

CHAPTER- 2

REDUPLICATION OF BODO AND ASSAMESE

CHAPTER- 2

REDUPLICATION OF BODO AND ASSAMESE

2.1 Reduplication:

In linguistic studies, Reduplication generally means the repetition of any linguistic unit such as a Phoneme, Morpheme, Word, Phrase, Clause or the utterance as a whole. Reduplication is also used in inflections to convey a grammatical function, such as plurality, intensification etc. and in lexical derivation to create new words. It is a word formation process in which some part of a base (a segment, syllable, morpheme) is repeated, either to the initial or as prefix, or to the final or as suffix of the basic word or, occasionally, within the middle of the basic word.

According to Sapir, *“Reduplication is a process that involves repetition of all or some part of the radical element and which is generally employed to indicate such concepts as distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity, increase in size, added intensity, continuance.”*¹

David Crystal describes the reduplication as *“A term in MORPHOLOGY reflexes certain PHONOLOGICAL characteristics of the ROOT.”*²

Anvita Abbi defines, *“Reduplication in general stands for repetition of all or part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification.”*³

1 Extracted from Dash, Niladri Sekhar. *A Descriptive Study of Bengali words*. Cambridge University, Delhi, 2015.

2 Crystal, David. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Blackwell Publishing, U.S.A. 2008 p. 407.

3 Abbi, A. Reduplication in *Tibeto-Burman Language of South Asian Studies*. VOL.28, No.-2, September 1990 , p.171.

A Parimalagantham stated, *“Reduplication is the process of all or part of the lexical item repeated as a syllable morpheme or word within a large syntactic unit carrying a semantic modification.”*⁴

2.2 Types of Reduplication of Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Reduplication can be divided into two types,

- a. Complete Reduplication, and
- b. Partial Reduplication.

2.2.1 Complete Reduplication:

Complete reduplication is the repetition of entire word without any changing of a root word. Complete reduplication is also called total or full reduplication. Complete reduplication involves the exact repetition of a sound or word. In Bodo and Assamese this would involve putting together a sound or morpheme to bring forth an entirely new grammatical function or semantic feature. The complete reduplicated words of Bodo and Assamese languages perform the grammatical functions of plurality, emphasis and intensity of action of a verb by reduplicating the words.

Anvita Abbi defines- *“Complete Reduplication refers to the phenomenon when a single word or a clause is repeated once in the same sentence without any phonological or morphological variations.”*⁵

Complete Reduplication occurs in almost all major grammatical categories in Bodo and Assamese languages. These are discussed below:

⁴ Parimalagantham A. *A Study of Structural Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu*. Thesis submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in linguistics at P.S. Telugu University. Hyderabad, December, 2008, pp.22,23.

⁵ Abbi, Anvita. (1990). Reduplication in Tibeto Burman Languages of South Asia. *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2, September 1990. p.171

2.2.1.1 Reduplication of Nouns in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Reduplication of Noun is a very common phenomenon. Nouns when reduplicated may maintain their class or may change their class in Bodo and Assamese languages. Thus the reduplicated nouns of Bodo and Assamese languages can categorize into two types;

- (a) Class Maintaining, and
- (b) Class Changing

2.2.1.1.1 Class Maintaining Noun Reduplication in Bodo and Assamese:

In Class Maintaining Noun reduplication of Bodo and Assamese languages, the reduplicated forms belong to the same grammatical category and imply plural meaning. These reduplicated nouns are mostly monosyllabic, bi-syllabic and polysyllabic. These types of reduplication are found in complete form. For example:

Bodo:

- (a) gami ‘village’ (N) gami gami ‘villages’ (PL.N)

| | | |
|---------|------|-----------------------------|
| gami | gami | bujisagu rɔŋza-duŋ |
| village | RED | bujisagu to enjoy-Pre.Cont. |

(Bwisagu festival is celebrating in every village.)

- (b) bip^həŋ ‘tree’ (N) bip^həŋ bip^həŋ ‘trees’ (PL.N)

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| bip ^h əŋ | bip ^h əŋ | dau baduŋ |
| tree | RED | bird perch on-Pre.Cont |

(Birds are perched on the tree.)

- (c) bilai ‘leaf’ (N) bilai bilai ‘leafs’ (PL.N)

bilai bilai emp^hou t^hajɔ

leaf RED insect live

(Insects are lives in leaf.)

(d) t^haizuɣu ‘mangoe’ (N) t^haizuɣu t^haizuɣu ‘mangoes’ (PL.N)

bere-p^hɥr-a t^haizuɣu t^haizuɣu bidɥi sɥbdɥɔŋ

bee-PLU-NOM mangoe RED juice to absorb-Pre.Cont.

(Bees are absorbing the mangoes juice.)

(e) nɔ ‘house’(N) nɔ nɔ ‘houses’(PL.N)

bisɥrɥ nɔ nɔ t^hɔŋbajmɥn

they house RED to go Suf-Past

(They had gone home.)

(f) p^hɔrajsali ‘school’(N) p^hɔrajsali p^hɔrajsali ‘schools’ (PL.N)

p^hɥrɥŋgirip^hɥra p^hɔrajsali p^hɔrajsali najdiŋdɥɔŋ

teacher-PLU school RED to visit-Pre.Cont.

(The teachers are visiting school to school.)

In the above examples of Bodo, the noun and non-reduplicated forms {*gami*}, {*bip^hɔŋ*}, {*bilai*}, {*t^haizuɣu*}, {*nɔ*}, {*p^hɔrajsali*} are representing singular and its reduplicated forms {*gami gami*}, {*bip^hɔŋ bip^hɔŋ*}, {*bilai bilai*}, {*t^haizuɣu t^haizuɣu*}, {*nɔ nɔ*}, {*p^hɔrajsali p^hɔrajsali*} are representing plural.

Assamese:

(a) gawe ‘village’ (N) gawe gawe ‘in every village’ (PL.N)

gawe gawe puza dise

village RED worship give-Pr Cont.

(They are worshipping in every village.)

(b) *dine* ‘day’ (N) *dine dine* ‘everyday’ (PL.N)

dine dine gərəm bari ase

day RED warm increase Pr. Cont.

(Warm is becoming hot day by day.)

(c) *fate* ‘hand’ (N) *fate fate* ‘hand by hand’ (PL.N)

xifəte fate fate lat^{hi} ləise

they hand RED stick take Pre.Cont.

(They are keeping stick hand by hand.)

(d) *səkuje* ‘eye’ (N) *səkuje səkuje* ‘eye by eye’ (PL.N)

rita aru gitae səkuje səkuje sai ase

rita and gita eye RED see Pre.Cont.3rd

(Rita and Gita are watching by eye to eye.)

(e) *sagəlije* ‘goat’ (N) *sagəlije sagəlije* ‘goats’ (PL.N)

sagəlije sagəlije kazia kərise

goat-nom. RED quarrel do-Pr .Cont.

(The goats are quarrelling among themselves.)

In the above examples of Assamese, the noun and non-reduplicated forms *{gawe}*, *{dine}*, *{fate}*, *{səkue}* and *{sagəlie}* these forms are representing singular and the reduplicated forms *{gawe gawe}*, *{dine dine}*, *{fate fate}*, *{səkue səkue}* and *{sagəlie sagəlie}* are representing plural.

2.2.1.1.2 Class Changing Noun Reduplication in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages, the nouns which change their class being reduplicated change their class to adjectives and adverbs in both the languages. These are analyzed below:

2.2.1.1.2.1 Reduplication of Derivational Adjectives of Nouns:

In Bodo and Assamese when the nouns are reduplicated it derives to adjectives and implies repetitive meaning. For example:

Bodo:

(a) buqsur 'year' (N) buqsur buqsur 'in every year' (Adj)

bi-juq bini zuquqm sank^hou buqsur buqsur p^hali-juq

he/she-NOM his/her birth day year RED to celebrate-Pre.Ind.

(He/she celebrates his birthday year after year.)

(b) sɔpt^ha 'week' (N) sɔpt^ha sɔpt^ha 'in every week' (Adj)

bijuq sɔpt^ha sɔpt^ha p^hɔi-juq.

he/she week RED to come

(She comes every week.)

Assamese:

(a) bɔsɔre 'year' (N) bɔsɔre bɔsɔre 'year after year' (Adj)

tai bɔsɔre bɔsɔre mak pɔisa pɔt^hijai

she year red mother money send

(She sends money year after year to her mother.)

(b) xɔptafie 'week' (N) xɔptafie xɔptafie 'in every week' (Adj)

xi xəptaɦe xəptaɦe ziorik ɦostelət sabə zaj

he week RED daughter hostel to see to go-Pr.3rd

(He visits his daughter in hostel every week.)

(c) maɦe ‘month’ (N) maɦe maɦe ‘in every month’ (Adj)

tai maɦe maɦe aɦi t^hake

she month RED to come remain-pres.cont.3rd

(She is coming in every month.)

(d) g^ɦəntai ‘hour’ (N) g^ɦəntai g^ɦəntai ‘each and every hour’ (Adj)

rita-je g^ɦəntai g^ɦəntai xikaj

rita hour RED to teach-Pres.3rd

(Rita teaches each and every hour.)

2.2.1.1.2.2 Reduplication of Derivational Adverbs of Nouns:

In Bodo and Assamese languages derivational adverbs of nouns are reduplicated to imply the meaning of request or command based on the mood of the speaker. For example:

Bodo:

(a) sigəŋ ‘front’ (N) sigəŋ sigəŋ ‘just before/ahead’ (Adv.)

bisʌr zʌŋɦni sigəŋ sigəŋ t^həŋ-duŋɦ-mʌɦ

they us-GEN front RED to go-Past.

(They went on ahead of us.)

(b) gezer ‘middle’ (N) gezer gezer ‘occasionally’ (Adv.)

rita-ja gezer gezer bini gami-aw t^haŋ-uŋ
 rita-Nom middle RED her village-loc. go-Pres.3rd

(Occasionally Rita goes to her village.)

(c) sɔm ‘time’ (N) sɔm sɔm ‘at certain times’ (Adv.)

sɔm sɔm gɔt^hɔ-a gabuŋ
 time RED child-Nom. cry-Pres.Ind.

(Baby cries now and then.)

(d) un ‘after’ (N) un un ‘just after’ (Adv.)

bi aŋ-ni un un p^huŋi-duŋmuŋ
 he/she I-GEN after RED to come-past

(He/she was coming followed by me.)

Assamese:

(a) age ‘front’ (N) age age ‘just before or ahead’ (Adv.)

tumi age age zowa
 you front RED go

(You go ahead.)

(b) maze ‘middle’ (N) maze maze ‘occasionally’ (Adv.)

tai maze maze g^hɔrɔt aŋe
 she middle RED home-LOC come Pres.Ind.

(She comes occasionally to home.)

(c) pise ‘after’ (N) pise pise ‘just after’ (Adv.)

xi tumar pise pise goi asil

he you-Gen. after RED gone Past Cont.

(He was going followed by you.)

There are no suffixes or case markers during reduplication of the basic nouns in Bodo language. But nouns in Assamese are added the suffix *-e* and *-i* or occur without any suffixal ending.

2.2.1.2 Reduplication of Pronoun in Bodo and Assamese:

In modern grammar or linguistics and traditional grammar, a pronoun is a word that substitutes for a noun or noun phrase. Pronouns make up a small subcategory of nouns.

In Bodo language there are five kinds of pronoun as Personal pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Interrogative pronoun, Indefinite pronoun and Reflexive pronoun and out of five kinds of pronoun only the four types of pronouns like personal pronoun, interrogative pronoun, indefinite pronoun and reflexive pronoun are reduplicated.

In Assamese language there are seven kinds of pronoun as personal pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, interrogative pronoun, indefinite pronoun, reflexive pronoun, relative pronoun and collective pronoun and out of these seven kinds of pronoun only five kinds of pronoun like personal pronoun, interrogative pronoun, indefinite pronoun, reflexive pronoun and relative pronoun are reduplicated.

2.2.1.2.1 Reduplication of Personal Pronoun:

Personal pronoun can be in one of three persons. In Bodo and Assamese languages personal pronouns are reduplicated and it implies the meanings ‘emphasis’ and ‘among’.

Bodo:

(a) aŋ aŋni k^hamanik^hou mawguŋ

I RED-Gen. work-Acc to do Fu.T

(I will do my work.)⁶

(b) zuŋ zuŋni k^hamanik^hou p^huŋzuŋbbaj

We RED-Gen. work-Acc to finish past Prfct.

(We finished our work.)

(c) nuŋ... nuŋ rita nəŋana?

you RED rita neg.

(You are Rita aren't you?)

Assamese:

(a) tumi...tumi gita nəŋəine?

you RED gita neg.

(You are Gita aren't you?)⁷

(b) teu teur kamto kərise

he/she RED-Gen work-Acc do Pr.Cont. 3rd

(He/she is doing his/her work.)

⁶ Boro, Ranjita. "Reduplicated Pronoun in Boro and Assamese: A Comparative Study". Review of Research, Vol.- 8, Issue-1, October 2018, p.55.

⁷ Ibid.

2.2.1.2.2 Reduplication of Interrogative Pronoun:

There are three Interrogative pronouns of Bodo language. These are /*sur*/ (who), /*ma*/ (what), and /*bobe*/ (which). /*sur*/ is used for persons, /*ma*/ and /*bobe*/ is used for desire to know something about or to search about something. On the other hand, in Assamese language Interrogative pronouns are only two /*ki*/ (what) and /*kon*/ (who). The Reduplicated Interrogative pronouns are given below with examples:

Bodo:

(a) *sur sur* th*anjduŋ*

who RED to go Pres.Cont.

(Who are going?)⁸

(b) *bobe bobe* *bizabkhou nanɣu*?

which RED book-Acc. want

(Which ones book you (have) wanted?)⁹

(c) *ma ma* *muwa labudɣuŋmu*?

what RED thing to bring Past Ind.

(What things were brought?)¹⁰

In Bodo language Interrogative pronouns takes case-ending also. Examples are given below:

sur surzuŋ

ma mak^hu

bobe bobek^hu

⁸ Boro, Ranjita. "Reduplicated Pronoun in Boro and Assamese: A Comparative Study". Review of Research, Vol.- 8, Issue-1, October 2018, p.55.

bəbe bəbeni

Assamese:

(a) ki ki kitap anisil?

What RED book bring Past Ind.

(What books were brought?)¹¹

(b) kon kon gəisil?

Who RED went

(Who were went?)¹²

In the above examples of Bodo three types of interrogative pronouns *{sur}*, *{ma}* and *{bəbe}* are reduplicated. But in Assamese only two interrogative pronouns *{ki}* and *{kon}* are reduplicated.

2.2.1.2.3 Reduplication of Reflexive Pronoun:

Reflexive Pronoun is also reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages. The Reduplication of Reflexive pronouns of Bodo language is two types namely- continuously and discontinuously. There is no suffix or case marker with continuous reduplicated reflexive pronoun in Bodo. But the discontinuous reduplicated reflexive pronouns of Bodo are added suffix or case marker i.e. *{-ba, -nu, -zuy}*. On the other hand, in Assamese language only the continuous reflexive pronoun *{nize}* is reduplicated. For example:

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Boro, Ranjita. "Reduplicated Pronoun in Boro and Assamese: A Comparative Study". Review of Research, Vol.- 8, Issue-1, October 2018, p.55.

¹² Ibid.

Bodo:

(a) gaw gaw mawt^huŋ

self RED do

(Let it do own self.)

(b) bisuŋr gaw gaw p^huŋigun

They self RED to come Fu.T.

(They will come willingly.)¹³

(c) bisuŋr gawzuŋ gaw hep^hazab huŋlajduŋ.

They self-suf RED help givePres. Cont.

(They are helping each other.)

(d) bisuŋr gawba gaw nɔaw t^han^hduŋ

they self-suf RED home-Loc. to go-Pres.Cont.

(They are going their own home.)

(e) bisuŋr gawnuŋ gaw p^huŋip^hinduŋ

they self-suf RED to come again Pres.Cont.

(They are coming again themselves.)

Assamese:

(a) xi nize nize lik^hise

He self-Red write.

13 Ibid., p.56

(He writes himself.)¹⁴

(b) tai nize nize afisil

She self Red. come Past

(She came herself.)

2.2.1.2.4 Reduplication of Indefinite Pronoun:

There are three Indefinite pronouns in Bodo language. These are {*k^hajse*}, {*sujrba*} and {*rawbuq*}. Among these three types of Indefinite pronouns {*k^hajse/k^haip^ha*} and {*sujrba*} are reduplicated and {*rawbuq*} is not found in reduplicated form. These Indefinite pronouns are used for persons and sometimes {*k^hajse/k^haip^ha*} is used for things also. On the other hand in Assamese language there are five Indefinite pronouns. These are {*kono*}, {*konoba*}, {*keo*}, {*eko*} and {*kisu*}. Among these five Indefinite pronouns only two indefinite pronouns are reduplicated. These are {*kono*} and {*konobaj*}. Examples are given below:

Bodo:

(a) *k^hajse k^hajse besada muɣzaŋ noŋa*

Some RED thing-NOM good neg.

(Some things are not good.)

(b) *sujrba sujrba saha luŋa*

Somebody Red. tea drink neg.

(Some people do not drink tea.)

14 Boro, Ranjita. "Reduplicated Pronoun in Boro and Assamese: A Comparative Study". Review of Research, Vol.- 8, Issue-1, October 2018, p.56.

Assamese:

(a) kono kono din xi g^horot nafie.

Some RED day he home neg. come.

(Sometimes (some days) he doesn't come at home.)

(b) konoba konoba maŋk^ho nak^hai

Somebody RED meat neg. eat Pres.3rd.

(Some people do not eat meat.)

2.2.1.2.5 Reduplication of Relative Pronoun in Assamese:

In Assamese language Relative Pronoun is also reduplicated. These are given below with relevant examples:

Assamese:

(a) zije zije k^habo k^hoze teulok k^habo

He (rel.) RED to eat want they (honorific) to eat.

(Those who want to eat they can eat.)¹⁵

(b) zije zije zabo k^hoze teulok etia zabo

He/she (rel.) RED to go want they (honorific) now to go.

(Those who want to go they can go now.)

(c) zake zake poisa dibo k^hoza take take poisa di dia

whom (Rel.) RED money to give want him/her money to give

15 Boro, Ranjita. "Reduplicated Pronoun in Boro and Assamese: A Comparative Study". Review of Research, Vol.- 8, Issue-1, October 2018, p.55.

(Give them the money to whom (only) it is desired to be given.)¹⁶

(d) zar zar zabɔ mɔn ase teulok zabɔ

who (Rel)-Gen. RED to go mind be-Pre. 3rd they to go

(Only) those who have the intension to go they (only) will go.)

There is not found Relative pronoun in Bodo language. So, reduplicated form of Relative pronoun is can find in Assamese language only.

2.2.1.3 Reduplication of Verbs:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Finite and Non-Finite both the kinds of verbs are reduplicated. These kinds of verbs are related to tense, aspect and person. These are given below:

2.2.1.3.1. Reduplicated Finite Verbs:

In Bodo and Assamese languages, the reduplicated finite verbs are related to future tense and simple present tense. The reduplicated of finite verb forms of both the languages are given below by examples:

2.2.1.3.1.1 Reduplication in Future Tense in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Reduplication of verb forms in all the three persons of the future tense are possible. Reduplicated future tense in the first person is more widely used than that of the second and third persons in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. In this type of reduplication future tense is added with verb words to denote the meaning to convey some desire or wish to perform some work or action in both the languages. Examples are given below:

16 Ibid.

Bodo:

(a) aŋ buɟiaw tʰaŋɟaŋ tʰaŋɟaŋ sanduɟɟaŋ

1SG to go-Fut.T RED to think-Past

(I thought to go there.)

(b) rimaɟa bisuɾkʰaɟu pʰaɟiɟaŋ pʰaɟiɟaŋ buŋɟaɟɟaŋ

rima-NOM 3PL-ACC to come-Fut.T. RED to say Past

(Rima said they will come.)

(c) biɟa pʰɔraɟaŋ pʰɔraɟaŋ huɟɟaɟɟaŋ

3SG to read RED say-past

(He/she said to read.)

(d) Rama uŋkʰam zaɟaŋ zaɟaŋ buŋɟaɟɟaŋ

Ram-NOM rice to eat-Fut.T RED to say-Past

(Ram said to eat rice.)

In the above examples of Bodo *{tʰaŋ, pʰaɟi, za, pʰɔraɟ}* etc. are verb words and *{-ɟaŋ}* is added after these verbs to convey the meaning of some desire or wish to perform some work or action. When these forms are reduplicated the meaning expressing that an action that has not yet happened or a state that does not yet exist.

Assamese:

(a) kɔm kɔm bʰabisilu

say Fut. RED to think Past

(I thought to say.)

(b) kʰam kʰam bʰabisu

to eat RED to think

(I desired to eat.)

(c) mɔi kam kərim kərim bʰabisilu.

1SG work do-Fut. RED think-Past

(I wished to do.)

(d) tai afim afim kəsil

3SG come-Fut.T. RED say-Past

(She said she will come.)

In the above examples of Assamese *{-m}* is added after the verb words to convey the meaning of some desire or wish to perform some work or action. When these forms are reduplicated the meaning are expressing an action that does has not yet happened or a state that does not yet exist.

2.2.1.3.1.2 Reduplication in Simple Present Tense:

Bodo:

(a) biju nɔaw tʰaŋnu tʰaŋnu huɳduŋ

3SG home-Loc. to go RED to Pres. 3rd

(He/she says to go home.)

(b) binu pʰuɳisa huɳnu huɳnu sanduŋ

3SG-Dat. money to give RED to think .

(I think to give money him/her.)

Assamese:

- (a) maŋxɔ dek^{hi} mɔi k^{hao} k^{hao} lagise
 meat see-Conj. 1SG eat-Pres.1st RED seem-Pres.Cont.3rd
 (I wished to eat by seeing meat.)
- (b) tai g^hɔrɔt zao zao kɔri ase
 3SG home-Loc. go-Pres.1st RED do-Pres.Cont.3rd
 (She tries to go home.)
- (c) amak dek^{hi} tai afo afo kɔrise
 1PL-Acc. see-Conj. she come Pres.1st RED do-Pres.Cont.3rd
 (She wants to come by looking us.)

From the above examples the forms of Finite verb of Bodo and Assamese languages in the first person simple present and in all the three persons of the future tense are reduplicated to convey some desire or wish to perform some work or action.

2.2.1.3.1.3 Reduplicated Non-Finite Verbs:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Reduplication of the Non-finite verb forms except the conditional conjunctive verb forms and the verbal noun is a widespread and definite phenomenon.

2.2.1.3.1.3.1 Reduplicated Imperfective Participle:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Reduplicated imperfective participles emphasize the extension or repetition of an action over time. Examples are given below:

Bodo:

- (a) bijuɣ k^harnajawnuɣ k^harnajawnuɣ guɣluɣinajsuɣi

he/she-NOM to run out RED to fall down

(He fell down while he was running.)

(b) bizuŋ rajzlajnajawnuŋ rajzlajnajawnuŋ guɓaw zaduŋmuŋ

him/her-ASS to speak-NMLZ.SUF impf.part.Red. late be-REAL-Past.

(By the time it became late while discussing with him/her.)

Assamese:

(a) b^hat k^haote k^haote deri ɦoisil

rice eat-impf.parti. RED late be-past pf. 3rd

(By the time he ate rice, it was quite late.)

(b) kət^ha patɔ-te patɔte mɔi talɔi zabɔ paɦori-sil

speech talk-Impf.Prtcpl. RED I Dat. go forget-Past.

(I forgot to go there when I was talking.)

2.2.1.3.1.3.2 Reduplicated Perfective Conjunctive:

Here, the reduplicated perfective conjunctive verb forms ending in Bodo /-uŋi/ and /-i/ in Assamese are used to convey the sense of continuation or repetition of an action.

Bodo:

(a) gət^hɔa gabuŋi gabuŋi t^haŋduŋmuŋ

child-NOM. cry-conj. RED to go-Past Cont.3rd

(The child was going while crying.)

(b) bi-juʔ pʰɔrajʔi pʰɔrajʔi undulaŋduʔ

3SG-NOM. read-conj. RED sleep-Pres. Cont.3rd

(He sleeps while reading.)

(c) rimaja gubun-nipʰraj najʔi najʔi saʔlʔaŋʔa

rima-NOM. other person-from see-conj. RED learn-Pres.3rd

(Rima learns having seen from others.)

(d) bijʔ kʰamani mawʔi mawʔi meŋduʔ

3SG work do-conj. RED tired

(He has become tired of working.)

(e) bijʔ kʰarʔi kʰarʔi guʔluʔiduʔŋmuʔ

3SG run-conj. RED fall Past Cont.3rd

(He/she was falling while running.)

Assamese:

(b) tai bʰat kʰai kʰai kɔisil

3SG rice eat-conj. RED say Past Cont.3rd

(She was saying while eating rice.)

(b) xi gan gai gai nasihil

3SG song sing-conj. RED dance Past Cont.3rd

(He was dancing by singing.)

(c) xi kam kɔri kɔri deri fiɔisil

3SG work do-conj. RED late be Past Cont. 3rd

(He was late as he was doing the work.)

(d) tai kəbitato lik^hi lik^hi xex kəril

3SG poem write-conj. RED finish Past

(She finished the poem by writing.)

In Bodo and Assamese languages, basic and compounds both the types of verbs are reduplicated and these reduplicated forms are representing the meaning of emphasis, order or request. For example:

Bodo:

(a) luŋ luŋ muzaŋuɪ luŋ
 drink RED good-ADVLZ drink

(Drink nicely.)

(b) t^haŋ t^haŋ muzaŋ-uɪ t^haŋ
 go RED good –ADVLZ go

(Go nicely.)

(c) lir lir t^hab lir

write RED quick write

(Write down quickly.)

(d) undu undu t^hab undu

sleep RED quick sleep

(Sleep quickly.)

(e) ziraj ziraj muɣzaŋuɣi ziraj

sit RED good sit

(Sit properly.)

Assamese:

(a) zowa zowa lafɛkɔi zowa

go RED slow-Suf. go

(Go slowly.)

(b) lik^ha lik^ha b^halkɔi lik^ha

write RED good-Suf. write

(Write nicely.)

2.2.1.4 Reduplication of Adjectives in Bodo and Assamese:

Adjectives are also reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages. The reduplicated adjectives of Bodo and Assamese languages are found in class maintaining and class changing. These are given below:

2.2.1.4.1 Class Maintaining Adjective Reduplication:

In Bodo and Assamese languages, the adjectives are reduplicated maintaining the same grammatical class and representing plural for example:

Bodo:

(a) muɣzaŋ ‘good’ (Adj) muɣzaŋ muɣzaŋ ‘good ones’ (PL. Adj)

muɣzaŋ muɣzaŋ sawgari

good RED picture

(Good pictures)

(b) p^hisa ‘small’ (Adj) p^hisa p^hisa ‘small ones’ (PL. Adj)

p^hisa p^hisa bazar

Small RED market

(Small markets)

(c) guṃṃu ‘yellow’ (Adj) guṃṃu guṃṃu ‘yellow ones’ (PL. Adj)

guṃṃu guṃṃu bibar

Yellow RED flower

(Yellow flowers)

Following are the examples of reduplication of class maintaining adjectives used in sentences of Bodo:

(a) ɔnnanuṣi aṅnuṣ muṣzaṅ muṣzaṅ bizab-p^huṣr-k^huṣu labu

kindly 1SG-Dat. Good RED book-PL.Suf-Acc. bring

(Please, bring me the good books.)

(b) duṣimajaw gidir gidir na t^haju

river-Loc. big RED fish live-Pres. Indf.

(Big fishes are lives in river.)

Assamese:

(a) d^hunija ‘beautiful’ (Adj) d^hunija d^hunija ‘beautiful ones’ (PL. Adj)

d^hunija d^hunija p^hul

(Beautiful flowers)

(b) xoru 'small' (Adj) xoru xoru 'small ones' (PL. Adj)

xoru xoru bazar

(Small markets)

Following are the examples of reduplication of class maintaining adjectives used in sentences of Assamese:

(a) d^hunia d^hunia p^hul p^hulise

beautiful RED flower bloom Pres.Cont. 3rd

(Beautiful flowers are blooming.)

(b) nɔdit daŋɔr daŋɔr mas t^hake

river-Loc. big RED fish live-Pres. Indf.

(Big fishes are lives in river.)

2.2.1.4.2 Class Changing Adjective Reduplication:

In Bodo and Assamese languages, the reduplicated adjectives are changed their grammatical class into adverbs. The reduplicated adjectives do not add any suffixes or case markers in both the languages.

Bodo:

(a) ruidɔb 'soft' (Adj.) ruidɔb ruidɔb 'softly' (Adv.)

(b) suŋdɔ 'short' (Adj.) suŋdɔ suŋdɔ 'shortly' (Adv.)

(c) lasuŋi 'slow' (Adj.) lasuŋi lasuŋi 'slowly' (Adv.)

(d) *guzəu* ‘high’ (Adj.) *guzəu guzəu* ‘highly’ (Adv.)

Following are the examples of reduplication of class changing adjectives used in sentences of Bodo language:

Bodo:

(a) *guruṭi guruṭi muwa*

soft RED thing

(Softly things.)

(b) *gusuṅ gusuṅ lir*

short RED to write

(Write shortly.)

(c) *lasuṭi lasuṭi tʰaṅ*

slow RED to go

(Go slowly.)

(d) *nəkʰəu guzəu guzəu lu*

house-Acc high RED to build

(Build the house highly.)

In the above examples of Bodo *guruṭi*, *gusuṅ*, *lasuṭi* and *guzəu* are adjective words. When these adjectives are reduplicated as *guruṭi guruṭi*, *gusuṅ gusuṅ*, *lasuṭi lasuṭi* and *guzəu guzəu* their class changed into adverbs.

Assamese:

(a) *lafie* ‘slow’ (Adj.) *lafie lafie* ‘slowly’ (Adv.)

(b) *suti* ‘short’ (Adj.) *suti suti* ‘shortly’ (Adv.)

(c) *datʰ* ‘thick’ (Adj.) *datʰ datʰ* ‘thickly’ (Adv.)

(d) *mifi* ‘smooth’ (Adj.) *mifi mifi* ‘smoothly’ (Adv.)

Following are the examples of reduplication of class changing adjectives used in sentences of Assamese language:

- (a) lahe lahekoi zowa
slow RED to go
(Go slowly.)
- (b) kobitato suti sutikoi lik^ha
poem short RED to write
(Write the poem shortly)
- (c) kamto mifi mifikoi korā
smooth RED work to do
(Do the work smoothly.)

In the above examples of Assamese *lahe*, *suti* and *mifi* are adjective words and when these adjectives reduplicated as *lahe lahe*, *suti suti* and *mifi mifi* it changed into adverbs.

2.2.1.5 Reduplication of Adverbs in Bodo and Assamese:

In Bodo and Assamese languages adverbs are derived from noun, verb and adjectives. Very limited number of adverbs is derived from noun and verbs in both the Bodo and Assamese languages. The reduplication of derivational adverbs is given below:

2.2.1.5.1 Derivational Adverbs of Nouns:

The derivational adverbs of nouns in Bodo and Assamese languages are also reduplicated. In this type of reduplication of Bodo language nouns are reduplicated without adding of any case markers or suffixes. But in Assamese language the nouns are added -e suffix.

Bodo:

- (a) gezer ‘middle’ (N) gezer gezer ‘occasionally’ (Adv)
- gezer gezer p^huʒi

middle RED to come

(Come occasionally)

(b) un 'back'(N) un un 'following someone' (Adv.)

bijʉ aɲni un un pʰɯjɪduɲ

He/she I-Abl back RED to come 3rd Cont.

(He/she is following me.)

(c) sigaɲ 'front' (N) sigaɲ sigaɲ 'ahead of somebody' (Adv.)

sigaɲ sigaɲ tʰaɲ

front RED to go

(Go ahead.)

Assamese:

(a) age 'front' (N) age age 'before' (Adv)

age age afa

front RED to come

(Come ahead.)

(b) maze 'middle'(N) maze maze 'occasionally' (Adv.)

tai maze maze afe

3SG middle RED to come Pr. Ind.

(She comes occasionally.)

2.2.1.5.2 Derivational Adverbs of Verbs:

In Bodo and Assamese languages Adverbs derived from verbs are reduplicated to convey the sense of continuation or repetition of an action. For example:

Bodo:

(a) p^hɔraj ‘to read’(V) p^hɔraj p^hɔraj (Adv)

bijɥ p^hɔraj p^hɔraj p^hɥzɥbbaj

(He completed by reading.)

(b) undu ‘to sleep’(V) undu undu (Adv.)

bijɥ undu undu dasɥ sik^hardɥŋ

(He just woke up.)

(c) ɡɔsɔŋ ‘to stand’ (V) ɡɔsɔŋ ɡɔsɔŋ (Adv.)

ɡɔsɔŋ ɡɔsɔŋ aŋk^hɔu at^hiŋ sabaj

(I have feeling tired by standing.)

(d) ziraj ‘to rest’ ziraj ziraj

bijɥ k^hamanik^hɔu ziraj ziraj mawɥ

(He works by resting.)

Assamese:

(a) tai bɔfi bɔfi kam kɔri ase

(She is working by resting.)

(b) xi tumak bisari bisari afise

(He is coming looking for you.)

(c) mɔi kam kəri kəri deri hɔisil

(I was late by working.)

From the above examples of Assamese language *{-i}* suffix is added in derivation.

2.2.1.5.3 Derivational Adverbs of Adjectives:

In Bodo and Assamese languages some adverbs are derived from adjectives by the process of reduplication. These kinds of reduplication are representing the meaning of request or command depending on the mood of speakers in both the languages.

Bodo:

(a) t^hab ‘quick’ (Adj) t^hab t^hab ‘quickly’ (Adv)

t^hab t^hab p^hɥi

(Come quickly)

(b) lasɥi ‘slow’ (Adj) lasɥi lasɥi ‘slowly’ (Adv)

nɥŋ lasɥi lasɥi t^haŋ

(Go slowly)

Assamese:

(a) lafi ‘slow’ (Adj) lafi lafi ‘slowly’ (Adv)

tai lafi lafi gɔi asil

(She was going slowly.)

(b) beja ‘bad’ (Adj) beja beja ‘badly’ (Adv)

xi beja beja kɔise

(He said badly.)

2.2.2. Partial Reduplication in Bodo and Assamese:

Partial reduplication involves the reduplication of only a part of a word. Several words are partially reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages as shown in the following examples:

Bodo:

/muɣa- muɣi/ (face to face)

/heŋ^ha-heŋsi/ (opposition, obstruction)

Assamese:

/uk^hona - uk^honi/ (a dispute; an altercation)

/g^hura - g^huri/ (moving hither or thither)

In Bodo and Assamese languages partial reduplication can divide into two types. These are:

- a. Prefixal reduplication and
- b. Suffixal reduplication.

2.2.2.1 Prefixal Reduplication in Bodo and Assamese:

The Prefixal reduplication is also known as initial reduplication. Initial syllable or morpheme is reduplicated in Prefixal reduplication. These are given below:

Bodo:

/duɣilaw-duɣisaw/ (watery)

/k^haraŋ-k^hat^haŋ/ (hard after having dried)

/k^hurk^haw-k^hursi/ (recklessly)

/zadla-zadli/ (indiscriminately)

/zeṅna-zeṅsi/ (troubles, complications)

Assamese:

/osora - osori/ (adjacent, approximate)

/kila- kili/ (mutual beating or striking)

/kera-keri/ (learning in opposite ways; not parallel)

/g^hora-g^hori/ (to respective house)

/gola-goli/ (an embrace)

/g^hura-g^huri/ (moving hither or thither)

/siṅa- siṅi/ (separation from each other)

/zɔlou-zɔt^hou / (watery)

2.2.2.2 Suffixal Reduplication in Bodo and Assamese:

Suffixal Reduplication is also called Final Reduplication. Final syllable or morpheme is reduplicated in final reduplication. Here the suffix of reduplication is added after the root word as a suffix. This type of reduplication is also common in Bodo and Assamese languages. The following are examples of final reduplication in adjectives and verbs:

Bodo:

/zak^haṅ-luṅk^haṅ/ (after having taken food/after finishing eating
and drinking)

/ t^haŋhaŋ- p^hɥihaŋ/ (in a dwindling manner)

/ zanla- manla/ (indiscriminately)

In the above examples of Bodo *-badaw* suffix is added to *usaw*, *-luŋk^haŋ* suffix is added to *zak^haŋ*, *-p^hɥihaŋ* suffix is added to *t^haŋhaŋ*, *-maraw* suffix is added to *k^haraw* and *-manla* suffix is added to *zanla*.

Assamese:

/ɔt^hali - pɔt^hali/ (running lengthwise and cross wise or confusedly)

/ɔdɔl - bɔdɔl/ (exchange; change)

/ ip^hale - xip^hale/ (hither and thither)”

/ age - b^hage/ (in advance)

/ zɔte - tɔte/ (abundantly)

/ at^he - bet^he/ (with great respect and love)

/ ipar-xipar/ (this side and that)

/ anɛ-banɛ/ (abundantly)

In the above examples of Assamese *-pɔt^hali* is added after *ɔt^hali*, *-bɔdɔl* is added after *ɔdɔl*, *-xip^hale* is added after *ip^hale*, *-b^hage* is added after *age*, *-tɔte* is added after *zɔte*, *-bet^he* is added after *at^he*, *-xipar* is added after *ipar* and *-banɛ* is added after *anɛ*.

However, the partial reduplication is also occurred in the phonological (either it is vowel or consonant) where the other position is retained same. For example:

Reduplication with change in the vowels:

The vowel forms may change in Reduplication. The changed vowel form of Bodo language are - / a / for / i /, / i / for / ɔ / and / ɔ / for / a / etc. And in Assamese / a / for / i /, / o / for / a /, / a / for / u /, / u / for / a / etc. The examples are as the following:

Bodo:

/k^hana - k^hani/ (blind)

/k^hak^hreb - k^huk^hreb/ (thin, lean)

/zab-zub/ (carelessly, without attention, reluctantly and carelessly)

/zalu-zala/ (frequent petty happenings, frequent petty ailments)

/zamba-zambi/ (foolish persons; illiterate common people)

/zaba-zuba/ (in an ordinary way, in simple manner)

/zɔp^hle-zɔp^hla/ (torn into pieces)

/t^ham-t^him/ (tip-top)

Assamese:

/zunuk-zanak/ (a tinkling sound)

/taŋ-tiŋ/ (an imitative word used to express the ring of an anvil)

/tani-tuni/ (dragging with difficulty)

/d^hum - d^ham/ (ado; pomp)

/tipi- tapi/ (examining the details)

/dɔbɔra- dɔbɔri/ (a struggle)

/dɔla- dɔli/ (act of dividing into many parties)

/difa - difi/ (to different directions or places)

Reduplication with change in the consonants:

The consonant phonemes are also changed in the reduplicated word of Bodo and Assamese languages. Sometimes two consonants are replaced by consonant cluster without changing the vowel position in Assamese language. And also second consonant is replaced by some other consonant. For example:

Bodo:

/k^haraw - maraw/ (appealingly)

/k^halaw - k^hasaw/ (without peace)

/gilu – balu/ (fearful, terrible)

/zak^hɔ - luŋk^hɔ/ (various items of foods and drinks)

/gajnaj - p^hunaj/ (planting and uprooting of paddy seedling)

/gʉdɔw - sʉrɔw/ (helpless, perplexed)

/gisɔŋ - basɔŋ/ (dreadful, fearing)

/zak^ha - luŋk^ha/ (having taken food in advance)

/zalak^had - bilak^had/ (tremendous, dreadful)

/zʉŋk^hʉl - mak^hʉl/ (bright)

/zʉŋt^hi - mat^hi/ (glamorous)

/k^hasri- bisri/ (unbearable)

Assamese:

/tɔgɔr-bɔgɔr/ (shifting from one statement to another)

/tani – mani/ (with difficulty)

/ t^hɔrɔk - bɔrɔk/ (unsteady; tremulous)

/dɔg - mɔg/ (a sparkle)

/d^huwɔli - kuwɔli/ (misty; hazy)

/ tɔl - mɔl/ (agitating; shaken)

/tabuki - b^habuki/ (deceit; falsehood)

/taŋ-baŋ/ (act of putting off by means of false excuse)

/t^hofi - mofi/ (abashed and unable to speak)

/t^hunuk - t^hanak/ (imperfect as the utterance of a child)

/dan-man/ (act of giving or doing a thing in a vexatious manner)

/tɔs - nɔs/ (disordered)

/tɔmɔk - b^hɔmɔk/ (very hot; burning)

/turi-muri/ (deviation from what is fixed)

From the above examples “some consonant phonemes are changed in the initial and some are middle positions in the reduplicated form of both the languages. For example: /k^h/ for /m/, /g/ for /p^h/, /z/ for /m/ and /l/ for /s/ etc. And in Assamese /t/ for /b/, /t/ for /m/ and /d / for /m/ etc.

In Assamese language another peculiar type of reduplication with change in the consonant. There are a few partially repeated consonant forms in Assamese language which forms are replaced by two other consonants consecutively and some forms are with more than one syllable, the second consonant is replaced by some other consonant. These are given below:

Assamese:

Change in consonants:

/kɔlou - zɔpou/ (state of helplessness)

/tuluj - b^hutuj/ (state of being unsteady)

In the above examples, /k/ and /l/ of /kəlou/ are changed partially in /z/ and /p/ in /zəpou/ consecutively; /l/ in /tuluj/ is changed as /p/ in /tupuj/.

Change in the second consonant:

/tuluj-tupuj/ (unsteady)

/kelou-kesou/ (big noise due to shouting and quarreling)”¹⁷

There are few repeated forms in Assamese language where the first two consonants are replaced by two other consonants without changing the vowel position.

In Assamese language addition of ‘-a’ prefixed is another peculiar type of partial reduplication. For example:

/xa- xubid^ha/ (facility and the like)

/sa-sinaki/ (acquaintance and the like)¹⁸

Sometimes, the Partial reduplication is also only the final syllable repetition of a lexical item in Bodo and Assamese languages. These lexical items are disyllabic or polysyllabic word.

“Moreover, the partial reduplication is only the final syllable repetition of a lexical item. The lexical items are a disyllabic or polysyllabic word. These kinds of reduplicated words are found only in the adjectives. So, the partial reduplication which involves only final syllabic reduplication can distribute as syllable units or phonological pattern, which are occurs in the reduplication of the last or final syllable consonant+vowel (CV), consonant+vowel+vowel (CVV), consonant+consonant+vowel (CCV), consonant+vowel+consonant (CVC) etc. These types of partial reduplication structures are possible in Bodo and Assamese, as shown in the following examples-

17 Boro, Ranjita & Baro, Bhounik Ch. “Partial Reduplication of Bodo and Assamese: A Comparative Study”. Think India Journal, Vol.- 22, Issue-14, Dicember 2019, p. 7746.

18 Ibid.

Pattern 1: CV

Bodo: /hait^ha - t^ha/ (Very short)

/zabt^hu - t^hu/ (gathered considerably)

Pattern 2: CVV

Bodo: /zarʊu-ruʊu/ (reddish)

Assamese: /nimau-mau/ (lonely, lonesome, silent)

Pattern 3: CCV

Bodo: /k^hait^hra-t^hra/ (slantingly)

Pattern 4: CVC

Bodo: /p^hawdur-dur/ (having a red and bulky cheek)

/ruʊidub-dub/ (soft)

Assamese: /alek^h-lek^h/ (behavior, movements)

/atol-tol/ (highly loved)

/amol-mol/ (highly fragrant)¹⁹

/ukɔs-kɔs/ (haste; hungry)

/ut^hɔp-t^hɔp/ (hungry; bustle)

In the above given examples of reduplication of syllabic units or phonological patterns in Bodo language CV, CVV, CCV and CVC are founded. On the other hand, in

¹⁹ Boro, Ranjita & Baro, Bhounmik Ch. "Partial Reduplication of Bodo and Assamese: A Comparative Study". Think India Journal, Vol.- 22, Issue-14, Dicember 2019, p. 7747.

Assamese language phonological patterns are founded as CVV, CVC but CV and CCV pattern is not founded.

2.3 Findings:

From the above contrastive point of view some similarities and dissimilarities of reduplication of Bodo and Assamese languages are found. These similarities and dissimilarities are given below:

Similarities:

1. In both the Bodo and Assamese languages Reduplication can divide into two types - Complete or Full reduplication and Partial reduplication.
2. Complete reduplication occurs in almost all the major grammatical categories in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.
3. Class Maintaining and Class Changing both the categories of nouns are reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages.
4. The class maintaining reduplicated nouns in both the languages are implies plural meanings.
5. In Bodo and Assamese languages, the reduplication of class changing nouns are derived to adjectives and adverbs.
6. Finite and non-finite both the kinds of verbs are reduplicated in Bodo and Assamese languages.
7. All the three persons of the future tense are possible in the reduplication of verb forms in Bodo and Assamese languages.
8. Basic and compound both the types of verbs are reduplicated in both the Bodo and Assamese languages to represent the order or request.

9. The reduplicated adjectives can be found in class maintaining and class changing in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.
10. Adverbs are derived from noun, verb and adjectives in both the Bodo and Assamese languages.
11. Partial reduplication may divide into two types- prefixal and suffixal both the Bodo and Assamese languages.
12. Partial reduplication may occur in the phonological level in both the languages.
13. The final vowel of the suffixed copied part is altered with the vowel in both the languages. For example: /mʊgɑ-mʊgi/, /ok^hɔnɑ-ok^hɔni/ etc.
14. In partial reduplication when consonants are replaced other consonants the vowel position remain the same in both of languages.

Dissimilarities:

1. There are no suffixes or case markers during reduplication of the basic nouns in Bodo language. But Assamese language carry the suffix or case marker with the basic nouns. For example: /g^hɔr-e-g^hɔr-e/, /din-e - din-e/ etc.
2. In the Reduplication of pronoun, four kinds of reduplicated pronouns are founded in Bodo language. But in Assamese five kinds of pronouns are reduplicated.
3. In Bodo language three interrogative pronouns are reduplicated these are- {sʊr} (who), {mɑ} (what) and {bɔbe} (which). But in Assamese language only two interrogative pronouns are reduplicated these are {ki} (what) and {kon} (who).
4. In Bodo language Interrogative pronouns takes case-ending also. For example: sʊr sʊrzʊŋ, mɑ mak^hʊŋ, bɔbe bɔbeni etc. But in Assamese language Interrogative pronouns are not take any case-ending.
5. In Bodo language reduplication of Reflexive pronoun is two types- Continuously and Discontinuously. But in Assamese language only continuous reflexive pronoun is reduplicated.

6. In Bodo language the reduplication of discontinuous reflexive pronoun added {-ba, -mu, -zuŋ}. But in Assamese language there is no added suffix or case markers.
7. There is no Relative pronoun in Bodo language. But in Assamese language relative pronoun is also reduplicated. For example: *zie zie, zake zake*.
8. In Bodo language there is no addition of **-a** prefixed in Partial Reduplication. But in Assamese language **-a** prefixed is added to the original word in Partial Reduplication.
9. In partial reduplication of Assamese two consonants are partially changed as consecutively. But it may change single in Bodo.
10. In Assamese language Reduplication with change in the consonant is classified into two types. But there is no classification in reduplication with change in the consonant in Bodo language.
11. In Bodo language the reduplication of syllable units or phonological patterns is founded in four patterns CV, CVV, CCv and CVC. But in Assamese language the reduplication of syllable units or phonological patterns are founded only two CVV and CVC.

