Reduplication, Expressives, and Echo-Formation in Hajong

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Abstract: This paper is an attempt to document and investigate the reduplication in Hajong. Hajong is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Bangladesh and Indian northeastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, and Arunachal Pradesh. The present study is based on the data collected from 12 Hajong speakers of the Goalpara district of Assam. Reduplication is a widespread phenomenon that is common in the languages of Southeast Asia. However, grammarians have ignored this phenomenon primarily because they follow the Western grammar description model, where reduplicated structures do not exist or are rare (Abbi, 1992). The aim is to study the reduplicated structures, expressive and echo-formation and its semantic aspects in Hajong. There are mainly two types of reduplicated structures in Hajong: Morphological reduplication and Lexical reduplication. The morphological reduplication is expressed through expressive. "Expressive behave and function like regular words and thus form a part of the lexicons of Indian languages" (Abbi, 2018). The semantics of expressive morphology in Hajong represent five senses of perception, states of mind and manner of an action, and kinship terminology. However, lexical reduplication is constructed through the process of echo-formation (partial reduplication), compound, and complete word reduplication. Echo-word Formation acquires the status of a meaningful element only after it is attached to a word (Abbi, 1992). Echo formation is formed by replacing the initial consonant sound in the reduplicant. The common replacer sounds in Hajong are /t͡ʃ/, /t/, /tʰ/ /m/, and /s/. The semantics of Hajong's echo formation represent generality, plurality, intensity, and sets or types.

Keywords: Reduplication, Hajong, Morphological reduplication, Lexical reduplication, Expressive, Echo-formation.

About the Author

Ms. Albina Narzary is a Ph.D. scholar at the University of Hyderabad's Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies. Her research interests includes Language documentation, language endangerment, and Applied Linguistics. Her current research focused on language documentation and composing a descriptive analysis of the Hajong language, which is one of Assam's endangered languages.

Introduction

Hajong is the least documented endangered language that is spoken by the small minority group living in Bangladesh and India. In India, Hajong people are mostly living in Meghalaya, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh (Moseley, 2010). From the analysis under the UNESCO's classification of an endangered language, Hajong can be put under the level of unsafe language – where most children speak the language; but it may be restricted to the home domain. According to the 2011 Indian Census Report, Hajong mother-tongue speakers in Assam has a population of 27,521.

Ethnologue mentioned that the total population of Hajong in India is around 71,800 and the total population of the Hajong speakers in Bangladesh according to Hajang of Bangladesh is 18,000. Hajong is an Indo-Aryan language but ethnically belongs to the Kachari tribes. (Dalton 1872, Allen 1905). Philips (2011) mentioned that Hajong people are more ethnically and culturally closer to surrounding Tibeto-Burman groups such as Garo and Koch than to Bengali populations; cultural and linguistic similarities can be attributed to a common origin or mutual influence between the groups in which they resided immediate proximity for generations. Hajong was recognized as one of the Scheduled Tribes (Hills) of Garo Hills Autonomous District in Assam in 1950. Grierson (1903-28) stated Haijong as a Tibeto-Burman language but long ago abandoned its original form of speech and became a dialect of East Bengali.

The present data is collected from the Goalpara district of Assam through questionnaires, interviews, and personal observations. There were 12 informants with a different aged group ranging from 21 to 29, 30 to 45, 46 to 59, and 60 and above. The area of fieldwork study includes West Kadamtola, Sesapani, Dhaigaon Solmari, Khardang, Dhudhnoi Damra, East Patpara, Mathia, Thilapara, and in the town areas of Goalpara and Dudhnoi. Since the majority of the Hajong community lives in the Goalpara district of Assam the fieldwork has been mainly focused on this district. During the field visit, the questionnaire was mainly taken from SPPEL(2016) 'Language documentation handbook' and Abbi (2001) 'Basic sentences for collecting field data in Indian languages' as the main instrument for extracting data. This paper is an attempt to study the structure of reduplication, expressive and echo-formation, and its semantic function in Hajong within the modelled work of Abbi (1992, 2001, 2018) in a descriptive tradition. The present study aims to find out whether the Hajong language shows any signs of sharing areal features of South Asian languages.

Previous literature

Various linguists have worked on the reduplicated structures of various Indian languages. With regards to this following work is noteworthy: Emaneau (1956) project India as a linguistic area (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Austro-Asiatic) and discussed some of its areal features including echo word formation and onomatopoeic features. Since then several linguists worked on the areal features of reduplication, echo-word formation, and expressive in Indian languages. Apte (1968) carried out a descriptive study on the process of reduplication, Echo Formation, and Onomatopoeia in Marathi from the point of view of linguistic and semantic aspects. Singh (1969) focused upon the echo words as partial reduplication in Hindi. Bhaskara Rao (1977) discusses the structure of Telugu onomatopoeic functions and types of reduplication and formation. Abbi (1992) focuses on the reduplication of South Asian languages from an areal, typological and historical perspective. The language families covered are the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, and Austro-Asiatic; the study investigated the reduplicated structures and semantic features of these language families. Abbi (1992) states that the structures of reduplicated verbal adverbs are "typical pan- Indian structures". Abbi (2018) is a study of significant areal Phenomenon on the area of Echo Formation and Expressives of South Asian Languages. Since Hajong is an undocumented language in general, the reduplicated structures of Hajong have not been studied in the earlier works of linguists who studied the reduplicated structure of Indian languages. There is very little ethnographic research on Hajong, including the work of Dalton (1872), Allen (1905-28), Bordoloi (1991), and Hajong (2002). Some linguistic works include those of Grierson (1903-28), Hajong & Phillips (2008) work on Hajong vocabulary. Phillips (2011) is a study on the case marking in Hajong. Guts (2013) is a study of Hajong phonology.

Reduplication

Reduplication is a widespread phenomenon that is common in the languages of Southeast Asia. Reduplication refers to the repetition of all or a part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification (Abbi, 1992). Words formed by duplicating syllables or by duplicating a part or all of a word (phonological word) are instances of reduplication (Abbi, 2001). The following are the canonical subtypes of reduplicative structures in languages.

Total reduplication**:** Complete reduplication is the stem or word repetition with minimal or no phonological changes (Inkelas & Zoll 2005). For example in Hajong and Boro total reduplication can also be in the form of expressive and lexical reduplication.

(1) a. kereŋ kereŋ   'sound of bangles' (Hajong)

b. gʰɔre gʰɔre   'house to house'

  c. bohi bohi 'while sitting'

 (2) a. kram kram 'crunchy' (Boro)

  b.no no 'house to house'

  c. zirai zirai 'while sitting'

Partial reduplication: A partial reduplication is the repetition of a part or constituents of a word. For example in Hajong and Boro:

 (3) a. baleŋ-leŋ 'slim girl' (Boro)

  b. gaham-ham 'very thin'

  c. liddur-dur 'slightly heavy'

 (4) a. rastop-top 'juicy' (Hajong)

  b. gudu-dum 'long-faced expression; associated with anger'

 Echo reduplication**:** An echo word is a "partially repeated form of the base word" that have no meaning of their own (Abbi1992:20).

 (5) a. hapal t͡ʃapal 'children and such'(Hajong)

  b.pisa tisa 'children and such' (Boro)

  c. bilai tilai 'leaf etc' (Boro)

 Redundant compound: Redundant compounds include the juxtaposition of two lexical elements (Dongare 1975) The example below in Hajong and Boro.

 (6) a. tɛka-puit͡ʃɯ (Hajong)

  money-money

  'money etc'

  b. dʰɯn-sompotʰi (Boro)

  money-money

  'money etc'

Map 1 Study area 'Goalpara district'
Source: http://goalpara.gov.in/images/indexslider/main/Goalpara.jpg

Analysis of result

Hajong's reduplication is formed by partially or completely repeating syllables or repeating whole words. The types of reduplicated structures in Hajong comprised of the following:

1. Morphological reduplication and
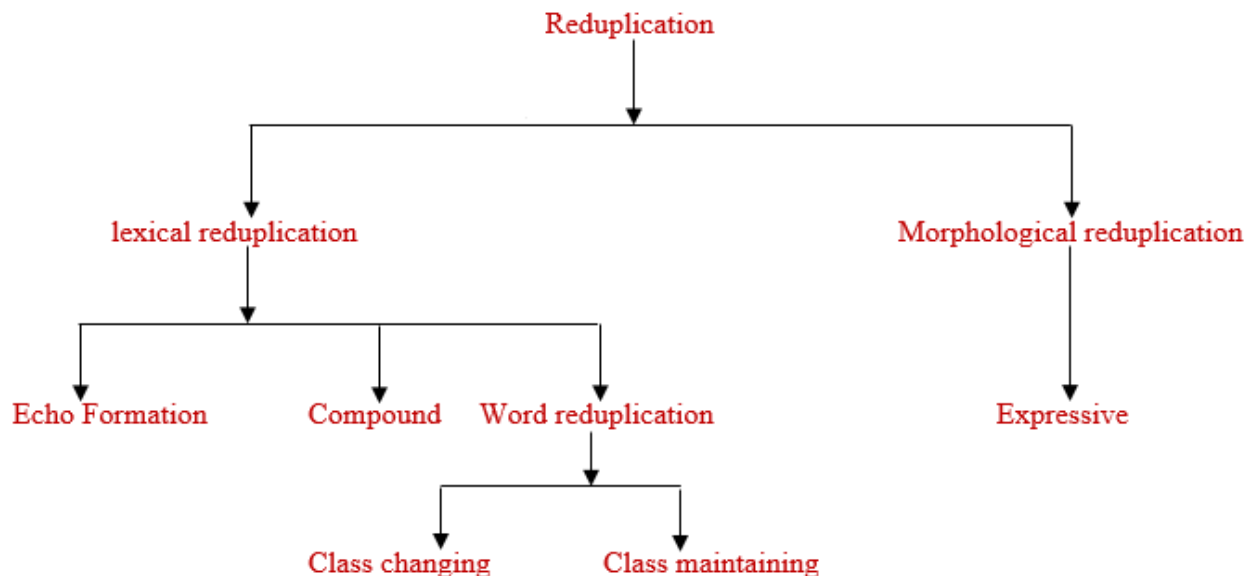
2. Lexical reduplication

Figure 1 Types of Reduplicated Structures of Hajong

[Source: (Abbi, 1992: 14)]

Morphological reduplication

According to Abbi (1992) morphological reduplication are "minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes which are constituted of iterated syllables ..where the base and the iterated part together constitute a single morpheme which is also a lexeme" For example in Hajong:

(7) a. ʧ͡alak-ʧ͡alak 'lightening'
    b. moneŋ-moneŋ 'small'
    c. sek-seka 'pale'
    d. pek-peka 'wet'
    e. bʰur-bʰurɯ 'coarse'

In most cases, the iterated part is added with a vowel in the word-final position of reduplicant and changed the syllable structure from monosyllabic CVC to disyllabic form CVCV. Adding the vowel in the word-final position of the reduplicated stem conveys some degree of intensification to the hearer. Abbi (1992) further elaborated the instances of morphological reduplication through onomatopoeic constructions, imitative, sound symbolism, and mimic words on the ground that the entire structure repeated here represents a particular meaning without allowing morphological deletion.

Expressives

According to Abbi (1992), the term "expressive" includes idiomatic expressions, onomatopoeia, facial expressions, imitations, and sound symbols. Expressive words acquire word/lexeme status only after they are duplicated (Abbi, 2001). Expressive is studied morphologically, not as lexical overlaps. Expressive forms in the Indian language are used to describe the categories of the meaning of all five senses of perception, state of mind, mode of action, kin terms and various states of confusion (Abbi, 2018). The most common characteristic of expressive is the transmission of all five senses (sight, smell, touch, taste and hearing).

Expressive begins with an initial consonant

Most of the expressive in Hajong begins with the initial consonant. Whenever there is a vowel at the beginning of the word, the reduplicated stem begins with a consonant as in the example (8).

If a base begins with a vowel, then the first phoneme in the reduplicant is /b/ or /n/

$\phi \rightarrow$ b/n   /   # V

(8)   a. okɔl-bokɔl 'nausea'

         b. apruk-napruk 'little amount'

Expressive is reduplicated either partially or completely

Expressives are mostly reduplicated in Hajong either partially or completely. The syllable structure of Hajong expressive is mostly monosyllabic. Sometimes a disyllabic pattern is also noticeable.

Vowel alternation

The high vowel /i/ changes to the low vowel /ɑ/ in the word-final position of the reduplicant.

 i $\longrightarrow$ ɑ / __ #

(9)   a. hihi- haha 'laughing sound'

         b. bikli-bakla 'bad smelling'

         c. tiŋli-tʰaŋla 'bumpy like a bad road'

         d. t͡ʃimri-t͡ʃamra 'wrinkled'

The open vowel /ɑ/   changes to the unrounded back vowel /ɯ/ in the intervocalic position

ɑ $\longrightarrow$ ɯ / C___C

(10)   a. dam-dɯmɯ 'swollen'

The low vowel /ɑ/ changes to the high vowel /i/ in the word final position

ɑ $\longrightarrow$ i̇ / ____ #

(11)   a. tewra-tewri 'crooked teeth'

         b. sara-sari 'devorced'

The back rounded vowel /u/ changes to the unrounded low vowel /ɑ/ in the intervocalic position of the word.

u $\longrightarrow$ ɑ

(12)   a.gʰumut-gʰamat 'now and then'

Consonant alternation

Consonant alternation is found in the initial syllable of the reduplicated stem. A consonant sound changes to stop /b/ and lateral /l/ if followed by any vowel.

C $\longrightarrow$ b/l   / ___ V

(13)   a. kekra-bekra 'twisted'

         b. t͡ʃepta-lepta 'flat thin things'

Vowel addition

The addition of the vowel /ɑ/ in the word-final position of a reduplicated stem is one of the dominant patterns in Hajong expressive.

(14)   a. t͡ʃok t͡ʃokɑ 'brightly'

b. d͡ʒin-d͡ʒiɲa 'a medicinal plant'

c. dolt͡ʃek-t͡ʃeka 'aquatic insect'

d. tʰan- tʰana 'straight hanging (robe)'

e. dam-dama 'huge'

f. mor-mora 'brittle'

g. kʰod͡ʒoŋ-d͡ʒoŋa 'vertically straight'

h. kʰed͡ʒeŋ-d͡ʒeŋa 'half cooked/ boiled'

Addition of the vowel /i/ at the end of the reduplicated stem

(15)   a. dul-duli 'shifting ground'

b. t͡ʃun-t͡ʃuni 'a kind of medicinal plant'

c. d͡ʒun-d͡ʒuni 'a kind of insect'

Addition of the vowel /ɯ/ in a reduplicated stem

(16)   a. gʰut-gʰutɯ 'dark'

b. lus-lusɯ 'spongy'

c. lim-limɯ 'smooth'

Consonant addition

Consonant is added in the syllable onset of the reduplicated stem.

(17)   a. us-pʰus 'uneasy feeling'

b. uktʰɯ-paktʰa 'opposite'

c. uluŋ-puluŋ 'spacious'

Expressive from kinship terminology

Deriving expressive from kinship terminology by duplicating the initial syllable

(18)   a. baba 'father'

b. dada 'elder brother'

c. nunu 'younger sister'

d. mama 'father's sister's husband'

Expressive also formed by vowel alternation in kinship terminology

(19)   a. kaki 'father's elder brother's wife'

b. mami 'mother's brother wife'

State of Mind and Manner Adverbs

Expressive represents a semantic category of state of mind and manner adverbs.

(20)   a. us-pʰus 'uneasy feeling'

b. godom-doma 'angry, the facial expression'

c. ulɯŋ-palaŋ 'distressed'

d. gʰasaŋ-gʰasaŋ 'rash, careless'

e. domana-dopasa 'confused'

Acoustic noises

Expressive also describe acoustic noises, movements, emotions, etc. The acoustic noises mostly common in Hajong are the noises of the animal cry, noises of natural phenomena, noises made by humans, and noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects.

Noises of animal cry

The different acoustic noises are expressed in reduplicating the acoustic noises of the animal cry as in the examples 21 (a-b) kʰa- kʰa 'cry of crow'   meo-meo 'cry of a cat' hou- hou 'cry of a dog' t͡ʃir- t͡ʃir t͡ʃʰar- t͡ʃʰar 'cry of a Myna'.

(21)   a. kouɯ -rɯ   kʰa kʰa   -ke   dokre

Crow   DEF   EXPR   ADVLZ   cry

'kʰa, kʰa the crow cries.'

b. bilɯi -rɯ   meo meo –ke   dokri -bɯ lag -ise   kiba   t͡ʃai

Cat   DEF   EXPR   ADVLZ cry INF get PFV   something want

'meo, meo the cat is crying, may want something.'

Noises of natural phenomena

The expressive acoustic noises of natural phenomena are expressed in the following complete reduplication.

/ grab-grab/ 'sound of heavy raining' as in the example below:

(22)   a. mek –ra grab grab –ke   por-ise

rain DEF   EXPR ADVLZ fall PFV

'It is raining heavily.'

/d͡ʒʰir -d͡ʒʰir/ 'sound of drizzling' as in the example below:

(23)   a.mek –ra   d͡ʒʰir d͡ʒʰir –ke   por-ise

rain DEF   EXPR   ADVLZ fall PRF

It is drizzling.'

/ gɯrɯb- gɯrɯb /'sound of thunderings' in the example below:

(24)   a.din-dɯ gɯrɯb gɯrɯb –ke dokri -bɯ lag -se   mek ah   -ibo

day DEF   EXPR   ADVLZ cry INF get PFV rain come   FUT

'Today is a thunderstorm, rain will come.'

Sounds of a flowing river

(25)   a./kɔl-kɔl/ 'sound of streamflow'

b. /t͡ʃʰir-t͡ʃʰir d͡ʒʰir-d͡ʒʰir/ 'sound of mountain streamflow'

/ how-how/ 'sound of strong wind' as in the example given below:

(26)   a.bata☐-d͡ʒa   how how   ke   ah -ibɯ   lag-ise   pani ah   -ibo

wind DEF   EXPR ADVLZ come INF   attach PFV rain come FUT

'Wind is coming up strong and fast (it) will rain'

/hir-hir/'sound of slow wind' as in the example given below:

(27)   a.hir hir -ke bata☐ ahe

EXPR ADVLZ wind come

'wind blows slowly'

A sound made by humans

The expressive acoustic noises made by human are given below:

(28)   a. /trab-trab/'clapping sound'

b. /kʰawa-kʰawa/ 'crying sound of a baby '

c. /karab-karab/ 'toothache sound'

d. /tiŋ-tiŋ/ 'headache sound'

e. /kur-kur/ 'stomach ache sound'

f. /t͡ʃeteŋ -t͡ʃeteŋ/ 'legs and hands pain sound'

Some of the examples are illustrated below

(29)   a. hattapli bajai trab trab –ke

hands   clap   EXPR ADVLZ

'Clapping makes a sound trap-trap'

b. mata –ra mola   tiŋ tiŋ -ke bit͡ʃa-bɯ lag-se

head DEF my-GEN EXPR ADVLZ pain INF get PFV

'My head aching so hard'

Noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects

Expressives noises made by miscellaneous objects are the following:

(30)   a./dram-dram/ 'sound of a drum'

b. /d͡ʒʰanao- d͡ʒʰanao / 'sound of Payal: Jinkling of anklet'

c. /te-te/ 'sound of flute'

Sense of sight

This expressive in Hajong is used to express a sense of sight such as the sparkling or glittering sight of the objects. For example /tipik-tapak/' shining of a bulb',/t͡ʃolt͡ʃola/'shinning of a white roof',

(31)   a. bela –ra   t͡ʃarai t͡ʃarai ke   ut -ise

sun DEF EXPR ADVLZ   up -PFV

'The sun is shining brightly'

b. oi kapur-rɯ t͡ʃok t͡ʃoka – ke   pind -ise

he/she cloth-DEF EXPR   ADVLZ wear PFV

'He/She is wearing bright clean cloth'

Sense of touch

This expressive is used in Hajong to express a sense of feeling while touching. This is expressed in a partial and complete reduplicated form, as in the examples from (32 a-c) given below.

(32)   a. kibɯ   hu-se   gota gota -ke na -bisɯi

something become –PFV   EXPR   ADVLZ NEG pain

'Something happened hard and painless'

b. oi poka –ra ledʰe dekʰa

this insect DEF EXPR

'This insect is very soft'

c. duri- rɯ   tʰan tʰana -ke   ase

robe DEF EXPR   ADVLZ be

'Robe is hanging straight'

Sense of taste

This expressive is used in Hajong to express the sense and degree of taste in a complete reduplicated form, as in example (33) a./krao-krao/'over krunchy', b. /kumɯ-kumɯ/ 'lukewarm'.

(33)   a. papor-ra   bisi bʰad͡ʒa hu-se krao krao koi

Papad -DEF over fry get PFV   EXPR   say

'The papad is over fried'

b. pani -rɯ bisi gorom nɯi   hoi kumɯ kumɯ   ke   hu-se

water DEF over hot   NEG be   EXPR   ADVLZ become PFV

'Water is not so hot only lukewarm'

Sense of smell

The complete reduplication of expressive is used in Hajong to express the sense of good or bad smell. As in the example (34) a. /moho-moho/ 'tasty smell', b./mohe-mohe/ 'good smell', c. bikli-bakla 'bad smelling'

(34)   a. hag-ra   moho moho –ke   gon bɯrɯ -se

curry DEF   EXPR   ADVLZ smell come PFV

'There is a good curry smell coming'

b. kibɯ maka –se moho- mohe gondai

something spraying   EXPR   smell

'(s/he) spraying something good smell aroma'

Lexical reduplication

Lexical reduplication refers to a complete or partial repetition of a word (Abbi, 2001). Lexical reduplication is further divided into echo formation, compound, and word reduplication.

Complete word reduplication (CWR)

Word reduplication is divided into complete and partial reduplication. Partial reduplication is referred to a structure in which a word/stem/root or sentence is repeated only once in a sentence without any morphological change (Abbi, 1992). From the functional point of view, complete word reduplication can be further divided into Class maintaining and Class changing.

Class maintaining CWR

A complete word reduplication that holds a class is a word that remains in the same grammar class after duplication (Abbi, 1992). Class maintaining CWR in Hajong can be reduplicated to the grammatical category of noun, pronoun, adjective, etc.

Noun

(35)   a. gʰɔr 'house'   gʰɔr-gʰɔr 'each and every house'

b. ʤaɡɑ 'place' ʤaɡɑ-ʤaɡɑ 'each and every place'

c. gɔntai 'hour' gɔntai-gɔntai 'each and every hour'

Pronoun

(36)   a. kɯi 'who' (singular animate)   kɯi-kɯi 'each and every person'

b. ki ' what'   ki-ki 'each and every things'

Adjective

Size

(37)   a. uksɯ-uksɯ diwal   'high (high) walls'

b. daŋɔr-daŋɔr ʧuk   'big (big) eyes

Colour:

(38)   a. nilɯ nilɯ tupi   'blue (blue) caps'

b. raŋa raŋa tupi   'red (red) caps

Quality

(39)   a. bʰala bʰala kam   'good (good) deeds'

b. neta neta boi   'bad (bad) books'

Taste

(40)   a. titʰɯ titʰɯ 'bitterish'

b. teŋa teŋa 'sourish'

Adverb

(41)   Manner: a. aste aste 'slowly' b. taratari 'hurriedly'

(42)   Location: a. tɔle tɔle 'below below' b. upure upure 'top top'

(43)   Time: a. maʤe maʤe 'sometime'

For example, the adjective /huru/ 'small' doesn't change the grammatical class in a sentence as in 44. (a) where the semantic meaning emphasizes 'small' to 'very small' though both share the same grammatical class. Examples from 44. (b-d) don't change the grammatical class in a sentence however use inflections to convey a grammatical function as plurality, the semantic function of exclusiveness as in (b-c) and the semantic function of distribution as in (e).

(44)   a. moi huru huru sʰaowa-ra-ge   bʰala lag -e.

I small RED child -DEF -ACC like get PRE

'I like small children'

b. timɯd-dɯ timɯd-dɯ mela ʧabo   ʤa-se

woman DEF woman DEF fair   see   go PFV

'ladies (ladies) went to see the fair (i.e only ladies)'

c. ʧʰeŋrai ʧʰeŋrai putbol   kel-   e   ase

boy boy football play PROG be

'boys (boys) are playing football (i.e only boys).'

d. ora niʤɯla niʤɯla   gʰao – bʰaj ʤa –se

They respective RED village   ALL go PFV

'They went to their respective villages.'

e. oi   gʰɔr gʰɔr - ni   d͡ʒɯ -iɯ mag-ibɯn

he house house LOC   go CP   beg IMPFV

'He used to go door to door and beg'

Class changing CWR

Class changing complete word reduplication refers to those constructions where reduplicated structure enters a grammatical class different from that of its non-reduplicated base (Abbi, 1992). Class changing CWR in Hajong is seen in 45. (a) adjective changes to an adverb, (b) verb changes to the reduplicated verbal adverb.

(45)   a. mola mao   –ra   aste   aste - ke   bʰat kai

My   mother   DEF   slowly   RED ADVLZ   rice eat

'My mother eats her food slowly (slowly).'

b. hapal-la   bohite bohite   hurɯn hu-se

child-DEF   sit sit impf.   tire   get PFV

'The child got tired of sitting (for a long time)'

Reduplicated verbal adverbs in conjunction with main verbs indicate significant aspectual categories. The word order allows reduplicated verbal adverbs to proceed with the main verb.

Simultaneity

Abbi (1992) states that " Simultaneity identifies the synchronization of two events or actions (non-states) at a particular time which in turn may signal:

   i.   completion of both events or actions at the same time (Type A)

   ii. protraction of one of the events/actions (Type B),

   iii. continuity of two events for a certain period (Type C)"

Simultaneity Aspect Type A

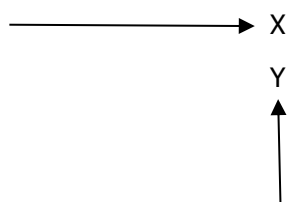$$\xrightarrow{\hspace{3cm}} X$$
$$Y$$
$$\uparrow$$

Figure 2 Simultaneity Type A (Abbi, 1992)

The figure represents the simultaneity of two punctual verbs in which X represents the reduplicated verbal adverb (RVADV) and Y as the MV.

(46)   a. rati dos   bad͡ʒite bad͡ʒite   tren dudhnoi-ni ahi pa-le

night ten   strike strike impf. train Dudhnoi-LOC come get-PST

'The train reached Dudhnoi by the time it was 10 0'clock at night.'

Example (46 a.) the reduplicated verbal adverb *bad͡ʒite* 'strike' (of a clock) and the verb *ahi pale* 'reach' shows the simultaneity between two punctual and completive verbs.

Simultaneity Aspect Type B

Abbi (1992) describes a situation where RVADV is not-punctual and MV is punctual. In the example (47 a,b) RVADV d͡ʒa-ite 'go-impf' ko-ite 'say-impf' is non-punctual and the MV pori d͡ʒa-se 'fell down' bɯrɯ-le 'come-PST' is punctual therefore one of the action/events is protracted.

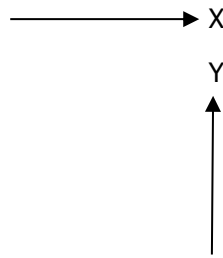$$\longrightarrow X$$
$$Y$$
$$\uparrow$$

Figure 2 Simultaneity Type B

(47)   a. hapal-la   d͡ʒaite d͡ʒaite   pori d͡ʒa-se

child -DEF go go impf. fell go-PFV

'The child fell down while walking'

Simultaneity Aspect Type C

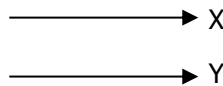The two non-punctual events/actions occur simultaneously within a specific time period

$$\longrightarrow X$$
$$\longrightarrow Y$$

Figure 3 Simultaneity Type C

(48)   a. oi dɔuraite dɔuraite   kota ku-se

He/She   run run-impf.   word speak-PFV

'He/She spoke while running (away)'

Non-precipitation

In non- precipitation "the main action or events, represented by Main verb (y) occurs on the verge of operation of another event or action manifested in a Reduplicated verbal adverb (x) and put a stop to the operation of (x) and (x) never takes place" (Abbi, 1992).

(49)   a. mek   ahate ahate   nɯi hoi

rain come come-impf. NEG become

'It was about to rain but did not.'

b. hapal-la   upur tʰikiɯ   porte porte   basi d͡ʒa-le

child -DEF above from fall fall impf. save go-PST

'The child was about to fall from the stairs but did not'

Continuation-Duration

Continuation or duration suggests continuation or duration of an event/movement for a brief or a protracted duration of time (Abbi, 1992). Continuative of an event might be indicated by a reduplicated verbal adverb and by employing the main verb its reduplicated form (Abbi, 1992).

Reduplicated verbal adverb

(50)   a.   oi   buhite buhite hurɯn   lag-se

he   sit sit   impf.   tire   get PFV

'He got tired of sitting (for a long period of time)'

Reduplicated main verb

(51)   a.   moi oi   t͡ʃiar   -ni   buhi buhi-i   ase

i   this chair –LOC   sit sit -EM   be

'I have been sitting on this chair (for a long time)'

b. oi pan besaite besaite burɯ hu-se

he betel sell sell impf.   old become-PFV

'He become old selling betels (all his life)' (durative)

Iterative

The iterative aspects refer to the concept of events or actions that occur repeatedly at short time intervals (Abbi, 1992).

(52)   a.   kapur-rɯ   doaite doaite   pari d͡ʒa-se

cloth DEF   wash wash impf. torn go –PFV

'Clothes got torn off by extensive washing'

Echo Formations

Echo words have been defined as partially repeated forms (initial phoneme/syllable) of base words and duplicator is a standard form of slightly alternating copies of basic words (Abbi, 2018). EF has no individual appearance in the language or its meaning but only gets the status of meaningful elements when added to a word (Abbi, 1992). Hajong's EF is formed by replacing the initial consonant (or the initial syllable) of a word without changing the canonical form of the base word. In Hajong the common replacer consonant sounds are: /t͡ʃ/ /t/, /tʰ/ /m/ and /s/.

A consonant sound changes into /t͡ʃ/ when it is followed by a vowel.

C → t͡ʃ   ___   V

(53)   a. butul -t͡ʃutul

bottle PRT.RED

'bottle and such'(N)

b. kapur -t͡ʃapur

cloth PRT.RED

'clothes and such'(N)

b. kukul -t͡ʃukul dog etc

dog PRT.RED

'dog and such'(N)

A consonant sound changes into /t/ when it is followed by a vowel.

C →   t   __   V

(54)   a. bilɯi -tilɯi

cat PRT.RED

'cat and such'(N)

b. sundɔr tundɔr

beauty PRT.RED

'beauty and such'(ADJ)

c. kala tala

black PRT.RED

'black PRT.RED' (ADJ)

d. boha toha

sit PRT.RED

'to sit and such'(V)

A consonant sound changes into /tʰ/ when it is followed by a vowel.

C → tʰ __ V

(55)   a. gʰuri -tʰuri

watch PRT.RED

'watch and such'(N)

b. dʰar tʰar

loan PRT.RED

'laon and such' (N)

A consonant sound changes into /s/ when it is followed by a vowel.

C → s __ V

(56)   a. bʰat -sat

food PRT.RED

 'food and such'(N)

b. nila sila

blue PRT.RED

'blue and such'(ADJ)

c. mitʰɯ sitʰɯ

sweet   PRT.RED

'sweet and such' (ADJ)

b. dʰɔla sɔla

white PRT.RED

'white and such'(ADJ)

A consonant sound changes into /m/ when it is followed by a vowel.

C → m __ V

(57)   a. t͡ʃʰadra -madra

fat   PRT.RED

'fat and such'(ADJ)

b. kɯndrɯ mɯndrɯ

cry PRT.RED

'crybaby and such'(N)

However, if the initial syllable of the base word is a vowel then a consonant is inserted in the initial syllable.

If a base begins with a vowel, then the first phoneme in the reduplicant is /tʰ/

ɸ → tʰ   /   # V

(58)   a.   atio -tʰatio

relative PRT.RED

'relatives and such'((N)

b. aram tʰaram

comfort PRT.RED

'comfort and such'(N)

Vowel alternation

The vowel /ɯ/ is replaced by vowel /i/ in the word-final position of the reduplicant

ɯ →   i   /   __ #

(59)   a.dʰilɯ -dʰili

slow PRT.RED

'slow and such'(ADV)

b. diglɯ-digli

tall PTR.RED

'tall and such'(ADJ)

b. pislɯ-pisli

slippery PTR.RED

'slippery and such'(ADJ)

The vowel /ɑ/ is replaced by the vowel /i/ word finally in the reduplicant.

i. ɑ → i   /   __ #

(60)   a.kibɑ -kibi

something PTR.RED

'something and such'(N)

b. daŋkli-daŋkla

tool PTR.RED

'wooden tool and such'(N)

c. liɲti leɲta

naked PTR.RED

'naked (child) and such'(ADJ)

d. lekʰa-likʰi

writing PTR.RED

'writing and such' (V)

Compounds

Compound words are also a subtype of lexical replication. Two independent words combine to form a new word, which is one of the important word-forming processes in language, called compounding (Abbi, 2011). Compounds refer to paired structures, where the second word is not an exact repetition of the first word but has some similarity or relationship to the first word at the semantic or phonetic level and a component element of the compound loses its primary meaning and gains a new reference Abbi (1992). Following are the example of compound words used in Hajong.

(61)   a. tɛka (money) puisɯ (money)   'money'

b. sona (gold)   rupɯ (silver) 'property'

c. bab (father)   mao (mother) 'parent'

e. mitʰɯ (sweet)   titʰɯ (bitter) 'taste'

Discussion

The article begins with Hajong's reduplication and reduplicated structure. Hajong's reduplication structure consists of both morphological and lexical reduplications. Morphological reduplication is expressed by expressiveness. Expressiveness is studied as a general term for ideophone, onomatopoeia, mimics, imitation, and sound symbols. Expressiveness represents five sensory sensations, states of mind, manner of action, and semantic categories of kinship terms. The main features of Hajong expressive are:

a.   Hajong's expressive form a single lexeme or word and consist of repeated syllables. Each syllable cannot be displayed separately.

b.   Expressive in Hajong is usually reduplicated.

c.   The representation of expressive in Hajong can take the form of a complete or partial reduplication.

d.   It mainly starts with a consonant.

e.   An expressive undergoes vowels and consonant change in the process of reduplication.

f.   There is a process of phoneme addition in an iterated syllable or stem of the reduplicant

Hajong's expressive conveys all five senses: sight, smell, touch, hearing and taste. Expressive also describes acoustic noises, movements, emotions, and more. Common acoustic noises in Hajong are animal noises, natural noises, human-made noises, and noises made by various inanimate objects. Expressive is also used as finite verb and manner adverb in Hajong

(61)   a. oi   hɯkɯ-dɯkɯ kor-e

he/she EXPR hurried do-PRE

'S/He is hurrying up'

b. mo-la   ped   -da   kur -kur   -ɯi bisa-ba   lag-se

my –GEN stomach DEF   EXPR   CP   pain -INF get PFV

'My stomach is aching heavily'

In lexical reduplication, reduplicated verbal adverbs combined with main verbs represent significant aspectual categories in Hajong such as simultaneity, non-precipitation, continuation-duration and iteration.

The syntactic characteristics of lexical reduplication in Hajong include

The perfective participle is also frequently reduplicated as in the example below:

(62)   a. moi gʰur-iɯ gʰur-iɯ oi gʰor   -ra   dek -ise

I   walk CP RED   that house –DEF see- PFV

'I walked around and saw the house.'

The adverbial imperfective conjunctive participle /-(i)te/ is mostly reduplicated

(63)   a. kota ko-ite ko-ite   ola   t͡ʃuk diɯ pani bɯrɯ-se

word say-ICP RED she eye from water come-PFV

'While she was talking tears came from her eyes.'

Echo formation is formed by replacing the initial consonant sound in the reduplicant and the replacer sounds are: /t͡ʃ/ /t/, /tʰ/ /m/, and /s/ in Hajong. Like other Indian languages, in Hajong vowel alternation (i.e., from ɯ > i and ɑ > i in the word-final position) is another strategy that is followed in forming echo words.

(Abbi, 2018) states that the semantic field of EFs can be represented as a cluster of semantic components. All the South Asian languages share these features. The structure and its associated meaning have a one-to-one correspondence giving systematic iconicity across the languages.

Generality and plurality

This construction of echo-formation indicates generality and plurality. EFs in Hajong represent generality and plurality such as *buksuli-tuksuli* 'clothes and related items', *t͡ʃa-ta* 'tea and related items'. Abbi (2018) states that all South Asian languages under the Himalayan region, except for the Tibeto-Burman and Tai Kadai, share these semantic structures EF, suggesting the areal nature of the structures.

Superordinate structures

Echo formation can create higher-level(superordinate) structures with many subordinates. For example, in Hajong the collective nouns *kɔlom-sɔlom* 'pen and related items' means "stationary object" and is not necessarily limited to "writing tool" only.

Sets and types

Echo Formations create sets and types for example in Hajong

(64)   i.   t͡ʃʰadra -madra

fat PRT.RED

'fat types'

ii. raŋa-taŋa

red PRT.RED

'red types'

Increase the intensity

Echo Formations increases the intensity of echo construction with a vowel replacement process as in Hajong *likʰa-likʰi* 'writing and such', *boha-bohi* 'sitting and such'.

Non-specific reference

In non-specific reference also Echo-formations are using in Hajong as *dudʰnɔi -tutʰnɔi* 'town and any other town'.

Conclusion

The study of reduplication is an integral part of grammar in all Indian languages. Hajong, as one of the Indo-Aryan language families, shared these areal features of South Asian languages. Reduplicated structures in Hajong

has both morphological and Lexical reduplication. Lexical reduplication includes echo-formation, compound, and complete word reduplication. The complete word reduplicated structures of Hajong occur in all parts of speech (noun, verb, adverb, and adjectives). Reduplicated structures of Hajong also shared the syntactico-Semantic features such as reduplicated verbal adverbs (i.e, aspectual features like simultaneity, continuative-durative, iterative and non-precipitative); adverbs (i.e, features like manner, time and location); Adjectives (i.e, features like size, colour, taste) and Nouns (i.e, features like distributive, emphasis, exclusive). The extensive use of expressive and echo formation is also part of the reduplicated structures in Hajong.

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Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
ADVLZ	Adverbializer
ALL	Allative
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
CP	Conjunctive participle
CWR	Complete word reduplication
DEF	Definitive
EF	Echo formation
EM	Emphatic
EXPR	Expressive
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive

IMPFV	Imperfective aspect
IMCP	Imperfective Conjunctive Participle
INF	Infinitive
LOC	Location
MV	Main Verb
N	Noun
NEG	Negative
PFV	Perfective aspect
PROG	Progressive aspect
PRT.RED	Partial Reduplication
RVADV	Reduplicated Verbal Adverb
V	Verb

Additional Information

The spectrograms that were obtained from PRAAT software are provided in the supplementary document.

Does this article screened for similarity?
Yes.

Conflict of interest
The Author has no conflicts of interest to declare that they are relevant to the content of this article.