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I. All manuscripts in English should follow the following format:

The first page should contain title; author(s)'s name(s), affiliation, E-mail address; and abstract of 150-350 words, followed by three to five key words, main text, acknowledgment, endnotes, and references in subsequent pages. Key words should be given in italics.

II. Manuscripts in English should use the following style for headings and subheadings:

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III. Tables, figures, and maps should have headings and be numbered consecutively and should be clearly presented. Notes and sources should be placed under each table and figure. Photo will be treated as figures.

Format

Use Letter size paper with Times New Roman writing style font size 12 for the main text with line spacing 1.5 and 10 for the abstract with 1.15 line spacing. Left margin should be 3.5 but all other margins should be 2.5 mm. Tables and figures should not be split on two pages.

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Give one paragraph introduction of all authors in five to seven sentences (for each author) describing their educational background and research achievements in a separate file. But do not use hyperlinks.

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Authors should submit similarity index along with the manuscripts of the papers. They are also required to submit an affidavit declaring that the material in the paper is their own and it has not already been published. Quotes should be properly acknowledged.

References

- 1) Use APA style of referencing.

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Contents

REDUPLICATION IN PUNJABI

1

Shumaila Shafket Ali

Reduplication in Punjabi

Shumaila Shafket Ali

Abstract: Reduplication, a morpho-phonological as well as a morpho-semantic and a morpho-syntactic process, is a common linguistic phenomenon found in many languages across the globe. However, the nature and the degree of productivity with regard to reduplication vary from one language to another. The aim of this qualitative corpus-based synchronic study is to explore the nature and function of reduplication in Punjabi, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan group within the Indo-European language family. The data for the study are based on 150 examples of reduplication in Punjabi and these reduplicated items have been collected from the discourse of Punjabi native speakers in a variety of domains. The data analysis proves that Punjabi is a highly productive language with regard to reduplication as the language reveals a number of different patterns ranging from partial to total reduplication, with different functions. Apart from the existence of different categories of reduplicants with distinct functions, like, reinforcement, emphasis, intensification, continuation, attribution, and attitudinal projection, Punjabi language displays nominal, verbal, adjectival, as well as adverbial reduplication. The study is not only an attempt to make significant contribution in research on Punjabi morphology by adding to the available corpus-based research on the language, but also an endeavour to pave the path for researchers interested in working on the morphology of other indigenous languages of Pakistan.

Keywords: *reduplication; partial reduplication; total reduplication; discontinuous reduplication; onomatopoeic reduplication; Punjabi.*

1. Introduction

Each language embodies a unique set of rules that makes it stand apart from other languages at phonological, morphological, semantic, and syntactic level. However, despite possessing unique linguistic properties, there are certain linguistic phenomena that are common to a vast majority of languages irrespective of what language family they belong to. One such common phenomenon found in many languages across the world, including pidgins and creoles, is that of *reduplication*--- a morpho-phonological as well as a morpho-semantic and a morpho-syntactic process. Rubino (2005) considers reduplication a multifunctional word formation process. In some languages spoken in China, for instance, reduplication is used for plural formation, while in many South Asian languages, like Urdu, Hindi, Pashto, and Punjabi, etc., the process is also used for reiteration along with multiple other functions. Besides being multifunctional in nature carrying examples of both derivational and inflectional reduplicants, the process operates at different levels.

According to Inkelas & Downing (2015):

Reduplication can target the entire word, the root, or any stem-sized subconstituent inbetween. More surprisingly, it can target non-lexical bases, like individual affixes, and it can target supralexicale bases, like phrases. It is also not uncommon for the morphological base of reduplication in any given pattern to vary among several options, determined by phonological or semantic factors. (p. 504).

The diverse nature of this word formation process is also evident from the nature of reduplication which not only varies from one language to another but the variation can also be witnessed within the same language, as reduplicants can be found in the form of prefixes or suffixes. In Hadoti, a dialect of Rajasthani, for instance, reduplicants are attached only in the form of suffixes, whereas in Punjabi and many other indigenous languages spoken in Pakistan, including Urdu, it is common to find reduplicants attached in the form of both prefixes and suffixes. Besides this, reduplication can be observed in nominal, verbal, adjectival, or prepositional domains depending on the syntactic features of languages. In Swiss German, Italian and Spanish, even pronoun doubling is common (Barbiers, 2008; Belletti, 2005).

It is pertinent not to confuse reduplication with repetition. While drawing the distinction between repetition and reduplication, Gil (2005) states: “whereas repetition applies across words, and is therefore subsumed under syntax or discourse, reduplication applies within words, and is consequently taken to be part of morphology.” (p.31). This distinction is important to consider while studying the process of reduplication in different languages.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The study aims to investigate the process of reduplication and its types in Punjabi language, which is the mother tongue of a majority of people (45% as per the census data of 2017) in Pakistan.

Following are the specific research questions posed in the undertaken research:

1. What types of reduplicants are found in Punjabi language?
2. What categories of words show possibility of reduplication in Punjabi?
3. What functions does reduplication perform in Punjabi language?

2. Literature Review

There is a wealth of both published and unpublished research literature available on reduplication in different languages across the world. Although most of the studies on reduplication are carried out on studying the process in African languages (Akinlabi & Urua, 1996; Downing, 1997; 2000; 2005; Hyman, 2009; Nelson, 2005; Ngunga, 2001; Okello, 2007), there are quite a few studies on reduplication in the languages spoken in Asia and Southeast Asia as well (Abbi, 1991; Cheng & Vicente, 2013; Katz, 2000; Lidz, 2001; Montaut, 2009). Singh (2005) in his research on reduplication in modern Hindi not only identified different patterns of reduplication in Hindi language but also discussed the relationship between reduplication and compounds which he calls 'redundant compounds'. Like Singh, some other researchers also prefer to use terms other than reduplication for such examples. Ourn & Haiman (2000), for instance, have used the expression 'semantically symmetrical compounds' to refer to such reduplicants, which are not only found in Hindi but are commonly found in many other languages including Persian, Urdu, and Punjabi, to name a few.

The process of reduplication has been studied at different levels of grammar. Raimy (2000) discussed reduplication occurring at both morphological and phonological levels, while Zuraw (2002) studied reduplication as a purely phonological process by focusing on reduplication in Tagalog, an Austronesian language spoken in Philippines.

A detailed account of reduplication as a word formation process is given in Frampton (2009). The book on reduplication by Frampton (2009) discusses the nature of reduplication and its types not only in *English, Korean, Malay, and Sanskrit*, but also in some lesser known languages like, *Ilocano Tagalog, Klamath, Southern Paiute, Asheninca Campa, Chaha, Kinande, Lushootseed, Ndebele, and Washo*.

Earlier, researchers working on reduplication either adopted phonological or morphological approach to investigate the process and the nature of reduplication in different languages. These approaches led to the emergence of two major theories: *Base Reduplicant Correspondence Theory* (BRCT), which proposed by McCarthy and Prince (1995) uses phonological framework and *Morphological Doubling Theory* (MDT) which presented by Inkelas & Zoll (2005) applies morphological framework to study examples of reduplicants found in different languages. According to Inkelas & Zoll (2005), “In MDT, reduplication couples morphological constituents which agree in their semantic (and syntactic) specifications.” (p. 25).

Applying Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT), Wanja (2014) tested five hypotheses with the aim to examine the nature of reduplication in *Kiembu*, a Bantu language spoken in Kenya. Morphological approach to reduplication is also used by other scholars to study reduplication (Downing, 2000; Hyman, Inkelas, & Sibanda, 2009; Ngunga, 2001; Okello, 2007; Urbanczyk, 2006).

Besides the *Base Reduplicant Correspondence Theory* (BRCT) and the *Morphological Doubling Theory* (MDT) which form the basis of different research studies on reduplication, Inkelas (2008) proposed the *Dual Theory* which is based on morphological doubling and phonological duplication. *The Dual Theory* sounds more appealing and logical as it incorporates phonological as well as morphological features, both of which play a pivotal role in the formation of reduplicants in different languages.

Contemporary research scholars exploring doubling in languages, however, study reduplication from syntactic point of view (Barbiers, 2008; Cheng & Vicente, 2013; Travis, 2003). Zhong (2016) specifically explored verbal doubling in Chinese from syntactic perspective. The verb doubling pattern in Chinese, as identified by Zhong, exists in two forms: verb doubling cleft (VDC) and non-cleft verb doubling, which is further divided into five groups according to the context. The study is different from other studies on doubling as it not only studies verb doubling from purely syntactic perspective but also highlights the semantic and pragmatic effects of the use of this phenomenon.

One relatively recent research on reduplication has been conducted by Chand & Kar (2017), who used Optimality Theory (OT) as a tool to describe the relationship

between sonority and reduplication in *Hadoti*, which is one of the regional varieties of Rajasthani, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Rajasthan, India. Although the study mentions three types of reduplication in Hadoti (partial, complete and onomatopoeic), only the first two types of reduplication are discussed in detail. Despite this limitation, the study is different from other studies on reduplication because it makes use of sonority patterning to analyze the process.

It is interesting to observe that reduplication is not just confined to fully-fledged languages but is also observed in pidgins and creoles (Bakker & Parkvall, 2005; Finney, 2002; Kouwenberg & La Charite, 2011; 2015). One significant example of a study exploring the process of reduplication in TokPisin is by Masahiko (2011), who considers reduplication as a purely morphological process and has drawn a distinction between reduplication and repetition in TokPisin. Not only do the two processes differ from each other in terms of function and usage but also involve different morphological and lexical processing. The findings of the study reveal that reduplication in TokPisin is less productive as compared to repetition and that within reduplication examples of full reduplication outnumber examples of partial reduplication.

Apart from research on reduplication focusing on studying the process in the grammar of different languages, including pidgins and creoles, along with the semantic and pragmatic functions these reduplicants perform, some scholars working on child language acquisition have also investigated reduplication in the corpus based on children's discourse (Dressler, Dziubalska-Koiaczyk, Gagarina, & Kilani-Schoch, 2005; Leroy & Morgenstern, 2005).

Despite the availability of a vast body of research literature on reduplication in different languages across the world, only a few studies on this word-formation process have been conducted on the indigenous languages of Pakistan. One significant study on reduplication with reference to the indigenous languages of Pakistan is by Yoshioka (2017) who investigated nominal reduplication in five indigenous languages, *Burushaski*, *Domaaki*, *Kalasha*, *Khowar*, and *Shina*, spoken in the Northern Pakistan. The findings of the study show similarities in the reduplication pattern of *Burushaski*, *Domaaki* and *Shina* that reveal similarity avoidance in their echo-words, which is not observed in reduplication in *Kalasha* and

Khowar, the indigenous languages spoken in KPK, Pakistan. The study concludes with a recommendation to categorize examples of total reduplication as echo-words. Besides this study on reduplication in local languages in Pakistani context, the only available research on reduplication in Punjabi, which is also the focus of this research, is the one by Noor, Mangrio, Muhabat, & Iqbal (2015). Nevertheless, this collaborative study does not provide a detailed account of reduplication in Punjabi language.

The review of literature on reduplication indicates lack of a sufficient body of research literature on reduplication in the indigenous languages spoken in Pakistan. Moreover, despite being rich in reduplication, Punjabi language has not been extensively studied with reference to this word formation process. Therefore, the present study has been undertaken with the aim to fill in the existing gaps by providing an exhaustive typology of reduplication in Punjabi language along with its distinct functions.

3. Methodology:

As stated earlier, this qualitative corpus-based study focuses on studying reduplication in Punjabi language, by utilizing the *Dual Theory* proposed by Inkelas (2008), focusing on both the morphological and phonological features that contribute in the process of reduplication in different languages. Punjabi is an Indo-European language belonging to the Indo-Aryan group. According to Abbas, Chohan, Ahmed & Kaleem (2016), there are around 125 million native speakers of Punjabi across the world. As far as its speakers in Pakistan are concerned, the native speakers of Punjabi are not just confined to the province of Punjab, but are found in almost all the regions of Pakistan, including, Sindh, Balochistan, KPK, AJK, and Gilgit-Baltistan, where a considerable number of Punjabi speakers are now working in hotels and resorts, while some of them also own tourist resorts. Punjabi is chosen for this study on reduplication, not only because of the numerical strength of the native Punjabi population in Pakistan but also because of the co-national status that it now enjoys along with Urdu and other regional languages, including Pashto, Sindhi, and Balochi in the language policy of Pakistan revised in 2018. In India, Punjabi is one of the 22 languages enjoying official status. Moreover, Punjabi speakers can be found in Canada, America, as well as in many European countries, particularly in the UK,

where it is the third most widely spoken language by Punjabi immigrants from Pakistan and India who have permanently settled there. Besides these reasons, one major reason for choosing this language is that it is my mother tongue and as a native speaker I have easy access to many Punjabi native speakers.

The study is based on the data collected from Punjabi native speakers during their conversations in a variety of natural settings (home domain, friendship domain, public domain) both in Karachi and Lahore. Being a Punjabi native speaker myself, I have also included many examples of Punjabi reduplicants that are part of my Punjabi lexicon and that I use in a variety of contexts with other Punjabi speakers, including my family members, relatives and Punjabi speaking friends. The main reason for collecting examples from the speech of native Punjabi speakers in Pakistan is the authenticity of the examples. The sampling technique employed for the study is purposive, as examples of only Punjabi reduplicants comprise the data. The sample size is based on 150 examples of reduplication in Punjabi. These examples are categorized according to their types and word class to investigate the patterns of reduplication found in the language.

4. Data Analysis:

The data based on examples of reduplicants in Punjabi language are analyzed using the *Dual Theory* proposed by Inkelas (2008) with a focus on the morphological and phonological features involved in reduplication. The data analysis reveals a number of different patterns ranging from partial to discontinuous to total reduplication.

4.1 Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication, also called *alliterative reduplication* consists of echo words and is very common among the languages spoken in South Asia. According to Inkelas&Zoll (2005), “partial reduplication, is associated cross-linguistically with all sorts of meanings, both inflectional and derivational, whose degree of iconicity is often negligible.” (p. 14)

However, this kind of reduplication is different from the expressions that appear similar, in the sense that they may appear to be echo-formations which may not necessarily be the case. For instance, the word ‘*aanajaana*’ (literally it means ‘coming in and going out’; figuratively it connotes ‘life and death’) in Urdu cannot

be considered an example of echo-formation because both the words in this example are semantically independent lexical items, with each item having a distinct meaning. Partial reduplication or echo formation actually involves either vowel alteration (ablaut) or consonant alteration (onset) in which the reduplicant is not a semantically independent lexical unit. In partial reduplication found in Punjabi language, there are numerous examples of both vowel as well as consonant alteration.

Table 1: Examples of partial reduplication involving vowel alteration (ablaut) in Punjabi

	Punjabi Reduplicants	Translation in English	Word class
1	<i>saTsuT</i>	Injury	noun
2	<i>ka~dku~d</i>	Wall	noun
3	<i>va~Dvu~D</i>	to distribute	verb
4	<i>mall mull</i>	to apply	verb
5	<i>pull pall</i>	to forget	verb
6	<i>puu~jpaa~j</i>	to wipe away	verb
7	<i>maa~jmuu~j</i>	to wash dishes	verb
8	<i>kallkull</i>	to send	verb
9	<i>paapuu</i>	to wear	verb
10	<i>paRhpuRh</i>	to study	verb
11	<i>thapthup</i>	to apply something in excess	verb
12	<i>khakhu</i>	to finish eating	verb
13	<i>TappTupp</i>	to jump	verb
14	<i>labb lubb</i>	to find or search for something	verb
15	<i>Daa~jDuu~j</i>	to drink (used in a disapproving sense)	verb

As evident from the examples in Table 1, reduplication of verbs is found in abundance in partial reduplication involving vowel alteration in Punjabi language. Nevertheless, in examples of partial reduplication involving consonant alteration (onset) in Punjabi, examples of nominal reduplicants dominate, which can be observed in Table 2.

Table 2: Examples of partial reduplication involving consonant alteration (onset) in Punjabi

	Punjabi Reduplicants	Translation in English	Word class
1	<i>rolashola</i>	noise	Noun
2	<i>cha sha</i>	tea	Noun
3	<i>kukkaRshukkaR</i>	chicken	Noun
4	<i>Khiirshiir</i>	a traditional Pakistani dessert made of milk	Noun
5	<i>laDDushaDDu</i>	a traditional sweetmeat	Noun
6	<i>lassishassi</i>	a traditional drink made by churning yogurt and milk to kill heat	Noun
7	<i>pa~gRasha~gRa</i>	traditional Punjabi folk dance	Noun
8	<i>buayshuay</i>	doors	Noun
9	<i>vayashaya</i>	wedding	Noun
10	<i>kayo shayo</i>	ghee	Noun
11	<i>roTishoTi</i>	meal	Noun
12	<i>gaDDishaDDi</i>	car	Noun
13	<i>bokar shokar</i>	broom	Noun
14	<i>pi~D shi~D</i>	village	Noun

Partial reduplication or echo-formation, as evident from the examples given in table 2, is made with ‘sh’ sound in Punjabi, unlike other local languages of Pakistan. In Urdu language, for instance, ‘v’ sound is used for the formation of echo-words as in *khaanavaana* (meal), while in *Kalasha* and *Khowar*, languages spoken in the Northern areas of Pakistan, echo words are always formed with ‘m’ sound. The same trend of echo words being formed with ‘m’ sound is also observed in Balochi language.

This type of reduplication involving consonant alteration (onset) is not just restricted to words with Punjabi origin, it is also common among Punjabi speakers to employ partial reduplication involving consonant alteration (onset) in case of loan words. Table 3 presents a few examples of such loan words which display partial reduplication involving consonant alteration (onset):

Table 3: Examples of partial reduplication involving consonant alteration (onset) in case of loan words in Punjabi

	Punjabi Reduplicants	Translation in English	Word class
1	<i>biskuT shiskuT</i>	biscuit	noun
2	<i>bargar shargar</i>	burger	noun
3	<i>piiza shiiza</i>	pizza	noun
4	<i>roll sholl</i>	roll	noun
5	<i>pesTri shesTri</i>	Pastry	noun
6	<i>botal shotal</i>	bottle (mostly used for soft drink)	noun
7	<i>cake shake</i>	cake	noun
8	<i>kasTard shastarD</i>	custard	noun

It is important to note that the examples cited in table 3 are examples of direct and indirect borrowings from English to Punjabi, which have lost their foreignness with the passage of time and the frequency of usage in Punjabi. Since these words are localized or Punjabivized to be more precise, they are no more perceived as foreign items. Because of being completely assimilated in Punjabi, they have ceased to be treated as foreign words and therefore these loan items are utilized by the native Punjabi speakers to form reduplicants.

4.2 Total Reduplication

Total reduplication, also called *full* or *integral reduplication* involves repetition of the base without any modification and is reiterative in nature. This type of reduplication is commonly found in many South Asian, South East Asian, and African languages, like Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi, Chinese, Hausa, to name a few.

Unlike partial reduplication which is only limited to nouns and verbs in Punjabi, total reduplication is more productive in Punjabi language as it is found in case of nouns, particularly, numerals, adjectives, verbs, as well as adverbs.

4.2.1 Total reduplication of nouns

Total reduplication of nouns mostly occurs in case of numerals in Punjabi. Examples include: *ikik* (one each), *do do* (2 each), *tre' tre'* (three each); *chaarchaar* (four

each), *pa~jpa~j* (five each), etc. Such reduplication in case of numerals is used for the purpose of distribution.

4.2.2 Total reduplication of adjectives

Total reduplication of adjectives is used for both intensification and plural formation in Punjabi language. Examples include: *vaDDevaDDe* (big, huge), *,nikkenikke/nikkinikki* (small); *botabota* (large portion), *sonesone* (pretty), *uchcheuchche* (tall), *vakhrevakhre* (different; not together), *thoRethoRe* (in small quantity, or few in number), etc.

4.2.3 Total reduplication of adverbs

Total reduplication of adverbs is common in Punjabi and is used to intensify the degree of an action. Some examples include: *neReneRe* (closer); *kolkol* (near); *parayparay* (at a distance), *holiholi* (slowly), *chhetichheti* (quickly, fast), *kadikadi* (sometimes), *aggayaggay* (in front), *magarmagar* (behind), etc. This kind of total reduplication of adverbs in Punjabi is similar to Urdu and has the same function---to heighten the intensity of an action.

4.2.4 Total reduplication of verbs

Verbal reduplication which implies repetition of a lexical verb is either used for intensification, repetition of an action or for showing continuity (Xu, 2012). While discussing verbal reduplication, Rubino (2005) comments:

With verbs (and adjectives), reduplication may be used to denote a number of things such as number (plurality, distribution, collectivity), distribution of an argument; tense; aspect (continued or repeated occurrence; completion; inchoativity), attenuation, intensity, transitivity (valence, object defocusing), conditionality, reciprocity, pretense, etc. (p. 19).

Like Chinese, Sanskrit, Bengali, Urdu and some Bantu languages, Punjabi language has numerous examples of verbal reduplication. In fact, verbal reduplication in Punjabi outnumbers nominal, adjectival, and adverbial reduplication. Here are a few examples: *khappkhapp* (to make futile effort), *TappTapp* (to jump playfully), *piTpiT*

(to strike something hard), *nachnach*(to dance without break), *lab lab* (to search for something continuously), *saRsaR* (to be jealous); *chukkchukk* (to lift or carry something continuously), *la~gdeya~la~gdeya~* (while passing), *parrparr* (to fill a container with something), etc.

In many examples of verbal reduplication in Punjabi, like in Urdu, a verbal operator is added after the verb. For instance, in the utterance: *odigaDDichochokarraisi* (His/her car was shining as if it is brand new), the verbal operator 'kar' is added after 'chocho' to make the utterance grammatical. Some other examples of reduplicated verbs in Punjabi that require a verbal operator include: *luurluur* (to wander), *maa~jmaa~j* (to wash too many dishes), *ToTo* (to lift heavy objects) *kheDkheD* (to play continuously), etc.

As stated earlier, verbal reduplication in Punjabi is either used to indicate the intensity or repetition of an action for reiteration. In some cases, however, verbal doubling also implies disapproval of an action on the part of the speaker, as is evident in the utterance: “*tukhe'Dkhe'Dkethakkayanai?*” (Aren't you tired of playing?). If we look at the illocutionary force of this utterance, it is an indirect suggestion to stop playing. Most of the examples of verbal reduplication in Punjabi reinforce Zhong's views on verbal doubling, as according to Zhong (2016), “if a language has certain construction without and with doubling, the variant with doubling is expected to add something to the semantic interpretation.”(p. 18).

4.3 Onomatopoeic Reduplication

Onomatopoeic reduplication, also called *non-lexical reduplication*, though more common in Urdu is found to some extent in Punjabi as well. However, there are very few examples of this type in Punjabi. Some examples of onomatopoeic reduplication in Punjabi include: *khau~khau~* (coughing), *su~ su~* (blowing of nose in flu), *sharshar*(flow of water), *ThaTha*(banging of the door), *ka~ ka~* (crowing of crows; also used figuratively to refer to endless chatter), *sha~ sha~* (blowing of wind), and *char char* (arguing for the sake of arguing), etc. All examples of onomatopoeic reduplication in Punjabi cited here fall under verbal domain and are phonologically rather than morphologically governed. The use of onomatopoeic reduplication in Punjabi reflects negative attitude of speakers implying annoyance or disapproval in some cases.

4.4 Discontinuous Reduplication

In this type of reduplication, a small segment is inserted between the reduplicant and the base. In Punjabi, this is done by inserting a vowel sound ‘o’ between the word and the reduplicated item which is actually a repetition of the base. In some examples, however, one can also find a nasal vowel ‘o~’ inserted between the base and the reduplicated item.

Table 4: Examples of discontinuous reduplicants in Punjabi

	Punjabi Reduplicants	Translation in English	Word class
1	<i>naalonaal</i>	simultaneously	adverb
2	<i>pasiinopasiin</i>	drenched in sweat	adjective
3	<i>niiloniil</i>	extremely bruised	adjective
4	<i>Ikkoik</i>	one and only	adjective
5	<i>vaTTovaT</i>	crumpled (used for clothes not ironed)	adjective
6	<i>shaamoshaam</i>	early evening	adverb
7	<i>chuurochuur</i>	broken to pieces (often used for broken glass)	adjective
8	<i>nakkonakk</i>	completely full	adjective
9	<i>Liiroliir</i>	totally worn out (used with reference to clothing), in tatters	adjective
10	<i>xuunoxuun</i>	drenched in blood	adjective
11	<i>raato~raat</i>	at night	adverb
12	<i>hattho~hath</i>	willingly without delay	adverb
13	<i>andro~ andar</i>	in a secret manner without letting anybody know	adverb

All these examples of discontinuous reduplicants in Punjabi perform the function of intensification.

4.5 Reduplication using synonymy

Reduplicants based on synonyms are semantically governed as they are used for intensifying the meaning of words. Like Urdu, such reduplicants are also common in Punjabi language. Most of the reduplicants using synonymy in Punjabi fall under the category of adjectives except a few that are nominal in nature. Nevertheless, irrespective of whether they are nouns or adjectives, they perform the function of intensification. The Punjabi reduplicant, *kaala sayah*, for instance, shows the intensity of the colour black.

Table 5: Examples of reduplication using synonymy in Punjabi

	Punjabi Reduplicants	Translation in English	Word class
1	<i>gorachiTTa/gorichiTTi</i>	somebody with a very fair complexion	Adjective
2	<i>laalsua</i>	blood red	Adjective
3	<i>kaalasayaah</i>	jet black	Adjective
4	<i>piilazarad</i>	dark yellow	Adjective
5	<i>TuTTpann</i>	process of breaking	Noun
6	<i>uchchalamma</i>	very tall	Adjective
7	<i>cha~gapala</i>	well-off or in good health	Adjective
8	<i>miTTikaTTa</i>	Dust	Noun
9	<i>baalbachche</i>	offspring	Noun

4.6 Reduplication using antonymy

Although this type of reduplication is more common in Urdu language, it is also observed in Punjabi language to a certain extent and is contrastive in nature. One striking feature of this kind of reduplication based on antonymy in Punjabi, however, is that the reduplicated items are not just confined to a single word class, as is evident from the examples cited in table 6. Except verbal level, reduplication based on antonymy is observed at nominal, adjectival, as well as adverbial level in Punjabi.

Table 6: Examples of reduplication using antonymy in Punjabi

	Punjabi Reduplicants	Translation in English	Word class
1	<i>kaarbaar</i>	home	Noun
2	<i>e'thayothay</i>	here and there	Adverb
3	<i>heThuttay</i>	one after the other; showing restlessness through moving up and down	Adverb
4	<i>kachchapakka</i>	uncertain; neither unripe nor completely ripe	Adjective
5	<i>annpaani</i>	food and drink	Noun
6	<i>chhoTamoTa/chhoTimoTTi</i>	minor; trivial	Adjective
7	<i>okhasokha</i>	tough phase	Adjective

4.7 Reduplication using analogy

This kind of reduplication is specifically common in South Asian languages, like Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, etc. Some examples of reduplication using analogy in Punjabi include: *kauRaze'r* (extremely bitter like poison), *miTTha she't* (very sweet like honey); *chiTTadudd* (extremely white like milk), *garamagg* (extremely hot like fire), *ThanDabaraf* (extremely cold like ice, used to refer to a person's body temperature that may drop due to fear or low blood pressure), *ThanDa yax* (chilled, especially, used for water, milk, and squash), etc. All these examples of reduplication involve reduplication of adjectives. Such reduplicants are often used in Punjabi either for heightening the effect or for exaggeration depending on the context. The speakers use such examples not only for stylistic variation but also for achieving the desired perlocutionary effect.

4.8 Reduplication by attaching a meaningless item before the base word

It is common to find a meaningless item attached before a meaningful item for the formation of reduplicants in Punjabi. Nevertheless, the meaningless item that is attached for the formation of a reduplicant is coined in such a way that it harmonizes with the meaningful item phonologically. Another striking feature of such reduplication is that all the reduplicants found in this category are adjectives.

Table 7: Examples of reduplication using a meaningless item before the base word in Punjabi

	<i>Punjabi Reduplicants</i>	Translation in English	Word class
1	<i>kallamkalla</i>	completely alone	adjective
2	<i>lammaslamma</i>	very tall	adjective
3	<i>phikkamphikka</i>	completely bland	adjective
4	<i>gillamgilla</i>	extremely wet	adjective
5	<i>sukkamsukka</i>	totally dry	adjective
6	<i>velam vela</i>	completely idle	adjective
7	<i>khaTTamkhaTTa</i>	extremely sour	adjective
8	<i>kachchamkachcha</i>	completely unripe	adjective
9	<i>chiTTamchiTTa</i>	extremely white	adjective
10	<i>TillamTilla</i>	loose; totally shapeless	adjective

4.9 Reduplication by using a meaningless item after the base word

Reduplicants formed as a result of attaching a meaningless item after the base word is another common occurrence in Punjabi but it is less common than the reduplication that occurs as a result of attaching a meaningless item before the base word.

Table 8: Examples of reduplication using a meaningless item after the base word in Punjabi

	<i>PunjabiReduplicants</i>	Translation in English	Word class
1	<i>navanakor/navinakor</i>	brand new	adjective
2	<i>TuTTayapajjaya</i>	totally broken	adjective
3	<i>khaTTaTiit</i>	extremely sour	adjective
4	<i>buDDakhauDa/buDDikhoDi</i>	very old	adjective
5	<i>kaRimuRi</i>	again and again	adverb

Unlike the examples given in table 8, some Punjabi reduplicants have ‘empty morphs’ which usually attract monosyllabic verbs. Some examples of reduplication in Punjabi containing an empty morph include, *luTluTa* (after losing), *lab laba* (after searching), *suTsuTa* (after throwing or abandoning), *chad chhaDa* (after leaving or quitting), *mukmuka* (after finishing), *chupchaap* (silent/ silently). The base in all these examples being monosyllabic attracts an empty or a ‘semantically vacuous’ morph ‘a’ (a term used by Inkelas & Zoll, 2005). The first four examples of reduplicants display verbal reduplication and require the addition of a verbal operator ‘ke’ as in “*sab kujluTluTakeaan da fe’da?*” (What is the use of returning after losing everything?). However, in the last two examples, reduplication occurs at more than one level. For example, *mukmuka* can be treated as a noun as well as a verb; as a noun, it means ‘compromise’, whereas *chupchaap* can either be treated as an adjective (completely silent) or an adverb (silently) depending on the context. For example, in the utterance, “*chupchaapbe’ja*” (Sit silently), the reduplicant functions as an adverb, while in the utterance “*sabbchupchaap ne. kihogaya?*” (Everybody is silent. What has happened?), the same reduplicant acts as an adjective.

5. Findings and Conclusion

The findings of this synchronic study on reduplication reveal useful insights into the phenomenon of reduplication in Punjabi language. It is obvious from the data analysis that reduplication in Punjabi is highly productive and there is a great deal of variation in the formation of reduplicants in the language. Moreover, the data also reveal different levels at which reduplication occurs in Punjabi, which includes nominal, adjectival, verbal and adverbial level. However, adjectival and verbal reduplicants outnumber adverbial and nominal reduplicants in the language. Although it is not a comparative study, one cannot ignore the similarities between Punjabi and Urdu reduplication patterns. Like Urdu, Punjabi also displays total, partial, discontinuous, and onomatopoeic reduplication which makes Punjabi language as productive as Urdu, as far as the phenomenon of reduplication is concerned.

Based on the analysis of Punjabi reduplicants, it is obvious that reduplication in Punjabi performs different functions, ranging from heightening the intensity of an action or an attribute to showing the continuity of an action. In certain cases, reduplication in Punjabi is also used for reiteration or emphasis. In addition to these semantic interpretations, reduplication is used in certain situations by Punjabi speakers to show their attitude to their interlocutor(s) in order to achieve a specific pragmatic effect, as is evident from the data shared in the data analysis section.

6. Recommendations for Further Research

Since reduplication is found in many Pakistani languages, a large-scale comparative study on reduplication in the indigenous languages of Pakistan can be undertaken to explore this phenomenon in detail. Another possibility is to conduct an in-depth study of the different functions of reduplication in the indigenous languages spoken in Pakistan. Yet another possibility is to conduct a study focusing on gender differences in the use of reduplication in Punjabi or any other indigenous language of Pakistan. Furthermore, a diachronic study on reduplication in Punjabi or other indigenous languages can also be undertaken to trace the meaning of those items in that language's reduplicants that were once meaningful but have become meaningless with the passage of time.

Last but not the least, by studying the phenomenon of reduplication in unexplored indigenous languages of Pakistan, especially those that do not exist in written form, linguists can build a large corpus of data which can help in language documentation, which is a prerequisite for preserving and promoting heritage languages that are in the danger of being swept away by the Tsunami of globalization.

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