

The Participant Pronoun Restriction: English and Vietnamese

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The Participant Pronoun Restriction (PPR)

The Participant Pronoun Restriction (PPR): Speakers and hearers must be referred to by pronouns.

- (1) [Mary to Sue] I want you to live here.
- (2) [Mary to Sue] #Mary wants Sue to live here.

(2) cannot be said instead of (1).

See e.g. (Reinhart 1983b).

Rule I

Pronouns can be bound:

(3) everyone said **he** would live here.

- (4) a. X said that X would live here
b. Y said that Y would live here.
c. Z said that Z would like here.

(5) everyone λ_x said **he_x** would live here.

Rule I

Names cannot be bound:

(6) everyone said **John** would live here.

- (7) a. X said that John would live here
b. Y said that John would live here.
c. Z said that John would like here.

Rule I

Pronouns and names differ in another way, too:

- (8) Mary says that she would live here.
- (9) *Mary says that Mary would live here.

Condition C: R-expressions (names and nouns with articles) must not be c-commanded by a coreferent expression (must not be bound).

Chomsky, Noam (1981). *Lectures on government and binding*. Foris, Dordrecht, 1981.

Rule I

Analysis of Condition C by Reinhart (1983a), Groszinski and Reinhart (1993):

- (8) Mary says that she would live here.
- (9) *Mary says that Mary would live here.

- (10) Mary λ_x said **she**_x would live here.

Rule I: For expressing the intended meaning,

- compare different expressions you could use in the same position (name, pronoun etc.)
- use binding if you can.

Reinhart, Tanya (1983a). Coreference and bound anaphora: a restatement of the anaphora questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 6:47–88.

Rule I

The relevance of c-command

(11) Everybody left. He was not happy.

* X left. X was not happy.

Y left. Y was not happy.

Z left. Z was not happy

(12) * Everybody λ_x left. **He_x** was not happy.

(13) Mary left. She was not happy.

(14) Mary left. Mary was not happy.

- Binding requires a structural relation of c-command.
- A c-commands B iff all nodes C that dominate A also dominate B.

Rule I

Comparison only so long as the same meaning is expressed

(15) a. #John likes John's painting.

b. John likes his painting.

(16) a. *Only* John likes John's painting.

b. *Only* John likes his painting.

(17) Other people:

a. X does not like John's painting (16b)

b. X does not like X's painting (16c)

Rule I

Coreference: Reference to the same individual.

Binding: Illustrated as co-variance above. This requires pronouns (referentially dependent expressions) and it requires syntactic c-command.

Rule I: For expressing the intended meaning,

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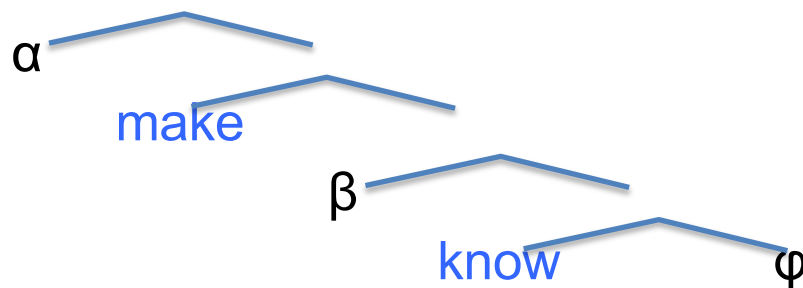
(2) cannot be said instead of (1).

See e.g. (Reinhart 1983b).

The Performative Hypothesis (PH)

Performative Hypothesis (PH):

Every declarative sentence φ is parsed as



(18) [Mary make Sue know] It is raining

Early suggestions: Bolinger (1968), Ross (1970)

More recent versions: Gunlogson 2003, Trinh & Crnic (2011), Krifka (2015, 2016, 2017), Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2017), Sode and Truckenbrodt (2018)

The Performative Hypothesis (PH)

(18) [Mary **make** Sue **know**] It is raining

Bolinger (1968) distribution of parentheticals, Spanish subjunctive

Ross (1970) English logophoric pronouns

...

Trinh & Crnic (2011) declarative questions

Krifka (2015, 2016, 2017) high negation in questions

Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2017) interaction with *wieder* 'again'

Sode and Truckenbrodt (2018) German root phenomena

Deriving PPR from Rule I

(19) [Mary to Sue] I want you to live here.”

(20) [Mary λ_x make Sue λ_y know] I_x want **you $_y$** to live here

(21) *[Mary to Sue] Mary wants Sue to live here.

(22) *[Mary $_1$ make Sue $_2$ know] Mary $_1$ want Sue $_2$ to live here

Rule I will now rule out (20), since the alternative structure with binding in (18) is available.

→ Given PH, PPR is derivable from Rule I

Vocatives

English vocatives

(23) [Mary to Sue]: # I want Sue to live here.

(24) Sue, I want you to live here.

(25) Sue, [Mary **make** Sue **know**] I want you to live here.

German third person cases

(26) Maria sagte, dass sie gleich zurückkomme.
Maria said that she soon return.SUBJ

Sie/Maria kauft nur einen Stift
she buy.IND only a pen
'I am telling you that she is only buying a pen.'

(27) Maria sagte, dass sie gleich zurückkomme.
Maria said that she soon return.SUBJ

Sie/*Maria kaufe nur einen Stift
she buy.SUBJ only a pen
'She said that she is only buying a pen.'

Vietnamese: PPR and Rule I are both not obeyed

In Vietnamese, speakers and hearers can be referred to by names or pronouns. In Vietnamese, $H\grave{a}n_1$ can say (28) to $L\grave{y}_2$

(28) $H\grave{a}n_1$ muốn $L\grave{y}_2$ sống ở đây
 $H\grave{a}n_1$ want $L\grave{y}_2$ live here

Thus (29) is possible in Vietnamese

(29) $H\grave{a}n_1$ make $L\grave{y}_2$ know [$H\grave{a}n_1$ want $L\grave{y}_2$ to live here]

At the same time, Rule I also does not apply:

(30) Linh rất yêu mẹ của Linh
 Linh very loves mother of Linh

Vietnamese names cannot be bound

Names cannot be bound in Vietnamese

(31) Mỗi Hièn yêu mẹ của Hièn
only Hièn love mother of Hièn

available reading:

Hièn loves Hièn's mother

X does not love Hièn's mother

Y does not love Hièn's mother etc.

unavailable reading:

Hièn loves Hièn's mother

X does not love X's mother

Y does not love Y's mother

Vietnamese names cannot be bound

Names cannot be bound in Vietnamese

(32) Hièn yêu mẹ của Hièn. Ly cũng thế.
 Hièn love mother of Hièn. Ly does too.

available reading:

Hièn loves Hièn's mother

Ly loves Hièn's mother

unavailable reading:

Hièn loves Hièn's mother

Ly loves Ly's mother.

First stab at the analysis of Vietnamese

- Both (33) and (34) are possible in Vietnamese

(33) Hièn λ_x love mother of **her**_x

(34) Hièn love mother of Hièn

- Rule I is parameterized
 - obligatory in English
 - optional in Vietnamese

Open issues

For 1st and 2nd person pronouns, there is a clear register distinction between using the pronouns and the names (Pham 2002).

(35)a. Tao sē mua cho mà̀y cái bút ấy
I FUT buy for you CL pen that

b. Mẹ sē mua cho Hièn cái bút ấy.
mother FUT buy for Hien CL pen that

According to Pham (2002):291, the pronouns in a. would be used among close friends, children of the same age, or, as in this example, in the family by elders towards younger people.

In b., the speaker uses the kinship term *mẹ* 'mother' for herself and the name *Hièn* for the daughter she is addressing. This would mostly occur in urban or educated families.

Open issues

For 1st and 2nd person pronouns, there is a strong register distinction between using the pronouns and the names (Pham 2002).

-> It is possible that Rule I is active, but that using 1st and 2nd person pronouns expresses something different (in the register dimension) than using names. It is possible that this is the reason that the pronouns do not block the names.

For 3rd person pronouns, the issue of a register distinction is more subtle and needs to be further explored.

For now, we consider it still an open issue whether Rule I is active (and its effects not visible because of register) or whether Rule I is turned off in Vietnamese.

Other remaining puzzles

(36) Hièn₁! Sách của mà₁ đây này!
Hièn book of you here

'Hièn! Here is your book!'

(37) Hièn₁! Sách của Hièn₁ đây này!
Hièn book of Hièn here

(38) Mà₁! Sách của mà₁ đây này!
You₁ book of you₁ here

(39) *Mà₁! Sách của Hièn₁ đây này!
You book of Hièn here

Other remaining puzzles

(40) *Tao₁ rất yêu mẹ của Hièn₁
I very love mother of Hièn
'I love my mother very much' (spoken by Hièn)

(41) *Hièn₁ rất yêu mẹ của tao₁
Hièn very love mother of me
'I love my mother very much' (spoken by Hièn)

Thank you for your attention!