

### **Reduplication in Pahari: A Morpho-Semantic Study**

**Momina Azim**

[mominacomsats@gmail.com](mailto:mominacomsats@gmail.com)

Ph.D. scholar at Department of English University of AJ&K Muzaffarabad, AJ&K  
Lecturer in English GDC Berpani Bagh AJ&K

**Dr. Zia Ullah**

[ziastella77@yahoo.com](mailto:ziastella77@yahoo.com)

Assistant Professor of English  
Shaheed Benazir Bhutto University, Sheringal, Upper Dir KP Pakistan.

**Usman Ali**

Assistant Professor of English Higher Education Department KP Pakistan  
Ph.D. Scholar at University of Malakand

**Corresponding Author: \* Momina Azim** [mominacomsats@gmail.com](mailto:mominacomsats@gmail.com)

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#### **ABSTRACT**

*Morphological processes in languages appear identical in many respects, characterized by both shared phenomena and language-specific features. Owing to word formation processes as the central concern in morphology, reduplication has recently received researchers' attention, particularly in spoken form of languages (Fakih, 2015). Being evident in closely related Pakistani languages like Punjabi, Urdu and Rangri, the phenomenon of reduplication in Pahari is worth-investigating. Pahari possesses distinctive morphological properties parallel to other languages across South Asia. Its morphology is characterized by processes such as derivation, reduplication, and compounding (Khalique et al., 2022). This paper examines reduplication as a rich source of word formation with emphasis on Pahari. Utilizing the Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT), the study identifies two main types of reduplication i.e., total and partial. The sub-types of these broad categories were also identified and discussed. It also explains the morphological and semantic description of reduplication. Primary data for this work were the tokens taken from the native speakers of Pahari selected through 'social networking' sampling. Qualitative and descriptive approaches were adopted to analyze the data. Findings reveal that the process of reduplication is a rich source of word formation that serves a variety of grammatical, lexical and semantic functions in Pahari. The study invites researchers' attention to the importance, morphological description and semantic and lexical vitality of the process of reduplication in Pahari that was largely ignored so far, and hints other relevant crucial aspects to be considered in future research.*

**Keywords:** Morphology, Pahari language, Reduplication, Morphological doubling, Duplicant and base

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Morphology deals with the description of words as the meaningful arrangements of morphemes, their construction, and the identification of words patterns underlying their structure. It is concerned with both sides of morphemes as linguistic signs i.e., their form and meaning. The structural perspective of morphemes and the principles underlying their composition constitute the core study of morphology. The process of 'word formation' is a central area in the study of morphology. Languages fulfill their need of lexical items either by utilizing morphological processes in their existing lexicon or coining entirely new lexemes. In the former category, the typical processes of word formation include acronym, backformation, blending, borrowing, clipping, coinage, conversion, compounding and derivation. In compounding, two

distinctive words as free morphemes are combined to form a new word that has a different meaning from its components. For example, nouns and adjectives and nouns and verbs are combined to form compounds. In derivation, an affix is added to form a word with a different meaning and or category from that of its base or stem (Grady & Archibald, 2015). Closely similar to these two processes of word formation is reduplication; it lies somewhere between compounding and derivation.

### **Pahari Language**

Pahari is registered as one of the seventy-seven languages spoken in Pakistan, enlisted in the sixteenth edition of Ethnologue of World Languages. It is an Indo Aryan language spoken over a large area starting from Nepal and running through the foothills of the Himalayas, in the Himachal Pradesh in India, Indian Administered part of Kashmir, Azad Jammu & Kashmir and in some areas of northern Pakistan. It is spoken by 4.5 million people in Kashmir (Lothers & Lothers, 2010, cited in Mughal, 2024 ). In broad arena, Pahari is closely connected to a number of regional languages of Pakistan. It resembles Punjabi in many features, also in the process of reduplication. As stated earlier Pahari belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch. Somewhere around 2000-1800 BC, the Iranian branch originated from the Indo-Iranian branch and further diverged into Indo-Aryan languages including Pahari, along with Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and Punjabi (Payne & Bakhtiari, 2009).

Though Pahari is considered as a neglected and undocumented language at present by researchers (Khan, 2013), it has been a reputed language in South Asia. Pahari language was given importance by the Buddhist dynasty. It was assigned the status of official language in the state by king Ashoka. The Establishment of Sharda University near Neelam valley further contributed to the importance of Pahari. The language began to be written in Sharda script; the term was derived from the place where Pahari was used as the official language in Sharda (Karnai, 2007). Masoodi (1985) even claims that Pahari is a thousand years old language, originated in this region with the arrival of man at Himalaya. It is the fact that it was a prestigious language of Ashoka's kingdom approximately 2500 years ago. It can be deduced that the language existed there from a millennia. Pahari speaking territory has also been the part of Texila empire following the conquest by Alexander the Great in 326 BC up to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. Around 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, majority of the region where Pahari was spoken was the part of the state based on Kashmir. Latter on, this territory became of the part of Timurid empire in 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century. The era from 1526 to 1849 is marked by a number of ruling powers in the regions, including the Mughals, Sikhs, and Dogras. Here came the British invasion that lasted till 1947 (Lothers and Lothers, 2010).

These historical movements have influenced Pahari language, along with other languages of the region. It greatly declined with the fall of Buddhist civilization, followed by the Greek conquest in 1526 that resulted in the decline of its script in the lower areas. The Nagri script however lasted in Kashmir till 10<sup>th</sup> century. The Nagri script was replaced with Persion with the arrival of Muslims and it remained in period from 1819 to 1846, which was again replaced with Punjabi script with the Sikhs conquest (Khan, 2013). It is now written in Urdu script.

Pahari language comes under the Aryan branch of languages, a sub-branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The term 'Pahari' was coined by Grierson (1917) to refer to the language of people residing in hilly areas or mountains. A few other languages spoken in Himalayan range and some attached mountains covering Kashmir and parts of the Eastern Nepal were included under Pahari by Grierson (1917). He mentioned some other Indo-Aryan languages with Pahari and put them under the term 'Lahnda'. He also categorizes the languages under the term 'Pahari' into three groups: languages of the Western group that are spoken in Western Kashmir along with Shimla Hills, Bawar, Jaunsar, Kulu, Chamba, Mandi and Suket; Eastern Pahari consisting only Nepali; and central group covering Kumaoni and Garhwali in India. In

Pakistan, Pahari is spoken in the Hazara and Murree districts. The various dialects of Pahari are also spoken in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

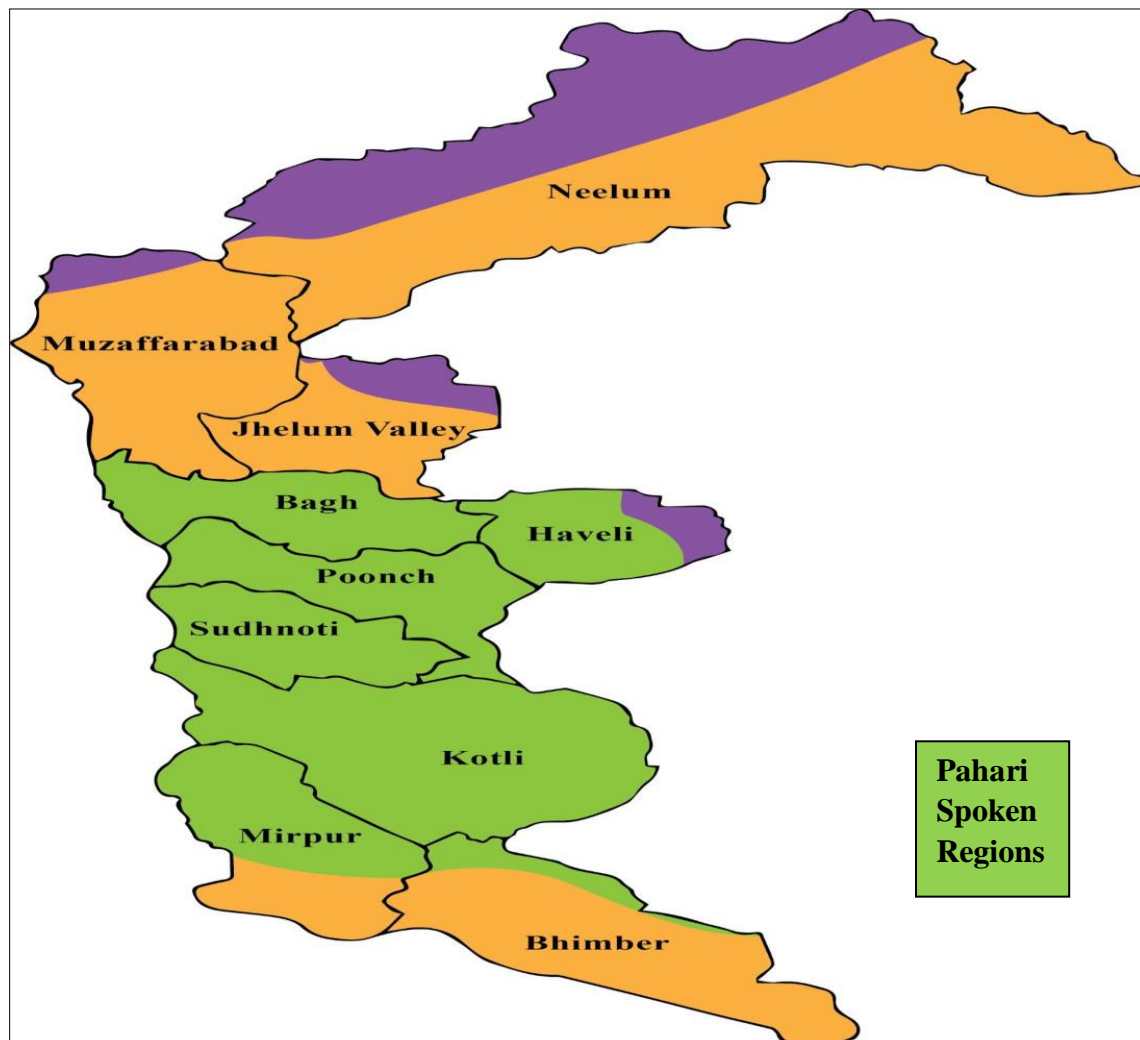
### Demographics of Pahari in Azad Jammu and Kashmir

In the state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, there are broadly four Pahari dialects: Mirpur, Muzaffarabad, Kotli and Poonch (Khan, 2013).

The number of Pahari speakers were counted to be 2.973 million in the state of AJ&K in 1998 census report. This number was estimated to reach around 4.059 million by the year 2011 (Sarwar, 2014). While Lothers and Lothers (2010) estimated the number of Pahari speakers as 4.5 million in Kashmir. Pahari is the essential part of the multilingual sociolinguistic status of Kashmiri youth studying in the other parts of the country (Anjum, 2024).

**Figure 1**

*Area of Study (Asghar et al, 2023)*



The current status of Pahari is that of an endangered language as per the parameter of UNESCO as reported in a latest study of cross-sectional nature with three successive generations of Pahari respondents (Mughal, 2025). The same study explored the main factors responsible for the language loss in Pahari in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and offered some recommendations for its preservation.

### **Grammatical Description: Case Marking in Pahari**

In Pahari, noun has two genders (masculine and feminine), and two numbers (singular and plural) and seven cases. Pahari verbs have seven different forms: one root or unmarked form, three marked forms i.e., infinitive, imperfective and perfective forms. All these forms are regular and carry inflectional markers for indicating mood, aspect, gender and number. The grammatical relations are indicated through postpositions. All the cases, except nominative, are marked through postpositions. The language bears a split ergative system, subject as agent is marked for case when the agreeing verb is in perfect or past tense. Subject is not marked for ergative case when verbs end on vowels; overt marking of subjects is evident when verbs end with consonants. Moreover, object doesn't carry any inflectional marker to show accusative case-irrespective of the animate and inanimate distinction. The accusative marker is not required when subject and object are obvious in sentence (Khalique, 2014).

### **Reduplication**

The phenomena of reduplication are found in every language that fulfills the lexical needs and is realized at morphological level. Besides morphology, reduplication is a word formation process, is equally central to semantics and syntax. The combination of more than one morpheme as roots or free morphemes is configured semantically in reduplication with perfect repetition or with slight change (Boaij, 2007). This process is also central to special semantic operations (Hurchi et al., 2008). The phenomenon of reduplication has been the feature of both written and spoken modes of languages, however, impacts of modernization have restricted this phenomenon to the spoken form of South Asian languages (Abbi, 1985). Yet, the written form of Pakistani languages, such as Punjabi, contains reduplicated monosyllabic words mainly referring to kinship terms (Noor et al., 2014).

### **Research Questions**

- 1) What are the instances of reduplication in Pahari?
- 2) What are their morphological and grammatical patterns?
- 3) Which grammatical, lexical and semantic functions do they perform in Pahari?

### **Significance of the Study**

The study places Pahari in the broad linguistic spectrum by comparing the widely used process of reduplication in Pahari. It illustrates the morphological patterns and semantic aspects of reduplication in both languages. This analysis can be carried further to include other regional Pakistani languages to place them in the same line of research. Owing to the global importance of English language, the morphology of other Pakistani languages can be compared with English to highlight similarities and differences in them in comparison with English, as well as, among these languages. Findings derived from this study can be significant in drawing comparison of Pahari with its sister languages of Dardic family. It can also be used in documenting Pahari and similar languages as they are included in the list of endangered languages. The study also hints a number of other avenues of research in the fields of morphology, semantics and

lexicography. Finally, it may appear helpful for other researchers interested in morphology, semantics and translation studies.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Morphology overlaps with grammar, along with phonetics and phonology, and syntax and semantics (Yule, 2020). Its two major sub-divisions are inflectional and derivational. Inflectional morphology deals with marking of grammatical categories such as case, aspect, number and tense, while derivational morphology is concerned with the construction of new words that are treated differently either due to their syntactic properties or semantic features. A derivational marker takes the form of an affix either a prefix, infix or suffix. Moreover, a derivational marker as a morpheme can change the meaning of a word to which it is attached, or the grammatical category, or sometimes both (Yule, 2020).

The widely found word formation processes are acronyms, affixation, backformation, blending, borrowing, coinage, contraction, compounding, conversion, clipping, derivation and inflection (Bieswanger & Becker, 2017). In compounding, two separate words are combined to produce a single form. Derivation involves attaching an affix to derive a word with a new meaning and/or category different from its base (Grady & Archibald, 2015).

Shakil (2011) asserts that proto-Pahari was introduced by Buddhist writers in 2nd century A.D in Sharda University. This university was found in Neelum Valley near Muzaffarabad AJ&K. Masoodi (1985) claims that Pahari was spoken in the reign of King Ashok almost two and half thousand years ago. According to him, King Ashok established his personal interest in the promotion of Pahari. He laid the foundation of the first university of Asia at Sharda in Neelum and declared Pahari as the official language of his state. However, due to historical challenges and religious revolutions, Buddhism disappeared from Northern India up to 9th century AD and Hinduism had been re-established in this belt. In this way Sanskrit became the language of Darbars. Therefore, with the downfall of Buddhism, Pahari, which was introduced for flourishing Buddhism, got serious setback (Karnai, 2007).

A sociolinguistic survey of the Pahari and Pothwari language represent two districts from Pakistan i.e Rawalpindi and Abbottabad and include three districts from AJ&K i.e., Muzaffarabad, Bagh and Mirpur. It discloses the complexity to obtain information related to Pahari and Pothwari of these areas (Lothers, 2010).

Khalique (2012) investigates the general word order of Pahari and its clause structure in Chomsky's theoretical framework "Minimalist Program". The findings reveal the structure of Pahari language and word order that is SOV (Subject+Object+Verb). Moreover, stress pattern of Pahari is also examined by Khan and Bukhari (2015).

Language shift taking in Pahari is delved by Sarwar (2014). It looks into the present status of Pahari language in and around the region of Rawlakot in the district Poonch, Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The study found that language shift in Pahari has occurred. It is mostly evident in the speech of younger generation of Pahari native speakers due to its passive status as compared with Urdu and English in the area of Poonch, Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The morpho-syntactic properties of Pahari verb with respect to tense, mood, aspect, gender, and number has also been described in another study, which states that majority of the verb roots in Pahari are intransitive (Khalique et al, 2022). Finally, few researchers have analyzed its phonemic inventory and contributed findings related to its syllabic structure. Niazi (2003) finds that there are 38 consonants, 22 monophthongs, and no diphthongs in Pahari language. Another study however increases the number of its sounds i.e., 30 consonants, 12 oral vowels, 4 nasal vowels and 6 diphthongs (Khan, 2013).



Reduplication as a word formation process has been found and thoroughly discussed by Noor in Punjabi et al. (2014). They have identified patterns of reduplication: (1) reduplication with vowel based morpheme alternation, (2) consonant based morpheme alternation, (3) rhyme with suffix and (4) echoic expressions. Majeed et al (2024) have analyzed the phenomenon of reduplication in Balochi language.

The phenomenon of reduplication has recently attracted scholars and researchers in Southasian context. Munshi (2022) explored reduplication in Hindi and Urdu in relation to other Southasian languages. Moreover, a number of researchers investigated the process of reduplication in the major and minor languages of Pakistan e.g., Ali et al. (2024) in the three main dialects of Burushaski, Bureru et al. (2025) in Sindhi language, Fatima and Sheikh (2025) in Punjabi, Majeed et al. 2025 in Balochi, and Zaman et al. (2025) in Shina language. Although reduplication as a morphological process of word formation is hinted along with derivation and compounding in Pahari by Khalique (2014), Khalique et al. 2022), no study has so far dealt exclusively with reduplication in Pahari. The present study fills the research gap by extending this line of research into Pahari by looking into the morphological patterns and the semantic implications of the process of reduplication as a word formation process.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study focuses on morphological and semantic significances and patterns of reduplication as a process of word formation. It adopts qualitative and descriptive approaches. It identifies instances of reduplication, analyzing their morphological structure and semantic significances. Primary data in the form of tokens as instances of reduplication were obtained from native speakers of Pahari selected through ‘social networking’ sampling, a sub-type of purposive sampling technique typically used in situations where population is unknown to the researcher. The researchers categorized them according to their morphological structure. The morphological structure along with semantic packaging of the chosen instances of reduplication were analyzed and discussed.

### **Theory of Morphological Doubling**

In Morphological Doubling Theory, the process of reduplication is viewed as repeating a segment of a word or the whole word, considering its structure and meaning. This is done to denote an additional idea (Inkelas, 2005). Reduplication is evident when a constituent is repeated for conveying additional semantic contents. The repeated part called the ‘reduplicant’ and the original or the base form both make up a structure. This structure includes shared sound and meaning patterns (Zaman et al., 2024). In some languages, an infix or interfix is inserted which connects both the base and reduplicant (Bauer, 2001). This feature is found in some Indo-Aryan languages like Punjabi (Noor et al., 2014) and Balochi (Zaman et al., 2024).

Utilizing this theory, the present study identifies instances of reduplication in Pahari, classifies them into total and partial types and discusses their semantic vitality.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Total Reduplication**

The first type of reduplication as per the Morphological Doubling Theory is total reduplication. In this type, the base is repeated or one word as base form is used twice. No morphological or phonological change is made in the repeated form. There is a significant semantic change when the reduplicant is added to the base. It is evident when base is viewed without the reduplicant. The base can be used without the reduplicant; it

conveys a related but different meaning. Therefore, reduplication is used to convey additional semantic contents. For example /a:xi/ a verb that means “to say or to tell” but when this form /a:xi / is used twice or the base gets the same reduplicant, it becomes /a:xi a:xi/, an adverb and gives the sense of convincing by saying repeatedly.

The type of total reduplication can be further divided into two sub-categories: without infix and with infix. The following section discusses instances found in Pahari with emphasis on both of these types of total reduplication.

#### **Total Reduplication without Infix/Interfix**

[1] /wəkṭa wəkṭa/

This expression is the example of total or perfect reduplication. Morphologically, both base and reduplicated forms are perfectly similar with no phonetic or phonological changes. Moreover, no infix is inserted between the base and reduplicated forms as evident in /waqta waqta/

Grammatically, the reduplicated form serves an adverbial function. Semantically, it conveys the senses of continuity, intervals and repetition.

[2] /kozər kozər/

Similar to the above instance, this token is also the example of total reduplication. Both forms i.e., the base and reduplicated constituent are similar morphologically. There is no infix affixed in between the two forms.

This reduplicated form performs both an adjectival and adverbial functions, roughly equating ‘every’ and ‘all’ in English. Semantically, it denotes the concepts of wholeness and increase. It also adds the sense of exaggeration.

[3] /kəri kəri/

This typical type of reduplication involves the exact repetition of base form. Both the base and reduplicant are perfectly the same. Mostly, the base and the reduplicant are monosyllabic constituents.

When used without the reduplicant, it stands for the verb ‘doing’ in English. The doubling of the base form through reduplication adds the adverbial meanings. The senses of recurrence, repetition and doing an action again and again are conveyed through the reduplicant. Further, it also serves an emphatic function in which the repeated action is emphasized.

Other similar examples following the exact morphological and grammatical patterns with identical semantic functions were also found. They include the following.

**Table 1:** *Examples of Total Reduplication without Infix/Interfix*

No.	Token	English Translation	Grammatical Function	Semantic Function

1	/a:xi a:xi/	Saying/Convincing	Adverbial	Recurrence, emphasis
2	/həʈʈi həʈʈi/	Again and again	Adverbial	Recurrence, repetition
3	/sa:ri sa:ri/	The whole	Adjectival	Consistency, wholeness
4	/dʒoli dʒoli/	walking	Verb/adverbial	Continuity in action
3	/tʃʰɛgi tʃʰɛgi/	Lifting/picking up	Verb	Repetition/ exaggeration

### **Total Reduplication with Insertion of an Infix/Interfix**

(4) /grã: ne grã:/

This is the example of complete reduplication with an infix inserted between the base and reduplicated constituents. Morphologically, it is different from the other instances of complete reduplication that are without infix. The base form is noun that means village. It resembles the expression ‘village after village’ or ‘many villages’ in English.

Semantically, it denotes the senses of increase, pluralization and exaggeration. The reduplicated form serves here the noun function or behaves as an adverb in a sentence.

[5] /xõn o xõn/

Just like [4], this token is also the instance of total reduplication of base form with infix inserted between the base and reduplicated form. The infix here is however a vowel (rhyme). In both the instances, the infix is a monosyllabic form.

Grammatically, it plays an adjectival function and denotes semantic senses like intensity, severity and exaggeration.

Other similar examples following the exact morphological and grammatical patterns with identical semantic functions were also found. They include the following.

**Table 2:** *Examples of Total Reduplication with Insertion of an Infix/Interfix*

No.	Token	English translation	Grammatical Function	Semantic Function
1	/sa:l o sa:l/	Every year	Adverbial(frequency)	Continuity/ exaggeration
2	/nəs o nəs/	Unrest/ chaos	Adverbial/adjectival	Repetition/ exaggeration



3	/ra:t o ra:t/	In one night	Adverbial	exaggeration
4	/li:r o li:r/	Ragged/ shattered	Adjectival	exaggeration
5	/ba:r o ba:r/	From outside	Adjectival	Wholeness/ intensifying

### **Partial/Imperfect Reduplication**

This is the second major division of reduplication in which the reduplicant is slightly different from the base. It is frequently referred to as ‘partial’ reduplication. Yet, the term ‘imperfect’ reduplication is more appropriate.

Since the reduplicant differs from the base in terms of the increase/decrease of the number of syllables, alternation of vowel or consonant, therefore, this category is further divided into reduplication with alternation with vowel and alternation with consonant. Example of each pattern from Pahari are presented and discussed next.

#### **Partial Reduplication with Vowel Alternation**

[6] /təl t̪əla:/

In this instance of partial reduplication, the first constituent (base) is a monosyllabic one. It is reduplicated with the addition of a vowel attached as a suffix. There is morphological increase because the reduplicant turns into a disyllabic form from monosyllabic one.

There is significant grammatical difference between the two forms i.e., with and without the reduplicant. On its own, the base (tel) implies muddled or affected by water, rain or flood. The reduplicant functions as the adjectival form as intensifier. Thus, the element of intensification is evident in the meaning when the reduplicant is added. It adds the senses of damage, increased effects and too much muddiness caused by water, rain or flood as a disaster.

[7] /koṭʰa keṭʰa/

This example is different from the above [6] in terms of vowel alternation. The reduplicant is different from the base form in terms of the vowel alternation of first syllable as rhyme. However, both constituents are disyllabic.

The reduplication serves here the function of deriving a related but entirely new word out of the base form. The base without the reduplicant means ‘home’; the addition of reduplicant implies the status of someone. The relevance in both forms exists due to the fact that the home as personal property of a person is indicative of his/her financial and economic status. Therefore, this example performs a lexical function, along with grammatical, semantic and pragmatic ones.

Other related examples following the exact morphological and grammatical patterns with identical semantic functions were also found. They include the following.

**Table 3:** *Examples of Partial Reduplication with Vowel Alternation*

No.	Token	English Translation	Grammatical Function	Semantic Function
1	/tʰɪlli tʰɔlli /	peeled	Adj	Intensification/increase
2	/tʃɛtti tʃɔtti/	cleaned	Adv	Increase/ intensification
3	/a:ʈa u:ʈa/	flour	noun	Exaggeration
4	/pʰəlnā pʰɔlnā/	Progress	Adv	Wholeness/ increase
5	/tʃɔtja tʃatja/	hurt	Adj	Intensification/exaggeration/ wholeness

### **Imperfect Reduplication with Consonant Alternation**

As aforementioned, imperfect reduplication occurs either with vowel or consonant alternation in the reduplicant. The alternation in consonant is often accompanied with vowel alternation too. This phenomenon is illustrated with examples from Pahari in the following section.

[8] /ruʈi tʃəʈi/

In the above instance, both the base and reduplicant are disyllabic words which are also rhyming. The reduplication is imperfect because the reduplicant differs from the base in its first syllable in two respects: change in consonant in onset position and variation in vowel.

The base as a verb, when used alone, mean falling down. The addition of reduplicant serves a grammatical function. It has an adverbial implication that modifies the verb. Semantically, it denotes the senses of falling, rolling, rising and falling while walking and alike. The reduplication therefore has an augmentative function that significantly modifies the meaning of verb expressed by the base alone.

[9] /rəli mili/

This is another example of imperfect reduplication. Both components are disyllabic and rhyming. Yet, both differ in the first syllables in both constituents in terms of onset/coda and vowel (rola rappa/ rola yola)). The second syllable in both constituents is same and rhyming perfectly.

The base and reduplicant can grammatically stand alone as adverbs denoting different meanings. The first constituent (base) implies doing something; the reduplicant means being together. When the base is reduplicated, it functions as adverbial that implies doing something together.

The semantic significance of the reduplication is evident as it adds a nuance to the meaning of base. It therefore supplements the meaning of base with the additional concept. The base and the reduplicant collectively means accomplishing something by the means of a collective effort.

Other such examples illustrating the pattern of just consonant alternation, or consonant alternation accompanying vowel alternation are enlisted in the following table.

**Table 4:** *Examples of Partial Reduplication with Vowel Alternation*

No.	Token	English translation	Grammatical Function	Semantic function
1	/tʃʰilli bælli/	bruised	Adj	Intensification/
2	/mənai tənai/	decorated	Adj/adv	exaggeration
3	/həlna tʃʊlna/	movement	Infinitival	augmentation
4	/kədʒi nu:tʃi/	covered	Adv	Repetition/emphasis
5	/dʒori tʃreci/	Many folds	Adj	Exaggeration

## CONCLUSION

Morphological processes are among the common properties of languages, yet they are realized differently in every language. One such common morphological property is word formation processes that are utilized by every language for fulfilling the lexical needs. However, the morphological patterns of word formation processes and their grammatical configuration vary from language to language. Reduplication is a source of word formation process is worth-investigating in this regard. It has been dealt in many South Asian languages e.g., Urdu, Punjabi and Rangri.

Taking this rationale, the present study attempted to investigate reduplication as a means of word formation process in Pahari, since none of the studies so far exclusively accounted for this phenomenon in the focus language.

In order to describe and theorize reduplication as a morphological process fulfilling lexical and semantic needs, the study utilized Morphological Doubling Theory. From this perspective, the two constituents in each instance were identified as base and reduplicant. The latter is the copied or duplicated form of the former. The study also identified examples of reduplication in Pahari and categorized them into the two broad types as per the MDT: total and partial reduplication. The former category was exemplified with appropriate instances from Pahari. This category was further divided into total reduplication with infix/Interfix and without infix. Pahari exhibits both these sub-types of total reduplication.

It was found that most of the tokens of reduplication contain the monosyllabic constituents as base and reduplicant. Some examples of disyllabic constituents were also found. The Interfixes or infixes inserted in all cases were monosyllabic.

In partial reduplication, both alternation with vowels and consonants were found. Though all the instances of alternation in terms of morphological increase in number of syllables, consonant and vowel alternations were only evident in the reduplicants. In majority of the examples, the base and reduplicant rhymed perfectly.

The reduplicants perform various grammatical functions. Mostly, they appear as functioning adverbials, adjectivals and predicative nouns. All these tendencies were illustrated in the analysis where Pahari tokens with and without the accompanying reduplicants were considered. It was revealed that the base in isolation conveyed a related but different meaning as nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives. They required particular adjectives, adverbs as modifiers, intensifiers and determiners to denote the desired meanings. The reduplication appeared as functioning these alternative purposes that are to be performed otherwise by adjectives, adverbs and verbs.

In accordance to other studies with similar investigation into the closely connected languages in Pakistani context (Zaman et al., 2024; Noor et al., 2014), reduplication also serves significant semantic functions in Pahari. They added the senses of augmentation, recurrence, continuation, repetition, consistency, emphasis, wholeness, increase and exaggeration to the meaning of base forms. In one instance, it derived a completely different but related meaning out of the base as noun (/tʰu tʰa/). It implies that reduplication also serves as derivational and lexical function in Pahari.

### **Recommendations**

A number of other dimensions are revealed for further research during the analysis that is worth-considering. As mentioned in the proceeding para, identifying other instances where reduplication serves the lexical need in Pahari as a unique phenomenon requires further research. The present study focused the semantic functions served by reduplication in Pahari. This investigation can be carried further by accounting for the pragmatic functions of reduplication in the focus language. Moreover, exploring the frequencies of use of different tokens of reduplication in Pahari corpus could yield interesting findings. As the present study took examples of reduplication in spoken Pahari, researching other genres (both written and spoken) is a wide and rich area for future investigation.

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