

The Syntax of Correlatives in Russian

The purpose of this study is to provide an analysis of correlative constructions in Russian. Correlatives have been actively studied in recent 15 years (Keenan 1985, Izvorski 1996, Vries 2002, Bhatt 2003, Lipták 2005, Dikken 2005), but Russian constructions were usually not considered, although they provide useful material for better understanding of syntax of relativisation and topicalisation (Zalanyak and Paducheva 1975, Shvedova 1980, Lutikova 2008).

Correlativisation is a non-local strategy of relativisation; in a simple correlative the subordinate clause contains relative XP_{rel} and precedes the main clause that contains anaphoric XP_{ana} associated with XP_{rel} . It can be basically schematized like this:

(1) [$CorCP$ (subordinate clause)... XP_{rel} i...]_i [IP (main clause)... XP_{ana} i...]

Following Strvstav (1991), Rajesh Bhatt (2003) describes differences between Headed Relative Clauses and Correlatives. The Russian correlatives reveal the same properties: (a) unlike headed relatives, the 'head' can appear in either S_{rel} or S_{main} , or both; (b) the demonstrative requirement; (c) multi-head relative clauses are only possible with correlatives; (d) while externally headed relative clauses allow for stacking, correlatives do not.

Depending on the realized element Russian correlative can be nominal or adverbial, there are also two types of comparative correlatives.

One of the possible structures of correlatives that were described in the literature (Bhatt 2003, Lipták 2005) assumes that the correlative is base-generated adjoined to Dem-XP and is optionally moved out of there together with the optional scrambling of Dem-XP. Arguments in favor of the low-adjunction analysis come from reconstruction effects. But in the case of Russian correlatives reconstruction effects reveal no movement.

(2) [Какая яхта_k Мише_i понравится]_k, ту_k он_i и покупает т_k.
Which yacht Misha_i likes Dem he_i Prt buys
'Misha_i buys whichever yacht he_i likes.'

If $CorCP$ [Какая яхта_k Мише_i понравится]_k (Which yacht Misha_i likes) was moved from IP in (15), then this sentence should be ungrammatical, because он_i c-commands the "trace" of [Какая яхта_k Мише_i понравится] that includes its coindexed R-expression **Мише_i**. So, there is no movement from IP and low-adjunction does not work for Russian correlatives.

Another structural account assumes that the correlative clause is base-generated adjoined to the matrix clause (IP). Rajesh Bhatt shows that it does not work for simple correlatives in Hindi, and Anikó Lipták proves that it does not work for Hungarian either. This analysis was rejected because the relationship between the Correlative Clause and the Demonstrative Phrase is subject to islands. The same is true for Russian.

No islands when there is no NP:

(3) Кто честно работал, того ты пытаешься уволить, а [$CorCP$ кто воровал],[ты хочешь, ->
Who honestly worked, that-him you tries to-fire, but who thieved you want
чтобы [IP того опять взял к себе на работу]].
that I Dem again take to myself to work
'You want me to fire those who worked honestly, and as for those who stole, you want me to hire them again'.

Complex NP island:


(4a) *_[CorCP] **Кто** плохо работал_i, я выпустил _[NP] указ, чтобы _[IP] того_i уволить_{]]}.
*_[CorCP] **Who** badly worked _]_i, I issued _[NP] decree, in-order _[IP] Dem_i to-fire_{]]}.
'As for those who worked badly, I issued a decree to fire them'.

(4b) *_[CorCP] **Кто** видит сквозь стены_i, есть _[NP] больницы, где _[IP] таких лечат бесплатно_{]]}
*_[CorCP] **Who** sees through walls_i, there-are _[NP] hospitals, where _[IP] Dem are-treated for-free_{]]}
'As for those who can see through walls, there are hospitals where such people are treated for free'.

So, as Rajesh Bhatt says, something must be moving. But it is moving not from IP (according to the previous section).

Aniko Liptak suggests her own structural account of correlatives by introducing Correlative Topic Phrase. This analysis works well for Hungarian where focus is always overly marked and everything that precedes it is in topic. In Russian the situation with topic/focus although Russian correlativisation is definitely connected with topicalisation. The possible structural account for Russian can be the following:

(5) [_{TopP/FocP} [_{CorCP}]_j [_{FocP} (Dem-XP_i) [_{IP} ... t_i...]]]



This analysis explains also the ungrammaticality of (4a-b).

References

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