

4.

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(Only) Some crossover effects repaired

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Postal (1993: 549) observes that a properly placed *even*, *only*, or *own* can nullify weak crossover effects. He provides the data in (1) (his (32)).

- (1) a. *the lawyer₁ who₁ his₁ clients hate t₁
b. the lawyer₁ who₁ even his₁ clients hate t₁
c. the lawyer₁ who₁ only his₁ older clients hate t₁
d. the lawyer₁ who₁ his₁ own clients hate t₁

Call *even*, *only*, and *own* repair particles, and the effect they have of broadening the coreference possibilities in cases like (1b-d) the repair phenomenon. Importantly, although the repair particles are also focus particles, the repair phenomenon cannot be equated with focus: focusing either *clients* or *his* in (1a), in an attempt to reproduce the readings in (1b-d), is not sufficient to repair the crossover violation.

It seems not to have been previously observed that repair particles can also remove the secondary strong crossover effect, exemplified in (2a); see (2b-c).

- (2) a. *the artist₁ [whose₁ work]₂ {she₁ / SHE₁} {appreciates / criticizes} t₂.
b. the artist₁ [whose₁ work]₂ only she₁ appreciates t₂.
c. the artist₁ [whose₁ work]₂ even she₁ criticizes t₂.

In (2a,b), *only* and *even* have the natural effect of focusing their crossed pronouns. But a comparable focus on *she* in (2a) does not affect the status of the sentence, as indicated.

In addition to *only* and *even*, a well-placed emphatic reflexive can repair the secondary strong crossover effect:

- (3) a. the artist₁ [whose₁ work]₂ she₁ herself has criticized t₂.
b. the artist₁ [whose₁ work]₂ she₁ has herself criticized t₂.

Emphatic reflexives are not weak crossover repair particles because they can't associate with genitive pronouns: e.g., **her₁ herself('s) work*, **her₁ work herself*. Similarly, the repair particle *own*, seen in action again weak crossover in (1d), isn't a possible secondary strong crossover effect repairer because it is lexically restricted from modifying non-genitive pronouns.

Despite their muscle in the above cases, the repair particles are powerless against the strong crossover effect, (4a), as seen in (4b,c).

- (4) a. *the artist₁ who₁ (you reported that) she₁ has criticized t₁
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- b. *the artist_{t1} who₁ (you reported that) only she₁ (herself) has criticized t₁
- c. *the artist_{t1} who₁ (you reported that) even she₁ has (herself) has criticized t₁

Although (4b,c) might constitute slight improvements over (4a), the sentences remain ungrammatical. A slight easing of the strong crossover effect is not surprising, given these particles' dramatic effects in the configurations of (1) - (3).

Postal (1993: §4) discusses cases of apparent weak crossover like (5), in which the crossed pronoun is not a genitive, but is embedded inside a DP (though not embedded in a clausal complement to that DP).

- (5) *the artist_{t1} who₁ you said that criticism of her₁ would upset t₁

Such cases seem not to be repairable using the above strategies, but testing this is tricky, since for some speakers the repair particles cannot appear adjacent to the relevant pronoun. But they can appear outside the larger nominal in which the pronoun is embedded, with focus on the pronoun. Sadly, though, such focusing doesn't help the situation; see (6).

- (6) a. *the artist_{t1} who₁ (you reported that) only criticism of HER₁ would upset t₁
- b. *the artist_{t1} who₁ (you reported that) even criticism of HER₁ would fail to bother t₁

Even speakers who allow the repair particles to get in next to the "crossed" pronoun do not report a repair in this configuration:

- (7) a. *the artist_{t1} who₁ you said that criticism of only him₁ would upset t₁
- b. *the artist_{t1} who₁ you said that criticism of even him₁ would fail to bother t₁

A restriction blocking emphatic reflexives and *own* from associating with accusative pronouns means that these repair particles are non-starters in cases like (5) - (7).

The behavior of the repair particles is somewhat surprising, given the usual crossover nomenclature. With respect to this phenomenon, weak crossover and secondary strong crossover pattern together in being repairable, whereas strong crossover and the variety of weak crossover in (5) - (7) are alike in their resistance to repair. Although the weak/strong division is usually made on the basis of the embeddedness of the crossed pronoun, the repair particles seem to be insensitive to this distinction.

References

Postal, P. (1993). "Remarks on Weak Crossover", *Linguistic Inquiry* 24: 539-556.