

A Morpho-Semantic Study of Reduplication in Gojri

Badar Zaman, Ph.D Scholar, Feng Qi, Ph.D
School of Foreign Languages, Shanghai University, China.

Abstract: This article deals with the analysis of Gojri compounds from morpho- semantic perspectives. A qualitative descriptive approach is used for the analysis of the data. The data indicate that Gojri makes use of the total and partial reduplication of words. The semantic function of this morphological process is to fill the vocabulary gap in the language and to express different semantic meanings. In Gojri, reduplication intensifies and emphasise the meanings and it also expresses the meanings of diminution and distribution of actions over a stretch of time.

Keywords: Gojri, morpho-semantic, reduplication

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I. INTRODUCTION

Reduplication is a morphological process where the entire word or a portion of the word is repeated, entirely or with a minimal modification. "systematic repetition of phonological material within a word for semantic and grammatical purposes (Rubino 2005: 11)". The repetition of the morphological base for the semantic and morphological purposes is termed as reduplication. The reduplicative component contains the linguistic features of the stem. These features are morpho-semantic which act as the base for the doubling. This reduplication can be total or partial. In full or total reduplication, the entire morphological base is reduplicated (Cohn, 1989). Healey (1960) states that partial reduplication copies a subpart or maximal syllable of the base. The morphological reduplication involves semantic functions (Moravcsik 1978, Kiyomi 1993, Regier 1994, Niepokuj 1997, and Rubino 2005).

Kiyomi (1993) asserts that the meanings conveyed by the reduplication are semantically iconic that can only be expressed through reduplication. Lynch & Ross (2002) are of the view that reduplication can also serve as derivational and inflectional purposes. Abbi (1992) claims that the reduplicated words have unique morpho-syntactic features that make them distinct in the lexicon. The components of a compound word have individual meanings where the second word has some semantic or phonetic relation with the first word (Abbi, 1992; Subramanyam, 1984). In the case of partial reduplication, Subramanyam (1984) regards the reduplicated words as the doublets where the second word has no meanings on its own.

Gojri is an Indo- Aryan language and is being spoken by the Gujjars of Indo-Pak. Gojri is rich in reduplicative compounds that is a productive semantic class of compound words. The morpho- semantic phenomenon of reduplication in Gojri is discussed under the following headings:

Total Reduplication

Ngunga (2002) avers that the total reduplication involves the unification of the identical repuplicant and the root. In the case of total reduplication, the entire base is doubled to construct a new word morphologically and semantically. The total reduplication in Gojri performs different semantic functions. Consider the following examples :

[t̪ə̃t̪ə̃]+[t̪ə̃t̪ə̃] 'hot' [t̪ə̃t̪ə̃ - t̪ə̃t̪ə̃] 'very hot'

[kə̃ɾə̃]+ kə̃ɾə̃ 'bitter' [kə̃ɾə̃ - kə̃ɾə̃] 'very bitter'

[ʊt̪f̪ə̃]+[ʊt̪f̪ə̃] 'high' [ʊt̪f̪ə̃ - ʊt̪f̪ə̃] 'very high'

[kə̃]+[kə̃] 'near' [kə̃ - kə̃] 'very near'

[rə̃z]+[rə̃z] 'day' [rə̃z - rə̃z] 'every day'

[bə̃ɦl̪ə̃]+[bə̃ɦl̪ə̃] 'quick' [bə̃ɦl̪ə̃ - bə̃ɦl̪ə̃] 'very quickly'

[bəɾɔ] + [bəɾɔ] ‘big’	[bəɾɔ - bəɾɔ] ‘very big’
[ləmɔː] + [ləmɔː] ‘long’	[ləmɔː - ləmɔː] ‘very long’
[d̪ɔ̃gɔ] + [d̪ɔ̃gɔ] ‘deep’	[d̪ɔ̃gɔ - d̪ɔ̃gɔ] ‘very deep’
[piːɔ] + [piːɔ] ‘yellow’	[piːɔ - piːɔ] ‘deep yellow’
[kaːɔ] + [kaːɔ] ‘black’	[kaːɔ - kaːɔ] ‘very black’
[tʃitɔ] + [tʃitɔ] ‘white’	[tʃitɔ - tʃitɔ] ‘very white’
[kʰətɔ] + [kʰətɔ] ‘sour’	[kʰətɔ - kʰətɔ] ‘very sour’
[mitʰɔ] + [mitʰɔ] ‘sweat’	[mitʰɔ - mitʰɔ] ‘very sweat’
[rəɽɔ] + [rəɽɔ] ‘red’	[rəɽɔ - rəɽɔ] ‘dark red’
[tʃəfəɾɔ] + [tʃəfəɾɔ] ‘plain’	[tʃəfəɾɔ - tʃəfəɾɔ] ‘very plain’
[baːtɔ] + [baːtɔ] ‘hard’	[baːtɔ - baːtɔ] ‘very hard’
[tʰəndɔ] + [tʰəndɔ] ‘cold’	[tʰəndɔ - tʰəndɔ] ‘very cold’

The above reduplicated compounds indicate the semantic functions in Gojri. The reduplicated compounds illustrate the increased quantity or activity that is termed as augmentation. The base word and the reduplicant have the same semantic value or meaning. The semantic value of a word is augmented when it is reduplicated. The reduplication can enlarge the meanings in terms of intensity, frequency or size. [bəɾɔ - bəɾɔ] intensifies the meaning that refers to a ‘very big’ thing. [rɔz - rɔz] shows the increased frequency that refers to a thing occurred again and again. The enlargement in the meanings is the semantic function of all these reduplicated compounds that cannot be achieved without doubling the base word. Diminution is another semantic function of reduplicated compounds that are discussed as below :

[mətʰɔ] + [mətʰɔ] ‘slow’	[mətʰɔ - mətʰɔ] ‘very slowly’
[nikɔ + nikɔ] ‘small’	[nikɔ - nikɔ] ‘very small’
[mæssã:] + [mæssã:] ‘hardly’	[mæssã: - mæssã:] ‘very hardly’
[kəɖe:] + [kəɖe:] ‘seldom’	[kəɖe: - kəɖe:] ‘very rarely’
[kɪɽe:] + [kɪɽe:] ‘often’	[kɪɽe: - kɪɽe:] ‘very often’
[mãɖrɔ] + [mãɖrɔ] ‘short’	[mãɖrɔ - mãɖrɔ] ‘very short’
[nĩmɔ:] + [nĩmɔ:] ‘low’	[nĩmɔ: - nĩmɔ:] ‘very low’
[pəɽɔ] + [pəɽɔ] ‘thin’	[pəɽɔ - pəɽɔ] ‘very thin’

The above reduplicated compounds indicate a decrease in the meanings. This semantic function of reduplicated words is called diminution where it reduces the meanings in size or extent. The above reduplicated compounds impart the diminutive effect in the form of a reduction in the intensity, size and frequency of meanings. [mətʰɔ - mətʰɔ] refers to the intensity of something that happens ‘very slowly’. [nikɔ - nikɔ] refers to the size of a very small thing. [kəɖe: - kəɖe:] ‘very rarely’ is the diminutive effect in terms of frequency that describes the seldom occurrence of something.

Following reduplicated compounds show distribution and plurality:

- [fiɒŋ] + [fiɒŋ] ‘now’ [fiɒŋ - fiɒŋ] ‘currently’
 [keɾɔ] + [keɾɔ] ‘who’ [keɾɔ - keɾɔ] ‘which persons’
 [kɔŋ] + [kɔŋ] ‘who’ [kɔŋ - kɔŋ] ‘which persons’
 [kəɖ] + [kəɖ] ‘when’ [kəɖ - kəɖ] ‘at what times’
 [kiɽ] + [kiɽ] ‘where’ [kiɽ - kiɽ] ‘which places’
 [ke:] + [ke:] ‘what’ [ke: - ke:] ‘what things’
 [kiã] + [kiã] ‘where’ [kiã - kiã] ‘what places’
 [kɪsre:] + [kɪsre:] ‘how’ [kɪsre: - kɪsre:] ‘in what ways’

The above reduplicated compounds function as the distribution and plurality. This semantic function can be seen in reduplicated pronouns in Gojri. Distribution refers towards few among many whereas plurality indicates the presence of many except few in doing some activity. The semantic function distribution over time is another phenomenon that is seen in the following compounds :

- [be:sɽã:] + [be:sɽã:] ‘sit’ [be:sɽã: - be:sɽã:] ‘while sitting’
 [kʰəɽɽã:] + [kʰəɽɽã:] ‘stand’ [kʰəɽɽã: - kʰəɽɽã:] ‘while standing’
 [fiəsɽã:] + [fiəsɽã:] ‘laugh’ [fiəsɽã: - fiəsɽã:] ‘while laughing’
 [rɔɽã:] + [rɔɽã:] ‘weep’ [rɔɽã: - rɔɽã:] ‘while weeping’
 [ɽəɽã:] + [ɽəɽã:] ‘pass’ [ɽəɽã: - ɽəɽã:] ‘while passing’
 [tʃa:ɽã:] + [tʃa:ɽã:] ‘pick’ [tʃa:ɽã: - tʃa:ɽã:] ‘while picking’
 [dʒa:ɽã:] + [dʒa:ɽã:] ‘go’ [dʒa:ɽã: - dʒa:ɽã:] ‘while going’
 [a:ɽã:] + [a:ɽã:] ‘come’ [a:ɽã: - a:ɽã:] ‘while coming’

These reduplicated words refer to the actions performed over a certain period or in other words, these show the distribution of actions over time. That indicates that there is a perpetuation in the occurrence of the activities where the first action persists until another action comes to happen.

The following total reduplication gives the general meanings in the talk :

- [bətɔ:] + [bətɔ:] ‘child’ [bətɔ: - bətɔ:] ‘every child’
 [kɔ:nɔ:] + [kɔ:nɔ:] ‘corner’ [kɔ:nɔ: - kɔ:nɔ:] ‘every corner’
 [dʒəɣɣa:] + [dʒəɣɣa:] ‘place’ [dʒəɣɣa: - dʒəɣɣa:] ‘every place’
 [kəfiər] + [kəfiər] ‘house’ [kəfiər - kəfiər] ‘every house’
 [gərã:] + [gərã:] ‘village’ [gərã: - gərã:] ‘every village’
 [bu:tɔ:] + [bu:tɔ:] ‘tree’ [bu:tɔ: - bu:tɔ:] ‘every tree’

[bəŋd̪o:] + [bəŋd̪o:] ‘person’ [bəŋd̪o: - bəŋd̪o:] ‘every person’

[ɪk] + [ɪk] ‘one’ [ɪk - ɪk] ‘every one’

The above reduplicated compounds perform the function of generalization where they give common meanings instead of specific ones.

[kəɦəɾi:] + [kəɦəɾi:] ‘time’ [kəɦəɾi: - kəɦəɾi:] ‘again and again’

[sɑ:l] + [sɑ:l] ‘year’ [sɑ:l - sɑ:l] ‘every year’

[mi:n̪ɔ:] + [mi:n̪ɔ:] ‘month’ [mi:n̪ɔ: - mi:n̪ɔ:] ‘every month’

[rɑ:t̪] + [rɑ:t̪] ‘night’ [rɑ:t̪ - rɑ:t̪] ‘every night’

[t̪e:ɦɑ:ɾi:] + [t̪e:ɦɑ:ɾi:] ‘day’ [t̪e:ɦɑ:ɾi: - t̪e:ɦɑ:ɾi:] ‘every day’

[sʊbə] + [sʊbə] ‘morning’ [sʊbə - sʊbə] ‘every morning’

In Gojri, the repeated or frequent occurrence of some events or actions is also expressed through total reduplication. The above examples illustrate this phenomenon. These compounds also entail the habitual occurrences of the actions that refer to the actions carried out over the whole stretch of time.

Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication is a type of morphological doubling where only a portion of the root word is reduplicated. In Gojri, this class of reduplication is very productive. Like total reduplication, partial reduplication also performs different semantic functions. Consider the following examples:

[la:] ‘use’ + [lu:] [la: - lu:] ‘use thoroughly’

[t̪ɑ:] ‘pick up’ + [t̪u:] [t̪ɑ: - t̪u:] ‘pick up thoroughly’

[lɔ:t̪] ‘search’ + [la:t̪] [lɔ:t̪ - la:t̪] ‘search thoroughly’

[t̪ɔɦɔ:] ‘wash’ + [t̪əɦɑ:] [t̪ɔɦɔ: - t̪əɦɑ:] ‘wash thoroughly’

[ku:t̪f] ‘wipe’ + [kɑ:t̪f] [ku:t̪f - kɑ:t̪f] ‘wipe thoroughly’

[kəɾɔ:t̪] ‘scratch’ + [kəɾɑ:t̪] [kəɾɔ:t̪ - kəɾɑ:t̪] ‘scratch thoroughly’

[pu:t̪ʰ] ‘sweep’ + [pɑ:t̪ʰ] [pu:t̪ʰ - pɑ:t̪ʰ] ‘sweep thoroughly’

[mʊn] ‘trim’ + [mən] [mʊn - mən] ‘trim thoroughly’

[kəp] ‘cut’ + [kʊp] [kəp - kʊp] ‘cut thoroughly’

[t̪ʊŋ] ‘pluck’ + [t̪əŋ] [t̪ʊŋ - t̪əŋ] ‘pluck thoroughly’

[d̪ə] ‘mash’ + [d̪ʊ] [d̪ə - d̪ʊ] ‘mash thoroughly’

[pʰəs] ‘strangle’ + [pʰʊs] [pʰəs - pʰʊs] ‘strangled thoroughly’

[d̪əs] ‘show’ + [d̪ʊs] [d̪əs - d̪ʊs] ‘show thoroughly’

[kʰɑ:] ‘eat’ + [kʰu:] [kʰɑ: - kʰu:] ‘eat thoroughly’

The above reduplication indicates the semantic function of intensification in Gojri compounds. The second stem is the partially reduplicated form of the base word. This partially reduplicated form does not exist on its own but gives meaning when is compounded with the first stem. These reduplicated compounds show the intensification in the way some action is carried out. Morphologically, the second stem is made by replacing /a:/ with /u:/, /u:/ and /ɔ:/ with /a:/ and /o/ with /ə/ and vice versa but the consonant sounds remain unchanged in the second stem. The second stem is meaningless unless it gets into compounding with the first stem.

Semantic Reduplication

In Gojri, semantic reduplication takes place when two semantically identical or nearly identical words are combined to form a new word for conveying the augmentative effect. Consider the following examples:

- [lu:ɔ:] ‘without arms’ + [ləgɔ:] ‘without legs’ [lu:ɔ: - ləgɔ:] ‘crippled’
[kãŋɔ:] ‘deaf’ + [mɔɔɔ:] ‘without feet’ [kãŋɔ: - mɔɔɔ:] ‘handicapped’
[mɪŋ] ‘weigh’ + [gɪŋ] ‘count’ [mɪŋ - gɪŋ] ‘Weigh and count thoroughly’
[jəmlɔ:] ‘nontypical’ + [jəmlɔ:] ‘nontypical’ [jəmlɔ: - jəmlɔ:] ‘abnormal person’
[pi:r] ‘sain’ + [fəki:r] ‘saint’ [pi:r - fəki:r] ‘saint’
[ja:ɟi:] ‘marriage’ + [be:ɪa] ‘marriage’ [ja:ɟi: - be:ɪa] ‘marriages’
[rɪʃɔ:] ‘relation’ + [nɑ:ɟɔ:] ‘relation’ [rɪʃɔ: - nɑ:ɟɔ:] ‘relations’
[dɔ:rɔ:] ‘deaf’ [ʃəkən] ‘nontypical’ [dɔ:rɔ: - ʃəkən] ‘deaf and dum’

All the above reduplicated compounds are formed based on identifiable components that took part in the compounding. The components in a compound belonging to the same semantic field but are separable as they correspond to contrasting units. Semantic reduplication also involves the compounding of identical components as:

- [bəl] ‘fraud’ + [fəre:b] ‘fraud’ [bəl - fəre:b] ‘fraud’
[sa:g] ‘vegetable’ + [səbzi:] ‘vegetable’ [sa:g - səbzi:] ‘vegetables’
[pəhã:ɟa:] ‘pots’ + [bəɟɔ:] ‘pots’ [pəhã:ɟa: - bəɟɔ:] ‘utensils’
[pəlla:] ‘clothe’ + [kəpɔ:] ‘clothe’ [pəlla: - kəpɔ:] ‘clothes’
[gəl] ‘talk’ + [bɑ:ɟ] ‘talk’ [gəl - bɑ:ɟ] ‘talks’
[be:ɪa] ‘marriage’ + [ja:ɟi:] ‘marriage’ [be:ɪa - ja:ɟi:] ‘marriage’

The above semantic reduplication involves the reduplication of two semantically identical components but belonging to two different languages; the first component belongs to Gojri while the second one to the Urdu language. In this way, two words get into compounding for the semantic purpose of augmentation. The semantic function of emphasis is seen in the following reduplicated compounds:

- [ʃi:pɔ:] ‘whistle’ + [fəɟɔ:] ‘noise’ [ʃi:pɔ: - fəɟɔ:] ‘loud noise’
[dənd] ‘noise’ + [rɔ:ɔ:] ‘noise’ [dənd - rɔ:ɔ:] ‘loud noise’
[pi:ɔ:] ‘yellow’ + [zəɟ] ‘yellow’ [pi:ɔ: - zəɟ] ‘dark yellow’

[rəʈp:] ‘red’ +[la:l] ‘red’ [rəʈp: - la:l] ‘dark red’

[pɑ:l] ‘prevention’+[pərfie:z] ‘prevention’ [pɑ:l - pərfie:z] ‘careful prevention’

[tel] ‘service’+ [se:va:] ‘service’ [tel - se:va:] ‘look after’

The above reduplicated compounds are formed for emphasising the meanings. Both the components of a compound have the same meanings but when get into compounding function as the intensification or emphasis.

II. CONCLUSION

The morphological study of reduplicated compounds reveals that Gojri involves the two stems for reduplication. In this morphological process of word formation, total and partial reduplication take place where the whole and the part of a word is reduplicated respectively. In partial reduplication, the second component is meaningless and does not exist on its own unless it gets into compounding with the first stem. In the case of semantic reduplication, morphologically two different words but semantically similar words take part in the compounding. Reduplication is a productive semantic class of Gojri compounds. These reduplicated compounds perform different semantic functions. Semantically, reduplication performs the functions of augmentation, diminution and distribution. In Gojri, the reduplicated words also convey the meanings of emphasis and intensification.

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