

Architectural consequences of distinguishing two kinds of Superiority

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It is well-known that Bulgarian multiple WH-movement constructions show strong word order restrictions, whereas Serbian/Croatian equivalents do not, as shown in (1)-(2):

- 1) a. **Koj kogo** vižda? b. ***Kogo koj** vižda? (Bulgarian)
who_{NOM} whom_{ACC} sees whom_{ACC} who_{NOM} sees
“Who sees whom?” *”Whom does who see?”
SUBJ_{wh} > OBJ_{wh} *OBJ_{wh} > SUBJ_{wh}
- 2) a. **Ko koga** vidi? b. **Koga ko** vidi? (SC)
who_{NOM} whom_{ACC} sees whom_{ACC} who_{NOM} sees
“Who sees whom?” “Whom does who see?”
SUBJ_{wh} > OBJ_{wh} OBJ_{wh} > SUBJ_{wh}

Traditional accounts (Rudin 1988, Richards 1997, Bošković 1997, 2002, Stepanov 1998, Stepanov & Stateva 2009 a.o.) share the following claims:

- (i) that the effect in (1)b is a form of Superiority, similar to English (3)b
- (ii) that (1)b and (3)b should be accounted for in the same way
- (iii) that Superiority is in some sense parameterized (hence the acceptability of (2)b)

- 3) a. **Who** said **what**? SUBJ_{wh} > OBJ_{wh}
b. ***What** did **who** say? *OBJ_{wh} > SUBJ_{wh}

In the first part of this talk, I argue that although conclusion (i) is in some sense true, claims (ii) and (iii) are problematic, both technically and conceptually, and must be dispensed with. I offer an alternative architecture of multiple overt movement that provides an account of (1)b fully consistent with Bare Phrase Structure (that is, allowing only bottom-up, cyclic derivations, without Tucking-in). In the second part of the talk, I discuss two important consequences of the system: (a) that claim (iii) must be false, and we need a different understanding of Serbo-Croatian type languages, and (b) that Superiority accounts of Scope-Freezing phenomena such as (4) (Bruening 2001) cannot be correct, but that there are independently motivated alternative accounts of Scope Freezing that are both empirically and conceptually superior.

- 4) a. The teacher assigned an exercise to every student. (PC) (a > every), (every > a)
b. The teacher assigned a student every exercise. (DOC) (a > every), *(every > a)

References:

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Stepanov, Artur & Penka Stateva 2009 ‘When QR Disobeys Superiority’, *Linguistic Inquiry* 40