Hindi

An Essential Grammar

‘Hindi: An Essential Grammar is exactly what a pedagogically oriented grammar of a language should be: wide in its coverage, elegant in its style, clear in its presentation, and simple, without being simplistic, in its content.’

Rajendra Singh, Professor of Linguistics, Université de Montreal, Canada

Hindi: An Essential Grammar is a practical reference guide to the core structures and features of modern Hindi. Assuming no prior knowledge of Hindi grammar, this book avoids jargon and overly technical language as it takes the student through the complexities of Hindi grammar in short, readable sections.

Suitable for either independent study or for students in schools, colleges, universities and adult education classes, key features include:

• full examples throughout in both Devanagari and Roman script with a gloss in English
• glossary of technical terms and detailed subject index
• cross-referencing between sections
• authentic material provided in the Appendix demonstrating grammar usage.

Hindi: An Essential Grammar will help students, in both formal and non-formal education and of all levels to read, speak and write the language with greater confidence and accuracy.

Rama Kant Agnihotri is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Delhi. He has lectured extensively in universities across the world and his previous publications include Noam Chomsky: The Architecture of Language (edited with N. Mukherjee and B. N. Patnaik) and Hindi Morphology: A Word-based Description (with Rajendra Singh).
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This book makes no claims to being an original piece of research. It is based on my understanding of how Hindi works and as the Acknowledgements show I owe this book to a large number of friends, teachers and scholars. I hope students and teachers who know some Hindi will find it useful. Even those who know no Hindi can use it with some effort. It should help them to appreciate the nature, structure and use of Hindi and perhaps in some ways facilitate their acquisition of Hindi.

Every grammar is presumably written with some conceptual understanding; it also has a specific design for a specific audience. At the conceptual level I strongly feel that grammar is located in sentences, and words and sounds are simply its constituents. The best way to understand the nature and structure of a language may not be to look at it in a linear and additive fashion; it may be more productive to first look at a whole and then try to deconstruct its parts. Addition of parts may in fact never equal a whole. Unlike most other grammars, *Hindi: An Essential Grammar* places 'sentence', often seen in a specific context, at the centre of the discussion of various grammatical issues. The book is divided into seven parts and has an Appendix and a Glossary. Part I deals with different types of simple sentences in Hindi in addition to briefly talking about the history and development and the geographical area in which Hindi is spoken. Part II deals with words and the ways in which they are related to each other; it deals with Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives and Adverbs and their intra- and inter-categorial relationships. Part III deals with more complex word formations such as Reduplication and Compounds. Part II and III thus deal with words which have variable forms related to each other; Part IV, on the other hand, largely deals with words that do not change their shape, for example, Pronouns, Postpositions, Emphatic Particles, Conjunctions, Interjections and many adverbs. In Part V, I turn to Tense, Aspect and Mood and such constructions as the Passive, Subjunctive and Ergative. Part VI deals with Compound and Complex sentences. It is only in Part VII that I provide a brief description of the nature and structure of Hindi sounds and their relationship to the Devanagari writing system. The Appendix shows ‘Grammar in Context’. Here I analyse a few texts in the context of the grammatical description provided in the book. The Glossary lists the technical terms used in the book. Most of these terms are also explained in the body of the text. There is thus a spiral structure to the grammar as a whole. It moves backwards and forwards. It really depends on the reader where she wishes to start. If the reader feels that the illustrated list of Symbols at the beginning is not enough to plunge into the structure of the Hindi sentence, she is free to read relevant sections of Part VII first and then return to Part I; others may like to begin with words in Part II. The basic idea is to explicate the kind of rules that govern the formation of Hindi words and sentences. A quick look at both the Contents and the Index may help a reader to identify the optimal point to start.

I have consistently used a reader-friendly Roman transcription system. Every sentence, phrase or word is first written in the Devanagari script; it is then transcribed in the Roman script and finally a gloss in English is given. I think even to learn to read and write, this is a much better approach than going through an alphabet drill. I will be amply rewarded if you enjoy reading this grammar. Your suggestions are welcome. Please email them to agniirk@yahoo.com

Rama Kant Agnihotri
Delhi, India, 2006
Acknowledgements

The project of writing an elementary grammar of Hindi has been in my thoughts for a very long time. A variety of groups and individuals including, among others, school teachers, teacher trainers, Hindi language instructors at home and abroad, students learning Hindi as a first, second or foreign language and a large number of non-government voluntary organisations involved in innovative language teaching through distance, contact or distance and contact modes appeared to need it desperately. One of their major problems was that they could not find a book in which facts of grammar would be illustrated in easily accessible texts and contexts. Grammar was studied in isolation and forgotten when one turned to teaching actual texts. Among other things, this book tries to bridge that gap, in particular through an appendix where some easily accessible and frequently used text samples are analysed grammatically in some detail. It makes an attempt to describe in as simple a way as possible the basic structure of Hindi sounds, words and sentences and its writing system. Whenever possible, there is some discussion of the semantic, pragmatic and social aspects of Hindi as well.

I may never have got around to actually writing this grammar had I not completed Hindi Morphology: A Word-based Description (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1997) in collaboration with Rajendra Singh of the University of Montreal, Montreal. Indeed I owe this book to him in more ways than one, and it leans heavily on our 1997 book. Rajendra Singh has been a friend, a colleague and a guru. Even in the case of this book, he has carefully looked at several chapters and has made several useful suggestions most of which have been incorporated. I have also benefited a great deal from the work of Platt’s (1873), Guru (1920), Kellog (1933), Vajpayee (1958), Bahri (1960), Upreti (1964), Kachru (1966, 1980), Bahl (1967, 1974), Kelkar (1968), Srivastava (1968, 1994) Pray (1970), McGregor (1972), Hook (1974, 1979), Sharma (1978), Bahri (1981), Dimshits (1983), Subbarao (1984), Shapiro (1989), Singh (1992), Abbi (1994), Cardona and Jain (2003), Montaut (2003) and Das (2006) among others. Part II of this book in particular leans heavily on Singh and Agnihotri (1997).

A greater part of this book was written in 2005 while I was in the United States, on sabbatical from the University of Delhi. I should like to thank Rajesh Kumar with all my heart. It was while I was staying with him in Austin, Texas for about 10 days that some chapters of the book got written. Our discussions clarified several issues of Hindi structure for us. Several chapters were also written in Southfield, Michigan and I am grateful to my daughter, Vipasha, her husband Rahul, our granddaughters Ananya and Lavanya and my wife Saroj for letting me work in peace for some part of the day at least; talking to the three-year old Ananya was indeed a joy and a source of strength. I am also grateful to Anoop and Gyanam Mahajan for not only inviting me to give a talk at UCLA but also, as in the past, looking after me with great care and warmth. They also looked at a couple of chapters and gave me very useful suggestions. Thanks are due to K. V. Subbarao who, though extremely busy, clarified certain syntactic issues. In fact, I have learnt a great deal while sitting in on his classes and teaching courses with him. The list of several other people who helped me in different ways is indeed very long but must include Rakesh Bhatt, Santosh Choudhary, Rimli Bhattacharya, Kumar Shahani, Naresh, Om and Harbir Arora, Satish, Seeta, and most of all, my son Aditya, his wife Geeta and our granddaughter Homna. I am deeply grateful to H. K. Dewan and the Vidya Bhawan Society for providing me with peace and the infrastructural facilities to finish this book. Special thanks are due to A. L. Khanna who carefully read through each chapter. I must also thank the anonymous reviewers whose critical feedback went a long way in helping me to improve some of the chapters. I am grateful to the editorial team at Routledge who were indeed very patient and consistently gave constructive feedback. However, I alone am responsible for what follows.

Rama Kant Agnihotri
Delhi, India, 2006
Symbols

Unlike many other Hindi grammars, I have followed a largely transparent reader-friendly system of transcription. The table here is divided into two broad sections: Vowels and Consonants. The first column provides the Roman symbol that has been used to represent Hindi sounds in the book. The next column provides full and short forms of the sound in question in the Devanagari writing system. For example, the full form of क as in the Hindi word कब (कब) ‘when’ is क (i.e. it has an inherent a sound in it) but its short form (i.e. the form without the inherent vowel ए) is represented by क as in पक्का (पक्का) ‘strong’. The last column illustrates the sounds and their orthographic representation in Hindi and, wherever possible, in English. It is important that you read carefully the notes given at the end. For more details about Hindi orthography, see the chapters on Hindi sounds and script in Part VII of this book.

Vowels

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Consonants

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<td>हम, बी</td>
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Notes
1. All consonants in their full form contain this vowel in their pronunciation; it is however, not pronounced at the end of words (see Section 36.3).
2. Notice that though written before the consonant, it is pronounced after it.
3. English does not have a pure e-like sound. Indians tend to pronounce the set of words known, go, no, coat etc. using this sound. Standard British English normally has a sequence of vowel sounds in these words.
4. This Hindi sound is quite close to the sequence of vowel sounds in words like found, round, loud etc.
5. English has consonants quite close to these sounds in k and p except that in English they are aspirated as kʰ and pʰ in stressed initial positions.
6. The whole series of aspirated sounds namely, kʰ, r, r and ʰ is absent from English as a significant sounds.
7. The whole series of strongly voiced and aspirated sounds namely, r, ɹ, ř and l ʰ is absent from English (for details, see Part VII).
8. Though the sounds in English church and judge are quite similar to the corresponding sounds in Hindi, there is an important difference. The English sounds have a strong element of friction in them.
9. English does not have any sound like the Hindi retroflex series ɾ, ɾ, ɾ and ɾ. This series is produced with the tongue curled backwards.
10. English also does not have the dental sounds ɾ, ɾ and ɾ; the sounds closest to these are intermediate between the dental and the retroflex. The ɾ of try and ɾ of day are alveolar, not dental or retroflex.
11. ɾ: Hindi r as appears in a variety of shapes as in रा pratha, 'tradition'; रा karm 'deed' and रा trek, 'truck' (for details, see the relevant chapters in Part VII).
12. र: The Hindi र sound is very different from its counterpart in such English words as van and victory. The English र has a strong element of labio-dental friction in it.
13. र and र: There was in Sanskrit and perhaps earlier Hindi a distinction between र, a retroflex sound and र sh, a palatal sound. But today, very few people make this distinction.
14. ɾ and ɾ: Rare sounds. They do not even appear at the beginning of a word. Notice that the nasals ɾ and ɾ also do not appear at the beginning of words. Even in other positions, they are used rather infrequently.
15. र and ɾ: These symbols actually represent consonant clusters. र ksha is a combination of र k and र sh; र tro of ɾ t and ɾ r and र gyro of ɾ r and ɾ yo.
16. र: (Sanskrit r; Hindi r). In Sanskrit, this was a vowel sound. There is a small set of Sanskrit words in the Hindi, that is, रिरा rishī, 'saint'; रिरा rīna, 'debt'; रिरा rītu, 'season' etc. in which we do notice the letter र but it is generally pronounced as र।
17. The symbol — over vowel sounds has been used to indicate vowel nasalisation.
18. The symbol | has been incorporated into the Devanagari script to accommodate some words from English. Words like doctor and hotel are written with this symbol as in डॉक्टर, होटल etc.
19. *: Ungrammatical words and sentence marked with asterisk.
20. र, र, र, र, र as in राम qalām 'pen', रामayān ayān 'opinion', राम ayān 'pain', रासरा rasāra 'distance' and रिजाल zinda 'alive' respectively (see 37.4).

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>WFS</td>
<td>Word Forming Strategy</td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>first person</td>
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<td>II</td>
<td>second person (तुम tum, 'you')</td>
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<tr>
<td>II(h)</td>
<td>second (honorific आप aap, 'you')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II(nh)</td>
<td>second person (non-honorific तू tuu, 'you')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
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This chapter provides a brief introduction to Hindi. It informs the reader about the area in which Hindi is spoken, the status of Hindi in India and the world, and what the word ‘Hindi’ really covers. It also introduces the reader to the nature and structure of Hindi sounds and its writing system, Hindi vocabulary and the Hindi sentence.

1.1 The Hindi area

Hindi is certainly one of the most widely understood languages of India. If you look at the map of India (p. 4), it would not be an exaggeration to say that colloquial Hindi is fairly well understood by most of the people living in the vast area bordered to the North by the Himalayas and Nepal, to the South by Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, to the South-east by Orissa, to the East by West Bengal and to the North-west by Punjab and Gujarat (map from: http://sun-bin.blogspot.com/2005/11/map-indias-ethno-linguistic-map.html).

1.2 The status of Hindi

Over 180,000,000 people actually claim to use Hindi in the states of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana, Himachal and Madhya Pradesh; it is also used in a variety of places across the world including the West Indies, South Africa, Kenya, the United Arab Emirates, Canada, Yemen, Zambia, the UK and the USA. It is not only, along with English, the official language of the Indian Union but also the official language of the states of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Himachal Pradesh. It is also a widely used language in mass media: a substantial part of films, music, newspapers and magazines, radio and television programmes, advertisements and tourism and information literature is produced in Hindi.
In North India, Hindi is often the medium of instruction in government schools. It is also extensively used in administration, legislature and lower judiciary.

Hindi is a very important language at local, regional, national and international levels. Over the years, it has built a very rich literary and cultural tradition in all these contexts. Above all it constitutes a lingua franca not only among the speakers of closely related languages such as Braj, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Bundeli, Magahi and a large number of languages spoken in the plains of Punjab and Haryana and the hills of Himachal and Garhwal but also quite often among the speakers of more distantly related languages such as Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Nepali and so on. Yet it is not appropriate to claim that Hindi has become a lingua franca for the whole country. There are large areas in the South and North-east where it is not understood at all. We may also note that despite its overwhelming presence in the country, it does not have the status and power that compares favourably with English. In fact what defines the true character of India is the multilingualism of both its individuals and groups. India articulates itself in a multiplicity of voices and reconstructs these voices in the process of using them.

### 1.3 What do we mean by ‘Hindi’?

When one thinks of Hindi, in the sense in which most people use it today, one should think of it as an umbrella term for a large number of related languages that are all actively spoken over the vast area indicated earlier. There is a language continuum where adjacent variations entail high levels of mutual comprehensibility and where the distant ends are nearly mutually incomprehensible. This does not only apply to the four major varieties of Hindi itself, namely, High Hindi, Hindustani, Dakhmini and Urdu but also to languages like Awadhi (spoken in the Awadh region of Uttar Pradesh), Bhojpuri, Magahi, Vajjika and Maithili (spoken in different parts of Bihar), Bundeli (spoken in parts of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh) and Braj (spoken in areas around Mathura and Brindaban in Uttar Pradesh). Each of these languages has its own rich literary tradition even though a textbook of Hindi may often present a rather awkward collection of Braj, Awadhi and standard Hindi as Hindi literature!

It is now generally accepted that Hindustani/Colloquial Hindi, though closely associated with Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages such as Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Punjabi, Nepali and so on actually had its origins in army camps. (The literal meaning of the word *rekhta* is ‘army camp’ where soldiers from different backgrounds were forced
to find a common medium of communication; it is a word that was used to
describe the earliest forms of *khari boli*, literally ‘standing or good
description’, the term also used for contemporary standard Hindi.) No
wonder then that even today the Hindi of the streets of North India
shows strong influences not only of Sanskrit but also of Persian, Turkish,
English and Portuguese. At that point in time, that is, the middle
of the nineteenth century, Hindustani became the dominant medium of
communication and literary activity irrespective of religion and caste.
Even though many Hindi enthusiasts like to trace the beginnings of
Hindi to around the tenth century AD, languages such as Apabramsha,
Avahatt, Sadhukkari and Braj were also dominant at different times.
Even when in the nineteenth century Hindi established itself as the
language of prose, the dominant language of poetry continued to be Braj. In fact it is possible to argue that the main reason for the rise
of Hindustani was the fall of Braj and the rise of the Indian national
movement for freedom.

**1.4 Hindi sounds and writing system**

Hindi consists of a total of 46 sounds, 10 vocalic and 36 consonantal.
Depending on one's social and linguistic perspective, this number may
range from 46 to 47 or even 52. In Part VIII of this book, we will
discuss their nature, manner of articulation and orthographic representa-
tion in some detail. Hindi is written in the देवनागरी devanaagarii,
‘Devanagari’ script (often called just naagarii), a script which is also
used to write Sanskrit, Marathi and Nepali. The writing systems for
several hitherto unwritten Indian languages were also developed either
in Roman or Devanagari script.

It is often claimed that the Devanagari writing system is highly
phonetic in that you write exactly what you speak. This, as we will
see later, is not entirely true. It is also important to point out that it is
not very easy to learn the Devanagari writing system. It is extremely
complex. In the Roman writing system, even though there are highly
irregular correspondences between speech and writing, the writing is
completely linear, left to right and except for there being upper and
lower case letters, there is no need to make many modifications to
the basic Roman alphabet letters in the case of, say, English. In the
Nagari writing system, each letter is likely to have multiple shapes even
though they are systematically associated with the corresponding sounds. Further, the Nagari writing system has been described as multi-
dimensional rather than unidirectional as is the case with the Roman
writing system of English. Any Hindi consonant can in principle be
modified in all four directions; in many cases these modifications may

be simultaneous. For example, consider the consonantal sound k as it
appears in the English word ‘king’ or the Hindi word केला kelaa,
‘banana’. In English you will come across only two shapes, namely,
K and k, the former being generally used in the sentence-initial position.
In Hindi, however, you will notice the following: क k, क़ k़, क़ा k़ा,
क़ू k़ू, कृ kृ, किते kिते, कू kू, कु kू. के ke, के kे, को kो and कू kू. Since 1966,
although the government of India has made a series of efforts to
standardise the Devanagari writing system for Hindi, there is still
considerable variation in the way in which people write it. In Part VII,
we will discuss all these issues in some detail. A brief introduction to
the symbols and abbreviations used for transcription has already been
provided immediately after the Preface.

**1.5 The Hindi sentence**

If we focus only on the simple sentences where a subject, verb and an
object are involved, the languages of the world can be divided into two
broad categories on the basis of the structure of these simple sentences.
We can either have the ‘Object Verb’ order or the ‘Verb Object’ order.
Consider the simple English sentence:

> Mohan ate an apple.

In this sentence, we have the pattern ‘Verb Object’ since the object
‘an apple’ appears after the verb ‘ate’. English then is a verb-medial
language. Now consider the following corresponding sentence in
Hindi:

> मोहन ने सेब खाया।

mohan ne seb khaaya

Mohan ate an apple.

In this case the verb appears after the object. Hindi then is a verb-final
language. Also, in English if there is no object, the verb appears in the
final position as in sentences such as the following:

> Mohan slept.

The queen suddenly died.

The default position for the subject appears to be the initial position
in the sentence because in both English and Hindi, the subject occupies
the initial position. It is interesting to note that there are several other syntactic features which are by implication related to a language being verb-medial or verb-final. For example, verb-medial languages like English generally have prepositions in expressions such as ‘on the table’ (‘on’ appears before the table) whereas languages like Hindi which are verb-final have postpositions as in नेग पर mez par, ‘on the table’ (पर appears after नेग). We will discuss the structure of Hindi sentences in future chapters.

1.6 The Hindi vocabulary

In the past, Hindi regularly borrowed words from a variety of sources. Today, Sanskrit is often selected as the privileged source for borrowing or coining new words. There was in effect no ‘legislation’ as to which words could potentially become Hindi words. It is therefore not uncommon for Hindi to have a large number of synonyms for a number of words in its lexicon. For example, for the English word ‘garden’, one could use बाग baag, बैगरा bagicca or उपवन upvan. One could also have ‘redundant compounds’ such as धन दाल dhan-daulat, ‘wealth’, शादी-विवाह shaadii-vivaah, ‘marriage’ or धर्म-दीमा dharm-imaan, ‘religion/duty’ and so on, where the two elements of the compound though drawn from different languages have similar meanings; ‘redundant compounds’ (see Chapter 16) in effect are really single words. They simply underscore the hitherto assimilatory nature and rich heritage of the development of Hindi.


Today, the processes of standardisation have all but ‘legislated’ that the future lexicon of Hindi will be drawn primarily from Sanskrit and to some extent from other related languages. Not only that, it has also been ensured that existing words from sources such as Persian, Turkish, Arabic and Portuguese be replaced by Sanskrit words. Only those words which have become an integral part of day-to-day life have not been changed. Some such words have been listed earlier. A similar rigidity is also seen in the case of Urdu. Speakers of Urdu do not wish to use colloquial Hindustani words; nor do they wish to accept new words that originate primarily from Sanskrit. It is therefore not surprising to note that what was hitherto only one language, often written in two scripts, is perceived to be two different languages which at the formal level may in fact become mutually incomprehensible because of the widely differentiated lexical items used.

1.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we tried to understand what we mean by ‘Hindi’ and noted that it has a large number of varieties that are spoken not only in India but also in different parts of the world. We noted that along with English, Hindi is the official (and not the national) language of India with an overwhelming presence in different domains of activity in large parts of the country. Some basic features of the Hindi sounds, vocabulary and sentence structure were discussed. We also briefly introduced the Devanagari script that is used to write Hindi.
Chapter 2

Hindi sentence structure

A simple sentence consists of a Subject and a Predicate; the predicate consists of a verb and optionally of object(s). In this chapter, I discuss the order of basic constituents such as Subject (S), Object (O) and Verb (V) in Hindi; nature of agreement between different constituents of a sentence; and the properties of Noun, Verb, Adverb and Postpositional Phrases. I also introduce Declarative (affirmative and negative), Interrogative, Imperative and Exclamatory sentences.

2.1 Word order

I have briefly talked about the Hindi sentence in Section 1.4 in Chapter 1. In general, English is a Subject–Verb–Object (SVO) language (SV if there is no object) and Hindi a Subject–Object–Verb (SOV) language (again SV if there is no object). In the English sentence ‘Ram eats an apple’, the subject ‘Ram’ comes first, the verb ‘eats’ comes in the middle and the object ‘an apple’ comes at the end. In the corresponding Hindi sentence 1,

1 राम खाता है।
   raam khaataa hai
   Ram eats an apple.

the subject comes first, as in English, but the order of Verb and Object are inverted from VO in English to OV in Hindi; शेष seb, ‘apple’ which is the object of the act of eating comes in the middle and खाता है khaataa hai, ‘eats’, the verb, appears at the end.

As in most other languages, Hindi sentence structure is sensitive as to whether what is involved is a simple statement, a question, a negative, an exclamation or an imperative. It is also sensitive to changes of

case, aspect, tense and mood. Since questions, negatives and so on may involve minor variations, we should first discuss the structure of the simple sentence in some detail.

2.2 Subject–verb agreement

Though I will return to this feature again in Chapters 10 and 11, and in several chapters in Parts V and VI of this book, I will first discuss some of the most general features of the kind of agreement that is obtained between the subject and verb in a simple Hindi sentence. The general principle is that the verb will agree with a noun phrase which is not followed by an overt postposition. Unless there is a postposition after the subject of a sentence, the verb will agree with the subject in person, number and gender. Consider the following examples:

2 शैता रोज नहाती है।
   siitaa roz nahaati hai
   Sita bathes everyday.

3 लड़कियाँ पालतू में केरल रही है।
   laRkiyaa maaidaan me khel rahii hai
   Girls are playing in the playground.

4 फिताब पढ़ रहा है।
   maai kitaab paRh raha hii
   I am reading a book.

5 आप बहुत तेज़ चलती है।
   aap bahut tez caltii hai
   You (polite) walk very fast.

6 तुम रोज़ मुझे परेशान करते हैं।
   tum roz mujhe pareshaan karte ho
   You bother me every day.
2.3 Linear ordering of constituents

2.3.1 Adjectives and nouns

For a variety of reasons, it is important to understand the linear order of words and phrases in Hindi sentences, even though there is often considerable flexibility in word order. Adjectives, possessive pronouns and quantifiers will always precede the main noun in the noun phrase. In English, nouns are also often preceded by articles but there is nothing comparable to the English articles ‘a’, ‘an’, and ‘the’ in Hindi. Adjectives in Hindi may be invariant or variable. For example, the adjectives in 8 and 9 do not change even though the noun following is masculine in 8 and feminine in 9. Variable adjectives agree in number and gender with the nouns they modify as in 10 to 12 below:

8. लाल कपड़ा laal kapRaa, red cloth
9. लाल सादी laal saaRi, red sari
10. लम्बा लड़का lambaa laRkaa, tall boy
11. लम्बे लड़के lambe laRke, tall boys
12. लम्बी लड़कियां lambii laRkiyaā, tall girls
13. मेरा घर meraa ghar, my house
14. मेरी किताबें merii kitaabē, my books
15. दस लम्बी लड़कियां das lambii laRkiyaā, ten tall girls

It is clear from the examples 8 to 15 that adjectives, possessive pronouns and quantifiers precede the noun in a noun phrase; if both quantifier and adjective are used, the quantifier normally precedes the adjective. The normal structure of a noun phrase in a Hindi sentence then is Quantifier + Adjective + Noun as in 15. The number of adjectives that qualify the noun can be always more than one. लाल laal, ‘red’ belongs to the invariant category adjectives and does not change whether the following noun is masculine (कपड़ा kapRaa, ‘cloth’) or feminine (सादी saaRi, ‘sari’); लम्बा lambaa, ‘tall’ is a variable adjective and changes its shape depending on the number and gender of the following noun; in the case of feminine nouns, singular or plural, it is लम्बी lambii; in the case of masculine plural nouns, it is लम्बे lamb e as in 11. The possessive adjectives behave like adjectives; we say मेरा meraa, ‘my’ because घर ghar, ‘house’ is masculine singular (cf. 13) and मेरी merii because किताब kitaab, ‘book’ is feminine in 14.
2.3.2 Nouns, postpositions and agreement

Another important feature of linear ordering is concerned with agreement. In case the subject noun phrase is followed by a postposition, the verb agrees with the next noun which is not blocked by a postposition. In the following sentences:

16 मोहन ने बेले काया।
   मोहन ने केले क्हाया।
   Mohan ate bananas.

17 मोहन ने चीनी खायी।
   मोहन ने चीनी क्हायी।
   Mohan ate sugar.

The subject noun मोहन, 'Mohan' is followed by a postposition ने ne; the next available free noun in 16 is बेले kele, 'bananas', which is masculine plural, and the verb काया khaaye, 'ate' agrees with it; in 17, the noun चीनी cinii, 'sugar' is feminine singular; the verb क्हायी khaayii, 'ate' reflects that fact. If all the nouns in a sentence are blocked by postpositions, Hindi uses, as we will see later, default agreement. There are some idiosyncratic lexical items that constitute exceptions to these very general rules of agreement. We turn to them in relevant chapters. Here we may note that the aspect indicated by the verb is perfective, that is, the action of eating in 16 and 17 is completed.

2.3.3 Flexibility in word order

The fact that noun phrases in Hindi are often clearly separated by postpositions makes it possible for Hindi to have a fairly free word order, unlike English. Thus in English if instead of saying 'Mohan hit Sita' we say 'Sita hit Mohan', the meaning is reversed; in the first sentence Sita is getting hit; in the second, Mohan. Consider examples 18 and 19 in the following sentences:

18 मोहन ने सिता को मारा।
   मोहन ने सिटाको माराया।
   Mohan hit Sita.

Notice that in 18 and 19, the nouns have been switched around along with the postpositions that follow them; yet 18 and 19 mean the same thing which is not the case in the English sentences discussed earlier.

2.3.4 Direct and indirect object

Another important feature of the linear ordering of constituents in a Hindi sentence is the order of direct and indirect objects. Generally, the indirect object will come before the direct object. In 20,

20 सिता ने मोहन को किताब दी।
   सिता ने मोहन को किताब dìi
   Sita gave a book to Mohan.

किताब, 'book' is the direct object and मोहन, 'Mohan' the indirect object; the indirect object comes before the direct object. In fact, this is a property of many SOV languages.

2.3.5 Marker of comparison

In English, in a sentence such as 'Mohan is taller than Sohan', the marker of comparison 'than' comes before the standard of comparison, namely, 'Sohan'. This is a common feature of SVO languages such as English. Hindi is an SOV language. In Hindi, the marker of comparison comes after the standard of comparison as in 21:

21 मोहन सोहन से लम्बा है।
   मोहन सोहन से लम्बा है।
   Mohan is taller than Sohan.

In 21, है se, 'from' which is a marker of comparison comes after 'Sohan' which is the standard of comparison.
2.3.6 Adverbs

If you look at sentences 2, 3 and 5, you will find adverbial expressions रोज़ rozh, ‘daily’ (an adverb of time, frequency), मैदान में maidaan me, ‘in the playground’ (an adverb of place) and तेज़ tezh, ‘fast’ (an adverb of manner). Notice that all these adverbs appear immediately after the subject or before the verb phrase. These are indeed the most unmarked positions of adverbs in a Hindi sentence. However, adverbs are rather free-floating expressions and can actually appear at any place in a sentence, depending on the focus you wish to accord them (see Chapters 9, 12 and 14). They often tend to gain salience at the beginning and end of sentences (see Appendix). Adverbs of time and place may be arranged in an ascending or a descending order in any language. An ascending order implies that a smaller chunk of time or place is mentioned before the bigger one; this would be reversed in a descending order. Adverbs of time tend to come before adverbs of place, but there is a descending order in the adverbs of time and place in Hindi. Let’s examine 22 carefully:

22 कह रोज़ शाम चार को कलब में होता है।
vah rozh shaam caar baje klab mē hotaa hai
He is in the club at four in the evening every day.

The order of adverbial constituents in Hindi and English appear to be a mirror image of each other. In English we say: ‘four p.m.’, ‘evening’ and ‘day’ in that order, that is, the order is ascending – 4 p.m. which is a smaller chunk of time appears before evening which includes a specific hour such as 4 p.m.; in Hindi we say: रोज़ rozh, ‘daily’, शाम shaam, ‘evening’ and चार को caar baje, ‘four o’ clock’, which is in descending order. Thus the time adverbials are organised in a descending order in Hindi. The same is true of adverbials of place in general. The bigger place will be mentioned first just as the larger chunk of time will be mentioned first. As we said the placement of adverbs is flexible. If we wish to focus on the time adverbial, we could bring it to the beginning and say:

23 रोज़ शाम चार को कबल में होता है।
rozh shaam caar baje vah klab mē hotaa hai
He is in the club at four in the evening every day.

2.4 Types of sentences

Earlier we discussed in some detail the properties of a simple declarative sentence. We may now briefly turn to other types of sentences, each one of which will be discussed in some detail in subsequent chapters. For obvious pedagogical reasons, our discussions will be both structural and notional. The basic purpose is to understand the nature and structure of different types of sentences. The simple imperative sentence can be used to give commands or make requests. Since these are invariably addressed to the second person and the person is encoded in the verb, expressions such as 24–26 may be said to constitute complete sentences:

24 जाो! jao, Go
25 जाओ! jaago, Wake up
26 जाईए! jaaiye, Please go (polite)

Negative sentences involve the use of नहीं nahi, न na or ना nā particles (see Chapter 3). The most frequently used negative particle is नहीं nahi. Consider the negative counterparts of 2, 3 and 4 in the following examples:

27 सीता रोज़ नहीं नहाती है।
sitaa rozh nahi nhaatii hai
Sita does not bathe everyday.

28 लड़कियाँ फैला में नहीं खेल रही है।
lāRkiyaā maidaan mē nahi khel rahii hāī
Girls are not playing in the playground.

29 मैं किताब नहीं पढ़ रहा हूँ।
māi kitaab nahi paRh rahaa hūū
I am not reading a book.

Notice that in English the negative particle ‘not’ is inserted between the auxiliary and the main verb; in Hindi नहीं nahi is inserted before the whole verb phrase.

We may now turn to interrogative sentences (see Chapter 4). As in other languages, they are of two types: ‘yes/no’ questions and information questions. In ‘yes/no’ questions, the answer to the question can be either ‘yes’ or ‘no’; in Hindi it is हां hāṅ, ‘yes’ or ना na, ‘no’. In information questions which in English are asked with such words as ‘what’, ‘where’, ‘when’, ‘who’ and so on, the listener has to provide some information. The ‘yes/no’ type of questions in English are asked by inverting
Chapter 3

Negatives

In general, there are three ways of negating a positive sentence: syntactic (indicated by the use of an explicit independent negative word in a sentence, for example, नहीं nahi in Hindi or 'not' in English), morphological (when we use a negative word that is clearly related to its positive counterpart as 'unkind' and 'kind') and lexical (when we use a word that has inherent negative connotations, for example, Hindi धन्य ghatiya, 'cheap'). For example, the English sentence 'This story is true' can be negated in the following three ways:

1. **This story is not true.** (Syntactic negation)
2. **This story is untrue.** (Morphological negation)
3. **This story is false.** (Lexical negation)

In the first case, we see the presence of an 'explicit' negative marker 'not'; in the second 'true' has been replaced by a morphologically related word 'untrue' while in the third it has been substituted by an unrelated word 'false' which nearly means 'not true'. In principle, there are similar possibilities in Hindi. For example, for the sentence, यह कहानी सत्य है yah kahaaani satya hai, 'This story is true', we have the following negative sentences:

4. यह कहानी सत्य नहीं है।
   yah kahaaani satya nahi hai
   This story is not true.

5. यह कहानी असत्य है।
   yah kahaaani asatya hai
   This story is untrue.
Negation

3.1 Negation

However, Hindi uses explicit negation far more frequently than other types of negation. There are at least three words that mark explicit negation in Hindi: नहीं nahi, न na and ना mat. All of them mean 'not' but they may not always be used interchangeably in all contexts. Like most other particles, all the three remain invariant. ना mat and न na are best used in the imperatives expressing commands, requests, warnings and advice as in sentences 7 to 12:

7 आप क्रृप्या यहाँ पर शोर न करें।
aap kripyaa yahaa par shor na karene.
Please do not make any noise here. (Request)

8 आप क्रृप्या यहाँ पर शोर न करें।
aap kripyaa yahaa par shor na karene.
Please do not make any noise here. (Request)

9 ना बोलो।
na bolo.
Don't speak. (Command)

10 तुम यहाँ ना बैठो।
tum yahaa na baiTho.
Don't sit here. (Order)

11 आपको यहाँ सिगरेट नहीं पीनी चाहिए।
aapko yahaa sigaret nahi piinee caahiye.
You (polite) should not smoke here. (Advice)

12 किसी भी लंगी तार से कहिए।
bijii kii langii taar se kahie.
Beware of the exposed electricity wire. (Warning)

मा mat is used most effectively in contexts which involve a sense of immediacy. Sentences involving मा mat can normally be used only when there is a clear hierarchy among the interlocutors; only a person senior in age, authority or status can use such expressions with the addressee. In such contexts it appears with the infinitival form of the verb, for example:

13 देखो तुम यहाँ मा जाना।
dekho tum yahaa ma jaana.
Be careful, don’t go there.

The order of मा mat can be switched around with the word that normally follows, for example,

14 मा बोलो।
ma bolo.
Don’t speak.

15 बोलो मा।
bolo ma.
Don’t speak.

Both 14 and 15 have approximately the same meaning and illocutionary force. This for example is not true of न na. In fact 16 has nearly the opposite meaning of 17. In 16, it is clear that न na has the status of a tag-particle.

16 बोलो न।
bolo na.
Please say something.

17 न बोलो।
na bolo.
Don’t speak.
3.2 The use of नहीं nahi, ‘not’

As we said earlier, नहीं nahi, ‘not’ is the most frequently used negative particle in Hindi. In normal unmarked speech and writing, it always gets attracted to the verb. For example,

18 अब मुझे और दर्द नहीं नहीं जाती।
ab mujhe aur dard sahii nahi nahi jaatii
I can’t bear more pain now.

19 वह कल खुल नहीं जाएगी।
vah kal skul nahii jaayegii
She will not go to school tomorrow.

20 मुझे अभी मूँह नहीं लगी।
mujhe abhii bhukk nahii lagii
I am not hungry yet.

21 हम कल बाजार नहीं गये थे।
ham kal baazaar nahii gaye the
We did not go to the market yesterday.

In questions that seek information, the negative particle gets inserted between the question word and the verb:

22 आप जली हर कौं नहीं आते?
aap jaldii ghar kyoh nahii aate
Why don’t you come home early?

23 मे तुझे देखने कांह कांह नहीं गया?
mii tumhii dekhne kahaa kahaa nahi gayaa
I went to all kinds of places looking for you.

Consider 24:

24 वह कब स्कुल नहीं जाता।
vah kab skul nahii jaataa
When does he not go to school?

Depending on the context, sentence 24 can have either of the following two meanings: (a) Which days or when is it the case that he does not go to school? (The assumption is that he normally does.) (b) He always goes to school. (The assumption is that there is never an occasion when he does not go to school.)

3.3 The use of ना na

We may now return to the affective uses of ना na. We noticed earlier that it could have the effect of persuasion and request. Here are some more examples:

25 दे दे न।
de do na
Please give it to me.

26 दो दुर घर है न, यो मेरा है।
vo jo duur ghar hai na vo meraa hai
That house you see in the distance is mine.

As in the case of 16, ना na has the force of a question-tag particle in 26. It does not negate the existence of a house; it in fact confirms it by asking the listener: ‘you see that house in the distance?’ The mastery over the contextually appropriate use of ना na certainly enhances one’s control over colloquial Hindi. न जाने na jaane, ‘I wonder/God knows’ is a very common expression as in 27:

27 न जाने क्या बताते है क्या बताते ही रही है।
na jaane kyaa bata hai kahii batai ja hai rahi hai
God knows what’s the matter; this girl is continuously crying.

कभी न कभी kabhi na kabhi, ‘sometime or the other’, कभी न कभी kabiin na kabiin, ‘somewhere or the other’, कई न कई koi na koi, ‘someone or the other’ etc. are very common expressions which involve the use of ना na but do not have any negative connotations. There is a famous Hindi song sung by one of the most legendary Indian playback singers of all time, Mohammed Rafi, from the film Sharaabii ‘Drunkard’ which goes as follows:

कभी न कभी kabhi na kabhi, sometime or the other
कभी न कभी kabhi na kabhi, somewhere or the other
3.4 Negative polarity items

We may finally turn to what are called negative polarity items, that is, words or expressions that attract negative particles and cannot in ordinary circumstances be used without explicit negative markers. In English, take the case of ‘budge’ or ‘red cent’ for example. One doesn’t normally say:

- “She bugged an inch.”
- “I have a red cent.”

Instead you have to say:

- She did not budge an inch.
- I don’t have even a red cent.

Similarly, in Hindi, we have a number of words and expressions that tend to attract negative particles. Some of them are हर्ज़ hargiz, कताई kataaii, पूछू कौरी phuuTii kauRii, बाल बाक़ा baal bāākā karnaa etc. None of these expressions can normally be used without the help of an explicit negative marker.

30 मेरे पास तो एक फूटी कौरी भी नहीं है।
mere paas to ek phuuTii kauRii bhii nahii hai
I don’t have even a red cent.

31 तुम नेगा बाल भी बाक़ा नहीं कर सकते।
tum meraa baal bhii bāākā nahii kar sakte
You can’t harm me in any way.

If you use any of the sentences from 28 to 31 without also using the negative marker, the sentences would not only become ungrammatical but also may not make any sense at all.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have briefly examined the structure and use of negative elements and negative polarity items. In both Hindi and English, a given idea can be negated in three different ways: syntactically, morphologically and lexically. At the level of the sentence, Hindi uses नहीं nahiī, न na and नत mat. The use of each one of these negative markers was discussed separately. It was also noted that न na in many contexts could function as a question-tag particle. I will briefly discuss morphological negation in Chapter 8.
Generally we can say that there are two types of questions in a language: 'yes/no' questions (Hindi हाँ hāṁ, 'yes' or नहीं nahiṁ, 'no') and 'information questions'. In the former, the only answer to the question can either be 'yes' or 'no', that is, affirmation or rejection of the declaration assumed by the question being asked. In the latter we always seek some new information; these are called information-seeking questions. One may also find two more types: alternative-type questions and tag-questions. In the alternative type, one generally gets a choice between two or more options. In the tag-questions, one makes a statement and at the end of it adds something to invite the listener to respond to the statement.

4.1 'Yes/no' questions

In English, when we say:

- Are you coming with me?

The answer can be 'yes' or 'no'; one does not have to say anything more. In English, 'yes/no' questions are created by inverting the subject and auxiliary in a simple sentence and by introducing a rising intonation towards the end of the question. Thus, the above 'yes/no' question has been formed by switching the position of the subject 'you' and the auxiliary 'are' in the sentence: 'You are coming with me.' If there is no auxiliary, we add the support of 'do' in English (which depending on the context will change to 'does' or 'did'). The question corresponding to the sentence 'You go to school everyday' is:

- Do you go to school everyday?

In Hindi, such questions generally involve the use of क्या kya (a 'yes/no' question-marker here) at the beginning of the sentence (as we will soon see, it can also mean 'what', an indicator of an information question). Consider 1 and 2:

1 क्या आप मेरे साथ क्या रहे हैं?
   kya aap mere saath kya rahe hai?
   Are you coming with me?

2 क्या आप रोज़ श्कूल जाते हैं?
   kya aap roj skul jaate hai?
   Do you go to school everyday?

The answer to the sentences 1 and 2 could either be हाँ hāṁ, 'yes' or नहीं nahiṁ, 'no'. Notice that it can never be मत mat, 'don't', even though as we saw in Chapter 3, in some contexts, न or मत can be used interchangeably. In Hindi, we do not have anything corresponding to the rule of 'do-support' in English in the absence of an auxiliary. For example, corresponding to the simple sentence:

3 कह अभी काजार गया?
   kah abhīi kazaar gayaa
   He just left for the market.

we have the following 'yes/no' question:

4 क्या कह अभी काजार गया?
   kya kah abhīi kazaar gayaa?
   Did he just leave for the market?

In normal Hindi speech, क्या kya is dropped and one uses a rising intonation at the end of the sentence exactly in the way one might in English.

4.2 Information questions

Information questions generally involve the use of one of the क k-words in Hindi just as in English we need a wh-word to achieve similar goals. The Hindi k-words include कौन kaun, 'who', कबं kābāṁ, 'where', किसका kiskaa, 'whose', कब kab, 'when', क्यों kyōṁ, 'why', क्या kya, 'what'
Why are you going to the hospital?

In Hindi, the k-words often tend to appear exactly where the answer to that specific question normally appears. For example, consider the following sentence:

5 Mohan kal rata raam ke saath dhire dhire sohan ke ghar gayaa.

Mohan slowly walked with Ram to Sohan's house last night.

We could have the following questions corresponding to 5:

6 Kaun kal rata raam ke saath dhire dhire sohan ke ghar gayaa?

Who walked slowly to Sohan's place with Ram last night? (Answer: Mohan)

7 Mohan kab raam ke saath dhire dhire sohan ke ghar gayaa?

When did Mohan slowly walk to Sohan's house with Ram? (Answer: kal rataat, last night)

8 Mohan kal rata kiske saath dhire dhire sohan ke ghar gayaa?

With whom did Mohan slowly walk to Sohan's house last night? (Answer: raam ke saath, with Ram)

9 Mohan kal rata raam ke saath kaise sohan ke ghar gayaa?

How did Mohan walk to Sohan's house with Ram last night. (Answer: dhire dhire, slowly)

10 Mohan kal rata raam ke saath dhire dhire kaha gayaa?

Where did Mohan slowly walk to with Ram last night? (Answer: sohan ke ghar, Sohan's house)

So we put the k-word exactly at the place where the reply to that particular piece of information would appear. Thus, kaun, 'who' appears where Mohan; kab, 'when' where kal rataat, 'last night' was; kiske saath; with whom where sohan, 'Sohan' was; kaise, 'how' where dhire dhire; 'slowly' was; and kab, kaha, 'where' where sohan ke ghar was. This is the general rule and it contrasts with the grammar of English question words in an interesting way.

However, we know that Hindi word order as compared to English word order is very flexible. In casual speech, the information question words actually tend to move as close to the verb as possible. (For transcription and glosses, see sentence 5.) Thus it would be quite acceptable to say:

- Kal rata raam ke saath dhire dhire sohan ke ghar kaun gayaa?
- Mohan raam ke saath dhire dhire sohan ke ghar kal gayaa?
- Mohan kal rata dhire dhire sohan ke ghar kiske saath gayaa?
- Mohan kal rata raam ke saath sohan ke ghar kaise gayaa?
- Mohan kal rata raam ke saath dhire dhire kaha gayaa?

Since the Hindi word order is fairly flexible, the information question word can often appear at the beginning or end of any constituent before the main verb. Sentence 5 can be divided into the following phrases or constituents:

- Mohan | kal rata | raam ke saath | dhire dhire | sohan ke ghar | gayaa.

If we wish to make a 'who-question' from this sentence, and wish to have Mohan mohan, 'Mohan' as the reply, any of the kaun questions given below will be acceptable:

- Kal rata | kaun | raam ke saath | dhire dhire | sohan ke ghar | gayaa?
- Kal rata | raam ke saath | kaun | dhire dhire | sohan ke ghar | gayaa?
- Kal rata | raam ke saath | dhire dhire | kaun | sohan ke ghar | gayaa?
- Kal rata | raam ke saath | dhire dhire | sohan ke ghar | kaun | gayaa?
4.3 Alternative-type questions

As we have already noticed, the question word is often omitted in Hindi speech. In alternative-type questions, this also seems to be the regular practice. For example, the following question offers a choice to the listener between eating at home or in a hotel:

11 घर बहार या होटल में हो खाओ ले?

ghar bhar aar hoTel me ho khaa le
Shall we go home or eat in a hotel?

12 तुम कल रात जयपुर जाओगे या उदयपुर?

tum kal raat jaypur jaaoge yaa udaypur
Will you go to Jaipur or Udaipur tomorrow night?

Both these sentences do not have question words; both offer a choice to the listener. Notice that in 12 the whole sequence तुम कल रात जाओगे tum kal raat jaaoge is omitted in the second option. It is understood that the choice is between the places. We often omit the question word from alternative-type questions in English too. For example, one could say, with rising intonation, ‘Shall we go home or eat here?’

4.4 Tag questions

As already indicated (in Section 3.3), the negative particle न ना, ‘no’ (not नहीं nahi or ना na) is also used as a question tag (or tag question) to seek confirmation of or reaction to what has been stated earlier. For example,

13 वह कल बाजार गया था, है न?

vah kal baazaar gayaa thaa, hai na
He went to the market yesterday, didn’t he?

14 यह संतान अच्छा है न?

yaa santraa accha hai na
This orange is tasty, isn’t it?

15 तुम कल कर्नाल जाओगे न?

tum kal karnaal jaaoge na
You will go to Karnal tomorrow, won’t you?

As we know the grammar of tag questions in English is very complex. In Hindi, it simply involves the use of hai na as in 13 and 14 or simply na as in 15. One is therefore not surprised that many speakers of English in India tend to replace the whole range of Standard English tag questions by either ‘isn’t it?’ or just ‘no?’ It is not uncommon to hear ‘He went to the market, isn’t it?’ in Indian English. There are of course many other varieties of English which adopt a similar strategy.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the nature and structure of different types of questions in Hindi: ‘yes/no’, information, alternative and tag. It was noticed that in general there was considerable flexibility in forming questions in Hindi. It was also pointed out that though the information question word tends to appear where one would expect to find the answer, it is not uncommon to see the Hindi k-words getting attracted to the verb.
Chapter 5

Imperatives and politeness

We use imperative sentences to give orders, make requests, give advice or forbid people from doing something. We also use them to make recommendations or give suggestions. Such utterances will normally be addressed to the 'second person', that is, 'you'. As we noted in Section 1.5, the most unmarked word order of Hindi is Subject-Object-Verb. This is not disturbed in imperative sentences. Since the subject is by default known to be 'you', it is normally dropped. Imperatives can often be used with emphatic particles, negatives and tag-questions. Since Hindi has at least three different second person pronouns, the verbal forms used vary according to the form of the second person pronoun (see Chapter 18).

5.1 Imperatives with दू tuu, 'you' (impolite)

In day-to-day speech in peer groups and between people of high rank talking to those who are at a lower rank in society, this is perhaps the most frequently used pronominal form. Consider the following sentences:

1 छठ बेता घर जा।
uTh beTaa ghar jaa
Get up, son, go home.

2 छठ बेटी घर जा।
uTh beTii ghar jaa
Get up, daughter, go home.

A father could use both these sentences while talking to his son (1) or daughter (2). Notice that except for using different words for 'son' and 'daughter', both the sentences are identical. In fact, in imperative sentences of this kind, we use the bare minimal form of the verb without marking it for tense or gender. Both the verbal forms in sentences 1 and 2, namely, छठ uTh, 'get up' and जा jaa, 'go', are in the imperative form; that is, the verb is in its barest minimal form without any extra markings on it.

This form of the verb should however be used with great care. It is most appropriately used among friends or in intimate informal relationships as in sentences 1 and 2. Sometimes, it can be used with people from lower ranks of society though this use is now on the decrease. It is also used to address animals. In some cases, it is the most commonly used form in abusive language. Most interestingly, the same form can be used to address one's mother or addressing or appealing to God(s). The following examples are illustrative:

3 ओ रिक्षावाले जल्दी कर।
O rikshaavaale jaldii kar
Hey rickshaw puller, hurry up.

4 ऑ उठ अब पानी पी।
are uuT ab paanii pii
O camel, drink some water now.

5 ऑ करीने दौड़ आ।
o kamiine idhar aa
O you mean man, come here.

6 हे प्रभु कृपा करो।
he prabhu kripaa karo
O God, have mercy.

All the verbal forms in the above sentences are the base forms and would agree with the second person impolite pronoun दू tuu, 'you'. As is normally the practice, the second person subject pronoun is omitted. However, it may be used in specific affective situations. It could, for example, be used when you are being very affectionate or very angry. Consider the following examples:

7 बेटी अब दू सो जा।
beTii ab tuu so jaa
Dear daughter, go to bed now.
5.2 Imperatives with तू tum, 'you'

The second person pronoun तू tum is far more polite than तु tuu; it is associated with familiarity and plural numbers. Among people well-known to each other, the use of तू tum will be considered cultured and polite. In the case of plural numbers, one cannot simply use तु tuu. It would be ungrammatical. When we use तू tum, we do not use the bare form of the verb; we add -o if it ends in a consonant and -o (orthographically) if it ends in a vowel. Thus तू का tum kal, 'you walk' (very informal, not polite) but तू चलो tum calo, 'you walk' (familiar, polite); or तू खा tum khaa, 'you eat' but तू खाओ tum khaao, 'you eat'. Consider the following sentences:

9 तू खाओ अब पर जाओ।
    tum sab log ab ghar jaaoo
    All of you, go home now.

10 बेटी बड़े खाने दे दो।
    beTii thoRaa saa paanii de do
    Dear daughter, give me some water.

11 बेटी अब तू खा जा।
    beTii ab tuu so jaa
    Dear daughter, go to bed now.

Sentence 9 will normally be used as affectionate advice when a senior person, for example, realises that it is getting late into the night and people (who might be working for him) should go home now; sentence 10 is a request to a daughter for a glass of water, but here the speaker has a claim because of his/her age and/or status; and sentence 11 could be used by a concerned father or mother to their daughter who has probably worked late into the night preparing for her examinations.

Often imperatives are used as warnings. Suppose it were dark or the ground were slippery because of rain, one could use 12 if one notices that somebody is likely to fall:

12 अरे देखकर चलो।
    are dekhkar calo
    Watch it. Walk carefully.

5.3 Imperatives with आप aap, 'you' (honorific)

Imperative sentences involving the use of आप aap have to be requests. Unless you wish to add a specific dimension to your discourse, such as being ironic, the unmarked use of आप aap suggests that you are making a polite request. In fact, it is the use of आप aap that can save you from performing any speech act that may offend the listener.

13 आप अब आराम कीजिए।
    aap ab aaraam kiijiye
    Please retire now/Please relax now.

One could use 13 with a senior person who has been working for a long time. But आप can often be used with considerable irony. Imagine a senior officer who is thoroughly annoyed with the complete and persistent negligence of his/her secretary on a given day. He or she could say

14 आप अब आराम कीजिए।
    ab aap aaraam kiijiye
    Please go away and leave me alone now.

It is understood that in normal discourse, this officer would be addressing the secretary as तू tum. This switch from the normal second person pronoun to the honorific आप aap will make it clear to the secretary that the boss is annoyed.
5.4 Conclusion

In this short chapter, I described the nature of imperative sentences used as requests, orders and warnings. I also examined their use with all three forms of the second person pronoun. The ways in which the imperative verbal forms are related to each other will be discussed in Chapter 11. It appears that if you really wish to tell a stranger or wish to warn anyone of something that the listener may not be aware of, the safest thing to do is to use the honorific form आप aap.

Chapter 6

Exclamations

An exclamatory sentence generally consists of an element that expresses a strong emotional attitude of surprise, approval, praise, hatred and so on towards the statement made in the remaining part of the sentence. In writing, such sentences end with the exclamation mark '!'. In English, these elements consist of single words, for example, 'what' and 'how' as in 'How pretty!' In Hindi, these expressions can consist of one or more words. They may be onomatopoeic in character or consist of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs or pronouns. The exclamation mark in Hindi may often appear immediately after the expression denoting the emotional attitude, or at the end or at both the places. Sometimes the element expressing the emotional state may be separated by a comma from the rest of the sentence. Since exclamation sentences do not involve any significant variation from their declarative counterparts, they are best discussed in semantic/notional terms. However, we may first discuss the lexical resources of exclamatory expressions. These sentences are essentially about using specific words rather than about using any specific syntactic patterns.

6.1 Lexical resources

Exclamatory expressions constitute a unique lexical category. They are unlike content words (nouns, verbs and adjectives which vary according to number, gender etc.) because they remain invariant. They also do not belong to the function word category of grammatical items (e.g. invariant words like का kaa, 'of', कि ki, 'that' etc.) because they do not express any grammatical relations. They simply constitute an affective comment on the statement encoded in the sentence. Exclamatory expressions may be onomatopoeic such as ओ o, ओह oh, ओर are, ओहे oho, all being expressions of surprise or pain, or हाँ hat, हांh dhat and so on, which are expressions of disapproval and contempt. Nouns such as शाहीन shaabaash, 'very good', हे bhagwan he bhagwaan, 'O God', अफसोस afsos,
6 Exclamations

‘alas’ and कितना सच् ‘really’ could also be used as exclamatory constituents. Verbal expressions such as देख कर dekh kar, ‘be careful’ and देखना dekhna, ‘watch out’, may serve as signals of warning and expressions such as देख यार dekh yaar, ‘give way; get aside’ may serve as a signal for leaving the speaker alone or expressing disapproval. Adjectives like अच्छा aachaa, ‘good’, होशियार hoshiyaar, ‘intelligent’, सावधान saavadhaan, ‘careful’ and बाहर baBhira, ‘good’ could also serve the function of appreciation and/or warning. Question words like क्या kya, ‘what’, कौन kaisaa, ‘of what kind’ and कितना kitnaa, ‘how much’ are often used very effectively in exclamatory sentences.

6.2 Expression of surprise

There are a variety of ways in which one can express surprise in Hindi. Consider the following sentences:

1 ओ, तुम घर पर हो! are tum ghar par ho
O! You are at home!

2 अच्छा! आपका हार मिल गया।
achaa aapkaa haar mil gayaa
Really! You found your necklace.

3 वाह! आप तो बहुत समझकर निकले!
vaah aap to bahut samajhdaar nikle
Great! You proved to be very clever.

4 देखो! यद्य प्रकाश का हो गया।
dekho daadii ko kya ha gayaa
See, what has happened to grandmother!

5 कितना भाग्यशाली है! vah kitnaa bhaagyashaali hai
How lucky he is!

In these sentences, the onomatopoeic ओ are, the adjective अच्छा aachaa, interjection वाह vaah, the verb देखो dekhoo and the question word कितना kitnaa have been used to suggest a strong feeling of surprise on the statements that follow these expressions. We note that in addition to these words and the use of the exclamatory mark, no other change takes place in the structure of the simple sentence except that in 5, कितना kitnaa appears after the subject.

6.3 Expression of grief

Exclamatory sentences are often used to express a sense of pain, sorrow and helplessness. Consider the following examples:

6 हाय, वह तो बसबास हो गई।
haay vah to barbaad ho gaii
Oh, she is ruined!

7 हे राम, बहुत दर्द है! he raam bahut dard hai
O God, I am in great pain!

8 अफसोस! आपकी कार चोरी हो गई।
afos aapki kaar corii ho gaii
Sorry, you lost your car.

9 हे भगवान, अब और क्या होना चाहिए है?
he bhagvaan ab aur kya honaa baakii hai
Oh Lord, what more is in store for me!

One would use 6 about a woman who has lost everything in a war or a natural calamity like flood, earthquake or fire. It would be common to use 7 if you are in great pain and perhaps being suffering for a long time. Sentences such as 8 are likely to be used to express sorrow when a person dear to the speaker loses something; in this case, a car. Sentences such as 9 are frequently used in situations of utter helplessness. What the speaker, in essence, is saying is: ‘The worst has already happened to me. I have lost everything. What more can happen? I am helpless.’
6.4 Expression of approval

Exclamatory sentences are often used to express feelings of approval and appreciation. The following examples are illustrative of this:

10 बाह, क्या आवाज़ पाई है?
   vaah kyaa aavaaZ paaii hai
   Wonderful, what a lovely voice!

11 शाबाश बेटे, तुमने कमाल कर दिया!
   shaabaash beTe tumne kamaal kar diya
   Very good, my son, you have done very well!

12 सच! उस की आदी हो गई।
   sac umaa kii shaadii ho gaii
   Really! Uma got married!

All these sentences express intense feelings of approval and appreciation. One would use sentences such as 10 to appreciate any trait or situation; in this case it is singing. A sentence like 11 could be used by a father to his son who has done extremely well in, say, his annual examinations. In 12, the assumption is that Uma's wedding was not on the cards or for some reason it did not seem likely that she would get married. But now that she has actually got married, the speaker is overwhelmed with joy. All the sentences given above could also be used with a sense of irony. So, 10 could also in appropriate contexts mean: 'What a horrible voice!'

6.5 Expression of contempt

In the following sentences, exclamatory expressions suggest a feeling of hatred or contempt towards the stated proposition.

13 श्याम! आपने पिता के ऐसे कोई नहीं होते हे।
   shyaam! apne pita ke aise koii nahi hoTHE
   Shame on you, talking to your father like that!

14 हट पेट! तुम अपने आपको क्या समझता है?
   haT pare tuu apne aapko kyaa samajhta hai
   Get lost, what do you think of yourself!

6.6 Use of question words

As noted above, question words like क्या kyaa, 'what' and कौन kaun, 'who' which are invariable and कितना kitna, 'how much' and कितना kisata, 'of what kind' which vary in terms of number and gender can also be used to underline strong reactions. For example, if you hear a song you have really enjoyed, you could say:

15 क्या गाना गाया है?
   kyaa gaana gaaya hai
   What a beautiful song! or How well she/he has sung that song!

Suppose somebody tells you that she/he has heard something really nasty about you, you could react by saying:

17 कौन कहता है?
   kaun khaata hai
   Who says that!

If you see a very tall man on the street, you could exclaim:

19 कितना लम्बा आदमी?
   kitna lambaa aadmi
   What a tall man!
If somebody suddenly tells you that you owe him money (and it is possible that you have actually forgotten), you could turn around and say:

\[
20 \text{ कैसे पैसे!} \\
\text{kaise paise} \\
\text{What money?}
\]

### 6.7 Conclusion

With this chapter, we conclude Part I of this book. In this part, I have, in addition to providing a brief introduction to Hindi, talked about some of the basic structural properties of a Hindi sentence and have discussed in some detail the nature and structure of negatives, questions, imperatives and exclamations. I do hope it is clear that grammatical concepts are best understood in actual contexts of use. In the next part, I move on to words and the relations that obtain among them.
In Part II (which as already pointed out leans heavily on Singh and Agnihotri 1997), I examine the nature of Hindi words and the relationships that exist among them. Words in general can be divided into two broad categories: variable and invariable. In English, ‘walk’ is a variable word because several other words such as ‘walks’, ‘walking’, ‘walked’, ‘walker’, ‘walkman’ and so on are related to it. On the other hand, ‘the’, ‘and’ or ‘at’ are invariable words. I will first discuss the nature of variable words in Hindi. I return to the nature and use of some important invariant words in Part IV. You will notice that variable words are generally also carriers of meaning; invariant words perform various grammatical functions. Words in the categories of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs generally carry meaning and are known as content words; words that perform grammatical roles are called function words.

7.1 Word formation strategies (WFSs)

Variable words are best examined through WFSs that can be extracted from related sets of words. WFSs are completely transparent in their formal and semantic aspects. Generally, scholars talk of words in terms of roots, stems, morphemes and basic words, and the processes of word formation from smaller atomic units and inflection and derivation that operate on these basic units. All these concepts and operations actually obscure basic facts about words and their relation to each other and make fairly simple and transparent relationships look very complicated. We treat words as wholes and describe their relationships with each other in terms of bi-directional WFSs. We feel that the smallest possible unit of meaning that humans recognise is a word and nothing less than that. WFSs are bi-directional because it is possible to access ‘complex’ words from ‘simple’ words and vice versa. For example, if in English you know the word ‘worker’, it should be very simple to identify the
related word ‘work’ or vice versa. These WFSs can invoke three kinds of processes, namely, Identity, Substitution and Affixation with or without any change in the basic phonetic material a given word (say X) is composed of. Identity means that a given X remains an X though its category or some other feature changes. For example, in English, ‘walk’ can both be a noun and a verb. In Substitution, some part of X gets replaced to make a related word. Affixation can involve what are traditionally known as prefixes and suffixes.

In the analysis that follows, a WFS should be read along with the conditions and examples given as a unit, since the strategy arises out of the set of words that is illustrated through these examples. In each WFS, the total material within parentheses ‘( )’ will always constitute a word. In this chapter, I discuss the number, gender and case of Hindi nouns and try to understand the relationships between them regarding these features. In the next few chapters, I examine the relationship of nouns with other nouns in greater detail and also with words from other categories such as verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

7.2 Gender

In Hindi, it is very important to know the gender of the noun. The structure of the sentence is determined by the gender of the noun in many ways. For example, the agreement patterns of the verb, adjective, quantifiers and some clitics crucially depend on the gender of the noun. The form of the noun also changes depending on the number (singular or plural) and case (nominative, oblique or vocative).

Though it is possible to formulate some guiding principles to identify the gender of the noun, the assignment of gender is often arbitrary, as for example in French. Basically, one has to learn the gender of each noun. We list here some of the Heuristic Devices (HD) that may be used as guiding principles for identifying the gender of a Hindi noun; but be aware that these HDs often have several exceptions.

**HD 1: Most males are masculine and most females are feminine.**

Thus बुला गहरा, ‘horse’ and बी मोर, ‘peacock’ are masculine and बेग गहरो, ‘mare’ and बेठी मोरनी, ‘peahen’ are feminine. But चिता, ‘leopard’ is masculine and किका कोयला, ‘nightingale’ is feminine irrespective of whether they refer to a male or a female member of the species.

Again, collective nouns, irrespective of whether the group consists of males or females, have gender largely assigned on an arbitrary basis, for example, घर जलद, ‘crowd’ and डाल दल, ‘party/group’ are always masculine and धार, भूतर, ‘crowd’ and टोली, ‘group’ are always feminine.

**HD 2: Most -aa ending nouns are masculine.**

Thus का kamraa, ‘room’, लड़का laRkaa, ‘boy’, बसा ghaRaa, ‘pitcher’, कपड़ा kapRaa, ‘cloth’, गाना gaanaa, ‘song’, पात्र पाक्खा, ‘fan’ etc. are all masculine. But there are many आ nam ending nouns like भावा, ‘wind’ and माला, ‘rosary/garland’ that are feminine.

**HD 3: Most nouns that end in a consonantal sound are also masculine.**


**HD 4: Most -ii ending nouns are feminine.**


**HD 5: It is difficult to make any general rule about words ending in other vowel sounds.**

Thus आलू aalu, ‘potatoes’ is masculine but बालू baalu, ‘sand’ is feminine; जलद jaladhi, ‘ocean’ is masculine but निधि nidhi, ‘treasure’ is feminine.
HD 6: In some cases semantic classification of a given object may prove useful for deciding the gender of the noun in question.


River names are feminine: यमुना yamuna, गंगा ganga and गोमती gomati are all feminine.

Planets and the days of the week such as शनि shani, ‘Saturn’, बुधु budh, ‘Mercury’, शोभा somvaar, ‘Monday’, रविवार wriivar, ‘Thursday’ and so on are also generally masculine.

Names of languages are invariably feminine, for example, इंग्लिश inglish, ‘English’, हिंदी hindii, ‘Hindi’, जर्मन jarman, ‘German’, and तमिल tamil, ‘Tamil’.


HD 7: Size is often important; big things are masculine and small things are feminine.

Thus, रसा rasaa, ‘rope’ is masculine but रसी rassii, ‘thin rope’ is feminine; पहाड़ pabaar, ‘mountain’ is masculine but पहाड़ी pabaaRii, ‘hill’ is feminine.

But then ट्रेन tren, ‘train’ which is big is feminine and छुट्टर skuuTaaR, ‘scooter’ which is small is masculine.

It is thus clear that the assignment of gender in Hindi is largely arbitrary and has to be learnt with each new noun. The above HDs may be used as guidelines with considerable caution.

7.3 Changing gender

In the case of some animate nouns, there are fairly regular ways of changing the gender to show male–female contrast. One such strategy is to simply add -in to the masculine noun; one could as well say that to get the male counterpart -in is deleted. (As noted above, the WFss are bi-directional.) We could thus formulate a WFS that captures the relationship between the two sets of words:

WFS 7.1 (X) n, sing, masc  ———> (Xin) n, sing, fem, wife of X/ female X

Condition: X ends in a consonant.

युगल sunaar, goldsmith कुरूसिन sunaarin, wife of goldsmith

लोहर lobaar, ironsmith लोहरिन lobaarin, wife of ironsmith

As already pointed out, WFS 7.1 should be read as a unit, that is, the bi-directional strategy, the condition and the related pairs of words that constitute the set on which the WFS is based constitute a whole. The material in italics towards the right side of the first line of the WFS provides an approximate meaning change captured in the strategy. Other words in this category include बाघ baagh, ‘lion’, साप sāap, ‘snake’ etc. Notice that ‘Xin’ in WFS 7.1 above, particularly in the case of humans, is generally not a female X but the wife of X. We may also note that in these WFSs, we are dealing with full-fledged words and not roots, stems or word parts. Notice that all the words covered by WFS 7.1 end in a consonantal sound.

It may often be important to indicate the sounds with which a word ends. Notice that in the case of pairs like दबौबी dbobii and दबौबी dbobii, where दबौबी dbobii ends in a vowel, we are talking about substituting the long -ii by -in rather than adding anything to X. In the case of दबौबी dbobii, ‘washerwoman’ or the ‘wife of a washerman’, नाती naati, ‘granddaughter’, तेली telii, ‘wife of an oil trader’ etc., we cannot use WFS 7.1; the male counterparts are दबौबी dbobii, नाती naati and तेली telii. These sets of words actually involve the substitution of -ii by -in rather than -in suffixation. We could thus formulate WFS 7.2 as follows:

WFS 7.2 (Xii) n, sing, masc  ———> (Xin) n, sing, fem, wife of X

कुरूसिन dbobii, washerman कुरूसिन dbobin, washerwoman/ wife of X

तेली telii, oil trader तेलिन telin, female oil trader/ wife of X

Similarly, there is a fairly productive WFS involving the substitution of -aa by -ii.
2 कमरे में गंदा है।
कमरे में गंदा है।
There is garbage in the room. (oblique singular)

3 आँ गरे! तुँ इस्ता गंदा।
O kamre tuu itnaa gandaa
O room you are so dirty! (vocative singular)

The following WFSs help us to formalise the network of relationships that are obtained between different words of the paradigm associated with -aa ending words in terms of number and case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WFS 7.4 (Xaa)</th>
<th>n, masc, ➔ (Xe) n, masc, obl sing/voc sing/nom pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kamraa, room</td>
<td>kamra, rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laRkaa, boy</td>
<td>laRke, boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beTaa, son</td>
<td>beTe, sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WFS 7.5 (Xaa)</td>
<td>n, masc, ➔ (Xo) n, masc, pl, voc sing, nom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamraa, room</td>
<td>kamro, O rooms!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laRkaa, boy</td>
<td>laRko, O boys!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beTaa, son</td>
<td>beTo, O sons!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious that in WFS 7.4, -aa is replaced by -e and in WFS 7.5, -aa is replaced by -o. The number of words that these strategies cover is very large indeed. For example: सपना sapnaa, ‘dream’; पाईमाना paimaanaa, ‘scale’; इशारा ishaaraa, ‘indication’; सहायता sabararaa, ‘assistance’; मामला maamlaa, ‘issue’; फाइसला faiskaa, ‘decision’; टुकड़ा TukRaa, ‘piece’; मसाला masaalaalaa, ‘spice’ etc.

(b) The paradigm for masculine nouns ending in a consonant, for example, घर ghar, ‘house’ is given as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>घर ghar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>घर ghar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>घरी gharī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that all -aa ending masculine nouns will have four different forms. In the case of kamraa, they are kamra, kamre, kamro and kamro serving six different functions. The word kamre could either be nominative plural, oblique singular or vocative singular as in sentences 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

1 कमरे में गंदा है।
kamre gande hāi
The rooms are dirty. (nominative plural)
Notice that the form does not change in the nominative, oblique, vocative singular or nominative plural. It remains नदि gbar. There are two other forms. The oblique plural is नदियो gharā and the vocative plural form is नदियो gharō.

(c) We should also examine the fairly productive paradigm for feminine nouns ending in -ii in words such as लड़की laRkii, 'girl' or नदी nadii, 'river'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>नदी nadii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>नदी nadii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>नदी nadii!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in the case of -aa ending words, we have four distinct forms distributed among six number–case pairs in the case of -ii ending feminine nouns as well. As in the case of consonant-ending masculine nouns, the form does not change in the nominative, oblique or vocative singular; however, significant differences in word forms are noticed in all cases in the plural. If we take नदी nadii which ends in -ii as X then the nominative plural ends in याँ, the oblique plural in यो and the vocative plural in यो. Notice that in all these words we have a short -i in the plural instead of the long -ii in the singular. The following WFSs capture these relationships:

WFS 7.6 (Xii) n, fem, sing ←→ (Xiyāā) n, fem, pl, nom
नदी nadii, river
लड़की laRkii, girl
छोटे chaRkii, stick

WFS 7.7 (Xii) n, fem, sing ←→ (Xiyō) n, fem, pl, obl
नदी nadii, river
कुर्सी kursii, chair
छोटे ghaRkii, watch

WFS 7.8 (Xii) n, fem, sing ←→ (Xiyo) n, fem, pl, voc
नदी nadii, river
लड़की laRkii, girl
छोटे chaRkii, stick

Once again these two strategies account for a large number of words such as पार्टी paarTii, 'party'; काव्य kabaani, 'story'; कठीन kThinaii, 'difficulty'; गली galii, 'street' etc. If a feminine noun ends in only -i rather than long -ii as in तिथि tithi, 'date', गति gati, 'pace', दिन ritti, 'custom' etc., the nominative, oblique and vocative plural forms will end in यां, यो and -yo respectively. Consider the following WFS:

WFS 7.9 (X) n, fem, sing ←→ (Xyāā) n, fem, pl, nom
तिथि tithi, date
रिति ritti, custom

It should now be easy to infer the WFSs for the oblique and vocative plural for this set of words.

(d) We may also examine the case of several nouns that end in consonants but are feminine such as किताब kitaab, 'book', रात raat, 'night' etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>किताब kitaab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>किताब kitaab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>किताब kitaab!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are certain generalisations that we can make on the basis of these examples and the discussion of nouns so far. Except in the case of masculine nouns that end in -aa, the form of the noun does not change in the singular irrespective of whether the case is nominative, oblique or vocative. Nouns ending in consonants, for example, किताब kitaab, 'book' (feminine) or घर gbar, 'house' (masculine) or in vowel sounds, for example, नदी nadii, 'river' (feminine), कवि kavi, 'poet' (masculine), उल्लुल uuluu,
'owl' (masculine) etc., all retain the same form in the singular in all the three cases.

WFS 7.10 captures this generalisation:

WFS 7.10 (X) n, nom, sing \(\rightarrow\) (X) n, obl/voc, sing

Condition: X does not end in -aa.

किताब kitaab, book
नदी nadi, river
तिथि tithi, date
घर ghar, house
आदमी aadmii, man
वस्तु vastu, thing

This WFS states that if a Hindi noun does not end in long -aa, then the forms in all the three cases in the singular are identical. In the case of masculine nouns that do not end in -aa even the nominative plural form is the same as the singular in all the three cases. Thus a form like घर ghar, ‘house’ remains invariant across nominative, oblique and vocative singular and nominative plural.

The formation of the vocative plural is fairly regular in Hindi. If a noun does not end in -i, -ii or -uu, then the simple rule is to add -o to the nominative form irrespective of the gender of the noun. Gender is thus not mentioned as a feature in WFS 7.11:

WFS 7.11 (X) n, nom, sing \(\rightarrow\) (Xo) n, voc, pl

Condition: X does not end in -ii or -uu or in -aa, if X is masculine.

We thus have: किताब kitiabo, ‘O books!’ (feminine), घर gharo, ‘O houses!’ (masculine), वस्तु vastuo, ‘O things!’ (masculine), कवियो kaviyo, ‘poets’ (masculine), etc.

(f) Feminine nouns ending in consonants, for example, किताब kitaab, ‘book’ or vowels other than -ii, for example, माला maalaa, ‘garland’ form their plurals by adding -e (nominative plural), -o (oblique plural), and -o (vocative plural); WFSs below capture these processes:

WFS 7.12 (X) n, fem, sing \(\rightarrow\) (Xe) n, fem, pl, nom

किताब kitaab, book
तार raat, night
स्कुल skuul, school
रीति riiti, custom

WFS 7.13 (X) n, sing \(\rightarrow\) (Xo) n, obl, pl

Condition: X does not end in -ii or -uu. It also does not end in -aa if X is masculine.

रात raat, night
स्कुल skuul, schools
रीति riiti, customs

The number of words that belong to these four WFSs is very large indeed. Notice that WFS 7.12 is confined to the feminine gender only; the remaining three are not sensitive to gender. Some words that are subsumed by these four WFSs are: कला kalam, ‘pen’ (fem); फिल्म film, ‘film’ (fem); बात baat, ‘talk’ (fem); सीता siiT, ‘seat’ (fem); सरकार sarkaar, ‘government’ (fem); सचिव saciv, ‘minister’ (masc); आधा aadhaar, ‘base’ (masc); जीवन jiivan, ‘life’ (masc); गीत giit, ‘song’ (masc); पत्र पत्र पत्र patraT, ‘reader’ (masc); स्वावल savaal, ‘question’ (masc); आरोप aarop, ‘accusation’ (masc); चित्र ciit, ‘thing’ (fem); ग्राम graam, ‘village’ (masc); राय raaiya, ‘kingdom’ (masc); सुलभ cunaau, ‘election’ (masc); पत्र patra, ‘letter’ (masc); प्रदेश pradesh, ‘state’ (masc); सरोवर sarovar, ‘lake’ (masc); आकाश aakaar, ‘shape’ (masc); जला jila, ‘lake’ (fem) etc.

But as we have already seen, feminine nouns ending in long -ii are related to their plural counterparts in different cases through a process of substitution of -ii by -iya (nominative plural), -iyō (oblique plural) and -iyo (vocative plural). Masculine nouns that end in -aa, for example, घर gharak, ‘pitcher’, change their shape even in the singular oblique and vocative cases (see the paradigm for कमरा kamraa, ‘room’ at (a)). The oblique and vocative singular of such words is formed through a process of substitution of -aa by -e; the -e form also functions as the nominative plural. In the case of the plural, -aa is substituted by -o and in the case of the vocative plural by -o.
7.5 The plural marker – लोग log

The Hindi word लोग log, 'people' is often used as a plural marker with human nouns to indicate a group. Thus, लोग ham log, 'we people', अम लोग aam log, 'ordinary people', साहब लोग saabhu log, 'saints', शाही लोग sahib log, 'elite' and so on. Notice that though written as two words, the sequence behaves like a single word as all the number and case endings will be added to log, the first part remaining invariant. The word log cannot be used with animate non-human or inanimate nouns; the noun to which log attaches must be human. It cannot for example be added to नूहा cuubaa, 'rat' or नूह mez, 'table'.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to examine the nature of Hindi nouns in terms of their gender, number and case. It is crucial to know the gender of the noun. However, except for a few broad guiding principles (which often have several exceptions), the gender of each noun has to be learnt. Once you know the gender of the noun and the sound with which it ends, it is fairly predictable what shapes it will take in different cases and numbers. In order to understand the structure of Hindi, we need to recognise three cases only, namely, Nominative, Oblique and Vocative. Oblique along with a variety of postpositions subsumes all the cases other than the Nominative and the Vocative; in the case of transitive verbs and the perfective aspect (see Section 11.2), it also subsumes the so-called Ergative case (see Chapter 27). There are two grammatical numbers, singular and plural. Each noun in principle thus has six forms, although often several forms are identical in shape. All the forms of a given set of words are related to each other through WFSs.

Chapter 8

More about nouns

In this chapter, I discuss some of the ways in which nouns are related to other nouns. In the different parts of Section 8.1, you will find the WFSs that demonstrate different sets of nouns expressing relations such as 'doer/creator/maker etc. of X', 'hailing from X', 'believer in X', 'good X', 'bad X', 'opposite of X' etc. where both the words involved are nouns. In Section 8.2, I try to show some aspects of using nouns in sentences. The following chapter focuses on how nouns are related to verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

8.1 Nouns and nouns

Suffixation is indeed the most frequently used strategy to express relationships between different sets of words. We list here some strategies that capture differences in meaning and form among related sets of words.

(a) Dealing in/user of/doer of/maker of X etc.: one of the most frequently used suffixes in Hindi is -वाला -vaalaa. It can in principle be added to any noun, say, X, to give the meaning of 'one who deals in X or has X'. Thus, we have the following extremely productive WFS in Hindi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WFS 8.1 (X)</th>
<th>(Xvaalaa) n, sing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>दूध duudh, milk</td>
<td>दूधवाला duudhvaalaa, milkman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अखबार axbaar, newspaper</td>
<td>अखबारवाला axbaarvaalaa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>newspaper vendor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पर gbar, house</td>
<td>परवाला gharvaalaa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one who has a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुटुर्म kursii, chair</td>
<td>कुटुर्मवाला kursiwaalaa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one who repairs chairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If there is a masculine noun that ends in -aa such as सेहड़ा ghoRaa, 'horse', घाँग़ ghaRaa, 'pitcher' etc., then before adding -aula -aalaa, -aa will be replaced by -e giving us गेहोलाला ghoRevalaalaa, 'one who deals in horses', घाँगला ghaRevalaalaa, 'one who deals in pitchers' etc. If we wished to use the feminine counterparts of the above Xvaalaa nouns, we will use WFS 7.3 that substitutes the -aa of -aalaa ending words by -ii. So we have words like दुधीला duudhiiValii, 'milkwoman', घाँगला ghaRaaValii, 'female house owner', घाँगला ghaRaaValii, 'female dealer in pitchers' etc.

In Chapter 7, we noticed that we could often add -i to human masculine nouns to get their female counterparts. Several other nouns are related to each other by an 'X–Xi' relationship. One such strategy gives us the meaning of 'dealing in X':

WFS 8.2 (X) n, masc, sing, ➔ (Xii) n, masc, sing, one who deals in X
Condition: X ends in a consonant.
शत्रुं वर्तनी, chess
तेल तेली, oil
संयास संयासी, renunciation
कबाद कबादी, junk
WFS 8.3 (X) n, sing ➔ (Xak) n, masc, sing, doer of X
Condition: X ends in a consonant.
भाव भावक, emotion (masc)
साध तातक, effort (fem)
लेख लेखक, essay (masc)
उपदेश उपदेशक, sermon (masc)
WFS 8.4 (Xaa) n, fem, sing ➔ (Xak) n, sing, doer of X
रक्षा रक्षक, protection
शिक्षा शिक्षक, education
gujraat, ‘Gujarat’ is a गुजराती gujraatsii, ‘hailing from Gujarat’. WFS 8.16 formulates this relationship:

WFS 8.16 (X) n, masc,  
(Xii) n, masc, 
progress, inani, nom 
sing, *hailing from X

पंजाबः panjaab, Punjab 
पंजाबी panjaabii, hailing from Punjab

dेहातः dehaat, rural area 
dेहाती dehaatii, villager

(c) There are a few strategies that show the relatedness between non-abstract and abstract nouns. Consider the following:

WFS 8.17 (X) n, masc,  
(Xii) n, fem, 
sing, nom, hum 
sing, abstract X

Condition: X ends in a consonant.

दोस्तः dost, friend 
दोस्ती dostii, friendship

ईमांडारः imaandaar, honest 
ईमांडारी imaandaarii, honesty

बीमारः bimaar, sick man 
बीमारी bimaarii, sickness

WFS 8.18 (X) n, sing 
(Xvaad) n, masc, sing, Sism

आतकः aatāk, terror 
आतकवाद aatākvaaad, terrorism

मार्क्सः marks, Marx 
मार्क्सवाद marksvaad, Marxism

पुजी पुजी पुजीवाद पुजीवाद, capitalism

(d) Some strategies need to be formulated for the set of words that show the relationship between ‘X’ and ‘place for X’:

WFS 8.19 (X) n, sing 
(Xkhaanaa) n, sing, masc, 
place for X

मैया may, liquor 
मैयाना maykaanaa, pub

दवा davaa, medicine 
दवा davaakhaanaa, medicine shop

पेशावा peshaa, urine 
पेशावरा peshaaakaanaa, urinal

टोप top, gun 
टोप्का topkaanaa, place for keeping guns

बर्फ़ barf, ice 
बर्फ़ क्षेत्र barfkhaanaa, where ice is made

These Xvaadii nouns, very common in Hindi, can also be used as adjectives.

Hailing from X: Hindi has a word formation strategy for indicating where one comes from. Thus somebody who belongs to गुजरातः
WFS 8.20 (X) n, sing ➔ (Xghar) n, sing, masc, place for X

नाव naac, dance
नावार naaçghar, place for dancing

दवा davaa, medicine
davār davaaghar, medicine shop

बन्दी bandii, prisoner
बनीर bandiighar, jail

विषिया ciRiyaaj, sparrow/ bird
विषियार ciRiyaaghar, zoo

(e) Diminutive X: WFS 8.21 indicates the relationship between a given set of words and their corresponding diminutives. Consider the following:

WFS 8.21 (X) n, sing ➔ (Xiyaaj) n, nom, sing, dimi of X

Condition: If X has a long vowel in the first syllable, it becomes short; -o changes to -u and -e to -i.
Word final -aa is deleted.

खाट khaatT, bed
खाटिया khaTiyaa, small bed

बेटा beTaa, son
बेटिया biTiyaa, daughter (affectionate)

लोटा loTaaj, round container
लुटिया luTiyaa, small round container

चूहा cuuhaaj, rat
चूहिया cuhiyaaj, small or female rat

चोटी coTii, pony tail
चोटिया cuTiyaa, pony tail (small)

(f) Good X: Hindi uses WFS 8.22 to establish the relationship between a given X and its 'good' counterpart. In these cases, some phonetic material is prefixed rather than suffixed to the word.

WFS 8.22 (X) n, sing ➔ (suX) n, sing, good X

पुत्री putrii, daughter (fem)
पुत्री suputrii, good daughter

पात्र paatr, recipient (masc)
पात्र supaatr, deserving recipient

मतi mati, wisdom (fem)
मतिया sumati, refined wisdom

(g) Bad X: Some strategies show the relationship 'X' and 'bad X'.

WFS 8.23 (X) n, sing ➔ (kuX) n, sing, bad X

पुत्र putr, son
कुपुत्र kuptur, bad son

कर्म karm, deed
कुकर्म kukarm, bad deed

मार्ग maarg, path
कुमार्ग kumarg, bad path

प्रथा prathaaj, tradition
कुप्रथा kuprathaaj, bad tradition

WFS 8.24 (X) n, sing ➔ (beX) n, sing, bad X

अदाब adab, civility
बेताब beadab, uncouth

वफाई vafaaii, sincerity
बेवफाई bevafaaii, insincerity

(h) Opposite of X: Following WFSs show the relationship between 'X' and 'opposite of X'.

WFS 8.25 (X) n, sing, abs ➔ (aX) n, sing, abs, opposite of X

कीति kiierti, fame
अकीति akierti, disgrace

सत्य satya, truth
असत्य asatya, untruth

WFS 8.26 (X) n, sing ➔ (viX) n, sing, opposite of X

माता maataaj, mother (fem)
बिमाता vimaataa, stepmother

क्रिति kriti, creation (fem)
बिक्रिति vikriti, deformed creation

मत mati, opinion (masc)
विमत vimat, disagreement

पक्ष paksh, side (masc)
विपक्ष vipaksh, opposite side

(i) Intensified X: The prefix vi- is more often used as an intensifier as in:

WFS 8.27 (X) n, sing ➔ (viX) n, sing, opposite of X

मुक्ति mukti, release (fem)
विमुक्ति vimukti, complete release

मोक्ष moksh, liberation (masc)
विमोक्ष vimoksh, total liberation

नामम्या namittaaj, modesty (fem)
विनामम्या vinamittaaj, utter modesty
8.2 Nouns in sentences

We form sentences by combining nouns, verbs, adjectives, postpositions and adverbs in a rule-governed way. In Hindi, as already pointed out, the number and gender of the nouns play important roles in determining the form of other constituents and the structure of the sentence as a whole. Consider the agreement between nouns and verbs in the following sentences:

1. लड़का सेब खाता है।
   laRkaa seb khaataa hai
   A boy eats an apple.
   (laRkaa is masculine, nominative, singular; seb is masculine, oblique, singular but plays no role in the agreement pattern here; it is the object of the verb; the aspect-marker -taa in the verb agrees with the subject laRkaa; hai marks the present tense.)

2. लड़की सेब खा ती है।
   laRkii seb khaatii hai
   A girl eats an apple.
   (laRkii is feminine; the aspect-marker -tii agrees with laRkii, that is, third person singular)

3. लड़के ने सेब खाया।
   laRke ne seb khaayaa
   A boy ate an apple.
   (Since it is followed by the ergative marker ne, laRkaa is in the oblique form; the verb does not agree with it now; it agrees with the object seb which is masculine.)

4. लड़की ने सेब खाया।
   laRkii ne seb khaayaa
   A girl ate an apple.
   (There is no change in the verb as compared to 3 even though the subject has changed from masculine to feminine.)

5. लड़के ने रोटी खायी।
   laRke ne roTii khaayii
   A boy ate bread/had a meal.
   (roTii is feminine; the aspect marker in the verb agrees with it.)

6. लड़की ने रोटी खायी।
   laRkii ne roTii khaayii
   A girl ate bread/had a meal.
   (There is no change in the verb as compared to 5 even though the subject has changed from male to female.)

7. लड़की ने लड़के को मारा।
   laRkii ne laRke ko maaraa
   A girl hit a boy.
   (This is a case of default agreement. The verb does not agree either with the logical subject 'girl' or the logical object 'boy'; the verb will remain the same even if the subject were the 'boy' and object the 'girl'. If the nouns are blocked by such markers/postpositions as ne, ko, se etc., the verb takes the form that will go with the third person masculine singular. The form of the verb does not change in 8.)

8. लड़के ने लड़की को मारा।
   laRke ne laRkii ko maaraa
   A boy hit a girl.
   For the number of nouns, consider 9,

9. लड़के खेल रहे हैं।
   laRke khel rahe hai
   Boys are playing.
   (Notice the change in the verb since the subject is plural.)
   It should be clear from these examples that the gender, number and case of the noun influences the structure of a Hindi sentence in very significant ways. Notice the use of ne after the subject (Ergative case) in sentences 3 to 8. This postposition generally appears only when the verb is transitive and the aspect is perfect. As in the case of other
8.3 Conclusion

In this chapter we tried to understand the ways in which nouns are related to other nouns in Hindi. Once you understand these WFSs, you can increase your vocabulary very quickly. Notice that these are not like the rules of mathematics which always work. They are strategies which will in most cases cover the set of words that satisfy the conditions specified in each strategy. We have also in this chapter tried to understand how nouns function in a simple sentence and how their number, gender and case influence the agreement system of a Hindi sentence.

Chapter 9

Nouns and verbs, and adjectives and adverbs

As we saw in Chapter 8, in Hindi, there are sets of related word pairs in which nouns are related in a systematic way to other nouns. There are other sets of related word pairs in which nouns are related to verbs, adjectives and adverbs through the processes of Identity, Substitution and Affixation (including prefixes and suffixes). In this chapter the relationship between nouns and verbs will be discussed in Section 9.1, that between nouns and adjectives in Section 9.2 and that between nouns and adverbs in Section 9.3.

9.1 Nouns and verbs

English has a very general WFS of Identity in which almost any noun can also be used as a verb (and since the relationship is bi-directional, we can say almost any verb can be used as a noun). Thus words like ‘table’, ‘chair’, ‘talk’, ‘pitch’, ‘call’, ‘run’ etc. can be used both as nouns and verbs. In Hindi, this freedom is highly restricted. Only a small number of nouns can be used as verbs. We have the following WFSs:

WFS 9.1 (X) n, sing \(\leftrightarrow\) (X) v, imp, nh

- दौर daur, race (fem) \[\rightarrow\] दौर daur, run
- नृत्य naac, dance (masc) \[\rightarrow\] नृत्य naac, dance
- मार maar, beating (fem) \[\rightarrow\] मार maar, beat
- खेल kbel, game (masc) \[\rightarrow\] खेल kbel, game

WFS 9.2 (Xna) n, sing, masc \(\leftrightarrow\) (Xna) v, inf

- दौर naacnaa, the act of running \[\rightarrow\] दौर naacnaa, to run
- नृत्य naacnaa, the act of dancing \[\rightarrow\] नृत्य naacnaa, to dance
Whereas WFS 9.1 is extremely restricted, WFS 9.2 subsumes all infinitival verbs in principle. All of them can be used as nouns even though they do not have all the properties of nouns. Consider the following sentence:

1 उसका नाचना सबको आख्ष लगा।

uska naacna sabko accha lagaa

Everybody liked her/his act of dancing.

However, infinitives used as nouns lack at least two properties essential for being a noun. They do not have any plurals; nor do they have a vocative form. On the other hand, nouns of WFS 9.1 though limited in number function as nouns proper. WFS 9.3 follows naturally from WFSs 9.1 and 9.2. WFS 9.3 is concerned with the addition of -naa to a noun to make the infinitive verb:

WFS 9.3 (X) n, sing ➔ (Xnaa) v, inf

कैड़ daunR, race (fem) कैड़ naa daunRnaa, to run

बान naac, dance (masc) बान naacnaa, to dance

मार maar, beating (fem) मार naa maar, to beat

खेल khel, game (mas) खेल naa khelnaa, to play

There are a few other WFSs that concern related pairs of nouns and verbs. For example:

WFS 9.4 (Xan) n, sing ➔ (X) v, imp, nh

लगन lagan, dedication (fem) लगा lag, you work

जाल jalan, jealousy (fem) जल jal, be jealous

मिलन milan, meeting (mas) मिल mila, meet

WFS 9.5 (Xaan) n, sing ➔ (X) v, imp, nh

उड़न uRaa, flight (fem) उड़ uR, fly

लगा lagan, revenue (mas) लग lag, work

In WFS 9.4, -an and in WFS 9.5 -aan is omitted from the noun to make the corresponding imperative verb. Notice that these verbal forms can only be used with the non-honorific 'you' तु tum and not with the more respectable तु tum or आप aap. Some other noun–verb sets are also related through processes of omission. The following three WFSs involve the omission of -aav, -va and -vaat from nouns.
A word like अपराधी apraadhi, 'criminal' can be used both as a noun and as an adjective. For example in 2, it is a noun; but in 3, it is an adjective:

2 उन अपराधी को काला मिली।
us apraadhi ko saazaa milii.
That criminal was punished.

3 अपराधी व्यक्ति को काला मिलनी चाहिए।
apraadhi vyakti ko saazaa milni caahiye
A criminal person should be punished.

There is a group of nouns and adjectives which are related to each other through -it or -iyy suffixation to X:

WFS 9.11 (X) n, sing, ← (Xit) adj
विस्तार vistaar, expansion
विस्तारित vistaarit, expanded
आधार aadhaar, base
आधारित aadhaarit, based
जरा jaR, root
जरीत jaRit, immobilized

WFS 9.12 (X) n, sing, masc ← (Xiyy) adj
भारत bhaarat, India
भारतीय bhaaratiiy, Indian
पर्वत parvat, mountain
पर्वतीय parvatiiy, mountainous
व्याकरण vyaakarN, grammar
व्याकरणीय vyaakarNiiy, grammatical

The suffixation of -gat to a noun often results in an adjective that means 'related to X', where X is the noun in question:

WFS 9.13 (X) n, sing ← (Xgat) adj
विश्वā स hi, subject (masc)
विश्वागत viSagat, related to the subject
शालिली shailii, style (fem)
शालिलित shaililiiit, related to style
विन्यास vinyaas, analysis (masc)
विन्यासित vinyaasgat, related to analysis

Noun X and adjective Xaatmak often constitute pairs where the adjective has the meaning 'containing X' as in:

WFS 9.14 (X) n, sing, masc ← (Xaatmak) adj
Condition: X ends in a consonant.
प्रतिक pratiik, symbol
प्रतिकात्मक pratiikaatmak, symbolic
संकेत sāket, indication
संकेतात्मक sāketaatmak, indicative
विचार vicaar, thought
विचारात्मक vicaaraatmak, thoughtful

If X in WFS 9.14 does not end in a consonant, we need to formulate WFS 9.15:

WFS 9.15 (X) n, sing, fem ← (Xtmak) adj
Condition: X ends in -aa.
कला kalaa, art
कलात्मक kalaatmak, artistic
भावना bhaavnaa, emotion
भावनात्मक bhaavnaatmak, emotional
सूचना suucnaa, information
सूचनात्मक suucnaatmak, informative

There are several other sets of related nouns and adjectives. We will ignore those sets which appear to be very small. Sets of words involving the use of -shil, -shaali, -may, -maan and -vaam are used in noun-related adjectives to indicate that the noun X exists in the adjective X with these suffixes. For example, corresponding to the noun कला bal, 'strength', we have the adjective कलात्मक balvaaam, 'strong man'. This can also be used as a noun. Similarly, we have the pair, noun सेह snēh, 'affection' and adjective सेहात्मक snēhāatmak, 'affectionate'. But these sets are very few in number. On the other hand, -shaali and -shil are used frequently.

WFS 9.16 (X) n, sing ← (Xshaali) adj
प्रतिभा pratibhaa, wisdom (fem)
प्रतिभात्मक pratibhaaatmak, wise
भाव bhaagyaa, fate (masc)
भावात्मक bhaagyaaatmak, lucky
कल bal, strength (masc)
कलात्मक balshaali, strong
We may note a few more WFSs that capture large sets of related words.

WFS 9.21 (X) n, sing → (Xdaayak) adj

लभ laabhb, profit (masc) → लभदायक laabhbdaayak, profitable
हंस baani, harm (fem) → हंसदायक baanidaayak, harmful
कच kaST, pain (masc) → कचदायक kaSTdaayak, painful

WFS 9.22 (X) n, sing → (Xnaak) adj
अर sharm, shame (fem) → अर्नाख sarmnaak, shameful
dई dard, pain (fem) → दर्नाख dardnaak, painful

There is a simple process of omission that connects a large number of nouns with the adjectives corresponding to them. Consider WFS 9.23:

WFS 9.23 (Xtaa) n, sing, fem → (X) adj
जितल jaTil, complexity → जितल jaTil, complex
स्वाभीन svaadhiinta, freedom → स्वाभीन svaadhiin, free
चकलता capaltaa, restlessness → चकल capal, restless

There are several nouns and adjectives that are related to each other through the process of prefixation. One of the most common roles of these prefixes is to give us adjectives that are the opposite of what the noun means. These are distinct processes and many grammarians treat them as a single process, particularly in the case of ni-, nir-, nis- and nis-. Consider the following WFSs:

WFS 9.24 (X) n, sing, masc → (niX) adj, without X

द Dar, fear

ब्र shulk, fee → ब्रशल nisbulaak, without fee
बल bal, strength → बल बल nibal, weak

WFS 9.25 (X) n, sing, masc → (nirX) adj, without X

अपराधी apraadhib, criminal → निरपराधी niraapraadhib, innocent
आधार aadhaar, base

WFS 9.26 (X) n, sing, masc → (nisX) adj, without X
स्वार्थ svaaarth, selfishness → स्वार्थ nisvsaarth, selfish
संतान santaan, progeny → संतान nissantaan, childless
9.3 Nouns and adverbs

Many nouns are often also used as adverbs. For example:

WFS 9.30 (X) n, sing  ➳   (X) adv
-raat, night (fem) ➳   -raat, night
-shaan, evening (fem) ➳   -shaan, evening

As adverbs, these words may often be followed by postpositions such as -mē or -ko. Several nouns and adverbs are related through a process of reduplication. For example:

WFS 9.31 (X) n, sing  ➳   (X-X) adv
-raat, night (fem) ➳   -raat-raat, all night
-roz, daily (masc) ➳   -roz-roz, every day

Several sets of nouns and adverbs constitute the basis for WFSs involving prefixes.

WFS 9.32 (X) n, sing  ➳   (pratiX) adv
-din, day (masc) ➳   -pratidin, every day
-maan, month (masc) ➳   -pratimaan, every month

WFS 9.33 (X) n, sing  ➳   (baaX) adv
-ab, culture (masc) ➳   -baaadab, with respect
-abru, honour (fem) ➳   -baabru, with honour

WFS 9.34 (X) n, sing  ➳   (beX) adv
-asar, effect (masc) ➳   -beasar, effectless
-izzat, respect (fem) ➳   -beizzat, without respect

WFS 9.35 (X) n, sing  ➳   (saX) adv
-paraar, family (masc) ➳   -saparaar, with family
-kram, order (masc) ➳   -sakram, orderly
9.4 Conclusion

With this chapter we conclude our discussion of nouns in Hindi. We have so far discussed nouns in terms of their grammatical number, gender and case; their use in sentences and their relationship to other nouns and to verbs, adjectives and adverbs. We now turn to the nature of verbs in Hindi.

Chapter 10

Verbs

The verb is indeed the most central element in a sentence. It is the verb that tells us what’s going on in a given sentence. It also informs us about the time of the event (i.e. present, past or future tense) and its nature (i.e. whether it is still going on or finished or only likely to happen). Further, it is the verb that determines the nature of essential nominal expressions that should appear in a sentence. For example, in the case of a verb like शेका sonaa, ‘to sleep’, we need only one nominal expression as in

1. mohan soyaa
   Mohan slept.

A verb like फिला pinaa, ‘to drink’ requires two nominal expressions as in

2. mohan ne paani piya
   Mohan drank water.

But if there is a verb like देखा denaa, ‘to give’, it requires at least three nominal expressions as in

3. mohan ne guita ko kitaab dii
   Mohan gave a book to Geeta.

10.1 Tense and aspect

The burden of tense and aspect is carried by the verbal complex which may consist of main verbs and some form of auxiliary such as है bhaa, ‘to be’. It is interesting to note that in Hindi the burden of tense, that is, the process of locating an event in time is almost entirely carried
by the auxiliary; aspect and mood may be marked in the main verb. We will first discuss the nature of the auxiliary in some detail. We will then turn to the future tense. In later chapters, particularly in Part V, we will discuss different aspects, namely imperfect, perfect, infinitival and progressive, and moods such as presumptive, imperative, conditional and subjunctive.

### 10.2 The auxiliary हैना honaa, 'to be'

As in the case of English, the auxiliary in Hindi is not part of systematically related forms of words. It is just a long list of 16 unrelated words and no systematic WFS can be formed on the basis of this list. I will briefly discuss the function of each auxiliary word. The important thing to remember is that the tense is carried by the auxiliary.

(a) है hai, 'is' (present tense): this form of the auxiliary is a marker of the present tense. It is used with the second person तू, 'you' (nh) and third person singular वह vah, 'he'. As in the case of some other auxiliary words, it can be used as a main verb in equational sentences such as

4 वह फिसलन है।

vah kisan hai

He is a farmer.

In 4, वह vah, 'he' = फिसलन kisan, 'farmer'.

(b) है bhai, 'are' (present tense): used with first person plural हम ham, 'we', second person singular and plural honorific अप aap 'you' (h) and third person plural वे ve, 'they'.

(c) हैं bhii, 'am' (present tense): exclusively used with first person singular मैं maa, 'I'.

(d) हैं bo, 'are' (present tense): agrees with the second person pronoun तू tum, 'you' which is not marked for politeness. This form is also used in the subjunctive mood with the second person तू tuu, 'you' (nh) and तू tum, 'you' and the third person वह vah, 'he/she'.

Notice that in the case of all the present tense auxiliary forms gender does not make any difference. The agreement is only on the basis of person, number and honorificity. However, in the case of past tense, it is number and gender which become important. The feature of person becomes unimportant.

(e) हैं thaa, 'was' (past tense): agrees with the masculine singular forms of first person मैं maa, 'I', second person non-honorific तू tuu, 'you' (nh) and third person वह vah, 'he'.

(f) हैं thii, 'was' (past tense): agrees with the feminine singular first person, non-honorific second person and third person, that is, मैं main, 'I', तू tuu, 'you' (nh) and वह vah, 'he'.

(g) थे the, 'were' (past tense): used when the subject is masculine plural; first person plural हम ham, 'we', second person तू tum, 'you' or अप aap, 'you' or the third person plural वे ve, 'they'.

(h) थी ti, 'were' (past tense): agrees with feminine plural हम ham, 'we', second person तू tum, 'you' and अप aap, 'you' (h) and third person वे ve, 'they'.

Unlike the present and past (which as we have seen here are marked only in the auxiliary), the future tense in Hindi is marked in the main verb and is a part of the regular WFSs. We will discuss these in the next chapter. Here we will continue with other unrelated forms of the auxiliary that are used to mark the presumptive and the subjunctive moods. The imperative mood is again a part of the WFSs. For example, the simplest imperative form of the verb is regularly obtained by omitting the infinitival marker -ना naa from the main verb (cf. Chapter 11).

One uses a presumptive or contingent form when one is not sure whether the event coded in a given sentence will actually take place, that is, the relationship of the verb with reality is hypothetical. In the case of the subjunctive mood the situation is also unreal; in addition it involves a strong emotional content. Unlike the present tense forms (which vary according to person and number) and the past tense forms (which vary according to gender and number), in the case of presumptive forms all three, that is, person, number and gender are relevant.

(i) होता boga: this form agrees with masculine second person singular non-honorific तू tuu, 'you' (nh) and third person masculine singular वह vah, 'he'.

(j) होगी bogi: this is used when तू tuu and वह vah of (i) are feminine.

(k) होगे boge: this form is used with the second person masculine तू tuu, 'you' (nh).

(l) होई bughaa: this form is used with the masculine first person plural हम ham, 'we', honorific second person अप aap, 'you' (h) and third person plural वे ve, 'they'.

(m) होई bughaa: this form is used with feminine plurals, that is, first person हम ham, 'we', second person तू tum, 'you' second person honorific अप aap, 'you' (h) and third person plural वे ve, 'they'.

(n) हौं bhiiraa: used with the first person masculine singular मैं maa, 'I'.

(o) हौं bhiiraa: used with the first person feminine singular मैं maa, 'I'.
The auxiliary होना, 'to be' thus has 16 forms in all. The major burden of tense and mood is carried by the auxiliary except in the case of the future tense. These 16 forms are represented in the following table. The auxiliary forms are listed vertically and in each column we indicate the present and past tense and the presumptive and subjunctive moods. For the abbreviations used here, please consult the list of abbreviations given at the beginning of the book.

### 10.3 The future tense

As already pointed out, the future tense in Hindi is marked by the main verb, and pairs of words involving simple verbs and verbs with the future-tense marking constitute an integral part of WFSs. For example, in the pair of words चाल, 'walk' and चलेंगे, caleega, 'he/you (nh) will walk', we notice that this relationship can be expressed as 'X--Xegaa'. An attempt is made below to list all the WFSs that account for the future-tense forms of Hindi verbs.

#### WFS 10.1 (X) v — (Xegaa) v, fut, masc, sing, II nh, III

- **Condition:** if X ends in -ii or -uu, change it to -i or -u respectively.
- लिख, write | लिखेगा, likhega, you (nh)/he will write
- द्रिं, drink | द्रिंग, diega, you (nh)/he will drink
- गिर, fall | गिरेगा, girega, you (nh)/he will fall

#### WFS 10.2 (X) v — (Xegii) v, fut, fem, sing, II nh/III

- **Condition:** if X ends in -ii or -uu, change it to -i or -u respectively.
- चु, touch | चुएगा, chuegii, you (nh)/she will touch
- भाग, run | भागेगा, bhaagega, you (nh)/she will run
- रो, cry | रोेगा, roegii, you (nh)/she will cry
- मार, hit | मारेगा, maar, hit

#### WFS 10.3 (X) v — (Xegii) v, fut, pl, I, II h, III

- **Condition:** if X ends in -ii or -uu, change it to -i or -u respectively.
- सुन, listen | सुनेगी, sunegii, we/you (h)/she will listen
- कह, say | कहेगी, kehegi, we/you (h)/they (fem) will say
- देख, see | देखेगी, dekh, see
As is clear from WFSs 10.3 and 10.4, the honorific verbal form to be used with feminine आप aap is आपै (WFS 10.3) and with masculine आप aap is आपै (WFS 10.4). We illustrate these forms in the following sentences:

5 आप आपै एक शील देखौगी।
   aap ab ek jhiil dekhāgī
don’t forget to see a lake.

6 आप आपै एक शील देखौगी।
   aap ab ek jhiil dekhēgī
do not forget to see a lake.

However, there is still another verbal form that may be considered the ultimate in being polite to the person being addressed. It is invariably used with आप aap and is not sensitive to number and gender. Consider 7.

7 आप पहले आराम से मैथियेगा।
   aap pahale aaraam se baiThiyegaa
don’t forget to sit comfortably.

This is basically saying: ‘other things can wait; there is no hurry; first sit comfortably and relax’. Such a sentence will normally be addressed to a highly respected and dignified person. We can thus have another WFS that illustrates this phenomenon.

WFS 10.9 (X) v → (Xiyeegra) v, fut, II h, very polite
tīśā likhō, write
tīśā likhīyeegra, You (h) please write
सोच soc, think
सोचीयेगा socīyeegra, You (h) please think

10.4 Some exceptions

The WFSs discussed above cover a large part of the Hindi verbal forms in the future tense. Two verbs which end in -e, that is, दे de, ‘give’ and ले le, ‘take’ constitute minor exceptions. Since they already end in -e, we need to add only -gaa and -gīi; in the case of WFSs 10.1 and 10.4, the -e
of दे *de* and वे *le* gets nasalised. In the case of WFS 10.9, the corresponding forms of these commonly used verbs are:

- देहकारा *diijyega* and
- लेहकारा *lijyega*

We may also note one more phenomenon here. In some varieties of Hindi, when the vowel sounds -*aa*, -*ii* and -*e* are used, a -ः - like glide is inserted before the WFS becomes operational. Thus one may encounter alternate forms such as जाएगा *jaayega* and जाएगा *jaayegaa*

'he will go'. We will briefly return to the uses of the future tense in Chapter 26.

### 10.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have briefly examined one part of the Hindi verbal complex. I discussed in some detail the nature of the Hindi auxiliary, trying to show how it tells us whether a given event is located in the present or past. I have also pointed out the different forms of the auxiliary in the presumptive and subjunctive moods. Finally, I formulated a few WFSSs that show us how future time is expressed in the Hindi verbal system.

## Chapter 11

### More about verbs

Compared to classical languages such as Sanskrit, Greek or Latin, the verbal morphology of Hindi is fairly simple. However, compared to English and other Indian languages, Hindi verbal morphology is comparatively complex. As already pointed out, except for the future tense, the primary burden of tense marking in Hindi is carried by the auxiliary होना *honaa*, 'to be'. However, the indication of person, gender, number, aspect and mood are often seen in the main verbal element of the verbal complex. In Chapter 17, we will further discuss how causatives are related to simple verbs.

### 11.1 The imperative form

The simplest verbal form in Hindi is the one that agrees with the non-honorific second person pronoun तू *tuu*, 'you' (nh). If we try to omit anything further from the verbal form, what will result will be a non-word. For example:

1 तू खेल।

*tuu khel*

You (nh, masc/fem) play.

If we omit, say, ल from खेल *khel*, we will be left with just *ले *khe* which is not a Hindi word. The non-honorific verbal form then is the simplest verbal word we have. We can, for the sake of transparency, formulate different verbal WFSSs in relation to the non-honorific verbal form. The non-honorific imperative verbal form is related to the infinitival form in Hindi through a simple process of deletion as in WFS 11.1:

WFS 11.1 (Xnaa) v, inf ———> (X) v, imp, II nh

- भाग *bhaagna*, to run
- भाग *bhaag*, you (nh) run
- रोना *ronaa*, to cry
- रो *ro*, you (nh) cry
We will try to formulate all the WFSs concerning verbs in terms of the simple verbal form that agrees with the non-honorific second person pronoun तु तु, 'you' (nh) on the left-hand side of any given WFS. The following two WFSs capture the relationship that exists between different imperative verbal forms used with the three second person pronouns तु तु, 'you' (nh), तू तू, 'you' and जै जै, 'you' (h). The use of these imperative forms has already been discussed in Chapter 5.

WFS 11.2 (X) v ——> (Xo) v, imp, II
माना bhaag, run माना bhaago, you run
चल cal, walk चलो calo, you walk

WFS 11.3 (X) v ——> (Xiye) v, imp, II h
माना bhaag, you (nh) run मानाएं bhaagiye, you (h) run
चल cal, you (nh) walk मानाएं caliye, you (h) walk

11.2 Perfective aspect

The WFSs that follow are based on those pairs of words that are related to each other through a process of suffixation. The more complex forms capture different person, gender, number and aspectual distinctions. On the left-hand side of the WFS we use the simplest non-honorific second person verbal form.

WFS 11.4 (X) v ——> (Xii) v, perf/pp, fem, sing, I, II nh, III
माना bhaag, run मानी bhaagii, I/youth she ran
कै बैठ, sit कै बैठी, I/youth she sat

This strategy will account for verbal forms in sentences such as

2 मानी bhaagii
I (fem) ran.

3 तू बैठी।
तू baiThii
You (fem) sat.

4 तू bhaagii।
vah bhaagii
She ran.

Verbs like माना bhaag, 'run', उठ uTh, 'get up' and निर gir, 'fall' are intransitive. These verbs do not require an object as shown by the following sentences:

5 तू उठ।
tuu uTh
You (nh) get up.

6 तू उठ।
tuu uThaa
You (nh) got up.

7 तू निर।
tuu gir
You (nh) fall down.

8 तू निर।
tuu giraa
You (nh) fell down.

However, the Xaa forms in 6 and 8 can also be used transitively, that is, with an object. In this case, the Xaa verb acquires a completely different causative (see Chapter 17) meaning as in 9 and 10:

9 तू निर उठ।
tuu mezz uThaa
You (nh) lift the table.

10 तू पेड़ निर।
tuu peK giraa
You make the tree fall.
Once again we see the same form performing more than one function. The Xaa form is also used for the perfective aspect both in the present and past tense. Consider WFS 11.3:

WFS 11.5 (X) v \(\rightarrow\) (Xaa) v, perf/pp, masc, sing, I, II nh, III Condition: X ends in a consonantal sound.

\begin{align*}
\text{मान} & \quad \text{ब्हाग,} \quad \text{रून} \\
\text{bhaag,} & \quad \text{run} \\
\text{bhaagaa,} & \quad \text{र्यु/य्यू/षी रून} \\
\text{वैष} & \quad \text{बैठ,} \quad \text{सिट} \\
\text{baitth,} & \quad \text{sit} \\
\text{baitthaa,} & \quad \text{र्यु/य्यू/षी सिट}.
\end{align*}

If a verb ends in a vowel sound, we have WFS 11.6:

WFS 11.6 (X) v \(\rightarrow\) (Xyaa) v, perf/pp, masc, sing, I, II nh, III Condition: X ends in a vowel sound.

\begin{align*}
\text{खा} & \quad \text{क्हां,} \quad \text{एत} \\
\text{khaa,} & \quad \text{eat} \\
\text{khaayaa,} & \quad \text{र्यु/य्यू/षी एत} \\
\text{से} & \quad \text{सो,} \quad \text{स्लीप} \\
\text{so,} & \quad \text{sleep} \\
\text{soyaa,} & \quad \text{र्यु/य्यू/षी स्लीप}.
\end{align*}

WFS 11.4 shows the verbal form used for the feminine singular for the three persons: I, II (nh) and III. WFS 11.7 captures the corresponding relationship for the feminine plural.

WFS 11.7 (X) v \(\rightarrow\) (Xii) v, perf, fem, pl I, II, III

\begin{align*}
\text{वेल} & \quad \text{बे,} \quad \text{सल} \\
\text{bec,} & \quad \text{sell} \\
\text{वेली} & \quad \text{बेसी,} \quad \text{वे/यू/थे वे (सोम) (खेल)} \\
\text{we/you/they sold (something)} \\
\text{मान} & \quad \text{ब्हाग,} \quad \text{रून} \\
\text{bhaag,} & \quad \text{run} \\
\text{bhaagii,} & \quad \text{र्यु/य्यू/षी रून}.
\end{align*}

WFS 11.8 is concerned with the masculine plural first, second and third person:

WFS 11.8 (X) v \(\rightarrow\) (Xe) v, perf, pp, masc, pl, I, II, III

\begin{align*}
\text{कस} & \quad \text{नाबा,} \quad \text{यू (यू) बलिए} \\
\text{nabaa, you (nh) bathe} \\
\text{कस} & \quad \text{नाबाए,} \quad \text{वे/यू/थे बलिए} \\
\text{we/you/they bathed} \\
\text{वैष} & \quad \text{देख,} \quad \text{यू (यू) सी} \\
\text{dekh, you (nh) see} \\
\text{देखे} & \quad \text{देखे,} \quad \text{वे/यू/थे सी} \\
\text{we/you/they saw}.
\end{align*}

There is a small set of verbs that end in -e such as दे दे, 'you give' and ले ले, 'you take'. WFSs 11.6 and 11.7 will apply but with minor changes. In the case of WFS 11.6 which involves -yaa suffixation, -e will be substituted by -i; so we get दिया, 'gave' and विया, 'took'. WFS 11.7 will apply after the omission of -e in the case of these verbs.

We may note that in case the verb is transitive as in वेल बे, 'sell' or वैष देख, 'see', perfective constructions will have the ergative ने ne

(see Chapter 27). In such cases the verb will agree with the object though the WFSs listed here will be respected. The following sentences are illustrative:

11 नीता ने विलाम वेषी।

sitaaa ne kitaabbe becii

Sita sold books.

12 मोहन ने घर देखी।

mohan ne ghar dekhe

Mohan saw houses.

### 11.3 Imperfect

We have so far talked about the verbal forms that encode the perfective aspect. We now turn to the imperfective aspect and the present participle forms.

WFS 11.9 (X) v \(\rightarrow\) (Xtaa) imperf, pers p, masc, sing

\begin{align*}
\text{खा} & \quad \text{क्हा,} \quad \text{एत} \\
\text{kha,} & \quad \text{eat} \\
\text{khaataa,} & \quad \text{एता,} \quad \text{एतिंग} \\
\text{eating} \\
\text{मान} & \quad \text{भाग,} \quad \text{रून} \\
\text{bhaag,} & \quad \text{run} \\
\text{bhaagtaa,} & \quad \text{रूना,} \quad \text{रूनिंग} \\
\text{running}.
\end{align*}

Notice that the Xtaa form will be used with the first person, second person (nh) and the third person singular but the sentence will become complete only when a suitable auxiliary is added. As they stand, Xtaa forms are present participles as in

13 भागता हुआ लड़का

bhaagtaa huaa laRkaa

boy who is running

In the case of the feminine we get the -tii suffixation:

WFS 11.10 (X) v \(\rightarrow\) (Xiii) presp, imper, fem

\begin{align*}
\text{कस} & \quad \text{नाबा,} \quad \text{बाथ} \\
\text{nabaa,} & \quad \text{bathe} \\
\text{माता,} & \quad \text{नाबाटी,} \quad \text{बाथिंग} \\
\text{nabaatii,} & \quad \text{bathing} \\
\text{उड़ा} & \quad \text{उथा,} \quad \text{लिफ्ट} \\
\text{uthaa,} & \quad \text{lift} \\
\text{उथाटी,} & \quad \text{लिफ्टिंग} \\
\text{uThaatii,} & \quad \text{lifting} \\
\text{उड़ा} & \quad \text{उथा,} \quad \text{कॉल} \\
\text{cal,} & \quad \text{walk} \\
\text{कॉल,} & \quad \text{वैली,} \quad \text{कॉलिंग} \\
\text{caltii,} & \quad \text{walking}
\end{align*}
Present participle use is illustrated in 14:
14 कुर्सी उठाती हुई लड़की
    kursii uThaatii huii laRkii
    the girl who is lifting the chair

In case the noun or the pronoun with which the verb has to agree is masculine plural, we need the Xte form as in:

WFS 11.11 (X) v ←→ (Xte) presp, the perf, masc, pl
    लड़ लड़े laR, fight    लड़े laRte, fighting
    रे ro, cry    रेते rote, crying

The participle used is illustrated in 15:
15 लड़ते हुए लड़के
    laRte hue laRke
    fighting boys

Examine the following table for the use of these WFSs along with the forms of the auxiliaries we discussed in the previous chapter.

Present tense

Masculine singular subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perf</th>
<th>imperf</th>
<th>pres p</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>है</td>
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Masculine plural subject

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<th>perf</th>
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<tr>
<td>वे</td>
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Feminine singular subject

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Feminine plural subject

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Past tense

Masculine singular subject

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<tr>
<td>है</td>
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Masculine plural subject

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<td>है</td>
<td>थे</td>
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Feminine singular subject

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<th>perf</th>
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<tr>
<td>है</td>
<td>थी</td>
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</table>
Since the central verbal element is primarily concerned with aspect and the auxiliary with tense, there is no restriction on legitimately mixing the aspectual and tense forms. The following are thus commonly used.

16 गीता भागती है।
   gitaa bhaagti hai
   Geeta runs.

17 गीता भागती थी।
   gitaa bhaagti thee
   Geeta used to run.

18 मोहन सोया है।
   mohan soya hai
   Mohan is sleeping.

19 मोहन सोया था।
   mohan soya thea
   Mohan was sleeping.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have discussed in some detail different forms of the verb. Basically, I have tried to show that it is the perfect or imperfect aspect that gets marked in the main verb. I also discussed the use of different imperative verbal forms as well as the use of the present and past participle. We will return to perfective aspect verbal forms in Chapter 27 on the Ergative pattern in Hindi. We will discuss the WFSs involving the subjunctive mood in Chapter 26.

Chapter 12

Verbs, adjectives and adverbs

As we saw in the previous chapter, there is a fairly complex network of relationships within Hindi verbs because grammatical number, gender, person, aspect and mood are marked on the main verbs. However, across grammatical categories, that is, among verbs on the one hand and adjectives and adverbs on the other, there is minimal morphology involved. Adjectives are more closely related to nouns, and adverbs generally appear as independent invariant words or combine with other words such as postpositions. Still there are some important intercategorial relationships between verbs, adjectives and adverbs. We examine them in this chapter.

### 12.1 Verbs and adjectives

Most of the related pairs of verbs and adjectives involve a process of suffixation. Some of these WFSs include the following:

**WFS 12.1 (X) v \(\leftarrow\rightarrow\) (Xaa) adj**

Condition: X ends in a consonant.

- रुक ruutb, suik
- रुकता ruutthaa, sulking
- जल jal, burn
- जलाय jala, burnt
- फुट phuut, break
- फुटा phuutthaa, broken

In the case of a feminine noun following, we get an X-Xii relationship as in:

**WFS 12.2 (X) v \(\leftarrow\rightarrow\) (Xii) adj**

Condition: X does not end in -ii or -uu.

- जल jal, burn
- जली jali, burnt
- फुट phuut, break
- फुटी phuutthi, broken
We may illustrate these frequently used adjectives by a few examples:

1  
रूटा  
फूटा  
हारा  
phaTe  
kapRe  
broken pitcher

2  
किस्मत  
फूटी  
kismet  
bad luck

3  
जला  
आलू  
jalaa  
aaluu  
burnt potato

4  
जली  
रोटी  
jalii  
roTii  
burnt bread

If the following noun is masculine plural, we get an ‘X–Xe’ relationship as in

WFS 12.3 (X) v  (Xe) adj, pl

Condition: X does not end in -ii or -uu.

जल jal, burn  जले jale, burnt  
फट phaT, tear apart  फटे phaTe, torn  
गल gal, rot  गले gale, rotten  
डड saR, decay  डडे saRe, decayed  
सज saj, get ready  सजे saje, decorated

They are used in expressions such as

5  
गले आम  
gale aam  
rotten mangoes

If there are imperative verbs that end in -aa, it is common to add -uu to them to make adjectives as in:

WFS 12.4 (X) v  (Xuu) adj

Condition: X ends in -aa

जला calaa, make walk  जला calaa uu, good enough  
कमा kamaa, earn  जला kamaa uu, earning

As we noticed in the previous chapter, -tii, -taa and -te are used to mark aspect on the verb. They are also used as present participle forms. However, the words involving these suffixes can also be used as adjectives.

WFS 12.5 (X) v  (Xtaa) adj

भाग bhaag, run  भागा bhaagtaa, running  
खेल khel, play  खेला kheltaa, playing

We use these forms in expressions like

7  
भागा लड़का  
bhaagtaa laRkaa  
running boy

8  
खेलता आदमी  
kheltaa aadmii  
playing man

In case the following noun is feminine, we need WFS 12.6:

WFS 12.6 (X) v  (Xtii) adj

भाग bhaag, run  भागी bhaagtiit, running  
खेल khel, play  खेली kheltii, playing
Corresponding to 7 and 8, we have

9 ब्यागती लड़की
   bhaagti laRkii
   running girl

10 खेलती महिला
   kheltii mahilaa
   playing woman

The adjective will not change even if the feminine nouns in 9 and 10 were plural. But if the masculine nouns of, say, 7 and 8 are plural, we need another WFS:

WFS 12.7 (X) v ←→ (Xte) adj
   ब्य  bhaag, run; ब्यागती bhaagte, running
   खेल  khet, play; खेलते khette, playing

Using the plural forms of nouns in 7 and 8 we get 11 and 12:

11 ब्यागते लड़के
   bhaagte laRke
   running boys

12 खेलते आदमी
   khelte aadmi
   playing men

Another substantially large set of words consists of verbs like खर्च kharc, 'spend' and adjectives like खरामला khariilaa, 'extravagant'. The relationship is formulated in WFS 12.8.

WFS 12.8 (X) v ←→ (Xiilaa) adj
   खर्च kharc, spend; खरामला khariilaa, extravagant
   ब्यागक khRak, get agitated; ब्याग कोटी bhaRKii, showy
   सज saj, decorate; सजीला sajaalaa, decorated

12.2 Verbs and adverbs

One of the most frequently used strategies to relate verbal to adverbial expression is to use the suffix -kar. Consider the following WFS:

WFS 12.9 (X) v ←→ (Xkar) adv
   ज्ञ bhaag, run; ब्यागक bhaagkar, running
   चल cal, walk; चलकर calkar, walking
   हंस hās, laugh; हंसकर hāskar, laughing

Let's examine the following sentences:

13 वह ब्यागक मेरे पास आया।
   vah bhaagkar mere paas aayaa
   He came to me running, or
   Having run, he came to me.

It is only in the first reading of 13 that Xkar functions like an adverb, that is, tells us the manner in which the action denoted by the verb is being carried out. In the second reading, it is part of an absolutive construction.

Another productive way of obtaining adverbs from verbs is to add -taa, -ti -te as we do to mark tense and to make adjectives.

12.3 Conclusion

It is obvious that intercategorial relationships that relate verbs to adjectives and adverbs is rather limited. In the next two chapters, we turn to adjectives and adverbs.
Hindi nouns, as we have already seen (Chapter 7), have inherent gender, that is, they are either masculine or feminine. But Hindi adjectives do not have inherent gender. Their gender depends on the nouns they modify. Hindi adjectives have traditionally been divided into two broad categories: red (cf. कला laal, ‘red colour’) and black (cf. कला kaala, ‘black colour’). The कला laal category adjectives remain invariant; the कला kaala category ones (with a few exceptions) change form according to the number, gender and case of the noun they modify. This means that adjectives that end in a long -a or -e vowel (oral or nasal) are variable while those that end in consonants or other vowels are invariant. Consider कला lambaa, ‘tall’ for example (which obviously belongs to the variable category) in Section 13.1. These rules will also apply to the quantifiers such as दस das, ‘ten’ and intensifiers such as बहुत bahut, ‘very’.

### 13.1 Variable adjectives

In the table here, we show how the adjective कला lambaa, ‘tall’ varies with the following nouns कला laal, ‘boy’ and कला laRkii, ‘girl’ in terms of number and case. In the oblique case we also use the postposition ने ne (ergative marker) to make it clearer as the oblique nominal forms are used only when the nouns are followed by postpositions (see Chapter 27 on the ergative pattern).

Notice that variation even in the ‘black’ (कला kaala) category adjectives is rather limited. Irrespective of changes in case, लाल kaalaa has only two other related forms: लाल laal in the masculine gender (except in the nominative, and लाल laal in the case of feminine gender. The form is actually variable across case and number distinctions when the following noun is feminine. If we do not state several features that are common and understood, we really need only two WF:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{WFS 13.1 (Xaa) adj, sing, nom} & \rightarrow \quad \text{(Xe) adj, pl} \\
\text{कला kaala, black} & \rightarrow \quad \text{कलेल kaale, black (pl)} \\
\text{चेहरा choTaa, small} & \rightarrow \quad \text{चेहरा choTe, small (pl)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{WFS 13.2 (Xaa) adj, sing, nom} & \rightarrow \quad \text{(Xii) adj, fem} \\
\text{कला kaala, black} & \rightarrow \quad \text{कलेल kaali, black (fem pl)} \\
\text{चेहरा choTaa, small} & \rightarrow \quad \text{चेहरा choTii, small (fem pl)}
\end{align*}
\]

Some words such as बड़ा baRhiyaa, ‘good’, जिंदा zinda, ‘alive’, वात maadaa, ‘female’, बसा savaa, ‘a quarter’ (e.g. बसा पार savaa caar, ‘quarter past four’) though ending in -a do not change their shape like the ‘red’ adjectives. In the case of जिंदा zinda, ‘alive man’ and जिंदा zinda, ‘alive woman’, जिंदा zinda remains invariant in spite of the different genders of the following nouns.

### 13.2 Invariant adjectives

In the case of the कला laal, ‘red’ category adjectives, the number, gender and case of the following nouns are inconsequential. Consider the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc</th>
<th>fem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal kapRaa</td>
<td>laal kapRe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal kapRaa ne</td>
<td>laal kapRaa ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal kapRaa me</td>
<td>laal kapRaa me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal kapRaa me</td>
<td>laal kapRaa me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal kapRe</td>
<td>laal kapRo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal kapRe ne</td>
<td>laal kapRe ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal kapRe me</td>
<td>laal kapRe me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laal kapRe me</td>
<td>laal kapRe me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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As you will notice in this table, the adjective लाल, ‘red’ does not change whatever the gender, number or case of the following noun. In this table, कपड़ा, ‘cloth’ is masculine and शायदी, ‘sari’ is feminine; लाल does not change for gender, number or case. The category of invariant adjectives in Hindi is indeed large. For example, खौफ, ‘timid’, सफेद, ‘white’, मुश्किल, ‘difficult’, ग्राम, ‘village’, गंभीर, ‘serious’, काम, ‘earning’ and आली, ‘lazy’ are all invariants. None of them ends in -aa. In fact, they end in a variety of consonantal or vowel sounds but they remain invariant in all cases.

13.3 Adjectives in the noun and verb phrase

As in the case of English, adjectives may be used either attributively in the noun phrase or predicatively in the verb phrase. For example,

1 लम्बे लड़के खेल रहे हैं।
   lambe laRke khele rahe hai
   Tall boys are playing.

2 वे लड़के लम्बे हैं।
   vee laRke lambe hai
   Those boys are tall.

3 जो लड़के खेल रहे हैं वो लम्बे हैं।
   jo laRke khele rahe hai vo lambe hai
   The boys who are playing are tall.

In 1, the adjective lambe has been used attributively, that is, it modifies a noun in the subject–noun phrase; in 2 and 3 the same adjective has been used predicatively, that is, it forms a part of the verb phrase. In fact, 2 and 3 would be incomplete without the adjective. In 1, we may, if we so wish, omit the adjective. If we wish to qualify a noun with both an adjective and an intensifier as in 4, we notice that both the intensifier and the qualifier must agree with the noun in number and gender:

4 वे बड़े लम्बे लड़के
   vee baRe lambe laRke
   those very tall boys

13.4 Comparative and superlative adjectives

We generally use ज्यादा ‘more’ or अधिक, ‘more’ to indicate comparative degree. For example,

मेरा घर तुम्हारे घर से ज्यादा खुला है।
meraa ghar tumhaare ghar se zyaadaa khulaa hai
My house is more open than yours.

We could also use अधिक instead of ज्यादा in 5 above. Hindi also has pairs of words that involve the use of -tar and -tam to indicate the comparative and superlative degree. The following two WFSs capture these relationships:

WFS 13.3 (X) adj ←→ (Xtar) adj, comp
   निकट निकट, close निकटर, closer
   priya, loved प्रियतर, more loved

WFS 13.4 (X) adj ←→ (Xtam) adj, super
   निकट निकट, close निकटर, closest
   priya, loved प्रियतर, most loved

From the adjective निकट, ‘close’, we have the comparative and superlative forms निकटर, ‘closer’ and निकटर, ‘closest’. The number of words to which these strategies can be applied is highly limited, but includes words such as कोमल, ‘delicate’, सुंदर, ‘beautiful’ and अधिक, ‘more’. These strategies in Hindi are actually remnants of Sanskrit grammar in which सर suggesting ‘more’ and सम suggesting ‘most’ are frequently used to show different degrees of comparison in adjectives. In the case of the grammar of Hindi adjectives, WFSs 13.1 and 13.2 and the use of ज्यादा zyaadaa, ‘more’ or अधिक, ‘more’ are adequate.

13.5 Application of the WFSs

Let us examine some more examples. The relevant analysis is given in parentheses.

• अनींद आवाज़ ajeeb aavaaz, ‘strange noise’ (fem sing noun, adj not ending in -aa, remains invariant)
Chapter 14

Adverbs

There are very few pairs of adverbs in Hindi that may be related to each other in a systematic way. In most cases, adverbs are either invariant or related to nouns, verbs and adjectives. There may be an odd related pair such as रेखें rox, ‘daily’ and रेखें roxaanaa, ‘daily’ that may exist, but in general it is difficult to find a large set of related adverb pairs out of which a suitable WFS can be formed. There are individual pairs of proximal and non-proximal adverbs. Adverbial expressions are also often created through a process of full or partial reduplication. In many cases, adverbs are formed by using postpositions after nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Sometimes onomatopoeic words are also used adverbially.

14.1 Reduplicated adverbs

We often see adverbial expressions that are reduplicated forms of an adverb itself. It only makes the adverbial impact more intense. Consider the following WFS:

WFS 14.1 (X) adv  →  (X-X) adv

शीर dhiire, slowly  शीर-शीर dhiire-dhiire, very slowly
जली jaldii, quickly  जली-जली jaldii-jaldii, very quickly

Many adverbial expressions such as:

उठे-उठे uThte-uThte, getting up
रो-रो rote-rote, crying
भागे-भागे bhaagte-bhaagte, running

are formed following WFS 14.1.
We have already noted that forms such as Xtaa, Xte and Xtie can be used in all three ways: adjectively, adverbially and as participles. In another example, we find an adverb combined with its opposite or a related word. We can formulate the following schema:

\[
\text{WFS 14.2 (X) adv } \leftrightarrow (X-Y) \text{ adv}
\]

Condition: Y is the opposite of X.

\begin{align*}
\text{उपर, above} & \quad \text{उपर-नीचे, uppar-niiche, all around} \\
\text{अगे, in front of} & \quad \text{अगे-नीचे, aage–niiche, anywhere} \\
\text{यहां, here} & \quad \text{यहां-वहां, yahaa-vahaa, here and there}
\end{align*}

Consider the following sequence of sentences:

1. वहा कहा के घर है।
   meraa haar kho gayaa hai
   I have lost my necklace.

2. अगे-नीचे, उपर-नीचे, सब जगह देखि।
   aage-niiche, uppar-niiche, sab jagah dekho
   in front–back, above–below, here–there, look everywhere.

In 2, three adverbial expressions using WFS 14.2 have been used. Notice that even though two words appear to be involved in WFS 14.2, the resulting adverb is only a single word. Its meaning is not really ‘X + Y’ as both ‘X’ and ‘Y’ have independent status.

### 14.2 Invariant adverbs

Although some of the adverbs discussed so far may show minor variation such as नीचे niicea, ‘lowly’ (adj) and नीचे niice, ‘below’ (adv) across categories, adverbs are mostly invariant. There is a set of proximal and non-proximal adverb pairs which is best illustrated through sentences such as the following. They are completely invariant:

3. अब jab ट्रेन रायपुर पहुँची है तब उसपे दैन की सांग की है।
   ab jab Tren raaypur pahucii hai tab uspe dain ki sang ki hai
   Now that the train has reached Raipur, he is feeling better (is having a sigh of relief.)

Most of the adverbs used in sentences 3 to 6 constitute proximal–non-proximal pairs. Thus अब ab, ‘now’, यहां yahaa, ‘here’, यह yah ‘this’ and ऐसे aise, ‘like this/in this manner’ are proximal, that is, they refer to an action happening nearby; तब tab, ‘then’, यहां yahaa, ‘there’, यह yah, ‘that’ and ऐसे aise, ‘like that/in that manner’ are non-proximal, that is, refer to actions at a distance (see Chapter 19). As in the case of participles, if they qualify an individual word they function as adjectives; but when they tell us something about the manner in which the whole action is being executed, they are adverbial.

### 14.3 Expressions for spans of time and space

The set of postpositions बी se, ‘from’ and तक tak, ‘to’ are often used in adverbial expressions that carve out a span of time and space in a given sentence. Such expressions include

7. यहां से यहां तक
   yahaa se yahaa tak
   from here to there

8. उपर से नीचे तक
   uppar se niice tak
   from above to below
14.5 Conclusion

With this chapter we come to the end of Part II of this book. In Part II, I have basically been concerned with nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs from two perspectives: relationships that exist within each category and the relationships that exist between each category and all the other categories, that is, across categories. These are often referred to as intracategorial (within the category) and intercategorial (across categories) relationships. In Part III we continue our discussions of Hindi words turning to reduplication, compounds and causatives.

14.4 Onomatopoeic adverbs

There is a small set of onomatopoeic words that function like adverbs. For example:

13 कह गला नूज खेल गया।
    vah gaTaagaT dhauudh pii gayaa
    He drank the milk in a single gulp.

14 गाहुल सरफ पश्चा।
    raahul sarpaT bhaagaa
    Rahul ran quickly.

15 झटपट इधर आओ।
    jhaTpaT idhar aao
    Come here immediately.
Part III

More about words
One of the most productive processes in Hindi is reduplication. In principle any word from any category can actually be reduplicated. In Section 14.1, we have already seen adverbs being reduplicated. This is one feature that Hindi shares with several other Indian languages. Following Singh (1995), we recognise three kinds of reduplication: full, partial and redundant. When we talk of full reduplication, we mean we take an X and use a form X-X; partial reduplication means that we take an X and modify it partially, say, X-X' and redundant reduplication means that we take an X and add a Y to it to get X-Y, where X and Y mean approximately the same thing though historically coming from different sources.

15.1 Full reduplication

Consider the following examples:

1 राम-राम raam-raam, Ram-Ram (noun, human)
2 घर-घर ghar-ghar, house-house (noun, inanimate)
3 काल-काल kaala-kaala, black-black (adjective)
4 जल्दी-जल्दी jaldii-jaldii, quickly-quickly (adverb)
5 खाऊँ-खाऊँ khaa-khaa, eat-eat (verb)
6 ना ना na-na, not-not (negative particle)
7 क्या-क्या kya-kyaa, what-what (question word)
8 या-या yaa-yaa, or-or (conjunction)
9 करते-करते karte-karte, doing-doing (present participle)
It is clear from these examples that in principle any grammatical category can be reduplicated in Hindi. Complete reduplication suggests the distributive meaning of ‘every’; so घर-घर ghar-ghar means ‘every house’ in a sentence like 1 which follows:

1 अबारवाला रेज घर-घर अबार देता है।
    axbaarvaalaa roz ghar-ghar axbaar detaa hai
    The newspaperman delivers newspapers everyday from house to house.

In fact, all nine reduplicated expressions mentioned earlier will fit into the following sentence frame:

2 क्या ीीीीीीीा रखा/रखी है।
    kyaa .......... lagaa rakhaa/rakhi hai
    What is this X-X you are doing?

Any word can then be reduplicated in Hindi.

### 15.2 Partial reduplication

In full reduplication (X-X), we get a distributive meaning of ‘every X’. In partial reduplication (X-X’) where only a part of a given word is repeated, we get an ‘X etc.’ meaning. So from the word चाय caay, ‘tea’ we get the (X-X’) form चाय-चाय caay-vaay, ‘tea etc.’ It is important to note that चाय-चाय caay-vaay is a single word with a unique meaning. चाय vaay on its own does not exist as a word in Hindi. In fact, replacement of the initial consonant of the word by व- is the most frequently employed strategy in partial reduplication. We could formulate this WFS as follows:

WFS 15.1 (X) → (X-X’).

Condition: the first consonant of X is replaced by व- in X’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>खाना</td>
<td>khaanaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दार</td>
<td>dard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चलना</td>
<td>calnaa, to walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जलदी</td>
<td>jaldii, quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पानी</td>
<td>paanii, water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बर्फ</td>
<td>barf, ice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be clear from these examples that like full reduplication this strategy also knows no categorial boundaries.

Even in the case of words that begin with a vowel, we add the consonant व- at the beginning to enable them to participate in the X-X’ pattern of words. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>याना</td>
<td>khaanaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आलू</td>
<td>aahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आदमी</td>
<td>aadmii, man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>टूट</td>
<td>tuTT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उस्ताद</td>
<td>ustra, razor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एरी</td>
<td>eRii, heel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आता</td>
<td>aisaa, like this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a small set of words that is not covered by WFS 15.1. These are all exceptions and do not form any pattern. They are unique and have to be listed and learnt. For example, in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>भाग</td>
<td>bhaag, run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जबूत्त</td>
<td>jhooTB, lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>देख</td>
<td>dekb, see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

we notice parts of words repeated in the related more complex word but there is no pattern to isolate.

### 15.3 Redundant reduplication

We have already talked about the (X-X) and (X-X’) pattern. We now turn to the (X-Y) pattern. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>धन</td>
<td>dhun, money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>शादी</td>
<td>shaadi, marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धर्म</td>
<td>dharm, religion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Redundant reduplication

The redundant reduplication pattern involves repeating one or more parts of the word. This pattern is often used with adjectives to emphasize the quality or characteristic of the noun. For example,

- लाल लाल lal-lal, red
- छाना छाना chaana-chaana, cold
- ढोका ढोका dohka-dohka, large

This pattern is particularly common in Hindi and can add emphasis or intensity to the word.
Notice that though in more complex words, we have words from two different sources, often Sanskrit and Persian, the result is a single word with a single meaning which in fact is identical to the meaning of the simple word.

15.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the nature and structure of full, partial and redundant reduplication. In Chapter 16, I turn to compound words.

Chapter 16

Compounds

In this chapter, I will show that though compounds do involve two independent words, say X and Y, they eventually, grammatically and semantically, constitute a single word. In Section 15.3, I showed that redundant compounds are really single words; fully or partially reduplicated words are also single words. Traditionally compounds are divided into four categories: द्वन्द्व dvandva, बहुव्रीहि babuva, अययीबाव aryayibbaav and तत्पुरुषा tatpurusha. It is also common to talk of endocentric (meaning found in the constituents) and exocentric (meaning found outside the constituents) compounds. I will discuss each of them one by one and then examine Hindi compounds in terms of WFSs.

16.1 Types of compounds

It is claimed that babuva compounds, like any other compound, consist of two words, X and Y, but the meaning of the compound lies outside the two words (i.e. they are exocentric). You may not be able to guess the meaning of a babuva compound as the parts are not constitutive of the total, that is, X and Y lead to a new meaning, Z. Thus, in English, ‘cut-throat’, as in ‘cut-throat competition’, the compound has nothing to do either with the act of cutting or the noun ‘throat’. Other English babuva words would include ‘pickpocket’, ‘scarecrow’ and so on. Similarly, in Hindi, we have words like

1. दानवीर daan-viir = KarN
2. नीलकंठ niil-kāTh = Lord Shiva

It is clear that दान daan, ‘to give charity’ and वीर viir, ‘strong man’ are independent words in Hindi and can be so used. But in the word दानवीर daanviir, there is no transparent relationship between दान daan and वीर viir.
16.2 Contextual variability

It is not always the case that the division of compounds into different types is easy, in spite of their near-mathematical representation in terms of X, Y and Z. The same compound word may have to be classified differently depending on how it is interpreted in a given context. Take a compound like सत्य सत्यारत satyavrata which consists of two elements सत्य satya, ‘truth’ and स्त्र व्रत vrat, ‘fast/not eating’.

If we interpret it as सत्य and स्त्र it becomes a dvandva compound; as स्त्र vrat, ‘fast’ or स्त्र satya, ‘truth’ it becomes a tatpurusha compound and as it means a person who always stands for truth, it becomes a bahuvrihi compound.

16.3 Mistaken for compounds

The category of words which are often mistaken for compounds is in fact very large. The basic formulation that a true compound must be a concatenation of two independent words X and Y is forgotten far too easily. Many people would treat words such as

13 घुरस्वर ghuswār, horse-rider
14 घुरदार ghusdār, horse race
15 चाराहार cauraahaa, crossroads
16 हथक्री batbakaRii, handcuffs

as genuine compounds. They do not realise that though क्री घोरा ghorā, ‘horse’ is a Hindi word, “घोर” is not; similarly सब bhaTh, ‘hand’, “सब caar, ‘four’ and क्री राह raah, ‘road’ are legitimate words of Hindi but “घोर” bhaTh, “सब caar and “राह raahaa are not. Thus in 13–16, we have no X and Y. These are of course complex words but are best listed either as exceptions or as prefixes. For example, in the case of 13 and 14, we could formulate a WFS.

WFS 16.1 (X) n =⇒ (ghuRX) n, involving a horse

सवार savār, rider पुलिसवार ghuswār, horse-rider
दार dauR, race पुलिसवार ghusdār, horse race
नाल naal, hoof पुलिस ghusnaal, horse shoe
मक्खी makbhii, flea पुलिस ghusmakbhii, horse flea

But this is a WFS of prefixation and not of compound word formation.
16.4 Compounds

We will now examine some WFSs which do combine two words, X and Y. However, the resulting item still maintains the integrity of a word. Consider the following WFSs:

WFS 16.2 (X) n ➞ ➞ (Xvigyaan) n, science of X

पाया bhashaa, language ➞ पायविज्ञान bhaashavigyaan, science of language

जन्तु jantu, animal ➞ जन्तुविज्ञान jantuvigyaan, science of animals

समाज samaaj, society ➞ समाजविज्ञान samaajvigyaan, science of society

However, words like समाजविज्ञान samaajvigyaan will enter into the same WFS as विज्ञान vigyaan itself.

Another suffixation WFS is

WFS 16.3 (X) n ➞ ➞ (XmanDii) n, market of X

अनाज anaaaj, grains ➞ अनाजमंडी anaaajmaNDii, market of grains

फल pbal, fruit ➞ फलमंडी phalmaNDii, market of fruit

सब्जी sabzii, vegetables ➞ सब्जीमंडी sabziimaNDii, market of vegetables

Here are a couple of other WFSs:

WFS 16.4 (X) n ➞ ➞ (Xbhavan) n, office/building of X

कृषि kriShi, agriculture ➞ कृषिभवन kriShibhavan, office of agriculture

रेल rel, railways ➞ रेलवाहन relbhavan, office of railways

सेना senaa, army ➞ सेनभवन senabhavan, office of the army

WFS 16.5 (X) n ➞ ➞ (Xrakshaa) n, safety of X

प्राण praaN, life ➞ प्राणरक्षा praanrakshaa, safety of life

देश desh, country ➞ देशरक्षा deshrakshaa, safety of the country

धर्म dharma, religion ➞ धर्मरक्षा dharmrakshaa, safety of religion

We may also note some WFSs involving prefixation

WFS 16.6 (X) n ➞ ➞ (nyaaayX) n, related to justice

शास्त्र shaastr, science ➞ न्यायशास्त्र nyaaayshastra, science of justice

मूर्ति murti, statue ➞ न्यायमूर्ति nyaaaymurti, judge

शुल्क shulk, fee ➞ न्यायशुल्क nyaaayshulk, court fee

WFS 16.7 (X) n ➞ ➞ (vaayuX) n, related to air

सेना senaa, army ➞ वायुसेना vaayusena, air force

यान yaan, carrier ➞ वायुयान vaayuyaan, aeroplane

मंडल maNDal, space ➞ वायुमंडल vaayumaNDal, atmosphere

16.5 Conclusion

Compounds consist of two independent words X and Y which are combined to form a new word. One of the words in question always loses its wordhood. Bahurubhi compounds are not really compounds because they do not satisfy the basic conditions of word-relatedness. X and Y should be related to Z both at the level of form and meaning. Words like गुह्रक्षार ghurKsuraar are not compounds either because they do not involve two independent words. Most avayaiibhaav compounds again do not involve X and Y but are simple cases of affixation. Dvandva compounds like सीता-राम sitaa-raam, ‘Sita—Rama’, शिव-पारवती shiv-paraavatti, ‘Shiv and Parvati’ clearly involve two words and are very commonly used. In this case X and Y really means ‘X and Y’. In some cases, the dvandva compound may actually behave in a bahurubhi way as सीता-राम sitaa-raam, ‘Sita—Rama’ may simply amount to saying ‘Oh Lord’. Then there is a small set of WFSs which in the case of prefixation are avayaiibhaav (i.e. X is dominant) and in the case of suffixation avayaiibhaav (i.e. Y is dominant). In all these cases, the so-called compounds maintain the integrity of a word.
Chapter 17

Causatives

It is often the case that in a sentence an actor makes somebody else do something or causes him to be in a certain state. Expressions that indicate this phenomenon are called causatives. Grammatically, they can be indicated by a specific simple verb or a causative form of a verb or by some other lexical or phrasal expression. Languages like Hindi, Sanskrit and Finnish are rich in causative verbal forms. English uses ordinary verbs like ‘make’ ‘get’ and ‘have’ to express such causation. For example,

1 She made me do her homework.
2 I got him to repair my car.

In both these sentences, two verbs have to be used; in 1, ‘made’ and ‘do’ and in 2, ‘got’ and ‘repair’. The first set of verbs tells us ‘who made whom do something’ and the second set tells us about ‘the action involved in the task to be done’. Thus in both sentences, ‘she’ and ‘I’ make somebody else, namely, ‘me’ and ‘him’ do the work.

Hindi, on the other hand, has causative forms that are systematically related to their non-causative forms. One is therefore not forced to use two verbs. For example,

3 राम ने मोहन से कार भीक करवाई।
   raam ne mohan sekaar thiik karvaaii
   Ram had Mohan repair the car.

कर kar is the simple verbal form for the non-honorific second person; करवाई karvaaii, -ii is used because कर kaar, ‘car’ is feminine. Since all the other nouns are blocked by postpositions (राम raam by ने ne and मोहन by से se), the verb must agree with कर kaar, ‘car’ which is not blocked.

17.1 Hindi causatives

Most grammars of Hindi make the description of Hindi causatives look very complex. However, if we keep the following three points in mind, causative morphology is fairly transparent:

1 Certain causal forms are unique and have to be listed separately. It does not serve any purpose to force them into a pattern where they do not actually belong.
2 Keep the verbal form that agrees with the non-honorific second person तु tuu at the centre of your attention. We have followed this pattern throughout this book.
3 Carefully notice the ways in which pairs in a set are related; the relationship may consist of simple concatenation or suffixation with some changes in the sounds of the non-honorific second person verbal form. One of the most common ways of getting a causal verb is simply to suffix -aa to the non-honorific verbal form on the left-hand side of a WFS:

WFS 17.1 (X) v, intrans    (Xaa) v, 1st caus/trans

पढ़ paRbh, study           पढ़ा paRbaa, teach
गिर gir, fall              गिरा giraa, fell
तैर tair, swim             तैरा tairaa, make somebody swim
जा jag, wake up            जागा jagaar, wake somebody up
बढ़ cal, walk              बढ़ा calaa, drive

Consider the following sentences:

4 तु फेंक निघा।
   tuu peR giraa
   You fell the tree/You cause the tree to fall.

5 तु उसके जगा।
   tuu usko jagaa
   You wake him up/You cause him to get up.

It should be clear that the above sentences can have both a transitive or a causal meaning. Such causatives are called First Order Causatives.
In the case of activity-oriented verbs, we can also have Second Order Causatives. Such causatives involve -vaa suffixation as in

WFS 17.2 (Xaa) v, ➔ (Xvaa) v, 2nd caus trans
पढ़ा paRhaa, teach
पढ़ा paRhvaav, get somebody taught
काल calaa, drive
कलवा calvaav, get something driven by somebody
गिरा giraa, fell
गिरवा girvaav, get somebody to fall

WFS 17.2 involves the substitution -aa by -vaa. Consider the following sentences:

6 तू मोहन से होमना को पढ़ा।
tuu mohaan se homnna ko paRhaav
You make Mohan teach Homna.

7 तू इशिका से कार कलवा।
tuu ishikaav se kaar calvaav
You get Ishika to drive the car.

Both these sentences involve X asking Y to get a task done. Verbs like गिरा and गिरवा enter the regular verbal paradigms that govern the WFSs for -aa ending verbs. We can have sentences such as the following:

8 आप मोहन से होमना को पढ़ाएँ।
aap mohaan se homnna ko paRhaave
You (h) get Homna taught by Mohan.

9 मे अपनी कार जूत्ते से कलवाता हूँ।
maa ni apnii kaar raajuu se calvaataa huu
I have Raju drive my car.

Thus causative formation is basically a question of -aa or -vaa suffixation to the verbal form used with the second person non-honorific pronoun.

Notice that there is an important difference between sentences 4 and 5 on the one hand, and 6 and 7 on the other. In 4 and 5, though there is clear causation, the subject is still doing the action; he/she is not making somebody else do the action. That's the reason we call these verbs transitives derived from intransitive verbs. In 6 and 7, on the other hand,

X is making Y do something; in this case the verbal form is undoubtedly causal. In 6, X (तू tuu) makes Y (मोहन mohan) teach Z (होमन homnaa).

Consonant-ending intransitive verbs are, then, a part of the following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Derived transitive</th>
<th>Causal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1st causal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2nd causal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>जग</th>
<th>जगा</th>
<th>जगवा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jag</td>
<td>jagaa</td>
<td>Jaguar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gir</td>
<td>giraa</td>
<td>Giraa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cal</td>
<td>calaa</td>
<td>Calaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tair</td>
<td>tairaav</td>
<td>Tairaav</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 17.2 Verbs ending in vowels

There is a set of verbs that end in vowels. In this case, instead of -aa we have -laa suffixation as in

WFS 17.3 (Xaa) v, ➔ (Xlaaa) v, 1st caus

Condition: i to i changes to i, o to u and e to i.

- ती sii, stitch तीला silaa, get stitched
- दी pii, drink दीला pilaa, make somebody drink
- दी de, give दीला dilaa, get somebody to give

The second causal forms of these verbs are obtained again by substitution of -aa by -vaa as in WFS 17.4.

WFS 17.4 (Xaa) v, 1st causal ➔ (Xvaa) v, 2nd causal

- तीला silaa, get stitched तीला silvaav, get stitched
- दीला dilaa, get somebody to give दीला dilvaav, get somebody to give
- रुला rulaa, make somebody cry रुला rulvaav, make somebody cry
- सुला sulaa, make somebody to sleep सुला sulvaav, have somebody put somebody else to sleep
- पिला pilaa, make somebody drink पिला pilvaav, make somebody make someone else have water
Although the set of verbs listed in WFS 17.4 look identical in terms of shape (i.e. substitution of -a by -vaa), there are important semantic differences. In the case of transitive verbs like शिला and डे there is no semantic difference between the 1st causal and the 2nd causal. For example in

10 ू दर्शी देगे अपने कपड़े शिला/शिला।

    tuu darzii se apne kapRe silaa/silvaa

You get your clothes stitched by the tailor.

Both शिला silaa and शिला silvaa forms are equally acceptable and mean the same thing.

The second set consists of such verbs as शी pii, ‘drink’, शे� ro, ‘cry’, शो so, ‘sleep’ and so on. The first causal in these cases only provides a derived transitive. The action in the sentence is still done by the subject of the sentence. Consider the following sentences:

11 ू गीता को पानी पिला।

    tuu giitaa ko paanii pilaa

You make Geeta drink water.

12 ू मोहन को सुलः।

    tuu mohan ko sulaa

You put Mohan to sleep.

It is only the use of -vaa forms that yield the meaning of ‘the subject making somebody else do something’. For example,

13 ू गीता को शीता के पानी पिला।

    tuu giitaa ko siitaa ko paanii pilvaa

You make Geeta drink water from Sita.

14 ू मोहन को मोहन के सुलः।

    tuu mohan ko sohan se sulvaa

You ask Sohan to put Mohan to sleep.

17.3 Suffixation with phonetic changes

There is another set of words in which formation of causative verbs is associated with some phonetic changes along with suffixation. Consider the set

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>1st causal</th>
<th>2nd causal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>भाग bhaag, run</td>
<td>भागा bhagaa</td>
<td>भागा bhagvaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गहुम ghoom, walk</td>
<td>गहुमा ghumaa</td>
<td>गहुमा ghumvaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>काट kaaT, cut</td>
<td>काटा kaTaa</td>
<td>काटा kaTvaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जीत jitt, win</td>
<td>जीता jitaa</td>
<td>जीता jitvaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can formulate the following two WFSs as the basis of the above data:

WFS 17.5 (X) v ↔ (Xaa) v, 1st caus

Condition: the long vowel between two consonants becomes short.

WFS 17.6 (Xaa) v ↔ (Xvaa) v, 2nd caus

17.4 Exceptions

It has repeatedly been made clear that the WFSs are located in the sets of words that are listed with them. Several other words will of course fall into these sets but several others may not, even though they may appear to satisfy all the conditions of the WFS. For example, the verb तुती TuTaa, ‘get broken’ could easily be a part of WFSs 17.5 and 17.6 and we could get forms such as

*तु TuTaa *तु TuTvaa

But the transitive form for the verb तु TuTaa is तोर toR, ‘break’ and the causative forms are तुरा tuRaa and tuRvaa (both meaning the same thing: to make somebody break something).

We may also note that there is a small set of verbs that do not participate in causative formation strategies at all. These include आ aa, ‘come’, जा jaa, ‘go’, पा paa, ‘get’, बो bo, ‘be’ and so on.

17.5 Conclusion

In general, Hindi really has only one causative form which may end in -aa or -vaa. -aa suffixation is often used to convert intransitive verbs into their transitive counterparts from which we then create causative forms through -aa - vaa substitution. It is only in the case of transitive
verbs that we have the -aa and -vaa forms but they can be used interchangeably. It is only when we wish to focus on the role of the second party involved that we feel the need of using second order causatives. For example,

15 तुम अपने कपड़े उसी दर्जी से सिलवा।
   tuu apne kapRe usii darzii se silva.
   You get your clothes stitched only by that tailor.

In this case, the speaker wishes to insist that 'you must get your clothes stitched by a specific tailor'; so the -vaa form seems more appropriate. It would of course be equally grammatical to use the -aa form in 15.
Personal pronouns include those words that refer to the speaker (the first person, for example, 'I'), the listener (the second person, for example, 'you') and one who is not an immediate part of the conversation (third person such as 'she/he'). They are essentially words that can be used instead of nouns. As in other languages, in Hindi this category consists of a small finite set of words. These words are not related to each other by any WFSs. It is a list every speaker learns as is the case with other unrelated finite sets such as the different forms of the auxiliary है bona, 'to be' (see Chapter 10) or postpositions (see Chapter 20).

Personal pronouns have different forms in terms of three persons, two numbers (singular and plural) and four cases (nominative, oblique, objective and possessive). Nouns are also marked for the nominative and the oblique but for the objective and possessive cases, there are no unique nominal forms. In the case of nouns, we use postpositions instead.

Pronominal forms are not sensitive to gender; the same verbal form is used for the masculine and feminine gender, except in the case of possessive forms which behave like adjectives and change form according to the following noun. Some pronominal forms also indicate different degrees of politeness (see Chapter 5).

18.1 First person

Consider the following sentences:

1 मैं क्या खा रहा हूँ।
māṁ seb khaa raha hūṁ
I am eating an apple.
2 मुझे बहुत कामें हैं।
mujh mē bahut kamiyā ā hai
I have several shortcomings.

3 मोहन ने मुझे एक किताब दी।
mohan ne mujhe ek kitaab dii
Mohan gave me a book.

4 यह मेरी किताब है।
yah merii kitaab hai
This is my book.

These sentences show the forms of the first person singular pronoun in all four cases (see the table below), namely, गैं māi, 'I', गूँ mujh, 'I (obl)', गूँ mujhe, 'to me' and मेरी merii, 'my/mine'. In 1, गैं māi could refer to either a male or a female as is the case with गूँ mujh and गूँ mujhe in 2 and 3 respectively; in 2, गूँ mujh is followed by the postposition गों mē, 'in'; in 3, गूँ mujhe is the indirect object and in 4, मेरी merii is the possessive form of the pronoun and is feminine because किताब kitaab, 'book' is feminine, the masculine form being गैं meraa. Similarly, the first person plural has four forms though these do not always look different. We can see all these forms in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>गैं māi</td>
<td>हम ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl</td>
<td>गूँ mujh (गों mē, in etc.)</td>
<td>हम ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj</td>
<td>गूँ mujhe</td>
<td>हम hamē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss</td>
<td>मेरा meraa (masc)</td>
<td>हमारा hamaaraa (masc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>मेरी merii (fem)</td>
<td>हमारी hamaarii (fem)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some speakers tend to use the plural हम ham for first person singular ('the royal I').

5 हम आपके घर कल आयेंगे।
ham aapke ghar kal aayēge
I will come to your place tomorrow.

6 आप कहे और हम न आएंँ।
aap kahē aur ham na aaye
(How is it possible that you ask me to come and I don’t.

In 5 and 6, हम can of course refer to several people; the verbal agreement is marked for the plural. However, in some varieties of Hindi, the singular/plural opposition does not exist. Many people use हम ham for both singular and plural first person.

18.2 Second person

The second person pronominal system is a very complex subject. I have already discussed its forms and uses in some detail in Chapter 5. Here I will briefly recapitulate that discussion and provide a list of second person pronouns in different cases and number. Hindi has not one but three distinct second person pronouns tied to the context of use and a fairly complex hierarchy of politeness. The तू tuu form for 'you' is indeed the most impolite and must be used with great care; if used insensitively, it can be rude. Many 'civilised' speakers of 'standard Hindi' take pride in saying that in their family, they don’t use तू tuu at all. On the other hand, it is a mark of intimacy, love and affection, often used for one’s mother, God or dear friends. It is principally used among friends in informal conversation. It can also be used to show contempt, anger and disgust. The intermediate form तू tum is neutral in terms of politeness and is most safely used among equals, friends and with juniors. The most honorific form is आप aap, normally used with superiors and with all those people to whom you wish to show respect. In some families, parents address even their children as आप aap so that they learn to address everybody they talk to as आप aap. In terms of grammatical agreement, तू tuu is singular and तू tum and आप aap plural. Suppose one gets angry with a stranger who one has been addressing with the expected आप aap; switching to तू tum and finally to तू tuu will show one’s level of disgust with the stranger. On the other hand, suppose a boy and a girl meet and start using आप aap for each other; they may soon switch to तू tum if they become friendly and finally to तू tuu if they fall in love. One of them could say

7 आप से तू tum और तू tum se tuu par aa gaye.
aap se tum aur tum se tuu par aa gaye
We (almost unwittingly) switched from आप aap to तू tum and then to तू tuu.
The same sentence will be equally appropriate in the following situation: suppose two strangers start talking to each other respectfully; during their discussions they get angry and almost start shouting at each other using first तुम tum and then तुम tuu. A person witnessing this scene could include 7 in his report of the incident.

The most desirable summary of the above discussion could be:

- The use of तुम tuu is highly context-sensitive and is best avoided by new learners.
- The use of तुम tum is most suitable for equals and inferiors.
- Elsewhere use आप aap.

The following table shows all the forms of the second person pronoun followed by a few examples. As you will notice, the possessive forms are sensitive to gender and number of the following noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>तुम tum; आप aap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl</td>
<td>तुम tum; आप aap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj</td>
<td>तुम tum; आप aap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss</td>
<td>तुम tumhaari (masc); आपका aapko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>तुम tumhaari (fem); आपका aapka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>आपकी aapkii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 आप तुम शेष क्यों या रहा है।
are tuu seb kyō khaa raha hai
Hey, why are you (nh) eating an apple?

9 तुम कत जल्द आना चाह।
tum kal zarur aanaa yaar
You must come tomorrow, dear friend.

10 क्या आप कत निली जा रही है।
kyaa aap kal dilli jaa rahe hai
Are you (h) going to Delhi tomorrow?

11 मोहन ने तुम्हारी किताब गीता को दे थे।
mohan ne tumhaari kitaab giita ko de thi
Mohan gave your book to Geeta.

Such sentences can be used in a variety of situations: 8 could be used by the owner of a house who is shocked to notice that her servant is eating an apple; 9 among friends; and 10 to ask a question with respect to a senior (notice that in 10 the verb is in the third person plural form). In 11, the possessive adjective तुम्हारी tumhaari, ‘yours’ behaves like an adjective; it has the feminine form since किताब kitaab, ‘book’ is feminine.

18.3 Third person

The third person forms are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>वह vah</td>
<td>वे ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obli</td>
<td>उस us</td>
<td>उन un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj</td>
<td>उस ise</td>
<td>उने unhē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss</td>
<td>उसका uskaa</td>
<td>उसका unkaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternate forms in the singular and plural number indicate proximity. For persons or things that are distant from the site of discourse, we use the first form such as वह, us and so on, whereas for those that are close, we use यह, is and so on (see Chapter 14). If proximity is not important, the unmarked form for the third person male or female is वह. The plural forms are often used to indicate respect for the person being referred to as in 12 where a servant may be telling a visitor about his master.

12 आप इत्तेमाल कीजिए; वे याना या रहे है।
aap intazaar kijiiye; ve khaanaa khaa rahe hai
Please wait; he (my master) is having his meal.
18.5 Pronouns as cohesive devices

Sentences in a text, as it will become clear in the Appendix, are not arranged at random. They are woven together by a variety of cohesive devices including the use of conjunctions and subordinators (see Chapters 22 and 32–34), lexical relationships where two different words may be used to refer to the same phenomenon; for example, the use of ‘rose’ and ‘flower’ to refer to the same object and deletions of pronouns or deletions made possible by the use of such particles as भी bhii, ‘also’ (see Section 21.1). Pronouns also help us to make a text cohesive. They can be used to refer to what has been said before or to what is to follow. Consider the following:

17 एक और लड़का था—जयराज। उससे बच होते थे।
   ek aur laRkaa tha—jayraaj usse sab Darte the
   There was one more boy, Jayraj. Everyone was scared of him.

In 17, the use of the pronoun उस us refers back to ‘Jayraj’; this is a case of backward reference; the use of एक और ek aur, ‘one more’ has a forward reference because until we reach ‘Jayraj’, we have no idea of what एक और ek aur refers to.

18.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we introduced the different forms of the first, second and third person pronouns; showed the contexts in which they can be omitted and emphasized their role as markers of cohesion in a text.
Hindi has a very large number of pronouns. They are generally classified into the following categories: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, possessive, relative, definite and indefinite. I have already discussed interrogative pronouns in Chapter 4 and personal pronouns in Chapter 18. I will discuss possessive pronouns in Chapter 28 and relative pronouns in Chapter 34. This chapter is devoted to a discussion of demonstrative, definite and indefinite pronouns. Hindi does not have any negative pronouns like the English ‘nobody’, ‘none’ etc.

19.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns include: यह yah, ‘this’, वे ye, ‘these’; त्वह vah, ‘that’, वे ve, ‘those’; हाला itnaa, ‘so much’, उत्तर utnaa, ‘that much’; and ऐसा aisaa, ‘like this’, ऐसा vaisaa, ‘like that’. These pronouns are used to indicate specific human beings or objects or to isolate one specific person or object from these. Their primary role is one of identification. Consider the following sentences:

1 यह लड़का बहादुर है।
yah lRKaa bahaadur hai
This boy is brave.

2 त्वह लड़का बहादुर है।
vah lRKaa bahaadur hai
That boy is brave.

3 वे लड़के बहादुर है।
ye lRKKe bahaadur hai
These boys are brave.

Thus यह yah (sing) and वे ye (pl) are used for persons or objects that are nearby or proximal; त्वह vah (sing) and वे ve (pl) are used for distant non-proximal persons and things. Even if we change लड़का lRKaa, ‘boy’ (masc) to लड़की lRKii, ‘girl’ (fem), the shape of these demonstrative pronouns will not change. We may note that in both colloquial and formal Hindi, this distinction is not strictly adhered to. It is common to use both, in pronunciation and writing, वे ye for the singular, for example. One also often hears the pronunciation वो vo for यह yah.

The important thing to note is that the forms वे ye and वे ve are often employed as politeness strategies to show respect or to skilfully wriggle out of a difficult situation. Suppose you have forgotten the name of your recently arrived guest from Germany. You could legitimately introduce him as

5 वे जर्मनी से आये हैं।
ye jarmanii se aaye hai
He (h) has come from Germany.

This would provide your guest with an opportunity to mention his name.

The expressions हाला itnaa and उत्तर utnaa are often used to indicate the size or amount of proximal and non-proximal persons or objects. For example,

6 हाला बड़ा घर
itnaa baRaa ghar
Such a big house, this

7 उत्तर बड़ा घर
utnaa baRaa ghar
Such a big house, that

Whereas हाला itnaa and उत्तर utnaa are concerned with the size/quantity of proximal and non-proximal persons and objects, ऐसा aisaa and ऐसा vaisaa are concerned with the quality. For example,

8 ऐसा को लड़का सिल्भा ही चाहिए।
aisa ko lRKKe silbha hii caahiye
Such people must be punished.
The reflexive pronouns are thus invariant and do not show any sensitivity to number, gender or case.
For other definite pronouns consider the following examples:

16 तुम कहा गुम हो गये।
   sab kahaa gum ho gaye
   Where has everybody gone?

17 उसे तमाम गत नील नहीं आई।
   use tamaam raat niid nahii aai
   He could not sleep all night.

In fact 17 could have any subject, since the subject will be in the oblique form, the agreement of the verb will be with the unblocked noun नील niid, 'sleep' and तमाम tamaam, 'all' remains invariant across all sentences.

19.3 Indefinite pronouns

Again there is a set of unrelated invariant words which render the persons or objects in question indefinite. This set includes words like अनेक anek, 'many', कई kaii, 'many' and चेह cand, 'some'. They are used in contexts that are quantifiable and they also have a plural interpretation. For example,

18 कवि सम्मेलन में अनेक लोग आए।
   kavi sammelan me anek log aae
   Many people came to the poetry recitation event.

19 चंद्र आदमियों के कारण आप कार्यक्रम तय न करें।
   cand aadmiiyo ke karaaN aap karyakram sthagit na karë
   Please don't postpone the programme because of a handful of people.

Indefinite pronouns कोई koi, 'someone' and कुछ kuch, 'something' can be used in both countable and uncountable contexts with nouns or without them.
For example,

20 कोई कुछ तो बोलो।
   koi kuch to bolo
   Will somebody say something.
One could use 20 if something has gone wrong and everybody present is quiet.

21 यहाँ दूर दूर तक कोई नहीं है।
    yahānā duur duur tak koī nahīn hai
There is no one here for miles.

22 अब कुछ बात समझ में आई।
    ab kuch baat samajh mē aaii
Now (I/you/we/he/she/they) understand it to some extent.

कुछ kuch here refers in some sense to both the quantity and quality of understanding.

23 अब आपकी बात कुछ साफ हुई।
    ab aapkī baat kuch saaf huii
Now what you say has become somewhat clear.

Again कुछ kuch, ‘somewhat’ refers to the quality of clarity.

### 19.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the nature and use of demonstrative, definite and indefinite pronouns. It was noted that they all belong to small finite sets and are generally invariant.

## Chapter 20

### Postpositions

A small set of postpositions helps to put simple and complex Hindi words into the constituents of a sentence (Chapter 2). They establish links between nouns and between nouns and verbs. From Chapters 7 and 8, we know that every noun can in principle have six forms. Of these, two belong to the nominative case (singular and plural) and two to the vocative (singular and plural). The remaining two belong to the oblique case (singular and plural). Several relationships that can exist among nouns are expressed by postpositions; the nouns that precede the postpositions are always in the oblique case. The kind of relationships that in English are expressed through prepositions such as ‘of’, ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’, ‘under’, ‘from’, ‘to’ and so on are expressed in Hindi by postpositions such as का kaa, ‘of’, में mē, ‘in’, पर par, ‘on/at’, निचे niice, ‘under’, से se, ‘from’, को ko, ‘to’ and so on. These postpositions are used to express case relationships that we may label as agentive, experiencer, instrumental, locative, source, goal and so on.

### 20.1 The versatility of postpositions

Though I will return to the discussion of का kaa, ‘of’ and में me in the chapters on possession (Chapter 28) and ergativity (Chapter 27), I will briefly discuss here the versatile range of postpositions. Mostly postpositions appear after nouns; they also have the potential to appear after other categories of words. Consider the following:

1. सीता का मकान
    siita kaa makaan
    Sita's house

2. पार्थने का कमरा
    parthnē kaa kamra
    Study room
The postposition वे ne marks the agent, that is, the doer of the action (agent). वे me helps to identify the location 'school' (locative). की ko identifies the patient (experiencer), that is, the person who suffered the action and वे se helps to clarify the manner in which the action was performed.

### 20.2 Postposition को ko, 'to'

Several important functions are performed by the postposition को ko in Hindi. Consider the following examples:

12. सीता ने गीता को किताब दी।
   Sita gave a book to Geeta.

13. सुधा ने बुखार है।
   Sudha has fever.

14. मेरा तीर के किनारे धुंधले को मन है।
   I feel like going for a walk by the side of the lake.

15. तुम्हे मुझे भोजन को मजबूर किया।
   You forced me to speak.

16. पहले आप मकान को देख ले।
   Please see the house first.

17. रात को आए।
   Please come at night.

As in 11, को ko in 12 marks the recipient of the action (i.e. indirect object 'Geeta'); in 13, it marks the experiencer of fever; in 14 and 15, it is used after infinitival verbal forms, in 14 the source of
action/thought is within the speaker himself/herself but in 15 the action is forced by another agent; in 16 को ko is associated with a place and in 17 with time.

20.3 Postposition में mē, 'in'

We generally use में mē to mark locative, objective or adverbial constituents in a sentence. The following examples illustrate this:

18 घर में है।
sudhāa ghar mē hai
Sudha is at home.

19 वह परीक्षा की तैयारी में लग गया।
vah pariikshaa kii taiyaarii me lag gayaa
He got busy in preparing for the examination.

20 पचास रुपये में तो बहुत सस्ती है करीब।
pacaas rupaye mē to bahut sastii hai kamiiz
For 50 rupees, this shirt is indeed very cheap.

21 जल्दी जल्दी में ठीक से काम नहीं होगा।
jaldii jaldii mē Thīk se kaam nahīī hogaa
We may not do a good job in a hurry.

22 जुलाई में खूब बारिश होगी।
julaaii mē xxub baarish hogii
In July, it will rain heavily.

In 18, 21 and 22 में mē helps to mark place, manner and time respectively; in 19, it marks the object परीक्षा की तैयारी pariikshaa kii taiyaarii, 'preparation for examination' and in 20, it is used with a quantitative expression.

20.4 Postposition वे se, 'from'

One of the more primary functions of वे se is to mark the instrumental case, that is, the person or object through which an action is executed. For example,

23 दरवाजा काबी से हटा लेगा।
darvaajaa caabii se hīī khulegaa
The door will open only with a key.

24 सादना ने नौकर से कमरा धुलवाया।
sadhnīa ne naukar se kamrāa dhulvaayaa
Sadhnā had the servant clean the room.

There are many other functions which वे se performs:

25 कुएं से पानी लाओ।
kuē se paanī laao
Bring water from the well.

In 25, वे se helps to identify the source. In 26, it is used to indicate intimate association.

26 उसकी होमना वे गहरी दोस्ती है।
uskī homnāa se gahrī dostī hai
He/she is a close friend of Homna.

It can also be used as a comparative marker as in 27.

27 मेरा भाई मोहन से तीन साल कम है।
mera baaii mohan se tiin saal kām hāī
My brother is three years older than Mohan.

Sometimes it indicates situations of helplessness:

28 शशि वे अब घर काम करना नहीं होता।
shashi se ab ghar kaa kaam nahiī hotaan
Shashi is unable to do domestic chores now.

As already pointed out, combined with तक tak, वे se can mark out chunks of time, space and quantity.

29 एक हेक्टार में बीज से चालीस क्विटल तक अंगूर हो सकता है।
ek hekTar mē bīī se caaliis kviTel tak āgūr hō saktaa hāī
One hectare can yield twenty to forty quintal of grapes.
30 subah se shaaam tak yahaa bahut garmii patii hai.
It is extremely hot here from morning till evening.

31 kaalkaa se shimlaa tak kaa raastaa bahut sundar hai.
The drive from Kalka to Shimla is very beautiful.

In 29, quantity is involved; in 30, time and in 31, space.

20.5 Postposition पर par, 'on'

It is primarily to mark location, literally or metaphorically, that we use पर par. Consider the following examples:

32 kalam mez par rakhii hai.
The pen is on the table.

33 vah aajkal dukhan par hii sotaa hai.
These days he sleeps only at the shop.

34 kanikaa kaar par aaai.
Kanika came by the car.

35 sanjay ko atikaa kii baat par bahut gussaa aayaa.
Sanjay got very angry over what Atika said.

36 vaibhav haath par haath rakhke baat raatii hai.
Vaibhav whiles away his time.

In fact, it is the idiomatic use of पर par, as in 36, that is very common. We list some of these idiomatic expressions here:

37 haath par haath dharna.
to sit idle

38 sar par caRhaanaa.
to spoil

39 aakhoo par biiThaana.
to love deeply

40 jaan par ban aanaa.
to be in great trouble

41 sar par paRnaa.
to gain unwanted responsibility

42 raaste par laanaa.
to bring to the right path

20.6 Conjunct and complex postpositions

In the case of conjunct postpositions, two postpositions are combined to create new meanings. For example, वें me, ‘in’ and वें se, ‘from’ may be combined as in 43 to get the meaning ‘from inside’.

43 ghar me se kuch bhii nahii milaa.
Nothing could be found in the house.
44 kitaab kez par bhe jumla par gir gai.
    The book fell from the table to the floor.

In complex postpositions, postposition ke generally combines with independent content words as in

45 vipsashaa ke binaa baat bantii nahii.
    It is never the same without Visha.

46 udaypur ke caarō tarej hiih hai.
    Udaipur has lakes on all sides.

Complex postpositions include: के नीचे ke niice, 'below', के ऊपर ke upar, 'above', के अंदर ke andar, 'inside', के बाहर ke baahar, 'outside' and so on.

20.7 Conclusion

Other than ergative and possessive postpositions, in this chapter I have discussed the main Hindi postpositions, covering several case relationships. I have also briefly talked about conjunct and complex postpositions.

Chapter 21

Emphatic particles

As we have already noted, there are several words in Hindi that remain invariant. They do not change their form under any circumstances. However, they add subtle shades of meaning to the sentences in which they are used. Three of these words include the emphatic particles ही hii, 'only', भी bhii, 'also/even/too' and तो to, 'so'. The first, ही hii, has 'exclusive' emphasis while the second one, भी bhii, has 'inclusive' scope. The third one तो to has a variety of meanings including, among others, 'then', 'so what', and 'so far as X is concerned', where X can be animate or inanimate. In this chapter, I will discuss the properties of these particles in simple sentences only. We will discuss their role in compound and complex sentences in subsequent chapters.

21.1 The ही hii / भी bhii distinction

Consider the following two sentences:

1 राम बेग ही खाता है।
    raam seb hii khaataa hai
    Ram eats only apples.

2 राम बेग भी खाता है।
    raam seb bhii khaataa hai
    Ram eats apples also/too.

In both sentences, the two particles modify the meaning of the preceding word/expression; what the speaker has in mind is the kind of fruit Ram could be eating. In the case of 1, the suggestion is that Ram eats only apples and no other kind of fruit. The use of ही hii, 'only' then has
a restrictive force. In the case of 2, the use of ही bhii, ‘also’ has the effect of inclusion, that is, Ram eats apples also in addition to other fruit. If we were to expand these two sentences, the appropriate expansions would be 3 and 4 corresponding to 1 and 2 respectively.

3 राम राम ूहि खाता है केले नहीं।
   राम seb hii khaataa hai kele naheer
   Ram eats only apples and not bananas.

4 राम रेम खाता है और केले ही।
   राम seb khaataa hai aur kele bhii
   Ram eats apples and bananas too.

21.2 ही hii and adverbs

Hii has some unique lexical properties. It gets cliticised to some adverbs creating a new word that has an additional element of emphasis. For example,

- अब ab, now; अभी abhii, just now
- कब kab, when; कब्बी kabbii, sometimes
- तब tab, then; तबबी tabbii, right at that time
- जब jab, when; जबबी jabbii, at that time only.

This set of adverbs ends in -b. In Hindi, it is not easy to find the b+h sequences in words; so when they come together, what we get is ही bhii.

Another pair is

- यहाँ yahaa, here; यहाँ hii at this place itself
- यहाँ yahaa, there; यहाँ hii, at that place itself.

As you can see the members of this set are related to each other in a completely different way. We can say

(Xāā) adv ←→ (Xii) adv, emphatic

Consider 5 and 6

5 शिता अब यही रहेगी।
   siiata ab yahii rahegeer
   Sita will now stay only here.

In 5, if we do not use the negative ही nahii, ‘not’, we will get another sentence: it will mean ‘Sita will sometimes go to Kanpur.’ But when ही kabbii is used with ही nahii, it has the emphatic meaning of ‘never’. In 6, ही yahii, ‘here only’ has an exclusive connotation suggesting that ‘Sita will now live only here and not anywhere else.’

21.3 Modal aspects of ही hii

Consider the following sentences:

7 राधा चीनी या ही नहीं सकती।
   raadhaa ciiii khaa hii nahii saktii
   Radha can never eat sugar.

8 आप अब मोहन की शादी कर ही दीये।
   aap ab mohan kii shaadii kar hii diiyye
   You should now get Mohan married off.

In 7, the use of ही hii accentuates the meaning of the possibility of Sita not eating sugar. It suggests that there is no way that Sita would eat sugar. In 8 also the use of ही hii accentuates the meaning of what the listener should do in the given circumstances. It suggests that the conditions now are such that the wisest thing to do would be to make sure Mohan gets married.

21.4 About ले to

One of the most important functions of ले to is to open a conversation. In such contexts it performs nearly the same functions as the English ‘so’. If it is used with a rising intonation after somebody has made a point which you do not agree with, it could mean ‘so what?’ Again, if you see somebody sad or depressed and try your best to find out what
Other invariant words

As is true of several modern languages, the vocabulary of Hindi also consists of a large number of words that do not change their form in any context except when they are reduplicated. In fact, in most cases, the reduplicated form of a word will also remain invariant. We have already talked about some invariant forms in the chapters on negation (Chapter 3), questions (Chapter 4), exclamations (Chapter 6), adverbs (Chapter 14), postpositions (Chapter 20) and emphatic particles (Chapter 21). In this chapter, we develop a comprehensive overview of these invariant words. These words do not participate in any WFS except those of reduplication (Chapter 15).

22.1 Adverbs

Adverbs constitute the single largest category of words and mostly remain invariant. Adverbs can potentially qualify not only verbs but also adjectives and other adverbs. We can divide adverbs into adverbs of place, manner and time and negation. Postpositions are also often invariant. Adverbs of place such as यहाँ yahān, ‘here’, वहां vahān, ‘there’, इसका idhār, ‘this side’, ऊपर udhār, ‘that side’, पास paas, ‘near’, दुर duur, ‘far’, अग्र-पास aasa-pās, ‘in the vicinity’, विशेष khidhar, ‘which side’, अगे aage, ‘in front of’, पीछा pichha, ‘behind’, ऊपर upar, ‘above’, नीचे nīche, ‘below’ and so on are all invariant. They can of course all be reduplicated but the reduplicated form will again remain invariant.


Adverbs of manner, for example, धीरे dhiire, ‘slowly’, जल्ली jaldī, ‘quickly’, सच्चे sacmuc, ‘really’ and onomatopoetic words like फटफट...
22 Other invariant words

22.2 Affirmative and negative particles

All affirmative particles such as जी jī, 'yes', हे hāe, 'yes', हुँ hūn, 'yes' and so on remain invariant. Similarly, all negative particles including न na, 'not', नहि nabhī, 'not' and नत mat, 'not' are invariant.

22.3 Conjunctions

All Hindi conjunctions including the coordinators एवं evam, व va and तथा tatha, all meaning 'and', other conjunctions like पर par, 'but', इसलिए isliye, 'therefore', परंतु parantu, 'but', लेकिन lekin, 'but', मगर magar, 'but', यदि yadi, 'if', correlatives जो jo, 'which', यो vo, 'that' and disjunctives including या yaa and अथवा athva, 'or' are invariant.

22.4 Interjections

Interjections including वाह! vaah!, 'great!', ओर! or!, 'oh!', खूब! xub!, 'wonderful', आहाय! aaha!, 'aha!' or of pain जो हो! joo ho!, 'ouch' or of regret ओहो! ooh!, 'sorry' do not have any other form.

22.5 Postpositions

As we noticed in Chapter 20, most postpositions (except क kaa, 'of') remain invariant. These include ने ne, 'in', से se 'from', पर par, 'on', को ko, 'to' and the ergative marker ने ne.

22.6 Conclusion

A substantial part of Hindi vocabulary is thus invariant. We should also note that these are very frequently used words, particularly postpositions, conjunctions and adverbs. If you read any text of Hindi, there is a strong possibility that over 45 per cent of the words would belong to the category of invariant words. It is thus extremely important to understand the grammar and use of words that do not change their form. With this chapter, we conclude our discussion of variable and invariant words in Hindi. Part I provided an elementary introduction to the nature and structure of Hindi sentences. Parts V and VI provide a more detailed discussion of the grammatical aspects of Hindi sentences.
Part V

More about Hindi sentences
Chapter 23

Habitual aspect

As we have already pointed out (Chapter 10), tense in Hindi is marked by the auxiliary except in the case of the future tense. However, aspect is marked on the main verb. In this chapter, we show the use of some verbal forms from the WFSs of Chapter 11 to indicate the habitual aspect. In general, habitual aspect is indicative of an action that happens on a regular basis. For example, in English when you say,

1. I go to school every day

it means that 'you have been going to school for sometime, you go to school today and you may continue going to school for some time to come'.

23.1 Verbal forms of habitual aspect

Strategies involved in the habitual aspect have already been formulated in WFSs 11.7, 11.8 and 11.9. They involve the forms Xtaa, Xtii and Xte where X is the verbal form that agrees with the non-honorific second person तू tuu, 'you' (II nh) in an imperative sentence. Consider the following sentences:

2. राम रेज़ स्कूल जाता है।
   raam roz skuul jaataa hai
   Ram goes to school every day.

3. सुधा रेज़ स्कूल जाती है।
   sudhaa roz skuul jaatii hai
   Sudha goes to school every day.
23 Habitual aspect

In 2, राम raam, ‘Ram’ can be substituted by masculine का vah, ‘he’, तु, tu, ‘you (nh)’ and माँ, mā̄, ‘I’ (रैं bai, will change to हूँ būn), in 3, दुधा sudha, ‘Sudha’ can be replaced by feminine की vah, ‘she’, तु, tu, ‘you (nh)’ and माँ, mā̄, ‘I’ (रैं bai again changes to हूँ būn) and in 4, हूँ ham can be replaced by वे ve (masc pl), तु tum (masc, हूँ changes to है bo) and अप aap (masc, h). In the case of feminine gender, खता Xtaa is substituted by Xtiī. So we get sentences such as

5 तु tum roz skul jaatii ho
You go to school every day.

6 अप aap roz skul jaatii hai
You (h) go to school every day.

7 माँ mā̄ roz skul jaatii hū
I go to school every day.

Though we have to keep track of changes to the auxiliary, so far as the main verb is concerned Xtaa, Xtiī and Xte forms are all that is required to express the habitual aspect in Hindi.

23.2 Invoking the past

Sometimes the present habitual form is used to present the past more vividly. It is often called the historical present. For example,

8 अकबर्र लाराई akbar laRaaiī ke maidaan mē utartaa hai
Akbar walks into the battlefield.

9 चार साल पहले घर आता hai, और देखता हूँ ki
caar saal pahle ghar aataa hūn aur dekhtaa hūn ki

haalat ठीक नहीं.

haalat Thik nahi
I came home four years ago and notice that all is not well.

In such cases, even though they are rare, the present habitual forms help to recreate the past.

23.3 Universal truths

The present habitual is also often used to indicate what always happens. Consider the following sentences:

10 हलकी और भारी चीजें बराबर gati se dhartii par girti hai
halkii aur bharii cīzie baraabar gati se dhartii par girti hai

Objects of light or heavy weight fall with the same speed to the earth.

11 लक्ष्मी पानी par तार्ती है।
lakRī̄ paanīi par tairtī hai
Wood floats on water.

In both these sentences, the Xtiī form helps to make the past living.

23.4 Lasting attributes

The habitual aspect is also used to indicate the relatively permanent states or functions of objects or persons. For example,

12 वह धोने का काम करता है।
vah dhone kaa kaam kartaa hai
He washes clothes.

13 हम गर्मियों में अक्सर पहाड़ों पर जाते है।
ham garmiyō mē aksar paahasāRō par jaate hāi
In summer we often go to the hills.
23.5 Repetitive actions

The habitual aspect is also used to indicate actions that happen repeatedly, though not daily. Consider

15 होमना आए दिन नई नई बातें बोलती है।
homnna aaye din naii naii baatē boltii hai
Homna says new things every other day.

16 गीता घर आती है और नहाती है।
giita ghar aatii hai aur nahaatii hai
Geeta comes home and takes a bath.

23.6 Immediacy

Combined with certain adverbs, the present habitual can create the impact of immediacy. For example,

17 मैं अभी आती हूँ।
māi abhii aatii huū
I'll come right away.

18 वह जल्दी ने दरवाजा बंद कर निःके आता है।
vah jaldii se darvaajaa band kar niice aataa hai
He locks the door and comes down quickly.

23.7 Habitual aspect in the presumptive

The presumptive or contingent mood assumes a hypothetical situation. The habitual aspect is often used to reinforce that situation.

19 वह आजकल आगरा में रहता होगा।
vah aajkal aagraa mē rahtaa hogaa
He may be staying in Agra these days.

20 पता नहीं भेजा बेटा कहां जाता होगा।
pataa nahiī meraa beTaa kahāa khaataa hogaa
God knows where my son might be eating his meals.

23.8 Subjunctive habitual

The subjunctive mood also generally assumes hypothetical situations and is frequently used with the conditional. It is not always easy to draw lines between the presumptive and the subjunctive. The important thing to note is that whereas the presumptive is marked only in the auxiliary subjunctive suffixes can be attached to the main verb as well. Consider 21 and 22.

21 वे सकता है कितने रोज़ चोरी करते हैं।
hoe saktaa hai tum rōj chōri karte hō
tIt is possible that you steal things every day.

22 श्वेता रोज़ यही कहती है वे जाते।
shvētaa rōj yahiī khahti hai vē jaatē
everyday Shweta says the same thing: shall I go?

23.9 होना honaa, ‘to be’ as a main verb

The verb होना honaa can also be used as a main verb and when combined with the relevant auxiliary form can lead to a specific meaning in the habitual aspect. Consider

23 मालदा आन बहुत मीठा होता है।
maaldaa aam bahūt mīThaa hotaa hai
Malda is a very sweet mango variety.
In both 23 and 24, the use of the main verb होना *bonaa* 'to be' in the habitual aspect abstracts generalisations from what generally is the case, even though it may not always be true. It would be more appropriate to use the adverbial अक्षर *aksar*, 'often' than सदा *sadaa*, 'always' in these sentences.

23.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, the habitual aspect verbal forms from Chapter 11 were selected and a range of functions associated with them was discussed. The functions of होना *bonaa*, 'to be' when it is used as a main verb in the habitual aspect were also noted.

Chapter 24

The progressive aspect

As already pointed out, tense refers to the point in time at which a particular action is seen to take place from the point of view of the present moment; aspect refers to the nature of that event. It can generally be captured in terms of three features, namely, habitual, progressive and perfective. We have already talked about the present and past habitual (Chapter 23). We talk of the progressive aspect when an event is seen to be happening continuously from one point to another in the dimension of time; we talk of the perfective aspect when we view an event as being complete at a given point in time. Thus when we say, 'He is eating an apple,' we mean that 'he is eating the apple at the time at which the sentence was uttered.' In English grammar, we call this tense-aspect combination the 'present progressive'. When we say 'He has eaten an apple,' we mean that 'he' started eating the apple a few moments ago and has now finished that act. This is the 'present perfect'. In this chapter, we examine the grammar and use of the progressive aspect in Hindi.

24.1 The progressive marker

In Hindi the progressive aspect is indicated by the use of the verb रहना *rahnaa* which when used on its own means 'to live'. Thus a sentence such as 1

1 वह दिल्ली में रहती है।

vah dillii mē rahtii hai

She lives in Delhi.

means that the person being talked about lives in Delhi. In this sentence रहना *rahnaa*, 'to live' is used as the main verb. But if we say,
In 3 and 4 we illustrate the use of the present progressive in the third person singular; the difference is that in 3 we have a masculine subject and in 4, feminine. This fact is reflected not in the main verb (which remains constant) but in the aspect auxiliary रहा/रही raha/rahi. Notice that in the past progressive, the ‘past-ness’ is marked only in the most peripheral auxiliary, namely, था/थी thaathii, ‘was’, the past tense forms of bona, ‘to be’. The gender, person and number agreement is marked on both रहा/रही raha/rahi and है/ही bona, ‘to be’. In all these sentences we have not made any changes to the forms of the verb khaana, ‘to eat’. Thus present and past habitual involve simply a change in the auxiliary. If we wish to change simple present and past sentences into their progressive forms, we need to undertake two operations: remove all the suffixes from the imperative form of the main verb and change the form of the auxiliary, which as we have already noted is irregular (Chapter 10). We examine further changes in person, number and gender of the subject in the following sentences in the present and past progressive tenses:

7 राहुल राहुल था या था।
raahul roTii khaa raha thaa
Rahul was eating food.

8 गिता गिता तीन घास लेने है रही थी।
giitaa tiin seb khaa rahii thi
Gita was eating three apples.

9 गिता गिता गाजर खाने था रही थी।
giitaa caar gaajarē khaa rahi thi
Gita was eating four carrots.

10 वे लड़के खाने था रही थे।
ve larkke seb khaa rahe the
Those boys were eating apples.

These sentences once again illustrate that in the grammar of the progressive aspect, the burden of tense, aspect and agreement is carried by the auxiliary elements. The person, gender and number of the object are irrelevant for the verb. In 7, रोटी roTii, ‘food’ is feminine; in 8, जेब seb, ‘apples’ is masculine and also plural; in 9, गाजर gaajarē, ‘carrots’ is feminine and plural but the auxiliary verbs agree only with the subject.
The main verb खा, 'eat' remains unchanged. In 10, we have a masculine plural subject, so the auxiliaries change accordingly to रह भे रहे भे. In 11, we have a third person feminine plural subject and the auxiliary changes to रही भी रही भी

11 वे लड़कियां लेख खा रही थीं।
ve laRkiyāā seb khāa rahāi thīī
Those girls were eating apples.

In the sentences that follow, we notice changes in the auxiliary verbs depending upon the number and gender of the first and second person subjects.

12 मैं लेख लेख था।
maiN seb khāa rahaa thaa
I was eating an apple.

13 हम लेख लेख रहे हैं।
ham seb khāa rahe hāī
We are eating apples.

If in 12 the subject were female, रहा वा rahaa thaa would change to रही वी rahii thii and in 13, if the हम ham pronoun referred to several females, रहे हैं rahe hāī would change to रही हैं rahii hāī.

14 तू लेख लेख रही हो।
tuu seb khāa rahii ho
You (fem) are eating an apple.

15 आप लेख लेख रहे हैं।
aap seb khāa rahe hāī
You (h, masc) are eating an apple.

16 तू लेख खा रहा है।
tuu seb khāa rahaa hai
You (nh, masc) are eating an apple.

Sentences 14–16 show how the second person honorific hierarchy is reflected in the verbal elements of progressive sentences.

The non-honorific verbal form actually merges with the one used for the third person (see 3 and 16); in 14, we get rahii/rahe (for masc) bo with tum and in 15, rahl/rahi (for fem) hāī with the honorific aap.

We note the following properties of the present and past progressive:

(a) The main verb is always in the basic imperative form (cf. तू, 'II, nh').
(b) The burden of agreement in terms of person, number and gender of the subject is carried by the auxiliaries rahnaa and bona.
(c) The three related forms are rahaa, rahii, rahe which can be obtained from the WFS's already discussed in Chapter 11.
(d) The only difference between the present and past progressive is captured through the change in the form of the second auxiliary bona, 'to be'. In the present progressive we get the forms hāī, hāī, hūū and bo; in the past progressive, thaa, the, thii, thīī.

24.3 Indications of future

Both the present and the present progressive can be used for indicating future time. In some contexts, they may be used interchangeably with a slight change in meaning. For example, in a situation where a mother is asking her son to drink milk, the son could say

17 अपने पीता हूँ।
abhii piītaa hūū
I will drink (the milk) in a moment.

18 अपने पी रहा हूँ।
abhii piī rahaa hūū
I will drink it (the milk) in a moment.

Both sentences can be used to indicate an event in the future; it is just that the second sentence has a sense of immediacy or definiteness about it. For example, it would be normal to say

19 पहले नहा लेता हूँ फिर पीता हूँ।
pahlē naha letaa hūū phir piītaa hūū
I will first have a bath and then drink it (the milk).
But the following would be unacceptable:

*p20 पहले नहा लेंगा फिर थोक रहा हूँ।
pahle nahaa leetaa hūū phir thi raha hūū
(Literally) I will first have a bath and then drinking it (the milk).

[* means ungrammatical.]

24.4 Special focus

In some contexts, the progressive may be used with the negative to achieve specific intensity or a salience that contrasts with the corresponding positive statement. For example,

21 मैं कुछ नहीं कह रहा हूँ।
māī kuch nahiī kah raha hūū
I am not saying anything.

22 मैं कहीं जा रहा हूँ कहीं नहीं जा रहा हूँ।
māī kahīī khaRaā hūū kahīī nahiī jaa raha hūū
I am standing here only; I am not going anywhere.

In 21, the combination of the progressive with the negative adds special intensity to the claim that ‘I am quiet; I am not saying a word’; in 22, the negative statement contrasts with the first positive clause. This could be said in anger or disgust and with a sense of firmness. In some contexts it could mean: let me see what you can do to me; I am standing here; I am not running away; do what you like. Consider 23 for the use of रहना rahnā in the future.

23 यह बात पता नहीं कितने युगों तक चली रहेगी।
yah baat pataa nahiī kitne yugō tak caltiī rahegī
god knows for how long this will continue.

In 23, रहना rahnā is a part of a verbal complex, a compound verb, where the main verb is चलना calnaa. The future indicator -egī is marked on रहना rahnā. For a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 31.

24.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the form and functions of the progressive in the present, past and future were discussed. It was noted that the main verb appears in the basic imperative form and all the markers of person, number, gender and tense are marked on the auxiliaries.
Chapter 25

**Passive**

The passive in English is a fairly well-established and frequently used form. It has been analysed in great deal at the levels of both form and function. Compared to English, Hindi uses passives less frequently. Certain other forms are used in comparable situations.

In English, the passive involves a specific form of the auxiliary ‘to be’ and the past participle forms of the verb; it also often involves subject-object inversion and the use of ‘by’. For example, corresponding to the English active voice sentence:

1. **He is writing a book**

we have the passive formed in a rule-governed way as in 2:

2. **A book is being written by him.**

The passive is important in English as it serves a variety of functions including focusing on the object, demoting the subject and handling situations where the speaker either wants to suppress information about who the doer of the action is or in reality does not know his/her identity or when the doer is either unimportant or likely to be known to most speakers/readers already. This chapter is devoted to the ways in which these functions are taken care of in Hindi. Hindi also uses the ‘by X’ construction along with subject-object inversion but it looks quite artificial in most situations. It is mostly found in newspaper reports where many stories/reports are often translated from the English originals.

### 25.1 The use of जा jaa, ‘go’

It is the perfective form of the verb जा jaa, ‘go’ (irregular in Hindi as in English) which is often employed to achieve the passive effect.

### Consider

3. हाथी पकड़ा गया है।

   haathii pakRaa gayaa hai

   The elephant has been caught.

4. उस दिन कारी निकाली खाई गई थी।

   us din saarii miThaaii khaaii gaii thii

   That day all the sweets were consumed.

5. कपड़े निकले गये।

   kambal nikaale gaye

   Blankets were taken out.

We may note the following features of the Hindi passive from sentences 3 to 5.

(a) The doer of the action is absent, either not known or suppressed.

(b) The object of the action is in focus and mentioned first.

(c) The verb जा jaa, ‘go’ combines with another verb, for example, पकड़ pakRah, ‘catch’ (in 3), खा khaa, ‘eat’ (in 4) and निकाल nikaal, ‘pull out’ (in 5).

(d) It is the perfective form गया gayaa, ‘went’ that is consistently used.

(e) The V1 V2 complex where V1 and V2 are always past and in the perfective aspect are collectively marked for person, number and gender and agree with the object (which is the subject now in terms of agreement).

### 25.2 Active and passive

As in English we have passives in Hindi that correspond to their active counterparts. However, in English, sentences with intransitive verbs cannot be passivised. For example, corresponding to the following sentences 6 and 7, there are no passives in English.

6. I slept all morning.

7. She walks very fast.
But Hindi can have passives corresponding to both intransitive and transitive verbs. Consider the following sentences:

8 सौरज ने कहाना बनाया।
sarōj νे khaanā banaayaa
Saroj cooked food.

9 कहाना सौरज के द्वारा बनाया गया।
khaanā sarōj ke dvaarā banaayaa gayaa
The food was cooked by Saroj.

10 मैं कल रात छत पर सोया।
māṁ kal raat chat par soyaa
I slept on the roof last night.

11 कल रात छत पर सोया गया।
kal raat chat par soyaa gayaa
Slept on the roof last night. (Literally, sleeping was done on the roof last night.)

In 8, we have a transitive active sentence whose passive is provided in 9. के द्वारा ke dvaarā, ‘by’ is comparable to the ‘by’ used in English passives. As in English passives, सौरज के द्वारा sarōj ke dvaarā, ‘by Saroj’ can be omitted and 12 will be a fully grammatical sentence.

12 कहाना बनाया गया।
khaanā banaayaa gayaa
Food was cooked.

We can of course add more context to it to make it sound still more natural as in 13.

13 कल रात के शाक में कहाना बनाया गया।
kal raat baRe shauk se khaanā banaayaa gayaa
It was with great joy that food was cooked last night.

As in the case of English passives, we still know nothing about who cooked the food in 12 and 13, a piece of information that was available in 8 and 9. Sentences 10 and 11 have intransitive verbs. If we try to passivise them in English, we will get ungrammatical sentences as in 14.

*14 On the roof was slept by me last night.

But in Hindi, 11 which is a passive form of 10 is a perfectly natural sentence. Once again, we notice that the perfective participle form of the verb combines with the perfective aspect form of the verb जा jaa, ‘go’.

### 25.3 Passive with other forms

Sometimes forms other than the perfective participle can also be used in the passive. Consider the following sentences:

15 पिताजी के तनेज ले बात करो।
pitaajī ke tānej le baat karo
Talk to your father with respect.

16 पिताजी के तनेज ले बात की जाती है।
pitaajī ke tānej le baat kī jaatī hai
(Your) father should be talked to with respect.

17 अब तो घर जाकर ही कम करूँगा।
ab to ghar jaakar hī kām karūṅga
Now I will work only on reaching home.

18 अब तो घर जाकर ही कम किया जायेगा।
ab to ghar jaakar hī kām kiya jāayega
Now I will work only after I have reached home.

19 काशी यह कम कर सकता है।
kaashī yah kām kar saktaa hai
Kashi can do this job.

20 काशी के द्वारा यह कम किया जा सकता है।
kaashī ke dvaarā yah kām kiya jaa saktaa hai
This job can be done by Kashi.
Chapter 26

The subjunctive and the future

In addition to tense, aspect, person, number, gender and so on, verbs often encode mood as well, that is, the attitude of the speaker towards the likelihood of what is being said. We generally recognise three kinds of mood: indicative, imperative and subjunctive. The indicative mood is used most frequently and we have seen several examples of its use in previous chapters. It is used to make statements that are located in the present, past or future. For example, to say तुम वेळ जा रहा है राम, 'Ram is eating an apple,' suggests that the speaker believes that Ram is actually eating an apple. The imperative mood is used to make requests or give commands and would inevitably involve the second person as the addressee. To say तू कहा means 'you eat'. The subjunctive mood is used to indicate what is contingent or probable; an event that is often hypothetical or imaginary, likely to take place now or in the near future; it indicates an element of uncertainty on the part of the speaker. The future tense is also concerned with events in the future.

26.1 The subjunctive

Consider the following sentences:

1 कैसे?
   कहें?
   Shall we go?

2 कैसे?
   कहें?
   Let him speak.
As already mentioned, the subject pronoun, which is encoded in the verb, can be dropped in Hindi sentences. The pronoun can always be recovered from verbal forms. Thus the subjunctive verbal forms in 1, 2 and 3 have the subject pronouns 'we, he and I' encoded in them respectively. All these sentences express a contingent situation; something that might happen; a desire, a wish. The forms used to express the subjunctive constitute a set of words that are related to each other and to other verbal forms through a variety of WFSs. We will not go into all of them. We will simply state those that relate the second person non-honorific form to the subjunctive forms. They include:

WFS 26.1 (X) v  (Xūū) v, subjunc, I, sing

Condition: if X ends in -ii or -uu, change it to -i or -u respectively.

श्य पी, drink  फिक पिय, Shall I drink?
जानाइ चल, walk  भाव चलिउ, Shall I go?
लख़ लिख, write  लिखिउ लिखिउ, Shall I write?

WFS 26.2 (X) v  (Xε) v, subjunc, I nh/III, sing

Condition: if X ends in -ii or -uu, change it to -i or -u respectively.

क्षेल क्षेल, play  क्षेल क्षेल, Shall you/he play?
भाग भाग, run  भागे भागे, Shall you/he run?

WFS 26.3 (X) v  (Xε) v, subjunc, I/III pl, I h

Condition: if X ends in -ii or -uu, change it to -i or -u respectively.

उ Th, get up  उ Thे, Shall we/they get up?
रू रो, cry  रू रो, Shall we/they cry?

WFS 26.4 (X) v, imp  (Xo) v, subjunc, II

Condition: if X ends in -ii or -uu, change it to -i or -u respectively.

गिर giro, You may fall.
लिख likh, write  लिख लिख, You may write.

Thus if X were कल cal, 'you walk/go', we get the forms चलिउ caliū, कल cale, कलिउ cale; and if X were जी jii, 'you live', we get the forms जिउ jīu, जिउ jīe and जिउ jio. As we already know the number of verbs that belong to the first, that is, कल cal, category is very large. Notice that subjunctive forms are not sensitive to gender. Four strategies account for all changes of mood, person, number and honorificity. The subjunctive is often used in conjunction with the हो सकता है bo saktaa bai, 'it is possible' clause (notice that bo is already a subjunctive form) and adverbs of uncertainty such as शायद shayad, सम्भव sambhav or सम्भवत sambhavat: sambhavat all meaning ‘possibly’. Thus sentences such as the following will be typical examples of the use of the subjunctive.

4 शायद है कह आएँ।

shaayad māi kal aaũū

It's possible that I'll come tomorrow.

5 सम्भवत: आप फ्रान्स में प्राचीन सीखें।

sambhavat aap frāās mē frēnc siikhē

Maybe you will learn French in France.

6 जाएँ?

jaaũū

Shall I go?

7 हे सकता है कि वो फोन करे।

ho saktaa hai ki vo fon kare

It is possible that he would call.

8 देखना कहीं तुम निरेन न।

dekhnaa kahin tum niire n.

Watch out, you may fall.
The use of the infinitive देखना dekhnaa and of न na accentuates the subjunctive effect in 8.

26.2 The future

As in English, future time can be expressed in a variety of ways in Hindi, including the use of simple present, present progressive and the subjunctive. However, English does not have a unique future verbal form. For example, for the verb 'to walk', we have the forms 'walk', 'walked' and 'walking'; none of these uniquely manifests future time. In Hindi, for the verb देखना calte, 'to walk', we have several forms including देखू cala, सभी cala, cal, सभी cala, cal, देखू cale, देखू cale, सभी cala, cal, देखू cale, देखू cale, cal, देखू cala, cala, देखू cala, cala, and so on among others. Whereas the suffixation of -tā, -tii and -te are indicative of the present imperfect and -aa and -ii of past perfect aspects, -ega and -egii and -iīga are markers of future time. To recapitulate:

(a) राम देख बाँटा है। raam sev bhaataa hāi, 'Ram eats an apple.' (Present habitual)
(b) राम देख बाँटा है। raam sev bhaa rabā hāi, 'Ram is eating an apple.' (Present progressive)
(c) राम देख बाँटा था। raam sev bhaataa thā, 'Ram used to eat an apple/apples.' (Past habitual)
(d) राम देख बाँटा था। raam sev bhaa thā, 'Ram was eating an apple.' (Past habitual)
(e) राम देख बाँटा। raam sev bhaa, 'Shall Ram eat an apple?' (Subjunctive)
(f) राम देख बाँटा। raam sev bhaa, 'Ram will eat an apple.' (Future)

It is clear from (e) and (f) that Hindi has separate verbal markers for the future and the subjunctive. The WFSs for the future have already been discussed in WFS 10.1 to WFS 10.8 in Chapter 10.

26.3 The uses of the future

The future tense may be used in contexts where a complete or an incomplete time span in the future is involved. It may also be used in contexts where a future action or state may or may not take place.

9 मंढालश अंड स्वतंत्र तक पुनरार उत्साह बनाई।
   मंढाली kal shām pāāc bāje tak tumhaaram intzaar karūughī I will wait for you till five tomorrow evening.

10 पण नहीं लेगा कह तक मंढालश उत्साह कराते रही।
   pataa naaīī log kab tak mantriini kaa intzaar karte rāheē
god knows how long people will wait for the honourable minister.

11 तुम आओ न आओ हम ते खेलेंगे ही।
   tum aao na aao ham to khelēge hī
tum aao na aao ham to khelēge hī
tum aao na aao ham to khelēge hī
Whether you come or not, we will definitely play.

12 मोहन इस तक शायद गाँव मे होगा।
   mohan is vakth shaayad gaaRīī me baiThaa hōgaa
mohan is vakth shaayad gaaRīī me baiThaa hōgaa
mohan is vakth shaayad gaaRīī me baiThaa hōgaa
mohan is vakth shaayad gaaRīī me baiThaa hōgaa
Mohan may be sitting on the train at the moment.

In 9, the time span is known; in 10, it is uncertain. In 11, 'playing' would definitely take place; in 12, one is not sure about where Mohan might be.

26.4 Conclusion

This chapter was concerned with the form and functions of the subjunctive and the future. A total of 12 WFSs account for all the subjunctive and future forms.
Chapter 27

The ergative pattern

We have so far talked about sentences in which there is a direct alignment between the subject and the verb in terms of person, number and gender. The subject in such sentences is said to be in the nominative case and is not explicitly marked by any postposition. Irrespective of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, the verb agrees with the subject. However, when transitive verbs in Hindi are used in the past perfect tense, the subject is clearly marked. This is the ergative pattern; the normal regular alignment between the subject and the verb breaks down. The subject in such sentences is marked by the postposition ने ne which blocks the agreement of the verb with the subject; the verb is transitive; the tense past and the aspect perfect. Since the subject is followed by the ergative postposition ने ne, it takes the oblique case.

27.1 Ergativity in Hindi

Except for a few verbs, all transitive verbs when used in the past perfect follow the ergative pattern. Consider the following sentences:

1 राम ने सेब खाया।
raam ne seb khaayaa
Ram ate an apple.

2 सीता ने सेब खाया।
sitaa ne seb khaayaa
Sita ate an apple.

3 लड़के ने सेब खाया।
lakhe ne seb khaayaa
The boy ate an apple.

4 राम ने गाजर खायी।
raam ne gaajar khaayii
Ram ate a carrot.

5 सीता ने गाजर खायी।
sitaa ne gaajar khaayii
Sita ate a carrot.

6 राम ने मोहन को सेब दिया।
raam ne mohan ko seb diyaa
Ram gave an apple to Mohan.

7 सीता ने मोहन को सेब दिया।
sitaa ne mohan ko seb diyaa
Sita gave an apple to Mohan.

8 राम ने मोहन को गाजर दी।
raam ne mohan ko gaajar dii
Ram gave a carrot to Mohan.

9 सीता ने मोहन को गाजर दी।
sitaa ne mohan ko gaajar dii
Sita gave a carrot to Mohan.

10 सीता ने मोहन को मारा।
sitaa ne mohan ko maaraa
Sita hit Mohan.

11 राम ने मोहन को सेब दिया।
raam ne mohan ko seb diyaa
Ram gave an apple to Mohan.

12 राम ने मोहन को मारा।
raam ne mohan ko maaraa
Ram hit Mohan.
The verb खा या khaayaa, 'ate' is the past perfect form; in 1 and 2, it does not change whether Ram (masc) or Sita (fem) eats the apple; खेल seb, 'apple' is masculine; the verbal element agrees with seb, the direct object of the transitive verb खा या khaanaa, 'to eat'. Thus the gender of the subject is of no consequence for the verb in ergative sentences. Similarly, person and number of the subject are of no consequence for aspectual verbal agreement in the ergative pattern. Thus खेल खा या seb khaayaa will not change even if we had चेन main, 'I/ we ham, 'we/ तुम tum, 'you' आप aap, 'you' (h) / उस us, obl of 'he' and so on for males or females as the subjects. The verb changes form according to the object. Thus in 4 and 5 गाजर gaajar, 'carrot' is feminine and we therefore get खा या khaa, 'ate'. Sentence number 3 shows that the subject appears in the oblique case in ergative sentences. The ergative pattern of object-verb alignment does not change even if another noun phrase is introduced as is the case with मोहन को mohan ko, 'to Mohan' in 6–9. It does not matter whether the agent is masculine or feminine, the verb agrees with the object, खेल seb, 'apple' (masculine) or गाजर gaajar, 'carrot' (feminine). In sentences 10–13, the verbal form remains invariant; we use माछा maaraa irrespective of who beats whom, that is, irrespective of the person, number and gender of the different participants in the act. Neither the subject nor the object controls the agreement pattern in the verb. This is the case in default agreement. When all the noun phrases in the sentence are blocked by different postpositions, a neutral form of the verb, that is, the one encoding third person, singular number and masculine gender is used. In English, who beats and who gets beaten is indicated by the order in which the agent and the victim appear; in Hindi, this role is taken over by the postpositions. Thus the meaning of 10 will not change even if we say:

16 मोहन को सीता ने मारा।
mohan ko siitaaa ne maaraa
Sita hit Mohan.

But if we do the same thing in English, 10 will really become 11.

Sentences 14 and 15 show that if the object is plural, masculine or feminine, the verb will encode these features and change accordingly. As we already know (Chapters 10 and 11), the main verbal elements are marked for perfective or imperfective aspects and information about the tense is carried by the auxiliary. In all these sentences, a past-tense auxiliary is assumed. Notice that all the verbs used in the above sentences are transitive; they are in their past-perfective forms which follow from WFSs 11.2, 11.3, 11.6 and 11.7 discussed in Chapter 11; intransitive verbs like केभ sonaa, 'to sleep', रोरा ronaa, 'to cry', नापा naaanaa, 'to bathe', मुक्ता musuraanaa, 'to smile' and so on do not participate in the ergative pattern.

If we have verbs like दे de, 'give', where the imperative form ends in -e, we have the following WFS in which the -e of the imperative is substituted by -iya in the perfective aspect which is used in the ergative pattern:

(Xe) v ➔ (Xiyaa) v, perf, masc, sing
दे de, give लिया diyya, gave
से le, take लिया liyya, took

27.2 Exceptions

There are some verbs such as साना laanaa, 'to bring', दर्शा darna, 'to be afraid' and सूक्ता bhuulanaa, 'to forget' that, though transitive, may avoid the ergative pattern even in the past perfect. Thus we can say:

17 राम किताब लाया।
raam kitaab laayaa
Ram brought a book.

18 सीता किताब लेया।
siitaaa kitaab laayii
Sita brought a book.
Possession in Hindi is normally indicated by का kaa, ‘of’. In English, we either use the preposition ‘of’ or the apostrophe. The English ‘house of Mohan’ or ‘Mohan’s house’ would be translated into Hindi as मोहन का घर mohan kaa ghar. Since घर ghar, ‘house’ is masculine singular here, the form used is का kaa. This form will vary according to the gender, number and case of the following noun. We may say that का kaa actually behaves like an adjective. As we already know, most other postpositions (Chapter 20) remain invariant. There are also some other forms that participate in suggesting possession. They include the invariant के ke, ‘of’ in the sense of, for example, ‘having children’, की ko, ‘to’, in the sense of, for example, ‘having fever’ in dative constructions (Chapter 29), में me, ‘in’ and के पास ke paas, ‘near, in the possession of’; and अपना apnaa, ‘own’.

28.1 Use of का kaa, ‘of’

Consider the following examples:

1 राम का लड़का
   raam kaa laRkaa
   Ram’s son

2 राम की लड़की
   raam kii laRkii
   Ram’s daughter

3 राम के लड़के ने
   raam ke laRke ne
   Ram’s son (as the subject of a sentence)
noun is non-human or inanimate. For example,

5 राम का कुत्ता।
raam kaa kuttaa
Ram's dog

6 राम के कुत्ते
raam ke kutte
Ram's dogs

7 राम का घर
raam kaa ghar
Ram's house

8 राम के घर
raam ke ghar
Ram's houses

Like the English 'of', the Hindi ख kaa separates the possessor and the possessed but in a diametrically opposite way. In English, the possessed object comes before 'of' and the possessor after it, that is, possessed - of - possessor as in 'house of Mohan'; in Hindi, it is the other way around, that is, possessor - kaa - possessed as in मोहन का घर mohan kaa ghar, 'Mohan's house'. In the case of the use of the apostrophe in English, the order is similar to that in Hindi. Hindi itself does not use the apostrophe.

28.2 Other indicators of possession

We often use the invariant के ke, 'of' to indicate family relationships, in the sense X has 'so many children', 'two brothers', ‘three sisters’ and so on. For example,

9 राम के एक लड़की है।
raam ke ek laRkii hai
Ram has one daughter.
10 राम के छार क्या है?
   raam ke caar bacce hāi
   Ram has four children.

This use of के ke is often extended to include the larger family network
and even friends.
   We use ko, ‘to’ in the sense of say, having fever, when what the person
possesses is a physical state such as

11 राम को बुझार है?
   raam ko bukhaar hai
   Ram has fever.

12 सीता को जुक़ल है?
   siitaa ko zukaam hai
   Sita has fever.

The use of को ko very clearly marks out the experiencer subject. We
discuss this in some detail in Chapter 29.
   The use of में mē, ‘in’ is restricted to specific abstract possessions
such as

13 मोहन में बड़ा यही एक कही है?
   mohan mē bas yahii ek kahii hai
   This is the only drawback Mohan has.

14 ्सीता में इतना गहरा नहीं?
   geeta mē itnaa saahas nahīī
   Geeta does not have so much courage.

The possessive postposition में mē is often used to refer to parts of a
structure or objects in a given space. Thus, we have विद्यार्थी diivaar
में khibīkī, ‘window in the wall’ or कवर में kāmre mē kūsī, ‘chair
in the room’. We use के पास ke paas, ‘near, in the possession of’ when
alienable objects are involved. In the case of inalienable possessions,
we must use the normal Hindi marker of possession का kaa. It would be
ungrammatical to say 15; one would instead use 16:

*15 राम के पास की कान है?
   raam ke paas do kaan hāi
   Ram possesses two ears.

16 राम के दो खन है?
   raam ke do kaan hāi
   Ram has two ears.

The use of के पास ke paas, ‘near’ is appropriate in the following contexts:

17 राम के पास घर है?
   raam ke paas do ghar hāi
   Ram has two houses.

18 राम के पास बहुत पैसा है?
   raam ke paas bahut paısa hāi
   Ram has a lot of money.

Sentence 17 really means that Ram actually owns two houses. We can,
if we wish, use only के ke also, but then it would be open to all kinds of
metaphorical interpretations, for example, he has a house of his own
and he also treats his uncle’s house as his. The second sentence, that
is, 18, would actually become ungrammatical if we used के ke instead of
के पास ke paas.

अपना apnā, ‘own’ is a reflexive possessive pronoun which may be
used with another possessive marker or on its own. When it is used with
another possessive marker, it adds emphasis. For example,

19 यह सीता की अपनी किताब है?
   yah siitaa kii apnī kitaab hai
   This is Sita’s own book.

It would be enough to say:

20 यह सीता की किताब है?
   yah siitaa kii kitaab hai
   This is Sita’s book.
But that would only mean ‘This is Sita’s book’; the use of अपना apnaa (अपनी apnii because किताब kitaab, ‘book’ is feminine) adds the emphasis ‘her own’. Notice that अपना apnaa can be used only when the subject of the sentence is also the possessor of whatever अपना apnaa qualifies. Thus in

21 मोहन अपने घर जा रहा है।
मोहन आपने घर जा रहा है।
Mohan apne ghar jaa rahaa hai
Mohan is going to his home.

अपने apne qualifies पर ghar, ‘home’; and it is this home Mohan is going to. The home belongs to Mohan and nobody else. The house in 22 is Ram’s house.

22 राम ने मोहन को अपना घर दिखाया।
राम ने मोहन को आपना घर दिखाया।
Ram ne mohan ko apnaa ghar dikhaayaa
Ram showed Mohan his house.

28.3 Forms of possessive pronouns

As in the case of several other languages, when it comes to pronouns, indicating possession does not involve a simple kaa insertion. In fact, what we get is a fairly irregular set of forms of possessive pronouns. They may be seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>poss (masc)</th>
<th>poss (fem)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>māī</td>
<td>(mere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meraa</td>
<td>merii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>hamaaraa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hamaarii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>tuu</td>
<td>(tere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teraa</td>
<td>terii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tum</td>
<td>(tumhaare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tumhaarii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aap</td>
<td>(aapke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aapkii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>vah/yah</td>
<td>uskaa/iskaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uskii/iskii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ve/ye</td>
<td>unkaa/inkaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unkii/inkii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first column in this table shows the form of the pronoun in the nominative case. The second column shows the masculine possessive pronominal forms; the fourth column shows the corresponding feminine forms. The third column shows the forms possessive pronouns assume in the oblique case in parentheses, that is, the form that is used when it is followed by a postpositional phrase such as पर में ghar mē, ‘in the house’ as in 23:

23 भेरे घर में बहुत किताबें हैं।
mere ghar mē bahut kitaabē hāī
There are many books in my house.

28.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the use of खा kaa and its variants to indicate possession and also provided a table consisting of different forms of the possessive pronouns in terms of variations in person, number and gender.
The normal tendency in Hindi is to have direct agreement between the subject and the verb. However, in at least two important cases this rule breaks down: in the case of the ergative pattern (Chapter 27), when the subject is followed by मे ne and in the case of the experiencer or benefactor subject when the subject may be followed by की ko. In these cases, the burden of agreement moves to the object or any other nominal expression that is not marked by a postposition. Both these situations may be included under the oblique case, the form of the noun which regularly appears before postpositions. From a formal point of view, we can refer to the subject of such sentences as being in the non-nominative or the oblique case (see Section 7.4).

29.1 Dative, experiencer and benefactor

Consider the following sentences:

1 मैं बीमार हूँ।
māṁ biimaar hūṁ
I am ill.

2 मुझे बुखार है।
mujhe buxaar hai
I have a fever.

3 संजय आज बहुत मुस्त है।
sājaya aaj bahut xush hai
Sanjay is very happy today.

4 संजय को आज बहुत मुस्त है।
sājaya ko aaj bahut xushī hai
Sanjay is very happy today.

5 गीता जल्दी ही सो गई।
gītā jaldī hī so gāi
Geeta went to bed early.

6 गीता को जल्दी नीद आ गई।
gītā ko jaldī nīd aa gāi
Sleep came to Geeta early/Geeta went to bed early.

There are three sets of sentences involved here. In sentences 1, 3 and 5, no postposition appears after the subject and therefore there is direct agreement between the subject and the verb. The subject is in the nominative case. In the corresponding sentences 2, 4 and 6, the subject is in the oblique case, either marked by की ko or having the oblique form of the pronoun. It is important to note that in all six sentences the verb is intransitive. In fact, this is a fundamental difference between sentences with the ergative and the experiencer subjects; the former uses transitive verbs and the latter, typically, intransitives (see Section 29.3).

We need to make a distinction between the experiencer and the benefactor in the sense that every subject marked by की ko may not be an experiencer. Consider 7, where Geeta ‘found’ something on the bus:

7 गीता को कब में पहुँची मिली।
gītā ko kāb mē phūṁčī mīlī
t
Geeta found a watch on the bus.

In 7, Geeta is a benefactor; she gets something. She does not experience anything. It is common to include both, the experiencer and the benefactor, under dative.

29.2 Deletion of की ko

As we have already noted in Section 20.2, की ko can have a variety of functions in grammar. For example, in the following sentence, it marks the object rather than the subject:

8 गीता के सीता को मारा।
gītā ne sītā ko mara
Geeta beat Sita.

If it appears with animate but non-human objects, the omission of की ko is optional which is not the case in 8. Both 9 and 10 are acceptable.
39.3 Ergative and dative

The ergative is highly restricted. It has a rigid structure in that, except for a few verbs (see Section 27.3), the subject will always be marked by ने ne and the verb will always be in the perfective aspect, agreeing with a noun that is not blocked by a postposition. The dative construction on the other hand is far more flexible. Consider the following sentences:

14 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>सावधान को नीट आ रही है।</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laaNaNyaa ko niid aa rahii hai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavanya is feeling sleepy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences 14–19 clearly show that the dative construction can be used with any aspect–tense formation, perfective, imperfective, infinitival, progressive, subjunctive or future.

There is another important difference. In the ergative, the ergative subject is still the doer of the action; the verb is transitive, it is just that the grammatical features of the subject such as person, number and gender are not reflected in the verb, that is, there is no agreement between the subject and the verb. Also in the dative construction, there is no agreement between the experiencer or the benefactor and the verb. But the meaning or result of the action is directed towards the experiencer or the benefactor subject. They are not the agents of the action. The verb is intransitive.
pass judgements. Consider the following sentences:

20 मुझे लगता है कि उसे दिल्ली जाना पड़ैगा।
mujhē lagtaa hai ki use dilii jaana paRega.
I think he will have to go to Delhi.

21 मुझे को लगता है कि उसे यह फिल्म पसंद आएगी।
mujhē ko lagtaa hai ki use yah pikcar pasand aaegeē.
I think he will like this film.

In both 20 and 21 the speaker is expressing what he feels; in 20, he feels that the person being referred to will have to go to Delhi. In 21, the speaker is confident that the person being referred to will like the film in question. Such sentences are very frequently used. Notice that there are two clauses involved here. It is the use of कि ‘ki’ ‘that’ which introduces the dependent clause. The subject of the main clause is in the oblique form or could be followed by को ‘ko’. The verb of the dependent clause agrees with the noun that is not followed by a postposition.

29.5 Conclusion

The dative case includes the experiencer and the benefactor cases. Typically, as distinguished from the ergative case (where one uses transitive verbs), one uses intransitive verbs in the dative case and the verb agrees with the noun phrase that is not blocked by a postposition.

Chapter 30
Verb चाहिए caahiye

As we have already pointed out, Hindi words can be divided into two categories: words that vary like nouns, verbs, adjectives and possessive pronouns, and words that remain invariant like adverbs, conjunctions and postpositions. But sometimes we find a verb or an adjective that does not vary and a postposition that does vary. One of the most striking and unique verbal elements in Hindi is चाहिए caahiye. It has two distinct meanings: ‘want/need’ and ‘should/ought to’. It is a very frequently used verb. In this chapter, we will discuss it in some detail.

30.1 चाहिए caahiye as ‘want’

When चाहिए caahiye follows a noun or a noun phrase in a sentence, it simply means ‘want’. For example,

1 उसे पानी चाहिए।
use paanī caahiye
She/he wants water.

2 राम को एक नयी किताब चाहिए।
raam ko ek nayī kitaab caahiye
Ram wants/needs a new book.

3 मुझे अब आपका सहारा चाहिए।
mujhē ab aapkā sahaara caahiye
I need your support now.

4 मेरी बेटी को ये सहियां चाहिए।
merī beṭī ko yē sahiyaṁ caahiye
My daughter wants two saris.
In all four sentences above, the subject is either in the oblique form or is followed by a postposition; the verb must agree with the noun which is free, that is, which is not followed by a postposition. In the first sentence, पानी, ‘water’ is masculine singular; in 2, किताब, ‘book’ is feminine singular; in 3, सहारा, ‘support’ is masculine singular and in 4, साहिबिया, ‘sahibiyaa’ is feminine plural. Irrespective of the changes in the noun, the verb चाहिए, caahiye does not undergo any change.

### 30.2 चाहिए caahiye as ‘should/ought to’

When चाहिए caahiye follows an infinitive verb, it generally has the meaning of ‘should’ or ‘ought to’. For example,

5 उसे अब घर जाना चाहिए।
use ab ghar jaana caahiye
She/he should go home now.

6 आपको उसी दिन वारां जाना चाहिए था।
aapko usii samay vahaa jaana caahiye thaa
You should have immediately gone there (but you did not).

7 उसे वां वानी नहीं पीना चाहिए था।
use vahaa paanii nahi piinaa caahiye thaa
She/he should not have drunk water there (but she/he did).

Notice that चाहिए caahiye once again remains invariant, irrespective of the sense in which it is used. This set of sentences involves a modal use of caahiye in that we get an idea of the attitude of the speaker towards the content of the sentence. In 5, it is implied that the speaker feels it is time for the person being referred to go home; in 6, even though the speaker addresses the speaker respectfully, he feels that it was imperative for the listener to reach the specific place without any delay but the person did not; and in 7, the speaker strongly feels that the listener should not have drunk water at a particular place and knows that the listener actually did.

चाहिए caahiye is the only verb in Hindi which does not have any related forms. It is not at all related formally to any other verb that may share its sounds and even to some extent its meaning. For example, it is not even distantly related to the verb चाहना caahnaa though this also means ‘to want’. When we use चाहना caahnaa, ‘to want’, it shows full agreement with the subject (where it is not blocked by a postposition) in terms of person, number and gender. For example,

8 सिमा रशीद को चाहिए है।
siimaa rashiid ko caahitii hai
Sima loves Rashid.

9 मोहन सकिना को चाहता है।
mohan sakinaa ko caahtaa hai
Mohan loves Sakina.

10 राहुल को बहुत सारी लड़कियाँ चाहती है।
raahul ko bahut saarii laRkiyaaw caahtii haa
Many girls love Rahul.

In 8, the subject is ‘Sima’; it is not followed by any postposition and the verb agrees with it showing the ending -tii. In 9, the subject is masculine singular, a fact once again reflected in -taa in चाहता caahhta. In 10, लड़कियाँ laRkiyaaw is feminine plural and the verb चाहता है caahttii baa encodes that information. Nothing of this kind happens when we use the verb चाहिए caahiye. Some speakers may use the form चाहिए caahiye when the preceding noun is plural but it is rare and sounds odd to many speakers.

### 30.3 Conclusion

There are several properties of चाहिए caahiye that we may record.

- The form of चाहिए caahiye remains invariant (sentences 1 to 7).
- It combines only with the past tense auxiliary था tha (sentences 6 and 7).
- It encodes the attitude of the speaker (sentences 6 and 7).
- When it is used with the past tense auxiliary and a negative, the inference is actually positive (sentence 7).
- If the negative is absent, the inference is negative (sentence 6).
- It has two meanings: one meaning ‘want’ and the other ‘should’.
Compound verbs in Hindi consist of two verbal elements (the general structure being V1 V2) which combine to express a single meaning. Both verbal elements can function as independent verbs on their own. But in the case of a compound verb, it is the first verbal element that carries the primary meaning. The second element only modifies the meaning in rather subtle ways. The first element is generally in its non-honorific imperative (or stem) form and remains invariant in the compound; the second element generally carries the person, number, gender and tense markers. We notice a nice division of labour here. The first element has the semantic load and the second grammatical. The first is very large and is open to additions; the second set, that is, the one carrying grammatical information is small and rarely allows any additions. Not every verb can function as the second element; in this sense the second set resembles the auxiliaries. Although the number of verbs that can appear as the second element in the compound is finite, it is very difficult to say what specific semantic modification a given verb will make to the first verb. Often the same sentence appears with a simple and a compound verb but that does not mean that they are interchangeable. On the contrary, they are very context-sensitive. In fact, for second- or foreign-language learners, they constitute one of the most challenging areas of Hindi.

### 31.1 Meaning of compound verbs

Consider the following examples:

1. **vah ghar aayaa**
   - He came home.

2. **vah ghar aa gayaa**
   - He came home.

In English, a clear distinction is made between the present perfect (where the focus is on the process, and the time of the action in the past is unspecified; in fact, it could be very close to the present) and past (where the action is complete at a point of time in the past from the present moment of speaking). It is difficult to characterise the distinction between simple and compound verbs with comparable clarity. The grammatical information contained in the verb in both sentences is same: third person, masculine, singular and past perfect tense. What is the semantic difference? Hook (1979: 231) tries to capture the difference in the following: 'An action may be thought of as consisting of a number of stages or phases. First is the stage of inaction; of intention and preparation; then comes the stage of effort; then the consummation of action leading to achievement, change or transition to something new. In most general terms, using a compound verb allows the mind to travel across the phases of an action. Using the simple verb illuminates a single stage.' The use of the compound verb tends to capture the process. But in general, 1 and 2 may be regarded similar; in 2 though **gayaa** means 'went', the meaning of the whole compound is 'came', determined by the first verbal element. As we will see below, it may not always be the case that the first element dominates the verbal complex of compound verbs.

### 31.2 Attitudinal aspects

In fact, compound verbs may have substantial attitudinal load on them. Thus to say the first sentence 'he came home' may be largely colourless and neutral. But to say the second sentence might for example imply any of the following:

- We had been waiting for him; he finally came home.
- We had almost given up but he came home.
- We are so happy that he came home.
- He tried everything he could but finally returned home.

Since the burden of the second element is speaker- and context-sensitive, it is very difficult to isolate a single semantic suggestion associated with each verb of the V2 class. This small category interestingly consists largely of semantic opposites, for example, जाना *jaanaa*, 'to go' and
अज़ आना, 'to come'; सेना लेना, 'to take' और देना देना, 'to give'; सत्य उठाना, 'to get up' और बेशक बाईढ़ा, 'to sit down' और मार्ग मार्गा, 'to die' और राजा मार्गा, 'to kill/hit/beat'. However, this fact does not give us any helpful clues about the structure and meaning of compound verbs.

It is when the focus is on action and there is a sense of immediacy that we tend to use the compound verbs most frequently. Consider

3 हाय! बेचारे क्या सोहबक़र पले वे क्या हो गया।

हायें, क्या सोहबक़र पले वे क्या हो गया।

What a pity! What actually happened was so different from what they thought would happen.

One could of course say

4 हाय! बेचारे क्या सोहबक़र पले वे, (और) क्या हुआ।

हायें, क्या सोहबक़र पले वे, (और) क्या हुआ।

What a pity! What actually happened was different from what they thought would happen.

But in 4, the focus is neither on action nor on immediacy but on the total result. The kind of helplessness that is suggested by the compound verb in 3 is not indicated by the simple verb in 4.

One would therefore expect that situations that naturally imply a change in state or some kind of transition from one state to another would normally be expressed through compound verbs. For example, मूल जाना भूल जाना, 'to forget' in itself contains the meaning that there was some X in memory that was forgotten; similarly, सप्त जाना समाज आना, 'to understand', से जाना ले आना, 'to bring', से जाना ले आना, 'to take', खा जाना खाना, 'to eat', बना देना बना देना, 'to make' and so on. Examine the following sentences:

5 वह आपकी बात समझता है।

वह आपकी बात समझता है।

He understands what you are saying.

6 उसे आपकी बात समझ आ गई।

उसे आपकी बात समझ आ गई।

He understood what you are saying.

7 उसे आपकी बात समझ नहीं आई।

उसे आपकी बात समझ नहीं आई।

He did not understand what you were saying.

8 उसे आपकी बात समझ नहीं आई।

उसे आपकी बात समझ नहीं आई।

He did not understand what you were saying.

In sentence 5, a simple verb (with an auxiliary) has been used. Here the focus is on the general competence of the listener to understand whatever is said to him. In 6, it is both the process and the result that constitute the scope of the action of understanding. If this proposition has to be negated, we can use only 7, that is, a sentence with a simple verb. If a compound is used, as in 8, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. If both the process and completion have to remain in focus, the use of negatives would be against the nature of most compound verbs.

31.3 Compounds with जाना jaanaa, 'to go'

If you look through any Hindi text, a short story, a news item or an essay, you will notice that compounds with जाना jaanaa occur most frequently. For example, हो जाना bo jaanaa, 'to happen', लग जाना lag jaanaa, 'to become busy', जरा गिर jaanaa, 'to fall down', राग जाना bhaag jaanaa, 'to run away', चिक जाना khas jaanaa, 'to quietly disappear', कह जाना so jaanaa, 'to sleep', मिल जाना mil jaanaa, 'to find' and so on.

Consider the following sentences:

9 वह घर आकर रोज़ सोता है।

वह घर आकर रोज़ सोता है।

He sleeps every day after he comes home.

10 वह घर आकर रोज़ सो जाता है।

वह घर आकर रोज़ सो जाता है।

He goes to sleep every day after he comes home.

11 मेरे आते ही वह भाग गया।

मेरे आते ही वह भाग गया।

He ran away the moment I arrived.
12 चेहरे देखते ही देखते वह सारी निकाह खा गया।

mere dekhte hii dekhte vah saarii nikhaa gayaa

He finished all the sweets in a jiffy.

Sentence 9 has an intransitive verb; in 10, the same sentence has been used with the verb जाना jaanaa, which adds additional force to the action being described. It does not really change the meaning. Sentence 11 describes a quick change in state and the use of जाना jaanaa adds to the vividness and the pace of the action. A similar impact may be noticed in 12 where the use of the compound verb captures the vividness of the event.

31.4 Other compound verbs

Another important verb which enters into compound-verb formations is आना aanaa, ‘to come’. It is often used with verbs of activity and helps to determine their direction. Some of the more commonly used compound verbs include: आना le aanaa, ‘to bring’, आना bhag aanaa, ‘to return running’, निकल आना nikal aanaa, ‘to get out of a situation’, उठ आना uTh aanaa, ‘to get up and return’ and so on. Consider 13,

13 ऐसी तरह से सेमिनार में निकल आया।

maaii to kisii tarah se seminar se nikal aayaa

I somehow managed to get out of the seminar.

The verb in 13 makes certain unstated assumptions possible, for example, ‘The seminar was very boring’; ‘it was very hot there’; ‘I had to meet you at any cost’ and so on.

Another common verb used as V2 in a compound is दालना Daalnaa, ‘to put’. It is generally used with transitive verbs and often adds the meaning of finishing the activity in compounds such as खोल दालना khool Daalnaa, ‘to open’, टोर दालना toR Daalnaa, ‘to break’, चूस दालना cuus Daalnaa, ‘to suck’, बांध दालना maar Daalnaa, ‘to kill’ and so on. Consider 14:

14 श्रीकर कार चलाए साहिब। आपने तू मुझे नार
dekhkar kaar chalaae saahib aapne to mujhe maar

hii Daalaa thaa

Sir, please drive carefully. You nearly killed me.

Compounds are also formed with verbs like लेना lenaa, ‘to take’, देना denaa, ‘to give’, रखना rakhmaa, ‘to keep’, पारना paRnaa, ‘have to’, उठना uThnaa, ‘to get up’ and बैठना baiThnaa, ‘to sit’, among several others. For example, लेना mil lenaa, ‘to meet’, कर देना kar denaa, ‘to do’, लिखना likh rakhmaa, ‘to keep written’. रो पारना ro paRnaa, ‘to start crying’ and उठ बैठना uTh baiThnaa, ‘to suddenly get up’. In most of the sentences above, the compound verb can be substituted by the appropriate form of the first verbal element but not, for example, in 14. Nor will this be true for 15 or 16:

15 वह एकदम रोने लगा।

vah ekdam rone lagaa

He started crying at once.

16 अरवण असलक अन्दर आ बैठा।

ajay acaanaak andar aa baiThaa

Ajay suddenly came in and sat down.

If we say only रोया roya, ‘cried’ in 15, it would mean ‘he cried at once’; we lose the element of continuity. In 16, if we say only आया aaya, ‘came’, it would mean ‘he suddenly came in’; we would lose the meaning ‘sat down’. Such verbal complexes may more appropriately be called serial verbs.

31.5 Conjunct verbs

There is another category of verbs which we will discuss very briefly here: conjunct verbs. They consist of a noun or adjective and a verbal element. Several attempts have been made to describe the formal and semantic properties of these verbs. However, it is still not possible to state with any precision the structure and meaning of conjunct verbs. It is often suggested that they have the following structure:

Noun/Adjective + a verbal expilator

where the verbal element may be करना karna, ‘to do’ लेना bonaa, ‘to be’, देना denaa, ‘to give’ and so on as in

- देना daan denaa, ‘to give alms’
- अंधरा होना andhra bonaa, ‘to get dark’
- शादी करना shaadii karna, ‘to get married’.
Most of the time scholars have tried to associate unique unitary meanings to these conjunct verbs. But their meanings can be extremely complex. Consider the following sentences:

17. **उसने मरने से पहले गाय दान था**।
   usne marne se pahle gaya daan thi.
   He (as a religious act) gifted a cow before he died.

18. **कुछ दान दिया गया बुद्ध ने नहीं।**
   kuch daan diya gaya buddh ne nahi.
   He gave something in charity but not with devotion.

19. **अब तो मेरा उदयपुर में दिल लग गया है।**
   ab to meraa udaypur mein dil lag gaya hai.
   Now I feel at home in Udaipur.

20. **तुम क्यों यहां तुम हिलाते पूरा रहे हो।**
    tum kyõ yahãa dum hilaate pûra rahãe ho.
    Who are you trying to flatter here? (Literally, why are you loitering here like a dog swinging its tail?)

The दान देना daan dena as used in 17 is highly culturally loaded. It has a whole mythology hidden behind it. It cannot be translated in terms of charity, generosity or alms. In 18, the phenomenon indicated is comparable to giving something in charity. In 19, there is no way of telling the meaning of दिल लगना dil lagna from its constituents; दिल dil means ‘heart’ and लगना lagna, ‘to get involved in’. The conjunct verb itself means ‘to feel at home’. दुम बिलाना dum bilaanaa is indeed most interesting. It can be used literally as in:

21. **यह कुत्ता दुम हिला रहा है।**
   yah kuttaa dum hila rahaa hai
   This dog is waving its tail.

But in 20, it is actually telling somebody that he is trying to win undue favours; that he is not behaving in a dignified fashion.

In all these examples we have used nouns. We can similarly use adjectives as in स्तंभ करना lambaa karnaa, ‘to elongate’, छोटा बनना choTaa banna, ‘to become small’, काला होना kaalaa bonaa, ‘to become black’, and साल-पीला होना laal-piila bonaa, ‘to get angry’ and so on. Once again, it is very difficult to say what the relationship of the constituents to the whole would be.

Sometimes a conjunct verb may appear in a context where the noun may be linked to its object by the postposition अा kaa or its other forms. Consider the following sentence:

22. **गिटा ने अपनी सात का ध्यान रखा था।**
   gitaa ne apnii saas kaa dhyaan rakha thaa
   Gita had looked after her mother-in-law.

Notice that in sentence 22 the verb agrees with the masculine singular noun ध्यान dhyaan, ‘care’, which is the direct object of the verb रखना rakhna, ‘to keep’ here. However, the conjunct verb as a whole is ध्यान रखना dhyaan rakhna, ‘to look after’ whose logical direct object is सात saat, ‘mother-in-law’ which is feminine. If we transform this sentence into a passive as in 23,

23. **इस घर में सात का ध्यान रखा जाता है।**
   is ghar me saat kaa dhyaan rakha jaataa hai
   Mother-in-law is looked after in this house.

the verbal complex रखा जाता है rakhaa jaataa hai agrees with ध्यान dhyaan.

### 31.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed the form and functions of compound verbs which consist of two verbal elements. We have also briefly discussed some conjunct verbs which consist of a noun/adjective and a verbal element.
Part VI

Compound and complex sentences
Chapter 32

Coordination and subordination

Languages often use a variety of strategies to combine clauses and create longer sentences. These include coordination, disjunction, subordination, use of the conjunctive participle, complementation and relativisation. In coordination, the two clauses maintain their independent status, while in sentences using other strategies we generally have a main clause and a subordinate clause. All conjunctions belong to the invariant part of the lexicon and have no formally related forms (Chapter 22). There are many conjunctive words that often have nearly the same meaning. We will discuss coordination, disjunction and subordination in this chapter.

32.1 Coordination

The most commonly used additive coordination conjunction is और aur, 'and'. It can be used to combine nouns, verbs, adjectives or whole clauses. The verb tends to agree with the coordinated constituent or to the element nearest to the verb. Consider the following examples:

1 मोहन और सोहन खेल रहे हें।
mohan aur sohan seb khaa rahe he
Mohan and Sohan are eating apples.

2 सीता एक ईमानदार और समझदार लड़की थी।
sitaas ek iimaandaar aur samajhdaar laRkii thii
Sita was an honest and intelligent girl.

3 मोहन और सीता ने खाना खाया और भोजन पूरे।
mohan aur sitaa ne khaanaa khaayaa aur so gaye
Mohan and Sita ate their meals and went to bed.
4 वह धीर-धीर और ध्यान ने घर के अन्तर आया।  
vah dhiiire-dhiiire aur dhyaan se ghar ke antr aayaa  
He entered the house slowly and carefully.

In 1, two nouns have been coordinated with और aur; the subject thus becomes plural and this fact is reflected in the verb. Adjectives depend on the nouns following them for their number marking; in 2 the coordinated adjectives are followed by a singular noun लक्ष्मी larkii, 'girl' which stands for Sita; the verb is also singular. In 3, the verb खाना khaanaa, ‘to eat’ is transitive; so the first clause is ergative and the verb agrees with the masculine खाना khaanaa, ‘food’; सोना sona, ‘to sleep’ is intransitive; we do not need the ergative pattern and the verb agrees with the plural coordinated subject मोहन और सोहन mohan aur siitaa, ‘Mohan and Sita’. In 3, और aur is used to conjoint two verbal elements whose subject is the same. In 4, और aur has been used to coordinate two adverbs even though this is not done very frequently in Hindi. We may note here another use of और aur as an important discourse constituent. It is very often used to initiate or continue informal conversations. For example,

5 और aur, What else?  
6 और नए सियों aur sunaaiyiye, What is new?

32.2 Disjunctive coordination

Just as और aur functions as the coordinating conjunction, या yaa (or sometimes अथवा athva) functions as the disjunctive coordination ‘or’. When compared with English, it serves the functions of both ‘or’ and ‘either…or’. Consider the following examples:

7 मोहन या सोहन लेब या रहा था।  
mohan yaa sohan leb ya raha tha  
Mohan or Sohan was eating an apple.

8 मुझे कुछ गरम दे दो – खाय या कहाँ।  
mujhe kuch garam de do; caay yaa kaafii  
Give me something hot; either tea or coffee.

9 या तो तुम मेरी बात का मान लो या घर जाओ।  
yaa to tum merii baat ka maan lo ya ghar jaao  
Either you agree to what I am saying or you go home.

10 तुम खाना खाओगी कि नहीं।  
tum khaanaa khaogii ki nahi  
Will you have food or not?

Notice that in 10, we do not even use या yaa; that disjunctive function has here taken over by कि ki, normally meaning ‘that’. In 7, या yaa separates मोहन mohan and सोहन sohan and makes the subject singular thereby also making the verb singular. In 8, we illustrate the most common use of या yaa, particularly in contexts where it is used twice and the meaning comes fairly close to ‘either…or’. In 9, या yaa is used with तो to; this combination is used when you wish to focus on a specific choice in the discourse. As in the case of और aur, या yaa can also be used disjunctively between nouns, adjectives, adverbs or clauses.

32.3 Subordinating conjunctions

Hindi uses a large number of subordinating conjunctions. In some cases, there are near-synonymous conjunctions that can in fact be used interchangeably in many contexts though different speakers will of course make specific context-sensitive/stylistic selections. Thus for the English ‘but’, Hindi has at least five words, namely, लेकिन lekin, मगर magar, पर par, किन्तु kintu and परंतु parantu. Some of these words have other functions also. For example, पर par, ‘on’, as we noticed in Chapter 20, is also used as a postposition with a variety of functions. Some sentences using the Hindi conjunctions for ‘but’ follow.

11 मैं घर जाना चाहता था लेकिन गीता ने जाने नहीं दिया।  
mai ghar jaanaa caataa tha lekin gita ne jaane nahi diyaa  
I wanted to go home but Geeta didn’t let me.

12 उसका भी पिकार देखने का कान था मगर काल  
uskaa bhi picar dekhne ka can tha magar kaal  
He also wanted to see a movie but he had an exam the following day.

uskaa test thaah
In both 11 and 12, we could interchange लेकिन lekin and यद्य पर magar; we could also substitute them by पर par, जिसे kintu or परत parantu.

Several near-synonymous subordinating conjunctions such as जिसे jisse, जो jo and ताके taaki, ‘so that’ are used to suggest a contingent event. The use of any of these involves stating a possible condition that would make the activity of the dependent clause possible.

Consider the following sentences:

13 ये जल्दी आ जाये ताकि हम लेंगे गर्म खाना खा लेंगे।

vo jaldii aa jaaye taaki ham log garam khaanaa khaa le lagaa.

I wish he'd come early so that we can all eat hot food.

14 उन दिनों वह जल्दी आ जाता था ताकि हम बनाये पर खाएँ।

un dinii vah jaldii aa jaataa thaa taaki ham samay par khaa leh.

Those days he often used to come early so that we could eat on time.

15 मोहन ने ऐसी कौनसी बात कह थी कि कुं कहा नाराज हो।

mohaa ne aisii kaunsii baat kah dii ki tumb inaa naaraaz ho.

What did Mohan say that you are so angry?

In 13, the food has yet not been consumed; people (i.e. ‘we’) are waiting for another person (member of the family possibly, son or husband if the mother is saying this sentence) to arrive. Sentence 15 shows that these conjunctions are often replaced by कि ki, ‘that’.

Another set of near-synonymous conjunctions introduces the clauses of reasons. These conjunctions include क्योंकि kyoki, ‘because’, चूँकि cuki, ‘because’, ‘since’, के कारण ke kaaran, ‘for the reason’ and की वजह वे kii vajah se, ‘because of’. We now give some examples:

16 वह कल जल्दी घर आ गया था ताकि उसे वापसी वह जल्दी घर आ गया था क्योंकि उसे पार्टी में जाना था।

vah kal jaldii ghar aa gayaa thaa kyoki use paarTii

meh jaanaa thaa.

He came home early yesterday because he had to go to a party.

17 चूँकि मोहन का घर पास ही था इसलिए कि

cuki mohaa kaa ghar paas hii meh thaa isliiye vah

पैडल ही काला गया।
paidal hii calaa gayaa

Since Mohan's house was close by (therefore) he just walked home.

32.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have briefly introduced conjunctive, disjunctive and subordinating conjunctions.
Chapter 33

Complex sentences

The number of ways in which one can combine two or more sentences in Hindi is very large indeed. We have already discussed some processes of coordination and subordination in Chapter 32. In Chapter 34, we will turn to sentences with relative clauses. In this chapter, we will discuss conditional and counterfactual sentences. We will also briefly talk about clauses of time, reason and desire, and about sentences that explicate the main clause in various ways.

33.1 Conditionals

A conditional sentence consists of a condition indicated generally by अगर agar or यदि yadi, ‘if’ and a statement of activity or state that might mature if the condition stated in the ‘if’ clause is met. Consider the following sentences:

1 अगर वह बीमार न होती तो पारी में जल्द आती।
   agar vah bimaaar na hootii to paarTii me zarur aatii
   If she were not ill, she would have certainly come to the party.

2 यदि आप कुछ पूछना चाहते हैं तो अभी पूछ सींधिए।
   yadi aap kuch puuchnaa caahte hain to abhii puuch liiije
   If you (h) wish to ask anything else, please do so now.

3 अगर वह पहले ही वेहनत कर लेता तो फेल न होता।
   agar vah pahlie hi mehnat kar leeta to feel n hoota
   Had he worked hard earlier, he would not have failed.

4 जब तुमने जाने की ज्ञान ही सी है तो मैं का कई।
   jab tumne jaane kee jyanaa hii lii hai to miii maa kaai
   If you have already decided to go, what should I say?

5 यदि मोहन आए तो कह देना कि मै० खर पर नहीं हूँ।
   yadi mohan aae to kah denaa ki mii ghar par nahi n huu
   If Mohan comes, tell him that I am not at home.

6 अगर दीदी समय पर आ जाए तो खिचकर पिकरे देखने चलेंगे।
   agar diidii samay par aa jaaye to sab milkar pikar dekhne chalenge.
   If didi (elder sister) comes in time, we will go together to see a movie.

All the verbal forms used in these sentences are already available to us through the WFSs in Chapters 11 and 26. The conditional clause is normally introduced by अगर agar or यदि yadi but it can also be introduced by words such as जब jab, ‘when’, जो jo, ‘if’ and so on.

The conditional clause always precedes the main clause. The conditional element is regularly paired with तो to, ‘then’ at the beginning of the main clause. What about the nature of the verbal elements that can appear in sentences with conditional clauses? Consider the following table based on sentences 1–6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conditional clause</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) होती botii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) चाहते हैं caabte bhaai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) लेता leeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) ली है lii bai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) आए aae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) जाए jaae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One notices a predominance of imperfective (Xtaa, Xti, Xte) and subjunctive forms (Xe, xo, Xiiu etc.) in both clauses. However, these are not the only combinations possible; in fact, one can use the past tense and perfective aspect in the conditional.
7 agar vah bhaag gayaa tha to ab baapis kyoo aayaa hai
agar vah bhaag gayaa tha to ab baapis kyoo aayaa hai
if he had run away, why has he come back now?

The use of the future tense in the main clause may often indicate that,
in case the condition is met, the main clause event or state is inevitable
as in 8.

8 agar kahii se mujhe graat mil gai to maa yaark
agar kahii se mujhe graaT mil gai to maa yaark
zarur jaaugaa.
If I manage to get a grant from somewhere, I will definitely go to York.

The initial conditional word वही yadi / agar agar can often be dropped
as in

9 vo aae to baat bane.
If he comes, then we can proceed (in the right direction).

33.2 Counterfactuals

English has a well-known construction illustrated in 10.

10 If I were rich, I would go to India.

This is a counterfactual sentence. It is a hypothetical situation. The
speaker ‘I’ is not actually rich. Hindi also has a comparable construction.
It is marked by the use of the present participle in both clauses.
Consider the following sentences:

11 agar maa ghar mii hotii to yah sab nahii hotaa!
agar maa ghar mii hotii to yah sab nahii hotaa
if mother were at home, all this wouldn’t have happened.

12 acchaa hotaa tum aate.
acchaa hotaa tum aate
If you had come, it would have been nice.

13 mere paa vah kitaab hotii to maa tumhii abhii de detaa
mere paas vah kitaab hotii to maa tumhii abhii de detaa
If I had that book, I would give it to you right away.

Notice that in 13, not only the conditional अगर agar is omitted but
even the order of clause has been reversed. This helps to focus attention
on the desired state or event. In 14, we notice how the main clause
has been fronted and the counterfactual conditional appears in second
place.

14 musiibatii aur baRh jaatii agar bace bhii saath aate
Our miseries would have multiplied, had the children also come with us.

There are some other ways of indicating hypothetical situations in
complex sentences. Most of these sentences tend to use कि ki as a joining
element. Consider the following sentences:

15 mere vahataa hii ki aap maa ghar aae
I wish that you would come to my place.

16 maa caahataa hii aap siita ke saath dostii karii
I don’t want you to be friendly with Sita.

33.3 Some other complex constructions

Several other connectors are used to join two or more sentences. These
include पहिँ phir bhi, ‘even then’, जहाँ tak jahaa tak, ‘so far’, जो कुछ-वह
jo kuch-vah, ‘whatever-that’ and so on. The following sentences illustrate their use:

17 aap tak deh saaval hai mere apne sahamat nahii
jahaa tak meraa saaval hai maa aapse sahamat nahii
So far as I am concerned, I don’t agree with you.
Chapter 34

Relative clauses

One of the most important subordinate clauses is the relative clause. It is attached to a noun in a complex sentence. It either identifies the noun or gives us some additional information about the noun. In Hindi, as in many other languages, relative clauses are introduced by relative pronouns which may appear singly or in pairs. In English, the function of relative pronouns is performed by question words such as ‘who’, ‘which’, ‘when’ and ‘where’ or by ‘that’. Consider the following two sentences in English:

1. Mohan, who is a teacher, loves to read science fiction.
2. Mohan built the house which you see in front of you.

In 1, ‘who’ is the relative pronoun and the clause ‘who is a teacher’ provides some additional information about Mohan. ‘Mohan loves to read science fiction’ is a complete sentence in itself. In 2, the relative pronoun is ‘which’. The dependent clause ‘which you see in front of you’ helps to identify the house Mohan built. The sentence would in fact remain incomplete without this relative clause modifying the noun ‘house’. Notice that in English, it would be impossible to manipulate in any way the two clauses as they are. They must appear in the order shown in 1 and 2. The relative clause in both 1 and 2 appears after the noun to which it is attached.

34.1 Hindi relative clauses

Let us consider two examples from Hindi comparable to 1 and 2 above.

3. Mohan jo ek shikshak hai bahut kitaab hai paRtaa hai
   Mohan, who is a teacher, reads a lot of books.
4 जो घर तुम अपने सामने देख रहे हो कह घर
   jo ghar tum apne saamne dekh rahe ho kah ghar
Mohan ने बनाया है।
   mohan ne banaayaa hai
   Mohan has built the house which you see in front of you.

The relative pronoun used in both 3 and 4 is जो, ‘that/which/who’. It
is this relative pronoun or its variants that are most frequently used in
Hindi relative clauses. As in English, in 3, the subordinate relative clause जो एक शिष्क है is जो ek shiikshak hai provides additional information
about the subject noun. In 4, जो jo helps to identify the house which is
being referred to and this clause is an integral part of the sentences.
Unlike English, it is often possible to invert the order of independent
and dependent clauses in relativised sentences. For example, 5 is as
grammatical as 4:

5 वह घर मोहन ने बनाया है जो (घर) तुम
evah ghar mohan ne banaayaa hai jo (ghar) tum
   vah ghar mohan ne banaayaa hai jo (ghar) tum
   apne saamne dekh rahe ho.
   apne saamne dekh rahe ho
Mohan has built the house that you see in front of you.

From 4 and 5, it is also clear that the relative clause can appear before
or after the noun to which it is attached (in this case घर ghar, ‘house’).

34.2 Correlatives

Before we turn to a more detailed discussion of जो jo and its related forms,
we examine the nature of correlative pairs such as जब-तब jab-tab,
 whence-there’, जब-जब jab-jab, ‘when-then’, ‘तब-जब tab-jab,’ then-when’,
 ‘जिस-जिस jis-jis, ‘like this-like that’, ‘जिसमें-जिसमें jismen-jismen,
 ‘which side-that side’, जितना-उतना jitinna-uttna, ‘this much-that much’
and जो-जो जो-जो jyo-jyo tyo-tyo, ‘when-when – then-then’. Consider the following sentences:

6 मैं जहां भी जाता हूँ तुम वही जाती हो।
   mai jahaa bhii jaataa hii tum vahii jaiii aatii ho.
You come wherever I go.

The clauses involved in sentences 6–12 can be inverted in order. Though
there may not be any change in the basic meaning, the order does tend
to reflect specific styles and focus, particularly if we subscribe to the
principle that what appears first remains salient.

In 6, we notice a correlative pair of place; we get the form वही vahii,
‘there only’ as an emphatic form of वह vahaa, ‘there’. Sentences 7 and 8,
inversions of each other in terms of clause order, concern correlatives of
time. Sentence 9 involves manner, 10 direction and space, 11 quantity
and 12 degree of two simultaneous activities.
The set of seven correlatives mentioned earlier thus take care of relative clauses of place, manner, time, direction, quantity and degree. But it is the relative pronoun जो jo which is most frequently used with persons and things. It is also often paired with वह vah, 'he'.

13 जिन लड़कियों को इनाम पिले वे बहुत खुश थीं।
jin larkiye koi inaam pilene vee bahut khush thi
The girls who got prizes were very happy.

14 जिस आदमी को तुम्हे मारा वह रेता माई था।
jis aadmi koe tumne maaraa vah reeta mai thi
The man whom you hit was my brother.

15 जिसे बाजार चलना हो ने सब खले।
jise baazara chaalina ho ne sab khale
Whoever wants to go to the market should come with me.

16 जिन्हें किताबों की जरूरत रहेगी वे खुद आएगे।
jinhe kitaabo ko jarurat rhage vee khud aayege
Those who need books will come on their own.

As already pointed out (Chapter 15), any word in Hindi can be duplicated; full reduplication has a distributive meaning. All the relative pronouns can be duplicated to have the effect of distributive meaning. For example,

17 जिसे जिस आदमी को बाजार चलना हो ने सब खले।
jis koe jis aadmi koe baazara chaalina ho ne sab khale
All those who want to come to the market should come with me.

18 जहां जहां सफर करते हैं वहां वहां मलरिया
jahaa jahaa macchar hote hai vahaaa vahaa malariyaa

eitaa hai
Malaria spreads wherever there are mosquitoes.

34.3 Two nouns in a sentence

Sometimes there are two nouns in a sentence. Unless there are clear grammatical hints, we may not be able to tell to which noun the relative clause is attached. For example, in 19

19 किसी ने उस महिला के नौकर को जो गुसालक्षणे
kisi ne us mahila ke naukar ko jo gusalkhaane
kem kahde ko rahaa tha maaraa
Someone hit that woman's servant who was washing clothes in the bathroom.

It is clear that the relative clause after जो jo refers to the नौकर naukar, 'servant'. There is grammatical information available on the basis of which we can claim this. नौकर naukar is masculine singular and the verb is accordingly marked for these features. The relative clause cannot refer to महिला mahila, 'woman'. But in a sentence such as 20, it may not be easily clear to establish to which noun the relative clause is attached.

20 किसी ने उस महिला की उस नौकरनी को पर कर कही थी।
kisi ne us mahila ke us naukrani ko par kar khee thi.
fon par baat kar rahii thi
Somebody hit that/the maid of the woman who was talking on the phone.

The question is: who was talking on the phone? The woman or the maid? In English, the situation is not so complex because gender is not marked in the verb. But in 20, both nouns, महिला mahila, 'woman' and नौकरनी naukrani, 'maid' and the verb of the relative clause are clearly marked for feminine. So it is not easy to tell who was talking on the phone. The general tendency is to attach the relative clause to the nearest noun; in this case it is नौकरनी naukrani, 'maid'.
34.4 Conclusion

I have briefly discussed the nature of relative clauses and relative and correlative pronouns in Hindi. I have also indicated that in sentences where there are two potential nouns, it may not always be easy to decide to which noun the relative clause may get attached. In the next chapter, we will talk about participles and see how they are related to relative clauses.

Chapter 35

Infinitive and participles

The relationship between the non-honorific second person imperative verbal form on the one hand and the infinitive (WFS 11.1) and the perfect (WFSs 11.2 and 11.3) and imperfect (WFSs 11.8–11.10) participles on the other has already been discussed in Chapter 11. In this chapter I examine their formal and functional aspects in greater detail.

35.1 The infinitive

As noticed in WFS 11.1, the infinitive belongs to the group adhering to the X ←→ Xnāa relationship. Functioning as a noun, it belongs to the -nā ending masculine nouns, for example, कमरा kamnā, 'room' (see Section 7.4) and can enter into comparable nominative and oblique singular forms. Consider the following sentences:

1 भागना शेहत के लिए बहुत अच्छा है।
   bhaagnaa sehat ke liye bahut acchaa hai
   Running is very good for health.

2 बोलने की तैयारी कीजिए।
   bolne kii tamiiz siikho
   Learn how to talk. (Don't talk in an uncivilised way.)

3 अपनी तो गीता को होमना को नहालाता है।
   abhii to giitaa ko homnaa ko nahlaanaa hai
   Geeta has still to bathe Homna.
4 Pitaaji tumhari baat maannevaale nahin hai.
Father is not likely to agree to your proposal.

5 Bandar dikhe to bhaagna mat.
If you see a monkey, don't start running.

6 Tum Jaypur me rohit se zarur milna.
Tum Jaypur me rohit se zarur milna.
You must meet Rohit in Jaipur.

7 Aapko mere bhalne par koii aapatti ho to kahate.
If you have any objection to my speaking, please say so.

8 Sudha ko apnaa ghar becnaa pana.
Sudha had to sell her house.

9 Mohan ka jaane ka samay hone ke laga.
It is about time for Mohan to leave.

It is interesting to note that most of the English translations also show either the use of the infinitive or the gerundive. The form of the infinitive is either Xnaa or Xne.

In 1, the infinitive form bhagna, 'running' has been used like any other noun, the predicative adjective acha, 'good' agrees with it and so does the verb hone, 'to be'. In 2, it is followed by a postposition kii, 'of' and therefore bolne is in the oblique form. It also indicates how the infinitive can be used where strong displeasure is to be indicated. In 5, it has been used as a verb indicating warning to behave in a certain way in potentially threatening situations. As in 4, the oblique infinitive can be combined with -vaalaa to get maannevaale, 'likely to agree (person). In 6 also the infinitive is the only verb suggesting strong advice and recommendation. Sentences 7 and 9 show that if the subject of the infinitive is present, it will be in the oblique form when followed by a postposition: mere mere in 7 and mohan ke mohan ke in 9.

In 9, it combines with the verb lagna, 'to get involved' and this combination suggests immediacy. In 8, the infinitive is combined with pana, pana, 'has to' and suggests helplessness.

35.2 Present participle

Both the present and perfect participles can be used in a variety of ways functioning primarily as adjectives and adverbs. In certain contexts, they can also function as nouns. The following sentences (except 12) illustrate the use of the present participle:

10 Rajni ko haste hue log hii acche lagte hain.
Rajni likes only laughing people.

11 Garmi se marte hue logo ko koii sahaaytaa nahin milii.
People who were dying of heat did not receive any help.

12 Jo log garmi se mar rahe the unhe koii sahaaytaa nahin milii.
Those people who were dying of heat did not receive any help.

13 Jyoti ghar pahuche hii biimaar pahii.
Jyoti fell ill as soon as she arrived home.

14 Marto ko aur mahaan mahaar.
Don't inflict more pain on those who are already suffering.

In 10, the present participle haste hina, 'laughing', is plural in form because the following noun log, 'people' is plural; it functions
like an adjective and agrees with the following noun in gender and number. In 13, the participle performs an adverbial function, and is combined with the emphatic हि (Chapter 21); पुछते हिं पाबुते हिं, ‘the moment (she) arrived’ works like an adverb of time. In 14, the present participle shows up as a plural noun and मरता marata, ‘dying’ functions like any -aa ending noun such as लड़का laRkaa, ‘boy’. Since it is followed by a postposition, it is in the oblique plural form. As in 10, मरें marte bue, ‘dying’ functions like an adjective. However, 11 and 12 show how sentences using the present participle are related to sentences using relative clauses (Chapter 34). Thus

\[
\text{जो लोग} \text{गर्मी} \text{से} \text{मर} \text{रहे} \text{थे}
\]

\[
\text{jo log} \text{garmii se mar rahe the}
\]

the people who were dying of heat

and

\[
\text{गर्मी} \text{से} \text{मर} \text{ते} \text{हुए} \text{लोग।}
\]

\[
\text{garmii se marte hue log}
\]

Literally: dying from heat people.

are comparable in meaning even though they are so different in form.

Like any other Hindi word, the present participle can also be duplicated and used to intensify its adjectival or adverbial role. Consider the following sentences:

15 सीमा को इस स्कूल में पढ़ते हुए बीस साल हो गये।

\[
\text{sima ko is skuul m\text{\text{e}} paRhaate hue biis saal ho gaye}
\]

Sima has been teaching in this school for twenty years.

16 सीमा को इस स्कूल में पढ़ते पढ़ते बीस साल हो गये।

\[
\text{sima ko is skuul m\text{\text{e}} paRhaate paRhaate biis saal ho gaye}
\]

Sima has been teaching in this school for twenty years.

17 लिखते लिखते मेरे हाथ थक गये हैं।

\[
\text{likhte likhte mere haath thak gaye hai}
\]

My hands are hurting because of writing continuously.

18 नीता रोटे रोटे बक गई लेकिन उसकी माता कहते होती रही।

\[
\text{sitaa rote rote thak gaii lekin uskii maa kahde hothi rahee}
\]

Sita got tired of crying but her mother-in-law continued washing clothes.

Though 15 and 16 have identical meanings, 16 might show continuity and boredom more effectively. In 17, repetition of the participle लिखते लिखते likhte likhte is causally related to the ‘pain in my hands’. In 18, the activities of crying and washing are simultaneous.

In all the above examples, the present participle form Xte has been used; it is not difficult to have similar examples with Xata and Xtii forms as in:

- भागता हुआ लड़का
  \[
  \text{bhaagtaa huaa laRkaa}
  \]
  running boy

- भागती हुई लड़की
  \[
  \text{bhaagti huii laRkii}
  \]
  running girl

## 35.3 Past participle

In Chapter 11, we noted that WFSs for the past participles in Xii, Xaa and Xe are available in WFSs 11.4, 11.5 and 11.8 respectively. As in the case of the present participle, the past participle can also have adjectival and adverbial functions. Consider the following sentences:

19 सामाज में पढ़ी हुई लड़की की ख्याति करते हैं।

\[
\text{samaaj m\text{\text{e}} paRhii huii laRkii kii sab taariif karte hai}
\]

Everyone praises an educated girl in society.
A past participle can be duplicated as in 23 to add an extra emphasis to the action or state being described; in 24, दैला खात में उठाए thailaa haath mé uThaae, ‘carrying a bag in one’s hands’ functions as an adverb of manner.

35.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we discussed the form and functions of the infinitive, and present and past participles. With this chapter we conclude Part VI of the book. In Part VII, we will undertake an examination of the sounds and script of Hindi.
Hindi is currently written in the Devanaagari (sometimes called the naagari) alphabet. This was not always the case. Earlier Hindi and its varieties were also written in the Kaithi, Mahasangeli, Perso-Arabic and Sharda scripts. Until the first few decades of the twentieth century, it was common for both educated people and literary scholars to write in both the Perso-Arabic and Devanaagari scripts. Since India’s independence in 1947, a variety of efforts have been made to ensure that people use only the Devanaagari script. According to Article 343(1) of the Constitution of India, ‘the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagri script’. Article 351 provides: ‘It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India…”

A series of efforts have been made to standardise the Devanaagari alphabet and writing system for representing different Hindi sounds since the 1960s. It was in 1966 that the Ministry of Education of the Government of India published maanak devanaagari varNmaala, that is, the Standard Devanagri Alphabet; in 1967 a booklet called hindii vartaN ka maanakiikaraN (Standardisation of the Hindi Alphabet) was published and in the year 1989 the Central Hindi Directorate published devanaagari lipii tathaa hindii vartaN ka maanakiikaraN, that is, a booklet called the ‘Standardisation of the Hindi Writing System and the Hindi Alphabet’. The 1989 booklet also included certain modifications to the existing writing system; it noted, with regret, variable orthographic representations in the case of certain sounds and recommended specific symbols that should be uniformly used. It in fact went to the extent of insisting on the method and direction that should be adopted in writing a given letter. Though I will introduce readers to the standard symbols suggested by the Government of India, I will also indicate wherever necessary variable orthographic representations. I also feel that different writers adopt different ways of writing the same symbol, even though most people easily recognise the end product.
without making any mistakes. I will therefore not insist on the kind of
grigidity proposed by the Central Hindi Directorate in writing a given
alphabet.

Though it is true that to a great extent the Hindi writing system is
phonetic, that is, most of the time you write what you speak, it is impor-
tant to understand that when you look at the writing system as a whole
it is fairly complex. In addition to several other properties which we will
discuss presently, this system, as already pointed out, is not linear but
multidimensional. We also notice that, depending on the environment
in which it appears, the same sound may be variably represented.

36.1 Vowels

There are 10 short and long vowel sounds in Hindi (some who include
the Sanskrit अ र as a vowel sound claim that there are 11; we will soon
return to this issue). Each alphabet representing the vocalic sounds has
both a full form and an alternative short form called ना maatraa
(literally, 'quantity'). The full form is used at the beginning of words or
when vowel sounds appear in a sequence; the alternative short form is
used when the vowel sound appears after a consonant. The full forms
of the vowel alphabet are used in a finite set of words. For example very
few words are formed with full vowel letters like ए ऐ ऋ or ओ (see in
the following sections). But their corresponding short ना maatraa
representations are used all the time to form words.

36.2 The vowel अ a

Let us consider the first letter of the Hindi alphabet. It is अ a. When it
appears at the beginning of a word as in अब ab, 'now' or अन्तर antar,
'difference', it appears, as shown here, in its full form. It does not have
an alternative ना maatraa representation but it is assumed to be an inherent
part of the consonantal alphabet when they appear in full form in
non-initial position. For example, examine the following pair:

ना raam, Ram (a name)

ना maraa, died

Notice that the symbol न is the same at the beginning and the end of
these two words. But in the case of ना where it appears at the end of
the word, it has the value औ only, while in the case of ना where it appears
word-initially, the value of न is actually अ . The न of ना then has an
inherent अ a in it. In fact, it has been suggested that the vertical bar

36.3 Other vowels

As in the case of other languages, the oral cavity is kept open for the
production of vowel sounds so that there is a free flow of the air stream.
Vowel sounds as opposed to consonantal sounds can normally have a
longer duration. You can pronounce इ ii for a long time but not a conso-
nant like, व k for a long time. In the production of vowel sounds, the
vocal chords generally vibrate. The vibration of the vocal chords causes
the phenomenon technically known as voicing. All vowel sounds are in
principle voiced though some languages do have unvoiced vowels. We
will try to examine the articulation of Hindi vowel sounds in terms of
three features. First the vertical position of the tongue according to
which the opening of the mouth can be divided into at least three
categories: High, Middle Low. The second feature refers to the
horizontal position of the tongue. Just as vertically, the tongue can be
moved up and down, horizontally, it can be moved backward and
forward. Horizontally also we can broadly distinguish three areas: Front,
Central and Back. The third feature concerns the position of the
lips. They can also have three shapes: Neutral, Spread and Rounded. We
now list all the significant vowel sounds and their graphic representa-

ना a as in the Hindi अ ab, 'now' is a short vowel and is quite close to
the vowel sound at the beginning of English words such as 'ago',
'about', 'abroad' and so on. It is articulated in the middle region of the
mouth with the tongue slightly raised from its normal position of lying
flat in the mouth. You raise the tongue to this position as you get ready
to speak. The lips are in a neutral position. As already pointed out, this
vowel does not have a shorter form.
to encounter with full ए ai include एस aisa, ‘of this sort’ and its variants एसस aisis, एसस aise and एसस aisaa and a few words like एसस aina, ‘spectacles’ and एसस aithas, ‘historical’.

ए o as in ओ o, ‘dew’ is a short vowel produced in the middle region with the tongue pulled back from its normal position. It sounds quite close to the way in which Indians pronounce the vowels in English words like ‘goat’, ‘home’, ‘soap’ and so on. In standard British English, these words will generally have a diphthong. The maatra representation for this vowel sound is ए which is attached partly after and partly above a consonant as in ओ रोका, ‘to stop’.

ए ए ए ए ए an short vowel produced in the lower region of the mouth (i.e. the mouth is fairly open) with the tongue pulled back from its normal position. Phonetically this vowel is a single sound in most standard varieties of Hindi; it is close to the [ə] sound in English words like ‘caught’, ‘saw’, ‘talk’ and so on. The maatra representation for this vowel sound is ए which is attached partly after and partly above a consonant as in ए कौन, ‘who’.

र [r] is traditionally included in the vowel alphabet of Hindi grammar. Even the latest works on grammar continue this tradition. It is true that in Sanskrit, it was a vocalic sound. But in Hindi, it must now be regarded as representing a combination of a consonantal and vocalic sound, that is, r and i. Most people pronounce it as र, that is र. Some in fact even write it as र. In any case, the number of common words in Hindi which involve the use of this letter at the beginning of a word does not exceed four or five. Borrowed from Sanskrit, these words include रं री (Sanskrit ṛṇ), ‘debt’, रू री (Sanskrit ṛtu), ‘season’, रishi (Sanskrit ṛṣi), ‘sage’ and र्ष री (Sanskrit ṛṣabh), ‘bull’. The maatra representation for this letter र is which is attached below a consonant as in रु री (Sanskrit ṛṣa), ‘groove’, ‘favour’. It is important to know how these words are written. These are the shapes that regularly appear in printed literature. But it is equally important to appreciate the fact that Sanskrit vocalic pronunciation is no longer in use.

All the vowel sounds also have their nasalised counterparts. We will discuss these in the chapter on Nasals and Nasalisation.
Most scholars agree that Hindi has a very rich and highly well-organised set of consonantal sounds. It is claimed that Hindi has 40 consonantal sounds of which 35 are inherited from Sanskrit, and 5 borrowed from languages other than Sanskrit. The consonantal sounds are represented as syllables (with their inherent vowel ए a) in the consonantal alphabet charts of Hindi grammars. Some educated and careful speakers of Hindi–Urdu might use all 40 consonantal sounds in their speech but most people use only 31. Twenty-five of these consonants were very elegantly and insightfully organised very early in the Indian grammatical tradition in terms of five places of articulation, and three features of aspiration, voicing and nasality (see the following section). We will first discuss these 25 consonants and then return to a discussion of the remaining 15 consonantal sounds and their orthographic representation.

### 37.1 Classificatory features

#### 37.1.1 Manner of articulation

All 25 consonants we discuss in this section can be described as stop sounds, that is, all of them involve a complete closure of the airstream in the oral cavity. Thus if we wish to produce the Hindi फ़ p (remember unless it appears in the final position, the value of this letter is really प प), we need to completely stop the flow of the air stream for a moment at the lips; the lips are completely closed and then suddenly opened to get a sound like p. These 25 sounds are thus distinguished from all the remaining consonantal and vocalic sounds of Hindi in terms of their manner of articulation; the manner of articulation for these 25 stop sounds involves a complete closure of the airstream at some point in the oral cavity.

#### 37.1.2 Place of articulation

As already pointed out, this closure of the airstream can be made at five different points in the oral cavity. In the case of Hindi, the tradition is to start from the velum upward until we reach the lips. The tongue is an extremely versatile organ and is capable of making strong contact at different points in the oral cavity. The five places of articulation are velar, palatal, retroflex, dental and bilabial.

#### 37.1.3 Aspiration

This is often described as an extra puff of air. For example, you hear this in the standard British pronunciation of the initial consonants of words like ‘pin’, ‘pen’, ‘ten’ and ‘cat’. In Hindi, this feature is responsible for distinguishing sounds like फ़ p and फ़ pb. In English, this feature of aspiration is not so significant as it does not help to differentiate one word from another. But in Hindi, it is an important difference. It can be the only feature distinguishing a pair of words, for example, पल pal, ‘moment’ and फ़ल phal, ‘fruit’.

#### 37.1.4 Voicing

The phenomenon of voicing concerns the state of vocal chords while we are speaking. All other things being equal, the absence or presence of vibration in the vocal chords (i.e. ‘voicing’) can make highly significant differences in pairs of words. For example, consider the English pair ‘pin’ and ‘bin’. These two words refer to two completely different objects in our lives. Notice that -in is common to both of them. They are different because p and b are different. Both these sounds are bilabial stops but they differ in the feature of voicing. In the case of p, the vocal chords are not vibrating (it is voiceless); in the case of b, they are vibrating (it is voiced).

#### 37.1.5 Nasality

The effect of nasality is produced by lowering the velum (or soft palate) in such a way that the air is simultaneously released through the mouth and nose. This is the only feature that distinguishes ब from म as in बाबा baabaa, ‘grandfather’ and मां maamaa, ‘maternal uncle’.

### 37.2 Stop consonants and nasals

The following table lists the 25 stop and nasal consonants of Hindi in terms of the features discussed earlier. These are often referred
37 Consonantal sounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless</th>
<th>Voiced</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-aspirated</td>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>Non-aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>क k</td>
<td>ख kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>घ c</td>
<td>ङ ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retroflex</td>
<td>ट T</td>
<td>ठ Th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>त t</td>
<td>थ th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>प p</td>
<td>फ ph</td>
</tr>
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We can thus describe क k as a voiceless non-aspirated velar stop. Each of the 25 consonants listed in the table can similarly be described in terms of the classificatory features we talked about earlier. The voiceless aspirated series involves the aspiration of the corresponding non-aspirated consonants. Some studies have shown that in the case of voiced aspirated consonants, a different kind of mechanism is involved. But for our purposes, these classifications will do.

The small set of minimal pairs (pairs of words that differ only in one sound and have different meanings) that follows should be enough to show that the sounds listed in the table are significant sounds of Hindi: कळ kāl, 'time'; खळ khal, 'skin'; दळ dāl, 'pulses'; गळ gāl, 'cheeks'; गिन gīn, 'count'; गिंग gīn, 'asersion'; कळ kāl, 'tomorrow/yesterday'; कळ kāl, 'walk'; चिल chāl, 'eagle'; चिल chāl, 'peel'; चाळ chāl, 'bark (of a tree)'; जळ jāl, 'net'; जळ jāa, 'get up'; जाळ jhaal, 'foam'; जळ jāal, 'postpone'; वळ dāal, 'put in'; तप्पा tappa, 'folksong'; थप्पा thappa, 'stamp'; तळलi thālli, 'clap'; तळलi thāli, 'metal dish'; दाल daal, 'charity'; द्वाल dhaal, 'paddy'; पळ pal, 'moment'; बळ bal, 'strength'; पळ phal, 'fruit'; दळ dāl, 'party'; बिस bais, 'twenty'; तिस tīs, 'thirty'; and माल māl, 'mother'. This list could be much longer. It is simply meant to show that all 25 consonantal sounds mentioned are significant. They distinguish one word from another.

37.3 Other consonants

Four consonants generally listed together in the Hindi syllabic alphabet are: य y, र r, ल l and व v. All of them are approximants in that they do not involve complete closure of the oral cavity. य as in यात्रा yaatra, 'journey' is a palatal approximant (quite similar to the English 'y') in which the sides of the tongue touch the upper teeth and there is a free flow of air in the middle groove; lips are generally neutral anticipating the shape required for the following vowel sound. र as in रात्रि rātri, 'wind' is a labio-dental sound in which the lower lip mildly touches the upper teeth, it is very different from the English 'r' as in 'ran' or 'very' where one hears a distinct friction in the articulation of the initial sound. ल as in लाना laanaa, 'to bring' is a lateral approximant in which the tip of the tongue touches the upper teeth ridge or front part of the hard palate allowing the air to escape from both sides along the borders of the tongue. त as in रात rāt, 'night' is produced by a tap of the tongue against the upper teeth ridge.

Then we have three voiceless sibilants (fricative sounds in which the tip or blade of the tongue is raised near the roof of the mouth and the air is pushed past the tongue to produce hissing 's'-like sounds): a dental झ s, a palatal झ sb and a retroflex झ S. Since none of these involves complete closure of the oral cavity at any point, one always hears some friction when these sounds are produced. All these are voiceless sibilant fricatives. The dental झ s as in झास saas, 'seven' is produced with the blade of the tongue mildly touching the teeth ridge and the rims of the tongue making a light contact with the upper side teeth. A similar mechanism is involved in the production of झ sb as in झांस saansi, 'peace except that the blade of the tongue now touches the hard palate. In the case of retroflex sibilant S as in झांस saansi, 'rain', the tip of the tongue is slightly curled back.

We have already introduced 32 consonants. The remaining three include the voiced glottal fricative ं b as in ं हम hām, 'we' and the two retroflex flaps झ R as in झाका laaka, 'boy' and झ र bākhaas, 'to grow'. The two flaps are produced by curling the tongue backwards as in the case of ड डा (T-series) but without a firm contact against the roof of the mouth. The tongue curls back and flaps onto the roof of the mouth on its way to the space below the lower teeth. झ R is non-aspirated and झ र is aspirated. In some words from Sanskrit, one may also come across varṣarga, denoting voiced aspiration and orthographically represented by the colon sign as in अतह atah, 'hence' and ग्रंथ praeah, 'generally'.

37.4 Consonants on their way out

There are at least five consonants which were perhaps an integral part of Hindi speech and writing but are now neither spoken nor written often. In fact, these consonantal sounds owe their origin to Perso-Arabic sources. They were almost eliminated from the Hindi writing system
to in terms of वर्ग varga, 'class' based on the place of articulation. Thus the velar series whose first consonant is क k is referred to as k- varga, that is, the sounds in the k- class. It will soon become clear that the concept of varga is useful in formulating some rules of Hindi pronunciation.

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as it underwent processes of Standardisation and Sanskritisation in post-Independent India. These include: क qa, ख xa, ग ya, च ja and ज za. Several words in which these sounds appeared are used even today but these sounds and letters are generally replaced by ख ka, ख kh, ग ga, च fa and ज ja. There are still some people who would use both the sets at their appropriate places. But in general these consonantal sounds and letters are on their way out. क qa as in क्लाम qalam, 'pen' is a non-aspirated voiceless uvular stop; several commonly used words such as क्षा qaza, 'fate', क्षल qatl, 'murder', क्षद qadam, 'step', क्षर qaraar, 'agreement', क्षीर qarina, 'manner', क्षर qarza, 'debt', क्षल naqda, 'cash', नाग naqab, 'veil', and so on are frequently used even today but with a क ka and not a क qa. ख x is a voiceless velar fricative as in खसा xasaal, 'opinion'. ग (a) is a voiced uvular fricative as in ग यम, 'pain'; च fa as in चसा faasla, 'distance' is a voiceless labio-dental fricative, similar to the 'f' of English in words like 'fan', 'father' and so on; and ज za as in जिंदा zinda, 'alive' is a voiced dental fricative. As in the case of qa, several words which involved these sounds and letters were an integral part of the vocabulary of day-to-day Hindi in pre-Independent India. Most of those words are still used today but the Perso-Arabic sounds and letters in them have been replaced by the sounds and letters already available in the Sanskrit-based alphabet.

### 37.5 Symbols for conjuncts

The traditional Hindi alphabet also includes three other symbols which represent some of the frequently appearing consonant clusters. The alphabet ख ks (generally pronounced as ksh) these days stands for the consonant cluster ख k and ख Sa as in words like खत khat, ‘loss’; च tra for the cluster of च t and च ra as in चत patr, ‘letter’; and ज for the cluster of ज g and ज ya as in ज्ञ gyaan, ‘knowledge’.

### 37.6 Conclusion

Chapter 36 was devoted to a discussion of vowel sounds and their orthographic representation. In Chapter 37, I have discussed the nature and representation of Hindi consonantal sounds and a set of features on the basis of which we can classify them into different categories. We also briefly talked about some consonants which are on their way out.

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**Chapter 38**

**Nasals and nasalisation**

As we have already noted, Hindi is written left to right in the devanagari script. The characters of each word hang from a straight line. Several modifications made to these characters appear before, after, above or below them. You will often notice two diacritics above the horizontal line that separates words in written Hindi. Of these superscript symbols, one is a dot “.” above the horizontal line, often referred to as अनुस्वार anusvaara and the other is “” often referred to as अंक विन्दु or चंद्रबिंदु candrabindu (literally the crescent moon and a dot). In this chapter we will try to understand the sounds these diacritics make. Though many scholars have formulated fairly systematic rules for their use, in practice many people often use anusvāra where a candrabindu will be appropriate.

### 38.1 The superscript anusvāra

Consider the following from Hindi:

1. गंगा ganga, the Ganges river (velar nasal)
2. चंगल cangal, restless (palatal nasal)
3. पाण्डित paNDit, Pandit, wise, brahmin (retroflex nasal)
4. सांत sant, sage (dental nasal)
5. पंपं pampa, pump (bilabial nasal)

In 1, the dot above the line is followed by ग a consonant of the कवर ga (velar nasal), that is, the velar series (see Section 37.2). The value of the dot above the line, the anusvāra is ग, that is, the velar nasal. The rule, as can be verified by the remaining four examples, is: the value of the anusvāra depends on the consonant that follows it; it represents the nasal consonant of that varga (series) whose consonant appears after it.
The consonants represented by the *anusvāra* are called homorganic nasals. Thus ग्रंथ can also be written as ग्रंथम, ग्रंथङ्ग as ग्रंथङ्गम, पीढ़ as पीढ़म, क्रं as क्रङ्ग and प्र as प्रङ्ग. They are very often written this way in print. We may note here that the palatal nasal is generally not used these days and is often replaced by the dental nasal "n" in the speech of many people.

### 38.2 The superscript anunaasik, the candrabindu

Whereas the superscript *anusvāra* (the dot above the line) is primarily concerned with the representation of homorganic nasal consonants, the superscript *candrabindu* above the horizontal line of a word concerns the nasalisation of vowels. It indicates that in the case of a vowel over which it has been placed, the vowel sound would be produced with both the oral and the nasal cavity open. These vowels will thus have a distinct nasal quality about them. Consider the following words from Hindi:

6 अगुथी *āgũThī*, ring
7 आेंष *āāc*, heat
8 उग्ली *uḡlii*, finger
9 उट *ūṭ*, camel
10 है *hās*, laugh

We notice the nasalisation of आ in 6, आ in 7, उ in 8, उ in 9 and of आ again in 10 (this is the inherent आ of आ *ha*). Notice that none of the letters carrying the *candrabindu* in the above examples has any other superscript above the horizontal line. This is the practice standard Hindi writers generally follow, that is, if the letter has no other *maatraa* superscript above it, use the *candrabindu*. However, if there are other *maatraa* signs above the line, the general practice is to use the *anusvāra* sign instead of the *candrabindu* to indicate vowel nasalisation. In fact the Central Hindi Directorate (1989: 14) is also of the opinion that people should be allowed to use the *anusvāra* instead of the *candrabindu* if the latter causes any problems in printing; it also suggests that care should be taken to ensure that this does not cause any confusion. Consider the following examples:

11 आक्षे *āakxe*, eyes
12 ओठ *ōTh*, lips

13 में *mē*, in
14 ऐंठना *āThnāa*, to become stiff, rigid
15 अैधा *āudhāa*, upside down

In each of these examples, we notice superscripts above the horizontal line in addition to the superscripts for vowel nasalisation. The first example here is indeed telling. In this case both the *candrabindu* and the *anusvāra* dot stand for the same process of nasalising the vowel. However, in the case of आ आ, since there is no other *maatraa* above the line, one uses the *candrabindu* but in the case of खे खे where the *maatraa* e appears above the line, one uses the *anusvāra* and not the *candrabindu*. Examples 12–15 show nasalisation of other vowels when they appear above the horizontal line. In such cases, it is the *anusvāra* dot that is used for vowel nasalisation. In fact, many writers and publishers have done away with the use of the *candrabindu* completely. There is perhaps only one pair of words (see example 16) in Hindi which is distinguished solely on the basis of *anusvāra–anunaasik* distinction.

16 हंस *hans*, swan and है *hās*, laugh

There are of course many pairs that are distinguished on the basis of a contrast between oral and nasal vowels as in 17 to 20.

17 सास *saas*, mother-in-law; सात *sāaś*, breath
18 कहा *kahaa*, said; कह *kahāa*, where
19 बच्चों *baccō*, O children; बच्चों *baccō*, children (obl pl)
20 पूछ *puuch*, ask; पू *pūuch*, tail

### 38.3 The superscript vṛtmukhi, the semi-circle

Over a period of time, a new orthographic symbol has been introduced into the devanāgarī writing system in order to accommodate some words borrowed from English. Many of these words have become an integral part of day-to-day Hindi vocabulary. The symbol also provides a useful way of transliterating new English words more accurately in devanāgarī. This symbol can be described as a semicircle placed vertically above the line. It is used to represent the sound that appears in English words like ‘hall’ and ‘ball’ or the initial vowel sound in English words like ‘doctor’ and ‘college’.
38.4 Conclusion

In the previous three chapters, we have discussed in some detail the nature of Hindi sounds and their representation in writing. There are several Hindi letters the sounds corresponding to which have either disappeared or changed. This is normal in language change where the spoken language always changes much faster than the written language. For a variety of reasons including reading of old literature, it is not always easy for the written language to keep pace with the spoken. On the other hand, writing systems do innovate to accommodate new sounds or to improve upon the existing system. The letter representing the sound \( kh \) used to be written as ख but is now written as ख so that the confusion between, say, words like रावना ravaanaa, ‘to depart’ and खाना khaanaa, ‘to eat’ can be avoided. There is also now a strong tendency to replace the puurNivirām (1) ‘period’ with the Roman full stop ‘.’. Since the distinction between vowel nasalisation and nasal consonants appearing in consonant clusters is contextually predictable, many people have switched to simply putting a dot on top of the horizontal line for both. In this book also, we have used an annusvaara where one would expect a candrabindu. In any case, the Roman transcription makes it clear whether what is involved is vowel nasalisation or a nasal consonant. In order to accommodate English words, a new semicircular symbol has been evolved.

Chapter 39

Syllabic structure

Stress, which may be defined as an increase in respiratory activity, is an important feature of languages. Syllables consist of a vowel (V) or a sequence of a vowel and a consonant (i.e. CV or VC) and are combined to make larger units like words.

It is customary to distinguish languages in terms of being stress-timed or syllable-timed. English is a typical example of being a stress-timed language. Change of stress can bring about a change in meaning. In a word like ‘import’ which consists of two syllables, it is a noun if the first syllable is stressed and a verb if the second syllable is stressed. Hindi on the other hand is a syllable-timed language. Though in each, some syllables receive more stress than the others, stress does not bring about a difference in meaning in Hindi. Whether you pronounce the adjective काला kaala, ‘black’ with the stress on the first syllable or the second does not really matter.

39.1 Types of syllables

Most Hindi words can be accommodated in the following linear template:

(C) (C) (C) (V) (C) (C)

The parenthesised C or V element is optional. This suggests that a vocalic element is really the heart of the matter, technically called the nucleus of the syllable. We can thus have the following types:

V : ओ! O!
VV : आ aa, come
CV : फ़ ki, that
CVV : अा kaa, of
Syllables involving consonant clusters are heavy and the vowel preceding such a cluster will receive stress.

क्रट 'kaST, pain

क्रम 'saksham, able

In general the right-most non-final syllable receives the stress. But in day-to-day speech speakers use stress with considerable variation, particularly when they wish to achieve specific effects such as to show anger, disgust or affection.

39.3 Hindi intonation

Not much work has been done on the intonation patterns that Hindi speakers use in different situations. In general, we distinguish between rising, falling and level intonation. In normal speech, intonation tends to rise on content words and fall or be level on function words. The unmarked pattern appears to be 'falling-rising-level' over a sentence.

39.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have briefly introduced the reader to the different syllable types and stress rules of Hindi.
Appendix

Grammar in context

In this Appendix, I make a modest attempt to show how some of the rules of Hindi grammar discussed in this book actually function in real-life texts. Let us begin with a newspaper headline.

1 दुकान के नकली ग्रीष्मक बारामद
dukaan se naklii siidiiya baramaad
Fake CDs confiscated from a shop. (Rajasthan Patrika, 8 May 2006)

Notice how a new word ‘CD’, taken from English and written as सीडी siidii is pluralised: it follows a very common pluralisation strategy of Hindi. HD 4 in Chapter 7 tells us that this noun ending in -ii, is most likely to be treated as feminine in Hindi. It follows WFS 7.6, which states that if a feminine noun ends in a long -ii, its plural in the nominative case will be formed by substituting -ii by -iiya. दीनी siidii, ‘CD’ has thus now become a proper Hindi word. We also notice that the adjective नकली naklii, ‘fake’ remains invariant; it does not end in -aa (see Section 2.3 and 13.2). The postposition से se, ‘from’ indicates the source (see Section 20.4) from where the CDs were found. Since it is followed by a postposition, the noun दुकान dukaan, ‘shop’ should be in the oblique case; from WFS 7.10 and Section 7.4(b), we know that the form of such nouns remains invariant across nominative, oblique and vocative singular. For the sentence as a whole, we need to turn to Chapter 25. It is clear that the agent (perhaps ‘the police’) has been omitted in the headline.

Let us examine another headline.

2 ऑर्पेन ग्राम का आगाज तलाकार माँ ने खुदक्षण की।
opreshan sugam ka aagaaz jhilii se shruuu ho
baccii ko phande se latkaakar maa ne xudkashii kii
Having hanged her children, the mother committed suicide. (Rajasthan Patrika, 13 May 2006)

Several lexical and grammatical points can be illustrated from this headline.

(a) It shows how languages are enriched in the process of borrowing and accepting words from different sources, that is, the boundaries between languages are and should be porous, and even more so when it comes to the lexicon:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>opreshan</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugam</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aagaaz</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhilil</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shruuu</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) We need the plural oblique form of श्रील jhilil, ‘lake’ before the postposition है se, ‘from’. It follows from WFS 7.13.

(c) The form of the auxiliary used is indicated in Section 10.2(d).

(d) का kaa, ‘of’ has the masculine form because the following noun is masculine (see Section 28.1).

You may try to analyse the following on your own.

3 बच्चों को फनें वे सहकार माँ ने खुदक्षण की।
baccii ko phande se latkaakar maa ne xudkashii kii
Having hanged her children, the mother committed suicide. (Rajasthan Patrika, 13 May 2006)

Chapters 12, 20, 27 and 31 may help you to appreciate certain syntactic nuances in 3.

Let us turn to the opening couplet of one of Dushyant Kumar’s poems (from jangeetii kaa saykalan, Ekavya Prakashan, Bhopal, 1999, p. 10).

4 हो गई हैं पीर पर्वत से फिलकी चाहिए
go gaiii haii piir parvat sii pighalnii caahiiye
Pain has become intense, like a mountain, it must melt

इस हिमालय के कोई गंगा निकलनी चाहिए
is himaalay se koi gangaa nikalnni caahiiye
Some Ganges should flow from this Himalaya.
The poet feels that the exploitation of the poor has reached a point where a revolt must begin. The suffering is so intense that it has assumed the proportions of a "parvat," 'mountain', that is, the Himalayas; a river of revolt, that is, the Ganges, 'the Ganges' must burst out from it.

The whole verb phrase, that is, *bo gaii hai*, 'has become' has been brought to the front (notice that it is the whole verb phrase as a constituent and not its parts that have been moved around); this movement brings into focus, with intense vividness, the process of years of exploitation in society. Some of the more important grammatical points we may note include:

- गई (irregular past form of the verb जाना, 'to go') agrees with पीर, 'pain' (cf. Section 2.2), which is feminine (see HD 3 in Section 7.2).
- For the force which the use of the adjectival particle ती सी, 'like' adds to the whole line and therefore the couplet, see Section 21.5; again it is ती because पीर is feminine (even though गई parvat, 'mountain', according to HD 3 in 7.2, is masculine).
- निखलनी pighalnii, 'melt' also agrees with पीर.
- For the use of the invariant चाहिए caabhiye in both lines, see Chapter 30. It is used in the sense of 'must/ought to' and not 'want'.
- For the use of इस is, 'this', see Section 18.3. The Himalayas, the highest mountain range in the world, is itself actually far away and in normal contexts, one would use the non-proximal उस us, 'that'; but the use of इस is adds a specific force to the metaphor used here: 'the mountain of the pain of the underprivileged' is right here for us to witness.
- The verb निखलनी nikalnii, 'flow' agrees with the name of the river गंगा gangaa, which according to the HD 6 in Section 7.2 should be feminine. An indefinite pronoun कोई koi, 'some' has been used to qualify गंगा gangaa; it suggests that the reference is not necessarily to 'the Ganges' but to a river like the Ganges (see Section 19.3); however, to the extent that there is a suggestion that whatever the river be, it must be as sacred and awe-inspiring as the Ganges, the indefinite pronoun actually performs the simultaneous function of definiteness.
- For the use of the postposition दे se, 'from', see Section 20.4. This postposition is invariant. But the variable दे se in the sense of 'like' as in 2 in this chapter, where the form ती sii has been used, would be used when it agrees with a masculine plural noun, for example, लंबे दे लंबे lambe se laRke, 'tallish boys'.

Here is another short extract from a poem.

5 उस आदमी को देखो जो हाक पर कर रहा है
us aadmii ko dehko jo saRak paar kar rahaa hai

Mark the man who is crossing the road

वह कहा बा आ रहा है
vah kahaa se aa raha hai

Where is he coming from

मैं मालूम नहीं
mujhe maaluum nahii

I don't know

कहाँ जाएगा
kahaa jaagega

Where will he go

यह बताना कठिन है।
yah bataanaa kaThin hai

That's difficult to tell.

Several grammatical aspects of Hindi may be illustrated from this extract from the poet Kedar Nath Singh (Pratinidhi Kavitaayë, Rajkamal Prakashan, New Delhi, 1985, p. 84). In very simple words, the poet captures the helplessness of human beings and the futility of our existence; we do not know where we come from or what our destination is. The poet frames this idea into his observation of a man ready to cross the road. Some of the grammatical aspects we note include:

- The use of the imperative देखो dekho, 'you see' in the first line invites the reader to become a partner in the poet's observation. The subject with which this imperative form would agree is the neutral तुम tum, 'you' and not the honorific आप aap or the non-honorific तुम tuu. This selection then includes almost everybody (see Section 18.2).
- In the couplet in Example 4 in this chapter, we discussed the use of the proximal इस is, 'this'; in this case the non-proximal उस us, 'that' has been used to achieve the effect of distance (see Section 18.3).
The progressive marker रहा raha in the verbal expressions कर रहा है kar raha hai and आ रहा है aa raha hai agree with the masculine आदमी aadmii, 'man' (see Sections 2.2 and 24.2). जानें jaagaa, 'will go' indicates future tense and we get this form from जा jaa, 'go' through WFS 10.1.

The use of जो jo, 'who' begins a relative clause which qualifies the subject noun आदमी aadmii (see Chapter 34).

वह vah, 'he' substitutes the whole sentence in the first line. Pronouns can thus be used to tie texts together (see Section 18.5).

See Chapter 29 for the use of the experient subject मूझे mujhe.

For the use of the explicit negative नहीं nahiin, see Section 3.2.

कहाँ kahaa, 'where' is an information-seeking question word in Hindi (see Section 4.2).

For the use of the infinitive बताना bataanaa, 'to tell', see Section 35.1.

For the predicative use of the adjective कठिन kathiin, 'difficult', see Section 13.3.

हमारे देश की जो हालत है उसे अधिक शोकनीय हालत हमारे देश की jo haalat hai usse adhik shochniya haalat

Our country is in a more lamentable condition than

किसी दूसरे देश की नहीं होगी। kisi duusraa desh kii nahiin hogii

any other country would ever be in.

This piece of prose from Bhagat Singh (Bhagat Singh ke Dastaavez, edited by Neelima Sharma and Surindra Manan, Nishant Natya Manch, Delhi, 1991, p. 28) is indeed a complex sentence. Notice the following:

• हमारे hamaare, 'our' is the possessive pronoun (see Section 18.1) in the oblique form because the whole noun phrase हमारे देश hamaare desh, 'our country' is followed by the postposition की kii, 'of' (cf. Section 7.4); देश desh, 'country' (masculine noun ending in a consonant, see HD 3 in Chapter 7 and Section 7.4(b)) is also in the oblique form; it does not change shape in the oblique (see WFS 7.10); a similar analysis will apply to दूसरे देश की duusre desh kii, 'of the other country'.

• जो jo, 'which' introduces a relative clause (see Chapter 34); the whole noun phrase that follows could actually be substituted by the correlative वो vo, 'that'.

• उस us, 'that' followed by the postposition वे se, 'from' (see Section 20.4) stands for the whole clause that precedes it; such expressions make a text cohesive (see Section 18.5).

• अधिक shochniya haalat adhik shochniya haalat, 'more worrying condition' is a noun phrase in which अधिक shochniya, 'worrying' is qualified by an invariant adjective शोकनीय shochniya, 'lamentable' (Section 13.2); for the comparative marker अधिक adhik, 'more' see Section 13.4.

The verb हैं hain, 'will be' agrees in person (III), number (sing) and gender (fem) with अधिक shochniya haalat, 'condition'.

7 फैलते jii बड़े आदमी आये। दफ्तर में आये,
pandit ji laRe hii siidhe aadmii the daftar se aaye

Panditji was indeed a very simple man. He would come from the office,

क्या यास, फक्कर या रहे।

khaanaa khaayaa paRkar so rahe

eat his dinner and go off to sleep.

This excerpt is from Premchand's short story शैली sauti, 'co-wife' (Namak Kaa Daarogaa tathaa Anya Kahaaniya, Hind Pocket Books, Delhi, 1986, p. 96). This text consists of two sentences and four clauses, all woven together in a masterly fashion. The first sentence provides rather a static descriptive comment on the character of the subject, namely, सिद्ध jii panditji, 'Respected Panditji' (the actual name of the hero of the story is Devdatt, but it is customary to refer to a Brahmin as Panditji, literally, the learned one); and the second sentence provides a very vivid portrayal of his life, blow by blow. Notice the following:

• The first sentence has markers of politeness all the way through (see Sections 5.3 and 18.2). The use of जी jii shows respect; in fact, in normal contexts, the word पंडित pandit, 'scholar' is rarely used without this honorific marker. It is imperative that the plural form of the verb be used with an honorific subject, even though it is singular. Thus we have वे the, 'were' rather than वा thaa, 'was' in the first sentence (see Section 10.2). Not only that, the noun आदमी aadmii, 'man', since it refers back to Panditji, is treated as plural and the adjective शोकनीय shochniya, 'simple' qualifying it as well as the intensifier बड़े baRe, 'very' are also in the plural form.
• For the use of the emphatic particle है bii in the sense of ‘too much’, see Section 21.3.
• The three clauses in the second sentence show that the subject, Panditji, can be omitted, as all the information needed to retrieve the subject will be marked in the verb. When one notices आये aaye, ‘came’ or लो रहे so rabe, ‘slept’, one knows that the subject is either third person plural or second person honorific. In this case, Panditji is treated as third person plural to encode politeness.
• In the case of the second clause, we get खाया khaayaa, ‘ate’ because the verb agrees with the object and the underlying sentence is in the ergative case (see Chapter 27), the sentence being चाहिए ने खाया khaayaa panditji ne khaanaa khaayaa, ‘panditji ate food’.

Glossary

Adjective A type of word that qualifies a noun.
Adverb A type of word that qualifies a verb.
Affixation Includes different processes of word formation including the use of prefixes, suffixes and infixes.
Aspect Marked in the verb. It tells us how a speaker views the nature of the event she/he may be talking about.
Aspiration An extra puff of air that for example distinguishes क ka and क्ष kha in Hindi.
Auxiliary A helping verb that comes after the main verb in Hindi; in English it comes before the main verb.
Basic word A minimal word; if anything is taken away from it, it will no longer remain a word.
Bilabial A sound produced with joining both lips together.
Causative A form of the verb which shows that the speaker is causing somebody else to perform the action indicated in the sentence rather than doing it herself/himself.
Clitic A word that is often pronounced as part of another word.
Compound verb A verbal form which consists of two verbs.
Conjunct verb A verbal form which consists of a verb and a noun or an adjective preceding it.
Consonant A sound produced with an obstruction in the oral cavity; it cannot therefore be produced for a long time.
Correlative A pair of pronouns that appear in the same sentence with a relative clause.
Default agreement Irrespective of the changes in the person, number and gender of the nouns involved, the verb can assume an invariant default shape in sentences where all the nouns are blocked by post-positions.
Dental Consonantal sounds produced with the front of the tongue against one’s teeth.
Derivation A word formation process which produces new related words.
Derived transitive A transitive verb which is systematically related to an intransitive verb.

Devanagari The script in which Hindi, Sanskrit and many other Indian languages are written.

Diminutive A word indicating a smaller version of the basic word related to it through a word formation strategy. Thus 'booklet' is a diminutive of 'book'. For Hindi, see WFS 8.21.

Ergative In an ergative language, the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb may function in the same way in terms of case marking and agreement. In Hindi, the use of ने in sentences with transitive verbs in the perfective aspect functions as the ergative marker. The agreement in such sentences is with the object that is not blocked by a postposition; if it is so blocked, one uses default agreement.

Experiencer In many sentences, the subject shows case marking for being an experiencer of the activity or state expressed by the verb. In such sentences, the verb agrees with the direct object which is generally not blocked by a postposition.

Habitual Refers to a kind of imperfective aspect; an event that takes place regularly over a period of time.

Heuristic devices Commonsense rules to help understand large amounts of data easily.

Honorific Polite usage.

Imperfect We talk of the imperfect aspect when the verb shows that the action is not complete.

Indo-Aryan The term generally used for Aryans who settled in the Indian subcontinent in pre-historic times; Indo-Aryan languages refer to those languages that in general are descended from Sanskrit.

Inflection The term used to refer to changes that are introduced in the form of a word to indicate some additional grammatical information.

Intensifier A modifier whose basic role is to intensify the meaning of an adjective.

Intransitive A verb that does not require an object.

Mood Tense is concerned with the time of an event; aspect with its nature. Mood is concerned with the attitude of the speaker to what is said.

Morpheme Minimum meaningful unit of linguistic analysis; thus 's' in 'cats' is a morpheme indicating plurality.

Morphology The study of the relationship among words that share sounds and meaning.

Nasalised Sounds which are simultaneously produced through the oral and nasal cavity.

Nominative The case that is generally used to indicate the subject of a sentence. In Hindi, it is not overtly marked (see Ergative).

Oblique That form of the noun which is used before postpositions. If the noun is not in the Nominative or Vocative case, it is the Oblique form that will be used.

Palatal The term used to describe sounds that are produced using the front of the tongue and the hard palate.

Particles These are invariable words which have some grammatical function.

Perfect A term in the category of aspect, it refers to that form of the verb which shows that the action performed by the verb has been completed.

Postpositions Like prepositions in English, these mostly invariant words in Hindi show the case relationships that exist among different nouns.

Presumptive A type of mood in which the speaker makes counterfactual assumptions to say something.

Progressive A type of aspect which shows that the activity denoted by the verb is still going on.

Quantifiers A set of words which express amount or quantity of what they qualify.

Redundant compounds Hindi compounds which have two words having nearly identical meanings from two different sources.

Reduplication A pan-Indian linguistic feature in which a given word, say X, is reduplicated as 'X-X'.

Reflexive Sounds which are produced with the apex of the tongue curled against the hard palate.

Root The most basic element of a word; it will need a stem-forming morpheme before it can attach word-forming affixes.

Stem Formed from a root and affixes can be attached to it.

Subjunctive A type of mood in which the verb is marked to indicate doubt and tentativeness in the dependent clauses.

Transitive A verb which requires one or more objects in a sentence.

Velar Sounds which are produced by the back of the tongue as it is pressed against the soft palate.

Vocative A type of case in addition to the nominative and the oblique. It is used when the speaker wishes to address someone.

Voiced A sound which is produced with vibration in the vocal chords.

Voiceless A sound which is produced without any vibration in the vocal chords; 'p' is voiceless but 'b' is voiced.

Vowel A sound that is produced without any obstruction in the oral cavity; it can therefore be produced for a long time.

Wh-question A question to which the answer can not just be 'yes' or 'no'; one has to provide some information in response to such a question.

Yes/no question A question to which the answer can be either 'yes' or 'no'; the respondent does not need to say anything more.
Bibliography

(This is a fairly comprehensive bibliography. It should be useful for those who wish to study Hindi grammar further.)


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'Hindi: An Essential Grammar' is exactly what a pedagogically orientated grammar of a language should be: wide in its coverage, elegant in its style, clear in its presentation, and simple, without being simplistic, in its content.' Rajendra Singh, Professor of Linguistics, Université de Montréal, Canada

'Hindi: An Essential Grammar' is a practical reference guide to the core structures and features of modern Hindi. Assuming no prior knowledge of Hindi grammar, this book avoids jargon and overly technical language as it takes the student through the complexities of Hindi grammar in short, readable sections.

Suitable for either independent study or for students in schools, colleges, universities and adult education classes, key features include:

- full examples throughout in both Devanagari and Roman script with a gloss in English
- glossary of technical terms and detailed subject index
- cross-referencing between sections
- authentic material provided in the Appendix demonstrating grammar usage.

'Hindi: An Essential Grammar' will help students, in both formal and non-formal education and of all levels to read, speak and write the language with greater confidence and accuracy.

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