Chapter-3

3. Reduplication

3.0. In both the languages reduplication of words is an important derivational process. By reduplication some new words can be constructed from some source words or free forms, or the meaning of the source words or free forms can be modified. Formally, reduplication of words may be of two types - (i) partial reduplication, and (ii) complete reduplication.

Each of the above shows further sub-types.

Thus the features of word-reduplication may broadly be outlined as follows:

Word-reduplication

- Partial reduplication (or Echo-word formation)
  - Prefixed class
    - Type-I
    - Type-II
  - Suffixixed class
    - Lexical item based
    - Sound or onomatopoeic based

- Complete reduplication

Of words, having independent uses and meaning

Of words, formed by phonetic imitation of some natural or instrumental sound.
3.1. Partial Reduplication or Echo-word Formation in Assamese.

Assamese forms some echo-words by partial reduplication of some head-words (lexical items or free forms). An echo without its corresponding head word never occurs in a sentence; but attached to a head-word, it adds the sense of "at esaires* or "comprehensiveness" to that of head-word.

Taking the formal characteristics into consideration, the echo-words in Assamese may be classified into two sub-classes — (i) The prefixed class, and (ii) The suffixed class.

3.2. The prefixed class of echo-words in Assamese.

The prefixed class of echo-words has its initial consonant is repeated before the head-word. (In case of head words beginning with an aspirated stop, the echo begins with h- ). Thus, the repeated element, viz: the echo mostly begins with a vowel. In rare cases, the initial of the echo > a>. The echo is meaningless in isolation.

Below are few examples:

bdol bdol "exchange etc."
3.2.2. In type II, the initial consonant of the head word + -a, is repeated before the head-word.

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{kha khobor} \quad \textit{"news and the like"}
  \item \textit{sa zinski} \quad \textit{"introduction and the like"}
  \item \textit{ze kalpas} \quad \textit{"tiffin etc."}
  \item \textit{da dangria} \quad \textit{"nabees and others"}
\end{itemize}

Here, the prefixed element, viz. -a, may carry some meaning in isolation but this meaning is irrelevant when the whole formation is taken into account.

3.3. The suffixed class of echo-words manifests two types in Assamese:

(I) lexical item-based, and

(II) sound or onomatopoeic-based.

3.3.1. In type (I), the echo is constructed either by consonant alteration/insertion or by vowel alteration under certain rules. Under consonant alteration the initial consonant of the head-word is substituted by some
other consonants in the echo word construction. In case of vowel-initial head words, some consonant is prefixed to them to construct the echo.

(a) Under consonant alternation, the rule of echo-word formation in Assamese runs like this:

(c) $vX \rightarrow svX$, excepting $a$-initial words, which form the echoes as $svX \rightarrow tvX$.

Examples:

kath seth  "wood etc."
guru anxu  "cow etc."
ghor sor   "house etc."
em sme    "mango etc."
mess ees   "fish etc."
saul teul  "rice etc."

Exceptions:

kore more  "with bud etc."
koste maste "with difficulty etc."
khatar batair "influence etc."

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4. $c =$ consonant; $v =$ vowel; $X =$ the rest element in the word. The bracketed element implies that it may not occur in some words.
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sakor bakor  "servant etc."
manuh dunuh  "man etc"
mee dhor  "beating etc."
xokot abot  "fat and so"
hirin tirin  "deviation etc."

(b) Under vowel alteration, the rule runs like
this : (cv)cuc(v)→(cu)cuv(a), where the anterior vowel
is other than -u-. Head words with anterior -u- form
the echo as cuc(v)→ cac(a).

Examples:

tuti kuta  "changing-aside etc."
dhemali dhumeula  "play etc."
baki buka  "credit etc."
phaki phuka  "bluff etc."
xer xur  "noise etc."
sup sap  "silence etc."
phasis phesa  "gossiping in low voice"
phurti pharta  "merriment etc."

Of course, the final -i of the head-word which
functions as conjunctive does not alter.

khati khuti  "approaching etc."
3.3.2. In type (II), the echo is constructed not from some lexical items, but from some onomatopoeic bases. None of the components - the base word nor the echo - is independently meaningful; but taken together, they are meaningful and they produce a jingle.

In most cases, the echo is constructed by replacing the initial consonant of the base-word by some labial sound.

**Examples:**

- kok bok, kok mak: "with all efforts"
- kau bau: "requesting seriously"
- kot mot: "angry sight"
- khok mak: "with sudden awareness"
- dog mag: "washed with blood"
- zok mak: "full of flowers"
- toz boz: "sensitiveness"
- lut pot: "cunning movement"
- hol phol: "luxuriant (growth)"

**Exceptions:**

- amon zimon: "sad mood"
- aŋ bay: "gestures"
- susuk semak: "hesitation"
Most of these forms further participate in adjectival/adverbial construction by adding -ia or -kia.

3.4. Complete Reduplication in Assamese.

Assamese constructs some compounds by complete reduplication of some head words. The head words may be of two types:

(i) Some lexical items (or free forms) having independent use and meaning; and

(ii) Some non-lexical items, viz.: words, formed by phonetic imitation of some natural or instrumental sounds.

3.4.1. Complete reduplication of lexical items.

In such complete reduplication of lexical items the original meanings of the individual items are modified a lot.

(a) Nouns, interrogative pronouns, numerals and adjectives, in certain context are completely redupli-
cated to give the sense of plurality. The reduplication of the head word + some endings is also permissible.

Nouns: baa̱k baa̱k (dhari) "(two)years together"
Prontouns: ki ki (bâtu) "what things"
ke-k ke-k "to whom"
Numerals: hizâr hizâr "thousands"
Adj.: ro̱a̱ pa̱a̱ (phul) "red flowers"

(b) Some adverbs are constructed by reduplication of the noun (or adjective) stems + locative -â. The singular use of such noun (or adjective ) stems + -â is ungrammatical.

(c) Some idiomatic expressions are constructed by reduplication of the present indefinite 1st personal verbal forms. They may occur attributively or adverbially.

Examples:

dhir-e dhir-e "slowly"
ghâr-e ghâr-e "frequently"
bar-e bar-e "repeatedly"

kha̱o kha̱c (murti) "(an appearance)with constant eating tendency"
(bormaun)ahâ ahû "(rain)is about to fall"
(d) Some exclamatory words also occur in reduplication to denote intensity of, or overwhelming joy or sorrow.

Examples:
ux ux !
sih sih !
hai hai !

3.4.2. Complete reduplication of non-lexical items in Assamese.

(a) Assamese constructs a number of words by complete reduplication, the base forms of which are formed by phonetic imitation of some natural or instrumental sounds. They actually sound like what they mean. These are onomatopoeic words used in reduplication.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kix kix</td>
<td>&quot;sound produced when old doors etc. are closed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kih kih</td>
<td>&quot;sound, usually produced by dogs&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun gun</td>
<td>&quot;sound, produced by bees&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan tan</td>
<td>&quot;a sensation of being stiff&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhok bhok</td>
<td>&quot;sound produced by boiling liquid&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjectives and adverbs can also be derived from such onomatopoeic words by adding -ia and -kai respectively. -ia effects the harmonic change of the vowel -o- to -a- and -e- to -e- in the preceding syllable.

Examples:

- kir kir-ia s kir kir-kai
- ktr ktr-ia s ktr ktr-kai
- max max-ia s max max-kai

(b) There is another type of such words which occurs in reduplication and apparently looks like formed by imitation of some natural or instrumental sound. But actually they are not formed after any natural or instrumental sound. The forms so constructed by reduplication express intensity or depth of action, colour or mode described.

Examples:

- kit kit (kola) "deep (black)"
- ask ask "shining"
- tik tik (roja) "deep (red)"
- pir pir "feeling like anta-movement"
These words also participate in further adjectival and adverbial constructions by adding -is and -kai respectively, subject to the vowel harmony as in (a) above.

ṣok ṣak- is  ṣok ṣak-kai
mol mnl- is  ϖ mol mnl-kai
l̐σ̐ l̐σ̐- is  l̐σ̐ l̐σ̐-kai

3.5. Partial reduplication or Echo-word formation in Oriya.

Like Assamese Oriya also forms some echo-words by partial reduplication of some head words under the same conditions. They fall under the same two sub-classes:

(i) The prefixed class, and
(ii) The suffixed class.

3.6. The prefixed-class of Echo-words in Oriya.

Unlike Assamese, Oriya manifests only one type of the prefixed class of echo-words. This class of echo-words in Oriya is constructed as the type (I) of the same class of echo-words in Assamese. The head word less
its initial consonant is repeated before the head word. The repeated element is meaningless in isolation.

**Examples:**

- **ddol badol** "exchange etc."
- **aes pass** "in the neighbourhood etc."
- **abe kaba** "wonder-struck"

3.7. The suffixed class of Echo-words in Oriya.

As in Assamese, the suffixed class of echo-words in Oriya also manifests two types:

(I) lexical item-based, and

(II) sound or onomatopoeic-based.

3.7.1. The type I echo words in Oriya, like those in Assamese, fall under two categories:

(a) involving consonant alteration or insertion, and

(b) involving vowel alteration.

In both the cases, the echoes so constructed are not independently meaningful.

(a) Under consonant alteration, the initial consonant of the head-word is substituted by some other consonants. In case of vowel-initial head words, some consonant is prefixed to the head words to construct
Thus the rule runs like this:

(c) $vX \rightarrow phvX$, excepting ph- initial words, which form echoes as $phvX \rightarrow phaX$.

**Examples:**

- *ița phita*  "brick etc."
- *katho phatho*  "wood etc."
- *ghok phoxo*  "house etc."
- *mako phaas*  "fish etc."
- *phoxok pharok*  "difference etc."
- *phit phat*  "tip top"

**Exceptions:**

- *kọta mọta*  "with difficulty"
- *gadhua padhua*  "bath etc."
- *gọpọ sopọ*  "story etc."
- *cakọ bakọ*  "servant etc."
- *cọẹ base*  "cultivation etc."
- *base kusẹ*  "utensils etc."
- *lẹkọ bako*  "people etc."
- *loka kọka*  "strucken etc."

(b) Under vowel alteration, the rule runs like this:
(i) cvc(c) $\mapsto$ cac(c),
(ii) (cv)cv cv $\mapsto$ (cu)cu ca.

**Examples:**

gol gel "round etc."
dhang dhang "style etc."
bhul bhal "mistake etc."
ja ki juki "huddling etc."

and,
gorib gurub "poor etc."
jonu junta "animals etc."

**Exception:**
tuni tani "very silent"
pila pili "children and the like"

3.7.2. The type II echo-words like those in Assamese are constructed from some onomatopoeic bases. Here also none of the components is independently meaningful.

taro boro "unsteady"
chota poto "suffering with pain"
jhiki miki "shining as the star"
cik mik "shining like lightening"

3.8. Complete Reduplication in Oriya.
Like Assamese, Uriya also constructs some compounds by complete reduplication of some head words.

The head-words may be either

(i) Some lexical items (or free forms) having independent use and meaning, or

(ii) Some non-lexical items viz: words formed by phonetic imitation of some natural or instrumental sound.


(a) Under the same conditions as those in Assamese, the nouns, interrogative pronouns, numerals, and adjectives in Uriya are reduplicated.

Noun : bors bors (dhori) "for years (together)"

Pronoun : koɔ koɔ (kinil) "what (things did you buy) ?"

Numeral : hoja hoja (toka) "thousands (of rupees)"

Adj. : nali nali (phulo) "red (flowers)"

(b) Some adverbs are constructed by reduplication.

sp-s sp-s "automatically"

dhir-s dhir-s "slowly"

gho-gho "frequently"
(c) Some exclamatory words are also reduplicated.
us us !
chi chi !

3.0.2. Complete reduplication of non-lexical items.
(a) Like Assamese, Uriya also possesses a number of onomatopoetic words which are constructed by complete reduplication.

Examples:
- kir kir — "a sound like the word itself"
- khot khot — "a sound like the word itself"
- gun gun — "a sound like that produced by bees"
- thok thok — "a trembling sound like the word itself"

(b) In Uriya also there is another type of words that occurs in reduplication and apparently looks like formed by phonetic imitation; but actually not so. They express intensity or depth of action, colour or mode described.

Examples:
- khil khil (học) — "free (laughter)"
- cok cok (cọtọ) — "shining (weapon)"
jhim jhim (bôrsa) "light (raining)"
ţo ţo "fixed look"
ţuk źuk (lal) "deep (red)"
michi michi (kala) "deep (black)"

In few cases, they participate in further adverbial construction by adding -a.

michi michi-a (ćandheka) "deep (darkness)"

3.9. Comparison.

From above it is seen that the general pattern of word-reduplication is same in the two languages. Within this uniform general pattern, there are few points where Oriya differs from Assamese.

3.9.1. The prefixed class of partial reduplication manifests 2 types in Assamese whereas only one type in Oriya. Type I is common to both the languages and type II (see sec.3.2.2.) is a peculiarity of Assamese. In type II in Assamese the initial syllable of the head-word is repeated before the head-word. Such constructions are, of course, restricted to few words only.

This type is completely absent in Oriya.
3.9.2. The complete reduplication of the finite verbs (of the 1st person) in Present indefinite tense for adjectival or adverbial use (see sec.3.4.1. (c)) is another peculiarity of Assamese. This feature is also completely absent in Uriya.

3.9.3. The construction of adjectives/adverbs from the partially or completely reduplicated onomatopoetic words by adding some adjectival/adverbial suffix is also a common feature in Assamese. (see sec.3.3.2. and 3.4.2.) But in Uriya, the reduplicated constructions themselves are mostly used as adverbs; in few cases, -kôri is used postpositionally after them to give adverbial sense and in rare cases -a (-ia after consonant ending stems) is added to give adjectival sense.

**tôô bôô kôri**  "quickly"

**tô tô kôri**  "with fixed lock", and

**nîchî nîchî-a (ôndhôkarô)**  "deep (darkness)"