REDUPLICATION IN KANASHI

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ABSTRACT

Kanashi, a Tibeto-Burman language is spoken in the Malana district of Himachal Pradesh in India. The present discussion concentrates on a particular grammatical phenomenon known as 'reduplication'. By definition the concept of Reduplication stands for repetition or copying of a word or a syllable either exactly or with partial change in the phonological or morphological structure and the copied part is affixed to the base element in order to bring some modification in the semantic interpretation of the base element or to convey some special meaning. (Dattamajumdar, 2001:3). This study of reduplication is a part of the grammatical study of the Kanashi language which is an ongoing work. The data of the present work has been collected from Kanashi mother tongue speaker, an inhabitant of Malana district of Himachal Pradesh. The data has been collected and presented here using International Phonetic Alphabet.

1. INTRODUCTION

Kanashi is the language spoken in the Malana district of Himachal Pradesh. Genealogically, Kanashi is identified as a Tibeto-Burman language of Sino-Tibetan language family. The language has been classified as a Kinauri language belonging to West-Himalayish group of Tibeto-Kanauri branch of Tibeto-Burman group. It is said to be related with Milchang, a sub-branch of Kinnauri group of languages. That Kanashi language is an admixture of Sanskrit and Tibetan varieties has been stated by Bangroo and Stronski(2002). The language has been observed to have no intelligibility with the neighboring languages spoken in Lahul-Spiti and Kinnaur. The language has been referred to as a definitely endangered by UNESCO. According to http://archive.ethnologue.com the speaker strength of Kanashi is 1,400.

2. THE CONCEPT OF REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is a grammatical feature found in the modern Indian languages. By definition the concept of Reduplication stands for repetition or copying of a word or a syllable either exactly or with partial change in the phonological or morphological structure and the copied part is affixed to the

base element in order to bring some modification in the semantic interpretation of the base element or to convey some special meaning. (Dattamajumdar, 2001:3).

3. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

Abbi(1992) claims the phenomenon of reduplication as an areal feature not only of the languages of the Indian sub continent but also of the South-Asian languages. The present discussion which concentrates on a particular grammatical phenomenon known as 'reduplication' is a part of the grammatical study of the Kanashi language which is an ongoing work. The data of the present work has been collected from Kanashi mother tongue speaker, an inhabitant of Malana district of Himachal Pradesh. The data has been collected and presented here using International Phonetic Alphabet.

4. REDUPLICATED STRUCTURES IN KANASHI

As observed in Kanashi, reduplicated structures may belong to the category of full reduplication as well as partial reduplication. Fully reduplicated forms refer to those structures which are formed by exact doubling of the base form without any phonological alteration in the copied affixed part of the structure. On the other hand partially reduplicated forms refer to those structures which involve alteration in the phonological shape of the affixed copied part of the reduplicated structure. Fully reduplicated structures can be of two types- fully reduplicated words and fully reduplicated expressives.
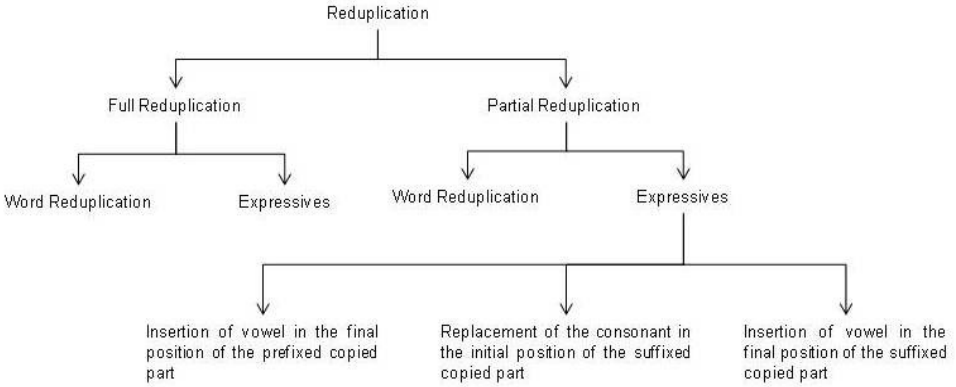
Fully reduplicated structures can be formed by reduplicating the words or lexical items of the language and by reduplicating expressive (that are imitation of natural sounds or expressive of senses).

Partially reduplicated structures can be formed from word or lexical items as well as from expressive (that are imitation of natural sounds or expressive of senses) by means of partial phonological alteration in the affixed copied part. Partially reduplicated expressive can be formed by:

  i. Insertion of a vowel in the final position of the prefixed copied part

  ii. Replacement of a consonant in the initial position of the suffixed copied part

  iii. Insertion of a vowel in the final position of the suffixed copied part

The types of reduplicated structures as realized in the Kanashi language is presented in the following table.

Table-1: Formal classification of Reduplicated structures as realized in the Kanashi language

The reduplicated structures may involve semantic modifications or may also be employed to convey the meaning of some peculiar expressions of senses or feelings. The semantic modifications which are involved in the reduplicated structures can be realized only when compared with the meanings of the non-reduplicated counterparts or base elements. These are morphologically and semantically distinct structures of a language having unique characteristics of their own. Being an important structural phenomenon of the South Asian languages reduplicated structures play a vital role in the system of communication and so demands a vivid description of its form and function with reference to the semantic interpretation.

5. FULL REDUPLICATION

Word Reduplication

The words or the lexical items belonging to different word classes are found to be reduplicated in order to bring modification in the semantic interpretation. This is what is known as word reduplication. Kanashi attests reduplicated nouns, pronouns, verbs, modifiers (both nominal and verbal), whereas reduplicated conjunctions and postpositions are not available.

Reduplicated nouns

1. *du kimə kiməŋa   hɔŋɖe uta.*
he house-pl. house-pl.-loc. walk-conj. be-3ʳᵈ pr. sg.

'He goes to <u>each and every house</u>.'

2. *ɽiŋʤə ɽiŋʤəɲa   dʰoneʃi utɔʃ.*
 sister-pl. sister-pl.-with   talk-conj. be-pr.cont. 3ʳᵈ pl.
 '(Only) the sisters are talking.'

Reduplicated Pronouns

3. *haʔge haʔge kutabɔě ʤo reʃi   utɔʃe ?*
what what book-pl.-det. here sell-conj. be-pr.3ʳᵈ pl. –inter.

'What(pl.) are the books being sold(/selling) here?'

4. *ɔɲ ɔɲ   boɲtɔɲ dugɔ deɲ.*
those those go-fut.1ˢᵗ pl. they go-fut.pf.2ⁿᵈ pl.(imp.)

'Those who will (wish) to go they (will) go.'/ 'Those who want to go they
will go.'

Reduplicated Nominal Modifiers

5. *dus   pʰaʔke pʰaʔke   tɬisɔp lobige   uta.*
   she-ag. small-pl. small-pl. thing-acc. like-conj. be-pr.3ʳᵈ sg.

'She likes small small thing(s).'

6. *ʃurarti ʃurarti tɬarɔgɔ ʤo bʰurɔke.*
   naughty naughty child-pl. here come-pr.pf. 3ʳᵈ pl.

'(Only) naughty children have come here.'

Reduplicated Verbs

7. *du boŋpɔ boŋpɔᴵ   datk.*
   he go-impf. parti. go-impf.parti. fall-past3ʳᵈ sg.

'He fell while going'.

8. *dus gitɔɲɔ labɔ labɔᴵ   ti   bʰariyag utɔ.*
   he-ag. song-pl. sing-impf.parti. impf.parti. water fill-pr.cont. 3ʳᵈ sg.

'While singing he was filling the water.'

9. *mɔtɬɔp tɬubɔ tɬubɔ* _____ *uerigek.*
   fish-acc. catch- impf.parti. catch- impf.parti. evening be-past3rd sg.

   'It became evening while catching fish.'

Reduplicated Verbal Modifiers

10. *iske iskes* _____ *mɔtɬɔp mo godʒu utɔʃ.*
    someone someone -ag. fish-acc. neg.eat be-pr.3rd pl.

    'Some people do not eat fish.'

11. *roz roz* _____ *dukɔ kayɔ swasi utɔ.*
    everyday everyday he-gen. body bad be-pr.3rd sg.

    'Each and every day his body remains unwell (sick).

Expressives (Fully Reduplicated)

Kanashi attests a number of fully reduplicated expressives. These may be imitation of natural sounds or may be expressive of senses. The fully reduplicated expressives are both phonologically and semantically significant in the language.
Some examples are given in the following.

12. *tʃarɔgɔs gitkeʃ gitkeʃ naʃ ʃɔtke.*
    child-pl. expr. of jumping spoil do-pr.pf. 3rd pl.

    'The children hampered (the peace) by making the sound of jumping.'

13. *tʃɔris tʃĩ tʃĩ ʃɔttɔʃ.*
    bird-ag. imitative sound of chirping do-pr.cont.3rd pl.

    'The birds are chirping (with the sound).'

6. PARTIAL REDUPLICATION

Word Reduplication

Partially reduplicated words or lexical items in Kanashi involve deletion of the final consonant in the prefixed copied part. Examples are given below.

14. *po ʈogɔp sɔbuʤ ɽa ɽan* _____ *weʃige.*
fruit-pl. all-to having given repeatedly finish-past pf. 3rd pl.
'<u>Having given repeatedly</u> to all, the fruits have finished.'

15. *kuli* <u>*la lad*</u>_____ *kim sanmek.*
laborer having engaged repeatedly house build-past 3rd sg.
'<u>Engaging the laborer repeatedly</u> the house was built.'

Expressives (Partially Reduplicated)

Partially reduplicated expressives which involve a partial phonological alteration in the affixed copied part is prevalent in Kanashi. Alteration of a vowel or a consonant in the affixed copied part has been observed in case of the partially reduplicated structures in Kanashi. Depending upon the phonological alteration, partially reduplicated expressives can be of three types-

    I.   Insertion of vowel in the   final position of the prefixed copied part
    II.   Replacement of the consonant in the initial position of the suffixed copied part
    III.   Insertion of vowel in the final position of the suffixed copied part

Such partially reduplicated expressives are exemplified below.

    i.   *Insertion of vowel in the final position of the prefixed copied part*

16. *ʧã gɔde gɔd*_____ *ubɽe utɔ.*
tea imitative sound of boiling boil-pr.cont.3rd sg.

'The tea is boiling <u>with the boiling sound</u>.'

17. *puʧus kʰɔŋʤup kɽɔʈe kɽɔʈ*_____ *zautɔ.*
mouse-ag. sugar-acc. imitative sound of biting eat-pr.cont.3rd.sg.

'The mouse is eating the sugar <u>by making the sound of biting</u>.'

    ii.   *Replacement of the consonant in the initial position of the suffixed copied part*

It is to be noted that such reduplicated expressive can take the suffix -e to form nominal modifiers.

18. telɔ *zɔɾbɔɾe*   *utɔ.*
oil imitative sound of smoking/burning be-pr. cont. 3rd sg.

'The oil is <u>smoking with the sound</u>'.

19. putʃus *gɔɾbɔɾ*   *ʃɔttɔ.*
rat-ag. imitative sound of rapid movement do- pr.cont. 3rd sg.

'The rat is <u>moving by making the sound</u>.'

iii.   *Insertion of vowel in the final position of the suffixed copied*

20. du ʧarɔ dada   gɔp *d^{h}ɔɾd^{h}ɔɾi*   lɔʔk.
det. child having fall lot expr. of panting of heart seem-past pf. 1st
sg.

' The fall of the child I (my heart) started panting a lot.'

21. aŋʤ waʃ *t^{h}uɾt^{h}uɾi*   lɔʔk.
me-acc. hunger expr. of hunger seem-past pf. 1st sg.

'I am feeling extremely hungry out of hunger.'

Apart from above discussed reduplicated structures Kanashi attests a peculiar structure used for the imitative sound of thundering. This particular form does not fully conform to the definition of reduplication but only a syllable in the medial position is found to be reduplicated. The example is cited below.

21. sɔrgɔŋa *guɾuɾugɔ* ɾɔʈke.
sky-loc. imitative sound of thundering be-pr.pf. 3rd pl.

'It is <u>thundering (with the sound)</u> in the sky.'

7. SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE REDUPLICATED STRUCTURES

The identified semantic features of the reduplicated structures as realized in the Kanashi language are- *Distributive plurality*, *Exclusiveness*, *Degree of*

Manifestation, *Simultaneity of action* and *Repetition*. Each of the semantic features is discussed below.

1. Distributive Plurality
   Reduplicated structures are often found to be employed in order to express plurality and distributiveness of a form. This is a widely and very commonly used semantic interpretation of the reduplicated structures. The above examples number- 1, 3, 5and 11 convey the semantic feature – *distributive plurality*.

2. Exclusiveness
   The semantic feature *exclusiveness* refers to the interpretation of the reduplicated structures which are employed to convey the sense of 'only' or something 'particular'. Examples number 2, 4, 6 and 10 (mentioned above) convey this semantic feature.

3. Degree of Manifestation
   Reduplication is often used in order to mean different degrees or measures of some feelings, emotions, senses, state, process and actions. The different degrees of the senses like 'hesitation', 'mildness', 'excellence', 'similarity', 'immediacy', 'intensity', 'incompleteness', 'certainty' are conveyed by the reduplicated structures. Examples number 12, 20, 21 and 22 convey the semantic feature –*degree of manifestation*.

4. Simultaneity of Action
   This is a semantic feature which involves two events or actions taking place at the same time. This has been referred by Abbi (1992) as an aspectual category. Simultaneity of action involves synchronization of two events or actions in terms of the completion of the events together or protraction of one of the action or continuity of two events along a span of time. Abbi (1992: 32) rightly points out that though this sense of simultaneity can be expressed by temporal phrases or clauses starting with the expressions like "while…", "at the time of …" and "when …", the language speakers are found to use reduplicated structures with more acceptability in case of communication. This semantic feature is restricted to the reduplicated verb forms. Above examples number 7, 8 and 9 convey the semantic feature – *simultaneity of action*.

5. Repetition/Continuation
   The reduplicated expressive that are imitative of sounds, are often found to convey 'repetition' or 'continuation' of the sound or 'plurality' of the sound. That is, a sense of repeated or continued

action is conveyed by the expressive imitating the sounds. Usually, as such a repeated action is not followed by any resultant effect. (Dattamajumdar 2001:42) This semantic feature is conveyed in the above examples number -13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and19.

NOTES:

1. The suffix /-pɔ/ for imperfective participle is used after vowel ending verb forms whereas /-bɔ/ is used after consonant ending verb forms.

List of abbreviations used

acc.=accusative
ag.=agentive (suffix)
conj.=conjunctive
det. = determiner
expr.=expressive
gen.=genitive case
imp.=imperative mood
impf. parti.= imperfective participle
inter.=interrogative
loc.=locative case
neg.=negative
past =simple past
past pf.=past perfect
pl. = plural number
pr.=simple present tense
pr. cont. =present continuous tense
pr.pf. =present perfect tense
sg. =singular number
1st =first person
2nd =second person
3rd =third person

8. REFERENCES

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