

THE FORMATION PROCESS OF REDUPLICATION IN ENGLISH, URDU AND PASHTO: A CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVEAta ur Rahman*¹, Dr. Syed Sajjad Ali², Saddam Hussain³, Said Hussain⁴**Original Article**

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Abstract

This research study examines the concept of Reduplication in English, Urdu, and Pashto. The formations of reduplicated words and their similarities and differences in the reduplicated structures and lexicons of English, Urdu, and Pashto have been investigated. Data have been analyzed by using Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT). By applying Abbi's (1992) model, two basic types of Reduplication, i.e., Full-Word Reduplication and Partial-Word Reduplication (eco-words) were analyzed. The sample technique for this study was random sampling. The data for this study were collected purposefully (Randomly) from English, Urdu, and Pashto books, magazines and newspapers. The findings of the study show that the formation process of Fu -Reduplication is the same-by fully duplicating the base form in all the three mentioned languages. Several examples were examined in these languages and further they have been enlisted separately in the analysis section. On the other hand, the study shows that the formation process of partial Reduplication varies in these three languages. In English and Urdu, partial reduplicated words were formed either by vowel alteration or consonant alteration while in Pashto it was mostly consonant alteration base examples.

Keywords: Abbi's Model, Consonant Alteration, English, Formation Processes, MDT, Pashto, Reduplication, Urdu, Vowel Alteration.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the field of Morphology, the term Reduplication refers to the process of repetition in which the prefix/suffix gains some phonological characteristics of the base word form. Similarly, Abbi (2001) defines Reduplication as "words formed either by doubling syllables or by duplicating a single word form (phonological word), completely or partially and the repetition of a word or syllable is made once." The nature of language is dynamic not static as new vocabulary items are added to it with the passage of time. According to Parimalagantham (2009) word formation process is one of the sources for increasing the vocabulary of a language. He described the process of word formation under four sub-types; Compounding, Inflection, Derivation, and Reduplication.

Simplex is the base form of a word and the material added to it is called the Reduplicant (Hurch, 2005). The classification of Reduplication is viewed from the perspective of word-Reduplication. According to Abbi's model, Word Reduplication has two major types: Full Word Reduplication and Partial Word Reduplication. Full word Reduplication can be defined as "The complete repetition of the root/base word without any syntactic modification. In English, words like; 'so-so', 'pooh-pooh', while in Urdu language words like; "ek-ek (one), *kyakya*, and in Pashto, words like; *shpa-shpa* (*Night*), kor-kor (*house*) are the examples of Full Reduplication.

In Partial Reduplication, the word 'Partial' itself specifies that Partial word Reduplication is the partial repetition or a copy of a syllable. Partial word Reduplication (Eco-construction) is created by duplicating a portion of the word mostly a syllable, which is the constituent or active part of the word to be duplicated. The said part can either be a vowel (V) or consonant vowel (CV) or a vowel consonant (VC).

Partial word Reduplication (Eco-construction) is divided into two major types on the basis of its formation which is common in almost all the languages. 1. Vowel Alternation (Ablaut) 2. Consonant Alternation (Onset/Rhyming). Vowel Alternation (Ablaut) is the Reduplication process in which the vowel of the base word changes or shifts in its Reduplicant forms. Consonant Alternation is the Reduplication process in which the initial consonant of the root word changes in the reduplicated copy. It is the replacement of one consonant by another and the reduplicated copies also rhyme with each other.

In English, words like; "Swish-Swash" (Vowel Alternation), "handy-dandy", and "teeny-weeny" (Consonant Alternation) are the examples of partial Reduplication (Omer 2012). In Urdu language words like; "Parhna-Varhna" (read), "chay-vay" (tea), "Shadi-vadi" (marriage), (Consonant Alternation), (*pûch-pâch'ask*, *dekh-dâkh*, 'see', and *bec-bâc* (sell), (Vowel Alternation) are the examples of Urdu Partial Reduplication (Montaut, 2009). In Pashto language words like; "sary-mary" (man), "doḍai-moḍai" (bread), and "Jargee-Margee" (fight), (Consonant Alternation) are the examples of Pashto Partial Word Reduplication.

1.1. Research Questions

- i. What is the formation process of reduplicated words in English, Urdu and Pashto?
- ii. How are the formation processes of reduplicated words different in English, Urdu and Pashto?

1.2. Research Objectives

- i. To explore the formations process of Reduplication in English, Urdu and Pashto.
- ii. To find out the similarities and differences in the formation process of reduplication in English, Urdu and Pashto.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The proposed study deals with the phenomena of 'Reduplication in the English, Urdu and Pashto language'. The term Reduplication is available in various languages of America, Africa, and Asia. The concept of Reduplication has been explored in a few studies based on Asian languages, e.g. Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Chinese, Kurdish, etc. In the general view, language is used for communication purposes. The nature of language is dynamic not static as new vocabulary items added to it with the passage of time.

According to Parimalagantham, (2009) word formation process is one of the sources for increasing the vocabulary of a language. He described the process of word formation under four sub-types; Compounding, Inflection, Derivation, and Reduplication. The present study focuses on the concept of Reduplication.

Muhirweand Trosterud, (2008) observed Reduplication in Kinyarwanda Language. They considered Reduplication as an unsolved problem in the light of computational morphology. Reduplication is a morphological process where the base is copied wholly or partially. The researchers explored that Kinyarwanda language contained only full stem Reduplication. Full Reduplication means copying the entire word. Mostly this concept is found in adverbs and adjectives.

Kinyarwanda Language Examples:

Full word Reduplication: adverbs and adjectives mostly undergo in this type of reduplication.

Adjectives: munini “big” >muninimunini “big”

Muto “small” >mutomuto “small/young

Adverbs: vuba “fast” >vubavuba “very fast”

Buke “little” >bukebuke “very little”

Grammatical Reduplication: when the existing word form got changed and forms a new word with a distinct meaning.

Kinyarwanda Language: kugenda “to walk” >kugendagenda “to walk around”

Kubunda “to bend” >kubundabunda “to walk bending”

Montaut, (2009) explored the phenomena of Reduplication and echo words in Hindi/Urdu. In the first section he describes full Reduplication and then in the second section he investigates the echo construction in both the languages. Initially he describes some example by analyzing Reduplication in Nominal, Numeral, pronoun, plural nouns, verbs, and adjective. He discussed certain examples of Hindi/Urdu like;

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|------|
| 1) Numeral= | <i>bacōNkoek-ektafi do</i> | Urdu |
| (Give a toffee to each child) | | |
| 2) Noun/Pronoun= | <i>tumnekyakyadekha</i> | Urdu |
| (What did you see?) | | |
| 3) Verbs= | <i>khate-khate mat bolo</i> | Urdu |
| (Do not speak while eating) | | |

In the next section, he explained the concept of Echo-Construction in Hindi/Urdu. In echo-construction he described that the initial consonant of a mono-syllabic or poly-syllabic word is replaced by v-. For example “*Parhna-Varhna*” (read), “*Shadi-vadi*” (marriage).

3. METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research has the capability to enact effective arguments about *how things work in a specific context*. Qualitative research is also capable of generating well-founded *cross-contextual generalities* (Mason, 2002). The researcher has generated contextual arguments on the basis of the selected examples of Reduplication of English, Urdu, and Pashto. The above stated reasons and discussion make it easy for the researcher that this research study is qualitative in nature.

The data for this study were collected purposefully (Randomly) from English, Urdu, and Pashto books, magazines and newspapers. Firstly, world time monthly magazine, frontier force and dawn newspaper were the selected sources for English Reduplication. Secondly, monthly magazine 'Abqari', weekly magazine 'Akhbar e jaha', daily newspaper 'Aaj, and Urdu books (Zavia, 1, Zavia, 2, Zavia, 3) were selected for Urdu Reduplication. Thirdly, monthly magazine 'Pukhtoon' (May, 2018), and books like 'Pohana', 'Pukhtoadab' (Jan, 2017) were selected as sources of data for Pashto Reduplication.

4. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The researcher has generated various themes and codes. Those codes were E1, E2, U1, U2, and P1, P2,. Thematically, the data were categorized on the basis of Full and Partial Reduplication. The researcher has collected relevant data related to those generated themes and codes and made transcription and analysis of that data. Each of the mentioned categories/types of Reduplication was analyzed on the basis of their formation processes where Reduplication takes place. This way of analyzing the data helped the researcher to observe the patterns and formation of the reduplicated words in the concerned languages namely English, Urdu and Pashto. Although many languages have the concept and occurrences of Reduplication but here the researcher has confined himself to only three languages, i.e. English, Urdu and Pashto.

The researcher has identified and analyzed the formation processes of various reduplicated words identified in the text of English, Urdu and Pashto language.

Full word Reduplication

Complete word Reduplication is also known as full or total Reduplication. Complete word Reduplication can be defined as "The complete repetition of the root/base word with some new meaning or slight semantic modification". In other words, the entire lexical items or phonological form of the root/base word is reduplicated.

Full Reduplication in English

Complete/Total Reduplication is the repetition of a stem, root or base word, with minimal or no phonological changes (Inkelas & Zoll 2005). The construction of Full Reduplication in English Language is simple (by copying or doubling the base/root word) like in all other languages. The examples are lists of reduplicated words taken from the Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary, which depict the common features in this type of Reduplication.

According to the structure and occurrences of these examples, the conception of this theory (MDT) is directly applicable on them. The theory states that the reduplicated words will be considered the daughter words of the root word which will be considered as the mother word. So the root/base word is a mother word and the reduplicated copy/words will be considered as its daughter (Daughter 1 and Daughter 2). 'Quick' is a root/mother word and its reduplicative Quick1-Quick2 are its Daughter 1 and 2.

Full-word Reduplication in Urdu

The researcher has both structurally focused on the Urdu Reduplication process. The following table presents a list of examples of Full Reduplication in Urdu language collected from various sources. The researcher has analyzed various texts of Urdu magazines, books, newspaper etc., and collected various examples of Complete/Full Reduplication as a process of word formation. The collected examples were analyzed and chronologically presented below.

Full-word Reduplication in Urdu

- U1.** 'Sach-Sachbathao, Warna ma therijan ley lun'
(Speak the truth or else I will kill you)

In the above examples the word 'sach' is reduplicated. This is an example of complete word Reduplication. In this example the speaker/writer tends to repeat/duplicate the word 'sach' in order to make it clear to the listener that he must speak the truth (Ahmad, 2007).

- U2.** 'Yahan per naqal buhuth berhgaehain waghyra-waghyra'
(Cheating has increased here etc)

The word 'waghyra' is fully reduplicated by denoting that cheating as well as some other tactics and tricks are on the rise here but those were not explicitly mentioned. The word 'waghyra' is fully reduplicated in the above example. According to MDT Theory 'waghyra' is the root/mother word and the reduplicated 'waghyra-waghyra' is its daughter one and two (Ahmad, 2005).

Full-word Reduplication in Pashto

According to Montaut (2001:161) the concept of Reduplication in Indo-Aryan languages was explored in very few research studies. Similarly, Abbi (1985:159) claims that, insufficient study has been made on Reduplication in Pashto language. The researcher has collected various examples of Complete/Full Reduplication from Pashto books (Pohana, pukhtoadab), research papers and magazines (Pukhtoon, Panjkora) and analyzed them accordingly.

Examples:

- (P1)** 'Yao sary pa zooraaazar-zarlagyawo'
(A man was shouting hurriedly)

In the above examples 'zar-zar' is fully reduplicated. The formation process is similar as in English and Urdu by duplicating the whole word as it is in the base form. The reduplicant 'zar-zar' is used to signify and emphasize how quickly the person was shouting (Dad, 2017, P.49).

- (P2)** 'Haga Chinayi guldán pa mdzaka *dana-dana* sho'
(That Chinese vase broke into pieces on the ground)

The above example has the noun 'dana' (piece) in singular form (plural form would have been 'dane' (pieces)). The formation process is the same as in the above and defined by MDT theory. The base form of the word is reduplicated fully without any change during the formation process (Widmark, 2011).

Partial word Reduplication (Eco-construction)

The word 'Partial' itself specifies that Partial word Reduplication is the partial repetition or copy of a syllable or a phoneme of the base/root word that carries a syntactic and semantic modification. Abbi (1992) elucidates that a partial word Reduplication (Eco-construction) is created by duplicating a portion of the word mostly a syllable, which is the constituent or active part of the word to be duplicated. The said part can either be a vowel (V) or consonant vowel (CV) or a vowel consonant (VC).

Partial-Word Reduplication in English

Partial word Reduplication in English is also formulated in the same way as discussed in the previous two paragraphs above. Partial word Reduplication (Eco-construction) is divided into two major types on the basis of its formation which is common in almost all the languages. 1. Vowel Alternation (Ablaut) 2. Consonant Alternation (Onset/Rhyming).

Vowel Alternation in English

Vowel Alternation (Ablaut) is the Reduplication process in which the vowel of the base word changes or shifts in its reduplicant forms. In case of English Language, these vowel Alternation processes of Reduplication/reduplicated words are mostly formed by the replacement of an 'i' vowel sound into an 'a' or 'o' Vowel sound in the second part of the reduplicated words. Examples were: Chit-Chat, tip-top, zig-zag, etc.

The MDT theory by Inkelas & Zoll (2005) is also applicable in this section because the Mother/root word in Vowel Alternation creates its copy of Daughter 1 and 2 with some syllabic change (vowel change). For example, the word 'chit' is a Mother word and the reduplicant 'chit-chat' are its Daughter one and two. Same is the case with all the above examples.

Reduplication of Vowel Alternation in English is mostly formed with the replacement of 'i' vowel into 'a' vowel or the 'i' vowel into 'o' vowel. For example, the word 'Chit' has 'i' vowel replaced into 'a' in 'Chat' as "Chit-Chat". The word 'Tip' has 'i' vowel replaced into 'o' in 'Top' as "Tip-Top".

Consonant Alternation (Onset/Rhyming) in English

Consonant Alternation is the Reduplication process in which the initial consonant of the root word changes in the reduplicated copy. It is the replacement of one consonant by another and the reduplicated copies also rhyme with each other.

Words like Walkie-Talkie. Nitty-Gritty, Teeny-Weeny etc are formed by the process of Consonant Alternation in English (OALD Dictionary, 2015). The reduplicated words are formed by Consonant Alternation in which the initial Consonant sound is replaced and copied with the rest of the root word. The 'Wa' consonant sound in "Walky" is replaced with 'Ta' consonant in "Talky" as "Walky-Talky". The 'Ni' consonant in 'Nitty' is replaced with 'Gri' in 'Gritty' as "Nitty-Gritty".

The concept of 'Mother and Daughter' reduplicated word in (MDT) theory of Inkelas&Zoll (2005) is also rightfully applicable to the above listed examples. The word "Walky" is a mother word and the reduplicant "Walky-Talky" are its Daughter one and Daughter two.

Partial-Word Reduplication in Urdu

Partial-Word Reduplication or eco-construction is defined as 'part of the root word is copied or duplicated to form a new word.' The concept of partial Reduplication is the same as discussed in the previous section but in this section the researcher analyzes its occurrences and formation in the Urdu language. Urdu is a rich eco-constructed language.

Vowel Alternation in Urdu

The formation process of Vowel Alternation in Urdu is mostly made with the replacement of vowel sound in the middle of the root words. The mechanism of vowel change is; replacement of 'i:' vowel into 'a' vowel or the replacement of 'u:' vowel into 'a' vowel. The reduplicated word 'puch-pach' has a vowel shift from 'u:' into 'a' and the reduplicated word 'dekh-dakh' has a vowel shift from 'i:' into 'a'.

Examples:

(U1) “kisī se pūch-pāchlenā”
(You just ask from somebody)

In the above example (U1) the word ‘pūch-pāch’ is partially reduplicated (Vowel Alteration). The reduplicated words are formed by adding the vowel ‘a’ instead of ‘u:’ vowel in order to make it ‘pūch-pāch’. The (MDT) theory is applicable on the above analyzed example. The word ‘Puch’ is a mother word and the reduplicated word ‘puch-pach’ are its Daughter words (Montaut, 2010).

(U2) “dekh-dākhlenāzarādhyān se”
(See-echo take little attention with)

In this example (U2) the word ‘dekh-dākh’ (look/see) is partially reduplicated. Formation process of the above reduplicated word is made by replacing the ‘i:’ vowel with the ‘a’ vowel. The rest of the word is copied except the middle ‘i:’ vowel. The example (U2) is also formed according to the concept of (MDT) theory (Montaut, 2010).

Consonant Alteration in Urdu

In spoken Urdu, the eco-construction is often formed by replacing the initial consonant by ‘V’ consonant to make a new reduplicated eco-word. For example: The word ‘Nam’ (name) into “Nam-Vam”, the word ‘Paisa’ (Money) into “Paisa-Vaisa”, the word ‘Sheesha’ (Glass) into “Sheesha-Veesha”, etc. However, some construction does not follow this pattern like ‘Suthree-Nathree’ (Clean), ‘EkaDuka’ (very few), etc.

Consonant Alteration in Urdu**Examples:**

(U1) “Eski tasveery *gahee-bagahee* bekjathi the”
(His pictures are sold everywhere)

In the above example (U1) the word ‘gahee-bagahee’ is partially reduplicated (eco-constructed). The reduplicated words are formed by adding the consonant ‘ba’ to the initial consonant ‘ga’ in order to make it ‘gahee-bagahee’. The (MDT) theory is applicable on the above analyzed example. The word ‘gahee’ is a mother word and the reduplicated word ‘gahee1-bagahee2’ is its Daughter words (Daughter #1 and #2) (Ahmad, (2005).

(U2) “Laken usey deen ke hawaly sa zeyada *Soj-Boj* na thi”
(But he does not possess enough knowledge regarding religion)

In the example (U2) the word ‘Soj’ is partially reduplicated and the initial consonant ‘s’ is replaced with ‘b’ and make an eco-word “Soj-Boj” (Knowledge and so on). The concept of MDT theory by Inkelas & Zoll (2005) is also applicable to these examples. The word ‘Soj’ is the Mother word and the reduplicated words ‘Soj1-Boj2’ are its Daughter #1 and #2 (Ahmad, 2005).

Partial Word Reduplication in Pashto

In this section the researcher has analyzed the concept of Partial-Word Reduplication (eco-construction) in Pashto language. Various partial reduplicated occurrences are probed and analyzed terms of their form and function. The most common way to create/form an echo-word in Pashto is to

replace the initial consonant with 'M' in the reduplicated form but some other syllables or letters are also used for constructing partially reduplicated words or eco-words.

Examples:

(P1) "Ajmal zoya! *Pohantūn-mohantūnprez`da*"
(Dear Ajmal! Leave university)

In the above example (P1) the word 'Pohantūn' (University) is partially reduplicated. The eco-word is formed by replacing the initial consonant 'p' with the consonant 'm' to make it "*Pohantūn-mohantūn*". According to (MDT) theory the word 'Pohantun' is a mother word and the reduplicated copies 'Pohantun1-mohantun2' are it's Daughters (Daughter #1 and #2) (Pollock, 2014).

(P2) *Jargee Margee homshoro di*"
(The gathering/councils are started)

In the example (P2) the word 'Jargee' (Councils) is partially reduplicated (Eco-construction). The eco-word "Jargee-Margee" is formed by replacing the initial consonant 'j' of the base word with consonant 'M' of the reduplicated word. The word 'Jargee' is considered as a Mother word and the reduplicated copy 'Jargee-Margee' are its daughter words (Seemab, 2018, P.20).

It is clear now that Pashto language is very rich in terms of Partial-Word Reduplication. The process of its formation is very common and mostly similar (By replacing the initial syllable with the consonant 'M' in the reduplicated words) to make it an eco-word.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

It is shown from the previous research studies that the phenomenon of Reduplication has been explored in different languages. Most of the researchers have carried out the study on Asian languages such as (Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Kurdish, Chinese, etc.) to investigate the concepts, functions and theories of reduplication. Asad, (2015) in his article entitled "Reduplication in Modern Maithili". The researcher purpose was to present systematically the concept of Reduplication, its patterns and structures in the modern Maithili language.

Shlyakhova, (2013) has written an article entitle "Study Reduplication in Finno-Ugrian Languages of Permic Group". The researcher observed full and partial Reduplication. The focus was on full and non-full Reduplication in permic languages. In permic languages full Reduplicated words are: "lozos-lozos", "ylyn-ylyn" and "kuzh-kuzh". In Komi-Permyak language, there was the use of twin words while in Kumi and Udmurt languages. There were compound words like: "*dedto-babto*" (grandfather and grandmother). The last section of this article is the semantics of Reduplication.

Till now English, Urdu, and more specifically Pashto language has not been investigated in terms of Reduplication, That is why the researcher has tried to explore the phenomena of Reduplication especially its formation process in English, Urdu, and Pashto language to fill this gape.

6. CONCLUSION

Reduplication is a major grammatical feature of English, Urdu, and Pashto. Full-Word Reduplication was the most frequently used word formation process in Urdu and Pashto as compared to English. The formation processes of Full-Word Reduplication were common in English, Urdu, and Pashto (by copying the root word as it is).

The formation processes of partial reduplicated words in all the three languages were different from each other. English and Urdu had two types of eco-formation. One was vowel Alternation and the other was consonant Alternation. The formation process of partial Reduplication (Consonant Alteration) in Urdu was most affected with the replacement of “v” consonant of the root word such as ‘teeny-weeny’, ‘chae-vae’ etc.

On the other hand the formation process of Vowel Alteration in Urdu was mostly made with the replacement of vowel sound in the middle of the root words. The mechanism of vowel change is; replacement of ‘i:’ vowel into ‘a’ vowel or the replacement of ‘u:’ vowel into ‘a’ vowel such as ‘bhir-bhar’, ‘thek-thak’, etc. Pashto has a very common way of forming partial reduplicated words. It is by replacement of the initial syllable with the consonant “M” such as ‘*doḍai-moḍai*’, ‘*sary-mary*’ etc.

The concept of Reduplication was found to be present and functional in all the three languages but was also found to be more similar in its form and function in Urdu and Pashto as compared to English language.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of this study the following recommendations were offered:

1. The analysis of this study shows that Reduplication is a frequently recurring feature in all the three languages (English, Urdu, and Pashto). The analysis of formation processes of Reduplication opens up new avenues for research and poses questions and queries to be answered through further investigation.
2. This research study showcased the formation processes of partial and full-word Reduplication in English, Urdu, and Pashto. The present analysis also recommends that other researchers can apply the above mentioned features to other types of Reduplication for more investigation and depth of the study.
3. The Researcher has applied Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT) presented by Inkelas & Zoll (2005) for the investigation and analysis of the presented data. Other researchers can analyze the same languages and examples by applying other models and theories of Reduplication. For example, by applying Optimal Theory (OT) which was put forward by Prince and Smolensky (1993) to the similar topic and data may give some more profound result and widen the present concept.
4. This study has focused only on word-Reduplication (Full-word Reduplication and Partial-word Reduplication). Therefore, it is recommended for other researchers to highlight and investigate other types of Reduplication in these languages (English, Urdu, and Pashto) in order to extend the understanding of the concept of Reduplication.
5. Since this was a cross linguistics study in which three languages were under observation at same time, therefore a full investigation should be done on Pashto Language as there is very limited research work done on Pashto in terms of Reduplication. Similar case is with Urdu Language where limited amount of attention has been given so far.

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