SECTION II

Part III

GT 7

\[
S_1 \left[ \frac{N_{X_0}^{^\uparrow} C_1}{L_2^{^\downarrow} \text{ko}} \right] + \left[ \left\{ \frac{X}{v_{i}} \right\} \left( v_y \right) \right] \left\{ \frac{N_{y}^{\downarrow} v_t}{Y} \right\} \right] \right]^F_{xl} \]

\[
S_2 L_2^{\downarrow} \text{ko} + \left( \text{Adverb} \right) N_{xptime}^{\uparrow} C_1 + \left\{ \frac{ho'}{\text{bit'}} \right\}^F_{xl}
\]

\[
S_3 L_2^{\downarrow} \text{ko} + \left( \left\{ \frac{X}{v_{i}} \right\} \left( v_y \right) \right)^{A1(\text{ho'"Al}+)} N_{xptime}^{\uparrow} C_1 \left\{ \frac{ho'}{\text{bit'}} \right\}^F
\]

\[
X \text{ here stands for:--}
\]

(a)

\[
X^{^\downarrow} A_{3ii} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{cah} \\
\text{jan} \\
\text{sikh} \\
\text{choy} \\
\text{sun} \\
\text{dekh} \\
\text{chura} \\
\text{sikha}
\end{array} \right\}
\]

as per GT 1.

(b) \[
X^{^\downarrow} \text{ker} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
v_{i} \\
v_t
\end{array} \right\} \text{ as per GT 4.}
\]

299
Y in the above rule refers to:

```
{dlkh
 dlkhl
 sUn
 sujh
 } \rightarrow \{ \per
 de
 \}
```

This rule generates the non-finite perfective with $N_x$-ptime (see PST$_{op}$ 8 in Part I of the Section II) when the $N_x$ or $L_2^\per$ of $S_1$ is same as the $L_2^\ko$ of $S_2$.

Examples:

1. (201) Use motor celana sikha he
   'He has learnt how to drive'

2. (202) Use Adverb koi sal ho gaye he
   'It has been several years since he...'

3. (203) Use motor celana sikhe hue kei sal ho gaye he
   'It has been several years since he learnt how to drive'

4. (204) m\$ Use dikhai pare ha
   'I happened to be seen by him'

5. (205) mujhe Adverb der ho gei he
   'It has been a while since I ...'

6. (206) mujhe Use dikhai pare der ho gei he
   'It has been a while since I was seen by him'
GT 8  Non-Finite Infinitive with cah- Passive

\[
S_1 \left[ \begin{array}{c}
N^x^a C_1 \\
\text{ko} \\
L^2 < \text{se} \\
N^x^a < \text{ke dvara} \\
L^2 \text{ko} + N^x^a C_1
\end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c}
W \\
X \\
Y \\
Z
\end{array} \right] ^p F_{x1} \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow
\]

\[
S_2 N^x^a \text{ko} + \left( N^y^l C_1 + \right) \text{cahIye (ho""T}_{1i}\right)
\]

\[
S_3 \left[ \begin{array}{c}
N^x^a \text{ko} \\
\text{ko} \\
L^2 < \text{se} \\
N^x^a < \text{ke dvara} \\
N^x^a \text{ko} + N^x^a C_1 \\
N^x^a \text{ko} + L^2 \text{ko}
\end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c}
X \\
Y \\
Z
\end{array} \right] ^{A3_{1i}} \text{cahIye (ho""T}_{1i}\right)
\]
W in the above rule stands for the following:-

(a) \[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Imperf.} \\
\text{Perf.} \\
\text{Iter}
\end{array}
\]

with or without the non-finite verb strings generated by GT 1 - GT 5.
(b) only the following output verb string of GT 6:-

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ B \} & > ^{A3} X \\
\{ D \} & \ \\
B \\
D
\end{align*}
\]

X stands for intransitive verbs with or without the permissible W explicators (as listed above).

Y stands for the output verb string of PST_{op}10 without the permissible explicators after the passive-impersonal ja-.

Z stands for the output verb string of PST_{op}6 as follows:-

\[
\{ d\text{ikh} \} \{ d\text{ikh}l \} \{ s\text{Un} \} \{ s\text{ujh} \} \{ \text{per} \} \{ \text{de} \} \text{(ja)}
\]

This rule generates the non-finite infinitive strings with the verb cah- passive (see PST_{op}9 in part I of Section II).

The difference between the non-finite infinitive strings with cah- passive and those with cah^{ex}_{x} of GT 1 is that the former permits the variety of
embeddings which is restricted from occurring with the latter. It is for this reason, we have chosen to have a separate GT-rule for the non-finite infinitive strings with cah- passive instead of deriving them by a PST-rule from $X^A_{3_{ii}} \text{cah}^F_x$.

Both $N^1_{yi}$ and $N^2_{yj}$ with $C_1$ are permissible with cah- passive. Only $N^1_{yi} C_1$ embeddings are possible in $S_2$ in GT 8.

Examples:-

(207) veh mujhe kam keren Jane deta
   'He lets me go to do the work'

(208) Us ko $N^1_{yi} C_1$ cahl ye
   'He should...'

(209) Us ko mujhe kam keren jane dena cahl ye
   'He should let me go to do the work'

(210) Us ke dvara yeh kam ker liya jayga
   'This work will be done by him'

(211) Us ko $N^1_{yi} C_1$ cahl ye
   'He should...'

(212) Us ke dvara yeh kam ker liya jana cahl ye
   'This work should be completed by him'
A few more examples are given below.

(213) bhartiya stri ne obhi tek is semesya par nishpeksh hoker vessa vichar nahi kliya jesa kliya jana cahiye (M.60)

'The Indian woman until now has not thought over this problem without prejudice as they should have.'

(214) apani roti her ek ko kama sekni cahiye (Ashu.43)

'Everybody should be able to earn his own bread.'

(215) stri ko apana astityo ko pUrU§ ki chaya bena dena cahiye, apana vyektityo ko Us ma samahIt ker dena cahiye (M.13)

'Woman has to make her own existence the shadow of a man, to submerge her own personality in him.'
GT 9 $v_1^A v_2^A$ E-Strings

$$S_1 v_1^< \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Imperf}_{ii} \\ \text{Perf}_{ii} \\ \text{Iter} \end{array} \right] \xrightarrow{E_x F_{xl}} \quad S_2 v_2^< \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Imperf}_{ii} \\ \text{Perf}_{ii} \\ \text{Iter} \end{array} \right]$$

$$S_3 \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Imperf}_{ii} \\ \text{Perf}_{ii} \\ \text{Iter} \end{array} \right] \xrightarrow{E_x F_{xl}} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Imperf}_{ii} \\ \text{Perf}_{ii} \\ \text{Iter} \end{array} \right]$$

This rule generates the $v_1^A v_2^A$-strings.

The symbols $v_1$ and $v_2$ mean that the two verbs are different. The rest of the constituent (including those not mentioned) are same in $S_1$ and $S_2$.

Examples:

(216) bahti jati he $\quad \Rightarrow \quad$ behti celti jati he
(217) celti jati he

(218) me socti hao ki Is dhulimey korn cekr ke pare keh ft eneng mohen raj Kumar or vllasveti perlyo ki premila anand ki leherlyo ke uper se hoker behti celti jati he (Laj.12)

'I think that away from this dusty wheel of Karma somewhere the love plan of...
incorporeal seductive prince and amorous fairies washes above the waves of joy

(219) dɔrta ja reha thɔ
(220) cɛla ja reha thɔ

(221) Us ka supericɪt əśv kamboj neger ke mʊkhy rajpeth per serpet dɔrta cɛla ja reha thɔ (Datt.96)

His well-known horse Kamboj was running along at a gallop through the main road of the city

(222) bɛpʰe ja rehɛ hɛ
(223) cɛle ja rehɛ hɛ

(224) hem bheṭekker aṣi dɪsə mɛ bɛpʰe cɛle ja rehɛ hɛ (M.84)

'We have been continuing in this direction by mistake'

(225) curayɛ ate ho
(226) lɪye ate ho

(227) nɛ to səməjhtə hɛ curayɛ lɪye ate ho

'I think you have been stealing and bringing (something)'

(228) lɪye ja rehɪ hɛ
(229) cɛli ja rehɪ hɛ

(230) Us ne dekha, sɛpɛk per ek yuroplɪən laḍi ᵀɛpɛ peti ke sath ᵀɛpɛ balaʃ ko beccə ki gari mɛ
bɪṭhayɛ lɪye cɛli ja rehɪ hɛ (Prem.86)

'She saw, in the road, a European lady with her husband, walking around with their child in a baby carriage'
PST<sub>op</sub> 12 Insertion of ker- 'to do'

\[ X^\wedge Y \Rightarrow X^\wedge PG_{ii} \text{ker}^\wedge Y \]

X here stands for:

(a) the following finite verbs with Y-tenses (to be specified below) with or without the non-finite verb strings generated by GT 1 to GT 5 and GT 7.

\[
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{a} \\
\text{ja} \\
\text{Uth} \\
\text{beth} \\
\text{per} \\
\text{cel} \\
\text{ninkel} \\
\text{cUk} \\
\text{reh} \\
\text{sek} \\
\text{pa} \\
\text{dal} \\
\text{la} \\
\text{de} \\
\text{rehk} \\
\text{chor}
\end{pmatrix}
\]

(b) only the following strings of PST<sub>op</sub> 6:-

\[
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{Imperf} \text{ii} \\
\text{Perf} \text{ii} \\
\text{Iter} \text{i}
\end{pmatrix}
\]
(c) only the following strings of PST\textsubscript{op} 10
with or without the non-finite verb strings of the
various GT-rules of part II of Section II:-

\[ v_t((v_y) E_{1t})^\wedge PG_{ii} ja- \]

(d) only the following output verb string
of GT 6:-

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
B \\
D
\end{bmatrix}^\wedge A3 \\
B \\
D
\end{bmatrix}
\]

Y in the above rule stands for the following
tenses of the finite verb\textsuperscript{1}:-

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
A'_{i} \\
A2_{ii} (ho_2^\wedge F_y) \\
A3_{ii}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

1. The occurrence of the tenses of the determinate
mood of the non-aspectual indicative (i.e. \(A3_{ii} ho_2^\wedge F_y\)) as Y-tenses of PST\textsubscript{op} 12 cannot be definitely
rulled out at this stage of the investigation.
This rule optionally transforms any X-verb with Y-tenses into $X^\text{PG}_{ii} \text{ ker}^Y$.

Examples:-

(231) vah roj severe cola jata he $\implies$ 'He goes everyday in the morning'

(232) vah roj severe cola jaya kerta he 'He usually goes everyday in the morning'

(233) as pas ke gav\text{\text{ö}} ki gauS yeh\text{\text{ö}} cerne ati he $\implies$ 'Cows from the surrounding villages come to graze here'

(234) aspas ke gav\text{\text{ö}} ki gauS yeh\text{\text{ö}} cerne aya kerti he 'Cows from the surrounding villages usually come here to graze'

Sporadic occurrences of tenses other than Y after the verb ker- in the output sentence of $\text{PST}_{\text{op}} 12$, though found in the writings of some well-known literary writers of MSH, are treated here as exceptions (235).

(235) bah\text{\text{u}}t der tak vah sem\text{\text{ü}}\text{\text{d}}r ke Ume\text{\text{r}}ne or Uterne ko dekha k\text{\text{i}}ya ... (Shekhar.234)

The speakers of MSH seem to be more inclined to use $v^\text{Imperf}_{ii}$ reh- in these environments (236).
(236) behUt der tek vah samUdr ke umærne or
Utarne ko dekhta reha

'He kept looking at the swelling and receding
of the ocean for a long time'
Deletion of the Non-finite $A_{3_{ii}}$ with $mI\tilde{l}$

$$L_2^\wedge ko + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} v_{in} \\ v_t \end{array} \right\} \wedge A_{3_{ii}} \wedge mI\tilde{l}^\wedge F_{xl} \implies L_2^\wedge ko + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} v_{in} \\ v_t \end{array} \right\} \wedge mI\tilde{l}^\wedge F_{xl}$$

This rule optionally deletes the $A_{3_{ii}}$ ending of the non-finite verb (generated by GT 1) in the environment of the verb $mI\tilde{l}$ - 'to meet'.

Examples:

(237) bhai ko kel nehf ana mIla \implies

(238) bhai ko kel nehf a mIla (Sharma, 90)

'Brother could not come yesterday'

(239) mUjhe petr nehf likhna mIlega \implies

(240) mUjhe petr nehf likh mIlega (Sharma, 90)

'I shall not be able to write the letter'

It would be appropriate to gloss the verb $mI\tilde{l}$ in this environment as 'to be permitted, be able to'.

Sharma, 90 is perhaps the only grammarian who has pointed out this usage of the verb $mI\tilde{l}$ without, however, indicating any similarity between
\[
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{v}_\text{in} \\
\text{v}_\text{t}
\end{array} \right\} \^ {\text{A}^3_{ii}} \text{mI1} - \text{ and } \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{v}_\text{in} \\
\text{v}_\text{t}
\end{array} \right\} \text{mI1} - . Also the
\]

above noted two sentences from Sharma are the only examples we have been able to find in print.

It is likely that the output string

\[
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{v}_\text{in} \\
\text{v}_\text{t}
\end{array} \right\} \^ {\text{A}^3_{ii}} \text{mI1} - \text{ of GT l is not a possible non-finite verb string in some varieties of MSH. Therefore, PST op 13 should be treated as an obligatory rule for those varieties.} \]
PST_14 Insertion of $E_{lt}$ or $E_{lin}$

\[
\begin{align*}
&[v^\uparrow Imperf_{ii} \ ja] \\
&[v^\uparrow Perf_{ii}] \\
&[v_{in}^\downarrow Imperf_{ii} \ ja] \\
&[v_{in}^\downarrow Perf_{ii}] \\
&[v_{in}^\downarrow E_{lt} \ Imperf_{ii} \ ja] \\
&[v_{in}^\downarrow E_{lin} \ Perf_{ii}] \\
&\text{re} h^\uparrow F_{xl} \iff \ \\
&\text{i} \\
\end{align*}
\]

This rule optionally inserts $E_{lt}$ explicators between $v_t$ and Imperf$_{ii}$, and $E_{lin}$ explicators between $v_{in}$ and Perf$_{ii}$ subject to the conditions stated in the above rule.

Examples:

(241) dekhti ja rehi thi \iff dekh leti ja rehi thi
(242) Us ne akhS jhUKa li or Is prakar dhire dhire bolne legi manS opene pratyek sekbd ko tol tolker dekh leti ja rehi ho (Ban.241)

'She lowered her eyes and started speaking slowly in this manner as if she was weighing and examining her every word'

(243) pahUCi rehSgi \iff pehUC goi rehSgi
(244) mahamaya jate somay keh goi thi ki veSakhI purnima ko ve sthanviSvar pehUC goi rehSgi (Ban.166)

'Mahamaya had said as she left that she would arrive at Sthanvishwar on Vaishakhi Purnima'
PST_op 15 Deletion of $L_1^\wedge post + N_{xp}^\wedge C_1$ with $\text{ben-}$

$L_2^\wedge \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{se} \\ \text{ke dvara} \end{array} \right\} + L_1^\wedge post + N_{xp}^\wedge C_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} v_{in} \\ N_{y + v_t} \end{array} \right\} \uparrow A_2$

$(\text{ho}'' + A_1) \text{ ben} \uparrow F_{x1} \implies$

$L_2^\wedge \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{se} \\ \text{ke dvara} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} v_{in} \\ N_{y + v_t} \end{array} \right\} \uparrow A_2 \text{ ben} \uparrow F_{x1}$

This rule deletes the $L_1^\wedge post + N_{xp}^\wedge C_1$ with the output string of GT 3 when the $V_x$-verb of $S_2$ is $\text{ben-}$ 'to become'. The optional constituent $\text{hUe}$ is also obligatorily dropped in this environment.

Examples:-

(245) Us se $L_1^\wedge post + N_{xp}^\wedge C_1 +$ ate $(\text{hUe})$ bena $\implies$

Us se ate bena (Guru,321) 'He was able to come'
This rule optionally inserts the verb ho\textsubscript{1} 'to happen to be' with A\textsubscript{2ii} ending between intransitive or transitive verbs followed by the A\textsubscript{3ii} ending and the auxiliary ho\textsubscript{2} F\textsubscript{F}, when the subject of the sentence is an N\textsubscript{a}-noun.

Examples:

(246) Use jana he \textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde (247) Use jana hota he

'He has to go' \hspace{1cm} 'He usually has to go'

(248) Use yeh kam karna he \textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde

'He has to do this work'

(249) Use yeh kam karna hota he

'He usually has to do this work'
This rule deletes the $E_{\text{lin}}$ and $E_{\text{lt}}$ explicators with verbs, and in that case the non-finite conjunctive marker $\text{ker}$ is obligatorily dropped.

Examples:

(250) ... mē phîr lōtker epe ne pelsg per aker lejt gei (Laj.110) $\Rightarrow$

(251) ... mē phîr lōtker epe ne pelsg per a leti
  '... then I came back and lay down on my cot'

(252) ... Us ke mestlšt mē ek prəsn ... aker ĭekra geya (Datt.132) $\Rightarrow$

(253) ... Us ke mestlšt mē ek prəsn ... a ĭekraya (Datt.134)
  '... all of a sudden a question came to his mind'
Additional examples of the verb strings generated by PST_{op} 17 are given in Appendix II.

Some individual strings like le_Ur- 'to escape with something', cel_bes- 'to expire', and likh_mar- 'to write nonsense' etc. have become quite idiomatic in MSH. However, the examples in Appendix II sufficiently demonstrate that the verb strings generated by PST_{op} 17 (including the individual idioms in this class) are grammatically quite distinct from v E-strings (generated by the CS-rules) or E-v-strings (introduced in PST_{op} 18).
PST\textsubscript{op} 18 Reordering of $v_{in}$ strings

\[ N_{x_a} C_1 + v_{in} \{ \begin{array}{c} a \\ ja \\ nIkal \end{array} \} \Rightarrow \]

\[ N_{x_a} C_1 + \{ \begin{array}{c} a \\ ja \\ nIkal \end{array} \} v_{in} \]

This rule reorders the $v_{in}$ strings into $v_{in}$ in the environment of an $N_a$ subject only.

Examples:-

(254) vah veha ba\textsuperscript{th} geya $\Rightarrow$

(255) vah veha ja ba\textsuperscript{th}a

'He sat there'

Additional examples of the verb strings generated by PST\textsubscript{op} 18 are given in Appendix II.

Some reordered verb strings are homonymous with $v_1 v_2$ - strings generated by PST\textsubscript{op} 17. For example the sentence

(256) vah \textsuperscript{\textit{\textbullet}} \textsuperscript{\textbullet} \textsuperscript{\textbullet} \textsuperscript{\textbullet} \textsuperscript{\textbullet} se ja mIla

'He went and met the enemy -'

'He went over to the enemy -'

is an ambiguous sentence derivable either from PST\textsubscript{op} 17 (257) or from PST\textsubscript{op} 18 (259).
(257) vah ṣetru se jakar mīla
(258) vah ṣetru se ja mīla
'He went and met the enemy'

(259) vah ṣetru se mīl gaya
(260) vah ṣetru se ja mīla
'He went over to the enemy'