A Correlative Construction in Japanese and its Implication to Typology

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Introduction: Correlatives have received a fair amount of attention in the theoretical and typological linguistic literature (Srivastav 1991, Dayal 1996, Bhatt 2003 a.o.; Downing 1973, Keenan 1985, De Vries 2002 a.o.; see Lipták 2009 for an overview). According to Keenan 1985 and Lipták 2009, correlatives are attested in "loose" head-final languages (e.g., Indo-Aryan) or free word order languages (e.g., Slavic). Crucially, Keenan (1985: 164-165) notes that "correlatives are not attested in rigid head-final languages such as Japanese and Turkish", which has been taken for granted in the literature. In this paper, however, I argue that a closer look at correlative constructions reveals that Japanese does allow one type of correlative construction, contrary to this standard view. This means that we need to expand the scope of typological investigations of correlatives with a more fine-grained classification of correlatives. I also argue that the Japanese data support Bhatt's (2003) analysis in which correlatives are base-generated with their correlates and then undergo A'-scrambling to the left periphery.

Basic Properties of Correlatives: Cross-linguistically, correlative constructions have the following properties: (a) a free relative clause in the left periphery and (b) a correlate in the main clause that is associated with the free relative clause. (1) is a typical example from Hindi, where a free relative clause is located in the left periphery of the sentence and its correlate is located in a position where the relative clause is interpreted.

(1) **[Jo laRkii khaRii hai]$_i$ vo (laRkii)$_i$** lambi hai.
       REL girl   standing is   DEM girl   tall   is
       'The girl who is standing is tall.'   (Hindi: adapted from Dayal 1996)

There are some syntactic restrictions on the correlative construction. First, the correlative clause cannot follow its correlate in contrast to a headed restrictive relative clause, as shown in (2).

(2) a. vo laRkii **[jo khaRii hai]** lambii hai.   (restrictive relative clause)
            that girl   REL standing is   tall   is
     b. *vo laRkii **[jo laRkii khaRii hai]** lambii hai.   (correlative clause)
            that girl   REL girl   standing is   tall   is
            'The girl who is standing is tall.'   (Hindi: Dayal 1996)

Second, the correlate has to contain a demonstrative. Thus, a demonstrative cannot be omitted even if the noun is interpreted as definite as in (3). In a language like Polish where 3rd personal pronouns have a distinct form from demonstratives, 3rd person pronouns cannot be used as shown in (4).

(3) [Jo laRkii khaRii hai]$_i$ ***(vo) laRkii$_i$** lambi hai.
       REL girl   standing is   DEM girl   tall   is
       'The girl who is standing is tall.'   (Hindi: adapted from Dayal 1996)

(4) [Kto   wygra]$_i$, {**tego/*jego$_i$**}   pochwalę   {**tego/*go$_i$**}
       who.NOM win.3SG   DEM.ACC/**he**.ACC praise.1SG.FUT   DEM.ACC/**he**.ACC
       'I will praise the one who wins.'   (Polish: adapted from Pietraszko 2015)

In addition to the typical correlatives that receive a definite interpretation (which I call *definite correlatives*), there are correlative constructions that involve free choice free relatives (which I call *FC-correlatives*). In Hindi, the focus particle *bhii* 'even' can be attached to a correlative clause, which derives an FC-correlative as in (5).

(5) [jo-**bhii**   laRkii mehnat kartii hai]$_i$ vo$_i$ safal   ho-tii   hai.
       REL-**ever** girl   effort do   is   that successful be-HAB is
       'Whichever girl makes an effort, she is successful.'   (Hindi: Dayal 1996)

Lipták 2009 notes that FC-correlatives are actually predominant in certain languages such as Slavic and Hungarian. Thus, in (6), the most salient interpretation is a free choice interpretation.

(6) [Amelyik kutya közel jön   hozzám]$_i$, azt$_i$ elkergetem.
       REL.which dog   close comes to.me   that.ACC chase.away.1SG
       'Which(**ever**) dog comes close to me, I'll chase it away.'   (Hungarian: Lipták 2009)

Thus, we should take the two types of correlatives into consideration: definite correlatives and FC-correlatives.

Correlatives in Japanese: In Japanese, although definite correlatives are not attested, FC-correlatives are actually attested, which has been overlooked in the literature. More specifically, free choice free relative clauses that contain a wh-word show the basic properties of correlatives described above. First consider (7).

(7) **[Dono-onnanoko-ni atte   mo]$_i$,** John-wa **sono-{ko/onnanoko}-o$_i$** kiniiru daroo.
       which-girl-DAT   meet.INF also John-TOP that-KO/girl-ACC   like   will
       'Whichever girl he meets, John will like her.'

In (7), there is a FC free relative clause in the left periphery and a correlate associated with the relative clause in the main clause. As (8) shows, this free choice free relative clause cannot follow the correlate like in Hindi.

(8) *John-wa **sono-{ko/onnanoko}-o$_i$** **[dono-onnanoko-ni atte   mo]$_i$,** kiniiru daroo.
       John-TOP that-KO/girl-ACC   which-girl-DAT   meet.INF also like   will
       'Whichever girl he meets, John will like her.'

In addition, the correlate has to have a demonstrative as in (9a) and cannot be replaced with a personal pronoun as in (9b), on a par with Hindi and Polish, respectively.

(9) a. [Dono-onnanoko-ni atte   mo]ᵢ John-wa ***(sono)**-{ko/onnanoko}-oᵢ kiniiru daroo.
     which-girl-DAT   meet.INF also John-TOP **that**-KO/girl-ACC   like   will
     'Whichever girl he meets, John will like her.'
   b. *[Dono-onnanoko-ni atte   mo]ᵢ John-wa **kanojo**-oᵢ kiniiru daroo.
     which-girl-DAT   meet.INF also John-TOP **she**-ACC   like   will
     'Whichever girl he meets, John will like her.'

Thus, contrary to what is claimed in the typological literature, Japanese actually allows correlatives, which are FC-correlatives that show the same syntactic properties as definite correlatives.

Syntax of Correlatives: There are many analyses of the syntax of correlative constructions in the literature (see Lipták 2009 for an overview). I argue that Japanese correlative constructions can be best explained by Bhatt's (2003) analysis. Bhatt proposes that a correlative clause is base-generated as a modifier of its correlate and then undergoes (optional) A'-scrambling to the left periphery. The schema is given in (10).

(10) [IP [CorrelCP ... RelXP...]ᵢ [IP ...[[tᵢ] DemXP] ...]]]

This analysis explains the fact that a correlative clause and its correlate cannot be separated by an island, as in (11). Note that a correlative clause can be separated from its correlate by a clause boundary as in (12).

(11) *[jo vahaaN rahtaa hai]ᵢ mujhe vo kahaani [island jo Arundhati-ne usᵢ-ke.baare.me likhii] pasand hai.
     REL there stay   is   I.DAT that story   REL Arundhati-ERG that-about   write pleasing is
     'lit. Who lives there, I like the story that Arundhati wrote about that boy.'   (Hindi: Bhatt 2003)

(12) [jo larkii TV-par gaa rah-ii hai]ᵢ Sita soch-tii   hai [CP ki voᵢ sundar hai].
     REL girl TV-on sing PROG is   Sita think-HAB.F is   that DEM beautiful is
     'Sita thinks that the girl who is singing on TV is beautiful.'   (Hindi: Bhatt 2003)

The same holds for the Japanese correlative construction, as shown in (13) and (14).

(13) *[Dono-onnanoko-ni atte   mo]ᵢ watashi-wa [island moshi John-ga   sono-ko-oᵢ kiniira-nak-attara]
     which-girl-DAT   meet.INF also I-TOP   if   John-NOM that-KO-ACC like-NEG-be.COND
     odoroku.
     get.surprised
     'lit. Whichever girl he meets, I will be surprised if John doesn't like that girl.'

(14) [Dono-onnanoko-ni atte   mo] watashi-wa [CP John-ga   sono-ko-o   kiniiru to] omotteiru.
     which-girl-DAT   meet.INF also I-TOP   John-NOM that-KO-ACC like   C think
     'lit. Whichever girl he meets, I think that John will like that girl.'

In addition, since a correlative clause undergoes A'-scrambling that forces reconstruction in his analysis, it is predicted that when an R-expression is included in a correlative clause and there is a pronoun that is co-indexed with the R-expression above a correlate, the sentence should be ungrammatical. This is borne out in (15).

(15) *[jo laRkii **Sita-ko**ᵢ pyaar kar-tii hai]ₖ **us-ne**ᵢ us-koₖ ṭhukraa di-yaa.
     REL girl Sita-ACC love do   is   that-ERG that-ACC reject   give-PFV
     'She rejected the girl who loves Sita.'   (Hindi: Bhatt 2003)

Again, the same reconstruction effect is observed with the Japanese FC-correlative construction as shown in (16). Note that coreference between an R-expression in a left-peripheral adjunct clause and a pronoun in the main clause is possible as in (17), which indicates that the free choice correlative clause in (16) is not base-generated in the left periphery unlike usual adjunct clauses.

(16) *[Dono-onnanoko-ni **John-ga**ᵢ atte   mo]ₖ **kare-wa**ᵢ sono-ko-oₖ kiniiru daroo.
     which-girl-DAT   John-NOM meet.INF also he-TOP   that-KO-ACC like   will.
     'He will like whichever girl John meets.'

(17) [Moshi **John-ga**ᵢ **Mary-ni**ₖ attara], **kare-wa**ᵢ kanojo-oₖ kiniiru daroo.
     if   John-NOM Mary-DAT meet.COND he-TOP   she-ACC like   will
     'If John meets Mary, he will like her.'

Thus, the Japanese data support Bhatt's (2003) analysis of correlative constructions, which in turn supports my claim that (FC-)correlatives do exist in Japanese.

Implication to Typological Studies: The presence of correlative constructions in Japanese has an important implication to typological investigations of correlatives. As noted above, it has been assumed in the literature that "correlatives" do not exist in rigid head-final languages such as Japanese (Keenan 1985, Lipták 2009 a.o.). It should be noted here that the typological literature has not distinguished definite correlatives from FC-correlatives and hence not paid much attention to the latter. However, once FC-correlatives are concerned, it turns out that even a rigid head-final language (Japanese) allows FC-correlatives, which share the syntactic properties with definite correlatives, in spite of an interpretational difference. This means that "correlatives" should be classified into two types (definite correlatives and FC-correlatives), and typological studies have to take these two types into consideration. The present paper indicates that whether it may be the case that definite correlatives are limited to "loose" head-final languages and free word order languages, FC-correlatives are allowed in a wider variety of languages.

Selected Ref: Bhatt, R. 2003. Locality in correlatives. *NLLT*. **Dayal, V. 1996.** *Locality in wh-quantification: Questions and relative clauses in Hindi.* **Keenan, E. 1985.** Relative clauses. In *Language typology and syntactic description II.* **Lipták, A. 2009.** The landscape of correlatives: An empirical and analytical survery. In *Correlatives crosslinguistically.*