

Constructing correlatives: from lexicon to syntax

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This paper focuses on correlative constructions in Russian (1)-(3) (pattern (4)). Scrutinizing their syntax, Mitrenina (2010) has recently observed that they are ambiguous between high and low adjunction of the correlative CP. Hypothetically, the latter could be base-generated at a left-periphery position (Izvorsky 1996, Lipták 2012) or it could move from inside the main clause (Bhatt 2003; see also Lipták 2009 for an overview).

- (1) Кто придёт первым, тому организаторы вручат приз.
- (2) Кто кому понравится, тот того к себе и приглашает.
- (3) Чем дальше в лес, тем больше дров.
- (4) [correlative CP ... relative XP(s) ...] [main clause ... correlate NP(s) ...]

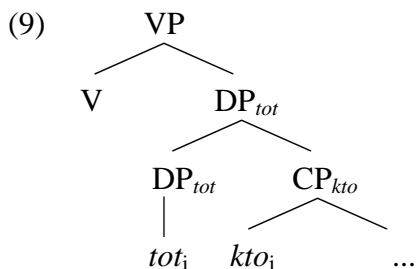
The same CPs can also be headed relatives (5)-(6). At the same time, they do not reconstruct (7) (vs. (8)), and multiple correlatives (2) are problematic for low adjunction (unless we assume that they are derived differently, following Bhatt 2003).

- (5) Кому организаторы вручат приз? – Тому, кто придёт первым.
- (6) Получит приз тот, кто придёт первым.
- (7) Кого Маша_i повстречает, с тем она_i и будет жить.
- (8) *Она_i будет жить с тем, кого Маша_i повстречает.

In fact, correlatives could be revisited as special constructions. This position is not new: e.g., comparative correlatives (3) are known to have a number of idiosyncrasies that seem to undermine a universal syntactic analysis (Culicover and Jackendoff 1999; Abeillé, Borsley and Espinal 2006, opposed to den Dikken 2005).

We maintain a derivational analysis, assuming that such pairs as *takuju... kakuju, tak... kak, tot... kto, to... čto*, etc. are stored in the lexicon inseparably from each other. At a more abstract level, we refer to them as {D, Q} (unordered pair). Such pairs are realized as indefinites either by a morphological operation (resulting in *kakja-to, kak-to, kto-to, čto-to*, etc.) or by syntactic Merge. In the case of the latter, {D, Q} is selected from the lexicon as a set whose members share the same referential index {D_i, Q_i}. This set, in its turn, is a subset of a larger set (a.k.a. “numeration”). Even though D and Q are selected as a pair from the lexicon, they are still separate syntactic units that would enter the derivation independently from one another. Now imagine two scenarios (in each scenario, QP moves to Spec,CP attracted by a [Q] feature in C— that is, Q and C are linked by Agree and correlative CP ends up by bearing the same features as Q (= CP_{kto}); we use *tot* and *kto* for expository purpose abstracting away from their case forms, which are not relevant here):

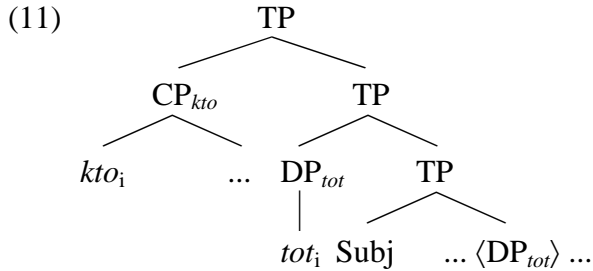
Scenario 1: Low DP-adjunction:



This scenario is compatible with focus movement of *tot*, resulting in structures like (10), but we do not expect that *tot* can be topicalized, since DP-CP adjunction creates an indefinite in syntax and indefinites cannot be topicalized. In other words, (9) is compatible only with focus function of *tot* in discourse.

(10) Тот получит приз, кто придёт первым. (cf. 6)

Scenario 2: Suppose now that *tot* is a topic. Low adjunction is not an option, since it would produce an indefinite early in the derivation (and would prevent *tot* from moving into a topic position). In this case, *tot* moves to a TP-adjoined position and CP is directly adjoined to TP, as in (11). We thus derive a correlative construction.



Our analysis is compatible with CP-adjunction of CP_{kto} (den Dikken 2005). Nevertheless, we assume (at least for non-comparative correlatives) that CP_{kto} is adjoined to TP, without excluding the option that the main clause could be a CP. As a matter of fact, CP_{kto} is preceded by a complementizer in embedded contexts (12), and it can be preceded by an aboutness-shift topic (13)-(14), but not by a *wh*-phrase (15)-(16) (CP_{kto} intervenes between C and a *wh*-phrase).

(12) Мы не должны забывать, что кто платит, тот и заказывает музыку.

[Мнения (2003) // «Петербургский Час пик», 2003.09.17]

(13) Иван, кстати, кого повстречает, тому сразу же о себе всё и расскажет.

(14) У нас в селе, кому землю вспашешь, тот тебе пол-хозяйства готов отдать.

(15) *Кто кого повстречает, тому сразу же о своей жизни рассказывает?

(16) *Где кому землю вспашешь, тот тебе пол-хозяйства готов отдать?

To wrap up, our analysis partly incorporates the idea that correlatives are Q-D constructions, but we do not separate them from D-Q relatives. Both are derived from an unordered {D, Q} pair by fairly general syntactic mechanisms.

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