

(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.

Given the importance of the S lexicon as a source of loans, the greater part of this section has been allotted to a description of the word-forming processes by which both original and neological S vocabulary comes into being.

### 61. Phonology and Script

The S syllabary, whose systematic phonological arrangement demonstrates the sophistication of the Indian grammatical tradition from a very early period, underlies all its NIA derivatives. Before the standardizing influence of the printing press made its mark on Indian culture, S was often written in the various regional scripts, most of which bear strong formal and stylistic resemblances to the Nagari script and share its phonological arrangement; but in modern times, S has increasingly become associated with Nagari, and the regional scripts have accordingly become more or less exclusively the vehicles of the vernacular languages.

The S syllabary differs from that used for H (511) only in the realized values of some of the characters and in the absence of diacritically marked graphs representing sounds such as *r*, *q* and *z* which have no place in the S sound-system.

There is much variation in the HU realizations of S sounds; the more self-conscious H speaker with a knowledge and appreciation of the S forms will certainly give characteristic S sounds their full value, even if they are unrepresented in the simpler phonology of HU, but more generally such sounds are assimilated to HU norms in pronunciation, though this process of simplification does not normally extend to written forms.

Of the vowel series *a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ e ai o au*, only the syllabic liquids *ṛ*, *ṝ* and *ḷ* call for comment: *ṛ* has the value /ri/ in both H and S pronunciation, though both /ru/ and /ra/ are found as variants; *ṝ* (ऋ) is *ṛ* lengthened, and *ḷ* (ऌ) is pronounced as the ‘-le’ in ‘fable’. Graphic *ṛ* is met in H only in S loans, the sound /ri/ otherwise being represented as *ri* (though some confusion of *ṛ* and *ri* existed before the conventions of H spelling became standardized early this century); *ṝ* and *ḷ* do not occur in HU, but may be encountered occasionally in the citation of S texts.

The sounds *ṇ* and *ṣ* maintain their retroflex quality in S pronunciation, whereas in H they are commonly equated with *n* and *ś* respectively (unless forming a conjunct with another retroflex consonant as in *kaṇṭh*, *kaṣṭ*).

The historical pronunciation of the conjunct *jñ*, which has its own graph ( ञ ), approximates to the medial sound in E ‘onion’, though starting with the tongue position for a dental ‘d’; the more common HU pronunciation however is as *gy*, as evidenced by the E spelling of the personal name ‘Gyan’ (vs. HS *jñān* ‘knowledge’).

The realization of *anusvār* is also subject to variation. Before *y* and *v* (e.g. *saṅyukt*), *anusvār* represents a nasalization of the preceding vowel; before *r*, *l* and *s* (e.g. *saṅskṛt*) it usually represents a nasal consonant closely similar to dental *n*, but will come closer to a labial nasal *m* in some pronunciations; before *ś* it usually represents a nasal consonant midway between dental and palatal position, though this may be weakened to simple vowel nasality for some speakers. In final position, *anusvār* is pronounced as *m* (e.g. *svayam*, written स्वयं).

A change in the pronunciation value of *anusvār* will occur with the formation of some words through a *vrddhi* vowel gradation (623): thus the *anusvār* in *saṅskṛti* 'culture' approximates more closely to a full nasal consonant than the *anusvār* in *sāṅskṛtik* 'cultural', which represents vowel nasality only.

The subscript sign *virām* in S and H indicates the absence of the inherent *a* vowel from a consonant, as in परिषद् *pariṣad*; it provides a convenient alternative to writing the more cumbrous conjunct characters such as those produced by *d + bh* or *ṭ + ṭh*, and is an essential component of typewritten Nagari, in which many conjuncts have to be represented in this manner.

The showing of word-boundaries in S is a modern development; traditionally, words are not separated, and indeed often coalesce in the process of sound-change called 'sandhi' (611): this is in sharp contrast to P orthographic conventions (811).

Unlike H, S observes the rule that an unmodified consonant is followed by the 'inherent' vowel *a* even medially and at the end of the word (thus S *Rāma*, *avasara* vs. H *Rām*, *avsar*). The convention of showing all inherent *a* vowels in transliteration is therefore followed in this section (only).

### 611. Sandhi

In E, pluralizing '-s' is pronounced as /s/ after a voiceless sound but as /z/ after a voiced sound, as in 'clocks' and 'clogs' respectively. Sandhi or 'junction' is the process by which S acknowledges graphically such sound changes produced by adjacent sounds in a word or phrase. The rules for this process are complex, but a summary of the basic rules is essential for an understanding of the composition of S loans.

The main features of vowel sandhi are:

(i) *a/ā* combines with a following vowel as shown:

*a/ā + a/ā = ā:*

*kārya* work + *ālaya* place = *kāryālaya* office

*a/ā + i/ī = e:*

*parama* supreme + *īśvara* lord = *parameśvara* God

*a/ā + u/ū = o:*

*varṣa* year + *utsava* festival = *varṣotsava* annual festival

*a/ā + ṛ = ar/ār:*

*mahā* great + *ṛṣi* sage = *mahārṣi* great sage

*a/ā + i/e = ai:*

*sadā* always + *iva* indeed = *sadaiva* always, ever

(ii) Vowels of the same quality, long or short, combine to form a long vowel:

*avani* earth + *īśa* lord = *avanīśa* 'lord of the earth'

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(iii) *i/ī* changes to *y*, and *u/ū* to *v*, before a vowel of a different quality:

*prati* per + *eka* one = *pratyeka* each

The commonest sound-changes of consonant sandhi are shown in the grid below, which is not exhaustive but which will resolve most examples of sandhi encountered in S loans in H:

First word ends: + Second word begins:

k ṭ t p h/r  
(s) aḥ

g	ḍ	d	b	r	o
k	ṭ	c	p	ś	aś
g	ḍ	j	b	r	o
k	ṭ	ṭ	p	ṣ	aṣ
g	ḍ	ḍ	b	r	o
k	ṭ	t	p	s	as
ñ	ṇ	n	m	r	o

g/gh, d/dh, b/bh, y/v, r, vowel  
c/ch, ś  
j/jh  
ṭ/ṭh  
ḍ/ḍh,  
t/th  
n/m

Examples:

*jagat* world + *ambā* mother = *jagadambā* the mother goddess  
*dus* bad + *jana* person = *durjana* rogue  
*manas* mind + *rañjana* pleasing = *manorañjana* entertainment  
*sat* true + *guṇa* quality = *sadguṇa* virtue  
*sat* true + *jana* person = *sajjana* gentleman

As some of the above combinations demonstrate, the process of sandhi tends to obscure the separate identity of the individual words involved, and the breaking down of sandhi combinations into their constituent parts is an essential first step in the construing of a S sentence or in the understanding of many S loans in H. The situation becomes more complex (and therefore more difficult for the language-learner, as any student of S will testify) when sandhi combinations themselves join forces with the diverse processes of word-compounding (625) which are such a characteristic feature of S grammar.

612. *Guṇa and Vṛddhi*

The vowel changes noted above follow a process codified in the rules of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, a two-stage process of vowel gradation which is an important element in S word-formation (623). This system recognizes three qualities of 'simple' vowel, *a/ā*, *i/ī* and *u/ū*. Each of these is augmented to the so-called *guṇa* stage by combining with a preceding *a*-vowel; the *guṇa* vowel is similarly augmented to form the *vṛddhi* stage by again combining

with *a*. The process is best seen diagrammatically:

Simple vowels:

*Guṇa*

*Vṛddhi*

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ
a	ā	e		o		ar
	ā	ai		au		ār

Thus *a* itself remains unchanged in the *guṇa* stage, and *ā* likewise in both stages.

## 62. *Lexicon*

The majority of S loans in H are nouns and adjectives, which of course have a further important role in the phrase-verbs and postpositions so prominent in the grammar of HU. The use of S conjunctions and adverbs (such as *evam* 'and' and *kramaśaḥ* 'respectively' respectively) tends to be restricted to the higher, more formal register of H, but the tendency is for this register to spill over into current speech habits, thereby maintaining the pace of the long-established processes of Sanskritization. Loans fall into three main categories: (a) simple borrowings of genuine S usage (e.g. *patra* 'letter'); (b) borrowings of existing S words for meanings other than their original ones (e.g. *ākāśa-vānī* 'All-India Radio', and hence 'radio' generally, originally meaning 'heavenly voice, oracle'); (c) neologisms coined from S roots to designate new concepts or artefacts (e.g. *dūrabhāṣa*, 'telephone'). This tripartite distinction counts for little with most H-speakers, although the take-up of neologisms into actual usage varies from item to item (and is often in direct competition with a well-established E loan such as *ṭelīfon*).

## 621. *Prefixes*

Like Latin and Greek, S makes full use of prefixation in the formation of words, and a knowledge of this process aids an understanding of S-derived H vocabulary. The most common are listed below. The use of affixes is distinguished from true compounds (625), where each of the two components may function alone as a separate word.

Note that in some usages the pref. merely intensifies the meaning of the word to which it is attached; also that the sense of the resultant word is not always fully predictable from the literal meaning of the pref.

(a) *a-*, *an-* 'un' etc.:

<i>khaṇḍa</i>	segment	<i>akhaṇḍa</i>	continuous
<i>tithi</i>	date	<i>atithi</i>	guest (of uncertain period!)

(b) *anu-* 'according to, with regard to':

<i>sāra</i>	essence	<i>anusāra</i>	conformity
<i>artha</i>	meaning	<i>anvartha</i>	intelligible

(c) *apa-* 'contrary, inferior':

<i>māna</i>	respect	<i>apamāna</i>	affront
<i>bhraṅsa</i>	breakdown	<i>apabhraṅsa</i>	corruption

(d) *ava-* 'downwards':

<i>guṇa</i>	quality	<i>avaguṇa</i>	defect
<i>rohaṇa</i>	ascent	<i>avarohaṇa</i>	descent

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(e) *ud-* 'upwards':

<i>gama</i>	going	<i>udgama</i>	source, origin
<i>tāpa</i>	heat	<i>uttāpa</i>	great heat

(f) *upa-* 'subordinate':

<i>mantrī</i>	minister	<i>upamantrī</i>	deputy minister
<i>pati</i>	husband	<i>upapati</i>	paramour

(g) *ku-* 'deficient':

<i>karma</i>	action	<i>kukarma</i>	evil deed
<i>rūpa</i>	form	<i>kurūpa</i>	ugly

(h) *dus-* 'bad, hard':

<i>jana</i>	person	<i>durjana</i>	rogue
<i>vacana</i>	word	<i>durvacana</i>	abuse

(i) *nis-* 'without, away':

<i>kalaṅka</i>	stain	<i>niṣkalaṅka</i>	immaculate
<i>svārtha</i>	selfishness	<i>niḥsvārtha</i>	unselfish

(j) *para-* 'other':

<i>deśa</i>	country	<i>paradeśa</i>	foreign land
<i>upakāra</i>	good deed	<i>paropakāra</i>	charity

(k) *pari-* 'around; fully':

<i>aṭana</i>	wandering	<i>paryāṭana</i>	touring
<i>śrama</i>	work	<i>pariśrama</i>	toil

(l) *punar-* 'again, re-':

<i>ca</i>	and (enclitic)	<i>punaśca</i>	P.S.
<i>āgata</i>	arrived	<i>punarāgata</i>	returned

(m) *pūrva-* 'before, pre-':

<i>kathana</i>	statement	<i>pūrvakathana</i>	prediction
<i>kāla</i>	time	<i>pūrvakāla</i>	past time

(n) *pra-* 'forward; very much':

<i>kriyā</i>	action	<i>prakriyā</i>	process
<i>gati</i>	movement	<i>pragati</i>	progress

(o) *prati-* 'each; per; reciprocal; contrary':

<i>kriyā</i>	action	<i>pratikriyā</i>	reaction
<i>ukti</i>	statement	<i>pratyukti</i>	reply
<i>śata</i>	hundred	<i>pratiśata</i>	percent

(p) *vi-* 'distinct':

<i>deśa</i>	country	<i>videśa</i>	foreign land
<i>ghaṭita</i>	occurred	<i>vighaṭita</i>	disrupted

(q) *sa-* 'with, having':

<i>ānanda</i>	happiness	<i>sānanda</i>	happy
<i>citra</i>	picture	<i>sacitra</i>	illustrated

(r) *sam-* 'with, together with, complete':

<i>arpaṇa</i>	offering	<i>samarpaṇa</i>	dedication
<i>pūrṇa</i>	full	<i>sampūrṇa</i>	complete

(s) *sama-* 'same, equal':

<i>ākāra</i>	shape	<i>samākāra</i>	of the same shape
<i>artha</i>	meaning	<i>samārtha</i>	synonymous

(t) *saha-* 'with':

<i>jāta</i>	born	<i>sahajāta</i>	congenital, twin
<i>udara</i>	belly, womb	<i>sahodara</i>	sibling

(u) *su-* 'good':

<i>ruci</i>	taste	<i>suruci</i>	good taste
<i>varṇa</i>	colour	<i>suvarṇa</i>	gold

(v) *sva-* 'one's own':

<i>artha</i>	purpose	<i>svārtha</i>	self-interest
<i>tantra</i>	system	<i>svatantra</i>	independent

The use of S pref. is usually restricted to S nouns, though exceptions such as H *sajild* (S *sa-* + A *jild*) 'bound, hardback (book)' are encountered.

## 622. Suffixes

Hardly less prominent than the pref. listed above are the S suf.; these are typically affixed to *vṛddhi* forms or other allomorphs, as is the case with many of the examples given here:

(a) *-ka, -ikā, f.* (agentive):

<i>kāra</i>	action	<i>kāraka</i>	grammatical case
<i>pāṭha</i>	read	<i>pāṭhaka</i>	reader (m.)
		<i>pāṭhikā</i>	reader (f.)

(b) *-ika* (adj.):

<i>śikṣā</i>	education	<i>śaikṣika</i>	educational
<i>itihāsa</i>	history	<i>aitihāsika</i>	historical
<i>dīna</i>	day	<i>dainika</i>	daily

(c) *-in/-ī* (adj. and m. nouns: *-ī* is the S nominative ending, used generally in H to the exclusion of *-in*); f. *-inī*:

<i>dharma</i>	religion	<i>dharmī</i>	pious
<i>grantha</i>	book	<i>granthī</i>	reader of books
<i>rāga</i>	melodic mode	<i>rāgiṇī</i>	subordinate mode

(d) *-kāra* (agentive):

<i>saṅgīta</i>	music	<i>saṅgītakāra</i>	musician
<i>svarṇa</i>	gold	<i>svarṇakāra</i>	goldsmith

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(e) *-ja* ('-born'):

<i>jala</i>	water	<i>jalaja</i>	lotus
<i>agra</i>	first, anterior	<i>agraja</i>	elder brother

(f) *-jña* ('-knowing'):

<i>viśeṣa</i>	particularity	<i>viśeṣajña</i>	specialist
<i>kṛta</i>	done	<i>kṛtajña</i>	obliged, grateful

(g) *-tā* (f.), *-tva* (m.) (abstract nouns, '-ness'):

<i>gambhīra</i>	profound	<i>gambhīratā</i>	profundity
<i>mahat</i>	great	<i>mahattva</i>	greatness

(h) *-da* ('-giving'):

<i>jala</i>	water	<i>jalada</i>	cloud
<i>sukha</i>	pleasure	<i>sukhada</i>	pleasant

(i) *-pūrvaka* (adverbs):

<i>sukha</i>	pleasure	<i>sukhapūrvaka</i>	happily
<i>sānti</i>	peace	<i>sāntipūrvaka</i>	peacefully

(j) *-maya* ('full of, characterized by'):

<i>sānti</i>	peace	<i>sāntimaya</i>	pacific
<i>harṣa</i>	joy	<i>harṣamaya</i>	joyful

(k) *-mān* m., *-matī* f. ('characterized by'):

<i>buddhi</i>	wisdom	<i>buddhimān</i>	intelligent
<i>śrī</i>	dignity	<i>śrīmān</i>	(m. honorific)
		<i>śrīmatī</i>	(f. honorific)

(l) *-ya* (m. verbal nouns; adj. '-able'):

<i>dhr-</i>	hold	<i>dhairya</i>	patience
<i>gama-</i>	go	<i>gamya</i>	accessible

(m) *-vat* (adj. and adv. of comparison, '-like'):

<i>paśu</i>	animal	<i>paśuvata</i>	bestial
<i>vidhi</i>	rule	<i>vidhivata</i>	regular(ly)

(n) *-vāna* m., *-vatī* f., (adj. of possession):

<i>dhana</i>	wealth	<i>dhanavāna</i>	wealthy
<i>saubhāgya</i>	good fortune	<i>saubhāgyavatī</i>	woman with living husband



623. *Vowel-changes*

A *vṛddhi* (612) vowel gradation is commonly involved in word-formation, typically in the forming of adjectives from nouns, or of abstract nouns from concrete nouns:

*a* → *ā*:

<i>parvata</i>	mountain	<i>pārvatī</i>	mountain-born, Parvati
<i>vyavahāra</i>	practice	<i>vyāvahārika</i>	practical
<i>samāja</i>	society	<i>sāmājika</i>	social

*i* → *ai*:

<i>vidyā</i>	learning	<i>vaidya</i>	learned, doctor
<i>viṣṇu</i>	Vishnu	<i>vaiṣṇava</i>	Vaishnavite
<i>śiva</i>	Shiva	<i>śaiva</i>	Shaivite

*u* → *au*:

<i>kumāra</i>	bachelor	<i>kaumārya</i>	bachelorhood
<i>buddha</i>	Buddha	<i>baudha</i>	Buddhist

*ṛ* → *ār*:

<i>kṛśa</i>	thin	<i>kārśa</i>	thinness
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624. *Numerals*

The S numerals (particularly the lower ones) are in common use in H in formal or ceremonial contexts:

	Cardinals	Ordinals
1	<i>eka</i>	<i>prathama</i>
2	<i>dva</i>	<i>dvitīya</i>
3	<i>tri</i>	<i>trītiya</i>
4	<i>catur</i>	<i>caturtha</i>
5	<i>pañca</i>	<i>pañcama</i>
6	<i>ṣaṣ</i>	<i>ṣaṣṭha</i>
7	<i>sapta</i>	<i>saptama</i>
8	<i>aṣṭa</i>	<i>aṣṭama</i>
9	<i>nava</i>	<i>navama</i>
10	<i>daśa</i>	<i>daśama</i>
100	<i>śatam</i>	<i>śatama</i>

625. *Compounds*

H makes extensive use of the various categories of S compound (*samāsa*, 'placing together'), and HU forms its own vernacular compounds on the same models. In this section, the constituent parts of the examples are hyphenated for clarity, except where joined in sandhi combination. The order in which words are connected is generally as in E, e.g. *go-rasa* 'cow-juice, milk'.

(a) *Dvandva*. A co-ordinative or dual compound, in which the component parts would be in the same case and connected by 'and' if uncompounded. S *anna-jala* 'sustenance', lit. 'food and drink'; *sukha-duḥkha* 'joy and sorrow'; HU *bāp-dādā* 'ancestors', lit. 'fathers and grandfathers'.

(b) *Tatpuruṣa*. A determinative compound, i.e. one in which the last member is qualified by the first without losing its grammatical independence (and thus contrasting with (c) below). The name *tat-puruṣa* 'his servant' is itself an example of this class. Of the various varieties, the following two are the most important:

*Karmadhāraya*, in which the component words would stand in the same case if the compound were dissolved: *prāṇa-priya* 'dear-as-life', *rājarṣi* (= *rāja* + *ṛṣi*) 'royal sage'; HU *bar-bhāgī* 'fortunate'.

*Dvigu*, in which the first member is a numeral (as in *dvi-gu*, 'two cows'): S *pañcāṅga* (= *pañca* + *aṅga*) 'almanac with 5 types of astrological data', *caturmāsa* 'four months of the rainy season'; H *caupāi* 'quatrain metre'.

(c) *Bahuvrīhi*. An adj. or possessive compound in which the last member loses its character as a noun and together with the first member becomes adj., as E 'four-berth' in 'four-berth cabin'. The name *bahu-vrīhi*, lit. 'much rice' but meaning 'having much rice', is an example of the class. S *caturbhuja* 'four-armed', *golākāra* (= *gola* + *ākāra*) 'spherical'; HU *haṅs-mukh* 'jovial'.

Though the examples given here each comprise two words only, multiple compounds are a characteristic feature of S composition. The rhetoric of poetic description makes frequent use of adjectival compounds in series, undiluted by the cj. and other syntactic connections so essential to the E phrase. Thus in the following half-verse from the *Bhagavadgītā* giving the description of Krishna, the S text (which would show no word-breaks in a traditional Nagari layout of the text) has no need of the equivalents of the bracketed E words:

*anādimadhyāntam-anantavīryam-anantabāhuṃ-śāśisūryanetram* 'without beginning, middle, [or] end, almighty, many-armed, [with] eyes [that are] sun and moon'.

S words only rarely combine with non-S words to form compounds in H: *zilādhīś* 'district magistrate' (A *zilā* + S *adhīśa*). (There is rather greater freedom in the compounding of HU with P words: *ḍāk-xānā* etc.)

### 63. Morphology

Only rarely is the complex inflexional system of S apparent in HU, whose analytical use of ppns. to indicate case represents a wholesale simplification of the eight-case structure of the S paradigm. An example of the intrusion of S synthetic syntax into H is the rare and ultra-formal loan-usage of the S agentive termination *-eṇa* to form an adverb: *rupeṇa* 'in the manner (of)', e.g. *sthāyī rūpeṇa* (alongside H *sthāyī rūp se*) 'permanently'.

631. *Gender*

Those nouns which are m. or f. in S generally retain their genders in HU (though there are exceptions to trip up the unwary), and the genders indicated by the formative affixes listed in 622 hold good. Neuter S nouns tend to become m. in HU, though not invariably. The characteristically f. *-ā* ending of S (*ambā* ‘mother’) is of course in marked contrast to the extended m. *-ā* ending of HU nouns and adj. (*choṭā larkā* ‘little boy’). Numerous m./f. pairs on the model of *kaniṣṭha* m. ‘younger brother’ / *kaniṣṭhā* f. ‘younger sister’ are encountered; f. *-ikā* endings often make diminutives, as *pustikā* ‘booklet’.

632. *Adjectives*

The S ptc. adj. in *-ita* (less commonly *-ta*, *-na*) is used in the more formal registers of H as a syntactic alternative to an ext. ptc. construction: S *likhita* for H *likhā huā/likhī huī* (541). As generally, the inflexions of the S adj. are not carried through into H, which treats *likhit* as invariable. The ptc. adj. allows a very close rendering of E syntax, with its fondness for the verbal adj., and is therefore particularly common where E syntax is only thinly disguised by its H overlay. Further examples are *datta* ‘given’, *kṛta* ‘done’, *śikṣita* ‘educated’, *jñāta* ‘known’, *thakita* ‘fatigued’, *sthāpita* ‘established’, *gata* ‘gone, passed’, *bhinna* ‘different’.

The only other feature to impinge extensively on H is the use of S comparatives and superlatives, formed by the suffixation of *-tara* and *-tama* respectively to the simple adj.: this usage exists alongside the much more common periphrastic comparative construction involving the ppn. *se*. Examples are *uccatara* ‘higher’, *uttama* ‘best’ and *priyatama* ‘dearest’, all of which are typically found in formal or formulaic contexts.

633. *Pronouns*

The only S pronoun to have currency in H is the reflexive *svayam*, which regularly replaces P *xud* (833) in formal contexts. Usually written with *anusvār*, it may alternatively be written with a full *ma-kār* + *virām* (61).

64. *Syntax*

Many of the characteristic features of HU syntax derive from S patterns, exemplified by the following sample:

(a) a commonly-used past passive construction with the logical subject put into the instrumental case (with *-ena* ending) underlies the H agentive construction in which the logical subject is marked by ppn. *ne*.

(b) periphrastic expressions circumventing the need for a verb ‘to have’ are common in S and appear in such HU expressions as *mere do bhāī haiṅ* ‘I have two brothers’.

(c) an important class of causative verbs in S is created by adding the suffix *-aya* to a strengthened verb root (i.e. one with a *guṇa* vowel): e.g. the verb *darśayati* ‘cause to see, show’ from root *drś* (cf. lengthening of stem in HU *dekh-/dikhā-*).

(d) the plural number is used for honorific register in both languages — as also in A, P, and old E.

7.

(e) the relative clause constructions so characteristic of HU, with their associated preference for paratactic sentence construction, derive from S models. The HU relative pronouns and adverbs beginning *j-* (*jo* etc.) correspond to S equivalents in *y-* (*ya-* etc.), and have correlatives beginning *t-* as in dialects of H other than KhB; and anyone familiar with HU relative-correlative constructions and with the S enclitic adverb *iva* 'likewise, just so' should be able to construe without difficulty the S motto of the Indian navy flagship *Viraat*: *jalameva yasya balameva tasya* 'He who holds the ocean holds the power'.

An extension of this list would give further but unnecessary evidence of the uncontentious fact that HU is derived from S. Yet though S syntax certainly determines many NIA patterns through historical descent, its direct influence is relatively small. In many ways P has had a more profound influence on the development of HU syntax than has S; and the S element of modern H prose is often a mask for underlying E patterns, just as the *Viraat* is in fact the superannuated HMS *Hermes*, refitted and recommissioned.

## 7. The Arabic Component

Whereas S, P and E have in their different ways directly affected the evolution of H and U, the influence of A has historically been more indirectly exerted through the large A component already built into P (21). The analysis of H thus hardly calls for elaborate distinctions between A and P items or compound PA forms, and it is customary to treat common words of A origin, e.g. *kāfī* 'quite', *kitāb* 'book', *kursī* 'chair', simply as belonging to the shared P component of HU. This approach is, however, quite inadequate for the proper understanding of U, in which the A component is immensely more prominent. The orthography of the U script itself continues to be heavily influenced by its A origins, several features of A grammar regularly appear in formal U styles, and it is above all the vast resources of the A lexicon which continue to provide U with the greater part of its learned and abstract vocabulary. Over half the words listed in the Urdu-English glossary at the end of this book, for instance, derive from A.

It is thus hardly possible to appreciate literary U without some understanding of the structures of A. Since A is a Semitic language like Hebrew (cf. A *salām* = Hebrew *shalom*), these structures are quite different from the familiar Indo-European patterns shared by HU with S, P and E, and are dominated by the principle of modifying consonantal roots through prefixes, infixes and suffixes, both to form words and to indicate different grammatical forms. The idea of 'writing' is, for instance, regularly expressed in HU and S by some form of *likh-* or *lekh-*, but in A by the trilateral root KTB, which yields the following U nouns:

<i>KāTiB</i>	calligrapher
<i>KiTāB</i>	book
<i>KiTāBat</i>	calligraphy
<i>KuTuB</i>	books