Sanskrit relative-correlatives redux

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In an earlier paper (Hock 1980) I analyzed Sanskrit relative-correlatives as being conjoined rather than adjoined. Davison (2009) reformulated my proposal in terms of "symmetrical adjunction" at CP, and this analysis has now been widely accepted (e.g. Ram-Prasad 2022, Linguindic 2024). Davison argued for the account in Figure 1, with what appears to be a case of mutual adjunction between the two clauses; but for iterated structures she operated with hierarchical adjunction (Figure 4). Ram-Prasad offers the account in Figure 2, with hierarchical adjunction of the RC to the "Matrix Clause". Focus in these publications is on "well-behaved" relative-correlatives. My "problem structure" in (1), with apparent adjunction of two correlative clauses (CCs) to (or with) one relative clause (RC), tends to be ignored, except for Davison who offers the account in Figure 3.

This paper shows that the "problem structure" in (1) is not an isolated phenomenon (see e.g. (2)), and that structures of this sort are still found in varieties of Modern Hindi. They must therefore be taken seriously. However, Ram-Prasad's approach does not seem to work for them, and Davison's proposal is not specific enough. Moreover, examples like (3) raise questions for both approaches, as well as for my "conjoined" account, since there is no adjacency between RC_1 and CC_1 or between RC_2 and CC_2.

Under the circumstances, a paratactic account without hierarchical structure, expanding on the work of Motter (2023) for Hittite, looks attractive, with the relation between RCs and CCs considered not syntactic but discourse-based -- assuming that the relation can hold for multiple clauses such as (1) and (3) as well as iterated structures, and that it covers both RCCC and CCRC structures. This approach would be convergent with that of the *Samanvayadiś* (Slaje edn.), which likewise operates only with a semantic (or discourse?) link between the clauses (Linguindic, §4). In fact, the *Samanyavadiś* (5.1) permits structures of this sort to contain not just two, but many (*bahūni*) clauses. On the other hand, the *Samanyavadiś* account covers not only relative-correlatives with RP and optional CP, but also structures like (4), with just demonstrative pronouns (form-identical to CPs); these pronouns, however, differ from RPs, since unlike the latter they do not canonically require a corresponding CP. These and other problems are discussed in the final part of the paper.
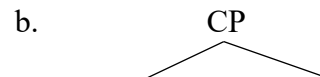
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(1) [**sā$_i$**   vai   daivī vāg]$_{CC}$
     CP.NOM.SG.F PCL   divine speech.NOM.SG.F
     [**yayā$_i$**   **yad yad$_j$**   eva   vadati]$_{RC}$
      RP.INST.SG.F RP.ACC.SG.N PCL   speak.PRES.SG.3
     [**tad tad$_j$**   bhavati]$_{CC}$ (BAU 1.3.27)
     CP.NOM.SG.N come.about.PRES.SG.3
     'That$_i$ is divine Speech by which$_i$ whatever$_j$ one speaks, that$_j$ comes about.'
     ≈ 'Whatever one speaks by means of divine Speech comes about.'

(2) [**tathā$_i$**   nas   tvaṁ …   jānīthā]$_{CC}$
     CAdv. 'thus'   us.CLTC   you.NOM.SG   know.OPT.2SG
     [**yathā$_i$**   **yad$_j$**   ahaṁ   kiṁ ca   veda]$_{RC}$
     RAdv. 'so'   RP.ACC.SG.N   I.NOM.SG   whatever.ACC.SG.N   know.PRF/PRS.1SG
     [sarvam   ahaṁ   **tat$_j$**   tubhyam   avocam]$_{CC}$ (BAU M 6.1.6)
     all.ACC.SG.N   I.NOM.SG   CP.ACC.SG.N   you.DAT.SG   tell.AOR.1SG
     'You should know us (i.e. me) such that whatever I know all of that I have told you.'

(3) [**yāṁ$_i$**   ha vai trayyā vidyayā sarasayā   jitiṁ
     RP.ACC.SG.F   PCLS   three-fold knowledge sap-filled.INS.SG.F   victory.ACC.SG.F
     jayati]$_{RC1}$
     win.PRS.3SG
     [**yām$_j$**   ṛddhim   ṛdhnoti]$_{RC2}$
     RP.ACC.SG.F   thriving.ACC.SG.F   thrive.PRS.3SG
     [jayati   **tāṁ$_i$**   jitim]$_{CC1}$
     win.PRS.3SG.   CP.ACC.SG.F   victory.ACC.SG.F
     [ṛdhnoti   **tām$_j$**   ṛddhiṁ]$_{CC2. …}$ (JUB 3.4.5.5)
     thrive.PRS.3SG   CP.ACC.SG.F   thriving.ACC.SG.F
     '… what victory one wins by the triple, sap-filled knowledge, what thriving one thrives, he wins that victory, he thrives that thriving'

(4) [tasya   vai   mathyamānasya   bhasma$_i$+   avaśīyate]
     DEM.GEN.SG.M PCL   being.churned.GEN.SG.M   ash.NOM.SG.N drop.off.PRS.3SG
     [annam   eva+   asya   **taj$_i$**   jāyate]
     food.NOM.SG.N   PCL   he.GEN.SG   DEM.NOM.SG.N   be.born.PRS.3SG
     'Of it (the fire), as it is being churned, ash drops off. **That** is born as food for him (the yajamāna).' (JB 1.1)
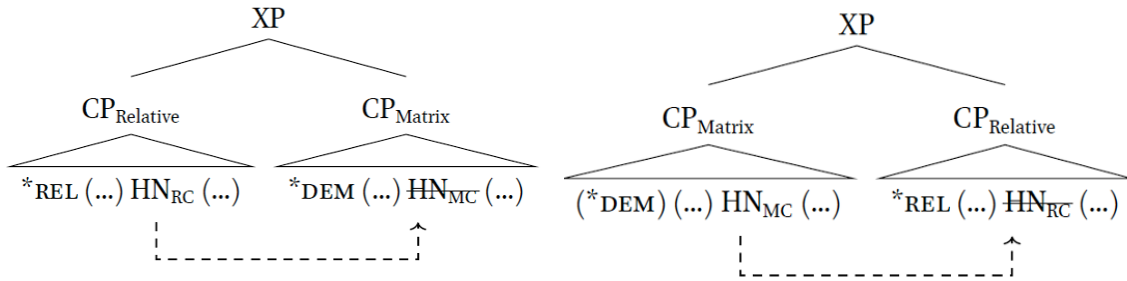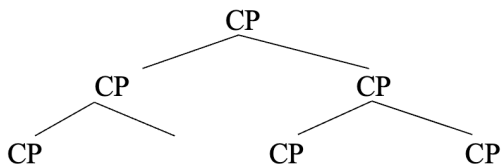
Figure 1: Davison's account
a.   CP   b.   CP

CP1 [Rel]   CP2
Relative XP   Correlate XP

CP1   CP2 [Rel]
Correlate XP   Relative XP

Figure 2: Ram-Prasad's account

XP
   CP$_{Relative}$ CP$_{Matrix}$
*REL (...) HN$_{RC}$ (...) *DEM (...) HN$_{MC}$ (...)

XP
   CP$_{Matrix}$ CP$_{Relative}$
(*DEM) (...) HN$_{MC}$ (...) *REL (...) HN$_{RC}$ (...)

Figure 3: Davison's account for example (1)

CP
  CP   CP
CP   CP   CP

Figure 4: Davison's account for iterated structures

CP
  CP[Rel]   CP
    CP[Rel]   CP