Reduplication in Dhundhari and Adi

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ABSTRACT

This paper tries to investigate a typological study of reduplication and its structure and patterns of two languages belonging to entirely different language families viz-a-viz Dhundhari which is an indo Aryan language and Adi, a Tibeto-Burman language. Reduplication is a common phenomenon and an important morphological process in the grammar of both the languages where a lexical item is obtained from the existing base word and showing the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic functions. This paper exemplifies types of reduplication processes with the help of examples. Further, we will also look at the aspect of Expressive morphology presented in both Dhundhari and Adi, thus showing a correlation between the two far off languages.

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ABBREVIATIONS

aux.	auxiliary verb
fig.	figure
fsg.	feminine singular
msg.	masculine singular
pst.	past tense
perf.	perfective

INTRODUCTION

Dhundhari is the second major language of Rajasthan which is the biggest state of India with its capital located in Jaipur. Dhundhari is the second largest speaking group of Rajasthani better known as Jaipuri with around nine million speakers. It covers the districts of Jaipur, Dausa, Tonk, Sawai Madhopur and Karauli. It is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Dhundhar region of northeastern Rajasthan State and is also called as Dhundhadi. It does exhibit certain morphological features which are found common in Adi language despite of it being belonging to a different language family. So, reduplication is a typological feature which has its root everywhere and this feature is considered very productive as it forms new lexical items after reduplication. If we analyse the languages of Tibeto-Burman and Austro- Asiatic family, it is imperative to look for such structures, as these families employ this phenomenon as one of the most productive processs of deriving new lexical items. Adi is a language spoken by the Adis, one of the largest hill tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Though they were formerly known as abors, their tribe name as per the census records is Adi. The Adis are sub –divided into different sub- tribes. Among them are Padam, Minyong, Pangi, Shimong, Ashing, Pasi, Karko, Bokar, Bori, Ramo, Pailibo, Milan, Tngnam and Tagin. The Padam and Minyong are the largest groups. The total population of the Adis according to the 1911 census is 1.2 lakhs and they constitute the largest tribal group in Arunachal Pradesh. The Adis spread over in the East, West and upper Siang Districts of Arunachal Pradesh. The Adi-

inhabited area is about 21.229 sq.kms, excluding the areas in the Dibang and Subansiri valley.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The linguistic field work methodology was adopted for this research study. Linguistic data of Adi Language has been collected with the help of two informants , whereas Dhundhari Data has been collected from three informants. Interview method was used in order to collect the data with the help of questionnaires

REDUPLICATION

The term "Reduplication" refers to either the morphological process (Abbi, 1992, Singh,

1999 & Sharon Inkelas) or the phonological process (Wilbur, 1973), in which the root or stem of a word, or a part of the lexical item is repeated with exact shape or a slight change, carrying a quite semantic modification. Reduplication can be either partial or complete.

Pei (1966: 230) refers to reduplication as a morphological process whereby there is a repetition of a radical element or part of it, occurring usually at the beginning of a word, occasionally within the word. Marantz (1982:437) defines reduplication as "a morphological process relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that may be analyzed as being constructed from the base form via the affixation of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the base form". According to Spencer (1991:13) involves adding material whose identity is partially or wholly determined by the base. According to O, Grady and Guzman (1996:143), reduplication is a "common morphological process in certain languages which duplicates all or part of the base to which it applies to mark a grammatical or semantic contrast." Wilbur (1973:5) emphasizes the morphological nature of reduplication, although it superficially resembles a phonological rule in the classical sense of the SPE framework (Chomsky & Halle 1968).

Reduplication itself is not considered as a salient characteristic and a phenomenon of the Indo- European language family, nor the classic feature and nature of the Greek or Latin but in the general way, it is mostly found in the languages of the world. Sapir pointed out that

"*Nothing is more natural than the prevalence of reduplication, in other words, the repetition of all or part of the radical element*" (Sapir, 1921:76) Reduplication is an areal feature of the

South Asian Languages. The process of reduplication plays an important role in the creation of a new single lexical item with a slight semantic modification of the root or stem word, without changing the grammatical category of root or base word in languages.

TYPES OF REDUPLICATION

Reduplication can be widely divided into two broad types, namely Lexical Reduplication (**LR**) and Morphological Reduplication (**MR**). Under the shadow of Morphological Reduplication, sound symbolism, mimic words, onomatopoeia, iconicity, imitative, ideophones which are collectively called as Expressive, are discussed. Under the heading of Lexical Reduplication, Echo-words or echo-formations, Compounds and Word reduplications, are described below.

MORPHOLOGICAL REDUPLICATION

Morphological reduplication is one of the two types of reduplication described by Abbi (1992). She defines morphological reduplication as "minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes which are constituted of iterated syllables." Thus, the base and the iterated part together constitute a single morpheme which is also a lexeme. Onomatopoeic, imitatives, certain instances of sound symbolism and mimic words are examples of morphological reduplication. Abbi (1992) and Diffloth (1976) put all these terms under Expressive. Emeneau (1969) uses the term expressive for onomatopoeias.

EXPRESSIVES

Diffloth (1976) suggests that "we must be prepared to see the expressive as a whole decomposed in such manner, to discard the conventional notions of root and morphology, and to treat expressives as micro-sentences made up of distinctive features,"

Reduplication of iterated syllables is generally onomatopoeic in nature. Expressives in Dhundhari and Adi language are used to denote all the five senses of perception, that is, the sense of smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste. Expressive is also used to denote kinship terminology and states of mind and manner adverbs in Adi language

Expressives in Dhundhari

SENSE OF SIGHT

məʈ məʈ	" to smile in disgust"
ʈukur ʈukur	"to see constantly"
məč məč	"small eyed person"

DEPICTION OF UNTIDENESS

kəč kəč	"muddy"
dənd pʰənd	"filthy"
kʰəčəʈ pəčəʈ	"hotch potch"
lədəʈ pədəʈ	"one over the other"
gič pič	"congested"

SENSE OF TOUCH

čip čip	"sticky"
gəl gəli	"tickling"
kʰur dəri	"rough"

SENSE OF TASTE

čər mərəʈ	"spicy

SENSE OF NOISE

čəʈ čəʈ	"The noise produced by the opening and closing of doors"
pəʈ pəʈ	"falling of water"
Kʰər kʰər	"noise produced by windows"
ɖəm ɖəm	"noise produced by drums"

MANNER OF EATING

ləbəʈ ləbəʈ	"to eat very fast"
subəʈ subəʈ	"to drink something"

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

kɑ ko	"grandfather"
čɑ čo	"uncle"
mɑ mo	"maternal uncle"

In case of kinship terminology ,when we address the person directly then it's full reduplication for eg. kɑ kɑ but if we refer the person in a conversation then partial

reduplication takes place where the vowel 'ɑ' of the first syllable is being replaced by the vowel 'o' of the second syllable.

STATES OF MIND AND MANNER ADVERBS IN DHUNDHARI

gətgɛlʲo	"solution"
bəčəriya bəčəriya	"cut into pieces"
nətər kɛni	"otherwise"
ɖoɖɑ baɖɪ	"side by side"
hɑta hut	"doing the work with your own hands"
ukəɽ čukəɽ	"disturbed"
čəɳi məɳikso	"very little"
ləb ɖʰəb	"nearby"
čurr murr	" repent"

QUANTIFIERS

(a) do   "two"   do- do   "two and only two"

(b) tin   "three"   tin- tin   "by three"

MORPHOLOGICAL PARADIGMS OF EXPRESSIVES IN DHUNDHARI

Expressive items have a morphological paradigm. It can be generated morphological paradigms with different lexical items by derivational processes in Dhundhari language in India and other Indian languages too.

Root	bʰəɽ
Stem	bʰəɽ- bʰəɽ
Derived Noun	bʰəɽ- bʰəɽaɽ

EXAMPLES

1. bɑ   mosu   bʰəɽ   gi

   She   me   collision   go.3fsg.PST

   "she collided with me"

In this example the word " bʰəɽ" is used as a verb

2. bʰəɽ- bʰəɽɑɖ̪ mət kar

    noise   don't do

    "don't make noise"

In this example "bʰəɽ- bʰəɽɑɖ̪" is used as a derived noun. It is very difficult to deduce and translate the expressive lexical items because it is completely associated with the society, culture, tradition, and regions, various lexical items are derived through derivational process

LEXICAL REDUPLICATION

Lexical reduplication can be defined as one lexical item or lexeme which comprises two or more segmentally identical parts or words. It is not a group of complex form of lexical items. Lexical reduplication refers to a complete or partial repetition of a word or lexeme. Abbi (1992) defines lexical reduplication as "Complete Lexical Reduplication is constituted of two identical (bimodal) words, e.g. In Hindi "gərəm gərəm" "hot" or beʈʰe- beʈʰe "while sitting" is derived from the modifier gərəm 'hot' and verb bEThe 'to sit', respectively. Partial Reduplication is constituted of partial repetition of a word either phonologically or semantically,e.g. Khana uana "food etc." or compound such as khana-pina (eat+drink) "standard of living" are case of partial reduplication in Hindi. Lexical reduplication, unlike morphological reduplication, is not minimally meaningful and thus can be further divided as they are formed of two identical words or two non-identical phonological words. From the grammatical point of view, however, they act as a single lexical category.
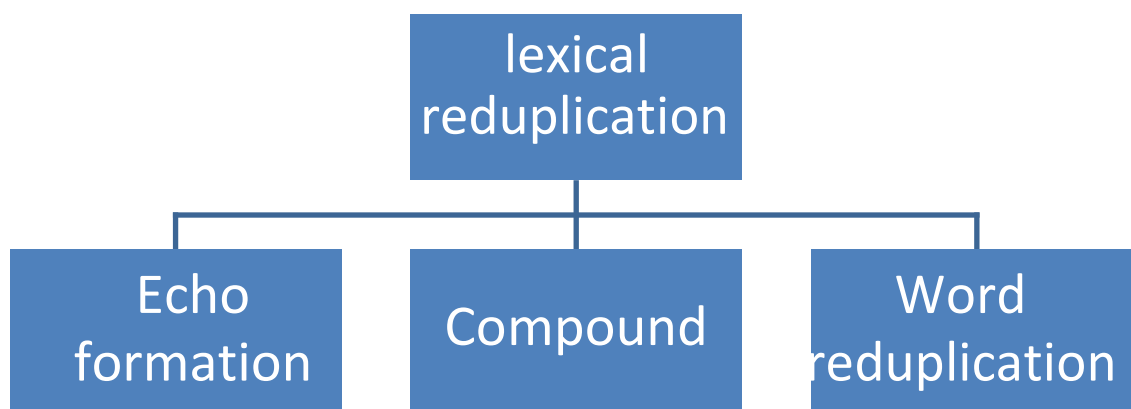
Fig.1 Types of Lexical Reduplication

Echo Formation

In Echo-formation, an echo word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word, means either the initial phoneme (consonant(C) or vowel (V)) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The replacer (phoneme or syllable) sound sequences are more or less fixed and rigid (Abbi, 1992). In other words, in echo word, only the initial syllable or phoneme of the base word is replaced by echo syllable or phoneme.

EXAMPLES (DHUNDHARI)		EXAMPLES (ADI)	
nɑm ɑm	"nam and the like"	ɑmik sɑmi	"ice and the like"
Kɑm ɑm	"work and the like"	gɑɖu sɑɖu	"blanket and the like"
kursi ursi	"chair and the like"	ɑpim sɑpim	"food and the like"
kʰɑŋo ɑŋo	"food and the like	ɑlɑk sɑlɑk	"hand and the like"

PHONOLOGICAL RULE

Echo formation in Dhundhari is formed by duplicating the base word and the initial consonant is dropped whereas in Adi language base word is reduplicating with the addition of consonants in the initial position if the base word starts with a vowel „a-".

COMPOUND

Compound is the one among the three kinds of lexical reduplication. It plays an important role in word formation process in Dhundhari. It is a kind of partial reduplicated compound by joining the semantically related, identical and opposite words to convey a wide semantic meaning and totally and completely differs from the single lexical word. The other two kinds of lexical reduplication are the Echo-formation and the Word reduplication. In Sanskrit, this compound is called as „conjunctive" (dvandva) compound. K. Rangan (2000) describes "compound as a construction in which two or more words join together without any interruption". Two words which are having different form but having similar meaning, are joining together to form a compound. This type of process was called intensive or inclusive compound formation (Mahadeva Sastri, 1954 & Bhaskararo, 1977). Abbi (1975, 1992)

suggests that compound is considered as instances of partial reduplication. The compounds refers to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first word either on the semantic or on the phonetic level.

Compound can be formed either by combining the semantically similar words or by conjoining semantically different word.

EXAMPLES (DHUNDHARI)

həsbo kʰelbo

uʈʰbo bɛʈʰbo

kɑm dʰəndo

hatʰ pɛr

latta kəpɽɑ

EXAMPLES (ADI)

pakɨ nɨkkɨ   "cut-chop"

alə alak   "leg-hand"

WORD REDUPLICATION

The word reduplication is a linguistic term that refers to the complete or partial repetition or of the base of the word. This reduplication can be considered as a unit of syllable or a large group of words. The word reduplication can be further subdivided into three parts, namely complete word reduplication, Partial reduplication and Discontinuous reduplication.
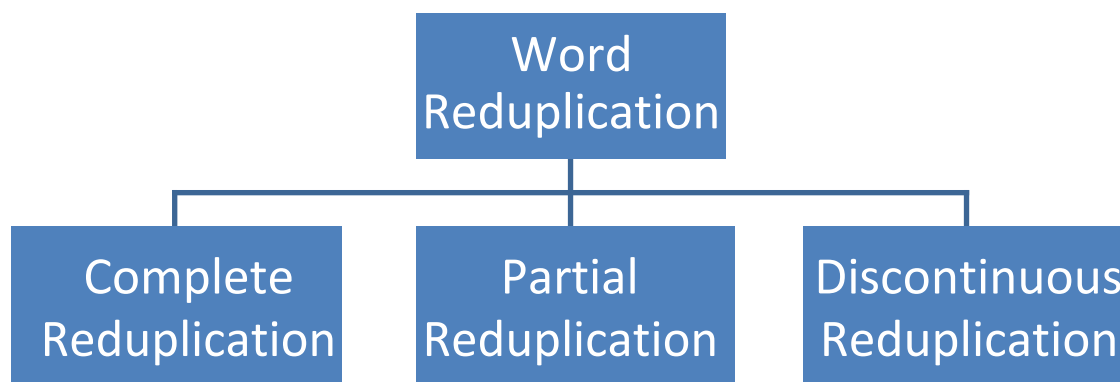

Figure 2. Types of word reduplication

EXAMPLES OF NOUN   **EXAMPLES**

(DHUNDHARI)   **(ADI)**

gɑo gɑo   əkum əkum   "house house"

gʰər gʰər   doluŋg doluŋg   "village village"

baɭək baɭək

EXAMPLES OF PRONOUNS   **EXAMPLES**

(DHUNDHARI)   **(ADI)**

kuɳ kuɳ   seko seko   "who all"

kuɳku kuɳku   inko inko   "where where"

EXAMPLES OF WORD REDUPLICATION LEVEL AT SENTENCE LEVEL.

parʈi me kon   kon   ɑyɑ   (HINDI)

parʈi mɛ kuɳ   kuɳ   ɑyo   (DHUNDHARI)

parʈi lɔ seko seko atoŋ   (ADI)

Party who who come. PERF

"who all came to the party"

Reduplication of Nouns and Pronouns are used to give emphasis. It does carry a certain feeling , indication of simply eagerness or curiousity.

EXAMPLES OF ADJECTIVES   **EXAMPLES**

(DHUNDHARI)   **(ADI)**

čokʰi čokʰi   bɔtə bɔtə   "big big"

piɭi piɭi   kɑmpo kɑmpo   "good good"

ləmbo ləmbo   ŋorəŋ ŋorəŋ   "black black"

The adjective is a modifier of various grammatical category. Here "piɭi piɭi" shows the intensification of adjective, it gives an intensifier morpheme "-ish" (yellowish). Whereas this intensifier morpheme is missing in Adi where "ŋorəŋ ŋorəŋ" would mean all black in colour not blackish.

EXAMPLES OF ADVERBS

(DHUNDHARI)

bego bego   "fastly fastly"

čʰɑnɛ čʰɑnɛ   "quietly quietly"

1.rinu cʰɑnɛ cʰɑnɛ čɑl   ri   či   (adverb of manner)

Reenu quietly quietly walk PROG 3fsg AUX PST

2.ničɛ ničɛ   pɑɳi čo   (adverb of location)

Under under water AUX.pst

3.ba cʰori   bič bič mɛ so jɑu čɛ   (adverb of time)

She   girl middle middle sleep go.pst.3msg aux

In the example of Adverbs, adverb in a sentence can be used to indicate or intensify the action or event in reduplicated form. Adverb is a modifier of such things, manner (mostly), location and time. When the adverb is reduplicated in a sentence then it gives intensified meaning of the event or action.

EXAMPLES OF VERBS

ba dʰirɛ dʰirɛ čɑl riyo cʰo

He slowly slowly walking was.

"He was walking slowly slowly"

tu   kʰɑ kʰɑ giyo cʰo

you   where where go.PST

"where all did you go"

ba bɛʈʰo bɛʈʰo tʰək giyo
He sitting sitting tired(v1) go(v2)
"he got tired of sitting"

EXPRESSIVES IN ADI

Adi language is very rich in describing manner of walking, every manner of walking can be distinguished with the help of reduplication be it complete or partial. Expressives in Adi language can be visualized in different features like that of sense of perception, acoustics noises, kinship terminology, states of mind and manner adverbs.

FIVE SENSES OF PERCEPTION INADI

1. SENSE OF SIGHT

kampo tætpo	"gorgeous"
bəlum bəkum	"dirty"

2. SENSE OF TOUCH

ǰapkatǰaprɑt	"sticky"
rəgəp rəgap	"sweat"
ɑrə pepe	"sharpness of sword"

3. SENSE OF SMELL

nɑmsu nɑmyuŋ	"foul"
nɑmkir nɑmyir	"smell of underarms"
nɑmpo nɑmyo	"aroma"

4. SENSE OF TASTE

dopo tipo	"delicious"
tinɑm ŋɑmnɑm	"sweet"
kosaŋ kogum	"bitter"

5. SENSE OF HEARING

It has different acoustic sounds.

Animal noises

ŋuek ŋuek	"pig"
titi titi	"ducks"

Nature sounds

ǰir ǰir	"flowing of rivers"
bi bi	"blowing of winds"
tek tek	"dripping of water"

Inanimate objects

siriŋ siriŋ	"jingling of traditional chain called
rəmi rəmo	„sondorong" "jingling of traditional beads
kiriŋ kiriŋ	called „ǰampilaŋ" "jingling of chains"

6. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

yi yi	"youngest maternal uncle"
ǰo ǰo	"grand mom"
mi mi	"elder sister "
te te	"eldest maternal uncle"

One important observation has been found out in case of kinship terms , words associated with the maternal side is reduplicated whereas no such phenomenon is visible with the kinship terms of paternal side.

MANNER OF WALKING (ADI)

mɑnɑm	"to walk"
pɑnlɑ pɑnlɑ	"toddle like a child"
uŋir uŋir	"walking of an old man"
yonlɑ yonlɑ	"walking quickly"
mɑlɑ mɑlɑ	"walking slowly nad silently"
mɑŋki mɑŋki	"to waddle"
giŋ giŋ	"rough with heavy steps"
mɑkɑr mɑyɑr	"of an angry man"
memlɑ memlɑ	"walking blindly"
ədəm ələ	"walking carelessly"
en tɑrpen	"walking lazily"
lomlɑ lomlɑ	"to walk hurriedly with light steps"
tumnɑm tumnɑm	"walking confused"

In case of Adi language manner adverbs play a vital role, it brings out very minute and distinctions in a performance of an action, in Adi there are 13 manner adverbs "to walk" , different style of walking will have different Expressive morphology in Adi language that makes it very rich in Expressives.

MANNER OF SLEEPING (ADI)

ipnɑm	"to sleep"
pɑtɑr pɑyɑr	"to sleep carelessly"
kətkɑr kətyɑr	"sleeping of an angry man"
iptɑp ipyɑt	"when one is out of control, feeling sleepy"
kətkup kətlɑt	"uncomfortable while sleeping"

QUANTIFIERS

Adi does not offer reduplication in case of quantifiers which can be seen in Dhundhari.

DISCONTINUOUS WORD REDUPLICATION

Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DWR) can be defined in terms of reduplication of the phonemes or the syllable of the base word and when it takes an infix between the base form and the reduplicated form, then it is called Discontinuous Word Reduplication. The inserted elements may be some words such as postpositions, negation marker (nə), connector elements and empty syllable and so on (Parimalagantham, 2009).

(DHUNDHARI)		(ADI)	
ʃo ko ʃo	"exact"	akon maŋkom akon	"someone or other"
		aŋoŋ maŋkom aŋoŋ	" atleast"
koi nə koi	"someone"		
pɛlo hi pɛlo	"first one"		
dekʰtɑ hi dekʰtɑ	"in front of your eyes"		

In case of discontinuous reduplication, Dhundhari gives the same pattern as of Hindi where

"hi", "ko" are behaving as the connector both the base word and the reduplicated form of base word is connected by an inserted element, and in Adi "maŋkom" is the connector.

Structure of discontinuous reduplication

[**A Base Word**]---{*inserted elements*}---[**Reduplicated Form**]

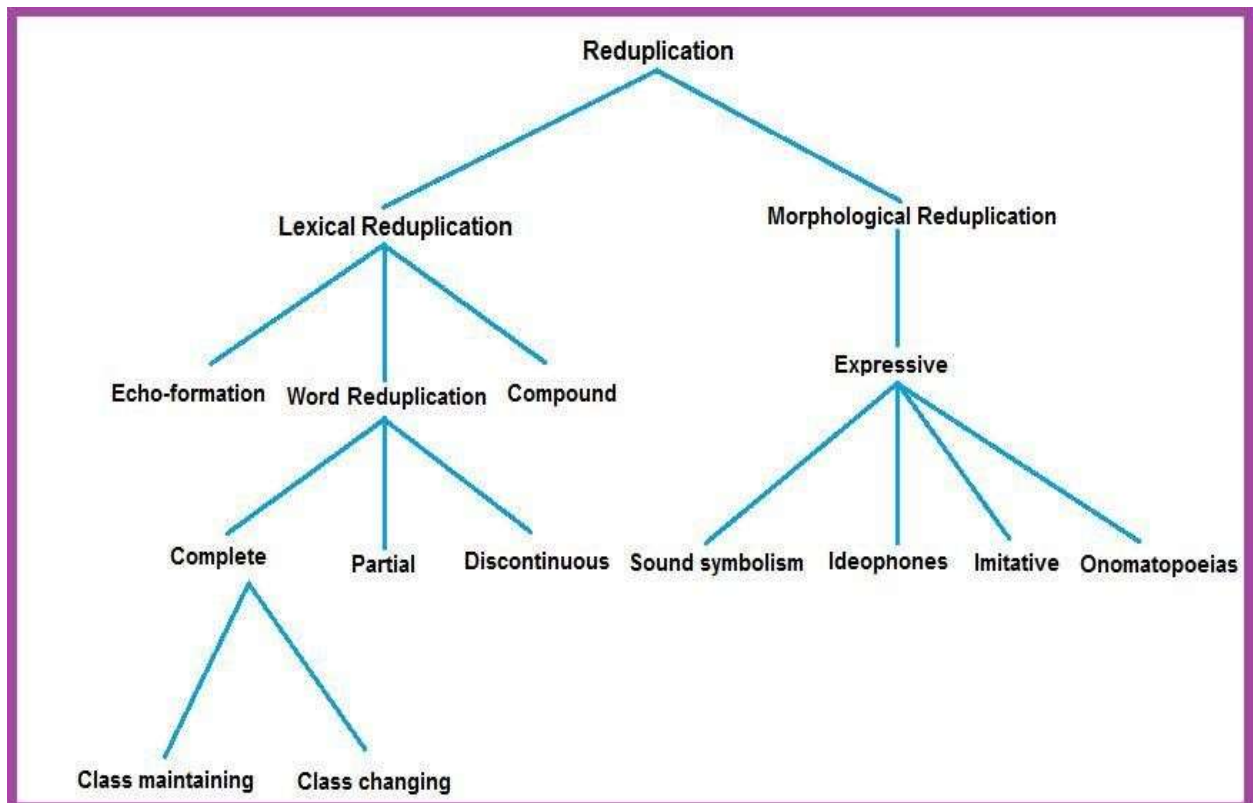|			
Koi	*nə*	**koi (Dhundhari**)	"someone"
ɑkon	maŋkom	**ɑkon (Adi**)	"someone or the other"

fig.4. Types of Reduplication Structures

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of reduplication is a morphological process which plays a significant role in creating a single new lexical item in Dhundhari and Adi . Even though both the languages fall under two different language families but they do have certain similar characteristics which are typological in nature. In Dhundhari colour modifiers and quantifiers are reduplicated whereas on the other hand Adi does not offer reduplication in case of colour modifiers and quantifiers. It has also been found out that in Dhundhari reduplication is observed that dhundhari exhibits reduplication in both maternal and paternal side kinship terminology unlike Adi where reduplication only occurs in maternal side kinship terminology.

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APPENDIX I

MAP OF RAJASTHAN SHOWING DHUNDHARI SPEAKING AREAS

APPENDIX II

MAP OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH SHOWING ADI SPEAKING AREAS
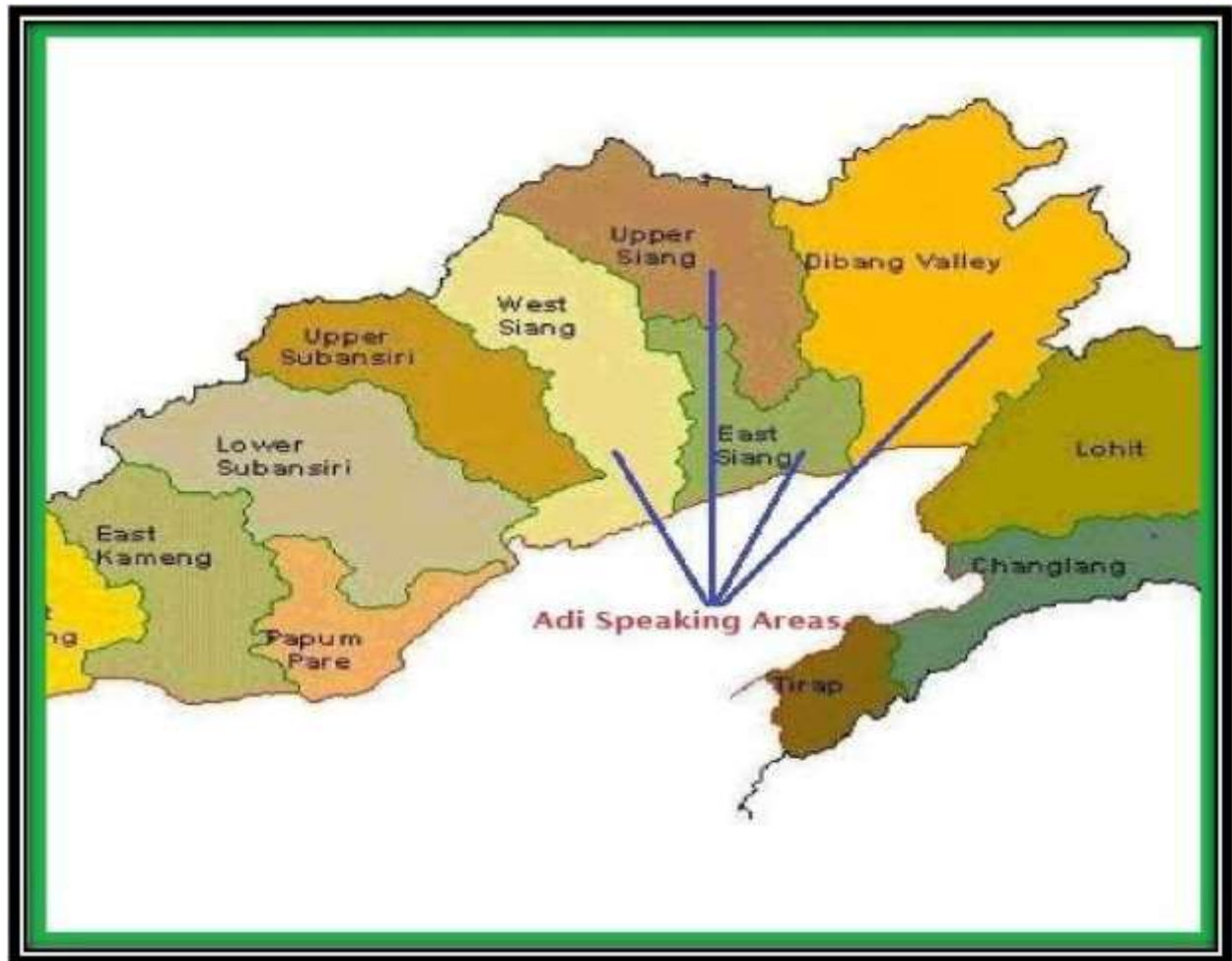
APPENDIX III

REDUPLICATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please have some tea,etc.

2. He has gone to buy some stationary.

3. Two books were stolen

4. Longish bamboo was lying there.

5. He was walking slowly slowly.

6. He came again and again.

7. What all did he eat?

8. Who all came to the party.

9. Where all Ram found Sita's ornaments.

10. He got tired of sitting sitting.

11. I got bored writing letters.

12. She spoke while eating.

13. The child fell down while walking on the footpath.

14. Red red apples are juicy.

15. Bring sweet sweet mangoes.

16. How are you going to jump over these high high hedges.

17. Give me little little of everything.

18. Don't come after me

19. Sita fell down while walking.

20. It's my first love.

21. He came here quickly.

22. This sari is somewhat greenish in colour.

23. He spoke while selling paan.

APPENDIX IV

Informants' Details

Topic of Research – Reduplication in Dhundhari and Adi

Name of Researcher- Sonam Meena

1. Name -

2. Age -

3. Gender (Female/Male) -

4. Mother Tongue –

Mother Tongue	Speak	Read	Write

5. The names of other languages that you can speak, read and write and also mark your proficiency level in these languages.

Language	Speak	Read	Write

Date -

APPENDIX V

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Topic of Research – Reduplication in Dhundhari and Adi

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4. Mother Tongue –

Mother Tongue	Speak	Read	Write

5. The names of other languages that you can speak, read and write and also mark your proficiency level in these languages.

Language	Speak	Read	Write

Date -