Morphosyntax of Movement Dependencies in Haitian Creole[*]

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1. Introduction

This paper investigates the nature of the lexical item *ki* in Haitian Creole, which appears when the subject undergoes operator movement in *wh*-questions, cleft and relative clauses (see Koopman 1982 and Law 1995 for relevant data and discussion of *ki*). In contrast, this lexical item cannot appear when the object is extracted. This subject/object asymmetry is illustrated in (1) and (2). Here, we confine ourselves to discussing *ki* in *wh*-questions, though analogous observations can be made in other constructions:[1]

(1) a.   Kilès ki   te   wè   Mari?
           who   KI   ANT   see   Mari

     b.   *Kilès te   wè   Mari?
           who   ANT   see   Mari
           'Who saw Mari?'

(2) a.   Kilès Mari te   wè?
           Who   Mari ANT   see

     b.   *Kilès ki   Mari te   wè?
           who   KI   Mari   ANT   see
           'Who did Mari see?'

We argue that *ki* is the phonological reflex of agreement between the complementizer (C⁰) and a *wh*-phrase. More specifically, we claim that when all the features on C⁰ are

checked off by a single goal, C^0 is spelled out as *ki*.[2] We assume that C^0 in the relevant context involves an uninterpretable *wh*-feature (*u*wh) and uninterpretable φ-features (*u*φ). The *u*wh feature enables us to establish a dependency between C^0 and a *wh*-phrase. We suggest that the presence of *u*φ on C^0 receives empirical support from the complementizer agreement phenomenon in West Germanic languages (see Carstens 2003 and Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002 for this claim). We demonstrate that the existence of both *u*wh and *u*φ plays an important role in deriving the subject/object asymmetry of *ki*. Our proposal accounts for this asymmetry and has implications for strategies that the language employs to ameliorate violations of certain principles of grammar.

Haitian Creole uses a resumptive pronoun to salvage an illegitimate dependency. However, there is another strategy, in which *ki* appears in the relevant C^0 position. In other words, *ki* can play the same role as a resumptive pronoun. Our analysis of *ki* makes it possible to subsume the two strategies under a single statement: violations of certain grammatical principles are saved by spelling out φ-features of the element involved in the illegitimate dependency. In the resumptive pronoun strategy, this is accomplished by the presence of a resumptive pronoun. In the strategy which resorts to *ki*, φ-features of the relevant element are spelled out through the appearance of *ki*, because *u*φ on C^0 are checked off by the relevant element and C^0 inherits the φ-feature values from it.

If our analysis of *ki* is successful, it leads us to suggest that at least some subject/object asymmetries could be captured in terms of the locality constraint on *Agree* (see Pesetsky and Torrego 2001 for relevant ideas).[3]

The organization of this paper is as follows. In the next section, we observe the distribution of *ki* and show that when the subject undergoes *wh*-movement, *ki* appears in the minimal clause from which it is extracted. We present our analysis in section 3. In the subsequent sections, we show that each component of our analysis receives empirical support. In section 4, we present one similarity between the distribution of complementizer agreement and the distribution of *ki*. In both cases, we observe intervention effects, which we take as evidence for the presence of agreement between C^0 and a DP with respect to φ-features. In section 5, we present several arguments for our claim that *ki* is an overt realization of C^0. Section 6 is a discussion of some consequences and theoretical implications of our analysis. We sum up our main proposals in the last section.

2.   The Basic Distribution of *Ki*

As we already saw in (1) and (2), in Haitian Creole, when the subject undergoes *wh*-movement, *ki* must appear in the minimal clause from which it is extracted, while *ki* cannot appear anywhere when the object undergoes *wh*-movement. In long distance *wh*-

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[2] Koopman (1982) proposes that *ki* is generated under C^0. On the other hand, Law (1995) argues that *ki* is a resumptive pronoun, which occupies the Spec of TP. In this respect, we agree with Koopman (see below for evidence for this claim); however, we do not consider that the appearance of *ki* is due to the reasons related to the Empty Category Principle (ECP).

[3] We assume the framework proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001). See the references just cited for a full discussion of the theoretical assumptions.

movement, *ki* is allowed to appear only in the clause in which the *wh*-phrase originates and only if the *wh*-phrase is a subject, as shown in (3) and (4).[4]

(3)   a.   Kilès Mari panse ki   renmen   Jan?
              who Mari think KI   like   Jan

        b.   *Kilès Mari panse renmen   Jan?
              who Mari think like   Jan

        c.   *Kilès ki   Mari panse renmen   Jan?
              who KI   Mari think like   Jan

        d.   *Kilès ki   Mari panse ki   renmen   Jan?
              who KI   Mari think KI   like   Jan
              'Who does Mari think likes Jan?'

(4)   a.   Kilès Mari panse Jan   renmen?
              who Mari think Jan   like

        b.   *Kilès Mari panse ki   Jan   renmen?
              who Mari think KI   Jan   like

        c.   *Kilès ki   Mari panse Jan   renmen?
              who KI   Mari think Jan   like

        d.   *Kilès ki   Mari panse ki   Jan   renmen?
              who KI   Mari think KI   Jan   like
              'Who does Mari think Jan likes?'

If there are more than two clauses and the subject *wh*-phrase is base-generated in the most embedded clause, *ki* shows up only in that clause, as shown in (5).

(5)   Kilès (*ki) Michel   panse (*ki) Mari kwè   ki   rich?
       who   KI   Michel   think   KI   Mari believe   KI   rich
       'Who does Michel think Mari believes is rich?'

The generalization emerges that when the subject is extracted by *wh*-movement, *ki* must appear only in the minimal clause from which it is extracted. This descriptive statement is somewhat too strong given some exceptions, such as the variation mentioned in footnote 4. We use it as a starting point for the morphosyntactic analysis of *ki* in the next section. We move to more complicated cases in the subsequent sections.

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[4] There is idiolectal/dialectal variation on the appearance of *ki* in long distance *wh*-movement of the subject. Degraff (1993) observes that *ki* is optional for some speakers in this context. For those speakers, (3b) is grammatical. One of our speakers finds (3b) ungrammatical and Koopman (1982) also argues that *ki* is obligatory in this context. We will return to this idiolectal/dialectal variation in section 5.2.

3.   The Plot

In this section, we present our account of the distribution of *ki*, which consists of several components. Only one of these requires some elaboration. This is the assumption about the featural contents of C^0. We discuss the issue in the next subsection.

3.1   The Featural Contents of C^0

We assume that C^0 involves *u*wh, which establishes a dependency with a *wh*-phrase. This feature is also present in intermediate C^0s, yielding successive-cyclic *wh*-movement.
        Some expositions are in order about the assumption that C^0 possesses $u\varphi$. This assumption has recently been advocated by Carstens (2003) and Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002) on the basis of complementizer agreement in West Germanic languages. In complementizer agreement, C^0 agrees with the subject in φ-features. Some examples of this phenomenon are given in (6) (see Zwart 1997, among many others).

(6)   a.   … datte   we   komme   (South Hollandic)
                        that-PL   we   come-PL

        b.   … of-s   toe   koms   (Groningen)
                        whether-2SG   you   come-2SG

                                                                                    (Zwart 1997:138)

Carstens (2003) and Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002) argue that φ-feature agreement on C^0 is established by *Agree* between $u\varphi$ on C^0 and the subject in the Spec of TP (see Carstens 2003 and Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002 for specific assumptions about functional projections). In this *Agree* relation, $u\varphi$ on C^0 are checked off by interpretable φ-features of the subject and the values of the φ-features of the subject are inherited by C^0. They are spelled out as an agreement morpheme on C^0. This agreement relation is illustrated in (7).
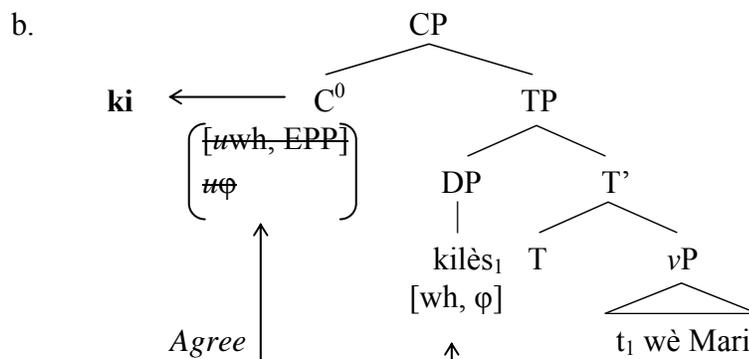
(7)   [CP C^0[uφ] [TP we[φ] come]]

In the next section, we observe a striking similarity between the distribution of complementizer agreement and the distribution of *ki*. This provides empirical support for the claim that φ-feature agreement is involved in the appearance of *ki*.
        To sum up, we have assumed that C^0 involves *u*wh and $u\varphi$. This set of features on C^0 paves the way to our account of the subject/object asymmetry of *ki*. In the next section, we present the proposals.

3.2   The Proposals

Our main proposal is that *ki* is a phonological reflex of agreement between C^0 and a *wh*-phrase. More specifically, C^0 is spelled out as *ki* only if both *u*wh and $u\varphi$ features on C^0 are checked off by a single goal. To illustrate our claim, let us examine the derivation of (8a), which is given in (8b).

(8) a. Kilès *(ki) te   wè   Mari?
        who   KI   ANT see   Mari
        'Who saw Mari?'

     b.

As shown in (8b), C^0 enters an *Agree* relation with the *wh*-phrase in the Spec of TP, and both *u*wh and *u*φ features on C^0 are checked and valued by a single goal; the subject *wh*-phrase. We claim that in this configuration, C^0 is spelled out as *ki*. We assume that the EPP property is a subfeature of the *u*wh (see Pesetsky and Torrego 2001 for relevant discussion). In our tree representations, this is indicated by the notation [*u*wh, EPP]. The phrase which checks *u*wh undergoes movement into the specifier position of the head with the EPP property. This ensures that the *wh*-phrase undergoes movement into the Spec of CP.

The derivation in (8b) also illustrates the second component of our analysis: it is C^0, and not some other constituent, that is spelled out as *ki* in this specific circumstance. Although we defer a full discussion of this issue until section 5, we present one argument for this assumption here. As shown in (9), *ki* never co-occurs with the declarative complementizer *ke* 'that', which suggests that *ki* and *ke* occupy the same position.[5, 6]

(9) a. *Kilès Mari panse ke   ki   te   achte machin   nan?
         Who   Mari think that KI   ANT buy   car   the

     b. *Kilès Mari panse ki   ke   te   achte machin   nan?
         who   Mari think KI   that ANT buy   car   the
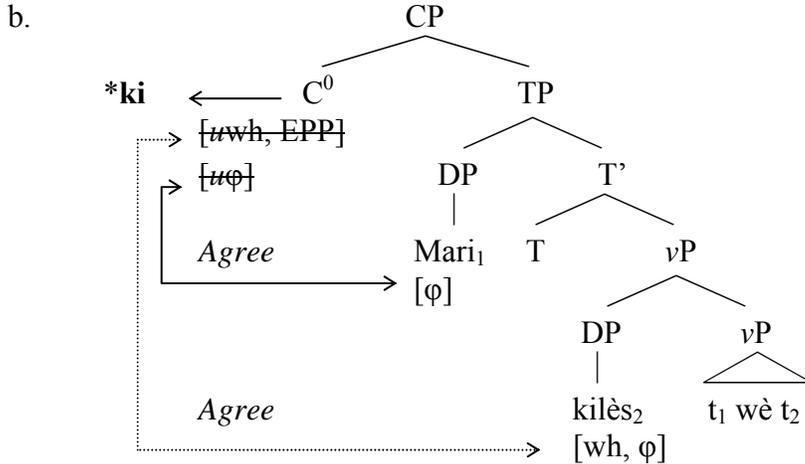   'Who does Mary think bought the car?'

Let us move onto the derivation of the object extraction case. The relevant example is repeated in (10a) and its derivation is given in (10b).

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[5] Contrary to Koopman (1982) and Law (1995), who claim that the declarative complementizer is never overtly realized, our informants allow *ke* 'that' to introduce an embedded finite clause that does not involve *ki*, with only a slight preference for its omission.

[6] Crucially, when the object undergoes long distance *wh*-movement, the embedded clause can be introduced by the declarative complementizer *ke*:

(i) Kisa Mari panse ke   Michel te   achte?
     what Mari think that Michel ANT buy
     'What does Mari think that Michel bought?'

(10) a.   Kilès (*ki) Mari te   wè?
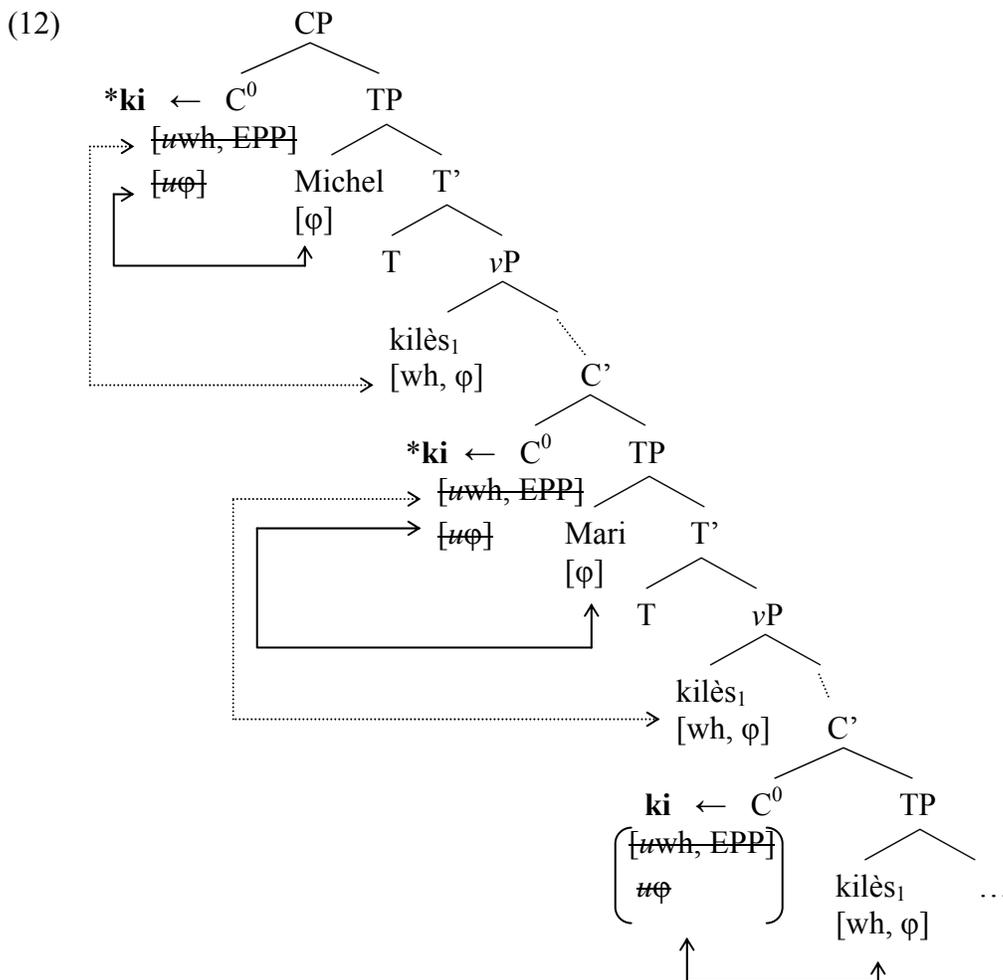   who   KI   Mari   ANT   see
             'Who did Mari see?'

      b.

In the derivation in (10b), $u$wh and uφ on C^0 are checked off by different goals, namely, the *wh*-phrase in the *v*P-adjoined position and the subject in the Spec of TP, respectively. The subject in the Spec of TP is the closest element involving φ-features to C^0. Thus, the uφ on C^0 cannot be checked and valued by the more distant *wh*-phrase. On the other hand, C^0 searches down the structure, past the subject in order to find the *wh*-phrase in the *v*P-adjoined position that can check off its $u$wh. The crucial difference between the subject extraction in (8b) and the object extraction in (10b) is that in the latter case not both $u$wh and uφ on C^0 can be checked off by a single goal, due to the locality constraint on *Agree*. In this case, C^0 cannot be spelled out as *ki*. Our claim is that the subject/object asymmetry of *ki* is reducible to the locality constraint on *Agree*.

Finally, following Chomsky (2000, 2001), we assume that *v* and C^0 are phase heads and that only these heads induce successive-cyclic movement, which follows from the theory of cyclic computation by phase.

These components not only capture the subject/object asymmetry, but also account for one basic property of *ki*, namely, the fact that it appears only in the clause in which the subject *wh*-phrase originates, as shown in (5), repeated here as (11).

(11) Kilès (*ki)   Michel   panse (*ki) Mari kwè   ki   rich?
      who   KI   Michel   think   KI   Mari believe   KI   rich
      'Who does Michel think Mari believes is rich?'

The following simplified derivation of (12) illustrates that the *wh*-phrase, which is the subject of the most embedded clause, moves to the projections of every phase head on its way to the Spec of the matrix CP. However, both $u$wh and uφ on C^0 are checked off by the *wh*-phrase only in the most embedded clause. In other clauses, there is an intervening subject between C^0 and the *wh*-phrase. Therefore, we cannot obtain the configuration necessary for the appearance of *ki* in those clauses:

(12)

$$\text{CP}$$

Tree (12):

- CP
  - *ki ← C⁰ [uwh, EPP] [uφ]
  - TP
    - Michel [φ]
    - T'
      - T
        - kilès₁ [wh, φ]
      - vP
        - C'
          - *ki ← C⁰ [uwh, EPP] [uφ]
          - TP
            - Mari [φ]
            - T'
              - T
                - kilès₁ [wh, φ]
              - vP
                - C'
                  - ki ← C⁰ ⟨[uwh, EPP] uφ⟩
                  - TP
                    - kilès₁ [wh, φ] …

In this subsection, we have demonstrated that our analysis accounts for the basic distribution of *ki*. We assume that C⁰ involves *u*wh and *u*φ. We have suggested that this assumption is supported by complementizer agreement in West Germanic languages. We claim that *ki* is a spell-out of C⁰ based on one piece of evidence: the fact that it cannot co-occur with the declarative complementizer *ke* 'that'. In the next two sections, we explore the two components of our proposal and present arguments for them.

4.   Intervention Effects

In the previous section, we have argued that C⁰ enters a φ-feature *Agree* relation with the subject *wh*-phrase in the Spec of TP. It follows that the appearance of *ki* is an instance of complementizer agreement. In this section, we provide one striking similarity between the distribution of complementizer agreement in West Germanic languages and the distribution of *ki*. We claim that this is an argument for the claim that *ki* is a phonological reflex of agreement between C⁰ and a *wh*-phrase.

The similarity that we discuss here is the intervention effect. In Hellendoorn, a dialect of Dutch, the third person plural agreement morpheme can appear on C⁰, as shown in (13). However, this agreement morpheme is prohibited if there is an intervening

element between C^0 and the subject, as illustrated in (14) (see also Ackema and Neeleman 2001, Carstens 2003 and Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002 for relevant discussion and data).

(13) da/dan   zunder   op   den   warmste   dag   (Hellendoorn)
      that/that-3PL   they   on   the   hottest   day
      van't jaar   tegen   ander wil   gewerkt   en.
      of   year   against   their will worked   have
      'that on the hottest day of the year, they have worked against their will.'
                                                        (Ackema and Neeleman 2004)

(14) da/*dan   op   den   warmste   dag   van't jaar   (Hellendoorn)
      that/that-3PL on   the   hottest   day   of   year
      zunder   tegen   ander wil   gewerkt   en.
      they   against   their will worked   have
      'that on the hottest day of the year, they have worked against their will.'
                                                        (Ackema and Neeleman 2004)

       We do not discuss why φ-feature agreement is blocked by an intervening adverb (see Ackema and Neeleman 2004, Carstens 2003 and Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002 for relevant discussion). We provide an example of the intervention effect in the context of *ki*. The intervention effect is observed in the contrast between (15a) and (15b).

(15) a.   ?M   ap   mande   kilès yè   ki   achte yon
           I   ASP   wonder   who   yesterday KI   buy   a
           machin.
           car

      b.   *M   ap   mande   kilès ki   yè   achte yon
           I   ASP   wonder   who   KI   yesterday buy   a
           machin.
           car
           'I am wondering who bought a car yesterday.'

Let us first clarify the position that the adverb *yè* 'yesterday' occupies in (15). As shown in (16), this adverb cannot be in a position lower than the subject in the Spec of TP.

(16) a.   Yè   Jan   te   wè   Mari.
           yesterday   Jan   ANT   see   Mari

      b.   *Jan   yè   te   wè   Mari.
      c.   *Jan   te   yè   wè   Mari.
      d.   *Jan   te   wè   yè   Mari.
           'Jan saw Mari yesterday.'

It follows from this distribution of the adverb that the sentence in (15b) involves the derivation in (17) in which the adverb intervenes between C^0 and the *wh*-phrase in the Spec of TP.

(17)   … [$_{CP}$ C^0[$_{u}$wh, $_{u}$φ] [$_{TP}$ yè kilès[wh, φ] achte yon machin]]

Like in (14), we suggest that uφ on C^0 cannot be checked by the subject in (15b), due to the intervening adverb, and hence, *ki* cannot show up. This intervention effect crucially results from the impossibility to establish an agreement relation of φ-features, but not the *wh*-feature.[7] It is clear that $u$wh on C^0 can be checked off by a remote element (e.g., in the object extraction case in (10b)).

On the other hand, when the object undergoes *wh*-movement, the adverb can appear between the fronted *wh*-phrase and the subject in the Spec of TP, as shown in (18).

(18) | Michel | ap | mande | kisa | yè | Jan | te | achte. |
        | Michel | ASP | wonder | what | yesterday | Jan | ANT | buy |
        'Michel is wondering what Jan bought yesterday.'

We suggest that there is no intervention effect in (18) since the adverb adjoins to a C'-position and does not intervene between C^0 and the subject. The same explanation applies to the absence of an intervention effect in (15a).

In this section, we have observed the intervention effect in the distribution of complementizer agreement and the distribution of *ki*. We have argued that this can be taken as evidence for the first component of our proposal, that is, φ-feature agreement between C^0 and a *wh*-phrase is needed for *ki* to show up. In the next section, we present several arguments for the claim that *ki* is an overt realization of C^0.

5.   Arguments for *Ki* as a Spell-out of C^0

In section 3.2, we showed that *ki* cannot co-occur with the overt complementizer *ke* 'that' and have suggested that this co-occurrence restriction indicates that *ki* is an overt

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[7] Note that unlike in (14), where the non-agreeing form of the complementizer is allowed in the intervention effect environment, this option is not available in Haitian Creole, as shown in (i) and (ii). We here assume that the empty complementizer and the declarative complementizer *ke* 'that' are the non-agreeing forms of C^0:

(i) | *M | ap | mande | kilès | yè | | achte | yon | machin. |
        | I | ASP | wonder | who | yesterday | | buy | a | car |
        'I am wondering who bought a car yesterday.'

(ii) | *M | ap | mande | kilès | ke | yè | achte | yon | machin. |
        | I | ASP | wonder | who | that | yesterday | buy | a | car |
        'I am wondering who bought a car yesterday.'

A possible way to capture this difference is to assume that uφ on C^0 in Hellendoorn are optionally present, while the interrogative C^0 in Haitian Creole obligatorily possesses them.

realization of C^0. In this section, we provide additional arguments for this claim. They reveal that if there is no CP structure, *ki* cannot show up.

5.1   Causatives

In this subsection, we argue that CP structure is a prerequisite for *ki* to appear. This fact leads us to suggest that *ki* is a spell-out of C^0. Our discussion starts with Degraff's (1993) observation that the anterior marker *te* cannot appear in the complement clause in the causative construction. This is illustrated in (19).

(19)   Ou   te   fè   Tijan   (*te)   vini.
        you   ANT   make   Tijan   ANT   come
        'You made Tijan come.'   (Degraff 1993:80)

It is also true that the complementizer *ke* 'that' cannot introduce a complement clause in this construction, as shown in (20).

(20)   *Michel   te   fè   ke   Mari   (te)   vini   nan   fèt   la.
        Michel   ANT   make   that   Mari   ANT   come   to   party   the
        'Michel made Mari to come to the party.'

These data indicate that the complement clause in the causative construction does not involve CP structure (probably not even a TP structure). The crucial fact is that in this configuration, *ki* cannot be present even if the causee undergoes *wh*-movement, as Degraff (1993) observes:

(21)   Kimoun₁   ou   te   fè   (*ki)   t₁   vini?
        who   you   ANT   make   KI   come
        'Who did you make come?'   (Degraff 1993:80)

We take this set of data to be evidence for the claims that CP structure is needed for *ki* to appear and that *ki* is an overt realization of C^0.

5.2   The Idiolectal/Dialectal Variation

In this subsection, we claim that idiolectal/dialectal variation of the optionality of *ki* in long distance *wh*-movement provides additional support for the claim that *ki* is an overt realization of C^0.

Degraff (1993) observes that for some speakers, *ki* is optional in long distance *wh*-movement (see Koopman 1982 for the observation that *ki* is obligatory in this context). Thus, in (22), *ki* does not have to show up for some speakers, including one of the speakers that we consulted (*ki* is obligatory in (22) for the other speaker).

(22)   Kimoun   ou   kwè   (ki)   pral   vini?
        who   you   believe   KI   will   come
        'Who do you believe will come?'   (Degraff 1993:80)

However, even for the speaker who allows optionality in (22), *ki* is obligatory in the matrix *wh*-question, as shown in (23).

(23) *Kilès renmen   Jan?
        who like   Jan
        'Who likes Jan?'

The speaker needs *ki* even in an embedded clause if it is a *wh*-question, as shown in (24).

(24) *Jan ap   mande   kilès renmen   Mari.
        Jan ASP   wonder   who   like   Mari
        'Jan is wondering who likes Mari.'

On the basis of the data above, we can make the descriptive generalization that for some speakers, *ki* is optional in embedded declarative clauses. However, for all speakers, *ki* is obligatory in minimal interrogative clauses from which the subject *wh*-phrase is extracted.

        In order to capture this idiolectal/dialectal variation, we suggest that for some speakers, declarative clauses do not have to project up to CP structure. In other words, a declarative clause can for some speakers involve only TP structure. On this assumption, the derivation of (22) can be analyzed as follows:

(25) $[_{CP}$ kimoun$_1$ C^0 $[_{TP}$ ou kwè $[_{TP}$ t$_1$ pral vini]]]

This suggestion also accounts for (23) and (24).   In these cases, the clauses are interrogative and they must project up to CP structure. Therefore, *ki* is obligatory for all speakers in these cases. If this argument is successful, the idiolectal/dialectal variation of *ki* is additional evidence for the claims that the CP layer of a structure is necessary for the occurrence of *ki* and that *ki* is a spell-out of C^0.

6.   Consequences: Salvation by Spell-out of φ-features

In this section, we discuss some consequences of our claim that C^0 is spelled out as *ki* if both *u*wh and *u*φ on C^0 are checked off by a single goal: the *wh*-phrase in the subject position. We argue that this claim can provide a straightforward explanation of the fact that *ki* can function as a resumptive pronoun, which salvages violations of certain principles of grammar.

        Like in other languages, in Haitian Creole, the resumptive pronoun rescues dependencies that constitute violations of grammatical principles (Degraff 1992). The sentence in (26) is an instance of a *wh*-island condition violation. As expected, a resumptive pronoun is required in this context:

(26) Kilès₁ Jan   ap   mande   tèt   li   si   *(li₁) achte
     who   Jan   ASP   wonder   REFL   him   if   he   buy
     machin   nan?
     car   the
     'Who₁ is Jan wondering whether he₁ bought the car?'

Another relevant context that illustrates the same point is the raising construction discussed in Deprez (1992). The examples of this construction are given in (27).[8]

(27) Jan   sanble/genlè (ke)   *(li) te   vini nan   fèt   la.
     Jan   seem   that he   ANT   come to   party the
     'Jan seemed to come to the party.'

As Deprez (1992) observes, the embedded clause must contain a resumptive pronoun which is co-indexed with the subject in the matrix clause. The reason for this is that the subject in the matrix clause partakes in an illegitimate dependency between two Case positions (Deprez 1992). As shown in (28), a resumptive pronoun is also required when the subject in the matrix clause is a *wh*-phrase.

(28) Kimoun   ki   sanble/genlè (ke)   li   te   vini nan
     who   KI   seem   that he   ANT   come to
     fèt   la?
     party the
     'Who seemed to come to the party?'

    It is noticeable that *ki* can appear in the embedded C^0 position in (26) and (28). This is illustrated in (29) and (30).[9, 10]

(29) Q: Kilès Jan   ap   mande   tèt   li   ki   achte
            who   Jan   ASP   wonder   REFL   him   KI   buy
            machin   nan?
            car   the
            'Who is Jan wondering whether he bought the car?'
     A: *Yes/No.
     A':   Michel.

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[8] Deprez (1992) only discusses the raising predicate *sanble* 'seem'. Since one of the speakers that we consulted prefers to use *genlè* 'seem' over *sanble*, we provide the data of both raising predicates.

[9] Some remarks on (29) are in order here. The *wh*-phrase can only take matrix scope, which is clear from the possible answer to the question in (29). In this respect, (29) is the same as (26). One subtle difference between the two questions is that (26) can be answered by "no one", but not (29). Thus, (29) is similar to the *wh*-cleft construction in which it is not a possible answer either. We have no account for this difference.

[10] The speaker who prefers to use *genlè* finds (30) degraded. Deprez (1992) reports that the sentence in (30) with *sanble* is grammatical.

(30) Kimoun   ki   sanble/genlè ki   te   vini   nan   fèt   la?
     who   KI   seem   KI   ANT   come   to   party the
     'Who seemed to come to the party?'

The question is why (29) and (30) are grammatical even if there is no resumptive pronoun *li*. It seems reasonable to suggest that *ki* functions as a resumptive pronoun in these cases. In fact, *li* is not allowed to appear in these cases, as shown in (31) and (32).

(31) *Kilès$_1$ Jan   ap   mande   tèt   li   ki   li$_1$ achte
      who   Jan   ASP   wonder   REFL   him   KI   he   buy
      machin   nan?
      car   the
      'Who$_1$ is Jan wondering whether he$_1$ bought a car?'

(32) *Kilès ki   sanble/genlè ki   li   te   vini?
      who KI   seem   KI   he   ANT   come
      'Who seemed to come?'

     We can subsume the cases above under one general statement: certain violations of grammatical principles are rescued by spelling out φ-features of the element that participates in the illegitimate dependency. In (26)-(28), this is achieved by the presence of the resumptive pronoun *li*. We argue that φ-features of the relevant element are also spelled out through the appearance of *ki,* since uφ on C^0 are checked off by interpretable φ-features of the subject and the values of its φ-features are inherited by C^0. Thus, *ki* can function as a resumptive pronoun.[11] The general statement above and this analysis of (29) and (30) are consequences of our specific analysis of *ki*.[12]

     In this section, we have shown that there are two strategies to rescue grammatical violations in Haitian Creole. One is to adopt a resumptive pronoun, like in other languages. The other resorts to *ki*. We have argued that the two strategies fall under one general statement that certain grammatical violations are salvaged by spelling out φ-features of the relevant element.

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[11] This analysis predicts that *ki* plays the same role as a resumptive pronoun in the subject, but not object *wh*-extraction. As shown in (i), this prediction is borne out.

(i) a.   Kisa   Jan   ap   mande   tèt   li   si   Michel   achte   *(li)?
          what   Jan   ASP   wonder REFL   him   if   Michel   buy   it

     b.   *Kisa Jan   ap   mande   tèt   li   ki   Michel   achte   *(li)?
          what   Jan   ASP   wonder REFL   him   KI   Michel   buy   it
          'What is Jan wondering whether Michel bought it?'

[12] We assume a non-movement dependency if the resumptive pronoun *li* is present. In (31) and (32), the *wh*-phrase does not originate in the embedded clause, and there is no agreement in the *wh*-feature between the embedded C^0 and *li*, which explains why *ki* cannot co-occur with *li*.

7.   Concluding Remarks

We have proposed the analysis of *ki*, which consists of several components. First, we have argued that C^0 involves *u*φ as well as *u*wh. The presence of *u*φ on C^0 receives empirical support from complementizer agreement. Second, it has been shown that *ki* is an overt realization of C^0. Based on these components, we have claimed that C^0 is spelled out as *ki* if all of the features on C^0 are checked off by a single *wh*-phrase. As a consequence of this analysis, we have shown that *ki* can function as a resumptive pronoun, which salvages violations of certain principles of grammar. We hope that our suggestion that the subject/object asymmetry in Haitian Creole is captured by the locality constraint on *Agree* will shed some light on other subject/object asymmetries, such as the *that*-trace effect in English and the *que*/*qui* alternation in French (see Perlmutter 1971 and Pesetsky 1982 for relevant discussion).

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