

Toggling Signifiers: Rising and Falling Linked Verb Pairs in Hindi-Urdu

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Abstract Grammatical and linguistic accounts of Hindi-Urdu identify two general types of partially reduplicating verbs: echoics and synonymics. This paper defines and explores a third type: partially reduplicating rising or falling linked verb pairs composed of morphologically and/or semantically related verbs that differ in transitivity grade by one or more degree. One member of such pairs is vocal, controlling alignment, vector choice, auxiliiation, and meaning. It signifies. The other member is mute or silent. The paper describes the alternating pattern of signifying and silencing that informs this type and provides copious attestations to support recognizing it as an established feature of Hindi-Urdu grammar.

Keywords Diphraasis. Linked verb pairs. Transitivity grade. Alternation. Duoverbation. Silent. Vocal. Riser. Fallers.

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Potrei sapere, per favore, che specie di albero Lei pensa che sia, quello
laggiù? (Asked of narrator by Micòl in Bassani 1976, 85)

Could I please know what kind of tree you think that one is over there?

क्या मैं यह जान सकती हूँ कि आपके अनुसार वहाँ वह किस प्रकार का पेड़ है?

Introduction

Like many South Asian languages Hindi-Urdu possesses partially reduplicating linked forms or diphrases of verbs. Over the past century grammatical and linguistic accounts by Barannikov (1928), Emeneau (1956), Abbi (1991), Vacek (1995) identify 2 general types: echoics (Aa) and synonymics (Ab):

(Aa) देखना-वेखना कुछ नहीं

dekh.nā=vekh.nā kuch.nahī

see-INF=ECHO-INF nothing

‘Seeing shmeeing – nothing doing!’

[gadyakosh.org/gk/औरतों_की_दुनिया_/_पंकज_सुबीर] √

(Ab) तरह-तरह से उन्हें देखता-भालता है

tarah-tarah se unhẽ dekh.tā=bhāl-tā.hai

this.way-that.way them.ACC see=watch-HAB.PRES

‘He examines them in every which way.’

[hi.wikisource.org/wiki/पृष्ठ:रसकलस.djvu/१७१] √

This paper defines and explores a third type: partially reduplicating rising or falling linked verb pairs composed of morphologically and/or semantically related verbs that differ in transitivity grade by one or more degree (Ac). One member of such pairs is vocal, controlling alignment, vector choice, auxiliation, and meaning. It signifies. The other member is mute or silent.

(Ac) इस शरीफ दिखने-दिखाने का ढोंग करने वाले व्यक्ति सब जगह मिल जाएंगे.

is śarīph dikh-ne=dikhā-ne kā ḍhōḡ kar.ne.vāle

this decent be.seen-INF=show-INF GEN pretence performing

vyakti sab jagah mil jāēḡe jāēḡe

persons every place meet GO.FUT GO.FUT

‘You can find people everywhere who pretend to look decent.’

[www.e-abhivyakti.com/हिन्दी-साहित्य-व्यंग्य-118/] √ (16 Oct 2021, by Hemant Bawankar)

The treatment of the phenomenon of risers and fallers (rising linked verb pairs and falling linked verb pairs) presented here is intended as a “thick description” (Geertz 1973) that is to be added to a Hindi-Urdu constructionary.¹ In reporting on this phenomenon I have two objectives: (1) to establish risers and fallers as a distinct category in Hindi-Urdu grammar and (2) to describe and illustrate the toggling pattern of activation and silencing that distinguishes risers and fallers from other types of verbal doublets. The data on which this paper relies is almost 100% taken from on-line sources. Examples may seem to be more numerous than necessary. This is in part to compensate for the reluctance of some Hindi-Urdu speakers to accept particular instantiations of what I argue to be a general construction. Where possible I refer to signed news reports, essays, and published works of literature.²

1 Part One: Rising Linked Partially Reduplicating Participles

Many readers and especially mother-tongue speakers of Hindi-Urdu will be familiar with idiomatic adverbials and adjectivals formed by linking two different transitivity degrees of the same verbal base.³ In (Ba) the base verb *ban-* ‘become’ is intransitive. It is paired with the verb *banā-* ‘cause to become, make’ which as a transitive is one degree higher in transitivity grade than the verb *ban-*. The adjective ‘ready-made’ is formed by linking the masculine singular past participle of the intransitive *ban-* ‘be made’ with that of its transitive counterpart *banā-* ‘make’:

(Ba) या तो हिम्मत करके सीखूँ कि कैसे बनाते हैं, ... या फिर **बना बनाया** ही खरीद लूँ।
yā.to himmat kar.ke sīkhūँ ki
either courage making learn.SBJNC that
kaise banā-te.haĩ yā phir **ban.ā-ban.āyā**
how make-HAB or again be.made-make

1 Constructions may be thought of as constituting an intermediate “abstraction layer” interposed between lexical units or fixed idioms that are listed in dictionaries (such as *tūl pakar-* ‘catch length’ > ‘escalate; take a violent turn’) and fully productive constructions: like active vs. passive, infinitive vs. finite clause, etc. that are normally treated in grammars.

2 I use √ to indicate my verification of the accuracy of transcriptions of all sources. x indicates an expired link.

3 Examples (Aa) through (Bb) (along with most of the examples in the pages that follow) fit the third category of a tripartite typology of reduplication proposed by Singh (2005, 264): “reduplication with morphological modification”.

hī *kharīd* *lū̃*
 only buy TAKE.SBJNC
 ‘Either I should screw up my courage and learn how to make one or just buy one ready-made.’
[\[www.reddit.com/r/pcmasterrace/comments/1leq3uz/build_or_prebuilt/?t=hi\]](https://www.reddit.com/r/pcmasterrace/comments/1leq3uz/build_or_prebuilt/?t=hi) ✓

In (Bb) the base verb is the intransitive *thak-* ‘become tired’. The derived form *thakā-* ‘tire (a person)’ is its transitive counterpart. A compound made by linking their participial forms has the sense of ‘exhausting’. It is worth noting that the members of a compound may not adhere to the normal rules of modification. (Bb) constitutes an infringement of the rules specifying which thematic roles (or *kāraḥas*) a prenominal participle may express. In Hindi-Urdu those are transitive Patient and intransitive Subject (see Hook, Koul 2023).⁴

(Bb) ये था मेरा आज का थका-थकाया दिन।
ye *thā* *merā* *āj-kā* *thakā-thak.ā-yā* *din*
 this was my today-GEN tire.PRT-tire^{CAUS}-PRT day
 ‘This was my exhausting day today.’
[\[www.instagram.com/reel/DOGx_yjCMDQ/\]](https://www.instagram.com/reel/DOGx_yjCMDQ/) ✓

Despite what a literal interpretation may seem to convey, days do not tire nor can they be made to do so!

Some rising doublets have developed meanings that are not easily explained by examining their parts. These are fixed idioms and require listing in dictionaries.

(C) RBI ने बैठे-बिठाए मीटिंग बुला ली, अब क्या होने वाला है?
RBI-ne *baithe-bithāe* *mīṭing* *bulā* *lī,* *ab*
 RBI-ERG sitting-seated meeting call TOOK now

⁴ Note that (Bb) may be an outlier. Most instances of *thak@-thakā-@* do not violate the normal limit on roles:

(i) नवाब बहादुर की थकी-थकाई आँखें एक दम चौंक कर ठट्टे मारने लगीं।
navāb *bahādur* *kī* *thakī=thakāī* *āṁkhē*
 Navab Bahadur GEN tire-PRT-tire^{TRANS}-PRT eyes
ek.dam *cāūk-kar* *ṭhaṭṭhe* *mār-ne* *lagī*
 suddenly startle-GER mockery strike-INF began
 ‘Nawab Bahadur’s tired eyes suddenly widened and took on an amused look.’
[\[/www.amritvichar.com/article/248185/apna-khoon-story-by-indian-urdu-novelist-ismat-chughtai#gsc.tab=0\]](https://www.amritvichar.com/article/248185/apna-khoon-story-by-indian-urdu-novelist-ismat-chughtai#gsc.tab=0) ✓

kyā ho-ne vālā hai?
 what happen-INF about.to is
 ‘The Reserve Bank of India has unexpectedly called a meeting. What’s going to transpire now?’
[\[www.thelallantop.com/business/video/rbi-meeting-mpc-meeting-section-45z-kharcha-pani/\]](http://www.thelallantop.com/business/video/rbi-meeting-mpc-meeting-section-45z-kharcha-pani/) ✓

- (D) अलाहाबाद में जाके डुबकी लगा लो, भाग खुल जायेंगे तो वह **मर-मरा कर** जाएगा ही
alāhābād-mē jā.ke ḍubkī lagā lo, bhāg
 alahabad-in going dip take TAKE.IMPER luck
khul jāyēge to vah mar-marā kar jā-egā hī
 open GO.FUT then he die-kill^{CAUS}-GER go-FUT EMP
 ‘(If you say) “Go to Allahabad and take a dip in the river and your fate will change”, he will surely go.’
[\[www.reddit.com/r/bihar/comments/1iqj9vn/\]](http://www.reddit.com/r/bihar/comments/1iqj9vn/) (from AjatshatruHaryanka) ✓

It is reasonable to suppose that rising reduplicating verb pairs must now stand (or sometime in the past have stood) behind these reduplicating participles as their synchronic sources. While some fluent speakers may not be aware of them as inflectable finite verbs, other equally fluent speakers or writers still use them. It is to the definition and illustration of those finite verbal sources that I turn now.

2 Part Two: Definition of Rising Linked Verb Pairs

If we compare (Er) with (El) we find the same pair of linked verbs *khil-khilā* in the same order and with the same degree of difference in transitivity. However, the subject case (NOM) and overall meaning of (El) differ from (Er) even though (El) has the same doublet. Moreover, the vector in (El) *uṭhā* [ROSE] is a form of the intransitive vector *uṭh* [RISE] instead of the transitive vector *diyā* [GAVE] in (Er). In (El) *khilā* is silent.⁵

- (Er) पहली लिस्ट ने कई चेहरों को खुशी से **खिल-खिला दिया**.
pahalī list-ne kāī ceharō-ko khuśī-se khil=khilā diyā
 first list-ERG many faces-ACC joy-from bloom=bloom^{CAUS} GAVE
 ‘The first list brought smiles of joy to many faces.’
[\[www.navodayatimes.in/news/national/.../246169/\]](http://www.navodayatimes.in/news/national/.../246169/) ✓

⁵ The letter ‘ar’ indicates that the right-hand member of the doublet is the signifier. The letter ‘el’ means that the left-hand member is the one that signifies. Each couplet or example pair presented here toggles from right (‘ar’) to left (‘el’) in signifying and left to right in silencing. See Part Four.

- (El) ग्राहकों की भीड़ से बाजार **खिल-खिला उठा**। दुकानों पर ... व्यापारियों के चेहरे भी खिल उठे।
grāhakō-kī bhīr-se bājār khil=khilā uṭhā
 buyers-GEN crowd-from market bloom=bloom^{CAUS} ROSE
dukānō-par ... vyāpāriyō-ke cehare bhī khil uṭhe
 shops-on ... sellers-GEN faces too bloom ROSE
 ‘The market bloomed with crowds of buyers. Smiles also lit up the faces of merchants in their shops.’
 [amarujala.com/uttar-pradesh/bijnor/ ... mrt610827794] √

3 Part Three: Organization of Paper

In Part Four evidence is adduced to establish the nearly universal range of the pattern of alternation underlying (Er) versus (El). Additionally, evidence is presented for ‘fallers’, a much rarer counterpoint to risers. Part Five discusses a spectrum ranging between univertation and duoverbation in the compositional properties of risers. In Part Six I explore the semantic effects of using risers rather than the unreduplicated or plain verbs on which the linked pairs are based. The paper ends with a brief note on the possibility of using risers as a stylistic option.

4 Part Four: Productivity of Rising Linked Verb Pairs

In (Fr) *banā*, the **vocal** or **signifying** member of the pair, controls vector choice and the overall meaning of the sentence. The verb *ban* is **silent**. In (Fl) the left-hand verb *ban* is **vocal** and *banā* is **silent**:

- (Fr) ये दोनों की परिवर्तन होने से सूर्य और बुध बुधादित्य योग **बन-बना देंगे**.
ye donō kī parivartan hone-se sūry
 these two GEN interchange happening-from Sol
aur budh budhāditya yog ban=banā dēge
 and Mercury Budhāditya-Yog become-make GIVE.FUT
 ‘With their cross-over the sun and Mercury will form a “Budhāditya” conjunction.’ (Right-hand term is vocal, left-term is silent)
 [zeenews.india.com/hindi/india/rajasthan/jyotish/budhaditya-yoga-is-being-formed-again-today-signs-of-progress-of-these-zodiac-signs-astrology/1696214] (written by Zee Rajasthan Web team) √

- (FI) बेटी तो ... कुछ बन-बना गई तो तुम्हीं लोग अपनी शर्ट का कालर ऊंचा करके घूमोगे पूरे शहर में.
beṭī to kuch ban=banāī gāī to
 girl TOP someone become-make WENT then
tumhī̃.log apnī śarṭ.kā kālar ūcā.karke
 y'all your shirt collar raising
ghūm-oge pūre śahar-mē
 go.about-FUT whole city-in
 'If our daughter becomes someone then you will go around town with your
 shirt collars turned up.'
 (from [www.gupsh.com/2018/11/love-nahi-marriage.html] (written by Nand
 Kishore Barve) ✓)

This and the next two pages present twelve 'couplets' – sentence pairs containing contrasting examples of risers or fallers. I intend to show that risers and fallers constitute instances of a recurrent pattern. They are not to be classed with items recorded in dictionaries. Nor are they to be regarded as denominatable fixed doublets to be listed in a lexicon of idioms. Each of the following twelve couplets contains a verb pair in which one member or term of the pair alternates with its mate in activation. In the first sentence in a couplet the left-hand constituent is silent while the right-hand constituent is active or vocal and controls inflection, case of the subject, vector choice, auxiliiation, and the overall meaning of the linked pair:

- (Gr) ऐश्वर्या राय ने अभिषेक बच्चन को थप्पड़ मर-मार दिया था।
aiśvaryā rāy-ne abhiṣek baccan-ko thappar
 Aishvarya Ray-ERG Abhishek Bachchan-LOC.DAT slap
mar=mār diyā thā
 die=strike GIVEN PST
 'Aishvarya Ray had delivered a slap to Abhishek Bachchan.' (Right-hand term *mār* 'strike' is vocal, left-hand term *mar* 'die' is silent)
 [ghamasan.com/entertainment/... 210741] (by Shruti Mehta) ✓
- (GI) ये कोई अनोखी घटना तो नहीं... बच्चे भूखे मर रहे हैं.... किसान मर रहे हैं.... नौजवान मर-मार रहे हैं.
ye kōī anokhī ghatnā to nahī̃ bacce
 this any novel event TOP NEG kids
bhūkhe mar rahe hāī kīsān mar rahe
 hungry die PROG are farmers die PROG
hāī naujavān mar-mār rahe hāī
 are youth die=kill PROG are
 'This event is nothing new... children are dying of hunger... farmers are dying...
 youth are dying.'
 [www.rachanakar.org/2016/04/blog-post_7.html] (written by आरिफा एविस) ✓

In the second member of the couplet (Hl) the right-hand term or member is silent, leaving the left-hand term to determine vector choice, inflection, subject case and overall meaning of the pair:

- (Hr) वहां मौजूद सभी पर्यटक वाहनों को अभ्यारण्य से बाहर निकल-निकाल दिया।
vahā maujūd sabhī paryāṭak vāhanō-ko abhyārany-se
 there present all.EMPH tourist vehicles-ACC sanctuary-from
bāhar nikal-nikāl diyā
 out go.out=take.out GAVE
 ‘All the tourist vehicles present there (X) took out of the sanctuary.’
 (Right-hand term *nikāl* ‘take out’ is vocal)
 [clearnews.live/nahargarh-fort-par,,,_ vapas-kiya/] (written by admin) ✓

- (Hl) बुरा वक्त तो निकल-निकाल जाएगा, लेकिन बुरे वक्त में लोगो के व्यवहार हमेशा याद रहेंगे
burā vakt to nikal=nikāl jāegā lekin
 bad time TOP go.out=take.out GO.FUT but
bure vakt-mē logō.ke vyavahār hameśā yād rahēge
 bad time-in people’s behaviors always memory stay.FUT
 ‘Bad times will pass, but people’s behavior during bad times will always be remembered.’
 [www.instagram.com/reel/DOVwDIFiaHX/] ✓

The toggling pattern of activation and silencing may apply to transitive-direct causative pairs as well as to the intransitive-transitive pairs seen in (Frl), (Grl), and (Hrl). See (Irl) and (Jrl):

- (Ir) हम आपको तस्वीरें नहीं देख-दिखा सकते... क्योंकि वो काफी जख्मी हो चुका था.
ham āp-ko tasvīrē nahī dekh=dikhā sakte ...
 we you-DAT pictures NEG see=show can ...
kyō.ki vo kāphī jakhmī ho.cukā thā
 because he quite injured become had
 ‘We can’t show you (more) pictures (of the victim) ... because he had been badly injured.’
 [facebook.com/GulisatnNewsLiveFeed/videos ... /1234670491442850/] ✓ ?
 (typo in URL)

- (Il) पाकिस्तान दाऊद को देख-देख कर खुश होता है. तुम भी देख-दिखा लो.
pākistān dāūd-ko dekh-dekh-kar khuś hotā.hai.
 Pakistan Dawood-ACC see-see-GER happy becomes
tum bhī dekh=dikhā lo
 you too see-show TAKE.IMPER
 ‘Pakistan gets happy by seeing pictures of Dawood. You, too, see (them).’
 (*dikhā* ‘show’ is silent, left-hand term *dekh* ‘see’ is vocal)
 [ichowk.in/politics/dawood-ibrahim-latest-photo-.../1/1329.html] ✓
 (24/8/2015, byline: शम्स ताहिर खान)

- (Jr) मरीज आरंभिक समय से ही ट्रीटमेंट आरंभ कर करा लें तो उनका जोखिम घट जाता है।

marīj ārambhik samay-se hī trīṭament ārambh

patients early time-from EMPH treatment start

kar=karā lē to un.kā jokhim ghaṭ jātā.hai

do=do^{CAUS} TAKE then their risk lessen GOES

'If patients get their treatment started early, the risk they run is reduced.'

(Right-hand term *karā* 'do^{CAUS}' is vocal, left-hand term *kar* 'do' is silent)

[jantakikalam.com/1152/] √ (from 21 April 2021 news report)

- (Jl) तुम्हें जो खरीदना-बेसाहना हो, जल्दी कर-करा लो।

tumhē jo kharīd-nā besāh-nā ho, jaldī kar-karā

you.DAT what buy-INF purchase-INF be quickly do=do^{CAUS}

lo

TAKE.IMPER

'Whatever it is that you have to buy, do so and be quick about it!

(Right-hand term *karā* 'do^{CAUS}' is silent, left-hand term *kar* 'do' is vocal)

[pustak.org/index.php/books/bookdetails/2304/] √ (excerpt from a novel

by शिव प्रसाद सिंह)

In most instances there is a clear morphological relation between the two members of the linked pair. However, the morphological similarity may be overridden. (Kr1) linking the dative-subject predicate *mil* 'get' with its suppletive transitive partner *dilā* 'cause to get' shows that semantic relations (rather than morphology) determine the pattern:

- (Kr) भगीरथ ने ... गंगा को धरती पर उतरवाया जिससे वह उन सब को पाप से मुक्ती मिल-दिला सके।

bhagirath-ne gangā-ko dhartī-par utarvāyā jisse vah

Bhagirath-ERG gangā-ko earth-on brought so.that she

un.sab-ko pāp-se muktī mil=dilā sake

all-DAT sin-from release get=give^{CAUS} can

'(King) Bhagirath brought Ganga down to Earth so that she can give everyone release from sin.'

[hindi.rapidleaks.com/featured/gangotri-dham-history-in-hindi/] √ (by

Puneet Kumar, June 28, 2019)

- (Kl) इस समस्या से निजात नहीं मिलने-दिलाने से ... ग्रामीण मंगलवार को सड़कों पर उतर कर उग्र आंदोलन करने के लिए ...

is samasyā-se nijāt nahī mil-ne=dilā-ne-se ...

this problem-from relief NEG get-INF=give^{CAUS}-INF-from ...

grāmīṇ sarkō-par utar.kar ugr āndolan

villagers roads-on descending fierce agitation

'If the villagers get no relief from this problem they'd come onto the roads for a violent protest...' (*milne* is vocal, *dilāne* is silent)

[newslollipop.com/बिजली-विभाग-से-वार्ता-के-ब/] √ ? (संतोष कुमार, 17/04/2023)

Although rarely occurring the doublet *ho-kar* ‘become-do’ may constitute a rising pair:

- (Lr) कपूर खानदान से मुलाक़ात हो-कर ली लेकिन मणिपुर में कब जाएंगे मोदी जी ?
kapūr khāndān-se mulāqāt ho=kar lī lekin
 Kapoor family-with meeting become=do TOOK but
Manipur-mẽ kab jāēge Modī jī?
 Manipur-in when go.FUT Modi Ji
 ‘You met with the Kapoor family, but when will you go to Manipur, Modi Ji?’
 (Right-hand term *kar* ‘do’ is vocal, *ho* ‘become’ is silent)
 [www.youtube.com/watch?v=4euphFXv35o] √ ? (Taken from caption;
 “Premiered Dec 12, 2024”)

- (LI) जो पिता से विमुख हो-कर जाते हैं भगवान भी उनका आदर नहीं करते
jo pitā-se vimukh ho=kar jā-te.hāĩ bhagvān
 who father-from indifferent become=do GO PRES God
bhī un.kā ādar nahĩ karte
 even their respect NEG does
 ‘Even God does not respect those who turn away from their father.’
 (Left-hand term *ho* ‘become’ is vocal, right-hand term *kar* ‘do’ is silent)
 [www.facebook.com/reel/1921538168696850] √ (Author: श्री रामानंद सागर.
 Posted on July 3, 2021)

Verbs of motion seldom figure in the pattern. An exception is *ā lā* ‘come-bring’ in (Mr) and (MI):

- (Mr) कोई भी सरकार उसे चाहकर भी आसानी से वापस नहीं आ-ला सकती
koī bhī sarkār use cāh-kar bhī
 any also government him.ACC want-GER even
āsānī.se vāpas nahĩ ā=lā saktī
 easily back NEG come=bring can
 ‘Even if it wanted to, no government can easily bring him back.’
 (Right-hand term *lā* ‘bring’ is vocal, left-hand term *ā* ‘come’ is silent)
 [www.aajtak.in/india/uttar-pradesh/story/... -1176580-2020-12-14] √ (by-
 line शरद गौतम, 14 दिसंबर 2020)

- (MI) सबरीमाला मौसम में लाखों भक्त यहाँ आ-लाते हैं
sabarīmālā mausam-mẽ lākhō bhakt yahā ā=lā-te.hāĩ
 Sabarimala season-in lakhs devotees here come=bring-PRES
 ‘During the Sabarimala season devotees come here by the hundred thousands.’
 (Left-hand term *ā* ‘come’ is vocal, right-hand term *lā* ‘bring’ is silent)
 [/sabarimala.kerala.gov.in/index.php/hi/node/510] √ ? (written by a non-
 native Hindi speaker?)

When the intransitive and transitive verb forms are identical, determining which member of the pair is higher in transitivity and which is lower depends on the structure of the clause and vector choice.⁶

- (Nr) Reliance Jio ने अपने ... डेटा पैक की वैलिडिटी को चुपचाप बदल बदल दिया है
Reliance Jio-ne apne ... deṭā paik.kī
 Reliance Jio-ERG self's ... data pack's
vaiḷiḍiṭī-ko cup.cāp badal=badal diyā hai
 validity-ACC quietly change^{INTR}=change^{TR} GIVEN is
 'Reliance Jio has quietly changed the validity of its data pack.'
 (Transitive *badal* 'change' vocal, intransitive term *badal* 'change' is silent)
 [patrika.com/latest-technology/reliance-jio- ... -19396619] √

- (NI) जब से मैंने तुमको पाया मेरा जीवन बदल बदल गया
jab.se mañne tum-ko pāyā merā jīvan
 since I-ERG you-ACC found my life
badal=badal gayā
 change^{INTR}=change^{TR} WENT
 'My life has changed since I found you.'
 (Intransitive term *badal* 'change' is vocal, transitive term *badal* 'change' is silent)
 [satsangh.tripod.com/pujatexts/bhajmala_hi.html] √

In formal Hindi-Urdu registers the linking of verbs in rising diphrases may not be common, but in colloquial speech and informal writing it is common and very productive, not limited to a definable set of predicates. Items to which it may not apply include modal auxiliaries like *V pā* 'manage to V' and *V sak* 'can, be able to V', desideratives such as *V-nā cāh* 'want to V', permissive *V-ne de* 'let V', and phasals such as *V-ne lag* 'begin to V' and *V-ne se ruk* 'stop V-ing'. However, there is one example of a vector verb participating in a riser.⁷

⁶ I am aware that the assignment of transitivity grades to the terms of *badal-badal* in (Nr) and (NI) may strike the reader as arbitrary. Are these doublets instances of rising linked verb pairs? Or of falling linked verb pairs? [See (O) below.]

⁷ For discussion of the preterite *-yā*'s presence on both terms see Part Five.

- (ii) तो क्या हुआ अगर भरोसा तोड़ दिया-दिलाया भी तो तूने ही था..
to kyā huā agar bharosā toṛ diyā=dilāyā
 so what happened if trust break GIVEN^{TR}=GIVEN^{CAUS}
bhī to tū-ne hī thā
 also then you-ERG EMPH PST
 'So what of it if the one who had broken the trust was you?'
 (Left-hand term *diyā* 'GIVEN^{TR}' is vocal, right-hand term *dilāyā* 'GIVEN^{CAUS}' is silent)
 [https://www.instagram.com/reel/DJgvdYgvcXI/]. χ (link has expired)

In nine of the twelve verb pairs presented in Part Two and Part Four the left-hand member is in its basic uninflected form. This may mean that the two members of each pair have coalesced into unitary constituents onto which whatever inflection or auxiliary is required by their sentential context is to be applied. This is of particular importance for the interpretation of the left-hand member of each linked verb pair when it is not silent. For example, the linked verb pair *mar-mār rahe hāĩ* मर मार रहे हैं ‘die-strike PROG PRES’ in sentence (Gl) requires the hearer or reader to, as it were, ignore or ‘skip’ over the right hand member *mār* ‘strike’ and mentally transpose any inflection affixed to it or any auxiliary that is following it over to the left-hand member *mar* ‘die’. In other words, the transitive verb form मार *mār* ‘strike’ has no part to play in the interpretation of sentence (Gl). It occurs in (Gl) only because it is stuck there by its participation in the rising linked pair verb pattern. The requirement for this mental skipping or silencing of the right-hand member when the left-hand member is ‘vocal’ becomes particularly important in sentences like (Pl) where the transitive vector *lo* ‘TAKE’ is affixed to the intransitive *dikh* ‘be seen’ with which it has nothing to do!

Fallers. Though much less common than risers, linked verb pairs in which the right-hand term is one transitivity grade lower than the one on the left also exist:

- (O) बिहार में पुल, रेल इंजन के बाद अब बच्चा-बिक गया सरकारी स्कूल
bihār-mẽ pul rel injan-ke.bā d ab bec=bik gayā
 Bihar-in bridge rail engine-after now sell=be.sold WENT
sarkārī
 government
 ‘After bridges and railway engines, now a government school has been sold in Bihar.’ (*bik* ‘be sold’ is vocal, *bec* ‘sell’ is silent)
[\[www.tv9hindi.com/state/bihar/patna- ... -stwar-2133887.html\]](http://www.tv9hindi.com/state/bihar/patna-...-stwar-2133887.html) √ (TV9 Bharatvarsh, Sept 28, 2023)

After much searching one or two couplets illustrating a toggling pattern in ‘fallers’ have come to light:

- (Pr) मजाल कि किसी बहुरिया के हाथ में मोबाइल देख-दिखा जाये
majāl ki kisī bahuriyā ke hāth-mẽ mobāil
 how.dare that any daughter.in.law GEN hand-in mobile
dekh=dikh jāye
 see=be.seen go.SBJC
 ‘No daughter-in-law dare be seen holding a mobile phone!’ (Literally: ‘No mobile phone dare be seen in the hand of a daughter-in-law!’ (*dikh* ‘be seen’ is vocal)
[\[facebook.com/shaliniverma8348/posts/.../122227548290157686/\]](https://facebook.com/shaliniverma8348/posts/.../122227548290157686/) √ (Aug 9, Shalini Verma’s post)

- (Pl) ये जुगाड़ सब के लिए अच्छा है वीडियो देख दिख लो.
ye jugāṛ sab-ke.lie acchā hai vīḍiyo dekh=dikh lo
 this work.around all-for good is video see=be.seen TAKE
 ‘This trick will work for everybody. Watch the video.’
 (Left-hand term *dekh* ‘see’ is vocal, right-hand term *dikh* ‘be seen’ is silent)
 [www.facebook.com/reel/731576625984303] √ (Manish Kumar, original audio)
- (Qr) पूरा तोड़-टूट गया है अब तो गाड़ी भी नहीं चलती हैं इस रोड पर
pūrā tor=ṭūṭ gayā hai ab to
 completely break=be.broken GONE PRES now TOP
gāṛī bhī nahī cal-tī.hai is roḍ-par
 vehicle even NEG run-PRES this road-on
 ‘The road is completely broken. Now not even a vehicle runs on it.’
 (Right-hand term *ṭūṭ* ‘break^{INTR}’ is vocal, left-hand term *tor* ‘break’ is silent)
 www.facebook.com/reel/731576625984303] √ (14 Aug 2025, Mountains Bloggers Aila)
- (Ql) जयसूर्या ने अपना रिकॉर्ड तोड़-टूटने पर निसांका की प्रशंसा की।
jayasūryā-ne apnā rikorḍ tor=ṭūṭ-ne-par nisāṅkā.kī
 Jayasurya-ERG self’s record break=be.broken-INF-on Nissanka’s
praśāṅsā kī
 praise did
 ‘Jayasuriya praised Nissanka for breaking his recordd.’
 (Left hand term *tor* ‘break^{TR}’ is vocal, *ṭūṭ* ‘break^{INTR}’ is silent)
 [www.jagran.com/cricket/headlines...-23649695.html] √ (09 Feb 2024, by Umesh Kumar)
- (Rr) ब्रिज पोज करने से पीठ ददर् से राहत दिला मिल जाता है।
bridge pose kar-ne-se pīṭh dard-se rāhat dilā mil
 bridge pose do-INF-by back pain-from relief give^{CAUS}=get
jātā hai
 GO PRES
 ‘From doing bridge pose you get relief from back pain.’
 [jeevanjali.com/yoga/5-yogasan-start-day-do-these-5-yoga-asanas-...-2025-04-09] √ (from जीवांजलि posted by राघवेंद्र तिवारी Updated Wed, 09 Apr 2025)
- (Rl) दिल्ली-NCR में गरज चमक और बारिश ने दिलाई मिली राहत
dillī-NCR-mēm garaj.čamak aur bāriś-nē dilā-ī mil-ī rāhat
 Delhi-NCR-in thunderstorm and rain-ERG give^{CAUS}-PST=get-PST relief
 ‘Thunderstorms and rain brought relief in Delhi-NCR.’
 [abplive.com/states/delhi-ncr/...-3143869] √ (Published at 12 Jun 2026 08:25 AM (IST))

While fallers are significantly less productive and less abundant than risers, they may still be profitably considered with their rising counterparts as a subtype of an overarching category of ‘slopers’ or ‘bankers’.⁸

All types of reduplication involving whole words or definable phrases involve implicit contrast between the reduplicated and the corresponding non-reduplicated words or phrases. Since instances where the use of a reduplicated form is required for communication of basic information appear to be rare or non-existent, we may conjecture that reduplication is a form of ornamentation or embellishment of speech, not fundamental to it. In the vast majority of the data I have observed and which form the basis of this paper, replacing the doublet with the vocal term composing the doublet does not change its overall meaning in a substantial way. An occasional exception to this are linked pairs in which both members are equally vocal:

- (S) उनको जो मिल रहा है वही वे परोस रहे हैं और खा-खिला रहे हैं।

<i>un-ko</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>rahā</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>vahī</i>
them-DAT	what	be.available	PROG	PRES	that.EMPH
<i>paros</i>	<i>rahe</i>	<i>hāī</i>	<i>aur</i>	<i>khā=khilā</i>	<i>rahe</i> <i>hāī</i>
serve	PROG	PRES	and	eat=eat ^{CAUS}	PROG

‘They are serving and consuming whatever comes their way.’

[/www.vakrokti.com/article/new-generation-and-hindi] ✓ (from नई पीढ़ी और हिन्दी by Kavita Sud)

Although the Indian grammatical tradition limits its use to designating nominal compounds, the term *dvandva* might be an appropriate characterization of the implicit conjunction of predications in (S). A more challenging problem is represented by (T) in which the vector *diyā* GIVEN modifies the transitive member *sulā* ‘put to sleep’ of the verb pair *so-sulā* while *jam.ke* ‘soundly’ modifies the intransitive member *so* ‘sleep’:

- (T) जमके सो-सुला दिया है

<i>jam.ke</i>	<i>so=sulā</i>	<i>diyā</i>	<i>hai</i>
solidly	sleep=sleep ^{CAUS}	GIVEN	PRES

‘X has put (me) right to sleep (=bored me to tears?)’

[www.instagram.com/reel/DMkon6pSYsn/] ✓ ???

⁸ This term, alluding to the silent or mute members of linked verb pairs, is taken from railroading where an auxiliary ‘banker’ locomotive is used to help trains climb grades and to assist in safely braking trains descending such grades.

- (U) रिकॉर्ड तोड़-टूटा यह शेयर⁹
 rikord̥ tor=ṭūṭā yah śeyar
 record break^{TR}=break^{INTR}.PST this share
 ‘This stock broke a record.’
 [www.livehindustan.com/business/story- ... -7271038.html/] √ (27 Oct 2022,
 by Varsha Pathak)

The analytical problem posed by the paired predicates in (T) and (U) is a far cry from the clear distinction intrinsic to linked pairs like *thappar mar-mār diyā* [slap **die-strike** GAVE] ‘slapped’ in (Gr) vs. *naujavān mar-mār rahe hāī* [youth **die-strike** PROG PRES] ‘youth are dying’ in (Gl) where there is not a scintilla of doubt as to which term is vocal and which is silent. While in a comprehensive survey of linked rising pairs it may be necessary to posit degrees of silence or further divide data into subtypes, an even more stubborn issue is how to identify what determines the choice between several competing kinds of reduplication that are applicable to a given basic predicate – a brief consideration of which I take up in Part Five.

5 Part Five: Integrity

It is to be noted that the left-hand members of the verb pairs in the dozen or so couplets presented in Parts Two and Four are with two exceptions are all in their plain non-inflected base forms. However, on-line datasets include instances in which a silent left-hand term is partially inflected with a derivational affix such as an infinitival ending (Kl), (V) and (X), participial suffix (W), or is fully conjugated as in (Rl) and (Y):

- (V) कहानी के पीछे मौजूद जीवन को भी देखना-दिखाना चाहता है
 kahānī-ke.pīche maujūd jīvan-ko bhī dekhnā-dikhānā cāhtā.hai
 story-behind existent life-ACC too see.INF=show.INF wants
 ‘(The author) also wants to show the life that exists behind his story.’
 [rachnaye.com/books/... s1eeYIMC5hr] √ (from publisher’s description of a
 novel it published)

⁹ Depending on one’s construal of *tor=ṭūṭā* in (V) there may be a missing ergative marking on the subject *śeyar* ‘share’.

- (W) स्वाध्याय तो मनुष्य को पशुवत् जीवन से ऊपर उठाकर मानवता प्रदान करता-कराता है
svādhya̐ to manuṣy-ko paśu-vat jīvan-se ūpar
 self.study TOP man-DAT animal-like life-from up
uṭhā.kar mānavatā pradān kartā-karātā hai
 raising humanity confer do=do^{CAUS} PRES
 ‘Self-study, elevating man from animal life, confers humanity on him.’
 [mygov.in/group-issue/ .../?page=0%2C35] √ (Arun Kumar Gupta, May 2015)
- (X) कम कीमत पर औद्योगिक कच्चे बांस को तोड़ने-टूटने की मशीन
kam kīmat-par audyogik kacce bāṅs-ko
 less price-at industrial raw bamboo-ACC
tor-ne/tūṭ-ne kī maśīn
 break-INF/be.broken-INF GEN machine
 ‘Industrial Raw Bamboo Splitting Machine at Low Price...’
 [hindi.alibaba.com/product-detail/ ...-1601033554469.html] √ ?
 (translation from English or Chinese)

The part that is affixed to the silent term is usually limited to a monosyllable that is often copied from the desinence of the vocal term. But not always: in (Y) the disyllabic future ending *-egā* is copied from the vocal right hand term *mil-jāegā* ‘will get’ onto the silent left-hand term *dilā* ‘give^{CAUS}’:

- (Y) त्वचा पर लगाने से एक्जिमा त्वचा का विकार जैसी समस्या से छुटकारा दिलाएगा-मिल जाएगा.
tvacā-par lagāne-se ekjīmā tvacā.kā vikār
 skin-in applying-by eczema skin’s disorder
jaisī samasyā-se chuṭkāṛā dilā-egā=mil-jā-egā
 like problem-from relief give^{CAUS}-FUT=get-GIVE-FUT
 ‘By applying it on the skin you will get relief from problems like eczema and (other) skin disorders.’
 [hindi.news18.com/photogallery/lifestyle/health-palash-flower- ...
 -9119435.html/] √ (Atish Trivedi)

The copying of initial syllables of bound morphemes is optional. What is not permitted is the copying of separate word-like components of tense or aspect. For instance, tense auxiliaries *hai*, *ho*, *thā*, *thī*, etc. and the forms *rahā*, *rahī*, *rahe* of the progressive are never copied. Furthermore, non-desinential material [for example, the /i/ affixed to *barh-* in (Z)] may sometimes intrude from an element outside the verb pair *per se*.

(Z) अब कंपनी ने इसकी कीमत **बढ़ी बढ़ा दी है** ।

ab kompanī-ne is.kī kīmat **baṛhī=baṛh.ā** **dī** hai
now company-ERG its price rise=raise GIVEN PRES

‘Now the company has raised its price.’

[patrika.com/car-news/toyota-innova-hycross-prices-hiked-for-first-time-
... 8077565] √ (from report by Tanay Mishra, dated Mar 02, 2023)

Question: Are linked verb pairs like *dilāegā-mil jāegā* in (Y) conjunctions of two autonomous verbs, one of which is silent while the other controls inflection, finiteness, vector choice, auxiliation, and overall meaning? Or are they univerbations? The answer seems to be that some of the rising or falling verb pairs examined in this paper show characteristics of fully realized univerbations [most of the linked pairs in (E) through (Q)] while others such as those in (Y) are examples of conjoined but fully conjugated verbs (‘duoverbations’). Intermediate between these two extremes we may posit a range of what may be termed ‘sesquiverbations’, doublets where the left-hand term is neither fully inflected [as in (W)] nor fully integrated as an element of a univerbation. These intermediate sesquiverbations may be divided further into those whose left-hand members bear a piece of the bound morphology found on the right-hand member [(infinitival ending (V) and (X))] and those whose left-hand members have an affix whose antecedent is unknown (Z).

6 Part Six: Semantics or Stylistics?

In the context of a “thick description” (Geertz 1973), the study of the semantics of rising linked pair verbs in Hindi-Urdu leads in two directions: 1. To what extent does the duplication of the verb reflect the repetition of acts or events in the outside world? 2. To what extent does a rising duplication of linked verb pairs reflect a desire on the part of speakers or writers to express a meaning that cannot be obtained through competing options such as non-duplicated verb forms [whole or non-partial (*dekh.dekh-*)], or an alternate form of diphraasis [partial reduplication like echoics (*dekh.vekh-*) or synonymics (*dekh.bhāl-*)]?

Turning in the first direction: What can be considered more iconic in language than the use of repetition to align speech with repeated actions or events in the outside world? However, somewhat surprisingly, rather few instances of the risers and fallers that I have encountered while searching for data online reflect repeated actions or events in the outside world. Example (AA) is one:

- (AA) बेरहमी से इस मुखबधिर जानवर को ये तीन लड़के **मर-मारके** मौत के घाट उतार देते हैं।
berahamī.se is mukh-badhir jānvar-ko ye tīn laṛke
 mercilessly this dumb-deaf animal-ACC these 3 boys
mar=mār-ke *maut.ke ghāt utār dete.hāĩ*
 die=beat-GER death's step lower GIVE
 '(See with what) pitilessness these three boys are beating this dumb animal to send it to its death.'
 [/www.youtube.com/watch?v=tz9CNA2FNoE] √ ? (from blurb for #justiceforbruno #brunodogstory)

Repetition of action may be supported by double adverbials like *nīce-ūpar* 'down-up' in (AB):

- (AB) सड़क के साइड से नीचे-ऊपर **चढ़-चढ़ा कर** सड़क पार की, और चला आगे ।
saṛak.ke sāiḍ-se nīce-ūpar caṛh=caṛhā-kar saṛak
 road's side-from down-up climb-climb^{TR}-GER road
pār.kī, aur calā āge
 crossed and walked onward
 'Climbing up and down along the side of the road I crossed it and moved on.'
 [www.ststephensajmer.com/docs/deepalaya/deepalaya_2.pdf] √ (by Kamla Bhasin on page 24)

Related to repetition is multiplicity of sub-actions, whose combined effect realizes a goal:

- (AC) सब कुछ **हो-हवाने के** बाद ... मैं जाने क्यों अचानक रो पड़ी थी!
sab.kuch ho=havā-ne ke.bād ... maĩ
 everything become=become^{ZERO}-INF after ... I
jāne kyõ acānak ro paṛ-ī.thĩ
 "X.knows" why suddenly cry FALL-PSTPRF
 'After everything we did was over and done ... I don't know why I suddenly burst into tears.'
 [hindisamay.com/content/5441/1/प्रेमचंद-सहजवाला-कहानियाँ-दो-ईडियट.csp] √ (author's short story)

Another iconic opportunity is provided by mutuality, by reciprocal action, as in (AD) and in (AE):

- (AD) आज भी दोनों एक दूसरे को
- मर-मारने**
- के लिए उतारू रहते हैं।

āj bhī donō ek dūse-ko mar=mār-ne ke.lie

today too both one another-ACC die-kill-INF for

utārū rah-te-hāĩ

bent remain-HAB-PRES

‘Even today both (communities) remain intent on killing one another.’

[<https://hi.quora.com/क्या-हिंदू-मुस्लिम-एक-हो>] √ (2019 comment written by Gurdev Singh Sandhu)

- (AE) दो राजा एक साथ एक म्यान में दो तलवारें नहीं
- रह-रख**
- सकते हैं।

do rājā ek.sāth ek myān-mē

two kings together one sheath-in

do talvārē nahī rah=rakh sak-te-hāĩ

two swords NEG stay=put can-PRES.HAB

‘Two kings cannot keep two swords in one sheath at the same time.’

[ekumaun.com/lakhudiyar-caves-almora-uttarakhand/] √ (20/12/24; 2010 source C.S. Chauhan)

Repetition may consist of iteration by degrees of an ongoing change in the outside world:

- (AF) यह गर्मी कितनी आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता बढ़ी और
- पक-पकाकर**
- नमूद (स्थूल) की शक्ल बन गई।

yah garmī kitnī āhistā-āhistā baḥhī aur

this heat how slowly-slowly increased and

pak=pakā-kar namūd-kī śakl ban.gāĩ

ripen=ripen^{TR} appearance-GEN form became

‘How gradually this heat increased until it ripened into the form of a (physical?) being!’

[babujisahajmarg.in/assests/Books/Babuji Books/Hindi/new/Dus usoolon ki sharah.pdf] √

The rising pattern is strong enough to create new meanings. According to Rajesh Bhatt outside of the doublet *tham-thamā* its left term थम *tham* ‘stop’ is very rare in the meaning ‘(something) to be

handed (to someone):¹⁰

- (AG) बच्चों के हाथ में तमंचा और पव्वा **थम-थमा दिया**
baccō.ke hath-mē tamancā aur pavvā tham=tham.ā diyā
 children's hand-in handgun and pistol? be.handed=hand^{TR} GAVE
 'The children handed guns and pistols to children.'
 [x.com/sumantkabit/status/1840636021395886262] ✓ (sumantkabit,
 dated 30 Sep. 2024)

There are virtual verbs that outside of risers do not exist: *avā* 'come^{ZERO}', *dhavā* 'scrub^{ZERO}', *pavā* 'drink^{ZERO}', *havā* 'happen^{ZERO}':

- (AH) धनलोभी सरकार ने **आ-आवा-कर** उस में भी गबन कर डाला
dhan.lobhī sarkār-ne ā=avā-kar us-mē bhī
 greedy gov't-ERG come^{INTR}-come^{ZERO}-GER that-in too
gaban kar ḍālā
 gift do THREW
 'The greedy government came along and embezzled that, too.'
 [www.facebook.com/abdulofficialblog/] ✓ (post of 23 June 2021, written by
 सैय्यद अब्दुल क़ादिर)
- (AI) सिंदूर को विलकुल पोंछ डालूंगी, नल में **धो=धवाकर** मुँह को सफेद कर लूंगी
sindūr-ko bilkul pōch ḍālūṅgī, nal-mē
 sindur-ACC fully wipe THROW.FUT tap-in
dho-dhavā-kar mūh-ko saphed kar lūṅgī
 wash^{TR}-wash^{ZERO}-GER mūh-ACC white make TAKE.FUT
 'I'll wipe off the vermilion completely, I'll scrub my face in the tap and make it white.'
 [ia801405.us.archive.org/22/items/in.ernet.dli.2015.404106/2015.404106.
 Suvarnalata_text.pdf] ✓

10 The single example that fell into my sedulous hands:

- (iii) क्यों कुदाल, फावड़ा और गेंती मेरे अवयस्क नत्थू के हाथों में आ **थम जाते हैं?**
kyō kudāl, phāvṛā aur gēti mere avayask
 Why hoe shovel and pickaxe my underage
natthū.ke hāthō-mē ā tham jāte hāi
 Nathu's hands-in COME be.handed GO HAB.PRES
 'Why do the hoe, shovel, and pickaxe end up being handed to my young boy Nathu?'
 [https://www.hindlish.com/ ...] For आ ā 'COME' as an event-orienting preverb
 see Hook (forthcoming a).

- (AJ) “तुम” कहा है और पी=पवाकर कभी “तू” भी कहा है
 (X-ne) “tum” kahā hai aur pī-pavā-kar
 (X-ERG) “tum” said has and drink^{TR}-drink^{zero}-GER
 kabhī “tū” bhī kahā hai
 sometimes “tū” even said has
 ‘At times he has addressed me with “tum” and at times – when thoroughly
 sloshed – even with “tū”.’
 [archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.404170/2015.404170.Ganadevata_
 djvu.txt] ✓

Stylistics. While various kinds of repetition in the outside world may be invoked to explain various instances of partial verbal reduplication in risers and fallers, they do not explain many examples where the repetition of actions or events in the outside world is not a factor. These instances defy explanations that rely on iconicity. At times it seems that speakers or writers deploy them simply to emphasize or dramatize.

- (AK) दिल था, उलट पलट गया, आंख थी बुझ-बुझ गई!!
 dil thā, ulaṭ.palaṭ gayā ākh thī
 heart was topsy-turvy WENT eye(sight) was
 bujh=bujhā gāī
 extinguish^{INTR}-extinguish^{TR} WENT
 ‘My heart was in my pursuits, and then it flipped, I had eyes for them, then
 my eyes became dim !!’
 [facebook.com/groups/563768094676164/posts/1453860522333579/] ✓ (an
 established poetry site)

As a means to reinforce or dramatize expression, risers and fallers lend themselves to humorous use. In (AL) the irony of *samācār lete-livāte* ‘collecting news’ is echoed in the tongue-in-cheek expression *birājīt ho jāt* ‘assumed his splendid (seat)’ that follows in the same sentence:

- (AL) अंदर-बाहर के समाचार लेते-लिवाते अपनी कुरसी पर बिराजित हो जाते।
 andar-bāhar ke samācār lete-livāte apnī
 inside-outside GEN news taking=taking^{CAUS} self’s
 kursī-par birājīt ho.jāte
 chair-on radiant became
 ‘Collecting the latest news from inside and outside he would reassume his
 splendid seat.’
 [www.rachanakar.org/2012/06/blog-post_22.html] ✓ (from a short story by
 बालकवि बैरागी)

Aside from observing that more than one motive may be at play, a more comprehensive explanation of the reasons for speakers or writers to choose risers or fallers over competing forms of verbal expression I am ill-equipped to provide. In any event a mono-causal explanation seems unlikely.¹¹

Conclusions

1. Risers are defined as pairs of linked verbs distinguished by a degree upward in transitivity grade.
2. Fallers are rarer pairs of linked verbs distinguished by one degree downward in transitivity grade.
3. The pattern of risers is very productive with few limits as to which verbs can or cannot participate.
4. Cases where the left member is vocal and the right one is silent result in discontinuous constituents.
5. Vocality of the left-hand member in risers and fallers is rarer than vocality in the right-hand member.
6. Risers are not lexically listable although a few of them like *mar-marā ke* may become fixed idioms.
7. They run the full gamut from fully integrated univerbations to separately conjugated duoverbations.
8. Risers and fallers have importance in Hindi-Urdu grammar equal to that of synonymics and echoics.

Envoi

The thick description of the phenomenon of risers and fallers in Hindi-Urdu presented in these pages was in part undertaken as a small measure of protest against the blurring of reality intrinsic to abstraction and generalization. May those who also struggle with that blur and who share a love of the ineradicable particularities of language find in this essay some vindication, comfort, even pleasure.

¹¹ For detailed discussion of the affectual semantics of Hindi-Urdu's fully reduplicating echoics see Montaut 2008. Other predecessors to whom I owe intellectual debts include Anvita Abbi, Aleksei Petrovich Barannikov, Giorgio Bassani, Murray Barnson Emeneau, Clifford James Geertz, Omkar Koul, Rajendra Singh, and Jaroslav Vacek.

Abbreviations

@	a concordant vowel (ā, e, ī, or ã)
ACC	accusative
CAUS	causative
CTF	counter-factual
ECHO	echoic
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
GEN	genitive
GER	gerundial
HAB	habitual
IMPER	imperative
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PRES	present
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PRT	participle
PST	past
SBJNC	subjunctive
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
VOC	vocative
ZERO	null (a form not found outside of a linked pair)

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- in loving memory of Dhanesh and Kusum Jain -