Syntactic variables and crossover (joint work with Zahra Mirrazi)

We argue that when two syntactic variables are "related" and stand in a c-command relationship at LF, a ¾-pattern emerges: free/free, bound/bound, bound/free, and *free/bound. Several otherwise-disparate puzzles will be shown to fall under this pattern: Dahl's Puzzle, SCO effects, the Nested DP Constraint, exceptional de dicto, de re blocking, and certain restrictions on fake indexicals. We propose that these phenomena are uniformly derived in terms of a crossover constraint: (roughly) a variable may not be bound across a related free variable (building on work in Drummond 2014). The variables may be over either individuals or situations. The notion of "related", we define in terms of overlap in value, an extension of Reinhart's (2006) covaluation. The picture to emerge is one in which the grammar utilizes individual and situation variables, both of which are subject to the same binding-theoretic constraints.