

Reduplication in Kashmiri

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Introduction

In linguistic studies, the term Reduplication is generally used to mean repetition of any linguistic unit such as a phoneme, morpheme, word, phrase, clause or the utterance as a whole. The process of Reduplication at all these levels is very significant both from the grammatical as well as semantic point of view. The repetition types of these linguistic units may be broadly classified under two categories: repetition at the (a) expression level, and repetition at the (b) contents or semantic level. The reduplication of these linguistic units is a very common feature in Kashmiri. The repetition at both these levels is mainly used for emphasis, generality, intensity, or to show continuation of an act. In certain cases, the repetition of a particular linguistic unit is obligatory. Here an attempt is made to indicate the process of Reduplication at the grammatical level as well as at the semantic level. Complete reduplication of morphemes, words and phrases are discussed first. This is followed by a discussion of partial reduplication of words which are best known as Echo-words, Onomatopoeic words, which involve complete reduplication.

2. Repetition at the Expression Level

At the expression level, the word classes, which are repeated include nouns pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. The repetition of single morphemes or words of all form classes are frequently used in utterances. The examples of these repetition types are given below:

2.1. *Nouns and pronouns*

A number of nouns and pronouns are repeated in utterances very frequently:

1. shur' shur' aayi sAAriy vaapas
children children came all back
'All the children returned.'
2. su chu sombraavaan tilimi tilimi
he is collecting pieces pieces
'He is collecting by pieces.'
3. me gav zarI zarI tAmis vuchith
I-erg was pained he-dat see-ptc
'I was pained to see him.'
4. prath kaanh chu paanas paanas vaataan
everyone is self-fat take care-pr
'Everybody takes care of himself.'
5. pAAAnsI pAAAnsI kArith sombrAAv' tAm' vaariyah d'aar
paisa paisa do-ptc collected he-erg much money
'He raised a lot of money penny by penny.'

6. yus vus tsiir' aav su su tuliv athI thod
 who who-nome-rel late came he he –core raise hands up
 'Those ones who came late may raise their hands up.'
7. yemis yemis skuul chu gatshun tAmis tamis pazi basi khasun
 who who-dat – rel school is go-inf cor-dat should bus-dat board-inf
 'Those who have to go to school should board the bus.'

In the example given above, repetition in the sentences 1, 6 and 7 is used for emphasis and generality.

2.2. *Adjectives*

Reduplication of adjectives is very frequently used in a number of cases for emphasis.

Examples:

8. jaan jaan tsuuNTh' tsAAriv
 good good apples sort out
 'Please sort out good apples.'
9. yi v'ATh v'ATh kuur cha kaaliji paraan
 this fat-f fat-f girl is college-abl read-pr
 'This fat girl studies in a college.'
10. yimI cha lwakci lwakci koori
 these are small small girls
 'These are small girls.'
11. paaNtsh paaNtsh Thuul di prath kAANsi
 five five eggs give everyone-dat
 'Give five eggs each to every one.'
12. me chu tot tot batI khwash karaan
 I-dat is hot hot food like do-pr
 'I like hot food.'
13. yi z'uuTh z'uuTh lADki chu m'aani gaamuk
 this tall tall boy is my village-gen
 'This tall boy belongs to my Village.'
14. yim tshoT' lADki chi yetiy paraan
 these short short (statured) boys are here-loc study-pr
 'These short stature boys do study here.'

Repetition in the sentences 8 and 11 is obligatory. The Reduplication in these sentences indicate plurality.

2.3. Verbs

In a number of grammatical constructions, the repetition of verbs is obligatory. Verbs also are reduplicated optionally in certain constructions. Following are examples of sentences where verbs are obligatorily repeated:

15. me bu:z reeDiyo batI kh'avaan kh'avaan
I-dat listened radio food eat-pre eat-pr
'I listened to radio while eating my meals.'
16. asaan asaan tsol tAmis osh niirith Achav kin'
laugh-pr laugh-pr fled him tears came-ptc eyes through
'His eyes were filled with tears while laughing.'
17. temis log dab dooraan dooraan
he-dat had fall run-pr run-pr
'He fell down while running.'
18. su aav garI vadaan vadaan
he came home cry-pr cry-pr
'He came home while crying.'
19. phuTbaal gindaan gindaan log tAmis khwaras
football play-pr play-pr hurt he-dat foot-dat
'While playing football he hurt his foot.'
20. caay cavaan cavaan oos su maaji sIth' kathi karaan
tea drink-pr drink-pr was he mother-dat talk do-pr
'While drinking his tea he was talking with his mother.'
21. tAm' kor panun paan kharaab philmI vuch' vuch'
he-erv did self's self spoil films having seen seen
'He ruined himself by watching movies.'
22. hatIbazi kitaabi pAr' pAr' ti chunI tas taslee yivaan
hundreds books having read read isn't he-dat satisfaction come-pr
'He does not feel satisfied even after reading hundreds of books.'

Repetition of verbs in the sentences is obligatory. The sentences will be ungrammatical if repetitions of the verbs are deleted.

- 15a *me buuz reeDiyo batI kh'avaan
- 16a *asaan tsol tAmis osh niirith Achav kin'
- 17a *tAmis log dab dooraan
- 18a *su aav garI vadaan
- 19a *phuTbaal gindaan log tAmis khwaras
- 20a *caay cavaan oos su maaji sIth' kathi karaan
- 21a *tAm' kor panun paan kharaab philmI vuch'
- 22a *hatI bazi kitaabi pAr' ti chu nI tas taslee yivaan

2.4. *Adverbs*

The repetition of some adverbs is compulsory and it is optional in some cases:

23. yi buDI chu pakaan vaarI vaarI
this old man is walk-pr slow slow
'This old man walks slowly.'
- 23a. *yi buDI chu pakaan vaarI
24. raamI chu asaan zoorI zoorI
Ram is laugh-pr loud loud
'Ram laughs loudly.'
25. bI tsaas kuThis manz lwati lwati
I entered room-dat in slow slow
'I entered the room slowly.'
- 25a. bI tsaas kuThis manz lwati
'I entered the room slowly.'
26. suban suban cha tIIr aasaan
morning-abl morning-abl is cold be-pr
'It is cold in the mornings.'
27. bI chus toor gatshaan shaaman shaaman
I go there go-pr evening-abl evening-abl
'I go there in the evenings.'
- 27a. *bI chus toor gatshaan shaaman
28. su kApAAr' kApAAr' aav ?
he where from-abl came
'Where from did he come?'
29. yot yot goos, tati tati buuz' me tAm'sInd' tAAriiph
wherever 2 went there-abl heard I-erg his/her praise
'Wherever I went, I heard his/her praise.'
30. yapAAr' yapAAr' As' chi pakaan tim ti chi tapAAr' pakaan
wherever-abl we are walk-pr they also are there-abl walk-pr
'Wherever we walk, they also take the same root.'
31. su chu manzI manzI yoor yivaan
he is sometimes 2 here come-pr
'He comes here sometimes.'

Some types of one-word utterances may also be repeated in Kashmiri. Repetition, here, is only for emphasis or persuasion. One-word utterances, comprising the imperative

forms of the verbs are often reduplicated. Repetition of these items indicates an extra urge or persuasion of an act. Examples are as follows:

32.	gatsh gatsh	‘go’	getshiv gAtshiv	‘(Please) go.’
	an an	‘bring’	Aniv Aniv	‘(Please) bring.’
	ni ni	‘take’	niyiv niyiv	‘(Please) take.’
	di di	‘give’	diyiv diyiv	‘(Please) give.’
	chal chal	‘wash’	chAliv chAliv	‘(Please) wash.’

Question particles are also repeated in certain situations where the person is curious to know about complete details. Examples:

33.	k’aa k’aa	‘what’	kus kus	‘who’
	kar kar	‘when’	kuut kuut	‘how much’

2.5. *Clauses and Phrases*

Certain clauses or phrases are repeated in long utterances or narration by both speaker and the listener. The repetition of such utterances breaks the monotony of the narration, allows a pause for the listener to comprehend the situation, and also provides an opportunity for the speaker to the facts and to change the style of narration. Examples:

34. torvaa phikri?
‘Did you understand?’
35. buuzIvaa twahi?
‘Did you listen?’
36. tamipatl k’aa sapud?
‘What happened afterwards?’
37. beyi k’aa sapud?
‘What else did happen?’

Clauses or phrases of the above type vary of the situation, context and persons involved in conversation.

3. **Repetition at the Semantic Level**

Repetition at the semantic level is not an unknown feature of the Kashmiri language. Different types of expressions involving repetition at the semantic level are used to express generality. Examples are as follows:

38.	vwasI drwasI	‘hustle and bustle.’
	tsuur tsheph	‘theft.’
	yatsh patsh	‘belief’
	bAAy baarIn’	‘brothers.’
	tswaNzI daayi	‘female servants.’
	band baaNdav	‘relatives.’
	hakh hamsaayi	‘neighbours.’
	baanI baThI	‘pots.’

sheerun pAArun	‘to decorate.’
tshenun phuTun	‘to be tired’
kam kAliil	‘less.’
hol kol	‘twisted.’
v’oTh puuTh	‘fat.’
aav’ul zAAv’ul	‘delicate.’
m’uuTh modur	‘sweet.’
phuTI phraaTI	‘broken pieces.’
maay mwahbath	‘love.’
ang Aashinaav	‘relatives.’
toor tAriikI	‘method.’
shur’ kAT’	‘children.’
kAAm koT	‘work.’
saad sant	‘saint.’
vadun rivun	‘to weep.’
karun kraavun	‘to do’
ralun meelun	‘to mix up.’

4. Reduplication of Words

Besides the reduplication types indicated above, reduplication may be studied with reference to the words, which form the basic unit for the process of reduplication. It is necessary to study all types of repetitions, which take place within the word as a unit. Repetition of a sequence of phonemes of the word stem may form either complete reduplication or partial reduplication. Examples of the complete reduplication within the word are as follows:

39.	garIgarI	‘from house to house.’
	kharIkharI	‘patting on animals.’
	vuzIvuzI	‘desire.’
	tharItharI	‘trembling.’
	maTimaTi	‘patting in praise or appreciation.’

In certain cases vowels /I/ is inserted before the word which is reduplicated. E.g.,:

tshraTI tshraT	‘to be in trouble.’
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In the study of the internal composition of the word, reduplication of phonemes is very crucial. If the stem is repeated completely it is called complete reduplication and if stem is repeated partially it is called partial reduplication.

5. Echo-Words

Reduplication in echo-words is always partial. In Kashmiri, the process of echo-formation is very common and simple. At the semantic level, echo-words give an additional meaning indicating ‘generally’ or the meaning of similar indicating, action, manner and quality etc., which is indicated by the original word stem. Therefore, we may add ‘and the like’ in the gloss of the echo-words. For example: *poon* ‘water, *poon’ voon* ‘water and the like’. In the examples given below meanings of the original words have been given.

Echo-words are formed mainly by altering the first phoneme of the stem in the reduplication of the stem. This is a very common type of echo-word formation in Kashmiri. The following changes in vowels may be noted in the echo-formation:

(i) The Initial /v/ of the word stem is replaced by /p/ in the echo-word as in the following examples.

vAAj pAAj	ring	vath path	way
vaazI paazI	cook	vaan paan	shop
vaaNgun paaNgun	brinjal	vwazul pwazul	red
vuchun puchun	to see	vaguv paguv	a straw mat
vaadI paadI	promise	voon' poon'	shopkeeper

(ii) The initial /p/ and /ph/ of the word stem is replaced by /v/ as in the following examples of echo-words:

poon' voon'	water	poosh voosh	flower
puuzaa vuuzaa	worship	pash vash	roof
pal val	stone	phal val	fruit
phot vot	basket	phand vand	deceit
phooj vooj	army	phooTuu vooTuu	photograph
phar var	fur	phoon voon	phone

(iii) The initial consonants other than /v/, /p/ and /ph/ of the word stem may be replaced by /v/. Example:

kwakur vwakur	cock	kuur vuur	girl
kAn' vAn'	stone	khar var	donkey
khaam vaam	raw	khwar vAr	foot
gAr vAr	watch	gagur vagur	mouse
gulaab vulaab	rose	coor voor	dumb
caay vaay	tea	co'n v'on	to drink
chalun valun	to wash	chaan vaan	carpenter
chon von	empty	tsuur vuur	thief
tsaTun vaTun	to cut	tshal val	deceit
tshor vor	empty	tshaaND vaaND	search
jom vom	Jammu	jaay vaay	place
jway vway	stream	zor vor	deaf
zar var	money	zaan vaan	acquaintance
TamaaTar vamaaTar	tomatoes	TaaTh vaaTh	mat
T'oth voTh	bitter	Thuul vuul	egg
ThaanI vaanI	lid	danDI vandI	stick
Dar var	fear	tootI vootI	parrot
taaj vaaj	crown	taar vaar	wire
thaal vaal	plate	tham vam	pillar
thAn'vAn'	butter	daani vaani	paddy
dwad vwad	milk	daas vaas	servant
nalkI valkI	tap	nas vas	nose
bar var	door	batI vatI	food
bas vas	bus	moozI voozI	socks
mas vas	hair	yaar vaar	friend
yaD vaD	belly	yeer veer	wool

rath vath	blood	raz vaz	rope
ruus vuus	Russia	luur vuur	stick
loT voT	tail	shur vur	child
shiin viin	snow	shaam vaam	evening
saaz vaaz	music	sir vir	secret
soth voth	bund	hash vash	mother-in-law
has vos	elephant	haar vaar	necklace

(iv) The initial consonant cluster is replaced by a single consonant /v/ in the echo-word. Examples:

treesh veesh	drinking water	drog vog	expensive
srog vog	cheap	droot voot	sickle
graakh vaakh	customer	praan vaan	garlic
pras vas	press	pron von	fair

(v) If the word stem starts with a vowel, /v/ is inserted in the initial position of the echo-word. Examples:

Ach vAch	eye	AAs vAAs	mouth
amb vamb	mango	AAAnI vAAAnI	mirror
aadath vaadath	habit	islaah vislaah	shave
iid viid	Id	eraadI veraadI	determination
eelaan veelaan	announcement	ool vool	nest
on von	blind	umIr vumIr	age

6. Onomatopoeic Words

There exists an important referential relationship between the form and meaning of lexical items. In certain cases the sound sequence of the word in itself denotes the particular meaning of the form. In such examples the utterances of lexical items by themselves sound the meaning they stand for. Such forms of lexical items are known as onomatopoeic. In the 'ono' word, the sound of the word has a special significance which illustrates the meaning. The onomatopoeic words represent an imitation of a particular sound or imitation of an action along with the sound, etc. some ono words are reduplicated and others are not. Here are the examples of those, onomatopoeic words which are reduplicated. In the following examples, there is a complete reduplication:

kIr kIr	squeak of doors, windows etc.
gIr gIr	noise of the running of a vehicle
Thin' Thin'	noise of a bell
gITh gITh	noise of the drinking of water
ciiriv ciiriv	twittering of birds
TikTik	the ticking of watch
Dum Dum	beating of drums
plR plR	unnecessary talking
paaN paaN	noise of horn
thuu thuu	spitting
bak bak	unnecessary and constant talking
vwaph vwaph	barking of a dog.

7. Conclusion

As in other Indo-Aryan languages, Reduplication is a very productive process at both the grammatical as well as semantic levels in Kashmiri. We have illustrated the phenomenon at the expression as well as at the semantic levels. The reduplication is of two types: (i) complete reduplication of the morphemes, words, phrases etc. or (ii) partial as in echo-words. As indicated above, the reduplication is mainly used for emphasis, generality, intensity, or to show continuation of an act.

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