Study of Reduplication in Finno-Ugrian Languages of Permic Group

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Abstract: The article is a kind of review of studies of reduplication in Finno-Ugrian languages of Permic group (Udmurt, Komi, Komi-Permyak languages) made by Russian scientists. Iconicity (prime motivation) of reduplication is emphasized and character of full and non-full reduplications in Permic languages is considered. Special bilingual morphemic and lexical reduplication in Komi-Permyak language is described. Studies of semantics of reduplication in Permic languages are summurized, semantics of reduplication in Komi-Permyak language is shown in detail. It is concluded that reduplication in Permic languages is connected with chaotic, mixing; decrease, discredit (negative assessment); multiplicity, repeatability; diminution; extent of intensity, instantaneousness, suddenness.

Key words: Finno-Ugrian languages · Permic languages · Komi-Permyak language · Komi- language · Udmurt language · Iconicity · Reduplication · Echo-words · Idiophones · Semantics of reduplication · Onomatopoeia

INTRODUCTION

Interest in reduplication all over the world is clearly observed. It was demonstrated by publishing of special editions [1-4] and seminars [5], at which reduplication was discussed in the framework of morphology, phonetics, pragmatics, semantics, linguistic typology and cross-cultural linguistics and semiotics in the context of modern theoretical models including MDT, generative grammar and discourse-analysis. In spite of large quantity of languages which became the material for studying of reduplication [6,7] Permic languages are out of focus of research of western scientists [8].

Permic languages - Finno-Ugrian branch of the family of Urals languages spoken at the territory of Udmurtia (Russia) (Udmurt language), Republic of Komi (Komi language) and Perm territory (Komi-Permyak language). In Europe these languages are perceived as a bit exotic (somewhat like tribal African languages) but Udmurt language is spoken by almost 324 338 people, Komi-language - by 156 099, Komi-Permyak language - by 63 106 people which is more than total population of Iceland, Luxembourg or Malta.

The author offers a review of a number of works on reduplication based on the material of Permic languages. Then she points out to the iconicity of reduplication and the character of full and non-full reduplication in Permic languages. Special bilingual morpheme and lexical reduplication in Komi-Permyak language is described. Third part is devoted to summarizing of all studies of semantics of reduplication in these languages, semantics of reduplication in Komi-Permyak language is shown in detail.

Study of Reduplication in Permic Language: In Russian linguistic study of Finno-Ugrian languages reduplication in Permic language was actively investigated in the middle of 20th century and it is connected with research of idiophones (iconic words) [8-21]. Term "*idiophones*" is used in European linguistics [22, 23], in study of Permic languages term *"iconic words"* is used.

Reduplication is rarely subject of special attention but in study of Permic languages a huge amount of material is accumulated in the framework of study of dialectology, grammar, vocabulary and syntax of Permic languages.

V. Alatyrev points out to existence in Udmurt language of deformed (vowel change reduplicatives, intervocalic reduplication, rhyming binomes) and non-deformed (total reduplication) [9]. K. Maitinskaya finds models of reduplications in a group of Finno-Ugrian

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languages (Hungarian, Erzya, Udmurt and Mari and other languages) and argues that most of them existed in the proto- language [9].

V. Ludykova points out to the following types of adjective-based reduplicates in Permic languages: 1) locative case -ys: K *pemydys-pemyd* "darker than the darkness"; 2) compartive case -sya: K, KP *bursya-bur* 'very good'; 3) possesive case: U *dunoles duno* 'precious than the most precious'; 4) with formant -a: K *bura-bur* 'very good'; 5)with caritivo suffix -tom: K *gyrystom-gyrys* 'very big' 6) with postposition.kindzi, kinnya, vylo: K *mitcha kindzi mitcha* 'very nice', *bur kinnya bur* 'very good'; 7) with conjunctions da, i: U *kuz da kuz* 'very long', KP *dzor i dzor*; 8) doubling of prepositions: U *gyl gyl gylyd* 'very slippy' [13].

A. Shibanov distinguishes in Udmurt language adverbs-repetitions 1)total reduplications: *myrdem-myrdem* 'hardly', *kuazhir-kuazhir* 'producing sounds of crunch', *gudyr-gudyr* 'with ratlle', *bulyir-bulyir* 'gurgling'; 2) repetitions of nouns and numeratives in the form of instrumental case: *kesegen-kesegen* 'in lumps', *kyrymen-kyrymen* 'by bits', *churen-churen* 'in rows', *paren-paren* 'by pairs', *kuinen-kuinen* 'by three', *suen-suen* 'by hundreds'; 3) intervocalic reduplication with 2 adverbs: *kyryzh-meryzh* 'very crookedly' 4) intervocalic reduplication with antonymic meanings: *solan-tolan* 'back and forth', *otyn-tatyn* 'here and there, somewhere', *otys-tatys* 'from here and there', *otchi-tatchi* 'back and forth' [14].

In Permic languages reduplication of consonants and vowels take place also. Prolonging of vowels in Komi-language shows intensification of a characteristic: *go-ord* 'very red, literaly, re-e-ed'; *syooodkyyd* 'very heavy (literally, hea-a-avy). Specific feature of Udor dialect is prolonging of a vowel and following consonant (gemination): *gyyrrys* 'very large', *syylla* 'very fat' [13].

Prolonging is not usual with Komi-Permyak language and is connected with writer's (researcher's, author's) fixing in writing: *ba-a, blya-a* "sounds produced by sheep', *yr-r-yr-r* 'grunting of a pig', *i-iv* 'horse's neigh', *er-r-r* 'barking of a dog' *yp-p* 'sound of a shot' (A. Krivoshchekov-Gantman); *mi-i, mi-i* 'a caw" (V. Isaev); *a-a-aimm* " sound of a saw' (M.Likhachev); *iv-iv, yr-yr* (our fixation).

In special studies of reduplication in Komi-Permyak language [24, 25] reduplication is understood as iconic sign connected with definite semantics. The scientists point out to the existence of special bilingual morpheme and lexical reduplication. In Komi-Permyak dialects we can come across with ethnographic word *ushkiez* (only plural) 'pelmeni prepared from dried mushrooms which are eaten

together with the broth. In Russian dialectual *ushki* 'pelmeni (they resemble a man's ear) semantics of multiplicity is conveyed with flexion *i*. In Komi-Permyak language there is suffix of plural form - ez (double explication of multiplicity). Nouns in plural form with suffix -ez in Komi-Permyak language always have singular form, but here is only Pluralia tantum.

What is especially interesting in Komi-Permyak language is lexical bilingual reduplication in which Russian and Komi-Permyak words are duplicated: *guyama* 'pit for vegetables' (KP gu- 'pit' + R yama 'a pit', *oshka-poroz* 'bull' (KP oshka 'bull"+ R poroz 'bull') and others. Russian analogue does not change and enforce semantics (meaningless reduplication). In our opinion these facts are determined by the fact that reduplication is a productive way of word-forming in Komi-Permyak language, which still has a tendency to being iconic.

Full and Non-full Reduplications: Study of reduplication in Permic languages is connected with study of idiophones, including onomatopoeia. The authors refer total reduplication, vowel change reduplicatives, intervocalic reduplication, rhyming binomes, phonetic abnormality (non-typical for Permic languages initial combination of consonants) to basic phonetic characteristics of idiophones [16-19].

In study of Permic languages they differ total reduplications (KP *ylyn-ylyn*, *lozos-lozos, kuzh-kazh*) and twin (compound) words (Echo-word reduplication, rhyming reduplicatives, partial reduplication, echo constructions). In Komi-Permyak language they use term twin words, in Udmurt and Komi languages - compound words: KP *shoomon-gamon* "rattle', *papko-kurito* 'to smoke enormously', *dedto-babto* 'grandfather and grandmother'; KP *gutsh-gutsh taravny* "fall face up", boron-boron *petny* 'move backwards' (literary move backwards, backwards), *lozsya-loz* 'deep blue (colour)', *seyomon-seyny* 'to curse and hate very often' (*seyny*=eat (eat and eat sombody)) etc. It is not always possible to find appropriate translation fro these words [25].

In Eastern-Slavic languages alliterating words (*zhili-byli, eli-pyli*) and reduplication. (*tuk-tuk, tary-bary*) are typical for folklore, dialects and colloquial speech. In Permic languages these forms have less inclination into some genres or styles. Alliteration and reduplication is one of the main principles of existence of Permic languages and one of the reasons in our opinion by which this language is most simple in the sphere of sound iconicity. Modern Permic languages are not possible without ionic words, most of them are reduplicatives.

Iconicity of Reduplication: Most of scientists directly connect reduplication to iconicity, investigated in Russian philology in the framework of phono-semantics. Term *phono-semantics* [26] is used by most part of Russian and some part of western linguists. Practically in all works, devoted to study of twin words and reduplicatives in different languages the issue of their iconicity is always raised. Reduplication is specific feature of iconic words [27]. "In regard to sound-symbolic words with reduplication we can conclude that their semantics must be determined by iconicity of reduplication and iconicity of the sounds themselves" [28]. Scientists unanimously point out to the iconic universal character of reduplication [29,30,31]. Iconicity of reduplication in Komi-Permyak language is investigated in the article of S.Shlyakhova [24].

Semantics of Reduplications: Having generalized works [13,14,24,25] on semantics of reduplication in Permic languages we can conclude:

- Intensity: a) high degree of quality: K *bats'ysbat'* 'very good father' (literaly "the greatest father among all fathers'), *pemyd-pemyd* 'very dark'; U *umoi-unoi valani* 'to understand very-very well', *yug-yug gkrtyni* 'to be covered with white-white hoar-frost', *yug-yug* 'light-light'; KP *ydgyt-ydgyt* 'big-big', *chizh-vazh* 'quickly, in eye's blink', *basok-basok* 'lovely-lovely'; b) increase in intensity: KP *chick-chock pyrny* 'to enter quickly, *et-et kynty* 'to freeze strongly', *lyap-lyap kod-kod* 'completely drunk; *ton-ton kyn* 'very frozen', *ydgytcya-ydgyt* 'big of the big', *yugitsya-yugit* 'light of the light; c) decrease in intensity (some incompleteness in comparison with usual state): KP *tyurlik-tyurlik moonny* 'to go limping', *tyurlikasny-moonny* 'to go balancing', *bygyl-bygyl* 'trot with little steps', *zherk kerny om* 'half-opened mouth'; *syug-syug* 'hardly', *tur-tur moonny* 'hardly be able to stand on one's feet;
- Instantaneousness of action: KP *shurk-shark* 'quickly, swiftly', *chizh-vazh* 'quickly, in one moment';
- Decrease, disredit, negative semantics: *shurum-burum pastasny* 'to put on rags'; *tyap-lyap kerny* 'to do something without proper care'; *letki-petki vetletny* 'to wear rags';
- Repetition of something many times: KP *turki-tarki* 'tramping on stairs', *tirki-torki / tir-tir* "rattle'; *chav-chav* 'rattle', *toochi-touchy* 'trampling';

- Form: a) winding (line), curve: KP *gigin-gogin* 'in zig-zag pattern'; *kopyr-kopyr vetletny* " to go bending one's back; *nyukyr-nyukyr, tyap-lyap nyukyrtny* 'to bend'; b) to protrude out and be seen by everybody: KP *tcher-tcher* "protruding';
- Temperature: KP: *ton-ton, yot-yot, tors-tors* 'being deeply frozen, for example, about wet sheets, soil';
- Characteristics of movement, action, process: a) regularly repeating: KP *leg-leg/legyr-legyr* "about wagging with tail'; *let-let* 'about shaking'; b) without order, chaotic: KP *toolk-melk, coolk-melk* 'about falling head over heels; *kurni-verny, tyap-lyap kerny* 'about careless actions'; *kurtny-kartny* 'to collect something doing it without proper care'; *cher-bar taravny* 'to roll over raising legs in the air; c) in small parts: KP *bygyl-bygyl moonny* 'to trot with small steps (about stout short person); *gyzgyne-zerny* 'to drizzle (about rain)'; d) unexpected, very quickly happening: KP *byz-byz mitchchisny* 'to appear unexpectedly'; *nyuk-nyak* 'about quick and resolute actions; *nyulish-malysh* 'in a hassle'; e) simultaneous: *i-im* 'about simultaneous actions, for example, about raising hands';
- Lack of strength, solidity: KP *libi-lebi, ligi-legi, lug-leg, lugi-legi* 'about something unstable'; *soonban-soonban chetcheny* 'to get up staggering'; *kromlik-kromlik* 'about trot of a limp person';
- Hanging down, dangle: KP *leb-leb oshalis* 'belly is hanging down'; *syl-syl oshavny* 'about hanging down of pods etc.

Inference: In author's opinion the most important characteristic of reduplication is its iconicity. Iconicity in Permic languages is connected with the following semantics: duration and intensification, instantaneousness and unexpectedness, decrease, discredit, repetition, recurrence, intensity (increase and decrease of a characteristic). Semantics of reduplicatives in Permic languages in general concide with semantics of reduplicatives in other languages [28-33].

If we order languages in accordance with the extent of sound-symbolic features, we shall get this chain: Finno-Ugrian, Tyurk, Indonesian, Evenki, Nivkhi, Japanese, Georgian, Chinese and Tamil [32]. Idiophones in eastern Finn dialects amount to 31,4%, in seven dialects of Estonian language - 38,3%, in Karelian language - 30, 1% [22]. It is obvious that significance of sound iconicity in Finno-Ugrian languages is very high, but this characteristic is not investigated in Finno-Ugrian studies sufficiently.

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Abbreviations:

- K Komi
- KP Komi-Permyak
- R Russian
- U Udmurt

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