

A mini-argument for covert *wh*-movement in English multiple questions

(1) **Overt *wh*-movement creates new Principle A possibilities**

- a. Mary knows which picture of herself John is looking at _
- b. *Mary knows that John is looking at a picture of herself

(2) **Looks like covert *wh*-movement does not...**

- *Mary knows which man was looking at which picture of herself

(3) **...but perhaps covert Bulgarian-style "tucking-in" causes the higher *wh*-phrase to count as an intervening subject for Principle A...**

Mary knows [which man]_i [which picture of herself]_{j-i} was looking at __j

(4) **...as Bulgarian suggests:**

- a. ***Meri**_i znae [koje momče]_j [koja **svoja**_i snimka]_k kupi _{-j -k} (Roumyana Pancheva, p.c.)

Mary_i knows [which boy]_j [which **refl**_i picture]_k bought _{-j -k}

‘Mary knows which boy bought which picture of himself/*herself’

- b. ?**Meri**_i znae [koj **svoj**_i brat]_j [koja snimka]_k kupi _{-j -k}

Mary_i knows [which **refl**_i brother]_j [which picture]_k bought _{-j -k}

‘Mary knows which of her(self’s) brothers bought which book’

(5) **English!**

- a. **Which boy**_i thinks that Mary was looking at *which picture of himself*_i?
- b. *Which boy thinks that Mary was looking at a picture of himself?

(6) **Successive-cyclic covert movement?**

- a. *Which boy* thinks **Mary**_j wants him to buy *which picture of herself*_j?
- b. *Which boy thinks Mary wants him to buy a picture of herself?