

LEXICAL REDUPLICATION IN GADDI

¹Saloni Priya, ²Vijay Vishal,

¹PhD Research Scholar, ²Student

¹Centre for Linguistics,

¹Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

Abstract : The aim of this paper is to investigate the reduplication process in Gaddi language. Gaddi is an Indo-Aryan Language spoken by Gaddi tribe mainly in Bharmaur, Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. There are several types of reduplication process present in many South East Asian Languages. The present paper finds out the types of reduplication based on the categories defined by Abbi(1992). There are two major categories of reduplication i.e. Expressive and Lexical Reduplication. The present paper gives a detailed analysis on different kinds of Lexical Reduplication Structure in Gaddi Language. The analysis shows that under Lexical Reduplication the Complete Reduplicated Structures are the most common in Gaddi language compares to Partial and Discontinuous Reduplicated Structures.

Key Words: Reduplication, Lexeme, Stem, Words, Reduplicated Structure, Word Formation process.

1. INTRODUCTION

Gaddi belongs to Indo-Aryan Language Family. The language is spoken by the people from Bharmaur tehsil of Chamba district in Himachal pardesh but a scattered population of this indigenous group of people is also found in the adjoining districts of Kangra and Mandi, parts of Jammu and Kashmir, and near Dholadhar region.. The term reduplication is defined as the repetition of phonological or morphological material within a word which brings semantic changes and grammatical changes in a phrase or sentence, a widely used morphological process in a number of world's languages.

According to Abbi(1992) 'Reduplication stands for repetition of all or a part of lexical item carrying a semantic modification'. Reduplication thus can be either partial or complete. For example *c^hettī c^hettī* in Punjabi for *fast* or we have *nikke nikke* in Gaddi for Children; these are the example of complete reduplication, while *sittore-sittore* in Gaddi for *Readymade* is the examples of partial reduplication. . In the context of Indian area, works on reduplication have been emphasized for its structural importance in respect to the linguistic region, from Emeneau 1969 to Abbi 1992 have listed its various forms and meanings in Hindi and Urdu (Abbi 1980). Singh's contribution is the first one to give a detailed theory-based analysis of its morphology, formulating a nearly exhaustive set of explicit morphological rules for reduplication processes in Hindi/Urdu (Singh,2005). He also associates reduplication to echo-constructions or partial reduplication and to semantic pairs, followed by Montaut (2008). The reduplicated structure therefore are derived functions as a single lexical category. Reduplication may also be refered as the iteration of syllables which constitute a single word or lexeme. Now the question is, are these reduplicated structures arbitrary? The idea of arbitrariness has generated enough confusion and disagreements among linguists. As Abbi(1992) has mentioned in her book ; that instead of equating arbitrariness with randomness, if we equate it to proposition that any symbolic system is arbitrary to the extent that there is no inherent relationship between the linguistic or non-linguistic sign and the real world, then Reduplicated Structures are arbitrary. Though, at present, linguists who reject the dogma of arbitrariness outnumber those who accept it.

2. TYPES OF REDUPLICATION

There are different types of word formation processes in worlds languages. Reduplication is one of the most interesting kind of word formation process; specially in Indo-Aryan languages. Though, reduplication is a derrivational word formation process; therefore, it includes different kinds of processes from which we can get many reduplicated forms. There are two basic types of reduplicated forms i.e. Morphological and Lexical. The present paper focuses on the Lexical Reduplication structure.

3. LEXICAL REDUPLICATION

At the lexical level reduplication can be Complete or partial. Partial includes Echo formation and compounds. In Gaddi, echo formation process is quite common but it was really difficult to find out the compounds. I would like to discuss about the compound reduplication later. Though, this do not includes in my topic of research; therefore we can have a glimpse just for consideration.

3.1 ECHO FORMATION

An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word, partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme or the syllable of the base replaced by the other phoneme. For example in (a) **čũ** means teach but after adding **-čũ** (which doesnt have any meaning) the meaning becomes *tea etc.*

a) tʊhɛ	čũ-čũ	pi	kəɾɪ	gəččʰi
You.2SG.HON	tea etc.	drink	CP	go.PFV.M.SG

Please give him some tea etc.

3.2 COMPOUNDS

“The compounds refer to the paired construction in which the second word is not exact repetition of the first but has some similarity to the first word either on the semantic or on the phonetic level (Abbi, 1992). In the example given below, (b) the compound word has been formed **behəre- behəore** by adding the vowel /ə/ in the second component.

b) Mera kəmm t̪ə **behəre behəore** huci go.
I.GEN.1.SG Work.SG Then.CP Sit- Being Sitted Happen Go.(ECV).PFV.M.SG

My Work has been done very easily. (hindi: bə^he-bɪ^hae)

3.3 WORD REDUPLICATION

The Word reduplication can be simply defined as repetition of the base of the word or of the stem in which meaning of the reduplicated word is different from its non reduplicated counterpart. There are three way process of word reduplication i.e. Complete, Partial and Discontinuous.

3.3.1 COMPLETE REDUPLICATION

Complete Reduplication stands for reduplicating the whole stem or the root structure during new word formation such as verbal, adverbial, adjectival, modifiers etc.

3.3.1.1 Verbal Reduplication

Verbal reduplication has many categories from the aspectual point of view. Aspectual element marks a relation between a referred event and the event as a whole. Most of the Indian languages offer a distinction between aspect of verbal adverbs and the main verbs of a sentence which could be independent of each other, i.e. VADV¹ could be imperfective while the main verb could be perfective, or vice versa. On the basis of aspect, there are five categories i.e. Simultaneity, Non-Precipitation, Continuation-duration, Iteration and Sequentiality (Hazi, 2002). Although, Gaddi does not have Sequentiality like other Indo Aryan languages.

A. SIMULTANIETY

It identifies synchronization of two events at a particular point of time which in turn may signal.

- The completion of action together; or
- Protraction of one of the events/action; or
- Continuity of two events for a certain period of time.

c) So **rond-ε rond-ε** kəŋəu.

He.3.MSG Cry.OBL.IPFV Cry.OBL.IPFV Speak.PST.M.SG

He spoke while crying.

The example c) employ two punctual verbs **rond-ε rond-ε** and **kəŋəu** to show the synchronisation of two events or actions like the verb *cry* and *say* which get completed at the same time.

d) gobru **hənd-ε hənd-ε** pei go.
Child.3M.SG Walk-OBL Walk.OBL Fall Go(ECV).PFV.M.SG
The child fell down while walking.

The example d) is the another type of simultaneity in which the possibility of continuation of the one action verb **pei**= to fall is taking place simultaneously with the event **hənd-ε**=to walk.

e) cid̪i **ɔd̪ə-ε ɔd̪ə-ε** gi:t̪ gəu kərd̪i

Bird.F.SG Fly.OBL.IPFV Fly.OBL song Sing Do.(ECV).PRS.F.SG

t̪i.

¹The word order allows RVADV precede MV except in non-verb final languages like Kashmiri and khashi, but Gaddi of course does falls in these categories (Abbi 1992)

VADV=Verbal Adverb, RVADV=Reduplicated Verbal Adverb

AUX.PST.F.SG

Third kind of the simultaneity aspect is designated when two non-punctual events/action occur simultaneously for a certain period of time as we can see in the example e) the action of singing (/gəu/) is taking place while flying and the reduplicated form of the verb /ʊdʌd-ε/ is showing the simultaneity. The phenomenon of simultaneity in Gaddi was easy to find, but the third type of simultaneity is not used commonly by the speakers.

B. NON – PRECIPETATION

The main event, represented by the MV (X) occurs on the verge of operation of another event/action, Manifested in RVADV(X) and puts a stop to the operation of X; the result is that X never takes place. The concept of Non-precipitation can be diagrammatically represented as:

-----→ X (RVADV)
Y (MV)

The broken line of X signifies that X was about to set in operation but somehow did not. Hindi and many other many Indo-Aryan languages use this reduplicated structure to convey non-precipitation,. For example in Gaddi:

f) əj e kəmma kərdε kərdε
Taday This.OBL Work Do.OBL Do.OBL.IPFV
rei go.
Stay Go.(ECV). PFV.M.SG

Today the work was about to finish but it did not.

g) ɪlləŋ emɖa emɖa rei go
Earthquake Come.IPFV Come.IPFV Stay Go.(ECV).PFV.M.SG

The earthquake was about to come bt it did not

C. CONTINUATION – DURATION

The term indicates continuation or duration of an event for a short or long period of time. The continuity of an action may be subordinate to the main action or may constitute the main verb. The examples h) shows the verb **bəh-e** gets reduplicated to indicate a duration of *Sitting* and in i) the verb **ləŋd-e** gets reduplicated to show the continuation of the event of *Hearing*.

h) So bəh-e bəh-e kʰɪɪ go.
He.3SG Walk-OBL Walk.OBL Tire Go.(ECV).PFV.M.SG

He got tired, While walking.

i) so gəlla ləŋd-e ləŋd-e soi go.
He.3SG Story hear-OBL hear.OBL Sleep Go(ECV).PFV.M.SG

He got slept, while listening the story.

D. ITERATION

The aspect of iteration refers to the concept of repeated occurrence of an event or action at short intervals of time. It is manifested in reduplicated verbal roots + conjunctive participle (CP) suffix.

- (a) V-V+ CP
(b) V+CP- V+CP

From the above two types, only type (a) construction was found in Gaddi, for example:

j) əʊ ʊɪ ʊɪ kəri ʊŋgəɹ gei.

I.1SG Sleep Sleep Do.CP Bore Go.(ECV).PFV.M.SG

I got bored after sleeping too much. (hindi: so so kr)

k) əʊ pʰɪlma here here

I.1M.SG Movie.SG Watch.OBL Watch.OBL

kʰɪɹ go.

Tire Go.(ECV).PFV.M.SG

Here, the repetition of the action or the event has the resultant effect on the action of the main verb or we can say that it simply indicates the manner in which the action manifested in the main verb is undertaken.

E. REDUPLICATION IN MANNERS

This type of verbal reduplication is not very common in Gaddi, although this type of reduplicated structure is possible in the language as shown in the example l) the verb **ʊɹki=Jump** is reduplicated to indicate a the manner of the action of *walking (cəɹdi)*.

l) məŋa ʊɹki ʊɹki kəri

Mainaah.3F.SG Jump jump Do.CP

cəɹdi ha.

Walk.IPFV.F.SG AUX.PRS.M.SG

The Minaah walks in jumping manner. (Hindi: pʰəɹək-pəɹək)

3.3.1.2 ADJECTIVAL REDUPLICATION

On the ground of nominal modification or adjectival group; Gaddi includes 6 categories, on the basis of size, color, quality, quantity, taste and comparison. “The state of a noun could be either relative or absolute. When we talk of a ‘good person’ or a ‘big house’ or ‘sweet soup’, the attributes are relative as the concept of ‘goodness’, or ‘bigness’, or sweetness cannot be defined absolutely as they are determined by an individual’s socio-economic and cultural history on the one hand and the ethno-perception of the individual on the other. Contrary to this, a ‘round ball’ or square sheet of paper’ indicates an absolute state which is independent of ethno-perception and the socio-cultural history of an individual or a society. Both types of states are manifested in the reduplicated structures in Indian languages for emphasis and focus. In emphasis and focus, the RS exhibit various kinds of meanings which are prevalent in all languages.” (Abbi,1992.)

i. Size modifiers:

m) es gʰəra rɛ kəmɹɛ bəɹɛ

This.SG Home.OBL.SG Of.GEN Room.M.PL. Very.OBL

moɹte moɹte hɪn.

Big.PL Big.PL AUX.PRS.M.PL.

The rooms of this home is very big big.

n) e ʊccɪ ʊccɪ kəŋɹɛ kɪa

This.3.PL High.F High.F Hedge.PL How.OBL.INTER

ɹɹəpni.

Jump.FUT.M.SG

How will you jump these high high hedges.

ii. Color and taste modifiers:

- o) so seb kʰəʈrɛ kʰəʈrɛ hɪn.
Those.OBL.3M.PL Apple.M.PL Sour.OBL Sour.OBL AUX.PRS.M.PL
Those apples are sour sour.
- p) tʰəʈi mənʃ həl-i həl-i gʰa: .
Field.M In.LOC Green.F Green.OBL Grass.F
ləgʊri ha
Feel.PSTP.PROG.F AUX.PRS.SG
There are fresh green green grasses in the field.

iii. Quality modifiers²:

- q) tʰesa məle cʰɛl cʰɛl ʃʰomke hɪn.
She.DAT.F.SG Near Beautiful Beautiful Earing.PL AUX.PRS.PL
She has many beautiful earrings.
- r) Je pʰərʃ bəʈa cɪpʰla cɪpʰla ha.
This.PL Floor Very.M Smooth.SG Smooth.SG AUX.M.SG
This floor is so smooth smooth

iv. Quantity modifiers and Quantifiers:

- s) mɪnʃo tʰoʈi tʰoʈi gənddi mɪdi
I.DAT.1.SG Little.F.PL Little.F.PL Gaddi.F Come.IPFV.F.SG
ha.
AUX.PRS.SG
I know Gaddi little little.
- t) ɖʊɪ ɖʊɪ seb səbbɪ tʰokri ma tʰu.
Two Two Apple.M.PL Each Basket In.LOC AUX.PST.M.PL
There were two two apples in each basket.

3.3.1.3 ADVERBIAL REDUPLICATION

Adverbs or we can say verbal modifiers in a sentence can be used to indicate focus or intensity of the action/ event provided they can be used in reduplicated Forms all types of modifiers such as manner, time, location etc. Gaddi the most common adverbial reduplication is present in manners, for example:

i. Manners

- u) tʰu ʃʰəʈ ʃʰəʈ cəl na tʰə
You.2M.SG Fastly Fastly Walk.IPFV NEG Then.CONJ
tʰre:n cʰʊʈi gəʈɪ.
Train Leave Go.FUT.F.SG
You walk fastly fastly otherwise you will miss the train.

- v) so gəʊ gəʊ cəl-ʊ-ra tʰu.
He.3M.SG Slowly Slowly Walk.PTCP.PROG AUX.PST.SG
He was walking slowly slowly.

ii. Location

- w) tʰəhe əggɛ əggɛ cəla
You.(HON).2M.SG Forward Forward Walk.(HON)IPFV.M.SG
əʊ pɪcʊa pɪcʊa mɪdi.

² Note: Some of the constructions for reduplicated quality modifier is not possible in gaddi unlike Hindi or Punjabi, for example: He has a brand new car.

- uske pas ek **nəi nəi** kar he (Hindi)

* os bəle ək **noi** kar ha (Gaddi)

I.1M.SG Back Back Come.IPFV.M.SG
You go forward, i'll come after you.

iii. Time

x) **Ĵəŋe Ĵəŋe** **ʔəstjo** **bʰokʰ** **ləgi**,
When When He.3M.SG Hunger.F Feel.IPFV.F.SG

y) **ʔəŋe ʔəŋe** **ʔɪŋje** **bʰrikʰ** **məŋgi**.
Then Then He.ERG.3PL. Beg.M Ask.IPFV.M.SG
Whenever he felt hungry, then then he begged.

3.3.1.4 NOMINAL REDUPLICATION

Reduplicated forms of nouns includes four categories; i.e. *Distributive, Emphasis or abstract, Exclusive and Discreate time Nominals* but in Gaddi we have only three types and even those are quite unusual in this language because, the speakers do not use reduplicated forms of noun in daily communication.

i. Exclusiveness :

It is closely linked to the concept of emphasis. In a discourse many a time speakers want to stress the presence or involvement of one of group exclusively in a particular activity. The strategic device to indicate this kind of groupism /exclusiveness is to reduplicate the grammatical unit (generally noun)of languages which is given below. The example z) RN **beṛi- beṛi** (women- women) exclusively refers to women as opposed some imaginary group of 'men'. All such cases indicate "exclusively X as opposed to Y" and Y need not to be overly specified in the construction

z) **beṛi beṛi** **koḍḍa herna gei**.
Woman.F.PL Woman.F.PL Fair.SG See. Go.(ECV).PFV.F.PL

Each and every woman went to watch fair.

ii. Distributiveness:

A variety of, or scattering of objects over a location is indicated by reduplicated nouns. For example in aa) the noun **ʔəḷi- ʔəḷi** (field) is reduplicated to express the variety of the *Field*.

aa) **ʔəḷi ʔəḷi** **məŋj** **kəŋək** **ləgəri** **hin**
Field.M.PL Field.M.PL In.LOC Wheat.PI Feel.PSTP.PFV.PL AUX.PRS.PL

There are wheat crops in every fields. (hindi: kʰeṭo kʰeṭo)

iii. Emphasis (abstract):

It involves the reduplicated forms of abstract nouns. In example bb) the noun **bʰjaga-**

bʰjaga (*morning*) is reduplicated to

emphasize the time of the event.

bb) **mū** **ḍoṭṭe** **bʰjaga** **bʰjaga** **ʔəḷi**
I.1M.SG Tomorrow Morning Morning Field.M.SG
jo gaṇa ha.
In.DAT Go.FUT.M.SG AUX.PRS.M.SG
I will go to the field tomorrow in the early morning.

3.3.1.5 REDUPLICATION IN PRONOUNS

Other than four main grammatical categories i.e. nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives; pronouns also have reduplicated form mostly in interrogative sentences. In the example cc) the relative pronoun **kəsera- kəsera** is reduplicated to form an interrogation.

cc)	eṭi	kəsera	kəsera	na
	Here.LOC	Whose.M.SGINTER	Whose.INTER.M.SG	Name.3.M.SG
	likhōra		ha	
	Write.PTCP.PFV.M.SG		AUX.PRS.M.SG	
	Whose else's Name is written over here. (kiska- kiska)			

3.3.2 PARTIAL REDUPLICATION

Word reduplication can also be constituted either by (i) duplicating a part of the word (generally a syllable) or by (ii) disjoining the two iterated words by a syllable. So, Partial Reduplication can be said as the repetition of any of the constituents of the word. But the syllable which is the constituent part of the word to be duplicated can either be a vowel (V) or a vowel consonant (VC) or consonant – vowel (CV) .

The second most common type of reduplication in Indo- Aryan languages is Partial Reduplication. Although Partial Reduplication is not very regular in Gaddi language compare to the Discontinuous and Complete Reduplication.

dd)	tōse	e	siṭore -siṭore
	You.ERG.2.PL	This.PL	Readymade.OBL.PL
kəu	leore		hin.
	Where.INTER	Bring.PSTP.PFV.M.PL	AUX.PRS.PL
	From where you have brought this readymade clothes.		

Here in the example dd) we can see that the vowel /ə/ being inserted in the middle of the reduplicated part of the stem **siṭore** to make a distinct meaning *Readymade* from the main noun **siṭore** which means *Tailored* .

3.3.3 DISCONTINUOS REDUPLICATION

Discontinuous are the reduplicated structures that are disjoined by an interfixation of a syllable, which could be a V or VC or CV. Hindi 'cʰoṭa se cʰoṭa' for smallest from the word 'cʰoṭa' for small or in Punjabi vəḍ tō vəḍ for maximum from the word vəḍ for 'more'. Discontinuous Reduplication is very common in Gaddi. In the examples ee) and ff) the lexemes **gət** (*Less*) and **bəl** (*Tell*) gets reduplicated to for new meanings in **gət o gət** for *Minimum* and **bəl na bəl** for *Tell or not* respectively.

ee)	gət o gət	ḍoi	roṭi	kʰai	lija.
	Minimum	Two	Chapati.F.PL	Eat	Take.(ECV).PFV.M.SG
	Please eat minimum two chapatis (Hindi: kəm se kəm)				
ff)	tʰu	bəl na bəl	minjo	pəṭa	ha,
	You.2M.SG	Tell or not	I.DAT.1SG	Know	AUX.PRS.M.SG
	tʰiṭjo	gʰər	gaṇa.		
	You.DAT.2M.SG	Home.M	Go.FUT.M.SG		
	You tel me or not i know you will go home.				

4. CONCLUSION

This paper sums up the morphological process of Reduplication in Gaddi language which is spoken in parts of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. Gaddi has various types of reduplicated structures in which complete lexical reduplication is the most frequent reduplicated structure compares to Partial or Discontinuous. Verbal, Adverbial, Adjectival reduplicated structures are the most common in everyday communication in Gaddi Language. Gaddi has around all the types of reduplication.

The observations that I have made for every category of reduplication may or may not be adequate enough to claim that the following paper exhibits all the types of reduplicated structures in Gaddi language. Therefore, the language need more research and examination on reduplication in especially on partial and Discontinuous forms and some of the aspectual categories like Non- precipitation. This particular area of word formation process needs be explored semantically and syntactically as well.

Abbreviation used :

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
CP	conjunctive participle
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
ECV	explicator compound verb
ERG	ergative
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
INTER	interrogative
IMP	imperative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NEG	negation, negative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASP	passive perfective
PSTP	past participle
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PPTCP	passive participle
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PROG	progressive
PST	past
SG	singular

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