1. Introduction

This paper is about the disproportionate distribution of Free Relatives and Correlatives in wh-in-situ languages, a thus far overlooked puzzle. In wh-in-situ languages, correlatives are quite common while Free Relatives are extremely rare. Given that both constructions are canonically taken to involve movement for relativization, this asymmetry is mysterious. I show that we can account for the rarity of FRs in wh-in-situ languages if we assume that wh-in-situ is not a uniform phenomenon. In particular, I propose that covert (and overt) wh-movement can provide the semantic base for FRs while genuine wh-in-situ cannot. In the second half of the paper, I show that this typology correctly predicts that a subset of wh-correlatives actually build on interrogative structures rather than relativization structures.

2. Free Relatives in wh-in-situ

The literature on Free Relatives is vast (Bresnan & Grimshaw 1978, Groos & van Riemsdijk 1981, Jacobson 1995, van Riemsdijk 2006, a.m.o). In this paper, mainly the parallelism between the wh-words in FRs and questions will concern us. In English, for example, a wh-structure like [what Sue cooked] can receive a Free Relative construal as in (1a) or Embedded Question construal as in (1b) depending on the verb it combines with.

(1) a. I ate [what Sue cooked]
   b. I know [what Sue cooked]

The parallelism between the wh-words in FRs and questions is not unique to English. Caponigro (2003) reports 28 languages with wh-FRs from Indo-European, Finno-Ugric, and Semitic families. Other languages reported in the literature include Tlingit and Haida.

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(Cable 2005), Nieves Mixtec and Melchor Ocampo Mixtec (Caponigro et al. 2013), and Chuj (Kotek & Erlewine To appear). Strikingly, all of these languages reported to have wh-FRs seem to have overt wh-movement inside the FR. In fact, Cecchetto & Donati (2015, p. 50) conjecture that in-situ wh-FRs as in the hypothetical example in (2a) are non-existent. However, embedded in-situ wh-questions (2b) are widely attested. The Turkish example in (3) illustrates this robust distribution.

(2) a. “I ate [Sue cooked what]”
   b. “I know [Sue cooked what]”

(3) Ben [Sue-nun ne pişir-diğ-in-i] biliyorum/ *yedim
   I Sue-GEN what cook-NOML-3SG-ACC know/ *ate
   ‘I know/*ate what Sue cooked.’

Recently, Polinsky (2015) has shown that Tsez does have in-situ wh-FRs as illustrated in (4). In fact, Tsez seems to be the only language that has thus far been reported to have in-situ wh-FRs.

(4) [hul babi-y-ä febi 5ek’azor] magalu tet[ få
   yesterday father-OS-ERG whom.ABS hit.PST.ATTR.LAT bread.ABS give.IMP
   ‘Give the bread to whoever Father beat yesterday! (ex. 131, p. 291)”

Even though Cecchetto & Donati’s conjecture seems to be falsified by Tsez, the puzzle regarding the rarity of in-situ wh-FRs remains. What is it that allows Tsez to have in-situ wh-FRs but disallows Turkish (and many other wh-in-situ languages) to have them?

I propose that we may predict the distribution of wh-FRs in wh-in-situ languages based on the semantics of their interrogative pronouns and how they compositionally interact with the structures that contain them. In particular, I entertain the hypothesis that there is no uniform wh-in-situ syntax in that wh-in-situ may be the result of covert wh-movement or genuinely in-situ wh-syntax, e.g. (Pesetsky 2000). I essentially link the rarity of in-situ wh-FRs to the impossibility of wh-FRs in genuinely wh-in-situ languages.

2.1 Proposal

In this section, I propose a semantic typology of interrogative pronouns, which will allow us to predict the distribution of wh-FRs in wh-in-situ languages.

2.1.1 Type-1

In Type-1 languages, both wh-questions and wh-FRs are derived by lambda abstraction. Wh-pronouns denote properties (Caponigro 2003) as in (5a) and move (possibly covertly), resulting in lambda abstraction in both wh-questions (6a) and wh-FRs (6b). This movement generates a semantic predicate like in (5b) in both cases. As shown in (6a), this predicate
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base can combine with a Question Operator as defined in (7), yielding the Hamblin denotation of a wh-question (8), i.e. a set of propositions.

\[(5) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a. } &[[\text{what}]] = \lambda x. \lambda w. x \text{ is inanimate in } w \\
\text{b. } &[[\text{what } \lambda_1 \text{ John ate } t_1]] = [\lambda x. \lambda w. \text{John ate } x \text{ in } w]
\end{align*}\]

\[(6) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a. } &Q \quad \lambda_1 \quad \text{John} \quad \text{ate} \quad t_1 \\
\text{b. } &D \quad \lambda_1 \quad \text{John} \quad \text{ate} \quad t_1
\end{align*}\]

\[(7) \quad [[Q]] = \lambda f_{\text{est}}. \lambda p. \exists x [ p = f(x) ] \text{ (after Caponigro 2003, Hirsch 2016)}\]

\[(8) \quad [[Q \ [\text{what } \lambda_1 \text{ John ate } t_1]]] = \\
[\lambda p. \exists x [ p = \lambda w. \text{John ate } x \text{ (and } x \text{ is inanimate) in } w ]] = \\
\{[\lambda w. \text{John ate pasta in } w], [\lambda w. \text{John ate pizza in } w]\}...
\]

The predicate base in (5b) can also be shifted into a definite description via iota (or a null determiner as shown in (6b)). This yields a definite wh-FR as in (9) (Caponigro 2003)\(^1\).

\[(9) \quad [[D \ [\text{what } \lambda_1 \text{ John ate } t_1]]] = [tx. \text{John ate } x \text{ (and } x \text{ is inanimate) in } w]
\]

To summarize, if a language is Type-1, it has to have overt or covert wh-movement, creating a predicate base that can be used to form a wh-question or a wh-FR.

2.1.2 Type-2

I assume that in Type-2 languages, interrogative pronouns denote alternatives and compose with the rest of the structure via Pointwise Functional Application (Hamblin 1973, Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002, a.o.), i.e. with no resort to movement. Hence, the Hamblin denotation of a question, a set of propositions, is derived within a genuinely in-situ wh-syntax, as illustrated in (10). Notice that since there is no movement in interrogative structures, no predicate base is built that can be used to form a wh-FR\(^2\).

\(^1\)See Hirsch (2016) who argues that this predicate base might combine with Q and \(t\) at the same time (in a multi-dominance structure), yielding wh-ever FRs in English which show many question-like properties.

\(^2\)If the wh-pronoun moves, a lambda abstract might be built. However, as long as the denotation of the wh-pronoun is a non-singleton set, the PFA of the wh-pronoun and the derived lambda abstract will still yield a set of propositions, rendering the movement vacuous in simple cases.
2.2 Predictions

Adopting Caponigro’s (2003) compositional analysis for wh-FRs, we predict to find wh-FRs only in Type-1 languages. For a Type-1 language to build wh-questions, there needs to be predicate abstraction, i.e. a PF-visible or PF-invisible movement. The predicate base that this movement generates can serve as the base for wh-FRs.

Type-2 languages, on the other hand, build wh-questions within a genuinely in-situ wh-syntax. Since there is no abstraction, no predicate base is generated. As a result, these languages cannot make use of their interrogative pronouns to form wh-FRs. To illustrate, assume that Turkish is a Type-2 language. The absence of wh-FRs in Turkish (hence the ungrammaticality of (11)) is now explained as a type mismatch.

(11) *Mary [John-un ne pişir-diğ-in-i] yedi
    Mary John-GEN what cook-NMLZ-3SG-ACC ate
    Intended: “Mary ate what John cooked.”

The verb ‘eat’ requires an entity (i.e. a type e semantic object) and hence cannot combine with the embedded clause that denotes a set of propositions. The problem here is unlikely to be a syntactic problem related to case or the complementation type. Note the form of the relative clause in (12a) and the indirect question in (12b). Hence, Type-2 languages preclude wh-FRs as their wh-structures are never property-denoting expressions.

    Mary John-GEN e cook-NMLZ-3SG-ACC ate
    “Mary ate what John cooked.”

b. Mary [John-un ne pişir-diğ-in-i] biliyor
    Mary John-GEN what cook-NMLZ-3SG-ACC knows
    “Mary knows what John cooked.”

---

3I adopt the view that an OP that can extract properties out of the Hamblin denotation of a wh-question is not definable. See Rooth (1992), Uegaki (2015) for relevant discussion on this. But see Chierchia & Caponigro (2013) for an attempt to define an OP along these lines.

4Of course, this does not say anything about languages whose FRs and Questions make use of different sets of wh-pronouns.
If the proposed typology is on the right track, we predict Tsez to pattern with Type-1 languages and Turkish to pattern with Type-2 languages. Given that Type-1 languages build wh-questions via abstraction (i.e. movement), we should find signs of movement in Tsez, but not in Turkish. On the other hand, if a language is Type-2 (i.e. builds its wh-questions via Hamblin alternatives), we should find intervention effects that arise in domains where alternatives are computed.

2.2.1 Looking for signs of movement

Tsez is, on the surface, a wh-in-situ language (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001, Polinsky 2015). This is illustrated by the example in (13). However, Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) argue that Tsez is actually a covert movement language**.

(13) Už-ä kid-be-r **febi** teståä?
boy-ERG girl-OS-LT what.ABS.IV give-PST.WIT.INTERR
“What did the boy give to the girl?” (Polinsky, 2015, ex. 36, p.183)

I assume that island-sensitivity can be a diagnostic for movement. As Polinsky (2015) shows, constituents of movement islands cannot be questioned in Tsez. This is illustrated by the relative clause and adverbial clause islands in (14) and (15).

(14) *[ňar täx-ru] micxir bok’ek’ä žedä?
who.LAT give.PST.PTCP money stole DEM.ERG
Int: “They stole the money that had been given to whom?” (ex. 82, p.191)

(15) *[beñi-ł čebi b-äk’-äsi yäł-zay] xirbäi bayä?
chase-SUPER.ESS who IPL-GO-RES be.PRS-WHILE guests came
Int: “The guests arrived when who was away hunting?” (ex. 84, p.192)

The island-sensitivity data above suggest that Tsez wh-words do move, even though this is not visible at PF, which is exactly the conclusion that Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) reach. Turkish, however, sharply contrasts with Tsez in that wh-words in Turkish do not seem to be sensitive to movement islands, as shown in (16).

(16) a. [Kim-e ver-il-en] para-yi çal-di-lar?
who-DAT give-PASS-REL money-ACC steal-PST-PL
“They stole the money that had been given to whom?”

b. Misafir-ler [kim avlanmaya git-miş-ken] gel-diä?
guest-PL who hunt.NMLZ go-PRF-WHILE come-PST
“The guests arrived when who was away hunting?”

**One of the arguments that Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) present is the WCO effects in in-situ wh-questions. I do not take this to diagnose movement since the attained judgment (i.e. the unacceptability of co-reference) can have an alternative source: the mere absence of variable binding thanks to the lack of movement.
Note that there is evidence from relativization that these are really islands in Turkish.

    They-GEN e give-PASS-REL money-ACC steal.NMLZ man
    Int: “The man₁ such that they stole the money that had been given to him₁”

b. *[RC Misafir-ler-in [e avlanmaya git-miş-ken] geldikleri] adam
    guest-PL-GEN e hunt.NMLZ go-PRF-WHILE come.NMLZ man
    Int: “The man₁ such that the guests arrived when he₁ was away hunting”

The clear contrast between Turkish and Tsez is exactly what we predict to find if Tsez is a Type-1 language while Turkish is a Type-2 language.

### 2.2.2 Looking for signs of intervention

As is well-known, focus sensitive operators like *only* and *even* interact with the alternatives that an interrogative pronoun projects and lead to intervention effects (Pesetsky 2000, Beck 2006, Cable 2010, a.m.o). Sensitivity to intervenors is widely assumed to be a signature of genuine wh-in-situ. Accordingly, we predict Tsez to lack intervention effects and Turkish to have them. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (18a) and (18b).

(18) a. Deber kin/tow febi r-eti-x
    you.DAT EVEN/ONLY what.ABS.IV IV-want-PRS
    “What is it that even/only you want?” (Tsez, Maria Polinsky, pc)

b. (*Sadece) sen (*bile) ne istiyorsun
    ONLY you EVEN what want-2SG
    Int: “What is it that even/only you want?” (Turkish)

### 2.3 Interim Summary

In this section, I have proposed a semantic typology of wh-in-situ that promises to capture the cross-linguistically robust tendency for wh-in-situ languages to lack wh-FRs. In particular, I have argued that wh-in-situ is not a uniform phenomenon in that it could be the result of covert movement as well as genuine wh-in-situ. I have shown that the semantics assumed for the latter type of languages will preclude FRs formed via interrogative pronouns. In the next section, I deal with a potential counter-example to the proposal at hand, namely correlatives in genuinely wh-in-situ languages. I show that an alternative analysis of correlatives based on interrogative structures is possible and empirically justified.

### 3. Correlatives in wh-in-situ

In the previous section, I have proposed a typology of wh-in-situ which predicts a Type-2 language to lack wh-FRs as its wh-syntax does not provide a predicate base for the FR to be built on. There is, however, a potential counter-example to this claim. Some wh-in-
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languages that do not have wh-FRs have wh-correlatives. Schematically, we find many
wh-in-situ languages with the distribution in (19). Turkish is one of the languages with the
distribution in (19). In (20) is an example of correlatives in Turkish\(^6\).

(19)  
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{I will eat [FR you cook \textbf{what}]}
\item \textit{[CR You cook \textbf{what}] I will eat \textbf{that}}
\end{enumerate}

(20) \[\text{John ne pişir-se] Mary on-u yer John what cook-SA Mary DEM.ACC will.eat Lit: John cooks what, Mary will eat that.}\]

“Mary will eat whatever John cooks.”

Correlatives are canonically taken to feature a sentence-initial relative clause that co-
occurrents with a proform in the matrix clause that refers to it (Lipták 2009). In (21) is an
example from Hindi.

(21) \[\text{jo laRkii khaRii hai]i vo i lambii hai Lit: which girl is standing, that is tall.}\]

“The girl who is standing is tall.” (Srivastav 1991)

Since Srivastav’s (1991) seminal work on Hindi correlatives, correlative clauses are
canonically taken to involve relativization and therefore feature \textit{movement} on a par with
what is assumed for the internal syntax of externally headed relative clauses\(^7\). Accordingly,
the sentence-initial correlative clause in (21) will denote the lambda abstract \([\lambda x. \text{girl}(x) \& \text{standing}(x)]\) due to relativization.

Under the movement analysis of correlatives whereby the correlative clause comes to
denote a lambda abstract, the presence of interrogative based wh-correlatives in a Type-
2 language is a counter-example to the typology I proposed. That is, if the LF of (20)
is as in (22), which roughly corresponds to how correlatives are assumed to be interpreted
(Srivastav 1991, Bhatt 2003), the typology that I proposed cannot be right. This is due to the
relativization step inside CP\(_1\), which is predicted to be unattainable in a Type-2 language
where interrogative pronouns always denote alternatives.

\(^6\)Kornfilt (1997) is the first to analyze the Turkish construction in (20) as an example of correlatives. Also
see Iatridou (2013) and Demirok (2017) for further discussion on this construction.

\(^7\)They differ from externally headed RCs in the way they combine with the matrix clause. See Srivastav
(1991) for the relevant discussion on this.
Hence, to be able to maintain the proposed typology, we need to show that (22) is not a plausible LF for interrogative based wh-correlatives in a Type-2 language. In the following section, I show that we have good evidence that interrogative-based correlatives do not involve relativization.

### 3.1 Interrogative based wh-correlatives

Interrogative pronouns in a Type-2 language compose with the structures containing them via Pointwise Functional Application. As such, we predict that the interrogative pronouns that we find in correlatives will do what they do in wh-questions. Hence, interrogative-based correlatives should pattern with interrogative structures rather than relativization structures.

Note that the Turkish example in (23) has both a wh-question construal and a declarative construal. The declarative interpretation in (i) exemplifies what I have called correlatives. The question interpretation in (ii), on the other hand, clearly features a conditional.

(23) \[\text{John ne pişir-se} \text{ Mary on-u \ yer}
\text{John what cook-SA Mary DEM.ACC will.eat}
\]
i. “Mary will eat whatever John cooks.”
ii. “which x is such that if John cooks x, Mary will eat x?”

The conditional meaning behind (23) is confirmed by the simple conditional in (24), which is a potential answer to the question interpretation of (23).

(24) \[\text{John çorba pişir-se} \text{ Mary on-u \ yer}
\text{John soup cook-SA Mary DEM.ACC will.eat}
\]
“If John cooks soup, Mary will eat it.”

If correlatives in Turkish are conditional-based, then an intuitive paraphrase for the declarative reading of (23) could be as in (25), a conjunction of conditional statements.

(25) \{[If John cooks soup, Mary will eat it] AND
[If John cooks lasagna, Mary will eat it], AND ...\}
This line of analysis has been developed for **unconditionals** by Rawlins (2013), who argues that (26a) is interpreted as a conjunction of conditional statements (26b).

(26)  
   a. Whoever comes to the party, we’ll have fun.  
   b. { [If John comes to the party, we’ll have fun] AND  
       [If Mary comes to the party, we’ll have fun], AND ... }

If we take the demonstrative pronoun to be an E-type pronoun (Heim 1990), adopting Rawlins’s analysis, we can analyze (23) on a par with unconditionals, as in (27).

(27) Whatever John cooks\(^8\), Mary will eat **it**=[the thing that John cooks]

Note that unconditionals in Turkish are also transparently conditional-based, as shown by the parallelism between (28a) and (28b). Hence, wh-correlatives in Turkish can be argued to be unconditionals that co-occur with an E-type pronoun.

(28)  
   a. [Partiye **kim** gel-se] eğleniriz.  
      Party who come-SA we.will.have.fun  
      “Whoever comes to the party, we’ll have fun.”

   b. [Partiye **John** gel-se] eğleniriz.  
      Party John come-SA we.will.have.fun  
      “If John comes to the party, we’ll have fun.”

Abstracting away from the details\(^9\), we can derive unconditionals from questions as follows. In (29), I present the two LF-sketches corresponding to the two interpretations available in (23).

(29)  
   a. **Question:** [if John cooks **what**, Mary will eat that] =  
      { [If John cooks soup, Mary will eat it],  
      [If John cooks lasagna, Mary will eat it], ... }

   b. **Correlative:** [OP [if John cooks **what**, Mary will eat that]] =  
      { [If John cooks soup, Mary will eat it] AND  
      [If John cooks lasagna, Mary will eat it] AND... }

Generating the question reading is straightforward. Since interrogative pronouns that compose with PFA is not sensitive to movement islands, we end up with a question denotation (a set of propositions) with no resort to movement, as in (29a). The uncondi-

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\(^8\)In Rawlins (2013), the sentence initial adjunct is analyzed as an interrogative clause whose denotation is a set of propositions. Each of these propositions restricts the modal on a par with a conditional antecedent.

\(^9\)See Rawlins (2013) for English unconditionals and Demirok (2017) for Turkish correlatives.
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tional/correlative can be generated as in (29b) by merging an OP\textsuperscript{10} that asserts the conjunction of the propositional alternatives in its sister (Rawlins 2013).

3.2 Arguments for the analysis

Under the analysis for interrogative-based correlatives sketched above, the interrogative pronouns in correlatives have the same semantic contribution and compose in the same way as their counterparts in wh-questions. The two diagnostic tests I used earlier, namely intervention effects and island insensitivity, confirm this.

A configuration in which an interrogative pronoun is in the scope of a focus sensitive operator is illicit (Beck 2006, Cable 2010). This is true for both wh-questions and correlatives in Turkish, as shown in (30).

\begin{align*}
\text{(30)} & \quad \text{a. } *\text{Sadece John kim-i gördü?} \\
& \quad \quad \text{ONLY John who-ACC saw} \\
& \quad \quad \text{Intended: “Who did only John see?”} \\
\text{b. } *[\text{Sadece John kim-i çağır-di-ysa}, \text{partiye o geldi.} \\
& \quad \quad \text{ONLY John ACC invite-PST-SA to,party DEM came} \\
& \quad \quad \text{Intended: “Whoever only John invited came to the party.”}
\end{align*}

Moreover, interrogative pronouns in correlatives and wh-questions pattern alike with respect to their island insensitivity as shown by the Turkish examples in (31) below.

\begin{align*}
\text{(31)} & \quad \text{a. } \text{Mary-yi [kim-le konuş-tuk-tan sonra] mutlu gördü-n?} \\
& \quad \quad \text{Mary-ACC who-with talk-NML-ABL after happy see-PST.2SG} \\
& \quad \quad \text{“Which x is such that you saw Mary happy after she talked to x?”} \\
\text{b. } \text{Mary-yi [kim-le konuş-tuk-tan sonra] mutlu gördü-yse-m, partiye onu davet et-ti-m} \\
& \quad \quad \text{Mary-ACC who-with talk-NML-ABL after happy see-PST.1SG to,party} \\
& \quad \quad \text{DEM.ACC invitation do-PST.1SG} \\
& \quad \quad \text{‘For any x, if I saw Mary happy after she talked to x, I invited x to the party.’}
\end{align*}

Crucially, however, the proposed LF for interrogative-based correlatives predicts that the correlative clause will be a semantic island that disallows its constituent to be questioned in-situ. This follows from the OP present in the structure which does not let through the alternatives in its scope\textsuperscript{11}. Note that when an interrogative pronoun is inside a condi-

\textsuperscript{10}The OP required in the LF sketch in (29b) would have the following denotation: \([[\text{OP}_\lambda]] = \lambda Q(st,t), \lambda s. \forall p [Q(p) \rightarrow p(s)]\). To block overgeneration, we need to stipulate that this OP can only be merged on top of a conditional structure like \([[\text{MODAL } P] q]$$ where P denotes a set of propositions pointwise restricting the modal \textit{a la} Lewis-Heim-Kratzer or alternatively we can assume an LF like \([[\text{OP}[\text{MODAL } P]] q]$$ and define it as a two-place operator: \([[\text{OP}_\lambda]] = \lambda Z(\langle st, st \rangle, t), \lambda s. \forall R(\langle st, st \rangle) \in Z [R(q)(s)=1]$$

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tional antecedent, it has no problem in taking matrix question scope as in the reading (ii) of (32).

(32) Mary ne ye-se, sever
      Mary what eat-S.A will.like
     i. ‘Whatever Mary eats, she likes it.’
     ii. Which x is s.t. if Mary eats x, she will like x?’

However, to generate the correlative reading, an OP is merged that captures the alternatives in its scope. This results in the island effect in (33), i.e. the inability of the interrogative pronoun in the correlative clause to receive matrix question scope. Under the current account, this follows from the presence of the OP in the structure.

(33) Kim ne ye-se, sever
     Who what eat-S.A will.like
     i. ‘Whoever eats whatever, she will like it.’
     ii. *‘Which x is s.t. whoever eats x, she will like x?’

3.3 A typology for correlatives

Interrogative-based correlatives are not unique to Turkish. There are many wh-in-situ languages that use their interrogative pronouns in correlatives but never as relative pronouns. But there are also languages where correlatives involve relative pronouns rather than interrogative pronouns. In what follows, I discuss two South Caucasian languages, Laz and Georgian, to illustrate the emerging typology of correlatives.

Laz presents a profile very similar to Turkish. Its interrogative pronouns are not sensitive to movement islands (34).

(34) [Mi-k na tf’-u] k’ek’i [k’omi?
     who-ERG COMP bake-PST.3SG cake eat-PST.2SG
     “Whoever ate this made?”

Laz also lacks wh-FRs (35a) but has interrogative-based wh-correlatives (35b) that are, as suggested by the ambiguity in (36), conditional-based.

(35) a. [(Mi-k) ham na [k’om-u]-s monts’ondu.
       who-ERG this COMP eat-PST.3SG-DAT liked
       Intended: “Whoever ate this liked it.’

b. [Mi-k ham na [k’om-u] himu-s monts’ondu.
       who-ERG this COMP eat-PST.3SG DEM-DAT liked
       “[Whoever ate this], (they), liked it.’
Moreover, the proposed OP can be detected in Laz correlatives, as well. This is shown by the inability of the interrogative pronoun *mi* ‘who’ to take matrix question scope. See (37) below.

(37) [Mi-k mu na ]j[k’omasere] monts’ondun who-ERG what COMP eats likes
i. “Whoever eats whatever, she likes it.”
ii. *“Who₁ likes whatever she₁ eats?”*

The analysis for interrogative-based correlatives I proposed building on the analysis of unconditionals in Rawlins (2013) is only compatible with languages where interrogative pronouns available to wh-correlatives are (semantically) identical to the ones used in wh-questions. Clearly, not all languages fall into this group. Georgian, for example, has relative pronoun based correlatives but disallows interrogative pronoun based correlatives.

In Georgian, relative pronouns are built on interrogative pronouns by suffixing [-c] (Foley 2013), as illustrated in (38) below. Correlatives with interrogative pronouns (39a) are ungrammatical in Georgian (39b).

(38) Momgherali vin-c q’vela-s uq’vars singer who-REL everyone-DAT loves
“the singer who everyone loves” (Foley 2013, ex. 6b, p.10)

(39) a. Dato-m ra dats’era?
   Dato-ERG what wrote
   “What did Dato write?”

b. Dato-m ra-*(c) dats’era, Nino mas k’itxulobs
   Dato-ERG what-REL wrote Nino DEM-DAT reads
   “Nino is reading what Dato wrote.” (Georgian, Nino Amiridze, pc)

Georgian informs us that it is possible for a language to have wh-correlatives based on relative pronouns rather than interrogative pronouns. Hence, we should maintain a semantic typology for correlatives as in (40).

(40) a. Relativization Strategy
   [correlative clause ... Relative Pronoun ...] → a predicate

b. Interrogative Strategy
   [correlative clause ... Interrogative Pronoun ...] → a set of propositions
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This semantic typology for correlatives makes further predictions. In particular, relativization based correlatives can feature a determiner (e.g. ∀ or 1) but question-based correlatives cannot. If question-based correlatives make use of the semantics of conditionals, then we have a testable prediction: question-based correlatives should behave on a par with conditional antecedents (as opposed to definite descriptions or quantificational phrases). This prediction is borne out in Turkish (Demirok 2017). I leave the cross-linguistic investigation of this prediction to future work.

4. Conclusion and Remaining Questions

I proposed a semantic typology for interrogative pronouns that predicts that a genuinely wh-in-situ language will preclude interrogative based FRs. Accordingly, interrogative based FRs should only be available in (covert or overt) wh-movement languages. I have also shown that correlatives can be based on interrogative or relativization structures, which helps us maintain the idea that interrogative pronouns in genuinely wh-in-situ languages are not used for relativization.

Some important questions remain. The proposed wh-in-situ typology leaves the status of wh-fronting languages largely ambiguous. However, under the adopted analysis of FRs, we expect the wh-fronting languages that have interrogative based FRs to respect movement islands but by-pass intervention effects in both wh-questions and FRs. While this prediction seems to be borne out in simple cases, more involved cases like multiple wh-questions present important complications that need to be worked out. Some of the conceivable solutions to these complications might easily raise the question whether the interrogative typology should be limited to inter-language variation. If language-internal variation is also allowed via mechanisms like type-shifting or systematic syncretism, the prediction potential of the proposal needs to be reevaluated.

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