Matching effects in the temporal and locative domains

Rajesh Bhatt and Anikó Lipták

Abstract
The correlative strategy is used in a number of languages to achieve restrictive modification. The commonly discussed cases of ordinary correlatives involve abstraction over an individual variable. However, the correlative strategy is also used to abstract over variables that range over time, locations, manners, and degrees. Our goal in this paper is to investigate the extent to which the semantic treatment suggested for correlatives that involve abstraction over individual variables can be extended to the wider class of correlatives. We will limit our discussion to correlatives that abstract over times and locations in Hindi-Urdu and in Hungarian. In these languages, we find that a kind of matching effect that does not apply to ordinary correlatives applies to a subclass of temporal and locative correlatives. Having demonstrated these facts, we will consider explanations for this divergence between ordinary locatives and temporal[locative correlatives.

Key-words: temporal and spatial correlatives, matching effects, maximalization, individualization

1. Correlatives

1.1. Correlatives over individuals

Correlative constructions are schematized in Keenan (1985) as consisting of a correlative clause and a main clause. The correlative clause contains a relative phrase and the main clause contains a phrase that is anaphoric to the correlative clause, as represented schematically in (1):

(1) \[[\text{relative clause} \ldots \text{NP}_{\text{rel}} \ldots] [\text{main clause} \ldots \text{NP}_{\text{ana}} \ldots]\]

The schema in (1) leaves many aspects of the analysis of correlatives undetermined, such as the nature of locality constraints that might hold between the correlative clause and the main clause and the correlative clause and the phrase in the main clause that is anaphoric to it. Another aspect worth discussing is the derivation of correlative constructions, with respect to whether the relative phrase undergoes correlative clause-internal movement, and whether the anaphoric element undergoes main clause-
internal movement. The proper analysis of these aspects of correlativization has to be done on a language-specific basis, as the correlative schema is realized in different ways in different languages. Consider for example (2), which provides examples of correlatives from Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian.\(^1\)

(2) a. jo sale-par hai Maya us CD-ko khari:d-egi:
   REL. sale-ON be.PST.3SG Maya that CD-ACC buy-FUT.3FSG
   ‘Maya will buy the CD that is on sale.’ (Lit. ‘What is on sale, Maya will buy that CD.’)
   b. Aki korán jött, azt ingyen beengedték.
      REL.who early come.PST that.ACC freely PV.admitted.3PL
      ‘Those who come early were admitted for free.’

In Hindi-Urdu, the relative phrase and the anaphoric demonstrative phrase can both stay in-situ. Hungarian obligatorily fronts both the relative phrase and the anaphoric demonstrative phrase. Our focus here will not be on the proper analysis of correlative constructions within any particular language, rather we will concentrate our attention on a particular type of correlative construction: correlatives that abstract over non-individual variables.

1.2. Correlatives over worlds, degrees and times

In many languages, correlative clauses are also used to realize when-clauses, since-clauses, until-clauses as well as comparatives and conditionals (on the latter, see Arsenijević (this volume) and Rebuschi (this volume)). The surface variation from construction to construction seems limited to the relative phrase and the proform. The rest of the syntax is essentially identical to that of ordinary correlatives. Like ordinary correlatives, there is a correlative clause that contains a relative phrase and a main clause that contains an anaphoric demonstrative phrase. The relative phrase is obligatorily present but the anaphoric demonstrative phrase can under circumstances be absent.\(^2\) The following examples give illustration for all types of correlatives mentioned above:

(3) a. conditionals (Marathi, from Pandharipande (1997))
   dzar tyâne abhyâs kelâ tar to pâś hoîl.
   if he.ERG studying do.PST then he pass be.FUT
   ‘If he studies, then he will pass.’
   b. comparatives
      Rodman ke jitne tattoo hÊ, Jordan ke-paas
      Rodman GEN how.many tattoo be.PRS.3PL Jordan near
      us-se zyaadaa khitaab hÊ. that THAN more title be.PRS.3PL
      ‘Michael Jordan has more scoring titles than Dennis Rodman has tattoos.’ (Lit: How many tattoos Dennis Rodman has, Michael
Jordan has more scoring titles than that.)

c. *equatives*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Relative Phrase</th>
<th>Proform</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>relativization</td>
<td>[...jo ...]</td>
<td>[...vo...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparative</td>
<td>[...jitnaa ...]</td>
<td>[...us-se jyaadaa ...]</td>
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<tr>
<td>equative</td>
<td>[...jitnaa ...]</td>
<td>[...utnaa ...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>[...dharMarathi...]</td>
<td>[...tarMarathi ...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when-clause</td>
<td>[...jab...]</td>
<td>[...tab ...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>until-clause</td>
<td>[...jab-tak...]</td>
<td>[...tab-tak...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The limited surface variation found from construction to construction thus pertains to lexicalization of the relative operator and the main clause anaphoric proform, as (4) sums up.
when-TILL then-TILL
since-clause [...jab-se...] [...tab-se...]
when-SINCE then SINCE

Given that the surface syntax of these different kinds of constructions seems to be essentially identical, one might expect the semantics of these different kinds of correlatives to be essentially identical too. Under a view of the syntax-semantics interface where the semantics interprets the syntax, any differences that we find in the semantics of these constructions should follow from the properties of the relative phrase and the demonstrative phrase and from the properties of the variable that is being abstracted over.

### 1.3. Maximalization in correlatives

Before we move on to examining correlatives of time and space in greater detail, let us take a look at the semantics of correlatives. Srivastav (1991) pointed out that the semantics of correlatives involve maximalization. If the relative phrase is singular, maximalization manifests itself in the form of definiteness over the predicate created by the abstraction in the correlative clause. This can be seen in (5a), which is only felicitous in a scenario where exactly one girl is standing. If no girl is standing or more than one girl is standing, (5a) cannot be used.

(5) a. jo laRkii khaRii hai, vo lambii hai
   REL girl standing be.PST.3SG she tall be.PST.3SG
   ‘The girl who is standing is tall.’ (only one girl is standing, and she is tall.)

b. jo laRkiy: khaRii hẼ, ve lambii hẼ
   REL girls standing be.PRS.3PL they tall be.PRS.3PL
   ‘The girls who are standing are tall.’ (All the girls who are standing are tall.)

If the relative phrase is plural, as is the case in (5b), the correlative refers to all the girls standing, and the anaphoric phrase ve ‘they’ refers to the maximal ‘sum’ of the standing girls.

Assuming that correlatives involve a uniqueness operator that applies to a predicate and picks out the maximal element that the predicate holds for allows for a uniform characterization of singular and plural correlatives. (5a) involves a singular predicate while (5b) involves a plural predicate. In case of (5a), if there is more than one standing girl or if there is none, there will be no maxima and there will be a presupposition failure. With (5b), if there is no standing girl, there will be a presupposition failure but if there is more than one standing girl, the uniqueness operator will pick out the maximal plural entity that the predicate is true of. Here this will be all the standing girls. The semantics of uniqueness/maximalization relevant here seems to be
the same as that proposed for the English definite determiner the. We take maximalization to be an important aspect of the semantics of correlatives.

Before we move on to the trickier case of temporal correlatives, let us examine how the maximalization semantics suggested above apply to comparatives.

(6) Rodman ke-paas jitne tattoo hÊ,  
     Jordan ke-paas us-se zyaadaa khitaab hÊ.

     ‘Michael Jordan has more scoring titles than Dennis Rodman has tattoos.’ (Literally: How many tattoos Dennis Rodman has], [Michael Jordan has more scoring titles than that)

The correlative clause in (6) provides the degree predicate how many tattoos Rodman has. Maximalizing this predicate yields the maximal degree to which Rodman has tattoos, i.e. the total number of tattoos Rodman has. This number is picked up by the main clause demonstrative and the main clause just asserts that Jordan has more tattoos than that number. In other words, maximalization gives us the right semantics. The treatment of equatives is largely the same — the only difference being that the main clause introduces a statement of equality. We will now turn to temporal correlatives whose semantics do not fall out as straightforwardly.

2. Temporal and locative correlatives

As discussed earlier, correlatives over non-individual variables are structurally quite similar to correlatives over individual variables. On the surface the only difference resides in the form of the relative and demonstrative pronouns used and the connectives involved. In this section, we will illustrate the connectives and their use in correlative and non-correlative sentences from Hindi-Urdu only. We refrain from illustrating the same examples from Hungarian for reasons of space, and only give a summary of the connectives as well as the types of relative and demonstrative pronouns at the end of this section. The interested reader might also consult Lipták (2006) on the syntax of temporal correlatives in Hungarian.

Let us start the discussion with considering three kinds of connectives: the bare (zero) connective, whose semantic contribution will be the subject of further discussion; the connective that indicates the left boundary of a temporal or spatial path; and the connective that indicates the right boundary of a temporal or spatial path. Each of these is shown in the following examples:
(7) a. AT/IN: bare
Ram baarah baje / kal aa-yaa thaa
Ram 12 o’clock/ yesterday come-PFV.MSG be.PST.MSG
‘Ram had come at noon/yesterday.’

b. TILL: -tak
Ram baarah baje-tak ghar-me thaa
Ram 12 o’clock-TILL home-IN be.PST.MSG
‘Ram was at home until 12 o’clock.’

c. FROM/SINCE: -se
Ram baarah baje-se office-me HAB
Ram 12 o’clock-FROM office-IN be.PST.3SG
‘Ram is in the office since noon.’

The left boundary connective and the right boundary connective can also co-occur with each other. In this the Hindi-Urdu left boundary connective -se patterns with English from and not with since.3

(8) Ram baarah baje-se (le-kar) do baje-tak
Ram 12 o’clock-FROM take-CP two o’clock-TILL
office-me thaa
office-IN be.PST.MSG
‘Ram was in the office from noon to 2pm.’

In Hindi-Urdu the left boundary temporal connective -se ‘since/from’ and the right boundary temporal connective -tak ‘till’ also have a spatial/locative usage. The following examples give illustration of all types of locative connectives.

(9) a. AT: bare
Ram vahã: rah-taa hai
Ram there stay-HAB.MSG be.PST.3SG
‘Ram lives there.’

b. TO: -tak
Ram vahã:-tak dauR-taa hai
Ram there-TILL run-HAB.MSG be.PST.3SG
‘Ram runs to there.’

c. FROM: -se
Ram vahã:-se dauR-naa shuruu kar-taa
Ram there-FROM run-INF start do-HAB.MSG hai
be.PST.3SG
‘Ram starts running from there.’
d. **FROM X TO Y: X-tak Y-se**

- Ram Amherst College-se Umass-tak roz dauR-taa
- Ram Amherst College-FROM Umass-TILL daily run-HAB.MSG hai

be.PRS.3SG

‘Ram runs daily from Amherst College to UMass.’

With these connectives in place, we can now construct temporal and locative correlatives. Again, we will only illustrate the Hindi-Urdu cases for reasons of space.

Let us start the discussion with temporal correlatives. In these, the correlative clause involves a temporal relative pronoun (*jab* in Hindi-Urdu) together with a connective, which can be zero (10a), the left boundary marker -*se* (10b), or the right boundary marker -*tak* (10c). In the relevant examples, the main clause also consists of a temporal demonstrative (*tab*) together with the connective found in the correlative clause. Consider the following examples, where **LBM** stands for the left boundary marker and **RBM** for the right boundary marker.

(10) a. **[when + zero connective], [then + zero connective]**

\[\text{jab mE-ne kamre-me pravesh kiyaa, tab}\]
\[\text{when I-ERG room-IN enter do.PST.MSG then}\]
\[\text{Mona-ne naac-naa shuruu kiyaa}\]
\[\text{Mona-ERG dance-INF start do.PST.MSG}\]

‘When I entered the room, then Mona started dancing.’

b. **[when + LBM], [then + LBM]**

\[\text{jab-se tum yahã: aa-ye ho,}\]
\[\text{when-SINCE you here come-PFV.MPL be.PRS.2PL}\]
\[\text{tab-se bhagwaan-kii kriapa-bhii yahã: aa gayii}\]
\[\text{then-SINCE god-GEN grace-also here come go.PFV.F}\]
\[\text{hai}\]
\[\text{be.PRS.3SG}\]

‘From the time that you have come here, God’s grace has also come here.’

c. **[when + RBM], [then + RBM]**

\[\text{jab-tak steshan khulaa thaa, tab-tak}\]
\[\text{when-TILL station open be.PST.MSG then-TILL}\]
\[\text{Mary ahã: baiThii rah-ii}\]
\[\text{Mary there seated stay-PFV.FSG}\]

‘Mary sat at the station as long as it was open.’

The corresponding locative correlatives are very similar structurally. The difference lies in the choice of the relative pronoun: instead of a temporal relative and demonstrative pronoun (*jab/tab*), a locative relative and demonstrative pronoun (*jahã:/vahã:*) is used.
(11) a. [where + zero connective], [there + zero connective]

Ram-ne jahā: zamiin khariid-iī hai, vo Ram-ERG where land buy-PFV.F be.PRS.3SG he vahā: makaan banaa-egaa there.only house make-FUT.3MSG

‘Where Ram bought land, there he’ll build a house.’

b. [where + LBM], [there + LBM]

jahā:-se Ram dauR-taa hai, mĒ where-FROM Ram run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG I vahā:-se dauR-ū:gaan run-FUT.1MSG there.only-FROM

‘I will run from exactly the location that Ram runs from.’

c. [where + RBM], [there + RBM]

jahā:-tak Ram dauR-taa hai, mĒ where-TILL Ram run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG I vahā:-tak dauR-ū:gaan there-TILL run-FUT.1MSG

‘I will run till where Ram runs.’

The temporal correlatives in (10) and the locative correlatives in (11) pattern with ordinary correlatives. The parallel with ordinary correlatives goes further — like ordinary correlatives, both temporal correlatives and locative correlatives allow for multiple correlatives. Such correlatives have more than one relative pronoun in the correlative clause and a corresponding number of demonstrative pronouns in the main clause. Consider the following examples, which show a multi-headed temporal and a multi-headed locative correlative.4

(12) a. [when + LBM, when + RBM], [then + LBM, then + RBM]

jab-se (le-kar) jab-tak Ravi Dilli-me thaa, when-FROM take-CP when-TILL Ravi Delhi-IN be.PST.MSG tab-se (le-kar) tab-tak Sita khush thii then-FROM take-CP then-TILL Sita happy be.PST.FSG

‘Sita was happy throughout the interval that Ravi was in Delhi.’

b. [where + LBM, where + RBM], [there + LBM, there + RBM]

jahā:-se (le-kar) jahā:-tak Ravi dauR-taa where-FROM take-CP where-TILL Ravi run-HAB.MSG hai mĒ-bhii vahā:-se (le-kar) vahā:-tak be.PRS.3SG I also there-FROM take-CP there-TILL dauR-ū:gaan run-FUT.1MSG

‘Ravi runs from point A to point B. I will also run from point A to point B.’
This section illustrated the form and use of temporal and locative connectives as well as the relative and demonstrative pronouns that occur in correlatives, which will be relevant for the discussion of matching effects in the next section. Before turning to these matching effects, we would like to provide a note about the Hungarian equivalents of the relevant connectives, as well as the relative and demonstrative pronouns that formed with the help of these.

The temporal domain in Hungarian makes use of the following connectives: -kor ‘at’, -ig ‘till’ and óta ‘since’. The locative domain uses partly different connectives: the equivalent of the AT connective is –nál/nél; the equivalent of TILL/TO is -ig, and FROM is expressed as –től/től, a connective that is also used in the temporal domain in constructions like (8) above.

Concerning the form of the relative pronouns that occur in correlatives, these are always built on a wh-item prefixed with the relative marker a-morpheme. The wh-item mi (or its variant me) ‘what’ gives rise to all temporal and some locative relative pronouns, and there is a specifically locative wh-pronoun, hol ‘where’ that can be used in the expressions of locative relatives.

The demonstrative pronouns that occur in the main clause of correlative constructions in Hungarian have two paradigms. The temporal paradigm is built on the distal demonstrative az ‘that’, and includes akkor ‘that.AT’ in the meaning of then, addig ‘that.TILL.’ in the meaning of till then and azóta ‘that.SINCE’ in the meaning of since then. In the latter meaning, attól ‘that.FROM’ can also occur (most always in combination with kezdve/fogva ‘beginning’). The locative paradigm also uses attól and addig in the meaning of ‘from a point/to a point in place’. Next to these items, there is an independent paradigm of locative demonstratives, which can be called the o- series. Thus we find ott ‘there’, which consists of the locative pronoun o- and a –tt AT connective, oda ‘there.TO’ (in the meaning of to there) and onnan ‘there.FROM’ (meaning from there). In these forms the AT, TO and FROM connectives are obsolete, non-productive connectives. Interestingly, oda and onnan can further combine with –ig and –től/től to give oddig ‘there.TO’ (meaning to that point) and onnantól ‘there.FROM.TO.TILL’ (meaning from that point). We will come back to the peculiarities of the pronominal paradigms in sections 3.3. and 4.2. below.

3. Matching effects

A major point of divergence between ordinary correlatives and temporal/spatial correlatives is that ordinary correlatives do not display ‘matching’ effects. Temporal correlatives in Hindi-Urdu as well as in Hungarian do. Spatial correlatives in Hindi-Urdu do not display these matching effects but a weaker version of the effect surfaces in Hungarian.
3.1. Matching effects with free relatives and correlatives

Matching effects are typically used to describe cases like the following which involve free relatives. See Grimshaw (1977), Bresnan and Grimshaw (1978) and Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981) among many others.

For a structure containing a free relative to be acceptable, the free relative needs to appear in a position where the case assigned to its wh-phrase (the internal case) is identical to the case assigned to the position where the free relative appears (the external case). Consider for example the case of German in (13). The grammatical (13a) has the free relative appear in a position that receives nominative case. The wh-phrase itself also receives nominative case. In the ungrammatical cases, there is a mismatch between the external case and the internal case.

\[(13)\]  
a. external case = internal case = nominative  
\begin{align*}
& \text{Wer(NOM) nicht stark ist, muss klug sein.} \\
& \text{who not strong be must clever be-INF} \\
& \text{‘Who is not strong must be clever.’}
\end{align*}

b. external case = nominative ≠ internal case = accusative  
\begin{align*}
& \text{* Wen(ACC)/Wer(NOM) Gott schwach geschaffen hat, muss} \\
& \text{whom/who God weak create.PTCP has must} \\
& \text{klug sein.} \\
& \text{clever be-INF} \\
& \text{‘Who God has created weak must be clever.’}
\end{align*}

c. external case = nominative ≠ internal case = dative  
\begin{align*}
& \text{* Wem(DAT)/Wer(NOM) Gott keine Kraft geschenkt hat, muss} \\
& \text{whom/who God no strength give.PTCP has must} \\
& \text{klug sein.} \\
& \text{must clever be-INF} \\
& \text{‘Who God has given no strength to must be clever.’}
\end{align*}

In the above examples, we see an instance of case-matching. Next to case-matching, category matching is also displayed by some languages. In category matching the category of the free relative wh-phrase and the external environment have to be the same.

Having seen what matching phenomena are, we can now come back to correlatives. Crucially, matching effects are not displayed by ordinary correlative clauses. Consider for examples the following examples from Hindi (cf. 14) and Hungarian (cf. 15), which all involve distinct case markers on the relative phrase and the demonstrative:

\[(14)\]  
a. jis aadmii-ne mujhe naukrii dii thi 
which man-ERG I.DAT job give.PFV.FSG be.PST.FSG

10
dem-DAT today medal receive-PFV.MSG
‘The man who had given me a job got a medal today.’

b. jis aadmii-ke-paas avEdh banduuk thii
which man-NEAR illegal gun be.PST.FSG
us-ko jurmaanaa de-naa paR-aa
dem-DAT penalty give-INF have.to-PFV.MSG
‘The man who had an illegal gun had to pay a fine.’

(15) a. Akit meghívtunk, annak küldtünk
who.ACC PV.invite. PST.1PL that.DAT send.PST.1PL
meghívtó.
invitation.ACC
‘Whom we invited, we sent an invitation to those.’

b. Akinél fegyvert talának, attól elveszik.
who.AT gun.ACC find.3PL that.FROM confiscate.3PL
‘With whom they find a gun, they confiscate it from those.’

The absence of matching effects in these constructions makes a certain amount of intuitive sense since matching effects can be thought of as being a language particular way of resolving a morphological conflict: there are two cases, internal and external, but only one location where they can be realized. In correlatives, this conflict does not arise: the internal case is realized on the relative phrase inside the correlative clause (a free relative) and the external case is realized on the demonstrative phrase in the main clause.

3.2. Matching effects with temporal correlatives

Interestingly, what holds for correlatives abstractive over individuals when it comes to the absence of matching effects does not carry over to correlatives denoting other types of entities.

We start illustrating this with correlatives over times. Of these, section 1.2. illustrated three kinds of correlative clauses, which we referred to as when-clauses, till when-clauses, and since when-clauses. Corresponding to these we can have three kinds of main clauses: then-clauses, till then-clauses, and since then-clauses. Among these relative and main clauses, one might expect to find 9 possible combinations. In reality only some of these combinations are attested.

The matching cases are all grammatical, as the following examples show. The (a) examples are from Hindi-Urdu, the (b) ones from Hungarian.

(16) [when...] [then...]

a. jab Ram ghar lauT-aa (tab) Sita nahaa rahii
when Ram home return-PFV.MSG then Sita bathe PROG.F
thii
be.PST.FSG
‘When Ram returned home, Sita was bathing.’

b. Amikor János megjött, (akkor) Mari TV-t nézett
what_AT János arrive.PST that_AT Mari TV-ACC watch. PST
‘When János arrived, Mari was watching TV.’

(17) [till when...] [till then...]

a. jab-tak Ram yahã: thaa, (tab-tak) Sita khush
when-TILL Ram here be.PST.MSG then-TILL Sita happy
thii
be.PST.FSG
‘During the duration Ram was here, Sita was happy.’

b. Ameddig János alszik, (addig) Mari TV-t néz
what.TILL János sleep that.TILL Mari TV-ACC watch
‘While János sleeps, Mari watches TV.’

(18) [since when...] [since then...]

a. jab-se Ram yahã: aa-yaa hai,
when-SINCE Ram here come-PFV.MSG be.PRS.3SG
(tab-se) Sita khush hai
then-SINCE Sita happy be.PRS.3SG
‘Sita is happy since Ram came.’

b. Amióta János dolgozik, (azóta) Mari
what. SINCE János work that.SINCE Mari
rendszeresen sportol.
regularly work.out
‘Since the time that János has started working, since that time
Mari works out regularly.’

Cases involving a till/since when-correlative clause and a mismatching then-clause are ungrammatical in both Hindi and Hungarian.5

(19) *[till when...] [then...]

a. *jab-tak Ram yahã: thaa, tab Sita khush
when-TILL Ram here be.PST.MSG then Sita happy
thii
be.PST.FSG
‘Till the time Ram was here, then Sita was happy.’

b. *Ameddig János alszik, akkor Mari hazajön
what.TILL János sleep that.AT Mari come.home
‘Till John sleeps, at that time Mary comes home.’

(20) *[till when...] [since then...]

a. *jab-tak Ram yahã: thaa, tab-se bhagwaan-kii
when-TILL Ram here be.PST.MSG then-SINCE god-GEN
kripaa yahã: hai
grace here be.PRS.3SG
‘Till when John was here, since then God’s grace is here.’

b. *Ameddig János aludt, azóta Mari TV-t néz
what.TILL János sleep.PST that.SINCE Mari TV-ACC watch
‘Till the time John was sleeping, since that time Mari is
watching TV.’

(21) *[since when...] [then...]
a. *jab-se Ram yahā: aa-yaa hai,
when-SINCE Ram here come-PFV.MSG be.PRS.3SG
then Sita khush thii
‘Since when Ram came here, then Sita was happy.’
b. *Amióta János dolgozik, akkor Mari elkezdett
what.SINCE János work that.AT Mari begin.PST
rendszeresen sportolni
regularly work.out-INF
‘Since the time that János is working, then Mari started working
out regularly.’

(22) *[since when...] [till then...]
a. *jab-se Ram yahā: aa-yaa hai,
when-SINCE Ram here come-PFV.MSG be.PRS.3SG
tab-tak Sita so-tii rah-ii
then-TILL Sita sleep-IMP.F stay-PFV.FSG
‘Since when Ram came here, till then Sita kept sleeping.’
b. *Amióta János dolgozik, addig Mari
what.SINCE János works that.TILL Mari
rendszeresen sportolt
regularly work.out.PST
‘Since the time János works, till that time Mari regularly worked
out.’

Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian differ with respect to the grammaticality of the
two remaining cases — in these the correlative clause is a when-clause and
the main clause is a mismatching one:

(23) [when...] [till then...]
a. jab Ram Dilli-se lauT-aa thaa,
when Ram Delhi-FROM return-PFV.MSG be.PST.MSG
Sita-ERG then-TILL meditation do.PFV.F be.PST.FSG
‘The time when Ram had returned from Delhi, Sita had
meditated until then.’
b. * Amikor János megjött, addig Mari szomorú volt
what AT János arrive.PST that.TILL Mari sad be.PST
‘The time that János came, Mari was sad till then.’
The pattern can be schematized as shown in Table 1.

It is worth noting that the difference between Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian seen above cannot be reduced to an exceptional property of Hindi-Urdu by which the till/since on the relative phrase can simply be left unpronounced.\(^6\) The idea behind this putative reduction would be that the till/since markers inside the correlative clause are semantically unnecessary, and their presence is purely required by morphological reasons. If this was true, the difference between Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian would be a morphological difference only, with Hungarian imposing a strict matching requirement and Hindi-Urdu a weaker one. The Hungarian requirement would be ‘only likes match’ while the Hindi-Urdu requirement would allow for a bare when to match with any main clause then (bare, till, or since).

The reason we do not pursue this line of inquiry is because the presence of the till/since in the temporal correlative is subject to aspectual restrictions. If we insert the ‘missing’ till/since into the acceptable mismatch structures, the resulting sentences become aspectually odd.
The oddness of (25) stems from the aspectual restriction imposed by till/then. Till seems to need a stative predicate and since seems to need a present perfect. When, on the other hand, by itself does not impose any such restrictions. If the till/since elements were present for purely morphological reasons, we would not expect such aspectual restrictions in these cases. Therefore we cannot treat the Hindi-Urdu grammatical mismatch cases of the [when...] [till/since then...] sort as being the same at some level as the corresponding matching cases. In other words, the when-clauses here are really when-clauses and the till/since when-clauses in the matching cases are really till/since when clauses.

3.3. Matching effects with locative correlatives

Section 2 has shown that locative correlatives and temporal correlatives look very similar. In fact, in Hindi-Urdu and to a more limited extent in Hungarian, even the connectives (till, from/since) are same. The only difference seems to be in the choice of the relative phrase/demonstrative phrase: when/then vs. where/there. Given these parallels, it is surprising that locative correlatives do not display matching effects in Hindi-Urdu. In Hungarian, the presence of matching effects depends upon the exact locative relative phrase used, as we will show later in this section.

The matching cases of locative correlatives in Hindi-Urdu have been considered earlier and are repeated here, with their Hungarian equivalents added to them.

(26) [where...] [there...]
   a. Ram-ne jahã: zamiin khariid-i hai,
      Ram-ERG where land buy-PFV.F be.PRS.3SG
      vo vahã: makaan banaa-egaa.
      he there only house make-FUT.3MSG
      ‘Where Ram bought land, there he’ll build a house.’
   b. Ahol fúj a szél, ott hideg van
      where blow the wind there cold be
      ‘Where it is windy, it is cold there.’

(27) [till where...] [till there...]
   a. jahã:-tak Ram dauR-taa hai, mã vahã:-tak
      where-TILL Ram run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG I there-TILL
      dauR-ũ:gaa run-FUT.1MSG
      ‘I will run till where Ram runs.’
   b. Ameddig tegnap elfutottam, addig/odáig
      what.TILL yesterday run.PST.1SG that.TILL there.TO.TILL
      ma kocsival mentem
today car.WITH go.PST.1SG
To the place where I ran to yesterday, I went today by car.'

(28) [from where...][from there...]
a. jahã:-se Ram dauR-taa hai, mẼ vahĩ:-se
   where-SE Ram run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG I there.only-FROM
   dauR-ũ:gaa
   run-FUT.1MSG
   ‘I will run from exactly the location that Ram runs from.’
b. Ahonnantól futni keztem, onnantól
   where.FROM run-INF begin.PST.1SG that.FROM.FROM
   látszik a lábnyomom.?
   show the footsteps.Poss.1SG
   ‘From the place where I started running, my footsteps are
   showing.’

Other combinations of correlative and main clauses do not display
matching effects, either in Hindi-Urdu:

(29) [till where...][from there...]
a. Ram jahã:-tak dauR-taa hai, mẼ vahĩ:-se
   Ram where-TILL run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG I there-FROM
   auR-naa shuruu kar-u:ga
   run-INF start do-FUT.1MSG
   ‘I will start running from the point to which Ram runs.’
b. [till where...][there...]
   Ram jahã:-tak dauR-taa hai, Sita vahĩ:
   Ram where-TILL run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG Sita there.only
   rah-tii hai
   stay-HAB.F be.PRS.3SG
   ‘Sita stays at he location till which Ram runs.’
c. [from where...][till there...]
   Ram jahã:-se dauR-taa hai, mẼ vahĩ:-tak
   Ram where-TILL run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG I there-FROM
   dauR-naa shuruu kar-u:gã
   run-INF start do-FUT.1MSG
   ‘I will run till the location from which Ram starts running.

[from where...][there...]
Ram jahã:-se dauR-taa hai, Sita
Ram where-FROM run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG Sita
vahĩ: rah-tii hai
there.only stay-HAB.F be.PRS.3SG
‘Sita stays at he location from which Ram runs.’
e. [where...][till there...]
   jahã: Sita rah-tii hai, mẼ vahĩ:-tak
   where Sita stay-HAB.F be.PRS.3SG I there-TILL
   dauR-ũ:gaa
run-FUT.3MSG
'I will run till where Sita lives.

f. [where...] [from there...]
jahã: Sita rah-tii hai, mẼ vahã:-se
where Sita stay-HAB.F be.PRS.3SG I there-FROM
dauR-ũ:gaa
run-FUT.1MSG
'I will run from where Sita lives.

In Hungarian, the situation is slightly different. The locative paradigm clearly displays matching effects, even if a somewhat less strong sort than the temporal paradigm. We will illustrate this with till where-correlatives. As can be seen in the following examples, the non-matching combinations are degraded.8

(30) a. [till where...] [there...]
??Ameddig tegnap elfutottam, ott van egy fa
what.TILL yesterday run.PST.1SG there be a tree
'The place where I ran to yesterday, there is a tree there.'
b. [till where...] [from there...]
??Ameddig tegnap elfutottam, onnantól
what.TILL yesterday run.PST.1SG there.FROM.FROM
ma tovább mentem
today further go.PST.1SG
'tFrom the place where I ran to yesterday, I went further from there today.'

It must be mentioned that next to the above instances of locative correlatives, there are also cases of correlatives that do not display matching effects, as the following examples demonstrate:

(31) a. [where...] [to there...]
Ahol a karók vannak, oda paprikát vetek
where the sticks be.PL there. TOpaprika.ACC sow.1SG
'I will sow paprika where the sticks are.'
b. [where...] [from there...]
Ahol a karók vannak, onnan kiszedtem
where the sticks be-PL there.FROM remove.PST.1SG
a virághagymákat
the flowerbulbs-ACC
'I took out the flowerbulbs from the places where the sticks are.'
c. [from where...] [there...]
Ahonnan elköltözött az iskola, ott nincs könyvtár
where.FROM move.out.PST the school there be.NEG library
'There is no library in places where the school has moved out.'
This class of locative pronominals could be called *pointwise* locatives, as the location expressed in these examples is not associated with a path, rather with a point. This contrasts with the forms in examples (30) which are clearly path-denoting. The appearance of the forms in (31) is moreover determined by the subcategorizational needs of the predicate at hand. For example, in (31f) the predicate in the correlative clause subcategorizes for the *TO* connective in *ahova* ‘where. TO’ and the predicate in the main clause subcategorizes for *FROM* connective in *onnan* ‘there. FROM’. The lack of matching effects in these cases is thus on a par with the examples in (15).

According to the evidence of these examples, we can conclude that the matching effect in Hungarian seems to be keyed into the expression of an unselected temporal/spatial path argument. When we can be certain that the path argument is being manipulated as is the case with pathwise locatives in (31), we find matching effects.

### 3.4 Another difference between locative and temporal correlatives

Related to the fact that we find matching effects in Hindi-Urdu temporal correlatives but not in Hindi-Urdu locative correlatives, we can observe another contrast as well. *From/till* locative correlative clauses in Hindi-Urdu can combine with a demonstrative phrase to yield a DP that denotes a location. Thus both (34b) and (34c) are well-formed DPs that pick out the location to which Ram runs, and the location from which Ram starts running, respectively, as possible answers to (34a):
(34) a. tum Ram-se kahã: mil-oge?
    you Ram-INSTR where meet-FUT.2MPL
    ‘Where will you meet Ram?’

b. jahã:-tak vo dauR-taa hai, vahã:
    where-TILL he run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG there
    ‘Till where he runs, there’

c. jahã-se vo dauR-naa shuruu kar-taa hai,
    where-FROM he run-INF start do-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG
    there
    ‘From where he starts running, there.’

But this is not possible with temporal correlatives. Here we cannot pick
out the left boundary or the right boundary like we were able to with
locative correlatives.

(35) a. tum Ram-se kab mil-oge?
    you Ram-INSTR when meet-FUT.3MPL
    ‘Where will you meet Ram?’

b. *jab:-tak vo dauR-taa hai, tab
    when-TILL he run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG then
    ‘*Till when he runs, then’

c. *jab-se vo dauR-naa shuruu kar-taa
    when-FROM he run-INF start do-HAB.MSG
    hai, tab
    be.PRS.3SG then
    ‘From when he starts running, then.’

To actually get at the left/right boundary, we need to switch to a plain when-
clause and modify the predicate so that the when-clause picks out the point
of culmination/initiation. Merely switching to an externally headed version
does not help. This is similar to what we find with Hungarian externally
headed temporal and locative relative clauses, which can be considered
parallels of (34) and (35). In answers to questions like (34a) or (35a),
Hungarian uses headed relative patterns that require matching connectives
in the temporal case:

(36) a. Mikor találkozol / találkoztál Jánossal?
    what.AT meet.2sg meet.pst.2sg János-with
    ‘When will you meet János?’

b. *Akkor, ameddig fut.
    that.AT when.TILL run.3sg
    ‘Till when he runs.’

c. *Akkor, amióta fut.
that.AT when.SINCE run.3sg
‘Since when he is running.’

And, unlike in Hindi-Urdu, the locative pattern is also just as bad as the temporal ones:

(37) a. Hol találkozol Jánossal?
    where meet.2sg János-with
    ‘Where will you meet János?’
b. *Ott, ameddig fut.
    there where.TO run.3sg
    ‘At the point to where he runs.’
c. *Ott, ahonnantól fut.
    there where.TO FROM run.3sg
    ‘At the point where he runs from.’

Stepping back to the Hindi-Urdu cases in (34) and (35), it needs to be mentioned that by modifying the question so that it is about paths instead of points, the contrast between locative and temporal correlatives disappears, as the following show, where both locative and temporal answers (examples (b) and (c) respectively) are possible to the questions in (a). Note that the presence of TILL/SINCE on the demonstrative is obligatory.

(38) a. tum kahã/kab-tak Ram-kaa piicchaa kar-oge?
    you where/when-TILL Ram-GEN follow do-FUT.2MPL
    ‘Till where/when will you follow Ram?’
b. jahã:tak Ram jaa-egaa, vahã:tak
    where-TILL Ram go-FUT.3MSG there-TILL
    ‘Till where Ram goes, till there.’
c. jab-tak Ram bhaag-egaa, tab-tak
    when-TILL Ram run-FUT.3MSG then-TILL
    ‘Till when Ram runs, till then.’

(39) a. tum kahã/kab-se Ram-kaa piicchaa kar rahe
    you where/when-FROM Ram-GEN follow do PROG.MPL
    be.PRS.2PL
    ‘From where/when will you follow Ram?’
b. jahã:-se Ram-ne bhaag-naa shuruu kiyaa
    where-FROM Ram-ERG run-INF start do.PFV.MSG
    thaa, vahã:-se
    there-FROM be.PST
    ‘From where Ram had started running, from there.’
c. jab:-se Ram-ne bhaag-naa shuruu kiyaa
There are two ways to think about this pattern. The first is to treat the answers to questions as being derived via reduction of a full clause that consists of a correlative clause and a matrix clause. Then the pattern reduces to the previously observed fact that in Hindi-Urdu, temporal correlatives display ‘matching’ while locative correlatives do not.

But it has been noted that correlative clauses in Hindi-Urdu can also directly adjoin to the demonstrative phrase they modify (see Dayal (1996), Bhatt (2003)). Given this, it must be the case that the denotation of till/since temporal correlative clauses is such that when it modifies a demonstrative phrase, the resulting object does not denote a point of time. This object should, however, be able to combine with a till/since and then modify another clause. We will take this line of investigation further in our discussion of the temporal matching effect in Hindi-Urdu.

4. Explanations

We will attempt to provide a semantic explanation for the matching effect discussed in the previous section. This is in large part because the environments where this matching effect is found are not the kind of environments where one finds the classic morpho-syntactic matching effects familiar to us from free relative constructions, as we have shown in (14) and (15). We find matching effects in correlatives and in Hungarian even in headed relatives (cf. fn 5 and 8), both environments where a morpho-syntactic matching effect would be quite surprising. Next to the semantic ingredient, our explanation will also need to have a syntactic component to handle the variation that we found between Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian. Recall that matching effects in Hungarian are stricter than in Hindi-Urdu. Hungarian requires matching in locative correlatives also and disallows the ‘[when...][till/since then...]’ case allowed in Hindi-Urdu.

4.1. The first attempt: points of time

We need to start by making an assumption about what a when-clause denotes. Let us begin with the following proposal which is inspired directly by the semantics of plural individual correlatives discussed earlier in the paper.

(40) Putative Semantics for when-clauses:
   a. when-clause gives the maximal interval/sum of points at
which the predicate holds — a point of time or an interval/sum of points depending upon the predicate
b. the then picks out this point/interval and the matrix clause must hold at this point/throughout this interval/sum of points

Note that this semantics runs into problems right away with durative predicates in when-clauses and with non-durative predicates in then-clauses. The following example shows such a problematic case: the when-clause picks out interval, but the then-clause is not durative:

(41) a. jab tum so rahe the, tab bagal-vaale
 when you sleep PROG.MPL be.PST.MPL then neighboring
 ghar-me chori ho gayii
 house-IN theft be go.PFV.FSG
 ‘While you were sleeping, a theft happened next door.’
b. jab tum so rahe the Madhu tab
 when you sleep PROG.MPL be.PST.MPL Madhu then
 aa-yii thii
 come-PFV.F be.PST.FSG
 ‘Madhu had come while you were sleeping.’

The source of this problem lies in our treatment of all temporal abstractions as involving an underlying AT connective. A more adequate treatment needs to take into account the contribution of aspect. We will not attempt such a treatment here but just note this problem with our proposed semantics of when-clauses.

Next let us consider the contribution of till and since.

(41) Assuming then refers to a point of time (see Iatridou et al. (2001), von Fintel and Iatridou (2002)):
   a. till then P is true if there is an interval whose right boundary is set by then and P holds throughout this interval. The left boundary is set by context.
   b. since then P is true if there is an interval whose left boundary is set by then and P holds throughout this interval. The right boundary is set by tense.

(42) Setting the left boundary with until:
   a. (Talking about a graduate student who graduated in 1999.)
      Marlyse was at Harvard until 1999.
      (This does not require that she was at Harvard all her life.)
   b. I was at IIT Kanpur until 1993. Then I was at Penn until 1999.
      After that I was in Texas until 2004.

(43) Setting the right boundary with since:
   a. John is in London since 2002. (continues up to now)
   b. John was in London since 1999. (continues up to a point in the
Assuming then refers to an interval:

a. *till then* P is defined if then picks out an interval with a linguistically specified right boundary. It is true if P holds throughout this interval.

b. *since then* P is defined if then picks out an interval with a linguistically specified left boundary. It is true if P holds throughout this interval.

The next question that we need to answer is what till/since when correlatives denote. We consider two options. The first is that they pick out points of time and the second is that they pick out intervals, as summarized in (45a) and (45b). When it comes to maximalization, the difference between the two approaches is that the interval approach does not need to make reference to the direction of maximization.

(45) a. Point of time approach
   i. *till when* P picks out the latest point at which P holds
      (maximization (to the right) of the right boundary)
   ii. *since when* P picks out the earliest point at which P holds
      (maximization (to the left) of the left boundary)

b. Interval approach
   i. *till when* P picks out the maximal interval bounded on the left by the contextually specified left boundary
   ii. *since when* P picks out the maximal interval bounded on the right by the contextually specified right boundary

Of the two approaches, the point of time approach makes the wrong predictions with respect to matching. It would allow the following to be possible, contrary to facts in Hindi (46a) and Hungarian (46b):

(46) *[till when...] [since then...]
   a. *jab-tak* Ram yahãː thaa, tab-se bhagwaan-kii
      when-TILL Ram here be.PST.MSG then-SINCE god-GEN
      kripaa yahãː hai
      grace here be.PST.3SG
      ‘Till when John was here, since then God’s grace is here.’
   b. *Ameddig János aludt, azóta Mari TV-t néz
      what.TILL János sleep.PST that.SINCE Mari TV-ACC watch
      ‘Till the time John was sleeping, since that time Mari is watching TV.’

There is no reason why the till when-clause could not give us a right boundary which could then be used as a left boundary by the since then-clause. That this is not possible suggests that what we get from the till/since
when-clause cannot be a point of time. This conclusion also fits well with the observation that till/since-when temporal correlatives do not form time-denoting DPs with a demonstrative phrase. In this they diverge from ordinary when-clauses which can and do combine with demonstrative phrases to form temporal definite descriptions.

4.2. The second attempt: intervals

Having seen that the point of time approach fails to account for matching effects in both Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian, the conclusion must be drawn that this approach is not viable. We need to see if the interval approach does a better job in this respect.

If we assume that till/since when clauses actually yield temporal intervals, we have greater success with providing an explanation for the matching effect. But to account for the facts, we need more than just plain intervals. What we need for modeling till/since when-clauses are intervals with distinguished right/left boundaries. In this model, till when-clauses will pick out an interval with a distinguished right boundary and since when-clauses will pick out an interval with a distinguished left boundary. In the case of multi-headed temporal correlatives, we will also need intervals with distinguished left and right boundaries.

Concerning then, we need to assume that it is by itself just a temporal variable that can range over points of time/ordinary intervals but it cannot denote a distinguished interval. If it ranges over points of time/ordinary intervals, it can stand by itself and modify a clause without the help of a temporal connective like till/since. However, when then is associated with a till/since when-clause, it can only denote an interval with a distinguished left/right boundary. In such a case, it cannot stand by itself nor can it directly modify a clause. For it to do so, a till/since connective is needed. Moreover, it has to be the right connective. If the interval has a distinguished right boundary, then must combine with a till and if it has a distinguished left boundary, then must combine with a since. This explains the matching effects observed, by ruling out the combinations [till when...][since then...] or [till when...][then...] as well as [since when...][till then...] and [since when...][then...].

While the above sketched interval approach seems promising, it is not clear how it can explain a set of facts that we have not accounted for yet. These concern the distinct behavior of Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian when it comes to allowing for [when...] [till/since then] combinations. As we have shown in section 3 (recall Table 1), the two languages differ such that Hindi-Urdu allows for such combinations, Hungarian does not. Consider the following examples repeated from above:

(47) [when...] [till then...]
   a. jab Ram Dilli-se lauT-aa thaa, Sita-ne
The behavior of Hindi-Urdu is the pattern that we expect on the basis of our model. In these examples the ordinary when-clause denotes a point of time, which serves as the left or right boundary of the distinguished interval denoted by till/since then.

How can we account for the presence of matching effects in Hungarian? Since we do not want the semantics to vary across languages, it must be the case that the ungrammaticality of the above Hungarian examples follows from something more language-specific. Unfortunately, at this point, we cannot offer any explanation of the observed facts, but we note that although (47b) and (48b) are ungrammatical, the [when...] [since then...] combination can be expressed in a grammatical way, using a less frequent form of since then: akkörtől ‘that.AT.FROM’, which is built with the FROM connective – től/től, added to the ordinary then form akkor ‘that-AT’. Crucially, this form can surface in correlatives, and when it combines with a when-clause, it does not give rise to matching effects:

(49) Amikor a szerver elküldi az üdvözlő levelet,
what.AT the server send the welcome.letter.ACC
akkörtől él a tagság.
that.AT.FROM live the membership
‘Membership is active from the time when the server sends the welcome letter.’

The only speculation we can offer about this type of matching example is that some kind of parallelism effect can be at play here: the relative phrase
amikor and the demonstrative akkor are matching forms in [when…][then…] contexts, which might facilitate the acceptability of sentences like (49).

4.3. Explaining the difference between Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian in the temporal domain

The previous section has shown that the interval approach seems to be a promising approach to account for matching effects in correlatives in the temporal domain. The question is, does this approach carry over to the locative domain, too?

If the locative and the temporal domain were the same, we would expect that locative correlatives show the same kind of matching effects as temporal ones. This is, however, not what we find. As section 3.3 showed, Hindi-Urdu displays no matching effects of any sort in the locative domain. It is tempting to relate the absence of matching effects in Hindi-Urdu locative correlatives to the plausibly greater individuatability of locations over times. This squares well with the finding that from/till locative correlatives can easily combine with a demonstrative to denote a location, consider the following examples, repeated from (34) again:

(50) a. tum Ram-se kahã: mil-oge?
you Ram-INSTR where meet-FUT.2MPL
‘Where will you meet Ram?’
b. jahã:~tak vo dauR-taa hai, vahã:
where-TILL he run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG there
‘Till where he runs, there’
c. jahã-se vo dauR-naa shuruu kar-taa hai,
where-FROM he run-INF start do-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG
vahã:
there
‘From where he starts running, there.’

The demonstrative moreover can also take the form of the ordinary, non-locative vo ‘that’ phrase, which can be subject of a predicate nominal such a place, as the following example illustrates:

(51) Ram jahaaN-tak/se dauR-taa hai, vo
Ram where-TILL/FROM run-HAB.MSG be.PRS.3SG that
acchii jagah hai
good place be.PRS.3SG
‘The place till/from where Ram runs, that's a good place.’

Intuitively, it is correct to say that spatial relations are better at providing points than temporal ones. This no doubt follows from the dimensionality differences between the two domains, the idea being that 3-dimensional
space allows for a better definition of points that 1-dimensional time. The explanation behind the lack of matching effects in Hindi-Urdu locatives might then follow from the fact that *where/there* as well as *from/to where/there* can make reference to both points as well as paths, unlike what happens in the temporal domain.

Yet, it is also clear that greater individuatability of locations is not a universal property, languages can differ with respect to what extent their syntax allows for it. Hungarian is clearly an example where *from/to where/there* cannot express a point in place, as was shown in (37) above. Neither can *from/to where* correlatives associate with an ordinary demonstrative that is subject to a predicate like *place* (compare the grammatical (51) above):

(52) *??Amreddig János futott, az szép hely.  
what.TILL János run.PST that nice place  
‘The place where János ran to is a nice place.’

This shows that *from/to where* correlatives cannot express a point, only a path, and as the result of this, Hungarian locative correlatives do show matching effects, similarly to the temporal domain. Greater individuatability does enter the picture, but only to the degree that grammaticality judgments improve a bit compared to the temporal domain.

The different behavior of *from/to where* correlatives in Hungarian vs. Hindi-Urdu when it comes to reference to points and paths is what underlies the difference in matching effects in the locative domain in the two languages. There seems to be a lexico-semantic difference between the two languages in that *from/to/till* connectives in the locative domain are capable of expressing points in Hindi-Urdu, but not in Hungarian. The generalization that we arrived at, on the basis of these two languages is that if *from/to where* correlatives can denote a point, matching effects are missing.

While we cannot undertake the checking of the cross-linguistic validity of this generalization in the present article, we round off the discussion by showing that our generalization makes the right predictions for Dutch. It seems that the Hungarian pattern is replicated in Dutch. To consider the case of Dutch, note first that temporal clauses show a matching effect. A *till*-temporal clause can only combine with a *till*-phrase in the main clause:

(53) Totdat Jan wakker werd, totdan/#sindsdien heeft  
TILL.thatJan awake become.PST TILL.then /SINCE has  
Marie TV gekeken.  
Marie TV watch.PRTC  
‘Until the time that Jan woke up, Marie watched TV.’
Similarly to the temporal domain, non-matching cases in the locative domain sound weird:

(54) Tot waar toe Jan gerend heeft, tot daar toe ga ik ook rennen
     ‘I will run to the place where Jan has run to.’

(55) ??Tot waar toe Jan gerend heeft, (van) daar (af) begin ik
till there to Jan run.PRTC has of there from begin I
te rennen
to/INF
     ‘I will begin to run from the place where Jan has run to.’

The problem is that the locative tot waar toe-clause denotes a path and as such it cannot be construed as the starting point which can be picked out by the main clause pronominal in (55). As expected, a tot waar toe-clause cannot show up as subject of a nominal predicate denoting a place, either:

(56) *??Tot waar toe Jan gerend heeft is een fijne plek.
till where to Jan run has is a nice place
     ‘The place where Jan run to is a nice place.’

The behavior of Dutch thus parallels Hungarian, reinforcing the conclusion above that it is the lexico-semantic property of certain connectives that determines the availability of matching in the locative domain. Given that Dutch does not evidently use correlative structures for the expression of all adverbial clauses (the examples in (53) have a different underlying structure for example), these facts show that matching effects in temporal/locative multi-clausal structures extend beyond correlative constructions.

5. Summary

This paper dealt with a particular kind of matching effect in the realm of correlative clauses that shows up in relativization over times and locations. Such a matching effect manifests itself in the fact that not all combinations of temporal/locative connectives are possible in the correlative and the main clause. To offer an explanation about this matching requirement and the variation it shows among two unrelated languages, Hindi-Urdu and Hungarian, we have reviewed properties of path and point denoting temporal and locative expressions and concluded that there are semantic constraints on the combination of these two types of entities, and lexico-semantic constraints on their realization in the form of connectives. We have also shown that matching effects of this sort are not confined to correlative and headed relative constructions alone, but characterize other types of adverbial clauses as well.
Acknowledgements
This paper is dedicated to the memory of Carlota Smith, whose support was essential for the writing up of the first version of this paper, by the first author. Thanks are also due to Boban Arsenijević, Marcel den Dikken and István Kenesei for suggestions on the material presented in this article, and NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) for material support, in the form of a postdoc grant and a visiting scholar grant. Any errors in this article are our own.

References
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1 Here and in the examples below, we use the kind of Hindi orthography that represents retroflexes by capitalization, nasal vowels by following the vowel by the capitalized nasal, and long vowels by the doubling of the vowel. The glosses are: ACC: accusative; CP: conjunctive particle; DAT: dative; ERG: ergative; F: feminine; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; IMP: imperfective; LMB: left boundary marker; NOM: nominative, M: masculine; PFV: perfective; PL: plural; PRS: present; PST: past; PTCP: participle; PV: preverbal particle; RMB: right boundary marker; SG: singular. In the Hungarian examples, we only indicate agreement morphemes when these are different from 3 person singular, present tense agreement.

2 Conditionals are an exception to this generalization. In conditionals, the relative phrase can be absent but the anaphoric marker is generally present. A further exceptionality of conditionals is that they do not reliably pattern with correlatives in all Indo-Aryan languages. In Hindi-Urdu, for example, the conditional marker is agar, which is not a relative pronoun. It is possible that conditionals are only diachronically related to correlatives in Hindi-Urdu. We will not consider conditionals further in this discussion.

3 CP in the gloss here stands for conjunctive participle, a term we have adopted from the descriptive literature on Hindi-Urdu. Ordinarily V-CP contributes a meaning along the lines of ‘having V-ed’. Here, however, ‘lekar’ forms a fixed expression that optionally appears between a left boundary marker and a right boundary marker. See also example (12).

4 The multi-headed temporal and spatial correlatives shown below seem to be the only ones possible (next to cases where a temporal/spatial abstraction combines with an individual abstraction, not illustrated here). Other combinations lead to ungrammaticality. For example it is not possible to have two relativizations with a left boundary marker or two relativizations with a right boundary marker. Further we cannot have a multi-headed temporal/spatial correlative where one of the abstractions involves the bare/zero connective and the other involves a left/right boundary marker. The fact that it is impossible to combine a bare connective abstraction with a left/right boundary abstraction might indicate that the way bare connective adverbials modify the matrix clause is distinct from the way left/right boundary marker adverbials modify the matrix clause. The intuition is that the former involve reference to points while the latter modify a temporal/spatial interval/path argument of the clause.

5 Temporal correlatives in Hungarian have headed relative counterparts where the main clause demonstrative functions as the head. Matching restrictions apply to these headed relative structures as well, as the following show:

(i) a. Akkor amikor János megjött, Mari TV-t nézett.
   that.AT when János arrive.PST Mari TV-ACC watch.PST
   ‘When John arrived, then Mari was watching TV.’
b. *Azóta amikor János megjött Mari TV-t néz.
then.SINC when János arrive.PST Mari TV-ACC watch
‘When John arrived, since then Mari is watching TV.’
c. *Addig amikor János megjött Mari TV-t nézett.
then.TILL when János arrive.PST Mari TV-ACC watch.PST
‘When John arrived, till then Mari was watching TV.’
The corresponding headed structures are marginal in Hindi.

6 We thank Boban Arsenijević for making us consider this option.
7 Examples like this can be constructed, but are not naturally occurring data. Ahonnantól is almost always used to refer to location in the abstract sense.
8 Like with temporal correlatives, locative correlatives have headed counterparts that display matching effects.

(i) a. Addig/odáig ameddig tegnap elfutottam,
that.TILL/there.TO.TILL yesterday PV.run.PST.1SG
ma kocsival mentem.
today car.WITH go.PST.1SG
‘To the place where I ran yesterday, I went by car today.’
b. *Ott ameddig tegnap elfutottam, van egy nagy fa.
there what.TILL yesterday PV.run.PST.1SG be a big tree
‘The place to where I ran yesterday, there is a big tree there.’
c. *Onnantól ameddig tegnap futottam, ma
there.FROM.FROM what.TILL yesterday run.PST.1SG today
tovább mentem.
further go.PST.1SG
‘The place to where I ran yesterday, from there I went further today.’
The non-matching headed structures seem to be worse than their locative correlative counterparts.

9 It needs to be noted that akkortól and amikortól most usually occur in the headed pattern, but this does not affect our point here, as temporal relatives of the headed type also show matching effects (see footnotes 4 and 7 above).
10 We thank Marcel den Dikken for providing us with the Dutch examples in this section, as well as for calling our attention to the relevance of examples (51)- (52) for our theory of the lack of matching effects in locatives.