case construction. The

wh-words are divided into two parts, as shown in (11b), their features are checked overtly or covertly against that of C. In case of (11c), when all the multiple wh-words still remains in situ, their features are sure to be checked covertly against the feature of C, meeting the CFM without fail. For example, if only the [+wh]-feature of an initial wh-word Nu-ka (English who) is checked against the [+Q]-feature of C, and the [+wh]-features of the rest are absorbed, it seems that the feature-checking theory will also lose explanatory power. That is why Korean multiple words are merged freely with any other phrases in C<sub>HL</sub>. Likewise, Japanese multiple wh-words in (12a-c) have the same computational operations as the above Korean multiple wh-words do. I therefore assume that Korean and Japanese multiple wh-words are overtly or covertly tucked in a CP for their feature-checking.

According to Shi (1994), it is well-known that wh-elements in Chinese questions remain in situ in the overt syntax. One of them is attracted covertly to the Spec-CP so that they can take scope over the relevant CP. Let us thirdly take a look at the Chinese multiple Spec-CP structure:

- (13) a. Ni xiangzhidao [CP shei weishenmo C [TP cizhi]] you wonder who why resign
  - b. You wonder who resignes why.
- (14) a. [CP1 C1 [TP Ni xiangzhidao [CP2 shei weishenmo C2 [TP cizhi]]]?

  you wonder who why resign
  - b. Who is the person x such that you wonder why x resigned?
  - c. What is the reason y such that you wonder who resigned because of y?

first movement of the Case-marked nominal to a Spec of T, v, or D satisfies the Extension Condition: hence the subsequent movements of nominals with the same Case to a Spec of the same head must be Tuck-in. It seems that Korean multiple wh-words are also tucked in the Spec-CP.

The difference in the selectional restrictions of the matrix verbs is reflected in the scope of the wh-phrase in the embedded clauses. For example, a verb xiangzhidao 'wonder' requires either an indirect or a direct interrogative complement: an indirect one as in (13a) and a direct one as in (14a). Whether the embedded question is direct or indirect, it should contain the same multiple Spec-CP structure as that of Bulgarian. Multiple wh-words shei 'who' and weisherm 'why' in (13a) check their [+wh]-features overtly against the [+Q]-features of C. As the result, the indirect question has only one meaning such as (13b). In (14a), either shei or weishermo in a CP<sub>2</sub> is attracted covertly to a CP<sub>1</sub>, representing (14b) or (14c), respectively.

So far, I have assumed that an English multiple question contains the same multiple Spec-CP structure as that of Bulgarian,  $^{12}$  in which multiple wh-words check their [+wh]-features against the [+Q]-feature of C. It is sure that an English normal question (NQ) permits one of multiple wh-words to be attracted overtly to the Spec-CP contrary to an echo question (EQ). And it also permits the rest to be attracted to the Spec-CP, tucked in the Spec-CP. As mentioned in Yang (1998),

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<sup>12.</sup> Besides, Imbabura Quechua appears to be similar to Spanish and English in that wh-words are obligatorily fronted, as illustrated in (1). But in Ancash Quechua wh-words may appear either fronted like English and Spanish or in situ like Chinese, as illustrated in (2). See Cole & Hermon (1994) in detail.

<sup>(1)</sup> a. Ima-ta-taji, ya-ngui [Juan ei randishka-ta]? what-ACC-Q think-1PL Juan bought-ACC (What do you think Juan has bought?)

b.\*Ya-ngui [Juan ima-ta-taj; randishka-ta]? think-2PL Juan what-ACC-Q bought-ACC (What do you think Juan has bought?)

<sup>(2)</sup> a. May-man-taqi, [Josē munan [Maria e; aywanan-ta]]?
where-to-Q Jose wants Maria will go-ACC
(Where does Jose want Maria to go?)

b. [Jose munan [Maria may-man; aywanan-ta]]?

Jose wants Maria where-to will go-ACC

(Where does Jose want Maria to go?)

only the first wh-movement, which is overt, obeys Subjacency and the other subsequent wh-movements, which are covert, attracted by the same C are free from Subjacency, which the first has already obeyed in the cycle according to the Strongly Cyclic Hypothesis (SCH).<sup>13</sup>

## 3. The Feature-checking of wh-words

All the grammatical operations in  $C_{HL}$  are due to features. I have accordingly assumed that covert movements should occur in wh-in-situ languages. As examined above, it is to the Spec-CP that the [+wh]-features of multiple wh-words are attracted by the [+Q]-feature of C.

Let us now examine the NQs taken from Kuno & Robinson (1972):

- (15) a. What book did Albert buy?
  - b. [CP What book, did C [TP Albert buy ti]]?
- (16) a. Who gave what to whom?
  - b.\*Who what gave to whom?
  - c. [CP Whoi [C'1 FF(what)] [C'2 FF(whom)k C [TP t'i gave ti what(tj) to whom(tk)]]]?
- (17) a. Who told you where we should buy which books?
  - b.\*We're not sure whether who Bill saw
  - c. [CP1 Who; C1 [TP t'; told  $t_i$  you [CP2 where; [C'  $FF_{(which\ books)k}$  C2 [TP we should buy which books(tk)  $t_i$ ]]]]?

Here (15b), (16c) and (17c) are logical forms of (15a), (16a) and (17a),

<sup>13.</sup> The SCH is that everything is cyclic in grammar. In the Strongly Cyclic Model, Spell-Out applies cyclically and syntax and phonology interacts cyclically. The Cyclic Spell-Out Hypothesis solves the paradox that the uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -feature of T should delete right after the checking of the subject and yet it shows up in PF. According to it, the uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -feature of T is copied into phonology right before it deletes in syntax.

respectively. Since an English wh-word can occur clause-initially, only one wh-phrase what books is attracted overtly to the Spec-CP, as illustrated in (15b). If a wh-word what is tucked in overtly beneath a wh-word who, violating the CDW, the question will be ungrammatical, as in (16b). In (16c), a head C checks its [+Q]-feature overtly against the [+wh]-feature of who in the outer Spec-CP, and covertly against those of FF(what) in the first inner Spec-C'1 and FF(whom) in the second inner Spec-C'2 cyclically, forming the multiple Spec-CP structure. A Contrary to (7d-e), if a wh-word who is tucked in beneath a wh-conjunction whether in an embedded clause, the question will be ungrammatical, as in (17b). A CP2 in (17c) also contains a multiple Spec-CP, in which a head C checks its [+Q]-feature covertly against the feature of FF(which books).

Let us in turn consider the multiple Spec-CP structures in EQs. The following are EQs taken from Sobin (1990):

- (18) a. U: Bill married Greta Garbo.
  - b. E:.Bill married who?
  - c. E: Who did Bill marry?
  - d. [CP FF(who)i C [TP Bill married who(ti)]]?
  - e. [CP FF(Who)] FF(did)k C [TP Who(ii)] did(tk) Bill married ti]]?15
- (19) a. U: Does Frieda like choeslate worms?
  - b. E:.Does who like chocolate worms?
  - c. E: Does who like what?
  - d. [ $_{CP}$   $FF_{(who)j}$   $FF_{(Does)k}$  C [ $_{TP}$   $Does_{(tk)}$   $who_{(tj)i}$  like  $t_i$  chocolate worms]]?
  - e. [CP FF(who)] [C' FF(what)k FF(Does)m C [TP Does(tm) who(tj)] like ti what(th)]]?

<sup>14.</sup> All the specifiers are in the checking domain of C, entering into the checking relation with the head. Confer Koizumi (1994) and Chomsky (1996).

<sup>15.</sup> In this paper, I will leave the curious feature-checking structure of EQs open for the next study.

- (20) a. U: Where does Shostakovich sell T-shirts?
  - b. E:.Where does who sell what?
  - c. [cp FF(where)m [c' FF(who)] [c' FF(what)n FF(does)q C [TP Where(tm)k does(tt) who(tj)] sell ti what(tn) tk]]]]?

Here E is an EQ response to an utterance U. In case of (18a), there are two types of EQs found in discourse: a syntactic EQ (18b) and a pseudo EQ (18c). And (18d-e) are the logical forms of EQs (18b-c), respectively. Here the [+wh]-feature of each who  $FF_{(who)}$  is attracted covertly to the Spec-CP by the [+Q]-feature of C. It is sure that even the first wh-word in EQs is attracted covertly to the Spec-CP due to what is called 'COMP-freezing.' 16 And (19b-c) are syntactic EQs to (19a), and (19d-e) are logical forms of (19b-c), respectively. In (19d), the [+wh]-feature of in-situ who FF<sub>(who)</sub> is attracted covertly to the Spec-CP. In (19e), that of in-situ what  $FF_{(what)}$  is tucked in beneath  $FF_{(who)}$  irrespective of any condition. And (20b) is a syntacite EQ to (20a), which is a direct wh-question. (20c) is a logical form of (20a), whose multiple Spec-CP structure consists of three wh-features such as FF(where), FF(who) and FF(what) attracted covertly to the Spec-CP by C. In short, I assume that all the [+wh]-features in EQs are attracted covertly to the multiple Spec-CP structures. On the basis of examples such as those above, I propose the following condition:

(21) Condition on the (Multiple) Spec-CP Structure of an English Question (CSEQ)

An English question should contain a (multiple) Spec-CP structure at least such as

NQ:  $[CP \ wh\text{-word} \ ([C' \ FF(wh\text{-word}) \ [C' \ \cdots) \ (an \ aux.) \ C \ [TP \ \cdots]](]])$  or

<sup>16.</sup> Sobin (1990) divides EQs into two syntactic types: pseudo EQs, which involve completely usual questioning strategies and syntax, and syntactic EQs, which involve a discourse strategy called COMP-freezing and unselective binding of in-situ wh-phrases.

EQ:  $[CP FF(wh-word)] ([C' FF(wh-word)] [C' \cdots) (FF(an aux.)) C [TP \cdots]](]])$ 

Let us finally take a careful look at the Spec-CP structures of questions with the CSEQ:

- (22) a.\*Who what gave to whom?
  - b. [CP Who [C' what [C' FF(to whom))] C [TP gave to whom(ti)]]]]?
- (23) a.\*I don't know who expects that who will marry Mary?
  - b. [CP1 I don't know [CP2 who C [TP expects [CP3 FF(who)] that C [TP who(ti)] will marry ti Mary]]]]?
- (24) a.\*What did John say where he bought?
  - b. [CP1 What; did [TP John say [CP2 t'; where; [TP he bought t; tj]]]?
- (25) a. Who believes who to be guilty?
  - b. [CP Who [C' FF(who)] C [vP t'] believes [INFP who(tj)] to [InfP ti be guilty]]]?
- (26) a. Who remembers where we bought which books?
  - b. [CP1 Who C [TP remembers [CP2 where [C' FF(which books)] C [TP we bought which books(tj) tj]]]]?

Questions (22-24) are all ungrammatical, but questions (25-26) are both grammatical. In (22b), two wh-words who and what are attracted overtly to the Spec-CP<sub>1</sub>, so that the question violates the CSEQ. As shown in (23b), the Spec-CP<sub>3</sub> containing only FF<sub>(who)</sub> violates the CSEQ, since it does not form the multiple Spec-CP structure. Of course, (24b) does not contain it, either, so that it violates the CSEQ. However, (25b) obeys the CSEQ, since a believe-verb can merge with an INFP-complement which has no Spec-CP structure. If so, then FF<sub>(who)</sub> can be attracted to the multiple Spec-CP in the matrix clause for its feature-checking. It seems that (26b) also contains a multiple Spec-CP structure at least, obeying the CSEQ.

### 4. Conclusion

The Minimal Chain Condition (MCC), which is the Principle of Shortest Move, explains the Superiority Condition, but time and place wh-words such as where and when cross over another wh-word freely. violating the MCC in overt syntax. The fact shows us that all the [+wh]-features of multiple wh-words are selected from lexicon for numeration. I assume that those features should be checked against the [+Q]-feature of C in C<sub>HL</sub> in order to obey both the Last Resort (LR) and the Condition on the Feature-checking of Multiple Wh-words (CFM). As examined in peculiar whether-constructions. the [+wh]-features of multiple wh-words may be often attracted overtly to the Spec-CP and checked against the [+Q]-feature of C cyclically.

are some languages in the world that permit feature-checking of multiple wh-words in overt or covert syntax. Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian languages are sure to obey the CFM in the Spec-CP structures. Likewise, Korean and Japanese multiple are overtly or covertly tucked in a CP for feature-checking. Whether the Chinese embedded question is direct or indirect, it contains the same multiple Spec-CP structure as that of Bulgarian. When multiple wh-words are attracted to the Spec-CP, only the first wh-movement, which is overt, obeys Subjacency and the other subsequent wh-movements, which are covert, attracted by the same C are free from Subjacency, which the first has already obeyed in the cycle according to the Strongly Cyclic Hypothesis. According to the Condition on the (Multiple) Spec-CP Structure of an English Question (CSEQ), an English question should contain a (multiple) Spec-CP structure at least such as NQ: [CP wh-word ([C' FF(wh-word) [C' ...) (an aux.) C [TP  $\cdots$ ]](]]) or EQ: [CP FF(wh-word) ([C' FF(wh-word) [C'  $\cdots$ ) (FF(an  $_{\text{aux.}})$  C [ $_{\text{TP}}$   $\cdots$ ]](]]).

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