

VERB FEATURES AND CASE ASSIGNMENT
IN HINDI

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PREFACE

This study represents an attempt to apply some of the concepts of recent transformational generative grammar (as proposed by Chomsky) to the analysis of Hindi sentences in general and some Hindi verbs in particular. A major reason for this attempt has been the author's concern that in the past the establishment of the subject and the predicate (NP and VP of a sentence) in Hindi sentences was erroneous and counter-intuitive. Although the analyses presented here are likely to raise as many questions as they answer, it is hoped that these questions or doubts will only provide an impetus to a long and healthy discussion among logicians, philosophers, language teachers, and perhaps others.

The intellectual inspiration for this work has a source in Joseph Greenberg's study on the universals of word order in world languages. The works of Hindi grammarians and scholars such as Yamuna Kachru, and H. H. Van Olphen (both of whom have worked within the framework of transformational generative grammar) and a score of others have been a guide for this study. I have relied considerably on the insights presented by these scholars, but wherever possible, I have also indicated some of my disagreements with them.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Peter C. Rollins, who, despite his extremely busy schedule, agreed to serve as the chairman of my dissertation committee and who has contributed in more than one way, both academically and administratively, to the completion of this work. Words cannot describe my deep feeling of indebtedness to Dr. O. Bruce

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I also owe a great deal to my father whose constant reminder of my educational objectives kept me on the right track. My best friend, Miss Corazon Catibog, who has been a constant, unfaltering source of encouragement deserves my grateful acknowledgment.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Hindi language, the official language of India, constitutes the subject of this study. Hindi is an Indo-European language spoken mostly in the northern part of India. Recent estimates show Hindi to have some 230 million speakers who speak and write Hindi either as their first language or as a second language. The author is a native speaker of Hindi as it is spoken in Bihar. As McGregor (1972, p. xi) has observed, Hindi, which is also called kharī bolī, is "relatively standardized over the whole of the Hindi language area." Despite the claim, one can find some very important dialectal variations in Hindi that is spoken in Bihar, but in most cases these dialectal variations tend to disappear in the written form of the language.

The purpose of this study is to show that the features of a verb in a Hindi sentence have a great deal to do with the selection and assignment of a particular case marker to the subject Noun Phrase (NP). I have attempted to redefine the subject NP in a Hindi sentence, and by implication, such redefinition of the subject NP will automatically redefine the constituents of the NP and the Verb Phrase (VP) of a sentence (S) in Hindi. I have chosen to concentrate my effort on only those sentences where there has been some controversy as to the status of the NP of S. In most Hindi sentences the word order is Subject, Object, and Verb, but in a few sentence types, there is either no clear-cut judgment

as to what constitutes the predicate or no unanimity among Hindi grammarians as to the status of N_1 and N_2 in a sentence (See Kachru, 1966, 1968, and 1970). This is true mostly of what have been called ko-sentences and possessive sentences. An example of these sentence types would be the following:

1. rām ke cār bete hāī
 ram to four sons is
 Ram has four sons.
2. sitā ko rām mile
 sita to ram met
 Sita found Ram.

Sentence 1 is an example of a possessive sentence, as should be clear from the English translation; sentence 2 is a ko-construction because it has a case marker ko assigned to its first NP. In a possessive sentence as well as in a ko-sentence, the assignment of ke and ko is automatically triggered by the selection of a possessive verb honā "to be" and a mīlnā "to meet" type verb that occurs in a ko-construction respectively. In English the passive sentence contains the logical subject NP in the second NP position and the grammatical subject in the first NP position. But in Hindi, because the NP's do not change their positions in the passive sentence, the first NP remains as the logical as well as the grammatical subject of the sentence. However, the first NP in a passive sentence in Hindi takes on a case marker, which is indirectly a result of the selection of a particular verb, jānā.

This study has been undertaken as a direct result of the findings of Greenberg (1968) that the word order OSV (Object, Subject, Verb) is either non-existent or excessively rare among the world languages. The

acceptance of first NP as the object in sentences 1-2 will amount to denying the hypothesis of Greenberg. Kachru (1970) has discussed sentences of the type illustrated in sentence 2 (ko-construction) but has been unable to resolve the controversy whether the first NP is the subject or the object in the sentence. She has mentioned, however, that there are strong arguments both for and against treating the first NP as the subject and the second NP as the object in a sentence like 2; but what she did not know, as she puts it, is what the "correct formulation" of a transformational rule will be that can account for the assignment of the case markers in ko-sentences (p. 312). I have attempted an answer to this question in this study by showing the features of verbs that are responsible for the assignment of case markers to the NP's in both the possessive sentence and ko-construction. This task becomes more relevant when one encounters two sentences in Hindi with virtually identical meanings but different surface manifestations. The surface manifestations differ mostly in two respects: in the selection of the case marker and in the selection of verbs. This variation in surface structures leads me to believe that it is the verb in the sentence that is responsible for the change in the case markers. A consideration of the following sentences will illustrate the point better:

3. sTtā ko kitāb milī
sita to book met
Sita found the book.
4. sTtā ne kitāb paī
sita book found
Sita found the book.

5. maine pāp kiya
 I sin did
 I committed sin.
6. mujhse pāp huā
 I by sin became
 I committed sin.

Sentences 3-4 have the same meaning as is evident from the English translation, and yet there are two case markers ko and ne assigned to the first NP in these sentences respectively. Sentences 5-6 have ne and se case markers though the meanings remain unchanged.

Although the chapters in the present study are very much independent of each other (each dealing with a particular type of verb or sentence), there is one running theme--the verbal features are important considerations in the selection of a particular case marker. Since case markers are only surface phenomena, it is assumed and shown that sentences such as 3-4 on the one hand and 5-6 on the other have the same deep structures. Chapter two discusses the verbal features in ko-constructions and how these features are the source of case assignment. Chapter three explains the same theme in the case of possessive sentences. Chapter four examines passive sentences and finds that the use of the different types of jānā "to go" has a significant impact on two similar surface structures which I have called passive and abilitative. The fifth chapter presents a discussion and classification of the verb honā "to be." The verb honā is an important verb in Hindi directly related with my primary concern. Honā has the function, among others, of a possessive verb which, though not directly responsible for the case assignment, has an impact on the case markers that are present in pos-

sessive sentences. The last chapter deals with explicators and auxiliary verbs. This chapter has been included mainly because I feel that explicators and auxiliaries are an important part of the VP in a sentence and that a clear picture as to what constitutes an explicator and how it differs from the auxiliary will be a necessary consideration in our understanding of the constituents of the VP of S.

For the purpose of this study, I have followed the Aspect model of transformational generative grammar proposed by Chomsky (1965) and the semantic model proposed by Katz and Postal (1964).

CHAPTER II

VERBAL FEATURES AND THE SUBJECT

While discussing universals of the world languages, Joseph Greenberg (1968, pp. 76-77) suggests, after an examination of samples from thirty languages of different families, that the order, Object, Subject, and Verb (OSV) is among the three orders that either "do not occur at all, or at least are excessively rare." Among the thirty world languages that Greenberg worked with, Hindi was one. There are, however, sentences in Hindi that have been regarded as following just the order of Object, Subject, and Verb. Following the assumption implied in Greenberg's suggestion, we will reexamine some of those sentences in Hindi which have been considered to be the examples of the rare order, OSV. In defiance of the prevalent notion that some Hindi sentences have the OSV order, an attempt will be made to establish that N_1 (even though it appears in the oblique case), forms the subject of the sentence and N_2 , which is in the direct case, constitutes a part of the predicate in the sentence. This will be done for two reasons: to confirm Greenberg's analysis of the word order in the world languages, and to establish that the verbal features are responsible in many Hindi sentences for the assignment of case-markers to the first NP in a sentence. Such an analysis will indicate that the first NP, despite its being in the oblique case, is the subject of a sentence in Hindi, where it (the NP in the oblique case) has usually been regarded as the object. This analysis will

also change the nature of the Verb-Phrase in the Hindi sentence, perhaps necessitating a reexamination of NP and VP constituents.

Although many grammarians have stated that Hindi, in addition to having a SOV word order, has the OSV word order, the issue has not been without controversy. Hindi grammarians (Vajpeyi, 1957; Guru, 1962; Kachru, 1965 & 1966; Sharma, 1972) are not unanimous about the grammatical roles of various NP's in a Hindi sentence and how these roles--mainly those of the subject and the object--should be determined. In this respect, there are two major types of sentences in Hindi that have not only attracted the attention of Hindi grammarians at various periods of grammatical studies but also exerted considerable disputes among them. These two types of sentences are (1) sentences with such verbs as anā "to come" and lagnā "to feel" and (2) possessive sentences with the verb honā "to be." This chapter will deal with the first of these two types of sentences, and the next chapter will be devoted to the possessive sentence. Let us first consider here some of the sentences that represent the first type of sentence with such verbs as ānā and lagnā:

1. laṛke ko ḍar lagā
boy to fear felt
The boy felt fear.
2. mujhko khānā acchā lagā
I to food good felt
The food tasted good to me.
or I liked the food.
3. unko yahā² man lagtā hai
he to here heart feel is
He feels at home here.
or He feels at home here.

4. rām ko ṭhandh lagī
 ram to cold felt
 Ram felt cold.
 or Ram got cold.
5. nīnā ko kahānī yād ayī
 nina to story memory came
 Nina recollected the story.
6. āpko hindī atī hai
 you to Hindi come is
 You know Hindi.
7. mujhko unkī bāt pasand nahī ayī
 I to his idea appeal not came
 His idea did not appeal to me.
8. gīta ko hāsī ayī
 gita to laughter came
 Gita laughed.

Sentences 1-4 are examples of the verb lagnā, and sentences 5-8 have the verb ānā. Notice that all of the above sentences have an object such as dar, man, ṭhandh, kahānī, hindī, bāt, and hāsī. Sentence 8 is translated into English with an intransitive verb but Hindi has the object hasī. In addition to these verbs, there are also other verbs that require ko postposition after the first N in the sentence. We will have examples of sentences with some of those verbs (milnā, jācnā, bhānā, dikhnā, etc.) later. In the meantime, it is necessary to mention here that, because of the case marker ko perhaps, Kachru (1970) has called the above sentences ko-constructions. I will borrow her phrase to identify those sentences in our own study here. We will look at the analysis of these

sentences that Kachru has presented; but first, we will see how the earlier grammarians have handled the so-called ko-construction in Hindi.

Though Guru (1962) has not discussed this particular problem at any great length, in his section of sample parsing he has analyzed the following sentence in this fashion:

9. rām ko bhūk lagī hai
 ram to hunger felt is
 Ram felt hungry.

He considers bhūkh "hunger" as the subject, rām ko as the predicate complement, and lagī hai as the predicate of sentence 9. For Guru (1962, pp. 495-543) verbs like lagnā and anā require an obligatory complement. In another sentence such as the following:

10. sītā ko aśā thī ki film acchī hogī
 sita to hope was that film good will be
 Sita had hoped that the film would be good.

he regards aśā "hope" as the subject, ki film acchī hogī as the extension of the subject, sītā ko as the predicate complement, and thī the predicate. While Guru is consistent in his analysis of the above sentences, Vajpeyi's (1957, p. 157) analysis of the following sentences is inconsistent and contradictory. In his sentence below:

11. rām ko krodh āyā
 ram to anger came
 Ram became angry.

he treats rām ko as the object because it is in the accusative or objective case, and krodh as the subject of the verb ānā. He, however, has a very different analysis for the following sentence that has the same structure as that of sentence 11:

12. kai bār prayatna karne par bhī śrī kavīndra
 many times attempts do on yet sri poet
 ravīndranāth ko fārsī līpi nahī ayī
 Ravindranath to Parsi script not came
 Although he made several attempts, the poet
 Ravindranath could not learn the Persian script.

Unlike his analysis of sentence 11, Vajpeyi considers kavindra ravīndranāth as the subject of sentence 12. Despite the structural similarities between sentences 11 and 12 which use the same verb ānā, krodh in sentence 11 is treated as the subject because it is in the direct case, whereas in sentence 12 the noun in the oblique case is called the subject. In yet another sentence

13. angrezī apnī vartanī ke kāraṇ bahut logō ko
 English own spelling of because many people to
 thīk-thīk nahī atī
 correct-correct not come
 Because of its spellings many people cannot learn
 English properly.

Vajpeyi takes a similar approach to that of sentence 12 and considers bahut logō ko as the subject. He, however, does not explain why he has decided to categorize two totally different kinds of nouns as the subjects of the two sentences. In one case the noun is in the oblique case; in another it is in the direct case, although the two nouns obviously occur in two very similar constructions. Vajpeyi argues that the helplessness of bahut logō in sentence 13 and kavīndra ravīndranāth in sentence 12 render them the status of subjects in sentences 13 and 12 respectively. However, it appears to us that even in terms of their

semantic properties--a criterion that he has invoked to justify an apparent contradiction in his analysis of the verbs--sentence 11 on the one hand and sentences 12 and 13 on the other are very much alike in that N₁ rām ko in 11 and kavīndra ravīndranāth ko and bahut logō ko in 12 and 13 respectively are helpless. To put it in another fashion, the verb ānā in all the three cases is semantically marked (-volition) and yet there have been conflicting analyses of the sentences at the hands of Vajpeyi for apparently no valid grammatical or semantic reason.

Davison (1969, p. 41) studies ko-constructions with a view toward arguing that constructions like 14 and 15 are "derived from the same abstract semantic structure, because of their synonymy and because of the surface restrictions" on sentences

14. rām ko rām par krodh āyā
 ram to ram on anger came
 Ram felt angry with himself.
15. (rām ke) bhāT kT bātō se (rām) krodh mē
 (ram of) brother of matters from (ram) anger in
 ākar rām use gāliyā dene lagā
 come having him insults give began
 Ram got mad at { his brother
 { what his brother did/said } and
 began insulting him.

Schematically, these sentences can be shown to have the following surface structures.

16. NP₁ ko NP₂ par NP₃ ā
 (animate) dat./acc { (animate) } on (abstract)
 { (abstract) }

17. [NP .. NP₂ .. NP] se NP₁ NP₃ mẽ ā

Kachru (1970, pp. 304-305), however, argues against Davison's proposal and observes that it is "difficult to see how the following two sentences in English could be claimed to share 'the same abstract semantic structure'."

18. I was amused $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with} \\ \text{by} \\ \text{at} \end{array} \right\}$ Harry.

19. I was amused $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with} \\ \text{by} \\ \text{at} \end{array} \right\}$ what Harry did.

She suggests that one can at best claim that the "relation of 'I - amuse - Harry' in a [sentence 18 here] is the same as 'I - amuse - what Harry did' in b [sentence 19 here]" (p. 304). The role of Harry in these two sentences is different, she has argued.

Both Kachru (1968) and Davison (1969) maintain that the animate NP with ko in a ko-construction serves as the logical subject and that ko is inserted by some governed rule, though it is not known as to what this "governed rule" is or how it can be "correctly formulated" (Kachru, 1970, p. 305).

Kachru further argues in favor of the claim by Vajpeyi (1957) that mujhko in a sentence like

20. mujhko angrezī nahī ātī

I to English not come

I do not know English.

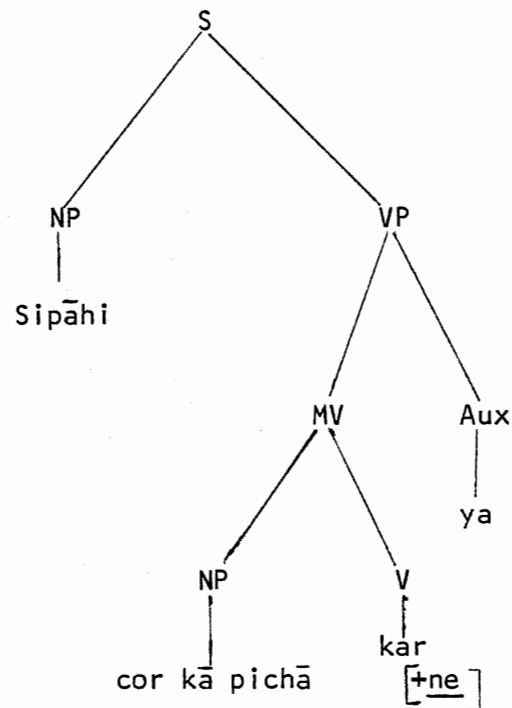
is the subject; she presents the reflexivization rules in Hindi in support of this claim. She also suggests that it is possible to claim that the verb milnā is marked +ko which will automatically assign ko to the NP of S. This will offer, as she contends, an analysis of the ko sentence

that will be parallel to the analysis of the ne sentence in that in the latter the verb is marked +ne and that's how the NP of S gets a ne case marker assigned to it automatically.

With regard to the assignment of ne as the subject marker and of ko as the object marker, Kachru (1966) has observed that

Actually, the assignment of the Postposition ne to the sentence is automatic, if the V is marked +ne and is in the Perfective aspect. The assignment of ko to the Direct Object is automatic, too. If the Direct Object N is marked +Animate and/or preceded by a Definite DET, it is followed by the Postposition ko (p. 49).

She has analyzed a sentence like sipāhi ne cor kā pichā kiyā "The constable followed the thief" in the following tree diagram:



Note that the ko is being referred to in the above quotation is different from the ko in a ko-construction in that the ko assigned to the object of a sentence is not affected or determined by any feature or set of features of a verb.

However, she finds some difference in the two cases of ne assignment and ko assignment in that ne is assigned on the basis of the feature of the verb and the feature of the auxiliary which is always in the perfective aspect; but in ko-sentences, the assignment of ko will depend only on the verb feature.

She then presents the other side of the issue. She finds it very difficult to accept a recipient noun as the subject of a sentence. She claims that in sentences 21 and 23 below mujhko and rāmko are "clearly the recipient" (p. 309) whereas in sentences 22 and 24 they (mai ne, rām ne) are clearly the agents.

21. mujhko lagā ki vah calā gayā
 I to felt that he went went
 It appeared to me that he had left.
22. maine samjhā ki vah calā gayā
 I thought that he went went
 I thought that he had left.
23. rām ko mā^ṁ yād āyī
 ram to mother memory came
 Memories of his mother came to Ram.
24. rām ne mā^ṁ ko yād kiyā
 ram mother to memory did
 Ram remembered his mother.

The recipient NP's, she argues, behave "differently from the NP of S" (p. 310) and sentences with these recipient NP's will not be transformed into nominalized and adjectivized phrases like rām kā ghar jānā from rām ghar gayā, rām kā kitāb kharīdnā from rām ne kitāb kharīdī, and rām kā likhā upanyās from rām ne upanyās likhā. If the ne sentence and

ko sentence have the same underlying structure, then, Kachru observes, there is nothing to prevent ko sentences from undergoing rules that result in nominalized and adjectivized phrases. She believes "that at some point in their derivation the animate NP in NP +ko phrase has been the NP of S'" (p. 311). She argues both sides of the issue. That is, she maintains there are reasons to deny and also reasons to grant an NP +ko the status of the subject in a sentence and concludes that

it is not impossible to claim that rām ko in rām ko kitāb mīlī is in one sense the NP of S and also a recipient NP, and that ko is introduced as a marker of the recipient NP in such sentences by a general transformational rule. At this stage of work on Hindi-Urdu syntax, it is not clear what the correct formation of the rule is (p. 312).

As we have indicated earlier, our contention is that NP with ko is the subject in a sentence such as rām ko kitāb mīlī, and we therefore support Kachru's suggestion that NP ko can be claimed as the subject and reject the other objections that she has raised against treating rām ko as the subject.

One of Kachru's difficulties has been preoccupation with the recipient role of NP +ko in a ko-construction and how to justify it as the subject of a sentence. To refuse any NP the status of subject in a sentence simply because it happens to play the role of a recipient is not a valid argument, for, among other things, such an argument is based on the notional definition of the subject. Such a rationale will fail not only in the case of Hindi but also in the case of English where case assignment is not as common as it is in Hindi. If we examine the following sentences in English, it should become clear that the first NP in the sentence is the subject despite the fact that it serves not as an actor or agent, but as recipient:

25. The boy received the blow.
26. The boy slammed the door.
27. The cat died of pneumonia.
28. The cat hopped.

Clearly, the first NP in sentences 25 and 26 (the boy) has two different roles in these two sentences. In sentence 25, the boy is obviously a receiver, whereas in sentence 26, the same NP is functioning as the agent or actor. Similarly, in sentences 27-28, the first NP, the cat, is functioning as a participant in some happening but definitely not as an agent, while in sentence 28, the same NP is functioning as an agent or actor. And yet, despite the roles of recipient the boy in sentence 25 is considered as the subject in the same sense that the boy in 26 is. The role of the NP changes not because of its grammatical significance in the sentence but because of the use of one particular verb rather than another. Modern English does not have a means to indicate the change in the roles of an NP as does Hindi, where the assignment of a particular case marker signals one role for an NP rather than another in a sentence. But the case marker does not affect the status of the NP as subject or object.

In Hindi also there are instances where certain sentences have nouns (NP) that function as the subjects of a sentence even though these NP's are not necessarily agents and could very well be considered recipients. Consider the following examples:

29. rām kitāb pātā hai
 ram book find is
 Ram receives a book.

30. āp sidard lete hāī
 you headache take is
 You invite headache/troubles.
 or You take the headache/troubles.
31. gītā cot khātī hai
 gita injury eat is
 Gita gets hurt.

The first NP's in sentences 29-31 (rām, āp, gītā) can be taken to be recipient since such a notion is based on the relation of a noun with the verb in the sentence. It would, therefore, seem that it is the meaning of the verb or some feature of the verb that will determine the notional role of a noun in a sentence. Thus the notional definition of a subject based on the role of a noun as an actor or recipient has very little to contribute to our understanding of the actual grammatical subject in a sentence, both in Hindi as well as in English. In English, sometimes it is said that the grammatical subject of an active sentence loses its status to the object once the sentence is passivized. In Hindi, however, the grammatical subjects remain grammatical subjects both in the deep and surface structures despite the transformations. The only thing that happens is the assignment of a particular case marker of the subject NP in a passive sentence. This assignment of a case marker in a passive sentence is only a surface phenomenon and a result of the selection of a particular verb or feature of a verb. This point is elaborated in a later chapter on the passive sentence.

Kachru's other objection to considering NP +ko as the subject of a sentence results from the fact that a ko-construction does not undergo transformations that produce nominalized and adjectivized phrases. The

application of such transformations and the resulting nominalized and adjectivized phrases are possible in the case of other transitive verbs or sentences.¹

First of all, it is not only transitive verbs that alone can be nominalized and adjectivized; it is not difficult to point out the existence in Hindi of many sentences with intransitive verbs that can also undergo these transformations. Consider the following sentences:

32. laṛkā gar gayā
 boy home went
 The boy went home.
- 32a. laṛkō ka ghar jānā
 boy of home going
 The boy's going home
33. laṛkī sotī hai
 girl sleep is
 The girl is sleeping
- 33a. laṛkī kā sonā
 girl of sleeping
 Sleeping of the girl
- 33b. ghar gayā laṛkā
 home gone boy
 The boy gone home
- 33b. soyī laṛkī
 slept girl
 The sleeping girl

Sentences 32-33 are examples of intransitive sentences. 32-32a are the nominalized phrases resulting from 32-33; 32b-33b are examples of ad-

jectivized phrases of 32-33. The point is that both are changed into nominalized and adjectivized phrases, and therefore the fact that a ko-construction does not undergo these transformations indicates only that the verb in a ko-sentence has a feature that is not present in other verbs, either transitive or intransitive, that do undergo these transformations. And it is precisely this feature that prevents the underlying structure of a ko-sentence rather than a ne-sentence (both of these sentences will have the same underlying structures in our analysis, as Kachru (1970) has also envisioned) from undergoing the nominalization and adjectivization transformations.

Secondly, it does not serve any purpose to have two different underlying deep structures for transitive verbs--one for sentences with such verbs as pānā "to find, get" and another for verbs like mīlnā "to find, receive"--solely because one verb type assigns ne and the other assigns ko to the first NP in a sentence. In fact, one can very well call both ne construction and ko-construction transitive sentences and mark the verbs that require ko rather than ne for the first NP in some way with features that are unique to them (mīlnā type verbs) so that some of the transformations that do apply to other transitive verbs (pānā type verbs) will not apply to the transitive verbs that require ko. In other words, the existence of ne or ko in a sentence NP does not affect the transitivity or intransitivity of a verb.

What this feature would be is discussed later, but at this point it is important to mention that the verb simply cannot be marked +ko because that may or may not achieve the desired surface structure. In Hindi, there are many sentences where the first NP in the surface structure can be assigned ko, but not all those that have first NP followed

by ko case marker belong to the ko-construction that we are concerned with here. For example many psychosomatic possessives such as mujkho sirdard hai "I have a headache" can have a first NP with ko, but those sentences are not the same as sentences 1-8 above since the ko in those sentences are assigned not by the features of the verb that is selected but by the two NP's (the possessor and the possessed). I have discussed the features of verb and the two NP's in Chapter II entitled "The Possessive Sentence in Hindi." As a matter of fact, there are many case markers in Hindi which have more than one use and therefore one cannot assign them to the NP by indicating the presence of those case markers as features of verbs in deep structure. The truth is that most case markers have more than one function and therefore it is very unlikely that the assignment of the case markers themselves (such as ko) as a feature to the verbs will transformationally assign the same case markers to the first NP of a sentence. There is only one case marker that has a definite place and definite function, and that is ne. It is used only² to indicate an agent NP of a sentence where the transitive verb is used in the perfective aspect. Notice that in the following sentences ko is assigned to the first NP because of two very different syntactic and semantic reasons.

34. rām ko krodh āyā (non-possessive)
 ram to anger came
 Ram got angry.
35. rām ko krodh hai (possessive)
 ram to anger is
 Ram has anger.

36. rām ko jānā hai (non-possessive, obligation)
 ram to go is
 Ram has to go.
37. rām ko jānā cāhiye (optative)
 ram to go should
 Ram should go.

Thus, it is clear that the presence of ko marker in the verb cannot properly account for the different roles that ko is playing in the above sentences. The assignment of ko in the sentence (35) here, as we will see in the next chapter, is a result of the combination of features present in the two NP's in the sentences and not by any +ko verb. Similarly, in the case of other case markers such as ke, ke pās, mē, etc. it is not possible to define these in terms of the features of an individual verb. These case markers can be used not only in possessive sentences but also numerous non-possessive sentences. Consider the follow examples:

38. rām ke pahale sīta āyī
 ram of before sita came
 Sita came before Ram.
39. āgre ke pās tājmahal hai
 agre of near tajmahal hai
 Tajmahal is near Agra.
40. kamre me laṛkā soyā hai
 room in boy slept is
 The boy is sleeping in the room.

All these sentences are non-possessive and yet have the same case markers as are also used in the possessives. The only case marker that does not change its role is ne, and therefore it is all right to mark the verb as

+ne, and this +ne feature of the verb will assign one and only one ne to the NP of S transformationally.

In his essay on nominalization, Lees (1960) has classified English verbs into transitive, intransitive, linking and mid-transitive verbs. Such a classification of English verbs is new and unique since no traditional account has gone into the discussion of mid-verbs. Lees's was the first attempt within the transformational generative grammar to give such a treatment of English verbs. His rationale for devising the new classification of mid-transitive verbs is based on the fact that a few of the English verbs that meet the structural requirements of a regular transitive verb (that is, they require at least one NP object in the sentence) do not meet some of the transformational (syntactic) criteria of a regular transitive verb. Among the mid-transitive verbs that Lees has enumerated in his essay are such verbs as befall, weigh, have, cost, lack, mean, and resemble. We can summarize below some of the more important arguments of Lees for not treating these verbs as regular transitive verbs.

- A. These verbs, like other transitive verbs, are followed by a Noun object; but
- B. These mid-transitive (or mid-verbs) verbs do not undergo a passive transformation, a transformation that applies to other regular transitive verbs
- C. The mid-verbs have no action nominal transformation with of; and
- D. The mid-verbs do not accept manner adverbials.³

The following examples of sentences should clearly illustrate the four arguments stated in A-D:

Have

41. I have a headache. (S-V-DO)
 42. *A headache is had by me. (No passive possible)
 43. *My having a headache. (No action nominal)
 44. *I have a headache carelessly. (No manner adv.)

Lack

45. I lack courage (S-V-DO)
 46. *Courage is lacked by me. (No passive)
 47. *My lacking of courage. (No action nominal)
 48. *I lack courage remorselessly. (No manner adv.)

Similar illustrations could be presented here for other verbs in this category--befall, mean, cost, weigh, have, and resemble. As Sinha (1979) has argued, these so-called mid-verbs are not really very different from other transitive verbs in that their deep structures are very much the same as those of regular transitives despite the fact that some of the transformations that cannot be applied to the mid-verbs can be applied to other transitive verbs. The only reason why these mid-verbs do not behave syntactically like other transitive verbs is that they have the semantic features of -process and -volition, a combination of features absent in any other English verb. Thus it is possible to maintain in English that the traditional classification of verbs into three categories--intransitive, transitive, and linking--is valid and no further category is needed. This can be done by simply indicating in transformational rules the conditions that will block a transitive verb from undergoing a passive, action nominalization and manner adverbial transformation. These conditions will read something like this: if a transitive verb is marked -process and -volition, it will block certain (specified above)

transformations. Once a verb with these semantic features is selected in the deep structure, the restrictions imposed by these features on the transformation will operate to block the generation of unacceptable sentences such as 35-37 and 39-41. This will allow the sentences to have the same deep structure for all the transitive verbs and the need for another classification will be met.

A similar consideration is possible for Hindi where ko-construction does not allow nominalized and adjectivized phrase transformations. We have seen that in a ko-construction the presence of lexical item ko in the verbal feature will create problems in that there will be no way of preventing generation of a sentence with NP +ko which may not belong to the sentences of ko-construction. An alternate solution to this problem seems to involve a search for some feature(s) that will not only correctly allow generation of all sentences with or without ko which do not have the same semantic significance as those of ko-constructions.

An examination of sentences under ko-construction will reveal one fact very clearly, and that is that none of these so-called ko verbs requires voluntary action or voluntary non-action on the part of the first NP in the sentence. Writing about such sentences Sharma (1972) has observed that ko is used to denote

A person who 'does' something involuntarily (such as-- like, dislike, remember, be injured, be offended, suffer, feel, enjoy, receive, happen to have, to meet, to know, to see or to hear, or to do something under compulsion, requirement, necessity, obligation ect.) (p. 39).

Although in general Sharma is correct in suggesting that the action (or non-action) resulting from the verb is involuntary, some of the sentences that he has presented are not representative of ko-construction. For example his sentences below are not really examples of ko-construction

but of possessive sentences, as we shall see more clearly in the next chapter.

49. larkī ko bukhār hai

girl to fever is

The girl has fever.

50. ādmī ko hoś nahī hai

man to sense not is

The man is not in his senses.

or The man has fainted.

51. mujhko yād nahī hai

I to memory not is

I do not remember.

We have treated such sentences as 49-51 as possessive sentences which therefore will not be accounted for by the formulation of rules that will account for other ko-constructions.

McGregor (1972) has discussed the verb lagnā and has indicated the differences between several lagnā's in Hindi. In both Sharma's examples and those of McGregor, we find that all the correct examples of lagnā in ko-construction contain the structure NP ko NP lagnā, although sometimes they have deleted the first NP ko, which is recoverable. Thus it is not incorrect to claim that the verb lagnā along with other verbs that appear in ko-construction in Hindi is transitive and has the same deep structure as those of other sentences with regular transitive verbs. Such a case is necessary before we can claim that both ne-construction and ko-construction are alike in the underlying structures since ne-construction, barring those few exceptions, has transitive verbs⁴.

The assumption that both ko-construction and ne-construction

have the same deep structures can also be proved in a different way. In transformational generative grammar, it is axiomatic that if two surface structures have identical meanings the two surface representations are derived from the same deep structure. Keeping this in mind, let us consider the following sentences:

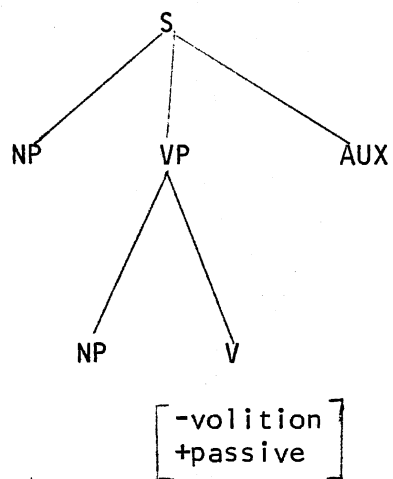
52. rām ko kitāb millī
 ram to book met
 Ram found the book.
53. rām ne kitāb pāyī
 ram book found
 Ram found the book.
54. sītā ko gussā āyā
 sita to anger came
 Sita got angry.
55. sītā ne gussā kiyā
 sita anger did
 Sita got angry.
56. mujkho rām dikhe
 I to ram seen
 I saw Ram.
57. maine rām ko dekhā
 I ram to saw
 I saw Ram.

Sentences 52, 54, and 56 are ko-constructions, but sentences 53, 55, and 57 are examples of the ne construction. But notice that the meaning of both 52 and 53 are alike. The same is true of the pair 54-55 and 56-57⁵. And if this reading is correct, then both 52 and 53 will have the

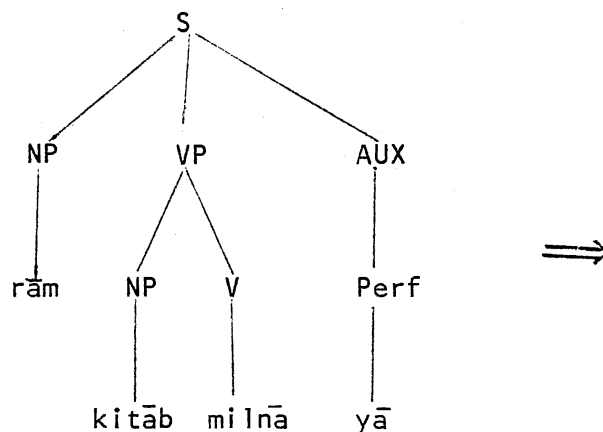
same deep structure, the only difference, however, being that the verb in each case will have a different set of features. In the case of sentence 52, the verb will be marked +ne whereas the verb in sentence 53 will contain no +ne, but [-volition] and [+passive]⁶.

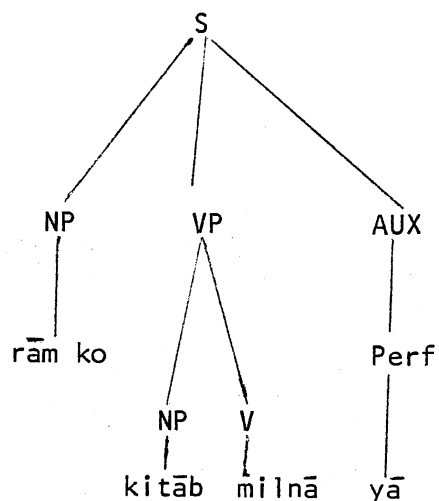
Let us consider the following deep structures for sentences 52-53:

52. rām ko kitāb mili.



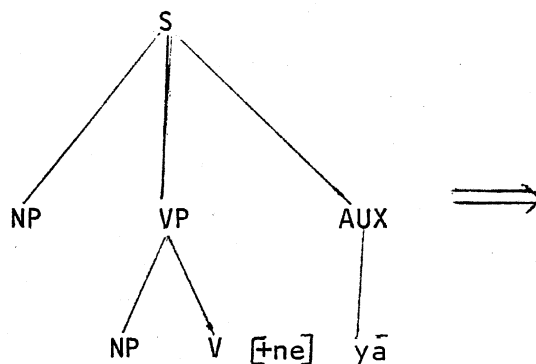
The selection of [-volition] and [+passive] will not generate any sentences other than ko-sentences because these features will allow only verbs like milnā, ānā, jācnā, dikhnā, bhānā, and lagnā to appear in the verb position and also assign ko to the first NP on the surface level. Thus the derived structures will be



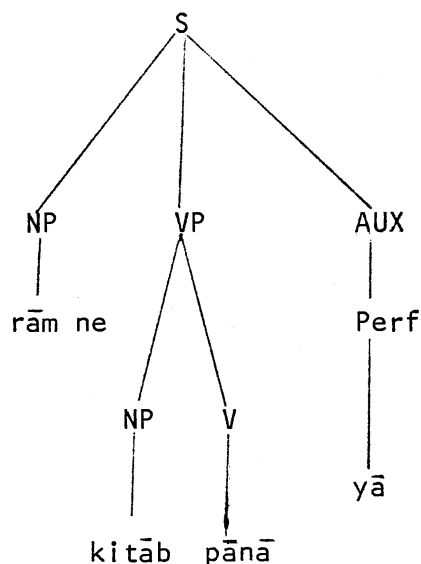


After the spelling rule and phonological changes, we get sentence 52.

53. rām ne kitāb payT.



With the selection of +ne in the verb, we block the generation of sentence 52 since any verb that is marked +ne will not contain the features [-volition] and [+passive] which are the requirements for sentence 52. The selection of ne will derive such verbs as pānā "to find" and denā "to give" and assign the case marker ne to the first NP in the sentence. Note, however, that ne has to be accompanied by an auxiliary element that contains the perfective aspect. In the case of ko, no such additional requirement is set forth. Its assignment to the first NP is independent of any auxiliary element. The derived structure of sentence 46 will look like the following:



After the application of appropriate spelling rule and phonological changes, we will obtain on the surface structure sentence 53. Similar deep structures could be formulated for other sentences in either category--ne-construction or ko-construction. For further criticism of the view that Hindi has OSV order along with SOV order, see Van Olfphen (1970, pp. 113-116).

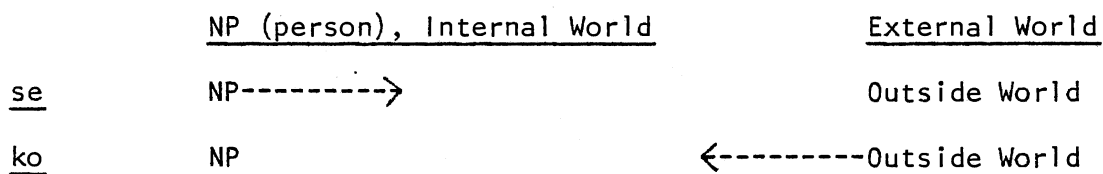
In Hindi there are several verbs, other than ko and ne verbs, that can occur only in a sentence whose first NP has a particular case marker. For example, se cannot occur with verbs that occur only with ko. Consider the following examples:

58. mujhse aprādh huā
I by crime became
I committed crime.
59. *mujhko aprādh huā
I to crime became
I committed crime.
60. āpse pāp huā
you by sin became
You committed sin.

61. *āpko pāp huā
 you sin to became
 You committed sin.
62. mujhko dukh huā
 I to sadness became
 I became sad.
63. *mujhse dukh huā
 I to sadness became
 I became sad.
64. mujhko kai huā
 I to vomit became
 I vomited.
65. *mujhse kai huā
 I by vomit became
 I vomited.
66. rām ko gussā huā
 ram to anger became
 Ram became angry.
67. *rām se gussā huā
 ram by anger became
 Ram became angry.

Notice that in the above sentences (58-67), unlike the ko and the ne sentences, the verb remains huā "became." The same verb (huā) correctly produces sentences 58 and 60 with se assigned to the first NP while blocking the generation of sentences with ko in 59 and 61. Again sentences 52, 64, and 66 are correct with ko, but sentences 63, 65, and 67 are unacceptable with se. Obviously, there does not seem to be any

particular verb feature that permits one case marker and blocks another case marker in the examples of 58-67 above. At this point it is not very clear as to what restricts the assignment of one case marker rather than another in these instances, but on the surface it appears that the second NP in these sentences has certain semantic significance that can appear only with one case marker and not another. For example, one can perhaps state that if the NP implies an internal effect rather than an external effect on the subject of the sentence, the case marker that will be selected is ko; but if the second NP implies external effect, it will be se. In other words, if we imagine the effect of the second NP in terms of movement from the person to the outside world and vice versa, we can represent the use of ko and se in the following manner:



Sentences 51 and 53 which have used se have aprādh and pāp as their second NP's. Aprādh "crime" and pāp "sin" imply an action that has affected the outside world. On the other hand, dukh "sadness," kai "vomit," and gussā "anger" imply no external effect. Some of our ko-construction sentences may be covered by such an analysis, but this analysis of se and ko that we have touched upon certainly needs further research. We introduce the issue of se and ko in other sentences just to indicate that the assignment of these case markers is subject to certain features, either of NP or verb.

NOTES

¹The verbs used in ko-construction will be considered here as transitive in the same way as a verb in ne-construction is.

²There are a few exceptions which have been adequately discussed by others (see Kachru 1965 and 1966; Sharma 1972).

³In his notes, Lees (1960, p. 26) mentions that some of these mid-verbs do take manner adverbials.

⁴See Kachru (1966) for exceptions.

⁵It is virtually impossible to translate the exact meaning of these sentences; so if there is any meaning difference, it will be only in the nature of the meaning difference that is obtained in English active and passive sentences for which we have basically the same deep or underlying structures.

CHAPTER III

THE POSSESSIVE SENTENCE IN HINDI

The sense of possession in a Hindi sentence is conveyed very often by the use of a particular verb rather than by such various postpositions as ke, ko, and mē, or by a postpositional phrase ke pās, which is also known as a "compound locational postposition."¹ The verb that is used in the possessive sentence is, as we have seen, the verb honā "to be." A sentence without honā will be incomplete and can at best be a phrase. For example rām ke cār beṭe "Ram's four sons" is only a phrase, not a sentence. The addition of the verb honā to the phrase will complete the sentence: ram ke car bete hai "Ram has four sons." In Hindi, one can distinguish at least three types of possession: Permanent Possession, Temporary Possession, and Psychosomatic Possession. Examples of each of these types are given below:

1. rām ke cār beṭe hāi
ram to four sons is
Ram has four sons.
2. sītā ke pās do sārīyā hai
sita to near two saris is
Sita has two saris.
3. larke mē utsāh hai
boy in enthusiasm is
The boy has enthusiasm.
4. rameś ko dukh hai

ramesh to sorrow is

Ramesh has sorrows.

5. mujh ko dar hai

me to fear is

I have fears.

Sentence 1 is an example of permanent possession, sentence 2 is an instance of temporary possession, and sentences 3-5 represent psychosomatic possession. That is to say, ke signals a permanent possession, ke pās denotes temporary possession, and mē and ko represent psychosomatic possession. It should be noted here that the use of ke, ke pās, mē, and ko as possession markers is determined not arbitrarily, but highly systematically. In other words, their distribution is definite and mutually exclusive. We will return to the issue of their distribution later in this chapter.

There have not been many studies made on the topic of the possessive sentence in Hindi and on the problems related to the determination of the subject and object in the possessive sentence. Traditional grammarians have either made no attempts to study possessive sentences or, at best, have touched peripherally on the subject. As Kachru (1970, p. 92) has observed "in the existing grammars and pedagogical works on Hindi-Urdu, the category of possessive expressions has mainly been described on the analogy of possessive in English." In her own discussion of the subject, she has not given any serious attention to the question of the subject and the predicate in the possessive sentence. Her major preoccupation seems to have been the transformational derivation of N kā N type phrases with possessive meanings in Hindi. Her concern is to show that the N kā N phrases such as rām kī betī "Ram's daughter" have their

source in the possessive sentence. Like most other traditional grammarians, she has tacitly accepted that the noun in the direct case (NP_2) is the part of the NP immediately dominated by S, and the noun in the oblique case (NP_1) is the one dominated by the VP node. It is apparent that she regards N_1 in the following sentences as part of the predicate and N_2 as the subject. Her own examples, which have been numbered differently here, are given below:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------------|-----|
| | N_1 | N_2 | |
| 6. | rām | ke ek beṭī | hai |
| | Ram | to near one daughter | is |
| | Ram | has a daughter. | |
| 7. | śyām | ke ek mitra | hai |
| | Shyam | to one friend | is |
| | Shyam | has a friend. | |
| 8. | laṛke | ke pās ek kitāb | hai |
| | boy | to near one book | is |
| | The boy | has a book. | |
| 9. | baccō | ko bukhār | hai |
| | children | to fever | is |
| | The children | have fever. | |
| 10. | usmē | sāhās | hai |
| | he | in courage | is |
| | He | has courage. | |

The assertion that N_2 is the subject of the possessive sentence--an assertion that is perhaps based on the principle of subject-verb agreement--is only a side argument for Kachru. Her argument that the N kā N type phrases such as the ones given below (11-15) are derived from the

possessive sentences (6-10) is dependent on and substantiated by the relativization transformation (T-Rel). This relativization transformation is applied to the deep structure of the possessive sentence in the process of the derivation of N kā N type phrases.

11. rām kī beṭī
ram of daughter
Ram's daughter.
12. śyām kā mitra
Shyam of friend
Shyam's friend.
13. laṛke kī kitāb
boy of book
Boy's book.
14. baccō ka bukhār
children of fever
Children's fever.
15. uskā sāhās
he of courage
His courage.

This chapter will investigate the issue of the subject and the predicate in a possessive sentence by examining some of the arguments presented by Kachru in favor of her contention and by examining other possibilities for the derivation of N kā N phrases in Hindi. A fresh look at the derivation of N kā N phrases can lend us some insight into the understanding of the issue of the subject and predicate in the possessive sentence. It is important for our studies of the Hindi verb to know what constitutes the Verb-Phrase and what belongs to the Noun-Phrase

in a Hindi sentence, particularly in a possessive sentence, where N_1 is neither the agent nor the actor but a possessor.

The main objective, however, will be to try to establish N_1 (the noun in the oblique case) as the subject of the possessive sentence and to indicate, by implication, that N_2 (the noun in the direct case) together with the rest of the sentence belongs to the predicate of the sentence. Such an effort will be made in keeping with Greenberg's (1968) hypothesis concerning the universal word order in a sentence of major languages of the world, including Hindi. The occurrence of the order--Object, Subject, and Verb--is rare, if not non-existent in the languages of the world, according to Greenberg. The hypothesis that N_1 in the Hindi possessive is the subject of the sentence follows also from the notional and logical intuition of native speakers.

As we have suggested above, we will first take up the N kā N type phrases and examine them to see if an analysis of such phrases can help us define the subject in a possessive sentence. The N kā N type phrases are basically derived from two sources:

- A. Possessive sentences, and
- B. Non-possessive sentences.

Sharma (1972, pp. 43-45) has given several examples of N kā N phrases and observed that "kā denotes one of the under-mentioned relations between a Noun or Pronoun and another Noun which follows a former." Consider some of his examples of N kā N phrases below:

(a) Possession and relationship:

rām kā bhāī "Ram's brother"

rām kī bahan "Ram's sister"

(b) Material or composition:

sone kā kaṛā "a bangle of gold"

patthar ke makān "houses of stone"

istrīyō kī sabhā "an assembly of women"

(c) Worth and measure (space or time):

cār āne kā phal "fruits worth four annas"

pāc varṣ kā laṛkā "a boy of five years"

(d) Source origin, cause:

kālīdās ke nāṭak "the plays of Kaidas"

chūt ke rog "diseases of infection"

khet kī upaj "the produce of the field"

(e) Subject (doer of an act):

naukar kā kām "servant's work"

bhāūrō kā gunjan "the humming of bees"

(f) Object (of an activity)

baccō kī sikshā "the education of the children"

istrī kī hatyā "the murder of a woman"

(g) Part of a whole:

roṭī kā ṭukṛā "a piece of bread"

pustak kā priṣṭa "a page of the book"

(h) Purpose:

pīne kā pānī "water for drinkin"

khāne kī mej "a table for eating on"

(i) Characteristics:

bacce kī saralatā "the innocence of a child"

phūlō kī komalatā "the tenderness of flowers"

To the categories of (a)-(i) enumerated in Sharma (1972, pp. 43-45) we

can add at least one more category, namely

(j) Quality:

ghar kī ūcai "the height of a house"

kītāb kā raṅ "the color of the book"

dūdh kā miṭhās "the sweetness of milk"

larke kī śarārat "mischief of the boy"

The difference between (i) and (j) is that phrases in (i) can be derived from both possessive and non-possessive sources. One can say baccā saral hai "The child is innocent," but one can also say bacce mẽ saralatā hai "The child has innocence." Similarly, it is possible to say both phūl komal hai "The flower is tender" and phūl mẽ komalatā hai "There is tenderness in the flower." Both these sentences--possessive and non-possessive--can be the source of N kā N phrases in (i). N kā N type phrases in (j), however, will have no possessive source. They can be derived from a relational sentence only. For example, ghar kī ūcāi can have only one source, namely, ghar ūcā hai "The house is tall"; kitāb kā raṅ from kitab raṅin hai "The book is colored"; and larke kī śarārāt from larkā śarārātī hai "The child is mischievous."

Another difference between (i) and (j) is that phrases in (i) suggest the general characteristics of N_1 (bacce and phūl) in that both the child and the flower have the general quality of being innocent and tender respectively. In phrases under (j) no such general characteristics of house, book, or boy have been suggested; rather they represent only the quality of a particular house, or book, or boy.

Obviously, from Sharma's examples given above, one can observe that the N kā N type phrases may have two sources. The phrases in (a) have their source in possessive sentences, but the rest of the phrases in

(b)-(i) have their sources in non-possessive sentences, with the exception that phrases in (i) may have also their source in possessive sentences. Phrases in (j) definitely are not derived from possessive sentences.

The deep structure subjects of N k̄a N phrases in (j) will be the first NP in the following sentences:

16. ghar ūcā hai
house high is
The house is tall.
17. kitāb raṅin hai
the book colorful is
The book is colorful.
18. dūdh mīṭhā hai
milk sweet is
The milk is sweet.
19. laṛkā šarārati hai
boy mischievous is
The boy is mischievous.

There is no controversy as to the subject of sentences 16-19; ghar, kitāb, dūdh and larke are doubtless the subjects. The deep structure subjects of N k̄a N phrases in (j) thus are the first NP in sentences 16-19. In other words, NP₁ which precedes the genitive markers k̄a/ke/kī in N k̄a N phrases under (j) is the subject, and what follows the genitive markers forms part of the predicate of the sentences from which these phrases are derived. The subjects of sentences 16-19 are followed by a genitive marker (k̄a, ke, kī) in N k̄a N phrases under (j). The occurrence of a genitive marker after the subject NP is universal if the subject of

a sentence (from which the N k̄a N phrase is derived) is an animate noun; this universality of the occurrence of the subject NP before a genitive marker very often holds true even in the case of those phrases whose source sentences have inanimate nouns. We have seen the validity of such a statement in sentences 16-18 above. The subjects in the derived N k̄a N phrases maintain the position of the genitive marker (more so if the NP is animate); that is, the subject is followed and predicate NP is preceded by a genitive marker. So in a phrase like ghar k̄t ūcāi "the height of the house," ghar is the subject and ūcāi part of the predicate of the sentence from which the N k̄a N phrase is derived.

There is nothing inherent in the genitive markers k̄a/ke/k̄t that gives a N k̄a N type phrase possessive meaning. It is the source of these phrases that attaches meaning to the phrases. For example, if a phrase has a source in a possessive sentence, the meaning of such a phrase will have possessive sense, but if the phrase has a locational sentence as its source, the phrase will have locational meaning. The phrase šahar k̄a iskūl "The school in town" is derived from a sentence like iskūl sahar mē hai "The school is located in town." The phrase šahar k̄a iskūl, therefore, does not denote any possession but only location.

If the above explanation of the definition of the subject in a sentence is correct, it is possible to extend the same argument to include the case of possessive sentences for the purposes of deciding whether it is NP₁ or NP₂ in these sentences that serves as the subject. We have seen N ka N type phrases (in 11-15) which are supposedly derived from these sentences; we may conclude that in possessive sentences 6-10 the nouns that are followed by a post-position or post-positional phrase are in fact the subjects of these sentences. This conclusion is based on the

fact that N_1 in N kā N phrases in 11-15 (which are derived from the possessive sentences given in 6-10) is also followed by a genitive marker as in the case of all N kā N phrase (with animate nouns)--whether or not their source is a possessive sentence or non-possessive sentence. The nouns that follow the genitive marker, therefore, are a part of the predicate in the sentences 6-10. If this extension of analogy is acceptable, then we can assert that N_1 in sentences 6-10 are the subjects despite their occurrence in oblique case. Logically, therefore, we can also conclude that N_2 , which is the direct case in sentences 6-10, belongs to the predicate.

The traditional bifurcation of the sentence into the subject and the predicate is well-known. By the simplest definition in a traditional grammar of Hindi, the subject is that part of the sentence about which something is asserted, something that is known to the speaker and the hearer. Similarly a predicate is defined as that part of the sentence which is asserted of the subject; that which tells us something about the subject. If we apply that definition to the Hindi possessive sentence, we will find that N_1 asserts the possessor and N_2 is asserted of the possessor. Given rāmke, śyām ke, larkā ke pās, baccō ko, and usmē in the possessive sentence, one would know that these nouns function as possessors of some object or qualities, but nouns such as beṭī, mitra, kitāb, bukhār, and sāhas (in sentences 6-10) alone can complete the knowledge about the possessors. But given beṭī, kitāb, bukhār, and sāhas, it is not obvious that there is a possessor. All of these can very well serve as the subject of different sentences. It is, however, possible in a Hindi sentence to delete the possessor in one clause and recover it in another: beṭī hai, lekin beṭā cāhiye "(I have) a daughter, but (I) want

a son."

In her paper dealing with the ko-construction in Hindi, Kachru (1970) presented some very strong arguments for considering rām ko and śyām ko in the following sentences as the logical subjects:

20. rām ko coṭ āyī
 ram to injury came
 Ram got injured.
21. śyām ko chātravrītī milī
 shyam to scholarship met
 Shyam got scholarship.

Kachru further suggests that these logical subjects can be treated as the grammatical subjects in the same way that rām ne (ne is a post-position as ko is) in

22. rām ne khānā khāyā
 ram food ate
 Ram ate his food.
23. rām ne kahāni kahī
 ram story said
 Ram told a story.

is considered the subject of the sentences even though it is in the oblique case.

The arguments which would justify rām ne as the subject in sentences 22-23 can be extended to incorporate the case rām ko in such sentences as 20-21. It has been demonstrated by Hindi grammarians, both traditional and modern, that the occurrence of ne as the subject marker depends basically on the selection of a certain class of verbs; that is to say that ne is not a deep structure element, but rather a surface structure

phenomenon. A similar consideration is possible with regard to the N_1 in possessive sentences which occurs with such oblique case markers as ke, ko, mē, and ke pās. We will return to this later in this chapter.

Different languages employ different methods whereby the subject of a sentence is recovered when it has been deleted from the surface structure. For example, English uses, among other devices, the tag question which has been regarded as one of the most reliable methods of retrieving the subject in an English sentence since it requires a pronoun coreferential with the subject of the sentence in all cases. Consider the following imperative sentences in English where the subject is not present, but is a part of the tag question:

24. Shut the door, will you please?

From the tag question it is clear that the subject of the imperative sentence Shut the door is you. This is further confirmed by actually placing the pronoun you in the imperative sentence.

25. You shut the door, will you please?

Sentence 25 is an acceptable sentence, although stylistically sentence 24 may be preferable. No other subject is possible in an English imperative sentence because none of the options in the following example will be acceptable to a native speaker of the language.

26. * $\left. \begin{array}{l} I \\ We \\ He \\ They \\ John \end{array} \right\}$ shut the door, will you please?

In Hindi, however, there is no positive tag question (as it is used in English sentence 26) that will help in retrieving the subject of an imperative sentence or, for that matter, any other sentence in Hindi.² But like English, Hindi has a negative tag question than can be used in

an imperative as well as other types of sentences, although unlike the English negative tag question (an English negative tag question will be: Come on in, please, won't you?), the Hindi tag question has no pronoun coreferential and therefore fails to recover the subject in all instances. Examine the following Hindi sentence which has a negative tag question:

27. khiṛkī band karo, (band) karoge yā nahī?

window shut do, (shut) do will or not

Shut the window, will (you) or not?

Notice that in sentence 27 the tag question (band) karoge yā nahī?

(parenthetical verb band "shut" is optional) does not contain any second person singular pronoun (you). However, it does exhibit a characteristic

that can be used to recover the subject of a Hindi sentence in a number

of situations. This particular characteristic or phenomenon relies on

subject-verb agreement. In sentence 27 above, the verb form karoge

agrees with only one pronoun, and that is second person singular tum "you."

Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the subject of sentence 27 is

tum "you" and nothing else since the verb form karoge will not agree with

any other pronoun in Hindi. This principle of subject-verb agreement can

be seen at work in other instances as well. Consider the following sen-

tences:

28. khānā khāyiye

food eat (respectful)

Eat (your) food, please.

29. khānā khāo

food eat (no respect)

Eat (your) food.

In sentence 28 the verb form khāyiye gives away the subject of the sen-

tence in that only one pronoun can possibly have an agreement with this verb form, and that is the second person pronoun āp "you" (respectful). This could be either singular or plural. The plural form of ap is āplog. Sentence 29, similarly, has the verb form khāo "eat" which can agree with only one subject, tum "you" (-honorific, either singular or plural). This phenomenon is true of other types of Hindi sentences as well as shown in the examples below:

30. ab kyā karū?

now what do

What should (I) do now?

31. calatā hū, phir kal milūngā

leave is again tomorrow meet will

(I) am leaving now; (I) will see you tomorrow.

The English translations reveal the subjects which are given in parentheses since they are not overtly present in either of the two sentences above. The verb form karū clearly dictates the choice of only mai "I" in sentence 30, while the same subject mai is required by both hū "am" and milūngā "will meet," seen in sentence 31.

Thus it would appear that Hindi employs its own device of subject-verb agreement to recover the subjects in Hindi sentences where they are not present in the surface structure. This assumption has led some to believe that N_2 in a possessive sentence functions as the subject because it is the N_2 that agrees with the verb. But as Saxena (1978) has indicated, judgment on the status of the subject in a sentence when based on the principle of subject-verb agreement does not always reflect the correct situation. Contrary to what is suggested in sentence 26, the following sentence does not indicate the correct subject solely on the

basis of the given verb form:

32. ab parhte hāī

now read is

Now (we, you, he, they) read.

Notice that any of the subjects in the parentheses is possible in the context of the verb forms parhte hāī. You and he will be marked with a +honorific feature. They are translated in Hindi as āplog and vo. Thus, although it is possible in many cases to predict or recover the subject of a Hindi sentence by noting the verb forms, such a prediction is nevertheless not universal in ways that the tag question in English is. We will, therefore, reject this device of subject-verb agreement in favor of another alternative. A better device for retrieving the sentence subject in Hindi involves interrogative sentences.

In Hindi the interrogative sentence which questions the subject of a declarative sentence or statement usually involves asking the question kaun, kisne, kyā (the question word kyā is used most often when the subject is an inanimate noun or pronoun). The validity of this device can be tested against the sentences where the subjects are given in the surface structures. If in these sentences the interrogative sentence points out the correct subjects that are overtly present, it should be expected that the same interrogative sentence will be able to recover subjects where they are not given on the surface (or, in other words, when they are deleted from the surface structures). The reliability of this interrogative device is comparable to that of an English tag question; it definitely recovers the subject in Hindi sentences in all those instances where the principle of subject-verb agreement fails and perhaps in many more. First, we will examine the role of an interrogative sen-

tence (for recovering the subject of a sentence) in some of those sentences where the subjects are given. Only those subjects which are not part of any controversy will be examined.

33. iṣṣwar dayālu hāi

god kind is

God is kind.

34. āp jate hāi

you go is

You are leaving.

35. rameś kahānī paṛhtā hai

ramesh story read is

Ramesh reads the story.

In the case of sentences 33-35, we can employ the kaun question test (kaun dayālu hai? kaun jātā hai? kaun kahānī paṛhtā hai? "Who is kind? Who is leaving? Who reads the story?"). The response that we will normally obtain to such an interrogative question test is the N_1 in each of the 33-35 sentences (that is, iṣṣwar, āp, rameś). The question kisne applies only to those sentences where the subject is followed by the case marker ne. It has been established (see Kachru, 1966) that the subject in a sentence like rāmne khānā khāyā "ram has eaten the food" is rāmne; therefore, to the question kisne khānā khāyā? "Who ate the food?" there is only one possible answer, rāmne. There is no debate among the Hindi grammarians with regard to the status of the subject in sentences like 33-35, where it is well-recognized that N_1 serves as the subject. And if these questions are capable of determining the subject in sentences 33-35, we will naturally expect that similar questions would be able to recover the subject in a possessive sentence. Such an

expectation is fulfilled once we apply these interrogative sentence tests to the possessive sentence. Notice that in a ne construction it is necessary that we use the ne type interrogative sentence to recover the subject of the sentence. In the same fashion, it will be necessary to believe that kaun + ke/ko/ke pās and mě will give us a question that should truthfully retrieve the subject in a possessive sentence. Thus, given the following possessive sentences,

36. rameš ke pās ek sāikil hai
 ramesh to near one bicycle is
 Ramesh has a bicycle.

one naturally expects and gets rameš ke pās in response to the question kiske pās ek sāikil hai? "Who has the bicycle?" If the kisne is a valid question for arriving at rāmne as the subject of the sentence rāmne khānā khāyā "Ram has eaten the food" kiske pās, kiske, kismě, and kisko should also be equally valid questions because it seems that the postpositions are part of the questions intended to obtain the subjects and the direct objects in a sentence. Thus the interrogative sentence kiske pās sāikil hai? "Who has the bicycle?" gives us ramesh ke pās as the subject in response. It is, therefore, clear that ramesh should be the subject of sentence 36. As kaun + ne morphologically becomes kisne by a spelling and sandhi rule, kaun + ko, ke, mě, or ke pās become kisko, kiske, kismě, and kiske pās respectively in the interrogative sentence that attempts to recover a subject in the possessive sentence. All of these questions (kisko, kiske, kismě, and kiske pās) serve to retrieve subjects only if ko, ke, mě, and ke pās are used in the declarative sentences to indicate possession alone. Since case markers are only surface phenomena, they are stripped off the noun or pronoun in the deep structures. Thus after

deleting the postpositions ke, ko, mē and ke pās from the responses that are obtained by asking questions whose function it is to determine the subjects, we are left with only the nouns or pronouns, which in the case of possessive sentences is N_1 . This deletion is needed not only in the possessive sentence but also in other sentences such as the ones with ne and with se in the instance of abilitative sentences. These postpositions are not in any way part of the subject nouns or pronouns since they are inserted by the selection of certain verb or verb and auxiliary elements in the first place. It should, therefore, be concluded that the subject of sentence 36 is rameś and not sāikil as some would like to believe.

At this point, however, there seems to be a slight problem because in Hindi there is one instance where kisko is used to derive not the subject, but the object as shown in the following sentence:

37. rameś bacce ko piṭṭā hai
 Ramesh boy spank is
 Ramesh spans the boy.

The question that asks rameś kisko piṭṭā hai? "Whom does Ramesh spank?" will provide us with the answer bacce ko which functions in sentence 37 as the object, part of the predicate, not the subject. The subject of the sentence, rameś, can still be obtained, however, by asking the usual kaun subject question kaun bacce ko piṭṭā hai? "Who spans the boy?" In the face of this situation one is obviously confronted with the question: Does this weaken or destroy our hypothesis? It would seem to us that an answer to this problem involves an imposition of some sort of distributional restrictions on these question words, particularly those question words that are used to obtain subjects. The conditions or the restrictions will define and limit the use of the two

kisko's in determining the subject and the object of a sentence. The conditions for their occurrence can be stated as follows: if in an interrogative sentence kisko appears with another question word which is not kaun but kyā, kisko will recover the subject of the sentence.³ Compare the questions that can be asked for recovering the subjects and the objects of the following sentences as well as questions that cannot be asked:

38. rājā ko dukh hai

king has sorrows

king to sorrows is

39. rājā prajā ko dukh detā hai

king citizens to sorrows give is

The king oppresses the citizens.

The question kisko kaun or kisko kyā will apply only when there are two NP's in a sentence such as rāmko bukhār hai "Ram has fever" (rām ko and bukhār are the two NP's in the sentence), but when a sentence has only one NP and no other NP that can function either as an Indirect Object or Direct Object kaun usually gives the subject and kyā the nominative complement. For example, in a copula sentence, rām dārśnik hai "Ram is a philosopher" kaun will recover rām and kyā will recover dārśnik. In another copula sentence such as iśwar dayālu hai "God is kind," kaisā will give the predicate adjective dayālu "kind" in response.

For sentence 38 the following questions can be formulated by combining the question words for recovering the subject and the object:

<u>Question</u>			<u>Answer</u>
Subject	Object	Verb	
<u>rājā</u> ko	<u>kyā</u>	hai	<u>kyā</u> = Object

<u>Question</u>			<u>Answer</u>
Subject	Object	Verb	
kisko	kyā	hai	kisko = Subject
kisko	dukh	hai	kisko = Subject
*rājā ko	kaun	hai	
*kisko	kaun	hai ⁴	

Thus we see that kisko obtains the subject and kyā recovers the object in a possessive sentence like sentence 38. A possible combination of question words, therefore, is kisko kyā and an answer to this will be subject and direct object respectively. A similar set of questions for sentence 39 will be as follows:

Subject	IO	DO	V	Aux	
rājā	kisko	kyā	detā	hai	kyā = DO
rājā	kisko	dukh	detā	hai	kisko = IO
kaun	kisko	dukh	detā	hai	kaun = Subject
kaun	prajāko	kyā	detā	hai	kya = DO
*rājā	kisko	kaun	detā	hai	kisko = IO
*rājā	kaun	dukh	detā	hai	kaun = Subject
*kisko	kaun	kyā	detā	hai ⁵	
*kaun	kyā	kisko	detā	hai	

The possible combinations in the above set are kisko kyā, kaun kisko, and kaun kyā. These recover IO, DO, Subject IO, and subject DO, respectively.

Notice that such a restriction also applies to those sentences that have both objects marked with ko. An example of such a sentence would be mai naukar ko bacce ko thamata hu "I hand over the baby to the servant."

Subject	IO	DO	V	Aux	
kaun	kisko	kyā	thamātā	hai	Kaun = Subject

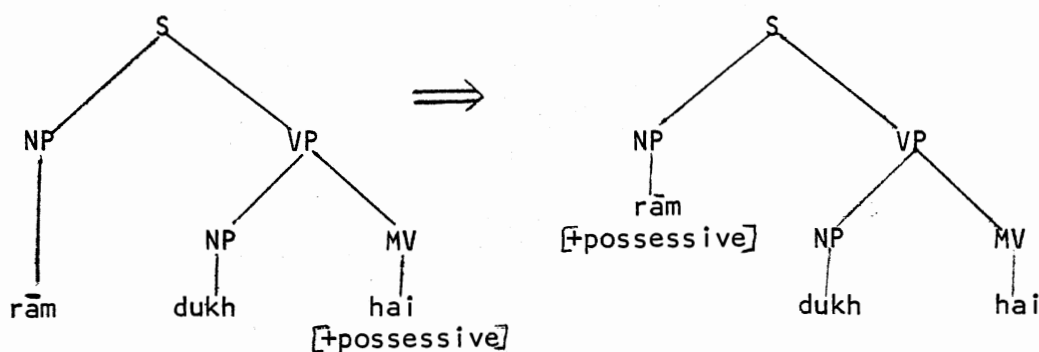
Subject	I O	D O	V	Aux	
mai	kisko	kyā	thamātā	hū ^h	kisko = I O
mai	naukar ko	kyā	thamātā	hū ^h	kyā = D O
?mai	kisko	bacce ko	thamātā	hū ^h	
?kaun	kisko	bacce ko	thamātā	hai	
*kaun	kisko	kaun	thamātā	hai	
*kaun	kaun	kisko	thamātā	hai	
*kisko	kaun	kyā	thamātā	hai	
*kyā	kisko	kaun	thamātā	hai	

The possible combinations in the above set are kaun kisko kyā, kisko kyā, and kaun kisko. These recover subject I O D O, I O D O, and the subject I O.

Thus from what we have seen, it can be asserted that kisko, kaun, and kisne questions that are used for obtaining the subjects of Hindi affirmative declarative sentences are mutually exclusive in their distribution in an interrogative sentence. That is to say that each of these question words has a well-defined place in an interrogative sentence and is used for only a specific purpose. The role of kyā in an interrogative sentence is often to discover the object or the nominative complement. It can question the subject of a sentence only when the subject is inanimate. In the case of possessive sentence, the subject is always the animate noun; so the kyā question can give only N₂ which is the direct object. So whether we are trying to decide the subject or the predicate in a possessive sentence, the word order in the possessive sentence conforms to the general word order in Hindi sentences which is subject, I O, D O, and Verb.

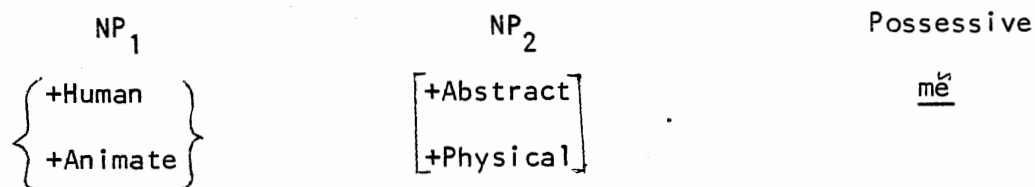
As I mentioned earlier, the possessive case markers, ke, ko, mē, and ke pās are not arbitrarily assigned to the subject nouns or pronouns; on the contrary, they are in complementary distribution and are, therefore, mutually exclusive. Kachru (1968, pp. 97-101) has proposed the distribu-

tions of each of these in a possessive sentence. We will present her formulations of the restrictions, and then examine the adequacy of those formulations. Such an examination of the formulations may warrant a set of new formulations or simply a reformulation of the conditions. First, it is necessary to state here, however, that the selection of the possessive marker is necessitated by the selection of the possessive verb honā "to be." Once the possessive marker is signaled, the features of the two N's in the possessive sentence determine the choice of the case marker in terms of ke, ko, mē, or ke pās. Consider the following tree diagrams:



Since the deep structure tree on the left has a verb with a feature +possessive, the first N will automatically be marked +possessive on the surface. Marking of the first N with a +possessive is signaled (or triggered) by the presence of a verb that has the identical feature in the deep structure.

Once the first N is marked with the possessive feature, it is necessary to pick one of the many possessive markers (ke, ko, mē, and ke pās). This selection is dependent on the features of nouns or pronouns in the two NP positions. Thus, if the two NP's have the following features respectively, the possessive marker that will be selected is mē:



Similar formulations of features and their impacts on the choice of markers are possible. Let us now turn to Kachru's formulations:

	Possessor N	Possessed N	Postposition
1.	[+Animate]	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+Animate] \\ [-Animate] \\ [-Abstract] \\ \langle \text{part of body} \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	<u>ke</u>
2.	[+Animate]	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+Human] \\ \langle \text{Profession} \rangle \\ [-Animate] \\ [-Abstract] \end{array} \right\}$	<u>ke pās</u>
3.	[+Animate]	$\left[\begin{array}{l} -Animate \\ -Abstract \end{array} \right]$	<u>ke pās</u>
	[+Human]	$\left[\begin{array}{l} +Human \\ -Status \end{array} \right]$	<u>ke pās</u>
4.	[+Human]	[+Abstract]	<u>mē/ko</u>
	[+Animate]	[+Animate]	<u>mē</u>

Notice that the above constraints can produce grammatical sentences, but they can also produce many ungrammatical sentences. For example, the first formulation will generate, among others, sentences such as the following:

40. mere ek laṛkā hai
 I to one son is
 I have a son.

41. gāy ke ek pūch hai
 cow to one tail is
 The cow has a tail.

But this will also generate the following types of sentences, which are not generally accepted by native speakers. These sentences are unacceptable.

42. *ghoṛā ke ek laṛkā hai
 house to one son is
 The horse has a son.

43. *kuttā ke ek billī hai
 dog to one cat is
 The dog has a cat.

Thus the first formulation of Kachru fails to generate all and only correct Hindi possessive sentences. It is, however, quite possible to maintain that the restrictions are clearly defined and restricted. To show that these constraints are regular, we need to make certain changes in the features of nouns, features that will uniformly indicate the correct restrictions on the occurrence of the two NP's in either the possessor or the possessed position. After the changes have been incorporated, it will be possible to generate all the correct sentences that Kachru's formulation will describe, but this modified version will also block all the anomalous sentences generated by Kachru's formulation. The modified version of the formulation will look something like the following:

Possessor N	Possessed N	Postposition
[+Human]	[+Human]	<u>ke</u>
[+Animate]	[-Abstract <part of body>]	<u>ke</u>

The above formulation will automatically block the generation of sentences 42-43 above since ghorā and kuttā are not human nouns which, according to the new formulation, alone can take a human noun in the place of the Possessed N. Also since billī is an animate noun in sentence 43, it does not satisfy the requirement of the formulation. The above formulation, however, will not generate a sentence like 44 which is a perfectly correct Hindi sentence.

44. kuttā ke ek baccā hai
 dog to one baby is
 The dog has a puppy.

In order that we produce sentence 44 together with other possible sentences in this category, we need to add one more formulation to the modified version, finally giving the following shape:

[+Human]	[+Human]	<u>ke</u>
[+Animate]	[-Abstract <part of body>]	<u>ke</u>
[+Animate -Human]	[+Animate -Human <Offspring>]	<u>ke</u>

The second formulation of Kachru (see p. 55) will produce, among others, the following unacceptable sentences:

45. *ghoṛe ke pās naukar hai⁶

horse to near servant is

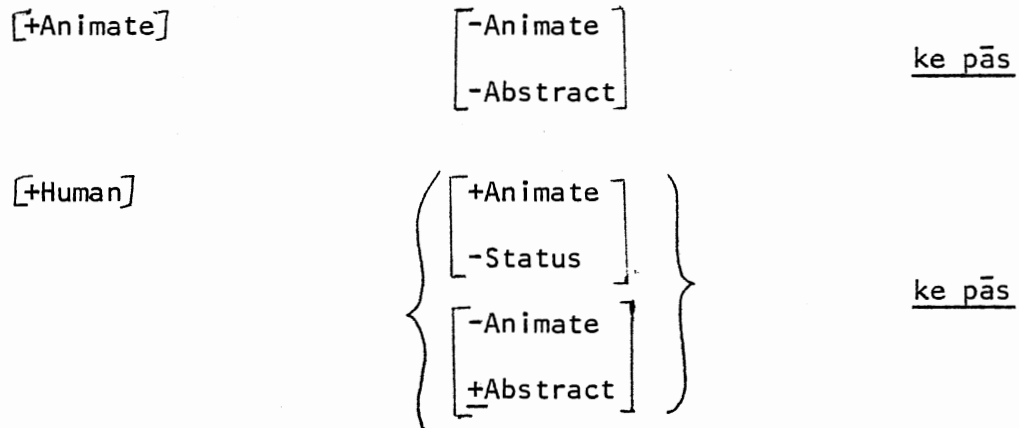
The horse has a servant.

46. *billī ke pās dhan hai

cat to near wealth is

The cat has wealth.

In order to prevent generation of such sentences as 45-46, it will be necessary to reformulate the constraints in the following manner:



The above formulation will permit the following sentences while blocking sentences 41-42.

47. kutte ke pās haḍḍī hai

dog to near bone is

The dog has a bone.

48. rājā ke pās dhan hai

king to near wealth is

King has wealth.

49. unke pās naukar hai

he to near servant is

He has a servant.

In sentence 49, naukar is marked -status since servants are of lower rank and status in the same way animals are. Kachru's second formulation will be unable to generate a sentence such as 50, but the modified version that we have presented here will allow the generation of such a sentence.

50. rājā ke pās ek hāthī hai
king to near one elephant is
The king has an elephant.

Kachru's third formulation of constraints that define the occurrence of ke pās with a possessive meaning will be subject to similar problems. This formulation will generate, among others, a sentence like 46 in which dhan 'wealth' is not -abstract but +abstract. The modification suggested in our formulation will take care of this defect and inadequacy arising out of her third formulation.

Finally, the fourth formulation on page 55 specifies the restrictions on the occurrence of mē and ko in a possessive sentence. If we maintain a distinction between the features +physical and -physical within the feature of abstract, we can formulate a modified set of features for mē and ko in the following line:

{ +Animate +Human }	[+Abstract +Physical]	<u>mē</u>
{ +Animate +Human }	[+Abstract -Physical]	<u>ko</u>

The postpositions of ko and mē signal psychosomatic possession; -physical feature represents the psychological aspect of possession, and +physical represents the physical side. In other words, if the feature -physical is present, then the experience felt by the possessor need not be expressed in terms of physical activity. In case the +physical fea-

ture is present, it would indicate that the possessor must express his experience in terms of some physical activity. Even though some of the experiences in the case of a possession that is marked -physical may have a physical expression, such an expression or activity is not required. Consider the following sentences:

51. laṛke mẽ sāhas hai
 boy in courage is
 The boy has courage.
52. logõ mẽ bṛtā nahī hai
 people in strength not is
 The people do not have strength.
53. mujhko khuṣṭ hai
 I to joy is
 I have pleasure.
54. unko santoṣ nahī hai
 he to satisfaction not is
 He does not have contentment.

In sentences 51-54 sāhas is marked +physical and so is bṛtā since both of these need some form of physical expression; khuṣṭ and santoṣ, on the other hand, do not require any physical expression (though it may be present at times). They are mostly a mental or psychological state and are, therefore, marked with -physical feature.

NOTES

¹A possessive pronoun such as apnā and possessive markers like kā ke, kī can among others also indicate possession in a Hindi sentence.

²One can find an example of positive tag question in Hindi, such as karoge kyā? "Will you do?" in khirkī band karo, karoge kyā? "Close the window will you, please?" but most native speakers find the sentence unacceptable.

³kisko kaun question has a very limited occurrence and can be defined in terms of specific environment in that kisko kaun occurs in a sentence where both DO and IO are present.

⁴kisko kaun combination is possible only when kaun has the effect of obtaining the subject as in kisko kaun madad karegā "Who will help whom?" for the subject in the sentence mai tumko madad karūngā "I will help you."

⁵kisko kaun kyā detā? "To whom who gives what?" is a correct combination of question words only when kaun recovers subject and not the IO as in this instance.

⁶This sentence may be accepted by some speakers as an example of a locative sentence meaning "The servant is by the horse."

CHAPTER IV

THE PASSIVE SENTENCE IN HINDI

The passive transformation has been the subject of an extensive discussion in modern linguistics, both in English and other languages. The function of the passive transformation, in general, is to relate pairs of sentences such as the following:

1. (a) John reads the book.
(b) The book is read by John.
2. (a) Martha plays the piano.
(b) The piano is played by Martha.

In any discussion of Hindi passives, one must consider some of the more important issues that have been raised in recent linguistic literature. First, if the passive and the active sentence are assumed to belong to the same underlying structure, it would be necessary to demonstrate that there is indeed a transformational relationship between the active and the passive sentence in Hindi. In other words, one has to be able to show that there are significant generalizations that cannot possibly be captured by simple phrase-structure rules alone. Second, it will be also necessary to investigate the nature of ambiguity that the so-called passive sentence in Hindi creates because of what some grammarians and linguists have considered to be its two meanings: abilitative and passive. If the so-called passive sentences are found to be ambiguous, the next task would naturally be to determine the deep structures of the ambiguous

surface structure. Third, one must also examine various claims that the passive transformation applies to both transitive and intransitive verbs in Hindi.

Passive and Transformation

In recent linguistic literature it has been argued that in English passives are derived both lexically and transformationally (Wasow, 1976). The recent discussion of the English passive has clearly led to a reconsideration of the passive in other languages as well. One such reconsideration of the passive is presented for the Hindi language by Saxena (1978) in her article entitled "A Reanalysis of the Passive in Hindi." Influenced by the recent writings of such scholars as Bresnan (unpublished), Friedin (1975), and Wasow (1976), she has argued that the passive in Hindi is not derived by any transformational rules but can be accounted for by three independent statements of the language. She contends that the transformational analysis of the passive in Hindi is problematic and that

what has been claimed to be a single transformation of passivization actually consists of three independent processes of verb agreement, agent phrase adverbials and compound verbs--all of which relate to, and are therefore accounted for by three independent statements of the language (p. 339).

On the surface her argument appears to be quite strong and convincing, but a close scrutiny of her analysis of the Hindi passive indicates that she is only partly correct. In traditional as well as in modern grammars, including transformational generative grammar, it has been regarded that the passive transformation in Hindi assigns the passive agent case marker -se, -ke dwārā, or -ke hāth to the active agent. This is not wholly correct as we will see later in this chapter. Although I agree with Saxena's judgment that the case marker -se is not a result of transformational

rules, I have a slightly different point of view concerning the assignment of -se to the passive agent. I will return to this.

The verb agreement argument that Saxena presents appears to be true not only in terms of the passives but also in other instances. I have demonstrated in an earlier chapter, "Verbal Features and the Subject," that the agreement of the verb with a noun or pronoun does not consistently indicate the status of the subject in a Hindi sentence, whether it is a passive or an active. There exists a language-general rule of verb agreement in Hindi, and the agreement of the subject and verb in a passive sentence is well accounted for by this agreement rule which Saxena states as follows:

If the subject of the sentence is marked by case marking, the verb agrees with the object; if both the subject and the object are marked by case marking, the verb agrees with neither (p. 341).

In her discussion of the compound verb (yā + jā) that occurs in a passive sentence, Saxena argues that it is not uncommon to find compound verbs in other types of sentences in which the first verb of a compound verb is in the past participle form. She finds the similarities between the active compound verb and the passive compound verb so striking that for her there seems to be no justification for treating the passives transformationally rather than lexically. Following are examples of active sentences where compound verbs have formal similarities with those of the passive sentences:

3. vo nadi mẽ kūdā partā hai
 he river in jump fall is
 He is ready to jump in the river.
4. samay par āyā karo

time on come do

Make it a habit of coming on time.

Like all the regular passive sentences, in sentence 3 the verb phrase, among other things, consists of (yā + tā) and in sentence 4 of (yā + kar). The infinitive verb roots, tā- and kar-, are contended to have the same significance as does the infinitive root jā- in passive compound verbs. She compares yā + jā of the passive and yā + par and yā + kar of active sentences 3-4. She contends that since the passive which uses yā + jā (jā is the infinitive form of jānā without nā) and sentences 3-4 which also make use of a combination of yā + some form of infinitive verb without nā, both active and passive sentences can be accounted for lexically rather than transformationally. The formal comparison between the auxiliary component of the passive and that of sentences 3 and 4 goes only as far as yā is concerned, but the infinitive parts differ from each other radically.

Despite her argument, a close examination of the verbs and their roles in a sentence makes it clear that the passive compound verb and the active compound verb with jānā as their second element are not exactly the same. If we observe the regular use of the verb jānā as the second verb (V_2) in an active compound verb, it will become obvious that "jānā in general stresses the fact that an action is completed or carried through as a process" (McGregor, 1972, p. 99). Compare sentences (a) and (b) below:

5. (a) vah do baje yahā ā jāegā
 he two 0'clock here come go will
 He will have come here at two.
 or He will arrive here at two.

(b) vah do baje yahā āegā
 he two 0'clock here come will
 He will come here at two.

6. (a) vo marā
 he died
 He died.

(b) vo mar gayā
 he dead went
 He is dead/He has died.

Notice that marā and mar gayā display a syntactic difference when used in the context of process sentences such as the following:

7. thorī der ke bād vah mar gayā
 little time of later (after) he dead went
 After some time he died/After some time he was dead.

8. *thori der ke bād vo marā.
 After sometime he died.

The homophonous jānā that appears in the passive compound verb does not have any of the implications of the active compound verb with jānā. That is to say that the passive jānā (V_2 of the passive compound verb) does not indicate the completion of an act or process that is introduced by the first verb (V_1).

9. kahānī sunāyā gayā¹
 story told went
 The story was told.

Unlike the jānā in sentences 5a and 6b, the verb jānā (gayā) in sentence 9 does not complete the action of sunānā "tell" but rather it indicates that the NP (kahānī "story") has been acted upon. The presence of the

passive jānā perhaps changes the focus from the first NP to the second NP of an active sentence. Thus there appears to be more than one jānā in Hindi and the formal similarities do not help to explain the apparent syntactic and semantic function of a compound verb with jānā in an active sentence and a compound verb with jānā in a passive sentence. I will have more to say about the various jānā that are used in Hindi and about the syntactic and semantic contexts in which they occur.

There is yet another syntactic evidence for not equating a passive jānā with another jānā that forms a compound verb in a non-passive sentence. It is possible to use a negative such as not (nahī) in the passive compound, but this is not at all possible in the case of a regular compound verb, whether or not jānā is one of the two verbs in the compound. A comparison of the following sentences will confirm the observation I have just made:

10. kāphī dinō tak logō ko sacci bāt nahī kahī gai
 enough days till people true fact not told went
 For a long time people were not told the truth.
11. *log kāphī dinō tak nahī cale gaye
 people enough days till not go went
 For a long time people did not go.
12. log kāphī dinō tak nahī gaye
 people enough days till not went
 The people did not go for a long time.

Sentence 10 is an example of compound verb with passive jānā; sentence 11 is unacceptable because it has a regular compound verb (cale gaye) that is being preceded by a negative element (nahī) without which a sentence will be perfectly acceptable, as in the example of sentence 12 above. It

is clear, therefore, that an attempt to justify the generation of a passive sentence in terms of a phrase structure rule will fail to capture some very important generalizations at least as far as the role of jānā in the passive is concerned.

As we have noted earlier, Saxena (1978) assumes that in Hindi the case marker -se is used both in the active sentence and the passive sentence and both of these occurrences of -se can be explained in the same manner. She has simply failed to recognize the fact that Hindi has several roles for -se in the same way it has for -mē and par and perhaps for other case markers. Singh (1977) has studied the various roles of many of the Hindi case markers with special emphasis on those that denote time and place. He has called these case markers postpositions. To quote him: "the postpositions se, mē, par perform a wide role in the language" (p. 12). He has further suggested that "sometimes one postposition is used to denote more than one case where the choice depends on other structural features" (p.12). As for -se he has enumerated the following roles. In his own words, -se can denote any one of the functions designated below:

departure; origin (starting point), source; temporal or spatial gap; means, instrument, agency; association: se milnā; antagonism: se lārnā; cause/reason; manner/mode; quality of preceding noun: badan se nanga (p. 13).

The passive -se indicates only agency; it does not function in the same way as do other instrumental -se because the passive -se introduces a passive agent whereas other instrumental -se may not. This is clear from Saxena's own examples as given below:

13. rām ne (māstar se) parhā

ram (master by) studied

Ram got instruction from the teacher.

14. per (rām se) kaṭā

tree (ram by) cut

The tree got cut (by Ram).

Notice that sentence 13 has a transitive verb (although it is used here without any object NP and therefore can be treated as intransitive) and sentence 14 an intransitive one. Notice also that the verb parhna in sentence 13 is an active verb whereas kaṭā in sentence 14 is a passive verb.² As with any other passive sentence, as we shall see later, the subject of the sentence 14 (rām se--the passive agent) can be deleted, but this deletion is not possible in sentence 13 in which māṣṭar se functions not as an agent (or passive agent) in the sentence but as an instrument or perhaps source. Obviously Saxena has taken the two -se's (in sentences 13-14) to be of equal semantic and syntactic value. But if the two -se's in fact are different from each other, it is not clear how the same phrase-structure rules will account for both the active se and the passive se. It is, however, necessary at this point for us to understand that the passive verb in sentence 14 is not the same as the one that is transformationally derived. In fact it is a lexical passive in the same sense as prepared in sentence 16 below is (Roeper and Siegel, 1978)³.

15. They are being prepared by the cook.

16. They seem prepared.

The difference in the roles of māṣṭar se and rām se in the above sentences 13-14 respectively can also be perceived in their English translations. Because sentence 14 contains a passive verb, even though this passive verb happens to be a lexical passive, it is translated into a by phrase, whereas sentence 13 is translated into a from phrase. In other words,

māstar se in sentence 13 does not function as an agent, and, therefore, se here is not an agentive marker as it is in any other passive sentence. Even though the verb is not a compound verb in sentence 14, se is an agent marker since rām is the one who has performed the act of cutting the tree. Many grammarians (Sharma, 1972; Kachru, 1966; Srivastava, 1969) have regarded the lexical passive as an intransitive verb perhaps because they believed that the lexical passive does not require an object as does a transitive verb. If Saxena's example (see sentence 14 above) is a correct sentence, we can suggest that the verb kaṭā in sentence 14 is a transitive verb since we have seen that the verb kaṭā does have an object, per "tree" here. The only difference that can be observed more prominently between the transformational passive and the lexical passive is the fact that the lexical passive does not have an active counterpart. This is true of both English and Hindi. Notice above that in sentence 16, as in sentence 14, there cannot be an active counterpart either. For example, sentence 17 is wrong perhaps for the same reason that sentence 18 is: they are not possible with active verbs at all:

17. *They seem prepare.

18. *per kaṭā

tree cut

The tree cut.

Yet another reason why the passive se is different from other types of se has been demonstrated by Bai (1972). She has suggested that only the passive se can be replaced by a postpositional phrase ke dwārā. In the case of abilitative sentences, no such substitution is possible. Thus, it should be obvious that the two se (passive and non-passive) have different functions and are not interchangeable.

Saxena's (1978) inability to distinguish the various se in Hindi has misguided her judgment that "the passive agent can be replaced by abstract NP's" in her sentences 20 and 21 which we have renumbered here as 18-19 below:

18. rām kī cālākī se śatrū mārā gayā
 ram of cleverness by enemy killed went
 The enemy was killed by Ram's cleverness.
19. jāl dālne se cīṛiyā pakāṛi gayī
 net throw by birds caught went
 Birds were caught by using the net.

What is happening in sentences 18-19 above is not by any chance a replacement of the passive agent NP by an abstract NP, but rather the passive agent NP is being deleted; it is common in Hindi for both an agentive NP and abstract NP to co-occur in a sentence, in which case the abstract NP is more often than not indicative of either a means or source. In both active and passive cases, when an abstract NP with se co-occurs with an agentive NP, it is possible to delete the agentive NP, leaving only abstract NP with se as the first element of the sentence on the surface structure. In sentences 18-19 passive agents have been deleted. Thus we are left with only an abstract NP at the beginning of the sentences and the rest of the passive sentences. In other words, sentences 18-19 are perfectly passive, and the abstract NP is not brought in as replacement of agentive NP but as an extra element that can exist with or without a passive NP. Thus, it is safe to assume that Saxena's sentences 20-21 will not be problematic in a transformational analysis of the passive sentence in Hindi.

Passive and Abilitative

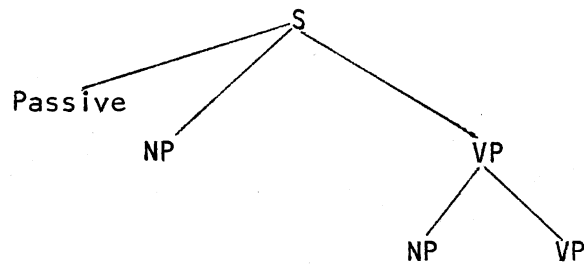
All and only transitive verbs in Hindi can undergo a passive transformation. All other verbs that do not undergo such a transformation can be grouped under the category of non-transitive verbs. This includes such verbs as intransitive, linking, and what has been termed as mid-verb or mid-transitive verbs (Ross, 1968). The passive yā + jā transformation in Hindi involves the following changes from the active sentence to the passive sentence:

20. Verb stem + aspect \Rightarrow verb stem + yā; basically this is the past participle form of the verb.
21. Addition of jā (after a main verb that may be a single verb, a compound verb, or a conjunct verb) + the original aspect.
22. Change in the subject-verb agreement addition of se/ke dwārā/ke hāth to the subject NP of the active sentence.
23. Phonological changes in the subject NP if it is a pronoun, particularly the first and third person singular.

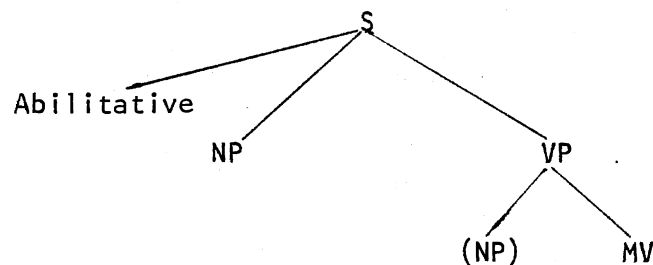
In Hindi there are at least two yā + jā transformations: one passive and another abilitative. Both bring about identical surface structure changes, but because these two transformations are indeed different in their requirements of deep structures, they are not interchangeable. That is, a passive transformation cannot be applied to an intransitive sentence, although it is possible to have an abilitative transform of some transitive sentences. When an abilitative transformation yā + jā applies to a transitive sentence, both semantic and syntactic restrictions of an abilitative sentence also apply to it. Broadly speaking, these

two transformations have different requirements in terms of their underlying structures, as illustrated by the following tree diagrams:

A. Passive yā + jā transformation



B. Abilitative yā + jā transformation



Notice that in the passive transformation an object NP is an absolute requirement whereas for an abilitative transformation the object NP is at most optional. Because of the surface similarities in form brought about by these two diverse yā + jā transformations, grammarians in the past, both traditional and modern, have not been able to distinguish the two transformations. This inability to recognize the difference between the two yā + jā transformations has been a source of much confusion and misunderstanding of the real difference between a passive sentence and an abilitative sentence. In a recent article entitled "Impersonal Passive in Hindi," Imai (1979) has tried to demonstrate that such sentences as (24) and (25) below have undergone a passive yā + jā transformation:

24. calo soyā jāe
 go slept go
 Let's go to sleep.

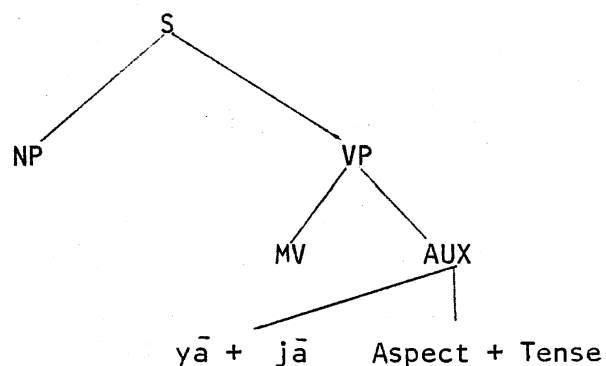
25. calā jāe?
 go go
 Shall we go?

Imai has also argued for the introduction of neut-PRO element in the deep structure of the intransitive verb. This neut-PRO element, however, is to be later deleted obligatorily in the surface structure. He observes that "if a verb is assigned [-transitive] which means neut-PRO appears in the deep structure, then the neutral pronoun like element in the object NP position should be obligatorily deleted by transformation" (p. 87). He contends that sentence (b) is derived from the sentence (a) in the following pair:

- (a) mai [VP neut-PRO nahī: soya:]
 I not slept
- (b) mai [VP nahī: soya: gaya:]
 I could not sleep.

Imai perhaps tries to find some sort of similarities in the deep structure of both transitive and intransitive sentences by postulating a neut-PRO like element in the case of an intransitive sentence. Such an effort is misguided for several reasons. First, it assumes that there is only one yā + jā transformation that must apply to both transitive and intransitive sentences. Because of the assumption that there is one and only one yā + jā transformation that applies to both transitive and intransitive sentences, it has been quite natural for grammarians to suggest that the passive sentences have two meanings. These two

meanings represent the passive and the abilitative, but since they are the results of one transformation (passive yā + jā supposedly) the grammarians did not know how to account for the differences. Second, it is very difficult to find any justifiable motive behind Imai's postulating a neut-PRO like element in the deep structure of an intransitive sentence, particularly so when this neut-PRO element has to be deleted in the surface structure in all cases. This neut-PRO is not recoverable at any stage of transformation. Imai, like others, has failed to see that in Hindi there is not one but two yā + jā transformations with some basic differences between them. The fact is that intransitive verbs cannot be passivized; they can undergo only the abilitative transformation. This can be demonstrated by the fact that one of the most important distinctions between a passive sentence and an abilitative sentence has to do with the presence or the absence of the subject of the sentence in the surface structures. On the other hand the presence of an NP object marks the distinction of the passive transformation, a fact that has been ignored by many including Kachru (1966). She observes that a sentence of the following form is a passive sentence:



And her examples of passive sentences include, among others, the following:

26. rām se calā gayā

ram by was left

Ram could walk.

27. naukar se bāzār nahī jāyā jātā

servant by bazar not is gone

The servant is not able to go to the market.

Both her examples and the tree diagram suggest that Kachru makes no distinction between the passive and the abilitative transformation and that object NP is not a necessary condition for a passive transformation. It does not even appear as an optional element in her tree diagram. Once again the failure to recognize the existence of an abilitative yā + jā transformation along with a passive yā + jā transformation has been the source of the failure to account for the ambiguity of such a sentence as

28. rām se patra nahī likhā gayā

ram by letter not written went

Ram could not write the letter.

or The letter was not written by Ram.

Bai (1972) has clearly shown that the passive and abilitative⁴ are marked by distinct syntactical restrictions. She observed that the "so-called passive sentences in Hindi represent two semantically different sets of sentences which differ from each other grammatically also" (p. 124). Bai has grouped the two types of sentences into separate classes: type I and type II. The passive sentence belongs in type I and the abilitative sentence in type II. She has noted that first, only the abilitative sentence will have an agentive NP overtly present or expressed; the real passive sentence, as opposed to the lexical passive, will not

have an agentive NP expressed in the surface structure because it is almost always deleted. Second, only a real passive agent can be expressed with the help of a ke dwārā phrase but not the abilitative agent. Third, only the real passive and not the abilitative can be followed by a purposive clause introduced by tākī "sothat." And finally, only a real passive can be embedded under a higher sentence which expresses a command or request.

It appears that her arguments are quite convincing and supportive of my view that there is more than one yā + jā transformation in Hindi. These transformations indeed operate on two different deep structures and result in surface structures that show different syntactic and semantic characteristics. Such a view further supports my conviction that these formally similar sentences are actually derived from separate deep structures. Despite my agreement with Bai's views, I feel that some of Bai's arguments need to be modified for their wider application in the language.

In general, it is correct to say that the passive sentence alone can allow the deletion of the agentive NP in the surface structure; there are, however, instances where an abilitative sentence can also be possible without the agentive NP as can be seen from the following example:

29. ab aur nahī² calā jātā
 now more not walked go
 I cannot walk any more.

In footnote 2 Bai (1972, p. 127) has mentioned that the agentive NP of an abilitative sentence can be deleted only when it is clear from the context who the performer of the action is. Such a statement, however, does not hold true in many cases. In fact, it is possible to read an abilitative meaning into her sentences 6-9 even after the deletion of the agentive NP has taken place. For our convenience, I have numbered her sentences as follows:

30. ye bāt bar̄T muškil se kah̄T gaȳT
 this fact great difficulty by told went
 This could be said with great difficulty.
31. ājkaī zyādā khānā nah̄T khāyā jātā
 these days more food not eaten goes
 We are unable to consume much food these days.
32. itn̄T moṭ̄T kitāb do din mē̄ kaise paṛh̄T jāegi?
 this thick book two days in how read go will
 How could this book be finished in two days?
33. ab aur nah̄T calā jātā
 now more not walked goes
 I cannot walk any more.

All these sentences are possible with abilitative meaning without the presence of an agentive NP. One reason why these sentences are possible with abilitative sense is that a negative particle or a word with negative connotation (such as bar̄T muškil se, kaise,⁵ nah̄T 'with great difficulty, how, not') has the effect of sustaining the abilitative meanings. If we delete the negative element from the above sentences, they will render only passive meanings except in sentence 33, which has an intransitive verb and hence cannot be passivized at all.

34. ye bāt kah̄T gaȳT hai
 this fact told went is
 This has been said.
35. hamāre ghar ājkaī zyādā khāyā jātā hai
 our house these days more food ate goes
 At our house more food is consumed these days.
36. kāph̄T moṭ̄T kitāb do din mē̄ paṛh̄T jāegi

much thick book two days in read will go

A very thick book will be finished in two days.

37. *ab aur calā jātā hai

now more walked goes is

More walking is done now.

The sentence with an intransitive verb cannot be passivized, but a sentence with a transitive verb that can be passivized will not have any definite agentive NP expressed in the surface structure after it has undergone the passive yā + jā transformation. In other words, it seems that a transitive verb will undergo the yā + jā abilitative transformation only when the sentence can retain an agentive NP that is not an indefinite pronoun. In the event there is no agentive NP, it must have a negative element. In addition, a perfective (or future) aspect seems necessary if the sentence is intended to be a passive rather than an abilitative. Compare the following pair of sentences:

38. ājkal zyādā khānā khāyā jātā

These days more food is consumed.

39. ājkal zyādā khānā khāyā jātā hai

These days more food is consumed.

To some native speakers sentence 38 is an unacceptable Hindi sentence, unless it is used as a dependent clause of condition. To suggest further that the negative element plays an important role as indicator of a yā + jā transformation resulting in an abilitative sentence, we find that the adjectival aur "more" cannot be used in an abilitative sentence unless a negative element is also present, whereas in the case of a passive sentence aur can occur without any negative particle. Consider the following sentences:

40. *tumse aur soyā jātā hai
 you by more slept goes is
 You are able to sleep more.
41. *aur soyā jātā hai
 more slept goes is
 More sleeping can be done.
42. mujhse aur nahī̃ soyā jātā
 me by more not slept goes
 I am not able to sleep any more.
43. tumko aur kahānī̃ sunāyā jāegā
 you to more story told to will
 More story will be told to you.
44. baccō ko aur miṭhāiyā dī gayī
 boys to more sweets given went
 The boys were given more sweets.

The fact that both the agentive NP and the negative element contribute to the semantics of an abilitative sentence can be seen further by the following examples where the real passive and abilitative sentences are used in front of a purposive clause introduced by tāki "so that." Notice that only a sentence without the agentive NP and negative element can occur in this situation; sentences either with an agentive NP or a negative element or both are unacceptable, unless the sentence without the agentive NP but with a negative (sentence 48 below) gives passive rather than abilitative meaning. Let us consider the following sentences:

45. *mujhse ājkal samay par khānā khāliyā jātā hai tāki. . .
 me by these days time on food ate goes is so that

I am able to eat meal on time these days so that...

46. *mujhse ājkal samay par khānā nahī̄[̄] khāyā jātā hai tāki...

me by these days time on food ate goes is so that

I cannot eat meal on time these days so that...

47. hamāre ghar ājkal samay par khānā khāyā jātā hai

our house these days time on food ate goes is

At our house these days meal is taken on time

tāki logō ko kām karne kā vakt mile

so that people to work do of time get

so that people can get time to work.

48. šahar me tamāšhe nahī̄[̄] dikhāye jāte tāki bacce

Town in circus not shown goes so that children

ghar se jyāda der bāhar nā rahē

house by much time out not remain

Circus is not shown in town so that the kids don't stay

out of house for long.

Sentence 45 has an agentive NP so it cannot occur in front of a tāki clause. Sentence 46 has both agentive NP and a negative and is therefore unacceptable before a tāki clause. Sentence 48 is agentive-less (and no negative, therefore a passive) and can come in front of a tāki clause. Sentence 49 which has no agentive NP but has a negative can also occur in front of a tāki clause because sentence 49 has no abilitative meaning. Sentence 49 has no definite agent. In sentence 50 below where a definite agent can be traced in the deep structure, negative is not possible because the sentence has an abilitative meaning:

49. *khana nahī̄[̄] khāyā jātā (hai) tāki

food not eaten goes is so that

I am not able to eat food so that

Compound Verbs and Passive

Compound verbs that are marked +ne can be made passive, but they cannot be used in an abilitative sentence. What is more, a compound verb that is intransitive or marked -ne will not only fail to undergo the passive transformation but will also be unacceptable when the abilitative transformation is applied. Let us consider the following sentences:

50. (a) unke jāte hī mai ro diyā (CV)
 he of go as soon as I cry gave
 As soon as he left, I burst into tears.
- (b) *unke jāte hī mujhse ro diyā gayā
 he of go as soon as I by cry gave went
 As soon as he left, I could burst into tears.
51. (a) mai āj dopahar mẽ thoṛī der ke liye so liyā (CV)
 I today afternoon in little late of sleep took
 This afternoon I had a nap for sometime.
- (b) *mujhse āj dopahar mẽ thoṛī der ke liye so liyā gayā
 I by today afternoon in little late of for sleep
 took went
 This afternoon I could take a nap for sometime.
52. (a) rām ne khānā khā liyā (CV)
 ram food eat took
 Ram had his food.
- (b) (rāmse) khānā khā liyā gayā
 ram by food eat took went
 The food has been finished by Ram.

53. (a) maine sārā kām kar diyā (CV)

I all work do gave

I finished the complete job.

(b) (mujhse) sārā kām kar diyā gayā

I by all work do gave went

The complete job had been finished by me.

Sentences (b) of 52-53 are passive with or without the agentive NP.

Sentences (b) of 50-51 are not correct because the CV involved are intransitive or -ne verbs which cannot undergo abilitative transformation. Of course they cannot be passivized either.

Since we have already demonstrated that in the absence of an agentive NP it is necessary for an abilitative sentence to have some sort of negative element, we can now also suggest that the abilitative of a transitive compound verb behaves in the same manner in which the abilitative of an intransitive verb does in that neither of them can be made abilitative with a compound verb.

54. (a) maine khānā khā liyā (CV)

I food eat took

I finished my meal.

(b) khānā khā liyā gayā (passive)

food eat took went

The meal is finished.

*(c) khānā nahī¹ khā liyā gayā (abilitative)

food not eat took went

The meal could not be finished.

*(d) mujhse khānā khā liyā gayā (abilitative with agent but no negative)

I by food eat took went

The food was eaten by me.

Sentence 54(c) has no agentive NP but does have a negative. Thus it should normally give an abilitative reading, but it does not. It is unacceptable. Sentence 46(d) is supposed to be an abilitative sentence with agent NP without the negative, but is incorrect.

Types of Jana

As I have indicated earlier in this chapter, Hindi has more than one jānā verb, each of which is distinct from the others. Failure to recognize the various types of jānā has led Saxena (1978) to contend that the passive jānā forms a compound verb which functions like any other regular compound verb in Hindi. This is wrong, as I argued, for both semantic and syntactic reasons. Saxena's sentence 11 (*rām se) gārī mē calā jā rahā hai is not an instance of a passive sentence but an active sentence. The compound verbs like calā ānā "to come" and calā jānā "to go" are marked -ne and consequently there is no passive transformation for such verbs. But becā jānā "to sell" is a compound verb that is marked +ne and therefore can be passivized: akhbār becā jā rahā hai "The newspaper is being sold." Thus we see two jānā's in operation, and they are not interchangeable. A failure to recognize the distinction results in her demand for an active counterpart of a sentence which in itself is an active sentence.

Similarly, the failure to distinguish between a passive and an abilitative has resulted from the lack of awareness of the fact that Hindi uses one verb form for the passive and another for the abilitative. This is precisely the reason for the claim that passive sentences are ambiguous, having both the passive and the abilitative meanings. We have

seen that in fact passive and abilitative sentences are different and that they require different deep and surface structures. One can clearly distinguish at least four different types of jānā verbs in Hindi, all of which are mutually exclusive.

55. Regular Verb : jā₁

56. Regular Aux : jā₂

57. Passive Aux : jā₃

58. Abilitative : jā₄

These four types of jānā verbs are illustrated in the following sentences:

59. mai ghar jā¹tā hū

I home go is

I go home.

60. Vah kahānī sunātā jā₂tā hai (Regular Aux)

he story tell goes is

He keeps on telling the story.

61. kahānī sunāyī jā₃tī hai (Passive Aux)

story told goes

The story is told.

62. mujhse soyā jā₄tā hai (Abilitative)

me by slept goes is

I am able to sleep.

It has been suggested earlier that passive sentences are basically agentless (Saxena, 1978; Sinha, 1976). That is to say that it is not very common or usual to mention the agent in a passive sentence unless it becomes absolutely necessary (Sharma, 1972, p. 139). Passive sentences therefore occur mostly without their agents; sometimes it is even ungrammatical for the agent to appear (Saxena, 1978).

63. mujhko kahānī kahnī cāhiye
 me to story tell should
 I should tell the story.
64. (*mujhse) kahānī kahī jānī cāhiye
 (me by) story told goes should
 The story should be told by me.
65. (āp) khānā khāiyē
 (you) food eat
 (you) please eat your food.
66. (*āpse) khānā khāyā jāy
 (you by) meal ate goes
 Please eat your meal
 or Let's eat our meal!

Abilitative sentences, on the other hand, are not possible without the subject or the performer of the action indicated by the intransitive verb. The presence of the agent accounts for the fact that passive sentences that are otherwise considered to contain abilitative meaning lose their abilitative sense once the agent is deleted from the affirmative sentence. That is to say, the mention of the agent is necessary when its ability or inability to do something is expressed (Sharma, 1972, p. 139). Thus, what distinguishes a passive from an abilitative sentence, in the first place, is the absence or presence of the agentive NP + se.

67. mujhse khānā khāyā gayā
 me by food ate went
 I was able to eat the food.
68. khānā khāyā gayā
 food ate went

The food was eaten.

Sentence 67 has the abilitative meaning, but no such abilitative meaning is present in sentence 68. The effect of the absence of the NP + se can be further observed in optative and imperative sentences in which both transitive and intransitive sentences render only a passive or nonabilitative meaning. The deletion of agents from both the optative and imperative sentence is obligatory and not optional as in many other abilitative cases. This accounts for the unacceptability of sentence 64 which is supposed to be the passive of sentence 63. Let's consider the following sentences where both transitive and intransitive give only non-abilitative meanings.

69. ab khānā khānā cāhiye

now food eat should

Let's eat food now.

70. ab khānā khāyā jānā cāhiye

now food ate goes should

Now let the food be eaten.

or Let's eat the food now.

71. ab sonā cāhiye

now sleep should

Now let's sleep.

72. ab soyā jānā cāhiye

now slept goes should

Now let's sleep/Now we should sleep.

73. ab soyiye

now sleep

Please sleep now.

74. ab soyā jāy
 now slept goes
 Let's sleep now.

Notice that in Hindi if an agent is optional in an active sentence, the passive transformation must delete it. Sentences 69-74 will all take an agent optionally in their active counterparts, but not in their passive transforms. And since they don't have any agent, we would naturally expect them to carry passive meanings not the abilitative. When the deletion of the agent is obligatory, that is, if the inclusion of the agent makes the sentence ungrammatical, even the presence of a negative element will fail to give an abilitative meaning. In other words, optative and imperative sentences will not undergo the abilitative transformation: they can only be passivized or made non-abilitative. Sentence 70 is the passive of 69 since that contains a transitive verb, but sentences 72 and 74 are not passive because they have intransitive verbs which are subject to only the abilitative transformation and yet they are non-abilitative. The importance of an agent NP for an abilitative meaning can be assessed by the fact that both transitive and intransitive sentences become non-abilitative when the deletion of the agent is obligatory. Since a passive must have an object NP to be acted upon, intransitive sentences in 71 and 73 can only be made non-abilitative but not passive.

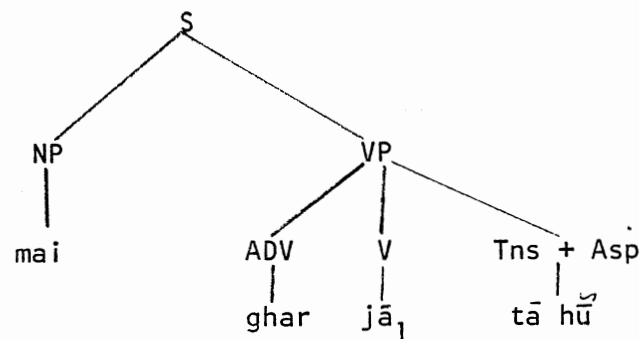
As I have mentioned that Hindi uses at least four different types of jānā verb, it will be necessary to indicate the functions that each of these has and how they differ. An understanding of the different functions of each will make it possible for us to see the differences between a passive and an abilitative sentence.

It is obvious that case markers are only surface phenomena; in addition to se Hindi has other case markers such as ne, ko, mē, etc., each of which is assigned to one NP or another. This assignment of case is determined by the selection of a particular lexical item or lexical feature in a sentence. For example, generally ne is assigned to the agent NP in an active sentence because of the selection of a transitive verb in its past form. Similarly, the assignment of se in a passive sentence will depend on the selection of one rather than another of the four types of jānā verbs. The assignment of a se phrase in an abilitative sentence depends on the selection of yet another of those jānā verbs. Thus the selection of jānā₁ and jānā₂ will automatically determine that the subject/agent of the verb in a sentence must be in the nominative case and must be present at all times, except of course in the instance of an imperative or an optative sentence. Similarly the selection of jānā₃ will dictate the use of a passive agent which in most cases has to be deleted for a preferable style. But if instead the selection of jānā₄ is made, the agent of the sentence must be followed by a case marker -se and must obligatorily be present in all affirmative sentences.

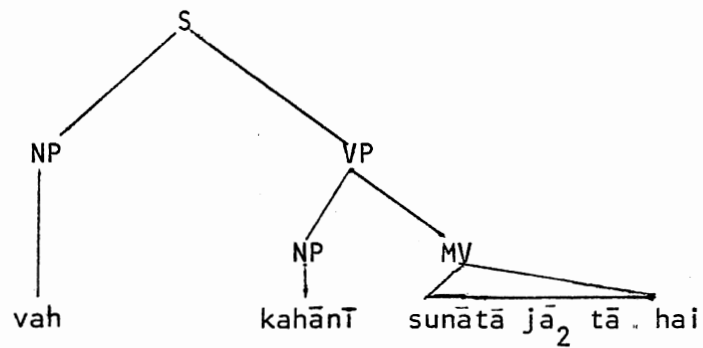
For sentences 59-62 that illustrate the use of different jānā verbs, we can have the following tree diagrams:

59. mai ghar jātā hū.

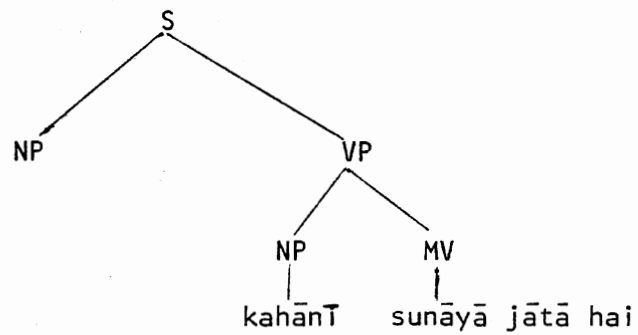
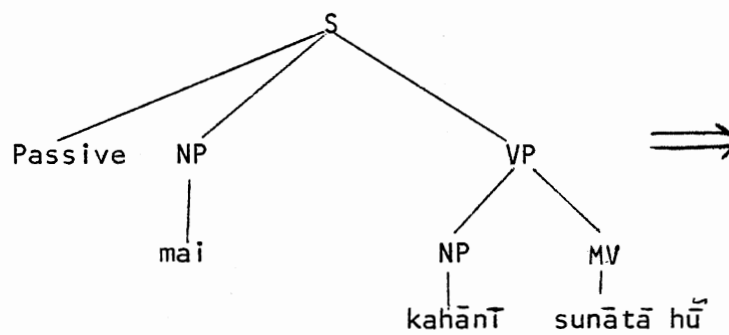
jā₁



60. vah kahānT sunātā jātā hai

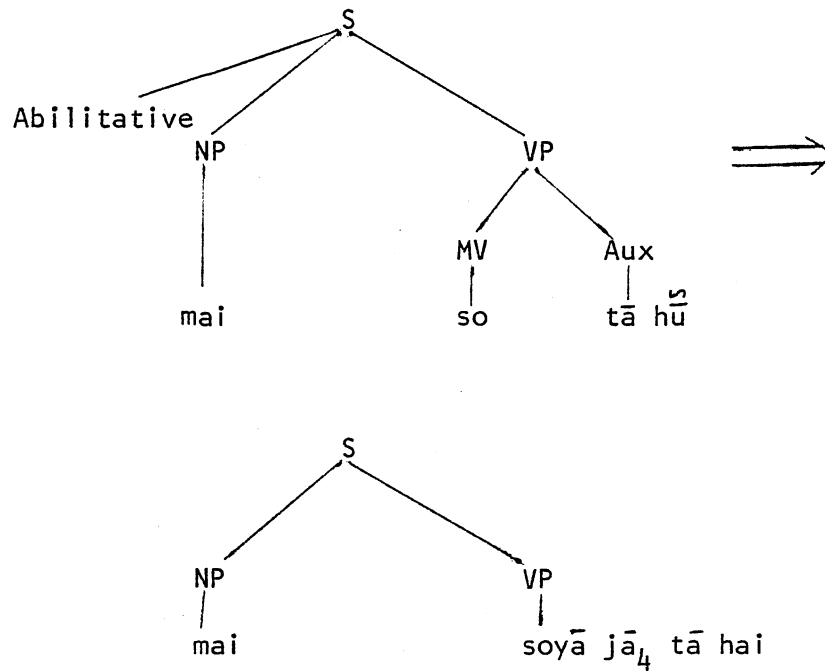
Ja₂

61. mujhse kahānT sunāt jātT hai

Ja₃

After agent deletion has taken place, the surface sentence will be kahānT sunāi jātT hai "The story is being told."

62. mujhse soyā jāṭā hai

ja₄

After the application of phonological and spelling rules, the sentence will read: mujhse soyā jāṭā hai.

Thus we have seen that in Hindi there are at least four different jānā, each of which having different syntactic function. To understand the two types of sentences, passive and abilitative, it is necessary that we also understand these various jānā.

NOTES

¹A sentence with the completed action will read something like the following: kahānī sunāyā jā cukā "The story has been told." It is rarely that Hindi will allow another jānā with the passive jānā to indicate the completion of an action.

²This particular verb has been called by various names such as "Original Passive" (Kachru, 1965), "Natural Passive," and "Passive-Neuter" (Sharma, 1972, and Srivastava, 1969, respectively).

³Kachru (Kachru, 1966) has classified kaṭā (inf. kaṭnā) and paṛhā (inf. paṛhnā) in two separate categories perhaps because she considers kaṭā as one of those intransitive verbs that have one transitive and one causative verb forms as well. On the other hand, she has treated paṛhā along with such other verbs as khānā "to eat" and khelanā "to play." The verb khānā itself is a transitive verb, whereas kaṭnā is also a transitive verb and like khānā can have two causative verb forms: kaṭnā, kāṭnā, kaṭānā, and kaṭvānā.

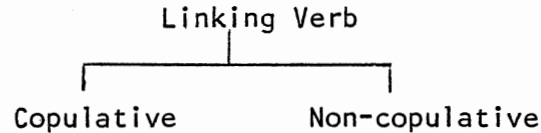
⁴Bai has used the term "Capabilitative" rather than abilitative.

⁵The word kaise may have more than one significance. In addition to asking questions, it can imply a negation as tum itnā hallā karte ho, mai kaise paṛāhi karūgā? "If you make so much noise, how can I do any studies?" Thus the question with kaise can assume a negative answer in Hindi perhaps in the same way as it does in English where a sentence like "How could you do that?" assumes the negative expectation to the effect that you should not have done that.

CHAPTER V

THE VERB HONĀ IN HINDI

One of the basic sentence types in Hindi is known as the Linking Sentence; it employs, among other verbs, the verb honā "to be" which has been characterized by such names as Copula Verb (Vcop) and Linking Verb. The names copula and linking have almost always been used synonymously in grammars of Hindi; but since there are verbs other than honā that can appear in what is traditionally called the Linking Sentence, it will be well to maintain a distinction between a copula verb and a linking verb. The linking verb is considered as being a class separate from such other classes of verbs as transitive, intransitive, and causative. A sentence with honā will be said to have a copulative verb; in the same sentence if the verb honā can be replaced by other verbs, these will be called non-copulative verbs. English can provide an analogy in this regard; the verb to be can be thought of as copulative, whereas verbs like seem, sound, taste, appear, etc., can be regarded as non-copulative. And together they form the class of linking verb. To make this distinction clear in Hindi, we will regard the verb honā and its various forms to be copulative verbs, while all the rest of the linking verbs will be designated as non-copulative.¹ In a simple diagram we can show the sub-classifications of the linking verb in the following manner:



In this chapter, we are primarily concerned with only those sentences that employ the verb honā and its various forms in their function as a main verb rather than as an auxiliary verb.

Although honā is used more frequently and more commonly in a sentence by the speakers of the language than most other verbs, it presents a greater variety of problems in understanding its syntactic roles and semantic characteristics. These problems are particularly difficult for a non-native speaker who tries to learn the language in terms of his native language. The complexity of its use in the language will unfold as we make an attempt to classify and analyze the various syntactic and semantic implications of the verb.

Even though the historical perspective of the modern Hindi verb is not terribly important for our analysis of the verb and the understanding of its role in a sentence, it will not be inappropriate at this point to bear in mind the etymology of the verb. The knowledge of the historical growth of the verb honā in modern Hindi might prove helpful in accounting for the failure of earlier grammarians to understand the complexities of the syntactic and sometimes semantic character of honā. Historically, the verb ho has been derived from an Old-Aryan root bhū, which as we shall see in the following pages, has acquired a non-stative character in Modern Hindi, whereas hai is derived from the root as and thā from the Sanskrit root sthā (Kachru, 1966). Sanskrit sthā has the meaning of "being" or "existence," signifying the stative character of the verb.

In his book, The Elements of Hindi Grammar, Srivastave (1969) has

argued that the verb ho, as opposed to hai, has the significance of a non-stative verb; but as Srivastava (p. 88) has reported, Kamta Prasad Guru considers honā as signifying both "being" and "becoming." In other words, for Guru honā plays the role of both stative and non-stative verbs. In Srivastava's (p. 88) words, "ho never strictly speaking denotes 'isness' and 'becoming'." My own analysis that follows indicates that Guru's claims lack empirical evidence and confirms Srivastava's explanation.

The purposes of this chapter are three-fold: it is intended, first, to show that the reasons that are usually ascribed to a distinctive place for the verb honā in Hindi are not only erroneous but also misconceived; second, to present a new and different set of reasons for the distinction of honā within the grammatical study of the language; and finally, to show legitimately that what Kachru (1968) has called "idiomatic" usage of the verb is not in any significant way different from its regular use as a lexical verb.

It has been suggested that the copula sentence (with honā) in Hindi is distinct from all other types of sentences in the language, particularly because it employs a verb that is different from all other verbs both in its form and its syntactic behavior. For much the same reason, it has been argued that the copula sentence needs a separate treatment in a grammar of Hindi. In her book, An Introduction to Hindi Syntax, Kachru (1966) has observed that

The verb honā 'to be' has to be treated differently from other V's. First, it has more forms than other V's. All Hindi V's have the following distinct forms (if we disregard the inflections for number, gender, and person, and list only the third person singular forms for the Participles and the Optative). . . . Secondly, the verb honā must be preceded by a Predicate Complement, which could either be a NP, or an Adjective Phrase (AP), or an Adverbial Phrase (Abb. ADV). . .² (pp. 37-38).

If the above statement is taken to be the basis of the argument for a separate treatment of the verb honā, it should become apparent, in the course of the discussion here, that the arguments forwarded by Kachru are only partially valid. Of the two justifications that have been advanced in support of a separate treatment of the verb honā in Hindi grammar, the first, namely the forms of the verb honā, hardly offers any satisfactory reason for distinguishing the verb honā from the rest of the main verbs in Hindi. The so-called extra forms of the verb honā do not qualify this verb as a special case, and definitely do not justify a separate discussion of it. In his analysis of the verb honā, Van Olphen (1970) has explicitly demonstrated with ample justification that there is a simple explication of the two extra forms of honā. Such an explanation rests in the stative and non-stative roles of the verb.

Van Olphen argues that in Hindi since honā does not have any adjectival forms as statives, as do other verbs, honā fills the gap by these extra forms. He has observed that honā in kharā honā has the same function as any other verb that is adjectivized. He gives examples of the verb baiṭhnā which can be adjectivized in the following sentence: vo baiṭhā hai "he is sitting." Similarly honā in kharā honā can become adjective as in vo kharā huā "he stood up." He therefore concludes that "there is no difference between hoonaa and other verbs like baiṭhana 'sit,' leeṭnaa 'lie,' which have separate stative meanings" (p. 133).

He further writes:

Since Hindi grammarians have failed to recognize the systematic stative/non-stative dichotomy in the meanings of many Hindi verbs, they were at a loss to explain the extra forms are used to form stative hoonaa where all other verbs use adjectival forms (p. 133).

Kachru's (1966) second reasoning in support of a separate treatment of

the verb honā in Hindi grammars--namely the obligatory occurrence of a predicate complement before honā--is at variance with the fact that Hindi does have sentences where honā does not necessarily have to be preceded by either an NP, or an Adjective Phrase (AP), or an Adverbial Phrase (ADV). This has been recognized by Kachru herself. Instances of sentences where honā can occur without being preceded by any predicate complement will be given later in this chapter. From yet another point of view, her second argument suffers on two important accounts. First, the fact that honā takes a predicate complement is not unique to honā alone; there are a number of other verbs in Hindi that can take predicate complements. A consideration of the following sentences should indicate that verbs like bananā 'to become,' lagnā 'to attach/feel,' nikalnā 'to come out,' etc., often require an NP, AP, or ADV in the form of a complement as does the verb honā. And it is this group of verbs that function as non-copulative linking verbs.

1. khānā acchā banā (AP)
 food good became
 The food cooked well.
2. laṛkā sipāhī banā (NP)
 boy policeman became
 The boy became a policeman.
3. jūtā pūnā mē banā (ADV)
 shoe poona in became
 The shoe was made in Poona.
4. hiran ko tīr lagī (NP)
 deer to arrow attached
 The deer got hit by an arrow.

5. gārī steṣan par lagī (ADV)
 train station at attached
 The train arrived at the station.
6. khānā acchā lagā (AP)
 food good attached
 The food tasted good.
7. larkā cālāk nikalā (AP)
 boy smart came out
 The boy turned out to be smart.

Notice sentences 1, 6, and 7 require AP with different verbs; sentences 3 and 5 have ADV with banā 'became' and lagī 'attached'; and in sentences 2 and 4 banā and lagī take NP. English has a similar situation where verbs like seem, taste, sound, get and appear require, in their linking role, predicate complements. These same verbs function also as non-linking verbs, in which case they do not require complements.

Secondly, Kachru's second argument for treating honā separately is susceptible to another defect, and that is, as I have mentioned earlier, that honā is not always preceded by a predicate complement. There are at least two distinct instances where honā makes an exception to the general rule. The verb honā does not take any predicate complement in either the case of a Simple Existential or in the case of a Process Sentence, both of which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. However an illustration of Simple Existential sentences will help us understand the point.

8. iṣwar hāī
 god is
 There is God, or God exists

9. mai hū̄
 I is
 I am, or I exist.

Sentences 8-9 are illustrations of Existential Sentences which do not necessarily require the complement. The following sentence is an example of the Process-in-Action Sentence in which honā can be used without an accompanying complement:

10. saberā hotā hai
 morning become is
 It dawns.

There are two honā involved in the above sentence; the first honā (hotā) expresses a process, but the second honā (hai) carries the auxiliary of the sentence, and thus is not our concern for the present. Sentence 10 shows a lack of predicate complement, which Kachru has considered to be an obligatory requirement of the verb honā.

The justification, if at all there is any, for treating the verb honā as a separate class of verb does not, therefore, lie in either its two extra forms or the fact that it must be preceded by a predicate complement, but perhaps in the fact that it has a function that is unique to itself which cannot be fulfilled or matched by any other verb in the language. In his analysis, Van Olphen has discussed the two functions of honā: stative and non-stative. Honā can also be studied in terms of a different set of functions. In the present analysis, I will argue that honā has at least two distinct functions: it serves as a Main Verb and as an Auxiliary Verb. And more importantly, even as a Main Verb it has two quite different functions:

- a. As a Predicate Verb, and

b. As a Lexical Verb

It is only as a Lexical Verb that the verb honā is comparable, if at all, to any other verb that denotes some kind of action. As a Predicate Verb its role is just to relate two elements, subject and the predicate, to assert some sort of existence, or to express a sense of possession.

A discussion of the two functions of the verb honā--predicate and lexical--will readily indicate its distinctive character and the nature of its syntactic behavior. The following tree diagram summarizes the various sub-divisions of the verb honā in terms of its function as a main verb (Figure 1).

Predicative Sentence

Predicative sentences are those sentences that employ the verb honā in its predicative role. Under this category we have put together only those Hindi sentences that appear with honā and convey a sense of existence, possession, relation of equation, or attribution between the subject and the predicate. This group of sentences is differentiated from the other group, lexical sentences, in that the Predicate Sentence does not show any action or process, whereas the Lexical Sentence almost always does. In those cases where lexical honā does not indicate any action or process, either physical or mental, it displays other distinguishing characteristics. The verb honā does not indicate any action or process, either physical or mental; it displays other distinguishing characteristics. The verb honā, as I have suggested earlier, can be compared with other action verbs only in terms of its lexical use; and it is in this role that it displays a characteristic that is unique in itself.

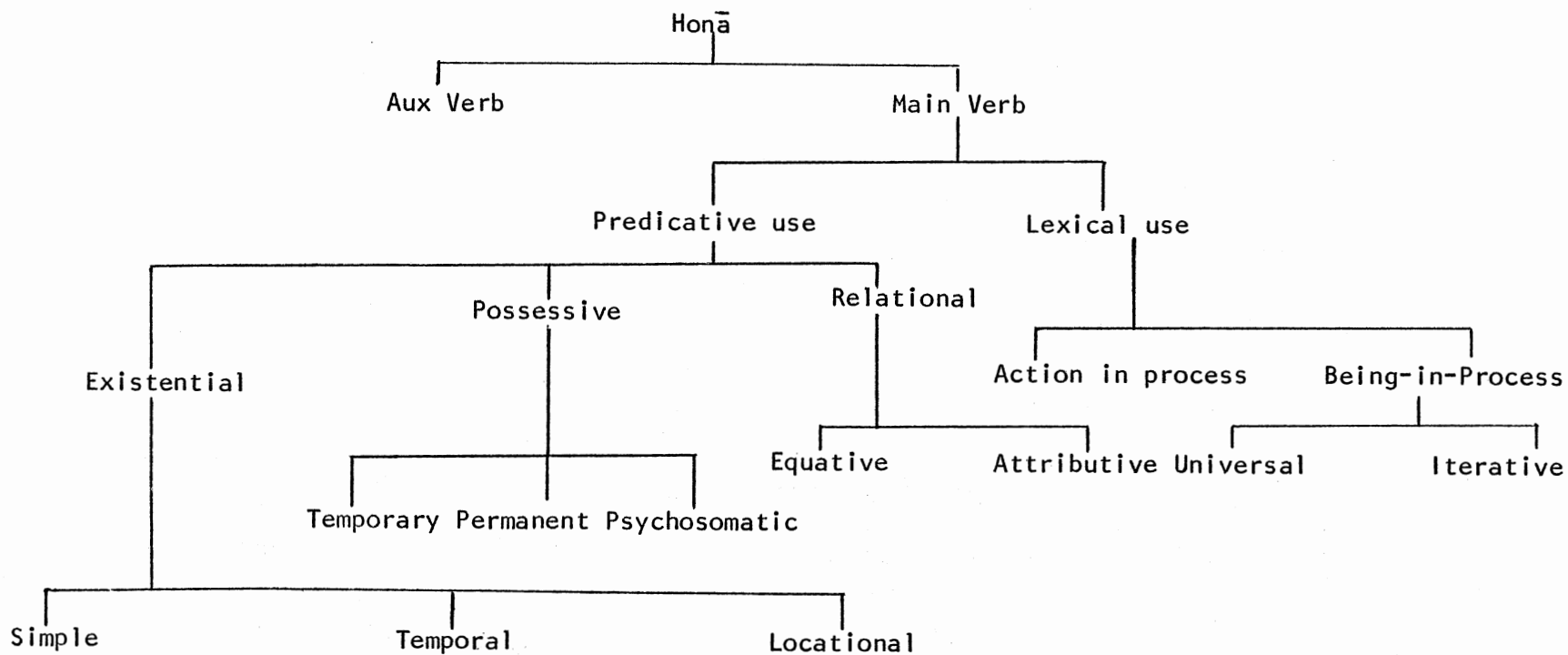


Figure 1. Subdivisions of the Verb Honā

Existential

Simple Existential. In the simple existential sentence the assertion of a fact or universal truth is indicated without the involvement of any kind of process. Sentences under this category denote the existence of a being or a thing that cannot be defined in terms of anything else. In this case the verb honā does not take any predicate complement. Although some of the sentences under this category tend to be philosophical at times, they are nevertheless used very frequently by the speakers of the language in a non-philosophical context as well. The following sentences are some of the common examples of the simple existential:

11. iśwar hāī
god is
There is God/God exists.
12. satya hai
truth is
There is truth/Truth exists
13. mai hū³
I is
It's me.

These sentences can also occur as part of a complex sentence; and when they form part of a complex sentence, they are usually the first clause and a dependent clause at that. Consider the following example:

14. jab tak mai hū, cintā karne kī jarurat nahī
when till I is worry do of need not
As long as I am living, you need not worry.
15. jab tak iśwar hāī, mujhe koī bhay nahī
when till god is I to any fear not

As long as there is God, I am not afraid.

There is nothing philosophical about sentences 14-15, which are much too common to be unusual.

Temporal Existence. The use of honā in the following sentences of temporal existence indicates or asserts the existence of a state, a thing, or an activity which can be defined in terms of time, and hence the category 'temporal.'

16. āj iskūl hai
today school is
There is school today.
17. āfis do baje (se) hai
office two o'clock (from) is
The office is at two.
18. sabhā dopahar mẽ hai
meeting afternoon in is
The meeting is in the afternoon.
19. kal swatantratā divaś hai
tomorrow independence day is
Tomorrow is the Independence Day.

Unlike simple existential sentences, temporal sentences must take a complement that is an adverb of time. It is important to note that the complement must also indicate a definite time, not an indefinite. Compare the following sentences:

20. *kabhī-kabhī iskūl hai
sometime sometime school is
There is school sometime.

16. āj iskūl hai

today school hai

There is school today.

21. *kabhi-kabhi afis do baje hai

sometime sometime office two O'clock is

Sometimes the office is at two.

17. afis do baje hai

office two O'clock

The office is at two.

Sentences 20-21 are unacceptable because the complements in these sentences are not indicative of definite time.

Locational Sentence. Like the temporal sentences above, the locational sentence has to use the verb honā, which is preceded by at least one adverbial phrase. The one important difference between the two, however, is that honā in locational sentences defines the existence of a state, a thing, a being, a feeling, or an activity in terms of a location or place rather than in terms of time, as it does in the temporal sentence.

22. pyār dil mē hai

love heart in is

The love is in the heart.

23. sitā ghar mē hai

sita house in is

Sita is at home.

24. tājmahal āgre mē hai

tajmahal agre in is

The Tajmahal is in Agra.

25. laṛāi maidān mẽ hai
 fight field in is
 The fight is in the field.

In Hindi the postposition mẽ 'in' denotes, among other things, location as in sentences 22-25; but there are other situations, as I have indicated in the first chapter, where mẽ can be replaced by a postpositional phrase such as ke pās. There are some selectional restrictions for these options, and these case markers are, therefore, not interchangeable in every case. And even where they are interchangeable, the meaning difference is striking. Compare the following sentences with sentences 22-24 above:

26. *pyār dil ke pās hai
 love heart of near is
 The love is near the heart.
27. sītā ghar ke pās hai
 sita house of near is
 Sita is by the house.
28. tājmahal āgre ke pās hai
 tajmahal agre of near is
 The Tajmahal is near Agra.

Notice that sentence 26 above is ungrammatical because the rules of selectional restrictions will prevent a co-occurrence of a feeling (an abstract noun) with the post-position ke pās. Sentences 27-28 are acceptable with ke pās but with a definite change in meaning. Both the post-position me and the post-positional phrase ke pās, as we have seen, occur in possessive sentences as well; but in possessive sentences mẽ and ke pās do not really suggest a location or place. Unlike locational sentences where

the occurrence of mē or ke pās is determined by the selection of the first NP (pyār, sītā, tājmahal, and larāi), the selection of mē or ke pās in the possessive sentence will be determined by the choice of the two NP's in the sentence.

Possessive Sentence

Honā, in its predicative function, can also be used in a possessive sentence. One can classify all the possessive sentences in Hindi into at least three categories: temporary, permanent, and psychosomatic. These distinctions have been made both on the basis of the semantic import that a particular possessive sentence carries and the choice of a postposition or a postpositional phrase, which as I mentioned earlier, depends on the selection of the two NP's denoting the possessor and the possessed.

Temporary Possession. Since the verb honā is used in all three types of possession, it cannot determine the nature of possession; rather, it expresses only a sense of possession by someone of a state, a thing, or a being. One can also possess a feeling or emotion (indicated by the use of an abstract NP). The temporary possession or psycho-somatic possession, is always characterized by the fact that in such a possession the possessed can very often be separated from the possessor; in a normal circumstance such a situation will not result in any great loss or injury to the possessor. Because of its nature, temporary possession has also been called an alienable possession. Examples of sentences showing temporary possession where the verb honā is the main verb are given below.

29. mere pās ek pustak hai

I to near one book is

I have a book.

30. unke pās ek naukar hai

he to near one servant is

He has a servant.

31. laṛkiyō ke pās ek dasti hai

girls to near one handkerchief is

The girls have a handkerchief.

32. rājā ke pās do hāthi hai

king to near two elephants is

The king has two elephants.

Generally, it appears that the possessor NP of a sentence with the meaning of temporary possession is marked with features [+animate] and [+human] as I have discussed in Chapter III.

Permanent Possession. As a marker or indicator of a possessive sentence, the verb honā has another function that is to define permanent possession in a Hindi sentence. Permanent possession has also been characterized as a non-alienable possession, a possession that cannot be given up or separated without inflicting some serious mental or physical loss on the possessor. Definitions of this kind obviously have serious limitations and can be open to various arguments, but the examples of sentences presented below will serve well to illustrate the point clearly.

33. mere do hāth hai

I to two hand is

I have two hands.

34. gāy ke ek pūchⁿ hai

cow to one tail hai

A cow has a tail.

35. 'mohan ke ek beṭā hai

mohan to one son is

Mohan has a son.

36. unke ek patnī hai

he to one wife is

He has a wife.

Notice here that sentences 33-36 are different from sentences 29-32 not in their use of the verb--because both of them use the same verb, honā--but in their use of postpositions and the selection of the two NP's in the sentence. Sentences indicating temporary possession use a postpositional phrase, ke pās; sentences denoting permanent possession, however, do not use any phrase but simple postposition ke, which undergoes morphophonemic changes when occurring with certain pronouns as in sentence 33 where mai + ke has resulted in mere in the first NP position. In terms of the two NP's, sentences with permanent possession do not necessarily require their first NP to be +human. Of course, these two types of possession also determine the kind of NP that appears in the place of second NP in a sentence. The difference between the two types of sentences on the issue of the second NP has been discussed in greater detail in an earlier chapter.

Psychosomatic Possession. In the third set of possessive sentences, the verb honā can be used to convey neither a permanent nor a temporary possession but rather a very different type of possession that can be characterized at best as a psychosomatic possession, since all the sentences under this category show possession designating some kind of emotional process or state. Unlike the two kinds of possession discussed above, no material possession is expressed in a sentence displaying psycho-

somatic possession. Strictly speaking, sentences under this category do not have anything concrete denoting the something that is possessed, either alienable or non-alienable, by the possessor. In this category we have, instead, only the state of mind, a feeling, or a state of body that is said to be possessed. More appropriately, in the case of psychosomatic possession the possessor is in fact possessed by (or caught in) the situation. Let us consider the following sentences that can serve to explain the notion of psychosomatic possession:

37. gītā ko khuṣṭ hai
gita to pleasure is
Gita has happiness.
38. indū ko gussā hai
indu to anger is
Indu has anger.
39. mujhko sirdard hai
I to headache is
I have a headache.
40. usmē utsāh hai
he in courage is
He has courage.

Unlike the two previous varieties of possessions, sentences 37-40 represent the use of ko as well as mē as the postposition used to indicate psychosomatic possession. Notice that sentences 22-25 have used postposition mē to indicate location whereas sentence 40 has used it to signify a kind of possession. In sentences 22-25 mē is preceded by an inanimate noun such as dil⁴ 'heart,' ghar 'house,' āgre 'Agra' and maidān 'field;' but in sentence 40 mē is preceded by an animate noun. As we

have mentioned earlier mē in sentences 22-25 can be replaced by ke pās 'near'; but no such substitution is possible in the case of sentence 40, even at the cost of meaning difference.

Thus we see that there is hardly any possession involved in sentences 37-40; what is involved here is a state of mental or physical condition where the so-called possessor undergoes a process of emotional or physical excitement.

Relational Sentence

The relational sentence, as the name suggests, establishes a relation between the subject and its complement. In other words, the complement defines the subject itself in terms of either equation or attribution. In a relational sentence, both a noun and an adjective can appear. If the complement is a noun, the resulting sentence will be called an Equative Sentence; but if the complement is an adjective, the sentence is said to be Attributive.

Equative Sentence. The function of honā in the equative sentence is to relate the subject of the sentence to its predicate complement, which in this case is an NP. In the following sentences the subject and the predicate complement are related to each other with the help of the verb honā. The subjects in these sentences are, in fact, being renamed by the complements in the sentences.

41. merā bhāi śikṣhak hai
 my brother teacher is
 My brother is a teacher.
42. vo vidyārthī hai
 he student is

He is a student.

43. māyā laṛkī hai

maya girl is

Maya is a girl.

44. suman dāktar hai

suman doctor is

Suman is a doctor.

The verb honā in the above sentences (41-44) can be replaced by some non-copulative verbs such as bananā 'to become'; this replacement, however, is accompanied by a change in meaning. Consider the following examples:

45. merā bhāi śikṣhak banā

my brother teacher became

My brother became a teacher.

46. vo vidyārthi banā

he student became

He became a student.

47. māyā laṛkī banī⁵

maya girl became

Maya became a girl.

Attributive Sentence. Attributive sentences bring out the attribute or characteristic of a thing or being. The subject of the sentence is defined in terms of the attribute represented by the complement, which is always an adjective in this case. Generally, an equative sentence is an answer to such questions as kaun hai, kyā hai? 'who is it, what is it?'; the attributive sentence, however, is usually an answer to a question such as kaisā hai 'how is it?' Consider the following examples:

48. āp khūbsūrat hai
 you beautiful is
 You are beautiful.
49. laṛkā hoṣiyār hai
 boy clever is
 The boy is clever.
50. nītā gambhīr hai
 nita sober is
 Nita is sober.
51. kamrā sāph hai
 room clean is
 The room is clean.

Like equative sentences, attributive sentences can also use a non-copulative verb in place of the verb honā. In fact, in its predicative role, honā can be replaced by a non-copulative verb only under the category of Relational Sentence.

Lexical Sentences

Sentences in which the verb honā functions as a lexical verb as opposed to the predicative verb have been called here Lexical Sentences. The verb honā functions as any other verb of action in this category. In its function as a lexical verb, honā can denote either a process of an action or a process of being. The main difference between the process-of-action sentence and the process-of-being sentence is that the former will have a perfective counterpart which would be indicative of the completion of that process, whereas the process-of-being sentence will not allow any perfective counterpart to suggest the completion of being,

obviously because a state or a process of being ceases to be so once the completion is indicated.

Process-of-Action Sentences

In a Hindi sentence where the function of the verb honā is very specifically limited to expressing the sense of an action in progress, that sentence will be called a Process-of-Action Sentence. In its imperfective form the verb honā is written hotā if the verb has the lexical role; the perfective form is huā. In the sentences below, there is an expression of some sort of action which is in progress. Evidently, the action in progress will come to a point of no further progress. There is, therefore, a possibility of its completion.

52. dhīre dhīre saberā hotā hai
 slowly slowly morning become is
 Slowly it is dawning.
53. ruk ruk kar varṣā hotī hai
 stop stop do rain become is
 It rains intermittently.
54. dhīre dhīre laṛkā baṛā hotā hai
 slowly slowly boy big become is
 Slowly the boy grows up.
55. thoṛē dīnō ke bād rameś acchā hotā hai
 little days of later ramesh good become is
 After a few days Ramesh gets well.

The sense of progression in sentences 52-55 is expressed by the verb honā and not by either the adverb like dhīre dhīre, ruk ruk kar, or by the final honā (hai in the above sentences) which is functioning

only as an auxiliary verb that has the function of carrying the tense in these sentences. It is the verb honā in combination with the aspect markers tā, tī, etc., that gives the meaning of progression. The verb honā in the following sentences is different from predicative honā since the lexical honā behaves like any other verb of action in Hindi. A comparison of lexical honā with other verbs of action below will reveal the syntactic nature of its function as a process-of-action verb.

56. laṛkā baṛā hotā hai (ho + tā)
 boy big become is
 The boy grows up.
57. laṛkā kheltā hai (kheḷ + tā)
 boy play is
 The boy plays.
58. laṛkā baṛā huā (ho + perfective)
 boy big became
 The boy grew up.
59. laṛkā ne tāṣ́ khelā (kheḷ + perfective)
 boy cards played
 The boy played cards.

A further similarity between the lexical verb honā and other lexical verbs in Hindi can be observed in the syntactic constraints that both are subjected to in a sentence. Let us consider the following sentences.

60. āp khuś hote hāi^s
 you happy become is
 You become happy.
61. āp khuś ho rahe hāi^{s6}

you happy become live is

You are becoming happy.

In sentence 60 there is an imperfective marker te that appears along with the lexical verb honā. In sentence 61, however, there is no imperfective aspect marker following honā; rather it has a progressive aspect marker rahā. Notice in sentence 62 below the lexical verb can also be followed by rahā.

62. lar̄ka khel rahā hai

boy play hai

The boy is playing.

Being-in-Process Sentences

Though Action-in-Process Sentences can be said to denote a finite action in progress (such as lar̄kā barā hotā hai "the boy grows big"), a Being-in-Process sentence would indicate a being or existence in an endless process. The term "Being" is rather loosely applied here and can best be defined as the existence or being of something in terms of process as opposed to a simple existence or even an existence that is indicated by relational sentences such as rāt kālī hotī hai "The night is dark," or lar̄kā cālāk hai "The boy is clever." The logic for calling sentences under this category Being-in-Process sentences follows from the fact that in these sentences ho (the verb "to be") occurs mostly with the imperfective aspect markers tā, te, tī, which display at times the sense of progression, a sense that is indicated by -ing in English and that is equivalent to Hindi rahā, rahe, or rahī. The presence of the imperfective markers accounts for the fact that hotā, hote, and hotī exhibit a process at times. Sentences like rāt kālī hotī hai "Nights are dark," cīnī mīṭha

hotā hai "Sugar is sweet" are different from both rāt kāli hai "The night is dark" and rāt kāli ho rahī hai "The night is getting (becoming) dark" in that the first two sentences are talking about the characteristics of rāt and cīnī in general; the third sentence indicates that a particular night is dark whereas the last sentence is making use of the verb honā (here only the verb root) as any other verb of action. Thus the verb forms hotā, hote, and hotī give us what we have called being-in-process meaning. The sense of being is indicated by the verb root ho and that of process by tā, te, or tī.

Although sentences like rāt kāli hotī hai have been analyzed and dealt with in Hindi grammar in different fashions (Kachru, 1968; Van Olphen, 1970) the use of the concept of being-in-process would seem rather unconventional. The choice of such a phrase, however, is not dictated by a desire to be different or even ostentatious, but by a lack of any better characterization that would clearly exhibit the syntactic and semantic properties of sentences of the following type:

63. rāt kāli hotī hai
night dark is is
Nights are dark.
64. śakkar mīṭhā hotā hai
sugar sweet is is
Sugar is sweet.
65. gāy ke ek pūch hotī hai
cow to one tail is is
Cows have a tail.
66. yahā durghaṭnā hotī hai
here accident is is

Accidents take place here.

67. *sabhā iskūl mē hotī hai*
 meeting school in is is
 Meetings are held in the school.

68. *rāy ke betā hotā hai*
 ray to son is is
 Ray gets son (no daughter).

On the basis of their differences in syntactic behavior the sentences given above (63-68) under the broad category of Being-in-Process can be further subdivided into two types of process: (1) Universal Process, and (2) Iterative Process. The latter is also called Habitual Process.

Sentences 63-65 are examples of the Universal Process, while sentences 66-68 exemplify the Iterative Process. Action-in-Process sentences come very close to Iterative Process sentences inasmuch as in both of these instances there is some action involved, the only major difference being that in the Action-in-Process sentences action is confined to a particular time but in the case of Iterative Process sentences the time element is absent; that is, the process in Iterative Process sentences cannot be mapped in terms of time.

Sentences 63-65 above are the ones that denote the characteristics of rāt "night," šakkar "sugar," and gāy "cow"--characteristics that are unqualified, unconditional, and absolute. On the other hand sentences 66-68 do not suggest any kind of characteristics of sabhā "meeting," durghaṭṇā "accident," or rāy ke betā "Ray's son." All that is indicated in these sentences is the habitual or iterative nature of a process.

Being-in-Process sentences, as we have indicated earlier, do not show any perfective counterparts in the sense in which an Action-in-Process

cow to one tail is is

The cow has a tail.

65a. *gāy ke ek pūch huī (Perfective)

cow to one tail became

The cow got a tail.

Sentences 63-65 are different from sentences 66-68 on some other accounts as well. For example, sentences 66-68 can be made conditional and also the tense may be changed from the present (hai) to the past or the future, but such changes are either not possible with 63-65 or if they are, their meaning is completely altered. Examine the following sentences:

63. rāt kālī hotī hai

night dark is is

Nights are dark.

63b. rāt kālī hogī/thī (Change of tense)

night dark will be/was

The night will be/was dark.

63c. *agar rāt kālī hotī hai (conditional)

if night dark is is

If the night were dark. . .

64. śakkar mīṭhā hotā hai

sugar sweet is is

Sugar is sweet.

64b. *śakkar mīṭhā hogā/thā (Change of tense)

sugar sweet will be/was

Sugar will be/was sweet.

64c. *agar śakkar mīṭhā hotā hai (conditional)

if sugar sweet is is

If sugar were sweet.

65. gāy ke ek pūch hotī hai

cow to one tail is is

Cows have a tail.

65b. *gāy ke ek pūch hogī/thī (Change of tense)

cow to one tail will be/was

Cows will have/had a tail.

65c. *agar gāy ke ek pūch hotī hai (conditional)

if cow to one tail is is

If cows had a tail. . .

Both conditional and the past/future tense are possible in the case of sentences 65-68 as is clear from the examples below:

66b. yahā durghaṭnā hogī/hotī thī (Change of tense)

here accident will be/is was

Accidents will/used to take place here.

66c. agar durghaṭnā yahā hotī hai (conditional)

if accident here is is

If accidents take place here. . .

67b. sabhā iskūl mẽ hogī/hotī thī (Change of tense)

meeting school in will be/is was

Meetings will be/used to be held in school.

67c. agar sabhā iskūl mẽ hotī hai (conditional)

if meeting school in is is

If the meetings take place in the school. . .

The change in tense in sentences 66b and 67b does not affect the status of the Process sentences since they continue to indicate a process,

whether in the past or in the future. The same generalization is true for conditional sentences in 66c and 67c because the process continues to be there. But notice that a change in tense in sentence 63b will radically change the meaning in that 63 talks about the nights in general, whereas 63b talks about a particular night. The opposition between rāt kālī hai "The night is dark" and rāt kālī hotī hai "Nights are dark" is an opposition between a statement of a particular fact and a statement of general fact.

In her analysis of the verb honā, Kachru has mentioned that there are certain usages of honā in Hindi which do not follow any particular syntactic behavior. As a consequence, she is unable to describe them systematically in a Hindi grammar. To her "it is not clear how the following usage of honā could be treated systematically in a grammar of Hindi. Usually they have been treated as idiomatic" (p. 57).

68. vah uske sāth ho liyā

he him with is took

He accompanied him.

69. mai abhī bāzār se hokar ātā hū

I now market from is do come is

I shall come back presently, after having been to the market.

70. gārī banāras se hotī huī ilāhābād jāī

train Banaras from is became Allahabad goes is

The train goes to Allahabad via Banaras.

In the analysis and classification of the verb honā presented in this study the occurrences of honā in sentences 68-70 above do not pose any problem, nor are they treated as idiomatic usage. In fact, we con-

sider the use of honā in sentences 68-70 to be in accordance with the lexical function of the verb in that honā behaves in these sentences like any other verb of action. Compare the following pairs of sentences where hona is shown to behave like other action verbs:

71. (a) vah uske sāth ho liyā
 he he of with is took
 He accompanied him.
- (b) usne uske sāth khā liyā
 He he to with eat took.
 He ate with him.
72. (a) mai abhī bāzār hokar ātā hū
 I now market from is do come from
 I shall come back presently after having been to the market.
- (b) mai bāzār se khel kar ātā hū
 I market from play do come is
 I shall come back presently after having played in the market.
73. (a) gārī banāras se hotī huī ilāhābād jāī hai
 train Banaras from is become Allahabad goes is
 The train goes to Allahabad via Banaras.
- (b) gārī banāras se bhāgatī huī ilāhābād jāī hai
 train Banaras from running became ilahabad goes is
 The train goes to Allahabad after passing through Banaras.

In addition to what we observe in the above sentences in terms of the similarities of behavior between honā and other lexical verbs, honā

can also be followed by rahī + hai as are other lexical verbs in Hindi.

Observe the following examples:

74. laṛkā gā rahā hai
 boy sing living is
 The boy is singing.

75. sabērā ho rahā hai
 dawn is living is
 It is dawning.

In both these sentences (73-74) we have a structure N V rahā hai. But a combination of V + past + rahā + hai is not possible in either a lexical honā or other lexical verbs:

76. *laṛkā gayā rahā hai
 N + V + past + raha + hai
 boy went living is

77. *sabērā huā rahā hai
 dawn became living is

Thus syntactically it appears that the verb honā has a lexical function in basically the same sense that any other lexical verb has, and they are both subject to almost the same constraints.

NOTES

¹The various derived forms of the verb to be in Hindi are honā, ho, hotā, huā, hoe, hai, and thā.

²Forms of the verb honā are compared with the forms of other action verbs in Hindi. The chart presented below is adapted from Kachru (1968, pp. 37-38). Note that honā has two extra forms thā and hai.

Infinitive	Base	Imperf Part.	Perf. Part.	Optative	Present	Past
<u>calnā</u> <u>honā</u>	<u>cal</u> <u>ho</u>	<u>caltā</u> <u>hotā</u>	<u>calā</u> <u>huā</u>	<u>cale</u> <u>ho(e)</u>	<u>hai</u>	<u>thā</u>

³This is a common utterance used as an identification in an answer to a question such as kaun hai "Who is it?"

⁴Part of a body is considered here as inanimate.

⁵This sentence is used in a very limited sense of someone playing the role of someone else in a play or drama.

⁶A verb root + rahā, rahī, rahe can always always be substituted for a verb root + tā, tī, and te without any serious meaning change.

CHAPTER VI

EXPLICATORS AND AUXILIARY VERBS

In Hindi there is a category of verbs that has been called both in traditional grammars as well as in more recent ones such various names as "Explicators," "Operators," "Intensifiers," "Subsidiaries," and others, and these verbs have been accorded various treatments by different grammarians of Hindi. These terms, in addition, are also used interchangeably at times by the same writers, leaving the readers, particularly those who are trying to understand Hindi as a second or third language, confused and frustrated. The use of explicators (or to use any of the terms referred to above) in a Hindi sentence presents almost the same degree of problems and complexities to foreigners as does the use of English idioms for the learners of English as a second language.

A main verb in Hindi, besides being a main verb, may have different other functions. With the possible exceptions of such verbs as saknā and cuknā¹ (that may not function as main verbs) a verb in Hindi, in general, can function both as a main verb and as a subsidiary verb. In its subsidiary function, again a verb can have at least two sub-functions, namely, the function of an explicator and that of an auxiliary. This chapter will deal mainly with the use of explicators in Hindi sentences and will also show the general differences between an explicator and an auxiliary verb as well as the justifications for such differences.

When a main verb comes as a second member of a verb type--compound

verbs in this case--it does not behave as a main verb; rather it loses its original meaning and acquires a new set of semantic values, although the differences between the original semantic values and the acquired semantic values are not always very substantial. An examination of the following sets of sentences will reveal the differences:

1. $\check{s}ik\bar{a}r\bar{T}$ ne $j\bar{a}l$ $d\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ (Main verb $d\bar{a}l\bar{n}\bar{a}$)
 hunter net /trap inserted
 The hunter set the trap.
- 1a. usne $ro\check{T}$ $kh\bar{a}$ $d\bar{a}l\bar{T}$ (Explicator $d\bar{a}l\bar{n}\bar{a}$)
 he bread ate inserted
 He finished the bread.
2. $mer\bar{T}$ ghar $gay\bar{T}$ (Main verb $j\bar{a}n\bar{a}$)
 Mary home went
 Mary went home.
- 2a. vah so $gay\bar{a}$ (Explicator $j\bar{a}n\bar{a}$)
 he sleep went
 He fell asleep.
3. $p\bar{a}n\bar{T}$ $pa\check{r}$ $rah\bar{a}$ hai (Main verb $pa\check{r}n\bar{a}$)
 water fell lived is
 It is raining.
- 3a. mai uchal $pa\check{r}\bar{a}$ ² (Explicator $pa\check{r}n\bar{a}$)
 I jump fell
 I jumped.
4. usne mujhe ek kalam $diy\bar{a}$ (Main verb $den\bar{a}$)
 he to me one pen gave
 He gave me a pen.
- 4a. $ga\check{r}\bar{T}$ $ca\check{l}$ $diy\bar{a}$ (Explicator $den\bar{a}$)
 train move gave

The train moved/left.

Sentences 1-4 use dālanā, janā, parnā, and denā as main verbs, but in sentences 1a-4a these same verbs are used as the second members of a verb type called compound verb, and consequently, they have lost their regular semantic import.³ It is as the second member of a compound verb that the verb acquires a new role, a new meaning, and a new name.

Before we get into a discussion of how the second member of a compound verb is characterized and treated by other grammarians of Hindi, it would be appropriate to indicate at this point that in my own analysis that follows I have opted to refer to these verbs as explicators. The choice is made not because of any inherent grammatical nature of these verbs themselves but mostly because of the necessity of giving a name that can be distinguished from auxiliary verbs or subsidiary verbs. Another minor rationalization for choosing to call these verbs explicators will perhaps come from the fact that explicators do at times explicate or explain the meaning of sentences to the extent of reducing or preventing ambiguity. For example, sentences 6 and 8 below with an explicator are unambiguous whereas sentences 5 and 7 which do not appear with an explicator are ambiguous.

5. billT ko kisne mārā?
 cat to who killed
 Who killed/hit the cat?
- 5a. kasāine billT ko marā
 butcher cat to killed
 The butcher killed the cat.
 or The butcher hit the cat.
6. kasāi ne billT ko mār dālā

butcher cat to kill inserted

The butcher killed the cat.

7. bacce ko kisne māra

baby to who killed

Who killed the baby?

or Who hit the baby?

8. bacce ko kisne mā dāla

baby to who kill inserted

Who killed the baby?

What I have called explicators have been called by some traditional grammarians such as Guru (1959) sahkārt̄ kriyāyē "helping verbs" (p. 312). Literally the words sahkārt̄ kriyāyē mean those verbs that go together with some other verbs. For Guru, these sahkārt̄ kriyāyē exist only as the second element of the verb type, namely the compound verb, which he calls by the name of sanyukta kriyā.

In his treatment of explicators,⁴ however, Guru, does not make any distinction between explicators and auxiliary verbs in that he enumerates them together with other verbs which are clearly auxiliary verbs and characterizes them by one and the same name sahkārt̄ kriyāyē. Such a grouping of the two verbs, as we will see, is not only confusing but also unjustifiable.

Kellog(1965) refers to the combination of a main verb and explicator as "intensive compounds." He makes the following observation:

Intensive compounds intensify or otherwise modify the meaning of the verb whose conjunctive participle stands first in the combination.

They are formed by adding to this participle one of certain other verbs, which latter verb in combination with this participle is then conjugated as usual. This second conjugated member does not, however, retain its separate character and significance but only modifies, in accordance

with the general idea which it embodies, the meaning of the participial element of the combination. Hence English idiom will sometimes require us to render the Intensive by a different word from that used for the simple verb (p. 359).

Kellog, however, makes a distinction between the explicators and the modal verbs, or simply modals, "to be able" which he lists in a subsequent section (p. 264) as "Potentials."

In Harley's treatment of verbs (Harley 1966) the combination of a main verb and an explicator is regarded as a "conjunct verb." Bailey (1964), however, took a slightly different view. He has used the term "conjunct verb" only to refer to a "complex verb," and the combination of a main verb and an explicator is called a "compound verb." He writes:

The roots of verbs are generally joined to certain auxiliary verbs, with which they may combine to form real compounds, in which case the auxiliary loses its meaning, otherwise both verbs retain their usual sense

The auxiliaries in most common use are jānā, lenā, denā, uṭhnā, parnā, bethnā, dālnā (p. 72).

From the above quotation it becomes very obvious that what I have regarded as explicators (jānā, lenā, denā, etc.) Harley considers as auxiliaries. We will have to wait until our discussion of auxiliaries to see how Harley characterizes or treats those verbs that I have called auxiliaries in this study.

In more recent works, the general tendency is to consider explicators as only a sub-classification of auxiliary verbs. Sharma (1972) calls them helping verbs which are "obviously subsidiary" to such verbs as lenā, jānā, and dālnā, and he offers the following explanation. He observes that "of the two (or more) verbs of which a compound verb consists, the first one usually is the main and the other (or the rest) subsidiary" (p. 86).

The examples that Sharma gives include, besides the explicators, the auxiliary verbs (in the sense in which I have used the term later

in this chapter). Following are Sharma's own examples (I have added the literal translation):

9. vah gāne lagā
 he/she sing attached
 He started singing.

10. vah gāne lagī
 he/she sing attached
 She started singing.

11. mai paṛh cukā
 I read finished
 I have finished reading.

An examination of the above sentences will readily reveal to us that Sharma considers lagnā and cuknā as explicators. For him, Hindi has only three Auxiliary Verbs (pp. 74-75 and 121):

- (1) honā 'to be,' with its several forms;
- (2) thā 'was' (which is regarded as the past form of honā); and
- (3) jānā 'to go' with its various form.

Bahl (1964) refers to our explicators by the same name, but for Kachru (1966, pp. 50-57) they are "operators." Kachru, like Guru and others, locates them as the second member of the compound verb. "By compound verb," she says, "is meant a sequence of V's, e.g., khā jānā, ro denā, etc." The examples below are her own illustrations of compound verbs.

12. rām sab seb khā gayā
 ram all apple eat went
 Ram ate all the apple.

13. usne patra paṛh liyā
 he letter read took

- He read the letter (to himself).
14. usne patra likh diyā
he letter write gave
He wrote the letter (for someone).
15. vah tar̄ke nahāyā kartā hai
he early bathed do is
He is in the habit of taking a bath early.
16. lar̄kī rone lagī
girl weep attaché
The girl began to cry.
17. lar̄ke khelte rahte hē
boy playing living is
The boys keep playing.
18. vah bacce ko māre dāltā hai
he child to kill insert is
He is almost killing the child.

After giving the above examples, Kachru adds that "we shall call the second element of the compound V Operator (abb. Opr)" (p. 51).

Thus what Sharma calls helping verbs, Kachru does not include cuknā either in her examples of operators and compound verbs above or in the list of operators that she has presented in her work (1966, pp. 52-57).

Van Olphen (1970) calls the verbs under consideration by the name of explicators, but also uses the term operator to refer to the same set of verbs (pp. 163 and 170); he considers these verbs as only subdivisions of auxiliary verbs, as is clear from the following statement that constitutes the first sentence of his chapter entitled "Explicators." He observes: "Explicators are auxiliary verbs which modify the meaning of the main verb; the main verb is always in root form when an explicator

is used" (p.148).

The above sentence of Van Olphen to which I have made a reference does suggest his difference with Sharma (1972) who mentions that "the main Verb [in a compound verb] has either the root form, or the Participle form or the Infinitive form" (p. 121).

Van Olphen's study of explicators is different from most grammarians that we have referred to thus far to the extent that he actually accuses his modern predecessors of having missed the characteristic features of these explicators which distinguish them from the rest of the subsidiary or (as Van Olphen would call them) auxiliary verbs. In his own words:

Modern grammarians have not distinguished the explicators from other types of Auxiliary verbs, but have considered them all as one group with sub-classification according to the form of the main verb they follow. . . . several characteristics distinguish the explicators, which have also been referred to as intensifier and subsidiaries, from other Auxiliary verbs (pp.152-3).

The distinguishing features of explicators as given by Van Olphen can be summarized as follows:

A. Explicators are used with the root of the main verb, whereas the auxiliary verbs are not, with the exception of modals such as saknā, pānā, and cuknā.

B. Explicators are not used in negative sentences (or with negative particles), although modals and other auxiliaries are. To quote his own examples:

19. kyā āp ne sawāl pūch liyā

Did you ask a question? (explicator used)

20. jT nahT, mai ne koi sawāl nahT pūchā (Not pūch liyā)

No, I did not ask any question (No explicator used)

He, however, mentions some exceptions under which a negative may occur with an explicator. Under a special kind of emphasis explicators

can combine with a negative. "It is a rare occurrence," he says, "and the semantic attributes are difficult to define" (p. 154). The only example that he offers is sentence 21 below.

21. vah mar to nah[̄] gayā?

He has not died, has he?

Other instances of sentences where explicators are commonly found in negative constructions are as follows:

(a) In neutral command forms, as in

22. bhūl nā jānā

Don't forget.

In connection with the above sentence Van Olphen mentions that this construction is unusual since "the negative particle nā intervenes between the root of the main verb and the explicator" (p.155).

(b) Explicators occur in certain constructions where the negative does not have the usual negative force, but is used as a particle required by the construction. The negative is needed after certain verbs of anger, fear, etc., and in the construction with kaht̄, where negative particle nā must also be used (p. 155).

23. ab to calnā hai, kah[̄] darwāzā nā band ho jāy

(we) have to go now, otherwise the door will be closed.

C. A sentence without the explicator can substitute for a sentence with the explicator without any significant change in meaning, but this is not possible in the case of auxiliary verbs. Compare the following examples.

With explicator:

24. mai ne sab kām kar diyā

I did all the work.

Without explicator:

25. mai ne sab kām kiyā

I did all the work.

26. mai sab kām kar saktā hū,

lekin nahi karuga

I can do all the work, but I won't do it.

D. Explicators have restricted use and can occur with a restricted class of verbs while auxiliaries have a greater freedom of occurrence.

E. All explicators are used as a main verb in Hindi with meanings which are often related to the meaning of the explicator and yet are quite different. Although non-explicator auxiliaries⁵ usually have a corresponding main verb also, they are not related. Thus as a modal, the verb panā means 'to be able to' but as a main verb the meaning of panā is 'to receive.'

Although it is necessary that we define both the explicators and the auxiliary verbs in some definite and distinct terms incorporating their basic semantic features and syntactic behavior so that the usual confusion and overlapping between these two groups of subsidiary verbs can be minimized, it would be very hard to do so if we accept the analysis of Van Olphen, particularly the distinguishing characteristics that he has offered. His arguments are only partly correct, and even the ones that are valid and are not very dependable. But before I dismiss his arguments and propose my own, I should examine the validity of his proposed distinctive characteristics of the two groups of verbs.

Most of Van Olphen's enumeration of the characteristics of explicators are objectionable. His first criterion for distinction between the explicators and the auxiliaries involving the use of a root form of the main verb has been shown by Van Olphen himself to be not absolutely

dependable and adequate for, as he recognizes, some modal auxiliaries like saknā, cuknā, and pānā can also occur with the root forms of the main verb.

His second characteristic of the explicators is equally defective in that we do have many sentences in Hindi that bear sufficient evidence to the fact that the explicators can freely occur with a negative particle. The following sentences are revealing:

27. āpne koī sawāl pūch liyā, kyā?
 You any question ask took, what
 Did you ask any question?
28. jT hā, pūch nā letā to kyā kartā
 yes, ask not take then what do
 Yes what else could I've done, if I had not asked (the question).
29. tum use kyō mār baiṭhe
 you him why kill sat
 Why did you hit him?
30. mai mār nā baiṭhtā to kyā kartā
 I kill not sat then what do
 What else could I have done, if I'd not hit him?
31. khairiyat hai, usne sab kuch kah nahī dālā
 good is, he everything say not insert
 Thank God, he did not divulge everything!
32. agar tum mujhse yah bāt nā kah diye hote to
 mai luṭ jātā
 if you me to this fact not say gave be then
 I rob go
 If you had not informed me of this, I would have been

finished.

- 32a. agar tum yah bāt kah nā
 diye hote to mai luṭ jātā
 if you this fact say not
 gave be then I rob go
 If you had not told (me) this,
 I would have been finished.

Sentence 27 has no negative particle, but sentence 28 does, even though both of these sentences use one and the same compound verb pūch lenā 'to ask.' Sentences 30-32 also use the negative, and these sentences are by no means rare or unusual. From the above examples of sentences 27-32, we gather one additional fact that a negative particle can either intervene between a main verb and an explicator, or it can precede the combination of verb and explicator (the compound verb). Van Olphen's own sentence that we have borrowed under 19 above can be rendered negative as in

33. āp ne koi sawāl to nahī̄ pūch liyā?
 you any question then not ask took
 You did not ask any question, did you?

Moreover, his examples of neutral form in sentence 21 can also be made to accept another negative construction in which the negative particle precedes the compound verb.

34. ye nā bhūl jānā ki vidyā ek pūjī hai
 this not forget go that education one capital is
 Don't forget that education is an asset.

Since it is possible to have a negative particle intervening between the verb root and the explicator in sentences other than just those in the neutral command forms (see sentence 22 above), sentences 27-34 also

disconfirm one of Van Olphen's conclusions that sentence 22 (here) is unusual because the negative particle intervenes between the verb root and the explicator. Sentences 32-34 would also indicate that the use of nā before the compound verb or in the middle of it is only a stylistic option available for speakers of Hindi.

Perhaps his lack of native intuition may have obscured Van Olphen's analysis of sentence 21 in that he fails to define any "semantic attributes" for such a sentence. If we examine sentences 21-22 and 27-34 closely, we can discover certain semantic attributes, in addition to a definite syntactic characteristic, of all those sentences that do take negative particles in an environment of a compound verb. The negative particle will normally appear either along with the adverbial conjunct to 'then' in a sentence or without to 'then.' In a situation where nā and to are both present, to will usually join two clauses-- either independent or dependent-- but where to is absent or is not joining two clauses, the sentence with a negative particle will form a question whose purpose is not to ask the question but to express apprehension, sometimes mixed with the feeling of doubt, hope or relief. Sentences 28 and 30 can thus be transliterated as

28. Yes, I am afraid I had to ask.

30. I am afraid I had to hit him.

Contrary to what we have observed in (b) above, there are many sentences in Hindi where a negative is not required after certain verbs of anger, fear, etc., and the construction with kaḥī does not always take a negative particle. As an example of this, consider the following:

35. ab to calnā hai, kaḥī darwāzā band ho
 gayā to muskil hai
 now then go is, somewhere door close is

went then trouble is

We better go now, or else we will be in
trouble if the door is closed.

With regards to his third observation, Van Olphen is wrong on two different scores. First, there is as much a significant change between two sentences-- one with and another without the explicator-- as there is between a sentence with the modal auxiliary and one without it. Sentence 25 below

25. mai ne sab kām kiyā
I all work did
I did all/every work.

is significantly different from sentence 24

24. maine sab kām kar diyā⁶
I all work do gave
I finished the work.

in that sentence 24 implies the completion whereas sentence 25 does not. Moreover, one can possibly say mai ne sab kām kiyā lekin santos nahī milā "I did every work but could not find satisfaction anywhere." It is, however, not possible to say *mai ne sab kām kar diyā lekin santos nahī milā "I completed all the work but could not find satisfaction anywhere." Thus we see that the presence or the absence of an explicator is vital to the meaning at times. In addition, his (Van Olphen 1970) own examples of marnā "to kill/hit" and mār dālnā "to kill" should indicate that the presence or the absence of an explicator is significant from the point of view of the clarity of thought and expression. Further, his contention that the frequency of use has rendered many compound verbs "conventional" and that the explicator has lost its usual meaning in these conventional compounds is erroneous. The examples that he has

offered (of conventional compounds) are mār dālnā "to kill," uṭh baiṭhnā "to sit up," ban baiṭhnā "to become something by usurpation," har baiṭhnā "be defeated/give up," and śuru kar denā "to begin." In mār dālnā "to kill," dālnā has not undergone any change in its regular explicator meaning which denotes violence, force, and completion. In the rest of his examples what Van Olphen failed to realize is that these compound verbs are different from other compounds in Hindi in that they come from an underlying constructions like uṭh kar baiṭhnā, ban kar baiṭhnā, hār kar baiṭhnā, etc. A compound verb like khā lenā, however, does not have an underlying construction of khā kar lenā. Such a derivation is perhaps responsible for the difference in meaning. Uṭh baiṭhnā is thus not a result of any avoidance of duplicative form but can be accounted for by the derivational history. His conclusion that baiṭhnā usually has a semantic attribute of regret or disapproval is further weakened by the fact that Van Olphen has ignored the issue of "point of view." The compound verb ban baiṭhnā has the semantic attributes of "disapproval" from the point of view of the loss of a throne, etc., but it has the semantic attributes of "rejoice and approval" from the point of view of the gain of a throne. Observe the following sentence:

36. vo pāc hṭ dīnō mē phir rājā ban baiṭhā
 he five only days in again king become sat
 He regained his kingship in only five days.

Van Olphen's two other arguments (presented in D and E above) indicating the differences between the explicator and the auxiliary may be accepted on their face value in that these involve neither semantic nor syntactic considerations. In a given situation when one tries to compare the two (explicators and auxiliaries) one does not have an awareness of the frequency of use of either of these. Besides, the greater frequency

does not indicate either the form or the function of the explicators-- the two criteria that are often invoked to define almost anything. Thus, the remarks in D and E can at best be taken to be general and cannot be subjected to any syntactic or semantic tests. It would be, therefore, obligatory, if we intend to pursue the idea of separation of the explicators and the auxiliaries, to present some alternative features that can justify the distinction between the explicators and the auxiliaries.

In the analysis that follows, the distinction between the explicators and the auxiliary verbs is complete and more accurate. Even though the explicators and the auxiliary verbs belong to a broader classification of Hindi verbs called Subsidiary Verbs, there will be no overlapping in the analysis. Within the observations of syntactic and semantic considerations these two types of verbs will maintain their own independent entities in Hindi sentences.

In her paper dealing with modal auxiliaries Bai (1973) has presented some very good arguments for the distinctions of the explicators and the auxiliary verbs in Hindi. I will reproduce her arguments briefly here in support of my own analysis. Below I have produced under I and II her arguments. Sentences 37-45 are her examples, although I have renumbered them here to fit my own numerals.

I. Explicators can combine with other main verbs in the Hortative mood, whereas a combination of main verb and auxiliaries in the Hortative mood in Hindi is not possible. Let us examine the following sentences:

37. calo khānā khā liyā jāy

go food eat took go

Let us go and have our food.

38. pahle baccō ko khānā khilā diyā jāy

before kids to food feed gave go

Let us feed our children first.

39. *thor̄T der so cukā jāy

little late sleep go

Let us sleep for a while.

40. pahle ye nām par̄h diye jāy

before this names read gave go

Let these names be read out first.

41. *calo thori der par̄h sakā jāy

go little late read could go

Let us go and read for a while.

11. Second, the explicators can combine as a second member with the main verb in an imperative sentence, but a combination of verb followed by an auxiliary verb in an imperative sentence is not possible. (M. Verb + Explicator in imperative mood = possible, M. Verb + Auxiliary in imperative mood = not possible.) A comparison of the following sentences will be revealing.

42. jaldT khānā khā lo

quickly food eat take

Finish your food quickly

43. yāhT̄ par̄ baiṭh jāo

here on sit go

Sit down here only.

44. *jaldT kām kar sako

quick work do can

You could finish your work soon.

45. *cār baje ke pahle ciṭṭhT̄ likh cuko

four o'clock of before letter while finished

You could finish your letter before four o'clock.

The combination kar + saknā and likh + cukanā in the above instances (sentences 44-45) are not acceptable in normal speech of a Hindi speaker, but khā + lenā, and baith + jānā in sentences 42-43 are possible in an imperative sentence. Thus an auxiliary verb like saknā or cuknā cannot come as the second member of a compound verb in an imperative sentence.

To these two characteristics of an explicator (presented by Bai (1973)), we can add a third one, namely, that the combination of a verb + explicator can undergo a passive transformation when the resulting compound verb is transitive; but a combination of verb + auxiliary verb cannot undergo such a passive transformation. The following combinations will give a transitive or intransitive compound verb:

V (+transitive)	+ Explicator (+Tr)	= Tran. Comp. V.
V (-Tr)	+ Exp (+Tr)	= Intr. Comp. V.
V (+Tr)	+ Exp (-Tr)	= Intr. Comp. V.
V (-Tr)	+ Exp (-Tr)	= Intr. Comp. V

From the above combinations, it becomes clear that the impact of intransitivity of verbs marked (-Tr) is all pervasive. In the above combinations if either of the verbs is intransitive (-Tr), the resulting compound verb will be an intransitive one and will not undergo any passive transformation. Let us look into the examples below:

46. vo mere sāth ho liyā
 V (+V -Tr) + Exp (+V +Tr)
 he I to with is took
 He accompanied me.

47. vo cal diyā
 V (+V -Tr) + Exp (+V +Tr)
 he go gave
 He left.

48. mai thoṛā khel liyā
 V (+V -Tr) + Exp (+V +Tr)
 I little play took
 I played a little.
49. vo uṭh baiṭhā
 V (+V -Tr) + Exp (+V -Tr)
 he stood sat
 He stood up.
50. mai so gayā
 V (+V -Tr) + Exp (+V -Tr)
 I sleep went
 He fell asleep.

In all the above examples of the combinations of the verb + explicator, except 48, one of the two members is (-Tr) and, therefore, the resulting compound verb is not passivized. In the case of 48 we have both the verbs marked (+Tr) and hence there is a possibility of passive transformation. Let us compare some more examples:

51. mai ne sari kahānī kah dī
 V (+Tr) + Exp (+Tr)
 I all story tell gave
 I told the whole story.
52. usne patra likh diyā
 V (+Tr) + Exp (-Tr)
 he letter write gave
 He finished the letter.
53. usne laṛkeko mār baiṭhā
 V (+Tr) + Exp (-Tr)
 he boy to hit sat

He hit the boy.

54. usne larkeko mār dālā

V (+Tr) + Exp (+Tr)

he boy to hit inserted

He killed the boy.

Notice that 51 and 52 have both verbs and explicators marked (+Tr) but in sentence 53 only mār is marked (+Tr) while baiṭhnā is marked (-Tr). Sentence 54, however, has both mār and dālā marked (+Tr). We have used sentences 53 and 54 with a specific purpose, namely to show that it is the V (+Tr) + Exp (+Tr) set alone that can undergo a passive transformation.

On examination of the following sentences, one thing, however, is clear: a compound verb which has an explicator marked (-Tr) does not even form a ne sentence (see Kachru 1966).

55. mē ye kām kar baiṭhā

I this work do sat

I finished/committed this.

55a.*mai ne ye kām kar baiṭhā

I this work do sat

I finished/committed this.

56. mai yah kah baiṭhā

I this tell sat

I said this

56a.*mai ne yah kah baiṭhā

I this tell sat

I said this.

57. mai sab sev khā baiṭhā

I all apple eat sat

I finished all the apple.

57a.*maine sab sev khā baiṭhā

I all apple eat sat

I finished all the apple.

58. mai unse unkā nām puch baiṭhā

I he by he of name ask sat

I asked him his name.

58a.*mai ne unse unkā nām puch baiṭhā

I he by he of name ask sat

I asked him his name.

From the study of the above sentences, we can conclude that the assignment of ne to the subject of a compound verb depends on whether the explicator used is marked (+Tr) or (-Tr). If it is marked (-Tr) it will obviate the possibility of the use of ne in the sentence. Consider the following sentences for how compound verbs behave in the passive:

59. mai ne sārī kahānī kah dī

I whole story tell gave

I told the complete story.

59a. mujhse sārī kahānī kah dī gayī

I by whole story tell give went

The complete story was told by me.

60. usne patra likh liyā

he letter write took

He finished the letter.

60a. usne patra likh liyā gayā

he by letter write took went

The letter was completed by him.

61. mai ye kām kar baiṭhā
 I this work do sat
 I finished/committed this.
- 61a.*mujhse ye kām kar baiṭhā gayā
 I by this work do sat went
 This was finished/committed by me.
62. mai ye kah baiṭhā
 I this tell sat
 I told this.
- 62a.*mujhse yah kah baiṭhā gayā
 I by this tell sat went
 This was told by me.
63. mai sab sev khā gayā
 I all apple eat went
 I finished all the apple.
- 63a.*mujhse sev khā gayā gayā
 I by apple eat went went
 All the apple was finished by me.

Hindi sentences such as 59 and 60 have their passive counterparts in sentences 59a and 60a. However, Hindi does not permit constructions like 61a, 62a, and 63a. It is, therefore, clear that not all compound verbs can undergo passive transformation but only those that have both the members (Verb + Exp) marked (+Tr).

On examination of the sentences 59-63 given above it becomes clear that compound verbs are one unit, and in a passive transformation the verb and the explicator are affected together as one unit as if they are single verbs. But this is not the case with the auxiliary verbs. The passive auxiliary (jānā) intervenes between the main verb and the

auxiliary verbs, but the auxiliary verbs are not affected in any way by this transformation. Further, it is not clear why the same sentence with two different auxiliary verbs gives two different types of passive forms.

Let us examine the sentences below:

65. mai khānā khā cuktā hū

I food eat finish is

I am finished eating.

65a. mujhse khānā khāyā jā cukā hotā hai

I by food ate go finished is is

I can eat food

66. mai khānā khā saktā hū

I food eat can is

I can eat food.

66a. mujhse khānā khāyā jā saktā hai

I by food ate go can is

The food can be eaten by me.

In sentence 65a, we notice that both the verb root khā and auxiliary verb cuktā are changed into the perfective forms, whereas in sentence 66a, we find that only the verb root khā has changed into the perfective, and the auxiliary remained unaffected.

As for the explicator, it makes up a compound verb when the explicator followed by a main verb, and the resulting compound verb behaves like a unit. No passive element intervenes between the main verb and the explicator which has a regular system of passivization like most other main verbs. An auxiliary verb, on the other hand, does not constitute a unit when it is preceded by a main verb. The passive jānā also intervenes between the main verb and the auxiliary verb, and the auxiliary verb remains in most of the cases in the same tense in which it comes in the

active counterpart. That means auxiliary verbs themselves cannot be affected by the change from active to passive except that between the main verb and it there comes in another element jā, and there is no regular system of passivization that can be asserted.

In her paper, Bai (1973) observes that only saknā, cuknā and cāhiye can have passive sentences; pānā and paṛnā cannot. Let us examine some of her sentences below:

- saknā 67. usko bahut mushkil se ghar vejā jā sakā
 he to enough difficulty by home sent go could
 He was sent home with great difficulty.
68. ye pahle hī batāyā jā cukā hai
 this before only told go has been is
 This has been said earlier.
69. baccō keliye naye kapre silāye jāne cāhiye
 children for new clothes stitch go should
 New clothes should be made for the children.
- pānā 70. tumhārī hī vajah se ye kitāb likhī jā pāyī
 you of only because by this book written go found
 This book was written only because of you.
- paṛna 71. use bīs rupaye bheje jāne paṛēge
 he to twenty rupees sent go will be
 Twenty rupees will have to be sent to him.

Her sentences 70 and 71 are, of course, not acceptable, but we have other sentences in Hindi with the auxiliary pānā and paṛnā in the same construction type which are acceptable, for example

72. kāphī dinō ke bād ye kitāb likhī jā pāyī
 enough day of later this book written go found
 After a long time this book was written.

74. phir se sab ko kitāb bheje jāne parēge

again by everyone to book go will be

Everyone will have to be sent the book.

Thus we see that verbs such as pānā and parnā can also be passivized in much the same way as saknā, cuknā and cāhiye can. All of these verbs are auxiliary, a sub-classification of subsidiary verbs.

So far I have tried to demonstrate that the differences between explicators and auxiliaries are real and functional. I have also tried to define explicators which I have regarded as one of the two sub-classifications of subsidiary verbs. It will be appropriate at this point to turn to auxiliaries and make a few remarks that will be relevant to our understanding of the differences between explicators and auxiliaries.

Like the explicator, auxiliary verbs have been defined by various grammarians in different fashion; and consequently, it is very difficult to be absolutely certain as to what constitutes an auxiliary verb as opposed to an explicator. First, there have been grammarians who confuse explicators and auxiliaries. On the other hand, there are those who recognize that there is a distinction between these two--explicators and auxiliaries--and yet fail to identify the distinction clearly. Then there are those who put both these verbs under one category or sub-category. Like explicators, auxiliaries have been called by different names; they are at times regarded as synonymous for "Helping Verbs," "Subsidiary Verbs," "Modal Verbs," "Modal Auxiliaries," and so on.

In her treatment of Hindi verbs, Kachru (1966, p. 78) has regarded saknā "to be able to" and cuknā "to finish" as modals and has grouped them together under one name, auxiliary. Pray (1970) also classifies pānā "to receive" in addition to saknā and cuknā as modals in Hindi.

Guru (1959, p. 215), on the other hand, treats saknā "can," cuknā "to finish," pānā "to receive," cāhnā "to want," and honā "to be" as sahkari kṛiyāyē (verbs that accompany other verbs) together with such other verbs as denā "to give," lenā "to take," jānā "to go," uṭhnā "to stand up," and bannā "to become." Guru does not seem to recognize the difference between explicators and auxiliaries. This distinction has been ignored more recently by Sharma (1972), who, however, observes that "there are other verbs which help in forming certain 'voices,' 'moods,' and 'tenses' of all the verbs. These are called Auxiliary Verbs or merely Auxiliaries" (p. 75). According to Sharma, Hindi has only three auxiliaries: honā, thā and jānā (I have referred to this earlier on page 130). Unlike most other traditionalists, Sharma treats the modal as a separate group of verbs. He has also mentioned "helping verbs" or "help verbs" which are "subsidiary" in nature. Under helping verbs, he lists such verbs as lenā "to take," jānā "to go," dālnā "to insert," etc. Notice that these verbs have been referred to by such names as explicator and operator in recent grammars. At another place Sharma (1972, p. 121) observes as follows:

Hindi has a large number of Compound Verbs. These, as already noted (§ 167), are formed by combining two, sometimes three or more, Verbs. Of the two (or more) Verbs of which Compound Verb consists, the first one usually is the main and the other (or the rest) subsidiary.

In his discussion of compound verbs, he gives the following sentences (in addition to the ones that I have reproduced on page 130):

75. vah paṛh cukeḡT

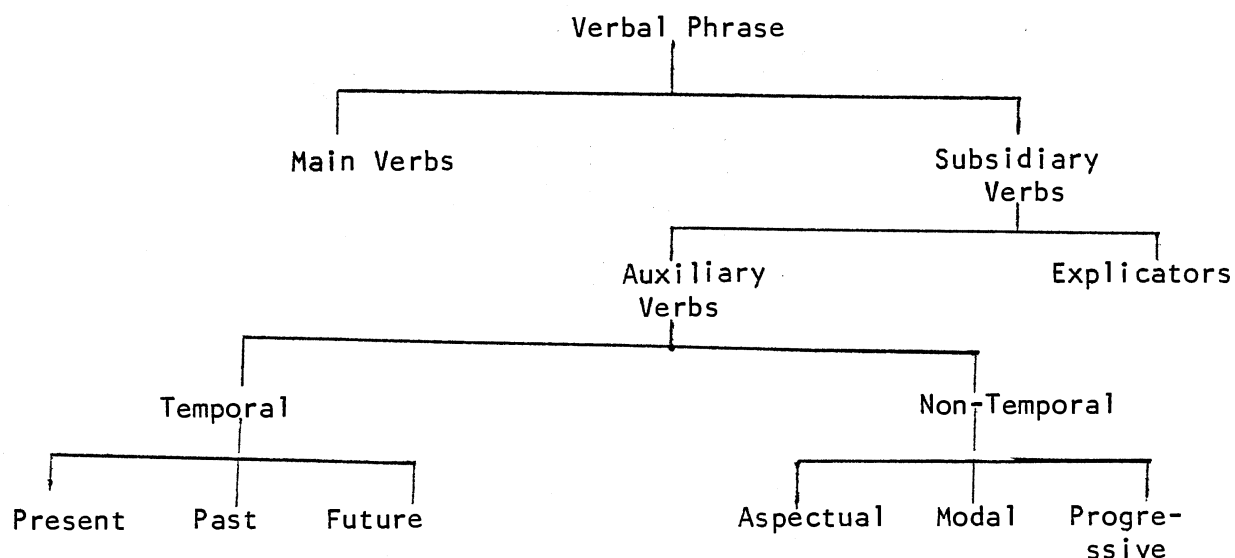
She will have finished reading.

76. vah khātT calT jā rahT hai

She is going on eating.

Sentence 76 is intended to show, among other things, that "all changes due to Voice, Mood, Tense and construction affect only the Subsidiary Verb" (p. 121). For Sharma, as should be clear from the examples, verbs like lagṇā, jānā, and cuknā belong to one and the same category or sub-category, presumably because all of these verbs can occur with the verb root. These verbs modify "the aspect" or "the nature of action" denoted by the main verb. "Some Subsidiary Verbs can also help to change the Voice from Active to Passive" (p.122).

To recapitulate, in a verbal phrase--its function is to denote the existence of a subject or to express an action or suffering on the part of the subject--everything other than the main verb will be referred to as Subsidiary Verb(s). Of these subsidiary verbs, those that follow a main verb and constitutes a compound verb are called explicators; all other verbs are auxiliaries. In other words, when a verb has a function other than that of a main verb, it can serve as an explicator--if it follows a main verb to make up a compound verb--or as an auxiliary--if it helps to indicate tense, mood, or aspect of a main verb in a sentence. In terms of a tree diagram we can represent the subdivisions of subsidiary verbs as follows:



From the above diagram, it should be clear that auxiliary verbs can be either temporal or non-temporal. A temporal auxiliary denotes tense which in Hindi correlates with time in most cases. Auxiliaries that are most often used to denote time are honā "to be," thā "was," and jānā "to go." For further discussion of auxiliaries that denote time see Sharma (1972, pp. 73-82). Aspectual auxiliary is a morphologically bound form since nothing can be inserted between it and the main verb. In addition, aspectual auxiliary cannot usually be separated by a pause in a normal utterance. The modal auxiliary in Hindi, as in English, serves to indicate the attitude of the speakers towards events they are reporting with the help of the main verb. Writing about English Modal auxiliaries, Hakubani (1972) has observed that

. . . the so-called modal Auxiliaries are related to mood; that is, their purpose is to signal hypothetical situations: possibility, necessity, ability, obligation, assertion, permission" (p. 77).

In English modals display a special characteristic in that they do not show any agreement with the subject of the sentence in terms of gender and person; but no such characteristic is apparent in the case of Hindi modal verbs.

Progressive auxiliaries suggest the progression of an activity indicated by the main verb in a sentence. They also show duration and continuity of an action.

To conclude our discussion of explicators and auxiliaries I will recapitulate the major points of differences between them. Since my sole purpose in this chapter was to establish the fact that explicators are indeed different from auxiliaries, I will leave a detailed study into the specific examples of various subclassifications of auxiliaries to a further study.

A. The combination of a main verb + an explicator can occur in Hortative sentences in Hindi, but no such combination (main verb + auxiliary) is possible with auxiliary verbs in a Hortative sentence in Hindi.

B. The combination of main verb + explicator can occur in an imperative sentence in Hindi, but no such possibility exists for a combination of main verb + auxiliary.

C. The combination of main verb + explicator forms a unit and in fact behaves like a unit in a sentence. Such a combination of main verb + explicator can be actually replaced by a simple main verb. An auxiliary verb in combination with a main verb, however, does not form a unit (in the sense of forming a compound or conjunct verb).

D. Auxiliary verbs can occur freely with all verbs, but explicators do not enjoy a similar freedom of occurrence in that there are restrictions imposed on their co-occurrence with other verbs (see Van Olphen 1970, p. 199 and Kachru 1966).

In addition to the above differences, there are some other minor distinctions that we have seen earlier in the chapter. At this point it will be necessary to remember that these distinctions are real and must be maintained in any discussion of Hindi verbal system.

NOTES

¹In colloquial language, one can frequently hear such expressions as mai abhi rikšebālo ko bhārā cukā kar ātā hū "I shall be right back after paying off the fare to Rickshaw driver." It should be noted that cuknā, cukānā and cūknā are three different verbs, and one should not confuse them.

²Notice that mai uchalā has the same meaning as 3a, but perhaps 3a is a result of some sudden external force or incident. Compare mai uchalā and mai unki śādī kī khabar sunkar uchal parā "I jumped on hearing the news of his marriage."

³See Van Olphen (1970) for an account of the semantic values of these explicators.

⁴Guru has not used the term explicator; it is a term that I have used in this study.

⁵The use of the term "non-explicator" by Van Olphen (1970) clearly suggests that explicators are considered as a sub-classification of auxiliary verbs.

⁶Note that Van Olphen (1970, p. 156) has translated both sentence 24 and sentence 25 as "I did all the work." Sentence 25 is ambiguous in that it can mean either "I did all the work," or "I did every work."

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The stated purpose of this study was to show that verb features are an important factor in the assignment of a case marker to the subject NP of a sentence. Since case markers are regarded as a surface manifestation (and not a deep structure phenomenon), I suggested that the subject of a sentence should not be determined by a consideration of whether an NP has a particular case marker present in the surface structure. This suggestion runs contrary to the traditional consideration that the verb in a sentence usually agrees with the subject of that sentence. In Hindi the verbs do not necessarily agree with the subjects; if the subject NP is in the oblique case, the verb will agree with some other noun. The verb will agree in almost all cases with only that NP which is in direct case, but if the sentence does not have any noun that is in the direct case, the verb will remain in the neutral form. Perhaps because of such a characteristic of the subject-verb agreement in Hindi, it was difficult (and therefore controversial at times) to decide the subject NP of such sentences as ko-construction, possessive, and passive sentences. Despite the fact that in all of these constructions the first NP is followed by varying case markers, I have demonstrated that the first NP is in fact the subject of the sentence. The case markers can be adequately accounted for by the selection of a particular verb carrying a set of specific features that trigger the surface case assignment to the first NP in a sentence. The

particular case marker assigned to the first NP does not and should not enter into our consideration when we are concerned with the establishment of the subject in a sentence.

While discussing the OSV word-order controversy in Hindi, Van Olphen suggested that it was counter-intuitive to consider the first NP as the object in sentences like ko-constructions. Kachru also felt a justification for the establishment of the first NP as the sentence subject, but she was not certain of rules that would correctly account for case marker assignment to the subject NP. Since transformational generative grammar as proposed by Chomsky (1965) and Katz and Postal (1964) does provide a viable tool for explaining the assignment of a surface case-marker, I have shown that we can justify our intuition by establishing the first NP of some of those controversial sentences as the sentence subject. If what I have demonstrated here is valid and acceptable, a further conclusion would be that Greenberg's hypothesis about the major word-orders in sentences of the world's languages is supported by the evidence present in the Hindi language. This conclusion, in turn, leads us to a need for the redefinition of the two major constituents of a sentence in Hindi--NP and VP.

Hindi employs a considerable number of case markers, some of which are also indicative of objects in a sentence. Others indicate time and place; still others indicate various other case relations. Although my major concern here has been to discuss the case assignment of the first NP of a limited class or category of sentences, the insights gained by this study can provide direction for further research that might be undertaken to discover if other case markers in Hindi are also governed and assigned by some feature(s) of either the verb or nouns in a given class

of sentences. At this point no judgment can be passed as to the possible outcome of such research, but certainly it is hoped that the insights gained here can be used fruitfully in an endeavor of that nature.

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