

## Reduplicated Relative Pronouns and Domain Widening in Sanskrit

Reduplication of personal and indefinite pronouns is commonly found cross-linguistically, and is used to express emphasis or to build reflexive or reciprocal pronouns (de Vaan 2015). Interrogatives are also doubled to form indefinites in many languages, and it was a regular process in Proto-Indo-European; but doubling of demonstrative pronouns is a comparatively rare feature in the languages of the world (Janssen 2004). Relative pronouns can also be reduplicated as a strategy for *-ever* free relative formations in Italo-Romance varieties, e.g. Spanish *quienquiera* ‘whoever’ (Silvestri 2019).

Sanskrit presents correlative constructions, in which the relative clause contains a relative pronoun (*ya*), and the main clause contains a correlative pronoun (*sa*). The relative clause is not inserted into the main clause (i.e. embedded) (Hock 1989, Speyer 1886, Delbrück 1888), as shown in (1). Correlatives possess syntactic and semantic properties different from other relativization strategies (Lipták 2001, Grosu and Landman 1998, Srivastav 1991, Dayal 1996: among others). In particular, correlatives present maximilizing semantics.

- (1) [*RC yaś ca me bhavitā putraḥ*] *sa bhavatyā bhaviṣyati*  
which.NOM and I.GEN be.FUT.SG son.NOM he.NOM you.GEN be.FUT.3.SG  
‘The son that I bear shall be yours.’ (*Bṛhatkathāślokaṣaṁgraha* 5.15a)

In a language such Sanskrit, where ellipsis is so frequent, we can assume that reduplication would carry a marked meaning, compared to the non-reduplicated form. Hence, the question arises whether the semantics of the reduplicated pronominal form in (2) differs from the non-reduplicated one in (1). Previous studies assign a distributive meaning (Whitney 1896) or even a generalizing one (Hettrich 1988) to the reduplicated relative form.

- (2) *yad yad ācarati śreṣṭhas tat tad eva*  
RP.ACC.SG RP.ACC.SG perform.PRS.3.SG superior.NOM.SG CP.ACC.SG CP.ACC.SG ptcl  
*itaro janaḥ*  
common.NOM.SG people.NOM.SG  
‘Whatever action a great man performs, common people follow.’ (MBH 6.25.21)

The present study examines this phenomenon using a large-scale corpus of Sanskrit digital texts (various genre and periods) of approximately 5 million words. The data is analyzed using the notion of “domain widening” (Probert 2006, Shank 1997), which further develops some of the ideas found in the Indian grammatical tradition, particularly in Pāṇini’s notion of *āmreḍita* or “reduplicated words”. The study not only contributes to the understanding of pronominal reduplication in Sanskrit, but also to the understanding of “domain widening” in the context of relativization.

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