

Reduplication in Modern Maithili

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Abstract

The present paper aims to present a typological study of reduplication, its structures and patterns in the modern Maithili language. The reduplication is a very common phenomenon and an important morphological process in the grammar of Maithili. From the formal point of view, reduplication is totally reduplicated process of the segments and lexical items in Maithili. From the semantic point of view, the author presents the function of reduplication in terms of emphasis, generality, intensity and pragmatic as well. This paper is also trying to reveal and show the repetition process that is very relevant to African languages but this process is also found in the Maithili language to some extent. In this paper, an attempt is made to examine and exhibit the differences between reduplication and repetition processes. Both reduplication and repetition can be considered as morphological and semi-morphological processes respectively in the modern Maithili language. This paper also gives a brief introduction of Maithili, its genetic ancestor and the source of origin that clearly reveals that Maithili is neither a dialect of Hindi nor Bengali nor other Indian languages.

Key Words: Maithili, reduplication, morphological reduplication, lexical reduplication, expressive, kinship terminology, onomatopoeic, partial, echo-formation, compound, discontinuous, repetition, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic functions, morphological, and phonological processes.

1. Introduction

Maithili is an Eastern Indo-Aryan language. It is one of the languages listed in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India. It is spoken widely in the eastern and northern parts of Bihar in India. This language is also spoken in the south-eastern region of the Tarai districts of Nepal. Maithili is well known for its literature, grammar, culture and the melodious songs and

poems of Vidyapati. For some time, it was considered and viewed that Maithili language was either a dialect of Bengali language (Beames 1872-79 & 1966, 84-85), or a dialect of Eastern Hindi (Hoernle 1880), or one of the three dialects of a superior Bihari language, a descendant of the Magadhi Praakrit, derived from “Gaudian” language, but a complete, distinct and separate language from Hindi language (Grierson 1883, 87 & 1903, Hoernle 1885 & 1889). Today, the Maithili language is considered and viewed as a separate language of India that has achieved a magnificent, privileged and dignified status of an Eighth Schedule language of the Indian Constitution in 2003 via the 92nd constitutional amendment. This happened only due to mass movement and demonstrations. Maithili is now being used in different contexts of life, namely, in court, education, law, administrations, mass media & communication, radio, T.Vs, and so on. According to Grierson (1884b) and Jha (1958), there are five major regional and geographical varieties of the Maithili language i.e. Standard Maithili (Central Maithili), Angika (Southern Maithili), Bajjika (Western Maithili), Thethi Maithili and Muslim Maithili (Maithil Muslims) (Asad 2013).

According to the Census of India (2001), Maithili is spoken by around 12 million (12, 179, 122) native speakers but the *Ethnologue* report (2013) indicates that Maithili is widely spoken by almost 30 million speakers in India. According to the Nepali Census Report (2011), Maithili is officially the 2nd largest language and spoken by 12% of the total population of Nepal. According to the International P.E.N (*Poets, Essayists & Novelists*) and the Sahitya Academy (*National Academy of Letters*), Maithili is the 16th largest language of India and 40th most spoken language in the world (Yadav 1997). In 2008, Maithili and Bhojpuri Academy in Delhi was established by the former Hon’ble Chief Minister Shiela Dikshit for the promotion and development of Maithili and Bhojpuri languages. Earlier, Maithili was being written in *Trihuta*, i.e., *Mithilakshar* or *Kaithi Script*. But nowadays it is commonly written in Devanagari script. The ISO has also approved the Maithili script Unicode to preserve the Mithilakshar or Trihuta script (Pandey 2006). The term “Maithili” comes from *Mithila*, which was an independent state in ancient times. In the Hindu religion, since it is regarded as the birth place of Goddess Sita, the daughter of King Janak of Mithila, who eventually gets married to Lord Ram.

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2. Reduplication

The term “Reduplication” refers to either the morphological process (Abbi 1992 & Singh 2005) or the phonological process (Wilbur 1973) in which the root or stem of a word, or a part of the lexical item is repeated with exact shape or a slight change, carrying a quite semantically modified meaning. Reduplication can be either partial or complete.

Pei (1966: 230) refers to reduplication as a morphological process whereby there is a repetition of a radical element or part of it, occurring usually at the beginning of a word, occasionally within the word. Marantz (1982:437) defines reduplication as “a morphological process relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that may be analyzed as being constructed from the base form via the affixation of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the base form”. According to Spencer (1991:13) involves adding material whose identity is partially or wholly determined by the base. According to O’Grady and Guzman (1996:143), reduplication is a “common morphological process in certain languages which duplicates all or part of the base to which it applies to mark a grammatical or semantic contrast.” Wilbur (1973:5) emphasizes “the morphological nature of reduplication, although it superficially resembles a phonological rule in the classical sense of the SPE framework” (Chomsky & Halle 1968).

It is very interesting to know that Reduplication itself is not considered as a salient characteristic and a phenomenon of the Indo-European language family, nor the classic feature and nature of the Greek or Latin but in the general way, it is mostly found in the languages of the world. Sapir pointed out that “Nothing is more natural than the prevalence of reduplication, in other words, the repetition of all or part of the radical element” (Sapir 1921:76). Reduplication is an areal feature of the South Asian Languages and found in Maithili language with productive process. The process of reduplication plays an important role in the creation of a new single lexical item with a slight semantic modification of the root or stem word, without changing the grammatical category of the root or base word in languages. Now let us see some examples of reduplication.

Examples

- a. bæcca bæcca “child child”
b. sunəIt sunəIt “continuity of listening”
c. ɡʰəre ɡʰəre “home to home”

O git sunəIt sunəIt tʰəIk gel.
he song listen listen tired went PST
“He got tired of listening to songs”.

3. The Structure of Reduplication

Reduplication is described and explained by both phonological and morphological processes in the Maithili language with its structures and forms.

3.1. Reduplication: Described Phonologically in Two Different Ways

- (a) **Reduplicated Segment:** It indicates the reduplication process in which a sequence of consonants or vowels is iterated or repeated completely to form a new lexical item.

Example

əhā səb jəldI se **au au**.
you all soon from come come (2H) IMPT
“You all come soon”.

Here, in the above example, we can see that the sequence of vowels (VV + VV = VVVV) is repeated and iterated, which gives a semantic modification that is different from the single lexical item (VV). It shows the excited attitude of the speaker and the pragmatic meaning. Maithili does not have CC iteration at all.

- (b) **Reduplicated Prosodic Unit:** It denotes a reduplication process in which a unit of syllable or mora is iterated or repeated completely to create a new lexical item.

Examples:

- a) ɡəm ɡəm “aroma or the fragrance of food”
b) jʰəmər jʰəmər “the sound of raining”

- c) game game “home to home”
 d) pain pain “water water”

Here in this above examples, we can see that iteration or repetition of the unit of syllable (CVC or CVCVC), a unit of syllable like (gəm or j^həmər), which does not have identical or independent meaning at all, but when it is iterated or repeated then it gets a complete meaning. Mostly it indicates Onomatopoeia or symbolic or expressing meaning.

3.2. Reduplication: Morphological Description

It refers to reduplication process in which the root or base (words or lexeme) is completely or partially iterated or repeated to derive a new single lexical item. Each and every lexical item has its own independent meaning and when it is repeated then it shows the modified meaning of the whole lexical item that is different from the single independent root word.

Example

O bajət bajət t^həɪk gel.
 he speaking speaking tired went PST.
 “He got tired of speaking.”

Here in this above example, we can see that a lexical root word (bajət) is iterated and reduplicated which shows the continuity of action, i.e., the continuity of speaking.

There has been a problematic question for the discussion regarding the relation of the reduplicant to the base. In the process of reduplication, it is very necessary to identify the part of the whole lexical item, whether the right part of the whole lexical items or the left part of the whole lexical item, which is repeated or reduplicated, and which (left part or right part) is considered as a reduplicant to the base and a reduplicated item in the modern Maithili language and other Indian languages. In other words, a question may arise as to which one is repeated, whether the left side of the whole lexical item or the right side of the whole lexical item, which one is considered as a reduplicant to the base and which one is a reduplicated item. This kind of problem is not explicitly or implicitly discussed by most theories; it may be said that derivation process needs to be considered to resolve the issue here.

Example

क॑न॑रि॑त-क॑न॑रि॑त (*continuity of weeping/crying*)

reduplicated Item right side left side
 base/stem base/stem

Fig.1. Structure of repeated base word

Here, we can see that it is very difficult to say that which side of the whole lexical item (left or right) is reduplicated and repeated to the base or root. According to Spencer (1991), some part of the base is repeated, either to the left, or to the right, or occasionally in middle.

क॑न॑रि॑त + क॑न॑रि॑त	क॑न॑रि॑त-क॑न॑रि॑त (<i>complete lexical item</i>)
<i>base base</i>	<i>base (output/derived)</i>
weep weep	continuity of weeping

Fig.2. Structure of derived word.

Here, we can simply say that the output as a lexical item is derived from the reduplication process, after one of the two inputs is reduplicated or repeated morphologically.

4. Types of Reduplication

Reduplication can be widely divided into two broad types, namely Lexical Reduplication (LR) and Morphological Reduplication (MR). Under the shadow of Morphological Reduplication, sound symbolism, mimic words, onomatopoeia, iconicity, imitative, ideophones which are collectively called as Expressive. Under the heading of Lexical Reduplication, Echo-words or echo-formations, Compounds and Word reduplications, are described below.

REDUPLICATION

MORPHOLOGICAL

LEXICAL

Fig.3. Types of Reduplication

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4.1. Morphological Reduplication

Morphological reduplication is one of the two types of reduplication described by Abbi (1992). She defines morphological reduplication as “minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes which are constituted of iterated syllables.” Thus, the base and the iterated part together constitute a single morpheme which is also a lexeme. Onomatopoeic, imitative, certain instances of sound symbolism and mimic words are examples of morphological reduplication. Abbi (1992) and Diffloth (1976) put all these terms under Expressive. Emeneau (1969) uses the term onomatopoeias for expressive.

4.1.1. Expressive

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

Reduplication of iterated syllables is generally onomatopoeic in nature. Expressives in Maithili language are used to denote all the five senses of perception, that is, the sense of smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste. Expressive is also used to denote kinship terminology and states of mind of mind and manner adverbs in Maithili language. Expressive can be associated with these three features, including a sense of perception, kinship terminology and states of mind and manner adverbs.

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

Examples

4.1.2. A Sense of Perception

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1. **Sense of hearing or acoustic noise:** it indicates symbolic sounds of natural phenomenon, humans, animal noise and so on.

Rain pattering	“j ^h əməɾ j ^h əməɾ”
Thundering sounds	“ɖ ^h ən ɖ ^h ən”
Air blowing	“sāy sāy”
Jingling of anklets	“j ^h an j ^h an”
Sounds of bees flying	“b ^h ən b ^h ən”
Cloth tearing	“cəɾ cəɾ”
Cooking vegetable	“c ^h ən c ^h ən”
Child with cold & cough	“səɾ səɾ”

2. **Sense of sight :** it usually refers to the flicking or glimmering or shimmering aspect of an object:

Twinkling	“ɽim ɽim”
Lighting & glittering	“cəm cəm”

3. **Sense of Touch:** it usually refers to the feeling or touching with indicating some sounds.

Sticky	“ləs ləs”
Rough skin	“k ^h ər k ^h ər”
Ripe completely	“pəl pəl”

4. **Sense of Smell:** it indicates good or bad smells.

Aroma	“gəm gəm”
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5. **Sense of Taste:** it denotes the taste of any eatable substances.

Brittle	“b ^h ur b ^h ur”
Crunchy	“kəɾ kəɾ”
Spicy	“cəɽpətə cəɽpətə”

4.1.3. Kinship Terminology

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It denotes the persons to whom an individual is related through kinship.

Uncle	“ca ca”
Maternal uncle	“ma ma”
Grandfather	“da da” or “ba ba”
Father	“babu ji babu ji”

4.1.4. States of Mind and Manner Adverbs

It denotes the various states of mind or feeling, disorder, confusion and attitudes.

Excitement	“cʰəl cʰəl”
Unsteady	“culbul culbul”
Over crowded	“tʰəsməs tʰəsa”
Rotten fruit with worms	“kʰəd kʰəd”
Senseless	“kəcər pəcər”
Hasty	“hərbər hərbər”
Hurry	“dʰərpʰər dʰərpʰər”

4. 2. Morphological Paradigms of Expressive

Expressive items have a morphological paradigm. It can be generated morphological paradigms with different lexical items by derivational processes in Maithili language in India and other Indian languages too.

Root	p ^h us	
Stem	p ^h us p ^h us	“ <i>whisper</i> ”
Infinitive	p ^h us p ^h usa-əb	“ <i>to whisper</i> ”
Derived Noun:	p ^h us p ^h usa-eb	“ <i>whispering</i> ”
Derived Modifier	p ^h us p ^h us-ail	“ <i>whispered</i> ”

Examples

- O p^husp^husa rəhəl əicʰ.
he whisper PROG AUX 3msg PRES
“He is whispering.”

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In this example, we can see that the stem word “p^husp^husa” was used as a verb. Reduplicated expressive lexical item can be used as verb or modifier or derived noun.

2. Unkər p^husp^hus-eb həmərə presan kərət əic^h.
his whispering me irritate do AUX 3msg PRES
“His whispering irritates me”.

In this above example, we can see clearly that the word “p^husphus-eb” was used as a noun, i.e., a derived noun.

3. p^husp^hus-ail c^həuri cəl gel.
Whispered girl move went PST.
“The whispering girl went away”.

In this above example, we can find that the term “p^husphus-ail” was used as modifier which modified the girl, agent or subject of the sentence.

4. 3. Syntactic Characteristics of Expressive

Expressive verbs have syntactic features in Maithili language and most of the South Asian languages too. It is common in the eastern languages such as Bengali, Maithili and Oriya etc.

1. As an infinite verb form: b^hən b^həna-əb (əb is an infinitive marker)
2. As a simple verb form: b^hən b^həna-it
3. As a conjunct verb form: b^hən b^həna-kər (kər ‘do’)
4. As a conjunctive participle: b^hən b^həna- kə

Example

O b^hən b^hən kə rəhəl əic^h.
he murmur do PROG 3msg AUX PRES
“He is murmuring”.

As a complex conjunctive participle form: bhan bhana + kə (CP) “having murmured”

Example

O kail bʰən bʰəna kə cəɪl gel.
he yesterday murmur murmur CP move went PST.
“Having murmured, he went yesterday”

It seems that it is very difficult to interpret and translate the expressive lexical items because it is completely associated with the society, culture, tradition, and regions that are quite different among languages and vary according to languages. Expressive plays an important role in the Maithili language and South Asian languages as well and denotes the five senses of perception, kinship terminology and some state of mind and manner attitudes. Various lexical items are derived through derivational process from expressive lexical items; so called morphological paradigm.

4. 4. Salient Features of Expressive

- Expressives are reduplicated and constitute a single lexical category.
- Not all Expressives are acoustic noises and acoustic symbols (Selvam, 1988).
- Expressives are not lexically discrete like other words and word or categorical class.
- Expressives are not as iconic as they are made to appear.
- Expressives constitute a single lexeme or word and consist of iterated syllables where each of the syllables is incapable of occurring in isolation.
- Expressives can be used in various morphological paradigms.
- Expressive verbs have syntactic characteristics and features.
- They are used to denote the five senses of perception, kinship terminology and state of mind and manner attitudes in Maithili language and other Indian languages too.
- Expressive semantically has its own idiosyncrasy of meaning which evolves with the culture, history and literature of a particular language group.

Abbi (1992)

5. Lexical Reduplication

Lexical reduplication can be defined as one lexical item or lexeme which comprises two or more segmentally identical parts or words. It is not a group of complex form of lexical items.

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Lexical reduplication refers to a complete or partial repetition of a word or lexeme. Abbi (1992) defines lexical reduplication as “Complete Lexical Reduplication is constituted of two identical (bimodal) words, e.g. In Hindi, gərəm gərəm “hot” or bε̃ʰe- bε̃ʰe “while sitting” is derived from the modifier gərəm ‘hot’ and verb bε̃ʰe ‘to sit’, respectively. Partial Reduplication is constituted of partial repetition of a word either phonologically or semantically, e.g. Khana uana “food etc.” or compound such as khana-pina (eat+drink) “standard of living” are case of partial reduplication in Maithili. Lexical reduplication, unlike morphological reduplication, is not minimally meaningful and thus can be further divided as they are formed of two identical words or two non-identical phonological words. From the grammatical point of view, however, they act as a single lexical category.

Lexical Reduplication

Echo formation

Compound

Word reduplication

Fig.4. Types of Lexical Reduplication

5. 1. Echo Formations

Echo-formation word is widely an important phenomenon in Maithili and other Indian languages and South Asian languages as well. Echo-formation is a process that fully refers to “the partial repetition of a phoneme or syllable of the base.” In other words, if the initial phoneme or syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or syllable, that has neither any individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own. It may be called as echo-formation. In echo formation process, the echo item or phoneme or syllable does not have its own independent or lexical meaning by itself. But when it is attached to any root or base word or lexical or grammatical item, then it acquires meaning. The replacer sounds or sound sequences are more/less fixed or rigid. Echo-formation is distinguishable from doublets on the one hand, and duplicate word especially, partially reduplicated word on the other hand (Murthy 1972). In echo-formation, an echo word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word, means either the initial phoneme (consonant(C) or vowel (V)) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The replacer (phoneme or syllable) sound sequences are

more or less fixed and rigid (Abbi, 1992). In other words, in echo word, only the initial syllable or phoneme of the base word is replaced by echo syllable or phoneme.

Semantically, echo-word conveys the sense of ‘etc’, ‘and the like’, ‘such and such’ and ‘things similar to’. Chatterji (1926) wrote that “the thing denoted by the basic noun and things similar to or associated with that”. Emeneau (1969) is terse when he says that “the function and formation is to refer to a specimen that the speaker does not care to identify from among a hypothesized collection of identical discrete entities or infinite number or from a hypothesized infinite extension of a non-discrete handleable entity. When the noun denotes the demeanor of another subject, it seems to be treated as if it denoted a non-discrete handleable entity; the formation then denotes a specimen divided from the infinitely continuous quality, relation etc. In some cases, the collection of discrete entities by implication includes all the entities that might replace the expressed entity in the situation envisaged in the utterance”.

5. 2. The Structure of Echo Formation

The common and general structure of the echo-formation in Maithili is to iterate or repeat the existing base or word by substituting the initial syllable by replacer, i.e., the back-high, short or long vowel /U/ or /u/. Here CV is replaced by replacer (/U/ or /u/).

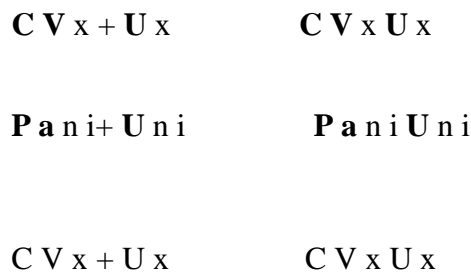


Fig.5a. Structure of Echo Formation

Examples

bəkəri	“goat”	bəkəri-Ukəri	“goat and the like”
kam	“work”	kam-um	“work and the like”
pain	“water”	pain-un	“water and the like”
dud ^h	“milk”	dud ^h -ud ^h	“milk and the like”

pərhəb	“study”	pərhəb-urhəb	“study and the like”
k ^h ana	“food”	k ^h ana-una	“food and the like”
kəpəra	“cloth”	kəpəra-upəra	“cloth and the like”
bərtən	“utensil”	bərtən-urtən	“utensil and the like”
kitab	“book”	kitab-utab	“book and the like”

It is very interesting to see that if the initial syllable of the base occurs with /U/ or /u/ the high back, short/long vowel, then that the consonant /t/ or /p/ (voiceless stop) is added to the first phoneme of the iterated or repeated echo syllable or word in the echo formation in the Maithili language.

$$Vx=Vx \mathbf{t/p} vx \quad V: x = V:x \mathbf{t/p} V:x \quad (/t/or /p/ \text{ is inserted or added})$$

Fig.5b. Structure of Echo Formation

Examples

umər	“age”	umər-tumər	“age and the like”
ut ^h əl	“jump”	ut ^h əl-put ^h əl	“jump and hustle”
un	“wool”	un-tun	“wool and the like”

It is very rare to find out the word ending with /u/ at the initial position in Maithili language. It is considered that there is no distinction between long and short vowel in Maithili.

5.2. Compound

Compound is one of the three kinds of lexical reduplication. It plays an important role in a word formation process in Maithili. It is a kind of partial reduplicated compound by joining the semantically related, identical and opposite words to convey a wide semantic meaning and totally and completely differs from the single lexical word. The other two kinds of lexical reduplication are the Echo-formation and the Word reduplication. In Sanskrit, this compound is called as ‘conjunctive’ (*dvandva*) compound. K. Rangan (2000) describes “compound as a construction in which two or more words join together without any interruption”. Two words which are having different form but having similar meaning, are joining together to form a

compound. This type of process was called intensive or inclusive compound formation (Sastri 1954 & Bhaskararo 1977). Abbi (1975 & 1992) suggests that compound is considered as instances of partial reduplication. The compounds refers to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first word either on the semantic or on the phonetic level.

5. 2. 1. Compounds: Formed in Three Ways

1. When two semantically identical words (synonyms) are used in a paired construction.

Examples

d^hən dələt means “wealth” in Hindi-Urdu where ‘d^hən’ (wealth) is from Hindi and ‘dələt’ (wealth) is from Urdu taken. In Maithili, d^hən ser means “money/wealth” here, d^hən (wealth) is from Hindi and ser (money) is from itself Maithili taken. The word d^hən (wealth) and the word ser (money) is combined to form a compound, d^hən-ser ‘wealth or money’ in Maithili.

d ^h ən (money) dələt (wealth)	“wealth”
d ^h ən (money) ser (weight)	“wealth or money”
kam (work) kaj (work)	“occupation”
g ^h ər (home) duwar (home)	“home or house”
nəkri (job) cakri (job)	“job”

2. When two semantically related words are used in a pair construction.

Examples

Like Hindi-Urdu, Maithili too has words when **mol** ‘value’ and **tol** ‘measure’ are combined to form a compound **mol-tol** ‘evaluation’ or ‘bargain’.

K ^h ana (food) pina (water)	“standard of living”
roti (bread) dal (Veg)	“meals”
dal (bread) b ^h at (rice)	“food”
lik ^h əb (write) pər ^h əb (read)	“literate or study”

3. When two semantically different words are combined to form a compound word.

Examples

Here we can see that in this pair construction two different opposite words with their opposite meanings are put to form a compound construction that conveys a wide range of meanings. These are frequently used by the native speaker of the language unconsciously.

aba (come) jahı (go)	“frequent visit”
robə (weep) d ^h obə (wash)	“continuous mourning”
u ^t (stand) be ^t (sit)	“uncomfortable or unsteady”
Id ^h ər (here) Ud ^h ər (there)	“around”
din (day) rait (night)	“whole time or all time”
suk ^h (happiness) duk ^h (sorrow)	“ups and down in life”
hōsi (laugh) k ^h u ^f i (happiness)	“continuous happiness”
u ^t na (stand) be ^t na (sit)	“frequent staying at some one’s home”

Abbi (1992) suggested and explained only two types of compound; first in which two semantically identical words or lexical items are combined to form a compound word. e.g. d^hən dōlēt “wealth” in Hindi. Here, d^hən word ‘wealth’ is taken from Hindi and the word dōlēt ‘wealth’ taken from Urdu, both have identical meaning and are combined to convey semantic meaning. Second is that in which two semantically related words are used to form a compound. e.g. mol-tol “bargaining” or “evaluation” in Hindi. The word mol “value” and tol “measure” are both taken from Hindi, having semantically related words (Abbi 1992, p; 24). Abbi has included both semantically related words and opposite words in a single group, i.e. second type of compound.

But here above (3), I added one more type of compound, i.e., ‘two semantically different or opposite’ words are combined to form a compound. Two semantically different lexical items appear identically in the same context, and they have their own identical meanings but when they occur together, then they provide a new kind of different meaning. For example, the words

“**suk^h**” (happiness) and “**duk^h**” (sorrow) have their own identical meanings but when they occur together in a pair construction, that is, **suk^h - duk^h** means “ups and down in life”.

5. 3. Word Reduplication

Word reduplication is a linguistic term that refers to the complete or partial repetition or reduplication of the base of the word. This reduplication can be considered as a unit of syllable or a large group of words. The word reduplication can be further subdivided into three parts namely, Complete word reduplication, Partial reduplication and Discontinuous reduplication.

WORD REDUPLICATION



Fig.6. Types of Word Reduplication

5. 3. 1. Complete Word Reduplication (CWR)

CWR can be defined as “the complete or full repetition of the base word with its some wide and slight semantic modification.” It is very interesting to see that it is bimodal and iconicity in nature. In other word, it can be said that the entire phonological form of the base or all lexical items is reduplicated. In Maithili, almost all kinds of grammatical category can be reduplicated, namely Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adjective, Adverb, Wh-questions, quantifiers, modifiers and so on, except few grammatical category, such as conjunction and interjection. Complete or full repetition of the base word is a common weapon, used to convey and show the pragmatic, syntactic and semantic meanings and the speaker’s purpose emphasis, attenuation, focus and pragmatic meanings in languages of the South Asian languages and Maithili too.

Examples

Nouns

(a) g ^h ər	“home”	g ^h ər-g ^h ər	“each and every home”
(b) gāv	“village”	gāv-gāv	“each and every village”
(c) k ^h et	“farm”	k ^h et-k ^h et	“each and every farm”
(d) bən	“forest”	bən- bən	“each and every forest”

O g^həre g^həre g^humə-it əɪc^h.

he home home wander 3msg aux PRES

“He wanders home to home”.

In above examples, we can see that grammatical category NOUN as base word, which is reduplicated or repeated completely or fully to form complete word reduplication. It conveys a wide or modified semantic meaning of the base word and pragmatic meaning too, used by the speakers in Maithili. Here, in a sentence, it is shown that the speakers focus and emphasis on this complete reduplicated word “g^həre g^həre” to convey their intention or information by reduplicating the base word “g^hər”. The complete reduplicated word “g^həre g^həre” carries a meaning of emphasis or focus and plurality as well, used by the speakers.

Pronouns

(a) ke	“who”	ke-ke	“who all”
(b) kekər	“whose”	kekər-kekər	“whosoever”
(c) hunka	“him”	hunka-hunka	“all of them”

ke ke aɪl c^hela

who who come aux PST

“Who all have come”.

In the above examples of Pronoun, the pronoun is reduplicated or repeated to form complete word reduplication. It shows that the reduplicated form “ke ke” carries a meaning of emphasis (Abbi, 1992). But I think that it may depend on the pragmatic way or meaning of the

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speakers and their intentions as well. That is, what actually the speaker wants to know about “who all” whether it may be a symbol of sudden feeling or astonishment or an indication simply of eagerness and curiosity or a normal sense. We cannot always consider it only as a meaning and sense of emphasis or focus.

Adjectives

(a) nɪk	“beautiful”	nɪk nɪk	“very beautiful”
(b) kəɾɪkka	“black”	kəɾɪkka kəɾɪkka	“very black”
(c) piyər	“yellow”	piyər piyər	“very yellow”

məugi səb kəɪlk^huma ləlka ləlka sari pehenne c^hela
 woman all yesterday red red sari wear 3fpl AUX PST
 “All women have worn very red (*reddish*) sari yesterday”.

Here in the examples of the Adjective, the reduplicated form “ləlka ləlka” (*reddish*) shows the intensification of the adjective. The adjective is a modifier of the various grammatical categories. When the adjective is reduplicated, then it conveys the intensified meaning of the adjective. Intensifier morpheme may be “-ish” like *greenish* (həriyər həriyər in Maithili) in English. The adjective can be reduplicated to intensify the quality of the adjective.

Adverbs

(a) rəse	“slowly”	rəse-rəse	“very slowly”
(b) b ^h ore	“morning”	b ^h ore-b ^h ore	“in the early morning”
(c) nica	“lower”	nica-nica	“lower and lower”
(d) jena	“as”	jena-jena	“according as”
(e) kək ^h əno	“any time”	kək ^h əno-kək ^h əno	“sometimes”

1. sitaa rəse rəse ja rəhəl c^həɪ
 sita slowly slowly go PROG 3fsg AUX PRES
 “Sita is going very slowly”.

(Adverb of Manner)

2. məud^h ke nice nice cini əur upəre upəre məud^h c^heləɪ.
 ghee in under under sugar and top top honey 3msg AUX PST.
 “There was sugar below and honey above it”.

(Adverb of Location)

3. kək^həno-kək^həno əhã seminar ke bic bic me bəjəɪt c^hi
 sometimes you seminar of middle middle in speak 2msg AUX PRES
 “Sometimes you speak in the middle of seminar”.

(Adverb of Time)

In the example of Adverbs, adverb in a sentence can be used to indicate or intensify the action or event in reduplicated form. Adverb is a modifier of such things, manner (mostly), location and time. When the adverb is reduplicated in a sentence then it gives intensified meaning of the event or action. The reduplicated form “rəse rəse” intensifies the action of the walking (very slowly).

Verbs

(a) becəɪt	“selling”	becəɪt-becəɪt	“continuity of selling”
(b) k ^h əre	“standing”	k ^h əre-k ^h əre	“continuity of standing”
(c) hṣsəɪt	“laughing”	hṣsəɪt-hṣsəɪt	“continuity of laughing”
(d) bəjəɪt	“speaking”	bəjəɪt-bəjəɪt	“continuity of speaking”
(e) takəɪt	“searching”	takəɪt- takəɪt	“continuity of searching”

1. kisan k^het me kam kərəɪt kərəɪt məɪr gel.
 farmer field in work doing doing die went 3msg AUX PST
 “The farmer died while working in the farm”.

(Aspect of Simultaneity)

2. O pan becəɪt becəɪt burha bhə gel
 he betel selling selling old become went 3msg (H) AUX PST
 “He became old selling betels”. (Whole his life)

(Aspect of Durative)

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3. ahã bɛtʰe bɛtʰe tʰəɪk geli
 he sitting sitting tire went. 2Msg AUX PST
 “He got tired of sitting”.

(Aspect of Continuative)

4. O gana sum sum kə tʰəɪk gel
 he song listening listening CP tired went 3msg PST
 “He got tired of listening to the song”.

(Aspect of Iterative)

In these examples we can see that when verbs are reduplicated or repeated, it remains verbal in nature but it functions as adverbial i.e., called Reduplicated Verbal Adverb (RVADV). Reduplicated Verbal Adverb shows the aspectual meanings when it occurs with main verbs in a sentence in Maithili. The aspectual groups are *simultaneity*, *continuity*, *sequentiality*, & *durative*.

Quantifiers

- | | | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|--------------------|
| (a) du | “two” | du-du | “two and only two” |
| (b) tin | “three” | tin-tin | “by three” |
| (c) kəni | “little” | kəni-kəni | “only little” |

gramin səb bihar me kəni kəni ɪlɪs bajəɪ cʰəɪ
 villager all Bihar in little little English speak 3msg AUX PRES
 “The villagers speak English in Bihar”.

In the examples for Quantifier, the quantifier is considered as ‘distributive’ by reduplicated form. It is mostly found in all Indian languages. It may depend on pragmatic meaning of the speaker.

In complete word reduplication process, we have seen how the base word is reduplicated completely or fully and conveys the different semantic meanings and pragmatic sense too. It is a common linguistic practice to repeat the whole or part of the sentence of the language for emphasizing the information contained in the reduplicated part (Tannen, 1987).

5. 3. 2. Partial Word Reduplication

The term itself indicates that Partial word reduplication is partial repetition of a phoneme or a syllable of the base word carrying a semantic modification. Abbi (1992) defines that partial word reduplication is constituted by duplicating a part of the word especially a syllable, which is the constituent part of the word to be duplicated can either be a vowel (V) or a vowel consonant (VC) or consonant vowel (CV). A partially reduplicated word has the potentiality to serve as a single structural category, meaning thereby addition of affixes, if any, is made to the fully reduplicated form only once at the end of the word, but complete reduplicated word may not serve as a single structural category and thus take affixes twice at the end of each constituent of the word, e.g., in Hindi, *k^ha-te k^ha-te* “while eating” where present imperfect oblique marking *-te* is repeated twice.

In Maithili, we do not have so much pure partial word reduplication, but there is a huge range of echo-formation construction and plays a significant role in the grammar of Maithili language. It is very widely used by the Austro-Asiatic family of languages for various syntactic functions such as causative, partial constructions of nominal modification, capability passives and so on. Echo-formation is also a partial word reduplication that has been already discussed earlier in detail.

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

5. 3. 3. Discontinuous Word Reduplication

Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DWR) may be defined in this way that when the base form or the syllable or the phonemes of the base word are reduplicated and it takes an infix between the base form and the reduplicated form, then it is called Discontinuous Word Reduplication. The inserted elements may be some words such as postpositions, negation marker (nə), connector elements and empty syllable and so on (Parimalagantham 2009). It is very interesting to see and observe that it is used to refer to the minimum or maximum in Maithili.

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Examples

- a) kenko **nə** kenko “minimum”
 b) besi **se** besi “maximum”
 c) nɪk **se** nɪk “very beautiful”
 d) koi **nə** koi “someone else”
 e) kəhiyo **nə** kəhiyo “at indefinite point of time”
 f) kətəu **nə** kətəu “somewhere else”
 g) gələti **pe** gələti “a series of mistakes”
 h) ghəre **pe** ghəre “connection of houses with other houses”

1. həmərə pokhər me **jəl e jəl** c^həɪ
 our pond in water water AUX PRES.
 “There is nothing in our pond, but water.”
2. əhā ke kaj ke khoj me **kətəu nə kətəu** ja-ə pər-ət.
 you Dat work Dat search in somewhere somewhere go-Inf lie- MOD 2msg.
 “You have to go for the search of work somewhere else”.
3. purani dilli me log **gəre pe gəre** bane-ne c^həi.
 Old Delhi in people house house built Perf Aux PERF
 “People have built home very close to other homes”

After analyzing the above examples, it is very easy to form the structure and generalized pattern of the Discontinuous Word Reduplication. The base word may have a unit of syllable or a large unit of syllables and it is reduplicated completely with the structure point of view. Both the base word and the reduplicated form of base word are connected by an inserted element. It is shown below.

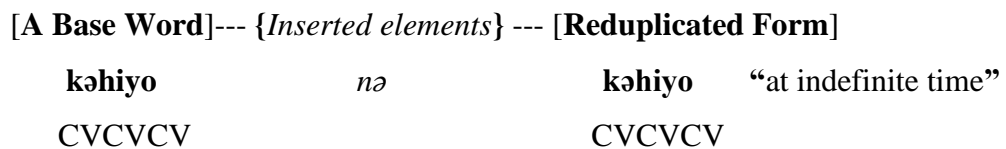


Fig.7. Structure of Discontinuous Word Reduplication

The phenomenon of Discontinuous Word Reduplication is found widely in all the Indian languages and other South Asian languages too. It is really very amazing to observe that the base word and completely reduplicated word is connected by infix morpheme that may be negative marker, postposition, empty marker and so on that provides a wide range meaning of extremities of something.

Reduplication

Lexical Reduplication (LR)

Morphological Reduplication (MR)

Echo-Formation Compound Word Reduplication

Expressive

Complete Partial Discontinuous

Sound Symbolism Idiophones Imitative Onomatopoeias

Fig.8. Types of Reduplication Structures (Abbi 1992)

6. Repetition in Modern Maithili

Repetition is a linguistic term that refers to a semi-morphological process in which an item is completely duplicated or triplicated. Repetition is an important part of a word formation process in the African languages. It plays a significant role in the creation of a new grammatical class in most of the African languages. It is very productive and generative phenomenon in the grammar of the language to derive a new lexical item and widely found at phrases and sentence level too in African languages.

The phenomenon of Repetition is also found in the modern Maithili language at the phrases and sentences level. As matter of fact, it produces a range of emphasis, pragmatic, and discourse features or functions in the sentences of Maithili. In Maithili and other Indian languages, it does not play an important role in the word formation process but it may play a significant role at the pragmatic level. In fact it is seen widely that people repeat the word more than once to have a turn taking in the middle of conversation to say something to the listeners. Repetition is a communicative reinforcement that is used by the speakers to have an attention of people, when speakers want to express and utter something. The process of repetition is occurred at the market place, working place and class and at home especially in the middle of conflict or quarrel to have an attention of people by repeating the same words again and again.

Examples

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| a) am am am | “mangoes” |
| b) pani pani pani | “water” |
| c) kam kam kam | “work” |

In the village market place, the seller who sells mangoes, repeats the word “am” (mango) three or four times at a stretch continuously to have the attention of the buyers in the market place so that they can buy mangoes. Repetition does not have the iconicity feature as reduplication has. The repetition of “am” means only a heap of mangoes, nothing else. In the same way, in the feast (in Maithili, **b^hoj** “*feast*”) of the village, the servers (of meals) ask for any kinds of meals such as, rice, pulse, veg, chicken, mutton & water etc. by repeating the meals

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word many times at a stretch so that they can serve any kind of food or meals if it is in demand. Repetition is a syntactic and pragmatic or discourse meaning and sense that exist in the speakers or listeners. So this kind of repetition process occurs in Maithili widely.

6.1. Differences between Reduplication and Repetition

Now I am going to show the important differences between Reduplication and Repetition clearly. This makes us understand better to make a clear-cut difference between Reduplication and Repetition.

REDUPLICATION	REPETITION
Reduplication is a process in which a word is repeated once and it is equal to the base word or existing word, that is, In Maithili, <i>jaɪt jaɪt</i> “going continuously”.	Repetition is a process in which a word is repeated more than one and it is not equal to the base word, i.e., In Maithili, <i>pani pani pani</i> “water”.
It is fully morphological and phonological process in the grammar of language.	It is semi-morphological or phonological process in the grammar of language.
It has a feature of iconic interpretation of word.	It has not a feature of iconic sense of word.
It is not a communicative reinforcement.	Completely a communicative reinforcement.
It has only two numbers of copies in total. Example., <i>gate-gate</i> “singing continuously”	It has more than two numbers of copies in total. Example., <i>am am am</i> “mangoes”
It is completely related to the word and word-formation process in Maithili language.	It is completely related to the syntactic, pragmatic and discourse meanings in Maithili.
It has a compounding process.	It does not have such things.
It is used as a weapon for creating a new lexical item and it as well conveys a modified semantic meaning.	It is used as a weapon for having attention of people and a turn taking during a conversation and discussion.
It is very productive process in Maithili.	It is not productive process in Maithili.

7. Conclusion

I would like to conclude my paper with respect to the central question on reduplication: Which side of the whole lexical item is repeated, whether the left or the right base, e.g., k^hart k^hart “*eating and eating*”? It is very difficult to see that ‘reduplication’ is a single independent item. What is the grammatical category of reduplication as a single independent lexical item?

The phenomenon of reduplication is a morphological process which plays a significant role in creating a single new lexical item in echo formation and expressive at morphological level and conveying a wide range of semantically modified meaning at word, sentence, and semantic levels in the grammar of Maithili. Reduplication functions in Maithili as a sense of pragmatic, syntactic and semantic with a slight modification. Onomatopoeics and symbolism sounds (expressive) are widely used in the communication by the speakers to convey the meaning of five senses of perceptions, a high number of manner adverbs and the actions of state of mind. Expressive has morphological and syntactic paradigms characteristics.

The term ‘Repetition’ refers to the repetition of the base word more than two without having iconicity in the sense of meaning. That is very relevant in African languages but to some extent, it also occurs in Maithili. Hardly, linguists have talked about the phenomenon of repetition in Indian languages. But I myself with my personal experience and observations believe that it may be a kind of feature in Indian languages to some extent as it does in Maithili.

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