

The Syntax of the Tibetan Correlative¹

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1. Introduction

The Tibetan translation of an English sentence containing a free relative – such as (1a) – seems to employ a structure in which an adjoined CP containing an interrogative phrase is ‘associated with’ a pronoun or demonstrative phrase in the matrix clause. The Tibetan structure is illustrated in (1b).²

- (1) a. I killed whatever yak you bought.
- b. [CP Khyodra-s gyag gare nyos yod na] nga-s de bsad pa yin.³
you-erg yak what buy aux if I-erg that kill perf aux
I killed whatever yak you bought.
(Lit. ‘If you bought what yak, I killed that’.)

Somewhat tententiously, I shall refer to the construction in (1b) as “the Tibetan Correlative”. In this paper, I will explore the syntax this construction, comparing it in particular to the more well-studied correlative construction of Hindi.

I begin, in the next section, by introducing some basic facts about Tibetan. Section 3 then introduces certain basic facts regarding the Tibetan Correlative. The motivation for referring to this structure as a “correlative” is explained, and certain elementary claims regarding its structure and meaning are defended. The fourth section explores the gross phrasal structure of the Tibetan Correlative. It is argued that the Tibetan Correlative arises from three possible derivations within the grammar of Tibetan. This is an interesting contrast with the correlative found in Hindi, as described in Bhatt (2003), and a possible reason for this difference is proposed in Section 5. The paper ends with a summarizing conclusion.

¹ I wish to thank Chashing Bugang for all the assistance he has given me in my study of his language. Beyond his boundless patience in evaluating and translating my often convoluted example sentences, he has been a first-rate instructor in the language. His linguistic expertise and insight often guided me towards data and patterns I would otherwise be ignorant of. In addition, a great many errors in transliteration have been caught by his watchful eye. Special thanks are also due to Anikó Lipták, Alec Marantz, David Pesetsky, Norvin Richards, Ken Wexler, and one anonymous reviewer for their many helpful comments upon earlier drafts of this paper. All errors empirical or conceptual remain my own responsibility.

² All Tibetan data in this paper are written following the conventions of the Wylie transliteration system (Wylie 1959). Although most polysyllabic words in Tibetan are analyzable to some degree, I only indicate the structure of morphologically complex ‘words’ where I consider it relevant.

³ Throughout this paper, I use the following abbreviations in my glosses of example sentences: *erg* ‘ergative’, *acc* ‘accusative’, *gen* ‘genitive’, *dat* ‘dative’, *abl* ‘ablative’, *M* ‘masculine’, *F* ‘feminine’, *sg* ‘singular’, *pl* ‘plural’, *rel* ‘relative operator’, *top* ‘topic marker’, *aux* ‘auxiliary’, *perf* ‘perfective’, *fut* ‘future’, *non.past* ‘non-past’, *prog* ‘progressive’, *hab* ‘habitual’, *agnt* ‘agentive nominalizer’.

2. Tibetan: An Outline

Throughout this paper, I confine my attention to the dialect of Tibetan known as Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 2003b), and I use the term “Tibetan” to refer to this particular Tibetan dialect. Lhasa Tibetan, which is native to an area of Central Tibet surrounding the city of Lhasa, is the best-studied living dialect of Tibetan, and functions as a *lingua franca* and linguistic ‘standard’ throughout the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). Other major dialects of Tibetan include Khams, spoken in the Eastern TAR, Amdo, spoken in the Chinese province of Qinghai, and the Western and Southern dialects spoken in the Western TAR, Nepal and Pakistan.⁴ All Tibetan dialects belong to the ‘Bodic’ branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, ultimately a sub-branch of Sino-Tibetan.

Tibetan is natively written in the Tibetan script, a Brahmic writing system based upon the seventh-century Gupta script. Like all scripts within the Brahmic family, the Tibetan script is an abugida, and every consonantal symbol has the ‘inherent’ vowel quality of /a/. Famously, the spelling conventions used in present-day Tibetan reflect pronunciations common only as late as 1000 CE, prior to drastic simplifications of the language’s syllable structure. Thus, the root *bsad* meaning ‘kill’ in (1b) is in Lhasa Tibetan pronounced /se/ (ignoring tone). This paper follows the common convention of representing words of Tibetan by transliterating their Tibetan spelling into a Roman alphabet. In this paper, all Tibetan data are transliterated using the Wiley transliteration system (Wylie 1959).

The ‘default’ word order within a Tibetan sentence is SOV, though pre-verbal word order is essentially free. As in many languages, word-order freedom in Tibetan seems to be accomplished through two distinct methods of ‘scrambling’: A-scrambling and A’-scrambling (Mahajan 1990). A-scrambling allows for the re-binding of anaphors.

- (2) a. * [_{DP} Gzugs-gzugs₁ gi amalags]-gi Sgrolma₁ mthong pa red.
body-body gen mother erg Droma see perf aux
His₁ mother saw Droma₁.
- b. Sgrolma₁ [_{DP} gzugs-gzugs₁ gi amalags]-gi mthong pa red.
Droma body-body gen mother erg see perf aux
Droma₁’s mother saw him₁.

A-bar scrambling, however, does not.⁵

- (3) * Sgrolma₁ ni Norbu-s [_{CP} [_{DP} gzugs-gzugs₁ gi amalags]-gi mthong pa red]
Droma top Norbu-erg body-body gen mother erg see perf aux
lap pa red.
say perf aux
Droma₁ , Norbu said his₁ mother saw.

⁴ Modern Tibetan dialectics is rather understudied, and it is not known to me how the many various living dialects of Tibetan might differ in regards to the presence or structure of correlatives.

⁵ These data were originally discovered by Justin Fitzpatrick (p.c.).

Although constituents preceding the verb in a Tibetan sentence may be freely ordered, no constituent may follow the verb (aside from the inflectional material within the ‘verbal complex’). Tibetan is thus a ‘rigidly verb-final’ language.

- (4) * Norbu-s lap pa red [_{CP} nga-s Sgrolma mthong pa red]
Norbu-erg say perf aux I-erg Droma see perf aux
Norbu said that I saw Droma.

The putative existence of correlatives within Tibetan therefore challenges the typological generalization that correlatives only appear in ‘loose’ verb final languages, verb final languages where some constituents – particularly ‘heavy’ ones – may appear to the right of the verb (Downing 1973, Keenan 1985). It should be noted, though, that this generalization is independently challenged by the existence of correlatives in such VO languages as Hungarian (Lipták 2005) and the Slavic languages (Izvorski 1997).

In addition to its V-finality, Tibetan has a number of other properties indicative of a head-final alignment, including the use of postpositions, V-Auxiliary order, NP-Determiner order, and Genitive-NP order.

No overview of the Tibetan language would be complete without some mention of its complex auxiliary system. The auxiliary system of Tibetan includes a rich array of ‘copular verbs’, such as *yin*, *red*, *yod*, and *'dug*, as well as a number of more contentful verbs, such as *song*, *zhag*, and *byung*. The choice of auxiliary is affected by such factors as whether the proposition is part of the speaker’s *de se* knowledge, the identity of subject across clauses (switch-reference), volition of subject, motion towards speaker or addressee, whether the proposition ‘benefits’ the speaker, and evidentiality. Any given auxiliary may cross-reference several of the aforementioned properties, leading to a highly complex and richly expressive system.⁶ In the interests of simplicity, however, I will simply gloss all auxiliaries throughout this paper with the label *aux*.

3. Basic Properties of the Tibetan Correlative

3.1 Correlatives in Tibetan

I assume that the following is an uncontroversial definition of the term “correlative construction”.⁷

- (5) Correlative Construction:
Any structure with the following properties:
- *an adjunct CP containing a (WH- or relative) operator*
 - *a pronoun or demonstrative phrase, occupying an argument position and ‘associated with’ the aforementioned adjunct CP.*

⁶ See DeLancey (2003b) for a list of works pertaining to the semantics of the Tibetan auxiliary system. See also Garrett (2001) for an extended discussion of the various semantic dimensions that the system encodes.

⁷ This use of the term seems to be essentially identical to that found in Keenan (1985), Srivastav (1991), Dayal (1996), Izvorski (1997), Bhatt (2003) and several others.

I will refer to the adjunct CP of a correlative as the ‘Correlative CP’, and I will refer to the pronoun or demonstrative phrase of a correlative as the ‘Correlative DP’.

Correlative constructions have an impressively broad distribution amongst the languages of the world. However, they are perhaps best known from the literature on Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi. Sentence (6) presents an example of a Hindi correlative, taken from Bhatt (2003).

- (6) [CP jo CD sale-par hai], Aamir us CD-ko khari:d-ega:
 rel CD sale-on be Aamir that CD-acc buy-fut.Msg
Aamir will buy the CD that is on sale.
 (Lit. ‘Which CD is on sale, Aamir will buy that CD’)

In light of sentence (6) and the definition in (5), consider again the Tibetan sentence in (1b), repeated below.

- (7) [CP Khyodra-s gyag gare nyos yod na] nga-s de bsad pa yin.
 you-erg yak what buy aux if I-erg that kill perf aux
I killed whatever yak you bought.
 (Lit. ‘If you bought what yak, I killed that’.)

This sentence seems to possess an adjoined CP containing a WH-operator. This adjoined clause, moreover, appears to bear some form of construal-like relationship with a demonstrative phrase in the matrix clause. In light of these properties, sentences such as (7) will be regarded as exemplifying ‘correlative constructions.’⁸

Collected under (8) are sentences further exemplifying this Tibetan construction. Note the range of interrogative phrases (in boldface) that may appear within the Correlative CP.⁹

- (8) a. [CP Khyodrang gis mi **su** thug na] nga de thug gi yin.
 you erg man who meet if I that meet non.past aux
I will meet whatever man you meet.
- b. [CP Deb **gagi** khyodrang gis mthong na] nga de nyon gi yin.
 book which you erg see if I that buy non.past aux
I will buy whatever book you see.

⁸ Of course, given the ‘literal translation’ I offer in (7), one might wonder whether these constructions shouldn’t be treated as a species of conditional. I will later provide some reasons to avoid a ‘simple’ conditional analysis. Ultimately, however, the distinction between correlatives and conditionals is a slippery one (Hale 1976), especially given the formal semantics each typically receives (Bittner 2001). Moreover, it is quite likely that conditionals are themselves nothing more than a subspecies of correlative (Bhatt & Pancheva 2001). Thus, the question “Are these correlatives or conditionals?” is to a certain extent meaningless. Again, though, I will later review some important differences between these structures and English conditionals.

⁹ Note, also, that like the correlatives of Basque (Rebuschi, this volume), the interrogative phrases in these examples generally occupy the same *in-situ* position that they would occupy in the corresponding wh-question (though such interrogative phrases can optionally undergo scrambling to the left-periphery in both correlatives and wh-questions).

- c. [CP Khyi **ga'drazhig** khyodrang gis mthong na] nga de
 dog what.kind.of you erg see if I that
 nyon gi yin.
 buy non.past aux
I will buy whatever dog you see.
- d. [CP Khyodrang **gapa-r** 'gro na] nga de la 'gro gi yin.
 you where-dat go if I that dat go non.past aux
I will go wherever you go.
- e. [CP Khyodrang **gadus** 'gro na] nga 'gro gi yin.
 you when go if I go non.past aux
I will go whenever you go.
- f. [CP Morang zhabsgyo **ga'dra** rgyab na] nga zhabsgyo de'dra
 she dance how do if I dance that way
 rgyab gi yin.
 do non.past aux
I will dance however she dances.
- g. [CP Khyodrang gi 'oma **gatshod** 'thung na] nga-s 'thung gi yin.
 you erg milk how.much drink if I-erg drink non.past aux
I will drink however much milk you drink.

The interrogative phrases appearing above are representative of all those in the language.¹⁰ Thus, it seems that any interrogative phrase in the language may appear within the Tibetan Correlative construction.

The English translations in (7) and (8) reflect the fact that the Tibetan Correlative seems to admit of a kind of 'universal reading'. According to my consultant, a sentence such as (8d) has a meaning that may be paraphrasable as "I will go anywhere that you go." Although this is the reading I have chosen to indicate in the translation, these sentences may be interpreted in a second way; the Tibetan Correlative also admits of a kind of 'definite reading'. The sentence in (7), for example, is reported as felicitous in contexts in which there is one, single yak which the addressee has purchased, and the speaker wishes to communicate that they have killed that particular yak.¹¹ This 'definite reading' of the correlative is pragmatically forced in sentences such as the following.

¹⁰ Tibetan does not have a single lexical item corresponding to English 'why', but rather uses a complex locution translatable as 'what reason is there for'.

(i) Khyodrang 'gro dgos don gare red?
 you go should reason what is
Why did you leave?
 (*What reason is there for your leaving?*)

¹¹ A concrete example of such a context is the following: *Your friend buys a yak and brings it home. He asks you to slaughter the yak. You do so and wish to report to him that you did what he asked.*

- (9) [CP Tshagspar sgam ga'di nang la bzhag yod na] deb de-'i nang la
 newspaper box what inside dat placed be if book that-gen inside dat

yod red.

be aux

The book is inside whatever box the newspaper is inside of.

- (10) [CP Deb cogtse ga'di-'i 'og la yod na] sgam yang de'i 'og la
 book table what-gen under dat be if box also that-gen under dat

yod red.

be aux

The box is under whatever table the book is under.

The availability of both a 'definite' and a 'universal' reading is also a property reported for correlatives in Hindi (Srivastav 1991, Dayal 1995, Dayal 1996), supporting the original diagnosis of these Tibetan structures as 'correlatives'. Interestingly, as our English translations again indicate, this is also a property of free relatives in English (Jacobson 1995). Indeed, Srivastav (1991) and Dayal (1995) propose an explicit semantic connection between English-style free relatives, in which an interrogative clause behaves like a sentential argument, and Hindi-style correlatives, in which an interrogative clause behaves as a dislocated antecedent to a DP. The reader will note, moreover, that some of the illustrative examples in (8) do not contain overt demonstratives or pronouns within their matrix clauses (8e, 8g). The possibility thus arises that some of the structures claimed above to be correlatives might simply be English-style free relatives. Furthermore, one might wonder whether the Tibetan Correlative itself is simply a structure built upon an English-style argumental free relative, as English does seem to permit structures such as those in (11).

- (11) a. Whatever box the newspaper is inside of, the book is inside of that.
 b. Whereever you go, I will go there too.

We will presently see, however, that the Tibetan constructions illustrated above do not in any way involve English-style free relatives.¹²

3.2 Tibetan Correlatives are not Free Relatives

An interesting pattern of data argues that English-style argumental free relatives are not structures available in Tibetan. First, note that null arguments are a rather common feature of Tibetan discourses.

- (12) Nga Norbu la dgagi yod. Gyag bsad pa red.
 I Norbu dat good aux yak kill perf aux
I like Norbu. He killed a yak.

¹² Similarly, Citko (this volume) shows that correlatives in Polish are quite distinct from free relatives.

Thus, for sentences such as (8e), (8g) or (13) below, a phonologically null pronoun may simply be obscuring what is ultimately a basic correlative structure.

- (13) Nga [_{CP} kyodrang gapa la 'gro na] ∅ 'gro gi yin.
 I you where dat go if *pro* go non.past aux
I'll go wherever you go.

We are presented, then, with two *prima facie* possibilities: either the bracketed material in (7), (8) and (13) is an argument, as in English-style free relatives, or it is a CP adjunct as in Hindi-style correlatives. To decide between these two analyses, one should seek to determine how the bracketed material in the 'Tibetan Correlative' behaves with respect to generalizations that seem to otherwise hold of argumental XPs.

In this regard, consider that the bracketed material in (13) cannot be marked by the dative postposition.

- (14) * Nga [[kyodrang gapa la 'gro na] la] 'gro gi yin.
 I you where dat go if dat go non.past aux
I will go to wherever you go to.

The dative postposition, however, is otherwise required for any overt directional argument of the verb 'gro' go.

- (15) Nga [kyodrang gapa la 'gro na] de *(la) 'gro gi yin.
 I you where dat go if that dat go non.past aux
I'll go wherever you go.

The unacceptability of (14) could not be due to an inability for 'la' to take phrasal material as its complement. Given the possibility of sentences such as (16), all the standard descriptive literature for Tibetan regards 'la' as a phrasal postposition.

- (16) Nga [[[[dep] dmar-po] de] la] dga-po yod.¹³
 I book red the dat good be
I like the red book.

Moreover, the impossibility of (14) could not be due to a violation of the 'matching effect' for free relatives, as the case requirements on the embedded interrogative phrase are necessarily identical to those placed upon the argument of the matrix verb.

We see, then, that the impossibility of (14) would be difficult to explain under an analysis in which the bracketed material constitutes an English-style free relative. Sentences like (17) are perfectly well-formed in English.

- (17) I will go [to [whatever₁ party you go to *t*₁]].

¹³ Note that the element *de* in Tibetan can function both as a free-standing demonstrative and as an adnominal determiner.

On the other hand, under an analysis in which the bracketed material is necessarily a CP adjoined to the clause, and the argument position of the matrix clause is occupied by a null pronominal, the impossibility of (14) would follow from the inability for *pro* in Tibetan to be complement to the dative postposition. This is illustrated in (18), below.

- (18) * Nga \emptyset la 'gro gi yin.
 I *pro* dat go non.past aux
I will go there.

Furthermore, the acceptability of (13) would follow from the apparent ability for *pro* to escape the requirement that it be marked by the dative postposition when standing as the locative argument of ‘'gro’. Compare sentence (19a) to sentence (19b).¹⁴

- (19) a. * Nga de 'gro gi yin.
 I that go non.past aux
I will go there.
- b. Nga \emptyset 'gro gi yin.
 I *pro* go non.past aux
I will go there.

In summary, our original ‘correlative’ analysis of the structures in (7) and (8) uniquely predicts that the subordinate clausal material in these sentences can be directly adjacent to an adnominal marker if and only if that adnominal marker may take *pro* as its complement. We have found that this prediction is born out in the case of the dative postposition ‘la’. The following data show that this prediction is moreover born out for a number of other adnominal markers in the language.¹⁵

- (20) *Mnyamdu* ‘with’ (Can take *pro* as complement)
- a. Nga (kho) **mnyamdu** cham-cham phyin pa yin.
 I him with aimlessly go perf aux
I walked with him.

¹⁴ It is my guess that this apparent ability for *pro* to escape the requirement that it be dative marked is actually due to some kind of null *pro*-form for PPs in Tibetan. In sentences like (19b), for example, the *pro* probably has the category of a dative PP.

¹⁵ The adnominal markers that cannot take *pro* as complement (*la* ‘dative’, *nas* ‘ablative’, *gi* ‘ergative/genitive’) are in the standard, descriptive literature for Tibetan often referred to as ‘case postclitics’, and those that can take *pro* as complement are referred to as ‘relator nouns’ (see DeLancey 2003b). Despite the terminology, it is quite difficult to pin down any wider distributional difference between these elements, and the nominal status of the so-called ‘relator nouns’ is certainly up for debate.

- b. [_{CP} Khyodrang su mnyamdu gompa rgyag na] nga-s (de) **mnyamdu**
 you who with walk do if I-erg him with

gompa rgyag gi yin
 walk do non.past aux

I will take a walk with whoever you take a walk with.

- c. Nga-s [_{CP} khyodrang su mnyamdu gompa rgyag na] (de) **mnyamdu**
 I-erg you who with walk do if him with

gompa rgyag gi yin
 walk do non.past aux

I will take a walk with whoever you take a walk with.

(21) *Nas* ‘from’ (Cannot take *pro* as complement)

- a. Nga *(de) **nas** rkang-thang la yong pa yin.
 I that from by.foot dat come perf aux

I came from there by foot.

- b. [_{CP} Khyodrang zampa ga nas yong na] nga *(de) **nas**
 you bridge what from come if I that from

yong gi yin.
 come non.past aux

I will cross whatever bridge you cross.

- c. Nga [_{CP} khyodrang zampa ga nas yong na] *(de) **nas**
 I you bridge what from come if that from

yong gi yin
 come non.past aux

I will cross whatever bridge you cross.

(22) *Nang* ‘inside’ (Can take *pro* as complement)

- a. Deb (de-’i) **nang** la ’dug.
 book that-gen inside dat be

The book is inside there.

- b. [_{CP} Khyodra-s deb sgam ga’drazhig gi nang la bzhag yod na]
 you-erg book box what.kind.of gen inside dat put aux if

nga-s (de-’i) **nang** la deb cig bzhag gi yin.
 I-erg that-gen inside dat book a put non.past aux

I will put a book inside whatever box you put a book inside.

- c. Nga-s [_{CP} khyodra-s deb sgam ga'drazhig gi nang la
I-erg you-erg book box what.kind.of gen inside dat
bzhag yod na] (de-'i) **nang** la deb cig bzhag gi yin.
put aux if that-gen inside dat book a put non.past aux
I will put a book inside whatever box you put a book inside

(23) 'Og 'under' (Can take *pro* as complement)

- a. Sgam (de-'i) 'og la 'dug.
box that-gen under dat be
The box is under there.
- b. [_{CP} Deb cogtse ga'di-'i 'og la yod na] sgam (de-'i) 'og la
book table what-gen under dat be if box that-gen under dat
yod red.
be aux
The box is under whatever table the book is under.
- c. Sgam [_{CP} deb cogtse ga'di-'i 'og la yod na] (de-'i) 'og la
box book table what-gen under dat be if that-gen under dat
yod red.
be aux
The box is under whatever table the book is under.

In all the sentences above, it is only when the adnominal element may mark *pro* that that element may appear directly adjacent to the Correlative CP. Furthermore, I know of no adnominal marker which violates this generalization.¹⁶ Although this generalization would be rather mysterious under an analysis in which our 'Correlative CPs' are English-style argumental free relatives, it is an immediate consequence of our 'correlative analysis'.¹⁷

¹⁶ Other adnominals which have been tested include *gi* 'ergative', *gi* 'genitive', *dkyil* 'across/through/middle', *brgyud* 'along', and *dra-po* 'like/similar-to'. I reiterate that these elements might ultimately differ in their syntactic category.

¹⁷ There do, of course, exist analyses of English-style free relatives under which they are hypothesized to be headed by a null pronoun (Groos & van Riemsdijk 1981). If such a view is adopted, then an analysis of the Correlative CP as a free relative would still predict the data above. There is, however, strong cross-linguistic evidence against such an analysis of 'free relatives'. In the case of Tibetan, this analysis would immediately raise the question of why only null pronouns may be modified by CPs of the relevant form. Adnominal clausal modification is typically accomplished in Tibetan by means of either a nominalized clause or a head-internal relative (see the examples in Section 4.3). Overt NPs certainly cannot be modified by CPs of the form of the Correlative CP in the examples above; why, then, should a null pronoun allow such modification? Arguments of this form may be extended to a wide array of languages, strongly arguing that free relatives do not involve clausal modification of a null pronoun (Cable 2007, Chapter 6).

Overall, then, we find that there is strong reason to analogize these Tibetan constructions to Hindi correlatives and to refer to them both by similar names. Thus, we might look to studies of the Hindi correlative for some insights into the finer syntactic details of the Tibetan structures. Of course, this is simply a heuristic, and it needn't preclude there being some nuanced variation between the languages' correlatives. In Section 4, we shall explore in more depth the syntactic relationship between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP in the Tibetan construction. It will be found that, in certain respects, this relationship in the Tibetan Correlative systematically differs from that in the Hindi correlative.

Before we come to this, however, one final aspect of the internal structure of the Tibetan Correlative CP bears some mention.

3.3 Tibetan Correlatives are not Conditionals

Unlike the Hindi correlative in (6), the Tibetan correlative contains a particle 'na' glossed as *if*. Although the ultimate status of 'na' is somewhat murky, its gloss as *if* connotes the fact that this particle is also productively used within the language's conditional statements.¹⁸

- (24) [Kyodrang Lhasa la 'gro **na**] nga Ø 'gro gi yin.
 you Lhasa dat go if I *pro* go non.past aux
If you go to Lhasa, I will go there.

One might wonder, then, whether sentences such as (7), repeated below as (25), aren't more straightforwardly related to sentences such as (24). In particular, if the interrogative phrases of Tibetan were interpretable as indefinite DPs, the sentence in (25) might be rather directly translated as the English sentence in (26), a sentence which – via 'donkey anaphora' – seems to have much the same truth conditions as the 'universal reading' of (25).¹⁹

- (25) [_{CP} Khyodra-s gyag gare nyos yod na] nga-s de bsad pa yin.
 you-erg yak what buy aux if I-erg that kill perf aux
I killed whatever yak you bought.

¹⁸ In Classical Tibetan, this particle was also used as a subordinator meaning 'when' (DeLancey 2003a). In the currently spoken language, this particle can additionally mark certain 'irrealis' or 'subjunctive' complements.

(i) [Sgrolma 'gro na] bsam byung.
 Droma go NA think aux
I want Droma to go.

Thus, although *na* is glossed throughout this paper as 'if', a more apt analysis may be as a kind of irrealis or subjunctive marker.

¹⁹ Interestingly, Cheng & Huang (1996) argue that a construction in Chinese that is superficially similar to our 'Tibetan Correlative' is actually a *conditional*, and not a correlative. It is important to note, however, that the most convincing of their arguments (i.e. the fact that grammatical aspect within the Chinese construction cannot be perfective) does not carry over for Tibetan. Moreover, as I remarked in Footnote 8, the distinction between correlatives and conditionals is a rather tenuous and perhaps ultimately unreal one.

(26) If you bought a yak, I killed it.

Cable (2005) explores in more detail the semantics of the Tibetan Correlative. Although the semantic analysis proposed there does link the universal reading of (25) to the ‘donkey anaphora’ witnessed in conditionals such as (25), a direct reduction of the Tibetan Correlative to the conditional is found not to be so straightforward.²⁰ First, although they are both adjunct CPs, the Correlative CP and the protasis (i.e. ‘antecedent’) of a conditional differ in the range of interpretations they allow. A theory under which the Tibetan Correlative is simply an instance of donkey anaphora within a conditional would, for example, fail to account for the ‘definite reading’ available to the Tibetan Correlative. Note that although the ‘universal reading’ of (27a) may be paraphrased more-or-less by the conditional statement of (27b), the ‘definite reading’ may not. This is highlighted by the pair in (28); sentence (28b) doesn’t seem to convey the truth conditions – or carry the presuppositions – of sentence (28a).

(27) a. I will eat whatever cake you make.

b. If you make a cake, then I will eat it.

(28) a. The book is under whatever table the paper is under.

b. ?? If the paper is under a table, then the book is under it.

Indeed, it seems that sentence (28b) is rather anomalous. The semantics of the English conditional appear to force a universal reading which is inconsistent with one’s world knowledge about spatial relationships of the sort described. This is not so for either the free relative in (28) or the correlative in (10), repeated below as (29).

(29) [_{CP} Deb cogtse ga’di-’i ’og la yod na] sgam yang de’i ’og la
book table what-gen under dat be if box also that-gen under dat

yod red.
be aux
The box is under whatever table the book is under.

Rather, comments from speakers indicate that the free relative in (28) and the correlative in (29) are both interpreted as definite descriptions bearing an implication of ‘ignorance’.

²⁰ Interestingly, Branchini & Donati (this volume) also demonstrate that correlatives in Italian Sign Language are a distinct construction from conditionals, despite some initial similarities. Likewise, Rebuschi (this volume) demonstrates that Basque correlatives, despite their similarities to Basque conditionals, are a separate construction.

Generally speaking, Rebuschi’s discussion of Basque correlatives reveals some rather interesting parallels between the correlatives of Basque and those found in Tibetan. Besides their superficial similarity to conditionals, they are also rather similar to subordinate wh-questions, and differ from them only in the morphological form of the verb. Furthermore, the correlatives of both Basque and Tibetan are strikingly different from the languages’ adnominal relative clauses, in that they obligatorily contain wh-operators, while such operators are obligatorily *absent* from true, adnominal relative clauses (cf. Section 4.3).

Recent work in the semantics of free relatives obtains such ‘ignorance’ readings from special mechanisms distinct from the mechanisms used to obtain donkey anaphora in conditionals (von Stechow 2000, Tiedemann 2005). Cable (2005) provides a semantics for the Tibetan Correlative employing the interpretive mechanisms developed for English-style free relatives and Hindi-style correlatives, an analysis which rests crucially on the assumption that the Correlative CP is not the protasis of a conditional.

A second fact to bear in mind is that, although the interrogative phrase in (25) appears to be translatable as an indefinite, this does not seem to be an interpretation generally available to Tibetan interrogative phrases. For example, the sentence in (30) cannot be interpreted as a statement containing an indefinite, but only as a question.

- (30) Khyodrang gapa la phyin pa red.
 you where dat go perf aux
Where did you go? (You went somewhere.)*

In the end, Cable (2005) does adopt the view that Tibetan interrogatives may occasionally function as indefinites, but there is much more to be said upon the matter first.

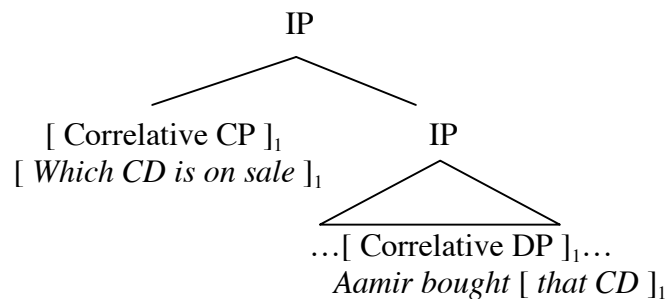
4. The Syntactic Relation Between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP

The definition of “correlative construction” given in (5) indicates that there is some ‘relationship’ between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP. When one considers the interpretation of these constructions, there certainly feels to be a *semantic* relation between the two, perhaps one of ‘binding’ or some other form of ‘co-construal’. Of course, one might also ask whether there isn’t a *syntactic* relationship between these two elements.

On the basis of various elementary facts, Bhatt (2003) proposes that there are three *prima facie* plausible structures for the Hindi correlative. Each posits a different surface syntactic relation between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP. The first is the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure, illustrated in (31).²¹

- (31) (Non-Local) IP Adjunction

[_{IP} [which CD is on sale]₁ Aamir bought [that CD]₁]



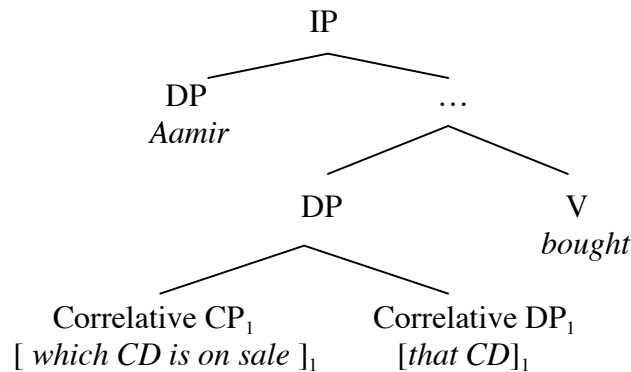
²¹ Bhatt (2003) notes that this structure was first proposed by Srivastav (1991) and Dayal (1996).

Within this structure, the Correlative CP is initially Merged as an adjunct to the IP projection of the clause. The Correlative CP then acts as a generalized quantifier, binding the Correlative DP within the matrix IP. Aside from this binding, no purely syntactic relation holds between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP.

The second structure Bhatt introduces is that of the ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’ structure, illustrated below.

(32) **Demonstrative XP Adjunction**

Aamir bought [[which CD is on sale] that CD]

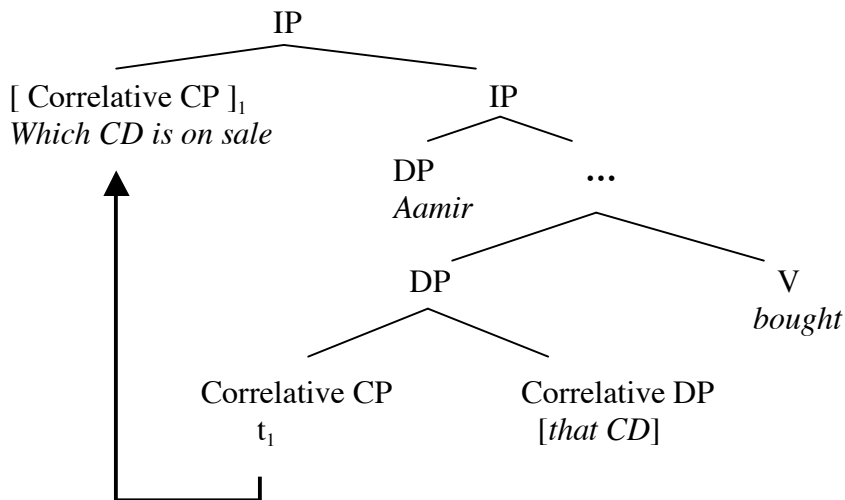


Under this analysis, the Correlative CP is initially Merged as an adjunct to the Correlative DP it is associated with. Furthermore, the Correlative CP occupies this IP-internal position at Spell-Out. Although perhaps a bit puzzling at first, this structure might underlie sentences in which the subject precedes the Correlative CP, such as the Tibetan sentences in (13), (15), (20c), (21c), (22c) and (23c).

The last structure that Bhatt proposes is the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure, diagrammed in (33).

(33) **IP Adjunction, via Movement**

[_{IP} [which CD is on sale]₁ Aamir bought [t₁ [that CD]]]



Within this analysis, the Correlative CP is again initially Merged as an adjunct to the Correlative DP it is associated with. Subsequently, however, the Correlative CP moves out of this DP projection and adjoins to the matrix IP. At this position, the Correlative CP – just as with any moved phrase – binds its trace within the matrix demonstrative phrase.

It is argued in Bhatt (2003) that, despite the initial plausibility of each of these structures, only two – ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’ and ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ – are actually made available by the grammar of Hindi. That is, Bhatt argues that properties of Hindi correlatives indicate that they cannot be derived by ‘Non-Local IP Adjunction’.²² On the other hand, Bhatt does find evidence that supports the existence in Hindi of both the ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’ structure and the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure.

One might naturally ask, then, which of the above structures might stand a chance as analyses of the Tibetan Correlative. Interestingly, we will find – based on tests similar to the ones employed in Bhatt (2003) – that all *three* of these structures are made available by the syntax of Tibetan. This stands as a rather intriguing difference between Tibetan and Hindi, and I will suggest that a certain property of Tibetan morphology may provide a basis for it. First, however, I will defend the claim that the grammar of Tibetan makes use of all three of the above structures.

4.1 The Availability of ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’

Bhatt (2003) argues that the ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’ structure in (32) is required to account for Hindi sentences such as the following.

- (34) Rahul a:jkal [[[jo kita:b Saira-ne likh-i:]₁ vo₁] aur [[jo cartoon Shyam-ne
Rahul nowadays rel book Saira-erg write-perf that and rel cartoon Shyam-erg

bana:-ya:]₂ vo₂]] parh raha: hai.
make-perf that read prog be
*Nowadays, Rahul is reading the book that Saira wrote and the cartoon that
Shyam made.*
(Lit: ‘Nowadays, Rahul is reading what book Saira wrote, that and what cartoon
Shyam made, that.)

In sentence (34), it appears that the coordinator *aur* ‘and’ is joining together two sequences consisting of a Correlative CP and its associated Correlative DP. Assuming that coordination can only apply to constituents, coordination structures such as the one above suggest that the Correlative CP and its associated Correlative DP can combine to form a single constituent. Consequently, the ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’ structure in (32) must be one derivable by the grammar of Hindi.

²² Strictly speaking, this is only true of what Bhatt calls ‘simple correlatives’. Bhatt (2003) argues that some Hindi correlatives – those containing multiple operators – are *only* derivable by Non-Local IP Adjunction. As I have not yet been able to investigate the existence of ‘multi-head’ correlatives in Tibetan, let alone their structure, I will ignore them in the present discussion.

The sentence in (35) demonstrates that identical correlative coordination structures are possible for Tibetan as well.

- (35) Nga-s [_{DP} [_{DP} [_{CP} khyodra-s gyag gare njos yod na]₁ de₁] dang
 I-erg you-erg yak what buy aux if that and
 [_{DP} [_{CP} Ø bya gare rkus yod na]₂ de₂]] bsad pa yin.
pro-erg chicken what steal aux if that kill perf aux
I killed whatever yak you bought and whatever chicken you stole.

In sentence (35), the coordinating element ‘dang’ seems to be joining together two sequences consisting of a Correlative CP and its associated Correlative DP. The same reasoning outlined above for Hindi would demand that the ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’ structure is one made available by the syntax of Tibetan.

Additional evidence supporting the existence in Tibetan of the ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’ structure comes from the ability for an ergative subject to appear before the Correlative CP. This word order can be seen in sentences (20c), (22c) and (35) above, as well as in simpler sentences, such as (36) below.

- (36) Nga-s [kyodrang gi su la ’o gyed na] (de la) ’o gyed gi yin.
 I-erg you erg who dat kiss give if that dat kiss give non.past aux
I’ll kiss whoever you kiss.

One might initially guess this word order to be the result of scrambling the ergative subject to the left periphery of the clause. However, Tibetan does not generally allow an ergative subject to scramble, not even clause-internally.

- (37) a. [Norbu-s bsam pa la], nga-s kho-’i mogmog bzas pa red.
 Norbu-erg think perf dat I-erg he-gen momo eat perf aux
According to Norbu, I ate his momo.
 (Lit. ‘To Norbu’s thoughts, I ate his momo.’)
- b. * Nga-s [Norbu-s bsam pa la] kho-’i mogmog bzas pa red.
 I-erg Norbu-erg think perf dat he-gen momo eat perf aux

The impossibility of (37b) is not due to a *general* inability for the subject to scramble to this position; absolutive subjects may scramble to and beyond the left-periphery of their clause.

- (38) a. [Norbu-s bsam pa la], nga ril pa red.
 Norbu-erg think perf dat I fall perf aux
According to Norbu, I fell.
- b. Nga [Norbu-s bsam pa la] ril pa red.
 I Norbu-erg think perf dat fall perf aux
According to Norbu, I fell.

Thus, sentences such as (36) indicate that the Correlative CP must be able to Merge at a position lower than Spec IP.²³ The structure in (32) provides such a low position for the Correlative CP.²⁴

4.2 The Availability of ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’

Bhatt (2003) argues that certain ‘reconstruction effects’ provide evidence for the availability within Hindi of the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure. Bhatt observes that if a quantificational DP c-commands the Correlative DP, then that quantificational DP can bind a pronoun within the Correlative CP. The following sentence illustrates.

- (39) [jis larke-ko vo₁ pasand kar-ti: hai]₂ [har larki]₁ [us larke-ko]₂ buddhima:n
rel boy-dat that like do-hab.F be every girl that boy-dat intelligent

samajh-ti: hai
consider-hab.F be

Every girl considers the boy who she likes to be intelligent.

(Lit. ‘What boy she likes, every girl considers that boy intelligent.’)

Assuming that binding can only be established under c-command, and that Hindi does not allow WCO configurations, the binding relationship in (39) would not be predicted by the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure. It is, however, consistent with the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure. Under this latter analysis, a trace-copy of the Correlative CP in (39) can be found within the Correlative DP. By interpreting the lower copy of the Correlative CP at LF, the observed binding relationship in (39) may be established.

An argument of exactly this form can also be made regarding the Tibetan Correlative.²⁵ Just as for Hindi, if a quantificational DP in a Tibetan sentence c-commands the Correlative DP, then that quantificational DP can bind a pronoun appearing within the Correlative CP. Sentence (40) illustrates.

- (40) [Ø₁ mogmog gare mthong na]₂ [mi tshangma-s]₁ de₂ njo gi red.²⁶
pro momo what see if man every-erg that buy non.past aux
Every man buys whatever momos he sees.

²³ Note that by this reasoning, any material typically occurring to the *left* of an ergative subject can also occur to the left of a Correlative CP. To my knowledge, this is indeed the case.

²⁴ Of course, another possibility is that the Correlative CP is Merged to intermediate projections of I, such as the sister to the subject. Indeed, Cable (2005) proposes on grounds of ‘semantic compositionality’ that such configurations do exist in Tibetan. The possibility of such a structure does not entirely undermine our arguments for the existence of the Demonstrative XP Adjunction structure in Tibetan. The Demonstrative XP Adjunction structure may still be required for the proper analysis of sentences such as (35).

²⁵ Furthermore, see Branchini & Donati (this volume) for somewhat similar arguments that the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure is available in Italian Sign Language.

²⁶ The use of *pro* in this sentence appears to be crucial; my consultant rejects the sentence if *pro* is replaced with the overt pronoun ‘kho’. However, this seems related to my consultant’s general distaste for cataphora with overt pronouns.

Again, the reasoning laid out above for Hindi would also require that the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure be derivable by the grammar of Tibetan. That WCO configurations are not tolerated by the grammar of Tibetan may be seen from sentences such as (41). The null possessive pronoun in (41) cannot be interpreted as being bound by the quantificational DP *pugu tshangma* ‘every boy’.

- (41) Ø Amalags pugu tshangma dgapo gyed gi red.
pro mother boy every love give non.past aux
His₂ mother loves [every boy]₁.
 * [*Every boy*]₁ is such that *their₁ mother loves them₁.*

4.3 The Availability of ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’

We have seen evidence that the correlatives of both Tibetan and Hindi may have either of the structures in (32) and (33). Thus far, then, the two languages seem to agree on the structures available to their correlative constructions. In this section, however, I will present evidence that these languages differ in whether their correlatives may receive the structure in (31), the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure.

First, let us consider the Hindi correlative. Bhatt (2003) argues that, unlike the structures in (32) and (33), Hindi grammar *cannot* assign its correlatives the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure in (31). The strongest evidence to this effect is the fact that the relationship between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP is island-sensitive. When the Correlative CP is adjoined to the matrix clause, the Correlative DP cannot be contained within a relative clause. This is illustrated in (42) below.

- (42) * [jo vaha: rah-ta: hai]₁ mujh-ko [vo kaha:ni [jo Arundhati-ne
 rel there stay-hab be I-dat that story rel Arundhati-erg
 [us]₁-ke-baare-me likh-ii]] pasand hai.
 that-about write-perf like be
I like the story that Arundhati wrote about who lives there.
 (Lit. ‘Who lives there, I like the story that Arundhati wrote about him.’)

As Bhatt (2003) observes, the unacceptability of (42) cannot be due to a general proscription against the relation between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP crossing a finite CP boundary. Sentences such as (43) demonstrate that the relation can, in principle, be long-distance.

- (43) [jo larki: TV-par ga: rah-i: hai]₁ Sita soch-ti: hai ki [vo]₁ sundar hai.
 rel girl TV-on sing prog be Sita think be that that beautiful be
Sita thinks that the girl on TV is beautiful.
 (Lit. ‘Which girl is on TV, Sita thinks that she is beautiful.’)

Furthermore, sentences such as that in (44) demonstrate that the relation between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP is also sensitive to the Coordinate Structure Constraint.²⁷

- (44) * [jo kita:b Saira-ne likh-i:]₁ Rahul a:jkal [[vo₁] aur [[jo cartoon
rel book Saira-erg write Rahul nowadays that and rel cartoon
Shyam-ne bana:-ya:]₂ vo₂]] parh raha: hai.
Shyam-erg make-perf that read prog be
*Nowadays, Rahul is reading the book that Saira wrote and the cartoon that
Shyam made.*
(Lit: ‘What book Saira wrote, Rahul nowadays is reading that and what cartoon
Shyam made, that.)

As Bhatt (2003) rightly observes, if ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ were a structure available to Hindi grammar, then the relation between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP would be predicted *not* to be island sensitive. Sentences such as (42) and (44) could easily be derived, simply by initially Merging the Correlative CP as an adjunct to the IP. On the other hand, if the structure in (31) were *not* available, then all Correlative CPs would have to be initially Merged at the position of the Correlative DP. The observed island-sensitivity of the relation between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP would then be a necessary consequence.

Further evidence against the availability of the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure comes from the existence of certain Condition C effects. Bhatt observes that if a pronoun c-commands the Correlative DP, then that pronoun cannot corefer with a name contained within the Correlative CP. This is illustrated in (45) below.

- (45) * [jo larkii Sita-ko₁ pyaar kar-tii hai]₂ [us-ne]₁ [us-ko]₂ thukraa di-yaa.
rel girl Sita-acc love do-hab be that-erg that-acc reject give-perf
* *She₁ rejected the girl that loved Sita₁.*
(Lit. ‘[Which girl loves Sita₁]₂, she₁ rejected her₂)

Again, if ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ were a structure available for Hindi correlatives, then the impossibility of (45) could not be explained. However, if that analysis were not available, and all Correlative CPs had to be initially Merged at the position of the Correlative DP, then the impossibility of structures like (45) would follow from standard assumptions regarding the evaluation of Principle C (Lebeaux 1998).

We find, then, that there is good evidence *against* the Hindi correlative being assigned the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure (31). Interestingly, however, the reasoning detailed above demands just as strongly that the structure in (31) *is* one available to the Tibetan correlative.

²⁷ Sentence (44) also demonstrates that the island-sensitivity witnessed in sentence (42) cannot be the result of (Non-Local) IP Adjunction targeting the minimal IP containing the Correlative DP, such as in the analysis Lipták (2005) provides for Hungarian correlatives, or the analysis Iatridou (1994) puts forth for Clitic Left Dislocation structures in Greek and Italian.

Consider first that – unlike the Hindi correlative – the relationship between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP in Tibetan is *not* island sensitive. As (46) illustrates, even if the Correlative CP is adjoined to the matrix IP, the Correlative DP may be contained within a relative clause.

- (46) [Khyodra-s mogmog gare njos na]₁ nga-s
 you-erg momo what buy if I-erg

 [de₁ bzo mkhan gyi bsad mkhan] de ngozhi gi yod
 that make agnt gen kill agnt the know non.past aux
Whatever momos you bought, I know the person who killed the person who made them.
 (Lit. ‘Whatever momos you bought, I know their maker’s murderer.’)

The sentence in (46) illustrates Tibetan’s prenominal relative clause. Tibetan can also perform clausal modification of nouns via a ‘head-internal’ or ‘circumfixal’ relative clause. As the sentence (47) illustrates, the Correlative CP-Correlative DP relation is also free to cross into these latter relative clauses.

- (47) [Khyodra-s magyan su thug yod na]₁ nga-s
 you-erg cook who meet aux if I-erg

 [kho-s₁ mogmog bzos pa] de bzas pa yin.
 he-erg momo make perf the eat perf aux
Whatever cook you’ve met, I’ve eaten the momos that he has made.

Furthermore, sentences such as (48) show that the relation between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP can cross into verbal adjuncts.

- (48) [Khyodra-s mogmog gare bzos yod na]₁ nga [de₁ bzas tsang] na byung.
 you-erg momo what make aux if I that eat because sick become
I got sick because I ate whatever momos you made.
 (Lit. ‘You make what momos, I get sick because I ate them.’)

Recall that the unacceptability of sentence (44) demonstrates the Hindi correlative to be subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint. Sentences such as (49) equally well demonstrate that the Tibetan correlative is *not* subject to the CSC.

- (49) [Khyodra-s mogmog gare bzos yod na]₁ nga-s [de₁ dang sha’gyas]
 you-erg momo what make aux if I-erg that and shamje

 bzas pa yin.
 eat perf aux
I ate whatever momo you made and shamje.
 (Lit. ‘Whatever momo you made, I ate that and shamje.’)

The acceptability of sentences (46) – (49) demonstrates that the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure must be one available to Tibetan speakers. If only the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure were available, then sentences (46) – (49) would be as unacceptable as their Hindi counterparts, since they all would require movement of the Correlative CP to cross an island. However, if the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure in (31) were available in Tibetan, then all the sentences above could be derived by initial Merger of the Correlative CP to the matrix IP.²⁸

Supporting this conclusion is the absence in Tibetan of the Principle C effects noted above for Hindi.

- (50) [Norbu₂ mogmog gare mthong na]₁ kho-s₂ de₁ njo gi red
 Norbu momo what sees if he-erg that buy non.past aux
Norbu₂ buys whatever momos he₂ sees.
 (Lit. ‘If Norbu₂ sees what momo, he₂ buys that.’)

Unlike what has been observed for Hindi, a pronoun in Tibetan may c-command the Correlative DP *and* co-refer with a name contained within the Correlative CP. Again, if only the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure were available, then sentence (50) would be ruled out as a Principle C violation, just as its Hindi counterpart presumably is. Of course, this sentence could be correctly derived if speakers had recourse to the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction Structure’. By initially Merging the Correlative CP to the matrix IP, sentence (50) could be derived without any Principle C effect resulting.

In summary, we have observed evidence that the Tibetan Correlative may be derived via *any* of the three structures illustrated in (31) – (33).²⁹ This is an interesting

²⁸ Norvin Richards (p.c.) points out that the proposals regarding the sentences in (40) and (46) – (49) predict that one cannot in Tibetan ‘reconstruct for binding’ across an island. Although more study is needed, preliminary tests suggest this prediction is accurate. Compare the sentence below to that in (46).

- (i) ?? [Ø₁ mogmog gare nyos na]₂ [mi tsangma-s]₁ [de₂ bzo mkhan gyi bsad mhkan] de
pro momo what buy if man every-erg that make agnt gen kill agnt the
 ngozhi gi red.
 know non.past aux
Whatever momos he₁ buys, [every man]₁ knows the person who killed the person who made them.

The sentence in (i) was reported to be rather awkward. If this judgment turns out to be stable, this would support the proposal that the reconstruction for binding in (40) relies upon a structure incompatible with that required for the ‘island-crossing’ sentences in (46) – (49).

²⁹ In this context, it is important to note that our conclusion here is *not* that the available evidence is *conflicting* and leads to a contradictory result. Indeed, the available data in no way conflict with one another. The binding facts from Section 4.2 show merely that speakers can parse a surface string containing a ‘Tibetan Correlative’ in such a way that the Correlative CP initially occupies a lower position. Meanwhile, the various facts in Section 4.3 show merely that such a parse, while possible, is not obligatory; speakers could also parse such strings in such a way that the Correlative CP *doesn’t* initially occupy a lower position. Thus, since such surface strings could be parsed in either way, it follows that the grammar of Tibetan allows either structure.

Importantly, however, since we (naturally) assume that speakers cannot simultaneously assign two parses to a single surface string, our account makes a clear prediction regarding how the phenomena noted

difference between the Tibetan Correlative and the correlative construction of Hindi, which can only admit of the structures in (32) and (33). In the next section, I offer an ‘educated guess’ regarding one possible source for this micro-parametric difference.

5. The Locality of Merge and the Locality of Agree

As we have seen, ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ cannot be a structure available to the Hindi grammar. However, the observed unavailability of this structure immediately begs the question ‘Why?’ Bhatt (2003) argues that it can be seen as a consequence of the following condition, which he names the Condition on Local Merge.

(51) Condition on Local Merge (CLM)

The structure-building operation of Merge must apply in as *local* a manner as *possible*.

In brief, Bhatt reasons as follows. The coordination facts presented in Section 4.1 demonstrate that the Correlative CP *can* be initially Merged in the projection of the Correlative DP. Moreover, initial Merge of the Correlative CP at IP is ‘less local’ than initial Merge of the Correlative CP within the Correlative DP, as the initial relationship between these two constituents is correspondingly ‘less local’. Therefore, the CLM entails that, when given the choice between initial Merger of the Correlative CP to the Correlative DP and initial Merger of the Correlative CP to the IP, Hindi must always choose the former over the latter. Thus, of the three structures in (31) – (33), only ‘Demonstrative XP Adjunction’ and ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ are ones available to Hindi grammar.

Bhatt (2003) adduces additional, typological evidence in support of the CLM. Note that the reasoning above entails that the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure should be available to any language in which the Correlative CP *cannot* adjoin directly to the Correlative DP. Bhatt submits that Bulgarian is a language that witnesses the truth of this prediction. In addition, Bhatt (2003) argues that properties of Clitic Left Dislocation in languages such as Greek provide further evidence supporting the CLM.

It appears, then, that the Hindi correlative – and perhaps dislocation structures more generally – is governed by the CLM. Recall now, however, that we have also seen evidence that *all three* of the structures in (31) – (33) are derivable in the grammar of Tibetan. The fact that Tibetan grammar generates both the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure and the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure presents a *prima facie* challenge to the universality of the CLM. If the CLM were active in Tibetan, then – all else equal – the availability of the ‘IP Adjunction via Movement’ structure should block

in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 should interact with one another. As noted by David Pesetsky (p.c.), the proposals regarding the sentences in (40) and (50) predict that the following binding configuration should not be possible in Tibetan, since reconstructing the Correlative CP to the position of the Correlative DP for binding would induce a Principle C violation.

(i) [_{CP} ... pro₁ ... name₂ ...]₃ QuantDP₁ ... pronoun₂ ... Correlative-DP₃ ...

Unfortunately, however, I have not yet been able to construct sentences of Tibetan that would test this prediction.

the availability of the ‘(Non-Local) IP Adjunction’ structure, just as it allegedly does for Hindi.

In the face of these facts, one might conclude that the CLM is simply not active in Tibetan. Indeed, the activity of the CLM may be exactly what distinguishes Tibetan, which has access to all the structures in (31) – (33), from Hindi, which has access only to (32) and (33). The proposal that languages may differ on the activity of the CLM, seems a plausible one, but such a parameterization of the CLM raises its own questions. Is variation in the CLM a linguistic primitive, or does a language’s sensitivity to the CLM follow from some other property it might have? For all the usual reasons, it would be best not to leave sensitivity to the CLM as a wholly independent, primitive property of a language. What other point of variation then, might the activity of the CLM be tied to?

One possibility worth exploring is that the activity of the CLM is tied to the presence of Agreement between the adjoined phrase and the resumptive DP within the matrix clause. Examples such as the following demonstrate that, within Hindi, the Correlative DP and the operator within the Correlative CP agree in number.

- (52) a. [jo laRkii khaRii hai]₁ vo₁ lambii hai.
 rel girl standing be that tall be
The girl who is standing is tall.
 (Lit. ‘Which girl is standing, she is tall’.) (Srivastav 1991; p. 646)
- b. [jo laRkiyaa khaRii hai]₁ ve₁ lambii hai.
 rel girls standing be those tall be
The girls who are standing are tall.
 (Lit. ‘Which girls are standing, they are tall.’) (Srivastav 1991; p. 663)

Furthermore, it seems like similar phi-agreement must also hold between the adjoined phrase and the resumptive, matrix DP in the other languages Bhatt (2003) claims witness the activity of the CLM. In Tibetan, however, the demonstrative elements acting as Correlative DPs do not seem to carry any phi-features – aside from person, which for logical reasons is invariably third. Tibetan demonstratives do not indicate the gender of their antecedents. Moreover, although Tibetan does have a kind of plural marker, *tsho*, that may appear on the demonstrative, this plural marking does not seem to bear an ‘agreement’ or ‘phi-like’ relation with the plural marking of the operator within the Correlative CP. The following sentences illustrate.

- (53) a. [Khyodra-s [bumo su **tsho**] la ’o gyed na]₁ nga-s [de **tsho**]₁ la
 you-erg girl who pl dat kiss give if I-erg that pl dat
 ’o gyed gi yin.
 kiss give non.past aux
I will kiss whatever girls you kiss.

- b. [Khyodra-s [bumo su] la 'o gyed na]₁ nga-s [de **tsho**]₁ la
 you-erg girl who dat kiss give if I-erg that pl dat
- 'o gyed gi yin.
 kiss give non.past aux
I will kiss whatever girls you kiss.
- c. [Khyodra-s [bumo su **tsho**] la 'o gyed na]₁ nga-s de₁ la
 you-erg girl who pl dat kiss give if I-erg that dat
- 'o gyed gi yin.
 kiss give non.past aux
I will kiss whatever girls you kiss.
- d. [Khyodra-s [bumo su] la 'o gyed na]₁ nga-s de₁ la
 you-erg girl who dat kiss give if I-erg that dat
- 'o gyed gi yin.
 kiss give non.past aux
I will kiss whatever girls you kiss.

Although, as (53a) illustrates, both the Correlative DP and the operator within the Correlative CP may be marked with *tsho*, this marker may appear on one without it appearing on the other, as shown in sentences (53b) and (53c). This is consonant with a wider optionality regarding the appearance of *tsho*. Although there do appear to be syntactic contexts in which *tsho* is required for a plural interpretation, it is at least clear from sentence (53d) that the Tibetan Correlative is not such a context.

The pattern in (53) suggests that Tibetan does *not* require phi-agreement between the features of the Correlative DP and the operator within the Correlative CP. Although our pool of languages here is indeed rather small, the following generalization seems to come into view: the CLM rules out high initial Merger of a Correlative CP only if the language requires phi-agreement between the Correlative DP and the operator within the Correlative CP. Given the well-known sensitivity of phi-agreement to strict locality conditions, this is a rather intriguing generalization. It would suggest that the locality condition embodied by the CLM may actually derive from the more basic and general locality conditions that govern Agreement. If such proves to be the case, the result may be that Tibetan differs from Hindi in the structures it can assign to its correlative ultimately because of the morpho-syntactic difference illustrated in (52) and (53).

6. Conclusion

We have seen that Tibetan sentences such as (1b) employ a construction that may neither be fruitfully analyzed as a free relative nor a conditional. The subordinate CP in such sentences does not have the external syntax of its component wh-operator, which renders implausible the notion that such constructions are argumental free relatives. Moreover, the construction possesses a definite, ‘ignorance’ reading, which entails that it cannot be

analyzed simply as an instance of donkey anaphora within a conditional. Given the definition of a ‘correlative construction’ assumed in (5), it was concluded that such constructions are best labeled as ‘correlatives’.

The Tibetan Correlative was then compared to the Hindi Correlative in terms of the syntactic relation holding between the Correlative CP and the Correlative DP. It was found that the Tibetan Correlative may be assigned all three of the possible structural analyses in (31) – (33). This distinguishes it from the correlative of Hindi, which permits only the analyses in (32) and (33). The ability for the Tibetan Correlative to be assigned the structure in (31) was suggested to be due to the inactivity of the CLM within the language, a property which was itself suggested to follow from the lack of phi-agreement in Tibetan between the Correlative DP and the wh-operator within the Correlative CP.³⁰

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³⁰ Anikó Lipták (p.c.) and an anonymous reviewer both observe that correlatives of Hungarian might seem to challenge my proposal concerning the relevance of phi-agreement to whether a language permits high initial Merger of Correlative CPs. As both observe, the correlatives of Hungarian allow high initial Merger of the Correlative CP (Lipták 2005), despite the fact that they show Hindi-style phi-agreement between the Correlative DP and the wh-operator.

- (i) Aki most jött, az a barátom.
who-sg now came-sg, that-sg my.friend-sg
Who came just now, that is my friend.
- (ii) Akik most jöttek, azok a barátaim.
who-pl now came-pl, that-pl my.friend-pl
Who (pl) just came now, those are my friends.

On the other hand, Lipták (2005, p.c.) also demonstrates that Hungarian correlatives – unlike either Hindi or Tibetan correlatives – *only* permit high initial Merger of the Correlative CP, a fact that she attributes to differences between the discourse-functional status of Hungarian correlatives and Hindi(/Tibetan) correlatives. Thus, for independent reasons, Hungarian does not permit its Correlative CPs to be initially Merged as adjuncts to the Correlative DP.

With this in mind, recall that my proposed account seeks only to explain the permissibility of high initial Merger of the Correlative CP *in languages where it should be ruled out by the CLM*. That is, since Hungarian does not allow the Correlative CP to be an adjunct to the Correlative DP, the CLM wouldn’t rule out an initial high Merger of the Correlative CP (cf. Bhatt’s (2003) discussion of Bulgarian). On the other hand, since Tibetan *does* permit the Correlative CP to be an adjunct to the Correlative DP, then the CLM as stated in Bhatt (2003) *would* incorrectly rule out initial high Merger of the Correlative CP. My proposal is that the effects of the CLM aren’t found in Tibetan because – unlike the languages where the CLM does hold (e.g. Hindi, Hungarian and Bulgarian) – Tibetan does not require phi-agreement between the Correlative DP and the operator of the Correlative CP. Thus, a counter-exemplifying language would be one which (unlike Hungarian) *does* allow initial low Merger of the Correlative CP, and which (unlike Hindi) *does* allow initial high Merger of the Correlative CP, but which (unlike Tibetan) also requires phi-agreement between the Correlative DP and the operator of the Correlative CP.

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