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Hindi

HINDI

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Volume 12

Yamuna Kachru

Hindi

HINDI

YAMUNA KACHRU

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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In memoriam

Sumitra Mangesh Katre (1906-1998)

visionary scholar and mentor

Bishwa Nath Prasad (1905-1967)

inspiring and dedicated teacher

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Preface

This book presents a description of what may be termed Modern Standard Hindi, recognized as the Official Language of the Republic of India in its constitution. It is not easy to characterize contemporary Hindi, just as it is not easy to characterize contemporary English. It is best to think of Hindi as a family of languages, with many varieties, and ‘Modern Standard Hindi’ as an abstraction devoid of marked regional and sociolinguistic features. I have referred to and illustrated some of the variation in Hindi in the following chapters, where relevant (see Introduction); it is not possible to account for all variation in one volume of this size. This point about the nature of Hindi has been made before by other scholars, for instance by Srivastava (1969). His observation, that the complexities of the Hindi language are represented in “the superimposed functional varieties, social intra-language variations, multigraded assimilation of loan words, various levels of interference and immediate switching of different codes among bi- and sometimes multi-lingual speakers of this language” (Srivastava 1969: 913), captures these essential characteristics of the language. In fact, if anything, the intra-language variations and code mixing and switching have become even more wide-spread and prominent throughout the entire speech community, and are reflected in print and audio-visual media as never before. It is a matter of regret that there has been no concerted effort to document the polylectal grammatical system of Hindi, despite the fact that there are a number of institutions devoted to the study and teaching of Hindi in India.

There is a long tradition of Hindi grammars, as discussed extensively in Bhatia (1987), and this tradition of grammatical description continues in more recent, and continuing, partial grammars that follow the frameworks of various current linguistic models. I have made an attempt to incorporate as many of the insights gained from recent research as possible, given the space constraints of this volume. It will be evident to the reader that this description of Hindi is not based on any specific linguistic model: I have tried to make this grammar as ‘user-friendly’ as possible.

Many features of Hindi are unfamiliar to speakers of other languages, including genetically related Indo-European languages, whether in Europe or

in other parts of the world. These characteristics have been defined and described using traditional technical grammatical terms. I have made frequent cross-references in the text to sections where such explanations for grammatical phenomena are provided to help remind readers of their specific characteristics.

This is not a comprehensive grammar of Hindi; no work of this size can claim to account for any language in its totality. The chapters discuss the sound system, script, parts of speech, principles of word formation and sentence construction briefly, and present an outline of discourse structure and conventions of language use in the Hindi speech community. The picture is not complete in all its details, but it is as thorough a representation of contemporary Hindi as is any description of a contemporary standard language.

I have provided a list of References, listing works that have been cited in the text. I have, additionally, included a Select Bibliography, which includes works on Hindi grammar and other relevant topics. A grammar of this nature, which attempts to characterize a whole language system, owes a considerable intellectual debt to previous scholarship. I would not have been able to present this description without the insights gained from the sources listed in the Select Bibliography. That, however, does not mean that the writers of those valuable books and papers would agree with me in all the details of this description; what I have said in the following pages represents my own conclusions regarding the grammatical system and structure of Hindi.

I owe debts of gratitude to all my students of Hindi and to my colleagues in teaching Hindi at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (1959-65) and at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1965-1998). I have derived immense benefit from discussions over the years with Tej K. Bhatia, R. Stuart McGregor, Rajeshwari Pandharipande, Neil Smith, and K. V. S. Subbarao, and from challenging questions posed by the students enrolled in my Hindi courses. The Ph.D. dissertations, books and papers published by my former students, now colleagues, have been of enormous help.

I have been fortunate in receiving support from the American Institute of Indian Studies in the past, and from the Research Board of the Graduate College, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign throughout the years of my professional life on this campus, for conducting research in Hindi linguistics as well as in other areas. I am grateful to both these agencies. The collegial environment of the Department of Linguistics and the extraordinarily helpful staff of the University of Illinois Library have made their own invaluable contributions to my efforts at researching linguistic and sociolinguistic topics of my interest.

I am very grateful to Theodora Bynon and David C. Bennet of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the editors of the London Oriental and African Language Library series, for their comments on earlier versions of *Hindi*. I am especially indebted to Thea for the significant questions she raised and for the detailed comments she sent on each chapter. I am also thankful to Tej K. Bhatia and Cecil L. Nelson for commenting on an earlier version of the manuscript and acknowledge my debt to Cecil for many suggestions regarding style.

My research assistant, Ms. Heeyoun Cho, has painstakingly gone through the manuscript several times, almost like a copy editor. She also undertook the onerous responsibility of preparing the camera-ready copy. I am immensely grateful to her. Ms. Theeraporn spent hours going through the Index and making sure the entries were free from errors; I am enormously grateful to her.

Last, but certainly not least, I gratefully acknowledge the unfailing support I have received from my family – Braj, Amita and Shamit – and from my extended family, especially Saras, Gopal, Govind, Kamal, Upendra and Purnima, with whom I continue to share the pleasures of speaking Hindi, reading Hindi literature, and corresponding in Hindi. They have all been looking forward to this grammar; I hope they will be pleased with the end product of my efforts. My parents, G. Raghunath Rao and Sita B. Keskar, and sister Sona, who are no longer with us, would have been happy to see this grammar in print. The warm memories of their unqualified support will continue to encourage me all my life.

Yamuna Kachru
Ramanavami, June 6, 2006

Symbols and Abbreviations

The following special symbols have been used for the following sounds:

<u>Symbols</u>	<u>Sounds</u>
ə	lax half-open unrounded mid vowel, comparable to the initial sound in <i>about</i>
a	tense open unrounded back vowel comparable to the vowel in <i>dark</i> in RP
i	lax close unrounded front vowel
ī	tense close unrounded front vowel
u	lax close rounded back vowel
ū	tense close rounded back vowel
e	tense half-close unrounded front vowel
ɛ	tense half-open unrounded front vowel
o	tense half-close rounded back vowel
ɔ	tense half-open rounded back vowel
æ	tense open unrounded front vowel, comparable to the vowel in <i>cat</i>
ɒ	tense open rounded back vowel, comparable to the vowel in <i>college</i>
h	aspiration, e.g., p^h = aspirated p
ĩ	nasalized vowel, e.g., $õ$ = nasalized o
t̠, d̠	retroflex voiceless and voiced plosives
ŋ̠	retroflex nasal
ɭ	retroflex alveolar flap
ʂ	retroflex voiceless sibilant
r̠	retroflex vowel, e.g., Skt, $kṛ̠ṣ̠ṇ̠ə$ ‘Krishna’
x	voiceless velar fricative
ɣ	voiced velar fricative
q	voiceless uvular

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AG	agent marker
AGG	aggregative
AGP	agentive participle
ANIM	animate
CAUS	causative
CF	counterfactual
CMPL	completive
CNTG	contingent
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative
CP	conjunctive participle
COREL	correlative
DM	discourse marker
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct case
DIST	distal
DOBJ	direct object marker
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
F	feminine
FAM	familiar
FREQ	frequentative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
IMPS	impersonal
IMPF	imperfect
INAN	inanimate
INDEF	indefinite
INDC	indicative
INF	infinitive
INTM	intimate
INTR	intransitive
INTER	interrogative

IOBJ	indirect object marker
M	masculine
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique case
OBLG	Obligative
OPT	optative
PASV	passive
PAST	past
PASTPTPL	past participle
PERF	perfect
PERM	permissive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	postposition
PRES	present
PRESPTPL	present participle
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PRSM	presumptive
PTCL	particle
PTPL	participle
QW	question word
REL	relative
SG	singular
TAG	tag question marker
VOC	vocative case

1. Introduction

1.0. Historical Background

Hindi is a New Indo-Aryan (NIA) language spoken in the North of India by almost three hundred million people either as a first or a second language. It is difficult to date the beginnings of the NIA languages. It is generally agreed that after the NIA languages split from the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European languages, their development took place in three stages. The Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) stage is said to extend from 1500 BC to approximately 600 BC. The Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) stage spans the centuries between 600 BC and 1000 AD and is divided into four sub-periods: an early MIA stage (600 BC-200 BC), a transitional stage (200 BC-200 AD), a second MIA stage (200 AD-600 AD) and a late MIA stage (600 AD-1000 AD). The period between 1000 AD-1200/1300 AD is designated the Old NIA stage because it is at this stage that the NIA languages such as Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi assumed distinct identities.

1.1. Status

Hindi in Devanagari script is the official language of the Republic of India and English is designated the associate official language. In addition, Hindi is the state language of six major states, i.e., Bihar, Chattisgarh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttaranchal.¹ It is genetically related to Punjabi in the west, Assamese, Bengali and Oriya in the east, Gujarati and Marathi in the south, and more remotely, to Kashmiri in the north. The official language Hindi is based on Western Hindi (see 1.1.3 below), and is in focus in the following description, though reference may be made to other varieties and styles where appropriate (see 1.1.4 below). Hindi, the official language, is a standardized form of language that is also referred to as Modern Standard Hindi, to distinguish it from the colloquial and regional varieties of the language (see below).

1.1.1. *Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani*

Historically, Hindi was variously known as Hindui, Hindavi, Rekhta, Rekhti, etc. Even now, one hears of Hindi, Hindustani, and Urdu as the language(s) of North India (Urdu in Perso-Arabic script is the state language of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India, a state language of the state of Uttar Pradesh in India, and the official language of Pakistan).

The names Hindi, Hindustani, and Urdu for the same language, at least in the spoken form, are confusing. It is generally accepted that all these varieties are based upon the language spoken around Delhi-Meerut which began developing around the twelfth or thirteenth century as a result of contact between the local inhabitants of the region and the invading armies of Afghans, Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The language that was used for mutual interaction between the native population and the foreigners was variously labeled Rekhta ('mixed'), Urdu ('camp'), and Hindi, Hindavi or Hindustani ('Indian') [The Persian name for India was Hindustan]. Under court patronage and various other social pressures, two distinct styles, with two different scripts, developed in the course of the succeeding centuries. The one written in the Perso-Arabic script and looking to the West (i.e., Iran and the Arabic-speaking countries) for literary conventions and specialized vocabulary became known as Urdu. The one written in Devanagari script and adopting literary conventions and vocabulary mainly from Sanskritic sources came to be known as Hindi. Later, because of political, social, and attitudinal factors, Urdu became associated with the Muslim population, and Hindi, with the Hindu population of India.² During the period of national movement, Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress attempted to encourage a neutral variety—Hindustani—to bring the two communities together. Although the common spoken variety of both Hindi and Urdu is close to Hindustani, i.e., it is devoid of heavy borrowings from either Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic, again, for attitudinal reasons, it has not been given any status in the linguistic context of the Indian or Pakistani society. Part of the argument for this decision is that the common colloquial language has to rely on either Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic sources for technical and subtechnical vocabulary to be effective for use in various scientific, technological, legal, administrative and academic genres.

1.1.2. *Basic Characteristics*

It may be useful at the very outset to introduce some of the characteristics of Hindi that set it apart from its distant cousin, English, and bring it closer to

genetically unrelated languages such as Japanese. This will make following the glosses and free translations of Hindi items into English easier.

Syntactically, unlike English, Hindi has the word order subject-object-verb:

- (1) *əfsərō* *kī* *karē* *dəftər* *ke*
 officer.M.PL.OBL of.F car.F.PL office.M.SG.OBL of
samne *hē*.
 front be.3rdP.PRES.PL
 ‘The cars of the officers are in front of the office.’
- (2) *bacce* *kursiyō* *pər* *beḥ^he*.
 child.M.PL chair.F.PL.OBL on sit.3rdP.PERF.M.PL
 ‘The children sat on chairs.’
- (3) *bacce* *gēd* *k^helte* *hē*.
 child.M.PL ball.M.SG play.IMPF.M.PL be.3rdP.PRES.PL
 ‘Children play ball.’
- (4) *mā* *ne* *baccō* *ko* *əndər* *bulaya*.
 mother AG child.M.PL.OBL DOBJ in call.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Mother called the children in.’

In example (3), the order of auxiliary and verb is also different from English; the present tense auxiliary follows the main verb instead of preceding it. It has a zero marker for gender agreement, hence the gloss does not mention gender.

Similarly, the nouns are followed by postpositions to indicate relationships that are signaled by prepositions in English (the direct case is marked by zero, hence the gloss does not mention it).

All nouns are marked for gender (masculine or feminine), number (singular or plural), and case (direct or oblique). Nouns followed by postpositions are in the oblique case; the marker for oblique case is zero in the case of singular nouns ending in a consonant. The verb agrees with the noun marked for direct case in gender and number in examples (1)-(3) above; e.g., the main verb (phrase) agrees with the subject noun in gender, number and person in (1)-(3). If all the nouns in a sentence are in the oblique case, as in example (4), the verb is in the neutral form (3rdP.M.SG). Adjectives agree with the noun they modify, e.g., in example (1), the possessive modifier *əfsərō kī* ‘officers of’ agrees with the head noun, *karē* ‘cars’, in gender as possessive phrases behave like adjectives grammatically (adjectives do not inflect for number).

Adjectives precede the nouns they modify, but relative clauses may either precede or follow the main clause:

- (5) *jo kitab mez pər he vāh*
 REL book.F.SG table.F.SG.OBL on be.PRES.SG COREL
merī he.
 I.POSS.F.SG be.PRES.SG
- (6) *vāh kitab merī he jo mez*
 COREL book.F.SG I.POSS.F.SG be.PRES.SG REL table.F.SG.OBL
pər he.
 on be.PRES.SG
 ‘The book which is on the table is mine.’

The flexibility in word order is possible because the subordinate and the main clauses are related explicitly with a relative marker, *jo*, and a correlative marker, *vāh*.

Since nouns are followed by postpositions which signal their relationship to other elements in the sentence, word order is relatively free in Hindi. This will become clear as the discussion progresses and more data from Hindi is presented along with the grammatical description. The position of the verb is relatively more fixed, but can be changed for stylistic effects, e.g., in poetry or in markedly affective style.

Other characteristics of Hindi that are unlike English are extensive use of participles in adjectival and adverbial functions, complex predicates, and sets of causative and non-causative verbs.

Semantically, Hindi makes a distinction between stative-inchoative and active verbs on the one hand and volitional and non-volitional verbs on the other. In its aspect and mood systems, it makes a distinction between imperfect and perfect, and factive, desiderative/optative, contingent, and presumptive. That is to say, verb forms signal whether a process or action is incomplete or complete, and is being asserted as a fact, a possibility or wish depending on some other state of affairs, or assumption on the basis of available evidence.

Morphologically, unlike English, there are few exceptions to morphological processes of nominal declension or verbal inflection for gender, number, case, aspect, etc. Reduplication (e.g., *d^hīre-d^hīre* ‘slowly’) and echo-compounding (e.g., *jūte-vūte* ‘shoes, etc.’), are other distinctive features of the Hindi lexicon.

1.1.3. *Regional Variation*

In addition to the distinction between Hindi (Sanskritized variety), Urdu (Persianized variety), and Hindustani (neutral, colloquial variety), both Hindi and Urdu have regional varieties throughout the Indian subcontinent. Broadly speaking, these are Western, Eastern, and Southern (Dakhni) in the context of India. In Pakistan, variations in Urdu manifest with reference to the substratum languages of the provinces, e.g., Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, etc., in contrast to the language of the population that migrated from India, especially Bihar and United Provinces, following the formation of Pakistan. The three varieties in India differ in phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax. The following sentences exemplify the differences among the three regional varieties (the glosses do not mention person as all nouns and pronouns are third person; the W, E and S preceding the examples signal Western, Eastern and Southern, respectively):

W (7) *usne kitabẽ us mez pār rākʰ*
 (s)he.OBL AG book.F.PL COREL.OBL table.F.SG.OBL on put
dĩ jo bahār tʰĩ.
 give.PERF.F.PL REL outside be.PAST.F.SG
 ‘(S)he put the books on the table which was outside.’

E (8) *vo kitabẽ us mez pār rākʰ diya*
 he book.F.PL COREL.OBL table.F.SG.OBL on put give.PERF.M.SG
jo bahār tʰa.
 REL outside be.PAST.M.SG

S (9) *(jo) bahār tʰa so mez pār vo*
 REL out be.PAST.M.SG COREL table.F.SG on (s)he
kitabã rākʰ diya.
 book.F.PL put give.PERF.M.SG

The Eastern variety, unlike the Western, does not have the ergative construction (see 8.7.2), i.e., it does not have the agentive postposition *ne* following the subject, which affects the agreement pattern in the main clause (compare the verb forms *dĩ* versus *diya* in sentences (8) and (9)); in the S(outhern) variety, the verbs have the neutral agreement (*tʰa* and *diya*, respectively, in the subordinate and the main clause), the inflection for feminine plural is different (i.e., *kitab-ã* ‘book-s’, whereas in the other varieties, it is *-ẽ*), the correlative marker is different (*so* in (9) versus *us* in (7))

and (8)) and the order of the subordinate and main clauses is different, as a consequence of which the relative marker *jo* is optional.

1.1.4. Diatypic Variation

In the past two centuries, Hindi has developed several REGISTERS, or functionally defined varieties, e.g., newspaper Hindi, legal Hindi, official Hindi, scientific-technical Hindi, etc. As the use of Hindi in new domains increases, new registers develop rapidly, and they replace the use of Persian or English in these domains. They, however, assimilate some features of these languages. Thus, Hindi has developed, in addition to a Sanskritized form, a Persianized (different from Urdu) and an Englishized form as well.

1.1.4.1. Sanskritized Style

The Sanskritized style is evident in speaking and writing in Hindi in several contexts. Most technical vocabulary of administration, scientific subjects, humanities and social sciences is borrowed or derived from Sanskrit. Hindi literature exhibits a process of unimpaired historical development from the Sanskrit tradition of literary creativity. The elegance associated with Sanskritized style is exemplified in writings such as the following (the Sanskritized elements are in bold face; see Appendix 1 for glosses):

- (10) *jīvan ko mē kēse pāhcanta hū? sabbse pāhle ek avib^hajy vyakti ke rūp mē, apne anub^hav ke rūp mē—‘yāh mera viṣayīkr̥t he’. dūsre ese anek ar̥t^hō or tār̥kō ke dvāra jo p^hir mere nijī anub^hav pār, mere viṣayīkr̥t pār, afrit hē: mata-pita se surakṣa ka bod^h, pita se śakti ka, pārvīvar se apnape ka, adi ... tīsre: tīsre apne b^havō se, yani p^hir nijī anub^havō ke ad^har pār. kevāl cāt^hī jāgāh pār ve amūrtikārāṇ or amūrt sidd^hant ate hē jo sīd^he-sīd^he anub^hūt ya anub^hav-pratyakṣ nāhī hē: rajy, sāmaj, manavta ... jīvan mē, mere jīvan mē, ye mere anub^hav ke vistar ke rūp mē hī ar̥t^hvan hote hē, vāh b^hī ese vistar ke jiskī b^hitti ekta ya tadatmy nāhī, sarūpy he. yani ve kevāl vitarkit hē, pramaṇit nāhī.* Agyeya (1972: 66)

‘How do I think of life? First of all, as an indivisible person, as my own experience—‘this is my subjective (self)’. Secondly, through many meanings and arguments that are based on my own experience, my subjective self: a sense of security from parents, power from father, affinity from the family, etc. Thirdly, I think of life on the basis of my sensibilities, that is, again, on the basis of my own experiences. It is only in the fourth place that those abstractions and intangible theories come into play that are not experienced or accessible to experience: state, society,

humanity In life, in my life, they become meaningful only as an extension of my experience, an extension that is not founded on unity or identity, but on (formal) similarity. That is, they are only argued, not proven.'

1.1.4.2. Persianized Style

Similar to Sanskrit, Persian is associated with culture and sophistication. It is also used for stylistic effect to project refinement in colloquial language, as in the following passage (The Persianized elements are in bold face; see Appendix 1 for glosses):

- (11) *əb^hī ɔr jo nainsafiyā hē un səbko kəm se kəm gin to liya jae. isī ke sat^h-sat^h ɔr ek beinsafī he ūcī jati ɔr c^hoqī jati kī. yō jati ka mamlā keval hindustan mē he. lekin jati mē jo bīj hē, tətṽ hē ve kisī nā kisī rūp mē sənsar ke hār def mē mājūd hē. mera esa vicar he ki mānuṣy ka itihās jāhā ɔr kisī kisām kī pēgē leta rāha he, vāhā vārg ɔr jati kī do d^hurriyō ke bīc mē, ya donō ke bīc mē j^hūla j^hūlta rāha he, pēg leta rāha he. vārg he d^hīlī jati ɔr jati he jākṛa hua vārg. kisan, mājūdūr, k^het-mājūdūr jese vārg, art^hik st^hitīyō, art^hik bārabārī-gerbārabārī ɔr art^hik len-den, dav-pēc, kām-jyada, kaṣāmkāṣ, pēdavar, māṣīn vāgerāh; is prakar se bānte hē. ye to hē d^hīle-d^hīle, pār ekdām d^hīle nāhī. ekdām d^hīle hō to p^hīr jati bānne kī gunjāif nā rāhe. inmē kuč^h kārāpān rāhta hī he, is mane mē ki jis yurop mē itnī jyada ayyāṣī, itnī jyada amīrī āī he, us yurop mē b^hī mājūdūrō kī tāk^hvahē to bāhut bāṭ^hī hē. mājūdūr us hesiyāt pār pāhūce hē ki jese hindustan jese def ke ya kisī purātān def ke nāvab vāgerāh rāhte t^he. yāh sāb hua, lekin ānupāt mē, māṭlāb, mājūdūr ka kya hissa hoga ɔr kya hissa malik ka. is ānupāt mē utmā p^hārka nāhī hua. mājūdūr kī mājūdūrī bāṭ^hī he, uskī st^hitī ācc^hī huī he, lekin jo raṣṭrīy pēdavar ka bāṭyara kārne mē mājūdūr ka ɔr sahāb vārg ka ānupāt hōta he usmē itnā ād^hik pārivārtān nāhī hua. d^hīlī jati ya vārg sare sənsar mē he.*
- Sharad (1969: 78-9)

'Let us at least count the other injustices that exist. There is one more injustice along with this, that of high caste and low caste. That is, the matter of caste is only in India. But the seeds of caste, the elements, they are present in some form or other in all the countries of the world. It is my opinion that human history has been swinging in many ways, including between the anchors or corners of class and caste. Class is loosely defined caste, caste is rigidly defined class. Classes such as those of peasants, workers, agricultural workers get formed because of economic conditions, economic equality and inequality and economic give and take, intrigues, plenty versus scarcity, opposing pulls, production, mechanization, etc. They are loosely structured, but not totally loose. If they were totally loose, there

would be no possibility for caste formation. There is some rigidity in them, in this sense that in Europe, too, where there is so much affluence, so much wealth, the earning of workers has gone up. Workers have reached a position where they live like the *nawabs* in countries such as India or other old countries. All this happened, but in ratio, that is, what will be the share of the worker and what that of the owner, this ratio has not changed. The workers' compensation has increased, but the ratio of distribution of the country's production between the worker class and the owner class has not changed. Such loose caste or class exists all over the world.'

1.1.4.3. Englishized Style

The impact of English has resulted in two types of styles: one in which English items are borrowed and incorporated into Hindi, and the other in which English expressions are translated into Hindi and used as the original English source items would be in spoken or written English. Often it is difficult to make sense of such Hindi renderings unless one is aware of their English counterparts. Two examples of the latter phenomenon are as follows:

- (12) *ap əpna mən to bənaiye, kar*
 you.HON self.POSS.M.SG mind.M.SG PTCL make.HON.IMP car.F.SG
ət^hva skūtər apke g^hər pəhūc jaega.
 or scooter.M.SG you.HON.POSS.M.OBL house arrive go.FUT.M.SG
Sarita (October 1998, p. 16)

'Please make up your mind (first), car or scooter will appear at your doorstep.'

- (13) *jo vyāktigət kəmpyūtər vərṣ 1995 ke bad,*
 REL personal computer.M.PL year 1995 after
bəne unmē to yəh sāmasya bilkul
 make.(INTR).PERF.PL this.PL.OBL in PTCL this problem at all
nəhī̃ hē. əb is sāmasya kī pəhcan kər
 not be.PRES.SG now this problem of.F recognition.F do
lī gəyī hē ər kyōki 21vī̃ śatabdī
 take.PERF.F.SG go.PERF.F.SG be.PRES.SG and because 21st century
zyada dūr nəhī̃, isliye nəye apreṭiŋ saftveyər mē is vərṣ
 much far not therefore new operating software in this year
sāmasya ko sucarū d^həng se səncaḷən kərne kī
 problem DOBJ properly manage do.INF of.F
kṣəmta hē.
 capacity.F be.PRES.SG
Sarita (October 1998, p. 34)

‘The computers that were made after the year 1995 do not have this problem at all. And since the problem has been now identified and the 21st century is not very far (in the future), this year the new operating software has the capacity to manage this problem well.’

The first phrase in bold letters (*ap apna man to banaiye*) is a literal translation equivalent of ‘make up your mind’ and the second phrase *vāṛṣ 1995 ke bad* is clearly formed on the English pattern, e.g., ‘after the year 1995’. The Hindi equivalent in the first case would have been, *ap t̄ay to kār lē* ‘you make a decision’, and in the second, *1995 isvī ke bad* ‘after 1995 AD’.

Englishization of Hindi at all levels is evident in the following three excerpts from the published diary of a well-known Hindi writer (see Appendix 1 for glosses):

- (14) *pārsō kalej se ate hue ek hindī rākṣak arysamajī b^hadrapurūṣ sat^h mē t^he. ap hindī rākṣa andolan ke samband^h mē g^hor cinta or vyastata prakṛt karte rāhe ...*
kuc^h der mē apne larkē larkiyō kī fikṣa kī bat kārne lāge. bātane lāge ki ek larkī fārst iyār mē dak^hil huī hē—dūsrī em.e. karegī.
“apke kalej mē kis-kis s̄bjekt kī em.e. hē?” ap bole, “ab^hī mē soc nāhī paya ki larkī ko jalānd^hār hī dak^hil kārāñ ya hoṣiyarpur?”
“hāmare yāhā iknamiks hē—”
“acc^ha!”
“politics hē.”
“acc-a! hisṭrī ya inglīf nāhī hē?”
“nāhī! pār mēt^hemeṭiks hē. hindī hē ...”
“c^hih!” apne mūh bickaya, “hindī nāhī. hindī mē kya fyūcār hē?...deṭs no s̄bjekt ...”
Rakesh (1985: 124)

‘Day before yesterday while returning from college I had an Arya Samaji gentleman with me. He was greatly worried and preoccupied with the campaign to save Hindi ...

After some time he started talking about his children’s education. He said that one of his daughters has entered the first year—and another will do her M.A.

“In which subjects do you offer M.A. in your college?” He asked, “I have not decided yet if I should have my daughter admitted in Jullundhar or in Hoshiyarpur.”

“We have economics—”

“I see.”

“We have politics.”

“I see. You don’t have history or English?”

“No. But we have mathematics. Also Hindi...”

“Tut tut!” He made a face, “Not Hindi. What future is there in Hindi?...That’s no subject...” ’

- (15) *lā... subāh jānmdīn kī b^hēt ek kitab b^hī c^hoṛ gāī l^hī—Bertrand Russell kī ‘Conquest of Happiness.’ mere jīvān kī sad^hna b^hī to yāhī hē. hār jīvān kī yāhī sad^hna hotī hē jāyād.*

But can this reading of a book make one happy?

‘L ... left a book as a birthday gift in the morning, Bertrand Russell’s ‘Conquest of Happiness.’ That is the quest of my life. It is perhaps the quest of every life.

But can this reading of a book make one happy?’

- (16) *kāl dopāhār se dimag p^hīr āvyāvāst^hī hē. Is it lack of application?*

I think that it is lack of proper emotional outlet.

Rakesh (1985: 153)

‘Again my mind is agitated since yesterday afternoon. Is it lack of application? I think that it is lack of proper emotional outlet.’

1.1.5. *Literary Tradition*

In the context of literature, histories of Hindi literature include works written all across the *māḍ^hyā defā* ‘the middle country’, or the so-called Hindi-speaking region. As has been mentioned before, this region includes the states of Bihar, Chattisgarh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttaranchal. The languages/dialects spoken in the region include the following: Kumauni and Garhwali in the terai regions of the Himalayas, Hariyani, Khari Boli, Braj and Kanauji of Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, Marwari, Mewati and Jaypuri of Rajasthan, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and Bagheli, Chattisgarhi and Malwi of Chattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh.

There is a centuries-old tradition of imaginative literature in several of these languages/dialects, especially the dialects of Rajasthani, Awadhi, Braj and Maithili, which are included in the histories of Hindi literature. Thus, literary works created by medieval poets such as Tulsidas (1532-1623), Surdas (1479-1586), Vidyapati (1340-1430) and Meera Bai (1478-1540) in Awadhi, Brajbhasha, Maithili, and Rajasthani, respectively, are all considered part of the Hindi literary tradition.³ It is not an exaggeration to say that the entire Hindi region, i.e., from Punjab to Bengal and from Uttar Pradesh to the

Vindhya Mountains, used several of these dialects for literary creativity. For instance, most devotional poetry that deals with themes from the Krishna legend is composed in Braj, whereas most poetry dealing with the Rama legend is in Awadhi. Braj is the dialect of Mathura and Vrindavan, the two places associated with the birth and exploits of Krishna, and Awadhi is spoken in the province of Awadh, associated with the kingdom of Rama. Almost all medieval poets composed in more than one dialect, and at least two of them, Kabir (lived between 1398-1498) and Meera Bai (1478-1540), used a mixed dialect that drew elements from all the above dialects and one additional one, Khari Boli, the dialect spoken around Meerut and Delhi, which forms the base of modern standard Hindi.

Notes

1. The states of Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal have recently been created out of the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, respectively. Uttar Pradesh was known as United Provinces before independence and partition of India.
2. See Rai (1984) for a historical account of the designation of Hindi and Urdu as 'communal' languages of Hindus and Muslims, respectively, and a discussion of the role that the British colonial government played in it. The account utilizes all the sources available in Hindi, Urdu, English, including available official documents. Bhatia (1987) and Rai (1984) discuss the contributions of British educational institutions and European Christian missionaries in the development of modern Hindi, especially modern Hindi prose. See also Faruqi (2001) for an historical account of emergence of Hindi and Urdu, primarily based on Urdu sources written in Perso-Arabic script, that presents a very different picture of the emergence of Hindi-Urdu as compared to Rai (1984).
3. All the dates of the medieval saint poets are based on reconstruction from best available evidence; no authentic documents exist that provide reliable information about the details of their lives.

2. Sound System

2.0. Hindi Sounds

Modern Standard Hindi has a sound system of twelve vowels and thirty-eight consonants. Of these, two vowel and five consonant segments occur only in borrowed items from Perso-Arabic and English. The borrowed vowels and consonants are listed and described separately (in sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.2, respectively). The entire vowel and consonant systems are described in detail in sections 2.1 and 2.2. Subsequent sections give more details regarding consonant clusters and their places of occurrence, lexical stress, syllable structure, morphophonemic alternations, and the relationship between the Devanagari script and pronunciation.

2.1. Vowels

The first two sections below discuss the ten indigenous vowels and their nasalized counterparts. Nasalization is distinctive. The third section describes the two vowels introduced into the system as a result of borrowings from English, although they are not distinctive for all speakers of Hindi. They occur primarily in the speech of educated speakers of Hindi familiar with English.

2.1.1. Indigenous Vowels

The ten vowels of Hindi are listed in the order in which they are written in Devanagari alphabet.

/ə/ a lax half-open unrounded mid vowel; it occurs in word initial and medial positions (see 2.4.1 for details of ə-deletion rule, and pronunciation). It is comparable to the syllabic in American English *cut*, but is pronounced with the lips slightly closer together in comparison to the standard American pronunciation of the syllabic.

əb 'now'

səc 'true'

səməʃ^h 'understand'

/a/ a tense open unrounded back vowel, comparable to the British English vowel in *dark*. It occurs in word initial, medial and final positions.

am ‘mango’ *sat^h* ‘with’ *g^hoṛa* ‘horse’

/i/ a lax close unrounded front vowel. It occurs in all positions. It is slightly lower and more centralized than the tense /ī/ and is not kept distinct from it in the final position except in very careful, learned speech. It is similar to the vowel in English *sit*.

itna ‘this much’ *kise* ‘to whom’ *kavi* ‘poet’

/ī/ a tense close unrounded front vowel, comparable to the English vowel in *seed*. It occurs in all positions.

īf ‘master’ *j^hīl* ‘lake’ *bolī* ‘speech, dialect’

/u/ a lax close rounded back vowel. It occurs in all positions. It is slightly lower and more centralized than /ū/ and is not kept distinct from it in the final position except in very careful, learned speech. It is similar to the English syllabic in *put*.

udas ‘sad’ *kul* ‘whole’ *māḍ^hu* ‘honey’

/ū/ a tense close rounded back vowel, comparable to the English vowel in *mood*. It occurs in all positions.

ūpār ‘above’ *p^hūl* ‘flower’ *bāhū* ‘daughter-in-law’

/e/ a tense half-close unrounded front vowel. This vowel does not occur in English. It is comparable to the vowel /é/ in French. It occurs in all positions.

ek ‘one’ *peṛ* ‘tree’ *se* ‘from’

/ɛ/ a tense half-open unrounded front vowel. This vowel also does not occur in English. It is pronounced as a diphthong [əi] before the palatal glide *y*. It occurs in all positions.

ese ‘such’ *pese* ‘money’ *he* ‘is’
b^heya [b^həiya] ‘elder brother’

/o/ a tense half-close rounded back vowel. It is comparable to the French syllabic in *beau*. It occurs in all positions.

or ‘direction’ *koṭ^hī* ‘mansion’ *beṭ^ho* ‘sit!’

/ɔ/ a tense half-open rounded back vowel. It is pronounced as a diphthong [əu] before the labio-dental continuant *v*. It does not occur in final position. This vowel is closer to the Southern British pronunciation of the syllabic in *cod*, but is higher and longer in Hindi pronunciation.

ɔrət ‘woman’ *kɔr* ‘a mouthful’ *kɔva* [kəuva] ‘crow’

All tense vowels are phonetically long and all lax vowels are phonetically short. The vowel and syllable lengths play an important role in Hindi prosody.

2.1.2. *Nasalization of Vowels*

Nasalization is distinctive; the oral and the nasal vowels contrast in minimal pairs such as the following:

<i>səvar</i>	‘rider’	<i>sə̃var</i>	‘decorate’
<i>bas</i>	‘foul smell’	<i>bā̃s</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>b^hīt</i>	‘afraid’	<i>b^hī̃t</i>	‘wall’
<i>pūc^h</i>	‘ask’	<i>pū̃c^h</i>	‘tail’
<i>he</i>	‘is’	<i>hē̃</i>	‘are’
<i>cək</i>	‘city square’	<i>cē̃k</i>	‘startle’

Nasal vowels occur in initial and final positions as well, although not all nasalized vowels are attested in final position, e.g.,

INITIAL:

<i>ā̃t</i>	‘be contained’	<i>ā̃k</i>	‘draw’
<i>ī̃t</i>	‘brick’	<i>ū̃glī̃</i>	‘finger’
<i>ū̃t</i>	‘camel’	<i>ē̃t^h</i>	‘twist’
<i>ō̃t^h</i>	‘lip’	<i>ō̃d^ha</i>	‘upside down’

FINAL:

<i>gā̃t</i>	‘they(F) left’	<i>b^heṛē̃</i>	‘sheep (F.PL)’
<i>ləṛkō̃</i> (M.PL.OBL)	‘boys’	<i>pā̃cvā̃</i>	‘fifth’
<i>sekṛō̃</i>	‘hundreds’	<i>ukṛū̃</i>	‘squatting position’

2.1.3. *Borrowed Vowels*

The retroflex vowel of Indo-Aryan, *r* (ऋ), occurs in the speech of some highly educated speakers well-versed in Sanskrit. In ordinary speech, educated or uneducated, it is pronounced as a sequence of consonantal *r* and *i*, or *ri*.

Two more vowels have been added to the inventory by English-educated Hindi speakers. These are *æ* (as in [bæŋk] ‘bank—the financial institution’) and the open rounded back vowel *ɒ* (as in [kɒliʃ] ‘college’). They are not distinctive for all speakers of Hindi, many of whom pronounce the cited examples as [beŋk] and [kaliʃ], respectively.

2.2. Consonants

Thirty-eight consonants are distinctive in Hindi, of which five have been introduced into the system by English and Perso-Arabic borrowings.

2.2.1. Indigenous Consonants

The thirty-three consonants of the indigenous system are described following the order in which they are written in the Devanagari alphabet. They all occur in initial, medial and final positions, and are in contrast with each other. There are restrictions on which consonants can occur with which others and form consonant clusters. These are listed and exemplified in a subsequent section (see 2.3). A few examples of clusters are also given here to indicate the range of occurrence of the consonants. Additionally, although there are separate subsections on borrowings, the following examples include items which have been assimilated in the language.

k a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive:

<i>kal</i> ‘time’	<i>pəkəɽ</i> ‘catch’	<i>əɽək</i> ‘get stuck’
<i>cəkka</i> ‘wheel’	<i>mək^hən</i> ‘butter’	<i>vəkta</i> ‘speaker’
<i>bək^sa</i> ‘box’		

k^h a voiceless aspirated velar plosive:

<i>k^hal</i> ‘skin’	<i>pək^hər</i> ‘pond’	<i>muk^h</i> ‘mouth’
<i>tək^hta</i> ‘wooden shelf’		

g a voiced unaspirated velar plosive:

<i>gal</i> ‘cheek’	<i>məgər</i> ‘crocodile’	<i>māg</i> ‘demand’
<i>mugdər</i> ‘a club used in physical exercise’		

g^h a voiced aspirated velar plosive:

<i>g^hər</i> ‘house’	<i>sug^həɽ</i> ‘shapely’	
<i>mag^h</i> ‘eleventh month of the year’		<i>ləkəɽbəgg^ha</i> ‘hyena’

- ŋ* a velar nasal that occurs primarily in medial homorganic consonant clusters. It does, however, contrast with other nasals in this position:
ḍəŋka ‘a kettle-drum’ versus *tinka* ‘straw’ and *dʰəmki* ‘threat’
- c* a voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate:
cal ‘gait’ *məcəl* ‘sulk’ *kāc* ‘glass’
məccʰər ‘mosquito’
- cʰ* a voiceless aspirated palatal affricate:
cʰal ‘bark of a tree’ *məcʰera* ‘fisherman’ *pūcʰ* ‘tail’
- j* a voiced unaspirated palatal affricate:
jal ‘net’ *ujala* ‘brightness’ *laj* ‘shame’
jvala ‘flame’
- jʰ* a voiced aspirated palatal affricate:
jʰal ‘soldering’ *mājʰla* ‘middle one’ *bājʰ* ‘barren’
- ɲ* a palatal nasal that occurs in medial homorganic consonant clusters and contrasts with bilabial nasal *m* in this position:
əɲcəl ‘area, fringe of a saree’ *pəɲcʰɪ* ‘bird’
gəɲja ‘bald’ *jʰəɲjʰa* ‘thunder storm’
The above contrast with: *gəmcʰa* ‘towel’ *səmjʰa* ‘understood’
- t* a voiceless unaspirated retroflex postalveolar plosive:
tal ‘avoid’ *pətakʰa* ‘fire cracker’ *peɭ* ‘stomach’
ətʰaɪs ‘twenty-eight’
- tʰ* a voiceless aspirated retroflex postalveolar plosive:
tʰela ‘push-cart’ *niʰəlla* ‘indolent’ *tʰatʰ* ‘pomp’
- ɖ* a voiced unaspirated retroflex postalveolar plosive, which is pronounced as a flap in the intervocalic and final positions. The flap is transcribed as *ɖ* below:
ɖal ‘branch’ *bəɖa* ‘big’ *peɖ* ‘tree’
budɖʰa ‘old man’
- ɖʰ* a voiced aspirated retroflex postalveolar plosive, which is pronounced as a flap in the intervocalic and final positions, transcribed below as *ɖʰ*:
ɖʰal ‘shield’ *sɪɖʰɪ* ‘stair’ *gəɖʰ* ‘fort’

- ŋ* a voiced retroflex nasal, which occurs in the intervocalic and final positions in the Sanskrit borrowings, and in homorganic clusters:
guṇa ‘multiplication’ *guṇ* ‘quality’ *əṅḍa* ‘egg’
kəṅḍʰ ‘throat’
- t* a voiceless unaspirated dental plosive:
tal ‘lake’ *pəta* ‘address’ *sat* ‘seven’
pətta ‘leaf’ *pəttʰər* ‘stone’ *sətkar* ‘hospitalit’
pətnī ‘wife’
- tʰ* a voiceless aspirated dental plosive:
tʰal ‘tray’ *tʰoṛa* ‘a little’ *satʰ* ‘company’
- d* a voiced unaspirated dental plosive:
dal ‘lentil’ *sada* ‘plain’ *svad* ‘taste’
buddʰi ‘intellect’ *bʰədr* ‘noble’
- dʰ* a voiced aspirated dental plosive:
dʰan ‘paddy’ *sudʰar* ‘reform’ *sadʰ* ‘ambition’
dʰyan ‘attention’ *dʰvəja* ‘flag’
- n* a voiced dental nasal
nam ‘name’ *sūna* ‘lonely’ *man* ‘honor’
guna ‘fold, as in four-fold’ *ənt* ‘end’ *nrip* ‘king’
- p* a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive:
pəl ‘moment’ *apa* ‘selfhood’ *sāp* ‘snake’
cəppa ‘a hand-breadth’ *səptah* ‘week’ *prem* ‘love’
- pʰ* a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive:
pʰəl ‘fruit’ *upʰən* ‘boil over’ *səpʰ* ‘fennel’
- b* a voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive:
bəl ‘strength’ *bal* ‘hair’ *nībū* ‘lemon’
təb ‘then’
- bʰ* a voiced aspirated bilabial plosive:
bʰat ‘cooked rice’ *kəbʰī* ‘sometime’ *labʰ* ‘profit’
bʰrəm ‘confusion’

m a voiced bilabial nasal:

mən 'mind' *səman* 'equal' *am* 'mango'
nəmṛata 'humility' *kəmla* 'a female proper name'

y a voiced palatal continuant:

yədi 'if' *ʃayəd* 'perhaps' *ray* 'opinion'

r a voiced weak apico-alveolar trill:

raja 'king' *aram* 'rest' *pyar* 'love'
cərca 'mention' *pərda* 'curtain' *ʃərm* 'shame'

l a voiced apico-alveolar lateral:

lal 'red' *kəla* 'art' *nihal* 'gratified'
pəlla 'hem' *ulṭa* 'reverse' *kəlpəna* 'imagination'

v a voiced labio-dental continuant:

vapəs 'return' *kəvita* 'poetry' *tav* 'rage'
vyapt 'pervasive' *vrət* 'fast'

ʃ a voiceless palatal sibilant that occurs in words borrowed from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and English. Some examples of Sanskrit items with wide currency in educated Hindi are given below:

ʃakti 'energy' *pəʃu* 'animal' *veʃ* 'costume'
pəʃcat 'after' *viʃram* 'rest' *əʃtīl* 'obscene'

An example of a common Perso-Arabic item is *ʃer* 'lion'; that of an English borrowing is (*i*)*ʃteʃən* '(railway) station'.

ʂ a voiceless retroflex sibilant that occurs in words borrowed from Sanskrit and in homorganic clusters. Some items with wide currency in educated Hindi are listed below:

kəʂt 'pain, suffering' *kriʂi* 'agriculture' *sʂma* 'beauty, charm'

It is, however, to be noted that this sound occurs only in the speech of highly educated persons with some knowledge of Sanskrit. It merges with the palatal sibilant *ʃ* in the speech of most Hindi speakers who have more than one sibilant in their repertoire. Many uneducated speakers, and educated speakers from the Eastern Hindi region, however, have only one sibilant, *s*, in their repertoire.

s a voiceless dental sibilant, and the only sibilant that represents the sound in NIA that resulted from the merging of the three sibilants of the OIA. As

has been mentioned above, many educated Hindi speakers from the Eastern region have only this sibilant in their sound system. It occurs in all positions, as illustrated by the following examples:

səɾəl ‘easy’ *pasa* ‘dice’ *sās* ‘breath’
rasta ‘way’ *srot* ‘source’ *svərg* ‘heaven’

h is a voiced glottal fricative:

har ‘garland’ *p^huhar* ‘spray’ *bāh* ‘arm’
brahməŋ ‘brahmin’ *hriɖəy* ‘heart’
prəhɭad ‘a male proper name’

2.2.2. English and Perso-Arabic Borrowings

Several consonants have been added to the above inventory as a result of lexical borrowings from English and Perso-Arabic. These are as follows:

q a voiceless post-velar (uvular) plosive, only found in the careful speech of educated Hindi speakers conscious of the Perso-Arabic source of the borrowed lexical items. It is in free variation with the voiceless unaspirated velar plosive *k* in the colloquial language:

qəriḅ ‘near’ *muqəɖma* ‘legal case’ *ittefaq* ‘coincidence’

x a voiceless glottal fricative, found in contrast with the voiceless aspirated velar plosive *k^h* in careful speech of Hindi-Urdu speakers. The two sounds are in free variation in the colloquial language.

xas ‘special’ *buxar* ‘fever’ *dozəx* ‘hell’

ɾ a voiced post-velar fricative, again, found to contrast with the voiced unaspirated velar plosive *g* only in careful educated speech of Hindi-Urdu speakers (e.g., *bag* ‘reins’ versus *baɾ* ‘garden’). It is in free variation with the voiced unaspirated velar plosive *g* in the colloquial language:

ɾəriḅ ‘poor’ *məɾəz* ‘brain’ *baɾ* ‘garden’

z a voiced alveolar fricative, which is in contrast with the voiced unaspirated palatal affricate *j* in careful educated speech (e.g., *tej* ‘splendor’ versus *tez* ‘fast, sharp’). In the colloquial language *j* and *z* are in free variation. The fricative occurs in English and Perso-Arabic borrowings:

zəhər ‘poison’ *məza* ‘taste’ *tez* ‘sharp’
zink ‘zinc’ *ri:zərv* ‘reserve’

f a voiceless labio-dental fricative, in contrast with the bilabial voiceless aspirated plosive *p^h* in educated speech. The two sounds are in free variation in colloquial language. The fricative occurs in English and Perso-Arabic borrowings:

fəqət ‘only’ *afət* ‘calamity’ *saf* ‘clean’
fərvərī ‘February’ *film* ‘film’

In the subsequent discussion, the following convention for transcription has been followed:

- a. Since the occurrence of *ɳ*, *ɲ* and *ɳ* in homorganic clusters is predictable, they are represented by the symbol *n*.
- b. Since there is a contrast between *n* and *ɳ* in intervocalic position and *n* and *ɳ* in other than homorganic clusters, the symbols *ɳ* and *ɳ* are used in those positions.
- c. The sound *r* has been transcribed as *ri* throughout. The spelling in Devanagari script with *r* is given in parentheses where necessary.
- d. The symbol *ʃ* has been used in borrowings from Sanskrit since it is a part of written Hindi.
- e. The borrowed sounds, *q*, *x*, *ɣ*, *f*, *z* are transcribed as *k*, *k^h*, *g*, *p^h*, *j*, respectively. In some places, however, the free variation in pronunciation has been indicated to signal the occurrence of these sounds in educated speech.

2.3. Consonant Clusters

A majority of initial and final consonant clusters occurs in borrowed lexical items from Sanskrit, and a significant number occurs in borrowings from Perso-Arabic and English. Consonant clusters indigenous to Hindi are few, since the phonological changes that occurred between the Old Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan periods, especially between the middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan, resulted in wide-ranging cluster simplifications. However, a number of consonant clusters result from the dropping of the inherent vowel in syllables of *Cə* form in words of more than one syllable and the interaction of such vowel dropping and affixation (see 2.4.1). These are not syllable internal consonant clusters and the Devanagari script does not represent them as conjunct consonants (see Chapter 3). However, they are salient in the pronunciation of Hindi and how the language ‘sounds’ to speakers of other languages. For example, a partially reduplicated item, *jəgə-məgə* ‘glittering’, is

pronounced as *jəgməg* with a *-gm-* cluster and *səməj^ha* ‘understand + past participle marker’ is pronounced *səmj^ha* ‘understood’ with a *-mj^h-* cluster following suffixation. In the following subsections, the two-consonant clusters indigenous to Hindi are described first, and subsequently the two-consonant clusters in borrowed lexical items are listed. The three-consonant clusters are listed and exemplified in the final subsection.

2.3.1. Indigenous CC Clusters

The consonant clusters that occur in the word-initial, medial and final positions are listed below. Note, however, that a large number of medial consonant clusters result from the dropping of the inherent vowel in pronunciation. This may occur because of the syllabic structure of multiple-syllable words, e.g., *koṭ^hərī* pronounced as *koṭ^hrī* ‘room’, or as a result of derivational or inflectional affixation, *cələta* pronounced as *cəlta* ‘move + IMPF’.

INITIAL: *ky, kv, gy, gv, cy, jy, jv, d̪y, ty, py, pl, by, ny, my, f̪y, sy*

Words exemplifying the above clusters are *kya* ‘what’, *kvāra* ‘bachelor’ [also pronounced *kūvara*], *gyarəh* ‘eleven’, *gvala* ‘cowherd, milk supplier’, *cyəvənp̪raʃ* ‘an Ayurvedic medicine’, *jyō* ‘as’, *jvar* ‘high tide’, *d̪yoṭ^ha* ‘two-and-a-half times’, *tyohar* ‘festival’, *pyar* ‘love’, *plīha* ‘spleen’, *byah* ‘wedding’, *nyota* ‘invitation’, *myan* ‘sheath’.

MEDIAL: Since there are a large number of medial consonant clusters as a result of the dropping of inherent *-ə*, they are listed following the order in which the two consonants occur in the Devanagari alphabet chart (see Chapter 3), except for the nasals and continuants, which are not adjacent to each other in the chart.

- a. Velar + consonant: *kk, kk^h, kc, k̪, k̪, kt, kn, km, kr, kl, kv, k^h̪, k^hn, k^hr, k^hl, gg, gg^h, g̪, gt, gd, gn, gl, gv, g^hn, g^hr, g^hl*

Words exemplifying the above clusters are *pəkka* ‘solid’, *məkk^hī* ‘fly (insect)’, *śīkca* ‘window bars’, *kuk̪ī* ‘a kind of cotton’, *kēk̪a* ‘crab’, *iktara* ‘a one-stringed instrument’, *cikna* ‘smooth, greasy’, *cəkma* ‘hoodwinking’, *̪okrī* ‘a basket’, *cəkla* ‘pastry board’, *cəkva* ‘a type of bird’, *uk^h̪a* ‘uprooted’, *̪ək^hna* ‘ankle’, *ək^hroṭ* ‘walnut’, *ok^hlī* ‘mortar’, *sugga* ‘a parrot’, *bəgg^hī* ‘a coach’, *pəg̪ī* ‘turban’, *b^hugtan* ‘payment in full’, *mugdər* ‘a club used in physical exercise’, *məgnī* ‘betrothal’, *pəgla* ‘crazy’, *əgvānī* ‘welcome’, *sūg^hnī* ‘snuff’, *g^hūg^hrū* ‘ankle bells’, *pig^hla* ‘melted’.

- b. Affricate + consonant: *ck, cc, cc^h, cç, cn, cr, cl, c^hç, c^ht, jr, jl, jv, j^hr, j^hl*
 The above clusters are attested in words such as *hickī* ‘hiccup’, *kacca* ‘unripe’, *acc^ha* ‘good’, *k^hicçī* ‘a rice dish’, *kacnar* ‘a flower’, *kacra* ‘garbage’, *bicla* ‘the middle one’, *bacc^hça* ‘calf’, *pacc^htava* ‘regret’, *bajra* ‘millet’, *bijlī* ‘electricity, lightning’, *ajvain* ‘a herb’, *j^haj^hrī* ‘lattice’, *māj^hla* ‘the middle one (in kinship terms)’.
- c. Retroflex + consonant: *çk, çç, çç^h, çn, ç^hr, çr, çk, çç, çt, çp, çv, çk, ç^hk*
 These clusters occur in words such as: *cuçkula* ‘a joke’, *kacçar* ‘strict’, *macc^ha* ‘buttermilk’, *g^huçna* ‘knee’, *koç^hrī* ‘a room’, *macc^hrana* ‘to hover’, *laçka* ‘boy’, *haçkana* ‘to excite for violence’, *accan* ‘obstacle’, *paccal* ‘investigation’, *taçpana* ‘to torment’, *kaçva* ‘bitter’, *luç^hkana* ‘to topple’.
- d. Dental + consonant: *tk, tt, tt^h, tn, tp, tr, tl, tv, t^hn, t^hr, t^hl, dk, dn, dr, dl, d^hk, d^hç, d^hm, d^hr*
 The above sequences of consonants occur in words such as: *dutkar* ‘snub’, *patta* ‘leaf’, *patt^har* ‘stone’, *itna* ‘so much’, *sacc^hra* ‘a place name’, *sacc^hrah* ‘seventeen’, *pattla* ‘thin’, *pacc^hvar* ‘rudder’, *t^hucc^hna* ‘nozzle’, *pacc^hrī* ‘gallstone’, *ucc^hla* ‘shallow’, *p^hucc^hkī* ‘a type of bird’, *godna* ‘tattoo’, *acc^hak* ‘ginger’, *bacc^hla* ‘revenge’, *d^hucc^hkana* ‘to fan a fire’, *ucc^hça* ‘ripped’, *ucc^hmī* ‘naughty’, *succ^hra* ‘reformed’.
- e. Bilabial + consonant: *pk, pj, pç, pn, py, pl, ps, bt, b^hk*
 These clusters occur in words such as: *c^hipkālī* ‘gecko’, *ucc^hau* ‘fertile’, *ciçta* ‘flat’, *accna* ‘self’s’, *ucc^hya* ‘rupee’, *ucc^hla* ‘toothless’, *lacc^hsī* ‘a glutinous porridge’, *ucc^han* ‘mask (cosmetic)’, *b^hucc^hkī* ‘a threat’.
- f. Nasal + consonant: *çk, çk^h, çg, çg^h, nk, ng, nc, nc^h, nj, nj^h, nc, nj, nç, nç^h, nç, nt, nt^h, nd, nd^h, nn, nh, mk, mg, mc, mc^h, mj, mç, mç, mt, md^h, mn, mp, mb, mb^h, mm, mr, ml, mh*
 The following words exemplify the homorganic as well as divergent consonant clusters involving nasals: *ççkka* ‘a kettle-drum’, *pacc^hka* ‘fan’, *b^hacc^hgī* ‘a caste’, *kacc^hga* ‘comb’, *sacc^hkī* ‘capricious’, *bangī* ‘sample’, *acc^hal* ‘fringe of a saree’, *pacc^hçī* ‘bird’, *kacc^har* ‘a nomadic tribe’, *j^hacc^hçt* ‘bother’, *acc^haha* ‘unwanted’, *acc^hjana* ‘unknown’, *acc^htī* ‘knot’, *kacc^htī* ‘a necklace of holy basil seeds’, *acc^hça* ‘egg’, *ucc^hçs* ‘twenty-nine’, *kacc^ha* ‘a patchwork quilt’, *gacc^hda* ‘dirty’, *acc^hda* ‘blind’, *pacc^hha* ‘a type of shoe’, *j^hucc^hka* ‘a type of earring’, *acc^hgacc^hç* ‘bat (mammal)’, *acc^hca* ‘spoon’, *gacc^hca* ‘towel’, *sacc^hçja* ‘understood’, *cimçta* ‘tong’, *acc^hçra* ‘leather’, *gacc^htī* ‘(the river) Gomti’, *sacc^hçtī* ‘one’s children’s parents-in-law’, *sacc^hna* ‘face-to-face’.

encounter', *cəmpī* 'massage', *tumba* 'a gourd', *k^humb^hī* 'mushroom', *cəmməc* 'tea spoon', *kəmra* 'a room', *simla* 'a place name', *tumhē* 'to you'.

- g. Continuant + consonant: *yk, yc, yt, yl, vṭ, vṛ, vt, vd, vd^h, vr, vl*

The above sequences occur in words such as: *gaykī* 'a style of singing', *ilaycī* 'cardamom', *rayta* 'a yoghurt dish', *koyla* 'coal', *bənavṭī* 'artificial', *kevrā* 'fragrant pandanus', *devta* 'god', *devdar* 'pine tree', *əvd^hī* 'a dialect of the Hindi area', *devranī* 'husband's younger brother's wife', *nevla* 'mongoose'.

- h. Liquid + consonant: *rk, rg, rc, rc^h, rj, rṭ^h, rt, rt^h, rd, rn, rp, rb, rr, rl, rv, rs, rh, lk, lg, lc, lc, lj, lṭ, lt, lt^h, ld, ln, lp, lb, lm, ll, lv, ls, lh*

These sequences occur in words such as: *kirkirī* 'a particle of dust', *girgīṭ* 'chameleon', *kərg^ha* 'loom', *mirca* 'chili pepper', *pərchaṭī* 'shadow', *murj^hana* 'to wither', *soṛṭ^ha* 'name of a poetic meter', *surtī* 'chewing tobacco', *əṛt^hī* 'bier', *kərd^hānī* 'girdle of precious metal', *kərnī* 'deed', *k^hurpī* 'trowel', *purbī* 'eastern', *p^hərraṭa* 'fluency', *birla* 'rare', *purvāiya* 'the east wind', *bərsat* 'rain', *ərhər* 'pigeon pea', *palkī* 'palanquin', *p^halgun* 'the last month of the Hindu calendar', *lalcī* 'greedy', *təlc^həṭ* 'sediment', *ulj^ha* 'entangled', *ulṭa* 'opposite', *paltū* 'pet', *pəlt^hī* 'crosslegged', *həldī* 'termeric', *c^həlnī* 'sieve', *kəlpāna* 'cause someone to lament', *cilbilla* 'naughty', *məlməl* 'muslin', *kulla* 'gargle', *kəlvār* 'name of a caste', *tulsī* 'basil', *dūlha* 'bridegroom'.

- i. Sibilant + consonant: *sk, st, sn, sr, sl*

The clusters occur in words such as *siskī* 'sob', *astik* 'a theist', *cūsnī* 'pacifier', *dūsra* 'second (ordinal)', *g^hōsla* 'nest'.

Palatal and retroflex sibilants are not listed here, since the three sibilants of Old Indo-Aryan, palatal *ʃ*, retroflex *ʂ* and dental *s*, have coalesced into *s* in modern Hindi, as mentioned earlier. In educated speech, however, *s* and *ʃ* are kept distinct; and the palatal and retroflex sibilants occur in words borrowed from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and English.

- j. *h* + consonant: *hm, hr, hl*

These clusters occur in words such as *brahməṇ* 'Brahmin', *hridəy* 'heart', *prəhlad* 'a proper name'.

FINAL: Only a limited set of homorganic nasal + plosive consonant clusters occur in the final position in indigenous Hindi words. These are:

ŋk, ŋk^h, ŋg, ŋg^h, nc, nɕ, nɕ^h, nd, nt, nt^h, nd, nd^h, mp, mb

The following words exemplify the final consonant clusters [the *ɲ* and *ŋ* have been transcribed as *n* below, as the palatal and velar articulation of these two nasals are predictable from the nature of the following consonant]: *ɖənk* ‘sting’, *pənk^h* ‘feather’, *səng* ‘company’, *səng^h* ‘organization’, *mənc* ‘platform’, *cəntɕ* ‘cunning’, *ləntɕ^h* ‘boorish’, *t^həndɕ* ‘cold’, *ənt* ‘end’, *pənt^h* ‘path’, *bənd* ‘closed’, *bənd^h* ‘fetters, shut down’, *b^hūkəmp* ‘earthquake’, *ləmb* ‘perpendicular’.

Clusters that occur in words borrowed from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and English are described below.

2.3.2. CC Clusters in Borrowings

Borrowings from three sources, Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and, more recently, English, have added a large number of consonant clusters to the above inventory. These are listed according to their positions in the Devanagari alphabet chart. The letters in parentheses following the examples denote the source of the item (S = Sanskrit, PA = Perso-Arabic, E = English). Note that several clusters have come into Hindi from more than one source.

INITIAL: *kr, kl, kɕ, k^hy, xy, k^hv/xv, gr, gl, g^hr, cy, jy/zy, jv, tɕ, tɕr, dɕr, tv, dy, dv, dr, d^hy, d^hr, d^hv, nr, pr, p^hr/fr, br, bl, b^hr, mr, ml, vy, vr, vh, fɕ, fr, fl, fv, sk, sk^h, sɕ, st, st^h, sn, sp, sp^h, sm, sy, sr, sl, sv*

These sequences occur in words such as the following: *kranti* (S) ‘revolution’, *krikeɕ* (E) ‘cricket’, *klanti* (S) ‘fatigue’, *kləb* (E) ‘club’, *kɕəti* (S) ‘loss, injury’, *k^hyati* (S) ‘fame’, *k^h/xyal* (PA) ‘thought’, *k^h/xvab* (PA) ‘dream’, *grihəst^h* (*grhəst^hə*) (S) ‘householder’, *graundɕ* (E) ‘ground’, *glani* (S) ‘remorse’, *g^hriŋa* (S) ‘hate’, *cyut* (S) ‘fallen’, *jyoti* (S) ‘flame’, *j/zyada* (PA) ‘much’, *jvər*(S) ‘fever’, *tɕyūb*, (E) ‘tube’, *tɕrənk* (E) ‘trunk’, *dɕrama* (E) ‘drama, play’, *tvəca* (S) ‘skin’, *dyuti* (S) ‘radiance’, *dvīp* (S) ‘island’, *driɕti* (S) ‘vision’, *d^hyan* (S) ‘attention, meditation’, *d^hrupəd* (S) ‘a form of classical music’, *d^hvəni* (S) ‘sound’, *nɕrity* (*nɕrty*) (S) ‘dance’, *prəkɕrity* (*prəkɕrty*) (S) ‘nature’, *p^h/frem* (E) ‘frame’, *brihəspəti* (S) ‘Jupiter’, *brəjb^hafa* ‘a dialect of the Western Hindi area’, *brək* (E) ‘brake’, *blauj/z* (E) ‘blouse’, *b^hrəm* (S) ‘misconception’, *mɕrityu* (*mɕrtyu*) (S) ‘death’, *mlan* (S) ‘faded’, *vyapar* (S) ‘trade’, *vɕrity* (*vɕrty*) (S) ‘instinct’, *vhiskī* (E) ‘whisky’, *fɕyam* (S) ‘a proper name’, *fɕrəm* (S) ‘labor’, *fɕleɕ* (*fɕleɕ*) (S) ‘pun’,

fvēt (S) ‘white’, *skəndʰ* (S) ‘shoulder’, *skūl* (E) ‘school’, *skʰələn* (S) ‘a lapse’, *sʈak* (E) ‘stock’, *stār* (S) ‘level’, *stʰan* (S) ‘place’, *snan* (S) ‘bath’, *spərʃ* (S) ‘touch’, *spənʃ* (E) ‘sponge’, *spʰəʈik* (S) ‘crystal’, *smərəŋ* (S) ‘remembering’, *syat* (S) ‘perhaps’, *srot* (S) ‘source’, *sleʈ* (E) ‘slate’, *svagət* (S) ‘welcome’, *svic* (E) ‘a switch’.

MEDIAL: Again, since there are a large number of medial consonant clusters, they are listed following the order in which the two consonants occur in the Devanagari alphabet chart. The clusters are divided into two groups: those that have a plosive or affricate as the first consonant in the cluster, and those that have a nasal, liquid, sibilant or continuant as the first consonant in the cluster:

Group 1: *k/qd*, *kp/qf*, *kb*, *kʃ*, *k/xt*, *kʰ/xb*, *kʰ/xm*, *kʰy*, *gj/gz*, *gd*, *gdʰ*, *g/ʃm*, *gy*, *cm*, *jg*, *jd*, *jn*, *jb*, *j/zm*, *tp*, *tp/tf*, *tb*, *tm*, *ty*, *ts*, *tʰm*, *tʰv*, *dg*, *dg*, *db*, *dbʰ*, *dm*, *dy*, *dv*, *dʃ*, *ds*, *pc*, *pd*, *pm*, *pʋ*, *ph*, *pʰ/fg*, *pʰ/ft*, *pʰ/fn*, *pʰ/fr*, *bg*, *bj*, *bz*, *bt*, *bd*, *bm*

These clusters occur in items such as the following: *tək/qdīr* (PA) ‘fate’, *vakpʰ/fiyət* (PA) ‘acquaintance’, *əkbər* (PA) ‘name of a Mughul emperor’, *nəkʃa* (PA) ‘map’, *səkʰ/xt* (PA) ‘hard’, *əkʰ/xbar* (PA) ‘newspaper’, *j/zəkʰ/xmī* (PA) ‘wounded’, *akʰyan* (S) ‘story’, *kag/ʃzī* (PA) ‘of paper’, *nəgdī* (PA) ‘hard cash’, *nəg/ʃma* (PA) ‘song’, *agyā* (S) ‘permission’, *acmən* (S) ‘ritual sipping of water for purification’, *əjgər* (S) ‘python’, *səjda* (PA) ‘bowing’, *rəjnī* (S) ‘night’, *əjnəbī* (PA) ‘stranger’, *məjbūr* (PA) ‘helpless’, *yəjman* (S) ‘householder’, *aj/zmana* (PA) ‘to test’, *pləʈpʰ/farm* (E) ‘platform’, *təpəry* (S) ‘meaning’, *rutba* (PA) ‘rank’, *atma* (S) ‘soul’, *itmīnan* (PA) ‘conviction’, *prətyəy* (S) ‘suffix’, *utsəv* (S) ‘festival’, *prəʈʰma* (S) ‘nominative case’, *priʰvī* (S) ‘the planet earth’, *udgar* (S) ‘expression of sentiment’, *udgʰof* (S) ‘proclamation’, *tədbīr* (PA) ‘scheme’, *sədbʰav* (S) ‘goodwill’, *pədmaśən* (S) ‘the lotus posture in yoga’, *sədma* (PA) ‘emotional shock’, *vidya* (S) ‘knowledge’, *vidvan* (S) ‘scholar’, *badʃah* (PA) ‘emperor’, *hadsa* (PA) ‘accident’, *upcar* (S) ‘remedy’, *updeʃ* (S) ‘sermon’, *upma* (S) ‘simile’, *əpvad* (S) ‘exception’, *uphar* (S) ‘gift’, *əpʰ/fgan* (PA) ‘Afghan’, *dəpʰ/ftər* (PA) ‘office’, *dəpʰ/fnana* (PA) ‘to bury’, *təpʰ/frīh* (PA) ‘recreation’, *pʰ/frem* (E) ‘frame’, *īsəbgol* (PA) ‘metamucil’, *kubja* (S) ‘hunch-backed (F)’, *səbj/zī* (PA) ‘vegetable’, *ibtida* (PA) ‘beginning’, *ʃətəbdī* (S) ‘century’, *təbdīl* (PA) ‘transfer’, *səbmərīn* (E) ‘submarine’.

Group 2: *zk, zn, zb, zh, fl, md, mh, yd, yr, rj, rz, rʃ, rd, rd^h, rf, rb, ry, rf, lg, lj, lz, lf, lb, ly, lf, vk, vs, ʃk, ʃg, ʃc, ʃt, ʃt^h, ʃŋ, ʃn, ʃp, ʃm, ʃy, ʃr, ʃl, sk, sk^h/sx, sj, st, st^h, sd, sp, sp^h, sb, sm, sy, sv, hk, hd, hb*

These clusters are attested in items such as *təzkira* (PA) ‘mention’, *vəznī* (PA) ‘heavy’, *jəzba* (PA) ‘feeling’, *izhar* (PA) ‘manifestation’, *aflatūn* (PA) ‘Plato’, *nəmda* (PA) ‘a type of rug’, *ləmha* (PA) ‘moment’, *fayda* (PA) ‘benefit, profit’, *ʃayrī* (PA) ‘poetry’, *qayrī* (E) ‘diary’, *marjən* (S) ‘refinement’, *ərzī* (PA) ‘application, petition’, *parʃī* (E) ‘party’, *borđiŋ* (E) ‘boarding’, *ʃarda* (S) ‘goddess of learning’, *sərdī* (PA) ‘cold’, *mürd^ha* (S) ‘hard palate’, *əʃərfī* (PA) ‘gold coin’, *gərb^hiŋī* (S) ‘pregnant woman’, *cərya* (S) ‘routine’, *dərfən* (S) ‘philosophy’, *p^halgun* (S) ‘twelfth month in the lunar calendar’, *ʃəljəm* (PA) ‘turnip’, *ilzam* (PA) ‘allegation’, *kulʃī* (PA) ‘ice cream frozen in a conical mold’, *bulbul* (PA) ‘nightingale’, *əlbəm* (E) ‘album’, *kəlyan* (S) ‘welfare’, *gulfən* (PA) ‘garden’, *bolʃevik* (E) ‘bolshhevik’, *əvkəf* (S) ‘leisure’, *əvsər* (S) ‘opportunity’, *muʃkil* (PA) ‘difficulty’, *məʃgūl* (PA) ‘absorbed’, *nifcəy* (S) ‘decision’, *driʃti* (S) ‘vision’, *niʃt^ha* (S) ‘faith’, *triʃŋa* (*trʃŋa*) (S) ‘longing’, *roʃnī* (PA) ‘light’, *niʃpənn* (*niʃpənn*) (S) ‘completion’, *rəʃmī* (S) ‘ray’, *cəʃma* (PA) ‘spectacles’, *veʃya* (S) ‘prostitute’, *aʃrəy* (S) ‘shelter’, *məʃrīq* (PA) ‘east’, *aʃtīl* (S) ‘obscene’, *məʃk^h/xəra* (PA) ‘jester’, *məʃjid* (PA) ‘mosque’, *poʃtiŋ* (E) ‘posting’, *prəʃt^han* (S) ‘departure’, *təʃdīq* (PA) ‘verification’, *vənəʃpəti* (S) ‘vegetation’, *cəʃpa* (PA) ‘stuck’, *əʃpətal* (E) ‘hospital’, *viʃp^hoʃt* (S) ‘explosion’, *əʃbab* (PA) ‘luggage’, *k/qiʃmət* (PA) ‘fate’, *təʃpəʃya* (S) ‘penance’, *asvad* (S) ‘flavor’, *təʃvīr* (PA) ‘picture’, *təʃhqiŋ* (PA) ‘investigation’, *ohda* (PA) ‘position’, *sohbət* (PA) ‘company’.

FINAL: The final clusters are also presented in two groups: those that involve a plosive or affricate as the first member and those that involve other sounds as the first member.

Group 1: *kt, kt, qt, qf, qm, ky, kr, kl, kv, kf, ks, k^ht/xt, k^h/xm, k^hy, k^h/xʃ, k^h/xs, gz, gd^h, gn, gy, gr, g^hn, g^hr, cy, jy, jr, tn, tf, tm, tʃ, d^hy, ty, tr, tv, ts, ty, dy, dr, dm, d^hy, d^hr, pt, pn, pr, bj, bz, bd, bd^h, br, bl, b^hy, b^hr, vy*

These clusters occur in items such as *əkʃt* (E) ‘act’, *rəkt* (S) ‘blood’, *vəqt* (PA) ‘time’, *vəqf* (PA) ‘religious endowment’, *huqm* (PA) ‘order’, *vaky* (S) ‘sentence’, *vəkr* (S) ‘crooked’, *fikr* (PA) ‘worry’, *ʃukl* (S) ‘white’, *ʃəkl* (PA) ‘appearance’, *pəkv* (S) ‘ripe’, *pəkʃ* (S) ‘fortnight’, *nəkʃ* (PA) ‘engraved’, *nuks* (PA) ‘fault’, *ʃəks* (E) ‘tax’, *sək^h/xt* (PA) ‘hard’, *zək^h/xm*

(PA) ‘wound’, *muk^hy* (S) ‘main’, *bək^h/x̄f* (PA) ‘forgive’, *məgz* (PA) ‘brain’, *mugd^h* (S) ‘charmed’, *məgn* (S) ‘engrossed’, *agyā* (S) ‘order’, *əgr* (S) ‘ahead’, *vig^hn* (S) ‘obstacle’, *fīg^hr* (S) ‘haste’, *pracy* (S) ‘eastern’, *rajy* (S) ‘kingdom’, *vəjr* (S) ‘thunderbolt’, *yətn* (S) ‘effort’, *lutf* (PA) ‘pleasure’, *əd^hyatm* (S) ‘spiritual’, *naty* (S) ‘dramatic’, *d^hənad^hy* (S) ‘wealthy’, *nity* (S) ‘every day, eternal’, *netr* (S) ‘eye’, *itr* (PA) ‘perfume’, *sə mudr* (S) ‘ocean’, *qədr* (PA) ‘appreciation’, *pədm* (S) ‘lotus’, *məd^hy* (S) ‘middle’, *səpt* (S) ‘seven’, *zəpt* (PA) ‘seized’, *svəpn* (S) ‘dream’, *vipr* (S) ‘a brahmin’, *kanyəkubj* (S) ‘name of a place’, *səbz* (PA) ‘green’, *fəbd* (S) ‘word’, *prarəbd^h* (S) ‘fate’, *qəbr* (PA) ‘grave’, *qəbl* (PA) ‘before’, *ləb^hy* (S) ‘attainable’, *fub^hr* (S) ‘white’, *b^həvy* (S) ‘grand’.

Group 2: *zb, zm, nc* [ɲc], *nm, n̄f, ns, ft, fn, fr, m̄t, mn, mp, mp̄, mb, mb^h, my, mr, ml, rk/q, rk^h, rx, rg, r̄x, rḡ, rc, rj, rz, r̄t, rd̄, rt, rd, rm, lk, lk^h/x, l̄t, lt, ld, lp, lf, lb, lm, ly, lv, vr, vy, f̄k, f̄t, f̄n, f̄m, f̄r, s̄k, s̄t, s̄t^h, s̄m, s̄y, st, st^h, sn, sp, sm, sy, sr, sl, sv*

These occur in items such as the following: *jəzb* (PA) ‘assimilated’, *nəzm* (PA) ‘poem’, *mənc* (S) ‘dais’, *jənm* (S) ‘birth’, *vənf* (S) ‘lineage’, *həns* (S) ‘swan’, *muft* (PA) ‘free of cost’, *dəfn* (PA) ‘bury’, *kufr* (PA) ‘heresy’, *simt* (PA) ‘dimension’, *prədyumn* (S) ‘a proper name’, *b^hūkəmp* (S) ‘earthquake’, *pəmp* (E) ‘pump’, *gump^h* (S) ‘tangle’, *kədəmb* (S) ‘a type of tree’, *kumb^h* (S) ‘pitcher’, *somy* (S) ‘amiable’, *nəmr* (S) ‘modest’, *umr* (PA) ‘age’, *əml* (S) ‘acid’, *tərk* (S) ‘argument’, *fərk/q* (PA) ‘difference’, *mūr^hk* (S) ‘stupid’, *surk^h/x* (PA) ‘red’, *marg* (S) ‘path’, *murg/x* (PA) ‘cock’, *dīrg^h* (S) ‘long’, *k^h/xərc* (PA) ‘expenditure’, *b^hurj* (S) ‘birch tree’, *k/qərz* (PA) ‘debt’, *kor̄t* (E) ‘court’, *kar̄d* (E) ‘card’, *d^hərm* (S) ‘duty’, *fərm* (PA) ‘shame’, *fulk* (S) ‘fee’, *mulk/q* (PA) ‘country’, *təlk^h/x* (PA) ‘bitter’, *belt* (E) ‘belt’, *səltənət* ‘sultanate’, *jəld* (PA) ‘fast’, *kəlp* (S) ‘era’, *zulf* (PA) ‘lock of hair’, *golf* (E) ‘golf’, *bəlb* (E) ‘light bulb’, *prəgəlb^h* (S) ‘outspoken’, *gulm* (S) ‘shrub’, *zulm* (PA) ‘tyranny’, *mūly* (S) ‘value’, *bilv* (S) ‘wood apple’, *tīvr* (S) ‘sharp’, *divy* (S) ‘divine’, *xūfk* (PA) ‘dry’, *muft* (PA) ‘fist’, *prəfn* (S) ‘question’, *jəfn* (PA) ‘festivity’, *cəfm* (PA) ‘eye’, *həfr* (PA) ‘consequence’, *fus̄k* (S) ‘dry’, *kəst* (S) ‘suffering’, *pr̄st^h* (S) ‘page’, *gr̄ism* (S) ‘summer’, *b^haşy* (S) ‘commentary’, *həst* (S) ‘hand’, *kift* (PA) ‘installment’, *svəst^h* (S) ‘healthy’, *husn* (PA) ‘beauty’, *dilcəsp* (PA) ‘interesting’, *b^həsm* (S) ‘ash’, *qism* (PA) ‘type’, *hasy* (S) ‘laughter’, *əjəsr* (S) ‘uninterrupted’, *vəsl* (PA) ‘lovers’ union’, *sərvəsv* (S) ‘one’s all’.

2.3.3. CCC Clusters

A number of three-consonant clusters occur in initial, medial and final positions, mostly in words borrowed from Sanskrit or English. These are listed and exemplified below.

INITIAL: *str, spr, smr*

These clusters occur in items borrowed from Sanskrit and English: *strī* ‘woman’, *sprīṣṭ* ‘touched’, *sprīṅg* ‘spring’, *smṛiti* ‘memory’.

MEDIAL: These are not syllable-internal clusters; the syllable boundary falls between the first and second or second and third consonant of the cluster.

kṣm, kṣv, tkr, tsn, tpr, tsy, ŋkt, ŋkr, ŋk^hy, ŋgy, ŋgr, ŋgl, ŋg^hr, njr, nj^hl, ŋṭr, ŋḍl, ntr, ndr, nd^hy, np^h/nfl, nfy, nsk, nst^h, nsp, nsm, mpr, mb^hr

These clusters are attested in items such as the following: *yākṣma* (S) ‘tuberculosis’, *ikṣvaku* (S) ‘name of a legendary king’, *utkrṣṭ* (S) ‘superb’, *ḷyotsna* (S) ‘moonlight’, *utprekṣa* (S) ‘a figure of speech’, *vatsyayān* (S) ‘a proper name’, *pāṅkti* (S) ‘line’, *sāṅkranti* (S) ‘transition of sun’, *sāṅk^hya* (S) ‘number’, *sāṅgyā* (S) ‘noun’, *sāṅgrāh* (S) ‘collection’, *uṅglī* ‘finger’, *g^huṅg^hrū* ‘anklet bells’, *k^hāṅjīrī* ‘timbrel’, *pinjra* ‘cage’, *j^huṅj^hlahṭ* ‘irritation’, *kāṅtrol* (E) ‘control’, *pinḍlī* ‘calf of leg’, *māṅtrī* (S) ‘minister’, *pāṅdrāh* ‘fifteen’, *sāṅd^hya* (S) ‘evening’, *inp^h/fluēza* (E) ‘influenza’, *inṣyōrāns* (E) ‘insurance’, *sāṅskar* (S) ‘imprinting, ritual’, *sāṅst^han* (S) ‘an institute’, *sāṅspārf* (S) ‘contact, touch’, *inṣpekṭār* (E) ‘inspector’, *sāṅsmārāṅ* (S) ‘memoir’, *sāṅmprāday* (S) ‘sect’, *sāṅmb^hrānt* (S) ‘respectable’.

FINAL: *kṣṅ, kṣm, kṣy, ŋk^hy, try, tsy, nty, ntr, ndy, nd^hy, ndr, nd^hr, ndv, rk^hy, rg^hy, rjy, rty, rtm, rdr, rd^hv, rfv, lky, ṣtr, ṭy, str, st^hy*

These clusters occur in items such as the following in educated speech and in special registers used in restricted contexts: *tīkṣṅ* (S) ‘sharp’, *sūkṣm* (S) ‘fine, minute’, *lākṣy* (S) ‘aim’, *sāṅk^hy* (S) ‘a system of philosophy’, *caritry* (S) ‘character’, *mātsy* (S) ‘fish’, *dānty* (S) ‘dental’, *yāṅtr* (S) ‘instrument’, *nīṅdy* (S) ‘reprehensible’, *vīṅd^hy* (S) ‘name of the mountain range in central India’, *kēṅdr* (S) ‘center’, *rāṅd^hr* (S) ‘hole’, *dvāṅdv* (S) ‘conflict’, *ārg^hy* (S) ‘things worth offering to a deity’, *vārjy* (S) ‘forbidden’, *mārty* (S) ‘mortal’, *vārṭm* (S) ‘path’, *ārdr* (S) ‘wet’, *ūrḍhv* (S) ‘above’, *pārṣv* (S) ‘side’, *yāgyāṅvāky* (S) ‘name of a sage’, *rāṣṭr* (S) ‘nation’, *oṣṭ^hy* (S) ‘labial’, *ṣāstr* (S) ‘science’, *svast^hy* (S) ‘health’.

2.4. Pronunciation

In general, there is a fairly regular correspondence between the script and the pronunciation. There are, however, some exceptions, which are described below.

2.4.1. *The Inherent Vowel*

The Devanagari alphabet is syllabic in that every consonant symbol represents the consonant plus the inherent vowel *a*; thus, the symbol क represents the consonant *k* plus the inherent vowel *a*, or *ka* (see the chart of the Devanagari alphabet in Chapter 3). However, a word such as कल, is not pronounced *ka^hla*, rather, it is pronounced *ka^hl*. That is to say, the inherent vowel is lost in the word final position in pronunciation.

Other rules regarding the realization of the inherent vowel in pronunciation are as follows: in two- or three-syllable words where the inherent vowel occurs in each syllable, the penultimate inherent vowel is pronounced while the final one is dropped, e.g., कलम is pronounced as *ka^hla^hm*. In words of four syllables where the inherent vowel occurs in each syllable, both the antepenultimate and final inherent vowels are dropped, e.g., उबटन ‘mask (cosmetic)’ is pronounced as *u^hba^hta^hn* and मरकत ‘emerald’ is pronounced as *ma^hra^hka^ht*.

These general principles, however, do not apply to words containing medial *h*, loanwords, compounds, and words formed with derivational suffixes. For instance, समझ ‘understand’ with the inflectional suffix *-a* to signal perfect aspect is pronounced *sa^hm^hja^ha*, but with the derivational agentive suffix *-dar* is pronounced *sa^hm^hja^hdar* ‘sensible’. In contrast, the verb मəhək ‘to smell (INTR)’ is *ma^həka* in the perfective, with the inherent vowel following *h* pronounced.

The inherent vowel *a* is pronounced more fronted, almost as a short *ε*, if immediately followed by *h*, or if it immediately precedes and follows *h* within a word in Western Hindi, e.g., [behra] ‘hard of hearing’, [ʃeher] ‘city’, and [keh]. It has its regular pronunciation if it follows initial *h* in a word, e.g., [hara] ‘green’, [har] ‘each’, [ham] ‘we’.

The vowels *ε* and *ɔ* are pronounced as diphthongs *əi* and *əu* preceding the continuants *y* and *v*, respectively, as has been mentioned before. This pronunciation is not reflected in the writing system. Examples are *geya* ‘cow’, pronounced as [gəi^hya], and *hava* ‘monster’, pronounced as [həu^hva].

2.4.2. Pronunciation and Script

A number of OIA vowel and consonant symbols have been retained in the script that are no longer pronounced as they were in OIA. The following exemplify such symbols:

ऋ ष क्ष ङ. The retroflex vowel ऋ is now pronounced as a sequence of consonantal *r* and the vowel *i*, i.e., *ri*. It is, however, still retained in the writing system in Sanskrit borrowings such as *kripa* ‘grace,’ *vriṭṭa* ‘uselessly,’ *driṣṭi* ‘vision’, etc. The retroflex sibilant ष [ʃ] is pronounced as श [ʃ] by educated speakers, e.g., in Sanskrit borrowings such as *paṣaṇ* [paʃaṇ] ‘stone’; in the homorganic clusters, however, the retroflex character of the sibilant is maintained, e.g., *priṣṭḥ* ‘page.’ (see Chapter 3 also). The cluster क्ष [kʃə] is pronounced in Hindi as [cʰə], except in educated speech. The cluster ङ [jŋə] is pronounced as [gyə] by most educated speakers also. The nasal consonants ञ, ण, ण are distinctive only in select number of words in clusters as has been mentioned earlier; they do not contrast in all positions and all environments with the dental *n* and the bilabial *m*.

A number of sounds change in the vicinity of other sounds; these are not always indicated in writing. For instance, when a front or central vowel is followed by a mid or low central vowel, there is a transitional continuant *y* discernible in pronunciation. For example, the root *sī* ‘sew’ followed by the perfect suffix *a* is pronounced as well as written सिया [siya], and *k^ha* ‘eat’ followed by the perfect suffix *a* is pronounced and written [k^haya]. When a back vowel is followed by a mid or low back or central vowel, a transitional *v* or its variant *w* is discernible in pronunciation, e.g., कौआ /kəʌ/ ‘crow’ is pronounced as [kəʌva], and सुआ /sua/ ‘parrot’ is pronounced as [suva]. The writing system is not always consistent in reflecting these pronunciation facts. For example, *k^ha* followed by the feminine form of the perfect *-ī* is not written *k^hayī*; it is written *k^haī*. The word /kəʌ/ has an alternative written form, कौवा /kəʌva/, but /sua/ has no alternative spelling.¹

In the borrowings from English, the alveolar plosives of English are pronounced as retroflexes in Hindi, and the interdental fricatives are pronounced as dental plosives. Perceptually, the English interdental voiceless fricative suggests similarity with a voiceless aspirated dental plosive, whereas the voiced one sounds similar to a voiced aspirated dental plosive to a Hindi speaker. Similarly, the shared place of articulation, the alveolar ridge, seems to suggest similarity between English alveolar sounds and Hindi retroflex sounds. The quality may differ, but the contrast between English alveolar plosives and interdental fricatives is maintained with the contrast between retroflex and dental plosives.

2.5. Stress

Stress is not distinctive, e.g., a word such as *səman* ‘equal’, whether stressed on the first syllable and pronounced as *səman* or stressed on the second syllable and pronounced as *səman* means the same thing.² Stress is related to syllable weight. Syllables are classified as one of the three measures of weight: light (syllables ending in a lax, short vowel), medium (syllables ending in a tense, long vowel, or a lax, short vowel followed by a consonant), and heavy (others). Where one syllable in a word is of greater weight than the others, the tendency is to place the word stress on it. Where more than one syllable is of maximum weight in a word (i.e., there is a succession of medium and heavy syllables), usually the last but one bears the word stress. In pronunciation, the vowel quality, as well as length, is maintained irrespective of stress placement. Thus, whether a word such as *g^həbrahəʃ* ‘panic’ is pronounced as *g^həbrahəʃ* or *g^həbrahəʃ*, the vowel quality and the length of the syllable *-ra-* remains unaffected. Words such as *amada* ‘intent’ are pronounced with three successive medium syllables, although only the first or the second is stressed.

2.6. Syllables

Syllable boundaries in words fall between successive vowels, e.g., *so-ī* ‘slept’ (F), *k^ha-i-e* ‘eat’ (HON); between a vowel and a following consonant, e.g., *k^ha-na* ‘eat’, *sə-za* ‘punishment’, *a-ʃa* ‘flour’; between consonants, e.g., *bəc-pən* ‘childhood’, *dub-la* ‘thin’; *hin-dī* ‘the Hindi language’.

2.6.1. Syllable Structure

In monosyllabic morphemes, syllables have the following structure:

V	<i>a</i>	‘come’
VC	<i>əb</i>	‘now’
VCC	<i>ənt</i>	‘end’
CV	<i>ja</i>	‘go’
CVC	<i>kam</i>	‘work’
CVCC	<i>maŋg, dost</i>	‘demand’, ‘friend’
CCV	<i>kya</i>	‘what’
CCVC	<i>pyar</i>	‘love’

Loanwords, basically from Sanskrit, have added more complex syllable structures, as in the following:

VCCC	<i>əstr</i>	‘missile’	
CVCCC	<i>fastr</i>	‘science’	
CCVCC	<i>spərf</i>	‘touch’	
CCVCCC	<i>spərfy</i>	‘touchable’	
CCCV	<i>strī</i>	‘woman’	
CCCVC	<i>smrit</i>	‘recollected’	
CCCVCC	<i>spriṣṭ</i>	‘touched’	<i>spring</i> (E) ‘spring (coil)’

2.7. Morphophonemic Alternations

Morphophonemic alternation refers to a process whereby sounds undergo changes when in juxtaposition with other sounds within a word. The following processes operate to effect such changes in vowel and consonant sounds in the native and borrowed vocabulary.

Although most derivational and inflectional morphology of Hindi is affixal in nature, there are remnants of the morphophonemic alternation of vowels of the *guṇa* and *vr̥dd^hi* type in a substantial number of verbal roots and nominal compounds. These processes were very common in Sanskrit. The series of corresponding *guṇa* and *vr̥dd^hi* alternations are as follows:

Simple vowels	<i>ə</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>r̥</i>
			∨	∨			
<i>guṇa</i> vowels	<i>ə</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>r̥</i>	
	∨						
<i>vr̥dd^hi</i> vowels	<i>a</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ar</i>			

The *guṇa* increment is an Indo-European phenomenon whereas the *vr̥dd^hi* increment is specifically Indian in origin. The term *guṇa* denotes a lengthening of the simple vowels *ə*, *i*, *e*, when preceded by an *ə*-element. The term *vr̥dd^hi* indicates a further lengthening of the *guṇa* vowels. In Indo-European linguistics, it has become a term for the lengthened grade of the *ablaut* vowel gradation, a well-known characteristic of the Indo-European languages. These processes are still described under Sandhi rules in Hindi grammars and utilized to some extent in coining new compounds of borrowings from Sanskrit for modernizing Hindi. Some examples of the verbal roots, inherited from OIA,

that exemplify these processes are pairs such as *kəṭ* ‘cut’ (INTR) and *kaṭ* ‘cut’ (TR), *dik^h* ‘be visible’ and *dek^h* ‘see’, *k^hul* ‘open’ (INTR) and *k^hol* ‘open’ (TR), *tūt* ‘break’ (INTR) and *toṭ* ‘break’ (TR).

Examples of nominal compounds borrowed from Sanskrit are *māha + indr* = *māhendr* ‘great king of gods’, *sāda + ev* = *sādev* ‘always’. Some examples of modern compound nouns utilizing the same principles are *kṣetrā + ad^hikar* = *kṣetrād^hikar* ‘jurisdiction’, *sub^hā + icc^hu* = *sub^hecc^hu* ‘well-wisher’, *sārvā + udāy* = *sārvodāy* ‘uplift of all’. Note that the rules of increment still apply even though the words *kṣetrā* ‘area’ or *sārvā* ‘all’ are not pronounced with the final inherent vowel in Hindi. The retroflex vowel alternating with *ə* and *a* is attested in Sanskrit borrowings such as *kr* ‘to do’, *kārm* ‘action’ and *kary* ‘work’, though the root *kr* ‘to do’ has undergone phonological change and occurs as *kār* in Hindi.

When a stem ending in a tense high vowel is immediately followed by a suffixal long vowel, the stem long vowel is shortened, e.g., *lāṭkī* ‘girl’ + *ā* ‘plural marker’ = *lāṭkiyā* ‘girls’, *sī* ‘sew’ + *a* ‘perfect’ = *siya* ‘sewed’, *c^hū* ‘touch’ + *a* ‘perfect’ = *c^hua* [or *c^huva*] ‘touched’.

When two vowels are adjacent as a result of affixation, the continuant *-y-* is inserted, e.g., *a* ‘come’ + *a* ‘perfect’ = *aya* ‘came’, *pī* ‘drink’ + *a* ‘perfect’ = *piya* ‘drank’, *so* ‘sleep’ + *a* ‘perfect’ = *soya* ‘slept’. As has been said before (section 2.4.2), when a back vowel is followed by a mid or low back or central vowel in a word, a transitional */v/* or its variant *[w]* is discernible in pronunciation, e.g., */kəa/* is pronounced as *[kəuva]*, and */sua/* is pronounced as *[suw/va]*.

The entire range of morphophonemic alternations is illustrated in the chapter on word formation (Chapter 5).

2.8. Intonation

Very little work has been done on Hindi intonation, hence the following observations are very general.

There are three discernible patterns of intonation: fall, rise, and rise-fall. Statements and commands have a falling intonation, where the item under focus registers the highest level of pitch, and the pitch level gradually falls as the utterance comes to an end. In the following sentences, any word, of course, can be under focus; for illustrative purposes, I have chosen the first word in examples (1-2) and the second word in example (3) to be the focus of the utterance (indicated by bold face):

- (1) *bacce so gəye hẽ*
 child.M.PL sleep go.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘The children are asleep.’
- (2) *turənt g^hər cəle jao*
 immediately home move.PERF.PL go.FAM.IMP
 ‘Go home immediately.’
- (3) *vəh j^hũ^h nəhĩ bol səkta*
 he lie not tell can.IMPF.M.SG
 ‘He can not tell a lie.’

Questions, including tags, have a rising intonation, as in the following examples where the items in bold register a high level of pitch:

- (4) *kya raja vāhā ja rāha hẽ?*
 INTER Raja.M.SG there go PROG.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘Is Raja going there?’
- (5) *səc kəh rāhĩ ho?*
 truth tell PROG.F FAM.PRES.F
 ‘Are you telling the truth?’
- (6) *tum uskĩ fadĩ mẽ ja rāhe ho nə?*
 you (s)he.POSS.F wedding.F in go PROG.PL FAM.PRES TAG
 ‘You are going to his/her wedding, aren’t you?’

Information questions have a rise-fall intonation pattern with the pitch rising on the question word (e.g., ‘when’, ‘what’, ‘where’, etc.) and falling off on the next word of the sentence:

- (7) *ap sīma se kəb milna cahẽge?*
 you.HON Seema with when meet.INF wish.FUT.M.PL
 ‘When would you like to meet with Seema?’
- (8) *rakef ne rajũ se kya kəha t^ha?*
 Rakesh.M.SG AG Raju.M.SG with what say.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘What did Rakesh say to Raju?’
- (9) *fikha kəhā ja rāhĩ hẽ?*
 Shikha.F where go PROG.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Where is Shikha going?’

Notes

1. This may, however, be changing. I am told by Tej K. Bhatia that he has come across the form *suva* for *sua* in writing (personal communication).
2. The stressed syllables are in bold type face.

3. Devanagari Script

3.0. Devanagari

Hindi is written in the Devanagari script. This script is used for Sanskrit and several other Indo-Aryan languages as well. The inventory of the slightly modified set of Devanagari characters that Hindi utilizes is given below.

3.1. Vowels

Hindi has ten vowels and thirty-three consonants in the chart of letters; in addition, there is one retroflex vowel symbol that is now pronounced as a sequence of /r/ and /i/, i.e., /ri/, a nasalized vowel symbol representing the sequence /əm/, a vowel with a breathy release represented by the sequence /əh/, and there are three consonant clusters with special symbols: /kʂə/, /trə/ and /jɳə/.

3.1.1. Independent Forms

The independent vowel forms are as follows; the three sequences are in parenthesis:

ə	a	i	ī	u	ū	e	ε	o	ɔ	(ri, əm, əh)
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	(ऋ, अं, अः)

The first vowel, the neutral vowel, is inherent in all independent forms of consonants.

3.1.2. Combining or Matra Forms

The *matra* or combining forms of vowels that occur with the consonants are as follows:

ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ	ॐ
a	i	ī	u	ū	e	ε	o	o

The combined consonant + vowel forms appear as follows:

k + a	=	का	/ka/
k + i	=	कि	/ki/
k + ī	=	की	/kī/
k + u	=	कु	/ku/
k + ū	=	कू	/kū/
k + e	=	के	/ke/
k + ε	=	कै	/kε/
k + o	=	को	/ko/
k + o	=	कौ	/kɔ/

Note that in case the consonant is combined with a *matra*, the inherent vowel is no longer pronounced; thus, /ka/ is pronounced as [ka] and not as [kəa]. The symbol to indicate a pure consonant with no inherent vowel is [̣] below the consonant; thus, the consonant /k/ is represented in the script as [क̣]. The characters that are formed with a vertical line when combined with the *matra* forms appear as follows:

ता	ति	ती	तु	तू	ते	तै
ta	ti	tī	tu	tū	te	tε

In addition, the following *matra* is used to indicate the original OIA retroflex vowel: ॠ for ऋ /r/. Thus, प + ऋ is written as पृ /pṛ/. The consonant द /d/ followed by the retroflex vowel has the form दृ /dṛ/, and the consonant /h/ followed by the same vowel has the shape हृ /hṛ/. Note that the pronunciation of the retroflex vowel is no longer that of a vowel; it is pronounced /ri/ or /ir/, although the latter is considered non-standard. Thus, हृ is pronounced as [hri]; a word such as कृपा is pronounced as [kripa] or [kirpa] depending on how standard or non-standard one's speech is.

The symbol ॠ represents a nasal off-glide in Sanskrit (see Cardona 1987: 455). Inherent vowel nasalization in Hindi is represented by *chandrabindu*, / ̣ /, e.g., आक /ak/ 'a plant, *catatropis gigantea*' vs. आँक /āk/ 'draw'; सास 'mother-in-law' vs. साँस 'breath'. A distinction is made between nasalization of a vowel, which is represented by the symbol / ̣ /, and a combination of a nasal consonant with a (mostly homorganic) consonant, e.g., चाँप /cap/ 'to press' vs. चंपा or चम्पा /cəmpa/ 'name of a flower'. This distinction is still important for Sanskrit, but has been neutralized for printing Hindi in recent years. The

nasalization symbol / [̃] / is no longer used in Hindi printing; instead, the symbol / [̣] / or *anusvar* is used for both nasalization and the representation of a nasal consonant + an oral consonant cluster, except where they are in contrast.

The symbol / : / (*visarga*) is used to denote a breathy release of a vowel as in अतः, which is pronounced /ətəh/ ‘therefore’.

3.2. Syllabary: Consonants

The consonants are arranged in a syllabary, beginning with the velar series and ending with sibilants, as in the following chart (the Roman equivalents are given below the Devanagari characters).

3.2.1. Representation of Independent Forms

The consonants are listed in their independent forms, which include the consonant + the inherent vowel /ə/:

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ					
<i>k</i>	<i>k^h</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g^h</i>	<i>ŋ</i>					
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ					
<i>c</i>	<i>c^h</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>j^h</i>	<i>ɟ</i>					
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण					
<i>t</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d^h</i>	<i>ɳ</i>					
त	थ	द	ध	न					
<i>t</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d^h</i>	<i>n</i>					
प	फ	ब	भ	म					
<i>p</i>	<i>p^h</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b^h</i>	<i>m</i>					
य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह		
<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v/w</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>		

In addition to these, there are letters representing two retroflex flaps, and three composite characters; the latter are very important for lexical items borrowed from Sanskrit:

Retroflex flaps:	ड	ढ							
	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ɗ</i>							
Composite characters:	क्ष	त्र	ज्ञ						
	<i>kʂə</i>	<i>trə</i>	<i>gɟə</i>						

Note that ज्ञ [*ɟnə* in Sanskrit] has been velarized in Hindi.

The following modified letters are used in the Perso-Arabic borrowings with the pronunciations given below them:

क़	ख़	ग़	ज़	फ़
q	x	ɣ	z	f

The last two sounds, [z] and [f], occur in borrowings from English, too. But they first came into Hindi via Perso-Arabic.

3.2.2. Representation of Combining Forms

The combining forms of consonants which occur in conjunct consonants are as follows (some of the consonants have no combining forms; they are written with a special diacritic, *halant* [̣], to indicate the absence of the inherent vowel):¹

क	क़	ग	ग़	
k	k ^h	g	g ^h	
च	च़	ज	ज़	
c	j	j ^h	ɟ	
ण				
ण़				
ट	ट़	ड	ड़	
t	t ^h	d	d ^h	n
प	प़	ब	ब़	म
p	p ^h	b	b ^h	m
य	य़	र	ऱ	ल
y	ɽ	ɽ	ɽ	l

There are three forms of the segment *r*: one that represents the र with a following consonant; a second that represents a combination with a preceding non-retroflex consonant; and a third that represents a combination with a preceding retroflex consonant:

- Preceding: *r* (e.g., अ + र + थ = अर्थ /ərtʰ/ ‘meaning’ or ‘money’;
 आ + र + ड = आर्डर /ˈɑːdər/ ‘order’)
- Following: *r* (e.g., भ + द + र = भद्र /bʰəd̪r/ ‘cultured’)
- With the retroflex series: _̣ (e.g., रा + र + ट + र = राष्ट्र /rɑːʂtṛ/ ‘nation’)

The letter द occurs in the following combined forms:

द	द़	ध	ध़
dd̪	dd ^h	dy̪	dy̪̪

The combination श + र is written as श्र.

The letter ह /h/ occurs in the following combined forms:

हृ	ह्र	ह्य
<i>hri</i>	<i>hmr</i>	<i>hyə</i>

The geminated or double consonants of the affricate and retroflex series and the dental *n* are written one below the other as in हृ = *ttə*, ह्र = *tʰtʰə*, च = *ttə*, द = *ddə*, and न = *nnə*. The three-consonant cluster *kttə* is written as क्त. Certain combined forms are not available in fonts on computers.

A sample Devanagari text follows (see Appendix 1 for glosses):

गद्य का मूलाधार भाषा का बोलचाल का रूप होता है। पर यह भी ध्यान देने की बात है कि बोल-चाल के रूप में प्रयुक्त भाषा अपनी प्रकृति में अधूरी, टूटी-फूटी और बक्ता, श्रोता के स्थान और समय से बँधी होती है। मौखिक होने के कारण इसमें सुर-लहरियों एवं अनुतान की प्रधानता होती है। प्रत्यक्ष संभाषण होने के कारण वार्तालाप में अर्थ संप्रेषण का कार्य मुद्राओं से भी लिया जाता है। पर लिखित होने के कारण गद्य में सुर, अनुतान, आंगिक मुद्राओं आदि से संप्रेषित अर्थ की अभिव्यक्ति भाषा के भीतर ही रह कर व्यक्त करनी पड़ती है।

Srivastava (2000: 29)

‘The basis of prose is the spoken form of the language. But it is worth keeping in mind that the language used in speech is by nature fragmentary, disorganized and bound by speaker-hearer time. Since it is oral, it is primarily characterized by tone and intonation. In face-to-face interaction, gestures are also used to convey meanings, but as it is written, in prose the meanings conveyed by tones, intonation and gestures have to be conveyed from within the language.’

Note

1. Certain combinations of consonants are not available in the Devanagari fonts devised for computers. These include the forms for the following combinations:

ccə, jjə, tʰtʰə, hnə, hrə, hlə, hvə,

The device of *halant* or other forms of combining letters are used instead of the traditional letters to represent the doubling of palatal voiceless and voiced unaspirated affricates, e.g., ज्ञ for *jjə*.

4. Parts of Speech

4.0. Parts of Speech

The following parts of speech may be posited for Hindi on the basis of morphological and syntactic—both formal and functional—criteria: Noun, Determiner, Pronoun, Adjective, Verb, Adverb, Postposition, Conjunction, Particle, and Interjection. These are described in detail in the following sections.

4.1. Noun

Morphologically, a noun represents a class of lexical items that is inflected for gender, number, and case. Syntactically, the category noun cooccurs with determiners, adjectives, and postpositions, and functions as subject of a sentence, object of a verb and a postposition, complement of a verb, modifier of a noun in a compound noun, and a constituent of the conjunct verb (or, nominal compound verb).

Nouns are inherently masculine or feminine, and count or non-count. Neither animacy nor natural gender is relevant for grammatical gender of nouns: *cadār* ‘sheet’ is feminine, *kāmbəl* ‘blanket’ is masculine, *panī* ‘water’ is masculine, *cay* ‘tea’ is feminine. The only exception is that natural gender and grammatical gender coincide for human nouns; other animate nouns belong to one gender category or another, e.g., *billī* ‘cat’ is feminine, *kutta* ‘dog’ is masculine. The grammatical gender category can be changed by derivational processes, e.g., the feminine *b^hēs* ‘water buffalo’ has a corresponding derived masculine form *b^hēsa* (see 4.1.3 below).

Most abstract nouns are mass nouns in that they do not show the number distinction, whereas most concrete nouns are count nouns and are inflected for number. However, there are abstract nouns that have plural forms, e.g., *aśa* ‘hope’, *aśaē* ‘hopes’, *b^havna* ‘sentiment’, *b^havnaē* ‘sentiments’, etc. Just as in English, some concrete nouns that are inherently non-count can be used as

count nouns, e.g., *do cay* ‘two teas’, though it is more common to use them with partitives, e.g., *do gilās panī* ‘two glasses (of) water’.

The count/non-count distinction has not been a major topic of discussion in Hindi grammars as it is not relevant for grammatical description in the same way as it is in English grammar (in English, there are interesting cooccurrence restrictions between articles and nouns depending upon the count/mass distinction). For instance, there is no mention of such inherent properties of nouns in teaching texts such as McGregor (1972). The most important grammatical characteristic of nouns is their interface with gender, number and case.

Syntactically, nouns are of two types: those that take a clausal complement and those that do not. The abstract nouns that take a clausal complement are *bat* ‘that which is said, matter’, *dava* ‘claim’, *vicar* ‘idea, opinion’, *irada* ‘intention’, *icc^ha* ‘wish’, *əfvah* ‘rumor’, *k^həbər* ‘news’, etc. The complement constructions are discussed in detail in section 9.1.

4.1.1. *Categories of Nouns*

It is not the case that gender, number and case are always overtly marked in nouns; many nouns have zero markers for these grammatical categories. However, nouns have to be described in terms of gender, number and case markings, as they have consequences for agreement patterns in sentences.

In order to describe the number and gender system, it is necessary to make a distinction between common and proper nouns. Strictly speaking, only common nouns inflect for gender, number and case, and cooccur with determiners. Proper nouns are assigned to specific gender categories and remain the same in all numbers and cases; they, however, inflect for these categories if used as common nouns, e.g., *klas kī səb^hī ləlitaē* ‘all the Lalitas (girls named Lalita) in the class’.

All nouns in Hindi are assigned a grammatical gender which may or may not coincide with natural gender.

4.1.2. *Number*

The number system is grammatical in that it is not possible on the basis of meaning to predict which noun is to be treated as countable and therefore is to participate in the two-way number distinction, singular vs. plural. For instance, *aḥa* ‘hope’ is count, *dər* ‘fear’ is not; *dal* ‘lentil’ is count, *d^han* ‘paddy, unhusked rice’ is not.

The number-marking system of common nouns depends upon three features of the noun: its ending, its gender, and its case. This can be seen from the following examples.

a. Masculine nouns ending in *-a* have a plural form ending in *-e* in the direct case. The oblique case forms are *-e* in singular and *-ō* in plural. The vocative forms are *-e* in singular and *-o* in the plural. A noun such as *larka* ‘boy’, therefore, has the forms *larka* ‘boys’ (PL.DIR), *larka* ‘boy’ (SG.OBL), *larkō* ‘boys’ (PL.OBL), *larka* ‘boy’ (SG.VOC) and *larko* ‘boys’ (PL.VOC).¹

b. Masculine nouns ending in consonants, or in a vowel other than *-a*, have a zero marker for the direct plural and the oblique and vocative singular, and *-ō* for the oblique plural and *-o* for the vocative plural. Therefore, nouns such as *sunar* ‘goldsmith’ and *b^haī* ‘brother’ have the following forms: *sunar* and *b^haī* in the singular in all cases, *sunarō* and *b^haiyō* in the oblique plural and *sunaro* and *b^haiyo* in the vocative plural.

c. Feminine nouns ending in *-ī* have the same form in all the three cases in the singular, but have a direct plural form ending in *-iyā*, an oblique plural form ending in *-iyō*, and a vocative plural form ending in *-iyo*. A noun such as *larkī* ‘girl’ thus has the following forms: *larkiyā* (PL.DIR), *larkiyō* (PL.OBL) and *larkiyō* (PL.VOC).

d. Feminine nouns ending in consonants or in a vowel other than *-ī* have a direct plural form ending in *-ē*, an oblique plural form ending in *-ō*, and a vocative plural form ending in *-o*. Thus, a noun such as *bāhan* ‘sister’ has the following forms: *bāhnē* (PL.DIR), *bāhnō* (PL.OBL), and *bāhno* (PL.VOC), and *mata* ‘mother’ has the following forms: *mataē* (PL.DIR), *mataō* (PL.OBL), and *matao* (PL.VOC).

Whereas the final *-a* in masculine nouns is replaced by the plural endings, the feminine nouns retain the final *-a*. Long vowels other than *-a* in masculine and feminine nouns become short in the plural. The morphophonemic changes that the vowels undergo in the plural are as follows:

Morphophonemic Changes in the Noun:	
SG	PL
<i>-a</i>	<i>-e</i> (M)
<i>-ī</i>	<i>-i</i>
<i>-ū</i>	<i>-u</i>

4.1.3. *Gender*

As has been mentioned before, all nouns in Hindi are assigned to either masculine or feminine gender. For instance, *g^həɾ* ‘house’ is masculine, *c^hət* ‘roof’ is feminine; *kutta* ‘dog’ is masculine, *billī* ‘cat’ is feminine; *mor* ‘peacock’ is masculine, *koyəl* ‘cuckoo’ is feminine; *panī* ‘water’ is masculine, *cay* ‘tea’ is feminine, and so on. This, however, does not mean that Hindi does not make a distinction between male and female cats, dogs, and birds, or that there is no way of making a distinction between animate and inanimate in Hindi.

It is possible to derive a gender-different noun from an inherently masculine or feminine noun. The morphology involved is as follows:

- a. If the inherently masculine noun ends in *-a*, the corresponding feminine form ends in *-ī* or *-iya*, as in the following pairs:

M		F	
<i>larka</i>	‘boy’	<i>larkī</i>	‘girl’
<i>caca</i>	‘father’s younger brother’	<i>cacī</i>	‘aunt, <i>caca</i> ’s wife’
<i>cela</i>	‘disciple’	<i>celī</i>	‘female disciple’
<i>beta</i>	‘son’	<i>betī</i>	‘daughter’
<i>gəɖ^ha</i>	‘donkey’	<i>gəɖ^hī</i>	‘female donkey’
<i>kutta</i>	‘dog’	<i>kuttī</i>	‘female dog’
<i>cūha</i>	‘mouse’	<i>cuhīya</i>	‘female mouse’

Some nouns have female forms ending both in *-ī* and *-iya*; in these cases, the forms ending in *-iya* are diminutive forms expressing an affectionate or a pejorative meaning:

M		F		F.DIM
<i>beta</i>	‘son’	<i>betī</i>	‘daughter’	<i>biṭiya</i>
<i>bəndər</i>	‘monkey’	<i>bəndrī</i>	‘female monkey’	<i>bəndriya</i>
<i>būṭ^ha</i>	‘old man’	<i>būṭ^hī</i>	‘old woman’	<i>būṭ^hīya</i>
<i>qibba</i>	‘container’	<i>qibbī</i>	‘small box’	<i>qibiya</i>
<i>kutta</i>	‘dog’	<i>kuttī</i>	‘female dog’	<i>kutiya</i>

The semantic and pragmatic import of the diminutive forms varies enormously. Whereas the diminutive form for ‘daughter’ is affectionate, the one for ‘box’ denotes a very small box, the ones for ‘monkey’ and ‘old woman’ can be either neutral or even affectionate, but the one for ‘dog’ is definitely pejorative and is used as a term of abuse.

b. Several masculine nouns ending in a vowel other than *-a*, or in a consonant, have corresponding feminine forms in *-nī*, *-in*, *-ain* and *-anī*:

	M		F		
	<i>fer</i>	‘lion’		<i>fernī</i>	
	<i>ūṭ</i>	‘camel’		<i>ūṭnī</i>	
	<i>bag^h</i>	‘tiger’		<i>bag^hin</i>	
	<i>malik</i>	‘master’		<i>malkin</i>	
	<i>d^hobī</i>	‘launderer’		<i>d^hobin</i>	
	<i>naī</i>	‘barber’		<i>nain</i>	
	<i>sahū</i>	‘merchant’		<i>səhuain</i>	
	<i>gurū</i>	‘teacher’		<i>guruain</i>	
	<i>nəkār</i>	‘servant’		<i>nəkranī</i>	‘maid’
	<i>jeṭ^h</i>	‘husband’s older brother’		<i>jiṭ^hanī</i>	‘jeṭ ^h ’s wife’
	<i>devər</i>	‘husband’s younger brother’		<i>devranī</i>	‘devər’ ^s wife’

Note that items such as *d^hobin*, *nain*, *səhuain* and *guruain* do not mean a female launderer, barber, merchant, and teacher, respectively; instead, they refer to the wife of a launderer, barber, merchant and teacher.

c. A corresponding masculine form of an inherently feminine noun, if it ends in *-ī*, is formed by replacing the *-ī* ending by *-a*, and if the noun ends in a consonant, by adding the derivational suffix *-a*, e.g.,

	F		M	
	<i>bəkrī</i>	‘goat’	<i>bəkra</i>	‘ram’
	<i>billī</i>	‘cat’	<i>billa</i>	‘tom cat’
	<i>b^hēṣ</i>	‘water buffalo’	<i>b^hēṣa</i>	‘male buffalo’
	<i>b^heṛ</i>	‘ewe’	<i>b^heṛa</i>	‘sheep’

A legitimate question arises: how do grammarians decide which forms are basic and which ones are derived? The answer is, they follow the conventional wisdom of speakers, who use the labels on the left as generic terms. Lexicographers follow the same convention when they list the words on the left as head entries in dictionaries.

4.1.4. *Gender and Number of Borrowed Nouns*

All borrowed nouns are assigned gender—masculine or feminine—following the rules of Hindi, i.e., on the basis of their word-final vowel or consonant (irrespective of their gender in the source language), or on the basis of their semantics, or both. The inflection for number depends upon the gender

assignment. The following is a description of how each borrowed Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and English noun is assigned to a gender category in Hindi.

SANSKRIT NOUNS

All nouns ending in the retroflex vowel *-ṛ* or the dental nasal *-ṇ* in Sanskrit are borrowed into Hindi with an *-a* ending. They are assigned the masculine gender, e.g., *pita* ‘father’ (Skt. *pitṛ*), *kārta* ‘agent’ (Skt. *kārṭṛ*), *raja* ‘king’ (Skt. *rajān*), *yuva* ‘youth’ (Skt. *yuvān*), etc. The exceptions are items with natural feminine gender, e.g., *mata* ‘mother’ (Skt. *matṛ*). However, there are some nouns which have no natural gender although they end in *-a*, e.g., *atma* ‘soul’ (Skt. *atmān*). The noun is used as a feminine noun in Hindi, though the grammars classify it as a masculine noun (Guru 1919 [1962]: 207). Other nouns, i.e., those ending in other vowels and consonants, are assigned gender on the basis of their resemblance to indigenous Hindi nouns. For example, *pākṣī* ‘bird’ (Skt. *pākṣin*) is masculine (cf. the shared ending in Hindi *b^haī*), and so is *b^hagvan* ‘God’ (cf. the shared ending in Hindi *pan* ‘betel leaf’).

Most masculine nouns from Sanskritic sources ending in *-a* follow the rules for number assignment indigenous to Hindi. They do not have a direct plural form in *-e*. Therefore, the direct plural of *pita* ‘father’ is *pita* ‘fathers’. Other nouns from Sanskritic sources behave as comparable Hindi nouns do.

PERSO-ARABIC NOUNS

Perso-Arabic borrowings are generally inflected for gender and number following the rules of Hindi. Exceptions are, however, made in a subset of nouns by some educated speakers familiar with the inflections borrowed from Arabic and Persian used in High Urdu. Some such items are: *karāz* ‘paper’ (M.SG), *karāzat* ‘papers’ (PL.DIR); *mākan* ‘house’ (M.SG), *mākanat* ‘houses’ (PL.DIR); *berām* ‘queen’ (F.SG), *bermat* ‘queens’ (PL.DIR); *šarīf* ‘noble’ (M.SG), *šraf* ‘nobles’ (PL.DIR); *xatūn* ‘lady’ (F.SG), *xavatīn* ‘ladies’ (F.PL); *hāqīm* ‘official’ (M.SG), *huqqam* ‘officials’ (PL.DIR); *sahāb* ‘boss’ (M.SG), *sahban* ‘bosses’ (PL.DIR); *xābār* ‘news’ (F.SG), *axbar* ‘news’ (PL.DIR); *āmīr* ‘noble’ (M.SG), *umra* ‘noble men’ (PL.DIR), etc.

Note that the item *axbar* means ‘newspaper’ in Hindi and is used in the singular. It is hardly ever used as a plural for news items.

ENGLISH NOUNS

Hindi has borrowed a large number of nouns from English. Some of these items have been assimilated completely and are treated like regular Hindi nouns, e.g., *rel* ‘train’, *bās* ‘bus’, *skūl* ‘school’, *fail* ‘file’. They are assigned to a gender category either on the basis of their form, i.e., the final vowel or

consonant, or on the basis of their meaning. For instance, *rel* and *bās* are feminine, whereas *skūl* is masculine. Since *rel* and *bās* are types of vehicles and *rel* also collocates with *gaṛī* ‘vehicle’, which is feminine, both of these items are feminine. The item *skūl*, on the other hand, is equivalent to a Sanskrit compound assigned to the category of masculine nouns, *vidyalāy* ‘house of learning’, hence, it is masculine.

Some borrowed nouns which are not fully assimilated are treated as either masculine or feminine depending upon speaker/writer preference, e.g., *riekṣān* ‘reaction’ may be treated either as a masculine noun, or, if equated with the Sanskrit borrowing *prātikriyā* ‘reaction’, which is feminine, as a feminine noun. These unassimilated items may be inflected for number and case, or used as exceptional invariable nouns, or used with the English plural ending *-s*.

The use of borrowed items with English inflectional endings is illustrated in the following sentences:

- (1) *mera propozāl un s̄abke propozāls se*
 I.POSS.M proposal.M.SG those all.POSS.OBL proposals than
acc^ha he.
 good.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘My proposal is better than the proposals of all those people.’
- (2) *hāmē s̄ab et^hnic grups ke sat^h mil kār r̄ahna he.*
 we.OBL.DAT all ethnic groups with mix CP live.INF PRES.SG
 ‘We have to live in harmony with all ethnic groups.’

The verb phrase *r̄ahna he* has been translated as ‘have to live’ as the form *V.INF. ho* is a modal of necessity in Hindi and requires the subject to be dative-marked as in sentence (2); see section 4.5.6.2.

4.1.5. Case

A three-way distinction is made between direct, oblique and vocative case forms. All other cases are indicated by postpositions, as they are in English by prepositions. For example, the accusative/dative case is marked by the postposition *ko* ‘to’, the instrumental by *se* ‘by, with’, the locative by *mē* ‘in’, *pār* ‘on’, etc. (see 4.7 below for a detailed discussion). The direct singular form of a noun functions similarly to the nominative in other languages, is grammatically the unmarked form, and is, therefore, the citation form listed in dictionaries. The formation of oblique and vocative is described below.

All borrowed nouns—whether from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic or English—have case inflections just like the native stock of nouns.

DIRECT CASE

The direct case form, or the nominative, is unmarked and functions as the subject (except in oblique subject constructions, see 8.6.11 and 8.7.2), the direct object, and the complement of the verb. In sentences (3) and (4) below, all the nouns are in the direct case:

- (3) *larka* *b^hēs* *cārata* *he*.
 boy.M.SG water buffalo.F.SG graze.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The boy grazes water buffaloes.’

- (4) *larkī* *cārk^ha* *cāla* *rāhī* *he*.
 girl.F.SG spinning wheel.M.SG move.CAUS PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘The girl is operating a spinning wheel.’

OBLIQUE CASE

The oblique case is formed by suffixation and functions as the object of a postposition, as in sentence (5):

- (5) *mē* *kāl* *sāb^hī* *larkō* *se* *mil*
 I yesterday all.EMPH boy.PL.OBL with meet
cuka *hū*.
 Cmpl.PERF.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘I met all the boys yesterday.’

In (5), *larkō* is an example of an oblique noun, which is the object of the postposition *se* ‘with’.

The oblique case is a grammatical case with no independent semantic content, but obligatorily marked in nouns and pronouns when they are followed by a postposition. Adjectives are marked for oblique case in agreement with the noun which they modify, e.g., *acc^he larkē se* ‘with the good boy’ where *acc^ha* ‘good’ is in its oblique form *acc^he* to agree with the oblique singular noun *larkē* ‘boy’. The formation of oblique case forms in nouns obeys the following rules:

- a. In masculine nouns, the *-a* ending is replaced by *-e* in the oblique singular and *-ō* in the oblique plural, e.g., *larka* ‘boy’ (SG.DIR), *larkē* ‘boy’ (SG.OBL) and *larkō* ‘boys’ (PL.OBL);

b. In masculine nouns ending in a vowel other than *-a* or in a consonant, the oblique singular is marked by $-\phi$ and the oblique plural by $-\tilde{o}$, e.g., *b^haī* ‘brother’ (SG.DIR), *b^haī* ‘brother’ (SG.OBL), *b^haiyō* ‘brothers’ (PL.OBL); *g^hər* ‘house’ (SG.DIR), *g^hər* ‘house’ (SG.OBL), *g^hərō* ‘houses’ (PL.OBL);

c. In feminine nouns ending in $-\bar{i}$, the oblique singular is marked by $-\phi$ and the oblique plural is marked by $-\tilde{o}$, e.g., *ləṛkī* ‘girl’ (SG.DIR), *ləṛkī* ‘girl’ (SG.OBL), *ləṛkiyō* ‘girls’ (PL.OBL);

d. In feminine nouns ending in a consonant or a vowel other than $-\bar{i}$, the oblique singular is marked by $-\phi$ and the oblique plural by $-\tilde{o}$, e.g., *bəhū* ‘bride’ (SG.DIR), *bəhū* ‘bride’ (SG.OBL), *bəhuō* ‘brides’ (PL.OBL); *kitab* ‘book’ (SG.DIR), *kitab* ‘book’ (SG.OBL), *kitabō* ‘books’ (PL.OBL), etc.;

e. In adjectives ending in *-a*, the oblique case is marked by replacing the *-a* with *-e*, in all other adjectives, the oblique case is marked by $-\phi$, e.g., *əcc^he* *ləṛke/ləṛkō ko* ‘to the good boy/boys’; *əcc^hī* *ləṛkī/ləṛkiyō ko* ‘to the good girl/girls’; *sundər kurte/saṛī pər* ‘on the beautiful shirt(M)/saree(F)’.

VOCATIVE CASE

The vocative is used for calling someone or drawing someone’s attention. It occurs with interjections, such as *e* ‘hey!’ (*e* *ləṛke* ‘Hey young boy!’), *he* ‘O!’ [as in ‘O Lord’] (*he chatro* ‘Students!’).

The vocative has no syntactic function; it is independent of the sentence with which it occurs, as in (6) below:

- (6) *b^haiyo* *aur* *bəhno*, *apka* *svagət*
 brothers.VOC and sisters.VOC you.HON.M.GEN welcome
kārte hue *muj^he* *bəṛī* *xuṣī* *ho* *rəhī* *he*.
 do.PRES.PTPL I.OBL.DAT much.F happiness.F happen PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘Ladies and Gentlemen! I am very pleased to welcome you.’

The vocative case is marked in nouns as follows:

a. In masculine nouns ending in *-a*, the vocative singular is formed by replacing the *-a* with *-e* and the vocative plural is formed by replacing the *-a* with *-o*, e.g., *ləṛka* ‘boy’ (SG.DIR), *ləṛke* ‘boy’ (SG.VOC), *ləṛko* ‘boys’ (PL.VOC);

b. In masculine nouns ending in consonants or vowels other than *-a*, the vocative singular is marked with $-\phi$ and the vocative plural with *-o*, e.g., *b^haī* ‘brother’ (SG.DIR), *b^haī* ‘brother’ (SG.VOC), *b^haiyo* ‘brothers’ (PL.VOC); *sunar* ‘goldsmith’ (SG.DIR), *sunar* ‘goldsmith’ (SG.VOC), *sunaro* ‘goldsmith’ (PL.VOC);

c. In feminine nouns ending in *-ī*, the vocative singular is marked with $-\phi$ and the vocative plural with *-o*, e.g., *larkī* ‘girl’ (SG.DIR), *larkī* ‘girl’ (SG.VOC), *larkiyō* ‘girls’ (PL.VOC);

d. In feminine nouns ending in consonants or vowels other than *-ī*, the vocative singular is formed with $-\phi$, and the vocative plural with *-o*, e.g., *bāhān* ‘sister’ (SG.DIR), *bāhān* ‘sister’ (SG.VOC), *bāhno* ‘sisters’ (PL.VOC); *bāhū* ‘bride’ (SG.DIR), *bāhū* ‘bride’ (SG.VOC), *bāhuo* ‘brides’ (PL.VOC).

4.1.6. Nominal Declension

From the description above, it is clear that there are several categories of nouns according to how they decline for gender, number and case. The paradigms of gender, number and case declension of these categories are as follows:

a. Masculine Nouns ending in *-a* and feminine nouns ending in *-ī* : *larka* ‘boy’; *larkī* ‘girl’

	M		F	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIR	<i>larka</i>	<i>lärke</i>	<i>larkī</i>	<i>larkiyā</i>
OBL	<i>lärke</i>	<i>larkō</i>	<i>larkī</i>	<i>larkiyō</i>
VOC	<i>lärke</i>	<i>larko</i>	<i>larkī</i>	<i>larkiyō</i>

b. Masculine and Feminine Nouns ending in *-ī* and *-a*, respectively: *sa^hī* ‘friend’; *kanya* ‘girl’

	M		F	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIR	<i>sa^hī</i>	<i>sa^hī</i>	<i>kanya</i>	<i>kanyaē</i>
OBL	<i>sa^hī</i>	<i>sa^hiyō</i>	<i>kanya</i>	<i>kanyaō</i>
VOC	<i>sa^hī</i>	<i>sa^hiyō</i>	<i>kanya</i>	<i>kanyaō</i>

- c. Nouns ending in *-i*: *pəti* (M) ‘husband’; *sidd^hi* (F) ‘yogic power’

	M		F	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIR	<i>pəti</i>	<i>pəti</i>	<i>sidd^hi</i>	<i>sidd^hiyā</i>
OBL	<i>pəti</i>	<i>pətiyō</i>	<i>sidd^hi</i>	<i>sidd^hiyō</i>
VOC	<i>pəti</i>	<i>pətiyo</i>	<i>sidd^hi</i>	<i>sidd^hiyo</i>

- d. Nouns ending in *-ū*: *saṭ^hū* (M) ‘wife’s sister’s husband’; *bəhū* (F) ‘bride’

	M		F	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIR	<i>saṭ^hū</i>	<i>saṭ^hū</i>	<i>bəhū</i>	<i>bəhuē</i>
OBL	<i>saṭ^hū</i>	<i>saṭ^huō</i>	<i>bəhū</i>	<i>bəhuō</i>
VOC	<i>saṭ^hū</i>	<i>saṭ^huo</i>	<i>bəhū</i>	<i>bəhuo</i>

- e. Nouns ending in consonants: *siyar* (M) ‘jackal’; *cīl* (F) ‘kite (a bird)’

	M		F	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIR	<i>siyar</i>	<i>siyar</i>	<i>cīl</i>	<i>cīlē</i>
OBL	<i>siyar</i>	<i>siyarō</i>	<i>cīl</i>	<i>cīlō</i>
VOC	<i>siyar</i>	<i>siyaro</i>	<i>cīl</i>	<i>cīlo</i>

Note that when nouns ending in *-ī* are marked with the endings *-ō* and *-o*, a transitional *-y-* appears between the final *-i* and the suffix *-ō/-o*. Also, the final long vowels *-ī* and *-ū* are shortened to *-i* and *-u*, respectively, before the suffixes *-ō* and *-o*.

Nouns borrowed from Perso-Arabic and English are declined in an identical manner; the forms of the Persian noun *fahzada* ‘prince’ are given below:

	M		F	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIR	<i>fahzada</i> ‘prince’	<i>fahzade</i>	<i>fahzadī</i>	<i>fahzadiyā</i>
OBL	<i>fahzade</i>	<i>fahzadō</i>	<i>fahzadī</i>	<i>fahzadiyō</i>
VOC	<i>fahzade</i>	<i>fahzado</i>	<i>fahzadī</i>	<i>fahzadiyo</i>

Nouns borrowed from English are declined as exemplified by the forms of *ḍakṭar* (M) ‘doctor’ and *nərs* (F) ‘nurse’ below:

	M		F	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIR	<i>ḍaktər</i>	<i>ḍaktər</i>	<i>nərs</i>	<i>nərsē</i>
OBL	<i>ḍaktər</i>	<i>ḍaktərō</i>	<i>nərs</i>	<i>nərsō</i>
VOC	<i>ḍaktər</i>	<i>ḍaktəro</i>	<i>nərs</i>	<i>nərso</i>

4.2. Determiner

It is not clear that Hindi has a part of speech of determiner in the same sense that English has. The items that function as determiners are homophonous with demonstratives and indefinite pronouns. The following description explains the use of particular demonstratives and indefinite pronouns to signal definiteness and specificity, as well as proximity and remoteness, of common nouns.

4.2.1. *Definiteness and Specificity*

Languages use various devices to mark the distinctions in terms of definiteness and specificity of referred entities. One of the devices used for this purpose is the article system in languages such as English, German or Spanish. Hindi does not have a category of articles, instead, it uses other determiners, such as the numeral *ek* ‘one’ or the indefinite pronoun *koī* ‘any, some’, as in the following examples (the form *cilla* ‘scream’ is the root form of the verb and *rəha* is the progressive aspect marker in (7), even though it is not a bound morpheme, unlike the imperfect and perfect aspect markers):

- (7) *koī ləṛka zor zor se cilla rəha t^ha.*
 some boy.M.SG loudly scream PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘Some boy was screaming loudly.’

- (8) *ek məhila apse milna चाहिं हें.*
 one lady.F.SG you.HON with meet.INF want.IMP.F.SG PRES.PL
 ‘A lady wants to see you.’

In both of the sentences above the indefinite nouns are marked with items that seem to be comparable to the indefinite article ‘some’ (unstressed) or the numeral ‘one’ of English. The items *koī* ‘any, some’ and *ek* ‘one’ function as indefinite determiners in Hindi, although they belong to the categories of indefinite pronoun and numeral, respectively (Verma 1971).

Although both (7) and (8) contain indefinite noun phrases, *koī ləṛka* ‘a boy’ and *ek məhila* ‘a lady’, they differ in terms of specificity of the nouns

used to refer to the individuals in question. In sentence (7), neither the speaker nor the hearer has any clue as to who the boy is, but in sentence (8), the speaker certainly has some idea of who the lady is—s/he has seen her. Thus, the reference is to an indefinite non-specific entity in (7) and an indefinite specific entity in (8).

The definite non-specific and generic nouns are not marked in Hindi, e.g.,

(9) *mez pər kitab hē.*
 table.F.SG on book.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘There is a book on the table.’

(10) *gay dūd^h deī hē.*
 cow.F.SG milk.M give.IMPF.F PRES.SG
 ‘The cow gives milk (i.e., cows give milk.)’

In this respect, then, Hindi is different from languages such as English, German, Spanish, and others. The generic meaning is derived not only from the form of the noun, but also from grammatical and contextual clues, on which more is said in Chapter 8 (see 8.6.2). If a definite specific noun is to be indicated in a sentence such as (9) above, the device utilized is word order:

(9') a. *kitab mez pər hē.*
 book table on is
 ‘The book is on the table.’

Demonstratives are also used to mark definite specific nouns with added meanings of proximity or remoteness of the referents, not necessarily in spatial terms only, but also in terms of intimacy (see 11.2.1).

4.2.2. *Demonstratives*

The demonstratives show contrast in proximity and number:

	Proximate	Remote
SG	<i>yəh</i> ‘this’	<i>vəh</i> ‘that’
PL	<i>ye</i> ‘these’	<i>ve</i> ‘those’

4.2.3. *Quantifiers*

There are various categories of numerals and other quantifiers that occur with nouns. These are discussed below.

4.2.3.1. Numerals

Items such as *ek* ‘one’, *do* ‘two’, *ḍ^haī* ‘two and a half’, *saṭ^he tīn* ‘three and a half’, *pāhla* ‘the first’, *barāhvā* ‘the twelfth’ precede common count nouns and are classified into the following categories.

CARDINALS

Cardinal number expressions are as follows:

ek ‘one’, *do* ‘two’, *tīn* ‘three’, *car* ‘four’, *pāc* ‘five’, *c^he* ‘six’, *sat* ‘seven’, *aṭ^h* ‘eight’, *nō* ‘nine’, *dās* ‘ten’. Other cardinal numbers are formed as follows:

ek ‘one’ has a variant *ik-* that combines with forms of ‘twenty’ to ‘ninety’ to yield ‘twenty-one’, ‘thirty-one’, etc. Thus, the forms for 21-91 that involve ‘one’ are *ikkīs* ‘twenty-one’, *ikattīs* ‘thirty-one’, *ikcalīs* ‘forty-one’, *ikyavān* ‘fifty-one’, *iksāṭ^h* ‘sixty-one’, *ikhattar* ‘seventy-one’, *ikyasī* ‘eighty-one’, and *ikyanāve* ‘ninety-one’. The form for ‘eleven’ is exceptional: it is *gyarāh*.

do ‘two’ has variants *bā-/ba-* which yield *barāh* ‘twelve’, *baīs* ‘twenty-two’, *battīs* ‘thirty-two’, *bāyalīs* ‘forty-two’, *bavān* ‘fifty-two’, *basāṭ^h* ‘sixty-two’, *bāhattar* ‘seventy-two’, *bāyasī* ‘eighty-two’, and *banāve* ‘ninety-two’.

tīn ‘three’ has variants *te-/tē-/ti-* which yield *terāh* ‘thirteen’, *teīs* ‘twenty-three’, *tētīs* ‘thirty-three’, *tētalīs* ‘forty-three’, *tīrpān* ‘fifty-three’, *tīrsāṭ^h* ‘sixty-three’, *tīhattar* ‘seventy-three’, *tīrasī* ‘eighty-three’, and *tīranve* ‘ninety-three’.

car ‘four’ has variants *cā-/cā-/cā-* which yield *cādāh* ‘fourteen’, *cābīs* ‘twenty-four’, *cāīs* ‘thirty-four’, *cāvalīs* ‘forty-four’, *cāvān* ‘fifty-four’, *cāsāṭ^h* ‘sixty-four’, *cāhattar* ‘seventy-four’, *cārasī* ‘eighty-four’, and *cāranve* ‘ninety-four’.

pāc ‘five’ has variant *pē-/pāc-* which yield *pāccīs* ‘twenty-five’, *pētīs* ‘thirty-five’, *pētālīs* ‘forty-five’, *pācpān* ‘fifty-five’, *pēsāṭ^h* ‘sixty-five’, *pāchattar* ‘seventy-five’, *pācasī* ‘eighty-five’, and *pācanve* ‘ninety-five’. The form *pāndrāh* ‘fifteen’ is an exception.

c^he ‘six’ has variants *c^hā-/c^hi-* which yield *c^hābbīs* ‘twenty-six’, *c^hāttīs* ‘thirty-six’, *c^hīyalīs* ‘forty-six’, *c^hāppān* ‘fifty-six’, *c^hīyasāṭ^h* ‘sixty-six’, *c^hīhattar* ‘seventy-six’, *c^hīyasī* ‘eighty-six’, and *c^hīyanve* ‘ninety-six’. An exceptional form is *solāh* for ‘sixteen’.

sat ‘seven’ has variants *sāt-/sē-/sāṭ-* which yield *sātrāh* ‘seventeen’, *sāttāīs* ‘twenty-seven’, *sētīs* ‘thirty-seven’, *sētālīs* ‘forty-seven’, *sāttavān* ‘fifty-seven’, *sāṭsāṭ^h* ‘sixty-seven’, *sātasī* ‘eighty-seven’, and *sāttanve* ‘ninety-seven’.

aṭ^h ‘eight’ has variants *aṭ^h-/aṭ^h-/aṭ-* which yield *aṭ^harāh* ‘eighteen’, *aṭ^haīs* ‘twenty-eight’, *aṭ^htīs* ‘thirty-eight’, *aṭ^htalīs* ‘forty-eight’, *aṭ^havān* ‘fifty-eight’, *aṭ^hsāṭ^h* ‘sixty-eight’, *aṭ^hhattar* ‘seventy-eight’, *aṭ^hasī* ‘eighty-eight’, and *aṭ^hanve* ‘ninety-eight’.

All the forms for nineteen through seventy nine are formed by prefixing *un-* ‘one less’ to variants of the next decade marker, e.g., *unnīs* ‘nineteen’, *untīs* ‘twenty-nine’, *uncalīs* ‘thirty-nine’, *uncas* ‘forty-nine’, *unsəḷ^h* ‘fifty-nine’, *unhəttər* ‘sixty-nine’, and *unnasī* ‘seventy-nine’. The forms for eighty-nine and ninety-nine, however, are *nəvasī* ‘eighty-nine’ and *ninyanəve* ‘ninety-nine’.

All the forms that end in *-nve* are pronounced with *-nbe* in the Eastern Hindi region, e.g., *banve* ‘ninety-two’, *pəcanve* ‘ninety-five’, etc., are pronounced as *banbe*, *pəcanbe*, etc.

The forms for ‘ten’, and most of the multiples of ten have variants, too, as is evident from the numerals listed above. Note the following:

dəs ‘ten’ has the form *-dəh* in *cədəh* ‘fourteen’, and *-rəh/-ləh* in the other numerals between eleven and eighteen: *gyarəh* ‘eleven’, *barəh* ‘twelve’, *terəh* ‘thirteen’, *pəndrəh* ‘fifteen’, *soləh* ‘sixteen’, *sətrəh* ‘seventeen’, *əḷ^harəh* ‘eighteen’.

bīs ‘twenty’ retains its full form only in *cəbīs* ‘twenty-four’, in the rest, it has the form *-īs*: *ikkīs* ‘twenty-one’, *baīs* ‘twenty-two’, *teīs* ‘twenty-three’, *cəbīs* ‘twenty-four’, *pəccīs* ‘twenty-five’, *c^həbbīs* ‘twenty-six’, *səttāīs* ‘twenty-seven’, *əḷḷ^haīs* ‘twenty-eight’.

tīs ‘thirty’ is used in its basic form except that there is doubling or lengthening of the consonant *t* in *ikəttīs*, *bəttīs*, and *c^həttīs*.

calīs ‘forty’ has the form *-talis* in *iktalis* ‘forty-one’, *tēttalis* ‘forty-three’, *pētəttalis* ‘forty-five’, *sētəttalis* ‘forty-seven’ and *əḷttalis* ‘forty-eight’, and *-alis* in the *bəyalīs* ‘forty-two’, *cəvalīs* ‘forty-four’, *c^hiyalīs* ‘forty-six’. The *-is* ending may be pronounced as *-īs* in some varieties.

pəcas ‘fifty’ has the variants *-pən* in *tirpən* ‘fifty-three’, *pəcpən* ‘fifty-five’ and *c^həppən* ‘fifty-six’; it has the form *-vən* in the others: *ikyavən* ‘fifty-one’, *bavən* ‘fifty-two’, *cəvən* ‘fifty-four’, *səttavən* ‘fifty-seven’, *əḷḷ^havən* ‘fifty-eight’.

saḷ^h ‘sixty’ has the form *-səḷ^h* in all the cardinal numbers sixty-one to sixty-eight: *iksəḷ^h* ‘sixty-one’, *basəḷ^h* ‘sixty-two’, *tirsəḷ^h* ‘sixty-three’, *cōsəḷ^h* ‘sixty-four’, *pēsəḷ^h* ‘sixty-five’, *c^hiyasəḷ^h* ‘sixty-six’, *səḷsəḷ^h* ‘sixty-seven’, *əḷsəḷ^h* ‘sixty-eight’.

səttər ‘seventy’ has the form *-həttər* in all the numbers from seventy-one to seventy-nine: *ikhəttər* ‘seventy-one’, *bəhəttər* ‘seventy-two’, *tihəttər* ‘seventy-three’, *cəhəttər* ‘seventy-four’, *pəc^həttər* ‘seventy-five’, *c^hihəttər* ‘seventy-six’, *seḷ^həttər* ‘seventy-seven’, *əḷ^həttər* ‘seventy-eight’. Note that the *h* is assimilated as aspiration in ‘seventy-five’, ‘seventy-seven’ and ‘seventy-eight’.

āsī 'eighty' has the form *-asī* in all the numbers between 'eighty-one' and 'eighty-nine': *ikasī* 'eighty-one', *bāyasī* 'eighty-two', *tirasī* 'eighty-three', *cōrasī* 'eighty-four', *pācasī* 'eighty-five', *c^hiyasī* 'eighty-six', *sātasī* 'eighty-seven', *āṭ^hasī* 'eighty-eight', *nāvasī* 'eighty-nine'.

nābbe 'ninty' has the form *-nve* in all numbers between ninety-one and ninety-nine: *ikyanve* 'ninety-one', *banve* 'ninety-two', *tiranve* 'ninety-three', *cōranve* 'ninety-four', *pācanve* 'ninety-five', *c^hiyave* 'ninety-six', *sātanve* 'ninety-seven', *āṭ^hanve* 'ninety-eight', *ninyanve* 'ninety-nine'.

The expression for 'one hundred' is *sō* and all the numbers above one hundred are formed by *ek sō* + cardinal number, e.g., *ek sō tīn* 'one hundred and three', *ek sō sat* 'one hundred and seven', etc. Multiples of hundred are similarly expressed by the cardinal number preceding the item for hundred, e.g., *car sō* 'four hundred', *aṭ^h sō* 'eight hundred', etc. The other higher numbers are as follows:

<i>hāzar</i>	'one thousand'
<i>lak^h</i>	'one hundred thousand'
<i>kāroṭ</i>	'one hundred lakh, or, ten million'

There are other higher numbers such as *ārāb* 'one hundred *kāroṭ* or ten billion', *k^hārāb* 'one hundred *ārāb* or ten trillion', etc. They are, however, rarely used. It is more common to use 100 *kāroṭ*, 2000 *kāroṭ*, etc.

Note that there is little correspondence between the way English and Hindi numerals read at the level of one hundred thousand and beyond. Given the number 33,465,210, the Hindi way of reading it will be: 3,34,65,210, that is, *tīn kāroṭ cōtīs lak^h pēsāṭ^h hāzar do sō dās*.

ORDINALS

A few ordinals have special forms, while others are formed by suffixing *-vā* to the numeral, e.g., *pācvā* 'fifth', *aṭ^hvā* 'eighth', *āṭṭ^haṭsvā* 'twenty-eighth', *sōvā* 'hundredth', etc. The special forms are the following:

<i>pāhla</i> 'first'	<i>dūsra</i> 'second'	<i>tīsra</i> 'third'
<i>cōṭ^ha</i> 'fourth'	<i>c^hāṭ^ha</i> 'sixth'	

Ordinals borrowed from Sanskrit are also used in some registers of Hindi. The first ten Sanskrit ordinals borrowed into Hindi are:

prāṭ^ham 'first', *dviṭīy* 'second', *triṭīy* 'third', *catur^h* 'fourth', *pāncam* 'fifth', *ṣaṣṭ^h* 'sixth', *saptam* 'seventh', *aṣṭam* 'eighth', *navam* 'ninth' and *dāśam* 'tenth'.

The Hindu (lunar) calendar uses Sanskrit ordinals to indicate the days of the fortnight, e.g., *prathama* ‘first day’, *dvitīya* ‘second day’, *tritīya* ‘third day’, *caturthī* ‘fourth day’, *pāncamī* ‘fifth day’, *ṣaṣṭhī* ‘sixth day’, *saptamī* ‘seventh day’, *aṣṭamī* ‘eighth day’, *navamī* ‘ninth day’, *daśamī* ‘tenth day’, *ekadaśī* ‘eleventh day’, *dvadaśī* ‘twelfth day’, *trayodaśī* ‘thirteenth day’, *caturdaśī* ‘fourteenth day’ of the moon. The fifteenth day of the dark fortnight is designated *amavāsya*, and the day of the full moon is called *pūrṇīma*.

FRACTIONALS

Fractionals are forms such as the following:

caturthī ‘quarter’, *ardha* ‘half’, *pān* ‘a quarter before one, i.e., three fourths’, *sava* ‘one and a quarter’, *deśhī* ‘one and a half’, *dvī* ‘two and a half’, *saḥ* ‘plus half’ (e.g., *saḥ car* ‘four and a half’), etc.

They are used with measure words as well as numerals as in *pāne tīn* ‘two and three quarters’ (literally, a quarter before three), *sava sat* ‘seven and a quarter’, *deśhī sa* ‘one hundred and fifty’, *dvī ai hazaar* ‘two and a half thousand’, *saḥ tīn lak* ‘three hundred fifty thousand’, etc. For measure expressions, see below.

MULTIPLICATIVES

Multiplicatives are formed by suffixing *-guna* to the reduced forms of the numerals, e.g., *duguna* ‘two times, twice as much’, *cāguna* ‘four times’, *dāsa guna* ‘ten times’, *sa guna* ‘hundred times’, *hazaar guna* ‘thousand times’, etc.

AGGREGATIVES

Aggregatives are formed by suffixing *-ō* to the numerals or other measure expressions, e.g., *donō* ‘both’, *tīnō* ‘all three’, *aṣṭō* ‘all eight’, *hazaarō* ‘thousands’, *lakō* ‘hundreds of thousands’, *dārjanō* ‘dozens’, *serō* ‘seers’ [*ser*=approximately two pounds], *gāzō* ‘yards’, etc. The English loan words for measure are also treated similarly, e.g., *mīlō* ‘miles’, *ṭanō* ‘tons’. Note the special forms for the aggregative of twenty, *bīsīyō*, and hundred, *sekṣō* ‘hundreds’.

4.2.3.2. Other Quantifiers

Other quantifiers are (so-called) universal quantifiers such as *har* ‘every’, *sab* ‘all’, etc., indefinite quantifiers such as *kuc* ‘some, a few’, *ṭora* ‘a little’, etc., approximatives such as *lāgbhāg* ‘approximately’, *qārīb* ‘nearly’, *prayāh* ‘about’, etc., measure expressions such as *ser* ‘a seer, approximately two

pounds in weight', *c^hṭak* 'one sixteenth of a seer,' *mān* 'forty seers, or approximately eighty two pounds', *gāz* 'yard', *bīg^ha* 'a measure of land', etc., and collectives such as *joṭa* 'pair', *dārzān* 'dozen', etc.

UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS

Universal quantifiers are *hār* 'each, every' and *sāb, sara* 'all'. The item *hār* 'each/every' combines with the numeral for one, *ek*, to yield *hārek* 'every (one), each (one)'. An item borrowed from Sanskrit, *prāti* 'each, every' is used parallel to *hār* in High Hindi. It also combines with the numeral for one and yields *prātyek* 'every (one), each (one)'. The borrowed items *sarv* (S), *sakāl* (S), *samast* (S), *kul* (PA) are used in the same sense as *sāb, sara* 'all'. The quantifiers *hār, prāti* 'every, each' precede the cardinals and ordinals in a noun phrase, e.g., *hār do sal* 'every two years', *hār tīsra c^hatr* 'every third student', etc.

INDEFINITE QUANTIFIERS

Indefinite quantifiers are *kuc^h* 'some, a few', *kāī* 'many', *thoṭa, zāra* 'a little', *zyada, ad^hik* 'much, more', *bāhut* 'a lot', and *kām* 'less'. Indefinite quantifiers do not cooccur with other quantifying expressions, e.g., *kuc^h dārzān* 'some dozen', *zyada ser* 'more seer', etc. are ungrammatical.

APPROXIMATIVES

Approximatives are *lāgb^hag* 'approximately', *qārīb* 'nearly', *kām-se-kām* 'at least', *zyada-se-zyada* or *ad^hik se ad^hik* 'at most', and *koī* 'some', which precede the numerals, as in *lāgb^hag do hāzar log* 'approximately two thousand people', *koī car sō kitābē* 'some four hundred books', *qārīb dās kutte-billiyā* 'about ten dogs and cats', *kām-se-kām sō rupye* 'at least a hundred Rupees', and *zyada-se-zyada* or *ad^hik se ad^hik pāc tole sona* 'at most five tolas of gold'.

MEASURE EXPRESSIONS

Measure expressions fall into four different sets, depending upon the object of measurement. Note that these are traditional measure expressions that are found in texts and are still used in small towns and villages. India adopted the metric system and now, in most urban areas and in contemporary written material, the use of metric measure words such as *gram, liṭar, mīṭar*, etc. is the norm.

Grains and Liquids: *chṭak* 'one-sixteenth of a seer, or one-fourth of a *pav*', *pav* 'one fourth of a seer', *ser* 'seer, equivalent to approximately two pounds', *mān* 'forty seers'.

Materials, dimensions (i.e., length, width, height): *bitta* ‘a span, approximately one-half of a *hat^h* or one quarter of a yard’, *hat^h* ‘one half of a yard’, *gəz* ‘a yard’, *t^han* ‘a bale (of cloth)’.

Precious metals, gems, spices: *rəttī* ‘approximately two and one-fourth grains’, *mafa* ‘eight *rəttī* or one eighth of a *tola*’, *tola* ‘one-eightieth of a seer or 100 grains’.

Land: *kətt^ha* ‘one twentieth of a *bīg^ha*’, *bīg^ha* ‘five-eighths of an acre’.

COLLECTIVES

Collectives are items such as *joṛa* ‘pair’, *gəṇḍa* ‘group of four’, *dərzən* ‘dozen’, and *sekṛa* ‘group of one hundred’. There are other expressions based on ‘five’ and ‘six’ that are no longer used in standard Hindi. Even the use of *gəṇḍa* ‘group of four’ is rare. The collectives are used with numerals, as in *dəs joṛe jūte* ‘ten pairs of shoes’, *pāc gəṇḍe uple* ‘five fours of [i.e., twenty] cow patties’, *tīn dərzən səntre* ‘three dozen oranges’, *tīn sekṛe gēhū ke bore* ‘three hundred sacks of wheat’.

4.3. Pronoun

Morphologically, pronouns have distinct forms for the categories of person, number, gender, honorific status, proximity, and animacy, and they are inflected for case. However, not all of these categories are overtly marked in all pronouns. Which of these categories are overtly marked in which class of pronoun(s) is described in detail below. Syntactically, pronouns do not occur with determiners or with pre-nominal adjectives as nouns do. They, however, function as subjects, objects of verbs and postpositions, and complements of verbs, just as nouns do.

There are seven classes of pronouns: six of these, i.e., personal, demonstrative, relative, correlative, indefinite and interrogative, have the entire range of syntactic functions mentioned above. The reflexive (*ap*) and its reduplicated form (*əpne ap*) functions only as an object of verbs and postpositions (exception, *əpən* in Bombay Hindi, where it functions as a personal pronoun). The demonstrative pronouns, *yəh* and *vəh* and their plural forms, are identical to the third person forms listed below, hence they are not listed separately.

4.3.1. *Personal Pronouns*

There are distinct forms for the personal pronouns in the first and second person; the third-person forms are the same as in the proximate and remote demonstratives. All pronouns have distinct singular and plural forms. A further distinction is made in terms of honorific status in the second and third person, and proximity in the third-person forms as follows:

Number	Proximity	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular	Proximal	----- <i>mē</i>	----- <i>tū</i>	<i>yāh</i> -----
	Distal	-----	-----	<i>vāh</i>
Plural	Proximal	----- <i>hām</i>	----- <i>tum</i>	<i>ye</i>
	Distal	-----	-----	<i>ve</i>
Hon	-----		<i>ap</i>	

Although the forms *tū* and *tum* are historically the singular and plural forms of the second-person pronoun, they are now treated as intimate and familiar forms for an addressee. The intimate form is used for persons younger than oneself in the family domain, or as a marker of affection for one's own age group in the domain of friendship; the familiar forms are used for one's own age group and persons younger than oneself in all social domains, except in situations where the interactants are socially distant. The honorific form is the polite form and is used to signal respect for elders, colleagues, and interactants in formal situations. The intimate and familiar forms have been glossed as INTM and FAM, respectively, throughout this work. However, the items that agree with them are marked SG or PL and preserve the grammatical number distinction in the agreeing forms.

The relative, correlative and interrogative pronouns have a zero marker for the plural in the direct case. A distinction is made in terms of animacy in the indefinite and interrogative pronouns. The relative pronoun is *jo*, the singular indefinite pronoun is *koī*, the plural indefinite pronoun is *kuc^h*, the animate interrogative pronoun is *kən*, and the inanimate interrogative pronoun is *kya*. The functions of the archaic correlative pronoun *so* are now performed by the distal pronoun *vāh*. The following chart makes the distribution of forms clear:

	REL	INDEF		INTER	
		ANIM	INAN	ANIM	INAN
SG	<i>jo</i>	<i>koī</i>	<i>kuc^h</i>	<i>kən</i>	<i>kya</i>
PL	<i>jo</i>	<i>kuc^h</i>	----	<i>kən</i>	----

There are no exact translation equivalents for each one of the pronouns listed above. The best glosses would be as follows: *jo* ‘who/which’; *koī* ‘some(one), any(one)’; *kən* ‘who?’; *kya* ‘what?’; *kuc^h* ‘some(beings), any(thing)’.

Like the relative pronoun *jo*, the archaic correlative *so* takes a zero marker for the plural.

4.3.2. Case Forms

A three-way distinction is made between direct, oblique, and genitive case forms; the genitive form is identical to the possessive form of a pronoun that functions as a modifier, i.e., as a possessive adjective. In the glosses, GEN and POSS are used in appropriate contexts to signal the functions of the genitive case form of pronouns. A distinction in terms of gender and number is made in the genitive forms when they function as modifiers, i.e., as possessives, as in the following list:

	DIR	OBL	M	GEN	F
			SG	PL	
1stP.SG	<i>mē</i>	<i>mu^j</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>mere</i>	<i>merī</i>
1stP.PL	<i>həm</i>	<i>həm</i>	<i>həmarā</i>	<i>həmare</i>	<i>həmarī</i>
2ndP.SG	<i>tū</i>	<i>tuj^h</i>	<i>tera</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>terī</i>
2ndP.PL	<i>tum</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>tumhara</i>	<i>tumhare</i>	<i>tumharī</i>
HON	<i>ap</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>apka</i>	<i>apke</i>	<i>apkī</i>
3rdP.SG	<i>yəh</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>iska</i>	<i>iske</i>	<i>iskī</i>
	<i>vəh</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>uska</i>	<i>uske</i>	<i>uskī</i>
3rdP.PL	<i>ye</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>inka</i>	<i>inke</i>	<i>inkī</i>
	<i>ve</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>unka</i>	<i>unke</i>	<i>unkī</i>
REL.SG	<i>jo</i>	<i>jīs</i>	<i>jiska</i>	<i>jiske</i>	<i>jiskī</i>
REL.PL	<i>jo</i>	<i>jīn</i>	<i>jinka</i>	<i>jinke</i>	<i>jinkī</i>
INDF.SG	<i>koī</i>	<i>kisī</i>	<i>kisīka</i>	<i>kinke</i>	<i>kisīkī</i>
INDF.PL	<i>kuc^h</i>	<i>kinhī</i>	<i>kinhīka</i>	<i>kinhīke</i>	<i>kinhīkī</i>
INTER.ANIM.SG	<i>kən</i>	<i>kis</i>	<i>kiska</i>	<i>kiske</i>	<i>kiskī</i>
INTER.ANIM.PL	<i>kən</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>kinka</i>	<i>kinke</i>	<i>kinkī</i>
INTER.INAN	<i>kya</i>	<i>kis</i>	<i>kiska</i>	<i>kiske</i>	<i>kiskī</i>

As mentioned above (see 4.3.1), there is an archaic correlative pronoun *so* corresponding to the relative pronoun that still survives in some idioms and fixed expressions. The correlative pronoun *so* has a singular oblique form *tis*

and a plural oblique form *tin*.² In Modern Standard Hindi, however, the distal pronoun *vāh* functions as the correlative pronoun.

The reflexive pronoun is *ap*, which has an oblique form *apne*, a partially reduplicated form *apne ap*, which is invariable, and a genitive form *apna*.

The genitive forms of all the pronouns listed above function as possessive modifiers, as mentioned above, and in this function, agree in gender, number and case with their head nouns. Therefore, all of them, both masculine and feminine forms, are inflected for number and case just like the adjectives (see 4.4 below). The gender and number of a possessive modifier do not refer to the gender and number inherent in the referent of the possessor; they refer instead to the gender and number of the head, i.e., the possessed noun. Thus, *uskī kitab* means ‘his/her book’; the feminine ending is determined by the gender of the noun *kitab*. The direct plural and the oblique singular of all masculine genitive forms replace the *-a* ending with the *-e* ending, e.g., *mere*, *hāmare*, etc.; the feminine forms have a zero suffix, i.e., they have the same form in all numbers and cases. The genitive forms in their genitive case-marking function are inflected for oblique case; they do not inflect for gender and number.³

The personal pronouns when followed by the accusative/dative postposition *ko* have alternate forms, which are listed below along with the full forms:

Pronouns	Full form	Alternate form	Gloss
1stP.SG	<i>muj^hko</i>	<i>muj^he</i>	‘(to) me’
1stP.PL	<i>hāmko</i>	<i>hāmē</i>	‘(to) us’
2ndP.SG	<i>tuj^hko</i>	<i>tuj^he</i>	‘(to) you’
2ndP.PL	<i>tumko</i>	<i>tumhē</i>	‘(to) you’
3rdP.SG	<i>isko,usko</i>	<i>ise,use</i>	‘(to) him/her/it (PROX/DIST)’
3rdP.PL	<i>inko,unko</i>	<i>inhē,unhē</i>	‘(to) them (PROX/DIST)’

The oblique forms of the pronouns, such as *muj^h*, *tuj^h*, *is*, *jis*, etc., occur with postpositions, such as *mē*, *pār*, *se*, etc. The genitive forms of pronouns in oblique case, e.g., *hāmare* ‘our.M.SG.OBL’, *tere* ‘your.INTM.M.SG.OBL’, *jiske* ‘whose.M.SG.OBL’, etc., follow the same pattern.

4.4. Adjective

Adjective is a distinct part of speech based on the criteria of inflection and derivation.

Morphologically, adjectives inflect for gender, number and case, and have comparative and superlative forms. The comparative and superlative forms, however, are restricted to adjectives borrowed from Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic; other adjectives participate in periphrastic comparative and superlative constructions. These are described in detail in the following subsections. Syntactically, they cooccur with determiners (see 4.2) and intensifiers, modify nouns, and may function as nouns in the syntactic positions of the subject, object of verb and postposition, and complement of verb. For adjectives that inflect for gender, the masculine singular form is the citation form listed in dictionaries.

4.4.1. *Gender, Number and Case*

Only the adjectives that end in the vowel *-a* show changes in their form; all others have zero inflection, i.e., they have a single form. The adjectives that end in *-a* have a feminine form ending in *-ī* and a direct plural and oblique singular form ending in *-e*, as exemplified by the following:

	M		F	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
DIR	<i>əcc^ha</i> ‘good’	<i>əcc^he</i>	<i>əcc^hī</i>	<i>əcc^hī</i>
OBL	<i>əcc^he</i>	<i>əcc^he</i>	<i>əcc^hī</i>	<i>əcc^hī</i>

The adjectives that end in consonants, or in vowels other than *-a*, have the same form in all genders, numbers and cases, e.g., *lal p^hūl* (M.SG) ‘red flower’, *lal saṛī* (F.SG) ‘red saree’, *lal ḍibbe* (M.PL) ‘red containers’, *lal kursiyā* (F.PL) ‘red chairs’, *lal ḍibbe/ḍibbō mē* (M.SG/PL.OBL) ‘in the red container/containers’. The adjective *lal* ‘red’ has the same form in all the phrases cited above. An example of an adjective ending in a vowel other than *-a* is *paltū* ‘pet’ in the following phrases: *paltū kutta* (M.SG) ‘pet dog’, *paltū kutte* ‘pet dogs’, *paltū billī* (F.SG) ‘pet cat’, *paltū billiyā* ‘pet cats’, *paltū kutte/billī ko* ‘to the pet dog/cat’, *paltū kuttō/billiyō ko* ‘to the pet dogs/cats’. The *-ū* ending does not change in any of the above phrases.

4.4.2. *Comparative and Superlative*

Adjectives borrowed from Sanskrit, and a few borrowed from Perso-Arabic, have morphologically derived comparative and superlative forms. The Sanskrit suffixes are *-tār* for comparative and *-tām* for superlative; the Persian suffixes are *-tār* for comparative and *-tārīn* for superlative:

	BASIC		CMPR		SUPR
Skt.	<i>sundār</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>sundārtār</i>		<i>sundārtām</i>
	<i>vrihāt</i>	‘big’	<i>vrihāttār</i>		<i>vrihāttām</i>
	<i>əd^hik</i>	‘much, more’	<i>əd^hiktār</i>		<i>əd^hiktām</i>
Pers.	<i>bād</i>	‘bad’	<i>bādtār</i>		<i>bādtārīn</i>
	<i>kām</i>	‘little, less’	<i>kāmtār</i>		<i>kāmtārīn</i>

These comparative and superlative forms occur only in educated speech and texts written in high style.

All adjectives participate in periphrastic comparative and superlative constructions. The comparative construction is of the following form:

Compared entity + standard of comparison + *se* + adj + linking verb

This can be seen in the following examples:

- (11) *šyama rīma se lāmbī he.*
 Shyama.F Rima.F CMPR tall.F PRES.SG
 ‘Shyama is taller than Rima.’

- (12) *yāh mākan tumhare mākan se*
 this house.M.SG you.FAM.POSS.OBL house.M.SG.OBL CMPR
c^hoṭa he
 small.M.SG SG.PRES
 ‘This house is smaller than your house.’

Note that the entity compared (‘Shyama’ and ‘this house’ in (11) and (12), respectively) occupies the thematic position in the sentence, the standard of comparison followed by the comparative postposition *se* ‘than’ occurs in the complement position, and the finite verb is the linking verb ‘be’ in the appropriate tense form.

The superlative construction has the following form:

Compared entity + *sāb* ‘all’ + *se* + adj + linking verb

The postposition *mē* occurs when the standard of comparison is not explicitly mentioned. The standard of comparison is then the item *sāb* ‘all’, as in the following:

- (13) *əpne klas mē nīla sābse lāmbī he*
 self.POSS.OBL class.OBL in Nila.F all.OBL.CMPR tall.F.SG be.PRES.SG.
 ‘Nila is the tallest of all in her class.’

- (14) *həm səb mē rad^ha ka məkən səbse*
 we all in Radha.F POSS.M.SG house.M.SG all.CMPR
bəḡa he.
 big.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘Among us all, Radha’s house is the biggest.’

However, if the standard of comparison is also mentioned, the item *səb* ‘all’ functions as a modifier to the noun, as in (13’):

- (13’) *əpne klas mē nīla səb ləḡkiyō se*
 self.POSS.OBL class.OBL in Nila.F all.OBL girl.F.PL.OBL CMPR
ləmbī he
 tall.F.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘Nina is the tallest of all the girls in her class.’

4.4.3. *Classes of Adjectives*

Adjectives can be grouped into several sub-classes on the basis of the properties of cooccurrence potential, internal composition, and semantics.

A major criterion for classification is based on the occurrence of adjectives in specific syntactic positions, i.e., whether a particular adjective can precede a noun, or function as a complement to a linking verb, or occur in both positions.

4.4.3.1. *Attributive and Predicative*

Adjectives that precede the head noun are attributive or pre-modifiers, and those that can function only as complements of a linking verb are predicative, or post-modifiers. For instance, adjectives such *b^hūtṗūrṽ* ‘former’, and kinship terms such as *cəcera* ‘cousin (father’s brother’s son)’, *məsera* ‘cousin (mother’s sister’s son)’, etc. occur only as pre-modifiers:

- (15) *yəh səjjən def ke b^hūtṗūrṽ*
 this gentleman.M.SG country.M.OBL of.M.PL former cabinet
məntrī hē.
 minister.M be.HON.PRES
 ‘This gentleman is the former cabinet minister of the country.’

- (16) **prəd^han məntrī b^hūtṗūrṽ hē.*
 prime minister former be.HON.PRES
 *‘The prime minister is former.’

- (17) *ye merī mṣerī bāhnē hē.*
 these my.F cousin.F sister.F.PL be.PRES.PL
 ‘These are my cousins (mother’s sister’s daughters).’
 [*mṣera* (M), *mṣerī* (F) = born of one’s mother’s sister]
- (18) **yāh bāhān mṣerī hē.*
 this sister mother’s sister’s daughter be.PRES.SG
 ‘This sister is mother’s sister’s daughter.’

However, in correcting someone who may exhibit an incorrect understanding of the relationship, it is possible to have a response such as the following:

- (18') *nāhī, cācerī nāhī, mṣerī hē.*
 ‘No, (she is) not my father’s brother’s daughter, (she is) my mother’s sister’s daughter.’

There are other adjectives that occur only as post-modifiers or complements. For instance, *tēyar* ‘ready’ occurs only as a post-modifier unless it is preceded by a postpositional phrase specifying a purpose, as in (21a) and (21b):

- (19) *lāṛke tēyar hē.*
 boy.M.PL ready be.PRES.PL
 ‘The boys are ready.’
- (20) **tēyar lāṛkō ko b^hej do.*
 ready boy.PL.OBL DAT send give.FAM.IMP
 *‘Send the ready boys.’
- (21) a. *kam kārne ko tēyar lāṛke age bāṛhē.*
 work do.INF.OBL for prepared boy.M.PL forward advance.PL.OPT
 ‘Let the boys prepared to work come forward.’
- (21) b. *ḍāns ke liye tēyar lāṛkiyō ko b^hej do.*
 dance for ready girl.F.PL.OBL DAT send do.FAM.IMP
 ‘Send the girls ready to dance.’

The adjective *tēyar* in the sense of ‘prepared (for some task or activity)’ occurs attributively along with its complement, i.e., the infinitival phrase expressing the task as in (21a), or a postpositional phrase, as in (21b).

A majority of adjectives occur both as pre- and post-modifiers. For example, *acc^ha* ‘good’, *lamba* ‘high, tall’, *māhḍga* ‘expensive’, etc. occur both in the pre-nominal position and in the complement position with a linking verb.

The criterion of internal composition leads to the classification of adjectives in terms of whether they are basic or derived from other parts of speech.

4.4.3.2. Basic, Derived and Complex Adjectives

Adjectives such as *lal* ‘red’, *nāya* ‘new’, *acc^ha* ‘good’, *bura* ‘bad’, *lamba* ‘long, tall’, *gāhra* ‘deep’ are basic adjectives; they are not derived from any other word class. Adjectives such as *k^hilaṛī* ‘playful’, *lāṛakū* ‘quarrelsome’, *cāmḱīla* ‘shining’, *sunāhra* ‘golden’, *bēgnī* ‘purple’ are derived from other word classes: they are derived from the nouns *k^hel* ‘play’, *lāṛaī* ‘fight’, *cāmak* ‘shine’, *sona* ‘gold’, and *bēgān* ‘egg plant’, respectively.⁴

Hindi utilizes a range of adjectives derived from nouns and verbs. English also has a limited range of adjectives derived from participial forms of verbs; Hindi uses a much wider range of participial adjectives. Examples are adjectives such as *bāndārvala* ‘one with a pet monkey (who performs tricks)’, *nukkārvala* ‘the corner one’, *axbar becnevala* ‘newspaper seller’, *g^has kaṭṇeṛvala* ‘one who/that which cuts grass’, *leṭa hua* ‘lying’, *soya hua* ‘sleeping’, *b^hagta hua* ‘running’, *ugta hua* ‘rising’, etc. (see 9.3 for details of participial modification).

In case of the first two examples, an agentive element *vala* (comparable to the English ‘-er’ in agentive nouns such as ‘driver’) has been attached to the noun. In the third and fourth items, *vala* occurs with the inflected infinitive of the verb *becna* ‘to sell’. The remaining examples are participles. In the fifth and sixth ones, the past participles comprise the perfect form, *leṭa*, of the verb *leṭna* ‘to lie (down)’ and *soya*, of the verb *sona* ‘to sleep’, followed by the perfect form, *hua*, of the verb *hona* ‘to be’; and in the seventh and eighth ones, the present participles are based on the imperfect forms, *b^hagta* and *ugta*, of the verbs *b^hagna* ‘to run’ and *ugna* ‘to rise’, respectively, followed by the perfect form of the verb ‘to be’. The imperfect and perfect forms of verbs followed by the perfect form of the verb *ho* ‘be’, *huA*, yield the present and past participle forms. The past participle functions both as pre- and post-modifier; the present participle only as pre-modifier (for more on participial modifiers, see below, and 9.3). They behave as adjectives and agree in gender and number with the nouns they modify.

Complex adjectives have preceding sub-modifiers, e.g., *ek bāhut bāṛa (peṛ)* ‘a very big (tree)’.

4.4.3.3. Pronominal Adjectives

In addition to the types above, a range of adjectives is derived from the proximate, distal, relative, correlative and interrogative pronouns. These are the following:

	Type		Quantity	
PROX	<i>esa</i>	‘of this kind’	<i>itna</i>	‘this much’
DIST	<i>vesa</i>	‘of that kind’	<i>utna</i>	‘that much’
REL	<i>jesa</i>	‘the type which’	<i>jitna</i>	‘as much’
COREL	<i>(tesa)vesa</i>	‘of that kind’	<i>utna</i>	‘that much’
INTG	<i>kesa</i>	‘of which kind’	<i>kitna</i>	‘how much’

Note that the correlative *tesa* ‘of that kind’ is archaic and occurs only in fixed compounds, e.g., *jesa-tesa* ‘of whatever kind’. The distal forms *vesa* ‘of that kind’ and *utna* ‘that much’ are used as correlative forms in Modern Standard Hindi.

4.4.3.4. Semantic Subclasses

On the basis of semantic properties, which, of course, have consequences for cooccurrence, the adjectives are divided into the following subclasses: gradable vs. non-gradable, inherent vs. non-inherent, and stative vs. dynamic. Membership in these subclasses is subject to variation in terms of regional varieties as well as idiolects and styles.

In addition, several semantic types are recognized; these include numerals/quantifiers, color, shape, size, measure, quality, and nationality (see Appendix 2).

GRADABLE AND NON-GRADABLE ADJECTIVES

Most adjectives can be pre-modified by intensifiers and can occur in the comparative or superlative constructions, and thus are gradable. Intensifiers are invariable items that premodify adjectives and adverbs:

- (22) *vinīt bəhūt əcc^ha ləʃka he.*
 Vineet.M very good boy.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘Vinnēt is a very good boy.’

- (23) *yəh fəhər kī səbse cəʃī səʃək he.*
 this city.OBL of.F all.CMPR wide.F road.F.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘This is the widest road in the city.’

- (24) *sāhba zyada aqlmānd hē, use vāzīfa*
 Sahba.F more intelligent be.PRES.SG she.OBL.DAT scholarship.M.SG
milna cahiye.
 accrue.INF.M.SG should
 ‘Sahba is more intelligent; she should get the scholarship.’
- (25) *vāh aḍʰik tʰaka hua lāgta hē.*
 he more tire.PERF.M.SG PASTPTPL seem.IMPF.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘He seems more tired.’

There are, however, adjectives which are not gradable, e.g., *jīvit* or *zinda* ‘alive’, *mrit* ‘dead’, most quantifiers, and most participles.⁵

INHERENT AND NON-INHERENT ADJECTIVES

Compare the adjectives in the following sentences:

- (26) *puranī kitabē bāksō mē bānd hē.*
 old.F book.F.PL box.M.PL.OBL in shut be.PRES.PL
 ‘The old books are packed in the boxes.’
- (27) *purane dostō se mil kār ācʰa*
 old.M.PL friend.M.PL.OBL with meet CP good.M.SG
lāgta hē.
 feel.IMPF.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘It feels good to meet old friends.’

The senses of the adjective *purana* ‘old’ in (26) and (27) are not the same; this can be seen by comparing the predicative uses of the adjective:

- (28) *kitabē puranī hē.*
 book.F.PL old.F be.PRES.PL
 ‘The books are old.’
- (29) **dost purane hē.*
 friends old be.PRES.PL
 *‘The friends are old (grammatical in English if old in terms of age).’

The adjective *purana* ‘old’ characterizes the noun *kitab* ‘book’ directly in (26) and (28); it is a property of the book. It, however, does not characterize the noun *dost* ‘friend’ directly in (27) and (29); it is not a property of ‘friend’. The ‘friend’ is not ‘old’ as in ‘aged’, it is the friendship that is old (unlike English, in Hindi, the adjective *purana* is not ambiguous; the adjective equivalent to

‘old’ in the sense of ‘aged’ is *būṛ^ha*). The adjectives that characterize nouns directly are inherent, those that do not are non-inherent.

STATIVE AND DYNAMIC ADJECTIVES

The stative adjectives are not used with the progressive or imperative form of the linking verb *hona* ‘to be’:

- (30) **larka bhadur ho raha he.*
 boy.M.SG brave be PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The boy is being brave.’

- (31) **bhadur hoo!*
 brave be.FAM.IMP
 ‘Be brave!’

The verb *banna* ‘to become’ is used with such adjectives to indicate change-of-state:

- (32) *larka bhadur ban raha he.*
 boy.M.SG brave be PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The boy is being brave (pretending to be brave).’

- (33) *bhadur bano!*
 brave be.FAM.IMP
 ‘Be brave!’

Dynamic adjectives are used with the progressive and imperative forms of the linking verb *hona* ‘to be’:

- (34) *larkī lambī ho rahī he.*
 girl.F.SG tall.F be PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘The girl is growing tall.’

- (35) *bāre hoo, p^hir skūl jana.*
 big be.FAM.IMP then school go.INF
 ‘Grow big (i.e., older), then (you can) go to school!’

As was noted in the context of example (2) above, the infinitive form of the verb is used as a familiar imperative.

4.5. Verb

In this section, only the inflected forms of verbs are discussed in detail. Other verbal forms that involve periphrastic constructions are discussed in section 7.3.

4.5.1. *Inflected Forms of Verbs*

Morphologically, the verbs have the following forms:

Root	<i>dek^h</i>	‘see, look’
Infinitive	<i>dek^hnA</i>	
Imperfect participle	<i>dek^htA</i>	
Perfect participle	<i>dek^hA</i>	
Causative	<i>dik^ha</i>	[first causal];
	<i>dik^hva</i>	[second causal]

Verbs are inflected for aspect, mood, tense, and agreement features of gender, number and person. The vowel represented as *A* above is realized as different vowels, *a*, *e*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, or *ĩ̃*, depending upon features of agreement.

Verbs also take one derivational class of affixes: the causal affixes for first and second causals (see below).

Syntactically, verbs determine the number and function of noun phrase arguments in a sentence. Semantically, they express states, processes, and actions. Since the basic verbs as well as causatives behave identically with respect to aspect, mood, tense and agreement features, the derivational processes that result in causative forms are discussed first.

4.5.2. *Causative*

Verbs have two causative forms, which result in the following array:

<i>gir</i>	<i>gira</i>	<i>girva</i>
‘fall’	‘cause X to fall’	‘cause Y to cause X to fall’
<i>cəl</i>	<i>cəla</i>	<i>cəlva</i>
‘move’	‘cause X to move’	‘cause Y to cause X to move’
<i>sun</i>	<i>suna</i>	<i>sunva</i>
‘hear/listen’	‘cause X to listen’	‘cause Y to cause X to listen’
<i>pəɫ^h</i>	<i>pəɫ^ha</i>	<i>pəɫ^hva</i>
‘read’	‘cause X to read’	‘cause Y to cause X to read’

The following points are worth noting about the causative verbs:

(i) Verbs in Hindi may be characterized as affective vs. effective. Affective verbs denote the physical and/or psychological state of the subject/agent. If transitive, the verbal action benefits or acts upon the agent rather than the patient. Affective intransitive and transitive verbs, such as *rona* ‘cry’, *bīmar hona* ‘be sick’, *k^hana* ‘to eat’, *sīk^hna* ‘to learn’, etc., have both first and second causal forms. In the first causal, the subject of intransitive and agent of transitive are then assigned the roles of patient and recipient, respectively, as in examples (37) and (39) in section (iii) below.

Effective transitive verbs and double transitive verbs have only one causal form, derived by suffixing *-(v)a*, e.g.,

<i>kār</i>	‘do’	<i>kāra/kārva</i>	‘cause to do’
<i>rāk^h</i>	‘put, place’	<i>rāk^ha/rāk^hva</i>	‘cause to put, place’
<i>dē</i>	‘give’	<i>dīla/dīlva</i>	‘cause to give’
<i>lik^h</i>	‘write’	<i>lik^ha/lik^hva</i>	‘cause to write’

(ii) Note that the causative derivation increases the valency of the verb, i.e., it adds one more argument to the argument structure of the verb. For instance, intransitive *gir* ‘fall’ has one argument, *peṛ* ‘tree’ in (36); the causative counterpart in (37) has two arguments, *lākṛhara* ‘woodcutter’ and *peṛ* ‘tree’. Similarly, the verb *sun* ‘listen’ has two arguments in (38), *rad^ha* ‘Radha’ and *kāhanī* ‘story’, the causative in (39) has three arguments, *nanī* ‘grandmother’, *rad^ha* ‘Radha’ and *kāhanī* ‘story’.

(iii) The first causals of intransitive verbs function as transitive verbs, as in (37) below, and the first causals of affective transitive verbs function as double transitives, i.e., they take two objects, as in (39) below:

(36) *peṛ* *gira*.
tree.M.SG fall.PERF.M.SG
‘The tree fell.’

(37) *lākṛhare* *ne* *peṛ* *giraya*.
woodcutter.M.SG.OBL AG tree.M.SG fall.CAUS.PERF.M.SG
‘The woodcutter felled the tree.’

(38) *rad^ha* *kāhanī* *sun* *rāhī* *he*.
Radha.F story.F.SG listen.F PROG.F PRES.SG
‘Radha is listening to a story.’

- (39) *nanī rad^ha ko kəhanī suna rəhī hē.*
 grandmother Radha IOBJ story.F.SG listen.CAUS PROG.F HON.PRES
 ‘(The) grandmother is telling Radha a story.’

(iv) The subject of an intransitive functions as the direct object of the corresponding first causative, e.g., *peṛ* ‘tree’ in (36)-(37); the subject of an affective transitive verb functions as an indirect object of the corresponding first causative, e.g., *rad^ha* in (38)-(39); and the subject of the first causative functions as a mediating agent in the corresponding second causative, e.g., *ləkəṛhara* in (40), and *nanī* in (41) in (v) below.

(v) The second causative adds one more argument to the argument structure of the verb, e.g.,

- (40) *ṭ^hekedar ne ləkəṛhare se peṛ*
 contractor.M.SG AG woodcutter.M.SG.OBL by tree.M.SG
gīrvaya.
 fall.CAUS.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The contractor had the woodcutter fell the tree.’

- (41) *mā nanī se rad^ha ko kəhanī sunva*
 mother grandmother by Radha IOBJ story.F.SG listen.CAUS
rəhī hē.
 PROG.F HON.PRES
 ‘Mother is having grandmother tell Radha a story.’

(vi) Semantically, the causative verb may not exactly correspond to the sense of the non-causal. Although all the causative verbs listed below mean ‘cause to V’, i.e., cause the corresponding verbal process or action, their translation equivalents in English suggest that they mean more than ‘cause V’:

<i>dek^h</i>	‘see’	<i>dik^hla</i>	‘show’
<i>sun</i>	‘hear’	<i>suna</i>	‘tell, narrate’
<i>k^ha</i>	‘eat’	<i>k^hila</i>	‘feed (baby), offer food’
<i>pī</i>	‘drink’	<i>pila</i>	‘nurse (baby), offer drink’
<i>pəṭ^h</i>	‘read’	<i>pəṭ^ha</i>	‘teach (subject)’
<i>sīk^h</i>	‘learn’	<i>sik^ha</i>	‘teach (skills)’
<i>gīr</i>	‘fall’	<i>gira</i>	‘fell, drop’
<i>səməj^h</i>	‘understand’	<i>səməj^ha</i>	‘explain’
<i>lik^h</i>	‘write’	<i>lik^h[v]a</i>	‘dictate’

(vii) Some causative verbs are used in an extended sense of ‘cause to V’ that seems to have no semantic relation to the corresponding non-causal verbs; they however, indirectly still have the implicational meaning of cause-to-V:

- (42) *mā ne muj^he bazar se ek nāī saṛī*
 mother AG I.OBL.DAT market.OBL from a new.F saree.F.SG
dilāī.
 give.CAUS.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Mother bought me a new saree from the market.’

Although *dila* is derivationally related to *de* ‘give’, in the above sentence, it is not translatable as ‘cause to give’, rather, it is to be translated as, ‘buy for X’. The causative verbs in (vi) and (vii), however, are not lexical causatives; their morphological relationship to the basic non-causal form is transparent in Hindi and is clearly semantically related, e.g., *k^hilana* ‘to feed X, to offer food to X’ implies ‘cause X to eat’ and *dilana* ‘buy for X’ still means ‘give X by buying Y for X’.

(viii) Causative forms of some corresponding transitive verbs also function as their intransitive counterparts, e.g., *kāhl-a* ‘cause to say’ or ‘be called, or, be named’, e.g.,⁶

- (43) *yāh laṛka age cāl kār māhapuruṣ*
 this boy.M.SG forward move CP great man.M.SG
kāhlaega.
 be called.CAUS.FUT.M.SG
 ‘This boy will be called a great man in the future.’

(ix) Although most verbs form their causative counterparts by suffixing *-a* or *-va* to the root in a regular manner, there are some verbs which behave unpredictably. These irregular processes are listed below.

In monosyllabic verbs ending in a long vowel, the final vowel is shortened and in some, additionally, the sound *-l-* is inserted between the root and the derivational affix. The reduction of vowel leads to the following alternations between vowels: *ī, e > i; ū, o > u, a > ə*.

<i>p^hēk</i>	‘throw’	<i>p^hikva</i>
<i>rāk^h</i>	‘put’	<i>rāk^hva</i>
<i>joṛ</i>	‘add’	<i>juṛva</i>
<i>man</i>	‘accept’	<i>mənva</i>
<i>k^ha</i>	‘eat’	<i>k^hila, k^hilva</i>

<i>pī</i>	‘drink’	<i>pīla, pīlva</i>
<i>dek^h</i>	‘see’	<i>dik^hla, dik^həlvā</i>
<i>c^hū</i>	‘touch’	<i>c^hulā</i>
<i>so</i>	‘sleep’	<i>sulā</i>
<i>beṭ^h</i>	‘sit’	<i>biṭ^hā</i>
<i>ro</i>	‘weep’	<i>rulā</i>
<i>sī</i>	‘sew’	<i>sīlā/sīlvā</i>
<i>kəh</i>	‘say’	<i>kəhlā/kəhəlvā</i>

(x) There are lexical causative verbs in Hindi such as *mājbūr/vivāṣ/bad^hy kārna* ‘to force’, *tēyar kārna* ‘to get some one ready’, *rajī/səhmət kārna* ‘to have someone agree with one’, etc. (see also, 8.6.8).

4.5.3. Aspect

Morphologically, the verb is marked for two aspects: imperfect and perfect. Other aspects are marked periphrastically (see 7.3.4).

4.5.3.1. Imperfect and Perfect

The imperfect is formed by suffixing *-tA* to the verbal root, and the perfect, by suffixing the vowel *-A* to the verbal root.⁷ The vowel changes according to the gender and number of the noun phrase with which the verb agrees. For example, the verb root *dek^h* ‘see, look’ has the following inflected aspectual forms:

	IMPF	PERF
M.SG	<i>dek^hta</i>	<i>dek^ha</i>
M.PL	<i>dek^hte</i>	<i>dek^he</i>
F.SG	<i>dek^htī</i>	<i>dek^hī</i>
F.PL	<i>dek^htī̃</i>	<i>dek^hī̃</i>

The honorific forms are the same as the plural forms above.

4.5.4. Mood

The only moods that are marked morphologically, i.e., on the lexical verb itself, are imperative, optative and contingent. Others, including the indicative, are formed by the concatenation of infinitival or participial forms of verbs and aspect-tense auxiliaries.

The morphology of aspect-tense-mood, to the extent that these categories can be distinguished grammatically in Hindi, is complex, since the exponents

of the categories are not discrete. They not only mark the categories mentioned above, but also person and number in the case of optative, and gender and number in the case of simple past forms. The following contrast between the optative and simple past tense forms, since they are marked inflectionally, may be helpful in the more detailed discussion of aspect-tense-mood:

	Optative		Simple Past			
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1stP	- <i>ū̃</i>	- <i>ē̃</i>	M	F	M	F
2ndP	- <i>e</i>	- <i>o</i>	- <i>a</i>	- <i>ī</i>	- <i>e</i>	- <i>ī̃</i>
3rdP	- <i>e</i>	- <i>ē̃</i>	- <i>a</i>	- <i>ī</i>	- <i>e</i>	- <i>ī̃</i>

The syncretism of the forms *-e*, *-ē̃*, *-a*, *-ī*, and *-ī̃* makes it difficult to identify them unless the full syntactic context is available.

4.5.4.1. Imperative, Optative and Contingent

The root form of the verb is used as the second singular imperative; the optative form is used as the second plural or familiar imperative. The infinitive form of the verb is used as the second person plural or familiar imperative to indicate a polite suggestion or request instead of a command.

The honorific or polite imperative is formed by suffixing *-iye* or *-iyega* to the root form. The optative is formed by the suffixes *-ū̃* 'first person singular', *-o* 'second person plural', *-e* 'second and third person singular', *-ē̃* 'first and third person plural and honorific', as is obvious from the table above. The formation of contingent is more complex and is discussed separately. The paradigm of imperative and optative forms is displayed in the following table:

		OPT	IMP
1stP	SG	<i>jaū̃</i>	-----
	PL	<i>jaē̃</i>	-----
2ndP	SG	<i>jae</i>	<i>ja</i>
	PL	<i>jao</i>	<i>jao</i>
	HON	<i>jaē̃</i>	<i>jaiye, jaiyega</i>
3rdP	SG	<i>jae</i>	-----
	PL	<i>jaē̃</i>	-----

The optative is formed from the verbal root in the following manner:

(i) The optative marker is suffixed to the verbal roots ending in a consonant, e.g., *dek^h-ī* ‘may I see’, *dek^h-e* ‘may you (SG)/(s)he see’, *dek^h-o* ‘may you (FAM) see’, *dek^h-ē* ‘may we/they/you (HON) see’.

(ii) When the optative marker is suffixed to a root ending in *-ī* or *-ū*, the root vowel is shortened to *-i* or *-u*, and a transitional *-y-* or *-v-* may occur between the final *-i* or *-u* and the optative marker, respectively, e.g.,

<i>jī</i>	‘live (be alive)’	<i>jiū̄, ji(y)o, ji(y)e, ji(y)ē, etc.</i>
<i>c^hū</i>	‘touch’	<i>c^huī̄, c^hu(v)o, c^hu(v)e, c^hu(v)ē, etc.</i>

Both the optative and the imperfect participle are used as the contingent. The imperfect participle is inflected for gender and number agreement, e.g.,

<i>vəh ata</i>	‘Were he to come...’
<i>tum vəhā jatī̄</i>	‘Were you(F) to go there...’

4.5.4.2. Irregular Forms of Imperative

The following verbs have an irregular form of the honorific imperative in that a *-j-* occurs between the root and the inflectional imperative ending *-iye(ga)*:

dena ‘give’: *dījiye*; *pīna* ‘drink’: *pījiye*; *lena* ‘take’: *lījiye*; *kərna* ‘do’: *kījiye*

4.5.5. Tense

The only tenses that are marked on the lexical verb itself are the simple past and the future. Others are marked by auxiliaries. The simple present is expressed by an auxiliary, *he* (*hē* in the plural) occurring with the imperfect participle.

4.5.5.1. Past

The perfect participle is used to express the meaning of the simple past tense, e.g.:

(44) *rajit* *ḍakṭər* *bəna*
 Rajit.M doctor become.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Rajit became a doctor.’

(45) *sərita* *g^hər* *se* *niklī*.
 Sarita.F house.M.SG from emerge.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Sarita came out of the house.’

The past tense is formed from the verbal root in the following manner:

(i) The past tense marker, homophonous with the perfect marker, is *-A* which is suffixed to the verbal root ending in a consonant; it incorporates gender and number also, as has been said before, e.g., *dek^h-a* ‘saw.M.SG’, *dek^h-ī* ‘saw.F.SG’, *dek^h-e* ‘saw.M.PL’, *dek^h-ī̃* ‘saw.F.PL’.

(ii) When verbal roots ending in a vowel are inflected for the past tense, a transitional *-y-* is inserted between the two vowels, e.g., *so-y-a* ‘slept.M.SG’, *so-y-e* ‘slept.M.PL’, etc.

(iii) The *-y-* is invariably pronounced as well as represented in writing when the past tense marker is *-a*, e.g., *soya* ‘slept’ (M.SG). It is not pronounced, and is optional in writing, when the root ends in *-o* and the past tense marker is a front vowel, e.g., *so* ‘sleep’ + *-ī* = *soī* ‘slept’ (sleep.F.SG).

(iv) When *-a* is suffixed to a root ending in *-ī* or *-ū*, the root vowel is shortened to *-i* or *-u*, e.g.:

<i>sī</i>	‘sew’	<i>siya, sī, siye, sī̃</i>
<i>pī</i>	‘drink’	<i>piya, pī, pie, pī̃</i>
<i>c^hū</i>	‘touch’	<i>c^hua, c^huī, chue, c^huī̃</i>

(v) Note also the following irregular forms:

<i>ja</i>	‘go’	<i>gəya, gəī, gəye, gəī̃</i>
<i>le</i>	‘take’	<i>liya, lī, liye, lī̃</i>
<i>de</i>	‘give’	<i>diya, dī, diye, dī̃</i>
<i>ho</i>	‘become’	<i>hua, huī, hue, huī̃</i>
<i>kār</i>	‘do’	<i>kiya, kī, kiye, kī̃</i>

4.5.5.2. Future

The future tense is formed by suffixing the optative form of the verb with *-ga*:

(46) *mē jaūga.*
I.M go.OPT.FUT.M.SG
‘I will go.’

(47) *ve jaēgī.*
they go.OPT.FUT.F.PL
‘They will go.’

The full range of forms is as follows:

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1stP	- <i>ũga</i>	- <i>ẽge</i>	- <i>ũgĩ</i>	- <i>ẽgĩ</i>
2ndP	- <i>ega</i>	- <i>oge</i>	- <i>egĩ</i>	- <i>ogĩ</i>
2ndP.HON	- <i>ẽge</i>	- <i>ẽge</i>	- <i>ẽgĩ</i>	- <i>ẽgĩ</i>
3rdP	- <i>ega</i>	- <i>ẽge</i>	- <i>egĩ</i>	- <i>ẽgĩ</i>

The honorific (polite) forms are identical to the first- and third- person masculine and feminine plural forms. Note that in some people's pronunciation, not only is the vowel nasalized, there also is a homorganic nasal *-ŋ-* present in the first person, and the first and third person plural forms.

Verbal roots that end in a consonant have forms such as the following:

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1stP	<i>dek^hũga</i>	<i>dek^hẽge</i>	<i>dek^hũgĩ</i>	<i>dek^hẽgĩ</i>
2ndP	<i>dek^hega</i>	<i>dek^hoge</i>	<i>dek^hegĩ</i>	<i>dek^hogĩ</i>
3rdP	<i>dek^hega</i>	<i>dek^hẽge</i>	<i>dek^hegĩ</i>	<i>dek^hẽgĩ</i>

Verbal roots that end in *-ĩ* or *-ũ* have a corresponding short vowel before the optative; thus *pĩ* 'drink' and *c^hũ* 'touch' have the following forms in the future:

pĩna 'to drink'

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1stP	<i>piũga</i>	<i>piẽge</i>	<i>piũgĩ</i>	<i>piẽgĩ</i>
2ndP	<i>piega</i>	<i>pioge</i>	<i>piegĩ</i>	<i>piogĩ</i>
3rdP	<i>piega</i>	<i>piẽge</i>	<i>piegĩ</i>	<i>piẽgĩ</i>

c^hũna 'to touch'

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1stP	<i>c^huũga</i>	<i>c^huẽge</i>	<i>c^huũgĩ</i>	<i>c^huẽgĩ</i>
2ndP	<i>c^huega</i>	<i>c^huoge</i>	<i>c^huegĩ</i>	<i>c^huogĩ</i>
3rdP	<i>c^huega</i>	<i>c^huẽge</i>	<i>c^huegĩ</i>	<i>c^huẽgĩ</i>

Verbal roots that end in *-e* or *-o* may have a transitional *-y-* or *-v-* between the final vowel of the root and the optative suffix, e.g., *k^heyega* or *k^hevega* 'will row' (3rdP.M.SG), *soyegĩ* or *sovegĩ* 'will sleep' (3rdP.F.SG).

The verb *hona* 'be, become', however, behaves exceptionally in that in the first person singular, the final vowel of the root changes to *-ũ* before the future marker is suffixed, and in others, it is retained and the future marker *-ga* is

directly suffixed to the root. The following are the future forms of the verb *hona* ‘be, become’:

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1stP	<i>hũga</i>	<i>hõge</i>	<i>hũgĩ</i>	<i>hõgĩ</i>
2ndP	<i>hoga</i>	<i>hoge</i>	<i>hogĩ</i>	<i>hogĩ</i>
3rdP	<i>hoga</i>	<i>hõge</i>	<i>hogĩ</i>	<i>hõgĩ</i>

4.5.6. Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are used to express aspect-tense and modality. The tense and modal auxiliaries are discussed below. For auxiliaries that mark aspects, see 7.3.4.

4.5.6.1. Tense Auxiliaries

There are two tense auxiliaries: *hV* ‘be’ (present) and *t^hV*(past). They have the following forms:

	PRES				PAST			
	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1stP	<i>hũ</i>	<i>hẽ</i>	<i>hũ</i>	<i>hẽ</i>	<i>t^ha</i>	<i>t^he</i>	<i>t^hĩ</i>	<i>t^hĩ</i>
2ndP	<i>hε</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>hε</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>t^ha</i>	<i>t^he</i>	<i>t^hĩ</i>	<i>t^hĩ</i>
3rdP	<i>hε</i>	<i>hẽ</i>	<i>hε</i>	<i>hẽ</i>	<i>t^ha</i>	<i>t^he</i>	<i>t^hĩ</i>	<i>t^hĩ</i>

The forms show that the gender distinction is expressed by change in vowel quality in the past, whereas the number distinction is expressed by nasalization in both the tense auxiliaries. Also, the gender distinction is neutralized in the present tense auxiliary forms.

The future tense auxiliary that follows the imperfect and perfect forms to yield future imperfect and future perfect is *ho + gA*. The *-A* changes to reflect agreement in gender and number; the *ho* is invariable, except it inflects for first person agreement resulting in the form *hũgA*.

4.5.6.2. Modal Auxiliaries

The modal auxiliaries are *sakna* ‘can, be able’, *pana* ‘to manage to’, *hona* ‘have to’, *parna* ‘have to’, and possibly *dena* ‘permissive’, *cukna* ‘completive’, and *cahiye* ‘ought to’ (see also 7.3.4 and 8.6.10).

The modal auxiliaries are not a clear-cut category in Hindi. Grammar texts meant for teaching the language (e.g., McGregor 1972) do not even mention a category of modal auxiliaries, though they have descriptions of the syntax of items such as the ones listed just above (see Lessons XIII and XV in McGregor 1972). They are listed here under a category of modal auxiliaries as

their grammatical behavior is similar to auxiliaries and differs from that of lexical verbs. Unlike lexical verbs, they do not occur by themselves; they do not take the full range of aspect-tense-mood, or gender-number-person affixes; they do not occur in passive and impersonal voices; they do not have adjectival, adverbial or conjunctive participial forms; they do not take clausal or infinitival complements; and semantically, they denote ability, necessity, obligation, permission, etc. Their syntax is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

The item *səkna* ‘can, be able to’ behaves just like the lexical verbs in that it takes the full range of aspect-tense and gender-number-person affixes. Though both *səkna* and *cukna* occur with nominative subjects, they are unlike lexical verbs and similar to other members of the category of modal auxiliaries in that they do not occur in the imperative. A sentence such as the following is ungrammatical:

- (48) **turənt* *g^hər* *ja* *səko!*
 immediately home go be able.FAM
 *‘Be able to go home immediately.’

The modal *cukna* ‘completive’ occurs with the root form of the main verb (*k^ha cuka* ‘(already) ate’) and is more common with perfect aspect and past tenses; although its use in the imperfect is not ungrammatical, it is infrequent. It is not used in the progressive aspect.

The items *pana* ‘to manage to’, *hona* ‘to have to’, *pəɽna* ‘to have to, must’ and *dena* ‘let, be allowed to’, are also regular in terms of aspect-tense and gender-number-person marking; they, however, differ syntactically in that, whereas *pana* ‘to manage to’ (e.g., ***ja*** *pana* ‘to manage to go’) follows a lexical verb in its root form, *hona* ‘to have to’ and *pəɽna* ‘to have to, must’ require the main verb to be in the infinitive (***jana*** *hoga/pəɽega* ‘will have to/must go’) and the subject to be marked dative, and *dena* follows a main verb in its inflected infinitive form (*g^hər* ***jane*** *diya* ‘allowed to go home’) and takes a nominative subject. The verb forms in bold in the three examples in parentheses are the root, the infinitive and inflected infinitive forms of the verb ‘to go’, respectively.

The modal *cahiye* ‘should, ought to’ occurs with the infinitive form of the main verb with a dative subject (see the sentences below). It is invariable; it does not take any aspect-tense or gender-number, person affix. It is, however, used with the past tense auxiliary, *t^hA*.

(49) *həmko əb g^hər jana cahiye.*
 we.OBL.DAT now home go.INF should
 ‘We should go home now.’

(50) *raj ko donō kitabē xərīdnī cahiye t^hī.*
 Raj.M.OBL DAT both book.F.PL buy.INF.F should PAST.F.PL
 ‘Raj should have bought both the books.’

In short, there are constraints on the occurrence of modal auxiliaries in many periphrastic aspect-tenses; see 7.3.3 and 7.3.4.

4.5.7. *Semantic Categories*

The Verbs are divided into the following semantic categories:

STATIVE-INCHOATIVE-ACTIVE

Unlike in English, there is no clear-cut distinction in lexical verbs in Hindi in terms of stativity. The distinction stative-inchoative-active is made in syntactic constructions rather than in lexical verbs. Only the linking verb, *hona* ‘to be’ functions as a clear stative verb when it is used with nominal or adverbial complement in simple tenses. Most intransitive and all dative-subject verbs (see 8.6.1.1) are either stative or inchoative, and most transitive verbs are active. There are sets of stative-inchoative-active verbs of the following type:

Stative	Inchoative	Active
<i>k^hula hona</i> ‘to be open’	<i>k^hulna</i> ‘to become open’	<i>k^holna</i> ‘to open’
<i>pāka hona</i> ‘to be cooked’	<i>pākna</i> ‘to cook’ (INTR)	<i>pākana</i> ‘to cook’
<i>krud^h hona</i> ‘to be angry’	<i>krud^h ana</i> ‘to become angry’	<i>krud^h kārna</i> ‘to show anger’
<i>yad hona</i> ‘to remember’	<i>yad ana</i> ‘to remember’	<i>yad kārna</i> ‘to recall’

The stative verbs are usually composed of an adjective or past participle and the verb ‘be’, the inchoative verbs are either lexical verbs or complex verbs (i.e., conjunct verbs; see 4.5.8, especially 4.5.8.2) composed of a nominal and a verb meaning ‘become’ or ‘come’, and the active is either a causal verb morphologically derived from the intransitive verb (see 4.5.2) or a conjunct verb composed of a nominal and the verb ‘do’.

There are, however, exceptions to this generalization. Intransitive verbs of motion, such as *ana* ‘to come’, *jana* ‘to go’ and verbs of expression, such as *rona* ‘to cry’, *cillana* ‘to shout’ are active. Transitive verbs of cognition, such as *janna* ‘to know, to apprehend’, *pāhcanna* ‘to recognize’ are stative.

AFFECTIVE : EFFECTIVE

As has been mentioned in the context of causative verbs (see 4.5.2 above), affective verbs signal the physical and/or psychological state of the subject/agent. If transitive, the verbal action benefits or acts upon the agent rather than the patient. Effective verbs, on the other hand, denote actions/processes that affect some entity other than the subject/agent of the intransitive/transitive verbs.

VOLITIONAL : NON-VOLITIONAL

The distinction in terms of volitionality cross-classifies all verbs in Hindi and is not derivable from either intransitive-transitive or stative-inchoative-active categories. In addition to inherently volitional verbs such as *k^hana* ‘to eat’, *lik^hna* ‘to write’, etc., volitional verbs are also generated from the processes of causativization and complex verb formation (Kachru 1981).

4.5.8. *Complex Verbs*

Cutting across the classification of verbs in terms of transitivity is the categorisation of verbs in terms of internal complexity. In addition to the simple, one-word verbs discussed so far, there are verbs which are complex, in that they are made up of more than one word. In traditional accounts, these complex verbs have been described under two categories: compound and conjunct verbs. Compound verbs consist of two verbs and conjunct verbs are made up of a nominal followed by a verb. The compound verbs share the properties of serial verbs discussed in the grammars of many languages including Chinese, Vietnamese, the Dravidian languages of India, and several African languages. The complex verbs are described in the following two subsections.

4.5.8.1. *Compound Verbs*

In a compound verb, a main verb is followed by another lexical verb which carries the tense, aspect and agreement markers, i.e., it takes all the markings of a finite verb. In the following sentences the compound verbs are in bold face:

- (51) *sumit ro pəṛa.*
 Sumit.M cry fall.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Sumit burst out crying.’

- (52) *rek^ha cilla u^hṭ.*
 Rekha.F shout rise.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Rekha shouted out loud.’
- (53) *rajū kitabē le gəya.*
 Raju.M book.F.PL take go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Raju took away the books.’
- (54) *mohən kitabē le aya.*
 Mohan.M book.F.PL take come.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Mohan brought the books.’

The second verbs are cited in their root forms in the following discussion, as the infinitive is not relevant; it is the root that is affixed to show aspect-tense-mood and gender-number-person distinction as a finite verb. The second verb in a compound verb construction (e.g., *pəṭ* ‘fall’ in (51), *u^h* ‘rise’ in (52), *ja* ‘go’ in (53), *a* ‘come’ in (54)) has been variously referred to as auxiliary, operator, explicator, etc. In more recent descriptions, the term ‘light verb’ has gained currency. The term light verb will be used consistently in the following discussion.

The main light verbs are the following: *a* ‘come’, *ja* ‘go’, *le* ‘take’, *de* ‘give’, *u^h* ‘rise’, *beṭ^h* ‘sit’, *pəṭ* ‘fall’, *ḍal* ‘drop, pour’, *rək^h* ‘keep, place, put’, *c^hoṭ* ‘leave, give up’, *mar* ‘hit’, *nikəl* ‘emerge’, *d^həmək* ‘thump’, and *pəhūc* ‘arrive, reach’.

Not all light verbs occur with all main verbs. The main classes of verbs with which each one occurs and the semantic import of each one are described and exemplified below.

a ‘come’: cooccurs with intransitive verbs of motion and indicates that the action of the main verb is oriented toward a focal point which may be a person or which may be set in time or space. The focal point may or may not coincide with the subject or any other argument of the main verb:

- (55) *ram ke pukarte hī vəh g^həṛ se*
 Ram.M of call.IMP.F.OBL EMPH he.M.SG house.M.SG.OBL from
nikəl aya.
 emerge come.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Mohan came out of the house as soon as Ram called.’
 [That is, Ram is outside and Mohan’s motion is toward him.]

- (56) *yāh prāt^ha sadiyō se cālī a*
 this custom.F.SG centuries.F.PL.OBL since move.PERF.F.SG come
rāhī hε.
 PROG.F.SG PRES.SG

‘This custom has been practiced for centuries.’

[The motion is from the ancient times toward the present. Note that the form of the main verb is not the root *cāl* ‘move’, but the past participle *cālV*. Other main verbs occur in their root form with the light verbs *a* and *ja* ‘go’.]

ja ‘go’: cooccurs with intransitive verbs of motion and other change-of-state verbs, and indicates motion away from a focal point. With dative subject verbs it indicates a definitive meaning, and with transitive verbs it expresses either a completed or hurried and impulsive action:

- (57) *mīna ke g^huste hī ranī kāmre se*
 Mina.F of enter.IMPF.OBL EMPH Rani.F room.M.SG.OBL from
nikəl gāl.
 emerge go.PERF.F.SG

‘Rani went out of the room as soon as Mina entered.’

[The motion is away from Mina.]

- (58) *bāhurūpiyō ko dek^h kər bāccō ko hāsī*
 clown.M.PL.OBL DOBJ see CP children DAT laughter.F.SG
a gāl.
 come go.PERF.F.SG

‘The children laughed when they saw the clowns.’

- (59) *jāldī se dāva pī jao.*
 hurry with medicine drink go.FAM
 ‘Drink the medicine quickly [i.e., Drink it all up]!’

- (60) *vāh gusse mē bāhut kuc^h kəh gāya*
 he anger.M.OBL in much some say go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘He said many things in anger [i.e., He spoke without thinking].’

le ‘take’: cooccurs with affective (transitive) verbs and indicates a completive meaning; with other transitive verbs, it indicates a self-benefactive meaning, and with intransitive verbs of expression, it indicates internal expression:

- (61) *həm jam ke sat baje tək k^hana*
 we evening of.OBL seven o'clock.OBL by dinner.M
k^ha lete hē.
 eat take.IMP.F.M.PL be.PRES.PL
 'We eat by seven in the evening.'
- (62) *rīna ne sārīta ka pātr pāṭ^h liya.*
 Rīna.F.SG AG Sarita.F.SG of.M.SG letter.M.SG read take.PERF.M.SG
 'Rina read Sarita's letter.'
- (63) *smita kelaṣ kī batō pār hās leṭī*
 Smita.F Kailash.M of talk.F.PL.OBL on laugh take.IMP.F.SG
he, bolī kuc^h nahī.
 PRES.SG say.IMP.F some not
 'Smita is amused at whatever Kailash says, but says nothing.'

de 'give': cooccurs with transitive verbs other than the affective and indicates that the action of the verb is directed toward a beneficiary other than the subject of the main verb; with intransitive verbs of expression, it indicates external expression:

- (64) *sāvita ne tīna ka k^hana pāka diya.*
 Savita.F AG Tina.F of.M.SG food.M.SG cook give.PERF.M.SG
 'Savita cooked the food for Tina, i.e., instead of Tina.'
- (65) *zāra is pār apna pāta lik^h do.*
 a little this on self.POSS.M.SG address.M.SG write give.FAM
 'Please write your address on this (for me).'

The item *zāra* 'a little' signals a polite request (see 11.2).

- (66) *bāndarō ko dek^h kār bācca hās diya.*
 monkey.M.P.OBL DOBJ see CP child laugh give.PERF.M.SG
 'The child laughed when he saw the monkeys [the laughter was audible].'

uṭ^h 'rise': cooccurs with select intransitive and transitive punctual verbs and indicates sudden action:

- (67) *t^hāppar lāgte hī lāṭka ro uṭ^ha.*
 slap.M.SG apply.IMP.F.OBL EMPH boy cry rise.PERF.M.SG
 'The boy burst out crying as soon as he was slapped.'

- (68) *rohīṭ kī cīk^h kəmre mē gūj*
 Rohit.M of.F scream.F.SG room.M.SG.OBL in resound
uṭ^hṭ.
 rise.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Rohit’s scream resounded in the room.’

bēṭ^h ‘sit’: cooccurs with select transitive and intransitive verbs and indicates either an unexpected, anti-climactic, or a thoughtless action:

- (69) *mohīṭ cay bānane gəya ɔr əpna*
 Mohit.M tea.F make.INF.OBL go.PERF.M.SG and self.POSS.M.SG
hat^h jəla bēṭ^ha.
 hand.M.SG burn sit.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Mohit went to make tea and burnt his hand.’

- (70) *səroj əpne b^hāī se ləṭ bēṭ^hṭ.*
 Saroj.F self.POSS.M.SG.OBL brother.OBL with fight sit.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Saroj (went and) fought with her brother (of all people).’

pəṭ ‘fall’: cooccurs with intransitive change of state verbs, and verbs of expression. It indicates suddenness.

- (71) *b^hōpū kī avaz sunte hī vəh*
 siren.M of.F.OBL noise.F.SG hear.IMP.F.OBL EMPH he
g^hər se nīkəl pəṭa.
 home.OBL from emerge fall.PERF.M.SG
 ‘He left home as soon as he heard the siren.’

- (72) *əpne b^həyavne ənub^həvō ka*
 self.POSS.M.PL.OBL frightening.OBL experience.M.PL.OBL of.M.SG
byora dete dete ləṭka ro pəṭa.
 detail.M.SG give.IMP.F.OBL boy cry fall.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The boy burst out crying while narrating his frightening experiences.’

ḍal ‘pour’: cooccurs with transitive verbs that express violent actions and reinforces the sense of violence (e.g., (73) below; note that *mar* by itself means ‘hit’, but with *ḍal*, it means ‘kill’). With other transitive verbs such as *pəṭ^h* ‘read’, *lik^h* ‘write’, *bec* ‘sell’, *kəh* ‘say’, *kəṛ* ‘do’, etc., it indicates action performed in a casual, off-hand manner:

- (73) *ram ne yudd^h mē ravəṇ ko*
 Ram.M.OBL AG battle.M.SG.OBL in Ravan DOBJ

mar ḍāla.

hit pour.PERF.M.SG

‘Ram killed Ravan in the battle.’

- (74) *usne jaldī jaldī sara kam kār ḍāla.*
 (s)he.OBL AG quickly all.M.SG work.M.SG do pour.PERF.M.SG
 ‘(S)he did all the work quickly (to get it over with).’

rāk^h ‘keep, place’: cooccurs with select transitive verbs and indicates a temporary state resulting from the action of the main verb. It has a benefactive implication; the action is either for the benefit of the subject or someone else explicitly mentioned in the sentence:

- (75) *usne b^haī se dehradūn mē mākan*
 (s)he AG brother.OBL with Dehradoon.OBL in house
bānvane kī bat kāh rāk^hī hē.
 make.CAUS.INF.OBL of.F matter.F.SG say keep.PERF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘(S)he has told her brother to construct a house in Dehradoon (for herself).’

- (76) *mā ne tumhare liye ek ācc^ha-sa uphar*
 mother.OBL AG you.GEN.OBL for a good.M.SG.EMPH gift.M.SG
le rāk^ha hē.
 take keep.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Mother has bought you a very nice gift [i.e., it is in safe keeping with her].’

c^hoṭ ‘leave, give up’: cooccurs with select transitive verbs and indicates dissociation of the subject of the main verb from the result of the action of the main verb:

- (77) *mēne apnī sāb kitabē apne b^haiyō*
 I AG self.POSS.F all book.F.PL self.POSS.M.OBL brother.PL.OBL
ke liye rāk^h c^hoṭī hē.
 for keep leave.PERF.F.SG PRES.PL
 ‘I have saved all my books for my brothers.’

- (78) *yatra pār nikālne se pāhle apne sāb gāhne*
 trip.OBL on emerge.INF.OBL before self.POSS.PL all jewelry.M.PL
ṛ ruppee kisī surākṣit jāgāh mē rāk^h c^hoṭna.
 and rupee.PL some.OBL safe.OBL place.OBL in put leave.INF.FAM

‘Store all your jewelry and money in some safe location before (you) leave on (your) trip.’

As mentioned before, the use of the infinitive for familiar imperative signals a polite suggestion or request rather than a command (see 4.5.4.1 above).

mar ‘hit’: cooccurs with a very limited set of transitive verbs and indicates rash action:

(79) *yəh kya (bəkvas) lik^h mara hɛ!*
 this what (nonsense) write hit.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘What nonsense you have written!’

(80) *lərkī ne sipahī ko ek pətt^hər de mara*
 girl AG constable.M.SG.OBL DOBJ a stone.M.SG give hit.PERF.M.SG
ɔr b^hag niklī.
 and run emerge.PERF.F.SG
 ‘The girl hit the constable with a stone and ran away.’

d^həmək ‘thump’: cooccurs with the verbs *a* ‘come’ and *ja* ‘go’ and indicates unwelcome arrival:

(81) *aj subəh subəh kuc^h log a d^həmke,*
 today early morning some people.M come thump.PERF.M.PL
itmīnan se nəha b^hī nəhī[~] paī.
 leisure with bathe EMPH not find.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Some people barged in this morning; I could not even take a leisurely bath.’

nikəl ‘emerge’: cooccurs with select verbs of motion and indicates a sudden or unexpected burst of activity:

(82) *əcanək himō ka ek j^huŋd^h həmare samme se*
 suddenly deer.M.PL.OBL of one pack we.GEN.OBL front.OBL from
b^hag nikla.
 run emerge.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Suddenly a pack of deer appeared in front of us running and disappeared (from our view).’

pəhūc ‘reach, arrive’: cooccurs with *a* ‘come’ and *ja* ‘go’ and indicates arrival rather than motion.

- (83) *ve log acaṅak aj sat baje.*
 those people.M suddenly today seven o'clock.OBL
a pāhūce
 come arrive.PERF.M.PL
 'Those people arrived suddenly today at seven o'clock.'
- (84) *sufant do g^hāṅṭō mē hī haridvar*
 Sushant.M two hour.M.PL.OBL in EMPH Haridvar
ja pāhūca.
 go arrive.PERF.M.SG
 'Sushant reached Haridvar in just two hours.'

4.5.8.2. Conjunct Verbs

Conjunct verbs are made up of a nominal followed by a verb. The verbs that participate in the conjunct verb construction comprise a small set. The members of this set are *ho* 'be, become', *kār* 'do', *de* 'give', *a* 'come', and *lāg* 'apply'. The process is very productive; any noun or adjective can be used in this construction to yield a corresponding verb. The following sentences exemplify the use of conjunct verbs, which appear in bold type:

- (85) *kāmre saf hue?*
 room.M.PL clean become.PERF.M.PL
 'Did the rooms get cleaned?'
- (86) *kāmre saf karo!*
 room.M.PL clean do.FAM
 'Clean the rooms!'
- (87) *usne muj^he suj^hav diya ki mē*
 he.OBL.AG I.OBL.DAT suggestion.M.SG give.PERF.M.SG that I
rat ko hī cāl dū.
 night.OBL at EMPH leave give.1stP.OPT.SG
 'He suggested that I leave at night (instead of waiting till morning).'
- (88) *muj^he us rote hue bācce pār bāṛī*
 I.OBL.DAT that.OBL cry.PRESPTPL child.M.SG.OBL on great.F
dāya aī.
 pity.F come.PERF.F.SG
 'I felt a great deal of pity for that child who was crying.'
- (89) *muj^he tumharī ye adtē bāhut*
 I.OBL.DAT you.POSS.F these habit.F.PL very

burī lāgtī hē.
 bad.F feel.IMP.F PRES.PL
 'I intensely dislike these habits of yours.'

The occurrence of particular verbal items with particular nominals is not predictable, although some semantic factors seem to be involved in the choices, which need to be worked out. It is, however, noteworthy that the formation of conjunct verbs is a very productive process in Hindi and is the preferred way of augmenting the creative potential of the language. For example, a noun such as *permission* or *project*, once borrowed into the language, can give rise to the following:

pr̥mīṣan hona, dena, lena, māgna, ... 'to permit, give permission, take permission, ask for permission', etc.; *pr̥jekt̥ hona, lena, dena, māgna, svīkar kārna,...* 'to have a project, take up a project, to give a project, to ask for a project, to accept a project', etc.

Note also that the the periphrastic causative verbs are members of the class of conjunct verbs, e.g., *saf hona* 'be clean' and *saf kārna* 'to cause to be clean, to clean', *rajī hona* 'to agree' and *rajī kārna* 'to get someone to agree' have the same relationship as non-causal and causal verbs such as *rona* 'to cry' and *rulana* 'to make some one cry'.

4.5.9. Voice

According to traditional grammars, there are three voices in Hindi: active, passive and impersonal. These are discussed below.

4.5.9.1. Active

The finite verbs in example sentences in this chapter so far are all in active voice. The active verb occurs in all aspect-tense forms and shows agreement features of gender, number and person.

4.5.9.2. Passive

The passive voice is marked by the passive auxiliary *ja*, which follows the past participial form of the main verb. The element *ja* carries the person, number and gender agreement markers as in the following:

(90) *kitabē pṛṛhī gā.*
 book.F.PL read.PERF.F PASV.F.PL
 'The books were read.'

Since *kitabẽ* ‘books’ is feminine plural, the passive auxiliary is in its third person feminine plural form (see also 8.4 for a detailed discussion of voice).

- (91) *vāhā jaoge to mare jaoge.*
 there go.FAM.FUT.M then kill.PERF.M.PL FAM.PASV.FUT.M
 ‘If you go there, you will be killed.’

The passive marker *ja* is marked for second person masculine plural agreement features, suggesting the understood subject is *tum* ‘you’ (PL), the familiar form.

4.5.9.3. Impersonal

Intransitive verbs occur in the impersonal construction, where the finite verb has the same form as the passive described above.

- (92) *mu^hse bāhut dūr cāla nahī̃ jata.*
 I.DAT.OBL by much distance walk.PERF.M.SG not PASV.IMPF.M.SG
 ‘I am unable to walk very far.’

Since the only nominal in the sentence, the pronoun ‘I’, is in the oblique case followed by the instrumental postposition, the verb is in the neutral agreement pattern, i.e., it is in the third person masculine singular form (see also 8.4).

4.5.10. Subcategories of Verbs

There are two subcategories of verbs according to the type of complement they take, those that take a tensed-clause complement and those that take an infinitival complement, e.g.,

- (93) *kameṣ kāhta he ki kāl kālkatte*
 Kamesh.M say.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG that tomorrow Kolkata.OBL
jaega.
 go.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Kamesh says that he will go to Calcutta tomorrow.’

- (94) *sonia nyū yark mē rāhna cāhī̃ he.*
 Sonia.F New York in live.INF want.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Sonia wants to live in New York.’

These verbs are cross-classified by the requirement of subject-identity of the two clauses, i.e., whether the subjects of the main and the complement clause should be identical. The complement construction is discussed in detail in 9.1.

4.6. Adverb

Basic adverbs are morphologically invariable and function syntactically as modifiers of the verb. On the basis of their internal composition, adverbs are classified into basic, derived and complex categories.

4.6.1. Basic Adverbs

Typical examples of basic adverbs are locational adverbs such as *yəhā* ‘here’ and *id^hər* ‘in this direction’, temporal adverbs such as *əb* ‘now’ and *p^hir* ‘then’, manner adverbs such as *d^hire* ‘slowly’ and *jəldī* ‘soon’, and degree adverbs such as *bəhut* ‘much’ and *prayəh* ‘almost, nearly’.

4.6.2. Derived Adverbs

Most adverbs are derived from some other word class, e.g., noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb. These are discussed in some detail below.

4.6.2.1. Adverbs Derived from Nouns and Pronouns

Nouns denoting time and place are used as adverbs with no morphological modification, e.g., *aj* ‘today’, *kəl* ‘the day adjacent to today’, *subəh* ‘morning’, *ʃam* ‘evening’, *əndər* ‘inside’, *bahər* ‘out(side)’, etc.

Most nouns, however, when used as adverbs, occur in postpositional phrases, e.g., *ʃam ko* ‘in the evening’, *rat mē* ‘at night’, *tezī se* ‘with speed’, *himmət se* ‘with courage’, etc.

Adverbials derived from the demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns are as follows:

	time	place	direction	manner
PROX	<i>əb</i>	<i>yəhā</i>	<i>id^hər</i>	<i>yō</i>
DIST	<i>təb</i>	<i>vəhā</i>	<i>ud^hər</i>	<i>tyō</i>
REL	<i>jəb</i>	<i>jəhā</i>	<i>jid^hər</i>	<i>jyō</i>
INTER	<i>kəb</i>	<i>kəhā</i>	<i>kid^hər</i>	<i>kyō</i>

Note that the forms *təb* and *tyō* under the distal category, though said to be related to the archaic correlative pronoun *so* (see 4.3.1), pattern as shown above. There exist corresponding locational and directional correlative forms, *təhā* and *tid^hər* as well, but, these do not occur except in fixed compounds such as *jəhā-təhā* ‘here, there and everywhere’ and *jid^hər-tid^hər* ‘in every which direction’.

Other pronominal adverbial forms include the following: *kəb^hī* ‘ever, sometimes’ and *kəhī* ‘at some place, somewhere’.

In addition, adverbial expressions are formed by using adverbs derived from the pronouns listed above with postpositions *se* ‘from, since’, *ko* ‘to (directional)’, *ka* ‘of’, *pər* ‘on (locational)’, and *tək* ‘till, upto’.

4.6.2.2. Adverbs Derived from Adjectives

The following adverbs are derived from the pronominal adjectives: *ese* ‘in this manner’, *vese* ‘in that manner’, *jesē* ‘the manner in which’, *tesē* ‘in that manner’, and *kese* ‘in what manner’. The quantitative adjectives *itna* ‘this much’, *utna* ‘that much’, etc., when followed by the postposition *mē* ‘in’, have a range-related meaning that may imply range of time, amount, space, etc. For amount vs. temporal meaning, compare (95) with (96) and (97) with (98) below (*itne mē* in (95) and *utne mē* in (97) are amount-related):

- (95) *ye pāc rupye hē, itne mē kitab mil jaegī?*
 these five rupee.PL be.PRES.PL this much.OBL in book obtain go.FUT.F
 ‘These are only five rupees, i.e., I have only five rupees, will the book be available for this much?’
- (96) *mē əb^hī aī, itne mē tum cay*
 I now.EMPH come.PERF.F this much.OBL in you tea
bāna lo.
 make take.FAM.IMP
 ‘I will be back in a second, meanwhile, you get the tea ready.’
- (97) *mere pas kul barəh ḍalər t^he, utne mē*
 I.POSS.OBL total twelve dollars be.PAST.M.PL that much.OBL in
hī ek əcc^hī kəmīz mil gāī.
 EMPH one good.F shirt.F.SG obtain go.PERF.F.SG
 ‘I had only twelve dollars, (but) I was able to get a good shirt for that much.’
- (98) *ətit^hiyō ke ane mē do g^həŋtə rəh*
 guest.PL.OBL of.OBL come.INF.OBL in two hours remain
gəye t^he, utne mē sud^ha ne
 go.PERF.M.PL PAST.M.PL that much.OBL in Sudha AG
k^hana bāna liya.
 food.M.SG make.PERF take.PERF.M.SG
 ‘There were just two hours for the guests to arrive, (however) within that time Sudha got the whole meal ready.’

The same adverbials in the following examples have spatial range-related meaning:

- (99) *yəh qəbba cʰoʔa he, itne mē*
 this container.M.SG small.M.SG be.PRES.SG this much.OBL in
pāc kilo aʔa nəhĩ səmaega.
 five kilo flour.M.SG not fit.FUT.M.SG
 ‘This container is small, it will not take five kilograms of flour.’

- (100) *məkan bəhut cʰoʔa tʰa, utne mē*
 house.M.SG very small.M.SG be.PAST.M.SG that much.OBL in
pāc jəne kəse rəhte tʰe, pəta nəhĩ.
 five people how live.IMP.F.M.PL PAST.M.PL knowledge not
 ‘The house was very small, who knows how five people could live in that (much space).’
 [*pəta* = ‘awareness, knowledge’; the expression *pəta nəhĩ* is used to convey the meaning of wondering about something and is comparable to the English expression ‘who knows ...’.]

Adjectives denoting quality are used adverbially as in the following:

- (101) *yəh dərzī kurte əccʰe sīta he.*
 this tailor.M.SG tunics.M.PL good.PL sew.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘This tailor sews tunics well.’
- (102) *vəh bəhut sundər gatī he.*
 she very beautiful sing.IMP.F.F PRES.SG
 ‘She sings very beautifully.’

4.6.2.3. Adverbs Derived from Verbs

The participial adverbs are derived from verbs and are used to express meanings of manner, simultaneity, sequentiality, and causality. The following subsections present examples of such participial adverbs (for more on participles, see 9.3).

PRESENT PARTICIPLE

The present participle, which has the form *V-ta hua* (main verb.IMP.F - ho.PERF), is used in its oblique form as a temporal or manner adverb, as in (103) and (104), respectively:

- (103) *vəh cəlte hue kəī hidaytē de*
 he move.IMP.F.PTPL.OBL many instruction.F.PL give

gəya he.
 go.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 'He gave many instructions as he left.'

- (104) *vəh həste hue bolī ki rek^ha pas ho gəī.*
 she laugh.IMPf.PTPL.OBL say.PERF.F that Rekha.F pass be go.PERF.F
 'She said, laughing, that Rekha had passed (the test).'

Although the present participle is generally used in its oblique form and thus is invariable, it is possible to use the direct form, agreeing with the subject in gender and number, as in (105)-(107) below:

- (105) *ləṛka b^hagta hua aya.*
 boy run.IMPf.PTPL.M.SG come.PERF.M.SG
 'The boy came running.'

- (106) *ləṛke g^hūmte hue id^hər a nikle.*
 boy.PL stroll.IMPf.PTPL.OBL this way come emerge.PERF.M.PL
 'The boys came this way as they were strolling.'

- (107) *ləṛkī həstī huī b^hag gəī.*
 girl laugh.IMPf.PTPL.F run go.PERF.F
 'The girl ran away, laughing.'

The oblique form of the present participle is used adverbially in two other constructions as well: *V-te hī* 'as soon as V', and reduplicated form *V-te-V-te* 'while Ving'. These uses are exemplified in (108) and (109) below:

- (108) *mata jī ne ate hī b^haī ko*
 mother HON AG come.IMPf.PTPL.OBL PTCL brother IOBJ
pukara
 call.PERF.M.SG
 'Mother called out to (my) brother as soon as (she) came home.'

- (109) *vəh pəṛ^hte-pəṛ^hte so gəya.*
 he read.IMPf.PTPL.OBL sleep go.PERF.M.SG
 'He fell asleep reading.'

PAST PARTICIPLE

The oblique form of the past participle, which has the form *V-a hua* (main verb.PERF - *ho*.PERF), is used as a manner adverb, as in the following:

- (110) *larkiyā bāgīce mē cəṭaiyō pər leṭe hue*
 girl.F.PL garden.M.SG.OBL in mat.F.PL.OBL on lie.PERF.PTPL.OBL
gəp mar rəhī thī.
 chat hit PROG.F PAST.F.PL
 ‘The girls were chatting, lying on mats in the garden.’

As in case of the present participle, the past participle may also show agreement with the subject, as in (111)-(112):

- (111) *sufma peṛ ke nīce beṭ^hī huī kitab*
 Sushma.F tree.M.SG under sit.PERF.PTPL.F book.F.SG
peṭ^h rəhī he.
 read PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘Sushma is reading a book sitting under a tree.’

- (112) *vəh kəmrə mē leṭa hua reḍiyo sun*
 he room.M.SG.OBL in lie.PERF.PTPL.M.SG radio listen
rəha he.
 PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘He is listening to the radio lying in (his) room.’

Past participles derived from only those verbs whose perfect forms indicate a state may be used as manner adverbs, e.g., *leṭna* ‘to lie down’, *beṭ^hna* ‘to sit’, *c^hipna* ‘to hide (INTR)’, *bəsna* ‘to settle down (in a location)’, *pəhanna* ‘to wear (clothes)’, etc.

The reduplicated form of the oblique past participle is also used adverbially:

- (113) *yəhā beṭ^he-beṭ^he jī ukta*
 here sit.PERF.PTPL.OBL mind.M.SG bore.IMPF.M.SG
gəya he.
 go.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘(I/we) are bored sitting here.’

CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE

Conjunctive participles are used as temporal, manner, causal, concessive and antithetical adverbs. Three of these functions are illustrated below:

- (114) *vəh dəftər se a kər kəpṛe* (temporal)
 he office.M.SG.OBL from come CP clothes.M.PL
bədal rəha he.
 change PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘He is changing clothes, having returned from (his) office.’

- (115) *mohān s̄ab se k^hul kār batē kārta he.* (manner)
 Mohan.M all with open CP talk.F.PL do.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Mohan talks to everyone freely.’
- (116) *ranī tum se mil kār b̄ahut xuf huī.* (causal)
 Rani.F you with meet CP very happy become.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Rani was very happy to meet you.’

For a detailed description of the conjunctive participle, see section 9.3.3.

4.6.3. *Complex Adverbs*

In addition to the basic and derived adverbs, postpositional phrases function as adverbial phrases, and various subordinate clauses have an adverbial function. Adverbial clauses are discussed in detail in section 9.2.2; adverbial phrases are discussed below.

Postpositional phrases with the internal structure NP + Postposition, and NP + Particle phrase function as adverbials. More complex phrases have both a particle and a postposition, or more than one postposition. These are used in the following senses:

4.6.3.1. Temporal

NPs followed by postpositions *mē* ‘in’, *ko* ‘ACC-DAT, to’, *se* ‘from, since’, *tak* ‘till’, complex postpositions such as (*se*) *p̄ahle* ‘before’, (*ke*) *bad* ‘after’, *ke and̄ar* ‘inside’, *ke liye* ‘for’, and particles such as *b^har* ‘entire’ function as exemplified below:

- (117) *ab^hī r̄ahne do, din mē ȳah kam kārna.*
 now.EMPH remain.INF.OBL give day.OBL in this job do.INF.FAM
 ‘Leave it for now, do this job during the day(time).’
- (118) *v̄ah j̄ayad k̄al rat ko aega.*
 he probably tomorrow night.OBL DAT come.FUT.M.SG
 ‘He will probably come tomorrow night.’
- (119) *m̄akan sal ke and̄ar b̄an jaega.*
 house.M.SG year.OBL of.OBL inside build go.FUT.M.SG
 ‘The house will get built within a year.’
- (120) *mē rat b^har lik^hī r̄ahī, p^hir b^hī*
 I night.OBL entire write.IMP.F.SG remain.PERF.F.SG again EMPH

lek^h pūra nāhĩ hua.
 article.M.SG complete.SG not become.PERF.M.SG
 ‘I wrote all night, even so the article did not get done.’

(121) *həm mähĩne b^hər ke liye videf ja rāhe hẽ.*
 we month.M.SG.OBL entire for abroad go PROG.M PRES.PL
 ‘We are going abroad for a whole month.’

(122) *ƒərma pərivar do hāfte pāhle tək yāhĩ*
 Sharma family two week.M.PL.OBL before.OBL till here.EMPH
t^ha.
 be.PAST M.SG
 ‘The Sharma family was right here till two weeks ago.’

Complex phrases such as reduplicated NPs denoting time periods, with internal structures NP+*pər* +NP, or NP-NP+*b^hər*, also function as adverbials:

(123) *tum din pər din d^hĩt^h hote ja rāhe ho.*
 you day upon day impudent become.IMPF.PL go PROG.PL PRES.PL
 ‘You are becoming more and more impudent day by day.’

(124) *vāh rat-rat b^hər jəg kər pə^htī rāhĩ he.*
 she night night entire wake CP read.IMPF.F remain.IMPF.F PRES.SG
 ‘She keeps awake night after night and studies.’

4.6.3.2. Locational / Directional

Postpositional phrases with NPs denoting places or place adverbials derived from pronouns followed by postpositions such as *mẽ* ‘in’, *pər* ‘on’, *se* ‘from’, *tək* ‘till’, or compound postpositions such as *ke samne* ‘in front of’, *ke bahār* ‘outside’, *mẽ se* ‘from within’, *pər se* ‘from on top of’, etc., function as place and directional adverbials:

(125) *lə^hke us kəmre mẽ hẽ.*
 boy.PL that.OBL room.OBL in be.PRES.PL
 ‘The boys are in that room.’

(126) *cit^hiyā mez pər rək^htī hẽ.*
 letter.PL table.OBL on put.PERF.F PRES.PL
 ‘The letters are on the table.’

(127) *ve log s^heƒən tək mere sat^h aye.*
 those people station.OBL upto I.GEN.OBL with come.PERF.SG
 ‘Those people came with me upto the station.’

- (128) *həmare g^hər ke samne devdarū ke do*
 we.POSS.PL.OBL house.OBL of.OBL front.OBL pine of two
peṛ hē.
 tree.PL be.PRES.PL
 ‘There are two pine trees in front of our house.’
- (129) *us ne bəkse mē se səb cīzē nikālī.*
 (s)he.OBL AG box.M.SG.OBL in from all thing.F.PL take out.PERF.F.PL
 ‘(S)he took out everything from the box.’
- (130) *tak pər se ve pyale zəra utar dena.*
 shelf.OBL on from those cup.M.PL a little take down give.FAM.INF
 ‘Please take down those cups from the shelf (for me).’

4.6.3.3. Manner

Postpositional phrases with nouns followed by *se* ‘with’ (see 4.7.1 for the case relations signaled by *se*) and compounds with items borrowed from Sanskrit such as *pūrvək* ‘with’ are used as manner adverbs:

- (131) *merī batē d^hyan se suno.*
 I.POSS.F talk.F.PL attention with listen.FAM
 ‘Listen carefully to what I say.’
- (132) *logō ne śantipūrvək neta jī ka b^haṣṇ*
 people.PL.OBL AG peace with leader HON of.M.SG lecture.M.SG
suna.
 listen.PERF.M.SG
 ‘People listened to the lecture of the leader peacefully.’

4.6.3.4. Instrumental

Postpositional phrases with the postposition *se* ‘with, by’ (see 4.7.1) are used as instrumental adverbs:

- (133) *kanta c^hoṭī kēcī se kəpṛa kaṭne*
 Kanta.F.SG small.F.OBL scissors.F.OBL with cloth.M.SG cut.INF.OBL
kī koṣṭ kər rəhī t^h
 of.F effort.F do PROG.F PAST.F.SG
 ‘Kanta was trying to cut the cloth with the small pair of scissors.’

4.6.3.5. Source, Reason, Cause

Postpositional phrases with the postposition *se* ‘from’ are used as adverbs of reason, cause and source:

- (134) *rajū sirdārd se pārefan hē*
 Raju.M.SG headache.M.SG.OBL from tormented be.PRES.SG
 ‘Raju is tormented because of headache.’
- (135) *mē tumhare kāhne se parī mē gāya.*
 I.M.SG you.FAM.GEN.OBL say.INF.OBL by party in go.PAST.M.SG
 ‘I went to the party since you asked me to.’
- (136) *gānga gāngotrī se nikālī hē.*
 Ganga.F Gangotri.OBL from emerge.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The river Ganges emerges from Gangotri.’

4.6.3.6. Comitative

Postpositional phrases with *se* ‘with’, *ke sat^h* ‘with’, *ke sāhit* ‘with’ are used as comitative adverbs:

- (137) *rīma ne kāl hī muj^hse/ mere sat^h bat kār*
 Rima.F AG yesterday EMPH I.OBL with / I.GEN.OBL with talk do
lī tī.
 take.PERF.F.SG PAST.F.SG
 ‘Rima had already talked to me yesterday.’

For more on postpositions, see below.

4.7. Postposition

Postpositions signal the relationship between two entities. For instance, they signal a relationship of possession between two nouns, as in *rajū ka bālla* ‘Raju’s bat’, or the location of an entity in space, as in *kitāb mez pār hē* ‘the book is on the table’. Nouns and pronouns are in the oblique case when followed by a postposition, as pointed out in section 4.1.5 (see, however, the details about the agentive postposition *ne* below).

Hindi has a small number of simple postpositions and a larger set of complex postpositions.

4.7.1. Simple Postpositions

The simple postpositions are the following:

- ne* the agentive postposition; marks the subject of the transitive verb in the perfect tenses under appropriate conditions. Nouns and pronouns, except the first person singular pronoun, *mē*, and second person singular pronoun *tū*, occur in their oblique form when followed by *ne*.
- ko* ‘to’, the accusative/dative postposition, marks the direct and indirect objects.
- se* ‘-ly, by, with, from’; the postposition signals multiple meanings, such as those associated with case markers for ablative, comitative, instrumental, manner, source, reason, etc.
- ka* ‘of’, the least marked of the simple postpositions, it functions mainly as a N-N relation marker. It is labeled as the genitive postposition in most grammars; however, it also marks many other N-N relations, such as part-whole (*mākan kī cʰāt* ‘the roof of the house), material of which some N is made (*motiyō kī mala* ‘a pearl necklace’), possession, (*sohān ka gʰar* ‘Sohan’s house’), etc.. It is an obligatory constituent of complex postpositions (see below). The gloss for *ka* in the example sentences and phrases reflects the multiple meanings of the postposition.
- ke* marker of inalienable possession
- mē, pər* ‘in’, ‘on’, the locative postpositions

4.7.2. Complex Postpositions

The complex postpositions are the following:

ke liye ‘for’, signals the benefactive, or the purpose

- (138) *yāh kitab rāmeṣ ke liye he.*
 this book.F.SG Ramesh.M.OBL for be.PRES.SG
 ‘This book is for Ramesh.’

- (139) *vāh panī pīne ke liye he.*
 that water.M drink.INF.OBL for be.PRES.SG
 ‘That water is for drinking.’

ke pas ‘near’, signals location and possession of alienable objects:

- (140) *hāvāī aḍḍā mere gʰar ke pas he.*
 air port.M.SG I.POSS.OBL house.M.SG.OBL near be.PRES.SG
 ‘The airport is near my home.’

- (141) *mere b^haī ke pas c^hata he.*
 I.POSS.OBL. brother.OBL POSS umbrella.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘My brother has an umbrella.’

ke bahār ‘outside’

- (142) *vāh g^hār ke bahār k^həṛī t^hī.*
 she house.M.SG.OBL outside stand.PERF.F PAST.F.SG
 ‘She was standing outside her house.’

ke āndār ‘inside’

- (143) *avaz ka srot kāmre ke āndār he.*
 sound.F.SG of.M.SG source.M.SG room.M.SG.OBL inside be.PRES.SG
 ‘The source for the noise is inside the room.’

ke samne ‘in front of’:

- (144) *g^hār ke samne bārgād ka peṛ he.*
 house.M.SG.OBL of.OBL front banyan.M.SG.OBL of tree.M.SG
 be.PRES.SG
 ‘There is a banyan tree in front of the house.’

ke pīc^he ‘behind’:

- (145) *tumhare pīc^he ek b^halū k^həṛa he.*
 you.FAM.GEN.OBL behind a bear.M.SG stand.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘There is a bear standing behind you.’

kī bāgāl mē ‘beside’:

- (146) *pīṭar kī bāgāl mē kən beṭ^ha he?*
 Peter.M of.F.OBL side.F in who sit.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Who is sitting beside Peter?’

ke ūpār ‘above’ and ‘over’:

- (147) *pāy^ha t^hīk bistār ke ūpār he.*
 fan.M.SG exactly bed.M.SG.OBL of.OBL above be.PRES.SG
 ‘The fan is directly above the bed.’

- (148) *vāh cāṭṭan ke ūpār cāṭ^h gāya.*
 he rock.M.SG.OBL of.OBL over climb go.PAST.M.SG
 'He climbed over the rock.'

ke nīce 'under', 'beneath', 'underneath':

- (149) *billī kursī ke nīce hē.*
 cat.F.SG chair.F.SG.OBL of.OBL under be.PRES.SG
 'The cat is under the chair.'

ke dvāra 'by, through':

- (150) *def cālāne ka boj^h sena ke dvāra nāhī*
 country run.INF.OBL of burden army of.OBL by not
uṭ^hāya ja sākta.
 carry.PERF.M.SG PASV can.IMPF.M.SG
 'The burden of running the country cannot be carried by the army.'

ke zāriye 'by, through'

- (151) *xābār kisī ke zāriye b^hijva denī*
 news.F.SG someone.OBL of.OBL through send.CAUS give.INF.F
cahiye.
 should
 'The news should be sent through someone.'

ke bājay 'instead of'

- (152) *car ke bājay pāc bāje milē to*
 four of.OBL instead five o'clock.OBL meet.OPT.PL then
kesa rāhega?
 how remain.FUT.M.SG
 'If we meet at five instead of at four, how will that be?'

ke sivay 'except'

- (153) *vimla ke sivay or sēb lāṅkiyā vāhā pāhūc gāī.*
 Vimla.F of.OBL except other all girl.F.PL there arrive go.PERF.F.PL
 'All other girls except Vimla arrived there.'

The use of the complex postposition *ke sat^h* 'with' has already been illustrated in example (137) above.

4.7.3. *Zero Postposition(s)*

Adverbials of location and time occur without a postposition but with the constituent noun (phrase) of the adverbial inflected for oblique case, as though it were followed by a postposition, e.g.,

- (154) *tum mähinō kahā rayāb*
 you.FAM month.M.PL.OBL where disappear
rāhte ho?
 remain.2ndP.FAM.IMPF.M 2ndP.FAM.PRES
 ‘Where do you disappear (for) months?’

- (155) *vāh āgle sal kākātte mē hāmāre*
 She next.M.OBL year.M Kolkata.M.OBL in we.POSS.M.OBL
g^hār rāhegī.
 house.OBL stay.FUT.F.SG
 ‘She will live in our house in Calcutta next year.’

- (156) *lārka āpne g^hār cāla*
 boy.M.SG self.POSS.M.OBL house.M.SG move.PERF.M.SG
gāyā
 go.PERF.M.SG.
 ‘The boy went away to his house.’

It is hypothesized that a postposition, such as *tāk* ‘till’, *pār* ‘at’ and *ko* ‘to (directional)’, is implied in sentences such as (154), (155), and (156), following the items *mähinō* ‘months’, *hāmāre g^hār* ‘our house’, and *āpne g^hār* ‘his house’, respectively. It is not, however, always clear as to which postposition is to be assumed in expressions such as *āgle sal* ‘next year’ in sentence (155).

4.8. **Conjunction**

Hindi has sets of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Coordinating conjunctions conjoin two independent clauses whereas subordinating conjunctions join an independent clause with one or more dependent clauses.

4.8.1. Coordinating Conjunctions

The coordinating conjunctions are *or*, *evam* ‘and’, *ya*, *ət^hva* ‘or’, and *pər*, *məgər*, *lekin*, *kintu*, *pərəntu* ‘but’. The items *or* ‘and’, *ya* ‘or’ and *pər/məgər/lekin* ‘but’ are used in spoken language; the others are borrowed from Sanskrit and are mostly used in high Hindi or written registers.

Other linkers are *vərna*, *nəhĩ to* ‘otherwise’, *isliye*, *so*, *cunāce* ‘therefore’, *jisse*, *taki* ‘so that’.

The syntax of coordinators and linking expressions is discussed in detail in 9.5.

4.8.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

The subordinating conjunctions are *əgər*, *yədi* ‘if’, *ki* ‘that’, *jo* ‘who, which, if, since’ and forms related to it (see 4.2 and 4.3 above), *əgərce*, *halāki*, *yədyəpi* ‘although’, *cūki*, *kyōki* ‘because’, *joy hĩ* ‘as soon as’, *jəb* ‘when’, *jəsa* ‘as’, *jəb tək* ‘as long as, until’, *jəhā* ‘where (locational)’, *jid^hər* ‘where (directional)’, and *jitna* ‘as much’.

The subordinating conjunctions, except the complementizer *ki* ‘that’, usually occur in correlative constructions, i.e., the subordinating conjunctions mark the subordinate clause and the correlatives mark the main clause. Thus, the subordinating conjunctions listed above are paired with correlatives as follows: *əgər/yədi/jo...to* ‘if...then’, *jo...vəh* ‘who...s/he; which...that’, *əgərce/halāki/yədyəpi...to b^hĩ* ‘although...even so’, *joy hĩ...tyō hĩ* ‘as soon as’, *jəb...təb/to* ‘when...then’, *jəsa...vəsa* ‘as...as’, *jəb tək...təb tək* ‘as long as’, *jəhā...vəhā* ‘where...there’, *jid^hər...ud^hər* ‘where...in that direction’, *jitna...utna* ‘as much...as’.

The syntax of these correlatives is discussed in detail in sections 9.2, 9.4, and 9.5.3-9.5.5.

4.9. Particle

Particles are items such as *hā*, *nə*, *hĩ*, *b^hĩ*, *to*, *matr*, *b^hər*, etc. These can be divided into the following subcategories.

Agreement/disagreement markers: *hā* ‘yes’, *nə* ‘no’

Emphasis markers: *hĩ* ‘only’ (exclusive emphatic), *b^hĩ* ‘also’ (inclusive emphatic)

Topic marker: *to* (indicates either presuppositionally shared information or shift in thematic orientation)

Limiters: *b^har* ‘just’, *matr* ‘mere’

Honorific: *jī*, attached to names as a marker of respect

These particles are discussed in greater detail with illustrations in Chapter 11.

4.10. Interjection

Interjections are items such as *are* ‘oh!’, *bap re* (*bap*) ‘dear me!’, *hay* ‘alas!’, *hay ram* ‘dear God!’, *are vah* ‘wow!’, etc. Their use is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 11 (see 11.5).

Notes

- Note, however, the *-ō* ending on the following items in the direct case: *māhīnō*, *bārsō*, *hāftō* in sentences such as the following:

māhīnō/bārsō ho gāye, uska koī pāta nāhī.
 month.PL/year.PL be go.PERF.PL (s)he.GEN any knowledge not
 ‘It has been months since we have had any news about him/ her.’

It is difficult to argue that this *-ō* ending is the oblique affix, since the linking verb agrees with the plural form of what appears to be its subject. It seems to be more like the aggregative forms, such as *donō* ‘both’, *carō* ‘all four’, etc.

- For instance, *jo sota he so k^hota he* ‘He who sleeps loses’, *jo k^hojega so paega* ‘He who searches will find’, *jis-tis se* ‘with every Tom, Dick and Harry’, etc.
- The case forms of the pronouns raise many questions for those not familiar with Hindi. The following historical facts may be of help, at least to those who are aware of the history of Indo-European languages:

- Most postpositions in Modern Indo-Aryan have developed from older nominal forms, viz., nouns or participles. The genitive-possessive forms of pronouns with *ka* are used as modifiers. The postposition *ka* is traced back to Prakrit *kerā*, and ultimately to Sanskrit *krta*, though not all scholars agree with this postulation (some have proposed Skt. *kārya* as the source). The hypothesis is that Skt. *krta* ‘done’ can easily lead to the genitive meaning. Beames (1966: 286) gives the example, “... *kapikṛtam vacanam* ‘speech made by monkey’ ... would easily glide into ‘the speech of the monkey’”. Whereas Old Hindi and Gujarati have *kerā*(M), *kerī*(F) and *kere*(M.SG.OBL/M.PL) forms, later Bengali and many dialects of Hindi lost the *k-* and retained the *-r* so that Hindi now has *mera*, *tumhara*, etc.

- Since the origin of *ka* is traced back to a participle, it inflects for gender, number and case: *ka*(M.SG.DIR), *ke*(M.SG.OBL/M.PL) and *kī*(F).

- All the genitive-possessive forms (*mera*, *hāmara*, *tumhara*, *uska*) behave exactly the same way. That is, they all function as possessive modifiers or adjectives, and also as grammatical reflex of subjects of verbs in reduced clauses such as participles and infinitives. A question arises: how can a case form, genitive, inflect further for another

case, oblique? A distinction is made in Hindi grammars between *kāraka* and *vib^hakti*: the category *kāraka* signals a semantic (functional) relationship between the verb and the nominal while the category *vib^hakti* designates the formal (inflectional) properties of a noun that are relevant to its grammatical function as subject, complement or adjuncts of verbs. The genitive or *samband^h kāraka* is not considered a *kāraka* in the same sense as accusative, dative, etc., in Hindi grammars, as unlike other cases, it does not signal a semantic relationship between a verb and a noun as do the others. Instead, it signals a relationship between a noun and another noun. Furthermore, genitive forms have nominal properties, hence, they inflect as nominals.

d. The reflexive pronoun, *ap*, and its genitive-possessive form, *apna*, are said to derive from Skt. *atmān*, which has two forms in Prakrit, *attā* and *appā* (Tiwari 1961: 456). In Caryāpada (a work of poetry composed in the 9th century AD), the forms are *apa* in nominative, *apne* in instrumental and *apna* in genitive, which seems to be the precursor of the Hindi forms. The item *apna* patterns just like the genitive-possessive forms, such as *mera*, *uska*, etc.; e.g., *apna mākan* ‘one’s own house’ (possessive), *apnī xarīdī huī kitab dik^hao* ‘show me the book bought by you (yourself)’ (subject of a past participle), *vāh apna vāhā jana ucit nāhī sāmā^hta* ‘he does not consider his (own) going there proper’ (subject of infinitive).

e. The possessive postposition *ke* that signals inalienable possession in possessive clauses is grammatically distinct from the postposition *ka* discussed above as it is invariable. Traditional grammars, however, do not treat it as a postposition distinct from the *ka* form; in fact, the discussion of postpositions in grammars is neither very explicit nor exhaustive.

4. The first three have their ultimate source in the corresponding verbs *k^helna*, *lāṅna*, and *cāmākna*, respectively.
5. This does not, however, mean that someone may not use the adjectives cited above as gradable to convey special stylistic effects, e.g., *vāh āb^hī tāk zinda hī nāhī, bāhut zinda hē!* ‘he is not only alive still, he is very alive!’ . Note also that the form *jīvānt* ‘alive’ and compounds such as *zindādil* ‘lively (person)’ are gradable. The quantifiers and participials are not gradable.
6. In the causative use of the verb, the form may be either *kāhāl-a* or *kāhāl-va*. Note that there are other verbs that have back formations of intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, e.g., *silna* ‘to be sewed’ from *sīna* ‘to sew’.
7. The *V* may take the shape of *-a*, *-e*, *-ī*, *-ē*, or *-ī̄*, depending upon the features of agreement.

5. Word Formation

5.0. Formation of Words

Syntactic and semantic functions of nouns and noun phrases are indicated by inflectional and derivational morphology and postpositions. Word order plays a limited role in Hindi; that is, it has a grammatical role only in cases where noun phrases are unmarked by these categories or are marked similarly. For instance, noun phrases in transitive sentences in the non-perfect tenses, whether in the subject or the direct object function, are not case-marked overtly; all noun phrases in a sentence followed by a postposition share the oblique case-marking; and in dative subject sentences, both noun arguments may be case-marked with the dative postposition *ko*. Where the nouns phrases are case marked with postpositions, the postpositional phrase has considerable freedom of movement in the sentence, irrespective of its grammatical role as subject, direct object, indirect object, or adverbial.

Inflectional morphology of nouns has already been described in detail in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the derivational morphology and other processes of word formation are described.

5.1. Derivation of Nouns

There are several processes by which nouns are derived from other parts of speech. The following subsections describe the derivation of abstract nouns, nouns of agency, diminutives, and noun compounds by affixation.

5.1.1. Abstract Nouns

Abstract nouns are derived both by prefixation and suffixation, though the former is a less preferred process.

5.1.1.1. Abstract Nouns Derived by Prefixation

Abstract Nouns derived by prefixation from other nouns are mainly Sanskrit loanwords, though some of the processes have been extended to Hindi items, too. The main prefixes are the following, with examples of resulting words that are primarily Sanskrit loans. The few Hindi and Perso-Arabic items are identified by the (H) and (PA) immediately following them. The approximate meanings of the prefixes are given in the glosses. Some of the resulting forms are transparent and most educated Hindi speakers are able to analyze them; a few are not transparent and hard to analyze unless one is aware of the Sanskrit source. The items that are opaque are in bold. The items in the first set below that are not identified as Hindi are all from Sanskrit. The hyphen between the prefix and the root word to which it is affixed is only for ease of identifying the second part; it has no other grammatical role (i.e., it does not mark juncture). Note the changes in the shape of the prefix (especially *ut-*, *dus-*, *nih-*, *səm-*) in the environment of the first segment of the following morpheme; these illustrate the working of *sandhi* (joining) rules—the phonological processes that operate across morpheme boundaries.

<i>ə-</i> , <i>ən-</i> (S)	‘not, without’	<i>ə-gyan</i> ‘ignorance’, <i>ən-honī</i> (H) ‘impossible event’, <i>ən-adər</i> ‘disrespect’
<i>əti-</i> (S)	‘excessive’	<i>əti-kal</i> ‘delay’, <i>əti-car</i> ‘transgression’
<i>əntəh-</i> (S)	‘inner’	<i>əntəh-kət^ha</i> ‘episode alluded to in a text’ [also, <i>əntər-kət^ha</i>], <i>əntəh-kərəṅ</i> ‘inner self’
<i>əd^hi-</i> (S)	‘additional, above’	<i>əd^hi-kar</i> ‘authority’, <i>əd^hi-sūcna</i> ‘notification’, <i>əd^hi-man</i> ‘preference’
<i>ənu-</i> (S)	‘after’	<i>ənu-kərəṅ</i> ‘imitation’, <i>ənu-krəmṅ</i> ‘sequence’, <i>ənu-rek^hṅ</i> ‘tracing’
<i>əpə-</i> (S)	‘away, off, down’	<i>əp-kīrti</i> ‘infamy’, <i>əp-man</i> ‘insult’, <i>əp-vad</i> ‘exception’, <i>əp-hərəṅ</i> ‘abduction’
<i>əb^hi-</i> (S)	‘toward, intensity’	<i>əb^hi-gyan</i> ‘realization’, <i>əb^hi-pray</i> ‘intention’, <i>əb^hi-prerṅ</i> ‘motivation’, <i>əb^hi-vyṅjṅ</i> ‘expression’, <i>əb^hi-sənd^hi</i> ‘conspiracy’
<i>əvə-</i> (S)	‘away, diminution’	<i>əv-guṅ</i> ‘vice, fault’, <i>əv-tərəṅ</i> ‘descent’, <i>əv-man</i> ‘humiliation’, <i>əv-rod^h</i> ‘obstruction’ <i>əv-śeḥ</i> (<i>əv-śeḥ</i>) ‘remnant’, <i>əv-helna</i> ‘neglect’
<i>a-</i> (S)	‘to, toward, upto’	<i>a-kərḥṅ</i> (<i>akərḥṅ</i>) ‘attraction’, <i>a-gəmṅ</i> ‘arrival’, <i>a-cərəṅ</i> ‘conduct’, <i>a-jīvṅ</i> ‘throughout life’
<i>ut-</i> (S)	‘upward’	<i>ut-k^hənṅ</i> ‘excavation’, <i>un-nəti</i> ‘progress, rise’, <i>uc-carṅ</i> ‘pronunciation’, <i>utpadṅ</i> ‘production’, <i>ud-b^həv</i> ‘origin’, <i>unmūlṅ</i> ‘uprooting’, <i>un-meḥ</i> (<i>unmeḥ</i>) ‘opening’

<i>upə-</i> (S)	‘subsidiary’	<i>up-kulpəti</i> ‘vice-chancellor’, <i>up-dan</i> ‘subsidy’, <i>up-nam</i> ‘pen name’, <i>up-vən</i> ‘a park’, <i>up-has</i> ‘derision, ridicule’
<i>ku-</i> (S)	‘bad, deficient’	<i>ku-kərm</i> ‘evil deed’, <i>ku-k^hyati</i> ‘notoriety’, <i>ku-cal</i> (H) ‘misconduct’ [<i>cal</i> ‘conduct’], <i>ku-^hāṅv</i> (H) ‘forbidden place’ [^h āṅv ‘place’]
<i>du-</i> (H)	‘two’	<i>du-guna</i> (H) ‘double’, <i>du-vid^ha</i> (H) ‘double- mindedness, uncertainly’
<i>dus/dur/duh-</i> (S)	‘bad, difficult’	<i>dur-acar</i> ‘misconduct’, <i>dur-upəyog</i> ‘misuse’, <i>dur-gəti</i> ‘predicament, miserable state’, <i>duf-cəritr</i> ‘depravity’, <i>duh-svəpn</i> ‘nightmare’, <i>dus-sahəs</i> ‘audacity’, <i>duh-fīl</i> ‘insolence’, <i>duf-kərm</i> ‘bad action’
<i>ni-</i> (H)	‘inner’	<i>ni-rīkṣəṅ</i> ‘inspection’, <i>ni-yukti</i> ‘appointment’, <i>ni-rūpəṅ</i> ‘representation’, <i>ni-rod^h</i> ‘restraint’
<i>nih-</i> (S)	‘without’	<i>nif-kasən</i> ‘exile’, <i>nis-sarəṅ</i> ‘extraction’, <i>nif-karəṅ</i> ‘without reason’, <i>niryat</i> ‘export’
<i>pəra-</i> (S)	‘opposite, the other’	<i>pəra-jəy</i> ‘defeat’, <i>pəra-frəy</i> ‘dependence’ [<i>pəra-afrəy</i> ‘refuge’], <i>pəra-vərtən</i> ‘regression’
<i>pəri-</i> (S)	‘around, whole’	<i>pəri-gyan</i> ‘insight’, <i>pəri-tuṣṭi</i> ‘gratification’, <i>pəri-ṅam</i> ‘result’, <i>pəri-vərtən</i> ‘alteration’
<i>prə-</i> (S)	‘forward, excess’	<i>prə-kəṭ^hən</i> ‘assertion’, <i>prə-kop</i> ‘wrath, fury’, <i>prə-tap</i> ‘glory’, <i>prə-sar</i> ‘expansion’
<i>vi-</i> (S)	‘different, opposite’	<i>vi-kar</i> ‘deviation’, <i>vi-vad</i> ‘dispute’, <i>vi-səngəti</i> ‘irrelevance’, <i>vi-st^hapən</i> ‘displacement’
<i>səm-</i> (S)	‘good, with’	<i>sən-cərəṅ</i> ‘transmission’, <i>sən-toṣ</i> ‘satisfaction’, <i>sən-rəkṣəṅ</i> ‘conservation’, <i>səm-skar</i> ‘imprint’
<i>su-</i> (S)	‘good, more’	<i>su-kərm</i> ‘good deed’, <i>su-gənd^h</i> ‘fragrance’, <i>su-nam</i> ‘celebrity, fame’, <i>su-vyāvəst^ha</i> ‘orderliness’

It is extremely difficult to sort out which root words are from Hindi and which ones from Sanskrit, as Hindi has inherited the bulk of its lexicon from Sanskrit. Some of these, of course, have undergone the normal processes of phonological changes and are easy to identify as NIA items. Others have been borrowed from Sanskrit, beginning in the 16th century, as the language of the Hindi region began to be used to recreate Sanskrit epics such as *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, and the speech forms of the Hindi area began to be used for creative activities. A great impetus to such borrowings came in the medieval period from the *bhakti* (devotion) movement (15th-17th centuries), from court poetry in the courts of rulers of princely states (16th-18th centuries), and in the late 19th-early 20th centuries when Modern Standard Hindi prose developed (see Dwivedi 1966; Gaeffke 1978; McGregor 1974, 1984, for details). Some

items which have undergone obvious phonological changes are easy to identify and have been listed above with the label (H). Sanskrit and Hindi prefixes are generally restricted to Indic source items. In general, prefixation is not the preferred process in Hindi; most of the prefixes are restricted to borrowed items. However, some of them are currently being utilized heavily in the creation of technical terms in the official register used in administration (see 5.1.5.2 below).

In addition to prefixation, abstract nouns are derived by a process of suffixation from adjectives, nouns and verbs. The following are the main suffixes that participate in this process. The source of the suffix is indicated by the (H), (PA) and (S) immediately following the listing.

5.1.1.2. Abstract Nouns Derived by Suffixation

-a (H)	<i>g^hera</i> ‘encirclement’ (<i>g^herna</i> ‘to encircle’), <i>j^hagṛa</i> ‘a fight’ (<i>j^hagṛna</i> ‘to fight’), <i>j^hatka</i> ‘a jerk’ (<i>j^hatkna</i> ‘to jerk’)
-āī (H) ‘-th, -ness’	<i>lambaī</i> ‘length’ (<i>lamba</i> ‘long’), <i>caraī</i> ‘width’ (<i>cara</i> ‘wide’), <i>ūcaī</i> ‘height’ (<i>ūca</i> ‘high, tall’), <i>panditaī</i> ‘scholarship’ (<i>pandit</i> ‘scholar’), <i>t^hakuraī</i> ‘lordliness’ (<i>t^hakur</i> ‘lord’), <i>lataī</i> ‘fight’ (<i>larna</i> ‘to fight’), <i>cat^hai</i> ‘climb, ascent’ (<i>cat^hna</i> ‘to climb’), <i>jutaī</i> ‘ploughing, tillage’ (<i>jotna</i> ‘to plough, till’), <i>silaī</i> ‘sewing, stitch’ (<i>sīna</i> ‘to sew, stitch’)
-an (H)	<i>uran</i> ‘flight’ (<i>urna</i> ‘to fly’), <i>calan</i> ‘dispatch’ (<i>calna</i> ‘to walk, move’), <i>lagan</i> ‘land revenue’ (<i>lagana</i> ‘to levy’)
-av (H)	<i>t^hahra</i> ‘stability’ (<i>t^haharna</i> ‘to stop’), <i>bacav</i> ‘safety’ (<i>bacna</i> ‘to be safe’), <i>lagav</i> ‘attachment’ (<i>lagna</i> ‘to be attached’), <i>jamav</i> ‘accumulation’ (<i>jamna</i> ‘to accumulate’), <i>bahav</i> ‘flow (of water)’ (<i>bahna</i> ‘to flow’), <i>ghumav</i> ‘twist’ (<i>ghūma</i> ‘to turn’)
-avṛt (H)	<i>lik^havṛt</i> ‘handwriting’ (<i>lik^hna</i> ‘to write’), <i>bnavṛt</i> ‘formation’ (<i>banna</i> ‘to be formed’), <i>dik^havṛt</i> ‘ostentation’ (<i>dik^hna</i> ‘to be seen’), <i>milavṛt</i> ‘adulteration’ (<i>milna</i> ‘to be mixed’), <i>sjavṛt</i> ‘decoration’ (from <i>sjana</i> ‘to decorate’), <i>giravṛt</i> ‘fall, decline’ (<i>girna</i> ‘to fall, decline’)
-ava, -va, (H)	<i>bulava</i> ‘a call’ (<i>bulana</i> ‘to call’), <i>c^halava</i> ‘illusion’ (<i>c^halna</i> ‘to cheat’), <i>pac^htava</i> ‘regret’ (<i>pac^htana</i> ‘to regret, repent’), <i>pahnava</i> ‘dress’ (<i>pahnana</i> ‘to wear, to dress oneself’)
-as (H) ‘-ness’	<i>mit^has</i> ‘sweetness’ (<i>mit^ha</i> ‘sweet’), <i>k^hatas</i> ‘sour taste’ (<i>k^hatta</i> ‘sour’)
-ahṛt, -hṛt (H) ‘-ness’	<i>karvahṛt</i> ‘bitterness’ (<i>karva</i> ‘bitter’), <i>ciknahṛt</i> ‘greasiness’ (<i>cikna</i> ‘greasy’), <i>cillahṛt</i> ‘scream’ (<i>cillana</i> ‘to scream’),

	<i>g^həbrahət</i> ‘nervousness’ (<i>g^həbrana</i> ‘to get nervous’), <i>gurrahət</i> ‘a snarl’ (<i>gurrana</i> ‘to snarl’)
-iyət (PA) ‘-ity’	<i>insaniyət</i> ‘humanity’ (<i>insan</i> ‘human’), <i>ʃəxsiyət</i> ‘personhood’ (<i>ʃəxs</i> ‘person’)
-ī (H, PA) ‘-ness’	<i>xuʃī</i> ‘happiness’ (<i>xuʃ</i> ‘happy’), <i>nekī</i> ‘goodness’ (<i>nek</i> ‘good (person)’), <i>dostī</i> ‘friendship’ (<i>dost</i> ‘friend’), <i>ʃahī</i> ‘royalty’ (<i>ʃah</i> ‘king’), <i>əfsərī</i> ‘officialdom’ (<i>əfsər</i> ‘official’), <i>həṣī</i> ‘laughter’ (<i>həṣna</i> ‘to laugh’), <i>bolī</i> ‘speech’ (<i>bolna</i> ‘to speak’), <i>g^huʃkī</i> ‘browbeating’ (<i>g^huʃəkna</i> ‘to browbeat’)
-ɔta/-ɔtī (H)	<i>səm^jɔta</i> ‘compromise’ (<i>səm^jɔna</i> ‘to understand’), <i>mənɔtī</i> ‘a vow of offering to a deity’ (<i>mənana</i> ‘to appease’), <i>cunɔtī</i> ‘challenge’ (<i>cunna</i> ‘to choose’)
-ta (S) ‘-ity’	<i>avəʃyəkta</i> ‘necessity’ (<i>avəʃyək</i> ‘necessary’), <i>ekta</i> ‘unity’ (<i>ek</i> ‘one’), <i>viʃeʃta</i> ‘speciality’ (<i>viʃeʃ</i> ‘special’), <i>səmta</i> ‘equality’ (<i>səm</i> ‘equal’)
-tv (S) ‘-ness’	<i>puruʃətv</i> ‘manliness’ (<i>puruʃ</i> ‘man’), <i>bənd^hutv</i> ‘friendship’ (<i>bənd^hu</i> ‘friend’), <i>gurutv</i> ‘greatness’ (<i>guru</i> ‘great’), and <i>brahməṇətv</i> ‘brahminism’ (<i>brahməṇ</i> ‘brahmin’)
-nī (H)	<i>kərnī</i> ‘deed’ (<i>kərna</i> ‘to do’), <i>b^hərnī</i> ‘payment’ (<i>b^hərna</i> ‘to pay dues’), <i>kəhnī</i> ‘utterance’ (<i>kəhna</i> ‘to speak’), <i>milnī</i> ‘ceremonial meeting of bride’s and groom’s sides in a wedding’ (<i>milna</i> ‘to meet’)
-pən (H) ‘-ness, -hood’	<i>bəcpən</i> ‘childhood’ (<i>bəcca</i> ‘child’), <i>kalapən</i> ‘black-ness’ (<i>kala</i> ‘black’), <i>pagəlpən</i> ‘madness’ (<i>pagəl</i> ‘mad’), <i>gəvarpən</i> ‘rustic-ness’ (<i>gəvar</i> ‘rustic’)
-pa (H) ‘-hood’	<i>bū^hapa</i> ‘old age’ (<i>bū^ha</i> ‘old (man)’), <i>bəhnapa</i> ‘sisterhood’ (<i>bəhən</i> ‘sister’), <i>muʃapa</i> ‘fat-ness’ (<i>muʃa</i> ‘fat (man)’)
-y (S) ‘-ness’	<i>məd^hury</i> ‘sweetness’ (<i>məd^hur</i> ‘sweet’), <i>catury</i> ‘cleverness’, (<i>catur</i> ‘clever’), <i>səndəry</i> ‘beauty’ (<i>sundər</i> ‘beauty’), <i>pəndity</i> ‘scholarship’ (<i>pəndit</i> ‘learned’)

Generally, the Perso-Arabic suffixes are restricted to items borrowed from Persian; however, items inherited from the Indo-Iranian stage have no such restriction. Some suffixes, e.g., *-ī*, have been extended to items borrowed from English, too.

There are two other processes that are used to derive abstract nouns from verbs. First, the infinitive suffix *-na* combined with the root of the verb yields an abstract noun, e.g., *cəlna* ‘to move, movement’, *k^hana* ‘to eat, food’, *pəʃ^hna* ‘to read, study’, *gana* ‘to sing, song’, etc. Therefore, all verbs, except the invariable *cahiye* ‘should, ought to’, have infinitive forms in Hindi which function as abstract nouns.

Secondly, the root of the verb is used as abstract noun, and if applicable, the root vowel undergoes the rules of morphophonemic alternations (see 2.7), e.g., the following root forms are used as nouns:

cāmāk ‘shine’ (*cāmākna* ‘to shine’), *lūt* ‘loot’ (*lūtna* ‘to loot’), *mar* ‘hit’ (*marna* ‘to hit’), *sāmāj^h* ‘sense, understanding’ (*sāmāj^hna* ‘to understand’), *pāhūc* ‘access’ (*pāhūcna* ‘to reach, arrive’), etc.

The following verbal roots exemplify the *vṛdd^hi* alternations:

cal ‘gait’ (*cālna* ‘to walk’), *aṭ* ‘a barricade’ (*əṭna* ‘to desist’), *baṭ^h* ‘flood’ (*bəṭ^hna* ‘to rise’), *saj* ‘adornment’ (*sājna* ‘to be adorned’), and *up^han* ‘effervescence’ (*up^hanna* ‘to boil over’)

The following examples exhibit *guṇa* alternations:

mela ‘fair’ (*milna* ‘to meet’), *c^hed* ‘a hole, perforation’ (*c^hidna* ‘to be perforated’), *p^hera* ‘circumambulation’ (*p^hirna* ‘to go round’), *ṭoṭa* ‘loss, damage’ (*ṭūṭna* ‘to break’), *moṭ* ‘a turn’ (*muṭna* ‘to turn’)

The *vṛdd^hi* alternations apply to nominals also and yield abstract nouns from other nouns and adjectives:

kṣāl ‘skill’ (*kufāl* ‘skilled’), *puruṣ* ‘manliness’ (*puruṣ* ‘man’), *śuc* ‘ritual purity’ (*fuci* ‘pure’), and *gṛāvan* ‘glory’ (*guru* ‘great’)

5.1.2. Nouns of Agency

Nouns of agency are derived from nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs by suffixation. The main suffixes are listed below, with their source indicated by (S), (H) or (PA) immediately following the root, if it is a verb:

- āk* (S) *lek^hāk* ‘writer’ (*lik^h* ‘write’), *paṭ^hāk* ‘reader’ (*pəṭ^h* ‘read’), *marāk* ‘killer’ (*mar* ‘hit, kill’)
- ākkəṭ* (H) *kudākkəṭ* ‘one who jumps’ (*kūd* ‘jump’), *b^hulākkəṭ* ‘one who is forgetful’ (*b^hul* ‘forget’), *piyākkəṭ* ‘drunk’ (*pī* ‘drink’)
- ar* (H) *kumhar* ‘potter’ (*kumb^h* ‘pot’), *sunar* ‘goldsmith’ (*sona* ‘gold’), *luhar* ‘ironsmith’ (*loha* ‘iron’), *cəmar* ‘cobbler’ (*cam* ‘skin’)
- iya* (H) *aṭ^hiya* ‘broker’ (*aṭ^hət* ‘brokerage’), *duk^hiya* ‘grieving person’ (*duk^h* ‘sorrow’), *rəsiya* ‘aesthete’, (*rəs* ‘aesthetic enjoyment’)

- ī (S -in) *fastrī* ‘scientist’ (*fastr* ‘science’), *telī* ‘one who extracts oil’ (*tel* ‘oil’), *videfī* ‘foreigner’ (*videf* ‘foreign land’)
- u (S) *b^hikṣu* ‘beggar’ (*b^hikṣ* ‘beg’), *icc^hu* ‘desirer’ (*icc^ha* ‘desire’)
- ū (H) *k^haū* ‘glutton’ (*k^ha* ‘eat’), *uṛaū* ‘squanderer’ (*uṛa* ‘squander’), *peṭū* ‘glutton’ (*peṭ* ‘stomach’), *nəkkū* ‘infamous person’ (*nak* ‘nose’)
- et (H) *ləṛet* ‘fighter’ (*ləṛ* ‘fight’), *cəṛ^het* ‘climber’ (*cəṛ^h* ‘climb’), *ləṭ^het* ‘an expert in wielding a heavy stick’ (*ləṭ^hī* ‘heavy stick used as a weapon’)
- inda (PA) *baṣinda* ‘resident’ (*baṣ* ‘live’), *pərina* ‘bird’ (*pə* ‘wing’)
- gər (PA) *sodagər* ‘trader’ (*soda* ‘merchandise’), *jildgər* ‘binder’ (*jild* ‘binding’), *kəlaigər* ‘tin plater’ (*kəla* ‘tin plating’)
- gar (PA) *mədədgər* ‘helper’ (*mədəd* ‘help’), *gunahgər* ‘guilty’ (*gunah* ‘guilt’), *yadgər* ‘memorial’ (*yad* ‘memory’)
- dar (PA) *dukandar* ‘shopkeeper’ (*dukan* ‘shop’), *t^hanedar* ‘in charge of a police station’ (*t^hana* ‘police station’), *k^hərīdar* ‘buyer’ (*k^hərīd* ‘buy’), *natedar* ‘a relative’ (*nata* ‘relation’)
- ban (PA) *bagban* ‘gardener’ (*bag* ‘garden’), *dərban* ‘doorman’ (*dər* ‘door’), *mihərban* ‘merciful person’ (*mihər* ‘mercy’)

5.1.3. Instrumental and Diminutive

The infinitive of some verbs are used as instrumental nouns, e.g., *belna* ‘roller’ (*bel* ‘roll’), *oṛ^hna* ‘cover’ (*oṛ^h* ‘cover’), *q^hāknā* ‘cover’ (*q^hākn* ‘put a lid on’).

Some instrumental nouns are derived by suffixation. The following suffixes are used to derive instrumental nouns from verbs:

- a *j^hūla* ‘a swing’ (*j^hūlna* ‘to swing’), *t^hela* ‘push cart’ (*t^helna* ‘to push’), *pota* ‘a rag used for cleaning, whitewashing’ (*potna* ‘to whitewash’), *cimṭa* ‘tong’ (*cimṭna* ‘to hold fast’)
- ī *cimṭī* ‘forceps, tweezers’ (*cimṭna* ‘to hold fast’), *reṭī* ‘file’ (*reṭna* ‘to file’)
- nī *sumərnī* ‘rosary’ (*sumər* ‘remember’), *kəṭərnī* ‘scissors’ (*kəṭər* ‘cut’), *c^hənnī* ‘a sieve, filter’ (*c^hən* ‘to be sifted, filtered’), *oṛ^hnī* ‘a woman’s scarf used to cover the shoulders and head with’ (*oṛ^h* ‘cover’)

The following suffixes are used to form diminutives of nouns:

- iya *dibiya* ‘small box’ (*dibba* ‘box’), *k^həṭiya* ‘small cot’ (*k^həṭ* ‘cot’), *koṭ^həriya* ‘small room’ (*koṭ^hrī* ‘room’)
- ṭa/-ṭī *duk^hṭa* ‘tale of woe’ (*duk^h* ‘sorrow’), *ṭukṭa/ṭukṭī* ‘fragment’ (*ṭūk* ‘piece’), *bəc^hṭa/bəc^hṭī* ‘small calf’ (*bəcc^ha* ‘calf’).

5.1.4. Other Nouns Derived from Verbs

The suffixes used to derive concrete nouns and action nouns and the resultant forms are listed below; some of these are used as cognate nouns, i.e., complements of their source verbs, e.g., *gintī* ‘counting’, *bic^hṅna* ‘bedding’, *muskan* ‘smile’:

-ṅna, -ṅnī, -avnī (H)	<i>k^hilṅna</i> ‘toy’ (<i>k^helna</i> ‘to play’), <i>bic^hṅna</i> ‘bedding’ (<i>bic^hana</i> ‘to spread (a mat, sheet)’), <i>micṅnī</i> ‘game of covering eyes, hide and seek’ (<i>mīcna</i> ‘to close (eyes)’), <i>c^havnī</i> ‘army camp’ (<i>c^hana</i> ‘pitch a tent’)
-ṅk, -ka (H)	<i>beṅ^hṅk</i> ‘sitting room’ (<i>beṅ^hna</i> ‘to sit’), <i>pacṅk</i> ‘digestive’ (<i>pācana</i> ‘to digest’), <i>c^hilka</i> ‘peel, husk, shell’ (<i>c^hilna</i> ‘to peel’), <i>p^hulka</i> ‘a thin, puffed bread’ (<i>p^hulna</i> ‘to puff up’)
-ṅt/-tī (H)	<i>bacṅt</i> ‘saving’ (<i>bācna</i> ‘to be saved’), <i>rāṅṅt</i> ‘colour’ (<i>rāṅṅna</i> ‘to color, dye’), <i>pavī</i> ‘due’ (<i>pāna</i> ‘to get, regain’), <i>gintī</i> ‘counting’ (<i>ginna</i> ‘to count’), <i>cṅ^htī</i> ‘rising’ (<i>cṅ^hna</i> ‘to climb’)
-an, -n (H)	<i>muskan</i> ‘smile’ (<i>muskana</i> ‘to smile’), <i>k^han-pan</i> ‘food and drink’ (<i>k^hana-pāna</i> ‘to eat-drink’), <i>t^hṅkan</i> ‘tiredness’ (<i>t^hṅkna</i> ‘to be tired’), <i>len-den</i> ‘transaction’ (<i>lena-dena</i> ‘to take-give’)

5.1.5. Compounds

In the Indic grammatical tradition, compounds are classified into the following classes: *tatpuruṣa*, *avyayīb^hāva*, *dvandva*, and *bahubrīhi*. The definitions are as follows.

The *tatpuruṣa* compounds are those that show case relations between the two elements of the compound. The resultant compound is either used as a noun or an adjective. Examples are: *svargprapt* [*svarg ko prapt*] ‘arrived at heaven’, *mūhmāga* [*mūh se māga*] ‘asked for from the mouth’] ‘asked for (verbally)’, *deṣ^hṅkti* [*deṣ kī b^hṅkti*] ‘love of country’] ‘love for one’s country’, *riṅmukt* [*riṅ se mukt*] ‘free from debt’, *rajputr* [*raja ka putr*] ‘son of the king, prince’, *pāṅṅubbī* [*pānī mē ḍūbī*] ‘sunk in water’] ‘submarine’, *kalapanī* ‘exile (across the ocean)’, *k^hṅmīṅṅa* ‘sweet and sour’, *dopṅhar* ‘afternoon’, *jeb^hṅṅī* ‘pocket watch’, *g^hṅṅyam* ‘dark like the clouds’, and *cārṅṅamāl* ‘feet like lotus’.

In the *avyayīb^hāva* compounds, the first element modifies the meaning of the second, and the compound is used as an invariable adverb. Examples are: *yā^hasamb^hṅṅ* ‘as far as possible’, *b^hṅrpeṅ* ‘to one’s fill’, *ekaek* ‘all of a sudden’, and *pāṅṅpāṅṅ* ‘at first’.

The *dvandva* compounds are made up of two equal elements, i.e., both contribute evenly to the meaning of the compound. The compound itself, of course, may signify more than the sum of its parts. Examples are: *gay-bel* ‘cow and bullock; cattle’, *b^haī-bāhān* ‘brother and sister; siblings’, *dal-b^hat* ‘lentil and rice; food’, *b^hū-lcūk* ‘mistake and lapse; errors’, and *sūj^hbūj^h* ‘understanding and problem solving; good sense’.

The *bahubrīhi* (lit. ‘has much rice’ in Sanskrit) compound signals a meaning that is not derivable from the meaning of its constituent elements. Examples are: *dud^hmūha* ‘one who has milk in his mouth; an infant’, *bāhurūpiya* ‘one who has many appearances; a clown’, *māncāla* ‘one who has a fickle mind; frivolous’, *pānkaj* ‘one that grows in mud; the lotus flower’, *trinetr* ‘one who has three eyes; Lord Shiva’, and *girid^harī* ‘one who holds the mountain; an epithet for Lord Krishna’.

Hindi is not a compounding language to the extent that Sanskrit or German are; even so, it does have compounds. Although the traditional categories of compounding are useful, they obscure certain relations between the members of the compound. The following represents a grouping slightly different from the traditional one just outlined, based on the productive patterns that yield Hindi compounds.

5.1.5.1. Coordinative, or *Dvandva*, Compounds

Coordinative compounds imply a linking expression such as *or* ‘and’, or *ya* ‘or’, between the elements of the compound and are usually hyphenated in writing. The elements of the compound may be drawn from any part of speech, and they may be words of native origin or loan words. Examples are:

- a. NOUN + NOUN: *mata-pita* ‘mother and father; parents’, *roṭī-kāpṭa* ‘bread and clothing; a living’, *g^hār-dvar* ‘house and gateway; dwelling’, *def-vidēf* ‘one’s own and foreign country; the world’, *nūn-tel* ‘salt and oil; condiment’, *jat-kujat* ‘caste or low caste; one’s origin in terms of caste’, *pap-puṇy* ‘sin or virtuous deed; one’s actions’, and *jūte-cāppal* ‘shoes and sandals; footwear’.

In some compounds, the second member has the same or a similar meaning as the first member of the compound and the two together denote a meaning wider than either of the member elements: e.g., *bal-bācce* ‘child and children, offspring’; *nādī-nala* ‘river and stream, bodies of flowing water’; *kāpṭa-lāṭṭa* ‘cloth and rag, clothes’; *śadī-byah* ‘wedding and marriage, the occasion of wedding’; *koṭṭ-kācāhrī* ‘law court, legal institutions’; *pūṭī-kācāṭī* ‘fried bread and fried bread with vegetable stuffing, rich food’, and *j^hāṭ-āṭ* ‘shrub and thorny bush, wild growth’.

A number of such compounds have one item from Indo-Aryan and one from Perso-Arabic source, both with identical meaning, e.g., *d^hən-dələt* ‘wealth’, *tən-bədən* ‘body’, *rīti-rāsm* ‘customs’, *b^haī-biradər* ‘brother’, *jī-jan* ‘life’, *fadī-byah* ‘marriage’, *hāsī-məzaq* ‘joke’, *cīz-vəstu* ‘thing’, etc.

In some compounds, the second member has the opposite meaning to the first, e.g., *den-len* ‘give-take, or reciprocity’, *aga-pīc^ha* ‘front-back, or future in light of past experience’, *kəha-sunī* ‘saying-listening, or altercation’, *cə^ha-utrī* ‘climbing up and down, or rise and fall’, etc.

b. ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE: *c^hoṭa-bəṭa* ‘small and big; all ages or sizes’, *əcc^ha-b^həla* ‘good and noble’, *sīd^ha-sada* ‘straight and simple’, *lal-pīla* ‘red and yellow; colorful’, *moṭa-taza* ‘fat and fresh; bulky’, *jəla-b^huna* ‘burnt and roasted; overcooked’, *ūca-nīca* ‘height and depth; good and evil’, *b^həla-bura* ‘good and evil; one’s interests’, and *t^hoṭa-bəhut* ‘more or less’.

5.1.5.2. Determinative Compounds

In these compounds, the meaning of one of the elements modifies or defines that of the other in some sense. The modifying element may come first, as in case of the list in (a), or it may be the second element, as in (b). The two members of the compound may be drawn from any part of speech. Practice with regard to hyphenation in writing varies for this category of compounds. Examples are:

(a) *nīlkəṅṭ^h* [*nīl* ‘blue’ + *kəṅṭ^h* ‘throat’] ‘blue throat, blue jay’; *dopəhər* [*do* ‘two’ + *pəhər* ‘period of time’] ‘the second period, afternoon’; *g^həṅṣyam* [*g^hən* ‘cloud’ + *ṣyam* ‘dark’] ‘dark gray’, *praṅprij* [*praṅ* ‘life’ + *prij* ‘dear’] ‘as dear as life’, *c^hayətəru* [*c^haya* ‘shade’ + *təru* ‘tree’] ‘shade tree’, *yə^hafəkti* [*yə^ha* ‘according to’ + *fəkti* ‘capability’] ‘according to one’s capacity’, *prətīdin* [*prəti* ‘every’ + *din* ‘day’] ‘every day’, *mūhmāga* [*mūh* ‘mouth’ + *māga* ‘asked for’] ‘asked for’, *kəlmūha* [*kəl* ‘black’ + *mūha* ‘faced’] ‘black-faced, or disgraced’.

(b) *cərəṅkəməl* [*cərəṅ* ‘feet’ + *kəməl* ‘lotus’] ‘lotus feet’, *məncəla* [*mən* ‘mind’ + *cəla* ‘moved’] ‘fickle’, *nəkṭa* [*nak* ‘nose’ + *kəṭa* ‘cut’] ‘disgraced’, and *sirp^hira* [*sir* ‘head’ + *p^hira* ‘turned’] ‘mad; of unstable mind’, *mūhjəla* [*mūh* ‘face’ + *jəla* ‘burnt’] ‘disgraced’.

A large number of determinative compounds are current in officialese, i.e., the register of administration. Some of these are exemplified below:

əvər səciv ‘under secretary’, *əv-prakkələn* ‘under estimation’, *up-səmiti* ‘sub-committee’, *up-niyəm* ‘sub-rule’, *up-nirīkṣək* ‘sub-inspector’, *upayukt* ‘deputy

commissioner' [*ayukt* 'commissioner'], *up-nidefək* 'deputy director' [*nidefək* 'director'], *sāyukt səciv* 'joint secretary', *sāyukt pəriver* 'joint family', *əd^htkşək* 'superintendent' [*əd^hi* 'super'], *əd^hikər* 'super-tax', *əb^hilek^h* 'record' [*əb^hi* 'towards'], *əb^hikərən* 'agency', *ab^higrəhən* 'acquisition', *ənusūcī* 'Schedule (of constitution)' [*ənu* 'after, towards'], *ənudan* 'grant', *ənukrəm* 'sequence', *ənupūrək* 'supplementary', *ənub^hag* 'section', *ənulipi* 'duplicate copy', *ənurəkşək* 'escort', *ekmət* 'unanimous' [*ek* 'one'], *ekmuşt* 'lump sum', *ekrūp* 'uniform', *eksūtr* 'coordinated', *karykrəm* 'program' [*kary* 'work, job'], *karyb^har* 'charge (of a post)', *karyvahī* 'proceedings', *karyvritti* 'minutes (of a meeting)', *karysūcī* 'agenda', *karyaləy* 'office', *pədkrəm* 'grade' [*pəd* 'post, position'], *pədcyuti* 'dismissal', *pədd^harī* 'incumbent', *pədavnəti* 'demotion', *pədavad^hi* 'tenure', *pədonnəti* 'promotion', *pəripətr* 'circular' [*pəri* 'around, beyond'], *pəripəth* 'circuit', *pəriḥişt* 'appendix', *punərvilokən* 'review' [*punəh* 'again'], *punəriḥṣit* 'revised', *punərgəḥ^hən* 'reorganization', *punərdəy* 'refundable', *punərmiyukti* 'reappointment', *punərvas* 'rehabilitation', *punərvicar* 'reconsideration', *punəşc* 'post script', *pūrvdət* 'prepaid' [*pūrv* 'before'], *pūrvab^hyas* 'rehearsal', *pūrvagrəh* 'prejudice', *pūrvvritt* 'antecedent', *pūrvokt* 'aforesaid', *prətibənd^h* 'ban, restriction' [*prəti* 'anti, per, mutual'], *prətirūp* 'counterpart', *prətīlipi* 'copy', *prətīlek^hən* 'transcription', *prətīḥət* 'percent', *prətīst^hapən* 'replacement', *yəth^ha krəm* 'in order' [*yəth^ha* 'as'], *yəth^ha səməy* 'in due course', *yəth^hopəri* 'ditto, as above', *səhkarī* 'cooperative' [*səh* 'with'], *səhpətr* 'enclosure', *səhməti* 'consent', *səhyog* 'cooperation', *səhayək* 'assistant, subsidiary', etc.

5.1.5.3. Compounds that Imply Case Relations

The two elements of these compounds are in case relations such that one element of the compound is in an instrumental, locational, possessive, or some other case-relationship with the other. These compounds are generally written as one word.

Examples of an accusative relationship are *afatīt* [*afa* 'hope' + *ātīt* 'past'] 'surpassing expectations', *videḥgət* [*videḥ* 'foreign country' + *gət* 'gone'] 'gone abroad', and *svərgprapt* [*svərg* 'heaven' + *prapt* 'attained'] 'one who has attained heaven'.

An instrumental relation is expressed by compounds such as *śekspiḥṛkrit* [Shakespeare + *krit* 'done'] 'written by Shakespeare', *əkālpiṛit* [*əkāl* 'famine' + *piṛit* 'tormented'] 'victim of famine', *guṇhīn* [*guṇ* 'quality' + *hīn* 'lacking'] 'one without good qualities', and *dāīmara* [*dāi* (Skt. *devā*) 'god' + *mara* 'hit'] 'unfortunate'.

Compounds such as the following signal a genitive relationship (recall that the genitive marker is also used for expressing a possessive relationship): *rajmāhəl* 'royal palace', *pitrigrih* 'father's house, a woman's natal home', *səsural* 'father-in-law's house', *pustəkāləy* 'house of books, library', *himaləy*

'house of ice and snow', *cikitsalāy* 'house of treatment, a medical clinic', *dāvak^hana* 'house of medicine, pharmacy', *lāk^hpāti* 'owner of a *lak^h* (a hundred thousand), a millionaire', *rajkumar* 'son of a king, a prince', *vānmanus* [*vān* 'forest' + *manus* 'human'] 'ape' and *belgāṭī* [*bel* 'bullock' + *gāṭī* 'cart'] 'bullock cart'.

A dative relation is indicated in compounds such as *deḥb^hākti* 'devotion to one's country', *rāsōīg^hār* 'room for cooking or kitchen', *hāt^hkāṭī* 'handcuff', and *rahk^hārc* [*rah* 'path' + *k^hārc* 'expense'] 'travel expenses'.

An ablative relation is denoted by compounds such as *jānmand^h* [*jānm* 'birth' + *ānd^h* 'sightless'] 'sightless since birth', *pādcyut* [*pād* 'postion' + *cyut* 'demoted'] 'demoted from one's position', *deḥnikāla* [*deḥ* 'country' + *nikāla* 'banished'] 'exiled', and *kamcor* [*kam* 'work' + *cor* 'thief'] 'shirker'.

Examples of a locative relation are *grihast^h* 'householder', *kāvīfresṭ^h* 'great among poets', *kūpmāṇḍūk* 'frog in a well, one with limited vision', *premmāgn* 'lost in love', and *deḥsaṭān* 'traveling around the country'.

5.1.5.4. Metaphorical Compounds

These compounds juxtapose two items, one of which is asserted to be like the other in some respect, e.g., in shape, size, aesthetic effect, etc. Metaphorical compounds are used extensively in literary works, and some of them conventionally denote special deities or legendary characters.

Examples are of two types: one in which the standard of comparison occurs first, and the other, in which the compared item occurs first. The first type is exemplified by *rajīvlocān* [*rajīv* 'lotus' + *locān* 'eye'] 'lotus eyed; a male person with eyes as beautiful as the lotus flower' (generally used for deities), *mīnakṣī* [*mīn* 'fish', *ākṣā* 'eye'] 'fish eyed; or a female person with fish-shaped (beautiful) eyes' (the deity in the famous temple at Madurai in Tamil Nadu), *cāndrāvḍānī* [*cāndrā* 'moon', *vāḍānī* 'faced' (F)] 'moon face; a female with a face as beautiful as the moon', and *pāt^hārdil* [*pāt^hār* 'stone', *dil* 'heart'] 'stone-hearted. The second type is exemplified by *cārāṅkāmāl* [*cārāṅ* 'feet', *kāmāl* 'lotus'] 'one with feet as beautiful as lotus' (usually said of deities), *rajārṣi* [*raj* 'king' + *rīṣi* 'sage'] 'sage king' (the legendary sage Vishwamitra, a prominent character in the epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, was a *rajārṣi* to begin with, and attained the status of *māhārṣi* 'a great sage' later), and *muk^hārvind* [*muk^h* 'face' + *ārvind* 'lotus'] 'one with face as beautiful as lotus (usually said of male deities).

5.1.5.5. Bahubrīhi Compounds

As has been mentioned earlier, these compounds signal a meaning that is not derivable from the meanings of their constituent elements. Examples are *pāt-*

j^həɽ ‘leaf-fall’ (autumn), *gəj-anən* ‘elephant-face’ (Lord Ganesha), *hat^hī-pāv* ‘elephant-leg’ (filariasis), *lal-pərī* ‘red-fairy’ (wine), *sə-p^həl* ‘with result’ (successful), *pən^j-ab* ‘five-rivers’ (the state of Punjab in India), and *ti-rənga* ‘tricolored’ (the Indian flag). The hyphens are used here to indicate the segments involved; these compounds are treated as single lexical items in grammar as well as in writing.

5.1.5.6. Distributive Compounds

These compounds are formed by repeating the item. The reduplicated nouns and adjectives have a distributive meaning. The reduplicated verbs and adverbs have an intensive or repeated action/process meaning. The reduplicated adjectives, as they have a distributive meaning, occur only with plural nouns. These compounds are hyphenated in writing. Examples are:

Nouns	<i>g^hər-g^hər</i> ‘every house’, <i>pəttā-pəttā</i> ‘every leaf’, <i>bəcca-bəcca</i> ‘every child’, <i>dana-dana</i> ‘every grain’, and <i>pəsa-pəsa</i> ‘each penny’.
Adjectives	<i>taze-taze</i> ‘each one fresh (M)’, <i>əcc^he-əcc^he</i> ‘each one good (M)’, <i>bəɽī-bəɽī</i> ‘each one big (F)’, <i>ũce-ũce</i> ‘each one tall (M)’, <i>ləmbī-ləmbī</i> ‘each one long (F)’, and <i>səstī-səstī</i> ‘each one cheap (F)’.
Participles	<i>k^ha-k^ha kər</i> ‘having eaten much or repeatedly’, <i>lik^h-lik^h kər</i> ‘having written repeatedly’, <i>dəɽe-dəɽe</i> ‘running (continuously)’, <i>pəɽ^hte-pəɽ^hte</i> ‘reading (continuously)’, <i>leɽe-leɽe</i> ‘lying (continuously)’, and <i>bəɽ^he-bəɽ^he</i> ‘while seated’.
Adverbs	<i>jəldī-jəldī</i> ‘hurriedly’, <i>d^hire-d^hire</i> ‘slowly’, <i>subəh-subəh</i> ‘early in the morning’, <i>pəl-pəl</i> ‘every moment’, and <i>bahər-bahər</i> ‘at the outside’.

5.1.5.7. Emphatic Compounds

These compounds result from a concatenation of two items with similar senses such that the second reinforces the meaning of the first element of the compound. They are usually hyphenated in writing. Examples are:

Nouns	<i>ləɽāi-j^həgɽa</i> ‘fight-quarrel’ (dispute), <i>mar-pīt</i> ‘hit-beat’ (thrashing), <i>bag-bəgīca</i> ‘garden-small garden’ (garden; park), <i>tal-pok^hər</i> ‘lake-pond’ (bodies of water), <i>skūl-kali^j</i> ‘school-college’ (educational institutions), and <i>gay-bəl</i> ‘cow-bullock’ (cattle).
Adjectives	<i>moɽa-taza</i> ‘fat-fresh’ (chubby; bulky), <i>lūla-ləgɽa</i> ‘maimed-lame’ (handicapped), <i>əsa-vəsa</i> ‘this type-that type’ (inconsequential), <i>b^həra-pūra</i> ‘filled-full’ (flourishing), and <i>tūɽa-p^hūɽa</i> ‘broken-cracked’ (imperfect).
Verbs	<i>səmāj^hna-būj^hna</i> ‘to understand-to solve’ (to comprehend), <i>socna-vicarna</i> ‘to think-to consider’ (to deliberate), <i>sajna-səvərna</i> ‘to dress

up-to groom' (to adorn oneself), *k^hana-pīna* 'to eat-to drink' (to have a meal), and *pə^hna-lik^hna* 'to read-to write' (to study).

Adverbs *pas-pəros* 'near-neighborhood' (neighborhood), *age-pīc^he* 'in front-in the back' (one behind the other), *der-səver* 'late-early' (at some unspecified time), *bahər-b^hṭar* 'outside-inside' (in and out), and *aj-kəl* 'today-tomorrow' (currently; in the near future).

In addition to the above, Hindi also utilizes two other devices for compounding, total and partial reduplication, and echo compounding. These are discussed in section 5.4.

5.2. Derivation of Adjectives

Adjectives are derived from other parts of speech by derivational affixes. The prefixes, their meanings and the adjectives they yield are as follows (the H in the list of adjectives identifies the Hindi head words):

<i>ə-</i> (H) 'un-'	<i>əcet</i> [<i>ə-cet</i> 'not conscious'] 'unconscious', <i>əjan</i> [<i>ə-jan</i> (H) 'not aware'] 'ignorant', <i>ə^hah</i> [<i>ə-^hah</i> (H) 'not fathomable'] 'unfathomable', <i>ənam</i> [<i>ə-nam</i> 'not name'] 'unnamed', <i>ədriṣṭ</i> [<i>ə-driṣṭ</i> 'not visible'] 'unforeseen'.
<i>ku-</i> (S) 'ill-'	<i>kuḍəl</i> [<i>ku-ḍəl</i> (H) 'bad build'] 'ill-formed', <i>kuḍ^hənga</i> [<i>ku-ḍ^hənga</i> (H) 'bad mannered'] 'ill-mannered', <i>kurūp</i> [<i>ku-rūp</i> 'bad form'] 'ugly', <i>kubudd^hi</i> [<i>ku-budd^hi</i> 'bad intelligence'] 'vicious', <i>kupə^h</i> [<i>ku-pə^h</i> 'bad ways'] 'immoral ways', <i>ku^hāv</i> [<i>ku-^hāv</i> (H) 'bad place'] 'undesirable place', <i>kucəkr</i> [<i>ku-cəkr</i> 'bad circle'] 'conspiracy'.
<i>du-</i> (S) 'un-'	This prefix has variants <i>duh-</i> , <i>dus-</i> , <i>dur-</i> as it goes through morphophonemic alternation in the context of following segments: <i>durləb^h</i> [<i>duh-ləb^h</i> 'un-obtainable'] 'hard to obtain', <i>durgəm</i> [<i>duh-gəm</i> 'difficult going'] 'difficult (path)', <i>durbəl</i> [<i>duh-bəl</i> 'no-strength'] 'lacking strength, weak', <i>duhsəh</i> [<i>duh-səh</i> 'not-bearable'] 'unbearable', <i>duṣprapy</i> [<i>dus-prapy</i> 'not-attainable'] 'difficult to get'.
<i>na-</i> (PA) '-less'	<i>naummed</i> or <i>naummīd</i> 'hopeless', <i>nadan</i> 'unwise', <i>nalayək</i> 'worthless', <i>napak</i> 'polluted', <i>namərd</i> 'impotent', <i>namalūm</i> 'unknown', <i>naṣad</i> 'unhappy', <i>nasaz</i> 'indisposed', <i>nabalig</i> 'underage'. All the words to which <i>na-</i> is prefixed are from Perso-Arabic sources.

<i>ni-</i> (H) ‘un-’	<i>nikamma</i> ‘jobless, indolent’, <i>nid^han</i> ‘wealth-less, poor’, <i>nibəl</i> ‘weak’, <i>niqār</i> ‘fearless’, <i>nipūī</i> ‘childless, barren’, <i>nirog</i> ‘without disease, healthy’.
<i>ni-</i> (S) ‘without’	This prefix has variants <i>nir-</i> , <i>nis-</i> , <i>-nih</i> as it undergoes morphophonemic changes in the environment of the following segment: <i>nirb^hay</i> ‘fearless’, <i>nirməm</i> ‘pitiless’, <i>nihfənk</i> ‘unsuspecting’, <i>nirdoş</i> ‘innocent’, <i>niruttər</i> ‘silenced, rendered wordless’, <i>nirafə</i> ‘hopeless’, <i>nifcəl</i> ‘motionless’.
<i>be-</i> (PA) ‘dis-’	<i>beīman</i> ‘dishonest’, <i>beaql</i> ‘foolish, stupid’, <i>beədb</i> ‘ill-mannered’, <i>bequsūr</i> ‘faultless’, <i>beqayda</i> ‘irregular’, <i>bexəbər</i> ‘uninformed’, <i>becara</i> ‘helpless’, <i>beg^hər</i> ‘homeless’, <i>becen</i> ‘restless’, <i>bejoṛ</i> ‘matchless’, <i>bejan</i> ‘lifeless’. The prefix is not restricted to Perso-Arabic words, as is clear from <i>beg^hər</i> above. The head word <i>g^hər</i> is Indo-Aryan in origin.
<i>la-</i> (PA) ‘-less’	<i>lacar</i> ‘helpless’, <i>lavaris</i> ‘orphan’, <i>lajəvab</i> ‘peerless’, <i>lapəta</i> ‘without address, missing, underground’, <i>lavaris</i> ‘heirless’, <i>lapərvah</i> ‘careless’, <i>lailaj</i> ‘incurable’.
<i>sə-</i> (S) ‘with’	<i>səp^həl</i> ‘successful’, <i>səjatīy</i> ‘belonging to one’s own caste’, <i>səjiv</i> ‘alive’, <i>səṛəs</i> ‘delicious’, <i>savd^han</i> ‘careful’.
<i>su-</i> (S) ‘well’	<i>suqəl</i> ‘well-formed’, <i>sughər</i> ‘well-built’, <i>susəngət</i> ‘very appropriate’, <i>sufil</i> ‘courteous’, <i>susənskrit</i> ‘cultured, refined’, <i>sufikṣit</i> ‘well-educated’, and <i>sust^hit</i> ‘well-poised’.

The derivational suffixes that yield adjectives are listed below, along with examples to illustrate their use:

<i>-ənīy</i> (S)	<i>dərʃnīy</i> [<i>dərʃ</i> ‘see’] ‘worth seeing’, <i>rəmnīy</i> [<i>rəmy</i> ‘engaging’] ‘beautiful’, <i>smərnīy</i> [<i>smərən</i>] ‘memory’] ‘worth remembering’, <i>focnīy</i> [<i>fo</i> ‘worry’] ‘worth worrying about’, <i>adərñīy</i> [<i>adər</i> ‘respect’] ‘worthy of respect’, <i>vicarnīy</i> [<i>vicar</i> ‘thought’] ‘worth considering’.
<i>-aū</i> (H) ‘-able’	<i>ṭikaū</i> [<i>ṭikna</i> ‘to remain’] ‘durable’, <i>bikaū</i> [<i>bikna</i> ‘to be sold’], ‘saleable’, <i>jəlaū</i> [<i>jəlna</i> ‘to burn’] ‘flammable’, <i>dik^haū</i> [<i>dik^hna</i> ‘to be seen’], ‘showy’, <i>kəmaū</i> [<i>kəmana</i> ‘to earn’] ‘good wage earner’.
<i>-ana</i> (PA) ‘-ly’	Restricted to Perso-Arabic items, e.g., <i>salana</i> ‘annual, yearly’, <i>rozana</i> ‘daily’, <i>mərdana</i> ‘manly’, <i>fahana</i> ‘royal’.
<i>-ik</i> (S) ‘-al, -ly’	<i>varṣik</i> ‘annual’ [<i>vərṣ</i> ‘year’], <i>masik</i> [<i>mas</i> ‘month’] ‘monthly’, <i>etihasik</i> [<i>itihas</i> ‘history’], ‘historical’, <i>d^harmik</i> [<i>d^hərm</i> ‘religion’] ‘religious’, <i>mansik</i> [<i>mənəs</i> ‘mind’], ‘mental’, <i>samajik</i> [<i>səmaj</i> ‘society’], ‘social’, <i>samyik</i> [<i>səməy</i> ‘time’] ‘timely’, <i>farīrik</i> [<i>fərīr</i> ‘body’] ‘physical’, <i>pəraṇik</i> [<i>puraṇ</i>

	‘legend’] ‘legendary’. Notice the <i>vṛdd^hi</i> increment in the first vowel of the root word after suffixation.
-it (S) ‘-ful’	<i>duk^hit</i> ‘sorrowful’, <i>anāndit</i> ‘blissful’, <i>prātibimbī</i> ‘reflected’, <i>puṣpī</i> ‘flowered’, <i>pāllāvī</i> ‘growing new leaves, thriving’, <i>ānkit</i> ‘inscribed’, <i>śānkit</i> ‘apprehensive’.
-iyāl (H)	<i>āṛiyāl</i> ‘inflexible, stubborn’, <i>sāṛiyāl</i> ‘rotten’, <i>māriyāl</i> ‘sickly’.
-ī (S -in)	<i>d^hānī</i> ‘rich’, <i>śāstrī</i> ‘scholar’, <i>pākṣī</i> ‘winged creature, bird’, <i>suk^hī</i> ‘happy, content’, <i>krod^hī</i> ‘angry’, <i>ārt^hī</i> ‘seeker’. This morpheme is very productive in deriving adjectives from place names ending in consonants, e.g., <i>rūsī</i> ‘Russian’, <i>āmṛīkī</i> ‘american’, <i>īnglīstānī</i> ‘the English’, <i>bānārsī</i> ‘from Benares’, <i>mādrāsī</i> ‘from Madras’, etc.
-tāvya (S)	<i>kārtāvya</i> ‘worth doing, i.e., duty’, <i>gyātāvya</i> ‘knowable’, <i>drāṣṭāvya</i> ‘worth seeing’, <i>śrotāvya</i> ‘worth listening to’, <i>pāṭ^hitāvya</i> ‘worth reading’.
-mānd (PA)	Restricted to Perso-Arabic root words, e.g., <i>āqīmānd</i> ‘intelligent’, <i>dolātmānd</i> ‘wealthy’, <i>danīfmānd</i> ‘wise’.
-man (S -māt)	<i>budd^hīman</i> ‘intelligent’, <i>āyūṣman</i> ‘long lived’. The feminine counterpart of the suffix is <i>-mātī</i> , e.g., <i>budd^hīmātī</i> ‘intelligent (F)’.
-y (S)	<i>k^hādy</i> ‘edible’, <i>drīfy</i> ‘scene’, <i>tyājy</i> ‘worth discarding’, <i>dey</i> ‘worth giving’, <i>kṣāmy</i> ‘forgivable’, <i>sāhy</i> ‘tolerable’.
-vār (PA) ‘with’	<i>takātvār</i> ‘strong’, <i>hīmmātvār</i> ‘courageous’, <i>janvār</i> ‘animal’, <i>namvār</i> ‘renowned’.
-van (S -vāt)	<i>d^hānvan</i> ‘wealthy’, <i>vidyavan</i> ‘learned’, <i>guṇvan</i> ‘meritorious’, <i>rūpvan</i> ‘handsome’, <i>b^hāgyāvan</i> ‘fortunate’. The feminine form of the suffix is <i>-vātī</i> , e.g., <i>b^hāgyāvātī</i> ‘fortunate (F)’.
-vī (S -vin)	<i>yājśvī</i> ‘famous’, <i>tejśvī</i> ‘luminous’, <i>med^hāvī</i> ‘intelligent’. The feminine form of the suffix is <i>-vinī</i> , e.g., <i>yājśvinī</i> ‘famous (F)’.

5.3. Derivation of Verbs

Verbs are derived from other parts of speech by the following derivational suffixes:

-na (H) ‘inf’	This is a moderately productive process and a set of nouns borrowed from Sanskrit and Persian undergo it, e.g., <i>tyagna</i> ‘to give up’ (<i>tyag</i> ‘sacrifice’), <i>duk^hna</i> ‘to ache’ (<i>duk^h</i> ‘pain, sorrow’), <i>svīkarna</i> ‘to accept’ (<i>svīkar</i> ‘acceptance’), <i>bāk^hna</i> ‘to bestow’ (<i>bāk^h</i> (PA) ‘bestowing’), and <i>byahna</i> ‘to marry’ (<i>byah</i> ‘marriage’). Notice
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that the most productive process of verb formation is to use a nominal with *hona* ‘to be’ or *kərna* ‘to do’ to derive a corresponding verb (see 4.5.8.2).

-(iy)a- (H) *bətiyana* ‘to converse’ (*bat* ‘talk, conversation’), *mimiyana* ‘to bleat’ (*mē-mē* ‘bleating (of sheep)’), *filmana* ‘to film’, *buḥ^hana* ‘to grow old’ (*būḥ^ha/būḥ^hi* ‘old (M/F)’), and *ḏkurna* ‘to sprout’ (*ənkur* ‘a seed bud’).

5.4. Reduplication

Hindi has many onomatopoeic words, similar to the ideophones in some African languages, which are formed by full or partial reduplication. These are described below.

5.4.1. Full Reduplication

Full reduplication of syllables yields nouns, from which adjectives and verbs may be derived. Examples of nouns are: *bəḥbəḥ* ‘grumbling’, *k^həḥk^həḥ* ‘knock (on the door)’, *cēcē* ‘chirping’, *j^hən^hj^hən* ‘tinkling’, *b^hən^hb^hən* ‘buzzing’. Note that these do not represent reduplicated morphs, i.e., a single syllable such as *bəḥ-* or *k^həḥ-* is not meaningful.

Verbs formed from these are *bəḥbəḥana* ‘to grumble’, *k^həḥk^həḥana* ‘to knock’, *j^hən^hj^hən ana* ‘to tinkle’, and *b^hən^hb^hənana* ‘to buzz’.

Verbs that have similar reduplicated elements are *sənsənana* ‘to produce a whizzing sound, to have a thrilling experience’, *hinhinana* ‘to neigh’, *gəḥgəḥana* ‘to rumble’, *c^həl^hc^həlana* ‘to be filled to the brim with liquid’, *k^həḥk^həḥana* ‘to crackle’, although there are no corresponding nouns such as **sənsən*, **hinhin*, etc.

These verbs yield abstract nouns by undergoing regular processes of derivation, e.g., by utilizing the suffix *-ahəḥ*, e.g., *j^hən^hj^hənahəḥ* ‘tinkling’, *sənsənahəḥ* ‘whizzing, thrilling sensation’, *gəḥgəḥahəḥ* ‘rumble’, *g^hərg^hərahəḥ* ‘whirring’, etc.

In order to form verbs from items such as *cēcē* and *bəkbək*, the verb *kərna* ‘to do’ is utilized, e.g., *cēcē kərna* ‘to chirp’, and *bəkbək kərna* ‘to jabber’.

Some verbs, such as *t^hərt^hərana* ‘to shudder’, *sərsərana* ‘to slither’, and *c^həmc^həmana* ‘to move with a tinkling noise (of anklets)’, yield adverbs such as *t^hərt^hər* ‘shudderingly’, *sərsər* ‘with a rustling noise’, and *c^həmc^həm* ‘tinklingly’. Other reduplicated adverbs, however, have no corresponding verbs, e.g., *gəḥgəḥ* ‘with a quick gulp’ and *p^həḥap^həḥ* ‘swiftly’.

5.4.2. *Partial Reduplication*

Items belonging to all parts of speech are formed by partial reduplication. One of the elements of the resultant compound, usually the second, lacks meaning and the privilege of independent occurrence. In some compounds, however, the first part is the empty item, as noted below. Examples are as follows:

Nouns	<i>pūc^h-tac^h</i> ‘inquiry’, <i>q^hū^h-q^ha^h</i> ‘thorough search’, <i>b^hī^h-b^ha^h</i> ‘crowds’, <i>galī-gəḷəj</i> ‘abuses and curses’, and <i>cal-q^hal</i> ‘morals and manners’.
Adjectives	<i>ṭe^ha-me^ha</i> ‘crooked’, <i>sīd^ha-sada</i> ‘simple, naive’, <i>b^hola-b^hala</i> ‘innocent’, <i>ṭīk-ṭīak</i> ‘all right’, and <i>ulṭa-pulṭa</i> ‘topsy-turvy’.
Verbs	<i>d^hona-d^hana</i> ‘to wash and clean’, <i>k^hīcan-k^hācna</i> ‘to pull and stretch’, <i>pūc^hna-tac^hna</i> ‘to inquire’, <i>b^hūnna-b^hanna</i> ‘to roast’, <i>c^he^h-c^ha^h kārna</i> ‘to tease’, <i>tal-mel bi^hana</i> ‘to coordinate’, and <i>joṭ-jaṭ dena</i> ‘to mend (a broken object)’.
Adverbs	<i>amne-samne</i> ‘face to face’, <i>as-pas</i> ‘close by’, <i>əgəl-bəgəl</i> ‘side by side’, and <i>dūr-dəraj</i> ‘remote’. The first parts of the compounds are not meaningful, except for <i>dūr-dəraj</i> ‘remote’ where it is the second item that has no meaning.

5.4.3. *Echo Compounding*

One of the characteristics of South Asian languages is echo compounding where the second element of the compound is a word that duplicates the first element except for the first consonant. The first consonant of the echo word is always *v-* in most of the Hindi area (in the north-east of Bihar state, it is *p^h*). That is, all initial consonants are changed to *v-* in words beginning with a consonant; if the word begins with a vowel, an initial *v-* is added. The echo word has the meaning ‘and the like’, but it does not have the privilege of occurring as an independent item. The use of echo compounds suggests casual style, and in certain contexts, a dismissive attitude toward the first element of the compound. The following exemplify the range of such echo compounding:

Nouns	<i>kitab-vitab</i> ‘books and the like’, <i>pesa-vesa</i> ‘money and the like’, <i>bistār-vistār</i> ‘beddings and the like’, <i>g^hār-vār</i> ‘houses and the like’, <i>ser-ver</i> ‘lions and the like’, and <i>dillī-villī</i> ‘Delhi and the like’, <i>istrī-vistrī</i> ‘irons and the like’, <i>aṭa-vaṭa</i> ‘flour and the like’.
Adjectives	<i>lamba-vamba</i> ‘tall/long and the like’, <i>sundar-vundar</i> ‘beautiful and the like’, <i>b^harī-varī</i> ‘heavy and the like’, <i>lal-val</i> ‘red and the like’, <i>udas-vudas</i> ‘sad and the like’, and <i>gəṛīb-vəṛīb</i> ‘poor and the like’.

Verbs	<i>k^hana-vana</i> ‘to eat and the like’, <i>cəlna-vəlna</i> ‘to walk and the like’, <i>sona-vona</i> ‘to sleep and the like’, <i>pəḷ^hna-vəḷ^hna</i> ‘to read and the like’, and <i>lik^hna-vik^hna</i> ‘to write and the like’.
Adverbs	<i>kəl-vəl</i> ‘yesterday/tomorrow and the like’, <i>nīce-vīce</i> ‘under/below and the like’, <i>samne-vamne</i> ‘in front of and the like’, <i>bahər-vahər</i> ‘outside and the like’, and <i>jəldī-vəldī</i> ‘in a hurry and the like’.

Echo compounding is a productive process and all borrowed lexical items may be subjected to it, e.g., *tren-ven* ‘railway train and the like’, *beṣəm-veṣəm* ‘queens and the like’, *muqədma-vuqədma* ‘court cases and the like’, *bəs-vəs*, ‘bus and the like’, *moṭər-voṭər* ‘automobile and the like’, *president-vresident* ‘president and the like’, etc.

6. The Noun Phrase

6.0. The Noun Phrase

Consistent with the characteristics of a verb-final language, Hindi determiners and adjectives precede the head noun in a noun phrase. Unlike some verb-final languages, such as Japanese and the Dravidian languages of India, however, relative and complement clauses do not precede the head noun in Hindi. First, I describe the structure of the noun phrase and then present a brief sketch of relative and complement clauses. They are described in greater detail in Chapter 9.

The noun phrase may function as subject, object, or complement of a verb, or postposition. It may be simple in its internal structure, as in (1), or complex, as in (2), or conjoined (compound), as in (3):

- (1) *larka āxbar bec r̄aha h̄e.*
boy.M.SG newspaper.M.SG sell PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
'The boy is selling newspaper.'
- (2) *uske b^haī, jinse tum 1990 mē mile*
(s)he.POSS.PL brother REL.PL.OBL with you.FAM 1990 in meet.FAM
t^he, āb k̄alkatte mē r̄ahte h̄ē.
PAST.FAM now Kolkata.M.OBL in live.IMP.F.M.PL PRES.PL
'His brother whom you met in 1990 now lives in Kolkata(earlier, Calcutta).'
- (3) *k̄almē or pensilē m̄ah̄gī ho ḡaī h̄ē.*
pen.F.PL and pencil.F.PL expensive.PL become go.PERF.F PRES.PL
'Pens and pencils have become expensive.'

In (1), both the subject and the object noun phrases are simple; they consist of a noun, *larka* 'boy' and *āxbar* 'newspaper', respectively. In (2), the subject noun phrase, *uske b^haī* 'his brother', has a complex internal structure. The noun, *b^haī* 'brother', is preceded by a possessive, 'his', and a relative clause, *jinse tum 1990 mē mile t^he* 'whom you met in 1990'. All these are marked plural for honorific, as a mention of a relative of someone else (in appropriate

contexts) triggers the use of the form for respect. In (3), the subject noun phrase is a compound consisting of two plural nouns; a conjunction marker *or* ‘and’ links the two nouns ‘pens’ and ‘pencils’. First, I will discuss the internal structure of simple noun phrases, and then complex and compound noun phrases.

6.1. Simple Noun Phrase

A noun by itself, or a noun preceded by a determiner (see 4.2), constitutes a simple noun phrase or NP (the NP is in bold letters in the following examples):

- (4) ***billa*** *bahar* *he*.
 cat.M.SG outside be.PRES.SG
 ‘The cat is out.’
- (5) ***am*** *mīṭ^ha* *hota* *he*.
 mango.M.SG sweet.M.SG be.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘A mango is sweet.’
- (6) ***koī*** ***kutta*** *b^hūk* *rāha* *he*.
 some dog.M.SG bark PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘A dog is barking.’
- (7) ***ek*** ***gāv*** *mē* ***ek*** ***māndir*** *t^ha*.
 a/one village.M.SG in a/one temple.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘There was a temple in a village.’

A noun by itself indicates a definite (example (4)) or a generic (example (5)) noun. Determiners that indicate indefiniteness are *koī* ‘some’ (example (6)) or *ek* ‘one’ (example (7)); see section 4.2 on determiners.

In addition to a determiner, a noun may be preceded by various quantifiers, which comprise following cooccurring categories:

- (8) approximate-cardinal-collective-ordinal-multiplicative/fractional-measure

The above string is schematic; not all categories cooccur with all the others to realize a succession of exemplars from all the categories. For instance, indefinite determiners do not cooccur with approximates or ordinals; the indefinite determiner *ek* ‘a’, which is homophonous with the cardinal number *ek* ‘one’, does not cooccur with cardinal number expressions; and

multiplicatives do not cooccur with collective or measure. The cooccurrence possibilities of these categories are illustrated below:

- (9) *ləgb^həg do dərzən ke* (approx-cardinal-collective-N)
 approximately two dozen banana.M.PL
 ‘Approximately two dozen bananas’
- (10) *kərīb dəs lərke* (approx-cardinal-N)
 some ten boy.M.PL
 ‘Some ten boys’
- (11) *koī car joḡe jūte* (approx-cardinal-collective-N)
 some four pair.M.PL shoe.M.PL
 ‘About four pairs of shoes’
- (12) *pəhle do dərzən səntre* (ordinal-cardinal-collective-N)
 first two dozen orange.M.PL
 ‘The first two dozen oranges’
- (13) *yəh d^haī kilo cīnī* (demonstrative-fractional-measure-N)
 this two-and-a-half kilogram sugar
 ‘These two and a half kilos of sugar’
- (14) *vəh ad^ha seb* (demonstrative-fractional-N)
 that half.M.SG apple.M.SG
 ‘That half of an apple’
- (15) *ye d^heḡ dərzən pensilē* (demonstrative-fractional-collective-N)
 these one-and-a-half dozen pencil.F.PL
 ‘These one and a half dozen pencils’

In definite noun phrases, cardinal numbers may be followed by an aggregative inflection *-ō* ‘all the’:

- (16) *ve tīnō lərke*
 those three.AGG boy.PL
 ‘All three of those boys’

Adjectives (see 4.4) and limiter particles (4.9) such as *sirf...hī* ‘only’ or *bəs...hī* ‘just’ may also precede a noun in a simple noun phrase. The items *sirf...hī* and *bəs...hī* are discontinuous such that the first element precedes the

noun and the particle *hī* follows the noun under the scope of the limiter expressions:

(17) *sirf ye do dārzān kele hī kaḥī hē.*
 only these two dozen banana.M.PL PTCL enough be.PRES.PL
 ‘Only these two dozen bananas are enough.’

(18) *bās ye car kitabē hī le lē.*
 just these four book.F.PL PTCL take take.HON.OPT
 ‘Please take just these four books.’

6.2. Complex Noun Phrase

There are two types of complex noun phrases: one category consists of nouns with clausal complements and noun clauses (see also 9.1), and the other of nouns with relative clauses and participial modifiers (see also 9.2 and 9.3).

6.2.1. Complement Clause

The internal structure of a noun phrase with a clausal complement or noun clause is complex. These constructions are discussed in the following subsections.

6.2.1.1. Clausal Complement

A noun phrase may consist of a clausal complement in apposition to an abstract nominal head as in (19), or form a discontinuous constituent consisting of a clausal complement with a pronominal head as in (20), or comprise a clausal complement with no head as in (21):

(19) *yāh dava ki rajū j^hū^h bol rāha he*
 this claim.M.SG that Raju.M lie tell PROG.M.SG be.PRES.SG
gālāt he.
 wrong be.PRES.SG
 ‘The claim that Raju is telling a lie is wrong.’

(20) *rātān ne yāh kāha ki sureḥ sāb se naraz*
 Ratan.M AG this say.PERF.M.SG that Suresh.M all.OBL with angry
he.
 be.PRES.SG
 ‘Ratan said that Suresh was angry with everyone.’

- (21) *rātan ne kāha ki suref s̄ab se naraz hē.*
 Ratan AG say.PERF.M.SG that Suresh all.OBL with angry be.PRES.SG
 ‘Ratan said that Suresh is angry with everyone.’

In (19), the clause *ki rajū j^hū^h bol rāha hē* ‘that Raju is telling a lie’ is a complement of the noun phrase *yāh dava* ‘the claim’. In (20), the clause *suref s̄ab se naraz hē* ‘Suresh is angry with everyone’, preceded by the subordinating *ki* ‘that’, forms a single constituent with the pronominal head *yāh* ‘this’, and the resulting complex phrase functions as the object of the verb *kāha* ‘said’. In (21), the headless clausal complement itself functions as the object of the verb *kāha* ‘said’.

6.2.1.2. Noun Clause

A noun clause has the internal structure of a phrase, in that the subject of the infinitive occurs with a genitive postposition and the main verb is in its infinitival form.

All aspect-tense distinctions are lost in the infinitival phrase, though they are recoverable from the linguistic context. All argument structure inside the noun clause, however, remains intact, in spite of the subordinate marking of the subject with the genitive and the verb with the infinitive. That is, the objects or complements of the verb are retained in the infinitival phrase. Examples are sentences such as the following:

- (22) *tumhara vāhā jana ānucit t^ha.*
 you.FAM.GEN there go.INF improper be.PAST.SG
 ‘For you to go there was improper.’
- (23) *muj^he uska śīla ko c^heṛna pāsānd nāhī.*
 I.OBL.DAT he.GEN.M.SG Sheila.F DOBJ tease.INF liking not
 ‘I do not like his teasing Sheila.’

In (22), the noun clause *tumhara vāhā jana* ‘for you to go there’ consists of a genitive subject (*tumhara* ‘your’) and an infinitive verb with its complement (*vāhā jana* ‘to go there’) and functions as the subject of the main clause, whereas in (23), the noun clause consists of a genitive subject and an infinitive with its direct object, and functions as the complement of the main clause. The linguistic context of the main verb ‘was’ makes it clear that the noun clause in (22) implies a past event ‘you went there’; (23), in contrast, implies teasing as an activity that may still be occurring. For more on complement clauses, see Chapter 9.

6.3. Relative Clause and Participle

Nouns modified by full relative clauses and participial modifiers are discussed in the sub-sections below.

6.3.1. *Relative Clause*

Relative clauses are of two types: restrictive and non-restrictive. The former restrict the reference of the head noun, i.e., they make it specific; the latter provide some extra but relevant information about the head noun. The restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are distinguished by structural features (see 9.2.1). The following sentences exemplify a complex noun phrase consisting of a head noun and a relative clause:

- (24) *jo larkī dillī se aī he vāh fiziks mē*
 REL girl.F.SG Delhi from come.PERF.F.SG PRES.SG she physics.OBL in
foḍ^h kār rāhī he.
 research.M do PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘The girl who has come from Delhi is doing research in physics.’

- (25) *ranī mehra, jo mumbāī mē rāhtī he, yāhā*
 Rani Mehra REL Mumbai in live.IMP.F.SG PRES.SG here
a rāhī he.
 come PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘Rani Mehra, who lives in Bombay, is coming here.’

The following features of the restrictive relative clause in (24) are noteworthy: it is marked by the relative marker *jo* and precedes the main clause, the full noun phrase modified by the restrictive relative clause occurs in the relative clause, and only the correlative marker *vāh* occurs in the main clause. In contrast, the non-restrictive relative clause follows the head noun in (25), and there is no correlative marker in the main clause (for further discussion of the properties of relative clauses, see 9.2).

6.3.2. *Participial Modifier*

There are three types of participial modifiers: present participle, past participle and inflected infinitive form of the verb followed by the item *vala* with the approximate meaning of the agentive *-er* in English. These participial modifiers are exemplified below:

- (26) *rota hua bəcca mā ko dek^h kər cup*
 cry.IMPF.M.SG PTPL child.M.SG mother.OBL DOBJ see CP quiet
ho gəya.
 be go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The child who was crying became quiet when he saw his mother.’

- (27) *k^haʈ pər beʈ^ha hua admī koī upənyas pəʈ^h*
 cot.OBL on sit.PERF.M.SG PTPL man some novel read
rəha t^ha.
 PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘The man sitting on the cot was reading some novel.’

- (28) *gərajnevale badəl bərəste nəhĩ.*
 rumble.AGP.PL cloud.M.PL rain.IMPF.M.PL not
 ‘Clouds that thunder do not rain.’

In (26), a present participle modifies the head noun *bəcca* ‘child’; in (27), a past participle modifies the head noun *admī* ‘man’; and in (28), an agentive participle modifies the head noun *badəl* ‘clouds’ (for a detailed discussion of the participles, see 9.3).

7. Verb and Verb Phrase

7.0. The Verb

A verb is an obligatory constituent of a sentence; a simple sentence may consist of just a finite verb with a mood marker, or a verb with aspect-tense-mood and agreement markers:

- (1) *le!*
take.2ndP.IMP.SG
'Take (it)!'

(2) *bazar ja rəha hũ.*
market go PROG.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG
'I am going shopping.'

In (1), the imperative sentence (see 8.5.1) consists of the bare root of the verb, which is marked for second person singular subject agreement. In (2), the finite verb is marked for a first person masculine singular subject. The finite verb, depending upon the verb class it belongs to, may take a direct object, or a direct and an indirect object, or a complement, or a direct object with a complement that refers back to it. These constituents of the predicate are discussed below.

7.1. Object

Depending upon the valency of the verb (see 8.3.2.1-8.3.2.2 and 8.6.4-8.6.8), a verb may take no object (as in sentence (2) above), a direct object, or both a direct and an indirect object:

- (3) *raka kəhaniyā lik^hī hē.*
Raka.F story.F.PL write.IMP.F.SG PRES.SG
'Raka writes fiction.'

- (4) *vāh muj^hko s̄ab batē b̄ataega.*
 he I.OBL.DAT all matter.F.PL tell.FUT.M.SG
 ‘He will tell me everything.’

In (3), the transitive verb *lik^h* ‘write’ has a direct object in the direct case, *kāhaniyā* ‘stories, fiction’, and in (4), the ditransitive verb *bātana* ‘tell’ has both an indirect object marked with the dative postposition, *muj^hko*, and a direct object in the direct case, *s̄ab batē* ‘everything’.

A complex transitive verb has a direct object and a complement that refers back to the direct object. The complement may be an adjectival, an adverbial, or a noun phrase:

- (5) *sīma raka ko b̄ahut budd^himan s̄amaj^htī he.*
 Sima.F Raka DOBJ very intelligent consider.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Sima considers Raka very intelligent.’
- (6) *mēne baccō ko k^hel ke medan*
 I AG child.M.PL.OBL DOBJ play.OBL of.M.OBL field.M.SG.OBL
mē dek^ha.
 in see.PERF.M.SG
 ‘I saw the children in the playing field.’
- (7) *sīta mīna ko apnī b̄aṛī b̄ahān mantī he.*
 Sita.F Mina.F DOBJ self.POSS.F big.F sister consider.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Sita considers Meena her older sister.’

Sentence (5) above exemplifies an adjective phrase object complement, in that the adjectival complement ‘very intelligent’ refers to the direct object, ‘Raka’. Sentence (6) exemplifies an adverbial phrase object complement, in that the adverbial phrase ‘in the playground’ refers to the location of the direct object ‘the children’. In sentence (7), the noun phrase complement ‘self’s big sister’ refers to the direct object ‘Meena’.

7.2. Complement

A simple sentence with a linking verb or the intransitive verbs *hona* ‘be, become’, *rāhna* ‘stay, remain’ and *bānna* ‘become’ (see 7.3.1 below; also 8.6.4) takes a complement that refers back to the subject, as in sentences (8)-(10):

- (8) *fanta dʰənī hɛ.*
 Shanta.F rich be.PRES.SG
 ‘Shanta is rich.’
- (9) *sukant xuf rəhta hɛ.*
 Sukant.M happy stay.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Sukant is (always) happy.’
- (10) *smita lekʰika bənegī.*
 Smita.F writer.F.SG become.FUT.F.SG
 ‘Smita will be(come) a writer.’

Adjectives, nouns and adverbs function as complements of verbs. Sentences (11)-(13) exemplify all three types (in bold face):

- (11) *rajef **bīmar** hɛ.* (adjective)
 Rajesh.M ill be.PRES.SG
 ‘Rajesh is ill.’
- (12) *sukant **ḍakṭər** hɛ.* (noun)
 Sukant.M doctor be.PRES.SG
 ‘Sukant is a doctor.’
- (13) *pitajī **bāgīce** mē hē.* (adverb)
 father.HON garden.M.SG.OBL in be.PRES.PL
 ‘Father is in the garden.’

The complements in (11)-(13) are subject complements, as they refer back to the subject of the sentence. Object complements, as in (14)-(16), refer back to the direct object, and occur only with complex transitive verbs (see sentences (5)-(7) above):

- (14) *rīta fīla ko əpnī səhelī mantī hɛ.*
 Rita.F Sheila.F DOBJ self.POSS.F friend.F consider.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Rita considers Sheila her friend.’
- (15) *us skūl mē tum bəccō ko bəhut xuf paoge.*
 that school.M.OBL in you children.M.OBL DOBJ very happy find.FUT
 ‘You will find the children very happy in that school.’
- (16) *mene fīkʰa ko kʰelte dekʰa tʰa.*
 I AG Shikha.F DOBJ play.IMPF.SG.OBL see.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘I had seen Shikha playing.’

In (14)-(16), the complements ‘her friend’, ‘very happy’, and ‘playing’ refer to the object, i.e., ‘Sheila’, ‘the children’, and ‘Shikha’, respectively.

7.3. The Verb Phrase

The simple verb phrase consists of the verb and aspect- tense-mood-agreement markers. More complex verb phrases contain objects, complements and adverbial constituents. The following sentences exemplify both simple and complex verb phrases:

- (17) *bε^h!*
sit.IMP
‘Sit!’
- (18) *so rāhe ho?*
sleep PROG.M.FAM 2ndP.PRES.PL
‘Are (you) asleep?’
- (19) *kāl aega?*
tomorrow come.FUT.M.SG
‘Will (he/you.INTM) come tomorrow?’
- (20) *bevkūf he.*
foolish be.2ndP/3rdP.PRES.SG
‘(X) is foolish.’
- (21) *kāl k^hana nāhī pakaya t^ha.*
yesterday meal.M not cook.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
‘(X) did not cook a meal yesterday.’
- (22) [*həm*] *sab ko sap^hal manē?*
(we) all DOBJ successful consider.OPT.PL
‘Shall (we) consider everyone a success?’
- (23) *ab^hī tumko cay pilatī hū.*
now.EMPH you.FAM.OBL.DAT tea drink.CAUS.PERF.F 1stP.PRES.SG
‘I(F) will give you (some) tea in a moment.’

The verb phrase in (17) exemplifies an imperative, (18), (19) and (22) exemplify interrogatives, (20), (23) are assertives, and (21) is negative. In terms of valency, the verb phrase in (20) has a linking verb and in (17)-(19),

the verb phrases comprise intransitive verbs which take only one noun phrase argument. The verb phrase in (21) has a transitive verb with two arguments, an understood subject, ('X'), a direct object ('a meal'). Additionally, the clause has a temporal adverb ('yesterday'). In (22), the verb phrase has a complex transitive verb with two arguments (subject 'we' and direct object 'all') and a complement ('successful') that refers back to the direct object. In (23), the verb phrase has a double transitive verb with three arguments, a subject ('I'), a direct object ('tea'), and an indirect object ('you'). Note that all the verb phrases above carry information about mood, aspect, tense, and agreement with the subject or object in gender, number, and person.

Transitivity, mood, aspect and tense are discussed in some detail below.

7.3.1. *Transitivity*

Verb phrases can be categorized into linking, intransitive and transitive, on the basis of their potential for cooccurrence with complements and objects.

LINKING VERB

Linking verbs establish a relationship of identity, attribution or location between a subject and a complement.

The linking verb *hona* 'to be, become' takes a nominal, adjectival or adverbial complement that refers back to the subject of the verb, as in the following examples:

- (24) *sud^ha lok s**ə**^ha kī s**ə**d**ə**sya h**ə**.*
 Sudha.F Lok Sabha of.F member.F be.PRES.SG
 'Sudha is a member of the Lok Sabha.'
 [Lok Sabha = the lower house of the Indian parliament.]

- (25) *sona b**ə**h**u**t sa**h**sī h**ə**.*
 Sona.F very courageous be.PRES.SG
 'Sona is very courageous.'

- (26) *r**ə**n**ə**n va**č**na**l**əy m**ē** h**ə**.*
 Ranjan.M reading room in be.PRES.SG
 'Ranjan is in the reading room.'

In these examples, the verb phrase has a linking verb and a nominal complement (24), an adjectival complement (25), and an adverbial complement (26).

The other verbs that behave like the linking verb, *hona* ‘to be’, are *rəhna* ‘to remain’ and *bənna* ‘to become’ when they occur with a nominal, an adjectival, or an adverbial complement:¹

(27) *ajkəl simmī bəhut cintit rəhtī he.*
 these days Simmi.F very worried remain.IMPF.F PRES.SG
 ‘These days Simmi is/*stays/*remains very worried.’

(28) *vərma jī bərsō es.p. ke neta rəhe.*
 Verma HON year.PL.AGG S.P. of.M.OBL leader.M.SG remain.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Mr. Verma was/remained the leader of S(ocialist) P(arty) for years.’
 [The item *neta* ‘leader’ is inherently marked HON; (see 11.2.1)]

(29) *frī sinha bərsō ləndən mē rəhe.*
 Mr. Sinha year.PL.AGG London in remain.PERF M.PL
 ‘Mr. Sinha was/stayed/lived in London for years.’

In (27) and (28), the verb *rəhna* ‘to remain, stay’ establishes a relation of attribution and identity between the subjects, ‘Simmi’ and ‘Mr. Verma’, to the adjective phrase ‘very worried’, and noun phrase ‘leader of S.P.’, respectively. Similarly, in (29), the locational adverbial ‘in London’ signals a locational relationship between the subject, ‘Mr. Sinha’ and the city ‘London’.

Example (30) below illustrates the verb *bənna* ‘to be’ as a linking verb; note, however, that it does not denote identity in the same sense that *hona* ‘to be’ signals, as was pointed out above:

(30) *naṭək mē šeela əṇu vɛgyanik bənī he.*
 play in Sheela.F atom scientist be.PERF.F PRES.SG
 ‘Sheela is a nuclear scientist in the play.’

It is to be noted that the three linking verbs, *hona*, *rəhna* and *bənna*, exhibit different properties. Whereas *hona* ‘be, become’ takes an adjective, a noun phrase or an adverbial phrase as a complement, *rəhna* takes only adjectival or adverbial complements, and *bənna* takes only a noun phrase as a complement. The verb, *bənna*, however retains a sense of the inchoative verb and signals more of a simulation than identity. It is not a full linking verb in that it, unlike *hona* ‘to be’ and *rəhna* ‘to be, remain’, does not take an adjectival or adverbial complement, i.e., there are no sentences comparable to (25), (26), (28) and (29) with the verb *bənna*.²

The verbs *hona* ‘to be, become’, *rəhna* ‘to remain, stay’, and *bəhna* ‘to become’ behave both as a stative verb and as an inchoative or change-of-state verb (see 4.5.7).

INTRANSITIVE

Intransitive verbs require only one obligatory argument, a subject. They indicate event or action.

Event verbs include *kəʃna* ‘to be cut’, *k^hilna* ‘to bloom’, *girna* ‘to fall’, *jəgna* ‘to wake up’, *qərna* ‘to fear’, *bəhna* ‘to flow’, *sūk^hna* ‘to dry’, etc. Action verbs are verbs such as *ana* ‘to come’, *u^hna* ‘to rise’, *jana* ‘to go’, *bē^hna* ‘to sit’, *rona* ‘to cry, weep’, *sona* ‘to sleep’, etc.

TRANSITIVE

Transitive verbs require two arguments: a subject and a direct object. Transitive verbs are verbs such as *kəhna* ‘to say’, *k^hana* ‘to eat’, *cək^hna* ‘to taste’, *janna* ‘to know’, *ʃalna* ‘to avoid’, *qəʃna* ‘to scold’, *tolna* ‘to weigh’, *pīna* ‘to drink’, *b^hūlna* ‘to forget’, *səməʃ^hna* ‘to understand’, etc.

COMPLEX TRANSITIVE

Complex transitive verbs require two arguments: a subject and a direct object, and a complement that refers back to the direct object. Complex transitive verbs are verbs such as *manna* ‘to consider X (to be) Y’, *səməʃ^hna* ‘to reckon’, *dek^hna* ‘to see’, *sunna* ‘to hear’, *pana* ‘to find’, etc.

DOUBLE TRANSITIVE

Double transitive verbs require three arguments: subject, direct object and indirect object or recipient. Verbs such as *dena* ‘give’, *pərosna* ‘serve (food)’, *b^hejna* ‘to send’, *lik^hna* ‘to write’, and *bətana* ‘to tell’ take two objects and fall into this category.

CAUSATIVE

Causative verbs are derived from intransitive, transitive and double transitive verbs and require one additional argument, an initiator agent (see 4.5.2). Causative verbs formed from intransitive verbs are *kaʃna* ‘to cut’ (from *kəʃna* ‘to be cut’), *girana* ‘to fell’ (from *girna* ‘to fall’), *cəлана* ‘to drive’ (from *cəlna* ‘to move’), etc. Causative verbs derived from transitive verbs are *k^hilana* ‘to feed, to offer food’, *pəʃ^hana* ‘to teach’, *dik^hana* ‘to show’, *pəhmana* ‘to dress’, etc. Causative verbs derived from double transitive verbs are *b^hijvana* ‘to have sent’, *lik^hvana* ‘to dictate, to cause to write’, *pərosvana* ‘to have food served’, etc.

7.3.2. *Mood*

Language not only encodes information about entities, relations, temporality, locations, etc., it also signals expressive and social information. The part of grammar that encodes the social and the expressive is the mood system. The distinction between indicative and imperative, for example, signals the different social values of statements and commands, respectively. Similarly, the distinction between indicative and presumptive encodes what the speaker's perspective is about the situation, i.e., whether he/she asserts it as 'real' or 'to be presumed to be real' on the basis of relevant evidence available to him/her.

In Hindi, within the verb phrase, a six-way mood distinction is made: indicative, imperative, optative, presumptive, contingent, and past contingent or counterfactual (see also 4.5). These are expressed by the following forms (all the forms, except the example for imperative and optative, which are not marked for gender, are in masculine singular):

(31) Imperative	<i>k^ha</i>	'eat'
Optative	<i>k^hae</i>	'may (X) eat' (2ndP & 3rdP.SG)
Indicative	<i>k^hata he</i>	'eats' [also, interrogative and negative]
Presumptive	<i>k^hata hoga</i>	'may eat (habitual)'
Contingent	<i>k^hata ho</i>	'were (X) to eat'
Past Contingent	<i>k^hata hota</i>	'had he eaten (habitual)'

The imperative is the bare root of the verb unmarked for gender, number and person. The optative is expressed by an inflection on the verb which additionally indicates the person and number of the subject. The other moods are indicated by a concatenation of the participial form of the verb with an inflected form of the auxiliary. All the forms cited above in (31), except for the imperative and the optative, are third person singular, and additionally, all forms involving a participle are masculine; the participial forms consist of the present or past participle, or the progressive form of the verb. In the indicative, interrogative and negative, the verb root or aspectual form is followed by either the present or the past auxiliary. In presumptive, contingent and past contingent, the verb root or aspectual form is followed by the auxiliaries *hoga*, *ho* and *hota*, respectively. All these forms are discussed in some detail in the following sub-sections.

7.3.3. *Tense*

Like the determiners, tense is a deictic category that situates states, processes or events, and actions in time relative to the time of utterance. There are two

possibilities on the basis of which the tense systems of languages are set up. Either the time of utterance or present is treated as the point of departure resulting in a system of opposition between present: non-present, or the time of event is treated as the point of departure in which case the opposition is past: non-past.

In Hindi, the system is based on past : non-past, which will be clear as the discussion progresses.

Formally, a three-way distinction is made: present, past and future. The present and past tense auxiliaries are *hV* and *t^hV*, respectively, and their variants indicate gender, number and person agreement. The future is expressed by suffixing variants of *-gV* to the optative form of the verb (see 7.3.5). The tense auxiliaries occur with all aspects in indicative mood; in the following discussion, the examples illustrate imperfect, perfect and progressive aspects.

PRESENT

The simple present tense is formed by the imperfect participle followed by the present tense auxiliary:

- (32) *mē roz ḍak g^har jata hū.*
 I everyday mail house go.IMPF.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘I go to the post office everyday.’

- (33) *vah arabī or farsī bolta he.*
 he Arabic and Persian speak.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘He speaks Arabic and Persian.’

- (34) *sūrāj pūrāb mē ugta he.*
 sun.M east.OBL in rise.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The sun rises in the east.’

The present tense form is used to denote a habitual action or process (as in (32) and (33)) and a natural process (as in (34)).

Other present tenses (e.g., present perfect, present progressive, etc) are formed by other aspectual forms of the verb followed by the present tense auxiliary:

- (35) *rukun kəl hī ləndən gəya he.*
 Rukun.M yesterday EMPH London go.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Rukun left for London only yesterday.’

Note the difference between the use of present perfect in Hindi and the present perfect in English. Sentence (35) cannot be translated into English with a present perfect, as the English present perfect does not cooccur with a definite past time adverbial (see 7.3.4 for a more complete discussion of present perfect in Hindi).

- (36) *ʃalinī ajkəl kʰūb jəm kər pəʃʰī rəhī hē.*
 Sahlini.F these days much fix CP study PROG.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Shalini is studying these days with great concentration.’

PAST

The simple past is expressed by the perfect participle; other past tenses are formed by the verb followed by the aspect markers and the tense auxiliary *tʰe*:

- (37) *ranī kəmre se niklī.*
 Rani room from emerge.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Rani came out of the room.’
- (38) *ve log əksər həmare gʰər ate tʰe.*
 those people often we.GEN.OBL house come.IMPF.M.PL PAST.M.PL
 ‘Those people would come to our house often.’
- (39) *ʃyam kəl ek ʃadī mē ja rəha tʰa.*
 Shyam yesterday a wedding in go PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘Shyam was going to a wedding yesterday.’
- (40) *mē subəh səbzīmāṅḍī gəṭ tʰī.*
 I morning vegetable market go.PERF.F.SG PAST.F.SG
 ‘I went to the vegetable market in the morning.’

The examples above illustrate the simple past (37), past imperfect (38), past progressive (39) and past perfect (40). In narratives, the imperfect participle is used by itself to indicate past actions and events:

- (41) *mere dost əksər kriket kʰelte tʰe.*
 I.POSS friends often cricket play.IMPF.M.PL PAST.M.PL
kəbʰī kəbʰī tennis bʰī kʰelte.
 sometimes tennis too play.IMPF.M.PL
 ‘My friends would often play cricket. Sometimes they would also play tennis.’

- (42) *jāb b^hī ādhī atī, merī bāhān*
 when ever storm.F.SG come.IMP.F.SG I.POSS.F.SG sister.F.SG
g^hābra jāī.
 agitated go.IMP.F.SG
 ‘Whenever it stormed, my sister would become agitated.’

FUTURE

The future is formed by suffixing *-gV* to the optative form of the verb (see 7.3.5):

- (43) *agle sal mē peris jāūga.*
 next year I Paris go.1stP.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Next year I will go to Paris.’
- (44) *rīta sam ko film dek^hegī.*
 Rita.F evening movie see.FUT.F.SG
 ‘Rita will view a movie this evening.’

7.3.4. *Aspect*

Unlike tense, aspect is not a deictic category. It deals with meanings that have to do with extension in time vs. instantaneity, completion vs. non-completion, iteration vs. non-iteration (Lyons 1977) of a state, action or process.

Hindi makes a clear distinction between three main aspects: imperfect, perfect and progressive, which combine with indicative/interrogative, contingent and presumptive moods to signal real vs. conditional vs. assumed states and processes in terms of speaker perspectives.

IMPERFECT

The imperfect aspect is indicated by the suffix *-tV* on the verb. The *-V* is realized as *-a* in the masculine singular, *-e* in the masculine plural, *-ī* in the feminine singular and *-ī* in the feminine plural (see also 4.5.3). The imperfect participle is followed by tense auxiliaries in the finite verb phrase (see, however, 8.5.3). The following paradigm of the verb *dek^h* ‘see’ exemplifies the imperfect aspectual forms with gender and number inflections; all the examples are in the present tense:

- (45) *mukesh tv dek^hta he.*
 Mukesh TV see.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Mukesh watches TV.’

- (46) *raginī tv dek^htī he.*
 Ragini TV see.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Ragini watches TV.’
- (47) *bācce tv dek^hte hē.*
 children TV see.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘Children watch TV.’
- (48) *lāṅkiyā tv dek^htī hē.*
 girls TV see.IMPF.F PRES.PL
 ‘Girls watch TV.’

The imperfect aspect is used to denote habitual action, as in examples (45)-(48), or normal process, as in (49), or incomplete action, as in (50) below:

- (49) *bāsant mē p^hūl k^hilte hē.*
 spring in flowers bloom.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘Flowers bloom in the spring.’
- (50) *rānjāna kalij mē pāṭ^htī he.*
 Ranjana college in study.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Ranjana is studying in a college.’

The imperfect participle combines with tense auxiliaries to form present imperfect and past imperfect (see 4.5.6.1 and 7.3.5).

PERFECT

The perfect aspect is indicated by a *-V* suffixed on the verb. The *-V* is realized by the concord variants *-a* in the masculine singular, *-e* in the masculine plural, *-ī* in the feminine singular and *-ī̃* in the feminine plural (see also 4.5.3). The following paradigm of the verb *bēṭ^h* ‘sit’ exemplifies the forms of the perfect aspect:

- (51) *lāṅka gādde pār bēṭ^ha.*
 boy mattress on sit.PERF
 ‘The boy sat on the mattress.’
- (52) *lāṅke gādde pār bēṭ^he.*
 boys mattress on sit.PERF
 ‘The boys sat on the mattress.’

(53) *larkī gaddē pər beḥī.*
 girl mattress on sit.PERF
 ‘The girl sat on the mattress.’

(54) *larkiyā gaddē pər beḥī.*
 girls mattress on sit.PERF
 ‘The girls sat on the mattress.’

The perfect aspect is used to indicate a completed action without any specific time reference, as in the above examples. The perfect participle combines with tense auxiliaries to form present perfect and past perfect tenses (see 4.5.6.1 and 7.3.5).

PROGRESSIVE

The progressive aspect is indicated by an auxiliary *rəhV* that follows the bare root of the verb and in turn is followed by the tense auxiliaries.³ The *-V*, as in the imperfect and the perfect participles, has the variants *-a*, *-e*, *-ī*, and *-ī̃*. The progressive auxiliary indicates an action or process in progress and occurs with tense auxiliaries to form present, past and future progressive tenses (see 4.5.6.1).

The following examples illustrate the present progressive form of the verb *k^ha* ‘eat’:

(55) *jələf səntra k^ha rəha hε.*
 Jalesh orange eat PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Jalesh is eating (an) orange.’

(56) *bacce k^hīr k^ha rəhe hē.*
 children pudding eat PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘The children are eating pudding.’

(57) *kəruṇa seb k^ha rəhī hε.*
 Karuna apple eat PROG.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Karuna is eating an apple.’

(58) *larkiyā səntra k^ha rəhī hē.*
 girls oranges eat PROG.F PRES.PL
 ‘The girls are eating oranges.’

OTHER ASPECTS

Other aspects, such as inceptive, continuative, durative, frequentative and completive are indicated by compound verbs (see 4.5.8.1). These are not as general in distribution as the imperfect, perfect and progressive. These forms and the restrictions on their distribution are discussed below.

INCEPTIVE: The inceptive aspect has the following form: the inflected infinitive form of the verb is followed by the participial forms of the inceptive auxiliary *lāg* and tense auxiliaries, e.g., consider the following:

- (59) *kutte ko dek^h kār bācca rone lāgta he.*
 dog.M.SG.OBL DOBJ see CP child cry.INF begin.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The child begins to cry whenever he sees the dog.’

- (60) *kutte ko dek^h kār bācca rone lāga.*
 dog.M.SG.OBL DOBJ see CP child cry.INF begin.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The child began to cry when he saw the dog.’

The inceptive does not cooccur with the progressive auxiliary *rāhV*.⁴

CONTINUATIVE: The continuative aspect has the following form: the imperfect participle of the verb is followed by the continuative auxiliary *rāh*, which in turn occurs in either imperfect or perfect participial form and is followed by tense auxiliaries:

- (61) *sīma din b^hār kam kārī rāhī he.*
 Sīma.F day long work do.IMP.F.SG CONT.IMP.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Sīma keeps working all day.’

- (62) *raka tīn bāje tāk pāṭ^htī rāhī.*
 Raka three o'clock.M.SG.OBL till read.IMP.F.SG CONT.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Raka kept reading till three o'clock.’

The continuative does not occur with the perfect participle form of the verb, except in case of a few verbs such as *bēṭ^h* ‘sit’, *leṭ* ‘lie (down)’, *ṭ^hāhar* ‘stay, remain’, *so* ‘sleep’:

- (63) *budḡ^ha din b^hār park mē bēṭ^ha rāhta he.*
 old.M.SG day long park in sit.PERF.M.SG CONT.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The old man sits in the park all day long.’

- (64) *raka subəh der tək bistər pər leŋ̃ rəhī.*
 Raka.F morning late till bed on lie.PERF.F.SG CONT.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Raka kept lying in bed far into the morning.’

The continuative indicates continuity of action or process over a period of time, as is clear from the above examples. It, however, does not denote repetitive action, therefore, it can not be used with adverbials such as *ek ke bad dūsra* ‘one after the other’, or *bar-bar* ‘time and again’.

DURATIVE: The durative aspect has the following form: the imperfect participle form of the verb is followed by the durative auxiliary *ja* which in turn occurs in imperfect, perfect and progressive forms and is followed by the tense auxiliaries:

- (65) *jaɾa a rəha hɛ, din cʰoŋe hote*
 winter come PROG.M.SG PRES.SG day.M.PL short.M.PL be.IMPF.PL
ja rəhe hɛ̃.
 DUR PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘Winter is approaching, the days are becoming shorter.’
- (66) *mere mənə kərne pər bʰɪ vəh gata gəya.*
 I.GEN.OBL forbid do.INF.OBL on even he sing.IMPF.M.SG DUR.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Even though I forbade him, he went on singing.’

The durative indicates the duration of the action or process over a period of time which is not co-extensive with a specific reference point, i.e., either the moment of speaking or the time specified in the relevant linguistic context. Contrast the following:

- (67) *jəb mɛ̃ vəhā pəhūca vəh pəɽʰ rəha tʰa.*
 when I there arrive.PERF.M.SG he read PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘He was reading when I arrived there.’
- (68) **jəb mɛ̃ vəhā pəhūca vəh pəɽʰta ja*
 when I there arrive.PERF.M.SG he read.IMPF.M.SG DUR
rəha tʰa
 PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG
- (69) *uskī ākʰɛ̃ nīd se jʰukī pəɽ rəhī*
 he.GEN.F.OBL eye.F.PL sleep.OBL with droop.PERF.F fall PROG.F

t^hī *p^hir b^hī vāh pəṛ^hta* *ja rāha t^ha*
 PAST.F.PL even so he read.IMPF.M.SG DUR PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘Although his eyes were heavy with sleep, he went on reading.’

The reference point in time of arrival coincides with the progression of the activity of reading in (67). The reading, of course, commenced before the arrival and continued after it, which is the meaning denoted by the progressive aspect.

The durative, however, does not denote continuation of activity in relation to a reference point in time, hence (68) is ungrammatical. In (69), there is no indication of any reference point in time, hence its occurrence is perfectly grammatical. It does indicate repetitive action, therefore, it can be used with adverbials such as *ek ke bad dūsra* ‘one after the other’, or *bar-bar* ‘time and again’.

FREQUENTATIVE: The frequentative is formed as follows: the perfect participle of the verb is followed by the frequentative auxiliary *kār* which occurs only in its imperfect participle form and is followed by the tense auxiliaries:

(70) *un dinō mē hār hāfe māndir jaya kārtī*
 those day.PL.OBL I every week.M.OBL temple go.PERF FREQ.IMPF.F.SG
t^hī.
 PAST.F.SG
 ‘Those days I used to go to the temple every week.’
 [Note the perfect form of the verb, *jaya*, which occurs only in the frequentative aspect and in the impersonal voice.]

(71) *bācpān mē hām kabādqī k^hela kārte t^he.*
 childhood in we kabaddi play.PERF.M.SG FREQ.IMPF.M.PL PAST.M.PL
 ‘We used to play kabaddi in (my) childhood.’

The frequentative indicates the frequent, almost habitual nature of the action or process. It does not indicate a daily, routine type of action or process, which is the domain of the simple present.

7.3.5. The Verbal Paradigm

The verbal paradigm below gives the following forms of the verb *cal* ‘move, come, go’: present and past imperfect, perfect and progressive, optative, and future. The forms of the presumptive, contingent and counterfactual auxiliaries are also given, following the aspect-tense forms.

The verb *cəl* ‘move’

PRESENT IMPERFECT

	M	F
1st.SG	<i>cə́lta hṹ</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ hṹ</i>
1st.PL	<i>cə́lte hẽ</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ hẽ</i>
2nd.SG	<i>cə́lta he</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ he</i>
2nd.PL	<i>cə́lte ho</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ ho</i>
2nd.HON	<i>cə́lte hẽ</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ hẽ</i>
3rd.SG	<i>cə́lta he</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ he</i>
3rd.PL	<i>cə́lte hẽ</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ hẽ</i>

Note that the first and third person plural and the second person honorific verb forms are identical. Thus, in the following paradigms, the second person honorific forms are not listed.

PAST IMPERFECT

	M	F
1st.SG	<i>cə́lta tʰa</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ tʰĩ</i>
1st.PL	<i>cə́lte tʰe</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ tʰĩ</i>
2nd.SG	<i>cə́lta tʰa</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ tʰĩ</i>
2nd.PL	<i>cə́lte tʰe</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ tʰĩ</i>
3rd.SG	<i>cə́lta tʰa</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ tʰĩ</i>
3rd.PL	<i>cə́lte tʰe</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ tʰĩ</i>

PERFECT, OR, SIMPLE PAST

	M	F
SG	<i>cə́la</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ</i>
PL	<i>cə́le</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ</i>

Person distinctions are not overtly marked in the simple past forms.

PRESENT PERFECT

	M	F
1st.SG	<i>cə́la hṹ</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ hṹ</i>
1st.PL	<i>cə́le hẽ</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ hẽ</i>
2nd.SG	<i>cə́la he</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ he</i>
2nd.PL	<i>cə́le ho</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ ho</i>
3rd.SG	<i>cə́la he</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ he</i>
3rd.PL	<i>cə́le hẽ</i>	<i>cə́ltĩ hẽ</i>

PAST PERFECT

	M	F
SG	<i>cəla t^ha</i>	<i>cəlī t^hī</i>
PL	<i>cəle t^he</i>	<i>cəlī t^hī</i>

Person distinctions are not overtly marked in the past perfect.

PRESENT PROGRESSIVE

	M	F
1st.SG	<i>cəl rəha hū̃</i>	<i>cəl rəhī hū̃</i>
1st.PL	<i>cəl rəhe hē̃</i>	<i>cəl rəhī hē̃</i>
2nd.SG	<i>cəl rəha he</i>	<i>cəl rəhī he</i>
2nd.PL	<i>cəl rəhe ho</i>	<i>cəl rəhī ho</i>
3rd.SG	<i>cəl rəha he</i>	<i>cəl rəhī he</i>
3rd.PL	<i>cəl rəhe hē̃</i>	<i>cəl rəhī hē̃</i>

PAST PROGRESSIVE

	M	F
SG	<i>cəl rəha t^ha</i>	<i>cəl rəhī t^hī</i>
PL	<i>cəl rəhe t^he</i>	<i>cəl rəhī t^hī</i>

Person distinctions are not overtly marked in the past progressive. The optative and future forms are as follows:

	OPTATIVE		FUTURE	
	M/F	M	F	
1st.SG	<i>cəlū̃</i>	<i>cəlū̃ga</i>	<i>cəlū̃gī</i>	
1st.PL	<i>cəlē̃</i>	<i>cəlē̃ge</i>	<i>cəlē̃gī</i>	
2nd.SG	<i>cəle</i>	<i>cəlega</i>	<i>cəlegī</i>	
2nd.PL	<i>cəlo</i>	<i>cəloge</i>	<i>cəlogī</i>	
3rd.SG	<i>cəle</i>	<i>cəlega</i>	<i>cəlegī</i>	
3rd.PL	<i>cəlē̃</i>	<i>cəlē̃ge</i>	<i>cəlē̃gī</i>	

The contingent, past contingent (counterfactual), and presumptive auxiliaries follow the imperfect (M.SG *cəta*, M.PL *cəlte*, F.SG/PL *cəltī*) and perfect (M.SG *cəla*, M.PL *cəle*, F.SG/PL *cəlī*) forms and the verbal root + progressive marker (M.SG *rəha*, M.PL *rəhe*, F.SG/PL *rəhī*) to yield the total verbal paradigm.

PRESUMPTIVE AUXILIARY <i>hogV</i>		CONTINGENT AUXILIARY <i>ho</i>	
	M	F	
1st.SG	<i>hūga</i>	<i>hūgī</i>	<i>hoũ</i>
1st.PL	<i>hōge</i>	<i>hōgī</i>	<i>hō</i>
2nd.SG	<i>hoga</i>	<i>hogī</i>	<i>ho</i>
2nd.PL	<i>hoge</i>	<i>hogī</i>	<i>hoo</i>
3rd.SG	<i>hoga</i>	<i>hogī</i>	<i>ho</i>
3rd.PL	<i>hōge</i>	<i>hōgī</i>	<i>hō</i>

PAST CONTINGENT (COUNTERFACTUAL) AUXILIARY *hotV*

	M	F
SG	<i>hota</i>	<i>hotī</i>
PL	<i>hote</i>	<i>hotī̃</i>

Person distinctions are not overtly marked in the past contingent auxiliary. The forms of the past contingent are, e.g., *cāta hota* ‘had I.M/you.M.SG/he been walking’, *cāla hota* ‘had I.M/you.M.SG/he walked’, *cāte hote* ‘had we.M/you.M.PL/they.M been walking’, *cāle hote* ‘had we.M/you.M.PL/they.M walked’, *cālī hotī* ‘had I.F/you.F.SG/she been walking’, *cālī hotī̃* ‘had we.F/you.F.PL/they.F walked’, etc.

Notes

1. The item *rāhna* ‘to remain, stay’ belongs to several other categories, too. It is used for marking aspect, e.g., the root *rāh* ‘remain, stay’ in different forms is utilized in the formation of the progressive, durative, and continuative aspects. See the discussion of aspects below.
2. The verb *bānna* ‘to be, to become’ is a linking verb with an inchoative use and it is also an intransitive verb meaning ‘to be made, to be constructed, to be fashioned’. In its inchoative use, it takes an attributive adjective as a complement, as in the example below:
yāh lāṅkī bāhut dārī huī he pāṛ hīmmatī bānne kī
 this girl very fear.PERF.F PTCPL.F be.PRES.SG but courageous be.INF.OBL of.F
kofīf kār rāhī he.
 effort.F do PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘This girl is very afraid, but (she) is trying to be brave.’
3. The auxiliary *rāhV* is homophonous with the perfect participle form of the verb *rāh* ‘live, stay, remain’.
4. It may, however, do so in some varieties of Hindi.

8. Syntax: Simple Sentence

8.0. Sentence Structure

Hindi is essentially a verb-final language (see 1.1.2) with grammatical gender, number, case, aspect, tense and mood distinctions. In word order, the language also displays some features of a verb-medial language (see 9.1). In the following sections, the structure of simple sentences is described in some detail, to make the sentence structure as explicit as possible.

The description begins with basic information about word order and agreement principles to facilitate the understanding of glosses and English translation equivalents of Hindi sentences and phrases.

8.1. Word Order

The order of constituents in a Hindi sentence are different from that in English. For instance, unlike in English, the spatial and temporal circumstances of an event are mentioned before the arguments involved in the event, e.g.,

- (1) *kəɭ gʰəɾ pəɾ koɪ nəɦĩ̃ tʰa.*
yesterday house at anyone not be.PAST.M.SG
'No one was at home yesterday.'

- (2) *fukrəvaɾ ko laibrerĩ mē fyaɱ se mulaqat hogĩ̃.*
Friday ACC library in Shyam with meeting.F happen.FUT.F.SG
'(I) will meet with Shyam in the library on Friday.'

Word order is relatively free, since in most cases postpositions mark quite explicitly the relationships of noun phrases with other constituents of the sentence. As a result, for the purposes of thematization and contrastive focus, constituents can be moved around freely within the clause. For example, the sentence in (3) can have the variants shown in (3a-o):

- (3) *mohān ne ſyam ko apnī kitabē*
 Mohan.M AG Shyam.M DAT self.POSS.F book.F.PL
de dī̃.
 give give.PERF.F.PL
 ‘Mohan gave his books to Shyam.’

- (3) a. *mohān ne apnī kitabē **ſyam ko** de dī̃.*
 b. *mohān ne de dī̃ **ſyam ko** apnī kitabē.*
 c. *mohān ne de dī̃ **apnī kitabē** ſyam ko.*
 d. *ſyam ko mohān ne **apnī kitabē** de dī̃.*
 e. *ſyam ko apnī kitabē **mohān ne** de dī̃.*
 f. *ſyam ko de dī̃ **apnī kitabē** mohān ne.*
 g. *ſyam ko de dī̃ **mohān ne** apnī kitabē.*
 h. *apnī kitabē ſyam ko **mohān ne** de dī̃.*
 i. *apnī kitabē mohān ne **ſyam ko** de dī̃.*
 j. *apnī kitabē de dī̃ **mohān ne** ſyam ko.*
 k. *apnī kitabē de dī̃ **ſyam ko** mohān ne.*
 l. ***de dī̃** mohān ne apnī kitabē ſyam ko.*
 m. ***de dī̃** ſyam ko mohān ne apnī kitabē.*
 n. ***de dī̃** apnī kitabē mohān ne ſyam ko.*
 o. ***de dī̃** apnī kitabē ſyam ko mohān ne.*

The items in bold face represent the focus, and the initial elements are in the thematic position. In the last four versions of the sentence, the theme and the focus coincide. For more information on theme and focus, see Chapter 10.

In spite of such freedom of occurrence, it is not the case that every word in a sentence is free to occur in any position. The following restrictions apply:

1. The tense auxiliary does not precede the aspectual form of the finite verb;
2. The determiner and adjective do not follow the head noun, except in cases where the quantifier *sab* ‘all’ or *sara* ‘the whole’ is moved to follow the head noun for emphasis (see Chapter 10);
3. The postposition does not precede its object.

In other words, within a constituent of a sentence, whether a noun phrase, verb phrase, or postpositional phrase, word order is rigid; the constituents themselves are free to occur in any order with respect to each other. There are some exceptions to 1-3; it is possible for auxiliaries to precede aspectual forms of finite verbs, and for nouns to precede determiners and adjectives in order to satisfy metrical requirements in poetry.

8.2. Agreement

Hindi phrases and sentences show two types of agreement patterns; modifier-head agreement and noun-verb agreement. Modifiers, including determiners, agree with their head noun in gender, number and case, and finite verbs agree with some noun in the sentence in gender, number and person. These two types are discussed in some detail in the following sub-sections.

One feature that demonstrates the interface of grammar and sociolinguistic considerations is worth mentioning here. Although the number system is grammatical, i.e., nouns inflect for number and control number agreement of adjectives and verbs according to the rules of grammar (see 4.1.2, and the sections below), some nouns control plural agreement because they are considered inherently honorific, or their intended referents are deemed to deserve respect. Such nouns are kinship terms for elders, referring expressions for teachers (*guru* ‘teacher’, *ṣaṣṭrī* ‘a title for Sanskrit scholar’, *profesər* ‘professor’, *məlvī* ‘teacher of Arabic, Persian or Urdu’, etc.), high officials and professionals, such as mayors, governors, ministers, directors, judges, doctors, political and community leaders, etc.

8.2.1. Modifier-Head Agreement

Modifiers, including the determiners and demonstratives, agree with the head noun in gender, number and case:

- (4) *kisī* *ek ləṛke* *ne gana* *ṣurū kiya.*
 some.OBL one boy.M.SG.OBL AG singing.M begin do.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Some boy started singing.’
- (5) *pəhle* *vəkta* *ne jo kəha,*
 first.M.SG.OBL speaker.M.SG.OBL AG what say.PERF.M.SG
dūsre *ne uska* *virod^h* *kiya.*
 other.M.SG.OBL AG it.OBL.GEN.M.SG opposition.M.SG do.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Whatever the first speaker said, the second one opposed it.’
- (6) *rəmeṣ* *ek ləmbə* *ləṛke* *ke sat^h kəhī̃*
 Ramesh.M a tall.M.SG.OBL boy.M.SG.OBL of.OBL with somewhere
ja rəha *t^ha.*
 go PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘Ramesh was going somewhere with a tall boy.’

- (7) *sare pāke sāntrō ka rās nikal lo.*
all.M.OBL ripe.OBL orange.M.PL.OBL of.M.SG juice.M extract take.FAM
'Extract the juice of all ripe oranges.'
- (8) *un nāī c^hatraō ke liye ek ṭeksī cahiye.*
that.PL.OBL new.F.OBL student.F.PL.OBL for one taxi needed
'A taxi is needed for those new female students.'

In example (4) above, the indefinite determiner, *koī*, occurs in its oblique case form, *kisī*, because the head noun, *lāṛke*, is in the oblique case form, which in turn is oblique because of the following postposition *ne*. The same is true of the ordinals and the pronominal object of 'oppose' in (5), the adjective 'tall' in (6), the quantifier and adjective in (7), and the demonstrative in (8). As mentioned earlier (see 4.1), number and case are not always marked fully either in the noun or in the adjective; several classes of nouns and adjectives have a zero marker for both these categories.

Not only adjectival modifiers that precede the head noun show agreement with the head; in some cases, complements and participial adverbials similarly show agreement with the subject of the finite verb. These cases are discussed below:

(a) Predicate adjectives and nouns show agreement with the subject noun in a sentence with a linking verb (see 8.2.2 below):

- (9) *ye kele āb^hī kacce hē.*
this.PL banana.M.PL still unripe.M.PL be.PRES.PL
'These bananas are still unripe.'
- (10) *raji kī kar kafī puranī ho cukī he.*
Raji of.F car.F enough old.F become CMPL.F PRES.SG
'Raji's car is very old indeed.'
- (11) *mānju bāhut ācc^hī lek^hika hē.*
Manju.F very good.F writer.F be.PRES.SG
'Manju is a very good writer.'
- (12) *paṭ^hāk jī ary sāmaj skūl mē ād^hyapāk hē.*
Pathak HON Arya Samaj school in teacher.M be.PRES.PL
'Mr. Pathak is a teacher in the Arya Samaj School.'

The adjectival complements in (9)-(10) and the nominal complements in (11)-(12) agree with the subject nouns in gender and number.

(b) Participial adverbials may optionally agree with the subject of the sentence in gender, if it is in the direct case:

- (13) *larkiyā b^hagtī huī aĩ.*
 girl.F.PL run.IMPF.F PTPL come.PERF.F.PL
 ‘The girls came running.’

- (14) *larkī ne kāmre se nikalte hue*
 girl.F AG room.M.SG.OBL from emerge.IMPF.OBL PTPL.OBL
dārvaza bānd kār diya.
 door.M shut do give.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The girl closed the door (as she was) leaving the room.’

- (15) *larka hōsta hua b^hag gāya.*
 boy.M laugh.IMPF.M.SG PTPL run go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The boy ran away (,) laughing.’

- (16) *lärke ne hōste hue dārvaza*
 boy.M.SG.OBL AG laugh.IMPF.OBL PTPL.OBL door.M.SG
k^hola.
 open.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The boy opened the door (,) laughing.’

The participial adverbials in (13) and (15) agree with the subjects of their sentences, since the subject nouns are in the direct case; those in (14) and (16) do not show any agreement, since the subjects in these sentences are in the oblique case and are followed by the agentive postposition *ne*. See 4.6.2.3 for more details on participial adverbs.

8.2.2. Noun (Phrase)-Verb Agreement

There are two general principles of verb agreement in Hindi: (a) the finite verb agrees with the noun (phrase) in the direct case (see 4.1.5) in the sentence; and (b) if there are no nouns (or, noun phrases) in the direct case, the finite verb is in the neutral, i.e., third person masculine singular, form. There is also a general condition of application of these rules, i.e., the verb does not agree with a case-marked noun. Other things being equal, the subject has precedence

over other arguments in controlling agreement. The detailed application of the principles is illustrated below.

(a) In a sentence with a non-perfect finite verb, the verb agrees with the subject:

- (17) *rat ek admī apse milne*
 night.F a man.M you.HON with meet.INF.OBL
aya t^ha.
 come.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘(Last) night a man came to see you.’

There are two nouns in (17), *rat* ‘night’, which is feminine singular and appears to be in the direct case (recall that feminine nouns ending in a consonant have a zero marker for case in the singular; see 4.1.5), and *admī* ‘man’, which is masculine singular and in the direct case and is the subject of the sentence; the finite verb phrase *aya t^ha* ‘had come’ shows masculine singular agreement as the subject, *ek admī* ‘a man’, is masculine singular. The feminine noun, *rat* ‘night’, has a temporal adverbial function, therefore, it does not control verb agreement.

(b) In a sentence with a perfect finite verb, the verb agrees with the direct object if it is in the direct case:

- (18) *subəh ləṛk ò ne b^hūgol pəṛ^ha.*
 morning.F boy.PL.OBL AG geography.M.DOBJ study.PERF.M.SG
 ‘(This) morning the boys studied geography.’

There are three nouns in (18), *subəh* ‘morning’, which is feminine singular and appears to be in the direct case, *ləṛke* ‘boys’ which is masculine plural and in the oblique case with an agentive postposition following it, and *b^hūgol* ‘geography’, which is masculine singular direct case and the direct object of the verb ‘study’; the verb shows the masculine singular agreement with the object noun, *b^hūgol* ‘geography’.

(c) If there are no direct case nouns in the sentence, the verb is in the third person masculine singular form (regarded as neutral in grammar):

- (19) *mata jī ne səṛe səntrō ko p^hēk*
 mother HON AG rotten.M.OBL orange.M.PL.OBL DOBJ throw

diya.

give.PERF.M.SG

‘Mother threw away the rotten oranges.’

Since both the subject (HON.F.SG) and object (M.PL) in (19) are in the oblique case followed by appropriate postpositions, the verb is in the masculine singular form, i.e., it does not agree with either the subject or the object.

(d) If there is no subject or direct object noun that can control verb agreement in a sentence, the finite verb agrees with any noun in the direct case:

- (20) *lərke ko nət kəmīz milī.*
 boy.M.SG.OBL DAT new.F shirt.F.SG accrue.PERF.F.SG
 ‘The boy got a new shirt.’

- (21) *kəl holī t^hī.*
 yesterday Holi.F be.PAST.F.SG
 ‘Yesterday was Holi.’ [Holi=the spring festival celebrated on the full moon day of the twelfth month of the lunar calendar (February-March)]

In (20), the recipient noun, *lərka* ‘boy’, is in the oblique case and is followed by the dative postposition. The only other noun is *kəmīz* ‘shirt’, which is feminine singular and is in the direct case; the verb shows feminine singular agreement (see 8.6.11 for a discussion of this sentence type). In (21), since *kəl* ‘yesterday’ is a temporal adverb, the only noun available for agreement is *holī* ‘spring festival’; the verb, therefore, agrees with it. The following sentences only have one noun each; the finite verbs agree with them irrespective of whether they are to be considered subjects or not (see 8.3.1 for a discussion of subject properties):

- (22) *barīf ho rəhī he.*
 rain.F happen PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘It is raining.’

- (23) *badəl t^he, bijlī t^hī, ādhī t^hī.*
 cloud.M.PL be.PAST.M.PL lightning.F be.PAST.F.SG storm.F be.PAST.F.SG
 ‘It was cloudy, there was lightning, it was stormy.’

- (24) *jəgəh əc^ht t^hī.*
 place good be.PAST
 ‘It was a nice place.’

Hindi does not have ‘empty’ subjects comparable to *it* and *there* of English, as the free translations in (22)-(24) show.

8.3. Simple Sentence

The simple sentence consists of a subject, a predicate, and aspect-tense-agreement markers (and, depending upon the verb form, gender, number and person agreement features, too):

- (25) *mē jāga hū.*
 I awake.PERF.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘I am awake.’
- (26) *mohān aj kitab la rāha he.*
 Mohan.M today book.F bring PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Mohan is bringing the book today.’
- (27) *kala g^hoṛa tezī se b^hag nikla.*
 black.M.SG horse.M.SG speed with run emerge.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The black horse broke into a fast run.’
- (28) *am ke peṛ bōṛō se*
 mango of.M.PL tree.M.PL blossoms.M.PL.OBL with
lāde hē.
 burden.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘The mango trees are laden with blossoms.’
- (29) *ye bānarsī saṛiyā turānt bik jāṅgī.*
 these Banaras.ADJ saree.F.PL instantly sell go.FUT.F.PL
 ‘These Banaras sarees will sell instantly.’

In sentence (25), *mē* ‘I’ is the subject, *jāga hū* ‘am awake’ is the predicate. The predicate consists of a finite verb, which in turn consists of a main verb *jāg* ‘be awake’, an aspect (perfect), gender (masculine), number (singular) marker *-a*, and an auxiliary *hū* which shows singular number and first-person agreement. In sentence (26), *mohān* ‘Mohan’ is the subject, *aj kitab la rāha he* ‘is bringing the book today’ is the predicate. The predicate consists of a temporal adverb, *aj* ‘today’, a direct object *kitab* ‘book’, and the finite verb *la rāha he* ‘is bringing’. The main verb *la* ‘bring’ is marked with the aspect (progressive) marker *rāh-* and gender (masculine) and number (singular) marker *-a*, and is

followed by the present-tense auxiliary *he*. The auxiliary also expresses singular number and, in addition, third-person agreement. In sentence (27), *kala g^hoṛa* ‘black horse’ is the subject, and *tezī se b^hag nikla* ‘broke into a fast run’ is the predicate. The predicate consists of a manner adverb, *tezī se* ‘fast’ and a finite verb *b^hag nikla* ‘broke into a run’. The main verb *b^hag* ‘run’ is followed by a light verb (see 4.5.8), *nikal* ‘emerge’, which carries the aspect (perfect), gender (masculine), number (singular), and person (third person) marker *-a*. In sentence (28), *am ke peṛ* ‘mango trees’ is the subject (recall that masculine nouns ending in consonants have a zero marker for plural in the direct case, see 4.1.5), and *bōrō se lāde hē* ‘are laden with blossoms’ is the predicate. The predicate consists of the comitative adverb *bōrō se* ‘with blossoms’ and a finite verb *lāde hē*. The main verb *lād* ‘be loaded’ is marked for aspect (perfect) and number (plural) with *-e*, and is followed by the present tense auxiliary showing plural agreement, i.e., *hē*. In sentence (29), *ye bānarsī saṛiyā* ‘these Banaras sarees’ is the subject (*bānarsī* is an adjective derived from the noun *bānarās*, formerly Benares, now known by its ancient name, Varanasi; see 5.2 for derivation of adjectives from nouns), *turānt bik jāēgī* ‘will sell instantly’ is the predicate. The predicate consists of a temporal adverb *turānt* ‘instantly’ and a finite verb *bik jāēgī* ‘will sell’. The main verb *bik* ‘be sold’ is followed by a light verb, *ja* ‘go’ in its plural optative form *jaē*, which carries the future tense marker *-g* followed by the gender (feminine) and number marker *-ī*.

Both subjects and predicates consist of a number of items: a subject may consist of a simple pronoun or noun (e.g., *mē* in (25) and *mohān* in (26)), an adjective and a noun (e.g., *kala g^hoṛa* in (27)), a genitive phrase and a noun (e.g., *am ke peṛ* in (28)), or a demonstrative, an adjective and a noun (e.g., *ye bānarsī saṛiyā* in (29)). A predicate may be simple and consist only of a finite verb with aspect-tense-agreement markers as in (25), or include an adverb and a direct object as in (26), or just an adverb as in (27)-(29). In the following sections, the properties of the subject and the predicate in Hindi are discussed.

8.3.1. Subject

A surface subject is not an obligatory constituent of a sentence. The following sentences are perfectly grammatical and interpretable:

- (30) *do baje se bethī hū, daktar ka*
 two o'clock.OBL since sit.PERF.F.SG 1stP.PRES.SG doctor of.M.SG
koī pata nahī.
 any sign not
 ‘(I) have been sitting here since two o’clock, there is no sign of the doctor.’

- (31) *andār cāl kār beṭʰ, guru jī ate hōge.*
 inside move CP sit.INTM.IMP teacher HON come.IMP.F.M.PL PRSM.M.PL
 ‘Go inside and sit down, the teacher must be coming.’

In sentence (30), the subject of *beṭʰī hū* is the feminine first person singular, as signaled by the agreement on the finite verb; and in sentence (31), the subject of the imperative *beṭʰ* is the second person singular, as signaled by the agreement on the finite verb. Since the agreement markers do not correspond one-to-one to all the possible gender, number and person distinctions, the subject is not always unambiguously recoverable without a context; it is, however, unambiguously recoverable within the linguistic and/or physical context of an utterance.

An unmarked subject, i.e., a noun (phrase) or a pronoun in the direct case, has primacy over other noun phrases in controlling verb agreement, as mentioned above. Subjects occur in a variety of forms: they may be unmarked, or marked for oblique case and followed by the agentive postposition *ne*, dative postposition *ko*, instrumental postposition *se* (see 4.7.1), genitive postposition *ka*, or locative postpositions *mē* or *ke pas* (see 4.7.2). Some characteristics of unmarked and marked subjects are discussed below.

All subjects may function as antecedents of reflexive pronouns (see 4.3), as is clear from the following examples:

- (32) *urmila apne gʰār gəṭ.*
 Urmila.F self.POSS.M.OBL house go.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Urmila went home.’
- (33) *rəmeṣ ne apne ko āine mē dekʰa.*
 Ramesh.M AG self.M.OBL DOBJ mirror.M.SG.OBL in look.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Ramesh looked at himself in the mirror.’
- (34) *sīta ne rəmeṣ ko apnī kitab dī.*
 Sita AG Ramesh.M IOBJ self.POSS.F book.F.SG give.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Sita gave Ramesh her book.’
- (35) *usne bəccō ko apne kəmre mē bulaya.*
 s/he.SG.OBL AG child.M.PL.OBL DOBJ self.POSS.M.OBL
 room.M.SG.OBL in call.PERF.M.SG
 ‘S/he called the children to his/her room.’

It is obvious that the reflexive pronoun refers to the subject noun phrase in sentences (32) and (33), since there is no other possible antecedent noun phrase in them. In sentences (34) and (35), however, there are two possible antecedents, the agent (grammatical subject) and the recipient (grammatical indirect object) in (34) and the agent (grammatical subject) and the patient (grammatical direct object) in (35), respectively. Still, in (34) and (35) the reflexive pronoun refers to the subjects of the sentences. If the possessives were intended to refer to the indirect and direct object, respectively, in these sentences, it would have to be the possessive form of the personal, not the reflexive, pronoun. Note that the subject noun phrase is not overtly marked oblique in (8), as the noun ends in a consonant. Nevertheless, it is in the oblique case and is followed by the agentive postposition *ne* in (33)-(35).

The other marked subject noun phrases behave in the same way as the *ne*-marked subject:

- (36) *sud^ha ko əpnī saṛī əcc^hī nəhī̃ ləgī.*
 Sudha.F DAT self.POSS.F saree.F.SG good.F not feel.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Sudha did not like her saree.’
- (37) *sohən se əpne ko doḥī̃ nəhī̃ mana*
 Sohan.M by self.OBL DOBJ guilty not consider.PERF.M.SG
gəya.
 PASV.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Sohan could not consider himself guilty.’
- (38) *rətən se əpne g^hər tək b^hī̃ nəhī̃*
 Ratan.M by self.POSS.OBL home upto PTCL not
cəla jata
 walk.PERF.SG PASV.IMPF.SG
 ‘Ratan can not even walk up to (his) house.’
- (39) *rīta ka aj əpne g^hər jane ka*
 Rita.F of.M.SG today self.POSS.M.OBL house go.INF.OBL of.M.SG
irada nəhī̃ he.
 intention.M not be.PRES.SG
 ‘Rita does not intend to go home today.’
- (40) *mu^j mē is sal əpna jənm^din mənane*
 I.OBL in this year self.POSS.M.SG birthday.M celebrate.INF.OBL
ka utsah nəhī̃ he.
 of.M.SG enthusiasm.M not be.PRES.SG
 ‘I have no enthusiasm for celebrating my birthday this year.’

- (41) *ajkəl mīna ke pas əpne b^haī kī*
 these days Meena.F near self.POSS.OBL brother.OBL of.F
kar he.
 car.F be.PRES.SG
 ‘Meena has her brother’s car these days.’

In (36), the subject is marked with the dative postposition *ko*, in (37) and (38), with the instrumental postposition *se*, in (39), with the genitive postposition *ka*, and in (40)-(41), with the locative postpositons *mē* and *ke pas*, respectively. Regardless, the reflexive pronoun refers to these marked subjects in the above sentences.

Similarly, in the conjunctive participle construction, the deleted subject of the conjunctive participle (CP) is understood to be identical with the unmarked subject, or subjects marked with the agentive, dative, or instrumental, of the main clause. That is, marked subjects of finite verbs (see (44)-(45) below) also control deletion of the subject of a conjunctive participle under identity, as do the unmarked subjects (see (42)-(43) below). Passive sentences with agents marked with *dvara*, however, do not control such deletion; therefore, (46) is ungrammatical:

- (42) *g^hər a kər ram so gəya.*
 home come CP Ram.M sleep go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Having come home, Ram went to sleep.’
- (43) *ciṭṭ^hiṅā lik^h kər uṣa ḍak mē ḍal degī.*
 letter.F.PL write CP Usha.F mail.OBL in pour give.FUT.F.SG
 ‘Having written the letters, Usha will put them in the mail, i.e., Usha will write the letters and mail them.’
- (44) *b^haī se mil kər uma ko əcc^ha ləga.*
 brother with meet CP Uma.F DAT good.M.SG feel.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Uma was happy to meet her brother.’
- (45) *uska cehra dek^h kər mu^hse ku^h kəha*
 s/he.POSS.M.SG face.M.SG see CP I.OBL.by anything say.PERF.M.SG
nəhī gəya.
 not PASV.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Having seen his/her face, I could not say anything.’
- (46) **utsah mē a kər c^hatrō dvara səngīt səb^ha ka*
 enthusiasm in come CP student.M.PL.OBL through music meet of.M.SG

ayojan kiya ja raha he.
 organization.M do.PERF.M.SG PASV PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘*Having been enthusiastic the students are organizing a musical performance.’

In each of the grammatical sentences above, the understood subject of the conjunctive participle is the same as the subject of the main verb. In the case of the subjects marked with genitive or locative postpositions, the construction is perfectly grammatical and idiomatic with the locative postposition *mē*, but is stylistically awkward with the genitive postposition *ka*:

(47) *rīta mē dillī ja kār nākrī d^hū^hne kī himmāt*
 Rita.F in Delhi go CP job.F search.INF.OBL of.F.SG courage.F
nāhī he.
 not be.PRES.SG
 ‘Rita does not have the courage to go to Delhi to look for a job.’

(47) a. *?rīta ka dillī ja kār nākrī d^hū^hne ka*
 Rita.F of Delhi go CP job.F search.INF.OBL of.M
irada nāhī he.
 intention.M not be.PRES.SG
 ‘Rita does not intend to go to Delhi to look for a job.’

Changing the word order does not make much difference so that (47b) is as awkward as (47a):

(47) b. *?dillī ja kār nākrī d^hū^hne ka rīta ka irada nāhī he.*

It is more idiomatic to use a complex sentence in place of (47):

(47) c. *rīta ka irada nāhī he ki dillī ja*
 Rita.F of.M intention.M not be.PRES.SG that Delhi go
kār nākrī d^hū^he.
 CP job search.OPT

The conjunctive participle construction with a subject marked with the locative postposition *ke pas* ‘near’ is ungrammatical:

(48) **fīla ke pas lāndan a kār koī nākār nāhī he.*
 Sheila near London come CP any servant not be.PRES.SG
 ‘Having come to London, Sheila has no servant.’

Changing the word order does not make a difference; (48') is still ungrammatical:

- (48') **lāṇḍān a kār śīlā ke pas koī nākar nāhī̃ he.*
 'London come CP Sheila near any servant not be.PRES.SG

Verbs that require a dative, instrumental, or genitive subject do not have a conjunctive participle. Therefore, one does not come across sentences such as the following:

- (49) **b^hūk^h lāg kār rāmeś ne k^hānā k^hāyā.*
 hunger feel CP Ramesh AG meal eat.PERF.M.SG
 'Having felt hungry, Ramesh ate a meal.'
- (50) **āxbar pāṭ^ha nā jā kār mēne mez*
 newspaper.M read.PERF.M.SG not PASV CP I AG table
pār rāk^h diyā.
 on put give.PERF.M.SG
 'The newspaper not having been read, I put it on the table.'
- (51) **nākrī q^hūṭ^hne kā iradā ho kār rīnā.*
 job.F search.INF.OBL of intention.M be CP Rina.F
mumbāī gāī
 Bombay go.PERF.F.SG
 'Having intended to look for a job, Rina went to Bombay.'

It is clear that the unmarked and marked subjects share a number of syntactic properties. One major exception is verb agreement: marked subjects do not control verb agreement (see 8.2 above).

Unlike the subject, the predicate is an obligatory constituent of a sentence. The properties of the predicate are discussed below.

8.3.2. *Predicate*

The only obligatory constituent of a predicate is a verb. The predicate may be a simple finite verb, followed by aspect-tense and agreement markers (and depending upon the verb form, gender, number and person markers, too), as in (25) above, or more complex in its internal structure, as in (26)-(29) above. The aspect, tense, mood and agreement markers are discussed in sections 4.5.3-4.5.5. The remaining constituents of the predicate are discussed in the following sub-sections.

8.3.2.1. Intransitive

Predicates with intransitive verbs have a simple argument structure. Intransitive verbs such as *ana* ‘come’, *jana* ‘go’, *hāсна* ‘laugh’, *girna* ‘fall’, *k^hilna* ‘blossom’, *bāhna* ‘flow’, *pākna* ‘ripen’, etc., have a single argument, a subject; they do not take an object or a complement:

- (52) *am pāke hē.*
 mango.M.PL ripen.PERF.M.PL be.PRES.PL
 ‘Mangoes are ripe.’

- (53) *log hāse.*
 people laugh.PERF.M.PL
 ‘People laughed.’

An intransitive verb may take optional adverbials, as in (54) and (55):

- (54) *larka kūe mē gir gəya.*
 boy.M.SG well.SG.OBL in fall go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The boy fell into a/the well.’

- (55) *caca jī kəl aye.* [*caca* ‘father’s younger brother’]
 uncle HON yesterday come.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Uncle arrived yesterday.’

8.3.2.2. Transitive

Predicates with transitive verbs have a more complex argument structure. Verbs such as *k^hana* ‘eat’, *pāṭ^hna* ‘read’, *sīk^hna* ‘learn’, *gana* ‘sing’, etc., take two arguments, a subject and a direct object, e.g.,

- (56) *sufma ne seb k^haye.*
 Sushma.F AG apple.M.PL eat.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Sushma ate apples.’

- (57) *vāh rāzāl gatī he.*
 she ghazal sing.IMP.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘She sings ghazals.’

In these examples, *sufma* ‘Sushma’ and *vāh* ‘she’ are the subjects and *seb* ‘apples’ and *rāzāl* ‘ghazal’ are the direct objects in (56) and (57), respectively.

Verbs such as *manna* ‘consider,’ *səməj^hna* ‘consider’, *bənanā* ‘make’, etc., take two arguments, subject and direct object with a complement (see also 7.3.1).

- (58) *ram ne vib^hījəŋ ko əpnā b^haī*
 Ram.M AG Vibhishan.M DOBJ self.POSS.M.SG brother.M
mana.
 consider.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Ram considered Vibhishan his brother.’

- (59) *vəh muj^hko kəttər səməj^hta hē.*
 he I.OBL.DAT orthodox consider.IMPF.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘He considers me orthodox.’

In (58), *ram* is the subject, *vib^hījəŋ* is the direct object and *əpnā b^haī* is the complement. In (59), *vəh* ‘he’ is the subject, *muj^hko* ‘me’ is the direct object, and *kəttər* ‘orthodox’ is the complement.

Verbs such as *denā* ‘give’, *b^hejna* ‘send’, *pərosna* ‘serve (food)’, *lik^hna* ‘write’, etc., take three arguments, a subject, an indirect object and a direct object (see also 7.3.1):

- (60) *mēne pita jī ko cīt^hī lik^hī.*
 I AG father HON DAT letter.F write.PERF.F.SG
 ‘I wrote a letter to (my) father.’

- (61) *tum səb ko k^hana pəros dogī?*
 you all DAT meal serve give.FUT.F.PL
 ‘Will you serve food to everyone?’

In (60) and (61), respectively, *mē* ‘I’ and *tum* ‘you (FAM)’ are the subjects, *pita jī ko* ‘to father’ and *səb ko* ‘to everyone’ are the indirect objects, and *cīt^hī* ‘letter’ and *k^hana* ‘food’ are the direct objects.

8.3.3. *Direct Object Marked with ‘ko’*

Although the postposition *ko* may signal either an accusative or a dative relationship, it is clear from the grammatical context which one is being indicated. Whereas the dative relationship is always marked, the accusative relationship is marked only in some contexts. In other words, the recipient argument or the grammatical indirect object is always followed by the

postposition *ko*; but the direct object occurs with the postposition *ko* only under the following conditions:

- a. the noun (phrase) is unique (e.g., proper nouns, pronouns); or
- b. the noun (phrase) is animate, especially human; or
- c. if inanimate, the noun (phrase) is definite and specific; or
- d. the noun (phrase) has a complement, as in the double transitive construction above.

All these properties are illustrated in the following example sentences:

(62) *ram ne mohān ko dek^ha.*

Ram.M AG Mohan.M DOBJ see.PERF.M.SG

‘Ram saw Mohan.’

(63) *vāh āpne kutte ko bāhut pyar karta*

he self.POSS.M.OBL dog.M.SG.OBL DOBJ much love do.IMP.F.M.SG

hē.

PRES.SG

‘He loves his dog very much.’

(64) *śik^ha merī kitab ko sāmhal kār rāk^hegī.*

Shikha.F I.POSS.F book DOBJ care CP keep.FUT.F.SG

‘Shikha will keep my book safe.’

(65) *mē is mākan ko sasta samāj^hta*

I this.OBL house.M.SG.OBL DOBJ inexpensive.M consider.IMP.F.M.PL

hū.

1stP.PRES.SG

‘I consider this house inexpensive.’

8.4. Voice

Voice distinctions are expressed at the level of the verb phrase by the choice of verb forms and auxiliaries. These are discussed below. The passive and impersonal sentences are discussed in detail in 8.4.2 and 8.4.3, respectively.

8.4.1. Active

The verb phrase in the active sentence is inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and gender-number-person agreement. Examples are given in (66) and (67) below:

(66) *kameṣ* *so* *rāha* *he*.
 Kamesh.M sleep PROG.M.SG 3rdP.PRES.SG
 ‘Kamesh is sleeping.’

(67) *kya* *sāmīr* *ne* *kāvita* *yad* *kār* *lī?*
 INTER Samir.M AG poem.F memory do take.PERF.3rdP.F.SG
 ‘Did Samir memorize the poem?’

Note that in (66) the progressive auxiliary *rāha* is marked for masculine singular agreement and the present marker *he* is marked for third person singular agreement. The verb phrase thus expresses agreement with the masculine singular subject ‘Kamesh.’ In (67), it shows agreement with the direct object ‘poem’ as the subject, *sāmīr* ‘Samir’, is in the oblique and is followed by the agentive postposition *ne*.

8.4.2. *Passive*

In the passive, the perfect participle of the main verb is followed by the verb *ja* ‘go’ which is inflected for tense, aspect, mood and agreement. It agrees with the direct object, if any, and the subject is usually left out. If the subject occurs, it is followed by the instrumental postposition *se* or (*ke*) *dvara*. The passive verb phrase is exemplified in (68)-(70).

(68) *reṇu* *se* *pātr* *lik^ha* *jaega?*
 Renu.F by letter.M write.PERF.M.SG go.3rdP.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Will the letter be written by Renu? i.e., Will Renu be able to write the letter?’

(69) *c^hatrō* *dvara* *sāmmelān* *ka* *ayojān* *kiya*
 student.PL.OBL by conference.M of organization.M do.PERF.M.SG
ja *rāha* *he*.
 PASV PROG.M.SG 3rdP.PRES.SG
 ‘The conference is being organized by the students.’

(70) *prāsad* *devī* *ke* *samne* *rāk^ha*
 offering.M goddess of.OBL front put.PERF.M.SG
jata *he*.
 PASV.IMPF.M.SG 3rdP.PRES.SG
 ‘The offerings are placed in front of the goddess.’

It is worth noting that example (68) is non-assertive, i.e., it is a question. The choice of the example is dictated by the fact that a passive with a definite

specific agent in the indicative is rarely used in Hindi, except in formal situations such as the one exemplified in (69). In such cases, the marker for the agent is *dvara* rather than *se* 'by'. Such examples occur in official documents, and in legal and journalistic texts.

Agentless passive sentences such as the ones in example (70) above, with present tense in the imperfect, are used to state general customs, or a habitual state of affairs; they have no modal meaning.

Passive with definite specific agents followed by the instrumental postposition *se* 'by' signal a meaning that is related to the capability of the agent, as the second translation equivalent of (68) provided above indicates. There are, of course, the modals *sākna* and *pana* that denote capability, too, as discussed in section 4.5.6.2. The difference is that *sākna* 'can' denotes capability in general with no constraint, whereas *pana* 'to manage to' signals capability with effort. In agentless sentences and sentences with agents followed by (*ke*) *dvara* 'by, through', the passive does not indicate the implied agent's capability whereas sentences with the modals retain their modal meaning regardless of the presence or absence of an overt agent. Furthermore, the passive sentence with agent + *se* denotes the capability of the agent that is determined by agent-internal conditions rather than external factors. The following sentences exemplify the difference:

- (71) *bariḥ ho rāhī t̪h̄/ mere pāvō mē dard*
 rain.F happen PROG.F PAST.SG / I.POSS.OBL foot.PL.OBL in pain.M
t̪h̄a, isliye mē pedāl nahī̃ a saka
 PAST.M.SG therefore I on foot not come can.PERF.M.SG
 'It was raining/ I had aching feet, therefore, I could not come on foot.'

- (72) *bahut kōḥḥ kārke b̪h̄ī rīta gana nahī̃ sīk̪h̄*
 much effort do.CP EMPH Rita.F sing.INF not learn
sākī/paī
 can/manage to.PERF.F.SG
 'In spite of much effort, Rita could not/ did not manage to learn how to sing.'

- (73) *sir mē dard t̪h̄a/ ?bijlī nahī̃ t̪h̄,*
 head in pain.M be.PAST.M.SG electricity.F not be.PAST.F.SG
isliye mala se k̪h̄ana nahī̃ k̪h̄aya gāya
 therefore Mala.F by meal.M not eat.PERF.M.SG PASV.PERF.M.SG
 'Mala was not able to eat because she had a headache/?there was no electricity.'

In (73), the failure of electricity is not sufficient to justify Mala's inability to eat whereas a headache is. The item *səkna* 'can' can occur in (71) and (72) above; the lack of electricity as a reason for the inability to eat, expressed with *səkna* 'can', is both grammatical and perfectly acceptable, and similarly the occurrence of the adverbial *bəhut kofīf kərke b^hī* 'in spite of much effort' justifies the choice of the modal *pana* 'to manage to' (for information structure of passive sentences, see Chapter 10).

8.4.3. *Impersonal*

The impersonal verb phrase is similar to the passive in that the perfect form of the main verb is followed by the auxiliary *ja* 'go', which carries the aspect, tense, mood and agreement markers. It differs from the passive in that, since there is no direct object in the impersonal sentence, the verb is always in the masculine third person singular form. The impersonal is exemplified in (74) below:

- (74) [tumsə] utnī dūr cəla jaega?
 (you by) that much.F distance.F walk.PERF.M.SG PASV.3rdP.FUT.M.SG
 'Will (you) be able to walk that far?'

The question is appropriate if the speaker suspects that the addressee is in a condition that may not allow him/her to walk beyond a certain distance.

8.5. Mood

The following mood distinctions are made in the verb phrase: imperative, indicative, negative, interrogative, presumptive, contingent, and past contingent. These are described below.

8.5.1. *Imperative*

There are five direct imperative forms, depending upon the nature of the understood second person subject and the degree of politeness:

- (75) yəh ciṭṭ^hī pəṭ^h!
 this letter read.2ndP.SG
 'Read this letter!'

- (76) *yəh ciṭṭ^hī pəṭ^ho!*
 this letter read.2ndP.FAM
 ‘Read this letter!’
- (77) *yəh ciṭṭ^hī pəṭ^hna!*
 this letter read.INF
 ‘Read this letter (when you have time)!’
- (78) *yəh ciṭṭ^hī pəṭ^hiye!*
 this letter read.2ndP.HON
 ‘(Please) read this letter!’
- (79) *yəh ciṭṭ^hī pəṭ^hiyega!*
 this letter read.2ndP.FUT.HON
 ‘(Please) read this letter (when you have time)!’

The bare root of the verb *pəṭ^hna* ‘to read’ is used for the direct imperative and implies a second person singular pronoun *tū* (comparable to the archaic ‘thou’ as a second person singular pronoun in English) as its subject (in sentence (75)). It is worth noting that, unlike in English, the form *tū* ‘you (SG)’ in Hindi is not archaic; it is intimate or rude, depending upon the context. The imperative form in (76) implies the second person plural pronoun *tum* ‘you’ as its subject. The pronoun *tum*, though plural, is used for a single familiar addressee in the intimate domain, as has been pointed out in section 4.3.1. The citation form of the verb, or the infinitive, as in (77), also implies *tum* ‘you’ as its subject, but is less direct in that it suggests that the addressee is not being ordered to perform the action right away. The forms in (78) and (79) imply the second person honorific pronoun *ap* ‘you (HON)’ as their subjects and, hence, are more polite. The future inflection in (79) is comparable to the infinitive in (77); it suggests that the addressee has a choice to perform the action right away or later.

8.5.2. *Indicative*

The indicative mood is expressed by the verbal root followed by the aspect and tense markers:

- (80) *mē ciṭṭhī lik^h rəhī hū.*
 I letter.F write PROG.F 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘I am writing a letter (now).’

(81) *vāh dās baje skūl jaega.*
 he ten o'clock.OBL school go.FUT.M.SG
 'He will go to school at ten o'clock.'

(82) *rakeḥ ne ek pyālī cay pī.*
 Rakesh.M AG a cup.F tea.F drink.PERF.F.SG
 'Rakesh had a cup of tea.'

8.5.3. *Negative*

Negation is indicated by negative particles, of which there are three: *nāhī*, *nā* and *māt*. The first is a marker of negation, the second is additionally used as a tag, as well as in other special constructions. The third, *māt*, is restricted to the familiar imperative only.

8.5.3.1. Sentential Negation

In order to express sentential negation, the negative particle is used in the pre-verbal position. The negative particle incorporates the verb 'to be', hence the present tense auxiliary can normally be dropped in a negative sentence, e.g.,

(83) *mē g^har nāhī ja rāhī (hū).*
 I home not go PROG.F.SG (1stP.PRES.SG)
 'I(F) am not going home.'

(84) *sufma ab^hī skūl nāhī pāhūcī.*
 Sushma.F yet school not arrive.PERF.F.SG
 'Sushma has not arrived at school yet.'

(85) *vāh kāl sāsural nāhī gāya t^ha.*
 he yesterday in-laws' house not go.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 'He did not go to his in-laws' yesterday.'

The past tense auxiliary (e.g., in (85)) cannot be dropped, as that would entail loss of tense information.

8.5.3.2. Constituent Negation

A negative particle following a stressed element in the sentence generally indicates the negation of that particular element, as in the following (the bold face in the text and italicization in the translation show which constituent is being negated):

- (86) *siddhart^h seb nəhĩ k^ha rəha (hε).*
 Siddharth.M apple.M not eat PROG.M.SG (3rdP.PRES.SG)
 ‘Siddharth is not eating *an apple*.’

The sentence can be continued as in:

- (86') *siddhart^h seb nəhĩ, aṛū k^ha rəha hε.*
 Siddharth apple not peach eat PROG.M.SG PRES.M.SG
 ‘Siddharth is not eating *an apple*, (he is eating) a peach.’

- (87) *pita jī dillī nəhĩ gəye.*
 father HON Delhi not go.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Father did not go to *Delhi*.’

Again, (87) may be continued as in:

- (87') *pita jī dillī nəhĩ, jəmmū gəye.*
 Father HON Delhi not, Jammu go.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Father did not go to *Delhi*, (he) went to Jammu.’

Any item in a sentence can be negated, that is, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, (aspect-) tense markers, and emphatic particles can all be negated. In the case of aspect-tense markers, the negative particle usually precedes the tense marker, even when the tense is in the scope of negation along with the aspect (see (92) below). If, however, only the tense is in the scope of negation, the negative particle follows it (see (93) below). The following illustrate such negation (the item in the scope of negation is in bold face in the text, and italicized in the translation):

- (88) *yəh kitab c^hoṭe nəhĩ, bəṛe bəccō*
 this book small.PL.OBL not big.PL.OBL child.M.PL.OBL
ke liye hε. (adj.)
 for be.PRES.SG
 ‘This book is not for *small* children, (it) is for the older ones.’

- (89) *us ko aj nəhĩ, pərsō buxar cəṭ^ha*
 (s)he.OBL DAT today not, the day before fever.M rise.PERF.M.SG
t^ha. (temporal adv.)
 PAST.M.SG
 ‘(S)he had a fever the day before yesterday, not *today*.’

- (90) *mē gusse se nahĩ, bəre duk^h se*
 I anger.M.OBL with not much.OBL sorrow.OBL with
kəh rəha hũ. (manner adv.)
 say PROG.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘I am saying (this) with much sorrow, not *in anger*.’
- (91) *vəh soc nahĩ rəha, so rəha he.* (verb)
 he think not PROG.M.SG sleep PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘He is not *thinking*, (he) is sleeping.’
- (92) *bəhan ne k^haya nahĩ he, əb k^hayegĩ.* (aspect-tense)
 sister AG eat.PERF not PRES.SG now eat.FUT.F.SG
 ‘Sister *has* not eaten, (she) will eat now.’
- (93) *prĩti sigreṭ pĩĩ t^h nahĩ,*
 Priti cigarette smoke.IMP.F.SG PAST.F.SG not
pĩĩ he. (tense)
 smoke.IMP.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Priti *did not use* to smoke cigarettes, (she still) does.’
- (94) *parṭĩ mē neta jĩ b^h nahĩ, neta jĩ hĩ*
 party in leader HON too not, leader HON only
aye t^h. (particle)
 come.PERF.M.PL PL.PAST
 ‘It is not the case that the honorable leader *also* came to the party, only he was there.’

8.5.3.3. Negative Imperative

The particle *nə* is used in the imperative (except in the familiar imperative), in rhetorical questions, and in the correlative construction equivalent to English ‘neither...nor’.

- (95) *ud^hər nə jana.*
 there not go.INF
 ‘Don’t go there!’
- (96) *ap is vəqt kafĩ nə piyē.*
 you.HON this time coffee not drink.OPT.PL
 ‘Please don’t drink coffee at this hour!’
- (97) *tum unkĩ batē nahĩ mante, guru jĩ*
 you.PL he.POSS.F.PL talk.F.PL not mind.IMP.F.PL teacher HON

tumse naraz kyō nā hōge?
 you.PL with angry why not be.FUT.M.PL
 ‘You don’t mind what he says, why won’t the teacher be angry with you?’

- (98) *nā pita jī sāmāy pār aēge, nā hām aj*
 not father HON time on come.FUT.M.PL not we today
film dek^hne ja sākēge.
 film see.INF.OBL go can.FUT.M.PL
 ‘Neither father will be home on time, nor will we be able to go to see the film today.’

8.5.3.4. Tag Questions

The negative particle *nā* is used for forming tag questions, as in the following:

- (99) *pita jī sāmāy pār aēge nā?*
 father HON time on come.FUT.M.PL TAG
 ‘Father will come home on time, won’t he?’

The tag may contain a copy of the entire verb phrase minus the nominal elements, if any, followed by the negative particle as in (100) and (101), or just the tense marker, as in (102) and (103) below. Such questions are leading questions, with a strong expectation of agreement:

- (100) *ramū kitab zārūr laega, laega nā?*
 Ramu.M book surely bring.FUT.M.SG, bring.FUT.M.SG TAG
 ‘Ramu will bring the book, won’t he?’
- (101) *tum us din muj^hse naraz ho gāye t^he,*
 you.PL that day I.OBL with angry be go.PERF.M.PL PAST.M.PL
ho gāye t^he nā?
 be go.PERF.M.PL PAST.M.PL TAG
 ‘You had become angry with me that day, hadn’t you?’
- (102) *vāh apne b^haī se dārta he,*
 he self.POSS.M.OBL brother.OBL from fear.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG,
he nā?
 PRES.SG TAG
 ‘He fears his brother, doesn’t he?’
- (103) *rīma tāb tāk ja cukī t^hī, t^hī nā?*
 Rima.F then till go CMPL PAST.F.SG, PAST.F.SG TAG
 ‘Rima had left by then, hadn’t she?’

The disjunctive tag, as in the examples below, also imply a strong expectation of agreement:

(104) *raj ne bəhut zid kī, kī ya nəhī?*
 Raj.M AG much insistence.F do.PERF.F.SG, do.PERF.F.SG or not
 ‘Raj was very insistent, wasn’t he?’

(105) *us din vāhā bəṛī b^hīṛ t^hī, t^hī ya nəhī?*
 that.OBL day there much.F crowd.F be.PAST.F.SG, be.PAST.F.SG
 or not?
 ‘There was a big crowd there that day, wasn’t there?’

8.5.3.5. Negative Polarity Items

Items such as *zəra b^hī* ‘even a little’, *rəttī b^həṛ* ‘as much as a pinch’, (*ek*) *p^hūṛī kəṛī* ‘(one) broken cowry shell’, *bal bāka hona/kərna* ‘to bend a single strand of hair’ are said to occur only in negative sentences (the free translations of the idioms are given below):

(106) *kəʃəl ne kumar kī zəra b^hī mədəd nəhī kī.*
 Kaushal.M AG Kumar.M of.F a little even help.F not do.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Kaushal did not lift a finger to help Kumar.’

(107) *həmne bəhut for məcaya pər pita jī*
 we AG much noise.M make.PERF.M.SG but father HON
zəra b^hī naraz nəhī hue.
 a little even angry not be.PERF.M.PL
 ‘We made a great deal of noise, but Father did not get angry at all.’

(108) *tumko əpnī pəṭ^hāī kī rəttī b^həṛ*
 you.PL.DAT self.POSS.F.OBL study of.F pinch as much
b^hī pərvāh nəhī he.
 EMPH care not be.PRES.SG
 ‘You don’t care a bit for your studies’.

(109) *rīta ko pəṛīkṣa fulk dena t^ha, pər uske*
 Rita DAT examination fees.M give.INF PAST.M.SG but she.POSS.OBL
pas ek p^hūṛī kəṛī b^hī nəhī t^hī.
 near one broken.F cowry shell.F EMPH not PAST.F.SG
 ‘Rita had to pay her examination fees, but she did not have a red cent on her.’

- (110) *jisko* *īṽar bācata* *he,* *uska*
 who.OBL.DAT God protect.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG he.POSS.M.SG.OBL
bal b^hī bāka nāhī ho sakta.
 hair EMPH bend not be can.IMP.F.M.SG
 ‘No harm can come to one whom God protects.’

They actually occur in rhetorical questions as well with a strong negative implication, as in:

- (110') *jisko* *īṽar bācata* *he,* *uska*
 who.OBL.DAT God protect.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG he.POSS.M.SG.OBL
bal b^hī bāka ho sakta *he* *kya?*
 hair EMPH bend be can.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG QW
 ‘Can any harm come to one whom God protects?’

There are also items such as *koī b^hī* ‘whoever’, *kāb^hī (b^hī)* ‘whenever’, *kāhī b^hī* ‘wherever’, *kuc^h b^hī* ‘whatever’, and *ek b^hī* ‘not even one’, *āb^hī tāk* ‘till now’ which occur in the non-assertive (irrealis), including wider contexts of possibility and assumption. The following sentences exemplify such occurrences with respect to two items: *āb^hī tāk* ‘till now’, and *kuc^h b^hī* ‘whatever’:

- (111) *itnī* *minnātō* *ke bad b^hī* *kya vāh*
 this many.F entreaty.F.PL.OBL after EMPH QW he
āb^hī tāk b^haī *se milne* *gāya?*
 till now brother.OBL with meet.INF.OBL go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Did he go to see his brother in spite of so many pleas?’

- (112) *tum* *kuc^h b^hī* *kāro,* *vāh xuf* *nāhī hoga.*
 you.PL whatever do.OPT he happy not be.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Whatever you do, he will not be happy.’

- (113) *kuc^h b^hī* *gao* *to* *sāhī!*
 whatever sing.OPT EMPH DM
 ‘Just sing whatever.’

- (114) *rīta* *kuc^h b^hī* *lik^h* *de* *to mīna* *xuf* *ho jaegī.*
 Rita.F whatever write give.OPT then Meena.F happy be go.FUT.F.SG
 ‘Meena will be happy if Rita dashes off something.’

8.5.3.6. The Item *b^hāla...QW*

The item *b^hāla* with an interrogative item (QW) in the sentence signals a negative meaning:

- (115) *ap to s̄ab jante hē, mē b^hāla apko*
 you HON PTCL all know.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL I you.HON.DAT
nāya kya b̄ata s̄akta hū?
 new.M.SG what tell can.IMPF.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘You know all, what new (thing) can I tell you? [i.e., I can not tell you anything new.]’

- (116) *s̄avita s̄ab kam k̄ar detī hē, sīma b^hāla kyō*
 Savita.F all work do give.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG Seema.F why
k̄ap̄re s̄amhalna sīk^he?
 clothes care.INF learn.3rdP.OPT
 ‘Savita does everything, why should Sima bother to learn to care for (her) clothes?’

8.5.4. *Interrogative*

Interrogatives are formed with the particle *kya*, usually in the initial position in a sentence, as in (117)-(118) below:

- (117) *kya tum bīmar ho?*
 INTER you.PL ill be.2ndP.PRES.PL
 ‘Are you ill?’
- (118) *kya suḥma cunav l̄əṛ r̄ahī hē?*
 INTER Sushma.F election.M fight PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘Is Sushma fighting the election?’

It is, however, not necessary to have the particle in the sentence; just question intonation can be used to form a ‘yes-no’ question:

- (117’) *tum bīmar ho?*
 (118’) *suḥma cunav l̄əṛ r̄ahī hē?*

The interrogative particle *kya* may occur in other positions in the sentence depending upon what is in focus:

- (119) *ap k̄alkatte se aye hē kya?*
 you.HON Kolkata from come.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL INTER
 ‘Have you come from Kolkata (earlier, Calcutta)?’

- (120) *ap kya kolkata se aye hē?*
 you.HON INTER Kolkata from come.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘Have you come *from Kolkata* (earlier, Calcutta)?’

As *kya* is also used in information question formation for the complement of the verb (as in example (123) below), it does not occur in the pre-verbal position in a ‘yes-no’ question (e.g., a sentence such as **sufma cunav kya ləṛ rəhī hē?* to mean ‘Is Sushma fighting the election?’ is ungrammatical). The following interrogative pronouns are used in information question formation; note that they do not affect the normal word order of the sentence in which they occur.

- (121) *kən mumbāī ja rəha hē?* (subject/agent)
 who Mumbai go PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Who is going to Mumbai?’
- (122) *əb^hī tumse milne kən a rəha hē?*
 now.EMPH you.PL with meet.INF.OBL who come PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Who is coming to meet you just now?’
- (123) *sərita ne us dukan se kya xərīda?* (patient/direct object)
 Sarita AG that.OBL shop.OBL from what buy.PERF.M.SG
 ‘What did Sarita buy from that shop?’
- (124) *rīma ne kisko kitab dī?* (recipient/indirect object)
 Rim.F AG who.OBL.DAT book.F give.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Who did Rima give the book to?’
- (125) *həmlog c^huṭṭiyō mē kahā jāēge?* (place)
 we.PL vacation.F.PL.OBL in where go.FUT.M.PL
 ‘Where will we go for our vacation?’
- (126) *mu^je yəhā se kəb nikalna cahiye?* (time)
 I.OBL.DAT here from when leave.INF should
 ‘When should I leave here?’
- (127) *ap log kid^hər ja rəhe hē?* (direction)
 you HON people which direction go PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘Which direction are you (all) going in?’
- (128) *sāvita ko kitab kesī ləgī?* (quality)
 Savita.OBL DAT book.F how.F appeal.PERF.F.SG
 ‘How did Savita like the book?’

- (129) *tumne itna kam kēse kār liya?* (manner)
 you.PL AG so much work.M how do take.PERF.M.SG
 ‘How did you manage to get so much done?’
- (130) *unka mākan kitnī dūr hē?* (quantity)
 they.POSS.M.SG.OBL house.M how (much).F far.F be.PRES.SG
 ‘How far is their house?’

The interrogative construction may be used to signal the same meanings as those of the indicative positive or negative, but such use signals a strong negative implication:

- (131) *us halāt mē kya mē sīma ko kuc^h kāh*
 that.OBL condition.F.OBL in INTER I Sima.F DAT anything say
sāktī t^h?
 can.IMPF.F PAST.F.SG
 ‘Could I have said anything to Sima in that condition? (implication: “of course, not”)’
- (132) *mē lāndān kab gāya t^ha?*
 I London when go.PERF.M.SG PAST.SG
 ‘When did I go to London? (implication: “never”)’

8.5.4.1. Approval Marker *kyō ... nā*

The item *kyō nā* ‘why + not’ is used as a marker of strong approval of a proposition expressed in a sentence, or inevitability of an event or state:

- (133) *rajū pāṛ^hne mē itna tez hē, use*
 Raju.M study.INF.OBL in so much sharp be.PRES.SG he.OBL.DAT
prāṛ^ham st^han kyō nā milta !
 first position.M why not accrue.IMPF.M.SG
 ‘Raju is so smart in (his) studies, why would he not obtain the first position?’
- (134) *prāsad ne bāṛa ācc^ha b^hāṣṇ diya, log*
 Prasad AG very.M.SG good.M.SG lecture.M give.PERF.M.SG people
kyō nā prāb^havit hote !
 why not impressed be.IMPF.M.PL
 ‘Prasad gave such a good lecture, why wouldn’t people be impressed?’

Note that the main verb is always in the imperfect in such sentences.

8.5.5. *Presumptive*

The presumptive is expressed by the verbal root followed by the aspect marker and the gender-number-person variants of the auxiliary *hogV*. The auxiliary *hogV* consists of *ho* ‘be’ and the future tense marking suffix *-gV*. Consider the following examples:

- (135) *suref bəhut fərarī he, vəh zərūr əpne*
 Suresh very mischievous be.PRES.SG he surely self.POSS.M.OBL
b^haī ko təjg karta hoga.
 brother DOBJ torment do.IMPF.M.SG PRSM.M.SG
 ‘Suresh is very mischievous, he must (habitually) torment his brother.’

- (136) *din ke barəh bəje hē, səb log k^hana*
 day of twelve o'clock.PL be.PRES.PL all people meal
k^ha rəhe hōge.
 eat PROG.M.PL PRSM.M.PL
 ‘It is twelve noon, everyone must be eating.’

The presumptive is used to express assumptions made on the basis of some observable factors, e.g., in (135), the assumption of X tormenting Y is made on the basis of the mischievous character of X, and in (136), the assumption of everyone eating lunch is made on the basis of the time of the day.

8.5.6. *Contingent*

The contingent is expressed by the verbal root followed by the aspect marker and the auxiliary *ho*, which is invariant:

- (137) *fayəd suref roz rəməf se milta ho.*
 perhaps Suresh.M everyday Ramesh.M with meet.IMPF.M.SG CNTG
 ‘Suresh perhaps meets Ramesh everyday.’
- (138) *ənu fayəd əb tək skūl cəī gəī ho.*
 Anu.F perhaps now till school move.PERF.F.SG go.PERF.SG CNTG
 ‘Anu may have gone to school by now.’

The contingent forms are used to express a possibility, whether habitual, present, past, or future, and whether assumed to be completed or not.

8.5.7. *Past Contingent*

The past contingent is expressed by the verbal root followed by the aspect marker and the auxiliary *hotV* and its variants according to gender and number:

- (139) *kaḥ mē b^hī mumbāī gəya hōta.*
 PTCL I too Mumbai go.PERF.M.SG CF
 ‘How I wish I too had gone to Mumbai.’

- (140) *tū kəsrət kəṛta hōta to terī sehāt ḥ^hṭk rəhī.*
 you.SG exercise do.IMP.F.M.SG CF then you.POSS.F health.F good
 stay.IMP.F.SG
 ‘Had you exercised (regularly), your health would have been good.’

As (139)-(140) show, the past contingent is used to express the counterfactual meaning, i.e., it signals that the action or process denoted by the verb was not realized.

8.6. **Types of Simple Sentences**

The following sentence types are posited on the basis of grammatical structure and semantic import.

8.6.1. *Existential*

Existence is signaled in Hindi by the use of the verb *hona* ‘be.’ The entity whose existence is predicated can be either singular or plural and the verb agrees with the noun in gender, number and person:

- (141) *īḥvər hē.*
 God be.PRES.SG
 ‘God exists.’

- (142) *talab mē panī hē.*
 pond in water be.PRES.SG
 ‘There is water in the pond.’

- (143) *is jəḡgəl mē fer hē.*
 this forest.OBL in lion.PL be.PRES.PL
 ‘There are lions in this forest.’

Past existence is indicated by the past tense of the verb *hona* ‘be’:

- (144) *təb yəhā ek bəhut bəṛī j^hīl t^hī.*
 then here a very big.F lake.F be.PAST.F.SG
 ‘At that time, there was a very big lake here.’

There are two constructions for predicating future existence. If a state of affairs is seen as existing in the future with no reference to any other time, the future form of the verb *hona* ‘be’ is used:

- (145) *is dəfək ke ənt tək b^harət kī abadī ek ərəb se*
 this decade of.OBL end till India of.F population.F one billion than
zyada hogī.
 more be.FUT.F.SG
 ‘By the end of this decade, India’s population will be more than one billion.’

If, however, the future existence is seen as a continuation of a state of affairs, the future form of the verb *rəhna* ‘remain’ is used:

- (146) *yəhā pəhle b^hī baḡ^h t^he, əb b^hī hē,*
 here previously too tiger.PL be.PAST.PL now too be.PRES.PL
age b^hī rəhēge
 ahead too remain.FUT.M.PL
 ‘There were tigers here before, they are here now, and they will be here in the future, too.’

8.6.2. *Generic*

The generic is expressed by a singular or plural noun with no determiner and the verb *hona* ‘be’ in the imperfect present. The verb agrees with the noun in gender, number and person:

- (147) *b^harət mē am hota he.*
 India.OBL in mango.M be.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG.
 ‘Mangoe grows in India.’
- (148) *kaṣmīr mē cinar ke peṛ hote hē.*
 Kashmir in Chinar of tree.PL be.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘There are Chinar trees in Kashmir.’

The present imperfect of any verb can be used in the generic meaning with the usual verb agreement:

- (149) *murgā bāg deta hē.*
 cock.M.SG crow give.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘A/the cock crows.’

- (150) *mākṛī jal buntī hē.*
 spider.F.SG web.M.SG spin.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘A spider spins a web.’

The passive in the present imperfect is also used to convey the generic meaning:

- (151) *cāndān ke peṛ karnaṭak mē paye*
 sandalwood of.PL tree.M.PL Karnataka in find.M.PL
jate hē.
 PASV.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘The sandalwood trees are found in Karnataka.’

- (152) *b^harət mē nag pūje jate*
 India.OBL in cobra.M.PL worship.PERF.M.PL PASV.IMPF.M.PL
hē.
 PRES.PL
 ‘Cobras are worshipped in India.’

Past tense forms are also used in generic statements, provided the use of the past tense does not contradict the background knowledge of the language users as to what the current state of affairs is. For instance, sentence (153) has a generic interpretation, whereas sentence (154) does not, since the state of affairs described in (154) is still true:

- (153) *ṭiranosṛas reks mansaharī hota t^ha.*
 Tyrannosaurus Rex.M carnivorous be.IMPF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘Tyrannosaurus Rex was carnivorous.’

- (154) *?kutta paltū janvər hota t^ha.*
 Dog.M pet animal.M be.IMPF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘?A dog was/ used to be a pet animal.’

The sentence (154) implies dogs are no longer pet animals, which is false. Hence, (154) is not a well-formed generic statement.

8.6.3. *Possessive*

Possession is indicated by a construction in which the possessor noun is followed by a postposition, the possessed noun is in the direct case, and the verb *hona* ‘be’ is used as the finite verb, which agrees with the possessed noun in gender, number and person. The postpositions used for marking the possessor noun are the invariable postposition *ke*, the dative postposition *ko*, and the locative postpositions *mē* ‘in’ and *ke pas* ‘near’. The choice of postposition depends upon the properties of the possessed noun, and the nature of the possession. Inalienable possession (i.e., kinship and body parts) is expressed by the invariable postposition *ke*:

(155) *ram ke do beṭiyā hē.*
 Ram POSS two daughter.F.PL be.PRES.PL
 ‘Ram has two daughters.’

(156) *is gay ke ek hī āk^h hē.*
 this cow POSS one only eye be.PRES.SG
 ‘This cow has only one eye.’

For alienable, concrete, animate possessions, including human employees of low status, the postposition *ke pas* ‘near’ is used:

(157) *lāṛke ke pas ek saikil hē/ t^hī*
 boy of.OBL near one bicycle.F be.PRES.SG / be.PAST.F.SG
 ‘The boy has/had a bicycle.’

(158) *merī bāhān ke pas do tote hē.*
 I.POSS.F sister.F of.OBL near two parrot.M.PL be.PRES.PL
 ‘My sister has two parrots.’

(159) *ṭīla ke pas ek hī nākār hē.*
 Sheela of.OBL near one only servant be.PRES.SG
 ‘Sheela has only one servant.’

Note that the finite verb *ho* ‘be’ agrees with the possessed noun in gender and number in (155)-(159). This is true of all possessive sentences.

With abstract nouns, both the postposition *ko* and *mē* are used. If the abstract noun denotes permanent attributes such as *sahās* ‘courage’, *dāya* ‘kindness’, *kāruṇā* ‘compassion’, *udarta* ‘generosity’, the postposition used is *mē*. If the abstract noun denotes transitory feelings and experiences, such as

ṛussa ‘anger’, *xuṣṭī* ‘pleasure’, *duk^h* ‘sorrow’, *əfsos* ‘regret’, the postposition used is *ko*. Compare the following:

- (160) *usmē bəṛa d^hery hε.*
 (s)he.OBL in much.M.SG patience.M be.PRES.SG
 ‘(S)he has a great deal of patience.’
- (161) *susmita ko der se ane ka bəṛa*
 Susmita.F.OBL DAT late by come.INF.OBL of.M.SG much.M.SG
əfsos hε.
 regret.M be.PRES.SG
 ‘Susmita is very sorry to have arrived late.’
- (162) *mu^hko nə b^hūk^h hε, nə pyas, nə xuṣṭī*
 I.OBL.DAT no hunger.F be.PRES.SG no thirst.F, no pleasure.F
hε nə ɾəm.
 be.PRES.SG no sorrow.M
 ‘I am neither hungry nor thirsty, neither happy nor sad.’

8.6.4. Intransitive

Intransitive sentences have as their finite verbs the linking verbs, *hona* ‘be’, and *rəhna* ‘remain, be’, change-of-state verbs such as *bənna* ‘become’, *hona* ‘become’, *girna* ‘fall’, and *k^hilna* ‘bloom’, or action verbs such as *jana* ‘go’, *hāсна* ‘laugh’, *sona* ‘sleep’, and *be^hna* ‘sit’. The linking verb takes either an adjectival, adverbial, or nominal complement:

- (163) *rīta xuṣṭ hε.*
 Rita.F happy be.PRES.SG
 ‘Rita is happy.’
- (164) *mā g^həṛ mē hē.*
 mother house.OBL in be.PRES.SG
 ‘Mother is at home.’
- (165) *mere b^haī pəṛākar hē.*
 I.POSS.M.PL brother journalist be.PRES.PL
 ‘My brother is a journalist.’

In (163), the linking verb has an adjectival complement, in (164), an adverbial complement, and in (165), a nominal complement. The verb agrees in gender, number and person with the subject, as is clear from the following examples:

- (166) *larkī budd^himan t^hī.*
 girl intelligent be.PAST.F.SG
 'The girl was intelligent.'

- (167) *mē daktār hū.*
 I doctor be.1stP.PRES.SG
 'I am a doctor.'

In (166), the finite verb shows explicitly gender and number agreement and in (167), number and person agreement. The person agreement marker in (166) is zero, and the gender agreement marker in (167) is zero as personal pronouns make no gender distinction and neither does the verb 'be' in the simple present.

The process and action verb sentences may have two constituents: the subject and the finite verb. The verb agrees with the subject:

- (168) *nīna hāsī.*
 Nina.F laugh.PERF.F.SG
 'Nina laughed.'

- (169) *bacca roya.*
 child.M cry.PERF.M.SG
 'The child cried.'

- (170) *pīta jī so rāhe hē.*
 father HON sleep PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 'Father is asleep.'

- (171) *mata jī aēgī.*
 mother HON come.FUT.F.PL
 'Mother will come.'

One or more adverbials may occur in these sentences optionally:

- (172) *caca jī kāl banarās jaēge.*
 uncle HON tomorrow Banaras go.FUT.M.PL
 'Uncle will go to Banaras tomorrow.'

- (173) *ve log d^hīre d^hīre cāl rāhe t^he.*
 those people slowly slowly walk PROG PAST
 'Those people were walking slowly.'

8.6.5. *Transitive*

In addition to a subject and a finite verb, a transitive sentence also has a direct object:

(174) *ve əxbar pəṭʰ rəhe hẽ.*
 they newspaper read PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘They are reading the newspaper.’

(175) *mera bʰaī krikeṭ kʰelta he.*
 I.POSS.M.SG.OBL brother cricket play.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘My brother plays cricket.’

Some transitive verbs require, in addition to a direct object, an object complement or an indirect object. The former set of verbs is known as complex transitive, and the latter as double transitive or ditransitive verbs (see Chapter 7).

8.6.6. *Complex Transitive*

The following sentences exemplify the complex transitive construction:

(176) *mẽ tumko əpna bʰaī manta*
 I you.FAM.DOBJ self.POSS.M.SG brother consider.IMP.F.M.SG
hũ.
 be.1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘I consider you my brother.’

(177) *tum usko bəhut səməjʰdar paogī.*
 you.FAM (s)he.OBL.DOBJ very sensible find.2ndP.FUT.F.PL
 ‘You will find her/him very sensible.’

In this construction, the direct object must be followed by its marker, the postposition *ko*, even if it is inanimate:

(178) *mẽ gəṇit ko kəṭʰin viʃəy manta hũ.*
 I math DOBJ difficult subject consider.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘I consider mathematics a difficult subject.’

If, however, the direct object is an abstract verbal noun, the postposition *ko* does not occur:

- (179) *usne itne logō ke liye k^hana pākana*
 (s)he AG so many.OBL people.PL.OBL for food.M cook.INF
asan sāmj^ha.
 easy consider.PERF.M.SG
 ‘She considered cooking for so many people easy.’

8.6.7. *Double Transitive*

In a sentence that requires two objects, the indirect object marked by *ko* ‘to’ comes before the direct object:

- (180) *sāvita rīma ko kuc^h līciyā degī.*
 Savita Rima IOBJ some lychee.F.PL give.FUT.F.SG
 ‘Savita will give Rima some lychees.’

If, however, both are animate (specially, human) nouns, and require the postposition *ko*, the direct object comes before the indirect object:

- (181) *hām is bācce ko uskī mā ko sōp*
 we this child.OBL DOBJ he.POSS.F.OBL mother IOBJ hand over
dē.
 give.PL.OPT
 ‘Let us hand this child over to his mother.’

8.6.8. *Causative*

As has been said earlier (see 4.5.2 for the formation of causative verbs), many of the transitive and causative verbs are derived from more basic intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively. This derivation is by morphological processes, but it has important consequences for syntactic constructions. For instance, the derivation from intransitive to transitive and transitive to double transitive or causative affects the valency of the verb. That is, each step in derivation increases the potential number of arguments that a verb can take by one, as has been mentioned before in 4.5.2. Also, the relationship of the arguments is such that the subject of the intransitive functions as direct object of the transitive verb, and the subject of the transitive functions as either the indirect object of the double transitive verb, or the mediating agent of the causative verb. The following examples make these processes clear:

- (182) *dārvaza k^hul rāha hε.*
 door.M.SG open PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The door is opening.’

- (183) *raj dārvaze k^hol rāha he.*
 Raj.M door.M.PL open PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Raj is opening the doors.’

In (182), *dārvaze* ‘doors’ is the subject; in (183), *dārvaze* is the direct object. Similarly, in (184), *bācce* ‘children’ is the subject, but in (195), *bāccō* ‘children.OBL’ is the indirect object:

- (184) *bācce kāhanī sun rāhe hē.*
 child.M.PL story.F listen PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘The children are listening to the story.’

- (185) *sonia bāccō ko kāhanī suna rāhī he.*
 Sonia.F childr.M.PL.OBL IOBJ story.F listen.CAUS PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘Sonia is telling a story to the children.’

In (186) *lārkiyā* ‘girls’ is the subject, whereas *lārkiyō* ‘girls.OBL’ is the mediating agent in (187):

- (186) *lārkiyā rāzlē gaēgī.*
 girl.F.PL ghazal.F.PL sing.FUT.F.PL
 ‘The girls will sing ghazals.’

- (187) *mē lārkiyō se rāzlē gāvāīgī.*
 I girl.F.PL.OBL by ghazal.F.PL sing.CAUS.1stP.FUT.F.SG
 ‘I will have the girls sing ghazals.’

In each of the odd-numbered sentences (i.e., (183), (185), and (187)), there is one extra argument as compared to the even-numbered sentences (i.e., (182), (184), (186)). In (182), *k^hul* ‘open’ takes only one argument, a subject; in (183), *k^hol* ‘open (TR)’ takes two arguments, a subject and a direct object. In (184), the verb *sun* ‘listen’ takes two arguments, a subject and a direct object; in (185), *suna* ‘cause to listen, tell’ takes an additional argument, an initiator agent who makes it possible for the children to listen to the story by narrating it to them. Similarly, in (186), *ga* ‘sing’ has two arguments, a subject and a direct object; in (187), *gāva* ‘cause to sing’ has three arguments, an initiator agent, an agent who performs the action of singing, and the object.

Generally, the causative sentence in the affirmative implies that the action or process expressed by the non-causal or basic verb has been, is being, or will be completed. For instance, (183) implies (182) and (185) implies (184).

Causative sentences in the negative, however, do not imply that the action or process expressed by the basic verb did not take place. Sentences such as the following, therefore, are perfectly well-formed:

- (188) *mēne k^hiṭkī nāhī k^holī, vāh ap hī*
 I AG window.F not open.PERF.F.SG it self EMPH
k^hul gāī.
 open go.PERF.F.SG
 ‘I did not open the window, it opened by itself.’
- (189) *tumne mez nāhī lāgāī to kya*
 you.FAM AG table.F not set.CAUS.PERF.F.SG then what
hua, mez lāg cukī he.
 happen.PERF.M.SG table.F set complete.PERF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘You did not set the table, so what? It has been set.’

On the basis of their behavior in the causative sentences, transitive verbs are classified into two groups. Affective verbs are verbs such as *k^hana* ‘eat’, *pīna* ‘drink’, *sīk^hna* ‘learn’, *samaj^hna* ‘understand’, *pāhanna* ‘wear (clothes)’, and *oṭ^hna* ‘cover oneself’. The subjects of these verbs appear as indirect objects marked with the postposition *ko* ‘to’ in causative sentences, e.g.:

- (190) *aruṇa ne śal oṭ^hī.*
 Aruna.F AG shawl.F cover.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Aruna covered herself with a shawl.’
- (191) *rīta ne aruṇa ko śal oṭ^haī.*
 Rita.F AG Aruna.F to shawl.F cover.CAUS.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Rita covered Aruna with a shawl.’

This occurrence of subjects of non-causals as indirect objects of causal verbs is not unexpected, since the subject of the affective verbs is the beneficiary of the action of the non-causal verb. That is why affective verbs do not occur with benefactive adverbials; the following sentences are odd:

- (192) *?raja ne mā ke liye kāmbal oṭ^ha.*
 Raja.M AG mother for blanket.M cover.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Raja covered himself with a blanket for (his) mother.’
- (193) *?śīla b^haī ke liye k^hana k^ha rāhī he.*
 Sheela.F brother for meal.M eat PROG.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Sheela is eating a meal for (her) brother.’

The examples above are not well-formed as they suggest that as a result of Raja covering himself or Sheela's eating, the mother or the brother gets the benefit of the action of covering oneself or satisfying one's hunger. Note, however, (192) and (193) are grammatical in the sense that the action was performed by the agent to *please* the object of the postposition *ke liye*, i.e., to please the mother or the brother, and in that case, the postposition *ke liye* is interchangeable with *kī xatir* 'for the sake of'.

Subjects of non-affective verbs are marked with the postposition *se* 'by' and function as the mediating agent in the causative sentence, as is clear from the following sentences:

- (194) *ye afsar kiraniyō se ciṭṭīyā*
 these officer.PL clerk.M.PL.OBL by letter.F.PL
lik^hvate hē.
 write.CAUS.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL
 'These officers have the clerks write their letters.'

- (195) *sonia ritu se gane gəvaegī.*
 Sonia.F Ritu.F by song.PL sing.CAUS.FUT.F.SG
 'Sonia will have Ritu sing the songs.'

Semantically, although the causative has an implicational meaning, it does not have a coercive meaning. To indicate coercion, an adverb such as *zəbərdəstī* 'by force' has to be used:

- (196) *bəhan ne muj^he zəbərdəstī miṭ^haī k^hilaī.*
 sister AG I.OBL.DAT by force sweets.F eat.CAUS.PERF.F.SG
 '(My) sister forced me to eat the sweets.'

Alternatively, a periphrastic construction with verbs such as *məjbūr karna* or *vivəf karna* 'to force, compel' may be used:

- (197) *šīla ne rad^ha ko gane pər məjbūr kiya.*
 Sheela.F AG Radha.F DOBJ singing on force do.PERF.M.SG
 'Sheela forced Radha to sing.'

The causative verbs do not mean 'to help to V', although this meaning may be derived by pragmatic principles in appropriate contexts, e.g.,

(198) (a porter to a customer)

babūjī, saman b^harī he, zəra u^hva dē.
 sir luggage.M heavy be.PRES.SG, a little rise.CAUS give.OPT.PL
 ‘Sir, the luggage is heavy, please help me lift it.’

It is inappropriate for a porter to suggest that the customer lift the luggage up. Therefore, he suggests that the customer have it lifted by someone so that he (the porter) can carry it. Note the politeness marker *zəra* ‘a little’ (see Chapter 11 for details). The meaning to be derived by the customer is that the porter needs help in lifting the luggage.

Although the initiator agent noun phrase does not refer to the performer of the action, it is the subject of the causative sentence. As such, the reflexive pronoun in a causative sentence refers back to the initiator agent:

(199) *sufma ne sumita ko əpnī saṛī*
 Shushma.F AG Sumita.F IOBJ self.POSS.F saree.F
pəhnaī.
 wear.CAUS.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Shushma dressed Sumita in her (Shushma’s) saree.’

The reflexive pronoun in (199) refers back to Shushma. If the intended referent were Sumita, the appropriate possessive pronoun would have to be used:

(200) *sufma ne sumita ko uskī*
 Shushma.F AG Sumita.F IOBJ she. POSS.F.OBL
saṛī pəhnaī.
 saree wear.CAUS.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Shushma had Sumita dressed in her saree.’

The possessive pronoun in (200) is ambiguous; it may refer back to Sumita or to a third-person referent not mentioned in the sentence.

Manner adverbials with subject reference also refer to the initiator agent of the causative sentences:

(201) *vəh bəhut mən ləga kər səbko əjgrezī*
 he very mind apply CP all.IOBJ English
pəṛ^hata he.
 study.CAUS.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘He teaches English to everyone with great diligence.’

It is the teacher who teaches with diligence, not the students who learn with diligence. The transitive and the double transitive verbs derived from the basic intransitive verbs express direct causation. For example, in the following sets of sentences, the subjects of the transitive and double transitive verbs are the real agents performing the actions denoted by the verbs:

- (202) *gilas tūṭa.*
 glass.M break.PERF.M.SG
 'The glass broke.'
- (203) *raka ne gilas toṭa.*
 Raka.F AG glass.M break.PERF.M.SG
 'Raka broke the glass.'
- (204) *Syam ne tṣvīrē dek^hī.*
 Shyam.M AG picture.F.PL look.PERF.F.PL
 'Shyam looked at the pictures.'
- (205) *mīna ne mohān ko tṣvīrē dik^haī.*
 Meena.F AG Mohan.M IOBJ picture.F.PL see.CAUS.PERF.F.PL
 'Meena showed Mohan the pictures.'

In (203), Raka is the agent responsible for breaking the glass, and in (205), Meena is the agent responsible for bringing the pictures to Mohan's attention.

In contrast, the causative forms of the verbs express indirect causation, i.e., the initiator agent of a causative sentence is not the real agent or performer of the action denoted by the verb. For instance, in (206) and (207), the real agent or performer of the action is the mediating agent:

- (206) *mēne ſyam se ciṭṭ^hī lik^hvaī.*
 I AG Shyam.M by letter.F write.CAUS.PERF.F.SG
 'I had Shyam write the letter.'
- (207) *usne mīna se hāmko tṣvīrē*
 s/he.OBL AG Meena.F by we.OBL.IOBJ picture.F.PL
dik^halvaī.
 show.CAUS.PERF.F.PL
 'S/he had Meena show us the pictures.'

In (206), Shyam is the writer of the letter and in (207), Meena is responsible for showing the pictures.

The notions direct vs. indirect causation are grammatico-semantic, they should not be taken to reflect any real-world state of affairs. For example, the following is an instance of direct causation in terms of grammatical structure; it is, however, not the case that the real performer of the action is the initiator agent of the causative sentence:

- (208) *həmne us dīn sɔ logō ko kʰana*
 we AG that.OBL day hundred people.OBL IOBJ meal.M
kʰilaya.
 eat.CAUS.PERF.M.SG
 ‘We fed a hundred people that day, i.e., we had a hundred people eat (at our place) that day.’

The sentence simply means that ‘we’ were responsible; ‘we’ may not even have been present when the hundred people ate, but ‘we’ were instrumental in causing the feeding of the hundred people. Similarly, the following sentence does not describe a state of affairs in which the grandfather actually directed the building of the house on site in person:

- (209) *dada jī ne yəh məkan bənvaya tʰa.*
 grandfather HON AG this house.M build.CAUS.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘(My) grandfather had this house built.’

There are sets of non-causal : causal verbs that show irregular patterning in terms of semantic relationship. For example, *kəhlana* is a causal of *kəhna* ‘say’ in form, but it does not always mean ‘to cause to say’. Instead, it may mean ‘to be called or named’:

- (210) *dəfrətʰ ke səb se bəre beje ram kəhlae.*
 Dashrath.M of.PL all than older.PL son.PL Ram call.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Dashrath’s eldest son was called Ram (the plural in the gloss is the marker of honorific).’

In (210), *kəhlana* ‘to be called’ functions as an intransitive verb. Similarly, although the derivational relationship of the following verbs is clear, the causal counterparts are used in slightly different senses than would be expected strictly on the basis of morphological derivation (see 4.5.2 also):

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>māgna</i> ‘ask for’ | <i>məgana</i> ‘cause to be brought’ |
| <i>milna</i> ‘meet’ | <i>milana</i> ‘introduce’ |
| <i>dena</i> ‘give’ | <i>dil(v)ana</i> ‘to buy for X’ |

However, the semantic relationship of the causative form to the basic form is still transparent. For details of the derivation of causatives, see 4.5.2.

8.6.9. *Passive and Impersonal*

As has been said before (sections 8.4.2 and 8.4.3), the passive and impersonal are formed by the perfect participle form of the verb. The participle is immediately followed by the passive auxiliary *ja*, which in turn takes the aspect, tense, mood and agreement markers. The agent, if it occurs, is followed by the instrumental postposition *se* or *dvara*:

- (211) *b^harət mē divalī mənāī jatī he.*
 India in Diwali.F celebrate.PERF.F PASV.IMPF.F PRES.SG
 ‘Diwali is celebrated in India.’
- (212) *pustak kī do hazar prātiyā c^hapī gāñ.*
 book of.F two thousand copy.F.PL print.PERF.F PASV.PERF.F.PL
 ‘Two thousand copies of the book were printed.’
- (213) *k^hane mē itnī mirc t^hī ki bācce se*
 food.OBL in so much.F pepper.F was.F.SG that child.M.OBL by
k^haya nāhī gāya.
 eat.PERF.M.SG not PASV.PERF.M.SG
 ‘There was so much pepper in the food that the child could not eat it.’
- (214) *mu^j se koī b^hī d̄aravnī film nāhī dek^hī jaegī.*
 I.OBL by any EMPH horror.F film.F not see.PERF.F PASV.FUT.F.SG
 ‘I will not be able to see any horror movie.’
- (215) *sīma se aj k^hana pākaya jaega?*
 Sima.F by today meal.M cook.PERF.M.SG PASV.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Will Sima be able to cook (a) meal today?’

Note the following facts about the passive sentence in Hindi: a passive sentence usually does not include an overt agent (211-212); when it does, the passive has a capabilityitive meaning, i.e., it expresses the ability of the agent (213-214); and passives and impersonals with agents usually occur in the non-assertive (213-215).

In the formal register (administrative, legalese, etc.), assertive passives and impersonals do occur with agents, and the agent is usually marked with the compound postposition (*ke*) *dvara* ‘through’:

- (216) *keral mē sārkar dvara k^helō ke liye ek nidejaləy*
 Kerala in government.F by sport.PL.OBL for a directorate.M
bənaya jaega.
 make.PERF.M.SG PASV.FUT.M.SG
 ‘A directorate for sports will be set up in Kerala by the government.’

The agentless passive is used to express the following meanings:

- a. an event which was clearly initiated by an agent, but either the agent is unknown or not relevant to the purpose of interaction;
- b. general custom or occurrence (211 above).

Passive with agent is used to express the following meanings:

- a. the agent’s capability or lack thereof for the action expressed by the verb;
- b. in select registers, to thematize the direct object and downgrade the agent (216 above).

For the subject properties of passive and impersonal agents, marked with instrumental postposition *se*, see section 8.3.1.

8.6.10. *Permissive*

The permissive is formed by the inflected infinitive of the verb followed by the verb *de* ‘give’, which is inflected for aspect-tense and agreement. The agent is in the nominative for the non-perfect tenses; in the perfect, however, it is followed by the agentive postposition *ne*:

- (217) *vəh əpne bəccō ko der tək bahər k^helne*
 she self. POSS.OBL child.PL.OBL IOBJ late till out play.INF.OBL
deṭī he.
 PERM.IMPF.F.SG be.PRES
 ‘She allows her children to play outdoors till late.’

- (218) *həmē pərīkṣa mē səndərb^h grənt^h dek^hne*
 we.OBL.DAT examination.F.OBL in reference book.M see.INF.OBL
diya jaega.
 PERM.PERF.M.SG PASV.FUT.M.SG
 ‘We will be allowed to consult reference works during the examination.’

- (219) *pita jī muj^he rəsoī mē nəhī jane*
 father HON I.OBL.DAT kitchen.F in not go.INF.OBL

dete *t^he*.
 PERM.IMPF.M.PL be.PAST.M.PL
 ‘Father would not let me go into the kitchen.’

- (220) *anu ne sunīta ko vāhā bhājən nāhī*
 Anu.F AG Sunita.F DAT there bhajan.M not
gane diya.
 sing.INF.OBL PERM.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Anu did not allow Sunita to sing devotional songs there.’

Note that the permissive is used both in the active (217, 219-220 above) and in the passive (218 above).

8.6.11. *Dative Subject*

The following sentence types require the subject to be marked with the dative postposition: experiencer subject, desiderative, and obligative. These are discussed in the following subsections.

EXPERIENCER SUBJECT

There is a type of predicate in Hindi which is composed of a noun denoting a physical sensation or a psychological state followed by a verb selected out of a small class of stative or inchoative verbs which require their subjects to be marked with the dative postposition. This sentence type is illustrated below:

- (221) *sumit ko nīna se bāhut hāmdardī hε*.
 Sumit.M DAT Nina.F with much sympathy.F be.PRES.SG
 ‘Sumit has a great deal of sympathy for Nina.’
- (222) *muj^he d^hūp mē be^hne se sirdard ho*
 I.OBL.DAT sun in sit.INF.OBL from headache.M be
jata hε.
 go.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘I get a headache if I sit in the sun.’
- (223) *tumhē īsaiyət ke bare mē kya malūm hε?*
 you.FAM.DAT Christianity about what knowledge be.PRES.SG
 ‘What do you know about Christianity?’
- (224) *ḡnək ko bille pər bəḡa pyar aya*.
 Shaunak DAT cat.M.SG.OBL on much.M.SG love.M come.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Shaunak felt a great love for the cat.’

- (225) *tumko bəhut b^hūk^h ləg rəhī hē?*¹
 you.FAM.DAT much hunger.F feel PROG.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Are you feeling very hungry?’

The predicate in (221) is *həmdərdī hona* which has the noun *həmdərdī* ‘sympathy’ and *hona* ‘to be’. Similarly, the predicate in (222) is *sirdərd hona*, which is composed of the noun *sirdərd* ‘headache’ and the inchoative *ho jana* ‘become’; and the predicate in (223) is *malūm hona*, which is composed of *malūm* ‘knowledge’ and the stative verb *ho* ‘be’. The predicates in (224)-(225) do not have the verb ‘be, become’; instead, they have the verbs ‘come’, and ‘feel’. The experiencer, or dative, subject sentence is used to express the following meanings:

- a. physical and psychological states or processes over which one does not have any control, e.g., to get a headache, to feel hungry, to be angry, to be cold, etc.
- b. to feel emotions, to receive sense perceptions or to come to know things without conscious effort or volition, e.g., to feel affection, to happen to see or hear something, to come to know or become aware of something, etc.

DESIDERATIVE

The desiderative sentence is formed by using the irregular verb *cahiye*, which does not take agreement markers:

- (226) *rīma ko ek kitab cahiye*
 Rima DAT one book want
 ‘Rima wants a book.’
- (227) *bəhut pyas ləg rəhī hē, muj^he ek gilās panī cahiye.*
 much thirst.F feel PROG.F PRES.SG I.OBL.DAT a glass water want
 ‘(I) feel very thirsty, I want a glass of water.’
- (228) *fyam ko kuc^h pəse cahiye t^he.*
 Shyam DAT some money.M.PL want PAST.M.PL
 ‘Shyam wanted some money.’
- (229) *merī bəhən ko us sal ek nəya koṭ*
 I.POSS.F sister DAT that.OBL year a new.M.SG coat.M
cahiye t^ha.
 want PAST.M.SG
 ‘My sister wanted a new coat that year.’

- (230) *tumko jayad merī koī kitab cahiye t^hī.*
 you.FAM.DAT perhaps I.POSS.F some book.F want PAST.F.SG
 ‘You probably wanted some book of mine.’
- (231) *sarita ko car saṛiyā cahiye t^hī.*
 Sarita DAT four saree.F.PL want PAST.F.PL
 ‘Sarita wanted four sarees.’

The verb *cahiye* is also used with the past auxiliary to express a past need. The past auxiliary occurs in all its variants that indicate gender and number agreement (228-231 above). The past desiderative does not necessarily mean that the need was fulfilled. It is neutral with regard to the satisfaction of the need, as is clear from the following examples; cf. (232) with (233):

- (232) *fyam ko ek kəḷəm cahiye t^hī, jo mēne*
 Shyam DAT a pen.F want PAST.F.SG REL I AG
use xərīd dī.
 buy he.OBL.DAT give.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Shyam wanted a pen, which I bought for him.’
- (233) *rajū ko car joṛe jūte cahiye t^he, ek b^hī*
 Raju DAT four pair.M.PL shoe.M.PL want PAST.M.PL one EMPH
nəhī̃ mila.
 not obtain.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Raju wanted four pairs of shoes; he did not find even one.’

The verb *cahna* ‘want’ also expresses a desiderative meaning, but it is not used in the sense of wanting concrete objects as in the example sentences above. It is used with a clausal or infinitival complement as in (234)-(235), or with animate and human nouns, as in (236)-(237) where it denotes ‘love’:

- (234) *mē cahta hū̃ ki ap ab^hī*
 I want.IMPF.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG that you.HON now.EMPH
kuc^h der or rukē.
 some duration more stay.OPT.PL
 ‘I want you to stay a little longer.’
- (235) *simmī is sal aṣṭreliya jana cahī̃ he.*
 Simmi.F this.OBL year Australia go.INF want.IMPF.F PRES.SG
 ‘Simmi wants to go to Australia this year.’

- (236) *šamit əpne g^hoʃe ko bəhut*
 Shamit.M self.POSS.M.OBL horse.M.OBL DOBJ much
cahta hə.
 love.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Shamit loves his horse very much.’

- (237) *šyam rad^hika ko bəhut cahta t^ha.*
 Shyam.M Radhika.F DOBJ much love.IMPF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘Shyam loved Radhika very much.’

OBLIGATIVE

The obligative is formed by the infinitive form of the verb which is followed by the modal auxiliaries *ho* or *pəʃ*, which take all the aspect-tense and agreement markings:

- (238) *merī b^hətījī kī šadī hə, muj^he lək^hnəū*
 I.POSS.F niece.F of.F wedding.F be.PRESG.S I.OBL.DAT Lucknow
jana hoga.
 go.INF FUT.M.SG.OBLG
 ‘My niece [brother’s daughter] is getting married; I will have to go to Lucknow.’
- (239) *viman kalkō kī həʃtal cəl rəhī t^hī,*
 airplane driver.PL.OBL of.F strike.F move PROG.F PAST.F.SG
isliye həmə rel se yatra kərnī pəʃī.
 so we.OBL train.F by travel.F do.INF.F PERF.F.SG.OBLG
 ‘The pilots were on strike, so we had to travel by train.’

The difference between the obligative modal auxiliaries *ho* and *pəʃ* is that the former indicates an internally motivated obligation whereas the latter implies an externally motivated one, as is clear from (238) and (239) above. Some more examples follow:

- (240) *koī məjbūrī nəhī[~] hə, p^hir b^hī muj^he divalī pər*
 any compulsion.F not be.PRES.SG even so I.OBL.DAT Diwali on
ek davət denī hī hogī
 a feast.F give.INF.F EMPH FUT.F.SG.OBLG
 ‘There is no compulsion, still, I will have to arrange for a feast on the occasion of Diwali.’²
- (241) *pita jī kī agya hə, c^hoʃe b^haī - bəhən*
 father HON of.F order.F be.PRES.SG younger.M.OBL brother-sister.OBL

ko sarkas dik^hane le jana hī pəṛega.
 DOBJ circus see.CAUS.INF.OBL take go.INF EMPH FUT.M.SG.OBLG
 ‘Father has asked me; therefore, I will have to take my younger siblings to see the circus.’

The obligative *ho* does not occur in the perfect. Stylistically, it is possible to use *ho* in contexts where *pəṛ* occurs, but it then signals the meaning that though one is being compelled to carry out some task, s/he considers it internally motivated rather than externally imposed.

8.6.12. Other Oblique Subjects

In addition to the agentive *ne* and dative *ko*, other postpositions such as the instrumental *se*, genitive *ka* (variants *ke* (M.PL), *kī* (F)), and locatives *mē* ‘in’ and *ke pas* ‘near’ also occur with the subject in select sentence types. These are exemplified below (see also 8.3.1).

- (242) *rameṣ se yāh kam nāhī hoga.*
 Ramesh.M by this job.M not happen.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Ramesh will not be able to do this job.’
- (243) *šīla se vāhā jate nāhī bāna.*
 Sheila.F by there go.IMP.F.OBL not make.(INTR).PERF.M.SG
 ‘Sheila could not go there, i.e., could not make herself go there.’
- (244) *mohān ka irada he ki ek upānyas lik^he.*
 Mohan of.M.SG intention.M be.PRES.SG that a novel.M write.3rdP.OPT
 ‘Mohan intends to write a novel.’
- (245) *mata jī kī icc^ha he ki mē lak^hnāū*
 mother HON of.F wish.F be.PRES.SG that I Lucknow
mē rāhū.
 in live.1stP.OPT
 ‘Mother wants me to live in Lucknow.’
- (246) *māmta ke sirf ek hī beṭa he.*
 Mamta POSS only one EMPH son be.PRES.SG
 ‘Mamta has only one son.’
- (247) *ranī mē b^haṣāē sīk^hne ka d^hery*
 Rani in language.F.PL learn.INF.OBL of.M.SG patience.M

nəhĩ *he.*
 not be.PRES.SG
 ‘Rani does not have the patience to learn languages.’

(248) *sāvita ke pas əb ek bəhut əcc^ha rəsoiya he.*
 Savita POSS now a very good.M.SG cook.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 ‘Savita has a very good cook now.’

Note that the finite verbs in (242)-(243) are intransitive; intransitive verbs such as the ones in the examples above and *girma* ‘to be dropped’, *ṭūṭna* ‘to be broken’, etc., take an instrumental argument that has some properties of a subject (see 8.3.1 for details). Conjunct verbs composed of nouns such as *xəyal* or *vicar* ‘thinking, opinion’, *yojna* ‘plan’, *icc^ha* ‘wish’, *su^hav* ‘advice’, etc., and the verb *ho* ‘be’ take a genitive subject as in (244)-(245). The invariable *ke* in (246) and the locatives in (247)-(248) mark the possessor subject in a possessive sentence (see 8.6.3).

8.7. Constructions (*prayog*) in Active

Most transitive and some intransitive verbs require their subjects to be marked with the agentive postposition *ne* in the perfect. With some transitive verbs such as *səməj^hna* ‘understand’ and *jənna* ‘give birth to’, the subject may be optionally marked with *ne*. The presence or absence of *ne*-marking of the subject of the transitive verb in the perfect results in three different constructions in the active voice: subjectival (in traditional technical terminology, *kartari prayog*), objectival (*karmaṇi prayog*), and neutral (*b^hāve prayog*).

8.7.1. The Subjectival Construction

In the subjectival construction, the subject is unmarked, i.e., it is in the direct case, the verb is in non-perfect aspect, and there is subject-verb agreement, as in (249)-(251) below:

(249) *bəcce k^hel rəhe hē.*
 child.M.PL play PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘The children are playing.’

(250) *mē kəl bənarəs ja rəha hū.*
 I tomorrow Banaras go PROG.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘I am going to Banaras tomorrow.’

- (251) *rīta kəb vāpəs aegī?*
 Rita.F when return come.FUT.F.SG
 ‘When will Rita come back?’

8.7.2. *The Objectival (Ergative) Construction*

In the objectival construction, the subject is marked, i.e., it is in the oblique case and is followed by the agentive postposition *ne*, the direct object is unmarked, i.e., it is in the direct case and the verb is in the perfect and agrees with the direct object:

- (252) *ləṛkō ne naṭək dek^ha.*
 boy.PL.OBL AG play.M.SG see.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The boys saw the play.’

- (253) *ləṛkī ne do səntre k^hae.*
 girl.OBL AG two orange.M.PL eat.PERF.M.PL
 ‘The girl ate two oranges.’

- (254) *b^haī sahəb ne do billiyā xərīd lī.**
 brother HON AG two cat.F.PL buy take.PERF.F.PL
 ‘(My) brother bought two cats.’ [* *Sahəb* is a title of honor; see 11.2.2.]

Note that the masculine singular verb agreement in (252), the masculine plural agreement in (253), and the feminine plural agreement in (254) are all determined by the direct objects in these sentences. This is the construction that is termed the ‘ergative’ sentence construction in several modern descriptions of Hindi-Urdu (e.g., Kachru 1965, 1966, Pandharipande and Kachru 1977).

8.7.3. *The Neutral Construction*

In the neutral construction, the subject is in the oblique case and is marked with the agentive postposition *ne*, the direct object is also in the oblique case and is marked with the postposition *ko*, and the verb, in the perfect, displays the neutral, i.e., third person masculine singular, endings:

- (255) *bəccō ne ṣīṣīyō ko toṛ ḍala.*
 child.M.PL AG bottles.F.PL.OBL DOBJ break pour.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The children broke the bottles.’

- (256) *mā ne ləṛkō ko beṭʰək mē biṭʰaya.*
 mother AG boy.M.PL.OBL DOBJ living room in seat.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Mother seated the boys in the living room.’

Note that in (255), the subject is masculine plural, the direct object is feminine plural, but the verb has the masculine singular ending. Similarly, in (256), the subject is feminine singular, the direct object is masculine plural, but the verb has the masculine singular ending. This variant of ergative construction makes it clear that in Hindi, the verb does not agree with a noun that is in the oblique case and is followed by a postposition (see 8.2.2).

Notes

1. The basic meaning of the verb *lag* is ‘affect someone, be applied, be smeared, be attached (to a surface)’; the literal meaning of the sentence in (225) is “Is much hunger affecting you?” [With the dative subject, however, it is translatable as ‘feel’ into English.]
2. Diwali or Deepawali is the festival of lights, celebrated on the day of the new moon in the month of Kartika, which corresponds to October-November of the Gregorian calendar.

9. Syntax: Complex and Compound Sentences

9.0. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences have a main clause with one or more clauses in a subordinate relationship to the main clause. These subordinate clauses are of many types, and are discussed in the following sub-sections.

9.1. Complement Clause

Complement clauses are of two types, finite and non-finite. The finite clauses are called clausal complements and the non-finite, noun clauses. These are discussed in some detail below.

9.1.1. *Clausal Complement*

Several subclasses of predicates (adjectives and verbs) have clausal complements as subjects and direct objects. Several postpositional objects also occur with clausal complements. These are discussed following the discussion of subject and object complements.

9.1.1.1. Subject Complement

Clausal complements with no head nouns generally do not occur as sentence subjects. The head, however, is not always a lexical noun; it is usually a pronominal *yəh* or *εsa*. The following sentences exemplify complex sentences with clausal complement subjects:

- (1) *yəh dava ki rənjən ne corī kī rələt he.*
this claim.M that Ranjan.M AG theft.F do.PERF.F.SG wrong be.PRES.SG
'The claim that Ranjan committed theft is wrong.'

- (2) *yəh səhī he ki jūn mē yəhā bəhut gərmī*
this correct be.SG.PRES that June in here much heat.F

hotī *he.*
 happen.IMPF.F.SG PRES.SG

‘It is correct that it is very hot here in June.’

- (3) *yāh sabit hua ki nīna nirdoṣ he.*
 this proven become.PERF.M.SG that Nina.F innocent be.PRES.SG
 ‘It was proved that Nina is innocent.’

- (4) *yāh malūm hua ki ſyam to vāhā gāya*
 this known become.PERF.M.SG that Shyam PTCL there go.PERF.M.SG
hī nāhī.
 EMPH not
 ‘It came to be known that as far as Shyam is concerned, he did not go there.’

- (5) *esa lāga ki sāb log ut̪h kār cāl dēge.*
 such feel.PERF.M.SG that all people rise CP move give.FUT.M.PL
 ‘It seemed as if everyone would get up and leave.’

- (6) *lāgta he ki rānjān sābse naraz he.*
 feel.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG that Ranjan.M all.OBL with angry be.PRES.SG
 ‘It seems that Ranjan is angry with everyone.’

It is possible to leave out the *yāh*, as in (6), especially with predicates such as *lāgna* ‘feel’, *malūm hona* ‘to come to know’, *aśa hona* ‘to hope’, *ummīd hona* ‘to hope’, *zahir hona* ‘to be obvious’, etc. It is less likely to be omitted with predicates such as *sabit hona* ‘to be proven’, *sāhī hona* ‘to be correct’, *ṛālāt hona* ‘to be wrong’, *j̪hūt̪h hona* ‘to be a lie’, etc. Verbs such as *lāgna* ‘feel’, conjunct verbs such as *malūm hona* ‘to come to know’, *sabit hona* ‘to be proven’, *prāmaṇit hona* ‘to be proven’, *aśa hona* ‘to hope’, *ummīd hona* ‘to hope’, and adjectives such as *sāhī* ‘correct’, *sāc* ‘true’, *ṛālāt* ‘wrong’, *j̪hūt̪h* ‘a lie’, *prākāṭ* ‘obvious’ and *zahir* ‘obvious’ take a clausal complement subject. The clausal complement without a head noun is always extraposed, i.e., it always follows the main clause predicate as in (2) as compared to (1). Unlike in English, a subordinate clause with the subordination marker *ki* ‘that’ cannot occur in the sentence-subject position. In sentences such as the following, the two clauses are in apposition; the first clause does not have a complement-head relationship with the subject of the second clause. This is signaled by the comma (pause, in the spoken language) between the two clauses:

- (7) *rānjān bīmar he, esa lāgta he.*
 Ranjan ill be.PRES.SG such.M.SG feel.IMPF.M.SG. PRES.SG
 ‘Ranjan is ill, so it seems.’

- (8) *sīma yāhā nāhī he, yāh sāb ko malūm he.*
 Sima here not be.PRES.SG it all DAT known PRES.SG
 ‘Sima is not here, this is known to everyone.’

9.1.1.2. Object Complement

Object complements with a nominal or pronominal head, or without any head, occur with several sub-classes of predicates. These are verbs of saying, reporting, and questioning such as *kāhna* ‘to say’, *bolna* ‘to speak’, *bātana* ‘to tell’, *cīk^hna* ‘scream’, *cillana* ‘to shout’, *pūc^hna* ‘to ask’, *lik^hna* ‘to write’, *prāśn kārna* ‘to question’, *tar b^hejna* ‘to wire’, *dava kārna* ‘to claim’, among others; verbs of intending, hoping, doubting, believing, deciding, etc., e.g., *irada kārna* ‘to intend’, *vicar kārna* ‘to think’, *aśa/ummīd kārna* ‘to hope’, *śak/sāndeh kārna* ‘to doubt’, *viśvas kārna* ‘to trust’, *tāy/nīścāy kārna* ‘to decide’, among others; verbs of agreeing and accepting, such as *manna* ‘to agree’, *svīkar/mānzūr kārna* ‘to accept’; and verbs of cognition and awareness such as *janna* ‘to know’, *sāmāj^hna* ‘to understand’, *malūm/pāta kārna* ‘to find out’, etc. Some examples follow:

- (9) *us ne kāha ki vāh pūne mē nākrī kārta he.*
 he.OBL AG say.PERF.M.SG that he Pune in job do.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘He said that he has a job in Pune.’

- (10) *rāmeś ne tar b^hēja he ki vāh peris*
 Ramesh.M AG wire.M send.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG that he Paris
ja rāha he.
 go PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Ramesh has sent a telegram that he is leaving for Paris.’

- (11) *hām aśa kārte hē ki uska pārkṣā*
 we hope.M do.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL that (s)he.OBL.GEN.M.SG examination
p^hāl ācc^ha hoga.
 result.M good be.FUT.M.SG
 ‘We hope that his/her results will be good.’

- (12) *mē manta hū ki muj^he rajēś ko t^hāppāṛ*
 I accept.IMPF.M.SG 1stP.PSRES.SG that I.OBL.DAT Rajesh DAT slap.M
nāhī marna cahiye t^ha.
 not hit.INF ought PAST.M.SG
 ‘I accept that I should not have slapped Rajesh.’

- (13) *hāmne pāta nāhī kiya t^ha ki kāl*
 we.OBL AG awareness.M not do.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG that yesterday

c^huttī t^hī.

holiday.F PAST.F.SG

‘We had not found out that yesterday was a holiday.’

- (14) *vāh sāmā^h gāya ki uskī batē kisī*
 he understand go.PERF.M.SG that he.POSS.F.OBL talk.F.PL anyone.EMPH
ko ācc^hī nāhī lāgī.
 DAT good.F not feel.PERF.F.PL
 ‘He realized that nobody liked what he said.’

9.1.1.3. Postpositional Object Complement

A class of abstract nouns that occur as postpositional objects take a clausal complement, e.g., *vāhām* ‘suspicion’, *dava* ‘claim’, *nirṇay* ‘decision’:

- (15) *kāla ke is vāhām se ki use kensār*
 Kala of.OBL this.OBL suspicion.OBL with that she.OBL.DAT cancer
he sāb log pārefan hē.
 be.PRES.SG all people troubled be.PRES.PL
 ‘Everyone is troubled by Kala’s suspicion that she has cancer.’

- (16) *rohit ke is dave mē dām he kya ki*
 Rohit of.OBL this.OBL claim.M.OBL in breath is INTER that
use sāb kuc^h malūm he?
 he.OBL.DAT everything knowledge be.PRES.SG
 ‘Is there any substance to Rohit’s claim that he knows everything?’

- (17) *tumhare is nirṇay pər bād^hāī he*
 you.FAM.POSS.OBL this.OBL decision.OBL on congratulations be.PRES.SG
ki tum yāhī hāmāre sat^h rāhoge.
 that you.FAM here EMPH we.GEN.M.OBL with remain.FAM.FUT.M
 ‘Congratulations on your decision to remain here with us.’

9.1.2. Non-finite Complement

Certain predicates require their subject and object complements to be infinitival rather than clausal. The occurrence of these non-finite clausal complements or noun clauses is discussed below.

9.1.2.1. Noun Clause as Subject

Predicates that require their subjects to be infinitival are adjectives such as *ucit* ‘proper’, *zərūrī* ‘necessary’, *t^hīk* ‘all right’, *ācc^ha* ‘good’:

- (18) *k^han saħab ka kəl dəftər ana bəħut*
 Khan Sahab of.M.SG tomorrow office come.INF very
zərūrī he.
 necessary be.PRES.SG
 ‘It is essential for Khan Sahab to come to the office tomorrow.’
- (19) *tumhara dostō ke sat^h rat der tək bar mē*
 you.FAM.POSS.M.SG friend.M.PL.OBL with night late till bar in
bε^hna ucit nəħī t^ha
 sit.INF proper not be.PAST.M.SG
 ‘It was not proper for you to sit in the bar with your friends till late last night.’
- (20) *nīna ko kalej kī pə^hāī ke liye bahər b^hejna hī*
 Nina.F DAT college of.F education.F for out send.INF EMPH
əcc^haa rəhega.
 good.M.SG remain.FUT.M.SG
 ‘It would be good to send Nina out for her college education.’

When the infinitive occurs with its own subject, the subject is followed by a genitive postposition *ka*, as in (18), or, if the subject is a pronoun, it occurs in its genitive form, as in (19). In (18), *k^han saħab* ‘Khan Sahab’ is the subject of the infinitive *ana* ‘to come’, hence it occurs with the genitive postposition *ka* ‘of’. In (19), the subject of the infinitive *bε^hna* ‘to sit’ is *tum* ‘you’, and it occurs in its genitive form *tumhara* ‘your’. The infinitive clauses *k^han saħab ka ... ana* ‘for Khan Saheb to come’ and *tumhara ... bε^hna* ‘for you to sit ...’ function as subjects of *zərūrī* ‘necessary’ and *ucit* ‘proper.’ In (20), the infinitive has no subject, the infinitival clause *nīna ko ... b^hejna* ‘to send Nina ...’ functions as the subject of the predicate *əcc^ha rəhega* ‘will be good’.

9.1.2.2. Noun Clause as Object

Verbs such as *sīk^hna* ‘to learn’, *furū/arəmb^h kərna* ‘to begin’, *xətm/ səmāpt kərna* ‘to complete, end’, *c^ho^hna* ‘to leave, give up’, *pəsənd hona/kərna* ‘to like’ require their complements to be in the infinitival form. Since the complement subject is identical to and coreferential with the subject of the main verb for this class of predicates, the subject of the infinitive undergoes obligatory deletion. Therefore, the object complements occur without subjects as in the following examples:

- (21) *rīma tennis k^helna sīk^h rəhī he.*
 Rima.F tennis play.INF learn PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘Rima is learning (how) to play tennis.’

- (22) *un donō ləṛkō ne p^hir se for mācana*
 those.OBL two.M.PL.OBL boy.PL.OBL AG again noise.M make.INF
furū kər diya hē.
 begin do give.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Those two boys have begun to make noise again.’

- (23) *someṣ ne sigreṭ pīna c^hoṛ diya.*
 Somesh.M AG cigarette smoke.INF leave give.PAST.M.SG
 ‘Somesh gave up smoking cigarettes.’

- (24) *səhba ko sitar sunna pəsənd hē.*
 Sahba.F DAT sitar listen.INF liking be.PRES.SG
 ‘Sahba likes to listen (to) sitar.’

The noun clauses are *ṭenis k^helna* ‘to play tennis’ in (21), *p^hir se for mācana* ‘to make noise again’ in (22), *sigreṭ pīna* ‘to smoke cigarettes’ in (23), and *sitar sunna* ‘to listen to sitar’ in (24). The understood subjects of the infinitive are identical and coreferential with the subjects of the finite predicates, i.e., ‘Rima’, ‘those two boys’, ‘Somesh’, and ‘Sahba’, respectively.

9.2. Correlative Constructions

There are several correlative constructions in the language, relative, appositive and adverbial clauses among them. These are discussed below.

9.2.1. Restrictive Relative Clause

The function of the restrictive relative clause is to help the hearer/reader identify the referent of the common noun. Unlike in English, the restrictive: non-restrictive distinction is not signaled exhaustively by intonation in Hindi. The formal clues that signal the distinction are discussed in some detail in the next subsection.

Relative clauses have the structural features as described in 6.3.1, i.e., the relativized noun is preceded by the relative marker *jo*, the entire subordinate clause occurs in the sentence initial position, the correlative marker *vəh* occurs in the main clause, and the head noun has zero realization. The following example illustrates these features:

- (25) *jo ād^hī kəl āī t^hī, vəh bəhut nuksan*
 REL storm.F yesterday come.PERF.F.SG PAST.F.SG that much damage.M

kər gəĩ.

do go.PERF.F.SG

‘The storm that raged yesterday did a great deal of damage.’

In (25), the relative clause *jo ãd^hĩ kəl aĩ t^hĩ* ‘the storm that raged yesterday’ occurs sentence initially, the relative marker *jo* precedes the relativized noun *ãd^hĩ*, the correlative marker *vəh* occurs in the main clause *vəh bəhut nuksan kər gəĩ* ‘it did a great deal of damage’, and the head noun is zero in the main clause, i.e., *ãd^hĩ* ‘storm’ does not occur in the main clause.

The English-like post-head relative clause occurs if the head noun is indefinite:

- (26) *ek səjjən jo apse milna cahte hẽ*
 a gentleman REL you.HON with meet.INF want.IMP.F.M.PL PRES.PL
bahər be^he hẽ.
 outside seated.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘A gentleman who wants to see you is sitting outside.’

In this case, the head noun occurs with the indefinite determiner *ek* ‘one’, and the relativized noun following the relative marker *jo* has a zero realization.

The word order of the relative clause vis-à-vis the main clause is not fixed. Examples (25)-(26) illustrate the unmarked case. There are several variations possible in the constituent order, depending upon thematization and focusing. The constituents within the relative clause and the main clause may also be reordered. Some of these are illustrated below (see Chapter 10 for more on information structure); the relative clause is enclosed in square brackets; example (27) has glosses with all the grammatical formatives identified, the variants (28)-(32) have only lexical glosses:

- (27) [*jo bəcca pərĩkṣa mẽ prət^həm aya*], *vəh bəhut*
 REL child.M.SG examination in first come.PERF.M.SG that very
med^havĩ hẽ.
 talented be.PRES.SG
 ‘The child who came first in the examination is very talented.’

- (28) *vəh bəcca bəhut med^havĩ hẽ [jo pərĩkṣa mẽ prət^həm aya].*
 That child very talented is REL examination in first came

- (29) *vəh bəcca [jo pərĩkṣa mẽ prət^həm aya] bəhut med^havĩ hẽ.*
 That child REL examination in first came very talented is

- (30) *bəhut med^havī he vəh bəcca [jo pərīkṣa mē prət^həm aya].*
 very talented is that child REL examination in first came
- (31) *bəhut med^havī he vəh bəcca [pərīkṣa mē jo prət^həm aya].*
 very talented is that child examination in REL first came
- (32) *he vəh bəcca bəhut med^havī [jo prət^həm aya pərīkṣa mē].*
 is that child very talented REL first came examination in

One other fact worth noting is that it is not obligatory to have a zero realization of either the relativized or the head noun. It is grammatical to have both the nouns lexically realized in a sentence, as the nouns in bold face in the sentences below illustrate:

- (33) *jo **bəcca** pərīkṣa mē prət^həm aya, vəh*
 REL child.M.SG examination in first come.PERF.M.SG that
***bəcca** bəhut med^havī he.*
 child.M.SG very talented be.PRES.SG
 ‘The child who came first in the examination is very talented.’
- (34) *tum jin **kitabō** ke bare mē pūc^h rəhe*
 you.FAM REL.PL.OBL book.F.PL.OBL about ask PROG.M.PL
*t^hẽ ve **kitabē** əb nəhī̃ milṭī.*
 PAST.M.PL those book.F.PL now not obtain.IMPF.F.PL
 ‘The books that you were asking about are not available anymore.’

In spoken language the relative clause either precedes or follows the main clause; it does not occur in the post-head position as that would interrupt the main clause. If the relative clause follows the main clause, the relativized noun is usually fronted in the relative clause, as in (35) below. The interruption of the main clause, as in (26) above or (36) below, is more of a characteristic of the written language, or of spoken material based on written texts (e.g., newscasts, lectures, etc.).

- (35) *ve kitabē əb nəhī̃ milṭī jin (kitabō)*
 those book.F.PL now not obtain.IMPF.F.PL REL.PL.OBL (books)
*ke bare mē tum pūc^h rəhe t^he.**
 about you.FAM ask PROG.M.PL PAST.M.PL
 ‘The books that you were asking about are not available any more.’
 [*The parentheses indicate that the item is optional and may or may not appear in the sentence.]

- (36) *ve ləṛkiyā jo naṭək mē b^hag le rāhī hē aj*
 those girl.F.PL REL play in part take PROG.F PRES.PL today
nāhī soēgī.
 not sleep.FUT.F.PL
 ‘The girls who are participating in the play will not sleep tonight.’

9.2.2. *Appositive Clause*

The appositive, or non-restrictive relative clause, which provides additional information about the head noun, follows the antecedent:

- (37) *vəh naṭa vyakti, jo zor zor se bol rāha t^ha, zəra*
 the short person REL loudly speak PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG a little
ūca sunta hē.
 high.M.SG hear.IMP.F. M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The short person, who was talking loudly, is a little hard of hearing.’

- (38) *merī bəhən, jo nyuzīlənḍ mē bəs gəī hē,*
 I.POSS.F sister, REL New Zealand in settle go.PERF.F.SG PRES.SG
pətrəkar hē.
 journalist be.PRES.SG
 ‘My sister, who is settled in New Zealand, is a journalist.’

- (39) *rātna sūd, jo dillī mē rāhī hē, ajkəl*
 Ratna.F Sood REL Delhi in live.IMP.F.SG PRES.SG now-a-days
yāhā hē.
 here be.PRES.SG
 ‘Ratna Sood, who lives in Delhi, is here these days.’

- (40) *tumhare caca, jo ləndən gəye t^he, ləṭ*
 you.FAM.POSS.PL uncle REL London go.PERF.M.PL PAST.M.PL return
aye hē ya əb^hī vāhī hē?
 come.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL or now.EMPH there.EMPH PRES.PL
 ‘Has your uncle, who had gone to London, come back or is (he) still there?’

9.2.3. *Adverbial Clauses*

Subordinate clauses denoting time, place, manner, direction, etc., function as adverbial clauses:

TIME:

- (41) *jāb sīma g^hār pāhūcī tāb uske sir*
 when Sima.F home arrive.PERF.F.SG then she.POSS.OBL head.M.OBL
mē bāhut dārd t^ha
 in much pain.M be.PAST.M.SG
 ‘Sima had a bad headache when she arrived home.’

- (42) *jāb usne for suna tāb use*
 when (s)he.OBL AG noise.M hear.PERF.M.SG then (s)he.OBL.DAT
bāccō pār bāhut gussa aya.
 child.M.PL on much anger.M come.PERF.M.SG
 ‘When (s)he heard the noise, (s)he was very angry with the children.’

PLACE:

- (43) *jāhā hām rāhte hē vāhā garmī nahī pāṛtī.*
 where we.M live.IMP.F.M.PL PRES.PL there heat.F not fall.IMP.F.F.SG
 ‘It does not get very hot where we live.’

- (44) *jāhā hāmara skūl he, vāhā ek bāhut bāṛa*
 where we.POSS.M.SG school be.PRES.SG there a very big.M.SG
mēdan he.
 field.M be.PRES.SG
 ‘There is a very big field where our school is.’

MANNER:

- (45) *mā ne jesa kāha, mēne vesa pāka*
 mother AG as.M.SG say.PERF.M.SG I AG that.M.SG cook.PERF.M.SG
dīya.
 give.PERF.M.SG
 ‘I cooked the way Mother asked me to.’

- (46) *tum jese pāṛ^hāī kār rāhe ho*
 you.FAM REL.way.M.OBL study.F do PROG.M.PL FAM.PRES
vēse ācc^he āṅk lana muṣkil hoga.
 that way.M.OBL good.PL score.PL take.INF difficult.F be.FUT.M.SG
 ‘The way you are studying, it will be difficult to get good marks/scores.’

DIRECTION:

- (47) *ap jid^hər ja rəhe hē, ud^hər sərək*
 you HON REL.direction go PROG.M.PL PRES.PL that direction road.F
bənd hə.
 closed be.PRES
 ‘The road is closed the way you are heading.’

- (48) *həm jid^hər ja rəhe hē ud^hər tərne*
 we REL.direction go PROG.M.PL PRES.PL that direction swim.INF.OBL
kī ek bəḡī əcc^hī jəgəh hə.
 of.F one very.F good.F place.F be.PRES.SG
 ‘There is a very good spot for swimming in the direction in which we are going.’

DEGREE:

- (49) *tum jitmī der mē vāhā pəhūcoge utmī der*
 you.FAM as much.F time.F in there arrive.FAM.FUT that much.F time.F
mē həm b^hī pəhūc jaēge.
 in we too arrive go.FUT.M.PL
 ‘We will be there by the time you arrive there.’

- (50) *bəcce jitna for məca rəhe t^he utna hī*
 child.M.PL as much.M.SG noise.M make PROG.M.PL PAST.M.PL as EMPH
ḡī vī b^hī.
 TV too
 ‘The TV was as noisy as the children were.’

9.2.4. *Clauses of Quality and Quantity*

Subordinate clauses that indicate quality and quantity participate in correlative constructions with the markers *jəsa...vəsa* ‘the kind of’ and *jitna...utna*, ‘as many as’ respectively:

- (51) *apko jəsī kitab cahiye, (vəsī) yəhā nəhī*
 you.HON.DAT the kind.F book.F need (that kind.F) here not
milegī.
 available.FUT.F.SG
 ‘The kind of book you need will not be available here.’

- (52) *uma ko vesa hī laṅ rəṅ pəsənd hē jesa*
 Uma.DAT that kind.M EMPH red color liking be.PRES.SG the kind.M
uṣa ko
 Usha.OBL DAT
 ‘Uma, too, likes the kind of red color that Usha does.’

- (53) *tumko gana sunne ka jitna fəḱ hē*
 you.FAM.DAT song hear.INF.OBL of.M as much.M fondness.M be.PRES.SG
utna hī muj^hko b^hī.
 that much.M EMPH I.OBL.DAT too
 ‘I am just as fond of listening to songs as you are.’

- (54) *utnī t^həkavəṭ muj^he nəhī hē*
 that much.F fatigue.F I.OBL.DAT not be.PRES.SG
jitnī tumko ləḡ rəhī hē.
 as much.F you.FAM.DAT feel PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘I am not feeling as fatigued as you are.’

9.3. Participial Constructions

Three participles are derived from verbs: present, past and conjunctive. The conjunctive participial form is simple, in that the root form of the verb followed by *kər*, which is the root form of the verb ‘to do’, is used as the conjunctive participle. The present and past participles are more complex; they are derived by suffixing the ending-*tA* and *-A*, respectively, which are followed by the perfect form of the verb *ho* ‘be’, *huA*. These participial forms, *verb-tA/A* and *huA*, are inflected for gender, number and case.

9.3.1. *The Present Participle*

All verbs in Hindi yield present participle forms that have two functions: adjectival and adverbial (see 4.4.3.2 and 4.6.2.3). The present participle has the form *verb-tA huA*, which is inflected for gender, number and case. It is used in its adjectival function as follows:

- (55) *dəṛta hua ləṛka əcanək ruk gəya.*
 run.IMP.F.PTPL.M.SG boy.M.SG suddenly stop go.PAST.M.SG
 ‘The boy who was running suddenly came to a stop (lit. The running boy stopped suddenly).’

- (56) *bācpən ke ye bītte hue din p^hir vapəs*
 childhood.M of.PL these spend.IMPF.PTPL.OBL days again return
nəhĩ aēge.
 not come.FUT.M.PL
 ‘These passing days of childhood will not come back again.’
- (57) *aj ke bādalte hue səmaj mē purane*
 today of.OBL change.IMPF.PTPL.OBL society.M.OBL in old.M.PL.OBL
niyəmō se kam nəhĩ cəlega.
 rule.M.PL.OBL by work not move.FUT.M.SG
 ‘The old rules will not work in today’s changing society.’
- (58) *bariḥ mē b^hiḡtī huī ləḥkiyā hās rəhī thī.*
 rain.F.OBL in wet.IMPF.PTPL.F girl.F.PL laugh PROG.F PAST.F.PL
 ‘The girls getting wet in the rain were laughing.’
- (59) *mēdan mē k^helte hue bācce mere*
 field.OBL in play.IMPF.PTPL.PL.OBL child.M.PL I.POSS.M.PL.OBL
kuttō ko dek^h kər ruk gəye.
 dog.M.PL.OBL DOBJ see CP stop go.PERF.M.PL
 ‘The children playing in the field stopped when they saw my dogs (lit. seeing my dogs).’
- (60) *mele mē jate hue logō ko id^hər*
 fair.M.SG.OBL in go.IMPF.PTPL.PL.OBL people.OBL DAT this direction
ka rasta dik^hao.
 of.M.SG way.M.SG show.FAM
 ‘Show people who are going to the fair this way, i.e., direct them this way.’

The following sentences exemplify the function of the present participle as a manner adverbial; note that the adverbial may have the invariable (oblique) form *-te hue* or it may agree with the understood subject of the participial verb, as in (63)-(64):

- (61) *k^hel k^hətm hone pər bācca dərte hue g^hər*
 game end be.INF.OBL on child.M.SG run.IMPF.PTPL.OBL home
aya.
 come.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The child came home running when the game ended.’
- (62) *ve log batē kərte hue ja rəhe t^he,*
 those people talk.F.PL do.IMPF.PTPL.OBL go PROG.M.PL PAST.PL

uhõne muj^he nahĩ dek^ha.
 they.OBL AG I.OBL.DAT not see.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Those people were talking as they walked; they did not see me.’

(63) *hãmne řarad mẽ pãhařõ pãr mãsãm bãdãlta hua/*
 we.OBL AG fall.OBL in hill.M.PL.OBL on weather.M change.PTPL.M.SG
mãsãm ko bãdãlte hue dek^ha
 weather.OBL DAT change.IMP.F.PTPL.OBL see.PERF.M.SG
 ‘In the fall we observed the weather changing in the hills.’

(64) *lãřkĩ mãze mẽ gatĩ huĩ/ gate hue*
 girl.F.SG enjoyment.M.SG.OBL in sing.IMP.F.PTPL.F/ sing.IMP.F.PTPL.OBL
ř^hũla ř^hũl rãhĩ hẽ.
 swing.M swing PROG.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The girl is swinging on the swing singing with enjoyment.’

The reduplicated form of the inflected participle signals a progressive meaning, as in the following examples:

(65) *lãřkĩ hãp^hte-hãp^hte ũpãr ke kãmre*
 girl.F.SG pant.IMP.F.OBL upstairs of.OBL room.M.SG.OBL
mẽ pãhũcĩ.
 in arrive.PERF.F.SG
 ‘The girl arrived at the upstairs room panting.’

(66) *uskĩ batẽ sun kãr hãmara hãste-hãste bura*
 he.POSS.F talk.F.PL hear CP we.GEN.M.SG laugh.IMP.F.OBL bad
hal ho gãya.
 condition.M.SG become go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘We laughed till we ached listening to what he said.’

The inflected form of the present participle is also used in a construction with the particle *hĩ* to signal the meaning ‘as soon as V’:

(67) *mere jate hĩ dãrvaza bãnd kãr lena.*
 I.GEN.OBL leave.IMP.F.OBL PTCL door.M.SG close do take.INF
 ‘Lock the door as soon as I leave.’

(68) *apke kãhte hĩ hãm sarĩ kitabẽ*
 you.HON.GEN.OBL say.IMP.F.OBL PTCL we all.F book.F.PL
almariyõ mẽ lãga dẽge.
 bookcase.F.PL.OBL in arrange give.FUT.M.PL
 ‘We will arrange all the books in the bookcases as soon as you tell us to.’

9.3.2. *The Past Participle*

Not all verbs yield past participle forms that function as modifiers. A restricted set of verbs, the verbs that indicate achievement (telic verbs), have a past participle form that signals a state resulting from the action of the verb. Such past participles have adjectival and adverbial functions (see 4.4.3.2 and 4.6.2).

The past participle has the form verb-*A huA*, which is inflected for gender and number. There is a restricted set of effective verbs that yields past participles with the agent of the verb marked with the genitive *ka* and its variant forms, as in (72) below. Note that whereas the participle modifies the main clause noun identical with the subject of the participial phrase in examples (69)-(71), the participle modifies the main clause noun identical with the object of the participial phrase in example (72). That is, the participle in (69) is derived from *log kursiyō pār beṭ^he t^he* ‘people were seated on chairs’, whereas the participle in (72) is derived from *mē ne kitab xarīdī* ‘I bought the book’.

The participle is used in its adjectival function as follows:

- (69) *kursiyō pār beṭ^he hue log aram se naṭək dek^h*
 chair.F.PL.OBL on sit.PERF.PTPL.OBL people ease with play see
rəhe t^he.
 PROG.M.PL PAST.M.PL
 ‘The people seated on the chairs were watching the play in a relaxed manner.’

- (70) *caṭaī pār leṭī huī ɔrət fayəd so gāi he.*
 mat.F on lie.PERF.PTPL.F woman perhaps sleep go.PERF.F.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The woman lying on the mat is perhaps asleep.’

- (71) *ajkəl kam sīk^he hue log kəhā*
 now a days work learn.PERF.PTPL.PL people where
milte hē?
 obtain.IMP.F.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘Where does one find trained employees these days?’

- (72) *usko merī xarīdī huī kitabē pəsənd nəhī*
 (s)he.OBL.DAT I.GEN.F.OBL buy.PERF.PTPL.F book.F.PL liking not
aṭī.
 come.IMP.F.F.PL
 ‘(S)he does not like the books I buy.’

The adverbial function of the past participle is exemplified by the following:

- (73) *ve log baramde pər beṭʰe hue gəppē mar*
 those people veranda.M.SG.OBL on sit.PERF.PTPL.PL chat.F.PL hit
rəhe ṭʰe.
 PROG.M.PL PAST.M.PL
 ‘They were chatting seated on the veranda.’

- (74) *mujʰe bistər pər leṭe hue kitab pəṭʰna bəhut əccʰa*
 I.OBL.DAT bed.M on lie.PERF.PTPL OBL book read.INF very good.M.SG
ləgta he.
 feel.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘I like to read a book lying on the bed.’

- (75) *gāv ke səb log naye kəpṛe*
 village.M.SG.OBL of.OBL all people new.M.PL cloth.PL
pəhne hue mele mē ja rəhe hē.
 wear.PERF.PTPL.OBL fair.M.OBL in go PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘All the people of the village are going to the fair dressed in new clothes.’

- (76) *səb bəcce haṭʰ mē bəsta liye hue*
 all child.M.PL hand in school bag take.PERF.PTPL.OBL
kʰəṛe ṭʰe.
 stand.M.PL PAST.M.PL
 ‘All the children were standing with school bags in their hands.’

The past participle signals a state resulting from the action or process of the verb, as in the above examples. The reduplicated form of the past participle also signals the progressive meaning, as in the following examples:

- (77) *əspətal ke prətīkṣa grih mē beṭʰe-beṭʰe bəcce ka*
 hospital of.OBL waiting room in sit.PERF.OBL child.M.OBL of.M.SG
jī ukta gəya.
 heart.M bore go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The child got bored sitting (for ages) in the waiting room of the hospital.’

- (78) *yū leṭe-leṭe tumhara jī nəhī ūb jata?*
 thus lie.PERF.OBL you.FAM.POSS.M.SG heart not bore go.IMPF.M.SG
 ‘Don’t you get bored (just) lying (there) thus?’

9.3.3. *The Conjunctive Participle*

The conjunctive participle is a common device to conjoin two clauses. It has multiple functions, as a temporal, manner, causal, concessive, or antithetical adverb, as has already been mentioned in section 4.6.2.

The conjunctive participle is a complex item in that the verb root is followed by the conjunctive participle marker *kər* to form the participle. The marker has the form *ke* when it follows the verb *kər* ‘do’.

The participle signals sequential action as a temporal adverbial, as in the following examples:

- (79) *usne ciŋŋ^hī lik^h kər ɖak mē ɖal dī.*
 (s)he.OBL AG letter.F write CP mail in put give.PERF.F.SG
 ‘(S)he wrote the letter and mailed it.’
- (80) *nəha-d^ho kər k^hana k^hane beŋ^ho.*
 bathe-wash CP meal eat sit.2ndP.FAM.IMP
 ‘Sit down to eat after you bathe.’
- (81) *ləndən se ləŋ kər amit ne yəhā əpnī vəkələt*
 London from return CP Amit.M AG here self.POSS.F legal practice.F
furū kī.
 begin do.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Amit started his legal practice here after he returned from London.’
- (82) *pəŋ^haī-lik^haī səmapt kər ke g^hər-dvar kī cinta kərna.*
 reading writing complete do CP house-entrance of.F worry.F do.INF
 ‘Worry about the house (or, family), etc., after you complete your studies.’

Note that the sequential action may be separated by days, weeks, months, or even years in real time. All of the above sentences have paraphrases in conjoined sentences with an explicit temporal adverb or linker. Two examples of such paraphrases appear below; (83) is such a paraphrase of (80) and (84) of (82):

- (83) *nəha-d^ho lo ər təb k^hana k^hane beŋ^ho.*
 bathe-wash take.2ndP.IMP and then meal eat.INF.OBL sit.2ndP.FAM.IMP
 ‘(First) bathe and then sit down to eat.’
- (84) *pəŋ^haī-lik^haī səmapt kər lo, p^hir g^hər-dvar kī*
 reading-writing complete do take.2ndP.FAM.IMP then house-entrance of.F

cinta kārna.

worry.F do.INF

‘(First) complete your studies, then worry about the house (or, family), etc.’

The manner adverbial function of the conjunctive participle is illustrated by the following examples:

(85) *sīta k^hilk^hila kār hās pāṛī.*

Sita.F burst CP laugh fall.PERF.F.SG

‘Sita burst out laughing.’

(86) *rohit sud^ha ke samne se kātra kār nikāl gāya.*

Rohit.M Sudha.F of.OBL front.OBL from avoid CP emerge go.PERF.M.SG

‘Rohit passed in front of Sudha avoiding her.’ [Rohit avoided Sudha as he left.]

Unlike the examples in (79)-(82), (85)-(86) do not have paraphrases in conjoined sentences with explicit temporal adverbs or linkers, as is clear from the examples below, which are ungrammatical:

(87) **sīta k^hilk^hilāī or tāb hās pāṛī.*

‘Sita burst out and then laughed.’

(88) a. **rohit sud^ha ke samne se kātraya or nikāl*

Rohit Sudha of.OBL front.OBL from avoid.PERF.M.SG and emerge

gāya.

go.PERF.M.SG

(88) b. **rohit (sud^ha se) kātraya or sud^ha ke samne*

Rohit (Sudha from) avoid.PERF.M.SG and Sudha of.OBL front

se nikāl gāya.

from emerge go.PERF.M.SG

‘Rohit avoided Sudha and passed in front of her.’

It may be argued that (88a) is ill-formed, as the verb *kātrana* ‘to avoid’ does not take an adjunct such as ‘from in front of X’. Note that the version in (88b), which does not violate any cooccurrence restrictions, is equally ill-formed. The following versions with similar meanings to those of (85)-(86) contain manner adverbs:

(89) *sīta bāṛe zorō se hās pāṛī.*

Sita.F much.OBL force.M.PL.OBL with laugh fall.PERF.F.SG

‘Sita burst out laughing.’

- (90) *rohit sud^ha ke samne se bācta hua-sa nikāl*
 Rohit Sudha of.OBL front.OBL with save.IMP.F.M.SG PTPL-like emerge
gəya.
 go.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Rohit passed in front of Sudha sort of avoiding her.’

The following have concessive (91), antithetical (92, 93) and causal (94) meanings. They do not have paraphrases in conjoined sentences with an explicit temporal adverb or linker, either, as is clear from (91’), (92’), (93’), and (95’):

- (91) *itne bəre pād pər pəhūc kər b^hī kavīndr*
 such.OBL big.OBL position.OBL on arrive CP PTCL Kavindra.M
səntušt nəhī hē.
 content not be.PRES.SG
 ‘Kavindra is not content though he has attained such high position.’

- (91’) **kavīndr itne bəre pād pər pəhūc gəya ɔr təb səntušt nəhī hē.*
 *Kavindra attained such high position and then he is not content.

- (92) *muj^he pəta hē ki tumne merī bəhən ho kər*
 I.OBL.DAT knowledge be.PRES.SG that you.FAM AG I.POSS.F sister be CP
b^hī mere virod^hī ko əpna mət diya.
 PTCL I.POSS.OBL opponent.OBL DAT self.POSS.M.SG vote.M give.PERF.M.SG
 ‘I know that you voted for my opponent although you are my sister.’

- (92’) *... *tum merī bəhən ho ɔr təb tumne*
 you.FAM I.POSS.F sister be.2ndP.FAM.PRES and then you2ndP.FAM AG
mere virod^hī ko əpna mət diya.
 I.POSS.OBL opponent DAT self.POSS.M.SG vote.M give.PERF.M.SG
 *‘... you are my sister and then you voted for my opponent.’

The conjunctive participles in the following examples have various functions similar to those of adverbs of alternative modes of action, cause, reason, etc.

- (93) *sumən əpna kam pūra nə kərke fī vī*
 Suman.M self.POSS.M.SG work complete not do CP TV
dek^hne ləga.
 watch.INF.OBL begin.PERF.M.SG
 ‘Suman began to watch TV instead of completing his work.’

(93*) **sumān ne āpnā kam pūra nahī̃ kiya ṛ t̄ab jī vī dek^hne lāga.*

*‘Suman did not complete his work and then began watching TV.’

(94) *sunīta c^huṭṭiyō mē dillī nā ja kār mumbāī jane kī*
Sunita.F holiday.F.PL.OBL in Delhi not go CP Mumbai go.INF.OBL of.F
soc rāhī hē.

think PROG.F PRES.SG

‘Sunita is thinking of going to Mumbai instead of going to Delhi in the holidays.’

(95) *lāṛkiyō ne palīf kārke cādī ke bārtān cāmka*
girl.F.PL.OBL AG polish do CP silver of.M.PL utensil.M.PL shine.CAUS
diye hē.

give.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL

‘The girls have made the silver utensils shine by polishing (them).’

(95*) **lāṛkiyō ne palīf kī ṛ t̄ab cādī ke bārtān cāmka diye hē.*

*‘The girls have polished (them) and then made the silver utensils shine.’

(96) *tum bās itnī sīṛ^hiyā cāṛ^h kār hāp^h gāye?*
you.2ndP.FAM just these many.F step.F.PL climb CP pant go.PERF.M.PL

‘You became breathless by climbing just these many steps?’

Some sentences with conjunctive participles may be ambiguous, as the following examples show:

(97) *vāh g^hār ja kār b^hī aram nahī̃ kārega.*

he home go CP PTCL rest not do.FUT.M.SG

a. Although he will go home, he will not rest.

b. He will not rest after going home either.

(98) *krishna āpnī mā ka afīrvad le kār vidēf gāī.*

Krishna.F self.POSS.F mother of.M blessing.M take CP abroad go.PERF.F.SG

a. Krishna went abroad with her mother’s blessings.

b. Krishna went abroad after (she) got her mother’s blessings.

The sentences in (97) and (98) yield both a temporal and an antithetical (97) or manner (98) meaning.

9.4. Conditional Clause

The conditional participates in a correlative construction with the markers *yədi/əgər...to* ‘if ...then’:

- (99) *yədi/əgər usne kəha he to vəh zərūr car*
 if he.OBL AG say.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG then he certainly four
bəje tək a jaega.
 o'clock by come go.FUT.M.SG
 ‘If he has said so, he will definitely arrive by four o'clock.’

- (100) *tum yədi/əgər caho to mē*
 you.2ndP.FAM if want.2ndP.FAM.OPT then I
tumhare sat^h cəltī hū.
 you.2ndP.FAM.GEN.OBL with go.IMPF.F 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘I will come with you if you want.’

9.5. Compound Sentence

Compound sentences comprise two or more clauses that are in a coordinate relationship with each other. They are of several types and are discussed in detail the following subsections.

9.5.1. Coordinate

Two or more independent clauses are conjoined with the linkers *or* (H) ‘and’, *və* (PA), or *evəm* (S). There is another linker, *tə^ha* (S), which is more frequent in phrasal conjunction as compared to clausal conjunction.

The linker *or* is by far the prototypical linker for coordination. Other linkers are used for stylistic reasons in written texts (e.g., to avoid repetition of *or*, or to give the text a particular ‘flavor’). Like the English linker ‘and’, *or* has multiple uses:

- a. The two clauses joined by *or* indicate two concurrent events or parallel states of affairs:

- (101) *sīma əcc^ha gatī he or rīta sitar bəjane mē*
 Sima.F well sing.IMPF.F PRES.SG and Rita.F sitar play.INF.OBL in
kuʃəl he.
 skilled be.PRES.SG
 ‘Sima sings well and Rita is proficient in playing the sitar.’

- (102) *mē car baje g^har pāhūctī or mā muj^he cay ka*
 I four o'clock home arrive.IMPF.F and mother I.OBL.DAT tea of.M.SG
pyala pakṛa deñ.
 cup.M hold.CAUS give.IMPF.F.PL
 'I would arrive home at four and mother would offer me tea (immediately).'

- b. The second clause expresses the consequence of the events/actions described in the first one:

- (103) *mēne ranjan ko pukara or vah fōran b^hag kār*
 I AG Ranjan.M DOBJ call.PERF.M.SG and he instantly run CP
aya.
 come.PERF.M.SG
 'I called Ranjan and he came running.'

- (104) *is sal bāhut bariḥ huī he or kāī*
 this.OBL year much rain.F happen.PERF.F.SG PRES.SG and many
rajyō mē baṛ^h aī he.
 state.M.PL.OBL in flood.F come.PERF.F.SG PRES.SG
 'It has rained a great deal this year and there have been floods in many states.'
 [See 4.7.3 for an explanation of why the determiner *is* in the oblique form.]

- c. The second clause signals a contrast with the first one:

- (105) *dillī bāhut māhagī he or nagpur kaḥ*
 Delhi.F very expensive.F be.PRES.SG and Nagpur.M quite
sōsta he.
 cheap.M.SG be.PRES.SG
 'Delhi is very expensive and Nagpur is quite inexpensive.'
- (106) *tum g^har mē beḥ^o or mē bahar ka sōb kam*
 you.2ndP.FAM home in sit.FAM.IMP and I outside of.M.SG all work
kār aī.
 do come.1stP.OPT.SG.
 'You stay home and I will go out to get all the work done.'

- d. The second clause makes a point similar to that of the first one:

- (107) *mā ne muj^he miṭ^haiyā k^hilāī or pita jī*
 mother AG I.OBL.DAT sweet.F.PL eat.CAUS.PERF.F.PL and father HON

ne p̄ese diye.

AG coin.M.PL give.PERF.M.PL

‘Mother offered me sweets and father gave me money.’

- (108) *əṅvastrō ko n̄əʃt̄ k̄arna z̄ərūrī*
 nuclear weapon.M.PL.OBL DOBJ destruction do.INF necessary
h̄e ɔr p̄əryav̄əɾəṅ ko b̄əcana av̄əʃyək̄ h̄e.
 be.PRES.SG and environment DOBJ save.INF necessary be.PRES.SG
 ‘It is necessary to destroy the nuclear weapons and it is imperative to save the environment.’
- (109) *hindī ka purana nam b̄^haṣa h̄e t̄ətha tulsīdas ne*
 Hindi of.M old.M.SG name.M bhasha be.PRES.SG and Tulsidas AG
b̄^hī man̄əs m̄ē b̄^haṣa ka h̄ī p̄əryoḡ kiya h̄e.
 also Manas in ‘Bhasha’ of.M EMPH use.M do.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The old name of Hindi is Bhasha and Tulsidas also used the same label in his work (called Ramcharit) Manas.’

e. The second clause indicates an addition to the first one;

- (110) *unke pas ȳəh̄ā do m̄əkan h̄ē ɔr*
 they.GEN.M.OBL POSS here two house.M.PL be.PRES.PL and
unh̄ōne ek̄ fl̄eʃt̄ b̄^hī x̄ərīda h̄e.
 they.M.PL.OBL AG one flat.M also buy.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘They have two houses here, and they have also bought a flat.’
- (111) *r̄īta ne ek̄ up̄ənyas lik̄^ha h̄e ɔr əb̄ v̄əh̄ ek̄*
 Rita.F AG one novel.M write.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG and now she one
k̄əvita s̄əngr̄əh̄ b̄^hī c̄^həpva r̄əh̄ī h̄e.
 poetry collection.M also print.CAUS PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘Rita wrote a novel and now she is also getting a poetry collection published.’

f. The second clause encodes the purpose of the first:

- (112) *m̄ē ɖak̄ ḡ^hər̄ ḡəṭ ɔr m̄ēne b̄əh̄ən ko j̄ənm̄d̄in̄ ka*
 I post office go.PERF.F.SG and I AG sister IOBJ birthday of.M.SG
uphar̄ b̄^heja.
 gift.M send.PERF.M.SG
 ‘I went to the post office and I mailed a birthday gift to my sister.’
- (113) *kir̄əṅ ne gaʃt̄ n̄ikalī ɔr v̄əh̄ s̄īd̄^he əpn̄ī*
 Kiran.F AG car.F take out.PERF.F.SG and she straight self.POSS.F

bāhan ke dāftār ja pāhūcī.
 sister of.M.OBL office.M go arrive.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Kiran took out the car and (she) went straight to her sister’s office.’

- g. The first clause expresses a threat to the subject of the second clause, as in the following (Guru 1919 [1962]: 169):

(114) *p^hir mē hū̃ or tum ho.*
 then I be.1stP.PRES.SG and you.2ndP.FAM be.2ndP.FAM.PRES
 ‘It is between you and me now!’

In most cases, when two clauses are joined by *or*, some ellipsis takes place. For instance, the shared item, e.g., the indirect object *muj^he* ‘me’ in (107), is deleted from the second conjoined clause. Similarly, the subjects of the second clause can easily be left out in (111) and (113), as shown in (111’) and (113’):

(111’) *rīta ne ek upānyas lik^ha he or ab ek kavita*
 Rita.F AG a novel.M write.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG and now a poetry
sāngrāh b^hī c^hāpva rāhī he.
 collection also print.CAUS PROG.F PRES.SG
 ‘Rita wrote a novel and now she is also getting a poetry collection published.’

(113’) *kirāṅ ne gaṛī nikālī or sīd^he apnī bāhan*
 Kiran.F AG car.F take out.PERF.F.SG and straight self.POSS.F sister
ke dāftār ja pāhūcī.
 of.M.SG.OBL office.M go arrive.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Kiran took out the car and went straight to her sister’s office.’

In a text, in order to avoid the repetition of *or* when more than two clauses are conjoined, or when there are several compound sentences, one of the other linkers, *vā*, *evam* or *tātha* is used:

(115) *bāhut der bad ag buj^hane vala ek jāhaj*
 much time after fire extinguish.INF.OBL AGP a ship.M
aya or hām logō ko us jāhaj pār
 come.PERF.M.SG and we people.M.PL.OBL DOBJ that ship on
saman kī tārāh ḍ^hākel diya gāya, kyōki
 luggage of.F like.F push give.PERF.M.SG PASV.PERF.M.SG because

jəhaj kī ũcāī bəhut tʰī və nav nīcī tʰī.
 ship of.F height.F much be.PAST.F.SG and boat.F low.F be.PAST.F.SG

Sarita, 8.99: 39

‘Much later a fire extinguishing ship (boat) came and we were pushed on to it like pieces of luggage as the ship was very tall and the boat was very low.’

These linkers, however, are more common in phrasal conjunctions, as illustrated by the following:

(116) *yəh kəmpənī reyən gred vud pəlp, viskos stepəl faibər və*
 this company.F rayon grade wood pulp, viscose staple fiber and
viskos filament yarn ɔr əny rəsəyən adi
 viscose filament yarn and other chemicals etc.

bənātī hɛ.

make.IMP.F.SG PRES.SG

Sarita, 8.99. 44

‘This company makes rayon grade wood pulp, viscose staple fiber and viscose filament yarn, and other chemicals, etc.’

(117) *mē ɔr/və/evəm/təʰa merī pətnī in dinō rusī sīkh*
 I and I.POSS.F wife these day.M.PL.OBL Russian learn
rəhe hē.

PROG.M.PL PRES.PL

‘I and my wife are learning Russian these days.’

(118) *həmne picʰle sal pənt ɔr niralā kī kəvitaē təʰa premcənd*
 we AG last.OBL year Pant and Nirala of.F poem.F.PL and Premchand
kī kəhaniyā pəʰtʰī.

of.F short story.F.PL read.PERF.F.PL

‘Last year we read poems by Pant and Nirala and short stories by Premchand.’

[See 4.7.3 for why the item *picʰle* ‘last’ in ‘last year’ is in the oblique case.]

9.5.2. *Adversative*

Two independent clauses may be joined with the linkers *pər* ‘but’ (H), *məgər* (PA), *lekin* (PA), *kintu* (S), and *pərəntu* (S). The clauses thus linked express a contrast or contradiction.

(119) *hindī ɔr urdū mē koī vifəʃ əntər nəhī, pər inke*

Hindi and Urdu in any special difference not but they.POSS.M.PL.OBL

anuyayī donō ke c^hoṭe-moṭe
 follower.M.PL two.AGG of.M.OBL small.M.OBL-fat.M.OBL
fārḱ ko bāṭ^ha-cāṭ^ha kār pef
 difference.M.OBL DOBJ increase.CAUS-raise.CAUS CP present
kārte hē.
 do.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘There is not much difference between Hindi and Urdu, but their supporters exaggerate the minor differences between them.’

- (120) *mata jī ne caca jī ko bāhut sām^haya, māgār*
 mother HON AG uncle HON DOBJ much explain.PERF.M.SG but
ve nāhī ruke
 he.HON not stop.PERF.M.PL
 ‘Mother tried hard to persuade (my) uncle, but he did not stay.’

- (121) *kuṅal bāhut med^havī he kintu/pārantu uska*
 Kunal.M very intelligent be.PRES.SG but he.POSS.M.SG
b^haī kuḱ^h esa hī hē.
 brother some thus.M.SG EMPH be.PRES.SG
 ‘Kunal is very intelligent, but his brother is rather slow.’
 [See 4.4.4.3 for the form *esa; kuḱ^h esa hī* as an idiom means ‘rather below average’. Since the comparison here is in terms of intelligence, the free translation renders the expression ‘rather slow’.]

- (122) *mē do g^hanṭe tāk uska intāzar kārta rāha,*
 I two hour.M.PL till he.GEN.M.SG wait.M do.IMPF.M.SG CONT
lekin vāh nāhī aya.
 but he not come.PERF.M.SG
 ‘I waited (lit. kept waiting) for him for two hours, but he did not come.’

9.5.3. Disjunctive

Two or more independent clauses are joined with the linkers *ya* (PA) ‘or’, *va* (S), *ā^hva* (S), *kimva* (S), *ki* (H) or a discontinuous linker *ya ... ya*, as in (123)-(127) below. The disjunctive indicates a choice among several items, i.e., it introduces alternatives. Note that *kimva* is used almost exclusively in poetry.

- (123) *tum mere kāmre mē aram kār saktī*
 you.FAM I.POSS.M.OBL room.M.SG.OBL in rest do can.IMPF.F.SG
ho ya mē tumhare liye mā ke
 2ndP.FAM.PRES or I you.FAM.GEN.OBL for mother of.M.OBL

kāmre mē bistar lāga detī hū.
 room.M.SG.OBL in bed fix give.IMP.F 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘You can rest in my room or I can make up a bed in Mother’s room.’

- (124) *ap mere śod^h a^hva apnī samāgrī ke*
 you.HON I.POSS.M.OBL research.M or self.POSS.F material.F of.M.OBL
viśleṣaṇ ke ad^har p̄ar ek a^h niband^h lik^h
 analysis.M of.M.OBL basis.M on a good.M.SG essay.M write
sakte hē.
 can.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘You can write a good essay on the basis of my research or the analysis of
 your own material.’

- (125) *pūja ke liye kele ya am a^hva sante*
 worship.F for banana.M.PL or mango.M.PL or orange.M.PL
le ana.
 bring come.INF
 ‘Bring bananas, or mangoes, or apples for the worship.’

- (126) *kya karna he, ab^hī calna he ki do g^hante*
 what do.INF PRES.SG now.EMPH move.INF PRES.SG or two hour.M.PL
aram karke niklē?
 rest do.CP leave.OPT.PL
 ‘What should we do? Shall we leave right now or rest for two hours and
 then leave?’

- (127) *ya ham kavi sammelan karē ya sangit ka karyakram*
 or we poet meet.M do.OPT.PL or music of.M.SG program.M
rakhē, donō ka ayojan samb^hav nahī.
 keep.OPT.PL both of.M.SG organization.M possible not
 ‘Either we organize a poetic meet or a musical performance, arranging for
 both is not possible.’

The disjunctive markers are also used for linking constituents smaller than clauses, as in the following:

- (128) *fila, rad^ha ya kapila, koī is kitab*
 Sheela.F, Radha.F or Kapila.F, someone this.SG.OBL book.OBL
ko laibrerī ja kar lōta de.
 DOBJ library go CP return give.OPT.SG
 ‘Sheela, Radha or Kapila, someone should go to the library and return this
 book.’

- (129) *muj^he mähəngī ya səsī kar se mətləb nəhī, jo b^hī*
 I.OBL.DAT expensive.F or cheap.F car.F with concern not REL EMPH
g^hər se dəftər a ja səke, ʃ^hīk hē.
 home from office come go can.PERF.SG right be.PRES.SG
 ‘I am not concerned with how expensive or cheap a car is, whichever is
 capable of taking me from home to office and back is all right.’
- (130) *tum din b^hər pəʃ^ho ya k^helo, aj*
 you.FAM day entire study.2ndP.FAM.OPT or play.2ndP.FAM.OPT today
bahər jane kī ijazət nəhī hē.
 out go.INF.OBL of.F permission.F not be.PRES.SG
 ‘You can study or play all day, (but) you are not allowed to go out of the
 house.’

Negative disjunctive *nə...nə* ‘neither...nor’ is used to indicate that neither of the alternatives is possible or was realised:

- (131) *nə barīf huī, nə d^hūp nīkī, sirf*
 neither rain.F happen.PERF.F.SG nor sunlight.F emerg.PERF.F.SG only
badəl c^haye rəhe.
 cloud.M.PL cover.PERF.M.PL remain.PERF.M.PL
 ‘There was no rain, nor did the sun emerge, it just remained cloudy.’
- (132) *nə sərīta ləndən gəī nə rīma mumbəī ja*
 neither Sarita.F London go.PERF.F.SG nor Rima.F Mumbai go
səkī, donō ne c^huʃṭiyā yəhī bitāī.
 can.PERF.F.SG two.AGG.OBL AG holiday.F.PL here.EMPH spend.PERF.F.PL
 ‘Sarita did not go to London, nor could Rima go to Mumbai, both spent the
 holidays right here.’

The negative disjunctive also coordinates constituents smaller than sentences:

- (133) *nə sərīta nə rīma c^huʃṭiyō mē bahər ja səkī.*
 neither Sarita nor Riima holiday.F.PL.OBL in out go can.PERF.F.PL
 ‘Neither Sarita nor Rima could go away for the holidays.’
- (134) *vəh nə cay pīta hē, nə kafī.*
 he neither tea drink.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG nor coffee
 ‘He drinks neither tea, nor coffee.’

- (135) *bacca nā roya, nā hāsa.*
 child.M neither cry.PERF.M.SG nor laugh.PERF.M.SG
 ‘The child neither cried nor laughed.’
- (136) *tum nā aj jaogī, nā kəl, əgle*
 you.FAM neither today go.FAM.FUT.F.SG nor tomorrow, next.M.OBL
həfte tək yəhĩ rəhogī
 week.M.SG.OBL till here.EMPH remain.FAM.FUT.F
 ‘You will neither leave today, nor tomorrow, you will stay here till next week.’

9.5.4. Concessive

The markers used in the concessive construction are *yədyəpi/halāki...to/p^hir b^hĩ* ‘although...even so’.

- (137) *yədyəpi pita jī ne kuc^h nəhĩ kəha, to/p^hir b^hĩ*
 although father HON AG something not say.PERF.M.SG even so
saket ne unkī gaṛī saf kərva dī.
 Saket AG he.HON.POSS.F vehicle.F clean do.CAUS give.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Although (his) father did not say anything, Saket got his (i.e., father’s) car cleaned.’
- (138) *halāki use der ho rəhī t^hĩ, p^hir b^hĩ vəh*
 although she.OBL.DAT delay.F happen PROG.F PAST.F.SG even so she
səhelī ke jagne ka intəzar kərtī rəhī.
 friend.F of.OBL wake.INF.OBL of.M.SG wait.M do.CONT.F stay.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Although she was getting late, she kept waiting for (her) friend to wake up.’

9.5.5. Antithetical

The antithetical conjunctions are *vəran* (H) and *bəlki* (PA) ‘on the contrary, rather’.

- (139) *unhō ne vyakarəṇ nəhĩ lik^ha, vəran ve*
 he.HON.OBL AG grammar not write.PERF.M.SG rather he.HON
bəṛe əcc^he kəvi t^he.
 very.M.PL good.M.PL poet.HON PAST.M.PL
 ‘He did not write a grammar, on the contrary, he was a very good poet.’

- (140) *tum kya dūd^h lane bazar jaoge, balki*
 you.FAM what milk bring.INF.OBL market go.2ndP.FAM.FUT rather
mē hī cālī jatī hū.
 I EMPH move.PERF.F go.IMPF.F.SG 1stP.PRES.SG
 ‘Why should you go to the market to get milk, let me go instead.’

10. Information Structure

10.0. Information Structure

What follows is a brief discussion of information structure in Hindi.¹ Not much work has been done on this topic, therefore, this description is necessarily sketchy.

Sentences of a human language express three kinds of meaning simultaneously: they signal human experiences, indicate interpersonal relationships, and convey messages. The structure of sentences in terms of transitivity represents experience by encoding states, events and actions. The structure of sentences in terms of moods, such as declarative, imperative, interrogative, etc., captures the interpersonal relationship of participants in making assertions, commanding, questioning, etc. The message content of the sentence is expressed in the thematic and information structures of sentences. Three grammatical devices are relevant for conveying the message content of sentences: position of elements in the sentence, e.g., the initial position for theme in English, special grammatical markers, e.g., the Japanese topic marking particle *wa*, and prosodic features such as pitch and stress, e.g., the characteristic tone contour of focus in English. Hindi utilizes all three devices, though not exactly as in English and Japanese.

10.1. Theme

Theme, i.e., shared information between the speaker/writer and hearer/reader, is marked in Hindi both by position and by a thematic particle, *to*, though the use of the particle is context dependent.

In intransitive and transitive declarative sentences, the subject and theme normally coincide and occur in the sentence-initial position, as in the following examples:

- (1) *kutte b^hũk røhe hẽ.*
dog.M.PL bark PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
'The dogs are barking.'

- (2) *kanta ne ek upānyas lik^ha he.*
 Kanta.F AG a novel.M write.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Kanta has written a novel.’

In (1), the theme is ‘dogs’ and the rest of the sentence is about what they are doing, and in (2), the theme is ‘Kanta’ and the rest of the sentence is about what she has done. Broadly speaking, theme is the element that the clause is about.

It is tempting to generalize the subject position in the clause as the thematic position. The subject indeed may also be the theme, as in the above examples, but occurrence in the subject position is not a necessary and/or sufficient condition for defining the theme. Non-subject elements may also be themes, as is clear in the following examples (items in bold type face in the text and italics in the translation correspond to the thematic elements in the Hindi sentences).

- (3) ***aj** (to) hām tennis zārūr k^helēge.*
 today (PTCL) we tennis certainly play.FUT.M.PL
 ‘Today we will definitely play tennis.’
- (4) ***amrīka ja kār** ucc sikṣa prapt kārūga.*
 America go CP high education obtain do.1stP.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Having gone to America (I) will get higher education’, i.e.,
 ‘I will go to America and get higher education.’

As answers to following questions, the adverbial *aj* ‘today’ functions as theme in (3), and the adverbial phrase (the conjunctive participle phrase) *amrīka ja kār* ‘having gone to America’ exemplifies the theme in (4).

- (3’) *aj kya kāroge?*
 today what do.FUT.M.SG
 ‘What will you do today?’
- (4’) *amrīka ja kār kya kāroge?*
 America go CP what do.FUT.M.SG
 ‘What will you do having gone to America, i.e., when you go to America?’

Notice the particle *to* in sentence (3). One of the functions of this particle is to mark the thematic element in sentences. The following fragments of dialogues support this claim:

- (5) A. *kāpila āpnī kitab d^hū^h rāhī t^hī.*
 Kapila.F self.POSS.F book.F.SG search PROG.F PAST.F.SG
 ‘Kapila was looking for her book.’
- B. *kitab to mēne fīpra ko de dī.*
 book.F.SG PTCL I AG Shipra.F DAT give give.PERF.F.SG
 ‘The book I gave (it) to Shipra.’
- (6) A. *bācce kāhā hē?*
 child.M.PL where be.PRES.PL
 ‘Where are the children?’
- B. *bācce to so gāye.*
 child.M.PL PTCL sleep go.PERF.M.PL
 ‘The children are asleep.’
- (7) A. *tumhare pita jī g^hār pār hē?*
 you.FAM.POSSN.PL father HON house.OBL at be.PRES.PL
 ‘Is your father home?’
- B. *pita jī g^hār pār to nāhī hē.*
 father HON house.OBL at PTCL not be.PRES.PL
 ‘(My) father is not at home.’

In the above adjacency pairs, subjects (sentences (1) and (2)), the direct object (5B), complement (7B) and adverbials (3) and subject and adverbial together (4) function as themes in declarative sentences (note that the subject has a \emptyset -realization in (4)). In interrogative sentences and subordinate or dependent clauses, however, there are other elements that can carry the thematic function:

- (8) *kya tum mere sat^h cāloge?*
 INTER you.FAM I.GEN.M.SG.OBL with leave.2ndP.FAM.FUT.M
 ‘Will you come with me?’
- (9) *kāl jam kān aya t^ha?*
 yesterday evening who come.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘Who had come last evening?’
- (10) *ḡayād kāl tum sāb mere g^hār*
 perhaps tomorrow you.FAM all I.POSS.M.SG.OBL house
a sākoge?
 come be able.FAM.FUT.M
 ‘Perhaps Tomorrow you all will be able to come to my house?’

In (8) and (9), what the speaker wants confirmed by the response to the interrogative utterance is indicated in bold face. The items in bold face in (8) and (9) are the thematic elements in two parts: the subject *tum* ‘you’ and the adverbial *kāl jam* ‘last evening’ signal topical themes, and the indicator of modality, i.e., the interrogative items *kya* and *kən* encode the interpersonal theme. In (10), *śayād* ‘perhaps’ and the future tense marking on the verb signal the interpersonal theme, and the rest of the elements in bold face, the topical theme of the sentence. In some cases, we may also have a textual theme in addition to the interpersonal and topical themes:

- (11) *ujjen śahar mē mad^hav nam ka ek brahməṇ rāhta*
 Ujjain city in Madhav name of.M.SG a Brahmin live.IMP.F.M.SG
t^ha. pər śayād tumhē pəta nə ho
 PAST.M.SG but perhaps you.FAM.OBL.DAT knowledge not be.FAM.OPT
ki ujjen kəhā hē.
 that Ujjain where be.PRES.SG
 ‘In the city of Ujjain there lived a Brahmin named Madhav. But perhaps you don’t know where Ujjain is.’

If we consider the second sentence, three elements, the item *pər* ‘but’, the modal items *śayād* followed by the optative marker *ho*, and the subject *tum* ‘you’, are thematic. The first is the textual, the second the interpersonal and the third the topical theme of the sentence. Note that the interpersonal is discontinuous in Hindi, that is the items that signal the interpersonal theme, *śayād* ‘perhaps’ and *ho* ‘be + optative’, do not occur contiguously.

In the imperative sentence, too, the theme may be discontinuous:

- (12) *əb^hī yəhī bē^ho!*
 now.EMPH here.EMPH sit.IMP
 ‘Stay here for now.’
- (13) *ap zəra cay pī lē!*
 you.HON a little tea drink take.OPT.PL
 ‘You please drink some tea!’

Actually, both (12) and (13) may be analyzed in two different ways. Either just the subject (understood in (12), overt in (13)) is the theme and the rest is the rheme, i.e., comment on the topic, in the sentences, or, depending on the context, the subject and the imperative modal element constitute the topical and interpersonal themes, respectively, in the two sentences. Note that the

interpersonal theme is appropriate as a response to (12') and (13'), respectively:

(12') *bəhut der se be^ht̄ hū, cəlna cahiye.*
 long duration since sit.PERF.F.SG 1stP.PRES.F.SG move.INF should
 '(I) have been sitting here for a long time, (I) should leave now.'

(13') *socta hū, kya piū.*
 think.IMP.F.M.SG 1stP.PRES.M.SG. what drink.1stP.OPT.SG
 'I am thinking, what should I drink.'

The topical theme in Hindi, unlike in English, may be a zero not only in imperative sentences, as in (12) above, but also in declarative sentences. Consider the following narrative:

(14) *koī bat t̄t̄ əb^ht̄ əb^ht̄ dimag mē jugnū kī tərəh*
 some matter.F be.F.SG now.EMPH mind in firefly.M of.F like.F
cəmək kər buj^h gəī. kitnī bar esa
 shine CP stub out go.PAST.F how many.F times.F such.M.SG.
hota he. ek d^hūd^hlī-sī təsvīr dimag mē
 happen.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG one hazy.F like.F picture.F mind.M in
ub^hərne ləgtī he, pər ub^hərte ub^hərte
 rise.INF.OBL begin.IMP.F.F PRES.SG but rise.IMP.F.OBL. rise.IMP.F.OBL
əndər ke əd^here mē k^ho jatī he. jese kī
 inside of.M.OBL darkness.M in loose go.IMP.F.F PRES.SG as if
dimag se uskī fərarət cəl rəhī ho. mē
 mind.M with it.OBL.POSS.F mischief move PROG.F OPT I
kitnī kitnī bar us jugnū ko pəkəṛne
 how many.F times.F that.OBL firefly.OBL DOBJ catch.INF.OBL
kī kofif kəṛta hū– use kisī
 of.F attempt.F do.IMP.F.M.SG 1stP.PRES.SG it.OBL.DOBJ some.OBL
ənjane kṣəṇ mē dəboc lene kī tak mē
 unknown.M.OBL moment.M in seize take.INF.OBL of.F vigilance.F in
rəhta hū. kəī bar g^həṇṇō yəh k^hel
 stay.IMP.F.M.SG 1stP.PRES many times.F hour.PL.OBL this game.M
cəṭta he, pər jugnū pəkəṛ mē nəhī ata.
 move.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG but firefly.M grasp in not come.IMP.F.M.SG.
həlke se kəb^ht̄ yəhā, kəb^ht̄ vəhā ṭimṭimata he–
 dim with sometimes here sometimes there blink.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG
pər us ṭimṭimahəṭ ka t̄^hik ab^has ho pae, isse
 but that.OBL blinking of.M.SG exact awareness be get.OPT this.OBL from

pāhle hī p^hir ãd^here mē d̥ubkī lāga jata
 before EMPH again darkenes.M.SG.OBL in plunge.F apply go.IMP.F.M.SG
he u^hte, be^hte hãste, bat karte, ek
 PRES.SG rise.IMP.F.OBL sit.IMP.F.OBL laugh.IMP.F.OBL talk do.IMP.F.OBL one
halkī-sī cāmāk or bās! kātī bar subāh se sam
 dim.F like.F glimmer and that's all many times morning from evening
tāk yāhī k^hel apne mē, apne se, k^hela
 till this.EMPH game.M self.OBL in self.OBL with play.PERF.M.SG
jata he.
 PASV.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG Rakesh (1985: 17)

‘Something occurred (to me) just now. (It) flashed for a moment and was gone. How many times this happens. A dim picture starts to emerge in (my) mind, but gets lost in (my) inner darkness. As if it is playing mischief (a mischievous game) with (my) mind. How many times I try to catch that firefly—I keep watch to grasp it at a careless (on its part) moment. Sometimes the game goes on for hours, but (I) am unable to catch the firefly. (It) blinks dimly sometimes here, sometimes there—but (it) sinks in darkness before (I) can get hold of (my) awareness of that blinking. A dim glimmer as (I) rise, sit, laugh, talk, and that is all. This game gets played many times morning and evening with (my)self within (my)self.’

The topical themes, the idea that occurred for a moment and the first person pronoun, ‘I’, are consistently missing in the Hindi text, as is obvious from the elements in parenthesis in the English translation. Such omissions of topical themes are found not only in narratives, but also in conversations and other types of texts.

In passive sentences, the theme or shared information may be the passive agent or some other element in the sentence. For instance, in sentences (68)-(70) in section 8.4.2, repeated here for convenience, the themes are in bold face:

- (68) **renu** se **pātr** lik^ha jaega?
 Renu.F by letter.M write.PERF.M.SG go.3rdP.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Will the letter be written by Renu? i.e., Will Renu be able to write the letter?’
- (69) **c^hatrō** dvara **sammelan** ka **ayojan** kiya
 student.PL.OBL by conference.M of organization.M do.PERF.M.SG
ja rāha he.
 PASV PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The conference is being organized by the students.’

- (70) *prasad devī ke samne rak^ha jata he.*
 offering.M goddess of.OBL front put.PERF.M.SG PASV.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘The offerings are placed in front of the goddess.’

If (68)-(70) are responses to suggestions or questions such as (68’)-(70’), the items in bold face are shared between the speaker and the addressee:

- (68’) *raja kī anupst^hiti mē uskī bāhān reṇu pātr*
 Raja.M of.F absence.F in he.POSS.F.OBL sister Renu letter.M
b^hej de to acc^ha rāhega.
 send give.3rdP.OPT.SG then good.M.SG remain.FUT.M.SG
 ‘In Raja’s absence, it will be good if his sister Renu could send the letter.’
- (69’) *sāmmelān ka ayojān bāṛa kam he,*
 conference of.M.SG organization.M big.M.SG job.M be.PRES.SG
kān kār rāha he?
 who do PROG.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘It is a big job to organize a conference, who is doing it?’
- (70’) *prasad ka kya karū?*
 offering.M of.M.SG what do.1stP.OPT
 ‘What should I do with the offering?’

In (68a), both the agent and the direct object are thematic.

10.2. Focus

The position preceding the finite verb is the focus position in Hindi, though contrastive focus may be expressed through variation in word order.

In sentences such as the following, the constituent that immediately precedes the finite verb is the focus (it appears in bold face):

- (15) *sāvita c^huttīyō mē bānarās jaegī.*
 Savita.F holiday.F.PL.OBL in Banaras go.FUT.F.SG
 ‘Savita will go to Banaras for the holidays.’
- (16) *pita jī āxbar pāṛ^h rāhe hē.*
 Father HON newspaper.M read PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘Father is reading the newspaper.’

In narratives, new entity is introduced in the focus position and subsequently becomes the theme. This is illustrated by the following fragments of narrative texts (the initial focus and the subsequent theme are in bold face):

- (17) *kisī zəmanē mē ek raja t^ha. uske do*
 some time.M.OBL in a king be.PAST.M.SG he.POSS.OBL two
raniyā t^hī.
 queen.F.PL be.PAST.F.PL
 ‘Once upon a time there was **a king**. **He** had two queens.’

- (18) *ek gāv mē ek būṭ^ha kisan rəhta t^ha.*
 a village in an old.M.SG peasant live.IMPF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
uske car ləṛke t^he. carō apəs mē
 he.POSS.OBL four son.M.PL be.PAST.M.PL four.AGG mutual in
ləṛte rəhte t^he.
 fight.IMPF.M.PL CONT.IMPF.M.PL PAST.M.PL
 ‘There lived an old **peasant** in a village. **He** had four **sons**. **All the four** fought with each other frequently.’

In (17), the new entity, ‘a king’, is introduced in the focus position in the first sentence and functions as a theme subsequently in the second sentence. In (18), the new entity, ‘an old peasant’, is introduced in the focus position in the first sentence and functions as the theme in the second sentence. The second sentence introduces another new entity in the focus position, ‘four sons’, which becomes the thematic element in the following sentence.

In addition to position, emphatic stress, emphatic particles and a position other than the normal one for an item also identify the element under focus (in bold face below).

- (19) *mē kəhta hū ki koī film nahī dek^hega.*
 I say.IMPF.M.SG 1stP.PRES.M.SG that anyone film not see.FUT.M.SG
 ‘**I** say that no one will view the film.’

- (20) *tum əgle həfte g^hər jana.*
 you.FAM next.OBL week.OBL home go.INF
 ‘You go home **next** week.’

- (21) *səb log vinū kī hī prātīkṣa kər rəhe hē.*
 all people.M Vineet.M of.F EMPH wait.F do PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘It is **Vineet** everyone is waiting for.’

- (22) *tum log əb **bəs** cəl pəʒo.*
 you.FAM.PL now PTCL move fall.FAM.IMP
 ‘You **better** make a move now.’² (It would be better if you make a move now.)’
- (23) *əmit ne ciʈʰɪ̃ ɖək mē **kəl** ɖalɪ.*
 Amit.M AG letter.F mail in yesterday put.PERF.F.SG
 ‘Amit put the letter in the mail **yesterday**.’
- (24) *mukund se mera pəricəy **kaʈʰmandū** mē*
 Mukund.M with I.GEN.M.SG acquaintance Kathmandu in
hua tʰa.
 happen.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG
 ‘I met Mukund (for the first time) in **Kathmandu**.’

Contrastive stress and occurrence in other-than-normal position combine to signal focus in (23) and (24) above, and in the following examples (in bold face):

- (25) *yəh kitab pəhle **mē** pəʈʰũga.*
 this book first I read.1stP.FUT.M.SG
 ‘**I** will read this book first.’
- (26) *is ʃəhər mē **həm** nəhɪ̃ rəhēge.*
 this city in we not live.FUT.M.PL
 ‘**We** will not live in this city.’

Similarly, emphatic particles and other-than-the-normal position combine to signal focus in the following sentences (the focused elements are in bold face):

- (27) *mēne rīta ko sarī batē **aj** bʰɪ̃ nəhɪ̃ bətaɪ̃.*
 I AG Rita IOBJ all.F matter.F.PL today EMPH not tell.PERF.F.PL
 ‘**Even today** I did not tell Rita everything.’
- (28) *vəh kəlkətte **kəl** hɪ̃ to gəya hɛ.*
 he Calcutta yesterday EMPH PTCL go.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘It is **only yesterday** that he left for Calcutta.’
- (29) *dūdʰ to sara pʰəʈ gəya, cay kəse bənegī?*
 milk.M PTCL all.M.SG torn go.PERF.M.SG tea.F how make.FUT.F.SG
 ‘**All the milk** has gone sour, how can we make tea?’

- (30) *kurte s̄ab bik ḡaye, b̄as k̄amīzē r̄ah ḡāī.*
 tunic.M.PL all sell go.PERF.M.PL just shirt.F.PL remain go.PERF.F.PL
 ‘All the tunics sold, **just the shirts** remained (i.e., did not sell).’

The particles, *b^hī* in (27), *hī to* in (28), *to* in (29) and *b̄as* in (30), contribute to highlight the items preceding or following them: they make them the focal elements. The order of quantifiers, *sara* and *s̄ab* with respect to the head nouns, *dūd^h* and *kurte*, indicate that they are under focus in the sentences (29) and (30), respectively.

Notes

1. This represents a preliminary account as a detailed analysis of information structure of Hindi sentences is beyond the scope of this work.
2. Unlike the English translation equivalent, the Hindi sentence is not used as a threat. It is understood as a polite but firm suggestion.

11. Discourse Structure

11.0. Sentence vs. Discourse

The term ‘discourse’ in the following discussion refers to any piece of text, spoken or written. Although it is difficult to define what we mean by text, we know a piece of text when we see it. Any speaker of a language knows what a text in that language is. Warning signs, such as in examples (1) and (2), a short story, a poem, a novel, an essay, an editorial or a news item in a newspaper, a judgment in a court of law, a parliamentary debate, etc., are all pieces of text.

(1) *savdʰan!*
careful
‘Danger!’

(2) *yəhã dʰũmrəpan mənə he.*
here smoking prohibited be.PRES.SG
‘Smoking is prohibited here.’

Even a one-word utterance or sign is a piece of text since it is encoded in language, is produced by someone intending to convey a message in a particular context of situation (Firth 1957), and serves a communicative purpose.

The examples in (1) and (2) above are short texts, one word and one sentence long, respectively. Longer texts, such as narratives, news reports, essays, etc. are many sentences long. They are, however, not just collections of sentences. The sentences are in specific relationships with each other. Texts exhibit different structural patterns. Discourse structure, however, is different from grammatical structure in that linguistic items that do not conform to grammatical structure are ungrammatical. Texts, however, do not have to conform to any fixed structure; depending upon how closely they follow the typical structural patterns in the language, they are judged to be more or less text-like, rather than non-texts.

A discussion of discourse structure in Hindi is beyond the scope of this descriptive grammar of the language. Only those aspects of discourse will be touched upon here which intersect with grammatical choices. The following topics are discussed briefly: aspects of cohesion; politeness; choice of codes (see 1.1.4); and conventions of speaking and writing.

11.1. Cohesive Devices

As in English and other Indo-European languages, textual cohesion is achieved by grammatical, lexical and semantic-pragmatic devices.¹ Grammatical devices include structural forms of subordination and coordination on the one hand, and semantic devices of anaphora, pronominal substitution (nominal and verbal), and deletion on the other. Lexical devices include repetition of items and occurrence of items from the same lexical set. These options are illustrated below.

11.1.1. Subordination

The structure of subordinate clauses has been discussed in detail in Chapter 9. The following excerpts demonstrate how subordinating conjunctions that link clauses achieve textual cohesion (the subordinating devices appear in bold face):

- (3) *sigreṭ pīna ek naṣa he jo admī ke*
 cigarette smoke.INF an addiction be.PRES.SG REL human of.M.OBL
ḡarīr ko naṣṭ karta he.
 body.M.SG.OBL DOBJ destruction do.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Smoking is an addiction that destroys the human body.’
- (4) *bat bahut puranī he jab lek^hak rajy s^hab^ha ka*
 Matter.F very old.F be.PRES.SG when author Rajya Sabha of.M.SG
sadasy t^ha.
 member be.PAST.M.SG
 ‘The matter is very old (i.e., it happened) when the author was a member of the Rajya Sabha (the Upper House of the Indian Parliament).’
- (5) *deḡ mē calū vitt varṣ kī pratham c^hamahī mē lagzari*
 country in current fiscal year of.F first six-month.F in luxury
karō kī bikrī mē prayah das pratīṣṭ kī giravṭ aī
 car.F.PL of.F sale.F in nearly ten percent of.F fall.F come.PERF.F.SG

he jisse kar nirmataō ko gəhra
 PRES.SG which.OBL.by car manufacturer.M.PL.OBL DAT deep.M.SG
d^hakka ləga he.
 shock.M.SG apply.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG

‘The sale of luxury cars in the first six months of the current fiscal year has fallen nearly ten percent, which has dealt a severe blow to the car manufacturers.’

- (6) *k^hərīdar ko prətyek k^hərīd ka keśmemo əvəfy*
 buyer.M.OBL DAT every purchase of.M.SG cash memo.M definitely
lena cahiye taki avəfyakta pərne pər ap əpnī
 take.INF should so that necessity.F fall.INF.OBL on you.HON self.POSS.F
fikayət up^hokta mənc mē dayər kər səkē.
 complaint.F.SG consumer forum in lodge do be able.OPT.PL
 ‘The buyer should take the cash memo for every purchase so that (s)he can file a complaint with the consumer protection agency should the need arise.’

In examples (3)-(5), the correlatives *jo* ‘who’ and *jəb* ‘when’ effect cohesion between the clauses. Note that the form *jisse* in (5) is the oblique form of *jo*, which is *jis*, followed by the postposition *se*. In (6), the same function of a cohesive tie is performed by the subordinating conjunction *taki* ‘so that’.

11.1.2. Coordination

Coordination has been discussed in detail in Chapter 9 (see 9.6.1). The following illustrate the cohesive function of the coordinating conjunctions (examples in bold face):

- (7) *videfī pəryəʒək rajəst^han ke gayəkō ər*
 foreign tourist.M.PL Rajasthan of.M.PL vocalist.M.PL.OBL and
vadəkō kī kəla sərəhte hē ər
 instrumentalist.M.PL.OBL of.F art.F admire.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL and
unke gayən-vadən ʒep kərke le jate hē.
 they.GEN.OBL singing-playing tape do.CP take go.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘Foreign tourists admire the art of vocal and instrumental musicians of Rajasthan and tape their songs and recitals to take them back.’

- (8) *amerika mē b^harət kī tulna mē kriṣi b^hūmi ləgb^həg*
 America in India of.F comparison.F in agriculture land.F about
11.8 prətīʒət əd^hik əvəfy he, pərəntu vəhā ətyəd^hik ʔ^həŋd
 11.8 percent more certainly be.PRES.SG but there excessive cold

pəɽne ke karəŋ vəɽʃ mē kəɪ məhīnō tək koɪ
 fall.INF.OBL of.OBL reason year in many month.M.PL.OBL till any

pʰəsəl nəhī ugāɪ ja səkṭī.

crop.F not raise.PERF.F PASV be able.IMP.F.F.SG

‘Agricultural land in the USA exceeds that of India by about 11.8 percent, but because of excessive cold no crops can be grown there for several months in the year.’

- (9) *kəbədḍḍī ɛsa kʰel he jismē nə gēd, balle,*
 Kabaddi such.M.SG. game.M be.PRES.SG REL.OBL in not ball, bat.M.PL.,
ciṛiya adi kī zərūrət hotī he, nə
 shuttlecock.F etc. of.F need.F happen.IMP.F.F.SG PRES.SG not
bəɽe median kī.
 big.M.OBL field.M.SG of.F

‘Kabaddi is a game for which neither ball, bat, shuttlecock, etc., nor a big field is needed.’

- (10) *yədyəpi sərɪta ko nīla rəŋg zyada pəsənd tʰa,*
 although Sarita.F DAT blue.M.SG color.M more liking be.PAST.M.SG
pʰir bʰṭ usne lal kar xərīdne mē pəti ka
 even so she AG red car buy.INF.OBL in husband of.M.SG
saṭʰ diya.
 company.M give.PERF.M.SG

‘Although Sarita liked the color blue more, she went along with her husband in buying a red car.’

In (7) and (8) above, the coordinator *or* and the adversative *pəɽantu* achieve cohesion between the first and second clauses, whereas in (9) and (10), the discontinuous linkers, *nə ... nə* (negative disjunctive) and *yədyəpi ... pʰir bʰṭ* (concessive) provide the cohesive ties between the clauses.

11.1.3. Pronouns

Both lexical and zero pronouns are used to establish links between pieces of texts, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

- (11) *viməl tʰəka-sa kəmre mē gʰusa. usne kəmīz*
 Vimal tired PTCL room.M.SG.OBL in enter.PERF.M.SG he AG shirt.F
utarī or təh kərke rəkʰne kī jəgəh
 took off.PERF.F.SG and fold do CP put.INF.OBL of.F place.F
ḍʰūṭṭī. soca, əlmarī kʰol kər səbʰal kər rəkʰna
 search.PERF.F.SG think.PERF.M.SG cupboard open CP care CP put.INF

hī tʰɪk hoga. fayəd kəl pʰir pəhənnī
 EMPH proper be.FUT.M.SG perhaps tomorrow again wear.INF.F
pəɾe.
 fall.3rdP.OPT.SG

‘Vimal entered the room tired. He took off his shirt and folding (it), looked for a place to put (it) away. (He) thought, (it) is better to open the cupboard and put (it) away carefully. (He) may have to wear (it) again tomorrow.’

Notice that except for one pronoun (*usne* ‘he.AG’ in the second sentence), all the other instances of pronouns occurring in the English translation, which are in parentheses, are missing in the Hindi text. The zero pronouns establish coreferential relations with both the subject, ‘Vimal’, and the object, ‘the shirt’. Note also that the pronouns in parentheses in the English translation are not optional in English; omitting them would render the sentences ungrammatical and impossible to process for their semantic content.

11.1.4. *Submodifiers*

The cohesive role of quantifiers such as *hərek* ‘each, every’, *səb* ‘all’, *donō* ‘both’, etc. is illustrated in the following examples:

- (12) *həmne rəjət, ʃekʰər, tara ɔr mona ko pəse dene kī*
 we AG Rajat, Shekhar, Tara and Mona IOBJ coin.PL give.INF.OBL of.F
kofʃ kī, pər səb ne yəhī kəha ki
 attempt.F do.PERF.F.SG but all AG this.EMPH say.PERF.M.SG that
əbʰī zərūrət nəhī hē.
 now.EMPH necessity.F not be.PRES.SG
 ‘We tried to give some money to Rajat, Shekhar, Tara and Mona, but (they) all said that there was no need just now.’

- (13) *vəhā kəī ləɾke beɾʰe tʰe, pər hərek ne*
 there many boy.PL sit.PERF.M.PL PAST.M.PL but each one AG
yəhī kəha ki unḥōne kisī ko
 this.EMPH say.PERF.M.SG that they.OBL AG anyone.EMPH DOBJ
bʰagte hue nəhī dekʰa.
 run.IMP.F.OBL PTPL.OBL not see.PERF.M.SG
 ‘There were many boys sitting there, but everyone said that they had not seen anyone running away.’

- (14) *mujʰe gīta ɔr ʃīla se milna tʰa, pər donō*
 I.OBL.DAT Gita and Sheela with meet.INF be.PAST.M.SG but two.AGG

mē se koī nāhī milī.

in from anyone not meet.PERF.F.SG

'I had to meet with Gita and Sheela, but I could meet neither of the two.'

11.1.5. *Substitution*

Although repetition is used as a cohesive device in Hindi, it is stylistically inappropriate in many cases. In such contexts, items that stand for constituents are used to avoid repetition.

Noun phrases are substituted for by the item *vala* 'one', as in the following examples:

- (15) *rāmakant ne do kutte pāsānd kiye, ek sāfed or ek
Ramakant AG two dog.M.PL liking do.PERF.M.PL one white and one
kala. unkī pātnī ko sāfed vala zyada pāsānd
black he.POSS.F.PL.OBL wife.F.SG DAT white one.M.SG more liking
aya.
come.PERF.M.SG
'Ramakant had selected two dogs, one white and one black. His wife liked
the white one better.'*

- (16) *hāmne kāl jitne mākan dek^he
we.OBL AG yesterday as many.M.OBL house.M.PL see.PERF.M.PL
unmē sāfed īlō vala sabbse ac^ha t^ha.
they.OBL in white brick.F.PL.OBL one all than good.M.SG be.PAST.M.SG
'Out of all the houses that we saw yesterday, the white brick one was the
best.'*

The verb phrase is substituted for by the items *esa* or *vesa hī/vāhī kārna* 'do like/that.EMPH' The following examples illustrate this substitution:

- (17) *rājnī ne ek svātāntr ummīdvar ko māt diya or
Rajni AG an independent candidate DAT vote.M.SG give.PERF.M.SG and
Sunīl ne b^hī vesa hī kiya.
Sunil AG also such EMPH do.PERF.M.SG
'Rajni voted for an independent candidate and Sunil did so, too.'*
- (18) *sīma pā^haī ke liye bānglor ja rāhī he or mē b^hī vāhī
Sima study.F for Bangalore go PROG.F PRES.SG and I too that.EMPH
kārne kī soc rāhī hū.
do.INF.OBL of.F think PROG.F 1stP.PRES.SG
'Sima is going to Bangalore for studies and I, too, am thinking of doing the
same.'*

11.1.6. *Deletion*

Just as zero pronouns are the preferred device for capturing anaphoric relations, deletion is the preferred device for achieving cohesive ties in Hindi. Unlike in English, where deletion is severely constrained, most constituents except the verb phrase (object-verb) can be deleted under identity in Hindi. As the verb obligatorily takes gender, number, and person endings, deletion of object-verb results in the deletion of the entire predicate. Unlike in English, tense markers must be deleted if the finite verb is deleted, since there are no auxiliaries in Hindi similar to ‘do’ or ‘have’ that can carry tense marking (see example (21) below).

Deletion under identity in a number of linguistic contexts is described in some detail below; the deleted item is represented by the symbol \emptyset .

DELETION OF NOUN PHRASE

- (19) *merī bəṛī bəhān kalkatte se aĩ̃ ɔr ∅ mumabī*
 I.POSS.F older sister Calcutta.OBL from come.PERF.F.PL and Mumbai
cālī gəĩ̃.
 move.PERF.F go.PERF.F.PL
 ‘My older sister came from Calcutta and \emptyset left for Mumbai.’

- (20) *tum log mākan xərīd rəhe ho ɔr*
 you.FAM people house.M.SG buy PROG.M.PL 2ndP.FAM.PRES and
həm ∅ bec rəhe hē
 we sell PROG.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘You are buying (a) house and we are selling \emptyset ’

DELETION OF VERB PHRASE

- (21) *vərma jī ne is məhīne do kəhaniyā lik^hī hē*
 Verma HON AG this.OBL month.OBL two story.F.PL write.F PRES.PL
ɔr unkī pətnī ne b^hī.
 and he.POSS.F wife AG too
 ‘Mr. Verma has written two short stories this month and his wife (has done so), too.’

DELETION OF FINITE VERB

- (22) *rəmeṣ car kəmze xərīd rəha t^ha ɔr*
 Ramesh.M four shirt.F.PL buy PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG and

sud^ha dās saṛiyā.

Sudha.F ten saree.F.PL

‘Ramesh was buying four shirts and Sudha ten sarees ø.’

DELETION OF MODIFIER

- (23) *mata jī ne ek sundar-sī reṣmī saṛī xarīdī*
 mother HON AG a beautiful PTCL silk.ADJ saree.F buy.PERF.F.SG
or mēne ø salvar-kamīz cuna.

and I AG salvar-kamīz.M select.PERF.M.SG

‘Mother bought a beautiful silk saree and I selected ø *salvar* suit.’

[*kamīz* is used for denoting both a shirt and a long tunic worn with a *salvar*.]

DELETION OF ADVERBIAL

- (24) *santof pic^hlī c^huṭṭiyō mē aṣṭreliya gāya or mē*
 Santosh last.F holiday.F.PL.OBL in Australia go.PERF.M.SG and I
ø japan g^hūm aya.

Japan visit come.PERF.M.SG

‘During the last holidays Santosh went to Australia and ø I toured Japan.’

- (25) *ham jāb lāndan mē pāṭ^h rāhe t^he, ṣānkār ø ek dukan*
 we when London in study PROG.M.PL PAST.M.PL Shankar a shop.F
mē nākrī kārte t^he.

in job.F do.IMPF.M.PL PAST.M.PL

‘When we were studying in London, Shankar (HON) used to work in a shop ø.’

- (26) *sub^ha ne bāṛe utsah se g^hār kī sṣafāī*
 Shubha.F AG much.OBL enthusiasm with house of.F cleaning.F
kī or vāsud^ha ne ø k^hana bānaya.

do.PERF.F.SG and Vasudha.F AG food.M make.PERF.M.SG

‘Shubha cleaned the house with great enthusiasm and Vasudha cooked ø.’

- (27) *ek bācca kēcī se kitab kaṭ rāha t^ha, ek*
 one child.M scissors.F with book.F cut PROG.M.SG PAST.M.SG one
ø āpna koṭ kaṭne pār tula t^ha.

self.POSS.M.SG coat cut.INF.OBL on bend.PERF.M.SG PAST.M.SG

‘One child was cutting a book with a pair of scissors, another was bent on cutting his coat ø.’

11.1.7. *Repetition of Lexical Items*

Although repetition of lexical items is redundant and usually avoided in favor of pronominalization, substitution or deletion, it is sometimes used in order to achieve cohesion in texts. The following examples illustrate such use of repetition:

- (28) *sufma ne ek bəhut əcc^hī kəhanī lik^hī jo ek sahiyik*
 Sushma AG a very good.F story.F write.PERF.F.SG REL a literary
pətrika mē c^həpī. kəhanī ko pəṛ^h·kər sufma ke
 magazine.F in publish.PERF.F.SG story DOBJ read CP Sushma of.PL
mata-pita ɔr pəriver ke səb log bəhut xuf hue.
 parents and family of.PL all people very happy become.PERF.M.PL

‘Sushma wrote a very good story, which was published in a literary magazine. Sushma’s parents and everyone (else) in the family felt very happy when they read the story.’

- (29) *guṭke mē esī cīzō kī milavəṭ hotī hē*
 gutka* in such.F thing.F.PL.OBL of.F mixture.F happen.IMPF.F PRES.SG
ki log ise k^hane pər məjbūr ho jate
 that people it.OBL.DOBJ eat.INF.OBL on compel become go.IMPF.M.PL
hē. unmē guṭke kī lət pəṛ jatī hē.
 PRES.PL they.OBL in gutka.M.OBL of.F addiction.F fall go.IMPF.F PRES.SG
guṭka nirmata əcc^hī tərəh jante hē
 gutka manufacturer.M.PL well.F manner.F know.M.PL.IMPF PL.PRES
ki iskī adət ek bar pəṛī to guṭke kī
 that it.OBL POSS.F habit.F one time fall.PERF.F.SG then gutka.OBL of.F
māg ek məjbūrī bən jatī hē. əgər guṭka nə
 demand.F a compulsion.F become go.IMPF.F PRES.SG if gutka not
mile to fəṛīr ɔr dimag becen ho jate hē.
 obtain.OPT then body and mind restless become go.IMPF.M.SG PRES.SG

‘There are such things mixed in *gutka* that people feel compelled to eat it. They become addicted to *gutka*. The manufacturers of *gutka* know very well that once the *gutka* habit is formed, its craving becomes an addiction. If the addict is deprived of *gutka*, his/her body and mind become restless.’

[**gutka* is a tobacco product meant for chewing]

In example (28), the item *kəhanī* ‘story’ is repeated in the two sentences. In (29), the item *guṭka* ‘chewing tobacco’ occurs five times, whereas the pronoun *yəh* ‘it’ (oblique case *is* and oblique inflected form *ise*) occurs only twice.

These repetitions of the noun establish strong links between the clauses in the excerpts above and thus contribute to the cohesiveness of the text.

11.1.8. Occurrence of Items from the Same Lexical Set

Choice of lexical items that are semantically related also contributes to the cohesiveness of the text, as is exemplified by the following excerpt:

- (30) *səngūt səmaj ka dərpaŋ hɛ. kəb^hī fastrīy səngūt ka*
 music society of.M mirror be.SG some time classical music of.M
jor t^ha. d^hīre d^hīre usmē milavəʃ ka for
 strength.M PAST.M.SG slowly that.OBL in mixture of.M noise.M
mila. log fastrīy səngūt kī coʃī se utər kər
 mix.PERF.M.SG people classical music of.F peak.F from climb down CP
t^humrī, dadra, gəjəl jesī həlki-p^hulkī cīzē b^hī gane
thumrī, dadra, ghazal like.F light.F thing.F.PL too sing.INF.OBL
ləge. filmī səngūt mē b^hī əb nam ka klasikəl ad^har
 begin.PERF.M.PL film.ADJ music in too now name of.M classical base.M
hɛ. isse b^hī həmare milavəʃī b^hāī səntuʃt nəhī
 be.PRES.SG this.OBL by too our.M.PL mixed brother.M.PL content not
hɛ. unhōne pəp ɔr 'rīmiksing' ke nam pər səngūt
 be.PRES.PL they.OBL AG pop and 'remixing' of.OBL name.OBL on music
mē milavəʃ ke nəe nəe tərīke k^hoj nikale hɛ.
 in mixture of.PL new.PL way.M.PL search bring out.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL

'Music is a mirror of society. At one time classical music was at its peak. Slowly the noise of adulteration got mixed with it. People climbed down from the peak of classical music and began to sing *Thumri, Dadra, Ghazal* and such light things. Film music also has a negligible classical base. Even so our adulterating brothers are not content. They are inventing new ways of adulterating music in the name of pop and "remixing".'

The items *səngūt* 'music', *fastrīy/klasikəl səngūt* 'classical music', *həlka-p^hulka* 'light', *t^humrī, dadra, gəjəl* 'names of different styles of light classical music', and *pəp* 'pop', all belong to the same lexical set, i.e., the set of items that belong to the domain of music.² Their occurrence in the same paragraph makes the text cohesive.

11.2. Politeness

One of the properties of a text that involves grammatical choices is the encoding of politeness. Politeness is an aspect of language use as important to Hindi speaking community as to any other speech community. There are several linguistic devices that make it possible to express politeness in interaction. These are discussed below.

11.2.1. Grammatical Choices

As has been discussed in Chapter 4 (see 4.3), Hindi makes a distinction in second person pronouns between honorific and non-honorific forms (i.e., *ap* ‘you (HON)’ and *tum/tū* ‘you, non-honorific’). Additionally, plural forms of third person pronouns (i.e., *ye/ve* ‘they’), agreement patterns, and certain verb aspect-tenses (e.g., the optative for requests) are used to indicate honorific use.

Politeness, however, should not be considered an inherent property of the honorific lexical items and syntactic patterns. What is considered polite in any particular interaction depends on the context of situation (Firth 1957; Halliday 1973). The use of the honorific system may express politeness as well as the opposite. The following examples illustrate this dual function of the honorific system and agreement patterns:

- (31) *pita jī, ap əb^hī cəl kər k^hana k^ha lē to*
 father HON you HON now.EMPH move CP meal eat take.PL.OPT then
əcc^ha rəhega.
 good.M.SG remain.FUT.M.SG
 ‘Father, it will be good if you eat now.’

- (32) Mother to child:
frīman suref kumar jī, ap əb k^hana k^ha lenge?
 Mr. Suresh Kumar HON you.HON now meal eat take.FUT.PL?
 ‘Mr. Suresh Kumar, will you (deign to) eat now?’

Whereas the example in (32) is a polite request made to the speaker’s father, the example in (33) expresses irritation on the part of the mother. She is using the honorific forms sarcastically to make her irritation with the child obvious.

Honorific pronouns and the honorific particle *jī* are used when speaking with or referring to elders, including older siblings and their spouses, colleagues in work situations, and participants in any formal event. Honorific forms are also used for referring to members of the intimate circle (for

instance, between spouses and siblings) in the presence of strangers and acquaintances, and in formal situations.

When praying, the use of the *tū*, non-honorific form of the second person pronoun and appropriate agreement patterns signal intimacy, e.g.:

- (33) *he īfvār, mere s̄ab^hī b^haī-bāhnō kī rākṣa*
 oh God I.POSS.PL all.EMPH brother-sister.PL.OBL of.F protection.F
kār!
 do.INTM
 ‘Dear God, protect all my brothers and sisters!’

- (34) *b^hāgvan, terī hī mārzī se s̄ab ho*
 God you.INTM.POSS.F EMPH wish.F with all.M.SG happen
rāha he.
 PROG.M.SG PRES.M.SG
 ‘God, everything is happening according to your wish.’

- (35) *mā durga, āb tū hī s̄abko s̄ahara de!*
 Mother Durga now you EMPH all.IOBJ support give.INTM
 ‘Mother Durga, now you provide succor to everyone!’

In Hindi devotional poetry, all poems addressed to divinity use the intimate forms. The same is true of prayers.

Demonstratives are also used to indicate intimacy as in the following:

- (36) *yāh mere dost hāmeṣa merī mādād ko*
 this I.POSS.M.OBL friend always I.POSS.F.OBL help.F for
tēyar rāhte hē.
 ready remain.IMP.F.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘This friend of mine is always ready to help me.’

The utterance is perfectly normal even if the friend is nowhere to be seen, but has been referred to in the conversation before. The plural form of the demonstratives used to be the usual form of reference for one’s husband in women’s speech, with the proximate one used without any modification, but the remote one used with the first person possessive, e.g., *mere vāh* [*mere vo* in pronunciation] ‘my husband’. This is changing with modernization in urban and metropolitan areas; it is difficult to say how prevalent it is in women’s speech in contemporary Hindi-speaking community at other sites.

11.2.2. *Lexical Choices*

There are special lexical items that are used to indicate politeness. Again, the context of situation of the interaction makes clear whether their use is for expressing politeness or irony and sarcasm.

TITLES

Masculine: *frīman, frī, m̄hod̄ay, m̄haḥḥay, sah̄ab, j̄nab, miyā*

Feminine: *frīm̄aī, sufrī, m̄hod̄aya, mem sah̄ab, xatūn, beḥam*

The first four masculine forms are used in formal Hindi, the term *sah̄ab* is used frequently in official situations to refer to high officials or by servants to refer to the master of the house, and the last two are more common in Urduized Hindi. Similarly, the first three feminine forms are used in formal Hindi, *mem sah̄ab* is frequently used in official situations to refer to high officials or at home by servants toward the mistress of the house, and the last two are more common in Urduized Hindi. One more distinction is made in the feminine forms: *frīm̄aī* usually refers to a married woman, *sufrī* to an unmarried woman. The terms *frīman, m̄hod̄ay, m̄haḥḥay* and their feminine counterparts are perceived as highly Sanskritized and are restricted to situations where such a style is normally used.

TERMS OF ADDRESS

Masculine: *sah̄ab, babūjī, b^haī sah̄ab* ‘brother’, *baba* ‘grandfather’, *beḥa* ‘son’

Feminine: *mem sah̄ab, m̄em* ‘madam’, *mata jī* ‘mother’, *mā jī* ‘mother’, *bībī jī, b̄h̄an jī* ‘sister’, *beḥī* ‘daughter’

Whereas *sah̄ab* and *babūjī* are neutral in terms of reference to age, the other masculine forms are sensitive to age: *baba* is used to address older gentlemen, *b^haī sah̄ab* to adults of young and middle age, and *beḥa* to address anyone the speaker perceives as very young relative to him-/herself. Similarly, *mem sah̄ab, m̄em* and *bībī jī* are neutral in terms of reference to age, but the other feminine forms are sensitive to age. The items *mata jī* and *mā jī* are used for older women, *b̄h̄an jī* for younger women, and *beḥī* for anyone the speaker perceives as very young relative to oneself. The particle *jī* signals respect.

There are sociolinguistic overtones to the uses of these terms. Terms such as *sah̄ab, mem sah̄ab* and *m̄em* are associated with English influence, and

babū jī, mā jī and *bāhān jī*, with relatively unsophisticated speakers and addressees.

TERMS OF SELF-REFERENCE

Humility is the other side of politeness, and Hindi has terms to refer to oneself that express the speaker's high regard for the addressee. Again, whether these are genuine expressions of humility or intended as irony depends on the context of situation in which the interaction takes place.

Masculine: *das* 'servant', *ṅulam* 'slave', *nacīz* 'nothing'
 Feminine: *dasī* 'maid', *bādī* 'slave', *nacīz* 'nothing'

Whereas these masculine terms are quite often used in interactions between friends, the use of the feminine terms is restricted to period literature (usually the medieval period).

VERBS³

There are special sets of verbs, mostly from Sanskrit but some from Perso-Arabic sources, that are used for expressing high levels of politeness. Some of these are listed below with their common counterparts (items borrowed from Perso-Arabic sources are identified in parentheses).

Polite	Common	Gloss
<i>pād^harna</i>	<i>ana</i>	'to come'
<i>tāfrīf lana</i> (PA)	<i>ana</i>	'to come'
<i>sid^harna</i>	<i>jana</i>	'to go, depart'
<i>virajna</i>	<i>beṭ^hna</i>	'to sit'
<i>nivedān kārna</i>	<i>kāhna</i>	'to say, submit'
<i>arṅ kārna</i> (PA)	<i>kāhna</i>	'to say, submit'
<i>fārmana</i> (PA)	<i>bolna</i>	'to speak out, tell'
<i>dehant hōna</i>	<i>mār jana</i>	'to die'
<i>svārgvās hōna</i>	<i>mār jana</i>	'to die'
<i>guzār jana</i> (PA)	<i>mār jana</i>	'to die'

11.3. Choice of Code(s)

As has been mentioned in Chapter 1, Hindi has developed Sanskritized, Persianized and Englishized styles. In addition, it is possible for users of Hindi to switch and mix two or more codes, e.g., Hindi with dialects of the Hindi area (Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Braj, Magahi, Maithili, etc.), or with Bengali,

Marathi, Punjabi, or English. Again, use of Hindi or one of the mixed codes or code switching depends on the context of situation. Mixing with Sanskrit, Persian and English has been illustrated in Chapter 1; Hindi movies and newspaper columns intended to be humorous provide many examples of mixing with regional languages such as Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi, Telugu and others.

11.4. Discourse Markers

There are a number of linguistic items in Hindi which have no specific grammatical function. However, they function as attitude markers, boundary markers, confirmation-seekers, discourse connectives, pause fillers, hedging devices, hesitation markers, intimacy signals, prompters, repair markers, turn-taking signals, and topic-switch markers. They primarily serve various procedural functions, though some of them have conceptual meanings as well. A brief description of some of these discourse markers follows.

a. Expressing agreement	<i>acc^ha, bilkul, t̪^hīk, bilkul t̪^hīk, jī, hā, jī hā, zərūr, jī zərūr, kyō nāhī</i>
b. Inviting agreement	<i>nə, kyō, kyō nə</i>
c. Signaling entreaty	<i>nə</i>
d. Limiting the scope of verbal action	<i>b^hər, bəs</i>
e. Emphasizing a directive	<i>b^hī, hī</i>
f. Marking the theme	<i>to</i>
g. Challenging a statement/question	<i>to?, to kya hua?</i>
h. Signaling sarcasm	<i>kyō nāhī?</i>
i. Signaling the self-evident nature of an implied proposition	<i>or kya?, or nāhī to kya?</i>
j. Providing a less desirable alternative	<i>vəse to</i>

The thematic function of *to* has already been illustrated in section 10.1; the use of the other items is exemplified below:

AGREEMENT

- (37) A. *əb səb log so jaē to acc^ha rəhega.*
 now all people sleep go.OPT.PL then good.M.SG remain.FUT.M.SG
 'It would be good if every body went to sleep now.'
- B. *jī (hā) / bilkul (t̪^hīk) / zərūr.*
 HON (yes) / quite (right) / sure
 'Yes (sir/ma'm)/ quite (right)/ sure.'

- (38) A. *is bar c^huṭṭiyō mē aṣṭreliya cāla jae.*
 this.SG.OBL time vacation.F.PL.OBL in Australia move go.OPT.SG
 ‘This time let us go to Australia for the holidays.’
 B. *kyō nāhī?*
 ‘Why not?’

INVITING AGREEMENT

- (39) A. *āb to ap xuf hē nā?*
 now PTCL you.HON happy be.PRES.PL TAG
 ‘At least now you are happy, aren’t you?’
 B. *hā.*
 ‘Yes.’
- (40) *yāhā se car bāje tāk cāl dē, kyō?*
 here from four o’clock.OBL till move give.OPT.PL why
 ‘Let us leave here by four, shall we?’
- (41) *yāh lāṛka kisī kī bat nāhī manta, log*
 this boy anyone.OBL of.F saying.F not follow.IMPF.M.SG people
kyō nā naraz hō?
 why not angry be.OPT.PL
 ‘This boy does not listen to anyone, why shouldn’t people be mad at him?’

ENTREATY

- (42) *pita jī, mere liye yāh k^hilōna k^hārīd dījiye nā.*
 father HON I.GEN.OBL for this toy.M.SG buy give.HON.IMP TAG
 ‘Father, please buy me this toy.’
- (43) *mā se b^hī pūc^h lo nā ki ve kya piyēgī.*
 mother from also ask take.FAM TAG that she.HON what drink.FUT.F.PL
 ‘Please ask mother, too, what she would like to drink.’

LIMITING THE SCOPE OF VERBAL ACTION

- (44) *uskī batē sun kār ve muskra b^hār diye.*
 (s)he.POSS.F talk.F.PL listen CP he.HON smile just give.PERF.PL
 ‘He just smiled after he heard him/her talk.’

EMPHASIZING A DIRECTIVE

- (45) *bəhut kəsɾət kər cukĩ, əb beɫ^ho b^hĩ.*
 much exercise do CMPL.PERF.F.PL now sit.FAM PTCL
 ‘(You) have done enough exercise, now do sit (down).’

CHALLENGING A STATEMENT/QUESTION

- (46) A. *tum aj dəftər nəhĩ ɡəye t^he.*
 you.FAM today office not go.PERF.M.PL be.PAST.M.PL
 ‘You did not go to the office today.’
 B. *to (kya hua)?*
 so (what)?
 ‘So what?’

SIGNALING SARCASM

- (47) A. *is həfte do din kĩ c^huɫɫĩ mileɡĩ?*
 this week.OBL two days of.F holiday.F accrue.FUT.F.SG
 ‘May (I) have two days off this week?’
 B. *kyō nəhĩ, həmeɟa ke liye c^huɫɫĩ le lo.*
 why not, always for holiday take take.FAM.IMP
 ‘Why not? Take time off for ever!’

SIGNALING THE SELF-EVIDENT NATURE OF AN IMPLIED PROPOSITION

- (48) A. *sərita ka səcmuc pəɫ^haĩ se jĩ*
 Sarita of.M.SG really study.F from heart.M
ūb ɡəya he?
 bore go.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
 ‘Is Sarita really bored with her studies?’
 B. *ɔr (nəhĩ to) kya?*
 ‘Of course!’

PROVIDING A LESS DESIRABLE ALTERNATIVE

- (49) *vəse to həm nainĩtal b^hĩ ja səkte hẽ pər*
 for that matter we Nainital also go can.IMP.F.M.PL PRES.PL but
mā kunūr ke liye kəh rəhĩ t^hĩ.
 mother Coonoor for say PROG.F PAST.F.PL
 ‘We can, for that matter, go to Nainital, but mother was keen on Coonoor.’

11.5. Interjections

Interjections are items such as *əre* ‘oh!’, *əre b^həṭī*, *əre yar* ‘listen, friend!’, *bap re* (*bap*) ‘oh god!, dear me!’, *hay* ‘alas!’, *hay ram* ‘dear God!’, and *əre vah* ‘wow!’. They occur in sentences such as the following:

(50) *əre b^həṭī! rəhne b^hṭī do ye batē!*
 ‘Listen, let’s forget it!’

(51) *bap re! itna gussa!*
 ‘Dear me! So much anger!’

(52) *əre vah! əb^hṭī se sone ləge? əb^hṭī*
 oh wow, now.EMPH since sleep.INF.OBL begin.PERF.M.PL now.EMPH
to gyarəh b^hṭī nəhī̃ bəje hē.
 PTCL eleven even not strike.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL
 ‘You can’t be sleepy so soon! It’s not even eleven o’clock yet!’

11.6. Speaking

Some of the conventions that govern speaking and are coded in language are the following. Some of the highly conventionalized routines, e.g., greetings and leave-taking, salutations and signatures in letters, etc., are discussed briefly in the following subsections.

11.6.1. Greeting

There are symmetrical and asymmetrical greeting patterns observable in the Hindi-speaking community. For instance, the following are all possible:

Greeting:	<i>nəmāste!</i>	‘I bow to you.’
Response:	<i>nəmāste!</i>	‘I bow to you.’
	<i>xuḥ rəho!</i>	‘May you be happy!’
	<i>jīte/jīṭī rəho!</i>	‘May you live (M/F) long!’

The asymmetrical responses are generally used by older toward younger participants in conversation, especially in more traditional sociocultural contexts.

11.6.2. *Leave-Taking*

<i>nāmāste!</i>	‘I bow to you.’
<i>p^hir milēge.</i>	‘(We) will meet again.’
<i>acc^ha, əb cəlē!</i>	‘Well, (we) should move now!’
<i>acc^ha, əb agyā/ijazət dē.</i>	‘Well, please give (us/me) permission (to leave) now.’ (formal)

With speakers of Urdu, one may use *salam* or *adab ərz* ‘Salutation!’ for greeting and *xuda hafiz* ‘May God protect you!’ for leave-taking.

11.7. **Writing**

Traditionally, writing played a limited role in the Hindi-speaking community. Even now, written contracts, lists, instructions, recipes, invitations, etc., are not common in the everyday life of the community. They are, however, increasingly being resorted to as a response to modernization. Personal and professional letters, however, are common and follow specific conventions.

11.7.1. *Personal Letter*

Personal letters exhibit a range of salutations and signatures depending upon the level of formality and intimacy. These are listed below with their literal meanings.

A. Salutations and signatures in letters to elders, e.g., parents, grandparents, teachers:

Salutations: *pūjy* (M) / *pūjānīya* (F) ‘one worthy of worship’ + kinship term

Signatures: *apka* (M) / *apkī* (F) ‘yours’ + kinship term, e.g., son, daughter, etc., or *snehakankṛī* (M) / *snehakankṛīṅī* (F) ‘desiring (your) affection’ + name

B. Salutations and signatures in letters to socially distant elders:

Salutations: *adərṇīy* or *manānīy* (M) / *adərṇīya* or *manānīya* (F) ‘one worthy of respect’ + title or last name with the honorific particle *jī*

Signatures: *kripab^hilafī*(M) / *kripab^hilafīṅī* (F) ‘desiring your grace’ + name

C. Salutations and signatures to intimate peers and younger addressees, e.g., siblings close in age, friends, cousins:

- Salutations: *priy* ‘dear’ + name, *pyare* (M.SG.VOC) / *pyarī* (F.SG.VOC) ‘dear’ + kinship term, e.g., brother, sister, or name
- Signatures: *tumhara* (2ndP.GEN.PL.M.SG) / *tumharī* (2ndP.GEN.PL.F) ‘yours’ + kinship term, e.g., brother + name
- Examples: *tumhara pyara b^haī, aruṇ* ‘your dear brother, Arun’
tumharī pyarī bāhān, kamna ‘your dear sister, Kamna’

D. Salutations and signatures in letters to younger persons in socially distant domain:

- Salutation: *priy* ‘dear’ + name
- Signatures: *sub^hecc^hu* / *sub^hecc^huk* / *sub^hakankṣī* (M) / *sub^hakankṣīṇī* (F)
 ‘(your) well-wisher’ + name

E. Salutations and signatures in formal letters (e.g., in applications, in promotional letters sent by businesses to potential customers):

- Salutation: *manyāvār* (M) ‘one worthy of respect’ when the name is irrelevant for the purposes of the letter
- Signature: *vinī* ‘one who is humble’, *prarī^h* ‘one who seeks a favor’

11.7.2. *Professional/Business Letter*

- Salutation: *śrīman/śrīmāṭī, manyāvār, māhodāy/māhodāya*
- Signature: *b^hāvdy*

11.7.3. *Instructions and Advice*

Instructions, e.g., for assembling gadgets, installing devices, knitting, sewing, etc., and advice, e.g., ‘how to...’ texts, use the optative form of verbs. A typical example is a recipe (see Appendix 1 for glosses):

Recipe for Peas and Water Chestnuts:⁴

samāgrī: 200 gram *māṭar ke dane*, 100 gram *siṅg^haṭe*, 2 *bāṭe cāmmāc tel*, 1 *c^hoṭa cāmmāc nāmāk*, 1 *barīk kāṭa hua pyaj*, 2 *ṭamāṭar barīk kāṭe hue*, 2-3 *hārī mircē barīk kāṭī huī*, 1/4 *c^hoṭa cāmmāc lal mirc paudṛ*.

‘Ingredients: 200 grams peas, 100 grams water chestnuts, 2 Tsp oil, 1 tsp salt, 1 finely chopped onion, 2 finely chopped tomatoes, 2-3 finely chopped green (hot) peppers, 1/4 tsp ground red (cayenne) pepper.’

kitne vyāktiyō hetu: 2.

‘Serves: 2.’

pākane mē lāgne vala sāmāy: 1 *g^hanṭa*.

‘Preparation time: 1 hour’

vid^hi: 100 gram maṭar ke danō ko ubal lē or t^hanḍa hone pār unhē miksī mē pīs lē. ab tel gārām kārē. usmē pyaj ḍal kār b^hūnē. jāb pyaj acc^hī tārāh b^hūn jae to usmē hārī mirc or kṛṭa hua tṛmaṭar ḍal kār acc^hī tārāh b^hūnē. usmē piṣe maṭar ḍalē or kalc^hī se hilate rāhē vā nāmāk, lal mirc ḍal kār acc^hī tārāh milāē. chile sing^haṛe vā bakī maṭar ḍal kār ḍ^hāk kār sing^haṛō ko kackāca rāhne tāk hī pākāē. ab gārām gārām maṭar sing^haṛe pārōsē.

‘Method: Boil 100 grams of peas and when they are cool blend them in a blender. Heat the oil. Add onions and saute. When the onions are well cooked, add green pepper and tomatoes and saute well. Add ground peas and stir with a ladle; add salt and red pepper and mix well. Add shelled water chestnuts and rest of the peas and cook long enough for the chestnuts to remain crunchy. Serve Peas and Water Chestnut hot.’

Note that whereas all the verbs in the English translation are in the imperative form, all the verbs in the Hindi text are in the optative form with honorific agreement. Some more examples of instructional texts follow.

Knitting:

10 nā. kī sālāī pār sṛfed ūn se 110 p^hā. ḍal kār 1 sālāī sīd^hī or
 10 no. of.F needle.F.SG on white wool with 110 st. cast CP 1 row knit and
 ek sālāī ulfī bunte hue 13 se. mī. lāmba hone tāk bunē.
 one row pearl knit.PRESPTPL 13 cm long.M.SG be.INF.OBL till knit.HON.OPT
 ‘Cast 110 stitches on a No. 10 needle and knit one row and pearl one row till the
 work measures 13 cms.’

Advice to Parents:

mehmanō ke samne bāccō ko lajjit nā kārē.
 ‘Do not embarrass your children in front of guests.’
 kuc^h hālke-p^hulke kary bāccō ko b^hī sōpē.
 ‘Give the children some light chores.’
 bāccō dvara kiye gāye kary kī k^hule dil se prāṣansa kārē.
 ‘Praise liberally the jobs done by the children.’

Notes

1. Based on Halliday and Hasan (1976).
2. Note that *hālka-p^hulka* ‘light’ agrees with the superordinate lexical item, *cīz* ‘thing’, which is feminine. The item *cīz* ‘thing’ is used, in addition to referring to concrete objects in other domains, to refer to compositions in the domain of poetry or music, as in the request addressed to a poet or musician: *koī acc^hī-sī cīz sunaiye* ‘Please recite/sing/play a good piece!’
3. This list of items is not claimed to be exhaustive.
4. Recipe and knitting texts from *Sarita*, November 1998.

Appendix 1

Chapter 1

The free translation is repeated after each glossed passage to eliminate the need to go back to the relevant chapter for ease of reference.

- (9) *jīvan ko mē kese pāhcanta hū? sabbse pāhle*
 life DOBJ I how recognize.IMPF.M.SG 1stP.PRES all than before
ek avib^hajy vyakti ke rūp mē, apne
 one indivisible individual.M of.OBL form.OBL in self.M.OBL
anub^hav ke rūp mē-‘yāh mera viśayīkṛt
 experience.M of.M.OBL form.M in this I.POSS.M.SG subjective
he’. *dūsre ese anek ar^hō or*
 be.PRES.SG secondly such.M.OBL many.OBL meaning.PL.OBL and
tarkō ke dvāra jo p^hir mere nijī
 argument.PL.OBL through REL again I.POSS.M.OBL personal.OBL
anub^hav pər, mere viśayīkṛt pər,
 experience.M.OBL on I.POSS.M.OBL subjective.OBL on
afrit hē: mata-pita se surakṣa
 dependent be.PRES.PL mother-father.OBL from security.F
ka bod^h, pita se śakti ka,
 of.M.SG awareness.M father.OBL from power.F of.M.SG
pārivar se apnape ka, adi ... tīsre: tīsre
 family.M.OBL from belonging.OBL of.M.SG etc. thirdly thirdly
apne b^havō se, yani p^hir nijī
 self.POSS.M.OBL emotion.PL.OBL from that is then personal
anub^havō ke ad^har pər. keval cō^hī
 experience.PL.OBL of.M.OBL basis.M.OBL on only fourth.F.OBL
jāgāh pər ve amūrtikārāṅ or amūrt sidd^hant
 place.F.OBL on that.PL abstractions and abstract theory.M.PL
ate hē jo sīd^he-sīd^he anub^hūt ya anub^hav-
 come.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL REL straight experienced or experience
pratyakṣ nahī hē: rajy, sāmaj, manavta ... jīvan
 visible not be.PRES state.M society.M humanity.M life.M.OBL

mē, mere jīvan mē, ye mere
 in I.POSS.M.OBL life.M.OBL in this.PL I.POSS.M.OBL
anub^hav ke vistar ke rūp mē
 experience.M.OBL of.M.OBL extension.M.OBL of.M.OBL form.M in
hī ar^tvan hote hē, vāh b^hī ese
 EMPH meaningful become.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL that too such.M.OBL
vistar ke jiskī b^hitti ekta ya tadatmy
 extension.M of.M.OBL REL.GEN.F basis.F unity.F or identity.M
nāhī, sarūpy hē. yāni ve keval vitarkit
 not formal identity be.PRES.SG that is that.PL only argued
hē, pramaṇit nāhī.
 be.PRES.PL proven not

Agyeya (1972: 66)

‘How do I think of life? First of all, as an indivisible person, as my own experience—‘this is my subjective (self). Secondly, through many meanings and arguments that are based on my own experience, my subjective self: a sense of security from parents, power from father, affinity from the family, etc. Thirdly, I think of life on the basis of my sensibilities, that is, again, on the basis of my own experiences. It is only in the fourth place that those abstractions and intangible theories come into play that are not experienced or accessible to experience: state, society, humanity In life, in my life, they become meaningful only as an extension of my experience, an extension that is not founded on unity or identity, but on (formal) similarity. That is, they are only argued, not proven.’

- (10) *ab^hī or jo nainsafiyā hē un sabbko*
 now other REL injustice.F.PL be.PRES.PL that.PL.OBL all.OBL.DOBJ
kam se kam gin to liya jae. isī
 at least count PTCL take.PERF.M.SG PASV.OPT this.EMPH.OBL
ke sat^h-sat^h or ek beinsafī hē ūcī
 of.M.OBL along with other one injustice.F be.PRES.SG high.F.OBL
jati or c^hoṭī jati kī. yō jati
 caste.F.OBL and small.F.OBL caste.F.OBL of.F though caste.F.OBL
ka māmā keval hindustan mē hē. lekīn jati mē
 of.M.SG matter only India.M.OBL in be.PRES.SG but caste.F.OBL in
jo bīj hē, tātva hē ve kisī nā kisī
 REL seed.PL be.PRES.PL elementl.PL be.PRES.PL that.PL some or other
rūp mē sansar ke har def mē mājūd
 form.M.OBL in world.M of.M.OBL every country.M.OBL in present
hē. mera esa vicar hē ki
 be.PRES.PL I.POSS.M.SG such.M.SG opinion.M be.PRES.SG that
mānufy ka itihās jāhā or kisī kisam
 human.M.OBL of.M.SG history.M where other some.EMPH kind

kī pēgē leta rāha hē,
 of.F oscillation.F.PL take.IMPF.M.SG continue.PERF.M.SG PRES.SG
vāhā vārg or jati kī do d^hurriyō
 there class.M.OBL and caste.F.OBL of.F two axis.F.PL.OBL
ke bīc mē, ya donō ke bīc mē
 of.M.OBL middle.M in or two.AGGR of.M.OBL middle.M in
j^hūla j^hūlta rāha hē,
 swing.M swing.IMPF.M.SG continue.PERF.M.SG be.PRES.SG
pēg leta rāha hē.
 oscillation.F take.IMPF.M.SG continue.PERF.M.SG be.PRES.SG
vārg hē d^hīlī jati or jati hē
 class.M be.PRES.SG loose.F caste.F and caste.F be.PRES.SG
jākṛa hua vārg. kisan, mājḍūr, k^het-mājḍūr
 rigid.PERF.M.SG PTCPL class.M peasant worker agri-worker
jese vārg, ar^hik s^hītiyō, ar^hik
 like.PL class.PL economic situation.F.PL.OBL economic
bārabārī-gerbārabārī or ar^hik len-den,
 equality.F-inequality.F and economic take give.M
dav-pēc, kām-jyada, kṣāmkṣ, pēdavar, māḥin
 stake maneuver.M less more pull push production.M machine.M
vāgerāh; is prakar se bānte hē. ye
 etc. this way with make.INTR.IMPF.M.PL PRES.PL this.PL
to hē d^hīle-d^hāle, pār ekdām d^hīle nāhī.
 PTCL be.PRES.PL loose.M.PL but completely loose.M.PL not
ekdām d^hīle hō to p^hir jati
 completely loose.M.PL be.PRES.PL then again caste.F
bānne kī gunjāif nā rāhe. inmē
 make.INTR.INF.OBL of.F scope.F not remain.OPT this.PL.OBL in
kuc^h kṣāpān rāhta hī hē, is
 some rigidity.M remain.IMPF.M.SG EMPH be.PRES.SG this.OBL
mane mē ki jis yurop mē itmī
 meaning.M.OBL in that REL.OBL Europe.OBL in this much.F
jyada ayyāfī, itmī jyada amūrī aī
 excessive luxury.F this much.F excessive wealth.F come.PERF.F.SG
hē, us yurop mē b^hī mājḍūrō kī
 PRES.SG that.OBL Europe.OBL in too worker.M.PL.OBL of.F
tānk^hvahē to bāhut bāḥī hē. mājḍūr
 salary.F.PL PTCL much increase.PERF.F be.PRES.PL worker.PL
us hēsīyāt pār pāhūce hē ki jese hindustan
 that.OBL status.F on arrive.PERF.M.PL PRES.PL that as India
jese def ke ya kisī purātān def
 like.OBL country.M of.OBL or some.EMPH.OBL. old.OBL country.OBL

ke nāwab vāgerāh rāhte t^he. yāh sāb
 of.PL nawab.PL etc. live.IMP.F.M.PL PAST.PL this all
hua, lekin ānupat mē, mātlāb, mājḍūr ka
 happen.PERF.M.SG but ratio.M.OBL in meaning worker of.M.SG
kya hissa hoga or kya hissa malik
 what share.M.SG be.FUT.M.SG and what share.M.SG owner.M
ka. is ānupat mē utna p^hark nāhī
 of.M.SG this ratio.M.OBL in that much.M.SG difference.M not
hua. mājḍūr kī mājḍūrī bāṭ^hī
 happen.PERF.M.SG worker.M.OBL of.F compensation.F rise.PERF.F.SG
he, uskī st^hiti ācc^hī huī he, lekin
 PRES.SG he.POSS.F condition.F good become.PERF.F PRES.SG but
jo raṣṭrīy pēdavar ka bāṭvara kārme mē
 REL national production.F.OBL of.M.SG division.M do.INF.OBL in
mājḍūr ka or saḥāb vārg ka ānupat
 worker.M of.M.SG and boss class.M of.M.SG ratio.M
hota he usmē itna ād^hik pārivārtan
 be.IMP.F.M.SG PRES.SG that.OBL in this much.M.SG more change.M
nāhī hua. q^hīlī jati ya vārg sare
 not happen.PERF.M.SG loose.F caste.F or class.M all.M.OBL
sānsar mē he.
 world.M.OBL in be.PRES.

Sharad (1969: 78-9)

'Let us at least count the other injustices that exist. There is one more injustice along with this, that of high caste and low caste. That is, the matter of caste is only in India. But the seeds of caste, the elements, they are present in some form or other in all the countries of the world. It is my opinion that human history has been swinging in many ways, including between the anchors or corners of class and caste. Class is loosely defined cast, caste is rigidly defined class. Classes such as those of peasants, workers, agricultural workers get formed because of economic conditions, economic equality and inequality and economic give and take, intrigues, plenty versus scarcity, opposing pulls, production, mechanization, etc. They are loosely structured, but not totally loose. If they were totally loose, there would be no possibility for caste formation. There is some rigidity in them, in this sense, that in Europe, too, where there is so much affluence, so much wealth, the earning of workers has gone up. Workers have reached a position where they live like the *nawabs* in countries such as India or other old countries. All this happened, but in ratio, that is what will be the share of the worker and what that of the owner, this ratio has not changed. The workers' compensation has increased, but the ratio of distribution of the country's production between the worker class and the owner class has not changed. Such loose caste or class exists all over the world.'

- (13) *pārsō kalej se ate hue ek*
 day before yesterday college from come.IMP.F.OBL PT.CPL.OBL one
hindī rākṣāk arysamajī b^hadrāpuruṣ sat^h
 Hindi protector belonging to Arya Samaj gentleman company.OBL
mē t^he. ap hindī rākṣa andolan ke
 in be.PAST.PL he.HON Hindi protection.F movement.M of.OBL
sambānd^h mē g^hor cinta ṛ vyastata prakāṭ
 connection.OBL in deep worry.F and preoccupation.F express
kāṛte rāhe. kuc^h der mē apne
 do.IMP.F.M.PL continue.PERF.F.M.PL some time.OBL in self.POSS.M.OBL
lāṛke lāṛkiyō kī fikṣa kī bat kāṛne
 boy.M.OBL girl.F.PL.OBL of.F education.F.OBL of.F talk.F do.INF.OBL
lāge. bātane lāge ki ek lāṛkī first
 begin.PERF.F.M.PL tell.INF.OBL begin.PERF.F.M.PL that one girl first
iyār mē dak^hil huī he— dūsrī em.e.
 year.OBL in admit become.PERF.F PRES.SG second.F M. A.
kāregī.
 do.FUT.F.SG
“apke kalej mē kis-kis sājyekt kī
 you.HON.POSS.OBL college.OBL in which subject.M.PL.OBL of.F
em.e. hē?” ap bole, “āb^hī mē soc nāhī
 M.A. be.PRES.SG he.HON say.PERF.F.M.PL now.EMPH I think not
paya ki lāṛkī ko jalānd^hār hī dak^hil
 manage.PERF.F.M.SG that girl.OBL DAT Jullundhar EMPH admit
kāraū ya hoṣīyarpur?”
 do.1stP CAUS.OPT.SG or Hoshiyarpur
“hāmāre yāhā iknamiks hē—”
 we.POSS.OBL here economics be.PRES.SG
“ācc^ha!”
 good
“pālītiks hē.”
 politics be.PRES.SG
ācc^ha! hīstrī ya inglīf nāhī hē?”
 I see! history or English not be.PRES.SG
“nāhī! pāṛ mē^hemeṭīks hē. hindī hē ...”
 no but mathematics be.PRES.SG Hindi be.PRES.SG
“c^hih!” apne mūh bīckaya, “hindī nāhī. hindī
 tut-tut he.HON.AG face.M make.PERF.F.M.SG Hindi not Hindi.OBL
mē kya fyūcār hē?... deṭs no sājyekt...”
 in what future be.PRES.SG that’s no subject Rakesh (1985: 124)

‘Day before yesterday, while returning from college, I had an Arya Samaji gentleman with me. He was greatly worried and preoccupied with the campaign to save Hindi ...

After some time he started talking about his children’s education. He said that one of his daughters has entered the first year—and another will do her M.A.

“In which subjects do you offer M.A. in your college?” He asked, “I have not decided yet if I should have my daughter admitted in Jullundhar or in Hoshiyarpur?”

“We have economics—“

“I see.”

“We have politics.”

“I see. You don’t have history or English?”

“No. But we have mathematics. Also Hindi...”

“Tut tut!” He made a wry face, “Not Hindi. What future is there in Hindi?...That’s no subject...” ’

Chapter 11

Recipe

[Note: the plural ending on the verb is the honorific or respectful form.]

100 gram *məʃər ke danō ko ubal lē*
 100 gram.PL pea.M of.M.OBL seed.M.PL.OBL DOBJ boil take.OPT.PL
ɔr ʃəndə hone pər unhē mīksī mē pīs
 and cool.M.SG be.INF.OBL on they.OBL.DOBJ blender in grind
lē. əb tel gərəm kərə. usmē pyaj ɖal kər
 take.OPT.PL now oil heat do.OPT.PL that.OBL in onion add CP
bʰūnē. jəb pyaj əccʰī tərəh bʰun jae to
 sauté.OPT.PL when onion good.F way.F sauté go.OPT then
usmē hārī mirc ɔr kəʃa hua ʃəmaʃər
 that.OBL in green pepper.F and chop.PERF.M.SG PTCPL tomato.M
ɖal kər əccʰī tərəh bʰūnē. usmē pise məʃər
 add CP good.F way.F sauté that.OBL in blend.PERF.M.PL pea.M.PL
ɖalē ɔr kəlcʰī se hilate rəhē və
 add.OPT.PL and ladle.F with stir.IMPF.M.PL continue.OPT.PL and
nəmək, lal mirc ɖal kər əccʰī tərəh milaē.
 salt red pepper.F add CP good.F way.F mix.OPT.PL
chile singʰaʃe və bakī məʃər ɖal kər
 peel.PERF.M.PL water chestnut.M.PL and remaining pea.PL add CP
ɖʰək kər singʰaʃō ko kəkəca rəhne tək hī
 cover CP chestnut.M.PL.OBL DOBJ crunchy remain.INF.OBL till EMPH

pəkaẽ. əb gərəm gərəm məʃər siŋ^haʃe pərosẽ.
 cook.OPT.PL now hot pea.M.PL chestnut.M.PL serve.OPT.PL

‘Boil 100 grams of peas and when they are cool blend them in a blender. Heat the oil. Add onions and sauté. When the onions are well cooked, add green pepper and tomatoes and sauté well. Add ground peas and stir with a ladle; add salt and red pepper and mix well. Add shelled water chestnuts and rest of the peas and cook long enough for the chestnuts to remain crunchy. Serve Peas and Water Chestnuts hot.’

Appendix 2

Partial list of adjectives of color, shape, size and nationality

Color:

kala 'black', *gulabī* 'pink', *gehūa* 'brown complexion', *gora* 'fair complexion', *narəngī* 'orange', *nīla* 'blue', *pīla* 'yellow', *bēgnī* 'purple', *b^hūra* 'brown', *lal* 'red', *sāvla* 'dark complexion', *safed* 'white', *həra* 'green'

Shape:

ūca 'high', *u^hla* 'shallow', *gəhra* 'deep, dark', *gol* 'round', *cipta* 'flat', *cəra* 'wide', *tikona* 'triangular', *dubla* 'thin (animate)', *naṭa* 'short (person)', *nukīla* 'sharp, pointed', *pəṭla* 'thin', *b^ho^hra* 'blunt', *moṭa* 'fat', *lamba* 'long', *vergakar* 'square', *səkra* 'narrow'

Size:

c^hoṭa 'small', *bəra* 'big', *virat* 'enormous', *viṣal* 'huge'

Nationality:

əngrez 'English', *əmrīkī* 'American', *italvī* 'Italian', *īranī* 'Iranian', *cīnī* 'Chinese', *jərmən* 'German', *japanī* 'Japanese', *tibbətī* 'Tibetan', *purtagalī* 'Portuguese', *turkī* 'Turk', *fīrəngī* 'white European', *fransīsī* 'French', *b^hartīy* 'Indian', *misrī* 'Egyptian' [*misr* 'Egypt'], *yūnanī* 'Greek', *hindustanī* 'Indian'

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