

EXPRESSIVES IN TELUGU

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "EXPRESSIVES IN TELUGU" by S.SELVAM for the partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. We recommended this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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To
BABYKA

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CHAPTER - I

STATE OF THE ART

PART - A

1.0	Introduction	1
1.1	Expressives	3
1.2	Reduplication and Expressives	3
1.2.1	Kind of reduplication expressives undergo	5
1.3	Objectives of the study	5
1.4	Telugu	6
1.4.1	Place of Telugu in Dravidian	6A
1.4.2	Sounds in Telugu	6B
1.5	Chapterization	7

PART - B

1.6	Literature review	7
1.6.1	Expressives	8
1.6.2	Ideophones	10
1.6.3	Echo words	16
1.6.4	Compound words	22
1.6.5	Complete word reduplication and reduplication in general	27

CHAPTER - II

IDEOPHONES

2.0	Definition	35
2.1	Ideophones and reduplication	36
2.1.1	Partially reduplicated ideophones	37
2.1.2	Completely reduplicated ideophones	39
2.2	Structure	40
2.2.1	Ideophones with vowel in initial position	40

CONTENTS

Page No.

2.2.2	Ideophones with consonant in initial position	40
2.2.2.1	Non reduplicated ideophones	40
2.2.2.2	Reduplicated ideophones	42
2.3	Semantic aspect	43
2.3.1	Ideophones and sense modalities	44
2.3.1.1	Sense of hearing	44
2.3.1.2	Sense of sight	45
2.3.1.3	Sense of touch	46
2.3.1.4	Sense of taste and smell	47
2.3.1.5	Ideophones expressing bodily sensations	47
2.3.2	Ideophones describing a variety of situations	49
2.3.3	Relation between reduplicated and non-reduplicated ideophones	50
2.3.4	Sound symbolism	51
2.3.4.1	Vowels	51
2.3.4.2	Consonants	52
2.3.5	Collocation	55
2.4	Usage	55
CHAPTER - III		
ECHO WORDS		
3.0	Definition	59
3.1	Reduplication and echo words	59
3.1.1	Structure	60
3.1.1.1	Category I	60
3.1.1.2	Category II	63
3.2	Semantic aspect	66
3.3	Syntactic aspect	68

CONTENTS**Page No.**

3.4	Usage	70
3.4.1	Echo word motif in a Telugu folk story	70
CHAPTER - IV		COMPOUND WORDS
4.0	Definition	72
4.1	Reduplication and compound words	72
4.1.1	Structure	73
4.2	Semantics	76
4.2.1	Synonyms	77
4.2.2	Polymers	78
4.2.3	Antonyms	79
4.3	Types of words used in compounds	80
4.4	Grammatical categories and compounds	82
4.5	Syntax	83
4.6	Usage	84
CHAPTER - V		COMPLETE WORD REDUPLICATION
5.0	Definition	85
5.1	Syntactic and Semantic aspects	86
5.1.1	Iteration	87
5.1.2	Continuation-duration	88
5.1.3	Simultaneity	89
5.1.4	Emphasis	90
5.1.4.1	Size modifiers	90
5.1.4.2	Quality modifiers	91
5.1.4.3	Taste and colour modifiers	91
5.1.4.4	Nominal modifiers	92

CONTENTS

Page No.

5.1.4.5	Verbal modifiers	92
5.1.4.5.1	Manner	92
5.1.4.5.2	Temporal	93
5.1.4.5.3	Location	93
5.1.5	Distributiveness	94
5.1.6	Reciprocals and Reflexives	95
5.1.6.1	Reciprocals	96
5.1.6.2	Reflexives	96
5.2	Grammatical categories and complete word reduplication	97
5.2.1	Nouns	97
5.2.2	Verbal adverbs	98
5.2.3	Adverbs	99
5.2.4	Adjectives	99
5.2.5	Quantifiers	100

CHAPTER - VI**CONCLUSION**

6.0	An overview of Expressives in Telugu	101
6.1	Further avenues of Research	103
	Appendix A	105
	Appendix B	121
	Bibliography	127

Part A

1.0 The ideas of man are becoming more and more complex, requiring the use of words more suitable and rich in suggestions, associations and expressions. The need to convey the various subtle shades of meaning necessitates the choice of the right phrase. And this choice is not at random - it should be one which does not jar the ears, and also satisfies the inborn longing for rhythm, beauty and sonorance, that marks the speech of the fluent speaker.

There are different kinds of linguistic phenomena which serve to colour and stylize a language, and also identify a particular idea with a particular linguistic structure. For instance, consider the structures underlined in the following sentences from Telugu:

1. a. a:kulu gala gala ra:luturna:yi
leaves withering
'leaves are withering with the sound gala gala'
- b. vajram dagadaga marustunadi
diamond is shining
'Diamond is shining 'dagadaga''
2. ne:nu ku:ra gi:ra e:me:na te:va:la
I vegetables, etc. anythings should bring?
'Should I bring vegetables etc.'
3. pa:yasam t:ya ti:yaga undi

kheer sweet sweet is

kheer is very sweet

4. cinna:ri ponna:ri cinnaiya ninnu overu kotta:raiyu

(popular Telugu film song)

'cute little child who beat you'?

The present study is devoted to investigate into these structures which appear as some kind of doublets.

Anyone who has learnt Telugu as a second language is intrigued by the heavy occurrence of the above phenomena. To a non-native speaker, the use of such elaborated expressions may appear to be contrived, artificial and sometimes florid. But to a native speaker, use of such expressions give a sense of polish and fluency to the language. These structures serve different purposes to the native speaker. The effect of these styles of expression are, depending upon the requirements of the context, to give emphasis, to introduce a certain subtlety of meaning, or to embellish. These expressions might or might not have symbolism, but if they are symbolic, it is not necessarily phonological.

They are unique in their structure as well as in the meaning they express. They also seem to be extremely detailed and idiosyncratic, deciding a situation perceived as a whole. Hence these expressions are treated under the term '**Expressives**'. The replacement of these expressives by any other choice of words or phrases may not present a similar picture.

1.1 **Expressives:**

The term expressives was established by Diffloth¹ and later adopted by Emeneau² and both of them used it to refer to onomatopoeics. This term is preferred by them because onomatopoeic forms are merely sound symbols. But there is a wide range of senses being signified by sound symbols. So the term onomatopoeics had to be narrowed down to refer to only those forms which signify sound symbols (i.e.) pure sound based expressives. The present study includes these forms under ideophones, which includes onomatopoeic forms as a subclass and classify them according to the various modes of perception they pertain to and analyze them for possible symbolism. The term Expressives is further extended to include not only ideophones, but also echo-words, compound words and completely reduplicated words, since all these structures share a kind of uniqueness in their structure and the meaning they express.

1.2 **Reduplication and Expressives:**

The phenomenon of reduplication plays a major role on the expressives. Reduplicative structures (RS) may

1. Gerard Diffloth. **Expressives** in Semai in **Oceanic linguistic**(eds) Philip.N.Jenner etal. Special publication No.13, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1976.
2. M.B. Emeneau. **Some notes on Dravidian Intensives**. Berkeley : University of California, 1978.

differ in the specific manner of their formation, in certain structural peculiarities, in their aspectual function, in their grammatical role, and in other respects as well. This variability notwithstanding, RS have one feature in common, namely the general manner of their formation by reduplication of a formal unit. It is this circumstance that permits us to speak of RS as a single structural category.

The majority of the expressives are reduplicated and constitute a single structured category. In the present study reduplication is considered as a linguistic process which the expressives undergo, and for this the following terms and symbols are used as suggested by Gorgoniev.³

↳ The primary or conditionally primary form from which a reduplicative is derived may be termed the reduplicand (R), while the form added to it may be termed the reduplicator (r). The reduplicated portions of R and r may be known as the stable base (S), while their variable portions may be known as the divergent base (D). The symbol D_r stands for the divergent base of the reduplicand, D_r the divergent base of the reduplicator.

3. Yu. Gorgoniev, The relationship between Reduplication and some other grammatical means in Khmer in **Oceanic linguistics**(eds) Philip N.Jenner et.al. Special publication no. 13. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press. 1976. p. 309

In this light we may distinguish complete reduplicatives and partial reduplicatives. With complete reduplicatives, D is zero ($D = 0$). With partial reduplicatives, D_R is never zero ($D_R \neq 0$), though D_R may be zero. ($D_R = 0$ or $D_R \neq 0$).

1.2.1 Kind of Reduplication expressives undergo.

1. Ideophones - partial and complete reduplication.
(There are ideophones which do not undergo the process of reduplication)
2. Echo formations - Partial reduplication.
3. Compound formation - Partial reduplication (Semantic).
4. Complete word Reduplication - Complete reduplication.

1.3 Objectives:

The main objectives of the present study are as follows:

1. To redefine 'Expressives' as inclusive of
 - a) Ideophones
 - b) Echo-words
 - c) Compound words
 - d) Complete word reduplications.
2. To analyze the grammatical status, structure (morphology) and meaning (semantics) of the four phenomena mentioned above.
3. To question the aptness of the term 'onomatopoeics' to include many ideophones which are not necessarily sound symbols.

4. The usage of particular expressions, to denote particular situations, ideas or activities.

The study is based on Telugu, a Central Dravidian language, which has plenty of the above mentioned forms.

1.4 Telugu

Telugu is the state language of Andhra Pradesh and numerically is the biggest of the Dravidian languages in India. It is spoken by more than 49 million people according to 1981 census. Telugu is found recorded from the seventh century A.D. But it was only in the eleventh century A.D. that it broke out into a literary language.

Telugu belongs to the Central Dravidian group, though sometimes it is included in South Dravidian since it is geographically contiguous to both the groups. Linguistically there is more evidence to put it with the Central Dravidian group, though it shares several phonological innovations exclusively with South Dravidian.

Four dialect areas are recognised based on occupational vocabulary⁴.

1. South : Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Chittoor,

4. Bh.Krishnamurthi, **Telegu, Verbal Bases**. Berkeley and Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1961.

PLACE OF TELUGU IN DRAVIDIAN

DRAVIDIAN

SOUTH DRAVIDIAN

TAMIL

MALAYALAM

TODA

KOTA

KANNADA

BADAGA

KODAGU

TULU

CENTRAL DRAVIDIAN

TELUGU

KUI

KUVI

KOLAMI

NAIKI

PARJI

OLLARI

GADABA

GONDI

NORTH DRAVIDIAN

KURUKH

MALTO

BRAHUI

consonants

p p^h t ʈ ʈ^h c c^h k k^h
 b b^h d d^h ɖ ɖ^h j j^h g g^h
 f s ṣ s
 m n ṇ
 l ḷ
 r
 w y

vowels

i u
 e o
 æ a

LENGTH

:

NAZALIZATION

~

Nellore and Prakasam district.

2. North : Nine Telengana districts.
3. Central : Guntur, Krishna, East and West Godavari districts.
4. East : Srikakulam and Vishakapatnam districts.

1.5 **Chapterization:**

The part - B of the present chapter reviews in short the linguistic literature on expressives. This chapter gives a overall view of the expressives which are considered in the present study. The second chapter deals with ideophones - its structure, kind of reduplication and the semantic nature. Echo words are dealt with in the third chapter and compound words and its various types in the fourth chapter. Complete word reduplication and its syntactico-semantic categories are dealt with in the fifth chapter. The final chapter lists the general properties of these expressives followed by a brief conclusion.

Part - B

1.6 **A literature review of the existing works in expressives.**

In this section a short review of the works on expressives, Ideophones, echo words, compound words, complete word reduplication and reduplication in general will be presented.

1.6.1 **Expressives:**

Gerard Diffloth⁵ uses the term 'Expressives' in his article on Semai, which is one of the main Austro Asiatic languages of Malaya. He considers expressives as a third basic word-class of the same order of magnitude as the nouns and verbs. He proves that they are not even subject to the condition of "lexical discreteness" and are 'indeed a totally different kind of linguistic animal'. They are classified according to the various modes of perceptions they pertain to and for him they seem to be extremely detailed and idiosyncratic describing a situation perceived as a whole, as an independent clause would. He includes onomatopoeics, mimic words and ideophones as expressives and these expressives have the same morpho-syntactic properties as ideophones, but their symbolism, if such exists, is not necessarily phonological. For him, ideophones form a subclass of expressives. He describes the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of semai expressives.

Emeneau⁶ refers to this terminology established by Diffloth, to describe onomatopoeics in Kota which he says can be identified by having syntax and morphology

5. Gerard Diffloth **op.cit.**,

6. M.B. Emeneau **op.cit.**,

different from that of the major classes of the language.

Abbi⁷ uses the term expressives as an inclusive notation for onomatopoeics, sound symbolism, imitatives and ideophones. She lists some interesting properties of expressives which I would like to present, since they are of much importance and relevant to the present study.

1. The majority of the expressives in Indian languages are reduplicated and constitute a single structured category.
2. Since not all expressives describe noises we do not consider them as acoustic symbols only.
3. Expressives are not lexically discrete like other words and word classes in the language.
4. They are not as iconic as they are made to appear.
5. They are not necessarily having distinct morpho-syntactic properties than the other lexical items in the language. For eg. verbal onomatopoeics and imitatives in Hindi and Tamil operate as a normal verb and take normal affixations allowed.
6. Except a few instances of onomatopoeias, all other

7, Anvita Abbi: **Reduplicative structures in South Asian Languages; A Phenomenon of Linguistic Area** New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University, UGC Report on Advanced Research Project, 1987.

expressives operate as symbols of certain meaning and connotations existing in the varied ethno-cultured groups.

7. Even in onomatopoeics the system is far from being iconic, otherwise, we would have found the same onomatopoeic constructions across languages. We do not find the same constructions within the languages of the same family, let alone being found in genetically distinct languages.

Thus expressives as a term has been used by very few linguists and also as a cover term only for onomatopoeics, imitatives, ideophones etc.

1.6.2 Ideophones:

Ideophones, as used in this dissertation includes onomatopoeics, mimics, imitatives and sound symbolism. Therefore, ideophones are not necessarily sound symbols (i.e.) pure sound based expressions, but there is a wide range of senses being signified by the sound as Emeneau⁸ puts it, 'Perhaps it would be more just to say that the class denotes varied types of sensation, the impingement of the material world, outside or within the person, upon the senses - not merely the five conventionally

8. M.B. Emeneau. Onomatopoeics in Indian Linguistic Area in **Language**, Vol.45, No.2, Part I, 1969, pp 274-99.

identified senses, but all the feelings both internal and external.

The term 'phonaestheme' has also been used, but it seems to mean different things for those who have used it. For Dimock⁹ it was a whole form of the 'pertinent kind' and for Marchand¹⁰ - certain phonemes and their possible peculiar distributions and history in such forms.

Bloomfield¹¹ in his brief discussion on onomatopoeic forms indicates that for him the terms, 'imitatives' and 'onomatopoeics' are equivalent. He defines onomatopoeic forms as those 'which denote a sound or an object which gives out a sound'. He further says that 'the imitative speech form resembles this sound'. In such imitative forms 'doubled forms are common'. He includes all such words under the term, 'symbolic' forms. While discussing such 'symbolic forms' he says: 'a special type of symbolic form, which is quite widely distributed, in the repetition of the form with some phonetic variation, as in snip-snap, zig-zag etc.' It seems then that

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9. Edward C. Dimock. Symbolic forms in Bengali in **Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute** Vol.18, 1957, pp 22-29.
 10. James. W.Marchand The proto-Germanic long stops in **General Linguistics** Vol.2, 1957, pp 51-69
 11. Leonard Bloomfield **Language** New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1933, pp 156-57.

Bloomfield does not use the term 'echo' forms or echoic forms to describe such words.

For Sapir¹² it is 'one of the most interesting chapters in linguistic behaviour, a chapter which has not yet been written. The expressly symbolic character of sounds quite apart from what the words which they occur mean in a referential sense. He says 'on the properly linguistic plane sounds have no meaning. Yet if we are to interpret them psychologically we would find that there is a subtle relation between the real value of words and the unconscious symbolic value of sounds as actually pronounced by individuals'.

Jeperson¹³, puts all the concepts related with the terms 'echo words' or 'onomatopoeic words' in the broad expression 'sound symbolism'.

For Hockett¹⁴, the whole concept of onomatopoeic words is under the expression, 'secondary associations'. He states that many combinations of phonemes seem unable to express certain meanings to an individual of a

12. Edward Sapir. **Selected writings of Edward Sapir**(ed) David Mandal baum, Berkeley: University of California press 1951.
13. J.O.H. Jespeyson. **Language. Its nature Development and Origin.** London, Allen and Unwin, 1933, pp 396-411.
14. Charles F.Hockett. **A Course in modern linguistics** New York The Macmillan Co. 1958, pp 293 -300.

'particular language community, because such combinations remind the speakers of other forms which are associated with 'meanings' exactly opposite to the intended meaning to be expressed by the new combination. Such associations of certain combinations of phonemes to meanings he calls 'secondary associations'. He also states that 'there can be no question but that onomatopoeic forms exist'. He is further of the opinion that 'onomatopoeia' can be judged in terms of sound and meaning'.

Apte¹⁵ divides onomatopoeic words into two groups on the basis of meaning:

1. Onomatopoeic words in which there is imitation of actual sound and/or actions, and
2. Onomatopoeic words in which the sounds are associated with certain sensory feelings and states of being. He considers 'imitatives and onomatopoeics' as one.

This kind of a distinction is more or less similar to

15. Mahadeo L, Apte. **Reduplication, Echo formation and onomatopoeia in Marathi**, Poona: Deccan College, 1968, p84.

Ullmann's distinction¹⁶, from the 'semantic point of view'. He divides them into primary and secondary onomatopoeia. Its primary form is the imitation of sound by sound (i.e) the sound is truly an 'echo to the sense' (e.g) buzz, crack, roar etc. In secondary onomatopoeia, the sounds evoke, not an acoustic experience but a movement, or some physical or moral quality, usually unfavourable (e.g) gloom, slick, string etc.

Gnanasundaram¹⁷ presents a collection of phonetically motivated or onomatopoeic words in Tamil and classifies them on the basis of formal and semantic functions. He lists them as onomatopoeic words that are single words ('onomatopoeic expressions which are not duplicated with or without a sound change are taken as single words'), onomatopoeic words that are reduplicated ('irattai-k-kilavi'), onomatopoeic words that are echoes ('the duplicated part suffers a sound change') and words which are primary onomatopoeia('imitatives'). He has also studied the onomatopoeic value of particular sounds (ie)

'there are onomatopoeic expressions which are similar in

16. Stephen Ullmann. **Semantics : An Introduction to the science of meaning**. Oxford; Basil Blackwell, 1970, p84.

17. V. Gnanasundaram. **Onomatopoeia in Tamil**. All India linguists Association. 1986.

form but with a single difference of vowels or consonants. In those cases this particular difference of a vowel or a consonant gives two different onomatopoeic values. Such contrasting sounds have to be taken as onomatopoeic significance.

e.g **kulukuluttal** 'boiling'

kulikulittal 'to be delivered of a child'.

change in vowel u -> i

Another worth mentioning study is undertaken by Bhaskara Rao¹⁸, who has done an extensive study of Telugu onomatopes. For him onomatopes are forms which are used to imitate certain sounds, mental and physical feelings etc. He has analysed them for their grammatical status, phonological shape, frequency of certain sounds in them and possible sound symbolism. Another interesting aspect of his study is the 'usage of onomatopes'. He lists the importance of these structures which are generally ignored by the grammarians. He gives examples of how onomatopes are used in poems, prose and also its motif in a story.

18. Peri Bhaskara Rao, **Reduplication and onomatopoeia in Telegu** Poona: Deccan College 1977.

Thus it is evident that there is no unanimity about the usage of the terms used in describing onomatopoeia. Therefore the best solution will be to treat all these forms by their various names under the term ideophones, and the phenomenon is not based purely on sound and therefore mode of perception would be a better basis of categorising ideophones.

1.6.3 Echo Words:

Many linguists interested in Indian languages have mentioned the fact that occurrence of echo words is a very common feature of these languages. Speaking about the formation and the meaning of the echo words Chatterji¹⁹ says, 'A word is repeated partially (partially in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question, and the new word so formed unmeaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word) and in this way the idea 'et cetera' and things 'similar to' or 'associated with that' is expressed. This is found in Modern Indo Aryan and Dravidian'.

19. S.K. Chatterji. **The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language**, Vol.3, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972.

Emeneau²⁰ while discussing echo words in Toda points out that the formation is evaluated phonetically as a compound and that the second member of the compound, while it may be isolated as a separate word in certain circumstances, is entirely meaningless; if it should coincide with a real noun, this is accidental. The function of the formations is to denote a specimen which the speaker does not care to identify from among a hypothesized collection of identical discrete entities of infinite number or from a hypothesized infinite extension of a non-discrete handleable entity. The formation may be used in negative statements, prohibition, commands, questions and hypothetical clauses, but not in affirmative statements except when 'all' is added to the formations. He also adds that in some cases the infinite extension included by implication all other entities that might replace the expressed entity in the situation stated in the utterance. For him, in Toda the formation is reduplicative with a substitution morpheme -ki-ki replacing the cv-cv part of the basic norm.

20. M.B. Emeneau. Echo words in Toda in **New Indian Antiquary** Vol.1, 1988, p 107-117.

Emeneau has studied the echo constructions in Dravidian languages in detail and his studies of echo words* in Toda, Kolami and the echo word motif in Dravidian dialects²¹ are noteworthy in this connection.

Bhaskara Rao²² says that echo formations is partial reduplication and defines it like this: 'In the process of reduplicating a word part of the word is replaced by a stretch of sounds which are predetermined (called echo syllables)' and they imply some amount of generalization of meaning expressed by the main word. In addition to generalization in Telugu this process also brings out a meaning of 'extremity or concentration'.

Among the Indo Aryan languages the echo formation in Marathi has been studied intensively by Apte. For him, at the semantic level, echo formation gives an additional meaning of

1. generality
 2. generality without reference to anything specific
 3. 'thing, manner, quality or action of similar nature'
-

21. M.B. Emeneau. An echoword motif in Dravidian Folk-tale
JAOS, Vol.58, 1938 a, pp 553-70.

22. Peri Bhaskara Rao. *op.cit.*, p. 6.

as indicated by the stem. He defines echo formation in Marathi as 'a process in which a stem or a radical element, if any, is partially reduplicated following certain fixed patterns; such reduplication together with the stem forming words, which have in addition to the meaning of the stem or radical element, one of the meanings listed above.'²³

Mahapatra²⁴, in his 'Echo-formation in Gta? (also known as Dideyi, is a South Munda language spoken in the district of kolapur in Orissa) defines echo-words as those phonologically derivable from their base words, and offers a set of rules governing their formations. He also discusses the functions of the various types of echo words at the semantic level, their grammatical position, and their relationship in neighbouring languages. An interesting feature which he discovered ✓ was that echo-formations are derived by changing only the vowels of the base, (it is found that echo-words in most Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages are derived by changing the initial consonants of the base word) which

23. Mahadeo L. Apte, *op.cit.* p. 13.

24. K. Mahapatra, Echo formation in GTA? in **Oceanic Linguistics**, Special Publication No.13, Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press, 1976.

is an essentially Munda feature. The semantic differences noted by Mahapatra between echo and tagwords are also important.

Harris²⁵ wants to group all the echo words, in Kota, into one morphemic unit. He equates the case of echo words with that of the reduplication prefixes meaning 'perfect aspect' in Greek. He says 'greek me, le and other reduplication prefixes, meaning 'perfect aspect' are alternants of one morphemic unit; me occurs only before morphemes beginning with /m/, le only before those beginning with /l/ and so on'. This is a similar case with that of the echo words in the languages of India, which will be discussed later.

Saksena²⁶ distinguishes between paired and non-paired forms, and proposes a morphological sub-division of non-paired forms into 'echo words or expletive words' and 'reduplication'. He makes the following observation. 'In actual use we have not been able to detect any marked distinction between the echo words and

25. Zeillig S.Harris. Morpheme alternats in **Linguistic Analysis in language**.vol.18, 1953, pp 169-80.

26. Bakuram Saksena. **Evolution of Awadhi** Allahabad: Indian Press.

reduplication. They appear to be two different devices for the same thing'.

A.B. Singh²⁷ in 'on echo words in Hindi' deals with the process of echo formation in Hindi. He forms various phonological rules to describe this process and he firmly states that it is a characteristic of the spoken speech only. He says that these forms are active not only with the indigenous words alone, but takes the foreign elements as well, into the fold.



Another work worth mentioning here is by Hettiaratchi²⁸ on 'Echo-words in Sinhalese' and he attempts to state the formation of echo-words in Sinhalese and to indicate their function.

Echo-formation has been noticed by traditional Telugu grammarians also. For instance, Chinnayasuri²⁹ in his 'Balavyakarna' posits a rule (Praki: rnaka 22) which says that in derogation, reduplication takes place in

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27. A.B. Singh. On echo words in Hindi in **Indian Linguistics** Vol.30, Poona, Linguistic Society of India, Deccan College, 1969.
28. D.E. Hettiaratchi. Echo Words in Sinhalese in **University of Ceylon Review** Vol.17, No.1 & 2 1959, pp 47-50.
29. P.Chinnayasuri, **Balavyakaranamu**, commentary, Ramaniyamu by Venkataramana Sastry, Duvuri, Waltair, 1970., quoted in P. Bhaskararao, (1977). p.7.

P. 35

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which the second part contains *gi* or *gi:* as a replacement of the original first syllable.

Thus we see that echo formation as a phenomenon, is being clubbed with reduplication and compounding. But nearly all the linguists do agree that this kind of a phenomenon is certainly expressive in nature, which will be exemplified in the following chapters.

1.6.4 Compound Words

Abbi³⁰ considers these types of constructions as partial reduplication which refer to "the paired construction in which the second word is not an exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first either on the semantic or phonetic level. Both words individually carry a meaning of their own and thus can be employed alone in a sentence. (e.g.) In Hindi, *idhar-udhar* 'all over' where *idhar* means 'here' and *udhar* 'there'. However, when combined in a compound formation, the constituent words retain their original meaning to some extent. Most often than not the paired construction has a new meaning and new reference. (e.g)

30. Anvita Abbi, *Semantic Grammar of Hindi: A Study in Reduplication*, Bahri, New Delhi, 1980, p.7.

In Hindi **uthna** - 'to rise' **bEhna** - 'to sit'; **uthna-bEhna** - 'frequenting'".

Abbi³¹ also talks about the formation of these structures which is done in two ways;

a) When two semantically identical words are used in a paired construction (e.g.) Hindi **kaam-kaaj** 'work' and **dhan-daulat** 'wealth'.

b) When two semantically related words are used in a paired construction (e.g.) Hindi **utaaar-carhaaar** 'fluctuations' where **utaaar** means 'decrement' and **carhaaar** 'increment'.

Apte³² considers them as 'repetition at the semantic level where two very similar ideas or concepts are used to express generality'.

Nacaskul³³ considers them as 'elaboration' and he very successfully shows that 'elaboration of one kind or another is an areal feature of South East Asian languages'. He divides compound words into three types.

31. Anvita Abbi, (1980): *op. cit.*, p.7.

32. Mahadeo L. Apte *op.cit.*, p.11.

33. Karnchana Nacaskul. Types of Elaboration in some south East Asian languages in **Oceanic Linguistics**, special publication no.13, Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press, 1976, pp 873 - 889.

1. Iteratives - combination of two words of the same or similar meaning and they confirm or emphasize each other's meaning.

e.g. Khmer: **sop-krup** (all + all) 'all'

2. Polymers - The meaning of the components of a polymer are related in the speaker's thought. They are put together because one of them makes him think of the other.

e.g. Malay: **kurus-kering** (be thin + be dry) 'to be thin'.

3. Antonymies - The two members of construction have contrary meanings.

e.g. Thai: **suk-thuk** (happiness + suffering) 'ups and downs in life'.

Gnanasundaram³⁴ puts them under 'alliteration and assonance'. According to him they are different from the echo words for both the parts in compounds occur in isolation - 'Two free words are combined together on the basis of formal and semantic similarity and are similar in phonemic shape and meaning'.

e.g. Tamil: **aṭi-piṭi** - (beat + catch) 'quarrel'.

34. V. Gnanasundaram *op.cit.*, p. 47.

Mahadeva Sastri³⁵ has done extensive work on 'Intensive and inclusive compounds in Telegu'. According to him they convey an intensive meaning, or the meaning of collectivity as et-cetera and things similar to or associated with. They are formed in Telegu by putting together two synonymous words or words with similar meaning. Even he agrees that they have some degree of phonetic similarity and rhyme at the end or at the beginning, which is the very genius of the Telegu language, used for effect, force and beauty. He has given a list of intensive and inclusive compounds which contains many of the compounds that are found in colloquial usage. He has also included reduplicative compounds formed of echo words. He attempt to give a historical treatment of these compounds. The main drawback of his work is that no meanings are given for these compounds in his list.

Peri Bhaskara Rao³⁶ gives a list of such compounds as taken from the Northern dialect of Telegu along with their meanings. He has also included some forms

35. K. Mahadeva Sastri. Intensive and inclusive compounds in Telegu in *Indian linguistics*, vol.14, 1954, pp 494-502.

36. Peri Bhaskara Rao. *op.cit.*, p. 10.

recorded by Mahadeva Sastri. He calls them 'semantically connected words' (i.e.) 'two words which are different in shape but similar in meaning are sometimes compounded'.

Gorgoniev³⁷ calls them 'pseudo-reduplicatives'. He does agree to that 'seen as morpheme transformations the pseudo-reduplicatives are compounds, with copulative linkage between the constituents. According to him the divergent D's found in formations of this kind do not stand in the same relationship as primary and derivative elements. So, in this respect they resemble true reduplicatives, which have no primary form in the sense that the relationship between R and r is purely arbitrary.

e.g. Khmer: **ca:k-cen** (to leave, go away + to go out, set off) 'to leave'.

It is to be noted that most grammars so far do include a chapter or a section on such compounds unlike other kinds of linguistic structures considered above, like ideophones and echo words.

37. Yu. A. Gorgoniev. *op.cit.*, p. 313.

1.6.5 Word Reduplication and Reduplication in General

There are very few works which have dealt with the theory of reduplication. The works which are worth mentioning here are Abbi³⁸, Gorgoneiv³⁹ and Apte⁴⁰.

Abbi⁴¹ in 'Semantic grammar of Hindi - A study in Reduplication' attempts to determine the semantic structures of adverbs, adjectives, quantifiers and nouns in Hindi which, in surface structure are reduplicated. According to her there are specific semantic units applying to a verb or noun which trigger the inflection reduplication. The presence of these semantic units in the semantic structure of a verb, at times, governs the selection of the following nouns as well as the selection of verb itself. The semantic units of a noun, however, do not govern the selection of a preceding/following verb but do decide the inflectional units of the noun itself. Thus she proves that there is a direct relation between inflectional and non inflectional units. She has also established that non reduplicated verb and reduplicated verb do not have any derivational

38. Anvita Abbi. (1980) op.cit.,

39. Yu.A.Gorgoniev op.cit.,

40. Mahadeo L. Apte op.cit.,

41. Anvita Abbi (1980) op.cit.,

relationship between each other. They are not transformationally related constructions as is generally maintained. The non derivational relationships well reflected in their syntactic and semantic behaviour.

Abbi⁴² refers word reduplication to the total or partial bimodal reduplication, meaning thereby repetition of the base of the word or of the stem. She adds 'whatever may be the unit of reduplication the end result is a new word which has no parallel in its non-reduplicated counterpart'. According to her, Austro Asiatic Languages spoken in India and outside India, as well as nearly all the South East Asian languages employ reduplication process to derive new words. She studies word reduplication under four different levels. They are:

1. Structural
2. Functional
3. Semantic
4. Stylistic

At the structural level reduplication structures are obtained by

- a) Iterated syllables (eg) Khasi: lo? lo? 'clouds'

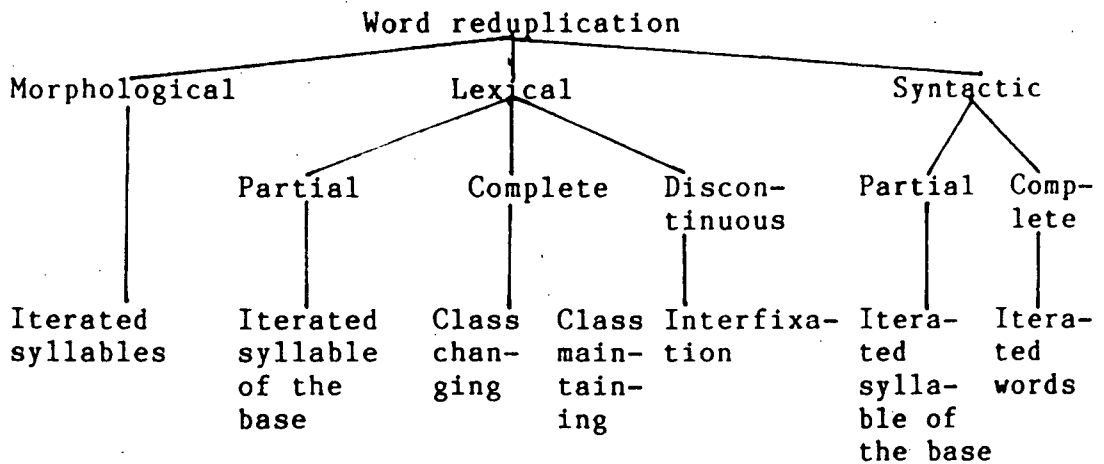
42. Anvita Abbi . (1987), op. cit., p.24

- b) Iterated words (eg.) Kharia: goej¹ 'to die', goej¹-goej¹ 'dead like'.
- c) Partially iterated base forms (eg.) Santhali: **dal**->
da-dal

At the functional level they perform three kinds of functions. They are

- i) morphological
- ii) lexical
- iii) syntactic.

They are functionally considered morphological reduplication, since the iterated constituents along with the base constitute a single morphoeme. According to Abbi⁽¹⁹⁸⁷⁾ most of the Austro-Asiatic languages have built their vocabulary by morphological reduplication (refer eg. (a) above). Lexical reduplication is unlike morphological reduplication because it is not minimally meaningful and thus can be further divided as they are formed of two identical words and act as single structural category. These structures have been called as complete word reduplication. When reduplication of a base word or a part of the base word serves various syntactic functions such as causatives, negation etc. it is known as operating at the syntactic level. Abbi combines the structural and functional levels and gives the following categorization. (p.23.)



The remaining two levels (i.e.) semantic and stylistic cannot be so neatly classified into various categories. At the semantic level reduplicative structures have wider and specific semantic field which is different from the non reduplicative structures. She also keeps in mind the possibility of the existence of a kernel semanteme in various kinds of reduplicative structures. In the stylistic level the structures under consideration are used for varying effects in poetry, riddles, songs, anecdotes, narration and discourse. (1987)

Abbi also deals with the 'aspectual meaning of reduplication' (i.e.) simultaneity, non precipitation, continuation-duration and iteration as indicated by verbal adverbs in conjunction with the appropriate main verbs.

"Thus on the basis of formal, functional, semantic and stylistic criteria, word reduplication can unequivocally

be posited as a grammatical/semantic category distinct from echo-formations, onomatopoeic constructions and compound formations"⁴³.

Gorgoniev⁴⁴ in 'The Relationship between reduplication and some other grammatical means in khmer' says that partial reduplicatives constitute divergence (i.e.) some transformation of the primary or conditionally primary form. 'Such divergent reduplication should evidently be taken as the more comprehensive definition of the specific operations involved in the formation of reduplicatives, because it embraces all cases of reduplication. In a sense, complete reduplicatives may be regarded as specific instances of this more general transformation'. In this paper he examines reduplication and phonetic variation, reduplication and affixation, reduplication and composition and reduplication and so-called attendant words. With examples from Khmer, he successfully differentiates the above mentioned grammatical means from reduplication. One interesting aspect of this paper is the various terms and symbols used to explain reduplication, which is also being used in the present study.

The primary form from which a reduplicative is derived

43. Anvita Abbi, (1987). op. cit., p. 22.

44. Yu. A. Gorgoniev op.cit., p.310.

is termed the reduplicand (R) while the form added to it may be termed the reduplicator (r). The reduplicated portions of R and r is known as the stable base (s) while their variable portions is known as the divergent base (D). The Symbol D_R stands for the divergent base of the reduplicand, D_r the divergent base of the reduplicator. In this light he distinguishes complete reduplicatives from partial reduplicatives. With complete reduplicatives D is zero. With partial reduplicatives D_R is never zero, though D_r may be zero. In partial reduplicatives, more over R and r do not coincide formally in as much as reduplication proper is complicated by one or more additional operations.

Apte ⁴⁵ in 'Reduplication, echo formation and onomatopoeia in Marathi' defines the term reduplication with reference to the word which is considered as the basic and important unit for reduplication and a word is any of the following:

- a) a minimal free form;
 - b) a morphological construction in which at least one of the constituents is a bound form;
 - c) a combination of two or more bound morphemes (i.e.) a morphological construction in which all the constituents are bound forms.
-

45. Mahadeo L. Apte *op.cit.*, p.15.

According to him, reduplication involves repetition and repetition of any linguistic unit within an utterance, such as a phoneme, morpheme, word, phrase or clause or the utterance as a whole and such repetition may be at the expression level or it may be at the content level. At the expression level the linguistic units that are much more commonly repeated are words and morphemes and is used for producing various effects and conveying concepts such as emphasis, intensity, continuation etc. Repetition at the semantic level is when two very similar or identical ideas or concepts are used for various purposes, the most common being to express the generality. This we call it as compound words in our present study. Even he differentiates partial and complete reduplication. Within a unit already established as a word its internal composition will be considered as having partial reduplication of the initial or the first two syllables on the following basis:

- a) If the initial syllable consists of three phonemes than atleast two of these should be repeated;
- b) if the initial syllable consists of more than three phonemes, no more than two phonemes can be dropped in the repetition;
- c) if the first two syllables are together repeated, then the repetition should not miss more than two

phonemes from the total sequence of the first two syllables.

As for complete reduplication, if the initial or the first two syllables are repeated completely, that will be called complete reduplication.

The present study will deal with complete word reduplication using the syntactico semantic features suggested by Abbi⁴⁶ to bring out the expressive nature of these structures.

46. Anvita Abbi (1987) op.cit.,

2.0 Ideophones are words displaying phonological symbolism of any kind and having distinct morpho-syntactic properties. The kind of symbolism displayed may be acoustic, articulatory or structural. (Diffloth, 1976, p.264).

As Trubetskoy argues,

A phonology is a highly organised system of interdependent parts. The underlying distinctive features are themselves determined by physiology, perception and memory. The initial selection and pairing of features is to some extent explicable in terms of universals of linguistic hierarchy. And once certain features have been selected, the implicational character of language makes much of the remaining structure a necessary consequence. Morphophonemes are only a corollary of the system of distinctive features, and their content depends on the structure of that system. Thus, the form of a phonology and its relation to meaning is non-arbitrary in a large number of interesting ways.¹

Thus ideophones which deal with expressly symbolic character of sounds, quite apart from what the words in

1. N.S. Trubetskoy. **Principles of Phonology**. Translated by Christiane A.M. Baltaxe. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.

which they occur mean in a referential sense is the most important form of phonology where the relation to meaning is non-arbitrary. As seen in Chapter I ideophones include onomatopoeics, which deals with only acoustic symbolism, expressives as used by Diffloth² and Emeneau³, mimic words, imitatives, phonaesthemes, etc. In the present study ideophones will be classified according to the different senses of perception they express. In the language families of India there is a common pattern of ideophones with great proliferation of items in all the languages, and some areal etymologies overlapping, providing what within a single family would be considered a considerable number of clusters of etyma⁴. Telugu has plenty of these expressives whose structures, semantics and grammatical status will be discussed in this chapter. Ideophones used in this chapter are also listed in Bhaskararao (1977, Annex-II) and are thus marked * (Also see Appendix I).

2.1 Ideophones and Reduplication:

Ideophones fall into three categories. They are

1. Ideophones which do not undergo the process of reduplication at all.

-
2. Gerard Diffloth op.cit.,
 3. M.B. Emeneau op.cit.,
 4. M.B. Emeneau op.cit.,

2. Ideophones which undergo the process of partial reduplication.
3. Ideophones which undergo complete reduplication.

There are a number of ideophones in Telugu which are not reduplicated, whose structure will be dealt with in the next section. It is to be noted that the division of reduplicated ideophones into reduplicand R and reduplicator r is purely for the sake of description. Whether we can term the first part of the structure as a base root is questionable, since in isolation it does not mean anything in some cases. It cannot be termed as morphemes also for the same reason. Therefore the terms reduplicand and reduplicator are avoided and only the symbols R and r are retained to describe the structure of these expressives.

2.1.1. Partially reduplicated ideophones.

Partially reduplicated ideophones are less in number when compared to completely reduplicated ones and ideophones which are not reduplicated at all. Nearly all the partially reduplicated ideophones undergo 'antiphonic reduplication', where a vowel or a consonant or both are changed in the reduplicated structure and the reduplicated part is a partial opposite of the root⁵. These are three kinds of antiphonic

5 . Gerard Diffloth op.cit..., p.254.

reduplications, which the ideophones undergo which results in:

I. Change in the initial consonant of r:

*cīṭa pīṭa 'feeling of muddiness, or wetness
while walking on a muddy or wet
surface'.

R r

The consonant /c/ -> /p/

*gāḍa bāḍa 'bustle, tumult, confusion'

*kāḷa vāḷa 'confusion, perplexity, anxiety'

It is to be noted that in all the three examples, the initial consonant of r is labial.

II. Change in the vowel that follows the initial consonant of r:

*dab(h)i: dub(h)i 'sound of heavy fist
fighting'

R r

The vowel /a/ -> /u/, a front, unrounded, low vowel is replaced by back, rounded, high vowel.

III. Change in the first syllable CV of the r:

gali bili 'confusion, noise, disturbance'

R r

/ga/ -> /bi/

*kāḷa pēḷa 'boiling thoroughly producing such a
sound'

*kāsa piṣa sound of kneading dough thoroughly
punding succulent things thoroughly'

labo: dibo: 'to lament'

cīṭa pāṭa explode like salt in fire, small fire
crackers; feel pricking sensation due
to prickly heat or hot sun in winter,

or sultriness.

***cira mara** feeling angry

An interesting feature to note is that if the initial consonant in R is voiced then the initial consonant in r is also voiced. But the last example is an exception where /c/ is voiceless and the nasal /m/ is voiced.

2.1.2 **completely reduplicated ideophones**

Diffloth calls them as expressives which undergo major reduplication⁶. Around ninety five percent of the ideophones which are reduplicated undergo the process of complete reduplication. In this case, R = r.

kaṭa kaṭa chewing of hard things, to be in extreme difficulties.

***kala kala** to be shiny, full of lustre and merriment like a face, a house or a village during a festival etc.

***gaja gaja** shake in fear or shake due to cold, fever.

***gira gira** rotate continuously or coil up, feeling dizzy.

ghama ghama be fragrant, smell nicely like good food.

***cima cima** itchy feeling due to exposure in the sun in winter; to feel angry.

***jiga jiga** shining of metallic objects etc.

6. Gerard Diffloth *op.cit.*, p.251.

taka taka noise of a stick drawn over a fence;
deliver a speech fast and clear.

daba daba beating of larger drums, or hollow
objects.

*** rusa rusa** look or behave angrily.

Thus we see a vast range of meanings expressed by these ideophones. The semantic implications which arise due to reduplication of these structures will be taken care in the section which deals with the semantics of these expressives.

2.2 Structure

2.2.1 Ideophones usually have a simple structure composed of one or two syllables. Nearly all of them begin with a consonant. There are very few ideophones which begin with a vowel like:

amba: sound of calf crying
us asking for silence
ussu sighing
uf blowing wind with mouth

***a:vuru** feeling of extreme hunger.

(1977)

2.2.2 Bhaskara Rao lists the following types of phonological structures of the ideophones in Telugu which will be exemplified here. All these ideophones begin with a consonant. (For more examples ref Appendix A).

2.2.2.1 Non reduplicated ideophones

(i) CVC - Ideophones which have a CVC shape.

***kas** hiss like a snake, rise up in anger
like a person.

gir	rotate, coil up, feeling dizzy.
gol	talking or crying loudly; many people shouting or crying at the same time
cap	move quickly
tar	run away fast with fear

ii) CVCVK - There are some ideophones which end with the consonant k, whose semantic implication (if there is any) will be considered in a later section.

kaṭuk	biting, cutting with a pliers, say an unpleasant thing.
*kaluk	painful feeling in the mind as when insulted.
guṭuk	swallowing in one movement.
caṭuk	act quickly, in a fast movement.
*curuk	to be burnt slightly; to feel pricked; to feel pain when beaten by a cane, rope, or whip.

iii CVCV:l - Ideophones which have CVCV:l shape have a long vowel as its penultimate sound followed by a lateral.

tata:l	come or go in a quick movement; open like a door suddenly.
cata:l	move in a single or quick movement.
*civa:l	get up in anger or surprise.

iv) CVb(h)i: - Ideophones of CVb(h)i: shape end with the sound b(h)i:. The bilbabial sound is

sometimes used for emphasis also.

*gabhi quickly; in a quick movement.

*gubhi jump down heavily; heavy first blow.

v) Cǎĩ - In these ideophones the vowel and the semivowel which follow the initial consonant are nasalised as seen in these examples and they are not reduplicated.

*Cǎĩ cry of a small pup; passing wind with high pitched noise.

kǎĩ buzzing of a mosquito, bee, fly.

*jǎĩ going very fast like a person or a vehicle; rotate fast as a wheel.

There are some more ideophones which are not very common, none the less are given here. (Bhaskararao, 1977, p.15)

a. (C)CVng-t(r)ingsound of a bell ringing of high frequency and low volume.

b. (C)V:(Vu)r(u)-ba:vuru cry loudly while weeping.

c. CV(n)-gi:(n)-whim like a siren, buzz like mosquito.

2.2.2.2. Reduplicated ideophones

i) 'CV(:)CaCV(:)Ca' -Ideophones having this shape CVCa CVCa is the most common of reduplicated ideophones. It includes partially reduplicated structures and completely reduplicated structures.

labo dibo: to lament

*vila vila to beat ones limbs in extreme pain.

* bura bura smell like fermented dough; glowing of rheum from nostrils.

* dhuma dhuma to be very angry; sun to be very hot.

* gula gula feeling of intense itching, noise of worms, maggots moving in or coming out from a rotting substance.

ii) CVkCVk' - These ideophones are not very common and are less in number.

tiktik sound of a wrist watch or time-piece.

* tuk tuk sound of a non resonant object like a broken pot being tapped.

There may be some ideophones which do not fit into the above mentioned shapes. This is not an exhaustive list, but we can say a majority of the ideophones fall under the above mentioned shapes.

2.3

Semantic aspect of the ideophones

(1976, p.257)

As Diffloth observes, the meanings of expressives seem to be extremely detailed and idiosyncratic, describing a situation perceived as a whole, as an independent clause would. Thus a semantic study of these ideophones, is too vast a subject. The present study will analyze ideophones for their meaning to show how expressive they are.

One of the main objectives of this study as mentioned in Chapter I is to question the aptness of the term onomatopoeics to include many ideophones which are not necessarily sound symbols. Ideophones as used in this

study includes onomatopoeics as a subclass. Therefore the words included under ideophones do not express only sound, but also other senses. Again dividing them according to the five senses they express, are not water-tight and there is a certain amount of overlap among them. But to have an overall view of the meaning expressed by these ideophones, it is better to divide them according to the different senses of perception they express.

2.3.1. Ideophones and the sense modalities

The five senses of perception expressed by the ideophones are sense of hearing, sense of sight, sense of touch, sense of taste, sense of smell.

2.3.1.1. Sense of hearing

These refer to the sound made in the execution of an action. They are also referred to as onomatopoeics. These ideophones thus have maximal similarity with the actual sound they represent. They can be classified further as those pertaining to

i) animals & birds noises

amba:	sound of a calf crying.
* kǎi	cry of a small pup
kica kica	twittering like birds
kila kila	sound of birds chirping
* ga:nɔru	roaring of a lion, tiger.
bav bav	sound of the barking of a dog
me:	sound of the cry of a goat.

ii) noises made by humans.

- *vika vika laugh loudly.
baḍa baḍa sound of talking noisely.
*pak sound of laughter (made in a single burst).
*polo: polo: sound of shouting by a large group of people.
paṭa paṭa sound of chewing noisily or rubbing teeth in anger.
*khane:l cough very loudly; speak loudly or clearly.

iii) noises of natural forces

- gala gala sound of water flowing in a river, riverlet.
ṭapa ṭapa noise of drops of rain.
baḍa baḍa rain falling heavily.
*dhana dhana sound of thunder.

iv) noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects.

- *peḷa peḷa sound of large thing breaking like a branch of a tree.
pur sound of an old cloth being torn.
ḍam loud blasting of firecracker or a bomb.
ḍubuk sound of a thing falling in water.
*gal sound of tingling bells, coins in large quantities.

2.3.1.2 Sense of sight

- jiga jiga shining of metallic objects.
*jige:l intense shining for a momentary period.

tala tala shine like metallic objects or well polished things like shoes.

* **niga niga** to shine a smooth/polished surface like a face, bald head etc.

daga daga shining intensely.

minuk twinkle like a star or a lamp at a large distance.

mila mila shine like fish or polished objects especially metallic ones; twinkle like stars.

Thus we see that these ideophones usually refer to the flickering, glimmering or shimmering aspects of the object.

* 2.3.1.3 Sense of touch

* **cita cita** feeling of muddiness or wetness while walking on muddy or wet surface.

* **cur** burning when contact with fire (like a finger), to get a shock from electricity.

* **ciṭa paṭa** sticky sensation due to sultriness.

* **pita pita** to be loose or sticky like our ripe fruits or overcooked rice.

* **tava tava** pasty.

These ideophones express a feeling when in contact with something.

2.3.1.4 Sense of taste and smell

In Telegu, interestingly, spoken in a land known for its tasty and hot delicacies of the south, does not have any ideophone to express taste exclusively. But there are ideophones which express the sense of taste and smell together.

g(h)um smell fragrantly like tasty food.

This ideophone is also used for fragrance from incense and flowers.

g(h)uppu smell intensely (good or bad smell)

g(h)ama g(h)ama be fragrant, smell nicely like good food.

*** guba guba** spreading of fragrance.

2.3.1.5 Apart from these five senses, there are a good number of ideophones which describe feelings like bodily sensations of various kinds, from tactile ones to pain, dizziness and even gut reactions such as impatience, anxiety, embarrassment, loneliness etc. Some of the ideophones which express feelings are listed below.

gara gara feeling of a dust particle in the eye.

*** taha taha** longing for something or somebody; waiting anxiously.

*** ling(u) ling(u)** denotes loneliness of a person as the only son of the parents etc.

***b(h)al** vomit in a large quantity

boṭa boṭa flow down like a liquid from a whole, especially blood from a wound, tears from eyes.

- * busa busa smelling on the body
- * dhuma dhuma to be very angry; seem to be very hot.
- * tes to become pale in the face.
- * j(h)um feeling numbness in limbs; feeling in
the body or head after driving or
travelling very fast; feeling giddy.
- * j(h)al feeling of horripulation, shock.
- * gula gula feeling of intense itching.
- * k(h)are:l sharp pain felt by moving something
like a thorn, piece of glass, or broken
bone inside the body; feeling of a limb
being sprained.
- * kaluk painful feeling in the mind as when
insulted; feeling of a thorn or a piece
of glass, broken inside the sole of
foot (when it is moved).

(for more example refer appendix A)

Thus we see a wide range of meanings being expressed by the ideophones.

As mentioned earlier there is a certain amount of overlap among the various senses and feelings expressed by the ideophones. This is seen especially between the auditory and visual senses and sometimes between visual sense and the feelings.

- * laba laba to cry along with beating ones head
with his hands.

This ideophone expresses both the sound of crying and

also the action (beating ones head with his hands).

The sound can also be of beating.

* **kora kora** to look angrily.

In this ideophone, we can see the combination of visual sense and angry feeling being expressed.

2.3.2 Another interesting phenomena to be noted is with the ideophones which describe a variety of situations. This at first glance seem to be quite different but share a common core which could be defined as a cluster of elementary sensations.

For instance, consider the following examples.

* **nava nava** to be radiant as a youthful person.

to be fresh like vegetables.

* **tup tup** continuous jumping of a small insect.

crackling of salt in fire.

* **kala kala** to be shiny, full of lustre and merri-
ment like a face.

a house or a village during a festival.

* **dhuma dhuma** to be very angry.

sun to be very hot.

* **busa busa** swelling on the body

sound made by milk overflowing while
being boiled.

Each ideophone refers to different situations and/ or sounds. But when we have a close look at the different meanings expressed by each ideophone we see a commonness in them like youth and freshness in the first example.

The cluster of sensations com^mon to both meanings

expressed by **ṭap ṭap** is quick movement of a small object, noise of continuous but small tappings, etc. There are many other ideophones which express similar kind of meanings which have some commonness in them. It is to be noted that semantic fields are socio-cultural specific and this feature is language specific and not language universal.

This feature helps us to penetrate somewhat deeper into the structure of ideophones. Specifically there is a great deal of unproductive or semi-productive morphology which begins to make sense if we look for and analyse the clusters of sensations this morphology may express.

2.3.3. Relationship between reduplicated and non reduplicated ideophones.

The ideophones of the shape CVCa CVCa (reduplicated) have related forms in the other type, especially ideophones having the shape cvc.

gir	rotate etc. (CVC)
gira gira	rotate continuously (CVCa CVCa)
ṭap	non sonorous sound of a small object falling etc.
ṭapa ṭapa	noise of drops of rain, small fruits etc. falling.
* kar	creaky noise of rusty door or hinges.
* kara kara	noise made by crisp things when they are chewed or squeezed or rubbed.
ṭup	jump like a small insect (grasshopper) etc.

- * **ṭup ṭup** continuous jumping of a small insect.
dham loud blasting of a firecracker or a bomb.
dhama dhama loud beating of drums, continuous blasting of fire crackers.

As compared to the forms of shape CVC, the corresponding ideophones of CVCa CVCa type denote certain amount of continuity or intensity. (Bhaskararao, 1977, p.23)

2.3.4 Sound symbolism

Of all the expressives we consider in this study, ideophones are the only set of words which may have some relation with the sounds they are made of. Bhaskara Rao (1977) provides some interesting statistics regarding the frequency of certain sounds in onomatopoeic words, which will be used here⁹.

2.3.4.1 Vowels

Short vowels occur more frequently than long vowels in Telegu ideophones. Moreover, next to vowel /a/, high vowels /i/, /u/ are more frequent than the mid vowels /e/ and /o/. The following sets of examples when carefully observed will show how symbolic they are:

- (a) **ṭing** sound of a small bell or a small resonant object.
ṭang noise of a large bell.
 (b) **ṭik ṭik** sound of a wrist watch or time piece.
ṭuk sound of small non-resonant object being tapped.

9. Peri Bhaaskara Rao op.cit., pp.16-21.

tak sound of non-resonant object (bigger than that in tuk) being tapped.

(c)***bur** passing wind loudly.

***bar** passing wind very loudly.

It appears that the constituent vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ have some relationship with the increase in the intensity of the sound denoted.

/i/ - least intensity.

/u/ - medium intensity.

/a/ - highest intensity.

Thus vowels as seen above express different degrees of intensity.

2.3.4.2 Consonants:

(1977)

According to Bhaskara Rao, in the initial position (C1) voiceless and voiced stops occur more frequently than nasals and continuants. In (C2) positions, continuants are most prominent followed by voiceless and voiced stops. Some generalizations regarding the symbolic character of these consonants are exemplified by him as given below. (p.24)

(a) when the nasal /m/ occurs initially (C1), the ideophones express,

lustre, shine

* **ṃisa misa** shine like the body of a person.

ṃila mila shine like fish, twinkle etc.

ṃinuk twinkle like a star etc.

and if /g/ occurs in (C2) (other than the initial position) the ideophones express shining, burning.

- jiga jiga shining of metallic objects.
- * jige:l intense shining/or a momentary period.
- daga daga shining intensely.
- * niga niga to shine as a smooth surface.
- * bag something catching fire suddenly.
- * baga baga burn intensely.
- * buga buga burn intensely.

(b) When the continuant /s/ occurs in c2 position the ideophones express soft sounds. It can be a hissing noise, noises with friction, slushy sounds etc.

- * kas hissing of a snake etc.
- * kasa kasa sound of chewing etc. of an unripe berry
- * kasuk biting a semi-soft thing.
- * kisuk laugh very briefly.
- * gusa gusa talk in whispers.
- * cus leak out as air
- * cusuk juice spurting out from a fruit.
- * pus sound of leading air.
- * bus hissing of a snake.
- * busa busa sound of efferescence.
- * tus sound of a gas escaping.

Though there are a few exceptions like *rusa rusa `behave angrily' *visa visa `to go away angrily', majority of the ideophones express related meanings.

(c) When the trill /r/ occurs at (C2) position the ideophones express creaky and rough noises, trilled

sounds, sound with high frequency etc.'

- * kar creaky noise of a rushed door
- * gora gora noise of dragging
- * cir tearing of a paper.
- * tur run or fly away like a small bird with high frequency using beats.
- par sound of tearing clothes.
- * bar blowing nose heavily.
- kara kara noise made by crisp things when chewed.
- * kir noise of a rusted door
- gara gara noise of starched clothes when they are rubbed.
- * gura gura noise produced by phlegm in the throat
- * jur drink a viscid liquid producing noise.
- tring sound of an electric bell.

d) When the voiceless stop /p/ occurs at (C2) position, the ideophones express soft and light strokes, snaps etc.'

tupuk break like a twig, jump like an insect etc.

* tup jump like an insect etc.

repa repa sound of fluttering of a flag, garment etc.

tapa tapa noise of drops of rain or a liquid falling down, beating of ears by a dog.

tap nonsonorous sound of a small object falling.

These are some of the striking symbolisms expressed by some consonants occurring frequently in ideophones.

2.3.5 Collocation:

There are ideophones which have some co-occurrence restrictions. They are most expressive only when they are collocated with some word or an idea. The ideophone **kara kara** when collocated with **kadupulo:** (in the stomach), expresses a feeling of hunger; otherwise this ideophone can also express a noise made by crisp things when they are chewed or squeezed or rubbed or feeling of having dust or other particles in the eye. Similarly **gir** 'rotate, coil up, feeling dizzy', is usually collocated with **kallu** eyes or **ollu** body. There is another ideophone **kikkuru** 'sit or remain without making the slightest noise' which is always used with the following verb 'anu' to say in negative conjugation.

***kikkurumanakunda:** 'without making the slightest noise.'

This is an interesting phenomenon because it is never used in positive like he made the noise **kikkuru**.
(Bhasakararao, 1977, Annexe-II, p.39).

2.4

Usage

Ideophones primarily have an adverbial function. Sometimes, they are used as adjectives. (**kila kila navvulu** 'laughters which make the sound kila kilá'), (**gona gona ma:talú** 'rambling talk') and also as nouns (**ga:jula gala gala** 'the jungling noise of bangles, **pattuci:rala gara garalu** 'the crispy noise of silk sarees. Ideophones are more often used in the colloquial language and again

children use them more often than elders. But there are some ideophones which are used exclusively by the elders like *taha taha` longing for somebody.

Dictionaries in Telugu have meticulously recorded ideophones used in the classical literature¹¹. Many of them are not in vogue today and as Bhaskara Rao¹² observes some of them differ in meaning as compared to the present day usage. In the former category we have cila cila` squirting of liquids and cila cila` dripping of liquids and an example for the latter is cima cima signifies` pain from a small injury` (old meaning);` itchy feeling due to exposure to sun` etc (new meaning). Some have some structural changes also like tuka tuka (old form) signifies` boiling of liquids` has become kuta kuta. As far as the usage of ideophones in the literature is concerned, they were frequently used when the context required in classical Telegu. They were used in bringing out various subtle shades of meaning related to sounds (in the description of seasons, sounds of warfare etc) and feelings. Sometimes a whole poem or a sentence is made of ideophones, like this poem by Kakamani Murthy, Rajava hana Vijayamu.¹³

paṭa paṭa ga:sen ravi

paṭa paṭa paṭa manucu girulu

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11. Sitaramacaryalu, Bahujana Palli; **Sabdaratnakaramu**. A Dictionary of the Telugu language, Madras: the Madras school Book and literature society, 1958.
 12. Peri Bhaskara Rao, **op.cit.** , p.30.
 13. From **ibid.** pp.30-31.

pagilen raqilen, giṭa ciṭa ciṭa

manucun vani, giṭa giṭa giṭa

manucu janamu krsiyince segan.

The sun shone intensely (peṭa peṭa)

The mountains crached (with the noise paṭa paṭa
paṭa)

The forest burnt (with the noise ciṭa ciṭa ciṭa).

The people died (terribly giṭa giṭa manucu)

The following passage from Gana pavararpu Venkata
kavi: Prabhandharaja Venkateshwar Vijayavila:samu;¹⁴

peṭlũ gro:vula varusala khangu pethi:l dimiringu

kathi:l ḍhami:l ḍha:ngu khani:l gubhul caḍha:l ḍha:m

ḍhankarana sabdambulu

The sounds of a kind of firearm (peṭlũ gro:vi) are
described with many ideophones which are underlined.

Telugu folk stories use a number of ideophones which are
very expressive and usually told to children. There is
which Bhaskararao(1977) reports in work (p.31)
one such story whose title itself is composed of the key

ideophones. putukku jara jara ḍubukku me:. This title
is given as a puzzle and the listener is usually kept in
suspense till the solution is supplied in the story as
an explanation. The story goes like this.

“Once a king was going round his capital city in a
ḍiguise. He saw an incident (which is not very

14. From *ibid.* p.31.

significant). He paraphrased the description of that incident in a stretch of four ideophones viz. **putukku jara jara dubukku me:** and gave it as a puzzle to be solved to one of his court poets. The poet thought about for sometime and solved it the following way to the complete satisfaction of the king.

There was a small hut with a thatched roof. A bottle-gourd creeper has spread all over the roof of the hut. A creeper bore many bottle-gourds. One day one of the fruits got disconnected from the twig (producing the noise **putukku** and quickly rolled down producing the noise **jara jara**). There was a goat resting underneath the edge of the roof. It fell on the goat (producing the noise **dubukku**). When the gourd fell on the goat, the goat cried **me:**"

3.0 Echo words are very common in Telegu. They refer to a situation where the second word (called reduplicator r, hereafter) in the paired construction is an echo of the base word (called reduplicand R, hereafter) and does not have any meaning of its own. When attached to reduplicand R the whole construction expresses an idea of 'generality' or 'extremity or concentration'.

3.1 Reduplication and echo words

Reduplicative structures (RS) may differ in the specific manner of their formation, in certain structural peculiarities, in their aspectual function, in their grammatical role and in other aspects as well. Echo words are also reduplicative structures (RS), differing from other RS, because of their structural peculiarity. As Bhaskara Rao observes, 'In the process of reduplicating, a word part of the word is replaced by a stretch of sounds which are pre-determined (called echo syllables)¹. This gives rise to partial reduplication or echo - formation'.

As we saw in the first chapter (on reduplication), in partial reduplication the divergent base of the

1. Peri Bhaskara Rao *op.cit.*, p.6.

reduplicand R, D_R is never zero.

(i.e.) $D_R \neq 0$,

and the divergent base of reduplicator r, D_r may or may not be zero.

(i.e.) $D_r \neq 0$ or $D_r = 0$.

Further, the reduplicated portions of R and r may be known as the stable base (S) while their variable portions may be known as the divergent base (D)

3.1.1 Structure of Echo Words

For the sake of convenience of description, an echo word is divided into two parts. They are the primary or conditionally primary form from which a reduplicative is derived which is termed the reduplicand (R) and while the form added to it may be termed the reduplicator (r) (Ref. Chapter I).

There are five types of D_r (the divergent base of the reduplicator r) in Telugu as observed by Bhaskararao (1977). Each of these shall be taken up and discussed in the following pages. The five types of D_r can be broadly divided into two categories. Some of the examples that follow are also reported in Bhaskararao (1977) and are marked *

3.1.1.1 Category I

It consists of type A, B, C in which reduplicator r occurs after reduplicand R which can be shown as $\begin{matrix} R \\ \boxed{r} \end{matrix}$

Type A
When $D_r \rightarrow gi (:)$

This divergent base D_R is more common and very productive than the other types found in Telegu.

Rules of formation.

Rule No.1

The divergent base $gi(:)$ replaces the initial $(C)(C)V(:)$ of the reduplicand R on one condition. The initial cv of the reduplicand R should not be $gi(:)$. This can be formulated as follows: (Bhaskararao 1977, p. 7).

$$\frac{(C)(C)V(:)x}{R} \quad \frac{gi(:)x}{r}$$

Note on Rule:1

The quality of the vowel of D_R does not play any role in attaching D_R , however, the quantity of the vowel ^{length} of the D_R is maintained in D_R .

***gūdi** 'temple' -> **guḍi giḍi** 'temple etc.'

***ga:li** 'wind' -> **ga:li gi:li** 'wind' etc.

***peḷli** marriage -> **peḷli giḷli** 'marriage' etc.

***cembu** 'metal vessel' -> **cembu gimbu** 'metal vessel etc.'

***a:ku** 'leaf' -> **a:ku gi:ku** 'leaf etc.'

***u:ru** 'milage' -> **u:ru gi:ru** 'village' etc.

***illu** 'house' -> **illu giḷlu** 'house' etc.

***annam** 'food' -> **annam ginnam** 'food' etc.

ci:ra 'saree' -> **ci:ra gi:ra** 'sarees' etc.

ku:li 'work or wages' ->

ku:li gi:li 'such kind of work/wages.'

Rule No.2

When $D_r \rightarrow pi$

The divergent base $pi(:)$ replaces the initial $CV(:)$ of the reduplicand if the initial CV of the reduplicand R is $gi(:)$.

$gi \rightarrow pi$

$\frac{gi(:)x}{R}$

$\frac{pi(:)x}{r}$

*gilaka 'rattle' \rightarrow gilaka pilaka 'rattle' etc.

*gi:ta 'line' \rightarrow gi:ta pi:ta 'line' etc.

Type B

$D_r \rightarrow go, sa(:)$ and so.

These D_r occur in limited number of instances and are not as productive as $gi(:)$. The following are the words that accept these divergent bases, when they are reduplicated.

*nasugu 'hesitation' \rightarrow nasugu gosugu 'hesitation' etc.

*udyo:gam 'job' \rightarrow udyogam sadyo:gam 'job' etc.

*be:ram 'bargaining' \rightarrow be:ram sa:ram 'bargaining' etc.

*ni:rasam 'fatigue' \rightarrow nirasam sa:rasam 'fatigue' etc.

*appu 'loan' \rightarrow appu soppu 'loan' etc.

*anṭu 'impurities' \rightarrow anṭu sonṭu 'impurities' etc.

*alupu 'tiredness' \rightarrow alupu solupu 'tiredness' etc.

Type C

$D_r \rightarrow puṭra, naṭra, gaṭra$

In this type, reduplicator r itself becomes a divergent base ($r \rightarrow D_r$) and the selection of the first two reduplicator r's are conditioned.

- a) If the initial consonant of the reduplicand R is bilabial then $puṭra$ is used.

b) If the initial consonant of the reduplicand R is /n/ then naṭra is used; This r → naṭra is seen very rarely.

Examples:

- * puli 'tiger' → puli puṭra 'tigers etc'
- * polam 'field' → polam puṭra 'field etc.'
- * bhu:mi 'land' → bhu:mi puṭra 'land etc.'
- * purugu 'insect' → purugu puṭra 'insects' etc.
- * naga 'ornament' → naga naṭra 'ornaments etc.'

The third reduplicator r → gaṭra can be added to any word.

Examples;

- * pelḷi 'marriage' → pelḷi gaṭra 'marriage etc.'
- * ca duvu 'education' → ca duvu gaṭra 'education etc.'
- * dabbu 'money' → dabbu gaṭra 'money etc.'

3.1.1.2 Category II

Type D, E fall under category II in which the reduplicator r, precedes reduplicand R (ie) rR

Type D

$D_r \rightarrow \underline{t\dot{t}a}, rra$

In the first three types, we saw the reduplicator 'r', occurring after the reduplicand R. In type D and E, r precedes R in a limited number of words.

Rules of Formation

Rule 1:

Except the initial (C)V of the reduplicand R all other sounds are replaced by either of the $D_r \rightarrow \underline{t\dot{t}a}$ or rra.

Therefore the initial (C)V which remains undistrubed is the stable base S.

Rule 2:

If the V of the stable base S mentioned in Rule 1 is long then it is shortened in r.

The following formula represents the structure of Type D. (Bhaskararao 1977, p. 9).

$$\frac{C_x V_y \{ \underset{\cdot}{t} \underset{\cdot}{t} \underset{\cdot}{a} / \underset{\cdot}{r} \underset{\cdot}{r} \underset{\cdot}{a} \}}{r} \quad \frac{C_x V_y (:) - V}{R}$$

S → C_xV_y

D → tta, rra

Examples:

* pagalu 'day time' → paṭṭa pagalu 'broad day time'

S → pa

D_r → ṭṭa

D_R → galu

* bayalu 'open' → baṭṭa bayalu 'very open'

* u:ta 'swinging' → urra: (u:)ta 'swinging too much'

* ci:kati 'darkness' → ciṭṭa ci:kati 'very thick darkness'

* niluvu 'perpendicular' → niṭṭa niluvu 'very perpendicular.'

* modalu 'beginning' → moṭṭa modalu 'right at the beginning'

* naḍumu 'middle' → naṭṭa naḍumu 'right in the middle'

* aḍugu 'bottom' → aṭṭa (a)ḍugu 'right at the bottom'

* kosa 'end' → kotta kosa 'extreme end'

* civara 'end' → ciṭṭa civara 'extreme end'

* bigiyu 'to be tightened' → birra bigiyu 'to be tightened very much'

ruci 'taste' -> ruci **suci** 'taste etc.'

veḷa 'time' -> veḷa pa:ḷa 'right time'

vankara 'crooked, bent' -> vankara **ṭinkara** 'very crooked'.

e:ndlu 'years' -> e:ndlu pu:ndlu 'many years'

taluku 'to shine or dazzle' -> taluku beluku 'dazzle'

Sastri also give a historical view of these structures.

According to him the doubling of the final consonant of the root was a common device of Dravidian languages to convert a noun into an adjective or what comes to the same thing to make the first word an attribute to the second. He says 'now we have in Telegu port manteau words in which the adjectival form as well as the noun form from the same root are combined in one expression and giving rise to intensive meaning.'

Example:

kaḍa 'end' -> kaṭṭakada 'the very end'

naḍumu 'middle' -> naṭṭa naḍumu 'of the very centre'

He further adds that the hardening of a sonant when doubled is an old Dravidian principle and on the analogy of the forms above aṭṭ element is introduced in the following where there is no etymological justification.

Example:

kottā **kona** 'the very end'
 r R

(For more egs. refer type D discussed above).

3.2 **Semantic Aspect**

Echo formation in Telegu is another very expressive device. Echo words which fall under category I (i.e.)

which when reduplicated contain the D_r - gi(:), go, sa(:), so, puṭra, naṭra, and gaṭra express

1. an idea of generality
2. et, cetera, (i.e.) the notions or meaning of things, quality, manner of action of the nature akin to the one indicated by the real meaningful element (reduplicand R).

Example:

- * ga:li gi:li 'wind etc.'
- * nasugu gosugu 'hesitation etc.'
- * udyo:gam sadyo:gam 'job etc.'
- * appu soppu 'loan etc.'
- * puli puṭra 'tiger etc.'
- * naga naṭra 'ornaments etc.'
- * pelli gaṭra 'marriage etc.'

As Emeneau has rightly pointed out 'the function of the formation is to denote a specimen which the speaker does not care to identify from among a hypothesized collection of identical discrete entities of infinite number, or from a hypothesized infinite extension of a non discrete handleable entity; He adds 'in some cases the infinite extension includes by implication all other entities that might replace the expressed entity in the situation stated in the utterance'.³

3. M.B. Emeneau *op.cit.*,

Echo words are usually collocated with the two above mentioned meanings. But when we have a closer look at the echo words which fall under Category II, we see that they express 'extremity or concentration' (Bhaskararao 1977, p. 9).

(e.g.) ***kottakosa** 'extreme end'

***cittā ci:kati** 'very thick darkness'

***naṭṭa nadumu** 'right in the middle'

***atta (a) dugu** 'right at the bottom'

***cecera** 'very quick'

Thus some kind of 'exactness' or 'pinpointedness' apart from the intensification is expressed by these expressives which is totally different from the 'generality' or the 'vagueness' expressed by the expressives in Category I. Whether the placing of the reduplicator *r* before or after the reduplicand *R*, brings about a change in the meaning needs further investigation.

3.3 Syntactic aspect

The reduplicator *r* of an echo word always belongs to the same syntactic class as the reduplicand *R*. This implies that the behavioural pattern of the reduplicator *r* is the same as that of the reduplicand *R*.

Rama Rao⁴ talks about the problem of co-ordination in

4. C. Rama Rao, Co-ordination in Telegu in Studies in Transformational Grammar. (eds) Ghatage, A.M. etal Deccan College (CASL) 1972.

echo constructions, which according to him are 'formally similar to conjoined noun phrases because they are linked with final vowel length'. Now consider the following sentences:

1. **wa:ḍiki illu gillu le:du**

him to house etc is not

'He has no house etc.'

After decomposing it into (1) a and (1) b we get,

(1)a **wa:ḍi ki illu le:du**

him to house is not

(1)b **wa:ḍi ki gillu le:du**

him to ? is not

(1) b is not a possible sentence in isolation, but it is possible only in sequence with (1) a with the deletion of the identical dative phrase and lengthening of the final vowels.

(2) **va:ḍiki illu: le:du gillu: le:du**

'He has no house etc.'

There is one peculiar usage observed by Bhaskara Rao (1977)^{P.10}, where some young speakers of Telugu try to give a separate meaning to the reduplicator r with $D_r \rightarrow$ /gi/. The construction **peḷḷi giḷḷi** means marriage etc. But a sentence like the following is used.

(3) **peḷḷi ayindi ka:ni giḷḷi avale:du**

marriage took place but gilli not

'The marriage took place but not gilli (meaning consummation)'

But these kind of occurrences are very rare.

3.4 Usage

Echo words are very commonly used in the colloquial informal speech but are relatively rare in formal speech. 'The echo-words which contain the $D_r \rightarrow$ gi (:), go, sa and so are mostly used in negative or interrogative sentences only'. (Bhaskararao, 1977. p. 9). The echo-words which contain the $D_r - \ddot{t}ta, rra$ are available both in formal and informal speeches. This is clearly due to the difference in the meaning expressed after the reduplication and formation of various divergent bases D_r .

3.4.1 Echo word motif in a Telugu folk story

Emeanau⁵ notes the usage of an echo-word motif in a folk story that is available across some Dravidian languages. A similar story which utilizes a similar set of words is available in Telugu too.

In the Telugu folk-story the expressive used is *pulī gili* or alternatively *puli puṭra*, in which *gili* or *puṭra* is meaningless, (tiger etc.).

The story goes like this :

A man says aloud to himself or to his flock of sheep that precautions must be taken against any *puli puṭra* that may come to do mischief. In each case the tiger (*puli*) is represented by the expressive *puli puṭra*. A tiger over hears this and, in accordance with the general stupid nature of these creatures

5. M.B. Emeanau op.cit.

in the folk-lore, misunderstands. It knows that it is itself the tiger or the puli but does not know what the meaningless second member of the expressive denotes and fears that it is something even more terrible than itself. Some unexpected event then happens to it, and it is outwitted, thus thinking that the agency of this event is the fearsome creature denoted by the meaningless word, puṭra.

4.0 "Compound words refer to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first word on the semantic level (sometimes on the phonetic level also) and each constituent word of a compound has a meaning of its own and hence can be used independently in a sentence. When combined in a compound formation, the paired constructions express a new meaning and new reference¹". They are intensive meaning, or the meaning of collectivity as etcetera and things similar to or associated with.

4.1 Reduplication and Compound Words

Nacaskul considers compound words as a kind of 'Elaboration'² and Abbi as partial reduplicatives³. Whereas Apte considers them as 'repetition at the semantic level, where two very similar or identical ideas or concepts are used'⁴. Reduplication does take place in compound words also, but not at the phonological level. These constructions are duplicated at the semantic level and sometimes it happens that there is phonological similarity between the paired

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1. Anvita Abbi, 1987 op cit., p. 20.
 2. Karnchana Nacaskul op cit., p. 876.
 3. Anvita Abbi, 1975 op.cit., p. 7.
 4. Mahadeo. L.Apte. op.cit., p. 13.

* The compound words in this chapter are also attested in Bhaskararao (1977, Annexe I). and Mahadeva Sastri, 1954 and have been marked * and # respectively .

words. (e.g.) #u:ru-pe:ru (village name) 'general address'. Thus the stable bases and divergent bases found in formation of this kind do not stand in the same relationship as found in echo formation, ideophones etc. where true reduplication takes place. Gorgoniev rightly calls them 'pseudo-reduplicatives, with copulative linkage between the constituents'⁵. Thus compound words are no longer considered reduplicatives on the phonological level since there is no palpable reduplication of either a morpheme or a word. Even at the semantic level, reduplication does not mean repetition of a given word with similar idea always, because antonyms are also used which can also express an intensive meaning or the meaning of collectivity. Provisionally, let us consider the first word of the paired construction as reduplicand R and the second word as reduplicator r. It is to be noted that the reduplicator r can be from the same language or from a language which has been its consistent donor. (e.g.) #pette-beda (trunk-bed (English)) luggage' #tippu-tirugu (turn (Telugu) - turn (Tamil)) change, rectification, modification'. (Mahadeva Sastri 1954, p. 497).

- 4.1.1 1) Compounds in Telugu as a rule do not have more than two words. But there are cases where more than two words

 5. Yu.A.Gorgoniev. *opcit.*, p. 318.

occur which is a quite rare phenomenon (eg). # **verri-^ovengal-appa** (mad-knave-appa-termination added to names of persons or relationship words as a mark of endearment, here ironical). 'a foolish fellow' or simpleton # **eddu-moddu-svarupamu** (ox-a log of wood - figure) 'a good for nothing fellow'. Even these constructions can be listed under expressives, because these are also intensives extended by a suffix.

2) In many cases the two members R and r in a compound have some degree of phonetic similarity and rhyme at the end or at the beginning. This feature itself is sometimes expressive, which is used for force, effect and beauty. But this in no way should be considered as reduplication at the phonological level.

*eg. **adugu:-madugu:** (bottom-pond) 'depth

irugu: -porugu (neighbourhood - neighbourhood)

neighbours in general.

* **uluku:-paluku** (fear-talking) making a sound in general

kuli:-na:li (work for wages - deceitful work) manual work in general

* **siggu:-eggu:** (shame-harm) shame in general

This phonetic similarity is the most interesting and intriguing characteristic of these compounds. Infact the structural variety in these compounds in South Asian as well as in South East Asian Languages is overwhelmingly demanding for an indepth research in future.

3) As observed by Mahadeva Sastri 'there are cases where usage has meddled with the phonetics of a compound to get the same quantity in both the components or for rhyme'. (eg).# **maṭa-manti** - (maṭa 'word'-manti <mati (sanskrit 'mind') 'some general talk.'

The nasalisation in **manti** is for lengthening the short initial syllable and thus it obtains a balance with the first member.⁶

Though there is a tendency to have phonetic similarity and same length, which is by no means a condition, many compounds are formed only at the semantic level. Therefore it is not incorrect to say that the phonetic similarity happens by chance. Semantics play a very major role in the formation of these compounds.

- (eg)
- # **siri:-sampada:** (wealth-wealth) riches
 - # **da:nam-dharmam** (charity-duty) charities in general
 - # **caduvu:-sandhya:** (studies - an oblation offered to sun god by a Hindu three times a day) 'education in general'
 - * **ci:mu:-netturu:** (pus-blood) used in the sense of having shame.

4) Some compounds have both members in the plural

6. Mahadeva Sastri **op.cit.**, p. 494.

- (eg)
kathalu-ka:vyalu (recitations of puranic etc-stories-
functions) 'functions in general'
cillalu-bellalu (small stones - a round place) 'use less
things'

5) There are compounds which take a plural at the end
only.

- (eg)
kala-ka:ntulu (beauty-brightness) 'beauty'
telivi-te:talulu (intelligence-clearness or purity)
'intelligence'.

It should be noted that the two words have become
completely fused into a single word and it behaves as
such for all practical purposes.

4.2 Semantics

Meaning plays a very important role in the formation of
compound words. The second word in the paired
construction r's selection is totally restricted. This
must be semantically related to R. They may be synonyms,
antonyms or it can be a word which the speaker thinks
are related to each other.

In this light we can divide compound words into three
types, taking into consideration the semantic relation of
r to R. They are synonyms, polymers and antonyms.

4.2.1 Synonyms

These are compound which are combination of two words of the same or similar meaning. The second word r is either a word which yields approximately the same translation or words which falls within a common field of association.

(eg).

- *uttaram-pattaram (letter-letter) - letters in general
- # irugu:-porugu (neighbourhood-neighbourhood) 'neighbour-in general'
- * cinna:vi-ponna:vi (pleasant-pleasant) pleasant in general
- * taṭṭa:-butta (a kind of basket - another kind of basket) 'baskets or luggage in general'
- * ginni:-munta: (metal pot-small metal pot) 'metal utensils in general'
- * mi:nam-meṣam (a zodiac sign - another zodiac sign) 'astrological calculations'
- # siri:-sampada: (wealth-wealth) 'riches'

Thus we see synonyms express 'generality'. In many cases the r has the meaning as of R and sometimes has similar meaning.

4.2.2 Polymers

The meaning of the components of a polymer is related in the speakers thought. They are put together because one of them makes him think of the other. A polymer reflects the speakers efforts as he searches his lexicon and brings to the surface words that immediately strikes in mind. These kinds of expressions are being used in Telugu for a long time, and now they form part of the vocabulary and are registered as single words.

(eg).

* antu:-engili (impurity - a thing touched by mouth)
'general impurities'

a:ta:-pa:ta: (playing-singing) 'Playing and general merriment'

illu:-va:kili: (house-yard) 'house etc'

* uppu:-pappu: (salt-pulses) 'groceries in general'

* gaddi:-ga:dara' (grass-weeds) 'weedish general'

adupu:-a:jna: (control-order) 'full control'

* a:lu:-cu:lu: (wife-pregnancy) 'martial life'

* a:ku:-cekka (betal leaf-arecanut) 'pan'

* i:nta:-va:nta (in the house-in the body) 'in the family altogether'

These examples express generality and intensity. Another interesting aspect noted is that they sometimes bring about a new meaning which is related to both the words in the construction. The last three examples prove this.

4.2.3 Antonyms

These are compounds in which the two members of the construction have contrary meanings. The lexical opposition of the two members brings them together and it is the implications arising out of their contrariety make them expressives.

(eg).

suka - dukkhalu: (happiness - sufferings) 'ups and downs of life'

akka-cellellu : (elder sister-younger sister) 'sisters'

talli-taṇḍrulu : (mother-father) 'parents'

anne-tammulu : (elder brother-younger brother) 'brothers'

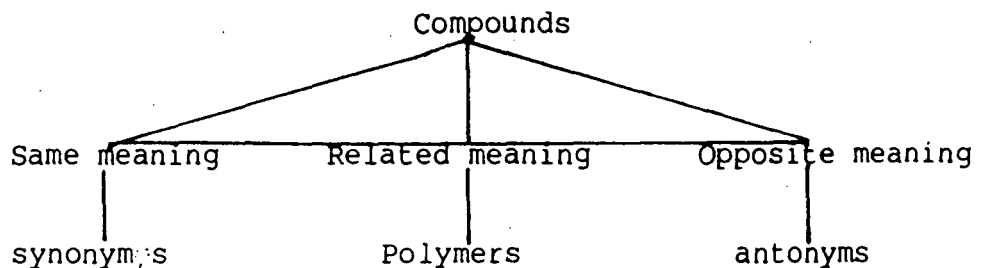
vacci-po : (come - go) 'keep coming frequently'

ratri-pogalu : (night-day) 'whole day or continuously'

ekkuva-takkuva: (more-less) 'approximately'

Thus, these compounds are 'inclusive', expressing generality again.

The relationship between the members of all three types can also be represented as below, ranging from components of the same and similar meaning, components of related meaning and components of opposite meaning.



4.3 Another interesting aspect of the compounds is to retain forms in the language that have dropped out of use altogether or are now archaic. This can be observed when we analyse the type of words which are used in some of these compounds. (Mahadeva Sastri 1954, p. 494).

- i) The two words are synonymous where one is now current in the language and the other an archaic word. e.g. #no:ru-va:yi (mouth-mouth) 'mouth' no:ru is used in modern Telugu, which means mouth, va:yi is an archaic word used in old Telugu literature and in Tamil.
- ii) The two words are nouns derived from the same root with a different outward appearance or with two different noun-forming suffix.

(eg) **#arupulu-a:rpulu** (cry-cry) 'loud cries'

The word **a:rpulu** in the compound is derived from **arupu**. **a:rpulu** < **arupu**. But still they are considered as two different words which have the same meaning.

- iii) One is a native Dravidian word and other is from Sanskrit.

(eg) **#caduvu-sandhya** (studies-offering to God) 'education in general'.

* **cikulu-cintulu** (sorrow-worry) 'worries in general'.

- iv) Both the words are from Sanskrit

(eg) **#ardhara:tri-apatra** (night-night) 'night'

#bhayamu-bhakti (fright-devotion) 'devotion'

#da:namu-dharmamu (charity-duty) 'charities in general'

- v) One is a Telegu word and the other is a foreign word (English, Persian etc.)

(eg) **#pette-beda** (trunk (Telugu) - beda (English 'bed') luggage

#birudu - nisa:nulu (title (Telugu) - nisa:n (persian 'mark, emblem) 'conditions, paraphrenalia

Thus we see that these constructions not only retain archaic forms but also throw light on the historical and sociolinguistic aspects of the

language. Though some of the forms listed above sound like complete reduplication, they are not, because the meaning of some other words have become blurred in course of time due to phonetic change of these forms.

4.4 Compounds may be formed of nouns, and verbs. Krishnamurti lists some verbal compounds in old Telugu with which present and future tense verbs are formed⁷. An intensive semantic study of compound verbs in Telugu is too vast a subject, to be included in this study.

Nouns:

dummu-dhu:li (dust-dust) 'too much dust'

kasu-gandu (unripe fruit-child) 'a child of tenderage'

* **cutta:lu:-pakka:lu** (relatives-friends) relatives in general

to:du-ni:da: (companion ship-shade) 'to live in a harmonious company'

* **konḍa:-ko:na:** (hill-forest) 'wild and hilly area'

verbs:

(present) **a:ḍutu:pa:ḍutu:** (playing-singing) 'very easily'

(Past) **kani-vini** (having seen-having heard) 'known'

(future) **kā:ni-po:ni** (which is not - which is not gone) 'improper'

7. Bh.Krishnamurti.1961 op.cit

The two constituents in the compound when used in a sentence carry the conjoining particle of length. This conjoining particle is seen only when the noun ends in a vowel. But this length is sometimes not prominent in a fast colloquial speech. In writing also, there is a variance in marking this length feature. Mahadeva Sastri gives the status of stress to this feature of lengthening⁸. The length feature could be optionally replaced by the plural suffix- 'lu' in which

- i) when attached to second word, the first word loses its final length

#siri:-sampada: siri-sampadalu (wealth-wealth)
 'riches'

- ii) in some compounds -lu is added to both the words in the compound.

#a:ta-pa:ta a:talu pa:talu (plays-songs)
 'merriment'

In some of these compounds, the constituents can also be used in pairs of conjoined sentences but with a restriction that the later conjunct sentences would also be used in sequence with the former conjunct sentence but never in isolation. The later conjunct sentence with the second constituent generally refers to the first constituent in the previous sentence. (Ranarao, 1972. p.65)

8. Mahadeva Sastri. *op.cit.*, p.496.

(eg)

pa:ni-pa:ta:lu (work-song) 'works in general'

a) wa:di:ki pa:ni pa:ta:lu le:du

to him work is not

b) wa:di:ki pa:ni: le:du, pa:ta: le:du

c) wa:di:ki pa:ni le:du

d) wa:di:ki pa:ta le:du

The sentence (d) is meaningless if it does not follow (c). When both the constituents take the plural suffix -lu, the plural negative marker le:vu is used.

(eg)

a:ta:lu pa:ta:lu le:vu

a:ta:lu le:vu pa:ta:lu le:vu

- 4.6 Compound words are used in formal and informal occasions in speech as well as in literature.

5.0 Complete word reduplication refers to all those reduplicated structures which are constituted of two identical (bimodal) words and act as a single structured category. At the functional level they can be termed as lexical reduplication¹. If X is a word, after reduplication it becomes XX. (i.e.)

X -> XX

The structure XX, now consists of two identical words which acts as a single structured category. This expressive device is such a productive process that we find in various languages, different shades of meaning get attached, indicating a singular aspect which may not be found in another language, even if it is from the same family. The end result of a word reduplication is a new word which has no parallel in its non-reduplicated counterparts. In ordinary language as also in literary language, word reduplication is used for various grammatical functions. Some of the more universally attested uses are that of signifying a meaning of generality, extension, emphasis, iteration etc. complete reduplication of words belonging to various grammatical categories is possible.

In complete reduplication the reduplicand R and reduplicator r are the same and therefore the divergent base, D is zero (D = 0).

1. Anvita Abbi. 1987 op.cit.,p.22.

5.1 Syntactic and semantic aspect of complete word reduplication

There are languages of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan as well as of Austro-Asiatic families which employ syntactically reduplicated structures to indicate various meanings. Thus the reduplicated words, in spite of behaving like single structured categories do not form the core lexical items of the languages concerned. This is one of the reasons why these structures have not found any place in the lexicon of these languages². Since syntax plays a very crucial role in bringing out the various meaning of these structures, they are dealt under 'syntax and semantics' straight-away unlike ideophones, echo-words and compound words.

The reduplication of particular items always results in conveying of some additional meaning vis-a-vis corresponding non-reduplicative structures. Speakers prefer reduplicated words to non reduplicated words because of certain specific semantic and communicative needs which could only be satisfied by the form. Abbi studies the 'syntatico-semantic' properties of reduplicative structures in relation to aspect³. In the present study some of these categories will be used to bring out the semantic features of these structures in Telegu.

2. Anvita Abbi. 1987, p.36.

3. Anvita Abbi. 1987, p.115.

5.1.1 Iteration:

Reduplicated structures with aspectual value of iteration occur in almost all the Indian languages and according to Abbi it seems to be a pan Indian feature. Iteration can be repetition of an action or event having resultant effect reflected in the main verb or indicating the manner in which the action manifested in the main very is represented. According to Abbi 'repeated occurrence of an event/action over a period of time generally refers to larger stretches of time than the continuation of an event/action because there are short intervals in between the actions in the forms which are absent in the latter⁴. The following examples will bring out the expressive nature of these completely reduplicated structures.

1. atanu pa:ta win + i win + i alasi po:ya:du
he songs heard + cp heard + cp tired became
'he got tired of listening to songs repeatedly'
2. utik + i utik + i baṭṭalu cirigi po:ya:yi
washed + cp washed + cp clothes tear became.
'clothes got torn off by repeated washings'.
3. atanu sinima cu:s + i cu:s + i virakti cende:du
he cinema saw + cp saw + cp bored became.
'he got bored seeing movies'.

4. Anvita Abbi. *op.cit.*, P.63.

4. ataḍu nannu kotṭ + i kotṭ + i pa:ḍu cesa:ḍu
he me beat beat spoil did

‘he spoiled me by excessive beating’.

5. re:ḍiyo wa:ḍ + i wa:ḍ + i pa:ta paḍi po:yindi
rediyo use + cp use + cp old became.

‘the radio became old because of excessive usage.’

It is different from durative aspect (which is dealt in the next section) in that we notice certain perceptible breaks in the action and almost immediately, its continuation till another such break.

5.1.2. Continuation - duration

This term indicates continuation or duration of an event/action for a short or a long period of time which might or might not have a resultant effect reflected in the main verb of the sentence as seen in the following examples.

ni:llu marig + i marig + i a:viri ayipo:ya:yi

water boil + cp boil + cp evaporate became

‘the water evaporated due to excessive boiling’.

atanu ku:rcon + i ku:rcon + i alasi poya:ḍu

he sat + cp sat + cp tired became.

‘he got tired of sitting’. (for a long period of time).

tinṭ + e : tinṭ + e : ga:relu ce:dekkuta:yi

eat + cp eat + cp sweets become bitter.

‘if one eats continuously, even sweets become bitter’.

Thus as the name indicates, any action that continues or 'dures' over a period of time can be classed under this aspect.

5.1.3 Simultaneity

Simultaneity identifies synchronization of two events/actions at a particular point of time. This kind of an aspect is expressed largely in Indo-Aryan languages by completely reduplicating verbal adverbs. Reduplicated verbal adverbs in Telegu is not a powerful expressive device. The following examples express simultaneity.

atanu killi ammut + u ammut + u ma:tla:de:du
he betel leaves selling + cp selling + cp spoke.
'he spoke while selling betel leaves'.

pilla va:du nadust + u nadust + u padi po:ya:du
the boy walking + cp walking + cp fell down.
'the boy fell down while walking'.

ra:mudu caduvt + u caduvt + u nenu wentaka:vinca:nu
ram read + cp read + cp i cooked.
'I cooked the food while ram read'

These structures are not considered 'powerful' expressive devices because they are attested marginally (unlike in Indo-Aryan languages) and non reduplicated structures are used instead of reduplicated structures to express simultaneity. But they are certainly expressive, though their usage is very limited.

5.1.4 **Emphasis**

Reduplication of a grammatical element to express 'emphasis' or 'focus' will be discussed here. 'The part of speech which can either modify nominals (adjectives) of verbals (adverbs) can be reduplicated to focus the nouns and verbs respectively'. Abbi (1980) gives the following semantic distinction as far as the reduplicative structures of the modifiers are concerned. They are size, quality, taste, colour and shape. These types can express accentuation or attenuation after reduplication. Attenuation is expressed only for taste and colour modifiers accompanied by singular nouns. Accentuation is expressed in all types accompanied by plural nouns. Let us consider some examples where reduplicated modifiers express emphasis or attenuation. The use of reduplicative structures accentuate the inherent characteristic of the item under consideration as seen in these examples.

5.1.4.1 **Size modifiers**

(eg) ra:vanuḍuki **pedda pedda** kaḷḷu unde:vi

Ravan big big eyes had

Ravan had big eyes.

i: intlo gadulu pedda peddaviga unnavi

This house in rooms big big are

'In this house the rooms are very big'.

we can say that this reduplicated modifier is also used for exaggeration.

Some more examples are given below:

i:kolani:lo: pedda pedda antastulu unnavi

This colony high high storeys is there.
'this colony has very high buildings'.

i to:talo cinna cinna mokkalu unnavi

this garden small small plants there

'in this garden there are very small plants'

atani kodukulu andaru la:vu la:vu ga: unna:ru

his sons all fat fat are

'all his sons are very fat'

itani carmamu mandam mandam ga: undi

his skin thick thick is

'his skin is very thick'

i: rojullo: palacati palacati ci:ralu ostunna:yi

'these days very thin sarees are coming'.

5.1.4.2 Quality modifies

atanu anni: kotta kotta pustaka:lu konna:du

He all new new books bought

'He bought all new books'.

5.1.4.3 Taste and colour modifiers

i: paṇḍu pulla - pulla + ga unnadi

this fruit sour sour + like is

'This fruit is sourish'.

pola:lu pacca pacca ga unna:yi

Fields green green are

'The fields are green'

These taste and colour modified are intensified by the reduplicated forms in non-distributive uses. Colour modifiers is also reduplicated to express emphasis on the dark complexion of a person with plural

nouns and is also distributive.

sarma ku:turlu andaru nalla nalla + ga unṭa:ru

sharmas daughters all black black + like are

'All the daughters of Sharma are very black'.

5.1.4.4 Nominal modifiers :

Nominal modifiers like quantifier, when reduplicated expresses emphasis on the numeral that quantify the particular nominal under consideration. This can be distributive also.

(eg) okkokka inṭilo iddaru iddaru paniva:ḷḷu panicesta:ru

One one house two two servants working are

'In each house two servants are working'.

Thus two repeated twice would not make it four but accentuate the quantity 'two'.

okkokka butṭalo renḍu renḍu araṭipallu unde:vi | one one bag two two
bananas are there.

'There were two bananas in each bag'.

5.1.4.5 Verbal modifiers :

Emphasis is also expressed by verbal modifiers. Verbal modifiers are adverbs of Manner, Time and Location.

5.1.4.5.1 Manner adverbs

atanu mella - mella ga naḍusta:du

he slowly slowly walks

'He walks very slowly'

atanu twara twara ga ikkaḍiki vacce:du

he fast fast here came

'He came here very fast'

a: pillava:du gatti gatti ga edusta:du
that child loud loud crying

'That child is crying very loudly'

5.1.4.5.2 Temporal adverbs

Sometimes adverbials like 'after every hour' or 'in between' (an event) can be reduplicated to express distributiveness and recurrent meaning.

i mandu ganṭa ganṭa ku tisuko:va:li

this medicine hour hourly (must) take

'This medicine should be consumed after every hour'.

atadu va:ram va:ram sinima cu:ḍaḍa:niki po:ta:ḍu

he week - week cinema to see goes.

'He goes to watch a movie every week'

Another interesting distinction is made in between 'first thing in the morning' and 'early in the morning' in the following examples respectively.

(eg) poddu poddu te pa:lu tevali:

morning morning milk must bring

'You must bring milk first thing in the morning'.

ninna nenu uḍaya:nna nidra le:ca:nu

yesterday I dawn woke up

'Yesterday I got up early morning'.

5.1.4.5.3 Location adverbs:

Some of the post positions which have a locative adverbial function when they occur independently are reduplicated to express 'extremity of the location'.

mi:da mi:da

above above

'On the top'

mundu mundu

in front of in front of

'Gradually in the future'

daggara daggara

near near

'very near'

pay pay na

top top

'on the top'

They are rarely used in a sentence like the following:

kuralo nu:ne pay pay na te:lutu:ndi

cooked vegetables oil top top floating

'Oil is floating on top of cooked vegetables'

5.1.5 Distributiveness:

Distributiveness over location is expressed by reduplicating the noun.

atanu inti inti ki velli adukkone:va:du

he house house goes ask would

He used to go to every house and beg

Distributiveness with 'recurrent' meaning is more popularly manifested in reduplication of adverb of time.

sinima lo madhya madhya lo laitlu a:ri po:ya:yi

cinema in middle middle in lights of went

'There were frequent power failures during the screening of films'.

Quantifiers are indicated as distributive by reduplication.

okkoka buttalo rendu rendu arati pallu unna:yi

one one bag two two banana fruit

'There are two (two) bananas in each basket'.

5.1.6 Reciprocals and Reflexives

Reciprocals and reflexives in Telegu are reduplicated in Telegu, including a case copying process .

5.1.6.1 Reciprocals:

Reciprocals in Telegu, according to Subbarao and Saxena 'have a reduplicated structure and second part of the reciprocal carries the case marking of the subject and this case marking is copied onto it by a case copying process'. Thus the reciprocal contains a structure which is as follows;

a reduplicated structure + a case copy of the subject.

(wa:llu) okalla + ni okallu kottu - konna: ru

they someone + acc someone hit vr + aux.

vr - verbal reflexive, okallu - reduplicand R, okallani reduplicator + acc.

'They hit each other.'

As can be seen the reciprocal contains a reduplicated structure, the first part containing the usual object case marking which in fact is a copy of the nominative case marking of the subject.

This can be observed in the following examples also.

okarito okaru maṭṭaḍu konna:ru

Someone + Acc + someone talk vr. aux.

'They talk to each other.'

wa:llu: wa:llu: maṭṭaḍu konna:ru

they + acc + they talk vr aux

'They spoke among themselves.'

okarni okaru pre:mincukunnaru

someone + acc + someone love vr aux.

'They love each other'.

Thus we see that some pronouns reduplicative to express reciprocacity.

5.1.6.2 Reflexives

Subbarao and Saxena (1984) propose that reflexivization in Dravidian languages is manifested by a bound anaphor and the verbal reflexive kon/kol. The constitution of a bound pronoun, they argue, is a reduplicated form consisting of a pronominal object and pronomial copy of the subject. The following examples will reveal this

nannu ne:nu koṭṭu - konn - a:nu

I + Acc I hit VR aux.

'I hit myself.'

wa:du tanani tanu koṭṭu-konn-a:du

he he + acc he hit VR aux.

'he hit himself'

kamala a:me ku a:me koṭṭu-konnadi

She + acc she hit VR aux.

ʼKamala hit herself.
wallaku wallu campukunna:ru
They + acc They kill VR aux.

ʼThey killed themselves

tanaku ta:ne munigi po:ya:du

he + acc he drowned VR aux.

ʼhe drowned himselfʼ

Thus we see the reduplicated occurrence of the pronoun having a verbal reflexive kon to express reflexivity.

5.2 Grammatical categories and complete reduplication

In Telugu, nearly all the grammatical categories like nouns, pronouns, verbal adverbs, adjectives and quantifiers are reduplicated completely.

5.2.1 Nouns

Nouns are reduplicated to express emphasis, distributiveness, and also time (discrete time nominals) These were discussed in the last section.

BhaskaraRao (1977) observes that a reduplicated noun can occur only when the verb is either agu 'to become' or ce:yu 'to make'. When a different verb is placed in the sentence the reduplicated noun takes the adverbial suffix -ga: and becomes adverbial in function as seen below.

wa:du a:karrani mukkalu-mukkalu ce:se:du

he that stick pieces pieces made

ʼHe made (Broke) the stick into piecesʼ.

Wa:du a:karrani mukkalu-mukkalu-ga: ko:se:du

he that stick pieces pieces cut.

‘he cut (using knife or saw) the stick into pieces

There are some mass nouns which have homophonous count noun counterparts and when they are reduplicated they take the plural suffix to denote an entirely different meaning which is illustrated below.

wa:du annam mudda mudda ce:se:du

he cooked-rice lump lump made.

‘He looked the rice into a lumpy consistency

wa:du annam mudda+lu mudda+lu ce:se:du

he cooked-rice lumps+pl lumps+pl made.

‘he made lumps or balls of boiled rice’

A pronoun can also be reduplicated to express an action which is repeated at similar places or with similar persons (distributive).

ne:nu wa:nni wa:nni:adige:nu

I him him asked

‘I asked some people (hi and him)’

At times interrogative pronouns are also reduplicated to express distribution

evaru evaru wacce:ru

who who came

who all came?

5.2.2 Verbal Adverbs

In Telugu verbal adverbs express simultaneity, durative, continuative, iterative and non precipitative after

complete reduplication. All these aspects have been discussed in the last section with examples.

We also saw that the complete reduplication of verbal adverbs is not a very powerful expressive device because Telugu only marginally attests this kind of process to express concepts like simultaneity and non precipitative.

5.2.3 Adverbs

Manner, location, and time are the three syntáico - semantic features expressed when adverbs are completely reduplicated.

An adverb can also be completely reduplicated to denote lesser degree of intensity than the intensity denoted by the original single adverb.

erraga: 'red' erraerraga: 'reddish'

uppaga: 'salty' uppa uppaga: 'saltish'

callaga: 'wet, cold' callacallaga: 'damp'

Here the case of less intensity can be viewed as a characteristic or quality spread over a larger area (giving rise to lightness in the case of colours etc.)

5.2.4 Adjectives

Complete reduplication of adjectives is again a very common expressive device which intensify the meaning denoted by corresponding single adjectives.

we:di we:di atlu

hot hot pancakes

'very hot pancakes'

Apart from this, adjectives expressing size, colour, and quality are also completely reduplicated.

5.2.5 Quantifiers

Numerals and words denoting fractions can be completely reduplicated to give a meaning of distribution.

ne:nu wa:llaki okati okati icce:nu

I them to one one gave

'I gave them one each'

ma:ku rendu rendu pallu ka:va:li

us to two two fruits want

'we want two fruits each'

me:m sagam sa^agm ti:skunṭa:m

we half half take shall

'we shall take half each'

Thus nearly all the grammatical categories are reduplicated to express various aspects which may be called as their 'semantic correlates'.

6.0 An overview of expressives

Ideophones, echo words, compound words and completely reduplicated words are four different linguistic structures which certainly share a commonness among them. The replacement of these expressives by any other choice of words or phrases may not present a similar picture expressed by these structures. They seem to share a uniqueness in their structure as well as in the meaning they express. They are not necessarily having distinct morpho-syntactic properties than the other lexical items in the language. Most of these expressives behave like normal grammatical categories. As seen in this study except a few instances of onomatopoeics, all other expressives operate as symbols of certain meaning and connotations existing in the varied ethno-cultured groups.

Surprisingly, grammarians seem to have ignored these structures for a long time. They certainly form a good part of the native speaker's competence and serve different purposes to him. They are sometimes extremely detailed and idiosyncratic deciding a situation perceived as a whole, as an independent clause would. On the other hand, the same expressive can be used to describe a variety of situations which at first glance seem to be quite different but share a common core which

could ^{be} defined as a cluster of elementary sensations (as seen in some ideophones). Again having a closer look at the four different kinds of expressives, ideophones seem to be more expressive. The other three kinds echo words, compound words and completely reduplicated words are expressive mainly because of the unique structure they have. They are either combination of two different words or same words and behave like single structured categories. The skillful combination of words with similar meaning and the use of reduplication give colour and force to what is said and respond to an interest in overtones above and beyond lexical meaning in the strict sense. All expressives are associated with style of utterance. Being an essential ingredient of literary ornamentation, they are by no means confined to literature or even to the self-conscious embellishment of speech. They are an indispensable feature of normal discourse. Even on the most ordinary levels of communication expressives are used without difficulty. In all situations these expressives are much appreciated not only by Telegu speakers, but speakers and writers in most south east Asian languages, since they are a widely used means of diversifying lexical meaning. It is not too much to say that they are an essential feature of effective speech and mark of good literary style. Neither the languages nor the literatures of south east Asian can be fully appreciated without knowledge of their patterns and impact.

6.1 Further avenues of research:

For the first time ideophones, echo words, compound words and completely reduplicated words ^{are} being clubbed under a single broad term 'expressives'. Though these expressives have been ignored by the grammarians till now, they have evoked interest to many linguists recently. This is proved by the amount of literature published on expressives for the past few years. There are many questions which are still left unanswered ^{we} regarding these expressives.

As the rich possibilities of linguistic symbolism have not yet been investigated in detail, there are many problems with which we are confronted with. Since most expressives do not describe noises, the other forms of symbolism other than the acoustic symbolism needs much attention. What are the articulatory sensations of which we are aware? Which among these are selected to establish analogies with other sensations expressed by Ideophones. The size of the phonological units to be considered and the basic elements of symbolism and meaning in ideophones again need to be investigated. Another interesting question is to base symbolism on phonology or an lexicon?

Regarding echo words, whether the morphemes and morpheme combinations can or cannot take echoes remain to be investigated. The historic value of echo-formations in examining a variety of Indian languages would also be an

interesting study. One would expect different deeper and more general properties of different Indian languages to tie in differently with overt echo-form grammar.

An areal study of these structures in Dravidian, Indo-Aryan languages, would throw more light on areal linguistics in future.

APPENDIX - A

The following is a list of reduplicated and non-reduplicated ideophones. Most of these ideophones are also attested in Bhaskararao (1977, p. 38-50). The forms which are marked * are taken from his work. The meanings of ideophones are as given in Bhaskararao (1977).

Completely reduplicated ideophones

kata kata chewing of hard things; to be in extreme difficulties

kana kana glowing of embers (collocated with mandu 'to burn')

kara kara noise made by crisp things when they are chewed or squeezed or rubbed; feeling of having dust or other particles in the eye; feeling hungry (collocated with kaḍupulo : 'in the stomach').

kalakala noise of laughing and merriment of children; chirping sound of birds in a large group; to appear happy and lustrous as a house, village, or the face of a person.

*kaḷa kaḷa to be shiny, full of lustre and merriment like a face, a house or a village during a festival etc.

*kasa kasa sound of chewing, pressing or pounding an unripe berry etc.

kica kica twitter like birds and monkeys

*kiṭa kiṭa be crowded like a bus, house, temple. Either the words denoting the place or the people can be used as the subject.

*kira kira to fold up or get twisted in pain or extreme hunger.

kila kila sound of birds chirping, children or women laughing.

*kutakuta noise of water, milk boiling (but not oils boiling).

*kora kora. look angrily.

*gajagaja. shake in fear or shake due to cold, fever.

gaṭa gaṭa. drink a liquid fast ; recite something very fast without faltering.

gaḍa gaḍa. shake in fear or due to cold, fever; drink a liquid very fast; recite something very fast without faltering.

gaṇa gaṇa ringing of a large bell or a resonant metallic object (N) gabhi ; quickly; in a quick movement.

gara gara. noise of starched clothes or silk clothes when they are rubbed in walking etc. feeling of a dust particle in the eye.

gala gala. sound of water flowing in a river, rivulet : sound of coins, pebbles in a container or when they are poured out of a container. Sound of seeds in dry pods; sound of laughing merrily.

*gija gija. twitch or beat limbs in pain

*gira gira. rotate continuously or coil up, feeling dizzy.

*gila gila. rattling of seeds in a pod, pebbles or coins in a container; to twitch or beat limbs intensely in pain; to live with great difficulty

*guṭa guṭa. swallowing a liquid noisily

guḍa guḍa. noise of water in a pot or liquids in stomach

*guba guba. spreading of fragrance; feeling of sultriness

*guna guna. walk slowly and heavily like a fat person, or an elephant

gura gura. noise or feeling produced by phlegm in the throat or lungs(N)

*guru guru. noise or feeling produced by phlegm in the throat or lungs

*gula gula. feeling of intense itching; noise of worms, maggots moving in or coming out from a rotting substance

*gusa gusa. talk in whispers

gona gona. noise of talking in a rumbling way, noise of a group.

*gora gora. dragging especially animate beings against their will
though they may be using their limbs during the movement

g(h)ama g(h)ama. be fragrant, smell nicely like food (N)

*ghuma ghuma. same as gama gama

cara cara. walk or move fast like a snake with rustling noise, or
a person (not a vehicle) cut quickly with a knife, go angrily

cik cik. ticking of a wrist watch or a time-piece

*cita cita, feeling of muddiness or wetness while walking on a
muddy or wet surface

*cima cima. itchy feeling due to exposure in the sun in winter; to
feel angry

*cira cira. feeling angry. collocated with a noun denoting a
person or a persons face.

*civa civa. same as cima cima

*cura cura. burn as a part of the body; look angrily

c(h)uk c(h)uk. puffing of a train engine

jara jara, rustling movement of a snake; rolling down fast

*jala jala. water or small objects like fruits, water drops, tears-
flowing or falling down

jiga jiga. shining of metallic objects, etc. This shining is lesser
than that denoted by dhaga dhaga.

*j(h)uk j(h)uk. same as cuk cuk

ṭaka ṭaka noise of a stick drawn over a fence; noise of typing or
such activity; noise produced by continuous but small tappings
deliver a speech fast and clear.

ṭapa ṭapa. noise of drops of rain or a liquid or small fruits etc.
falling; beating of wings by a bird; giving slaps ; beating of ears
by a dog. Continuous blowing of small fire crackers

*ṭam ṭam. sound produced when a small drum (a native musical
instrument) is beaten

ṭik ṭik. sound of a wrist watch or a time - piece

*ṭuk ṭuk. sound of a small non resonant object like a broken pot
being tapped

*ṭup ṭup. continuous jumping of a small insect crackling of salt in fire

ḍaba ḍaba. beating of larger drums, or hollow objects

*ḍ(h)ama ḍ(h)ama loud beating of drums, continuous blasting of fire
crackers or bombs

taka taka. dancing or jumping around

*tapa tapa. falling of small and soft non-sonorous things; children's
foot falls

taḷa taḷa shine like metallic objects or well polished things like
shoes

tava tava. not to be firm but loose like body; food to be overcooked
and becoming pasty

*taha taha. longing for something or somebody; waiting anxiously

*tu : tu noise of a kind of wind instrument

ḍaḍa ḍaḍa. palpitate fast like heart or pulse; go fast with loud
noise like a train

ḍaba ḍaba. same as bada bada

d(h)aga d(h)aga. shining intensely (more than jiga jiga)

*d(h)ana d(h)ana. repeated blastings or blows ; thundering

*dhuma dhuma. to be very angry; sun to be very hot

*naka naka. feeling of hunger

*nava nava. to be radiant as a youthful person; to be fresh like vegetables

*niga niga. to shine as a smooth (and/or polished) surface like a face, bald head, shoe (N)

nura nura. feeling produced when chewing a crisp but delicate eatable

*nusa nusa. feeling of itching

paka paka. laugh loudly

*paṭa paṭa. sound of chewing noisily or rubbing teeth in anger; bursting of small seeds, nuts in fire

*para para. sound of chewing noisily ; tearing of clothes or paper; cutting by to and fro motion of a knife or a saw

pica pica. sound made while walking in mud, or while mixing clay or paste

*piṭa piṭa to be very tight like a gunny bag due to over stuffing; or a garment to be very tight

*pita pita. not to be firm like muscles, overripe fruits, overcooked rice; feeling of walking in mud

*pisa pisa sound produced when kneading dough

pi pi. sound of a wind instrument like Nadhaswaram

*pura pura. to come without any purpose or uninitedly

*peḷa peḷa. sound of a large thing breaking like a large branch of a tree; sound of thunder

* polo : polo: ; sound of shouting by a large group of people

bada bada. sound of talking noisily; rain falling heavily

*bada bada. sound of beating or pounding heavily with a soft thing; rain falling heavily

bara bara. sound of dragging something noisily

*ba:ba: noise of a big wind instrument; crying loudly

*bira bira. to come quickly

*bila bila. come with noise in large numbers like rats, birds, children or people

buda buda. sound of a liquid leaking in larger quantities; flowing of rheum from the nostrils

*bura bura. swell like fermented dough; flowing of rheum from nostrils

busa busa. swelling on the body; sound made by milk overflowing while being boiled; sound of effervescence

beka beka. noise made by a frog

boṭa boṭa. flow down like a liquid from a whole, especially blood from a wound tears from eyes

boda boda. sound of water falling down in large quantities (also rain falling heavily)

*bola bola sound of water flowing in large quantities from a broken pot

b(h)aga b(h)aga. burning intensely; feeling of very hot food stuff on the tongue

*b(h)uga b(h)uga. smoke to come out in large quantities, burn intensely

*mala mala. to be roasted or overheated; suffer from extreme hunger

mila mila shine like fish or polished objects especially metallic ones. ; twinkle like stars

*misa misa. shine like the body of a person; shine because of youth and radiance; shine like fish

*riva riva. sound produced by a thin cane moved in the air

*rusa rusa. look or behave angrily

*ruva ruva. behave angrily

*repa repa. sound made by fluttering of a flag, end of a garment, leaves, eyelids, wings etc. to feel extreme pain

*laba laba. to cry along with beating ones head with his hands

labo : labo : . same as labo : dibo : to lament

*ling(u) ling(u). denotes loneliness of a person as the only son of the parents etc.

loṭa loṭa. leaking from a pot

loḍa loḍa. to be loose like a garment; sound produced bya kernel in a dry coconut fruit

*vala vala. weak and cry loudly

vika vika. laugh loudly

*vira vira. the state of boiled rice which is properly boiled

*vila vila. to beat ones limbs in extreme pain

*visa visa. to go away angrily

*veka veka. same as vika vika

*sala sala. sound of water boiling

*kaha kaha. sound of laughing very loudly

caka caka. to work or do fast efficiently

*pi:cu pi:cu. feeling of fear in the mind

Partially reduplicated ideophones

*ka]a pe]a. boiling thoroughly producing such a sound. Collocated with marugu 'to boil', uduku 'to be cooked'

*kasa pisa. sound of kneading dough thoroughly or pounding succulent things

ci]a pa]a. explode like salt in fire, small fire crackers; feel prickling sensation due to prickly heat or hot sun in winter, or sultriness

*cita pita. same as cita cita muddiness or wetness

*cira mara. feeling angry. collocated with a noun denoting a person or a persons face.

*dab dub. falling of soft but heavy things like bodies: falling of blows on a body

*dab(h)i : dub(h)i : sound of heavy fist fighting

labo : dibo : . to lament

Non-reduplicated Ideophones

amba: 'sound of a cow or its calf crying

*a:vuru feeling of extreme hunger. Used with reference to a person who is feeling hunger and also with belly as the subject(kadupu (lo) a:vurumantu:ndi:kadupu 'bell')

ussu. sighing

*ussuru : being vexed

uṣ. asking for silence

uf. blowing wind with mouth

un. used in saying 'yes' collocated with the verb kottu 'to beat'

kaṭuk. biting ; cutting with a pliers; say an unpleasant thing

kar. creaky noise of rusty door or hinges

*karuk. feel offended

*kas. hiss like a snake, rise up in anger like a person, collocated with le:cu 'to rise' to pierce like an arrow, thorn, knife

*kasuk. biting a semi-soft thing like a cigar

*kāỹ. cry of a small pup; crying at a high pitch especially by children.

*ka:ndru. sound of clearing throat followed by spitting.

kiṭuk. sound of snapping of a tiny thing

*kisuk, laugh very briefly

ki:cu. shrieking, shrilly noise produced by a mouse, bat, piglings,
and some insects.

kev. cry loudly in high pitch like a child or a woman especially
when frightened.

*khaṇil. cough very loudly

*khane : 1. cough very loudly; speak loudly and clearly

*khangu. ringing of a big bell or a resonant metallic object; talk
in a booming voice

*gabhi : quickly; in a quick movement

gāỹ. buzzing of a mosquito, bee, fly

ga:ndru. roaring of a lion, tiger

gir. rotate, coil up, feeling dizzy

gi : whine like a siren, buzz like a mosquito or a fly. Collocated
with pettu 'to keep'

gutuk. swallowing in one movement

gubuk. in a quick movement say something unwantedly

*gubhi : jump down heavily; blow with fists heavily

*gub(h)e:1. heart giving a loud pulse when frightened

gũy. buzzing of a mosquito, fly

*go:lu, cry loudly

catuk. act quickly, in a fast movement

gol. talking or crying loudly; many people shouting or crying
at the same time.

g(h)al . sound of tingling bells, coins in large quantities.

g(h)um. smell fragrantly like good food, incense, flowers

cat. same as catuk

cap. move quickly

car go fast

*cas, rise angrily like a snake, a person

ciṭuk a very tiny and brief sound like that made by an insect jumping

*cir. blowing of noise; tearing of a sheet of paper, cloth; to
become angry

*civa:l. get up in anger or surprise

*civuk. feel bad (at once in mind) when insulted by somebody
collocated with manassu 'mind'

cus. leak out as air from a tube etc. with hissing noise; make such
a hissing noise. The noise can be continuous

*cusuk - to come out as the stone or juice from a fruit etc.

*ceng. jump in a quick and fast movement like a deer, calf, or
a child.

c(h)ata:1. move in a single but quick movement

jar - slide down

*jay. going very fast like a person or a vehicle; rotate fast as a wheel

*jige:1. intense shining for a momentary period. Also can be collocated with the word kallu 'eyes'

*jur, drink a viscous or semi-solid substance producing noise

jiv. feeling of a sharp blow

juv. make sound like a thin cane when waved in air with force or a small object thrown with force

*jo: . expression used while putting babies to sleep jo:la 'lullaby'
collocated with kottu to stroke, as in jo : kottu to put a baby to sleep while saying jo:

*j(h)al. feeling of horripilation, shock - collocated with the nouns gunde 'heart', ollu 'body'. Also used to signifying the state of rice which is cooked so well that the grains don't get attached to each other; small objects, drops etc. falling.

*j(h)am. fly or run away or flow with great speed; to be blown away by wind with great speed.

*j(h)um. noise of bees, flies, mosquitoes flying especially in larger numbers; go fast like a vehicle, bird, or a person; rotate as a wheel with whining; feeling numbness in limbs; feeling in the body or head after driving or travelling very fast: feeling giddy. Also collocated with the verb ettu to lift.

tang. noise of a large bell or a resonant object.

*tak . sound of a non resonant object being tapped

*ṭap. non-sonorous sound of a small object falling on a hard surface; breaking or snapping of a slender twig or thread; bursting of a balloon or a small fire cracker

ṭapuk. same as tap; give a slap; crack like a glass object

tar run away fast with fear

*ṭ(h)a:r, die violently like when shot down; run in great haste because of terror

ṭing. sound of a small bell or a small resonant object - both the frequency of beatings and the volume are low

ṭup. jump up like a small insect; blow like a nut or a seed when put in fire or fried; spring up like a coiled thing

ṭupuk. break like a twing, thread, stick; jump up like a small insect; reveal a secret inadvertently

*ṭur. run away or fly away like a small bird like sparrow; blow nose noi sily.

ṭus. same as tus

ṭusuk, same as tusuk

ṭring. sound of a small bell ringing - the beatings should be of high frequency but the volume low e.g., telephone bell, electric calling bell, cycle bell

ḡar. blowing of nose loudly

ḡubuk. sound of a thing falling in water and sinking; sound of an object of medium weight falling.

*ḡur. run away fast

ḡol. noise of hollow and non-resonant object like a cracked pot

d(h)am. loud blasting of a firecracker or a bomb

tata:l. come or go in a quick movement; open like a door suddenly

*taṭuk. come or go in a quick movement.

*taluk. shine intensely for a brief period like a lightning

*tay. dance; jump for mischief like children.

tup. spit; jump up like an insect or fish

*tupuk. spit; jump up like an insect or fish; fall like a drop of a liquid or droppings

tur. same as tur

tus. sound of a gas or air escaping with a hissing noise; passing wind with such a hissing noise; any work getting spoiled abortively

*tusuk, say something inadvertently or unexpectedly; passing wind, juice coming out of fruit when it is pressed, tooth paste coming out of a tube when pressed etc.

*tes. to become pale in the face

dad(h)a:l. close or open a door quickly with a loud thud; blow very loudly like a fire cracker or a bomb

dab(h)a:l. fall or jump suddenly with a loud thud like a person or a heavy bag; blow with a fist especially on the back of a person

dab(h)i. same as dab(h)a;l but could also be used for repetition of falling by reduplicating as dab(h)idab(h)i :

paṭak sound of biting; breaking of a thread, a twig, or a slender stick

par sound of tearing clothes or paper

pisuk. to collapse like a tube of tooth paste or or an overripe fruit when squeezed.

*put. blow like a balloon; snap like a thread

*putuk. sound of a thread or a slender stick breaking; tell something unexpectedly

pur. sound of an old cloth being torn; sound of loose motions

pus. sound of air leaking with a hissing noise; a work to be spoiled abortively

*pusuk. to squeeze a fruit like a mango, or a ball; say something unexpectedly

*pũy. sound of passing wind with a high pitch but low volume

p(h)ak. sound of a laughter

p(haṭ(h)a:l. sound of a sudden and loud burst; sound of a large branch of a tree snapping

*p(h)e]. sound of large thing like a large branch of a tree breaking in one movement

bar. sound of dragging something noisily; blowing nose noisily; passing wind with loud noise. The duration of the noise denoted by bar is shorter than that of bara bara.

*ba:vuru. cry loudly while weeping

bituk. to feel frightened. when reduplicated it means to live in constant fear.

*buduk. sound made when a smaller object falls in water.

* bui buzzing of mosquito

* boi barking or whining of a dog

b(h)av sound of the barking of dog

miy(y)a sound of the mewling of a cat

minuk twinkle like a star or a lamp at a lough distance.

me(i) sound of the cry of a goat

* ringu feeling in the ears when hit hard on them or due to
dizziness.

* latuk some thing coming on the way as an obstruction; food to be
obstructed in the food pipe, to be caught suddenly



A P P E N D I X - B

The following is a list of compound words in Telugu divided into three types: synonyms, polymers and antonyms. Compounds listed in Bhaskararao (1977) are marked * and Mahadeva Sastri (1954) marked # .

SYNONYMS:

- # irugu: porugu: (neighbourhood-neighbourhood) : neighbours in general.
- * uttaram pattaram (letter-letter): letters in general.
- # kalla bolli (lie-lie) : utter lies.
- # kaḷa: ka:nti: (lustre-light) general lustre showing well being of a person or a living place.
- * kulam go:tram (caste-subcaste) details of the caste, lineage etc.
- * ginni: munta: (metal pot-small metal pot) : metal utensils in general
- * cadi: cappudu: (small noise-noise) noise in general.
- # cinna:ri ponna:ri (pleasant-pleasant) pleasant in general.
- * cembu: munta: (a kind of small metal vessel-another kind of small metal vessel): utensils in general.
- # ji:taṁ battem (salary-wages) salaries or wages in general.
- * taṭṭa: butṭa: (a kind of basket-another kind of basket) baskets or luggage in general.
- # taḷuku: beḷuku: (shining-shining) shining in general.

- * ti:ru: tennu: (method-method) : ways or methods in general.
- # da:ri: tennu: (way-way) a way or a method.
- # dummu: dhu:li: (dust-dust) dust in general.
- # panduga: pabbam (festival-festival): festivals in general.
- * batta: pa:ta: (cloth-cloth) a cloth in general.
- * mi:nam me:ṣam (a zodiac sign-another zodiac sign) astrological calculation
- * salupu: ba:dha: (pain-pain) pain in general.
- # siri: sampada: (wealth-wealth) riches.

POLYMERS:

- # adupu: a:jna: (control-order): full control.
- * a:ku: cekka: (betelleaf-areca nut): pan.
- # a:ṭa: pa:ṭa: (playing-singing) playing and general merriment or enjoyment.
- * a:lu: cu:lu: (wife-pregnancy): marital life.
- * a:lana: pa:lana: (petting-protecting): nurturing.
- * allari cillari (meschief-common or unimportant things): useless.
- # antu: pontu: (end-nearness): whereabouts.
- * antu: engili (impurity-a thing touched by mouth or saliva): general impurities.
- * adugu: madugu: (bottom-pond) depth.
- * iṅṅa: vaṅṅa: (in the house-in th body): in the family altogether.
- # illu: va:kili: (house-yard): house etc.
- # i:ḍu: jo:ḍu: (age-match): correct matching of people of the same age.

- * uppu: pappu: (salt-pulses) groceries in general.
- * urukulu: parugulu: (jumping-running): general haste in movement.
- * uluku: paluku: (fear-talking): making a sound in general.
- # u:ru: pe:ru: (village-name): general address.
- * u:ru: va:da: (village-street): all over the village.
- * kattu: bottu: (mode of wearing clothes-spot of vermilion put on the forehead): general appearance.
- * kaḍupu: ka:lu: (stomach-leg): to get satisfied or satiated by food.
- * kannu: ka:lu: (eye-leg): limbs in general.
- * karra: kampa: (stick-dried bush): dry broken sticks etc.
- * ka:gitaṁ kara:mattu (paper-agreement paper) paper and writing gear.
- * kullu: kutantram (badness-evil thinking): generally bad mentality.
- # ku:ḍu: guḍḍa: (food-cloth) food and cloth necessary for living.
- * ku:ra: na:ra: (vegetable-fibres): vegetables in general.
- # ku:li: na:li: (work for wages-deceitful work): manual work in general.
- * konda: ko:na: (hill-forest) wild and hilly area.
- # kompā: go:ḍu: (house-wall) a living place.
- * gaddi: ga:dara: (grass-weeds) weeds in general.
- * guḍi: go:puram (temple-peak of a temple) temples in general.
- * godḍu: go:da: (cattle-ox) cattle in general.
- * caduvu: sandhya: (studies-an oblation offered to sun god by a Hindu three times a day) education in general.

- * ci:ku: cinta: (sorrow-worry) worries in general.
- * ci:mu: netturu: (pus-blood) used in the sense of having shame.
- * ci:ra: na:ra: (saree-fibre) sarees and other women's apparel.
- # cettu: ce:ma: (tree-a vegetable) vegetation in general.
- # cetta: ceda:ram (rubbish-pieces of grass) rubbish in general.
- # ceppu: ce:ta: (telling-doing) general control.
- * cutta:lu: pakka:lu: (relatives-friends) relatives in general.
- * janu: gonku: (hesitation-fear) hesitation or fear in general.
- * dokku: do:lu: (empty tin-drum) tins and the like.
- # taggu: moggu: (lessening-tilting) being more or less.
- # tin̄di: tippa: (food-wandering) food and nourishment.
- * ta:du: pe:du: (rope-wood:splinter) to finalise a matter once for all.
- # telivi: te:ta: (intelligence-clarity) intelligence in general.
- # to:du: ni:da: (companionship-shade) to live in a harmonious company.
- # daya: da:kṣinyam (pitty-compassion) charities in general.
- # da:nam dharmam (charity-duty) charities in general.
- * di:pam dhu:pam (lamp-incense) Hindu worship of a god.
- * dhu:li: du:saram (dust-dust colour) dust and grime in general.
- # niyamam nistha: (regularity-religious vow) observing the religious duties etc.
- * ni:ti: ni:ja:yati: (moral-truthfulness) observing general morals.
- # pani: pa:ta: (work-song) works in general.
- # pa:di: paṇṭa: (milk-harvest) farming in general.

- # pilla: pa:pa: (child-infant) children in general.
- # petti: be:da: (box-bed) luggage in general.
- * purudu: punyam (delivery-virtue) activities related to delivering etc.
- # pu:ja: punaska:ram (worship-a religious act) religious duties in general.
- * baruva: ba:dhyata: (weight-responsibility) responsibility in general.
- * ba:dara: bandi: (botheration-compulsion or restriction) entanglements in general.
- * buggi: bu:dida: (dust-ash) ashes and dust in general.
- # bhayam bhakti: (fear-respect) respect in general.
- # matiti: masa:nam (earth-cremation ground) completely useless.
- * ma:di: a:ca:ram (religious purity-religious habits) religious habits of purity in general.
- * ma:di: ta:di: (religious purity-wetness) religious habits of purity in general.
- * nanci: marya:da: (goodness-respect) respectful behaviour.
- * mandu: ma:ku: (medicine-tree) medicine in general.
- # ma:ta: manti: (a word-thought) talking or communicating.
- # ma:ya: marmam (deceit-secret) secret nature in general.
- * mukku: moham (nose-face) acquaintance with a person.
- # mu:ta: muli: (bundle-packet or bundle of money) boxes and other luggages in general.
- * mokka: mo:du: (plant-tree) vegetation in general.
- * ranku: bonku: (adultery-falsehood) falsehood or deceit.
- # ra:ta: ko:ta: (writing-cutting) writing and recording.

- * ru:pu: ma:pu: (appearance-dirt) general appearance.
- * va:ta: va:ru: (cooking-filtering the water from cooked rice, vegetables etc.) preparation of food in general.
- * va:na: varada: (rain-flood) natural calamities in general.
- * va:ram variyam (a day of the week-aparticular period of a day which is considered inauspicious) consulting the goodness or badness of the day etc.
- # samayam sandarbham (time-context) proper time and context.
- # sandu: gondu: (lane-corner) interior lanes and corners.
- * siggu: eggu: (shame-harm) shame in general.
- * siggu: lajja (shame-shyness) shame in general.

ANTONYMS:

- suka dukkhalu: (happiness-sufferings) ups and downs of life.
- akka cellellu (elder sister-younger sister) sisters.
- talli tandrulu (mother-father) parents.
- anne tammulu (elder brother-younger brother) brothers.
- vacci po: (come-go) keep coming frequently.
- ratri pogalu: (night-day) whole day or continuously
- ekkuva takkuva (more-less) approximately.
- * de:vudu: deyyan (god-spirit) a god or a supernatural being.

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