

Title: A Binding-Theory Approach to Backward Pronominalization in Russian
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It is well known that Backwards Pronominalization (BP), in which a coreferent pronoun precedes its antecedent (in bold), is more restricted in Russian (1) than in English (2). The descriptive purpose of this paper is to determine the exact conditions under which Russian BP is (3) and is not (1) allowed, and to show that existing descriptions of BP (Kazanina & Phillips 2006, Avrutin & Reuland 2004) cannot be the whole story. The primary theoretical goal of the paper is to provide a unified explanation for the violations in (1) as a kind of Principle B violation. The remarkable parallels between the embedding effects of 4) and equivalent embedding effects with Principle B fall out under this approach.

However, Principle B typically involves a local binding domain and c-command. (1a) has a local domain but no obvious c-command relation. We propose that Russian R-expressions such as *Ivan* raise to a local A-position at LF, causing the violation in (1a). (1b) shows c-command but no local domain. For these cases, we argue for a process of sharing of temporal features, (Pesetsky & Torrego 2004), which extends the binding domain to the main clause. This does not happen in (3) because of the temporal independence of the two clauses in (3a) and the non-simultaneity in (3b). The embeddings in (4) involve a more local domain, further supporting our account. We show how grammatical role exceptions in (5) also fall out: non-Nominatives have no agree relation with T (5a) and obliques can't bind in Russian (5b).

- (1) a. ***Ego_i** mama ljubit **Ivana_i**.
His mother_{NOM} loves Ivan_{ACC}
"His_i mother loves Ivan_i"
b. *Poka **on_i** rabotal **professor_i** spal.
while he worked_{IMP} professor slept_{IMP}
"While he_i was working, the professor slept"
- (2) a. **His_i** mother loves **John_i**.
b. While **he_i** was working, **the professor** slept
- (3) a. Kogda **on_i** polnostju razvalil stranu, **prezident_i** ušel
when he completely destroyed_{PERF} country president went
"When/as soon as he_i completely destroyed the country, the president_i left"
b. Poka **on_i** razvalival stranu, **prezident_i** mnogo pil
while he_{NOM} was.destroying_{IMP} country president much drank_{IMP}
"While he_i was destroying the country, the president_i drank a lot"
- (4) a. Rasskaz, [kotoryi **ona_i** pročitala], rasstroil devočku_i.
story which she read_{PERF} upset_{PERF} girl
"The story which she_i read upset the girl_i"
b. Poka [ego_i studenty] rabotali, professor_i spal.
While his_{GEN} students worked_{IMP} professor slept_{IMP}
"While his students worked, the professor was sleeping"
- (5) a. Poka Maša čitala emu_i gazetu, Ivan_i dremal.
While Maša read_{IMP} him_{DAT} newspaper Ivan drowsed_{IMP}
"While Maša read him_i a newspaper Ivan_i was drowsing"
b. Poka ona_i xorošo učilas, Mašej_i vse byli dovol'ny
While she well studied_{IMP} Maša_{INSTR} all were content
"While she studied well, everyone was happy with Maša"

Avrutin, S. and E. Reuland. 2004. "Backward anaphora and tense interpretation." In L. Verbitskaya et al (eds.) *Teoreticheskie problemy jazykoznanija*, St. Petersburg University Press.
Kazanina, N. and C. Phillips. 2001. Coreference in Child Russian: Distinguishing Syntactic and Discourse Constraints. In A. Do, et al (eds.) Proceedings of the 25th BU Conference.
Pesetsky, D. and E. Torrego. 2004. "The Syntax of Valuation and the Interpretability of Features." to appear in *Clever and Right: a Festschrift for Joe Emonds*.

