

Reduplication in Gojri: A Semantic Analysis

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Abstract

This article aims at exploring the semantic functions of reduplication in Gojri. Qualitative descriptive approach is used for this study as the collected data is analyzed qualitatively. Reduplication is the largest semantic class of Gojri compounds. In this semantic class, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and prepositions are reduplicated. This involves full and partial reduplication. The semantic functions of reduplication are to increase or decrease the intensity or the frequency of the meanings. Other semantic functions are augmentation, diminution, distribution, plurality, generalization and emphasis.

Key Words: Gojri, Compounds, Semantic Functions, Reduplication

1. Introduction

Gojri is the language of Gujjars inhabiting in the mountainous regions of Pakistan and India as well as in Kashmir (Pakistan) and Kashmir (India). The origin of Gujjars is a controversial subject. Massica (1993) states that some of them (scholars) are of the opinions that the Gujjars are the descendants of the “Kushan” and “Yuchi” tribes which are considered to be the tribes of Eastern Tartars (USSR). Others are of the view that they are of an indigenous origin. Modern researchers are of the view that Gojri is a branch of Indo-Aryan languages. Losey (2002) claims that Sanskrit is the origin of Gojri.

Like other Indo-Aryan languages, Gojri is rich in compound words. Compounding is a morphological process to form a new word. Seaghoda (2008) states that compounds are used to convey the broader meanings.

The reduplicated compounds are made by the repetition of first word. The repeated constituent is termed as reduplicant. The compound made by this process is termed as reduplicated compound and this phenomenon is called reduplication. Spenser (1991) claims that the reduplicant can be a prefix, a suffix, or an infix. The reduplicant can happen as a word; it can take place as a morpheme or as a syllable. Sankaranarayanan (2002) asserts that the reduplication is a distinctive characteristic of Dravidian and Indo – Aryan languages.

2. Full Reduplication

In the process of full reduplication, whole word or morpheme is repeated. Gojri reduplication involves the reduplication of Nouns, Adjectives, Verbs, Adverbs, Pronouns and Prepositions. The reduplicated compounds perform following semantic functions.

2.1 Augmentation

Augmentation is the semantic function that is performed by full reduplication in Gojri. Augmentation is the enlargement in the meanings. The enlargement can be in size, frequency or intensity of meanings. See following examples:

Table: 1

1)	Stem- I	Stem- II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>kaaLo</i> (black)	<i>kaaLo</i> (black)	<i>kaaLo kaaLo</i>	Very black
b-	<i>piiLo</i> (yellow)	<i>piiLo</i> (yellow)	<i>piiLo piiLo</i>	Very yellow
c-	<i>du~go</i> (deep)	<i>du~go</i> (deep)	<i>du~go du~go</i>	Very deep
d-	<i>lamo</i> (tall)	<i>lamo</i> (tall)	<i>lamo lamo</i>	Very tall
e-	<i>baRo</i> (big)	<i>baRo</i> (big)	<i>baRo baRo</i>	Very big
f-	<i>bahlo</i> (quickly)	<i>bahlo</i> (quickly)	<i>bahlo bahlo</i>	Very quickly
g-	<i>roz</i> (everyday)	<i>roz</i> (everyday)	<i>roz roz</i>	Everyday

h-	<i>koL</i> (near)	<i>koL</i> (near)	<i>koL koL</i>	Very near
i-	<i>ucho</i> (high)	<i>ucho</i> (high)	<i>ucho ucho</i>	Very high

In the above examples 1 (a-i) the first stem is repeated for full reduplication. The function of this is the increment in the meanings. In example (a) the adjective ‘*kaLo*’ is reduplicated to make a compound ‘*kaLo kaLo*’ is the enlargement in the meaning that something is very black and same is the case with example (b) where ‘*piiLo piiLo*’ means something very yellow.

‘*du~go du~go*’ in example (c) is the reduplication of adjective ‘*du~go*’ which means something very deep. In examples (d-e), adjectives are reduplicated. ‘*lamo lamo*’ in example (d) means something very tall. ‘*baRo baRo*’ in example (e) intensifies the meaning as something very big. So in this way the meanings of adjectives are enlarged. Example (f) denotes that the adverb ‘*bahlo*’ is reduplicated that intensifies the meanings that something is done very quickly. In example (g) adverb ‘*roz*’ is reduplicated which increases the meanings in frequency. ‘*koL koL*’ in example (h) shows that preposition ‘*koL*’ is repeated to intensify the meanings. In example (i) adjective ‘*ucho*’ is reduplicated for increment in the meanings so ‘*ucho ucho*’ means something very high.

2.2 Diminution

Diminution is the function of some reduplicated compounds and the reduplication reduces the meanings in size or extent. Following examples exhibit this phenomenon:

Table: 2

2)	Stem- I	Stem- II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>matho</i> (slow)	<i>matho</i> (slow)	<i>matho matho</i>	Very slowly
b-	<i>niko</i> (little)	<i>niko</i> (little)	<i>niko niko</i>	Very little
c-	<i>masa~</i> (hardly)	<i>masa~</i> (hardly)	<i>masa~ masa~</i>	With great difficulty
d-	<i>kaḍy</i> (sometime)	<i>kaḍy</i> (sometime)	<i>kaḍy kaḍy</i>	Rarely
e-	<i>kiṭe</i> (sometime)	<i>kiṭe</i> (sometime)	<i>kiṭe kiṭe</i>	Rarely

In the above examples 2(a-e) diminutive effect is imparted by the reduplication. There is a reduction in the size intensity and frequency of meanings. ‘*matho matho*’ decreases the intensity ‘*matho*’ means slowly and ‘*matho matho*’ means very slowly. ‘*niko*’ in example (b) indicates small or little and ‘*niko niko*’ indicates something very small. It reveals the diminutive effect in relation with size. ‘*masa~*’ in example (c) means hardly and ‘*masa~ masa~*’ indicates that something is done with great difficulty. This diminutive effect is in the sense of intensity. In example (d) ‘*kaḍy kaḍy*’ indicates the diminutive effect in terms of frequency. Same is the case with example (e) where ‘*kiṭe kiṭe*’ means rarely and indicates diminutive effect in terms of frequency.

2.3 Distribution and Plurality

Reduplication of interrogative pronouns performs the semantic function of distribution and plurality. This phenomenon is given below:

Table: 3

3)	Stem- I	Stem- II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>kehRo</i> (which)	<i>kehRo</i> (which)	<i>kehRo kehRo</i>	Which persons
b-	<i>kaḍ</i> (when)	<i>kaḍ</i> (when)	<i>kaḍ kaḍ</i>	At what time
c-	<i>koN</i> (who)	<i>koN</i> (who)	<i>koN koN</i>	Which persons
d-	<i>Kiṭ</i> (where)	<i>kiṭ</i> (where)	<i>kiṭ kiṭ</i>	Which places
e-	<i>ke</i> (what)	<i>ke</i> (what)	<i>ke ke</i>	Which things

The above reduplicated compounds perform the functions of distribution and plurality.

Consider the following sentences:

- 4) a- *kehRo kehRo kam kre go?*
Which which work do will
‘Which persons will do the work?’
- b- *ṭe~ ke ke dekhyo?*
You what what saw

‘What did you see?’

c- *koN koN kataab paRe ʒho?*

Who who book read was

‘Who was reading the book?’

In the above example 4 (a) the reduplicated compound, ‘*kehRo kehRo*’ performs the function of distribution and plurality. Distribution indicates that out of many people few are asked to do the work. Plurality denotes that more than one person is asked to do the work. 4 (b) shows the same phenomenon of distribution and plurality. Distribution in the sense that out of many things some are seen and plurality indicates that more than one thing has been seen. In example (c) same phenomenon of distribution and plurality is represented by the reduplicated compound, ‘*koN koN*’ that means that out of many persons some were reading books that is the distributive function and plurality means that more than one person was reading books.

2.4 Continuance or Distribution over Time

Reduplicated compounds also perform the semantic function of continuance or distribution over the stretch of time. Perpetuation indicates that the activity persists till the occurrence of another action and the distribution demonstrates that the action is carried out over the certain stretch of time. See following examples:

Table: 4

5)	Stem- I	Stem- II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>baiṣṭa~</i> (sitting)	<i>baiṣṭa~</i> (sitting)	<i>baiṣṭa~ baiṣṭa~</i>	While sitting
b-	<i>khaLṭa~</i> (standing)	<i>khaLṭa~</i> (standing)	<i>khaLṭa~ khaLṭa~</i>	While standing
c-	<i>naṣṭa~</i> (running)	<i>naṣṭa~</i> (running)	<i>naṣṭa~ naṣṭa~</i>	While running
d-	<i>jaṭa~</i> (walking)	<i>jaṭa~</i> (walking)	<i>jaṭa~ jaṭa~</i>	While walking
e-	<i>haṣṭa~</i> (laughing)	<i>haṣṭa~</i> (laughing)	<i>haṣṭa~ haṣṭa~</i>	While laughing

The semantic function of continuance and distribution over time is shown in the following sentence:

- 6) a- *us ne baiṣṭa~ baiṣṭa~ kaṭaab chahii.*
'He picked up the book while sitting'.

The above reduplicated compound '*baiṣṭa~ baiṣṭa~*' indicates that the book was picked up while sitting. Here the book was picked up over a definite stretch of time and perpetuation indicates that the book was picked up till he sat.

2.5 Simultaneity

The reduplicated compounds of verbs show the simultaneity in the performance of action. This phenomenon is illustrated in the following sentences:

- 7) a- *gaḍro naṣṭa~ naṣṭa~ buut le geio.*
'The boy took the shoes while running'.

In the above example 7 (a) '*naṣṭa~ naṣṭa~*' indicates that the boy performed both the actions simultaneously. It means that the boy took the shoes while running. At the same time the boy was running and taking the shoes.

- 7) b- *mashtar ne haṣṭa~ haṣṭa~ ṭhapaR maryo.*
'The teacher slapped while laughing'.

The reduplicated compound, '*haṣṭa~ haṣṭa~*' indicates that the two actions are performed by the teacher at the same time. The teacher was laughing when he slapped. So there is simultaneity in the actions of the teacher.

2.6 Prolongation

Reduplicated compounds have the semantic function of prolongation that means that the action is performed for a long time. This phenomenon is represented as under:

- 8) a- *gaḍro khaa khaa ge rajyo.*
'The boy was fed up while eating for a long time'.

'*khaa khaa*' in the above example shows the prolongation in the activity of eating. It describes that the boy has been eating for a long time and then got fed up.

- 8) b- *Akbar deikh deikh ge thak geyo.*
 'Akbar got tired while watching for a long time'.

In the above example the prolongation of activity is shown by the reduplicated compound verb '*deikh deikh*'. It shows that Akbar has been watching for a long time and then got tired.

2.7 Generalization

Generalization is another semantic function of reduplicated compounds of Gojri. The reduplicated compounds of nouns give the general and common meanings.

See examples below:

Table: 5

9)	Stem- I	Stem- II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>dogo</i> (field)	<i>dogo</i> (field)	<i>dogo dogo</i>	Field to field
b-	<i>kono</i> (corner)	<i>kono</i> (corner)	<i>kono kono</i>	Corner to corner
c-	<i>gra~</i> (village)	<i>gra~</i> (village)	<i>gra~ gra~</i>	Village to village
d-	<i>jagaa</i> (place)	<i>jagaa</i> (place)	<i>Jagaa Jagaa</i>	Place to place
e-	<i>kahar</i> (house)	<i>kahar</i> (house)	<i>kahar kahar</i>	House to house
f-	<i>bacho</i> (child)	<i>bacho</i> (child)	<i>bacho bacho</i>	Every body

The example 9(a) indicates that '*dogo dogo*' means general fields not a specific field. So the compound '*dogo dogo*' generalizes the fields. Same is the case with examples (b-f) where the reduplicated compounds convey the general meanings.

2.8 Totalization

The reduplicated temporal nouns convey the totalizing meanings. Totalization implies the habitual aspect and it also entails that the activity has been performed over the whole period of time. See examples below:

Table: 6

10)	Stem- I	Stem- II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>kahaRii</i> (moment)	<i>kahaRii</i> (moment)	<i>kahaRii kahaRii</i>	The whole time
b-	<i>saal</i> (year)	<i>saal</i> (year)	<i>saal saal</i>	The whole year
c-	<i>maheeno</i> (month)	<i>maheeno</i> (month)	<i>maheeno maheeno</i>	The whole month
d-	<i>ṭehaaRii</i> (day)	<i>ṭehaaRii</i> (day)	<i>ṭehaaRii ṭehaaRii</i>	The whole day
e-	<i>raaṭ</i> (night)	<i>raaṭ</i> (night)	<i>raaṭ raaṭ</i>	The whole night

The above compounds indicate two aspects. These indicate that the activity has been carried out for the whole period of time. These compounds also denote the habitual performance or activity. This phenomenon is illustrated in the following sentence:

11) a- *bodho kahaRii kahaRii naswar khaye.*

‘The old man takes snuff for the whole time’.

In example 11(a) the compound ‘*kahaRii kahaRii*’ indicates the habitual use of snuff. It also implies that the snuff is taken for the whole time. In this way these duplicated compounds of temporal nouns totalize the meanings.

3. Partial Reduplication

Partial Reduplication is the productive semantic class of Gojri compounds. The words are reduplicated for compounding in order to imply an augmentative effect. The second stem of the compound does not exist independently and it implies meanings when it is compounded with the first stem. Following examples exhibit this phenomenon:

Table: 7

12)	Stem- I	Stem- II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>loR</i> (search)	<i>laaR</i> (-)	<i>loR laaR</i>	To search thoroughly
b-	<i>ṭohoo</i> (wash)	<i>ṭahaa</i> (-)	<i>ṭohoo ṭahaa</i>	To wash thoroughly

c-	<i>kuuch</i> (wash)	<i>kaach</i> (-)	<i>kuuch kaach</i>	To wash thoroughly
d-	<i>krohoR</i> (scratch)	<i>krahaaR</i> (-)	<i>krohoR krahaaR</i>	To scratch thoroughly
e-	<i>puuchh</i> (wipe)	<i>Paachh</i> (-)	<i>puuchh paachh</i>	To wipe thoroughly
f-	<i>mun</i> (trim)	<i>man</i> (-)	<i>mun man</i>	To trim thoroughly
g-	<i>kap</i> (cut)	<i>kup</i> (-)	<i>kap kup</i>	To cut thoroughly
h-	<i>maL</i> (split)	<i>muL</i> (-)	<i>maL muL</i>	To split thoroughly
i-	<i>ḍaL</i> (mash)	<i>ḍuL</i> (-)	<i>ḍaL ḍuL</i>	To mash thoroughly

The examples given above indicate the change in vowel in the second stem of a compound. The second stem is not meaningful and cannot exist independently. This becomes meaningful when it is compounded with the first meaningful word. The above examples also denote that the Gojri verbs are partially duplicated that imply the augmentative effect. In examples 12(a-b) the first constituents of compounds are partially reduplicated and there are the changes in internal vowels of the second reduplicated stems. In these examples the consonants are reduplicated and changes occur in the internal vowels where ‘O’ of first stem is replaced by ‘a’ in the second stem. ‘*loR*’ means search and *laaR* is meaningless but when it gets into compounding it becomes ‘*loR laaR*’ that means to search thoroughly.

Same is the case with 12(b). In examples 12(g-i) indicate that the ‘a’ of first stems is replaced by ‘u’ in the second reduplicated stems.

4. Onomatopoeic Compounds

Masica (1991) states that the onomatopoeic formation is a significant feature of the languages of the South and Southeast Asian regions. Onomatopoeia is the formation of a word from a sound associated with what is named. Onomatopoeic compounds contain the reduplicated sounds to form the compounds. See examples below:

Table: 8

13)	Stem-I	Stem-II	Compound	Gloss

a-	<i>dam</i>	<i>dam</i>	<i>dam dam</i>	Sound of drum
b-	<i>prii~</i>	<i>prii~</i>	<i>prii~ prii~</i>	Sound of a whistle
c-	<i>khash</i>	<i>khash</i>	<i>khash khash</i>	Sound produced by walking on sand
d-	<i>shap</i>	<i>shap</i>	<i>shap shap</i>	Sound produced by cutting wood with a saw
e-	<i>khaRap</i>	<i>khaRap</i>	<i>khaRap khaRap</i>	Sound produced by walking on a hard surface
f-	<i>ghur</i>	<i>ghur</i>	<i>ghur ghur</i>	Whispering
g-	<i>shaR</i>	<i>shaR</i>	<i>shaR shaR</i>	Sound produced by flowing water
h-	<i>sar</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>sar sar</i>	Sound produced by burning
i-	<i>khaR</i>	<i>khaR</i>	<i>khaR khaR</i>	Sound produced by dry leaves
j-	<i>phaR</i>	<i>phaR</i>	<i>phaR phaR</i>	Sound produced by wings of birds
k-	<i>ḍak</i>	<i>ḍak</i>	<i>ḍak ḍak</i>	Sound produced by throbbing of heart
l-	<i>ḍraz</i>	<i>ḍraz</i>	<i>ḍraz ḍraz</i>	Sound produced by opening the door
m-	<i>daz</i>	<i>daz</i>	<i>daz daz</i>	Sound of gun
n-	<i>khur</i>	<i>khur</i>	<i>khur khur</i>	Sound produced by scratching
o-	<i>shuR</i>	<i>shuR</i>	<i>shuR shuR</i>	Sound produced by sipping tea
p-	<i>shuu~</i>	<i>shuu~</i>	<i>shuu~ shuu~</i>	Sound produced by snake
q-	<i>ḍahR</i>	<i>ḍahR</i>	<i>ḍahR ḍahR</i>	Sound produced by running

r-	<i>chuu~</i>	<i>chuu~</i>	<i>chuu~ chuu~</i>	Sound of chickens
s-	<i>kuR</i>	<i>kuR</i>	<i>kuR kuR</i>	Sound of hen

The above onomatopoeic compounds given in 13(a-s) are the symbolic sounds. These sounds do not exist in isolation. When these sounds are reduplicated, they indicate the associated sounds.

4.1 Echo Compounds

Masica (1991) asserts that the echo-formation mostly involves a noun to be echoed by substituting the initial consonant. Trivedi (1990) states that in echo-formation the initial syllable of a word is substituted by another syllable in the second stem. The second stem is meaningless and it becomes meaningful when it is compounded with the first stem. Koul (2008) says that the semantic relationship of similarity or association exists between the two stems.

See the following examples:

Table: 9

14)	Stem-I	Stem-II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>mehais</i> (buffalo)	<i>shehais(-)</i>	<i>mehais shehais</i>	Buffalo and the like
b-	<i>gaa~</i> (cow)	<i>shaa~ (-)</i>	<i>gaa~ shaa~</i>	Cow and the like
c-	<i>bakrii</i> (goat)	<i>shakri (-)</i>	<i>bakrii shakrii</i>	Goat and the like
d-	<i>paaNii</i> (water)	<i>shaaNii (-)</i>	<i>paaNii shaNii</i>	Water and the like
e-	<i>palaa</i> (clothes)	<i>shalaa (-)</i>	<i>palaa shalaa</i>	Clothes and the like

In the above echoed compounds the initial consonants are replaced by /f/ in the second stem. These echoed compounds convey broader meanings. Example 14(a) indicates that stem one is meaningful and stem two is meaningless. Second stem conveys meanings when gets into

compounding with the first stem. ‘*meehais shehais*’ means buffalo and other cattle like buffalo. Same meanings are conveyed by other examples (b-e).

Borrowed words are also echoed as:

Table: 10

15)	Stem-I	Stem-II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>mobile</i>	<i>shobile</i>	<i>mobile shobile</i>	Mobile and the like
b-	<i>Pen</i>	<i>shin</i>	<i>pen shin</i>	Pen and the like
c-	<i>bed</i>	<i>shed</i>	<i>bed shed</i>	Bed and the like
d-	<i>computer</i>	<i>shamputer</i>	<i>computer shamputer</i>	Computer and the like
e-	<i>Book</i>	<i>shuk</i>	<i>book shuk</i>	Book and the like

All the above words given in (40) are borrowed from English and echoed like Gojri. English does not have such echo compounds. Some Gojri compounds are echoed as:

Table: 11

16)	Stem-I	Stem-II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>ḍuḍaR</i> (dust)	<i>puusaR (-)</i>	<i>ḍuḍar puusar</i>	Dirty
b-	<i>puuro</i> (complete)	<i>suuro (-)</i>	<i>puuro suuro</i>	Completed
c-	<i>iinuu~</i> (ring)	<i>miinuu~ (-)</i>	<i>iinuu~ miinuu~</i>	Entangled
d-	<i>koro</i> (untouched)	<i>nkoro (-)</i>	<i>koro nkoro</i>	Untouched
e-	<i>ṭiṭar</i> (scattered)	<i>biṭar (-)</i>	<i>ṭiṭar biṭar</i>	Dispersed
f-	<i>suṭhro</i> (clean)	<i>puṭhro (-)</i>	<i>suṭhro puṭhro</i>	Neat and clean

The above compounds in examples (16) are echoed compound. These compounds are adjectives and imply augmentative effect.

5. Semantic Reduplication

Semantic reduplication deals with the combination of synonymous or nearly synonymous words. In this phenomenon two words of the same meaning are combined together. Semantic reduplication is common in Gojri. Semantic reduplication is studied under the following headings:

5.1 Distinguishable Constituents

In this semantic reduplication the components of distinguishable meanings are combined. These types of reduplicated compounds imply the augmentative effect. See examples below:

Table: 12

17)	Stem-I	Stem-II	Compound	Gloss
a-	luuLo (without arm)	la~gRo (without leg)	luuLo la~gRo	Crippled
b-	ka~No~(blind)	mundo (crippled)	ka~No~ mundo	Crippled
c-	miN~(measure)	giN~ (count)	miN~ giN~	Measure

In examples 17(a-b) ‘luuLo’, ‘Lag~Ro’ and ‘Ka~No~’, ‘mundo’ are from the same semantic field. They have the same semantic meanings. Same is the case with (c) where ‘miN~’ and ‘giN~’ are from same semantic field and have the same meanings. These constituents are distinguishable as these refer to different entities.

5.2 Undistinguishable Constituents

In this type of semantic reduplication the synonymous words are combined which are not distinguishable. Consider the following examples:

Table: 13

18)	Stem-I	Stem-II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>yamlo</i> (senseless)	<i>sheRo</i> (senseless)	<i>yamlo sheRo</i>	Abnormal
b-	<i>piir</i> (saint)	<i>fkiir</i> (saint)	<i>piir fkiir</i>	Saint
c-	<i>shaaḍii</i> (marriage)	<i>beia</i> (marriage)	<i>shaaḍii beia</i>	Marriage
d-	<i>rishṭo</i> (relation)	<i>naaṭo</i> (relation)	<i>rishṭo naaṭo</i>	Relations
e-	<i>doro</i> (deaf)	<i>ṭakahn</i> (deaf)	<i>doro ṭakahn</i>	deaf

In examples 18(a-e) the constituents of compounds have exactly the same meanings and in this way are undistinguishable. These types of reduplicated compounds have augmentative effect.

5.3 Synonymic Reduplication

Gojri synonymic reduplication involves two words of same meanings but one from Gojri and second from any other language. In this way one foreign and one local word are combined to form a compound. These compounds convey general meanings.

See this phenomenon as under:

Table: 14

19)	Stem-I	Stem-II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>saag</i> (vegetable)	<i>sabzii</i> (vegetable)	<i>saag sabzii</i>	vegetables
b-	<i>baL</i> (fraud)	<i>fraib</i> (fraud)	<i>bal fraib</i>	fraud
c-	<i>pahanda</i> (pots)	<i>bartan</i> (pots)	<i>pahanda bartan</i>	pots
d-	<i>palaa</i> (clothes)	<i>kapRaa</i> (clothes)	<i>palaa kapRaa</i>	clothes
e-	<i>gal</i> (talk)	<i>baaṭ</i> (talk)	<i>gal baaṭ</i>	negotiation
f-	<i>bia</i> (marriage)	<i>shaaḍii</i>	<i>bia shaaḍii</i>	wedding

		(marriage)		
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In the above examples, 19(a-f) stem one contains all the local words of Gojri whereas stem two has all the words of Urdu. So Gojri words are compounded with Urdu words to convey general meanings.

5.4 Emphatic Compounds

Semantic reduplication emphasizes the meanings. That is why these compounds are termed as emphatic compounds. Two synonymous words are combined to convey intensified meanings. See examples below:

Table: 15

20)	Stem-I	Stem-II	Compound	Gloss
a-	<i>sheepo</i> (noise)	<i>hakRii</i> (noise)	<i>sheepo hakRii</i>	Loud noise
b-	<i>dand</i> (noise)	<i>roLo</i> (noise)	<i>dand roLo</i>	A loud noise
c-	<i>piiLo</i> (yellow)	<i>zard</i> (yellow)	<i>piiLo zard</i>	Bright yellow
d-	<i>kaaLo</i> (black)	<i>seyaa</i> (black)	<i>kaaLo seyaa</i>	Dark black
e-	<i>raṭo</i> (red)	<i>laal</i> (red)	<i>raṭo laal</i>	Dark red
f-	<i>paaL</i> (prevention)	<i>parhaiz</i> (prevention)	<i>paaL parhaiz</i>	Prevention
g-	<i>tehal</i> (care)	<i>sevaa</i> (care)	<i>tehal sevaa</i>	Service

In example 20(a) '*sheepo hakRii*' means a loud noise. Both the constituents have the same meanings but are combined for emphasis. Same is the case with 20(b) where '*dand*' and '*roLo*' have the same meanings but are joined for intensification. In example (c) '*piiLo*' is a Gojri word and '*zard*' is an Urdu word but the compounding intensifies the meanings that means bright yellow. Same is the case with examples (d-e) where '*kaaLo seyaa*' and '*ra ṭo laal*' mean dark black and dark red respectively. Stem one of these compounds contains Gojri words and stem two contains Urdu words. In example 20(f) '*paaL*' is a Gojri word and *parhaiz* is an Urdu word. Both have the same meanings. These two words are joined to make '*paaL parhaiz*' which

means ‘prevention’ this compounding emphasize the meanings. Example 20(g) indicates that ‘tehal’ is a Gojri word and ‘sevaa’ is a Hindi word. Both are synonymous words. These two words are combined for emphasis, so ‘tehal sevaa’ means ‘intensive care’.

Conclusion

The functional analysis of reduplicated compounds indicates that this is the largest semantic class of Gojri compounds. In this semantic class, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and prepositions are reduplicated. This involves full and partial reduplication. The semantic functions of reduplication are to increase or decrease the frequency, intensity or size in the sense of meanings. Other semantic functions of reduplication are augmentation, diminution, distribution, plurality and generalization. Like other Indo-Aryan languages the reduplication also emphasizes the meanings. In partial reduplication the second stem of the compound does not exist independently and it implies meanings when it is compounded with the first stem. The reduplicated words in Gojri have no alternate words for conveying the meanings and in this way two words are reduplicated to fill the vocabulary gap.

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Appendix

L	Retroflex
N	Retroflex
R	Retroflex
ḍ	Dental Stop /ḍ/
ṭ	Dental Stop /ṭ/
aa	Long Vowel /a/
ii	Long Vowel /i/
uu	Long Vowel /u/
~	Indicates preceding sound is nasalized

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