

## FULL AND PARTIAL REDUPLICATIONS IN VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF PASHTO

Shakir Ullah<sup>1</sup>, Mahwish Shamim<sup>2</sup>, Uzma Anjum<sup>3</sup>

## Original Article

1. PhD Scholar, Department of English, Air University, Islamabad, Pakistan. shakirsbbu@gmail.com
2. PhD Scholar, Department of English, Air University, Islamabad, Pakistan.
3. Assistant Professor, Department of English, Air University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

**Abstract**

*Pashto is an Indo-Iranian language spoken in Pakistan and Afghanistan. It has been the focus of many research studies that revealed its various interesting features. It has been observed that Pashto language has gone through several phases of development, and there is a need to find its various hidden patterns. Therefore, the present article explores various types of reduplication in the Yousafzai dialect. The study aims to investigate the reduplication having the combination of various categories in the Yousafzai dialect. For doing this, the researchers collected the data from the conversations of native speakers. The meanings of all collected words were confirmed later in dictionaries and books. The present study is qualitative in its nature. Researchers have discovered full and partial reduplication in this dialect. The study results showed that full and partial types of reduplication are found in Pashto language. The following categories were found in Yousafzai dialect: reduplication having noun and noun occurrences create adjective, one type of reduplication having noun and noun repetition remains noun, another type of noun and noun reduplication creates adjective, verb and verb repetitions create verb, noun and noun reduplication with infix (a) create adverb, adjective and adjective repetitions create adjective, noun and noun create a noun, adjective and adjective reduplication with consonantal change (w) creates adjective, and noun and noun with consonantal change also create an adjective.*

**Keywords:** Consonantal and vowel change, full and partial reduplication, Yousafzai dialect, Pashto.

**Introduction**

Pakistan is a multilingual country where major and minor languages are practiced daily. Among them, Urdu is practiced at national level, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Balochi are practiced at the provincial level, and some languages are widely practiced at geographical/regional level. Similarities are found among all languages with sounds and structures, but they are also different, with various numbers of sounds and various word-formation structures and processes. It has been observed that every language is different from its structural patterns to its vocabulary. For many last years, various researchers have been trying to work on various local languages of Pakistan such as Urdu, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Saraiki, which are considered the main languages of this country. On the other hand, many other local languages in Pakistan are treated at the secondary level, and most

researchers do not study them. So, there is a need to study those local languages and discover their beauty.

Pashto is widely spoken at Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as a native language. It is also practiced in the areas of Balochistan. The natives-speakers of this language are called Pathans. When we see Pashto language from the research point, less study has been done on this language. Due to socio-economic and cultural influence, Pashto language has been divided into two main dialects, one is Qandahari and the second one is Khattak. The dialect of the present study is Yousafzai, also called Peshawari, and it is spoken in Peshawar, Mardan, Malakand, Swat and Dir (Garcia & Munir, 2016). When we observe the patterns/script of Pashto language, we come to know that it has gone through various developmental phases. In the start, it adopted many modern forms "from other linguistic

systems” (Garcia & Munir, 2016). We can also see the use of reduplication in “Yousafzai”, the dialect of Pashto language.

It is stated by Montaut (2010) that reduplication is found at the structural level in South Asian areas. It is found not only in written scripts but also in daily life spoken usage. According to Kauffman (2015) and Rubino (2001), reduplication has two broad categories e.g. full and partial. Rubino (2001) expresses that full reduplication encircles the “repetition of the complete word, word stem with affixes or root with another root”, and partial reduplication takes place in different shapes; consonant and vowel lengthening, simple, complex, and automatic. So, the researchers aimed to find the use of full and partial reduplication in the Yousafzai dialect. The focus of the current study was on this phenomenon to find what type of reduplication was present in the Yousafzai dialect and how native speakers created various meanings with the help of reduplication in their conversation.

#### Statement of the Problem

Phonetically all languages are the same having only consonants and vocalic phonemes for making words that convey meanings and bring ease in understanding. However, phonologically and morphologically, every language has its own building of vocabulary with its own rules and specific patterns. Based on the above statement, it is true that Pashto has consonants and vocalic phonemes, and they are used in reduplication. So, the problem of the present study was to investigate these sounds and explore various types of reduplication in Pashto.

#### Research Questions

These are the research questions of the present study.

- What types of reduplication are present in the Yousafzai dialect?
- Whether they are full or partial reduplication?
- What types of changes occur in reduplication, whether they occur at the initial, middle or final position?

#### Research Objectives

Following are the research objectives.

- To investigate the various types of reduplication in the Yousafzai dialect.
- To know about the full and partial reduplication.
- To point out the initial, middle, and final positions of reduplication in lexical.

#### Review of the Related Literature

Human languages have some similarities, but they are different from one another at the same time. Morphology helps us in this concept and provides us with the concept of reduplication clearly (Ambarita, 2018). According to Inkelas (2006), reduplication is normally taken as “a morphological word-formation process” in which we repeat a part or full base (Ambarita, 2018).

In many areas of the world, many writers have studied reduplication. It has been seen that in India and its surroundings, mostly writers study the structural area of reduplication (Montaut, 2010). When we divide the studies of reduplication, we can easily find that it has been studied differently in various areas. Brinton (2009) divides it into morphemic and semantic reduplication. For him, morphemic reduplication is the name of full reduplication, while semantic reduplication is of two types without affix and with an affix. Rubino (2005) has divided reduplication into three categories; forms, functions, and distribution, and then she has discussed those categories under full and partial reduplication. She has also given the concept of triplication. Abbi’s (1990) point also supports the idea of Rubino that morphological reduplication contains full and partial reduplication, but at the same time, she states that in lexical reduplication we study three processes; echo formation, word reduplication, and compounding. Her lexical reduplication also adds to the idea of reduplication as three types of processes. So, after studying the ideas of writers mentioned above, researchers have reached the point that the concept of reduplication is debatable. Now, they are going to discuss various types of reduplication in detail.

Reduplication can be called a morphological process because in it we study the process of

words formation. According to Ambarita (2018), with the help of morphological process we study the processes of “additive, reductive and repetitive.” For additive process we add affixes. When we repeat the part or full stem, it is called repetitive process or reduplication, and new words are formed with the help of the suppletion process.

### **Total and Partial Reduplication**

It is clear from the heading names that partial and full reduplication is the repetition of full or part of the base. In full reduplication, the entire word is repeated, while in partial reduplication some phonological changes occur in the base, or some part of the base has been repeated (Khanjan & Alinezhad, 2010). The entire root is repeated in full reduplication, while in partial reduplication only some consonantal or vowel change occurs in the base form (Rubino, 2005). Reduplication can be found and seen in many languages, but at the same time, these full and partial reduplications are language-dependent. Sometimes one can find reduplication in many words, and sometimes it is not. The contextual analysis also matters a lot because after analyzing the context of reduplication one can find the semantic meanings of words (Pollock & Wessler, 2014).

### **Inflectional vs. Derivational reduplication**

Some writers and scholars divide the concept of reduplication into inflection and derivation. In inflectional reduplication no change occurs in lexical or root, it provides only grammatical meaning, while in derivational reduplication the meaning and category of the base word are changed (Ambarita, 2018). It is such type of process in which we observe the change at the phonological or grammatical level. Robin (1993) also supports the idea of Ambarita and says that in inflectional reduplication “lexical identity provides a grammatical meaning”, while in derivation reduplication the situation is vice versa.

### **Simple and Complex Reduplication**

When Ambarita (2018) talked about inflectional and derivational reduplication, Rubino (2005) presented her simple and complex reduplication concept. According to her in simple reduplication, some affixes are added to the base form without changing the phoneme. While in complex reduplication,

consonant and vowel change occur phonologically. Her further work clears our idea about the same concepts as she says that “we see that in simple constructions-based word and its copy remains together while in complex construction we see phonological changes in base words” (Rubino, 2011).

### **Morpho-semantic and Phonological Reduplication**

Khanjan and Alinezhad (2010) have discussed reduplication in the Persian language. They have mentioned two approaches to reduplication: morpho-semantic and phonological copying. In morpho-semantic reduplication, syntactic/semantic features are reduplicated, while in the phonological process stress is on phonological segments. They have clearly said that phonological copying is about “whether partial or total, the affixation of a phonologically skeletal morpheme”. Rubino (2005) has discussed in her paper “form, function and distribution” various types of phonological reduplication and has provided numbers of phonemes “C, CV, CVC, CVCV, V”. For her, such type of phonological phonemes addition can be done in the base form. In morpho-semantic reduplication, the scope of the study is vast, and under it, the focus remains on “reduplication of semantic features”.

### **Echo- word Reduplication**

Echo- word reduplication is another construction. This type of reduplication is found mostly in Asian languages (Peterson & Maas, 2009). For Ghaniabadi and Saeed (2008), echo- reduplication is a morphological process, and in partial reduplication, we observe that another sound in echo sounds replaces the initial sound of the second base word. In echo words, the second base word is meaningless (Pollock & Wessler, 2014). In echo-words reduplication, onset or vowel of the base can be replaced by another consonant or vowel.

Under the heading of reduplication, we can also discuss some concepts such as emphasis, density, addition (Khanjan & Alinezhad, 2010). Rubino (2005) clearly discussed these concepts. According to her, with the reduplication of verb and adjective, we can talk about such concepts as intensity,

conditionality, and transitivity. The reduplication of nouns gives us the idea of distribution, indefiniteness, and reciprocity size. Pollock and Wessler (2014) have also discussed the same idea. They have given the idea of reduplication of noun/pronoun, adjectives, and adverbials. They have said that in Pashto language, nouns reduplication provides intensity to the description of an event. The quantification of events is based on the reduplication of adjectives and adverbials in Pashto language. At the same, the importance of context cannot be denied. Sometimes context also tells what type of concept a reduplicated word will provide.

At the same time, we can see the change of grammatical category in reduplication. The concept of reduplication is attached with the repetition of full or a part of a word with other words while showing some semantic modification into two areas morphological and lexical reduplication (Abbi, 1990). In the present paper, researchers have focused on two types of reduplication: full and partial reduplication. So, they gathered the data and concluded that when full and partial reduplication happen, they sometimes change the grammatical category of words and sometimes not. For example, in full reduplication, there were reduplications in noun and noun occurrences which created adjectives, one type of reduplication having noun and noun repetition remained noun, another type of noun and noun reduplication created adjective having different word-formations, reduplication with the verb and verb repetitions created verb, noun and noun reduplications with infix (a) created adverb, adjective and adjective repetitions created adjective, noun and noun repetition created noun. In patricidal reduplications, adjective and adjective reduplication with consonantal change (w) created adjective, and noun and noun with consonantal change also created adjective in Pashto.

### Methodology

All languages are not the same in reduplication process. They vary from one

another on phonological nature as they have different sequences like; c, v, cv, cvc, cvcv, etc. These sequences are repeated and followed with meaningful patterns (Rubino, 2001 & Kauffman, 2015), but full and partial reduplication is equally present in most languages (Abbi, 1990 & Rubino, 2001). For the present study, the researchers have applied Kauffman's (2015) procedure of reduplication in which he mentions; full reduplication, partial reduplication, reduplication in baby-talk, rhyming reduplication, ablaut reduplication, reduplication in onomatopoeia, name doubling, shm-reduplication. However, in it the researchers have investigated full, partial, and ablaut reduplication. Pashto has also got different patterns along with different sequences.

### Data Collection

The data was collected from the native speakers of Pashto. This data was chosen from daily routine in which these words were used very frequently in conversation. Those words didn't receive burgeoning interest, which had occasional use. After collecting the data, the selected word list was discussed many times with experts, and then every selected and written word was checked in Pashto dictionary (Zeeya A. Pashtoon, 2009). The meanings of all these words were confirmed.

### Results and Discussion

#### Full Reduplication in Pashto

This reduplication takes place without any phonemic change. It clearly indicates that there are full occurrences of noun and noun as there is no phonemic change in formation. Entire words reduplication (Kauffman, 2015) occurs without any change. The entity of this process represents that when such types of nouns occur separately they have meanings, but when they occur two times simultaneously, their reduplication changes the meaning along with their category. As given below that noun and noun reduplication makes adjectives.

Table No: 1

| Word    | Meanings       | Category | Reduplication  | Meanings             | Category |
|---------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------------------|----------|
| bangri: | Bracelet       | Noun     | bangri:bangri: | Destroyed            | Adj      |
| ṭa:r    | Thread         | Noun     | ṭa:rṭa:r       | Spoiled/scattered    | Adj      |
| rang    | Color          | Noun     | rang rang      | Different            | Adj      |
| ḫa:l    | Birthmark/mole | Noun     | ḫa:lḫa:l       | Rare/ here and there | Adj      |
| tote    | Pieces         | Noun     | tōtetote       | Completely destroyed | Adj      |
| ḡa:na   | grain          | Noun     | ḡa:naḡa:na     | Scattered/dispersed  | Adj      |

1). haḡe **bangri:** wɑ:ḡiṣṭal.

She bought **bracelets**.

haḡa ḡulḡa:n ḡuza:r kṛp əv **bangri:bangri:** ʃp.

He threw a flower vase and **destroyed** it.

2) zama sur **rang** ḡwaḡ de.

I like red **color**.

tɑ:su ba **rangrang** ḡalaq wa:ne.

You will see **different** people.

In the above examples, the meanings and categories clearly identify that single occurrences of some words in Yousafzai dialect have meaning, but their reduplications

bring changes in the meaning and categories of the words.

#### Full Reduplication of onomatopoeia

This is the same process as mentioned above. There is no change at the phonemic level in the formation of reduplication. The whole word (noun) occurs two times recurrently. These nouns are meaningful when they occur separately, but their reduplication changes the meanings. Another interesting feature in this type of reduplication is that category does not change. All the selected words have noun category and remain in them. They are mostly taken from the sounds of non-living things.

Table No: 2

| Word | Meanings        | Category | Reduplication | Meanings                | Category |
|------|-----------------|----------|---------------|-------------------------|----------|
| pas  | Not sharp       | Noun     | paspas        | Whispering              | Noun     |
| tak  | Stitch/knocking | Noun     | taktak        | Sound of rain           | Noun     |
| ʃar  | Fight           | Noun     | ʃarʃar        | Sound of leaves         | Noun     |
| ʃaṭ  | Moving fast     | Noun     | ʃaṭʃaṭ        | Sound of water          | Noun     |
| ʃaṇ  | Neighing        | Noun     | ʃaṇʃaṇ        | Rustling/ Sound of bell | Noun     |

1). ʃɑ:qu **pas** de.

The knife is **not sharp**.

pa klɑ:s kɪ **paspas** ma kawa.

Don't **whisper** in the class.

2). haḡuɪ **ʃar** wakp.

They **quarreled**.

ma sahar ḡa pɑ:nṛo **ʃarʃar** wawrido.

I heard **rustling** in the morning.

#### Full Reduplication with infix (pa)

This is also the full type of reduplication in which the base word is repeated having infix (pa). In this part, the noun occurrence recurrently appears without any phonological changes, but infix (pa) is put in the middle of the nouns. In this type of reduplication, the meaning is changed along with the category of the words. The reduplication of noun and noun having infix (pa) is changed from noun

category to an adjective. It is also noticed that sometimes it is used for emphasis as well.

Table No: 3

| Word  | Meanings | Category | Reduplication  | Meanings     | Category |
|-------|----------|----------|----------------|--------------|----------|
| dada  | Side     | Noun     | dada pa dada   | Side by side | Adj      |
| qadam | Step     | Noun     | qadam pa qadam | Step by step | Adj      |
| ṭa:r  | Thread   | Noun     | ṭa:r pa ṭa:r   | Destroyed    | Adj      |
| tak   | Stitch   | Noun     | tak pa tak     | Quick        | Adj      |
| maḥ   | Face     | Noun     | maḥ pa maḥ     | Direct       | Adj      |
| gwaṭa | Finger   | Noun     | gwaṭapagwaṭa   | Pointed out  | Adj      |
| sar   | Head     | Noun     | sar pa sar     | Equal        | Adj      |
| ḡa:   | Back     | Noun     | ḡa: pa ḡa:     | Back to back | Adj      |
| dala  | Group    | Noun     | dala pa dala   | Collective   | Adj      |

1). haya yaw **qadam** maḥi ṭa la:rp.  
He took a **step** forward.  
haya ṭa **qadam pa qadam** muḡkila:t peḡ ḡwal.  
He faced difficulties **step by step**.

2). da haya zaḡam ṭa da yaw **tak** zarprat de.  
His wound needs a **stitch**.  
haya ḡzawa:b **tak pa tak** warkp.  
His response was quick.

In these examples, the first one shows emphasis like, **qadam** means step, but when used two times with infix (*pa*), it emphasizes

something as **qadam pa qadam** refers to every step when somethings frequently happen in life.

#### Full Reduplication with infix (*ra*)

It is another type of reduplication with infix (*ra*). '*ra*' is the infix here, and the word is fully repeated on each side. There is no phonological change in the repetition of the root word. The word takes place two times with infix (*ra*), and its category is not affected with repetition, but sometimes it is used for emphasis.

Table No: 4

| Word | Meanings | Category | Reduplication | Meanings             | Category |
|------|----------|----------|---------------|----------------------|----------|
| wṭal | Take     | Verb     | wṭalrawṭal    | Take and bring       | Verb     |
| zam  | Go       | Verb     | zamrazam      | Go and come back     | Verb     |
| ṭaḡ  | Coming   | Verb     | ṭaḡraṭaḡ      | Coming and going     | Verb     |
| wṭam | Take     | Verb     | wṭamrawṭam    | Take and bring       | Verb     |
| ṭlal | Going    | Verb     | ṭlalraṭlal    | Visit and come again | Verb     |

1). Za **zam**.  
I **go**.  
Za zar **zamrazam**.  
I **go and come back** quickly.

The above examples clearly show the use of infix (*ra*) that basically gives strength to reduplication, but this is a clear idea that (*ra*) is spoken with the last part of the reduplication e.g. *rawṭal*, *razam*, *raṭaḡ*. We cannot speak infix (*ra*) with first part of reduplication like e.g.

*wralra*, *zamra*, and *tagra*. It means this (*ra*) makes the meaning when it is pronounced with last part of reduplication.

#### Full reduplication with (*a*) infix

This is another type of reduplication with infix (*a*). Here, the noun occurs simultaneously without phonemic change, but the infix (*a*)

takes place in the middle of nouns. In the above examples, the infix (*ra*) is attached to the second part of reduplication, but in this type of reduplication the infix (*a*) is attached to the first part of reduplication. Another feature of it is that the category is changed from noun to adverb.

Table No: 5

| Words | Meanings | Category | Reduplication | Meanings         | Category |
|-------|----------|----------|---------------|------------------|----------|
| maχ   | Face     | Noun     | maχamaχ       | Directly         | Adv      |
| sar   | Head     | Noun     | sarasar       | Completely/fully | Adv      |
| kɔr   | Home     | Noun     | kɔrakɔr       | Everywhere       | Adv      |

1). ma da haγu **maχ** walidɔ.

I saw his **face**.

haγu **maχamaχ** χabari wakɽe.

They talked **directly**.

2. haγa **kɔr** ɽa warasidɔ.

He reached **home**.

haγa **kɔrakɔr** ɽa χabar warasawɔ.

He conveyed the message **everywhere**.

After the infix (*ra*), another infix (*a*) also has a strict rule. It is used for reduplication, but it is attached to the end of the first part of the reduplication like *maχa*, *sara*, *kora*. It is not attached and pronounced to the second part of reduplication like *amaχ*, *asar*, *akor*.

#### Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication is that type of reduplication in which some parts of the words are repeated in it. There is no clear-cut division of affixes attached to the base word and changes the meaning of base word, but phonological and morphological changes occur in the second part of reduplication. The following examples show that partial reduplication is there in the second part. The second part of the first word is repeated here in the second part of reduplication, as **zɔɽ**, and **ɽɽ**, the **ɽɽ** is the second part of the first word and is repeated in the second part of reduplication **ɽɽ**. This type of reduplication does not change the category of words.

Table No: 6

| Word    | Meanings | Category | Reduplication  | Meanings     | Category |
|---------|----------|----------|----------------|--------------|----------|
| zɔɽ     | Old      | Adj      | zɔɽɽɔɽ         | Ancient/worn | Adj      |
| sɔɽ     | Cold     | Adj      | sɔɽɽɔɽ         | Very cold    | Adj      |
| γat     | Big      | Adj      | γatpat         | Vey big      | Adj      |
| ɽaɽ     | Crude    | Adj      | ɽaɽpaɽ         | Simple       | Adj      |
| ɽɽk     | Torn off | Adj      | ɽɽkɽɽk         | Torn off     | Adj      |
| χaɽ     | Gray     | Adj      | χaɽpaɽ         | Gray         | Adj      |
| ɽɽraz   | Boom     | Noun     | ɽɽrazɽɽraz     | Thunder/roar | Noun     |
| taka    | Knocking | Noun     | takatɽka       | Noise        | Noun     |
| χabari: | Talking  | Noun     | χabari: aɽari: | Gossip       | Noun     |

The above examples have many interesting features as these words belong to different categories; adjective and noun. This process only takes consonantal changes as, *zorpor*, *sorpor*, *yatpat*. Another feature is that the reduplication of adjective and adjective remains adjective and noun and noun remains noun. The reduplication of adjective and adjective have consonantal changes, while reduplication of noun and noun has mostly vocalic change as *drazdruz*, *takatuka*. The front vowel is changed to the back vowel.

- 1). ma haya pa **zor** lɪba:s ki walidb.  
I saw him an **old** dress.  
haya **zorpor** lɪba:s ayusɬe wɔ.  
He wore **worn/torn-out** dress.
- 2). mɔr ɖʒa:me **axli**.  
Mother **buys** cloth.  
mɔr **axli:paxli**: kai.  
The mother is **cooking**.

### Partial Reduplication with (w)

This type of partial reduplication happens with some repeated parts. The second part of the first word is repeated in the second word, but there is one prominent indication of (w) in the second part of reduplication. Every second part of reduplication starts with 'w'. 'w' takes place at the beginning of the second part and the second part of the first is taken then. In these types of reduplications, some of them are used for emphasis, and some are used for category change. One prominent significance is that reduplication having adjective does not change the category, but having noun and noun changes the category from noun to adjective.

Table No: 7

| Word           | Meanings     | Category | Reduplication  | Meanings          | Category |
|----------------|--------------|----------|----------------|-------------------|----------|
| kaga (plural)  | Twisted      | Adj      | kagawaga       | Twisted           | Adj      |
| kog (singular) | Bent         | Adj      | kogwɔg         | Twisted           | Adj      |
| χa:li:         | Empty        | Adj      | χa:li: wa:li:  | Completely empty  | Adj      |
| ɬa:la          | Lock/robbery | Noun     | ɬa:lawa:la     | Destroyed         | Adj      |
| ɖaɾi:          | Pieces       | Noun     | ɖaɾi:waɾi:     | Completely broken | Adj      |
| sa:ngi:        | Branches     | Noun     | sa:ngi:wa:ngi: | Spread            | Adj      |

- 1). haya **kaga** karχa rɔ:χkəuɖa.  
He drew a **twisted** line.  
haya **kagawaga** karχa rɔ:χkəuɖa.  
He drew a **fully twisted** line.

### Conclusion

Reduplication is the part of morphology that changes meaning by doubling or repeating the base or part of the base word. This study was confined to the reduplication of Pashto only. It focused on full, onomatopoeia, and partial reduplications. Full reduplication got many patterns that give more strength to the phonology of Pashto, such as full reduplication, full reduplication having

onomatopoeia, full reduplication with (pa), full reduplication with (ra), full reduplication with (a). Various types of reduplications got different patterns as they showed that some reduplications were found with consonantal change and some with vocalic changes. Some of them were found with (w) change in the last part of reduplication. On these findings, researchers concluded that Pashto language (Yousafzai dialect) has full and partial

reduplication. These categories of reduplications were found: reduplication having noun and noun occurrences created adjective, category changed in it. One type of reduplication having noun and noun remained noun where category didn't change, but another type of reduplication having noun and noun created adjective that changed the category. Reduplication having verb and verb repetitions created verb where category remained same. Reduplication having noun and noun with infix (*a*) created adverb, adjective and adjective repetitions created adjective, noun and noun created noun, adjective and adjective reduplication with consonantal change (*w*) created adjective, and noun and noun with consonantal change also created adjective. These findings showed that Pashto is very rich both phonologically and morphologically. It needs to be investigated from various linguistic points of view to reveal the hidden features.

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