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## ECHO-REDUPLICATION, LIGHT VERBS AND COMPOUND VERBS IN HINDI- URDU: POINT OF DIFFERENCE OR SAMENESS

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### Abstract

This paper highlights a difference in the 'language' Hindi-Urdu spoken between the areas of Lucknow and New Delhi within India and the Urdu spoken in Lahore in Pakistan. It shows that the claim made in the available literature about the possibility of partially reduplicating or echo-reduplicating the light verb (also called the vector verb) in the compound verb (CV) sequences which have a V(erb)1 + V(erb)2 structure cannot stand a serious scrutiny given that it is not possible for speakers of Hindi-Urdu in regions between Lucknow and Delhi echo-reduplicate the light verb in compound verbs. It is suggested that this difference either does not exist or is anchored in the geographical separation of languages which needs far more serious attention and research than has been given for it has serious implications for issues of what counts as a light verb or an auxiliary in languages in general.

**Keywords:** compound verbs, echo-reduplication, geographic distribution, light verbs, vector

### REDUPLICACIÓ AMB ECO, VERBS LLEUGERS I VERBS COMPOSTOS EN HINDI-URDÚ: DIFERÈNCIA O SEMBLANÇA

### Resum

Aquest article destaca una diferència en l'idioma hindi-urdú parlat entre les àrees de Lucknow i Nova Delhi dins de l'Índia i l'urdú parlat a Lahore al Pakistan. Mostra que l'afirmació feta a la bibliografia sobre la possibilitat de reduplicar parcialment o reduplicar amb eco el verb lleuger (també anomenat verb vectorial) en les seqüències de verbs compostos (CV) que tenen una estructura V(erb)1 + V(erb)2 no pot resistir un escrutini seriós atès que no és possible que els parlants d'hindi-urdú en les regions entre Lucknow i Delhi reproduïxin amb eco el verb lleuger en verbs compostos. Se suggereix que aquesta diferència no existeix o que està situada en la separació geogràfica dels idiomes. Aquest fet requereix una atenció i una investigació molt més serioses de les que hi ha hagut fins ara, ja que té

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implicacions serioses per als problemes propis d'un verb lleuger o d'un auxiliar en els idiomes en general.

**Paraules clau:** verbs compostos, reduplicació amb eco, distribució geogràfica, verbs lleugers, vector

### **REDUPLICACIÓN CON ECO, VERBOS LIGEROS Y VERBOS COMPUESTOS EN HINDI-URDU: DIFERENCIA O SEMEJANZA**

#### **Resumen**

Este artículo destaca una diferencia en el idioma hindi-urdu hablado entre las áreas de Lucknow y Nueva Delhi dentro de la India y el urdu hablado en Lahore en Pakistán. Muestra que la afirmación hecha en la bibliografía sobre la posibilidad de reduplicar parcialmente o reduplicar con eco el verbo ligero (también llamado verbo vectorial) en las secuencias de verbos compuestos (CV) que tienen una estructura V(erbo)1 + V(erbo)2 no puede resistir un escrutinio serio dado que no es posible que los hablantes de hindi-urdu en las regiones entre Lucknow y Delhi reproduzcan con eco el verbo ligero en verbos compuestos. Se sugiere que esta diferencia no existe o está situada en la separación geográfica de los idiomas. Este hecho requiere una atención e investigación mucho más serias de las que se han dado hasta ahora, ya que tiene serias implicaciones para los problemas propios de un verbo ligero o de un auxiliar en los idiomas en general.

**Palabras clave:** verbos compuestos, reduplicación con eco, distribución geográfica, verbos ligeros, vector

#### **1. Introduction**

The paper deals with the echo-reduplication or partial reduplication of the sub-component called the light verb or the vector or the V(erb)2 in the compound verb sequences<sup>1</sup> found in the language Hindi-Urdu which is spoken in most parts of Northern India and is also referred to as Urdu in Pakistan and by many million speakers in India. It is generally accepted that these languages have a common ancestry and share very minor differences in the morphology, phonology and the choice of orthography and lexical items such that one can always talk about them as if one were speaking of one and the same language. Readers are welcome to look at Bender (1967 a, b), Gumperz (1971), Kelkar (1968) and Rai (1984), among several others to evaluate the claims about the nearness or distantness of these two supposedly similar (or different) dialects/languages. The communities that lay a claim to these

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<sup>1</sup> Compound verbs have been variously referred to as complex predicates (Butt 1995, 2005, 2010), pole and vector sequences (Dasgupta 1977), explicator compound verbs (Abbi & Gopalakrishnan 1992) among others.

dialects/languages are often found debating the differences between Hindi(-Urdu) and Urdu on the basis of socio-economic and political grounds rather than on any substantial formal differences in structure. The most obvious differences lie in the vocabulary items which in the case of Urdu in Pakistan lean more towards Perso-Arabic whereas those in Hindi-Urdu (HU here onward) spoken in India may be found to have majority of its vocabulary items having Sanskrit as its etymological source. The Urdu in India is similar to Urdu in Pakistan in its preference for Perso-Arabic borrowings.

We shall therefore continue to talk about the two dialects/languages as if we were referring to the same dialect/language spoken over vast stretches of Northern India and Pakistan. Both countries are largely inhabited by multilingual speakers who carry out their chores in more than one language. So, it is difficult to find any strictly monolingual speaker(s) of HU despite the claims by speakers themselves for they do seem to understand dialects reasonably different from their own. We shall use the label HU to refer to the language that is the object of study in this paper unless strict reference is made to the dialect studied by Butt (1995, 2005 and 2010) whereupon we shall use the label Urdu (of Lahore in Pakistan) or Lahori Urdu.

Butt (2005: 10), in arguing for a different status for light verbs/vectors from that of auxiliaries makes the claim that “[l]ight verbs phrase together with the main verb but still form their own prosodic words. This affects phenomena like reduplication: light verbs can be reduplicated” whereas auxiliaries cannot be thus reduplicated. Butt’s examples include (1) and (2) below:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The font used to show Butt’s Urdu examples and the other Hindi-Urdu examples in this paper is the commonly used roman letters to represent the sounds in Hindi-Urdu (HU) with the exception of capital letters T, D, R, N that refer to the Retroflex sounds found in HU. The HU words are in *italics* with their meanings given within single inverted quotes “. Abbreviations used are: F = feminine; M = masculine; ERG = ergative; NOM = nominative; INST = instrumental; LOC = locative; INF = infinitive; OBL = oblique; PAST= past; PERF = perfect; IMPF = imperfect; PRES = Present; PROG = progressive; PRON = pronoun; SG = singular; PL = plural; REDUP= reduplicant/echo-form; ADV = Adverb; CP = Conjunctive Participle; PART = Participle.

(1) “vo                                    **so**            **jaa-tii**            **-vaatii**            th-ii  
 PRON.3.SG.NOM. sleep go.-IMPF.F.SG. go.REDUP be.PAST-SG.F

‘She used to keep going to sleep (at inopportune moments).’ (Urdu)<sup>3</sup> (Example (1) here is 34b in Butt (2010: 63), bold portion is in the original)

(2) “\*vo                                    **so**            **rah-ii**            - **vahii**            th-ii  
 PRON.3.SG.NOM sleep PROG.-F.SG PROG.REDUP be.PAST-SG.F

‘She was sleeping’ (Urdu)” (Example (2) here is 35b in Butt (2010: 63), bold portion is in the original)

What needs to be kept in mind is that when Butt (2005, 2010) speaks of reduplication of light verbs in complex predicates,<sup>4</sup> it is clear from her examples that she has echo-reduplication in mind and is not referring to complete/full reduplication of light verbs. With the help of the data on the speaker judgements, we show that Butt’s claim about reduplication of light verbs/vectors cannot be entertained. We learn that at least for speakers of Hindi-Urdu living in the geographical stretch between Lucknow and New Delhi-NCR in India, it is not possible to echo-reduplicate the light verbs in CV constructions. Extending this observation from the data and the judgements obtained, we would like to claim that perhaps it is also not possible to echo-reduplicate the light verbs in the CV sequences found in Lahori Urdu and plead with other researchers including Butt to give the claim a serious reconsideration and help us all arrive at a better understanding of this difference between the geographically distributed dialects/languages called Lahori Urdu and north Indian Hindi-Urdu.

We shall first consider the issue of reduplication and compound verbs in Hindi-Urdu and in languages spoken in India in section 1; followed by the discussion of the distinction that Butt (2005, 2010 and elsewhere) makes between auxiliary and light

<sup>3</sup> All of Butt’s (1995, 2005, 2010) examples for Urdu (and the ones cited in the paper) would be claimed to be examples of HU by the speakers of HU living in north India.

<sup>4</sup> Butt uses the term complex predicates to refer to all kinds of verbal sequences which may be formed by N(oun)/A(djective)/V(erb) + V(erb), but for this paper we shall be exclusively concerned with the V+V construction which are also typically called compound verbs by various scholars. In other words, use of the expression complex predicates in this paper invariably refer to the V + V sequences but we shall prefer the label compound verb (CV).

verbs in section 2. Section 3 discusses the methodology of collecting the speaker judgements on the acceptability of some of the constructed examples (actually adapted) of echo-reduplicated CV sequences used in sentences in Hindi-Urdu. Section 4 reports the speakers' judgements and makes observations about the implications of such judgments on the status of (echo-)reduplication in CVs. This is followed by the conclusion as to why the judgements thus obtained are what they are and their implications for setting up of the criteria for distinguishing light verbs from auxiliary verbs sequences in Hindi-Urdu.

## **2. Reduplication and compound verbs**

### *2.1 Reduplication*

Reduplication may be understood as a “morphological process that allows speakers to form new words from old words by adjoining the latter in their entirety (complete reduplication) or some recognizable and definable part of the old words to themselves (partial reduplication)” (Singh 2005: 263). It has been claimed to be a feature characteristic of languages spoken in South Asia (Emeneau 1956, 1969). Reduplication, both complete and partial, as a productive process in the languages spoken in India has received the attention of several scholars such as Abbi (1992), Apte (1968), Bhaskarrao (1977), Emeneau (1956), Fitzpatrick-Cole (1994), Keane (2001, 2005), Lidz (2000), Masica (1992), Montaut (2008), Reynolds (1998) and Singh (1982, 2005) to name only a few and continues to be a topic of serious research.

Agnihotri (2007: 111) suggests that “[i]n principle any word from any category can actually be reduplicated” [brackets mine].<sup>5</sup> Perhaps it is not possible to make such

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<sup>5</sup> The author would like to observe that such a claim might need some serious reconsideration and delimitation of categories that actually allow reduplication and of categories that do not. For our purposes it is sufficient to note that almost all the major lexical categories in HU with the exception of simple verbs allow reduplication.

a sweeping claim even for HU which does have reduplication as a very ‘productive’<sup>6</sup> process. However, testing the veracity of this claim is not within the scope of this paper so we shall move ahead and look at some examples of complete reduplication as given below:

- (3) a) *ghar* (N.)      ←→      *ghar-ghar* ‘house-REDUP’<sup>7</sup>  
           ‘house’                              ‘each house’
- b) *gorii* (ADJ.F.)   ←→      *gorii-gorii* ‘fair-REDUP’  
           ‘fair’                                ‘very fair’
- c) *dekhate* (PRES.PART.) ←→ *dekhate-dekhate* ‘seeing-REDUP’  
           ‘seeing’                              ‘while seeing’
- d) *cillaakar* (CP)    ←→      *cillaa-cillaakar* ‘REDUP-having shouted’<sup>8</sup>  
           ‘having shouted’                    ‘while shouting repeatedly’
- e) *dhiire* (ADV.)    ←→      *dhiire-dhiiree* ‘slowly-REDUP’  
           ‘slowly’                              ‘very slowly’

Having briefly looked at complete reduplication, we shall try to understand the phenomena of partial or echo-reduplication in HU without getting into details. Echo-reduplication is an equally productive word-formation process not only in HU but in several other languages spoken in India. Echo-reduplication can be divided into several sub-types but it would be sufficient to say that the most productive echo-reduplication process is the one in which a “fixed segment” (cf. Nevins 2005) usually a consonant

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<sup>6</sup> The notion of productivity used here is suggestive only of the possibility of reduplicating several categories of word-classes and not that of comparative frequency of a type of word which is a reduplicated form, hence the term in single inverted quotes.

<sup>7</sup> Some scholars use the label ECHO instead of REDUP.

<sup>8</sup> I am aware of the placement of ‘REDUP’ on the left of the input word ‘cillaakar’ in 3d. Others may want to gloss it differently but what is important is to notice that even a conjunctive participle construction can undergo reduplication.

appearing at the beginning of an input word is replaced by one of the three consonants {v, f, s} in the echo-word which is adjoined to the former.

Echo-reduplication too can take almost all major lexical categories as its potential input and churn out an output word with one sub-component that would be echo-reduplicated. Some of the examples that may help us understand the process could be:

- (4) a) *bartan* (N.)       $\leftrightarrow$       *bartan-vartan*  
          ‘utensils’                              ‘utensils etc./utensil like things’
- b) *laR-naa* (V.-INF.)       $\leftrightarrow$       *laRnaa-vaRnaa*  
          ‘fight’                                      ‘fight etc.’
- c) *dauR-aa* (V.PAST)       $\leftrightarrow$       *dauRaa-vauRaa*  
          ‘ran’    ‘ran and did similar things.’
- d) *naaTaa* (ADJ.)       $\leftrightarrow$       *naaTaa-vaaTaa*  
          ‘shortish’                                      ‘dwarfish & like’
- e) *niice* (ADV.)       $\leftrightarrow$       *niice-viice*  
          ‘below’    ‘below and someplace similar’

It is interesting to note that some of common meanings associated with the process of echo-reduplication are the ‘etc./ like’-interpretation with several lexical categories as inputs; the derogatory/dismissive interpretation with proper nouns as input and several others (see Montaut (2008) and Singh (2005) for a detailed description).

There are of course some restrictions on what elements cannot undergo (echo-)reduplication but that is beyond the scope of this paper as this is largely an observatory piece highlighting a difference<sup>9</sup> between Hindi-Urdu spoken in India and the Lahori

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<sup>9</sup> The assumption/motivation this far is that Butt’s (1995, 2005, 2010) claims are right about Lahori Urdu in which case the intuitions of the author/researcher about his mother tongue/ first language HU, a variety of which is spoken in Lucknow (U.P.), tell him that these have to be different dialects/languages

Urdu spoken in Pakistan. The difference seems to rest on the geographical distribution of speakers of the two dialects/ languages over two different areas and any further study would have to dig deeper to find out the difference in the behaviour of these two dialects/languages despite their apparent similarity and shared genealogy. We have kept ourselves to (echo-)reduplication in HU only because of the limited space and scope of this paper.

The need for highlighting the difference in the echo-reduplication choices also has its basis in another already acknowledged difference in Hindi and Urdu about the (dis)ability passive which shall be briefly mentioned towards the end. If the facts highlighted in this paper are indeed in the right direction, then we may be heading towards a separation of dialects/ languages and with time there may emerge several more differences.

## 2.2 Compound verbs/ Complex predicates<sup>10</sup>

We shall now look at the notion complex predicates in HU whereby we get constructions that are a combination of a Noun/Adjective/Verb + Verb sequences.

The construction in HU having Noun/Adjective + Verb as its subcomponents are either referred to as the complex predicates (Mohanani 1994) or Conjunct Verbs (Burton-page 1957). For example:

- (5) a) *nishcaya karnaa* 'to determine'; is a case of Noun + Verb complex predicate/  
conjunct verb (*nishcaya* 'decision', *karnaa* 'do')
- b) *baRaa karnaa* 'to increase/grow' is an Adjective + Verb complex predicate/conjunct  
verb. (*baRaa* 'big', *karnaa* 'do')

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with respect to the choice of the component that gets (echo-)reduplicated inside a compound verb. It is never the case that a single feature or characteristic becomes the criteria to separate the otherwise similar dialects, but it is nevertheless something to take note if the difference of the feature is robust.

<sup>10</sup> English complex predicates normally take the form of "give / have / make / take + deverbal noun" construction (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 2). Cattell (1984) uses both the labels complex and composite predicate for such constructions in English. Examples include *have a shower*, *take a breath*, etc. (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 2). We shall not be concerned with such constructions here.



Often it is possible to replace the Verb within the N/A + V-type of complex predicates/conjunct verbs with a V1 + V2-type of complex predicate/ compound verb.<sup>11</sup>

For the HU constructions having Verb + Verb as their subcomponents, we find several labels such as complex predicate (Butt 1995, 2005, 2010), compound verb (Hook 1974), explicator compound verb (Abbi & Gopalakrishnan 1992), pole + vector sequence<sup>12</sup> (Dasgupta 1977) among others. We shall restrict ourselves to the labels compound verbs/ complex predicates where the first Verb, which is the main verb and also called the pole, joins with the second Verb (also called the light verb or the vector verb) to form a complex predication.

Some examples of compound verbs in HU are:

- (5) c) *khol denaa* (lit. open.Tr. give.INF) ‘open’
- d) *maar Daalnaa* (lit. kill.Tr. put.INF) ‘kill’
- e) *kaaT lenaa* (lit. bite.Tr. take.INF) ‘bite’
- f) *paRh-ne denaa* (lit. read-INF.OBL give.INF) ‘to let read/ allow to read’
- g) *Duub jaanaa* (lit. sink go.INF) ‘to sink’
- h) *khaa lenaa* (lit. eat take.INF) ‘to eat’
- i) *so jaanaa* (lit. sleep go.INF) ‘to (go to) sleep’
- j) *dhakel denaa* (lit. push give.INF) ‘to push’

We shall work with Butt’s (2010: 50) working definition whereby the “term *complex predicate* refers to any construction in which two or more predicational elements each contribute to a *joint predication*”<sup>13</sup> (italics in the original). The reason for choosing Butt’s working definition is that even though different authors have offered their definitions of compound verbs/complex predicates, Butt’s definition

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<sup>11</sup> A serious search into this kind of behaviour may yield further insights but we shall not pursue this route. The upshot of this possibility, to the little extent that I understand and can hint, is that something needs to be said also about light verbs in conjunct verbs and those in the CVs. More to come elsewhere.

<sup>12</sup> The term Vector verb for the second Verb-component in a CV was first used by Pray (1970).

<sup>13</sup> Refer to Butt (1995) for an extensive elaboration of this much abridged definition of V-V complex predicate.

above is crucial to the distinction she makes between entities such as light verbs (= vector verbs) and auxiliaries. One of the key distinctions she makes is that unlike auxiliaries, light verbs are a stable class of entities which have not changed over a great span of time and they are “are always *form identical* to a main verb of the language” and inflect like one (Butt 2010: 53). The characteristic features of complex predicate such as the issue of joint predication, monoclausality, etc. pointed out by her are very well argued for and we do not have much to report on that.<sup>14</sup> Such meticulous criteria actually make it possible for us to talk about the different classes of verbal entities that a language may have and even make comparisons with other similar looking verbal constructions which are often confused for a complex predicate.<sup>15</sup> However, there is one claim made by Butt (2005, 2010) that I could not agree with and has left me surprised by the fact that it seems to have gone unnoticed especially by the dialectologists who, in my opinion, should have been the first ones to show the data refuting Butt’s claim.

The claim she makes is that the apart from the other features that distinguish a light verb/vector from an auxiliary is the trait of light verbs to “phrase together with the main verb but still form their own prosodic words [which] ...affects phenomena like reduplication....” (Butt, 2005: 10, [ ] mine). Even in a later and much updated publication on complex predicates, she continues to claim that “[u]nlike the auxiliaries, light verbs can be reduplicated.” (Butt, 2010: 63).

She offers the following examples to show the difference in the behaviour of the light verbs (as in 6.a-b) and that of the auxiliaries (as in 7.a-b) below:

(6) a) “*vo*                      *so*      *jaa-tii*              *th-ii*  
 PRON.3.SG.NOM    sleep    go.IMP.F.SG    be.PAST-SG.F  
 ‘She used to go to sleep’ (Urdu)

b) *vo*                      *so*      *jaatii*      -    *vaatii*              *thii*  
 PRON.3.SG.NOM    sleep    go.IMP.F.SG    go.REDUP    be.PAST-SG.F

<sup>14</sup> See Butt (1995, 2005, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> Compare for example the confusion caused by Aikhenvald’s (2006) serial verb constructions of the form V(erb)1-V(erb)2.

‘She used to keep going to sleep (at inopportune moments)’ (Urdu)” [6a, b are Butt’s examples 34a and 34b respectively (2010: 63)]

(7) a) “*vo so rah-ii th-ii*  
PRON.3.SG.NOM sleep PROG-F.SG be.PAST-SG.F  
‘She was sleeping’ (Urdu)

b) *vo so rahii -- vah-ii thii*  
PRON.3.SG.NOM sleep PROG-F.SG PROG-REDUP be.PAST-SG.F  
‘She was sleeping’ (Urdu)” [7.a-b are Butt’s examples 35a and 35b respectively (2010:63)]

The reason such a claim becomes important is that reduplication, a morphological process in HU, selects only lexically salient items in the lexicon to create new words. There has never been any contention as to the loss of some semantics in the case of light verbs in HU compound verb constructions. Where on one hand it is possible for speakers to echo-reduplicate ‘light verbs’ in a typical conjunct verb construction that has a Noun/Adjective + Verb, it has never been shown to be the case at least for V1 + V2 compound verbs in HU spoken in northern parts of India. I make such an assertion based on my intuitions about HU, a language I call myself a native speaker of and the supporting evidence I received from other speakers of HU which shall be presented.

Since it is never sufficient to rely on any single individual’s judgments about a certain type of construction, I have tried to find out constructions that match the ones given as (6.b) above where the light verb in a CV is echo-reduplicated. As it was difficult to search any genuine CV construction with an echo-reduplicated light verb/vector, I created some sentences having CV construction with an echo-reduplicated light verb/vector within them. Now we move towards the methodology of seeking native speaker judgments on such constructions followed by the findings.

### 3. Methodology

We shall look at the way the sentences having CV construction with an echo-reduplicated light verb/vector were collected and the speakers' judgments received on their (un)acceptability. CV constructions with the echo-reduplicated main verb/pole were also part of this study and speaker judgment was sought on them too.

The author tried to google search strings of CV constructions with an echo-reduplicated light verb in order to find some naturally occurring instances of such verbal expressions of the sort given as example (6.b) above. This was done by typing such search strings both in the Devanagari script and in the Roman script. For example, first a search string in Devanagari “सो जाती-वाती थी”<sup>16</sup> was google-searched to look for its attested occurrences.<sup>17</sup> Its expected past and future forms (i.e. सो गयी-वयी and सो जायेगी-वायेगी) too were google-searched in the hope that these other forms may be available, if not the imperfective forms of the light verb *jaatii*. These same strings were also searched in their Roman script forms: *so jaatii-vaatii thii*, *so gayii-vayii*, *so jaayegii-vaayegii*.

The author also tried to google-search the other variants of the compound verb *so jaatii thii* ‘used to go to sleep’ where it is only the main verb (also called the *pole* or V1) which is echo-reduplicated and not the accompanying light verb; the expected form of such a CV would be: सो-वो जाती थी/ *so-vo jaatii thii*, सो-वो गयी / *so-vo gayii*, सो-वो जायेगी / *so-vo jaayegii*.

The author was unable to find any naturally occurring echo-reduplicated compound verb strings during the google-search (neither with the echo-reduplicated main verb nor with the echo-reduplicated light verb).

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<sup>16</sup> The simple non-echo-reduplicated compound verb forms for these echo-reduplicated (main verb or the light verb) constructions are in bold:

vo **so jaatii thii** (present) ‘(she) used to go to sleep’

vo **so gayii (thii)** (past) ‘she went to sleep’

vo **so jaayegii** (future) ‘she will go to sleep’

<sup>17</sup> I have tried to follow Hook’s (forthcoming) method who uses a similar method in his paper to look for CV-promoting or CV-averse contexts.

The author also tried to look up the two texts written by Premchand, who wrote and is known for his writings in Hindi-Urdu, namely 'Godaan' and 'Gaban'<sup>18</sup> and came across only one case of a reduplicated CV construction which had a reduplicated main verb. The construction was *loT-loT jaate*.<sup>19</sup>

The author then took up some of the naturally occurring simple CVs of HU such as the ones given in (5c-j) above and constructed 15 pairs of sentences having echo-reduplicated CVs. Each pair had a sentence (a) with a CV in which the main verb/V1 was echo-reduplicated, and a sentence (b) in which the CV had an echo-reduplicated light verb/V2. The 15 pairs of sentences were then shared with speakers who claimed to know HU. An actual example used to get speaker judgments is being given below<sup>20</sup>:

(8) a) *us-ne raaste me kuch khaa - vaa li-yaa to anarth ho jaaye-gaa*  
PRON.3.SG-ERG road in something eat - eat.REDUP take-PAST then disaster happen go-FUT.

b) *usne raaste me kuch khaa li-yaa - viyaa to anarth ho jaayegaa*  
eat take-PAST - take.REDUP

l(ntended)M(eaning) – 'If he eats something on the way or does something similar then it will be a disaster'

Two Questionnaires were shared with 9 participants in which i) Questionnaire one had general questions about informants such as their name, age, income, first language/mother tongue, second language, etc., (ii) Questionnaire two had 15 pairs of sentences with echo-reduplicated compound verbs used in sentences/constructions. The sentences were given in both Devanagari script and in Roman script. No glosses were given for these sentences, only the Intended Meaning (I.M.) (in English) for each

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<sup>18</sup> Literally words *godaan* and *gaban* in HU mean 'donating a cow' and 'embezzlement' respectively.

<sup>19</sup> Some scholars may opine that this has somehow taken on a lexicalized meaning of 'to feel extremely elated/ to wonder' at the 'beauty of the cots full of flowers'. The sentence in which this reduplicated compound verb occurs in Premchand' (Gaban, p. 8) is *kuch log phulwariyoM ke takht dekh-kar loT-loT jaate* 'some people, on seeing the wooden cots full of flowers would go in a state of wonder/delight'. The author admits the problem of translating an expression that has taken on an idiomatic/lexicalized view but hopes that the reader would understand that the issue of semantics of the CV is not the major concern. The point is that naturally occurring (echo-)reduplicated compound verbs are indeed rare and this was the only example he was able to find. Since the search in the two novels by Premchand was done manually, the author admits the human limitation and the possibility of having missed out any other instance of (echo-)reduplicated compound verb(s).

<sup>20</sup> For all the 15 pairs of sentences, see the questionnaires that have been appended.

pair of sentences was shared with the informants.<sup>21</sup> These were the meanings/translations that the author as a speaker of HU found natural for the sentences.

#### 4. Observations and analysis

The two questionnaires were sent to a total of 9 participants/informants.<sup>22</sup> Six out of these were males and 3 females. All of the informants were between the age-group of 20 and 45 years with the youngest being a 24-year-old female from New Delhi-NCR region<sup>23</sup> and the oldest being another female in her early forties living in Uttarakhand.<sup>24</sup> The lowest qualification reported was a Bachelor's degree and the highest was a Doctorate degree. Most of the informants were post-graduates.

Four males claimed to have spent the first twenty years of their lives in Lucknow, the capital city of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) in India. Out of the remaining two males, one (informant H) grew up in Jaipur city, capital city of the state Rajasthan (India), which is approximately 260 kilometres south-west of New Delhi. The other male (informant C)

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<sup>21</sup> The instruction in questionnaire two is shared here: "A) Please read ALL the sentences (1-15) from the language Hindi-Urdu/Hindi and rate them on their acceptability. The rating is to be done according to the three levels of acceptability given below as (A/a or B/b or C/c):

A/a = not acceptable/\* (=I do not use/have not used this kind of compound verb construction which is given in bold)

B/b = somewhat acceptable/? (=I do not use but I have heard others use this kind of compound verb construction which is given in bold)

C/c = completely acceptable (=I (can) use this kind of compound verb construction which is given in bold)

(Simply mention the letter A/a; B/b; C/c in front of the Sentences.)"

The informants chose to respond in either capital A, B, C or in small a, b, c.

<sup>22</sup> Informants have been given labels A through I. See Table 1.

<sup>23</sup> New Delhi is the national capital of India and its neighbouring regions such as Gurgaon, NOIDA, Ghaziabad are referred to as the NCR regions, i.e. national capital regions. It is assumed that this forms one single stretch of people that share a lot of commonalities in terms of education, culture and standard of living. It is not being claimed that all the people in these areas enjoy the same culture and standard of living but there certainly are several who do share such a lifestyle. This area has also seen a lot of immigration from other parts of India and people generally go to New Delhi-NCR in search of better employment and education opportunities. It is for this reason that the questionnaire 1 asked the informants to share the area where they spend the first twenty years of their lives.

<sup>24</sup> Uttarakhand used to be a part of another state in northern India called Uttar Pradesh (U.P.).

grew up in a village Bisuari, a village in the district Chandauli in Uttar Pradesh. Chandauli is roughly 325 kilometres east of Lucknow.

Six out of the nine informants (5 males and 1 female) claimed that their first language/mother tongue was only Hindi.<sup>25</sup> The other 3 (1 male and 2 females) claimed that they spoke other languages along with Hindi as their first language/mother tongue. Every informant claimed to speak English as their second language and some among them spoke more than one language as their second language.

In the second Questionnaire having 15 pairs of sentences<sup>26</sup>, the informants were asked to read the sentences and judge the acceptability of the sentences, with the echo-reduplicated constructions highlighted in bold. They had to judge the constructions as

- a) A/a = completely unacceptable/\*
- b) B/b = somewhat acceptable/?
- c) C/c = completely acceptable

As a minor detour let us try to understand the structure of the compound verbs in set (a) and set (b) sentences (total 15 pairs of sentences) shared with the informants for their judgments of acceptability.

Set (a) Compound Verb → echo-reduplicated main verb/pole/V1 + light verb/vector/V2

Example: ***khaa - vaa***      ***li-yaa***      (see 8a above)  
eat - eat.REDUP take.PAST

Set (b) Compound Verb → main verb/pole/V1 + echo-reduplicated light verb/vector/V2

Example: ***khaa***   ***li-yaa***   -   ***viyaa***      (see 8b above)  
eat   take-PAST - take.REDUP

We shall not get into the debate whether it is the morphology or the syntax that is responsible for the processing or creation of CVs/complex predicates. Different scholars have different opinions, but most believe that compound verbs carry light

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<sup>25</sup> The use of labels Hindi or Hindi-Urdu or Urdu used in this paper refers to the same language and as has been pointed out any differences are so minor that Hindi(-Urdu) or Urdu can always be spoken of “in the same breath” as also acknowledged by other scholars/linguists working on them. Lucknow and New Delhi are believed to be places that have reliable varieties of Hindi or Urdu.

<sup>26</sup> Questionnaires 1 and 2 have been appended at the end.

verbs that have syntactic and semantic properties and the task for the linguists is to explore the nuances that are at work.

#### 4.1 Responses to set (a) sentences

Seven out of the nine informants<sup>27</sup> responded by claiming that all the sentences in questionnaire two labelled 1a through 15a which had CVs with echo-reduplicated main verb/V1/pole were *completely acceptable* to them with the intended meanings supplied to them. There were two exceptions, first among them was a male (informant E) living at present in New Delhi who reported that sentence (1a) in Questionnaire two:<sup>28</sup> *vo so-vo jaatii thii* ‘She used to keep going to sleep (at inopportune moments)’ was only **somewhat acceptable/?** to him. He also claimed that sentence (8b) in Questionnaire two:<sup>29</sup> *Sach ka pataa chalne par kahiiM Ravi Kishan ko maar na daale-vaale* -- I.M. – ‘It is feared that Ravi might kill Kishan, on finding out the truth’ was **completely acceptable** to him. Another informant (H), a male, found (1a) as **completely unacceptable** whereas (1b) was **completely acceptable** to him. He also reported that he found (2b) as **somewhat acceptable**.

In other words, while it has been difficult to locate echo-reduplicated compound verbs in the Hindi-Urdu corpus that the author tried to locate them in, it is important to note that almost all the informants, themselves native speakers of HU<sup>30</sup>, found all the set (a) sentences with echo-reduplicated main verb as completely acceptable (with the exceptions mentioned in the previous paragraph).

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<sup>27</sup> See Table 1 below for details about informants and their judgments on constructions. Names of informants have not been disclosed, instead every informant has been labelled with a letter of English alphabet.

<sup>28</sup> And not 1a given in this piece.

<sup>29</sup> And not 8b given in this piece.

<sup>30</sup> All the informants grew up in areas where HU is spoken by the majority of the population; the majority in those areas claims to know HU as their first language. Informant I is only case in whose case some scholars may claim a more prominent presence of other dialects/languages similar in structure to HU. It is not being claimed that these other dialects in Bihar stemmed from HU.



#### 4.2 Responses to set (b) sentences

The set (b) sentences had CVs with the echo-reduplicated light verb/vector/V2.

Four informants (3 males and 1 female) reported that each one of them found all 15 sentences of set (b) in Questionnaire two completely unacceptable.

The remaining 5 informants (3 males and 2 females) offered different judgments on the set (b) constructions. Since I have already mentioned the response from two informants (E and H) who actually belong to this group of informants, I shall refrain from repeating myself. That leaves us with 3 informants.

A male informant (D) who grew up in Lucknow and continues to live there reported that he found all the set (a) sentences in Questionnaire two as *completely acceptable* but also found six sentences from the set (b) as *somewhat acceptable*: those sentences are 6b, 7b, 10b, 12b, 14b, and 15b.

A female (informant G), having grown up and still working in the New Delhi-NCR region, reported that she found all set (a) sentences as *completely acceptable* but also found three sentences from set (b) as *somewhat acceptable*: those three sentences are 3b, 4b, 11b.

The most interesting observation on sentences came from a female informant (I) who grew up in areas such as Madhubani, Samastipur, and Bhagalpur<sup>31</sup> of the state of Bihar (India) and lives at present in Mathura<sup>32</sup> reported that she found not only all the set (a) sentences as *completely acceptable* but also most of the set (b) as *completely acceptable*. She reported that construction (3b) in questionnaire two was only *somewhat acceptable* to her and the construction (11b) was *completely unacceptable*. She also wrote a note to the researcher/author with respect to her responses to the constructions in set (b) of questionnaire two:

I just want to explain that my responses to part 'b' of all the sentences are based on the idea that 'I might have used these types of echo verbs or I might be

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<sup>31</sup> Madhubani, Samastipur, and Bhagalpur are regions that lie approximately 600 to 750 kilometres east of Lucknow. They are roughly 1125 to 1300 kilometres east of New Delhi-NCR region. Lucknow is roughly 500 kilometres east of New Delhi-NCR region.

<sup>32</sup> She also mentions Roorkee which is roughly 300 kilometres north of Mathura (U.P.)

using unconsciously'. I cannot either say that I never used these echo verb forms or I exactly remember any instance where I used these forms."<sup>33</sup>

We can therefore safely say that except for the judgments offered by informant (I) mentioned in the previous paragraph who spent the first twenty years or more of her life in Bihar, the data regarding the acceptability of set (b) constructions is almost insignificant or negligible.

The fact is that if we ignore informant (I), of the remaining 8 informants only two informants responded by claiming that each of them found one construction from the set (b) which was completely acceptable to them. That gives us a total of 120 token constructions from set (b), of a certain type, that were judged by 8 informants for acceptability (i.e., 15 questions \* 8 informants = 120) out of which only 2 constructions were found to be *completely acceptable*.

As far as constructions that were judged as somewhat acceptable are concerned, the overall figure is really low, i.e. only 11 sentences out of 120 constructions from set (b) were judged to be *somewhat acceptable* by 4 informants (D: 6 constructions + G: 3 constructions + H: 1 construction + I: 1 construction). So, we see that the figures for completely acceptable (=2 constructions) and even somewhat acceptable (=11 constructions) constructions in set (b) are abysmally low and therefore no claim with respect to the shift in the status of light verb/vector towards a 'prosodic word' can be made or entertained despite Butt (2005, 2010).<sup>34</sup>

We can glean the information provided above from Table 1. given below which represents some of the most salient information in a tabular form:

Labels for informants	Spent first 20 yrs. in (place)	Currently staying at (place)	Mother tongue /first lang(s)	Second lang(s)	Qualification	Judgement on set (a) constructions from Questionnaire two	Judgement on set (b) constructions from Questionnaire two
A (M.)	Lucknow (U.P.)	Lucknow (U.P.)	Hindi	English	Bachelors	1a-15a = C	1b-15b= A
B (M.)	Lucknow (U.P.)	New-Delhi	Hindi	English	Post-Graduation	1a-15a = C	1b-15b= A

<sup>33</sup> Quote presented here as received by the author/researcher.

<sup>34</sup> It is generally accepted that auxiliaries do not enjoy such a status in HU.

C (M.)	Bisuari, Chanduali (U.P.)	Mathura (U.P.)	Bhojpu -ri, Hindi	English	Doctorate	1a-15a = C	1b-15b= A
D (M.)	Lucknow (U.P.)	Lucknow (U.P.)	Hindi	English	Post- Graduation	1a-15a = C	6b, 7b, 10b, 12b, 14b, 15b = B ; Others = A
E (M.)	Lucknow (U.P.)	New- Delhi	Hindi	English	Post- Graduation	1a =B; others = C	8b= C; others = A
F (F.)	Udaipur and nearby areas (Raj.)	Uttarakh and	Mewari , Hindi	English	Post- Graduation	1a-15a= C	1b-15b= A
G (F.)	New Delhi- NCR	New- Delhi- NCR	Hindi	English	Bachelors	1a-15a= C	3b, 4b, 11b = B; others= A
H (M.)	Jaipur (Raj.)	Goa	Hindi	English	Post- Graduation	1a= A; others = C	1b = C; 2b =B; others = A
I (F.)	Samastipur (Bihar)	Mathura (U.P.), Roorkee	Hindi, variety of Maithil -i	English	Post- Graduation	1a-15a = C	3b=B; 11b=A; others= C

Table 1. Informant Details and Judgements

Abbreviations used in Table 1.: M.= Male, F. =Female, U.P.=Uttar Pradesh, Raj.= Rajasthan, lang = language.

Even if we add up to this figure the responses from informant (I), we find that out of the 135 constructions (15 questions \* 9 informants = 135) belonging to set (b), a total of 120 set (b) constructions were judged as *completely unacceptable* and only 15 as *completely acceptable* (E: 1 construction + H: 1 construction + I: 13 construction). That still does not give us a significant score to claim that Hindi(-Urdu) spoken in northern India allows the echo-reduplication of the light verb/vector in a CV construction. One does not even need to draw the readers' attention to the fact that informant (I) and informant (H) grew up in areas that are hundreds of kilometres away from the geographical stretch whose dialect is our immediate concern in this paper.

## 5. Conclusion

The point that I wish to make and draw the attention of other researchers to is that even though the light verbs/vector in a CV may appear to be a stable category in

languages that have CVs as Butt & Lahiri (2003) claim,<sup>35</sup> they cannot be reduplicated or echo-reduplicated in the HU spoken by its speakers living in northern India in general and particularly in the region between New Delhi-NCR and Lucknow. Since Butt, in her several publications including those that have been cited here, reports that her data come from Urdu spoken in Lahore (Pakistan), my submission is that we need to seriously look at the written and spoken data again and try to find out if the process of reduplication chooses to operate differently on the constituents of compound verbs of Lahori Urdu and that of Hindi-Urdu spoken in India.

Although it is possible to claim that since Urdu of Lahore (Pakistan) would show its preference for Perso-Arabic in terms of borrowing the words and phrases (as units) whereas the HU spoken in India would seem to prefer Sanskrit for enriching its vocabulary base, it is possible that they have decided to go separate ways in terms of what gets selected as the input for (echo-)reduplication. If this is indeed the explanation, perhaps there is another and I do not know, then we may have to begin taking into account this difference when we speak of Urdu of Pakistan and Hindi(-Urdu) of India when we write our descriptions or analysis of such dialects/languages that seem to be growing apart from each-other because of their separate geographical distribution despite having once shared a common ancestry.

There is of course another difference<sup>36</sup> brought out in the works of Butt (1997) and Bhatt (1998) for Urdu and Hindi with respect to the speakers' response to the "passive of (dis)ability (Glassman 1976, Van Olphen 1980)"<sup>37</sup> (as cited in Bhatt et al. 2011: 3). It has been acknowledged by Bhatt et al. (2011: 4) that

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<sup>35</sup> They offer evidence from Urdu and Bangla (aka Bengali).

<sup>36</sup> In order to support my claims about the difference in Lahori Urdu and North Indian HU I could have cited Mohan (2006: 124) in support of my claims for he too claims that "[i]n ECV construction with V1 + V2 formations, it is V1 which can be echoed while V2 remains unchanged.

(a) [likh-vikh] lo \*[likh lo-vikh lo]

to write etc" but his is only an observation for which he furnishes no significant data or speaker judgment. I also do not agree with some of his other observations about the reduplication process and its domain in HU. There is also another characteristic - causativization - that differentiates the main verbs from the light verbs/ vectors within an HU compound verb but that is beyond the intent and scope of this paper. Since that difference is not a moot point for Lahori Urdu and north Indian HU, we shall get to it in another context.

<sup>37</sup> Example of (dis)ability passive in Bhatt et al. (2011: 3):

"Razaa=se vo paRhaa nahiiM gayaa  
Raza.M.Sg=Inst that.Nom read-Perf.M.Sg not go-Perf.M.Sg

Butt (1997) has analyzed the semantics of this construction [i.e. (dis)ability passive] as being one of dispositional predication as articulated by Lawler (1973a, b), but more specifically, they are an instance of *conditional necessity*. Bhatt (1998) points out that these constructions are negative polarity items of a sort in that some negative element is generally needed for the construction to be felicitous. However, there is a dialectal divide here. Urdu speakers generally find the examples without a negation acceptable, whereas Hindi speakers appear to have a stricter requirement on the presence of the negation. ([ ] mine)

If it is true that the acceptability of negation in the (dis)ability passive serves as a distinguishing feature between these two dialects/ languages then it is also possible to claim that given the data presented here and the speakers' responses with respect to the echo-reduplication in CVs we can make one of the following two claims:

a) Echo-reduplication of the light verb in a compound verb serves as a feature that may be taken as a marker of difference between the Urdu of Lahore (Pakistan) and Hindi-Urdu of northern India since Lahori Urdu allows the echo-reduplication of light verb/vector in its compound verbs whereas HU of northern India does not.<sup>38</sup>

b) Since Lahori Urdu and north Indian HU are both Indo-Aryan languages and share genealogy, they should be expected to behave similarly with respect to the components chosen by the processes of these dialects<sup>39</sup> that are at work including (echo-)reduplication and any difference in the choices of these dialects/languages must point towards either a misanalysis by the researcher(s) or towards claim (a) above.

I would like to plead that for north Indian HU it is only the main verb/pole/V1 inside a compound verb/complex predicate that can undergo echo-reduplication and this is a very prominent characteristic of this dialect/language for which we have a very robust evidence.<sup>40</sup>

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'Raza was (not) able to read that.'

<sup>38</sup> Any deviations need serious scrutiny before a claim to the contrary is made and one would have to show significant evidence in support of such a claim.

<sup>39</sup> One does not need to point out that the speakers make choices and not the dialects/languages per se but they do set the boundaries and the guiding principles for speakers to negotiate with.

<sup>40</sup> It may be that things may change in the future but it is only best not to speculate about the future course HU in general and compound verbs in particular are going to take.

As a researcher interested in and trying to make sense of the syntax and morphology interface, I believe the task of the dialectologists becomes supremely important for it serves as an empirical check to what is being claimed and proposed in theory. I hope, this paper serves some of that responsibility.

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## APPENDIX

(a) Questionnaire 1 & (b) Questionnaire 2

(a) Questionnaire 1– ECHO-REDUPLICATION, LIGHT VERBS AND COMPOUND VERBS IN HINDI-URDU:  
DIFFERENT OR SAME: POINT OF DIFFERENCE OR SAMENESS -- Praveen Singh

General Information about the Informant

1) Name:

2) Age:

3) Sex: Male /Female/ Other

4) First Language(s)/Native Tongue(s):

5) Second language(s) you speak:

6) Place where the first 20 years were spent: (name of the city/village)

7) Place where you are currently staying: (name of the city/village)

8) Qualification:

9a) Vocation (Student or Working Professional)

9b) If working, please mention whether your earnings are less than or more than 3 lakhs p.a.

(b) Questionnaire 2- ECHO-REDUPLICATION, LIGHT VERBS AND COMPOUND VERBS IN HINDI-URDU:  
DIFFERENT OR SAME: POINT OF DIFFERENCE OR SAMENESS -- Praveen Singh

Dear All,

You are requested to perform the following tasks:

A) Please read ALL the sentences (1-15) from the language Hindi-Urdu/Hindi and rate them on their acceptability. The rating is to be done according to the three levels of acceptability given below as (A/a or B/b or C/c):

A/a = not acceptable/\* (=I do not use/have not used this kind of compound verb construction which is given in bold)

B/b = somewhat acceptable/? (=I do not use but I have heard others use this kind of compound verb construction which is given in bold)

C/c = completely acceptable (=I (can) use this kind of compound verb construction which is given in bold)

(Simply mention the letter A/a; B/b; C/c in front of the Sentences.)

[Note -- the Intended Meaning (I.M.) is given after every set of sentences.]

1a) वो सो-वो जाती थी/ vo so-vo jaatii thii,

1b) वो सो जाती-वाती थी / vo so jaatii-vaatii thii,

I.M. - 'She used to keep going to sleep (at inopportune moments).' (1b here is 34b in Butt, 2010: 63)

2a) वो सो-वो गयी तो ताला कौन खोलेगा/ vo so-vo gayii to taalaa kaun kholegaa

2b) वो सो गयी-वयी तो ताला कौन खोलेगा/ vo so gayii-vayii to taalaa kaun kholegaa

I.M. – 'If she goes to sleep or does something similar then who would open the lock'

Alternate meaning- 'Who will open the lock if she sleeps (or does something similar)'

3a) वो सो-वो जायेगी तो हमें रात बाहर सड़क पर ही बितानी पड़ेगी/ vo so-vo jaayegii to hameM raat baahar saRak par hii bitaanii paRegii

3b) वो सो जायेगी-वायेगी तो हमें रात बाहर सड़क पर ही बितानी पड़ेगी/ vo so jaayegii-vaayegii to hameM raat baahar saRak par hii bitaanii paRegii

I.M. – 'If she goes to sleep or does something similar then we will/would have to spend the night outdoors'

4a) उसने खेलते वक्त धकेल-वकेल दिया तो मुश्किल हो जायेगी/usne khelte vaqt dhakel-vakel diyaa to mushkil ho jaayegii

4b) उसने खेलते वक्त धकेल दिया-विया तो मुश्किल हो जायेगी/usne khelte vaqt dhakel diyaa-viyaa to mushkil ho jaayegii

I.M. – 'If he pushed (or did something similar) while playing, it would be difficult'

5a) इस खराब मौसम में उसकी सांस रुक-वुक गयी तो बहुत परेशानी होगी/is kharaab mausam me uskii saaMs ruk-vuk gayii to bahut pareshaanii hogii

5b) इस खराब मौसम में उसकी सांस रुक गयी-वयी तो बहुत परेशानी होगी/is kharaab mausam me uskii saaMs ruk gayii-vayii to bahut pareshaanii hogii

I.M. – 'If his breath stops in this bad weather, it will be very troublesome'

6a) रवि ने बिस्तर खोल-वोल दिया तो सब कपड़े बाहर आ जायेंगे/ Ravi-ne bistar khol-vol diyaa to sab kapRe baahar aa jayenge

6b) रवि ने बिस्तर खोल दिया-विया तो सब कपड़े बाहर आ जायेंगे/ Ravi-ne bistar khol diyaa-viyaa to sab kapRe baahar aa jayenge

I.M. – 'All clothes will come out if Ravi opens the bed (or does something similar)'

7a) रवि बिस्तर खोल-वोल देगा तो सब कपड़े बाहर आ जायेंगे / Ravi bistar khol-vol degaa to sab kapRe baahar aa jayenge

7b) रवि बिस्तर **खोल देगा-वेगा** तो सब कपड़े बाहर आ जायेंगे / Ravi-ne bistar **khol degaa-vegaa** to sab kapRe baahar aa jayenge

I.M.- 'If Ravi opens his bed or does something similar, all clothes will come out'

8a) सच का पता चलने पर कहीं रवि किशन को **मार-वार न डाले** / Sach ka pataa chalne par kahiiM ravi kishan ko **maar-vaar na daale**

8b) सच का पता चलने पर कहीं रवि किशन को **मार न डाले-वाले** / Sach ka pataa chalne par kahiiM ravi kishan ko **maar na daale-vaale**

I.M. – 'It is feared that Ravi might kill Kishan, on finding out the truth'

9a) कहीं रवि ने किशन को **मार-वार डाला** तो अनर्थ हो जयेगा / kahiiM ravi ne kishan ko **maar-vaar Daalaa** to anarth ho jayegaa

9b) कहीं रवि ने किशन को **मार डाला-वाला** तो अनर्थ हो जयेगा / kahiiM ravi ne kishan ko **maar Daalaa-vaalaa** to anarth ho jayegaa

I.M.- 'If Ravi kills Kishan or does something similar, then it will be a disaster'

10a) कहीं उसने अपना हाथ **काट-वाट लिया** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा / kahiiM usne apnaa haath **kaaT-vaat liyaa** to anarth ho jayegaa

10b) कहीं उसने अपना हाथ **काट लिया-विया** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा / kahiiM usne apnaa haath **kaaT liyaa-viyaa** to anarth ho jayegaa

I.M. – 'If he takes/cuts his hand or does something similar, then it will become a disaster'

11a) मुझे नहीं लगता कि वो तुमको **पढ़ने-वढ़ने देगा** / mujhe nahiiM lagtaa ki vo tumko **paRhne-vaRhne degaa**

11b) मुझे नहीं लगता कि वो तुमको **पढ़ने देगा-वेगा** / mujhe nahiiM lagtaa ki vo tumko **paRhne degaa-vegaa**

I.M. – 'I don't think he will let you read or do something similar'

12a) पानी में गिरके वो **डूब-वूब गया** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा / paanii me girke vo **duub-vuub gayaa** to anarth ho jayegaa

12b) पानी में गिरके वो **डूब गया-वया** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा /paanii me girke vo **duub gayaa-vayaa** to anarth ho jayegaa

I.M. – 'Falling in the water, it will become disastrous if he drowns or something similar happens'

13a) सांस ना ले पाने के कारण वो **मर-वर गयी** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा / saaMs naa le paane ke kaaRaN vo **mar-var gayii** to anarth ho jayegaa

13b) सांस ना ले पाने के कारण वो **मर गयी-वयी** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा / saaMs naa le paane ke kaaRaN vo **mar gayii-vayii** to anarth ho jayegaa

I.M. – ‘If she dies due to inability to breathe or something similar (happens), it will become disastrous’

14a) कहीं उसने रास्ते में सबूतों को **गिरा-विरा दिया** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा/kahiiM usne raaste meM sabootoM ko **giraa-viraa diyaa** to anarth ho jaayegaa,

14b) कहीं उसने रास्ते में सबूतों को **गिरा दिया-विया** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा/kahiiM usne raaste meM sabootoM ko **giraa diyaa-viyaa** to anarth ho jaayegaa

I.M.- ‘If he collapses the evidence on the way or something similar happens, then it will be disastrous’

15a) उसने रास्ते में कुछ **खा-वा लिया** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा/ usne raaste me kuch **khaa-vaa liyaa** to anarth ho jaayegaa

15b) उसने रास्ते में कुछ **खा लिया-विया** तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा/ usne raaste me kuch **khaa liyaa-viyaa** to anarth ho jaayegaa

I.M. – “If he eats something on the way or does something similar then it will be a disaster”