

# **Hindi-Vindi and Pashto-Mashto**

Comments on Various Types of Lexical Reduplication in Hindi and Pashto

Sandybell Pollock  
Supervisor: Prof. Heinz Werner Wessler  
Bachelor thesis in Hindi  
Spring term 2014

## **Table of contents**

Abstract	3
Introduction	3
Defining the terms used	4
1.1 Full reduplication of nouns, pronouns introduction	5
1.1.1 Full reduplication of nouns with distributive meaning	6
1.1.2 Full reduplication of nouns intensive and continuative meaning	8
1.1.3 Full reduplication of pronouns with distributive meaning	11
1.1.4 Question words with "listing" effect	13
1.2 Full reduplication of adjectives, adverbials and numerals introduction	14
1.2.1 Full reduplication of adjectives and adverbials with intensive or continuity force	15
1.2.2 Full reduplication of adjectives with distributive force	20
1.2.3 Full reduplication of numerals distributive	21
1.3 Full reduplication of participles and verb-stems introduction	25
1.3.1 Full reduplication of participles and verb-stems examples from texts	25
2.1 Partial reduplication, so called echo constructions introduction	28
2.1.1 Echo-construction of nouns	28
2.1.2 Echo-construction of adjectives and adverbials	31
2.1.3 General Echo-construction of participles	32
2.2.1 Echo-constructions with root-vowel shift to [ā]	34
2.2.2 Echo-constructions with initial [a]/[ā] and echo moved in front	35
Conclusion	36
Bibliography	38
Index of quoted of texts	41
List of Abbreviations	45
Transcription of the Pashto alphabet	46

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this paper is to examine potential similarities in Hindi<sup>1</sup> and Pashto grammar as regards to the arial feature of lexical reduplication, and to give a brief explanation of the phenomenon. It is my belief that this feature appears in both languages and that it functions in a similar way when it comes to: full reduplication, distribution and partial reduplication, so called echo-words. I will try to explain how these features function in Pashto based on the research already done in Hindi and the limited amount of description found in Pashto grammars that discuss this subject. The object of the paper is to prove that reduplication in Pashto takes similar form with similar meaning to the reduplications found in Hindi. To analyse this I will look at literary language in Hindi and Pashto using examples found in books, grammars, papers of other researchers, as well as examples found online in blogs and on newspaper sites.

The first section of this paper will deal with full reduplication of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbials, numerals and participles. It will show that various types of semantic meanings can be derived from reduplication such as intensification, attenuation, continuation or distribution. The second section will deal with partial reduplication and it will show that these also appears in the different word categories mentioned (though apparently not in both languages) and it aims to give an explanation as to what forms these partial reduplications can take, that is, how they are constructed, as well as how they may function.

## **Introduction**

Reduplication is considered to be a pan-Indian phenomenon (Montaut 2008:21). But the scope may be larger than that as map of feature 27A of wals.info show productive reduplication being used in languages of Africa, Asia, Australia, the Americas, Pacific island, and even in Basque and Hungarian. These reduplicative phenomena in Hindi, and in Indo-Aryan languages in general, have been described in a few articles, briefly and insufficiently in grammars, however Abbi claims that this feature has been mostly ignored (2001:161). When it comes to the Iranian language Pashto, very little research has been made at all. In fact, with regards to the widespread usage of the phenomenon Abbi (1985:159) even makes the statement that reduplication can be found in almost all Indian languages regardless of which language family they belong to. Abbi (2001:161) also explains that reduplication is used in Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan and in

<sup>1</sup> In this paper all references to the Hindi language are references to the form known as Modern Standard Hindi.

Dravidian languages.

Full lexical reduplication in Hindi can be done with nouns, adjectives, adverbials, numerals, verb-stems and participles<sup>2</sup>. Abbi (1985:161) states that full reduplication can generally be made of every word category, but she shows that this does not involve every word category for every language as Hindi has no finite verbs which are fully reduplicated, and Bengali has no fully reduplicated nouns. It would often be decided by the context how the recipient analyses the meaning, because apparently identical reduplication structures will generate multiple semantics. Sometimes reduplication can even change the meaning altogether. These varieties of reduplication are found in Pashto as well, but different features are common in different frequencies.

It is known that echo-words in Hindi are most often created by replacing the original words first letter with [v] in the following word (Abbi 2001:169). This is also described by Montaut (2008:39), who goes on to describe echo formation with root-vowel shift in the second element to [ā] and gives examples where the echo word is constructed with an initial [ā] and the echo appears before its main word (2008:52,53).

In Pashto the echo is constructed mostly by [m] but a large variety of letters are used in creating the echo according to Rishtin (2004:160), and the interesting constructions with root-vowel shift to [ā] or [o] as well as echo-constructions with initial [a] with the echo moving in front of the main word is used (2004:160,161). Unfortunately from Boyle David (2013:380-383) it is difficult to see any patterns of echo-construction as she apparently intentionally mixes echo words with partially reduplicated lexemes where a synonym is being used with the base word<sup>3</sup>.

### **Defining the terms used**

Reduplication has been defined as "Words formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating a single word (phonological word), partially or completely" and the repetition is made once (Abbi 2001:162). She goes on to explain that reduplication can refer to four different types; 1) where the doubling of syllables constitute a single word/lexeme; 2) where the entire lexical item is repeated enabling a wide range of semantic functions; 3) where part of the lexeme is reduplicated thus carrying a semantic modification; 4) where reduplicated words are intervened by a syllable or a postposition so that they appear

---

2 Morphological reduplication is also a feature of Hindi (Abbi 2001:163-165), but this will not be discussed in this paper as it is a vast subject in itself.

3 Partial reduplication by using synonymes will not be discussed in this paper even though it is a common feature both in Hindi and in Pashto. The reason for this is that it would be complicated to study it carefully and the semantics of this feature may be very complicated.

discontinuous. Due to having to narrow down the subject, I will only discuss types 2) and 3) of the above mentioned in this paper.

Distribution as it is being discussed in this paper will basically have the meaning as: handing out; dividing out; when a noun or numeral is repeated to convey the idea of "for each" or "from each", but also in the form of R-by-R pattern. The use of reduplication with distributive qualities is common in both languages and is done in many categories (nouns, pronouns, numerals).

Echo words have been defined as the "partially repeated form of the base word, such that either the initial sound (which can either be a vowel or a consonant) or the initial syllable of the base word is replaced by another sound or another syllable" (Abbi 2001:168) resulting in that the combination serves as a compound. According to Abbi all grammatical categories are echoed (2001:168). A major difference between echo words and other types of partially reduplicated words, is that with echo words, the new element is a nonsense word which has no meaning in itself.

### 1.1 Full reduplication of nouns, pronouns introduction

A full reduplication of nouns and pronouns (and also numerals, see section 1.2.3) will often result in a distributive meaning, which according to Montaut (2008:23) is the most frequent meaning. However there are a few instances where this is not the case but rather some type or other of an intensive meaning is being given. And according to David Boyle (2013:97,98) "Pashto nouns denoting events can undergo reduplication to denote duration or intensity of the event" and that "nouns not derived from or related to verbs can also be repeated to indicate plurality or variety". By showing text examples I hope to give evidence that multiple interpretations appear in Hindi and Pashto. Montaut (2008:26,27) states that reduplication of plural nouns are less common, but when a plural noun is being reduplicated it will result in a meaning of exclusiveness. She gives the example as per below.

(1h) यहां महिलाएं-महिलाएं बैठेंगी<sup>4</sup>

yahām mahilāem-mahilāem baiṭhemgī<sup>5</sup>

here women-women sit-fut.

4 I am using Devanagari and Nasq script in this paper, because for some readers it is easier to read and recognize the word rather than in transcript form.

5 The transliteration system is the same as is being used by McGregor (2009:xxv-xxxiii) except for that all uses of the candrabindu (nasalized vowel) will be written as ṁ.

here *only women* will sit<sup>6</sup>

Most of the examples being dealt with in this paper will be with nouns in singular form, and where the plural form is being discussed, it is of an intensive kind, not exclusive.

### 1.1.1 Full reduplication of nouns with distributive meaning

Reduplication of a noun in singular form will often result in distribution as previously mentioned. Below are two examples where the word *night* has been reduplicated, and this have resulted in the meaning of *every night*, not simply *during the nights*, but *every, no break on Saturday night to do something else than casting out spirits* as in (2h) and *no laundry planned instead of turning to Peshawar* as in (3p) but simply *every single night*, and not *most nights*. For a non-distributive meaning a plural could have been used instead as previously mentioned.

(2h) भूत-उतारें रात-रात भर

bhūt-utāreṃ rāt-rāt bhar

evil-spirit-cast-subj. *night-night* fill

casting our evil spirits *every night*

(3p) او په شپه شپه کې يې پېښور ته واړول

aw pə špa špa ke ye pešawar ta wārawəl

and in *night night* 3<sup>rd</sup>-encl. Peshawar to turn

and *every night* he turned to Peshawar

Repetition of an unnamed place or locality will result in distribution that something is existent or happening in every one of such places, or give the meaning that something is everywhere. In the below examples (4h) and (5p) the word for place in both sentences have the meaning of *virtually everywhere* within a restricted area when it is repeated. *Dzāy dzāy* could also be translated as *here and there*.

(4h) मुंबई में जगह-जगह खुदी पड़ी सड़कें आम लोगों के लिए सिरदर्द साबित हो रही हैं

mum̐baī meṃ jagah-jagah khudī paṛī saṛkeṃ ām logom̐ ke lie sirdard sābit ho rahī

<sup>6</sup> Translation is also made by Montaut (2008:26).

hai

mumbai in *place-place* dig aux. verb roads ordinary people for sake headache be remaining is

in Mumbai dug roads *everywhere* are proving to be a headache for ordinary people

(5p) خای خای ھڏونہ پراته وو

*dzāy dzāy* haḍūna prāta wū

*place place* bones horizontal were

bones lay scattered *all over the place*<sup>7</sup>

In the below examples the word house is repeated in a way that creates distributive meaning. In these two cases something is happening (6h) in every home, or reaching (7p) every home. To give plural meaning no reduplication of the noun in plural form would be made as this would be interpreted as *in only the houses*, but then in English we would not say *\*in every houses*.

(6h) घर-घर में बुद्ध या अंबेडकर की मूर्तियाँ पूजी जानी लगेँ

*ghar-ghar* meṃ buddha ya aṃbeḍkar kī murtiyāṃ pūjī jānī lageṃ

*house-house* in buddha or ambedkar poss. statues worship go start

In *every home* Buddha's or Ambedkar's statues seem to be worshipped

(7p) او د وحدت پیغام به کور کور ته ورسوي

aw də waḥdat<sup>8</sup> payġām bæ kor kor ta wurasawī

and of Wahdat message fut. *house house* to bring

and Wahdat's message will be reaching *every home*

Also below, the example (8h) the mother-in-law is not taunting with many remarks as then a different wording would be used, but in every remark, every word. to add to the understanding that the given translation is correct, in the background of the story the sentence is coming from, we learn of a very unsympathetic mother-in-law.

(8h) बात-बात में सास ताना देने से बाज न आती थी

<sup>7</sup> Transation made by Widmark (2011:110).

<sup>8</sup> Referring to a religious political party called Majlis-e Wahdat-e Muslemeen according to Widmark.

*bāt-bāt*<sup>9</sup> meṃ sās tānā dene se bāj na ātī thī

*remark-remark* in mother-in-law taunt give with restrain neg. come was  
in *every remark* the mother-in-law did not hesitate to taunt

Having looked at full reduplication of nouns with distributive force it would be useful to also see other interpretations when it comes to reduplication of nouns.

### 1.1.2 Full reduplication of nouns intensive and continuative meaning

In this section I will discuss briefly examples where a full reduplication of nouns does not result in distribution, but rather in an intensification. The conclusion for these interpretations are based on translations made by other researchers, conclusion of logical context, or by even comparing translations of some Bible verses.

To start this section these two examples below reduplication is made in both languages of a noun of similar meaning to give the idea of a complete smashing into many little bits. In no way at all should this be seen as a distribution, as logical sense would forbid any translation that every little piece carries weight. That is if the examples dealt with tidying up the pieces, then it could possibly be distribution as in each singular piece got picked up. And we do not have a case of every little piece being broken again. What I am trying to explain, the below samples are not distribution, because nothing further is happening to the pieces, the smashing is the end of it. One difference between the examples is that the Hindi uses a reduplication of a noun in plural form (sg. nom. form would have been *ṭukṛā*), but the Pashto example shows the noun *dāna* in singular form (pl. nom. form would have been *dāne*).

(9h) वह नरेंद्र मोदी के टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर देंगे

vah nareṃdra modī ke *ṭukṛe-ṭukṛe* kar deṃge  
dem. Narendra modi poss. *pieces-pieces* do give-fut.  
they will cut Narendra Modi *into pieces*

(10p) هغه چینایي گل دان په مځکه دانه دانه شو

haḡa čīnāyī gul dān pə mdzəka *dāna dāna* šo  
dem chinese flower vase on ground *grain grain* became

---

9 This may also possibly be seen as iteration.



that chinese vase *broke into pieces* on the ground<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to the above, a similar example in Pashto shows a noun of synonymous meaning to the above in reduplicated plural form. In the below example it cannot be meant in a distributive sense because of two reasons: first, the same verse in other translations forbids this interpretation; second, we would with distribution here be given a meaning of something similar to each piece is a clay vessel, or they are given a piece (of the clay vessel) each. And such an interpretation contradicts logic.

(11p) او د خاورو د لوښو په شان به يې ټوټې ټوټې کړی

aw də xāwro də lošo pə šān bə ye *toṭe toṭe* kray

and of clay of pots with like fut. 3<sup>rd</sup>-encl. *pieces pieces* do

that they will be *broken to pieces* like clay vessels<sup>11</sup>

Interestingly in the three examples above, no specific verb is needed to mark the actual breaking, but this is marked by the reduplication of the word piece in either singular or plural form. To make into pieces-reduplicated, is to break.

Further, another instance when the noun is being reduplicated without carrying a distributive sense like in (12h), where a miserable daughter-in-law is remembering her mother and parental home. In the story the example is taken from it cannot be interpreted into every time she remembers her mother, for she is dealing with a constant state of longing, and also it is not a sentence as in every time she did this or that she remembered her mother. Something is missing from the sentence to allow for a distributive meaning.

(12h) बहू को बार-बार अपनी मां की याद आती थी

bahū ko *bār-bār* apnī mām kī yād ātī thī

daughter-in-law to *again-again* own mother poss. memory coming was

*again and again* the daughter-in-law would remember her mother

In addition the example below is taken from a similar story. It is translated as a general reduplication of a noun in singular form. But if it should by some readers be considered as

<sup>10</sup> Translated into that Chinese vase... broke *into pieces* against the floor (Widmark 2011:123).

<sup>11</sup> Translations of Bible verses into English are not made by myself but are taken from The New World Translation of the Bible, unless otherwise stated. Also, In this instance the verb-form in Pashto is an active form, while in the English translation a passive form is used.

a distribution, it would not impact on the meaning of the sentence as a whole. There is little difference in the two sentences *time after time she spoke harshly*, and *every time she spoke harshly*. In both translations it is repetitive, which is the essence of the sentence below.

(13h) सास समय-समय पर बहू को खरी-खोटी सुनाती रहती थी

sās samay-samay par bahū ko kharī-khotī<sup>12</sup> sunātī rahtī thī

mother-in-law *time-time* on daughter-in-law to abuse-reprimand hear-caus.  
remaining was

The mother-in-law would *time after time* speak harshly to the-daughter-in-law

Also in sentence (14p) there is a general reduplication as a translation into a distributive sense would be too awkward. Here we do not have a case where it should be *every drop from the cradle was of blood* or alternative *every drop of blood came from the cradle*. But rather the reduplication is more intensive carrying a thought of several drops of blood, constant dripping. Not the few drops you get from a paper-cut.

(14p) په کوټه کې مې پر زانګو نظر ولګید ځاڅکي ځاڅکي وینه تري څڅیده

pə koṭa ke me pər zāngo naẓar wulagīd tsātsəkī tsātsəkī wīna trī tsatsīda

in room X 1<sup>st</sup>-encl. upon cradle glance fell *drops drops* blood from drip

in the room my sight fell upon a cradle from which *drops* of blood were dripping<sup>13</sup>

In some cases a noun is reduplicated with a sense of an continuity action. As in the below two examples will show. In (15h) McGregor (2009:153) with the translation gives the additional explanation *all the way*, as in *I kept to the edge of the road all the way while I was walking*. In the Pashto (16p) translation of the verse below a repeated noun gives the meaning of a man who loudly praises god while he is walking.

(15h) मैं रास्ते के किनारे किनारे चला

maiṃ rāste ke kināre kināre calā

I road poss. *edges edges* went

I *kept to the edge* of the road

<sup>12</sup> Partial reduplication using synonymes, not fully discussed in this paper.

<sup>13</sup> Translation made by Widmark (2011:111).

(16p) راستون شو او په چغو چغو د خدائي ثنا وويله

rāstūn šo aw pə čígo čígo də xudāye šinā wuwayəla<sup>14</sup>

return became and with screams screams of god praise said

he... turned back, glorifying God with a loud voice

None of the above samples opens up for a distributive meaning as in (15h) the logical meaning should not be that *I walked on every side of the road*, nor should (16p) be confused to mean he *praised god with every scream*.

### 1.1.3 Full reduplication of pronouns with distributive meaning

The repetition of possessive-reflective pronouns (h: apnā; p: xpəl) will often, if not always, have the meaning that; a plural number of possessors have the same each in possession, that is, they do not share the same item, but each have their own of same value. McGregor (2009:153) explains this feature in Hindi by example, and Widmark (2013:2-3) and David Boyle (2013:179) give a brief explanations to the feature in Pashto. To illustrate: a family with many children might want to say that: *Each of our children have their own room*, but without the mention of the word *each* as in *Our children have their own room*, it could be ambiguous and mean both that: *each of the children have their own room*, but also *the children have their own room which they share but which is separate from the parents' room*. With distributive reduplication this could be said like: *\*Our children own own room have*<sup>15</sup>, where *own* is used distributively. The example below is a virtually identical translation into both languages of the same verse, giving an impression that the time, or order referred to may not be at the same time for all involved.

(17h) परन्तु हर एक अपनी अपनी बारी से

parantu har ek apnī apnī bārī se

but every one own own order with

But each one in his own proper order

(18p) خو هر يو به په خپل خپل وار

xo har yaw bə pə xpəl xpəl wār

<sup>14</sup> The Hindi translation of this verse is found in section 1.2.1.

<sup>15</sup> This is a dummy example, not a translation of any sentence in neither Hindi nor Pashto.

but every one fut. with *own own* order

But each one in *his own proper* order

Similarly in the below example (19h) husbands are admonished to *love their own wives*, not *other persons' wives*, not *their multiple wives in plural*, nor *love only your wives* as wife is in singular form. In the Pashto example (20p) the referral of *xpəlo xpəlo* cannot signify that the room is shared by all, since they (three brothers) are all hiding an item each from one another, logically, they would not all hide their respective precious items in the same place.

(19h) हे पतियो, अपनी-अपनी पत्नी से प्यार करते रहो

he patiyo, *apnī-apnī* patnī se pyār karte raho

excl. husbands, *own-own* wife with love do keep-imv.

Husbands, continue loving *your* wives

(20p) او له يو بل نه يې پټه په خپلو خپلو کوټو کې خوندي کړه

aw lə yaw bəl nə ye pəṭə pə *xpəlo xpəlo* koṭo ke xwandī kṛə

and from one other X 3<sup>rd</sup>-encl. hide in *own own* rooms X keep did

and they hid it one from another in their *own singular* rooms<sup>16</sup>

But reduplications of pronouns are not limited to one type only as the below examples show. In (21h) a reduplication is made of the relative pronoun *who/which* to show that without exception not one thing were being held back. And a potential similar example in (22p) where just like above we have a reduplication of a relative pronoun, however with different meaning in the text. With the reduplicated expressions a sense of that something is happening to every one without distinction is being made.

(21h) और जो जो बातें तुम्हारे लाभ की थीं, उन को बताने और लोगों के साम्हने और घर घर

सिखाने से कभी न झिझका।

aur *jo jo* bāṭeṃ tumhāre lābh kī thīṃ, un ko batāne aur logeṃ ke sāmhne aur ghar

ghar<sup>17</sup> sikhāne se kabhī na jhijhkā

<sup>16</sup> Alternative translation *each one had hidden his merchandise in his own room* (Widmark 2013:text 1-translation).

<sup>17</sup> In this sentence *ghar ghar* is not distributive but means *house to house*.

and *rel. rel.* things your profit poss were, they to tell and peoples poss. in-front-of  
 and house house teach with when not hesitated  
 while I did not hold back from telling you *any of* the things that were profitable nor  
 from teaching you publicly and from house to house.

(22p) د چا چا سترگي له تعجبه راوتلي وي څوک څوک هېښ پېښ پاتي وه

də čā čā starge lə ta'jubə rāwutəlī we *tsok tsok* heš peš<sup>18</sup> pātī wa

of *who who* eyes with wonder arrived were *who who* shock-befalling remain  
 was

*all of those who* had opened their eyes with wonder, *all of them* remained  
 astonished

As pronouns can be reduplicated, so can pronouns which function as question words. But  
 as per below, that can often generate another type of meaning.

#### 1.1.4 Question words with "listing" effect

The interrogative pronouns may be used with reduplication to give a sort of reverse  
 distributive meaning. Montaut (2008:25) simply names this the "listing" effect, and that  
 aptly describes the function. Quite often *who* or *which* is used as below to signal to the  
 listener that a list of various individuals is sought after in response.

In (21h) the background story gives the information of an official, a man whose  
 household members cause him trouble. So a simple question *who are they in your  
 household* would lead back to the same answer *my family members*, but with the  
 reduplication the question is marked more as *exactly who in in your household*, so here a  
 list of individuals is sought. One could easily imagine a reply like, *my wife, my sons, my  
 mother-in-law, and my youngest daughter*, but in this instant the reply was simply  
*everyone*, with an explanation as to why.

(23h) कहिये, कौन कौन हैं, आप के घर में

kahiye, *kaun kaun* haim, āp ke ghar mem

tell-imv. *who who* are, you poss. house in

tell, *who exactly* are in your household

<sup>18</sup> Potential partial reduplication with both words carrying meaning.

Similarly to above, in the example (24h) below a simple question is put that would also result in a list type of reply. Even though this is not made very clear in the English translation, by using a repetition of the interrogative pronoun a difference is made. By simply asking *Who were there* (at some type of function or other), one could reply *My friends were there*, but with the type of question that is put in the form *\*Who who were there*, a reply of a list is being sought like *I saw Alice and Robert, Bengt and Felicia, oddly enough Stephen came without his wife...* and so on.

(24h) वहाँ कौन कौन लोग थे

vahām kaun kaun log the<sup>19</sup>

there *who who* people was

*who exactly*<sup>20</sup> were there

Unfortunately, as I lack Pashto examples to this type of reduplication, these examples are used to give an explanation of the phenomenon.

## 1.2 Full reduplication of adjectives, adverbials and numerals introduction

A reduplication of the above mentioned categories in Hindi, will result in various types of interpretations such as attenuating, intensifying, and even distribution (Montaut 2008:34-37 and Abbi 2001:165-168 deal with this subject). David Boyle (2013:152,370) states that reduplicated "adjectives in Pashto may quantify over events rather than intensifying the quality denoted (or in addition to)" and that reduplication of "degree adverbs" indicates increased intensity of the action. However, when it comes to Pashto it appears that other interpretations can be made when an adjective or adverbial is being reduplicated.

To explain in English; a sentence like *The very old papers are yellowish* could with a reduplicative statement be put as *\*The old old papers are yellow yellow*<sup>21</sup> where *old* is used intensively and *yellow* attenuatively, however this could as easily mean *The very old papers are quite yellow*. Abbi (1985:166) makes the statement that adjectives describing taste or color will in most cases be interpreted as being attenuative rather than intensive. However, this should be open for debate as Abbi (1985:166) uses an example of *harī harī sārī* and translates it attenuatively as *greenish sari*, but Kachru (1983:20) has the example

19 McGregor (2009:50) also shows a similar example with a question using the reduplicated plural form of who. However he himself states that the example uses plural form in a honorific sense.

20 McGregor (2009:153) only translates this as *who were there* but this translation is considered too poor.

21 This is a dummy example, not a translation of any sentence in neither Hindi nor Pashto.

*lāl-lāl sārī* as meaning *deep red sari* which would make it an intensification instead. So, clearly this will be described differently by different authors. Personally I lean towards an explanation of intensity, but I think it is important to describe attenuation as well. The adjective will often be reduplicated to give an intensifying meaning to the sentence, and sometimes to give a new type of meaning.

### 1.2.1 Full reduplication of adjectives and adverbials with intensive or continuity force

When the adjective or adverbial expression is repeated it can often mean to be either intensifying, attenuating, emphasising or also even continuity. The context should decide what is intended. In the examples below I have tried to find reduplicated words of the same meaning in Hindi and Pashto. The first example will be given in Hindi and the second in Pashto. In (25h) and (26p) the translation shall be seen as clearly intensifying and not in any way as an continuity action. The logic behind this reason is very clear by the translation of (26p) as when you hurry to finish something it is rare that it can be said that you kept on with the action. In both examples the adverbial expression is repeated to emphasize it.

(25h) जल्दी-जल्दी बहू ने एक-एक कर घास के वे सातों गठुर घर पहुंचाये

*jaldī-jaldī bahū ne ek-ek kar ghās ke ve sātoṃ gaṭṭhar ghar pahumcāye*

*quickly-quickly daughter-in-law erg. one one do grass poss. those seven bales house arrived-caus.*

daughter-in-law *hurriedly* brought home the seven bales of grass one by one

(26p) ژر ژر مې خپلې جامې په تن کړې

*žər žər mī xpəle jāme pə tan kṛe*

*quickly quickly 1<sup>st</sup>-encl. own clothes with body did*

*hurriedly I put on my own clothes*<sup>22</sup>

In (27h) the translation into English makes it appear as it is an adverbial used, however *mīṭhī* is congregated after *bāt* which is a noun, so the use of this intensifying reduplication is almost identical with that of (28p) in form. Logically in (27h) an attenuating translation would be awkward, as in *talk a little sweet* due to *sweet* being the desired quality, there

<sup>22</sup> Translated as *Quickly, I put on my clothes* by Widmark (2011:128).

cannot be too much of it, also sweet is not referring to flavor in this case. In (28p) A translation like *I brought sweetish apples* would be considered correct as it is a reference to taste.

(27h) मीठी मीठी बात करके

mīṭhī mīṭhī bāt karke  
sweet sweet talk do-abs.  
talk very sweetly<sup>23</sup>

(28p) خورې خورې منې مي هم راوړي

xwaḡe xwaḡe maṇe mī ham rāwrī<sup>24</sup>  
sweet sweet apples 1<sup>st</sup>-encl. again brought  
I have brought some very sweet apples<sup>25</sup>

The two adverbial expressions of (29h) and (30p) are quite similar, the Hindi example could quite possibly also mean *very slowly*. Both examples may be seen as an intensification.

(29h) कैसे आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता जोश और उत्साह काफूर होते गये

kaise āhistā-āhistā joś aur utsāh kāphūr hote gaye  
how slowly-slowly excitement and enthusiasm vanish being-aux.  
how the excitement and enthusiasm gradually vanished

(30p) سوکه سوکه يې تر باغه پورې ځان ورساوه

sawka sawka ye tər bāḡe pore dzān wurasāwə  
slowly slowly 3<sup>rd</sup>-encl. until garden X self approached  
he approached the garden very slowly<sup>26</sup>

In the below two examples a reduplication of the word clear is made to intensify that the understanding is *very clear*, that is in (31h) it is not attenuatively as in *everything understood somewhat clear*. Nor is the command in (32p) meant anything like *say it a little*

<sup>23</sup> Could possibly mean *talking flatter*.

<sup>24</sup> Could read rāwrī dī as copula in 3<sup>rd</sup> person present perfect may be omitted according to Widmark.

<sup>25</sup> Translated as *I have brought... some tasty apples* (Widmark 2011:128).

<sup>26</sup> Translated as *He approached the garden slowly* (Widmark 2011:112).



*bit clear.*

(31h) सब कुछ साफ़-साफ़ समझ में आ रहा था

sab kuch *sāf-sāf* samajh meṁ ā rahā thā  
all some *clear-clear* understanding in come being was  
everything was understood *very clearly*

(32p) صفا صفا ووايه ته مانه خه غواړي

*śafā śafā* wuwāya tē mānə *tsə* ġwāre  
*clear clear* say you me-from what want  
Say it *clear*! What do you want from me?

In some cases an continuity action is marked in an adverbial expression by reduplication of that adverbial. I have tried to find some examples where at least the context explains that an continuity state is intentioned. In (33h) the sample is referring to the Jews wandering in the desert, and since their trek took forty years, reduplicated adverbial *behind* can be seen as continuity as they kept going after to reach the Promised Land. However in this case it may just be an idiomatic expression as one common interpretation for *pīche-pīche karnā* is *to follow*. Also in (34p) an continuity (or possibly distributive) sense can be taken from the sentence, as in *they kept busy with their thoughts while on the road*.

(33h) प्रतिश्रुत धरती पर जलती झाड़ी के पीछे-पीछे चलकर ले गया था

pratiśrut dhartī par jaltī jhārī ke *pīche-pīche* calkar le gayā thā  
promised land on burning bush poss. *behind-behind* going bring aux. was  
(they) were taken to the promised land *following behind* the burning bush<sup>27</sup>

(34p) هر لاروي له ځان سره د سوچونو جلا جلا لړۍ درلوده

har lārawī le *dzān* sara də sočūno *jalā jalā* laṛəy darloda  
every pedestrian with self X of thoughts *seperate seperate* chain had  
everyone on the road had their *own seperate* train of thoughts (with themselves)<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> This is apparently a reference to the Old Testament where the Israelites follow Moses into the promised land after a divine apparition by God at the burning bush. Therefore it can be said metaphorically that they followed after the burning bush, even though the bush itself was static.

<sup>28</sup> Translation *Everyone on the road was busy with their own thoughts* (Widmark 2011:126,127).

In (35p) the context makes it clear that the children's eyes are already closed, before this reduplication occurs, so in this sample it could easily be seen as marking continuity. They eyes of the children are not intensively closed, for they are dead. However the repetitions in this sentence may have been used to create a sense of rhythm and rhyme. This is apparently common in Pashto prose, and would give an explanation for the use of reduplication of *yaw yaw* which might otherwise be seen as a bit out of place. If the latter was seen as being distributive a translation could follow as *Their lastingly closed eyes each gave one answer*.

(35p) د هغوی پټو پټو سترگو دا یو یو ځواب راکاوه  
 de haġūy *paṭo paṭo* stërġo dā yaw yaw *dzwāb rākāwə*  
 of them *closed closed* eyes this one one answer gave  
 their *closed* eyes gave only this answer<sup>29</sup>

In the Hindi (36h) verse it is an adverbial expression that is repeated for emphasis in a way that can both give an continuity as well as intensive meaning to the sentence.

(36h) तो ज़ोर-ज़ोर से परमेश्वर का गुणगान करता हुआ वापस आया  
 to *zor zor* se parmeśvar kā guṇgān kartā huā vāpas āyā<sup>30</sup>  
 then *loud loud* with god poss. laud doing became return came  
 he... turned back, glorifying God with a *loud* voice

In some cases a full reduplication will generate a nuance to the sentence.. It could be hard to guess the semantic meaning from the components involved. So in these cases, looking into a grammar, a dictionary or preferably asking a fluent or native speaker might prove useful. In both examples below the semantics are changed slightly with reduplication. In (37h) a native speaker would understand the second adjective to carry deeper meaning than just big which is in agreement with Montaut's (2008:32) interpretation of a similar sentence, where she has *big-big eyes* as *big attractive eyes*. Also in (38p) the interpretation of a new meaning is taken from comparing the meaning of the adjective with the actual translation of the text into English (Widmark 2011:128).

<sup>29</sup> Translated to by Widmark (2011:128), who has also pointed out the use of reduplication for creating a sense of rhyme in person. .

<sup>30</sup> The Pashto translation of this verse is discussed in section 1.1.2.

(37h) हो बड़ी-बड़ी आँखें हैं आंसुओं की टंकी

ho *baṛī-baṛī* āṁkhemṁ haiṁ āṁsuomṁ kī ṭankī

intj. *big-big* eyes are tears poss. cistern

Oh! *Very beautiful*<sup>31</sup> eyes crying a pool

(38p) زړه مې پټ پټ ژړل

zrə mī *pəṭ pəṭ* žrəl

heart 1<sup>st</sup>-encl. *hidden hidden* cried

my heart cried *inside*

In (39h) the meaning is changed slightly but still carries a strong temporal sense, however in (40p) below the reduplicated *with* has shifted in semantics to mean *in-spite-of*. This reduplication may be quite unique for Pashto as Abbi (1985:161) states that reduplicated prepositions and postpositions as well as emphatic particles are never reduplicated in any language.

(39h) उन्हें अभी-अभी याद आया है

unhem *abhī-abhī* yād āyā hai

they-obj. *now-now* memory came is

*just at that moment* he remembered

(40p) افغان پارلمان، د بشري حقونو خپلواک کمیسیون، د ملګرو ملتونو نماینده ګی او د متحده ایالتونو سفارت ته داغوبښتنې

له وړاندې کولو سره سره د هغوی ستونزه هواره شوې نه ده

afgān pārlēmān, də bašarī ḥaqūno xpəlwāk komisūn, də malgəro milatūno  
namāyandagəy aw də mutahida ayālatūno safārat ta dā ġwaštane lə wrānde  
kawəlo sara sara də haġūy stūnza hiwāra šawe na da

Afghan parliament, of human rights independent commission, of friends nations  
representative X and of united states embassy to this appeal X forward doing *with*  
*with* of them problem, smooth become not is

*Despite* bringing forth appeals to the Afghan parliament, the Independent Human  
Rights Watch, the United Nations' mission and the United states' embassy, their

31 Big is possibly the ideal for eyes, therefore big-big becomes *very beautiful*, and not *very big*. Translation edited by Kaur.

problems had not gone away<sup>32</sup>

The below two examples are almost identical as both include reduplications of adverbial *when/sometime*. In most cases the reduplicated *when* will generate interpretations such as *sometimes, on and off*, and even *again and again*.

(41h) कभी-कभी भ्रम होता है

*kabhī-kabhī* bhram hota hai  
*when when* confusion being is  
*sometimes* there is confusion

(42p) کله کله به یې د ټي وي د کوټې له دروازي ماشومانو ته وکتل

*kəla kəla* bə ye də ټي wī də koټe lə darwāze māšūmāno ta wukatəl  
*when when* hab. 3<sup>rd</sup>-encl. of TV of room from door children to looked  
*Off and on*, through the door to the TV-room, she looked at the children<sup>33</sup>

In both examples above, the semantics would be quite different without reduplication. They would miss the occasional meaning and only mean *when* as in *that instant*.

### 1.2.2 Full reduplication of adjectives with distributive force

In a few cases even adjectives or expressions are used to create distribution. I will not discuss this feature at length; I merely aim to prove that it can happen in both languages. In the below two examples distribution is used in the Hindi and Pashto translations of the verse, which gives the meaning that everyone is a member. In the context Paul is writing to the congregation trying to stimulate unity by saying that each of them belong to the body of Christ, or the congregation, like different body parts equally belong and are needed in the body. In English, this meaning has to be expressed with several different words.

(43h) और अलग अलग उसके अंग हो

aur *alag alag* uske aṅg ho  
and *different-different* that-poss. member is

32 Translated into *despite appeals to the Afghan parliament, the Independent Human Rights Commission, the United Nations mission and the United States embassy, his community had received little help* (Widmark 2013:text 2-translation).

33 Translated by Widmark (2009:124,125).

and *each of you individually*<sup>34</sup> is a member

(44p) او بیل بیل آندامونه یی

aw *bīl bīl* andāmūna yəy

and *different-different* members are

and *each of you individually* is a member

In other cases reduplication of a correlative will result in proportionate progressiveness like in the example below (Sharma 1960:96) where the degree of the day's rising, decide to which degree it gets hotter.

(45h) जितना जितना दिन चढ़ता है उतनी उतनी गर्मी बढ़ती है

*jītnā jītnā* din caṛhtā hai *utnī utnī* garmī baṛhtī hai

so so day rising is so so heat increasing is

as *the* day the rises, so *the* heat increases<sup>35</sup>

Without a reduplication in the above sample, the sentence would read into English *The day rises as much as the heat increases*.

### 1.2.3 Full reduplication of numerals distributive

When a numeral is repeated like n-n it often gives the sense of either n by n, or n each (Montaut 2008:24). It can also in some cases have the meaning by n-amount (see Trumpp (1873:130), David Boyle (2013:138)<sup>36</sup> and Widmark (2013:2-3). Hindi distribution is explained by example by McGregor (2009:153) and Sharma (1960:89) and in Pashto it is explained by Trumpp (1873:130) who states that it is the cardinal number which is reduplicated. To illustrate in English: *The boys have ten apples each*, could in a language with a distributive use of numerals be put as: \**The boys have ten ten apples*<sup>37</sup>, where the reduplicated numeral ten is distributive. So in an elegant way by merely repeating the numeral we are given the information that: *Each boy has ten apples*.

34 In the English translation the word *individually* is superfluous if this is to be considered a translation of the Hindi verse, but both verses should rather be considered to be independent translations of the New Testament.

35 Sharma (1960:96) translates this example as *as the day the advances, so the heat increases*.

36 Boyle David does not interpret numeral reduplication as being distributive, but rather as "an iteration of individuals or groups".

37 This is a dummy example, not a translation of any sentence in neither Hindi nor Pashto.

Numerical distribution is known and described in Hindi grammars (usually briefly), and it appears to be somewhat commonly used in Pashto (based on text studies). To describe this feature McGregor (2009:153) uses the below sample (he also uses other samples).

(46h) एक एक लड़के को पचास पचास पैसे मिले

*ek ek larke ko pacās pacās paise mile*  
*one one boy to fifty fifty money received*  
*Each boy got fifty pice*<sup>38</sup>

In the below example the same verse, where Noah is commanded to bring in the animals to the ark has been translated into both languages. In (47h) we see a fuller use of numeral distribution than in (48p).

(47h) और सब जीवित प्राणियों में से, तू एक एक जाति के दो दो, अर्थात् एक नर और एक मादा

जहाज़ में ले जाकर, अपने साथ जीवित रखना। एक एक जाति के पक्षी, और एक एक जाति के पशु, और एक एक जाति के भूमि पर रेंगनेवाले, सब में से दो दो तेरे पास आएंगे, कि तू उनको जीवित रखे।

aur sab jīvit praṇiyom̐ mem̐ se, tū *ek ek jāti ke do do*, arthāt ek nar aur ek mādā jahāz mem̐ le jākar, apne sāth jīvit rakhna. *ek ek jāti ke pakṣī*, aur *ek ek jāti ke paśu*, aur *ek ek jāti ke bhūmi par reṅgnevāle*, sab mem̐ se *do do tere pās āeṅge*, ki tū unko jīvit rakhe.

And all living creatures in from, you-sg. *one one* kind poss. *two two*, namely one male and one female ship in bring go-abs., your with alive keep. *one one* kind poss. bird, and *one one* kind poss. livestock, and *one one* kind poss. earth on crawl-poss., all in from *two two* your-sg. side come-fut. that you-sg. them-to alive keep. And bring into the ark *two* of every sort of living creature in order to preserve them alive with you, a male and a female; of the flying creatures *according to* their kinds, the domestic animals *according to* their kinds, and all creeping animals of the ground *according to* their kinds, *two* of *each* will go in there to you to preserve them alive.

<sup>38</sup> McGregor has also given the translation (2009:153).

(48p) د ټولو ژونديو مخلوقاتو څخه يوه يوه جوړه نر او بڼځه د ځان سره کشتۍ ته راوله ترڅو هغه ژوندي وساتي. د هر ډول مرغانو، حيواناتو او خزندو څخه به دوه دوه تاته راشي ترڅو ژوندي وساتل شي

də ʈolo žwandiyo maxlūqāto tsəxa yawa yawa joṛa nar aw šədza də dzān sara kaštəy ta rāwəla tərtsə haḡa žwandī wusāte. də har ɖol mərḡāno, ḡaywānāto aw xazando tsəxa bə dwa dwa tāta rāšī tərtsə žwandī wusātəl šī.

Of all living creatures from *one one* pair male and female of self with ship to bring until it alive preserve-fut. of every kind birds, livestock and animal from fut. *two two* you-sg. come until alive preserve-fut. become.

And bring into the ark *two of every* sort of living creature in order to preserve them alive with you, a male and a female; of the flying creatures according to their kinds, the domestic animals according to their kinds, and all creeping animals of the ground according to their kinds, *two of each* will go in there to you to preserve them alive.

Interestingly in (49h) below only the numeral three is reduplicated to signify a distribution of three thousand as only one unit should be repeated (Sharma 1960:89)<sup>39</sup>. If it was to be given a thousand rupees to all three, it would be written similarly as in (60p), and the pronoun in singular could be reduplicated, or as above with a numeral followed by a pronoun in singular. Also in (60p) thousand is being repeated to mark that each son receives the same.

(49h) चुनांचे मॅने उन्हें तीन-तीन हजार रुपए दिए

cunāṁce maimne unhem tīn-tīn hazār rūpae die  
therefore I-erg. them-obj. *three-three* thousand rupee gave  
therefore I gave *three* thousand rupees to *each of them*

(50p) نو دری وارو ته بي زر زر روپی ور کړي

no dray wāro ta ye zar zar rūpəy war kṛe  
so three all to 3<sup>rd</sup>-encl. *thousand thousand* rupees dir. did  
so he gave a *thousand* rupees *each* to all three<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Sharma states it is the last numeral which should be repeated, however in our example the first numeral is repeated, it could be that thousand in this sentence is taken more as an entity than as a numeral.

<sup>40</sup> Translated as *the merchant gave each one a thousand rupees* (Widmark 2013:text 1-translation).

In the below example we get quite a standard way of expressing a judicial ruling (based on having read a number of almost identical sentences dealing with the same subject. In (51p) each one are not sharing twenty years, so that they get reduced time of a crime, but they are sentenced the same, of twenty years each. With the sentence starting with *every one*, it is overly clear that twenty is distributive, and it is quite possible that the statement is written in such a way so as to avoid any type of misunderstanding.

- (51p) هر يو په شل شل کاله بند محکوم کړل  
 har yaw pə šəl/ šəl/ kālə band maḥkūm kṛəl  
 every one with *twenty twenty* years bound sentenced did  
 everyone was convicted to *twenty* years prison *each*

Numerical distribution is of identical use in both translated verses below, but in this Hindi translation even the word *row* is repeated to add further emphasis.

- (52h) वे सौ सौ और पचास पचास करके पांति पांति बैठ गए  
 ve sau sau aur pacās pacās karke paṁti paṁti baiṭh gae  
 they *hundred hundred* and *fifty fifty* do-abs. row row sit aux.  
 they were seated in *rows of 100* and *of 50 each*<sup>41</sup>

- (53p) او هغوی په قطارونو کښې کښیناستل او په هره ډله کښې سل سل پنځوس پنځوس تنه  
 aw haḡūy pə qaṭārūno kṣe kṣīnāstəl aw pə hara ḍala kṣe səl səl pindzoz pindzoz  
 tana  
 and they in rows X sit and in every group X hundred hundred fifty fifty person  
 and they sat in rows and in every group were *100* and *of 50* persons *each*<sup>42</sup>

Finally, to show that it is a very common to use repeated numerals for creating distribution in Pashto I would like to add the below example.

- (54p) کومې ښځې چې تاسو ته خوښې وي دوی دوی درې درې او څلور څلور په نکاح واخلي  
 kome šəḍze če tāso ta xwaṣe wī dūy dwe dwe dre dre aw tsalor tsalor pə nikāḥ  
 wāxləy

41 Literal translation. Easy-to-read version translates this verse as *So all the people sat in groups. There were about 50 or 100 people in each group.*

42 Same as above.



those women who you-pl. to like was they *two two three three* and *four four* with marriage-contract hold

those women whom you liked you *each* can marry *two, three* and *four of* them

With no reduplication, the sentence above could quite possibly be directed to one singular individual addressed in a honorific manner. The reduplication makes it clear that the comment is directed at several different individuals.

### 1.3 Full reduplication of participles and verb-stems introduction

The verb-participle (past and present) or even the verb-stem with absolutive, can be reduplicated to mark an action that takes time (continuity/durative), or to mark that something takes place during the action of the reduplicated participle (simultaneity) and repeated action (iteration). This is clear from examples made by both Montaut (2008:27-30) and Abbi (2001:167). There may even be cases where the reduplication of the participle in connection with a noun results in it being used adjectively, or even carrying some sense of distributive force (shown by example, Abbi 1980:70). None of the examples alluded to above show the full reduplication of a finite verb.

We therefore have the following pattern to express for the sentence *I was wandering for so long that I got lost* with *\*I was wandering wandering so I got lost*<sup>43</sup> and never *\*I was was wandering so I got lost*<sup>44</sup>. Also if there are two distinct actors who simultaneously operate on two separate events, the actor of the reduplicated participle (or verb-stem) will be in possessive form (Abbi 1980:36).

#### 1.3.1 Full reduplication of participles and verb-stems examples from texts

Most examples of reduplicated participles found in both languages are of simultaneous aspect. In (54h) and (55p) the same verse has been translated into both languages and in the text repetition is made on the participle *calte/tlo* (*walking*) to put emphasis on an action taking place while walking.

(55h) उसके चेले चलते-चलते अनाज की बालों तोड़ने लगे

uske cele *calte-calte* anāj ki bālom toṛne lagi

he-poss. disciples *walking-walking* grain poss. heads break started

43 This is a dummy example, not a translation of any sentence in neither Hindi nor Pashto.

44 As above.

his disciples started to pluck the heads of grain *as they went*

(56p) نو په تلو تلو کښې د هغه مريدانو وړی وشو کول

no pə tlo tlo kʃe də haɣə murīdāno waʒay wuʃo kawəl

so in *walking walking* X of him disciples grain plucked did

*his disciples started to pluck the heads of grain as they went*

The two samples below also give a meaning of something happening during or while the reduplicated participle take action. In (57h) the act of dying whilst talking is not to be taken as the subject himself *talked for so long that he died of boredom* but rather there is a reduplication that shows that the two actions are simultaneous. Also in (58p) the sentence is not anything like *while walking for a hours he kept talking*.

(57h) ऐसा कहते-कहते उसके प्राण पखेरू उड़ गये

aisā kahte-kahte uske prāṇ pakheru uṛ gaye

such *saying-saying* she-poss. breath bird lost aux.

*while saying* this she gave up her life-breath<sup>45</sup>

(58p) او په تلو تلو کې يې وويل

aw pə tlo tlo ke ye wuwayəl

and in *walking walking* X 3<sup>rd</sup>-encl. said

and *while walking* he said

In the example (59h) below repetition could have marked an action taking some time to complete. However for a Hindi-speaker this is seen as simultaneous action. In (60p) we have an action that takes a long time to complete, where someone is completely being lost in time due to reading books.

(59h) वह नाली में चावल भर-भर कर मापने लगी

vah nalī meṃ cāval bhar-bhar kar māpne lagī

she drain in rice *fill-fill* abs. measure started

*while she filled* the rice in the drain she started measuring

<sup>45</sup> That is to say, she died. Context makes clear that subject is a she, the grammar of this sentence opens up for an actor of either gender.

(60p) د کتابونو په لوستو لوستو کې اوده شوه او چې بیا راوینه شوه نو څلور بجې وې

də kitābūno pə *lwasto lwasto* ke uda šwa aw če byā rāwīša šawa no *tsalor* bajə we  
of books in *reading reading* X charm became and that then take became so four  
hours was

he became so engrossed in *reading* books that when he stopped it was four  
o'clock

In the (61h) below a young girl is hindered by her weak voice, she is not very hindered for a brief moment, but rather she is hindered every time she tries to speak therefore the example can be seen as an iteration. In (62p) we have another example with simultaneity, as it is not likely that the subject is looking for so long that her lips hang, rather she is seeing something which causes her lips to hang in surprise.

(61h) रूंधे गले से अटकते-अटकते वह बोली

rūmdhe gale se *aṭakte-aṭakte* vah bolī

emotion-filled voice with *hindered-hindered* she said

she was *unable* to speak because of her stuck emotions

(62p) د ده شونډو ته گورم، په کتو کتو ان زما شونډې هم خورنډې کېږي

də də šonḍo ta gorəm, pə kato kato an zmā šonḍe ham *dzoṛənde* keṛī

of he lips to look-I, with seeing seeing even my lips also hanging becomes

I look at his lips, *while looking* even my lips also become hanging

Also, reduplication on the participle can generate an intensive meaning as in (63h) below. The action of fearing is not seen as continuity, but it has a quality of giving further information to the verb *said*. In addition it is not a sentence like *she kept fearing her mother-in-law and said*.

(63h) बहू ने डरते-डरते सास से कहा

bahū ne *ḍarte-ḍarte* sās se kahā

daughter-in-law erg. *fearing-fearing* mother-in-law with said

The daughter-in-law said *filled with fear* to the mother-in-law

The participle can be reduplicated to give a various types of meanings, and all of the above is merely scratching the surface.

## **2.1 Partial reduplication, so called echo constructions introduction**

Partial reduplication of words generally conveys the idea of something the like, similar to the main word, i.e. the reduplicated *R and other similar things* and sometimes can give a negative quality (Montaut 2008:42-48) quite similar to the use in English when reduplicating a word and using sch- as replacement sound. Abbi explains that the interpretation of an echo-construction is based on the context, but she also gives a general explanation of the type *R etc.* type (2001:168,169).

The most common way to create an echo in Hindi is to replace the initial consonant with [v] in the second element or simply just add [v] to the second element if the root word begins with a vowel. In Pashto the most common way to create an echo is to replace the initial consonant with [m] in the second element (see Rishtin 2004:160), but also other letters are frequently used for creating an echo. David Boyle also lists some examples of echo words, calling them doublet words instead (2013:380-385), but it is difficult to see any pattern from her examples as she uses both types of partial reduplication in her examples, and she does not fully explain their function.

As a whole partial reduplication is found in all types of categories of words, but not all categories of words in every language. Abbi (2001:168) explains that in all languages with this feature have their unique "replacer sound", that is not to say that all languages are limited to one replacer sound, but rather that all languages have unique replacement sounds from each other. So you cannot guess the replacement sound of a language based on the knowledge of a closely related language.

I would like to add that in Swedish we can find some apparent echo-constructions with root-vowel shift such as *krims-krams*, *virr-varr*, *pick-pack*, and even a few with initial consonant shift like *huller-om-buller* where the echo comes as the initial word rather than the following. Also in English some echo constructions can be found like *shilly-shally*, *wishy-washy*, *willy-nilly* etc. (Thun 1963:115,116,128).

### **2.1.1 Echo-construction of nouns**

As explained earlier, most echo-words in Hindi are created with the replacement sound [v] and in Pashto with the replacement sound [m]. When a noun is reduplicated like for

example to express *You need to put on your jacket, shoes and scarf before you step outside* it is possible, and economical to express it in Hindi and Pashto with a pattern like the following *\*You need to put on your jacket-schmacket<sup>46</sup> before you step outside<sup>47</sup>*, which will be understood by the receiver as *You need to put on your jacket etc. before you step outside*. In this case *\*jacket-schmacket* will not be taken as dealing with unrelated items, that is the receiver will not misunderstand this to mean *You need to put on your jacket and parachute before you step outside*, unless of course the exchange of words are being made on a plane, before skydiving.

In the below sentence (64h) a simple statement like *I have no pen* would simply mean literally *I have no pen*, but with the echo-construction we get the idea of a different statement like *I have no pen-echo* would imply that *I also have no pencil, I might be lacking a notepad* etc. (explanation in line with Montaut, who has also provided the translation 2008:40). Similarly in (65p) one cannot take the sentence to *forget University-echo* to mean *forget University but try for college instead*, but rather the echo enhances that the statement is about forgetting about trying for higher education, or possibly about thinking you can become something. In the context of the story the sentence is taken from a son is being advised by his mother to give up university so that he can get a job and support his family instead.

(64h) मेरे पास कोई पेन-वेन नहीं

mere pās koi *pen-ven* nahīm  
my near any *pen-echo* not  
I don't have anything *to write*

(65p) اچملہ زویہ! پوهنتون موہنتون پرپرده

Ajmala zoya! *Pohantūn mohantūn prežda*  
ajmal son! *University-echo* leave  
Ajmal, my son! Forget about *university and such*

In the below example the noun man is given an echo in both examples to apparently give emphasis to the lack there of, i.e. no man, no other living human.

46 Or *jacket-echo*, however, I thought it sounded nicer with an English echo.

47 This is a dummy example, not a translation of any sentence in neither Hindi nor Pashto.

(66h) तुम्हारा कोई आदमी-वादमी नहीं मरा है

tumhārā koī ādmī-vādmī nahīm marā hai  
your-pl. any man-echo neg. died is  
not *any* of your *men* have died

(67p) نو ژر به پوه شوي چې سړی مری نه دی

no žrēba poh šawe če saray maṛay na dəy  
so zreba understanding became that *man-echo* neg. is  
so Zreba understood that *no-one* is there

Below the echo-construction opens up for inclusive sentences rather than exclusive expressions. When in (68h) *Will you have some tea-echo* is put in the question instead of just *Will you have some tea*, it opens up to an affirmative reply without a "but"-statement, like *Yes I would love some coffee* instead of *No, I don't fancy tea, I'd rather have coffee instead*. So according to Montaut (2008:40) an answer of what beverage etc. is wished for is sought. An alternative translation of the example (68h) is *Will you have some tea and something to eat?* Similarly in (69p) the echo-construction opens up for *I had a small meal, I had something to eat and drink*.

(68h) तुम चाय-वाय पियोगे

tum cāy-vāy piyoge  
you-pl. *tea-echo* drink-fut.  
will you drink *something*?<sup>48</sup>

(69p) یو چیرته می لږ دودی مودی وخوره ځان می مور کړه

yaw čirta me laž ɖoɖəy moɖəy wuxwara dʒān me moɾ kɾə  
one where me little *bread-echo* ate body 1<sup>st</sup>-encl. satisfied did  
at some place where I ate a small *meal*, it made me full

Example (70h) could just as easily have been translated into *pandit-schmandit*, in an ironizing context, or it could also be interpreted as *Stop calling him a pandit or any title*. With the echo the negative connotations for the master to be called *pandit and other*

<sup>48</sup> Translated by Montaut as well (2008:40).

*traditional titles* are made stark clear, which is also learned from the context (Montaut 2008:45,46), where the master it is referring to prefers to be called *sir*.

(70h) उन्हें पंडित-वंडित मत कहा करो

unhem *paṇḍit-vaṇḍit* mat kahā karo  
them-obj. *pandit-echo* neg call do-impv.  
stop calling him a *pandit*

(71p) لکه په پښتو کې چې وايي، کار مار، کتابونه متابونه او داسې نور

lake pə pašto ke če wāyī, *kār mār, kitābūna mitābūna* aw dāse nor  
like in pashto X who says, *work-echo, books-echo* and such other  
like one says in pashto, *work-schmerk, books-schmooks* and etc.

So according to the examples looked at, so far the echo-construction functions similarly in both sample languages.

### 2.1.2 Echo-construction of adjectives and adverbials

Echo-formation in Hindi and Pashto also occurs with adjectives and adverbials. It can be used as an intensive or as a generalisation type of structure. In the (72h) and (73p) we see a usage of a generalisation type. In both examples it is hard to imagine an intensive use, as in the *very new plates* or the *extremely plastic like thingy I used to fix the sandals with*.

(72h) नया-वया नहीं निकलेगा

*nayā-vayā* nahīṃ niklegā  
*new-echo* neg. extract-fut.  
do not take out the *new* (plates)<sup>49</sup>

(73p) که بیا وشلېده یو پلاستیک ملاستیک به ترې راتاو کړم

kə byā wuśaleda yaw *plāstīk mlāstīk* bə tre rātāw kṛəm  
if again tear one *plastic-echo* fut. than embedded do-1<sup>st</sup>-sg.  
If (they) tear up again, I will fix them with *something plastic-like*

<sup>49</sup> Montaut examines this echo-construction in a context of negative undertone.

Also in the below example (74h) there is a generalisation, as the sample would not logically mean *I did not feel very cold* due to the use of *some* before the echoed expression. Rather it is in the sense of *I did not feel any cold etc*, that is: *I also did not feel it was to humid, or chilly*. In contrast (75p) is using an echo-construction for the purpose of intensifying the echoed-expression, so the translation cannot read *The bed was shrinkled like from the men on top*.

(74h) मुझे ऐसी कोई ठंड-वंड भी नहीं लगी

mujhe aisī koī *ṭhaṁḍ-vaṁḍ* bhī nahīṁ lagī

I-obj. such any *cold-echo* even neg. felt

I did not feel the *slightest cold*<sup>50</sup>

(75p) له سرو نه په بستره کې غونج موند پراته وو

lə saɾo nə pə bistarə ke *gūnj mūnj* prātə wū

from men X in bed *shrinkle-echo* horizontal was

the bed was *completely shrinkled* from the men lying down in it

More use of intensifying echoed adjectives and adverbials can be found under section 2.2.1.

### 2.1.3 General Echo-construction of participles

Though not uncommon in Hindi, I have yet to find an example in Pashto for a participle with echo-construction. This may be related to that a lot of verbs in Pashto are constructed with an adjective, adverbial or noun in combination with *kedəl* or *kawəl*, that is either *to become* or *to do*. However, as per below the echo of the participle can take the notion of a *R and/or something like R* interpretation. In (76h) we have an echo on the verb-stem before the absolutive, in this case the interpretation has become that it adds a measure of gentleness. Without an echo the sentence would just be *She decorated it with bananaleaves and did her puja* but here the echo adds on.

(76h) केले के पत्ते से सजा-वजाकर पूजा करती

<sup>50</sup> Translation by Montaut (2008:49).



kele ke patte se *sajā-vajākar* pūjā kartī  
banana poss. leaves with *decorate-echo-abs.* worship doing  
(she) *fondly decorated* it with bananaleaves and did her puja<sup>51</sup>

Similarly, in (77h) below a verb-stem is being echoed, but this time without the absolutive meaning. Montaut (2008:52) gives the additional information with translation *I used to manage to read something every day, whenever I found the time, a booklet etc.*

(77h) रोज़ कुछ पढ़-वढ़ करती हूँ  
roz kuch *parh-varh* liyā kartī hūṃ  
everyday something *read-echo* take doing am  
I used to *read* something or other everyday

In (78h) the perfective, finite verb is being echoed, Abbi (2001:170) along with her translation, gives the additional interpretation of this sentence as to also include the meaning: *I sang for a long time and did similar things.*

(78h) कल ख़ुब गाया वाया इसलिए गला खराब हो गया  
kal khub *gāyā vāyā* islie galā kharāb ho gayā  
yesterday lot *sang-echo* therefore throat bad be aux.  
Yesterday I *sang*, that is why my throat is so hoarse

It would have been interesting to be able to look into how this would have worked in Pashto, but there appears to be a difference. However this is written so as to give an explanation to how to interpret the feature. An interesting difference within Hindi itself is that finite verbs can be *partially* reduplicated, but apparently never *fully* reduplicated.

### 2.2.1 Echo-constructions with root-vowel shift to [ā]

Another ways to create an echo in Hindi and Pashto is to replace the root vowel with [ā] in the second element (Montaut 2008:52,53; Rishtin 2004:161). In both languages an echo can also be constructed by a a root-vowel shift. In Hindi the vowel will usually shift to [ā] in the following word, and in Pashto both root-vowel shift to [ā] or [o] are used. Interestingly,

---

<sup>51</sup> Translation also by Montaut (2008:42).

this type of echo-word often appears as a full lexical element which can be found in dictionaries. Below we have an example of this kind of echo found in Hindi of a noun. Generating a meaning of *meet lots of different people* instead of the non-echoed version which would mean *meet people*, which would be an unpleasant experience in the context where a friend is advised to give a huge party. In (80p) a simple un-echoed expression might mean that *not all the co-operation is made, there is more to be done*.

(79h) भीड़-भाड़ मिलाए

*bhīr-bhār milāe*

*crowd-echo meet-imv.*

*meet lots of people*<sup>52</sup>

(80p) چي متحده ايالات به له افغانستان سره ټول ټال څومره مرسته کوي

*če mutaḥida ayālāt be le afgānistān sara ʔol ʔāl tsūmra mrasta kawī*

that united states fut. with Afghanistan X *all echo* how-much help do

that USA does not *fully* co-operate with Afghanistan at all

In the below adverbial examples the same echo word has been found in both languages, given the historical contact this is not surprising. In both cases we have an intensive understanding as in *very quietly*.

(81h) वह चुपचाप क्लास में चली गई

*vah cupcāp klās meṃ calī gaī*

she *silent-echo* class in went aux.

She went *very quietly* into the class

(82p) هغه چوپ چاپ ټولي کوتي معاینه کړې

*haḡa čūp čāp ʔole koṭe mu'āyna kṛe*

he *silent echo* all rooms inspection make

he inspects all the rooms *very quietly*

And below the meaning from the verb *to ask* has been shifted *to investigate* so this echo

<sup>52</sup> Translation by Montaut (2008:50).

has led to an even more intensive meaning.

(83h) तब न्यायी भली भांति पूछपाछ करें

tab nyāyī bhalī bham̐ti pūchpāch kareṃ  
then judges good manner *question-echo* do-subj.  
The judges will thoroughly *investigate*

In (83h) an unechoed verb-stem would generate a different meaning, *The judges will thoroughly ask*. Abbi (2001:169,170) mentions that one can just make up new echo words of the type which is echoed by [v], however she does not discuss how one would start generating new echo words with root-vowel shift or of the type as mentioned in section 2.2.2. It may therefore be the case that the number of these echo words are already set.

### 2.2.2 Echo-constructions with initial [a]/[ā] and echo moved in front

Another interesting feature of both languages is that the echo word in some cases can be constructed with [a] or [ā] as the initial letter. That echoes may in some cases precede the base word is commented on briefly by Abbi (2001:168). In these cases the echo construction is apparently moved forward and the main word follows like in Swedish example hams-trams (lose talk). In Hindi at least it does not appear to be very common, and the examples that exist may be lexical. In (94h) the sentence without echo would be *In the country near the Jordan*, and in (95p) a non-echoed statement would mean that *they gave us an excuse*, whereas with echo it can shift to *various excuses*, or possibly *lame excuses*.

(84h) और वह यरदन के आस पास के सारे देश में आकर

aur vah yardan ke ās pās ke sāre deś meṃ ākar...  
and he Jordan poss. *echo-near* poss. all country in came-abs.  
So he went into all the country *around* the Jordan

(85p) او موژ ته اني باني کوي

aw mūž<sup>53</sup> ta *ane bāne* kawī

---

53 Muž local dialect of muž meaning us according to Widmark.

and us to *echo-excuse* do  
and make *different excuses* to us

In (86h) the meaning is in this instance shifted from *in-front of* to *opposing, confronting*, which is a statement we would expect to find in a description of a crash. Also in (87p) we have a change, or mix-up not with two colors, but with all colors hither and thither.

(86h) दो तेज़ रफ़्तार बसों में आमने-सामने की टक्कर में कम से कम दस व्यक्तियों की मृत्यु हो

गई

do tez raftār basom̐ mem̐ āmne-sāmne kī ṭakkar mem̐ kam se kam<sup>54</sup> das vyaktiyom̐  
kī mṛtyu ho gaī

two fast speen buses in *echo-in-front* poss. collision in little with little ten person  
poss. death be aux.

in the collision of two fast moving buses *in opposite direction* at least ten people  
were killed

(87p) خو ټول رنگونه په خپلو کې ادل بدل شوي

xo ʈol rangūna pə xpəlo ke *adal badal* šawī

but all colors in own-pl. X *echo-exchange* become

but all colors become *mixed up*

Echo-construction with intial [a] appears to be more commonly used in Pashto. As with echo words with root-vowel shift, this type of echo words are often found as full lexical items in various dictionaries.

## Conclusion

As shown by examples full reduplications and echo-constructions are occurring in both studied languages in a large variety and quantity. The different meanings they deliver can often be up to the receiver to interpret, though this would be clear by the context in which it is made. Two identical reduplicated expressions will generate different semantics in different contexts. For the reduplicated noun, pronoun or numeral, the safest interpretation may be to see it as having distributed force in both languages. However, for Hindi at least

---

<sup>54</sup> Reduplication *kam se kam* using postposition, *kam* in itself means *little*.

if a noun in plural form is being reduplicated, a sense of exclusiveness is often intended. And quite often intensity or emphasis is made with the reduplicated noun in singular.

And as for the fully reduplicated participle, the most common translation would be simultaneity, but other interpretations will include duration, iteration, intensity etc. And for Pashto at least the reduplicated participle may be used to give a sense of rhythm and rhyme. The latter statement for Pashto also goes for reduplications of other word categories. Another potential difference between the languages is that in Pashto full reduplication of participles does not appear to be as common as in Hindi. However this would require further proof by statistical evidence of reduplication. This conclusion is solely based on the lack of examples found in Pashto texts, whereas in Hindi the reduplicated participle is very common. And partial reduplication of the participle appears to be non-existent in Pashto, though to be certain if that is the case, more detailed study would be needed.

The fully reduplicated adjective or adverb can often give a sense of intensity, emphasis, distribution and quite often lead to a new meaning altogether. And the reduplicated question word will often seek a response of a "listing effect" in Hindi at least. It would be a very interesting field for future research to see if this interpretation can be used in Pashto as well.

When it comes to partial reduplication the common interpretation *R and ther similar things* goes a long way, but it does not cover the interpretation of its negative uses, and when a set interpretation is in force.

Unfortunately not enough research appears to have been made in the field of reduplication, especially in Pashto where comments in grammar books are very limited, and they don't fully explain the feature to satisfaction.

To understand the semantics of the South-Asian languages more fully, it is necessary to understand how reduplication functions with different word categories. As this study has shown, it is not unsuccessful in some cases to use one language to study another when too little research has been made into the secondary language, given that there is basis to believe that the languages have some traits in common.

## Bibliography

- Abbi, Anvita. *A Manual of Linguistic Field Work and Structures of Indian Languages*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa, 2001
- Abbi, Anvita. "Reduplicative Structures: A Phenomenon of the South Asian Linguistic Area" *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications*, No. 20, pp. 159-171. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985
- Abbi, Anvita. *Semantic Grammar of Hindi a Study of Reduplication*. New Delhi: Bahri Publications Private Limited, 1980
- Bhārat-Lamkā Bāibal-Samiti. *Dharmśāstra (Holy Bible in Hindi)*. Bangalore: The Bible Society of India and Ceylon, 1962
- Boyle David, Anne. *Descriptive Grammar of Pashto and its Dialects*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013
- Chauhan, Surajpal. *Kyun Vishwas Karoon*. New Delhi: Vani Prakashan , 2004
- Chand, Gayan. *English – Pashto Pashto – English Dictionary (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)*. London: Simon Wallenberg Press, 2007 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1982)
- Easy-to-Read Version (Bible)* <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/search=mark+6%3A40&version=ERV> accessed 2014-06-03
- Fazli, Wazhma. *Le dewe sara mazal [Walking with the Light]*. Kabul: De Afghanistan de Qalam Tolana, 2010/2011
- Hindi Holy Bible*. <http://www.wordproject.org/bibles/in/index.htm> accessed 2014-06-03
- <http://www.indiamike.com/india/languages-in-india-f176/reduplicated-words-or-echo-words-in-bengali-and-other-languages-t151730/> accessed 2014-05-17
- Injil*. <http://www.pashtozera.org/bible/> accessed 2014-06-03
- Kachru, Yamuna/Pandharipande, Rajeshwari, *Intermediate Hindi*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1983)
- Khanjan, Alireza/Alinezhad, Batool, "A Morphological Doubling Approach to Full Reduplication in Persian" *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 23, pp. 169-198 . Helsinki: Linguistic Association of Finland, 2010
- Montaut, Annie. "Reduplication and 'echo words' in Hindi/Urdu" *Annual Review of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*, pp. 21-61. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2008
- McGregor, R.[onald] S.[tuart]. *Outline of Hindi Grammar (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1972)
- McGregor, R.[onald] S.[tuart]. *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1993)

- Nadarajan, Shanthi, "A Crosslinguistic Study of Reduplication" *Arizona Working Papers in SLAT – Vol. 13*, pp 39-53. Tucson: University of Arizona Interdisciplinary Ph.D. Program, 2006
- Nangarhari. *Tawrat*. <http://www.pashtozera.org/bible/> accessed 2014-06-03
- New World Bible Translation Committee. *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*. New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York Inc., 2013 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1961)
- New World Bible Translation Committee. *Nayī Duniyā Anuvād Masīhī Yūnānī śastra (New World Translation of the Christian Greek Scriptures)*. Karnataka: The Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of India, 2009
- Pokharariya, Dev Singh, *Uttarakhand ki Lokkathaa*. Delhi: Taxshila Prakashan, 2005
- Poldauf, Ivan. *English Word Stress a Theory of Word-Stress Patterns in English*. Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd., 1984
- Rishtin, Siddiqullah. *Də Pašto Ištaqānūna aw Tarkībūna [The Derivations and Combinations of Pashto]*. Kabul: Pashto Academia of Kabul, 2004 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 2004)
- Rohekar, Sheela, *Miss Samuel: ek Yahudi Gatha*. New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 2013
- Shapiro, Michael C.. *A Primer of Modern Standard Hindi*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2003 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1989)
- Sharma, S.N., *Hindi Grammar and Translation Best Teacher of Correct Hindi (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*. Bombay: Lakhani Book Depot, 1960
- Singh, Namvar. "Yādom mem Yādav", *Haṃs*, december-issue, 2013
- Thun, Nils. *Reduplicative Words in English A Study of Formations of the Types Tick-tick, Hurly-burly and Shilly-shally*. Lund: Carl Bloms Boktryckeri A.B., 1963
- Tiwary, K. M.. "The Echo-Word Construction in Bhojpuri" *Anthropological Linguistics*, No 4, pp. 32-38. Bloomington: Trustees of Indiana University, 1968
- Trumpp, Ernest, *Grammar of Pašto or language of the Afghāns Compared with the Iranian and North-Indian Idioms*. London: Messrs. Trübner & Co. 1873
- <http://wals.info/chapter/27> accesses 2014-05-25
- <http://wals.info/chapter/54> accessed 2014-05-16
- <http://wals.info/feature/27A#2/28.3/148.9> accessed 2014-06-06
- Widmark, Anders. Occasional Paper, Lesson 1-2 "Alfabetet, transkriptionssystem, fonologi och uttal". Uppsala University, 2013
- Widmark, Anders. Occasional Paper, Lesson 2-3 "Grammar 2". Uppsala University, 2013
- Widmark, Anders. Occasional Paper, Pashto 2 text 1 "The Sick Girl". Uppsala University, 2013

Widmark, Anders. Occasional Paper, Pashto 2 text 1 Translation "The Sick Girl". Uppsala University, 2013

Widmark, Anders. Occasional Paper, Pashto 2 text 2 "Tough Times for Afghan Hindus and Sikhs". Uppsala University, 2013

Widmark, Anders. Occasional Paper, Pashto 2 text 2 Translation "Tough Times for Afghan Hindus and Sikhs". Uppsala University, 2013

Widmark, Anders. Occasional Paper, Pashto 2 text 3 "The Man Who Went into the Hills". Uppsala University, 2013

Widmark, Anders. Occasional Paper, Pashto 2 text 3 Translation "The Man Who Went into the Hills". Uppsala University, 2013

Widmark, Anders. *Voices at the Borders, Prose on the Margins Exploring the Contemporary Pashto Short Story in a Context of War and Crisis*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2011

Yusufzai. *Tawrat*. <http://www.pashtozaray.org/bible/> accessed 2014-06-03



## Index of quoted of texts

- (1h) Montaut (2008:26)
- (2h) Chauhan 2004:45
- (3p) <http://tkg.af/pashto/culture-and-art/others/8461-%D9%BE%D9%87-%D9%87%D8%AF%DB%90%D8%B1%D9%87-%DA%A9%DB%90-%D9%88%D8%B1%DA%A9-%D9%82%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86%D9%87> *accessed 2014-05-14*
- (4h) <http://navbharattimes.indiatimes.com/metro/mumbai/power-road-and-water/carved-lying-streets-harassing-people/articleshow/33791390.cms> *accessed 2014-05-10*
- (5p) Widmark (2011:190)
- (6h) Singh 2013:18
- (7p) <http://pashto.irib.ir/2010-05-18-10-42-32/item/64850-%D8%AF-%D9%BE%D8%A7%DA%A9%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%B4%DB%8C%D8%B9%D9%87-%D8%B3%D9%86%D9%8A-%D9%BE%D9%87-%DA%AB%DA%89%D9%87-%D9%85%DB%8C%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86%DA%81%D9%8A> *accessed 2014-05-14*
- (8h) Pokharariya (2005:21)
- (9h) <http://khabar.ndtv.com/news/election/elections-will-decide-who-will-be-cut-to-size-rajasthan-chief-minister-vasundhara-raje-384785> *accessed 2014-04-19*
- (10p) Widmark (2011:193)
- (11p) Revelation 2:27, Pasho: <http://www.pashtozeray.org/bible/revelation/revelation-2> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (12h) Pokharariya (2005:21,22)
- (13h) Pokharariya (2005:23)
- (14p) Widmark (2011:191)
- (15h) McGregor (2009:153)
- (16p) Luke 17:15, Pasho: <http://www.pashtozeray.org/bible/luke/luke-17> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (17h) 1 Corinthians 15:23, Hindi: <http://www.wordproject.org/bibles/in/46/15.htm#0> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (18p) 1 Corinthians 15:23, Pasho: <http://www.pashtozeray.org/bible/1-corinthians/1-corinthians-15> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (19h) Ephesians 5:25, Hindi: Nayī Duniyā Anuvād; Enligsh: New World Translation

- (20p) Widmark (2013:text 1)
- (21h) Acts 20:20, Hindi: <http://www.wordproject.org/bibles/in/44/20.htm#0> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (22p) <http://www.tolafghanistan.com/%D8%AF-%DA%A9%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D9%BE%D8%A7%DB%8C%D9%84%D9%88%DA%86%D8%A7%D9%86/> *asccessed 2014-05-15*
- (23h) Sholay (film 1975)
- (24h) McGregor (2009:153)
- (25h) Pokharariya (2005:24)
- (26p) Widmark (2011:195)
- (27h) <http://www.hindilyrics.net/hindi/966> *accessed 2014-04-19*
- (28p) Widmark (2011:195)
- (29h) Rohekar (2013:93)
- (30p) Widmark (2011:191)
- (31h) <http://jatdevta.blogspot.se/2013/04/ajanta-alora-to-daultabad-fort.html> *accessed 2014-05-10*
- (32p) <http://www.baheer.com/baher/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=2702> *accessed 2014-05-12*
- (33h) Rohekar (2013:92)
- (34p) Widmark (2011:194,195)
- (35p) Widmark (2011:195)
- (36h) Luke 17:15, Hindi: Nayī Duniyā Anuvād; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (37h) <http://www.hindilyricswords.com/2014/01/Drama-Queen-Hasee-Toh-Phasee.html> *accessed 2014-05-13*
- (38p) Widmark (2011:195)
- (39h) Rohekar (2013:92)
- (40p) Widmark (2013:text 2)
- (41h) [http://www.rachanakar.org/2012/07/blog-post\\_19.html](http://www.rachanakar.org/2012/07/blog-post_19.html) *accessed 2014-05-19*
- (42p) Widmark (2011:194)
- (43h) 1 Corinthians 12:27, Hindi: <http://www.wordproject.org/bibles/in/46/12.htm#0> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (44p) 1 Corinthians 12:27, Pasho: <http://www.pashtozaray.org/bible/1-corinthians/1-corinthians-12> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (45h) Sharma, S.N. (1960:96)

- (46h) McGregor (2009:153)
- (47h) Genesis 6:19, 20, Hindi: Holy Bible in Hindi; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (48p) Genesis 6:19, 20, Pasho: <http://www.pashtozaray.org/bible/genesis/genesis-6?prefdialect=nangahari> accessed 2014-06-03; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (49h) <http://www.hindisamay.com/contentDetail.aspx?id=2079&pageno=6> accessed 2014-05-10
- (50p) Widmark (2013:text 1)
- (51p) <http://www.benawa.com/fullstory.php?id=45123> accessed 2014-05-19
- (52h) Mark 6:40, Hindi: <http://www.wordproject.org/bibles/in/41/6.htm#0> accessed 2014-06-03; Enligsh: -
- (53p) Mark 6:40, <http://www.pashtozaray.org/bible/mark/mark-6> accessed 2014-06-03; Enligsh: -
- (54p) <http://afghanfoundation.net/?p=4156> accessed 2014-05-19
- (55h) Mark 2:23, Hindi: Nayī Duniyā Anuvād; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (56p) Mark 2:23, <http://www.pashtozaray.org/bible/mark/mark-2> accessed 2014-06-03; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (57h) Pokharariya (2005:24)
- (58p) <http://www.baheer.com/baher/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=2702> accessed 2014-05-12
- (59h) Pokharariya (2005:24)
- (69p) <http://www.baheer.com/baher/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=2702> accessed 2014-05-12
- (61h) Pokharariya (2005:22)
- (62p) <http://www.spogmairadio.af/articals/201-2013-11-20-08-30-12> accessed 2014-05-12
- (63h) Pokharariya (2005:23)
- (64h) Montaut (2008:40)
- (65p) Fazli (2010/2011:121)
- (66h) [http://epencephala10.rssing.com/chan-6280670/all\\_p1.html](http://epencephala10.rssing.com/chan-6280670/all_p1.html) accessed 2014-05-05
- (67p) <http://www.tolafghan.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=378&sid=b9048924ab74791c2a81489fd1ce180c> accessed 2014-05-20
- (68h) Montaut (2008:40)
- (69p) [www.khost-web.net/index.php/2010-04-14-18-30-18/2010-04-11-15-00-43/5303-2013-07-17-22-01-44](http://www.khost-web.net/index.php/2010-04-14-18-30-18/2010-04-11-15-00-43/5303-2013-07-17-22-01-44) accessed 2014-05-20
- (70h) Montaut (2008:45)

- (71p) [www.afghantaber.com/page.php?block\\_id=120](http://www.afghantaber.com/page.php?block_id=120) *accessed 2014-05-20*
- (72h) Montaut (2008:43)
- (73p) Fazli (2010/2011:21)
- (74h) Montaut (2008:49)
- (75p) <http://amel.bloguna.tolafghan.com/posts/7860> *accessed 2014-05-20*
- (76h) Montaut (2008:42)
- (77h) Montaut (2008:52)
- (78h) Abbi (2001:170)
- (79h) Montaut (2008:50)
- (80p) <http://pa.azadiradio.org/content/article/25238262.html> *accessed 2014-05-06*
- (81h) <http://aajtak.intoday.in/story/china-college-student-has-given-birth-in-her-dormitory-toilet-1-750030.html> *accessed 2014-05-10*
- (82p) <http://www.baheer.com/baher/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=2702> *accessed 2014-05-12*
- (83h) Deutronomy 19:18, Hindi: <http://www.wordproject.org/bibles/in/05/19.htm#0> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (84h) Luke 3:3, Hindi: <http://www.wordproject.org/bibles/in/42/3.htm#0> *accessed 2014-06-03*; Enligsh: New World Translation
- (85p) <http://pa.azadiradio.org/content/news/24901317.html> *accessed 2014-05-06*
- (86h) [http://hindi.ruvr.ru/news/2014\\_05\\_09/272189480/](http://hindi.ruvr.ru/news/2014_05_09/272189480/) *accessed 2014-05-10*
- (87p) [http://www.bbc.co.uk/pashto/interactivity/2012/05/120512\\_ss-nawed-roshan-yousufzai.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/pashto/interactivity/2012/05/120512_ss-nawed-roshan-yousufzai.shtml) *accessed 2014-05-06*

## **List of abbreviations**

R = reduplicated word

abs. = absolutive

incl. = including

h = Hindi

p = Pashto

poss. = possessive particle

fut. = future aspekt/tense

hab. = habitual aspekt

incl. = including

inv. = imperative

i.e. = in effect

n = numeral

X = elimination, due to part of circumposition

aux. = auxiliary verb-participle

erg. = ergative marker

obj. = object marker

intj. = interjection

rel. = relative pronoun

## Transcription of the Pashto alphabet

ا	ب	پ	ت	ټ	ټ	ج
a, ā, i, u	b	p	t	ṭ	s	j
چ	ځ	څ	ح	خ	د	ډ
č	<u>dz</u>	<u>ts</u>	ḥ	x	d	ḍ
ذ	ر	ړ	ز	ژ	ږ	س
z	r	ṛ	z	ž	ž	s
ش	ښ	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع
š	š	s	ẓ	ṭ	ẓ	'
غ	ف	ق	ک	ګ	ل	م
ġ	f	q	k	g	l	m
ن	ڼ	و	ه	ی	ي	ې
n	ṇ	w, o, ū	h, a, ə	y, ay	y, ī, ay	e
ی	ئ					
əy	əy					