

**REDUPLICATION IN ENGLISH AND URDU:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY**

To 7411

BY

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Reg. no. 64-FLL/MPhil-Eng/107

**A thesis submitted to the Department of
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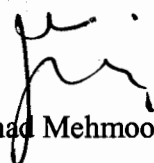
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the deceased parents of mine who always aspired not only for me but for all my brothers and sisters a better future. May Allah grant them the best place in Heaven (Amen).

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Glossary of Technical Terms

Affix A morpheme that does not belong to a lexical category and is always bound (e.g. *-ing, un-*)

Affixation The process of adding a bound morpheme to a stem or root morpheme (e.g. adding a prefix, suffix or an infix)

Agglutinating Languages Languages in which words typically contain several morphemes, of which usually only one is a lexical category. The others are clearly identifiable affixes, each of which typically encodes a single grammatical contrast.

Attenuation An act of reducing the force of something.

Augmentation An act of increasing something in size and number.

Autosegmental A type of notation that links segments with tones of features by association lines.

Cliticization The act of reducing a word to a form that cannot be used on its own as a normal utterance because it is structurally dependant on a neighbouring word in a construction (e.g. the reduced form of *I am* is *I'm*, *I have* is *I've*)

Compounding The act of composing a word of two words (e.g. *hotpot, passerby* etc.)

Diminution An act of reducing something.

Infix An affix that occurs within a base.

Internal Change The process which substitutes one non-morphemic segment for another (e.g. internal change in English is *sing-song, sink-sank*)

Lexicography The editing or making of a dictionary.

Morpheme The smallest unit of language that carries information about meaning of function (e.g., *books* consists of the two morphemes *book + s*)

Morphology The system of categories and rules involved in word formation and interpretation.

Morphophonology The branch of linguistics which analyses the phonological or grammatical factors that determine the form of phonemes.

Orthography A set of conventions for representing language in written form.

Paucity A small amount of something.

Phonology The component of a grammar made up of the elements and principles that determine how sounds pattern in a language.

Reduplication A morphological process that duplicates all or part of the base to which it applies.

Reduplicative/Reduplicative Expression A lexeme that we get after repetition of a base word. (e.g. pooh-pooh, goody-goody etc.)

Root The morpheme in a word that carries the major component of the word's meaning and belongs to a lexical category (e.g. *collect* in the word *collections*)

Segments Individual speech sounds

Semantics The study of meaning in human language.

Semitic Languages Languages of the group of races including the Jews and Arabs, and formerly the Phoenicians and Assyrians.

Suppletion A morphological process whereby a root morpheme is replaced by a phonologically unrelated form in order to relate a contrast (e.g. *went* as the past form of *go* or *was* and *were* as the past form of *be*)

Syntax The system of rules and categories that underlies sentence formation in human language.

Underspecification Partial specification of segments, using the minimal number of features required to distinguish them phonologically.

ABSTRACT

Reduplication is a morphological process in which either an entire root word or a part of it is repeated. The phenomenon, albeit important and popular, has not been systematically explored yet in most languages of the world, which also include English and Urdu. The purpose of this crosslinguistic study is to analyze and compare and contrast the phenomenon with reference to these two languages. To do so, two exhaustive lists, with the help of three dictionaries (one bilingual and two monolingual), of English and Urdu reduplicatives are prepared, which later help the researcher analyse and compare and contrast the process. Eventually, it is found that English and Urdu reduplicatives are both similar and dissimilar in terms of their types, ways of reduplicating, and semantic features. Both can also be accounted for in autosegmental framework.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of this crosslinguistic study is to analyze the phenomenon of reduplication in English and Urdu. It also aims to explore the similarities and contrasts between the types, formations and functions of the reduplicative expressions of the two languages. To do so the researcher has divided this study into five chapters: Introduction (chapter 1), Literature Review (chapter 2), Analysis and Comparison of English and Urdu Reduplication (chapter 3) Reduplication in English and Urdu and Autosegmental Theory (chapter 4), and Conclusion (chapter 5). This introductory chapter aims to apprise readers of the context/background, hypothesis, research questions, significance, methodology and delimitation of this research.

1.1 Context/Background

Human beings, generally, spend a great amount of their life listening, speaking, reading and writing. Jean Aitchison (1995) is of view that normal conversation uses 4,000 or 5,000 words an hour, and a radio talk, where there are fewer pauses, uses as many as 8,000 or 15,000 words per hour. From this she concludes that someone who chats for an hour, listens to a radio talk for an hour and reads for an hour possibly comes into contact with 25,000 words in that time or per day the total could be as high as 100,000.

It is quite evident from Atchison's remarks that language plays a pivotal role in humans' life, that is, its use in their life is frequent; it enables them to express ideas, impart knowledge, make requests and ask questions; and above all, it distinguishes them from animals. Anyone deprived of this tool can never enjoy life to its fullest extent. Owing to its significance and frequency, professionals from various disciplines realize that they still have to delve deeper in language in order to achieve new human understandings about its relevance to human life.

People employing this tool must have ability to form and understand words, for language is nothing without words. In other words, in order to communicate comfortably and effectively they need to have sufficient words in their lexicon (i.e. mental dictionary). They also need to know about morphology—study of word formation and the internal structure of words (Fromkin, Blair and Collins; 1999: 92). In short, they need to know how words are formed by applying general rules to more basic words. For instance, a person who knows the meaning of the noun *present* – and the verb derived from it – could construct and decode words such as *presentable* (something that can be presented) and *presentation* (another noun).

Morphology delineates the knowledge of morphemes, words, and the way they are combined. Since one of the aims of this study is to discuss the way words are formed in reduplication, which also involves the repetition of morphemes, it is mandatory to talk briefly about morpheme here.

According to O'Grady, Dobrovlsky and Katamba (1997: 133), morpheme is "the smallest unit of language that carries information about meaning or function of a word". A word can consist of one or more morphemes. A word consisting of a single morpheme (i.e. it cannot be analyzed into smaller parts) is called a root or simple morpheme, for example, the word *free* cannot be divided into smaller parts (*fr* and *ee*). However, there are words that can be divided into smaller parts, for instance *books* (*book* and *s*), *finished* (*finish* and *ed*) etc., and are called complex morphemes.

Moreover, some morphemes are bound and some are free. Bound morphemes are meaningless in isolation. They become meaningful only when they are combined with other morphemes. Free morphemes are words in themselves. Even without any other morpheme they are meaningful. For instance, in the word *computers*, *computer* is a free morpheme and *-s* is a bound morpheme.

Bound morphemes are further subdivided into two main types: inflectional and derivational. Consider the following sentence:

He completed his work quickly.

Both *completed* and *quickly* have free morphemes (*complete* and *quick*) followed by bound morphemes (*-d* and *-ly*). The bound morpheme *-d* at the end of *completed* is an inflectional morpheme, because it provides further information about the already existing lexical item *complete*, in this case indicating the completing occurred in the

past. However, *-ly* at the end of *quickly* is derivational, because it creates a completely new word (the adverb *quickly* from the adjective *quick*).

Morphology, in fact, informs us of the different morphological phenomena, such as affixation, cliticization, internal change, suppletion, compounding etc. employing which human language can change the structure of a word. In these processes either some element is added to the base form (the root or imperative form) of a word or an internal change is made in order to express a new meaning or to mark a grammatical contrast.

In addition to these, reduplication is another well-known morphological process which has wide acceptance and use in a number of languages of the languages of the world. Nadarajan (2006) cites Tannen who says that reduplication is a limitless resource for individual creativity and a central linguistic meaning making strategy. It can enrich the lexical and morphological resources of a language and thus adds to its expressive and communicative ability. The phenomenon has drawn the maximum attention in the theoretical literature for the light it sheds on phonology, morphology, and their interface. Besides, reduplication has a morphosyntactic aspect as it also plays an essential role in the process of word formation.

Reduplication, which constitutes the main thesis of this research, indeed, is a notable morphophonological process in linguistic studies in which either the base word (i.e. complete stem or root word) or some part of it (i.e. a syllable or sequence

of syllables or a string of consonants and vowels) is repeated. Some characteristic examples of reduplication are given in 1.1 and 1.2:

1.1 Mandarin (Katamba, 1993: 181)

- a) *renren* (everybody) *ren* is the base form
- b) *anakanak* (various children) *anak* is the base form

1.2 Maori (Bauer, 2003: 219)

- a) *kikino* (bad) *kino* is the base word
- b) *nonohi* (small) *nohi* is the base word

Reduplication is morphophonological because phonologically it is described as *reduplicated segments* (sequences of consonants/vowels) or reduplicated *prosodic units* (syllables or moras) and morphologically it is described as the reduplication of linguistic constituents (words, stems, roots) Nadarajan (2006:41).

Despite its importance and popularity the idea of reduplication has been seen as a 'marginal curiosity' and ignored by Eurocentric writers on morphology. The phenomenon has not been systematically explored yet in languages like English and Urdu. Even in *Contemporary Linguistics*, O'Grady et.al (1997) wrote that reduplication does not exist in English language at all. From the recent studies, emerging from contemporary discourse of lexicographical studies, it is sufficiently clear that the use of reduplication among the users of English and Urdu is more common than is usually assumed and the concept still calls for sufficient investigation and can well be a subject of considerable attention. To put it simply, it is still in need of an in-depth elaboration.

1.2 Hypothesis

The phenomenon of reduplication prevails in both English and Urdu and can be analyzed and compared.

1.3 Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the ensuing questions:

1. What types of reduplication occur in English and Urdu? (Types)
2. What are the various ways of reduplicating in English and Urdu? (Formation)
3. How does reduplication affect the meanings in English and Urdu? (Function)
4. How is reduplication similar or dissimilar in English and Urdu? (Comparison and contrast)
5. Can the phenomenon of reduplication in English and Urdu be accounted for in autosegmental framework?

1.4 Significance

The phenomenon of reduplication is well established in linguistic studies and we resort to it very frequently in order to realize our communicative goals. It serves to elucidate meanings, perform illocutionary acts with effectivity, protest our innocence, assert our rights, appreciate beauty, express awe, and to reinforce those things which are prone to neglect or inattention. In all these cases, we very often make use of reduplication and thereby render our speech more efficient and goal-oriented. More often than not, we make use of reduplication in order to realize pragmatic functions in communication. In this sense its use can be ironic, subtle,

idiomatic or metaphorical. It is expected that the present study, through comparison, will attract not only general and theoretical linguists but also students of English and Urdu language who want to apprise themselves of the morphosyntactic and semantic dimensions of these languages. The study sheds light on an aspect which, at first examination, seems to be of no importance, but which after further study turns out to offer glimpses of the underlying structure of the languages and brings forth the commonalities and differences between them. Lexical and morphological similarities and contrasts between English and Urdu are examined in terms of reduplication. It will also open new vistas of learning and teaching vocabulary of these two languages. Moreover, it will pave a way for the future researchers who intend to work in this field and help describe and analyse/study the two languages.

1.5 Methodology

Exhaustive lists comprising 100 reduplicative expressions each in Urdu and English are prepared and given in the appendices (Appendix A and Appendix B). The purpose of incorporating these lists is two-fold. In the first place the lists will apprise people of the existence of reduplication in English and Urdu and secondly they will serve as the inventory or baseline and help the researcher analyze various functions of reduplication in these two languages. Every effort has been made to guard against any artificiality in the preparation of the lists and the selection of the reduplicative expressions. Special care has been taken to avoid the inclusion of any contrived expression and to remain as much natural in the preparation of these lists as possible. To adopt the safest course of action and to ensure the maximum

standardization and authenticity, the researcher has not included any example from himself. The authenticity/validity and use of these expressions is measured from their occurrence in our day-to-day communication as recorded by the standard dictionaries. For this purpose the following three (one bilingual and two monolingual) dictionaries have been selected: *The Chambers Dictionary* (hereafter TCD), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (hereafter OALD), and *Ferozsons Urdu English Dictionary* (hereafter FUED). Examples of *contrastive focus reduplication* and *shm-reduplication* have been taken from the two research articles (Ghomeshi et.al: 2004 and Southern: 2005) published in international journals of repute. In this study orthographic forms, rather than phonemic transcriptions, are used for phonological representation. For orthography of Urdu reduplicative expressions *Ferozsons Urdu English Dictionary* has been used. For long vowel sounds double letters like 'aa', 'ii' and 'uu' etc. have been used. Reduplicative expressions or words are organized, in the lists, keeping in mind the different types of reduplication. The reduplicative expressions listed in these lists include words from both open and closed classes. The open class refers to nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, whereas the closed class refers to prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, enumerators, pronouns and operator-verbs.

1.6 Delimitation

Beyond doubt, the phenomenon of reduplication can be studied in various contexts, but the researcher has confined this study to the comparison and contrast of English reduplication with that of Urdu in terms of types, formation, syntactic and semantic

roles. Moreover, keeping in mind that the use of reduplication in English is less common than Urdu and it is quite possible that one may not be able to gather sufficient examples of reduplication from it, the researcher has decided to delimit the lists to two hundred reduplicative expressions only (100 from each language). The researcher is of opinion that these expressions can fairly enable us to reach proper understanding of the topic as they are the characteristic of both language use and usage. The remaining reduplicative expressions are left for the future researchers to work on.

1.7 Conclusion

In order to communicate effectively one needs to have sufficient words of the target language in one's lexicon, for without words language is nothing. To be good at this aspect of language one needs to familiarize oneself with morphology of the language in question. In other words, one should know about the different morphological processes (affixation, compounding, cliticization, reduplication etc.) employing which different words are formed. To make the process of reduplication known to language users, the researcher has decided to explore, through analysis, the commonalities and differences in English and Urdu reduplicatives. In this introductory chapter the researcher has introduced the context/background, hypothesis, research questions, significance, methodology and delimitation of this research. In the next chapter, an account of the relevant research in reduplication, reduplication in English and reduplication in Urdu will be given.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter has been divided into three parts. The first part highlights the work done on the phenomenon of reduplication: what is reduplication? How is reduplication different from repetition? What are its types or kinds? What are the various ways of reduplicating in some languages of the world? How can reduplication be accounted for in autosegmental framework? etc. An attempt has been made to explain all these things focusing on the works of writers such as Francis Katamba, Andrew Spencer, Laurie Bauer and P.H. Matthews. The second part summarizes, through the material produced by Shanthi Nadarajan and Paul Rastall, the research conducted on reduplication in English and the third and the last part deals with the works of Maulvi Abdul Haq and Anvita Abbi on reduplication in Urdu.

2.1 What is Reduplication?

Like affixation, deletion, clipping, blending, compounding etc., reduplication is a word formation process in which some portion of a word is doubled (Hendricks: 1999). According to Andrew Spencer (1991: 150) reduplication is a phenomenon which can take place to the left of the root, as a prefix, to the right, as a suffix, or inside the root as an infix. In the words of Nadarajan (2006: 39), it is a morphological process wherein the root—the elementary, unanalysable part of a word as distinguished from its inflectional and derivational forms—of a word or a

part of it is repeated. Bauer (2003: 31) defines reduplication as “using some part of the base (which may be the entire base) more than once in a word.” Katamba (1993: 161; 180) views reduplication as “the full or partial repetition of the base” and he believes that it is “a process whereby an affix is realized by phonological material borrowed from the base.” The base or the part that is copied, in reduplication, is called *reduplicant*. It is abbreviated as RED and sometimes just as R. The reduplicatives in 2.1 are from Afrikaans and show whole words being reduplicated. In 2.2 they are from Motu, a language of Papua New Guinea, and illustrate the use of reduplicated prefixes as well as whole word reduplication. In the Maori data in 2.3 the reduplicated part is used as a suffix.

2.1 Afrikaans (Bauer, 2003: 31)

- a) *amper.amper* (very nearly) *amper* is the base word
- b) *dik.dik* (very thick) *dik* is the base word
- c) *drie.drie* (three at a time) *drie* is the base word

2.2 Motu (Bauer, 2003: 31)

- a) *ta.tau* (men) *tau* is the base word
- b) *me.mero* (boys) *mero* is the base word
- c) *meromero* (little boy) *mero* is the base word
- d) *memeromemero* (little boys) *memero* is the base word

2.3 Maori (Bauer, 2003: 32)

- a) *aahua.hua* (resemble) *aahua* is the base word
- b) *hiikei.kei* (hop) *hiikei* is the base word
- c) *maakuu.kuu* (rather moist) *maakuu* is the base word

2.1.1 Reduplication and Repetition

Nadarajan (2006) states while the phenomenon of reduplication prevails in various languages, its linguistic productivity varies and is sometimes used interchangeably with repetition. Repetition is a term that is used to strengthen or emphasize the ideas or concepts. Repetition has been traditionally looked at from a literary perspective. It is used as a poetic device to create rhythm and musical effect in language. Some of the researchers have called it a kind of child language (Ghomeshi et.al 2004). Nadarajan (2006) refers to Wang (2005) who insists that reduplication and repetitions both are used interchangeably because they overlap at some point. To substantiate her viewpoint she gives examples from Malay where reduplication and repetition are used in inflections to convey a grammatical function i.e. plurality, intensification, etc., as well as in lexical derivation to create new words (for examples see 2.4 and 2.5).

2.4 Malay Inflectional Repetition (Nadarajan, 2006: 40)

- a) *buku-buku* (books) *buku* (book) is the base word.
- b) *guli-guli* (marbles) *guli* (marble) is the base word.

2.5 Malay Derivational Reduplication (Nadarajan, 2006: 40)

- a) *adik beradik* (siblings) *adik* is the base word.
- b) *ikat ikatan* (bundles that are tied) *ikat* is the base word.

She further states that in English, unlike in Malay, reduplication and repetition are used to signify a more expressive tone or figurative speech which is also often, but not exclusively, iconic in meaning (for examples see 2.6 and 2.7). Both

reduplication and repetition are productive mechanisms that can denote diminutive, repetitive, and intensive meanings among others.

2.6 English Inflectional Repetition (Nadarajan, 2006: 40)

- a) *knock-knock* (expressive/figurative speech)
- b) *tiny, tiny tiny* place (expressive/figurative speech)

2.7 English Derivational Reduplication (Nadarajan, 2006: 40)

- a) *widdle waddle* penguin song (expressive/figurative speech)
- b) *wiggy waggy* dog (expressive/figurative speech)

Persson (1974) stresses that repetition in English can be distinguished at a) lexical as in *old old view*; b) syntactical as in *God he knows*; and c) semantic levels as in they *deceived* and *hoodwinked* me. The researcher feels that despite this overlapping both reduplication and repetition are different and separate. Reduplicative expressions, unlike repetitions, for instance, are words or lexemes in themselves and can be found in standard dictionaries. Moreover, reduplication exists at the lexical level whereas repetition exists at the syntactical level.

2.1.2 Types of Reduplication

Reduplication, primarily, is of two types:

- Full reduplication e.g. *pooh-pooh* (Katamaba, 1993: 180)
- Partial reduplication e.g. *sing-song* (Katamaba, 1993: 180)

2.1.2.1 Full Reduplication

Full reduplication doubles the entire word or stem. Relying on Andrew Spencer's (1991) remarks in *Morphological Theory* that "the material reduplicated (i.e. the base or root word or a part of it) can be a whole word, a whole morpheme ..." we can say that full reduplication is the repetition of an entire root or base word. In the words of Nadarajan (2006), full reduplication "is putting together a sound or morpheme to bring forth an entirely new grammatical function or semantic feature" and it is used to provide emphasis. Some examples of this type are given in 2.8 and 2.9:

2.8 Mandarin (Katamba, 1993: 181)

a) *renren* (everybody) *ren* is the base word

2.9 Malay (Katamba, 1993: 181)

a) *anakanak* (various children) *anak* is the base word

2.10 Afrikaans (Bauer, 2003: 31)

a) *amper.amper* (very nearly) *amper* is the base word

b) *dik.dik* (very thick) *dik* is the base word

c) *drie.drie* (three at a time) *drie* is the base word

As can be seen in the examples above, in Mandarin, Malay, and Afrikaans full reduplicative expressions are formed by repeating the entire base word. Full reduplication can also be called exact or complete reduplication.

2.1.2.2 Partial Reduplication

Unlike full reduplication, partial reduplication, according to P. H. Matthews (1991), is the one wherein "only part of the base is reduplicated". It doubles some

phonologically characterized subpart of the word or stem, as in Agta noun pluralization in 2.11:

2.11 Agta (Spencer, 1991: 152)

- a) *taktakki* (legs) *takki* (leg) is the base word
- b) *ululu* (heads) *ulu* (head) is the base word

2.1.3 Inflectional and Derivational Reduplication

According to Dictionary.com reduplication is “to double (the initial syllable or all of a root word) to produce an inflectional or derivational form”. It is quite evident from this definition that the use of reduplication is both inflectional and derivational. It is inflectional for it conveys a grammatical function like forming plurals as in examples from Agta, Yidin, Madurese and Papago in 2.12, 2.13, 2.14 and 2.15. It is derivational because it creates new words by changing the meaning of the root words as in Yoruba in 2.16:

2.12 Agta (Spencer, 1991: 150)

- a) *taktakki* (legs) *takki* (leg) is the base word
- b) *ululu* (heads) *ulu* (head) is the base word

2.13 Yidin (Spencer, 1991: 151)

- a) *dimudimuru* (houses) *dimuru* (house) is the base word
- b) *gindalgindalba* (lizards) *gindalba* (lizard) is the base word

2.14 Madurese (Spencer, 1991: 150)

- a) *waq-buwaqan* (fruits) *buwaq-an* (fruit) is the base word

2.15 Papago (Katamba, 1993: 181)

a) *tiitini* (mouths) *tini* (mouth) is the base word

b) *kuukuna* (husbands) *kuna* (husband) is the base word

2.16 Yoruba (Spencer, 1991: 151)

a) *lilo* (nominalization: forming a noun from verbs) *lo* (to go) is the base word

b) *didun* (nominalization) *dun* (to be tasty, sweet) is the base word

2.1.4 Triplication

All foregoing instances of reduplication reveal that reduplication in most languages happens only once. In some languages, however, it can happen twice and is termed as triplication: the base word or a part of it is repeated twice, as in Kinande in 2.17:

2.17 Kinande (Katamba, 1993:197)

a) e.n-dwa . n-dwa . n-dwa

2.15 Autosegmental Theory

Goldsmith (1976b: 23) is of view that the prime function of autosegmental theory is to “provide a more adequate understanding of the phonetic side of the linguistic representation”. Autosegmental theory states that various phonological features work on different levels, or layers, and must be linked to generate the ultimate phonetic form of an expression. The theory is called autosegmental because any aspect can be depicted as SEGMENTS in a broad sense, existing on separate tiers and displaying independent behaviour.

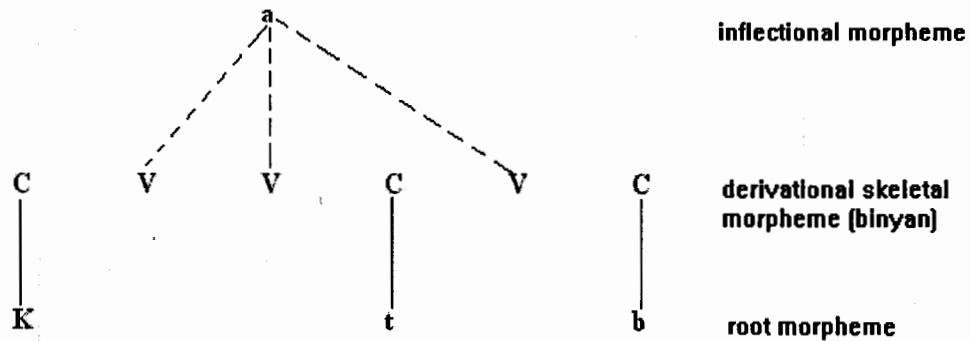
At the outset autosegmental theory was mostly applied to African tonal languages wherein tones were considered different from segments and phonemes and shown as existing on a separate tier and linked with phonemic segments according to

certain rules. In recent years autosegmental theory has been applied to such varied phenomena as vowel harmony (Clements 1980, McCarthy 1984), pitch-accent (Goldsmith 1974), nasalization (Goldsmith 1976a), vocalism (McCarthy 1981), and reduplication (Marantz 1982). When a feature acts autonomously as if it were not fixed to segments, autosegmental theory offers a charming account.

2.1.6 McCarthy and CV-Templates

McCarthy (1981), in examination of Arabic verbs, employs CV-templates. In such an analysis the consonants of a root morpheme are on one tier; the vowel(s), considered the inflectional morpheme, is on another. Each form of an Arabic verb, defined by factors like voice, mood, aspect, and *binyan* (conjugation) class, is associated with a unique CV-template. So, for example, the perfective active form of binyan III (*kaatab*) is linked with the template in 2.18. Association rules are modelled on the Well-Formedness Conditions of autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1976a, b). Lines between segments and the CV-template represent the association (mapping) of segments to their CV slots.

2.18 root: ktb 'to write'



Kaatab 'correspond perfective/active'

2.1.7 CV-Templates and Reduplication

Following McCarthy, Marantz (1982) makes use of CV-templates to formalize reduplication as customary affixation, "simply the affixation of a skeleton to a stem" (1982:445). In affixation, a morpheme is added to a word (either in the beginning-*prefix*, or in the middle-*infix* or in the end-*suffix*), and thereby the meaning or the function of that word changes. For nearly all reduplication phenomena in languages, the base acts as the REDUPLICATING MORPHEME, i.e., offers the phonemic segments that associate to the CV-template.

taktakki (Spencer, 1991: 150) ('tak' (a prefix) of 'takki' is repeated)

haskaska(Spencer, 1991: 150) ('ska' (a suffix) of 'haska' is repeated)

Katamba (1993) describes the process of reduplication using CV-template morphology model wherein a morpheme or word is represented on two tiers: CV tier and segmental or phonemic tier. The segments or phonemes are associated to the CV slots in the CV tier. The linkage follows a set of principles; else it will form nonsense words. Katamba (1993) refers to Broselow and McCarthy who summarize reduplication's crux in CV-template morphology in the following words:

...reduplication is a special case of ordinary affixational morphology, where the affixes are phonologically underspecified, receiving their full phonetic expression by copying adjacent segments.

(Katamba,1993:184)

To put it simply, reduplication is "the affixation of a morpheme template (in the shape of a CV-skeleton) to a stem" (Katamba, 1993: 184). In this sort of affixation,

the 'affix' (prefix or suffix or infix) is 'underspecified' (i.e. unlike its semantic and syntactic properties, its phonological part is 'underspecified' and 'incomplete' and is not a part of a dictionary). It gets its full phonetic expression when it is combined with another morpheme. Moreover, some of its segments are unlinked on the CV-skeletal tier. To represent that morpheme phonologically, it is imperative for a phonemic melody to map on to every C and V slot in the morpheme template.

It is believed that the main purpose of underspecification is to help us write the grammatical rules in as much an economic way as possible. Later Katamba (1993) quotes Marantz who, suggesting a mode of lending a 'phonemic melody for an underspecified affix' through reduplication, desires grammar to state:

- (i) the shape of the reduplicative CV- template,
- (ii) whether the reduplicative CV-template is prefixed, infix or suffixed,
- (iii) the part of the base copied as the 'melody',
- (iv) the direction of mapping: is the melody mapped on to the CV-template left-to-right or right-to-left?

(Katamba 1993: 185)

Spencer (1991: 152), in *Morphological Theory*, also cites Marantz who, according to him, imposes the following four conditions on the linking of melody tier to prosodic template:

Condition A: Melody consonants link to C slots and melody vowels link to V slots.

Condition B: Linking is strictly one-to-one; no multiple links are allowed.

Condition C: CV slots may be prelinked to specific phonemes. Prelinking takes precedence over autosegmental linking from the root melody.

Condition D: (i) directionality of linking: either the leftmost melody phoneme links with the leftmost appropriate CV slot and linking proceeds from left-to-right; or, the rightmost melody phoneme links with the rightmost appropriate CV slot and linking proceeds right-to-left. In the unmarked case, linking proceeds towards the root, i.e. left-to-right for prefixes, right-to-left for suffixes.

(ii) Linking is 'melody driven' in the sense that the association algorithm starts with a melody phoneme and then tries to find an appropriate CV slot, not the other way around.

Linguists, working in this model, broadly accepted and applied these proposals with little modification. Broselow and McCarthy (1983:27) posited the ensuing mapping principles in reduplication:

- (i) introduce an underspecified affix (prefix, suffix or infix);
- (ii) create an unassociated copy of the phonemic melody of the root or stem or base;
- (iii) associate the copied phonemic melody on to the CV-skeleton one-to-one, with vowels being linked to V-slots and consonants with C-slots. In the case of a prefix the consonant goes from left to right while in the case of a suffix it goes from right to left;
- (iv) finally, erase all superfluous phonemic material or any CV slots on the skeletal tier that remain unassociated at the end.

These principles can be applied (as it has been done below and in chapter 4) to reduplication processes, such as, reduplication as prefixation, reduplication as suffixation, or internal reduplication (i.e. infixing reduplication).

2.1.7.1 Initial Reduplication or Reduplication as Prefixation

In initial reduplication or reduplication as prefixation, a reduplicative affix, called prefix, is added before a base or stem word as in 2.19 and 2.20 below:

2.19 Agta (Katamba, 1993: 186)

- a) *taktakki* (legs) formed of the word *takki* (leg)
- b) *ufuffu* (thighs) formed of the word *uffu* (thigh)

2.20 Motu (Bauer, 2003: 31)

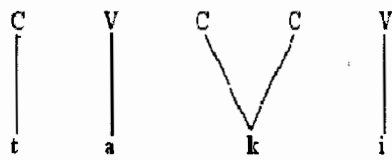
- e) *ta.tau* (men) *tau* is the base word
- f) *me.mero* (boys) *mero* is the base word

In the examples above, taken from Agta, the initial syllable of the base word is being repeated in the prefix and hence called reduplication. In other words, the initial CVC and CV respectively of the base are repeated. This has been described in figures 1.1 and 1.2 below using morpheme templates where it is supposed that the plural of nouns, in Agta, is formed by prefixing CVC or CV on the morpheme template tier (i.e. CV-skeletal tier). The 'k' and 'f' of 'takki', 'taktakki', 'uffu' and 'ufuffu' linking, doubly, to the two C slots in the following Agta examples are geminate 'kk' and geminate 'ff' (see figures A and B (taken from Karamba, 1993). It is quite evident from these figures that at the beginning of inflection, the root word is shown on CV and segmental tiers. Next a prefix template which has an unlinked

CVC is attached. Then an unassociated copy of the phonemic/segmental melody is created. Thereafter, the copied phonemic melody is associated on to the CV-skeleton, and finally all unassociated phonemic material on the skeletal tier is erased or deleted.

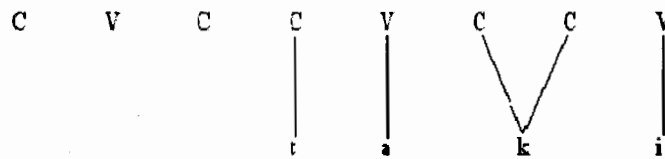
Figure A

Step A



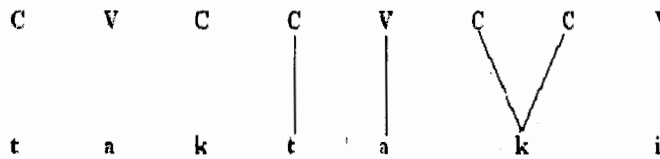
(Here 'takki' is the root word)

Step B



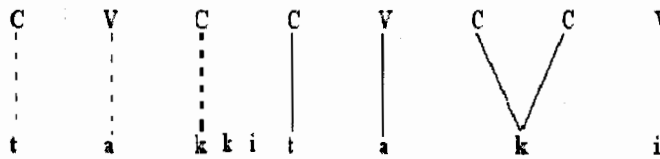
(Attach a prefix template which has an unlinked CVC)

Step C



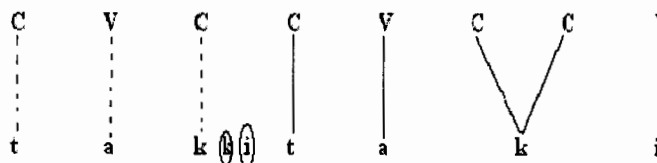
(Copy phonemic/segmental melody of the base before /t/ of the base)

Step D



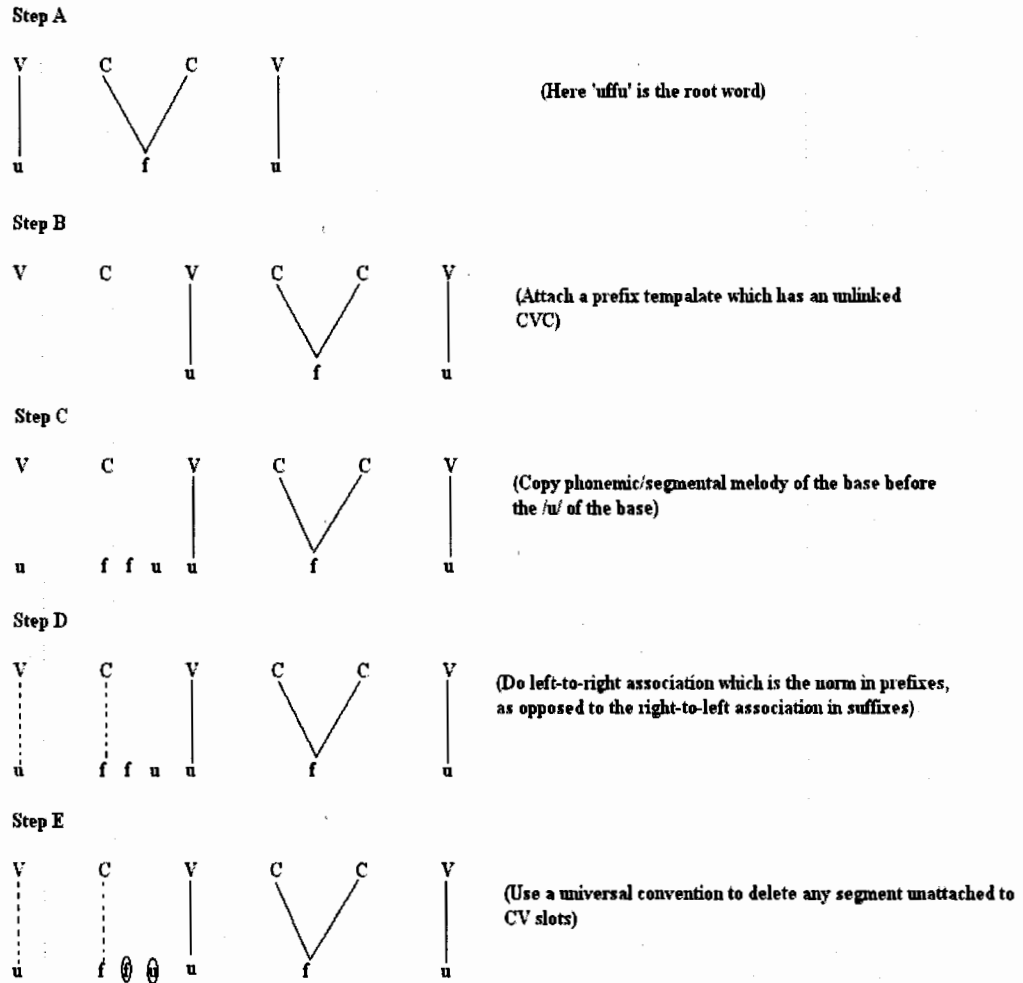
(Do left-to-right association which is the norm in prefixes, as opposed to the right-to-left association in suffixes)

Step E



(Use a universal convention to delete any segment unattached to CV slots)

Figure B



2.1.7.2 Final Reduplication or Reduplication as Suffixation

In final reduplication or reduplication as suffixation, a reduplicative affix, called suffix is added after a base or stem word as in 2.21 below:

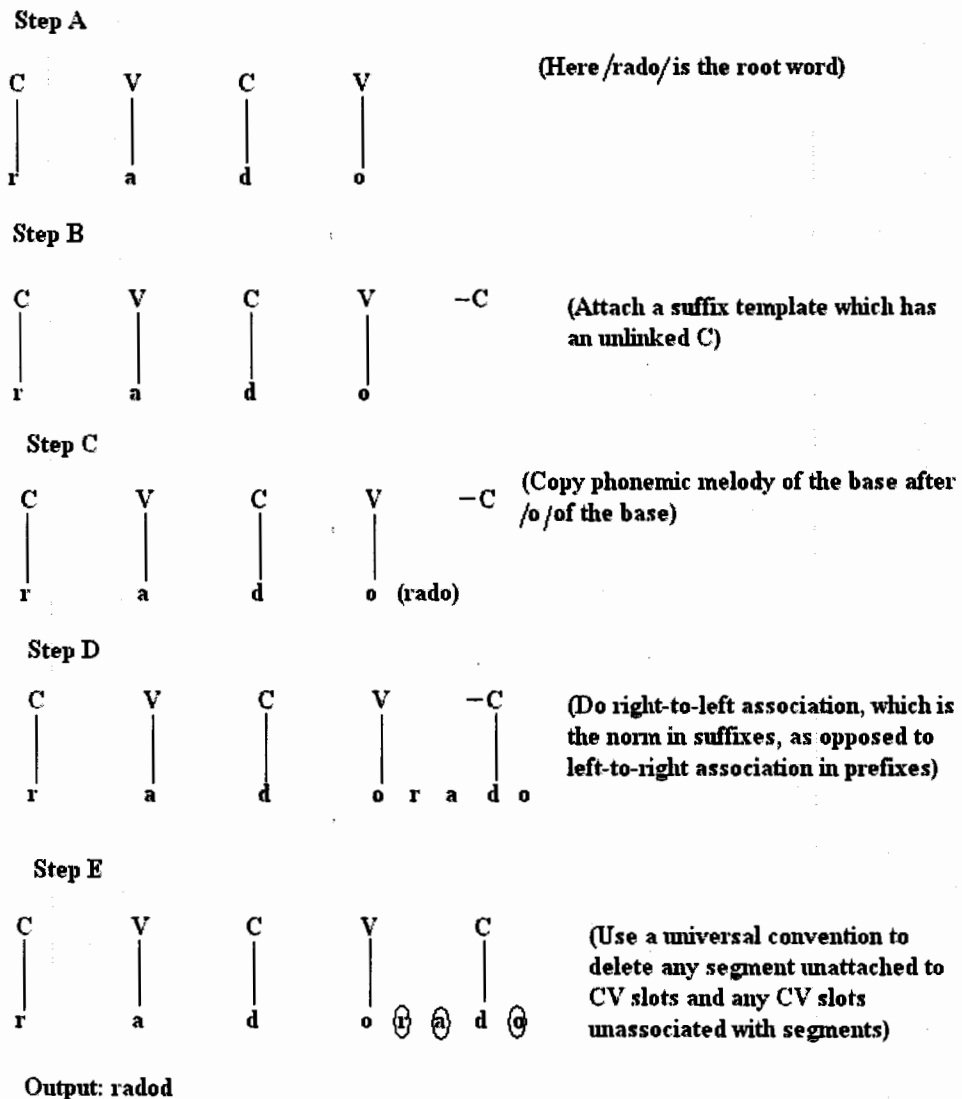
2.21 Saho (Katamba, 1993: 190)

a) *radod* formed of the base word *rado* (animal hide)

Again all this has been explained in figure C below using morpheme templates by suffixing C on the morpheme template tier (i.e. CV-skeletal tier) following an

example on page 190 in Katamba's *Morphology*. At the outset, a suffix template which has an unlinked C is attached after the root word. Thereafter, phonemic melody is copied after the base. Next right-to-left association, which is norm in suffixes, is done, and finally, employing a universal convention, segments unattached or unassociated to C or V slots are deleted.

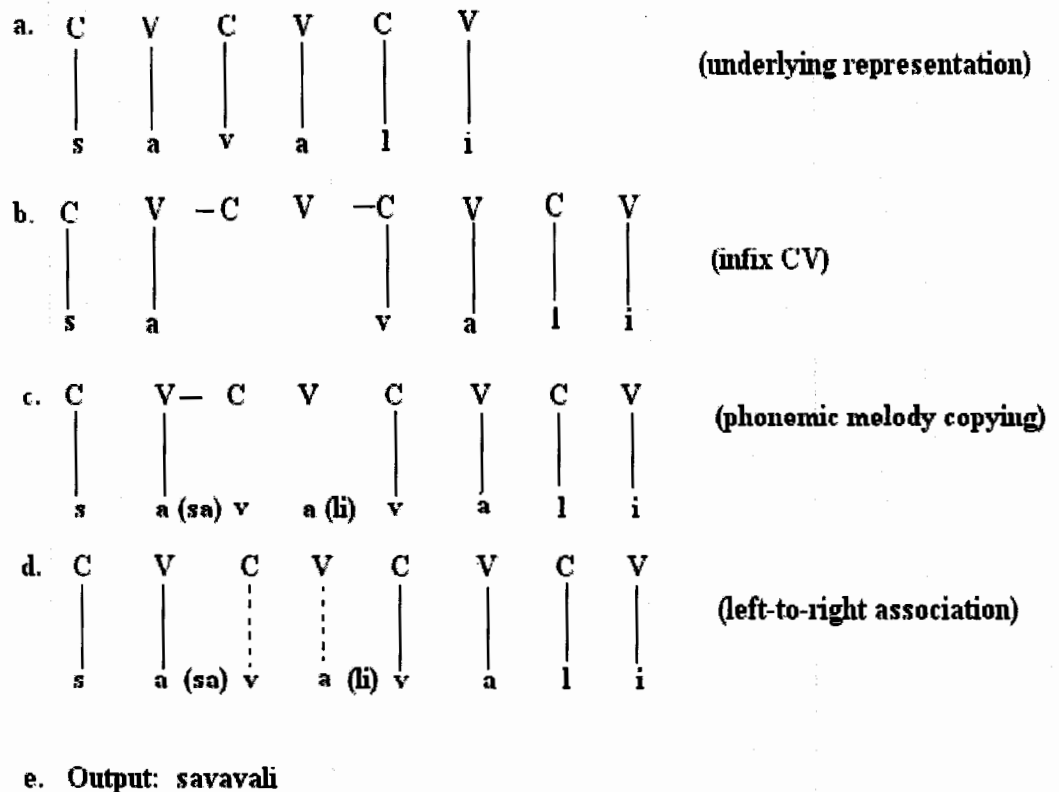
Figure C



2.1.7.3 Internal Reduplication or Infixing Reduplication

Spencer (1991) is of view that Broselow and McCarthy extended the Marantz model to accommodate cases where the reduplicative affix is an infix. Internal reduplication or Infixing reduplication, though less common than reduplication as prefixation and reduplication as suffixation, is an insertion of a reduplicative affix in the base or stem word. In Samoan, an Austronesian language, plurals of verbs with three syllables are formed by inserting CV on the skeletal tier (see figure D below taken from Katamba, 1993: 192). For instance, from *alofa*—*alolofa*, from *savali*—*savavali* and from *malu*—*malililu*. CV infixation in *savavali* can be represented using a morpheme template in the subsequent way:

Figure D



Copying direction in reduplication is either from left to right or from right to left. In reduplication as prefixation it is from left to right and in reduplication as suffixation it is from right to left. However, in internal reduplication or infixing reduplication the question of left to right or right to left does not arise.

2.2 Reduplication in English

The process of reduplication is well-known and widespread in languages such as Persian, Kashmiri, Urdu, Malay, Tamil, Agta, Tagalog, etc. It is, according to Sapir cited by Katamba (1993: 180), not altogether unknown in English. Katamba quotes Sapir who in his book *Language* pointed to the examples in 2.22:

2.22 English (Katamba, 1993: 180)

- a) pooh-pooh
- b) goody-goody
- c) wishy-washy
- d) sing-song
- e) roly-poly
- f) brain-drain
- g) harum-scarum

The ensuing are the three types of reduplication that English uses and this section discusses:

2.2.1 Rhyming Reduplication

The act of putting together words that sound the same is called rhyming. Nadarajan (2006) believes that the traces of rhyming can also be seen in the process of

reduplication. Rhyming reduplication is a sort of reduplication wherein words having same final sounds are put together, as in 2.23:

2.23 English (OALD & TCD)

- a) claptrap (noun) worthless, insincere or stupid talk; nonsense (OALD)
- b) shilly-shally (verb) to be unable to make a decision; to hesitate (OALD)
- c) teeny-weeny (adjective) tiny (OALD)
- d) willy-nilly (adverb) whether one wants it or not (OALD)
- e) wingding (noun) a wild party (OALD)
- f) wishy-washy (adjective) weak in colour, character, quality etc. (OALD)
- g) hoity-toity (adjective) behaving in a proud way or showing contempt, as if one thinks one is superior to others (OALD)
- h) hokey-pokey (noun) hocus-pocus; a kind of ice-cream sold on the streets (TCD)
- i) hubble-bubble (noun) a bubbling sound; tattle; confusion [Reduplication from bubble] (TCD)
- j) hurry-scurry (noun) confusion and bustle (TCD)
- k) razzle-dazzle (noun) a rowdy frolic or spree; dazzling show; confusion etc. (TCD)
- l) roly-poly (noun) a pudding made of a sheet of dough, covered with jam or fruit, rolled up, and baked or steamed; a round, podgy person; an old game in which balls are bowled into holes or thrown into hats placed on the ground. (TCD)

Rhyming is considered to be a type of reduplication, though it does not fulfill the requirements of reduplication. The researcher believes that the phenomenon of reduplication needs a base word that is to be reduplicated, but as for the above examples, most of the expressions (e.g. hokey, shilly, hoity, lovey etc.) are not the words of English language at all and lack independent meaning but become meaningful when combined with other words.

2.2.2 Full Reduplication

Like Afrikaans, Malay and Motu full reduplication also exists in English, rather this type prevails in almost all languages in which the phenomenon of reduplication is found, as is obvious from 2.24:

2.24 English (OALD & TCD)

- a) bye-bye (interjection) Like **bye** a colloquial form of **goodbye** (formed of the word **bye**) (TCD & OALD)
- b) dividivi (noun) the curved pods of a small tropical American tree, used for tanning and dyeing; the tree itself (formed of the word **divi** (also **divvy**) which means a dividend; a share) (TCD)
- c) fifty-fifty (adjective) shared or sharing equally between two (formed of the word **fifty**) (OALD)
- d) no-no (noun) a failure, non-event; something which must not be done, said etc. (formed of the word **no** which means *not any; not one*) (TCD)
- e) pooh-pooh (verb) to ridicule, to dismiss contemptuously (formed of the word **pooh** which means *to express disgust at a bad smell*) (TCD & OALD)

- f) yo-yo (noun) a toy consisting of a reel wound with an attached length of string which is held in the hand while the reel is let drop to fall and rise under its own weight (formed of the word yo which means calling for or accompanying effort, calling for attention or used in getting, etc; used to indicate one's presence (TCD)

2.2.3 Ablaut Reduplication

According to Nadarajan (2006: 42) "partial reduplication involves consonant ablaut or vowel alternation." In ablaut reduplication a vowel is alternated with another vowel in the reduplicant. In case of vowel alternation, the first vowel being a high vowel and the reduplicated ablaut variant of the vowel being a low. It is also quite likely that the first vowel is front and the second is back as in 2.25:

2.25 English (OALD & TCD)

- a) chit-chat (noun) conversation about things which are not important (i is replaced by a) (OALD)
- b) criss-cross (adjective) with lines or paths crossing each other (i is replaced by o) (OALD)
- c) knick-knack (noun) small ornaments on display in a house (i is replaced by a) (OALD)
- d) zig-zag (noun) a line or course that turns sharply left and then right repeatedly (i is replaced by a)(OALD)

Apart from the preceding three types, the other types of reduplication in English are shm/schm and contrastive focus reduplication. Let us see how these types are formed and used in this language.

2.2.4 Shm/Schm-Reduplication

It is believed that shm/schm reduplication started in Yiddish and was later shifted to English (urban northeastern American English) by Yiddish speaking Jews. At present it is known to many non-Jewish English speakers, though not all speakers of English are familiar with it. English has taken the process from the numerous Yiddish words that begin with s(c)hm- and have negative implications, hence the name *shm/schm reduplication*.

As is obvious from the examples in 2.26 that Shm/schm reduplication is the one in which normally the first or the first two consonant letter(s) or sound(s) is/are replaced with shm- (sometimes schm-) and remaining letters or sounds remain the same. The construction is generally used to indicate dismissal, derision, rejection, denial, irony, reassurance, downplay or scepticism with respect to words that have said before it:

He is just a baby!

Baby-shmaby. He's already 5 years old!

Following, in 2.26, are some of the examples of shm/schm reduplication. The sources where these examples have been given have also been mentioned at the end of each example:

2.26 English Shm-Reduplication

- a) Time, schmime, said Pappa irritably. (Isaac Asimov, *Second Foundation*)
- b) (Person A): I have to tell you, madam that your son is suffering from an Oedipus complex. (Person B): Oedipus, Schmoedipus! What does it matter so long as he loves his mother? (*Apocryphal*)
- c) Buffy: So what's the plan? Xander: Plan-shman, let's mount up (*Buffy the Vampire Slayer*)
- d) ...dreadlocks schmeadlocks (*In Living Color*)
- e) ...gravity-schmavity (*Wonderbra Advertisement*)
- f) ...group schmoup, bring the formal wear! (*Best in Show*)
- g) ...dark side schmark side! (*Angel*)

Phonological Properties of shm/schm Reduplication

- Words that begin with a single consonant usually replace that consonant with shm- (table shmable).
- Either the first consonant (breakfast shmreakfast) or the entire cluster (breakfast shmeakfast) is replaced in the words beginning with consonant clusters.
- Words beginning with a vowel sound append the shm- directly to the beginning of the reduplicant (apple shmapple).

- Some speakers replace the stressed syllable rather than the first syllable (incredible inshmedible); a subset of these does not copy base material preceding the stressed syllable (incredible shmedible; cf. Spitzer 1952).
- Words beginning with shm- avoid shm- for instance, schmuck does not yield the expected *schmuck schmuck, but rather total avoidance or mutation of the shm- (giving forms like schmuck shluck, schmuck fluck, and so on).
- Many speakers use sm- instead of shm- with words that contain a sh (e.g. Ashmont).

2.2.5 Contrastive Focus Reduplication.

Exact reduplication can be used with contrastive focus (generally where the first noun is stressed) to indicate a literal, as opposed to figurative, example of a noun, as in 2.27:

2.27 Is that Russian salad or SALAD-salad?

Nadarajan (2006: 41) while discussing full reduplication cites the examples of 2.28:

2.28 Are you LEAVING-leaving (i.e are you really leaving (for good) or merely stepping out for a minute)

Ghomeshi et.al (2004) in The SALAD-SALAD Paper quotes the examples of 2.29:

2.29 i) RICH-rich (rich by particular standards)

ii) NERVOUS-nervous (really nervous)

iii) AUCKLAND-Auckland (the city in New Zealand)

iv) FRENCH-French (a citizen of France)

2.2.6 Echoism and Reduplication

Like reduplication, echoism also involves repetition of words. Echoism, according to Nadarajan (2006), is used for aesthetic and expressive effect and includes both primary and secondary onomatopoeia. Onomatopoeia is a figure of speech which coalesces sounds in a word that bears a resemblance to or advocates what the words refer to. To Nadarajan, primary onomatopoeia is an attempt to direct imitation of naturally occurring sounds and secondary onomatopoeia is the sound of word forms which are felt to be appropriate to the meaning of the lexemes of which they are forms. In 2.30 and 2.31 are some of the examples of primary and secondary onomatopoeia given by Nadarajan:

2.30 Primary Onomatopoeia (Nadarajan, 2006: 45)

- a) ding dong
- b) gobble gobble
- c) chug chug

2.31 Secondary Onomatopoeia (Nadarajan, 2006: 46)

- a) kith and kin
- b) dribs and drabs
- c) head over heels

2.2.7 Triplication in English

Nadarajan (2006) is of view that in English triplication is more of an exception, but it does exist. To support her statement she gave the examples of 2.32. However, the researcher feels that since the examples in 2.32 are not lexemes, that is, they are not part of a dictionary that is why we cannot call them reduplicatives.

2.32 English (Nadarajan, 2006)

- a) tic tac toe
- b) win win win
- c) you-you-you

2.3 Reduplication in Urdu

Although the process of reduplication is considered to be one of the distinctive features of Urdu language, it has not yet received due attention of the researchers carrying out research in this particular language. So far, only a few writers have talked about reduplication in Urdu. Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haq and Anvita Abbi are most notable among them.

Dr Maulvi Abdul Haq, in his book *Qawaid-e-Urdu*, has incorporated a separate chapter on reduplication. He says that reduplication is one of the hallmarks of Urdu in which all parts of speech, except conjunctions, can be reduplicated simultaneously. He further says that by reduplicating words in Urdu an “everyone” sense is created and difference, emphasis, insistence or exaggeration is expressed.

Dr Maulvi Abdul Haq, in this chapter, sheds light on the parts of speech that can be reduplicated. He informs us about the way parts of speech are repeated to form reduplicative expressions and the meanings which they convey.

Regarding reduplication of nouns he opines that:

- it creates the meaning “every”, but it comprises “all” such as *ghar ghar i:d hai* (There is eid in every/all house(s)).
- at times, between the two nouns the word ‘ke’ is inserted which also gives the meaning of “every” like *baras ke baras a:ta hai* which means *comes every year*.
- it also creates the meaning “different/various”. For instance. *mulk mulk ka janwar* (animals of different countries).
- it, at times, is employed for emphasis, exaggeration or insistence, for example *dil hi dil men kurhta rha* (to grieve from inside), *laila hi laila pukarta raha* (shouting laila all the time).
- it can be without ‘hi’ if the first noun is plural like *ha:thon ha:th* (quickly, privately, stealthily etc.), *ra:ton ra:t* (in a night) etc.
- sometimes the word ‘ka’ is inserted after the first and between the two nouns such as *ja:hil ka ja:hil raha* (remained ignorant), *bail ka bail raha* (remained fool) etc.
- sometimes such a reduplication creates the meaning of “whole”. For example, *kha:nda:n ka kha:nda:n* (the whole family), *qaum ki qaum* (the whole nation) etc.

- at times, denotes the meaning of “excess/plenty” such as *jhund ke jhund* (clusters of ; flocks of etc.)
- sometimes shows the continuity of action. For instance, *wuh sarak ke kinare kinare ja raha tha* (He was going by the side of the road/street) etc.
- sometimes it reveals paucity like *wuh ba:t ki ba:t men bigar gaya* (He got annoyed because of a minor thing).
- it also carries the meaning of “both” like *wuh a:dmi ka a:dmi hai aur bandar ka bandar* (He is both man and monkey).

As for reduplication of adjectives, Dr. Abdul Haq is of the opinion that it also gives the meaning of “whole”. He adds that adjectives:

- are sometimes reduplicated for showing difference like in reduplicative expressions *nae nae ka:m* (novel works), *tarh tarh ki baten* (talk of various kinds)
- are, at times, used for expressing exaggeration. For instance, *safed safed dane* (white grains), *ujle ujle kapre* (white and clean clothes).
- are sometimes used for diminution as well. For example *dal men kuchh kala kala hai* (There is something wrong).

Like nouns and adjectives, numbers are also reduplicated. Dr. Abdul Haq is of view that reduplication of numbers too denotes the meaning of “everyone” such as *un ko chaar chaar rupe mile*. (Each of them got four rupees), *do do kar ke gaye* (went in twos).

He further says that in the case of compound number only the last part is repeated like *aik rupya a:th a:th ane diye* (gave one rupee and fifty paisas). It is evident from this preceding sentence that reduplication of words brings change in meanings. For instance the following two sentences differ in meaning:

A:th rupe de do (Give eight rupees)

A:th a:th rupe de do (Give each eight rupees)

Like nouns, adjectives and numbers, pronouns can also be reduplicated. Pronouns may be used to:

- mean “separate/individual”. For instance, *wuh apne apne ghar sudhare* (They went to their own/individual houses)
- mean “different”. *Juh juh hazir tha bohat lutfandoz hua* (Whosoever was present enjoyed a lot)
- show diminution. For instance, *kuchh kuchh dard baqi hai* (There is some pain left).

According to Dr. Haq verbs can also be reduplicated. The use of verb-reduplication is confined to “present” only and its use is very common in Urdu language. He says that

reduplication of verb:

- implies the continuity of action. For instance, *makhkhan phu:lon par a: a: kar baithti hen* (Bees sit on the flowers again and again).

- sometimes indicates exaggeration or excess like *parhte parhte andha ho gaya* (read so much that became blind).
- shows the length of time or duration and continuity such as *chalte chalte manzil e maqsood par puhanch gaya* (kept on walking and reached at his destination).
- conveys the meaning of “different” and “excess/plenty”. For example, *na:m badal badal kar aata hai* (comes/visits with different names).
- signifies “slowly or gradually”. For instance, *kaAm hote hote ho hi jata hai* (a job eventually gets done).
- may give the meaning of “immediately” or “a very short period of time”. For instance, *wuh dekhte dekhte bara aadmi ban gaya* (He became rich in no time)
- sometimes means “no sooner than” like *wuh kehte kehte aik dam ruk gaya* (He suddenly stopped while speaking).
- refers to break in the continuity such as *wuh parhte parhte sau gaya* (He slept while reading).
- sometimes contains the first verb masculine and the second feminine like *dekha dekhi* (in imitation), *rawaa rawii* (hurry; cursoriness).
- can also be used for emphasis and insistence as positive and negative in the past. For instance, *na hua par na hua* (not completed).
- is sometimes used to draw attention of someone. For example, *suno suno* (listen), *hato hato/bacho bacho* (get aside).

Adverbs are also reduplicated and used for the sake of emphasis and exaggeration. For instance, *jahan jahan* (wherever), *kabhi na kabhi* (sometimes or the other; rarely; seldom), *roz roz* (everyday; always)

In the words of Dr. Abdul Haq determiners are also reduplicated in idioms and they slightly change the meanings such as *idher udher wuh thay aur bi:ch men hum* (They were surrounding us/we were in the center surrounded by them). At times, for the sake of emphasis and to show someone or something in the middle or centre, first connective is pluralized, for example, *talab ke biichon biich* (in the middle/center of the pond).

The other notable figure who decided to work on reduplication is Anvita Abbi, though her thesis is not available online. Michael C. Shapiro (1982, pp 487-488) is of view that Anvita Abbi in her work, *Semantic Grammar of Hindi: A Study in Reduplication*, states that:

the adverbial syntactic category of Urdu reduplication alone has six different meanings: simultaneity, duration (e.g. *Vo culte culte gir para* 'He fell down while he was walking'), duration (e.g. *vo pan becte becte buddha ho gaya* 'He became old selling betels (all his life)'), the non-occurrence of an event in spite of the likelihood of its occurrence (*durghatna hote hote buc gai* 'The accident was about to take place but was averted'), continuity (*calte calte us ke pavo me chale par gaye* 'His feet were blistered from continuous walking'), iteration (*ek hi sajavat dekh dekh kar me uk gaya* 'I am bored from seeing the same decoration (again and again)), and intensification (*ye chithi abhi abhi ai hai* 'This letter has come just

now.'). With adjectival phrases, one must add the semantic features of distribution (*mere pas choti choti katoriyan hai* 'I have small cups.') and approximation (*kacca kacca amrud lana* 'Bring a slightly raw guava.').

It is quite obvious from the preceding discussion that a few researchers have talked about reduplication, reduplication in English, and reduplication in Urdu but no one has yet tried to compare and contrast the phenomenon with reference to English and Urdu languages and this is what which makes this study unique and different from the previous studies.

2.4 Conclusion

Although initially the process of reduplication was not accepted and supported by many of the Eurocentric writers on morphology (Katamba, 1993), there is no dearth of literature on it. A few writers such as Francis Katamba, Andrew Spencer, Laurie Bauer, P.H. Matthews, in their works, have explained the phenomenon of reduplication with reference to some non-European languages (e.g. Agta, Mandarin, Malay, Papago, Saho etc.). In addition to this, there are people like Shanthi Nadarajan, Paul Rastall, Maulvi Abdul Haq and Anvita Abbi, who have tried to investigate the workings of this process in English and Urdu languages too. In the next chapter (chapter 3) the phenomenon of reduplication in English and Urdu will be analysed and compared and contrasted.

Chapter 3

Analysis and Comparison of Reduplication in English and Urdu

The aim of this chapter is to highlight the morphological commonalities in English and Urdu in general and to analyze and compare and contrast the process of reduplication in the two languages in particular. During analysis, the types, formation and operations of English and Urdu reduplicative expressions are focused upon and alongwith this comparison is drawn between the reduplicative expressions of English with those of Urdu in order to establish a pattern and highlight the similarities and differences between them.

The question of the origin of language seems to be a puzzle because many modern linguists feel that it is not possible to provide any reliable evidence on the matter. In fact, the Societe Linguistique de Paris, which edits the BSL (Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique) linguistic journal, does not include any paper on the origin of language in its meetings. Although the origin of language is obscure, the question of why language began seems rather clearer. Language has different roles to perform. Apart from imparting information, making statements, conveying commands, asking questions and making requests, language has two other primary functions: expression of thoughts and a means of communication.

The relation of language to thinking becomes a central concern when one starts to reflect on language. Several cultures viewed the expression of thoughts as the main function of language. In the Greek intellectual tradition, for instance, Aristotle declared that speech was the representation of the experiences of mind. Rationalist writers on language in the article titled *Language* in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1995: 567) in the seventeenth century substantiated the same with these words:

Speaking is expressing thoughts by signs invented for the purpose, and words of different classes came into being to correspond to the different aspects of thinking.

Here the words *speech* and *speaking*, the researcher believes, refers to language. It can be implied from the rationalist's view that man as a rational, thinking creature invented language to express his thoughts.

The other major function of language is to enable man to communicate and cooperate in a society. Communication—the exchange of meanings between individuals through a common system of symbols—can take place in different ways: linguistic and non-linguistic communication. Linguistic communication that uses language, the researcher believes, is more important and frequent.

In order to fulfill his need of communication and to express his ideas and thoughts effectively, man has discovered or invented many languages which are serving remarkably in their respective domains. Out of these many,

English and Urdu are two whose morphological aspect (i.e. reduplication) is being discussed in this thesis. To use a language effectively and efficiently one needs to have a sufficient stock of words in one's lexicon. To do so one needs to know how to form words employing different morphological processes. In other words, one needs to have knowledge of morphology. English and Urdu, though different languages: having different origins, different structural patterns etc., share some common features. As for morphology, both have morphological processes like affixation, compounding, reduplication etc., i.e. both form words by adding prefixes and suffixes (affixation) to the base words as in 3.1 and 3.2:

3.1 English (OALD)

- a) rerun
- b) funded

3.2 Urdu (FEUD)

- a) *bad bakht*
- b) *gunah gar*

Both form words by joining different word classes (compounding) e.g. by combining two nouns as in 3.3 and 3.4; by putting together a noun and an adjective as in 3.5 and 3.6; by joining a noun and a verb as in 3.7 and 3.8; or by repeating an entire word or lexeme or a part of it (reduplication) as in 3.9 and 3.10:

3.3 English (OALD)

- a) tip-top

3.4 Urdu (FEUD)

- a) *Kaam kaaj*

3.5 English (OALD)

- a) hot pot

3.6 Urdu (FUED)

- a) *bad nasiib*

3.7 English (OALD)

- a) man-made

3.8 Urdu (FUED)

- a) *khel khelna*

3.9 English (OALD)

- a) goody-goody (full reduplication)
- b) sing-song (partial reduplication)

3.10 Urdu (FUED)

- a) *raftaa raftaa* (full reduplication)
- b) *thiik thaak* (partial reduplication)

As is evident from the previous chapter (Literature Review) and the lists given in appendices that reduplication is a characteristic of both English and Urdu, though it is more common and frequent in Urdu than English. Unlike English reduplicatives, the use of Urdu reduplicatives is in abundance in both written and spoken forms of Urdu language. Instances of English reduplicatives given in dictionaries are rarely used in day-to-day communication. Nevertheless, the

phenomenon of reduplication is not altogether unknown in English and can be analysed and compared and contrasted with that of Urdu.

3.1 Types of Reduplication in English and Urdu

Like other languages, reduplication, in both English and Urdu, is primarily of two types: Full reduplication and Partial reduplication. Writers like Toru Okamura, Nils Thun, etc. have talked of these types, to some extent, in case of English but the researcher hasn't noticed this kind of categorization in Urdu yet. Therefore he feels imperative to discuss it here.

3.1.1 Full Reduplication

Full reduplication, as has been discussed in chapter 2 (page 14), involves the repetition of an entire base word or a whole morpheme as is obvious from the English and Urdu examples in 3.11 and 3.12.

3.11 English (OALD & TCD)

- a) bye-bye (interjection) Like *bye* a colloquial form of *goodbye* (formed of the word **bye**) (OALD & TCD)
- b) pooh-pooh (verb) to ridicule, to dismiss contemptuously (formed of the word **pooh** which means *to express disgust at a bad smell*) (OALD & TCD)
- c) ta-ta (interjection) childish and colloquial goodbye (formed of the word **ta** which means *thankyou; goodbye*) (TCD)
- d) tum-tum (noun) a stomach (formed of the word **tum** (also tummy) which means *a stomach*) (TCD)

3.12 Urdu (FUED)

- a) *bachchah bachchah* (noun) every child (formed of the word ***bachchah***) (FUED)
- b) *jhijaak jhijaak* (adverb) hesitantly (formed of the word ***jhijaak***) (FUED)
- c) *khaas khaas* (adjective) specific; particular (formed of the word ***khaas***) (FUED)
- d) *sharminda sharminda* (adjective) embarrassed (formed of the word ***sharminda***) (FUED)
- e) *lamhah lamhah* (adjective) in detail; after every moment (formed of the word ***lamhah***) (FUED)

In case of English and Urdu, full reduplication has a sub-type that entails the addition of a phoneme or phonemes, apart from complete repetition of the base word. The addition in this sub-type can be called addition of a phoneme or phonemes or a morpheme because in English reduplicative expressions in 3.13 it is phonemes that have been added but in case of Urdu reduplicative expressions in 3.14 this addition is both phonemic and morphemic, for the 'o' and 'ba' in *kaanokaan* and *manzilbamanzil* are both phonemes and morphemes.

3.13 English (Rastall, 2004: 38)

- a) even-stein
- b) barmy army
- c) easy peasy

3.14 Urdu (FUED)

- a) *kaanokaan* (slowly; slightly)
- b) *manzilbamanzil* (from stage to stage; by stages)

It is evident from the above examples that the position of additional phoneme(s) (in case of English) and phonemes and morphemes (in case of Urdu) can be in the beginning or in the middle of the reduplicative expressions. This addition can be in the first or second component of the reduplicative expressions.

3.1.2 Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication, in contrast to full reduplication, is the repetition affecting either the initial or the middle or the final sound of the base word. Below are 3.15, 3.16, 3.17, 3.18, 3.19, 3.20 and 3.21 showing examples of initial consonant alternation (3.15), alternation of vowel (i-a) (3.16), alternation of vowel (i-o) (3.17), alternation of vowel (ii-aa) (3.18), alternation of vowel (uu-aa) (3.19), alternation of vowel (o-a) (3.20), and alternation of vowel (u-aa) (3.21).

3.15 (A) Initial Consonant Alternations (English)

- a) *bigwig* (noun) an important person (*b* of *big* is replaced by *w* in *wig*) (OALD)
- b) *boohoo* (interjection) used in written English to represent the sound of somebody crying noisily (*b* is replaced by *h*) (OALD)
- c) *bowwow* (interjection) used to imitate the bark of a dog; used by or to young children (*b* is replaced by *w*) (TCD & OALD)

d) *deadhead* (noun) a faded flower; a dull or stupid person (*d* is replaced by *h*) (OALD)

e) *downtown* (adjective, adverb) to or in the centre of a city, especially the main business and commercial district (*d* is replaced by *t*) (OALD)

3.15 (B) Initial Consonant Alternations (Urdu)

a) *aros paros* (noun) neighbourhood; vicinity (FUED)

b) *pakar dhakar* (noun) capture; seizure; arrest (FUED)

c) *taana baana* (noun) warp and woof; to hatch a plan (FUED)

d) *chamak damak* (noun) splendour; glitter; brilliance (FUED)

e) *milaa julaa* (adjective) mixed; adulterated (FUED)

Above examples of partial reduplication indicates alternation of initial consonants wherein the initial consonant of the actual word (root word) is replaced by another consonant and the remaining or succeeding vowels and consonants remain the same. This kind of reduplication is found in both English and Urdu as is evident from the examples. The reduplicative part of such reduplicative expressions is sometimes meaningless i.e. it is not a word or lexeme in itself, for instance '*fi*' of *hi-fi*, '*bo*' of *hobo* in English and '*malat*' of *ghalat malat* and '*sum*' of *gum sum* in Urdu.

3.16 (A) Alternation of Vowel (i-a) (English)

a) *chit-chat* (noun) conversation about things which are not important (*i* is replaced by *a*) (OALD)

b) *click-clack* (noun) a persistent clicking noise (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

c) *clitter-clatter* (adjective) idle talk; chatter (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

d) crinkle-crinkle (adjective) winding or zigzag (i is replaced by a) (TCD)

e) dilly-dally (verb) to loiter or trifle (i is replaced by a) (TCD)

3.16 (B) Alternation of Vowel (i-a) (Urdu)

Not found in Urdu

Examples in 3.16 above depict partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (i-a). In this type, the vowel 'i' of the base word is alternated with vowel 'a' and the surrounding consonant and vowel letters remain unchanged. This vowel usually comes after the initial consonant or consonant cluster. This kind of reduplication prevails in English only and not in Urdu.

3.17 (A) Alternation of Vowel (i-o) (English)

a) ding-dong (noun) the sound of bells ringing; monotony; sameness; an argument or fight (i is replaced by o) (TCD)

b) flip-flop (noun) a type of SANDAL with a strap that goes between the big toe and the toe next to it (i is replaced by o) (OALD)

c) jig-jog (adverb) with a jolting, jogging motion (i is replaced by o) (TCD)

d) ping-pong (noun) a game played like tennis with bats and a plastic ball on a table with a net cross it (i is replaced by o) (OALD)

e) singsong (adjective) with a repeated rising and falling rhythm (i is replaced by o)

f) tiptop (adjective) of the highest quality; excellent (i is replaced by o) (OALD)

3.17 (B) Alternation of Vowel (i-o) Urdu

Not found in Urdu

Partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (i-o) in 3.17 is alternating the vowel ‘i’ of the base word with the vowel ‘o’ in reduplicant. This vowel either comes immediately after the initial consonant as in *ding-dong* or after the first two consonants as in *flip flop*. Like partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (i-a) here too the surrounding consonants and vowels remain unchanged. Most of the components of such reduplicative expressions are meaningful (e.g. *tiptop*, *singsong*, *ding-dong*, *flip-flop*, etc.) Again this kind of reduplication is found in English only.

3.18(A) Alternation of Vowel (ii-aa) (English)

Not found in English

3.18 (B) Alternation of Vowel (ii-aa) (Urdu)

- a) *bhiir bhaar* (noun) mob; crowd; rush (FUED)
- b) *thiik thaak* (adjective) quite right; quite correct (FUED)
- c) *tiip taap* (noun) decoration; adornment; pomp (FUED)
- d) *dhiila dhaala* (adjective) loose (FUED)

Examples of 3.18 show partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (ii-aa). In this type the vowel ‘ii’ of the base word is alternated with vowel ‘aa’. This vowel occurs immediately after the initial consonant as in *tiip taap*, *bhiir bhaar*, *dhiila dhaala*, etc. Like partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (i-a) here too the surrounding consonants and vowels remain unchanged. Unlike partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (i-o) it prevails in Urdu only.

3.19(A) Alternation of Vowel (uu-aa) (English)

Not found in English

3.19 (B) Alternation of Vowel (uu-aa) (Urdu)

a) *bhuul bhaal* (noun) a mistake (FUED)

b) *dhuum dhaam* (noun) pomp; pomp and show; bustle (FUED)

Partial reduplication, in 3.19, involving alternation of vowel (uu-aa), though not frequent, is replacement of the vowel 'uu' with the vowel 'aa'. This vowel comes immediately after the initial consonant as in *bhuul bhaal*. Like partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (i-a) here too the surrounding consonants and vowels remain unchanged. This type, too, prevails in Urdu only and cannot be found in English.

3.20 (A) Alternation of Vowel (o-a) (English)

Not found in English

3.20 (B) Alternation of Vowel (o-a) (Urdu)

a) *bhola bhala* (adjective) simple; innocent; guileless (FUED)

3.20 depicts partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (o-a). Like partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (uu-aa) this type prevails in Urdu only, though it is not very frequent. In this type the vowel 'o' of the base word is alternated with vowel 'a'. This vowel comes after the first consonant 'bh' as in *bhola bhala*. Like partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (i-a) here too the surrounding consonants and vowels remain constant.

3.21 (A) Alternation of Vowel (u-aa) (English)

Not found in English

3.21 (B) Alternation of Vowel (u-aa) (Urdu)

b) *chup chaap* (adverb, adjective) silently; quietly; *adj* quite; silent (FUED)

Like partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (uu-aa) and partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (o-a), partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (u-aa) in 3.21 prevails in Urdu only and is not frequent. In this type the vowel 'u' of the base word is alternated with vowel 'aa'. This vowel too, like all other kinds, appears after the first consonant. Like partial reduplication involving alternation of vowel (i-a) here too the surrounding consonants and vowels remain unchanged.

It is quite clear from the above examples that partial reduplication in English and Urdu has both commonalities and differences. Initial consonant alternation, for instance, is found in both languages. Whereas, types like Alternation of vowel (i-a), Alternation of vowel (i-o) are found in English only and types like Alternation of vowel (ii-aa), Alternation of vowel (uu-aa), Alternation of vowel (o-a) and Alternation of vowel (u-aa) are found in Urdu only. Besides these, the following in 3.22, 3.23 and 3.24 are some other partial reduplicative expressions in English and Urdu:

3.22 Shm/Schm-Reduplication (English)

- a) baby shmaby
- b) time schmime
- c) Latin shmatin
- d) Oedipus shmoedipus
- e) deadlocks schmeadlocks

3.23 V-Reduplication (Urdu)

- a) *paani vaani* (noun) water and like
- b) *raag vaag* (noun) song, melody, etc and like
- c) *chaae vaae* (noun) tea and like
- d) *qalam valam* (noun) pen and like
- e) *harj varj* (noun) harm and like

‘Shm’ and ‘V’-reduplication are same as far as their formation is concerned: the initial consonant of the base word is replaced by ‘Schm/Shm’ and ‘V’ respectively and the reduplicant, for instance, *vaani* in *paani vaani* and *schmaby* in *baby schmaby*, is meaningless. But the two types differ in meaning or function: the V-reduplication, on the one hand, adds ‘and like’ to the denotative meanings of the base word (i.e. things/objects or food or state similar to that expressed by the base word), the Schm/Shm-reduplication, on the other hand, expresses dismissal, denial, derision, irony, etc. The two types, often, appear in spoken English and spoken Urdu.

Since English, according to Hutington (1997: 61), “is the world’s way of communicating interculturally just as the Christian calendar is the world’s way of tracking time” and in Pakistan is the Colonial legacy which has sunk its roots deep in the society, therefore, many Pakistanis, nowadays, are found reduplicating English words in the course of their day-to-day communication in the manner which mostly takes place in Urdu yet with a certain amount of code-switching as in 3.24:

3.24 Urduized Reduplication

- a) *Talk shawk* (talk, discussion and something like that) (Telenor advertisement)
- b) *Walk shawk* (walk and something like that) (Day-to-day communication)
- c) *Lunch vunch* (lunch and something like that) (Day-to-day communication)

3.1.3 Inflectional and Derivational Reduplication in English and Urdu

Like Agta, Yidin, Madurese, Papago and Yoruba reduplication, reduplication in English and Urdu is also both inflectional and derivational. It is inflectional in 3.25 for it conveys a grammatical function like forming past participles in English and derivational in 3.26 because it creates new words by changing the meaning of the root words in English and Urdu.

3.25 English Inflectional Reduplication

- a) pooh-pooh from pooh (OALD)
- b) tum-tum from tum (OALD)
- c) dividivi from divi (OALD)

3.25 English and Urdu Derivational Reduplication

- a) Chop vs chop (chop, a verb and chop-chop, an interjection) (OALD)
- b) do vs dodo (do, a verb and dodo, a noun) (OALD)
- c) *khel* vs *khel khel* (*khel*, a noun and *khel khel*, an adjective) (FUED)
- d) *maang* vs *maang taang* (*maang*, a verb and *maang taang*, a noun) (FUED)

3.2 Formation of Reduplicative Expressions in English and Urdu

There are certain ways in which the reduplicative expressions are formed in English and Urdu and in their formation we find striking similarities between both the languages. The two languages have two types of reduplication—full/total and partial: they form reduplicatives either by repeating an entire base word or a part of it. Similarly both make use of affixation (see chapter 4) and compounding in order to form reduplicative expressions. The similarities between the two languages call for further elucidation.

3.2.1 Reduplication and Compounding

Ample instances of reduplication are found in compounding—another word-forming process in morphology, wherein two same (i.e. two nouns etc.) or different (i.e. a noun and an adjective etc.) word classes are combined to form words. In the following examples of English and Urdu reduplication in 3.27, the word *hot pot*, for example, is formed by combining the adjective *hot* and the noun *pot* and the word *ronaa rona* is formed by joining the noun *ronaa* and the verb *rona*.

3.27 English (OALD & TCD)

- a) black jack (noun) a type of club used as a weapon, especially a metal pipe covered with leather (OALD)
- b) hot pot (noun) a stew of meat and vegetables cooked slowly in the oven in a dish in a dish with a lid (OALD)
- c) tip-top (noun) the extreme top; the height of excellence (TCD)
- d) wigwag (verb) to twist about; to signal by means of flags (TCD)

3.28 Urdu (FUED)

- a) *ronaa rona* (verb) to relate one's take of woe (FUED)
- b) *khel khel* (verb) without being noticed (FUED)
- c) *haathon haath* (verb) to receive one with all respects (FUED)
- d) *kaam kaaj* (noun) labour; industry; activity (FUED)

3.3 Syntactic Role of Reduplication

Like other words, full and partial reduplication of English and Urdu can be grouped together into a relatively small number of classes, called syntactic categories. First, in this section, an attempt has been made to indicate the word classes in which reduplication occurs. Thereafter, occurrence of reduplicative expressions at phrase and sentence level has been discussed emphasizing the way reduplicative expressions are combined with other words to form different types of phrases and sentences.

3.3.1 Word-Level Categories

English	Urdu
Noun: bonbon; boobo; beriberi; cancan; chi-chi; chow-chow; dividivi; furfur; goody-goody; mama; papa; pow-pow; puff-puff; pampam; tum-tum; wee-wee; ho-ho; ha-ha; humhum, etc.	Noun: <i>bachchah bachchah, pattaa pattaa, ghar ghar, mulkon mulkon; zarrah zarrah; mulk mulk; kinare kinare; barbar; burbur; bak bak; jhak jhak; band band; boti boti; bhaai bhaai; chhap chhap; ghat ghat, etc.</i>

<p>Adjective: fifty-fifty; go-go; so-so; tee-tee, etc.</p> <p>Adverb: so-so, fifty-fifty, etc.</p> <p>Verb: tut-tut; pooh-pooh; hush-hush, etc.</p> <p>Interjection: ta-ta; ho-ho; chop-chop; chin-chin; bye-bye; aye-aye, etc.</p>	<p>Adjective: <i>bare bare; kam kam; chhotte chhotte; kirchi kirchi; piyare piyare; sharminda sharminda; tukre tukre; saaf saaf; gande gande; thora thora; patle patle, tarh tarh; safed safed; ujle ujle, kaala kaala; chaar chaar; aath aath, etc.</i></p> <p>Adverb: <i>marte marte; larte larte; khushi khushi; bhagte bhagte; rote rote; sote sote; likhte likhte; lete lete; chalte chalte, etc.</i></p> <p>Pronoun: <i>jau jau; kuchh kuchh; apne apne; jis jis; kon kon; kis kis; kaise kaise; kiya kiya; kin kin, etc.</i></p> <p>Verb: <i>aa aa; badal badal; parhte parhte; kehte kehte</i> (according to Dr Maulvi Abdul Haq).</p> <p>Interjection: <i>waah waah</i></p>
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It is obvious, from the above examples, that reduplication occurs in almost all parts of speech, but it is more frequent in nouns and adjectives. In English it exists in nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and interjections and in Urdu it is found in nouns, verbs, adverbs, pronouns, adjectives and interjections.

Reduplicative nouns name entities such as individuals (*bachchah bachchah, mama, papa, etc.*) and objects (*pattaa pattaa, ghar ghar; yo-yo, etc.*). The typical function of reduplicative adjectives (*patle patle, safed safed, ujle ujle, fifty fifty, so-so, tee-tee, etc.*) is to designate a property or attribute of the entities denoted by nouns. Thus when we say *piyare piyare bachche* (very lovely children) or a *fifty-fifty chance of winning*, (an equal chance of winning or losing), we are attributing the property *piyare piyare* (very lovely) and *fifty-fifty* (an equal chance) to the *bachche* (children) and *chance* designated by the nouns. In a parallel way, reduplicative adverbs typically denote properties and attributes of the actions, sensations, and states designated by verbs. In the following sentences in 3.29, for example, the adverbs *chalte chalte* and *fifty-fifty* indicate the manner of Aslam's eating the food and division of the profits:

3.29

- a) *Aslam ne chalte chalte khhana khhaya.* (Aslam ate the food while walking)
- b) *Divide the profit on a fifty-fifty basis.*

Reduplicative interjections such as *waah waah, ho-ho, bye-bye, etc.* express sudden feelings and emotions. Reduplicative verbs like *pooh-pooh, hush-hush, tut-tut, kehte kehte, parhte parhte, etc.* are action words and indicate varied actions, though the

researcher believes that the Urdu reduplicative expressions like *aa aa*, *parhte parhte*, *chalte chalte* in 3.30 and some other expressions discussed in the second chapter on page 36 are not verbs; they are rather adverbs (adverbs of manner) and he substantiates his viewpoint by giving following examples in which *aa aa*, *parhte parhte* and *chalte chalte* are adverbs of manner:

3.30

- a) *makhkhian phuulon par aa aa kar baithti hen* (Bees sit on the flowers again and again).
- b) *wo parhte parhte andha ho gaya* (He read so much that became blind)
- c) *wo chalte chalte manzil e maqsood par puhanch gaya* (He kept on walking and reached at his destination)

3.3.2 Phrase-Level Structure

Like other languages, in English and Urdu phrases and sentences cannot be formed by joining words in a haphazard way. Their use must be appropriate and systematic. Rather, they have a proper syntactic order in which words are grouped together into larger structural units.

Reduplication of Urdu, unlike English, functions at both word and phrase levels. They do not need any specifiers or functional categories to co-occur with. Specifiers or functional categories are inherent in them. For instance, *bachchah bachchah*

means 'every child/all children', *chhotte chhotte* means 'very small', *jaldi jaldi* means 'very quickly'.

3.3.3 Sentence-Level Structure

According to O'Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1997: 191) "the largest unit of syntactic analysis is the sentence". Like all other English and Urdu sentences, sentences having reduplicative expressions entail a NP and a VP, i.e., they are the product of the ensuing rule:

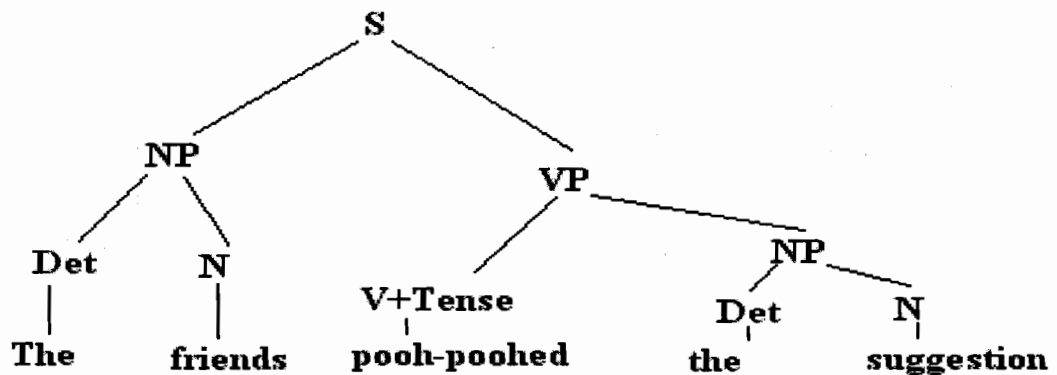
$S \rightarrow NP VP$ (O'Grady et.al: 191)

Examples

English

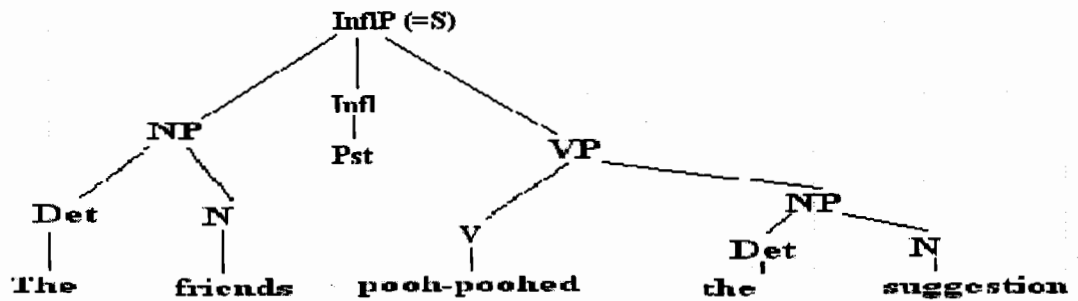
Figure E

The friends pooh-poohed the suggestion.



For O'Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1997:191) the S (sentence) in the tree diagram above is special because, unlike other phrases, it does not have an internal structure. However, many linguists now claim that S is like other phrases and has the structure depicted in the figure F below.

Figure F



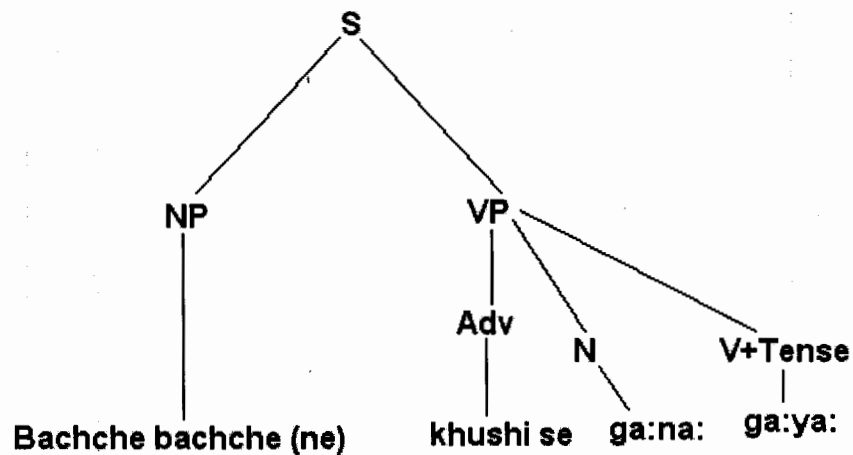
Here 'Infl', the short form for inflection, is the tense of the sentence in question and since it, like head, is obligatory; therefore, Infl takes a VP category as its complement and an NP (the subject) as its specifier. But this cannot be the case in the following sentence of Urdu because of the difference in word order.

Urdu

Bachche bachche ne khushi se gana gaya.

(Every child sang the song happily.)

Figure G



3.4 Semantic Role of Reduplication

Up to now, reduplication has been viewed from perspective of word-formation. Its syntactic role, up till sentence level, has also been focused upon. But there is more to reduplication than this. Reduplication, to fulfill its communicative function, must convey a message. It must have content. Generally speaking, we can call this message or content, the reduplication's meaning. Despite the fact that the phenomenon prevails in many languages and its linguistic productivity varies from language to language, reduplicatives of various languages share some semantic components. The meanings which recur cross-linguistically include intensity, increased quantity, scattering, plurality, diversity, member of a class, repetition, continuation, more than appropriate, diminution, endearment, contempt, attenuation, augmentation, similarity, derogation and habituality (Regier, 1994: 1). Similarly, reduplicatives of English and Urdu share some semantic components. Some of them are as under:

3.4.1 Repetition

Repetition is central to reduplication. In fact, all reduplication is repetition except for the two rules: i) for reduplication there needs to be a base word; and ii) a reduplicative should be a lexeme in itself. Since reduplication is a repetition of words, morphemes, syllables and sounds therefore we can say that English reduplicatives share the semantic component of repetition with those of Urdu as is evident in 3.31 and 3.32:

3.31 English (OALD)

goody-goody, fifty-fifty, pooh-pooh, etc.

3.32 Urdu (FUED)

nannhe nannhe, mulkon mulkon, kirchi kirchi, etc.

3.4.2 More than appropriate

The concept of more than appropriate is also often conveyed by reduplication. Urdu reduplicatives also helps in conveying the message correctly and appropriately. For example, if a person utters the following two sentences of 3.33 and 3.34:

3.33

i. *Sab ki apni qismat hei.*

(All have their own fate.)

ii. *Sab ki apni apni qismat hei.*

(All have their own fate.)

The sentence *b* seems to be or rather is more appropriate in Urdu.

Similarly, in English if one wants to say that the person is rich and powerful, one will say:

3.34

a) He is a fat cat.

instead of

b) He is fat.

3.4.3 Emphasis/Intensity

The phenomenon of reduplication is often used to express emphasis or intensity. Urdu reduplicatives, especially, are well-known for this. In sentence 3.35, for example, the reduplicative *lambe lambe* has been used to emphasize the length of hair.

3.35

Us ke lambe lambe baal hein.

(She has a very long hair.)

Similarly in sentence 3.36 the girl's fairness is being emphasized through the reduplicative expression *gora gora*.

3.36

Larki ka gora gora rung us ki khuubsurti me izaafa kar rahaa hei.

(The girl's fair colour is adding to her beauty.)

Repetition, instead of reduplication, is employed to convey emphasis or intensity in English. The intensification signifier in English is shown as in "a big big man", "Let it cool till it's thick thick" (from Sapir). The most remarkable thing in Sapir (1921: 79) is as follows:

...Such locutions as a big big man or let it cool till it's thick thick are far more common, especially in the speech of women and children, than our linguistic textbooks would lead one to suppose. In a class by themselves are the really enormous number of words, many of them sound-imitative or contemptuous in psychological tone, that consist of duplications with either change of the vowel or change of the initial consonant.

The researcher believes the "big big" and "thick thick" is not reduplication, because for reduplication it is essential for reduplicatives to be meaningful lexemes in themselves. It is rather repetition of the words "big" and "thick". However, there can be reduplicatives like *go-go* footballer (very good, lively footballer) in English through which emphasis or intensity can be expressed.

3.4.4 Lack of Control

When things get out of our control, we resort to the expressions that could express our feelings effectively. In English and Urdu there are reduplicatives, such as in 3.37 and 3.38, that can help us in this regard. Thus we can say that English reduplicatives also share the semantic component of lack of control with those of Urdu reduplicatives.

3.37 English (OALD & TCD)

hanky-panky, hubbub, boohoo, pell-mell etc.

3.38 Urdu (FUED)

chiikh chiikh, rau rau, ulat-palat, etc.

3.4.5 Scatter/Spread out

Lack of control often results in scattering or spreading out. The image of an insane or uncontrollable person tossing things here and there may help us in making this relationship real. English and Urdu reduplicatives also convey the notion of scattering or spreading out like in 3.39 and 3.40:

3.39 English (OALD & TCD)

rag-bag, mishmash, rip-rap, etc.

3.40 Urdu (FUED)

tukre tukre, rezah rezah, zarah zarah, kirchi kirchi, etc.

3.4.6 Contempt

Like other feelings, the feeling of hatred and contempt is also conveyed through the use of words. We often resort to the use of reduplication to express such feelings of

ours. English and Urdu reduplicatives are very rich for such expressions. See the following English and Urdu examples in 3.41 and 3.42 expressing such feelings:

3.41 English (OALD & TCD)

booboo, chi-chi, dum-dum, nana, pooh-pooh, tut-tut, deadhead, nitwit, whim-wham, time shmime, baby-shmaby, immature, etc.

3.42 Urdu (FUED)

bad batin, bad bakht, bad buu, bad biin, etc.

3.4.7 Non-Uniformity

Non-uniformity is also sometimes conveyed through the use of reduplication. In fact, it is usually stated in English and Urdu, as is obvious in 3.43 and 3.44, through both full and partial reduplication, though mostly through partial reduplication.

3.43 English (OALD & TCD)

hurly-burly, hubbub, mish-mash, crinkle-crinkle, zig-zag, etc.

3.44 Urdu (FUED)

tarah tarah, garbar, etc.

3.4.8 Affection

Affection is also sometimes expressed by reduplication. In the ensuing sentences in 3.45 and 3.46, for instance, affection is conveyed through the reduplicatives *befriended* (reduplication as suffixation), *piyare piyare* and *mel jol*:

3.45 English

They befriended the young girl, giving her food and shelter.

3.46 Urdu

- a) *Piyare piyare bachchon ne Saddar ko phool paish kiye.*
- b) *Ache ache logon se mel jol barhao*

3.4.9 Attenuation

Attenuation is the act of making something thin or reducing the force or value of something. English and Urdu reduplicatives also share this semantic component. See the following examples in 3.47 and 3.48:

3.47 English (TCD)

- a) *tee-tee, etc.*

3.48 Urdu (FUED)

- a) *patle patle, kam kam, etc.*

3.4.10 Surface and Deep Meanings

In most cases the meaning of phrases having reduplication is obvious, that is, it is on the surface. Such as in 3.49:

3.49

barre barre ha:th

(Quiet/very big hands)

chhote chhote bachche

(Quiet small/little children)

gande gande tamaatar

(Quiet/very dirty tomatoes)

In contrast, in number of cases, the meaning of such phrases does not follow from their structure. It is underlying as in 3.50:

3.50

phuunk phuunk kar qadam rakhna.

(Very careful in doing or planning something.)

gahr gahr chiraagh jalna.

(Expansion or enlightenment of something)

dane dane par mohar hoti hei.

(One eats whatever is in one's fate)

pattaa pattaa khushi se jhuum rahaa hei.

(happiness prevails everywhere)

Similarly, English reduplication also gives denotative as well as connotative meanings. The meanings of *dodo* (OALD) (a large bird, now extinct, that was unable to fly) and *fifty-fifty* (OALD) (shared or sharing equally between two) are on the surface, but there are expressions in English like LEAVING-leaving, SALAD-salad, AUCKLAND-Auckland, which have specific or deep meanings. For instance, LEAVING-leaving means really leaving; SALAD-Salad means green salad not any other kind of salad; RICH-rich means rich by some particular standard; and AUCKLAND-Auckland means the city in Newzealand.

3.4.11 Collocation

In Urdu, reduplication (full or partial) is necessary for collocation. Sometimes, we repeat the word because if we add any other word to the base word it may not

collocate with it or may change the meaning of the phrase/sentence. For instance, we say *thori thori samaj not thori ziyaada sama*j then lambe lambe larke not lambe chhote larke**, etc. Similarly in English we say *goody-goody not goody-bady**. In short, in reduplication we combine those words only that make some sense.

3.4.12 Reduplication and Some Other Functions

Besides, the above-mentioned functions, Urdu reduplication creates a sense of *everyone, whole and both*. It also expresses difference, insistence, diminution, paucity, excess/abundance of something, continuity of action etc. Some examples are as under:

Everyone: *ghar ghar; bars ke bars*

Whole: *khandaan ka khadaan; qaum ki qaum*

Both: *aadmi ka aadmi he aur bandar ka bandar*

Difference: *mulk mulk; shehr shehr*

Insistence: *baar baar; jaa jaa*

Diminution: *kuchh kuchh; halka halka*

Paucity: *baat ki baat*

Excess/abundance: *jhund ke jhund; ghol ke ghol; revar ke revar*

Continuity of action: *kinare kinare; saath saath*

All this is attained in English language in a different way. The sense of everyone, whole and both is created by employing words like *every, all* (everyone), *metonymy* (e.g. fifteen heads refers to whole persons or animals (whole) and *both* (both). For

insistence and difference in English, at times, repetition is used, especially in the language of daily conversation such as *yes yes, no no* etc. Its instances can also be found in poetry such as *water water everywhere..., out out brief candle....* For paucity, English employs the reduplicative *titbit*. For exaggeration, for instance, Shakespeare uses the following expressions:

Why, man, if the river were dry, I'm able to fill it with my tears; ... (The Two Gentlemen of Verona)

Here is the smell of blood still, all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand (Macbeth)

The language of literature is different from the language of everyday use (i.e. from the language used in telephone books, legal documents etc.) To achieve literariness writers use artistic language, that is, figures of speech, symbols, images etc. For literariness reduplicative expressions can also be employed. The researcher believes that the following are some of the other reasons or principles for using reduplication in English and Urdu:

- 1) At times, words are repeated for the sake of ease and flow in speech.
- 2) Reduplication is the legacy of English and Urdu speakers left by their ancestors. Since they had been using it that is why it is being used even today.
- 3) Words are repeated, entirely or partly, to create sonic or poetic effect (for example rhyming reduplication or onomatopoeic words) in the diction and as

it has already been said that writers use it for emphasis and intensification. See the following poem and an extract from the books titled *Intiha-e-Shab* by Partau Rohaila and *Mein+Mein* by Shafiq Anjum, wherein reduplicative expressions have frequently been used.

Poem by Partau Rohaila

*Gham uthaya hei teray piyaar men kitnaa kitnaa
Saanihah jaan pe guzra hei tau kaisa kaisa*

*Ek suurat nazar aati hei jau basti basti
Ek chehrra jo liye phirta hei sahraa sahraa*

*Tor diin tund hawaun ne tanaabein sari
Khak se lag gaya ummid ka khaimah khaimah*

*Waqt ke shakh pe bhiga hua kapra hoon mei
Jis se tapke hei meri jaan ka qatrah qatrah*

*Kesi shab hei ke darakhaun pe parinde jagay
Siskiyaan leta utha khawab se bachchah bachchah*

*Apni taleef ko ab mangay hei daftar daftar
Wo kahani ke jau marquum hei chehrra chehrra*

*Khawab ke aisay manazir hein nazar par tari
Shehr beidar nazar aata hei soya soya*

*Eik thokar thee sar e manzil gham khai thee
Har qadam aaj talak parta hei behka behka*

*Zabt ke hukm ne zakhmi kiya pehlu pehlu
Shikwa e ishq siwa phela hei siina siina*

*Mein wo sarkash hoon ke pewand e zamiin bhi ho jaun
Asman par ho meri khak ka zara zara*

(Rohaila, 2008: 239-40)

Excerpt from Main + Main by Shafiq Anjum

... ke main apna aap ssarre ka saaraa uss ke saamne ... aur uss ko apne upar puure ka puura orh kar alif se ye tak azalon azali ... laikin lafz andar hi andar dob rahe hein ... kinaron se chup chaap usse take chala jata hoon bas takay chala jata hoon.

...bhiini bhiini khusbuu pattion se nikal kar ...har har chiz bohat qariine aur saliiqe se...laikin kame ke andar waqt ki tik tik raat aur din ke bain bain goyaa tham si gayi hei ...aur bohat sambhal sambhal kar pahluu pe pahluu badalta hei ...aur un ke biichoon biich main aur wo ek khumar ...aur soch ke lahre bar bar ban bigar rahe thay ...aur wo wagfe wagfe se ek lambi aur gahri ...ek duusre ko takte hein, khuub khuub taktay hein aur muztrib ho kar nazarain chura leite hein ...ah uss ki aankhain keh wajd aaver chhalakti kashish se laba lab bhari hui hein aur uss ke hont keh jin se qatra qatra shiriin ras ...ik madhar taan keh samaoton men uttar uttar raqs kare. Main usse lafz lafz parrhna, satar satar jazb karna aur harf harf likhna chahta hoon ...bohat tool tawiil rafaqtoon ke bawajuud bhi wo mere ...qurb ke iss tasalsal ko shumar karta hoon tau waqt bhar bhari ...zindagi ki thos faslain pighal pighal shifaf ...aur iss se bhi paray jahan jahan nazar parhti hei. Main aur wo saath saath hein ...pehle parrau dar parrau, silsala dar silsala phaila hua hei ...ah khurach khurach khurachnay se bhi maluum ...

(Anjum: 2008: 16-7)

3.5 Conclusion

It is quite evident from the preceding discussion that both English and Urdu reduplication share certain features: both have full and partial reduplication; both form reduplicatives almost in similar ways, that is, either by repeating entire root words or by repeating their part or by adding affixes (prefixes, suffixes) or by combining different word classes (compounding); reduplicatives of both the languages occur in most of the word classes, although they are more frequent in nouns and adjectives; both share semantic components such as repetition, more than appropriate, emphasis/intensity, lack of control, scatter/spread, contempt, non-uniformity, affection, attenuation, surface and deep meanings, collocation, etc. English reduplication is both similar and dissimilar to that of Urdu reduplication.

However, English and Urdu reduplicatives are dissimilar in that Urdu reduplicatives function at both word and phrase levels; they differ, to some extent, in their types and semantic components like everyone, whole, both, difference, insistence, diminution, paucity, excess and continuity of action.

Chapter 4

Reduplication in English and Urdu and Autosegmental Theory

The purpose of this chapter is to account for the phenomenon of reduplication in English and Urdu in autosegmental framework and explore the various reduplicative patterns prevalent in these two languages. To do so the researcher has selected some affixal reduplicatives (reduplicatives formed by adding prefixes or suffixes) from the lists given in the appendices, though all types of reduplicatives can easily be explained in this (autosegmental) framework.

4.1 Autosegmental Theory

As we saw in chapter 2 that autosegmental theory, put forward by John Goldsmith in his PhD thesis, was basically a theory of tone languages (particularly African tone languages) wherein the tonal characteristics of a word are separated from the segmental tier and demonstrated on an individual tier. Goldsmith suggested a two-tiered representation in which tones are mapped to tone-bearing segments according to some principles. The main point here is that each phonological representation has its own properties and is not just a series of segments. Rather, it comprises a sequence of segments, a string of other elements, called autosegments, and a particular linking between them. To put it simply, in a phonological representation there can be a series of consonants and vowels, a sequence of tones, indicating

which tones are associated to which vowels. Such a representation, having more than one line of phonological components, is called nonlinear.

For a number of morphologists the archetypal processes have been affixation (linear), of the sort discovered in agglutinating languages (languages having long and multimorphemic words wherein each morpheme corresponds to a single lexical meaning or grammatical function). However, a lot of phenomena (including some found in Indo-European languages) do not comply with this Item-and-Arrangement model. Very often it looks as if it is not a morpheme but a phonological replacement that states the morphological class. We have seen this for tone, stress, vowel length and other prosodic properties, as well as processes influencing the phonological formation of a root like mutations (i.e. word-initial alternations in consonants) of Nivkh, or apophony (i.e. a change in the vowel of the root), found in English forms such as sing – sang – sung – song. All these types of processes create difficulties for a naive form of IA.

The Semitic languages pose a tough challenge to so-called linear approaches of word formation. The problem that a linear IA theory has with these languages was employed by advocates of the generative form of the Item-and-Process model as line of reasoning against IA. Nevertheless, underlying representations still take the form of linearly concatenated sequences of morphemes. John McCarthy questioned this assumption in his 1979 doctoral dissertation.

McCarthy (1982) applied the principles of Autosegmental theory to the problem of root-and-pattern morphology to bring into being a theory of nonconcatenative morphology. In his work, he discusses Arabic words that are formed from a trilateral root, having three consonants, in which are inserted vowels. He adds that in such an analysis the consonants of a root morpheme are shown on one tier, and, the vowels on another. Each form of an Arabic verb is linked with a unique prosodic template slots. Association rules are modelled on the Well-Formedness Conditions of autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1976a, b). Lines between segments and the prosodic template slots allude to the association of segments to their CV slots.

4.2 English and Urdu Reduplication and Affixation

Following McCarthy's proposal, Marantz (1982) develops a theory which has had a great effect on succeeding research into reduplication. Andrew Spencer (1921) is of view that Marantz sees reduplication as a special case of affixational morphology but that what is prefixed, suffixed or infixes is a CV skeleton, or prosodic template. Many researchers have taken up the suggestion by Marantz that all reduplication, whether partial or total, is the affixation of a morpheme, which is phonologically skeletal. Lacking a segmental substance of its own, the reduplicative affix is animated by copying the segmental content of the root and associating it to the affixal CV template respecting the conventions of linking familiar from autosegmental phonology.

4.2.1 English and Urdu Reduplication as Prefixation

The researcher believes that the same theory (developed by Marantz) can also be applied to the reduplicatives of English and Urdu to indicate the prevalence of reduplication in affixation. In 4.2 below (English reduplication as prefixation), for instance, the /ri:/, and /r/, of the root words /ru:t/, /ri:d/, and /rʌn/ are repeated in the prefixes of /ri:ru:t/, /ri:ri:d and /ri:r n/. However, /ri:rʌn/ and /ri:ru:t/ exemplify the condition C, imposed by Marantz, which allows melody components to be preconnected or prelinked to C or V slots, before the function of the customary linking procedures. The vowel /ʌ/ and /u:/ of the phoneme melodies in /rʌn/ and /ru:t/ are unable to link to the V slots of the reduplicative affix as these slots are preassociated to /i:/ vowel.

4.2 Reduplication as Prefixation (English)

- a) reroute /ri:ru:t/ (formed of the word route /ru:t/)
- b) rerun /ri:rʌn/ (formed of the word run /rʌn/)
- c) reread /ri:ri:d/ (formed of the word read /ri:d/)

All this can be described using morpheme templates, where it is supposed that verbs, in English, are formed by prefixing CV on the morpheme template tier (i.e. CV-skeletal tier). It is quite evident from the figures H, I, and J on the subsequent pages that at the beginning of inflection, there is no consonant or vowel segments attachment to the C and V slots. Later in the next steps (i.e. steps B and C) the phonemic melody is copied completely and phonemes associate in a one-to-one fashion. Then in step D left-to-right association, which is the norm in prefixes, is done. It (step D) also illustrates the preassociation or prelinking of V or C slots.

Finally in step E all unassociated or unattached elements are deleted using universal convention. It is quite obvious from this discussion that English reduplication as prefixation is leftward. In leftward English reduplication, in fact, a syllable or a morpheme is added to a stem to form a new lexical item. In leftward English reduplication there is mainly one pattern: #CV—. Here, in this chapter, phonemic forms are used for phonological representations, though, according to Katamba (1993), they can also be explained employing orthographic forms, unless and until they create any confusion.

Figure H

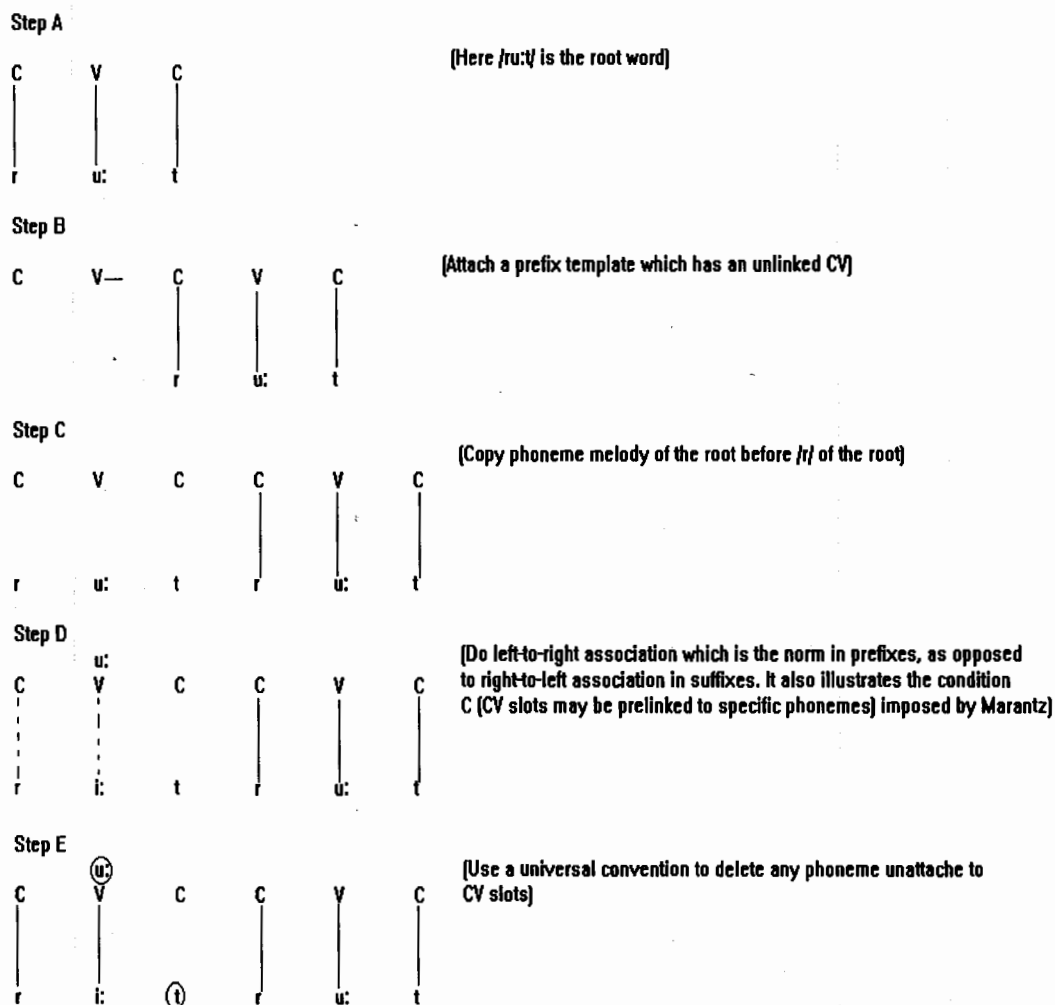
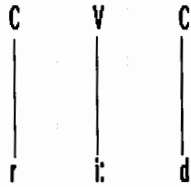


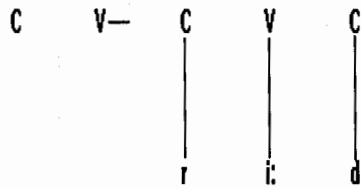
Figure I

Step A



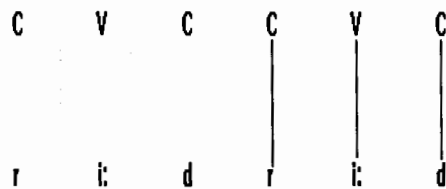
[Here /ri:d/ is the root word]

Step B



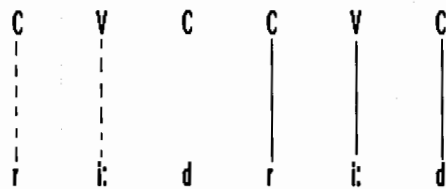
[Attach a prefix template which has an unlinked CV slots]

Step C



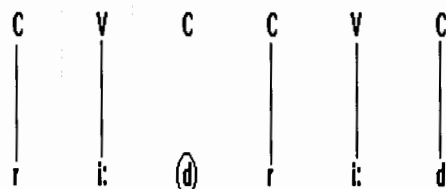
[Copy phoneme melody of the root before /r/ of the root]

Step D



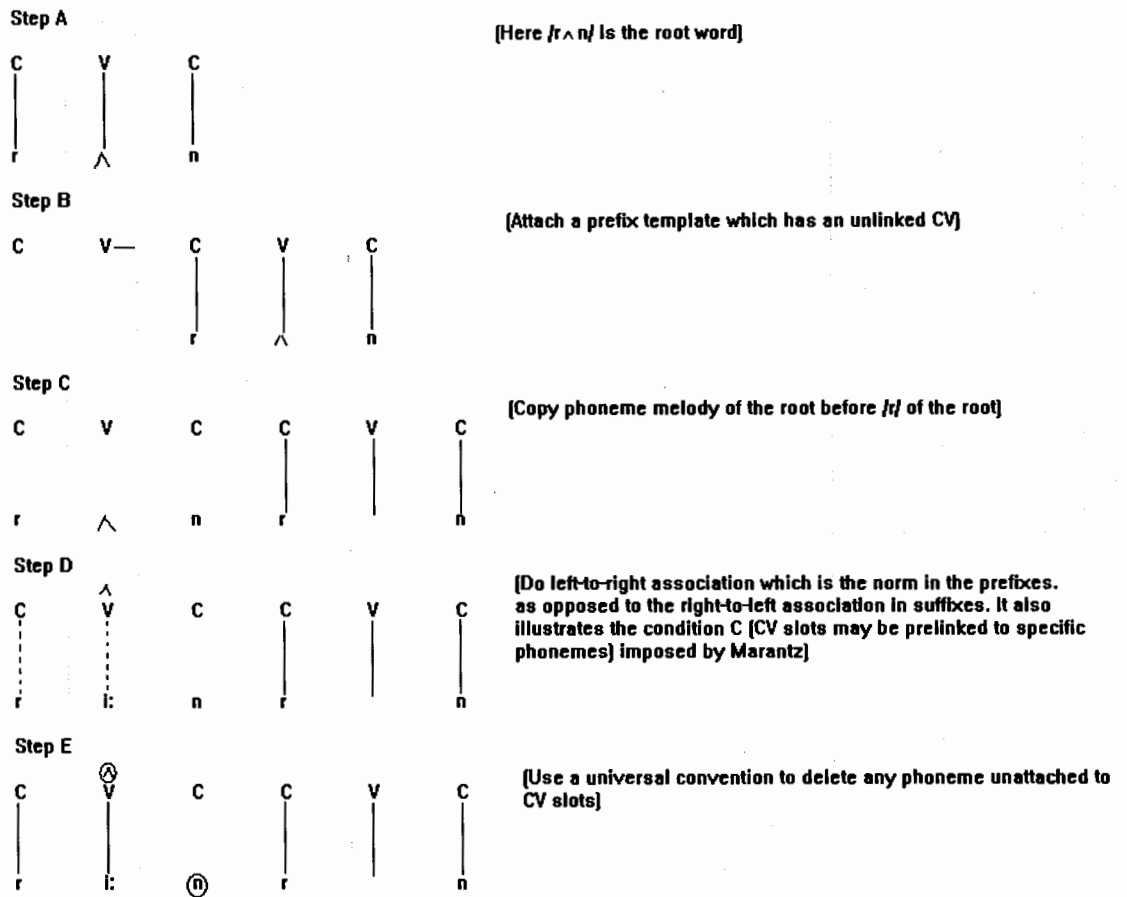
[Do left-to-right association which is the norm in prefixes, as opposed to the right-to-left association in the suffixes.]

Step E



[Use a universal convention to delete any phoneme unattached to CV slots]

Figure J



Similarly, in Urdu reduplication as prefixation of 4.3 below, the letters *be*, *b* and *ba* of *behra*, *bak*, *badal* and *bakht* are repeated in the prefixes of *bebehra*, *beba:k*, *bebadal* and *badbakht*. The latter (*beba:k*, *bebadal* and *badbakht*), like /r ʌ n/ of 4.2, exemplify the condition C imposed by Marantz.

4.3 Reduplication as Prefixation (Urdu)

- a) *bebehra* (not knowing anything)formed of the word *behra*
- b) *beba:k* (brave; fearless etc.)formed of the word *ba:k*
- c) *bebadal* (that cannot be changed)formed of the word *badal*
- d) *badbakht* (unfortunate; pitiful etc.)formed of the word *bakht*

Again all this can be described using morpheme templates where it is supposed that adjectives in Urdu are formed by prefixing CV or CVC on the morpheme template tier (i.e. CV-skeletal tier). The figures K and L show that in step B a prefix template is added. Then in step C segmental melody is copied. Thereafter, left-to-right association, which is the norm in prefixes, is done. In the same step (i.e. step D) preassociation or prelinking, if done, is illustrated. Finally, using universal convention, all superfluous segments are deleted. Unlike English leftward reduplication, the most frequent patterns in Urdu leftward reduplication are #CVC— and #CV—, as in the reduplicatives *badbakht*, *bebehra* and *bebak*. However, like English leftward reduplication, Urdu leftward reduplication is also syllabic and morphemic.

Figure K

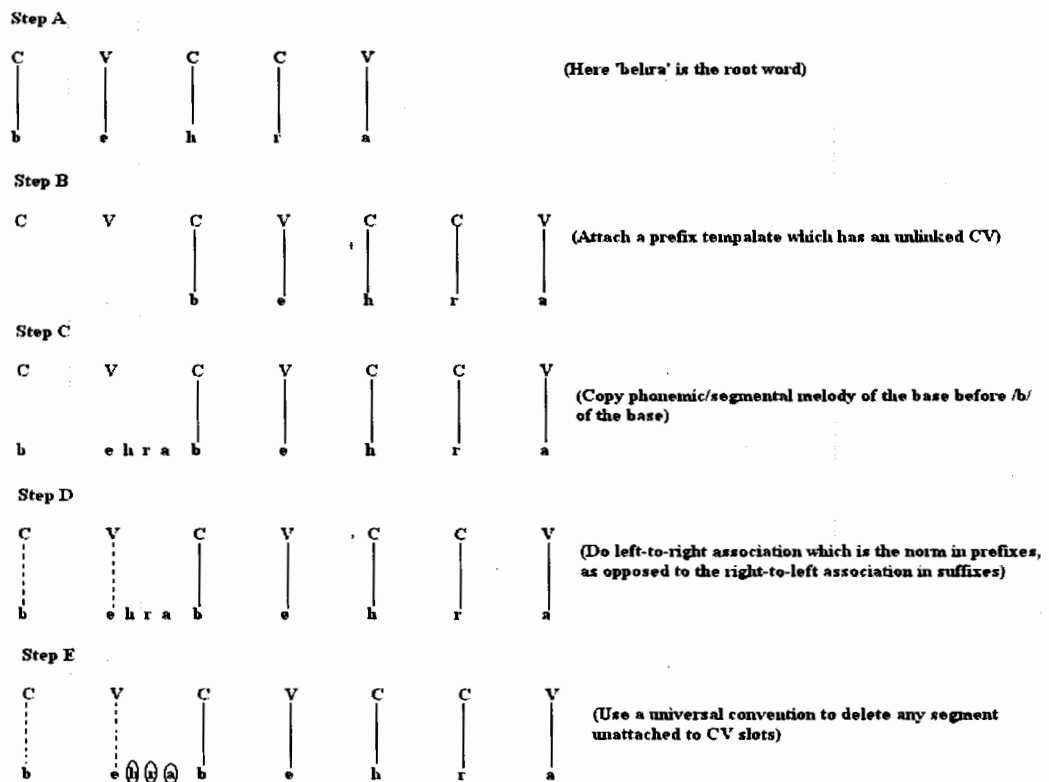
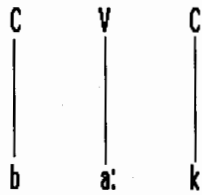


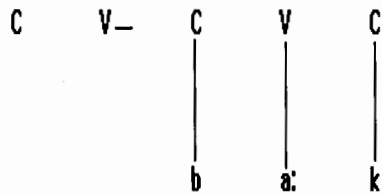
Figure L

Step A



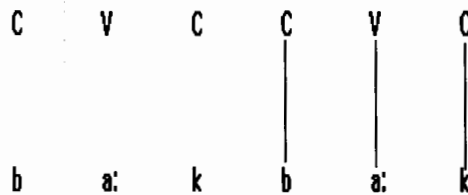
(Here 'bak' is the root word)

Step B



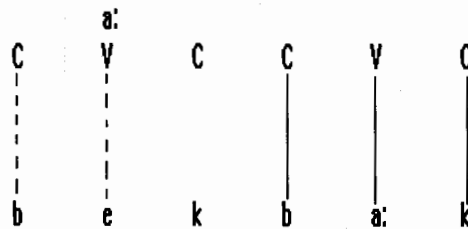
(Attach a prefix template which has an unlinked CV)

Step C



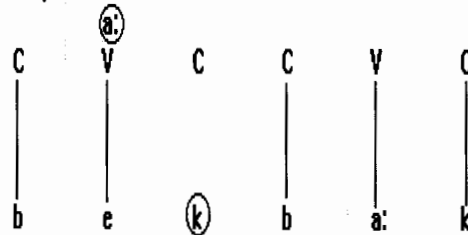
(Copy phoneme melody of the root before /b/ of the root)

Step D



(Do left-to-right association which is the norm in prefixes, as opposed to right-to-left association in suffixes. It also illustrates the condition C (CV slots may be prelinked to specific phonemes) imposed by Marantz)

Step E



(Use a universal convention to delete any phonemes unattached to CV slots)

4.2.2 English and Urdu Reduplication as Suffixation

Katamba (1993: 189), in *Morphology*, cites Welmers, who is of view that in Saho, a typical Cushitic language, plurals are formed by attaching a reduplicative suffix. Such reduplication, no doubt, is inflectional. He adds that this reduplicative suffix usually contains the vowel /o/, although some nouns have a vowel other than /o/ as in 4.4 below:

4.4.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	boodo (hole)	boodad (holes)
	rado (animal hide)	radod (animal hides)

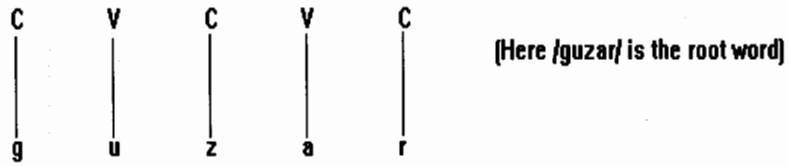
The researcher believes that there is a similar process in Urdu, as is obvious from 4.5 below, in which Urdu forms words by attaching a reduplicative suffix. In 4.5 below, the segments *g* and *a* of *guzar* and *gunah* are repeated in (*guzar gah*, *gunah gar*). The words *gunah* and *guzar* of Urdu also illustrate the condition C imposed by Marantz: the final C slots on prosodic template tier are prelinked with *h* and *r* (see figures M and N below). The only pattern found in rightward Urdu reduplication so far is –CVC#, though there may be more if it is further explored. Like leftward Urdu reduplication, rightward Urdu reduplication is also syllabic and morphemic.

4.5 Reduplication as Suffixation (Urdu)

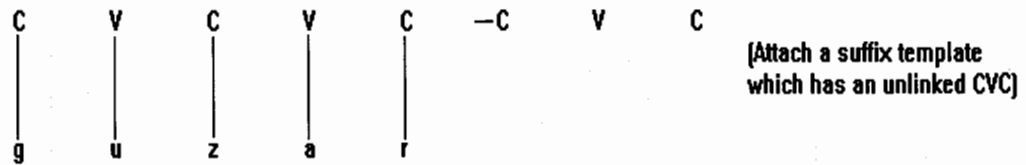
- a) *guzargah* (formed of the word *guzar*)
- b) *gunahgar* (formed of the word *gunah*)

Figure M

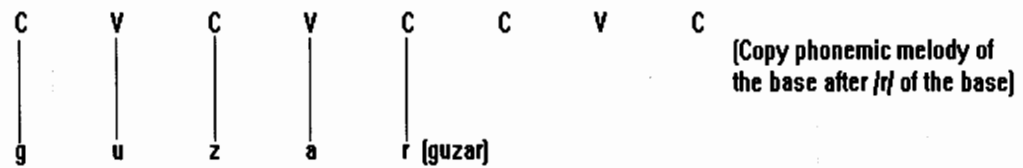
Step A



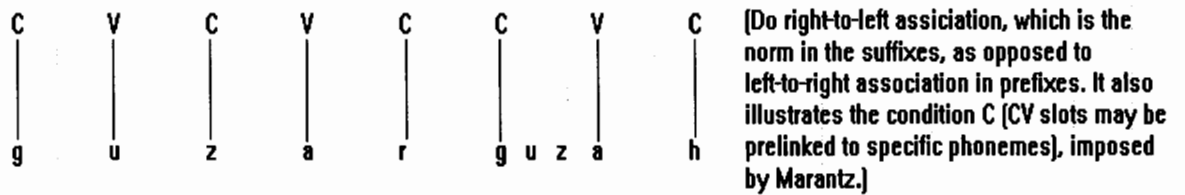
Step B



Step C



Step D



Step E

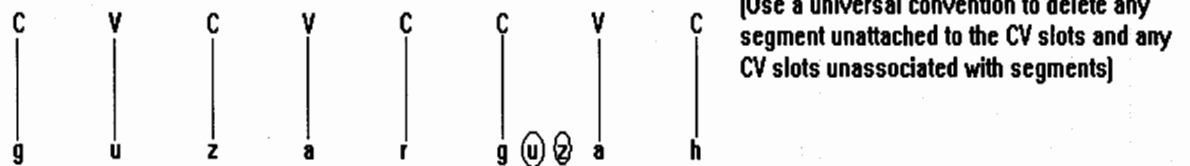
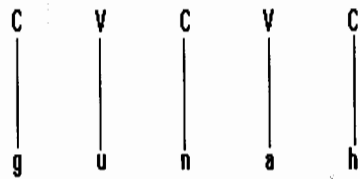


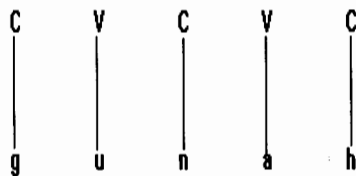
Figure N

Step A



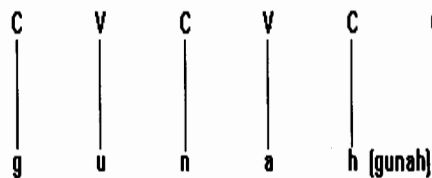
[Here /gunah/ is the root word]

Step B



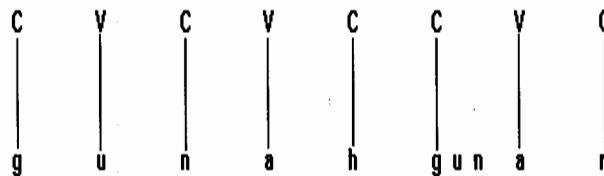
[Attach a suffix template which has an unlinked CVC]

Step C



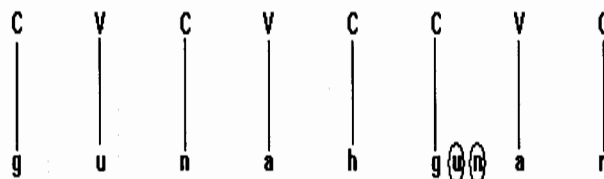
[Copy phonemic melody of the base after /h/ of the base]

Step D



[Do right-to-left association, which is the norm in the suffixes, as opposed to left-to-right association in prefixes. It also illustrates the condition C (CV slots may be prelinked to specific phonemes), imposed by Marantz]

Step E



[Use a universal convention to delete any segment unattached to the CV slots and any CV slots unassociated with segments]

Similarly in English past and past participle forms of regular verbs that end in /d/ are formed by adding a reduplicative suffix. In case of English the reduplicative suffix usually contains a vowel /ɪ/ which is followed by a copy of the last stem consonant /d/. For instance, the final consonant /d/ of *fund* /fʌnd/, *land* /lənd/ and *load* /ləʊd/ is repeated in the suffix -ed /ɪd/ in past and past participle forms (*funded* /fʌndɪd/, *landed* /ləndɪd/ and *loaded* /ləʊdɪd/). Like English reduplication as prefixation, English reduplication as suffixation can also be explained using morpheme templates, where it is supposed that past and participle forms of regular verbs ending in /d/ are formed by suffixing a reduplicative suffix. However, the researcher does not want to make this a part of his thesis because it is somewhat controversial and debatable.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that the phenomenon of reduplication in English and Urdu, like some other languages, can be accounted for in autosegmental framework. Here, we have discovered that reduplication in English and Urdu is leftward and rightward. In leftward English reduplication the pattern is #CV—, whereas, in leftward Urdu they are #CVC— and #CV—. On the other hand, in rightward English reduplication the pattern is —CV#, but in rightward Urdu it is —CVC# (Urdu). Both types (leftward and rightward), in fact, add a syllable or a morpheme to the root word. In rightward English reduplication a syllable is formed by combining the last consonant of the root with the affix. The next chapter concludes the study.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The study aimed to prove that reduplicatives of English can be compared and contrasted to those of Urdu. For this purpose, comprehensive lists of English and Urdu reduplicative expressions were prepared. The expressions included in these lists are primarily those which have been recorded by the following three standard dictionaries: *The Chambers Dictionary* (TCD), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD), and *Ferozosns Urdu English Dictionary* (FUED). Examples of *contrastive focus reduplication* and *shm-reduplication* have been taken from the two research articles (Ghomeshi et.al: 2004 and Southern: 2005) published in international journals of repute. For the researcher, the prime aim of this study was to find out answers to the following questions:

- a. What types of reduplication occur in English and Urdu? (Types)
- b. What are the various ways of reduplicating in English and Urdu? (Formation)
- c. How does reduplication affect the meanings in English and Urdu? (Function)
- d. How is reduplication similar or dissimilar in English and Urdu? (Comparison and contrast)
- e. Can the phenomenon of reduplication in English and Urdu be accounted for in autosegmental framework?

As far as the answer to question 'a' is concerned, i.e. about the types of reduplication in English and Urdu, the study found that there are two types of reduplication: full reduplication and partial reduplication. Full reduplication, in both the languages, is

further divided into exact reduplication i.e. repetition of the stem or root word, and reduplication involving addition of phonemes (for examples see chapter 4). Similarly, partial reduplication, in English and Urdu, is also subdivided into types which involve alternation of initial consonants, alternation of vowel (i-a), alternation of vowel (i-o), alternation of vowel (ii-aa), alternation of vowel (uu-aa), alternation of vowel (o-a) and alternation of vowel (u-a). In addition to these, the partial reduplication in English is similar to Urdu in that both have types, termed as Schm/Shm reduplication and V-reduplication, which are alike in their formation i.e. the initial consonant of the base word is replaced by 'Schm/Shm' and 'V', and the latter part in both the languages is meaningless. However, in meaning or function these two types differ. The V-Reduplication, on the one hand, adds 'and like' to the denotative meanings of the base word (i.e. things/objects or food or state similar to that expressed by the base word). The Schm/Shm-Reduplication, on the other hand, expresses dismissal, denial, derision, irony, etc.

As for question 'b', i.e. various ways of reduplication in English and Urdu, the study discovered that reduplicatives are formed either by repeating an entire base word or a part of it. Moreover, in both the languages, there are reduplicative expressions which involve addition of some more phonemes besides the repetition of whole base word. In addition to this, in both the languages reduplicative expressions are also formed by adding prefixes or suffixes to the beginnings and endings of the base words. Furthermore, the instances of English and Urdu reduplication are also similar in that they are found in another morphological process called compounding. In compound

words (words formed by combining two same or different parts of speech) the two same (noun + noun) or different word classes (noun + adjective), employed to form a compound word, share nearly same sounds (for examples see chapter 3) which provides us with a clear proof of existence of reduplication in compounding.

Syntactically, reduplicative expressions of English, like reduplicatives of Urdu, can be grouped together into relatively small number of classes or parts, called syntactic categories. While English reduplicatives occur in word classes like noun, adjective, verb, adverb, interjection etc., the Urdu reduplicatives appear in parts of speech such as noun, adjective, adverb, pronoun, verb and interjection. However, their prevalence in both the languages is more frequent in noun and adjective forms (for examples see chapter 3).

Like other English and Urdu word classes, English and Urdu reduplicatives are combined with other words to form phrases, clauses and sentences. The combination of these parts is not a haphazard heap of individual items. Rather they are juxtaposed in a few well-defined patterns. They have a proper syntactic order in which words are grouped together into larger structural units.

English and Urdu reduplicatives are dissimilar in that Urdu reduplicatives function at both word and phrase levels. It does not need any specifiers or functional categories to co-occur with. Specifiers or functional categories are inherent in them. For

instance, *bachchah bachchah* means 'every child/all children', *chhotte chhotte* means 'very small', *barre barre* means 'very big', and *jaldi jaldi* means 'very quickly'.

At sentence level, in both the languages, sentences having reduplicative expressions must contain a noun and a verb phrase (NP, VP). In English, 'Infl', the short form for inflection, represents the tense of the sentence under discussion and it, like head, is mandatory. 'Infl' takes a VP category as its complement and an NP (the subject) as its specifier; but this is not the case in Urdu because of the different word order.

With regard to question 'c', the study explored that reduplicatives, when joined with other words and phrases, perform different functions. Functions of Urdu reduplicatives are more than the functions of English reduplication. English and Urdu reduplicatives are alike in that they both share semantic components such as repetition, more than appropriate, emphasis, lack of control, scatter, contempt, non-uniformity, affection, attenuation, surface and deep meanings and collocation. However, they are entirely different as far as the semantic components, like everyone, whole, both, difference, insistence, diminution, paucity, excess and continuity of action, are concerned.

Regarding question 'e', the study found that the phenomenon of reduplication in English and Urdu could easily be accounted for in autosegmental framework. In this regard, the contribution of Marantz was exploited who had proposed the four conditions, given in chapter 2, page 20, on the linking of melody tier to prosodic

template. After the examination, it was established that reduplication in English and Urdu as affixation is leftward and rightward. While the main pattern in leftward English reduplication is #CV—, the main patterns in leftward Urdu reduplication are #CVC and #CV. Rightward English and Urdu reduplication, on one hand, are dissimilar in that rightward English reduplication has the pattern #CV, whereas, rightward Urdu has #CVC. On the other hand, leftward and rightward English and Urdu reduplication are similar in that both add a syllable to a root word. English rightward reduplication, unlike Urdu, adds a syllable by taking the last phoneme from the root word. The researcher does not claim that the patterns discussed above are the only patterns, there may be some more if the topic is further explored or a detailed examination is carried out.

In a nutshell, the researcher believes that he has made a serious attempt to make morphology in general and the phenomenon of reduplication in particular known to the students and teachers of language. The study can potentially lead to a better understanding of the morphological/syntactic operations and functions of both Urdu and English. It will, he also believes, help students and teachers improve their vocabulary and language teaching techniques. It is likely to dispel some of the deep-rooted misconceptions regarding the phenomenon of reduplication in both the languages. As already noted above, reduplication is a process of word-formation and as such it has a vital and resuscitating role to play in order to keep a language alive and functioning and the frequent use of reduplicatives in Urdu is the best proof of it. English reduplicatives, as has been mentioned in chapter 3, are rarely used in daily

communication, but the phenomenon, no doubt, is there. So, we should never belittle the relative significance of reduplication and none should look down upon it by calling it a *child language* or *marginal curiosity*. An attempt has been made to show the striking similarities between the reduplication of Urdu and English. It can further facilitate collaboration and interaction between the two languages. It will also help promote the two languages, especially Urdu, and pave a way for the future researchers who can follow the lead and make further contributions to the study.

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Appendix A

English Reduplication List

Following is the English reduplication list:

FULL/EXACT REDUPLICATION

aye aye (interjection, noun) *Interjection* -- expressing affirmation, agreement, compliance with an order (Perhaps a dialect form of **aye**; perhaps a variant of **yea**)

Noun – an aberrant squirrel-like nocturnal lemur of Madagascar (formed of the word **aye** which means *yes; indeed*) (TCD)

Aye aye! I'd love to visit you.

bonbon (noun) a confection; a sweet (formed of the word **bon** which means *good*)(TCD)

The child asked for a bonbon

booboo (noun) a stupid fellow (formed of the word **boo** which means *a sound expressing disapproval or contempt*) (TCD)

He is not more than a booboo to me.

bye-bye (interjection) Like **bye** a colloquial form of **goodbye** (formed of the word **bye**) (TCD & OALD)

Bye bye then, see you next Saturday.

Chin-chin (interjection) hello; goodbye; good health (as a toast) (formed of the word **chin** which means *the jutting part of the face below the mouth, the front of the lower jaw*) (TCD)

Chin chin! How are you dear?

chop-chop (interjection) hurry up; do something quickly (formed of the word

chop which means *to cut something into pieces with an axe* (OALD)

Chop chop boys, we are getting late.

dividivi (noun) the curved pods of a small tropical American tree, used for tanning and dyeing; the tree itself (formed of the word **divi** (also *divvy*) which means a dividend; a share) (TCD)

Let's divide the dividivi.

dodo (noun) a large bird, now extinct, that was unable to fly (formed of the *verb do*) (OALD)

It was surprising for us to see the dodo flying.

fifty-fifty (adjective) shared or sharing equally between two (formed of the word **fifty**) (OALD)

Let's divide the profit on a fifty-fifty basis.

furfur (noun) dandruff or scurf (formed of the word **fur** which means *the thick, soft hair of certain animals; a garment of fur*) (TCD)

His hair abounds with furfur.

go-go (adjective) active, alert to seize opportunities, full of energy, lively (formed of the word **go** which means *to pass from one place to another*) (TCD)

He is a go-go footballer.

goody-goody (noun) a person who behaves well only in order to please or impress others (formed of the word **goody** which means *a pleasant thing to eat; a sweet; a cake, etc.*) (OALD)

The young state agent is merely a goody-goody. In fact, he is very rude.

humhum (noun) a kind of plain, coarse cotton cloth used in the East Indies

(formed of the word **hum** which means *to impose on; to hoax*) (TCD)

She often wears humhum sari.

hush-hush (adjective) secret; known only to a few people (formed of the word **hush** which means *to be quiet; to stop talking*) (OALD)

I know all about your hush-hush plans.

lava-lava (noun) a rectangular piece of printed cloth worn by both sexes in Polynesia as a kind of skirt (formed of the word **lava** which means *molten material discharged in a stream from a volcano or fissure*) (TCD)

They used to make handkerchief from lava-lava.

loglog (noun) the logarithm of a logarithm (formed of the word **log** which means *a fallen tree trunk; a bulky piece of wood, used eg as a firewood*) (TCD)

He solved the mathematical problem using loglog.

motmot (noun) a tropical American bird, related to rollers and kingfishers, that nibbles its tail-feathers into a racquet-shape (formed of the word **mot** which means *a word; a pithy or witty saying*) (TCD)

My motmot unpicked my pillow.

no-no (noun) a failure, non-event; something which must not be done, said etc. (formed of the word **no** which means *not any; not one*) (TCD)

Smoking must be a no-no for you now onwards.

nulla-nulla (noun) an Australian Aborigine's club (formed of the word **nulla** which means *a ravine; a water course; a stream or drain*) (TCD)

The semi naked men were dancing in nulla-nulla.

pawpaw (noun) a tree of the custard-apple family, or its fruit, native to the USA;

the papaya (formed of the word **paw** which means *a foot of an animal with claws*)
(TCD)

We ate the pawpaw pulp with spoon.

pooh-pooh (verb) to ridicule, to dismiss contemptuously (formed of the word **pooh** which means *to express disgust at a bad smell*) (TCD & OALD)

The audience pooh-poohed at his performance.

puff-puff (noun) a child's words for a railway engine or train (formed of the word **puff** which means *to blow in whiffs; to breathe out vehemently or pantingly*)
(TCD)

I'm rather afraid of puff-puff. What about you Tom?

so-so (adjective, adverb) not very good; not very well; not fairly good or well
(formed of the word **so** which is used *as a conjunction and an adverb*) (OALD)

My result was so-so.

tum-tum (noun) a stomach (formed of the word **tum** (also tummy) which means *a stomach*) (TCD)

Your tum-tum is never full.

tut-tut (noun, verb) an exclamation of rebuke; mild disapprobation, impatience etc. (formed of the word **tut** which is used *as the written or spoken way of representing the sound expressing disapproval, annoyance etc made by putting the tongue behind the teeth and sucking in air once or repeatedly*) (TCD)

Tut tut! You should not do it,

yo-yo (noun) a toy consisting of a reel wound with an attached length of string which is held in the hand while the reel is let drop to fall and rise under its own

weight (formed of the word **yo** which means calling for or accompanying effort, calling for attention or used in greeting, etc; used to indicate one's presence (TCD)

He made his father buy him a yo-yo.

Partial Reduplication

1. Initial Consonant Alternation

Bigwig (noun) an important person (*b* of **big** is replaced by *w* in **wig**) (OALD)

The young politician knows a lot of bigwigs.

bowwow (interjection, noun) used to imitate the bark of a dog; used by or to young children (*b* is replaced by *w*) (TCD & OALD)

"Bowwow!" Said the boy on seeing a dog.

deadhead (noun) a faded flower; a dull or stupid person (*d* is replaced by *h*) (OALD)

Don't rely on him as he is but a deadhead.

downtown (adjective, adverb) to or in the centre of a city, especially the main business and commercial district (*d* is replaced by *t*) (OALD)

He loved participating in the downtown activities.

fat cat (noun) a person who is rich and powerful (*f* is replaced by *c*) (TCD)

Many wigs have grown as fat cats.

handy-dandy (noun) a children's game of guessing which hand a thing is in (*h* is replaced by *d*) (TCD)

I'll give you a candy but first you'll have to play handy-dandy with me.

hanky-panky (noun) behaviour that is not considered correct or acceptable (*h* is

replaced by *p*) (OALD)

The gang of ruffians was involved in all sorts of hanky-panky.

hi-fi (adjective) an attribute (*h* is replaced by *f*) (OALD)

I envy his hi fi success.

hobnob (adverb) at random; hit-or-miss; with alternate or mutual drinking of health (*h* is replaced by *n*) (OALD)

Will you hobnob with me?

hoodoo (noun) a bringer of bad luck; a jinx; foreboding of bad luck (*h* is replaced by *d*) (OALD)

All African tribes believe in the concept of hoodoo.

hotpot (noun) a stew of meat and vegetables cooked slowly in the oven in a dish with a lid (*h* is replaced by *p*) (OALD)

Hotpot is my favourite food.

hummum (also hammam) (noun) an Oriental bathing establishment, a Turkish bath (*h* is replaced by *m*) (TCD)

A good hummum will refresh you.

hurly-burly (noun) tumult; confusion (*h* is replaced by *b*) (TCD)

They fled in the hurly-burly.

locofoco (noun) a match for striking, a friction match (*l* is replaced by *f*) (TCD)

Buy me a locofoco.

May Day (noun) the first day of May, celebrated as a spring festival and, in some countries, as a holiday in honour of workers (*m* is replaced by *d*) (OALD)

They celebrated their local event as MayDay.

nitwit (noun) a stupid or foolish person (*n* is replaced by *w*) (OALD)

Mind your tongue, you nitwit.

pall-mall (noun) an old game, in which a ball was driven through an iron ring with a mallet; an alley for the game (*p* is replaced by *m*) (TCD)

The old tribes play pall-mall quite often.

pay-day (noun) a day of the week or month on which wages or salaries are paid (*p* is replaced by *d*) (TCD)

I'm anxiously waiting for the pay-day.

peg-leg (noun) an artificial leg, especially a wooden one (*p* is replaced by *l*) (TCD)

The thief had a peg-leg.

pell-mell (adverb) confusedly; headlong; helter-skelter (*p* is replaced by *m*) (OALD)

They finished the project pell-mell.

rag-bag (noun) an odd mixture of things (*r* is replaced by *b*) (OALD)

His room is like a rag-bag.

rumble-tumble (noun) a rumble seat; a lumbering vehicle; a tumbling motion (*r* is replaced by *t*) (TCD)

This chair is really a rumble-tumble.

titbit (noun) a specially attractive bit of food (*t* is replaced by *b*) (TCD & OALD)

I'm crazy about the Marriot titbit.

2. Alternation of vowel (i-a)

chit-chat (noun) conversation about things which are not important (*i* is replaced

by *a*) (OALD)

After the dinner we had chit-chat.

click-clack (noun) a persistent clicking noise (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

The click-clack of the clock drives me mad.

clitter-clatter (adjective) idle talk; chatter (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

They feel like having a clitter-clatter.

crinkle-crankle (adjective) winding or zigzag (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

The crinkle-crankle road will lead you nowhere.

dilly-dally (verb) to loiter or trifle (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

Why are these men dilly-dallying around our house?

dingle-dangle (adverb) swinging to and fro (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

The pendulum of the clock was swinging in dingle-dangle manner.

fiddle-faddle (verb) to trifle or idle (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

John loves to fiddle-faddle in free hours.

flip-flap (noun) a fruit-seller's dance (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

The children enjoyed the flip-flap of the clown.

mishmash (noun) a confused mixture (*i* is replaced by *a*) (OALD)

I'm unable to reach the right decision in such mishmash.

riff-raff (noun) the least respectable section of a society (*i* is replaced by *a*)

(OALD)

Though a riff-raff, his street fellows respected him a lot.

rip-rap (noun) loose broken stones, used to form a foundation on soft ground or under water, or in the construction of revetments and embankments; a foundation

formed of these (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

The builder ran short of rip-rap.

snip-snap (noun) the action or sound of scissors; quick snappy dialogue (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

If you use scissors without a piece of cloth, they produce snip-snap.

tittle-tattle (noun) idle, empty talk, rumour (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

During evening meals, they enjoyed tittle-tattle.

whim-wham (noun) a ridiculous notion; an odd device; a fanciful trifle (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

What you think is a wonderful idea, but to the people it is not more than a whim-wham.

wiggle-waggle (noun) a wiggling motion (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

During the dance he wiggle-waggled his body.

wigwag (verb) to twist about; to signal by means of flags (*i* is replaced by *a*) (TCD)

The ships wigwagged for help.

3. Alternation of vowel (i-o)

ding-dong (noun) the sound of bells ringing; monotony; sameness; an argument or fight (*i* is replaced by *o*) (TCD)

My pets enjoyed the ding-dong produced by small bells.

flip-flop (noun) a type of SANDAL with a strap that goes between the big toe and the toe next to it (*i* is replaced by *o*) (OALD)

Could you buy me a pair of Italian flip-flop?

jig-jog (adverb) with a jolting, jogging motion (*i* is replaced by *o*) (TCD)

The cart moved in a jig-jog fashion.

ping-pong (noun) a game played like tennis with bats and a plastic ball on a table with a net cross it (*i* is replaced by *o*) (OALD)

Ping-pong is very popular in China.

singsong (adjective) with a repeated rising and falling rhythm (*i* is replaced by *o*) (OALD)

The bird made a singsong noise.

tiptop (adjective) of the highest quality; excellent (*i* is replaced by *o*) (OALD)

He enjoyed a tiptop stay in Beijing last year.

4. Contrastive Focus Reduplication

AUCKLAND-Auckland (the city in Newzealand)

I'm talking of AUCKLAND-Auckland, which is a city of Newzealand.

COW-cow (an ordinary cow)

They bought a COW-cow, not an Australian cow.

FRECNIH-French (really French)

He is FRENCH-French, not British-French.

GOD-God (real God, the Creator)

Believe in GOD-God, not any man-made god.

JOB-job (a real 9 to 5 office job as opposed to an academic job)

Instead of doing any part-time job try to find a JOB-job.

LEAVING-leaving (really leaving)

Are you LEAVING-leaving or leaving temporarily?

ME-me (real me; in one's full color or spirit)

The spectators wanted to see the ME-me in the match but unfortunately I couldn't come up to their expectations.

NERVOUS-nervous (really nervous)

I am not joking, he is NERVOUS-nervous.

RICH-rich (rich by some particular standards)

Farrukh does not fall into RICH-rich category; he has a few dollars in his accounts.

SALAD-salad (green salad)

I would rather eat SALAD-salad than Russian salad.

5. Shm/Shcm Reduplication

plan schman

Buffy: So what's the plan? Xander: Plan-shman, let's mount up.

time schmime

Time, schmime, said Pappa irritably.

Oedipus schmoedipus

(person A) I have to tell you, madam that your son is suffering from an Oedipus

complex. (person B) Oedipus, Schmoedipus! What does it matter so long as he loves his mother? (apocryphal)

baby shmaby

He is just a baby!

Baby-shmaby. He's already 5 years old!

Reduplication and Affixation

1. Reduplication as Prefixation

immeasurable (adjective) too large, wide etc to be measured (formed of the word *measurable*) (OALD)

The immeasurable depths of the universe.

inimitable (adjective) impossible to copy because of being too good or too typical of an individual in style (formed of the word *imitable*) (OALD)

He related, in his own inimitable way, the story of his journey through Tibet.

reread (verb) to read again (formed of the word *read*) (TCD)

Please reread the passage to answer the given questions.

re-route (verb) to send somebody/something by a different route (formed of the word *route*) (OALD)

My flight was re-routed via Athens.

rerun (verb) to show a film or television programme or play a tape again (formed

of the word *run*) (OALD)

The programme will be rerun at 10:00 pm.

unnamed (adjective) whose name is not given or not known (formed of the word *named*) (OALD)

This information is from an unnamed source.

unutterable (adjective) too great, intense etc to be expressed in an adequate way in words (formed of the word *utterable*) (OALD)

He's an unutterable bore.

Appendix B

The following Urdu reduplication list which is also constructed keeping in mind the different types of Urdu reduplication. Like English reduplication, it depicts instances of full reduplication first. Next, it shows examples of partial reduplication. The list, like English list, also shows the word class and meaning of the reduplicative expressions. Moreover, the reduplicative expressions have been used in sentences to make readers understand the meaning of them better.

Urdu Reduplication List

Following is the Urdu reduplication list:

Full/Exact Reduplication

Aamad aamad (noun) approach; announcement of an arrival (formed of the word *a:mad*) (FUED)

Eid ki aamad aamad hei.

aahista aahista (adverb) slowly; softly; tenderly (formed of the word *a:hista*) (FUED)

Aahista aahista bolo.

araam araam (adverb) slowly (formed of the word *araam*) (FUED)

Araam araam se kaam karo.

ek ek (adjective) one by one (formed of the word *ek*) (FUED)

Wo ek ek kar ke chalay gayai.

bachchah bachchah (noun) every child (formed of the word *bachchah*) (FUED)

Is baat se bachchah bachchah waqif hei.

bhagte bhagte (adverb) while running (formed of the word *bhagte*) (FUED)

Charsi bhagte bhagte gir gaya.

baat baat (adverb) in every word; in every particular; on every occasion (formed of the word *ba:t*) (FUED)

Tum baat baat par jhagra karte ho.

bethe bethe (adverb) while sitting (formed of the word *bethe*) (FUED)

Noreen bethe bethe so jati hei.

kabhi kabhi (adverb) sometimes; occasionally (formed of the word *kabhi*) (FUED)

Mein kabhi kabhi bohat udaas ho jata hoon.

patle patle (adjective) very thin (formed of the word *patle*) (FUED)

Bachche ke hont patle patle thay.

piichhe piichhe (adverb) behind (formed of the word *pi:chhe*) (FUED)

Mairay piiche piiche aao

phuunk phuunk (adverb) very carefully (formed of the word *phu:nk*) (FUED)

Chor phuunk phuunk kar qadam rakh raha tha.

piyare piyare (adjective) beautiful (formed of the word *Piyare*) (FUED)

Gulukaar ne piyare piyare gaanay gaayai.

thoraa thoraa (adjective) a little; very little (formed of the word *thoraa*) (FUED)

Thoraa thoraa par liya karo.

tez tez (adjective) quickly (formed of the word *tez*) (FUED)

Itna tez tez kyon bolte ho?

tukre tukre (adjective) in pieces (formed of the word *tukre*) (FUED)

Uss ka dil tukre tukre ho kar reh gaya.

tahalte tahalte (adverb) while strolling (formed of the word *tahalte*) (FUED)

Tahalte tahalte mein ne aik ghazal likh daali.

thandi thandi (adjective) very cold (formed of the word *thandi*) (FUED)

Thandi thandi barf ne tau kamal kar diya.

tip tip (noun) sound of a drop of rain or other liquid (formed of the word *tip*)

(FUED)

Barish ki tip tip sehrangaiz hei.

jhijak jhijak (adverb) hesitantly (formed of the word *jhijak*) (FUED)

Uss ne jhijak jhijak kar mera nam poocha.

jaldi jaldi (adverb) quickly (formed of the word *jaldi*) (FUED)

Jaldi jaldi kam karo.

chalte chalte (adverb) while walking or going (formed of the word *chlate*)

(FUED)

Yoon hi koi mil gaya tha saray rah chalte chalte.

chhotte chhotte (adjective) very small (formed of the word *chhotte*) (FUED)

Chhotte chhotte bachchon ne bohat kam kiya.

chhotti chhotti (adjective) of minor importance; petty (formed of the word

chhotti) (FUED)

Kyoon chhotti chhotti baton par rooth jate ho?

chiikh chiikh (adverb) shoutedly (formed of the word *chiikh*) (FUED)

Pagal aurat ne chiikh chiikh kar mera dimagh kharab kar diya.

chhap chhap (noun) the sound caused by something falling in or something

striking water (formed of the word *chhap*) (FUED)

Larke barish mein chhap chhap kar rehe thay.

halka halka (adjective) light; gentle; soft (formed of the word *halka*) (FUED)

Aaj yeh buksa bara halka halka lug raha hei.

khaas khaas (adjective) specific; particular (formed of the word *khaas*) (FUED)

Tum mairay khaas khaas doston mein se ho.

khushi khushi (adverb) happily (formed of the word *khushi*) (FUED)

Wo khushi khushi chala gaya.

dhiire dhiire (adverb) slowly; gently; softly (formed of the word *dhiire*) (FUED)

Dhiire dhiire mosam-e-bahar aa hi gaya.

daur daur (adverb) while running; quickly (formed of the word *daur*) (FUED)

Tum daur daur kar pagal ho jau gay.

dar dar (noun) different/various places (formed of the word *dar*) (FUED)

Dar dar ke dhakkay mut khaoo.

darte darte (adverb) hesitantly; reluctantly (formed of the word *darte*) (FUED)

Tariq ne darte edarte paani mein chalaang laga di.

rafta rafta (adverb) slowly; gradually (formed of the word *rafta*) (FUED)

Tumharay ghum rafta rafta dhul jaayein gay.

rau rau (adverb) cryingly (formed of the word *rau*) (FUED)

Wo rau rau kar adh mua ho gaya.

roz roz (adverb) day by day; every day; always (formed of the word *roz*) (FUED)

Roz roz mujhe tang na karo.

rezah rezah (adjective) in pieces; broken in pieces; very small (formed of the word *rezah*) (FUED)

Glass toot kar reza reza ho gaya.

zarrah zarrah (noun) every particle (formed of the word *zarrah*) (FUED)

Zarrah zarrah garmi se chiikh uttha tha.

zor zor (adverb) loudly (formed of the word *zor*) (FUED)

Kutta zor zor se bhonk raha tha.

saath saath (adverb) simultaneously (formed of the word *saath*) (FUED)

Khaanay ke saath saath wo kitaab bhi par raha tha.

sochte sochte (adverb) while thinking or meditating formed of the word (formed of the word *sochte*) (FUED)

Jameel sochte sochte diwana ho gaya.

sharminda sharminda (adjective) embarrassed (formed of the word *sharminda*) (FUED)

Mansoor chori karne ke baad sharminda sharminda dikhai diya.

saaf saaf (adjective) clean (formed of the word *saaf*) (FUED)

Aray yaar, tum saaf saaf jawab kyon nahi day daitay.

tarah tarah (adjective) different; various (formed of the word *tarah*) (FUED)

Wo tarah tarah ki kahaniyan sunata hai.

kam kam (adverb) not frequently; little by little; gradually (formed of the word *kam*) (FUED)

Wo aaj kal kam kam hi baat karta hai.

kirchi kirchi (adjective) in pieces (formed of the word *kirchi*) (FUED)

Uss ne bartan gira kar kirchi kirchi kar diya.

kahin kahin (adverb) at some places; here and there; not everywhere (formed of

the word *kahi:n*) (FUED)

Pakistan mein purani tehzebon ki baaqiat ab bhi kahin kahin mojud hei.

garam garam (adjective) very hot (formed of the word *garam*) (FUED)

Hum ne garam garam samosay khaayai.

gande gande (adjective) dirty (formed of the word *gande*) (FUED)

Gande gande angoor alag kar do.

ghat ghat (noun) various bathing places (formed of the word *ghat*) (FUED)

Uss ne ghat ghat ka paani piya hua hei.

larte larte (adverb) while fighting (formed of the word *larte*) (FUED)

Wo larte larte shaheed ho gaya.

lamhah lamhah (adjective) in detail; after every moment or minute (formed of the word *lamah*) (FUED)

TV aaj kal lamhah lamhah ki khabar deta hei.

likh likh (adverb) writing excessively (formed of the word *likh*) (FUED)

Tum ne tau likh likh kar qalam ki nok hi ghisa di hei.

marte marte (adverb) while beating (formed of the word *marte*) (FUED)

Wo nokar ko marte marte ghar lay aaya.

mulkon mulkon (noun) in various countries (formed of the word *mulkon*) (FUED)

Wo saari javaanii mulkon mulkon ki sair karta raha.

nannhe nannhe (adjective) very small (formed of the word *nannhe*) (FUED)

Nannhe nannhe bachchoon ne mujhay phool paish kia.

Partial Reduplication

1. Initial Consonant Alternation

Aros paros (noun) neighbourhood; vicinity (FUED)

Jao aur yeh khaana aros paros mein de aao.

pakar dhakar (noun) capture; seizure; arrest (FUED)

Police ki pakar dhakar aaj bhi jaari hei.

taana baana (noun) warp and woof; to hatch a plan (FUED)

Iss saazish ka taana baana India mein buna gaya tha.

chamak damak (noun) splendour; glitter; brilliance (FUED)

Sitaraay chamak damak kar qudrat ka shukria ada kar rehay hein.

ghalat malat (adjective) wrong; incorrect; untrue; erroneous (FUED)

Uss ne parchay mein ghalat malat jawab likhay.

khusar phusar (noun) whispering (FUED)

Khusar phusar karna aadab-e-mehfil kay khilaf hei.

gum sum (adjective) still; silent (FUED)

Aaj itney gum sum kyon ho?

gol mol (adjective) round and circular in shape; dubious (FUED)

Wo har baat ka gol mol jawab deta hei.

garbar (noun) confusion; bustle; disorder (FUED)

Aaj shehr kay haalaat garbar dikhai daitay hein.

lat pat (adjective) wet; soaked through (FUED)

Maqtool khon mein lat pat tha.

maang taang (noun) begging (FUED)

Uss ne pardais mein maang taang kar guzara kiya.

mela thela (noun) a concourse of people for religious or commercial purposes
(FUED)

Wo aik mun mouji aur mela thela ka aadmi hei.

her pher (noun) changes; turnings; default; tricks; dodging (FUED)

Tum raqam mein her pher na kia karo.

2. V-Reduplication

aisaa vaisaa (adjective) undesirable; inferior; indecent

Iss ko aasaan na samajaho. Yeh koi aisaa waisaa muqabla nahi hei.

paani vaani (noun) water and like

Paani vaani bhi piya hei kay nahi.

jhaaru varu (noun) a broom and like

Jhaaru varu laga do aaj mehmaan aa rahay hein.

chaae vaae (noun) tea and like

Jaao chaae vaae lay aao.

harj varj (noun) harm and like

Iss kaam mein harj varj hi kiya hei.

raag vaag (noun) song, melody, etc. and like

Koi raag vaag hi suna do dil ki udaasi hi shaid kam ho jaye.

rotii votii (noun) bread/loaf and like

Shaam ko roti voti kha kar jana.

sona vona (noun) gold and like

Kitna sona vona diya larkay walon nay?

shaadi vaadi (noun) marriage and like

Kisi bachche ki shaadi vaadi bhi ki ya nahi?

qalam valam (noun) pen and like

Baita jao kamray say qalam valam lay aao.

kaam vaam (noun) work and like

Array ja koi kaam vaam kar.

khaana vaana (noun) food and like

Khaana vaana kha kar jaaiyo yaar.

3. Alternation of Vowel (ii-aa)

Bhiir bhaar (noun) mob; crowd; rush(FUED)

Musafir bhiir bhaar mein kho gaya.

thiik thaak (adjective) quite right; quite correct(FUED)

Tum us say thiik thaak hisaab laina.

tiip taap (noun) decoration; adornment; pomp(FUED)

Uss nay ghar ki khoob tiip taap bana rakhi hei.

dhiila dhaala (adjective) loose(FUED)

Tahir nay dhiila dhaala kurta khareeda.

4. Alternation of Vowel (uu-aa)

bhool bhaal (noun) a mistake(FUED)

Sivaai bhool bhaal kay tum nay zindagi mein aur kiya hi kaya hei.

dhoom dhaam (noun) pomp; pomp and show; bustle(FUED)

Uss nay khoob dhoom dhaam say apni shaadi ki.

5. Alternation of Vowel (o-a)

bhola bhala (adjective) simple; innocent; guileless(FUED)

Mansoor faqat chehray say hi bhola bhala lagta hei. Uss kay dil mein koi shaitan rehta hei.

6. Alternation of Vowel (u-aa)

Chup chaap (adverb; adjective) silently; quietly; *adj* quite; silent(FUED)

Wo chup chaap chal diya.

7. Alternation of a Consonant and a Vowel

mel jol (noun) association; friendly intercourse; familiarity(FUED)

Buray logon say mel jol na barhao.

Reduplication and Affixation

1. Reduplication as Prefixation

bad batin (adjective) ill-natured; evil-minded(FUED)

Uss bad batin say kisi naiki ki tavaqgo mat rakho.

bad bakht (adjective) unlucky; unfortunate(FUED)

Abay o bad bakht, buzurgo ki izzat karna seekh.

bad buu (noun) bad smell; stink(FUED)

Iss ghar mein bohat bad bu hei.

bad biin (adjective) one who sees evil(FUED)

Wo bad bakht aur bad biin hei.

be bak (adjective) fearless; bold; daring(FUED)

Qaid aik be bak insaan thay.

be bunyaad (adjective) groundless; without foundation(FUED)

Kyoon mujh par be bunyaad ilzaam lagaatay ho.

be baha (adjective) invaluable; very precious; unique; wonderful(FUED)

Uss nay apni aulaad kay liyae be baha daulat chhori.

be behra (adjective) having no share or part; deprived(FUED)

Tum aql say be behra dikhai daitay ho.

2. Reduplication as Suffixation

guzar gah (noun) a passage for people(FUED)

Ye musafiron ki guzar gah hei.

gunah gar (noun) a sinner; a culprit(FUED)

Aaj kay daur mein har koi gunah gar hei.

