MORPHO - SEMANTIC STUDY OF ECHO WORDS IN HINDI :

CASE OF SPEECH ACT PHENOMENA

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in Partial fulfillment of the requirement of the award of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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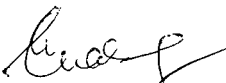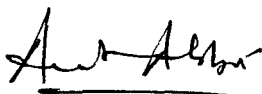*Dedicated to*

My Beloved Parents . . .

20.7.99

CERTIFICATE

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This Dissertation entitled "MORPHO-SEMANTIC STUDY OF ECHO WORDS IN HIND : CASE OF SPEECH ACT PHENOMENA" submitted by Shailendra Mohan, Centre of Linguistics & English, School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of any other University.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	-	Adjective
Adv	-	Adverb
ACC	-	Accusative case
asp	-	Aspect
CP	-	Conjunctive Participle
EW	-	Echo Word
EWF	-	Echo Word Formation
Fut	-	Future
GEN	-	Genitive
H	-	Hearer
Imp	-	Imperative
MIA	-	Middle Indo-Aryan
N	-	Noun
Pst	-	Past
Prst	-	Present
S	-	Speaker
V	-	Verb
WFR	-	Word Formation Rules
*	-	unacceptable
( )	-'	Optimal
α fts	-	α features

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CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 OUTLINE: This Dissertation proposes to study the Echo formation in Hindi and the way in which phonological form, morphological form, semantic interpretation and speech act are interlinked in the domain of word formation. Echo formations are seen as a special category of lexical items which are not only determined through their structures, but which also show a specific type of behaviour in language use. This thesis proposes to establish echo formation as a functional element in language.

1.1.2 THE STUDY: Languages adopt various mechanism to enrich their lexicon, word formation is such mechanism in the grammar of a language. Among South Asian languages, Reduplicated structures are one of the most productive form of word formation processes. Reduplication by definition

"stands for repetition of all or a part of a lexical item (word) carrying a semantic modification[1]

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │ Word Formation Process[2]│
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                 │
        ┌──────────────┬─────────┴─────────┬──────────────┐
  ┌───────────┐  ┌──────────────┐  ┌───────────────┐  ┌───────────┐
  │ Inflectional│  │ Derivational │  │ Reduplication │  │ Compounds │
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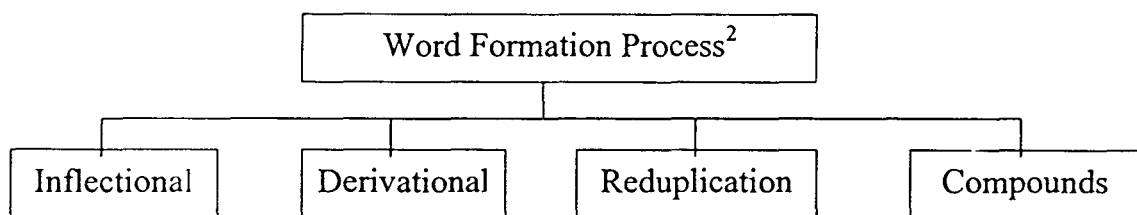
Fig 1.1

Inflection is not considered a word formation process as it cannot cause a word to change its category. But here definition of word = its phonological unit..

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[1] A, Abbi 1992. *Reduplication in South Asian Languages: An Areal, Typological & Historical Study.* Delhi: Allied Publishers. p.12.
[2] Ibid. p.13.

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                    Reduplication
                         |
        ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
        |                                 |
  Morphological                        Lexical
        |                                 |
        |                    ┌────────────┼────────────┐
   Expressives          Echo formation  Compounds    Word
                                                   reduplication
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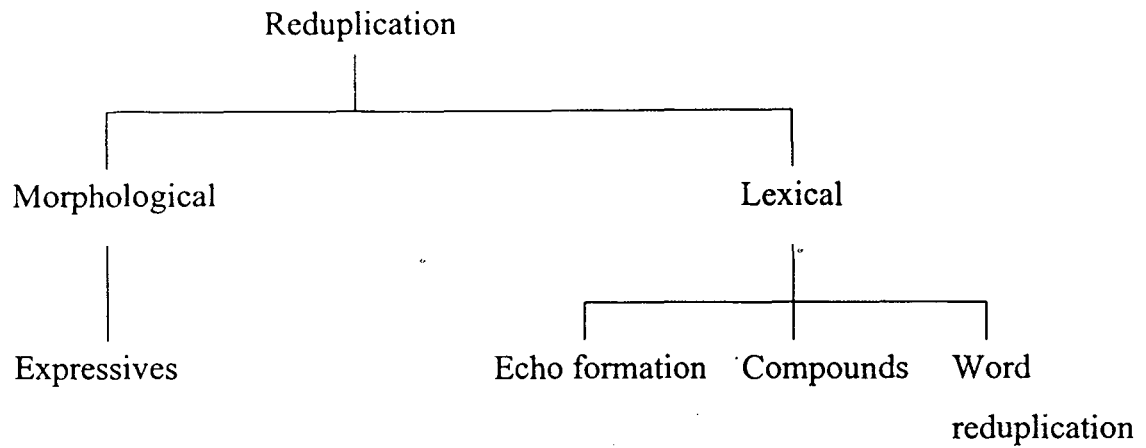
Fig 1.2: Types of Reduplication structures

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                  Lexical Reduplication
                          |
        ┌─────────────────┼─────────────────┐
        |                 |                 |
     Partial           Complete         Discontinuous
        |                 |                 |
        |                 |                 |
  Echo-formation   Word-Reduplication   Interfixation
```
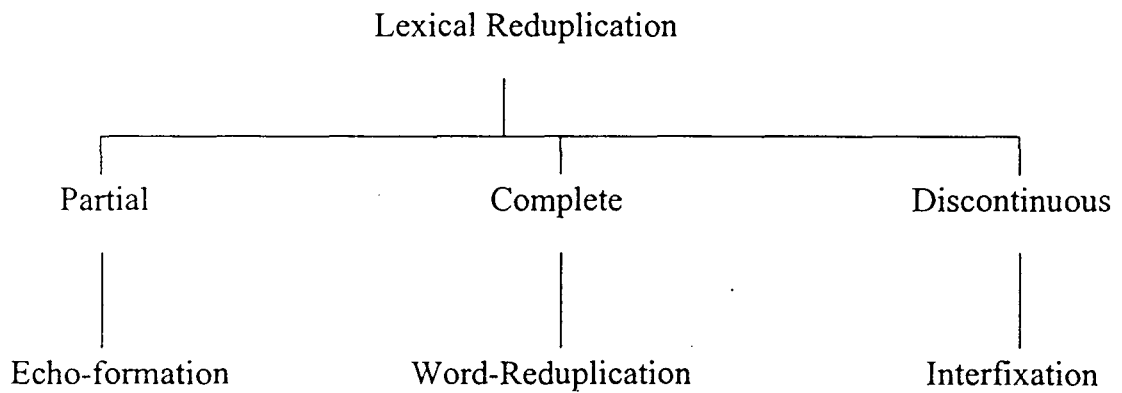
Fig 1.3: Types of lexical reduplication

I)   Morphological reduplication: refers to the minimally meaningful and
     segmantally indivizible morphemes which are constituted of iterated
     syllables.

Example

            tǝp - tǝp   -   dripping sound.

2

II)   Lexical Reduplication

a) complete lexical reduplication is constituted of identical (bimodal) words

e.g.:

   baiᵗʰe - baiᵗʰe - while sitting

b) Partial lexical reduplication or echo - formation is constituted of partial

repetition of a word phonologically

   e.g.   kʰana vana - food etc.

      food - EW

c) Compounds: they are semantically reduplicated form

e.g.

kʰana - pina

eat + drink   standard of living

This dissertation concentrates on Echo Formation in Hindi. Echo words are

formed by partially copying or reduplicating the base word. These words are

formed either by replacing initial consonant or the vowel, keeping rest of the

stem intact. In Hindi, two types of constructions are formed.

I)   Consonant replacement:

e.g.: kʰana - vana

food - EW - foot & etc.

where initial consonant is replaced by replacer /v-/

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II)   Vowel alternation:

e.g. jʰumṭe - jʰamṭe

swinging - EW swinging & etc.

where the vowel in initial syllable is replaced by vowel /a- /

1.1.3 Objective

This Dissertation attempts to resolve the following issues regarding Echo-
formation in Hindi:

i)   what are those semantic features which generate these structures

ii)   whether a set of semantic features in various grammatical categories are
       same

iii)   what are the distribution and alternation in phonological segment in
       echo-words

iv)   what are the morphological complexities involved

v)   what are the constraints on the compatibility of echo words formation

vi)   what kind of functions does it perform in speech act situation.

1.1.4 Materials & Method

For the description of the use of echo-word, a non-native speaker cannot solely
rely on his own intuition when semantic judgement are concerned. An analysis

based on actual data of usage combined with elicitation tests with native speakers, will yield more reliable results. The aim of the analysis is to provide an objective semantic description of the use of echo-word and to investigate the relationship between form and meaning. Since I am dealing essentially with descriptions of utterance meaning and sentsence meaning, the analysis cannot hope to be absolutely objective. Every effort has been made to minimalise the subjective element. The analysis is utterance based and extensive reference is made to pragmatics of communication.

The sources of linguistic information for this study were many informants of different age groups, professions and sexes. While none of the speakers were Hindi monolingual. Hindi was their active mother tongue.

1.1.5 Hindi Language

Hindi is a language of the Indo-Aryan sub-family (Central group). According to 1991 census, 337, 272, 114 are Hindi speakers which constitute around 40% of the total population of India. Hindi is the national as well as official language of Republic of India. Besides this Hindi is extensively used in media, in various social gatherings, in interpersonal and in group communications. Six states viz. Bihar, UP, HP, Rajasthan, Delhi and M.P. are Hindi speaking states.

Hindi has five *up-bhasa*

i)   Western Hindi - includes Haryanavi, Khari boli etc.

ii)   Rajasthani Hindi - includes Marwari, Mewati etc.

iii)   Eastern Hindi - includes Awadhi, Bagheli etc.

iv)   Bihar Hindi - includes Bhojpuri, Magahi etc.

v)   Pahari Hindi - Garhwali, Kumaoni

This study concentrates on Khari boli and Bihari Hindi speakers of Bhojpuri, Magahi & Maithili.

1.1.6 Organisation of study

Chapter 1:

Part A: Offers general outline for the study and about Hindi language and methodology adopted for the survey.

Part B: examines the existing researches done in Echo word formation in South Asian languages. Such as in Dravidian, Indo-Aryan and Munda languages by various scholars and their views about the formations in these languages.

Chapter 2: is about the phonological structure of echo word foundation. The chapter also includes the various mechanism of echo-word formation and their constraints.

Chapter 3: provides the morphological structures of echo word and surveys the semantics of these constructions and provides various semantic interpretation rules and their meaning in various grammatical category as well as constraints in their formation.

Chapter 4: provides the speech act analysis using 'Relevance' theoretic approach" to communication as proposed by Sperber & Wilson (1986). It also

surveys the attitudes in speech situations and the constraints in generating these structures in speech communication in language.

1.2 Existing Research

The Echo word formation is one of the important features responsible for defining India as a linguistic area. The importance of Echo-word formation in Indian languages was first time highlighted by Emeneau.

Speaking about the formation and the meaning of echo-words Chatterjee says "A word is repeated partially (partially in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question, and the new word so formed un meaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word) and in this way the idea 'et ceterna' and things similar to' or associated with that'; is expressed. This is found in modern Indo- Aryan and Dravidian.[3]

Emeneau observes that "the function of the formation is to refer to a specimen which the speaker does not care to identify from among a hypotheized collection of identical discrete entities of infinite number or forms of hypothesized infinite extension of a non-discrete handleable entity .. The forms are used in negative statements, prohibitions, commands"[4]

While discussing echo - words in Toda, he points out that the formation is evaluated phonetically as a compound and that the second member of the

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[3] S.K., Chatterjee 1926. *Origin & Development of Bengali Language..* Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, p.176.
[4] M.B. Emeneau 1967.*Dravidian Linguistics, Ethnology and Folk Tales; Collected Papers.* Annamalainagor: Annamalai University. p.41.

compound, while it may be isolated as a separate word in certain circumstances is entirely meaningless"[5].

Echo-words may be seen as a pan-Indian trait and since they are not a feature of Indo-European. It is very likely that Indo-Aryan borrowed the forms from Dravidian a possibility suggested by Emeneau.[6]

Emeneau notes that speakers of Kolami have ambivalent attitude towards the use of echo-words. The only freely offered example was the occurrence of *ba: la sula* in a text. All other examples had to be elicited by Emeneau through the use of leading questions or by attempts on his part to create forms.[7]

Tiwary (1968) put forth the interesting notion that selection of the base word for the echo construction is regulated by economic differences between addresser and addressee. He also cites examples that Echo-words are used as a secret code within peer groups.

Bhaskar Rao says that Echo formation is partial reduplication and defines it like this: "In the process of reduplicating a part of word is replaced by a stretch of sounds which are pre-determined called echo-syllabus, and they imply some amount of generalisations of meaning expressed by the main word. In addition to generalisation in Telegu, this process also brings out a meaning of extremity or concentration[8]".

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[5] Ibid, p. 37

[6] M.B. Emeneau 1980. Linguistic Area: Introduction and continuation. In A.S.Dil (ed.) *Language & Linguistics Area: Essays by Emeneau*. Stanford: Standford University, p.180.

[7] M.B. Emeneau 1961. *Kolami: A Dravidian Language*, Annamalainagor, Annamalai University Press, p.101.

[8] P.V. Bhaskar Rao 1977. *Reduplication and Onomatopoeia in Telegu*. Poona: Deccan College, pp.6-7.

For Apte, Echo formations at the semantic level, gives and addition meaning of

i)   generality

ii)   generality without reference to anything specific

iii)   things, manner, quality or action of similar nature, as that of the stem.

He defines Echo-formation in Marathi as:

"a process in which an stem or radical element if any is, partially reduplicated following certain fixed patterns such reduplication together with the item forming words which have in addition to the meaning of stem or radical element one of the meaning listed above[9].

According to A.B. Singh, the echo word is associated with the spoken language and normally represents the sub-stratum of the language this feature is present at all levels and brings to light several hidden facts about behavioural pattern of the language. He forms various phonological rules to describe echo formation in Hindi[10].

Mahapatra in his, 'echo formation in Gta?' Defines echo words as those phonological desirable from their base words and offers a set of rules governing their formations. He also discusses the function of the various types if echo-words at the semantic level, their grammatical position and their

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[9] M.L. Apte 1968. *Reduplication, echo formation and Onomatepoeia in Telugu*. Deccan College Poon. Pp. 6-7.
[10] A.B. Singh 1969. On Echo words in Hindi.. *Indian Linguistics*. Vol. 30. Pp. 188.

relationship in neighboring languages[11]. The semantic differences noted by Mahapatra between echo-word and tag words is also important.

Echo-constructions are as important in languages as other vocabulary items for one to understand and participate the linguistic activity of a community with almost a native life control[12].

Abbi argues that linguists have generally restricted themselves to the phonological structurisation in echo formation. She proposes that , echo-formation from semantic point of view have not paid attention. She does not consider Echo word lexically empty because it adds meaning of generality and non-specificness to the meaning in question; however, she agrees that this meaning is acquired only after Echo words is attached to the word under consideration.[13]

Heittiaratchi while speaking about echo-formation in Sinhalise says that most of the echo forms are either the uninflected form of a noun or an adjective that forms the base. However, there are instances where a noun with a case inflection or a verbal form also forms the base. The function, is to indicate generalization or any some and like as is referred to by the base.[14]

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[11]K, Mahapatra 1976.*Echo Formation in Gta?*.Austro Asiatic Studies Part 2,No. 13.Hawaii University Press.p 815.

[12] H.S. Anantanaryan. 1976. Reduplication in Sanketi Tamil. *Opil 2*. P. 42.

[13] Anvita Abbi 1994. *Semantic Universals in India languages*. Shimla : Indian Institute of Advance Study pp. 30-31.

[14] D.E. Heittiaratchi 1959 Echo Words in Sinhaleve, University of ceylon Review 17. Pp. 48.

Jean D' Souza regards Echo words formation as a marker of the South Asian sociolinguistic area. She argues that not only there a similarity in the way in which Echo words are constituted across language families, there is also a consensus of attitude towards the use of echoes and a widespread "need to use them". This suggests that Echo-words are not only a purely linguistic phenomena but one sociolinguistic in that their use is governed by sociolinguistic features like speaker attitudes and needs.[15]

Harris wants to group all the Echo-words in Kota into one morpheme unit with the meaning 'any, some, and the life' and says that the general form of the unit is qiX, where X is whatever follows the initial CV of the first member of the compounds[16].

Talking about the Echo formation in Sora, Ramamurti says "Repetition of a word or a part of it is a common linguistic process in Sora and serves various purposes.[17]

Traditional Hindi grammars have not dealt with this topic in detail. Saxena makes this observation "repetition of a word is a normal feature in Sanskrit and MIA. Echo words are found in middle Indo Aryan throughout as well as in Dravidian and they serve only as a help in current speech. Such a thing is not likely to find a place in literary works. He distinguish between paired and non-aspired forms and proposes a morphological subdivision of non-paired forms into "echo words or expletive words and reduplication". In actual use we have

[15] Jean D'Souza. 1991. Ehoes in Sociolinguistie Area. In Languages Sciences. Vol. 13. No. 2. Pp. 297.
[16] . Z.A. Harris. Morpheme Alternates in Linguistic Analysis. In Martin Joos ed.*Readings in Linguistic* Chicago. Chicago University Press. Pp. 112
[17] G.V. Ramamurthi 1931. *A manuel of the Sora language*. Madras. Government Press. Pp 51-52.

not been able to detect any marked distinction between the echo words and reduplication. They appear to be two different devices for the same thing[18].

Kellog has called it "Complementary copulative" and says "compounds, in which the one member may be regarded as complementary or supplementing each other. He further subdivides them into a&b and continues : a) words of opposite meaning are often thus coupled b) under this head also the common colloquial idioms in which a word is repeated either with its initial letter omitted, or another substituted or with different medial vowel to denote word gives a sense exactly equivalent to the Sanskrit 'ityadi' or et cetra[19].

Guru while dealing with the compounds put the echo and reduplication under samahara - dvanda by which he means that the compound does not only mean what its constituent mean, but also the meaning similar to that of its constituents. He lists four type of such compounds and the last type is of those compound where one element is meaningful and the other unmeaningful.[20]

Since Sanskrit does not have much evidence of EWFs, it appears that it grew in MIA stage, as Saxena argues, and perhaps these structures were borrowed from Munda languages or Dravidian langauges. Emeneau considers EWF as dravidian origin while Abbi working in Word Reduplication points out that Word reduplication is originated from Munda languages. As EWFs are partially word reduplicated form, may it also be originated from Munda languages.

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[18] B, Saxena.1937.*Evolution of Awadhi*. Allahabad: Indian Press, pp. 323-4.
[19] S.H. Kellog . 1955, *A Grammar of Hindi Language*, London: Routledge and Kegan Pual ltd. pp. 425-8.
[20] K.P. Guru. 1952 , *Hindi Vayakaran*, Varanasi,: Nagri Pracharini Sabha. pp.368-72.

CHAPTER -II

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Outline

Echo formations are a characteristic of the South Asian Linguistic area Languages in South Asia exhibit two patterns of Echo wold formation from the point of view of phonological structuration.

1.a) In one type of construction, the initial consonant or initial syllable of the word is replaced by another consonant or syllable keeping intact the canonical shape of the base word.

XY > ZY

Where X = C/CV

Y = rest of the base

Z = replacer

Languages : Hindi, Bengali, Maithili, Tamil, Telegu etc.

b) In other type , the vowel of the primary word is replaced by another vowel.

Vi > Vj

Languages : Remo, Gorum, Hindi, Punjabi, Gta?

Many languages select more than one pattern in this process. Some are dominant patterns while some are less dominant patterns. Echo formations in (2) below adapted from Trivedi (1990).

2.

Dominant patterns (Replacer phoneme)	Languages
1. v	Hindi, Kashmirī
2. ṭ	Bengali
3. gi	Tamil, Telugu, Kannada
4. t̪	Maithili
5. b	Marathi
6. s	Assamese
7. s	Punjabi
8. u	Punjabi
9. pʰ	Oriya

2.2   Definition

Abbi defines an Echo word as

The Echo word is formed by replacing the initial sound of the syllable of the word in question by another syllable (this syllable varies from language to language), keeping interact the canonical shape of the word. Most often it

copies the initial vowel of the base wold. In Dravidian languages it copies the length of the vowel of the initial syllable of the word[1].

Emeneau states that It is generally a construction in which a basic word formulated as CVX is followed by an echo word in which CV is replaced by morpheme gi - or - u- or like (or C is replaced by m - or the like) and X echoes the X (or VX echoes the VX) of basic word[2].

Khateeb defines an echo word as

. . . a partially repeated form of a base-word. . . partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme or the initial syllable of the base word is substituted for a new one; and an echo construction is a construction in which the base word is followed by the echo word[3].

2.3   Echo word formation in Hindi

The generalised pattern of echo word formation in Hindi is to repeat or iterate the word substituting the consonant of the initial syllable by replacer /V-/. After /v-/ everything else is repeated as such. The vowel of initial syllable is of the same quantity and quality as of the base words initial syllable.[4]

Echo formation in Hindi exhibits following type of constructions.

[1] A. Abbi. 1994. *Semantic Universals in Indian Languages.* Shimla: Indian Institute of Advance Study. Pp. 27.
[2] M.B. Emeneau. 1956. India as a linguistic area. In A S. Dil (ed) 1980. *Language and linguistic area. Essays by Emenean.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 114.
[3] S.M. Khateeb. *1979.* Echo word formation in Dakkhini. *Indian linguistic* 40. Pp. 236.
[4] A. Abbi. 1992. *Reduplication in South Asian Languages: An Areal Typological and Historical Study.* Delhi: Allied Publisher, p.21

2.3.1) Consonant replacement :

a) A word is taken as the input

b) A syllable template is suffixed to the word. The V slot is linked while the onset of the first syllable is left unlinked to the input word.

c) A replacer /v-/ is inserted and linked to onset. Replacer /v-/ is the most dominant pattern to form echo word in Hindi.

d) The replacer /v-/ insertion is prevented under identity.

e) The replacer can not be the unmarked segment in the language as it is prevented under identity.

f) Some less dominant patterns use some other consonant as replacer.

g) Echo words are placed right to the base word.

h) When echo words precede the base, linking of the replacer is prevented.

The derivation is as follows :

a)
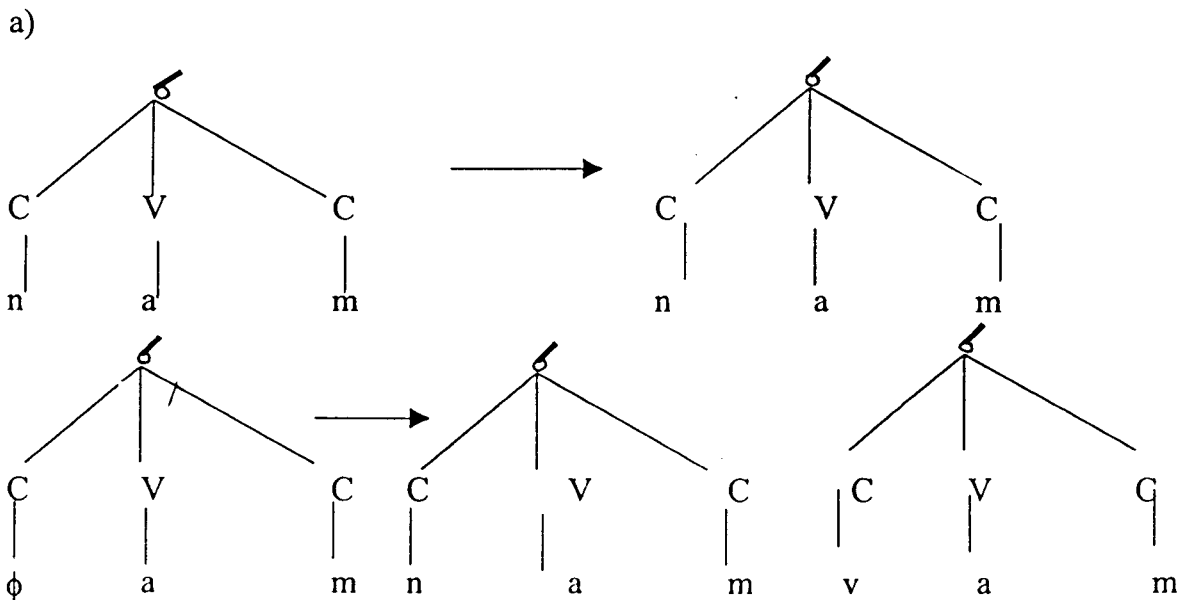
Fig 2.1: Consonant Replacement Derivation

2.3.2 Vowel alternation : The other type of formation is motivated by ablaut, the vowel alternation.

a) At the skeletal tier, the two bases have identical consonants in the syllable onsets and coda, but the vowels are different.

b) V-slot is unlinked

c) A non-rhyming vowel is instead and linked to the vslot. The replacer vowel is /-a-/.
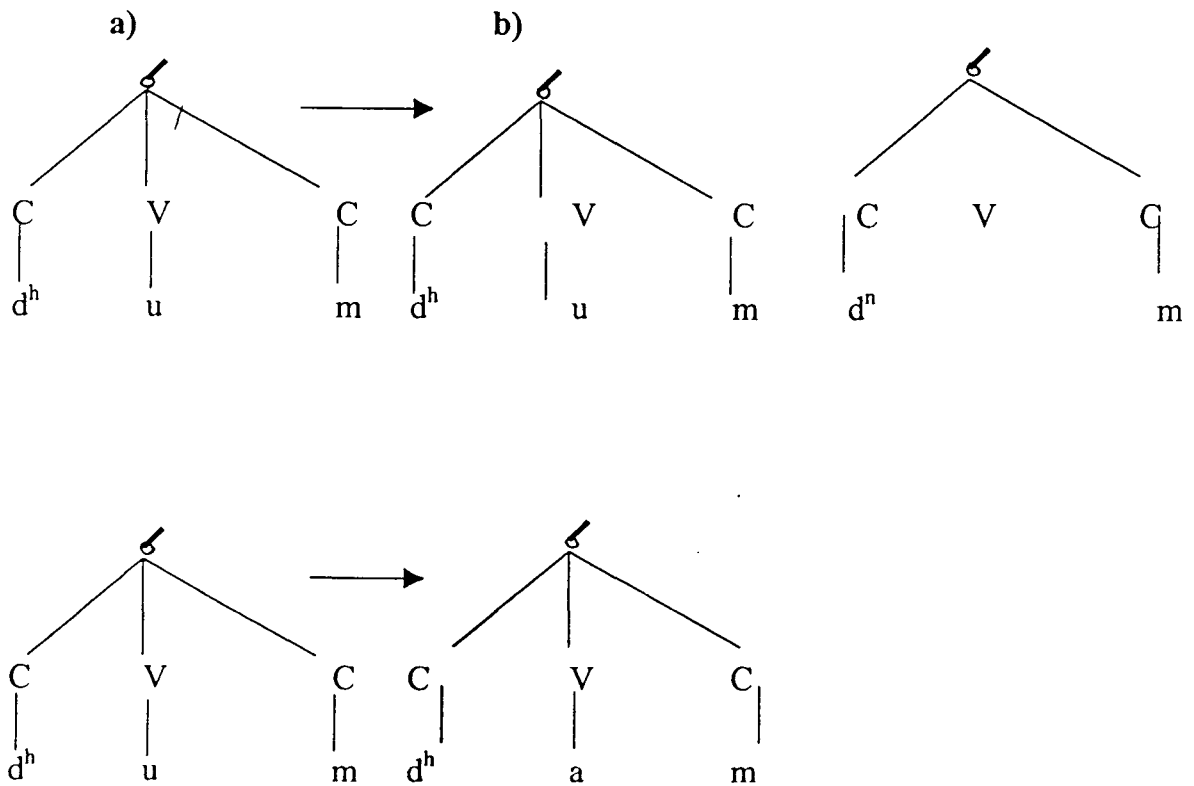
Fig 2.2: Vowel Alternation Derivation

2.4. Sets of formation :

Set 1 : The general pattern.

Rule 1 : -

2.4.1   (C)   V   X   →   v   V   X

[αfts] [αfts]

X - Refers to the rest of item.

Examples :

kagəz - *vagəz* - paper & etc.

cini - *vini* - sugar & etc.

eṭləs - *veṭləs* - atlas etc.

aam - *vaam* - mango etc.

pepar - *vepar* - paper etc.

2.4.2. The general pattern holds good for words having consonant clusters in the initial syllable

C_1 C_2 V X → v C_2 V X

e.g., ṭras - *vras* - grief etc.

pyas - *vyas* - thirst etc.

bled - *vled* - blade etc.

ṭren - *vren* - train etc.

prɛs   -   *vrɛs*   -   press etc.

dʰhruv-   *vruv*   -   name a person etc.

2.4.3 The generated pattern also holds good for initial diphthongs.

e.g.,   aina   -   *vaina* -   glass etc.

2.4.4 The presence of a nasalized vowel or a nasalized diphthongs does not disturb the rule of forming echo formations.[5]

e.g.,   hə̃sna -   *və̃sna* -   to laugh etc.

bhɛ̃s   -   *vɛ̃s*   -   buffalo etc.

ĩt   -   *vĩt*   -   bricks etc.

pɛ̃ṭ   -   *vɛ̃ṭ*   -   paints etc.

Set 2 : If the vowel of initial syllable is [+back, +high]

The preceding C_1 gets deleted.

Rule No. 2

C_1 V   X $\rightarrow$ Φ V   X

$$[\text{-syllabic}] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} \quad\quad\quad\quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix}$$

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[5] Ibid

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e.g., suuṭ   -   *uuṭ-*   suit etc.

      kursi   -   *ursi*   -   chair etc.

      pʰuul -   *uul*   -   phul etc.

Alternative patterns are also available

e.g.,   suuṭ   -   *vuuṭ*   -   suit etc.

      kursi   -   *vursi*   -   chair etc.

      pʰuul -   *vuul*   -   flower etc.

that is idiosyncratic variant as if the initial syllable has [+high] [+round] vowels, echo words is formed generally without replacer /v-/.

e.g.,   gʰolna   -   *olna*   -   diluging etc.

      ṭuṭna   -   *uṭna*   -   breakage

      somvar   -   *omvar* -   Monday etc.

      pʰoṭo   -   *voṭo/oṭo-*   Photo etc. ·

      uun   -   *vuun/uun-*   wool etc.

      cor   -   *vor/or -*   thief etc.

This happens due to replacer /v-/ has the redundant features [+round] [+back], [+sonorant]. So, under identity with these features, the replaces/v-/ assimilates or gets unlinked to the vowel having [+low, +back] as feature in this matrix.

Set 3: The formation of Echo-word with replacer /v-/ is prevented under identity. The Echo word copies the vowel of initial syllable or in some examples the vowel of initial syllable changes to /u-/. These two processes are in free variation.

Rule No. 3

2.4.5.   v   V   X   →   φ   V   X

              [αfts]   [αfts]

e.g.,   vəkil -   *əkil*   -   lawyer etc.

            vinas -   *inas*   -   destruction etc.

            vəd^{h}an -   *ərd^{h}an*   -   born etc.

            vayu -   *ayu*   -   wind etc.

2.4.6 In consonant cluster if C_2 is /v-/. The C_1 gets deleted. While C_2 is copied.

C_1 C_2 V   X   →   φ C_2 V   X

            [v-]   [αfts] X   →   [v]   V   X

d^{h}vəja   -   *vəja* -   flag etc.

ṭuəča   -   *vəča* -   skin etc.

kvaara   -   *vaara* -   unmarried etc.

k^{h}vaab-   *vaab* -   dream etc.

Set 4 :

Rule 4 C_1 $\rightarrow$ ϕ /if EW proceeds

əgəl -   bəgəl -   around

amne -   samne -   in front of

ird̪ -   gird̪ -   surround

ine -   gine -   a few

as -   pas -   near

əros -   pəros -   neighbourhood

ərt̪ən -   bərt̪ən-   utensils etc.

aju -   baju -   beside etc.

These samples are used as fixed phrases.

Set 5 : - There are some echo world formations which have irregular patterns. They don't use replacer /v-/ but some other consonant. The vowel of initial syllable however is copied as usual.

jʰət̪ -   *pət̪* -   quick

ulət̪ -   *pulət̪* -   turnover

jəg -   *məg* -   glittering etc.

jʰuth - *muʈʰ* - false etc.

terʰa - *merʰa* - twist etc.

bək - *jhək* - useless talk

anaap - *shanaap* - gossip

set 6 : - There are others which cannot be grouped into any class

tal - *maʈol* - avoidance
n

gol - *maʈol* - uneven round

kuura - *kərkəʈ* - 'dust

nooc - *khəsoʈ*- teasing

Set 7: - Vowel alternation

Rule 5.   C   V   X   →   C   V   X

C   V   X   →   C $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{low} \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$ X

e.g.,

bʰola - *bʰala* - innocent

dʰum - *dʰam* - pomp & show

ʈʰick - *ʈʰak* - right

bʰir - *bʰar* - crowd etc.

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puuch paach - - enquiry etc.

mor - *mar* - to fold

pit̪ - *pat̪* - to beat

kʰĩc - *kʰãc* - to pull

pʰut̪ - *pʰat̪* - to break

2.5 Constraints

1. Echo formation holds good for native syllabic structure.

Co² V Co²   condition   ~   CCVCC

V - a - *va* - come etc.

CVC - kəl-*vəl* - tomorrow & etc.

VC - ag - *vag* - fire & etc.

CV - lɔ - *vɔ* - flame etc.

CVCC- bʰang-*vang* - bhang & etc.

CCVC - pyas-*vyas* - thirst etc.

VCC - əst̪ - *vəst̪* - sunset.

Formation is restricted in Co^3 V Co^3 syllable structures if loan words from Sanskrit is added.[6]

✶ CCVCC -   skand^h - *vskand^h*   -   shoulder

✶ CCCV   -   stri - *vstri*   -   woman

✶ CCCVCC-   sprisṭ - *vsprisṭ*   -   touched

✶ CCVCCC-   swast^{h}y - *vast^{h}y*   -   health.

II)   Echo-word formation in Hindi is always restricted to first syllable only. Either consonant or vowel of the initial syllable are unlinked. Beyond first syllable everything else is repeated. Even the second syllable starting with /v-/ does not have any linking with the echo-word formation. Codas of first syllable are never replaced.

e.g.,

səvere -   *vəvere-*   in the morning etc.

dəvai -   *vəvai*   -   medicine and etc.

səval -   *vəval*   -   question & etc.

kəviṭa -   *vəviṭa -*   poetry & etc.

III) Majority of Hindi morphemes consists of upto three syllables[7]. Echo words are also formed upto three syllables. Beyond it the formation is restricted.

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[6] M, Ohala. 1983 Aspects of Hindi Phonology. Delhi: Motilal Bhanarassidas: p. 55.
[7] Ibid...

Monosyllabic formations

cãd - *vãd* - moon etc.

a - *va* - come etc.

sev - *vev* - apple etc.

bʰav - *vav* - price etc.

Bisyllabic formations

bimar - *vimar* - sick & etc.

mɛdan - *vɛdan* - field etc.

šɔkin - *vɔkin* - fashionable etc.

nəkəd - *vəkəd* - cash etc.

Trisyllabic formations

kərela - *vərela* - vegetable etc.

kərib - *vərib* - nearly etc.

dəvai - *vəvai* - medicine etc.

kəviṭa - *vəviṭa* - poetry etc.

Polysyllabic formations

★ dipa vəli   -   vipavəli   -   a festival

★ prəṭinidhi   -   vrəṭinidhi   -   representative

★ vaaṭaavərən   -   aaṭaavərən   -   environment

★ pərivərtən   -   vərisvətən   -   change

CHAPTER -III

MORPHO-SEMANTIC STUDY

3.1 FORMATION

3.1.1 Outline

The following generalisations can be made about Echo formation in Hindi.

1) Echo words are formed by partial reduplication of the base word, partial in the sense that either the initial consonant or the vowel of the initial syllable is replaced by replacer consonant or vowel respectively. In case a word begins with a vowel, / v-/ is added to the Echo word.

So, the rule is

(2)   XY > ZY

Where   X   =   /c/ or /v/ of the initial syllable

           Y   =   rest of the stem.

Replacer consonant is /v-/. Replacer vowel is / -a - /.

(3)   (2) is the Echo word formation rule in Hindi. Replacer /v-/ is the dominant pattern while vowel alternation is less dominant pattern.

3.1.2 Category type :

(4)   Echo word is a single lexical category and not the single structural category.

We would in the following pages would like to prove this statement by considering words formed by various word formation processes, mentioned earlier on P.1.section 1.2.

They are single lexical category because the individual constituents of the words are accessible to inflectional, deviational processes. The "Internal Integrity" i.e., certain grammatical processes may apply to each constituent of the word, violating the morphological island constraints.

5.   a) lərk - a   -   vərk - a   -   boy & etc.

     b) lərk - e   -   vəark - e   -   boys & etc.

     c) lərk - i   -   vərk - i   -   girls & etc.

     d) lərkiya   -   vərk - iya   -   girls & etc.

Without   such   terminations to each of the constituents, we will have ungrammatical conclusions.

Eg., 6.

• lərk   -   vəerk-a

• lərk   -   vərk-i

• lərk   -   vərk-iya

• lərk   -   vərk-e

The Echo-word as a whole cannot be inflected with plural suffix but its constituents can be. The ill-formedness can be explained on the assumption that echo-words are not a single structural category as the internal integrity of the word is violated.

This shows the difference between Expressive and Echowords as in "Expressives regular paradigms are formed by adding affixes to the Expressive words[1].

7. a) ṭəp   -   ṭəp   -   dripping sound

    b) ṭəp   -   ṭəpata   -   Masculine drips

    c) ṭəp   -   ṭəp - ati -   femine drips

    d) ṭəp   -   ṭəpa - həṭ -   dripping etc.

Expressives[2] behave like a single structural unit while in Echo words regular paradigm of adding affixes is violated.

Bloch In discussing Sanskrit in relation to "Neo-Indian" seems to suggest that there is no clear distinction between onomatopoeia and Echo-words[3].

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[1] A, Abbi. 1994. *Semantic Universals in Indian Languages*. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.. Pp, 15/

[2] Expressives is a cover tern for Onomatopoeia, ideophones etc. The term given by A, Abbi 1992 In *Reduplication in South Asian Languages*. An Areal, Typological & Historical study. Allied Publishers, Delhi. pp. 15.

[3] Cited in Jean D'Souza. 1991. Ehoes in Socio Linguistic Area. *Language Sciences* vol.3 No.1/2 p. 291

While Emeneau considers both as different and should be seen as two separate phenomena[4].

Abbi (1992) considers both as a different types of reduplication. Expressive are morphologically indivisible while echo words are partially reduplicated form of lexical category.

8. Language maintains a conscious difference between complete word reduplication and echo formations as,

9 (a) voh   bagice - bagice   se   pʰul   laya

        he   garden garden   from   flower   bring (Pst)

    He brought flowers from every garden.

(b)   voh   bagice - *vagice*   se   pʰul   laya

        he   garden - EW   from flower   bring (Pst)

    He brought flowers from garden etc. .

10. It is always

        vəkil   -   *əkil/ukil*   -   lawyer & etc.

    and never [*vəkil*- vəkil] for echo word formation.

11. The individual constituents of echo word can take affixes.

12.   (a) rəs   -   juice

---

[4] Ibid.

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rəs   -*ves*-juice

iila   -   rəsiila -   juicy & etc.

⋆ rəs-   *vəs*   -   iila

⋆ vəs   -   iila   -   *vəs*

b)   gʰər   -   home

begʰər   -   homeless

Echo Formation

beegʰər   -   *veegʰər*   -   homeless & etc.

⋆ beegʰər   -   *vər*

⋆ gʰər   -   bee   -   *vər*

13) The individual constituents of the echo formations cannot be modified.

1).   a)   kələm -   *vələm* as a whole can be modified by rəngin.

But,   b) r əngin   -   *kələm* -   vələm-   colour pen & such this

⋆ c) vəngin -*kələm*   -   vəngin vələm

⋆ d) kələm   -   rəngin-   vələm

This proves that Echo Formation work as a single lexical category.

15. The basis to which Echo word is attached must be existing words in the language.

This formulation sounds the lexicalist morphologists general constraints on WFRs - The 'word - base constraints', i.e., all regular word formation process are word based do parts of words e.g., syllable morphemerie constraints cannot form the Echo word.

16. a) kələm -   *vələm* -   pen & such thing

✶ kə - vələm

✶ əm - vəm

3.1.3 LEXICAL CATEGORY OF BASES

(17) Echo word formation applies to all open lexical categories only.

The term "open lexical category" has been used to denote all categorise to which new members may be added and where membership cannot be specified. Open lexical categories comprises. Noun, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs. These categories can acquire new members in the form of borrowings, blends. Clippings etc. The *only* refers to open category constraints as words that are members of closed lexical category will not have Echo word formations. Conjunctions, determiners, post positions particles etc. cannot form Echo words.

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18. **a) Nouns**

pen - *ven* — pen & such thing

kagəz - *vagəz* - paper & such thing

kiṭab - *viṭab* — book & such thing.

b) Adjectives :

pila - *vila* - yellow & like

moṭa - *voṭa*- fat & like

miṭha - *viṭha*- sweet & like

c) Verbs

roya — *voya* - to cried & etc.

gane — *vane* - to singirʒ & etc.

pərʰna — *vərʰna*- to read & etc.

jao — *vao* - go & etc.

d) Ad verbs

tej — *vej* - fast & approx.

nice — *vice* - under & approx.

kəl - *vəl* - tomorrow & approx.

e) Particles

★ hi - vi - emphatic

★ bhi - vi -

f) Postpositions

★ ne -   *ve*

★ se -   *ve*

They are common in both native variety as well as non native varieties of lexicon.

19.   a) Sanskrit   pətr   -   *vətr*   -   letter & such thing

mitrə -   *vitrə-*   -   friends & like

b) Arabic   -gərib -   *vərib* -   poor & etc

ɔɔrət -   *vɔɔrət-*   human & etc.

c) Persian   caaku -   *vaaku* -   knief & such thing

zamin -   *vamin* -   field & such thing

d) English   rel   -   *vel*   -   train & etc.

mastər-   *vastər* -   teacher & etc.

e) Portuguese   pyaala -   *vyaala-*   cup & such things

kəmra-   *vəmra* -   room & etc.

(20)   The formation rule (3) will copy nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs to form noun, verbs, adjectives and adverbs respectively.

(21) a)   [kətori_N   - *vətori*]_N   -   utensils etc.

b)   [pila_{Adj} - *vila*] _{Adj}   -   yellow & approx.

c)   [nice_{Adv} - *vice*] _{Adv}   -   under & etc.

d)   [prrh_v - *vərh*]_v -   to red & etc.

3.1.4 Number of constituents

Echo words are formed once only if the base has been copies more than once.
It is ill-formed.

(22) Echo formation are formed once only.

(23)   a) pen -   *ven*

b) pen -   *ven*   -   *ven*

c) pen -   *ven*   -   *ven.*

(23) The base at a time can have reduplication once only.

Word reduplication, Echo formations can operate. either one at a time. As language maintains difference between   complete lexical reduplication and partial lexical reduplication.

(24) a) gərəm   -   *vərəm* -   hot & etc.

⋆ b) gərəm   -   gərəm-   hot. Hot

⋆ c) gərəm   -   gərəm-   *vərəm*

⋆ d) gərəm   -   *vərəm* -   gərəm

This favours the Lieber's "Multiple Application Constraints" or word formations process[5].

(24) No word formation processes, e.g., insertion of a given morphene into a lexical tree or string - dependent rule can apply iteratively to its own output.

Echo word formations have a "flat binary structure" that does not allow recurssion.
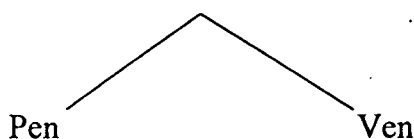
Fig 3.1: Flat Binary Structure of Echo Word

3.5 NATURE OF MORPHOLOGICAL OPERATION

Guru (1952) while dealing with the compounds considered the echo word formation under samahara - dvandva big which he means that the compounds do not only mean what its constituents mean but also the meaning similar to that of its constituent. He treats Echo formation in Hindi as a compound formation. As Echo formations have flat binary structure, does not allow recession and the second element is meaningless by itself. The Echo-formation as a compounding process is not attested.

Echo formation is a partial copying process of base word as both

a) Constituents exhibit the same morphological structure.

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[5] Cited in R.P. Botha 1988. *Form and Meaning in Word Formation*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press..p.76

b) Constituents manifest the same morphological category.

c) Constituents belong to the same lexical category

d) Constituents do not differ semantically that one of them is to viewed as modifying the other.

These criteria give the notion that Echo-formation is copying process as far as phonological form is concerned. Thus Echo-formation in Hindi represents the partial copying process i.e., partially reduplicated from rather than affixation or compounding process.

As reduplication is one of the most productive form of word formation processes. The view that Echo-word is partially reduplicated form holds good in Hindi.

3.6 LESS DOMINANT FORMS

(26) The vowel alternation form of Echo-word intensify the meaning of base words.

e.g., 27 (a) d^{h}um   -   *d^{h}am* -   pomp & show

(b) b^{h}ola   -   *b^{h}ala* -   innocent

These forms are used as fixed phrases in Hindi.

(28) Some Echo forms in Hindi are morphologically conditioned.

(29)   a) purana   -   *d^{h}urana*   -   old things etc.

b) rona   -   *d^{h}ona*   -   to cry etc.

/dʰ/ is not a popular echo replacer in Hindi. In example (b) /dhonaa/ does not mean "to wash" but it intensify the meaning of /rona/.

In examples

(30) a)   cʰota -   moṭa

              does not mean small & thick but "small & etc."

SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS

3.7 OUTLINE : There is never a one-to-one correspondence between a formal category and a semantic category, but semantic distinction can be matched somewhere in the language by a formal one that any formal regularity can be assigned some kind of meaning. Echo word, meaningless by itself, echoes the sense of the word, the sense of generality, and things, similar to is obtained. The important issue is to determine the basic meaning of the echo words. Abbi does not consider it totally meaningless, as it adds meaning of generality and non-specificness to he meaning in question; however, she agrees that this meaning is acquired only after the Echo word is attached to the word under consideration[6].

The important issue is to determine the place of semantic category "Generality" as one of the meanings or sub-meanings in Echo word formation.

1. (i) The first possibility is that Generality is the basic meaning and all other are derived from the basic meaning.

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[6] Anvita Abbi, no. 1; pp. 32

Formal Category		Semantic Category	
		basic meaning	derived meaning
			Generality a
Echo-Word		Generality	Generality b
			Generality c
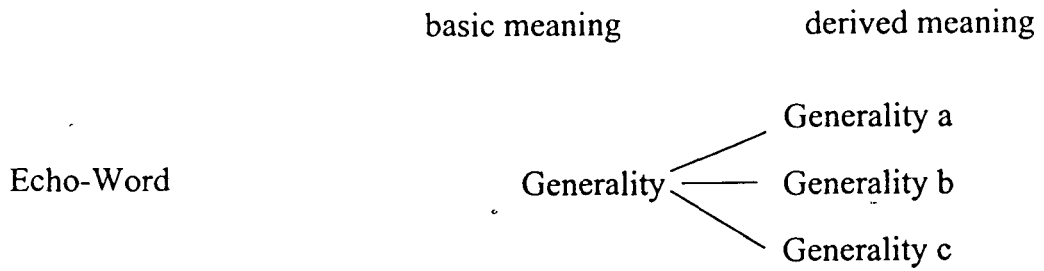
ii) It is also possible that there are several basic meanings one of which is Generality.

Formal Category		Semantic Category	
		basic meaning	derived meaning
			Generality a
Echo-Word		Generality	Generality b
		B	ba
			bb
		C	Ca
			cb
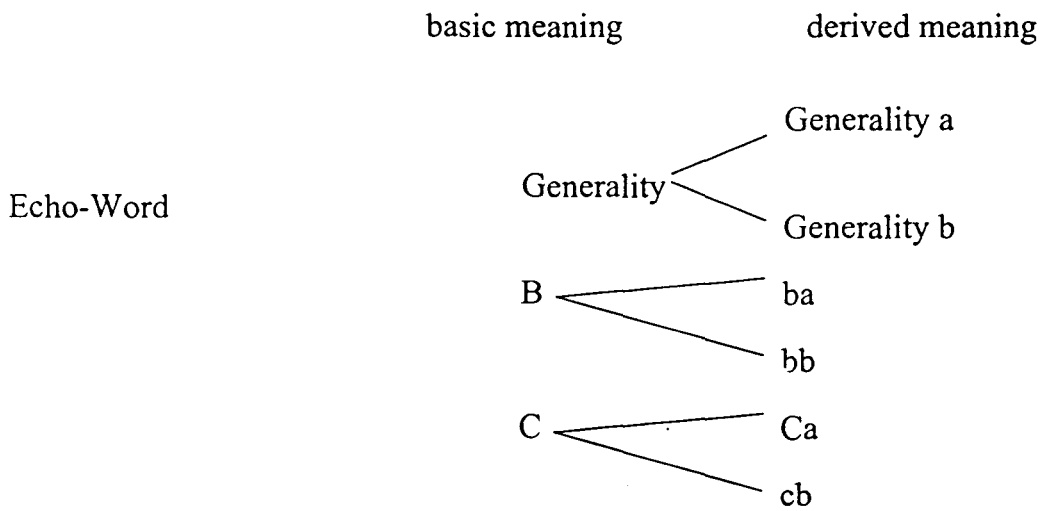
iii) Another possibility is that the basic meaning is a comprehensive one and that Generality is only a derived meaning.

Formal Category   Semantic Category

                          basic meaning   derived meaning

                                                          Xa
Echo - Word   X   ——— X b
                                                          X Generality

It is my aim to try and throw light on the range of semantic categories

associated with Echo word.

2) Echo formation shows the system congruity

e.g., (3)

Linguistic structure	Linguistic Meaning
pen	Pen
pen - ven	Pen & such thing used for writing

As Echo word expresses a large set of diverse meaning even through these are

built on a single formal pattern. Taking 1 (iii) as the base following semantic

interpretation rule can be formed.

(4) Interpret Echo word as [X INCREASED]

Where X represents the sense or meaning of the base word and INCREASED represent an abstract semantic unit.
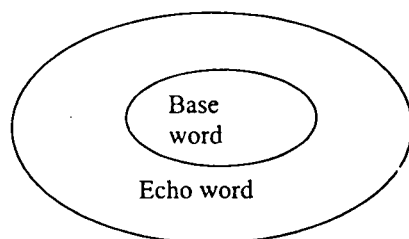
Fig 3.2: Derivation of Echo Word[7]

[INCREASED] is not to be identified with the linguistic expression increased. Following Jackendoff, both a meaning or sense and an abstract semantic unit will be considered a unit of information that represents an aspect of conceptual structure. From this view, the information conveyed by a linguistic expression is not about the real world but also about the projected world i,e. about the world experienced by the human mind. These entities include in Jackendoffs terminology - things, places, direction, active, events, manners etc[8].

Interpretation rule (4) may be understood as saying that information conveyed by the entity referred to by the base form is taken to be increased or expanded in some direction.

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[7] A. Abbi, Personal Communication
[8] No.5, p101

3.8 Survey of Meaning : Echo words in expressions are used for referential meanings. The following semantic labels are attached to them.

(5)   GENERALITY : Echo-word expresses generality. When attached to a base word assigns 'vagueness' to already specified meanings.

e.g., (6)   a) usko   koi   g^{h}ər   *vər*   mila   yə   nahi?

he   any   house   -EW   get   or   no?

Does he get any house & something or not.

b) vo   kam - *vam*   karke   ghər   jayega?

he   work - EW   done   house   go + future.

He will go home after doing work and something.

c) pahle   kuch   pər^{h}ne   vər^h*ne*   ki   kosis   karo

first   some   reading   EW   emphatic   try   do

First   try to read something

7   APPROXIMATION Echo words express the meaning of approximation when attached to the base word with semantic unit "state".
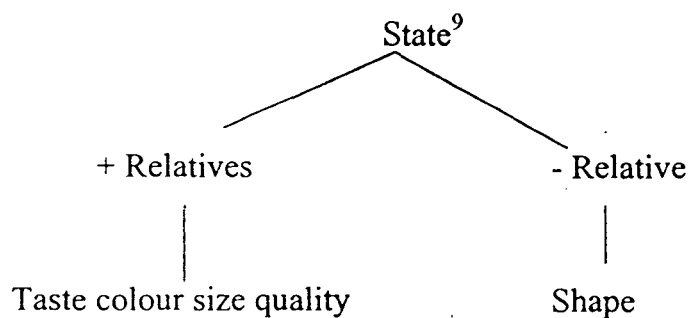
Fig 3.3: Modifiers and their semantic constructs

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[9] Anvita Abbi, no. 2. Pp. 56

8. e.g., a) pila - *vila* kəpra

yellow - EW cloth

yellow & like cloth

b) moṭa - *voṭa* lərka

fat - EW boy

fat & like boy.

c) meri pen kitab ke nice -*vice* hai

my pen book LOC under - EW is (present)

my pen is somewhere under the book.

9 INDEFINITENESS : Echo word makes the base word [- definite] when it is attached to the base word. The fixed meaning of the base word takes the associated meaning and a kind of fuzziness and hedging category is formed.

10. a) voh pətna - *vətna* gəya hai

he patna - EW went is +Pst.

He went to Patna & adjoin area

b) tren dəs - vəs bəje pətna pəhucəti hai

train dəs-EW time patna reach is+Prst.

Train reaches patna around 10.

11. SEMANTIC EXTENSION : Among nominal categories Echo words are used to create a super-ordinate structure in which things similar to are added creating a set of entities with similar functions.

12.   a)   pen - *ven*   -   pen & such thing used for writing.

b)   kitab - *vitab* -   book and any such thing used for reading.

c)   kagəz - *vagəz* -   paper & any such thing used for writing.

Examples 12 (a-c) have been taken from Abbi (1994).

12.   CASUALNESS : This feature is taken by Echo word when the base word has some kind of action as its semantic unit.

13 (a)   jəldi   nəha *vəha*   kər   aao

soon   bathe -EW   CP   come (Imp).

Come soon after having bath (and such thing).

b)   vo   k^{h}a - *va*   kər   bazar   jayega

he   eaten - EW   CP   market   go + Fut.

He will go to market after eating & such thing.

c)   əbhi   kuch   pər^{h}o - *vər^{h}o*   phir   dekha   jaega

now   something   study - EW   later   see go +Fut.

Right now do some studies, later we will see to it.

14) INTENSITY:- When the Echo word is formed by vowel alternation in Hindi, the base word is intensified.

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15) e.g. a) b^hola - *b^hala* - innocent etc.

b) d^hum - *d^ham*- pomp and show etc.

3.9 Semantic Interpretation Rule

·Taking (4) as the base, following rules can be made.

14 (I) Interpret [X INCREASED] Echo word as [X APPROXIMATION] if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+ State].

(ii) Interpret [X INCREASED] Echo word as [X CASUALNESS] if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+ Action].

iii) Interpret [X INCREASED] Echo word as [X GENERALITY] if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+Generic].

iv) Interpret [X INCREASED] Echo word as [X INDEFINITE] if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+ Specificity].

v) Interpret [X INCREASED] echo word as [X EXTENSION if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+Concrete].

vi) Interpret [X INCREASED] echo word as [X INTENSITY] if the phonological structuration of the echo word has vowel alternation.

3.10 Grammatical Categories

15 1) Nouns : Nouns are the most Echoed grammatical category.

A. 1 <u>Generality</u> 1) usko   bəhut   sahəs - *vah*əs   hai

He   very   strength - EW   is

He has very strength & such thing.

A.2 <u>Semantic Extension</u> : - Superordinate structures are formed in which things similar to and associated functions are included.

mẽ	caay - vaay	pine	ja	rəha	hũ
I	tea - EW	drink	go	progress	be.

I am going to take tea & something else.

A.3 Indefiniteness

shila -	vila	ko	bula	lo
shila - EW		ACC	call	explicator.

Call shila & other

2)   Verbs

vo	kʰel - *vel*	rəha	hoga
he	play - EW	progress	is +Fut.

He will be playing & etc.

B.2   Casualness

Vo	gana	gaṭe - *vaṭe*	ja	rəha	hai
he	song	sing - E W	go	progress	pst.

He was going while singing song.

Group 3. Nominal Mofiers : - Adjectives

C.1 Approximation

Size   a)   ram   ləmba - *vəmba*   hai

                ram   heigh - EW   is

                ram looks tall

b) Colour

            pila -   *vila*   kəpra

            yellow -   - EW   cloth

            yellow and like cloths.

c) Ordinals

            lərka   chaut^{h}i - *vaut^{h}i*   me   pərhta   hai

            boy   fourth -   EW   in   study   is+ Pst

            Boy studies in class four & around.

d)   Cardinals

            lak^{h}õ -   vak^{h}õ   ki   bhir   thi

            lakh -   EW   GEN   crowd   was

            Around lakhs of crowd.

GROUP : 4 ADVERBS

D. 1 Casualness

a) **Manner**

jəldi - *vəldi*   kam   karo

fast -   EW   work   do.

Do the work fast.

D2. Approximation

b) **Location**

nice - *vice*   dekho

below - EW   see (imp)

look around below.

c) **Time**

vo   pərsõ - *vərsõ*   jayega

he   day after -EW   go + Fut

He will go around day after tomorrow.

3.11 : KEY TO FEATURES

Nouns

    A.1   -   Generality

    A.2   -   Semantic Extension

    A.3   -   Indefiniteness

Verbs

    B.1   -   Indefiniteness

    B.2   -   Casualness

    B.3   -   Generality

Adjectives

    C.1   -   Approximation

        a) Size

        b) Colour

        c) Ordinals

        d) Cardinals

Adverbs

    D.1   -   Casualness

        a) Manner

    D.2   -   Approximation

        a) Location

        b) Time.

3.12 : Discussion

When modifiers are attached to nominal stem they fixes the meaning and delimits the semantic range.

(16) a) kələm - *vələm* - Includes all writing instruments and other objectives used in writing thus making paper, ruler, rubber, members of the set, a superordinate structures is formed. However, it does not imply a random list. It does not include vegetables which may be lying on the same table as paper & pen.

b) As soon as the modifier is attached , it fixes the semantic range.

e.g., rəŋgin kələm - *vələm* - includes marker and crayons excludes

paper and eraser.

17. Echo-word can enter into causatives as well as compound verb constructions.

Examples :

18. a) pər^{h}na - *vər^{h}na* - to read & something

b) pər^{h}ana - *vər^{h}ana* - to teach & something

c) pər^{h}vana - *vər^{h}vana* - have some one taught & something.

19. Explicator compound verb is a morphological construction of two verbs $V_1 + V_2$. Where the first verb is the predicating verb and the second verb is the explicator which modifies the meaning of the first verb and gives

it all kinds of directionality. The combination of V_1 +V_2 becomes the one lexeme. The V_2 is not the predicating verb because it does not give the main meaning; main meaning is supplied by V_1. The entire compound of the finite verb - the predicating verb and the explicator is considered as one lexeme; not as two different lexical item. The V_2 is delexicalized and operated as a bound morpheme because independently it sdoes not give the same meaning[10].

20.   Examples

a) pər^h - vər^h lo   -   to read & something.

b) pər^{h}a - vər^{h}a do   -   to teach & something

c) lik^{h}wa - vik^{h}wa do   -   to make someone write & something

In ECV construction with V_1 + V_2 formations , it is V_1 which can be echoed while V_2 remains unchanged.

21.   In conjunct verbs also the first member can be echoed while other one remains the same.

22.   a)   saf kərna   -   clean do

            saf - vaf kərna   -   clean - EW do.

        * saf - kərna - vərna

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[10] No.1, p.41.

b)   bənd - hona

closed - be

bənd - *vənd* hona

* bənd - hona - *vona*

In these constructions, if there is a pause in between conjunct verbs then these expressions can be echoed.

23.   a)   dik^{h}ai, dene - *vene* ləga hai

visible give - EW   feel is

visible is giving

b)   saf, kərna - *vərna* hai ki nahi

clean do - EW   is can no?

To clean it or not.

24. In serial verb construction, it is always the first verb which can be echoed.

25.   Vo   gaʈe - *vaʈe*   cəla ja   rəha   tha

he   sing + particle EW   walk   go progressive (asp) isast is

He while singing & going something

3.13 Less Dominant Forms

26.   Less dominant forms of Echo words intensify the meaning and are used as fixed phrases.

27. a)   log   jʰumṭe - *jʰ̣amṭe*   ja   rǝhe   the

         people swinging - EW   go   progress   Pst.

         People were going while swanging and swinging.

b)   Hum   log   *amne* - samne   the

         we   people EW   - infront of   past be

         We were infront of each other

3.14 :   Constraints

(28)   A sentence can have two echo-formations. But they must be in different lexical category.

(29)   bǝcce - *vǝcce*   bahǝr   kʰel - *vel*   rǝhe   hai

         children - ᴧW   outside   play - EW   progress asp. Be (Pst).

         Child & others are playing and doing something outside.

(30)   In modifier - modified relationship, only one can be echoed at a time.

(31)   a) rǝŋgin kǝlǝm - *vǝlǝm*   -   colour pen & such thing

        b) rǝŋgin - *vǝŋgin* - kǝlǝm -   colour & something pen

      * c) vǝŋgin - *vǝŋgin* - kǝlǝm - *vǝlǝm*

CHAPTER -IV

SPEECH - ACT PHENOMENA

4.1 : OUTLINE

In Natural languages, when we want to express what we perceive, words are frequently lacking. The language of thought is richer than natural language, as Sperber argues that people can recognise an incredible number of smells in spite of the fact that there hardly exists any taxonomy of smells[1]. Echo words, considered to be meaningless by itself are one the device in ``South Asian languages to capture the ineffability of precise concepts. I am using "Relevance theoretic approach as proposed by Sperber & Wilson (1986) as the framework for analysis of EWF in Hindi.

The Relevance Principle : Sperber & Wilson (1986) have suggested that all the mental processes of communication can be explained by the principle of "Relevance" alone if it is reformulated as follows[2]

a) an act of ostention carries a guarantee of relevances, and that this fact - which we call the <u>principle of relevance</u> - makes manifest the intention behind the ostension.

b) Contextual information is needed to resolve what should be seen as the semantic incompleteness and vagueness of all linguistically coded message. At every stage of inferential interpretation process i.e., in disambiguation,

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[1] Cited in N, Franken . 1997. Vagueness and Approximation in relevance theory. *Journal of Pragmatics* (28) 1997. Note 11 : 141.
[2] O. Togeby. 1998. Pragmatic Principle. In J, L. Mey (eds). *A concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatic Amsterdam*: Elsevier p. 709.

reference assignment and semantic enrichment, the hearer will, because of guarantee of relevance, choose the context involving the most relevance and least processing effort.

c) An utterance is chosen in accordance with the principle of optimal relevance if the information which the communicator intends to convey to the addressee is relevant enough to make it worth. The addressee's while to process the physical stimulus and if the stimulus is the most relevant one the communicator could have used to communicate the assumptions. Every act of physical communication communicates the presumption of its own optimal relevance.

d) A speaker aiming at optimal relevance will leave implicit, as an implicature of the utterance, everything the learner can be trusted to supply from the context and from encyclopedic knowledge using less effort than would be needed to process an explicit prompt. The more information the communicator leaves implicit as implicatures, the greater the degree of mutual understanding presupposed to exist between the communicants.

4.2 : Echo Formation in Relevance Theory

Echo words give the meaning of generality, casualness, approximation, extension and indefiniteness. In S&W analysis, interpretation proves to be crucial for explanation of several phenomena as Echo word, manifest vagueness and approximation and they are less than literal interpretation of thought. They may be the instances of "loose talk" in S&W's analysis. According to S&W loose talk is a particular way of using language. It is a variety of the interpretive use of language.

Loose talk thus appears whenever a speaker communicates a set of assumptions and assumes that the exact or precise proposition wou'! be less relevant then another proposition from which the hearer can derive all these assumptions more economically. In such cases, the speaker does not commit himself to the truth of the proposition literally expressed by his utterance. He is only committed to certain implicatures.

4.3 : Loose talk in Relevance Theory

S&W conceive utterance interpretation as involving code and inference and as being mainly ruled by the principle of relevance.

"Every act of Ostensive communication communicates the presumption of its own optimal relevance[3]".

This presumption of optimal relevances requires an optimal balance between contextual effects and processing effort.

a) The set of assumptions {I} which the communicator intends to make manifest to the addressee is relevant enough to make it worth the addressee's while to process the ostensive stimulus.

b) The Ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one the communicator could have used to communicate {I}.

Assumptions are composed of a structured set of concepts. A concept is located in the memory store and contains an address and one or all of the following entries, encyclopedic, logical and lexical. The human information - processor manipulates

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[3] Sperber & Wilson 1986, Relevance : Basil Blackenell. P. 158.

the conceptual content of assumptions. The processing device has access to assumptions from four sources.

1) direct perception.

2) Decoding of the encoded utterances of others.

3) Its own memory store

4) Deductions from assumptions accessible from sources 1 to 3.

Together these assumptions from four sources make up an individual's cognitive environment[4].

A cognitive environment is merely a set of assumptions which the individual is capable of mentally representing.

About mental entries, S&W say that[5]

i)   The logical entry for a concept consists of a set of deductive rules which apply to logical forms of which that concept is a constituent.

ii)   The encyclopedic entry contains information about the extension and/or denotation of the concept : that is about objects, events and/or properties which instantiated it.

iii)   The lexical entry contains information about the natural - language

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[4] M.M. Talbot. 1998. Relevance. In J.L Mey (eds.) *Concise Encyclopeia of Pragmatics*. p. 776.
[5] no.3 p 158

counterpart of the concept : the word or phrase of natural language which expresses it.

The author claims that speaker communicates two types of assumptions :-

i)   explicatures

ii)   implicatures

explicatures are the communicated assumptions that result from the development of the logical form encoded by the utterance; the speaker can manifest different attitude towards them. Implicatures are all communicated assumptions that are not explicatures.

Explicitness

An assumption communicated by an utterances U is explicit if and only if it is a development of a logical form encoded by U.

S&W also distinguish between descriptive and interpretive use. Assumptions can be relevant as descriptive of states of affair or as interpretations of other assumptions. When this interpretive relations hold between two assumptions they resemble each other which means that their proportional contents ethane analytical or untextual implications.

Utterance Interpretation involves following steps

The proposition form
of an utterance

|

is an interpretation of

|

a thought of the
speaker

|

which can be

an interpretation of   a description of

an   a desirable   an actual state   a desirable
attributed   thought   of affair   state of
thought   affairs
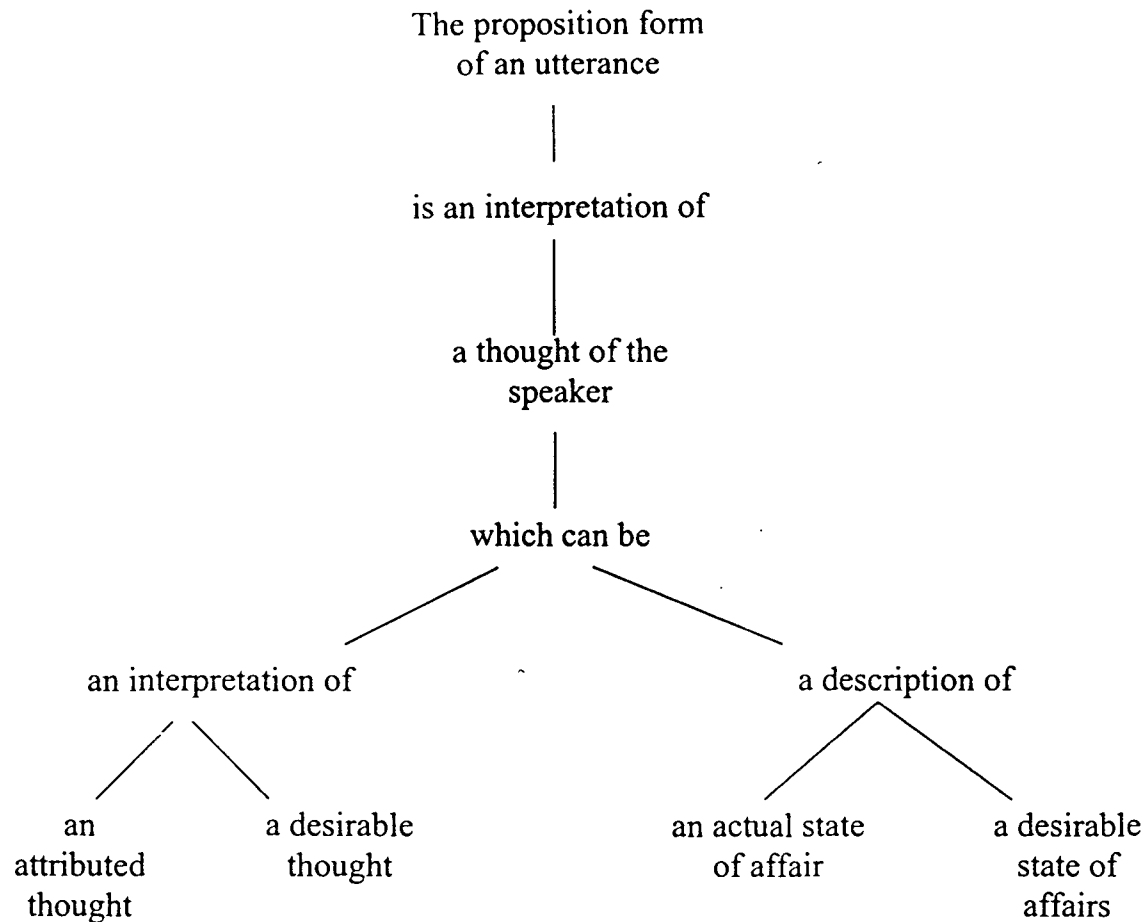
Utterance Interpretation involves two steps

i)   At first level : The propositional form of the utterance is more or less literal
      interpretation of a thought of the speaker.

ii)   At second level : This thought either describes a state of affairs which can
      be actual or desirable to the speaker or interprets another thought which can
      be attributed to or deriable to some one else.

The interpretation relation between assumptions can play role at the first or at the second level.

Echo words are instances of communication that involve generality, approximation, indirectness. In order to account for this phenomena, relevance theory resorts to the concept of the interpretation, in which the hearer has to use interpretation in order to recover the speaker's communicated assumption through decoding, context building and inference. In particular they do not examine the access the speaker may have to what he is talking about i.e., the evidential basis of his utterance.

4.4 Perceptual Evidences

1) S to H

ram	pətna	-	*vətna*	gəya	hai
ram	patna	-	EW	went	aux.

Ram went to patna & adjoining area

In this examples either,

1.a) Speaker knows Ram's exact whereabouts but he assumes that exact information would be less relevant to his friend than the casual one.

2.b) Or speaker is not sure about Ram's exact whereabouts, so while in communication he uses the echo- word so that H will be able to know easily Ram went somewhere near Patna.

In this case, what is analyzed as a literal use of fuzzy concept might instead be analysed as a loose use of a classificatory concept. The looseness being motivated by the pursuit of relevance.

2.   a)   kursi - *ursi*   -   chair and such things used for sitting.

     b)   pen - *ven*   -   pen & such thing used for writing.

     c)   kagəz - *vagəz*   -   paper and such thing used for writing.

In these example, hearer rely on the encyclopedic entry, while the lexical entry is missing. In echo-words, the lexical entry is empty. So in communication when these words are uttered by S, H relies on the interpretive use of assumption.

3.   **S to H**

3.   vo   pen - ven   lene   bazar   gəya   hai

     he   pen - EW   get   bazar   go   pst.

     He has gone to the bazar to get pen & such things.

Speaker has the precise concept of "pen". But he is trying to capture the ineffability of the precise concept. When attaching an echo- word speaker transudes and perceptual system transforms this stimulus into a thought, which is a set of concepts. Speaker wants to express "pen & such thing". Speaker has to find an "indirect" way of speaking. He is forced to use a word that corresponds conceptually more or less to the concept "pen". Here the associated concept and associated functions both are included.

As the speaker utters the echo-word in a loose-way. The Hearer's linguistic input system transforms his percept into a conceptual representation. The information contained in the lexical entries allow him to link words of natural language to concepts. After process of reference assignment, disambiguation, hearer is able to get the proposition from "pen-ven", pen & such thing used for writing or pen & related items, i.e. stationary. The hearer not only relates it to the associated concepts but also the associated function.

4. S to H

b^hai, g^har   me   koi   pen- ven   hai   kya
brother   house   loc   any   pen- EW   exist   who?
Is there any pen or any such thing (with which I can write) in the house?

In this example, speaker's cognitive environment which is shared by the hearer, is able to link that here "pen-ven" is not related to associate concepts but in this speech situation "pen-ven" is only related to the associated functions.

S to H

5.   koi   pili - vila   saree   nahi   hai   kya?
      Any   yellow -EW   saree   not   is   what
      Is there any yellow and such colour saree with you?

As soon as the echo-word is attached to concept in S&H situation it means that it tries to generate classificatory concept and use of echo-word is motivated by the pursuit of relevance.

The speaker who utters the sentence has a precise thought of 'pila', yellow. To capture the varieties associated with 'pila' he uses the Echo-form and the hearer sharing S's cognitive environment is easily able to decipher what S means.

2) Constraints

As the socio-cultural norms and spontaneous communication processes are gradual, loose way of talking has some restrictions as.

3) Essential condition for generating echo word

[H will be able to infer S's assumption if and only if H shares the S's cognitive environment].

4) Socio-cultural Constraint

[Loose way of uttering concepts cannot be used in any formal situations, religious activities, totally serious situations and with elders].

3) Socio-cultural constraint that one must not use loose concepts with people higher up in social position depends upon the social distance. Longer the social distance lesser the use of echo forms while closer the social distance, larger the use of echo forms.

5) As echo word leaves implicatures as implicit, mutual understanding is presupposed, so people outside the cognitive environment of the individual

will not be able to decipher/ to interpret the echo word and its related assumptions as H can infer S's assumptions on the basis of the knowledge of S's cognitive environment.

6) In adolescent peer group, large amount of lore and language is shared and contributed to the creation of a separate childhood culture. As each subculture has special interests, activities and artifacts, it will develop a somewhat special lexicon. The linguistic forms of adolescence have their function as markers of social position and group exclusiveness and are sometime used as weapons to oppose, confuse or offend. Secret codes in form of Echo words used within this peer group can only be deciphered exclusively by these group members in particular situation. Mutual sharing of cognitive environment by S&H is a necessary condition for the use of EWFs.

6) The use EWFs functions as the marker of social solidarity and friendly countinous relationship between a S&H.

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │  Occurrence of Echo-    │
                    │  Formation is Negligible│
                    └───────────▲─────────────┘
                                │
                    ┌───────────┴─────────────┐
                    │  1.  Formal             │
                    │                         │
                    │  2.  Serious Discussion │
                    │                         │
                    │  3.  Important Events   │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
```
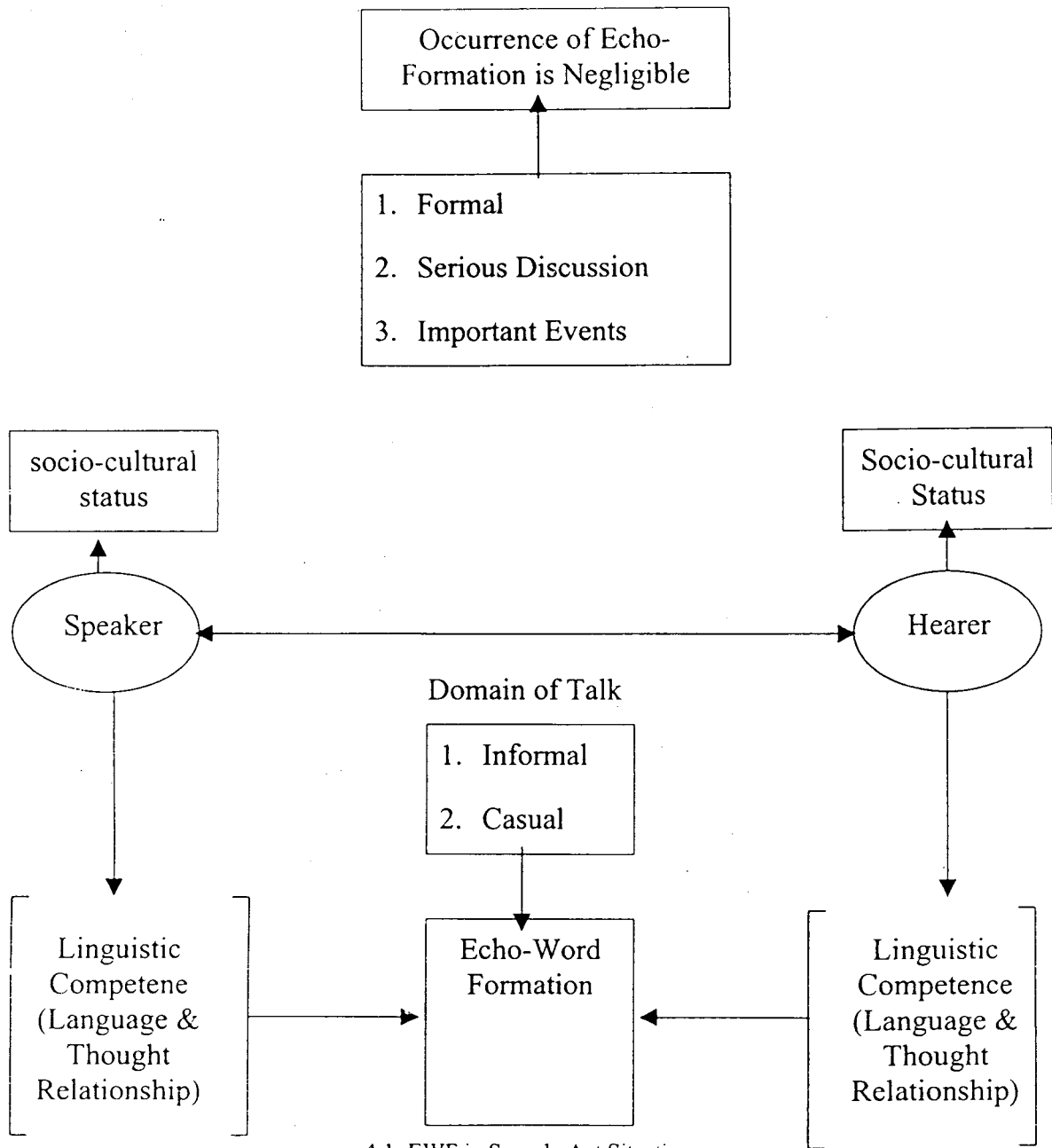
┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
│ socio-cultural │   │ Socio-cultural │
│   status   │   │   . Status   │
└────────▲─────────┘   └─────────▲────────┘
         │   │
    ╭────┴─────╮   ╭─────┴────╮
    │ Speaker │◄──────────────────────────────────► │ Hearer │
    ╰────┬─────╯   ╰─────┬────╯
         │   Domain of Talk   │
         │   ┌──────────────────┐   │
         │   │ 1. Informal   │   │
         │   │   │   │
         │   │ 2. Casual   │   │
         │   └────────┬─────────┘   │
         ▼   ▼   ▼
┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│ Linguistic   │   │ Echo-Word   │   │ Linguistic   │
│ Competene   │───►│ Formation   │◄───────────│ Competence   │
│ (Language & │   │   │   │ (Language & │
│ Thought   │   │   │   │ Thought   │
│ Relationship)│   │   │   │ Relationship)│
└──────────────┘   └──────────────┘   └──────────────┘
              4.1. EWF in Speech Act Situation

CHAPTER -V

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Human communication is not merely a matter of human address made to one another, rather through it we perform a vast variety of communicative actions which convey to our audience a large variety of facts about ourselves and our situations including our beliefs and intentions. Language adopts various strategies to convey these intentions and beliefs. Generating Echo words is one of such strategies in South Asian Languages to convey a kind of concealment, indirectness, fuzziness, where a speaker indirectly conveys the intentions in communicative actions. Since EWFs are not a formally established unit in a language, many idiolectical stylistics effects are attached to them, we get more than one replacer in free variations in a homogeneous language, but the fact that as a linguistic feature, which is never used according to established linguistic norm, is shared by all languages of India, whether tribal or highly urbanized, we can imagine the prolonged language contact process responsible for naming India as a Linguistic Area.

At structural level an Echo word is a partially reduplicated form of a linguistic unit already established in the language. It is a kind of a doublet which does not stand by itself and appears to be amorphous and meaningless in isolation. It is like a bound morpheme which exists in the language always with its base word and appears only in compound form. At semantic level, it expands the domain of the base word.

Hindi speakers have specific phonological structuration as they replace /v-/ for initial consonant of the base word, but it is prevented under identity condition. It

acts as an identity marker for the speech community. For instance any Hindi speaker if replaces /v-/ either by /ʂ/ or /ʈ/ or /ʈ/ or by /gi/ he/she will automatically be termed as Punjabi, Bengali, Maithili or Tamil speakers respectively.

Indian Multilingualism, makes a speaker use more than one replacer idiosyncratically or stylistically but it is significant to note that a speaker in a speech act situation consciously makes a difference between word reduplication and Echoformation whenever he/she tries to convey a kind of indirectness, concealment through these structures.

[vəkil - *ukil*] - lawyer & etc.

or, [vəkil - *əkil*]

but never [vəkil - vəkil] for echo formation in Hindi.

The phonological form acts as an identity marker, and as discussed above, more than three syllabic words do not undergo Echo formations in Hindi.

The following are the morphological properties associated with EWFs.

1) They act as single lexical category and not the single structural category.

2) The lexical category of the base to which formation rule applies to words are of open categories only.

3) The category type of bases to which the formation rule applies is words.

4) The formation rule cannot be applied iteratively to its own output.

Among nominal categories, Echo words are used to create a super ordinate structure in which a set of entities with similar functions are included. The semantic range taken by these categories can only be interpreted in speech act situation. In modifier modified relationship, the moment a modifier is attached to the base word, it fixes the meaning and delimits the range.

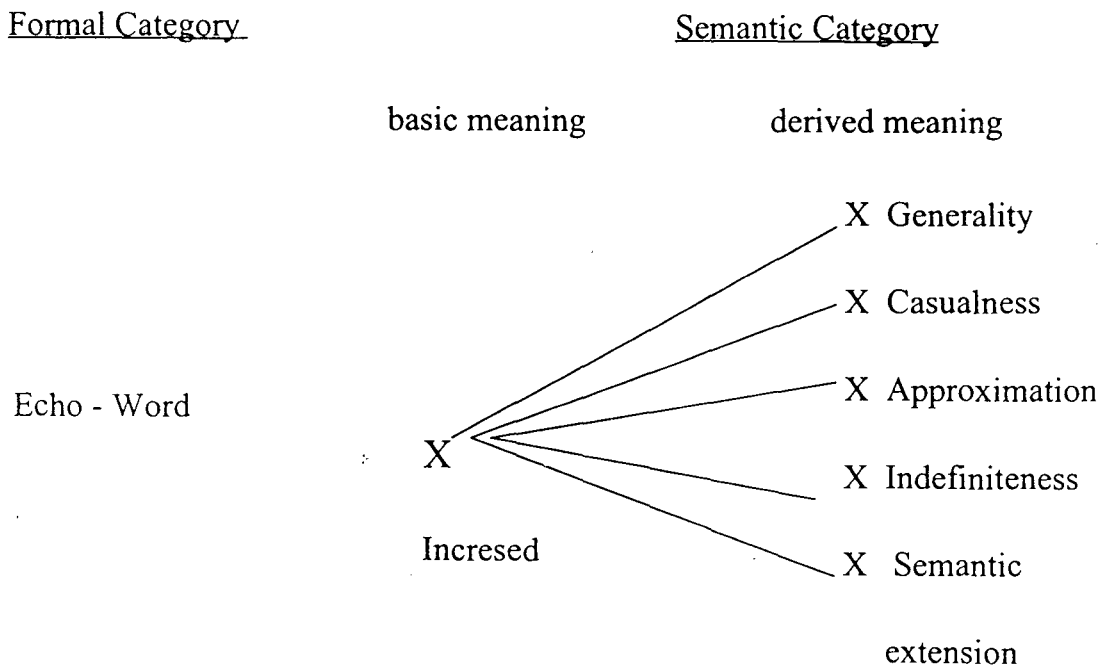The semantic interpretation rules for EWFs are as follows :

Formal Category   Semantic Category

                    basic meaning   derived meaning

                                                    X Generality

                                                    X Casualness

Echo - Word   X Approximation

                              X   X Indefiniteness

                        Incresed   X Semantic

                                                       extension

figure 5.1 : Semantic Interpretation of EW

The derived semantic interpretation rules are c.f. section 3.9

1) Interpret [x INCREASED] Echo word as [X EXTENSION] if the meaning of the base from includes the semantic unit.[+ Concrete]

2) Interpret [X INCREASED] as Echo world [X APPROXIMATION] if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+State].

3) Interpret [X INCREASED] as Echo word [X INDEFINITE] if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+ Specificity].

4) Interpret [X INCREASED] as Echo word [X CAUSELESS] if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+Action].

5) Interpret [X INCREASED] as Echo word [X GENERALITY] if the meaning of the base form includes the semantic unit [+Generic].

vi) Interpret [X INCREASED] as Echo word [X INTENSITY] if the phonological structure of the Echo word have vowel alternation.

In a Speech Act situation, EWFs are "Relevance" oriented as in S&H relationship. Whenever a Speaker communicates a set of assumptions and assumes that the exact or precise proposition would be less relevant than another proposition, and from which the hearer can derive all the assumptions economically. Echo words are generated.

Essential Condition

[H will able to infer S's assumption if and only if H shares the S's cognitive environment.]

Socio Culture Rule

[Loose way of uttering concepts cannot be used in any formal situation, religious activities, totally serious situation and with elders.]

As EWFs have specific phonological structuration, morphological formations and semantic interpretation, as well as specific speech act functions, these structures can be regarded as part of language acquisition process. The shared semantic field among South Asian Languages indicates the common cognitive and semantic needs among diverse ethnic and cultural groups.

APPENDIX

1) talab   -   *valab*   -   ponds & etc.

2) ghər   -   *vər*   -   house & etc.

3) kam   -   *vam*   -   work & etc.

4) ərzi   -   *vərzi*   -   application & etc.

5) sahəs   -   *vahəs*   -   courage & etc.

6) gərib   -   *vərib*   -   poor & etc.

7) gai   -   *vav*   -   cow & etc.

8) gãv   -   *ṽav*   -   village & etc.

9) neta   -   *veta*   -   leader & etc.

10) etḷəs   -   *veṭḷəs*   -   atlas & etc.

11) pyas   -   *vyas*   -   thirst & etc.

12) prɛs   -   *vrɛs*   -   press & etc.

13) cor   -   *vor*   -   thief & etc.

14) vəkil   -   *ukil*   -   lawyer & etc.

15) dʰvəja   -   *vəja*   -   flag & etc.

16) tvəca   -   *vəca*   -   skin & etc.

17) kwaara   -   *vaara*   -   bachelor & etc.

18) kʰwab   -   *vaab*   -   dream & etc.

19) dəvai   -   *vəwai*   -   medicine & etc.

20)səval	-	*vəval*	-	question & etc.
21)bimar	-	*vimar*	-	sick & etc.
22)bəgica	-	*vəgica*	-	garden & etc.
23)bəcce	-	*vəcce*	-	child & etc.
24)pʰoto	-	*voto*	-	photograph & etc.
25)ṭali	-	*vali*	-	clap & etc.
26)dosti	-	*vosti*	-	friendship & etc.
27)log	-	*vog*	-	people & etc.
28)saaz	-	*vaaz*	-	instrument & etc.
29)drama	-	*vrama*	-	play & etc.
30)pərda	-	*vərda*	-	curtain & etc.
31)lərka	-	*vərka*	-	boy & etc.
32)hotəl	-	*votəl*	-	hotel & etc.
33)ĩṭ	-	*vĩṭ*	-	bricks & etc.
34)uun	-	*vuun*	-	wool & etc.
35)həsna	-	*vəsna*	-	to laugh & etc.
36)phəl	-	*vəl*	-	fruits & etc.
37)nam	-	*vam*	-	name & etc.
38)ilaz	-	*vilaz*	-	
39)ṭʰənd	-	*vənd*	-	cold & etc.
40)drɛs	-	*vrɛs*	-	dress & etc.

41)jua	-	*ua*	-	gambling & etc.
42)jel	-	*vel*	-	jail & etc,.
43)səmaj	-	*vəmaj* -	society & etc.
44)izzət	-	*vizzət*	-	respect & etc.
45)dil	-	*vil*	-	heart & etc.
46)kəmra	-	*vəmra*	-	room & etc.
47)kʰun	-	*vun*	-	blood & etc.
48)bhɛs	-	*vɛs*	-	buffalo &etc.
49)ɛnək	-	*vɛnək*	-	spectacles & etc.
50)pɛ̌ʈ	-	*vɛ̌ʈ*	-	paints & etc.

Semantic Extensions :

51)pen	-	*ven*	-	pen & any such thing
52)kitab	-	*vitab*	-	book & any such thing
53)kagəz	-	*vagəz*	-	paper and any such thing
54)pyaala	-	*vyaala*	-	cup & any such thing
55)pələŋg	-	*vələŋg*	-	bed & any such thing
56)caay	-	*vaay*	-	tea & any such thing
57)kursi	-	*vursi*	-	chair & any such thing
58)pencil	-	*vencil*	-	pencil & any such thing
59)kɛchi	-	*vɛchi*	-	scissors & any such thing
60)kələm	-	*vələm*	-	pen & any such thing

61)pepar	-	*vepar*	-	paper & any such thing
62)kətori	-	*vətori*	-	vessel & any such thing
63)cəp	-	*vəp*	-	cup & any such thing
64)cətni	-	*vətni*	-	chutney & any such thing
65)məkkʰən	-	*vəkkʰən*	-	butter & any such thing
66)sabun	-	*vabun*	-	soap & any such thing
67)pan	-	*van*	-	betel & any such thing
68)dənda	-	*vənda*	-	stick & any such thing
69)kərela	-	*vərela*	-	vegetales & any such thing
70)kʰana	-	*vana*	-	food & any such thing
71)pine	-	*vine*	-	to drink & any such thing
72)thali	-	*vali*	-	plate & any such thing
73)bəs	-	*vəs*	-	bus & any such thing
74)pɛt	-	*pɛt*	-	pants & any such thing
75)roti	-	*voti*	-	bread & any such thing

Approximation

76)pila	-	*vila*	-	yellow & like
77)mota	-	*vota*	-	fat & like
78)mitha	-	*vitha*	-	sweet & like
79)kʰətta	-	*vətta*	-	sour & like
80)nice	-	*vice*	-	under & like

81)bic	-	*vic*	-	mid & like
82)pẽtis	-	*vẽtis*	-	thirty five & like
83)somvar	-	*omvar*	-	Monday & like
84)səvere	-	*vəvere*	-	morning & like
85)nila	-	*viḷa*	-	blue & like
86)tej	-	*vej*	-	fast & like
87)lamba	-	*vəmba*	-	tall & like
88)kəl	-	*vəl*	-	tomorrow & like
89)komal	-	*vomal*	-	soft & like
90)lakʰo	-	*vakʰo*	-	lakhs & like
91)jəldi	-	*vəldi*	-	fast & like
92)adha	-	*vadha*	-	half & like
93)dʰila	-	*vila*	-	loose & like
94)cəmkila	-	*vəmkila*	-	glittering & like
95)asan	-	*vasan*	-	easy & like
96)dusra	-	*usra*	-	second & like
97)ṭerha	-	*vera*	-	twist & like
98)tʰora	-	*vora*	-	few & like
99)hazar	-	*vazar*	-	thousands & like
100) dugna	-	*ugna*	-	double & like

Indefiniteness

101)	dəs	-	vəs	-	at 10 or around
102)	pərso	-	vərso	-	day after and around
103)	kʰel	-	vel	-	play & such thing
104)	ṭuṭ	-	vuṭ	-	break & like
105)	kəvita	-	vəvita	-	peom & etc.
106)	shila	-	vila	-	shila & otherrs
107)	dub	-	ub	-	drown & like
108)	dekʰne-	vekʰne	-	to see such thing
109)	roya	-	voya	-	to cry & such thing
110)	dur	-	ur	-	distance & such thing
111)	pəṭna	-	vəṭna	-	Patna & adjoining area
112)	pʰaayda	-	vaayda	-	relief & such thing
113)	likʰ	-	vikʰ	-	to write & such thing
114)	pʰɛl	-	vel	-	fail & such thing
115)	pərh	-	vərh	-	to read & like
116)	kərib	-	vərib	-	near & like
117)	gəya	-	vəya	-	to went & like

Casualness

118)	gʰis	-	vis	-	to rub & such thing
119)	a	-	va	-	to come & such thing

120) pər̥ʰo -	*vər̥ho*	-	to read & such thing
121) ga -	*va*	-	to sing & such thing
122) jao -	*vao*	-	to go & such thing
123) kʰa -	*va*	-	to eat & such thing
124) bʰag -	*vag*	-	to run & such thing
125) nəha -	*vəha*	-	to bath & such thing
126) gʰol -	*vol*	-	to mix & such thing
127) likʰwa	- *vikhva-*		to have some one write & such thing

Intensity

128) bʰola -	*bʰala*	-	innocent
129) dʰum -	*dʰam*	-	pom & such thing
130) t̥ʰick -	*t̥ʰak*	-	right & etc.
131) bʰir -	*bʰar*	-	crowd etc.
132) mor -	*mar*	-	to fold etc.
133) jʰumte -	*jʰamte*	-	swing , etc.
134) pʰut -	*pʰat*	-	to break etc.
135) kʰic -	*kʰac*	-	to pull, etc.
136) piṭ -	*paṭ*	-	to beat etc.
137) pite -	*pate*	-	drinking, etc.
138) kʰol -	*kʰal*	-	to open etc.
139) *əgəl* -	bəgəl	-	around etc.
140) *amne* -	samne	-	beside etc.

141)	*ird*	-	gird	-	sorrow, etc.
142)	*inc*	-	ginc	-	a few etc.
143)	*aas*	-	paas	-	near, etc.
144)	*əros*	-	pəros	-	neighbouhood etc.
145)	*ərtən*	-	bərtən	-	utensils
146)	*aju*	-	baju	-	besides etc.
147)	*əta*	-	pəta	-	address etc.
148)	*ənap*	-	sənap	-	nonsense etc.
149)	*aamna*	-	saamna	-	encounter etc.

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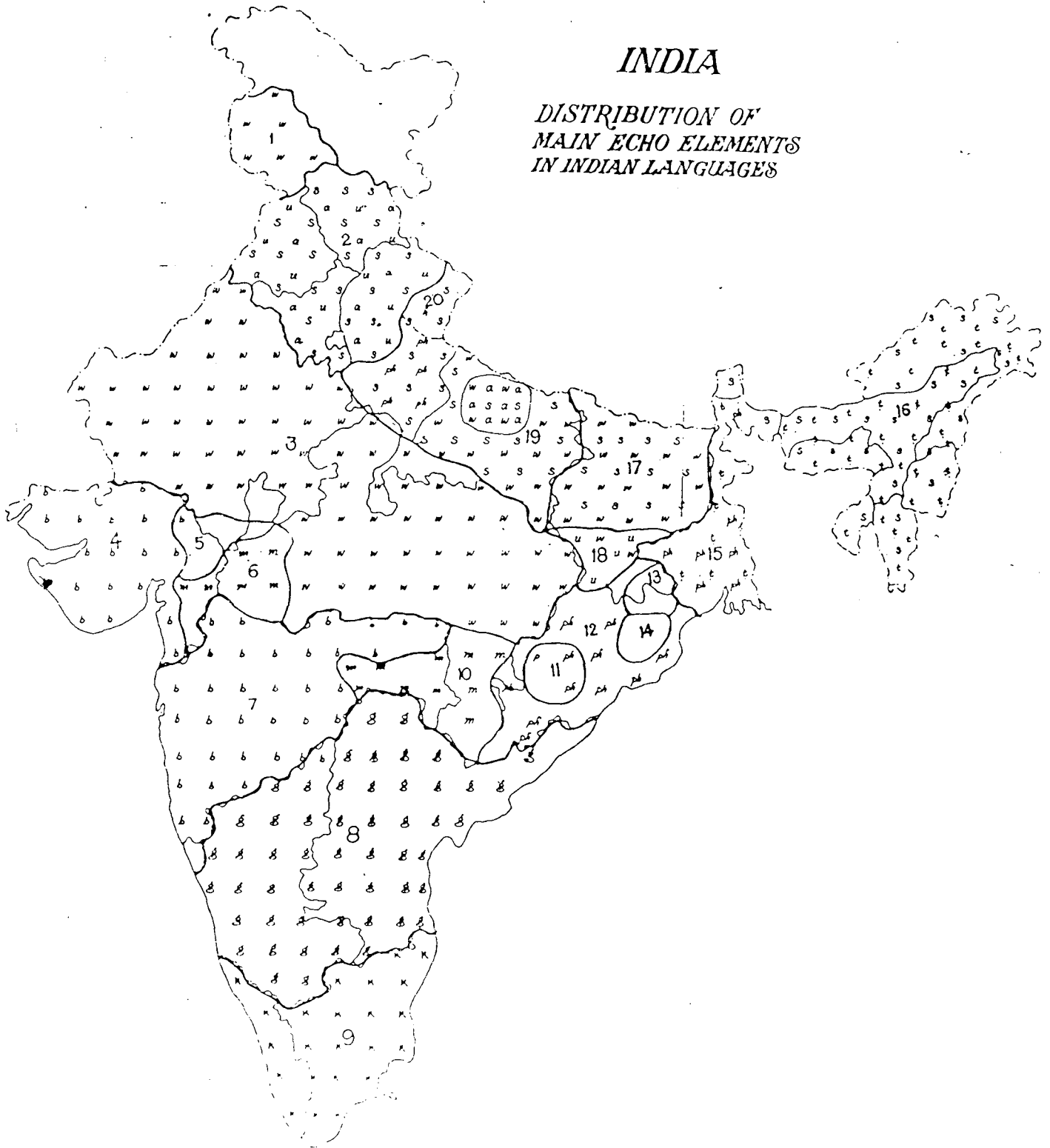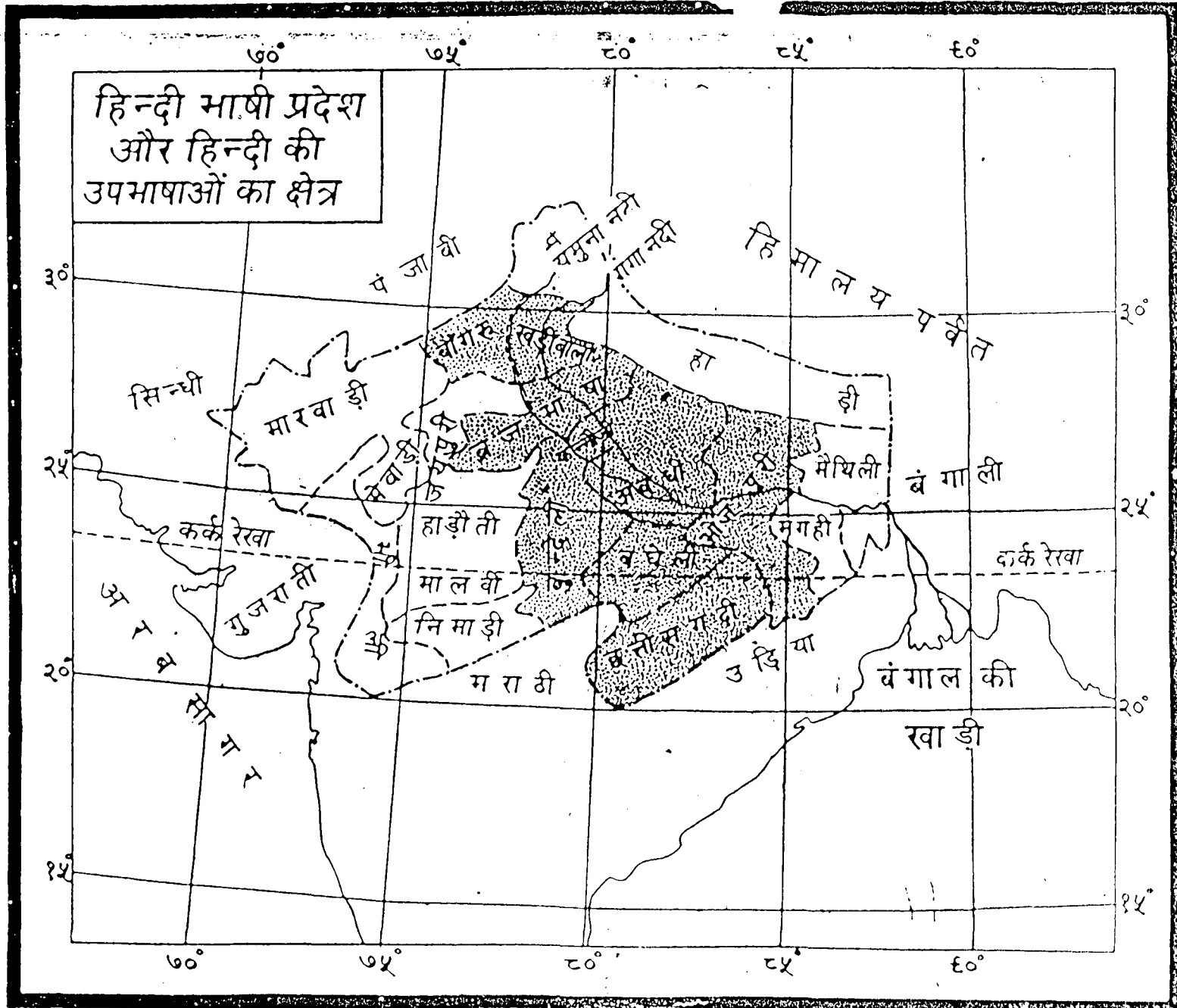
हिन्दी भाषी प्रदेश और हिन्दी की उपभाषाओं का क्षेत्र

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