Linearity-Based Reference Restrictions in Hindi

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1 Introduction

- Binding Theory in its classical form (Chomsky 1981) operates on c-command relations. It has been suggested that linear precedence plays a role in conditioning coreference as well (e.g., Barss & Lasnik 1986, Jackendoff 1990), a purely c-command-based definition of binding principles (Larson 1988, 1990) has become widely accepted.

- In apparent contrast to this, Hindi exhibits disjoint reference effects not only with elements in c-commanding position (as in (1)) but, unlike English, also with positions that do not obviously c-command an R-expression ((2) and (3)).[1]

    (1) *vah_1 Rām-ko_1 pasand kartā hai
          he   Ram-ACC love   do   be.3SG
          'He$_1$ likes Ram$_1$.'

    (2) [us-kī_1 mā̃] $\text{Rām-ko}_{*1/2}$ pasand kartī hai
          he-GEN mother Ram-ACC   love   do   be.3SG
          'His$_1$ mother loves Ram$_{*1/2}$.'

    (3) Rām-ne [us-ke_1 baccõ-ko] $\text{sher}_{*1/2}$ dikhāyā
          Ram-ERG he-GEN children-DAT lion   show
          'Ram showed its$_1$ children a lion$_{*1/2}$.'

- Due to the lack of c-command in (2) and (3), neither Condition B nor C is violated. Nevertheless, coreference is out.

- **PROPOSAL**
  I will argue that there is indeed no c-command between the nominals in (2) and (3). I propose that the disjoint reference effects is stated on linear strings rather than hierarchical structures.

- **LOCALITY**
  Linearity-based reference effects are local, while Condition C effects are global. The locality will be implemented by cyclic linearization.

- **TERMINOLOGY**
  I will refer to the disjointness effects in (2) and (3) as EXTENDED DISJOINT REFERENCE (EDR) EFFECTS.

2 EDR effects are not Condition C effects

- A reasonable first stab is to try to reduce EDR effects to run-of-the-mill Condition C effects. We might assume that possessor DPs obligatorily move out of the DP they are base-generated in. From their landing site, they c-command the R-expression.

    (4) Possessor raising
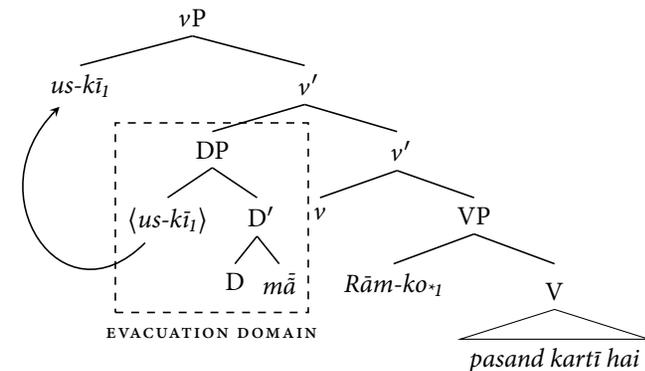
- This account gains credibility by the fact that possessors in Hindi are extremely mobile. They may easily be scrambled out of the DP containing them:

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[1] Judgements are due to Rajesh Bhatt (pers. comm.).

(5) **Mīnā-ke-to** Rām-ko [t sātõ bacce] pasand karte hãi
Mina-GEN-TOP Ram-DAT all.seven children love do be.3PL
'Ram likes all seven of Mina's children.'

(6) **Mīnā-ke-to$_1$** Rām-ko$_2$ [t_1 sāre dost] t_2 pasand karte hãi, lekin
Mina-GEN-TOP Ram-ACC all friends like do.IPFV are but
Vīnā-kī bāt alag hai
Vina-GEN talk different is
'All of Mina's friends like Ram, but it's a different matter with Vina.'

- There are two arguments against such an approach.

- **ARGUMENT 1**
While possessors can move freely, they disallow subextraction out of them. In structures with recursive possessors (e.g., (7)) the higher possessor may leave the DP it is generated in (see (7b)), the lower possessor may not (as in (7c)).

(7) a. bhārat sarkār-ne Monā-ko [[**Sītā-ke patī-kī**] **sampatti**]
Indian government-ERG Mona-DAT Sita-GEN husband-GEN property
dī hai
give.PFV.F be.3SG
'The Indian government gave Sita's husband's property to Mona.'
b. [**Sītā-ke patī-kī**] bhārat sarkār-ne Monā-ko [t **sampatti**]
Sita-GEN husband-GEN Indian government-ERG Mona-DAT property
dī hai
give.PFV.F be.3SG
'The Indian government gave Sita's husband's property to Mona.'
c. ***Sītā-ke** bhārat sarkār-ne Monā-ko [[t **patī-kī**] **sampatti**]
Sita-GEN Indian government-ERG Mona-DAT husband-GEN property
dī hai
give.PFV.F be.3SG
'The Indian government gave Sita's husband's property to Mona.'

- This creates a contradiction. If possessors have to obligatorily move out of the DP they are generated in, the lower possessor has to move out of the higher possessor. The latter, however, is an island, as depicted in (8).

(8) Recursive possession
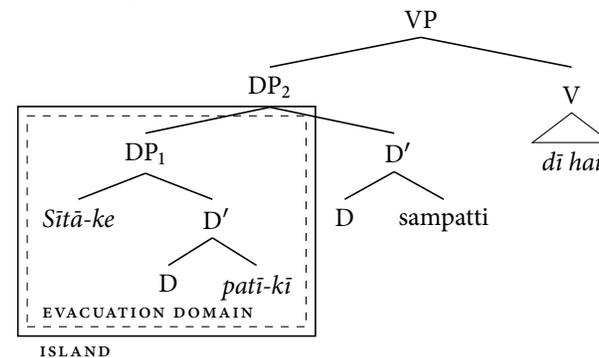
- Regardless of whether movement takes place or not, they structure should be ill-formed. This makes the prediction that recursive possession is not possible in Hindi. As seen in (7a), this is incorrect.

- **ARGUMENT 2**
As laid out in greater detail below, EDR effects disappear if the two expressions are separated by an island boundary. Condition C effects persist in this environment.

- We have established that possessors are islands. Because the R-expression in (9a) is embedded in a possessor, coreference is possible. No EDR effects here. In contrast, if the pronoun is itself the indirect object rather than being embedded in it, coreference is still out (see (9b)).

(9) a. mãi **us-ke$_1$** baccõ-ko [[**Rām-ke$_1$** bacpan-kī] tasvīrẽ] dikhānā
I he-GEN children-DAT Ram-GEN childhood-GEN pictures show.INF
cāhtā hũ
want be.1SG
'I want to show his$_1$ children pictures of Ram's$_1$ childhood.'
b. *mãi **us-ko$_1$** [[**Rām-ke$_1$** bacpan-kī] tasvīrẽ] dikhānā cāhtā hũ
I he-DAT Ram-GEN childhood-GEN pictures show.INF want be.1SG
'I want to show him$_1$ pictures of Ram's$_1$ childhood.'

- The ungrammaticality of (9b) is straightforwardly accounted for if *Rām* is subject to Condition C as it is c-commanded by the coreferent pronoun *us-ko*. If possessor DPs had to obligatorily move out of the DP containing them into a position c-commanding the direct object, (9a) should be on a par with (9b). However, it is not.

- The fact that there are environments where Condition C effects persist while EDR effects do not strongly suggest that the latter cannot be reduced to the former. The movement analysis is unable to accomodate this contrast.

- **Conclusion**
  Possessors do not obligatorily move out of the DP containing them. This entails that EDR effects cannot be reduced to Condition C effects. They do not operate on c-command relations.

- **Remark**
  The fact that deeper embedding of the lower elements makes coreference possible also rules out a treatment of EDR effects in terms of 'almost c-command' (Hornstein 1995: 108).

3 The role of linear precedence

- The ungrammaticality of (2), repeated here as (10a), may be avoided by either switching the positions of the pronoun and the R-expression (as in (10b)) or by moving the R-expression over the pronoun, as in (10c).

- The same is true of indirect and direct objects, see (11).

  (10) a. [**us-kī₁** mā̃] **Rām-ko**₊₁/₂ pasand kartī hai
          he-GEN mother Ram-ACC love do be.3SG
          'His₁ mother loves Ram₊₁/₂.'
      b. [**Rām-kī₁** mā̃] **us-ko**₁/₂ pasand kartī hai
          Ram-GEN mother he-ACC love do be.3SG
          'Ram's₁ mother loves him₁/₂.'
      c. **Rām-ko₁** [**us-kī**₁/₂ mā̃] *t* pasand kartī hai
          Ram-ACC he-GEN mother love do be.3SG
          'His₁ mother loves Ram₁/₂.'

  (11) a. Rām-ne [**us-ke₁** baccõ-ko] **sher**₊₁/₂ dikhāyā
          Ram-ERG he-GEN children-DAT lion show
          'Ram showed its₁ children a lion₊₁/₂.'
      b. Rām-ne **sher₁** [**us-ke₁** baccõ-ko] *t* dikhāyā
          Ram-ERG lion he-GEN children-DAT show
          'Ram showed a lion₁ to its₁ children.'

⇒ This means that EDR violations may be obviated by movement.

- Conversely, EDR violations may also be brought about by movement:

  (12) a. mãĩ-ne **Pratāp-ko₁** [**us-kī₁** kitāb] dī
          I-ERG Pratap-DAT he-GEN book gave
          'I gave Pratap₁ his₁ book.'
      b. *mãĩ-ne [**us-kī₁** kitāb] **Pratāp-ko₁** *t* dī
          I-ERG he-GEN book Pratap-DAT gave
          'I gave his₁ book to Pratap₁.'
      c. *[**us-kī₁** kitāb] mãĩ-ne **Pratāp-ko₁** *t* dī
          he-GEN book I-ERG Pratap-DAT gave
          'His₁ book, I gave to Pratap₁.'

- The contrasts in (10)–(12) indicate that only the surface position of two elements is relevant for EDR effects.

- I suggest that EDR effects are based on Linear Precedence.

- This captures the facts that (i) only the surface position of an element matters, (ii) c-command is not necessary.

- **Proposal**
  There is a well-formedness requirement on the output of linearization that prohibits clashes between precedence relations and the obviative hierarchy (13). The principle is formulated in (14).

  (13) **Obviative Hierarchy**
      R-expression ≫ pronoun ≫ anaphor   (e.g., Safir 2004a,b)

  (14) **Obviative Alignment**[2]
      Given a syntactic structure Σ, and constituents $x, y \in \Sigma$: If x and y are coindexed, then
      $$[x \gg y] \Rightarrow [x > y] \in \text{Lin}(\Sigma)$$

- (14) requires referential indices to be part of the linearized string, an assumption that is not commonly adapted.

- As will become important in the next section, obviative alignment is formulated over outputs of linearization rather than linear strings per se.

- If is furthermore important that structures are linearized by a specific algorithm and do not themselves contain linearization statements. Otherwise, movement would not be able to obviate EDR effects. This assumption is in line with much recent work (e.g., Chomsky 1995).

- I will follow Büring (2005) in assuming that the variable assignment function is a bijection: For indices m, n, $g(m) \neq g(n)$ if $m \neq n$. This rules out accidental coreference.

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[2] The symbol '>' refers to linear precedence; '≫' refers to relations in the obviative hierarchy (13).

- **Illustration**
  Obviative alignment (14) applied to (10a) yield (15a).

  (15) a. ⟨us-kī₁ > mɛ̃ > Rām-ko₁ > pasand > kartī > hai⟩

  b. (i) Rām-ko ≫ us-kī

     (ii) Rām-ko ≯ us-kī   ↝ *violates (14)*

- **Note**
  (14) requires elements that are ordered w.r.t. (13) to have a corresponding linearization. It does *not* demand coreferent elements that are linearly ordered to conform to (13). This is motivated by data like (16). Elements of the same type may corefer.

  (16) a. **us-kī₁**   bīwī hameshā **use₁**   ḍāṇṭṭī   rahtī   hai
         he-GEN wife always   he.ACC scold.IPFV stay.IPFV is
         'His₁ wife keeps scolding him₁.'

      b. **Rām-kī₁** bīwī hameshā **Rām-ko₁** ḍāṇṭṭī   rahtī   hai
         Ram-GEN wife always   Ram.ACC scold.IPFV stay.IPFV is
         'Ram's₁ wife keeps scolding Ram₁.'

4 Cyclic linearization and the locality of EDR effects

- Obviative alignment as set up in (14) predicts that every pronoun that precedes a coreferent R-expression in the linear string should lead to ungrammaticality.

- We have already seen that this is incorrect. Recall (9a), repeated below as (17), where the R-expression is embedded inside an island and coreference is fine.

  (17) mɛ̃ [**us-ke₁** baccõ-ko]   [[**Rām-ke₁** bacpan-kī]   tasvīrē] dikhānā
       I   he-GEN children-DAT   Ram-GEN childhood-GEN pictures show.INF
       cāhtā hũ
       want be.1SG
       'I want to show his$_i$ children pictures of Ram's$_i$ childhood.'

- **Proposal**
  The option of coreference in (17) follows from Cyclic Linearization (Uriagereka 1999).

- As it turns out, coreference in (10a) is part of a larger pattern:

  (18) **Key Generalization**

      a. EDR effects between two nominals x and y such that $x \gg y$ and $x \ngtr y$ disappear if either x or y is properly contained in an island while the other is not.

      b. Condition C effects are not affected by this configuration.

- In what follows I will motivate (18) on the basis of three types of islands: possessives, clausal subjects, and gerunds.

4.1 Possessor islands

- We have already seen that possessors are islands. If the R-expression is contained inside a possessor, no EDR effects prevail.

- If the pronoun is contained in a possessor, EDR effects likewise do not show up:

  (19) [[**us-kī₁**   mã]   -kī   behen] **Rām-ko₁** pasand kartī hai
       he-GEN mother -GEN sister   Ram-ACC love   do   be.3SG
       'His₁ mother's sister likes Ram₁.'

  (20) Rām-ne [[**us-ke₁** baccõ-ke]   dostõ-ko]   **jallād₁**   dikhā-yā
       Ram-ERG he-GEN children-GEN friends-DAT hangman show-PFV.M.SG
       'Ram showed the hangman₁ to his₁ children's friends.'

- This generalization also holds for movement structures:

  (21) mɛ̃-ne [[**us-ke₁** doste-kī]   kitāb] **Rām-ko₁** t dī
       I-ERG   he-GEN friend-GEN book Ram-DAT   gave
       'I gave his₁ friend's book to Ram₁.'

  (22) [[**us-ke₁** patī]   -kī   sampatti] bhārat sarkār   **Mona-ko₁** t āj
       she-GEN husband -GEN property Indian government.F Mona-DAT   today
       lauṭā degī
       return give.FUT
       'The Indian government returned her₁ husband's property to Mona₁ today.'

- Condition C effects are not affected (cf. (9b)).

⇒ *Possessor islands conform to (18).*

4.2 Subject clause islands

- Subject clauses are islands for extraction, as shown in (23).

  (23) a. [phal khānā] sehat   ke-liye acchā hotā   hai
          fruit eat.INF health for   good be.IPFV be.3SG
          'Eating fruits is good for health.'   [Bhatt 2005: 765]

      b. [sehat   ke-liye]$_i$ [phal khānā] t_i acchā hotā   hai
          health for   fruit eat.INF   good be.IPFV be.3SG
          'Eating fruits is good for health.' [3]

c. *phal$_j$ [sehat ke-liye]$_i$ [t_j khānā] t_i acchā hotā hai
   fruit   health for   eat.INF   good be.IPFV be.3SG
   'Eating fruits is good for health.'

- If the preceding pronoun is embedded in a subject clause, coreference with a following R-expression is okay, as shown in (24) and (25).

(24) [Monā-kā **use**$_1$ sab-ke sāmne latāṛnā] **Rām-ko**$_1$ kataī pasand nahī̃
     Mona-GEN him all-GEN in.front scold.INF Ram-ACC at.all pleasing NEG
     hai
     be.3SG
     'Ram$_1$ doesn't like Mohan's scolding him$_1$ in front of everyone at all.'

(25) [**us-ke**$_1$ roz der-se   ghar āne]   -ne [**Rām-kī**$_1$ mã̄-ko]
     he-GEN daily delay-with home come.INF -ERG Ram-GEN mother-ACC
     pareshān kar rakhā hai
     upset   do keep be.3SG
     'His$_1$ daily coming home late has bothered Ram's$_1$ mother.'

- Likewise, if the R-expression is embedded inside a subject clause, coreference is somewhat marginal but possible:

(26) ?[**us-kī**$_1$ mã̄]   soctī hai   [ki [**Rām-kā**$_1$ yeh kitāb paṛhnā] acchī bāt
      he-GEN mother think be.3SG that Ram-GEN this book read.INF good thing
      hai]
      be.3SG
      'His$_1$ mother thinks that Ram's$_1$ reading this book is a good thing.'

- In contrast, if an R-expression contained inside a subject clause is coreferent with a *c-commanding* pronoun, coreference is categorically out. This suggests that Condition C effects are not affected by islands, unlike EDR effects.

(27) *vah$_1$ soctā hai   [ki [**Rām-kā**$_1$ yeh kitāb paṛhnā] acchī bāt   hai]
      he   think be.3SG that Ram-GEN this book read.INF good thing be.3SG
      'He$_1$ thinks that Ram's$_1$ reading this book is a good thing.'

⇒ *Subject clause islands conform to (18).*

4.3 Gerunds

- Infinitival clauses in Hindi come in two flavors: First, if they have a silent subject they are transparent for extraction in object position. Second, if they have a genitive

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subject they are opaque for extraction in all position. Bhatt (2005) calls the latter **gerunds**.

- The islandhood of gerunds is demonstrated in (28).

(28) **kaunsā kuttā**$_1$ us-ke$_{1/2}$ mālik-ne [(*Shabnam-kā) t_1 ghumānā] cāhā
     which dog   it-GEN owner-ERG   Shabnam-GEN   walk.INF wants
     'Which dog$_1$ did its$_{1/2}$ owner want Shabnam to walk?'

- If the R-expression is embedded in a gerund in object position, no reference restrictions exists as shown in (29).

(29) [**us-kī**$_1$ premikā-ko] [⊠Mīnā-kā⊠ **Atif-ko**$_1$ sab-ke sāmne chūmnā] bilkul
     he-GEN lover-DAT   Mina-GEN Atif-ACC all-GEN front.of kiss.INF at.all
     pasand nahī̃ hai
     like   NEG is
     'His lover doesn't like Mina's kissing Atif in front of everyone.'

- If the genitive subject is taken out, coreference becomes starkly ungrammatical. Without a genitive subject, infinitival clauses in object position also allow subextraction.

(30) *[**us-kī**$_1$ premikā-ko] [**Atif-ko**$_1$ sab-ke sāmne chūmnā] bilkul pasand nahī̃
      he-GEN lover-DAT   Atif-ACC all-GEN front.of kiss.INF at.all like   NEG
      hai
      is
      'His lover doesn't like kissing Atif in front of everyone.'

- As expected, if the R-expression is scrambled to a position preceding the pronoun, coreference becomes possible:

(31) **Atif-ko**$_1$ [**us-kī**$_1$ premikā-ko] [t_1 sab-ke sāmne chūmnā] bilkul pasand
     Atif-ACC he-GEN lover-DAT   all-GEN front.of kill.INF at.all like
     nahī̃ hai
     NEG is

- Condition C effects are not affected by gerunds. A minimal pair to (29) with a pronoun c-commanding the R-expression is ungrammatical under coreference.

(32) *use$_1$ [⊠Mīnā-kā⊠ **Atif-ko**$_1$ sab-ke sāmne chūmnā] bilkul pasand nahī̃ hai
      he.DAT Mina-GEN Atif-ACC all-GEN front.of kiss.INF at.all like   NEG is
      'He doesn't like Mina's kissing Atif in front of everyone.'

⇒ *Gerunds conform to (18).*

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[3] The string in (23c) is grammatical if *sehat ke-liye* is construed as part of the subject clause, yielding 'Eating fruits for health is good.'

- *What we have seen so far:*
  There is a correlation between the possibility of movement and EDR effects: Elements that are separated by an island boundary are not subject to EDR effects.

- I propose that this connection follows from the concept of **cyclic linearization** (Uriagereka 1999, Chomsky 2000, 2001, Stjepanović & Takahashi 2001, Johnson 2004, Fox & Pesetsky 2005, Bošković 2007a,b).

- I will adopt a particular form of this general idea. Suppose that spellout of a structure linearizes it and renders it opaque for further computation by transforming it into a string that is syntactically simplex (Uriagereka 1999, Johnson 2004). Because it is syntactically simplex, nothing may be extracted out of it, yielding island effects.

⤳ This tight connection between linearization and islandhood manages to derive the generalization in (18).

(33) **Linearization Principle**
Для a cyclic node α, run $\text{Lin}(\alpha)$, yielding a linear string of the terminals in α. This string is syntactically simplex.

- **Illustration 1**
  Consider subject clauses, which, as we have seen, are islands and hence linearization domains.

(34) [Monā-kā   use$_1$ sab-ke   sāmne   latā$\underset{.}{r}$nā]   Rām-ko$_1$ kataī pasand   nah$\tilde{\text{i}}$
      Mona-GEN him all-GEN in.front scold.INF Ram-ACC at.all pleasing NEG
      hai
      be.3.SG
      'Ram$_1$ doesn't like Mohan's scolding him$_1$ in front of everyone at all.'

(35) Schematized structure of (34)
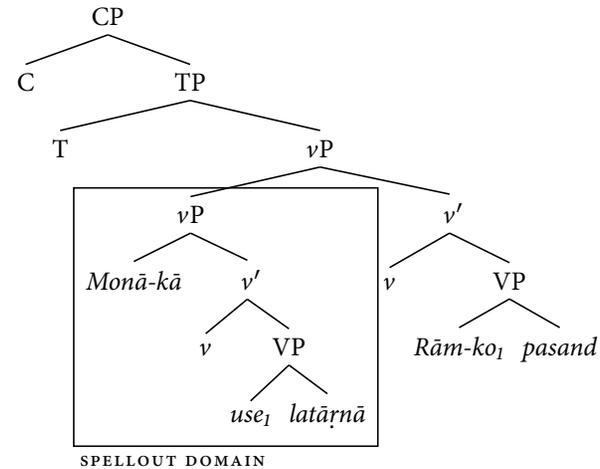
Linearization applies twice to (34), yielding (36) and (37). Both outputs contain no pair of coreferent elements. Obviative alignment (14) is thus trivially fulfilled.

(36) $\text{Lin}(v\text{P}) = \langle$Monā-kā > use$_1$ > latā$\underset{.}{r}$nā$\rangle$

(37) $\text{Lin}(\text{CP}) = \langle$[Monā-kā use$_1$ latā$\underset{.}{r}$nā] > Rām-ko$_1$ > pasand$\rangle$
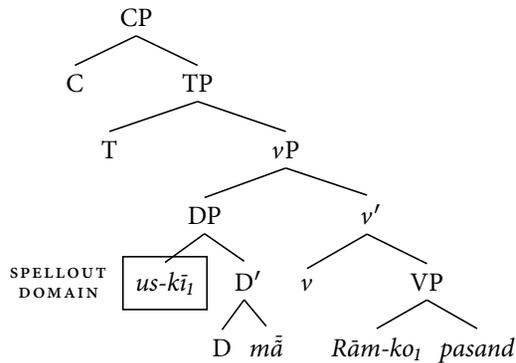
⇒ *The role of locality*
  use 'him' precedes *Rām-ko* only globally in (34). Because linearization applies locally and obviative alignment is stated over outputs of linearization, the principle is two local to militate against (34).

- **Illustration 2**
  If no island boundary intervenes, both expressions are linearized in one swoop. They must hence conform to obviative alignment. In (38) they do not and ungrammaticality arises.

(38) *[us-kī$_1$ m$\tilde{\text{ã}}$]   Rām-ko$_1$ pasand kar-tī   hai
      he-GEN mother Ram-ACC love   do-IPFV.F be.3SG
      'His$_1$ mother loves Ram$_1$.'

(39) Schematized structure of (38)

```
                    CP
                   /  \
                  C    TP
                      /  \
                     T    vP
                         /  \
                       DP    v'
                      /  \   / \
  SPELLOUT   ┌─────┐ /    \ v   VP
  DOMAIN     │us-kī₁│ D'       /  \
            └─────┘ / \    Rām-ko₁ pasand
                   D   mā̃
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(40) *$\textsc{Lin}(\text{uskī}_1) = \langle \text{us-kī}_1 \rangle$

(41) $\textsc{Lin}(\text{CP}) = \langle \text{us-kī}_1 > \text{mā̃} > \text{Rām-ko}_1 > \text{pasand} \rangle$ ⇝ *violates (14)*

4.5 A complication

- According to the generalization (18), EDR disappear if the two elements are separated by an island boundary. There is some indication that this might also happen if there is *no* intervening island.

- If the pronoun is the possessor of an indirect object and the R-expression is the possessor of the direct object, coreference is marginally possible. However, none of the two is inside an island.

  (42) ?mãĩ-ne [**us-ke₁** baccõ-ko]   [**Rām-kī₁** tasvīrẽ] dikhānā cāhtā   hū̃
        I-ERG   he-GEN children-DAT   Ram-GEN pictures show.INF want.PFV be.1SG
        'I wanted to show his₁ children pictures of Ram₁.'

- This pattern is, however, not mirrored by the possessors of subjects and objects:

  (43) *[**us-kī₁** mā̃]   [**Rām-kī₁** behen] pasand kartī   hai
        he-GEN mother   Ram-GEN sister   like   do.PFV be.3SG
        'His₁ mother likes Ram's₁ sister.'

⇒ Whether EDR effects systematically disappear in environments other than those falling under (18) is an open question.

5 Conclusion

- Certain restrictions on coreference do not depend on c-command but linear precedence.

- I have argued that these restrictions are genuine and not reducable to Condition C violations.

- They are local and disappear if either of the two nominals is embedded inside an island. Condition C effects, on the other hand, are global.

- I have suggested an analysis in terms of well-formedness restrictions on the output of linearization. It crucially relies on the assumption that referential indices are part of the linearized string.

- The locality of the restrictions is the result of cyclic linearization.

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