

1. *What did you read why. (cf. Why did you read what)
- 1a. [What₁] ₁ [did you read t₁ why] S structure
- 1b. [Why₂ what₁] ₁ [S did you read t₁ t₂] LF
_{COMP}
2. The trace of LF movement must be properly governed, either "lexically," or by "an antecedent."
3. *Who said John left why.
- 3a. [Why₂ who₁] ₁ [S₁ said [_{S COMP}] [John left t₂]]]
_{COMP}
OR
- 3b. [t₂]
4. There is no LF COMP to COMP movement (Aoun, Hornstein, Sportiche)
5. [Who₁ [t₁ knows [what₂ [John read t₂]]]]
_↑ _{LF}
6. Bill-wa [John-ga naze kuru tte] itta ndai?
-top S -nom why come COMP said Q
(Why did Bill say that John was coming t?)
7. [[Taroo-ga nani-o te-ni ireta] koto]-o sonnani okotteru ndai?
NP S -nom what-acc obtained fact-acc so much be angry Q
(What are you so angry about the fact that Taro obtained t?)
8. *[[Taroo-ga naze sore-o te-ni ireta] koto]-o sonnani okotteru ndai?
NP S why it-acc
(Why are you so angry about the fact that Taro obtained it?)
9. Maria myśli, że co Janek kupił?
Mary thinks that what John bought
(= What does Mary think that John bought?)
10. All traces, including those in COMP, must be properly governed
10'. An antecedent must not be "too far" from the trace it properly governs.
11. ? [Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga nani-o te-ni ireta a tte] itta] koto]-o sonnani
NP S -nom S -nom what-acc obtained COMP said fact-acc so much
okotteru ndai?
be angry Q
12. *[Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga naze sore-o te-ni ireta tte] itca] koto]-o
NP S S why it-acc
sonnani okotteru ndai?
(Why are you so angry about the fact that Hanako said that Taro obtained it?)

13. [[[[Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga t_1 soko-o te-no ireta] tte t_1] itta]]
 S S NP S S S S S S
 koto] -e sonnani okotteru] naze₁] ndai
 NP S S

14. A trace in COMP cannot be lexically governed.

15. ni xiang-zhidao [_ shei mai-le sheme]?

you wonder S who bought what

a. What is the thing x such that you wonder who bought x

b. Who is the person x such that you wonder what x bought

16. ni xiang-zhidao [Lisi weishame mai-le sheme]?

you wonder S why bought what

a. What is the thing x such that you wonder why Lisi bought x

b. *What is the reason x such that you wonder what Lisi bought for x

- 17a. [[sheme₁] [ni xiang-zhidao [[weishame₁] [Lisi le (INFL)
 S COMP₁ S S COMP₁ S
 [t_1 [mai t_1]]]]]]
 VP VP

- b. [[weishame₁] [ni xiang-zhidao [[(t_1) sheme₁] [Lisi le (INFL)
 S COMP₁ S S COMP₁ S
 [t_1 [mai t_1]]]]]]
 VP VP

18. At LF, a +WH COMP must have a +WH head

19. Spotkałeś się z mężczyzną, który kogo zabił?

(= You met the man who whom killed

20. Movement optionally leaves a trace

21. Who do you think (that) left

22a. [Who₁] [do you think [[t_1] [t_1 left]]]

b.*[Who₁] [do you think [[t_1] that] [t_1 left]]]

23. Who did you say (that) you think left

24a. [Who₁] [did you say [[t_1] [you think [[t_1] [t_1 left]]]]]

b. [Who₁] [did you say [[t_1] that] [you think [[t_1] [t_1 left]]]]]

Some Parameters

25. \pm syntactic move WH

26. If 25, then \pm syntactic COMP to COMP movement

27. A +WH Root COMP must have a +WH head at S structure

28. A -WH COMP must not have a +WH head at S structure
29. ? \pm LF COMP to COMP movement (perhaps linked to 26)

Some universals

30. LF move WH
31. At LF a +WH COMP must have a +WH head
32. A trace must be properly governed