1. *What did you read why.* (cf. Why did you read what)

1a. [Why$_1$]$_1$ [did you read t$_1$ why] S structure

1b. [ Why$_2$ who$_1$$_1$ ]$_1$ [s did you read t$_1$ t$_2$ ] LF

2. The trace of LF movement must be properly governed, either "lexically," or by an antecedent.


3a. [ Why$_2$ who$_1$$_1$ ] [st$_1$ said [] [ ] [ John left t$_2$ ]]]

3b. ...... [ t$_2$ ] ......

4. There is no LF COMP to COMP movement (Aoun, Hornstein, Sportiche)

5. [ Who$_1$ [t$_1$ knows [what$_2$ [John read t$_2$ ]]]]


   top S nom why come COMP said Q

(Why did Bill say that John was coming t?)

7. [ [ Taro-ga nani-o te-ni ireta] koto]$_1$-o sommani okottaru 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. *[ [ Taro-ga naze sore-o te-ni ireta] koto]$_1$-o sommani okottaru ndai?

   NP S why it-acc

(*Why are you so angry about the fact that Taro obtained it t?)

9. Maria myšli, že co Janek kupíš?

   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.


   NP S nom S nom what-acc obtained COMP said fact-acc so much

   okottaru ndai?

   be angry Q


   NP S S why it-acc

   sommani okottaru ndai?

(*Why are you so angry about the fact that Hanako said that Taro obtained it t?)
13. [[ Hanako-ga Taroco-ga te-te no ireta] tte t1 irita] \\
   S S NP S S S S \\
   koto] -o somnami okotteru] name1] nde1 \\
   NP S 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 weisheme 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 [ [ ] weishemej] [ Lisi le (INFL) 
   S COMPj S COMPj S 

b. [ [ ] weishemej] [ ni xiang-zhidao [ [ ] (t_j) sheme1] [ Lisi le (INFL) 
   S COMPj S COMPj S 

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

19. Spotkałeś się z kimś, który kogo zabij? 
   (= 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. * syntactic move WH

26. If 25, then * 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. \textit{?} \textit{LF COMP to COMP movement} (perhaps linked to 26)

\underline{Some universals}

30. LF move WH

31. At LF a +WH COMP must have a +WH head

32. A trace must be properly governed