

Two Conjectures About Scope and LF  
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I. Superiority

1. Who read what
2. [what<sub>i</sub> [who<sub>j</sub>]], [t<sub>i</sub> read t<sub>j</sub>]
3. \*What did who read
4. [who<sub>i</sub> [what<sub>j</sub>]], [t<sub>i</sub> read t<sub>j</sub>]
5. Who<sub>i</sub> did you tell t<sub>i</sub> to read what<sub>j</sub>
6. ?\*What<sub>i</sub> did you tell who<sub>j</sub> to read
7. Path of t<sub>i</sub> in 2.:{S,S'}
- Path of t<sub>j</sub> in 2.:{VP,S,S',NP<sub>i</sub>}
8. Path of t<sub>i</sub> in 4.:{S,S',NP<sub>j</sub>}
- Path of t<sub>j</sub> in 4.:{VP,S,S'}
9. Path of t<sub>i</sub> in LF of 5.:{VP,S,S'}
- Path of t<sub>j</sub> in LF of 5.:{VP,S,S',VP,S,S',NP<sub>i</sub>}
10. Path of t<sub>i</sub> in LF of 6.:{VP,S,S',NP<sub>j</sub>}
- Path of t<sub>j</sub> in LF of 6.:{VP,S,S',VP,S,S'}
11. \*John wonders what who read
12. (\*)Who wonders what who read
  - a. \*[who<sub>i</sub>] [t<sub>i</sub> wonders [[who<sub>k</sub> [what<sub>j</sub>]], [t<sub>k</sub> read t<sub>j</sub>]]]
  - b. ?[who<sub>k</sub> [who<sub>i</sub>]], [t<sub>i</sub> wonders [[what<sub>j</sub>] [t<sub>k</sub> read t<sub>j</sub>]]]
  - c. ?Who thinks (that) who read the book
13. Path of t<sub>k</sub> in 12b.:{S,S',VP,S,S',NP<sub>i</sub>}
- Path of t<sub>j</sub> in 12b.:{VP,S,S'}
14. "No rule can involve X, Y in the structure  
...X...[...Z...WYV...].  
where the rule applies ambiguously to Z and Y and Z is  
superior to Y.
15. Superiority is relevant only when two WHs are 'competing'  
for the same LF position.
- 16a. A WH-phrase X in COMP is O(perator)-disjoint from another  
WH-phrase Y if assignment of the index of X to Y would  
result in the local A'-binding of Y by X. (S-structure)
- b. If two WH-phrases are O-disjoint, they cannot undergo  
absorption.
17. Who<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> wonders [what<sub>j</sub> [who<sub>k</sub> read t<sub>j</sub>]]]
18. Who<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> wonders [what<sub>j</sub> [you told who<sub>k</sub> [[PRO to read t<sub>k</sub>]]]]]

## II. WH - Quantifier Interactions

19. %What did everyone buy for Mary  
19a. (Together) they bought her a car  
    b. John bought her a book, Bill bought her a magazine, etc.
20. Who bought everything for Mary  
20a. John did  
    b.\*John bought her a book, Bill bought her a magazine, etc.
21. Who did everything fall on
22. Who saw everyone
23. [who<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> saw everyone]  
    \*<sub>y</sub>
24. [who<sub>i</sub>] [everyone<sub>j</sub> [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> saw t<sub>j</sub>]]  
    \*<sub>y</sub>
25. Path of t<sub>i</sub> in 24.: {S, S, S' }  
    Path of t<sub>j</sub> in 24.: {VP, S, S }
26. [who<sub>i</sub>] [t<sub>i</sub> [everyone<sub>j</sub> [saw t<sub>j</sub>]]]
27. Path of t<sub>i</sub> in 26.: {S, S' }  
    Path of t<sub>j</sub> in 26.: {VP, VP }
28. [what<sub>i</sub>] [[everyone<sub>j</sub>] [t<sub>i</sub> bought t<sub>j</sub>]]]
29. Path of t<sub>i</sub> in 28.: {VP, S, S, S' }  
    Path of t<sub>j</sub> in 28.: {S, S }
30. What did everyone<sub>i</sub> buy for Mary with his<sub>i</sub> bonus money
31. What did everyone buy for Mary with their bonus money
32. Who gave everyone<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> paycheck
- 33a. What did everyone give to his teacher  
    b. What did everyone give to their teacher
34. If Op<sub>1</sub> takes scope over Op<sub>2</sub> then t<sub>2</sub> does not c-command t<sub>1</sub>.
35. QR adjoins a quantifier to a minimal node so as to satisfy 34.
36. %What do you think everyone bought for Mary
37. Someone thinks everyone left
38. ?%Someone loves everyone
39. Some woman loves everyone