

## A Compositional Semantics for Turkish Correlatives

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**Introduction.** In this paper, I provide a compositional semantics for the correlative construction in Turkish extensively discussed in Iatridou (2013). The analysis I argue for is based on Rawlins (2013) which attempts to unify the semantics of conditionals and unconditionals.

**Problem.** Iatridou argues that (1) exemplifies correlatives in Turkish. The correlative clause (CC) is a clausal adjunct in the left periphery and can be followed by a *demonstrative* proform in the matrix clause, which are characteristic properties of *correlative syntax* which has been argued to be the syntax of correlative *relativization* strategy in (2) and *if-then* conditionals (Lipták 2009). In that respect, (1) might qualify as having *correlative syntax* as Iatridou argues to be the case. The Turkish example in (1) indeed shares these properties with Hindi correlatives (2).

- (1) [cc John ne pişir-se], Mary onu ye-r  
J what cook-COND M DEM.ACC eat-MOD

“Mary eats whatever John cooks.”

- (2) [cc jo laRkii khaRii hai] vo lambii hai  
REL girl standing is DEM tall is

‘The girl [who is standing] is tall.’

(Srivastav, 1991)

Besides identifying (1) as having the correlative syntax, Iatridou conjectures that the CC in Turkish should denote a predicate so that the semantics of Turkish correlatives parallels what Srivastav proposes for Hindi correlatives (2). To get a predicate out of a CC, the CC by assumption should involve predicate abstraction (3a). Iatridou does not spell out her proposal but we can imagine that a (null) universal quantifier (3b) or the  $\iota$  operator (3c) is taking the CC as an argument.

- (3) a. [correlative clause] =  $[\lambda y. y \text{ is inanimate. John cooks } y]$   
b. (1) = 1 iff  $\forall x [\text{John cooks } x \rightarrow \text{Mary eats } x]$   
c. (1) = 1 iff  $[\lambda x. \text{Mary eats } x](\iota[\lambda y. \text{John cooks } y])$

In this paper, I argue that the denotation of the CC in Turkish is never a predicate (3a) and that the CC does not behave on a par with a quantificational phrase (3b) or a definite description (3c). The core surface observation is that the CC in Turkish requires the suffix that also marks conditional antecedents and makes use of wh-words that are used in wh-questions (wh-words are not used in relativization or as indefinites). Hindi correlatives, on the other hand, are clearly relative clauses and make use of a relative pronoun in their composition (Srivastav, 1991). (Note that my proposal for Turkish correlatives is still compatible with Iatridou’s main claim that they exhibit *correlative syntax*, which does not implicate any particular semantics).

**Proposal.** I adopt the analysis for English unconditionals in Rawlins (2013). I take (1) to have the paraphrase in (4a), which Rawlins analyzes as a conjunction of conditional statements as in (4b).

- (4) a. No matter what John cooks, Mary eats it.  
b.  $\{\text{If John cooks pizza, Mary eats it} \wedge \text{If John cooks lasagna, Mary eats it} \wedge \dots\}$

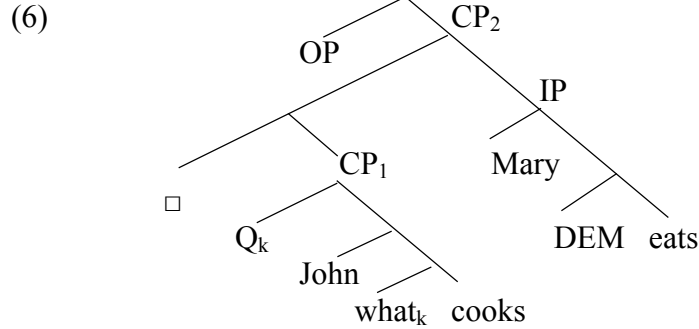
In this analysis, the only difference between conditionals and correlatives would be whether a singleton set of propositions or a non-singleton set of propositions restricts the modal (Hamblin 1973; Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002; Rawlins, 2013). If we take the CC to denote a non-singleton set of propositions that pointwise restrict a modal, we capture the striking parallelism between a CC and a conditional antecedent in (5).

- (5) a. [John ne pişir-se], Mary onu ye-r  
J what cook-COND M that eat-□

“Mary eats whatever John cooks.”

b. [John            makarna            pişir-se],                    Mary    onu                    ye-r  
       J                pasta                cook-COND                M        that                eat-□  
       “If John cooks pasta, Mary eats it.”

To generate a non-singleton set of propositions out of the CC is straightforward. It already has the syntax and semantics of wh-questions in Turkish (see (i) in Predictions). Hence, I take the denotation of the CC in (5a) to be  $[\lambda p. \exists x. p = \lambda w'. \text{John cooks } x \text{ in } w']$  rather than (3a). Finally, the LF for (5a) will look like in (6).



DEM will be an assignment-dependent e-type pronoun = [the unique max entity John cooks in  $w'$ ] (Heim & Kratzer, 1998). The necessity modal ( $[[\Box]]^c = \lambda p. \lambda q. \lambda w. \forall w'' \in F_c(w) [p(w'') \rightarrow q(w'')]$ ) will pointwise take each of the propositions in the denotation of  $CP_1$  and then take the singleton set of propositions that IP denotes ( $\lambda w'. \text{I eat the [the unique max entity John cooks in } w'] \text{ in } w'$ ).  $CP_2$  will be a set of propositions  $\{[\lambda w. \forall w'' \in F_c(w) [\text{Mary cooks pizza in } w'' \rightarrow \text{I eat (the unique max entity John cooks in } w'') \text{ in } w']], [\lambda w. \forall w'' \in F_c(w) [\text{Mary cooks lasagna in } w'' \rightarrow \text{I eat (the unique max entity John cooks in } w'') \text{ in } w']], \dots\}$  and finally the assertion OP ( $\lambda P_{\langle st, t \rangle}. \lambda w. \forall p [P(p) \rightarrow p(w)]$ ) will assert these propositions in the evaluation world.

**Predictions.** This analysis of Turkish correlatives predicts several facts that need to be explained under the analysis that the CC denotes a predicate and combines with  $\iota$  or  $\forall$ : **i.** The CC patterns with a wh-question with respect to the scope freedom of in-situ wh-words, the relative scope of multiple wh-words (Richards, 2010), the set of wh-words available to these constructions, focus-intervention facts (Beck, 2006; Cable, 2010), the availability of ‘aggressively non-D-linked wh-phrases’ (Pesetsky, 1987). **ii.** Conditionals and correlatives exhibit full parallelism with respect to the morphology that co-varies with their interpretation (e.g. counterfactual vs. non-counterfactual). **iii.** The CC also differs from a quantification phrase in that a universal QP cannot scope above negation but a CC has to scope above negation (expected under the conditional analysis) and furthermore a universal QP is subject to the Epistemic Containment Principle (von Stechow and Iatridou, 2003) while a CC is not. **iv.** The demonstrative is only a syntactic need since the CC is a clausal adjunct and cannot be in the argument position, unlike English free relatives. If there is no theta position in the matrix clause that “refers to” the CC, we simply predict to find an unconditional “Lit: [John what do-COND], Mary gets angry at me.” that is interpreted as “No matter what John does, Mary gets angry at me.” This is attested. In conclusion, the correlative construction in Turkish compositionally exploits the semantics of wh-questions and conditionals, which is reflected in its morpho-syntax. Hence, if the compositional semantics this paper offers is on the right track, a possibility of bifurcation in the cross-linguistic typology of correlatives arises.

**Selected References:** Iatridou, S. 2013. Looking for Free Relatives in Turkish (and the unexpected places this leads to). The Proceedings of WAFL 8. Lipták, A. 2009. *Correlatives Cross-Linguistically*. Rawlins, K. 2013. (Un)conditionals. *Natural Language Semantics* 40: 111-178. Srivastav, V. 1991. The Syntax and Semantics of Correlatives. *NLLT* 9: 637– 686.