

FROM EMPHASIS TO MOCKERY: THE MULTIFUNCTIONAL ROLE OF REDUPLICATION IN SINDHI

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Abstract

The present study investigates reduplication in Sindhi language in morpho-semantic perspective, specifically full, partial and nonsense forms. Employing a qualitative-descriptive method informed by Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT), we collected data by direct sampling of spontaneous speech in natural contexts including homes, markets, and social gatherings. This study records and classifies reduplicated expressions and investigates both their structural types and semantic functions. The findings reveal that full reduplication is mostly used to strengthen meaning or express the speaker's emotions, especially when they feel frustrated, insistent, or sarcastic. Though partial reduplication is an aspect of grammar, the meanings it conveys are finely grained, such as urgency, ambiguity, social relationships, and politeness, all of which are culturally shaped and pragmatic intention. Meaning is provided by the conferring of sound symbolism, social context, and so forth, and nonsensical reduplication is therefore primarily an expressive and social phenomenon ridicule, dismissal, emphasis, imagery, and so on, lacking formal meaning, signing the lack of a need for formal meaning. Overall, the study illustrates that reduplication in Sindhi is not only a formal linguistic process; rather, it is a dynamic communicative strategy that is deeply entrenched in cultural expression and social interaction. Such findings help in the larger narrative of reduplication in South Asian languages as a morpheme that is both semantically connected to the word it modifies but is also multifunctional.

Keywords: Reduplication, Sindhi language, Morpho-semantic functions, Full reduplication, Partial reduplication, Nonsensical reduplication,

1. Introduction

Sindhi language is one of the major languages of Pakistan having deep-seated historical and cultural roots in the Lower Indus River Valley (Jokhio, 2012). Sindhi is classified under the Northwestern group of the Indo-Aryan languages, a branch of the Indo-Iranian family and has evolved for over 2500 years under, with visible influences from different migrating groups including the Scythians and people immigrating from GI Southern Iran (Allana, 1995). Sindhi is mainly spoken in the province of Sindh, where it is an official language (Cole, 2006). Based on

statistics provided in 1998 by the census of Pakistan, they show, based on data provided by the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, that about 30.4 million people speak Sindhi (Keerio, 2011).

Sindhi differs from other South Asian languages through its use of script—it is written in an extended Arabic script in Pakistan and a Devanagari and Gurmukhi scripts by Sindhi-speaking communities in India (Ali, 2016). Sindhi language's dialects include Vicholi, Thareli, Kachchi, Lari, Lasi, and Utradi. These are dialects of Sindhi referred to as Vicholi used mostly in central Sindh, Thareli used in Tharparkar, Kachchi used in Gujarat (India), Lari used in southern Sindh, Lasi used in Lasbela (Balochistan), and Utradi used in northern Sindh (Allana, 1995). The Most spoken dialects among them is Vicholi, which is considered to be the standard dialect and is widely used in Sindhi literature and education.

The morpho-semantic system of the Sindhi language is influentially composed and is recognizable as an explicitly linguistic feature of its reduplication process. Sindhi being the member of the Indo-Aryan language family has rich morphology and semantic complexity wherein the reduplication is one of the base mechanisms to encode the meaning. This includes emphasis, intensity, plurality, repetition, distribution, and expressiveness, each of which adds a distinct level of communicative potentiality to the language. Looking at the nature of reduplication, we observe that, whether in spoken form or in written format, reduplication is a common phenomenon found in many languages; however, in the case of Sindhi, to the best of our understanding, it has not been explored with respect to its morphological and semantic facets.

Although reduplication has been examined in other regional languages such as Urdu, Rangri, and Balochi, but in Sindhi language has not been any study from this perspective. Thus far, there has been limited academic interest in the morphological and semantic role of reduplication in Sindhi. The present study aims to investigate reduplication from a morpho-semantic perspective in Sindhi language. By filling this gap the present study significantly contributes to the structural patterns and the expressive power that reduplication adds to the linguistic system of Sindhi language.

1.1 Research Objective

- To identify the types of reduplication used in the Sindhi language
- To analyze the morphological structures of reduplicated forms.
- To explore the semantic functions associated with reduplication.

1.2 Research Question

- What are the common types of reduplication found in Sindhi?
- How are reduplicated forms morphologically constructed in Sindhi?
- What semantic functions do reduplicative constructions perform?

2. Literature Review

Reduplication is a common morphological process across the languages of the world, serving a wide range of functions in morphological, semantic, and pragmatic phenomena. In Sinitic languages, verbal reduplication frequently encodes event reiteration, for bounded or unbounded durations of time (Arcodia et al., 2015). With this basic sense, it can develop a surprising array of semantic distinctions that showcase the ability of reduplication to communicate rich meanings. However, reduplication is not always iconic, and it is not the case that all ideophones (words that present perceptual imagery) are reduplicated (Dingemanse, 2015). This is a challenge to the widely held view that reduplication is fundamentally an iconic device. To understand the function

of repeated talk, including reduplication, we propose to analyze it within the scope of two modes of representation in language: description and depiction.

Reduplication is a clear strategy of word formation across languages, one that creates emphasis and even pragmatic function in conversation. It serves more than the simple purpose of duplication; it is a complex relationship between syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. High-level morphological system of reduplication shows usage of the morphological system of reduplication works in different languages as shown in studies from different family languages (Arcodia et al., 2015), Sinitic. In Indo-Aryan and other South Asian languages, however, reduplication is more than a stylistic ornament; it is a grammatical instrument with cultural and deep-rooted functional significance. This section provides an overview of contemporary work in the field of reduplication in its typological, morphological, semantic, and pragmatic aspects, which serves to emphasize the place of the identified gap in research in the extant literature in the context of the Sindhi language.

2.1 Typology and Theoretical Frameworks

Recent studies have made classical binarism paler in its account of reduplication. Modern theories of linguistic classification suggest more fine-grained divisions according to morphological patterns, semantic roles, and syntactic contexts. Majeed, Khan and Nawaz (2024) adapted a similar theoretical approach as the existing studies but applied Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT) to account for reduplication patterns in a specific Indo-Aryan contact language—Rangri. They distinguish among lexical, phrasal and ideophonic types of reduplication, each of which serves distinct communicative functions. MDT treats reduplication as a rule-organized, productive process rather than as random repetition. A common thread running through these studies is their call for a broadened typology of reduplication as a structural phenomenon determined by syntactic placement, morphological replication, and semantic amplification.

Hooper's seminal article laid the groundwork for reduplication research, but it has grown well beyond a simple total versus partial approach (Fujimoto 2004; Kager Zubizarreta 2009). Once again, contemporary linguistic models are delivering more fine-grained classifications that consider morphological behaviors, semantic functions, and syntactic environments (Inkelas & Downing, 2015). Today, in-predication reduplication has gained acceptance through these no-better-than state-of-the-art models. This broader perspective has given way to insights into the diversity of the roles and types of reduplication across languages (e.g. semantically empty reduplication, a-templatic reduplication and compensatory reduplication (Inkelas & Downing, 2015).

This development in reduplication studies is part of a general trend in linguistics towards reunification and complexity, a movement away from holistic and extreme end-states of abstraction and towards integrating multiple domains and language-external factors into our analyses. One example of how this is highlighted is the growing recognition that syntactic complexity is not simply one dimensional property, but should be approached as multi-faceted phenomenon that needs to account for structural as well as syntactic distinctions (Biber et al., 2024). Similarly, the study of reduplication which can be exercised over a range of non-phonological form-meaning relation, has left behind earlier focus on phonological identity to acknowledge the contribution made by semantic, morphological, and other types of alignment.

2.2 Morphological Structures in Regional Languages

Reduplicative morphology shows striking diversity within South Asian languages. This variability is also evident in recent studies with respect to phonological templates, root structures,

and morphological productivity. Majeed, Khan and Nawaz (2024) examined reduplication in Balochi and classified it into total, partial and echo reduplication. They found in their study that Balochi speakers reduplicate to derive adjectival intensifiers and adverbs of manner as well as abstract nominal forms. Indeed, we found evidences that partial reduplication is actually used more frequently in casual speeches and in informal registers, which shows its rootedness in sociolinguistics.

Similarly, Zaman, Majeed and Naper (2025) examined Shina using the MDT approach. Their results showed that total reduplication was preferred, notably among verbs and ideophones, emphasizing that reduplication is crucial in imparting aspects and emotional color to verbs. The total, partial, and non-sensical classifications discovered also closely resemble the patterns seen in Sindhi and may be indicative of similar areality (i.e. shared morphological features across languages) across these two languages.

Research conducted on Pashto, specifically concerning the Yousafzai dialect, illustrates how reduplication acts as a morphological tool for the derivation of a word class. Repetition forms both adjectives “spīn-spīn” and adverbs “tezi-tezi” (‘very fast’), showing both intensification and stylistic rhythm. These aforementioned results suggest that reduplication is not uniform across South Asian languages but varies in structure and frequency, reflecting the complex interplay of morphological, phonological, and cultural variables.

2.3 Semantic Functions and Pragmatic Roles

Semantically, reduplication encodes a number of highly diverse meanings from intensity and repetition, to distributiveness and emotive expressivity. Pragmatically, it frequently tempers commands, magnifies assertions or gives a poetic or idiomatic seasoning to speech. Both emphatic and distributive reduplication processes in Saraiki were analyzed by van de Weijer (2020). Their example of emphatic reduplication “help them help them” enhances the meaning of verbs and adjectives, while They showed that the use of distributive reduplication signifies the repetition or plurality of action, as in “they can come come.” They emphasized, though, that reduplication could replace other grammatical markers, demonstrating versatility.

Recent studies such as Ahmad, Khyathi and Bhattacharyya (2024) demonstrate new insights by contrasting reduplication and repetition disfluency in Hindi, Telugu, and Marathi. Based on corpora of spontaneous speech, they showed that while disfluencies are artifacts of cognitive processing, reduplication is calculable and rule-governed morphological process which serves some specific purposes. This is an important distinction for understanding reduplication as a legitimate strategy of human linguistic performance, not as a mistake. According to Mir (2024) in the context of Pakistani English, language contact due to the prevalence of indigenous languages (that is, Urdu and Punjabi) is a contributing factor in the development of a reduplicated second language English. Also, in a L2 perspective, how L1 morpho-semantic weightage influences the L2 pragmatics can be observed in phrases like “time-time pe aana” or “fast-fast bolo”. The foregoing code-mixed reduplication serves both linguistic transfer as well as a marker of identity and familiarity. These both studies underscore that reduplication is semantically versatile and pragmatically rich, often reflecting speaker intention, affect, and social context.

Sindhi, however, remains vastly underexplored, despite decades of rigorous studies on reduplication. With its agglutinative structure, historical development, and close relationship with Indo-Aryan languages, Sindhi should exhibit a wide range of reduplicative forms and functions. Reduplication has been a prominent topic for researchers in recent years, but there has been very

little research on reduplication in Sindhi. This study aims to investigate and offer insightful findings on Sindhi forms total, partial and echo reduplication for emphasis, repetition and semantic nuances. Reduplication in Sindhi language has to be systematically studied using modern morphological analysis such as MDT or RRM. This study thus fills a significant gap in the field of phonology by examining the types, morphological composition, and semantic functions of reduplication in Sindhi language using contemporary theoretical frameworks and a data-driven perspective.

3. Research Methodology

This research explores reduplication as a morpho-semantic phenomenon in Sindhi language adopting a qualitative-descriptive research design. Based on Morphological Doubling Theory (Inkelas & Zoll, 2015), it studies structural patterns of full, partial and nonsensical reduplication. A semantic-pragmatic model expands on these forms, elucidating how they encode repetition, emphasis, emotional tone and social meaning. Data were obtained via direct observation of spontaneous speech in specific real-world locations such as home, market, social events. 31 reduplicated forms were recorded and analyzed based on their morphological structure and context of use. Interpretations were cross-checked with native speakers and corroborated by relevant literature. Anonymity and academic integrity were upheld, allowing for high ethical standards.

4. Findings

4.1 Full Reduplication

Table 1: Full Reduplications in Sindhi

Sindhi Transcription	English Transcription	English Translation	Semantic Function
روز روز	roz roz	daily / again and again	Indicates habitual action; may express frustration, repetition, or annoyance
گھر گھر	ghar ghar	every house	Distributive across locations; denotes coverage or emphasis on multiple places
اچ اچ	ach ach	come come	Urgent or repetitive call; may also express unwillingness or annoyance
گھم گھم	ghum ghum	wandering around / go explore	Indicates constant roaming; also shows soft permission to go explore lovingly
کل کل	khil khil	continuous smiling	Suggests joy, sarcasm, or threat (“my time will come too” - teasing or challenging tone)
هل هل	hul hul	gently swaying / pushing	Suggests movement; may express irritation or rejection of company
گھڙي گھڙي	ghari ghari	every moment / again and again	Shows frequency; can imply frustration due to repeated disturbance

Sindhi Transcription	English Transcription	English Translation	Semantic Function
پل پل	pal pal	every second / moment to moment	Reflects intensity and emotional closeness or stress
ٿورو ٿورو	thoro thoro	little by little	Indicates gradual or careful distribution; also hesitation or small-scale action
جي جي	je je	yes yes / what what	Used to show agreement, respect, or confusion (as in "Sorry, what did you say?")
چر چر	chir chir	constant chattering/noise	Onomatopoeic; implies chaos, nuisance, or emotional overflow
پڻ پڻ	bhunn bhunn	murmuring / whispering	Imitative sound; can show secretive talk, gossip, or irritation
هٿيان هٿيان	hethan hethan	down and down / lower and lower	Descent; suggests social or emotional suppression or going downward in state/status

The findings of the present study reveal that full reduplication in Sindhi illustrate a range of semantic and pragmatic functions which are not only rich in cultural context but also domain-based depending on the speaker intention. Many reduplicated forms are used to intensify meaning, express emotional states, or signal social cues through repetition. For example, *roz roz* (روز روز) — meaning 'daily' — shows up in conversation for repetitive or regular action. But its pragmatic application often goes beyond such a neutral repetition and is most commonly used to signal annoyance or frustration at events that occur repeatedly. Interestingly, some reduplicated forms are used to carry relational or emotional meaning. The word *ghum ghum* (گهم گهم), which means to roam or wander, is not necessarily flattering, but in some contexts has a warm, approving connotation; for example, when permission is given in a gentle way that shows trust, like a parent saying, “go and roam around, and I will wait.”

Reduplication also vividly conveys social emotions like annoyance and rejection. *Ach ach* (اچ اچ), literally ‘come, come’, can be used as a repeat call, but softened, the tone indicates refusal or an unwillingness to participate, at least without duress, if the speaker is instructing someone to join them. *Hul hul* (هل هل), which means to push or move, describes not merely physical motion but can function as a gentle shove of social exclusion, a word to be used when one is aggrieved or not willing to oblige someone. Reduplication can also denote sarcasm or an indirect threat, as in the word *khil khil* (کل کل), which normally signals laughter of the persistent variety. Though it may simply refer to someone who seems to be in a jolly mood or laughing, used in certain tones, especially if referring to someone mocking you, it becomes a thinly-veiled threat and comes as close as to say, “Keep laughing, my time will come too.” The interplay of these interpretations points to the inherent expressivity of reduplication in everyday usage.

The expression *ghari ghari* (گهڙي گهڙي) which translates to ‘again and again’ or ‘every now and then’, is often used when someone is frequently interrupted or bothered, and that the repetition

irritates the person. This is particularly visible in homes or less formal environments where repeated asking or questioning leads to the asking party feeling emotionally drained. Notably, *thoro thoro* (ٿورو ٿورو) — literally ‘little by little’ — also conveys caution, hesitance or modesty, which indicates how reduplication is used to tone down the intensity of an action. Another significant finding is the use of reduplication to show social politeness and respect. *Je je* (جي جي), for example, works both ways, it can confirm something as an affirmative response showing respect, create a polite ask for reiteration, or signal passive agreement. Its adaptability shows how reduplication serves a tool of managing interpersonal relationships with sensitivity.

In other instances, reduplication echoes sounds or actions as a sign of annoyance or as a way to register a disturbance in the environment. *Chir chir* (چر چر): an onomatopoeic form denoting the sensation of noise, chatter, especially when children are around or socializing. Another form is *bhunn bhunn* (پڻ پڻ), imitating the sound of something being murmured or gossiping about, used when an ongoing backdoor talk will filter into a realm of the irritating or disrespectful. Finally, *hethan hethan* (هيٺان هيٺان), which transliterates as ‘lower and lower’, denotes decline, of emotional tone, physical position, or status — but with a subtle undertone of pity or concern.

Thus the complete reduplication is not only a morpho-semantic duplication in Sindhi, but rather the strands of the two systems are variously intertwined with lyrics that can only be described in iconic specificity prominence, reiteration, social connectivity and sentiment. These different uses between sarcasm to care, respect to rejection how reduplication is an important communicative resource, knitted into the text of everyday Sindhi interaction.

4.2 Partial Reduplication

Table 2: Partial Reduplications in Sindhi

Sindhi Transcription	English Transcription	English Translation	Semantic Function
اچ وچ	ach wanj	Come and go	Indicates casual social visits, shows kinship or relation, expresses curiosity or even irritation when movement is repeated
وٺ سٺ	wath sath	To do something in hurry	Implies urgency in doing tasks due to time constraints, especially during social gatherings like weddings
جاچ جوچ	jach joch	Inquire thoroughly	Denotes detailed inquiry into someone’s background, behavior, or reputation
ماني ڏاني	mani dhani	Meal and accompaniments	Refers to food and everything that goes with it, such as tea, side dishes; highlights daily sustenance
اهڙو تيهڙو	ehtro tehro	Low quality	Used to express undervaluation or inferiority, but can be a rhetorical way to assert one’s dignity or self-worth
هيڏان هوڏان	hedan hodan	Here and there	Expresses ambiguity, avoidance in naming people or facts, beating around the bush

Sindhi Transcription	English Transcription	English Translation	Semantic Function
مهانگو سهانگو	mahango sahango	Costly and necessary	Indicates an expensive item that must be bought out of necessity; subtly critiques overpriced essentials
رُکو سُکو	rukho sukho	Dry and plain	Describes situations that lack smoothness or completeness, such as eating without proper side dishes
ٽڙ ٽڪڙ	takr pakr	Hastily done	Reflects regret over hurried actions leading to mistakes or mishaps
پويٽياڳتي	agte poete	Back and forth	Denotes indecisiveness, confusion, or lack of stability in actions or plans
هتي هتي	hite hote	Here and there (placement)	Spatial orientation or casual mention of directions; often idiomatic
اوئي هوئي	ooe hoe	Oh no / Oh wow	Emotional reaction of joy (in poetry/art) or sorrow (in loss); expresses intensity of feeling
کلي ولي	khali wali	Let it be / Ignore it	Minimizes importance of an issue, used to avoid conflict or show indifference
شادي وادي	shadi wadi	Marriage and related matters	Refers to events and preparation around marriage; celebratory tone
رڙڙ	rurr brr	Crying sounds	Onomatopoeic expression representing the sound of weeping or loud crying

The analysis on this data shows that Sindhi partial reduplication codes a similar wide range of semantic, pragmatic, and cultural functions, with a particular focus on the expression of mood, movement, social roles, and implicit meanings. In contrast with full reduplication, which often serves to intensify or repeat upon a meaning, partial reduplication in Sindhi is typically more of an act of shading, suggesting registers of relatedness, relational dynamics, cultural values through contrastive or complementary forms.

Many partial reduplicated phrases specify movement, urgency or habitual action, implicitly. For example, *ach wanj* (اچ وڃ), ‘come and go’, signifies more than physical movement: it denotes a social ritual or a connection of kinship like visiting relations or friends. But it can also have undertones of curiosity or irritation when the action is frequent or disruptive. Likewise, *wath sath* (وٺ سٺ) literally meaning ‘to do something in a hurry’ is often used when you are pressed for time, like when wedding preparations are underway, hinting at social pressure or communal rush.

Partial reduplication in contrast would cover a notion of emotion and cognition, rudimentarily metaphorical extensions. The term *jach joch* (ڄاڇ ڄوڇ), literally meaning ‘inquire thoroughly’, is an expression used in the context not only of a careful investigation but also often carries an implicit social investigation, usually to decide if the person is socially acceptable within family or society. *Takr pakr* (ٽڪڙ ٻڪڙ), meaning ‘hastily done’, is used in contexts of regret, marking decisions or actions taken in haste and with unintended consequences. This maps a clear

trajectory of social discourse of the everyday, in all its complexity and subtlety, through reduplication. For example, *mani dhani* (مانی ڌاني), or literally ‘meal and everything beside’, embodies the cultural importance of food as a holistic and social experience. It expresses the notion that a meal is not whole without its sides — that something is lacking, or simple when those additions are not present. *Rukho sukho* (رُڪو سُڪو), the term used for ‘dry and plain’, refers literally to situations in which one eats dry food without any gravy or spices, and can therefore metaphorically expand to situations that might be emotionally barren.

Some expressions encode disorientation, ambiguity, or avoidance, such as *hedan hodan* (هڏان هڏان) and *hite hote* (هتي هتي), both roughly meaning ‘here and there’. These are frequently employed to refer to someone without naming them directly or to describe aimless movement, indicating indirectness or a cultural tendency toward polite vagueness in matters of social critique. In the same way, *agte poete* (اڳتي پوئتي), which literally translates to ‘back and forth’, speaks of vacillation or very flimsy commitment, the speaker’s feeling of confusion where there is no compromise or commitment involved. Another domain within which partial reduplication thrives is emotional expressiveness. The term *ooe hoe* (اوئي هوئي), like ‘oh no / oh wow’ shows how reduplication is able to pick up on spontaneous interjections of positive or negative emotion — whether pleasure in poetry or pain in mourning. The emotional density of such utterances is often contextual, and reveals the Sindhi speaker’s attunement to expressive register. Similarly *rurr brr* (رُرر بَرر) is also an onomatopoeic formation, meant to mimic disturbing sounds and generally used as an expression when crying loudly or in an exaggerated way, typically of children or at public mourning.

It is interesting that partial reduplication is often used for economic or social commentary. *Mahango sahango* (مهانگو سهانگو), ‘costly and necessary’, comments on the increasing cost of the goods we require — that some things must be purchased regardless of their cost given society’s expectations or a lack of correct decision-making. Likewise *shadi wadi* (شادي وادي) to collect and refer to anything and everything under the umbrella of weddings, gently hinting at the cultural burden of preparing for marriage and the baggage that comes attached. Forms such as *khali wali* (ولي کلي) embody social attitudes toward conflict. Used to minimize an argument or prevent escalation, it can mean something like “Don’t care” or “Don’t want to dig up” (“Let it go” or “Ignore it” are about where to put it in English).

Sindhi partial reduplication is dynamic: it is something more than simple fiery repetition, then as much an issue of expressivity as an issue of mere repetition. It transmits social behavior, emotional states, evaluative commentary and cultural values in fine shades of contrast and associations. Ranging from gestures of restlessness or affection to gripes about prices or avoidance of confrontation, these forms are evidence of how imbricated language is in the daily round. Just as full reduplication in Sindhi has the sense of repetition and intensity, so partial reduplication captures the subtle play of meaning, mood, and manner in discourse, and as such represents an essential part of the performative mode of Sindhi.

4.3 Nonsensical Reduplication

Table 3: Nonsensical Reduplications in Sindhi

Reduplicated Form	Literal Translation	Cultural Meaning / Usage
horr horr (هور هور)	No literal meaning	Used mockingly to imitate or ridicule someone in a theatrical or exaggerated way, like making fun of them or calling them a "thatholi"
tur tur (تر تر)	No literal meaning	A sarcastic, angry command to tell someone to leave during a fight, often implying they are worthless or incapable of doing anything meaningful .
bhunn bhunn (پٹ پٹ)	No literal meaning	Mimics murmuring; reflects background gossip, complaints, or persistent whispering that becomes socially irritating

The results reveal that nonsensical reduplication in Sindhi does more than just imitate sound or movement, but rather serves as a potent tool to negotiate relationships between individuals, a mechanism that is especially effective in emotionally laden or socially sensitive contexts. *Horr horr* (هور هور). The *horr horr* (هور هور) expression expresses mockery or theatrical ridicule. "This phrase is mostly used when someone wants to act foolish or mock someone in an amusing way." Children or adults, for example, could be using it as an imitation of someone being overdramatic or doing something ridiculous. The phrase boasts a lot of layers, performing the function of a social signal, dense with dismissive irony, often used against people perceived to be naive or attention-seeking, ones that you could accurately refer to as "thatholi" in the local context. *Tur tur* (تر تر) Used most often in voicing challenges or opposition, it's a piercing, slicing way to say, "Leave quickly!". The reiteration makes the command heavier, suggesting, "I know you very well now leave." It sounds like the go we'll see what you can do.

Finally, *bhunn bhunn* (پٹ پٹ), though often light on tone, still has a socially rich function. It is onomatopoeic and describes the ambient sound of gossip, murmuring or grumbling. Applied to low-level nuisances or discomforts in homes or public spaces, it captures how ambient speech noise comes to symbolize social irritation. It serves as not-so-gentle reminder, admoni. Overall, these constructions work together to illustrate that nonsense-reduplication in Sindhi is not arbitrary, nor arbitrary. Rather, it is an exceptionally rich form of language used for negotiating social dynamics, for the delivery of sarcasm, ridicule or dismissal; and to emote without having to confront the other directly. Even in their bantering or over-the-top variants, these reduplications speak to the Sindhi speaker's acute sense of social tone, intention and emotional valence, shing those who gossip or murmur in the background.

5. Conclusion

The present study examined the reduplication in Sindhi as a morpho-semantic phenomenon, analyzing its full, partial, and nonsensical forms. The findings of the present study illustrate that reduplication in Sindhi serves a variety of linguistic and communicative purposes, rooted deeply in cultural norms and social interactions. Full reduplication was used to indicate extreme, repeated and/or emotional states, suggesting frustration, affection, sarcasm, or insistence. The other type of reduplication was a partial reduplication that emphasized slightly different semantic meaning, like urgency, confusion, relational dynamics or the inadequacy of a situation, allowing us to see how a speaker uses a repeated form in different ways in different contexts. The nonsensical forms of reduplication seemed to operate primarily to expressiveness, jocularity, or social stance, often

mimicking sentiments of ridicule, dismissal or exasperation using sound patterns that have little or no literal meaning. The present study thus underscores the importance of reduplication in enriching Sindhi discourse, providing valuable insights into the meaning, intersection of form and socio-cultural function in language use.

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