Applicative II: Double Object Construction


QR: any quantifier seems to take scope over any other quantifier in the same clause.

(1) a. A (different) student read every article.
   b. Jill saw a different boy in each house.

Double object construction is different (Larson 1988, 1990; Aoun and Li 1989, 1993; Marantz 1993)

(2) a. I gave a child each doll. a > each, *each > a
   b. I gave a doll to each child. a > each, each > a

Same phenomenon with spray-load (Larson 1990)

(3) a. Maud draped a (different) sheet over every armchair. every > a
   b. Maud draped a (#different) armchair with every sheet. *every > a

There is a failure of the second quantifier in the DOC (?a) and with the construction in ?b to be able to move above the higher quantifier.

pair list

(4) a. Which sheet did he drape t over every armchair? P-L OK
   b. Which book did you give t to every student? P-L OK

(5) a. Which armchair did he drape t with every sheet? *P-L
   b. Which wall did he spray t with every color of paint? *P-L

bound variables

(6) a. Robert sent a student who'd taken her1 course to every professor1. every > a (WCO?)
   b. *Mona sent a professor who'd reviewed it1 every book1. *every > a

(7) a. Maud draped a sheet that matched its1 color over every armchair1. every > a
   b. *Maud draped an armchair that matched its1 color with every sheet1. *every > a

parallel judgement with pair list

(8) a. Which book by his1 professor did you give to every student1? P-L OK
   b. *Which student of its1 philosophy did you send every book1? *P-L

(9) a. Which sheet matching its1 color did he drape over every armchair1? P-L OK
b. * Which armchair that matched its\textsubscript{1} color did he drape with every sheet\textsubscript{1}? *P-L

Antecedent-contained deletion: a puzzle

(10) Ozzy gave someone everything that Belinda did [VP Δ]
    (i) scope freezing: someone > every, *every > someone
    (ii) **BUT OK as ACD**


(11) a. Nigel likes to perform in every city that David does [VP Δ].
    b. Nigel likes to perform in every city that David does [VP likes to perform in every city that David does...]]
    c. [every city that David does [VP Δ]]\textsubscript{x} [Nigel [VP likes to perform in x]]

Bruening’s solution: the two quantifiers of DOC **move despite scope freezing**.

The QP in the second object position is not absolutely frozen in scope

scope over subject

(12) a. A (different) teacher gave me every book. every > a
    b. At least two judges awarded me every medal. every > at least two

(13) At least two children smeared that board with each color of paint. ?each > at least two

bound variable

(14) ?Someone from its\textsubscript{1} place of origin gave me each ancient urn\textsubscript{1} in my collection.