

## **Reduplication in Dhundari Language**

**Md. Asad,**

Ph.D., Research Scholar

Jawaharlal Nehru University,

New Delhi, India

### **Abstract**

The research paper mainly focuses on reduplication process, its morphological construction, syntactic structures, and semantic features in the Dhundari language. Dhundari is an Indo-Aryan language, largely spoken in the Dhundar region, the northeastern part of Rajasthan state in India. Reduplication is a very common morphological process in the grammar of Dhundari like other Indian and South Asian languages. Reduplication is universally used to refer to the repetition of the linguistic units, such as a phoneme, morpheme, word, and utterances as well. The present study is to reveal the reduplicated patterns, structures, and their functions at grammatical level, which occur in Dhundari. The present paper also tries to demonstrate the comprehensible differences between the terms Reduplication and Repetition processes, found in this language. The term, Repetition generally found in African languages is a common semi-morphological process that is also observed in Dhundari in different contexts of the communication process with its semantic and pragmatic functions. The data for the present study was collected in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi from five different native speakers of Dhundar regions, especially from *Swai-Madhapur* district. The main findings of the present work clearly show that the function of the reduplication process is observed widely in terms of emphasis, generality, intensity, continuity of an action and pragmatic level. The present result indicates that repetition process unlike reduplication process is also noticed in this language. The current findings are in agreement with a general view that the reduplication process is a salient linguistic feature of the Indian languages.

**Key Words-** *Reduplication, Repetition, Eco-formation, Word reduplication, Lexical reduplication, Partial reduplication, Discontinuous reduplication, Communicative reinforcement, Iconicity and so forth*

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### 1. Introduction

Dhundari is one of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is widely spoken in the Dhundar region that is, the northeastern part of Rajasthan, India. It is largely spoken in several districts of Rajasthan that includes Jaipur, Karauli, Sawai Madhopur, Dausa, and Tonk. It is believed and admitted that the term, 'Dhundari' is originated and derived from mainly two sources. According to the first opinion, Dhundari is drawn and derived from the 'Dhundh' or 'Dhundhakriti Mountain', which is situated near Jobner in Jaipur District. The other opinion is that its name was taken from the river, as named 'Dhundh' flowing through this region. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhundari\\_language](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhundari_language)

This language is also called by different names such as Dhundhali, Dhundhahdi, Jhadshahli boli, and Kai-kui boli and Jaipuri. The European scholars such as George MacAlister and Sir George Abraham Grierson coined the term Jaipuri. Gordon (2005) points out that Ethnologue adds this language as a Dhundari- Marwari. It is 54% intelligibility of Marwari and 59% of Hindi. (*Ethnologue*)

Dhundari is a native language of and spoken by a large number of speakers in the Dhundari region of Rajasthan. According to the 2001 census, the total population of Dhundari speakers is 1,870,000. Very few scholars have worked and published books and papers on this language such as MacAlister completed the grammatical analysis of this language on February 24, 1884. Acharyakalpa Pt. Todarmalji has written the book on Jain philosophy '*Moksha Marga Prakashak*' in Dhundari and the Serampore missionaries translated the *New Testament* into Jaipuri in 1815.

### 2. Methodology

Methodology for the present study was adopted from Prof. Abbi's fieldwork (1992) guidelines to collect an authentic data from the native speakers of the Dhundari language. There were 5 native speakers (2 females and 3 males). It is spoken in many districts of Rajasthan such as Jaipur, Karauli, Sawai Madhopur, Dausa, and Tonk. All my participants come from Swai Madhopur district. They all aged from 25 to 30 years; have spent more than 20 years in the particular region. No any speaking and hearing disorder found in the participants. The data was collected through an interview with speakers in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The present research paper is the M.A thesis, a field linguistic survey of the Dhundari language.

### 3. Reduplication

Reduplication is a linguistic term that refers to the most common morphological process in most languages of the world. It is the root or base of the word that is reduplicated or repeated once with the exact shape or little change in shape that carries a wide range of semantic modification. In a nutshell, we can simply define that reduplication is a morphological process in which a root or base of the word is completely or partially repeated with a semantic modification in meanings.

Abbi (1992) defines the term reduplication “Words are formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating a single word, partially or completely are known as cases of reduplication.” 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 According to 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).

### Examples

- a) chapar chapar            “munch of the food”
  - b) phus phus                “whispering”
  - c) ghar ghar                 “home to home”
- (1)    baa    ghar    ghar    bhik    maṅṅe    che  
       he    home   home   alms   ask    Aux-3msg  
       “He begs for alms home to home.”

### 4. Types of Reduplication

Reduplication can be widely divided into two broad types, namely Lexical Reduplication (LR) and Morphological Reduplication (MR). Morphological Reduplication (MR) literally includes sound symbolism, mimic words, onomatopoeia, imitative and they all are collectively called Expressive. Lexical Reduplication (LR) mainly consists of several linguistic terms, such as echo-words or echo-formations, compounds and word reduplications.

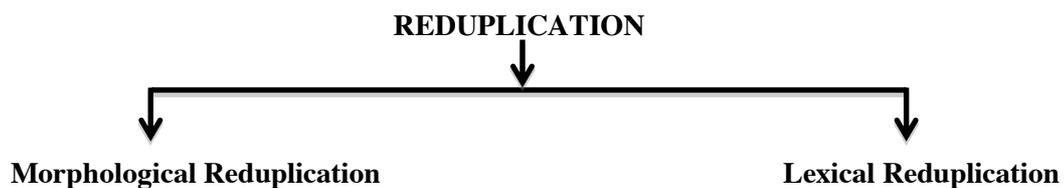


Fig. 01 Types of Reduplication

#### **4.1. Morphological Reduplication (MR)**

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, imitative, 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.

##### **4.1.1. Expressive**

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

Expressive is very productive and derivative process in the Mundaand Tibeto- Burman language family. There are almost 59 ways of walking styles in Khasi language and an equal number of ways of walking also found in Tangkhul Naga (Abbi& Victor, 1997) and all 59 manners of walking are indicated by only Expressive. Action verbs such as ‘crying’, ‘walking’ and ‘running’ and ‘laughing’ and so on are associated with a large number of Expressive (Abbi, 1992).

Reduplication of iterated syllables is generally onomatopoeic in nature. Expressives in Dhundari are used to denote all the five senses of perception that is, the sense of sight, touch, hearing, and taste like other Indian languages such as Hindi, Urdu, Maithili and so no. It is also used to denote kinship terminology and states of mind and manner adverbs in the Dhundari language.

##### **Examples**

###### **4.1.1.1. A Sense of Perception**

**4.1.1.1.1. A sense of hearing or acoustic noise:** It indicates symbolic sounds of natural phenomenon, humans, animal noise and so on.

- |                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| a) Duck’s quacking     | “keñ keñ”     |
| b) Camel’s grunting    | “guR guR”     |
| c) Air blowing         | “saayn saayn” |
| d) Thundering sounds   | “kar kar”     |
| e) Laughing sound      | “haa haa”     |
| f) Cracking of finger  | “Tak Tak”     |
| g) Jingling of anklets | “jhan jhan”   |
| h) Cloth tearing       | “char char”   |

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**4.1.1.1.2. A sense of sight:** It refers to the flicking or glimmering or shimmering aspect of an object.

- a) Shinning & Lighting “cham cham”
- b) Twinkling “Tim Tim”

**4.1.1.1.3. A sense of Touch:** It usually refers to the feeling or touching with indicating some sounds.

- a) Sticky “chap chap”
- b) Hot object “taati taati”

**4.1.1.1.4. A sense of Smell:** It indicates good or bad smells.

Not found

**4.1.1.1.5. A sense of Taste:** It denotes the taste of any eatable substances.

- a) Brittle “bhur bhuri”
- b) Crunchy “kaTar kaTar”
- c) Tangy “charparo charparo”

**4.1.1.2. Kinship Terminology:**It denotes to persons to whom an individual is related through the kinship terminology.

- a) Mother “ji ji”
- b) Uncle “kaa kaa”
- c) Aunty “kaa kii”
- d) Maternal uncle “maa maa”
- e) Grandfather “daa daa”
- f) Grandmother “daa dii”

**4.1.1.3. States of Mind and Manner Adverbs:** It denotes the various states of mind or feeling, disorder, confusion and attitudes.

- a) Unsteady “chulbul chulbul”
- b) Crowded “khad khad”

### 4.1.2. Morphological Paradigms of Expressive

It is found that Expressive has a morphological paradigm in Dhundari like other Indo-Aryan languages. There are many morphological paradigms with different lexical items, derived by derivational processes.

<b>Root</b>	phus	
<b>Stem</b>	phusphus	“whisper”
<b>Infinitive</b>	phusphusaa- <b>bo</b>	“to whisper”
<b>Derived Noun</b>	phusphusaa- <b>t</b>	“whispering”
<b>Derived Modifier</b>	phusphusaa- <b>to</b>	“whispered”

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### Examples

- (2)    baa    phusphusaa    rio    che  
      he    whisper        PROG AUX 3msg PRES  
      “He is whispering.”

In above example (2), we found that the stem word “phus phusa” was used as a verb. Reduplicated expressive lexical item can be used as a verb or modifier or derived noun.

- (3)    baaki   phusphusaat    moku   presan   kare    che  
      his    whispering    me    irritate do    AUX 3msg PRES  
      “His whispering irritates me”.

In above example (3), we can see clearly that the word “phusphus-aat” was used as a noun, i.e., a derived noun from the morpheme “phus phus”.

- (4)    phusphusaato    chhauri        chail    gi-yo.  
      Whispering    girl            move    went PST.  
      “The whispering girl went away”.

In above example (4), we find that the term “phusphusaato” was used as a modifier (adjective), which modified the girl, agent or subject of the sentence.

### 4.1.3. Syntactic Characteristics of Expressive

It is observed that Expressive verbs have syntactic features in Dhundari like other Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Urdu, and so on. It is commonly found in the eastern languages such as Bengali, Maithili and Oriya etc.

- a) As an infinite verb form:        bhan bhanaa-**bo**        (**bo** is an infinitive marker)
- b) As a conjunct verb form:        bhan bhanaa-**kar**        (**kar** ‘cv’)
- c) As a conjunctive participle:    bhan bhanaa-**er**        (**er** ‘cp’)

### Examples

- (5)    baa    bhanbhan    kar    rio    che  
      he    murmur        do    PROG 3msg AUX PRES  
      “He is murmuring”

Here, in above example (5), we can see a conjunctive verb form of expressive. The word ‘kar’ indicates a form of a conjunctive verb in this language. In example (6) below, it shows that the Expressive word is used as a complex conjunctive participle form. The linguistics unit “**er**” refers to the conjunctive participle marker.

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- (6)    baa    mhaar    kaan    me    bhan            bhanaa            er    boli-yo  
       he    my    ear    in    murmur            murmur            CP    speak PST.  
       “Having murmured, he spoke in my ear”

It seems that it is not easy to interpret and translate the expressive words because it is inherently related and associated with the society, culture, tradition, regions, and areas that are completely different among languages and vary according to languages in the world. Expressive plays a significant role in the Dhundari language and South Asian languages and denotes the five senses of perception, kinship terminology and some state of mind and manner attitudes. Various lexical items are formed and generated through the derivational process from expressive lexical items. However, they are called morphological paradigms.

## 4.2. Lexical Reduplication

Lexical reduplication can be defined as a lexical item or a word, 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, *garam-garam* ‘hot’ or *baiThe-baiThe* ‘while sitting’ is derived from the modifier *garam* ‘hot’ and verb *baiThe* ‘to sit’ respectively.

Lexical reduplication, unlike morphological reduplication, is not minimally meaningful lexical item, thus it can be further subdivided 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.

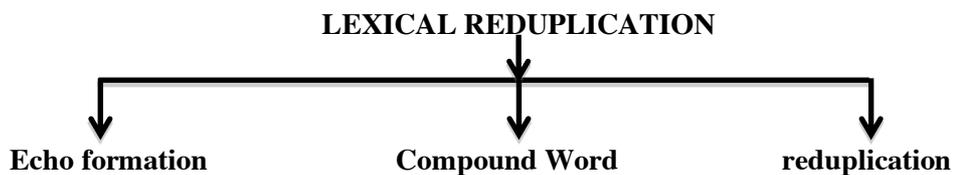


Fig.02. Types of Lexical Reduplication

### 4.2.1. Echo-formation

Echo-formation word is one of the lexical reduplications and it is a very common linguistic process in the Dhundari language. Echo-formation is a process that fully refers to “the partial repetition of a phoneme or syllable of the base.” In brief, if the initial phoneme or syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or syllable, or only deleted that has neither any individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own. It may be called as echo- formation. In echo formation process, the echo

item or phoneme or syllable does not have its own independent or lexical meaning by itself. But when it is attached to any root or base word or lexical or grammatical item, then it gives a semantic meaning. The replacer sounds or sound sequences are more/less fixed or rigid. Echo-formation is distinguishable from doublets on the one hand, and duplicate word especially, partially reduplicated word on the other hand (Chidananada Murthy, 1972).

Literarily 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 a nutshell, in echo word, only the initial syllable or phoneme of the base word is replaced by echo syllable or phoneme.

Semantically, echo-word conveys the sense of ‘etc’, ‘and the like’, ‘such and such’ and ‘things similar to’. S. K. Chatterji (1926) is to express that “the thing denoted by the basic noun and things similar to or associated with that”.

**4.2.1.1. The Construction of Echo Formation**

The common construction of the echo-formation is to iterate or repeat the existing base or word by deleting the initial consonant phoneme only. I mean to say that the initial consonant phoneme of the first syllable is deleted in the echo formation process. In Dhundari, the echo-formation process is to repeat the existing base or word by deleting the initial consonant phoneme. It may be any consonant phonemes. It is demonstrated below comprehensibly.



Fig.03. Structure of Echo Formation

Here, “C” stands for Consonant and “V” for Vowel and “X” for a syllable.

**Examples**

a) bakari	“goat”	<b>bakari-akari</b>	“goat and the like”
b) kaam	“work”	<b>kaam-aam</b>	“work and the like”
c) paani	“water”	<b>paani-aani</b>	“water and the like”
d) dudh	“milk”	<b>dudh-udh</b>	“milk and the like”
e) parhab	“study”	<b>parhab-arhab</b>	“study and the like”
f) khaanaa	“food”	<b>khaanaa-aanaa</b>	“food and the like”
g) kitaab	“book”	kitaab-itaab	“book and the like”
h) kaparaa	“cloth”	kaparaa-aparaa	“cloth and the like”

#### 4.2.2. Compound

Compound is one of the three kinds of lexical reduplication. It plays a significant role in a word formation process in Dhundari. It is a kind of partial reduplicated compound by joining the semantically related, identical and opposite words to convey a wide range of semantic meaning and completely differs from the single existing lexical word. In Sanskrit, this compound is called as ‘conjunctive’ (dvandva) compound.

Abbi (1975, 1992) suggests that compound is considered as instances of partial reduplication. The compounds refer 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.

It is clearly shown in examples below that a pair of constructions having two different opposite words with their two opposites meanings is put together to form a compound word that conveys a wide range of meaning. The native speaker of the Dhundari language very frequently uses these kinds of compounds unconsciously.

#### Examples

- |    |                 |               |                             |
|----|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| a) | aabo (come)     | jaabo (go)    | “frequent visit”            |
| b) | robo (weep)     | dhobo (wash)  | “continuous mourning”       |
| c) | uThbo (stand)   | baiThbo (sit) | “uncomfortable or unsteady” |
| d) | din (day)       | raait (night) | “whole time or all time”    |
| e) | sukh (Pleasure) | dukh (sorrow) | “ups and down in life”      |

#### 4.2.3. Word Reduplication

Word reduplication refers to the complete or partial repetition or reduplication of the base of the word. It can be viewed as a unit of syllable or a large group of words. It can be further subdivided into three parts namely, Complete word reduplication, Partial reduplication, and Discontinuous reduplication.

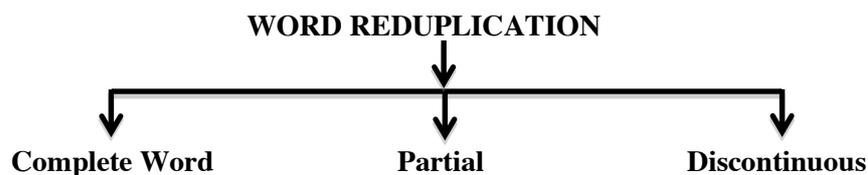


Fig.04. Type of Word Reduplication

##### 4.2.3.1. Complete Word Reduplication (CWR)

It can be defined as “the complete or full repetition of the base word with its some wide and

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slight semantic modification.” It is observed that the entire phonological form of the base or all lexical items is reduplicated and shows a meaning of iconicity in nature. In Dhundari, almost all kinds of the grammatical categories are reduplicated, namely Noun (Pronoun), Verb, Adjective/Adverb, Wh-questions, quantifiers, and so on, except few grammatical categories, such as conjunction and interjection. A complete or full repetition of the base word is a common linguistic process, used to convey the pragmatic, and semantic meanings. It also reveals the speaker’s purpose of emphasis, attenuation, and focuses on the particular utterance in contexts.

### Examples

#### NOUN

- |    |      |           |           |                          |
|----|------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|
| a) | ghar | “home”    | ghar-ghar | “each and every home”    |
| b) | gaāv | “village” | gaāv-gaāv | “each and every village” |
| c) | khet | “farm”    | khet-khet | “each and every farm”    |

- (7)    baa    ghar    ghar    bhik    maāṅe    che  
         he    home    home    alms    ask    Aux-3msg  
         “He begs for alms home to home.”

In above example (7), we can clearly see that a grammatical category NOUN as a base word, is reduplicated or repeated completely or fully to form a complete word reduplication. It conveys a wide or modified semantic meaning of the base word after reduplication process. It also indicates the pragmatic or contextual meanings, largely used by the speakers in Dhundari. Here, in the example (7), it is shown that the speaker’s focus and emphasis on this complete reduplicated word “ghar ghar” is to convey his/her intention or information by reduplicating the base word “ghar”. Therefore, the complete reduplicated word “ghar-ghar” carries a meaning of emphasis or focus and plurality.

#### WH-QUESTION

- |    |       |         |             |              |
|----|-------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| a) | kuN   | “who”   | kuN kuN     | “who all”    |
| b) | khaaN | “where” | khaaN khaaN | “where else” |

- (8)    kuN    kuN    aayo    cho  
         who    who    come    Aux PSNT  
         “Who all has come?”

#### ADJECTIVES

- |    |         |         |                 |              |
|----|---------|---------|-----------------|--------------|
| a) | hari    | “green” | hari hari       | “very green” |
| b) | gulaabi | “pink”  | gulaabi gulaabi | “very pink”  |
| c) | kaalaa  | “black” | kaalaa kaalaa   | “very black” |

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- (9)    baa    ki    gulaabi    gulaabi    aankhe    che  
        she    Dat    pink    pink    eyes    Aux 3msg  
        “She has pink eyes.”

Here, in the above example (9), the reduplicated form “gulaabi-gulaabi” (pinkish) shows the intensification of the adjective. The adjective is a modifier of the various grammatical categories. When the adjective is reduplicated, then it conveys the intensified meaning of the adjective. Intensifier morpheme may be “-ish” like greenish (hari-hari in Dhundari) in English. Therefore, the adjective can be reduplicated to intensify the quality of the adjective.

### VERBS

- |    |          |            |                   |                          |
|----|----------|------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| a) | khaataa  | “eating”   | khaataa-khaataa   | “continuity of eating”   |
| b) | rotaa    | “weeping”  | rotaa-rotaa       | “continuity of weeping”  |
| c) | boltaa   | “speaking” | boltaa-boltaa     | “continuity of speaking” |
| d) | paDhataa | “studying” | paDhataa-paDhataa | “continuity of studying” |
| e) | chaltaa  | “walking”  | chaltaa-chaltaa   | “continuity of walking”  |
- (10)    baa    kitaab    paDhataa    paDhataa    so    ga-yo  
        he    book    study    study    sleep    go-PST  
        “He slept while studying book.”

In above example (10), it is indicated that when verbs are reduplicated or repeated then it remains verbal in nature, but it functions as adverbial, called Reduplicated Verbal Adverb (RVADV). Reduplicated Verbal Adverb clearly conveys the aspectual meanings when it occurs with main verbs in a sentence in Dhundari like other Indian languages.

### QUANTIFIER

- |    |     |         |         |              |
|----|-----|---------|---------|--------------|
| a) | do  | “two”   | do do   | “only two”   |
| b) | tin | “three” | tin tin | “only three” |
- (11)    sitaa    ki    guDiya    do    do    gaaDi    che  
        Sita    Dat    near    two    two    car    Aux 3fsg Prest  
        “Sita has only two cars.”

In above example (11), the quantifier is considered as ‘distributive’ by reduplicated form. It is mostly found in all Indian languages. It may depend on pragmatic meaning of the speaker.

The present observations agree with Tannen (1987) who points out that in complete word reduplication process, the base word is reduplicated completely or fully and conveys the different semantic meanings and pragmatic sense. It is a common linguistic practice to repeat the whole or part of the sentence of the language for emphasizing the information contained in the reduplicated part.

#### 4.2.3.2. Partial Word Reduplication

Partial word reduplication refers to the partial repetition of a phoneme or a syllable of the base word carrying a semantic modification. According to Abbi (1992), the partial word reduplication is constituted by duplicating a part of the word especially a 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). A partially reduplicated word has the potentiality to serve as a single structural category, meaning thereby addition of affixes, if any, is made to the fully reduplicated form only once at the end of the word, but complete reduplicated word may not serve as a single structural category and thus take affixes twice at the end of each constituent of the word, e.g., in Hindi, *kha-tekha-te* “while eating” where present imperfect oblique marking *-te* is repeated twice.

In Dhundari, no such partial word reduplication is observed, but there is a huge range of echo-formation constructions and play a significant role in the grammar of the Dhundari language. It is very widely used by the Austro-Asiatic family of languages for various syntactic functions such as causative, partial constructions of nominal modification, capabilities passives etc. Echo-formation is also considered as a partial word reduplication that has been already discussed earlier in detail.

There is a significant difference between Echo-formation and Partial Word Reduplication. In echo-formation, the partial repeated element requires additional new elements (C/CV). On the other hand, in partial word reduplication, no such new element is required at all.

#### 4.2.3.3. Discontinuous Word Reduplication

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

It is also observed in Dhundari. The speakers unconsciously use it to refer to the minimum or maximum quantity of something. Let's have a glance at examples below.

#### Examples

- |                     |              |
|---------------------|--------------|
| a) kam-su-kam       | “minimum”    |
| b) bego-se-bego     | “very fast”  |
| c) kaāy-to-kaāy     | “somewhere”  |
| d) koi-to-koi       | “someone”    |
| e) paani-hi-paani   | “only water” |
| f) kitaab-hi-kitaab | “only books” |

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- (12) mhaari dukaan      me      kitaab      hi      kitaab      che  
 my      shop      in      book      DWR      book      Aux 1msg Prsnt  
 “There is nothing in my shop only books.”

After observing the above examples, it is not difficult to generate the pattern or structure of the Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DWR) in the Dhundari language. Here both a base word and a reduplicated form of base word are connected with an inserted element or morpheme.

**[A Base Word] --- {Inserted element} --- [Reduplicated Form]**

/bego/                      /su/                      /bego/                      “very fast”

Fig.05. Structure of Discontinuous Word Reduplication

The phenomenon of Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DWR) is widely observed and found in all the Indian languages and other South Asian languages too.

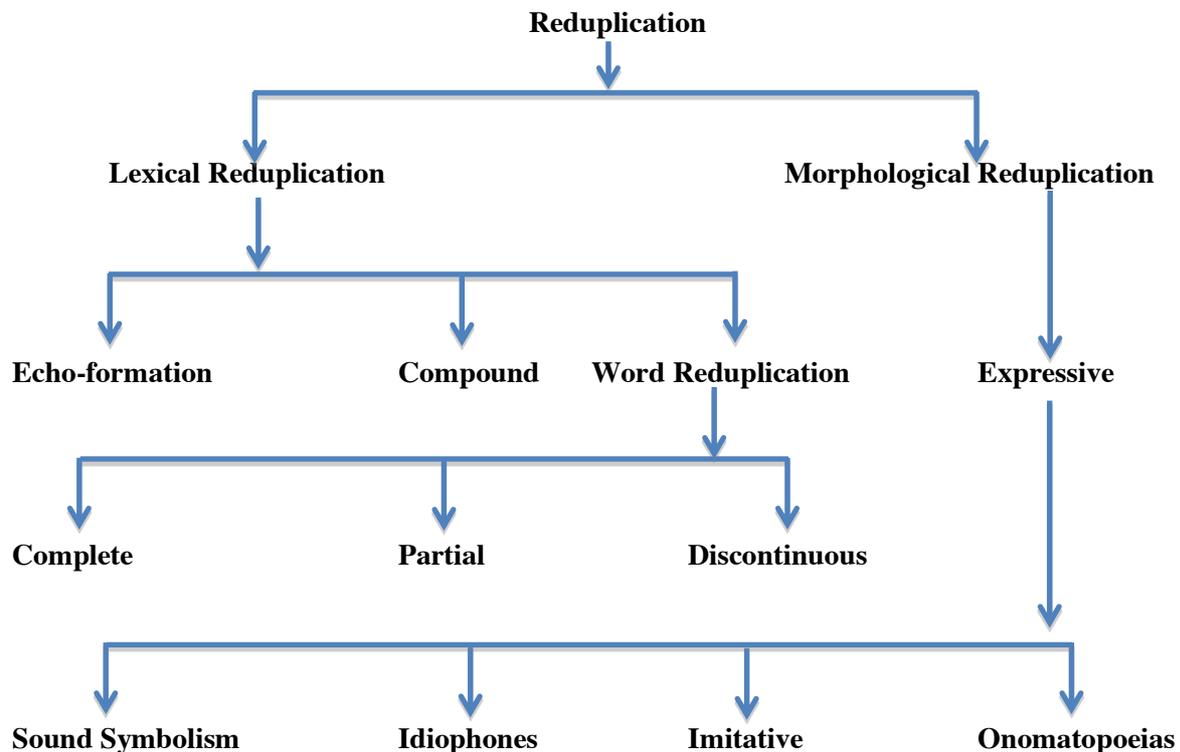


Fig.06. Types of Reduplication Structures (Abbi, 1992)



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process in the grammar of the language.	process in the grammar of the language.
It has a feature of iconic interpretation of a word.	It has not a feature of iconic sense of a word.
It is not a communicative reinforcement.	Completely a communicative reinforcement.
It has only two numbers of copies in total. Example., gaate-gaate “singing continuously”	It has more than two numbers of copies in total. Example., paisaa-paisaa-paisaa “money”
It is completely related to the word and word-formation process in the Dhundari language.	It is completely related to the syntactic, pragmatic and discourse meanings in Dhundari.
It has a compounding process.	It does not have such things.
It is used as a weapon for creating a new lexical item and it as well conveys a modified semantic meaning.	It is used as a weapon for having the speaker’s attention& a turn taking during a conversation and discussion.
It is a very productive process in Dhundari.	It is not a productive process in Dhundari.

### 7. Conclusion and Discussion

Finally, I summarize my paper by asking a basic common question on reduplication is that which side of the whole lexical item is repeated or reduplicated whether left or right base, e.g., chaltaa-chaltaa “walking walking”? It is unanimously not easy to accept the ‘reduplication’ as a single independent item. What is the grammatical category of reduplication as a single independent lexical item?

Reduplication is a very common feature of Indian languages. The present observation shows that the reduplication is a morphological process, which plays a significant role in creating a single new lexical item in at morphological, and lexical level and conveying a wide range of semantically modified meaning at word, sentence, and semantic levels in the grammar of Dhundari. The findings also indicate that the reduplication process is a salient feature of Dhundari like other Indian languages. It is an inherent characteristic of this language.

The term Repetition refers to the repetition of the base word more than two without having iconicity in the sense of meaning. That is very relevant in African languages but to some extent, it is also observed in Dhundari. Hardly, any previous studies talked about this feature. Very few linguists like myself have talked about the phenomenon of repetition in Indian languages like in Maithili. My personal experience and observations witness that it may be a kind of feature in Indian languages as well to some extent as it does in Dhundari.

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