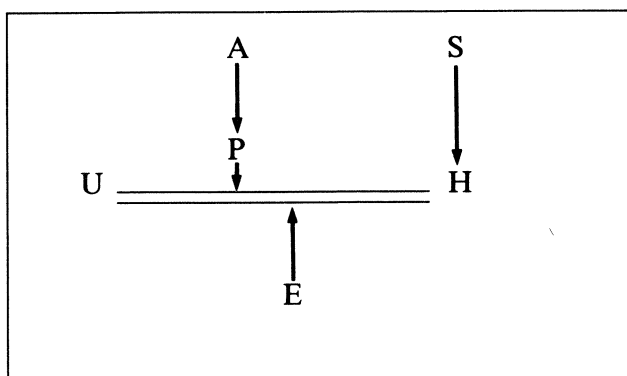


5. The Basic Components of Hindi and Urdu

Hindi (H) and Urdu (U) are susceptible to the same categories of detailed analysis as any other languages. But, of course, what makes them so interesting as a pair is the tension between their shared heritage as developments of the KhB dialect of the Delhi region, and their culturally-conditioned differential debts to other languages. Since it is assumed that users of this book will have at least a first-year student's knowledge of the core components shared by H and U, the emphasis of this part of the introduction is upon the description of the differences between them, in the context of the simple linguistic categories needed to understand these objectively.

A deliberately rapid review of the core-components of H and U in this section is accordingly followed by presentations in turn of the different loan-components provided by Sanskrit (S), Arabic (A), Persian (P), and English (E). In crudely diagrammatic terms, the pattern of these influences might be represented as:



In other words, P (including the huge A component which it assimilated) has had a massive influence upon the formation of U and continues to make something of its presence felt in H, whereas S — as a source of loans, as opposed to its historical status as the etymological ancestor shared by HU — is immensely prominent in H but virtually absent from U. Only E, in however underground a fashion, exerts an equally powerful influence on both H and U.

Since the diversity of these various loan-components is anyway intrinsically so great, and demands such a considerable feat of memory for the grasp of their respective outlines, no attempt has been made here at any very sophisticated linguistic analysis. Arranged by source-language, the following five sections are accordingly sub-divided into the broad categories of (1) phonology, i.e. the sound-systems and their reflections in the scripts; (2) lexicon, i.e. vocabulary and typical processes of word-building; (3) morphology, i.e. grammatical rules and the inflexion of words; (4) syntax, i.e. the rules governing the linking of words in phrases and sentences.

Because this book is designed for use by those who can cope quite well with the vocabulary and structures of such a common HU sentence as *āj tumhāre*

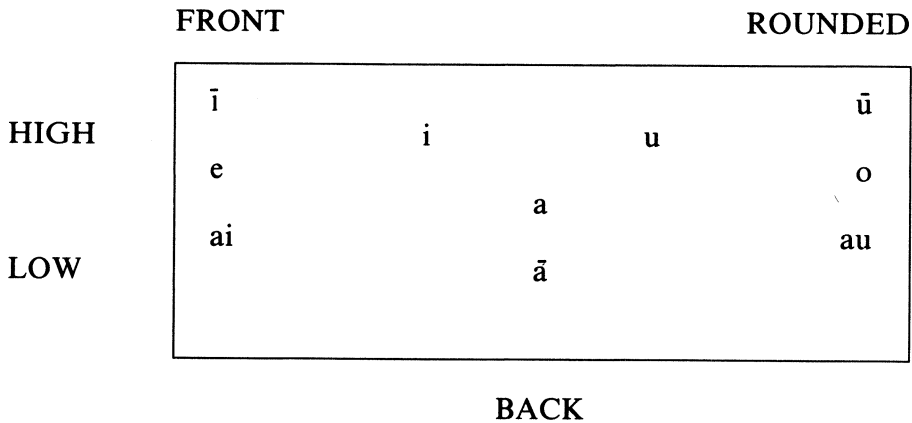
51.

liye beṭī ne cāval banāe haiṅ, the sections of this part of the introduction are somewhat differently weighted. This HU section, assuming a basic knowledge, is devoted to a brief discussion of the differences between H and U and the explanation of the basic grammatical terminology used in this book. The following sections (6–8), on S, A, and P, emphasize their most salient features as loan-sources for H and U respectively, principally under the categories of lexicon and morphology. The final section (9) on E should prove easier reading.

51. *Phonology*

The phonological structure of a language is determined by the distribution of its phonemes, i.e. those sounds whose substitution by another affects the meaning of a word. Like most NIA languages, HU has a rather simple 10-vowel system albeit with the further possibility of contrast through nasalization, and a much more complex system of consonants. The complexity of the intrinsic IA consonantal system is further compounded by the existence of loan-phonemes from S and Perso-Arabic (PA) which are somewhat differently treated in H and in U respectively.

The shared HU vowel-system can be represented on a conventional phonetic grid as:



Contrasts between these 10 vowel-phonemes are readily distinguished on the basis of such minimal pairs as:

<i>mil</i>	meet	vs.	<i>mīl</i>	mile
<i>melā</i>	fair	vs.	<i>mailā</i>	dirty

A further contrast is that of nasalization, transcribed in this book as *ñ*. This phonemic contrast applies to the peripheral vowels of the diagram, conventionally referred to as 'long' vowels in terms of their role in both H and U poetics:

<i>sās</i>	mother-in-law	vs.	<i>sāñs</i>	breath
<i>hai</i>	is	vs.	<i>haiñ</i>	are

The consonantal inventory is principally governed by the elaborate contrasts of voicing and aspiration across five points of articulation. In addition to 31 basic phonemes, a further 8 consonants with variable phonetic and phonemic status may also be distinguished. These are asterisked in the following grid:

	GLOTTAL	VELAR	PALATAL	RETROFLEX	DENTAL	LABIAL
VOICELESS	*q	k	c	ʈ	t	p
— ASPIRATED		kh	ch	ʈh	th	ph
VOICED		g	j	ɖ	d	b
— ASPIRATED		gh	jh	ɖh	dh	bh
NASAL				*ŋ	n	m
FRICATIVES		*x	ś	*ʂ	s	*f
— VOICED	h	*ġ	*ž		*z	
FLAPS, &c.				ɽ	r	
— ASPIRATED				ɽh		
SEMIVOWELS & LIQUID			y		l	v

Contrasts between the basic phonemes are readily established by such minimal pairs as:

<i>dāī</i>	nurse	vs.	<i>ḍhāī</i>	two and a half
<i>paṛnā</i>	to fall	vs.	<i>paṛhnā</i>	to study

But the asterisked loan-phonemes are less fully distinguished, often being assimilated to the intrinsic phonemes nearest to them in articulation. The following distinctions of PA phonemes are carefully preserved in standard U, but are often disregarded in H speech:

*q/k	*x/kh	*ġ/g	*z/j	*f/ph
------	-------	------	------	-------

The weak U distinction *ž/*z hardly exists in H. Similarly, the S loan-phonemes found in very careful H speech in the distinctions *ŋ/n and *ʂ/ś are absent altogether from U, except as allophones, i.e. positionally governed variants of other phonemes. The phoneme *n*, for instance, is regularly pronounced in both H and U as the retroflex *ŋ* before a retroflex consonant, e.g. *aṇḍā* 'egg'.

511.

511. *Hindi script and transcription*

The following conventions are used here in the transcription of H from the Nagari script:

:	h												
अ	a	आ	ā	इ	i	ई	ī	उ	u	ऊ	ū	ऋ	ṛ
ए	e	ऐ	ai	ओ	o	औ	ai	ँ	ṅ				
क	k	ख	kh	ग	g	घ	gh	ङ	ṅ				
क	q	ख	x	ग	g̃								
च	c	छ	ch	ज	j	झ	jh	ञ	ñ				
				ज़	z								
ट	ṭ	ठ	ṭh	ड	ḍ	ढ	ḍh	ण	ṇ				
				ड़	ṛ	ढ़	ṛh						
त	t	थ	th	द	d	ध	dh	न	n				
प	p	फ	ph	ब	b	भ	bh	म	m				
		फ़	f										
य	y	र	r	ल	l	व	v						
श	ś	ष	ṣ	स	s	ह	h						

The characters of the Nagari syllabary do not have names as such (with the exception of the designation *reph* for the allographs of *r*), but are referred to by suffixed *-kār*: 'a-kār' etc.

The superscript *anusvār* either denotes vowel nasality (transcribed *ṅ*), in which case it is an alternative form to *candrabindu* (◌̣); or it substitutes one of the five nasal consonants in a conjunct syllable (and is transcribed accordingly, as in *aṅḍā*, *hindī* etc.). Vowels with either *anusvār* or *candrabindu* precede unmarked vowels in dictionary order; some lexicographers list all words with vowel + *candrabindu* before words with vowel + *anusvār*, but the more usual practice is to treat them as a single category.

Visarg, all too easily confused with a colon in H texts, is often silent in pronunciation, though in S contexts it usually echoes the quality of the preceding vowel, so that *śāntiḥ* for example is pronounced as though written *śāntiḥi*. In dictionary order, *visarg* precedes the vowels, so that *duḥkh* for example will precede *duā*.

Although the Nagari script was devised to record IA sounds and the letters therefore correspond closely to H phonology, not all of them indicate independent phonemes. The spellings of S loans, in particular, naturally reflect the norms of S rather than H pronunciation. In the system of transcription used in this book, the inherent vowel *a* is written only where it is pronounced in H (except in section 6, dealing specifically with S forms).

512. *Urdu Script and Transcription*

The concessions made to S norms in the spelling of Nagari are minor indeed compared to the degree to which the U use of the PA alphabet is determined by the conventions of A spelling (711) and those of P orthography (811).

Thus the alphabet contains many redundant letters, asterisked in the following table, which indicated separate phonemes in A (71) but do not do so in U. The U names of the letters are:

ا — alif	د d dāl	ض *z zvād	م m mīm
ب b be	ڈ ḍ ḍāl	ط *t toe	ن n nūn
پ p pe	ز *z zāl	ظ *z zoe	و v vāo
ت t te	ر r re	ع ‘ ‘ain	ہ h choḥī he
ٹ ṭ ṭe	ڑ ṛ ṛe	غ ġ ġain	ی y ye
ث *s se	ز z ze	ف f fe	
ج j jīm	ژ ž že	ق q qāf	
چ c ce	س s sīn	ک k kāf	
ح *h barī he	ش š šīn	گ g gāf	
خ x xe	ص *s svād	ل l lām	

Vowels are transcribed as pronounced according to the usual system, i.e. as *a ā i ī u ū e ai o au*, and the nasalizing *nūn ġunnā* is transcribed as *ñ*. Final silent *he* is written as *-â*, e.g. *baccâ* ‘child’. Written *hamzâ* is normally disregarded in the transcription, but ‘ain is transcribed as an apostrophe. The silent *vāo* after *xe* is written as *ṡ*, e.g. *xṡāb* ‘dream’.

513. *Hindi-Urdu contrasts*

The systems of transcription used here have deliberately been made as similar to one another as possible, in order to bring out the underlying similarities between H and U which are so often obscured by their totally divergent scripts. A few purely orthographic contrasts nevertheless continue to be represented in this homogenized romanization. U *š* corresponds to both H *ś* and *ṣ*, so that frequent instances will be encountered of a purely visual contrast between e.g. H (and S) *bhāśā* and U *bhāšā*; similarly, H has only one way of writing the final sound *-ā*, thus lacking the U orthographic distinction between e.g. *sīnā* ‘to sew’ and *sīnā* ‘breast’: cf. U *tarā* vs. H *tarah*.

The most obvious area of real contrasts lies of course in the differential status of loan consonant-phonemes (51). The syllabic structure of the two languages in their most sophisticated forms is similarly influenced by the different patterns of S on the one hand and PA on the other. While both languages are very careful about the spelling of their ‘own’ loan-words, and careful speakers often attempt their original pronunciation, each is equally careless about the other’s, to which the more casual rules of basic HU phonology and spellings are readily applied.

This basic phonology typically prefers a syllabic structure in which consonants alternate with vowels, avoiding clusters of consonants either initially or finally within a word: this is why E words like 'strength' are such tongue-twisters for HU-speakers. S, by contrast, abounds in such clusters, and there are plenty of them in final position in A words also. So S *janm(a)* 'birth' would be realized in pronunciation as *janam* by all U-speakers and most H-speakers. A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of unaccented short vowels, where original distinctions between *i* and that commonest of all IA vowels, *a*, are often lost. The A word *intizār* 'waiting', for instance, is pronounced and spelt by most H-speakers as *intazār*.

In spite of the utterly different character of the two scripts, word-boundaries in H and U are generally drawn in the same places. Minor exceptions concern such common graphic contrasts as the writing of postpositions after pronouns, the conjunctive participle, and the infinitive participle, where modern norms tend to differ between one-word H *usne*, *muskarākar*, *bolnevālā* and U *us ne*, *muskarā-kar*, and *bolne-vālā*, as transcribed in this book.

The extremely casual application of E punctuation-marks to the very different norms of HU syntax in both the Nagari and the PA scripts is hardly to be reduced to contrastive rules. Where necessary, the transcriptions follow the originals.

Since an U word cannot end with a short vowel, final *-i* or *-u* in S loans must be either dropped or lengthened when represented in U: thus *bhūm* (= S *bhūmi*), *bhaktī* (= S *bhakti*).

Although H spellings of AP vocabulary will normally be based on HU phonetic norms, some etymological AP spellings are occasionally preserved in H: *khvāb/xvāb* (pronounced without the *-v-*), and the archaic *muāf*, *muālūm* for current *māf*, *mālūm*.

52. *Lexicon*

The common stock of shared HU vocabulary derives from S, A, P, and European languages, and also includes a large number of vernacular words described as *desī* (the term ironically being Sanskritized to *deśī* in H usage). H-speakers rarely discriminate between A and P loans, just as U-speakers designate both *tatsama* and *tadbhava* levels of S-derived vocabulary under the one category of '*hindī*'. Although HU has its own processes of word-formation (522), the effective application of these is severely curtailed by a preference for the infinitely more prolific word-forming processes of the loan-sources S and PA.

521. *Indo-Aryan Etymologies*

The process by which the characteristic forms of NIA vocabulary derive from their S etymons can be observed in the *CDIAL*, an etymological dictionary which records the various stages of development of a huge range of IA vocabulary and by so doing plots the history of linguistic change from OIA to the wide variety of NIA languages. An important and invaluable feature of *CDIAL* is the fact that it shows not only 'vertical' or chronological development but also the 'horizontal' variations which account for the varying sound patterns distinguishing HU from

neighbouring languages such as Panjabi or Bengali: e.g. 9349 *bhagini-* > Prakrit *bha(g)inī-/bahiṇī* > Panjabi *bhaiṇ*, HU *bahin*, Bengali *bon*.

The *CDIAL* is best approached through the 'Hindi' section of its index, which gives the OIA headword reference for a given HU word. An asterisk before a headword indicates that it is not an attested S word but a hypothetical reconstruction based on the evidence of the MIA and NIA lexicon: this demonstrates how the observed connexions between the various stages of language development can be formulated as rules for the accurate construing of etymologies.

The changes from OIA (S) through MIA (Prakrit) to NIA (HU) typically involve progressive simplifications of the complex phonology of S. The regular loss of the S final short vowels *-a -i -u* is accompanied by many other shifts of vowel-quality and quantity. These are, however, less immediately obvious than the major changes of consonants, which may be summarized in terms of the following typical developments:

(a) The simplification of most S consonant clusters, first to doubled consonants in Prakrit (still preserved in Panjabi), then to single consonants in HU. The preceding vowel is regularly lengthened in HU, and is often nasalized; e.g.:

CDIAL	S	Prakrit	Panjabi	HU	
55	<i>agni</i>	<i>aggi</i>	<i>agg</i>	<i>āg</i>	fire
2892	<i>karman</i>	<i>kamma</i>	<i>kamm</i>	<i>kām</i>	work
14024	<i>hasta</i>	<i>hattha</i>	<i>hatth</i>	<i>hāth</i>	hand

(Some common HU words are in fact of the 'Panjabi' types, preserving the doubled consonant form; *makkhan*, *acchā*, *gaddī*.)

Nasalization appears in e.g.:

43	<i>akṣi</i>	<i>akkhi</i>	<i>akkh</i>	<i>āṅkh</i>	eye
1600	<i>iṣṭakā</i>	<i>iṭṭhakā</i>	<i>iṭṭ</i>	<i>īṅṭ</i>	brick

(b) the loss of many S single medial consonants, e.g.:

CDIAL	S	Prakrit	HU	
10016	<i>māṭṛ</i>	<i>māyā</i>	<i>māṅ</i>	mother
6507	* <i>dekṣati</i>	<i>dekkhai</i>	<i>dekhe</i>	sees

(c) the reduction of S aspirated consonants to medial *-h-* in HU, e.g.:

2703	<i>kathayati</i>	<i>kahai</i>	<i>kahe</i>	says
6146	<i>dadhi</i>	<i>dahi</i>	<i>dahī</i>	yoghurt

(d) regular changes of many S consonants, e.g. of initial *y- v-* to HU *j- v-*, of medial *-ṭ- -ṭh-* to HU *-ṛ- -ṛh-*, and of S *ś* to HU *s* in all positions, e.g.:

10452	<i>yāti</i>	<i>jāai</i>	<i>jāe</i>	goes
11511	<i>vādyā</i>	<i>vajja</i>	<i>bājā</i>	musical instrument
10496	<i>*yoṭayati</i>	<i>jodei</i>	<i>joṛe</i>	joins
7712	<i>paṭhati</i>	<i>paḍhai</i>	<i>paṛhe</i>	reads
12278	<i>śata</i>	<i>saya</i>	<i>sau</i>	hundred
6227	<i>daśa</i>	<i>dasa</i>	<i>das</i>	ten

It is worth noting the typical origin of the HU phonemes *ṛ ṛh* which are lacking in S, and the absence of *ś* in native HU *tadbhava* words. The re-establishment of the phoneme here transcribed as *ś* for H and *ṣ* for U is due to the double influence of loans from S and PA.

Although H and U share this pool of *tadbhava* vocabulary, there are occasions on which they adopt as standard the derived forms of parallel etymons. This explains, for example, H *khīncnā* versus U *khaiñcnā*, deriving from the reconstructed roots **khīnc-* and **khaiñc-* respectively. Similar discrepancies may occur, sometimes regionally, within H and/or U: e.g. the two forms *andherā* and *andhiyārā*, both deriving from **andhikāra*.

A separate category of HU vocabulary is that of *desī* words, those words of vernacular origin which do not derive from S etymons. Relatively rare in the literary prose exemplified in this book, *desī* words are typically associated with domestic contexts and the names of artefacts; in form they resemble the simpler *tadbhava* words, being free of the consonant clusters of *tatsama* vocabulary. Examples are *ṭabbar* 'family', *ḍaul* 'way'.

522. *Semantic range*

Their unique historical background gives to the sister-languages of H and U a unique potential range of vocabulary and register. While on the one hand the high ranges of PA and S designate 'pure' U and H respectively, the common ground between the two guarantees a certain minimum shared base from which neither language can in any honesty dissociate itself: on the one hand U is anchored to its basic NIA vocabulary, e.g. *roṭī*, *barā*, *khānā*, and on the other, H cannot operate fully without its legacy of P syntax and vocabulary — both of which are exemplified in the essential syntactic function of the P cj. *ki*.

Within the two extremes of dissimilarity and symbiosis there is an enormous range of flexibility in vocabulary use. In the context of everyday speech, most speakers of H and U will have at least a passive knowledge of two words designating many common items, e.g. *kitāb/pustak*, *hindustān/bhārat*, *dost/mitra*. The full lexical range is exemplified in sets such as the following, of which each member will be appropriate in a given context or register:

S	A	P	HU	
<i>varṣ</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>sāl</i>	<i>baras</i>	year
<i>bhāṣā</i>	<i>lisān</i>	<i>zabān</i>	<i>bolī</i>	language

While it is often the case that the PA word represents the colloquial norm in both U and H, the semantic field of any particular word is likely to have some specific cultural implication which affects usage: H *sevā karnā* implies a piety deriving from Hindu ideals of religious service which makes it semantically distinct from the more neutral U *xidmat karnā*. Conversely, the vast movement of populations after Partition led to the adoption in U of A *mujāhir* 'refugee', with its etymologically explicit invocation of the Hijra from Mecca to Medina, versus the looser connotations in the H synonym implied by S *śaraṇārthī*.

523. *Word-formation*

Both S (62) and P (82) are outstanding examples of Indo-European languages with richly productive patterns of word-formation: although belonging to the quite different Semitic language-family, A (72) is equally well-endowed in this regard. These formidably well-equipped models, latterly joined by E (92) with its ready capability of generating fresh words from its Germanic, Latin and Greek resources, stand collectively in marked contrast to the native patterns of HU, which are much less obviously productive in the formation of fresh words from pre-existing elements.

It is true that there are many instances of prefixation, changes in internal vowel-quality, and suffixation to be observed in the analysis of related HU words. But these tend to be 'bound' forms, conditioned by the evolution of NIA from the much freer possibilities for fresh word-formation existing in S, e.g. *an-parḥ* 'illiterate', *milnā* 'to meet' vs. *mel* 'union', or *mīthās* f. 'sweetness' vs. *mīthā* adj. 'sweet'.

In the generation of fresh words, H therefore tends to rely upon S patterns, and U upon those of A and P. Productive vernacular formulae seldom extend beyond one or two common suffixes, e.g.:

(a) *-pan*, derived from S *-tvana*, used to form m. abstract nouns from adj. and concrete nouns, e.g.:

<i>bhaddā</i>	adj.	clumsy	<i>bhaddā-pan</i>	m.	clumsiness
<i>larḥā</i>	m.	boy	<i>larḥak-pan</i>	m.	boyhood

The last example may be compared with *bac-pan* m. 'boyhood' from P *baccā*, also with the less common *-āpā*, e.g. *burḥāpā* 'old age'.

(b) *-ī*, derived from S *-in*, used to form adj. from nouns, e.g.:

<i>pahār</i>	m.	mountain	<i>pahārī</i>	adj.	mountainous
<i>dhan</i>	m.	wealth	<i>dhanī</i>	adj.	wealthy

Since the same suf. *-ī* is also immensely productive in S (622c), A (722), and P (822f), etymological confusions are frequent. But the native activity of HU *-ī* is confirmed by such coinages as *filmī* 'to do with the films'.

H is perhaps more accommodating to other native suffixes than U, e.g. the adj. *-āū* in such words as *paṇḍitāū* 'pandit-ish, pedantic'.

524. *Compounds*

Most HU compounds are of the type called *dvandva* in S terminology (625a), i.e. they consist of two words in juxtaposition, e.g.:

<i>bāp-dādā</i>	mp.	ancestors ('fathers & grandfathers')
<i>len-den</i>	m.	dealing ('taking & giving')

The same pattern is freely extended to nouns borrowed from other languages, where P would insert the copula *o* (842) or E would have 'and', e.g.:

(A) <i>savāl-javāb</i>	m.	question and answer
(A) <i>mihnat-mazdūrī</i>	f.	toil and labour
(S) <i>śikṣā-dīkṣā</i>	f.	education and initiation

Jingle-compounds, involving plays on the vowels or initial consonant of the first element, are more characteristic of HU speech than formal styles in either language, e.g. *ṭhik-ṭhāk* adj./adv. 'fine', *rāzī-bāzī* 'O.K.', *khānā-vānā* 'grub', though not all such jingle-compounds are quite so informal.

The similar pairing of synonymous verbs both of which are independently conjugated is intrinsically natural to both H and U, e.g. *khelnā kūdnā* 'to play about' or *larnā jhagarnā* 'to quarrel'. The same sort of vague phonetic resemblance between the elements of such pairs is to be seen in verbal compounds whose second element has no independent function in HU, e.g. *milnā julnā* 'to resemble', vs. *milnā* 'to meet', etc.

53. *Morphology*

The main NIA morphological features of HU are shared in common, and call for little comment here, although the inflexion of the demonstrative pronouns constitutes a major shibboleth between the two. It is, moreover, the HU verb which constitutes the most morphologically complex part of speech, and so the opportunity is taken to establish a common terminology here to aid subsequent comparison between the notes to the H and the U passages of this book.

531. *Pronouns*

(a) The U s.dir. 3rd person demonstratives *ye* and *vo* contrast with H *yah* and *vah*. The theoretical distinction in H between *yah* as s. and *ye* as p. is often overlooked, *yah* being used for both numbers by many writers, and *ye* often serving as a s. form in speech. Likewise *vah* is essentially a written H form, being given its full phonetic value only when spoken very deliberately in isolation; indeed some writers have adopted *vo* as a H spelling, albeit non-standard. *ve* is standard as the p.dir. 3rd person demonstrative in H, but is not used in U which has *vo* (frequently found in H also).

(b) H has some rarely encountered forms of the indefinite pronoun which have been virtually dropped from U: *kinhīn*, *kinhoñne*.

(c) Loans into HU from S (e.g. *svayam*) and P (e.g. *xud*) are noted in 633 and 833 respectively.

532. *Parts of the Verb*

The names of the simple tenses — present (pres.), future (fut.), past, imperative (imp.) and subjunctive (subj.) — are in general currency, like the infinitive (inf.) and the broad category of participles (ptc.). Other parts of the HU verb are variously named in different grammars of H and of U, and the following terminology is adopted here:

(a) absolutive (abs.): the unmarked stem so frequent in compound verbal phrases, e.g. *uṭhā le gae*.

(b) adverbial participle (adv. ptc.) the obl. form in *-e* of the pres. or past ptc. used adverbially, e.g. *baiṭhe baiṭhe*.

(c) conjunctive participle (cj. ptc.): the extended form of the abs., typically with *-kar*, e.g. H *muskarākar* = U *muskarā-kar* (513).

(d) extended participle (ext. ptc.): the extension of the pres. or past ptc. with forms of *huā*, e.g. *bhejā huā xat*.

(e) infinitive participle (inf. ptc.): the extension of the obl. inf. with *-vālā*, e.g. H *bolnevālā* = U *bolne-vālā* (513).

The term 'phrase-verb' is used to denote conjuncts of nouns or adj. with *karnā* etc., while 'modal verb' is loosely used to cover such diverse verbal conjuncts as *kar dālnā*, *kar denā*, and *kar saknā*.

54. *Syntax*

The syntax of the simple HU sentence is distinguished by the typical word-order subject-object-verb, the use of postpositions (ppn.), not prepositions, but of pre-modifying adjectives before nouns, and the frequent use of enclitic particles, sometimes called 'emphatics': all these features govern the syntactic of even so simple a sentence as *maiñ bhī āp ke bhāī ko aisī kahānī sunā saktā hūñ*, vs. E 'I too can tell your brother such a tale'.

It is a major purpose of this book to illustrate the ways in which writers of H and U prose build upon such basic structures. And many of the notes to the passages draw attention to the underlying influence of the often different syntactic patterns of the major loan-languages, especially P (84) and E (94), to the deliberate exploitation of the alternative resources provided by these languages or to the felicitous combinations of borrowed structures with colloquial idiomatic expression achieved by the best writers of H and U, who from their different perspectives are equally aware of the multiple resources available to them from their complex linguistic heritage.

A basic understanding of the underlying patterns of HU syntax is taken for granted in these notes, especially of the fundamental contrast between the HU preference for parataxis, in which clauses are placed side by side, which contrasts so strongly with the preference of even the simplest styles of E for the subordination of subsidiary clauses, e.g. *jo larḳī kal āī, vo merī bahin hai* vs. E 'the girl who came yesterday is my sister'. This HU preference underlies the first of the features to which brief attention is drawn below (541).

541. *Pre-modifiers*

One of the most striking contrasts between everyday HU speech and the norms of formal H and U prose usage is furnished by the formal preference for extended phrases, typically incorporating S or PA elements, in writing, where simple spoken styles would naturally prefer a relative clause. A phrase familiar from its initial formulation by E-speaking officials of the Raj, such as 'the name written below', might be most naturally realized in HU as a relative clause beginning *jo nām nīce likhā huā hai, . . .*. The alternative pre-modifying ext. ptc. (532d) will, it is true, yield *nīce (kā) likhā huā nām*: but this is hardly more than a pale attempt to indigenize the complex borrowed pre-modifiers much more likely to emerge in official usage, whether reflected in the H take-over of S *nimnalikhit nām* or the contrary U preference for the PA *mundarajā-e zail nām*. In this respect, both S and PA come together in encouraging both formal H and U to develop often artificial pre-modifying phrases of the type illustrated in E by the Germanic model of 'the Fascist-loathing professoriate': as so often, the apparent Sanskritisms of H do little more than reflect the ubiquitous presence of Indo-Persian officialese, still so apparent in U, or subsequent coinages from E.

542. *Indigenous resources*

The influence of the loan-languages upon indigenous patterns of HU syntax, so conspicuously illustrated by the preference of formal H and U styles by their incorporation of pre-modifiers, is reflected in many other aspects of the language of the pieces included in this book. Notice is drawn in an overall fashion thereto in the succeeding sections (6–9), and is further incorporated into the notes on the passages which follow.

Particular attention may, however, be initially drawn to two general features of the native syntactic patterns of HU, which serve to determine the inclusion of many specific notes:

(a) phrasal reduplication:

Although sometimes confusable in appearance with the characteristic *dvandva*-type compounds already described (524), this process serves a vital syntactic function in HU. Vaguely covered by the blanket terms 'emphasis' or 'distribution', there is seldom a one-to-one correspondence with E, e.g. *ṭhīk ṭhīk nahīn jān sakte* 'cannot perceive (quite) accurately', *śurū' śurū' meṅ* 'in the very beginning', *ek ek dost ke liye* 'for each (individual) friend', *abhyās karte karte* 'through (constantly) practising', or *samay samay par* 'from time to time'. That seductively convenient but utterly unhelpful label 'intensive', so frequently employed by E-speaking grammarians of HU to cover all sorts of inconvenient phrasal constructions, similarly applies only remotely to the equally productive insertion of *kā* into reduplicated adj. patterns. e.g. *kore ke kore* '(all) utterly dumb', or *sab ke sab* 'all (and every)'.

(b) enclitics:

The three common enclitic particles ... *to*, ... *bhī*, ... *hī* tend to be very awkwardly introduced into elementary teaching grammars with such E glosses as 'however', 'also', 'indeed'. This awkwardness stems largely from the impossibility of their full introduction to learners who have not yet been exposed to real H or U sentences and paragraphs. While it is true that *hī* tends to function within a sentence either as an 'emphatic' or in the restrictive sense of E 'only', the other particles very commonly serve to link sentences within the loose paratactic norms of HU with what has gone before. If the same sort of thing is being said, then *bhī* is the natural indicator of this: the frequent U preference for *aur*, whose equivalent 'and' is so strictly forbidden at the beginning of formal E sentences, perhaps continues to reflect the convenient *vāo* that indicates PA *va...* 'And...'. The preference in U for A *lekin* or P *magar* 'but', reproduced in the H substitution of S *parantu*, may similarly serve to obscure the basic resource of the shared HU adversative enclitic ... *to*, whose subtle implications in relation to the prior statement are best illustrated in notes ad loc., rather than by any attempt at establishing overall rules here.

6. The Sanskrit Component

The influence of S on all the modern languages of India is very marked: this influence extends not only to the IA languages directly descended from S, but also to languages of the distinct Dravidian group, which are now major borrowers of S vocabulary. The emergence of the modern style of formal H has largely been achieved through the massive increase in the number of S loans borrowed into the language, displacing often well-established loans from PA and attempting to displace that important if smaller body of vocabulary borrowed from E.

Insofar as all NIA languages are descendants of S, many of their grammatical and formal features are clearly traceable to S patterns. The phonology of HU and the script of H are very largely directly inherited from S (51), and many features of S morphology are apparent in HU forms (52). Despite the formal parallels between HU and S, however, the most important aspect of S *vis-à-vis* NIA is its availability as a source of loan-words: a glance at the H glossary of this book will show the extent of the debt of H to its ancestor. While U will in most circumstances prefer PA loans, and S has never been a major source of loans for U or indeed for other languages such as Sindhi having a clear Muslim identification, there are a number of S words which have found their way into the more general register of HU; these words, such as *samāj* 'society', are typically free of the heavy consonant clusters so unappealing to U-speakers, and are readily accommodated by the U script. Specifically Hindu cultural contexts such as the *pūjā* 'worship' in the *mandir* 'temple' will clearly generate a predominance of S vocabulary in U as well as H usage; and the same applies in certain technical subjects such as music, for which the ground-rules were developed within the Hindu tradition.