

I. Disjoint reference and WH-trace:

A. Crossover cases:

1. PIC: (a) Who did he say [\bar{S} e had won]
 (b) Who [\bar{S} e said [\bar{S} that he had won]]
 (c) [\bar{S} Who₂ [\bar{S} did he₍₁₎ say [\bar{S} [\bar{S} e_(2, {1}) had won]]]]
 (d) [\bar{S} He₍₁₎ said [\bar{S} that [\bar{S} John_(2, {1}) had won]]]
 (e) [\bar{S} Who₁ [\bar{S} e₍₁₎ said [\bar{S} that [\bar{S} he_(2, {1}) had won]]]]
2. SSC: (a) Who did he say [\bar{S} that Mary liked e]
 (b) Who [\bar{S} e said [\bar{S} that Mary liked him]]

B. COMP-to-NP movement violations:

1. PIC: (a) *Who decided had left?
 (b) [\bar{S} Who₁ [\bar{S} e₁ decided [\bar{S} e₁ [\bar{S} e₁ had left]]]]
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 (c) [\bar{S} Who₁ [\bar{S} e₍₁₎ decided [\bar{S} e₁ [\bar{S} e_(1, {1}) had left]]]]
2. SSC: (a) *Who decided (that) Mark liked?

II. Indexing:

- a WH-trace functions like a non-anaphoric (lexical) NP: it is assigned an Anaphoric index.
- a WH-trace functions like a non-pronominal NP: its Anaphoric index is not subject to reindexing via the SSC or the PIC.
- a WH-phrase in COMP (or a WH-trace in COMP) does not assign an Anaphoric index; otherwise,

a. Who left? \implies b. [\bar{S} who₁ [\bar{S} e_(1, {1}) left]]

4. Anaphoric indices are assigned after WH-interpretation.

a. Whose books did he read?

b. (which person x) [\bar{S} he₍₁₎ read [NP x's_(2, \{1\}) books]]

c. He₍₁₎ read [NP Bill's_(2, \{1\}) books]

III. Opacity (SSC + PIC):

1. the domain of Opacity is S, not \bar{S} .

a. *the men [\bar{S} who_i [\bar{S} each other_i like e_i]]

b. Opacity Condition: an anaphor cannot be free in the domain of
i) a tensed auxiliary (PIC), or ii) a subject (SSC).

c. *Himself left. / *John thought that himself had won.

d. *It frightened each other. / *They expect me to like each other.

2. The COMP escape hatch:

a. * [. . . [\bar{S} [COMP NP_i] [S_{α} . . . e_i . . .]] . . .]

where S_{α} is tensed or e_i is not the subject of S_{α} .

b. * [. . . [\bar{S} [COMP NP_i] . . . [\bar{S} [COMP e_i] [S e_i to VP]]] . . .]

IV. The NIC, Subjacency, and the Strict Cycle:

1. NIC: a nominative anaphor may not be free in \bar{S} (OB:(103))

2. a. * [\bar{S} who₁ [S did John know [\bar{S} what₂ [S e₁ saw e₂]]]] (* by NIC)

b. * [\bar{S} what₂ [S did John know [\bar{S} who₁ [S e₁ saw e₂]]]] (* by SSC)

3. *[that e] cannot be reduced to the NIC.

4. Subjacency is a condition on representations, not movement.

a. [\bar{S} who₁ [S did John know [\bar{S} what₂ [S e₁ saw e₂]]]]

b. [\bar{S} who₁ [S did John know [\bar{S} what₂ [S e₁ saw e₂]]]]