

Reduplication in Dhundari

Md. Asad

Jawaharlal Nehru University,
New Delhi, India

Abstract

The research paper mainly focuses on reduplication process, its morphological construction and semantic features in the Dhundari language. Dhundari is an Indo-Aryan language, spoken in the Dhundar region, the northeastern part of Rajasthan state, India. Reduplication is a very common morphological process in the grammar of Dhundari like other Indian and South Asian languages. Reduplication is universally used to refer to the repetition of the linguistic units, such as a phoneme, morpheme, word, and utterances as well. The present study is to reveal the reduplicated patterns, structures, and their functions, which occur in Dhundari. The present paper also tries to show the comprehensible differences between the terms Reduplication and Repetition processes, found in this language. The term Repetition in African languages is a common semi-morphological process that is also observed in Dhundari in different contexts of the communication process with its semantic and pragmatic functions. The data for the study was collected in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi from five different native speakers of Dhundar region (*SawaiMadhopur*). The findings of the paper clearly demonstrate that the function of reduplication process is observed widely in terms of emphasis, generality, intensity and pragmatic. The present result also indicates that reduplication process is a salient linguistic feature of Dhundari like other Indian languages.

Key Words- *Reduplication, Repetition, Eco-formation, Word reduplication, Lexical reduplication, Partial reduplication, Discontinuous reduplication, Communicative reinforcement, Iconicity*

1. Introduction

Dhundari is one of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is widely spoken in the Dhundar region that is, the northeastern part of Rajasthan, India. It is largely spoken in several districts of Rajasthan that includes Jaipur, Karauli, SawaiMadhopur, Dausa, and Tonk. It is believed and thought that the term ‘Dhundari’ is originated and derived from mainly two sources. According to the first opinion, Dhundari is drawn and derived from the ‘Dhundh’ or ‘Dhundhakriti Mountain’, which is situated near Jobner in Jaipur

District. The other opinion is that its name is taken from the river, as named 'Dhundh' flowing through this region. Hence the name of this language is given Dhundari (Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhundari_language).

This language is also called by different names such as Dhundhali, Dhundhahdi, Jhadshahliboli, and Kai-kuiboli and Jaipuri. The European scholars such as MacAlister and Sir George Abraham Grierson coined the term Jaipuri. Gordon (2005) points out that Ethnologue adds this language as a Dhundari- Marwari.

Dhundari is a native language of and spoken by a large number of speakers in the Dhundari region of Rajasthan. According to the 1991 census, the total population of Dhundari speakers is 9, 65, 008. Very few scholars have worked and published books and papers on this language such as MacAlister completed the grammatical analysis of this language on February 24, 1884, Acharyakalpa Pt. Todarmaji has written the book 'Moksha MargaPrakashak' in Dhundari and the Serampore missionaries translated the New Testament into Jaipuri in 1815.

2. Methodology

Methodology for the present study was adopted from Prof. Abbi's fieldwork (1992) guidelines to collect an authentic data from the native speakers of the Dhundari language. There were 5 native speakers (2 females and 3 males). It is spoken in many districts of Rajasthan such as Jaipur, Karauli, Sawai Madhopur, Dausa, and Tonk. All my participants come from Swai Madhopur district. They all aged from 25 to 30 years; have spent more than 20 years in the particular region. No any speaking and hearing disorder found in the participants. The data was collected through an interview with speakers in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

3. Reduplication

Reduplication is a linguistic term that refers to the most common morphological process in most languages of the world. It is the root or base of the word that is reduplicated or repeated once with the exact shape or little change in shape that carries a wide range of semantic modification. In a nutshell, we can simply define that reduplication is a morphological process in which a root or base of the word is completely or partially repeated with a semantic modification in meanings.

Abbi (1992) defines the term reduplication "Words are formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating a single word, partially or completely are known as cases of reduplication." 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 According to 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).

Examples

- a) chaparchapar “munch of the food”
- b) phusphus “whispering”
- c) gharghar “home to home”
- d) kitaabitaab “book and the like”

- (1) baaghargharbhikmaajeche
hehome homealms ask Aux-3msg
“He begs for alms home to home.”

4. Types of Reduplication

Reduplication can be widely divided into two broad types, namely Lexical Reduplication (LR) and Morphological Reduplication (MR). Morphological Reduplication (MR) literally includes sound symbolism, mimic words, onomatopoeia, imitative and they all are collectively called Expressive. Lexical Reduplication (LR) significantly consists of several linguistic terms, such as echo-words or echo-formations, compounds and word reduplications.

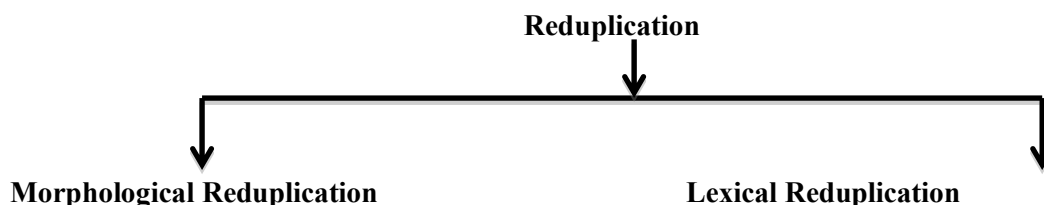


Fig. 01 Types of Reduplication

4.1. Morphological Reduplication (MR)

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 expressive for onomatopoeias.

4.1.1. Expressive

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

Expressive is very productive and derivative process in the Mundaand 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 Expressive. Action verbs such as ‘crying’, ‘walking’ and ‘running’ and ‘laughing’ and so on are associated with a large number of Expressive (Abbi, 1992).

Reduplication of iterated syllables is generally onomatopoeic in nature. Expressives in Dhundari are used to denote all the five senses of perception that is, the sense of sight, touch, hearing, and taste like other Indian languages such as Hindi, Urdu, Maithili and so no. It is also used to denote kinship terminology and states of mind and manner adverbs in the Dhundari language.

Examples

4.1.1.1A Sense of Perception

4.1.1.1.1. A sense of hearing or acoustic noise: It indicates symbolic sounds of natural phenomenon, humans, animal noise and so on.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------|
| a) Duck’s quacking | “kẽ kẽ” |
| b) Camel’s grunting | “guRguR” |
| c) Air blowing | “sãysãy” |
| d) Thundering sounds | “karkar” |
| e) Laughing sound | “haahaa” |
| f) Cracking of finger | “TakTak” |
| g) Jingling of anklets | “jhanjhan” |
| h) Cloth tearing | “char char |

4.1.1.1.2. A sense of sight: It refers to the flicking or glimmering or shimmering aspect of an object.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------|
| a) Shinning & Lighting | “chamcham” |
| b) Twinkling | “Tim Tim” |

4.1.1.1.3. A sense of Touch: It usually refers to the feeling or touching with indicating some sounds.

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| a) Sticky | “chap chap” |
| b) Hot object | “taatitaati” |

4.1.1.1.4. A sense of Smell: It indicates good or bad smells.

Not found

4.1.1.1.5. A sense of Taste: It denotes the taste of any eatable substances.

- | | |
|------------|--------------------|
| a) Brittle | “bhurbhuri” |
| b) Crunchy | “kaTarkaTar” |
| c) Tangy | “charparocharparo” |

4.1.1.2. Kinship Terminology: It denotes to persons to whom an individual is related through the kinship terminology.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| a) Mother | “jiji” |
| b) Uncle | “kaakaa” |
| c) Aunt | “kaakii” |
| d) Maternal uncle | “maamaa” |
| e) Grandfather | “daadaa” |
| f) Grandmother | “daa dii” |

4.1.1.3. States of Mind and Manner Adverbs: It denotes the various states of mind or feeling, disorder, confusion and attitudes.

- | | |
|-------------|------------------|
| a) Unsteady | “chulbulchulbul” |
| b) Crowded | “khadkhad” |

4.1.2. Morphological Paradigms of Expressive

It is found that Expressive has a morphological paradigm in Dhundari like other Indo-Aryan languages. There are many morphological paradigms with different lexical items, derived by derivational processes.

Root	phus	
Stem	phusphus	“whisper”
Infinitive	phusphusa-bo	“to whisper”
Derived Noun	phusphusa-t	“whispering”
Derived Modifier	phusphusa-to	“whispered”

Examples

- (2) baaphusphusarioche^{[1][2]}_{SEP}
hewhisper PROG AUX 3msg PRES

“He is whispering.”

In above example (2), we found that the stem word “phusphusa” was used as a verb. Reduplicated expressive lexical item can be used as a verb or modifier or derived noun.

- (3) baakiphusphusatmukupresankəreche^[L]_{SEP}
hiswhispering me irritate do AUX 3msg PRES
“His whispering irritates me”.

In above example (3), we can see clearly that the word “phusphus-at” was used as a noun, i.e., a derived noun.

- (4) phusphusatochəurichailgi-yo.
Whispered girl move went PST.
“The whispering girl went away”.

In above example (4), we find that the term “phusphusato” was used as a modifier (adjective), which modified the girl, agent or subject of the sentence.

4.1.3. Syntactic Characteristics of Expressive

It is observed that Expressive verbs have syntactic features in Dhundari like other Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Urdu, and so on. It is commonly found in the eastern languages such as Bengali, Maithili and Oriya etc.

- a) As an infinite verb form: bhənbhəna-**bo** (**bo** is an infinitive marker)
- b) As a conjunct verb form: bhənbhəna-**kar** (**kar** ‘cv’)
- c) As a conjunctive participle: bhənbhəna-**ε^[L]_{SEP}r** (**ε^[L]_{SEP}r** ‘cp’)

Examples

- (5) baabhanbhankarrioche
hemurmur do PROG 3msg AUX PRES
“He is murmuring

Here, in above example (5), we can see a conjunctive verb form of expressive. The word ‘kar’ indicates a form of a conjunctive verb in this language. In example (6) below, it shows that the Expressive word is used as a complex conjunctive participle form. The linguistics unit “**εr**” refers to the conjunctive participle marker.

- (6) baamhaarkaanme bhanbhanaaεrbolyo
hemy ear in murmur murmurCP speak PST.
“Having murmured, he spoke in my ear”

It seems that it is not easy to interpret and translate the expressive words because it is

inherently related and associated with the society, culture, tradition, regions, and areas that are completely different among languages and vary according to languages in the world. Expressive plays a significant role in the Dhundari language and South Asian languages and denotes the five senses of perception, kinship terminology and some state of mind and manner attitudes. Various lexical items are formed and generated through the derivational process from expressive lexical items. However, they are called morphological paradigms.

4.2. Lexical Reduplication

Lexical reduplication can be defined as a lexical item or a word, which comprises two or more segmentally identical parts or words. It is not a group of complex form of lexical items. 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, *garamgaram* ‘hot’ or *baiThe- baiThe* ‘while sitting’ is derived from the modifier *garam* ‘hot’ and verb *baiThe* ‘to sit’ respectively.

Lexical reduplication, unlike morphological reduplication, is not minimally meaningful lexical item, thus it can be further subdivided 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.

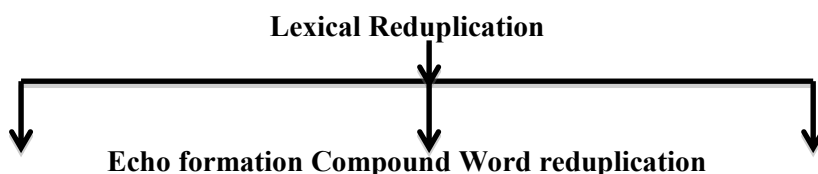


Fig.02. Types of Lexical Reduplication

4.2.1. Echo-formation

Echo-formation word is one of the lexical reduplications and it is a very common linguistic process in the Dhundari language. Echo-formation is a process that fully refers to “the partial repetition of a phoneme or syllable of the base.” In brief, if the initial phoneme or syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or syllable, or only deleted 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 gives a semantic 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 (Chidananada Murthy, 1972).

Literarily 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 a nutshell, 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’. S. K. Chatterji (1926) is to express that “the thing denoted by the basic noun and things similar to or associated with that”.

4.2.1.1. The Construction of Echo Formation

The common construction of the echo-formation is to iterate or repeat the existing base or word by deleting the initial consonant phoneme only. I mean to say that the initial consonant phoneme of the first syllable is deleted in the echo formation process. In Dhundari, the echo-formation process is to repeat the existing base or word by deleting the initial consonant phoneme. It may be any consonant phonemes. It is demonstrated below comprehensibly.

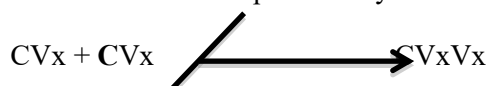


Fig.03. Structure of Echo Formation

Here, “C” stands for Consonant and “V” for Vowel and “X” for a syllable.

Examples

a) bakari	“goat”	bakari-akari	“goat and the like”
b) kaam	“work”	kaam-aam	“work and the like”
c) paani	“water”	paani-aani	“water and the like”
d) dudh	“milk”	dudh-udh	“milk and the like”
e) pərhəb	“study”	parhab-arhab	“study and the like”
f) khaanaa	“food”	khaanaa-aanaa	“food and the like”

4.2.2. Compound

Compound is one of the three kinds of lexical reduplication. It plays asignificant role in a word formation process in Dhundari. It is a kind of partial reduplicated compound by joining the semantically related, identical and opposite words to convey a wide range of semantic meaning and completely differs from the single existing lexical word. In Sanskrit, this compound is called as ‘conjunctive’ (dvandva) compound.

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.

It is clearly shown in examples below that a pair of constructions having two different opposite words with their two opposites meanings is put together to form a compound word that conveys a wide range of meaning. The native speaker of the Dhundari language very frequently uses these kinds of compounds unconsciously.

Examples

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| a) | aabo (come) | jaabo(go) | “frequent visit” |
| b) | robo (weep) | dhobo (wash) | “continuous mourning” |
| c) | uThbo (stand) | baiThbo (sit) | “uncomfortable or unsteady” |
| d) | din (day) | raait (night) | “whole time or all time” |
| e) | sukh (Pleasure) | dukh (sorrow) | “ups and down in life” |

4.2.3. Word Reduplication

Word reduplication refers to the complete or partial repetition or reduplication of the base of the word. It can be viewed as a unit of syllable or a large group of words. It can be further subdivided into three parts namely, Complete word reduplication, Partial reduplication, and Discontinuous reduplication.

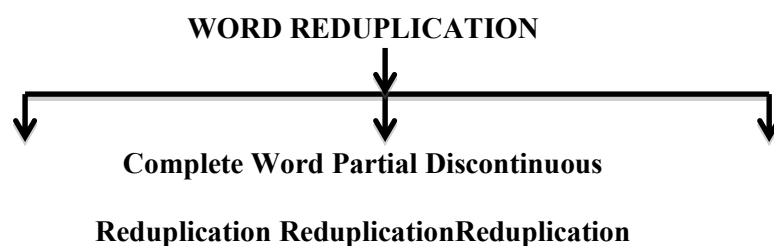


Fig.04. Type of Word Reduplication

4.2.3.1. Complete Word Reduplication (CWR)

It can be defined as “the complete or full repetition of the base word with its some wide and slight semantic modification.” It is observed that the entire phonological form of the base or all lexical items is reduplicated and shows a meaning of iconicity in nature. In Dhundari, almost all kinds of the grammatical categories are reduplicated, namely Noun (Pronoun), Verb, Adjective/Adverb, Wh-questions, quantifiers, and so on, except few grammatical categories, such as conjunction and interjection. A complete or full repetition of the base word is a common linguistic process, used to

The Creative Launcher

An International, Open Access, Peer Reviewed, Refereed, E- Journal in English
UGC Approved

convey the pragmatic, and semantic meanings. It also reveals the speaker's purpose of emphasis, attenuation, and focuses on the particular utterance in contexts.

Examples

NOUN

- | | | | | |
|----|------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|
| a) | ghar | "home" | ghar-ghar | "each and every home" |
| b) | gaāv | "village" | gāv-gaāv | "each and every village" |
| c) | khet | "farm" | khet-khet | "each and every farm" |

- (7) baaghargharbhikmañjeche
hehome homealms ask Aux-3msg
"He begs for alms home to home."

In above example (7), we can clearly see that a grammatical category NOUN as a base word, is reduplicated or repeated completely or fully to form a complete word reduplication. It conveys a wide or modified semantic meaning of the base word after reduplication process. It also indicates the pragmatic or contextual meanings, largely used by the speakers in Dhundari. Here, in the example (7), it is shown that the speaker's focus and emphasis on this complete reduplicated word "gharghar" is to convey his/her intention or information by reduplicating the base word "ghar". Therefore, the complete reduplicated word "gharghar" carries a meaning of emphasis or focus and plurality.

WH-QUESTION

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|---------|------------|--------------|
| a) | KuN | "who" | KuNKuN | "who all" |
| b) | KhaaN | "where" | KhaaNKhaaN | "where else" |

- (8) kuNkuNaayocho
whowho come Aux PSNT
"Who all has came?"

ADJECTIVES

- | | | | | |
|----|---------|---------|----------------|--------------|
| a) | hari | "green" | harihari | "very green" |
| b) | gulaabi | "pink" | gulaabigulaabi | "very pink" |
| c) | kaalaa | "black" | kaalaakaalaa | "very black" |

- (9) baakigulaabigulaabiaankhechhe
sheDatpink pinkeyes Aux 3msg
"She has pink eyes."

Here, in the above example (9), the reduplicated form "gulaabigulaabi" (pinkish) 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 (harihari in Dhundari) in English. Therefore, the adjective can be reduplicated to intensify the quality of the adjective.

VERBS

a)	khata	“eating”	khatakhata	“continuity of eating”
b)	rota	“weeping”	rotarota	“continuity of weeping”
c)	bolta	“speaking”	boltabolta	“continuity of speaking”
d)	pəḍhta	“studying”	pəḍhtapəḍhta	“continuity of studying”
e)	chəḷta	“walking”	chəḷtachəḷta	“continuity of walking”

- (10) baakitaabpaDhtaapaDhtaaso ga-yo
 hebook study study sleep go-PST
 “He slept while studying book.”

In the above example, it is indicated that when verbs are reduplicated or repeated then it remains verbal in nature but it functions as adverbial, called Reduplicated Verbal Adverb (RVADV). Reduplicated Verbal Adverb clearly conveys the aspectual meanings when it occurs with main verbs in a sentence in Dhundari like other Indian languages.

QUANTIFIER

a)	do	“two”	do do	“only two”
b)	tin	“three”	tin tin	“only three”

- (11) sitaakiguDiyado dogaaDichhe
 SitaDatnear two twocar Aux 3fsg Prest
 “Sita has only two cars.”

In above example (14), 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.

The present observations agree with Tannen (1987) who points out that in complete word reduplication process, the base word is reduplicated completely or fully and conveys the different semantic meanings and pragmatic sense. 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.

4.2.3.2. Partial Word Reduplication

Partial word reduplication refers to the partial repetition of a phoneme or a syllable of the base word carrying a semantic modification. According to Abbi (1992), the 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, kha-tekha-te “while eating” where present imperfect oblique marking -te is repeated twice.

In Dhundari, no such partial word reduplication is observed, but there is a huge range of echo-formation constructions and play a significant role in the grammar of the Dhundari 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, capabilitative passives and so on. Echo-formation is also considered as a partial word reduplication that has been already discussed earlier in detail.

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

4.2.3.3. Discontinuous Word Reduplication

Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DWR) may be defined as the base form or the syllable or the phonemes of the base word are reduplicated and it necessarily takes an infix between the base form and the reduplicated form, it is called Discontinuous Word Reduplication. The inserted elements may be some words such as postpositions, negation marker (na), connector elements and empty syllable and so on (Parimalagantham, 2009).

It is also observed in Dhundari. The speakers unconsciously use it to refer to the minimum or maximum quantity of something. Let's have a glance at examples below.

Examples

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| a) kamsukam | “minimum” |
| b) begosebego | “very fast” |
| c) kaāytokaāy | “somewhere” |
| d) koito koi | “someone” |
| e) paanihipaani | “only water” |
| f) kitaabhikitaab | “only books” |

- (12) mhaaridukanme kitaabhikitaabche
myshop in book Dwrbook Aux 1msg Prsnt
“There is nothing in my shop only books.”

After observing the above examples, it is not difficult to generate the pattern or structure of the Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DWR) in the Dhundari language. Here both a base word and

a reduplicated form of base word are connected with an inserted element or morpheme.

[A Base Word] --- {*Inserted element*} --- [Reduplicated Form]

/bego/ /su//bego/

“very fast”

Fig.05. Structure of Discontinuous Word Reduplication

The phenomenon of Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DWR) is widely observed and found in all the Indian languages and other South Asian languages too.

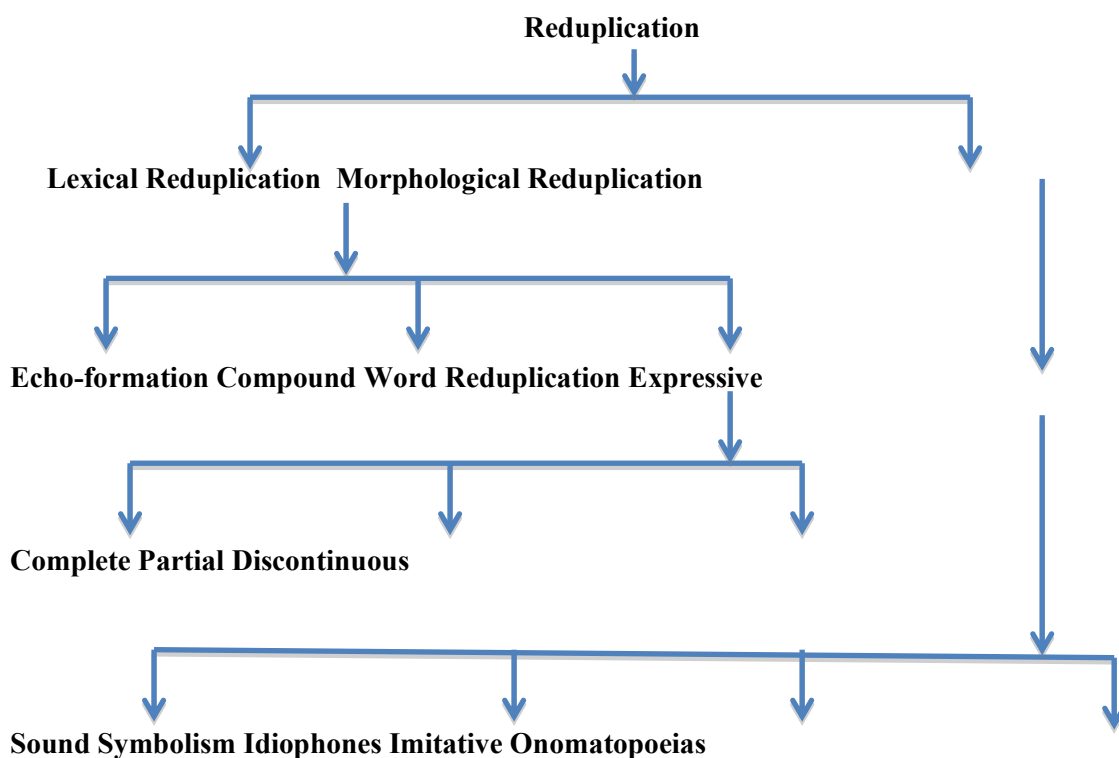


Fig.06. Types of Reduplication Structures (Abbi, 1992)

5. Repetition in Dhundari

A linguistic term Repetition refers to a semi-morphological process, in which an item is completely duplicated or triplicated. Repetition plays a significant role in a word formation process in the African languages. It helps in the creation of a new grammatical class in most of the African languages. It is considered as a very productive and generative phenomenon in the grammar of the language to derive a new lexical item and widely found at phrases and syntactic level (Bernhard, 2005).

The phenomenon of Repetition is also observed in the Dhundari language at the phrases and

sentences level. As a matter of fact, it produces a range of emphasis, pragmatic, and discourse features or functions in the sentences of Dhundari. In Dhundari like other Indian languages, it does not play an important role in a word formation process but it plays a significant role at the pragmatic level.

In fact, it is widely found that people repeat the word more than once to emphasize or have a turn taking in the middle of the conversation to say something to the listeners. Repetition is a communicative reinforcement that is used to have speaker's attention, when speakers want to express and utter something. The process of repetition is occurred at the market place, working place 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) aamaamaam "mangoes"
- b) paanipaani "water"
- c) kaamkaamkaam "work"

In the village's market place, the seller who sells anything like mangoes, repeat the word "aam" (mango) three or four times at a stretch continuously to have the attention of the buyers so that they can buy their mangoes. Repetition does not have the iconicity feature as reduplication does. Repetition is a syntactic and pragmatic or discourse meaning and a sense that exist in the speakers or listeners. So this kind of repetition process is observed in Dhundari as well.

6. Differences 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. In Dhundari, gebogebo "very fast".	Repetition is a process, in which a word is repeated more than one and it is not equal to the base word. In Dhundari, panipanipani "water".
It is fully morphological and phonological process in the grammar of the language.	It is a semi-morphological and phonological process in the grammar of the language.
It has a feature of iconic interpretation of a word.	It does not have a feature of iconic sense of a word.
It is not a communicative reinforcement.	Completely a communicative reinforcement.
It has only two numbers of copies in total.	It has more than two numbers of copies in total.

The Creative Launcher

An International, Open Access, Peer Reviewed, Refereed, E- Journal in English
UGC Approved

Example., gaate-gaate “singing continuously ”	Example., aamaamaam “mangoes”
It is completely related to the word and word-formation process in the Dhundari language.	It is completely related to the syntactic, pragmatic and discourse meanings in Dhundari.
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 the speaker’s attention& a turn taking during a conversation and discussion.
It is a very productive process in Dhundari.	It is not a productive process in Dhundari.

7. Conclusion and Discussion

Finally, I summarize my paper by asking a basic common question on reduplication is that which side of the whole lexical item is repeated or reduplicated whether left or right base, e.g., chaltaachaltāa “walking walking”? It is unanimously not easy to accept the ‘reduplication’ as a single independent item. What is the grammatical category of reduplication as a single independent lexical item?

Reduplication is a very common feature of Indian languages. The present observation shows that the reduplication is a morphological process, which plays a significant role in creating a single new lexical item in at morphological, and lexical level and conveying a wide range of semantically modified meaning at word, sentence, and semantic levels in the grammar of Dhundari. The findings also indicate that the reduplication process is a salient feature of Dhundari like other Indian languages. It is an inherent characteristic of this language.

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 is also observed in Dhundari. Hardly, any previous studies talked about this feature. Very few linguists like myself have talked about the phenomenon of repetition in Indian languages like in Maithili. My personal experience and observations witness that it may be a kind of feature in Indian languages as well to some extent as it does in Dhundari.

References

- Abbi, Anvita, and Victor, Ahum. *Expressive Morphology and Manner Adverbs in Khasi, Tangkhul and Kuki Chin Languages*. In Abbi (eds.) *Languages of Tribal and Indigenous Peoples of India and The Ethnic Space*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas. 1997. Print.
- Abbi, Anvita. “Reduplicated Adverbs of Manner and Cause of Hindi”, *Indian Linguistics*, vol. 38, No.

- 2.pp. 125-135. 1977. Print.
- Abbi, Anvita. *Reduplication in South Asian Languages: An Areal, Typological and Historical Study*. New Delhi: Allied published, 1992. Print.
- Asad, M. "A Lexical Comparison of Maithili and Bengali: A Descriptive Study", *Nepalese Linguistics*, vol. 29:12, pp. 92-96. 2014. Print.
- Asad, M. "A Study of Grammaticalization of Verb 'lag' in Modern Maithili", *Journal of Language in India*, ISSN1930-2940, vol. 13:10, pp. 93-104. 2013. Print.
- Asad, M. "Linguistic Death of Kurukh Spoken in Orissa". In Ganesan, M (ed.), *Language Endangerment in South Asia*, ISBN No. 978-81-925538-0-1, vol. No. 1, pp. 94-110. Centre for Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University. 2013. Print.
- Asad, M. "Reduplication in Modern Maithili", *Language in India*, ISSN 1930-2940, vol. 15:4 April 2015, pp. 28-58. Print.
- Asad, M. *Acoustic Analysis of Vowels in Modern Maithili: A Descriptive Study of three varieties*. JNU: M.Phil Dissertation. 2013. Unpublished.
- Asad, M. *Acoustic Study of Stop Consonants in Maithili*. JNU: Ph.D Thesis. 2016. Unpublished.
- Asad, M., & Jha, A. "Classifiers in Modern Maithili", *Nepalese Linguistics*, vol. 29:22, pp. 158-164. 2014. Print.
- Chatterji, S. K. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, India. 1926. Print.
- D-10785. Berlin
- Diffloth, Gerald. "Expressives in Semai", *Austro-Asiatic Studies Oceanic Linguistics*. Special Publication No. 13 (Eds.) Jennen, L.C., Thompson and Stanley Starosta. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press. 1976. Print.
- Emeneau, M. B. "Onomatopoeics in the Indian Linguistics Area" *Language*, vol. 45:2, pp. 274-299. 1969. Print.
- Gordon, Raymond. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 15th Edition. 2005. Print.
- Hurch, Bernhard. *Studies on Reduplication*, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG. 2005. Print.
- Marantz, Alec. "Re: Reduplication, Linguistic Enquiry". vol. 13. pp. 483-545. 1982. Print.
- Murthy, Chidhanandha. "Formation of Echo-Words in Kannada", *Proceedings of the Second All India Conference of Dravidian Linguistics* (Eds.) G. N. Reddy. 1972. Print. No. 123-136.
- O'Grady, O. W and Guzman. *Morphology: The Analysis of Word Structure*. In O'Grady, O. W, M. Dobrovolsky and F. Katamba (eds.) *Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction*. UK: Addison Longman Limited. 1996. Print.

-
- Parimalagantham, A. "A Study of Structural Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu", *Language in India*, vol.9. 8 August 2009. ISSN- 1930-2940.
- Pei, M. A. *Glossary of Linguistic Terminology*. New York: Garden City. 1996. Print. Press, Chicago.
- Spencer, Andre. *Morphological Theory. An Introduction to Word Structure in Generative Grammar*. Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell. 1991. Print.
- Tannen, Deborah. Repetition and Variation as Spontaneous Formula city in Conversation. *Language*, vol. 63. No. 3. pp. 574-605. 1987. Print.
- Wilbur, Ronnie. *The Phonology of Reduplication*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club. 1973. Print. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhundari_language