A Study in
Systemic Description of Hindi Grammar
and
Comparison of the Hindi and English Verbal Groups

by

Shivendra K. Verma

Thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of Edinburgh in the Faculty of Arts
August 1964.
This work falls into three parts. Part I contains a synopsis of Halliday's theory of grammar. In Part II an attempt has been made to present a description of Hindi within the general framework of Halliday's theory.

The description is at the demilevel of grammar. The descriptive categories used here, which are particular instances of the basic categories of the theory, are not drawn from philosophy or logic or psychology or Sanskrit or Latin or English, but from Hindi itself; they are defined and delimited in terms of the complex network of 'chain' and 'choice' relations into which the 'forms' of Hindi enter. These categories, which by definition are interrelated and mutually defining, are set up to provide a description that is comprehensive, consistent and maximally powerful. The aim is to analyse Hindi rigorously in its own terms, to state its patterns, and to show how it works - in short, to provide a frame within which all forms of the language may be placed.

The description of Hindi is based on an analysis of written texts supplemented by an examination of my own usage as a speaker of the language. The texts analysed are:

1. 'Tyagpatra' by Jainendra Kumar (Published by: Hindi Pocket Books Ltd., Delhi - 32)
2. 'Chitralekha' by Bhagvati Charan Varma (Published by: Bharati-Bhandar, Leader Press, Allahabad.)
3. 'Navnit' (Hindi Digest, no. 11, November, 1962)

In actual description a descending order of procedure - from the largest, most inclusive unit to the smallest, least inclusive unit - has been followed. This

procedure has certain advantages. In such a hierarchic progression the structures set up for each unit determine the classes that are to be set up for the unit next below.

The description is not exhaustive but it does make use of a number of processes of abstraction to relate 'observed language events' to the categories of the theory. There is no direct or indirect suggestion of the fact that this description or method of analysis is the only one accurate or sacrosanct. Every effort, however, has been made to explain comprehensively the facts of the language and to leave sufficient room for "renewal of connection" with fresh observations of data. The methods used in this description are derived from, and answerable to, the theory.

Part III presents a brief comparison of the Hindi and English verbal groups. Since all comparison presupposes description, the English verbal group has been briefly described. The actual comparison is based on an analysis of the following texts:

(a) Graham Greene's "The End of the Affair" (Penguin Books, 1962)
and its translation in Hindi -
(b) "Us rat ke bad" - translator: Mohan Rakesh (Published by Rajkamal Prakashan Ltd. Delhi)

Hindi examples have been given in a form of transliteration which is close to Firth's phonetic system of spelling designed as part of an All-India system of romanic orthography (cf. Firth's Introduction to A.H. Harley's Colloquial Hindustani)

English renditions of Hindi examples are given (where possible) in brackets.

I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my sincere gratitude and indebtedness to my supervisors, Mr. J.C. Catford (Director, School of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh - now Professor of Linguistics and Director, English Language
Institute, University of Michigan) and Dr. J.O. Ellis (Department of English language and General Linguistics) for reading the first draft of this thesis and giving valuable criticisms and suggestions. I am also grateful to Dr. R. Huddleston, who read the work in manuscript and made a number of useful comments. In the course of the preparation of this work I have profited by discussing several problems with Professor D. Abercrombie, Mr. J. McH. Sinclair, Mr. K.H. Albow and Dr. R. Hasan. To them also I would express my gratitude. I am indebted to Professor W.S. Allen for his comments and suggestions on the problem of defining 'Subject' in Hindi. Thanks are also due to Mr. R. Mackin for general encouragement.

It is a real pleasure to record my debt to Dr. M.A.K. Halliday for his invaluable suggestions and constant encouragement. I have had the benefit of many hours of discussion with him during the preparation of this thesis. I want to thank him specially for reading the second and third chapters of this work, making numerous valuable comments and suggestions. My appreciation for his help and guidance cannot be adequately expressed.

Whilst I have benefited from the criticisms and suggestions of my supervisors, teachers and friends, I must make it clear that the responsibility for the statement made in the chapters that follow remains my own.

I wish to express my appreciation to the University of Edinburgh for a post-graduate scholarship which made my study at the University and the completion of this thesis possible.

Finally, and by no means least, I owe a debt of gratitude to my wife Asha for her forbearance and sympathetic understanding during the period of my study (1961-1964) at the University of Edinburgh.
CONTENTS

PART I
I A SYNOPSIS OF HALLIDAY'S THEORY OF GRAMMAR

PART II
A SYSTEMIC GRAMMAR OF HINDI

II The Sentence
III The Clause
IV The Nominal Group
V The Verbal Group
VI The Adverbial Group

PART III
VII A BRIEF COMPARISON OF THE HINDI AND ENGLISH VERBAL GROUPS

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY
## CONTENTS (Outline)

### Chapter I

**A Synopsis of Halliday's theory of grammar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Theory and description</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Description and presentation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>Categories of the theory of grammar</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>Shunting</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>Units of a language</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>Number of units</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>Multi-unit grammar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>Simple and compound units</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>Elements of structure</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.411</td>
<td>Obligatory and optional</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.412</td>
<td>Presupposition</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4121</td>
<td>Co-ordination and sub-ordination</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.41211</td>
<td>Additive and appositive</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>'Place' in structure</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>Number and sequence of elements</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>Primary and secondary structures</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>Place-ordered and depth-ordered structures</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.461</td>
<td>Recursive structures</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>Class</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>Class in relation to structure and system</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>Class in relation to place-ordered and depth-ordered structures</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>Primary and secondary classes</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>Chain and choice classes</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>Simple and complex secondary classification: &quot;Microclass&quot;</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>System</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>Multi-dimensional systems</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>Defining characteristic of 'system'</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>System in relation to structure</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>The rankscale</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>Rankshift</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>The scale of delicacy</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>The scale of exponence</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>The formal item</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>Operation of exponence on two interrelated dimensions</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.100</td>
<td>Interrelation of the scales</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.101</td>
<td>Exponence and delicacy</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.102</td>
<td>Exponence and rank</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.103</td>
<td>Rank and delicacy</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.104</td>
<td>Scale-types</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER II**

2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>The sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>Definition and delimitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>Difficulties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>The traditional approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>The upper limit of systematisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>Delimitation by graphic criteria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.21</td>
<td><em>All sentences are grammatically free</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.211</td>
<td>The primary elements of sentence structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.212</td>
<td>Simple and compound sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.213</td>
<td>Sequence of elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.214</td>
<td>Possible combination of elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.215</td>
<td>Primary elements of sentence structure and primary clause classes in relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.216</td>
<td>The system of finiteness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>The α element</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>The β element</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.231</td>
<td>Subdivisions of the dependent clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.232</td>
<td>The system of finiteness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2321</td>
<td>The system of sequentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2322</td>
<td>The system of mood carried by the dependent sequential clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Subdivisions of the non-sequentials 45
The conditioning clause 45
The relative clause 46
Subdivisions of the relatives 46
The non-finite dependent clauses 46
Types of dependent clause 47
Co-ordination and subordination 48
Linkage 49
A-linked 49
S-linked 51
P-linked 51
A - S - P -linked 52
Juxtaposition 52
Apposition 52
(a) Additive 53
(b) Appositive 53
Dependence 55
Dependence and co-ordination treated recursively 55
Linked and unlinked dependent clauses 56
Dependence and linkage 56
Subdivisions of β 57
Different kinds of dependence relation 58
Summary 64

CHAPTER III
The clause 66
Definition 66
Primary elements of clause structure 66
Primary clause structure and primary group classes in relation 66
Possible combination of primary elements 67
The minor clause 68
The subject 69
Definition and delimitation of S 69
(a) concord 69
3.222  (b) case-endings  72
3.223  (c) sequence  73
3.224  (d) selection  75
3.231  What can operate at S?  81
3.232  Simplex and complex S  82
3.31   The object  84
3.32   Simplex and complex object  84
3.33   Pronouns at 0  85
3.34   What can operate at 0?  86
3.41   The Predicator  86
3.42   Simplex and complex P  87
3.51   The systems of number, person, gender and case at S and 0  88
3.52   The system of interrogatives at S and 0  91
3.53   The system of relatives at S and 0  92
3.531  Subdivisions of 0  93
3.54   The system of case at S, 0 and A  94
3.541  The system of case at S  94
3.542  The system of case at 0  95
3.543  The system of case at A  95
3.55   Systems of number, person and gender at P  96
3.56   The system of finiteness at P  97
3.57   The system of aspect at P  97
3.61   Systems carried by the clause  98
3.611  The system of aspect  98
3.612  The system of the relatives  98
3.613  The system of mood-restriction  99
3.6131  The system of mood  99
3.6132  The imperative clause  99
3.6133  The interrogative clause  99
3.6134  Polar and non-polar interrogatives  100
3.61341 The system of minor clauses  100
3.614  The moodless clause  101
3.614  The system of transitivity  101
3.615  The system of concord  102
3.616  The system of theme and the system of emphasis  103
3.71   Word-order  103
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>Theme and emphasis</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>Concord</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>Personal and non-personal concord</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>Thread of concord</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>The adjunct</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>What can go at A?</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>Simplex and complex A</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.931</td>
<td>Subdivisions of A</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.932</td>
<td>The conjunction group</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I The linking group</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II The binding group</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.933</td>
<td>The adverb group</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.934</td>
<td>Diagrammatization of the subdivisions of A</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.941</td>
<td>Thematic A</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.951</td>
<td>The element Z</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.952</td>
<td>The vocative</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.953</td>
<td>Diagrammatization of the systems carried by the clause</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.954</td>
<td>The system of concord at α and β</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.955</td>
<td>The system of transitivity at α and β</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.956</td>
<td>Transitivity and concord in relation</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.957</td>
<td>Rankshifted clause</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9571</td>
<td>Rankshifted clause at h in nominal group structure</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9572</td>
<td>Rankshifted clause at m in nominal group structure</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9573</td>
<td>Rankshifted clause at q in nominal group structure</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9574</td>
<td>Rankshifted clause in adverbial group structure</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9575</td>
<td>Rankshifted clause in word structure</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER IV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>The nominal group</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>Definition</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>Primary elements of structure</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.121</td>
<td>Conflated primary structure</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.122</td>
<td>Primary structure of the nominal group and primary word classes in relation</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>Possible combinations of primary elements</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modification</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.131</td>
<td>Secondary elements and secondary classes</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.132</td>
<td>Primary structure and secondary structure</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.133</td>
<td>Deixis</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1331</td>
<td>Subdivisions of d</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1332</td>
<td>The genitivals</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13321</td>
<td>Complex genitivals</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1333</td>
<td>The personal possessives</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1334</td>
<td>The deictic pronouns</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1335</td>
<td>The indefinite pronouns</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1336</td>
<td>Systems at d</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13361</td>
<td>Systems of number, gender and case at $d^P$</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13362</td>
<td>Systems of number and case at $d^P$</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13363</td>
<td>Co-occurrence of different secondary classes of deictic</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>The ordinatives</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.141</td>
<td>Further secondary classes of the ordinative</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.142</td>
<td>The cardinals</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.143</td>
<td>The ordinals</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1431</td>
<td>Systems of number, gender and case at $o^o$</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1432</td>
<td>Types of the ordinal</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.144</td>
<td>Co-occurrence of secondary classes of ordinatives</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.145</td>
<td>System at o</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>Epithets</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.151</td>
<td>Secondary classes of epithets</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.152</td>
<td>The adjective</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1521</td>
<td>The sub-modifiers</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15211</td>
<td>Comparatives and superlatives</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.153</td>
<td>The participials</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.154</td>
<td>Systems at e</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1541</td>
<td>Systems of number, gender and case at e</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.155</td>
<td>Co-occurrence of secondary classes of epithets</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>The pre-head nominal</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.161</td>
<td>Secondary classes of the pre-head nominals</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.162</td>
<td>The vala-type</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1621</td>
<td>Systems of number, gender and case at $n^v$</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1622</td>
<td>Yet another variety of the vala-type</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.163</td>
<td>Simple nominals at n</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.164</td>
<td>System at n</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.165</td>
<td>Co-occurrence of secondary classes of nominals</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>Modification</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>The qualifier</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>Secondary classes of qualifier</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.211</td>
<td>The relative clause</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.212</td>
<td>The reflexives</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>System at q</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>A few problem cases</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>The head</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>Secondary classes of the head-word</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>Primary system at h</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.321</td>
<td>The substantive</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3211</td>
<td>Subdivisions of the substantive</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.322</td>
<td>The pronoun</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3221</td>
<td>The personal pronoun</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3222</td>
<td>The relative pronoun</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3223</td>
<td>The interrogative pronoun</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3224</td>
<td>Secondary choice classes of the pronoun</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>Nominalised clause and 'hypostasis'</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.331</td>
<td>Simplex and complex head</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>The emphasizers</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>The system of person at h       ( h^p )</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>The systems of number, person and case at h       ( h^p )</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>Personal pronouns and the tense-auxiliary</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>The system of number</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>The system of number as carried by the noun-words</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>The system of case</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>The system of definiteness</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>The system of gender</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>Systems of number, person, gender and case (general)</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.581</td>
<td>Interlocking systems</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>Inter-group and intra-group concord</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Co-ordination and subordination</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>'Depth-relation'</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.611</td>
<td>Recursive structures</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER V

The verbal group

5.1
Definition

5.11
Primary elements of the structure of the verbal group

5.12
Conflated primary structure of the verbal group

5.13
Possible combinations of primary elements

5.14
The \( v \)-element

5.141
Finite and non-finite verb

5.142
Subdivisions of the finite verb

5.1421
The indicatives and the infinitives

5.1422
The imperative and the subjunctive

5.14221
Honourific and non-honourific verbal forms

5.14222
Subdivisions of the subjunctive

5.143
Perfect and imperfect verb

5.1431
Subdivisions of the perfect verb

5.1432
Subdivisions of the imperfect verb

5.144
Modalised and non-modalised verbs

5.1441
The modalised verbs - 'səkna' and 'çukna'

5.145
The non-finite verb

5.146
Diagrammatization of the systems carried by the verb

5.1461
The verb paradigm

5.147
Chain (secondary) classes of the verb

5.1471
Final and non-final \( v \)

5.1472
\( 1, i, p, \) and \( m \)

5.14721
The lexical verb

5.14722
The intensives

5.14723
The passive
<p>| 5.14724 | The modalised verb | 198 |
| 5.14725 | Sequential relation among (l, \beta, _l, _m) | 198 |
| 5.15 | The (a)-element | 199 |
| 5.151 | Subdivisions of the auxiliary | 200 |
| 5.16 | Simplex and complex (l) | 200 |
| 5.17 | The negator | 201 |
| 5.18 | The emphasizer | 201 |
| 5.19 | Restrictions on the co-occurrence of the secondary classes of the verb | 202 |
| 5.2 | The systems of number, gender and person as marked in (v) and (a) | 202 |
| 5.3 | The systems carried by the verbal group | 204 |
| 5.31 | The system of finiteness | 204 |
| 5.311 | Subdivisions of the finite verbal group | 204 |
| 5.3111 | Subdivisions of the tensed group | 204 |
| 5.3112 | Subdivisions of the non-tensed group | 205 |
| 5.31121 | The system of honorifics | 205 |
| 5.31122 | Subdivisions of the subjunctive mode | 205 |
| 5.32 | The system of aspect | 205 |
| 5.321 | Subdivision of the perfect verbal group | 206 |
| 5.322 | Subdivision of the imperfect verbal group | 206 |
| 5.33 | Modalised and non-modalised verbal groups | 206 |
| 5.34 | The system of tense | 207 |
| 5.341 | The system of tense and the system of aspect in relation | 208 |
| 5.35 | The system of the non-finites | 208 |
| 5.36 | The system of voice | 208 |
| 5.37 | The system of polarity | 209 |
| 5.38 | The system of contrastiveness | 210 |
| 5.4 | Interlocking systems of number, gender and person | 211 |
| 5.41 | Diagrammatization of the systems carried by the verbal group | 212 |
| 5.411 | Exemplification | 214 |
| 5.5 | Concord within the verbal group | 214 |
| 5.6 | Morphology of the lexical verb | 215 |
| 5.61 | Causative and non-causative verbs | 215 |
| 5.62 | The compound lexical verb | 216 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>5.621</td>
<td>Lexical verb types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Morphology of the 'perfect' verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>The irregular verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Morphemic exponents of number, person, gender, and tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>An illustration of the successor forms in the Hindi verbal group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER VI

The adverbial group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Primary structure of the adverbial group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>6.21</td>
<td>The primary elements of adv. gp. structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>6.22</td>
<td>Possible combinations of primary elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>The h-element</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>6.31</td>
<td>Subdivisions of the adverbials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>6.311</td>
<td>Subdivisions of adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>6.3111</td>
<td>Adverb (substantives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>6.3112</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>6.3113</td>
<td>Postpositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>6.312</td>
<td>The pro-adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>6.3121</td>
<td>The relative pro-adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>6.3122</td>
<td>The interrogative pro-adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>6.3123</td>
<td>The unmarked pro-adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>6.313</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>6.3131</td>
<td>The linkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>6.3132</td>
<td>The binders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>6.32</td>
<td>Diagramatization of the subdivisions of the adverbials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>The modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>The emphizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER VII

A brief comparison of the Hindi and English verbal groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>7.11</td>
<td>Descriptive categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>A single set of comparative descriptive categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>The problem of identifying descriptive categories as comparable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>Translation - an instance of comparative descriptive linguistics</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.15</td>
<td>Comparison via translation</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.16</td>
<td>Source materials</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>Formal correspondence between the hierarchies of units</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>Establishing the comparability of the English and Hindi verbal groups</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.19</td>
<td>Diagrammatization</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.191</td>
<td>Convergence and divergence</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>The English Verbal group</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21</td>
<td>Definition</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>Primary elements and primary classes</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.23</td>
<td>Secondary elements and secondary classes</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.231</td>
<td>Choice classes: finite and non-finite verb</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2311</td>
<td>The choice of tense</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2312</td>
<td>Subdivisions of the non-finite verb</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.232</td>
<td>The element 1</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2321</td>
<td>Simplex and complex 1</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.24</td>
<td>The systems of the verbal group</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.241</td>
<td>The system of finiteness</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.242</td>
<td>The system of mode</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.243</td>
<td>The system of tense</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.244</td>
<td>The system/modalization</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.245</td>
<td>The system of aspect</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2451</td>
<td>Tense and aspect in relation</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.246</td>
<td>The system of progression</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.247</td>
<td>Micro-classes</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.248</td>
<td>Systems carried by the non-finite verbal group</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.249</td>
<td>The system of voice</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.250</td>
<td>Tabular representation of the multi-dimensional systems carried by the verbal group</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.251</td>
<td>The system of contrastiveness</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.252</td>
<td>The system of polarity</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.253</td>
<td>The 'successor forms'</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.254</td>
<td>Diagrammatization of the systems carried by the verbal group</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Formal correspondence and textual equivalence</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.31</td>
<td>The system of polarity (English and Hindi)</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.311</td>
<td>Notes on Table 1</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.32</td>
<td>The system of contrastiveness (English and Hindi)</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.321</td>
<td>Notes on Table 2</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.33</td>
<td>The system of Voice (English and Hindi)</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.331</td>
<td>Notes on Table 3</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.34</td>
<td>The system of progression (English and Hindi)</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.341</td>
<td>Notes on Table 4</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.35</td>
<td>The system of aspect (English and Hindi)</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.351</td>
<td>Notes on Table 5</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 7.361   | The system of tense: (a) 
|          | Past (English and Hindi)                    | 272  |
| 7.3611  | Notes on Table 6                            | 273  |
| 7.362   | (b) Present (English and Hindi)             | 274  |
| 7.3621  | Notes on Table 7                            | 275  |
| 7.3631  | (c) Future (Non-modalised) (English and Hindi) | 276  |
| 7.36311 | Notes on Table 8                            | 277  |
| 7.3632  | (d) Future (modalised): (i) Would (English and Hindi) | 278  |
| 7.36321 | Notes on Table 9                            | 279  |
| 7.3633  | (d) Future (modalised): (ii) Should (English and Hindi) | 280  |
| 7.36331 | Notes on Table 10                           | 281  |
| 7.3634  | (d) Future (modalised): (iii) Could (English and Hindi) | 282  |
| 7.36341 | Notes on Table 11                           | 283  |
| 7.3635  | (d) Future (modalised): (iv) Can (English and Hindi) | 284  |
| 7.36351 | Notes on Table 12                           | 285  |
| 7.3636  | (d) Future (Modalised) (v) May, Might, Ought to, Must | 286  |
| 7.36361 | Notes on Table 13                           | 287  |
| 7.37    | The system of finiteness (English and Hindi) | 288  |
| 7.371   | Notes on Table 14                           | 289  |
| 7.4     | Summary                                     | 289  |
|         | Appendix                                    |      |
|         | I  Explanation of symbols, abbreviations and conventions used | 292  |
|         | II Specimen analysis                        | 293  |
|         | Bibliography                                | 296  |
PART I

CHAPTER I

A SYNOPSIS OF HALLIDAY'S THEORY OF GRAMMAR
1.10 Theory and Procedures:

A general theory of linguistics is not a set of procedures or heuristic techniques. It is a set of abstractions derived from a number of observations of facts. One of its primary functions is to provide a framework of logically interrelated categories from which can be derived methods of description which show how language works. "The aim of a general theory of linguistics is to be such that a particular theory can be propounded for each individual language as a special case of the general theory." ²

1.11 Theory and Description:

Description is not theory. It is a body of methods derived from theory which involve a number of processes of abstractions. Description consists in relating the text to the categories of the theory. The best description, therefore, is that which makes maximum use of the theory to account for a maximum of data.³

---

1. Halliday: "... Linguistics is not a Set of procedures. It is a theory, with derived methods relevant to the different levels." [Review of C. L. Ebeling's "Linguistic Units": Archivum Linguisticum vol. 13, Fascicule 1, 1961; p 94].

2. Dixon: Linguistic Science and Logic: p 184

3. P. Strovens: "Modern descriptive linguistics operates essentially as any scientific subject does by working from data to theory and from theory to description, with the data totally accounted for in the description". [Phonetics, applied linguistics, and other components of language teaching; "In honour of Daniel Jones": p 126].
Theory and description reinforce each other. Theory controls description by providing a framework of categories into which the description is fitted. Descriptive details motivate the linguist to look back at his theory and redefine or modify his theoretical categories in the light of his observations and analysis of data. The validity of a theory is to be judged by its ability to handle specific language materials.

1.12 Description and Presentation:

It is necessary to distinguish between description and presentation. Presentation is the way the linguist expounds the description. It varies according to the purpose and scope of description. For example, the presentation of facts that is best for machine analysis is unlikely to be the best for other purposes.

1.20 Grammar:

Within the framework of this theory, grammar is defined as that level of formal patterning which deals with closed systems. The grammar of a language may be said to be that part of the language that is accounted for by grammatical description.

1. Firth: "A theory derives its usefulness and validity from the aggregate of experience to which it must continually refer in renewal of connection." [Synopsis: p 1.]
Ellis: "... Theory is not something entirely independent of the facts, but but is implicit in any scientific handling of the facts, and is subject to constant improvement in the light of them." [General Linguistics and Comparative Philology, p 162 LINGUA, vol. 7, 1957 - 58].
1.21 Categories of the theory of grammar:

The theory of grammar provides a framework of four interlocking and mutually defining categories: UNIT, STRUCTURE, CLASS, and SYSTEM, and operates with three Scales of abstraction which relate the categories to one another and to the data. These scales of abstraction are: RANK, DELICACY, and EXPOENCE.

It is impossible to define a category in isolation. The categories are all interlocked, and their meaning can be understood only in the totality of the theory. The relations among the categories do not involve logical precedence or priority.

These categories do not exist in rebus. They "are ordered schematic constructs, frames of reference, a sort of scaffolding for the handling of events ... Such constructs have no ontological status and we do not project them as having being or existence. They are neither immanent nor transcendent, but just language turned back upon itself." Unit, structure, class and system are not inherent in the material; they are not 'hidden things' which a linguist 'discovers', rather they are convenient tools or 'fictions' which a linguist sets up to account for how language works. "There are no facts in linguistics until the linguist has made them; they are ultimately, like all scientific facts, the products of imagination and invention: 'Experience by itself is "silent", and it requires a hypothesis in order to give it a voice ... things, events, and facts do not speak, but the scientist does."  

1.30 Unit:

Unit is the basic theoretical category which is set up to account for the stretches of differing extent that carry grammatical patterns. The units (from the largest, most inclusive unit to the smallest, least inclusive unit) are not 'layered in concentric, onionlike layers' rather they are related taxonomically. They are ranged on a scale called "rank scale"; each unit consists of one or more than one complete member of the unit next below. More accurately, an exponent of each unit consists of one, or of more than one, complete exponent of the unit next below it. The theory, however, allows for downward 'rank-shift' ('Rank-shift' will be discussed further on). Apart from the possibilities of sequence, inclusion and conflation, the relation indicated by "consists of" involves going through the other categories of "structure" and "class".

1.31 Shunting:

The relation among the units on the rankscale is not a one-way relation. "The theory embodies 'shunting' (moving up and down the rankscale) as crucial to the interrelation of the categories".1

1.32:

Unit as a basic theoretical category is universal, but the units of a language are peculiar to that language alone. These units are the stretches into which a language text is cut when grammatical statements are being made about it. They must be recognised afresh for each language.

1.33 Number of Units:

The number of units to be recognised is a descriptive feature. It varies from language to language. Our model assumes a minimum of two units; for if a language has only one unit, there would be no rankscale, no structures, no classes, no systems. For our description of English and Hindi, it has been found necessary to recognise five units which we will call, in descending taxonomic order - sentence, clause, group, word, and morpheme. One of the chief features of this taxonomic arrangement is that once the largest unit is defined and structures set up for it, the remaining units are self-defining. Sentence structure defines clause classes, clause-structure, clause structure defines group classes and so on. Identification of a clause or a group or a word in isolation is not possible. A clause can only be identified as a clause if a sentence can be identified as a sentence and a group as a group, and so on up and down the rankscale.

1.34 Multi-unit Grammar:

Our theory suggests a 'multi-unit' grammar in which no unit is "more unique" than any other. Although the morpheme is the smallest unit in size, it is no more or no less abstract than the sentence. The smallest and the largest units, however, have their distinguishing features. The smallest unit has classes, but no structure; the largest unit has structure but no classes. That means the smallest and the largest units can only be partially defined in terms of intra-lingual relations.

1. Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle: "Any linguistic unit at one and the same time serves as a context for simpler units and/or finds its own context in a more complex linguistic unit ... Combination and contexture are two faces of the same operation." [Fundamentals of Language: p 60.] We would not agree with the last sentence of Jakobson and Halle. For us syntax and morphology are two interrelated but distinct operations; the former refers to a downward movement on the rankscale and the latter to an upward one.
1.35 Simple and Compound Units:

A unit which consists of only one member of the unit next below is Simple, and one that consists of more than one is Compound.

Ex:  

HINDI  
Simple Verbal group:  
khaya (ate)  
Compound Verbal group:  
khaya h9y (has/have eaten)

1.40 STRUCTURE

The category of structure is set up to account for the ways in which a particular unit can be made up of one or more complete member of the unit next below, for example the ways in which a sentence can be made up of clauses, a clause of groups, a group of words and a word of morphemes. The structure of a unit may be defined in terms of classes of the unit next below. For example, sentence structure is defined in terms of clause classes, clause structure in terms of group classes, group structure in terms of word classes, and word structure in terms of morpheme classes.¹ These classes operate as exponents of 'elements' ordered in 'places' in the structure of the unit concerned. We may now define a structure as "an ordered arrangement of 'elements in chain relation".²

Ex: Clause-structure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English:</th>
<th>Predicator + Complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fetch</td>
<td>the ink,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi:</th>
<th>Object + Predicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ro/nai</td>
<td>lao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The structure of a unit may be said to be a distributional matrix or a frame of reference for the description of the classes of the unit next below.

² Halliday: Chain and choice: p 7.
A structure is always a structure of a given unit. Each unit is characterized by certain structures.

1.41 Elements of Structure:

Structure consists of elements in interior syntagmatic relation. The elements of structure do not occur arbitrarily relative to each other; each element occurs in certain position relative to certain other elements. Elements may be defined by (i) their relative position in sequence or by (ii) exponence. For example, in English clause structure the element S (Subject) is defined by its place in sequence relative to P (Predicator) whereas P is defined as that element which is expounded by the class "verbal" of the unit group.

1.411 Obligatory and optional:

Some of the elements may be obligatory or nodal, others optional or peripheral. For example, in English Nominal group structure the element 'h' (head) is obligatory; the other elements 'm' (modifier) and 'q' (qualifier) are optional.

1.412 Presupposition:

Some elements presuppose another element but not vice-versa, while others presuppose each other. In a compound sentence of structure αβ, β presupposes α but α may not presuppose β. In a subjectival clause in Hindi $S^0$ (nominative Subject) presupposes $p^*$ (Imperfect Predicator) and vice-versa.

1. Firth: "A Structure is said to comprise elements or categories in mutual syntagmatic relation." ["Ethnographic Analysis and Language with reference to Malinowski's views": in Man and Culture: p 107 f.n.]

2. These elements are in no sense "permanent bricks juxtaposed in a permanent structure".

3. For the definition of the subjectival clause, see the chapter on 'the Hindi clause'.


Co-ordination and subordination:

Presupposition relations can be glossed in traditional terms as "subordination" and "co-ordination". In a structure of a unit, some elements may stand in a relation of subordination to some other elements. The relation between the elements is 'non-transitive' and their order may not be reversed. The elements are usually "nested" one within the other.

Ex: Hindi - Nominal group structure:

ye mitha am (these sweet mangoes)

Additive and Appositive:

The elements may be in a relation of co-ordination which may be either additive or appositive.

Ex: Additive:

English: poor old man Here poor and old are co-ordinate.

Hindi: phate pwrane jute (old worn shoes) Here 'phate' and 'pwrane' are co-ordinate.

Appositive:

English: Mr. Smith, the greengrocer.

Hindi: Ramu, lohar. (Ramu, the blacksmith).

1. C. E. Bazell: "One member of a syntagma is said to be subordinate to the other when the latter is characterised by such features as are also characteristic of the whole syntagma." [The Fundamental Syntactic Relations, p 11, Studia Pro Moderni Philologii 33(1950)].

2. C. E. Bazell: "In a syntagm AB, A and B are co-ordinate if the overall environmentalness of both A and B are similar to that of the syntagm." [Linguistic Form, p 33].
The relation between the elements in co-ordination is 'transitive'.

Co-ordination and Subordination (dependence) are two facets of depth-ordering which we shall discuss further on.

1.42 'Place' in structure:

There are at least as many places in the structure of a unit as there are elements. It is, however, possible to have the same element twice in the structure of a unit. The theory allows for a structure of one place or of one element only. We have simple sentences or simple clauses or simple groups or simple words. The only theoretical restriction is that each unit must carry at least one structure that consists of more than one place otherwise one of the units would be redundant. If, for example, all words consist of one morpheme, "word" and "morpheme" would be one and the same unit.

1.43 Number and sequence of elements:

The number of different elements and their sequence may be crucial in distinguishing structures. In English SP (two elements only) and SPC (three elements) represent two different structures and are exponents of two different terms in the system of transitivity. The same is true of Hindi. SP is exponent of the transitive clause and SOP of the intransitive. Again (in English) SP and PS (where S comes after the first word in P) are exponents of the affirmative and interrogative clauses respectively. That is, they mean two different things in the system of mood. SOP (मैं यां कहाँ हूँ) and OSP (मैं मैं यां कहाँ हूँ) represent different structures in Hindi and expound two different terms in the system of Clause-theme - the first one neutral and the second with a thematic 0².

1. Robert Abernathy: "An essential trait of a language - as distinguished from certain mathematical systems, for instance that of the natural numbers - is that it admits of more than one occurrence of the same element". [The Problem of Linguistic Equivalence: p 95 (Proceedings of Symposia in Applied Mathematics vol. XII, 1961)].

2. S = Subject; P = Predicator; O = Object.
4.5 Primary and Secondary Structures:

Primary structures are the least delicate structures. For each grammatical unit in each language we can recognise "primary" (least delicate) elements of structure. For example, for the clause in Hindi, we have set up four primary elements: Subject, Object, Adjunct and Predicator. From these we derive our primary classes. The various possible combinations of S, O, A, P are primary structures of the unit Clause in Hindi. Further differentiations yield secondary elements and secondary structures. The point to note here is that these are still structures of the same unit, not of the unit next below. We are at the same rank, but we have made a move in delicacy.

Ex: English:
Primary clause structure: SPC
Secondary clause structures: S^P S^C

Hindi:
Primary clause structure: S^P S^C
Secondary clause structures: S^P S^C P^Imp.
S^P S^C P^Perf.

[S^S = Singular Subject; S^P = Plural Subject; S^O = Unmarked Subject; S^n = Ergative Subject; P^P = Singular Predicator; P^Imp. = Plural Predicator; P^Perf. = Perfect Predicator].

4.6 Place-ordered and depth-ordered Structures:

We may have class-determined structures or sequence-determined structures or a mixture of both. If a structure is class-determined, each place and each element in the structure is defined with reference to class(es) of the unit next below; in such a structure each element operates with a different value. If a structure is sequence-determined, the elements of structure are sequence-expounded, not class expounded; the same element may be repeated recursively.
It is difficult to find a purely sequence-determined structure. The nominal group in English represents a mixture of the two types.

In a recent paper Halliday has made a distinction between place-ordered and depth-ordered structures. We quote: "By a place-ordered structure I mean one composed of a limited number of different elements occurring non-recursively. Such a structure may be fully class-defining, in the sense that to each element corresponds a distinct class of lower rank: for example the clause structure "Subject + Predicator", with classes respectively nominal group and verbal group, as in "my friends have arrived", or it may be only partially class-defining where two or more elements are expounded by the same class but differentiated in sequence. In this type of structure, there is no constant relation between successive (or otherwise paired) elements; for example, in the structure "subject + predicator + complement" (e.g. "John saw Mary", "my friends have invited me") it is not true that subject is to predicator as predicator is to complement.

......... Language also exhibits a different kind of structure, the "recursive" or "depth-ordered" structure. Here, as the name implies, an element of structure, or a combination of elements, is repeated "in depth", a series of such elements (or combinations) thus forming a progression ... It is a characteristic of recursive structures that they cannot be used to differentiate classes".

Recursive Structures:

Depth-ordered or recursive structures are of two types: those involving "rankshift" and those not. We give examples from Halliday's article mentioned in the previous section.

Non-rankshifted type: Sentence structure:

he might have come if you had told him when you rang him

\[ \alpha \quad \beta \quad \gamma \]

up while he was packing before he went away.

\[ \delta \quad \epsilon \]

Here only the first term can be distinguished by class. We can say that the alpha-element is expounded by the class "independent clause". After that, the class "dependent clause" operates at beta, gamma, delta and epsilon. In fact the same element is repeated in depth.

Rank-shifted Type: Nominal group structure and adverbial group structure, both rank-shifted (q= "qualifier" in nominal group; c= "prepositional complement" in adverbial group; [ ] = boundary of rankshifted group):

the pear-tree in the garden in front of the house near

\[ [q\alpha \quad [c\alpha \quad [q\beta \quad [c\beta \quad [q\gamma \]

the bridge over the river.

\[ [c\gamma \quad [q\delta \quad [c\delta \]

CLASS:

The structure of a unit is made up of classes of the unit next below. But not every class of a unit can operate as an element at every place in the
structure of the unit next above. For this reason items are grouped together into classes on the basis of their operation in the structure of the unit next above. "The concept is introduced into the description of a language in order to bring together those sets of items that have the same potentiality of occurrence; in other words, sets of items which are alike in the way they pattern in the structure of items of higher rank. Thus, to take a typical instance from grammar, we may have morpheme classes defined by word structure, each such class being one set of morphemes having a given value in the structure of words: as, for example, the morphemes of inflection in Latin nouns. Likewise we might have word classes defined by group structure, or clause classes by sentence structure."  

Ex: Hindi and English: class "verbal" of the unit group operates at P in clause structure.
class "nominal" of the unit group operates at S and O/C in clause structure.

We must mention here that a class is always a class of a given unit.

Another kind of classification would be morphological. Here class would be a grouping of items which are alike in the way they are made up of classes of the unit next below. Usually the two give the same results, but where there

is a clash, priority is given to syntactic classification. According to Halliday the class, defined syntactically "is crucial to the whole of linguistic theory, since it is required to give meaning to the basic concepts of 'structure' and 'system'; whereas the type or morphological set, is more a descriptive convenience whose theoretical implications are largely internal to itself."  

1.51 Class in relation to structure and system:  
The relation of class to structure is an inter-rank relation: classes of a unit operate at 'places' in the structure of the unit next above. This relation yields "chain-classes". The relation of class to system is intra-rank relation: at particular places in the structure of a unit, we may have a choice from among a number of secondary classes. This relation yields "Choice classes".  

1.52 Class in relation to place-ordered and depth-ordered structures.  
Place-ordered structures are class-oriented; each element is expounded by a distinct class of the unit next below. Depth-ordered structures are sequence-oriented; the elements of this type of structure are not discrete, hence we do not have distinct classes. In fact, recursive structures cannot be used to differentiate classes.

1. Pike: "We would say, rather, that each unit is classified primarily by its occurrence - its external distribution - in one or more slots of one or more higher-layered structures, and secondarily by its internal organization; both criteria are crucial, but in any clash of analysis the first gets priority." [Language III p 27].  

1.53 Primary and Secondary classes.

Class, like structure, may be ranged on the scale of delicacy. At the primary degree of delicacy we have classes which stand in one-one relation to elements of primary structures. These may be called 'primary classes'. One might deduce from this that there will be as many primary classes as there are primary elements in the structure of a unit. If \( x, y, z \) are, for example, primary elements of a structure (of a unit), there would be primary classes \( a, b, c \) of the unit next below expounding these elements. The theory does, however, allow for a single primary class derivable simultaneously from two elements of structure.

Unit: clause: Primary structure:

**English:**

```
S  P  C
```

**Hindi:**

```
S  O  P
```

Primary group class:

**English:** Nominal

**Hindi:** Nominal

There is a high degree of overlap between the exponents of \( S \) and \( C \) (in English) and between \( S \) and \( O \) (in Hindi): one primary class (class 'nominal' of the unit 'group') has therefore been set up as exponent of both \( S \) and \( C \) (in the case of English), and \( S \) and \( O \) (in the case of Hindi).

---

1. Halliday: "Where the sets of items operating as two or more elements of structure show more than a certain degree of overlap, as in the case of subject and complement - most items that can be subject can also be complement and vice-versa - these are conflated into a single primary class: thus the *nominal group* is the primary class expounding both subject and complement in English Clause Structure". [Chain and Choice: p 9].
Examples of primary classes:

**Hindi and English**

**Unit:** Sentence  Primary Structure:  

**Primary Classes:**

**Independent**  **Dependent**

**Unit:** Clause  Primary Classes:  

**Primary Structures:**

**Independent**  **Dependent**

**English**

**Unit:** Clause  Primary Structure:  

**Independent**  **Dependent**

**Unit:** Group  Primary Classes:  

**Nominal Verbal**  **Nominal Adverbial**

**Hindi**

**Unit:** Clause  Primary Structure:  

**Nominal**  **Nominal Adverbial**

**Unit:** Group  Primary Classes:  

**Nominal Nominal Adverbial Verbal**

[Note: we have already said that we can conflate the exponents of S and C (or S and O) into one primary class: 'Nominal' of the unit group].

Secondary classes are derived in two ways:

1) from secondary (chain) elements of structure; secondary chain classes;  
2) from subdivisions of primary classes; secondary choice classes.

[We can say that secondary chain classes are also subdivisions of primary classes]

The same element at different places in structure may yield distinct secondary classes. For example, in English clause-structures, SPCC may more delicately be represented as SPCE, C, and C being secondary classes Intensive and Extensive nominal groups respectively.

There is yet another way of differentiating secondary elements. With increased delicacy, the elements of primary structure may be differentiated into
secondary elements. The primary structure of the nominal group in English may be represented by $\mathbb{M}$ (modifier), $\mathbb{H}$ (head) and $\mathbb{J}$ (qualifier). These three elements are expounded by the primary classes of the unit word. The element $\mathbb{H}$ is expounded by the class noun and the element $\mathbb{M}$ by the class pre-noun of the unit word. By taking a step in delicacy $\mathbb{M}$ may be broken into secondary elements $d, o, e, n$ yielding secondary chain classes: deictics, ordinatives, epithets and nominals.

Subdivisions of primary classes yield secondary choice classes, for example, active verbal group and passive verbal group are subdivisions of the primary class "verbal" of the unit group.

Certain syntagmatic relations between elements of structure might produce secondary elements, and also secondary choice classes. If, for example, there is a relation of "concord" between say $S$(Subject) and $P$(Predicator) in clause structure such that only $S^S$(Singular Subject) can co-occur with $P^S$(Singular Predicator) and $S^P=$(Plural Subject) can co-occur with $P^P=$(Plural Predicator), these would yield secondary choice classes $\mathbb{1}$ expounding $S^S, B^S, P^S, P^P$.

1.54 Chain and Choice classes:

We have already said a few things about chain and choice classes in the previous subsections of section 1.5. Halliday has used these terms in his article: "Class in Relation to the Axes of Chain and Choice in Language." Chain classes are derived from elements of structure in syntagmatic relation, and choice classes from those in paradigmatic relation. It is important to note

1.3 Sub-classes: We may arrive at these classes without reference to secondary structures. Classes derived in this way may be called "sub-classes". In fact there is no theoretical difference here, the relation between structure and class is a two-way relation, and there is no question of "discovering one "before" the other". (Halliday: Categories: p 261).
Here that choice classes can never be primary classes; chain classes may be primary or secondary. In other words, primary classes are always chain classes; secondary classes may be either chain classes or choice classes.

Ex:

Primary chain classes:
Nominal group, Verbal group, Adverbal group
- operating at the primary elements S/C, P and A in clause structure.

Secondary chain classes:
deictics, ordinatives, epithets, nominal®
- operating at the secondary elements d, o, e, n in Nominal group structure.

Secondary choice classes:

Secondary chain classes, by definition, enter into structural relations, and secondary choice classes into systemic relations. Chain classes can co-occur; choice classes are mutually exclusive.

1.55 Simple and Complex secondary classification: "Microclass"

Secondary classes mentioned thus far are all products of simple secondary classifications. Complex secondary classifications based on multiple criteria - criteria which often cut across each other - yield interlocking multidimensional
secondary classes. These classes have been called "microclasses". The point which must needs be emphasized here is that in our process of complex classifications we are not only constantly sub-dividing but equally frequently re-dividing. "A given class breaks down by simple subdivisions into a system of more delicate classes, but the same original class will also subdivide in a number of different ways, so that many dimensions of classification intersect with one another. Any given item, to be fully identified, may require to be simultaneously classified on all such dimensions. In this way it can be assigned to a "microclass", this representing its value in respect of all the properties which have been found relevant to the way it patterns in the language."¹

We give here a simple example from Hindi:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal group:</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(unmarked case)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>οκκα</td>
<td>οκκι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>οκκε</td>
<td>οκκιυγα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we get two intersecting dimensions - those of number and gender. In other words, the masculine-feminine dimension intersects with the singular-plural dimension.

1.60 SYSTEM:

System is that abstract grammatical category which we set up at 'place(s)'
in the structure of a unit to account for the occurrence of one rather than another

from among a number of like events. A system may be said to be a limited ('closed') set of terms in paradigmatic opposition. The terms in a system (these terms have the nature and degree of abstraction of the "class") are both collectively exhaustive and mutually exclusive.¹

It is uneconomical to set up an over-all system of terms or classes divorced from its place of operation in structure. We maintain that systems should be appropriate to the positions for which they are established. "At the several places in a given grammatical structure one sets up appropriate systems to give value to the elements of that structure."²

Ex: In both English and Hindi clause structures, the primary element P is expounded by the primary class 'verbal' of the unit group. By taking a step in delicacy, we may break the class 'verbal' into active verbal group and passive verbal group which form a system of classes operating at P. In other words, at P we have a choice between active verbal group and passive verbal group. By setting up a system of Voice we not only account for this choice but also link up secondary choice classes³ to the primary element of structure. Diagramatically:

![Diagram]

Primary element of clause structure: P

Primary group class: Verbal

Active

Passive

1. Non-choice-exhausting systems are of marginal value only: we have not built them into the framework of our theory.


3. This set of secondary choice classes now stands in the relation of exponent to the primary element of clause structure - P.
Multidimensional systems:

Systems may interlock and affect one another in various ways. Since classes which operate as terms in a system represent the endpoints of more than one relation, systems are generally multidimensional.

It is a defining characteristic of a system that it cannot be a cline.1

System in relation to structure:

Structure and system are two distinct but interrelated categories.2 Systems operate at 'places' in structure to give mutually determined values to the elements of structure. Structures are undimensional, linear; systems are generally multidimensional, commutational.3 The relation between structure and system is always inter-rank relation.

1. Halliday: Categories, p 259 f.n. 44.
2. W. S. Allen: "The terms 'structure' and 'system' are used complementarily; the principle to be stressed is that systems are established at specific places in structure, and that this is the sole guarantee of their relevance. Such a principle contrasts with those varieties of 'structural' linguistics which operate with overall, compendious systems divorced from place in structure". [Structure and System in the Abaza Verbal Complex; T.P. S. 1956, p 131].
3. Firth: "My own theory of analysis requires that the terms 'structure' and 'system' be kept distinct in technical use. Structures are abstractions from utterances or parts of utterances recorded textually. Thus CVCVC and Noun-Verb-Noun might each constitute a structure specifically defined in a particular language, at the phonological and grammatical levels respectively. A structure is said to comprise elements or categories in mutual syntagmatic relation. At any given level of analysis closed systems of categories, units or terms are set up to give mutually determined value to the elements of structure. The terms of a system or of a sub-system within it commute, thus enabling account to be taken of the elements, constituents and features which are given order and place in structure."
   [Ethnographic Analysis and Language with reference to Malinowski's views: in Man and Culture: p 107 f.n.].
1.70: The Rank-scale:

The scale of rank, like the scales of Delicacy and Exponence, is a scale of abstractions. We have set it up to account for the hierarchical arrangement of grammatical units, and for the interrelation among the categories. In both Hindi and English, every sentence consists of one or more than one clause, every clause of one or more than one group, every group of one or more than one word, and every word of one or more than one morpheme. Thus in Hindi 'jao' (90) may be (i.e. may be an exponent of) one sentence which is one clause which is one group which is one word which is one morpheme.

1.71: 'Rank-shift':

We have examined the operation of the rank-scale in our discussion of the Units. We have also noted that the theory allows for "rank-shift". "Rank-shift" is the operation of one unit (or a class of unit) in the structure of a unit of lower rank or of the same rank (e.g. a clause by definition operates in sentence-structure, but in "the man who came to dinner", "who came to dinner" is a rank-shifted clause operating inside a nominal group).

Ex:Hindi: asman mē wri hwi cyɔyya (in-the-sky-flying bird)
Here we have a nominal group with structure - mh. The exponent of h (head) is 'cyɔyya', and that of m (modifier) is "asman mē wri hwi"; but "asman mē wri hwi" is an exponent of a dependent clause having structure A (Adjunct) P(Predicate). Normally, a dependent clause operates in sentence-structure. So we can say that here we have a rank-shifted dependent clause operating at m in nominal group structure.

"Rank-shift" is a case of departure from one/one relation between element of
structure of a unit and classes of the unit next below. "Rankshift" is in fact a name for that type of recursive structure which cuts across the scale of rank. That is to say: in non-rankshifted structures, whether recursive or not, classes of each rank enter into a structure of the rank immediately above: in English, morpheme classes in word structure, word classes in group structure, group classes in clause structure and clause classes in sentence structure. In rankshift this relation is broken and the classes enter into a structure of their own rank or even of lower rank than themselves ..."1

We must note here that our theory does not need to allow for upward rankshift in view of the unit-relation referred to in 1.70.

1.80 The Scale of Delicacy:

The scale of delicacy has been introduced to show how with increased differentiations, the network of grammatical relations becomes more and more complex. Delicacy is a cline,2 a continuum carrying potentiality of infinite gradation. At one end of this cline, we set up the minimum number of elements and classes to account for the relationship between the components of a structure; as we move on, we become more and more delicate, the network of grammatical relations becomes more and more complex. In fact, the other end of the cline is where grammatical differentiation ceases and we are not able to make any more delicate groupings. The limit of delicacy is set not by the theory but the purpose and scope of the description. "Delicacy is a variable to which no theoretical limit can be set; nor is there yet any valid and objective means of measuring it."3

2. " : Categories: p 272
S, P, G, A, have been set up as primary elements of clause structure in English. Nominal group, Verbal group and Adverbal group are primary classes of the unit group operating respectively at S/C, P and A. We cannot account for the relations between the components of a clause or for the operation of group classes in clause structure with less than these four elements. Progressively more delicate differentiations of structure or class are accounted for at secondary delicacy.

At the primary degree of delicacy, our description of the Hindi nominal group structure is \((m) h (q) (e) (n)\) in that order. Thus we would say, at this degree of delicacy, that the following two groups:

\(\text{Agrez/la}^\text{ke} \quad \text{(English boys)}\)

\(\text{ve tin}s\}\text{che \ Agrez/la}^\text{ke} \quad \text{(those three nice English boys)}\)

have the same primary structure: \( mh \). But, by taking a step in delicacy, \( m \) may be broken into \( d \) (deictic), \( o \) (ordinatives), \( e \) (epithet) and \( n \) (nominal), and

---

1. \( m \) = modifier; \( h \) = head; \( q \) = qualifier; \( e \) = emphasizer; \( n \) = negator.
We can say that tin ǧoche ǧirez has the secondary structure: doenh.\(^1\)

The Scale of Exponence:

We have seen how staying in the same category and at the same rank, we can be more and more delicate. Delicacy accounts for our intra-category and intra-rank moves. The scale of exponence accounts for our move from one category to another (or from a category to the formal item). It relates our observations of data to abstract concepts (categories). At the most abstract end-point of this relation are the four basic categories - Unit, Structure, Class and System. At the other end-point within form is the formal item. The move from any category to its exponent may be made either directly or via any or all of the other categories. One can link any category directly to its formal exponent (and through this to its exponent in substance). But with a view to achieving maximum generalization and abstraction, 'one proceeds from category to exponent by the longest route that is compatible with never going over the same step twice.'\(^2\)

**DIRECT ROUTE:**

Abstract Categories

---

1. e = epithet.

**ROUTE via THE CATEGORIES:**

![Diagram](image)

**Exemplification:**

- **S** (an element of clause structure)
- Nominal group (a class of the unit group)
- 'The old man' (Formal Item)

The formal item 'the old man' can be linked directly to S or we can move via the class 'nominal' of the unit group. If we move directly to S, we lose in generality and miss a lot of the intricate network of grammatical relations.

"A given formal item can be at one and the same time, and in the same sense, an exponent of a unit, a structure, an element of structure, a class and a term in
For example, the formal item "khaya jata høy" (is eaten) in Hindi may be exponent of: (i) the unit 'group', (ii) the element P in clause structure, (iii) the class 'verbal' and (iv) the term 'passive' in the system of voice.

1.91 The formal item:

The formal item is the boundary of grammar on the exponence scale. The formal item may have substantial exponents - but this will not be a prolongation of the scale of exponence in grammar. The nature of this abstraction is different and the formal item itself is now an abstraction from substantial features.

1.92:

Exponence may be said to operate on two interrelated dimensions - on one dimension we have the formal item and the abstract categories in exponential relation, and on the other we have substantial features as exponent of a formal category or a formal item. To quote Halliday: "In this paper I have used "exponent" as indicating relative position on the exponence scale (a formal item as exponent of a formal category, and a feature of substance as exponent of a formal category or item); this departs from the practice of those who restrict the term "exponent" to absolute exponents in substance. As used here, "formal item" is a technical term for the endpoint of the exponence relation ('most exponential' point) in form ... In this formulation, exponence is the only relation by which formal category, formal item and feature of substance are linked on a single scale: hence the need for a single term to indicate relative position on the scale. Two defined positions on this scale can then be distinguished as "realization"

1. Halliday: Categories: p 265
2. Halliday: Categories: p 271
and "manifestation". In fact, 'manifestation' (in substance) and 'realisation' (in form) represent different degrees along the exponence scale.

1.100 Interrelation of the scales:

A shift on one scale may but need not always entail a shift on others.

1.101 Exponence and Delicacy:

Moves on the scale of delicacy imply that remaining at the same rank and in the same category, one can go on becoming more delicate. For example, if we are at the rank, clause and in the category structure, our move from primary clause structure to secondary clause structures is a move in delicacy. Again, if we are in the category class (but at the same rank, that is, of clause), our move from primary class to secondary class(es) is a move in delicacy. Exponence, on the other hand, involves inter-category relation and might (but not necessarily) also involve inter-rank relation.

A move on the scale of exponence may not entail a move on the scale of delicacy.

Ex: The formal item "this evening" is an exponent of the class 'nominal' of the unit group. The move from the formal item to the category 'class' is a move on the exponence scale; there is no move on the scale of delicacy.

A move on the scale of delicacy may not entail a move on the scale of exponence.

Ex: The formal item 'yēh' (this) in Hindi is an exponent of both the primary element 'modifier' and of the secondary element 'deictic' in the structure of the nominal group. Here we have a move in delicacy, but not in exponence.

2. in 'yēh lār'ka' (this boy)
Rank is often mistakenly equated with exponent. It is assumed that going down the rankscale is the same thing as going down the exponent scale. This confusion between the hierarchical ranking of units on the one hand, and the different steps on the exponent scale on the other is to a great extent due to our misunderstanding of the interrelations between the categories. When we move from element to class on the exponent scale, we are also moving down one step on the rankscale. This is not due to 'any inherent indetermination between exponent and rank' but due to a special relations between the elements of structure of a unit and classes of the unit next below.

The scales of rank and exponentence represent different dimensions of abstraction.

Ex: The formal item "the old man" as an exponent of the nominal group and the structure mh as an exponent of the nominal group differ in exponentence but not in rank. SPCA (exponent of clause-structure in English) and ahq (exponent of group structure in English) differ in rank but not in exponentence. From the point of view of ranking, the sentence and the morpheme represent the two endpoints on the rankscale, but from the point of view of exponentence the sentence stands in exactly the same relation to its exponents as does the morpheme.¹

Delicacy and rank represent two different scale types, the former is a cline and the latter a hierarchy. A move on the scale of delicacy does not involve a

---

1. Halliday: "The relation of an exponent of the unit "sentence" to the category of sentence is exactly the same as that of an exponent of the unit "morpheme" to the category of morpheme". [Categories: p 232].
move on rankscale.

Ex: Primary structure of the nominal group: mhq
Secondary structure of the nominal group: doenhq

Here we remain at the same rank (the rank of group) but we have made a move in delicacy.

A move on the scale of rank does not involve a move on the delicacy scale.

Ex: Primary clause structure: SPC
Primary group (nominal) structure: mhq

Here we have moved down from clause to group on the rankscale but there is no move on the delicacy scale.

1.104. Scale-types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the scales</th>
<th>Types.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RANK</td>
<td>HIERARCHY (TAXONOMY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DELICACY</td>
<td>CLINE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPONENTE</td>
<td>CLINE*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Delicacy and exponence are both 'clines' in the sense that they are continuous, discrete and open - but with a different kind of openness; delicacy is open in the sense of open-ended, since it is a scale of progressive differentiation and therefore can be indefinitely protracted, whereas exponence is open in the sense that although the terminal points are fixed intermediate points can be indefinitely filled.
PART II

"Whatever be the country of the student, the analysis of his native tongue is his best practice in general grammar".

(Latham in the Preface to his English Grammar of 1843 p vi)

A SYSTEMIC DESCRIPTION OF HINDI

CHAPTER II

THE SENTENCE
2.11 Definition and delimitation:

It is a commonplace of linguistics to consider the sentence as a universal category. It is universal in the sense that all languages have one unit which operates directly in situation.

"There will always be one unit which, more than any other, offers itself as an item for contextual statement because it does the language work in situations: so it might as well always have the same name: 'sentence'". ¹ This does not, however, mean that the sentence in all languages has the same formal meaning. The formal meaning of the sentence in Hindi, for example, depends upon the total network of linguistic relations into which it enters. In fact, the formal meaning of any given unit always involves reference to others, and therefore indirectly to all the others.

2.12:

We define and delimit a unit or classes of a unit by looking at the way it operates in the structure of the unit next above - morpheme in word-structure, word in group-structure, group in clause-structure and clause in sentence-structure. We can not do this in the case of sentence because we have not set up any unit higher than the sentence.

2.13:

The traditional grammarians, it seems, have had no difficulty in defining the sentence. Almost all of them are agreed on the point that the sentence is a group of words that expresses a complete thought. We find it very difficult to

to operate with such a definition of sentence. Our difficulty is not because of the fact that this definition is traditional but because it is non-grammatical; it is based not on intralingual relations but on extralingual considerations. This sort of definition is tied up with the notion of language as an expression of thought.

"If we regard language as 'expressive' or 'communicative', we imply that it is an instrument of inner mental states. And as we know so little of inner mental states, even by the most careful introspection, the language problem becomes more mysterious, the more we try to explain it by referring to inner mental happenings that are not observable." ¹

Another point is that the traditional grammarians postulated only two linguistic units - sentence and word. It may be very difficult to operate with only two linguistic units² because in such a description there will hardly be any room for 'shunting'.

2.14:

In our description of Hindi the sentence is taken as the largest, most inclusive unit under examination; statements about the syntagmatic relations between elements set up to describe the structure of the sentence may be said to represent 'the upper limit of systematisation.'³ Bendor-Samuel, in a similar situation in his description of Jebero, says:

---

2. Theoretically there is no objection to setting up only two units; in fact the number of units is a descriptive feature.
"The sentence is the largest piece for which systematic statements of grammatical structure and relations are made." According to Bloomfield any free form and no bound form can occur as a sentence.

"A maximum form in any utterance is a sentence." In a recent study of a Panoan language (Capanahua), Eugene E. Loos says:

"A sentence is a grammatical unit of speech potentially isolatable as a complete utterance by one speaker." 2

The Hindi sentence is a grammatical unit (highest/largest on rank scale) which potentially occurs alone as complete utterance. In a written text, the sentence may be delimited by purely graphic criteria. Any stretch of utterance written between (i) blank and any of the following punctuation marks or (ii) between the punctuation marks themselves is a sentence.

Punctuation marks: (a) purṇ-vyram (full-stop) Symbol - !
(b) pra/n-sučēk cynh (mark of interrogation) Symbol - ?
(c) vyaṃṭy-bodhēk cynh (mark of exclamation) Symbol - !

In theory the sentence is unlimited in extent, and it is considered to extend until marked as closed. We must make our position clear on this point. The

---

2. (a) L. Bloomfield: A set of postulates for the science of language. p 26. [From "Readings in Linguistics" Ed. by Joos].
(b) " : "Each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form." [Language: p 170].
4. K. L. Pike ... "A sentence by definition isolatable in its own right - isolatability is a specific characteristic of the sentence itself (Bloomfield, 170). ... Isolatability must be defined structurally. Here we treat it as a potential of an item for constituting an entire utterance". (Language, vol. III pp. 61-7).
5. M. A. K. Halliday: "As in written texts in modern Chinese or in European languages (where the sentence is taken to extend until marked as closed by a full-stop"). [Secret History" p 51 f.n. 1.]
sentence in Hindi, as remarked above, is a grammatical unit and has been established in our grammar of Hindi,¹ by formal grammatical criteria - viz. (a) potentiality of occurring alone as complete utterance, (b) the way in which clause classes make up its structure. In the delimitation of exponents of sentence within our text, we would do a bit of 'squinting', that is, draw evidence from other 'levels' (phonology and graphology).

Two sentences:  
मैंने यह किता खोकी है / सिल ये कैल पढ़ेगी /  
(I have read this book) (Sheila will read it tomorrow)

One sentence:  
मैंने यह किता खोकी है पर सिल ये कैल पढ़ेगी /  
(I have read this book but Sheila will read it tomorrow).

In spoken Hindi, we can draw evidence from phonology. Intonation might help us draw a line round sentence.

2.16: All sentences are grammatically free;² but they may not be contextually free. Sentence being that unit which operates directly in situation, may be said to be contextually conditioned, and we may get some idea about it by looking at its contextual function.

The contextual function of the sentence may be systematized as follows:

1. A. De Groot: "The sentence of a definite language belongs to the grammar of that language".  
   - [Structural Linguistics and Syntactic Laws" p 3. Word vol. 5 no. 1, 1949].
2. M. A. K. Halliday: "Since no unit has been set up greater than the sentence having structure in which the forms operating are sentence classes, all are sentences are grammatically free".  
Contextually determined sentence-types

| (a) Statement | ʃekhər ʃəl rəhə həy | (Shekhar is playing) |
| (b) Command   | ʃəhə əo            | (come here)         |
| (c) Question  | meri ʃətək kəhə həy?| (where is my book?) |
| (d) Answer    | ʃəz ɾəɾ           | (on the table)      |
| (e) Exclamation| əg! əg!            | (Fire! Fire!)       |

All sentences are either statements or commands or questions or answers or exclamations. We may talk more delicately about request or entreaty under 'command' or about 'surprise' under 'exclamation'. 'Conditionals' are taken care of at the clause-rank. 'Negation' and 'emphasis' are carried by different classes of the Group.

At a higher degree of abstraction one might say that a sentence is either anapocritic (i.e. it is not an answer) or apocritic (i.e. it is an answer).
2.21 The primary elements of Sentence Structure:

We are forced to approach the sentence "from below" simply because of its unique position at the top of the rankscale. It does not operate in the structure of any higher unit (as a matter of fact we have not set up any unit higher than the sentence), but it does "consist of" one or more complete members of the unit next below. "A sentence is a grammatical form which is not in construction with any other grammatical form; a constituent which is not a constituent".

The way clause-classes operate in a sentence might give us a fairly good idea of the structure of sentence. According to Pike

"Some, but not all, sentences are clauses; some sentences are made up of two or more clauses, whereas other sentences - especially those filling an utterance-response slot - may be made up of non-clause phrases or words (thus tomorrow is a non-clause sentence in the query-response unit when are you coming? Tomorrow").

We would not agree with Pike here. Within the framework of our model, 'tomorrow' is one sentence which is one clause which is one group which is one word. In Hindi "हाँ" (meaning yes - in answer to a question) is an exponent of one sentence which consists of one clause which consists of one group which consists of one word which consists of one morpheme.

"The relation among the units, then, is that going from top (largest) to bottom (smallest), each "consists of" one or more than one, of the unit next below (next smaller)."

---

1. Viola Waterhouse: "Recent analysis in some aboriginal languages, however, has made it obvious that not all sentences are independent, but that there are in fact grammatical constructions which indicate that some sentences are dependent and therefore to be included in some larger linguistic form such as paragraph or discourse". [Independent and dependent sentences: p 45 IJAL vol 29, No. 1, Jan., 1963].

2. Morpheme (the smallest unit has classes, but no structure; sentence (the largest unit) has structure, but no classes.


That means, the theory does not allow for 'jumping'; all sentences consist of one or more than one clause, all clauses of one or more than one group ... and so on down the rankscale.

2.211:

The primary elements of the structure of sentence may be represented by $\alpha$ and $\beta$. $\alpha$ and $\beta$ are expounded by the primary classes of clause. We can have a sentence with only one element, that is, a sentence which consists of only one clause.

\[\text{Weh bimar he'y. (He is ill).}\]

Here we have a sentence which consists of only one clause. At this point, it is useful to make a distinction between a Simple and a Compound sentence, the former consisting of one clause only and the latter of more than one.

"The 'Simple'/Compound' opposition is thus one of structure." ¹

2.212:

The primary structure of sentence may be said to be made up of $\alpha$ and $\beta$. Sequence does not play a crucial part in the definition of the elements. We may have any number of $\alpha$'s and $\beta$'s. $\beta$ may precede or follow or interrupt $\alpha$; $\alpha$ may precede or follow or interrupt $\beta$.

---

2.213 Primary elements of sentence-structures and Primary clause-classes in relation:

```
\[ \text{Primary elements} \quad \alpha \quad \beta \]
\[ \text{Primary classes} \quad \text{Independent} \quad \text{Dependent} \]
\[ \text{clause} \quad \text{Exponent} \]
```
### 2.214 Possible Combination of elements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of elements</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one element</td>
<td>( \alpha ) ( \text{Sudha is singing} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \beta ) ( \text{If you like} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \beta \alpha ) ( \text{If you want to come, you are welcome.} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha \beta ) ( \text{He said that he wouldn't come} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two elements</td>
<td>( \alpha \alpha ) ( \text{come, let's go} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \alpha \beta ) ( \text{I will come after having had my meal.} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \beta \alpha ) ( \text{Rawesh, I know is a very nice person.} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a sentence containing both \( \alpha \) and \( \beta \), the normal sequence is that \( \alpha \) precedes \( \beta \). We might show it on a probability scale ranging from "most probable" (top) to "least probable" (bottom).

\[
\begin{align*}
\alpha & \uparrow \\
\beta & \downarrow \\
0 & \\
1 & 
\end{align*}
\]

Note: \( \alpha \alpha \) and \( \alpha \beta \) will be discussed in the section on Linkage.
The α element

2.22

α may be defined as that primary element of sentence-structure which is expounded by the primary class "Independent" of the unit clause. We might define "Independent Clause" as that primary class of clause which has the potentiality of operating at α or of making a complete sentence. In other words, independent clauses are potentially complete sentences. Clauses which do not have the potentiality of operating at α are 'dependent'. We may define α more rigorously by saying that it is the exponent of the simple structure of sentence. In other words, the class 'Independent' of the unit clause is exponentially identified with the simple sentence.2

///məyne swə həy/// ky əʃə ləndən ja rəhi həy///[I have heard that Asha is going to London.]

Here we have a sentence which consists of two clauses. The first clause (məyne swə həy) is 'independent' because it can expound the simple structure of sentence; the second clause (ky əʃə ləndən ja rəhi həy) cannot occur on its own. It can operate only in "Compound" structures. It may therefore be called "dependent". Usually, dependent clauses are marked by the presence of a binding element or have the potentiality of being initiated by a binding element.

1. L. Bloomfield: "By definition, any free form and no bound form can occur as a sentence." [Linguistic Aspects of Science, p 27.]
2. Marginal cases where dependent clauses can stand on their own as answers to questions have been discussed elsewhere.
Another important distinction between independent and dependent clauses is that only dependent clauses can be rank-shifted. The independent clause may now be defined as that primary class of clause which can expound the simple structure of a sentence and which may never be rankshifted.

The \( \beta \) element

2.23:

\( \beta \) is the primary element of sentence structure which is expounded by the class "dependent" of the unit clause. Morphologically a dependent clause may be marked by the presence of one or more binding element(s).

2.231:

Dependent clauses in Hindi may be divided into the following secondary classes:
Honorific

Finite

Dependent

Finite sequentiality

Non-honorific

Non-finite

system of non-participal

Infinite

Non-sequential

Conditioning

Non-sequential

Affirmative

Imperative

system of non-finite

Conjunctival

Participial

Infinitival

Multiple

Single

Polar

Nonpolar

Single

Multiple
2.232 The system of finiteness:

Early in delicacy, the class 'dependent' of the unit clause breaks into finite and non-finite dependent clauses forming a two-term system of finiteness. Of these two secondary classes, the finite one alone enters into the system of sequentiability and has a $P^f$ (i.e. a predicator expounded by a finite verbal group).

Finite Dependent clause:

\[
\alpha \rightarrow \beta
\]

(My landlady told me that Mrs. Miles had been on the telephone.)

She turned her head sharply away, as though she were looking to see if anyone were coming ...).

Non-finite dependent clause:

(Being impatient he shouted out).

(He entered, escaping the notice of the watchman).

2.2321: The system of sequentiability:

It has two terms: sequential and non-sequential. The main distinctions between them are - i) the sequentials cannot initiate a sentence; ii) they (the sequentials) may be initiated by $k\nu$ (that); iii) they alone enter into the system of mood; iv) the non-sequentials alone can select from the system of conditioning and relative clauses.
Sequential

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{wkh\'e k\'e \text{h\'e}y} / / / \text{ky p\'e \text{b\'e} je \text{t\'e}k s\'e}g e / / / \\
\text{b}
\end{array}
\]

(He has said that he will arrive there by 5).

Non-sequential:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{ve n\'e}h\'i a \text{s\'e}k\'e \text{h\'e}y // \text{k\'o}k y \text{w}\text{n}\text{k\'i} \text{t\'e}k\text{y}v\text{e}t \\
\text{b} \\
\text{kh\'e}r\text{a}b \text{h\'e}y / / /
\end{array}
\]

(He cannot come because he is not well).

2,2322:
The system of mood will be discussed in the chapter on the clause. Here we would simply exemplify the system as carried by the dependent sequential clause.

Honorific:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{wss\'e k\'e}h\'a // \text{ky \'e}b \\
\text{b} \\
\text{jayve} // /
\end{array}
\]

(He said (that) go now). (polite form)

Imperative:

Non-honorific:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{wss\'e k\'e}h\'a // \text{ky \'e}b \text{jac} // /
\end{array}
\]

(He said (that) go now).

Polar:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{\'e}y\text{n\'e wss\'e puma} // \text{ky \'e}y\text{\'a wse} \\
\text{b} \\
\text{p\'e}y\text{\'e cahyye} // /
\end{array}
\]

(I asked him if he wanted money).

Interrogative:

Non-polar:

Single:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{\'e}y\text{n\'e puma} // \text{ky \'e}p \\
\text{b} \\
\text{k\'e}w\text{n h\'e}y // /
\end{array}
\]

(I asked who he was).

Multiple:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{\'e}y\text{n\'e ra\'u se puma} // \\
\text{b} \\
\text{ky k\'e}w\text{n k\'e}y \text{\'a r\'e}h\'a \text{h\'e}y // /
\end{array}
\]

(I asked Ramu who was doing what).
Affirmative: \[ \tilde{\text{mēy}} \text{ne} \tilde{kēna} // \tilde{\text{kī}} \tilde{\text{mēy}} \text{ja} \tilde{\text{rēha}} \tilde{\text{hū}} /// \] (I said that I was going)

2.2323: Subdivisions of the non-sequentials:

The non-sequentials break into the conditioning and relative clauses.

2.2323i. The conditioning clauses:

The conditioning clauses are marked by the presence of one or more non-relative binding adjuncts. The exponents are:

- \( \tilde{\text{a}} \) (if)
- \( \tilde{\text{e}} \) (because)
- \( \tilde{\text{yē}} \) (although)
- \( \tilde{\text{cāhe}} \) (whether)
- \( \tilde{\text{kāren}} \) (because of the reason)

Ex:

\[
\beta
\tilde{\text{yē}} \tilde{\text{dē}} \tilde{\text{twm}} \tilde{\text{cāho}} // \tilde{\text{tō}} \tilde{\text{ja}} \tilde{\text{sēktē ho}} /// (\text{If you like, you may go})
\]

\[
\tilde{\text{mēy}} \text{ne} \tilde{\text{hī}} \tilde{\text{a}} \tilde{\text{sēka}} // \tilde{\text{kyōky}} \tilde{\text{mēre}} \tilde{\text{bēcē}} \tilde{\text{bimēr}} \tilde{\text{thē}} /// (I could not come because my children were ill).
\]

\[
\tilde{\text{yē}} \tilde{\text{dē}} \tilde{\text{yē}} \tilde{\text{py}} \tilde{\text{vēh}} \tilde{\text{sdēha ho}} // \tilde{\text{phyrbhī}} \tilde{\text{ēpna}} \tilde{\text{sara}} \tilde{\text{kam}} \tilde{\text{kōrta}} \tilde{\text{hēy}} /// (\text{Although he is blind, he does all his work}).
\]
2.2323 The relative clauses:

The distinguishing feature of a relative clause is that it makes at least one selection from the following elements:—

\( A^R, S^R, O^R \) (Relative adjunct, relative subject, relative object).

2.2323 The relatives: We may subdivide the relatives into single and multiple relatives (depending on the number of relative elements selected; see the chapter on the Hindi clause: section 3.612).

\( A^R \)

//jēhā mēn cahe/,, vēhā jaq// (Go wherever you like)

\( A^R \) S P A^R P

\( O^R \)

//jo mēy cahta hū/,, vēh akepas mēhā hēy// (you don't have what I want).

\( O^R \) S P S A P

\( S^R \)

//jo soṭa hēy//, vēh kōta hēy// (He who sleeps loses)

\( S^R \) P S P

2.2324 The non-finite dependent clauses:

The non-finite dependent clause is marked by the presence of a \( P^{NF} \) (A predicate expounded by a non-finite verbal group). It may be subdivided into the following types:

(i) **Conjunctival:** //Khana khakēr,// mēy a jaug// (I will come after having had my meal)

\( 0 \) P S P

(ii) **Participial:** //dēwta hwa,// mēy wske pas (I went up to him running)

\( P \) S A P

(iii) **Infinite:** //vēhā jans// mēy ecute nēhī (I do not think it nice to go there.)

\( A \) P S 0 sēmējhta//

\( 0 \) P
Morphologically, dependent clauses may be of the following types:

- A-bound
- S-bound
- O-bound

\[P = \text{Predicator}; \ A = \text{Adjunct}; \ S = \text{Subject}; \ O = \text{Object}\].

A-bound may be relative or non-relative, but S and O bound are all relative.

Relative:

\[\text{Relative: } /\beta/ j\text{h}a\text{h}a \text{cah}o/ /\alpha/ v\text{h}a\text{h}a \text{jao}/ \] (Go wherever you like)

\[A^B \text{ A-bound} \]

Non-Relative:

\[/\beta/ j\text{h}a\text{h}a \text{cah}o/ /\alpha/ j\text{h}a\text{sekte ho}/ (\text{If you like, you may go})\]

\[S^B \text{ S-bound Relative: } /\beta/ j\text{o sota h}\text{h}y/ /\alpha/ v\text{e}h \text{k}h\text{ota h}\text{h}y/ (\text{He who sleeps loses})\]

\[0^B \text{ 0-Bound Relative: } /\beta/ j\text{o k}h\text{e}h\text{a h}\text{h}y/ /\alpha/ w\text{sp}er/ (I \text{ will think over what you have said})\]

Conjunctival:

\[/\beta/ b\text{h}a\text{h}oc\text{o ko sw}l\text{ak}er/ /\alpha/ m\text{e}y f\text{i}g\text{h}e\text{t} \text{will come soon after}\]

\[O^B \text{ 0-bounding} \]

Putting the child-

\[S^B \text{ Con}junctival: /\beta/ b\text{h}a\text{h}oc\text{o ko sw}l\text{ak}er/ /\alpha/ m\text{e}y f\text{i}g\text{h}e\text{t} \text{will come soon after}\]

\[P \text{ P-bound} \]

\[S^B \text{ S-bound} \]

\[A^B \text{ A-bound} \]

\[O^B \text{ 0-Bound} \]
P-bound Participial: /// Khana bēnate bēnate /// mēy 
0 P thēk gēya ///

Infinitival: /// khwli hēva mē tēnā // A P
0 θoccha / hota hēy ///

PARATAxis AND HYPOTAXIS

2.31. Co-ordination and Subordination:

Two kinds of relation between clauses have been recognised traditionally - co-ordination (parataxis) and subordination (hypotaxis). The co-ordinate kind is a relation of presupposition between things which are alike or homogeneous, and the subordinate kind between things which are heterogeneous. To quote: A.N. Whithead:

"There are accordingly two main genera of relations to be distinguished, namely 'homogeneous' relations, which relate among themselves natural elements of the same type, and 'heterogeneous' relations which relate natural elements of different types". ¹

According to Nida hypotaxis and parataxis are two principal types of structural cohesion.

"Hypotactic constructions are those which exhibit considerable structural unity and integration. Paratactic constructions are those in which one constituent stands in a sort of 'extrapositional relationship' to the other". ²

/// waše nāk-nēk/e əcche the // əwr waša rēg saf tha /// (His features were quite nice and his complexion fair).

¹. A.N. Whithead: "An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Natural Knowledge". (CUP 1919) p 60.
². E.A. Nida: An Outline of Descriptive Syntax; p 94.
Here we have a relation of co-ordination between the two independent clauses. 'वर' links up the two bits. Where 'वर' (and), 'पर' (but), 'तथा' (and), 'या' (or) etc. join two clauses, we would consider them as linking adjuncts belonging to the clause which immediately follows them. In the example quoted above the first clause is unlinked and the second linked. This relation of co-ordination may be called LINKAGE. We would use & to show linkage for example, the second clause would now be represented by &.

2.32 LINKAGE:

Linkage may be defined as a relation of co-ordination between two or more (like) elements. In sentence-structure linkage may be expounded by one or more of the following features:

(a) presence of a linking adjunct (Symbol: $A^L$): The exponents of linking adjunct are:

$A$-linked:

वर
तथा (and)
स्वभ (and)
वा

या (or)
स्थावा (or)
वा
veren
per
perentw
kyntw (but)
mager
lekyn
pretwyt
belky

yalye
eteyv (therefore)
eteh

ne...ne (neither...nor)

nshite (otherwise, if not)
enyetha

ya...ya (either...or)
cahe...cahe (whether...or)

phyr (again)
tewbhi (nevertheless)
to (then)
Ex:  
\[ \alpha \quad \alpha \]
/// mēy bol reha tha // erw ap swm rehe the /// (I was speaking and you were listening).

\[ \alpha \]
/// ēbhi tēk to koi bhi nēhī aya bēy // pēr

\[ \alpha \quad \alpha \]
rat ko bēhwt sare log āge /// (No one has come yet, but a good many will come tonight).

\[ \alpha \]
/// mēyne purṇ rupṣe pēryarēm kyya // pēr

\[ \alpha \quad \alpha \]
sephēl nēhī ho sēks /// (I worked hard but could not succeed).

(b) by the absence of one or more elements present in the preceding or following clause to which it is linked and with which it has "related context":

S-linked

absence of S:  
1) anaphoric:
\[ \alpha \quad \alpha \]
/// wako stri thi, // bōoce the /// (He had wife, had children)

\[ \alpha \]
/// pēyse to dēye bēy, // bhēgvan-ne (has given money, God hasn't given peace).

\[ \alpha \]
\[ \alpha \]
santy nēhī di bēy ///

P-linked

absence of P:  
1) anaphoric:
\[ \alpha \]
/// waka rup swaṅer tha, // waka (Her face was nice, her character dreadful).

\[ \alpha \]
cēytra bhēyavē ///
ii) cataphoric:

\[
\alpha \quad \text{\(m\)ye to th\(\_\)y, \(w\)ane} \\
S \quad 0 \quad S \\
\text{a little, he has eaten a lot)
\]

\[
\beta \quad \text{\(h\)w\(\_\)yt \(k\)h\(\_\)ya \(h\)y} \\
0 \quad P
\]

A - S - P linked

(c) by the absence of one or more elements and the presence of a linking adjunct.

absence of S and P:

\[
\alpha \quad \text{\(p\)t\(\_\)aji do b\(\_\)hai the} \\
S \quad 0 \quad P \quad A \\
\text{\(F\)ather had two brothers and three sisters)
\]

\[
\beta \quad \text{\(h\)mej} \\
0
\]

Here linkage is carried by (i) the absence of both S and P, and (ii) the presence of \(A^L\).

One of the distinguishing features of the clauses listed above is that we cannot vary their sequence. For example, we cannot say -

/// \(\omega\)r \(t\)in \(\beta\)h\(\_\)n, /// \(p\)t\(\_\)aji do b\(\_\)hai the ///

It is a characteristic of linkage that the sequence of clauses may not be varied.

A linked clause cannot precede the clause to which it is linked.

Other exponents of co-ordination are:

(i) juxtaposition: two independent clauses are linked together by juxtaposition or by position alongside.

\[
\alpha \quad \text{\(d\)r \(h\)o \(\_\)\(h\)\(\_\)n \(h\)y, \(h\)\(\_\)me j\(\_\)\(a\) n\(\_\)a \(h\)ga} \\
\text{(It's getting late; we've got to go)}
\]

(ii) apposition: /// \(\\d\)ya \(\d\)\(\_\)\(\_\)\(\_\)m \(k\)i \(m\)\(\_\)l \(h\)y, /// \(y\)\(\_\)h \(m\)\(\_\)\(r\)e \(v\)\(s\) \(v\)\(s\) \(h\)y ///

---

1. Nida calls this 'associative parataxis'
   of S.A. Nida: Outline of Descriptive Syntax p 94.
A clause which is apposed to some other clause has an anaphoric element (an element with anaphoric reference) as its distinguishing feature.

We may now summarise different kinds of relations of co-ordination under the following headings:

(a) **Additive**: Two or more independent clauses joined together by the (i) presence of a linking element (ii) absence of one or more elements present in the preceding clause, (iii) by both (i) and (ii).

---

**Ex:**

1) ///ṣṭyə hɪ swnder həy// əmr swnderhi ṣṭyə həy/// (Truth is beauty and beauty is truth).

2) ///məy miθ Sağ lūťa,// khəθ[०] ngə /// (I will have sweet mangoes, not sour ones).

In (ii) linkage is carried by absence of a number of elements in the second clause which are present in the first clause. Note that we make use of "understood" elements only when they have already appeared in the preceding clause. Nelson Francis would like to call this "elliptical structure of co-ordination."¹

(b) **Appositive**: We may have two independent clauses where the second is apposed to the first.

///ṣṭyə hɪ swnder həy// yeh sərv-ʂanyə ṣṭyə həy/// (Truth is beauty, this is a well-known saying).

---

¹ Nelson Francis: The Structure of American English: pp 361-62: "Such a structure in which a single component is assumed to be functioning in two different positions in a structure of co-ordination (or in which it is "understood" to be repeated) can properly be called an elliptical Structure."
Theoretically, there is no limit to such structures of co-ordination.

Ex:

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{a} \\
&/\text{pytaji kam k\v{e}r rehe h\text{\textipa{\=n}}}// \text{m\=a khana b\v{e}na rehi h\=ey};// \text{behe\=n p\textipa{\=e}gh rehi} \\
&\text{\=a} \\
&\text{p\textipa{\=e} h\=ey};// \text{\v{e}wr m\=ey s\=ve\textipa{\=t}er b\=\textipa{\=n}m rehi hu};//
\end{align*} \]

(Father is working, mother is cooking, sister is reading and I am knitting a sweater).

Yngve rightly says:

"Sentences, clauses, phrases, and attributes can each be co-ordinated indefinitely in progressive structures."

Diagrammatically, the system of linkage may be represented as below:

![Diagram of linkage system]

2.33 DEPENDENCE

The other kind of presupposition relation - the subordinate one, i.e. relation between things which are unlike - is a relation of DEPENDENCE.

Ex: ///jebb se herf aya hey// nanda to gemy wihi hey// (Since Harsh has arrived A^B  S  P  S  O  P Nanda has gone almost crazy).

Here we have a sentence consisting of two clauses. The first clause cannot normally stand alone. Clauses with A^B or S^B or O^B do not occur alone (except as answers to questions). They demand the presence of some other clause(s) in the sentence. They presuppose some other clause(s). This kind of syntagmatic relation where an element of structure can occur only if some other element is present may be called Dependence. In a sentence-structure of two elements a^B, we may omit β but we may not omit α.¹

2.331:

Both dependence and co-ordination may be treated recursively. There is no theoretical limit to the number of clauses that may be related in dependence or in co-ordination. There is, however, one important distinction between these two kinds of relation. In co-ordination, the elements are in 'transitive' relation; in dependence, they are in non-transitive relation. If in the structure x^1x^2x^3, the elements are ordered in co-ordination, the relation between the elements may be shown as:

---

¹ C. E. Baxell: "In a binary syntagm AB, A is subordinate to B if the overall environmental range of the syntagm is similar to the environmental range of B but not of A."

[Linguistic Form: p 33].
If the elements are ordered in dependence, then

\[ x^3: x^2: x^1 \]

and so transitively, \( x^3: x^1 \).

but there is no transitive relation between \( x^3 \) and \( x^1 \).

The relation between \( x^3 \) and \( x^1 \) is only an indirect one.

2.331 Linked and Unlinked Dependent clauses:

Dependent clauses may be linked or unlinked. A linked dependent clause is marked by the presence of a linking adjunct.

**Unlinked:**

//mēy jata hū// kytō kyōh eēbhī tēk mēhī (I am going because he hasn’t arrived yet).

**Linked:**

//mēy jata hū// pēr yēdī yōh eē// to wse (I’m going but if he comes, (then) send him along).

2.331 Dependence and Linkage:

Both independent and dependent clauses can select from the system of linkage which has two terms: linked and unlinked. Thus we have the following possibilities:

**Single element:** Unlinked independent clause \( \alpha \)

linked independent clause \( \&\alpha \)

Unlinked dependent clause \( \beta \)

linked dependent clause \( \&\beta \)
Combinations (two elements):

α & α  

(I told him everything and he accepted my proposal)

α & α  

(And so long as I am not here, you will look after this boy)

β & β  

(If you have time and if you are willing to do this).

β & α  

(And if you like, you may go)

Other combinations are possible but they are of marginal value.

2.332:

The primary elements of sentence-structure α & β are class-determined; each is expounded by a primary class of the unit clause. By taking a step in delicacy β may be broken into secondary elements on the choice axis yielding secondary choice classes: sequentials, non-sequentials etc. On the chain axis β breaks not into discrete class-determined elements but into terms in a series; β repeats itself "in depth" so that we have β₁, β₂, β₃... (or β, Γ, Ω...). Only the first term in the series is class-expounded; others are repetitions of the first one and the terms are all ordered "in depth".
Diagrammatically:

Primary element of sentence-structure

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\beta \\
\downarrow \\
\beta_1 \\
\downarrow \\
\beta_2 \\
\vdots
\end{array} \]

Primary clause class: Dependent

(No relevant secondary classes)

2.333:

In Hindi we may have the following kinds of dependence-relation:-

(a) We may have a series of dependent clauses, each subordinate to the one immediately preceding it.

Ex: ///Ramu ne kaha hoy/ ky voh nahi a sakte/ kyoky wale becche bimar hoy///

[Ramu has said that he cannot come because his children are ill].

Here \( \beta_2 \) is subordinate to \( \beta_1 \) and \( \beta_1 + \beta_2 \) is subordinate to \( \alpha \). There is no direct relation between \( \beta_2 \) and \( \alpha \), because we cannot say "ramu ne kaha hoy kyoky wale becche bimar hoy." The normal, unmarked relation between dependent clauses is that
each presupposes the one immediately preceding it. Logically, however, $\beta_2$
is subordinate to $\alpha$, but this relation of subordination is indirect.

Theoretically such dependent clauses can run on without limit.

\[
\alpha \quad \beta \quad \gamma \quad \delta
\]

/// [Sheila knows that Mira has told you that Ramesh knows that Radha is getting married or going to get married].

Here the class "dependent clause" operates at beta, gamma and delta: each item
could occur at every place. $\beta$, $\gamma$ and $\delta$ are terms "in depth". $\delta$ is subordinate to
$\gamma$, as $\gamma$ is subordinate to $\beta$, as $\beta$ is subordinate to $\alpha$. This is an illustration
of what Dr. Halliday calls "recursive structure".

These are a number of points worth noting in this connection:-

(1) Elements of "recursive" structure cannot be used to differentiate
classes.  

(2) $\beta$, $\gamma$ and $\delta$ do not represent discrete elements like elements in a
place-ordered structure. In fact, $\beta$, $\gamma$ and $\delta$ represent repetitions of the same
element "in depth" - though they do symbolise different degrees of depth.

We may look upon the dependent clauses as being one inside the other:

1. M.A.K. Halliday: "Chain and Choice" p 12: "It is a characteristic of
recursive structures that they cannot be used to differentiate classes".
Let us say that we have four clauses here marked 1, 2, 3, 4. Number one is an exponent of "independent clause"; 2, 3, 4 are exponents of "dependent clause". There is an over-all relation between No. 1 and the rest of the sentence. The rest of the sentence is subordinate to No. 1. But within the subordinate bit there are "layers" of subordination or degrees of depth of dependence. No. 4 is subordinate to No. 3 which serves as a "principal clause". Nos. 3 and 4 (combined) are subordinate to No. 2 which serves as a "principal clause". Again Nos. 2, 3 and 4 (combined) are subordinate to No. 1 which is both the independent clause of the sentence and a "principal clause" in the relation of independence. We have used the term "principal clause" to describe a purely grammatical relation between a subordinate clause and the clause to which it is subordinated.¹

(b) We may have a number of dependent clauses each individually subordinate to some other clause:

(If I go, you will have to remain here because I cannot leave my child alone).

---

1. Eugene E. Loos: "One subordinate clause may have another subordinate clause as its principal clause, which in turn may have another subordinate clause as its principal clause. The limit of the number of such related subordinate clauses that may occur is undefined."

Here each \( \beta \) is independently subordinate to \( \alpha \). Firstly, there is no direct relation between the two \( \beta \)s. We can have either \( \beta_1 \) or \( \alpha_1 \), that is we can drop one of the \( \beta \)s out. Secondly, the two \( \beta \)s cannot be juxtaposed without changing the meaning of the whole utterance.

\[
\beta_1 \quad \alpha_1 \quad \beta_2
\]

(If I go, you will have to remain here; If I don’t go, you will have to go).

Here \( \beta_1 \) is subordinate to \( \alpha_1 \), and \( \beta_2 \) is subordinate to \( \alpha_2 \). There is no direct relation either between \( \beta_1 \) and \( \beta_2 \) or between \( \alpha_1 \) and \( \alpha_2 \). We might treat the whole utterance as a case of two sentences in juxtaposition. Each sentence has all the essential structural elements. But if \( \beta_2 \) is changed to linked dependent i.e. \( \& \beta_2 \) (which it is possible to do by adding ‘\& \( \omega \)’r’ to it), we will have to look upon the whole utterance as an example of two linked sentences. One might want to treat it as one sentence and say that \( \beta_2 \) is linked to \( \alpha \), but subordinate to \( \alpha_2 \), so that we have

\[
\beta_1 \alpha_1 \quad \& \beta_2 \alpha_2
\]

(d) We may have two clauses one inside the other – the inserted clause may be called ‘parenthetical clause’.
(Nehruji, I think, was a seasoned/mature politician).

Here we have two clauses one inside the other. There may be a number of ways of describing the relation between the two. Since none of them has a binding element and each has the potentiality of expounding a one might like to say that they are two independent clauses in co-ordination. If co-ordination can be carried by juxtaposition, it might as well be carried by parenthesis. But the situation is not exactly similar. When we have two independent clauses in juxtaposition, we can insert a linking element between the two.

Ex: ///my hēsta hū/twm rote ho/// (I am laughing, you are weeping)

With a linking element:-

///my hēsta hū/pēr twn rote ho/// (I am laughing, but you are weeping)

We cannot insert a linking element between the clauses mentioned above. We cannot say:

1/// nehrwji, ēwr my sēmējta hū, ek pērypēkve rajnitygyē hēy///

(Nehruji, and I know, is a seasoned politician).

*I/// my sēmējta hū ēwr nehrwji ek pērypēkve rajnitygyē hēy///

(I think and Nehruji is a seasoned politician)
So we would not like to consider them as two independent clauses in additive relation.

Another solution is to consider "मेय तमेज्हता हूँ" as exponent of an independent clause apposed to "नेहर्वजी एक पर्यपक्व राजनीतिग्य है". That would amount to saying that here we have two independent clauses in appositive relation. Again, we would not agree with this analysis because we have said earlier that all appositive clauses have one or more anaphoric element(s) as their distinguishing feature(s). Here "मेय तमेज्हता हूँ" has no anaphoric element (i.e. has no element with anaphoric reference). We would not therefore like to look upon this clause as apposed to the other one.

Our solution to the problem is that here we have an independent clause (मेय तमेज्हता हूँ) inserted within a dependent clause (नेहर्वजी एक पर्यपक्व राजनीतिग्य है). Our criterion is that normally we would say -

मेय तमेज्हता हूँ (क्य) नेहर्वजी एक पर्यपक्व राजनीतिग्य है।

(I know/understand (that) Nehruji is a seasoned politician).

In this case we would say that "मेय तमेज्हता हूँ" is operating at α and "नेहर्वजी एक पर्यपक्व राजनीतिग्य है" is operating at β. The relation between the two clauses in the given example is the same; the only difference between the two sentences is that in the former (quote earlier), one clause is inserted within the other. If the parenthetic clause were not there, we would have described the other clause as exponent of α; but in the given linguistic environment, we would look upon the parenthetic clause as exponent of α and the other one as exponent of β.

1. In a similar situation in English, some of the grammarians have talked about "sentence-modifiers."
Thus here too we have a relation of subordination. Another reason for analysing the given sentence in this way is that "मैं समझता हूँ" is exponent of that kind of clause which sets up an expectation that another clause (a dependent one) will follow.

\[(e) \quad \text{मेरे प्यारे भाई रहते हैं, मैं एक प्यारे भट्ट हूँ} \]

(When I was going to Patna where my brother lives, I met an old friend of mine).

Here \( \gamma \) is subordinate to \( \beta \), and \( \beta + \gamma \) is subordinate to \( \alpha \). The reason for saying this is that we cannot say: "मेरे प्यारे भाई रहते हैं, मैं एक प्यारे भट्ट हूँ."

2.334:

Summing up, we might say that the elements of sentence structure may be related

(a) **in dependence** (non-transitive depth-ordering)

\[\text{e.g. } \alpha \beta \]

\[\text{वह रहा है, मैं वहाँ गया} \]

(He said he was coming)

or  

(b) **in co-ordination** (transitive depth-ordering)

1) **by linking:**
i) by linking:

\[
\text{a} \\
/ / \text{mēy twmhare yēhā gēya// per twm yēhā nēhi the//}
\]

(I called at your place but you were not there).

ii) by apposition:

\[
\text{a} \\
/ / \text{estyēhi swndēr hēy; } / / \text{yēh ek sērv-manyē wcty hēy//}
\]

(Truth is beauty: this is a well-accepted saying).
CHAPTER III

THE CLAUSE
CHAPTER III

3.11: The clause is that unit which operates in the structure of the sentence, and is made up of one or more classes of the unit Group.

3.12 Primary elements of clause-structure:

In our statement of Hindi clause structure we need four primary elements which may be called S(subject), O(object), A(adject), and P(predicate). These elements are defined by their relation to each other in clause structure and by their exponential relation to group classes. In thematically and emphatically unmarked clauses, P comes finally; O precedes P, and S precedes O. (Theme and emphasis are discussed elsewhere).

3.13 Primary clause structure and primary group classes in relation:

At different elements in the primary structure of clause operate different primary classes of the unit group. The exponential relation between these different elements and the primary group classes may be represented in the following way:

Primary group classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Group</th>
<th>Adverbial Group</th>
<th>Verbal Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Primary elements of clause structure:

- S
- O
- A
- P

* The first half of this chapter formed part of a seminar paper read at Communication Research Centre, University College, London in January, 1964.
S and 0 are recognised as two elements, not one because they stand in different relationship to P. There is a high degree of overlap between the exponents of S and 0; and hence one primary class (Class "nominal" of the unit "group") has been set up as exponent of both S and 0. The lack of exact co-extensiveness will be stated by secondary elements and classes.

3.14 Possible combination of primary elements:

It is useful to make a distinction here between two types of clauses: major and minor. A major clause must have a P; a minor clause has no P. The structural range of the major clause can be stated in terms of combinations of S, 0, A, and P.

### Major Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Elements</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one element</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>khao (eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ata hū (coming)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two elements</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>S P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vēh phētī hūy (She reads) / (She is reading)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OF</td>
<td>O aṃ kha rēha hū (I am eating mangoes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AP</td>
<td>yēha ao (come here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three elements</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>S O P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vēh aṃ khaṭa hūy (he eats mango)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mēyne ṛōḍi khai hūy (I have eaten bread)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>S A P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vēh vēha ja rēha hū (I am going there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OAP</td>
<td>O A P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>twahari cyṭṭhi ṛōḍi-Ṭbhī ṛyli hūy (I have just received your letter).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Number of elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOAP</td>
<td>mēyē ne bylliķo phulvari mē dekha hoy. (I have seen the cat in the garden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOAP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** We may have two Os and any number of As so that we can have a structure of as many as seven or eight places—though not of seven or eight different primary elements.

### 3.14.1 The Minor Clause:

The minor clause is defined as the clause without P. In the absence of P, S and O are generally neutralized, we would use the symbol Z to represent the element resulting from the neutralization of S and O. The neutralization does not arise when the exponent is an ergative nominal group which expounds S and O alone in a clause-structure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of elements</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One element only</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>lēp'kene (The boy—in answer to a question like; who has done this?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Z</td>
<td>ḍre raml (O Ramļ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mīra (Mīra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aṣā (Aṣā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>am (Mango)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ye mīthe—mīthe am. (These sweet mangoes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>phulvari mē (in the garden)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mez pēr (on the table)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Z may be subdivided into Z (non-vocative) and Z (vocative). This will be discussed in the section on the Z element.
3.21 The Subject:

The subject is that primary element of Hindi clause structure which is expounded by the class nominal of the unit group. But this could as well be said of the Object - the object is that primary element of the structure of Hindi clause which is expounded by the class nominal of the unit group. How do we know which is which?

3.22 Definition and delimitation of S:

There have been in the main three different approaches towards the definition and delimitation of S in Hindi:

3.2.2.1 (a) CONCORD:

Hindu grammarians have used concord as their primary criterion for defining Subject. They say that the exponent of the element "Subject" in Hindi clause structure is that nominal group which in number-person-gender agreement with the verbal group (exponent of the element "Predicator"). This definition works in clauses where we have a string of direct Nominal groups (i.e. Nominal groups without postpositive particles) followed by a Verbal group.
Ex:  
(i) ram am khatā hāy.  
(Ram eats mango)  

(ii) sita am khati hāy  
(Sita eats mango)  

In (i) the nominal group - 'ram' is exponent of 'S' because it is in number-gender concord with the verbal group - 'khatā hāy'. This can be tested by substituting 'sita' (nominal group - feminine) in place of 'ram'. When we have 'sita' at S we have 'khati' at P (as in ii), and the two (sita and khati) are in gender-concord. The second nominal group - 'am' does not participate in any concordial relation with the exponent of P.

This definition does not help us in clauses made up of oblique nominal group(s) and verbal group. This can be checked by adding postpositive particle - ne to 'ram' and 'sita'. Clauses (i) and (ii) may now be rewritten as -  

(iii) ramne am khyā hāy  
(Ram has eaten mango)  

(iv) Sitan am khyā hāy.  
(Sita has eaten mango)  

The primary structure (in terms of groups) of (iii) and (iv) is the same as that of (i) and (ii), i.e. N N V or Nominal group + Nominal group + Verbal group. The only remarkable difference between the two sets of clauses is that in the first set
(i and ii), P is expounded by an Imperfect Verbal group whereas in the second set (iii) and (iv) P is expounded by a Perfect Verbal group. Otherwise, at the primary degree of delicacy, they are structurally alike.

In (i) and (ii) the nominal group (ram/sita) participates in concordial relation with the Verbal group but in (iii) and (iv) the second nominal group - 'am' enters into concordial relation with the verbal group. According to our criterion of concord, we would say that 'am' is the exponent of 'S' in (iii) and (iv). This might trap us into saying that clauses made up of oblique nominal group(s) and verbal group are all subjectless.

We may now add postpositive particle (ko) to the second nominal group and see what happens.

(v) ram sa bylliko dékha hóy
(Ram has seen the cat)

(vi) sita sa bylliko dékha hóy
(Sita has seen the cat)

The difference between (iii) and (iv) on the one hand and (v) and (vi) on the other is that in the former set the second nominal group is indefinite whereas in the latter, it is definite. Structurally (at the primary degree of delicacy), the two sets are alike - N N V. Yet, according to the criterion of concord, (v) and (vi) are subjectless clauses, because neither 'ram/sita' nor 'bylli' participates
in concordial relation with the verbal group. A large number of Hindi clauses (made up of oblique nominal groups and verbal group) do not display any concordial relation between nominal group and verbal group.

This definition of subject cannot be accepted because it helps us identify subject only in clauses where we have direct nominal group(s).

3.222 (b) CASE-ENDINGS:

According to some grammarians "subject" is expounded by that nominal group which is in the nominative case. This definition works fairly well in the case of Sanskrit where the case-endings tell us which nominal group is subject and which object. This does not, however, prove true in the case of Hindi. In a Hindi clause we may have two nominal groups in the nominative (or direct) case and then it might be difficult for us to say which nominal group is subject and which object. Let us consider the following example -

ram cytthi peth reh bhy 

(Ram is reading (a) letter)

Here both ram and cytthi are in the nominative case. One might get round this problem by using the test of insertability. One can say that in the given linguistic, environment (or co-text) one can insert ko after cytthi without changing any other group in the clause, whereas one can not attach any postpositive particles to ram, without bringing about consequential changes in the verbal group. Hence it may be said that in the given clause ram alone is in the subjective case. Again, there may be two objections to it. Firstly, there are cases where we cannot insert ko after the second nominal group as in the following example:-
vii) ram əḥayta əcba ta ḥay.
(Ram needs help).

We cannot say "ram əḥayta ko əcba ta ḥay" so we are left with two nominal groups, both in the nominative case. Secondly, this criterion does not apply to oblique nominal groups.

3.223 (c) SEQUENCE:

Sequence has often been used in some languages as a criterion for defining subject. This means defining subject positionally with reference to some other element in clause structure (usually, the predicator is taken as the nucleus). One can say the exponent of "subject" is that nominal group which immediately precedes or follows the predicator or that occurs initially or finally in clause structure. In English clause structure, for example, it is a crucial criterion of the element S that it precedes P.

viii) Jack loves Jill

ix) Jill loves Jack

Here S (Subject) and C (Complement) enter into different relations with P; S comes before P, and C comes after it (except in thematic cases where C is initial).

In (viii) and (ix) there are three places and three elements. The exponent of P (that is, 2) is to the verbal group - loves'. We can safely say that whatever operates at 1 is S and whatever operates at 3 is C. Although, the whole thing is
reversed in (ix) [we have Jill in place of Jack, and Jack in place of Jill],
even then the elements S and C remain in the same sequence relative to P. It
may now be said that in English S is crucially defined by position relative to
P.

In Hindi sequence raises a very important problem. The elements of Hindi
clause-structure may be arranged in all possible ways. We may, however, make a
distinction between normal, unmarked sequence of elements and marked variations of
the normal sequence. (This problem will be discussed at some length in the
section on word-order). We like Greenberg's notion of a 'dominant' order.

"The vast majority of languages have several variant orders but a single
dominant one." 1

In the unmarked or dominant clause-structure in Hindi we may define the Object as
that nominal group which precedes the verbal group with no other nominal group
coming in between, and Subject as that nominal group which precedes the Object.
According to Allen, the category of (positional) order plays a significant part in
the structure of the Hindi sentence. We quote:

"We may take as our starting-point the observation that in the Transitive
constructions of both A and B types the sentence consists of two nouns (or
nominal groups) - N1, N2 - and a verb (or verbal group) - V."

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
N_1 & N_2 & V \\
B(i) & l\text{\textipa{\textaeke-ne}} / b\text{\textipa{\textille}} / d\text{\textipa{\textshi}} \text{[h\textipa{\textay}]} \\
\end{array} \]

1. Joseph H. Greenberg: "Some Universals of Language": pp50 - 61, also, R.
Jakobson: "Implications of Language Universals for Linguistics" p 212: "In
declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the only or neutral
(unmarked) order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object."
[Both these papers in "Universals of Language" ed. by Joseph H. Greenberg.
The M. I. T. Press 1963]
I owe this reference to Professor W. S. Allen.
The category of (positional) order plays a significant part in the structure of the Hindi sentence: and within the particular type of speech function here considered (viz. non-emphatic statement) the grammatical relationship of \( N_1 \) to \( N_2 \) in a structure \( b(i) \) will always be the same. For purposes of labelling we may, if we wish, refer to \( N_1 \) as subject and \( N_2 \) as object; but it must be remembered that these categories are set up by a criterion of order, not of logic, psychology, nor even morphology. It is incidentally a matter of practical convenience that our subject and object as thus defined generally correspond in English translations to the traditional categories bearing these titles and, "Situationally" to the categories of "Actor" and "Goal". From the historical standpoint this order closely corresponds to that of Sanskrit sentence in the 'unimpressed narration of prose.'

We would agree with Allen that subject and object can be defined positionally in un-marked clause-structure, but we will have to look for some other criterion to define subject in marked structures.

3.22. (d) Selection:

We hold that in a Hindi clause it is the exponent of \( P \) which is crucial in identifying 'subject'. There seems to be a sort of mutual selection-relation or a relation of mutual determination between the exponent of \( P \) and the exponent of \( S \). The subject is that nominal group which selects the form of the verbal group at \( P \).

\[ N_a \ N_b \ V \]


2. A. A. Hill: "The subject is linked to the verb by the process known as selection." - [Introduction to Linguistic Structures: p 260].
If we have a clause with two nominal groups \((N_a \text{ and } N_b)\) and a verbal group \(-V\), and if we find a sort of selection relation between \(N_a\) and \(V\) (that is, \(N_a\) presupposes a particular form of \(V\) such that \(V\) can co-occur with \(N_a\) and not \(N_b\)), this selection relation between \(N_a\) and \(V\) will remain unchanged, even when \(N_a\), \(N_b\) and \(V\) are re-arranged in other possible ways. In order to understand this relation better, we must look at the secondary classes of the nominal group at \(S\) and of the verbal group at \(P\).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Primary elements} & \text{S} & \text{P} \\
\text{of} & & \\
\text{Clause-structure} & & \\
\downarrow & & \\
\text{Exposition} & & \\
\text{Primary group classes} & \text{Nominal} & \text{Verbal}
\end{array}
\]

\(S\) and \(P\) may be broken into secondary elements which would in turn be expounded by the secondary classes of the nominal and verbal groups respectively.
Secondary elements

Secondary classes

This selection relation is different from concord (where the nominal group, exponent of S agrees with the verbal group, exponent of P in number, gender and person). Concordial relation is a syntagmatic relation between two or more elements at which we make the same choice (e.g. 'singular' at S and 'singular' at P). Selection does not imply making the same choice at two or more places in a structure; it means mutual accompaniment of two grammatical categories (e.g. ergative
nominal group (at S) co-occurs with perfect verbal group (at P)].

In clauses where S is expounded by a direct nominal group, we have a coincidence of selection and concordial relations as shown below:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
\overbrace{\text{selection}}^\text{0} \\
P
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{leñka roti khata hēy. (The boy eats bread)}\]

In other classes of clause where S is expounded by an Ergative nominal group the concordial relation shifts from SP to OP, that is in these clauses S does not participate in concordial relation with P. In clauses where the exponent of S is an oblique nominal group (Ergative), P enters into number-gender concord with 0; if the exponent of 0 too is in an oblique case, P is neutral (i.e. P does not enter into any concordial relation with either S or 0).

But the selection-relation is fixed.\(^1\) If P is expounded by a perfect verbal group, it will have an ergative nominal group at S; if it is expounded by an imperfect verbal group, it will have a direct nominal group at S.

Concordial and selection relations may be schematized as below:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S-P Concord} \\
\text{concord} \\
\text{selection} \\
\text{(xi) leñka / roti / khata hēy} \\
\overbrace{0}^\text{concord}
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{The boy eats bread}\]

---

1. A. A. Hill's 'selection' means selection of the same category; our selection means selection of two different but mutually prehended categories.
0-P Concord

(xii) lərke ne roti khai həy

(The boy has eaten bread)

No Concord

(xiii) lərke-ne bylli-ko dekha həy

(The boy has seen the cat)

It is clear from these examples that there is always a relation of mutual determination between the exponents of S and P. We could not say this of the concordial relation, for we have S-P concord, 0-P concord or no concord.

We are going to use selection as our primary criterion for the definition and delimitation of "Subject"; we will, however, use concord where S is not shown by selection.1 In clauses where we have two direct nominal groups followed by a verbal group, we will use concord to identify S. In these cases that nominal group will be the exponent of S which is in number-gender-person concord with the verbal group, as in the example given below:

lərki am khati həy

sdir. odir. pImperfect.

(The girl eats mango)

Here we have two direct nominal groups followed by an Imperfect Verbal group.

The problem is: how do we know which of the two nominal groups enters into

---

1. It is useful to add another distinguishing feature of the nominal group at S. The noun-word which functions as the head of the nominal group at S has the potentiality of suffixation by '-ne'. This cannot be said about any other nominal group in the clause.
selection-relation with the verbal group? Our answer is that in cases where two nominal groups are in the same case, that nominal group will be said to be the exponent of S which enters into concordial relation with the verbal group. The point to note here is that it is not a different statement but a more delicate one. Examined from this point of view, 'lerki' is subject in the clause cited above; if we substitute 'lerka' (nominal group, masculine) in place of 'lerki' (nominal group, feminine), we will have to change 'khati' (verbal group, feminine) to 'khata' (verbal group, masculine).

This relation of mutual determination which we have called "selection" must not be mistaken for some kind of relation between inflectional endings in noun and those in the verb. Selection relation is a chain relation, a relation of presupposition, by x of y at a specified place in the chain relative to x. It should not be confused with case-agreement - the kind of relation that Hockett talks about with reference to Latin:

"In a Latin predicative constitute such as puer puellam amat 'the boy loves the girl', there is cross-reference between the subject puer 'boy' and the inflectional suffix -t in the verb which specifies that the subject is third person singular ... A change in the subject may entail a change in the inflectional affix in the verb: pueri puellam amant 'the boys love the girl', with third person plural subject and with inflectional affix -nt instead of -t".1

More examples from Hindi:

| dir.  |  | 
|-------|---|---|
| dir.  |  | 
| dir.  |  | 
| dir.  |  | 

We may now conclude that "subject" is expounded by that nominal group which enters into selection relation with the exponent of $P$. In other words subject is that nominal group which enters into the system of Aspect.

The system of aspect is based on selection-relation: $S^0$ co-occurs with $P^I$ and $S^n$ with $P^P$.

3.231. What can operate at $S$?

(a) One or more than one Nominal group: This is the normal, unmarked state of things:

One nominal group:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$S$</th>
<th>$O$</th>
<th>$P$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lā'ke ne&quot; / &quot;bylli / dekhi hēy&quot; (The boy has seen (the) cat)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two nominal groups:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$S$</th>
<th>$A$</th>
<th>$P$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ye kytabe &quot; / &quot;wr ve mēfīne / pērāne / bheji ja rēhi hēy&quot; (These books and those machines are being sent to Patna)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Nominalized clause: a dependent clause rank-shifted to $h$ in a Nominal Group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$S$</th>
<th>$O$</th>
<th>$P$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;jhuṭh bolna / pap / hēy&quot; (To tell a lie is a sin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R/s clause

1. In the system of clause-aspect, perfect and imperfect are defined with reference to their potentiality of co-occurring with certain secondary classes of the nominal group at $S$. $P^{\text{imperfect}}$ is expounded by that secondary class of the verbal group which co-occurs with direct nominal group at $S$; $P^{\text{perfect}}$ is expounded by that secondary class of the verbal group which co-occurs with ergative nominal group at $S$. For further delicate subdivision of the perfect verbal group into ne-perfect and non-ne perfect see the chapter on the verbal group.
S may be expounded by one or more than one nominal group. When it is expounded by one nominal group, the exponential relation is simple – one element, one nominal group. When it is expounded by more than one nominal group, the exponential relation is complex for though there may be a number of nominal groups, exponentially they are all realized as one item-grouping. This cumulative grouping together of nominal groups has a formal explanation. When the relation between the nominal groups is additive, that is, we have a number of nominal groups in List relation with or without a linker, the concordial or selection relation does not obtain between individual nominal groups and the verbal group, but between all the nominal groups taken together and the verbal group.

Ex. a/a əwu wa / ja rahi hōy. (Asha and usha are going).

When we have two nominal groups, one opposed to the other, the postpositive particle can occur only once and that too at the end of the second nominal group. The postpositive particle coming finally unites the two groups into one whole, and together they enter into selection relation with the Verbal group.

Ex. ramu, loharne / kəha həy ky...... (Ramu, the blacksmith has said that......)

Here we cannot say "ramu ne, lohar ne kəha həy......". Moreover, ramu and lohar ne donnot separately enter into selection relation with the Verbal group – taken individually they would select two different classes of the Verbal group. ramu, on its own, would select an Imperfect verbal group (kəhta həy) and loharne would select a Perfect verbal group (kəha həy).

To sum up, we have two different kinds of relation of co-ordination between
the nominal groups at S: (a) Additive\(^1\) (b) Appositive.

1. (a) Velma Pickett: "In contrast to the subordinate relationship, some phrases are composed of two or more constituents which are equal or COORDINATE in relationship. They may be connected with connecting words such as 'and' or place in sequence without connecter". (An Introduction to the study of Grammatical Structure) 1956; p 47

(b) E.A. Nida: "Appositional parataxis consists of a sequence of grammatically equivalent forms which are semantically related to the same referent. The appositional phrase my friend, Mr. Smith consists of two IC's the second of which is structurally equivalent to the first, and both are semantically related to the same person. We could say My friend, Mr. Smith will help you, or Mr. Smith will help you, or My friend will help you. Forms in appositional relation do not necessarily consist of the same classes, i.e. nouns in apposition to nouns. We may have pronouns and nouns in appositive arrangements, e.g. We Americans and you British". (Outline of Descriptive Syntax: pp 94-95 (1951)) We would like to have reservations on what Nida says here. We must, however, add that for us nouns and pronouns belong to the same primary word-class operating at h in nominal groups.
3.31. The Object:

The Object is one of the primary elements of Hindi clause-structure. It is expounded by the primary class "nominal" of the unit group. The distinguishing features of 0 are the following:

(a) In a normal, unemphatic clause the Object occurs between the subject and the predicator. We may say that Object is expounded by that nominal group which immediately precedes the Verbal group (exponent of P) which with no other nominal group coming in between and may not be replaced by pronouns in the unmarked case, such as आज, आह, तु, वे.

(b) The exponent of 0 does not enter into selection relation with the exponent of P.

(c) The nominal group at 5 may be in the ergative case but the nominal group at 0 excludes the ergative.

(d) We have already defined our subject as that nominal group which selects the form of the Verbal group at P. We may now say that the Object is that nominal group which is not the subject and which has its normal position immediately before the predicator. To make our definition more rigorous we can say that the Object is that nominal group which in Objectival Clause enters into concordial relation with the verbal group.

(e) It is easy to identify 0 in a P-bound clause (i.e. a clause in which P is expounded by a non-finite verbal group). In this type of clause, 0 is expounded by that nominal group which always precedes the exponent of P.

3.32. Simplex and Complex Object:

The Object may be expounded by one or more than one nominal group. If it
is expounded by one nominal group, it is simplex - the exponential relation between class and element is simple. If it is expounded by more than one nominal group, it is complex - the exponential relation between class and element is complicated. When there are more than one nominal group, they may be either in a additive or appositive relation.1 (This has already been discussed in the case of subject in section 2.3).

Ex: Additive: mèyne / aytra ko òwr waki sòbòli ko / cay pèr / bwlaya hòy. (I have asked Chitra and her friend to tea)

S A P

Ex: Appositive: mèyne / ramu, dhobi ko / cay pèr / bwlaya hòy. (I have asked Ramu, the washerman to tea).

3.33. Pronouns at O:

Of the pronouns, only those in the accusative case have the potentiality of operating at O.

Ex: loq'ke ne mwjhe / mwjko dekha hòy. ((The) boy has seen me)

S O P

Ex: loq'ke ne wse / wsko dekha hòy. ((The) boy has seen him/her)

S O P

Ex: loq'ke ne twmhe / twmko dekha hòy. ((The) boy has seen you)

S O P

Ex: loq'kene apko dekha hòy. (The boy has seen you - polite form)

---

1. A.A. Hill suggested a similar explanation in the case of English. He says: "The complement may also be composed of more than one phrase if the order requires a terminal. When the complement is thus complex, there is linkage by a complex contour, just as there is in a complex subject..... Like a subject, the complement may be composed of more than one noun construction, again with possible linkage by complex contour and often with connectives of the class of and".

(Introduction to Linguistic structure: pp 292-293 (1958))
3.34. What can operate at $0$?

(a) **Nominal Group**: One or more than one. This is the normal, unmarked state of things.

Ex. $S \overset{0}{\text{mâyne}} P \overset{0}{\text{hây}}$ (I have seen the boy)

(b) **Nominal/clause**: A bound clause rank-shifted to $h$ in the structure of a nominal group:

Ex. $S \overset{0}{\text{mây}} P \overset{0}{\text{am khâna}}$ (I want to eat mango)

3.41. The **Predicator**:

The predicator is that primary element in Hindi clause structure which is expounded by the class Verbal of the unit: Group. It may be said that $P$ is an obligatory element in the structure of major clauses; other elements $S, O, A$ are optional. We have defined Subject as that primary element which enters into selection relation or relation of mutual determination with the Predicator (or in other words, which selects the form of the Verbal group at $P$). Now we may define the Predicator as that verbal group whose form is selected
by the subject.  

3.42. Simplex and Complex P:

The class "verbal" of the unit "group" stands in one-to-one relation to the element P in clause structure. This does not, however, exclude the possibility of having more than one verbal group joined together by a co-ordinator as exponent of P for "what enters into grammatical relations of structure is not the item itself considered as a formal realization but the class, which is not a list of formal items but an abstraction from them".  

Where P is expounded by one Verbal group, the exponential relation is simple - one element, one verbal group. Where it is expounded by more than one Verbal group, the exponential relation is complex; it is complex only in the sense that an element of structure is expounded by more than one member of the same class of the unit next below. The internal relation between the members of the same class is one of co-ordination. We may have a number of verbal groups in a series joined by a linker (awr, ya, taθa,...) - all of them/together function as exponent of P.

---

1. A.A. Hill has defined the Predicator in a somewhat similar way in his description of English. We quote: "The predicator is that verb material whose form is selected by the Subject". (Introduction to Linguistic Structures; p 273) We must, however, add that our use of selection is different from Hill's. Hill has conflated three ranks (group, word, morpheme) and has also brought in a sort of concordial relation. We quote again: "In defining the subject, the term "selection" means that a gender-bearing noun or pronoun requires the -(Z) suffix in any verbal situation where that suffix is possible, and it is this requirement which identifies a noun or pronoun as subject". (Introduction to Linguistic Structure; p 260)

One might want to set up a number of Ps ($P_1, P_2, P_3 \ldots$) in the same clause and to say that these Ps are expounded by different verbal groups.

We would not like to do this for two reasons: firstly, the relation between an element of structure and the class of the unit next below is more abstract than the direct relation between an element of structure and formal item(s). The class is an abstraction from formal items. So whether we have one formal item or a string of formal items as exponent of P is immaterial to the relation between the class "Verbal" and the element 'P'. After we have established this primary relation between the class "verbal" of the unit "group" and the element P in the structure of clause, we would state the relation of co-ordination between different verbal groups. Secondly, in one and the same clause, the nominal group at S cannot enter into different selection or concordial relations with the verbal groups at P. If the nominal group at S is 'ergative', then each verbal group at P in that clause must be 'perfect'.

\[ \text{SOP 5x: Simplex: cytrane cythi lykhi hgy (Chitra has written a letter) one verbal group} \]

\[ \text{Complex P'} \text{ ager mey jata agwr dekhta, (If I had gone and seen...)} \]

\[ \text{two verbal groups in co-ordination.} \]

3.51. The Systems of number, person, gender and case at S and O:

The interlocking systems of number, gender, person and case operate at S

---

1. Faced with a similar problem in his description of English, A.A. Hill says: "A predicador, like a subject, may be made up of more than one phrase..... As with complex subjects, complex predicadores are often connected by unstressed words of the class of and or but". (Introduction to Linguistic Structures: p 275)
and 0. In the direct case the exponent of these systems is concordial relation with P (this is true of the systems at S in subjectival clauses and of the systems at 0 in Objectival clauses); in the oblique case, the exponent is intragroup concord. The terms in these systems are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System</th>
<th>Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case¹</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The terms in these systems are combinable. So we may have the following possible combinations:

1. This is an abstraction from the different systems of case operating at S and 0.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Microclasses</th>
<th>Exponent at S</th>
<th>Exponent at O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Masculine, Singular, First</td>
<td>mēy (I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Masculine, Singular, Second</td>
<td>twm/ap (you)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Masculine, Singular, Third</td>
<td>vēh (he)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Masculine, Plural, First</td>
<td>hēm (we)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Masculine, Plural, Second</td>
<td>twm/ap (you)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Masculine, Plural, Third</td>
<td>ve (They)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Feminine, Singular, First</td>
<td>mēy (I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Feminine, Singular, Second</td>
<td>twm/ap (you)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Feminine, Singular, Third</td>
<td>vēh (she)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Feminine, Plural, First</td>
<td>hēm (we)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Feminine, Plural, Second</td>
<td>twm/ap (you)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct, Feminine, Plural, Third</td>
<td>ve (they)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Masculine, Singular, First</td>
<td>mēy + (I)</td>
<td>mwjh + (me) mwjhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Masculine, Singular, Second</td>
<td>twm + (you) twmhe</td>
<td>twmhe/twjhe (you) twmhe/twjhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Masculine, Singular, Third</td>
<td>ws + (he) ws + (him) wse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Masculine, Plural, First</td>
<td>hēm + (we) hēm + (us) hēm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Masculine, Plural, Second</td>
<td>twm + (you) twmhe</td>
<td>twmhe/twjhe (you) twmhe/twjhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Masculine, Plural, Third</td>
<td>wn + (they) wn + (them) wnhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Feminine, Singular, First</td>
<td>mēy + (I)</td>
<td>mwjh + (me) mwjhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Feminine, Singular, Second</td>
<td>twm + (you) twmhe</td>
<td>twmhe/twjhe (you) twmhe/twjhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Feminine, Plural, First</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Feminine, Plural, Second</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique, Feminine, Plural, Third</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Microclasses  |  Exponent at S  |  Exponent at O
---|---|---
Oblique, Feminine, Singular, Third  |  ws + (she)  |  ws + (her)
Oblique, Feminine, Plural, First  |  h3m + (we)  |  h3m + (us)
Oblique, Feminine, Plural, Second  |  twm + (you)  |  twm + /twmhe (you)
Oblique, Feminine, Plural, Third  |  wn + (They)  |  wn + (them)

Note: + indicates presence of a postpositive particle.

3.52. The system of interrogatives at S and O:

S and O may be subdivided into S interrogative, O interrogative and S non-interrogative and O non-interrogative yielding a system of two terms-interrogative and non-interrogative. The basis of making this distinction is that only S interrogative and O interrogative are expounded by the secondary class: interrogative nominal group (i.e. a group containing a K-word).

![Diagram](image)
3.53 The System of Relatives at S and O:

On a different dimension, S and O may be subdivided into $S^\text{relative}$ and $O^\text{relative}$ and $S^\text{non-relative}$ and $O^\text{non-relative}$ yielding a system of two terms - relative and non-relative.

The distinguishing feature of $S^R$ and $O^R$ is that they can operate only in dependent clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$S^R$</th>
<th>Exponents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$j\theta m$ (who)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\text{ysne}$ (who)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\text{ynh}^0\text{ne}$ (who)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\text{ynne}$ (who)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$O^R$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$j\text{yse} / j\text{ysko}$ (who / whom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\text{ynhe}^0 / k\text{ynko}$ (who / whom)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal gp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$S^R, O^R$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S^R, O^R$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S^R, O^R$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$S^R, O^R$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relative

Non-relative.
3.531. Subdivisions of 0:

We can have a maximum of two 0s in a clause. At the primary degree of delicacy, we call them all Objects. By taking a step in delicacy we break 0 (on the dimension of extension) into the secondary chain elements: $0^I$ (Intensive Object) and $0^E$ (Extensive Object). The main distinction between the two is that only the exponent of the extensive object can be suffixed by -ko. In unmarked clause-structure, $0^I$ always follows $0^E$. (Contextually, the intensive object has the same referent as of some other element in the clause).

Ex:

\[0^I \quad S \quad 0^I \quad P \quad \text{mēy} / \quad \text{pagēl} / \quad \text{hu} \quad \text{//} \quad \text{(I am mad).}\]

\[0^E \quad S \quad 0^E \quad P \quad \text{mēyne} / \quad \text{yēh kytab} / \quad \text{pērāhi hēy} \quad \text{//} \quad \text{(I have read this book).}\]

\[0^E \quad 0^I \quad S \quad 0^E \quad 0^I \quad P \quad \text{wsne} / \quad \text{mwjē} / \quad \text{pagēl} / \quad \text{bēna dyya} \quad \text{//} \quad \text{(He drove me mad).}\]

\[0^E \quad 0^E \quad S \quad 0^E \quad 0^E \quad P \quad \text{wsne} / \quad \text{mwjē} / \quad \text{ek kytab} / \quad \text{di hēy} \quad \text{//} \quad \text{(He has given me a book).}\]

Note that we cannot have two $0^I$s.

By a further step in delicacy $0^E$ may be subdivided into two choice elements $0^E_{\text{definite}}$ and $0^E_{\text{indefinite}}$. When the exponent of $0^E_{\text{definite}}$ is marked by the presence of -ko, it is definite, otherwise it is indefinite.

Ex.

\[0^E_{\text{(Indefinite)}} \quad S \quad 0^E \quad P \quad \text{mēyne} / \quad \text{bylli} / \quad \text{dekhi} / \quad \text{hay} \quad \text{//} \quad \text{(I have seen (a) cat)}\]

\[0^E_{\text{(Definite)}} \quad S \quad 0^E \quad 0^E_{\text{-ko}} \quad P \quad \text{mēyne} / \quad \text{bylli-ko/} \quad \text{dekha hay} \quad \text{//} \quad \text{(I have seen the cat).}\]
The System of Case at S, O and A:

We would not set up one over-all system of case operating at different places in clause-structure for the choice at S is different from the choice at O which is different from the choice at A. We would set up three different systems each of two terms operating at three different places: S, O and A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System</th>
<th>Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At S</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At O</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At A</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Postpositional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.541 The System of Case at S:

On the dimension of case, the primary element S may be subdivided into \( S^0 \) and \( S^1 \) yielding two secondary choice classes of the nominal group - direct nominal group and ergative nominal group. The former is marked by the absence of postpositive particles and the latter by the presence of -ne

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{System} & \quad \text{Terms} \\
S & \quad \text{Direct} \\
\quad & \quad \text{Ergative} \\
S^0 & \quad \text{Direct} \\
S^1 & \quad \text{Accusative} \\
N & \quad \text{Direct} \\
\text{Nominal} & \quad \text{Ergative} \\
SP & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The system of case at S accounts for the relation of mutual determination between the exponents of S and those of P.

* cf. 4.58
3.542 The System of Case at 0:

On the dimension of case, the primary element 0 may be subdivided into 0° and 0 K yielding two secondary choice classes of the nominal group - direct nominal group and accusative nominal group. The former is marked by the absence of postpositive particles and the latter by the presence of *ko. Only 0 direct can enter into concordial relation with P.

```
0°
|   | 0 K
|___|___
direct
    
accusative

Nominal
```

In clauses with two 0s, 0 direct and 0 accusative can co-occur.

3.543 The System of Case at A:

The nominal group(s) operating at A carry the system of case having the following terms:

```
A
|   | dir.
|___|___
direct
    
post.

Nominal
```

```
A
|   | post.
|___|___
Direct
    
Postpositional
```
Three interlocking systems operate at P - systems of number, person, and gender. In Subjectival clauses these systems are marked by concordial relation with the exponent of S, in Objectival clauses, with the exponent of O. The exponent of P does not carry the system of person in Objectival clauses. In Impersonal clauses, the exponent of P is not affected by any of these systems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYSTEM</th>
<th>TERMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Singular and Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Masculine and Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>First, Second and Third.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These terms in these systems are combinable. So we may have:

Exponents in Subjectival clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Microclasses</th>
<th>Exponents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine, singular, first.</td>
<td>khata hū (I eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine, singular, second.</td>
<td>khathe ho (you eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine, singular, third.</td>
<td>khata hēy (he eats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine, plural, first.</td>
<td>khathe hēy (we eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine, plural, second.</td>
<td>khathe ho (you eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine, plural, third.</td>
<td>khathe hēy (they eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine, singular, first.</td>
<td>khati hū (I eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine, singular, second.</td>
<td>khati ho (you eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine, singular, third.</td>
<td>khati hēy (she eats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine, plural, first.</td>
<td>khati hēy (we eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine, plural, second.</td>
<td>khati ho (you eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine, plural, third.</td>
<td>khati hēy (we eat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
97

Microclasses

Masculine, singular: khaya hɔy (has/have eaten)
Masculine, plural: khaye hɔy (has/have eaten)
Feminine, singular: khai hɔy (has/have eaten)
Feminine, plural: khai hɔy (has/have eaten)

3.56. The system of finiteness at P:

Early in delicacy the primary element P may be subdivided into P^F and P^NF yielding secondary choice classes of the Verbal group - finite and non-finite.
P^F can, but P^NF cannot, operate in an independent clause. We can say now that all major independent clauses are finite clauses i.e. clauses containing P^F; dependent clauses may be either finite or non-finite. Non-finite dependent clauses are of the following types:

1. Conjunctional Khakɔr (Having eaten)
2. Participial Khata hwa (Eating)
3. Infinitival wake lyye vəha jana (For him to go there)

3.57. The System of Aspect at P:

The systems of mode, tense, modality, voice, contrastiveness and polarity will be discussed in the chapter on the Verbal group. Here we would take up the system of aspect which is of relevance to clause-structure inasmuch it helps us define our Subject. On the dimension of aspect, P breaks into P^E and P^I yielding secondary choice classes of the verbal group: perfect and imperfect. This system of aspect is based on relations of mutual determination with S. perfect co-occurs with S^E (Ergative Subject) and P^Imperfect co-occurs with S^O (Direct Subject). Both independent and dependent clauses select from the system of Aspect.
3.61. Systems carried by the clause:

3.611. 1. The System of Aspect:

There are two terms in it - Imperfect and Perfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exponent</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect clause $S^0 P^I$</td>
<td>$S^0 P^I$ ram khelta høy (Ram plays)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect clause $S^n P^n$</td>
<td>$S^n P^n$ ramne chika (Ram sneezed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.612. 2. The system of the relatives:

The terms in this system are: relative and non-relative. The relative clause is that secondary class of the clause which can operate only at $β$ in sentence-structure. Morphologically, the relative clause is marked by the presence of one or more of the following secondary elements:


The non-relative clause is distinguished by the absence of these elements.

Non-relative: $\bar{S}^0 O \bar{P}$ // mọy / ws lọrke ko / janta hũ // (I know that boy)

Relative: i) Single

- $S^R O \bar{P}$ // jo / ws lọrke ko / janta hũ // ((he) who knows that boy)
- $S^O P$ // mọy / jo / cahta hũ // (What I want )
- $S^A P$ // mọy / jọhã bhi / jata hũ // (Wherever I go)

ii) Multiple:

- $S^R O^R \bar{P}$ // jo / jye / cahta hũ... // (Whoever someone likes)
3.613. 3. The System of Mood-restriction:

At the primary degree of delicacy, the independent clause sub-divides into major and minor clauses. The major clauses are mood free, i.e. can freely select from the system of mood. The minor clauses are mood-restricted; they do not enter into the system of mood. Morphologically, the minor clauses are marked by the absence of P.

3.613.  a.) The System of Mood:

The terms in this system are:

1. Imperative
2. Interrogative
3. Affirmative (Neutral)

3.6132. The Imperative Clause:

The imperative clause contains an imperative predicator, i.e. a predicator expounded by the class imperative verbal group. More delicately, the imperatives may be sub-divided into two secondary classes: Honorific and non-honorific. The former contains an honorific verbal group.

Honorific: jayye (Please go - polite form)

Non-honorific: ja (go)

3.6133. The Interrogative Clause:

The interrogative clause contains one or more of the following secondary elements:

\[ S^?, O^?, A^? \]

Single Interrogative:

\[ S^? O^? P \]

S- interrogative: \[ S^?0P // kyane / yēh / kēha hēyf // \] (Who has said this?)
O-interrogative: \( S^0P \) \( / \) \( twm / k\wedge m / ho?// \) (Who are you)
A-interrogative: \( SA^2P \) \( / \) \( twm / k\wedge h / \) r\( \wedge hte \) ho? // (Where do you live)

**Multiple Interrogative:**

S–O Interrogative: \( S^0P \) \( / \) \( k\wedge m / kyse / cahta ho?y? // \) (who likes who(m)?)
S–A Interrogative: \( S^AP \) \( / \) \( k\wedge h / k\wedge h / r\wedge hta ho?y? // \) (who lives where?)
O–A Interrogative: \( SO^A P \) \( / \) \( twm / kya / k\wedge h / p\wedge oge? // \) (what will you get where?)

3.61331. Polar and non-polar interrogative:

On a different dimension, the Interrogatives may be subdivided into polar interrogative and non-polar interrogative. The polar interrogative clause contains \( A? \) which is expounded by 'kya'. It cannot have \( S? \) or \( O? \). The non-polar interrogative makes at least one selection from \( S?, O?, A? \). There is, however, one restriction. In a non-polar interrogative clause \( A? \) cannot be expounded by 'kya'.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
A? & S & O \hfill \hfill & P \\
\text{Polar Interrogative:} & \hfill & \text{\( kya / y\wedge h / twm\wedge hri \) k\wedge h\wedge m / ho?y? // (Is this your pen?)} \\
\text{Non-polar Interrogative:} & \hfill & \text{\( kysne / m\wedge n / k\wedge tyb / li ho?y? // (who has taken my book?)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & O? & P \\
\text{\( twm / k\wedge m / ho ? // (who are you?)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & A? & P \\
\text{\( twm / k\wedge b / jaoge ? // (when will you go?)} \\
\end{array}
\]

3.6134. (b) The System of minor clauses:

The terms in this system are mood-linked and moodless. The mood-linked clause is linked on to the preceding clause by the non-presence of certain elements. Its elements can be identified with reference to the clause to which it is linked.
The elements missing in $\alpha_2$ are present in $\alpha_1$. The point to note here is that the elements missing in $\alpha_2$ can be supplied from $\alpha_1$. $\alpha_2$ may be said to have 'related context' or better 'related context' with $\alpha_1$. In the words of Nelson Francis, "in the elliptical structure of co-ordination, no new words are supplied; the only thing that is "understood" is a second occurrence of a word or phrase which has already appeared in an earlier part of the structure".

3.61.34. The Moodless clause:

It may have $z$-element alone, or $A$-element alone or $S^n$ alone, or permitted combinations of these elements. By a step in delicacy, the moodless clause breaks into the Vocatives and the non-vocatives; the non-vocatives subdivide into the interrogative and the unmarked.

$Z$ may be subdivided into $Z^v$ (vocative), $Z^w$ (interrogative) and $Z$ (unmarked); the other elements, $A$ and $S^n$, can be either interrogative or unmarked.

Ex:

```
Z
  \_Z^v
  \_Z^w
  \_Z^{unmarked}

A
  \_A^v
  \_A^{unmarked}

S^n
  \_S^v
  \_S^{unmarked}
```

3.614. (4) The System of transitivity:

Both independent and dependent clauses carry the system of transitivity which has two terms - transitive and intransitive. The transitive clause is

marked by the presence of object(s) and the intransitive by its absence. The transitive clause may be single or double, depending on the number of objects. On the dimension of extension, it may be subdivided into transitive clause containing an intensive object and transitive clause containing an extensive object. The latter may again be subdivided into transitive extensive definite and transitive extensive indefinite. Diagrammatically:

Ex:
Intransitive: // lɔ̃τka / dɔ̃τta hɔy // (The boy runs)
Transitive:
Single (intensive): // vɔh / wdas / hɔy // (He is sad)
Single (Extensive, Indefinite): // wane / bylli / dekhi hɔy // (He has seen (a) cat)
Single (Extensive, definite): // wsne / bylliko / dekha hɔy // (He has seen the cat)
Double (Extensive definite + Intensive): // wane / lɔ̃τke ko / wdas / paya // (He found the boy sad)
Double (Extensive definite + Extensive Indefinite): // wsne / lɔ̃τke ko /

səbhapɔty / owma // (He elected the boy president)
Subjectival, objectival and impersonal clauses constitute the system of concord. The subjectival clause is marked by S-P concord, the objectival by O-P concord, and the impersonal by no concord.

Ex:

**Subjectival clause**: SOP  S  O  P  
SOP  lə̀ŋki  čawal  khati  həy  (The girl eats rice)

**Objectival clause**: SOP  S  O  P  
SOP  lə̀ŋkene  ōtī  khai  həy  (The boy has eaten bread)

**Impersonal clause**: SOP  S  O  P  
SOP  lə̀ŋki  ne  bylli-ko  ċekha  həy  (The girl has seen the cat)


3.71. **WORD-ORDER:**

It is a commonplace of linguistics to talk about word-order and also about deviations from 'normal' word-order. "The most fundamental principle of word-order in English sentences is the place of the subject and verbal predicate with regard to each other". 1 "When we hear the sentences:

John saw Henry, and

Henry saw John,

the word-order gives us the key to the right understanding. The normal word-order in English is:

Subject - Verb - Object; we may write this as an abbreviated formula:

\[ S - V - O. \] 2

"If we were asked by a foreigner for a general rule of word-order in English, we should say, I suppose: The Subject precedes the predicate. On second thoughts, we should add: That is, in a statement the subject must

---

precede the predicate; any utterance in which part of the predicate, in the form of an auxiliary verb, precedes the subject is a question.1 By word-order Nelson Francis means "the positions of words relative to each other in time".2 We are not interested in examining merely word-order; we are interested in examining the order of elements in the structure of each unit3 (The morpheme, being the smallest unit on rank-scale has no structure and hence the question of order does not arise there). Within the framework of our grammar, word is a unit and it operates at 'places' in the structure of the Group. So by word-order we would mean the order in which words pattern in groups. The positional relation among Subject, Object and Predicator (which we are going to discuss here) will be accounted for by the sequence or order of elements in clause-structure. It is useful to make a distinction between sequence and order. Sequence might be used to mean that formal relation between items which is carried by linear progression. If we have, say, three items x,y,z arranged as xzy, we might say that the sequential relation between them is that y comes after x, and z comes after y; or that x is initial, y medial and z, final.

Sequence is a variable. Order is at a higher degree of abstraction than Sequential sequence/relation between elements may change without in any way affecting at primary delicacy the order of elements. To quote Firth on this point: "Elements of structure......... share a mutual expectancy in an order which is not merely a sequence".4 The dimension of order, therefore, "is very different from the

1. K.J. Dover: Greek Word-Order: p 7 (1960)
3. For example: the sequence of Independent and Dependent clauses in sentence-structure; of Subject, Object, Adjunct and Predicator in clause-structure; of modifier, head and qualifier in the structure of the Nominal group and soon.
successivity of bits and pieces in a unidirectional time-sequence.\[^1\]

There are, however, instances "where an element of structure is identified as such solely by reference to formal sequence: where the element is defined by place stated as absolute or relative position in sequence".\[^2\] In English one might say that the exponent of "subject" is that nominal group which precedes the verbal group with no other nominal group in between. "In English clause structure it is a crucial criterion of the element S that it precedes P in sequence."\[^3\]

In a Latin clause sequence is not crucial to the definition of the elements. To quote Velma Pickett, "In some languages the order of the various spots is comparatively free. In Latin, for example, the meaning of the spots is indicated by distribution with bound morphemes..... and the order of the spot fillers are relatively insignificant".\[^4\] This does not, however, imply that a difference in sequence makes no difference whatever to meaning.\[^5\] "Rearrangements of the elements to give SPO, OSP etc, can be usefully employed to state the more delicate distinctions between "puer puellam amat", "puellam puer amat", etc."\[^6\]

Sequence and order as relational abstractions (i.e. abstractions from structural relations) are of significance in all languages. "At some point or other order asserts itself in every language as the most fundamental of relating principles".\[^7\] "Even highly inflected languages", says H. Sweet, "observe

---

5. K.J. Dover: "It would be a very unusual language in which all the Ed. utterances of a given individual speaker were wholly and exhaustively determined by mutually exclusive rules belonging all to the same type". (Greek Word-Order: p 8) 1960
general principles of syntactic order, however freely they may disregard them in special cases". On the importance of sequence and order, Sapir says: "Some languages, like Latin, express practically all relations by means of modifications within the body of the word itself. In these, sequence is apt to be a rhetorical rather than a strictly grammatical principle. Whether I say in Latin *hominem femina videt* or *femina hominem videt* or *hominem videt femina* or *videt femina hominem* makes little or no difference beyond, possibly, a rhetorical or stylistic one. "The woman sees the man" is the identical significance of each of these sentences. In Chinook, an Indian language of the Columbia River, one can be equally free, for the relation between the verb and the two nouns is as inherently fixed as in Latin. The difference between the two languages is that, while Latin allows the nouns to establish their relation to each other and to the verb, Chinook lays the formal burden entirely on the verb, the full content of which is more or less adequately rendered by *she - him - sees*. Eliminate the Latin case suffixes (-a and -em) and the Chinook pronominal prefixes (*she- him*) and we cannot afford to be so indifferent to our word-order. We need to husband our resources. In other words, word-order takes on a real functional value. Latin and Chinook are at one extreme. Such languages as Chinese, Siamese, and Annamite, in which each and every word, if it is to function properly, falls into its assigned place, are at the other extreme". In Javanese shift of an element from a prehead to a posthead position leads to a remarkable change in the meaning of the utterance.

2. Sapir: Language: pp 63-64.
3. A. De Grook: "In Javanese *itjomah* means 'this house'; *bmah iti* means 'the house - it is this'. (Structural Linguistics and Syntactic Laws: p 7 WORD, vol. 5, no. 1 (1949).)
Different languages exploit sequence and order for different purposes. In certain languages sequence may be used criterially to define certain elements; in certain other languages sequence might be a crucial property of structure, that is, a change in the sequence of elements might mean a change in structure.¹ "The degree to which word-order, as a means of language, is exploited for functional purposes differs from language to language. The possibilities and the problems of functional exploitation of the word-order in the sentence concern the language structure itself".²

In each language it is possible to identify the normal (or unmarked) order of the elements of clause structure. This may be done either on the basis of statistics or on the basis of the 'intuitions' of native speakers of the language. And then we can study all 'abnormal' arrangements of elements. "The normal w. - o. is formed by grammatically set constructions and normal patterns (cliches). The special w. - o. is constituted by functional variants of the normal sentence patterns (cliches)."³

In Sanskrit the Subject and the Object are recognized not, as in English, by their respective position in the sentence but by the particular terminations - (a)s and (a)m respectively. "Like all languages, that possess a rich store of inflections, Sanskrit affords a comparatively great freedom as to the order of words in the sentence".⁴

---

1. M.A.K. Halliday: "The sequence in which items occur may or may not be a crucial property of the structure in question". (Chain and Choice: p 4).
As has already been said, sequence does not play a crucial part in the definition of the elements in Hindi clause structure. The elements can be arranged in all possible ways. Let us take three of the primary elements of Hindi clause structure - S(subject), O(object), and P(predicator). We are deliberately leaving A(adjunct) out because at the degree of delicacy at which the following distinctions operate A can go in anywhere. All clause structures can then be stated as combinations of these three elements in different places:

i) मैंने रोटी खाया \( SOP \) (I have eaten bread)
ii) रोटी मैंने खाया \( OSP \)
iii) मैंने रोटी खाया \( SPO \)
iv) रोटी खाया मैंने \( OPS \)
v) खाया मैंने रोटी \( PSO \)
vi) खाया रोटी मैंने \( POS \)

All the clauses listed above are possible; they can be stated in probability terms and shown on a eline with common and uncommon as its two ends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOP</th>
<th>OSP</th>
<th>SPO</th>
<th>OPS</th>
<th>PSO</th>
<th>POS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Uncommon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These combinations of \( S,O,P \) do not mean the same thing. In our view no two different arrangements of elements are exactly alike in meaning. If, for example, \( O \) normally occurs medially in a clause, its front-shifting or back-shifting means (a) a change in structure and also (b) a change in meaning. Traditional grammarians were aware of this problem and they explained this shift in terms of 'emphasis'. To them all 'extrapositions' were emphatic. To quote

1. Velma Pickett: "Probably order variations are seldom if ever completely "free" in the sense of not making any difference in meaning. The term 'stylistic variation' is frequently applied to intangible differences of meaning between variant orders". (An Introduction To The Study of Grammatical Structures: 1956; p 36 f.n.)
Jespersen: "Emphasis may be expressed by either of these two positions,......
or as Sweet says, by putting the word in any abnormal - that is, unexpected
to inter. The most general way of making a word prominent is by putting it
before the others - if possible, at the beginning of the sentence. But there is
another more general principle of position-emphasis - that of making a word
notorious by pulling it in any abnormal - that is, unexpected position. Thus
a word whose normal position is front or mid may be made emphatic by end position,
as in the Latin sentence "aliud iter habemus nullum" 'we have no other road',
where 'none' has emphatic end-position. Emphatic end-position is suspensive'.
Sweet and Jespersen do not tell us anything about the difference between the two
'extrapositions'. Are there degrees of emphasis? Do the two positions mean two
different things relative to some other element in clause? These questions have
not been fully answered. Hindi grammarians too have grappled with this
problem but have not produced any definite solution. Kellogg has analysed all
significant deviations from, what he calls, "normal order of words". We quote:
"The normal order of the parts of a simple sentence in Hindi is (1) Subject,
(2) Predicate, (3) Copula, as मेरे जी पपी हो, 'man is a sinner'; रमदास
बुधयमन हो, 'Ramdas is wise'........... Hindi, however, allows the greatest
liberty of deviating from this normal order, whether for the sake of emphasis, or
to meet the necessities of metre in poetry, and of rhythm even in prose. In general,
a word is rendered emphatic in proportion as it is displaced from its normal
position in the sentence; as, "तौ ऊ य पवत्य को अकवाली नारी", 'base-born woman

3. Our transcriptions.
The predicate is also emphasized by placing it after the copula, last in the sentence; as, 'twahara pwnya høy bëhwì əwrest əsr pns høy thrær', 'abundant is your merit, and your sin little'. Or the predicate, if emphatic, may take the first place in the sentence; as 'samərthi voy høy jo mə bəp ki seva kərte høy', 'those are powerful who obey their parents'.

The Object of a transitive verb regularly immediately precedes it: as 'vəh həmko marta høy', 'he is beating me'; but is emphasized when first in the sentence; thus, 'vs əjit ko məy kəyse jišuŋa', 'this unconquerable one, how shall I conquer?'. A less emphatic position is the last; as 'jo vyahega yse so mərega mə,he', "he who marries her, will kill me". The verb itself, whether transitive or intransitive, is emphatic in the first place; 'mare kəha tohy həm', 'shall I kill thee?', and also in the following; 'so dēte kəy nəhi', 'why do you not give it?' Harley, however, thinks that only front-shifting is emphatic: "The normal order of words in a sentence is: Subject; Object and adverbial expressions of time, place, and manner; Verb. Emphasis tends to bring important words towards the beginning". Writing about the order of elements in Gujarati clause structure, Tisdall says: "In Gujarati, the usual order of words in a sentence is, -

(1) Subject; (2) Indirect Object; (3) Direct Object; (4) Predicate: but this may be altered for the sake of emphasis". "The words in a Marathi sentence are usually arranged in the following order: first, the subject, next the object, then the adverb, and lastly, the verb; thus "duşt pardhyanə amci swnder məyna thar mərəli", the cruel sportsman killed our pretty jay. Note: - The order

4. Our transcription.
of words is changed when a person speaks with emotion, or when any special word is to be made emphatic. The emphasized word is put as near to the beginning of the sentence as possible.¹

It is clear from these quotations that traditional grammarians of Indian languages have been aware of this problem and have always felt that an element shifted from its normal position gains in prominence or emphasis. They have, however, produced no solution to the troublesome problem of distinguishing between 'extrapositions'. We are making an attempt here to produce a possible solution to this troublesome problem. We are going to concentrate (for illustration) on only three primary places in clause structure. The initial place is the place of the theme (or topic); the medial is that of emphasis and the final place is neutral. Contextually, 'theme' would mean 'the given'; it is what the speaker is going to talk about. Whatever comes after is 'the new' or 'the comment' on the topic. It is generally thought that the subject and the topic are always identical, but in fact this is not true; "for though there is often correspondence, a linguistic subject may not be the topic of a sentence, nor the topic be expressed by the linguistic subject".² Jan Šimko has explained one aspect of this problem in the following paragraph:

"Every normal declarative sentence is built on the basis of predication, i.e. something new is stated, or predicated, of something known. This results in a basically binary form of predication. The basis of the predication, called here the theme (Th), is the usual starting point; it is something which is in the given situation either known, most at hand or most obvious. The nucleus of

---

² Barbara M.H. Strang: Modern English Structure 1962; p 71.
the predication (N) contains the new contribution, the new statement concerning Th. From this it follows that the normal order of the semantic elements in a declarative sentence is Th - N. This is the so-called objective order. The opposite order, N - Th, is the so-called subjective order. This is employed in cases when special emphasis is laid on N and this is front-shifted in order to produce a certain effect on the reader or hearer".¹

3.72. Theme and emphasis:

We distinguish initial position as 'theme' or 'given' (in context or ctext) and non-initial as 'new'. The new may, if extrapositional, be emphatic. Thus, according to our analysis 'theme' and 'emphasis' are formally defined. Theme is marked by initial position, and emphasis by extraposition as the second element always carrying the tonic.² The normal order of elements in Hindi clause structure is: S(initially), O(medially) and P(finally). SOP may therefore be regarded as neutral structure.³ Statistically it is the most frequent in occurrence. The possible combinations of thematic and emphatic elements may now be schematized in the following way:-

---

¹ Jan Sińko - Word-order: p 8.  
² Note that emphasis is expounded both by sequence (non-normal) and by tonicity.  
³ Jan Sińko: op-cit: pl0: "Any order of the formal elements corresponding to the objective order of the semantic elements, Th - N, is unmarked, while any w.o. pattern - be it direct or inverted - corresponding to the subjective order N - Th is marked".
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exponent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SOP (Unmarked)</td>
<td>$S\ O\ P$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ramne am khaya hɔy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>SPO (Marked)</td>
<td>$S\ P\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ramne khaya hɔy am</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>OPS (Unmarked)</td>
<td>$0\ P\ S$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>am khaya hɔy ramne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>OSP (Marked)</td>
<td>$0\ S\ P$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>am ramne khaya hɔy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>PSO (Unmarked)</td>
<td>$P\ S\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khaya hɔy ramne am</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>POS (Marked)</td>
<td>$P\ 0\ S$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khaya hɔy am ramne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we take S as the given or the theme (that means, if the initial place is filled by S), we have a choice between SOP and SPO.

```
   OP
  /   \
S     PO
```

Here (S)OP represents the normal or unmarked sequence of elements in a Hindi-clause; (S)OP represents the marked sequence of elements. P has been shifted from its normal, final position to the medial, emphatic position.

If we have an O-theme (that is, if we have O initially), we have a choice between OPS and OSP.

```
   PS
  /   \
O     SP
```

With place one taken by O, the normal, unmarked sequence of elements is (O)PS; (O)SP represents the marked sequence of elements and here emphasis is carried by S.

Similarly, if we have P initially (i.e. thematic), we have a choice between PSO and POS, where the former is unmarked and the latter marked. The basis for
making this statement is that with the initial place filled by P, the normal sequence of elements would be (P)SO.

Here emphasis is carried by O.

Theme and emphasis are independently variable; we can keep one constant and vary the other.

On the dimension of theme, we may have the following secondary clause-classes:

i) S-theme clauses
ii) O-theme clauses
iii) P-theme clauses

3.81. CONCORD:

The category of concord is set up to account for a distinct kind of syntagmatic relation between two or more elements of structure. We may mention the following points as the two main prerequisites of concord:

1. that there is "more than one" exponent as opposed to "one", and
2. that these are exponents of the "same" category.

Concordial relation should not be mistaken for some sort of a relation between phonic data or word-endings. "Concord relationships are relationships between elements of grammatical structure and not between phonic data". It is true that the elements which show agreement often have very great phonetic similarities, but this must not lead us to conclude that the agreement is essentially one of sounds. "It is fundamentally one of grammatical classes". "Where the description

2. E.A. Nida: Outline of Descriptive Syntax: p 78. (1951)
does recognize concord, this concord is itself the exponent of a distinct category of relation that is different from the category of which the form is exponent, and that has its own formal meaning.¹

We have made a distinction between Concord and Selection. By selection we mean relation of mutual determination between exponents of S and those of P. It accounts for the selection of two mutually expectant and mutually prehended categories. As in the case of concord, here we have "more than one" exponent, but these are exponents of "different" categories (and it is this feature which distinguishes it from concord). In Hindi selection relation is relevant only to clause-structure. There is no such relation between elements of group-structure or of sentence-structure. Concordial relation, on the other hand, means selection of the same "term" at two or more places in the structure of sentence or clause or group.² "Concord may be defined as the complementary distribution of linguistic forms having the same syntactic function in systematic correlation with other formally distinct forms with which they are syntactically linked."³ Traditionally, concord has been used to denote "an agreement in person, number, gender, or tense between the various parts of a sentence". For all these reasons, it has been found useful to keep these two relations distinct.⁴

3.82. Personal and non-personal Concord:

The concordial relation between O and P is non-personal, i.e. the exponent of O agrees with the exponent of P only in gender and number (not in person).

---


2. H.A. Gleason: "Concord is one instance of a relationship which may exist between constituents other than immediate constituents of an utterance". (An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics: 1960, p 142)


4. M.A.K. Halliday: "Categories": p 289 f.n. 102; "If, in Old English, a nominal group consisting of a noun alone may carry four case/number distinctions, one with adjective and noun six and one with deictic, adjective, and noun seven, how can any two case/number forms be considered exponents of "the same" category when they occur in different structures?"
The concordial relation between S and P is personal, i.e. the exponent of S agrees with the exponent of P in number, gender and person.¹

3.83. Thread of Concord

T.F. Mitchell thinks that glottality in Hausa is conceptually on a par with the 'thread of concord' running through a Hindi clause. We quote:........ "It may be observed that syntagmatic relationship, usually between elements of infra-word size and involving the use of different terminology, obtains as much on the plane of phonology as these of colligation and collocation. Glottality in Hausa running through a considerable stretch of text is conceptually on a par with the 'thread of concord' running through the Hindi or Urdu wskā bētra aya tha or wskī beṭī al thi, and, moreover, neither of them differs in any way from, say, the association of vowel-quality, stress and consonant-length in such Cyrenaican Jebel Arabic forms as kaser (kə'sər) 'he broke' and kassar ('kəssər) 'he smashed' or the association of a verbal sub-category in German with a particular nominal case".²

We would not like to look upon concord as a relation between phonie data. For us concord is a grammatical (descriptive) category. It is an exponent of a kind of syntagmatic relation between two or more elements in the structure of a grammatical unit. This implies (as said before) making the same kind of choice at two or more places in the structure of a unit. We would now go back to the examples of Mitchell:

1. wskā bētra aya tha (His son had come)

¹ W.K. Mathews: "When the object appears in the nominative case, it may be taken to be in a subjective relation to the verb, and this assumes the 'plastic' form of the pastparticiple, which demands concord between itself and the object. Such concord is nominal i.e. it extends to gender and number, and not pronominal and personal". The Ergative Construction in Modern Indo-Aryan: p 400 (Lingua vol. 3 No. IV, 1953.)

* my translation.
2. *waka beta a thi* (His daughter had come)

By the 'thread of concord' Mitchell, it seems, refers to the repetition of the same sound at the end of each of the four items in the two clauses - *a* in (1) and *i* in (2). There are, in fact, two layers of concord in each of the clauses - intergroup concord and intragroup concord. There is, for example, intragroup concord between 'waka' (exponent of *m* in the nominal group) and 'beta' (exponent of *h* in the nominal group): again between 'aya' (exponent of *j* in the verbal group) and 'tha' (exponent of *a* in the verbal group). Then there is inter-group concord between 'waka beta' (singular masculine nominal group, exponent of *S* in clause-structure) and 'aya tha' (singular Masculine Verbal group, exponent of *P* in clause structure).

Concord is a grammatical category and we can account for it powerfully in grammar. If we say that the exponent of concordial relation in clause (1) is repetition of the sound -*a* (as is implied by Mitchell's expression 'running through') we may find it difficult to explain the concordial relation between elements in the following clause:

3. *waka hathi aya tha* (His elephant had come).

Here we have two different sounds or endings - *a* and *i*, and yet for us the concordial relation between the elements - both inter-group and intra-group - is the same as in (1). We may conclude this discussion by saying that in Hindi we do not always have clear morphological markers as exponents of concordial relation between elements. Concordial relation is not a relation between bound morphemes.

* my translation.

1. This point may be illustrated better by clauses having personal pronouns (where we do not make gender-distinctions morphologically) at *S*:

   - vōh jati hōy. (He goes)
   - vōh jata hōy. (She goes)
but between secondary word clauses operating in group-structure (e.g. singular noun and singular verb or singular epithet and singular 'head' and so on) or between secondary group classes operating in clause-structure (e.g. singular nominal group and singular verbal group).

**THE ELEMENT: A**

3.91. The Adjunct:

The adjunct is that primary element of Hindi clause-structure which is expounded by the class "adverbial" of the unit: Group. We might define the adverbial group as that primary class of the unit Group which operates at A in clause structure. We must, however, note that the relation between the class adverbial of the unit group and the element A in clause-structure is not bi-unique for we may have nominal groups operating at A.

Positionally, A is mobile; we may have A in the beginning, in the middle, at the end or between any two elements.

Concordially, A is neutral; the exponent of A does not enter into concordial relation with the exponents of any other element in clause-structure.

'Selection'-wise A is unmarked; the exponent of A does not participate in selection-relation with the exponent of P.

\[ S \quad 0 \quad A \quad P \]

mēy bylli ko vēhaṁdekh sēkta hū (I can see the cat from there)

\[ S \quad 0 \quad A \quad P \]

mēyne bylli ko vēha se dekha (I saw the cat from there)

In these clauses the exponent of A does not enter into any concordial or selection relation with the exponent of P.

---

1. In his description of English, A.A. Hill defines adjuncts as "words or phrases not definable as Subject, verb or complement or as parts of those three sentence elements".  
(Introduction to Linguistic Structures: p 330)
At A we may have the following groups:

(a) **Adverbial group**: the head of this group is expounded by the class 'adverbial' of the unit word. e.g. bṛhwt dhirase (very slowly)

(b) **Nominal group**: the head of this group is expounded by the class 'noun' of the unit word. More delicately, we have two sub-classes of the nominal group at A - (a) those nominal groups which can operate at S or O or A, They are in the direct case. (b) those nominal groups which, though morphologically similar to the other nominal groups can operate only at A. They are in the postpositional case.

### 3.93. Simplex and Complex A:

A may be simplex or complex: a simplex A is expounded by one adverbial group, a complex A by a series of adverbial groups in list relation.

**Simplex A**:  
\[ S \quad A \quad P \]  
\[ \text{mēy vēhā rēhta hū} \] (I live there)

**Complex A**:  
\[ S \quad A \quad P \]  
\[ \text{i/vēr / hōmme, tmmē əwr hēr jiv ə / nyvās kōrta hēy} \]  
(ōd lives in me, you and in every living creature)

### 3.931. Subdivisions of A:

The primary element A may be subdivided on the chain axis into $A^c$ and $A^A$ yielding two secondary chain classes of the adverbial group – Conjunction group and Adverb group. The head of an adverb group may but the head of a conjunction group may not be suffixed by a postposition. Another important distinction between the two is that the systems of the interrogatives and relatives operate only at $A^A$ i.e. $A^A$ may (but $A^c$ cannot) be subdivided into $A^{Relative}$/$A^{Interrogative}$/ $A^{Unmarked}$

The conjunction group subdivides into the linking and binding groups. The linking group may but the binding group may not operate at A in a major
independent clause.

The linking adjuncts (symbolized $A^L$ - expounded by the linking group) subdivide on the chain axis into fixed-place linking adjuncts and non-fixed-place linking adjuncts. Fixed-place linking adjuncts (expounded by əwr, ya, por, tətha......) can appear only initially in a clause whereas the non-fixed-place linking adjuncts (expounded by yəlyye, phyrbi, təwbhi......) are not tied to any fixed place. They may not, however, appear finally.

$A^L$

Ex: veḥ khub khata hey; phyrbi mo`a nə̀h₁i hota. (He eats a lot, even then he does not put on weight)

Now we can do two things here, i) insert əwr (and) before phyrbi -

veḥ khub khata hey; əwr phyrbi mo`a nə̀h₁i hota. (He eats a lot, and even then does not put on weight)

ii) replace phyrbi by əwr -

veḥ khub khata hey, əwr mo`a nə̀h₁i hota. (He eats a lot, and does not put on weight)

We may shift the place of phyrbi from the initial to the non-initial position in clause-structure, and rewrite the sentence as:-

veḥ khub khata hey; mo`a phyrbi nə̀h₁i hota.

Here we cannot replace phyrbi by əwr.

The binding adjunct (symbolized $A^B$ - expounded by the binding group) subdivides on the choice axis into sequential binding adjunct and non-sequential binding adjunct.

The sequential (binding) adjunct (symbolised $A^S$; it has only one exponent, kȳ-that) cannot be sentence-initial, i.e. it cannot occur in a sentence-initiating clause.\(^1\)

The non-sequential (binding) adjunct (expounded by yədy, əgar, kyoky......) can be

---

1. Note here that the sequential adjunct has a fixed-place in clause-structure; it can appear only initially in a clause but there is another restriction, i.e. it cannot occur in a sentence-initiating clause. See the section on Dependent Sequential Clauses.
sentence-initial, i.e. can occur in a sentence-initiating clause.

The adverb group may simultaneously be divided into the following choice classes:

```
Adverb group
   /  \  
  /    \  
Nonpostpositional
  /  \  
Postpositional
       /  \  
Relative
       /  \  
Interrogative
       /  \  
Unmarked
```

3.932. The conjunction group:

I The Linking group

(a) Fixed: əwr, əwm, əthə, ər, ərəntw, ərən, kyntw, lekyn, bəlky, məər, va, ya, əthə, nə.....nə, ya.....ya,

(b) Non-fixed: phyrbhi, təwəbhi, yəphəbhi, yəliye (yəsliye).......

II The Binding group

(a) sequential: ky

(b) Non-sequential: yədy, əger, yədyəpy, kəkky, kərən, tək.......

3.933. The Adverb Group:

(a) Nonpost-positional relative: jəyəse, jyə.......

(b) Postpositional relative: jəbəse, jəhətək, jydhərse.......

(c) Nonpostpositional interrogative: kəyəse, kyo.......

(d) Postpositional interrogative: kəbəse, kəhəse, kydər se.......

(e) Nonpostpositional unmarked: əyəse, yə.....

(f) Postpositional unmarked: əbəse, yəhəse, ydər se.......

3.934:

Diagrammatically, subdivisions of A may be shown as follows:

1. For translation of these items see the chapter on the adverbial group.
3.94. Thematic A:

The normal position of \( A^A \) in a clause is between 0 and P. When it is front-shifted, it is thematic (that is, \( A^A \) appearing initially in a clause is thematic) \( A^C \) normally appears initially, and hence does not enter into the system of theme.

Example: Non-thematic: \( S^A \) k31 swb3h jauga (I will go tomorrow morning)

Thematic: k31 swb3h \( A^T \) m\( \_\_y \) jauga (Tomorrow morning, I will go)

The reason why \( A \)-theme has not been shown in the diagrammatization of the interlocking systems of theme and emphasis is that we have not yet found any marked emphatic position for \( A \).

THE ELEMENT Z

3.95.1.

We may define the Z-element as that element which can occur only in Minor clauses (i.e., clauses which have no P) and which is expounded by the class 'nominal' of the unit: group. We have defined our S and 0 in relation to P.

Note: \( A^T = \) Thematic \( A \); \( A^T = \) Non-thematic \( A \).
Since in a minor clause, there is no P, we do not know whether our nominal
group is S or O; hence we use a new symbol for this: Z. It may be said to
represent the neutralization of S/O distinction. ¹

3.952. The Vocative:

Z may be subdivided into Z^V, Z^?, Z^unmarked yielding three secondary choice
classes; the vocatives, the interrogatives and the unmarked. Z^V always forms the
structure of the vocative clause (i.e. the Vocative clause has only one element,
Z^V). Z^? is expounded by the k-group. It may further be subdivided into polar
and non-polar interrogative. Diagrammatically:

3.953. Diagrammatization of the systems carried by the clause:

1. In a somewhat similar situation in English, Hill talks of "elementless
sentences". He says: "The sentences are without a recognizable sentence
element, since in the absence of a predicator, we cannot call the nominal material
subject or complement".

(Introduction to Linguistic Structures: p 343)
3.953. Diagrammatization of the systems carried by the clause:

- Hororific
  - Polar
  - Non-polar
- Interrogative
  - Single
  - Multiple
- Vocative
  - Non-vocative
  - Unmarked
- Definiteness
  - Definite
  - Indefinite
- System of transitivity
  - Transitive
  - Intransitive
- System of aspect
  - Perfect
  - Imperfect
- Mood
  - Major
  - Minor
- Mood restriction
  - Independent clause-class
  - Dependent clause classes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjectivall</th>
<th>Objectivall</th>
<th>Impersonall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>System of concord</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Multiple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>System of the relatives</td>
<td>Non-relative</td>
<td>Relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>System of honorifics</td>
<td>Non-honorific</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>Affirmative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Dep. sequentials Mood |
| only |

(Note: for the systems of theme and emphasis see section 3.72.)
At both $\alpha$ and $\beta$ we have a choice from Subjectival, Objectival and Impersonal clauses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjectival (s-p concord)</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\alpha$ S P sita lykhti hēy (Sita writes)</td>
<td>$\beta$ A S A P ky vēh fīghē hī aēgi that she will come soon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectival (o-p concord)</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\alpha$ S O P sita ne vēh suṇa di hēy (Sita has given (us) the information)</td>
<td>$\beta$ A S ky ramu ke lērē ke ne nyēndēh P pāya hēy. that Ramu’s son has received the first prize in essay - competition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impersonal (No concord)</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\alpha$ S O P sita ne mwējhe lykha hēy (Sita has written to me)</td>
<td>$\beta$ A S O ky ramu ne ṣōpe lērē ke ko A P vydeʃ bheja hēy. that Ramu has sent his son abroad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At both $\alpha$ and $\beta$ we have a choice from transitive and intransitive clauses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S $\alpha$ O P</td>
<td>mira ne mwjhe lykha həy</td>
<td>A S $\beta$ O P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mira has written to me)</td>
<td>ky filane əpna sara kam əmpərt</td>
<td>ky filane əpna sara kam əmpərt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kər lyya həy.</td>
<td>kər lyya həy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that Sheela has finished all her</td>
<td>that Sheela has finished all her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>work).</td>
<td>work).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Intransitive | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| S $\alpha$ P | A S P |
| məy cahta hu | ky vəh ae |
| (I want) | that he should come). |
Transitivity and Concord in relation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjectival</strong></td>
<td>S O P  ləřkə ro̱t̅i khata həy</td>
<td>S P  ləřkə dərẉta həy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((The) boy eats bread)</td>
<td>((The) boy runs).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objectival</strong></td>
<td>S O P  ləřkə ne ro̱t̅i khai həy.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((The) boy has eaten bread)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Impersonal</strong></td>
<td>S  O P  ləřkə ne mə̊ ko  bwləya</td>
<td>S P  ləřkə ne nəhəya həy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((The) boy called his mother)</td>
<td>((The) boy has had a bath)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* W.K. Matthews: "The use of the ergative construction without an object, found in Hindustani and in some of its cognates is not found elsewhere, for the presence of an object is generally precedent to the emergence of the ergative case."

(The Ergative Construction in Modern Indo-Aryan, *Lingua* (Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 405-406))
3.957. Rankshifted clause:

We have defined the clause as that unit which operates in sentence structure. Each place in the structure is the place of operation of a class of clause. This is the unmarked, normal relation between elements of sentence structure and classes of the unit next below (i.e. of clause). Indeed, classes of each unit enter into the structure of the unit immediately above on the rankscale. But a class of a unit may, instead of moving up the rankscale, shift down it and operate in the structure of the unit next below. This kind of departure from one-to-one relation between elements and classes may be called "rank shift". To quote Halliday: "In rankshift, this relation is broken and the classes enter into a structure of their own rank or even of lower rank than themselves."

Rankshift may therefore be regarded as "a name for that type of recursive structure which cuts across the scale of rank".

In Hindi there are certain dependent clauses which instead of operating in sentence structure operate in the structure of i) the nominal group, ii) the adverbial group, and iii) certain word classes.

There are three places in nominal group structure where they can operate. These places are: 'head', 'modifier', and 'qualifier'.

3.9574. Rank shifted clause at h in nominal group structure:

1) The infinitival clause:

\[ S \rightarrow \text{rat mæ} / \text{adhyk der tak} / \text{kam} / \text{karna} / \text{escha} / \text{nahi hota} \]

R/s clause

(worked till late at night is not good)

A.A. Hill calls this "downgrading". We quote: "Downgrading" consists in a reduction of status, for instance, from that of independent sentence to that of a sentence element within a larger sentence."

2. Ibid; p 13.
The Participial clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad 0 \\
\text{bhukh se} & \quad \text{merta} \\
A & \quad 0 \\
\text{kya} & \quad \text{nehi kerta}
\end{align*}
\]

R/S clause

The Appositive clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad 0 \\
\text{yeh methen} & \quad \text{kya} \\
A & \quad 0 \\
\text{seyo hi} & \quad \text{swdor} \\
\text{hoy} & \quad \text{sebo ko} \\
\text{malum hoy}
\end{align*}
\]

R/S clause

3.9572. Rankshifted clause at m in nominal group structure:

1) The Participial clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{asman} & \quad \text{hwa} \\
A & \quad 0 \\
\text{me} & \quad \text{gekohi}
\end{align*}
\]

R/s clause

3.9573. Rankshifted clause at q in nominal group structure:

(i) The Relative clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cytreleka} & \quad \text{mkh} \\
S & \quad 0 \\
\text{ka} & \quad \text{kwh chen pahle} \\
A & \quad 0 \\
\text{willas se} & \quad \text{omk reha thal}
\end{align*}
\]

R/s clause

3.9574. Rankshifted clause in adverbial group structure:

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \quad 0 \\
\text{semay pdr} & \quad \text{bhjan} \\
A & \quad 0 \\
\text{kern se} & \quad \text{svasthya} \\
\text{thik} & \quad \text{rehta hoy}
\end{align*}
\]

R/s clause

There are two layers of rankshift here and we may say that the infinitival clause is, in fact, operating in word structure.

3.9575. Rankshifted clause in word structure:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rat} & \quad \text{hoyk der tek} \\
A & \quad 0 \\
\text{kam} & \quad \text{kern ke adet} \\
\text{choq do}
\end{align*}
\]

(Give up the habit of working late at night).
Here we have an Imperative clause with the structure: OP. The exponent of 0 is the nominal group expounded by:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  \text{d}_0^P & \text{A} & \text{A} & \text{O} & \text{P} \\
  \text{rat me} & \text{/ adhyk der tok} & \text{/ kam} & \text{/ karna ki} & \text{/ adet}
\end{array}
\]

The structure of the nominal group at 0 may be represented by: \( d_0^P \). The exponent of \( d_0^P \) is normally a class of the unit word which may be said to have \( F \) (free morpheme) and \( B \) (bound morpheme) as structural elements.\(^1\) The exponent of the bound morpheme here is the genitival postposition 'ki'; but in place of a free morpheme, we have an infinitival clause expounded by -

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  \text{A} & \text{A} & \text{O} & \text{P} \\
  // \text{rat me} / \text{adyk der tok} / \text{kam} / \text{karna} //
\end{array}
\]

We may, therefore, say that infinitival clause here is rankshifted to operate in place of a free morpheme in word structure.

---

1. \( d_0^P \) = deictic (genitival). For further details see Chapter IV.
CHAPTER IV

THE NOMINAL GROUP
4.1. Definition:

The nominal group is that primary class of the unit group which operates at S and O in clause-structure. Morphologically, it is a grouping of members of the unit next below, that is, of words.

4.11. Primary elements of Structure:

The primary elements of structure of the nominal group are \( m \) (modifier), \( h \) (head), \( q \) (qualifier), \( e^* \) (emphasizer). These elements are expounded by different primary classes of Word. \( h \) is obligatory; it is present in every nominal group; \( m, q, e^* \) are optional: they may or may not be present. \( m \) and \( q \) are defined by position relative to \( h; m \) precedes \( h \) and \( q \) follows it.

4.12. Conflated primary structure:

The primary structure may now be generalized formulaically:

\[
(m \ldots \ldots n) h (q \ldots \ldots n) (e)^*
\]

Parentheses indicate that an element may or may not be present. The arrow shows sequence. \( e^* \) is outside the arrow, that means, it is not sequence-determined. \( m \ldots \ldots n \) and \( q \ldots \ldots n \) mean that theoretically we can have any number of modifiers and qualifiers.

4.121. Primary structure of the Nominal gp. and primary word-classes in relation.

At different places in the primary structure of the nominal group operate different primary classes of the unit: Word. At this primary degree of delicacy we can say that there are four places and four different elements. The exponential relation between these different elements and the different primary

---

1. Note that the nominal group has also the potentiality of occurring at A and Z.
classes of the unit, Word may be represented in the following way:

Primary elements
of Nominal gp. structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre-noun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Post-noun</th>
<th>Emphasizer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Primary word-classes.

4.122. Possible combinations of primary elements:

Different combinations of primary elements give different primary structures. In this way we can have the following four primary structures (e* will be considered later).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary structures</th>
<th>Exponent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One element only:</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lərka (a/the boy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a/a (Asha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two elements:</td>
<td>mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ocche lərka (good boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pəke am (ripe mangoes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mera bhai (my brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ramu jo pəa hi rəhta həy...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three elements:</td>
<td>mhq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mera lərka jo vyde/s ja rəha həy...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(My son who is going abroad.....)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.13. MODIFICATION:

Modification is a syntagmatic relation between the head-word and the pre-head word(s). It may be said that modification is the function of position preceding h. Contextually, the modifiers narrow down the meaning of h.
4.131. Secondary elements and secondary classes:

Each word before the head word is a modifier. By increase in delicacy, the primary class modifier is broken down into secondary classes of the same rank. These secondary classes may be chain classes or choice classes. If there is only one pre-head place, we may have a choice from among a number of secondary classes of modifiers. If there are more than one pre-head places, we may have a co-occurrence of a number of secondary classes of modifiers. These two cases may be represented separately:

Primary element
of
Nominal gp. structure

Secondary element(s)

Primary word-class
Pre-noun
ordinatives
epithets
nominals

Secondary word-class(es)
(choice classes)

Primary element
of
Nominal gp. structure

Primary word-class
Pre-noun
Deictics
Deictics

Secondary word-classes
(chain-classes)
1.132. Primary structure and secondary structure:

Now we may show how by an increase in delicacy the elements of the primary structure break down into secondary elements forming secondary structures:

Primary structure: m m m m m h

(These two nice kayastha boys)

Class Nominal of the Unit group.

Secondary structure: d o e e n h

Normally deictics, ordinatives, epithets and nominals are in order doen.

1.133. DEIXIS:

Deictic is that secondary class of word which expounds the secondary element d in the structure of the nominal group. Normally, deictics precede ordinatives.

1.1331. Subdivisions of d:

Deictics may, more delicately, be broken into further secondary classes:

scale of delicacy.

Secondary element
of Nominal gp. structure

Secondary word-class:

 Possessives
   deictics
   personal possessives
d
   genitivals
   deictic pronouns
   Non-possessives
   indefinite pronoun

The distinction between the possessives and the non-possessives is that the latter may but the former may not be suffixed by ne or ko.
A. The Genitivals:

The genitivals and the personal possessives belong to two different classes. Firstly, the exponent of $d^p g$ are different from the exponents of $d^p p$.

Secondly, they are mutually exclusive terms in the system of possessives, that means $d^p p$ and $d^p g$ cannot co-occur in one and the same nominal group. Thirdly, the genitivals are always either rank-shifted nominal groups or rank-shifted clause, i.e. they are nominal groups or clause operating within some other nominal group.

We found the following structures:

### R/S Nominal gp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$d^p g$</th>
<th>h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$d^p p$</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The structure of the whole group is $d^p g h$ but the exponent of $d^p g$ is also a nominal group (structure: $d^p p h$). We may therefore say that here we have a rank-shifted nominal group operating at $d^p g$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$d^p g$</th>
<th>h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$d^p p$</td>
<td>e h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here again we have a rank-shifted nominal group at $d^p g$ in the structure of the larger nominal group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$d^p g$</th>
<th>h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A O P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we have a rank-shifted clause operating in word structure. We may say that

---

1. R/S = rank-shifted.
the structure of the word class: genitival is made up of a free morpheme plus a bound morpheme. The exponent of bound morpheme is \( ki \); but in place of a free morpheme, we have a rank-shifted clause (structure: AOP).

4.13321. Complex Genitivals:

We may get a complex of genitivals - one inside the other showing layers of rank-shift or rank-shift in 'depth'.

\[
\text{ramu ke bhai ke nyut ke lO ke ka vyvah} \quad \text{(The marriage of Ramu's brother's friend's son)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{R/S Nominal gp} & \text{d}^p & \text{h} & \\
\hline
\text{R/S Nominal gp} & \text{d}^p & \text{h} & \\
\hline
\text{R/S Nominal gp} & \text{d}^p & \text{h} & \\
\hline
\text{R/S Nominal gp} & \text{h} & \\
\end{array}
\]

It may be said that here we have a "depth" of four\(^1\). The following diagram gives a better picture of the complex layerings:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{ramu ke bhai ke nyut ke lO ke ka vyvah} & \text{d}^p & \text{h} & \text{h} & \text{h} & \text{h} & \\
\hline
\text{d}^p & \text{h} & \text{h} & \text{h} & \\
\hline
\text{d}^p & \text{h} & \\
\hline
\text{d}^p & \\
\hline
\text{d}^p & \\
\end{array}
\]

One of the characteristic features of this kind of structure is that an element of structure is repeated "in depth". Here we have only two elements: 'head' and 'genitival'. They have been repeated in depth, that is, we find four layers of \( d^p \) h structure. Dr. Halliday has discussed this problem in his paper

on "class in relation to the axes of chain and choice in language". We quote: "Language also exhibits a different kind of structure, the "recursive" structure. Here, as the name implies, an element of structure, or a combination of elements, is repeated in "depth", a series of such elements (or combinations) thereby forming a progression."

4.133. The Personal Possessives:

The personal possessive pronouns are of two types:

(a) Simple: e.g. mera (my/mine), waka (his/her)....

(b) Reduplicated: e.g. h°meri-twmihadi z(our-your things)....

The personal possessive pronouns may be shown in the form of the following matrix which is a result of the interesting systems of number, person, gender and case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th></th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MASCULINE</td>
<td>FEMININE</td>
<td>MASCULINE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIRECT</td>
<td>OBLIQUE</td>
<td>DIRECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mera (my)</td>
<td>mere (my)</td>
<td>meri (my)</td>
<td>h°mara (our)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tera (your)</td>
<td>tere (your)</td>
<td>teri (your)</td>
<td>twmihara (your)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twmihara (your)</td>
<td>twmihara (your)</td>
<td>twmihari (your)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apka (your)</td>
<td>apke (your)</td>
<td>apki (your)</td>
<td>apka (your)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka (his/her)</td>
<td>wake (his/her)</td>
<td>waki (his/her)</td>
<td>wnka (their)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaka (his/her)</td>
<td>yake (his/her)</td>
<td>yaki (his/her)</td>
<td>ynka (their)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 3pna-3pni (own) do not belong here; they can take personal possessives and pattern like other epithets:

Ex: mera 3pna bhai (my own/full brother).

The Deictic Pronouns

The deictic pronouns and the Indefinite pronouns are subdivisions of the non-possessives. They are different in a number of ways. Firstly, the exponents of $d^2$ are different from the exponents of $d^I$. Secondly, they are mutually exclusive terms in the system of the non-possessives. Thirdly, Indefinite pronouns are indeclinables; they do not inflect for number, gender or person. They do not enter into any concordial relation with $h$. Deictic pronouns, on the other hand, participate in number-concord with $h$.

The deictic pronouns are of two types:

1) **Simple**:
   - ye (this)
   - ve (that)
   - ye (these)
   - ve (those)
   - ys (this)
   - ws (that)
   - yn (those)
   - wn (those)
   - yёhi (this boy)
   - vёhi (that boy)
   - ysei (this very)
   - wsi (that very)
   - ynhį (these very)
   - wnhų (those very)

2) **Reduplicated or re-iterative**:
   - ye - ve (this - that)
   - ye - ve (these - these)
   - yn - wn (these - those) oblique

The Indefinite Pronouns

The Indefinite pronouns again are of two types:

1) **Simple**:
   - koi (some one, any one)
   - kwch (some)
   - kści (several)
   - kysi (some one) - oblique form.
ii) Reduplicated or re-iterative:
   koi koi (some)
   kwoh kwoh (a little / some what)

4.1336. Systems at d:

At d we have primarily the system of possession which has two terms -
possessives and non-possessives. Within possessives, we have a choice between
genitivals and personal possessives. We may call this the system of rank-status
because one of the terms (i.e. the genitivals) is marked by rank-shift.
Within the non-possessives we have a choice between deictic pronouns and
indefinite pronouns. We may call this the system of definiteness. It is marked
by inflection (presence or absence).

(Note: A word must be added here about the genitival postpositions ka, ke, ki).
Genitival postpositions are different from other postpositive particles like me, ko. Postpositive particles are indeclinables whereas genitival postpositions are declinables; they agree with the following word in number and gender. Another important question is: do the genitivals show word-inflection or group-inflection? When we say mere lórke ki oythi" (my son's letter), does the genitival postposition refer to the word lórke or to the nominal group mere lórke? If we say that it applies to the word lórke, we cannot explain the relation of modification between the nominal groups on either side of the genitival postposition. It is true that the genitival postposition is a bound morpheme and it enters into the structure of word; but the fact remains that in such cases we have always either a nominal group or a dependent clause rank-shifted to that position (i.e. h). So we may say that the genitival postposition refers to the whole group or clause operating at h. The picture is something like -

N ka N (Here N stands for nominal group)

ke

ki

The genitivals in Hindi are, more or less, like the English genitives. The following extract from Bazell's "Syntactic Relations and Linguistic Typology" could be said to be true of the Hindi genitivals as well: - "This is the group inflection, of which the standard example is the English Genitive (e.g. The King of France's daughter). Here the position of the inflection is not fixed in relation to a word-class, but in relation to a group: the English genitival suffix is always final in the group". 1)

4.136. Systems of number, person gender and case at dP:

Intersecting systems of number, person, gender, and case operate at dP. The

1. C.E. Bazell: Syntactic Relations and Linguistic Typologies. (Gashiers Ferdinand de Saussure 8, 1949; p 14)
exponent of these systems is concordial relation with the head word. (see 4.1333.

Note that the system of person does not operate at $d_p^g$)

4.13362. Systems of number and case at $d_p^i$

Intersecting systems of number and case operate at $d_p^i$. The exponent of these systems is concordial relation with the head-word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>yəh (this)</td>
<td>ye (these)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vəh (that)</td>
<td>ve (those)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>yə (this)</td>
<td>yn (these)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wə (that)</td>
<td>wn (those)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.13363. Co-occurrence of different secondary classes of deictics

Normally the secondary classes of deictic co-occur in the following order:-

$d_p^g$ d_p^d  
mira ki yəh aṭət (Mira's this habit i.e. this habit of Mira's)

$d_p^g$ d_p^I  
mira ki koi aṭət (Mira's any habit i.e. any habit of Mira's)

$d_p^p$ d_p^d  
twmhari yəh aṭət (Your this habit i.e. this habit of yours)

$d_p^p$ d_p^I  
twmhari koi aṭət (your any habit i.e. any habit of yours)

4.14. The Ordinatives:

The Ordinative is that secondary class of modifier which expounds the secondary element $o$ in the structure of the nominal group. One means of differentiating ordinatives from deictics is the fact that we can put an emphatic particle or emphaser between the deictic and the ordinative.

Ex: mere d_i dəh  (My two children)
4.141. Further secondary classes of the Ordinative:

Ordinative may be subdivided more delicately into two secondary classes:

- **Cardinals**
  - o

- **Ordinals**
  - o

When there is only one occurrence of o, we have a choice between the cardinals and the ordinals; when we have more than one occurrence of o, we may have cardinals and ordinals in chain relation.

4.142. The Cardinals:

The cardinals are that secondary class of ordinatives which do not enter into gender-concord with any word. Further, they do not inflect for case. The cardinals are of three types:

(a) **Simple**:

- ek (one)
- do (two)
- tin (three)
- car (four)
- þãc (five)
- ohẽh (six)
- sat (seven)
- ath (eight)
- new (nine)
- dẽs (ten)
- gyarẽh (eleven)
- barẽh (twelve)
These examples show that the cardinals do not inflect for number or gender.

(b) **Aggregatives:**

- **donō** (both)
- **tinō** (all the three)
- **carō** (all the four)
- **pasō** (all the five)

The exponent of 'aggregation' here is addition of ń to the cardinal.

If the cardinal ends with a consonant, simply ń is added to it:—

- **car** (four) **Simple Cardinal**
- **carō** (all the four) **Aggregative**

If the cardinal ends with a vowel, a nasal consonant plus ń is added to it:—

- **do** (two) **Simple Cardinal**
Aggregative

The aggregatives, like the simple cardinals, do not enter into any concordial relation with \( h \).

(c) Reduplicated or reiterative type:

\[
\begin{align*}
do & \quad do-\text{do} \quad do-\text{do} \text{ ko jane do.} \quad \text{(Let two boys go at a time)} \\
& \quad \text{(or Let the boys go in twos)} \\
ek & \quad ek-\text{ek} \quad ek-\text{ek} \text{ ko do-do am do.} \quad \text{(Give two mangoes to each boy).}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
do & \quad do-\text{ek} \quad \text{(one or two i.e. a few)} \\
\text{dës-bar} & \quad \text{dës-bar} \quad \text{(about ten or twelve).}
\end{align*}
\]

More examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
do & \quad \text{do pyale dudh} \quad \text{(two cups of milk)} \\
d\text{dës-bar} & \quad \text{dës-bar} \text{ admi} \quad \text{(ten or twelve men)} \\
ek & \quad \text{ek gylas pani} \quad \text{(a glass of water)} \\
do & \quad \text{do gës këaza} \quad \text{(two yards of cloth)} \\
tin & \quad \text{tin mën cavël} \quad \text{(three maunds of rice)} \\
car & \quad \text{ser ghi} \quad \text{(four seers of ghee (clarified butter))}
\end{align*}
\]

4.143. The Ordinal:

The ordinals are that secondary class of the ordinatives which participate in concordial relation (number and gender) with \( h \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gender-concord</th>
<th>Masc: ( \text{pëhla} )</th>
<th>Fem: ( \text{pëhli} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( o )</td>
<td>( \text{la%ka} )</td>
<td>( \text{la%ki} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
number-concord

Sing:  pəhla  ləŋka (the first boy)
Plur:  pəhle  ləŋke (the first boys)

Direct:  tisra  ləŋka kəhta həy.... (The third boy says.....)
Oblique:  tisra  ləŋke ne kəha həy.... (The third boy has said.....)

case-concord

4.1431. Systems of number, gender and case at o°:

Interlocking systems of number, gender and case operate at o°. They may be shown in a tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine</strong></td>
<td>pəhla (first): (pəhla ləŋka)</td>
<td>pəhle (first) (pəhle ləŋke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(first boy)</td>
<td>(first boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine</strong></td>
<td>pəhli (first)</td>
<td>pəhli ləŋki/ləŋkyyə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(first girl/girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine</strong></td>
<td>pəhle (first)</td>
<td>pəhle ləŋka/ləŋko ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(The first boy/boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine</strong></td>
<td>pəhli (first)</td>
<td>pəhli ləŋki/ləŋkyyə ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(The first girl/girls)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1432. The ordinals are of three different types:

(a) **Simple:**

pəhla  (first)
āruša  (second)
tisra  (third)
cəwtha  (fourth)
(b) Reduplicated or reiterative types:

\[ \text{pəhla pəhla admi} \quad \text{'the very first man'} \]
\[ \text{pəhla dusta} \quad \text{'first second'} \]
\[ \text{hər tisre - oəwthe dyn} \quad \text{'every third or fourth day'} \]

(c) The Fractional and the Multiplicative Type:

\[ \text{adha} \quad (\text{half}) \]
\[ \text{oəwthai} \quad (\text{one fourth}) \]
\[ \text{ykəhra} \quad (\text{single}) \]
\[ \text{dohra} \quad (\text{double or two-fold}) \]
\[ \text{tygwna} \quad (\text{triple/three times/three-fold}) \]

\[ \text{adha am} \quad (\text{half the mango}) \]

Gender-Concord

\[ \text{adhi roṭi} \quad (\text{half the bread}) \]

4.144. Co-occurrence of secondary classes of Ordinatives:

There is no fixed sequence here. We can have \( o^o \) or \( o^o o^o \).

\[ \text{o}^o o^o \quad \text{do pəhle ləpke} \quad ((\text{the}) \text{two first boys}) \]
\[ o^o o^o \quad \text{pəhle do ləpke} \quad ((\text{the}) \text{first two boys}) \]

There is, however, one restriction. The fractionals and the Multiplicatives may not be followed by \( o^o \).

4.145. System at \( o^o \):

When we have only one occurrence of \( o^o \), we have a choice between the cardinals and the ordinals. We can set up a system of concord to account for this choice. The Cardinals do/participate in concordial relation with \( h \) but the ordinals do.
(Note: The system set up at o is marked by presence or absence of concordial relation with h.)

One of the distinguishing features of the Ordinatives is that they modify all the elements that follow them (taken as a whole):

\[
\text{do} \quad \text{nəy-nyrmnt bhəvən} \quad \text{(two newly-constructed buildings)}
\]

4.15. EPITHETS:

Epithet is that secondary class of modifier which expounds the secondary element e in the structure of the nominal group. One of the main distinctions between deictics and ordinatives on the one hand, and epithets and nominals on the other is that the latter classes allow of class-recurrence; that is, theoretically any number of insertions may be made in the positions o and n. Another distinction is that bound morphemes like sa, sərikha may be suffixed to exponents of o and n but not to those of ə and o. Further, exponents of deictics are closed-system items but the exponents of epithets are open-set items.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ek } & \text{swənər, swəl, kwəl, kayəstəh ləpki (a beautiful, gentle, skilled kayastha girl).} \\
\text{ek } & \text{bəhət chəta-sə ləpka (a rather smallish boy/a very small boy)}
\end{align*}
\]

4.151. Secondary classes of Epithets:

By increase in delicacy epithets break down into further secondary classes:
149

1.52. The adjective:

The adjective is a subdivision of epithet. It has the following defining characteristics:

(a) It is non-rank-shifted.

(b) It participates in number-gender concord with the 'head'.

(c) It may be preceded by sub-modifiers.

Adjectives may be grouped into the following types:

i) Simple:

- ोचा ोर’का '(a) good boy'
- ोचि ोर’कि '(a) good girl'
- ोचे ोर’के 'good boys'
- काली ब्यल्ली '(a) black cat'
- लाल टोपी '(a) red cap'
- लाल गाँठि 'mark (a) red sari'
- ब्वारा अद्य 'mark (a) bad man'

ii) Sa-type: sa, अरिक्ष, निमज्ज, रुपी, भबर, जेन्य, रध्य - these bound morphemes may be added to exponents of e.

- लेम्बी-सि ोर’थि '(a) longish letter'
- गाय-सि ोर’कि 'mark (a) girl, gentle like a cow'.
- रथ्-निमज्ज ोर’का 'mark (a) boy named Ravi'.
- वस्ना रध्य प्रेम 'lust-free love'.
- प्रेम-जेन्य वन्माद 'love-born passion' or 'passion excited by love'.

Adjectives (non-rank-shifted)

participles (rank-shifted)
iii). Reduplicated or reiterative type:

swndør swndør ḟgkyya (very pretty girls).

ṭhəndi ḋhəndi ḟeṭa (a nice cool breeze).

bərə bərə pər (many big trees).

4.1521. The Sub-modifiers:

Adjectives may be preceded by sub-modifiers, but there may be different degrees of subModification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-modifiers</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣečha ḟgka</td>
<td>'(a) good boy'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/m ṣečha ḟgka</td>
<td>'(a) very good boy'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-modifiers belong to this class are:

- ṣty
- ṣtyêt
- ṣtiv 'very' or 'much'
- ṣdhýk
- ṣyada
- ṣbəhwṭ
- ṣtyṣdhýk 'very much'.
- ṣkəm 'less'
- ṣkevəl
- ṣyrə

These submodifers may be preceded by other submodifiers:

(a) ytna (this much)

wtna (that much/so much)

ytna ṣdhýk uca ṣekən 'so very high a building'.

4.1521. (b) Comparatives and superlatives:

Comparatives and superlatives are adverbial group(s) rank-shifted to operate as sub-modifier or modifier of an adjective (which in its turn might be operating
151

exponent of 'head' in a nominal group).

\[ \text{s/m e h} \]

mohan se cha\(\text{t}\)a le\(\text{t}\)ka ((the) boy younger than Mohan)

R/s Adv. gp.

\[ \text{s/m e h} \]

phulse \(\text{\varepsilon\h}\)k\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l balyka ((a) girl more delicate than (a) flower)

R/s Adv. gp.

\[ \text{b\(\text{\varepsilon\h}\)w}t \text{\varepsilon\h}\)k\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l balyka \]

(a very delicate girl).

Here 'b\(\text{\varepsilon\h}\)w\(\text{\varepsilon}\)t' modifies '\(\text{\varepsilon\h}\)k\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l', 'b\(\text{\varepsilon\h}\)w\(\text{\varepsilon}\)t \(\text{\varepsilon\h}\)k\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l' modifies 'k\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l', and 'b\(\text{\varepsilon\h}\)w\(\text{\varepsilon}\)t \(\text{\varepsilon\h}\)k\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l balyka' modifies 'balyka'. It is interesting to note that each item is a head to all the preceding items and a modifier to the item immediately following it. It may be said that the relation between the pre-head elements here is not a simple place-ordered relation rather it is a relation "in depth". Each item is repeated "in depth".

Other types are those where we have a number of adjectives either each individually modifying the head or all of them forming, what Yngve calls, "an accumulative non-coordinated pattern of modification".

i) relation of co-ordination:

sw\(\text{n}\)k\(\text{\varepsilon}\)r, sw\(\text{\varepsilon}\)il, kw\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l le\(\text{t}\)ki ((a) beautiful, gentle, skilled girl).

We may look upon this as a case of complex e. The items bear the same relation to the head, and their positions are interchangeable.

ii) Accumulative non-coordinated pattern of modification:

\[ \text{n\(\text{\varepsilon\varepsilon}\)v ny\(\text{\varepsilon}\)myt vy\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l\(\text{\varepsilon}\)l \(\text{\varepsilon}\)v e\(\text{\varepsilon}\)t bh\(\text{\varepsilon}\)v\(\text{\varepsilon}\)n} \]

'(a) newly built huge white house'.

1. For 'depth' analysis, see (a) Dr. M. A. K. Halliday's: "Class in relation to the axes of chain and choice in Language". (Linguistics; No. 2, Dec., 1963.)
There is a relation of subordination between \( e \) and \( h \); this relation is complex for it is a relation 'in depth'. Each item is subordinate to all that follows. What Nelson Francis has said about patterns of noun-modifiers in American English seems, to a great extent, to be true of the relation of modification in the nominal group structure in Hindi. To quote Nelson Francis: "When a structure of modification with a noun as head includes several modifiers of different sorts, the result is often quite a complex affair. But it is organized along quite strict and precise lines. The most important fact about it is that unless it contains structures of co-ordination..........., it consists not of a series of parallel modifiers like a four horse team pulling a chariot, but of a series of structures of modification one within the other, in a manner that has already been compared to Chinese boxes".¹

4.153. The Participials:

The participial is a subdivision of the epithet. It has the following defining characteristics:

(a) It is always a rank-shifted (dependent) clause operating at \( e \).

(b) It participates in number-gender concord with the head.

(c) It may not be sub-modified.

Examples:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{asman me} & \text{wita hwa} & \text{pkeko} & \text{in-the-sky-flying bird} \\
\text{A} & \text{P} & \text{R/s Dependent clause.}
\end{array}
\]

am khata hwa ləŋka "mango-eating boy."

R/s Dependent clause.

bəhta pani "flowing water."

P

R/s Dependent clause.

cəlti gərī "(a) running/moving train"

P

R/s Dependent clause

4.154. Systems at e:

When we have only one occurrence of e, we have a choice between 'adjectives' and 'participials' - to be more current between an adjective and a rank-shifted clause.

This system (which we have set up to account for our choice between adjectives and participials) is marked by presence or absence of rank-shift.
4.154. Systems of number, gender and case:

Interlocking systems of number, gender and case operate at $e$. They may be shown in a tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number gender</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>$ scoha , l, t, p, k, a ((a) good boy) $</td>
<td>$ scoha , l, t, p, k, e (good boys) $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>$ scohi , l, t, p, k, i ((a) good girl) $</td>
<td>$ scohi , l, t, p, k, y, y, a (good girls) $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>$ scohe , l, t, p, k, e , n, e ((a) good boy) $</td>
<td>$ scohe , l, t, p, k, o , n, e (good boys) $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>$ scohi , l, t, p, k, i , n, e ((a) good girl) $</td>
<td>$ scohi , l, t, p, k, y, o , n, e (good girls) $</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.155. Co-occurrence of secondary classes of epithets:

Where we have more than one occurrence of $e$, adjectives may follow the participials.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{asmam me} \quad \text{w\,}ta \quad \text{hwa} \quad \text{nila} \quad \text{pokhi} \quad (\text{in-the-sky-flying blue bird}) \\
&\quad A \quad P \\
&\text{R/s Dependent clause.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{am} \quad \text{khata} \quad \text{hwa} \quad \text{go\,}nda \quad \text{l\,t\,p\,ka} \quad (\text{mango-eating dirty boy}) \\
&\quad O \quad P \\
&\text{R/s Dependent clause.}
\end{align*}
\]

4.16. The pre-head nominal:

The pre-head nominal is that secondary class of modifier which expounds the secondary element $n$ in the structure of the nominal group. There pre-head nominals are different from pre-head adjectives. We can insert a sub-modifier
like behwt, ədhyk, kəm, kevel........ before an adjective but we cannot do so in the case of a nominal. We can say behwt əcchi sərkər (very good government) but we cannot say behwt kəgres sərkər (very congress government). Another distinction is that adjectives, but not the nominals, can be reduplicated or reiterated. We can say -

əcchi əcchi məfıne (good good machines, that is, pretty good machines)

but not *u/a u/a məfıne (USHA USHA machines)

All pre-head nominals can operate as 'head' in nominal groups at S or 0, and take postpositive particles like -ne, -ko, but not all epithets can do so. Positionally, epithets always precede nominals. Another important distinction is that an epithet (when operating as 'head' in a nominal group) may not co-occur with certain personal possessives whereas a nominal may. For example: we cannot say: mera əccha (my good) but we may say: meri a/a (my Asha).

4.161. Secondary classes of the prehead nominals:

The pre-head nominals seem to break down, more delicately, into two secondary classes: the vala-type and the unmarked. The vala-type nominals are always rank-shifted clauses.

4.162. The Vala type:

The Vala-type is a subdivision of the pre-head nominal. It has the following
characteristics:-

(a) It is suffixed to a nominal, but in place of the nominal, we may have a rank-shifted dependent clause.

(b) It participates in number-gender concord with the 'head'.

\[ n \quad h \]
\[ kɛɾtʰa \quad beonevala \quad admɪ \quad (cloth-selling man) \]
\[ 0 \quad P \]
R/s Dependent clause

\[ n \]
\[ kɛɾtʰa \quad - \quad beonevali \quad əɾəɾt. \quad (cloth-selling woman) \]
\[ 0 \quad P \]
R/s Dependent clause

Here we have two examples of a dependent clause operating in the structure of a word whose other component is vala/vali.

\[ n \quad h \]
\[ admɪ \quad khane \quad vala \quad ʃəɾ \quad (man-eating tiger) \]
\[ 0 \quad P \]
R/s Dependent clause

This vala-type pre-head nominal is made up of two morphemes - a free morpheme plus vala/vali/vale (which is a bound morpheme). It is at the place of the free morpheme that we have a rank-shifted dependent clause. It can safely be said that whenever we have an INFINITIVE + Vala, we have a rank-shifted clause operating in the structure of a word.

\[ n \quad h \]
\[ ane \quad vala \quad admɪ \quad ((the) coming man) \]
\[ P \]
R/s Dependent clause

We can expand it into:-

\[ n \quad \tilde{\text{prəka}}/ \quad mɛ\quad ane \quad vala \quad admɪ \quad ((The) man coming into light) \]
\[ A \quad P \]
R/s Dependent clause
To make this point clear we would look at word-structure. The *vāla-type*, as we have already said, is a subdivision of the class of word: nominal operating at n in nominal group structure. The structure of this word-class may be represented in terms of two primary elements: F and B. F and B are expounded respectively by the primary classes 'free' and 'bound' of the unit morpheme. The exponent of B in this case is *vāla* (which is a bound morpheme and cannot stand on its own; a bound morpheme, by definition, cannot form the simple structure of a word). The exponent of F is the class 'free' of the unit morpheme, but here we have a dependent infinitival clause in place of a free morpheme. We know from its morphology that it is a clause; its structure is made up of permissible combinations of O, A and P. The exponent of F in this case is an *Infinitive* (verbal) group. We are, therefore, justified in saying that in the case of the *vāla-type nominal*, we have a rank-shifted clause operating at F in word-structure.

In traditional grammars this *vāla-type* is known as "the noun of agency". "The Noun of Agency holds a middle position between the verb and the noun, and partakes of the force of both, following the government either of the verb or noun, or of both. If it be derived from a directly transitive verb and have the meaning of the Present or Future, it may take an objective complement in the Genitive or the Accusative; but if it have the meaning of the Perfect, it approaches more nearly to the character of the noun, and is therefore construed with the Genitive alone......... It is also commonly used as the predicate of a preceding subject to express a *proximate future*."

4.1621: Systems of number, gender, and case at "n".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>anevala ləŋka</td>
<td>anevala ləŋke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECT</td>
<td>&quot;(the) coming boy&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(the) coming boys&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>anevali ləŋkĩi</td>
<td>anevali ləŋkyyã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;(the) coming girl&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(the) coming girls&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>anevala ləŋkẽne</td>
<td>anevala ləŋkõne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLIQUE</td>
<td>&quot;(the) coming boy&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(the) coming boys&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>anevali ləŋkîne</td>
<td>anevali ləŋkyyõne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;(the) coming girl&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;(the) coming girls&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1622:

There is yet another variety of the vala-type where the structure of the word is Nominal group + vala, that is, we have a rank-shifted nominal group operating in place of a free morpheme.

am vala admi  "(the) man selling mangoes or the man with mangoes"

It may be expanded into:

n h
põke am vala admi  "(the) man with ripe mangoes"

m h
R/s Nominal gp.

n h
kõlkõtte vali gerĩ  "(the) train to/for Calcutta"

R/s Nominal gp.

In the first example listed above, 'põke am' is exponent of a nominal group, but it is rank-shifted to operate in place of a free morpheme in word structure.

4.163: Simple nominals at "n".

These simple pre-head nominals are names of nations, nationalities, trade, race, caste, communities etc. They do not participate in concordial relation with the head word.

bhumihar ləŋka  "(a) bhumihar boy"

ʃəkty sylk  "Shakti silk"
Some of these pre-head nominals (especially the measure nouns operating at n) are usually preceded by ordinatives:—

- on h do gəz kərə (two yards of cloth)
- on h tin mən cavəl (three maunds of rice)
- on h do pyale cay (two cups of tea)
- on h ek gylas pani (a glass of water)

4.164. System at n:

When there is only one occurrence of mən, we have a choice between the vala-type and the simple nominals. We can set up a system of rank-status to account for this choice:

This system is marked by the presence or absence of (i) rank-shift and (ii) concordial relation with the head-word.

4.165. Co-occurrence of secondary classes of nominals:

Where we have more than one occurrence of the nominals, the simple nominals follow the vala-type.

pərəskar panevəli kəyəsth ləq̪ki
P
R/s Dependent clause.
There are different kinds of relations within the general pattern of modification.

(a) We may have a string of modifiers all ultimately modifying the same head:

```
\(\text{ph\^i, pwrani, kyt\^a} \quad \text{(torn old books)}\)
```

Here 'kyt\^a' is head; 'ph\^i/pwrani', each modify the head. The two e's are co-ordinate and represent the same 'depth' of modification. Their order may be reversed, or they may be joined by a linker. That is, we can say -

```
\(\text{pwrani ph\^i, kyt\^a} \quad \text{(old torn books)}\)
```
or

```
\(\text{pwrani \^h, ph\^i, kyt\^a} \quad \text{(old and torn books)}\)
```

(b) We may have two (or more) layers of modification, one within the other.

```
\(\text{hyndi, pwrani, pwst\^ke} \quad \text{(old Hindi books)}\)
```

Here 'hyndi' is a modifier to 'pwst\^ke' and 'pwrani' is a modifier to 'hyndi pwst\^ke'. It is a rather ambiguous construction for it might also mean 'books on or about Old Hindi'. In that case the analysis would be:

```
\(\text{hyndi, pwrani, pwst\^ke} \quad \text{(old and Hindi books)}\)
```

A remarkable feature of (b) is that the order of the modifiers cannot be reversed. We cannot say -

```
\(\text{hyndi, pwrani, pwst\^ke} \quad \text{(old and Hindi books)}\)
```

Another distinguishing feature is that we cannot put any linkers between these modifiers. We cannot say:

```
\(\text{pwrani, \^h, hyndi, pwst\^ke} \quad \text{(old and Hindi books)}\)
```

(c) We may have a string of modifiers all ultimately modifying the same head:

```
\(\text{ye nev-nyr\^m, g\^\text{g}en\^\text{w}mbi, \^\text{t}t\^a, \^\text{y}k\^a} \quad \text{(These newly-built sky-kissing buildings)}\)
```

Here 'g\^\text{g}en\^\text{w}mbi' modifies '\^\text{t}t\^a, \^\text{y}k\^a'; 'nev-nyr\^m' modifies 'g\^\text{g}en\^\text{w}mbi'.

"Sttalyke" and 'ye' modifies 'nēv-nyrmət gəgənewmbi Sttalyke'. Here each successive modifier has as its head whatever precedes it, or, what Nelson Francis would have said, 'the whole previous structure of modification'.

The example quoted above may be looked upon as a case of nesting - one modifier nesting within the other.

4.2. The Qualifier:

The qualifier is that primary class of word which immediately follows the head. Qualifiers are different from modifiers in a number of other ways:

(a) Modifiers may but qualifiers may not be sub-modified.
(b) Qualifiers cannot take nominal postpositive particles like (ne, ko...).

Infact, the postpositive particles distinguish the qualifier from the head-word for the qualifier is that word in nominal group structure which immediately follows the postpositive particle.

4.21. Secondary Classes of qualifier:

Qualifiers may be subdivided into: rank-shifted relative clause and reflexive pronoun.

4.211. The Relative Clause:

This is a sub-class of dependent clause which may operate at q in nominal group structure.

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
S & A & A & F \\
\text{cytrālekha ka / mwkh / jo / kwch kohən pəhle / wllas se / cəmek rəha tha...} & m & h & q
\end{array}\]

Relative clause operating in the structure of a nominal group.

(Chitralekha's face which, only a few moments ago, was gleaming/shining with joy)

4.212. The Reflexives:

This is a class of the unit word which operates at q.

*Example:*  

\[ m \quad h \quad q \]

\[ ws \quad lerke \quad ne \quad sv3y3m \quad (The \ \text{boy \ himself}) \]

Other reflexive pronouns operating at q are:

- ap (myself/himself/herself....)
- apneap (by.......,........)
- khwd (myself/himself/herself....)

4.22. System at q:

When there is only one occurrence of q, we have a choice between a rank-shifted clause and a reflexive pronoun.

This system is marked by the presence or absence of rank-shift.

(Note: Honorifics like ji, di, sah3b may be looked upon as components of the headward. Examples: pytaji, bymladi, mas3εrasah3b. The reason for not considering them as qs is that qs come immediately after the postpositive particles (e.g. ramne sv3y3m (Ram himself)) but the honorifics appear between the 'head' and the postpositive particles (e.g. pytaji ne). In fact, these honorifics are polite forms of address tagged on to the head word.)

4.23:

The following cases pose an interesting problem:

- twm c3r6 ne (you four)
- twm s6b6 ne (you all)
The problem is: what are we going to do about caro, səbo, tino? Are they q to twm and həm? In our description of the Hindi nominal group q is defined as a post-head element and is expounded by the class post-noun of the unit word. Positionally, it follows the postpositive particle. Here caro, səbo, tino precede the postpositive particle -ne, so they cannot be called exponents of q.

Another way of looking at the problem may be to consider twmcaro, həmtino etc. as compound words. But again the fact that we can insert hi between twm and caro or həm and tino proves that they are not compound words. Normally, we cannot insert an emphasisor between the components of a compound word.

Our solution is to look upon twmcaro, həmtino etc. etc. as cases of two head-words in apposition. When we have two words in appositive relation operating at h, the postpositive particle comes finally as in ramu lobar ne or raja dəsadth ne. So we would say that caro and tino are in apposition to twm and həm respectively.

4.3. The Head:

The 'head' is that primary element which has the potentiality of expounding the simple structure (i.e. one-element structure) of the nominal group. While modifiers and qualifiers are more often optional, the head is obligatory to the structure of the nominal group. In fact, modifiers and qualifiers tend to define or delimit the headword for we may say that the head is expounded by that class of the unit word which may be preceded by one or more modifiers and followed by one or more qualifiers. Another feature which pinpoints the headword is that the postpositive particle comes immediately after the headword without any other word coming in between. In fact the postpositive/(or the postposition) is a property of the head-word.
4.31. Secondary classes of the head-word.

The exponent of $h$ is the primary class noun of the unit word (we may define the noun as that primary word class which operates as head of a nominal group). The primary class noun breaks more delicately into the following secondary classes:

```
Noun
  /   \                        /
 /     \                      /
/       \                    /  \
Substantives       Mass noun
  |       |                  |
  |       |                  |
  |       |                  |
Count noun           Proper noun
  |       |                  |
  |       |                  |
  |       |                  |
Subjective           Objective
```

4.32. Primary System at $h$.

At $h$ we have a choice between substantives and pronouns. We may set up a system to account for this choice. This system is marked by potentiality of modification (i.e. this choice is between a class which may and another which may not be modified). Substantives may be modified but pronouns may not be modified. Another point worth mentioning is that the substantive head is distinguished for entering into the system of gender and the pronoun head for entering into the system of person.


The substantive is a secondary class of noun. It can operate as 'head' in nominal groups at 8 and 0.

Substantives and pronouns have a very wide area of overlap and one might like to telescope them into one class. Certain formal characteristics of pronoun
however, frequently keep the overlap from being complete, requiring secondary classes substantive and pronouns. Firstly, not all pronouns can expound \( h \) in nominal groups at 0 in clause-structure. For example, we cannot have \( \text{मैं (I)} \) as exponent of a nominal group at 0. Secondly, substantives may but pronouns may never be modified. Thirdly, while the exponents of substantives are open-set items, those of pronouns form a closed system. Fourthly, the system of person is carried by the pronoun; it is not very relevant to the substantives.

4.3211. Subdivisions of the substantive:

The Substantive may be subdivided into two choice classes (common noun and specific noun) forming a secondary system. The difference between common nouns and proper nouns is that the former may but the latter may not be preceded by an indefinite pronoun. We can say \( \text{kwoh dudh (some milk)} \) but in Hindi we cannot say \( \text{kwoh मोहेंद्र (some Mahendra)} \).

The common noun breaks into two choice classes: mass noun and count noun forming another secondary system. The count nouns may but the mass nouns may not co-occur with the cardinals. We can say \( \text{ek kwra (one chair)} \) but we cannot say \( \text{ek dudh (one milk)} \).

Examples:

**Mass Noun:** dudh (milk), जूड़र (sugar), बचपन (childhood)........

**Count Noun:** 1२२ (a boy), kwta (a dog), kwrai (a chair)........

**Proper Noun:** Asha, Cytra, Usha, Røvy, Shekher, मोहेंद्र, Bimla,....

4.322. The pronoun:

The pronoun is a secondary class of noun. It differs from noun substantives in that it may never be modified.

We may subdivide the pronoun into the following three secondary classes:

(a) Personal pronoun

(b) Relative pronoun

(c) Interrogative pronoun
The personal pronoun is distinguished for carrying the system of person.

**Singular**

- **Direct**: məy/həm (I)

- **Oblique**: mwjhe/mwjh + həmə/həm + (me)

**First Person**

- **Direct**: həm (we)

- **Oblique**: həmə/həm + (us)

**Plural**

- **Direct**: tu/twm (you)/ap (Honorific form)

- **Oblique**: twmhe/twm + (you)/apko (Honorific form)

**Second Person**

- **Direct**: twm (you)/ap (Honorific form)

- **Plural**: twmhe/twmko/twmlogo ko (you)/apko (Honorific form)

- **Direct**: wəh (he/she)

**Singular**

- **Oblique**: wse/ws + (him/her)

**Third Person**

- **Direct**: ve (they)

- **Plural**: wnhe/wn + (them)

**Note**: + indicates presence of a postpositive particle.
4.322. The relative pronoun:

The relative pronoun can operate in nominal groups in dependent relative clauses only. (In other words it cannot operate in nominal groups in independent clauses).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td>jo (who/that/which)</td>
<td>jyse/jys + (who/whom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td>jyse/jys + (who/whom)</td>
<td>jnhe/jyn + (who/whom)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3223. The interrogative pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td>kewn (who)</td>
<td>kyse/kys + (who/whom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td>kyse/kys + (who/whom)</td>
<td>kynhe/kyn + (who/whom)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3224. Secondary choice classes of the pronoun:

The pronoun may, on a different dimension, be subdivided into two choice classes: subjective and objective. The former can operate in nominal groups at $\exists$ only; the latter can operate in nominal groups at $\emptyset$ only.

This means that the pronoun may be subdivided on one dimension into: personal pronouns, relative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and on another dimension into: subjective pronouns, objective pronouns. Combining the two, we have the following possibilities:

**Personal subjective:**  mwjhe / mwjheko, heme / heme / hemko, twjhe / twjheko, twmhe / twmko, apko, wse / wsko, wnhe / wnko.

**Personal objective:**  mwy, hem, hemme, tu, tune, twm, twmne, ap, apne, vish, ves, wsne, wme

**Relative subjective:**  jo, jysne, jynne
We have not so far considered the following exponents of 'head' in nominal group structure:

i) Nominalized clause

ii) Hypostasis

i) Nominalized clause: A dependent clause may be rankshifted to the status of 'head' in nominal group structure.

\[ S_0 \]

\[ \text{rat me } ədhyk \text{ der tək kam kərna / əkcha / nəhi həta} \] // (It is not good to work till late at night)

Here the exponent of \( S \) is a nominal group having only one element: \( əh \), and the exponent of \( əh \) is a rank-shifted clause (\( \text{rat me } ədhyk \text{ der tək kam kərna} \) - structure: \( AAOP \)).

ii) 'Hypostasis': We may have 'hypostasis' as exponent of '\( əh \)'. Infact any item may be hypostatised to function as head of a nominal group.

\[ S_0 \]

\[ 'ne' / kərəkc-yənk / əhəy \] ('Ne' is (a) case-marker).

4.3.3. Simplex and Complex 'head':

The element \( əh \) may exponentially be either simplex or complex. If it is expounded by one member of the unit next below, it is simplex; if it is expounded by two or more members of the unit next below, it is complex. In the

---

1. On the form and function of hypostasis, see Finngeir Hiorth's: "Hypostasis": pp 211-216.

(Lingua: 12, 1963)
case of complex $h$, the exponents are either in appositive or additive relation.

Example: Simplex: ləɾka ((a) boy), mohən (Mohan). ....

Complex: (a) Appositive: ramu lōhar ne (Ram, the blacksmith)
(b) Additive: ram, shyam əwh mohən ne (Ram, Shyam and Mohan)

In the appositive type, the members (individually) have the same relation with the exponent of $P$; in the additive type the members collectively enter into relation with the exponent of $P$.

4.4. The Emphasizers:

The emphazisor is that class of the unit word which cannot, on its own, expound the simple structure of a nominal group. It may be regarded as a bound-word. Positionally, it follows the element it seeks to emphasize. The exponents are:

- hi
- bhi
- to

mohən hi aya həy (Mohan alone or Mohan only has come)
mohən bhi aya həy (Mohan too has come)
mohən to nəhə a səka (But Mohan could not come)

(contrasive)

The places in the nominal group where we can have an emphazisor are after $m$, after $h$ and after $g$ (only where $g$ is expounded by a reflexive pronoun).
4.5. The system of person:

The system of person operates at $h^P$. It is set up to account for our choice of pronoun. It is marked by concordial relation between personal pronouns operating in nominal group(s) at S and exponents of tense-auxiliary in verbal-group(s) at P.

4.51. The system of person, number and case at $h^P$:

The systems of person, number and case interlock. There are three terms in the system of person; the systems of number and case have two terms each.

System of Person - First person, Second person, Third person.

System of Number - Singular and Plural.

System of Case - Direct and Oblique.

The following diagram shows the systems of number, person and gender carried by the personal pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʧy (I)</td>
<td>hʧm</td>
<td>ap ($)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(we)</td>
<td>(you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tu (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwʧjhe (+)</td>
<td>hʧm(+)</td>
<td>ap (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(me)</td>
<td>(us)</td>
<td>(you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>twjhe (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
1. + indicates presence of postpositive particles.
2. Two or more items in the same box mean presence of two or more forms.
3. Postpositive particle may be fused with the same stem as:
   mwʧjhe = mwʧjko, hʧm = hʧmko, twmʧh = twmko, wse = wsko, wnʧh = wnko.
4. In certain varieties of Hindi ap is used to refer politely to a third person e.g. ap mere pyʧəji hʧy (He is my father).
5. In the plural forms, it is quite common to add log meaning that reference is to a whole lot of people. e.g. hʧmlog (we people), twmlog (you people), ve log (they people), aplog (you people).
Concordial relation between personal pronouns at $h$ and the tense-auxiliary in the verbal group may be shown as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Pronoun</th>
<th>Tense Auxiliary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$m\text{my}$</td>
<td>$h\text{u}$ (I am)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$h\text{mot}$</td>
<td>$h\text{ey}$ (we are)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t\text{u}$</td>
<td>$h\text{ey}$ (you are)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t\text{wm}$</td>
<td>$h\text{o}$ (you are) Polite form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$a\text{p}$</td>
<td>$h\text{he}$ (he/she is)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$v\text{o}\text{th}$</td>
<td>$h\text{ey}$ (they are)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.52. The system of number: 

There are two terms in the system of number - singular and plural. This system is marked by (i) concordial relation between the head and the pre-head modifiers (chiefly the deictic pronouns)\(^1\), and (ii) between the exponents of the nominal group and those of the verbal group. The system of number is carried by the nominal group; within the nominal group it is marked in $d$, $e$, $a$, and $h$.

In the oblique case, there is only one marker of the system of number, that is, concordial relation between the head and the deictic pronouns. It may, however, be added that in this case number is consistently indicated by the form of the class of the word noun operating at $h$. On the whole, singularity and plurality are not so consistently expounded by inflections in the noun as by concordial relation (or relation of co-occurrence) between the noun and certain classes of modifiers.

---

\(^1\) This relation may better be described as a relation of co-occurrence; that is, potentiality of the head-word to co-occur with certain deictic pronouns.
The system of number as carried by noun-words and other word classes has to be treated differently. There are three terms here:- Singular, Plural, Unmarked. It must be noted that at the group-rank, the system of number has only two terms but at the word rank it may be said to have three terms.

Singular ləʔka (a boy), ləʔki (a girl)......
(Note: Some of the masculine and feminine nouns have only one form, that is, singular).

Ex: Masculine:- əɭtyə (truth), bəɭpən (childhood)......
Feminine:- dəya (compassion), krypa (mercy), səhayta (help), mytrəta (friendship)

Plural: ləʔke (boys), ləʔkyyə (girls)......

Unmarked: ghər (house/home), bəɭtən (utensils), admi (man)(all these in Direct Case only)
nani (maternal grandmother), caca (uncle), dada (grandfather).

These terms are represented diagrammatically:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIRECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>yəh ləʔka (this boy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>yəh ləʔki (this girl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLIQUE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>yə ləʔke+ (this boy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>yə ləʔki+ (this girl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ means presence of a postpositive particle.

Exponents of morphemic plural (i.e. plurality expounded by bound morphemes in word structure) may be shown in a tabular form:
The exponent of plurality in the oblique case (masculine and feminine) is the bound morpheme - 0

**Example:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>ləɾke +</td>
<td>ləɾko + ( + presence of postpositive particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>ləɾki +</td>
<td>ləɾkyo +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ləta +</td>
<td>ləta +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the direct case, the exponent of plurality is the bound morpheme -e in the case of masculine gender, and -a, -e in the case of feminine gender.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>ləɾka</td>
<td>ləɾke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>ləɾki</td>
<td>ləɾkyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ləta</td>
<td>ləta +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.55. The system of case:

The system of case is carried by the whole of the group but it is marked in certain deictic pronouns and the head-word. It has two terms - direct and oblique. It is marked by (i) relation of co-occurrence between deictic pronouns and the head-word,

(ii) by the presence or absence of postpositive particles.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIRECT:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.  yēh ləʔka (this boy)</td>
<td>yēh ləʔkki (this girl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.  ye ləʔke (these boys)</td>
<td>ye ləʔkyya (these girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OBLIQUE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.  ys ləʔke + (this boy)</td>
<td>ys ləʔkki + (this girl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.  yn ləʔkō + (these boys)</td>
<td>yn ləʔkyyō + (these girls)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form of the noun-word does not always tell us about its case. For example, feminine nouns (singular numbers) have the same form in the two cases. We know which is which by looking at the deictic pronouns and the postpositive particles. In other words, yēh/yeēh are in cross-reference with (or are substitutable for) noun-word (direct) and ys and ws are in cross reference with (or are substitutable for) the noun-word (oblique).¹

4.56 **The system of definiteness:**

Where there is only one occurrence of 0 in a clause, we may have a choice between definite and indefinite nominal groups. A definite nominal group is marked (i) by the presence of the postpositive particle -ko, and (ii) by non-participation in concordial relation with the verbal group at P.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ləʔka kwttā dekhta hēy</td>
<td>ləʔka kwttā ko dekhta hēy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((the) boy sees (a) dog)</td>
<td>((the) boy sees the dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləʔkene bylli dekhi hēy</td>
<td>ləʔkene bylli ko ḥekha hēy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((the) boy has seen (a) oat)</td>
<td>((the) boy has seen the oat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹. For a detailed discussion of the system of case, see 4.58.
4.57. The system of gender:

The system of gender is carried by the whole of the nominal group, but it is marked in a, o, e, and h. The terms in this system are masculine and feminine. It is marked by concordial relation (i) between the head-word and certain modifiers and (ii) between the exponents of S (or of O in Objectival clauses) and those of P. In the oblique case concordial relation (ii) does not work. Inflectional endings of noun-words are not always dependable. We cannot say that all nouns ending in -a are masculine and all nouns ending in -i are feminine for we may find hundreds of exceptions. For example: ghi (ending in i) is masculine and sābha (ending in a) is feminine. As a general rule we can say that the marker of the system of gender is concordial relation between the head-word and some of the modifiers (chiefly, adjectives and the possessives).

DIRECT CASE: Masculine: mera bhai (my brother)
Feminine: meri bāhīn (my sister)

OBlique CASE: Masculine: mere lāmkē (my boy/son)
Feminine: meri lāmkī (my girl/daughter)

( + presence of postpositive particle)

4.58. Systems of person, number, gender and case (General):

It is important to mention here the systems of person, number, gender, and case operate at 'places' in the structure of the clause and are carried by the nominal group and the verbal group (the system of case, of course, does not belong to the verbal group). These systems are marked by concordial relation between the exponent of S and that of P (in subjectival clauses) and between the exponent of O and that of P (in objectival clauses). This does not,

1. J. Burton-Page: "Gender, as 'a concord category having meaning at the grammatical level only' remains an abstraction from the sentence, not a mystique inherent in words of any class". (The Gender of Loan-words in Hindi: Indian Linguistics vol. 20, 1959, p. 166).
however, account for everything. It does not tell us anything about the systems operating at 0 in subjectival clauses for in such clauses the exponent of 0 does not participate in concordial relation with the exponent of P. There are two ways in which this problem might be tackled:

(i) by transformation: by changing the subjectival clause into an objectival clause and then looking at the concordial relation between the exponents of 0 and those of P.

(ii) by looking at the concordial relation between the components of the nominal group itself, for example, by looking at the concord between d and h or between e and h.

When we have an oblique nominal group as exponent of S, there is no concordial marker of the system of person. We can again get round the problem either (i) by changing the oblique nominal group into a direct nominal group or (ii) by looking at the exponents themselves. Since the system of person applies to the secondary classes of personal pronouns and since we have already identified these classes in the direct case (on the basis of concordial relation) we need not repeat the whole process all over again in the oblique case.

So far as the systems of number, gender and case are concerned, the defining criterion is not inter-group concord but intra-group concord. The reason is that inter-group concord does not operate in many cases, for example there is no inter-group concord in Impersonal clauses.

In his article on the analysis of Hindi sentence-structure, Allen discusses, what he calls, the categories of Gender and Number at great length. We quote:

"The categories of Gender and Number are not invariably indicated by the form of the noun; in fact, as will be seen, the only consistent indication is that of Number in the Oblique cases. Thus the nominal suffix -a does not constitute an indication of the Masculine Singular in the Direct case - the particular example loṭka is in fact Masc.Sing., but the morphological indication of this is its
paradigmatic relationship with lärke (Masc.Plur); cœca, for instance, may be Masc. Sing. or Plur., whilst bêla is Fem.Sing. The only place in the sentence where these categories are invariably and unambiguously marked for the Direct case is in the verb, with its regular set of suffixes -

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Sing.} & \text{Masc.} -a \\
\text{Fem.} & -i \\
\text{Plur.} & \text{Masc.} -e \\
\text{Fem.} & -in
\end{array}
\]

Apart from this "syntagmatic" criterion, Gender and Number can generally be established for the Direct case of the Noun only by invoking relationships in absentia - e.g. bat is Fem. Sing. because

(a) the paradigm contains the form baten,
(b) any paradigm thus constituted regularly shows Fem. concord of the verb and,
(c) within such a paradigm the -ei form regularly shows the plur. concord.

On the other hand pat is Masc. because there is no form *paten, and such a paradigm regularly show Masc. concord of the verb: but since the form in both numbers is pat, we cannot establish it as Sing. or Plur..

In the oblique case, moreover, any suffix other than on (including zero in a word such as bat) may be considered as a mark of Singular number, in that -on, unlike the other suffixes, is invariably present if the number is Plural. In the sentence types considered, the oblique case is further indicated by the presence of the particles -ne or -ko, and there is thus no possibility of confusion between the Masc. Sing. Oblique and the Masc. Plur. Direct in -e. An important contrast is consequently set up between the Oblique and Direct case-forms as regards their potentiality for indicating the category of "number".

---

It is clear that the exponents of Gender and number are not invariably indicated by the form of the head-word. The nominal suffix -a or i may be masculine or feminine, singular or plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender and Number</th>
<th>Masculine, Singular</th>
<th>Masculine, Singular/Plural</th>
<th>Feminine, Singular</th>
<th>Feminine, Singular/Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>lerk’a (a boy)</td>
<td></td>
<td>d3ve (compassion)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caca (uncle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>preja (subjects)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>masculine, singular</td>
<td></td>
<td>feminine, singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masculine, singular/plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>feminine, singular/ plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECT</td>
<td>lerk’ (a girl)</td>
<td>feminene, singular</td>
<td>nani (maternal grandmother)</td>
<td>feminene, singular/ plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>ghi (clarified butter)</td>
<td>masculine, singular</td>
<td>moti (pearl)</td>
<td>masculine, singular/plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The system of case needs further elaboration. We have already said that it is a system of the nominal group. At primary delicacy it may be said to have two terms:

Direct

Oblique

Later in the delicacy the oblique breaks, according to its actual occurrence at different places in clause structure, into three secondary chain classes:

At S  Ergative  (morphologically marked by -ne)
At  O  Accusative (morphologically marked by -ko)
At  A  Postpositional (morphologically marked by postpositions namely me, se, per, tak, etc.)

Diagrammatically:
This means that

at $S$ we have a choice between

- direct
  - and
  - oblique (more delicately, ergative)

at $O$ we have a choice between

- direct
  - and
  - oblique (more delicately, accusative)

at $A$ we have a choice between

- direct
  - and
  - oblique (more delicately, postpositional)

These systems of number, gender and case, as has already been said, interlock.

### Table: SINGULAR and PLURAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MASC.</th>
<th>FEM.</th>
<th>MASC.</th>
<th>FEM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIRECT</td>
<td>mere ləɾke</td>
<td>meri ləɾki</td>
<td>mere ləɾke</td>
<td>meri ləɾkyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(my boy)</td>
<td>(my girl)</td>
<td>(my boys)</td>
<td>(my girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLIQUE</td>
<td>mere ləɾke</td>
<td>meri ləɾki+</td>
<td>mere ləɾkö+</td>
<td>meri ləɾkyyõ+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(my boy)</td>
<td>(my girl)</td>
<td>(my boys)</td>
<td>(my girls)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(+ means presence of a postpositive particle)

One can tell the oblique case from the direct on the basis of two features:

(i) presence of a postpositive particle in the oblique case, (ii) potentiality of $h$ to co-occur with certain deictic pronouns, e.g. $ys$, $ws$, $yn$, $wn$. These deictics cannot operate in direct nominal groups.
4.59. Inter-group and intra-group concord:

The following examples are given to illustrate inter-group and intra-group concord:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mera b骠a} & \quad \text{kha रेका ठा} \\
\text{mera b骠a} & \quad \text{kha रेका ठा} \\
\text{mera leका} & \quad \text{kha रेका ठा} \\
\text{mera leका} & \quad \text{kha रेका ठा} \\
\end{align*}
\]

4.6. Co-ordination and subordination:

I. Co-ordination: co-ordination may be of two kinds; additive and appositive.

(a) Additive: (i) Two nominal groups in co-ordination.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \quad \text{P} \\
\text{meri sari kytabे} & \quad \text{awr twmarshi sari कृमिॉ / cori ho gai hॉय} \\
\text{(all my books and all your shirts have been stolen)}
\end{align*}
\]

Here S is expounded by two nominal groups in co-ordination.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} \\
\text{N + NN}
\end{align*}
\]

Structure: \( \text{mh + mh} \)

(ii) A. Two nouns in co-ordination.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} & \quad \text{P} \\
\text{meri kytabे} & \quad \text{awr कृमिॉ / cori ho gai hॉय} \\
\text{(MY books and shirts have been stolen)}
\end{align*}
\]

Here S is expounded by one nominal group, and the head of the nominal group is expounded by two noun-words in co-ordination.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S} \\
\text{N}
\end{align*}
\]

Structure \( \text{mh} \)

\[\text{m + m} \quad (\text{m = noun word})\]

1. For a general discussion of these two relational abstractions, see the chapter on "the Sentence".
B. Two proper nouns in co-ordination:

// rāvī əwr šekhār / khel rēhe hēy //

(Ravi and Shekhar are playing)

Analysis -

S

N

Structure: h

\( n^s + n^s \) (two proper nouns)

C. Two epithets in co-ordination:

/swnd8r əwr sw/jl lərki /

((a) beautiful and gentle girl)

Here we have a nominal group made up of 'modifier' and 'head'. The modifier is expounded by two epithets in co-ordination.

\( e + e \) (e = epithet)

(b) Appositive:

ramu lohar  (Ramu, the blacksmith).

Here the two nounwords ramu and lohar are in appositional relation; they have equipollent function. In the given example, the 'head' of a nominal group is expounded by two noun-words in apposition.

II Subordination:

i) mere bhaine (my brother).

Here we have a nominal group in which bhaine is the head and mere is modifier. The relation between the two is one of subordination - mere is subordinate to bhaine.

Our criterion is that bhaine alone has the potentiality of replacing the whole
Here 'hindi' is subordinate to 'pwatke' and 'pwran' is subordinate to 'hindi pwatke'. The criterion is that here each modifier has as its head all that follows it; the relation between hindi and pwatke is the same as that between pwran and hindi pwatke.

Here 'beshwt' modifies 'adhyk' and 'beshwt adhyk' modifies 'mulyevan'; 'beshwt adhyk mulyevan' modifies 'wphar'; 'ek' modifies 'beshwt adhyk mulyevan wphar'. One distinguishing feature of this relation is that 'ek' (which is an exponent of ordinative) modifies all that follows it.

4.61. 'Depth' Relation:

It is useful at this point to make a distinction between 'depth relation' and relation between elements in a place-ordered structure. A place-ordered structure is composed of a limited number of different elements. The successive elements do not form a progression; depth relation obtains between elements in a recursive structure. The elements or terms in the series form a progression."

Recursive structures are of two types: those involving "rank-shift" and those not.

4.6111. Rank shifted type:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ramu ke } \text{mytri ke } \text{lprke ka} \\
\uparrow \quad \uparrow \quad \downarrow \\
h_3 \quad h_2 \quad h_1
\end{array}
\]

vyvah (The marriage of Ramu's friend's son).

One can very easily notice the repetition of one element (\(a^p_3\)) "in depth". The structural relation between \(d^p_1, d^p_2\) and \(h_1\) is the same as between \(d^p_2, h_2\) or as between \(d^p_3, h_3\). (Rank-shift has already been discussed in the section on the genitivals).

4.6112. Non rank shifted type:

(i) \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{m}_1 \quad \text{m}_2 \\
\uparrow \quad \uparrow \\
\text{sw\textsuperscript{1}nd\textsuperscript{1}r} \quad \text{le\textsuperscript{1}nk\textsuperscript{1}i}
\end{array}\] (an) extremely beautiful girl.

Here 'et\textsuperscript{1}y\textsuperscript{1}d\textsuperscript{1}hyk' is to 'sw\textsuperscript{1}nd\textsuperscript{1}r' as 'et\textsuperscript{1}y\textsuperscript{1}d\textsuperscript{1}hyk sw\textsuperscript{1}nd\textsuperscript{1}r' is to 'le\textsuperscript{1}nk\textsuperscript{1}i'. The structural relation between \(m_1\) and \(h_1\) is the same as that between \(m_2\) and \(h_2\).

(ii) sw\textsuperscript{1}nd\textsuperscript{1}r, sw\textsuperscript{1}ja\textsuperscript{1}l, sv\textsuperscript{1}sth be\textsuperscript{1}oce. (beautiful, gentle, healthy children).

Here we have repetition of the same element. The items preceding the head are not exponents of different elements rather they are exponents of one element only, that is, the epithet. The three epithets are in a relation of co-ordination.

(iii) \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{m}_1 \quad \text{m}_2 \\
\uparrow \quad \uparrow \\
\text{khadi} \quad \text{gramodyog} \quad \text{vykas} \quad \text{yoj\textsuperscript{1}na}
\end{array}\] (Khadi village industry development scheme).

Here 'yoj\textsuperscript{1}na' is exponent of the ultimate head; all that precedes it is modifier to it; but there are two other heads (expounded by 'vykas' and 'gramodyog') nested within the ultimate group. This network of inter-relations cannot be described
in terms of place-ordered structure or by, what R.B. Lees would say, "a superficial description of the 'physical' parts of the nominal".  

Summary of the primary and secondary classes operating at different places in the structure of the nominal group (systems of number, person, gender and case are not shown here):  

---

Noun
(at 'head')

Substantives

Common noun

- Mass Noun

Count noun

Proper noun

Subjective

Objective

- Personal

Relative

Interrogative

Pronoun

Qualifier
(Post-noun)

The 'relatives'

Emphasizer

The 'flexives'
186

4.71. Tabular representation of the primary and secondary classes: (systems of number, person, gender and case are not shown here):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>Possessives</th>
<th>Genitivals</th>
<th>Afa ki, cytra ke, rěvy ka etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deictics</td>
<td>Personal Possessives</td>
<td>mera, meri, mere, tere, teri, tere, twmhara, twmbari, twmbarare, hōmara, hōmari, hōmare, wnka, wnki, wnke, wako, waksi, woko, yiska, yiki, yake, yinka, yunki, ynke, āpka, āpki, āpke.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MODIFIER</td>
<td>Beictic Pronoun</td>
<td>yěh, yēh, ye, ve, ys, ws, yn, wn, yěhi, yēhi, ysi, wsi, ynhi, wnhi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinatives</td>
<td>Non-Possessives</td>
<td>Indefinite Pronoun</td>
<td>koi, kwoh, kysi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinals</td>
<td>Cardinals</td>
<td>ek, do, tin, car, pan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinals</td>
<td>Ordinals</td>
<td>pēhla, dusra, tisra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epithets</td>
<td>Participials</td>
<td>roti hwi (lěrki), mēra hwa (sap), cōti (gari)…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>ɕech (lěrka), ɕechi (hěrki), ļal (gari)…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominals</td>
<td>The Vala-type</td>
<td>anevali (gari), wnevala (sap)…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple nominals</td>
<td>Common Noun</td>
<td>Mass Noun</td>
<td>sētyə, bəpən, dukh, fəkər…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substantives</td>
<td>Count Noun</td>
<td>ɿrka, ɿrki, kytab…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper Noun</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>měy, hēm, tu, twm, věh, ve, ap.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>mwjh +, mwjhe, twjhe, twm +, twmhe, hēm +, hēme, ws +, wse, wn +, wnhē, ap +.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 'Relatives'  E/S Relative clauses beginning with jo, jyse, jyako, jysse, jynko, jynka, jynse, jøha........

The 'Flexives'  svGySm, khwd, ap, aphiap........

hi, bhi, to.

Note: Personal, interrogative and relative pronouns are not shown here.

4.72

Diagrammatization of the systems of number, person, gender and case as carried by the nominal group.

- System
  - substantive 'head'
  - pronoun 'head'
- System of number
  - Singular
  - Plural
  - Direct
  - Oblique
- System of case
  - Ergative (at S)
  - Accusative (at O)
  - Postpositional (at A)

4.73. Summary of Structural Relations:

Summing up, we might say that the elements of nominal group structure may be related

(a) in dependence (non-transitive depth ordering)

1) rank shifted type:
(Ravi's brother's book)

ii) Non rank shifted type:

A. एक ऐध्यक बाल्यक (an) extremely beautiful girl

B. पुरानी हिंदी पुस्तके (old Hindi books)

C. यत्री तेढी उ/अ मेटिन (such a nice Usha machine)

D. एक तेढी ऐध्यक मुख्यवन व्हर (b) in co-ordination (transitive depth ordering)

(i) by linking:

swndör, sw/jl, sw/th lerk (beautiful, gentle healthy boys) (a₁, a₂, a₃ in a relation of co-ordination)

(ii) by apposition:

ramu lohar (Ramu, the blacksmith)

a/a
CHAPTER V

THE VERBAL GROUP
5.11. The verbal group is that class of the unit group which operates at P in clause-structure. Morphologically, it is a grouping of verbal elements among which there obtain certain interior relations determining the operation of the classes of the unit next below.

5.11. Primary elements of the structure of the Verbal group:

The primary elements of the structure of the verbal group are: \( v, a, o, \) and \( n \). These elements are expounded by different primary word-classes. \( v \) and \( o \) are both positionally and exponentially distinguished. \( v \) precedes \( o \) and is expounded by the class verb of the unit word; \( o \) may follow but may not precede \( v \); it is expounded by the class auxiliary of the unit word. \( e \) and \( n \) are not sequence-bound. There is, however, one restriction: \( e \) must follow the element it emphasizes. \( n \) normally precedes the element it negates.\(^1\) \( e \) and \( n \) are expounded respectively by the classes 'emphasizer' and 'negator' of the unit word.

5.12. The primary structure of the verbal group may now be symbolized as:

\[ \downarrow v \rightarrow a \rightarrow e \rightarrow n \]

The arrow shows sequence. \( a \) and \( n \) are outside the arrow, that means they are not sequence-determined.

5.13. Possible combinations of primary elements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One element only:</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kha (eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaya (ate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khae (may eat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) \( n \) may occur finally in those cases where it negates the whole of the verbal group.
two elements: 

va 

khaega (will eat) 

............... 

ve 

hθy (is) 

............... 

nv 

tha (was) 

............... 

na 

ho (may be) 

............... 

Three elements 

vaE 

hoga (must be) 

............... 

vea 

hota 

............... 

nva 

khata hθy (eats) 

............... 

vna 

khaya hθy (has eaten) 

............... 

khaya tha (had eaten) 

............... 

Khaya hi 

............... 

nəhī tha (was not) 

............... 

Four elements: 

vena 

nəhī khaya tha 

............... 

khaya nəhī tha 

............... 

khaya hi nəhī tha 

...............
5.14. The v-element:
The v-element is expounded by the class verb of the unit word.

5.141. Finite and non-finite verb:
Early in delicacy the verb may be subdivided into finite and non-finite forming a two-term system of finiteness. The main distinction between the finite and the non-finite verbs is that the former can but the latter cannot operate as a simple verbal group at P in independent clause structure.

5.142. Subdivisions of the finite verb:
The finite verb may itself be subdivided into: tensed finite verbs and non-tensed finite verbs. The former can but the latter cannot co-occur with the exponents of tense.

5.1421.

The tensed verb breaks into: indicative and infinitive. The former can but the latter cannot select for aspect. This system may be labelled Mode I.

Ex:

Indicative: khata/khaya (eats/ate)

Infinitive: khana (to eat)

5.1422:
The non-tensed verb may more delicately be subdivided into: imperative and subjunctive. Of the two, the latter alone enters into the system of number. This system may be labelled Mode II.

Ex:

Imperative: khao (eat)

Subjunctive: khae (may eat), khaega (will eat).

5.14221. Honorific and non-honorific verbal forms:
The imperative verb breaks down into: honorific and non-honorific. The
former alone can co-occur with the honorific pronoun: 'ap'.

Ex: **Honorific:** lijye (Please take)

**Non-honorific:** lo, le (take)

5.14222:

The subjunctive may, by taking a step in delicacy, be subdivided into: unmarked and predictive. The main distinction between the two is that the latter is marked by the presence of -ga.

Ex:

**Subjunctive (Unmarked):** khae (may eat)

**Predictive:** khaega (will eat)

More examples:

**Subjunctive (Unmarked)**

mēy bolu (I may speak)
twm bolo (you may speak)
vēh bolo (He may speak)
hēm bolo (we may speak)
ve bolō (They may speak)
ap bolō (you may speak-polite form)

**Predictive**

mēy boluğa (I will speak)
twm boluğa (you will speak)
vēh boluğa (He will speak)
hēm boluğa (we will speak)
ve boluğa (They will speak)
ap boluğa (you will speak-polite form)

5.143. Perfect and imperfect verb:

The indicative verb selects for aspect. The system of aspect has two terms: perfect and imperfect. The perfect may but the imperfect cannot co-occur with an ergative nominal group. Morphologically, the former is marked by the presence of the ending a/ya, and the latter by the ending ta.

5.1431. Subdivisions of the perfect verb:

We may subdivide the perfect verb into: ne-perfect and non-ne perfect.

Of these two the former alone can co-occur with an ergative nominal group.
5.1432. Subdivisions of the imperfect verb:

The imperfect breaks into the habitual and the progressive. The progressives are bound verbs and cannot stand on their own.

Ex:  Habitual: Khata

Progressive: ...rɔha...

5.144. Modalised and non-modalised verbs:

The non-ne-perfect and the habitual enter into the system of modalization and which be said to have two terms: modalised and non-modalised.

Ex:  Non-ne-perfect modalised : səka, owka

Non-ne-perfect non-modalised : laya, bola, aya, wɔha, bɔyɔha, geya, pəra........................

Imperfect modalised : səkta, owkta

Imperfect non-modalised : kəhta, bolta, swnta..............

5.1441. The modalised verbs - 'səkna' and 'owkna':

səkna and owkna are bound verbs. Contextually, səkna means "to be able to" and 'owkna' 'to have done or finished'. One of the characteristic features of these two verbs is that they always follow a verb in its base form.

Ex:  məy yeh kər səkta hũ (I am able to do this)

məy yeh kər nəhi səka (I could not do this)

məy yse nərh owka hũ (I have finished reading this)

kya twm mera lykha nərh səkte ho? (Can you read my writing?)

kya twm lykjh owkhe ho? (Have you finished writing?)

5.145. The non-finite Verb:

The non-finite verb subdivides into the following:

a) the Conjugative: e.g. khakə (having eaten)

b) the participials:

the participials further subdivide into the perfect and the imperfect participials -

perfect participial: e.g. khaya
imperfect participial: e.g. khaja

c) the infinitivals: e.g. khana (to eat)

We have made a distinction between the infinitives and the infinitivals. The infinitives occur in finite verbal groups and inflect for number and gender. The infinitivals cannot operate at P in an independent clause and do not inflect for number and gender. The participials are characterised by their potentiality of co-occurring with hwa. The conjunctivals are marked by the suffixation of kər/ke to the stem of the verb-word.

5.146. Diagrammatically, the systems carried by the verb may be shown as follows:

* Diagram of next page. (195).
5.1461. The verb paradigm:

The exponent of $v$ enters into the following paradigm (by a paradigm we mean a set of such items as are alike in their own structure):

1. $v^o$ base form kha
2. $v^n$ 'infinitive' khana
3. $v^t$ 'imperfect' khata
4. $v^y$ 'perfect' khaya
5. $v^e$ 'subjunctive' khae
6. $v^s$ 'predictive' khaega

Note: 'base', 'infinitive', 'imperfect', 'perfect', 'subjunctive' and 'predictive' have been used as labels here.

5.147. Chain (secondary) classes of the verb:

The $v$-element may be subdivided simultaneously into the following secondary chain elements:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
\downarrow \\
\\
1 & i & p & m \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
V_{\text{non-final}} \quad V_{\text{final}}
\]

5.1471. Final and non-final $V$:

On one dimension, $v$ breaks into $v_{\text{non-final}}$ and $v_{\text{final}}$ yielding two secondary chain classes. $v_{\text{final}}$ is distinguished for carrying the main grammatical systems of the verbal group. (It is to be noted here that we are not taking into account the auxiliaries which carry the systems of tense, $v_{\text{final}}$ means that $v$ which appears finally in the verbal group (excluding the auxiliary). So the presence or absence of auxiliary will not affect the status of $v_{\text{non-final}}$ and $v_{\text{final}}$.}
On another dimension subdivides into \( I, i, p \) and \( m \) yielding four secondary chain classes: the lexical verb, the intensive, the passive and the modalised verb.

5.14721. The lexical verb:

The lexical verb is that verb which appears initially in the verbal group. Almost any verb can operate as lexical verb. The modalised verbs and the progressives, however, being bound verbs, cannot operate at \( i \).

5.14722. The intensives:

The intensives occur immediately after the lexical verb with no other element in between. They may not be preceded by the passive or the modalised verb. On the basis of combinatorial restrictions, we may group the intensives into the following secondary classes:

(a) those following the lexical verb in its base form - lena, dena, ana, \( \text{w}thna, \text{b}thna, \text{ja}na \) (non-passive), \( \text{q}alna, \text{p}na, \text{r}khna. \)

(b) those following the lexical verb in \(-ta\) form - \( \text{ja}na \) (non-passive), \( \text{r}thna, \text{hona}. \)

(c) those following the lexical verb in \(-ya\) form - \( \text{c}ahna, \text{k}rna. \)

(d) those following the lexical verb in \(-na\) form - \( \text{p}na, \text{ca}hna. \)

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ph}k )</td>
<td>denote (to throw away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tcr} )</td>
<td>( \text{q}alna ) (to break to pieces)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{gyr} )</td>
<td>( \text{p}na ) (to fall down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kha} )</td>
<td>( \text{j}na ) (to eat up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ka}t )</td>
<td>( \text{q}alna ) (to cut off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{h}st)</td>
<td>( \text{r}thna ) (to keep laughing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{p}th)</td>
<td>( \text{r}thna ) (to continue reading)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{lyk}h)</td>
<td>( \text{j}na ) (to go on writing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.14.723. The Passive:
The exponent of the passive is the verb \textit{jana}. There is, however, one conditioner\footnote{For 'conditioner', see Nida's \textit{A Synopsis of English Syntax}.} - it must be preceded (with no other verb coming in between) by a verb in 'perfect' aspect.

\textit{Ex:}
- \textit{khaya jata h\text{\textgreek{y}}} (is eaten)
- \textit{khaya g\text{\textgreek{y}}va h\text{\textgreek{y}}} (has been eaten)
- \textit{kha ly\text{\textgreek{y}}a jata h\text{\textgreek{y}}} (is eaten up)
- \textit{kha ly\text{\textgreek{y}}a g\text{\textgreek{y}}va h\text{\textgreek{y}}} (has been eaten up).

We can see that in each case listed above the item immediately preceding \textit{jata/g\text{\textgreek{y}}va} (exponent of the passive) is a verb in \textit{Ya-} form.

5.14.724. The Modalised Verb:
The modalised verbs are: \textit{s\text{\textgreek{k}}ha} and \textit{cwhna}. The modalised verbs may follow but cannot precede the passive. (see 5.14.41 for further details about the modalised verbs).

5.14.725:
The subdivisions of \textit{y} on the chain axis occur in a fixed sequence which may be shown as –

\[ l \rightarrow p \rightarrow m \]

If there are four elements in a verbal group (excluding the auxiliary, the emphasizer and the negator), then \textit{m} must occur finally; \textit{p} must precede \textit{m}, and \textit{i} must precede \textit{p}; \textit{l}, by definition, occurs initially. In other words, we have the lexical verb followed by the intensive followed by the passive...
followed by the modalised verb.

Ex:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kha</th>
<th>lyya ja sekta høy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i p m a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>koh</th>
<th>dyya ja owka høy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i p m a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khola</th>
<th>dyya ṣega høy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i p a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kha</th>
<th>lyya høy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khaya</th>
<th>høy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khaya</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khaya</td>
<td>ṣeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khata</td>
<td>ṣeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha</td>
<td>lyya ṣeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l i p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kha</th>
<th>lyya ja sekta høy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i p m a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: a = auxiliary.

5.15. The a-element:

The a-element is expounded by the class auxiliary of the unit word. The
auxiliary may, more delicately, be broken into the following secondary classes which are terms in the system of tense:

Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>hɔy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>hɔga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive</td>
<td>hɔta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The future subdivides into: potential and presumptive. The presumptive is marked by the presence of -ge.

5.151. Subdivisions of the auxiliary:

Diagrammatically, the subdivisions of the auxiliary may be shown below:

Primary element of Verbal gp. structure:

```
 auxiliary Tense
      | Past       | Present | Potential |
      | Future     | Presumptive |
      |            | Conditional |
```

Secondary classes

5.16. Simplex and Complex 1

1 may be either simplex or complex. A simplex 1 is expounded by one lexical verb only: a complex 1 is expounded by two or more lexical verbs in a co-ordinative relationship to each other. 

```
Example

Simplex 1  khaya (hɔy)
Complex 1  khaya əwr piya (hɔy)
          khaya - piya (hɔy)
          khaya ya piya (hɔy)
```

1. John T. Bendor-Samuel distinguishes two types of verbal head in his analysis of the verbal piece in Jebero. We quote: "Two types of verbal head are distinguished: simplex and complex. A simple verbal head comprises one verb-form only. A complex verbal head comprises two or more verbs in a co-ordinative relationship to each other". "The Verbal Piece In Jebero": Word Monograph No. 4, vol. 17 (Suppl.), 1961, p 44.
In the cases listed above we have one verbal group with a simplex or complex. This is different from having more than one verbal group in a co-ordinative relationship to each other.

Here we have two verbal groups (in a relation of co-ordination) which are exponentially realized as one item operating at P in clause-structure.

5.17. The Negator:

The negator is that primary class of word which operates at n in the structure of the Verbal group. It has three exponents:

n9
n9h9
m9t

Examples: n9 jao (don't go)
n9h9 jao ("")
m9t jao (""")

n9 appearing finally functions as exponent of a separate verbal group; it operates like the exponent of P in question-tags in English:

Examples: // twm jate ho, // n9 //? (You are going, aren't you?)

In imperative clauses n9, n9h9, and m9t normally precede the lexical verb. If the lexical verb is in the infinitive mode, the negator may follow it.

Ex: rwkna n9h9
rwkna m9t.

m9t is prohibitive, and is used only with the imperative and the infinitive. n9 and n9h9 can be used with the other modes as well.

5.18. The Emphasizer:

The emphasizer is that class of word which operates at e in the structure of
the verbal group. It has three exponents:

- The imperative, subjunctive (unmarked/predictive) forms cannot be followed by any other verbal form, that is, they appear finally in the verbal group.

- The item immediately preceding cahta, caha, paga, paga must be in the inflected infinitive form.

- The item immediately preceding sahta, saka, saha, saha must be in the base form.

- The item immediately preceding raha must be in the base form.

- The item immediately preceding roha, roha, roha must be in the infinitive form.

5.19. Restrictions on the co-occurrence of the secondary classes of verb:

(a) The item immediately preceding roha must be in the imperfect form.

(b) The item immediately preceding saha, saka, saha, saha must be in the subjunctive form.

(c) The item immediately preceding cahta, caha, paga, paga must be in the inflected infinitive form.

(d) The item immediately preceding sahta, saka, saha, saha must be in the base form.

(e) The item immediately preceding raha must be in the imperfect form.

5.2. The systems of number, gender and person as marked in y and ai:

There are two terms in the system of number - singular and plural; two in that of gender - masculine and feminine; and three in that of person - first, second and third. These systems interlock and yield micro-classes. For example, this is singular (in the system of number), masculine (in the system of gender), second (in the system of person).
gender) and first person (in the system of person). These systems are marked by concordial relation with the nominal group at S in subjectival clause and at O in objectival clauses.

Some of the verbal forms inflect for all the three systems, some for only two and some for none.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (base form)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive (unmarked)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predictive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In feminine gender plurality is invariably marked in the bound morpheme (i.e. the suffix) which has nasality as its distinguishing phonological feature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thi</td>
<td>thi</td>
<td>khati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khati</td>
<td></td>
<td>khati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is, however, one restriction. Nasality can be selected only once in the group and its carrier is the last element in the Verbal group.
Allen is right when discussing the categories of number and gender, he says:

"The only place in the sentence where these categories are invariably and unambiguously marked for the direct case is in the verb, with its regular set of suffixes -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal forms display distinctions of number and gender without any ambiguity. All forms ending in -a are masculine singular, those ending in -i are feminine singular, those ending in -a are masculine plural and those ending in -i are feminine plural.

5.3. The systems carried by the verbal group:

We have thus far examined the systems carried by the verb and the auxiliary. Now we would look at the systems carried by the verbal group as a whole.

5.3.1. The systems of finiteness:

There are two terms in it: finite and non-finite. The finite verbal group can but the non-finite cannot expound P in an independent clause structure. The non-finite is characterized further by its potentiality of co-occurring with hwa.

5.3.1.1. Subdivisions of the finite verbal group:

The finite verbal group may be subdivided into: tensed group and non-tensed group. The former can but the latter cannot co-occur with the exponents of tense.

5.31.11.

The tensed group may, more delicately, be broken into: indicative and the infinitive. Of the two, former alone can select for aspect.

This system may be labelled Mode I.

Ex: **Indicative:**  
khata hṣy (eats)  
khaya hṣy (has eaten)  

**Infinitive:**  
khana hṣy (has/have to eat)

5.3112: The non-tensed group may be split up into: imperative and subjunctive. The main distinction between the two is that the subjunctive alone selects for 'number' and 'person'. This system may be labelled Mode II.

Ex: **Imperative:**  
khaø (eat)  

**Subjunctive:**  
khae (may eat), khaega (will eat)

5.31121. The system of honorifics:

The imperative verbal group breaks down into: honorific and non-honorific. The former alone can colligate with the honorific pronoun - 'ap'.

Ex: **Honorific:**  
lijye (please take)  

**Non-honorific:**  
lo, le (take)

5.31122: The subjunctive verbal group subdivides into: unmarked and predictive. The main distinction between the two is that the predictive verb operating in the predictive verbal group is marked by the presence of -ga.

Ex:  

**Subjunctive (unmarked):**  
khae (may eat)  

**Predictive:**  
khaega (will eat)

5.32. The system of aspect:

The indicative verbal group can select simultaneously from the systems of aspect and tense. The system of aspect has two terms: perfect and imperfect. In a perfect verbal group, \( v^{\text{final}} \), is expounded by a perfect verb; in an imperfect verbal group, \( v^{\text{final}} \), is expounded by an imperfect verb. It must be mentioned here that
the system of aspect has been set up to show selection relation or relation of mutual determination between the exponents of S and those of P in clause structure. The perfect verbal group may but the imperfect cannot co-occur with an ergative nominal group.

Ex: Perfect : khaya həy (has/have eaten)
     Imperfect : khata rəh jata (goes on eating)

5.321. Subdivisions of the perfect group:

By taking a step in delicacy, the perfect may be subdivided into: ne-perfect and non-ne perfect. The distinction between the two is that the former alone can co-occur with the ergative nominal group.

Ex: ne-perfect : khaya, swna, kəha, kəh dyya.
     Non-ne-perfect: This group may be described as a group containing one or more of the non-ne-perfect verbs such as - səka, cəka, aya, bəla, wəha, bəjəha, gəya (non-passive), gəya (passive), hwa, rəha (non-progressive), rəra, laya.

5.322: Subdivisions of the imperfect group:

The imperfect group breaks into the habitual and the progressive. The habitual is distinguished for entering into the system of modalization. The progressive is marked by the presence of the bound progressive verb - 'rəha'.

Ex: Habitual: khata (həy) (eats)
     Progressive: kha rəha (həy) (is eating)

5.33. Modalised and non-modalised verbal groups:

The non-ne perfect and the habitual enter into the system of modalization which has two terms: modalised and non-modalised. Of the two secondary classes
the former is marked by the operation of a modalised verb at $v_{final}$.

Ex:

- Non-ne-perfect modalised: kha sëka (could eat)
  kha owka (finished eating)

- Non-ne-perfect non-modalised: bëtha (sat), bola (spoke/said),
  aya (came), cëla gëya (went away)...

- Habitual modalised: kha sëkta (hëy) (can eat)
  kha owkta (hëy) (finishes eating)

- Habitual non-modalised: khata (hëy) (eats),
  bolta (hëy) (speaks)............

5.34. The system of tense:

The indicatives and the infinitives select for tense. The system of tense operates at a in verbal group structure. The terms in this system are:

- Past, Present, Future (Potential and Presumptive), and Conditional.

Ex:

**INDICATIVE**

- Past: khata, tha, khaya tha, kha rëha tha................
- Present: khata hëy, khaya hëy, kha rëha hëy................
- Potential: khata ho, khaya ho, kha rëha ho................
- Future
  - Presumptive: khaya hoga, khaya hoga, kha rëha hoga........
  - Conditional: khata hota, khaya hota, kha rëha hota........

**INFINITIVE**

- Past: khana tha
- Present: khana hëy
- Potential: khana ho
- Future
  - Presumptive: khana hoga
  - Conditional: khana hota.
5.34. The system of tense/the system of aspect in relation:

The terms in the systems of tense and aspect are combinable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>khaya tha (had eaten)</td>
<td>khaya hgy (has eaten)</td>
<td>khaya ho (may have eaten)</td>
<td>khaya hoga (must have eaten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khaya hota (had (he) eaten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>khaya th (used to eat)</td>
<td>khata hgy (eat)hgy</td>
<td>khata ho (may be eating)</td>
<td>khata hoga (must be eating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khata hota (had been eating)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.35. The system of the non-finites:

The non-finite verbal group breaks down into the following secondary classes:

(a) the Conjunctival: khak3r (having eaten)
(b) the participial: the participial further breaks down into the perfect and the imperfect:

i) Perfect participial: khaya hwa (eaten)
ii) Imperfect participial: khata hwa (eating).
(c) the infinitival: khana (to eat)

5.36. The system of voice:

The system of voice is carried by the verbal group as a whole. It has two terms: active and passive. The former is marked by the non-presence and the latter by the presence of a passive verb. The passive verbal group is further characterized by its non-potentiality of operation at P in a perfect clause.
5.37. The system of polarity:

There are two terms - positive and negative. The former is marked by the absence and the latter by the presence of 'negator'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past:</td>
<td>khata tha</td>
<td>khaya jata tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaya tha</td>
<td>khaya gəya tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kha rəha tha</td>
<td>khaya ja rəha tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khana tha</td>
<td>khaya jana tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khata həy</td>
<td>khaya jata həy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaya həy</td>
<td>khaya gəya həy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kha rəha həy</td>
<td>khaya ja rəha həy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>khana həy</td>
<td>khaya jana həy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>khata həy</td>
<td>khaya jata həy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaya həy</td>
<td>khaya gəya həy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kha rəha həy</td>
<td>khaya ja rəha həy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khana həy</td>
<td>khaya jana həy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khata hoga</td>
<td>khaya jata hoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaya hoga</td>
<td>khaya gəya hoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kha rəha hoga</td>
<td>khaya ja rəha hoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khana hoga</td>
<td>khaya jana hoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khata hota</td>
<td>khaya jata hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaya hota</td>
<td>khaya gəya hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kha rəha hota</td>
<td>khaya ja rəha hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khana hota</td>
<td>khaya jana hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>khata hoga</td>
<td>khaya jata hoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaya hoga</td>
<td>khaya gəya hoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kha rəha hoga</td>
<td>khaya ja rəha hoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khana hoga</td>
<td>khaya jana hoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive</td>
<td>khata hota</td>
<td>khaya jata hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaya hota</td>
<td>khaya gəya hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kha rəha hota</td>
<td>khaya ja rəha hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khana hota</td>
<td>khaya jana hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>khao</td>
<td>khaya jao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>khae</td>
<td>khaya jae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive (unmarked):</td>
<td>khaega</td>
<td>khaya jaega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predictive:</td>
<td>khaega</td>
<td>khaya jaega</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The system of polarity:
Active

Positive: khata hēy, khaya hēy

Negative: nē/nēhi khata hēy, ne/nēhi khaya hēy

Positive: khaya jata hēy, khaya gēya hēy

Passive

Negative: nē/nēhi khaya jata hēy, nē/nēhi khaya gēya hēy

Positive: khaya nē/nēhi jata hēy, khaya nē/nēhi gēya hēy

With 'mēt':

Positive: jao

Negative: mēt jao

5.38. The system of Contrastiveness:

The terms in the system of contrastiveness are: contrastive and non-contrastive. The contrastive is marked by the presence and the non-contrastive by the absence of emphasized.

Ex: Non-contrastive: kha rōha tha

Contrastive: kha hi rōha tha

kha rōha hi tha

kha rōha tha hi

Non-contrastive: kha owka tha

Active:

Contrastive: kha hi owka tha

kha owka hi tha

kha owka tha hi

Passive:

Non-contrastive: khaya ja owka tha

Contrastive: khaya hi ja owka tha

khaya ja hi owka tha

khaya ja owka hi tha

khaya ja owka tha hi
5.4. Interlocking systems of number, gender and person:

The systems of number, gender and person are carried by the whole of the verbal group, though they are marked in ə and ə. These systems interlock and we have the following terms which are combinable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number:</th>
<th>Singular and Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td>Masculine and Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person:</td>
<td>First, Second and Third</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We may have the following micro-classes (as a result of the combination of terms in the three systems):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine, Singular, first</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>khatə tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; second</td>
<td>khatə the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; (honorific)</td>
<td>khatə the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; third</td>
<td>khatə the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Masculine, Plural, first  | khatə the |
| " second                 | khatə the |
| " " (honorific)          | khatə the |
| " third                  | khatə the |

| Feminine, Singular, first | khati thi |
| " second                 | khati thi |
| " " (honorific)          | khati thi |
| " third                  | khati thi |

| Feminine, Plural, first  | khati thi |
| " second                 | khati thi |
| " " (honorific)          | khati thi |
| " third                  | khati thi |
Note that the imperatives do not inflect for number, gender or person. For other restrictions see 5.2.
5.4.1. **Exemplification:**

We will analyse a few examples to illustrate some of the multidimensional secondary classes of the verbal group.

(i) **khaya ja sēkta hēy.**
Finite, Indicative, Imperfect (Habitual, modalised), present, passive, positive, non-contrastive, singular, masculine, third person.

(ii) **kha hi nēhī rēha hēy**
Finite, indicative, imperfect (progressive, non-modalised), present, active, negative, contrastive (emphatic), singular, masculine, third person.

(iii) **jao**
Finite, imperative, nen-honorific, active, positive, non-contrastive.

(iv) **khani hogi**
Finite, infinitive, future (presumptive), active, positive, non-contrastive, singular, feminine.

(v) **khaya hi nēhī ja sēkṣa.**
Finite, subjunctive (predictive), passive, negative, contrastive (emphatic), singular, masculine, third person.

5.5. **Concord within the verbal group:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sing.</strong></td>
<td>khata tha</td>
<td>khata hū</td>
<td>khata hōu</td>
<td>Khata hōga/hūga Khata hōta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masc.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plur.</strong></td>
<td>khatethe</td>
<td>khatehēy</td>
<td>khatehō</td>
<td>khatehōge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khatehote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sing.</strong></td>
<td>khatithi</td>
<td>khatihū</td>
<td>khatihōu</td>
<td>khatihūgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fem.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khatihoti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plur.</strong></td>
<td>khatithī</td>
<td>khatihēy</td>
<td>khatihō</td>
<td>khatihōgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khatihotī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Past Present Future Conditional

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Potential</strong></td>
<td><strong>Presumptive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>khate the khate ho khate ho khate hoga khate hote</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Honorific:</strong> khate the khate hī khate hī khate hī khate hī khate hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>khate the khate ho khate ho khate hoga khate hote</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Honorific:</strong> khate the khate hī khate hī khate hī khate hī khate hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>khate the khate ho khate ho khate hoga khate hote</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Honorific:</strong> khate the khate hī khate hī khate hī khate hī khate hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>khati thi khati ho khati ho khati hogi khati hoti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Honorific:</strong> khati thi khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>khati thi khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Honorific:</strong> khati thi khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>khati thi khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Honorific:</strong> khati thi khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>khati thi khati hī khati ho khati hogi khati hoti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>khati thi khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>khati thi khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hī khati hite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the present and the future potential do not inflect for gender.

### 5.6 Morphology of the lexical verb:

Since we are not going to have a separate chapter on word structure, we propose to discuss here certain aspects of verb-morphology.

#### 5.6.1. Causative and non-causative verbs:

The lexical verb may be causative or non-causative. The causative may be simple or extended. It is to be noted here that the causative - non-causative choice can be made at 1 and at 1 alone.

Normally, the simple causative is formed by adding the bound morpheme 6a to the stem of the verb, and the extended by adding va.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex: Stem (Non-causative)</th>
<th>Simple causative</th>
<th>extended causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pēṭh</td>
<td>pēṭha</td>
<td>pēṭhva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oṭl</td>
<td>oṭla</td>
<td>oṭlva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now we may write these in their infinitive forms:

Ex: **Non-causative** | **Simple causative** | **Extended causative**
---|---|---
पढ़ना (to read) | पढ़ना (to teach) | पढ़वना (to cause to be taught)
चेलना | चेलना | चेलवना
जेलना | जेलना | जेलवना
थर्ना (to fear, to be afraid) | थर्ना (to frighten) | थर्ना (to cause to be frightened)
जैगना | जैगना | जैगवना
कर्ना | कर्ना | कर्नवना

There are other forms which do not follow this normal pattern.

Ex: **Non-causative** | **Simple causative** | **Extended causative**
---|---|---
सोना (to sleep) | सोलना (to put to sleep) | सोलवना (to cause to be put to sleep)
देखना (to see) | देखना (to show) | देखवना (to cause to be shown)
खना (to eat) | खलना (to feed) | खलवना (to cause to be fed)

5.62. The compound lexical verb:

The stem of the lexical verb may be simple or compound. In a compound stem, one of the components may be a nominal element (i.e. a noun or an adjective).

Simple stem: **क्षा** (eat)

Compound stem: **स्विकर कर** (accept)

The compound lexical verb may be defined as that lexical verb which has a compound stem of the type listed above. The 'nominal' member of the compound differs from the elements of nominal group structure in respect of three features:

1) it cannot take any postpositive particles,

2) it does not participate in any concordial relation with the verbal elements,
iii) it cannot be preceded by \(d^P\) or \(d^G\).

\[\begin{align*}
S & \quad 0 & P \\
(a) & \text{mSyne twmhara prstav svikar kyya} & (I \text{ accepted your proposal}) \\
& \quad 0 & P \\
(b) & \text{mSy ne oor ko} & \text{kohema kyya} & (I \text{ forgave the thief}) \\
& \quad 0 & P \\
(c) & \text{wane mytrko} & \text{byda kyya} & (He saw the friend off)
\end{align*}\]

In (a) "svikar kyya" is exponent of a 'compound lexical verb'. 'svikar' cannot take verbal suffixes like -ta or -ya or -e or -ega or -na. It cannot be preceded by a modifier nor suffixed by a postpositive particle. Further, it does not participate in any concordial relation with the verb.

We cannot say-
* mSyne twmhara prstav swnder svikar kyya.
(i.e. we cannot insert a 'modifier')

* mSyne twmhara prstav svikar ko kyya.
(i.e. we cannot insert a postpositive particle).

It is clear that in the given environment 'svikar' cannot on its own expound a group. Infact, 'svikar' is a constituent of the compound stem of the lexical verb. In 'svikar kyya', 'svikar k̩r' is the stem and -ya is the morphemic exponent of the perfect aspect.

Bailey has explained this problem rather vaguely. He says: "The two are joined so clearly as to become one word and the gender of the noun does not matter". 

Kellogg has explained it in notional terms. According to him, "sometimes a substantive or adjective is so combined with a verb as to form, conjointly with it, but one conception. Such combinations as these have been called Nominal Compounds". It is difficult to operate with such notional explanations. We can,

---

however, explain these compounds formally. Let us consider the following clauses:

\[ S \quad 0 \quad P \]

i) मेय ने waksi bate svikar ki (I accepted his facts/words).

\[ S \quad 0 \quad P \]

ii) मेय ने waksi prəfəsa ki (I praised him)

or, मेयne waksi kəhəni swni (I heard his story)

Both (i) and (ii) are objectival clauses: there is number-gender concord between the exponents of 0 and P. In (i) svikar cannot take any modifier or postpositive particle; it does not enter into any concordial relation with ki. We therefore cannot call it an exponent of 0. In fact, it is a component of the verbal group. In (ii) prəfəsa has a pre-head modifier: 'waki'. There is number-gender concord between waki and prəfəsa. Further, there is concordial relation between prəfəsa and ki. It is clear then that waki prəfəsa is an exponent of 0, and not a component of the verbal group. We agree with Burton-Page on this point.

While discussing this problem, he says: "but if 'prəfəsa kərma' is regarded as NV, how is waki to be regarded? To consider the group "waki prəfəsa kərma" as NV would involve the proliferation of such verbs to the point of absurdity...........

If, on the other hand, waki were regarded as constituting N₃ by itself, this would imply that the relationship between waki and prəfəsa were different from that between waki and kəhəni. This cannot be justified. It is therefore suggested that the type be analyzed as

\[ N₁ \quad N₂ \quad V \]

\[ मेयne \quad waki \quad prəfəsa \quad ki \]

and that the question of 'prəfəsa kərma' being considered as NV does not arise".

1. J. Burton-Page: Compound and Conjunct verb in Hindi: p 477
Examples of the compound lexical verb:

(a) with 'kərna'

svikar kərna (to accept)
koṣema kərna (to forgive)
arəmbh kərna (to begin)
prem kərna (to love)
pyar kərna ("")
yad kərna (to remember)
byda kərna (to see off)
khəra kərna (to stand)
prapt kərna (to obtain)
pəsəd kərna (to approve, to select)
səhən kərna (to tolerate)
naṣt kərna (to destroy)
səhən kərna (to accept)

(b) with 'hona'

yad hona (to happen to remember)
pəta hona (to happen to know)
sətəsə hona (to feel satisfied)
dwkh hona (to feel unhappy)
səməpt hona (to be completed)

(c) with 'dəna' or 'pərna'

dykhai dəna/pərna (to come into view, to be seen)
swnai dəna/pərna (to be heard)
5.621. Lexical verb types:

The lexical verb types may be shown in the following two-dimensional matrix (Note the imperfect form has been taken just as an illustration).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMPLE</th>
<th>NON-CAUSATIVE</th>
<th>CAUSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khata</td>
<td>khylata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khylvata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-NOMINAL</td>
<td>khata-pita</td>
<td>khylata-pylata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khylvata-pylata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMINAL</td>
<td>svikar kerta</td>
<td>svikar kerta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>svikar kervata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.7. Morphology of the "perfect verb":

This again is word-morphology - morphology of the perfect verb. The general rule is that if the stem has a final consonant, we add -a to it; if it has a final vowel, we add -ya to it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pớ th (read)</td>
<td>pớ tha (read)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha (eat)</td>
<td>khaya (ate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə́ yth (sit)</td>
<td>bə́ ytha (sat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭé w (run)</td>
<td>ṭé wa (ran)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hḗ s (laugh)</td>
<td>hḗ sa (laughed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la (bring)</td>
<td>laya (brought)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.71. The Irregular verbs:

The following verbs, however, undergo internal changes before taking the
**perfect suffix.** (Traditionally, they are known as irregular verbs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive (to)</th>
<th>Stem (or base form)</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jana</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>gəya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lena</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>lyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dana</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>dyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīna</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣetma</td>
<td>kṣr</td>
<td>kyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

5.8. **Morphemic exponents of number, person, gender and tense:**

The following diagram shows the intersecting systems of number, person, gender and tense as marked in the structure of the *verb* and the *auxiliary*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB (alone)</th>
<th>AUXILIARY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FUTURE POTENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAS. SING.</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLU.</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM. SING.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLU.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECOND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAS. SING.</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLU.</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM. SING.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLU.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIRD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAS. SING.</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLU.</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM. SING.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLU.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.9. An illustration of the successor forms in the Hindi verbal group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kha</th>
<th>khaa</th>
<th>Khaega</th>
<th>Khana</th>
<th>khata</th>
<th>Khaya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hēy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pēta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hōta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōta</td>
<td>jata</td>
<td>hōta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jata</td>
<td></td>
<td>gēya</td>
<td>hēy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lena</td>
<td>leta</td>
<td>sēkta</td>
<td></td>
<td>rēha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lyya</td>
<td>sēka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gēya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaya</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>sēkta</td>
<td></td>
<td>hēy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sēka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rēha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khata</td>
<td>rēh</td>
<td>jata</td>
<td></td>
<td>hēy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gēya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha</td>
<td>lyya</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>sēkta</td>
<td>hēy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sēka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>owka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rēha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VI

The Adverbial Group.
6.1. DEFINITION:

The adverbial group is that primary class of the unit group which operates at A in clause structure. By this we do not mean that the class 'adverbial' of the unit group stands in one-one relation to the element A of clause structure; for A may be expounded by the class 'nominal' of the unit group. We have also seen in our description of the nominal group that the adverbial group may be rank-shifted to the status of submodifier in nominal group structure.

-*e.g.* səbse swndeər laqi ((the) most beautiful girl)

Here səbse which is an exponent of an adverbial group is operating as a submodifier in nominal group structure.

6.2. Primary structure of the adverbial group:

In Hindi the adverbial group, like the nominal group, has K-type structure. We may therefore use the same symbols to describe its conflated primary structure.

6.21. The primary elements of adverbial group structure:

The primary elements of adverbial group structure may be said to be m (modifier), h (head) and e (emphasizer). These elements are expounded by different primary classes of the unit: word. The primary structure of the adverbial group may now be generalized formulaically:

\[ m \rightarrow h \rightarrow e \]

m and e are optional; they may or may not be present. h is obligatory. The arrow indicates that m and h are in fixed sequence. e is outside the arrow which means that it is not sequence-bound. It can occur after m or after h. It cannot be group-initiator.
### 6.22. Possible combinations of primary elements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One element</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two elements</td>
<td>mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>h e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

********************
6.3. The h-element:

h is that primary element of adverbial group structure which is expounded by the primary class "adverbial" of the unit word. We may define "adverbial" as that class of word which operates as head of an adverbial group. There is yet another way of defining h - h is that primary element which can expound the simple (i.e. one-element) structure of the adverbial group.

6.31. Subdivisions of the adverbials:

By taking a step in delicacy, we may subdivide the adverbials into adverbs and conjunctions. The main distinction between the two is that the former may but the latter may not be suffixed by postpositions.

Ex: adverb: dhire se (slowly), fīshē (soon)........

conjunction: ëwr (and), kypēr (but), kypē (because)........

6.311. Subdivisions of adverb:

Adverbs break into: substantives and pro-adverbs. Substantives may but the pro-adverbs may not be modified.

6.3111. Adverb (substantives):

Adverb (substantive) is that secondary class of adverb which can co-occur
with pre-head modifiers and be suffixed by postpositions.

Ex:  

\[ j\ddi m \sim \]  (in a hurry)  
\[ m h \]  (very soon)  
\[ b\ddhwt j\ddi m \sim \]  (in a great hurry)  
\[ h \]  (afterwards)  
\[ m h ysk\deh \]  (after this)  
\[ m h \]  (behind that)  

The exponent of \( h \) in all these cases is **adverb (substantive)**.

6.3112. Reduplication:

Adverb (substantives) may be reduplicated or reiterated.

Ex:  

\[ j\ddi-j\ddi \]  (Quickly)  
\[ n\ddh-n\ddh \]  (gradually)  
\[ dhire-dh\ddre \]  (slowly)  
\[ \ddhik-\ddhik \]  (exactly)  

Reduplication is a marked feature of words in Hindi. Nouns, verbs, adverbs - may all be repeated to denote contextually repetition, distribution, variety, intensity or continuance. Words are reduplicated in two ways:

i) by repetition of the same word e.g. \( j\ddi-j\ddi \)

ii) by addition of a rhyming or jingling word: e.g. \( \ddhik-\ddhak \), \( dhire-vire \),

6.3113:

The following items have been traditionally treated as postpositions:

\[ \dddeh \dder \]  (within, in)

\[ age \]  (in front of)
One of the reasons why they have been treated as postpositions is, we guess, that they have prepositions or prepositional phrases as their translation equivalents.
An English. We would, however, treat them as adverbs (substantives) on purely formal grounds. Like other adverbs (substantives), they can be suffixed by postpositions; can also be preceded by modifiers. Like other adverbs (substantives), they too do not inflect for number and gender.

For example, *nice* (below) is listed under postpositions/prepositions in traditional grammars, but it is in no way different from other adverbs. It can be preceded by a modifier:

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{nice} \quad \text{(under a tree)} \]

It may be suffixed by a postposition:

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{nice se} \quad \text{(from under a tree)} \]

We would analyse the following like other adverbial groups:

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{makan ke} \quad \text{age} \quad \text{(in front of the house)} \]

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{kSmr} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{Endr} \quad \text{(in the room)} \]

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{Sdr} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{nykSt} \quad \text{(near the city)} \]

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{mes ke} \quad \text{nice} \quad \text{(under the table)} \]

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{gav ke} \quad \text{somip} \quad \text{(near the village)} \]

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{Empne mytr} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{sath} \quad \text{(with your friend)} \]

\[ dp \quad h \quad \text{ndi ke} \quad \text{par} \quad \text{(across the river)} \]
It may be noted here that normally these adverbs are preceded by a possessive deictic (either genitival or personal possessive).

6.312. The pro-adverbs:

The pro-adverb is that secondary class of adverb which may not be preceded by submodifiers such as bēhwt, ātyt, ādyk etc. It enters simultaneously into two different but interlinked systems:

**System (a):** Postpositional and non-postpositional

**System (b):** Relative, interrogative and unmarked

Combining the terms in the two systems, we have:

1. **Relative postpositionals**
   
   (jēb) jēbse, jēbtāk
   
   (jēha) jēha se, jēha tēk
   
   (jydhēr) jydhēr se, jydhēr tēk

   RELATIVE
2. Relative nonpostpositional:  
   \[\text{j}^\text{eyse}\]  
   \[\text{j}^\text{yo}\]

3. Interrogative postpositional:  
   \[(\text{k}^\text{eb}) \text{ k}^\text{eb} \text{ se, k}^\text{eb} \text{ tek}\]  
   \[(\text{k}^\text{eha}) \text{ k}^\text{eha} \text{ se, k}^\text{eha} \text{ tek}\]  
   \[(\text{k}^\text{yhdr}) \text{ k}^\text{yhdr} \text{ se, k}^\text{yhdr} \text{ tek}\]

**INTERROGATIVE**

4. Interrogative nonpostpositional:  
   \[\text{k}^\text{eyse}\]  
   \[\text{k}^\text{yo}\]

5. Unmarked postpositional:  
   \[(\text{sh}) \text{ sh} \text{ se, sh} \text{ tek}\]  
   \[(\text{yeha}) \text{ yeha} \text{ se, yeha} \text{ tek}\]  
   \[(\text{yhdr}) \text{ yhdr} \text{ se, yhdr} \text{ tek}\]

**UNMARKED**

6. Unmarked nonpostpositional:  
   \[\text{eyse}\]  
   \[\text{yo}\]

6.3121. The relative pro-adverb:  
   The relative pro-adverb operates in adverbial groups at \(A^R\) in dependent relative clauses.

6.3122. The interrogative pro-adverb:  
   The interrogative pro-adverb operates in adverbial groups at \(A^?\) in clause structure.

6.3123. The unmarked pro-adverb:  
   The unmarked pro-adverb operates in adverbial groups at \(A^H/A^F\) in clause structure.

6.313. Conjunction:  
   Conjunction is that secondary class of the adverbials which may neither be suffixed by postpositions nor preceded by modifiers. We subdivide conjunctions
Linkers and Binders

6.3131. The Linkers:

The linkers may be grouped into the following classes depending on whether they operate in adverbial groups at fixed place(s) in clause structure or not (see 3.931 in the chapter on the clause).

(a) **Fixed-place linkers**

- əmr
- əvəm (and)
- təths (then)
- va
- pər
- pərəntw
- kytw
- wəren (but)
- lekyn
- belky
- məgər

- to (then)
- phyv (then)
- təthapy (yet)
- əteh (therefore)
- əteyyv
(b) **Non-fixed-place linkers**

Phyrbhi (even then)
təwbhi ("")
yalye (therefore)

6.3132. The Binders:

The binders may be grouped into the following classes depending on whether they can operate in adverbial groups in sequential dependent clause or not.

(see 3.931 in the chapter on the clause).

(a) **Sequential:** ky (that)

(b) **Non-sequential:** yədy (if)

əgər

kyōky (because)

yədyəpy (although)

6.32. Diagrammatically the subdivisions of the adverbial may be shown as below:

![Diagram of Adverbial Structure]

6.4. The modifier:

We have already discussed the modifier and its exponents in our description.
of the nominal group. We have also seen how an exponent of \( m \) may be repeated 'in depth'. We would now look at a few examples of modifiers operating in adverbial group structure.

Non-rankshifted:

\[
{\text{d}^p_{\text{P}}} \quad \text{mere piche} \\
{\text{d}^p_{\text{P}}} \quad \text{mere thik piche} \\
{\text{d}^p_{\text{P}}} \quad \text{mere blikwl thik piche} \\
\]

(behind me)

(right behind me)

(exactly behind me)

Rankshifted:

\[
{\text{d}^p_{\text{P}}} \quad \text{mere m\text{"ekan ke piche} \\
{\text{d}^p_{\text{P}}} \quad \text{mere l\text{"ek ke m\text{"ekan ke piche} \\
{\text{d}^p_{\text{P}}} \quad \text{mere b\text{"ek ke m\text{"ekan ke piche}}}
\]

(behind my house)

(behind my son's house)

6.5. The emphazisor:

We have already examined the operation of the emphazisor in our description of the nominal group and the verbal group. The same formal items operate as emphazisors in adverbial group structure.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Exi} & : \\
\text{h} & : \text{e (certainly)} \\
\text{h} & : \text{e (surely)} \\
\text{h} & : \text{e (even then)}
\end{align*}
\]
PART III

"The transference of grammatical categories is a dead horse no longer to be flogged".

(M.A.K. Halliday: *Some aspects of systematic description and comparison in Grammatical Analysis: p 57)*

CHAPTER VII

A Brief Comparison Of The Hindi And English Verbal Groups
CHAPTER VII

7.1. General:

In this part we propose to present a systemic comparison of the Hindi and English verbal groups. Such a comparison involves systematization of similarities which presupposes rigorous description of the structures, classes and systems of the verbal group in each of the two languages followed by identification of the categories set up for one language with those of the other. The term 'systemic' needs some clarification here. By systemic comparison we mean confronting via translation-equivalence systems (and consequently terms in systems) set up separately in the description of two or more languages. "Here the instantial correspondence of items (categories or exponents) in texts are generalized as potential correspondences (with or without further specifications of relative frequencies) of terms in systems, e.g. "to I as a term in a five-term system of personal pronouns corresponds je as a term in a six-term system", "to he as a term in a three-term system of natural gender (or four-term system of natural gender and number in third person) corresponds partly il as a term in a two-term system of grammatical gender (or four-term system of grammatical gender and number in third person)". 1

7.11. Descriptive Categories:

The verbal group is a descriptive category. Descriptive categories are peculiar to each individual language. Theoretical categories (like unit, structure, class, system), on the other hand, are universal. We derive our descriptive categories - categories for describing a particular language - with reference to the theoretical categories. The clause in Hindi, for example, is a

(To be published by Mouton and Co.).
particular instance of the theoretical category: UNIT; the verbal group is a particular instance of the theoretical category: CLASS. The 'clauseness' of the Hindi clause does not derive from the theory of grammar; it is a peculiar feature of Hindi. Every language, in this sense, is sui generis - its categories being defined in terms of relations holding within the language itself.

We might find, what Nida calls, 'noun-like and verb-like' words in all languages of the world but this does not imply that the formal meaning - which by definition is always intralinguistic - of the class of word 'noun' in two or more languages is the same. We may find it terminologically economical to give the same label 'verb' to a class of word in two or more languages, but this is not a universal statement. "The verb is redefined in the description of each language". In fact, no descriptive category in any one language is exactly paralleled in any other. It is therefore quite illegitimate to identify a category in one language with a category in another simply because we happen to call them both 'passive' or 'perfective'. "The problem", says Allen, "is to establish a framework of grammatical analysis within which categories set up for one language can be rigorously identified with those set up for another language,

1. R.H. Robins: "classification and categories made wholly in formal terms are of necessity peculiar to each language, and cannot of themselves lay claim to kinship with the formal categories of other languages". (Noun and verb in Universal Grammar: Language: vol. 28, no. 3, 1962: p 293)
2. On 'formal meaning', see Halliday's Categories: p 244; also Ellis: "On Contextual Meaning" (mimeographed) (To be published in Firth Memorial Volume).
4. "Although we must draw upon a common stock of grammatical terms, that does not imply the recognition of grammatical universals. On the contrary, the grammatical forms of a language are never in strict sense precisely paralleled in another language". (Quoted by Firth in "Philology in the Philological Society: TPS 1956: p 17)
and so given the same label. Without such a framework there is the danger that the same term (e.g. "ablative" or "perfect") may be given to functionally incomparable categories (or comparable only in a vague or notional manner).  

7.12. A single set of comparative descriptive categories:

Our view is that it is possible to confront the descriptive categories set up for one language with those of another. We do subscribe to the view that grammatical (descriptive) categories are abstractions from the paradigmatic and syntagmatic inter-relationships of the forms of a particular language, but once two or more languages have been separately described, and categories set up for them, we can, for purposes of comparison, draw a single set of categories from the separate description of each. According to Robins, "When word-classes have been designated noun and verb etc. in the grammatical structure of two or more languages, valid comparisons can, of course, be made between the intra-linguistic meaning of a word-class within the structure of one language and the intra-linguistic meaning of a similarly designated word-class in another language. But such comparisons must be operationally subsequent to the designation of the classes to be compared and cannot be the basis for such designation."  

7.13. The problem of identifying descriptive categories as comparable:

But the question arises of identifying descriptive categories as comparable. Unless we establish the comparability of these categories, we cannot conflate them into a single set of comparative descriptive categories for showing likeness and unlikeness between any two languages. According to Allen "there is the theoretical possibility of an identification via situational-contextual

---

criteria". Allen limits grammatical terms comparable by available methods to those where the identificatory function is non-grammatical (e.g., personal pronouns), but Halliday holds that Allen's method can indeed be extended to other grammatical terms. He has shown "the actual possibility of comparing grammatical terms in themselves not identifiable except grammatically, by the non-grammatical identification (ultimately by context of situation, as required by Allen) of the totality, piece by piece, of their linguistic context". Our view is that we give the same designation or label to categories in two different languages if they are sufficiently alike in meaning. Surely contextual meaning has priority over formal meaning here. Any comparison of formal meaning(s) of or more items in two languages presupposes their relation to identical extralinguistic situation. "Comparison of formal meaning, says Ellis, "is ultimately dependent upon some identification other than formal, since this by definition is always intralinguistic, whereas contextual meaning relates to extralinguistic situation".

7.14. Translation - an instance of comparative descriptive linguistics:

Translation can provide a means of showing equivalence between textual items in two or more languages according as they operate in similar situations and

4. "Contextual meaning relates form to situation. Unlike phonological and formal meaning, then, it is a relation not within a level (or, in the case of phonology, interlevel), but between levels (across the interlevel of context) - it can of course be formulated as a network of relations within context, systemic (paradigmatic) and structural (syntagmatic) ones of the formal meaning type, but what is important is that this network is determined, not within the level (or interlevel) as formal meaning is, but by the joint action of formal distinctions (independently established in the statement by formal analysis) and the situational differentiations to which they relate". (J. Ellis: On Contextual Meaning: p 2).
5. J. Ellis: Towards A Theory Of (General) Comparative Linguistics: 2.1 (To be published by Mouton & Co.).
divide up the contextual meaning. 'Translation' has been used here to mean "the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)".\(^1\) Taken together the two texts may be said to constitute a type of comparative description of the two languages. Translation, in so far as it shows a certain type of relation between languages, may be regarded as a special instance of comparative descriptive linguistics.

7.15:
In the following sections we are going to compare via translation the verbal group categories in English and Hindi, the former being the SL, the latter the TL. We must make it clear here that we are not comparing the two languages as a whole rather we are comparing structures, classes and systems of the verbal groups. "When we compare two languages we cannot link the languages as a whole; we select for comparison items from within them - and not only items, of course, but abstract categories (classes, structures, and so on) of which the items are "exponents".\(^2\)

7.16. Source Materials:
We are using two bodies of source material for bringing the Hindi and English Verbal groups into relation. Firstly, we have actual translation\(^3\) - texts in the two languages, the one ("\(\text{we rat ke bad}\)" being translated from the other ("The End of The Affair"). These texts display probabilities of equivalence between items occurring in them.\(^4\) Secondly, we have described the

   (Mimeographed: 1963 To be published by O.U.P.)
   (Note: SL = Source language; TL = Target language)
   (Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Band 15, 1962, Heft 1/2)
3. Our assumption is that i) the translation is adequate for purposes of comparison ii) and the translator provides (within limits) a situation common to the two languages.
4. For present purposes we assume that language \(a\) (English) translated into language \(b\) (Hindi) can be regarded as languages \(a\) and \(b\) in correspondence.
verbal group in the two languages within the general framework of the same theory. This means that the forms of the two languages have been presented in terms of the same general linguistic categories, unit, structure, class and system.

7.17. Formal correspondence between the hierarchies of units:

In our description of English as of Hindi we need to recognize five units hierarchically ranged on a rankscale. We may once again call these units, in descending taxonomic order, Sentence, Clause, Group, Word, Morpheme.

```
                Sentence
               /     \
              Clause    Group
             /       \    
            Word      Morpheme
```

The relation among the units (in both the languages) is that, going from the top (largest) to the bottom (smallest), the structure of each unit has as elements exponents of the unit next below. "We can reasonably say that there is formal correspondence between the two hierarchies of units: each has the same number of ranks, as (taxonomic) hierarchies each has the same kind of relationship between units of the different ranks. Having established such a highly abstract correspondence, we may use this as a frame of reference for stating approximate correspondence at lower abstractional level: e.g. we may talk of formal correspondence between SL and TL elements of structure operating at 'corresponding' ranks".¹ By a formal correspondent we mean "any TL category (unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the 'economy' of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL".²

---

¹ J.C. Catford: op. cit. pp 41-42.
² ibid: op. cit. p 41.
7.18. Establishing the comparability of the English and Hindi verbal groups:

The sentence in both the languages is the highest grammatical unit; it is also the unit which operates directly in situation. A sentence in English is normally translated by a sentence in Hindi. In our texts, this is the normal, unmarked state of things; there are, however, cases where a paragraph in English (consisting of a number of sentences) has been translated into one sentence in Hindi. The same may be said of the clause. A clause in English is normally, but not always, translated by a clause in Hindi. The clause in both the languages operates in sentence structure and is made up of classes of the group. The primary elements of clause-structure in English and Hindi may be represented by the same set of symbols S(subject), O/C (object or complement), A (adjunct), P (predicator). At group-work both the languages make a class distinction between nominal group, verbal group and adverbial group. In Hindi as well as in English the class "verbal" of the unit group operates at P. The items which are the exponents of the verbal group in English are normally translated by items which are the exponents of the verbal group in Hindi. On the basis of highest probability textual equivalence, we may say that the English and Hindi verbal groups are comparable.

7.19. Diagrammatically:
UNIT (one of the theoretical categories)

The formal item, let us say, \( x \) (in Hindi) is an exponent of a Hindi sentence (which is an instance of the theoretical category Unit) and operates in the situation \( A \); the formal item \( y \) (in English) is an exponent of an English sentence (which) is an instance of the theoretical category Unit) and operates in the situation \( A \). That is,

\[
\begin{align*}
  x : A & : : y : A \\
  \therefore x = y \text{ (also } S_H = S_E \text{ )}
\end{align*}
\]

Here \( = \) means that \( x \) can replace \( y \) as language activity playing a given part in situation \( A \) (that is, \( x \) and \( y \) are interchangeable in the situation \( A \)). Thus these items, and the categories set up in abstraction from them, may be said to be comparable. Once we have established that \( x \) and \( y \) are comparable, we can safely say that \( S_H \) (sentence in Hindi) and \( S_E \) (sentence in English) which are expounded by \( x \) and \( y \) respectively are also comparable. We may similarly carry

---

1. Here we have identical situation and the text in each language correlating with it. This situational identity enables us to equate the contextual meaning of \( x \) and \( y \).
our comparison down the rankscale in the two languages.

7.191. Convergence and divergence:

Normally we find greater convergence at the top and greater divergence at the bottom of the rankscale.

On a different dimension of abstraction, this time of delicacy, we may say that we have greater convergence at 'primary' delicacy and greater divergence as we move on towards the other end of the cline. Diagrammatically:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Convergence</th>
<th>Divergence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Delicacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary structure(s)</td>
<td>secondary structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary class(es)</td>
<td>secondary classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary systems</td>
<td>secondary systems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2. THE ENGLISH VERBAL GROUP:

We would give a brief description of the English verbal group in order to establish its approximate formal correspondence with the Hindi verbal group which has already been described in some detail in Part I. We must mention here that (for our present purposes) we have slanted our analysis of English to bring it more into line with Hindi.

7.21:

The verbal group in English, like the verbal group in Hindi, may be defined as that class of the unit group which operates at P in clause-structure.
7.22. Primary elements and primary classes:

The primary elements of the structure of the verbal group may be represented by 1 (lexical verb), v (grammatical verb), n (negator) and o (contrastive element). l occurs finally in the group it precedes 1. The exponents of v are closed-system items, but the exponents of 1 are open-set items. In a generalized way it might be said that both v and 1 are expounded by the class verb of the unit word. The exponents of n and o will be considered in the sections on the systems of polarity and contrastiveness.

7.23. Secondary elements and secondary classes:

At secondary delicacy v breaks on the chain axis into v^m, Perf., v^Prog., v^Pass. These elements occur in fixed sequence and fill four pre-l places in the order in which they have been listed above. v^m is that secondary element of verbal group structure which may not be preceded by any other element. The system of modalization (see 7.244) operates at v^m. v^Perf. is that secondary element which may follow v^m but may not follow v^Prog. and v^Pass. It is expounded by a class of words which may be labelled 'perfectives'. These 'perfectives' are has/have/had operating at post v^m but pre-v^Prog. place.

v^Prog. is that secondary element which may follow v^Perf. but precedes v^Pass. These progressives are be, am, is, are, was, were operating at post v^m but pre-v^Prog. place.

v^Pass. is that secondary element which follows v^Prog. but precedes the lexical verb. It is expounded by a class of words which may be labelled 'passives'. These passives are be, am, is, are, was, were operating at post v^m but pre-l place. Here we have assigned the same set of formal items to two secondary classes. The reason is that they enter into different colligational relations with the following verb. The progressives must be followed by a verb in the '-ing' form and the passives by a verb in the 'n' form. Thus the 'perfectives',
the 'progressives' and the 'passives' except the following verb to be in 'n', 'ing', 'n' forms respectively.

The following examples would make the point clear:

has eaten \( v^{\text{Perf.}} + l^n \) (Perfect verbal group - non-passive, non-progressive)

is eaten \( v^{\text{Pass.}} + l^n \) (Passive verbal group - non-perfect, non-progressive)

is eating \( v^{\text{Prog.}} + l^n \) (Progressive verbal group - non-passive, non-perfect)

It must be remarked here that the elements of the verbal group structure are not discrete and the exponential relation between elements of structure and classes of word cannot be stated as one-to-one relation. The same formal item operating at different places in the said verbal group structure may be said to belong to different secondary classes.

7.231. Choice classes: finite and non-finite verb:

On the choice axis \( v \) may be subdivided into \( v^f \) and \( v^{nf} \) yielding two secondary choice classes - finite and non-finite. The finite can but the non-finite cannot operate as a simple verbal group at the first P in independent (affirmative) clause structure.

7.2311:

The finite verb enters into the system of tense which has three terms - past, present, and future. The future may more delicately be subdivided into: non-modalised and modalised. The choice of tense is made at the first element in the structure of the verbal group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>was, were, had, walked, ate...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>is, am, are, has, have, walk(s), eat(s)..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>will, shall, will/shall walk,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>will/shall eat................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-modalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modalised</td>
<td>can, may, could, might, would, should,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ought, must</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.2312. Subdivisions of the non-finite verb:

The non-finite verb subdivides on the choice axis into the participial and the infinitival. The participials break into: 'n' type and 'ing' type.

Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participials</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'n' type</td>
<td>eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ing' type</td>
<td>eating, being...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitivals

to eat, to go......

(Note: we may break the infinitivals into marked (to eat, to go......) and unmarked (eat, go in non-initial place in verbal group structure - it cannot operate at the first P in clause structure).

7.332. The element: 1:

1 is expounded by the class verb of the unit; it may be in any of the following forms:

- i) $1^0$ - 'base' form
- ii) $1^1$ - 'infinitival' form
- iii) $1^p$ - 'present' form
- iv) $1^d$ - 'past' form
- v) $1^n$ - 'n' form
- vi) $1^g$ - 'ing' form

Example

- eat
- to eat
- eats/eat
- ate, walked.....
- eaten......
- eating......

7.2321. Simplex and Complex 1:

A simplex 1 is expounded by one lexical verb, a complex 1 by two or more lexical verbs (linked by and/but/or)

Exponent

Simplex 1

comes, sat etc.

Complex 1

brushing and combing......
7.24. The systems of the verbal group:

We have thus far discussed the systems carried by verb-word. Now we would examine the systems carried by the verbal group as a whole.

7.24.1. The system of finiteness:

Early in delicacy, the verbal group subdivides into finite and non-finite forming a two-term system of finiteness. The non-finite verbal group is marked by the presence of a $v^\text{nf}$ at the initial place; the finite verbal group is marked by the presence of a $v^f$ at the initial place. Further the finite verbal group alone enters into the system of mode.

Example

Finite verbal group: must have hated, am writing, can be trusted.....

Non-finite verbal group: wandering, putting, to learn, having been eaten,....

7.24.2. The system of mode:

The finite verbal group may, by taking a step in delicacy, be broken into the following secondary classes which constitute the system of mode:

Indicative: go/goes, am/is/are going, has/have gone went.....

Imperative: go (exponent of P in an imperative clause)

The main distinction between the two is that the indicative alone can select from the systems of tense, aspect, modalization and progression. The imperative verbal group is distinguished for operating at P in imperative clause(s).

7.24.3. The system of tense:

The indicative verbal group selects simultaneously from the systems of tense, aspect and progression. The terms in these systems are combinable. In other words, the indicative verbal group may be subdivided into secondary classes on the interlocking dimensions of tense, aspect and progression.

There are three terms in the system of tense: past, present and future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>was/were(doing/done, being done), had(done, been doing/done), had (been being done) did.....</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Present

am/is/are (doing/done, being done), has/have (done, been doing/done), has/have (been being done), do(es), eat(s)........

Future

will/shall (go, work), will/shall (have done, have been doing, have been being done)....
would/should/may/might/can/could / (go/work)...

The future may more delicately be subdivided into: non-modalized and modalized constituting the system of modalization:

7.244. The system of modalization:

There are two terms: non-modalized and modalized. The modalized verbal group is distinguished by the presence of a modal verb.

Non-modalized: will/shall, has/have, am/is/are, was/were, had....

Modalized: can, may, would, should, could, might, must, ought....

7.245. The system of aspect:

The system of aspect has two terms -

non-perfect (unmarked)

perfect (marked)

The perfect is expounded by has/have/had followed by a verb in 'n' participial form.

1. The exponents of \( V^\text{per} \), that is has/have/had may, more delicately, be grouped into the following secondary classes:

- \( a \) have — can occur with the exponents of \( V^m \)
- \( b \) has, had — cannot co-occur with the exponents of \( V^m \)

It means that the presence of \( V^m \) excludes has and had. Has and had may further be grouped as present perfect (has) and past perfect (had). This sort of classification, as stated earlier, is subject to the condition that these formal items are followed by a verb in 'n' form.
### 7.2451. Tense and aspect in relations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Non-perfect</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td>ate</td>
<td>had eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td>eats</td>
<td>has eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUTURE</strong></td>
<td>will/shall eat</td>
<td>will/shall have eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Non-Modality</th>
<th>Progressive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td>ate</td>
<td>an/is/are eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td>eats</td>
<td>was/were eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUTURE</strong></td>
<td>will/shall eat</td>
<td>will/shall be eating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.246. The system of progression:

There are two terms:
- non-progressive (unmarked)
- progressive (marked)

The progressive is expounded by *be* (in some form) followed by *'ing'* participial.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-progressive</th>
<th>Progressive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eats</td>
<td>an/is/are eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ate</td>
<td>was/were eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will/shall eat</td>
<td>will/shall be eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was eaten</td>
<td>was being eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is eaten</td>
<td>is being eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has eaten</td>
<td>has been being eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>had eaten</td>
<td>had been being eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>would be eaten</td>
<td>would be being eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>might be eaten</td>
<td>might be being eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.247.

The terms in the systems mentioned above may be combined yielding the following micro-classes:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Perfect Form</th>
<th>Progressive Form</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
<td>non-progressive</td>
<td>ate...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>was eating...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>non-progressive</td>
<td>had eaten...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>had been eating...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
<td>non-progressive</td>
<td>cats...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>am/is/are eating...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>non-progressive</td>
<td>has/have eaten...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>has/have been eating...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
<td>non-progressive</td>
<td>will/shall eat...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non-modalized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>will/shall be eating...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non-modalized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>non-progressive</td>
<td>will/shall have eaten...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non-modalized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>will/shall have been eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non-modalized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
<td>non-progressive</td>
<td>would/should etc eat...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(modalized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>would/should etc be eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(modalized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>non-progressive</td>
<td>would/should etc have eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(modalized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>would/should etc have been eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(modalized)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Would/should etc means would/should and other modalized forms listed in 7.244.

7.248 Systems carried by the non-finite verbal group:

The non-finite verbal group breaks into the participials and the infinitivals.

The participials may be subdivided into; Perfect and Non-perfect.

The infinitivals select simultaneously from the systems of aspect and progression.
Participals:
The system of aspect: Non-perfect ('ing' type), eating
                     Perfect ('n' type), having eaten

Infinitivals:
The system of aspect: Non-perfect to do
                     Perfect to have done

The system of progression: Non-progressive to do
                          Progressive to be doing

We may have the following combinations:
Non-perfect, non-progressive: to do
Non-perfect, progressive: to be doing
Perfect, non-progressive: to have done
Perfect, progressive: to have been doing

7.249. The system of voice:
The system of voice is carried by the whole of the verbal group. It has two terms:
active (unmarked)
passive (marked)
The passive which is the marked term in the system is expounded by be (in some form) followed by a verb in 'n' participial form. In a verbal group having five places, be as an exponent of 'passivity' occupies the place immediately preceding the lexical verb.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>non-perfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Active**
  - present perfect: been eating
  - past perfect: had been eating
  - present perfect: is eating
  - past perfect: was eating

- **Passive**
  - present perfect: been eaten
  - past perfect: had been eaten
  - present perfect: is eaten
  - past perfect: was eaten
7.251. The system of contrastiveness:
The terms in this system are:
non-contrastive (unmarked)
contrastive (marked)
The contrastive verbal group is marked by the presence of a * element. In written English * appears as a group-initiator and is expounded by do/does/did.
(Note that our text is a written one. That is why we have not considered phonological exponents of contrastiveness)
Non-contrastive: He eats; he ate.....
Contrastive: He does eat; he did eat

7.252. The system of polarity:
There are two terms:
Positive (unmarked)
Negative (marked)
The negative verbal group is marked by the presence of an n-element which is expounded by n't/not. The following points are worth noting in this connection:
1) The exponent of negative is normally n't (in the dialogues in our text), and the fused forms (will-) won't, (shall-) shan't, (can-) can't.
2) The negative exponent is not (unstressed) with am (I'm not), with the alternative aren't in interrogative clauses (aren't I going? or am I not going?), and usually with may (He may not go)
3) n't is always suffixed to the group initiator.

Examples: /
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Auxiliary Verbs</th>
<th>Modals</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>ate</td>
<td>eats</td>
<td>will</td>
<td>would eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>was eaten</td>
<td>is eaten</td>
<td>will be eaten</td>
<td>would be eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>didn't eat</td>
<td>doesn't eat</td>
<td>won't eat</td>
<td>wouldn't eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>wasn't eaten</td>
<td>wasn't eaten</td>
<td>won't be eaten</td>
<td>wouldn't be eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Auxiliary Verbs</th>
<th>Modals</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-perfect</td>
<td>Non-progressive</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>Non-perfect</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITIVE</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>(to) eat</td>
<td>(to) be eating</td>
<td>(to) have eaten</td>
<td>(to) have been eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>(to) be eaten</td>
<td>(to) be being eaten</td>
<td>(to) have been eaten</td>
<td>(to) have been eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFINITIVAL</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>not (to) eat</td>
<td>not (to) be eating</td>
<td>not (to) have eaten</td>
<td>not (to) have been eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>not (to) be eaten</td>
<td>not (to) be being eaten</td>
<td>not (to) have been eaten</td>
<td>not (to) have been eating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'n' Participial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Auxiliary Verbs</th>
<th>Modals</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSITIVE</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>not eaten</td>
<td>eating</td>
<td>having eaten</td>
<td>having been eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>eating</td>
<td>having eaten</td>
<td>having been eaten</td>
<td>not having been eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITIVE</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>being eaten</td>
<td>having been eaten</td>
<td>having been eaten</td>
<td>not having been eating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'ing' Participial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Auxiliary Verbs</th>
<th>Modals</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>not being eaten</td>
<td>not having eaten</td>
<td>not having been eaten</td>
<td>not having been eating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We have already said that there are certain restrictions on the co-occurrence of the different verbal forms. It is the selection of the exponent of the first element in the verbal group that is crucial in determining the particular form of the item next in succession. The 'successor forms' may be tabulated as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V&lt;sup&gt;m&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>V&lt;sup&gt;perf.&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>V&lt;sup&gt;prog.&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>V&lt;sup&gt;pass.&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will/would</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shall/should</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may/might</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>being</td>
<td>eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can/could</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>been</td>
<td>eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>must</td>
<td></td>
<td>been</td>
<td>eating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ought to</td>
<td></td>
<td>been</td>
<td>eating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagrammatically the systems carried by the verbal group may be shown as below:
7.3. Formal correspondence and textual equivalence:

There is a large measure of formal correspondence between the verbal groups in English and Hindi. This formal correspondence is paralleled by textual equivalences in that the items which are exponents of the verbal group in English are normally translated by items which are the exponents of the verbal group in Hindi.

We have extracted 6080 verbal groups for purposes of comparison: we have not considered the verbal groups occurring in the following cases:

i) Where a whole paragraph in English (consisting of a number of sentences) has been translated into one sentence in Hindi.

ii) Where non-understanding of the contextual meaning of certain formal items (grammatical and/or lexical) has trapped the translator into misinterpreting a whole clause. The following examples will make the point clear:

(a) English: I looked in the small bookshop near Charing Cross Underground. (p 61)

Hindi: Kwah dar ko lyye meyeeyeeryg krews se nice pwsteko Xi dukan me oela goya. (p 81).

Apparently, the translator has no idea of "Underground Railway Stations";
he has taken 'Underground' in its usual lexical meaning, and hence he uses 'nice' (for Underground) which simply means 'below or under'. The Hindi clause may be translated into English as: "For sometime he went down Charing Cross into a bookshop".

(b) **English**: 'Then we'd begin to make this world like heaven'. (p.81)

**Hindi**: 'मैंने यह देखा था कि क्या तथा के शरीर है कि दयालु है' (p.103)

Here the translator has quite arbitrarily turned a statement into a question and a positive verbal group into a negative verbal group. He has no contextual or co-textual justification for doing this. The Hindi clause translated into English would read something like: "And then can't we make this very world a heaven for us?"

(c) **English**: ('I ascertained its nature sir,) and from one entry judged

**Hindi**: ('मैंने यह देखा था कि क्या तथा के शरीर है कि दयालु है') (p.103)

One of the reasons why there is no formal correspondence between the verbal groups in the underlined clauses is that the contextual meaning of the Hindi clause is just the reverse of the contextual meaning of the English clause. It is difficult to explain in this case why the translator has made this kind of mistake.

**More examples:**

(a) **English**: the old man feeding sparrows (p.64)

**Hindi**: एक बुध्धि पुरुष था जो गीता बूढ़िया सुप्रवासी था (p.83)

The English verbal group 'feeding' has been translated by the Hindi verbal group "बुढ़िपुरुष" which means "flying".

(b) **English**: I asked Mr. Parkis (who had met me by appointment in an A.B.C. ................. (p.74)

**Hindi**: पार्कीस से मैंने न्यूज़ लेखक के रूप में एक चोटे-से रेस्टरेन्ट मे वसे म्योला में मैंने वसे पुचा........ (p.93)
There are two remarkable features of this translation. Firstly, the English text means that Mr. Parkis had met the speaker in an A.B.C., but the Hindi text means that the speaker had met Mr. Parkis in a small restaurant. Secondly, A.B.C. has been rendered into "ek chate-se" (a smallish). Again, the translator has no co-textual or contextual justification for mistaking an A.B.C. for "a smallish restaurant". The simple reason, we guess, is his unacquaintance with the socio-cultural life in London. We are surprised by the fact that the translator has completely ignored the value of the graphological marker - we mean the use of the capitals: A.B.C.. There are several other examples of such cross-cultural misinformation.

Note: By contextual we refer to such "extratextual" features as are linguistically relevant; by co-textual we refer to items in the text which accompany the item under discussion.

1. Lado: Linguistics Across Culture: p.114
7.31. The system of polarity (English and Hindi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POSITIVE (5655)</strong></td>
<td><strong>POSITIVE (5600)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93.00%</td>
<td>99.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEGATIVE (55)</strong></td>
<td><strong>NEGATIVE (55)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POSITIVE (8)</strong></td>
<td><strong>POSITIVE (8)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.88%</td>
<td>1.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEGATIVE (425)</strong></td>
<td><strong>NEGATIVE (417)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7500%</td>
<td>98.12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>POSITIVE</strong></td>
<td><strong>POSITIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. I thought.. (p 95)</td>
<td>1. sosaa..... (p 118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. He explained that... (p 101)</td>
<td>2. wsne sémjhaya ky..... (p 124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Life was going to be happy again</td>
<td>3. lagi ha jiven phyr swkhi home ja rēha hēy (p 110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p 87)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ... and if I come to say anything</td>
<td>4. yalyye yasme ko bat mēy henri ya sēyra ke pēchh mē bhi kēhū tēvēh gēlet nē hogē (p 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in favour of Henry and Sarah I can</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be trusted (p7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I am so muddled (p 90)</td>
<td>5. meri kwhē sēmejī mē nēhīāta (p 113)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **NEGATIVE**                         | **NEGATIVE**                       |
| 1. I wouldn't mind a whisky (p 9)    | 1. vēhskī ṭhīk rēhēgī (p 111)        |
| 2. ... but it wasn't far to Henry's  | 2. mēgēr henri kā gēhār pāṣ hi the (p 15) |
| (p 13)                               |                                    |
| 3. I won't be a moment (p 69)        | 3. mēy əbhī pēl bēhr mē evē (p 87)   |
|                                      |                                    |
| **NEGATIVE**                         | **NEGATIVE**                       |
| 4. ... but wouldn't wear glasses     | 4. vēh ajnēbyō ke sāmnē oṣēma nēhī lēgēta (p 15) |
| with strangers (p 12)                |                                    |
Note: 1. Figures in brackets indicate number of occurrences.

2. (p.--) indicates page number.

3. Positive (5655) and Negative (425) listed under English mean that out of a total of 6080 verbal groups "under attention", 5655 are positive and 425 negative, that is 93% of the total number of verbal groups is positive and 7% is negative. The right hand side of the table displays Hindi correspondences to the English terms. Out of 5655 occurrences of the English positive verbal groups, 5600 translate into positive verbal groups and 55 into negative verbal groups in Hindi; that is, in 99.03% of occurrences, the English positive verbal group has as translation equivalent the Hindi positive verbal group but in 0.97% of occurrences it has the Hindi negative verbal group as translation equivalent. Again out of 425 occurrences of the English verbal groups, 417 translate into negative and 8 into positive verbal groups in Hindi; that is, in 98.12% of occurrences, the English negative verbal group has as translation equivalent the Hindi negative verbal group but in 1.88% occurrences it has the Hindi positive verbal group as translation equivalent.

4. The bottom table shows formal exponents of terms in system (in this case, of terms in the system of polarity) - listed under English, and their textual equivalents - listed under Hindi.

5. This explanation of the lay-out applies to all the following tables.
There is a very high measure of formal correspondence between the English and Hindi verbal groups so far as the system of polarity is concerned. This is borne out by a high degree of textual equivalence between exponents of terms in the system of polarity in the two languages. This is expected to be so because the contextual meaning of positive and negative verbal groups in the two languages is nearly always alike. There seems to be close correlation here between the formal categories (in the two languages) and the contextual categories of (positive) reference and excluded reference. There are marginal cases where an English positive is rendered into Hindi negative and an English negative into a Hindi positive. These cases are few and far between, and are tied up with things like 'greetings', 'partings' and other courtesies. For example, in a situation in which one would normally say (in English): 'I won't be a moment', one would in Hindi say 'I'll be back in an moment'. One must, however, note that the most probable translation equivalent of a positive verbal group (in English) with a negative-carrying adjunct included in it is a negative verbal group in Hindi. 

Example: English: It may never be finished (never exponent of A inserted in the verbal group) (p.23)

Hindi: ho sūkta hēy karyaśvahi puri hone ki nēwēt hi nē se (p.30).

It is important to note that whereas in an English clause there may be more than one marker of negation, in a Hindi clause we can select for negation only once and it is marked in one of the groups. In English one can say -

'He isn't not drinking'

In Hindi one cannot have two occurrences of the negator.
### TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English (Non-Contrastive)</th>
<th>Hindi (Non-Contrastive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>99.11% 6026</td>
<td>98.84% 5956</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English (Contrastive)</th>
<th>Hindi (Contrastive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.16% 70</td>
<td>0% NIL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English (Non-Contrastive)</th>
<th>Hindi (Non-Contrastive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.89% 54</td>
<td>100% 54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Examples:

#### English

1. To-day I saw Maurice (p 113)
2. I paid for the drinks (p 13)
3. At least he had really scented love (p 59)
4. But then the raid went on and on (p 92)
5. I doubted whether the set of Gibbon had once been opened (p 93)

#### Hindi

1. aj ṯёмневाřис ко деха (p 133)
2. ṭёйне ṭом ке ṭыйся ёда ки (p 15)
3. ṭъйра раз праъм ки гёді (p 75)
4. мёґёр хёйва аркемён салта рёба (p 115)
5. ṭёй гёйбэн ка сёт_тха жо (p 16)

#### Contrastive

1. you do think I am a fool..... (p 15)
2....... and this time he really did hold the letter to the gas flame (p 17)

#### Non-Contrastive

1. твамхара ёёї кёйал.getHeight(184) кёй кёйся бат сёнабхи мери муркхёта кёй (p 19)
2. ёвръ ёс бар аёсмвхи ване (p 22)

#### Contrastive/Non-Contrastive

CONTRASTIVE

Nil.
7.321. Notes on Table 2:

The contrastive verbal group in English is normally translated by the non-contrastive verbal group in Hindi. This does not, however, mean that the Hindi clause-structure (which is a translation equivalent of an English clause-structure having a contrastive verbal group) does not reflect this feature of contrastiveness. The fact is that this feature, if not marked in the verbal group, is marked in some other group, nominal or adverbial.

**English:** and this time he really *did* hold the letter to the gas flame (p 17)

**Hindi:** ॐ र य ब र सौमवो हि दे ति गौ य की ले पृ त ओ के सम्म कोर दि (p 22)

The Hindi verbal group in the above example is non-contrastive, non-emphatic. Contrastiveness, however, is marked elsewhere in the clause - in the adverbial group expounded by सौमवो. In fact the Hindi clause means: "and this time he *really* held the letter to the gas flame" (emphasis carried by *really*). This example simply shows how certain situational features may be reflected by different elements of clause-structure in English and Hindi - i.e., certain contextual features reflected in *P* in English may be reflected in *A* in Hindi.

There is an important structural difference between the English and Hindi contrastive verbal groups. In the former (in written texts) the exponent of contrastiveness (*do, does, did*) always appears as group initiator: i) in Hindi there is no close equivalent of these items, ii) the emphazisors in Hindi cannot occur initially.
### The system of Voice (English and Hindi):

#### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACTIVE</strong> (5970) 98.19%</td>
<td><strong>ACTIVE</strong> (5900) 98.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PASSIVE</strong> (70) 1.17%</td>
<td><strong>ACTIVE</strong> (35) 31.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PASSIVE</strong> (110) 1.81%</td>
<td><strong>PASSIVE</strong> (75) 68.19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I dialled her number (29)</td>
<td>1. mēyne jhētse phyr wsaka nēmbēr mūlsāyā. (p 36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. We lose our identity (p 49)</td>
<td>2. hem qēna qētytē wsmē kho dēte hēy. (p 56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. He is jealous of the past and the present and the future. (p 89)</td>
<td>3. wsē vērtmān, ətī qwr bhēvṣyaṇē sēbbe ghrṃṇā hōtī hēy (p 111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I had meant to make everything well again (p 11)</td>
<td>4. merī yēṣṇē yēhī thī ky ḍb jhērgē ko sēmānt kṛvā jāī. (p 12-13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. It is not necessary to catch the party in the act (p 59)</td>
<td>5. yēḥ avē/yēk nēḥī ky ṭhīk ws kariē ko sēmēy hi wsē pēkrā jāī. (p 76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. His eyes were blinded with the rain (p 8)</td>
<td>1. vēr̃a ke maṛe wse t̵hik dykh̃ai nəh̃i de rãha th̃a. (p 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. . . . . . the steps that had been blasted in 1944. (p 8)</td>
<td>2. ve sikh̃ya tut-phut aḷ̃a th̃i (p 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. It had been taken at about the same age, the middle forties... (p 14)</td>
<td>3. vəśh lāgbhe gwaiki wpo mə, calis ēwr pəỹtalis ke b̃i lyya ṛ̃ya th̃a (p 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The scrap had been salvaged from the waste paper basket (p 52)</td>
<td>4. ws pwr̃e ka wddhar r̃əddi ki ṭok̃i se kyya ṛ̃ya th̃a (p 65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I doubted whether the set of Gibbon had once been opened (p 13)</td>
<td>5. və̇h̃i gyȧñ ka seṭh̃a jo ṛ̃ya ko b̃i koḷa hi nəh̃i ṛ̃ya th̃a (p 16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on Table 3:

There is a high degree of equivalence between the English and Hindi active verbal groups. The passives, however, pose a problem. In 31.3% of the cases the passive verbal group (English) translates into the active verbal group (Hindi). One of the reasons for this is that the passive form is very rarely used in Hindi. Another reason is that the use of the passive implies exclusion of $S^n$ (i.e. subject in the ergative form).

There is one point which is worth mentioning here. A shift from active to passive or vice-versa implies contextually a shift of attention from one situational element to another. So, to say that a passive verbal group (English) is translated by an active verbal group (Hindi) is to say that the English and Hindi texts select different features of the situation as linguistically (contextually) relevant.
### The system of progression (English and Hindi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TABLE 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ENGLISH</strong></td>
<td><strong>HINDI</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-PROGRESSIVE (5740)</td>
<td>94.41%</td>
<td>NON-PROGRESSIVE (5525) 96.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROGRESSIVE (340)</td>
<td>5.59%</td>
<td>PROGRESSIVE (213) 3.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-PROGRESSIVE (113)</td>
<td></td>
<td>NON-PROGRESSIVE (113) 33.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROGRESSIVE (225)</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROGRESSIVE (225) 66.18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Example</th>
<th>Hindi Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. She hadn't liked my last book (p 35)</td>
<td>1. <code>sehra ko meri akhyri pustak postend nehi ai thi (p 44)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. So I went out after breakfast (p 95)</td>
<td>2. <code>yslyye nahte ke bad ghumne ke lyye ro</code> (p 118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Henry's got a cold, He's staying at home (p 47)</td>
<td>3. <code>henri ko sardi lagi hey, wse aj ghar per hi roha hey.</code> (p 60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Henry drank his rum quickly (p 11)</td>
<td>4. <code>hengri jaldai-jaldai rum ke ghot bhor roha tha (p 13)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. There was something very queer about his voice (p 131)</td>
<td>5. <code>waki avaz ws a3may kwhv yucytr-si lag rohi thi</code> (p 161)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROGRESSIVE</td>
<td>NON-PROGRESSIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. I haven't been sleeping well lately (p 16)</td>
<td>1. ajkēl mwjhe thik se nid nēhi ati (p 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I was going to throw no stones at any phantom she believed she loved (p 129)</td>
<td>2. jys shaya ke prem me sēyra ko vy/vas tha, wspēr sēy kīṣēr nēhi wēhal sēkta tha (p 159)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I called to him that I was coming (p 87)</td>
<td>3. mēyne wse aṃga di ky mey a rēha hu (p 148)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Life was going to be happy again (p 87)</td>
<td>4. lēgta tha jiven phyr swkhi hone ja rēha hēy (p 148)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. For a moment I really thought he was going to set it alight (p 16)</td>
<td>5. kohen bēr ke lyye mwjhe lēga ky yēhi  sēomwe hi wse ag me jhokne ja rēha hēy (p 20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is, as is to be expected, a fairly high measure of equivalence between the non-progressive verbal groups in the two languages. In 3.75% of the cases the non-progressive (English) has been translated by the progressive (Hindi). This is pure idiosyncrasy of the translator for there is nothing in the context or co-text to justify the selection of the progressive in place of the non-progressive.

In 33.82% of the cases the progressive verbal group in English has the non-progressive as translation equivalent in Hindi. One of the reasons for this is the fact that there is an area of overlap between the contextual meanings of the progressive and the non-progressive in Hindi.

### Non-progressive Progressive

The event occurs at some time or times.  
\[ \text{form} \quad \text{form} \]

The event is actually in progress at some reference time.  
\[ \text{form} \quad \text{form} \]

An example will make this point clear. In English we say: "He has been living here for five years". In a similar situation, in Hindi one would normally say: "vēḥ pāc vērsō se yēha rēhta hey". Here the Hindi non-progressive form is translationally equivalent to the English progressive form.¹

---

7.35. The system of Aspect (English and Hindi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TABLE 5</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NON-PERFECT (5130) 84.38%</strong></td>
<td><strong>NON-PERFECT (5010) (Imperfect) 97.66%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERFECT (950) 15.62%</strong></td>
<td><strong>PERFECT (120) 2.34%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERFECT (425) 44.74%</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I hated Henry (p 7)</td>
<td>1. mēy hanri se phryna kērta the (p 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. But I suppose there are different kinds of desire (p 14)</td>
<td>2. māgēr kamma ke kēi rup hēy (p 52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. .... but there was nobody there (p 69)</td>
<td>3. māgēr vēha koi nēhi thē (p 88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. He looked up at me with those red-rimmed eyes ...... (p 14)</td>
<td>4. wsne ēpni lal-lal ēkē bhēkē wēhakē meri tērēph ēkē (p 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. A week ago, I revisited the terrace (p 44)</td>
<td>5. ēbhi ek sāptah hwa, mēy phyr ws jēghē pēr kēvē thē (p 55)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. If I had believed in a God. (p 7)
2. Why should I have spoken to him? (p 7)
3. He wouldn't have seen me (p 9)
4. I suppose the ripples may have disturbed Sarah for a week, a month......(p 9)
5. He must have seen through the pretence (p 15)

1. yedy isvēmē vy/vas hota... (p 7)

2. mēy wse bate kē y kērta (p 7)
3. vēh mwjhe mō dakh pata (p 9)
4. uper ki lēhrē ne, ho sēkta hēy mēhina dēs dyn sēyra ko kwō thēthyr kyya ho (p 10)
5. vēh admi sērur sēmēkī sēyra hōga ky asli bat kyya hēy. (p 18)
Notes on Table 5:

We can say that in 98 out of 100 cases the English non-perfect verbal group has the Hindi non-perfect verbal group as translation equivalent. But in only 45 cases out of 100 the English perfect verbal group is translated by the Hindi perfect verbal group. There are certain co-textual factors responsible for this. If the 'perfect' aspect in English co-occurs with any of the following,

(i) past tense in a bound conditioning 'if' clause (e.g. If I had believed. . .)
(ii) modalized would form in a dependent conditioned clause following a dependent conditioning 'if' clause (e.g. If he had believed in God, he would have. . .)

there is a very high degree of probability that it will be translated by a -ta form (Imperfect Verbal Group) in Hindi.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If I had believed in a God...</td>
<td>yədy ɪʃvər  mwɪvɪs  hətə...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If he had arrived in time, he</td>
<td>yədy vəh əməbə  svəpənə  oə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>would have met her.</td>
<td>ə  hətə,  twəsə nyəl  lətə.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The system of tense: (a) PAST: (English and Hindi):

### TABLE 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAST (2770)</td>
<td>PAST (1443)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PERFECT (918)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRESENT (381)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OTHER FORMS (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ENGLISH

1. It was very hot to-day (p 107)
2. The film was not a good film (p 43)
3. We caught a taxi by Charing Cross (p 44)
4. I knelt down on the floor (p 93)
5. Caught the 8.30 with Henry
6. I said this was a story of hatred (p 55)
7. Henry Miles was holding a cocktail party - so Mr Parkis had reported (p 56)
8. I really thought that he was going to hit me, (p 62)

### HINDI

1. dyn mē bēhwat gēmē thi. (p 131)
2. phylm āsēça nēhi the (p 53)
3. ḍhāmē cēyērg kōrēs se tūyēski pākē (p 55)
4. nēy ghōwne ke bēl pōrphēr pēr bōyēth gōi (p 116)
5. henri ke sāth sāhe sēth ki gēri pākē. (p 117)
6. ṃāynē kēhā tha ky vēh mēri ghṛyēṣa ki kēhāni hēy (p 70)
7. parkys nē bētēlaya tha ky henri wa dēn ek kēwkētel partī de rōha hēy. (p 95)
8. mwjhe lēgā ky vēh mēre mēn pēr thēppēr mārne ja rōha hēy (p 79)
There is a high measure of equivalence between 'Past' in English (expounded by *was*/had) operating as simple verbal group at P in independent clause structure) and 'Past' in Hindi (expounded by 'tha'). When the exponent of P in an independent clause is a simple verbal group in past tense (excluding *was*/had), there is a high probability of its being translated by perfect verbal group in Hindi. If we have a verbal group (Past tense) in English operating at P in a dependent reported clause bound to the preceding clause, there is a high probability of its being translated by a present verbal group in Hindi (i.e. Verbal group, present tense). In Hindi there is no tense-concord (or sequence of tense) between exponents of P in reporting and reported clauses. (In English one might find it useful to set up two systems of tense - System I and System II - carried by the verbal groups operating at P in independent and [certain classes of] dependent clauses.)
### Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRESENT (2402)</strong>&lt;br&gt;39.51%</td>
<td><strong>PRESENT (2362)</strong>&lt;br&gt;98.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMPERFECT (40)</strong>&lt;br&gt;1.67%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Insecurity is the worst sense that lovers feel (p 54)</td>
<td>1. prem me ñny/fastā hi sēbse bwrī cīs ḍhīy (p 68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. His love is like a medieval chastity belt (p 89)</td>
<td>2. wska prem mēdhyyēkalīn pēvītrātē kī pētī kī tēṛē ḍhīy. (p 111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRESENT</strong>&lt;br&gt;3. But happiness annihilates us (p 46)</td>
<td><strong>PRESENT</strong>&lt;br&gt;3. pērēntā swēk īs ahēbāv ko mūta dēta ḍhīy (p 58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Jealously, or so I have always believed, exists only with desire (p 42)</td>
<td>4. irsēya kammā ke ॊंdēr se hi jēm lēti ḍhīy, kēm se kēṃ mēy yēhi mēntā ḍhīy (p 52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sometimes I don't recognize my own thoughts (p 46)</td>
<td><strong>IMPERFECT</strong>&lt;br&gt;5. kēbhi-kēbhi mwjhe swēye śān pēn vēcāro ko pētā nēhi cēltā. (p 58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I don't even want to lose a husband. (p 89)</td>
<td><strong>IMPERFECT</strong>&lt;br&gt;6. mēy to śān pētā ko bhī khōna nēhi cēhtā (p 112)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on Table 7:

Normally, an English verbal group (present tense) is translated by a Hindi verbal group (present tense). But if the English verbal group (Present tense) is negative, the probability is that it will be translated by the imperfect verbal group (without any exponents of tense) in Hindi.

Ex.

English: I don't even want to lose a husband (p 89)

Hindi: मैं तो आपके पति को ही कहतीं नहीं कहतीं. (p 112)
### Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUTURE (201)</strong>&lt;br&gt; (will/shall)</td>
<td><strong>PREDICTIVE FORMS (168)</strong>&lt;br&gt; (uga) 83.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.31%</td>
<td><strong>NON-PREDICTIVE FORMS. (33)</strong> 16.42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUTURE</strong>&lt;br&gt; (shall/will)</td>
<td><strong>PREDICTIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Then I'll meet you at the Safe Royal at one (p 29)</td>
<td>1. to wā dyn ek beje māy tmhe kāyphe royal me māy lajeja (p 36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. You will see, sir, if you read on (p 38)</td>
<td>2. ap ago pēthe to spē pēta cel lajeja (p 48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I'll write to Maurice (p 103)</td>
<td>3. māy māyā ris ko cyṭhi lych dūga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Will you marry me? (p 119)</td>
<td>4. tmw mwjhe byah kērogi? (-ga form) (p 146)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <strong>SHALL</strong> I see you this afternoon? (p 71)</td>
<td>5. to aj ūam ko māylogi? (p 90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Will you let me go now? (p 63)</td>
<td>6. kya tmw mwjhe ab šēha se jane doga? (p 80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. &quot;I'm wondering where I shall be drafted from the Ministry of Home Security (p 103)</td>
<td>7. &quot;māyāce rēha hū&quot;, vēh bōla &quot;ky ūb gṛyn-ṛōkōh mēntralśe se mwjhe kēha bhēja lajeja (p 126)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I'll bring down some sheets and blankets (p 136)</td>
<td>8. māy tmhē cadre ॐwr kēmbal la dēta hū (p 167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Nothing will make you leave Henry? (p 119)</td>
<td><strong>NON-PREDICTIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>FUTURE</strong>&lt;br&gt; ko oḥor nāhi sēkti? (p 146)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.36311. Notes on Table 8:

There is a high measure of equivalence between the English future non-modalized forms (will/shall) and the Hindi predictive forms (morphologically marked by the presence of -ga). We have noted 204 occurrences of will/shall: the textual equivalent of this in the Hindi translation is the -ga form (predictive mode) in 168 occurrences. There are 33 occurrences of will/shall where the equivalent is not a predictive form. In terms of percentage we can say that in about 84 percent of cases the non-modalized (future) verbal group in English has as its translation equivalent the 'predictive' verbal group in Hindi.
### Table 9: Future Modality: (i) Would (English and Hindi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>WOULD (151)</strong></td>
<td><strong>-ga form (73)</strong> 48.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WOULD (151)</strong></td>
<td><strong>-ta form (Imperfect) (66)</strong> 43.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other form(s) (12)</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.95%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ENGLISH

1. Would you want the reports weekly? (p.23)  
2. I imagined in those days that any suffering she underwent would lighten mine. (p.8)  
3. I would have welcomed the open fight (p.14)  
4. He wouldn't have known what it was (p.43)  
5. If we had believed in sin our behaviour would hardly have differed (p.55)  
6. He would have felt no surprise or irritation. (p.23)  
7. Would you mind initialising the expenses, sir, if you approve them? (p.41)  

### HINDI

1. सुनीता यह बताये कि अपहर संचार रेपोर्ट कहेगा? (p.30)  
2. वे मेरे दिनों में किसी भी दर्द का दायें मेरे मामले में मीन करेगा. (p.9)  
3. मैंने खुले हमले का स्वागत किया (p.17)  
4. वे मेरे होने के भय के बिना किसी भी विभेद नहीं रहे (p.62)  
5. यदि हमें कुपोषण में माना जाता है तो हमारे व्यवहार में व्यवहार व्यवहार के भीतर हमें अवश्य अंतर होगा (p.70)  
6. वे असंतोष या ज्ञानी लावें कहेंगे (p.29)  
7. जो भी क्षेत्र में आपका अनुभव हो तो मेरी हेतु हेतु इसको दिया (p.51)
Notes on Table 9:

When a verbal group in English is expounded by *would* + $V^0$ (i.e. verb in its base form), its most probable translation equivalent in Hindi is a simple verbal group in the predicative mode (i.e. -ga form). But when it combines with the perfect aspect (i.e. *would have* + $V^n$), its most probable translation equivalent is the Hindi imperfect verbal group (i.e. -ta form).

There is nothing corresponding to *would (you) mind* $V^2$ form in Hindi. In an identical situation, the appropriate Hindi form would be an imperative verbal group (honorific).

**E.g.**

**English:** Would you mind initialling the expenses, sir, if you approve them? (p 41)

**Hindi:** to yeh khare apke khyal se +hik ho to yspēr hēstākhar kēr ājīve (p 51)
### Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHOULD (101)</strong></td>
<td><strong>CAHYYE (33)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.66%</td>
<td>62.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER FORMS (18)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### ENGLISH

1. "You shouldn't have fetched that yourself", she said (p 49)
2. I should have given it to Mr. Savage (p 85)
3. You shouldn't have run away from me like that (p 127)
4. If a woman is in one's thoughts all day, one should not have to dream of her at night (p 19)
5. For why should I have spoken to him? (p 7)
6. I think I should have been overjoyed (p 14)

#### HINDI

1. "twahē botal lane khwā nāhi jene oahyye tha", sēyra boli (p 62)
2. mwjhe yeh cīs myṣṭer sēyvej ko de deni oahyye thi (p 108)
3. twahē ys tērōh mwjhsē dur nāhī hējna oahyye tha (p 157)
4. dyn bhār kysi sitē ki bat dynag pēr chai ḍēhe to rat ko wāke sēyne nāhī aṃe oahyye (p 24)
5. nāhī to mēy wasse bat kyā kārta? (p 7)
6. mēy aṃeṣjha hu ky mwjhe khwāi hi hoti (p 17)
7.36331. Notes on Table 10:

English should + \( V^0 \) (verb in base form) and Hindi -\( na \) (infinitive) + cahyye may be regarded as translation equivalents. But when should is followed by have + \( V^N \) (i.e. we have, should + have + \( V^N \)), there is a very high probability of its being translated by -\( na \) (infinitive) + cahyye + tha. We may, therefore, say that:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>should + ( V^0 )</td>
<td>-( na ) + cahyye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should + have + ( V^N )</td>
<td>-( na ) + cahyye + tha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.35%. (d) FUTURE (MODALIZED); (111) COULD (English and Hindi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COULD (111)</td>
<td>əkna (101) (Perfect or Imperfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.82%</td>
<td>90.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER FORMS (10)</td>
<td>9.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I couldn't read any more (p122)</td>
<td>əkna (Perfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I could so easily have avoided him (p8)</td>
<td>əkna (Imperfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I couldn't bring down that curtain round the moment, I couldn't forget and I could not fear (p50)</td>
<td>+ Past əkna (Perfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could I speak to Mrs Miles then? (p122)</td>
<td>əkna (Imperfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I couldn't sleep (p136)</td>
<td>Non-əkna forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I couldn't leave her alone in pain (p125)</td>
<td>5. mwjhe der tek nid nhi at (p168)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. məyəyar anhī pərh səkə (p150)
2. məy cahta to wski nəzər beaκər bhi ja səkta tha (p8)
3. məy ek kəhən ko wski tərəh yənvənkə ko ghere me hi nəhī la səkta tha, əpne ko vəsmənty me nəhī kəho səkta tha, nyəfək nəhī ho səkta tha (p63)
4. to kya məy məysəs məysə sé bat kər səkta hu? (p151)
5. məy wse ws kəst mə əkəli nəhī rəhne dena cahta tha (p154)
Notes on Table 11:

An English verbal group containing could normally translates into a Hindi verbal group containing səkna. Could + have + Vn has V° + səkta + the as equivalent when could + have + Vn operates at P in a dependent reported clause, it may have V° + səkta + həy as equivalent in Hindi. The non-səkna forms shown in the table are a result of idiosyncratic translation. For example, normally one would translate: "I couldn't sleep" into "məy so nahi sək/ nahi so sək".
7.3635. (a) FUTURE (MODALIZED) : (iv) CAN (English and Hindi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAN (147)</td>
<td>səktə + həy (135)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.42%</td>
<td>91.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER FORMS (12)</td>
<td>8.16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. You can trust me (p 14)</td>
<td>1. twm mwʃbrates pura vy/vas kər səkteho (p 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I can’t do without you (p 116)</td>
<td>2. məy twmbrate byna nəhə reh səkte (p 142)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I can never think of you as a friend (p 117)</td>
<td>3. məy twmbrate kəbhi kevel ek mytre nəhə saməj səkte (p 143)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Can you give me any facts about the household (p 1)</td>
<td>4. kya ap wa ghar ke bare me kwoh bat bəta səkte həy? form(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Can I fetch your little boy a glass of water? (p 77)</td>
<td>5. məy lərgke ke lyye pani la du? (p 97)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on Table 12:

The most probable translation of can + V° (English) is sakte + ho (Hindi).

We must however note the following facts:

1. 'can' can stand on its own and form a simple verbal group; sakte cannot stand on its own.

2. 'can' can co-occur with V° e.g. 'can be doing'; but sakte and rōha (exponent of the progressive) are mutually exclusive.

3. Hindi has no discrete equivalent of can operating in 'question-tag clauses'.

   Ex. English: 'It can do no harm, can it?' (p 78)

   Hindi: "Ekrej skvēy se nūksan to neshī hoga?" (p 98)

There is nothing in the Hindi equivalent corresponding to the (English) exponent of P (which is can) in the 'question-tag clause'.

### Table 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAY</strong></td>
<td><strong>FUTURE (Potential)</strong> (39) 58.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10%</td>
<td><strong>SUBJUNCTIVE</strong> (28) 41.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MIGHT</strong></td>
<td><strong>FUTURE (Potential)</strong> (45) 80.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.92%</td>
<td><strong>SUBJUNCTIVE</strong> (11) 19.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MUST</strong></td>
<td><strong>FUTURE (Presumptive)</strong> (23) 75.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.61%</td>
<td><strong>OTHER FORMS</strong> (9) 24.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OUGHT TO</strong></td>
<td><strong>CAHYYE</strong> (30) 81.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.61%</td>
<td><strong>OTHER FORMS</strong> (7) 18.92%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. It may never be finished (p 23)</td>
<td>Subjunctive 1. ho sekta hoy karyavahi puri hone ki nawbat hi na se (p 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ...if I may say so. (p 39)</td>
<td>Future 2. ...aagor aamor ayna ho.. (p 45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I thought I might be of some use (p 138)</td>
<td>Subjunctive 3. meye seosa ky fayad mey wa semey khoh aahyta kar sakhi (p 170)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. he might even be one of my few readers (p 31)</td>
<td>Future 2. ho sekta hoy becara mere thoq as pathako me se ho (p 38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. He must have seen through the pretence (p 15)</td>
<td>Future 1. voh admi aaur samajh gaya hoga ky sela bat kya hoi (p 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I must have wanted him. (p 102)</td>
<td>Subjunctive 2. mdyna aekhur saur wase prem reha hoga. (p 25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I suppose something must have made her take it out to read (p 83)</td>
<td>Other forms 3. ho sekta hoy kai vajab se forms ke lyye nykali ho (p 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. you ought to be in bed (p 127) ne + cahyye1. twahe solkar bystor me aram k thra cahyye (p 157)</td>
<td>Other form(s) 3. &quot;mey thra poryeey de dun&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I really ought to be going (p 147)</td>
<td>2. occha to th maa sula (p 181)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I said! I ought to introduce Other form(s)</td>
<td>3. &quot;mey thra poryeey de dun&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myself (p 77)</td>
<td>meyne ketha (p 98)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on Table 13:

There is a high measure of correspondence between must have +V₁ form and the future presumptive in Hindi. It is interesting to note that may is translated by subjunctive (unmarked) form which presupposes ho səktə həy as exponent of P in a preceding presupposed clause. The most frequent translation equivalent of 'ought to +V₀' is *-na + cahiye*.

One of the contextual meanings of 'may' and 'might' may be described as 'probability'/ 'possibility'. Translationally, this meaning is reflected either in A (adjunct) of the equivalent clause or in P of the preceding presupposed clause.

**Ex. English:** I thought I might be of some use (p 135)
**Hindi:** məyne soa ky fayəd məy ws səməy kwch səhayta kər səkũ (p 170)

fayəd which is an exponent of A in the sequential dependent clause in the sentence quoted above carries the meaning of 'probability'/ 'possibility'.

**Ex. English:** It may never be finished (p 23)
**Hindi:** ho səktə həy karyəvahi puri hone ki nəwət hi nə ae (p 30)

Here 'ho səktə həy' which expounds P carries the meaning of 'probability'/ 'possibility'.


## Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FINITE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4940)</td>
<td>81.25%</td>
<td>FINITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NON-</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINITE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1140)</td>
<td>56.58%</td>
<td>INFINITIVE (FINITE) (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARCIPIAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(495)</td>
<td>43.42%</td>
<td>INFINITIVE (610) 94.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARTICIPIAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.75%</td>
<td>CONJUNCTIVAL (93)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Sometimes I don't recognize my own thoughts (p 46)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. It is my profession to imagine, to think in images (p 72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. I wanted to ask you something (p 29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. It is my profession to imagine, to think in images (p 72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Hindi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. kabhikabh kabh yey peyn vyao ko peya nabh celta (p 58)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. kolph karna wnr hnr gis ko rup dekhr wake bare me soona to merna peia hi hey (p 92)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. mwjhe twmse kwah bat karni hry (p 36)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. kolph karna wnr hnr gis ko rup dekhr wake bare me soona to merna peia hi hey (p 92)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. kabhikabh yey peyn vyao ko peya nabh celta (p 58)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. kolph karna wnr hnr gis ko rup dekhr wake bare me soona to merna peia hi hey (p 92)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. mwjhe twmse kwah bat karni hry (p 36)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. kolph karna wnr hnr gis ko rup dekhr wake bare me soona to merna peia hi hey (p 92)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. i went out of the pub leaving the girl with her whisky to finish (p 57)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'sar-ah', spacing the syllables with unbearable falsity (p 18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. i went out of the pub leaving the girl with her whisky to finish (p 57)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'sar-ah', spacing the syllables with unbearable falsity (p 18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. i went out of the pub leaving the girl with her whisky to finish (p 57)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'sar-ah', spacing the syllables with unbearable falsity (p 18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. i went out of the pub leaving the girl with her whisky to finish (p 57)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'sar-ah', spacing the syllables with unbearable falsity (p 18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. i went out of the pub leaving the girl with her whisky to finish (p 57)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'sar-ah', spacing the syllables with unbearable falsity (p 18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on Table 14:

The finite verbal group does not pose any problems. There is 100% correspondence between the finite verbal group in the SL and that in the TL.

The infinitival verbal group needs to be examined carefully. In Hindi we have made a distinction between the infinitives (finite) which inflect for number and gender, and the infinitival (non-finite) which do not. On the basis of our present statistical study, the percentage of the non-finite infinitival verbal group (in English) having finite infinitive verbal group (in Hindi) as translation equivalent may be said to be 5.43.

The participial (when expounded by having/being + Vn) has the conjunctival (kær form) as the most frequent translation equivalent.

Ex. English: ...being whirled away towards the north side (p 8)
Hindi: ...hæy kær wțiær ki tɛඅph jane ləľga (p 9)

Summary:

(1) By looking at the descriptions of the English and Hindi verbal groups and the translation equivalents, one may say that there is a fairly high degree of convergence between formal correspondence and textual equivalence so far as the primary systems of the verbal groups are concerned (i.e. at the 'primary' end of the delicacy cline), but in the case of the secondary systems, there is considerable divergence between formal correspondence and textual equivalence.

(2) One of the structural differences between the English and Hindi verbal groups is that whereas in the former the lexical verb appears initially in the group and is followed by the grammatical verb(s), in the latter the lexical verb occurs finally preceded by the grammatical verb(s).

(3) The exponents of contrastiveness appear as 'initiators' in the English verbal group; the exponents of contrastiveness cannot be 'group-initiators' in Hindi. Do, does, did as exponents of contrastiveness have nil equivalent in Hindi. Usually in such cases, contrastiveness (or emphasis) is
carried by some other element of clause structure.

(4) There is no formal correspondent in Hindi to the English 'perfect progressive' (active). In fact the 'perfect' and the 'progressive' forms cannot co-occur in the Hindi active verbal group. So, we get the following translation equivalents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to be + v$^g$</td>
<td>$V^0 + \text{reha} + \text{tense}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has/have/had + been + v$^g$</td>
<td>$V^t + \text{tense}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Hindi does not make any distinctions corresponding to 'ought to' and 'should'.

(6) The concordial categories are not so important in English as in Hindi. In fact the English verbal group displays number and person only in the case of the verb 'to be'. The Hindi verbal group displays a complex network of intragroup and intergroup number, gender and person concord.

(7) To the 'ing' form in the English finite verbal group corresponds 'reha' in the Hindi finite verbal group (for cases of non-correspondence see point 4); to the 'ing' form in the English non-finite verbal group corresponds 'kær' in the Hindi non-finite verbal group (for co-textual restrictions see 7.37).

(8) Some of the other correspondences may be shown in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>HINDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Past (non-progressive, non-perfect)</td>
<td>Past (Non-progressive, non-perfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect (Non-progressive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past progressive (non-perfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Past progressive (non-perfect)</td>
<td>Past imperfect (habitual)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(c) **Present** (non-progressive, non-perfect)

Present, Habitual (Non-progressive, non-perfect)

Present progressive (non-perfect)

(d) Present Progressive (non-perfect)

Present progressive (non-perfect)

Present Habitual (non-progressive, non-perfect)

(e) the verb 'to be' + \(v^n\)

(Passive)

\(v^n\) + the verb 'ja' + tense-exponents

(Passive)

(f) (do etc) n't/not

e.g. don't/ do not

nə, nehi, me\(\sim\)t

**END OF PART III**
APPENDIX

I Explanation of symbols, abbreviations and conventions used

A.

sentence boundary ///
clause boundary //
group boundary /
boundary of rankshifted clause [ ]
boundary of rankshifted group [ ]
rankshift R/S
inserted clause ≪ ≫
delicacy
simultaneous systems

B.

"Categories" = Halliday's "Categories of the theory of grammar"
"Chain and Choice" = Halliday's "Class in relation to the axes of chain and choice in language".
"Secret History" = Halliday's "The language of the chinese 'Secret History of the Mongols'".
"Abaza" = Allen's "Structure and system in the Abaza verbal complex".
(a) // cytronlekhane ne 'epneko 'teta'la ~/wsne 'epne me ek vyoytre prekar ka peryverten
paya ///

Unit: Sentence (compound)
structure: a & a

\begin{array}{ccc}
S & O & P \\
\end{array}
// cytronlekhane / 'epne ko / 'teta'la //

Unit: Clause (Independent)
Structure: SOP

\begin{array}{ccc}
S & A & O & P \\
\end{array}
// wsne / 'epne me / ek vyoytre prekar ka peryverten / paya //

Unit: Clause (Independent)
Structure: SAOP
h
// cytronlekhane /

Unit: Group (Nominal)
Structure: h(ergative case)

h
// 'epne ko /

Unit: Group (Nominal)
Structure: h(accusative case)

1^y
// 'teta'la /

Unit: Group (Verbal)
Structure: 1^y (Perfect aspect)

~/wsne /

Unit: Group (Nominal)
Structure: h (ergative case)

h
// 'epne me /
Unit: **Group (Adverbial)**

Structure: \( h \) (postpositional case)

\[
\begin{align*}
d^P h
\end{align*}
\]

/ ek vocytre prekar ka peyvorten /

Unit: **Group (Nominal)**

Structure: \( d^P h \)

Here we have a nominal group rankshifted to operate in word structure, i.e. in the structure of the exponent of \( d^P \). It may be shown as below:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
| & e & o & h \\
\hline
ek vocytre prekar ka / peyvorten
\end{array}
\]

R/S Ngp.

Unit: **Group (Verbal)**

Structure: \( l^Y (\text{Perfect aspect}) \)

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \beta \\
(\text{b}) & \text{meyne } \{ \text{bystær per lejkar} \} \text{ akhe mud li } \\
\end{align*}
\]

Unit: **Sentence (Compound)**

Structure: \( d^P \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{cccc}
\cdot & & & \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

/ meyne / akhe / mud / li /

Unit: **Clause (Independent)**

Structure: SOP

\[
\begin{align*}
h
\end{align*}
\]

/ meyne /

Unit: **Group (Nominal)**

Structure: \( h \) (ergative case)

/ akhe /
Unit: **Group (Nominal)**
Structure: h (direct case)

l~i
/mud li/

Unit: **Group (Verbal)**
Structure: li

A
// bytar par // lektar //

Unit: **Clause (Dependent)**
Structure: AP
h
// bytar par /

Unit: **Group (Adverbial)**
Structure: h (Postpositional case)

l
/lektar /

Unit: **Group (Verbal)**
Structure: l (More delicately, 1° i.e. conjunctival non-finite verb).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

(The bibliography includes works referred to in the text, together with the principal among other works consulted)

(A) Linguistics of Hindi

Allen, W.S. : A study in the analysis of Hindi sentence structure (Acta Linguistica, 6, 1951)


: Compound and conjunct verb in Hindi (BSOAS, vol. 19, 1957)

: The syntax of participial forms in Hindi (BSOAS, vol. 19, 1957)


: Two social dialects of Hindi (ORBIS, no. 2, 1962)


Grierson, G.A. : On the radical and participial tenses of the modern Indo-Aryan Languages: (JRAS, LXIV, Part I, Calcutta 1896)

Greaves, Edwin : A grammar of Modern Hindi (Benares; E.J. Lazarus & Co., 1896)

: Hindi Grammar (The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1933)

Gura, K.P. : Hindi Vyakaran (Nagari Pracharni Sabha, Kashi v.s. 2017)

Dr. Gilchrist : A grammar of the Hindustani Language (Calcutta, 1786)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hoernle, Dr. A.F. Rudolf</td>
<td><em>A Collection of Hindi Roots, with remarks on their derivation and classification</em> (JRAS, vol. XLIX Part I, no. II, 1880)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoenigswald, H.M.</td>
<td><em>Declension and nasalisation in Hindustani</em> (JAOS, 68. 139-44, 1948)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hacker, P.</td>
<td><em>The problem of compound and conjunct verbs in Hindi</em> (BSOAS, vol. 24, 1961)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miltner, Vladimir</td>
<td><em>Shifts of syntactic function in Hindi: Selected material from the works of Tulsidas</em> (JAOS, vol. 83, no. 3, 1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthews, W.K.</td>
<td><em>The ergative construction in Modern Indo-Aryan</em> (Lingua, vol. 3, no. IV, 1953)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masica, C.</td>
<td><em>Verb sequences and Verbal system in Hindi-Urdu</em> (Mimeographed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platts, John T.</td>
<td><em>A grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu language</em> (London, 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poriska, V.</td>
<td><em>The genitive in Hindi</em> (Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Philologica I; Orientalia Pragensia I, 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The adjectival and adverbial participles in Hindi</em> (Archiv Orientalni, vol. 20, 1952)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hindi participles used as substantives</em> (Archiv Orientalni, vol. 18, no. 4, 1950)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saihgal, N.C.</td>
<td><em>Saihgal's Hindustani Grammar</em> (Moolchand Saihgal &amp; Son, Simla Hills, 1943)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholberg, H.C.</td>
<td><em>Concise grammar of the Hindi language</em> (Bombay, 1955)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharma, A.</td>
<td>A basic grammar of modern Hindi (Govt. of India, Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharma, S.N.</td>
<td>Hindi grammar and translation (Lakhani Book Depot, Bombay, 1956)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thimm, Captain C.A.</td>
<td>Hindustani Self-taught and grammar (London, 1910)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajpeyi, K.D.</td>
<td>Hindi Shabdanushasan (Nagri Pracarni Sabha, Kashi, v.s. 2014)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) Linguistics of other Indian languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson, C.A.</td>
<td>A chart of the Bengali verb (JAOS, 65, 1945)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grierson, G.A.</td>
<td>An introduction to the Maithili language of North Bihar (Extra Number to Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Part I for 1880, vol. XLIX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelkar, A.R.</td>
<td>The category of case in Marathi - a study in method (Indian Linguistics, vol. 20, 1959)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The phonology and morphology of Marathi (Cornell Univ. Diss., 1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisker, Leigh</td>
<td>Tamil verb Classification (JAOS, vol. 71, 1951)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navalker, G.R.</td>
<td>The student's Marathi Grammar (Bombay, 1894)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poriska, V.</td>
<td>Deictic demonstratives in Indo-Aryan (Archiv Orientalni, vol. 31, 1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speijer, J.S.</td>
<td>Sanskrit Syntax (Leyden, 1868)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singh, J.D.</td>
<td>The grammatical structure of Bengru (Univ. of Pennsylvania Diss. 1959)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Tisdall, Rev. Wm. St. Claire : A Simplified grammar of the Gujarati language (London, 1892)

Zvelebil, K. : On emphasis and intensification in Tamil (Archiv Orientalni XXIII, 1955)

: A note on Tamil verb morphology (Archiv Orientalni XXIII, 1955)

: How to handle the structure of Tamil (Archiv Orientalni XXX, 1962)

(c) General, descriptive and comparative linguistics

Allen, W.S. : On the linguistic study of languages (Inaugural address: Cambridge, 1957)


: Relationship in comparative linguistics (TPS, 1953)


: Structure and system in the Abaza verbal complex (TPS, 1956)


Basell, C.R. : Syntactic relations and linguistic typologies (Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure 8, 1949)

: The fundamental syntactic relations (Casopis Pro Moderni Filologii, 33, 1950)

: Linguistic Form (Istanbul Press, Istanbul, 1953)

: A question of Syncretism and analogy (TPS 1960)

Bendor-Samuel, J.T. : The Verbal piece in Jebero (Word Monograph no. 4, Supplement to WORD 17, 1961)

: A structure-function description of Verena phrases (CJL/RCL, 8:2, 1963)
Bloomfield, L.: 
: Language (New York, Holt, 1933)

: A set of postulates for the science of language
: (From "Readings in linguistics" ed. by M. Joos)

: Linguistic aspects of science
: (International Encyclopaedia of United Science, vol. 1, no. 4,
: Chicago, 1939)

Catford, J.C.: 
: A linguistic theory of translation
: (To be published by OUP)

Chomsky, Noam: 
: Syntactic structures
: (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1957)

Dixon, R.M.W.: 
: Linguistic science and logic
: (Mouton and Co., 1963)

: A logical statement of grammatical theory
: (Language, vol. 39, no. 4, 1963)

Dover, K.J.: 
: Greek word-order
: (CUP, 1960)

Ellis, J.O.: 
: General linguistics and comparative philology
: (Lingua, vol. 7, no. 2, 1958)

: Some problems in comparative linguistics
: (Proceedings of the University of Durham Philosophical Society:

: Towards a theory of (general) comparative linguistics
: (To be published by Mouton & Co.)

: On contextual meaning
: (To be published in Firth Memorial Volume)

Firth, J.R.: 
: Speech
: (Benn's six penny library, London, 1930)

: Personality and language in society
: (Sociological Review, 42, 1950)

: Ethnographic analysis and language with reference to
: Malinowski's views
: (in Man and Culture ed. by Raymond Firth, London, 1957)

: A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930-55
: ("Studies in linguistic analysis"; special volume of the

: Philology in the philological society
: (TPS, 1956)

Francis, W.N.: 
: The structure of American English
: (New York, Ronald Press, 1958)

Gleason, H.A.: 
: An introduction to descriptive linguistics
: (New York, Holt, 1955)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haas, W.</td>
<td>On defining linguistic units (TPS, 1954)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halliday, M.A.K.</td>
<td>The language of the Chinese &quot;Secret History of the Mongols&quot; (Special volume of the Philological Society; Blackwell: Oxford, 1959)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grammatical categories in Modern Chinese (TPS, 1956)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The linguistic basis of a mechanical thesaurus (MT 3(iii), Dec. 1956)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Review of C.L. Ebeling's &quot;Linguistic Units&quot; (Archivum Linguisticum: vol. 13, Fascicule 1, 1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The tones of English (Archivum linguisticum, vol. XV, Fascicule 1, 1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class in relation to the axes of chain and choice in language (Linguistics, no. 2, Dec. 1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intonation in English Grammar (TPS, 1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris, Z.S.</td>
<td>Structural linguistics (Chicago University Press, Phoenix Books, 1961)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Co-occurrence and transformation in linguistic structure (Language 33, 1957)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill, A.A.</td>
<td>Introduction to linguistic structures (New York, Harcourt Brace, 1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hockett, C.F.</td>
<td>A course in Modern Linguistics (New York, MacMillan, 1958)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Haddleton, R.    | A descriptive and comparative analysis of texts in French and English: an application of grammatical
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jespersen, O.</td>
<td>A Modern English Grammar Part VII (Syntax) (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1909-1949)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Essentials of English grammar (New York, Holt, 1933)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juilland, A.</td>
<td>Structural relations (The Hague, 1961)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kruisinga, E.</td>
<td>A handbook of present day English Part III (Groningen, P. Nordhoff, 1932)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kruisinga, E. and Bradea, P.A.</td>
<td>An English Grammar Vol. I (Groningen, Djakarta, 1953)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lado, R.</td>
<td>Linguistics across culture (The University of Michigan Press, 1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lees, R.B.</td>
<td>The grammar of English nominalizations (Bloomington, Indiana University, Research Center in anthropology, folklore and linguistics, 12, 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The constituent structure of noun phrase (American Speech, vol. 36, no. 5, 1961)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longacre, R.E.</td>
<td>String constituent analysis (Language, vol. 36, no. 1, 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell, T.P.</td>
<td>Syntagmatic relations in linguistic analysis (TPS 1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nida, E. A.</td>
<td>An outline of descriptive syntax (Glendale, California, 1951)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A synopsis of English syntax (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer, F.S.R.</td>
<td>Linguistic Hierarchy (Lingua 7, 1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pike, K.L.</td>
<td>Language III (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Glendale, California, 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interpenetration of phonology, morphology, and syntax (Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Linguistics, Oslo, 1958)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An introduction to the study of grammatical structure (Glendale, California, 1956)

Noun and verb in universal grammar (Language, vol. 28, no. 3, 1952)

Formal divisions in Sundanese (TPS, 1953)

Language (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1921/1949)

Word-order (Veb Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1957)

Modern English Structure (London: Edward Arnold, 1962)

Phonetics, applied linguistics and other components of language teaching ("In honour of Daniel Jones", Longmans, 1964)

A New English Grammar (CUP, 1892-98)

A study of errors in English made by Hindi-speaking students in Bihar (Edinburgh Diss., 1962)

Independent and dependent sentences (IJAL, vol. 29, no. 1, 1963)

An enquiry concerning the principles of natural languages (CUP 1919)