

The Participant Pronoun Restriction: English and Vietnamese

Tue Trinh

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

&

Hubert Truckenbrodt

Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft Berlin

The 5th NAFOSTED Conference on Information and Computer Science

Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

November 23-24, 2018



Leibniz-Zentrum
Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

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. \mathbf{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,

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

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.

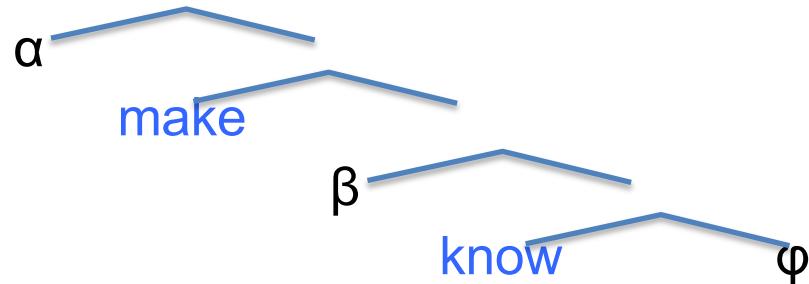
(2) cannot be said instead of (1).

See e.g. (Reinhart 1983b).

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) *[Mary₁ make Sue₂ know] Mary₁ want Sue₂ 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, Hiền₁ can say (28) to Ly₂

(28) Hiền₁ muốn Ly₂ sống ở đây
Hiền₁ want Ly₂ live here

Thus (29) is possible in Vietnamese

(29) Hiền₁ make Ly₂ know [Hiền₁ want Ly₂ 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 Hiền yêu mẹ của Hiền
 only Hiền love mother of Hiền

available reading:

Hiền loves Hiền's mother

X does not love Hiền's mother

Y does not love Hiền's mother etc.

unavailable reading:

Hiền 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) Hiền yêu mẹ của Hiền. Ly cũng thế.
 Hiền love mother of Hiền. Ly does too.

available reading:

Hiền loves Hiền's mother
Ly loves Hiền's mother

unavailable reading:

Hiền loves Hiền'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 mày cái bút áy
I FUT buy for you CL pen that

b. Mẹ sē mua cho Hiền cái bút áy.
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 *Hiền* 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 mày₁ 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) Mày₁! Sách của mày₁ đây này!

You₁ book of you₁ here

(39) *Mày₁! 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!