

ASPECTS OF HINDI GRAMMAR

YAMUNA KACHRU

प्राचीन वाक्यों का अध्ययन
पर्याप्तता का अध्ययन

वाक्यांकन
वाक्यांकन का अध्ययन
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MANOHAR
1980

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RAJNEESH AND 1938 TO SHAMIT

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To Braj, Amita and Shamit

YAMUNA KACHRU

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GRAMMATICAL AND SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF HINDI

PREFACE

This book is the second volume of my research on Hindi syntax. It should be mentioned that the first volume was completed in 1965 and no discussion of it is included here. The present work is the result of joint research with my wife, Dr. Sunita Chatterjee, and I am grateful to her for her help in the preparation of this volume. This volume deals mainly with the syntactic features of Hindi grammar, and it is intended to complement the first volume which deals with the morphological features of Hindi grammar.

This volume presents the second phase of my research on Hindi syntax which I initiated at the University of Illinois in 1965. The result of the pre-1965 stage of research on Hindi was made available under the title *An Introduction to Hindi Syntax*. The fact that this work is being used widely not only in the United States of America but also in the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, India and several other countries is evidence enough that it fulfilled a long-felt need. The enthusiastic reception that this work received has encouraged me to undertake the present publication incorporating the latest research on various aspects of Hindi grammar.

It is obvious that this is not a comprehensive reference grammar of Hindi, far from it. In this work, I have concentrated on those aspects of Hindi grammar that have either been worked out in some detail, or those that are usually neglected in most grammars of Hindi. It is my hope that this book will contribute toward a better understanding of the complex interaction of syntactic processes in Hindi, and will be of value to professional linguists as well as advanced learners of the language.

I have included a select bibliography for readers interested in more technical discussions of various linguistic aspects of Hindi. In this sense, then, this volume also represents the State of the Art of our knowledge of Hindi syntax.

I am grateful to several agencies, institutions and individuals for their encouragement and support of my research on South Asian languages in general, and Hindi in particular. I owe special gratitude to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for granting me sabbatical leave of absence (spring 1979); to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a short-term Fellowship (December 1978-March 1979) for field work in India; to the Research Board of the Graduate College of

the University of Illinois for their generous support of my research on the Hindi language and linguistics through the years; to Tej K. Bhatia and Rajeshwari Pandharipande for valuable discussions and comments; to Susan Donaldson, K.V. Subbarao and Geoffrey Hackman for various insights presented in their research, and to the participants in various seminars in Urbana, Delhi and Hyderabad for raising thought-provoking questions, and to P.R. Mehandiratta and Ramesh Jain for their help and cooperation in the publication of this book. My warmest thanks and gratitude are due to Braj, Amita, Shami, and to Kamal Sridhar and S.N. Sridhar, who made it possible for me to spend three months in India and thus concentrate on the final draft of this book. It would have been impossible to complete this project without the care and support which I received in Dhanbad from my mother and Gita and Chinni, and in Delhi from Gashkak, Bhabhiji and Purnima and Upendra.

Śivarātri, 1979 YAMUNA KACHRU

TRANSCRIPTION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following symbols have been used to transcribe the Hindi data:

̄v̄	long vowel	shām 'evening'
̄v̄	nasalized vowel	sīc 'be irrigated'
̄̄v̄	nasalized long vowel	sāp 'snake'
ç	retroflex consonant	tūt 'be broken'
ch	aspirated consonant	khol 'open'
ʈ, ṭh	unaspirated and aspirated retroflex flaps	laṛkā 'boy', deṛh 'one and a half'

The rest of the symbols are the ones that are normally used for transcribing Devanagari into Roman script.

The following abbreviations have been used:

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
ag.	agent
caus (e)	causative
dat.	dative
DO	direct object
impf.	imperfect
IO	indirect object
perf.	perfect
rel.	relative marker

HINDI-URDU-HINDUSTANI NOUNPHRASES

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THE HINDI LANGUAGE

1.0 Hindi is a New Indo-Aryan (NIA) language spoken in the North of India by more than two hundred million people either as a first or a second language. Along with English, it is the official language of India. In addition, it is the state language of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. It is related to Punjabi in the west; Bengali, Assamese and Oriya in the east; Gujarati and Marathi in the south; and more remotely, to Kashmiri, in the north. Historically, it was variously known as *Hindūī*, *Hindawī*, *Rextā*, *Rextī*, etc. Even now, one hears of Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu as the language(s) of North India.

1.1 The names Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu are confusing. It is generally accepted that all these varieties are based upon the language spoken around Delhi-Meerut and began developing around the twelfth or thirteenth century as a result of contact between the Arabs, Afghans, Persians, Turks, etc. and the local residents. The language that was used for mutual interaction between the foreigners and the native population was variously labelled *Rextā* (mixed), *Urdu* (camp), and *Hindi* or *Hindawi* or *Hindustāni* (Indian). 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 Perso-Arabic script and looking to the west (i.e. Persia and Arab countries) for literary inspiration and specialized vocabulary became

known as Urdu. The one written in Devanagri 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. 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 Indian society.

1.11 In addition to the distinction between Hindi (Sanskritised variety), Urdu (Persianized variety) and Hindustani (neutral), both Hindi and Urdu have regional varieties, too. Broadly speaking, these are Western, Eastern and Southern. The three differ in phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax. Consider the following :

1. usne kitābē us mez par rakh dī jo

kamre mē thī. (Western)

He put the books on the table which
were in the room.

2. vah kitābē us mez par rāke diyā jo

kamre mē thā. (Eastern)

3. kamre mē thā so mez par vo kitābā

rākh diyā. (Southern)

In addition, as a lingua franca, Hindi has developed several local varieties such as *bambaiyā hindī* (Bombay Hindi), and *bāzārū hindī* (Bazar Hindi, spoken in the bazars of Calcutta and other eastern cities).

1.12 In the past two centuries, Hindi has developed several registers or, functionally defined varieties, e.g., newspaper Hindi, legal Hindi, official Hindi. As the use of Hindi in new roles increases, new registers develop rapidly, and as they replace Persian or English ones, they assimilate some features of these languages. Thus, there is a great need for a contemporary grammar of Hindi. Before proceeding with this partial

grammar, it may be useful to look briefly at the grammatical tradition of Hindi.

1.2 The work on the grammar of Hindi that was done prior to the nineteen seventies may be divided into three categories: (1) traditional grammars, (2) historical grammars, and (3) structural descriptions.¹ Each of these categories will be discussed in some detail in the following pages. The works mentioned do not comprise an exhaustive list as no serious work has so far been done on the history of Hindi grammars.

1.21 Hindi emerged as a standard literary language after British rule was consolidated in India.² Before that, the dialects of Avadhi and Braj were the main literary and cultural media of most of the Hindi speaking area.³ Hence, the beginnings of the history of Hindi grammar more or less coincide with the beginning of the history of the British attempt to learn Indian languages at the end of the 18th century.

There is, however, one work which precedes the British Empire in India. Johannes Josua Ketelaer, who served in India as an employee of the Dutch East India Company during the first two decades of the 18th century, wrote the first grammar of Hindustani in Latin. The exact date of the work is not known, but it is assumed that it was written around 1715. Ketelaer seems to have compiled three vocabularies of Hindustani also. Although the value of his work in studying the development of Hindustani is quite apparent, one must remember that:

“... Ketelaer does not describe the Standard Hindustani language. His is a popular *Lingua Franca* which he seems to have first picked up at Surat; he then probably improved his knowledge of it during his stay at Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. Here, too, he could have got the best Hindustani only in the royal entourage, the local dialects (except at Delhi) being forms of a *patois* differing considerably from standard Hindustani. Ketelaer became familiar with some of the special grammatical forms of Hindustani, but his grammar shows that he could not use them; he was largely content with the Bāzār dialect with which he managed. His knowledge of the common grammatical forms of this, too, was not very deep;

and his stay in Surat did not help him to retain any correctness of his Hindustani, if he had at all acquired it in the North. At times it looked as if he wanted to compensate his want of positive knowledge by theorizing. The grammar that he could prepare is very meagre indeed, and wanting in both completeness and system. It is based rather on the haphazard notes of a busy man of Ketelaer's position, rather than on a scholar's detailed and leisurely study. Local Gujarati influence from Surat is noticeable".⁴

At the end of the 18th century, the British increasingly felt the need to study the languages of North India in a systematic manner. John B. Gilchrist, who was responsible for teaching Hindi to the employees of the East India Company at the Fort William College in Calcutta, had already written his *Hindustani Grammar* in 1890.⁵ This may be said to be the first systematic grammar of Hindi written according to western—especially English—tradition. Gilchrist's attempt was followed by Thomas Roebuck's *The English and Hindustani Dictionary with a Grammar Prefixed* (1810). William Yates' *Hindustani Grammar* (1824), John Platts' *Hindustani Grammar* (1874), The Rev. M.T. Adam's *Hindi Vyākaran* (in Hindi; 1827), and Duncan Forbes' *A Grammar of the Hindustani Language* (1846). The Hindi translation of the Rev. W. Ethrington's grammar (1870) was published under the title of *Bhāṣā-Bhāskar* in 1871. The best grammar in this tradition was S.H. Kellogg's *A Grammar of the Hindi Language* which was first published in 1875. E. Greaves published his *A Grammar of Modern Hindi* in 1896 to "satisfy the immediate wants of those commencing the study of Hindi".⁶

All the grammars mentioned above, however, were not motivated by educational needs only. One powerful motivation was missionary work. As Greaves has clearly stated in the Preface to his grammar:

"Primarily, however, the work of compiling the grammar was undertaken with a view to those who come out as missionaries to this country, and who have the very highest interests of the people at heart; and it was the hope that the book might thus in some humble way contribute to

the coming of Christ's Kingdom . . ." (1919).

In addition to these attempts by the foreigners, a small group of native grammarians was also active in this field. In 1865 Pandit Shri Lala published his *Bhāṣā-Tatvabodhinī*. Navinchandra Ray's *Navīn Chandrodāy* was published in 1868, and this was followed by Raja Shiva Prasad Sita-re-Hind's *Hindi Vyākaran*, an attempt to account for the styles of both Hindi and Urdu. At this stage, many well known writers joined the ranks of the grammarians and wrote grammars of Hindi for pedagogical purposes.⁷ The first standard grammar of Hindi, Kamta Prasad Guru's *Hindi Vyākaran*, was published in 1920 under the auspices of the Nāgarī Prachārinī Sabha, Banaras (established in 1893). This work reflects the influence of western tradition as well as the tradition of Sanskrit grammars. It also draws from the works of grammarians of other Indo-Aryan languages, such as Marathi and Bengali (Guru 1929; Preface).

In addition to Kellogg's and Guru's grammars, the works that are referred to and used by teachers and students of Hindi are Greaves (1919), Vajpeyi (1958) which was published under the auspices of the Nāgarī Prachārinī Sabha, Banaras, and Sharma (1958) which was sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research of the Government of India. McGregor (1972) is a more recent addition to the reference grammars of Hindi.

The above brief history makes it clear that the grammars of Hindi show the influence of two traditions: the ancient tradition of Sanskrit grammars, and the more modern tradition (for India) of English grammars. The grammars of English which influenced the Hindi grammarians themselves drew heavily on the ancient tradition of Latin and Greek grammars. The traditional grammars of Hindi are thus based on the models of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. This has resulted in an unbalanced description of the language for the following reasons. Whereas the ancient languages, such as Sanskrit, Greek and Latin were inflected languages, Hindi, like English, has far fewer inflections. Consequently, word order is more important in Hindi. A detailed description of morphology

went a long way in describing Sanskrit, Latin and Greek as word order was relatively unimportant in these languages. In Hindi, however, even an exhaustive description of morphology achieves very little, as the syntactic organisation of elements is far more important. The traditional grammars of Hindi fail to give enough syntactic information as the models they chose had very little to offer them in this area.

Consider, for example, the treatment of Hindi syntax in the standard grammar of Kamta Prasad Guru. In a work of 586 pages, only 86 pages (pp. 421-506) have been assigned to syntax, and of these, 55 pages have been used to demonstrate the techniques of parsing. The section on syntax covers the following topics: Meaning and use of cases; Appositional words; Subject; Agreement between Object and Verb; Pronouns; Adjectives and the Genitive case; Meaning and the use of Tenses; Verbal Nouns; Participles; Compound Verbs; Indeclinables; Ellipsis; Order of Words and Labelling of Phrases. As opposed to the space allotted for syntax, morphology has been discussed in detail in almost 370 pages (pp. 53-420).

The most recent work on Hindi grammar by Aryendra Sharma exhibits the same pattern. A work of 152 pages, it assigns a mere ten pages to syntax (121-130), and discusses only the topics of Concord, Voice and Construction, and Order of Words.

One example of how the application of the categories of description of Sanskrit to Hindi results in an unbalanced account of the linguistic facts of Hindi is provided by the treatment of Hindi nominal compounds in various grammars. Whereas Vajpeyi and Guru consider compounds such as *timanzilā* ‘three-storied’, *satkhaṇḍā* ‘of seven parts’, of *Bahubrihi* type, Tewari considers *dutallā* ‘two-storied’ an instance of *Karmadhāraya*.⁹ Also, many words which are Prefix+Noun in Hindi have been considered nominal compounds because they are treated as such in Sanskrit grammars.

1.22 In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, historical and comparative studies of languages became fashionable in Europe.¹⁰ The European scholars concentrated mainly on two things. On the one hand they compared languages of Europe and Asia, and pointed out that most modern European

languages as well as Latin, Greek and Sanskrit derive historically from some common source. On the other hand, they took up detailed study of the historical development of particular languages, which resulted in very fine descriptions of old and medieval forms of some languages.

The first work dealing with a new Indo-Aryan language was Jules Bloch's *La Formation de la Langue Marathe* (1919). His subsequent work, *L'Indo-Aryen du Veda aux temps modernes* (1934), was the first short but systematic account of modern Indo-Aryan languages.

In India, one of the first scholars to achieve eminence in this field was Suniti Kumar Chatterji whose *Origin and Development of Bengali* (1926) inspired a number of such works. Dharendra Varma's *La Langue Braj* (1935), and Baburam Saxena's *The Evolution of Avadhi* (1938) were followed by Dharendra Varma's *Hindi Bhāṣā kā Itihās* (1933), and Uday Nārain Tewari's *Bhojpuri Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* and *Hindi Bhāṣā kā Udgam aur Vikās* (1955). All these works enrich the tradition of historical studies begun by J. Beams' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, published in three parts between 1872-1876, and Hoernle's *Grammar of the Eastern Hindi* (1880). Kellogg's grammar also contains a great deal of historical information, and statements about the dialects spoken in the so-called Hindi area.

1.23 The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presented a scene of widespread dissatisfaction with the exclusively historical linguistic studies. Linguists suddenly realised that the total emphasis on historical phenomena was obscuring the state of the living languages around them. The contemporary form of a language deserves just as much, perhaps even more, attention from linguists. As the older models of grammar, derived from the earlier work on classical languages, were not so useful in describing modern, especially non-Indo-European languages, linguists rejected these models. They emphasized the need to draw out a model from the language under study itself, and developed very precise tools of description. They attempted to make grammars more scientific by adopting the methods of elaborate listing of items, and developing rigorous procedures for classifying them.¹¹

This trend of descriptive, or structural, linguistics did not become popular in India until the 1950's, and even then, no attempts were made to write a complete grammar of Hindi according to these methods. Some fragmentary studies of selected topics of Hindi grammar have been published, e.g., Allen (1950-51); Burton-Page (1957); Hacker (1958 and 1961); and Sahai and Narain (1964). These descriptions vary a great deal in their approach: some set up taxonomies with no regard to the meaning of the items under consideration (i.e., Burton-Page 1957, Sahai and Narain 1964), others concentrate on the meaning with little attempt at syntactic description (e.g., Hacker 1958). A good example of structural description is Sahai and Narain (1964). This paper gives a taxonomic classification of noun phrases, i.e. it records what elements can precede or follow a Noun in an endocentric construction, and sub-classifies them into the following types:

- I. Adjective
- II. Numerals
- III. Possessive forms of Nouns, etc.
- IV. Demonstrative Pronouns, etc.
- V. Appositional Constructions
- VI. Nouns or Pronouns with *jaisā*
- VII. Honorific Words and titles
- VIII. Some cases where modifiers follow noun.

Type I includes base Adjectives, derived Adjectives and Comparative and Superlative constructions; Type II includes all possessive and genitive phrases as well as items such as infinitive of the Verb+*kā*; Type IV comprises the demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns *vah*, *ve*, *yah*, *ye*, *koī*, *kuch*, *kaun*, and *kyā*; Type V considers structures such as, *śyām ke pītā pandit rāmcandr*, 'Pandit Ramchandra, father of Shyam'; Type VI refers to comparative constructions with *jaisā* 'such as'; Type VII includes honorific words, titles, and designations that precede Proper Nouns or kinship terms. Some possible combinations of these various types and sub-types are listed, and the paper ends with specimen parsing of a few noun phrases.

The types that have been set up reveal the basic weakness

of the approach. For instance, no attempt has been made to determine what the main constituents of a noun phrase in Hindi are. The authors give no account of how the determiner system is related to relative and appositional constructions (the relative construction has been left out as the authors presumably did not consider so-called subordinate clauses to be instances of the category 'modifiers'). All the *N+kā* phrases have been treated as constituting one single type, although the sources, and behaviour of possessives, genitives, and other *N+kā* phrases are entirely different. Although Type VII has been recognised to be some sort of comparative construction, it has, nevertheless, been separated from expansion B and C of Type I.

In the early sixties, a sketch of Hindi grammar was worked out according to the systemic model (Verma 1964). The sketch of Hindi grammar in the first part is based mainly on the traditional grammar of Guru (1920), with some innovations drawn from the theory and use of different sets of technical terms. As the theory of systemic grammar was not articulated fully at that time, the work suffers from several inadequacies. For instance, a system of transitivity and a system of aspect has been set up at clause rank; systems of voice, tense and aspect are set up for the element *Verb*. No statements have been made as to how these systems at various ranks relate to each other. Causal verbs have been treated as merely a sub-class of lexical verbs, which shows an unawareness of the insight shown by such traditional grammarians as Kishori Das Vajpeyi.¹²

The systems of Causative and Passive should have been set up at the clause rank, and a system of Simple versus Compound verbs should have been set up at the (Verbal) group rank, which would have accounted for the grammatical facts of Hindi better.¹³ This failure in setting up systems at proper ranks results in unsatisfactory account of not only Causative and Passive sentences, but also of Compound and Conjunct verbs.

With the theoretical revolution in the field of linguistics introduced by Chomsky (1957), the attention of linguists working on Hindi was also drawn to the new model. As the application of the transformational model revealed very

interesting facts about the structure of English and other languages (see the bibliography for a list of such works), it was also adopted for the description of Hindi. Disregarding the fragmentary, tentative analyses which have been produced on various topics, the following works may be mentioned as examples of partial generative grammars of Hindi: Bahl (1964 and 1967); Balchandran (1971), Kachru (1965, 1966 and 1974); Sah (1971); Shapiro (1974); Sinha (1970); Van Olphen (1970); and Verma (1971).¹⁴ The insights gained from all of these works, and the more recent research carried out at the University of Illinois, are incorporated into the description of Hindi that follows.

NOTES

- Pedagogical grammars and courses of Hindi such as Southworth (1971) are not discussed here. These have been reviewed in Bhatia (1974).
- Hindi was adopted as the literary medium for prose in creative writing around 1850.
- These dialects of Western Hindi were the main literary medium in the medieval period of Hindi literature (1350-1850).
- The information, as well as the quote, is from Chatterjee (1965).
- Fort William College was established in 1800, and Gilchrist was the professor of Hindustani there from 1800-1804.
- Greaves, E., *A Grammar of Modern Hindi*, Banaras, 1896, Preface. This work was later expanded and published as *Hindi Grammar* in 1919.
- See Mishra, V., *Hindi Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya par Angrezi Prabhāv* (1876-1920); Dehradun, 1963, 166-71; Guru (1920), Preface for details.
- Vajpeyi (1958), 317; Guru (1920; 1962 edition), 404; Tewari (1955), 475.
- See Jain (1964), 16-24 for a detailed criticism of existing treatments of nominal compounds in Hindi.
- See Gleason (1965), 'Comparative Grammar', 31-7 for a short history of this development.
- See Gleason (1965), 37-47 for a brief history of this phase of development.
- The section on causative verbs in Vajpeyi (1958): 456-76.
- This is precisely what Ruqaiya Hasan has done in 'Some Clause Types in Urdu'; Paper presented at the Conference on Hindi Syntax, August 4-5, 1967 at the Inter-University Rotating Summer Program in South Asian Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana, (Unpublished).
- Actually, Balchandran (1971) and Kachru (1974) represent attempts to apply the theories of case grammar and generative semantics to

the study of selected topics in Hindi grammar; Sah (1971) proposes an integration of the theories of case grammar and generative semantics to account for certain grammatical phenomena in English and Hindi. The insights gained from all of these studies are incorporated in the present work.

Kachru (1966) is an attempt to interpret in non-technical terms the findings of transformational descriptions of Hindi, and as such has been listed here. For critical remarks on, and reviews of, works mentioned here see Kachru (1966: 19-22), Bhatia (1973) and Donaldson (1973). Kachru (1966) has been reviewed in the following: *Archiv Orientalni* 38(1970), *BSOAS* 30: 3 (1967), *Indian Linguistics* 32.2 (1971), *Journal of Linguistics* 6:1 (1970) and *Linguistics* 81 (April, 1972).

THE HINDI SENTENCE

evident from sentences 4-8. For further discussion of the grammatical properties of subjects, see section 7.11.

2.1 Predicates contain several units in their internal structure, e.g.,

9. *sudhā kitāb pañh rahī hai.*
Sudha book read ing is
Sudha is reading a book.
10. *ramesh Suresh ko khilaune detā hai.*
Ramesh Suresh to toys gives
Ramesh gives toys to Suresh.
11. *savita apne kamre mē baiñhī*
Savita self's room in seated
sahelī ko patra likh rahī hai.
friend to letter write-ing is.
Sitting in her room, Savita is writing a letter to her friend.
12. *rāj mohan ko cālāk samajhtā hai.*
Raj Mohan DO clever considers
Raj considers Mohan clever.
13. *vah kal subah kalkatte jā rāha hai.*
he tomorrow morning Calcutta going is
He is going to Calcutta tomorrow morning.
14. *sohan acchā lārkā hai.*
Sohan good boy is
Sohan is a good boy.

In 9, in addition to subject, there is a direct object (DO) *kitāb*. In 10, *Suresh* is the indirect object (IO) or recipient and *khilaune* is the direct object. In 11, in addition to the direct object *patra*, there is an adverbial *apne kamre mē baiñhī*. In 12, in addition to the direct object *Mohan*, there is an object complement *cālāk*. In 14, there is a time adverb *kal subah* and a place adverb *kalkattā*. In 14, there is a subject complement *acchā lārkā*. Thus, the following units can be identified in Hindi sentence structure : subject, direct and indirect objects, subject and object complements, and adverbials. Besides, the verb takes aspect, tense, and mood

2

THE HINDI SENTENCE

2.0 Traditionally, in grammar, a primary distinction is made between *Subject* and *Predicate*. For instance, subjects are in italics in the following examples :

4. *mohan khā cukā hai.*
Mohan eat completed has
Mohan has eaten.
5. *kālā ghorā tezī se bhāg niklā.*
black horse fast run emerged
The black horse broke into a fast run.
6. *shobhā kamre mē baiñhī hai.*
Shobha room in seated is
Shobha is sitting in the room.
7. *am ke per baurō se lade hai.*
Mango of trees blossoms with laden are
The mango trees are laden with blossoms.
8. *sīmā sapnā dekh rahī hai.*
Sima dream see ing is
Sima is dreaming.

It is clear from these examples that 'subject' is the grammatical name given to the topic or theme of the sentence. What is being said about the theme is in the 'predicate'. This, however, cannot be taken as a definition of subject in Hindi. In general, subjects determine the concord, or verb agreement, as is

markers and shows agreement in number, gender and person with the subject (see the next sections).

2.11 The verb is the obligatory constituent of predicate, other constituents are optional. An extreme case of a sentence with only a verb as its constituent is the imperative sentences such as 15 and 16:

15. *jā!*

Go!

16. *dekh!*

See!

Normally, the verb is modified by aspect and tense markers and agrees in number, gender and person with the subject:

17. *ratnā jātī hai.*

Ratna go imp. is

Ratna goes.

18. *sumit so rahā hai,*

Sumit sleep ing is

Sumit is sleeping.

In 17 and 18, the elements *-t-*(in *jātī*) and *rah-* indicate imperfect and continuous aspect respectively, *-ī* and *-ā* indicate feminine and masculine gender concord, and *hai* indicates present tense and third person singular concord. Thus, a finite verb consists of the verb stem (e.g., *jā* in 17) and various auxiliaries. The auxiliaries do not occur in non-finite verb forms. Compare examples 19-20 and 21-22:

19. *jo baccā ro rahā hai usko tāfī de do.*

wh- child cry ing is him toffee give give

Give a toffee to the child who is crying.

20. *rote hue bacce ko tāfī de do.*

cry pr.ptcpl. child to toffee give give

Give a toffee to the crying child.

21. *jo larkī vahā baihī hai vah banāras se āi hai.*

wh-girl there seated is she Banaras from come has

The girl who is sitting there has come from Banaras.

22. *vahā baihī huū larkī banāras se āi hai.*

there seated girl Banaras from come has

The girl sitting there has come from Banaras.

Notice that aspect-tense markers such as *rah-* and *hai* do not occur in the participal forms of 20 and 22. More has been said on the auxiliaries in section 4.2.

2.12 Some verbs take only one object, direct object, whereas other verbs take both indirect and direct objects, as in 23-24:

23. *anīsh ne seb khāe.*

Anish ag apples ate

Anish ate apples.

24. *sumit ne anīsh ko gēd dī.*

Sumit ag Anish to ball gave

Sumit gave a ball to Anish.

Some verbs take a complement that refers to the subject of the sentence, others take a complement that refers to the object. Compare 25 and 26 below:

25. *shilā dhanī hai.*

Sheela rich is

Sheela is rich.

26. *maī rāj ko mehnatī samajhtā thā.*

I Raj DO hardworking consider

I consider Raj hardworking, (i.e., I thought of Raj as hardworking.)

In 25, the complement *dhanī* 'rich' is predicated of the subject *Sheela*, in 26, the complement *mehnatī* 'hardworking' is predicated of the object *Raj*.

2.13 Adverbs are usually optional in a sentence, but there are verbs that require obligatory adverbials. Compare 27-28 and 29-30 with 31-32:

27. **simā rahti hai.*

Sima live impf. is

*Sima lives (i.e., stays).

28. sīmā banāras mē rathī hai.
Sima Banaras in live impf. is
Sima lives in Banaras.
29. *suresh cābhī rakhtā hai.
Suresh key put impf. is
*Suresh puts the key.
30. suresh jeb mē cābhī rakhtā hai.
Suresh pocket in key keeps
Suresh keeps a key in (his) pocket.
31. ramesh bīmār hai.
Ramesh ill is
Ramesh is ill.
32. ramesh kal se bīmār hai.
Ramesh yesterday since ill is
Ramesh is (has been) ill since yesterday.

In 32, *kal se* ‘since yesterday’ is optional, but in 28 and 30, the place adverbials are not optional, since leaving these out leads to ill-formed sentences (27 and 29). Also, verbs select adverbials just as they select objects. This is obvious from the sentences below:

33. soniyā ne baṛī sāvdhānī se kamrā sāf kiyā.
Soniya ag very carefully room clean did
Soniya cleaned the room very carefully.
34. *soniyā ne baṛī sāvdhānī se yah samācār jānā.
Soniya ag very carefully this news knew
Soniya knew this news very carefully.
35. soniya ne baṛī sāvdhānī se sab bātō kā patā lagāyā.
Soniya ag very carefully all matters of found out
Soniya very carefully found out everything.
36. *soniya baṛī sāvdhanī se dūb marī.
Soniya very carefully drown died
Soniya got drowned very carefully.

Some adverbs, such as the ones that occur in 28, 30, 32, 33 and 35 are closely tied to the sentence. Some adverbs are loosely connected with the sentence, as in the following:

37. vāstav mē rāj ko māi acchī tarah nahī jāntā.
reality in Raj DO I well not know
Really speaking, I do not know Raj well.
38. sac puchiye to ājkal desh kī hālat baṛī kharāb hai.
truth ask then now a days country of condition very
bad is
If you ask me, the condition of (our) country is very
bad.

2.2 On the basis of the constituents discussed above, there are these types of sentences in Hindi:

39. (a) intransitive
rītā daurī.
Rita ran.
- (b) with subject complement
mālā sundar hai.
Mala is beautiful.
- (c) with object complement
ram mālā ko sunder samajhtā hai.
Ram Mala DO beautiful considers
Ram considers Mala beautiful.
- (d) transitive (with DO)
rimā patra likhtī hai.
Rima writes a letter.
- (e) double transitive (with IO, DO)
usne mā ko rupaye bheje.
He ag mother to rupees sent
He sent money to (his) mother.
- (f) transitive (with Adv)
gita ne darāj mē cābhīyā rakhi.
Gita ag drawer in keys kept
Gita put the keys in the drawer.
- (g) intransitive (with Adv)
sushmā haridvār mē rahtī thi.
Sushma Haridvar in live impf. had
Sushma used to live in Haridvar.

The structure and types of simple sentences in Hindi are described more fully in Chapter 7. In the following chapters, the structure of noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective phrase and adverbial phrase is discussed in detail.

3

THE NOUN PHRASE

3.0 The noun phrase functions as subject, direct object, indirect object, subject complement, object complement or object of postposition in Hindi. First the structure of the simple noun phrase is described, and subsequently, the complex noun phrase is discussed in some detail.

3.1 A simple noun phrase may consist of a noun or a noun with a determiner. For example, the noun phrase in 40 is a single noun, whereas the one in 41 is a noun with a determiner.

- 40. kuttā bhūkne lagā.
dog barking began
The dog began to bark.
- 41. koī kuttā bhūk rahā thā.
some dog bark-ing was
Some dog was barking.

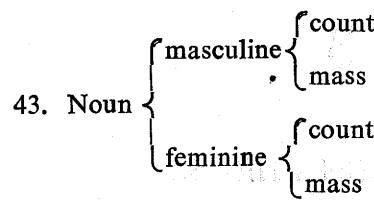
In 41, *koī* 'some' is an indefinite determiner. In 42, *vah* 'that' is a demonstrative.

- 42. vah kuttā bhūk rahā thā.
that dog barking was
That dog was barking.

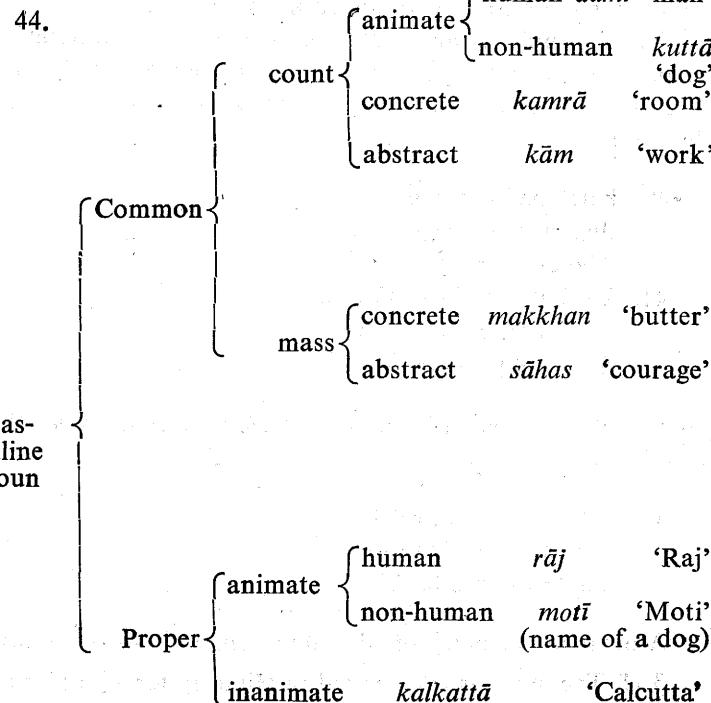
A detailed account of the determiner follows in 3.1.2.

3.11 The noun is categorized in Hindi in terms of gender

and countability. For instance, *sher* 'lion' is masculine, *mez* 'table' is feminine. Both of these are countable; *makkhan* 'butter' (masculine) and *cañī* 'chutney' (feminine) are not countable. Thus, the nouns fall into four classes :



In addition, nouns can be concrete, such as *mez* 'table' or *makān* 'house', or abstract, such as *xushī* 'happiness' or *irādā* 'intention'. The following charts classify nouns according to these properties.



45.

Common {	Feminine Noun {	Proper {	animate {	human <i>larkī</i> 'girl'
				non-human <i>billī</i> 'cat'
				<i>katori</i> 'bowl'
				<i>bāt</i> 'matter'
mass {			concrete {	<i>catnī</i> 'chutney'
				<i>shakti</i> 'strength'
proper {			abstract {	<i>shilā</i> 'Sheela'
				human <i>kajrī</i> 'Kajri'
				inanimate <i>dillī</i> (name of a cow 'Delhi')

These properties are not purely semantic. Proper nouns do not occur with determiners. Only count nouns have plural forms and can be preceded by numerals. Also, the gender and number of nouns control verbal agreement in Hindi. In 46-48, these grammatical properties are illustrated.

46. *rajnī ne kā bātē kahī.*

Rajani ag several matters said
Rajani said several things.

47. *mīrā bahut sā makkhan xarid lāi.*

Mira much butter buy brought
Mira bought a lot of butter.

48. *is bacce kā sāhas āpko āshcarya mē dal degā.*

this child of courage you amazement in put give will
The courage of this child will amaze you.

In 46, *bātē* is plural and controls the agreement of the verb. In 47, the mass noun *makkhan* selects the quantifier *bahut sā* 'much'. In 48, the mass abstract noun *sāhas* 'courage' functions as the subject and controls the verbal agreement.

3.12 The determiners in Hindi are subclassified into various categories, both on semantic and formal grounds. First, there is a difference between indefinite and definite determiners. Compare the following:

49. ek rājya mē ek rājā thā.
a state in a king was
uske ek lāṛki thī.
he to a girl was
ek dīn rājā ne lāṛki ko rājyasabhā mē bulāyā.
one day king ag girl DO court in called
There was a king in a state. He had a daughter.
One day the king called the daughter to the court.
50. menakā kal ek kitāb xafid laī.
menaka yesterday a book buy brought
kitāb bahut mahāngī thī.
The book very expensive was
Menaka bought a book yesterday.
The book was very expensive.

Notice that in 49 and 50, the first mention of the king, the daughter and the book is with the indefinite determiner *ek* 'a'. The second occurrence of king, daughter and book are without any determiners. Thus, the contrast is between *koi* or *ek* 'some' or 'a' as indefinite versus zero for the definite determiner. There is no generic determiner in Hindi, the generic and the definite are both unmarked. Parallel to the definite noun phrases in 49 and 50 are the noun phrases below:

51. bāgh mānsāhārī hotā hai.
tiger carnivorous happens
The tiger is carnivorous.
52. whel stañpāyi hai.
whale mammal is
A whale is a mammal.

Both *bāgh* 'tiger' and *whel* 'whale' are generic and are unmarked in 51-52. For further discussion see section 7.8.

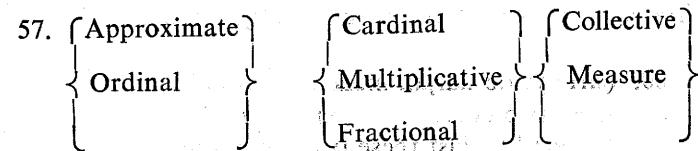
For deictic, anaphoric, and cataphoric reference, demonstratives are used which are either proximate or remote, and either singular or plural.

	Proximate	Remote
Singular	<i>yah</i>	<i>vah</i>
Plural	<i>ye</i>	<i>ve</i>

For anaphoric reference, the demonstrative is used optionally; for cataphoric reference, only the remote demonstrative is used (Verma 1971). Compare the following for deictic (54), anaphoric (55), and cataphoric (56) reference.

54. yah/vah kitāb mujhe pasand hai.
This/that book me to pleasing is
I like this/that book.
55. kal maī ne ek sāṛī dekhī, (vah) sāṛī bahut mahāngī thī.
Yesterday I ag a saree saw that saree very was
expensive
Yesterday I saw a saree, (that) saree was very
expensive.
56. mere mitra ke pitā hī ve dākṭar hāi
my friend of father emph that doctor is
jinhōne āpkī mā kā ilāj kiyā thā.
who ag your mother of treatment done had
My friend's father is the doctor who treated
your mother.

3.121 In addition to determiners, a noun may be preceded by various quantifiers. The quantifiers consist of the following co-occurring categories.



Approximates are items such as *karīb* 'almost', *lagbhag* 'approximately'; ordinals are items such as *pahlā* 'first', *cauthā* 'fourth', *sauyā* 'hundredth'; cardinals are *ek* 'one', *pāc* 'five', *hazār* 'thousand'; multiplicatives are elements such as *dugund* 'twice', *caugunā* 'four times'; fractionals are *ādhā* 'half', *cauthāī* 'quarter', *deh* 'one and half'; collectives are items such as *jorā* 'pair', *darjan* 'dozen', and measure are *kilo* 'kilogram', *ser* 'seer' (two pounds) etc.

The indefinite determiners do not co-occur with ordinals, neither do the multiplicatives with collective or measure. In

definite noun phrases, the cardinals may be followed by an aggregative, which has the independent form *sab* or *sārā* 'all' or 'whole', but which is realized as -ō following a cardinal.

58. do + Aggregative = donō
 'two' 'both'
 car + Aggregative = cārō
 'four' 'all the four'

Some examples of noun phrases with quantifiers follow :

59. Definite Ordinal N

pahlā lārkā '(the) first boy'

Indefinite Cardinal N

koī do kitābē 'any two books'

Definite Ordinal Cardinal N

ve antim do makān

'those last two houses'

Definite Ordinal Cardinal Collective N

ye pahle do darjan kele

'these first two dozen bananas'

3.122 The noun phrase may contain limiter expressions such as *sirf... hī* 'only', *iske alāvā... bhī* 'also', *yahā tak ki... bhī* 'even', etc. (Verma 1971). For instance, the noun phrases in 60-62 contain limiters and quantifiers :

60. (sirf) ye do darjan moze hī xarid lū.
 these two dozen socks only buy take
 Let me buy just these two dozen socks.
61. yahā tak ki donō lārkē bhī bhāg gae.
 Even both boys run went.
 Even both the boys ran away.
62. iske alāvā cār kilo cīnī bhī le lenā cāhie.
 in addition four kilo sugar also take take should.
 Also four kilos of sugar should be bought.

In fact, items such as *sirf... hī*, *bas... hī*, *khās kar... to*, are free floating items and these could occur with any major lexical category in Hindi. Compare the following:

63. (sirf) tīn lārkē hī āye.
 three boys only came
 Only three boys came.
64. (sirf) tīn hī lārkē āye.
 three only boys came
 Only three boys came.
65. lārkē kal hī āye.
 boys yesterday only came
 The boys came only yesterday.
66. hamne rediyo (sirf) dekhā hī.
 we ag radio saw only
 We only saw the radio.

In 63, the scope of 'only' extends to the full noun phrase, in 64, it is limited to the numeral. In 65 and 66, the adverb and the verb respectively are in the scope of the limiter *hī*. The limiters are further discussed in section 6.4.

To summarise the discussion on determiners so far; in Hindi, the indefinite is marked with items such as *koī* 'some' or *ek* 'a', the definite is unmarked. The definite noun phrase may, however, contain demonstratives such as *yah* 'this' or *vah* 'that'. Although unmarked, the definite noun phrase is formally distinct from the indefinite noun phrase. For instance, compare the following:

67. koī cār lārkē āye haī.
 some four boys come have
 Four boys have come.
68. cārō lārkē āye haī.
 all the four boys come have
 All the four boys have come.
69. kaun āyā thā?
 who come had
 Who had come?
70. kaun-sā lārkā āyā thā?
 which boy come had
 Which boy had come?

In sentences 67 and 69, the noun phrase is indefinite, in sentences 68 and 70, it is definite.

3.13 Just as nouns, pronouns are also subcategorized as definite and indefinite. Indefinite pronouns are *koi* 'someone' and *kuch* 'something'.

Definite pronouns are as follows:

	1st P.	2nd P.	3rd P.
Singular	<i>mai</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>vah</i>
Plural	<i>ham</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>ve</i>
Hon.	—	<i>āp</i>	<i>ve</i>

The proximate forms *yah* 'this' and *ye* 'these' are also used as third person pronouns.

In addition, there is a reflexive pronoun *āp* which has an oblique form *apne*, and a possessive form *apnā*.

3.14 The pronouns have more case forms than nouns. Nouns are inflected only for direct, oblique and vocative cases as in 72:

72. a. masculine noun ending in *a*:

	Direct	Oblique	Vocative
Singular	laṛkā 'boy'	laṛke	laṛke
Plural	laṛke	laṛkō	laṛko

b. feminine noun ending in *i*:

	Direct	Oblique	Vocative
Singular	laṛkī 'girl'	laṛki	laṛkī
Plural	laṛkiyā	laṛkiyō	laṛkiyo

c. masculine nouns ending in a consonant:

	Direct	Oblique
Singular	makān 'house'	makān
Plural	makān	makānō

d. feminine nouns ending in a consonant:

	Direct	Oblique
Singular	kitāb 'book'	kitāb
Plural	kitābē	kitābō

Detailed classification of nouns according to gender, number and case inflections is given in most grammars of Hindi (See, e.g., Sharma 1958).

The pronouns have these case forms:

	Direct	Oblique	Possessive
1st Singular	<i>mai</i>	<i>mujh</i>	<i>merā</i>
Plural	<i>ham</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>hamārā</i>
2nd Singular	<i>tū</i>	<i>tujh</i>	<i>terā</i>
Plural	<i>tum</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>tumhārā</i>
3rd Singular	<i>yah/vah</i>	<i>is/us</i>	
Plural	<i>ye/ve</i>	<i>in/un</i>	

The possessive for third person is formed with the postposition *kā*.

Note that all the possessives behave as adjectives and inflect for gender and case of their head nouns, e.g., *merā makān* 'my house', *merī kitābē* 'my books', *uske larke* 'his boys', *apnī jān* 'self's life'.

The pronoun followed by the accusative/dative postposition *ko* has an alternate form as in the following:

74. mujhko	~	mujhe	'to me'
hamko	~	hamē	'to us'
tujhko	~	tujhe	'to you'
tumko	~	tumhē	'to you'
isko/usko	~	ise/use	'to him'
inko/unko	~	inhē/unhē	'to them'

The first and second person pronouns remain in their direct form when followed by the agentive postposition *ne*, the honorific *āp* has no distinct oblique form, and the third plural forms are as follows when followed by *ne*:

75. *in+ne* = *inhōne*

un+ne = *unhōne*

3.2. The noun phrase may contain adjectives or even full clause, as in the following:

76. *vahā hamne ek kālā hans dekhā*.

There we ag one black swan saw

- There we saw a black swan.
77. *vah caltī huī gārī se kūd paṛā.*
he moving vehicle from jump fell
He jumped down the moving vehicle.
78. *vahā jo log baiṭhe haī unko maī nahī jāntā.*
there wh people seated are them I not know
I do not know the people who are sitting there.

In 76, the noun phrase has a numeral and an adjectival modifier, in 77, it contains a participial and in 78, a full relative clause. Besides such noun phrases, there are also cases where full clauses function as noun phrases, e.g.,

79. *uskā yah dāvā ki munīsh ghūs letā hai bilkul sahī hai.*
his this claim that Munish bribe takes quite correct is
His claim that Munish takes bribe is quite correct.
80. *shiprā kā apne bhāī bahanō se jhagāṇā*
Shipra of self's brother sisters with quarrel
mujhe bilkul pasand nahī hai.
me at all liking not is
I do not like Shipra's quarrelling with her brothers and sisters.

In 79, the clause *munīsh ghūs letā hai* 'Munish takes bribe' is in apposition with *dāvā* 'claim', whereas in 80, the subject noun phrase consists of only the italicized phrase which is derived from a full clause such as 80a

- 80a. *shiprā apne bhāī bahanō se jhagātī hai.*
Shipra self's brother sisters with quarrels
Shipra quarrels with her brothers and sisters.

In this section, first those structures will be discussed which modify the noun (76-78), and then those which are in apposition to the noun (78-80).

3.21 Nouns are modified by clauses which are of two types: those that restrict the reference of the antecedent or head noun, and those that give some extra but relevant information about the antecedent or head noun. The former

are called restrictive relative clauses and the latter, appositive relative clauses. The following exemplify the two types:

81. *jo laṛkā kursī par kharā hai usko bulā lāo.*
wh-boy chair on standing is him call bring
Call the boy who is standing on the chair.
82. *rajnī, jo vāshingtān mē rahtī hai, āj ā rahī hai.*
Rajani who Washington in lives today come-ing is
Rajani, who lives in Washington, is arriving today.

In Hindi, neither the restrictive, nor the appositive relative clause, seems to be a constituent of the noun phrase. Nevertheless, some facts about relative clause are discussed here (see also 8.11). For convenience, relative clauses will be discussed as if they are a part of the noun phrase along with the antecedent or head noun. The structure of the restrictive relative clause can be described as follows.

Given two clauses which share an identical and coreferential noun phrase, one clause can become a relative clause to modify the antecedent in the other, e.g.,

83. *rām ne kitāb xaridī.*
Ram ag book bought
Ram bought a book.
84. *kitāb bahut mahangī thī.*
book very expensive was
The book was very expensive.
85. *rām ne jo kitāb xaridī vah bahut mahangī thī.*
Ram ag wh-book bought that very expensive was
The book that Ram bought was very expensive.

That is, a relative marker *jo* (oblique *jis*, plural *jin*) is attached with the noun phrase in the modifying clause and a correlative *vah* (plural *ve*; oblique *us*, plural *un*) is attached to the head noun phrase. Normally, the head noun is dropped as in 85. This, however, is not absolutely necessary. The following alternatives are grammatical as well:

86. *rām ne jo xaridī vah kitāb bahut mahangī thī.*
Ram ag wh- bought that book very expensive was

87. vah kitāb jo rām ne xarīdī bahut mahangī thi.
that book wh-Ram ag bought very expensive was

That is, the noun phrase in the subordinate clause may be dropped as in 86 and 87. Normally, if the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, the head noun is dropped. If the subordinate clause follows the head noun as in 87 or 88, the noun phrase in the subordinate clause is dropped :

88. vah kitāb bahut mahangī thi jo rām ne xarīdī.
that book very expensive was wh- Ram ag bought.

The construction in sentence 86, where the subordinate clause precedes the main clause and yet the noun phrase in the subordinate clause is dropped, is not very common in standard Hindi. Such a construction, however, is very common in the Dakhini variety of Hindi-Urdu:

89. āp xarīde so ghar mere ku pasand hai.
you bought that house me to liking is
I like the house you bought.
90. bistar par sāriyā haī so le lo.
bed on sarees are those take take
Take the sarees which are on the bed.

So is an earlier correlative form which has dropped out of standard Hindi except in some fixed idioms. Notice also the absence of the relative marker. Such constructions are not totally unknown in standard Hindi. Kachru (1978) contains some examples from written Hindi to illustrate such constructions in contemporary standard Hindi.

Noun phrases functioning as subject, direct or indirect object, or object of preposition are all relativizable. That is, all the following are grammatical:

91. jo laṛkā so rahā thā vah shor se jāg gayā.
wh-boy sleeping was he noise from wake went
The boy who was asleep woke up because of the noise.
92. āpne jis laṛke ko bulāyā thā vah āj nahī ayā hai.
you ag wh- boy called had he today not come
The boy you called has not come today.

93. māi ne jis laṛkī ko gānā sikhāyā vah áb
I ag wh-girl IO sing taught she now
reḍiyo par gātī hai.
radio on sings
The girl who I taught singing sings on the radio now.
94. rām jis kamre mē rāhtā hai vah xūb havādār hai.
Ram wh-room in lives that very airy is
The room in which Ram lives is very airy.
95. sītā jiske sāth āi thi vah laṛkī amrīkī hai.
Sita wh-with come had that girl American is.
The girl with whom Sita came is an American.
96. jis vyakti kā paisā corī ho gayā vah cintit hai.
wh-person of money stealing become went he worried
is
The man whose money was stolen is worried.

Only the object of comparison, if relativized, yields a strange sentence:

97. hasan jis laṛke se lambā hai vah hasan se ḍartā hai.
Hasan wh-boy than tall is he Hasan from afraid is
The boy who Hasan is taller than is afraid of Hasan.

It is more natural to use 98 in place of 97:

98. jo laṛkā hasan se nātā hai vah us se ḍartā hai.
wh-boy Hasan than short is he him afraid is
The boy who is shorter than Hasan is afraid of him.

In case both the head noun and the relativized nouns are non-subjects, a number of word order variations are possible which have been discussed in Donaldson (1971), and Kachru (1979). Some examples follow:

99. tumne jin logō ko apnī pārtī mē bulāyā hai
you ag wh-people DO self's party in called have
unko māi nahī jāntā.
them I do not know
I do not know the people you have invited to
your party.

- 99a. *jin logō ko tumne apnī pārtī mē bulāyā hai*
 wh-people DO you ag self's party in called have
unko maī nahī jāntā.
 them I not know
- 99b. *maī un logō ko nahī jāntā jinko tumne apnī pārtī*
 I those people DO not know whom you ag self's
 party
mē bulāyā hai.
 in called have
- 99c. *maī un logō ko nahī jāntā tumne jinko apnī pārtī*
 I those people DO not know you ag. whom self's
 party
mē bulāyā hai.
 in called have
- 99d. *tumne jin logō ko apnī pārtī mē bulāyā hai*
 you ag wh people DO self's party in called have
maī unko nahī jāntā.
 I them not know
- 99e. *jin logō ko tumne apnī pārtī mē bulāyā hai*
 wh-people DO you ag self's party in called have
maī unko nahī jāntā.
 I them not know

The above variations result from changing the relative order of the subject and the direct object; more such variations are possible if the relative order of the finite verb is also changed. Also, in 99-99e, the subordinate clause either precedes or follows the main clause. As pointed out earlier, the subordinate clause may immediately follow the head noun. These word order variations are stylistically important. (See also section 8.11)

The favoured order of relative clause and main clause is as follows. In case both the head noun and the relativized noun are subjects, the relative clause precedes the main clause. In case the head noun is non-subject, the relative clause follows the main clause. In case the head noun is indefinite, irrespective of its function, the relative clause follows the main clause. That is, the following are favored or unmarked as compared to the variations that have been discussed earlier. Notice that

in case of indefinite head nouns, the variations either change the meaning or are ill formed.

100. *jo log kal pārtī mē der tak rahe ve āj*
 wh-people yesterday party in late till stayed they today
kām par nahī āye.
 job on not come
 The people who stayed till late at the party
 last night did not come to work today.
101. *maī ne vah sārī xarid lī jo ratnā ko pasand*
 I ag that saree buy took wh-Ratna dat. liking
āī thī.
 come had
 I bought the saree that Ratna liked.
102. *ek laṛkī āī thī jo naukrī kī talāsh mē thī.*
 a girl come had wh-job of search in was
 A girl came who was looking for a job.
103. *ek laṛkī jo naukrī kī talāsh mē thī āī thī.*
 a girl wh-job of search in was come had
- 104.* *jo laṛkī naukrī kī talāsh mē thī vah āī thī.*
 wh-girl job of search in was she come had

(Sentence 104 is well-formed if the head noun is interpreted as definite, i.e., 'The girl who was looking for a job came'.)

Note that the indefinite head noun does not take the correlative *vah* since it already is preceded by a determiner *ek* 'a'.

3.211 The appositive relative clause, unlike the restrictive, occurs with proper nouns also :

- 105 *sushmā jījī, jo ājkal lakhnau mē rāhtī hāī,*
 Sushama elder sister wh-these days Lucknow in lives
jaldī hī yahā ā rahī hāī.
 soon here com-ing is
 Sushma jiji, who lives in Lucknow,
 is coming here soon.

Appositive relative clauses follow the head noun as in 105

above. In case of common nouns, the difference between appositive and restrictive relative clauses is not readily apparent.

106. vah laṛkā jo kal rāt yahā āyā thā baṛā xushmijāz hai.
that boy wh-yesterday night here come had very
pleasant is
The boy who came here last night is very pleasant.

In some cases, *jo ki* is used to mark the appositive relative clause. Consider the following:

107. vah laṛkā, jo ki kal rāt yahā āyā thā,
that boy wh-that yesterday night here come had,
baṛā xushmijāz hai.
very pleasant is
The boy, who came here last night, is very pleasant.

More research on appositive relative clauses is needed before any detailed description of the construction is possible. What is clear is that if the relative clause either precedes or follows the main clause, the interpretation is that of a restrictive relative clause :

108. jo laṛkā kal rāt yahā āyā thā vah baṛā xushmijāz hai.
wh-boy yesterday night come had he very pleasant is
109. vah laṛkā baṛā xushmijāz hai jo kal rāt yahā
that boy very pleasant is wh-yesterday night here
āyā thā.
come had
The boy who came here last night is very pleasant.

3.212 In Hindi, several types of participial constructions are used to modify a noun. In terms of form, a three-way distinction is made between present, past and agentive participles. The following italicized phrases illustrate the three types:

110. usne rote huē bacce ko tāfī di.
he ag crying child to toffee gave
He gave toffee to the child who was crying.
111. usne kamre mē baithe hue logō ko cāy pilāi.
he of room in seated people to tea drink+caused
He offered tea to the people who were sitting in the room.
112. shām kī gārī se jāne vāle log pahle khā lē.
evening ag train by goer people first eat take
Let the people who are leaving by the evening train eat first.

The present participle indicates ongoing action or process; the past participle, completed action or process, and the agentive, habitual or potential action or process. The following illustrate the habitual meaning associated with the agentive participle:

113. yahā kām karne vāle logō ko har tarah kī
here work doer people to every kind of
suvidhā milti hai.
facilities accrue
People who work here get all kinds of facilities.
114. garm mulkō mē rahne vāle log utne
warm countries in those-who-live people that much
mehantī nahī hote.
hardworking not become
The people who live in warm countries are not as hardworking.

There are many restrictions on the use of the participials as modifiers. These are described below.

Most intransitive and transitive verbs yield present participles that are used attributively to modify a noun identical to and coreferential with the subject of the participle:

115. gēd khelte hue bacce shor macā rahe the.
ball playing children noise make-ing were
The children playing ball were making noise.

116. usne bāzār jātē hue larkē ko bulāyā.
he ag market going boy DO called
He called the boy going to the market.
- 117.* bacce gēd khelte hue the.
children ball playing were.
- 118.* larkā bāzār jātā huā thā.
boy market going was

Most transitive verbs yield past participle phrases which modify a noun identical to, and coreferential with, the object of the participle, the subject of the participle taking the genitive postposition *kā*:

119. mujhe agyeya ke likhe hue upanyās pasand hāi.
I dat. Agyeya of written novels liking are
I like the novels written by Agyeya.
120. sumitā apnī mā kā pakāyā huā khānā nahī khātī.
Sumita self's mother of cooked food not eats
Sumita does not eat food cooked by her mother.

Some transitive verbs and most intransitives yield past participles that modify a noun identical and coreferential with their subjects.

121. hamē ek kām sikhē hue nauker kī talāsh hāi.
us dat. a job present servant of search is
We are looking for a servant who knows his job.
122. vah phaṭe hue kapre pahne thā.
he torn clothes worn was
He was in torn clothes.

Intransitive verbs such as *daurnā* 'run', *kūdnā* 'jump up and down' denoting momentary action do not yield past participle modifiers. Only those transitive verbs that denote changed state of the subject in their perfective aspect yield past participles that modify nouns identical and coreferential with their subjects. These are *sīkhnā* 'learn', *pārhnā* 'study', *pahannā* 'wear' or 'dress oneself', *lagānā* 'apply' (e.g., cosmetics) (See, Pandharipande and Kachru 1977). Past participle modifiers are used predicatively also, e.g.,

123. ye banāras ke paṛhe hue hāi.
he Banaras of studied is
This gentleman was educated in Banaras.
124. ye sab makān mere dādā ke banvāye hue hāi.
these all houses my grandfather of build caused are
All these houses were built by my grandfather.

Note that locational and temporal adverbials within the participles are marked with the genitive postposition *kā*. Compare the independent sentences with the participles (the adverbials are in italics):

125. ye shāl kashmir mē bane.
these shawls Kashmir in got made
These shawls are made in Kashmir.
126. sitā ne kashmir ke bane hue shāl xarīde.
Sita of Kashmir of made shawls bought
Sita bought shawls made in Kashmir.
127. yah patra pichle sāl āyā thā.
this letter last year come had
This letter came last year.
128. usne pichle sāl ke aye hue patra kā bhī
he ag last year of come letter of even
abhī uttar nahī diyā hai.
now reply not given has
He has not yet replied even to the letter that came last year.

Although the agentive participle normally indicates habitual or potential action, it may express ongoing or completed action, too, depending upon the context:

129. vah sārak ke kināre khaṛā kālej jānevalī
he road of side standing college goer
laṛkiyō ko ghūr rahā thā.
girls DO stare-ing was
Standing by the road, he was staring at the girls going to the college.

130. pichle sāl avkāsh grahan karne vāle
last year retirement accept doer
karmacāriyō ko vishesh bonus diyā gayā.
workers IO special bonus given was
The workers who retired last year were given special
bonus.

More research on agentive participles is needed to exactly characterize the contexts that determine the various interpretations of these phrases.

3.22 The internal structure of the complex noun phrase with a clausal complement is as follows. Such noun phrases may consist of a clausal complement in apposition to an abstract nominal or pronominal head, or simply a clausal complement. Consider the following:

131. kamal ne kahā ki use nīd ā rahī hai.
Kamal ag. said that her to sleep come-ing is
Kamal said that she feels sleepy.
132. ratan ko yah lagā ki suresh usse nārāz hai.
Ratan dat it felt that Suresh him with angry is
Ratan felt that Suresh is angry with him.
133. rājan ko āshā hai ki use naukrī mil jāegī.
Rajan dat. hope is that him to job accrue go will
Rajan hopes that he will get the job.

These sentences have the internal structure shown in 134-136:

134. kamal ne—[(ki use nīd ā rahī hai)]—kahā.
Kamal ag that her to sleep coming is said
135. ratan ko—[(ki suresh usse nārāj hai) yah]—lagā.
Ratan dat. that suresh him with angry is such felt
136. rājan ko—[(ki use naukrī mil jāegī) āshā]—hai.
Rajan dat. that him to job accrue go will hope is

That is, in 134, the clause functions as the object of the verb *kahnā* ‘say’. In 135 and 136, the clauses are in apposition to pronoun *yah* and the noun *āshā* respectively, and these head nominals along with their complement clauses function as predicate complements of the verbs *lagnā* ‘feel’, and *honā* ‘be’

respectively. Verbs such as *kahnā* ‘say’, *lagnā* ‘feel’, *honā* ‘be’ take full clauses as complements. There are other predicates that take either a full clause or an infinitival phrase as their complement. The following are illustrative:

137. rām kā vahā jānā anucit hai.
Ram of there go improper is
For Ram to go there is improper.
138. mai rām kā vahā jānā pasand nahī kartā.
I Ram of there go liking not do
I do not like for Ram to go there.

In the following section, I will discuss the clausal complement and the infinitival complement.

3.221 Clausal complements function as subject, direct object, and prepositional objects. Not all predicates, however, allow subject and object complements. Predicates such as *sahī* ‘true’, *ucit* ‘proper’, *thik* ‘correct’ take a clausal subject. Verbs of direct and indirect communication such as *kahnā* ‘say’, *batānā* ‘tell’, *pūchna* ‘ask question’, *likhnā* ‘write’ and *tār denā* ‘wire’; verbs of perception such as *dekhnā* ‘see’ and *sunnā* ‘hear’; verbs of thinking, believing and knowing, such as *socnā* ‘think’, *samajhnā* ‘consider or believe’, *vishvās karnā* ‘trust’, *jānnā* ‘know’, *patā honā* ‘be aware’ and *patā lagānā* ‘find out’, and other verbs such as *cāhnā* ‘wish’, *svikār karnā* ‘accept’, *mānnā* ‘agree’, and *parhnā* ‘read’ take clausal complements as direct objects or predicate complements of particular governing verbs. For instance, the clausal complement of *cāhnā* ‘wish’ must be in the optative. The complement of *socnā* ‘think’ must indicate potentiality or counter-factuality rather than actuality. Only verbs such as *pūchnā* ‘ask question’, *jānnā* ‘know’ and *patā honā* ‘be aware’ take a clause with interrogative words as complements. Some of these restrictions are exemplified below:

139. ram cahtā hai ki shyām usse mil le.
Ram wants that Shyam him with meet take
Ram wants that Shyam (should) meet him.

140. māi soctā hū ki mujhe kal hī cale jānā cāhiye thā.
I think that I da. yesterday emph. leave go desirable was.
I think I should have left yesterday.
141. shyām jāntā hai ki rām kāhā rathā hai.
Shyam knows that Ram where lives
Shyam knows where Ram lives.
142. usko patā hai ki vahā kaun baiṭhā hai.
he dat. knows that there who seated is
He knows who is sitting there.

In case the subject of *cāhnā* and the subject of its complement clause are identical and coreferential, the complement may be in the infinitival form with the complement subject deleted:

143. ramesh ghar jānā cāhtā hai.
Ramesh home go wants
Ramesh wants to go home.

Other such verbs are *svikār karna* ‘accept’, *pasand honā* ‘like’, and *bhālnā* ‘forget’.

3.222 Verbs that require the complement subject to be identical and coreferential with their subject and the complement to be infinitival rather than clausal are, for example, *sikhnā* ‘learn’, *shurū karnā* ‘begin’, *xatm karnā* ‘finish’, *chornā* ‘give up’. The following exemplify the infinitival complement:

144. rajanī tairnā sīkh rahī hai.
Rajni swim learn-ing is
Rajni is learning to swim.
145. sudhir ne gānā shurū kiyā.
Sudhir ag sing began
Sudhir began to sing.
146. suman ne shīlā kī dekhbhāl karnā svikār
Suman ag sheela of care do acceptance
kar liyā.
do took
Suman accepted to take care of Sheela.

Predicates such as *zarūrī* ‘necessary’, *acchā* ‘good’, *cāhiye*

‘desirable’, *ucit* ‘proper’, take infinitival complements as subjects:

147. āpkā yahā rahnā zarūrī hai.
your here stay necessary is
It is necessary for you to stay here.
148. tumko aur parishram karnā cāhiye.
you dat. more hardwork do desirable
You should work harder.

Notice that the subject of the infinitival complement is identical and coreferential with the subject of *cāhiye* ‘desirable’. The subject of the infinitival complement appears with the genitive *kā* ‘of’ in case the predicators are, for example, *zarūrī* ‘necessary’, *thik* ‘correct’, *ucit* ‘proper’ (see 147 above).

The infinitival complement occurs as object of a preposition as in the following:

149. ratnā ke āne se manju ko bahut xushī hogī.
Ratna of come by Manju dat. much happiness be will
Manju will be happy if Ratna comes.
150. Mīnā kī sphaltā tumhāre niyamit rahne
Meena of success your regular stay
par nirbhar hai.
on dependent is
Meena’s success depends on your being regular.

These infinitival propositional phrases function as adverbials. See also section 6.13.

To sum up the discussion, a noun phrase in Hindi may be either simple or complex. The simple noun phrase may contain the following elements in the order given below:

Possessive Determiner Adjective Noun, e.g.,

151. Sharmilā kī ve do lāl kitābē vahā rakhī hai.
Sharmila of those two red books there kept are
Those two red books of Sharmila are kept here.

Note that both the relative marker *jo* and the correlative

marker *vah* behave like determiners in that they occupy the same position as determiners like the demonstratives in sentence 152:

153. gitā kī jo kitābē āp le gae the ve kahā hāi
Gita of wh-books you take went had they where are
Where are the books of Gita that you took?
154. rīnā kī ve sunaharī cappalē kho gaī jo usne
Rina of those golden slippers lost went wh-she ag
dillī mē xaridī thī.
Delhi in bought had
Those golden slippers of Rina are lost that she
bought in Delhi.

For further discussion on adjectives see chapter 5, and on possessives see section 7.9.

NOTES

- Verma (1971) contains a detailed discussion of the determiner system of Hindi. A simplified version appears in Kachru (1966). The categories of Limiters and Emphatics that are set up in Verma (1971) are discussed in this study under adverbial particles (see section 6.4).
- This discussion does not imply any theoretical claim with regard to the quantifiers.
- In fact, it is equally justified to claim that pronouns and determiners belong to the same category (see Postal 1970). In Hindi, the demonstrative determiners *yah* 'this', *vah* 'that' (and their inflected forms) are used as third person pronouns. The theoretical status of pronouns, however, is not particularly relevant to this description.
- In this account of relative clause, the relative and correlative markers, *jo* and *vah* have been translated as 'wh-' and 'that' or 'he', etc. These are approximate equivalents and should not be taken as exact. Actually, on formal grounds, the relative and correlative markers are *J* and *U* respectively which, depending upon the linguistic context in which they occur are realized as *jo*, *vah*, etc. See Kachru (1973b and 1978) for further details.

4

THE VERB PHRASE

4.0 The category verb is the main constituent of a verb phrase. In addition to a verb, a verb phrase also contains markers of mood, aspect, tense, voice and items belonging to the categories of modals and adverbials. In this chapter, first the inherent properties of the verbs will be discussed, and then the auxiliaries that indicate mood, aspect and tense. Subsequently, the modals and the sub-classes of verbs and their syntactic properties will be described.

4.1 In Hindi, there are three sets of inherent properties of verbs which have important syntactic consequences. These are the distinctions in terms of volitional vs. non-volitional, stative vs. inchoative vs. active, and factive vs. non-factive. The properties of volition and action are coextensive to a large extent. All these are discussed in detail in the following subsections (see also 7.1 to 7.4).

4.11. Consider the following sentences:

155. savitā lambī hai.
Savita tall is
Savita is tall.
156. savitā lambī ho gaī.
Savita tall became
Savita became tall.
157. savitā paṛh rahī hāi.
Savita reading is
Savita is reading.

158. ranjan ko sab bātē mālūm hai.
 Ranjan dat. all matters known are
 Ranjan knows everything.
159. ranjan ko sab bātē mālūm ho gaī.
 Ranjan dat. all matters known became
 Ranjan came to know everything.
160. ranjan ne sab bātē mālūm kar li.
 Ranjan ag. all matters known do took
 Ranjan found out everything.

In the above two sets of sentences, 155 and 158 indicate states of the subject, 156 and 159 indicate change of state, and 157 and 160 express action. Most adjectives with the stative *ho* 'be' are used in stative sentences in Hindi. Change of state verbs are, for example, *ho* (*jā*) 'become', *gir-*'fall', *mālūm ho* 'come to know', and active verbs are verbs such as *jā* 'go', *hās* 'laugh', *pār̥h* 'read'.

Stative verbs and adjectives are not used in imperative sentences:

161. *sundar ho!
 beautiful be
 *Be beautiful!
162. *xush ho!
 happy be
 *Be happy!

The inchoative and active are used in imperative sentences:

163. xush ho jāo/raho!
 happy become remain
 Be happy!
164. pār̥ho!
 Read!

Also, statives are not used in the continuous aspect:

165. *kalpanā sundar ho rahī hai.
 Kalpana beautiful becoming is
 *Kalpana is being beautiful.
166. *kumār sab bātē jān rahā hai.
 Kumar all matters knowing is
 *Kumar is knowing everything.

Inchoatives and actives are used in the continuous aspect:

167. bāccī xush ho rahī hai.
 child happy become-ing is
 The child is becoming happy.
168. rādhā pār̥h rahī hai.
 Radha read-ing is
 Radha is reading.

The stative *ho* 'be' in Hindi has only the following forms: *hai* 'is', *thā* 'was', (and their feminine and/or plural forms), *ho* 'be', *hotā* 'be+imp.' and *hogā* 'be+fut.' (and their inflected forms). These are used as follows:

169. rādhā ghar mē hai.
 Radha home in is
 Radha is at home.
170. somesh ghar mē thā.
 Somesh home in was
 Somesh was at home.
171. somesh ghar mē ho to use bulā do.
 Somesh home in be then him call give
 Call Somesh if he is at home.
172. rādhā ghar mē hotī to mai use kitāb de deti.
 Radha home in were then I her book give would
 If Radha were at home, I would give her the book.
173. darvāzā khulā hai, sonā ghar mē hogī.
 door open is Sona house in be will
 The door is open, Sona must be at home.

The inchoative *ho* (*jā*) 'become' has all the regular tense-aspect forms. The verbs such as *ban* 'become', *rah* 'remain' (with an adjective), are the other inchoative verbs of Hindi.

4.12 Parallel to this distinction of stativeness is the distinction between volitional and non-volitional verbs. In general, most active verbs are volitional, most inchoative and stative verbs are non-volitional. The volitional verbs denote deliberate action; the non-volitional denote states or accidental events. Compare the following:

174. shīshā tūt gayā.
mirror break went
The mirror broke.
175. rājū ne shīshā tōt diyā.
Raju ag. mirror break gave
Raju broke the mirror.
176. kapre dhul jāenge.
clothes wash go will
The clothes will be washed.
177. ham kapre dho denge.
we clothes wash give will
We will wash the clothes.
178. *jān-būjh kar shīshā tūt gayā.
deliberately mirror broke went
*The mirror broke deliberately.
179. *baṛī sāvdhānī se kapre dhul jāenge.
very carefully clothes wash go will
The clothes will get washed carefully.
180. ham baṛī sāvdhānī se kapre dho dēnge.
we very carefully clothes wash will
We will wash the clothes very carefully.

Since the inchoative verbs denote accidental events, adverbs such as *jān būjh kar* ‘deliberately’, and *sāvdhānī se* ‘carefully’ do not occur with them. See also section 4.34.

4.13 Cutting across the stative-inchoative-active and volitional-non-volitional distinction is the distinction between factive and non-factive.¹ Verbs such as *jānna* ‘know’, *pata honā* ‘be aware’ are factive; verbs such as *lagñā* ‘feel’, *samajhnā* ‘consider’ are non-factive. The complements of factive verbs are understood as facts, those of non-factives are not necessarily so. Compare, for example,

181. *mujhe patā hai ki kalkattā yahā se ek sau
I dat. known is that Calcutta here from a hundred
mīl dūr hai,
miles distant is
lekin kalkatta yahā se ek sau mīl dūr nahī hai.
but Calcutta here from a hundred miles distant not is

*I know that Calcutta is a hundred miles from here, but Calcutta is not a hundred miles from here.

The second conjunct of the sentence in 181 contradicts the first conjunct, hence it is not well-formed. 182, however, is well-formed.

182. mujhe lagtā hai ki kalkattā yahā se ek sau mīl
I, dat. feel that Calcutta here from a hundred miles
dūr hai, lekin kalkattā yahā se ek sau mīl
distant is but Calcutta here from a hundred miles
dūr nahī hai.
distant not is
I feel that Calcutta is a hundred miles from here, but
Calcutta is not a hundred miles from here.

Also, the negation of a factive verb does not negate the complement whereas the negation of a non-factive usually negates a complement:

183. mujhe patā nahī thā ki rām āyā thā.
I dat. known not was that Ram come had
I did not know that Ram had come.
184. mujhe nahī lagtā ki rām āyā hai.
I dat. not feel that Ram come has
I do not feel that Ram has come.

Sentence 183 is not equivalent to 185; however, 184 is equivalent to 186:

185. mujhe patā thā ki rām nahī āyā thā
I dat. known was that Ram not come had
I knew that Ram had not come.
186. mujhe lagtā hai ki rām nahī āyā hai.
I dat. feel that Ram not come has
I feel that Ram has not come.

For further discussion see 4.34.

4.2 In Hindi, the distinctions of mood, aspect and tense are expressed in verbs as well as auxiliaries. In addition, the verbs

and auxiliaries show agreement with the subject or some other noun in the sentence in gender, number and person. It is not possible to identify one particular form with one particular grammatical distinction. But, on the basis of systematic differences between forms and grammatical meanings signalled by them, the following moods, aspects and tenses are set up.

4.21 A five-way distinction is made in terms of mood: indicative, imperative, optative, presumptive and contingent. These are expressed by the following forms (except for the imperative, all other forms are third person singular masculine):

187. Imperative	<i>khā!</i> 'eat'
Optative	<i>khāe</i> 'may eat'
Indicative	<i>khātā hai</i> 'eats'
Presumptive	<i>khāyā hogā</i> 'may have eaten'
Contingent	<i>khāyā ho</i> 'were he to have eaten'

4.22 Primarily, a three-way distinction is made in terms of aspect: imperfect, perfect and continuous. The first two are expressed by bound forms, the last by an aspectual auxiliary. There is a secondary system of frequentative, repetitive and inceptive aspects also. The frequentative is formed by attaching the imperfect stem of *kar* 'do', i.e., *kartā* (and its inflected forms) to the perfect stem of the main verb:

188. un dinō vah niyamit rūp se yahā āyā kartā thā.
those days he regularly here come used to was
In those days he used to come regularly.

The repetitive is formed by attaching either *jā* 'go' or *rah* 'remain' to the imperfect stem of the verb. Subsequently, the auxiliaries *jā* or *rah* take the imperfect or perfect aspect markers:

189. vah kal din bhar paṛhtā rahā.
he yesterday day all read kept
He kept reading all day yesterday.

The inceptive is formed by attaching *lag* 'begin' to the inflected infinitive of the verb: *lag* then takes the imperfect and perfect aspectual markers:

190. vah vahā se jāne lagā.
he there from go began
He began to go from there.

All the secondary aspectual markers occur in all the moods.

4.23 In tense, a three-way distinction is made: present, past and future. The present and past tense auxiliaries are *hai* and *thā* (and their inflected forms) respectively. The future is expressed by affixing the bound form *gā* to the optative stem of the verb, e.g., *khāegā*. 'he will eat'. The affix *gā* is inflected for number and gender. Hackman (1976) presents a detailed analysis of the Hindi aspect and tense system. For further discussion on the meaning and use of the aspect and tense forms, see section 7.13.

4.24 The following six verbs are used as modals in Hindi: *saknā*, *pānā*, *cuknā*, *parnā*, *honā* and *denā*. The forms *saknā* and *pānā* indicate capability, *cuknā* indicates completion, *parnā* and *honā* indicate compulsion and occur with the inflected infinitive of the main verb, and *denā* indicates permission and also occurs with the inflected infinitive of the verb. These are discussed in more detail below.

4.241 Although both *saknā* and *pānā* indicate capability, they signal two distinct meanings and hence are not mutually substitutable. Consider the following examples :

191. maī kal hī jā sakta hū.
I tomorrow even go can
I can go even tomorrow.
192. kāmnā yah namūnā utār le sakegī.
Kamna this design copy take can will
Kamna will be able to copy this design.
193. vah baṛī koshishō ke bād kalkatte se nikal pāyā.
he much effort later Calcutta from emerge managed
He managed to leave Calcutta after much effort.

194. *vah anāyās kalkatte sē nikal pāyā.
he effortlessly Calcutta from emerge managed
He managed to leave Calcutta with no effort.
195. vah anāyās rātbar jag saktā hai.
he effortless night all wake can
He can remain awake all night with no effort.
196. vah koshish kare to rāt bhar jag saktā hai.
he effort do then night all wake can
He can remain awake all night with effort, i.e.,
if he tries.

The modal *saknā* is used to indicate possibility (as in sentence 191) as well as ability (as in sentence 192). It is neutral as to whether the ability expressed is a result of some effort on part of the agent or not, hence both 195 and 196 are well-formed. The modal *pānā*, on the other hand, suggests ability dependent upon effort, hence 193 is well-formed but sentence 194 is not.

4.242 The modal *cuknā* is used to indicate completion:²

197. gāy cārā khā cukī thī.
cow fodder eat completed had
The cow had eaten the fodder.
198. ghar ke sab log nahā cuke hai.
house of all people bathe completed have
All the people in the house have taken their bath.

Note that *cuknā* is used in its perfective form more readily than in its imperfective form, although the imperfective is not ungrammatical.

4.243 Although both *parnā* and *honā* are modals indicating compulsion, *parnā* indicates external compulsion whereas *honā* expresses internal compulsion, e.g.,

199. mujhko agle sāl banāras zarūr jānā hai.
I dat. next year Banaras certainly go is
I must go to Banaras next year.
200. pitāji kī āgyā hai, shādī mē jānā hī paṛegā.
father hon. of order is wedding in go emph. have will
It is father's order, I will have to attend the wedding.

4.244 The use of *denā* 'give' indicates permission, e.g.,

201. bacce kuch kām karne dē to āj hī kar dū.
children any work do allow then today emph. do give
I would do the work today if the children would allow
me to do anything.
202. rāju ne baṛī jaldī macāī, mujhe cāy tak na pine
Raju ag. much hurry made I dat. tea even not drink
dī.
give
Raju hurried me to the extent that he didn't allow
me even to drink tea.

Notice that the construction *Vne de* may be ambiguous between the modal construction and the purposive adverbial construction discussed in 6.13. Compare, e.g.,

203. manju ne mujhe kitāb paṛhne (ke liye) dī.
Manju ag. me book to read for gave
204. sīmā ne mujhe tasvīr dekhne (ke liye) dī.
Sima ag. me picture to look for gave

Both the above are ambiguous between the two readings of 205 and 206 in case the postposition *ke liye* is left out:

- 205a. Manju allowed me to read the book.
b. Manju gave me the book to read.
- 206a. Sima allowed me to look at the picture.
b. Sima gave me the picture to look at.

With the postposition *ke liye* 'for', 203 and 204 are interpreted as 205b and 206b respectively.

4.3 The verbs are subcategorized into intransitive, transitive, double transitive and causative in terms of the number of arguments they take. Consider the following:

207. laṅkā dāurā.
boy ran
The boy ran.
208. ramesh ne film dekhī
Ramesh ag. flm saw
Ramesh saw the flm.

209. mīnā ne mohan ko patra likhā.
Mina ag. Mohan IO letter wrote
Mina wrote a letter to Mohan.
210. karuṇā ne usse kurte silvāe.
Karuna ag. him by shirts sew+caused
Karuna made him sew the shirts.

The intransitive verb takes only one argument, a subject (207), the transitive verb takes two arguments, a subject and a direct object (208), and the double transitive verb takes an indirect object also ('Mohan' in 209). The causative verb takes an initiator and a intermediary agent ('Karuna' and 'he' in 210) in addition to a direct object. All these categories are discussed in some detail in the following sub sections.

4.31 Most intransitive verbs are inchoative and non-volitional. However, the motion verbs (e.g., ānā 'come', jānā 'go', calnā 'move or walk or leave', daurnā 'run', utarnā 'climb down', cārhnā 'climb up') and verbs of expression (e.g., hasnā 'laugh', ronā 'cry', muskarāna 'smile', cillānā 'shout') are action verbs, and they denote volitional acts.

4.32 Most transitive verbs denote volitional acts. Verbs such as jānnā 'know', bhūlnā 'forget', khonā 'lose', however, are non-volitional.

Most transitive verbs in Hindi are derived from their intransitive counterparts by morphological processes. For instance, consider the following:

211. darvāzā khulā.
door opened
The door opened.
212. maī ne darvāzā kholā.
I ag. door opened
I opened the door.
213. cāval pake.
rice cooked
The rice got cooked.
214. usne cāval pakāe.
he ag. rice cooked
He cooked the rice.

215. patang ur̄ rahī hai.
kite fly-ing is
The kite is flying.
216. mannu patang urā rahā hai.
Munnu kite fly-ing is
Munnu is flying the kite.
217. kapre sūkh rahe hāi.
clothes dry-ing are
The clothes are drying.
218. mīrā kapre sukhā rahī hai.
Mira clothes dry-ing is
Mira is drying the clothes.

The pairs *khul*—*khol*, *pak*—*pakā*, *ur*—*urā*, *sūkh*—*sukhā*, make the morphological relationship clear.

There are, however, transitive verbs which are not derived from intransitive verbs. These are verbs such as *khānā* 'eat', *pīnā* 'drink', *socnā* 'think', *samajhnā* 'understand', and *bolnā* 'speak'.

Some verbs, though intransitive, function as transitive when occurring with a cognate object, e.g.,

219. usne ek acchī cāl calī.
he ag. a good move moved
He made a good move.
220. yah sipāhī kaī laṛāiyā laṛ cukā hai.
this soldier many battles fight completed has
This soldier has fought many battles.

Some transitive verbs function as intransitive verbs, i.e., they occur without a direct object :

221. rām ne khā liyā.
Ram ag. eat took
Ram has eaten.
222. vah banāras mē paṛhā.
he Banaras in studied
He studied in Banaras.

4.33 Most double object verbs in Hindi are derived from transitive verbs. Compare the following:

223. ushā ne sitār sikhā.
Usha ag. sitar learnt
Usha learnt (how to play) the sitar.
224. ustād ne ushā ko sitār sikhāyā.
teacher ag. Usha IO sitar learn+caused
The teacher taught Usha (how to play) sitar.
225. shamit ne ṭopī pahnī.
Shamit ag. cap put on
Shamit put on a cap.
226. Shamit ne munnū ko ṭopī pahnāi.
Shamit ag. Munnu IO cap wear+caused
Shamit made Munnu put on a cap.

There are, however, some verbs which are double transitive inherently, e.g., *denā* 'give', *parosnā* 'serve (food)'.

4.34 In discussing transitive and double transitive verbs, it has been pointed out that many of these are derived from intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively. This derivation is by morphological processes, but has important syntactic consequences in that the derivation from intransitive to transitive, and transitive to double transitive, affects the valency of the verb. That is, each step in the derivation increases the potential number of arguments that a verb can take by one. Compare the following:

227. gilās tūtā.
glass broke
The glass broke.
228. sumit ne gilās torā.
Sumit ag. glass broke
Sumit broke the glass.
229. shirish ne sumit se gilās turvāyā.
Shirish ag. Sumit by glass break+caused
Shirish caused Sumit to break the glass.
230. sīmā ne angūr khāe.
Sima ag. grapes ate
Sima ate some grapes.
231. rītā ne sīmā ko angūr khilāe.
Rita ag. Sima IO grapes eat+caused

- Rita offered Sima some grapes (implies Sima ate them).
232. kalā ne rītā se sīmā ko angūr khilvāe.
Kala ag. Rita by Sima IO grapes eat+cause+caused
Kala made Rita offer some grapes to Sima (implies Rita did so and Sima ate them).

In sentence 227 *tūt* takes only one argument, a subject; in 228, *tor* takes two arguments, a subject and a direct object (*sumit* and *gilās* respectively). In 229, *turvā* takes three arguments, an initiator-agent noun which functions as subject (*shirish*), a mediating agent noun (*sumit*), and a direct object (*gilās*). That is, in 228, Sumit causes the glass to break, whereas in 229, Shirish initiates the action which results in Sumit causing the glass to break. The same kind of increase in valency is observable in 230-232. In 230, there are two arguments, *sīmā* and *angūr*; in 231, three (*rītā*, *sīmā* and *angūr*) and in 232, four (*kalā*, *rītā*, *sīmā* and *angūr*). The verbs involved are the following :

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 233. <i>tūt</i> | <i>tor</i> | <i>turvā</i> |
| break | cause X to break | cause X to cause Y to break |
| 234. <i>khā</i> | <i>khilā</i> | <i>khilvā</i> |
| eat | cause X to eat | cause X to cause Y to eat |

Such sets are discussed under causatives in most Hindi grammars. For further discussion see 7.3.

4.35 The passive is formed in Hindi in the following manner. The past participle form of the verb is used with the auxiliary *jā* which is homophonous with *jā* 'go', but may have a different historical source (Pandharipande: forthcoming). This auxiliary takes endings denoting aspect, tense, and agreement. The subject of the active sentence appears with the instrumental post-position *se* 'by' in the corresponding passive:

235. rām se roṭī nahī khāī gāi.
Ram by bread not eaten was
Ram was unable to eat the bread.

236. rītā se calā nahī jā rahā thā.
 Rita by walked not be-ing was
 Rita was unable to walk.

Notice that both transitive and intransitive verbs participate in the construction. Traditionally, in case a transitive verb is involved, the construction is called passive (235). In case an intransitive verb is involved, the construction is called impersonal (236). In this work, both are referred to as passive in most contexts.

In 235-236, the passive agent appears with the postposition *se*. It is possible to delete the passive agent:

237. cor pakaṛ liye gae.
 thieves caught took were
 The thieves were caught.
 238. kitāb kī do hazār pratiyā chāpi gaī.
 book of two thousand copies printed were
 Two thousand copies of the book were printed.

Note the negative and the capabilitive meaning in 235-236, as opposed to the straightforward passive meaning of 237-238. For further discussion of the properties of passive sentences see 7.4.

4.36 Cutting across the sub-classification of verbs discussed in the previous sub-sections is the categorization of verbs in terms of internal complexity. So far, the discussion on verbs has mainly been in terms of simple, one-word verbs, although in the examples given here several two-word verbs have been used (e.g., sentences 174-180). In terms of internal complexity, verbs have been categorized as simple, compound and conjunct.³ Compound verbs are in italics in the following examples:

239. runā *gir* *pari*.
 Runa fall fell
 Runa fell down.
 240. āshā zorō se hās *uṭhi*.
 Asha loudly laugh rose
 Asha laughed out loud.

241. ham sab kitābē *xarīd* *lenga*.
 we all books buy take will
 We will buy all the books.
 242. sumit nītū ko kitāb *xarīd* *degā*.
 Sumit Nitu DO book buy give will
 Sumit will buy Nitu a book.

In 239-242, *gir*, *hās* and *xarīd* are the main verbs, *par*, *uṭh*, *le* and *de* are subsidiary verbs. The subsidiary verbs have variously been referred to as operator, auxiliary, explicator, vector, etc. As explicator seems to have gained general currency, this term will be used here consistently. The explicator verbs add specific meanings to the meaning of the main verb, but the basic meaning of the sentence is determined by the main verb. This is further illustrated below.

The main explicator verbs in Hindi are *ānā* 'come', *jānā* 'go', *lenā* 'take', *denā* 'give', *uṭhnā* 'rise', *baiṭhnā* 'sit', *parnā* 'fall', *dālnā* 'add, pour', *rakhnā* 'place, put, keep', *choṛnā* 'leave', *mārnā*, 'hit', *nikalnā* 'emerge', *dhamaknā* 'thump', and *pahūcnā* 'reach'.⁴ Not all explicator verbs occur with all main verbs. The main classes of verbs with which the explicators occur, and the meanings that they convey, are described below:

243. *ānā* 'come' occurs 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.
jānā 'go' occurs with intransitive verbs of motion and other change of state verbs, and indicates motion away from the focal point; with dative subject verbs (see 4.38 and 7.10) indicates definitive meaning; and with transitive verbs it expresses hurried, impulsive action.
lenā 'take' occurs with affective (transitive) verbs and indicates compleative

<i>denā</i> 'give'	meaning; with other transitive verbs, indicates self-benefactive meaning; with certain intransitive verbs of expression indicates internal expression.
<i>uthnā</i> 'rise'	occurs with transitive verbs other than affective verbs and indicates that the action is directed toward a beneficiary other than the subject of the main verb; with intransitive verbs of expression indicates external expression.
<i>baihnā</i> 'sit'	occurs with intransitive and transitive verbs of punctual action and indicates suddenness.
<i>pārnā</i> 'fall'	occurs with certain transitive verbs and indicates impudence.
<i>dālnā</i> 'pour'	occurs with intransitive change of state verbs, and verbs of expression and indicates suddenness.
<i>rakhnā</i> 'keep'	occurs with transitive verbs that express violent action and verbs such as <i>kar</i> 'do', <i>parh</i> 'read', <i>likh</i> 'write', and indicates violence.
<i>chornā</i> 'leave'	occurs with certain transitive verbs and indicates temporary state resulting from the action of the main verb.
<i>mārnā</i> 'hit'	occurs with certain transitive verbs and indicates dissociation of the subject with the result of the action.
<i>dhamaknā</i> 'thump'	extremely limited distribution, indicates rash action.
	occurs with <i>ānā</i> 'come' and <i>jānā</i> 'go', and indicates unwelcome arrival.

<i>pahūcnā</i> 'arrive'	occurs with <i>ānā</i> and <i>jānā</i> and indicates arrival rather than motion.
<i>nikalnā</i> 'emerge'	indicates sudden emergence from some enclosed space - real or imaginary.

All these explicators are exemplified below:

244. *sītā ke āvāz dete hī munīsh pēr se utar āyā.*
Sita of call give Munish tree from climb came
Munish came down the tree as soon as Sita called.

(The sentence implies that Sita was down there and Munish came to her).

245. *mere rokne par bhī ratnā ghar calī gai.*
my stop in spite of Ratna home left went
Ratna went home in spite of my trying to stop her.
246. *uskī bātē sun kar shyām ko gussā ā gayā.*
his statements hearing Shyam dat. anger come went
Having heard him, Shyam became angry.
247. *billi sārā dudh pī gai.*
cat all milk drink went
The cat drank up all the milk.
248. *arvind ne seb khā liyā.*
Arvind ag. apple eat took
Arvind ate the apple.
249. *simmi ne sārī rang lī.*
Simmi ag. saree dye took
Simmi dyed a saree (for herself).
250. *shyām man hī man hās liyā.*
Shyam in his mind laugh took
Shyam laughed to himself.
251. *savitā ne ciṭṭhi likh lī.*
Savita ag. letter write took
Savita wrote the letter.
- 251a. *savitā ne ciṭṭhi likh dī.*
Savita ag. letter write gave
Savita wrote the letter (on behalf of someone else, or got the job over with).

252. vah merī or dekh kar hās dī.
she my direction seeing laugh gave
She looked at me and laughed.
253. baccā acānak ro ut̄hā.
child suddenly cry rose
The child burst out crying.
254. vah apne bhāī se laj̄ baithā.
he self's brother with fight sat
He was impudent enough to quarrel with his brother.
255. apnī sahelī ko dekhte hī sīmā uchal paṛī.
self's friend DO seeing Sima jump fell
Sima jumped up (with joy) as soon as she saw her friend.
256. usne jaldī jaldī sab kām kar dālā.
she ag. in a hurry all work do poured
She did all her work in a hurry to get it over with.
257. maī ne manju ke liya sau rupye rakh rakhe hāī.
I ag. Manju for hundred rupees keep kept have
I have put away a hundred rupees for Manju.
258. usne apnī sab kitābē apne choṭe bhāī ke liye rakh choṛī hāī.
he ag. self's all books self's little brother for keep left
has
He has saved all his books for his little brother.
259. apne yah kyā likh mārā hai!
you ag. this what write hit have
What nonsense have you written!
260. āj subah mīrā ā dhamkī, cāy tak
today early morning Mira come thumped, tea even
pīne kā maukā nahī milā
drink of chance not obtained
Mira dropped in early this morning, I did not get a chance even to have a cup of tea.
261. shamit do ghantō mē hī kalkatte jā pahūcā.
Shamit two hours in emph. Calcutta go arrived
Shamit arrived in Calcutta in just two hours.

Notice that already 259-261 border on idiomatic expressions.
There are more such fixed phrases which are idioms, e.g., *cal*

- basnā* 'to pass away'; *ban ānā* 'to be in danger', as in 262-63:
262. daulat rām kal subah cal base.
Daulat Ram yesterday morning passed away
Daulat Ram passed away yesterday in the morning.
263. usne netāgirī kyā shurū kī, uskī jān hī par
he ag. leadership what began his life emph. on
ban āī hai.
in danger is
As soon as he began to act like a leader, his life came to be in danger.

The explicator *jānā*, as well as *lenā*, *denā*, and *dālnā*, occur in an emphatic construction in which the main verb is in the inflected past participle form:

264. āp cintā na karē, maī ghar sāf kiye letī hū.
you worry not do I house clean do take
Please do not worry, I will clean the house (as though it were my job).

For *parnā*, the main verb in the emphatic construction is in the past participle form:

265. nīd se vah jhukā paṛ rahā thā.
sleep with he bent fall-ing was
He was bending down with sleep.

Kachru 1978b and 1978c discuss the syntactic and semantic properties of the compound verb in some detail.

4.37 Conjunct verbs are said to be made up of an adjective or a noun and a verb, e.g., *sāf karna* 'clean do', *band honā* 'closed be', *dikhāī dena* 'visible give'. Not all verbs that are listed in traditional grammars as conjunct verbs in fact belong to this category (see Kachru 1977). In the following sentences, however, the italicized verbs are conjunct verbs:

266. mujhe āpkā prastāv svīkār hai.
I dat. your proposal acceptance is
I accept your proposal.

267. sīma ko mālūm hai ki vimal kahā gayā hāi.
Sima dat. known is that Vimal where gone has
Sima knows where Vimal has gone.
268. rām ko ek bhayānak dṛiṣya dikhāī parā.
Ram dat. a frightening sight visible fell
Ram saw a frightening spectacle.

Note the relationship between the following pairs of sentences:

269. darvāzā band hai.
door closed is
The door is closed.
270. darvāzā band huā.
door closed became
The door closed.
271. usne darvāzā band kiyā.
he ag. door closed did
He closed the door.
272. rādhā ko sārī, pasand haī.
Radha dat. saree liking is
Radha likes the saree.
273. rādhā ko sārī pasand āī.
Radha dat. saree liking came
Radha liked the saree.
274. rādhā ne sārī pasand kī.
Radha ag. saree liking did
Radha liked the saree (i.e., selected it).

Sentence 269 is stative, 270 is inchoative and 271 is active. Similarly, 272 is stative, 273 is inchoative and 274 is active. In 269 - 271, the verbs are *honā* 'be' and 'become', and *karnā* 'do'. The adjective *band* functions as subject complement in 269-270, and object complement in 271. In 272, *pasand honā* 'like' is stative, *pasand ānā* and *pasand karnā* are its inchoative and active counterparts. All these are conjunct verbs as *pasand* is not a complement in any of the above sentences. Thus, the only serious candidates for conjunct verbs are verbs such as *svikār karnā* 'accept', *pasand honā* 'like'. The adjectives in adjective+verb combinations are best treated as complements.

4.38 There is a class of verbs in Hindi that requires subjects to be marked with the dative postposition *ko*. This class includes a large number of psychological predicates such as *gussā anā* 'be angry', *sharm lagnā* 'feel shame', a number of verbs denoting physical sensation, e.g., *bhūkh lagnā* 'be hungry', *sirdard honā* 'have a headache', and some verbs that take a concrete complement such as *lagnā* 'hit', *jācnā* 'appeal to'. The following sentences contain such verbs:

275. mujhko xushī hai ki āp ā gae.
I dat. happy am that you come went
I am happy that you came.
276. rām ko tez buxār ho gayā.
Ram dat. high fever happen went
Ram got a high fever.
277. bāgh ko golī lagī.
tiger dat. bullet hit
The bullet hit the tiger.
278. mujhko makān nahī jācā.
I dat. house not appeal
The house did not appeal to me.

Most dative subject verbs fall into stative-inchoative sets. Their active counterparts do not take dative subjects:

	stative	inchoative	active
	pasand honā 'like'	pasand ānā	pasand karnā
	svikār honā 'accept'	svikār honā	svikār karnā
	bhūkh honā 'be hungry'	bhūkh lagnā	—
	yād honā 'remember'	yād ānā	yād karnā
	gussā honā 'be angry'	gussā ānā	gussā karnā
	—	dikhāī denā	dekhnā
	—	—	'be seen'

4.39 Most transitive verbs and some intransitive verbs require their subjects to be marked with the agentive postposition *ne* in the perfective tenses. With some transitive verbs, such as *samajhnā* 'understand', and *jannā* 'give birth to', the subject may optionally take *ne*. Subjects of other

transitive verbs such as *bolnā* 'speak', *lānā* 'bring', do not take *ne*⁶. The intransitive verbs that allow *ne* with their subject are, for example, *nahānā* 'bathe', *chīknā* 'sneeze', *khaṣanā* 'cough'.

The *ne*-marking of the subject of the transitive verbs in the perfective results in three types of sentence construction in Hindi. All the three constructions are active in voice. These constructions are agentival, objectival and impersonal.⁷ The illustrations are given below:

- 280. rām kitāb pañh rahā hai
Ram book reading is
Ram is reading a book.
- 281. rām ne kitāb parhī.
Ram ag. book read
Ram read the book.
- 282. rām ne kitāb ko pañhā.
Ram ag. book DO read
Ram read the book.

In 280 the verb agrees with the subject; in 281, the subject is followed by the postposition *ne* and the verb agrees with the object; in 281, both the subject and the object are followed by postpositions and the verb is in neutral agreement, i.e., it is in the third person singular masculine form. The agreement pattern can further be confirmed by changing the number and gender of the subject and the object:

- 283. lañkō ne tasvīr dekhī.
boys ag. picture saw
The boys looked at the picture.
- 284. lañkiyō ne baccō ko bulāyā.
girls ag. children DO called
The girls called the children.

In 283, the verb is feminine singular to agree with *tasvīr* 'picture', in 284, in spite of the feminine plural subject, and the masculine plural object, the verb is masculine singular.

4.40 In passive and dative subject sentences, too, the verb agrees with the direct object and complement respectively:

- 285. rām se yah tasvīr nahī̄ dekhī jāegī.
Ram by this picture not looked be will
Ram will not be able to look at this picture.
- 286. rām ko ḥand lag rahī hai.
Ram dat. cold feel-ing is
Ram is feeling cold.

In 285, the verb is in agreement with *tasvīr* 'picture', in 286, the verb is in agreement with *ḥand* 'cold'. Note that if the object is followed by a postposition, the passive verb shows neutral agreement;

- 287. lañke se lañkī ko na piñā gayā.
boy by girl DO not hit was
The boy could not hit the girl.

In case of the intransitive verb, the passive construction always shows neutral agreement:

- 288. tum logō se calā nahī̄ jāegā.
you people by walked not be will
You people will not be able to walk.

The verbal agreement rule in Hindi seems to be as follows:

- 289a. The verb agrees with the subject in case it is unmarked;
- b. In case the subject is marked with a postposition, the verb agrees with any other noun phrase that is unmarked; and
- c. In case there are no unmarked noun phrases in the sentence, the verb is in the third person singular masculine form.

Note that the subject has precedence over any other term as long as it is unmarked. The verb in Hindi agrees only with unmarked noun phrases. For a discussion on verbal agreement, see also 8.211.

- 4.401. The compound verbs behave as follows with regard to the *ne*-marking:

- 290a. If both the main verb and the explicator verb require *ne*, then the compound verb also requires *ne*-marking on the subject; and
- b. if either one or both belong to the class of verbs that do not allow *ne*, then the compound verb does not allow *ne* either.

None of the modal verbs allow *ne*-marking on the verb, hence, in case the verb is followed by a modal, the construction is subjectival i.e., the verb agrees with the subject.

The direct object, if definite and specific, takes the postposition *ko*. Indefinite and generic direct objects do not take *ko*. In 280, the direct object *kitāb* is generic, in 282, it is specific. In case of inanimate nouns, the use of *ko* even with the specific is optional. In case of human nouns, it is obligatory. The use of *ko* with direct object forces a specific reading, its absence is open to an interpretation in terms of generic.⁸

NOTES

1. In many languages, the choice of verb signals what the speaker believes to be a fact. For a discussion of factivity and other related properties of the verbs, see Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) and Karttunen (1971). These discuss factivity in relation to English verbs. Givón (1974a) discusses the use of particles linking complements to their governing verbs to convey fact, belief, doubt, etc. in the context of an African language.

2. It is not clear what the difference in meaning is between the perfective and the completive *cuknā*. While all verbs occur in the perfective, not all verbs occur with the modal *cuknā*. The following are ungrammatical:

- (i) *mujko lag cukā hai ki Shyām bimār hai.
I do dat. feel completed is that Shyam ill is
I completed feeling that Shyam was ill.

- (ii) *usko gussā ā cukā hai.
he dat. anger come completed is
He has completed being angry.

The intransitive inchoative verbs occur with the completive modal, so do all action verbs.

3. For a discussion of compound and conjunct verbs, see, among others, Bahl (1967), Hook (1974), Kachru (1965 1966, 1977, 1978a and 1978b), Masica (1976), and Shapiro (1974). Kachru 1978a and 1978b

discuss the semantics of the compound verb in some detail taking into account the previous works mentioned here and listed in the bibliography.

4. The list of explicator verbs varies from grammar to grammar. For a summary of these lists, see Hook (1974).
5. Kachru (1965) and (1966) contain lists of main verbs and explicators that occur together.
6. This, however, is changing in Delhi and the surrounding areas. There is a marked tendency to use *ne* with *bolnā* 'speak' in the perfective, at least in spoken Hindi.
7. These constructions are referred to as *prayog* in Guru (1920). The three constructions are called *kartari*, *karmaṇi* and *bhāvē prayog* respectively. Guru makes it clear that the concept *prayog* is related to verbal agreement.
8. With regard to *ko* marking on the direct objects, contrast the following:
 - (i) maī ne ek larkī/ek billī dekhī.
I ag. a girl a cat saw
I saw a girl/a cat.
 - (ii) maī ne larkī/billī dekhī thi.
I ag. girl, cat saw
I saw (the) girl/cat.
 - (iii) maī ne larkī ko/billī ko dekhā.
I ag. girl DO cat DO saw
I saw the girl/the cat, i. e., a particular girl/cat.

The sentence (i) with *larki* as the direct object is not very good, but it is possible to interpret *ek larki* 'a girl' as a generic noun phrase. The direct objects in (ii) are generic, the direct objects in (iii) are definite and specific.

296. is prastāv se sahmat log apne hāth uṭhāē.
this proposal with agreed people selfe's hands raise
Let the people in agreement with this proposal raise
their hands.

Other such adjectives are *nihāl* 'fulfilled', and *xush* 'happy'. This shows that just like the verbs, adjectives are also intransitive or transitive, i.e., they are of two types: those that do not take a complement (e.g., *acchā* 'good', *sundar* 'beautiful'), and those that do (e.g., *taiyār* 'ready', *sahmat* 'in agreement').

Cutting across this classification is the classification in terms of gradability. The gradable adjectives can be modified by an intensive adverb such as *bahut* 'very', the non-gradable cannot. Adjectives such as '*lambā*' 'tall', *xush* 'happy', are gradable, *taiyār* 'ready', *nihāl* 'fulfilled', are not. In addition, adjectives can be classified as stative vs. non-stative, adjectives such as *sundar* 'beautiful', *lāl* 'red' are stative, *lambā* 'tall' *xush* 'happy', can be used either as stative or non-stative:

- 297*. larkī sundar ho rahī hai.
girl beautiful be-ing is
The girl is being beautiful.
298. *kitāb lāl ho rahī hai.¹
book red be-ing is
The book is being red.
299. laṛkā lambā ho rahā hai.
boy tall become-ing is
The boy is becoming tall.
300. māxush ho rahī hai.
mother happy becoming is
Mother is becoming happy.

Adjectives such as *sundar* and *lāl* cannot be used as complements of change-of-state verbs, whereas *lambā* 'tall', *xush* 'happy' etc. can be. Similarly, the distinctions of transitivity and gradability have important syntactic consequences in that only transitive adjectives take sentential complements, and only gradable adjectives have comparative and superlative forms.

5

ADJECTIVES

5.0 Adjectives are used both predicatively and attributively as in the following :

291. larke shānt hāī.
boys calm are
The boys are calm.
292. shānt larke udhar baithe hāī.
calm boys there seated are
The calm boys are seated over there.

However, there are some adjectives which do not occur attributively :

293. bacce taiyār hāī.
children ready are
The children are ready.
- 294* taiyār baccō ko bulāo.
ready children DO call
Call the ready children.

If, however, these adjectives are with their complements, they can occur attributively :

295. bāhar jāne ko taiyār baccō ko bulāo.
out go for ready children DO call
Call the children who are ready to go out.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the simple adjectives, and then the complex adjectives.

5.1 Simple adjectives are of two types, those that are basic and those that are derived from other classes of words such as nouns. Adjectives such as *sundar* 'beautiful', *acchā* 'good', *lambā* 'tall', *lāl* 'red', are basic adjectives. Derived adjectives are of the following types :

- 301a. those that are derived from nouns; *mardānā* 'masculine', *backānā* 'childish', *pathrīlā* 'full of stone', *sunhalā* 'golden', *sāhasi* 'courageous', and
- b. those that are derived from adverbs: *bhitari* 'inner', *ūparī* 'superficial', *āxiri* 'last', *nazdīkī* 'close'.

One form which is very productive in deriving adjectives from other parts of speech is *vālā* (inflected forms *vāli* (fem.), *vāle* (plural)). The form *vālā* is used as follows :

- 302a. *dukānvālā* 'of the shop'
- b. *tīn bajevālā* 'the one at three o'clock'.

The above (a) would mean 'one who owns the shop, one who works in the shop, one who is in the shop, the thing in the shops etc.'

5.2 Complex adjectives are discussed in the following subsections. First, the participials are described and then the comparative and superlative adjectives are discussed.

5.21 In 3.212, the participials were briefly discussed. It has already been pointed out that the present participles occur only attributively. They modify a noun identical to and coreferential with their subject. Most intransitive and transitive verbs yield present participle forms that function in this manner. The present participle forms, in general, indicate ongoing action or process and as such are parallel to relative clauses in the continuous aspect:

- 303. *vah un baccō ko dekhā rahā*
he those children DO looking remained

- jo maidān mē khel rahe the.
who field in play-ing were
He kept looking at the children
who were playing in the field.
- 304. *vah maidān mē khelte hue*
he field in playing
baccō ko dekhā rahā.
children DO looking kept
He kept looking at the children
playing in the field.

The past participle indicates state resulting from action or process and as such is parallel to the perfective aspect:

- 305. *jo jhandē phaṭ gae haī unkō utār do*
wh-flags tear gone have them take down give
Take down the flags which are torn.
- 306. *phaṭe hue jhanḍō ko utār do*,
torn flags DO take down give
Take down the torn flags.

Most intransitive verbs yield past participial phrases which modify the noun identical to and coreferential with their subject. Most transitive verbs yield past participial phrases that modify the noun identical to and coreferential with their direct object. The subject of the participle then appears with the genitive postposition *kā* 'of'. The process of past participle formation is illustrated below:

- 307. *rām ne kitāb likhī*.
Ram of book wrote
Ram wrote a book.
- 308. *kitāb bahut acchī hai*.
book very good is
The book is very good.
- 309. [ram kī Φ likhī huī] *kitāb bahut acchī hai?*.
Ram of written book very good is
The book written by Ram is very good.

Given 307 and 308, 307 can be transformed to the phrase in

square brackets in 309, and this phrase then modifies the noun *kitāb* which is identical and coreferential with the direct object of *likh* 'write'. If, however, the direct object is a human noun, this process does not result in a well-formed past participle.

310. rām ne laṅke ko pukārā.
Ram ag. boy DO called
Ram called the boy.
311. laṅkā andar āyā.
boy inside come
The boy came in.
- 312.* [ram kā Φ pukārā huā] laṅkā andar āyā.
Ram of called boy inside came
The boy called by Ram came in.
313. manjū ne bacce ko piṭā.
Manju ag. child DO hit
Manju hit the child.
314. baccā ro rahā hai.
child cry-ing is
The child is crying.
- 315.* [Manjū kā Φ piṭā huā].
Manju of hit
baccā ro rahā hai.
child cry-ing is
The child hit by Manju is crying.
316. usne larkī ko sarāhā.
he ag. girl DO admired
He admired the girl.
317. larkī xush ho gaī.
girl happy become went
The girl became happy.
- 318.* [uskī Φ sarāhi hui] laṅkī xush ho gaī.
him ag. admired girl happy become went
The girl admired by him became happy.

The agentive participles are usually parallel to the imperfect aspect in that they indicate habitual action or process:

319. axbār becnevālā laṅkā āj nahī dikhā.
newspaper seller boy today not was visible
Today I did not see the boy who sells newspapers.
320. bas se yātrā karne vāle logō
bus by travel doer people
ko is hātāl se bahut taklīf ho rahī hai.
dat. this strike by much distress happen-ing is
The people who travel by bus are much
distressed by this strike.

There are, however, cases where this parallelism breaks down, e.g.,

321. parīkshā mē pratham shrenī pāne vālo ko
examination in first class obtainer DO
puraskār diye jāenge.
prizes given be will
Those who secure a first class in the examination will
be given prizes.
322. tum kamre ke andar jā sakte ho, par pañhne vālo
you room of inside go can but readers
ko tang mat karnā.
DO torment not do
You can go into the room, but do not torment those
who are or may be studying.

Note that in 321 as well as 322, the agentive participle expresses either potential action or action in progress rather than habitual action.

If used predicatively, the agentive participle may express meaning similar to future tense.

- 321a. rāj kalkatte jānevālā hai.
Raj Calcutta goer is
Raj is about to go to Calcutta.
- 322b. bādal ghir āe hai,
clouds surround come have
bāri hone hī vālī hai.
rain happen about to is
The sky is cloudy, it is about to rain.

5.22 A few adjectives, borrowed either from Sanskrit or from Perso-Arabic sources, have comparative and superlative form:

323.	<i>sundar</i>	<i>sundartar</i>	<i>sundartam</i>
	'beautiful'	'more beautiful'	'most beautiful'
	<i>mahat</i>	<i>mahattar</i>	<i>mahattam</i>
	'great'	'greater'	'greatest'
	<i>laghu</i>	<i>laghuttar</i>	<i>laghuttam</i>
	'small'	'smaller'	'smallest'
	<i>spaṣṭa</i>	<i>spaṣṭatar</i>	<i>spaṣṭtam</i>
	'clear'	'clearer'	'clearest'
	<i>bad</i>	<i>badtar</i>	
	'bad'	'worse'	
	<i>zyādā</i>	<i>zyādātar</i>	
	'much'	'much more'	

Such morphological formations are, however, very few. In most cases, the comparative and superlative adjectives are formed using syntactic devices. In comparative constructions, the object of comparison occurs as the subject and the thing compared occurs with the postposition *se*. It is followed by the adjective with regard to which the objects are being compared.

324. Sumit rāhul se bāṛā hai.
Sumit Rahul than big is
Sumit is bigger than Rahul.

The whole phrase *rāhul se bāṛā* is treated as the complement of *ho* 'be', and can be used attributively:

325. rāhul se bāṛे laṛke udhar khel rahe hai.
Rahul than big boys over there playing are
The boys bigger than Rahul are playing over there.

In the superlative construction, the standard compared to is *sab* 'all':

326. rāhul sabse bāṛā hai.
Rahul all than big is
Rahul is biggest of all.

In comparison, in order to indicate that the object of comparison is more or less adjective than the object compared to, items such as *zyādā* 'more' or *kam* 'less' are used:

327. āp mujhse zyādā samajhdār hai.
you me than more wise are
You are wiser than me.
328. nītū sonū se kam cālāk hai.
Nitu Sonu than less clever is
Nitu is less clever than Sonu.

To indicate less, the use of *kam* is obligatory, to indicate more, *zyādā* may be used optionally. Other postpositions that may be used in place of *se* are *kī* *apekṣā*, *kī* *tulnā mē* and *ke* *mukāble mē*, all meaning 'compared to'.

To indicate that the two objects are equal, the object compared to occurs with *jaisā* or *jitnā* 'as' (or their inflected forms):

329. hindī jaisī saral bhāṣā ko sikhnā kyā mushkil hai.
Hindi as easy language DO learn what difficult is
It is not difficult to learn a language as easy as Hindi.
330. Shamit jitne cancal laṛke kam hī dekhne mē āte hai.
Shamit like restless boys rarely see in come
One sees few children as restless as Shamit.

Objects may also be compared with regard to two distinct qualities. In that case, a complex clausal construction is used:

331. rām jitnā cālāk hai Mohan utnā hī mūrkha hai.
Ram as clever is Mohan as foolish is
Mohan is as foolish as Ram is clever.
332. yah jhil utnī hi gahrī hai jitni yah pahāṛī ūcī hai.
this lake as deep is as this hill tall is
This lake is as deep as this hill is high.

An object may be compared to itself with regard to two distinct qualities using this device:

333. sīmā jitnī buddhimān hai utnī hī asahiṣṇu-bhī.

sima as smart is as impatient too

Sima is as impatient as she is smart.

334. vah jitnā garib hai utnā hī asahāy bhī.

he as poor is as helpless too

He is as helpless as he is poor.

For further discussion on comparative correlative clauses, see section 6.2.1

5.3 The predicative adjective, whether simple or complex agrees with its subject in number and gender. The attributive adjective agrees in case also with the noun it modifies. The inflected forms of the adjectives ending in -ā have these forms:

335. Masculine *acchā* 'good'

	Sg.	Plu.
Direct	acchā	acche
Oblique	acche	acche

Feminine forms, such as *acchi*, do not change for number and case.

Adjectives such as *sundar* 'beautiful', *kathin* 'difficult', *lāl* 'red', are indeclinable.

5.4 Reduplicated adjectives either have an intensive meaning or a distributive meaning: e.g., *lāl lāl sārī* 'very red saree', *hare hare per* 'green trees', *bare bare makān* 'big houses'. The affix *sā* or *sī* added to the color adjectives signals diminished quality, e.g., *lāl-sī sārī* 'reddish saree'. Added to other adjectives, it signals intensive meaning, e.g., *bārā-sā makān* 'very big house', *caurī-sī sārak* 'very wide road'.

NOTES

- There is an idiom *lāl honā* 'to turn red' (in anger or with shame) which is used as an inchoative. For inchoative use of *sundar* 'beautiful', the expressions used are *sundar lagnd* 'appear beautiful' or *sundar dikhnā* 'seem beautiful.'

(i) rajni aj bahut sundar lag rahī hai.

Rajni today very beautiful appear ing is
Rajni seems very beautiful today.

- In these examples, Φ is used to indicate the deleted object of the participial form.

6

ADVERBS

6.0 Adverbs are the most difficult part of speech to define in Hindi. There are very few items which are basically adverbs; most words are called adverbs because they function as such in sentences:

336. rām acānak ā pahūcā.

Ram suddenly come reached

Ram arrived suddenly.

337. simmī pakauṛe acche banātī hai.

Simmi pakoras well makes

Simmi makes pakoras well.

338. rāmu ne sāvdhānī se guldān sajāe.

Ramu ag. carefully vases decorated

Ramu arranged the flower vases carefully.

In 336, *acānak* ‘suddenly’ is a basic adverb; in 337, *acchā* ‘good’ is an adjective functioning as adverb.¹ In 338, *sāvdhānī* is a noun, as a constituent of the prepositional phrase *sāvdhānī se* ‘carefully’, it functions as an adverb.

Semantically, adverbs can be classified into the following sub-classes: time, place, manner, instrument, reason, purpose, comitative and degree. Some of the members of each class are listed below:

339. time	āj ‘today’, kal ‘tomorrow’, or ‘yesterday’, shām ko ‘in the evening’, cār baje ‘at four o’clock’;
place	yahā ‘here’, vahā ‘there’, ghar mē ‘at home’, mez par ‘on the table’, nadī ke kināre ‘on the banks of the river’, bāhar ‘outside’, bhītar ‘inside’;
manner	acānak ‘suddenly’, mushkil se ‘with difficulty’, dhīre se ‘slowly’, āsānī se ‘easily’, xushī se ‘happily’, prempūrvak ‘with affection’;
instrumental	kulhāri se ‘with an axe’, chūrī se ‘with a knife’, kalam se ‘with a pen’, mashīn se ‘with a machine’;
reason	bīmārī se ‘because of illness’, bhūkamp se ‘because of an earthquake’, dhūp ki vajah se ‘because of the hot sun’, bārish ke kāraṇ ‘because of the rain’;
purpose	X se milne ko ‘to meet X’, khāne ke liye ‘for eating’, vahā jāne ke liye ‘in order to go there’;
comitative	X ke sāth ‘with X’, X ko le kar ‘with X’;
degree	bahut ‘very much’, itnā ‘so much’, aisā ‘like this’, X se pahle ‘before X’, X ke bād ‘after X’.

6.1 Adjectives that function as adverbs with no formal markers attached to them are, e.g., *sundar* ‘beautiful’, *tez* ‘fast’, *acchā* ‘good’, *gīlā* ‘wet’, *karā* ‘hard’. The nouns that are constituents of postpositional phrases functioning as adverbs are usually derived from adjectives, e.g., *sāvdhānī* is derived from *sāvdhān* ‘careful’, *āsānī* is derived from *āsān* ‘easy’, *tatpartā* ‘eagerness’ is derived from *tatpar* ‘eager’.

Besides basic adverbs and those derived from adjectives and nouns, there are also participial phrases that function as adverbs. These participial adverbs are described in 6.11, subsequently, the comparative adverbial phrases that involve time, place and manner are discussed. Various types of subordinate clauses that have adverbial functions are discussed in 8.12.

6.11 Present and past participle phrases are used as adverbs in the following manner:

340. rītā ne ghar se calte hue nītū ko cābhī dī.
Rita ag. house from leaving Nitu IO key gave
Rita gave the key to Nitu as she was leaving the house.
341. Suman hāth mē kitābē liye khaṛī thi.
Suman hands in books taken standing was
Suman was standing holding the books in her hand.
342. baccā daurte daurte thak gayā.
child running running tired went
The child became tired because of constant running.
343. vah baiṭhe baiṭhe uktā gayā.
he seated seated.bore went
He was bored because of sitting continuously.

In 340, a present participle is used as a time adverb; in 342, a past participle is used as a manner adverb. The reduplicated present participle in 342, and past participle in 343, function as reason adverbs. Depending upon the context, participles may function as time, manner and reason adverbs. Some more examples follow:

344. laṛkā daurtā huā āyā.
boy running came
The boy came running.
345. vah hāste hue bolā ki use sab yād rahegā.
he laughing said that he dat. all memory remain will
He said laughing that he will remember everything.
346. laṛkiyā gāte gāte kapre dho rahī thi.
girls singing clothes washing were
The girls were singing and washing clothes.
347. amitā ghās par lete lete kitāb paṛh rahī hai.
Amita grass on lying lying book reading is
Amita is reading a book lying on the grass.
348. bekār baiṭhe baiṭhe vah pāgal-sā ho rahā hai.
jobless sitting sitting he mad like becoming is
He is going crazy sitting unemployed.

It is, however, not necessary that the subject of the participle be identical to and coreferential with the subject of the finite verb. In the following sentences, the subject of the participle is identical to the object of the finite verb!

349. maī ne shyām ko apnī bāhan ke sāth bāzār jāte dekhā.
I ag. Shyam DO self's sister with shopping going saw
I saw Shyam going shopping with his sister.
350. usne savitā ko akele baiṭhe hue pāyā.
he ag. Savita DO alone seated found
He found Savita sitting alone.

This, however, is possible only if the finite verb belongs to a small set of verbs. The verbs *dekhnā* 'see', *pānā* 'find', and *pakarnā* 'catch' are members of this set.

There is another use of the present participle which has the form *Vte hī* and means 'as soon as V' for which the subject identity condition is not necessary irrespective of the verbs involved:

351. ghar pahūcte hī sushmā ne apnī saheliyō ko phón kiyā,
home arriving Sushma ag. self's friends DO phone did
Sushma phoned her girlfriends as soon as she arrived home.
352. mere bulātē hī vah daur kar āyā.
my calling he running came
He came running as soon as I called.

Notice again that if the subject of the participle is distinct from the subject of the finite verb, the subject of the participle appears with the inflected form of the genitive postposition *kā*, i.e., *ke* (see, e.g., 352).

6.12 The absolute participle, formed by adding *kar* to the bare stem of the verb, is also used as an adverbial. With the verb *kar* 'do', the absolute marker *kar* becomes *ke*, e.g., *khā kar* 'having eaten', but *kar ke* 'having done'. The absolute signals time, manner or reason, e.g.,

353. khānā khā kar sab log so gae.
meal having eaten all people sleep went
Having eaten, everyone went to sleep.
354. hās kar kanti ne merī sab bātē mān lī.
having laughed Kanti ag. my all suggestions accepted
Kanti accepted all my suggestions gladly.
355. bhāī kī harkatē dekh kar rājan ko gussā āyā.
brother of actions having seen Rajan dat. anger came
Rajan became angry seeing his brother's actions.
356. uskī saphaltā kī xabar sun kar mujhe
his success of news having heard I dat.
baṛi xushī huī.
much happiness happened
I was very happy to hear of his success.

In 353, the absolute expresses an action immediately prior to the action of the main verb; in 354, it expresses the manner in which the action was performed. In 355-356, the absolute functions as a reason adverb. It is not clear what determines these meanings. The meaning of manner adverbial depends upon the nature of the two verbs involved. In case the main verb is a motion verb and the absolute expresses a special kind of motion, the interpretation is that of a manner adverb. The same is true if the main verb is a verb of expression and the absolute is a verb of special kind of expression. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- 357a. bhāg kar ānā
running come
to come running
- b. uchal kar āge bārhnā
jumping forward progress
to come forward jumping, i.e., enthusiastically, or
literally jumping
- 358a. cillā kar kahnā
shouting say
to say shouting (or loudly)
- b. dāt pīs kar bolnā
teeth gnashing speak
to speak gnashing one's teeth (angrily)

A complete description of the properties of the verbs that determine particular readings must await further research.

Note that the subjects of the absolute and the finite verb must be identical and coreferential in such sentences. The following, where the object of the main verb is coreferential with the subject of the absolute, are ill-formed. Compare 362a with 362b, and 363a with 363b:

- 362a. rāj ghar āyā aur mā ne rāj ko apne pās bīthāyā.
Raj home came and mother ag. Raj DO self's near seated
Raj came home and mother seated him near her.
- b. *ghar ā kar mā ne rāj ko apne pās bīthāyā².
home coming mother ag. Raj DO self's near seated
(Raj) having come home, mother seated him near her.
- 363a. sushmā skūl āī to suresh ne use dekhā.
Sushma school came then Suresh ag. her saw
Suresh saw Sushma when she came to school.
- b. *skūl ā kar suresh ne sushmā ko dekhā.
school coming Suresh ag. Sushma DO saw
(Sushma) having come to school, Suresh saw her.

In the sense of 362a and 363a, the sentences 362b and 363b are ill-formed. Even restoring the subordinate subject and deleting the main clause object does not improve them.

- 364a. *rāj ghar ā kar mā ne apne pās bīthāyā.
b. *sushmā skūl ā kar suresh ne dekhā.

The only exception to this subject identity condition are sentences such as the following:

365. cār baj kar pāndrah mināt hue hai³.
four striking fifteen minutes happened have
It is fifteen after four.
366. kahānī mē age cal kar kyā hotā hai?
story in forward going what happens
What happens further on in the story?

367. bacpan kī saheliyō se mil kar uskā man prasanna ho gayā.
 childhood of friends with meeting her mind happy became
 Having met her friends from her childhood, she became happy.

365 illustrates a construction restricted to time expressions of this particular type, i.e., telling time; 366 is idiomatic; it is not clear what the subject of the absolute could be. 367 is quite regular. It raises interesting questions about the notion *subject*. Notice that 367 is understood as 368 :

368. vah apnī saheliyō se mili aur uskā man prasanna ho gayā.
 she self's friends with met and her mind happy became
 She met her friends and her mind became happy.

That is, the subject of the absolute and the possessor of the main clause subject are identical and coreferential. Note that it is only when the possessive expression involves 'inalienable' possession of a special kind that this is possible. The possessed must be a part of the possessor, either physical or abstract. Nouns denoting relationships or concrete possessions do not allow such constructions :

369. vah apnī saheliyō se mili aur uskī mā xush ho gaī.
 she self's friends with met and her mother happy became
 She met her friends and her mother became happy.
370. *saheliyō se mil kar uskī mā xush ho gaī.
 friends with meeting her mother happy became
 (She) having met her friends, her mother became happy.

In the sense of 369, 370 is ill-formed. It is well-formed only if mother is the subject of both the verbs. Also, if the possessor is a constituent of a non-subject noun phrase, the result is ill-formed:

371. *(shamit) thak kar maī ne shamit ke pair dabāe.
 (Shamit) tiring I ag. Shamit of legs pressed
 (Shamit) being tired, I pressed Shamit's legs.

For further discussion on possessives, the notion of subject in Hindi, and the absolute construction see sections 7.9 and 7.11.

6.13 The verbal noun is used in various adverbial expressions of time, reason, purpose, etc. Consider the following :

372. pitā jī ke kahne par ham khānā khāenge.
 father hon. of say on we meal eat will
 We will eat when father tells us to.
373. tumhāre niyamit rūp se patra na likhne se mā dukhī hāī.
 your regularly letter not write by mother sad is
 Mother is sad because of your not writing to her regularly.
374. maī ne apnī kitāb shamit ko paṛhne ke liye dī hai.
 I ag. self's book Shamit IO read for given have
 I have given Shamit my book to read.

The verbal noun is also used in a phrase that expresses contrary action :

375. mere manā karne par bhī vah calā gayā.
 my forbid do on emph. he left went
 He left even though I forbade him.

Generally, *par* is used for time, *se* for reason, and *ko* or *ke liye* for purpose. But, in some cases, *par* may be used in place of *se* in reason adverbs :

376. mere kuch bhī kahne par vah nārāz ho jātā hai.
 my anything emph. say on he angry becomes
 He gets angry if I say anything.
377. girne par coṭ lagegi.
 fall on hurt affect will
 You will be hurt if you fall.

6.2 Place, time and manner adverbs participate in comparative and superlative constructions; sentences 378-380 are understood as 378a-380a:

378. tumhāre ghar se merā ghar steshan ke zyādā nazdik hai.

your house than my house station of more close is
My house is closer than your house to the station.

378a. merā ghar aisi jagah hai jo us jagah se steshan ke
my house such place is which that place than station of
zyādā nazdik hai jahā tumhārā ghar hai.
more close is where your house is
My house is at a place which is closer to the station
than the place where your house is.

379. ramesh sanjay se pahle pārtī mē pahūc gayā thā.
Ramesh Sanjay than earlier party in reach gone had
Ramesh arrived at the party earlier than Sanjay.

379a. ramesh aise vakt pārtī mē pahūc gayā thā jo us
Ramesh such time party in reach gone had which that
vakt se pahle thā jab sanjay pārtī mē pahūcā.
time than early was when Sanjay party in arrived
Ramesh arrived at the party at a time which was
earlier than the time at which Sanjay arrived there.

380. mīnā kamre mujhse zyādā sāvdhānī se sāf kartī hai.
Mīna rooms me than more carefully clean does
Mīna cleans the rooms more carefully than I do.

380a. mīnā jis ḫhang se kamre sāf kartī hai vah us ḫhang
Mīna which manner with rooms clean does that manner
se zyādā sāvdhānī hai jisse maī kamre sāf kartī hū.
than more careful is which with I rooms clean do
The manner in which Mīna cleans the rooms is more
careful than the manner in which I clean the rooms.

378a-380a are not elegant, but they clarify the manner in which 378-380 are understood.⁴

Note that the time and manner adverbs that participate in the comparative and superlative constructions are derived from adjectives.

381. annū steshan' ke sabse nazdik hai.
Annu station of all than close is
Annu is closest to the station.

382. ramesh pārtī mē sabse pahle pahūcā.
Ramesh party in all than before reached
Ramesh arrived at the party earliest of all.

383. minā kamre sabse zyādā sāvdhānī se sāf kartī hai.
Mīna rooms all than more carefully clean does
Mīna cleans the rooms most carefully.

6.3 Adjectives and present and past participles used as adverbs agree with the subject or the object of the sentence as in the following :

384. suresh bhāgtā huā āyā.
Suresh running came
Suresh came running.

385. kumār baiṭhā huā kuch soc rahā thā.
Kumar seated something thinking was
Kumar was sitting and thinking of something.

386. jayā ne kavītā acchī likhī.
Jaya ag. poem well wrote
Jaya wrote the poem well.

387. sujātā ne citra acche banāe.
Sujātā ag. pictures well made
Sujata painted the pictures well.

In case of adjectives as in 386-387, agreement with the object is obligatory. In case of participles, agreement is not obligatory. The neutral forms, e.g., *hāste hue*, *bhāgte hue*, *leṭe hue*, *baiṭhe hue*, are just as appropriate. In case the adjective or participle refers to the object, and the object is followed by the postposition *ko*, the adjective or participle must be in the neutral form :

388. sītā ne sāriyō ko acchā rāg diyā.
Sita ag. sarees DO good dye gave
Sita dyed the sarees well.

389. maī ne laṭke ko rote hue dekhā.
I ag. boy DO crying saw
I saw the boy crying.

6.4 The following particles are usually discussed under adverbials (Guru 1920) : *hā* 'yes', *nahī*, *na*, *mat* 'not', *yō hī*, *aise hī*, *vaise hī*, 'for no particular reason', *hī* 'just, only', *bhī* 'also, even', *to*, *tak* 'till', *mātra* and *bhar* 'only', and *bahut* 'much, many, very'. The particles *hī*, *bhī*, *to*, *tak*, *mātra* and *bhar* are free-floating, and generally occur after the word which is in their scope, *hā* and *na* occur sentence initially, and the others occur as manner adverbs. The particles *hī*, *bhī*, etc., are used as follows :

390. vinā ne bahut bulāyā, magar sīmā ne uskī taraf dekhā
Vina ag much called but Sima ag. her direction
looked
tak nahī.
even not
Vina called her many times, but Sima did not even
look at her.
391. rāj usse mil bhar letā hai, usse bātē nahī kartā.
Raj him meet only takes him with talk to do
Raj only meets him, he does not talk with him.
392. maī ne bahut rokā, par vah calī hī gai.
I ag. much stopped but she left emph. went
I stopped her, but she left.
393. maī ne abhī kitāb dekhī bhī nahī hai.
I ag. yet book seen even not have
I have not even seen the book yet.
394. pahle baiṭh to jāo, phir bātē karengे.
first sit emph. go, then talk do will
First, do sit down, then we will talk.

When *hī*, *bhī* and *to* are used with nominals, they have a clusive sense ; i.e., *hī* is exclusive, *bhī* is inclusive, and *to* is neutral :

395. laṛke hī vahā the.
boys only there were
Only the boys were there.
396. ab sītā bhī ā jāegī.
now Sita also come go will
Presently, Sita will also arrive.

397. rām to calā gayā.
Ram left went
As regards Ram, he left.

The particles *bhar* and *mātra* indicate extent:

398. use mātra pāc rupaye cāhiye.
he dat. only five rupees need
He only needs five rupees.
399. vah din bhar paṣṭā rahā.
he day long reading kept
He kept reading all day.

The syntax of these particles is interesting but has not been worked out in detail⁵.

NOTES

- In Guru (1920), adverbs have been classified into basic, complex and local (*mūl*, *yaugik* and *sthānīya*). This classification is based on formal characteristics only. Basic adverbs are *acānak* 'suddenly', *dūr* 'far', etc; complex adverbs are *rāt ko* 'at night', *prem se* 'with affection', etc.; and local adverbs are nouns such as *patthar* 'stone', and adjectives such as *udās* 'sad', as used in the following sentences :
 - (i) tum merī madad patthar karoge.
you may help stone do will
You and help me !
 - (ii) laṛkā udās baiṭhā thā.
boy sad seated was
The boy was sitting sad.
- This sentence is well-formed if the mother is considered the subject of the absolute, too.
- See Guru (1920 : 480), for a number of such idiomatic uses of the absolute.
- There are proposals to consider adverbials and postpositions as higher predicates. See Steffensen (1971) on such a proposal with regard to Hindi. See Kachru (1966) for a discussion of comparison of adverbials.
- In Verma (1968 and 1971), there is a more extended discussion of the particles *hī*, *bhī* and *to*.

THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

7

THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

7.0 In this chapter, the following types of sentences are discussed in some detail: intransitive, transitive, causative, passive, negative, interrogative, and imperative. In addition, the devices used to express generic and possessive meanings are briefly discussed in 7.8 and 7.9 respectively. The properties of dative subject sentences are discussed in 7.10. The following sections contain a discussion of the notion 'subject' in Hindi (7.11), theme, focus and word order (7.12), the meaning and use of the Hindi tense and aspect (7.13), and compound and conjunct verbs (7.14).

7.1 It has already been pointed out that most intransitive verbs are change-of-state verbs. Only a few of these verbs are stative or active. Semantically, the inchoatives are non-volitional. The morphologically productive device of causativization or transitivization yields parallel verbs which are active and volitional. Compare the sets of sentences below :

400. usse (galatī se) kitāb phaṭ gaī.
he by mistake by book tear went

He tore the book accidentally. (lit. The book got torn by him by mistake.)

401. usne (jān-būjh kar) kitāb phāṛ di.
he ag. knowingly book tear gave
He tore the book deliberately.

402. mujhse āj ek baṛī galatī ho gaī, maī āpkā patra dāk
me by today a big mistake happened I your letter mail
mē dālnā bhūl gayā.
in put forget went

I made a big mistake today (lit. a big mistake happened by me today), I forgot to mail your letter.

403. maī ne baṛī galatī kī jo us jaise nälāyak ko kām saūpā.
I ag. much mistake did that he like worthless to work
entrusted
I made a big mistake in entrusting the job to that irresponsible person.

This does not, however, mean that in actual usage, active/volitional verbs could not be used to talk about unintentional actions or non-volitional events. The stylistic effect of such usage is varied. Depending upon the extra-linguistic context, the use of a volitional verb has the effect of a joke, accusation, or personification in case of inanimate subjects. Similarly, the use of a non-volitional has the effect of a plea of innocence:

404. itnī zor se na gāo, kān ke parde phaṭ rahe haī.
so loudly not sing ear of drums tearing are
Don't sing so loudly, my ear-drums are splitting.

405. itnī zor se kyō gā rahe ho, kān ke parde phāṛne haī?
so loudly why singing are ear of drums tear have to
Why are you singing so loudly, do you intend to tear my ear-drums?

406. nitū mācis se khel rahī thī, uskā hāth jal gayā hai.
Nitu matches with playing was, her hands burn gone
have
Nitu was playing with matches, her hands are burnt.

407. bevakūf bacce ne apnā hāth jalā liyā.
foolish child ag. his hand burn took
The foolish child has burnt his hand.

408. maī ne baṛī sāvdhānī se khānā pakāyā,
I ag. very carefully meal cooked
phir bhī cāval jal gae.
still rice burn went

I cooked very carefully, even so the rice got burnt.

409. sabhī sāvdhānī bartī gāī, phir bhī rogī ko galat suī
all care used was still patient to wrong injection
lag gāī.
apply went
All care was taken, still, the patient got the wrong
injection.

Earlier it was pointed out that the only clearly stative verb in Hindi is *ho* 'be' which occurs with nominal, adjectival and adverbial complements. In case of adjectival complements, the stative-inchoative distinction is expressed by *ho* 'be' and 'become'; in case of nominal complements, stative *ho* is replaced by inchoative *ban* 'become' in the inchoative:

410. kām kāthīn hai.
job difficult is
The job is difficult.
411. kām kāthīn ho gayā.
job difficult become went
The job became difficult.
412. sītā accī abhinetrī hai.
Sita good actress is
Sita is a good actress.
413. sītā accī abhinetrī ban gāī.
Sita good actress become went
Sita became a good actress.

There are verbs such as *baithnā* 'sit', *leñnā* 'lie down', *sonā* 'sleep', which are either not used in the continuous aspect, or if used, the continuous and the perfective aspect mean the same thing, e.g.,

414. *rām baith rahā hai.
Ram sitting is
Ram is sitting.
415. rām baithā hai.
Ram seated is
Ram is seated.

416. *kamlā leñ rahī hai.
Kamla lying is
Kamla is lying down.
417. Kamlā leñī hai.
Kamla lie+perf. is
Kamla is lying down.
418. bacce so rahe hāī.
children sleeping are
The children are sleeping.
419. bacce soe hāī.
children asleep are
The children are asleep.

In Hindi, *baiñhnā* and *leñnā* are punctual verbs, hence the use of the continuous aspect with these verbs is ungrammatical. Some other verbs which also express punctual actions, if used in the continuous, suggest repeated action rather than continuous action, e.g., *kūdnā* 'jump up and down', *phudaknā* 'hop'.

7.2 Most transitive verbs are volitional verbs of action. Verbs such as *bhūlnā* 'forget' and *jānnā* 'know' are non-volitional. The verb *samajhnā* 'understand', though transitive, is neutral with respect to volition. It can be used in both senses :

420. maī sab samajhtā hū.
I all understand
I comprehend everything.
421. baccō ne hisāb samajh liyā.
children ag. math understand took
The children understood the math problem (i.e., they learnt how to do it).

The verb *khonā* 'lose' is both intransitive and transitive:

422. usse kalam kho gāī.
him by pen lose went
He lost the pen (lit. The pen got lost by him).
423. isne merī cābhī kho dī.
he ag. my key lose gave
This one lost my key (implies accusation).

The verb *jānnā* 'know' is stative and can not be used in the imperative or in continuous aspect. Verbs such as *lagnā* 'feel' or *mānnā* 'accept' that take sentential complements, or an object and a noun, or adjective as object complement are interesting. Compare the following :

424. mujhe lagtā hai ki rām bīmār hai.

I dat. feels that Ram ill is

It seems to me that Ram is ill.

- 424a. mujhe rām bīmār lagtā hai.

I dat. Ram ill feels

Ram seems ill to me.

425. māf māntī hū ki sītā merī bahan hai.

I accept that Sita my sister is

I accept that Sita is my sister.

- 425a. māf sītā ko apnī bahan māntī hū.

I Sita DO self's sister consider

I consider Sita my sister.

Sentence 424 does not express direct experience, 424a does. Sentence 424a is inappropriate if the speaker has not seen Ram, or otherwise has been in direct contact with him. Sentence 425 is factive, 425a is not. Sentence 425a is inappropriate if Sita is a sibling of the speaker.

The verbs *honā* 'be' and *karnā* 'do' are paired as intransitive and transitive in the same way in which the morphologically related verbs such as *girnā* 'fall' and *girānā* 'fell' are. This is discussed in detail in the following section.

7.3 The causatives in Hindi have the property of *if*-verbs (Karttunen 1971). That is, the positive sentence in the perfective implies the action or process expressed by the non-causal verb to have been completed:

426. annū ne tasvīr banaī.

Annu ag. picture made

Annu drew a picture.

427. tasvīr banī

picture got made

The picture was drawn.

428. manju ne ghar sāf kiyā.

Manju ag. house clean did

Manju cleaned the house.

429. ghar sāf huā.

house clean happened

The house was cleaned.

Sentences 426 and 428 imply 427 and 429 respectively. The negatives, however, do not imply that the action or process did not take place:

430. sīmā ne kapre nahī dhoe.

Sima ag. clothes not washed

Sima did not wash the clothes.

431. kapre nahī dhule.

clothes not washed

The clothes did not get washed.

Sentence 430 does not imply sentence 431. This can be seen from the following coordinated sentences:

432. *rakshā ne kurtā siyā magar kurtā nahī silā.

Raksha ag. shirt sewed but shirt not got sewed

Raksha sewed a shirt but the shirt did not get sewed.

433. *maī ne baccō ko nahlā diyā hai par baccō ne nahī nahāyā hai.

I ag. children DO bathe given have but children ag.

not bathed have

I have bathed the children but the children have not had a bath.

434. aruṇā ne mez nahī lagāī per mez lag cukī hai.

Aruna ag. table not set but table set completed is

Aruna did not set the table but the table is set.

435. hamne darvāzā nahī kholā, vah āp hī khul gayā.

we ag. door not opened it self open went

We did not open the door, it opened by itself.

In 432-433, the second conjunct contradicts the implication of the first, hence, the sentences are not well-formed. In 434-435, there is no such implication involved, therefore, these are

well-formed. That is, a negative causative does not negate the action or process expressed by the corresponding non-causal; it only negates the initiator agent's role in the action or process.

On the basis of their behavior in the causative sentences, transitive verbs of action are divided into two groups. Affective verbs are verbs such as *khānā* 'eat', *pīnā* 'drink', *sīkhnā* 'learn', *samajhnā* 'understand', *pahannā* 'wear', and *oṛhnā* 'cover oneself'. The agents of these verbs appear as recipients or indirect objects in the causative sentence:

436. *rajnī sitār sīkhtī hai.*

Rajni sitar learns

Rajni learns sitar.

437. *ustād rajnī ko sitār sikhātē hai.*

teacher Rajni IO sitar learn+causes

The teacher teaches Rajni sitar.

This is not surprising. Note that the subject of the affective verb is the beneficiary of the action of the verb, too. Hence, these verbs do not occur with an overt benefactive phrase in which a beneficiary other than the subject is identified. Compare the behavior of the affective and non-affective verbs with regard to a benefactive phrase:

438. **pūrnimā ne mā ke liye shāl oṛhā.*

Purnima ag. mother for shawl covered herself

Purnima covered herself with a shawl for the mother.

439. *ramesh ne naukar ke liye patra likh diyā.*

Ramesh ag. servant for letter write gave

Ramesh wrote a letter for the servant, (i.e., on his behalf).

There is another sentence, identical to 438, which means 'for the sake of' or 'in order to please', which is grammatical :

440. *pūrnimā ne mā kī xātir shāl oṛh liyā.*

Purnima ag. mother of sake shawl covered herself

Purnima covered herself with a shawl for the sake of her mother.

But, notice that 439 is not the same as 441:

441. *ramesh ne naukar kī xātir patra likh diyā.*

Ramesh ag. servant of sake letter write gave

Ramesh wrote the letter for the sake of the servant.

In case of *likh* 'write', it is possible to have both the benefactive and the 'for the sake of' expression in the same sentence, in case of *oṛh* 'cover oneself', that is impossible:

442. *ramesh ne naukar kī xātir uske bēṭe ke liye āvedan-patra likh diyā.*

write gave

Ramesh wrote an application for the servant's son for the sake of his servant.

443. **pūrnimā ne mā kī xātir sīmā ke liye shāl oṛh liyā.*

Purnima ag. mother of sake Sima for shawl covered herself

*Purnima covered with a shawl for the sake of her mother for Sima.

Notice that whereas with other transitive verbs, either the explicator *lenā* 'take' or *denā* 'give' can co-occur, only *lenā* 'take' occurs with the affective verbs:

444. *anīsh ne dūdh pī liyā/*diyā.*

Anish ag. milk drink took gave

Anish drank up the milk.

445. *savitā ne ciṭṭhī paṛh li/dī.*

Savita ag. letter read took gave

Savita read the letter to herself/ to someone.

The agents of affective verbs are recipients also ; the agents of other transitive verbs are not. As such, the agents of non-affective transitive verbs appear as mediary agents in causative sentences:

446. *hamne rāgrez se kapre rāgvāe.*

we ag. dyer by clothes dye caused

We had the clothes dyed by a professional dyer.

447. usne darzī se kurte silvāe.
he ag. tailor by shirts sew caused
He had the shirts sewed by a tailor.

Although the causative in Hindi has an implicational meaning of causation, it does not have a coercive meaning. In order to express a coercive meaning, an adverb such as *zabardastī* 'with force' has to be used:

448. maī ne usse zabardastī darvāzā khulvāyā.
I ag. him by with force door open caused
I made him open the door (i.e., by forcing him to do so).
449. simmī ne rāmū ko dhamkā kar-usse tāfī xaridvā lī.
Simmi ag. Ramu DO threatening him toffee by cause
buy took
Simmi made Ramu buy toffee by threatening him.

Alternatively, a periphrastic construction may be used to express coercive causation:

450. sumit ne rajnī ko ghar jāne par majbūr kiyā.
Sumit ag. Rajni DO home go on force did
Sumit forced Rajni to go home.
451. maī ne usko sangīt sikhne ke liye bādhya kiyā.
I ag. her music learn for force did
I forced her to take music lessons.

In some works, it has been suggested that some causative verbs mean *to help to V* rather than *to cause to V* (Bahl 1967a; Verma 1975); this, however, is not correct. Sentences such as the following do not mean the initiator agent helped the real agent to perform the action:

452. maī ne dhobī se kapre dhulvāe.
I ag. washerman by clothes wash caused
I got my clothes washed by the washerman.
453. mā̄ ne bēṭe se patra likhvāyā.
mother ag. son by letter write caused
The mother had the son write the letter.

There are, however, contexts where a causative may be used to suggest a need for help:

454. (porter to a customer)
bābūjī, baksā bhārī hai, zarā uṭhvā dē.
sir box heavy is bit raise give
Sir, the box is heavy, please have it lifted (i.e. help me in lifting it).

It is inappropriate for a porter to suggest that the customer lift the box up. Therefore, he suggests the customer have the box lifted by someone so that the porter can carry it on his head. Similarly, depending upon the context, a causative may be used along with a contradictory clause conjoined to the causative clause by an adversative conjunction as in 455:

455. *maī isko roz subah-shām dūdh pilātī hū̄ par yah
I him daily morning evening milk drink cause but he
pitā hī nahī̄.
drink emph. not
*I make him drink milk twice a day, but he does not
drink it.

The meaning conveyed by 455 is vague; it may mean that the child does not drink enough milk to satisfy the mother, or that he drinks it reluctantly, or that the mother tries to have the child drink the milk but he does not. These meanings can be made explicit by using the following devices:

- 455a. maī isko roz dūdh pilānē kī koshish kartī hū̄...
I him everyday milk drink+cause attempt do
I try to make him drink milk everyday...
455b. ... par yah baṛe beman se pītā hai.
but he very reluctantly drinks
... but he drinks it very reluctantly.
455c. ... par yah thik se nahī̄ pītā.
but he properly not drink
... but he does not drink it properly.

In the judgement of speakers of Hindi, the use of the causative in Hindi is not felicitous unless the user of the

construction believes that the caused event or action has taken place, is taking place or will take place. If this were not the case, all the following should be considered well-formed, but they are not:

456. *mai̯ ne pichle sāl do makān banvāe par makān nahī bane.
I ag. last year two houses got built but houses not built
*Last year, I got two houses built but the houses were not built.
457. *ritā kapre dhulvātī hai par kapre nahī dhulte.
Rita clothes gets washed but clothes not washed
*Rita gets the clothes washed but the clothes do not get washed.
458. *kumār farnicar kalkatte mē banvāegā par farnicar
Kumar furniture Calcutta in get made will but they nahī banenge.
not get made will
*Kumar will get the furniture made in Calcutta but it will not be made.
459. *laṛkā gāē carā rahā hai par gāē nahī car rahī haī.
boy cows grazing is but cows not grazing are
*The boy is grazing the cows but the cows are not grazing.

Note also the use of the emphatic particle *hī* in 455. Given some such clue, depending upon the context, all the sentences in 456-459 can receive interpretations similar to 455. It is significant that the speakers of Dakhini Hindi-Urdu are not willing to grant even these interpretations, they reject sentences such as 455-459 as ungrammatical.

In causative sentences, the initiator agent is the subject, although he himself is not the performer of the action. As such, it is the initiator agent that controls reflexive pronominals, and is the referent of the adverb that typically refers to the subject of the volitional act. Consider the following:

460. yogesh ne ajay ko apnī tasvīrē dikhāī.
Yogesh ag. Ajay IO self's picture showed
Yogesh showed his pictures to Ajay.

- 460a. yogesh ne ajay ko uskī tasvīrē dikhāī.
Yogesh showed Ajay his (Ajay's) pictures.
461. sushmā ne shailjā ko apnī saṛī pahnāī.
Sushma ag. Shailja IO self's saree wear caused
Sushma dressed Shailja in her (Sushma's) saree.
- 461a. sushmā ne shailjā ko uskī saṛī pahnāī.
Sushma dressed Shailja in her (Shailja's) saree.

In 460 and 461, the reflexive *apnī* refers to the initiator agent. Notice that in a non-causal sentence, the reflexive can refer to the real agent of the non-causal 'see' and 'wear' i.e., to Ajay and Shailja:

462. ajay ne apnī tasvīr dekhī.
Ajay ag. self's picture saw
Ajay saw his (own) picture.
463. shailjā ne apnī saṛī pahnī.
Shailja ag. self's saree wore
Shailja wore her (own) saree.

Although the causative sentence, as stated above, implies the non-causal, the reference of the reflexive pronoun in the non-causal does not carry over to the causative sentence. In case a causative implying 462 or 463 is intended, the corresponding causative will have to contain ordinary possessive pronouns. Similarly, the adverbial in the following sentences does not refer to the agent, it refers to the initiator:²

464. mā ne sāvdhānī se mālī se guldān sajvāe.
Mother ag. carefully gardener by vases decorate+caused
Mother had the gardener arrange the flower vases carefully.
465. ghar ā kar usne sabko cāy pilāī.
home coming she ag. all IO tea drink+caused
Having come home, she offered everyone tea.
466. khānā pakāte hue ratnā mīnā kō kahānī sunā rahī thī.
meal cooking Ratna Mina IO story listen+causing was
Cooking a meal, Ratna was telling Mina the story.

Notice, again, that in non-causal sentences, adverbs may refer to the agents of *sajāna* 'decorate', *pinā* 'drink' and *sunnā* 'listen':

467. mālī ne sāvdhānī se guldān sajāe.
gardener ag. carefully vases decorated
The gardener arranged the vases carefully.
468. ghar ā kar sab ne cāy pī.
home coming all ag. tea drank
Having come home, everyone drank tea.
469. khānā pakāte hue mīnā kahānī sun rahī thī.
meal cooking Mina story listening was
Cooking a meal, Mina was listening to the story.

In causative sentences, however, no such adverbials that refer to the agent occur. Time and place adverbials behave differently from one another. Compare the following :

470. *mā ne baṛī sāvdhānī se mālī se baṛē shauk se
mother ag. very carefully gardener by very interest with
phūl lagvāe.
flower arrange+caused
*The mother-very carefully had the gardener arrange
the flowers with great interest.
471. maī ne landan mē rehte hue varmājī se banāras
I ag. London in living Mr. Varma by Banaras
mē makān banvāyā.
in house got built
Living in London, I got a house built in Banaras by
Mr. Varma.

Since the place adverbial does not involve reference to volition or agenthood, 471 is grammatical. Notice, however, that the causative in Hindi indicates direct involvement of the initiator and mediating agents. As such, two different time adverbials in the causative sentence, one referring to the initiation and the other to the actual carrying out of the action, lead to ill-formed sentences:

472. *āj subah maī ne shyām se dophar ko patra
today morning I ag. Shyam by afternoon letter
likhvāyā.
write+caused
*This morning I caused Shyam to write a letter this
afternoon.

The causativization process in Hindi results in sets of verbs such as the following:³

<i>intransitive</i>	<i>transitive</i>	<i>causative</i>
girnā 'fall'	girānā	girvānā
calnā 'move, walk'	calānā	calvānā
hāsnā 'laugh'	hāsānā	hāsvānā
sūkhnā 'dry'	sukhānā	sukhvānā
b. affective	double transitive	causative
khānā 'eat'	khilānā	khilvānā
pahannā 'wear'	pahanānā	pahanvānā
sīkhnā 'learn'	sikhānā	sikhvānā
dekhnā 'see'	dikhānā	dikhvānā
c. transitive	causative	
karnā 'do'	karānā/karvānā	
pakaṛnā 'catch'	pakaṛvānā	
gānā 'sing'	gavānā	
kahnā 'say'	kahvānā	
d. double transitive	causative	
denā 'give'	dilānā/dilvānā	
likhnā 'write'	likhvānā	
bhejanā 'send'	bhijvānā	
parosnā 'serve'	parosvānā	

The transitive and the double transitive in the above a and b involve direct causation ; the causatives in a-d involve indirect causation, for example:

474. rāj ne gāṛī calāī.
Raj ag. car move+caused
Raj drove the car.
475. shyām ne mohan ko ṭopī pahnāī.
Shyam ag. Mohan IO cap wear+caused
Shyam made Mohan wear a cap.

476. somesh ne rāj se gāṛī calvāī.

Somesh ag. Raj by car drive+caused

Somesh made Raj drive the car.

477. shailesh ne shyām se mohan ko ṭopī pahavāī.

Shailesh ag. Shyam by Mohan IO cap wear+cause+caused

Shailesh made Shyam make Mohan wear a cap.

In both 474 and 476, Raj is the driver of the car, he is the one to make the car move. In 476, Somesh indirectly causes the car to move. Similarly, in 475 and 477, Shyam is the direct causer, and in 477, Shailesh is the indirect causer. The notions direct vs. indirect causation are grammatical. In the real world, what is expressed as direct causation linguistically may not actually be a result of the initiator agents direct involvement:

478. usne apne baccō ko B.A. tak paṛhāyā.

he ag. self's children DO B.A. till study+caused
He educated his children up to the B.A. level.

479. sharmājī ne mujhe angrezi paṛhāī.

Sharma hon. ag. me English study+caused
Mr. Sharma taught me English.

Notice that in 479, Mr. Sharma is directly involved in causing the pupil to study ; in 478, the parent is only indirectly involved. Yet, to the extent that parents make the policy decisions, the use of the direct causative is not inappropriate.⁴

7.4 The passive sentence has already been discussed briefly in section 4.35. The structure of the passive and the impersonal sentences is roughly as follows :

480. Passive: (Agent+se) Obj. verb+perf. *jā*+AT

481. Impersonal: (Agent+se) verb+perf. *jā*+AT
where the AT refers to the aspect, tense and other auxiliaries.

Since 480 and 481 are identical except for the constituent object in 480, I shall use passive to refer to both the constructions henceforth. I shall refer to the impersonal construction

only in contexts where it is necessary to distinguish between passive and impersonal. The passive with agent is normally used in the negative to express the agent's incapability to do something:

482. rajnī se miṭhāiyā na khaī gaī.

Rajni by sweets not eaten were
Rajni could not eat the sweets.

483. usse dhūp mē baiṭhā nahī jā rahā thā.

him by sun in sat not be-ing was
He could not sit in the sun.

The agentless passive has no such capabilitive meaning:

484. patra bhej diye gae.

letters send given were
The letters were sent.

485. makān girā diyā gayā.

house fell given was
The house was demolished.

The impersonal is not used in the agentless construction except in the following manner:

486. calā jāe.

move be
Let us move, or, please move.

487. abhī baiṭhā jāe,

now sit be
Let us sit some more, or, please sit some more.

The capabilitive meaning of the passive is not the same as the capabilitive meaning of *saknā* 'can' or *pānā* 'to manage to V' (Pandharipande: forthcoming):

488. saṛkē band thī, isliye maī vahā nahī jā sakā.

roads closed were so I there not go could
The roads were closed, so I could not go there.

489. uskī tāg tūt gai thī isliye vah skūl nahī jā sakā.
his leg break went so he school not go could
His leg was broken, so he could not go to school.
490. baṛī koshish kī phir bhī vahā na jā sakā.
much effort did even so there not go could
I tried very hard, but could not go there.
491. baṛī koshishō ke bād vah parīkshā mē saphal ho pāyā.
much effort later he exams. in successful be managed
He managed to be successful in the examination after
much effort.
492. *binā kisī koshish ke vah saphal ho pāyā.
without any efforts he successful be managed
*He managed to be successful without any effort.
493. ḫāgō mē dard ke māre usse calā nahī jā rahā thā.
legs in pain of because him walked not being was
He could not walk because of pain in his legs.
494. *sarkē band thī isliye usse cālā nahī jā rahā thā.
roads closed were so him by walked not being was
The roads were closed so he could not walk.

sak 'can' is neutral as to whether the ability is hampered by internal reasons (489) or external reasons (488), or in spite of efforts (490). *pā* 'to manage' is used to convey that the ability involves effort (cf. 491-492). The passive indicates ability affected by internal reasons only (cf. 493-494). This can further be seen in sentences such as the following:

495. ḫakhō mē taklif kī vajah se usse paṛhā nahī gayā.
eyes in trouble of reason by him by read not was
He could not read because of trouble in his eyes.
496. gusse ke māre rajnī se kuch bolā bhī nahī gayā.
anger of reason Rajni by anything say emph. not was
Rajni could not even say anything because of anger.
497. xushī ke māre usse rahā na gayā.
happiness of reason him by stay not was
He could not contain himself for happiness.

The passive and the impersonal are used in questions and answers in non-negative sentences also, e.g.,

498. āpsē itnī dūr calā jāegā?
you by so far walked be will
Will you be able to walk so far?
499. khüb calā jāegā.
much walked be will
Of course, I will be able to.
500. rājan se makke kī roṭiyā khaī jāengī?
Rajan by corn of bread eaten be will
Will Rajan be able to eat corn bread?
501. zarūr khāi jāengī.
certainly eaten be will
He will certainly be able to.

Even agentless passives imply volitional acts, compare:

502. makān jal gayā
house burn went
The house burnt down.
503. makān jalā diyā gayā.
house burn given was
The house was burnt down.
504. usko kāfī paise mile.
him much money obtained
He got a great deal of money.
505. usko kāfī paise diye gae.
him much money given was
He was given much money.

Sentences 503 and 505 imply 'by someone'; 502 and 504 do not. (Kachru 1973, 1976 and Pandharipande : forthcoming).

Since passive implies volitional acts, inchoative and dative subject verbs are not used in the passive. Neither are transitive verbs such as *jānnā* 'know' or *bhūlnā* 'forget.' Agentless passive in present and past imperfect has the meaning 'customary action' (Pandharipande : forthcoming) :

506. ladākh mē lausar bare utsāh se manāyā jātā hai.

Ladakh in Lausar much enthusiasm with celebrated
is
Lausar is celebrated with much enthusiasm in
Ladakh.

507. hamāre yahā dahej mē pahle rupyā-paisā nahī diyā jātā thā.
our society dowry in earlier money not given was
Earlier, in our society, money was not given as part of
a dowry.

In passive with agent, in addition to *se*, the postposition (*ke*) *dvārā* 'by' is also used, especially in officialese and journales. The use of (*ke*) *dvārā* in stead of *se* blocks the capability meaning; also, with affective verbs such as *khānā* 'eat', *dekhnā* 'see', (*ke*) *dvārā* is not felt to be appropriate. It is used with verbs that are appropriate in formal contexts such as *prakāshit karnā* 'publish', *ghoṣṇā karnā* 'proclaim'. Compare, for example :

508. Rām ke dvārā pustak paṭhī gai
Ram by book read was
The book was read by Ram.
509. *thakāvat ke māre uske dvārā bolā tak nahī gayā.
tiredness of reason him by spoken even not was
He could not even speak, he was so tired.
510. sarkār dvārā kāryālayō mē hindī kā prayog baṛhāne
government by offices in Hindi of use increase
kā prayās kiyā jā rahā hai.
of effort done being is
Efforts are being made by the government to increase
the use of Hindi in offices.
511. hamāri sansthā dvārā prakāshit kī gaī pustakē bahut
our institution by published done books much
lokpriya ho rahī hai.
popular becoming are
The books published by our institution are becoming
very popular.

The passive is used in formal contexts, or in contexts

where the agent is either unknown or irrelevant. It is also used to maintain the theme of the discourse.

512. dīvālī hinduō kā ek baṛā parva hai, yah aksar aktūbar Diwali Hindus of a big festival is it often October yā navambar mē manāyā jātā hai. is mauke par xās or November in celebrated is this occasion on special pakvān banāye jāte hai. dostō aur rishtedārō ko dāvtē dishes made are friends and relatives to feasts dī jātī hai.
given are
shām ko dip jalāe jāte hai aur khūb paṭākhe bhī evening at lamps lit and much fireworks also phoṛē jātē hai.
burst are
Diwali is a big festival of the Hindus. It is usually celebrated in October or November. On this occasion, special dishes are cooked and friends and relatives are invited. In the evening, lamps are lit and fireworks are displayed.

- 513 kendriya sarkār se jo bhī patra āte hai,
central government from whatever letters come
ek xās misil mē rakh diye jāte hai. āvashyaktānusār a special file in kept are according to necessity un par kārrvāī kī jātī hai.
them on action done is
The letters that come from the central government are kept in a special file. They are acted upon as the need arises.

7.5 In Hindi, three negative particles are used i.e. *na*, *nahī* and *mat*. The particles *na* and *mat* are used in restricted contexts, *nahī* is the general negative marker. The following are negative sentences :

514. laṛka lambā nahī hai.
boy tall not is
The boy is not tall.

515. sumit ghar mē nahī hai.
Sumit home in not is
Sumit is not at home.
516. baccā nahī girā.
child not fell
The child did not fall.
517. rām axbār nahī paṛhtā.
Ram newspaper not reads
Ram does not read newspaper.
518. Savitā ne rādhā ko patra nahī likhā.
Savita ag. Radha IO letter not wrote
Savita did not write a letter to Radha.
519. ramesh ne mohan se kām nahī karvāyā.
Ramesh ag. Mohan by work not do+caused
Ramesh did not get the work done by Mohan.

Note that the negative particle is in pre-verbal position. The particle *mat* is used in familiar imperative:⁵

520. mat jā!
not go
Don't go!
521. mat jāo!
not go
Don't go!

The particle *na* is used in polite imperatives and with non-finite verbs:

522. na jāiyel
not go
Please do not go!
523. vahā na jānā hī acchā hai.
There not go emph. good is
It is best not to go there.

Normally, the entire predicate is in the scope of negation, i.e. sentences 514-519 mean 'It is not the case that the boy is tall', or 'It is not the case that Sumit is at home'. In specific contexts, however, the scope of negation may be confined to

some particular constituent of the sentence. In such cases the item under the scope of negation is usually the focus of the sentence (see 2.3)⁶. In the following, the focussed element is italicized:

524. mujhe bhūkh nahī lagī hai (pyās lagī hai).
I dat. hunger not felt has thirst felt has
I am not hungry (I am thirsty).
525. aruṇā kahāniyā nahī likhtī (kavitā ē likhtī hai).
Aruna stories not writes poems writes
Aruna does not write short stories (she writes poems).
526. shilā mashīn se karhāi nahī kartī (hāth se kartī hai).
Sheela machine with embroidery not does hand by
does
Sheela does not do machine embroidery (she does
hand embroidery).
527. rajnī landan nahī gaī (līds gaī).
Rajni London not went Leeds went
Rajni did not go to London (she went to Leeds).

Normally, if there is an adverbial in the sentence, it seems to attract negation (Quirk et al., 1972) :

528. rām kāṭe se nahī khātā.
Ram fork with not eats
Ram does not eat with a fork.
529. rādhā ne cāval naram nahī pakāe.
Radha ag. rice soft not cooked
Radha did not cook the rice soft.

Sentence 528-529 do not assert that Ram does not eat or that Radha did not cook the rice; rather, they assert that Ram does not use a fork, and that the rice was not cooked soft.

To negate the aspect or tense, *nahī* is placed just before the tense-marker; if the tense-marker is a bound form, then just after it :

530. sudhā skūl jatī nahī hai, jatī thī.
Sudha school goes not used to go
Sudha does not go to school, she used to go.

531. ram gayā nahī, jāegā.
Ram went not go will
Ram didn't go, he will go.

It is not possible to negate modals or explicator verbs.

The participial modifiers and adverbials do not occur in the negative. The absolute has a special negative form :

532. vah binā khānā khāe so gayā.
he without meal eating sleep went
He went to sleep without eating.
533. māī āpse binā mile kaise calā jātā ?
I you with without meeting how leave go
How could I leave without meeting you?

In case the particle *na* is used in an absolute, the meaning is 'instead of' :

534. kalkatte na jā kar bambaī cale jāo.
Calcutta not going Bombay leave go
Go to Bombay instead of Calcutta.
535. vah frānsīsī na sīkh kar jāpānī sīkh rahā hai.
he French not learning Japanese learning is
He is learning Japanese instead of French.

If there is an indefinite determiner or an indefinite noun in the sentence, that always attracts the negative :

536. koī laṛkā nahī āyā.
some boy not came
No boy came.
537. use koī kitāb nahī milī.
he dat. some book not obtained
He did not get any book.
538. usne kuch nahī kahā.
he ag. something not said
He said nothing.
539. koī nahī āyā.

someone not came
No one came.

Theoretically, 536-539 should be ambiguous between the translations given above, and the senses given in 536a-539a :

- 536a. Some boy did not come.
537a. He did not get some book.
538a. He did not say something.
539a. Someone did not come.

In actual usage, however, sentences such as 536-539 are not ambiguous. In case the senses in 536a-539a are to be expressed, cleft sentences such as the following are used :

540. koī laṛkā hai jo nahī āyā.
some boy is who not came
There is some boy who did not come.
541. koī (aisī) kitāb hai jo use nahī milī.
some such book is which he dat. not got
There is some book that he did not get.
542. kuch thā jo usne nahī kahā.
something was which he ag. not said
There was something that he did not say.
543. koī thā jo nahī āyā.
someone was who not came
There was someone who did not come.

In case the readings in 536-539 are to be expressed with no possibility of their being understood as 536a-539a, the emphatic particles are used (Bhatia 1978) :

544. koī bhī laṛkā nahī āyā.
No boy came.
545. use koī bhī kitāb nahī milī.
He did not get any book.
546. usne kuch bhī (to) nahī kahā.
He did not say anything (at all).
547. koī bhī (to) nahī āyā.
No one (at all) came.

The interaction of negative and non-factive predicates is interesting. Consider the following:

548. mujhe lagtā hai ki koī ghar mē nahī̄ hai.

I dat. feel that someone home in not is
I feel that no one is at home.

549. mujhe nahī̄ lagtā ki koī (bhī) ghar mē hai.

I dat. not feel that someone home in is
I don't think that anyone is at home.

550. vah cāhtā hai ki tum na jāo.

he wants that you not to go
He wants that you should not go.

551. vah nahī̄ cāhtā ki tum jāo.

he not wants that you go
He does not want you to go.

In case of predicates such as *lagnā* 'feel, seem', *cāhnā* 'wish', and *socnā* 'think', the negative may be in the main clause and yet negate the subordinate clause. This is clear from the above sentences, where 548-549 and 550-551 are understood in the same way. With other verbs, however, this does not work :

552. maī jāntā hū ki rām yahā nahī̄ hai.

I know that Ram here not is
I know that Ram is not here.

553. maī nahī̄ jāntā thā ki rām yahā hai.

I not know was that Ram here is
I did not know that Ram is here.

554. rāj ko xabar milī ki uske pitā ab svastha haī

Raj dat. news got that his father now healthy is
Raj came to know that his father was now well.

555. rāj ko xabar nahī̄ milī ki uske pitā ab svastha haī.

Raj dat. news not got that his father now healthy is
Raj did not come to know that his father was now well.

Sentences 552-553 and 554-555 are not understood in the same way.

With verbs such as *lagnā*, the negative may be in the main clause and yet a negative polarity item such as *zarā bhī* 'not even a bit' may be in the subordinate clause, though normally such items do not occur in positive clause :

556. *usne merī zarā bhī madad kī.

he ag. my even a bit help did
*He helped me even a bit.

557. mujhe nahī̄ lagtā ki vah merī zarā bhī madad karegā.

I dat. not feel that he my even a bit help do will
I do not feel that he will help me even a bit.

With verbs such as *patā honā* 'be aware', this is not possible :

558. mujhe patā hai ki rīmā apnī bahan se zarā bhī nahī̄
I dat. know that Rima self's sister from even a bit
not
dārtī.
fears.

I know that Rima is not a bit afraid of her sister.

559. *mujhe nahī̄ patā ki rīmā apnī bahan se zarā bhī
dārtī hai.

I dat. not know that Rima self's sister from even a
bit fears

*I do not know that Rima fears her sister even a bit.

In negative sentences, the present tense marker *hai* (or its inflected forms) is usually dropped, as is obvious from the above examples. Also, most explicator verbs do not occur in the negative sentences :

560. ratan ne patra likh diyā.

Ratan ag. letter write gave
Ratan wrote a letter.

561. ratan ne patra nahī̄ likhā.

Ratan ag. letter not wrote
Ratan did not write a letter.

562. baccā ro paṛā.

child cry fell
The child burst out crying.

563. baccā nahī̄ royā.
child not cry
The child did not cry.

See also section 7.14.

7.6 For asking a yes-no question in Hindi, a particle *kyā* is used sentence initially :

564. kyā baccā so gayā?
Q child sleep went
Did the child go to sleep?
565. kyā ramesh ghar par hai?
Q Ramesh home at is
Is Ramesh at home?

Alternatively, a rising intonation is used, symbolized here by the question mark :

566. shyām bambai se ā gayā?
Shyam Bombay from come went
Did Shyam come from Bombay?
567. sīmā hostal mē rahtī hai?
Sima hostel in lives
Does Sima live in the hostel?

Information questions use various question words, such as *kaun* 'who', *kyā* 'what', *kab* 'when', *kahā* 'where', *kidhar* 'in which direction', *kitnā* 'how much', *kaise* 'how', *kyō* 'why', e.g.,

568. bāhār kaun hai?
out who is
Who is out side?
569. kaun cīkh rahā hai?
who screaming is
Who is screaming?
570. usne kyā khāyā?
he ag. what ate
What did he eat?

571. vah kab āegī?
she when come will
When will she come?
572. sīmā kahā gai?
Sima where went
Where did Sima go?
573. āp kidhar se ā rahe hā?
you where from coming are
Where are you coming from?
574. unko kitnā dūdh cāhiye?
he dat. how much milk want
How much milk does he want?
575. ranjanā kyō hās rahī hai?
Ranjana why laughing is
Why is Ranjana laughing?
576. unko film kaisī lagī?
he dat. film how felt
How did he like the film?

The definite interrogative determiner is *kaun-sā* 'which one' :

577. usne kaunsī film dekhī?
he ag. which film saw
Which film did he see?

The reduplicated forms of these have a distributive meaning just as the reduplicated forms of adjectives (54):

578. pārtī mē kaun kaun thā?
party in who who was
Who was there at the party?
579. āp yurop mē kahā kahā gae?
you Europe in where where went
Which places did you visit in Europe?

Tag questions are formed in the following manner:

580. āp to kal jā rahe hā na?
you emph. tomorrow going are, no?
You are leaving tomorrow, aren't you?

581. ratan ne davā pī lī na?

Ratan ag. medicine drink took no

Ratan drank up the medicine, didn't he?

In leading questions, where affirmative answers are expected, tags are formed by repeating the verb with the finite endings:

582. shyām ne rām ko pītā thā, pitā thā na?

Shyam ag. Ram DO hit had hit had no

Shyam hit Ram, didn't he?

583. āpne ratnā kī tārif kī thī, ki thī na?

you ag. Ratna of praise done had done had no

You had praised Ratna, hadn't you?

584. vah kal hī jā saktā hai, saktā hai na?

he tomorrow go can can no

He can go even tomorrow, can't he?

Alternatively, a disjunctive tag is used:

585. usne bahut shor macāyā, macāyā ki nah!

he ag. much noise made made or no

He made a great deal of noise, didn't he?

Interrogatives are used to express negative meanings as in the following (Bhatia 1975):

586. tumko vahā jāne ko kisne kahā thā?

you to there go to who ag. said had

Who asked you to go there?

587. kyā usne merī zarā bhī madad kī?

Q he ag. my even a bit help did

Did he help me even a bit?

Notice the use of *zarā bhī* in 587. In a genuine question, this can not be used:

588. *kyā tum merī zarā bhī madad karoge?

Q you my even a bit help do will

Will you help me even a bit?

589. kyā tum merī thoṛī madad karoge?

Q you my a little help do will

Will you help me a little?

7.7 The following forms of the verb are used in the imperative in Hindi:

590. bare verb

baiṭh! 'sit'

591. verb+second plural

baiṭho! 'sit'

592. verb+second honorific

baiṭhiye! 'please sit

down!'

In addition, the verbal noun and the form in 592 followed by the future affix-*ga* are used in the imperative, too:

593. verbal noun

ānā! 'come'

594. second honorific future

āiyegā! 'please come!'

The difference between the forms in 590-592 and 593-594 is that the latter are used in the context of commands to be carried out sometime later:

595. abhī jāo! 'go now!'

596. agle hafte cale jānā! 'go next week'

Because of this distance in time, the forms in 593-594 are more polite than the forms in 591-592.

Even more polite is the use of optative or passive in optative as imperative:

597. yahā baiṭhē! 'Please sit here!'

598. yahā baithā jāe! *'Let it be sat here!'

The use of the contingent form indicates a command with the added meaning of slight irritation (Saksena 1958):

599. pahle zarā darvāzā band kar dete!

'If you would close the door first!'

In the negative imperative, the use of *mat* suggests familiarity, informality and intimacy. As such, it is not used with the honorific forms in formal contexts. Instead, the particle *na* or *nahī* is used.

7.8 It has already been pointed out that within the determiner system, no distinction is made between the non-specific, i.e., generic, and specific. The following devices are used to express generic meaning. The imperfect, present and past, of *ho* 'become' is used to express generic meaning as in the following;

600. bagh mansāhārī hotā hai.
tiger carnivorous happens
The tiger is carnivorous.
601. hirnī ke sīg nahī hote.
doe of antler not happens
A doe does not have antlers.

The stative *hai* 'is' is used to express generic meaning as follows:

602. whel machli nahī, stanpāyī hai.
whale fish not, mammal is
A whale is not a fish, it is a mammal.

To indicate natural habitat, *rahnā* 'live' in the imperfect or the passive of the verb *pānā* 'find' is used in the imperfect:

603. kachue samudra mē bhī rahte haī.
turtles ocean in also live
Turtles live also in the ocean.
604. jirāf sīrf afrikā mē pāye jāte haī.
giraffe only Africa in found are
Giraffes are only found in Africa.
605. āj se koī deṛh-do karō varṣ pahle prithvī ke
today from about 150-200 million years ago earth of
kai bhāgō mē dainosor rahte the.
many parts in dinosaurs lived

Dinosaurs lived in many parts of the earth approximately one hundred and fifty to two hundred million years ago.

In stative sentences with place adverbs, the place adverb must come initially to express generic meaning (Verma 1971). Compare the following:

606. kamre mē bicchū hai.
room in scorpion is
There is a scorpion in the room.
607. bicchū kamre mē hai.
scorpion room in is
The scorpion is in the room.

Similarly, the following contrast:

608. pījre mē sher hai.
cage in lion is
There is a lion in the cage.
609. sher pījre mē hai.
lion cage in is
The lion is in the cage.

This, however, does not apply to verbs such as *rahnā* 'live':

- 609 a. samudra mē bhī kachue rāhte haī.
Turtles live in the ocean also.

7.9 There is no possessive verb in Hindi. The verb *ho* 'be', with genitive, or certain locative postpositions, is used to convey the meaning of possession (Kachru 1969). The following are illustrative:

610. rām ke ek betī haī.
Ram of a daughter is
Ram has a daughter.
611. guptājī ke tīn betē haī.
Gupta hon. of three sons are
Mr. Gupta has three sons.

The inflected form of the genitive is used to predicate 'inalien-

able, possession' i.e., possession of relations and body parts, and also of animate beings:

612. is murgī ke ek hī tāg hai.

this hen of one emph. leg is
This hen has only one leg.

613. mātādīn ke do gāē hāi.

Matadin of two cows are
Matadin has two cows.

The locative *ke pās* 'near' is used to predicate possession of concrete objects and low-level employees:

614. ramesh ke pās do kārē hāi.

Ramesh near two cars are
Ramesh has two cars, (i.e., he owns two cars).

615. ājkal hamāre pās ek hī naukar hāi.

these days we near one emph. servant is
These days we have only one servant.

For possession of inherent qualities, and emotions, the post-position *mē* is used:

616. rāju me baṛā dhairyā hāi.

Raju in much patience is
Raju has a great deal of patience.

617. savitā mē kām karne kā utsāh hāi.

Savitा in work do of enthusiasm is
Savitा has enthusiasm for work.

Compare the dative subject stative sentences:

618. rām ko shyām par gussā hāi.

Ram dat. Shyam on anger is
Ram is angry with Shyam.

619. usko bahut sirdard hāi.

he dat. much headache is
He has a bad headache.

In predicative use, possessive have the following structure:

620. possessive + locative or genitive pp—possessed—stative verb.

In attributive use, 620 is transformed to:

621. possessor + genitive + possessed

The genitive postposition agrees in number and gender with the possessed.

622. sītā kī gāy safed hāi.

Sita of cow white is
Sita's cow is white.

623. rām kā sirdard ḫik ho gayā.

Ram of headache well became
Ram's headache got well.

624. guptā ke makān bik gae.

Gupta of houses sell went
Gupta's houses got sold.

625. sīmā kī bahnē yahī hāi.

Sima of sisters here is
Sima's sisters are here.

7.10 The dative subjects, mentioned briefly in 4.38 behave like intransitive subjects with respect to following syntactic processes. They control the reflexive pronouns:

626. rām apnī bahan se milā.

Ram self's sister with met
Ram met his sister.

627. rām ko apnī bahan kī yād āi.

Ram dat. self's sister of memory came
Ram remembered (thought of) his sister.

They control the deletion of the identical and coreferential subject of the absolute in complex sentences:

628. bahan se mil kar rām xush ho gayā.

- sister with meeting Ram happy became
Ram became happy having met his sister.
629. bahan se mil kār rām ko xushī huī.
sister with meeting Ram dat. happiness happened
Ram was happy to meet his sister.

A dative subject sentence, however, does not yield an absolute phrase:

630. *xushī ho kar rām gāne lagā.
happiness being Ram sing began
Being happy, Ram began to sing.
631. *bahan kī yād ā kar rām ne use cītīhi likhī.
sister of memory coming Ram ag. her letter wrote
Having thought of his sister, Ram wrote her a letter.

Dative subject sentences do not yield participials that function as modifiers, although some of the past participle forms occur predicatively:

632. *saheli kī yād āte hue ratnā kahne lagī ...
friend of memory coming Ratna say began ...
Remembering her friend, Ratna began to say ...
633. *thand̄ lagā huā baccā kāp rahā hai.
cold felt child shivering is
Having felt cold, the child is shivering.
634. bacce ko bhūkh lagī huī hai.
boy to hunger happened is
The child is hungry.
635. usko gussā āyā huā hai.
he to anger come has
He is angry.

The present participle and the verbal noun occur in the following constructions:

636. bhūkh lagte hī ram khā letā hai.
hunger feel soon Ram eat takes.
Ram eats as soon as he feels hungry.
637. bacpan kī yād āne par vah udās ho jātā hai.
childhood of memory come on he sad becomes
He becomes sad upon remembering his childhood.

For further discussion of dative subjects, see the next section.

7.11 In Hindi, an unmarked subject has primacy over other noun phrases in controlling verbal agreement (4.39). Also, subjects occur in a variety of case forms: unmarked, or followed by the agentive postposition *ne*, dative postposition *ko*, and instrumental postposition *se*. Here, some characteristics of these subjects are pointed out (see also Kachru, Kachru and Bhatia 1976).

All these subjects control reflexive pronouns in Hindi. Neither indirect objects nor direct objects control reflexive pronouns (Kachru and Bhatia 1975 and 1977). This is obvious from the following examples:

638. urmilā apne ghar gaī.
Urmila self's home went
Urmila went to her house.
639. umā ne apne ko āne mē dekhā.
Uma ag. self DO mirror in saw
Uma looked at herself in the mirror.
640. ramesh ko apni kahānī acchī nahī lagī.
Ramesh dat. self's story good not felt.
Ramesh did not like his story.
641. ramesh se apne ko dosī nahī mānā gayā.
Ramesh by self's DO guilty not considered was
Ramesh could not consider himself guilty.
642. ratan se apne ghar tak bhī nahī̄ calā gayā.
Ratan by self's house up to emph. not walked was
Ratan could not even walk up to his house.
643. sitā ne ramesh ko apnī kitāb di.
Sita ag. Ramesh IO self's book gave
Sita gave Ramesh her book/*his book.
644. rām ne shyām ko apne kamre mē bulāyā.
Ram ag. Shyam DO self's room in called
Ram called Shyam to Ram's/* Shyam's room.

In 643-644, the reflexive only refers back to *sitā* and *rām* respectively. It can not refer back to the indirect object *ramesh* or direct object *shyām* in these sentences.

It has already been pointed out that only those absolutives

are well-formed whose understood subjects are identical to and coreferential with the subject of the finite verb in the sentence (6.12). That means that only subjects control the deletion of subjects of the absolute, and only subjects are deleted to form absolute phrases:

645. rām ghar āyā; rām so gayā.
Ram home came; Ram sleep went
Ram came home; Ram went to sleep.
646. ghar ā kar rām so gayā.
home coming Ram sleep went
Having come home, Ram went to sleep.

In 646, which is understood similar to 645, *rām* is the understood subject of the absolute *ākar* ‘having come’. Notice that the agentive postposition *ne* does not affect this process, the understood subject of *sun kar* ‘having heard’ in 645 is *mā* ‘mother’:

647. mā ne gāne sune; mā xush huī.
mother ag. songs listened to; mother happy became
Mother listened to the songs: mother became happy.
648. gāne sun kar mā xush huī.
songs listening mother happy became
Having listened to the songs, mother became happy.

Similarly, in 650, the *ne*-marked subject of *calāna* ‘switch on’ controls the deletion of the subject of *ānā* ‘come’:

649. sīmā ghar āī; sīmā ne tīvī calāī.
Sima home came Sima ag. TV switched on
Sima came home; Sima switched on the TV.
650. ghar ā kar sīmā ne tīvī calāī.
home coming Sima ag. TV switched on
Having come home, Sima switched on the TV.

The dative subject, however, behaves differently. Compare 651 and 652 with 653 and 654:

651. madhu ko bhūkh lagī; madhu ne khānā khāyā.

- Madhu dat. hunger felt Madhu ag. meal ate
Madhu felt hungry; Madhu ate a meal.
652. *bhūkh lag kar madhu ne khānā khāyā.
hunger feeling Madhu ag. meal ate
Having felt hungry, Madhu ate a meal.
653. shailesh ne khānā khāyā; shailesh ko pyās lāgī.
Shailesh ag. meal ate Shailesh dat. thirst felt
Shailesh ate a meal; Shailesh felt thirsty.
654. khānā khā kar shailesh ko pyās lagī.
meal eating Shailesh dat. thirst felt
Having eaten a meal, Shailesh felt thirsty.

That is, the dative subject controls deletion (654), but does not undergo deletion (652).

The passive agent behaves in the following manner:

655. rāj se calā nahī gayā; rāj baiṭh gayā.
Raj by walked not was Raj sat went
Raj could not walk; Raj sat down.
656. *calā na jā kar rāj baiṭh gayā.
walked not being Raj sit went
Not being able to walk, Raj sat down.
657. rām se axbār paṭhā nahī gayā; rām ne axbār rakh diyā.
Ram by newspaper read not was Ram ag. newspaper
rakh diyā.
put gave
Ram could not read the newspaper; Ram put the
newspaper away.
658. *axbār paṭhā na jā kar rām ne axbār rakh diyā.
newspaper read not being Ram ag. newspaper put gave
Not being able to read the newspaper, Ram put it
away.

Note that in 656 and 658, the deletion of the passive agent yields ungrammatical sentences with absolutes. The passive agent, however, controls deletion of both unmarked and *ne*-marked subjects:

659. suresh vahā baiṭhā thā; suresh se kuch likhā na gayā.

Suresh there seated was Suresh by something written not was

Suresh was sitting there; Suresh could not write anything.

660. *vahā baiṭh kar suresh se kuch likhā nahī̄ gayā.*
there sitting Suresh by something written not was
Sitting there, Suresh could not write anything.

Notice that the ex-object does not become subject of the passive for the purposes of absolute construction. As the ex-object *cor* 'thieves' neither controls nor undergoes deletion, both 662 and 663 are ungrammatical:

661. (*sipāhiyō dvārā*) *cor pakṛe gae;* (*sipāhiyō dvārā*) *cor jel*
police by thieves caught were police by thieves jail
mē band kar diye gae.
in shut do given were
The thieves were caught (by the police); the thieves
were shut in the jail (by the police).
662. **cor pakṛe ja kar* (*sipāhiyō dvārā*) *jel mē band kar*
thieves caught being police by jail in shut do
diye gae.
given were
*The thieves having been caught, (they) were shut in
the jail by the police.
663. **pakṛe jā kar cor jel mē band kar diye gae.*
caught being thieves jail in shut do given were
Having been caught, the thieves were shut in the jail.

These examples make it clearer that the dative subject, passive agent, and the derived passive subject (ex-object) do not have all the subject properties.⁷

7.12 Normally in Hindi sentences, theme and subject coincide, and the focus of new information with regard to the theme is in the predicate. Usually the focus is on the verb, although contrastive focus can occur on any constituent of the sentence. Consider the following sentences:

664. *rām baiṭhā hai.*

Ram seated is

Ram is sitting.

665. *sītā sitār bajā rahī hai.*

Sita sitar play-ing is

Sita is playing the sitar.

In 664, the falling tone occurs on *baiṭhā* 'seated', in 665, on *bajā* 'play'. Note that the entire sentence can be new information in case it answers the question in 666.

666. *kyā ho rahā hai?*

what happening is

What is happening?

Normally, however, sentences such as 664-665 give information about the theme, i.e., they answer the questions in 667:

- 667a. *rām kyā kar rahā hai?*

Ram what do-ing is

What is Ram doing?

- b. *sītā kyā kar rahī hai?*

Sita what do-ing is

What is Sita doing?

Since Hindi sentences have end focus, if a constituent that occurs toward the beginning of the sentence is moved to the end position, it becomes the focus:

668. *gilās torā sushīl ne, dāṭ paṛī nītū par.*

glass broke Sushil ag. scolding fell Nitu on

The glass was broken by Sushil, but Nitu got the scolding.

A better translation to indicate what is focused would be:

- 668a. It was Sushil who broke the glass, it was Nitu who got the scolding.

Consider also the following:

669. *maī samajh gayā uskī cāl.*
I understand went his move
I understand what his moves are.
670. *patra rām paṛh cukā hai.*
letter Ram read completed has
Ram has read the letters.
671. *ram kalkatte kal gayā.*
Ram Calcutta yesterday went
Ram went to Calcutta yesterday.

In 668, the subject is in focus; in 669, the direct object. In 670, again, the subject is in focus and in 671, the time adverb. The effect of putting the verb in the initial position is stylistically marked.

672. *kar cuke tum hamārī madad!*
do completed you our help
I trust you to help us! (i.e. I don't trust you can help).
673. *dekh liye maī ne uske karishme!*
see took I ag. his miracles
I have seen his miracles! (i.e. in my opinion, the way he acts is no good).

More work needs to be done on focus and theme in Hindi, and the effect of changing the order of constituents needs to be studied systematically. What seems to be clear is that Hindi sentences have end focus, and the initial position normally indicates the theme :

674. *kal rajnī bīmār paṛ gal.*
yesterday Rajni ill fell went
Yesterday Rajni fell ill.
675. *hamāre ghar mē sab das baje so jāte haī.*
our house in all ten o'clock sleep go
In our house, everyone goes to sleep at ten.

In 674-676, *kal* and *hamāre ghar mē* respectively are the theme.

7.13 The present imperfect has a habitual meaning, the past imperfect indicates the usual state of affairs in the past. It is also used in the historical narrative:

676. *annū (roz) nāc sikhtī hai.*
Annu everyday dance learns
Annu has dance lessons (every day).
677. *ham (roz) skūl kār se jātē the.*
we every day school car by used to go
We used to go school by car every day.
- In narratives, the past tense marker is usually dropped after establishing the context. Compare present and past imperfect below:
678. *nītū pāc baje uthtī hai. hāth mūh dho kar paṛhne,*
Nitu five o'clock gets up hand face washing study
baith jātī hai.
sit goes
Nitu gets up at five. She washes and sits down to study.
679. *rājan cār baje skūl se nikaltā thā. ghar ā kar*
Rajan four o'clock school from emerged home coming
kapre badaltā. phir jalpān kar khelne calā jātā.
clothes changed then snack do play left go
Rajan used to leave school at four. Arriving home, he used to change his clothes. Then, after a snack, he used to go to play.

The present and past continuous express an event or action in progress at the moment of speaking and with reference to some point of time in the past respectively:

680. *ajay paṛh rahā hai.*
Ajay study ing is
Ajay is studying.
681. *jab maī vahā gayā, ajay paṛh rahā thā.*
when I there went Ajay study-ing was
When I went there, Ajay was studying.

The present continuous can be used to indicate the future. Also:

682. shashi kal banāras jā rahī hai.

Shashi tomorrow Banaras going is

Shashi is going to Banaras tomorrow.

683. vah agle sāl yahā ā rahā hai.

he next year here coming is

He is coming here next year.

The present and past, as well as the simple perfect, indicate completed action or process.⁸ The simple perfect indicates state resulting from completion of the act or the process. The present perfect indicates, in addition, the relevance of the completion of the act or process to the present, and the past perfect indicates completion in the past with no relevance of the actor or the event to the present:

684. sīmā ne patra likhā.

Sima ag. letter wrote

Sima wrote the letter.

685. sushmā ne kuch logō ko bulāyā hai.

Sushma ag. some people DO called has

Sushma has invited some people.

686. piyush dillī gayā hai.

Piyush Delhi gone has

Piyush has gone to Delhi.

687. bacpān mē māi do sāl lakhnāū rāhā tha.

childhood in I two years Lucknow lived had

In my childhood, I lived in Lucknow for two years.

Notice that what is relevant for the use of present versus past perfect is the notion of current relevance rather than proximate or distant past in terms of absolute time:

688. sītā pichle mahīne māyke gaī hái.

Sita last month mother's house gone has

Sita went to her parents last month.

689. rājan āj subah āyā thā, do ghanṭe baiṭhā thā.

Rajan today morning come had two hours sat had

Rajan came this morning, he sat for two hours.

The frequentative - *ā kar* is used to express a meaning close to the meanings expressed by the present and past imperfect. There is, however, a difference. Unlike the imperfect forms, the frequentative indicates that the action is less regular and that it takes place within a defined time-span. Compare 677 with 677a below (677 is repeated here for convenience):

677. ham (roz) skūl kār se jātē the.

we every day school car by go impf. past

We used to go to school every day by car.

- 677a. jārō mē ham aksar/*roz skūl kār se jāyā karte the.

winter in we often (every day) school car by go used to

In winter, we used to go to school often by car.

The repetitive *Vt - rah* indicates actions or processes extended over a period of time. In addition, the repetitive imperfect indicates repetition. Compare 680 with 680a and 680b (680 is repeated here for convenience):

680. ajay pāṛh rahā hai.

Ajay read-ing is

Ajay is reading.

- 680a. ajay kuch na kuch pāṛhtā rahtā hai.

Ajay something or other read impf. keep impf. pr.

Ajay keeps reading something or other.

- 680b. ajay cār se che tak pāṛhtā rāhā.

Ajay four from six till read impf. kept.

Ajay kept reading from four till six.

7.14 The basic meanings of compound and conjunct verbs have been described briefly in 4.36 and 4.37. Some details about their use are given here.

In addition to the meanings mentioned in 4.36, the compound verbs also convey attitudinal meanings (Kachru 1978b). For instance, the directional explicators *ānā* 'come' and *jānā* 'go' convey, respectively, sympathy and disapproval. The

relationship of these meanings to the basic meanings 'direction toward' and 'direction away from' is obvious. The following examples support this:

690. ...vah āvāz de kar ro uṭhī our merī god mē gir āī.⁹
 she noise giving cry rose and my lap in fall came
 She began crying loudly and fell into my lap.
691. (kambaxt) bandar sab phal khā gae.
 luckless monkeys all fruit eat went
 The darned monkeys ate up all the fruit.

In 690, the newly coined *gir ānā* is appropriate in that the character who uses 'I' in the novel is in sympathy with his daughter; *gir parnā* would have been neutral and *gir jānā* would have signalled lack of sympathy, or, rather, total dissociation. In 691, it is possible to use something like the epithet *kambaxt* to make the disapproval explicit. Similarly, the explicator *lenā* 'self-directed action' could also convey the meaning of modest achievement with verbs denoting skill:

692. devīd hindī bokletā hai.
 David Hindi speak takes
 David can speak some Hindi.
693. mai (thorā-bahut) gā letā hū.
 I more or less sing take
 I can sing a little.

The meaning of modest capability or achievement can be made explicit in 693 by the use of *thorā-bahut*. The sentences in 694 and 695 below are inappropriate in that 694 is about a famous writer of Hindi and in 695, the sentence contains an adverb which contradicts the meaning of the explicator:

694. ?agyeya hindī likh lete hai.
 Agyeya can write some Hindi.
695. ?devīd dhaṛalle se hindī bol letā hai.
 ?David can speak some Hindi fluently.

Of course, 694 is appropriate in case a critic unsympathetic to Agyeya utters the sentence as a sarcastic remark, and 695 is appropriate if used as a joke.

Conjunct verbs are interesting from historical and stylistic points of view as well. The device of adding *honā* 'be', *karnā* 'do', etc., to items borrowed from foreign sources in order to coin new verbal expressions is very productive in Hindi. These new expressions do not necessarily fill any gaps in the language: they are used parallel to existing verbs. Consider the following sets of verbs current in Hindi:

696.

Hindi	Urdu	English
āpatti karnā	ujra karnā	ābjekshān 'to object'
pratham ānā	avval ānā	karnā
svikār honā	manzūr hona	farsṭ ānā 'to stand first'
pratiksha karnā	intazār karnā	aiksept̄ honā 'to be accepted,'
bhartī karnā	dāxil karnā	weit karnā 'to wait'
		admiṭ karnā 'to admit'

These sets are used in significant ways in Hindi creative writing to create character types and social atmosphere. There are sets of simple and conjunct verbs also, as in 697, which are likewise exploited for stylistic purposes:

697.

simple	complex
sarāhnā	sarāhnā karnā
lañnā	lañai karnā
sakucānā	sankoc karnā
tyāgnā	tyāg denā

More research is needed to determine if these are semantically distinct. The conjunct verbs are preferred in formal style, the simple verbs in non-formal contexts.¹⁰

NOTES

- Subbarao (1971), however, has examples such as the following:
 - mā ne bacce ko apne kapre pahnāe.
 Mother ag. child IO self's clothes wear+caused
 The mother dressed the child in his clothes.
- First, such sentences are not considered well-formed in all varieties of Hindi-Urdu. Second, it is the pragmatic consideration that forces the suggested reading of (i). Given neutral participants, the interpretation of the sentence is as expected:

- (ii) mā ne mausī ko apni sārī pahnai.
 Mother ag. aunt IO self's saree wear +cau
 Mother made aunt (her sister) wear her saree

The reflexive in (ii) refers to mother, not to aunt. As regards the source of the reflexive in (i), consider the following:

- (iii). kal meri caceri bahan a thi, a j meri apni bahan aegi.
yesterday my cousin sister came today my own sister come will
My cousin (father's brother's daughter) came yesterday.
My own sister will come today.

Notice that a copy of the possessive, which is identical to the reflexive, is used in the second conjunct of (iii). In some cases, it is possible to delete the possessive and leave only the copy. The process is not well-understood at this point, but seems to be the source of the reflexive in (i).

2. In appropriate contexts, again, readings may be found that would suggest the participial adverb refers to the agent rather than the initiator:

- (i) nars ne lēe lēe rōgi ko davā pilā di.
nurse ag. lying patient IO medicine drink+cause+gave
The nurse made the patient drink the medicine lying.

Here, contextually, the normal interpretation is that the patient is lying in bed rather than that the nurse is lying in bed!

- ³² Kachru (1966) has a list of non-causal and causal words.

4. Not all non-causal-causal verb sets show regular patterning, or meaning relationship. For instance, though *kahlānā* appears to be a causal of *kahnā* 'say', it is used as an intansitive in the meaning 'to be named'. The verbs *māgnā* 'ask (for)' and *māgānā* 'to cause to be brought' are not related systematically as far as their use is concerned, although their semantic relationship is clear. The causal of *pīnā* 'drink', i.e., *pīlānā* 'to cause to drink', means 'nurse' in case of babies, 'offer something to drink' in case of other agents. The kind of shift involved is not so drastic as to obscure the causal relationship in most cases.

- ⁵ See 7.7 for a discussion of negative in the imperative sentences.

6. See Bhatia (1978) for a detailed discussion of negation in Hindi.

- ⁷ There is an extended discussion of the notion 'subject' in Hindi in Kachru, Kachru and Bhatia (1976).

8. According to Hook (1974), the perfective in Hindi does not indicate completion, hence, the compound verb is used to denote the perfective aspectual meaning. This, however, is not correct. If it were so, the following would be grammatical:

- (i) *sita nē kitāb pañhi, par vah kitāb pañh nabi cuki hai.
 Sita ag. book read, but she book read not completed has
 Sita read the book but she has not completed reading the book.

Sentences such as (i), however, are not grammatical. The example in Hook (1974) is easily explainable. Consider a similar example:

- (ii) rām-ne tasvir banāi par tasvir nahi ban pāi.
Ram ag. picture made but picture not make managed
Ram drew a picture but the picture did not come out well.

The crucial item here is *ban pānā* 'to manage to get made'. Note that the use of *bannā* 'to get made' leads to an ill-formed utterance:

- (iii) *ram ne tasvīr banāī par tasvīr nahī banī.

Ram ag. picture made but picture not get made

Ram drew a picture but the picture did not get drawn.

9. This sentence is from a novel entitled *Anantar* by Jainendra Kumar (Purvodaya Prakashan, Delhi.) The quoted sentence occurs on p. 77.

10. See Kachru (1977) for a preliminary discussion of conjunct verbs in Hindi.

only one verb occurring in a sentence can have, and it should not be taken off its place. The other verb in the sentence is called the auxiliary verb (auxiliary verb). It is used to indicate the tense, aspect, mood, etc. of the main verb. In the sentence 'The book is being told to me', the verb 'is being told' is the main verb, and 'to me' is the object. The verb 'is' is the auxiliary verb.

8

COMPLEX AND COMPOUND SENTENCES*

8.0 Sentences in which a main clause occurs with one or more subordinate clauses are called complex sentences. Sentences in which two or more independent clauses are joined together with coordinating conjunctions are called compound sentences.

8.1 The subordinating conjunctions in Hindi are as follows:

698a. relative-correlative forms:

relative clause	<i>jo—vah</i>
'when' clause	<i>jab—tab</i>
'as long as'	<i>jab tak—tab tak</i>
'where'	<i>jahā—vahā</i>
'as far as'	<i>jahā tak—vahā tak</i>
'which direction'	<i>jidhar—udhar</i>
'which manner'	<i>jaise—vaise</i>
'which quality'	<i>jaisā—vaisā</i>
'which quantity'	<i>jiitnā—utnā</i>
b. complement clause: 'that'	<i>ki</i>
c. purpose clause	<i>isliye (ki), tāki</i>
d. reason clause	<i>kyōki, cūki—isliye</i>
e. concessive clause	<i>yadyapi—to bhī</i>
f. conditional clause	<i>hālāki—phir bhī</i>
g. contradictory clause	<i>yadi, agar—to</i>
h. result clause	<i>cāhe</i>
	<i>isliye, atah, ateva</i>

- j. otherwise *anyathā*
- k. apprehension *kahī . . . na*

8.11 The relative clause has been described in some detail in 3.21. Notice that in a complex sentence with a relative clause, the material in the relative clause is usually old information, hence, it tends to occur first in the sentence:

699. *jo laṛkā kalāyā thā vah mere dost kā bhāī hai.*
wh-boy yesterday come had he my friend of brother is
The boy who came yesterday is my friend's brother.

700.
wh-book about you telling were that not obtained
The book that you were telling us about was not available.

In case the constituents that normally occur immediately preceding the verb are brought to the beginning of the sentence, the effect is that of signalling contrastive focus:

701. *us larke ko-mai nahī jāntā jo sītī bajā rahā hai.*
that boy DO I not know who whistle blowing is
I do not know the boy who is whistling.
(In order to represent the contrastive focus on *the boy*, the translation should read: The boy who is whistling—I do not know him).

The correlative type of clauses indicating time, place, direction, etc. occur as follows:

702. *jab maī kalkatte mē thā tab har garmī mē dārjiling jātā thā.*
when I Calcutta in was then every summer in Darjeeling used to go
I used to go to Darjeeling every summer when I was in Calcutta.

703. *rajnī jahā rathī hai vahā pās hī ek sundar bāg hai.*
Rajni where lives there nearby a beautiful garden is
There is a beautiful garden close to where Rajni lives.

704. āp jidhar jā rāhe hai udhar rāstā xarāb hai.
you wh-direction going are there road bad is
The direction in which you are going, the road is bad in that direction (the road is bad the way you are going).
705. tumhē jitnī kitābē cāhiye xarid dūngā.
you dat. as many books want buy give will
I will buy you as many books as you want.
706. rām jaise kāhegā shyām vaise kām kar degā.
Ram as say will Shyam same way job do give will
Shyam will do the job in the manner that Ram asks him to do.
707. ositā ko jaisā cāhiye mākān mil jāegā.
Sita dat. of the type want house obtain go will
Sita will get the kind of house she wants.

Notice that it is not necessary to use the correlative forms in every complex sentence of this type (705 and 707).

Indefinites are expressed with *jo koi* 'whoever', *jo kuch* 'whatever', *jo bhī* 'whoever' or 'whatever', *jab kabhī* 'whenever', *jahā kahī* 'wherever', *jaisā bhī* 'of whatever quality', *jaise bhī* 'in whichever manner', *jidhar bhī* 'in whichever direction', *jitnā bhī* 'in whatever quantity', etc. With these, correlative forms are not used. The reduplicated forms of the relative markers (*jo*, *jab*, *jahā*, etc.) are used to indicate distributive meaning:

708. jab jab āpne bulāyā māi ā gayā.
whenever you ag. called I come went
I came every time you called me.
709. vah jahā jahā gayā māi uske sāth gayā.
he whereever went I him with went
I went with him to every place that he went.

In addition to the correlatives listed in 698, any appropriate expression, for example, of time, place, may occur with forms such as *jab*, *jahā*, etc.:

710. jab rām āyā us vakt bārī thand thī.
when Ram came that time very cold was
It was very cold when Ram came.

711. ham jis jagah sair ko gae the us shahar ke āspās
we which place visit for gone had that city of vicinity
bārī sundar jhilē thi.
very beautiful lakes were
There were very beautiful lakes near the city where we went for a visit.
712. tumne jitnā kahā thā, usse zyādā mithā maiṭle lāyā.
you ag. as much asked had that than more sweets I bring came
I brought more sweets than you asked for.
713. shīlā jaisā cāhtī thi usse sundar makān mil gayā.
Sheela wh- quality wanted that than beautiful house obtain went
We found a house more beautiful than what Sheela wanted.

8.111 Participials function either as modifiers or adverbs (5.21 and 6.11). Participles, though they are like relative clauses in their internal structure, do not behave like clauses. For instance, whereas relatives, complements and other subordinate clauses are relatively free with regard to their order with respect to the main clauses, participles are not. This is obvious from the following:

714. jo bacca bāhar khel rahā hai usko bulāo.
wh- child outside playing is him call
Call the child who is playing outside.
715. us bacce ko bulāo jo bāhar khel rahā hai.
that child DO call wh- outside playing is
Call the child who is playing outside.
716. bāhar khelte hue bacce ko bulāo.
outside playing child DO call
Call the child playing outside.
717. *bacce ko bulāo bāhar khelte hue.
child DO call outside playing
Call the child playing outside.
718. jo patra rām ne likhā thā vah mujhe nahi milā.
wh-letter Ram ag. written had that I dat. not obtained
I did not get the letter that Ram wrote.

719. mujhe vah patra nahī milā jo rām ne likhā thā.
I dat. that letter not obtained wh-Ram ag. written had
I did not get the letter that Ram wrote.
720. rām kā likhā huā patra mujhe nahī milā.
Ram of written letter I dat. not obtained
I did not get the letter written by Ram.
721. mujhe patra nahī milā, rām kā likhā huā.
I dat. not letter obtained Ram of written one
I did not get the letter the one written by Ram.

Notice that 717 is ungrammatical, and 721 does not mean the same as 720.

Since participles are not felt to be like clauses, a reflexive pronominal form that refers to the main clause subject may occur in them:

722. rāj ko apnī bahan kī lāi huī cīzē pāsand āi.
Raj dat. self's sister of brought things liking came
Raj liked the things that his sister brought.

The same is true of infinitival phrases:

723. maī apnā usse milnā thīk nahī samajhtā.
I self's him with meet proper not consider
I do not consider my meeting him proper.

These have the internal structure of 722a and 723a:

- 722a. rāj ko [rāj kī bahan kī lāi huī] cīzē pasand āi.
Raj dat. Raj of sister of brought things liking came
- 723a. maī [merā usse milnā] thīk nahī samajhtā.
I my him with meet proper not consider.

Note that [rāj kī bahan kī lāi huī] and [merā usse milnā] have the essential constituents of a clause. In spite of this, the main clause subjects *rāj* and *maī* control the reflexive forms *apnī* and *apnā* in 722-723. This would be impossible if these were full clauses:

724. rāj ko ve cīzē pasand āi jo uskī bahan lāi.
Raj dat. those things liking came wh-his sister brought
Raj liked the things that his sister brought.
725. maī yah thīk nahī samajhtā ki maī usse milū.
I it proper not consider that I him with meet
I do not consider it proper that I meet him.

8.12 The complement clause has already been discussed in 3.221. The following exemplify purpose, reason, concessive, conditional, etc.. These are listed in 698c to 698k :

- 726a. rāj isliye bāzār gayā ki dūdh lā sake.
Raj for this purpose market went that milk bring can
b. rāj bāzār gayā tāki dūdh lā sake.
Raj market went so that milk bring can
Raj went to the market so that he could bring some milk.
- 727a. cūki sumit ke dost ā rahe hāi isliye vah xush hai.
as Sumit of friends coming are so he happy is
b. sumit xush hai kyōki uske dost ā rahe hāi.
Sumit happy is because his friends coming are
Sumit is happy because his friends are coming.
728. yadyapi/hālākī rām bimār hai to bhī/phir bhī kām
Although Ram ill is even so job
par ātā hai.
on comes
Although Ram is ill, he still comes to work.
729. maī zarūr film dekhne jāūngā cāhe vah jo bhī kahe.
I certainly film to see go will no matter he whatever say
No matter what he says, I will definitely go to see the movie.
730. āpne kahā thā isliye/atah/ateva usne patra likh diyā.
you ag. said had that is why he ag. letter write gave
You asked him to, that's why he wrote the letter.
731. sāt baje tak lauṭ ānā anyathā/nahī to sab nārāz honge.
seven o'clock by return come otherwise all angry become will
Come back by seven, otherwise, everyone will be angry.

732. ve log abhī tak nahi āe, kahī rāstā na bhūl gae hō.
 those people still not came way not forget went
 They have not arrived yet, (I'm afraid) they may be lost.

Note that *isliye-ki* can be used for reason, too, in which case 727 would be as follows:

- 727c. sumit isliye xush hai ki uske dost ā rahe hai.
 Sumit this reason happy is that his friends coming are

Purposive subordinate clauses are in the optative, but there is no restriction on the mood of reason adverbial subordinate clauses.

8.2 The coordinate conjunctions are subclassified into the following categories:

733. a. conjunction *aur, vā, evam, tathā* 'and'
 b. disjunction *yā, vā, athvā, kimyā* 'or'
(ki in non-assertive clauses)
 c. negative disjunction *na . . . na* 'neither . . . nor'
 d. adversative conjunction *par, parantu, kintu, magar, lekin* 'but'

8.21 The conjunctive and adversative contrast in some sense. This can be seen if they are discussed together as in the following sub-sections.

8.211 The coordinators such as *aur*, conjoin two or more sentences or phrases provided they are 'similar' in meaning and function, e.g.,¹

734. mujhe sangīt aur nritya pasand hai.

I dat. music and dance liking is
 I like music and dance.

735. *mujhe rām aur dūdh pīnā pasand hai.

I dat. Ram and milk drink liking is
 ?I like Ram and drinking milk.

736. usne utsāh se zamīn kori.

he ag. enthusiasm with earth dug
 He dug the earth with enthusiasm.

737. usne kudāl se zamīn kori.
 he ag. shovel with earth dug
 He dug the earth with a shovel.

738. *usne utsāh aur kudāl se zamīn kori.
 he ag. enthusiasm and shovel with earth dug
 ?He dug the earth with enthusiasm and shovel.

739. *rohit kal se bimār hai aur bhārat viśuvat rekha ke
 Rohit yesterday since ill is and India equator line of
 uttar mē hai.
 Rohit is ill since yesterday and India is in the north of
 the equator.

740. sīmā parhne mē tez hai aur rekha bahut acchā gātī hai.
 Sima studies in smart is and Rekha very well sings
 Sima is smart in studies and Rekha sings very well.

741. ilāhābād dillī se nazdīk hai aur paṭnā kalkatte ke
 Allahabad Delhi from near is and Patna Calcutta of
 nikaṭ hai.
 Allahabad is close to Delhi and Patna is close to Calcutta.

The peculiarity of 732, 735, and 736 is because of the two conjuncts being either dissimilar in form (732), or function (735), or both (736).

Although in coordinate sentences, all the clauses are independent, still they convey special meanings which are destroyed if the respective order of the two conjuncts is changed :

742. rājesh ko pitā kā tār milā aur vah lakhnau ke liye
 Rajesh dat. father of wire obtained and he Lucknow for
 cal paṛā.
 leave fell

Rajesh received a telegram from his father and left for Lucknow.

743. savitā ne kapre dhoē aur unkō sūkhne ke liye ḍal diyā.
 Savita ag. clothes washed and them to dry for put
 gave
 Savita washed the clothes and hung them for drying.

744. sudhīr bahut cancal hai aur shamit bahut shānt hai.
Sudhir very restless is and Shamit very calm is
Sudhir is very restless, and Shamit very calm.
745. tum mujhe pacās rupye do aur māī kriket maic kā
you me to fifty rupees give and I cricket match of
tikāt dīlvā dū.
ticket give+cause give
You give me fifty rupees and I'll get you a ticket for
the cricket match.
746. rājū yahā ā saktā hai aur mere ghar thahar bhī saktā
hai.
Raju here come can and my house stay also can
Raju can come here and also stay at my house.
747. vah lambe bāl rakhtā hai aur phātī jīn pahantā hai.
he long hair keeps and torn jeans wears
He has long hair and wears torn jeans.

Sentence 742 expresses cause-effect relationship, 743, prior vs. subsequent action, in 744, contrast, 745, contingency, 746, a progression of actions, and 747, cumulative effect. Only in 744 and 747 can the order of the conjuncts be reversed with no effect on the meaning.

8.212 The adversative conjunction is appropriate only if the conjuncts are in contrast:

748. sethjī dhanī hāī, par sukhi nahī.
Seth hon. rich is but happy not
Mr. Seth is rich, but not happy.
749. ramesh paṛhne mē tez hai par mehnat nahī kartā.
Ramesh studies in smart is but hard work not does
Ramesh is smart in studies, but does not work hard.

In order to express the meaning 'on the contrary', the conjunction *balki* or *varan* is used:

750. māī ne use ḍātā nahī, balki bīṭhā kar
I ag. him scolded not on the contrary seating
cay pilāī.
tea drink+caused
I did not scold him, on the contrary, I seated him
and offered him some tea.

751. baccō ne bilkul tāng nahī kiyā balki mujhe
children ag. at all torment not did on the contrary me
paṛos ke pārk mē ghumā lāe.
neighbouring park in stroll brought
The children did not torment me at all, on the contrary, they took me for a stroll in the neighbourhood park.

Note that for the use of *balki* or *varan*, the first conjunct must be in the negative, and the second in the positive.

8.213 The coordination of two noun phrases results in plural noun phrases, hence, noun phrase coordination affects agreement rules. In case a masculine and a feminine noun phrase are coordinated, there are the following consequences: in case of subject noun phrases, the verb shows masculine plural concord, and in case of object noun phrases, the verb shows agreement with the nearest noun:

752. kuch laṛke aur laṛkiyā ā rahe the.
some boys and girls coming were
Some boys and girls were coming.
753. ek kuttā aur ek billī ā rahe the.
a dog and a cat coming were
A dog and a cat were coming.
754. māī ne ek chātā aur ek saṛī xarīdi.
I ag. an umbrella and a saree bought
I bought an umbrella and a saree.
755. usne do kamīzē aur ek joṛā jūtā liyā.
he ag. two shirts and a pair shoe took
He took two shirts and a pair of shoes.

In case of pronouns, the first person has precedence over the second, which in turn has precedence over the third. This, however, does not apply to the first person singular pronoun; in case one of the conjuncts is first person singular the verb shows plural concord:

756. māī aur tum vahā calenge.
I and you there walk will
I and you will go there.

757. ham aur tum vahā calenge.
we and you there walk will
We and you will walk there.

758. tum aur ve kab aoge?
you and they when come will
When will you and they come?

759. tum aur ham jāenge.
you and we go will
You and we will go.

The use of the feminine plural is not very common even when all the pronouns refer to feminine nouns; however, with feminine nouns, feminine plural concord is used:

760. rādhā aur sītā vahā jāengī.
Radha and Sita there go will
Radha and Sita will go there.

761. māi aur tum vahā jāenge.
I and you there go will
I and you will go there.

With a third person plural pronoun which refers to a feminine noun, the verb shows feminine plural concord. Contrast 761 with 761a:

761a. ham aur ve jāengī.
we and they go will
We and they will go.

If there is a noun or pronoun in apposition to the conjuncts, the verb agrees with it:

762. larkē, larkiyā, bacce, sab xush the.
boys girls children all happy were
Boys, girls, children, all were happy.

763. ramesh, sīma, sudhā, harel jānā cahtā hai.
Ramesh Sima Sudha everyone go wants
Ramesh, Sima, Sudha, everyone wants to go.

If all the nouns involved are feminine, the verb shows agreement with the feminine noun:

764. sudhā, aruṇā, nītā, sabhī xush thī.
Sudha Aruna Nita all happy were
Sudha, Aruna, Nita, all were happy.

765. sādhnā, santosh, rāginī, harek jānā cahtī hai.
Sadhna Santosh Ragini everyone go wants
Sadhna, Santosh, Ragini, everyone wants to go.

8.22 Disjunctive *yā* 'or' may be used singly or similar to a correlative, as in the following:

766. rām āegā yā uske pitā phon karengē.
Ram come will or his father phone do will
Ram will come or his father will call.

767. yā (to) sītā xud kitāb lāegī yā kisise
either Sita herself book bring will or someone by
bhijvā degī.
send+cause will
Either Sita will bring the book herself; or she will
have it sent by someone.

For disjunction also, structural and semantic compatibility are required:

768. *karuṇā banāras nahī gaī yā cād prithvī kā upgrah hai.
Karuna Banaras not went or moon earth of satellite is
*Karuna did not go to Banaras or the moon is earth's
satellite.

769. *irā rāt bhar nahī soī yā dūdh pīnā svāsthya ke liye
Ira night long not slept or milk drink health for
achchā hai.
good is
*Ira did not sleep all night or to drink milk is good
for health.

Disjunctives are used to provide alternatives, both exclusive and inclusive:

770. āp cāy pī lē yā maī āpke liye kāfī banā dūngā.
you tea drink take or I you for coffee make give will
You drink tea, or I will make coffee for you.

771. ritā banāras jāegī, yā ilāhābād, yā donō jagah.
Rita Banaras go will or Allahabad or both places

Rita will go to Banaras, or Allahabad, or both places.

Negative disjunctive is used similarly:

772. suresh mē na akal hai na udyam.

Suresh in not intelligence is not industry

Suresh is neither intelligent, nor industrious.

773. kalpanā na ghar mē miltī hai na daftar mē dikhī hai.
Kalpana not home in meets not office in seen is
One can meet Kalpana neither at home nor is she seen at the office.

774. sudhā ke pās na dhan hai, na subuddhi, na vidyā.
Sudha near not wealth is not good sense not learning
Sudha has neither wealth, nor good sense, nor education.

775. na rāj vahā āyā hai, na usne phon kiyā hai, na uskī not Raj here come has not he ag. phone done has not bahañ ko uskā kuch patā hai.
his sister dat. his some news is
Raj has neither come here, nor has he called, nor does his sister know anything about him.

8.23 This discussion implies that it is easy to distinguish between subordination and coordination. That, however, is not correct. The notion 'subordinate clause' is not as clear as is implied in grammatical literature.

Coordinators and subordinators are usually distinguished on the basis of the following characteristics.

The coordinating conjunctions are said to occur clause initially whereas subordinating conjunctions may occur clause medially too:

776. sushmā ghar mē ghusī aur mā ne use pukārā.
Sushma house in entered and mother ag. her called
Sushma entered the house and her mother called her.

777. *sushmā ghar mē ghusī mā ne aur use pukārā.
Sushma house in entered mother ag. and her called
*Sushma entered the house mother and called her.

778. rām bāzār isliye nahī gayā ki thakā thā.
Ram market for this not went that tired was.
Ram did not go to the market because he was tired.

The order of the two independent clauses can be changed in the coordinated sentence; this, however, is not possible with subordinate clauses:

779. rītā so gaī aur sīmā pañhne lagī.

Rita sleep went and Sima read began

Rita went to sleep and Sima began to read.

780. sīmā pañhne lagī aur rītā so gaī.

Sima read began and Rita sleep went

Sima began to read and Rita went to sleep.

781. usne kahā ki bahut garmī hai.

he ag. said that much heat is

He said that it was very hot.

782. *ki bahut garmī hai usne kahā.

that much heat is he ag. said.

That it is very hot he said.

The coordinated conjunctions can conjoin two or more subordinate clauses, the subordinating conjunctions can not:

783. maī isliye āī hū ki tumhē apne sāth le calū aur
I for this come have that you-self with take leave and
mātā ji se bhī mil lū.

mother hon. with also meet take

I have come so that I could take you with me and
also meet mother.

In coordination, the repeated items are usually deleted, whereas in subordination, repeated items tend to be pronominalized:

784. rām ne shyām ko bulāyā aur miñhai dī.
Ram ag. Shyam DO called and sweets gave.
Ram called Shyam and gave him sweets.

785. rām ne shyām ko isliye qātā ki usne sharārat kī thi.
Rām ag. Shyam DO for his scolded that he ag. mischief
done had
Ram scolded Shyam because he had done mischief.

786. rāj ne cāy māgāi aur ratnā ne bhī.
Raj ag. tea ordered and Ratna ag. too
Raj ordered tea and Ratna did so, too.

787. rām ne isliye dūdh māgāyā ki munna bhī māgāe.
Ram ag. for this milk ordered that Munna also order

Ram ordered milk so that Munna would also do the same.

If we take these characteristics and plot the coordinating and subordinating conjunctions on a chart, the results are interesting. In 789, the following conjunctions are plotted: *aur* 'and' *yā* 'or', *par* 'but', *nahī* to 'otherwise', *yadi* 'if', *jo* 'wh-', and *ki* 'that'. The characteristics discussed above are summarised in 788:

788. a. clause-initial occurrence
- b. reversible order
- c. ability to conjoin subordinate clauses, and
- d. deletion of repeated items

The chart in 789 has a "+" for each characteristic possessed by the item and "-" if the item does not possess the characteristic:

789. characteristics	a clause init.	b rev. order	c conj. sub-cl.	d del.
conjunctions				
<i>aur</i> 'and'	+	+	+	+
<i>yā</i> 'or'	+	+	+	+
<i>par</i> 'but'	-	+	+	±
<i>nahī</i> to 'otherwise'	-	-	+	±
<i>yadi</i> 'if'	-	-	-	±
<i>jo</i> 'wh-'	+	±	-	±
<i>ki</i> 'that'	-	±	-	±

789 shows that only *aur* 'and', and its synonyms, and *yā* 'or' and its synonyms, possess all the characteristics of coordinators: *par* 'but' and *ki* 'that' fall in between. The complement marker *ki* 'that' is supposed to be a clear subordinator, but according to 789, it is less of a subordinator than *yadi* 'if'.² Relative clauses in Hindi have more characteristics of coordinate clauses than of subordinate clauses.³ More research is needed to characterize coordination and subordination in Hindi satisfactorily.⁴

NOTES

1. For a discussion of what is meant by 'similar' in this context, refer to Stockwell et al., (1973).
2. The subordinator *ki* normally occurs after the main clause as in 781. Notice, however, that if the complement contains a head noun, the complement clause may occur within the main clause:
 - (i) *yah dāvā galat hai ki* is daftar mē koi rishvat
this claim wrong is that this office in someone bribe
nahī letā.
not takes
This claim is wrong that nobody in this office takes bribe.
 - (ii) *yah dāvā ki* is daftar mē koi rishvat *nahī letā*
this claim that this office in someone bribe not takes
galat hai.
wrong is
The claim that no body in this office takes bribe is wrong.
3. The appositive clause occurs in a fixed position, i. e. immediately following the head noun:
 - (i) *vah lañkī, jo shalya cikitsak hai, abhī*
the girl who surgeon is now
landan se lauñi hai.
London from returned has
The girl who is a surgeon has just come back from London.
 - (ii) **vah lañkī abhī landan se lauñi hai jo shalya cikitsak hai*.
The girl now London from returned has who surgeon is
The girl has just returned from London who is a surgeon.
 - (iii) *rām, jo bambaī mē rahta hai, kal āyā hai*.
Ram who Bombay in lives yesterday come has
Ram, who lives in Bombay, arrived yesterday.
 - (iv) **rām kal āyā hai jo bambaī mē rahtā hai*.
Ram yesterday come has who Bombay in lives
Ram arrived yesterday who lives in Bombay.

The sentence in (ii) is grammatical if interpreted as a restrictive relative clause; (iv) has no interpretation at all.
4. For a discussion of the characteristics of subordination and coordination in English; see Quirk et al (1972) and Stockwell et al. (1973).

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The bibliography contains a listing of the theoretical works that have been consulted in recent research on topics in Hindi grammar, in addition to those works that have been referred to in the text. The following abbreviations are used for journals according to current convention:

<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CLS</i>	<i>Papers from the University of Chicago regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society</i>
<i>FL</i>	<i>Foundations of Language</i>
<i>IL</i>	<i>Indian Linguistics</i>
<i>JL</i>	<i>Journal of Linguistics</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Linguistic Analysis</i>
<i>Lg.</i>	<i>Language</i>
<i>LI</i>	<i>Linguistic Inquiry</i>
<i>PIL</i>	<i>Papers in Linguistics</i>
<i>SLS</i>	<i>Studies in the Linguistic Sciences</i>

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