

Ways We Correlate: Hill Mari Correlatives as Relative Clauses vs. Topic Structures

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What is a correlative?

A correlative is a construction that:

- (i) consists of a matrix clause (MatrixCP) and a correlative clause (CorCP), and the latter precedes the former;
- (ii) contains one or more demonstrative constituents (Dem-XP_s) within MatrixCP 'associated' with one or more relative constituents (Rel-XP_s) within CorCP;
- (iii) has its Dem-XP(s) and Rel-XP(s) 'associated' due to co-indexation + bijection (Rel-XP/Dem-XP denotations are (pairwise) the same and the number of Dem-XP_s is typically equal to that of Rel-XP_s) + matching requirement (i.e. categorial features and case features of Rel-XP_s and Dem-XP_s match).

Correlatives can be represented cross-linguistically as in (Bhatt 2003: 486):

- (1) a. Simple [_{CorCP} ... Rel-XP_{*i*} ...]_{*i*} [_{CP/TP} ... Dem-XP_{*i*} ...]
b. Multiple [_{CorCP} ... Rel-XP_{*i*} ... Rel-YP_{*j*} ...]_{*i,j*} [_{CP/TP} ... Dem-XP_{*i*} ... Dem-YP_{*j*} ...]

Both types are present in Hill Mari^{ab}:

- (2) a. [_{CorCP}Kü_{*i*} kăčäl-eš]_{*i*}, [_{TP}tädä_{*i*} mo-eš].
who.NOM look.for-NPST.3SG that.NOM find-NPST.3SG
He who seeks finds.
b. [_{CorCP}Kü_{*i*} ma-m_{*j*} kăčäl-eš]_{*i,j*}, [_{TP}tädä_{*i*} tädä-m_{*j*} mo-eš].
who.NOM what-ACC look.for-NPST.3SG that.NOM that-ACC find-NPST.3SG
Whoever seeks whatever, he finds it.

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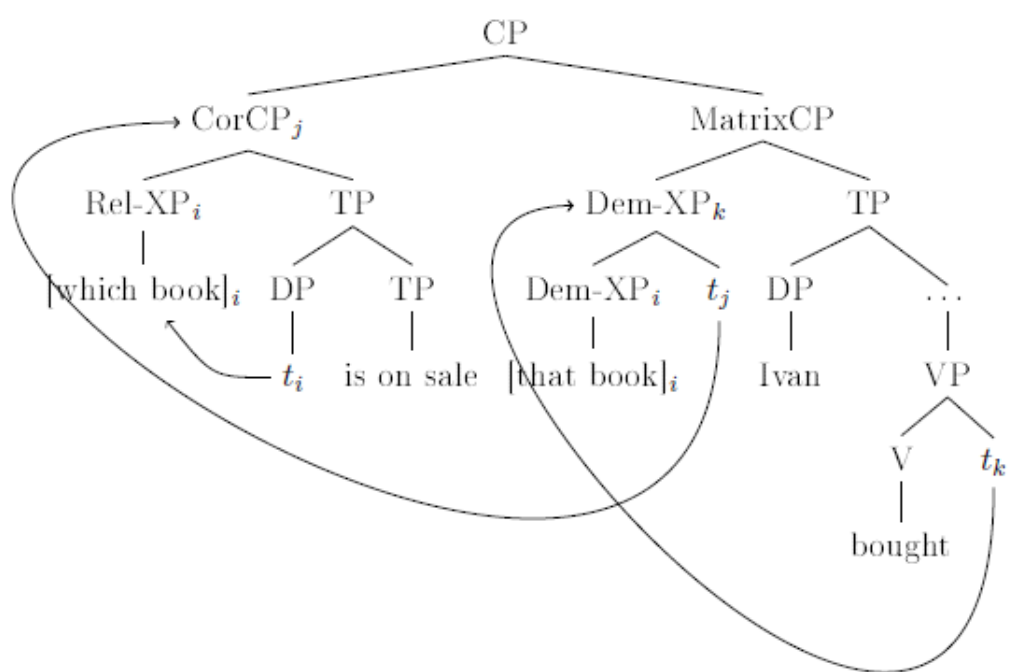
^bWe focus on simple correlatives for space reasons.

Analyses

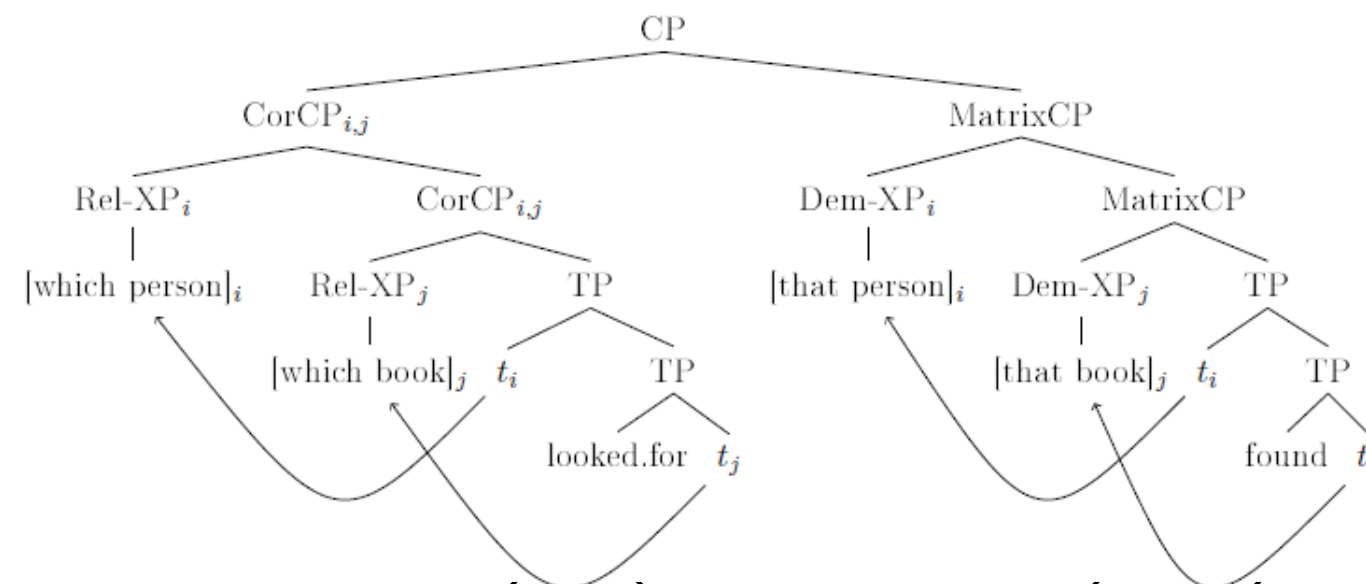
There are two ways to analyze the structure of correlatives, listed below as **Option 1** and **Option 2**:

Option 1 entails low (DP-)adjunction and movement to an IP adjunct position (cf. (Bhatt 2003)). A simple CorCP starts as an adjunct within a Dem-XP — note similarity of correlatives to restrictive relative clauses. For a multiple CorCP, a different structure has to be assumed — it is base-generated as an IP adjunct.

- (3) IP-adjunction via movement from "base" DP-adjunction for simple correlatives only, as in (Bhatt 2003 (cf. ibid. (16)-(18))):

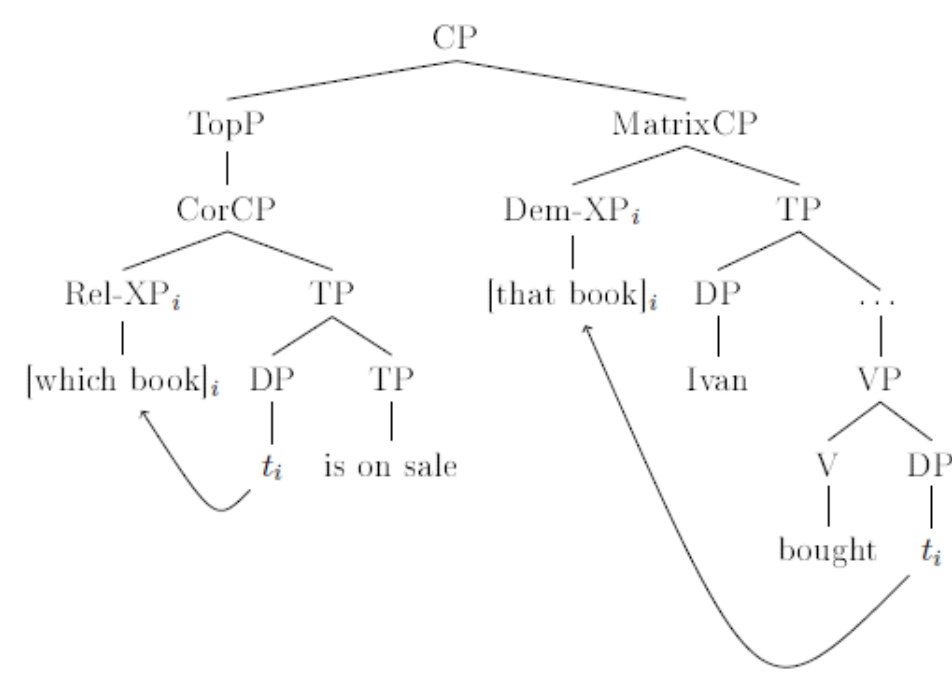


- (4) base-generation via IP-adjunction for multiple correlatives (ibid.):



Option 2 entails high (IP-)adjunction (cf. (Izvorski 1996)). A CorCP is adjoined to a clause at TP/CP-level from the start, so the uniform structure for simple and multiple correlatives is attained, the uniform semantics can be thus predicted straightforwardly.

- (5) base-generation via IP-adjunction (same structure for both simple and multiple correlatives), as in (Mitrenina 2010):



Correlatives tend to fall cross-linguistically into these two types (e.g.,

Option 1 is selected for Indo-Aryan languages, whereas **Option 2** holds for Slavic languages and Hungarian).

Is there DP-adjunction or something else out there?

I.e. do the CorCP and the Dem-XP form a constituent? If yes, we will face Option 1, else we will choose Option 2. Consider three syntactic tests:

- ① the question and answer test;
- ② (im)possibility to coordinate [CorCP + Dem-XP] phrases;
- ③ presence/absence of reconstruction effects.

- (6) The question and answer test:
- a. Q: Kü zvon'-en?
who.NOM call-PST2.3SG
Who called?
b. A: [Dem-XP [RelCP]] — **OK**:
tädä, kü gišan tengecä jad-ân-at.
that.NOM who about yesterday ask-PST2-2SG
Intended: "He who you asked about yesterday".
c. A: [RelCP] — **OK**:
kü gišan tengecä jad-ân-at.
who about yesterday ask-PST2-2SG
Intended: "(The person) who you asked about yesterday".
d. A: [CorCP [Dem-XP]] — **?***:
kü gišan tengecä jad-ân-at, tädä.
who about yesterday ask-PST2-2SG that.NOM
Intended: "Him who you asked yesterday about".
e. A: [[CorCP] [MatrixCP]] — **OK**:
kü gišan tengecä jad-ân-at, tädä zvon'-en.
who about yesterday ask-PST2-2SG that.NOM call-PST2.3SG
Intended: "The one who you asked about yesterday called".

- (7) The coordination test:
- a. [CorCP] [CorCP] — **OK**:
Kü lekci-m lâd-eš, dä kü čaj-âm jamdelält-eš, nänä-m
who.NOM lecture-ACC read-NPST.3SG and who.NOM tea-ACC prepare-NPST.3SG they-ACC
vâšlimäš-âškä ik cäš anzâc pâ-r-t-at.
event-ILL one hour before come.in-CAUS-NPST.3PL
Intended: "The person delivering a lecture and the person serving tea will be let in an hour before the event".
b. [CorCP [Dem-XP]] [CorCP [Dem-XP]] — *****:
Kü lekci-m lâd-eš, tädä-m dä kü čaj-âm jamdelält-eš,
who.NOM lecture-ACC read-NPST.3SG that-ACC and who.NOM tea-ACC prepare-NPST.3SG
tädä-m vâšlimäš-âškä ik cäš anzâc pâ-r-t-at.
that-ACC event-ILL one hour before come.in-CAUS-NPST.3PL
Intended: "The person delivering a lecture and the person serving tea will be let in an hour before the event".
(8) Reconstruction effects:
a. Ma-m_{*i*} tädä_{*j*} uż-eš, tädä-m_{*i*} [kažďâj orod-âš ke-šă]_{*j/1k} tör-eš
what-ACC he see-NPST.3SG that-ACC every fool-ILL go.away-PRTC.ACT truth-LAT
šotl-a.
consider-NPST.3SG
Intended: "[Every madman]_{*j/1k} takes for truth what he_{*j*} sees."

The structure proposed

Our findings favored **Option 2** and therefore a unified structure for simple and multiple constructions in question:

- (9) [_{CorCP} [_{TopP} Rel-XP_{*i*} (Rel-XP_{*j*}) [_{TP} ... t'_{*i*} ... (t'_{*j*}) ...]]]_{*i,(j)*} [_{MatrixCP} [_{TopP} Dem-XP_{*i*} (Dem-XP_{*j*}) [_{FocP} [_{TP} ... t_{*i*} ... (t_{*j*}) ...]]]]

Conclusion

- We have seen that being considered a non-local and non-canonical relativization strategy, correlatives exhibit some peculiar syntax in Hill Mari.
- We have shown that the syntax of Hill Mari correlatives resembles that of topics.
- This has been a contribution to the typology of correlatives, including intragenetic typology of the Uralic languages.

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