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JOURNAL OF IRANIAN LINGUISTICS
VOLUME 2 | ISSUE 2

CONTENT

VARDAN VOSKANIAN

Foreword **4-5**

SHUAN OSMAN KARIM

Contact across the Iranian World: curious convergences between Kurdish and Balochi **6-41**

MUHAMMED OURANG, KHALSA AL-AGHBARI

Reduplication in Lāri and Jibbāli: A Structural and Semantic Study **42-65**

MORTAZA TAHERI-ARDALI, MANSOUR BOZORGMEHR, ERIK ANONBY

Mapping the Languages of Kohgiluyeh and Boyer Ahmad Province, Iran: Is This Region Uniformly Lori Speaking? **66-86**

VAHIDE TAJALLI, MEHRNOUSH SHAMSFARD, YALDA YARANDI, MAHTAB SARLAK, AREZOO HAGHBIN

The Nonverbal Element in Persian Verbal Multiword Expressions: A Corpus Annotation Approach **87-107**

MAJID TAME

An Examination of Two Proverbs in Khotanese and Their Equivalents in Certain New Western Iranian Languages **108-116**

YEREVAN STATE UNIVERSITY PUBLISHING HOUSE

JIL 2/2 (2025): 42-65

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Reduplication in Lāri and Jibbāli: A Structural and Semantic Study

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Abstract: The focus of this study is two-fold. Firstly, it describes the most common types of reduplication in Lāri and Jibbāli. Secondly, it discusses their semantics. Reduplication is a morphological process whereby a base or part of it is repeated to express a meaning different from the base. The study explores the formation of 60 Lāri and Jibbāli reduplicative forms collected through a questionnaire distributed to 10 bilingual Lāri speakers and from 2 native Jibbāli speakers. Although Lāri and Jibbāli belong to distant language families, the study shows that both languages employ full reduplication to accentuate adjectives or nouns. Lāri partial reduplication express meanings as diverse as emphasis, intensity, categorization, attenuation and addition whereas Jibbāli uses reduplication to mark transitivity and to convey continuity in borrowed bi-consonantal Arabic verbs.

Keywords: Lāri, Jibbāli, total reduplication, partial reduplication, semantics, Iranian languages.

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1. Introduction

Reduplication is a productive word formation process cross-linguistically. According to Jin and Fang (2019: 420), reduplication is a "process that involves completely or partially repeating a stem". Broselow and McCarthy (1983) argue that reduplication is a particular type of affixational morphology

in which the affixes are phonologically unspecified and receive their full phonetic representation by repeating adjacent segments. Olsson (2015: 1) extends the definition to include the repetition of elements such as whole words, parts of words, stems or roots to achieve new grammatical or semantic functions. The repeated material in reduplication is conventionally known as 'the reduplicant'. Moreover, Urbanczyk (2007) states that the scope of what can be replicated, how reduplication collaborates with different morphemes and phonological processes, and such implications can be communicated through reduplication, all factor into making the investigation of reduplication a huge and rich area of linguistic examination.

Speaking cross-linguistically, Kauffman (2015: 22) states that reduplication is very common in Austronesian, South Asian, African languages, the Caucasus, Indo-European, Indonesian, Turkish and Arabic languages. He also argues that this process enhances, emphasises, amplifies, enlarges, diminishes, adds number or changes verb tense to bring about significant meaning changes or shades of meaning. Inkelas and Downing (2015: 502) have classified reduplication into various types depending on the unique features of the root, stem or word, which could be phonological or morpho-semantic. Reduplication can either be full or partial. Full reduplication is the repetition of the entire base (O'Grady & de Guzman 1997) while in partial reduplication, a portion of the base is repeated. Rubino (2005: 11) argues that partial reduplication comes in a variety of types that range from a simple consonant gemination or vowel lengthening to a copy of syllables. This paper is an attempt to address the existing types of reduplication in Lāri and Jibbāli and highlight their structures and meanings. Despite belonging to different language families (Southwestern Iranian and Semitic respectively), Lāri and Jibbāli coexist within the same broader linguistic area stretching from southern Iran to southern Oman. This geographical and sociolinguistic proximity makes them valuable for a cross-linguistic comparison. In addition, this study is a continuation of previous work (Al Aghbari & Ourang 2017) conducted on morphology of Jibbāli and Lāri. It is hoped that this topic of morphological studies will highlight differences in morphology between these two languages.

The paper is structured as follows: section §2 describes the literature review on Lāri and Jibbāli, section §3 will look into the studies on reduplication in these two languages, section §4 focuses on the data collection process and research methodology. In section §5, we discuss the most common reduplication patterns in Lāri including total (§5.1) and partial (§5.2) and then the semantic analysis of the forms will be presented in section §6. Section §7 constitutes the main part of the analysis of reduplication in Jibbāli, outlining the most common types of reduplication including full (§7.1) and

partial reduplication (§7.2). Finally, section §8 concludes the paper with some remarks.

2. Previous Research

This section will look at some of the previous studies conducted on Lāri (§2.1) and Jibbāli (§2.2) which is followed by a brief discussion of the research on reduplication in these languages (§3).

2.1. Lāri

Lāri belongs to the Southwestern (SW) branch of Iranian language family which is spoken mainly in three provinces of Fars, Hormozgan and Bushehr (Iran) and by Lāri speakers in diaspora in some Arabic-speaking countries such as United Arab Emirates (UAE), Kuwait and Qatar. Figure 1 below illustrates the region in Iran and other countries where Lāri language is spoken. It is estimated that approximately 150,000 people speak Lāri as their mother tongue though this issue needs more investigation. The Lāri language[1] has numerous varieties including Evazi, Xonji, Bastaki, Aheli, Gerāshi, Lāri, Buchiri, and so on which have some phonological, morphological or syntactical differences but they are mutually intelligible to speakers of different areas, thus they can smoothly communicate with each other.

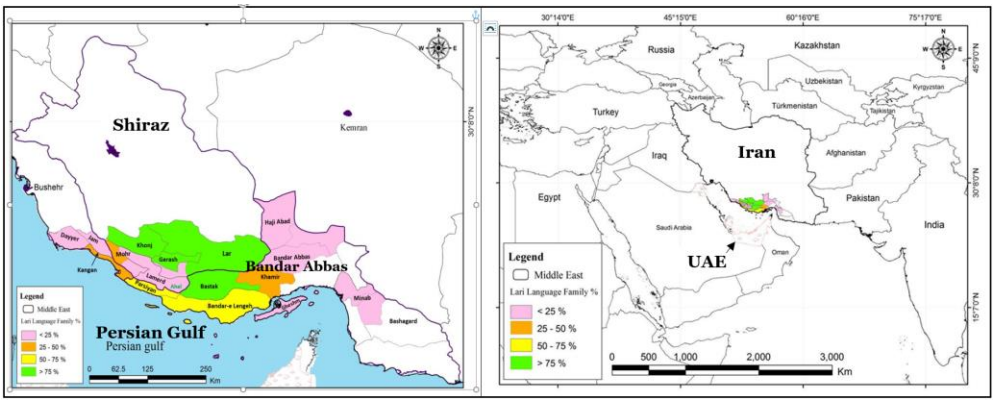


Figure 1. The areas where Lāri is spoken in Iran and other neighbouring countries (Ourang, 2022)

[1] It should be noted that the term "Lāri language" is used here as a cover term for all the dialects spoken in the regions shown in Figure 1. Accordingly, when reference is made to a specific dialect, terms such as 'Būchiri dialect', 'Bastaki dialect', 'Lāri dialect', or 'Aheli dialect' are used- each representing a member of 'the Lāri language family'.

Previous research on the Lāri language has explored various aspects, including etymology, noun and verb morphology, and syntax, significantly contributing to the study of the language and its dialects. Eqtedārī's works (1964, 1992, 2005) survey the vocabulary of seven Lāri dialects. Skjærvø (1989) compares Lāri (Lārestānī) with Kumzārī and Baškardī. Mahmoodian (2007), Vos̱ūqī (2001), and Xorram-Rūz (2011) explore the historical, cultural, geographical, and socioeconomic contexts of Lāri dialects. Moridi (2007, 2009, 2011) analysed the structure of nouns and adjectives in Lāri and proposed its classification. Xonjī (2009) examined the Xonji dialect in Fars Province. Salāmī (2004–2011) compiled data from various Lāri dialects through questionnaires, producing an eight-volume work with sample sentences, semantic categories, and Persian equivalents. In addition, Dabir-Moghaddam's (2013) two-volume *Typology of Iranian Languages* provided new insights into the syntax of Lāri and Xonji, detailing their verb and noun phrases as well as word order.

In addition to Iranian researchers, non-Iranian scholars have also contributed to the study of Lāri. Kamioka and Yamada (1979) compiled a list of one thousand basic Lāri words through questionnaires and interviews with native speakers. Later, Kamioka et al. (1986) collected and categorized nouns related to food, clothing, and kinship during fieldwork in Lar and Xonj. Similarly, Molčanova (1982/2000) provided a diachronic and detailed description of the Lāri dialect. So far, Ourang (2022) has presented the first reference grammar of the Aheli dialect of the Lāri language. The grammatical analysis is framed within descriptive linguistics and relies on extensive fieldwork interviews. The grammar offers an overview of the Aheli dialect, including a description of its sound system, morphology, and syntax, the data of which were collected via interviewing the Aheli speakers.

2.2. Jibbāli

Jibbāli is a Semitic language and one of the six Modern South Arabian languages. Modern South Arabian languages constitute a primary branch of West Semitic (Huehnergard & Rubin 2011) which occupy an eastern branch of Semitics (Rodgers 1991; Hetzron 1997; Faber 1997; Ratcliffe 1992 among a host of Semitists). Jibbāli, which is also called Shahri or Shahret, is spoken in the mountainous areas of Dhofar, a governorate in Oman. Johnstone identifies three dialectal varieties of Jibbāli on the basis of their geography in Dhofar: Eastern, Central and Western (Johnstone 1981: xii; Hofstede 1998:14). There is noticeable growth in the number of studies that explore the various aspects of Jibbāli's linguistics. Moreover, works that document

the morphological behaviour of the language are numerous, and some is written in languages other than English (Dufour 2016; Lonnet 2006) [2].

Matthews (1969) explores the nature of the deleted /m/ which results in a nasalized vowel in Jibbāli. He argues that the deleted /m/ before a vowel word initially and medially is a determiner in Jibbāli. Lesalu's (1945) research paper serves as a comparative study of the Semitic 'body parts' vocabulary. It reveals how Modern South Arabian languages express body parts using words different from those widely used in other Semitic languages. Johnstone (1980) argues that gemination which occurs in nouns marked for the definite article and with certain forms of the causative verbs is fairly a recent development in central and eastern dialects of Jibbāli. He observes that in both these sets, only certain sounds are geminated. He further claims that gemination as a morphological feature distinguishing meanings of words has long been lost from these dialects. Nakano's book (1986) is a semi-dictionary of Mehri, Socotri and Jibbāli in which the equivalents of some English words and expressions are listed for the three languages.

The latest work conducted on Jibbāli is a comparative cultural glossary of the six Modern South Arabian languages (Morris et al. 2019). The glossary comprises 345 terms that are of essential cultural significance in the region. The authors state that the glossary is meant to serve as a comparison of culturally significant terms across the six languages, and to reveal the nuances of certain cultural terms in each of them.

The following section presents a review of the existing literature on reduplication and reduplicated nominals in Semitic languages. To the best of our knowledge, no prior studies have specifically examined reduplication in Jibbāli. This paper therefore seeks to constitute the first systematic investigation to shed light on this understudied linguistic phenomenon.

Butts (2011: 84) argues that reduplicated nominal patterns are attested in Chadic, Cushitic, Egyptian, and Semitic. However, in Semitic, it is variously manifested in phonology, verbal morphology, nominal morphology and even syntax. However, the primary focus of his study was on reduplication that is found in nominal derivation. This type occurs when a noun "is morphologically derived by duplicating one or more root consonants". The range of semantics exhibited by the Semitic reduplicated nominal is wide as it covers diminutives, intensives, sound-symbolic terms, and bodily or personal characteristics, including defects and colour terms. Although there is no specific mention to the Jibbāli, Butts confirms that "The pattern

[2] For an extensive review of linguistic works done on Jibbāli, we refer the readers to Al Aghbari (2012).

*C1C2C3C2C3 occurs throughout West Semitic [which Jibbāli belongs to] but is absent from East Semitic" (p. 99).

In their study, Castagna and Al-Amri (2025) present under-described verbal classes in a variety of Jibbāli, more specifically the dialect spoken in the coastal town of Sadḥ. The study also presents a summary containing the relevant morpho-phonological phenomena involved in the formation of these verbal paradigms. The last study to be reviewed on Semitic reduplication is a PhD dissertation exploring bi-consonantal reduplication in Amharic. The study comprises a survey of the semantic categories that these reduplicative forms take, revealing that 'impairment of gait' and 'dressing up fancy' are common.

3. Research on Reduplication in Lāri

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on reduplication in Iranian languages (Gilaki by Fayyāżī 2013; Kurdish by Rasekh Mahand and Mohammadirad 2013; Persian by Vāḥedī Langarūdī and Yūsefīrād 2004; and Šeqāqī, 2000 inter alia), However, very few studies have examined the reduplication process in Lāri language and its dialects. Javadpour (2018: 147), in her Master's thesis, has studied the reduplication forms in Lārestani (as she calls the language) on the basis of Marantz's theory (1982). She has categorised the 210 reduplicated words into total proper reduplication and partial reduplication and concluded that former is more frequent in Lārestani language (over 50%). Javadpour has also found that "partial reduplicated forms contain a conjugation form" and only made 10% of the total reduplicated forms. Diyānat (2020) employed a descriptive-analytic and phonological framework, investigating a corpus of 114 examples collected from native speakers and the author's own linguistic intuition. The findings reveal that Lāri exhibits both total and partial reduplication, aligning with cross-linguistic patterns where reduplication serves grammatical and semantic functions such as emphasis, plurality, repetition, and intensification. The study highlights the role of phonological constraints in shaping reduplicative forms in Lāri and underscores the importance of documenting such processes in endangered languages. Diyānat's work will be referenced in the discussion and findings sections (§5.1-§5.2 and §6).

On the other hand, the authors are not aware of any previous works on the reduplication in Jibbāli. Therefore, this humble work can serve as introductory work to this intriguing linguistic phenomenon. In the following sections, we will analyse the data collection methods (§4), after which the structural analysis and semantic analysis of reduplication forms in Lāri (§5 and §6, respectively) and Jibbāli (§7) are presented.

4. Data collection and research methodology

The Lāri data were collected through a questionnaire distributed to ten Lāri subjects in the city of Lar, Iran. Respondents were males and females from a different age range; some of them were competent in Persian, the official language of Iran. One of the authors is a native speaker of Lāri. He used his own intuition to assess the collected data. He also transcribed the collected forms. The Jibbāli data were collected by two Jibbāli speakers enrolled in a linguistics undergraduate course. These speakers transcribed the forms and classified them based on their types and semantics. For the classification of the Lāri reduplication, the Leipzig Glossing Rules for inter-linear glosses. For the analysis of the Jibbāli reduplication using the CV type.

The following section will list the most common reduplicative forms in both Lāri and Jibbāli, with the discussion highlighting the Lāri reduplication followed by the Jibbāli reduplicative forms.

5. Structural analysis of reduplication

Reduplicative forms in Lāri, similar to other languages, consist of a base which belongs to one of the different grammatical categories (verb, noun, adjective, adverb, etc.), and a reduplicant which is a lexical category rather than a grammatical one. We divide the reduplication into total reduplication and partial reduplication, each of which explained below. Given that the primary focus of this paper is the examination of partial reduplication, a brief discussion of total reduplication will be included for context. Semantically, the forms can denote repetition, frequency, increase/decrease of quantity, quality and intensity emphasis, irregularity, reduction, dispersion, abundance, and so on. In the following sections, total reduplication (§5.1) and partial reduplication (§5.2) will be examined.

5.1. Total reduplication

As Javadpour (2018) mentions, in this type of reduplication, the base is repeated. The total reduplication can be categorised into total non-additive reduplication, which is made up of a reduplicant and a base only and total additive reduplication in which there is a grammatical morpheme at the end of the form (final) or in the middle of the form (medial). These types are explained in detail below with total non-additive reduplication (§5.1.1) and total additive reduplication (§5.1.2):

5.1.1. Total non-additive reduplication

This is where the entire root or word is duplicated, but the second part of the reduplicated form is not a simple repetition of the first[3]. It means it is altered in terms of phonological shifts like vowel or consonant changes. In the following example, the base *kæpæ* 'cracked' is added to the reduplicant *kæpæ* 'cracked' which forms *kæpæ-kæpæ* which denotes an intensity of the object, namely 'smashed'.

(1) kæpæ-kæpæ:

telefʊn=ʊm	*ʊftæ-Ø*	***kæpæ-kæpæ***	*bu-Ø*
mobile=1PC	fall-3SG	cracked-cracked	become.PST-3SG

'my mobile fell down and smashed' (lit. became cracked all over)

(2) petæku-petæku

guʃt-ija	***petæku-petæku***	*bʊ-vʊl-Ø*
meat-PL	small-small	IMP-cut.NPST-2SG

'cut the meat in very small [pieces]'

5.1.2. Total additive reduplication

In this kind of reduplication, a morpheme is added either at the end of the reduplicated form (final, §5.1.2.1) or in the middle of the base and the reduplicant (medial, §5.1.2.2):

5.1.2.1. Final added total reduplication

In this type of reduplication, a morpheme such as /i/, /ʊ/, /j/ are added to the end of the reduplicated form as shown in below where *j* 'ADJVS' is added to the end of the reduplicant as an adjectiviser morpheme:

(3) *kælæ-kælæ-**j***
hole-hole-ADJV

'holey, porous'

[3] Javadpour (2018) concludes that, in her sample of 210 forms, total non-additive reduplication constitutes the majority of reduplicated forms in the Lāri dialect, whereas medial-added total reduplication represents the smallest proportion of forms in the dialect.

In the following example, the suffix *æku* 'NMLS' is added to the final position of the reduplicative form to turn *pæl* 'wing/feather' into *pæl-pæl-æku* 'butterfly/earrings':

(4) *pæl-pæl-**æku***
wing-wing-NMLS
'butterfly/earrings'[4]

5.1.2.2. Medial added total reduplication

When an affix such as *væ* or *æ* intercedes the base and the reduplicant, the resulting form is called medial added total reduplication. In the example below, the infix *væ* intervenes between the base *vela* 'time' and reduplicant vela 'time and makes the resulting form as shown below:

(5) *vela-**væ**-vela*
time-INF-time
'time after time, again and again'

The infix *a* can also intercede between the base and the reduplicant as shown below:

(6) *gæp-^{a}-gæp*
wide-INF-wide
'throughout' (lit. for all width)

5.2. Partial reduplication

In most of the partial reduplication forms, there is a medial morpheme which comes between the two reduplication elements (base and reduplicant). Furthermore, the reduplicant differs from the base in both phonological and morphological features. The reduplicant is meaningless in some cases as shown in (11) and (12) below. In this type, /ʊ/ intervenes between the base and its reduplicant. So, partial reduplication is discontinuous in Lāri since a segment is inserted between the reduplicant and base[5]. In Lāri, the formation of most partial reduplication types is not simple[6], rather it is complex. As

[4] Javadpour (2018: 84-85) has mentioned only 'butterfly' as the meaning for the reduplicative form in the Lāri dialect.

[5] Other Iranian languages such as Kurdish, which belongs to the Western branch of the Iranian language family, uses infix /u/ and /e/ between the base and the reduplicant in full reduplication forms (*kæt-ʊ-per* 'torn apart', *deng-e deng* 'full of air'). However, no infix is reported between the elements of partial reduplication forms (Mirmokri & Seifori 2016: 168-169).

[6] Rubino (2005: 15) defines 'simple reduplication' as the one in which the reduplicant matches the base from which it is copied without phoneme changes or additions.

Rubino (2005: 15) defines, "in complex reduplications there is some different phonological material, such as a vowel or consonant change or addition". Reduplicative forms in Lāri can fall under a noun (*xar-ʊ-xæʃar* 'woods'), an adjective (*tak-ʊ-tela* 'sparkling clean') or rarely an adverb (*zeʃt-ʊ-ziba* 'disgracefully'). We can divide the partial reduplication into prefixal and suffixal, in the former of which the reduplicant comes before the base while the in the latter the reduplicant comes after the base. We have specified these types in front of each example. It should be mentioned that majority of forms which are partially reduplicated belong to the suffixal category[7]. Semantically, most of partial reduplication forms have been lexicalised in the Lāri language (Javadpour 2018: 108-109). The existing types of partial reduplications with representative examples in Lāri are shown below:

a) Noun + -ʊ- + Noun → Noun (suffixal)

(7) *xar-ʊ-xæʃar* **(suffixal)**
thorn-and-firewood
'woods'

(8) *tir-ʊ-tærkæ* **(suffixal)**
timber-and-stick
'timbers'

(9) bæl-ʊ-ʃæl **(suffixal)**[8]
sand-and-mud
'soil'

(10) *sʊk-ʊ-pʊk* **(suffixal)**
spur-and-REDUP
'spur; goad (verb: to goad someone into an action)

In the examples above, both the base and the reduplicant are meaningful and can semantically stand alone. Other examples include *dur-ʊ-dærvazæ* (door-and-gateway) 'gate' and *ʤær-ʊ-dæ:va* (argument-and-fighting) 'fighting'.

[7] Javadpour (2018) contends that partial reduplication forms cannot be classified as 'prefixal' or 'suffixal' due to the presence of an intermediary morpheme, identified as a 'coordinating conjunction morpheme,' which separates the base from the reduplicant. As a result, the reduplicant does not function as an affix. Consequently, she proposes referring to these forms as 'rhyming compounds/reduplicated forms'.

[8] Naseri and Razmdideh (2022), in their study on Ghayeni, refer to forms in which the initial consonant of the reduplicant differs from that of the base as 'echoic reduplication.' An example of echoic reduplication in Lāri is sʊk-ʊ-pʊk ('goad') as illustrated in example (10).

However, there are cases where the reduplicant is meaningless and the resultant reduplication is semantically dependant on the meaning of the base:

(11) *beʃ-ʊ-bax* **(suffixal)**
child-and-REDUP
'children'

(12) *del-ʊ-dʊm* **(suffixal)**
belly-and-REDUP
'abdominal pain'

Reduplication in Lāri can either be pre- or post-reduplication. In the former type, the reduplicant precedes the base while in the latter one the reduplicant occurs after the bases. The reduplicant cannot occur in medial position in this language. Examples (11) and (12) show post-reduplication, while example (13) shows a pre-reduplication form:

b) Noun + -ʊ- + Adjective → Adjective

(13) *tak-ʊ-tela* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-gold
'sparkling clean'

c) Noun + -ʊ + Preposition → Noun

(14) *ɣæp-ʊ-dəʊr* [9] **(suffixal)**
left-and-around
'surrounding'

d) Adjective + -ʊ + Adjective + (NOM) → Noun

In this formula, the reduplicant is made of an adjective and probably a nominaliser as shown below:

(15) *pak-ʊ-pelæʃt-i* **(suffixal)**
clean-and-dirty-NOM
'cleaning'

(16) *næk-ʊ-bæz* **(suffixal)**
good-and-bad

[9] Ghaniabadi et al. (2006: 5) calls "imitative co-compounds" in which the second member is meaningless and phonologically similar to the first but not in a way that is derivable by rule.

'arrangement'

e) Adjective + -ʊ + Adjective → Adjective

(17) *zeʃt-ʊ-ziba* **(suffixal)**
ugly-and-pretty
'disgraceful'

(18) *gæt-ʊ-gʊt* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-big
'very big; enormous'

(19) *særd-ʊ-perd* **(suffixal)**
cold-and-REDUP
'very cold' (referring to the food temperature)

As seen in (15)-(17), the semantic relationship between the elements inside the reduplication is antonymous or oppositional. For example, in (17), *zeʃt* means 'ugly' while *ziba* means 'pretty'. This will be explained in detail below. There are other structures in which the initial consonant of the base is repeated and the rest of the reduplicant is unpredictable:

f) C_1y_1+ -ʊ + C_1y_2 → Noun

(20) *per-ʊ-pak* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-clean
'pruning'

Another productive reduplicative type in Lāri follows the type C_1*æk-ʊ-*C_1y_1 as in *bæk-ʊ-beʃ* 'child and other people like them'[10]. It should be noted that the type adds the meaning of 'and related stuff/people' to the base. Šeqāqī (2000) argues that the concept of categorisation is inferable form these forms. Phonologically, the base and the reduplicant share mainly the first phoneme (*per-ʊ-pak* 'pruning'). Some examples are given below:

g) C_1æk + -ʊ + C_1y_1 → Noun

(21) *bæk-ʊ-beʃ* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-child
'child and people like them'

[10] This is similar to what is known as *shm*-reduplication which is lent to English from Yiddish Jews from NY. (Kauffman 2015: 1) argues that *fancy-shmancy* is another reduplication from Yiddish. In Lāri, there are some cases which denote the meaning of playfulness, *axtung-paxtung* as a reduplication form for the unknown language.

(22) *nækʊ-nu* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-bread

'bread and other grains'

(23) *ʤækʊ-kʤaɪl-ija* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-young-PL

'youths and other people in the same range of age'

(24) *dækʊ-dʊrəʊ* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-untruth

'lies and other untruth statements'

When the initial consonant of the base is /k/ as in *kʊrʊna* in (25), then /t/ replaces /k/ in the reduplicant:

(25) *kætʊ-kʊrʊna* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-Corona_virus

'Corona (virus) and relevant transmittable diseases'

Kauffman (2015, p. 5) argues that languages such as Malay employ reduplication forms to express diversity and collectivity (e.g., *sayur* 'vegetable' → *sayur-sayur* 'various vegetables'). As illustrated above, the type C_1*æk-ʊ-*C_1y_1 can be extended to any other new words lent to Lāri. It expresses the meaning of diversity.

h) C_1y_1 + C_1y_2 → Noun

(26) *xæssæ-xʊni* **(prefixal)**
tired-REDUP

'break'

In some forms such as (26), the initial consonant of the base is repeated and the reduplicant is not predictable. There is not any infix between the base and the reduplicant. Therefore, *xæssa-xʊni* 'break' is a post-reduplication without the infix, and the reduplicant *xʊni* is not predictable.

In some partial reduplication types, the grammatical category of the base does not change in the output (27) whereas in some cases the reduplicative form has a different category compared to the base (28):

(27) *bækʊ-bæʃkar* **(prefixal)**
REDUP-and-tillage

'tillage'

(28) *tak-ʊ-tela*
REDUP-and-gold **(prefixal)**
'sparkling clean'

As seen, both the base *bæ/kar* and reduplication form *bæk-ʊ-bæ/kar* in (27) belong to the category of nouns meaning 'tillage'. In (28), the base *tela* is a noun meaning 'gold' while the resultant form *tak-ʊ-tela* is an adjective meaning 'sparkling clean'[11]. Reduplication can occur in the categories of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs (as shown in the examples above) but the prepositions cannot function as the base in reduplicative forms.

Similar to other Iranian languages such as Persian (Maḥmūdī Baxtīyārī and Ẕolfaqār Kondorī 2015), reduplication forms are not used to form plurals in Lāri[12]. The reduplication forms are neither used to express verbal features (such as tenses, aspect, in/transitivity or causative) nor they are employed to create a comparative adjective[13]. The reduplication form, depending on the category, can be marked for different features of the class. For example, the form *næk-ʊ-bæz* (**good-and-bad**) 'arrangement' which is a noun can take plural marker *-ija*, definiteness marker *-əʊ* and be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative pronoun or appear in relative clauses. Below, we show a reduplicative form in its plural form (29) and in the context (30) for the Lāri language:

(29) *næk-ʊ-bæz-ija* **(suffixal)**
good-and-bad-PL
'arrangements'

(30) *æz* *sʊb* *ta* *ʊla* *næk-ʊ-bæz-ija* *æ-kerdæz-ʊm*
from morning till now good-and-bad-PL IPFV-do.NPST-1SG
'I am organising the arrangements from morning up to now'

As seen in (30), the reduplicative form *næk-ʊ-bæz* 'arrangement' as a non-verbal element together with the verb *kerdæ* 'to do' form a compound verb. The verb *kerdæ* 'to do' in Lāri is preceded by nouns, adjectives or prepositions to form compound verbs. Most of the reduplicative forms can participate in

[11] The change of category is similar to other Iranian languages like Persian (Šeqāqī 2000).

[12] Kauffman (2015: 1) mentioned languages such as Malay where reduplication is used to make plurals as in the example *bunga* 'flower → *bunga-bunga* 'flowers.'

[13] In Lāri, full reduplication is used to derive temporal adverbials: *zuz* 'early'→ *zuz-a-zuz* 'quickly'; *gærm* 'warm'→ *gærm-a-gærm* 'warmly, but partial reduplication does not have this feature in the language.

the formation of compound verbs, the meaning of some is non-compositional (i.e. idiomatic):

(31) *xæssæ-xʊni* *æ* *dur* *kerdæ*
tired-REDUP to outside to_do
'to have a break' (lit. to take the tiredness outside [of the body])

Reduplication in nouns make up the largest proportion of the corpus in Lāri, whereas adverbs comprise the lowest percentage of the corpus. The only example of reduplication which functions as an adverb is *zeʃt-ʊ-ziba* 'disgracefully' which is illustrated in formula e) of example (17) above. Adjectives comprise the second most frequent class of reduplication forms. Rasekh Mahand (2009) reported the same results on the frequency of nominal reduplications in Persian.

6. Semantic analysis

Semantically, reduplication can be divided into three categories depending on the component which is meaningful:

a) Both base and reduplicant are meaningful:

(32) *xar-ʊ-xæʃar*
thorn-and-firewood
'woods'

As shown above, the base and the reduplicant can semantically stand alone. The meaning of the reduplication is compositional and is a subcategory of the reduplication. For example, in (32) above, the meaning of *xar-ʊ-xæʃar* encompasses the meaning of both *xar* 'thorn' and *xæʃar* 'firewoods'. Similarly, *tir-ʊ-tærkæ* 'timbers' includes the meaning of *tir* 'timber' and *tærkæ* 'stick'. Nonetheless, there are some cases where the parts of reduplication have an independent meaning, but they have different meaning if they are used individually. Consider the following example:

(33) *del-ʊ-dʊm*
heart-and-tail
'abdominal pain'

As seen, the meaning of the reduplicative form 'abdominal pain' is different from the meaning of its constituents: *del* 'heart' and *dʊm* 'tail'.

b) The base is meaningful but the reduplicant is meaningless:

(34) *ʊlʊs-ʊ-tæmbæl*
REDUP-and-lazy
'lazy, sluggish'

This example shows a pre-reduplication where the reduplicant occurs before the base. The reduplicant can appear after the meaningful base (post-reduplicant) as in *xæssæ-xʊni* 'break' which is analysed in example (26) above. However, there is no reduplication form in which both base and reduplicant are meaningless in Lāri.

Furthermore, when the reduplicant is meaningless as in (34) above, the base determines the meaning of the reduplicative form which encompasses a range of meanings of intensity[14] (*tak-ʊ-tela* 'sparkling clean'), similarity (*tir-ʊ-tærkæ* 'timbers and other similar materials'), categorisation (*fæk-ʊ-færmu* 'instructions and relevant commands'), emphasis (*læ:m-ʊ-xæʃ* 'very soft'), and attenuation[15] (*asækəʊ-asækəʊ* 'slowly').

The meaning of the resultant reduplicative form varies from iconic (*ʊlʊs-ʊ-tæmbæl* 'lazy') to the potentially idiomatic/ironic meanings (*zeʃt-ʊ-ziba* 'disgracefully'). Thus, the meaning of the reduplication is sometimes compositional as it can be derived from the meanings of the inputs involved or idiomatic/metaphorical, which is unpredictable by the elements of the base and the reduplicant. The idiomatic concept of the output can be typically ascribed to the idiomaticity of the base. For example, in the example below, *zæ:ræ* 'valour' [16] determines the metaphoric meaning of the reduplication form:

(35) *zæk-ʊ-zæ:ræ*
Redup-and-valour
'valour'

Khanjan and Alinezhad (2010), analysing Persian, argue that the idiomatic/metaphorical semantics of reduplicative forms results from the semantic extension of the base and its reduplicant involved. In some cases, the resulting output is semantically related to one of the elements. This finding is in line with what we stated about the Lāri examples (34) and (35) where the base defines the meaning of the output. However, the meaning of

[14] Or enhancement/amplification (Kauffman 2015: 4). Typically, full reduplication forms express intensity in Lāri as in *xæl-xæl* 'very hot' or *zuz-a-zuz* 'quickly'.
[15] Typically, in full reduplication forms.
[16] *Zæ:ræ* 'valour' originally means 'yellow bile', which is secreted from the gall bladder. Traditionally, Lāri speakers thought that fear caused rupture in the gall bladder and lead to secretion of the yellow bile. In this case, people used to say that the person has 'a rupture in his gall bladder'.

the reduplication is not always predictable from the meaning of its constituents as shown in (36).

(36) *ze∫t-ʊ-ziba*
ugly-and-pretty
'disgracefully'

Ghaniabadi et al. (2006) argue that the meaning of reduplication does not have to be attributed to the reduplicant but can be posited as a property of the construction as a whole. This applies to the reduplicative forms such as *C1æk-ʊ-C1y1* as in *ʧæk-ʊ-ʧe:run* 'furnace and other ovens' or *ʧæk-ʊ-ʧaji* 'tea and other beverages.'

As illustrated in (15)-(17), there are cases where the reduplicative elements have antonymous relationship to each other and connect to each other. Another example is *pak-ʊ-pelæ∫ti* (**clean-and-dirty-NOM**) 'cleaning' in which *pak* 'clean' and *pelæ∫t* 'dirt' juxtapose each other using /ʊ/ as the connecting element.

Investigating reduplication forms in Kurdish, Mirmokri & Seifori (2016, p. 175) made the following observations about the base and the reduplicant which have their own independent meaning:

a) If the parts of the reduplication are synonymous, the reduplication shows increase or emphasis. In Lāri, forms such as *læ:m-ʊ-xæ∫* (**soft-and-fine**) 'very soft' indicate an emphasis in the meaning.

b) If the parts of the reduplication have contrastive meanings, they refer to a general concept. This relationship is called 'uncoordinated relationship' and the meaning of the resultant reduplication is attached to one of the parts (either the base or the reduplicant) though they are opposite in meaning. These reduplication forms are called 'incompatible reduplications.' In Lāri, we can give an example of *ze∫t-ʊ-ziba* (**ugly-and-pretty**) 'disgracefully'.

7. Jibbāli reduplication

In what follows, we present two types of reduplication in Jibbāli: Full reduplication (§7.1) and partial reduplication (§7.2).

7.1. Full reduplication

Full reduplication exists in Jibbāli, the Dhofari language in Oman. It is used to intensify the meaning expressed by the adjectives; for example, instead of

saying ‘beautiful’, the meaning after full reduplication will be ‘very beautiful’. To illustrate, ‘ɣabz’ means ‘boring’, and when people fully replicate the form ‘ɣabz ɣabz’, the meaning changes to ‘very boring’. Full reduplication in Jibbāli is not limited to adjectives but can extend to apply to other lexical categories. In the following Table 1, we list several examples of full reduplication. It is worth noting that a few forms in the table belong to Dhofari Arabic which is often code-switched by the two informants of the study.

Table 1. Full reduplication in Jibbāli

Base	**Gloss**	**Reduplicative forms**	**Gloss**
ɣabz	‘boring’	ɣabz ɣabz	‘very boring’
ħiluu	‘beautiful’	ħiluu ħiluu	‘very beautiful’
ħmaas	‘exciting’	ħmaas ħmaas	‘very exciting’
kiʃxah	‘stylish’	kiʃxah kiʃxah	‘very stylish’
murhiq	‘exhausting’	murhiq murhiq	‘very exhausting’
haadii	‘quite’	haadii haadii	‘very quite’
mʕasˁsˁab	‘angry’	mʕasˁsˁab mʕasˁsˁab	‘very angry’
tˁwiil	‘tall’	tˁwiil tˁwiil	‘very tall’
qsˁiir	‘short’	qsˁiir qsˁiir	‘very short’
frħaan	‘happy’	frħaan frħaan	‘very happy’

Another type of reduplication in Jibbāli involves full reduplication of verbs which are borrowed from the Arabic language to express the ‘continuity or progression of the action’ expressed by the verb. For example, ‘*Ahmed haz atˁaawlah*’ means that ‘he shook the table’, while ‘*Ahmed hazhaz atˁaawlah*’ means that he was shaking the table for some time. In Table 2, we present several examples of this type of reduplication.

Table 2. Two-consonant verbs’ reduplication in Jibbāli

Base	**Gloss**	**Reduplicative forms**	**Gloss**
haz	‘shook’	hazhaz	‘shaking’
far	‘escaped’	farfar	‘escaping’
fasˁ	‘pressed’	fasˁfasˁ	‘pressing’
gar	‘dragged’	gargar	‘dragging’
Kab	‘poured’	kabkab	‘pouring’
sˁab	‘poured’	sˁabsˁab	‘pouring’
ʕaðˁ	‘bit’	ʕaðˁʕaðˁ	‘bitting’
ʃam	‘smelled’	ʃamʃam	‘smilling’
ʕad	‘counted’	ʕadʕad	‘counting’
raʃ	‘sprayed’	raʃraʃ	‘spraying’

7.2. Partial reduplication

The third type of reduplication in the Dhofari dialect is partial reduplication. In this process, the last consonant is reduplicated in order to make the verb a transitive verb. For example, '*Ahmed marra*' means he walked or passed in that path, while '*Ahmed marrar ʔlʔɯraaq lilt^{ʕ}ullaab*' means he passed the papers to the students. In Table 3 below, we list various examples of partial reduplication in transitive verbs. It is noteworthy to state that the base verbs can be used both as intransitive verbs in most contexts and as transitive verbs in other contexts, while the verbs after reduplication can be used only as transitive verbs.

Table 3. Partial reduplication in Jibbāli

Base	Gloss	Reduplicative forms	Gloss
ħassa	'feel'	ħassas	'make someone feel a feeling'
madda	'stretch'	maddad	'supply something to someone or stretch something'
fakka	'release'	fakkak	'turn something into separate pieces'
ʃamma	'smell'	ʃammam	'let someone smell something'
massa	'touch'	massas	'let someone touch something'
ɡarra	'drag'	ɡarrar	'let something drag something else'
ħabba	'love'	ħabbab	'make someone love something or someone else'
laffa	'change his way'	laffaf	'change the way of something or someone else'
hazza	'shake'	hazzaz	'shake someone or something else'
marra	'pass'	marrar	'let someone pass or pass something'

8. Conclusion

Reduplication is a common morphological process in both Lāri and Jibbāli. To illustrate, in Lāri, it is used productively to add meanings like emphasis (*pæræ-pet* 'torn away'), categorisation (*mæk-ʊ-me:mu* 'guests and other people') or addition (*ʤær-ʊ-dæ:va* 'fighting') in the language. There are some cases where the reduplication form can add a playfulness meaning as in *zæk-ʊ-zum* 'Zoom and other [ridiculous!] applications like it'. As Kauffman (2015: 1) mentions, reduplication is a "form of seasoning that salts and peppers the language". In Jibbāli, reduplication is also widely used. This is illustrated by the use of reduplication in bases that belong to different lexical categories listed in the paper. These are adjectives to express intensification or the

meaning of 'very', verbs to express the meaning of continuity and transitivity. The latter meaning is mainly used for borrowed verbs from Arabic.

In Lāri, reduplication forms are mainly nouns (*bæl-ʊ-ʃæl* 'soil') and adjectives (*tak-ʊ-tela* 'sparkling clean') but there are some cases of reduplication functioning as adverbs (*zeʃt-ʊ-ziba* 'disgracefully'). Reduplication forms can be made by combining nouns, adjectives or prepositions. There are also other formulae in which the reduplicant is made by the first consonant of the base and another variant part: *gæt-ʊ-gena* (**REDUP-and-mad**) 'a mad person'.

One of the reduplication forms which is very productive in Lāri is C_1*æk-ʊ-*C_1y_1 which is employed to localise foreign words as exemplified by *væk-ʊ-vʊrd* 'Microsoft Word and similar software products.' Moreover, the output is not always grammatically predictable on the basis of the constituents, and there is a change in grammatical category of reduplication in some cases as in *tela* 'gold' which is a noun but *tak-ʊ-tela* (**REDUP-and-gold**) 'sparkling clean' is an adjective.

Semantically, the base is typically meaningful while the reduplicant cannot stand alone. However, there are cases with both components meaningful. The meaning of the outcome can be iconic (*bæk-ʊ-balæk* 'alcove') or idiomatic (*zæk-ʊ-zæ:ræ* 'valour'). The relationship between the base and the reduplicant can be either synonymous or contrastive which indicate an emphasis or general meaning respectively.

There is a clear similarity between Lāri and Jibbāli in terms of the availability of full reduplication to emphasize adjectives or nouns. However, full reduplication is mainly used to emphasize adjectives in the Dhofari language. Intriguingly, Jibbāli uses reduplication to mark transitivity in verbs. Intriguingly, Jibbāli uses reduplication to mark transitivity in borrowed verbs from Arabic. It also replicates bi-consonantal verbs borrowed from Arabic to express the continuity or progression of the action.

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