REDUPLICATION OF VERBAL FORMS IN BENGALI[*]

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The study examines the reduplication of non-finite verbal forms (the imperfective participle, perfective participle), verbal roots and finite verbal forms in Bengali. It points out various constraints which apply to the reduplication and classifies types of reduplication of verbal forms. Alongside total reduplication (pure and superadded) and partial reduplication, a definition is also provided for medial reduplication, which is applied in the reduplication of verbs formed by a verb which is joined to other word classes, most often substantives. The functions of particular types of verbal reduplications are also analysed.

Key words: Bengali language, reduplication of verbal forms, types of reduplication, functions of reduplication, imperfective participle, perfective participle, verbal roots, finite verbal forms, total reduplication, partial reduplication, medial reduplication

Introduction

Although Bengali is a language which uses reduplication to a great extent, only a few studies to date have given this issue systematic attention. One attempt at the classification of reduplication is a very brief study entitled "Reduplication in Bengali Language" by Sohel Rana.[1] The author divides reduplication into morphological (including onomatopoeia), lexical (including echo-formations, compounds and word reduplications, which can be complete and partial) and discontinuous (of the *zig-zag* type). In the study there is just one example of verbal reduplication which is of interest to the present work, namely

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[1] RANA, S. Reduplication in Bengali Language. In *Language in India. Strength for Today and Bright Hope for Tomorrow*, 2010, Volume 10: 11 November, pp. 88 – 95.

the reduplication of the imperfective participle *calte calte* as an illustration of complete reduplication.

A much more detailed study was undertaken by Chevkina,[2] who speaks about pair constructions and repetitions ("*povtory*"). The term repetition indicates what in other linguistic literature is known as total reduplication. Repetitions are considered as one category of pair constructions. "Pair constructions include a big group of absolute repetitions – the complete repetitions of words with the preservation of the case ending and other formal markers."[3] Chevkina identifies repetitions of the imperfective participle (its role is to indicate the continuity of the verbal action ("*dlitelnost soversheniya deystviya*")), the perfective participle (she attributes this with the meaning of continuity ("*dlitelnost/prodol- zhatelnost*"), then adjectives, adverbs and postpositions, which intensify the lexical meaning of the word (*baṛa* "big", *baṛa baṛa* "very big", *dhīre* "slow", *dhīre dhīre* "very slow", *madhye* "inside", *madhye madhye* "deep inside", "in deep"). In addition, repetition of substantives in the locative case, which has a distributive meaning (*mās* "month", *māse māse* "every month") and the repetition of the substantive in the direct case, which has the meaning of plurality (*din* "day", *din din* "days"). Even though these repetitions are mentioned by Chevkina in her introduction, she does not pay them further attention because her interest focused on pair constructions of a various type, which, however, also include what we consider as partial reduplication (echo-verbs) and one of the types of total reduplication, in particular the reduplication of verbal roots, where the first root has the connecting vowel -*ā* added to it and the second root acquires the suffix -*i*.

The identification of reduplication in the Bengali corpus and their semantic analysis was the subject of a study by T. Chakraborty and S. Bandyopadhyay.[4] As regards verbal forms, at the expression-level classification they give the example of the reduplication of the *mārāmāri* type, which they call correlative reduplication (its role is "to express a sense of exchange or barter or interchange"). At the sense-level classification, they give one example of a sense of completion: ***kheye deye** āmi śute yāba* ("After eating, I shall go to

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[2] CHEVKINA, L. M. "Parnyye konstrukcii v sovremennom bengalskom yazyke". In BYKOVA, E. M. (Ed.) *Voprosy grammatiki bengalskogo yazyka*, pp. 3 – 23.

[3] CHEVKINA, L. M. "Parnyye konstrukcii vkluchayut bolshuyu gruppu absolutnych povtorov – polnych povtoreniy slov s sochraneniyem padezhnogo okonchaniya i drugich formalnych pokazateley." In Ibid., p. 3.

[4] CHAKRABORTY, T., BANDYOPADHYAY, S. Identification of Reduplication in Bengali Corpus and their Semantic Analysis: A Rule-Based Approach. In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Multiword Expressions: from Theory to Applications (MWE 2010)*, pp. 72 – 75.

sleep") and one example of a sense of incompleteness: *kathā **balte balte** haṭhāt se cup kare gelo* ("Talking about something, suddenly he stopped").[5]

The issue of fixed-segment echo reduplication patterns of a dialect of Bengali has been examined in detail in "Similarity Avoidance in Bengali Fixed-Segment Reduplication" by Sameer ud Dowla Khan,[6] which only very marginally deals with the reduplication of verbal forms as the type of reduplication examined therein is rare in such cases. However, at the end of this study in "Appendix A: Total Reduplication Types in Bengali" (pp. 116 – 122) it is stated that "/t/he total reduplication is used in Bengali to derive constructions that refer to ongoing actions, attenuation, adjectives, distributive/plurality (of adjectives, locatives or pronominals), plural numerals, manner adverbs, frequency/temporal adverbs, intentional adverbs, reciprocal adverbs, sequences, adjectival intensification, habitual actions and habitual behaviour,"[7] and for every type he gives one example. However, verbal forms were once again of marginal interest; there is one example of TR of the imperfective participle *cilāite*, which expresses an ongoing action: *tui-ki cilāite cilāite āisos?* "Have you come yelling (all the way)?" (p. 116). There is also one example of TR of the perfective participle, which, according to the author, expresses habitual actions: *śuyā śuyā tivi dekhe* "She (regularly) watches TV lying down" (p. 119). Further on there is an example of a Bengali emphatic verb fixed-segment reduplication, i.e. reduplication of a finite verb with the final fixed segment -*i* (or -*y* post-vocalically) attached to the first member of the pair, which also receives a rising tone on the final syllable: *kinlay kinla* "He went ahead and bought it anyway" (p. 122).

References to reduplication and examples of reduplication form part of the description of Bengali offered by Bykova[8] and Thompson[9]. Reduplication is also dealt with in an uneven manner in Bengali textbooks, which usually describe it in relation to a certain grammatical phenomenon rather than dedicating a section to this issue (Alekseeva,[10] Seely,[11] Hudson,[12] Page,[13] Radice[14] and others).

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[5] Chakraborty and Bandyopadhyay, op. cit., p. 73.
[6] KHAN, Sameer ud Dowla. Similarity Avoidance in Bengali Fixed-Segment Reduplication. A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics. University of California, 2006.
[7] KHAN, Sameer ud Dowla, op. cit., p. 116.
[8] BYKOVA, E. M. *The Bengali Language.* Moscow: Nauka, 1981.
[9] THOMPSON, H.-R. *Bengali.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012.
[10] ALEKSEEVA, E. A. *Uchebnik bengalskogo yazyka.* Vols. 1 and 2. Moskva: Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1976, 1977.
[11] SEELY, C. *Intermediate Bangla.* 2nd printing. Muenchen: LINCOM EUROPA, 2011.

Not one author, with the exception of Zbavitel,[15] focuses on the reduplication of verbal forms in a detailed manner. Even Zbavitel's study was a broader description of non-finite verbal forms in Bengali, part of which involved a description of the functioning of reduplicated imperfective and perfective participles.

It is necessary to point out that in the abovementioned descriptions of Bengali, the term reduplication is often not used. For instance, Thompson mentions "doubled" verbal forms, Zbavitel uses the label "geminated", Chevkina mentions "repetitions (*povtory*)", S. K. Chatterji uses the term "duplicated verbs"[16].

References to reduplication in Bengali (illustrative examples) can be found in the works of authors who do not discuss Bengali exclusively but who rather examine reduplication cross-linguistically (e.g. Keane).[17]

The abovementioned publications and the present author's analysis of Bengali texts suggest that all word classes in Bengali are reduplicated except for particles and conjunctions. Every word class which can be reduplicated requires separate attention focusing on various issues, for instance constraints which apply when they are reduplicated. Constraints can relate to some members of a word class (e.g. personal and possessive pronouns are not reduplicated, only some numerals of a given class are reduplicated, proper nouns are not reduplicated, and so on). Constraints can for instance also relate to the form of the reduplicated word (e.g. with substantives only the nominative and locative are reduplicated) as well as their various functions.

However, the scope of this study is restricted to the reduplication of verbal forms in Bengali. Therefore, it will analyse constraints which apply to the reduplication of verbs as well as the types of verbal reduplication and their functions. The paper will be completed with a quantitative analysis of verbal reduplications.

The starting point and basis for this study is an analysis based mainly on a corpus of 45 titles (428 pages) of short stories written in the 20th century by 44 authors (R. Thākur is listed there twice).[18] The individual texts reflect the

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[12] HUDSON, D. F. *Teach Yourself Bengali.* London: The English Universities Press Ltd., 1965.

[13] PAGE, W. S. *An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali.* Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1934.

[14] RADICE, W. *Teach Yourself Bengali.* London: Hodder Headline Plc, 2003.

[15] ZBAVITEL, D. *Non-Finite Verbal forms in Bengali.* Prague: Academia, 1970.

[16] CHATTERJI, S. K. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp. 1047 – 1049.

[17] KEANE, E. Phrasal Reduplication and Dual Description. In HURCH, B., MATTES, V. (Eds.) *Studies in Reduplication.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005.

[18] The names of the short stories and their authors are in the Analysed Texts.

different styles of the different authors, which results in an uneven frequency of the use of reduplications of verbal forms and their variety. As the short stories are of different lengths, the statistical analysis primary serves just as an illustration. It can be assumed that in the case of longer texts, the authors of the briefer short stories would not only use more reduplicated verbal forms but also a wider variety of them. Other sources of analysis include the set of fairy tales by Upendrakiśor Rāycaudhurī, *Ṭunṭunir bai*,[19] which represent a different textual genre, and partially a book by Samareś Basu *Oder balte dāo*[20] of which 50 pages have been analysed. The information in the tables 1--6 only comes from the analysis of the abovementioned short stories. Separate tables compare the proportion of verbal reduplication in all reduplications and the proportion of different types of reduplication in the *Ṭunṭunir bai* fairy tales and in the book *Oder balte dāo*.

The total number of reduplications was identified manually.

A definition of reduplication

For many years, linguists have paid significant attention to definitions, types and functions of reduplication, be that in particular languages or cross-linguistically.[21] A distinction is commonly made between total (complete, full) reduplication and partial reduplication. However, in some languages such a simple classification is not sufficient and linguists who describe reduplication in them, as for instance, Alireza Khanjan and Batool Alinezhad with Persian,[22] add in more detailed classifications: e.g. in total reduplication a distinction is made between pure total reduplication and superadded total reduplication. It appears that a similar approach is necessary when describing reduplication in Bengali.

Total reduplication, partial reduplication and the reduplication, which herein is called medial reduplication, are applied to verbal forms in Bengali.

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[19] Analysed Texts: Rāycaudhurī, Upendrakiśor: Ṭunṭunir bai. Kalikātā, Abhyuday prakāś mandir, 1910.
[20] Analysed Texts: Basu, Samareś: Oder balte dāo. Kalikātā, Ānanda pābliśārs prāibheṭ limiṭed, 1973.
[21] A good overview is offered in the book "*Total Reduplication: The Areal Linguistics of a Potential Universal*" by Thomas Stolz, Cornelia Stroh and Ania Urdze. Bremen: Akademie Verlag GmbH 2011.
[22] KHANJAN, A., ALINEZHAD, B. A Morpholocal Doubling Aproach to Full Reduplication in Persian. Available at http://www.linguistits.fi/julkaist/SKY2010/ Khanjan_Alinezhad_netti.pdf.

The reduplication is considered total if the base (reduplicand)[23] and reduplicant have identical forms (*nāmte nāmte, hese hese, āsche āsche*), and this even when the reduplication is modified through the insertion of the clitic *nā* between the reduplicand and reduplicant (*nāmte nā nāmte*), or by using the vowels -*ā* and -*i*, which are added to the reduplicand and reduplicant (in this case verbal roots), respectively (*cālācāli*). These additional means are either free (the clitic *nā*: *calte nā calte*) or bound (the vowels -*ā*, -*i*: *cālācāli*). Unmodified reduplication, in accordance with Alireza Khanjan and Batool Alinezhad, is considered pure total reduplication, and modified reduplication is considered superadded total reduplication.

Partial reduplication is reduplication where there has not been a reduplication of the whole form of the reduplicand, but where there have been phonological changes in the reduplicant. In Bengali this type of reduplication is represented by so-called "echo words", where "the first consonant of the reduplicant is normally a fixed segment instead of an exact copy of the base-initial consonant".[24] Here only the reduplicand is meaningful; the reduplicant does not have its own lexical meaning and never appears on its own. This type of reduplication is rare with verbs (*khāoyā-dāoyā, naṛā-caṛā, rā̃dhā-ṭā̃dhā*).

It is worthwhile giving special attention to the naming of actions and states formed with the verbs *karā* ("to do"), *haoyā* ("to be", "to become"), *deoyā* ("to give"), *neoyā* ("to take") as well as others which are most often joined with a substantive, but also with adjective, adverb or interjection. This way of naming of actions and states is very common in Bengali where it complements small number of lexical units in the verb system.[25]

Names of actions and states formed in this way have a varied character. The particular base word with the given verb can form one lexical unit where the lexical meaning is not the sum of the lexical meanings of its components. However, it does rely on the semantics of the non-verbal component. For example, *guli karā* (bullet + to make) does not mean "to make bullet", but "to shoot". Similarly, *pākhā karā* (fan + to make) is not "to make a fan", but "to fan"; *kabar deoyā* (grave + to give) does not mean "to give a grave", but "to bury, to inter, to entomb", *uskhus karā*, which is formed from the interjection *uskhus*, expressing restlessness and fidgetiness, does not mean "to make restlessness", but rather "to become restless, to fidget", and so on.

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[23] This term is used in Stolz et al.
[24] KHAN, Sameer ud Daula, op. cit., p. 11.
[25] Bykova (1981) states on p. 75 that "the dictionary Calantika by Rajshekhor Boshu describes slightly over 800 verbs". The roots of Bengali verbs and their number are dealt with in more detail in CHATTERJI, S. K. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 873.

Even though the elements of a verb formed in this way constitute one semantic concept, the entire compound is not reduplicated, only the auxiliary verb is: e.g. *guli karte karte*, *noṭ niye niye*, and so on. This sort of reduplication can be considered to be a marginal type between total reduplication and partial reduplication. It is referred to herein as medial reduplication. It is closer to TR in that the reduplicated auxiliary verb can have a pure form (*guli karte karte*) and also a superadded form (*guli karte nā karte*) and they have the same functions. Its similarity with PR is that not all of the form of the reduplicand is reduplicated.

Constraints

Even though the reduplication of verbal forms (non-finite and finite) in Bengali is common (21,8 % of all reduplications in the analysed short stories, 51 % of all reduplications in *Ṭunṭunir bai,* 26,2% of all reduplications in *Oder balte dāo*), there are certain constraints which mainly concern the semantics of the verb, its lexical aspect and the function of the verbal form in the text. The constraints do not concern the transitiveness of verbs: intransitive verbs (*āste āste, hese hese*), transitive verbs (*khete khete, niye niye*) and transitive-intransitive verbs (*khulte khulte*) are reduplicated.[26]

As regards non-finite verbal forms, the conditional participle is not reduplicated.

There are quite a lot of constraints which apply to the imperfective participle (hereinafter ImpfPart) in the infinitive function.

The ImpfPart is not reduplicated if it has the function of the direct object in combination with verbs of sensory perception like *dekhā* "to see", *śonā* "to hear", *bhule yāoyā* "to forget", *bojhā* "to understand" and *bhāla lāgā* "to like". The ImpfPart is also not reduplicated when expressing purpose with verbs of motion: *kāj karte āsā* "to come to work" and *kāj karte yāoyā* "to go to work".

The ImpfPart is not reduplicated if it expresses a mode of action, e.g. the beginning of an action (*karte lāgā* "to start to do"), the continuation of an action (*karte thākā* "to go on doing"), or even if it has the function of the object in the object clause (*snān karte bale* "he is telling him to bathe").

The ImpfPart is not reduplicated if it is a part of a syntagm formed by the ImpfPart and a modal verb which constitutes a complex predicate (*āmi yete pāri* "I can go"*, āmi yete cāi* "I want to go", *āmāke yete hay* "I must go" and so on). In this syntagm, a verb in the ImpfPart form is the carrier of the lexical meaning; the modal verb expresses the attitude of the speaker towards the relationship between the subject and the predicate and is the carrier of the verbal

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[26] The characteristics of these verbs are discussed in BYKOVA, E. M. *The Bengali Language*, pp. 78 – 80.

grammatical categories and.[27] The verbal noun is also not reduplicated as the first element in such a syntagm (*dekhā yāy* "can be seen"). Modal verbs which do not denote any event existing in reality are also not reduplicated.

It is a different situation with compound verbs, i.e. verbs formed by the perfective participle (hereinafter PfPart) and the compound maker (hereinafter CM). The compound verb functions, similarly to a syntagm formed by the ImpfPart and a modal verb, as a semantic and grammatical whole where the lexical meaning stems from the lexical meaning of the PfPart (Zbavitel calls this the "directing element")[28] and whose second part, the CM, is the carrier of grammatical functions. A limited number of verbs can serve as a CM and the main role of CM is to modify the lexical meaning of the syntagm. For instance, it can indicate completion, direction, finality, suddenness, intensity, a change of state, unexpectedness, or a continuity of action denoted by the perfective participle. In most cases, the CM loses its lexical meaning, and similarly to the modal verb it does not denote any event. However, reduplication of CM can occur depending on its function. For instance, there is no reduplication when it expresses the suddenness of an action (*se hese uṭhla* "he laughed /suddenly/", **se hese uṭhla uṭhla*), but it can reduplicate when it expresses a continuity of action. In the texts under analysis, there was the reduplication of the CM *thākā* expressing the continuity of an action denoted by the PfPart, which, at least to a certain degree, preserves its lexical meaning; the compound verb is positioned at the end of the clause and it expresses the duration of an action (state) which is simultaneous with the action denoted in the main clause:

(1) *praphullār prasādhaner dike nispriha cokṣe cāhiyā **thākite-thākite**
    kṣaṇprabhār mane haila,...* GJ II,10
    While continuing to look half-heartedly at Praphullā's decoration,
    Kṣaṇprabhā thought ...

Zbavitel[29] presents an example with the CM *oṭhā*, which signals a change in state but loses its lexical meaning; the reduplication expresses a process, a gradual and continual changing of a given state:

(2) *sendidir sarbāṅga brã̐guli pākiyā **uṭhite uṭhite**...*
    During the time when the sores on the whole body of Sendidi were
    becoming ripe ...

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[27] For more on modal verbs in Bengali, see RÁCOVÁ, A. *Modality in Bengali. Studia Orientalia Monographica.* Vol. 2. Bratislava: Slovak Academic Press, 2011.
[28] ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., p. 77 and others.
[29] ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., p. 83.

The PfPart in a compound verb can also be used in a reduplicated form:

(3) *kintu man kebal uttare* **bhese-bhese** *beṛāy.* SA II, 78
But the mind only keeps on going north.

(4) *tāi ei nirjan biśāl rāstāṭāy ese sthir haye dẫṛāy.* **tākiye tākiye** *thāke.* NJ II,
168
So when he comes to this very wide and empty road, he stands without
moving. He keeps on looking.

As can be seen in Table 6, Bengali has certain groups of verbs which are only
(or usually) reduplicated either in the ImpfPart or in the PfPart form.[30]
Verbs denoting static states, such as *basā* "to sit", *dẫṛāna* "to stand", *śooyā*
"to lie" and *thākā* "to be, to stay", generally only have the PfPart reduplicated to
express the duration of a state which is simultaneous with an action in the main
clause.[31] By contrast, only the ImpfPart is reduplicated with the verbs of motion
āsā "to come" and *yāoyā* "to go".
There is an interesting group of verbs of sensory perception *dekhā* "to see"
and *śonā* "to hear": only the ImpfPart of *dekhā* is reduplicated in the analysed
texts, and with *śonā* the reduplication of ImpfPart prevails (at a ratio of 7:2). In
the meaning "to see" *cāhan* ("the act of looking at") is used in PfPart
reduplication (*cāhiye cāhiye*) instead of *dekhā*.
The often used verb *balā* "to speak" is reduplicated only in the form of
ImpfPart.
Certain limitations also apply to the reduplication of finite verbal forms:
neither the past habitual nor perfect forms signalising the completion of an
action are reduplicated.

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[30] Once again, our examples serve only to illustrate a particular tendency. Clearer
conclusions can only be reached upon the basis of much broader texts.
[31] This was also noted by Zbavitel, who in op. cit., p. 70 writes: "I did not, however,
found and basite basite or śuite śuite in my texts, as could be expected with verbs of
such a high frequency."

TYPES AND FUNCTIONS OF VERBAL REDUPLICATIONS

A. The reduplication of the imperfective participle

Types
1. Total reduplication
    1.1. Pure total reduplication
        R-(i)te + R-(i)te[32]
        (*nām(i)te nām(i)te*)
    1.2. Superadded total reduplication
        R-(i)te + nā + R-(i)te
        (*nām(i)te nā nām(i)te*)
2. Medial reduplication
    2.1. Pure medial reduplication
        B[33] + R-(i)te + R-(i)te
        (*guli kar(i)te kar(i)te*)
    2.2. Superadded medial reduplication
        B + R-(i)te + nā + R-(i)te
        (*guli kar(i)te nā kar(i)te*)
3. Partial reduplication
        R-(i)te + R´(i)te[34]
        (*rā̃dh(i)te ṭā̃dh(i)te*)

A formal viewpoint
The reduplicant is usually written separately from the reduplicand; some authors connect the reduplicand and reduplicant with a hyphen, even in the case of a superadded TR (*caṛte-nā-caṛte*),[35] but they are never written together.

One author usually uses the same way of writing the reduplicated ImPfPart, while other authors are not so consistent and write the reduplicated ImpfPart with a hyphen and without a hyphen, sometimes even in the same text:

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[32] R is the root of the verb; the suffix *(-i)te* contains two possibilities for the suffix of the imperfective participle: *-ite* in sādhu-bhāṣā and *-te* in calit bhāṣā; both forms of Bengali were used in the analysed short stories.
[33] B is the base word of the compound, which could be a substantive, adjective, interjection or adverb in the nominative.
[34] R´ is the modified root of the reduplicand; most often the first consonant is changed and sometimes the vowel in the first syllable is changed.
[35] Only 15 % of all of the examples of the reduplicated ImpfPart in the analysed short stories are listed with a hyphen; however, in the *Ṭuṇṭunir bai* there is a preference for recording the reduplication of the ImpfPart with a hyphen (62 %). In the *Oder balte dāo* there is no example of the reduplicated ImpfPart written with a hyphen.

(5) *pitār śabdāha* **karte karte** *śmaśāne gaṇapati pāṛār lokder mukhe śunte pele ye,...* AP I, 212

   While cremating his father's dead body at the cremation site, Ganapati could hear from people from the neighbourhood that ...

(6) *... paśupatir strī tāder ghare pān* **cibote-cibote** *svāmīr jijñāsā karchila...* AP I*, 214*

   while Paśupati's wife was chewing betel in their house, she asked the husband …

   With pure TR and superadded TR, the emphasising particle *-i* can be added to the reduplicant (*nāmte nāmtei, nāmte nā nāmtei*) which does not fundamentally change the main function of the reduplication but merely emphasises it (it adds a certain semantic nuance to it). As reduplication forms one semantic unit, the emphasising particle refers to the whole of it.

Functions

The reduplicated imperfective participle can have several functions depending on the type of reduplication. Even within one type of reduplication, different semantic nuances can be found: with TR for instance it depends on whether the reduplication is emphasised by the particle *-i*, whether it is preceded by the negative particle *nā*, or whether the sentence contains information on time.

   With TR there are three main functions of the reduplicated ImpfPart: the expression of an action happening at the same time as the action in the main clause, the expression of an action happening immediately before the action denoted in the main clause, and an adverbial function.

   It is not necessary to specifically discuss medial reduplication because in the texts this has the same function as the relevant TR (*guli karte karte* as *karte karte*; *guli karte kartei* as *karte kartei*, etc.).

   In partial reduplication the reduplicant broadens the lexical meaning of the reduplicand,[36] and the reduplication syntactically acts like an unreduplicated ImpfPart.

A1. Total reduplication

1. The expression of the simultaneity of actions

   The core and most frequent function of pure total reduplication is the expression of an action happening simultaneously with an action designated in the following clause of the compound sentence. In contrast to the simple

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[36] This is not a meaning which is specific to the reduplication of the ImpfPart; this meaning is also present in the reduplication of the PfPart and finite verbal forms, e.g. *khāoyā dāoyā* "eat and the like; eat and drink".

occurrence of the imperfective participle, which also designates an action occurring simultaneously with the action of the main clause, the double occurrence of the imperfective participle in this function signals continuity and a progression of action in addition to simultaneity; the emphasis is on the action as a process.

(7) *ekṭā māṭher bhitar diye **āste āste** buṛoke dekhte pelām.* B II*, 72*
    While I was coming through the field, I saw an old man.

(8) *bāṛir kathā **bhābte bhābte** tār bābār kathā mane paṛe nā...* AP I, 210
    While thinking about home, he does not recall his father.

Reduplicated ImpfPart is also used when it is necessary to express that an action designated by the ImpfPart and the action in the main clause were happening not only simultaneously, but also repeatedly. Repetitiveness of the event is usually expressed by an adverb, e.g. *prāy* "often":

(9) *iskule **yete yete** āmi prāy tār kathā bhābi.*
    While going to school, I often think about him.

The expression of iterativity by the reduplicated ImpfPart also mentions Alekseeva[37] and Thompson who writes: "In order to express iterative or continuative properties, the imperfective participle is sometimes doubled."[38]
    The pure TR of the ImpfPart expressing the simultaneity of two actions can be emphasised with the particle *-i*, which is added to the reduplicant.[39] Such cases are not very common and it seems that this usually concerns the TR of specific verbs. Zbavitel gives seven examples, all of which are the TR of the ImpfPart of the verb *balā*: i.e. *bal(i)te bal(i)tei*.[40]

(10) *balite balitei tā̃hār śeṣer kathāguli keman ekrakam yena bhāri haiyā uṭhila.*
    While he was saying it, his last words became somehow serious.

(11) *balite balitei Yāminī sāhas hārāy.*
    Even while saying it, Yāminī loses the courage.

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[37] ALEKSEEVA, E. A. *Uchebnik bengalskogo yazyka*. Vol. 2, p. 27.
[38] THOMPSON, H.-R., op. cit., p. 175.
[39] This particle serves as an emphasiser when connected with various word forms; "it can go almost with anything", states Thompson, op. cit., p. 117.
[40] ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., p. 58.

Similarly, in *Ṭunṭunir bai* the pure TR emphasised with the particle *-i* occurs only with the reduplication of the ImpfPart *balte balte*. Presumably in these cases one can agree with Zbavitel, who states: "Though the instances collected in our texts are not numerous enough to enable us to draw a definite conclusion, they seem to indicate that this geminated imperfective participle with -i is used in such cases when the border line between the two actions involved gets virtually lost, when the two actions follow each other in such a close succession that they actually become one."[41]

In the other texts under analysis, the TR of the ImpfPart with the particle *-i* is prevalent with the verb *hāsā* "to laugh" (*hāste hāstei*). If the main clause contains the verb *balā* "to say, to speak", the two actions are so closely connected that the TR could also be perceived as an adverb of manner. The TR would therefore not create a temporal frame for the main verb action, but, similarly to an adverb, would determine the manner the following action took place. This closeness of connection to the adverb can be seen in other examples of the TR of the ImpfPart: for instance *kā̃dte kā̃dtei*, *hā̃pāte hā̃pātei*.

(12) *praphulla **hāsite-hāsitei** balila...* GJ II, 9
    Praphulla said with laughter…

However, a Bangladeshi consultant[42] in the present study talks of the simultaneity of two actions, where the action expressed by the reduplicated ImpfPart continues (does not stop) simultaneously with other action:

(13) *praphulla **hāsite-hāsitei** balila…* GJ II, 9
    Praphulla said while laughing "…" (i.e. he continued laughing, he did not stop laughing, and said something).

According to him the function of the abovementioned reduplication is the same as in the sentence

(14) *satī **hāste hāste** balle* – BBi II, 23
    Satī said while laughing...

The subject of the action designated by the pure TR of the ImpfPart, which expresses simultaneity as well as the continuity and progress of an action, can (but does not have to) be identical to the subject of the main clause.

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[41] ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., pp. 58 – 59.
[42] Mr. Suman Sarker deserves thanks for his generous help with analysis of some of the Bengali reduplications.

Bykova[43] presents another semantic nuance in using a totally reduplicated ImPfPart, which, however, was not found in the texts under analysis. She states that: "The reduplication of the form ending in *-ite/-te* also indicates an unfinished act if the predicate is followed by a negation: *dite dite dila nā* 'and he has not given', *rātri pohāite pohāiteo pohāy nā* 'Daybreak is slow to come'."

Essentially, in these cases the TR of the ImpfPart also expresses continuity and the progress of an action.

2. The expression of immediately preceding action
The second function of the TR of the ImpfPart is the expression of an action which immediately precedes the action indicated in the main clause. In this function the superadded TR of the ImpfPart (*nāmte nā nāmte*) is used:

(15) *āmi ṭrene **caṛte-nā-caṛte** gāṛi cheṛe dile.* CP I, 100
  As soon as I got on the train, the car left.

With the superadded TR, the emphasising particle *-i* can be added to the reduplicant.
According to Page,[44] in this case the action expressed by the reduplicated ImpfPart is almost simultaneous with that of the main verb.

(16) *āmi baste nā bastei se uṭhe dā̃ṛāla.*
  I had scarcely sat down when he stood up.[45]

Zbavitel illustrates the difference in function with the following examples:[46]

(17) *ṭren thāmte āmrā nāmlum*
  When the train stopped, we descended.

(18) *ṭren thāmtei āmrā nāmlum*
  As soon as the train stopped, we descended.

(19) *ṭren thāmte nā thāmtei āmrā nāmlum.*
  The train has not fully stopped yet, when we descended.

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[43] BYKOVA, E. M., op. cit., p. 171, note 84.
[44] PAGE, W. S. An *Introduction to Colloquial Bengali*, p. 162.
[45] The example and translation is from Page, op. cit., p. 162.
[46] ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., p. 14.

To make the picture complete, these examples can be supplemented by

(20) *ṭren thāmte nā thāmte āmrā nāmlum*.
　　As soon as the train stopped, we descended.

According to Zbavitel, "The type -ite nā -ite/i/ is, from the formal point of view, the most intensified way how to express an action quite immediately preceding another. In fact, however, there is no difference in meaning between this type and a simple imperfective participle + -i."[47] However, from his translation of the preceding sentences there emerges a certain difference in meaning expressed by the phrases "as soon as" and "not fully". It seems to rather be the case that there is not a difference in meaning between *ṭren thāmtei* and *ṭren thāmte nā thāmte*, as both possibilities express "as soon as".

It appears that when interpreting functions, and particularly in translating the reduplicated ImpfPart with the clitic *nā* and particle -*i*, there are inconsistencies among the authors; this emerges from the fact that a non-native speaker is not entirely capable of perceiving the subtle nuances in meaning and particularly of translating them into another language. Problems of conveyance into another language are also faced by native speakers. Furthermore, different languages offer different ways of expressing the same semantic concept. This lack of consistency in interpreting a given expression and its translation into English can be illustrated by Thompson, who states: "A doubled imperfective participle connected by *nā* indicates events which are about to happen or parallel to another event. This structure is often best translated with *as soon as* in English. The second imperfective participle usually has an emphatic *i* following."[48] This assertion is backed up by an example:

(21) *gāṛi theke nāmte nā nāmtei tīrthasthāner paṇḍader matan oder ghire*
　　dharla mājhirā.
　　As soon as they got out of the car, the fishermen, like guides in a holy
　　place, surrounded them.

Thompson's definition only partially corresponds to the example where she translates an action indicated by a reduplicated modified participle as one which had happened just before the subsequent action, i.e. preceding it. Maybe this could be seen as nearly parallel, but not as something "which is about to happen".

Superadded total reduplication (R-(i)te + nā + R-(i)te) therefore denotes an immediately preceding action, and the emphasising particle -*i* can move this

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[47] ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., p. 56.
[48] THOMPSON, H.-R., op. cit., p. 177.

immediate precedence almost to a state of simultaneity. A similar meaning is given by the pure TR of the ImpfPart, before which there is the negative particle *nā*:

(22) *du miniṭ nā yete yete dekhi sei chele pher dulte ārambha kareche.*
     Barely two minutes have passed (two minutes have not passed yet), [and] I see that very boy once again begin to swim.[49,50]

A parallel semantic shift when using the emphasising particle -*i* can also occur with the pure TR of the ImpfPart and this from the simultaneity of two actions almost to the point of them being identical.

When expressing an immediately preceding event, the clauses in the compound sentence must have a different subject.

3. Adverbial function

As stated on p. 185, the TR of the ImpfPart of some verbs can also be understood as not creating a time frame for the action expressed by the main verb; rather an adverbial frame, i.e. a manner how the action takes place, is created. So a tendency towards adverbalisation can be noticed here. The strong tendency towards this function is primarily present in emotion verbs such as *kā̃dā* "to cry" and *hāsā* "to laugh" when joined with the verbs *balā* "to say" and *hā̃pāna* "to pant".

(23) *Praphulla **kā̃dite-kā̃dite** balila* … GJ II, 6
     Praphulla said, crying "…"

(24) *gaṇapatidā **hāste hāste** balle,...* AP I, 207
     Gaṇapatidā said with laughter "..."

However, in isolated cases there is a complete conversion of the ImpfPart into the word class of adverbs. This is the case with pure TR of the ImpfPart of the verb *dekhā* "to see", i.e. *dekhte dekhte/dekhte-dekhte*, which can completely lose its lexical meaning and usual function ("while looking") and acquire an

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[49] This example is taken from Seely, p. 199, who uses it as an illustration of the assertion that the reduplicated ImpfPart (he discusses infinitives) means "while (verb) + ing"; he translates the presented sentence as follows: "In the course of a few minutes /while two minutes are passing by/ I see that very boy once again begin to swim."
[50] There were no instances in our texts of TR of the ImpfPart with the preceding negative particle nā.

idiomatic meaning "immediately" instead.[51] This reduplication is used often in this function:

(25) *takhan bāghinī tār chānāder niye **dekhte-dekhte** nadīr opāre cale gela.* UR 104
   Then the tigress with her cubs immediately went to the other side of the river.

A2. Medial reduplication

   It is not necessary to give the functions of medial reduplication special attention because they are the same as with total reduplication and only differ in a formal sense.

(26) *nijer śārt diye **bātās khete-khete** – sāikel tā curi yābe nā to?* DJ II, 64
   While I was fanning myself with my own shirt – /I asked myself/ won't they steal my bicycle?

(27) *ḍinār ṭebile āmi chilum tār ḍān dike, **khete khete** kathā balchilum sā;ketike.* RA II, 95
   At dinner I was at the table to his right; while we were eating, we symbolically spoke.

A3. Partial reduplication

   Partial reduplication of the ImpfPart is less frequently used and has different functions to the previously mentioned reduplications. Here the reduplicant broadens the lexical meaning of the reduplicand, whereas PR syntactically appears as an unreduplicated ImpfPart. For instance, it is the first component in the syntagm with a modal verb:

(28) *tārā **rā̃dhte-ṭā̃dhte** jāne nā.* UR 37
   They do not know how to cook and the like.

(29) *Bāgh ār **naṛte-caṛte** pāre nā.* UR 98
   The tiger can no longer move and so on.

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[51] This is in contrast to the idiomatic meaning of the unreduplicated ImpfPart *dekhte* "at the glance".

B. The reduplication of the perfective participle

Types
    1. Total reduplication
        1.1. Pure total reduplication
            R-iyā/e + R-iyā/e[52]
            (*nāmiyā nāmiyā/neme neme*)
    2. Medial reduplication
        2.1. Pure medial reduplication
            B[53] + R-iyā/e + R-iyā/e
            (*guli kariyā/e kariyā/e*)
    3. Partial reduplication
            R-iyā/e + R´-iyā/e
            (*rã̄dhiyā/e ṭ̃ã̄ndhiyā/e*)

A formal viewpoint
Reduplicated forms are generally written separately (83% of all tokens in the short stories, 25% in *Ṭunṭunir bai,* all in *Oder balte dāo*) and sometimes with a hyphen. Similarly as with the ImpfPart, the preferences of the author determine the way of writing and he can also be inconsistent.

Functions

B1. Total reduplication
Whereas the unreduplicated PfPart is the most frequent non-finite verbal form in Bengali, the reduplicated PfPart is used much rarely, even rarely than the reduplicated ImpfPart.[54] The functions of the simple and reduplicated PfPart differ significantly.

1. The expression of the simultaneity of actions
The main function of the TR of the PfPart is the expression of the simultaneity of two actions. In this way it differs from the simple PfPart, which in its clause-

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[52] R is the root of the verb; similarly as with the ImpfPart, there are presented two forms of the suffix of the PfPart: the suffix -*iyā*, which has this non-verbal form in sādhu-bhāṣā, and the suffix -*e*, which the PfPart has in calit-bhāṣā.
[53] B is the base word of the compound, which can be a substantive, adjective, interjection or adverb in the nominative case.
[54] For illustration, in the *Ṭunṭunir bai* the number of examples of the reduplicated ImpfPart (total, medial and partial) is 49 (of which 8 are of the adverb *dekhte dekhte*) and the number of reduplications of the PfPart (total, medial and partial) is 11. Thus the reduplicated PfPart constitutes around one quarter of cases of the reduplicated ImpfPart. See also appendices.

linking function stands in the place of a definite verbal form and primarily expresses the action which preceded and was completed before the following action. There can be a whole chain of actions expressed in this way:

(30) *tā **śune** ĩdur jibh **keṭe** kāne hāt **diye** balle…* UR 5
     Hearing this, the mouse bit its tongue, touched its ear and said, "…"

As some authors (for instance Zbavitel[55] and Alekseeva[56]) point out, sometimes this sort of sequence is not purely temporal, but also a certain causality is involved; however, "/t/he element of causality is not particularly strong, in such sentences, and is certainly not stressed by the author".[57]

(31) *āmār baṛa bon bidhabā haiyā bāṛitei chile.*
     My eldest sister was at home, having become a widow (as she had become a widow).[58]

The clauses in the compound sentences have the same subject.[59]

When expressing the simultaneity of two actions by the TR of the PfPart, emphasis is laid on prolongation, i.e. the longer continuation of the action ("while continuing to") designated by the reduplicated PfPart, as well as on its completeness. This is also pointed out by Zbavitel, who asserts that "the geminated perfective participle is used to express an action which had been lasting for a prolonged time, but was concluded".[60] The completeness of an action is also mentioned by Alekseeva, who states that the reduplication of the PfPart indicates "a repeated or continuing action. The meaning of the completeness of an action differentiates these forms from the repeated forms of the imperfective participle".[61] However, Thompson attributes the same function to the reduplicated PfPart as to the reduplicated ImpfPart in stating that the role of the reduplicated PfPart is "to create a continuous or an iterative effect".[62]

The reduplicated PfPart can be emphasised with the particle *-i*. Such cases are not frequent:

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[55] ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., p. 66.
[56] ALEKSEEVA, E. A., op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 171.
[57] ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., p. 66.
[58] This example is taken from ZBAVITEL, D., op. cit., p. 66.
[59] THOMPSON, H.-R., op. cit., pp. 181 – 182 points to exceptions.
[60] ZBAVITEL, D. op. cit, p. 71.
[61] ALEKSEEVA, E. A., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 253.
[62] THOMPSON, H.-R., op. cit., p. 182. She states the same when discussing the ImpfPart: "In order to express iterative or continuative properties, the imperfective participle is sometimes doubled.", op. cit., p. 176.

(32) *gāye ekṭi cādar jaṛiye strīr pāśe baslen.* **Base basei** *rāt keṭe gela.* BB II, 141

He wrapped a chadar around his body and sat next to his wife. While he was continuing to sit, the night passed.

2. Adverbial function

   TR of the PfPart can express circumstances under which the action in the main clause happens. Thus, similarly to the TR of the ImpfPart, the expression of the time frame sometimes shifts to the background. As with the reduplication of the ImpfPart, this particularly applies to emotion verbs such as *hāsā* "to laugh" and *kā̃dā* "to cry". It seems that the function of the TR of the PfPart and ImpfPart is the same in this case.[63]

(33) *praphulla* **kā̃dite-kā̃dite** *balila…* GJ II, 6

Praphulla said with crying…

(34) ke yena... ekṭā ārdra andhakār gorer bhitar **kā̃diyā kā̃diyā** baliteche,... ThR 1 I, 58

As if someone ... from the depths of the damp dark grave spoke with crying ...

(35) *gaṇapatidā* **hāste hāste** *balle,...* AP I, 207
Gaṇapati said with laughter…

(36) nīlu **hāsiye hāsiye** bale, "bujhechi". RA II, 92
Nīlu said with a smile, "I understood."

(37) **hā̃phāite hā̃phāite** balite lágila. MuP I, 110
He started to speak while out of breath.

(38) Rameś **hā̃piye hā̃piye** kathā balte lāgla. AP I, 211
Rameś started to speak while out of breath.

In some cases the TR of the PfPart converts from the word class of verbs into the word class of adverbs and assumes an idiomatic meaning: *thākiyā thākiyā* "at intervals, by fits and starts".

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[63] No difference was noticed by the Bangladeshi informant for this study.

B2. Medial reduplication

The same applies with this type of reduplication of the PfPart as for the ImpfPart.

(39) *khātā-bojhāi **noṭ niye-niye** daśṭā din keṭe gela.* BB II, 138
    While I was continuing to make notes in my notebook, ten days passed.

B3. Partial reduplication

   Partial reduplication of the PfPart is not frequently used. In partial reduplication, the reduplicant broadens the lexical meaning of the reduplicand and the reduplication expresses simultaneity and the continuance of an action:

(40) *lāuṭāke **neṛe-ceṛe** dekhle buṛio nay, khābār jiniso nay*. UR 21
    As he was continuing to turn the pumpkin over and over, he saw that it was neither the old woman nor something to eat.

(41) *tumi **kheye diye** rātriṭā kāṭiye dio.* SJ I, 50
    Spend the night by eating and so on.

(42) *torā yena bāṛi thākis, kothāo **cale-ṭale** yāsne*. UR 19
    Stay at home; don't go out wandering anywhere.

C. The reduplication of verbal roots

   In the texts under analysis, there are not many instances of reduplicated verbal roots although a number of them have been found in dictionaries.[64] We speak about a *chuṛāchuṛi* type of reduplication. The first part of this reduplication could eventually be regarded as the verbal noun *chuṛā*, which could be partially reduplicated as *chuṛi*. This would represent a phonological change of -*ā* to -*i*. However, considering that reduplication with the same modifiers (-*ā*, -*i*) occurs with other word classes (e.g. substantive: *keśākeśi* "the act of pulling each other by the hair in a scuffle" < *keś* "hair") with the same function, which is to express a reciprocal action, the verbal root, not verbal noun, is considered the basis of this verbal reduplication in this study.

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[64] BISWAS, S. *Samsad Bengali-English dictionary*. 3rd ed. Calcutta: Sahitya samsad, 2000.

Types
   1. Total reduplication
     1.1. Superadded total reduplication
        R +ā + R + i
        (*chuṛāchuṛi*)
   2. Partial reduplication
        R + ā + R´[65] + i
        (*cecā̃cāmeci*)

A formal viewpoint
The reduplicand and reduplicant are usually written together, only exceptionally with a hyphen (*cāoyā-cāoyi*, *khāoyā-khāoyi*).

Functions
1. The main function of total and partial reduplication is the expression of reciprocal (mutual) continuous or repeated actions:
cāoyā-cāoyi "the act of looking at one another; the act of coming to an agreement by looking at one another" (*cāoyā* "to look at")
chuṛāchuṛi "the act of throwing at one another; the act of throwing continuously" (*chuṛā* "to throw")
ṭipāṭipi "mutual pressing or pinching; mutual discussion conducted furtively" (*ṭipā* "to press")
dekhādekhi "mutual seeing or meeting or visits" (*dekhā* "to see")
jāpaṭājāpaṭi "mutual hugging or embracing or clasping"
likhālikhi "the act of writing (repeatedly) to one another" (*likhā* "to write")
ḍhālāḍhāli "the act of transferring a liquid repeatedly from one container to another by pouring it; the act of pouring and re-pouring a liquid into a container" (*ḍhālā* "to pour")
2. However, the total reduplication of verbal roots need not express reciprocal action; it expresses only iterativeness:
cālācāli "the act of moving or circulating about" (*cālā* "to move")
cāoyā-cāoyi "the act of wanting or asking for or desiring repeatedly"
ḍākāḍāki "repeated calling, especially loudly" (*ḍākā* "to call")

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[65] In the root of the reduplicant there is a change not only in the first consonant but also in the following vowel, which loses its nasality. This loss of nasality can be the only indication of partial reduplication of this type (*bhã̄rābhāṛi*).

3. Often the same reduplication can have a number of semantic nuances depending on the context.
   3.1. It can express iterativeness either with or without reciprocity:
      cāṭācāṭi "repeated or continuous licking"; "the act of licking each other"
   3.2. It can express either frequent action or mutuality:
      uṭhāuṭhi "the act of getting up frequently"; "(among schoolboys in a classroom) mutual change of seats or class promotion", and so on.
4. Sometimes lexicalisation occurs; reduplication loses its verbal function and becomes a substantive:
   caṭācaṭi – n. rancour; bad blood; quarrel; severance owing to a quarrel (*caṭā* "to get angry")
   bāṛābāṛi "excess; immoderation; intemperance; overmuchness; aggravation" (*bāṛā* "to grow up, to develop, to increase ...")

Partial reduplication

When partial reduplication occurs, there is not only a change in the initial consonant of the reduplicand but if there is a nasal vowel after it, this vowel loses its nasal quality in the reduplicant.
It has the same functions as total reduplication:

bhā̃ṛābhāṛi "repeated or mutual deception" (*bhā̃ṛāna* "to deceive")

cẽcāmeci "confused loud noise, hullabaloo" (*cẽcāna* "to shout, to scream, to yell")

Sometimes there is a change in the first vowel in the first syllable:
chõyāchũyi "mutual touch or contact" (*chõyā* "to touch")

D. The reduplication of finite verbal forms

When there is a double ocurrance of identical finite verbal forms, it is important to discern between reduplication and repetition. Usually there is no formal indicator for their differentiation. The identical finite verbal forms are separated by a comma neither in reduplication nor in repetition. However, in cases of repetition, the conjunction "and" is sometimes (very rarely) put between the repeated words:

(43) *marmar kare baṛa baṛa gācher ḍālgulo bheṅge paṛche – seisaṅge kramāgata guṛ guṛ kare bāj **ḍākche ār ḍākche**. RH I, 198
  The branches of the big trees break with a rustle; at the same time there is the repeated rumbling of thunder (lit. thunder rumbles and rumbles).

The conceptual conjunction "and" can sometimes serve as an aid even when it does not appear in the text. When it logically cannot be inserted, it is a case of reduplication, as for instance in the sentence:

(44) *bās **chāṛe chāṛe.***
    *The bus is leaving and leaving.

   Context plays a significant role in discerning the difference between reduplication and repetition. In repetition the double occurrence of the identical finite verbal form can signal continuous action, as can be seen in the example (43), which is in contrast to reduplication, as can be seen in examples (45) – (49).

A formal viewpoint
Reduplicated finite verbal forms are generally written separately.

Functions
   The reduplication of a finite verbal form is used to express an immediately following action: this concerns not only the reduplication of the form in the future tense but also the reduplication of other tenses (present simple, present imperfect, past simple). In this function, the reduplicated verbal form often acquires a different grammatical meaning in comparison with its simple form. This leads to a contradiction in the tense category expressed with a particular suffix in a finite verbal form and function; furthermore, reduplication functions as one unit.

(45) ***callum callum***.
    I'll go immediately.

(46) *se takhan cale **yāy yāy.***
    At that time he got ready to leave.

(47) *se **āsche āsche.***
    He is coming any minute.

(48) *gāṛi takhan **chāṛla chāṛla (chāṛbe chāṛbe)***
    The car was supposed to leave any minute.[66]

(49) *sandhyā **habe habe**.* BR I, 135
    It is on the verge of becoming evening.

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[66] The last two examples are taken from ALEKSEEVA, E. A., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 166.

In addition to this, the reduplicated finite verbal form can indicate the fact that the denoted action will definitely happen:
yāboi yāboi does not mean "I will go /and/ I will go" but "I will certainly go" (certainty and emphasis is underlined by the use of the particle *-i*).

Ocasionally reduplication only emphasises the action expressed with a finite verb. (Here it is sometimes difficult to determine the boundary between reduplication and repetition.)

(50) *abhīk uttejita haye bale uṭhla.* "***jāni jāni****, tumi yāke eiśvarya bala*..." ThR 2 I, 67
Abhīk excitedly said: "I know (I know)/I certainly know, the one you call a deity ..."

In the reduplication of finite verbal forms which are formed from the substantive and other word classes by the verbs *karā, haoyā, deoyā* and others, only the verbal part is reduplicated in the same way as in the reduplication of the ImpfPart and PfPart from verbs formed in this way:

(51) *se jijñes **kare kare***.
He is about to ask.

In Bengali there also is a repetition/reduplication of the imperative form. In some cases the imperative forms are separated by a comma, which could also formally indicate repetition:

(52) ***dekhi, dekhi*** *tomār hāte ki hayeche.* CPI, 93
Let's see, let's see what you have in your hand.

More frequently imperative forms are not divided by a comma:

(53) ***Śuna śuna*** *tomrā he.* MK II, 182
Listen, listen, you.

However, there is also evidence of the use of double imperative forms joined by a hyphen, which usually indicates a closer relationship in the connection of the words (see for instance the reduplication of the ImpfPart).

(54) *āmi duhāte laliter duˊhāt jaṛiye dhare kātar svare ballum* – "***balun-balun*** *lukoben nā*." RH I, 202
I took both of Lalita's hands in both of mine, and with a serious voice I told her: "Just talk /or talk talk/, do not hide."

One of the forms in double occurrence of the imperative can be emphasised with the particle *nā*:

(55) **bala nā, bala**, *tāte tomār kichu kṣati habe nā*. DS I, 42
    Just talk, talk, nothing will happen to you.

Double use of the imperative form (whether repetition or reduplication) generally serves to emphasise the order.

SUMMARY

The reduplication of verbal forms (total, medial, and partial) belongs among characteristic features of the Bengali language. It is employed by each author (except one) of our sample texts. Non-finite verbal forms (imperfective participle, perfective participle), verbal roots and finite verbal forms are reduplicated. Reduplications differ from their unreduplicated counteparts formally and also on the content level. While sharing lexical meanings of their simple counterparts they include additional meanings on the content level. Occasionally there is conversion of reduplication into another word class (into adverb with TR of ImpfPart and PfPart, and into substantive with reduplicated verbal roots).

APPENDICES

Table 1 Proportion of verbal reduplications in total number of reduplications in short stories

Total number of reduplications	Verbal reduplications[67]			
1990	ImpfPart	PfPart	VR	Ratio
	242	144	48	21,8%

Table 2 Types of verbal reduplications (TR, MR, PR)

	Total number	TR	MR	PR
ImpfPart	242	209	33	-
PfPart	144	133	5	6
VR	48	-	-	-

Table 3 Reduplication of imperfective participle

-(i)te -(i)te/-(i)te -(i)te –i		-(i)te nā -(i)te/-(i)te nā -(i)te -i	
227	8	9	6

Table 4 Reduplication of perfective participle

-iyā/e -iyā/e	-iyā/e iyā-e -i
139	5

Table 5 Types and tokens of TR of ImpfPart and PfPart in individual sample texts[68]

Texts	-(i)te -(i)te	-(i)te -(i)te -i	-(i)te nā -(i)te	-(i)te nā -(i)te -i	-iyā/e -iyā/e	-iyā/e -iyā/e-i
AE	2	0	0	0	0	0
AP	10	0	3	1	6	2
BC	7	0	0	0	7	0
BR	3	0	0	0	0	0
CP	3	0	0	0	1	0
CŚ	6	0	0	0	1	0

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[67] ImpfPart and PfPart reduplications include all types of reduplications, i.e. TR, MR, PR.

[68] The abbreviations denote the names of individual authors as introduced in the list of Analyzed Texts on p. 204.

Texts	-(i)te -(i)te	-(i)te -(i)te -i	-(i)te nā -(i)te	-(i)te nā -(i)te -i	-iyā/e -iyā/e	-iyā/e -iyā/e-i
CS	11	0	0	0	1	0
CPr	3	0	2	0	4	0
DAn	1	0	0	0	3	0
DN	19	2	0	0	5	0
DSv	7	0	0	0	2	0
GM	1	0	0	0	3	0
GN	1	0	0	0	0	0
MuP	5	1	0	0	0	0
MT	1	0	1	0	1	0
RH	18	0	0	1	18	0
SS	0	0	0	0	2	0
SJ	6	0	0	3	2	0
SN	1	0	0	0	1	0
ThR2	5	0	0	0	7	0
ThR	10	0	0	1	7	0
BBi	6	0	0	0	2	0
B	2	0	0	0	1	0
MB	2	0	0	0	4	0
BT	8	0	0	0	4	0
BB	7	0	0	0	10	3
BhS	4	1	0	0	4	0
CŚi	2	1	0	0	1	0
DJ	10	0	0	0	4	0
DA	1	0	0	0	2	0
GNa	3	0	0	0	1	0
GhS	0	0	0	0	4	0
GJ	7	1	0	0	2	0
MR	0	0	0	0	0	0
MA	3	0	2	0	0	0
MK	19	0	0	0	6	0
MN	1	0	0	0	1	0
MP	3	0	0	0	0	0
MD	5	0	0	0	2	0
MBi	6	1	0	0	0	0
NJ	4	0	0	0	7	0
RA	2	0	1	0	2	0
SP	10	1	0	0	8	0
SR	0	0	0	0	2	0
SA	5	0	0	0	9	0
Total	227	8	9	6	146	15

The table shows that while all the abovementioned types of the TR are possible, those which are modified with a particle are very rare. Sometimes they indicate the authors' stylistic preferences. If the TR does not occur at all, this could be due to the text not being long enough; it is highly likely that they would appear in a longer text.

Also the table does not prove that the given authors would not essentially use other types of TR. The table is therefore only illustrative. It shows the approximate ratio of between the appearance of the various types of the TR of the Impf Part and the PfPart in Bengali.

Table 6 Types and tokens of TR and MR of particular verbs

		ImpfPart	PfPart
ā̃kā	to draw, paint	-	2
ā̃tká	to startle	-	1
āsā	to come	6	-
bā̃dhā	to bind, to tie, to fasten	2	-
bā̃kā	to bend, to turn	-	2
bājā	to sound, to ring; to beat	1	1
balā	to speak, to talk	21	-
bānāna	to make, to create	-	1
basā	to sit	-	9
beṛāna	to walk	2	-
bhābā	to think; to consider	10	2
bhāṅā	to break	-	1
bulā	to roam	2	-
bhāsā	to float	-	1
bhijā	to get wet	1	-
bhugā	to suffer	-	2
cāhan	act of looking at	-	8
calā	to go, to move	7	-
chuṭā	to run	4	1
cibāna	to chew	1	-
ḍākā	to call	2	1
ḍhukā	to enter	-	2

		ImpfPart	PfPart
dã̄ṛāna	to stand	-	12
dhoyā	to wash	1	-
deoyā	to give	1	-
dekhā	to see	23	-
dulā	to swing	-	4
dulāna	to cause to swing	1	-
eṛā	to shoot, to throw	-	2
gāoyā	to sing	1	-
gaṛāna	to roll; to pour	1	-
gilā	to swallow	-	1
ghaṣā	to rub	1	-
gheṅāna	to whine, to whimper	1	-
ghumāna	to sleep	-	2
ghurā	to turn about	5	8
ghurāna	to cause to turn about	1	-
gumrāna	to suffer from suppressed grief	-	1
hāsā	to laugh, to smile	7	4
haṭā	to retreat; to withdraw	3	-
hã̄ṭā	to walk	2	-
hã̄pāna	to pant	3	1
jaṛāna	to embrace	1	-
jhimāna	to drowse, to dose	1	-
jvalā	to burn	2	-
kaoyā	to say, to tell	1	-
karā	to do	-	1
kakāna	to sob, to groan	-	1
kã̄dā	to weep	11	2
kã̄pā	to tremble	5	-
khāoyā	to eat	9	1
khelā	to play	1	-
khũjā	to search, to seek	1	2

		ImpfPart	PfPart
khulā	to open	1	-
kurā	to scrape; to gnaw	-	1
lāphāna	to jump	2	-
lekhā	to write	2	-
lukāna	to hide	-	1
luphā	to catch	1	-
mārā	to kill; to strike	2	1
marā	to die	1	-
muchā	to wipe	5	-
nāmā	to descend	2	-
nāṛā	to move	-	2
olṭāna	to turn over	1	-
pākā	to ripen	-	1
paṛā	to fall; to read	6	1
parā	to put on, to wear	1	-
piṣā	to pulp; to knead	1	-
phāṭā	to crack	-	2
phelā	to throw	3	-
pherā	to return	-	1
phõpāna	to whimper, to sob	-	2
phulā	to swell	-	3
śonā	to hear; to listen (to)	7	2
śoyā	to lie down; to sleep	-	5
ṭalā	to waver; to stagger	4	-
ṭānā	to pull	2	1
ṭipā	to press	1	-
ṭhelā	to push	-	2
ṭhukā	to hit	1	1
tākāna	to look (at)	-	3
thākā	to live; to stay	2	12
thāmā	to stop	-	2

		ImpfPart	PfPart
uṛā	**to fly**	1	2
uṭhā	**to rise**	1	-
yāoyā	**to go**	10	-

This table is also only illustrative. In order for the results to be more authoritative, it would be necessary to analyse many more texts. Here verbs are presented in which the TR of the ImpfPart and PfPart occurred in the texts under analysis. The tokens are in alphabetical order according to the Latin (not Bengali) alphabet.

Table 7 Proportion of verbal reduplications in total number of reduplications in Tuntunir bai

Total number of reduplications	Verbal reduplications			Ratio
	ImpfPart	PfPart	VR	
145	49	11	14	51%

Table 8 Proportion of verbal reduplications in total number of reduplications in Oder balte dāo

Total number of reduplications	Verbal reduplications			Ratio
	ImpfPart	PfPart	VR	
191	38	7	5	26,2%

ANALYSED TEXTS

BANDYOPĀDHYĀY, Atiskumār, GHOṢ, Ajitkumār: Bā;lā galpa sa;kalan. Pratham khanda. Sāhitya akādemi 1991. 221 p.
  Sajíbcandra Cattopādhyāy: Rāmeśvarer adriṣṭa, pp. 1 – 10 (CS)
  Trailokyanāth Mukhopādhyāy: Ḍmaru-carita, pp. 11 – 25 (MT)
  Pūrṇacandra Cattopādhyāy: Madhumatī, pp. 25 – 35 (CP)
  Svarṇakumārī Debī: Pene prīti, pp. 36 – 45 (DS)
  Jaladhar Sen: Bātāsī, pp. 46 – 51 (SJ)
  Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur: Kṣudhita pāṣāṇ, pp. 52 – 60 (ThR)
  Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur: Rabibār, pp. 61 – 75 (ThR2)
  Nagendranāth Gupta: Bhairabī, pp. 76 – 83 (GN)
  Pramath Caudhurī: Somnāther kathā, pp. 84 – 102 (CPr)

Sureścandra Somājpati: Tīrther pathe, pp. 103 – 107 (SS)
Prabhātkumār Mukhopādhyāy: Rasamayīr rasikatā, pp. 108 – 120 (MuP)
Śaratcandra Cattopādhyāy: Maheś, pp. 121 – 128 (CŚ)
Cārucandra Bandyopādhyāy: Gāṛir āṛi, pp. 129 – 134 (BC)
Rājśekhar Basu: Cikitsá-saṅkeṭ, pp.135 – 142 (BR)
Anurūpā Debī: Debadāsī, pp. 143 – 151 (DAn)
Nareścandra Sengupta: Bicār, pp. 152 – 157 (SN)
Nirupamā Debī: Āleyā, pp. 158 – 170 (DN)
Maṇilāl Gaṅgopādhyāy: Ra;chuṭ, pp. 171 – 184 (GM)
Hemendrakumār Rāy: Unmād, pp. 185 – 203 (RH)
Premāṅkur Ātarthī: Jelpherat, pp. 204 – 214 (AP)
Es Oyājed Āli: Bhāratbarṣa, pp. 215 – 216 (AE)

SIKDĀR Aśrukumār, SI;HA, Kabitā: Bā;lā galpa sa;kalan. Dvitīya khanda. Sāhitya akādemi 1992. 213 p.:
Jagadīścandra Gupta: Candra – sūrya yatadin, pp. 1 – 11 (GJ)
Rameścandra Sen: Ḍomer citā, pp. 12 –14 (SR)
Bibhūtibhūṣaṇ Bandyopādhyāy: Kinnaradal, pp. 15 – 25 (BBi)
Dūrjaṭiprasād Mukhopādhyāy: Ekdā tumi priye, pp. 26 – 34 (MD)
Bibhūtibhūṣaṇ Mukhopādhyāy: Gān, pp. 35 – 43 (MBi)
Rabīndranāth Maitra: Nidhirāmer besāti, pp. 44 – 48 (MR)
Tārāśaṅkar Bandyopādhyāy: Bedenī, pp. 49 – 57 (BT)
Jībanānada Dās: Jāmarul talā, pp. 58 – 70 (DJ)
Banaphul: Tājmahal, pp. 71 – 73 (B)
Acintyakumār Sengupta: Nurbānu, pp. 74 – 80 (SA)
Premendra Mitra: Śriṅkhal, pp. 81 – 89 (MP)
Annadāśaṅkar Rāy: Hāsan sakhī, pp. 90 – 98 (RA)
Śibarām Cakrabartī: Kālāntak lāl phitā, pp. 99 – 106 (CŚ)
Prabodhkumār Sānyāl: Aṅgār, pp. 107 – 118 (SP)
Satīnāth Bhāduṛī: Baiyākaraṇ, pp. 119 – 128 (BhS)
Mānik Bandyopādhyāy: Ke bãcāy, ke bãce, pp. 129 – 132 (MB)
Budhadeb Basu: Ekṭi jīban, pp. 133 – 147 (BB)
Āśāpūrṇā Debī: Nijer janya śok, pp. 148 – 154 (DA)
Subodh Ghoṣ: Sundaram, pp. 155 – 163 (GhS)
Jyotirindra Nandī: Sāmne cāmeli, pp. 164 – 172 (NJ)
Kamalakumār Majumdār: Matilāl pādarī, pp. 173 – 188 (MK)
Narendranāth Mitra: Cor, pp. 189 – 195 (MN)
Nārāyaṇ Gaṅgopādhyāy: Puṣkarā, pp. 196 – 202 (GNa)
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