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I. Disjoint reference and WH-trace:

A. Crossover cases:

1. SSC: (a) Who did he say $[_{\overline{S}}$ that Mary liked e]

       (b) Who $[_S$ e said $[_{\overline{S}}$ that Mary liked him]]

(c) $[_{\overline{S}}$ Who$_3$ $[_S$ did he$_1$ say $[_{\overline{S}}$ that $[_S$ Mary$_{(2,\{1\})}$ liked e$_{(3,\{1,2\})}$].]]]]

(d) He$_1$ said $[_{\overline{S}}$ that $[_S$ Mary$_{(2,\{1\})}$ liked Bill$_{(3,\{1,2\})}$]]

(e) $[_{\overline{S}}$ Who$_1$ $[_S$ e$_1$ said $[_{\overline{S}}$ that $[_S$ Mary$_{(2,\{1\})}$ liked him$_{(3,\{1,2\})}$]]]]

2. PIC: (a) Who did he say $[_{\overline{S}}$ e had won]

       (b) Who $[_S$ e said $[_{\overline{S}}$ that he had won]]

(c) $[_{\overline{S}}$ Who$_2$ $[_S$ did he$_1$ say $[_{\overline{S}}$ $[_S$ e$_{(2,\{1\})}$ had won]]]]

(d) He$_1$ said $[_{\overline{S}}$ that $[_S$ John$_{(2,\{1\})}$ had won]]

(e) $[_{\overline{S}}$ Who$_1$ $[_S$ e$_1$ said $[_{\overline{S}}$ that $[_S$ he$_{(2,\{1\})}$ had won]]]]

B. COMP-to-NP movement violations:

1. SSC: (a) *Who decided (that) Mary liked?

(b) $[_{\overline{S}}$ Who$_2$ $[_S$ e$_2$ decided $[_{\overline{S}}$ e$_2$ (that) $[_S$ Mary$_1$ liked e$_2$]]]]

       III   *II   I

(c) $[_{\overline{S}}$ Who$_2$ $[_S$ e$_2$ decided $[_{\overline{S}}$ e$_2$ (that) $[_S$ Mary$_{(1,\{2\})}$ liked e$_{(2,\{2,1\})}$]]]]

2. PIC: (a) *Who decided had left?

(b) $[_{\overline{S}}$ Who$_1$ $[_S$ e$_1$ decided $[_{\overline{S}}$ e$_1$ $[_S$ e$_1$ had left]]]]

       III   *II   I

(c) $[_{\overline{S}}$ Who$_1$ $[_S$ e$_1$ decided $[_{\overline{S}}$ e$_1$ $[_S$ e$_{(1,\{1\})}$ had left]]]]

II. Indexing:

1. a WH-trace is treated like a non-anaphoric (lexical) NP—i.e., it can be assigned an Anaphoric index.

2. a WH-trace is treated like a non-pronominal NP—i.e., its Anaphoric index is not subject to the SSC or the PIC.

3. a WH-phrase or its trace in COMP does not assign an Anaphoric index.

   a. Who left?   b. $[_{\bar{S}}$ who$_1$ $[_S$ $e_{(1,\{1\})}$ left $]$ $]$

4. Anaphoric indices are assigned after WH-Interpretation.

   a. Whose books did Bill read?

   b. (which person x) $[_S$ Bill$_1$ read $[_{NP}$ x's$_{(3,\{1\})}$ books $]$ $]$

   c. He$_1$ read $[_{NP}$ Bill's$_{(3,\{1\})}$ books $]$

III. Opacity (SSC + PIC):
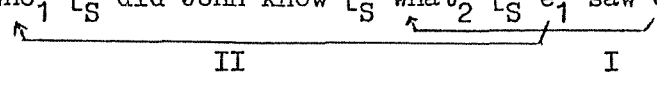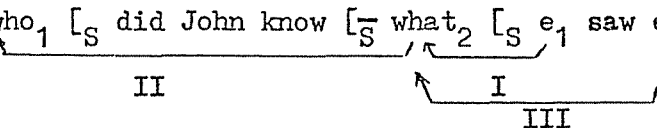
1. the domain of Opacity is S, not $\bar{S}$.

   a. *the men $[_{\bar{S}}$ who$_i$ $[_S$ each other$_i$ like e_i $]$ $]$

   b. S $\longrightarrow$ NP Tense VP

   c. Opacity condition: an anaphor cannot be free in the domain of

   $\qquad\qquad$ i. Tense (PIC)

   $\qquad$ or ii. Subject (SSC).

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

   e. *It frightened herself. / *Mary expects Bill to like herself.

2. The COMP escape hatch:

   a. *. . . $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_{COMP}$ NP$_i$ $]$ $[_{S_\alpha}$ . . . e_i . . . $]$ $]$ . . .

   $\qquad$ 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 $]$ $[_{S_\alpha}$ e_i to VP $]$ $]$ $]$ . . .

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

1. NIC: a nominative anaphor may not be free in $\bar{S}$.

2.   (a)   *$[_{\bar{S}}$ Who$_1$ $[_S$ did John know $[_{\bar{S}}$ what$_2$ $[_S$ e$_1$ saw e$_2$]]]]   (*NIC)

    (b)   *$[_{\bar{S}}$ What$_2$ $[_S$ did John know $[_{\bar{S}}$ who$_1$ $[_S$ e$_1$ saw e$_2$]]]]   (*SSC)

    (c)   *$[_{\bar{S}}$ What$_2$ $[_S$ did John wonder $[_{\bar{S}}$ who$_1$ $[_S$ Bill gave e$_1$ e$_2$]]]]

    (d)   *$[_{\bar{S}}$ who$_1$ $[_S$ did John wonder $[_{\bar{S}}$ what$_2$ $[_S$ Bill gave e$_1$ e$_2$]]]]

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

    (a) $[_{\bar{S}}$ who$_1$ $[_S$ did John know $[_{\bar{S}}$ what$_2$ $[_S$ e$_1$ saw e$_2$]]]]

                         II   I

    (b) $[_{\bar{S}}$ who$_1$ $[_S$ did John know $[_{\bar{S}}$ what$_2$ $[_S$ e$_1$ saw e$_2$]]]]

                         II   I

                                                 III

V. Case Analysis:

1. Traces must be marked for case:

    a. NP: *John$_i$ is believed $[_{\bar{S}}$ e$_i$ is intelligent] (*NIC)
                                     [Nom]

    b. WH:

       i. *$[_{\bar{S}}$ who$_i$ $[_S$ does it seem $[_{\bar{S}}$ e$_i$ $[_S$ e$_i$ to be here]]]]

      ii. The man $[_{\bar{S}}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{who}\\ \emptyset\end{array}\right\}$ $[_S$ it seems $[_{\bar{S}}$ e $[_S$ e is here]]]

     iii. *The man $[_{\bar{S}}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{who}\\ \emptyset\end{array}\right\}$ $[_S$ it seems $[_{\bar{S}}$ e $[_S$ e to be here]]]

    c. *N filter: *N, where N = lexical N or WH-trace and N is not
                              marked for case.

2. *N filter applies after Deletion:

    a. my desire to leave

    b. my desire $[_{\bar{S}}$ for $[_S$ self to leave]]

    c. *my desire $[_{\bar{S}}$ $[_S$ John to leave]]   vs. my desire for John to leave

    d. *my desire $[_{\bar{S}}$ for $[_S$ $\emptyset$ to leave]]

3. The complementizer <u>for</u>: case assignment and deletion

    a. *$[_{\bar{S}}$ who $[_S$ is it illegal $[_{\bar{S}}$ $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{for}\\ \emptyset\end{array}\right\}$ $[_S$ e to take part]]]]

b. John wants very much $[_{\bar{S}} \left\{ {for \atop *\emptyset} \right\} [_S$ Mary to win $]$ $]$

c. John wants $[_{\bar{S}} \emptyset [_S$ Mary to win $]$ $]$

d. Who do you want very much $[_{\bar{S}} e \; \emptyset [_S e$ to win $]$ $]$

   Who do you believe sincerely $[_{\bar{S}} e [_S e$ to be the best man $]$ $]$

   (cf. *I believe sincerely John to be the best man.)

4. Case assignment and the organization of the grammar:

   a. Case assignment precedes deletion:

      i. requires a proviso that if _for_ assigns case, it cannot delete.
      ii. case can be assigned across a complementizer.

   b. Case assignment follows deletion: (i-ii) follow as consequences.

   It follows from (b) that the NIC cannot be the correct 'tensed-S' condition.

VI. Markedness:

1. What is marked:

   a. under V.4.a:　　*John wants very much Mary to win.

   　　　　　　　　　　*We believe sincerely John to be the best man.

   b. under V.4.b:　　Who do you want very much to win?

   　　　　　　　　　　Who do you believe sincerely to be the best man?

2. 'complex' NP:

   a. The men$_i$ expect $[_{\bar{S}}$ that $[_S [_{NP}$ pictures of $[_{NP_i} \left\{ {themselves \atop each\ other} \right\}]$ $]$

      will be on sale by Friday $]$ $]$

   b. The men$_1$ expect $[_S$ that $[_S [_{NP}$ pictures of them$_3$ $]$ will arrive soon.$]$ $]$

   c. John wrote a book about him.

      John sent a picture of him to Mary.

   d. $\left[{\alpha BA \atop \alpha DR} \right]$　　where the antecedent NP c-commands the 'anaphoric expression'.

   e. *Pictures of $\left\{ {themselves \atop each\ other} \right\}$ will be on sale tomorrow.