Applicative II: Double Object Construction

Bruening, Benjamin. 2001. QR Obeys superiority: Frozen scope and ACD. *LI* 32: 233-273.

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 drafe *t* over every armchair?   P-L OK
     b.   Which book did you give *t* to every student?   P-L OK

(5) a.   Which armchiar 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 her$_1$ course to every professor$_1$.   every > a (WCO?)
     b. *Mona sent a professor who'd reviewed it$_1$ every book[1].   *every > a

(7) a.   Maud draped a sheet that matched its$_1$ color over every armchair$_1$.   every > a
     b. *Maud draped an armchair that matched its$_1$ color with every sheet$_1$. *every > a

parallel judgement with *pair list*
(8) a.   Which book by his$_1$ professor did you give to every student$_1$? P-L OK
     b. *Which student ot its$_1$ philosophy did you send every book$_1$? *P-L

(9) a.   Which sheet matching its$_1$ color did he drape over every armchair$_1$? P-L OK

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b. * Which armchair that matched its$_1$ color did he drape with every sheet$_1$? *P-L

Antecedent-contained deletion: a puzzle
(10) Ozzy gave someone everything that Belinda did [$_{VP}$]
   (i) scope freezing: someone > every, *every > someone
   (ii) **BUT OK as ACD**

ACD resolution (Sag 1976, May 1985, Larson and May 1990, Fiengo and May 1994)
(11) a. Nigel likes to perform in every city that David does [$_{VP}$].
     b. Nigel likes to perform in every city that David does [$_{VP}$ 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 [$_{VP}$]]$_x$ [Nigel [$_{VP}$ likes to peform 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$_1$ place of origin gave me each ancient urn$_1$ in my collection.