

NYU Semantics Group 10/16/25

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Title: Weak Crossover, Competition, and Intervention (Itai Bassi, Uli Sauerland, Tue Trinh)

Abstract: The famous Weak Crossover (WCO) constraint is exemplified in (1): a pronoun cannot be bound by a wh-moved element if the base position is not c-commanded by (or, in other theories, to the right of) the pronoun.

(1) \*Which boy<sub>1</sub> will his<sub>1</sub> mother scold t<sub>1</sub>?

In this work we offer a solution to a 30+ year-old puzzle due to Postal (1993): WCO effects disappear when focus-sensitive operators (*only, even*) are added as in (2).

(2) (After Postal 1993)

- a. Which boy<sub>1</sub> will only his<sub>1</sub> MOTHER scold t<sub>1</sub>?
- b. Which boy<sub>1</sub> will even his<sub>1</sub> MOTHER scold t<sub>1</sub>?

Our account of (2) is inspired by a (largely forgotten) approach to (W)CO by Ruys (1994), according to which (W)CO effects are blamed on an Economy principle "Shortest Move" which seeks to minimize structural distance between binders and bindees. On that approach, (1) is out because it loses to a competitor with shorter move dependencies: *Which boy<sub>1</sub>'s mother scolded him<sub>1</sub>?*

We will argue that (2) is good because the parallel competitor is independently ill-formed, due to a configuration of Focus Intervention (Li & Law 1016, a.o.), so nothing blocks (2). We will present a number of predictions that our theory makes and will attempt to corroborate them. We will discuss to what extent the Economy principle behind WCO effects, if on the right track, can be unified with other similar-looking economy principles.

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