Syntactic effects of correlative clause features in Sanskrit and Hindi/Urdu
Alice Davison, University of Iowa, alice-davison@uiowa.edu

Both earliest Sanskrit and the modern Indic language Hindi-Urdu have correlative clauses (1), in which the modifying, dependent relative clause is not required to be adjoined within the correlate XP, but instead to the whole clause containing XP. The two related but temporally separated  languages differ in the adjunction relation of relatives: Sanskrit has symmetric adjunction of CP to CP (2), but Hindi has asymmetric adjunction of CP to  TP with the corresponding correlate XP (3). Asymmetric c-command rules out stacked relatives, non-local coindexing and locality condition violations in HU, but symmetric adjunction in Sanskrit permits stacked relatives, non-local coindexing and a much looser anaphoric relation between the two finite clauses, as well as interpretations not permitted in HU.  I propose that the asymmetric adjunction and local relation of relative and correlate are enforced in the syntax by features on Hindi relative clauses which are absent in syntactic derivation in Sanskrit, but are options after Spellout in determing interpretation.

This syntactic difference is derived from  by the features on the relative CP and the correlate XP, checked by Agree (Chomsky 2002, 2004. Grosu (2002) proposes the features in (4) for correlative clauses. The feature [Rel] reflects relative clause form in both restrictuve and non-restrictive clauses, and is anaphoric; it is linked by Agree to a like category, even non-locally. The feature [Pred] marks  relative clause with a modifier function translated as set intersection with the predicate contents of X, and  interpreted as a $\lambda$ expression (Adger and Ramchand 2005). [MAX] defines a single unique individual, reflecting the definiteness associated with correlatives (Dayal 1995).

In Sanskrit,  [Rel] is the only syntactically active feature in Sanskrit. In Hindi, relative clauses have all 3 features in the syntax.  In Sanskrit, [Pred] and [MAX] are options checked in LF, deriving restrictive and definite interpretations found in Vedic Sanskrit (Hettrich 1988), but correlatives also may have appositive meaning. The feature [Pred] in Hindi requires a local syntactic link in a c-commanded local domain (TP), deriving a predicate interpretation at LF. Local checking is possible within a phase (the CP dominating TP and its adjoined relative CP (3), and creates the syntactic object interpreted at LF with restrictive modification  In Sanskrit, however, with  the structure (2), all correlative clauses are marked [Rel], both restrictive and appositive clauses.
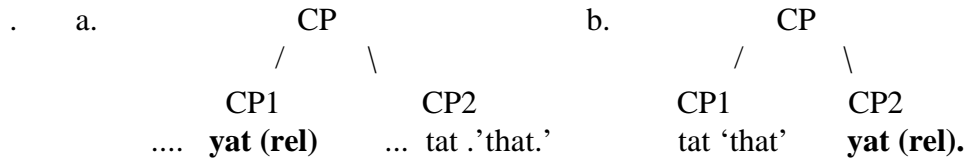
Correlative cluases do not all have restrictive interpretation in Sanskrit.The  feature [Rel]  allows anaphoric linking of all kinds of syntactically related clauses, including relatives, but also complement clauses and conditionals.  For this reason, Sanskrit allows combinations which are ill-formed in Hindi (5)-(6). First, if there is no correlate XP in Sanskrit, the relative clause gets a conditional interpretation,  linking two clauses (5a). The relative phrase has indefinite meaning. Such sentences in Hindi are ill-formed (5b). Second, In Sanskrit, embedded questions must have relative rather than interrogative form (6a), as dependent clauses cannot be marked as both interrogatuve and subordinate. Symmetric adjunction (2) is the only available syntactic relation, linked by [Rel], which follows from the relative lexical form   The interrogative intepretation of the relative  is provided at LF by the selection requirements of the main verb (6a). The interrogative to relative shift is completely ill-formed in Hindi, which allows both a complementizer marking subordination and  interrogative  CP (6b). In both cases, [Rel] in Sanskrit reflects relative form without necessarily a relative interpretation. These differences follow from (a) the uninterpretable nature  of [Rel} and (b) the absence of [Pred] and MAX in Vedic Sanskrit, and the addition of them  as syntactically active interpretable  features at some point in the syntactic evolution of the  Indic languages from the earliest stages of .Sanskrit.

1. a. [Vedic Sanskrit]   **[yád(i)**      īm      uśmási               kár-tave][ karat   **tát(i)]**
                                what-re1   he-acc   be-eager-pres-1pl do-inf   do-pres-3s that
   [What(i) we are eager for him to do  t], he does that(i)' (R.V. 10.74.6)
   b. [Hindi]
      [*us-nee joo ciiz-eeN tooR-ii haiN*] **un**-kii kiimat us-kii tankhvaah-see zyaadaa hai
      3s-erg  rel   thing-pl break-pf are   3pl-gen price 3s-gen wages-from more    is
      '[***Which things(i)*  he has broken t**]] their(i) price  is more than his salary.'


2. [Symmetric adjunction--Hock 1989]
.    a.                    CP                   b.              CP
                      /      \                           /       \
              CP1          CP2            CP1         CP2
            ....  **yat (rel)**     ... tat .'that.'      tat 'that'   **yat (rel).**
   3. [Asymmetric adjunction- Dayal 1996 Grosu 2002]
                   **TP***                                        **TP***
               /      \                                       /       \
      **CP**[Rel]    TP                          TP          **CP [Rel]**
   **relative domain**     XP correlate           XP correlate     **relative domain**


4. Relative clause features (Grosu 2002)
a. [Rel], anaphoric feature checked (not necessarily locally) by some category feature.
b. [Pred] checked locally within phase, by the correlate XP; intersective modification at LF
c. [MAX]: unique individual, defnite reference.

5 a. [ **yó(i)**    no      agne      duréva                    **ā márto**(i) vadhāya      dāśati ](j)
      rel-nom 1pl-acc Agni-voc   having evil ways-nom   to mortal    murder-abl   hurt-pres-3s
       tásmān(j) nah      pāhy                ámhasah(j)
       that-abl   1pl-acc   protect-imper-2s   trouble-abl
    [Which mortal with evil intentions hurts us with murder](j), protect us, Agni from this
danger(j); or,     [ if a mortal with evil intentions hurts us with murder], protect us, Agni, from
this danger.' R.V. 6.16.31 Hettrich 1988, p. 620
   b. [Hindi] Relative with no correlate, no other interpretation
    * [**jis** laRkee-koo anu-nee wahaaN deekh-aa hai] maiN miinaa-see mil    ga-ii
      which girl-dat Anu-erg there    see-pf    is    I    Mina-with meet   go-pf
          '[Which girl Anu has seen there], I met Mina.'


6.[Sanskrit] Matrix question with question complement, relative as embedded interrogative:
. [ kó            veda               nūnám **e ām** ][**yátrā**        mádanti         dhūtayah
     who?-nom   know-pres-3s   now     that-acc where-rel   enjoy-pres-3pl ascetic-nom-pl
'Who knows now where the ascetics   enjoy themselves (R.V. 5.61.14ab, Etter 1985,   p.
201).  Interrogative 'where?'  *kva , k*ū.  is replaced by rel. *yátr*ā *'where'*


7. [Hindi]  ham-nee  (yah) **puuch-aa** [*ki* **kahaaN/  *jahaaN**        vee    aa-eeNgee]
                we -erg   this ask-pf     that where-int/*where-rel-rel  3pl    come-fut-3plm
            'We asked [*where-int/*where-rel* they will come].'