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## SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF NON-CANONICAL WORD ORDER IN SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES: <VERB-LEFT> OF *lag-* ‘BEGIN’ AS AN ATTITUDE-MARKER IN HINDI-URDU<sup>1</sup>

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This paper examines possible motivations for departures from canonical clause-final word order observed for the finite verb in Hindi-Urdu and other modern Indo-Aryan languages. Depiction of speaker attitude in Premchand’s novel *godān* and the imperatives of journalistic style in TV newscasts are shown to be prime factors. The emergence of V-2 word-order in Kashmiri and other Himalayan languages may have had a parallel history.

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It is generally recognized that in most South Asian languages the finite verb comes last in its clause:

- (1) *jhuniyā<sup>2</sup> ne gobar.kī pīṭh mē halkā.sā ghūūsā jamāyā*  
 Jhuniya Erg<sup>3</sup> Gobar’s back in light punch delivered  
 ‘Jhuniya gave Gobar a playful punch in the back.’ (godān, 51.37)<sup>4</sup>

Again, as in other South Asian languages, the most common order in formal Hindi-Urdu has complements to the left and the verbs governing them to their right. In colloquial speech, however, we sometimes find instances of what I shall call ‘verb-left’; that is, occurrences of

<sup>1</sup> This paper, first presented on 22 June 2002 at the 22nd meeting of the South Asian Languages Roundtable at the University of Iowa, has been hibernating since. I am grateful to Krzysztof Stroński for encouraging me to bring it up to date and into print.

<sup>2</sup> The transcription system for Hindi and Garhwali is based on one that is in general use in the Indo-Aryan linguistics literature. In it contrastive length in vowels is shown by a macron, nasality in vowels is shown by a tilde, the retroflexion of apical stops and flaps is shown by a sublinear dot and the palatal fricative is represented by an ess with a *haček*: /š/. The dental affricate of Marathi, by /tʃ/. Long nasal consonants are represented by doubling the tilded symbol: /āā, /īī, /ūū/. The palatalization of consonants in Kashmiri is represented by /y/. This /y/ fronts and raises a following /i, ɪ and /e, ē/ (which otherwise are high back unrounded and central mid unrounded vowels respectively).

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviations used in this paper include: Abl – ablative, Dat – dative, Emph – emphasis, Erg – ergative, Gen – genitive, Ger – gerund, Hab – habitual, Inf – infinitive, Obl – oblique, PP – postpositional phrase, Pres – present tense, Sbjntcv – subjunctive.

<sup>4</sup> The quotations from *godān* [identified by page and then line number] collate with the 1970 Saraswati Press edition.

finite verbs somewhere to the left of their complements. The inceptive auxiliary *lag* ‘begin’ seems especially likely to occur in this position:

- (2) *lage aurō kī.tarah tum bhī cāplūsī kar-ne*  
 begun.2plM others like you too flattery do-Inf  
 ‘There you go, just like the others, trying to flatter me.’ (Premchand’s *godān*, 51.38)

Other verbs, too, in particular those taking oblique infinitival complements, may show ‘verb-left’;

- (3) *ghar-ke parānī rāt-din marē aur dāne-dāne-ko tarasē, lattā bhī*  
 house-’s beings night-day die.Sbjnctv and grain-grain-Dat yearn.Sbjnctv cloth too  
*pahan-ne-ko mayassar na ho aura ājulī-bhar rupae le.kar calā hai izzat bacā-ne!*  
 put.on-Inf-Dat present not be and hands-full rupees taking set.out is honor save-Inf  
*aisī baṛī hai terī izzat! jis.ke ghar mē cūhe loṛē, vah bhī izzat-vālā hai!*  
 so great is your honor whose house in mice roll he too honor-person is  
 ‘His family members suffer day and night and are dying for even a crust to eat. Not a scrap of clothing in the house and off he goes with a fistful of money to preserve his honor! How great your honor is! Mice are frolicking in your house and you’re a man of honor!’ (*godān* 115.30-2)

The conventionally sarcastic presentational expression *baṛā āyā V-ne-vālā* discussed in HOOK & JAIN (2002: 369) is also subject to verb-left:

- (4) *baṛā āyā ghar mē rah.ne.vālā!* (MCGREGOR 1993: 700)  
 big came house in resider  
 ‘He thinks he’s a great man (now that he has – or when he is in – his) house!’

Why do speakers place finite forms of *lag*- ‘begin’ and other verbs to the left of their complements? In (2), (3), and (4) the speaker is mocking the subject. In (5) the speaker’s attitude is explicitly indicated:

- (5) *dātādīn cale gae to gobar-ne tiraskār.kī āākhō-se dekh-kar kahā*  
 Datadin moved went then Gobar-Erg contemptuous eyes-with look-ing said  
 [*gaye the devatā-ko manā-ne!*] (*godān* 221.17)  
 gone was god-Dat persuade-Inf.Obl  
 ‘After Datadin left Gobar said with a look of contempt, “So he’d gone to persuade God!”’

In this paper I (A) identify and explore the pragmatic uses of verb-left in Hindi, (B) attempt to determine if there is a statistically valid correlation between verb-left and these pragmatic conditions, (C) look [briefly] at verb-left in headline Hindi, (D) examine verb-left from a typological point of view, and (E) briefly consider how verb-left may be a precursor of the verb’s non-clause-final position found in Garhwali, Kochi, Kotgarhi, and other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the Sub-Himalayan regions to the north and west of Delhi.

A. Is mockery or derision always present in instances of verb-left? In Premchand’s *godān* there are 314 tokens of inceptive *lag*-. Of these 17, or a bit over 5%, come to the left of their complements.<sup>5</sup> They can be classified under a variety of pragmatic or attitudinal headings.

<sup>5</sup> It is striking that over half the instances (9 out of 17) of the verb *lag*- ‘begin’ occurring to the left of its infinitival complement come in the first one seventh (50 pages out of 350) of Premchand’s novel *godān*. What

- (6) Mockery or derision:  
 a. *lagā hāth jor-ne, pairō par-ne* 50.39 ‘...began to clasp his hands and fall at (their) feet.’  
 b. *aur lagā hāy-hāy kar-ne* 51.2 ‘...and began to clamor and lament.’  
 c. *lagā hāth jor-ne* 51.12 ‘...began to clasp his hands (in supplication)’  
 d. *lage ghūr-ne, chāī pī-ne* 51.32 See (15)  
 e. *lage aurō kī tarah tum bhī cāplūī kar-ne* 51.37 See (2)  
 f. *lage pašto mē gāliyāā de-ne* 76.13 ‘...began swearing in Pashto.’  
 g. *āādhi kī tarah harharāte hue bāg mē pahūc-kar lage lalkār-ne* 269.10  
 ‘Howling like a hurricane he reached the garden and began uttering challenges.’
- (7) Censure, reproach, reproof:  
 a. *lagte ho kos-ne* 8.18 See (17)  
 b. *lagā apnī gharvālī kī burāī kar-ne* 22.26 ‘...began bad-mouthing his wife.’  
 c. *aur ūpar se lage bhunbhunā-ne* 23.7 ‘...and on top of that began to complain.’  
 d. *ghasīttā huā alag le jā-kar lagā lātē jamā-ne* 33.2 ‘...dragged her away and began kicking.’
- (8) Depiction of naïveté: The subject is presented as excessively ignorant, rustic, or childish:  
 a. *lagī pūch-ne* 29.3 ‘She would have begun asking...’  
 b. *lage pūch-ne* 102.12 ‘They began to ask...’  
 c. *lage nīrakh-ne* 308.21 ‘They began to gawk...’
- (8b) *aur lage pūch-ne – kis-ne mārā bāpū? kaise mārā, kahāā mārā,*  
 and began ask-Inf.Obl who-Erg killed “Father” how killed where killed  
*kaise golī lagī, kahāā lagī, isī ko kyō lagī, aur hiranō-ko kyō na lagī?*  
 how bullet hit where hit this Dat why hit other deer-Dat why not hit  
 ‘...and (the children) began peppering them with questions – “Who killed it, Bapu? How did he  
 kill it? Where did he kill it? How did the bullet hit? Where did it hit? Why did it hit this one?  
 Why didn’t it hit other ones?”’ (godān 102.12)
- (8c) *tab-tak gāāv.ke bālakō-ne ā.kar in donō ādmiyō-ko gher liyā*  
 then-by village’s children-Erg coming these two men-Dat surround took  
*aur lage nīrakh-ne, mānō chiriyā.ghar-ke anokhe jantu ā gaye hō.*  
 and began stare-Inf as.if zoo-Gen strange animals come went 3pl.Sbjntcv  
 ‘By then the village children had gathered around both men and begun gaping at them as if two  
 strange animals had come from the zoo.’ (godān 308.21)
- (9) Residue: Example (9a) might possibly go with the preceding class or under (7).  
 But there is still need for a “residual” category to accommodate examples like  
 (9b) in which the clausal subject is not [+human], (although the victim of the  
 action described in (9b) is a person whom the narrator disdains.)  
 a. *jhuniyā lagī ghabarā-ne* 122.15 ‘Jhuniya began to get frightened.’  
 b. *lage do-tarfī kore par-ne (candrakāntā* 1.08.054) ‘Lashes began to fall right and left.’

On the basis of the evidence found in Premchand’s *godān* the kinds of inceptive situations in which verb-left does not occur include:

might possibly be explanations for this asymmetry? One possibility is that the author used verb-left to characterize the spirited exchanges among the rural characters (Hori, Dhaniya, Gobar, Jhuniya, Rupa, Sonā) with whom he clearly had more sympathy than he did with the urban ones (Malati, Mehta, Khanna, Mirza, etc.) who appear later in the novel and are less vividly developed. Or it may be that the later more prosaic style may reflect fatigue and growing pressure on the author to finish.

(10) Situations or events that do not depend on human will or action:

(10a) *havā-mē garmī ā-ne lagī thī*  
 atmosphere-in heat come-Inf begun was  
 ‘Heat had begun to suffuse the air.’ (godān 9.7)

(10b) *sārī deh dhal gayī thī ... aur āākhō-se bhī kam sūjh-ne lagū thū*  
 whole body collapse went was and eyes-with too less appear-Inf began was  
 ‘Her whole body had run down ... and her eyesight had begun to worsen.’ (godān 7.29)

(11) Neutral description of situations or events that do depend on human will or action:

(11a) *gobar-ne baniye-se loṭā māṅgā aur pānī khīc-ne lagā.*  
 Gobar-Erg baniya-from vessel asked.for and waterdraw-Inf began  
 ‘Gobar asked the Baniya for his pot and began to draw water.’ (godān 25.34)

(12) Although relevant data are scarce, it seems that clauses whose subjects refer to indefinite or non-specific entities (be they [+human] or [-human]) also do not permit verb-left:

(12a) *... aur len.dār cārō taraf-se noc-ne lag.te hāī*  
 and creditors all.four sides-from snatch-Inf start Pres.3pl  
 ‘...and creditors come out of the woodwork and start grabbing.’ (godān 38.1)

(13) Another condition on verb-left of *lag-* is that its occurrence seems to be restricted to root or matrix clauses. [See Ross (1973: 408–409) on the “Penthouse Principle”.] When *lag-* occurs in *if*-clauses or *when*-clauses it is clause-final:

(13a) *asnān-pūjā kar-ne lag-ē-ge to ghaṇṭō baiṭhe bīt jā-y-gā.*  
 bath-puja perform-Inf begin-3p-Fut.M then hours.Obl sitting pass go-3sg-Fut.M  
 ‘Once he starts with his bath and puja I’ll have to sit there waiting for hours.’ (godān 7.9)

(13b) *šarāb pī-ne lag-ūū, to vah prajā.kā rakt ho-gā*  
 alcohol drink-Inf begin-Sbjnctv then that people’s blood be-Fut.M3sg  
 ‘If I start drinking, then I am consuming the blood of my subjects.’ (godān 16.5)

B. Is verb-left always used when the speaker wishes to mock or deride? This question must be answered in the negative given pairs like (14) and (15) in each of which *lag-* has the same predicate as complement and the speaker’s attitude seems equally censorious. Still, even though the predicate complements are identical and the situation and speaker’s attitude are very similar, (15) has verb-left, while (14) does not:

(14) *iṣī mare māī kuch pahan-tī-oṛh-tī nahī. ghar-se niklī*  
 this.Emph because I something put.on-Hab-pull.on-Hab not house-from went.out  
*to sabhī ghūr-ne lag-te-hāī, jaise kabhī koī mehariyā dekhī na ho.*  
 then all ogle-Inf begin-Hab-Pres as.if ever any woman seen not Sbjnctv  
 ‘That’s why I never put on anything (special). Every time I go out of the house everybody starts staring, as if they’d never seen a young woman before.’ (godān 245.38-9)

- (15) *na jāne mardō.kī kyā ādat hai ki jahāā koī javān sundar aurat dekhī*  
 not know men's what habit is that where some young beautiful woman saw  
*aur bas lage ghūr-ne, chātī pī-ne. aur yah jo baṛe ādmī kahlāte hāī,*  
 and that's.it began ogle-Inf breast beat-Inf and these who big men be.called are  
*ye to nire lampaṭ hote.hāī.*  
 these as.for pure womanizers are  
 'I don't know what's with these men. Whenever they see some young, pretty woman, that's it!  
 They start staring and beating their chests. And the ones who are held in such high regard, they are  
 womanizers pure and simple!' (godān 51.32-3)

Again, in (16) and (17) the complement of *lag-* is the same verb *kos-* 'berate, censure; curse', although it is worth noting that (17) is a direct quote and (16) is not. It is (17) that has verb-left:

- (16) *jab sab.log apne-apne ghar cale gaye, to dhaniyā horī-ko kos-ne lagī --*  
 when everyone self's-self's home moved went then Dhaniya Hori-Dat curse-Inf began  
*tumhē koī lākh samjhāye, kar-o-ge apne man-kī*  
 you.Dat someone 100,000 explain.Sbjct do-2pl-FutMpl self's mind-Gen  
 'When everyone left for home, Dhaniya began to berate Hori, "No matter how many times you're  
 told, you still go ahead and do what you've taken it into your head to do!"' (godān 109.8)
- (17) *dhaniyā-ne tiraskār kiyā -- acchā rah-ne do, mat asubh mūh-se*  
 Dhaniya-Erg contempt did good stay-Inf let Neg inauspicious mouth-from  
*nikālo. tum-se koī acchī bāt bhī kah-e, to lag-te ho kos-ne*  
 bring.out you-to someone good thing too say-Sbjctv then begin-Hab are curse-Inf  
 'Dhaniya said scornfully, "Okay, let's forget it. But don't say inauspicious things. Even if a person  
 says something nice to you, you start cussing."' (godān 8.17-18)

To determine if there is a significant correlation between verb-left and the speaker attitudes listed in (6) through (8) it is necessary to evaluate each member of a sufficiently large random sample of tokens of inceptive *lag-*. For this purpose I have taken the first 52 instances of *V-ne lag-* in *godān* and sorted them into the categories (6) through (8) [censure or reproach, depiction of naïveté, condescension or depiction of naïveté, mockery, or derision] versus categories (10) through (13) [neutral description, inanimate or indefinite subject, *if*-clause and *when*-clause]:

Table 1. Tokens of *lag-* 'begin' in first fifty pages of *godān*. [See Appendix for full dataset.]

Type	<lagleft >	Example	(address in Appendix)	Number
Mockery or derision	yes	<i>lagā hāth joṛ-ne...</i>	(2w)	5
	no	<i>sir zamīn par ragaṛ-kar kah-ne lagā.</i>	(2x)	1
Censure, reproach, reproof	yes	<i>lagte ho kos-ne</i>	(1c)	3
	no	<i>to phir naxre baghār-ne lage</i>	(1q)	4
Depiction of naïveté	yes	<i>lagī pūch-ne, kisakī gāy hai?</i>	(1p)	1
	no	<i>aur uchal-uchal-kar yahī raī lagā-ne lagī</i>	(1k)	2
<i>if</i> -clause	no	<i>śarāb pī-ne lagūū, to vo prajā kā rakt hogā</i>	(1f)	5
<i>when</i> -clause	no	<i>... jab ham ākāsh mē ur-ne lagte hāī</i>	(2g)	3
Inanimate or indefinite subject	yes	[none]		0
	no	<i>havā mē garmī ā-ne lagī thī.</i>	(1d)	8
Neutral description or question	yes	[none]		0
	no	<i>gobar use cakit netrō se dekh-ne lagā</i>	(2q)	20
Total				52

Distributing these fifty-two examples into a tetrachoric table that crosses [+verbleft] and [-verbleft] with [+mockery, censure, naïveté] versus [neutral attitudes] and applying the *chi*-squares test we find:

Table 2. Consolidated tokens of *lag-* ‘begin’ in the first fifty pages of *godān*

	mockery, etc.	neutral attitudes
[+verbleft]	a. 9	b. 0
[-verbleft]	c. 7	d. 36

$$(20) \quad \chi^2 = \frac{(ad - bc)(ad - bc)(a + b + c + d)}{(a + b)(c + d)(a + c)(b + d)} = \frac{324 \times 324 \times 52}{9 \times 43 \times 16 \times 36} = \frac{5,458,752}{222,912} = 24.49$$

We conclude that the correlation of verb-left with derisive or censorial attitudes is a robust one even at a significance level of one hundredth of one per cent ( $p < 0.0001$ ). (If  $\chi^2 > 6.67$ , then  $p < .01$ ).

C. Verb-left in headline Hindi. In print and electronic media it is becoming common to use verb-left as a way of creating snappy, attention-grabbing headlines. In them the intent may or may not be ironic:

- (21) *lohe-ne khāyā bhāv; gahrāyā pey-jal-sankaṭ*  
 iron-Erg ATE price deepened potable-water-peril  
 ‘Price of iron up; drinking water problem deeper.’  
 (in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/uttarpradesh)

- (22) *jhūṭī śikāyat-par khāṭ jel-kī havā*  
 false complaint-on ATE jail-Gen air  
 ‘Sent to jail for making a false complaint.’  
 (in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/haryana/4\_6\_4613762.html)

- (23) *vivek-ne kiyā kis; khā.yā zor.dār cāṅṭā*  
 Vivek-Erg did kiss ATE powerful slap  
 ‘Vivek kissed (her); got slapped hard.’  
 (thatshindi.oneindia.mobi/movies/bollywood/gossip)

Sometimes the same story contains a non-verb-left paraphrase further down in the report:

- (24) *(kis-ke) bād vivek-ko vo zor.dār cāṅṭā paṛ.ā jis.kī gūj pūrī pārṭī-mē sunāī.dī*  
 kiss-Gen after Vivek-Dat that powerful slap fell whose echo whole party-in was.heard  
 ‘After the kiss he got the slap whose smacking sound was audible to everyone there.’ [cf (23)]

D. Typological and morphosyntactic considerations. Leftward placement of the finite verbal element in Hindi-Urdu is not equally easy across all clause-types. For instance, while Hindi inceptives in *lag-* show the kind of non-canonical order defined by verb-left, permissives in *de-* ‘let’ (< *de-* ‘give’) do not display it (in *godān* 0 out of 81 opportunities), even though both govern the oblique form of the infinitive:

- (25) *vo apnī qīsmat kos-ne lagā* (25') *vo lagā apnī qīsmat kos-ne*  
 he self's fate curse-Inf began he began self's fate curse-Inf  
 ‘He began cursing his fate.’

- (26) *use apnī qīsmat kos-ne do* (26') (?) *use do apnī qīsmat kos-ne*  
 him self's fate curse-Inf let him let self's fate curse-Inf  
 'Let him curse his fate.'

In (25–25') and (26–26') we see that while the bound morphology on the infinitival complement is the same, yet due either to the semantics or the syntax (or both), the susceptibility to verb-left differs. In (27–27') and (28–28') [from Marathi], although the semantics and syntax are the same, a difference in the bound morphology on the complement affects susceptibility to verb-left:<sup>6</sup>

- (27) *to khats-āylā lāglā* (27') *to lāglā khats-āylā*  
 he collapse-Inf.Dat began he began collapse-Inf.Dat  
 'He began to lose courage.'
- (28) *to khats-u lāglā* (28') \**to lāglā khats-u*  
 he collapse-Inf began he began collapse-Inf  
 'He began to lose courage.'

E. While most South Asian languages have clause-final verb order not all of them have it in root clauses. Exceptions include Khasi (MASICA 1976: 28), Kashmiri, Kochi, Kotgarhi and Garhwali. Kashmiri is V-2:<sup>7</sup>

- (29) *mye nyuv gari atsān-iy ēlān ker-yiith*  
 I.Erg TOOK home.Abl entering-Emph announcement do-Ger  
 'I made an announcement as soon as I entered the house.' (R.L. Shant 1985: p. 61)

Garhwali, Bangani and some other Indo-Aryan languages of Uttarakhand and HP display V-2 tendencies:

- (30) *tumhū bolā: jhūṭh chāū māī bol-nū?*  
 you speak false am I speak-ing  
 'You tell (me): Am I lying?' (CHATAK 1976: 122)

Unlike in Hindi-Urdu, in Garhwali we encounter instances of verb-left which are at-titudinally neutral:

- (31) *silvārā pākhāū bi ab ghām.ki najar lhaigi thai jā-ṇa*  
 damp valleys too now sun's glance begun was go-Inf  
 'Now the sun had begun to peer into damp gullies.' (NEGI 1967: 2)

In the second half of a *misrah* from a famous ghazal by Mir we find the finite form of the aspectual auxiliary [aka "vector"] verb *le* 'TAKE' in second position with the non-finite element of the verb *mūūd* 'close' stranded at the end, à la root clauses in Kashmiri [cf (29)]:

- (32) *ahd-e-javānī ro-ro kāṭā; [[pīrī-mē]<sub>PP</sub> [līṭ]<sub>AUX</sub> [āākhē]<sub>NP</sub> [mūūd]<sub>VP</sub>]<sub>S</sub>*  
 period-of-youth cry-cry spent old.age-in TOOK eyes close  
 'I passed my youth in agony; when age came I closed my eyes.' (MIR 1941: 4)

<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Madhav Deshpande and Prashant Pardeshi for (identical) acceptability judgments on the Marathi data.

<sup>7</sup> We assume V-2 word order in Kashmiri to be an innovation in Indo-Aryan that occurred sometime after the Vedic period. The normal pattern in Kashmiri (and one held to be unique to it: see MASICA 1991: 336) appears to be geographically isolated. The other languages showing the V-2 pattern (Kishtawari, Shina of Gurez, Upper Poguli, Watali) are all spoken within or adjacent to the Kashmir Valley.

One might ask if the *Satzklammer* in (32) is no more than an accidental or random occurrence in a full spectrum of variant word orders permitted by poetic licence. Or is it rather a statistically significant occurrence that identifies a specific alternative word order in some Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi-Urdu (where it is limited to poetic discourse) but which has been generalized to all matrix clauses in Kashmiri? A perusal of Mir's corpus yielded no further instances of the V-2 order of (32) and most likely (32) is not a precursor of future changes in Hindi-Urdu word order.

F. Conclusion. The leftward position of *lag-* and a few other predicates governing infinitival complements is recurrent in Hindi-Urdu dialogue and demonstrably functions as a marker of a set of related attitudes. Even if only a stylistically marked feature, the presence of verb-left in Hindi-Urdu provides a plausible starting point for the emergence of non-clause-final word order for the verb that may be similar if not parallel to what occurred in earlier times in the Indo-Aryan languages of the Himalayas.<sup>8</sup>

#### APPENDIX

<lagleft> dataset from first fifty pages of Premchand's *godān* [Saraswati Press, 1970 edition].

1a.	<i>asnān-pūjā kar-ne lagēge to ...</i> 7.9 [= page 7, line 9]	<i>if-</i> clause
1b.	<i>āākhō se bhī kam sūjh-ne lagā thā</i> 7.29	inanimate subject
1c.	<i>lagte ho kos-ne</i> 8.18	censure
1d.	<i>havā mē garmī ā-ne lagī thī</i> 9.7	inanimate subject
1e.	<i>bholā par nashā caṛh-ne lagā</i> 10.14	censure
1f.	<i>šarāb pī-ne lagūū, to ...</i> 16.5	<i>if-</i> clause
1g.	<i>aiyāšī kar-ne lagūū, to phir kah-nā hī kyā</i> 16.6	<i>if-</i> clause
1h.	<i>aur horī ke mūh kī or tāk-ne lage.</i> 16.10	neutral description
1i.	<i>magar vah pacṛā sunā-ne lagūū, to ...</i> 17.8	<i>if-</i> clause
1j.	<i>gobar kuch shānt ho gayā aur cup-cāp cal-ne lagā</i> 19.11	neutral description
1k.	<i>aur uchal-uchal-kar yahī raṅ lagā-ne lagī</i> 9.36	depiction of naïveté
1l.	<i>ūpar se lage bhunbhunā-ne</i> 23.7	censure or mild reproach
1m.	<i>yā to calegī nahī, yā calegī to daur-ne lagegī</i> 24.22	censure
1n.	<i>rāh mē bātē ho-ne lagī</i> 24.38	inanimate subject
1o.	<i>gobar ne baniye se loṭā māāgā aur pānī khīc-ne lagā</i> 25.34	neutral description
1p.	<i>lagī pūch-ne, kiskī gāy hai?</i> 29.3	depiction of naïveté
1q.	<i>to phir naxre baghār-ne lage</i> 29.8	censure or mild reproach
1r.	<i>becāre pahar-rāt se kuṭṭī kāṭ-ne lagte</i> 29.12	depiction of naïveté
1s.	<i>gobar kāhe ko jag-ne lagā</i> 29.35	neutral question
1t.	<i>sārā gāāv tāliyāā pī-ne lagegā ...</i> 29.38	neutral description
1u.	<i>caudharī ... bāās kāṭ-ne lagā</i> 31.15	neutral description
1v.	<i>... sir, mūh, pīṭh par ādhādhūdh jamā-ne lagī</i> 32.7	neutral description

<sup>8</sup> In his recent three volume study on Himachali, Hendriksen reports on two intermediate cases: Kotgarhi and Kochi. While neither shows a regular V-2 pattern, they have evolved to the point at which main and subordinate clauses differ in word order and auxiliaries may separate from other parts of the verb:

a) *hyunda bāssie jā gormi hoi* (Kotgarhi)

winter after GOES summer become

'After winter comes summer.'

(HENDRIKSEN 1986: 186)

He also reports that relative clauses in Kochi show a greater tendency to have the finite verbal element in clause-final position than do matrix clauses (1986: 188). This is another feature characteristic of Kashmiri V-2. See HOOK & KOUL (1996).



1w.	<i>caudharī qasmē khā-khākar apnī safāī de-ne lagā</i> 32.20	neutral description
1x.	<i>aur ghasī-tā huā alag le jā-kar lagā lātē jamā-ne</i> 33.2	censure
1y.	<i>hīrā ko udārtāpūrvak samjhā-ne lagā</i> 33.22	neutral description
1z.	<i>... aur prithvī kāāp-ne lagī hai.</i> 34.30	inanimate subject
2a.	<i>dhaniyā pati ko phaṭkār-ne lagī.</i> 35.40	neutral description
2b.	<i>... aur ek cilam bharkar pī-ne lagā.</i> 37.23	neutral description
2c.	<i>... aur len-dār cārō taraf se noc-ne lagte hāī</i> 38.1	indefinite subject
2d.	<i>horī jab kām-dhandhe se chuṭī pākar cilam pīne lagtā thā to ...</i> 38.7	when-clause
2e.	<i>dhaniyā aur horī donō gāy bāād-h-ne kā prabandh kar-ne lage.</i> 38.29	neutral description
2f.	<i>take kī nayī ṭopī sir par rakh-kar jab ham akar-ne lagte hāī</i> 40.23	when-clause
2g.	<i>zarā der ke lie kisī savārī par baiṭhkar jab ham ākāsh mē ur-ne lagte hāī.</i>	when-clause
2h.	<i>rūpā ne ... kahā -- ammāā kī, aur hās-ne lagī</i> 42.6	neutral description
2i.	<i>horī bāhar khāṭ par baiṭh-kar cilam pī-ne lagā, to ...</i> 43.3	neutral description
2j.	<i>aur kal ko yahī gāy dūdh de-ne lagegī, to ...</i> 43.9	if-clause
2k.	<i>horī ṭhiṭhak gayā aur unkī bātē sun-ne lagā.</i> 43.19	neutral description
2l.	<i>aur vah jalā huā tambākū pī-ne lagā</i> 43.48	neutral description
2m.	<i>bailō ke pās jākar unhē sahalā-ne lagā,</i> 44.6	neutral description
2n.	<i>use apne āp par krodh ā-ne lagā</i> 45.16	inanimate subject
2o.	<i>cārō or se hīrā par bauchār par-ne lagī</i> 46.47	inanimate subject
2p.	<i>horī ne dāāṭā -- phir kyō bak-bak kar-ne lagī tū!</i> 47.14	censure
2q.	<i>gobar use cakī netrō se dekh-ne lagā.</i> 48.27	neutral description
2r.	<i>sārā gāāv kāāv-kāāv kar-ne lagegā.</i> 48.38	neutral description
2s.	<i>merī chāṭī dhak-dhak kar-ne lagī.</i> 50.30	inanimate subject
2t.	<i>lagā hāth jor-ne, pairō par-ne:</i> 50.39	mockery
2u.	<i>... aur 10-10 ke 5 noṭ nīkāl-kar mere hāthō mē de-ne lagā</i> 50.43	neutral description
2v.	<i>sir pakar-kar baiṭh gayā aur lagā hāy-hāy kar-ne.</i> 51.2	derision
2w.	<i>lagā hāth jor-ne.</i> 51.12	derision
2x.	<i>sir zamīn par ragar-kar kah-ne lagā:</i> 51.14	derision
2y.	<i>jahāā koī javān sundar aurat dekhī aur bas lage ghūr-ne, chāṭī pī-ne</i> 51.32	derision
2z.	<i>lage aurō kī tarah tum bhī cāplūsī kar-ne</i> 51.37	mockery

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