



International Conference on Hindi Grammar and Lexicon INALCO, November 3-4, 2021

Organizer: Ghanshyam Sharma (INALCO, PLIDAM, LABEX-EFL)



International Workshop on Hindi Grammar and Lexica: Historical Perspectives INALCO, November 5, 2021

**Organizers: Émilie Aussant (CNRS, Université de Paris, LabEx EFL)
Ghanshyam Sharma (INALCO, PLIDAM, LABEX-EFL)**

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HINDI GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

Day 1	November 3, INALCO, Auditorium	
09:00 09:20	Opening session: <i>Anything Goes!</i> – Ghanshyam Sharma, INALCO	P
09:20 09:50	Invited talk: <i>Bridging the past with the future: From the perspective of Hindi pedagogy</i> – Gautami Shah, University of Texas at Austin, USA Discussant: Tej K. Bhatia, Syracuse University, USA	P
Session chair: Nicola Pozza, University of Lausanne, Switzerland		
09:55 10:15	<i>Hindi: Grammarly to Reality</i> – Mansi Bajaj, University of Texas at Austin, USA	P
10:15 10:35	<i>Teaching Hindi Pragmatics</i> – Nora Melnikova, University of California, Berkeley, USA	P
10:35	Coffee Break	
Session Chair: Mansi Bajaj, University of Texas, Austin, USA		
10:50 11:10	<i>Hindi and India through the prism of textbooks' vocabulary: Analysis and comparison of some textbooks teaching Hindi as a second language</i> – Nicola Pozza, University of Lausanne, Switzerland	P
11:10 11:30	<i>Phonology and phonetics in the grammatical tradition of Hindi</i> – Péter Sági, University of Budapest, Budapest, Hungary	P
11:30 11:50	<i>Preliminary issues for a characterization of contemporary Hindi colloquial and/or regional varieties of the Hindi belt</i> – Andrea Drocco, Ca' Foscari University, Venice, Italy	P
11:50 12:10	<i>Colloquiality in Hindi & Hindi as a Second/ Foreign Language</i> – Sunil Bhatt, University of British Columbia, Canada	online
12:10 14:00	Lunch	
14:00 14:30	Invited talk: <i>Subjunctive relative Clauses in Hindi-Urdu</i> – Rajesh Bhatt, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA Discussant: Ghanshyam Sharma, INALCO, Paris, France	P
Session Chair: Rajesh Bhatt, University of Massachusetts, Amherst		
14:30 14:50	<i>Word Frequency Analysis and the Hindi Corpus: Challenges for a Lexical Algorithm and Applications in Second-Language Instruction</i> – Peter Knapczyk, Wake Forest University; William L. Cocke, Augusta University, USA	online
14:50 15:10	<i>Differential object marking in Hindi revisited</i> – Liudmila Khokhlova, Moscow State University, Russia	online
15:10 15:30	<i>Categorization of Hindi and Urdu Light Verb Constructions With Mārṇā Based on Their Semantic Features</i> – Eszter Melitta Szabó, University of Budapest, Hungary.	online

15:30 15:50	<i>Discourse Structure of Hindi in the Perspective of Natural Language Processing</i> – Arimardan Kumar Tripathi, Centre for Endangered Languages, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, India.	online
15:50	Coffee Break	
16:05 16:25	<i>Emphatic Particles and Emphatic Expressions: A Comparative Study of Hindi and Japanese</i> – Miki Nishioka, Osaka University, Japan & Ranjana Narsimhan, University of Delhi, India	online
16:25 16:45	<i>Semantic and Syntactic Aspects of Conjunct Verbs in Hindi</i> – Shamim Fatma, Aligarh Muslim University, India	online
16:45 17:05	<i>Tendency towards Co-occurrence of Negative Sentences with baiṭhnā as a V2: A Corpus-based Case Study of Hindi</i> – Miki Nishioka, Osaka University, Japan & Ranjana Narsimhan, University of Delhi, India	online
17:05 17:35	Invited talk: <i>Hindi V+V collocations: the larger context and speculations on L2 acquisition techniques</i> – Benjamin Slade, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, USA. Discussant: Peter E. Hook, University of Michigan & Virginia, USA	online
18:00 19:00	Dinner	

DAY 2	November 4, INALCO – AMPHI 1	
09:00 09:30	Invited Talk: <i>Development of Perso-Arabic vocabulary in Sant Literature</i> – Peter Friedlander, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia Discussant: Imre Bangha, Oriental Institute, University of Oxford, UK	online
Session Chair: Nora Melnikova, University of Berkeley, USA		
09:30 09:50	<i>Bridging the Gap between Research and Practice: What Conversation Analysis Can Teach us?</i> – Divya Chaudhry, Vanderbilt University, USA & Kusum Knapczyk, Duke University, USA	online
09:50 10:10	<i>Metaphorization of destruction verbs in Hindi</i> – Ecaterina Gudkova, Moscow State University, Russia	online
10:10 10:30	<i>The Differential Status of Honorificity in the Indo-Aryan Languages</i> – Preeti Kumari, IIT, New Delhi, India	online
10:30 10:45	Coffee Break	
10:45 11:05	<i>Teaching Hindi as a Foreign Language : Strategies for Communication-Oriented Language Teaching</i> – Ram Prasad Bhatt, University of Hamburg, Germany	online
11:05 11:25	<i>Relevance of Comics in the Language classroom</i> – M J Warsi, Department of Linguistics, Aligarh Muslim University, India	online

11:25 11:45	<i>Faunal Proverbs In Hindi-Urdu: A Socio-Semiotic Study</i> – Bairam Khan, Pinki Vaishnava, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA	online
11:45 13:30	Lunch	
13:30 14:00	Invited talk: <i>Issues in the learning of Hindi by non-Hindi speakers of the other South Asian languages</i> – Karumuri V. Subbarao, University of Delhi, India. Discussant: Rajesh Bhatt, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA	online
Session Chair: Péter Sági, University of Budapest, Hungary		
14:00 14:20	<i>Importance of Error Analysis for the teaching of Hindi</i> – Shiva Kumar Singh University of Lisbon, Portugal	online
14:20 14:50	<i>The Comprehension of passive constructions in Hindi</i> – Sadia H Hasan, Department of Linguistics, Aligarh Muslim University, India	online
14:50 15h10	<i>Lost in Tatsam: Re-examining the Technical Lexicography of Hindi</i> – Shubham Shree, TM Bhagalpur University, Bihar, India	online
15:10 15:30	<i>A Semantic Study of Hindi Main Verbs jānā (go) and ānā (come)</i> – Bishwanath Kumar, Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea	online
15:30 15:50	<i>A Comparative study of Interrogative structures in Kanauji and Standard Hindi</i> – Anu Pandey, Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, India	online
15:40 15:55	Coffee Break	
Session Chair: Harit Joshi, INALCO, Paris		
16:00 16:20	<i>Facing the cosmopolitan world: Is Hindi being social in the era of social media?</i> – Akanshi Vidyarthi, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.	online
16:20 16:40	<i>Hindi class teaching and Unknown etymological words</i> – Sudeep Tirke, Ewing Christian College, University of Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh, India.	online
16:40 17:00	<i>गैर-भारतीय विद्यार्थियों को हिंदी भाषा शिक्षण : अनुभव और प्रविधियाँ</i> – आकाश कुमार, मगध विश्वविद्यालय, भारत	online
17:00 17:20	<i>Attaining language fluency amongst learners of Hindi as a foreign language: theory and methods</i> – Sandhya Singh, National University of Singapore	online
17:20 17:50	Invited Talk: <i>Beyond Berlitz: Teaching Eloquence and Elegance in Advanced Hindi-Urdu</i> – Peter Edwin Hook, Universities of Michigan and Virginia, USA Discussant: Rajesh Bhatt, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA	P
18:00 19:00	Dinner	

International Workshop - Hindi Grammars and Lexica – Historical Perspectives

Day 3	INALCO: Auditorium, November 5, 2021	
09:30 10:00	Opening session: Introduction to the workshop - Émilie Aussant, CNRS, University of Paris, LABEX-EFL	P
10:00 10:30	<i>An Eighteenth century Hindi 'grammar'? A study of 'A Compendious Grammar of the Current Corrupt Dialect of the Jargon of Hindostan, (Commonly called Moors)' by G. Hadley (1801) – Peter Friedlander, The Australian National University, Australia</i>	online
10:30 11:00	<i>How to Explain 'Explicators'? A Comparative Analysis of the Description of Intensifiers in Grammars of Hindi as a Second Language – Nicola Pozza, University of Lausanne, Switzerland</i>	P
11:00 11:15	Coffee Break	
11:15 11:45	<i>On Liperovsky's description of gender in Hindi substantives – Boris Zakharin, Moscow State University, Russia</i>	online
11:45 12:15	<i>Hindi grammar in Russia – Liudmila Khokhlova, Moscow State University, Russia</i>	online
12:15 12:45	<i>Russian Grammars of Hindustani from the 1890s to the 1930s: Politics and the Transfer of Grammatical Knowledge – Tatiana Oranskaia, Universität Hamburg, Germany</i>	online
	Break	
14:00 14:30	<i>The influence of Portuguese language/lexicon on Hindi – S.K. Singh, Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal</i>	online
14:30 15:00	<i>The Dynamics of the Early Hindi Literary Lexicon: From Tadbhavas to Ardhatatsamas – Imre Bangha, University of Oxford, UK</i>	online
15:00 15:30	<i>A comparative study of Ketelaar's, de Tours and modern Hindi Grammar – R.P. Bhatt, Universität Hamburg, Germany</i>	online
15:30 15:45	Coffee Break	
15:45 16:45	Plenary Lecture: <i>Lexicon in the two oldest grammars of Hindi – Tej K. Bhatia, Syracuse University, USA</i>	online
16:45 17:15	<i>One city, two foreigners, five languages: the historical circumstances and social context of the two earliest European dictionaries of Hindustani – A. Pytlowany (Independent scholar, Ireland)</i>	online
17:15 17:45	<i>Hindustani in Surat under the Rule of Aurangzeb: The Significance of François Marie de Tours' Thesaurus Linguae Indianae – H.W. Wessler, Uppsala universitet, Sweden</i>	online
17:45 18:30	<i>Projection of the Documentary film "Chasing Hindustani" (2021, produced by A. Pytlowany, 43'13)</i>	online

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International conference on Hindi grammar and lexicon, INALCO Paris, November 3-4, 2021

1. Hindi: Grammarly to Reality

Mansi Bajaj, University of Texas – Austin, USA

Descriptive grammar of the language Hindi has been written by hundreds, if not thousands of scholars in the past sixty years. These well written grammar descriptions are often followed by fabricated conversations for learners to focus on a set grammar concept or vocabulary. There is also an exercise at the end of each grammar concept, which encourages learners to frame fabricated sentences. The goal of these exercises, or more appropriately called drills is to get language learners to imitate and ‘acquire’ the language. This reliance on descriptive grammar for language teaching encourages controlled output, resulting in memorization of a handful of grammatical structures. This limits the creative use of language and prevents development of linguistic competence.

The present talk will emphasize how task-based language teaching (TLBT) encourages acquisition of language. TLBT caters to the needs of learners with diverse interests and prepares them to use the language in accordance to their varied specific goals. It gives learners an opportunity to engage with the authentic language input which bears a resemblance to the tasks that L2 learners experience in their daily lives. This leads to the need of producing novel and original sentences. Therefore, the task motivates learners to focus on the meaning to understand information, use genuine expressions to convey the thought and experience a sense of achievement. The language slithers into learner’s everyday life gradually, without a conscious effort.

The present paper will also list a few authentic tasks from a Hindi language class taught at the undergraduate level at a university in the US. These tasks are applicable to Hindi L2 learners which can create recognizably higher yearning to learn and use the language. The present paper supports the claim that using a wide range of tasks enables learners to handle language input, develop vocabulary on different themes and produce authentic language output. TLBT approach to learning language is more enriching, incentivized and fulfilling as compared to learning language through descriptive grammars and practicing through fabricated drills.

2. Subjunctive relative Clauses in Hindi-Urdu

Rajesh Bhatt, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA

The bulk of the work on relativization in Hindi-Urdu has focused on indicative relative clauses, be they headed relatives or correlatives. I will discuss subjunctive relative clauses such as:

- (1) *mujhe aisaa typist caahiye [jise ruusii aati ho]*
 I.DAT such typist is.needed REL.DAT Russian come.HAB be.SBJV
 ‘I want a typist who knows Russian.’

Such relative clauses are curious along a number of dimensions.

— The first concerns their distribution: they are only possible in environments where subjunctive mood would be independently possible.

- (2) **Atif kal aise typist=se milegaa*
 Atif tomorrow such typist=with meet.FUT
[jise ruusii aatii ho]
 REL.DAT Russian come.HAB be.SBJV
 Intended: ‘Tomorrow Atif will meet a typist who knows Russian.’

— The second concerns their interpretation: how do they differ in meaning from their indicative counterparts? Unlike subjunctive marking in complement clauses, subjunctive in relative clauses is optional.

- (3) [complement clause: indicative ungrammatical]
*Atif caahtaa hai ki [Mina Dilli jaa-e/*jaa-egii]*
 Atif want PRS that Mina Delhi go-SBJV/go-FUT
 ‘Atif wants that Mina go/*goes/*will go to Delhi.’
- (4) [indicative ok]
mujhe aisaa typist caahiye
 I.DAT such typist needed
[jise ruusii aatii hai]
 REL.DAT Russian come.HAB is
 ‘I want a typist who know-subjunctive Russian].’

— And the third concerns their relationship with *aisaa* [such]. Unlike indicative relative clauses, subjunctive relative clauses prefer, possibly even require modification of the relative clause head by *aisaa*.

- (5) *mujhe aisii/#vo kitab caahiye [jo baccon=ke liye*
 I.DAT such/that book is.needed REL kids=for
upyukt ho]
 suitable be.SBJV
 'I want a book that is suitable for children.'

I will explore these issues in the context of competing theories of relativization - in particular the idea that a relative clause doesn't have to combine first with the NP that it modifies.

My semantic proposal concerning subjunctive relatives will be that they are obligatorily interpreted relative to the worlds introduced by the subjunctive licensor and not the actual world.

3. Teaching Hindi as a Foreign Language : Strategies for Communication-Oriented Language Teaching

Ram Prasad Bhatt, University of Hamburg, Germany

Before the BA and MA courses were introduced at German Universities, Hindi was basically taught on the pattern of the classical languages mainly designed and limited to grammatical structures and textual translations. The competence in spoken Hindi was barely given any importance. The new structural reform brought a quantitative and qualitative change in Hindi teaching. The classrooms became more complex and the goals of language learning changed. This posed new challenges for teachers in terms of language teaching and classroom management as the ability to communicate verbally became one of the crucial goals of Hindi language learners and unfortunately, the designed lessons offered only very few opportunities to enhance the competence in spoken Hindi language. Many students are reluctant to participate in classroom interaction and prefer to learn passively. Their attitude towards working in groups isn't often positive either as many learners wish to work individually and many times creating an informal atmosphere in the class to enhance the communicative language competence isn't easy either. These problems hinder the discussion and critical thinking and with that the better results in the class. To overcome these problems, there is a constant requirement for varied exercise formats that could relieve the complexity and enhance the ease of speaking. However, even today there is hardly any Hindi language textbook in the market, which is pedagogically suitable for enhancing the grammatical as well as the communicative competence at the same time. Therefore, the teacher has to use various innovative and proactive

strategies to customize the lessons to achieve an optimal learning effect. In this paper, I explore the chief problems of teaching Hindi as a foreign language to German-speaking students and discuss the results of the experiments that were carried out in the classroom. The data for the study was collected from our Hindi Intensive Courses between 2010 and 2019 and our regular classes. Participant's feedback, as well as the observation of the teachers, were also considered. My hypothesis is that the innovative and group-specific adaptive language teaching strategies are more effective in trans- and intercultural learning, language acquisition, and competence development.

4. Colloquiality in Hindi & Hindi as a Second/ Foreign Language

Sunil Bhatt, Asian Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada

The modern standard Hindi has the defined rules of grammar that are taught in the Hindi as a foreign/second language class. The learners here acquire these rules, and construct sentences and make conversations applying these rules in the classes. These learners when they meet native speaker and hear them speak Hindi, or when they watch Hindi movies or read Hindi, even in the magazines and newspapers, they find a significant discrepancy between the standard language they are taught in the class and the colloquial usage of Hindi. The divergence from the standard form can be found on the morphological, syntactic and also on the phonological level, for example, the widely used pronouns in oblique case with postpositions KO, such as MUJHKO is commonly uttered with grammatically incorrect form; as MERE KO in the colloquial Hindi. This type of morphological discrepancy exists with other pronouns in various degrees. The use of the subject pronoun AAP followed by the forms for TUM is so wide spread that the grammatically correct conjugation is far less common. This dominance of pragmatics over the proper syntax can be found in all types of usages; TV, newspapers, interviews, or just in the street language. The proper pronunciation of the third person pronouns, both for singular YAH and VAH and plural YE and VE are now considered archaic. The colloquial pronunciation YE and VO for both singular and plural are far more common in spoken Hindi. The written Hindi have also started following the colloquial forms. Some of the differences can be attributed to stylistics, some are simply violation of the grammatical rules, although such usage is extremely wide spread.

In this paper, I will discuss the wide-spread discrepancies between the standard and the colloquial forms and how they manifest in various social functions of the language, in news media; TV, Radio and newspapers, in entertainment media; films, TV serials, talk-shows, and also in fiction writing etc. I will also bring the discussion into the Hindi as a Second/Foreign language class, where such discrepancies could create confusion and how they should be dealt with.

5. Bridging the Gap between Research and Practice: What Conversation Analysis Can Teach Us?

Divya Chaudhry, Vanderbilt University & Kusum Knapczyk, Duke University, USA

Ability to participate in a conversation in a language is considered an entry point into its culture. Barraja-Rohan (1997) argues the importance of learning the structures of ordinary conversation for a second language learner as it provides them means to gain “access to the target language community and become social participants in that community.” (p. 65) However, traditional language courses can be inadequate in preparing learners for conversation. Textbooks’ inadequacy in reflecting discourse features of natural talk (Carter, 1998) and unreliability of teaching material based on teacher intuitions have been well documented (Wong & Waring, 2010). A recent study of performances of Hindi heritage language learners (HLLs) and foreign language learners (FLLs) in Hindi Oral Proficiency Interviews (Ilieva, 2012) revealed the differences in their abilities to incorporate native-like discourse skills. It was argued that the opportunities afforded to HLLs by their context enabled them to participate in meaningful social interaction in the target language, thus shaping their native-like use of discourse markers, conversation fillers, and conversation repairs. FLLs, however, lacked similar opportunities to engage in purposeful communication resulting in their limited discourse skills. The current paper demonstrates how instructors can fill in the gap created by absence of previous background in the target language through designing instruction that focuses on teaching of interactional practices in the target language and “making explicit key L2 (second language) interactional resources that interactants employ” (Mitchell & Myles, 1998).

This begets the question: how do teachers *identify* the L2 interactional resources that speakers of a language employ? Conversation Analysis (CA) provides the answer. Originating in the mid-1960s in the work of Harvey Sacks and his colleagues Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, CA investigates “what do people *do* in order to have a conversation.” (p.4, Wong & Waring, 2010, emphasis added).

Unlike textbook dialogues or teachers' intuitive knowledge which are ineffective representations of how conversation functions in real life, CA reveals the underlying structures of organizing a conversation and is therefore argued to be a useful tool for developing language learners' speaking abilities. (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997). In the current paper, the researcher-teachers focus on the practice of Hindi conversation openings as a research and instructional goal. They first demonstrate how to generate new content knowledge through collecting and applying CA principles to naturally- occurring Hindi conversations. They then show how to transform research findings into a teaching unit for Hindi conversation openings grounded in the pedagogical framework of Barraja-Rohan (2003, 2011). Example conversation samples and worksheets will be shared.

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6. Preliminary issues for a characterization of contemporary Hindi colloquial and/or regional varieties of the Hindi belt

Andrea Drocco, Department of Asian and North-African Studies, Ca' Foscari University, Venice, Italy.

So far there have been numerous studies on synchronic aspects of many NIA languages but since the monumental *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1898-1928), there have been only a few works summarizing the newest findings on NIA in general, all having predominantly synchronic or typological bias (Masica 1991, Cardona and Jain 2003, Hock and Bashir 2016). Despite the growing interest in NIA regional languages resulting in many field expeditions, data collection and corpus collation research on NIA, especially NIA diachronic linguistics and NIA dialectology, still seem to be *in statu nascendi*.

Taking this into consideration it would be useful to conduct studies on regional and minority Indo-Aryan languages from a synchronic perspective taking into account the newest typological findings in the region and/or collection of data in the form of written records and/or from fieldwork research (cf. the *People's Linguistic Survey of India*). But, in particular, due to the gradual increase in the use of Hindi as a major/national/official language in India and above all in the Hindi belt in the second half of the twentieth century, it is surely a desideratum to investigate the influence between single/different regional/minority languages and Hindi according to a sociolinguistic perspective. The main aim of the paper is to illustrate some of the features (for example, i) the recurring Subject in post-verbal position, ii) the use of different postpositions, with respect to the standard, to mark the addressee of a speaking verb, iii) the use of a new oblique case for pronouns shaped on the genitive case), that are the results of the impact of regional languages on Hindi (cf. Nespital). As we will see, these features are giving birth to different regional ('folk'), sometimes simplified, varieties of Hindi as an outcome of the imperfect learning of this language by regional/minority mother-tongue speakers or by speakers of other State languages. This process is also characterized by substratum interferences, the latter as a consequence of the effects of a process of language shift from regional/minority languages toward major/state/national language (a process that is still in progress) (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), or by a process of koineization and accommodation of different source languages (cf. Abbi 2014). The few studies on this topic have mostly focused on specific linguistic features of single regional varieties, cf., for example, the extension of ergative marking in obligative constructions with *honā* ('to be') in Delhi varieties of Hindi and Pakistani Urdu under the influence of Punjabi

(Bashir 1999). As a consequence research on the emergence of regional varieties of major/state/national languages is thus a neglected topic in the study of contemporary NIA languages in general and of contemporary Hindi in particular.

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7. Semantic and Syntactic Aspects of Conjunct Verbs in Hindi

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According to Hook (1991), light verbs cannot be treated as auxiliaries. Unlike auxiliaries, they contribute to semantic information. This semantic information as well as syntactic properties of light verbs play important roles in the formation of conjunct verbs. Semantic and syntactic requirements of light verbs must be met while taking either a noun or adjective in order to form conjunct verbs. Every light verb cannot take both the nominal hosts i.e. Noun and Adjectives. There are some light verbs that allow both of them but some of them accept only Noun in order to form conjunct verbs. Light verbs *honā* 'to become' and *karnā* 'to do' accept both nouns and adjectives but it is found that the light verbs *lenā* 'to take' and *denā* 'to give' do not accept adjectives in order to form conjunct verbs. Consider the following examples:

- (1a) कमरे की सफ़ाई हो रही है (Fatma 2018)
 kamre kī safāī ho rahī hai.
 room-M=GEN cleanliness-F be-PRS.PROG.F AUX.3PRS.SG
 'The room is getting clean.'

- (1b) मैं कमरे की सफ़ाई कर रहा हूँ। (Fatma 2018)
 main kamre =kī safāī kar rahā hun
 i-3.M.SG room=GEN cleanliness-F do-PRS.PROG.M.SG AUX.1PRS.SG
 ‘I am cleaning the room.’
- (2a) सारा सामान बर्बाद हुआ है। (Fatma 2018)
 sārā sāmān barbād huā
 everything-M.PL spoiled be-PFV.M.SG
 ‘Everything got spoiled.’
- (2b) उसने सारा सामान बर्बाद किया है। (Fatma 2018)
 us=ne sārā sāmān barbād kiyā hai.
 he/she-3M/F.SG everything-M.PL spoiled do-PFV.M.SG AUX.3PRS.SG
 ‘He/she has spoiled everything.’
- (3a) *सारा सामान बर्बाद लिया।
 sārā sāmān barbād liyā
 everything spoiled take-PFV.M.SG
 ‘Everything got spoiled.’
- (3b) * उसने सारा सामान बर्बाद दिया है।
 us=ne sārā sāmān barbād diyā hai.
 he/she-3M/F.SG=ERG everything spoiled give-PFV.M.SG AUX.1PRS.SG
 ‘He/she has gave spoiled everything.’

We can see that both (3a) and (3b) are wrong, only because of the syntactic and semantic incompatibility of nominal host *barbād* ‘spoiled’ and light verbs *lenā* ‘to take’ and *denā* ‘to give’.

The aim of this paper is to examine the semantic and syntactic properties of Light verbs which regulate the combination of Noun/Adjectives and Light verbs and to categorize them accordingly. Several studies have been done on Complex predicates so far but the classification of verbs has not yet been done from this perspective. This study of semantic and syntactic properties of light verbs and their components will contribute to different applied areas of Hindi Linguistics, i.e. Hindi language teaching and Natural Language Processing tasks.

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8. Development of Perso-Arabic vocabulary in Sant Literature

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This paper explores the shifting relationship between Perso-Arabic and Indic vocabularies in three Sant author's works. First, in a comprehensive vocabulary of Raidās's works from before CE 1700 (See: *The Life and Works of Raidas*, Winand Callaewaert and Peter Friedlander, 1992). Second, in one hundred verses by Kabīr from the Belvedere Press's *Kabīr Śāhab kī Śabdāvalī bhāg 1-4* (See: *A Fountain in Mid-air*, Primus, Delhi, forthcoming). Third, a study of the works of the Sufi Sant Yārī in the *Yārī Śāhib kī Ratnāvalī* (1910) and the *Mahatmāō kī Bāñī* (1933). The comparison of the three vocabularies provides an insight into how Perso-Arabic vocabulary became embedded in Sant literature between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries. The paper argues that the contribution of this fusion of Indic and Perso-Arabic vocabulary registers formed an important building block in the development of modern standard Hindi vocabulary.

Context: 'comparative studies that properly investigate different Hindi registers and those based on comprehensive analysis of Hindi vocabulary (i.e. tatsam, tadbhav, etc.).'

9. Metaphorization of destruction verbs in Hindi

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This paper is on Linguistic Typology and explores the metaphorization of destruction verbs in Hindi. The following verbs were selected for the study: *kāTnā - kaTnā* "to cut" - "to be cut", *toRnā - TūTnā* "to break" - "to be broken".

The present paper investigates components of the direct meaning of these verbs, which were lost in the process of metaphorization. For the analysis, special parameters of the verbs are used, such as object, subject, type of instrument (blunt/sharp/quasi instrument), number of resulting parts, etc. While doing this, we also verified the principles of verbs' compatibility with different nouns.

Metaphors were collected in separate groups to make it easier to determine in what contexts they can replace each other.

Comparative analysis of the components of verbs *kāTnā-kaTnā* and *toRnā - TūTnā* suggests that the features that are relevant to the direct meanings neutralize in metaphorization.

Verbs *toRnā-TūTnā* prototypically encode the situations of separation of objects, where the number of parts is unpredictable, while *kāTnā-kaTnā* mean either separation into some small parts, or separation in two halves. Thus, practically only one parameter plays a crucial role - the number of resulting parts.

The semantic structure also changes. In metaphors, abstract nouns appear (such as “life”, “time”, “speech” etc.) that cannot be replaced by any physical object. In this context, parameters such as “tool” disappear from the structure, but in the syntactic structure of the verb, *kaTnā* remains the cause of action in the metaphors of pain.

In terms of correlation of metaphorical meanings we can divide verbs into three groups: 1) When transitive and intransitive verbs become converse, 2) When formal correlation does not match semantic correlation, 3) When we can create a metaphor with only one verb – transitive or intransitive.

Here are some examples of metaphorical groups we discovered based on the direct meanings of the verbs.

— **Deformation-> separation of parts**

Metaphors are derived from the direct meaning “to bite”. During metaphoric transfer, this group has lost the quasi instrument component.

kāTnā cahte haiⁿ, apnā kharcā kātie aur uskī bacat garīboⁿ ko dije

“If you want to cut (bite), cut your consumption and give the rest to the poor”.

— **Deformation-> division into parts**

billī saRak kāTkar hamāre ghar meⁿ ghūs āī

“A cat crossed the road and entered our house”

mātājī kī bāt kāTnā Thīk nahīⁿ hai

“Interrupting mom is not good”

— **Deformation without separation**

This group of metaphors is mainly composed of metaphors of pain: the verb *kāTnā* can be used to transmit the effects of various injurious substances.

sābūn se āⁿkheⁿ kaT rahī haiⁿ;

“Soap hurts my eyes”.

Key words: cut and break; separation events; verb semantics; categorization; extension; intension; typology; semantic map

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10. The Comprehension of passive constructions in Hindi

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In most natural languages, sentences can be in either the active or passive voice. Chomsky (1965), in his analysis of syntactic structures, claims that certain meaning-preserving transformations which related different surface structures to a common deep structure were a necessary part of any speaker’s linguistic competence. For example, an English speaker is well aware of the fact that the active sentence “the dog chased the cat” and the passive sentence “the cat was chased by the dog” have the same deep structure representation.

However, the situation of passive voice in Hindi is not as clear as in English. Passive sentences in Hindi share idiosyncratic verbal morphology, and case marking of the agent phrase: “If there is a passive transformation in Hindi, it does not reorder constituents as part of its operation”(Davison: 1982). It does not promote an object to a subject by changing its case marking, since objects in passive sentences may retain the dative-accusative post-position *-koo* which normally marks specific or animate objects. The unique characteristics of passive sentences in Hindi are:

1. Demotion of the agent NP to an instrumental NP, *NP-see*;
2. The presence of the perfective marker *-(y)aa* on the main verb, and
3. The presence of the verb *jaa-naa* ‘goes’ following the main verb and combined with tense and aspect information. Variations include the markers – *kee dwaaraa* ‘by means of’ and *-kee haath* ‘at the hands of’ as markers of the agent, and *ban-naa* ‘be made’ as the auxiliary. In any case, the main verb must be volitional (Pandharipande 1978).

If, as is projected, the passive form is ‘marked’ by association with the active or usual form, the speaker’s choice of the passive form is the basis for informal inference, to derive from the literal contents a closely related conveyed meaning. In terms of Transitive and Intransitive verbs Hindi has two types of passive sentences:

- a. An intransitive verb with a passive meaning
/kəpɾa sil rəha hæ/ – “The cloth is being stitched”, or “The cloth is stitching”
/kəpɾa sil gəya/ – “The cloth got stitched”
- b. The corresponding transitive verb in a passive construction:
/kəpɾa sila ja rəha hæ/ – “The cloth is being stitched”
/kəpɾa silaya gya/ – “The cloth was stitched”

These two kinds of sentences are very similar, but there is a trivial difference. Intransitive verbs with passive meanings express an action with no reference to any actor, whereas passive verbs imply that some unspecified agent performs the action of the verb. Thus to understand such utterances the listeners and readers are left with more than one choice. This paper investigates the Semantic and cognitive factors governing comprehension of such passive constructions in Hindi.

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11. Beyond Berlitz: Teaching Eloquence and Elegance in Advanced Hindi-Urdu

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For much of the past half century active control as a pedagogical aim in teaching Hindi-Urdu as a foreign language (THUFL) has been limited to enabling students to express themselves at a basic instrumental level: communication with

monolingual relatives, tourism, anthropological research, etc. Knowledge of abstract, literary or cinematic language has been regarded as a passive objective with little attention paid to having THUFL students achieve active control of a more elegant register. With the present evolution of Hindi and Urdu as nationwide media of communication in India and Pakistan the time has come to expect higher levels in the abilities of foreign learners including children of NRI/NRP citizens to express themselves more elegantly. This paper illustrates two of the many ways in which such an objective may be achieved.

I. Replacing “V देना with “V-कर रख देना serves to harden or strengthen an assertion:

- (1a) महंगाई ने लोगों की कमर तोड़ दी ...
mahaṅgāī-ne logō.kī kamar toṛ dī
 inflation-ERG people’s waist break GAVE
 ‘Inflation has broken people’s backs.’
 [m.facebook.com/LernzyNews/posts/223524266187885]
- (1b) बढ़ती महंगाई ने आम आदमी की कमर तोड़कर रख दी है।
baṛh.tī mahangāī-ne ām ādmī.kī kamar toṛ-kar
 rising inflation-ERG common person’s waist break-GER
rakh dī hai.
 PUT GIVEN has
 ‘Increasing inflation has broken the back of the common man.’
 [www.jagran.com/uttar-pradesh/muzaffarnagar-skyrocketing-food-prices-21375994.html]
- (2a) उम्र वह चिंगारी है जो हर इंसान को जला देती है।
umar vah cīṅgārī hai jo har insān-ko jalā detī.hai
 age that spark is that each person-ACC burn GIVES
 ‘Age is the spark that burns every person.’
 [m.facebook.com/TheLostSonnet/posts/1183197695030453/?locale=es_LA]
- (2b) नफरत की आग इंसान को जलाकर रख देती है ...
napharat.kī āg insān-ko jalā-kar rakh detī.hai
 hate’s fire person-ACC burn-GER PUT GIVES
 ‘The fire of hate burns a person up.’
 [bhaskar.com/news/PUN-LUD-HMU-MAT-latest-ludhiana-news-031503-274256-NOR.html]

Moving from spark to fire moral destruction as portrayed in (2b) is utter and complete.

II. Replacing the passive + modal जा + सक- in ^{tr}V-या नहीं जा सकना with ^{tr}V-ए नहीं ^{intr}V-ता/-या:

- (3a) कोविड अस्पताल नहीं बनाया जा सका है
koviḍ aspatāl nahī banā-yā.jā sak.ā hai.
 Covid hospital not build-PASS could has
 'A Covid hospital has not been able to be built.'
 [prakashprabhaw.com/index.php/khabar-hatke/lok-dal-sunil-singh/detail]
- (3b) कोरोना अस्पताल बनाए नहीं बना है
koronā aspatāl banā-e nahī banā hai.
 Corona hospital make-PSTPRT not be.made has
 'A Corona hospital has not been able to be built (despite efforts).'
- [ultachasmauc.com/mask-new-rule-1-lack-fine-pragya-ka-panna/]

Use of this construction may serve to enhance or emphasize. Compare conventional (4a) with (4b):

- (4a) सत्य को छुपाया नहीं जा सकता
saty-ko čhupā-yā nahī jā sak.tā
 truth-ACC hide-PST.PRT not PASS can
 'The truth cannot be hidden.'
 [m.facebook.com/111284783903574/videos/653079931993281...]
- (4b) सत्य छुपाए नहीं छुपता
saty čhupā-e nahī čhup.tā
 truth hide-PST.PRT not hides
 'No matter what the truth will out!'
 [scnchindi.blogspot.com/p/about-us.html]

In (3b) and (4b) the ^{tr}V-ए नहीं ^{intr}V-ता/-या construction serves to negate or deny the result of effort. It can also be used to deny efforts themselves. In (5) the emergence of Hindi as a contact language is not negated. It is the way which the speaker assumes that his/her interlocutor believes about how Hindi became a contact language that is being negated. The effect is to reinforce अपने बलबूते पर.

- (5) हिंदी सम्पर्क भाषा अपने बलबूते पर बनी है। किसी के बनाए नहीं बनी। Compare (3b)
hindī sampark bhāṣā apne bal.būte-par banī hai.
 Hindi contact language own power-on become has

kisī ke banā-e nahī̄ banī.
 anyone GEN make-PST.PRT not was.made
 ‘Hindi became a contact language on its own. No-one made it one.’
 [https://ww.in.freejournal.info/756181/1/]

The intention of this type of instruction is not to have students master fixed idioms similar to the four-character expressions (成语) of Mandarin. For a non-native learner to hazard a fixed idiom like पेट में चूहे कूदना (mice to jump in one’s belly => ‘to feel very hungry’) may strike listeners as pretentious or silly. Rather, students are encouraged to learn, not lexically fixed idioms, but flexible templatic constructions that are idiomatic and elegant yet do not call undue attention to themselves.

These options are intended for fluent learners wishing to acquire higher levels of fluency.

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Notes

1. The complete paper will include a sample of exercises designed for this purpose from Malhar 2001–2002.
2. Put more abstractly: Denial of a (conjectured) denial is a contextually justified rhetorical move. Compare the usually disallowed negation of a compound verb in दीपिका पादुकोण ने जेएनयू में जाकर कोई गुनाह नहीं कर लिया as signaling the rebuttal of accusations of anti-nationalism leveled against D.P.
dīpikā pādukoṅ-ne je.en.yū-mē jā-kar koī gunāh nahī̄ kar-liyā
 DeepikaPadukone-ERG JNU-to go-GER any crime not do-TOOK
 ‘Deepika Padukone did not commit any crime by going to JNU.’
 [http://globaltoday.in/2020/01/10//]

12. Faunal Proverbs In Hindi-Urdu: A Socio-Semiotic Study

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Proverbs are by nature culturally situated texts that use formulaic language. They echo the conceptualization of life and the livings of a speech community, metaphorically. A big number of proverbs present in our language reflect the

comprehension of our realities. The emotional, psychological, and physical bond between humans and animals has a profound impact on almost everything, and language shares this bond with the means of proverbs. Our fauna ecosystem connects, mediates and translates its existence with double layers of meanings in human-animal relations, to recognize and spell out possibilities for textuality, meanings, and to bring forth natural, animal and verbal aspects of human culture and its texts. It is inherent to Semiotics to uncover the relation between meaning and its context. With their aid, proverbial studies help us understand how stories shape the lives of people and society as a whole. Drawing on examples from a corpus of adverts, print and electronic media, literature, oral traditions and other relevant sources, this paper attempts to explore the socio-cultural metaphorical nature of Hindi-Urdu faunal proverbs. The present study does not only highlight the culture of the Hindi-Urdu speech community and oral tradition deployed in proverbs but also investigates the cognitive and linguistic representation of the metaphorical fauna proverbs as it relates to our surroundings. It will explicate the attitude of this speech community towards the fellow species. This exploratory study aims to facilitate documenting, explicating, and contextualizing select faunal proverbs of Hindi-Urdu.

13. Differential object marking in Hindi revisited

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Hindi Differential Object Marking (DOM hereafter) has been discussed by many authors [Aissen 2003, Masica 1982, Mohanan 1994, Liperovsky 1978, Montaut 2012, 2018, etc]. This paper is aimed at describing some variations in animate object marking that have not yet been analyzed in literature. The main cases of ‘de-ranking’ [Aissen 2003] when human animates exceptionally remain unmarked are discussed in [Montaut 2018]. They are usually explained by decreasing specificity or saliency of the object.

According to T. Mohanan, the choice between NOM/ACC animate object marking may depend also on individual verbs. Accusative marking is necessary when the verb requires only animate objects like *mār* ‘kill’ or *bulā* ‘call’. The choice between ACC and NOM marking is possible only in cases when the verb is neutral to the animacy of its objects [Mohanan 1994].

The methodology used in the present work has been based on the eliciting of responses or reactions to utterances presented to the speakers of standard Hindi. The main respondents were students of Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University (Delhi). The number of respondents does not allow making statistical

conclusions, but makes it possible to offer some hypotheses concerning the choice between NOM/ACC animate object marking.

I. Contrary to T. Mohanan's statement the verbs requiring only animate objects may allow nominative object marking:

- (1) *hamāre sipāhiyoⁿ ne kitne **duśman mār dāle***
 'How many enemies have our soldiers killed!'

However, there exist other verb classes that block unmarked animate object. Among them are, for example, State Experiencer verbs like *pyār karnā*, *cāhnā* 'love' and Action Experiencer verbs like *ciṛhānā* 'tease', *jhuṭhlānā* 'accuse', *uksānā* 'stimulate', *haⁿsānā* 'make laugh', *ḍarānā* 'frighten', etc.

Verbs describing the inclusion of a new participant in the situation usually require unmarked animate object:

- (2) *sītā ne **laṛkī paidā kī***
 'Sita gave birth to a baby girl'.
 (3) ***pradhān mantri cunne** ke bād kuch log khuś ho gaye, to kuch cintit*
 'After the election of the prime minister some people were happy, others were worried'.

II. The referents of unmarked objects are most often the terms of kinship. Some native speakers use unmarked objects like *baccā* even with verbs like *paṛhānā* 'teach, educate' that usually require accusative marking:

- (4) ***bacce paṛhānā** merā kartavya hai*
 'Teaching children is my duty'.

III. According to [Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011] topical objects are marked, while narrow focused objects – even if definite specific – are obligatorily unmarked. A. Montaut has presented samples where unmarked inanimate objects are in a topicalized position and vice-versa. [Montaut 2018]. The same is true for animate objects, compare the topicalized object in (5) and the focused object in (6)

- (5) ***pati** to us ne ḍhūⁿd liyā ab koī pareśānī nahīⁿ*
 'As for the husband, she found one, now there is nothing to worry about'.

- (6) *dhūⁿ dh liyā usne pati ko?*
‘Did she find a husband?’

IV. Some native speakers use accusative marking for object that corresponds to active referent:

- (7) *bam girāne meⁿ ātankvādī bacce / baccoⁿ ko istemāl karte haiⁿ*
‘Terrorists use children when throwing bombs’.

Unmarked form is used when terrorists present children as human shields, the marked form is preferred when children themselves take an active part in organizing the explosion.

- (8) *maiⁿ laṛkī / laṛkī ko ghumā rahā thā*

According to some native speakers, the sentence with marked object means ‘I courted a girl’ (she was my active partner) while unmarked object implies the meaning ‘I fooled the girl’s head’.

V. Slogans and songs usually have unmarked animate objects:

- (9) *beṭī bacāo, beṭī paṛhāo*
‘Save the daughter, educate the daughter’ (Prime minister Narendra Modi’s slogan)
- (10) *maiⁿ laṛkī ghumā rahā thā, maiⁿ bhelṭpūrī khā rahā thā* ‘I was courting a girl and eating bhelṭpuri’ (popular song)

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14. Word Frequency Analysis and the Hindi Corpus: Challenges for a Lexical Algorithm and Applications in Second-Language Instruction

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Although vocabulary acquisition is the subject of a growing body of research in Second Language Acquisition, few such studies have focused on Hindi, and the implications of this research have had little impact on Hindi language teaching. In many languages, it is commonplace for instructors to present vocabulary items according to their relative frequency as determined by corpus analysis; for example, the work of Paul Nation has long demonstrated the usefulness of word frequency lists both for the design of learning materials and curriculum, and for the assessment of learners' proficiency. Yet the organization of vocabulary in Hindi learning materials and instruction remains largely haphazard.

This paper argues that a well-designed word frequency analysis for Hindi would be an important touchstone to help language instructors improve the efficiency of vocabulary acquisition for various levels. This paper has two primary aims: first, to present the findings of a pilot project to create a computer-assisted algorithm for Hindi word frequency analysis; second, to discuss the implications of the resulting word frequency lists for the design of Hindi instruction materials and course curriculum. In their collaboration to address these issues, the authors of this paper have drawn from their respective specializations, one in Hindi language and second-language teaching, and the other in computer coding and algorithm design.

We consider the attempts of previous scholars to create word frequency lists in Hindi, and the limitations of their design and corpora. Today a rich corpus of Hindi texts and genres is readily available on the internet. Major problems for the analysis of this corpus include (1) developing an algorithm to count the frequency of words in texts and process Devanagari fonts, and (2) choosing a linguistically sound schema for determining what constitutes a "word" to be counted. We discuss our approaches to these problems and how the preliminary word list generated from our analysis improves on previous attempts.

Next, we turn to the practical applications of this word frequency list for Hindi second language pedagogy. The Hindi lexicon is extremely complex, drawing from such strands as tatsam, tadbhav, and Perso-Arabic, and heavily politicized because of the identity politics that surround Hindi-Urdu. Hindi language instructors have long relied on intuition in teaching vocabulary, which has arguably led many to emphasize their own subjective biases. Word frequency lists

offer Hindi instructors a way to make objective choices in vocabulary selection. One effective application of word frequency lists in other languages has been in creating graded readers, which are designed to facilitate “extensive reading” whereby unfamiliar words are readily guessed from context. Secondly, research by Nation and others has shown that vocabulary size is directly correlated with overall proficiency. For this reason, Hindi word frequency lists can serve as the basis of a simple, yet effective assessment tool with a variety of uses for both instructors and learners.

15. गैर-भारतीय विद्यार्थियों को हिंदी भाषा शिक्षण : अनुभव और प्रविधियाँ (Teaching Hindi language to Non- Indian students : Experience and Methodologies)

आकाश कुमार, सहायक प्राध्यापक, हिंदी विभाग, दाउदनगर कॉलेज, मगध विश्वविद्यालय, भारत

यह प्रपत्र मेरे शैक्षिक अनुभव पर आधारित है। इस प्रपत्र में मैंने विदेशी छात्रों को हिंदी पढ़ाने में आने वाली मुश्किलों और उन मुश्किलों को दूर करने के प्रयासों का विवरण देते हुए उन प्रविधियों पर बात की है जो मैंने उन्हें पढ़ाते हुए अपनायीं। मैंने एक सेमेस्टर (छह महीने की अवधि) तक जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय में ‘Hindi for beginners’ नामक कोर्स पढ़ाया था। यह कोर्स मुख्यतः विदेशी छात्रों को हिंदी सिखाने के लिए भारतीय भाषा केंद्र द्वारा चलाया जाता है। मेरी इस कक्षा में कुल सात विद्यार्थी थे जिनमें छह विद्यार्थी जापान और एक दक्षिण कोरिया से था।

इस कोर्स की शुरुआत मैंने विद्यार्थियों को हिंदी वर्णमाला सिखाने के साथ की और इस कोर्स के खत्म होने तक विद्यार्थी हिंदी में छोटे और सरल वाक्य बनाना सीख चुके थे। मेरी कक्षा के विद्यार्थी जापान और कोरिया के थे। जापानी और कोरियाई भाषा में ‘ट’ ध्वनि का इस्तेमाल नहीं होता। इसलिए उन्हें समूचे ट वर्ग के वर्णों के उच्चारण में मुश्किल आ रही थी। ‘त’ वर्ग के वर्णों का उच्चारण तो वे आसानी से कर पा रहे थे लेकिन ‘ट’ वर्ग का नहीं। और इस वजह से वे दोनों वर्णों के वर्णों का अक्सर घालमेल कर देते थे जिसकी कारण था दोनों में फर्क न कर पाना। उदाहरण के लिए, अगर उनसे ‘टमटम’ लिखने को कहा जाये तो ‘तमतम’ लिख देते थे, अगर ‘ठानना’ लिखने को कहा जाए तो ‘थानना’ लिख देते थे। इसपर मुझे उन्हें अक्षरों के उच्चारण में जिह्वा और मुंह के विभिन्न हिस्सों के संपर्क की विधि बतलानी पड़ी। जैसे मैंने उन्हें यह बताया कि ‘ट’ वर्ग के उच्चारण में जिह्वा का स्पर्श मूर्धा से होता है और ‘त’ वर्ग के उच्चारण में जिह्वा का स्पर्श दांतों से होता है। इस प्रक्रिया को मुझे उन्हें यह प्रत्यक्ष करके दिखाना भी पड़ा। यह उन विद्यार्थियों के लिए आसान नहीं था लेकिन थोड़ी मेहनत से उन्होंने यह फर्क करना कमोबेश सीख लिया।

ऐसे ही छात्रों की अन्य जिज्ञासाओं मसलन - विभिन्न शब्दों के लिए लैंगिक विभाजन का फर्क, संज्ञा और सर्वनाम के साथ ‘ने’ के प्रयोग की विधि, बिंदु और चन्द्र बिंदु का फर्क, कुछ शब्दों का वाक्य प्रयोग में रूप परिवर्तन जैसे ‘दरवाजा’ का ‘दरवाजे’ हो जाना आदि जिज्ञासाओं का निराकरण किया गया। इन समस्याओं के समाधान हेतु मुझे हिंदी व्याकरण की सहायता लेनी पड़ी।

मेरे द्वारा लिखे जाने वाले इस पत्र में छात्रों के सामने पेश आई मुश्किलों, उन मुश्किलों के कारणों पर बात की जाएगी। इन मुश्किलों का समाधान जिन विभिन्न पद्धतियों द्वारा किया गया उनका वर्णन और विश्लेषण इस

पत्र में किया जायेगा। हिंदी व्याकरण और शब्द संपदा इस पूरी प्रक्रिया का हिस्सा रहे हैं, इसलिए जाहिर तौर पर उनपर हिंदी भाषा शिक्षण के विभिन्न दृष्टिकोणों से बात की जाएगी।

16. A Semantic Study of Hindi Main Verbs *jānā* (go) and *ānā* (come)

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The objective of this study is to explore the interpretations of Hindi main verbs *jānā* (go) and *ānā* (come). Till now there is no specific research investigating semantic aspects of Hindi main verbs *jānā* and *ānā*. Not only that, but it is also very difficult to find any comparative and contrastive study examining the interpretations of *jānā* and *ānā* with respect to other languages. So, the proposed study will be the first of its kind highlighting the interpretations of Hindi main verbs *jānā* and *ānā*.

To achieve this goal, first the canonical meanings of *jānā* and *ānā* have been studied and analyzed, and then subsequently arranged according to the concreteness and abstractness of subjects and objects while revealing their conditions of realization. Based on concreteness and abstractness of subjects and objects, distribution of meanings of research subjects is represented on a graph. Second, there are many interpretations of *jānā* and *ānā* which are not indexed in dictionaries. Therefore, this study also expounded and analyzed the different interpretations and usages of *jānā* and *ānā* and compiled all the interpretations of *jānā* and *ānā*. After that, all the interpretations of *jānā* and *ānā*, including the canonical meanings, have been organized according to the concreteness and abstractness of subjects. Correspondingly, their conditions of realization are revealed, and then mapped according to the distribution of meanings on a graph. *Jānā* and *ānā* have various interpretations from the perspective of concreteness and abstractness of subjects and objects. Interpretations of *Jānā* and *ānā* vary due to change of subject, object and both subject and object.

In any language, semantic exploration occupies a very important position because regardless of phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexicological specification, every unit of linguistic analysis comes with a certain interpretation. Nothing exists without interpretation in this universe. Therefore, to profoundly grasp any language, to comprehend its linguistic attributes, to effectively use the language according to contexts, and to know the contextual meaning without any ambiguity, semantic study is crucial. Also, if a language user possesses impressive command over the interpretations and nuances, it goes a

long way in understanding the associated culture, literature, history, world view, etc., of that speech community.

Semantic exploration approach also contributes to the understanding of linguistic features and intricacies of a language. A word comes with various interpretations. So, this becomes a challenge especially for foreign learners of that language. Native speakers of a language can appropriately and spontaneously use the polysemous word in sentences, but foreign learners of that language face difficulties to freely and accurately apply the right interpretation of the word in the right context. Therefore, this study also aims to address these issues concerning the teaching of Hindi as a second language.

17. The Differential Status of Honorificity in the Indo-Aryan Languages

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Ritter and Wiltschko (2018, 2019, to appear a, b) propose a nominal discourse/interactional layer, ‘GroundP’, preceding the DP/functional layer of the noun. The GroundP layer encodes the common ground, or the contextual information shared between the speaker and addressee. It is equivalent to the clausal Speech Act Phrase (Speas and Tenny 2003, Haegeman and Hill 2011) and hosts the speaker and addressee in ‘GroundSpeakerP’ and ‘GroundAddresseeP’, respectively. On the other hand, the phi-features are encoded by the DP layer. Schematically:

(1) [Ground_{Addr}P Addressee Ground_{Addr} [Ground_{Spkr}P Speaker Ground_{Spkr} [DP...]]]

In the structure in (1), formality/honorificity is placed in the interactional layer, i.e., outside the DP. Consequently, honorific languages get divided into two types- Type I, where the (pro)nouns generate in the DP layer but get reinterpreted in the interactional layer by recycling one of their phi-features into honorificity (eg. French or German); Type II, where the (pro)nouns generate directly in the interactional layer and therefore have no phi-features (eg. Japanese or Korean). This paper shows that while the recycling strategy is enough to explain a Western Indo-Aryan language like Hindi, it is not enough to explain an Eastern Indo-Aryan language like Maithili. Hindi behaves like the Type I languages as it uses plural agreement to encode honorific agreement. However, Maithili doesn’t fit into either type and shows that there can be a third type of honorific languages where the (pro)nouns neither recycle a phi-feature, nor do they generate in the

interactional layer. Instead, Maithili provides evidence that honorificity is a DP-internal notion, contra Ritter and Wiltschko.

To begin with, in Hindi, non-honorific (NH) plural agreement is syncretic to honorific (H) singular agreement, as shown in examples (2-3).

- (2) a. *wo ja rah-a hai*
 he.Sg.NH go stay.3p.Sg.NH be.1p.Sg.NH
 ‘He is going.’
- b. *wo-log ja rah-e hai-n*
 he.NH-Pl go stay-Pl.NH be-3p.Pl.NH
 ‘They are going.’
- (3) *we jarahe hai-n*
 he.Sg.H go stay-Sg.H be-3p.Sg.H
 ‘He is going.’

In the sense of Ritter and Wiltschko, the above examples show that the plural feature gives the plural reading when it is inside the DP layer. However, when the plural DP is reinterpreted in the interactional layer, it gets recycled into honorificity. Additional evidence which shows that the entire DP is reinterpreted as honorific comes from the fact that an overt D marker also gets an honorific form, as shown in (5).

- (4) a. *us ladk-e* b. *un ladk-on*
 that.NH boy-Sg.NH that.Pl.NH boy-Pl.NH
 ‘That boy’ ‘Those boys’
- (5) *un व्यक्ति*
 he.Sg.H person
 ‘That person’

In Maithili, on the other hand, there is no inflectional number (or gender) feature, see (6).

- (6) a. *bachha jai chhai* b. *bachha-sab jai chhai*
 baby go be.3p.NH baby-All go be.3p.NH
 ‘The baby is going’ ‘The babies are going’; Lit: Baby and others

The language, however, does encode honorificity, as can be seen in the verbal inflection in (7).

- (7) a. *o jai chh-athin* b. *o-sab jai chh-athin*
 (s)he.H go be-3p.H (S)he.H-All go be-3p.H
 ‘(S)he is going.’ ‘They are going’; Lit: He and others

Since Maithili has no number feature, it cannot be recycled into honorificity. Similarly, person feature also does not recycle into honorificity as the 2nd and 3rd person agreement is non-syncretic; contrast (6-7) with 2nd person non-honorific, mid-honorific (MH) and honorific agreement in (8a-c), respectively.

- (8) a. *tõ sut-əl-æ*
 You.NH slept-PST-2.NH
 ‘You slept’
 b. *tõ sut-əl-əh*
 You.MH sleep-PST-2.MH
 ‘You slept’
 c. *əhã sut-n-əũh*
 You.H sleep-PST-2.H
 ‘You slept’

Thus, Maithili data shows that none of the phi-features get recycled into honorificity in the language. As per Ritter and Wiltschko, this indicates that Maithili pronouns emerge in the interactional layer directly. In other words, honorificity, like Hindi or French or German, must be a DP external phenomenon in Maithili. However, a crucial piece of evidence against this idea comes from the intervention caused by the D head. To illustrate, an overt D marker *-u* can be used with a non-honorific noun like ‘son’, but it cannot be used with an honorific noun like ‘teacher’.

- (9) a. *batah* ‘crazy’
 b. *batah-u* ‘the crazy one’
 (10) *batah-u beta* (11) **nik-u master*
 crazy-Def son Good-def teacher
 ‘The crazy son’ ‘The good teacher’

Another definite marker *-ba* shows the same pattern, as it can attach to a non-honorific noun but not to an honorific one.

- (12) *driver-ba* (13) **master-ba*
 driver-Def teacher-Def
 ‘The driver’ ‘The teacher (derogatory)’

Additionally, unlike Hindi, a demonstrative never encodes honorificity in Maithili (14).

- (14) a. *master aaib ge-l-khinh* b. *o master aaib ge-l-khin*
 teacher.H come go-PST-3p.H that teacher.H come go-PST-3p.H
 ‘The teacher has come.’ ‘That teacher has come.’

Thus, a comparison of Hindi and Maithili shows that within the Indo-Aryan belt, honorificity has two syntactic positions in the nominal structure. While the Western Indo-Aryan languages have honorificity outside the DP, the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages encode it within the DP. This difference adds to the overall syntactic typology of honorific languages.

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18. Teaching Hindi Pragmatics

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My paper deals with Hindi pragmatics, in particular speech acts, politeness and conversational implicatures in Hindi Second Language Teaching. I have expressed more general concerns regarding Hindi teaching, in particular Hindi textbooks, in my previous work,¹ and this is a continuation of my explorations of Hindi SLT teaching & materials.

I have been teaching Hindi language and literature at university level since 2011, first to Czech L1 learners, and then to English L1 learners. During the pandemic, while we were all confronted with online language teaching, I spent a lot of time rethinking language teaching in general, and the curriculum of my Hindi program in particular. During this time, I also got a chance to closely compare Hindi and Spanish SLT materials,² and I have realized that teaching Hindi pragmatics doesn't seem to be developed to its full extent in Hindi SLT.

In June 2021, I will be working on a research project that involves developing course materials for teaching politeness and conversational skills in Hindi.

During the project, I will create 20 annotated film clips in the Berkeley Language Centre Library of Foreign Language Films (Lumière) to illustrate different aspects of Hindi pragmatics.

In my paper, I will systematically explore different types of speech acts, politeness and conversational implicatures, based on my research. Apart from this, I will give examples based on concrete audiovisual material. The practical outcome of my research will be enhancing Hindi Second Language Teaching in the field of politeness and conversational skills.

Notes

- 1 E.g., in my conference paper on Hindi textbooks at the inalco conference in Paris in 2016.
2. Among which Gente treats pragmatics very systematically and organically (M. Fuente, J. Pérez-Zapatero and G. Montaldo, 2012, Gente, Upper Saddle river, NJ: Pearson, Prentice Hall.)

19. Tendency towards Co-occurrence of Negative Sentences with *baiṭhnā* as a V2: A Corpus-based Case Study of Hindi

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This paper aims at using an online Hindi corpus to investigate the restrictions on the co-occurrence in Hindi of the STEM form of the main verb (V1) plus the vector *baiṭhnā* SIT together with negative particles (*nah*, *na*, and *mat*), and, referring to some functional similarities to *shimau* PUT AWAY as a V2 in Japanese translations.

There is an endless list of studies on special V2s in V1 + V2 concatenations, that is, the supposed *compound verbs* defined by Kellogg (1876: 187-191). Masica (1991: 326-30), Hook (1974), and other noteworthy 20th century scholars have termed such V2s *intensifiers*, *operators*, *explicators*, or *vectors*, express ‘manner-specification’. On the other hand, Jagannathan (1981: 268, 272) claims that these Hindi V2 verbs hardly co-occur with a negative particle. However, with regard to SIT, he only explains that the verb *baiṭhnā* as a V2 connotes regret about the action or behavior. He does not mention the co-occurrence of the verb with a negative particle. Snell (2010: 278) does not clearly specify either how *baiṭhnā* co-occurs with a negative particle, although he does do so regarding the often-used *jānā* GO, *denā* GIVE, and *lenā* TAKE. It is only Liperovskii (1984: 183) that points

out a certain limitation in V1+V2 with negative particles. He provides an illustrative example with *baiṭhnā* and a negative particle, as follows:

- (1) *kahĩ aisĩ himākat na kar baiṭhnā nahĩ to pactāoge.*
 anywhere of this sort stupidity NEG do SIT NEG then regret.FUT
 ‘See that [you] don’t indulge in such foolishness, otherwise you will repent.’

Liperovskiĭ himself has claimed that this kind of limitation occurs in utterances expressing apprehension, surprise, denial of a supposed possibility, rhetorical question, etc. As he explains regarding the example, it renders ‘appeal (praying so that the corresponding action is avoided)’.

The studies we have performed on *jānā*, *denā*, and *lenā* and even on the Japanese *shimau*, which functions similarly to the Hindi verbs as the V2, essentially prove Liperovskiĭ’s (and even Jagannathan’s) claims, especially on the following points: negative particles can co-occur with the V2s in exclamatory, interrogative, or some specific imperative sentences; there seem to be no restrictions on using the V2s with a negative particle in adverbial clauses such as conditional, subjunctive, or adjectival clauses or noun clauses; a negative particle does not negate an affirmative proposition, which would be sentential negation, but rather negates a part of the proposition, which is a partial or constituent negation.

The main findings of this study are: a) The tendency towards the co-occurrence of *baiṭhnā* with a negative particle and this combination’s behavior in the context of pragmatics is quite similar to that of *jānā* GO, *denā* GIVE, *lenā* TAKE, and *rakhnā* PUT as shown in declarative sentences in the indicative mood in Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3 below; b) Most of the examples we found in the corpus are in subjunctive mood as Example (2) and (3); c) In most of the indicative sentences, *kah* or *koi* including *kisĩ* has shown up along with a negative particle more than with a particle such as *to*, *hĩ*, *bhĩ*, which occurred in the cases of GO, GIVE and TAKE. It means this is the same as for PUT’s case as Example (4) and (5).

- (2) *vah logō se nazrē curānā cāh rahā thā*
 he people.OBL ABL views steal.INF want.STEM remain.PFV COP.PST
ki log us=se us=kī udāsī na pūch baiṭhē.
 that people he.OBL=ABL he.OBL=GEN sorrow NEG ask.STEM SIT.SUB.
 ‘He was trying to avoid everyone’s gaze so that no one would ask about his grief.’
- (3) *ṫī. vī. par satyamev jayate nāmak śo dekhne vālō se*
 T.V. LOC Satyamev Jayate named show see.INF.OBL ones.OBL ABL
anurodh hai ki bhāvuktā mē bahkar is
 request COP.PRS that sentimentality LOC flow.CONJUNCT this.OBL

trāsṭ ko koī dān na de baiṭhē
trust DAT any giving NEG give.STEM SIT.SUB.

‘I request the people who watch the show Satyameva Jayate not to get carried away and make a donation to this trust.’

- (4) *khatrā thā ki kahī gāri santulan na kho baiṭhe.*
danger COP.PST that anywhere car balance NEG lose.STEM SIT.SUB
‘There was danger that the car may lose balance.’

- (5) *koī bhī vyakti ekādh din mẽ lekhak nahī ban baiṭhtā*
any too person a few day LOC writer NEG become.STEM SIT.IPFV
‘There is no man who has become a writer in a day or so.’

We will also show Japanese translations of each example above in the paper.

Table 1 Type of Sentences

	P1	P2
Exclamatory	7	1
Interrogative	7	4
Declarative	175	28
Imperative	25	1
Total	214	34

Table 2 Mood

	P1	P2
Indicative	11	5
Subjunctive	178	28
Imperative (infinitive usage included)	25	1
Total	214	34

Table 3 Declarative Sentences

	P1	P2
Indicative	7	3
Subjunctive	168	25
Total	175	28

*P1: NEG + V1 + SIT, P2: V1 + NEG + SIT

Source: Data compiled from the *Corpus of Spoken Hindi*

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20. Emphatic Particles and Emphatic Expressions: A Comparative Study of Hindi and Japanese

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This paper aims to investigate similarities and differences in the function of frequently-used emphatic particles, including *to*, *bhī*, *hī*, and other emphatic expressions with the relative pronoun *jo*, as compared to Japanese equivalents, including *toritate-shi* and other related emphatic expressions.

In traditional Hindi grammar, the equivalent of the Japanese *toritate-shi* is *nipāt* (particle). Kachru (1980: 88-89) mentions that *hī* and *bhī* render ‘exclusive’ and ‘inclusive’ meanings respectively, and *to* is neutral with nominals. Koul (2009: 140-163) has mentioned that Hindi has *to* (an emphatic marker), *bhī* (‘also’), *hī* (the sense of ‘exclusiveness’ or ‘alone’), *tak* (‘up to’), *bhar* (a similar sense to the English suffix ‘-ful’), and *mātr* (the sense of ‘only’ or ‘whole’). However, assuming a native Hindi-speaking reader that unconsciously understands these particles, neither scholar has described their semantic and pragmatic functions in such detail that would enable non-native speakers to understand and command them.

In Japanese, Noda (2017: 123-156) has defined the Japanese word *toritate* as “focusing and defocusing of words, phrases, and clauses”. Noda (ibid.: 131-132) has divided particle functions into six semantic categories; a) restriction vs. anti-restriction

(exemplification), b) extremes vs. anti-extremes (ordinary), and c) similarity vs. anti-similarity (contrast). According to his categorization, the prominent Japanese particles are divided along those lines – for example, a) *dake* ‘only’/ *bakari* ‘just’ vs. *demo* ‘even if it is’, b) *sae* ‘even’/ *made* ‘even extending to’ vs. *nanka* ‘or something’/ *gurai* ‘at least, about’, and c) *mo* ‘also, as well’ vs. *wa* ‘contrast, unlike others’.

In this paper, we will contrast the semantically closest matches between Hindi and Japanese equivalents: *to* and *wa* for contrast, *bhī* and *mo* for similarity, and *hī* and *dake* for restriction. We will observe the extent to which word-for-word translations are possible; and if not, what kind of strategy can be used to express the emphasis in Japanese. The illustrative examples for *to* are as follows:

- (1a) *rām to cāypītā hai.* (Contextual)
 (1b) *rām cāyto pītā hai.* (Contextual)
 (1c) *rām cāypītā to hai.* (Contextual)
 (2a) *rāmu=wa chāi=wa nomu.*
 (2b) *rāmu=wa chāi=wa nomu.*
 (2c) *rāmu=wa chāi=wa nomi=wa suru./ nomu koto(no) wa nomu.*

Regarding focusing with *jo*, an illustrative dialogue, cited from an animated video,¹ is shown in (3) below. The utterance by Birbal seems to be a so-called relative pronoun and clause. It seems to work as an equivalent of the English cleft sentence “It is X that ...”.

- (3) Akbar: bolne mē to bahut māhir ho tum.
 speak.OBL LOC PTL very expert COP.PRS you
 ‘You are very sharp. (lit. You are very good at speaking.)’
 Mahesh: jī, brāhmaṇ jo hū.
 yes Brahmin REL COP.PRS
 ‘Yes, I am a Brahmin.’
- (4) Akbar: [[hanasu]NMLZ no]NP (=wa²) totemo umai na, omae.
 speak NPM (=PTL) very good TAG you
 ‘You are very good at speaking, aren’t you?’
 Birbal: a. ee [[(watashi=wa) baramon na]NMLZ n(o)] NPdesu.
 yes (I=TOP) Brahmin COP.ATR NPM COP.NPST.POL
 ‘(lit.) Yes, I am a Brahmin.’
 b. ee [[(watashi=wa) baramon desu]NMLZ kara....
 yes (I=TOP) Brahmin COP.NPST.POL ABL
 ‘(lit.) Yes, because I am a Brahmin.’

The main findings of this research are as follows. Regarding focusing noun phrases, the Hindi *to* and *bhī* are almost equivalent to the Japanese *wa* and *mo* in view of syntax and pragmatic function. However, *hī* has two ways to be translated into Japanese: one is the word-for-word translation ‘X dake’ and the other is ‘X shika’ with the negative maker, *nai*, which literally means ‘NEG except X’. As for focusing verb predicates, Japanese takes different strategies such as Verb stem [NMLZ: nominalized] + *suru* ‘do’ or Verb₁ [NMLZ] + NPM (NP-use marker³) + Verb₁ (reduplicated) as in (2c). Nominalized components nominalized (or focused) by *jo* are also used to express some emphasis, as in (3). Their Japanese translations add either *no=da*⁴ or *kara*⁵ to the end of each sentence, and both are used to give some reason for the previous utterance.

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Notes

- 1 Ultra Kids Zone. (2013, July 25) “Akbar Birbal–Akbar Birbal Ki Mulaqat” [Video File]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=exysRjXk5YM>
- 2 In fact, the nominative *ga* or zero particle sounds more natural than *wa* in this case. The complexity of this issue is beyond the scope of this paper.

- 3 The terms for nominalization follow the nominalization theory developed by Shibatani (2017, 2018).
- 4 Wasabi Online (2016) suggests that the explanatory *noda* or its corrupt form *nda* in a question has five functions: Reason, Interpretation, Discovery (non-physical objects), Summary (rewording), and Preliminary Remarks. Here it is used for reason.
- 5 This is originally the ablative particle; however, it also functions as a conjunction particle to express reasons.

21. A Comparative study of Interrogative structures in Kanauji and Standard Hindi

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Kanauji is a dialect of western Hindi spoken by around 9.5 million people (census 2001) yet still remains a sparsely documented variety. Kanauji is spoken in Kanpur, Farrukhabad, Etawah, Hardoi, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Mainpuri, and Auraiya Uttar Pradesh (Ethnologue (2020). After Grierson, (1916, Vol IX-Part 1), no substantial descriptive work on Kanauji has been done except Dwivedi and Kar (2016: 104), where they talk about phonology and sociolinguistics of ‘Kanauji of Kanpur.’ This paper attempts to provide a comparative analysis of interrogative pronouns between Standard Hindi and Kanauji. This study aims to identify and elucidate the variation in interrogative structures between Kanauji and Standard Hindi at the morphological and phonological levels. The study will fill the gaps in the description of Kanauji and add insights to the understanding of interrogative words in western Hindi varieties. An innovative methodology of mobile interviewing was done with informants of various Kanauji speaking regions for the purpose of data collection. These interviews were based on a translation-based task of 45 Hindi sentences to Kanauji and each interview with an informant was done in two slots of 40 minutes each. Some Phonological examples are:

Interrogative pronouns	Standard Hindi	Kanauji
‘who’	<i>kɔn</i>	<i>ko, kəu:n</i>
‘how’	<i>kese</i>	<i>kəis, kəise</i>
‘when’	<i>kəb</i>	<i>kəbe</i>
‘why’	<i>kjun</i>	<i>kahe</i>
‘what’	<i>kja</i>	<i>kaa</i>
‘where’	<i>kɪd̪hər, kəhā</i>	<i>kɪd̪hər, kəhā</i>

Likewise, morphological variation is found in the case-marking system that exists between the interrogative words in Kanauji and Hindi. Moreover, regional variation has also been found in Kanauji morphology.

Case paradigm	Kanauji of Kanauj	Kanauji of Kanpur	Kanauji of Farukkhabad	Kanauji of Itawa	Kanauji of Auraiya
Dative/Accusative	<i>kɪhɛ/kii-ko</i>	<i>kɛh-ka</i>	<i>kɪhɛ/kii-ko</i>	<i>kɪhɛ</i>	<i>kɪhɛ/kɪnne</i>
Ergative	<i>kɪnne</i>	<i>kəʊ/ko</i>	<i>kəɪ-ne</i>	<i>kɪnne</i>	<i>kɪnne</i>
Genitive (Masc. Sg)	<i>kii-ko</i>	<i>kɛh-ka</i>	<i>kəɪ-ko</i>	<i>kɪn-ko</i>	<i>kɪn-ko</i>
Genitive (Fem. Sg)	<i>kii-ki</i>	<i>kɛh-ki</i>	<i>kəɪ-ki</i>	<i>kɪn-ki</i>	<i>kɪn-ki</i>
Genitive (Plural)	<i>kii-ke</i>	<i>kɛh-ke</i>	<i>kəɪ-ke</i>	<i>kɪn-ke</i>	<i>kɪn-ke</i>

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22. Hindi and India through the prism of textbooks' vocabulary: Analysis and comparison of some textbooks teaching Hindi as a second language

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Initially used to train the employees of the East India Company, grammars and textbooks of Hindi (and/or Hindustani) have subsequently been adapted and developed according to the linguistic and political aims of their respective authors. In this paper, I will focus on the nature of the vocabulary used in some of the main Hindi textbooks of the last decades (in English and French). The aim is to draw a critical and comparative analysis of the linguistic (and cultural) pictures of India that emerge from these various textbooks used for teaching Hindi as a second language at the beginner and intermediate levels.

In a synthetic way, I will, firstly, highlight the pedagogical and linguistic objectives as presented in the introductions to these books. Secondly, I will

examine the textual means (dialogues, texts specifically created for the book, extracts from pre-existing sources, etc.) used by their authors to introduce the Hindi language to the learners. Thirdly, I will analyse the nature of the vocabulary used in the textbooks: what kind of words are introduced in which order and in which unit, to which lexicographical traditions do they mainly belong, to which register of language do they correspond, and which linguistic pictures of India arise from the vocabulary and texts? This will lead us to the two following questions: are the vocabulary and texts used in these textbooks effective, from a pedagogical point of view, in helping their readers learn the Hindi language and its huge range of words, and are the resulting linguistic pictures of India corresponding to the Hindi practised in India nowadays. In conclusion, and as an illustration of my own teaching practice, I will end my paper with a brief presentation of these aspects in the textbook I have been writing over the last few years and which will be published in 2022.

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23. Phonology and phonetics in the grammatical tradition of Hindi

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The literature of Hindi linguistics covers several topics in great detail, such as syntax and the lexicon of the language, while many areas in sociolinguistics, dialectology and the history of the grammatical tradition have also received attention. Digital technology has recently made speech processing possible in ways unthinkable just a few decades earlier, which gives phonetics a larger and larger

scope. After the much-awaited end of the present pandemic, I wish to gather voice samples from Hindi speakers in the Indian capital to study certain questions in socio-phonetics. This requires a preliminary survey of the available literature on Hindi phonology and phonetics. In my presentation, I wish to summarize the evolution of and approach to this specific area and put forward some ideas for further research.

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24. Bridging the past with the future: From the perspective of Hindi pedagogy

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With increasingly diverse student populations and shifting realities in the classroom, Hindi teaching at the college level faces several challenges that traditionally teachers were not prepared for. Student centered approaches, forms of cultural inclusion and pedagogical methods that Hindi teachers were used to, are no longer enough to ensure success of students in their classrooms. There is an increasing understanding that student success is closely related to a sense of belonging & a classroom experience that situates student learning within their own experience and context. In trying to create the desired inclusive atmosphere in classes, teachers of Hindi often find themselves faced with several challenges, like the grammar of the Hindi language itself, for example the gendered nature of the language, or like the culture(s) and cultural norms with which the Hindi language is associated with, to name a few. Negotiating such aspects of the language is daunting and pose a real challenge for effective pedagogy. In an attempt to bridge the gap between the past while stepping into the future, in this presentation we shall discuss some of these challenges and offer strategies to deal with (i) multi-lingual translanguaging in the Hindi classroom (examine it in the light of socio-linguistics theory), (ii) the gendered nature of Hindi verb conjugations in face of a non-binary reality (offer a non-binary conjugation as a way to move forward), (iii) negotiating with heritage language learners ('what' Hindi to teach?),

and (iv) making Hindi grammar more accessible and relevant to the general student population.

25. Lost in *Tatsam*: Re-examining the Technical Lexicography of Hindi

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This paper examines the major contradictions regarding the development of technical lexicography in Hindi and the reasons for its failure. A shift from Hindustani to Sanskrit and *Tadbhav* to *Tatsam*, the formation of words using Sanskrit '*Dhatu Roop*' gave rise to an artificial lexicon which ignored spoken Hindi and its dialects. The shrinking space of Hindi in technical disciplines is also an outcome of the failed lexicography. The challenge for contemporary Hindi technical lexicography is to redefine the lexical space and set a new benchmark.

Development of technical lexicon in Hindi gained momentum after Independence when Hindi was recognized as the Official Language of the Union of India as per article 343, part 17 of the Indian constitution. Constitutional guidelines directed towards the growth of Hindi vocabulary for various purposes of the Union. Article 351 of the Indian Constitution clearly stated that Hindi vocabulary can be developed primarily from Sanskrit and secondarily from other languages.

As per the directives of article 344 of the Indian Constitution, the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology was established on October 1, 1961, in pursuance of a Presidential Order dated April 27, 1960, with the objective to evolve technical terminology in all Indian Languages. The Presidential Order of 1960 emphasized that terminology for Science and Technology should be close to English.

Post-Independence, the arduous task of development of technical lexicon in Hindi was carried out meticulously and a wide range of lexicons was compiled for various technical fields. The ideology behind this Lexicography was largely influenced by Dr. Raghuvir who adapted the structural framework of Sanskrit lexicography and gave prime importance to Sanskrit for the development of technical lexicon. His lexicon was criticized for coining indecipherable Hindi approximates for technical terms.

Sixty years after the formation of the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology, technical lexicons have almost gone obsolete and a new argument on adapting the English words for technical terminology is gaining wide acceptance. A close reading of recent technical lexicons in Hindi shows that acceptance of English terminology has increased but the framework is similar to the previous lexicons.

26. Attaining language fluency amongst learners of Hindi as a foreign language: theory and methods

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The hallmark of a successful language program is often fluency, especially at a native level. Where the learner can converse and understand the language as spoken in the native country, they can then be said to have attained mastery of the language. It is also this aspect of learning a foreign language that is most difficult considering that learners have little to no exposure to the language in its native setting within their home countries.

Whilst Hindi is a rather phonetic language, which allows learners to speak what is written, there remain multiple exceptions. It is in understanding the nuances of these exceptions, that the students can understand the language better. To bring forth these nuances and differences, it is imperative for ones teaching methodology to evolve and encompass new techniques even with the same medium of materials.

Furthermore, there are regional differences within spoken Hindi which learners should be made aware of. Whilst students learn standard Hindi, colloquial terms and regional differences would allow them to understand native speakers better.

Ultimately, the issue this paper aims to address relates to the fluency of foreign speakers. It will highlight the problem areas which are identified, teaching methods that can be employed for these issues, and further discuss the impact of the methods (where they have been applied).

27. Importance of Error Analysis for the teaching of Hindi

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A successful teaching and learning process should have a plan to evaluate the success and failure of the learning. One of the ways of evaluation can be through the analysis of the homework of the students of Hindi as a first / second or foreign language. Although the error analysis has become extremely important to foreign and second language teachers lately (Korder 1967, Vazquez 1991), not much research has been done in the field of the evaluation of the teaching of Hindi as a second or foreign language.

In FLT each learner has his/her own process of acquisition and at times he or she needs some special attention to improve the process of learning. If the

attention is not paid at the early stage of learning, this may lead to the fossilization and also the lack of motivation of learning Hindi and without motivation, nothing can be acquired. By analysing the errors of the students, we do not only understand and improve the acquisition process of the learners, but it helps to understand where the improvement is needed in the teaching process and in teaching material as well.

According to Corder (1967), the errors are not always bad, since a systematic and scientific analysis of errors made by students allows us to understand the reason behind the errors as well as the psychological process of teaching and learning. According to the theory of error analysis, the errors can be related to speaking, writing and understanding and on the basis of these errors, satisfactory solutions can be found for the fast and correct acquisition.

This paper is an attempt to analyse the texts written by students of Hindi as a foreign language in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Lisbon starting from A1 to B2 levels (as per the CEFR). The paper will first analyse the results and then propose some suggestions and solutions related to the teaching methods that can enhance the quality and reduce learner's errors.

The objective of this paper is to classify different types of errors the Portuguese students of Hindi as a foreign language tend to make as well as to find out the interference of learner's mother tongue. The error-analysis can help the teacher and the learner to improve the phonology, syntax, semantics or pragmatics, etc. Some of the examples in this regard:

- Phonology: मुझको जलना (=चलना) पसंद है। मरे भाई अच्छे हैं। काम (=कम)
 Syntax: मैं कुत्ते के पास नहीं हूँ। 1 के बाद बीयर पीता हूँ। 1 बिल्लियों बहुत सुन्दर हैं।
 Semantics: कब (=जब) मेरी माताजी की मदद करती हूँ।
 Pragmatics: शिक्षक काल कक्षा देता है?

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28. Hindi V+V collocations: the larger context and speculations on L2 acquisition techniques

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Hindi V+V compounds, particularly the frequently occurring type exemplified by *khā liyā*, involving a “main verb” in an apparent bare stem form, and another “light verb” (a so-called “vector verb”), are a central part of idiomatic fluent Hindi speech. However, the rules governing not only possible combinations but also how the use of a V+V collocation affects other aspects of the clause, as well as the semantic contribution of the vector, are all complex and involve idiosyncratic aspects; and thus are one area which poses a challenge to second language learners of Hindi.

Idiomatic command over the Hindi V+V subsystem is challenging, of course, for speakers of non-Indo-Aryan languages; however, even though similar V+V systems exist in most other Indo-Aryan languages, the details of the grammar of the system, and the particular allowed combinations (and their resulting meaning contribution) varies quite a bit between Indo-Aryan languages, and there is no simple function of lexical substitution that speakers of other Indo-Aryan languages could just to map directly from their language to Hindi. Further, Hindi uses a seemingly wider range of V+V combinations than many other Indo-Aryan languages, and the frequency of the occurrence of such combinations appears somewhat higher in Hindi than in closely-related languages.

For example, using a V+V combination for expressing a past tense of *mar* “die” is frequent and idiomatic in Hindi: *vah mar gayā*, while the simplex counterpart *vah marā* is more limited in its distribution. In contrast, Nepali, which like other Indo-Aryan languages does employ V+V combinations, there is no possibility of using a V+V for the Nepali counterpart of Hindi *vah mar gayā*, only the simplex *u maryo* (~ Hindi *vah marā*).

Further, the grammatical aspects of Indo-Aryan V+V systems varies between languages. While in Hindi, in the case of a transitivity mismatch between the members of the V+V collocation, it is generally the transitivity of the light verb member which determines whether the entire collocation is treated as transitive or not for purposes of assigning ergative case; in Nepali, it is always the “main”, non-grammaticalised member of the V+V whose transitivity is relevant for ergative assignment. Thus Hindi *vah khānā khā gayā* (“he ate up the food”, with no ergative marking on the subject; main verb *khā* “eat”, transitive; light verb *jā* “go”, intransitive) but Nepali *us-le yo kām gariāeko cha* (“He has continued to do this work; with ergative marking (-le) on the subject; main verb *gar* “do”, transitive; light verb *āu* “come”, intransitive).

The challenges faced by a second language learner aiming to acquire an idiomatic command over Hindi V+V collocations is similar in some ways to the challenges that second language learners of English face for learning the idiomatic use of verbal particles/phrasal verbs, like *eat up*, *wolf down*, *put out*, *set up*, etc. These too are central in English, and highly idiosyncratic, and the semantic effects of verbal particles involve a mixture of completion and attitudinal components.

Curiously, perhaps, the pragmatic/semantic contributions of the vector verb in Hindi V+V combinations are often rendered into idiomatic English by use of verbal particles. Thus *usne khānā khā liyā* is most felicitously rendered into English as “he ate **up** the food”.

Thus, both Hindi V+V combinations and English verbal particle constructions involve a heterogeneous collection of semantic contributions, from completion to speaker attitude, even when it the same vector verb or particle involved. For instance, Hindi *le* “take” can be used to indicate completion, as in *usne khānā khā liyā*, or used to signal that the speaker believes that action is agent-benefiting, as in *kah lo!* “(go on,) speak (for your own benefit)”.

Historically, V+V collocations of this type derived from constructions involving “absolutive” forms of verbs (which themselves persist in Indo-Aryan languages as well, e.g., the Hindi *V+ke*, *V+kar* type), where another verbal form in the clause has been re-analysed as a “light verb”, serving primarily as a semantic modifier of the absolutive verb (which behaves then, semantically, as the main verb of the clause). While there are a few early examples of such constructions in Sanskrit which potentially show some degree of grammaticalisation, the modern Indo-Aryan V+V subsystem is not clearly attested until the modern era (at least for mainland Indo-Aryan languages; Sinhala attests early use of V+V constructions). And V+V collocations manifest in rather different forms in different Indo-Aryan languages, with differences in both inventory of vector verbs and differences in grammatical properties (as above).

In this talk, I present a brief overview of the history of V+V constructions in Indo-Aryan, and discussion variations, both in inventory, and in grammatical behaviour, in the V+V systems of Hindi in comparison to other Indian languages. I follow with some brief discussion of L2 teaching methods for English particle verb constructions and discuss to what extent some of these may be adapted to L2 practices to facilitate L2 acquisition of the Hindi V+V subsystem.

29. Issues in the learning of Hindi by non-Hindi speakers of the other South Asian languages

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The aim of this paper is to compare and contrast a select set of syntactic structures of Hindi-Urdu with other such constructions in the other South Asian languages. We shall first present a detailed analysis of the formation of the relative-correlative clauses and clauses involving the Gap Strategy that includes EHRCs (Externally-Headed Relative Clauses) and IHRCs (Internally-Headed Relative Clauses) in South Asian languages with a specific focus on Hindi-Urdu relative clauses.

(i) Relative Clauses

The relative-correlative clause strategy is found in Indo-Aryan (Subbarao 1984, Annamalai 1997, Dayal 1996, Bhatt 2003, Subbarao 2012 for a detailed discussion), and Dravidian languages. Hindi-Urdu like the other Indo-Aryan languages has a designated relative *j*-pronoun while no other language of the other three major families, namely, Austro-Asiatic (Mon-Khmer, Munda), Dravidian, and Tibeto-Burman languages do not have any.

All South Asian languages have another strategy for relativization, generally, labelled as the Gap Strategy. There are two types available in this strategy: EHRCs (Externally-Headed Relative Clauses) and IHRCs (Internally-Headed Relative Clauses). All South Asian languages have EHRCs while only Tibeto-Burman languages have both strategies.

The hierarchical positions on the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy scale that are accessible for relativization in EHRCs are: Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Object of the Genitive, and Object of the Comparative. In Hindi-Urdu, the subject is relativized under the Gap Strategy with a specific set of verbs while the direct object is accessible for relativization with all verbs. The Indirect Object, Oblique Object are not accessible for relativization while the Possessor of the Genitive PP is accessible. In contrast, all positions are accessible for relativization in all other language families of the subcontinent.

A learner of Hindi who is a non-Hindi speaker encounters a serious problem as any position in the NPAH may be relativized in his/her language. The ungrammatical sentences below are illustrative.

1. **rādhā kā pānī lāyā huā kuā*~ (Ablative PP relativized)
2. **rānī kā phal kāṭā huā cākū* (Instrumental PP relativized)
3. **padmā kā rahā huā ghar* (Locative PP relativized)

4. **rām kā phal khilāyā huā laṛkā* (IO relativized)
5. **kamlā bāzār gayī huī laṛkī* (Comitative PP relativized)
(Intended meaning: ‘The girl with whom Kamala went to the market.’)

Structures corresponding to (1)-(4) are grammatical in all Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer, and the Munda languages. The structure corresponding to (5) with the Comitative PP as Head is grammatical in Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer, and Munda languages but, *not* in Dravidian languages.

A learner of Hindi from any language from any of the families is likely to generate ungrammatical sentences of the type (1) to (5). If the teacher of Hindi is made aware of the fact about the nature of relativization strategies of the learner’s mother tongue, she/he would be in a position to explicate the nature of the errors committed by the student.

(ii) The conjunctive participial clause

The next issue concerns the conjunctive participial clause In Hindi-Urdu, and Punjabi, PRO cannot occur in the subject position of an embedded conjunctive participial clause, which has a predicate that takes a dative subject.

- (6) Hindi-Urdu (Indo-Aryan, Subbarao 2012)

**rādha* [_{s2}θ¹ gussā ā kar_{s2}] *bāhar cal- ī ga- ī*
 Radha dat anger come cpm outside walk- perf. go- pst
 ‘Having felt angry, Radha went outside.’ (intended meaning)

In contrast, in all Dravidian languages sentences similar to the Hindi-Urdu sentence are perfectly grammatical. Such differences should be brought to the notice of the learner.

(iii) Time expressions in conjunctive participial constructions

The next issue concerns time expressions in conjunctive participial constructions. When a time expression occurs in the predicate of the matrix clause, a conjunctive participle cannot occur in the embedded clause in Hindi-Urdu as the ungrammaticality of (7) shows (Subbarao 2012).

- (7) **ham_i ko* [PRO_i dillī *ākar*] *gyārah sāl hue*
 we dat(nom) Delhi come-*cpm* eleven years happened
 ‘It is eleven years since we came to Delhi.’ (intended meaning)

The time expression *gyārah sāl* ‘eleven years’ in the matrix clause with the predicate *ho* ‘happen, occur’ requires a dative subject. There is a restriction in Hindi-Urdu that the conjunctive participle *ā kar* ‘having come’ is not permitted *only* when a time expression occurs in the predicate of the matrix clause. Hindi-Urdu instead requires a perfect participle as in (8).

8. ham_i ko [PRO_i dillī *ā- ye hue*] gyārah sāl hue
 we dat(nom)Delhi *come- perf pple* eleven years happened
 ‘It is eleven years since we came to Delhi.’

Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman languages do not have any such restrictions. A non-Hindi speaker is likely to encounter a problem in learning such constructions.

(iv) Non-nominative subject construction (NNSC)

Case marking on the subject in the non-nominative subject construction (NNSC) creates difficulties for the learner of Hindi. In Hindi-Urdu, the case marking on the NNSC varies depending on the *nature of the possessed* while it is dative case-marked in all the domains in the Dravidian languages. Most of the Tibeto-Burman languages do not have the NNSC at all. We argue that the teacher of Hindi should be made aware of such intricate differences between the structure of Hindi and the other South Asian languages.

There are several such issues that deserve attention. Depending on the availability of time, I shall discuss some more of such issues.

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Notes

1. \emptyset signifies the notional subject of the embedded clause that contains the dative predicate *gussā ā.nā* ‘to be angry’ that takes the dative subject.

30. Categorization of Hindi and Urdu Light Verb Constructions With *Mārnā* Based on Their Semantic Features

Eszter Melitta Szabó, University of Budapest, Hungary.

The present paper is a revised version of my recent thesis focusing on the categorization of the Hindi/Urdu light verb (LV) *mārnā* ‘to hit’ and the parallelism of Hindi/Urdu and Persian noun+verb type *light verb constructions* (LVC). The prevalence of LVCs in Asian languages such as Persian, Hindi, or Urdu (to name a few) is a noteworthy feature. These languages employ only a few hundred simple verbs; hence they rather express verbal notions by using light verb constructions. Though previous studies made attempts to categorize the Hindi/Urdu LVCs, these classifications usually took only a few LVs into account and were based rather on the syntactic behavior of the examined LVCs. The present work has three main axes: presenting the results of the semantic categorization of the Hindi/Urdu LVCs with the LV *mārnā* ‘to hit’ based on the meanings of the PVs, calling attention to the necessity of creating a complete typology of the system of Hindi/Urdu N+V type LVCs, and showing that the whole system of Hindi/Urdu N+V type LVCs resembles what we can find in Persian. In my research, I investigated about 200 Hindi/Urdu N+V type LVCs with *mārnā* ‘to hit’, among which I set up six broad categories (semantic groups) and many other subcategories based on the PVs’ semantics. For example, many constructions, built up by a noun denoting a weapon and the light verb *mārnā*, pertain to some sort of violent action; while in other cases, *mārnā* forms collocations with nouns expressing a movement, a state, etc. resulting in LVCs which generally express a change of position, state, or movement. The collocations of each group have similar meanings and contain semantically related PVs. Moreover, the PVs of different etymologies often form semantically identical constructions with a given LV, thus allowing the speaker to choose from them according to the situation, register, or style. By comparing the Hindi/Urdu and the Persian data, it becomes striking that the whole system of Hindi/Urdu N+V type LVCs resembles the Persian system. In addition to the fact that these Hindi/Urdu semantic groups almost entirely correspond to the categories of Persian LVCs, one can find collocations in almost all of the semantic groups which are exactly the same as those of Persian. More precisely, the PVs of many constructions are Arabo-Persian loanwords, and *mārnā* seems to be the loan translation of the corresponding Persian LV *zadan* ‘to hit’. Therefore, concerning the diachrony of these constructions, we can conclude that Persian undoubtedly had a great role in their development. This kind of classification is not only useful for diachronic analysis but also for studying synchronic issues. One of the general features of LVCs is that many LVs can

systematically alternate with each other resulting in collocations with different but related meanings. The PVs of a given semantic group of *mārnā* can also be combined with several LVs, i. e., *mārnā* can be replaced with other LVs such as *khānā* ‘to eat’, *lagānā* ‘to attach’, *bharnā* ‘to fill, to be filled’ etc. By discussing some of the alternations of *mārnā- khānā*, *mārnā-denā*, *mārnā-lagānā*, I aim to show that this method can shed more light on the LVs’ poorly understood combinatory possibilities with certain classes of nouns and that establishing the semantic groups of at least the most frequent LVs and examining the connections between them is needed for a thoroughgoing account of Hindi/Urdu N+V type LVCs.

31. Hindi class teaching and Unknown etymological words

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Some time ago I was teaching a Hindi poet Viren Dangwal’s poem ‘Hamara samaj’, then a word ‘aancha paancha’(आंचा-पांचा) came there. I was not able to find its meaning even after searching the dictionary. After searching a lot, it was found that this word is in practice in the people of North India, which means to talk unnecessary. When you teach or read Hindi poetry, story, novel or grammar, words abound that require special effort to understand it’s meaning.

In my paper, I would like to talk about some unknown etymological words found inside the Hindi vocabulary. Such glossaries include all such words for which no ancient history is available. When a person from non-Hindi background passes counter such Hindi, then the biggest problem before him is that where to find its exact meaning. In such a situation, there is always ambiguity regarding the origin of these words. Serious work needs to be done in this area because Hindi is such a language which is not only enriching itself with many languages close to it, but it is also adopting words from foreign languages on a large scale. I am talking about a practical problem here, for which we have to keep such words in a special class and maybe even create a separate dictionary. Some examples of such words are as follows:

ant-shant (अंट शंट) : nonsense

achkan (अचकन) : a vest is a piece of underwear which is worn to keep the top part your body warm.

allam-ballam (अल्लम-बल्लम) : nonsense

uutpatang (ऊटपटांग) : nonsense

karahna (कराहना) : to scream out in pain

gaccha (गच्छा) : betrayal
girgit (गिरगिट) : chameleons
genda (गेंदा) : marigold
gudgudi (गुदगुदी) : tickle
chutkala (चुटकला) : joke
cheela (चीला) : a type of Indian dish
jhurjhuri (झुरझुरी) : shiver with restlessness
jhurmut (झुरमुट) : trees and plants growing around
tahalna (टहलना) : to walk

Hindi reflects many cultures at once. In such a situation, these words are also a mean of knowing Indian culture because teaching a language is not only about giving knowledge of grammar but also giving knowledge of culture. In fact, writers are so deeply rooted in the roots of their folk that such words are found in their writings, whose origin cannot be traced. That is the reason teaching Hindi Literature and Grammar is so challenging.

Basically it is realized in the teaching class where knowing and explaining the words is interesting in itself because you need to use lots of images or examples to explain these words. Which methods should be explain these words, I will talk about it in my paper. Along with this, I will submit my thoughts about various aspects of how to use the already existing dictionary or create a new dictionary etc. The nature of my study comes in Qualitative research. The research design would be Exploratory Research Design, through this I will try to explore these in my study.

32. Discourse Structure of Hindi in the Perspective of Natural Language Processing

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Natural Language Processing has become the most priority area of the study in language and linguistics. It is an interdisciplinary subject which has influenced the artificial intelligence one of the most potential research discipline of the 21st century, while scientific temperament of computer science is building its strong background. Linguistics is central subject in the midst of all these. Since language is its end and means, it would be logical and practical to look at the language from a new perspective in this research environment, because the goal of linguistics is not limited only to study the human to human interactions but also

it is now trying to authenticate the process of establishing communication between human and machine.

Discourse is a communicative unit of a language, which is bigger than the sentence. Its main characteristics are logical cohesion and semantic coherence. Although sentence is the biggest unit of language in structure, but two sentences in discourse are mutually connected with conjunctions and referring expressions such as anaphora and cataphora etc., which has been discussed in this research. Further, the text locaters such as ‘following’ and ‘above mentioned’ etc. will also be the part of discourse structure especially in the computational analysis. However, the main types of cohesion generally stated in the literature are co-reference, substitution/ ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion (Halliday & Hasan (1976)). This research, in its implication, has focused on making the discourse the target of analysis by going beyond the limits of syntactic analysis practiced in NLP. In this research, the Hindi-structure has been analyzed at the discourse level, in which Reflexive, Reciprocal, Possessive, Demonstrative and Relative pronoun have been considered. Focusing the target of Hindi anaphora resolution, the anaphora structure has been analyzed in combination of antecedent. This paper will highlight the structures of Hindi discourse in the algorithmic manner in order to benefit the various fields of NLP.

Key words: Discourse Structure, Anaphora Resolution, Hindi Discourse and Natural Language Processing

33. Facing the cosmopolitan world: Is Hindi being social in the era of social media?

Akanshi Vidyarthi, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

The *khadi boli* Hindi which we speak today is a newer language than the other languages in India. The language has a short history and it is a language in the making. If we look at the newspapers and journals of Hindi 100 years back or even 30 years back, we find the language was quite different from the one which is used today in the journals. The anti-colonial and nationalist movement in nineteenth- and twentieth-century India gave Hindi new meanings. First, it was developed as *Hindustani* – the language which represented India’s composite culture, a mixture of Hindi and Urdu. Later, when the communal politics deepened, Urdu turned towards Persian and Hindi towards Sanskrit. After Independence and partition, this inclination towards Sanskrit became more effective. The official language or *Rajbhasha* was also developed under the influence of this notion

which resulted in a language which people rarely understand. In the literary sphere, the *Tatsam* based Hindi was considered as *shuddh hindi* while other forms of Hindi having accent and words from other north Indian dialects were considered as impure, and backward. This notion of pure Hindi didn't let Hindi be updated with time and requirements. Although Hindi was changing among the masses, it was static in the dictionaries. By making *mānak hindi* (standard Hindi), Hindi was limited.

Hundreds of years ago, Kabir had said- *bhasha bahta neer* (language is like flowing water). It is true, especially in the Indian context. Instead of making a standard version of Hindi, efforts should be made towards identifying several forms of Hindi. There were transitions in society that, from time to time, created several forms of dialect, included many new words in it and made the language widespread. Bollywood, song albums, pulp fiction, politics were some such factors. Today we have *Arunachali Hindi*, *Bambaiya hindi* etc. But none of their words were included in *mānak* Hindi dictionaries. It was the people who were making Hindi widespread across the country, but these efforts were rarely acknowledged by the institutions which were meant to do so. Why this resistance? The question needs to be analyzed.

In present times, social media is one such factor. While the accessibility of social media has skyrocketed with the availability of cheap smartphones and 'data pack' becoming a household word, its impacts on the development of Hindi as a language are interesting to study. The present study looks at these impacts and in the process highlights the newer terms that have infiltrated the masses and how this has led to fluidity in the language, making it easier for non-Hindi speakers to understand it.

Social media has affected the world in countless ways. Language is one such sphere. With the easy accessibility of smartphones in every hand, social media has witnessed a tremendous increase in its users. For instance, if a video in Hindi goes viral, it reaches the masses beyond languages, and it also appeals to non-Hindi speakers. The power to write, create and reach groups across linguistic, cultural and regional boundaries has also led to the trickling down of Hindi vocabulary to non-Hindi speakers. Though these users could not understand all Hindi terms, some words were easily communicated. These terms originated in English and were used primarily for defining characteristics of social media. Furthermore, as the usage escalated, these newer vocabularies became part of speaking and understanding Hindi and became a central part of everyday language.

It's imperative to note the impacts that the above has on accessing Hindi by non-Hindi speakers. The core social media terminologies have no Hindi translations and are used as they are. They are part of the language they originated in as

well as transported to the other language unchanged. They have become an integral part of other languages with the influence of social media. For instance, in Hindi the terms- like, unlike, share, search, viral, troll, influencers, gif, emoji, smiley, rofl, lol, FOMO, hashtag, etc. are used widely. Moreover, they denote the features of social media and have a distinct dictionary meaning. With social media becoming an integral part of our lives, the vocabulary has also followed. The impacts it has on language are worth studying. Language has become fluid and changeable and this change is very often witnessed from below. The cross-cultural use of these terms has increased the accessibility of Hindi. Some of these words are getting new meanings different from their dictionary meanings while the others remain the same.

The question is here again, will such changes in Hindi be accepted in Hindi or would Hindi still try to remain *shuddh*? In the recent past, the Oxford English Dictionary has included several popular Hindi words which are even rare to find in Hindi dictionaries; a few of them are - *funda*, *anna*, *mirch masala*, *chamcha*, *timepass*, *jugaad*, *dadagiri*, *tempo*, *tube light*. It's true that several words in Hindi have come from foreign languages in the process of colonization; such words are known as *videshaj* in Hindi grammar. Today when we are in the middle of globalization, can can speakers of Hindi continue to reject foreign words?

Hindi has always been liberal and open towards foreign words; the presence of *videshaj* words vindicates this. It's the academic and official language which has tried to stay unaltered from the language spoken by the common people. It leads to a vast difference between both forms of Hindi. It also creates a big problem for the students who learn Hindi as a second language as they find a gap between what they learn and what is spoken among people. The arrival of social media and the surge in its usage has challenged the authority of *shuddh hindi*. Hindi academic spaces have not been welcoming towards the popular changes in the language. They have emphasized the uses of *shuddh hindi*. The tendency to cling to a specific version of Hindi has even affected the Hindi speakers with diverse dialects. It does not address the diversity of the country and international students. The shift that social media has brought has given people the power to bring new changes in the language.

To conclude, this paper acknowledges the historical changes which Hindi has been through and how it is a liberal language accepting words from other languages. What were the reasons behind Hindi having its doors closed to new words and has grammar had any role in this? This paper analyzes the idea of *Shuddh Hindi* and understands the gaps between spoken Hindi and academic Hindi. It also analyses how social media has introduced new words and how

Hindi is being familiarized with new trends. The paper reveals how Hindi is becoming ‘cool’ in this era of social media.

34. Relevance of Comics in the Language classroom

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In the area of language pedagogy, researchers are constantly looking for new, innovative and effective materials to enrich the teaching and learning process in the formal classroom environment. This paper aims to see the usefulness of comics as an active teaching tool to enhance the teaching and learning strategy in the language classroom. Because comics in any language have a widespread interest and appeal among students, it would be interesting to see their effectiveness in enhancing language learning skills in the formal classroom setting. Comics also present authentic language and culture that native speakers would use in different contexts with the help of images and visual clues to understand and comprehend.

In the language classroom, while teaching the language, we always use cultural references and context. Here comics would become much more relevant because they provide good exposure to the culture of that particular language. Comics are full of common idioms, metaphors, and slang, as they often present language that is actually spoken by native speakers. Comics are representations of the “oral in writing” (Ramos, 2006), whereas as per Eisner (2010), comics are considered a sequential art, a vehicle for creative expression, an artistic and literary form that works with arrays of figures or images and words to tell a story. This paper aims to see the relevance and effectiveness of the use of some of the very popular Hindi comics in enriching Hindi language pedagogy. We do not claim that the use of Hindi comics in the language classroom is a new idea but we do believe in innovative strategies and adapting them for enriching language pedagogy. It is expected that the outcome of the study will make the learners more interested and will help them to learn Hindi in an enjoyable and effective way.

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35. The Dynamics of the Early Hindi Literary Lexicon: From *Tadbhavas* to *Ardhatatsamas*

Imre Bangha, University of Oxford, UK

The talk will analyse how the Early Hindi *ardhatatsama* literary lexicon substituted a previous *tadbhava*-dominated layer recorded in the fourteenth century. In contrast to earlier studies of pre-sixteenth-century literary Hindi grammar and lexicon, in which the pedigree of texts was not systematically scrutinised, my investigation focusses on dated works with dated manuscripts. It will study the fate of the mid-fourteenth century Pradyumna-*ċarit* in manuscripts as its *tadbhava*-dominated vocabulary, linking the language to *Apabhramsha* and to the Jains, became Brajified. The paper will also discuss other early vernacular works that testify to the persistence of elements of the *tadbhava* vocabulary. However, with the emergence of a more Brahmanical, Sanskrit-inspired *bhakti* and *rīti* literature, the literary lexicon was brought closer to Sanskrit, which had repercussions on modern language use that, again, changed the Avadhi/Braj/Sant etc. *ardhatatsamas* to *tatsamas*.

36. Lexicon in the two oldest grammars of Hindi

Tej K. Bhatia, Syracuse University, USA

Recent discoveries – the Dutch manuscripts of Ketelaar’s grammars (1698; the Hague and the Utrecht manuscripts) and the Francois-Marie de Tours manuscripts (1703-1704) – open new frontiers in research on the evaluation of scientific thought in the language sciences in general and the impact of Dutch and Latin contributions to the Hindi/ Indic grammatical tradition in particular. Ketelaar’s work (1698) is representative of the Dutch contributions to the early Hindi grammars and its contributions to language study are manifold. It turns out that the early vernacular grammatical tradition, as represented in Ketelaar’s work, is alien in origin which marks a point of departure from the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. Even though the Europeans, perhaps even Ketelaar, were not total strangers to the ‘Brahmanic’ or scholarly grammatical tradition of India as evidenced by Francois-Marie de Tours’ grammar of Hindi, 1704 (see Bhatia and Machida 2016 for details).

While Ketelaar was writing his grammar, his almost-contemporary, the French Capuchin François-Marie de Tours was also engaged in writing the *Thesaurus Linguæ Indianæ* (1703). Besides the *Thesaurus*, he also composed a grammar manuscript of the *Grammatica Linguæ Indianæ Vulgaris sive* Pioneering Dutch scholarship on historical indology *Mogolanæ* (1704). A preliminary analysis of the *Thesaurus* and grammar reveals that there appears to be two competing visions of the description and the representation of the Hindi-Hindustānī language. While Ketelaar employs the Roman script for Hindi-Hindustānī data, de Tours' work is grounded in the Devanagari script. Furthermore, the latter work is written in Latin, thus conforming to the classical European grammatical model. The scope and the depth of the classical Indic (Sanskrit) tradition is too early to assess as the collaborative work on de Tours' grammar is still in progress. Nevertheless, the influence of the Sanskrit tradition is self-evident from the choice of the Devanagari script and references to the 'Brachmanica', e.g., Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

Central to Ketelaar (1698) and de Tours (1703/1704) works is their dictionary component. The aim of this paper is to focus primarily on the treatment of lexicon in the two oldest grammars of the late 17th century and early 18th Century. These two works set the stage for the discovery of the Hindi language and offer a critical window to the earliest Hindi dictionaries/ *Thesaurus*.

The two grammars were practically written during the same period. However, they differ dramatically in term of five characteristics: (1). Scope; (2). Conceptual Approaches (descriptive, prescriptive, variational); (3) Data Representation (transcriptional system), and (4) Lexical Classificatory Systems; (5) Evolution of scientific methods (pre-scientific era of the Comparative and Historical Methods of the 19th Century scientific revolution). Inface of lexicon with morpho-syntax is also accounted for whenever relevant. Beside analyzing the five key aspects of the two works, the paper will present their pioneering context of the two works, shedding light on the socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic context which led to the composition of the two distinct sets of lexicons.

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- Instruction or teaching of the Hindustānī and Persian languages, including their declension and conjugation also comparison of the Hindustānī with the Dutch measure and weights and the meaning of some Moorish names etc.* By Jean Josua Ketelaar of Elbing Copied by Jsaacq van der Hoeve, of Utrecht at Lucknow AD 1698].

37. A comparative study of Ketelaar's, de Tours and modern Hindi Grammar

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The formative stage of the written Hindi grammatical tradition is ascertained to the 17th and 18th centuries, beginning with the first Hindi (Hindustani) grammar written by Joan Josua Ketelaar in 1798 as Bhatia (1987) has established. However, François-Marie de Tours, a Catholic missionary of the French Capuchin Order is probably the first western scholar who systematically engaged with the Hindi (Hindustani) grammar and used the Devanagari script for Hindi words - *Grammatica Linguae Indianae Vulgaris sive Mogolanae* – in 1704. De Tours Hindi grammar is written in a classical grammatical tradition of the period, and it offers an extensive linguistic discussion and several paradigms and provides i. a., great historical, social, and linguistic data. His typology is virtually silent on Persian as a language, which was the official language of India during that period and which played a role in the Indian linguistic landscape. Although both de Tours and Ketelaar reached India during the 1680s and mainly lived at the then important Moghul commercial town Surat in Gujarat, and documented their versions of Hindi grammar at an interval of fewer than six years. However, their approaches to documenting the Hindi grammar are different. Ketelaar's grammar has been systematically studied, but de Tours' grammar remained completely neglected. The project at Uppsala University is only concerned with the de Tours dictionary, and coincidentally I am also one of the members of that study group. In this paper, I will discuss different grammatical features in the grammar of Ketelaar and de Tours and compare them with the modern standard Hindi grammar. I shall also discuss questions such as – was Hindi (Hindustani) considered as lingua franca during the beginning of the 17th century or were scholars even talking about the disappearance of the Hindi language? And what was the social status of Hindi then?

38. Hindi grammar in Russia

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The earliest studies of the grammatical structure of Hindi in Russia belong to scholars from St. Petersburg (at that time Leningrad). Alexei Barannikov (1890 – 1952) published in 1934 Hindustani grammar - a practical course for students. His practical grammar provided necessary information about Hindi and Urdu phonetics, morphology, syntax and word formation. Semyon Rudin (1929 – 1978) is well

known for his research in Hindi phonetics and phonology. Tatyana Katenina published her short Hindi grammar in the series "Languages of the World" founded by the Russian Academy of Sciences. Georgy Zograph (1928 – 1993) is famous for his work on formation of literary Hindi and Urdu. Hindi typology was discussed in detail in his publications on typology of modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Serious studies of Hindi grammar in Moscow began after World War II. Semen Dymshits (1921 – 1990) and Oleg Ultsiferov (1932 – 2014) are well known for their Hindi manuals and research on different problems of Hindi morphology and syntax. Vladimir Chernyshov dedicated his works to problems of correlation between Hindi and its dialects. He showed that the main centers for formation of literary Hindi were outside the spread of colloquial Hindustani. That became one of the reasons for the situation of diglossia in Hindi-speaking area. The problems of lexicology and word formation in modern Hindi were studied by Alexey Barkhudarov. He described in detail the development of Sanskrit-bound vocabulary of modern literary Hindi: the emergence in Sanskrit neologisms of the new word-formation models, the ability of neologisms to have both traditional and terminological meanings, the development of a new morphological ("agglutinative") type in Sanskrit neologisms, the emergence of complex words of a new type in literary Hindi, etc.

The greatest contribution to studying the problems of Hindi grammar was made by Vladimir Liperovsky (1927 – 2020). V.P. Liperovsky described in detail the nominal and verbal systems of modern literary Hindi as well as its two dialects - Braj and Avadhi. His works manifested most clearly one of the main principles of Russian linguistics: the main focus in grammar is to be on the meaning of forms.

The scope of this paper does not allow critical analysis of all the problems considered by V. Liperovsky, therefore we will focus here only on the problems of Hindi modality discussed by the author in several publications. According to Liperovsky, there are three moods in Hindi: indicative, subjunctive and conditional. Each modal mood consists of one synthetic and three analytic forms (imperfective, perfective and progressive). The forms like *aayaa hogaa*, *aataa hogaa*, *aa rahaa hogaa* are attributed by the author to indicative mood because, unlike forms of subjunctive and conditional, they do not imply the basic synthetic forms. It seems that modal semantics of the forms under consideration is more important than morphological parallelism with other moods, that is why it is suggested to single out one more mood in Hindi, namely 'presumptive' mood.

39. Russian Grammars of Hindustani from the 1890s to the 1930s: Politics and the Transfer of Grammatical Knowledge

Tatiana Oranskaia, Universität Hamburg, Germany

The paper presents the first Russian scholarly grammar of Hindustani: Hindi and Urdu (Barannikov 1926; 1934). The grammatical description is combined with a Hindustani textbook to form a two-part publication. Its author, Prof. Aleksey Barannikov (1890–1952) introduced the study of modern Indian languages into the university curriculum in the late 1920s. Prior to his initiative, no Indian languages apart from Sanskrit and Pali had been taught at Russian universities.

I emphasise the attributive “scholarly” because the earliest Russian grammars of Hindustani, appearing at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, were written exclusively for teaching purposes (Vygornitskiy 1897; Gilferding 1899; Jagiello 1902). Their authors were military officers, there being a need to teach the largest new Indian language because of political and military developments in Russian Turkestan. The early post-Revolution exploration of Hindustani and other new Indian languages gained impetus, again, from the young Soviet state’s political and military interests, in ways similar to European—and specifically British—administrative, missionary and educational institutions. The classical English grammars of Hindi–Urdu–Hindustani (Forbes 1848; Platts 1874, etc.) had been created within a comparable extralinguistic context. They were the most important sources used in writing the Russian grammars at the end of the 19th and the three first decades of the 20th century. Russia and Britain were oriented in language education to the Greco-Latin grammatical tradition and had to adjust it to the “unclassical” phenomena in Hindustani grammar.

After discussing the causes and goals of the grammatical descriptions in the selected period, the paper looks more narrowly into the particulars of Barannikov’s grammar as compared to the earlier Russian and relevant English grammars. The main points of interest are: (a) what previously collected knowledge about Hindustani has been used and (b) what in the grammar knowledge system and its presentation has changed.

I hope to demonstrate in what way grammatical descriptions of Hindustani that are comparable in terms of extralinguistic background diverge depending on L1.

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40. How to Explain ‘Explicators’? A Comparative Analysis of the Description of Vector Verbs in Grammars of Hindi as a Second Language

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Among the many grammatical forms of Hindi, there is one in particular that deserves the attention of grammar historians for its originality: the compound verb. Initially mentioned as “intensive verb” (Kellogg), its second unit is variously named “helping verb” (Bhatia), “dependent auxiliary” (McGregor), “vector verb” (Montaut), or “explicateur” in French. While many grammatical categories in modern Hindi have been explained with the help of the extended grammar model, the function and use of compound verbs in Hindi escapes strict comparison with European languages. The question then arises as to how grammarians analysed these verbs and explained them to Hindi learners?

To answer this question, my study examines in a historical perspective grammars of Hindi (or Hindustani for the oldest), from the first known grammar by Ketelaar in 1698 to that of Everaert in 2017. In my presentation, I will firstly look at the place and importance given to this category of verbs in the selected grammars. Secondly, I will examine the explanations provided by their respective authors to convey the meaning and usage of these verbs, focusing my attention on the auxiliaries *jānā* (“to go”, one of the most frequent), *ḍālnā* (“to pour”, quite common), and *baiṭhnā* (“to sit”, one of the rarest). Thirdly, I will focus on the examples provided and the solutions proposed to translate these compound verbs. This will lead me, in conclusion, to draw a brief historical and critical description of the books used for the teaching of Hindi as a second language, based on this specific grammatical aspect. The purpose of this comparison is to better understand the attitude of grammarians towards an original linguistic

phenomenon, whose explanation and appropriate use require more expertise than needed for common and elementary rules.

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41. One city, two foreigners, five languages: the historical circumstances and social context of the two earliest European dictionaries of Hindustani

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Around 1680 CE, two Europeans arrived to work in the Indian port city of Surat: Joan Josua Ketelaar for the Dutch East India Company, and François-Marie de Tours, a French Capuchin missionary. The two had very different purposes: one was escaping his criminal past and wanted to build a new life (and possibly a fortune), the other followed his vocation of spreading the Catholic faith. By an accident of history, both became pioneers of linguistic descriptions of the universal language they encounter which de Tours called *Lingua Indiana* or *Mogolana*, and Ketelaar -- *Hindustani* or *Moorish language*. Although their works differ significantly in scope, content and methodological approach, not to mention different source languages (French and Latin vs Dutch with added Persian), due to the spatial and temporal proximity of the authors, we naturally expect to find a lot of similarities in the target language. But is that really the case?

To what extent did the authors' background and biographies condition the form of their multilingual works? What can we tell about their sources and their informants? And how did the social context in which the two Europeans operated determine their lexical choices?

In my presentation, I will look at the social and cultural circumstances in which the two works were created, and present a comparative selection of lexical entries in order to understand "whose" language did the two authors record.

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42. The influence of Portuguese language / lexicon on Hindi

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Portuguese were one of the first European colonizers to reach to Malabar Coast, India. This established a direct maritime route between Europe and India and soon Portuguese established their kingdom in Bombay, Goa, Daman, and Diu and all this started a close contact between Indian and Portuguese languages. These contacts and relations can be seen at the level of syntax, lexicon, and toponym of various Indian languages including Hindi, e.g., the words like, मेज़, साबुन, तौलिया are borrowings from Portuguese words ‘mesa’, ‘sabão’ and ‘toalha’. In this regard, one of the important sources would be “Influencia do vocabulário português em línguas asiáticas” written by S. Rodolfo Dalgado and published in Coimbra by the Coimbra University Press (Imprensa da Universidade) in 1913.

Usually Portuguese/European missionaries would go to India and document the linguistic knowledge of local Indian languages, but Sebastião Dalgado was one of those rare Indian / Portuguese of Indian or Goan origin who became the professor of Sanskrit at Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa (FLUL) and one of the first Indians who studied and published the influence of Portuguese language over 50 Asian languages including Hindi.

In this paper I would like to discuss and present the following points:

1. the notion of Indian languages and Hindi in Portuguese speaking world (usually refereed as Lusophone world) in 20th century.
2. Vehicles and reasons of the influence of Portuguese language on Indian languages.
3. Morphological and phonological extension or adaptation of Portuguese lexicon in Indian languages.
4. Notions of Hindi, Hindustani, and Laskari-Hindustani

Prof. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado who was born in Assagão (Goa) in 1855, was a Catholic priest, but also became renowned for his linguistic work dedicated to the Indo-Portuguese creoles, Asian Portuguese, Konkani, Sanskrit and Hindi (or Hindustani). In 1908 he started the teaching Sanskrit Language and Literature at the Curso Superior de Letras which later named as Faculdade de Letras. He died in Lisbon on April 4th, 1922.

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43. Hindustani in Surat under the Rule of Aurangzeb: The Significance of François Marie de Tours' Thesaurus *Linguae Indianae*

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The Hindustani dictionary and grammar written by François-Marie de Tours, bearing the date of 1703 and 1704 respectively, were not complete unknown to researchers working on early Hindi lexicographical and grammar traditions, but there is no in-depth investigation until now. The material at the National Library in Paris (dictionary) and in the Pontifical Urbaniana University Archive (Rome) is much more conclusive in many respects compared to Ketelaar's grammar and wordlists and other 18th century material in missionary linguistics.

The dictionary contains about 11.000 keywords in some kind of Devanagari/Modi Hindi, Latin, French and a quite precise Latin script transliteration by the author, a Capuchin monk who had probably arrived in India in the 1680s and travelled over great parts of the subcontinent, where his order had started to build up a network of stations.

The early Jesuit mission to the Moghuls starting under Akbar the Great had possibly produced Hindustani lexicographical and grammatical material lost in history or yet to be recovered. However, the Jesuits' focus was on the languages of the South and Sanskrit. De Tours' occupation with Hindustani, which he describes as a language understood and spoken all the Moghul empire during period of its greatest extension "and along the coasts", clearly set another focus.

The Uppsala research group is in the final phase of digitization of the thesaurus. The planned "webonary" (digital online dictionary) based on François-Marie de Tours dictionary is at the same time open to be a starting point for an extended open dictionary of early Hindi based on word lists and dictionaries produced before the foundation of Fort William College in Kolkata (1800) and its impact on the development of Hindi/Hindustani.

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44. On Liperovsky's description of gender in Hindi substantives

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The two books by V.P. Liperovsky: [Liperovsky 1978; Liperovsky 2012] are practically unknown to scholars in Western countries and India, though in Russia they remain important works on Hindi grammar. In both monographs the author elaborates the integral model of describing Hindi nominals taking into account interaction between lexical, morphological and – partially - syntactic levels.

Thoughts-providing seem to be those parts of the books mentioned which deal with problems of grammatical gender in substantives. From the very start, Liperovsky proves irrelevance of form for gender-distinctions, basing his conclusions on opposing noun-pairs like *pānī* (m.) 'water' ↔ *roṭī* (f.) 'bread', *jau* (m.) 'barley' ↔ *gau* (f.) 'cow', etc., - and states that gender in nouns is a classificatory category applied not to word-forms, but to lexemes. He then explores the etymological ties between gender marking of nouns in Sanskrit and Hindi and demonstrates that there exist almost direct correspondences between the feminine gender nouns of the two languages, while Hindi masculine nouns are usually mirroring masculine and neuter genders of Sanskrit cognates.

Analyzing connections between grammatical and biological genders, Liperovsky singles out certain sets of animated nouns, gender specifications of which are fully implicated by their lexical meanings (like, e.g., *satī* (f.) 'devoted wife' or *mukhiyā* (m.) 'village chief', etc.). Afterwards he analyzes two groups of animated substantives that are "neutral" towards sex distinctions but imply differences in

grammatical gender. One such group is represented by names of non-human animates – like, e.g., *kauā* (m.) ‘crow’ or *lomRī* (f.) ‘fox’. The other one consists of names of human-beings’ professions, occupations, social positions, etc. Historically they were signifying activities performed exclusively by men and only recently associated also with women. When used, such nouns are to be combined with special sex/gender lexical markers like *strī-* ‘woman’ or *puruṣ-* ‘man’: e.g., *strī-bairiṣṭar* ‘woman-advocate’, *puruṣ-ḍākṭar* ‘man-doctor’. These subsidiary elements are optional and if omitted, affixes of those syntactic constituents that are in agreement with nouns in question, function as gender-markers: *aspatāl meⁿ ek acch-ī* (f.) *ḍākṭar* (m./f.) *th-ī* (f.) ‘There **was a nice** doctor (= ‘she-doctor’) at the hospital’. When used in plural, nouns of the group preserve ‘masculine’ set of inflexions – e.g., *aspatāl meⁿ bahut leḍī-ḍākṭar* (m.Sg/Pl, not **-ḍākṭar-eⁿ-*f.Pl.*!) *kām kart-ī* (f.) *h-aiⁿ* (3 Pl.) ‘Many **lady-doctors** are **working** at the hospital’.

After analyzing sets of word-formative affixes that express gender contrasts in pairs of animated nouns, Liperovsky shifts to problems of non-animated entities. He singles out a set of Hindi non-animates in which the standard gender opposition is subjected to considerable modifications. One subset includes noun-pairs (mostly names of artifacts) wherein masculine gender denotes bigger size of the item while its feminine counterpart implies smaller size: e.g., *rass-ā* (m.) ‘big rope’ ↔ *rass-ī* (f.) ‘small/thin rope’; *pal-ā* (m.) ‘big scoop’ ↔ *pal-ī* ‘small scoop’, etc. Another subset consists of noun-pairs wherein masculine gender noun denotes the head or the official of some administrative body and the opposed feminine noun signifies the office itself: e.g., *kāryakāri* (m.) ‘executor’ ↔ *kāryakāri-ṇī* (f.) ‘executive committee’, *nagarpāl* (m.) ‘head (of the city)’ ↔ *nagarpāl-ikā* (f.) ‘municipality’.

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