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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A SYNTACTIC SKETCH OF GARHWALI

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

BY

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PREFACE

Garhwali is an Indo-Aryan language of the Pahari group which is spoken in four Himalayan districts (Garhwal, Chamoli, Tehri, and Uttar Kashi) of the State of U. P. (Uttar Pradesh) in India. The present study of Garhwali is the first study of its syntax. This analysis is based on my own dialect which is spoken in Pauri, and in the adjacent regions of Garhwal.

I have adopted here the basic linguistic ideas and methods of generation grammar as expounded by Professor Noam Chomsky and his followers. I am extremely grateful to Professors N. H. Zide and James D. McCawley for their general supervision of this study; however, neither of them is responsible for any shortcomings of this study since I have taken the liberty of drawing conclusions that they may not agree with. I am also very grateful to the following scholars for their several suggestions: Fred W. Householder, Eric P. Hamp, Norman A. McQuown, A. K. Ramanujan, Kenneth Hale, K. C. Bahl, Yamuna Kachru, and D.P.S. Dwarikesh.

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INTRODUCTION

In Garhwali the finite verb phrase may contain one or more verbs. A verb phrase which contains more than one verb will be called a compound verb construction or, simply a verb combination. Thus a verb in such a construction can appear before another verb in the following manner:

- (a) verb stem + verb-tense.
- (b) verb-tense + verb-tense.
- (c) verb-the suffix η + verb-tense.

The goal of our study is to present a sketch of these three types from the syntactic point of view. The CS (constituent structure) rules have been developed here to account for the syntax of these types. In a more detailed grammar, our rules will require some modifications.

The verb cal 'go, move' is conjugated in a non-compound verb construction in Rule 7.

The optional transformations (Topt) and obligatory transformations are numbered separately. Wherever we have a double base transformational rule the upper constituent to the left of the rule sentence is the embedding one and the lower constituent sentence is the embedded one.

Now let us see the behavior, for example, of cal 'go, move' in the above-mentioned verb combinations.

The (a) type has two sub-types:

- (ai) The second verb is a kind of modal and it is labelled an auxiliary verb. Thus if we have:

1) mi caldō

'I go.'

(The suffix-d- in the verb is the 'present.')

We can make:

2) mi cal sakdō

I go am-able

'I can go.'

3) mi cal jādō

I go jā-present

'I go (slightly unexpectedly and relatively sooner).'

The meaning given in the parentheses in 3) is the contribution of the auxiliary verb jā in jādō.

(aii) The second verb is a transitivizing morpheme which is added to the main verb of an underlying simple sentence. Thus,

4) rām mīh tã calō d

Ram me to moves

'Ram moves me.'

has the underlying simple sentence:

5) mi caldō

'I go.'

6) rām mīh māh gāri calō d

Ram me in vehicle makes-move

'Ram makes me move the vehicle'

has the underlying simple sentence:

7) mi gāri calō dō

I vehicle move

'I drive the vehicle' (or 'I move the vehicle').

Example 4) is an example of a derived transitive verb, and example 6) is a causative verb. If we consider these two cases to be transformationally derived, our dictionary becomes considerably smaller. Otherwise, we have to make three entries in the dictionary:

cal 'go, move'
 cal> 'move (something)'
 cal> 'cause to move (something)'

or

chuṭ 'leave'
 chōṛ 'leave (something)'
 chuṛ> 'cause to leave (something)'

and so on. I have treated such cases purely transformationally. This will require the dictionary to list, for example, only cal and chuṭ, and not cal>, cal> and chōṛ, chuṛ> also.

In type (b) the tense of the last verb carries the gender-number-person features of the grammatical subject according to the concord rule. However, the tense of the preceding verb carries only the gender-number features in such a case. Thus,

- 8) nōhnu cald
 'The boy goes.'
 9) nōhni cald
 'The girl goes.'
 10) mi cald̃
 'I go.'
 11) nōhna caldan
 'The boys go.'

and so on.

But now we add another verb to cal-Tense:

- 12) nɔhnu caldu rɔhd
 boy going keeps-on
 'The boy keeps on going.'
- 13) nɔhni caldi rɔhd
 'The girl keeps on going.'
- 14) mi caldu rɔhdɔ̃
 'I keep on going' (where mi is masculine).
- 15) mi caldi rɔhdɔ̃
 'I keep on going' (where mi is feminine).
- 16) nɔhna calda rɔhdan
 'The boys keep on going.'

We cannot say:

- 17) * nɔhnu cald rɔhd
 18) * mi caldɔ̃ rɔhdɔ̃
 19) * nɔhna caldan rɔhdan

and so on.

All the tense marked morphemes, except for the subjunctive, future, and imperative, may occur before another verb in this way, e.g.:

- 20) nɔhnu cali holu
 'The boy must have gone'
 (-i in cali is the 'past' marker).
- 21) nɔhnan caln holu
 'The boy may have to go home'
 (-n in caln is the 'aspect').

But not:

22) * nɔ̃hnu calalu holu

(-l- in calalu is the 'future')

and so on.

Adjectives agree with nouns in gender and number only. The present tense with gender-number marked, and the past tense R (R is a suffix denoting 'recentness') again with gender-number markers can also be prenominalized (reordered and put in prenominal position) as can adjectives when they occur in certain other sentences, e.g.

23) nɔ̃hnu caldu holu

'The boy will be going'

can be 'prenominalized' (i.e., treated like an adjective occurring before its noun head) as:

24) caldu nɔ̃hnu _____

'The going boy _____.'

Similarly,

25) nɔ̃hni caldi holi

'The girl will be going'

can be prenominalized as:

26) caldi nɔ̃hni _____

'The going girl _____'

Likewise, any adjective also can be prenominalized, e.g.,

27) nɔ̃hnu k̄al̄u holu

boy dark will-be

'The boy will be dark.'

28) k̄al̄u nɔ̃hnu _____

'The dark boy _____.'

29) nɔhni kāl̄i holi
'The girl will be dark.'

30) kāl̄i nɔhni _____
'The dark girl _____.'

To explain this kind of formal and semantic parallelism between adjectives and non-terminal tenses (that is, tenses which occur before another verb), I consider the non-terminal tense as an adjectivalized tense and, as such, a transformation. Thus, the constituent structure of our grammar becomes much simpler.

In the type (c) the preceding verb is followed by the suffix η , e.g.,

31) nɔhnu dēhra jāṅ lagi
Boy home to-go began
'The boy began to go home'

where the verb jā 'go' has the suffix η which is followed by the verb lag plus i (-i is the 'past'). Thus - η should not be confused with the oblique of the infinitive suffix - ηu . The infinitive suffix - ηu nominalizes the verb, e.g.,

32) rām dēhra jāḍ
Ram home goes
'Ram goes home'

could be nominalized as

33) rām dēhra jāṅ _____
Ram's home going _____
'Ram's going home _____'

(where _____ indicates the rest of the sentence).

34) rām kām karnu cāhd

Ram work to-do wants

'Ram wants to do work'

in which kām karnu is the nominalized object of the transitive verb cāh 'want' in cāhd. Here the underlying simple sentence (which is nominalized in 34) is

35) rām kām kard

'Ram does work.'

Notice that 33) could be put as:

36) rām cāhd ki (u) kām karu

Ram wants that (he) work should-do

'Ram wants to do work'

where 'he' refers to 'Ram.' (It is interesting to note that in Garhwali it is not possible to say in the way it can be said in English. 'Ram wants John to [do] work.' In this case, the u 'he' in 35) could refer to John also and would, therefore, be ambiguous.)

The relationship which exists between 34) and 36) is not found for the suffix -n in sentence of type (c). Secondly, the oblique of the infinitive suffix -nu has the oblique form -n. A noun can occur in the oblique only before a postposition, e.g., if a postposition, for example, se 'by' occurs after jānu as in 33), we will have the oblique of it as jān, e.g.:

37) rāma dēhra jān se _____

'By Ram's going home _____'

But in type (c), there is no postposition after the suffix -n. It would be uneconomical and unnatural (intuitively) to assume a postposition after jān in 31) which would be deleted by a transformational rule. For example, we can say:

38) $\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{k}\bar{a}m \text{ par } \text{lagi}$

Ram work on attached

'Ram attached himself to work'

(that is, 'Ram became involved in work') where par 'on' is a postposition.

But we cannot say:

39) * $\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{d}\bar{e}h\bar{r}a \bar{j}\bar{a}n \text{ par } \text{lagi}$

Even if we assume that 31) $\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{d}\bar{e}h\bar{r}a \bar{j}\bar{a}n \text{ lagi}$ ('Ram began to go home') is derived from 39) by deleting par, the number of rules increases unnecessarily. Also the meaning of lag is not matched in 31) and 38).

I, therefore, consider the suffix $-n$ in the type (c) as different from the infinitive suffix $-nu$ (and its oblique $-n$). Thus, 31) is derived only by one rule as:

40) ram - Comp - lagi

$\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{d}\bar{e}h\bar{r}a \bar{j}\bar{a}d$

'Ram goes home'

$\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{d}\bar{e}h\bar{r}a \bar{j}\bar{a}n \text{ lagi}$

'Ram began to go home'

where Comp is 'complement' and is filled by ' $\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{d}\bar{e}h\bar{r}a \bar{j}\bar{a}$ ' of the second sentence to which $-n$ is added in the output. The details will be given later. (See Topt 12.)

The infinitive suffix $-nu$ involves nominalization and we will not deal with nominalizations in the present study.

Garhwali is closely related to Hindi. (I consider myself a native speaker of Hindi, as well as Garhwali.) The three types I have discussed in the present study are found in Hindi too. Thus, the rules given here could very well be considered to be rules in a grammar of Hindi. However, Hindi,

being spoken in a much wider area, has many more auxiliary verbs and auxiliary verb constructions. Thus, Hindi would require some additional rules, and a few Garhwali rules would have to be modified slightly in order to have a common grammar. Otherwise, the transformations, such as those applying to causatives, derived transitives, pseudo-passives, complements of various verbs and adjectivalizations are exactly the same. The morphophonemic output for the two languages would be partly common, and partly different. We will not go into this subject further here.

CHAPTER I

PHRASE STRUCTURE

1. $S \rightarrow \text{Nom} + \text{PD}$.

Nom = nominal.

PD = predicate.

The Nominal functions as subject in this rule. The underlined words are Nom and the rest are PD. Ex.

1) n̄hnu dēhra jālu

Boy home will-go

'The boy will go home.'

2) rām kapra pæhrd

Ram clothes wears

'Ram wears clothes.'

3) rāman sīta dēkhī

Ram Sita saw

'Ram saw Sita.'

4) dāl itnæh chæ

bean just-this-much was

'The beans were just this much.'

5) kuch gō ka log ūh dekhñū æn

Some village of people them for seeing came

'Some people of the village came to see them.'

6) ēk pandaji chā

One Pandi was

'There was a Brahmin.'

7) paṇḍaji bara sīdhā ar bhakt ādīm chā

The-Brahmin very simple and religious man was

'The Brahmin was a very simple and religious man.'

8) ku dēhra jād

Who home goes

'Who goes home.'

2. PD → (T_m) Loc { ({ Nom }
 { Adj }) hō₂ } TS
 (Man) VP(AX)

T_m = time adverbial.

Loc = locative adverbial.

Adj = adjective.

Man = manner adverbial.

VP = verbal phrase.

AX = auxiliary verbal phrase.

TS = tense.

The verb hō₂ 'be' has been separated from the rest of the Verbal

Phrases for the following reasons:

- a) hō₂ unlike other verbs cannot be followed by (other) auxiliary (AX) verbs.
- b) hō₂ itself is the terminal verb, whereas the other verbs can be followed by hō₂, e.g.,

- 1) $\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{r}\bar{a}j\bar{a} \text{ band}$
 Ram king becomes
 'Ram becomes king'

which can be expanded:

- 2) $\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{r}\bar{a}j\bar{a} \text{ ba}\bar{n}i \text{ ch}\bar{o}$
 Ram king become had
 'Ram had become king.'

But not

* $n\bar{o}hnu \text{ sundar ch}\bar{o} \text{ ch}\bar{o}$

- c) In certain transforms we have to delete $\bar{h}\bar{o}_2$ which is not the case for all other verbs, e.g.,

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| <p>3) $m\bar{i} \bar{r}\bar{a}m \text{ t}\bar{\bar{e}} \text{ dekhlu}$
 I ram to will-see
 'I will see Ram.'</p> | } | ⇒ | <p>$m\bar{i} \bar{r}\bar{a}m \text{ t}\bar{\bar{e}} \bar{r}\bar{a}j\bar{a} \text{ dekhlu}$
 I Ram to king will-see
 'I will see Ram as king.'</p> |
| <p>$\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{r}\bar{a}j\bar{a} \text{ ca}$
 Ram king is
 'Ram is king.'</p> | | | |

whereas any other verb, for example, $\text{ba}\bar{n}$ 'become' cannot be deleted in such cases, e.g.,

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| <p>4) $m\bar{i} \text{ ram } \text{t}\bar{\bar{e}} \text{ dekhlu}$
 $\bar{r}\bar{a}m \bar{r}\bar{a}j\bar{a} \text{ band}$
 Ram king becomes
 'Ram becomes king.'</p> | } | ⇒ | <p>$m\bar{i} \bar{r}\bar{a}m \text{ t}\bar{\bar{e}} \bar{r}\bar{a}j\bar{a} \text{ ba}\bar{n}du \text{ dekhlu}$
 'I will see Ram becoming king.'</p> |
|--|---|---|--|

$\bar{h}\bar{o}_2$ is needed for preposed adjectivalization also. Thus,

5) rām nōhnu ca
 Ram boy is
 'Ram is a boy.'
 rām sundar ca
 Ram good is
 'Ram is good.'



rām sundar nōhnu ca
 Ram good boy is
 'Ram is a good boy.'

and so on.

$h\bar{o}_2$ is also necessary for adjectivalizing the verbs. For example, the following sentence:

10) nōhnu kām kardu holu
 Boy work doing will-be
 'The boy $\frac{\text{must}}{\text{will}}$ be doing work'

is derived from

11) nōhnu - Adj - $h\bar{o}_2$ - TS
 nōhnu kām kard
 'The boy does work.'

nōhnu kām kardu $h\bar{o}_2$ - TS

(where TS in 10 is future).

Loc $h\bar{o}_2$:

11) rām dēhra holu
 Ram home will-be
 'Ram will be home.'

- 12) rām iahkh holu
 Ram here will-be
 'Ram will be here.'

{ Nom }
 { Adj } hō₂:

- 13) rām kālu chō
 Ram dark was
 'Ram was dark.'

- 14) mi rāja chō
 I king am
 'I am king.'

VP (the underlined words are VP):

- 15) kukur bhāg gæ
 Dog flee (jā-TS)
 'The dog fled.'
- 16) buhdia s æhra din apnæh dēhra mā bæ thiüh rōhdu chō
 Old-man entire day own house in seated remaining was
 'The old man used to remain seated in his house throughout
 the day.'
- 17) rām iahkh ____
 Ram here came
 'Ram came here.'
- 18) rām šera mā ____
 Ram field in came
 'Ram came into the field.'

Loc + VP (the Loc is underlined):

19) rām dēhra gæ

Ram home went

'Ram went home.'

20) rām bhitar gæ

'Ram went inside.'

21) sæhra gō mā halla huē gi - - -

Entire village in noise become (ja-TS) - - -

'The news spread in the entire village - - -'

Tm + Loc + VP:

22) āj buhdia ar buhdri jākh gæ hola

Today old-man and old-woman where gone will-be

'Nobody knows) where the old man and old woman might have gone today.'

Tm, Loc, Man can be moved by an optional transformation.

23) mēlu pərim lagalu

Fair in-Pauri will-attach

'The fair will take place in Pauri.'

Tm + Loc + hō₂:

24) mēlu bhōl iākh ca

'The fair is here tomorrow.'

25) rām iākh rāja chō

'Ram was king here.'

26) rām iākh kālu chō

'Ram was dark here.'

Tm + Loc + $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Nom} \\ \text{Adj} \end{array} \right\} \text{h}\bar{o}_2:$

32) rām biāhli dēhram rāja ch

Ram yesterday in-house king was

'Ram was king in the house yesterday.'

Man + VP:

33) rām surak æ

Ram silently came

'Ram came silently.'

Tm + Loc + Man + VP:

34) rām biāhli dēhra surak æ

Ram yesterday home silently came

'Ram came home yesterday silently.'

3. VP \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Nom} \\ \text{Adj} \end{array} \right\} V_c \\ \text{Nom} + V_{tr} \\ V_{in} \end{array} \right\}$

V_c = copular verb.

V_{tr} = transitive verb.

V_{in} = intransitive verb.

There are three types of main verbs in this rule. The copular verb occurs with a predicative nominal or adjective. The transitive verb occurs with an object nominal followed by the postposition $t\tilde{x}$.

The verbs are underlined.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nom} \\ \text{Adj} \end{array} \right\} V_c:$

- 1) rām rāja banlu
 Rām king will-become
 'Ram will become king.'
 - 2) nōhni sundar banin
 Girls good became
 'The girls became good.'
 - 3) nōhnu cōr nikli
 Boy thief turned out to be
 'The boy turned out to be a thief.'
 - 4) nōhni nōhni rēhn
 Girls girls remained
 'The girls remained girls.'
- Nom + V_{tr}:
- 5) rām nōhni dehkhd
 Rām girl sees
 'Ram sees the girl.'
 - 6) ju pāhli bāc gāhralu - - -
 Who first voice will-utter - - -
 'Who will speak first - - -.'
 - 7) kukur gihindu khehd
 'The dog plays the ball.'
 - 8) rām roṭṭi khæ sakd
 'Ram can eat bread.'

- 9) rām kām kar iālalu
 Ram work do will-finish
 'Ram will already do work.'
- V_{in} :
- 10) rām iahkh bæhthalu
 Ram here will-sit
 'Ram will sit here.'
- 11) tabahri ēk kukur æ
 At-the-very-time one dog came
 'Right at that time a dog came.'
- 12) rām iahkh ræh sakd
 Ram here live is able
 'Ram can live here.'
- 13) jab pandaji cal gæn - - -
 When Brahmin go (went) - - -
 'When the Brahmin went - - -.'

Derived transitives.--The foregoing examples under V_{tr} are of inherent (or basic) transitive verbs, i.e., these verbs cannot be derived from intransitive verbs. Thus, verbs like khā 'eat,' dēkh 'see,' kar 'do,' cōr 'steal,' khōj 'find,' rakh 'place, put,' etc. are inherently transitive verbs, whereas verbs like cal 'move, make go,' mār 'kill,' dōṛḍ 'make run,' pōchḥ 'make arrive,' khōl 'open,' etc. are derived from cal 'go,' mor 'die,' dōṛ 'run,' pōhc 'arrive,' khul 'be open,' etc. respectively. The derived transitive verbs are to be analyzed in terms of second source sentence in the following manner.

We develop V_{tr} into several classes and sub-classes among which a major class would be Comp V_T . The constituent (a V_T) is a transitivizing

morpheme and Comp contains the second source sentence. Thus the T (transformational) rule would look like:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{a) } \frac{\text{Nom}}{1} - \frac{\text{Nom}_D}{2} - \frac{\text{Comp}}{3} - \frac{\text{C}}{4} - \frac{\text{Y}}{5} \\
 \frac{\text{Nom}}{6} - \frac{(\text{X}) - \text{V}_{in}}{7} - \frac{\text{Y}}{8}
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \text{a) } \frac{\text{Nom}}{1} - \frac{\text{Nom}_D}{2} - \frac{\text{Comp}}{3} - \frac{\text{C}}{4} - \frac{\text{Y}}{5} \\ \frac{\text{Nom}}{6} - \frac{(\text{X}) - \text{V}_{in}}{7} - \frac{\text{Y}}{8} \end{array}} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 6 \ 7 \ 4 \ 5$$

Nom_D is a dummy symbol which is to be dominated by the symbol Nom, i.e.,
 $6 = 2$.

Thus,

14) $\bar{r}\bar{a}m \ \bar{g}\bar{a}r\bar{i} \ \text{ca}l\bar{d}$

Ram cart makes go

'Ram drives the cart!'

has the underlying constituent sentence

15) $\bar{g}\bar{a}r\bar{i} \ \text{ca}l\bar{d}$

'The cart goes.'

16) $n\bar{o}hnu \ \text{d}\bar{u}\bar{a}r \ \text{kh}\bar{o}l\bar{a}lu$

Boy door will-open

'The boy will open the door'

has the underlying simple sentence

17) $\text{d}\bar{u}\bar{a}r \ \text{kh}\bar{u}l\bar{a}lu$

Door will-open

'The door will open.'

18) $n\bar{o}hnu \ \text{bah}k\bar{h}ru \ \text{marn}\bar{u}h \ \text{ca}$

Boy he-goat killing is

'The boy is killing the he-goat'

has the underlying simple sentence

- 19) bahkhru mornūh ca
 He-goat dying is
 'The he-goat is dying.'

But the inherent transitive verbs cannot be derived from any other simple source sentence,

- 20) rām kām karlu
 'Ram will do work,'

i.e., the example itself is a simple sentence.

Causatives.--Causative verbs are also derived from transitive verbs, e.g.,

- 21) rām kihsnum kām karālu
 Ram (Krishna-m) work will-cause-to-do
 'Ram will make Krishna do work'

has the underlying simple sentence:

- 22) kihsnu kām karlu
 'Krishna will do work.'

- 23) ram kihsnum gāri calōd
 Ram (Krishna-m) cart causes-to-drive
 'Ram makes Krishna drive the cart'

has the underlying sentence:

- 24) kihsnu gāri calōd
 'Krishna drives the cart.'

b)
$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \frac{\text{Nom}}{1} - \frac{\text{Nom}_D}{2} - \frac{\text{Comp}}{3} - \frac{\text{C}}{4} - \frac{\text{Y}}{5} \\ \frac{\text{Nom}}{6} - \frac{\text{X}}{7} - \frac{\text{V}_{tr}}{8} - \frac{\text{Y}}{8} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 6 \ \tilde{m} \ 7 \ 4 \ 5$$

where $\frac{\text{Nom}_D}{2}$ is filled by $\frac{\text{Nom}}{6}$ ($\tilde{m}\tilde{a}$ and m are allomorphs of the same morpheme).

Intransitives derived from transitives.--A few verbs which we consider to be inherently intransitive may have objects, and when this is so, the logical subjects do not govern the concord of the verb. Consider the following examples:

- 25) $\tilde{r}\tilde{a}m\ \tilde{t}\tilde{a}\ \tilde{b}\tilde{a}t\ \tilde{m}\tilde{a}l\tilde{u}m\ h\tilde{o}l\tilde{i}$
 Ram to matter known will-be
 'Ram will know the matter.'
 (lit. 'The matter will be known to Ram.')
- 26) $\tilde{r}\tilde{a}m\ \tilde{t}\tilde{a}\ \tilde{k}\tilde{i}t\tilde{a}b\ \tilde{i}\tilde{a}d\ \tilde{c}h\tilde{a}n$
 Ram to book memorized are
 'Ram knows the books by heart.'
 (lit. 'The books are memorized to Ram')

and so on. Notice that the subject is followed by the postposition $\tilde{t}\tilde{a}$. The transitive verbs $\tilde{m}\tilde{a}l\tilde{u}m\ \tilde{h}\tilde{o}_1$ or $\tilde{m}\tilde{a}l\tilde{u}m\ \tilde{h}\tilde{o}_2$ and $\tilde{i}\tilde{a}d\ \tilde{h}\tilde{o}_2$ in these examples are conjunct verbs, and we treat $\tilde{m}\tilde{a}l\tilde{u}m$ and $\tilde{i}\tilde{a}d$ as parts of the verb. The 'conjunct pieces' of the verb will not be dealt with in the present study since they are not relevant to the analysis of verb plus verb combinations.

- 27) $\tilde{r}\tilde{a}m\ \tilde{t}\tilde{a}\ \tilde{k}\tilde{i}t\tilde{a}b\ \tilde{m}\tilde{i}l\tilde{a}l\tilde{i}$
 Ram to book will-get
 'Ram will get the book.'

Thus, $\tilde{r}\tilde{a}m$ is the logical subject, and $\tilde{b}\tilde{a}t$ and $\tilde{k}\tilde{i}t\tilde{a}b$ are the objects which govern the (gender-number-person) concord of the verbs.

These verbs in examples 25), 26), and 27) are considered to be trans-
 forms of transitive verbs. Thus, $\tilde{r}\tilde{a}m\ \tilde{t}\tilde{a}\ \tilde{b}\tilde{a}t\ \tilde{m}\tilde{a}l\tilde{u}m\ h\tilde{o}l\tilde{i}$ is derived from:

28) rām bāt mālum karlu

Ram matter known will-do

'Ram will learn the matter.'

(lit. 'Ram will do the matter known.')

rām t̃ kitāb iād chan is derived from:

29) rām kitāb iād kard

Ram books memorized does

'Ram memorizes the books.'

(lit. 'Ram does the books memorized.')

rām t̃ kitāb milali is derived from:

30) rām kitāb pālu

Ram book will-get

'Ram will get the book.'

In the transitive examples ram is the logical subject and governs the concord of the verb. Wherever malum + kar can occur, we can always use

$$\text{mālum} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hō}_1 \\ \text{hō}_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

there as well, as was shown in the foregoing examples. pā 'get' is a transitive verb and wherever pā occurs mil 'get' can also occur, as shown previously. Note that mil occurs as an inherent transitive verb also and its meaning then is 'meet,' e.g.,

31) rām sīta t̃ milalu

Ram Sita to will-meet

'Ram will meet Sita.'

When used in this sense, its object and subject are animate. Inanimate object and subject seem to be somewhat odd and unnatural, though not ungrammatical in this environment, e.g.,

- 32) rām kitāb t̃æ milalu
'Ram will meet the book'

or

- 33) kitāb rām t̃æ milali
'The book will meet Ram.'

The following sample list gives active, passive, and pseudo-passive forms of some transitive verbs.

<u>Active</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Pseudo-passive</u>
kāt 'cut'	kaṭēh	kaṭ
nikāl 'turn out'	nikalēh	nikal
cal 'move'	calaēh	cal
baṇ 'make'	baṇaēh	baṇ
sark 'slip, move'	sarkaēh	sark
lag 'attach'	lagaēh	lag
tōṛ 'break'	torēh	tut
harc 'lose'	harcaēh	harc
kar 'do'	karēh	hō (lit. 'become occur')
chōṛ 'leave'	chorēh	chut
phōṛ 'break'	phorēh	phut

Consider the following examples:

- 34) rām kām hard
'Ram works.'
- 35) rām se kām hōd
Ram by work becomes
'The work is done by Ram.'
(lit. 'The work becomes by Ram.')

- 36) rām se kām karēhd
 Ram by work is-done
 'The work is done by Ram.'
- 37) mīhse dhuzgu ni sark sakd
 me by rock not move can
 'The rock cannot be moved by me.'
- 38) mīh se dhuzgu ni sarkaēh sakēhd
 'The rock cannot be moved by me.'

Notice that $h\bar{o}_1$ 'become, happen, occur' (in $h\bar{o}d$) and sark 'slip, move' are basically intransitive verbs, e.g.,

- 39) ab barkha $h\bar{o}d$
 now rain becomes
 'It is now about to rain.'
- 40) nḥnu ni sark sakd
 'The boy cannot move.'

However, $h\bar{o}_1$ and sark have the objects kām and dhuzgu in 35) and 37) respectively. I, therefore, consider 35) a pseudo-passive of 34), and 37) a pseudo-passive transform of:

- 41) mi dhuzgu ni sarkāē sakdḥ
 'I cannot move the rock.'

Notice that the pseudo-passives cannot take the true passive transforms 36) and 38). This analysis shows also why there is semantic similarity between all object + kar and object + $h\bar{o}_1$ constructions. Thus, if we can say:

- 42) rām kihsnui tarip karlu
 Ram Krishna-'s praise will-do
 'Ram will praise Krishna.'
 (lit. 'Ram will do the praise of Krishna.')

We can also say:

43) rām se kiḥsnui tārīp holi

Ram by Krishna-'s praise will-become

'Krishna will be praised by Ram.'

(lit. 'Krishna's praise will become by Ram.')

and also:

44) rām se kiḥsnui tārīp karēhli

Ram by Krishna-'s praise will-be-done

'Krishna will be praised by Ram.'

(lit. 'Krishna's praise will be done by Ram.')

and so on.

ban 'to be made,' cal 'go, move,' lag 'attach, strike, apply' are other verbs in this class. Thus:

45) rām gāri calō d

'Ram drives the cart'

is transformed into:

46) rām se gāri calaiēhd

'The cart is driven by Ram'

and also into

47) rām se gāri cald

'The cart is driven by Ram.'

(lit. 'The cart goes by Ram.')

48) rām gāri bahñō d

'Ram makes the cart'

is transformed into:

49) rām se gāri banaiēhd

'The cart is made by Ram'

and also into:

- 50) rām se gāri band
 'The cart is made by Ram.'
 51) rām dāhlu lahgō d
 Ram plant plants
 'Ram plants the plant.'
 (lit. 'Ram attaches the plant')

is transformed into:

- 52) rām se dāhlu lagaiehd
 'The plant is planted by Ram.'
 (lit. 'The plant is attached by Ram')

and also into:

- 53) rām se dāhlu lagd
 'The plant is planted by Ram.'
 (lit. 'The plant attaches [itself] by Ram.')

Thus, our above analysis not only keeps the phrase structure rules simple but also reveals the relationship between intransitive, transitive, causative, and passive sentences.

4. Nom \rightarrow N + C

N = Noun.

C = Concord.

The Nominal is expanded into N + C in this rule. The Concordial features of the subject (Noun) govern the concordial features of the tense of the verb. The concordial features of the noun and the tenses agree in number, gender, and person. C stands for this agreement. Note that nouns in Garhwali do not have 'determiners.' Ex.

1) nahnudēhra jālu

boy home will-go

'The boy will go home.'

2) nahnna dēhra jāla

'The boys will go home.'

3) nahnni dēhra jāli

'The girl will go home.'

4) nahnni dēhra jāli

'The girls will go home.'

5) ēk gō mā ēk buhḍia chō

One village in one old-man was

'There was an old man in a village.' (b-1)

6) ar ū ki kūḥ plād bi ni chæ

And them of any progeny also not was

'And they did not have any children.' (b-4)

7) ab bagualiō din æ

Now light-festival day came

'Now the day of the light-festival came.'

The predicate adjectives also attach the gender-number of the noun,

e.g.

8) nahnna kālu holu

'The boy will be dark.'

9) nahnna kāla hola

'The boys will be dark.'

10) nahnni kāli holi

The { girl } will be dark.'

- 11) nɔhni gōri ca
'The girl is fair.'
- 12) nɔhni gōri chan
'The girls are fair.'
- 13) nɔhnu bhɔt upkari chɔ
'The boy was very generous.' (a-9)
- 14) nɔhni bari sundar chɔ
girl very pretty was
'The girl was very pretty.'
- 15) nɔhnu baru sundar chɔ
'The boy was very handsome.'
- 16) nɔhna bara sundar chā
'The boys were very handsome.'
- 17) nɔhna sundar chā
'The boys were handsome.'
- 18) ham sundar chā
'We were handsome.'
- 19) ham bari sundar chā
'We (fem.) were very pretty.'
- 20) ham bara sundar chā
'We (masc.) were very handsome.'

Some transformations involve the switching of the concord from the subject noun to another noun. Consider the following sentences:

- 21) mi nɔhna dekhhdɔ
I boys see
'I see the boys.'

22) nɔhna : mih tæ̃ dekhhdan

Boys me to see

'The boys see me.'

23) min nɔhna dēkhin

(I-n) boys saw

'I saw the boys.'

The verb agrees with the object.

24) nɔhnɔn mi dēkhi

(Boys-n) I saw

'The boys saw me.'

The verb agrees with the object. Thus, in the concord rules, one rule will attach the C of object noun to the tenses when the subject is followed by a postposition, provided the object also is not followed by a postposition.

Below we will give some simple sentences which involve a change in the grammatical subject.

There are a few nouns which express some sort of mental and physical states or feelings, e.g., bukhār 'fever,' khusi 'happiness,' rōg 'disease,' hæja 'chōlera,' māta 'small pox,' pira 'pain,' etc. When these items select certain intransitive verbs--there are only a few of these--e.g., hō₁ 'occur, become, happen,' hō₂ 'be,' ɔ 'come,' etc., then the simple sentences containing these nouns can be transformed optionally into other sentences.

Thus,

25) nɔhni bukhār mā chæ

Girl fever in was

'The girl was feverish.'

The verb agrees with the subject nɔhni.

- 26) $n\bar{o}hni\ t\tilde{\alpha}$ bukhar ch \bar{c}
 Girl to fever was
 'The girl had fever.'
 (lit. 'The fever was to the girl.')

The verb agrees with bukhar.

- 27) $r\bar{a}m\ h\bar{o}s\ m\bar{a}\ \bar{a}lu$
 Ram consciousness in will-come
 'Ram will regain consciousness.'
 (lit. 'Ram will come in consciousness')

is transformed into:

- 28) $r\bar{a}m\ t\tilde{\alpha}$ h\bar{o}s \bar{a}li
 Ram to consciousness will-come
 'Ram regained consciousness.'
 (lit. 'Consciousness will come to Ram.')

- 29) $r\bar{a}m\ pira\ m\bar{a}\ ch\bar{c}$
 Ram pain in was
 'Ram was in pain'

is transformed into:

- 30) $r\bar{a}m\ t\tilde{\alpha}$ pira ch\tilde{\alpha}
 Ram to pain was
 'Ram felt pain.'
 (lit. 'Pain was to Ram.')

In order to take care of these examples, our T rule would look like:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{d) Nom} & - & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bukhar} \\ \text{pira} \\ \text{h\bar{o}s} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right\} & - & m\bar{a} & - & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{c} \\ \text{h\bar{o}}_1 \\ \text{h\bar{o}}_2 \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right\} & - & X & \Rightarrow & 1 + t\tilde{\alpha} & 2 & 4 \\
 \hline
 & & 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

Note that in Rule 3 we mentioned some derived intransitive or pseudo-passive transforms. They also involve this kind of change in the subject. It is also interesting to note that the output of d) also cannot have a pure passive, e.g.,

31) $\bar{r}\bar{a}m$ $t\tilde{a}$ $\bar{h}\bar{o}s$ $\bar{a}li$

but not

32) * $\bar{r}\bar{a}m$ se $\bar{h}\bar{o}s$ $ai\bar{e}hli$

nor

33) * $\bar{r}\bar{a}m$ $t\tilde{a}$ $\bar{h}\bar{o}s$ se $ai\bar{e}hlu$

Then, there are some nouns, e.g., $bharasu$ 'trust,' $bisu\bar{a}s$ 'faith,' $daia$ 'pity,' $ghama\bar{n}d$ 'pride,' etc. which occur as the object of the verb kar 'do, make.' In this case, kar can be replaced by $\bar{h}\bar{o}_1$ or $\bar{h}\bar{o}_2$ and the subject is followed by $t\tilde{a}$ while the object becomes the grammatical subject (i.e., the tenses agree with the logical object).

34) $n\bar{o}hni$ $\bar{s}\bar{i}ta$ par $bharosu$ $karli$

Girl Sita on trust will-do

'The girl will trust Sita.'

(lit. 'The girl will do trust on Sita')

can be transformed optionally into:

35) $n\bar{o}hni$ $t\tilde{a}$ $\bar{s}\bar{i}ta$ par $bharosu$ $holu$

Girl to Sita on trust will-become

'The girl will trust Sita.'

(lit. 'Trust will occur to the girl on Sita.')

36) $n\bar{o}hni$ $\bar{s}\bar{i}ta$ par $ghama\bar{n}d$ $kard$

'The girl is proud of Sita.'

(lit. 'The girl does pride on Sita')

can be transformed into:

- 37) nāhni t̃ṣ̃ sīta par ghamand ca
 'The girl feels pride about Sita.'
 (lit. 'Pride is to the girl on Sita.')

These are a few nouns in this category, e.g., taṭṭi 'stool,' pisāhb 'urine,' dast 'motion,' uhbba 'vomiting,' h̃ṣ̃ si 'fun,' etc. in which case kar can be replaced by ho₁ only, not by ho₂, e.g.,

- 38) rām uhbba kard
 Ram vomiting does
 'Ram vomits.'
 (lit. 'Ram does vomiting')

can be transformed into:

- 39) rām t̃ṣ̃ uhbba hōd
 Ram to vomiting occurs
 'Ram vomits.'
 (lit. 'Vomiting occurs to Ram')

but not

- 40) * rām t̃ṣ̃ uhbba ca
 Ram to vomiting is
 (lit. 'Vomiting is to Ram.')

We are not directly concerned with such transformations such as derived intransitives. We, therefore, will not elaborate this discussion. An exhaustive grammar would include such discussions giving more detail. We have only indicated that the logical subject is derived from the non-logical. The logical subject involves the Concord.

The general rule is this that whenever the logical subject is followed by a postposition, e.g., by n, t̃ṣ̃, se, the tense marker do not agree with the subject in terms of C. Now consider the following sentences:

- 41) nəhn̄n̄n n hni dēkh̄i
 (Boys-n) girl saw
 'The boys saw the girl.'
- 42) nəhn̄n̄n nəhni dēkh̄in
 'The boys saw the girls.'
- 43) nəhn̄n̄n nəhni t̄ə dēkh̄i
 'The boys saw the girl.'
- 44) nəhn̄n̄n nəhniū t̄ə dēkh̄i
 'The boys saw the girls.'

In 44) the tense agrees neither with the subject (nəhn̄n̄n) nor with the object (nəhniū t̄ə). The rule is this that the tense does not agree with the subject or object if they are followed by a postposition (e.g., by n and t̄ə in the foregoing examples).

In order to make the phrase structure simpler, we should consider the presence of a postposition after the subject to be transformational in nature. Thus, such a subject still remains a logical subject, and if there is an object (without a postposition), the tense agrees with it, i.e., the logical object becomes the grammatical subject.

Later, in an exhaustive grammar where concord rules are given in full, we can make a general statement that the tense or predicative adjective agrees with the first noun without postposition, or rather without oblique case (see the section on Tob 7), otherwise the tense or the adjective simply remains in its basic form, i.e., the masculine singular. The concord rules should occur before the subject and object are optionally permuted. This analysis reveals the relation of the subject with tense markers and adjectives and at the same time achieve a great deal of economy. A later rule will introduce concordial agreement.

An exhaustive lexicon will provide detailed analysis of lower order nominal categories. For example, nouns are either animate or inanimate. Animate nouns can be further classified into human, e.g., ādim 'man,' nḥnu 'boy,' rām 'rain,' etc. and non-human, e.g., gḥri 'cow,' sād 'bull,' bahkhri 'goat,' etc. Inanimate nouns can be classified into concrete, e.g., kāgaj 'paper,' dādu 'mountain,' dhuzgu 'stone,' etc. and abstract, e.g., jḥr 'fever,' pira 'pain,' hōs 'consciousness,' etc. and so on. There are reasons for such a classification. For example, inanimate nouns can be substituted for optionally by third person pronominals in the oblique singular. This substitution does not occur with animate nouns, e.g.,

45) sād tǎ dhika

Bull to push

'Push the bull.'

Now we replace sad 'bull' (animate noun) by the third person pronoun:

46) uē tǎ dhikā

That to push

'Push that'

where 'that' refers to 'bull.'

But now we take an inanimate noun:

47) dhuzga tǎ dhikā

Stone to push

'Push the stone.'

48) uāh tǎ dhikā

That to push

'Push that'

where 'that' refers to 'stone.'

or

49) uē t̃æ dhikā

'Push that,'

also can be used for 'stone' although such a use is somewhat uncomfortable.

But, 48) can never be used for 'bull.'

Similarly, we can say:

50) n̄hnu h̃æ si

'The boy laughed.'

But normally we won't say:

51) * bahkhri h̃æ si

'The goat laughed,'

since bahkhri is non-human noun whereas n̄hnu is human noun. Similarly we can say

52) dhuzgu t̃r gi

Stone crack (jā-T_p)

'The stone is cracked'

but not normally:

53) * pira t̃r gi

'The pain is cracked'

because dhuzgu is concrete noun and pira is abstract noun.

It is a usual observation that examples 50) to 53) will not hold in poetry or literary expressions where we will certainly accept 51) and 53). If poetic language is not considered to be normal then 51) and 53) are not acceptable. Perhaps poetic language becomes poetic in part through juxtaposing incompatible classes of various constituents. Since the classification of nouns is not relevant to verb plus verb combination, we will not elaborate it in this discussion.

The gender-number-person features for each nominal entry also can be listed in a detailed lexicon. However, we will not take up these problems since they are not directly related to verb plus verb combinations.

$$5. V_{tr} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Comp} + V_T \\ \text{PP} + V_P \\ V_t \end{array} \right\}$$

Comp = complement.

PP = postpositional phrase.

This rule develops transitive verbs into three classes. We have already discussed the need for Comp + V_T in Rule 3. In PP + V_P , we have lumped together all sorts of strings consisting of noun plus postposition followed by a transitive verb. V_t constitute the remaining transitive verbs. Some examples of Comp + V_T have been given in Rule 3. The following are some examples of PP + V_P and V_t .

PP + V_P :

1) kihsnu rām̄ cihṭṭhi lekḥlu

Krishna for-Ram letter will-write

'Krishna will write a letter for Ram.'

Here rams is PP. The commutation of object (cihṭṭhi in this case) and PP is free.

2) kihsnu rām̄ t̃ meru n̄ puhchlu

Krishna Ram to my name will ask

'Krishna will ask Ram my name.'

Here rām̄ t̃ is PP.

3) buhdia ar buhdriṅ apna jhagræ chuḥ gō ualō h mā batæ

Old-man and old-woman own quarrel talk villagers in told

'The old man and woman told the villagers of their quarrel.'

Here gōualō mā is PP.

4) rām kihsnu tæ kitāb dēlu

Ram Krishna to book will-give

'Ram will give the book to Krishna.'

Here kihsnu tæ is PP.

5) sītan nḥnā bāra mā kuch bōli

Sita-n boy-of about in something said

'Sita said something about the boy.'

Here nḥnā bāra mā is PP.

6) min ghḥr uē tæ sḥpi

I-n house him to entrusted

'I entrusted the house to him.'

Here uē tæ is PP.

We have lumped together the so-called double object verbs in PP + V_P.

We will not provide further analysis of them since it is irrelevant for our present study.

V_t:

7) duī mi khḥlu

Two I will-eat

'I will eat two (fritters).' (b-40)

8) uēn sarāhsar ghḥr sāhp kari

He-n quickly house's cleaning did

'He quickly cleaned the house.' (c-15)

- 9) ju pæhli bāc gaḥṛlu ---
 Who first voice will-utter ---
 'Who will speak first' --- (b-29)
- 10) rām sīta dekhlu
 Ram Sita will-see
 'Ram will see Sita.'
- 11) buhḍrīn dāl māhgi
 Old-woman beans asked
 'The old-woman asked for beans.'
- 12) nḥnḥn gīt gæhn
 (Boys-n) songs sang
 'The boys sang the songs.'
- 13) uīhn ḍhugga ḍholin
 (She-n) rocks threw
 'She threw rocks.'

A detailed analysis will give several lower order transitive and intransitive verb classes. For example, some intransitive verbs take certain adverbials whereas others do not. Some transitive verbs can take only certain classes of nouns as their subjects or objects, and so on. Thus, we can say:

- 14) dāḡg lamḍi
 Rock rolled
 'The rock rolled.'

but not

- 15) * bēmani lamḍi
 Dishonesty rolled
 'Dishonesty rolled.'

We can say:

- 16) rāman ām khæ
 Ram-n mango ate
 'Ram ate a mango'

but not

- 17) * āman rām khæ
 Mango-n Ram ate
 'A mango ate Ram.'

We can say:

- 18) rāman uḥbbu kari
 'Ram vomited'

but not:

- 19) * bēmanin uḥbbu kari
 'Dishonesty vomited.'

Thus, certain verbs occur with animate subjects and inanimate objects only, and so on.

There are some transitive verbs whose objects can be deleted. We will call them weak transitives. Thus,

- 20) rām kitāb pōhralu
 Ram book will-read
 'Ram will read a book.'

- 21) rām pōhralu
 Ram will-read
 'Ram will read.'

- 22) rām ciḥṭṭhi lekḥhd
 Ram letter writes
 'Ram writes a letter.'

- 23) rām lekhkh
'Ram writes.'
- 24) rām bhōl bhāt khālu
Ram tomorrow rice will-eat
'Ram will eat rice tomorrow.'
- 25) rām bhōl khālu
'Ram will eat tomorrow.'
- 26) rām bahjji hāri
Ram game lost
'Ram lost a game.'
- 27) rām hāri
'Ram lost' (or 'Ram was defeated')

and so on.

Whereas there are other transitive verbs whose objects are not deletable, e.g.,

- 28) rām sītᵒ kapra lhālu
Ram for-Sita clothes will-bring
'Ram will bring clothes for Sita.'
- 29) rāman kitāb harc æ
Ram-n book lost
'Ram lost a book.'
- 30) rāman nōhnu Sita t̃æ sōhpi
Ram-n boy Sita to entrusted
'Ram entrusted the boy to Sita'

and so on.

But we cannot say:

- 31) * rām sītᵒ lhālu

32) * rāman harcæ

33) * rāman sīta tǣ s̄hpi

In a detailed analysis, V_t would be classified into several subsets among which one subset would allow deletion of the object. The object would be deleted by a T rule.

$$6. V_{in} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V_{i1} \\ PP + V_{i2} \\ Comp + V_{i3} \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule divides intransitive verbs into three classes. Some intransitive verbs take postpositional phrases (PP), some others take 'complements,' and the remainder are V_{i1} .

V_{i1} :

1) rām dēhram r̄hd

'Ram lives in the house.'

2) kukur uhthǣ bhāgi

'The dog ran there.'

PP + V_{i2} :

3) nōhnu puḡra mā kām par lagi

Boy farm in work on attached

'The boy attached (himself) to the work in the farm' (i.e., 'The boy became involved in the work in the farm').

But not:

4) * nōhnu puḡra mā lagi

We will not further analyze PP + V_{i2} since they are irrelevant to the present study.

Comp + V_{i3}:

5) nōhnu dēh̄ra ṅṅ lagi

Boy home to-come began

'The boy started to come home'

has the underlying simple sentence as 'complement'

6) nōhnu dēh̄ra æ

Boy home came

'The boy came home.'

Notice that lag (in lagi) is intransitive, i.e., it never takes a noun as object (even though the English translation 'started to' may suggest so).

More will be said about this class of verbs later in the T rules.

7. TS → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} T_{pr} \\ T_p \\ T_a \\ T_s \\ T_f \\ T_i \end{array} \right.$

T_{pr} = present.

T_p = past.

T_a = aspect.

T_s = subjunctive.

T_f = future.

T_i = imperative.

One example of each tense is given here in the third person masculine singular.

The T_i, however, occurs only in the second person.

- 1) n>hnu dēhra cald
Boy home goes
'The boy goes home.'
- 2) n>hnu dēhra cali
'The boy went home.'
- 3) n>hnan dēhra caln
'The boy is supposed to go home.'
- 4) n>hnu dēhra calu
'The boy should go home.'
- 5) n>hnu dēhra calalu
'The boy will go home.'
- 6) (tum) dēhra cala
'(You) go home.'

The terms like 'aspect' and 'subjunctive' have been used here in a loose sense in the absence of better terms.

8. AX → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i\bar{a}l \\ d\bar{e} \end{array} \right\}$ in env. V_{tr} - - -
9. AX → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} sak \\ j\bar{a} \\ l\bar{e} \\ i> \end{array} \right\}$

Rules 8-9 introduce the auxiliary verbs which can form compound verb constructions, since they occur after verbs.

$i\bar{a}l$ and $d\bar{e}$ can occur only with transitive verbs. $j\bar{a}$, $l\bar{e}$, $d\bar{e}$, and $i>$ can function as non-auxiliary verbs (i.e., as first or main verbs in the compound verb constructions) whereas sak and $i\bar{a}l$ are always auxiliary verbs. The AX add certain shades of meaning to the basic meaning of the action of the main verb. Thus, sak means 'be able' or 'can'; $i\bar{a}l$ denotes 'accomplishment'; $l\bar{e}$ denotes that the action is for the sake or benefit of the subject; and $d\bar{e}$

denotes that the action is not for the benefit of the subject. Note that $\bar{l}\bar{e}$ and $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ do not occur in the passive, but $\bar{l}\bar{e}$, unlike $\bar{d}\bar{e}$, can occur in a pseudo-passive sentence. The AX $\bar{j}\bar{a}$ denotes that the action is 'slightly unexpected and relatively more recent' than it would be in forms without $\bar{j}\bar{a}$. $i\bar{o}$ denotes 'quicker and more certain completion.' Note that, as shown by the presentation of our rules, two or more of these AX verbs cannot be used in combination. The AX can be considered as modals of a kind. We will not translate AX in our examples.

Ex.

1) $n\bar{s}hnu\ k\bar{a}m\ kar\ \underline{i\bar{a}l\bar{d}}$

Boy work do (ial-T_{pr})

'The boy generally works.'

2) $n\bar{s}hnu\ k\bar{a}m\ kar\ \underline{\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{d}}$

'The boy works for someone.'

3) $n\bar{o}hnu\ k\bar{a}m\ kar\ \underline{\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{d}}$

'The boy works for himself.'

4) $n\bar{s}hnu\ k\bar{a}m\ kar\ \underline{s\bar{a}k\bar{d}}$

'The boy can work' (or 'The boy is able to do work').

5) $n\bar{s}hnu\ k\bar{a}m\ kar\ \underline{i\bar{o}\bar{d}}$

'The boy works (with quicker completion and more certain of completion of the action).'

6) $n\bar{s}hnu\ k\bar{a}m\ kar\ \underline{j\bar{a}\bar{d}}$

'The boy works (with implication of unexpectedness and recentness of the action).'

10. $T_m \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} aj\ 'today,'\ kab\ 'when'\ \text{---} \\ Nom_{T_m} + P_m \end{array} \right\}$

11. $\text{Nom}_{T_m} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{rāt 'night,' cət 'the first Hindu month' ---} \\ \text{mā 'at, in.'} \end{array} \right\}$

12. $P_m \rightarrow \text{mā 'at, in.'}$

Ex.

1) rām rātam sē

Ram (rat- P_m) slept

'Ram slept at night.'

2) ab bagualiō din æ

Now light-festival's day came

'Now the day of light-festival came.'

Here rātam and ab are T_m .

13. $\text{Loc} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{iahkh 'here,' mahtthi 'above' ---} \\ \text{Nom + } P_{\text{Loc}} \end{array} \right\}$

14. $P_{\text{Loc}} \rightarrow \text{par 'on,' ūd 'below,' tahbæ 'toward' ---}$

Ex.

1) rām iahkh sē

'Ram slept here.'

2) $\text{rām thahkula par khād}$

Ram dish on eats

'Ram eats from the dish.'

Here iahkh and thahkula par are Loc .

15. $\text{Man} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{surak 'silently,' mahtmahthu 'slowly' ---} \\ \text{Nom + } P_{\text{Man}} \end{array} \right\}$

16. $P_{\text{Man}} \rightarrow \text{n}$

Ex.

1) rām surak sē

'Ram slept silently.'

2) rām hattan khād

Ram (hatt-n) eats

'Ram eats with his hands.'

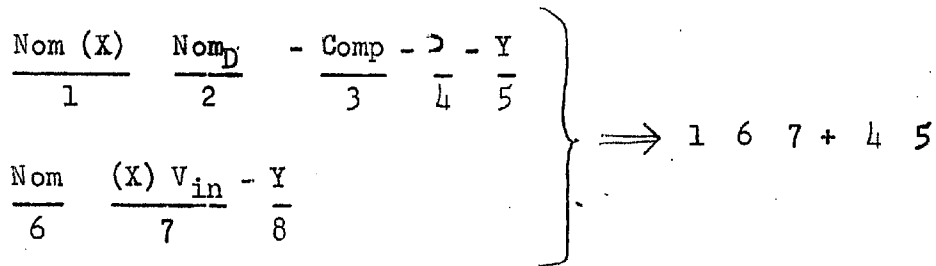
Here surak and hattan are Man.

17. PP → Nom + tæ̃ 'to Nom,' Nom + ku 'for Nom' ---
18. N → mi 'I,' kām 'work,' ciḥṭṭhi 'letter' ---
19. Adj → kālu 'black, dark,' sundar 'beautiful, handsome' ---
20. V_c → ban 'become,' rḥ 'live, remain, keep' ---
21. V_{i1} → rḥ 'live,' dḥ 'run' ---
22. V_{i2} → lag 'attach' ---
23. V_{i3} → bæhṭh 'start, suddenly,' lag 'to begin' ---
24. V_T → dē 'let,' ɔ ('the transitivizing suffix') ---
25. V_p → dē 'give,' pūhch 'ask' ---
26. V_t → kar 'do,' dēhkh 'see' ---

CHAPTER II

TRANSFORMATIONS

Topt 1. Transitivity



Condition: V_{in} jā, rāh, ḍ ---; 6 = 2

This rule has been discussed before. Six replaces 2 (the dummy noun) and V_{in} replaces Comp as shown in the output above. This rule will convert all intransitive verbs (with a few exceptions) into transitives. The morpheme ḍ is added to the intransitive stem. Thus the following intransitive verbs, for example, will form transitives as shown below:

<u>Intransitive</u>	<u>Transitive</u>
cal 'go, move'	calḍ 'move (something)'
lag 'attach, become engaged'	lagḍ 'to attach (something)'
bhāg 'flee away'	bhagḍ 'drive (something) away'
khul 'open'	khōhl 'open'
tut 'break'	tār 'break'
sāhr 'rot'	sahrḍ 'make rotten'
cahr 'climb'	cahrḍ 'climb (something)'
uhṭh 'get up'	uhṭhḍ 'take up'
rō 'cry'	ruḍ 'make cry'

<u>Intransitive</u>		<u>Transitive</u>	
thæhr	'stay'	thæhr>	'stop (something)'
sūhk	'dry'	suhk>	'dry'
lamḍ	'slip'	lamḍ>	'slip (something)'
mar	'die'	mēr	'kill'

Ex.

1) phēr dūi jhaṇa pakora bahnola

Then both persons fritters will-make

'Then both persons will make fritters' (b-13)

has the underlying simple sentence:

2) pakora banla

Fritters will-be-made

'The fritters will be made.'

(Notice that the translation wrongly suggests that 2) is passive.)

3) gūahḷṇ ūh par ḍhuzga calæn

(Villagers-n) them on rocks moved

'The villagers threw rocks on them' (b-49)

has the underlying simple sentence:

4) ū par ḍhuzga calin

'The rocks moved on them.'

5) rām kukur bhagālu

Ram dog will-drive-away

'Ram will drive the dog away'

has the underlying sentence:

6) kukur bhaglu

'The dog will run away.'

- 7) mi nōhna t̃æ siuald̃ō
 I boy to put-to-sleep
 'I put the boy to sleep'

has the underlying sentence:

- 8) nōhnu s̃ēd
 'The boy sleeps.'
- 9) jahnni uēn thākurji uh̃thæn ---
 As-soon-as (he-n) god took-up
 'As soon as he took the god up ---' (c-21)

has the underlying sentence:

- 10) jahnni thākurji uh̃thin ---
 'As soon as the god got up.'
- 11) kihsnun nōhni ghōra mā̃ cahr̃æ
 (Krishna-n) girl horse on mounted
 'Krishna put the girl on the horse'

has the underlying sentence:

- 12) nōhni ghōra mā̃ cōhri
 'The girl rode the horse.'
- 13) mi ab gārī th̃æhr̃ōd̃ō
 I now vehicle stop
 'I stop the vehicle now'

has the underlying sentence:

- 14) gārī ab th̃æhr̃d
 'The vehicle stops now.'

Topt 2. Causativization

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \frac{\text{Nom} - X}{1} \quad \frac{\text{Nom}_D}{2} - \frac{\text{Comp} - \text{D}}{3} - \frac{Y}{4} - \frac{Y}{5} \\
 \frac{\text{Nom}}{6} - \frac{Z - V_{tr}}{7} - \frac{Y}{8}
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \frac{\text{Nom} - X}{1} \\ \frac{\text{Nom}}{6} \end{array}} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 6 \ \overset{\sim}{m\ddot{a}} \ 7 + 4 \ 5$$

Condition: 6 = 2.

This rule also has been discussed previously. Notice that in this rule, V_{tr} will also apply to the transitivized intransitives. This is the reason why Topt 1 precedes Topt 2. Thus, intransitive verbs will be causative only after they have been transitivized. This means that all causatives are transitives in Garhwali.

Ex.

1) $\bar{r}\bar{a}m$ $k\bar{i}h\bar{s}n\bar{u}$ $k\bar{a}m$ $kar\bar{\ddot{o}}d$

Ram (Krishna-ma) work causes-to-do

'Ram makes Krishna work'

has the underlying simple sentence:

2) $k\bar{i}h\bar{s}n\bar{u}$ $k\bar{a}m$ $kard$

'Krishna works.'

3) u $m\bar{i}h$ $\overset{\sim}{m\ddot{a}}$ $ci\ddot{t}\ddot{t}hi$ $lehkh\bar{a}lu$

He (me- $\overset{\sim}{m\ddot{a}}$) letter will-cause-to-write

'He will make me write a letter'

has the underlying simple sentence:

4) mi $ci\ddot{t}\ddot{t}hi$ $lehkhlu$

I letter will-write

'I will write a letter.'

The foregoing sample list of intransitives will now be shown to take the same steps in becoming causatives:

<u>Intransitive</u>		<u>Transitive</u>	<u>Causative</u>
cal	'move, go'	calᵛ	calᵛ
lag	'attach'	lagᵛ	lagᵛ
bhāg	'run'	bhagᵛ	bhagᵛ
khul	'open'	khōhl	khohlᵛ
tut	'break'	tōr	torᵛ
sᵛr	'be rot'	sᵛrᵛ	sᵛrᵛ
cahr	'climb'	cahrᵛ	cahrᵛ
uhth	'get up'	uhthᵛ	uhthᵛ
rō	'cry'	ruuᵛ	ruuᵛ
thæhr	'wait'	thæhrᵛ	thæhrᵛ
sūhk	'be dry'	suhkᵛ	suhkᵛ
lamᵛ	'fall'	lamᵛᵛ	lamᵛᵛ
mor	'die'	mār	marᵛ

Note that many intransitives yield identical derivative forms in the transitive and in the causative, e.g., cal-, calᵛ-, and calᵛᵛ-, respectively.

Ex.

5) p̄her dui jhaṇa rāman pakoṛa baṇᵛla

'Then both persons will have the fritters made by Ram'

has the underlying sentence:

6) rām pakoṛa baṇᵛᵛālu

'Ram will make fritters.'

7) g̃uahl̃ᵛn rāman ḍhugga calᵛᵛn

'The villagers made Ram throw rocks'

has the underlying sentence:

8) $\bar{r}aman \text{ } \dot{d}hugga \text{ } cal\bar{a}n$

'Ram threw rocks'

and 8) has the underlying sentence:

9) $\dot{d}hugga \text{ } calin$

'The rocks moved.'

10) $n\bar{a}hni \text{ } n\bar{a} \text{ } hnam \text{ } du\bar{a}r \text{ } khohl\bar{a}li$

Girl (n hnu-ma) door will-cause-to-open

'The girl will have the door opened by boy'

has the underlying sentence:

11) $n\bar{a}hnu \text{ } du\bar{a}r \text{ } khohl\bar{l}u$

'The boy will open the door'

which has the underlying sentence:

12) $du\bar{a}r \text{ } khullu$

'The door will open.'

Topt 3. Passive

$$\frac{\text{Nom}}{1} \quad \frac{(X)}{2} \quad \frac{V}{3} - \frac{Y}{4} \implies 1 + se \quad 2 \quad 3 + PS \quad 4$$

Condition: V = any verb except $h\bar{o}_2$

Y \neq $i\bar{a}l$, $l\bar{e}$, $d\bar{e}$, $h\bar{o}_2$

(V hereafter will stand for the class of verbs specified here unless otherwise noted.)

Passives are formed by this rule. The postposition se is added to the Nom and the suffix eh is added to the V. Since V stands for intransitive verbs also, we have an intransitive passive also. Similarly, the morpheme in Topt 1 is also a V_T which will also go under Topt 2.

Ex.

- 1) rām kām karlu
 Ram work will-do
 'Ram will work'

can be transformed to:

- 2) rām se kām karēhlu
 Ram by work will-be-done
 'The work will be done by Ram.'
- 3) kihsnu ciṭṭhi lekhḥd
 'Krishna writes a letter'

has the passive:

- 4) kihsnu se ciṭṭhi lekhēḥd
 'The letter is written by Krishna.'
- 5) rām dēhra jāḥd
 'Ram goes home'

has the passive:

- 6) rām se dēhra jāiēḥd
 Ram by home will-be-gone
 'Ram manages to go home' (or 'Ram is able to go home').
- 7) kukur ni bhāgi
 Dog not run-away
 'The dog did not run away'

has the passive:

- 8) kukur se ni bhagēḥ
 'The dog could not manage to run away.'

(Notice that the passive translation of intransitive verbs cannot be simply rendered in English.)

9) rām gāri calōd

'Ram drives the vehicle'

has the passive:

10) rām se gāri calaiēhd

'The vehicle is driven by Ram.'

Notice that ho₂ cannot take the passive transform. Thus,

11) rām rāja ca

'Ram becomes king'

cannot be made passive.

12) rāman kām kari ch>

'Ram had done work'

has the passive:

13) rām se kām karēh ch>

'The work had been done by Ram.'

Notice that the only auxiliary verbs allowed in passive verb combinations are jā and sak.

We are concerned with the passive because some of the auxiliary verbs (jā and sak) can occur whereas other auxiliaries can not. There are pseudo-passive transforms which we mentioned in the first chapter, and they differ from the true passives to which the rule given above applies. A few examples of pseudo-passive transforms are given below.

14) mī se kām banlu

Me by work will-be-made

'The work will be performed by me'

is a transform of:

- 15) mi kām bahṅlu
 I work will-make
 'I will perform the work.'

- 16) rām se dukān cal sakd
 Ram by shop go can
 'The shop can be run by Ram'

is a transform of:

- 17) rām dukān cal sakd
 'Ram can run the shop.'
- 18) uē se gāri ni rukd
 Him by vehicle not stops
 'He is not able to stop the vehicle.'
 (lit. 'The vehicle is not stopped by him.')

is derived from:

- 19) u gāri ni rokd
 He vehicle not stops
 'He does not stop the vehicle.'

(All the passives and pseudo-passives express the 'ability' of the subject, and are mostly used with the negative. We will not offer any further discussion of this, or of negatives in general here.) Note that by the order of the rules as given here, all the causatives can be passivized, but once a causative is transformed into passive, no further causativization rules apply.

Thus,

- 20) rām kihsnum kām karālu
 'Ram will cause Krishna to do work'

can be passivized as:

21) rām se kihsnum kām karaēhlu

'Krishna will be made to work by Ram'

and now 21) cannot be causativized further. Similarly,

22) mi uēhm gāri ni calṣṣdṣ

I (he-m) cart not cause-to-drive

'I do not cause him to drive the cart'

is passivized as:

23) mīh se uēhm gāri ni calaēhd

By an ellipsis transformation the logical subject can be dropped and then such sentences as the following sentence which results from the operation of ellipsis rules will be ambiguous:

24) gāri ni cald

can be understood either as:

25a) gāri ni cald

'The vehicle does not move'

or:

25b) gāri ni cald

'The vehicle cannot be moved'

which is an elliptical transform of:

26) mī se gāri ni cald

'The vehicle cannot be moved by me'

and 22) is a transform of:

27) mi gāri ni calṣṣdṣ

'I do not move the vehicle.'

The pseudo-passives are not directly relevant here since they behave like intransitives in the active in regard to auxiliary verb restrictions. Thus, for example, if we have:

28) rām cal lēd

we can have

29) rām se dukān cal lēd

whereas lē cannot occur as a (true) passive. Thus we cannot say:

30) * rām se dukān calaiēh lēd

Topt 4. The passive of the auxiliary jā

$$\frac{\text{Nom} + \text{se} (X) \text{ V} + \text{PS}}{1} - \frac{\text{jā}}{2} - \frac{Y}{3} \implies 1 \ 2 \ + \ \text{PS} \ 3$$

The auxiliary jā also 'agrees in passivity.' Thus

1) rām se kām karēh jālu

can be translated as, 'The work will be done by Ram.'

2) rām se kām karēh jaiēhlu

'The work will be done by Ram.'

Sentences 1) and 2) are identical in meaning and rām se kām karēh jālu is a transform of:

3) rām kām kar jālu

'Ram will do the work (somewhat unexpectedly, etc.).'

4) kukur se ni bhagēh jād

'The dog is unable to run away'

can have the transform

5) kukur se ni bhagēh jaiēd

and 4) has the active:

6) kukur bhāg jād

'The dog runs away.'

Tob 1. The passive of the auxiliary sak

$$\frac{\text{Nom} + \text{se} (X) \text{ V} + \text{PS}}{1} - \frac{\text{sak}}{2} - \frac{Y}{3} \implies 1 \ 2 \ + \ \text{PS} \ 3$$

The auxiliary verb sak 'can, be able' obligatorily 'agrees in passivity.' Thus,

1) * rām se kām karēh saklu

has to be transformed to:

2) rām se kām karēh sakēhlu

'It will be possible for (the) work to be done by Ram'

and 1) has the active as:

3) rām kām kar saklu

'Ram will be able to do (the) work'

or 'Ram will be able to do (the) work.'

4) * kukur se ni bhagēh sakd

is wrong and has to be transformed to:

5) kukur se ni bhagēh sakēhd

and the active of 5) is:

6) kukur ni bhāg sakd

'The dog can not run away.'

Tab 2. Replacement of jā by cal

$$\frac{X}{1} - \frac{j\bar{a}}{2} - \frac{j\bar{a} - Y}{3} \Rightarrow 1 \text{ cal } 3$$

This rule replaces the first verb jā 'go' by cal 'go, move' if the auxiliary verb jā occurs after it. Thus,

1) * rām dēhra jae jālu

has to be transformed to

2) rām dēhra cal jālu

Ram home will go (jā-T_F)

'Ram will go home.'

Topt 5. Adjective adjunction

$$\left. \begin{array}{ccc} \text{Nom} & (X) & V_{in} - Y \\ \hline 1 & 2 & 3 \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 5 + 3 \\
 \left. \begin{array}{ccc} \text{Nom} - \text{Adj} - h\bar{o}_2 - Y \\ \hline 4 & 5 & 6 \end{array} \right\}$$

Condition: $1 = 4$

This rule incorporates adjectives into the class of intransitive verbs. Thus we have

Ex.

- 1) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{rām dēhra } \tilde{j}\tilde{a}d \\ \text{ram bhūku ca} \\ \text{'Ram is hungry.'} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \begin{array}{l} \text{rām dēhra bhūku } \tilde{j}\tilde{a}d \\ \text{'Ram goes home hungry.'} \end{array}$
- 2) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kukur bhāgi} \\ \text{'The dog ran away.'} \\ \text{kukur nahkhru ca} \\ \text{'The dog is bad.'} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \begin{array}{l} \text{kukur nahkhru bhāgi} \\ \text{'The dog ran away bad.'} \end{array}$

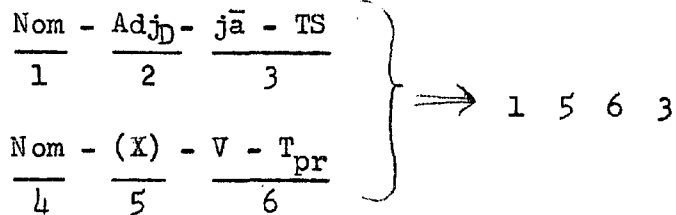
Note that this is a special case of a more general kind of complement. Thus, we can have sentences (which would be covered by general complement rules in a more detailed grammar) such as:

- 3) $\begin{array}{l} \text{kukur bhukdu bhāgi} \\ \text{dog barking ran away} \\ \text{'The dog ran away barking.'} \end{array}$
- 4) $\begin{array}{l} \text{rām dēhra halla macōdu } \tilde{j}\tilde{a}d \\ \text{Ram home noise making goes} \\ \text{'Ram goes home making noise.'} \end{array}$

and so on.

We need Topt 4 to form certain compound verb constructions with the verba $\tilde{j}\bar{a}$. We will not discuss further the general complement rule(s) since they are not relevant for our purpose.

Topt 6. Verbal adjectivalization with $\tilde{j}\bar{a}$



Condition: 1 = 4; 6 replaces 2.

We have already mentioned in the Introduction that our analysis must be able to explain why certain tenses behave like adjectives. These tense morphemes, when they occur in non-terminal position, mark only gender-number features like adjectives. Thus,

1) $n\bar{o}hnu \tilde{d}\bar{e}hra \tilde{j}\bar{a}d$

Boy home goes

'The boy goes home.'

2) $mi \tilde{d}\bar{e}hra \tilde{j}\bar{a}d\tilde{\bar{a}}$

'I go home.'

Here $\tilde{j}\bar{a}d$ and $\tilde{j}\bar{a}d\tilde{\bar{a}}$ are present tense forms in the singular for third and first persons. These are in sentence-final position. But if these forms occur non-finally, then they do not select person, and their meaning is different. To account for these differences, we consider such formal and semantic changes as transformationally derived. The above-mentioned rule adjectivalizes the verb stem plus T_{pr} (present tense) before the verb $\tilde{j}\bar{a}$.

Ex.

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 1) n>hnu-Adj-jālu
n>hnu kām kard
'The boy does work.' | } | ⇒ | n>hnu kām kardū jālu
Boy work doing will-go
'The boy will go on doing work.' |
| 2) n>hni-Adj-jāli
n>hni kām kard
'The girl does work.' | } | ⇒ | n>hni kām kardi jāli
'The girl will go on doing work.' |
| 3) mi-Adj-j>lu
mi kām kard> | } | ⇒ | mi kām kardū j>lu
'I will go on doing work.' |

Similarly,

- 4) n>hna kām karda jāla
 'The boys will go on doing work.'

But not:

- 5) * n>hni kām kard jāli
 6) * mi kām kard> j>lu
 7) * n>hna kām kardan jāla
 8) * n>hnu kām kard jālu

Topt 7. Verbal adjectivalization with $h\bar{o}_2$, r>h

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \frac{\text{Nom}}{1} - \frac{\text{Adj}_D}{2} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} h\bar{o}_2-W \\ r>h-TS \end{array} \right\} / 3 \\
 \frac{\text{Nom}}{4} - \frac{(X)}{5} - \frac{V}{6} - \frac{(Y) Z}{6}
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \frac{\text{Nom}}{1} - \frac{\text{Adj}_D}{2} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} h\bar{o}_2-W \\ r>h-TS \end{array} \right\} / 3 \\ \frac{\text{Nom}}{4} - \frac{(X)}{5} - \frac{V}{6} - \frac{(Y) Z}{6} } \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 5 \ 6 \ 3$$

Condition: 1 = 4

W = T_f, T_sZ = T_{pr}, T_p, T_a

6 replaces 2.

Ex.

1) $\left. \begin{array}{l} n\text{ḥ}nu\text{-Adj-holu} \\ n\text{ḥ}nu\text{ kam kard} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow n\text{ḥ}nu\text{ kām kardu holu}$
 Boy work doing will-be
 'The boy { will } be doing work.'
 { might }

2) $\left. \begin{array}{l} n\text{ḥ}nu\text{-Adj-ch}\text{ḥ} \\ n\text{ḥ}nu\text{ kām kard} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow n\text{ḥ}nu\text{ kām kardu ch}\text{ḥ}$
 'The boy used to do work.'

3) $n\text{ḥ}ni\text{ kām kardī holi}$ 4) $n\text{ḥ}na\text{ kām kardā hola}$ 5) $n\text{ḥ}na\text{ kām kardā chā}$ 6) $n\text{ḥ}ni\text{ kām kardī chḗ}$

But not:

7) * $n\text{ḥ}nu\text{ kām kard holu}$

and so on.

Since the symbols like Y, which are left unspecified in this rule, will include other possible constituents, such as the auxiliary verbs sak, dē, iāl, lē, we can also adjectivalize them, e.g.,

8) $\left. \begin{array}{l} n\text{ḥ}nu\text{-Adj-ch}\text{ḥ} \\ n\text{ḥ}nu\text{ kām kar sakd} \\ \text{'The boy is able to do work.'} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow n\text{ḥ}nu\text{ kām kar sakdu ch}\text{ḥ}$
 'The boy used to be able to do work.'

Similarly:

9) $n\text{ḥ}ni\text{ kām kar sakdī chḗ}$ 10) $n\text{ḥ}na\text{ kām kar sakdā chā}$ 11) $n\text{ḥ}nu\text{ kām kar sakdu holu}$

12) nɔhni kām kar sakdi holi

and so on. But not:

13) * nɔhni kām kar sakd chɔ

14) * nɔhna kām kar sakdan chā

15) * mi kām kar sakd̃ ch̃

and so on.

Similarly, we can have the same kinds of bare sentences with the other auxiliary verbs, e.g.,

16) nɔhnu-Adj-chɔ

nɔhnu kām kar dēd

'The boy does work (for
someone's sake).'

nɔhnu kām kar dēdu chɔ

'The boy used to do work (for
someone else's sake).'

Similarly,

17) nɔhnu kām kar dēdu holu

18) nɔhnu kām kar dēdu ca

19) nɔhni kām kar dēdi ca

and so on.

The symbol Y in this rule also covers the V-T_{pr}-jā-TS output of the preceding rule, which converts the following two sentences as below:

20) nɔhnu-Adj-chɔ

nɔhnu kām kardu jād

nɔhnu kām kardu jādu chɔ

'The boy used to go on doing work.'

and

nɔhnu kām kardu jā

'The boy goes on doing work'

is the output of the preceding rule.

Now some examples are given below with the verb r h:

- 21) n>hnu-Adj-rāhlu }
 n>hnu kām kard } → n>hnu kām kardu rāhlu
 Boy work doing will-live
 'The boy will keep on doing work.'

Similarly,

- 22) n>hni kām kardi rāhli
 'The girl will keep on doing work.'
 23) n>hnu kām kardu ræh
 'The boy kept on doing work.'
 24) n>hna kām karda ræhn
 'The boys kept on doing work'

and so on. But not

- 25) * n>hnu kām kard rāhlu
 26) *n>hni kām kard rāhli
 27) * n>hna kām kardan rāhla

and so on.

Like 20) before we can have the following:

- 28) n>hnu-Adj-rāhlu }
 n>hnu kām kardū jād } → n hnu kām kardū jādu rāhlu
 Boy work doing going will-live
 'The boy keeps doing work.'

Similarly,

- 29) n>hnu kām kardū jādu ræh
 30) n>hna kām karda jāda ræhn
 31) n>hni kām kardi jādi ræhn

But not:

- 32) * n>hnu kām kard jād ræh

33) * nɔ̃hna kām karda jādān ræhn

and so on.

Topt 8. Adjunction of R

$$\begin{array}{c} X \\ \hline 1 \end{array} - \begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} T_p \\ T_a \end{array} \right\} \\ \hline 2 \end{array} - \begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} h\bar{o}_2 \\ rɔ̃h \end{array} \right\} \\ \hline 3 \end{array} - Y \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 + R \quad 3$$

R = a suffix (denoting relative recentness as compared in the forms lacking R of the main verb).

This rule adds R to the T_p before $rɔ̃h$ and $h\bar{o}_2$. Thus,

1) nɔ̃hnan kām kari chɔ

(Boy-n) work done was

'The boy had done work'

can be transformed into:

2) nɔ̃hnɔ̃ kām kahriū chɔ

(nɔ̃hn-ɔ̃) work done (-recently) was

'The boy did work (recently)'

(or 'The boy had the work done (recently),')

3) nɔ̃hnan kām kari rahkhi

(Boy-n) work done kept

'The boy continued to have the work done'

can be transformed into:

4) nɔ̃hnɔ̃ kām kahriū ræh

(Boy-ɔ̃) work done (-recently)

'The boy kept the work done (i.e., in a finished state) (recently).'

The obligatory occurrence of the postpositions n and ɔ̃ in the env. of transitive verb will be explained by Tob rules later.

Topt 9. Verbal Adjectivalization $h\bar{o}_2$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nom} - \text{Adj} - h\bar{o}_2 - \text{TS} \\ \hline 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \\ \text{Nom} - \text{X} - r\bar{o}h - T_p \\ \hline 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 5 \ 6 \ 3$$

Condition: $1 = 4$.

Ex.

- 1) $n\bar{o}hnu - \text{Adj} - \text{holu}$
 $n\bar{o}hn\bar{o} \ k\bar{a}m \ kahri\bar{u} \ r\bar{a}h \ holu$ } $\Rightarrow n\bar{o}hn\bar{o} \ k\bar{a}m \ kahri\bar{u} \ r\bar{a}h \ holu$
 'The boy might have kept the work done.'
- 2) $n\bar{o}hna - \text{Adj} - \text{ch}\bar{a}$
 $n\bar{o}hna \ k\bar{a}m \ kar \ j\bar{a}da \ r\bar{a}h \ ch\bar{a}$ } $\Rightarrow n\bar{o}hna \ k\bar{a}m \ kar \ j\bar{a}da \ r\bar{a}h \ ch\bar{a}$
 'The boys used to keep the work done.'
- 3) $mi - \text{Adj} - \text{ch}\bar{o}$
 $mi \ k\bar{a}m \ kar \ sakdu \ r\bar{a}h \ ch\bar{o}$ } $\Rightarrow mi \ k\bar{a}m \ kar \ sakdu \ r\bar{a}h \ ch\bar{o}$
 'I used to be able to keep doing work.'

Topt 10. Verbal adjectivalization with por

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nom} - \text{Adj} - \text{por} - Y \\ \hline 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \\ \text{Nom} - (\text{X}) - \text{VP} - T_a \\ \hline 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 5 \ 6 \ 3$$

Condition: $Y \neq \left. \begin{array}{l} T_p \\ T_s \\ T_f \end{array} \right\}, l\bar{e}$
 $1 = 4$

In this rule 6 replaces 2.

Ex.

- 1) $n\bar{o}hnu \text{ Adj } \text{por}$
 $n\bar{o}hnan \ k\bar{a}m \ karn$ } $\Rightarrow n\bar{o}hna \ t\bar{a} \ k\bar{a}m \ karn \ \text{por}$
 (Boy-to) work kar- T_a falls
 'The boy is supposed to do work.'
 'The boy has to do work.'

Topt 9. Verbal Adjectivalization $h\bar{o}_2$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nom} - \text{Adj} - \text{h}\bar{o}_2 - \text{TS} \\ \frac{1}{1} \quad \frac{2}{2} \quad \frac{3}{3} \\ \text{Nom} - \text{X} - \text{r}\bar{a}h - \text{T}_p \\ \frac{4}{4} \quad \frac{5}{5} \quad \frac{6}{6} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 5 \ 6 \ 3$$

Condition: $1 = 4$.

Ex.

- 1) $n\bar{a}hnu - \text{Adj} - \text{holu}$
 $n\bar{a}hn\bar{a} \text{ k}\bar{a}m \text{ kahri}\bar{u} \text{ r}\bar{a}h$ } $\Rightarrow n\bar{a}hn\bar{a} \text{ k}\bar{a}m \text{ kahri}\bar{u} \text{ r}\bar{a}h \text{ holu}$
 'The boy might have kept the work done.'
- 2) $n\bar{a}hna - \text{Adj} - \text{ch}\bar{a}$
 $n\bar{a}hna \text{ k}\bar{a}m \text{ kar j}\bar{a}da \text{ r}\bar{a}h$ } $\Rightarrow n\bar{a}hna \text{ k}\bar{a}m \text{ kar j}\bar{a}da \text{ r}\bar{a}h \text{ ch}\bar{a}$
 'The boys used to keep the work done.'
- 3) $mi - \text{Adj} - \text{ch}\bar{a}$
 $mi \text{ k}\bar{a}m \text{ kar sakdu rahi}\bar{a}$ } $\Rightarrow mi \text{ k}\bar{a}m \text{ kar sakdu r}\bar{a}h \text{ ch}\bar{a}$
 'I used to be able to keep doing work.'

Topt 10. Verbal adjectivalization with por

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nom} - \text{Adj} - \text{por} - \text{Y} \\ \frac{1}{1} \quad \frac{2}{2} \quad \frac{3}{3} \\ \text{Nom} - (\text{X}) - \text{VP} - \text{T}_a \\ \frac{4}{4} \quad \frac{5}{5} \quad \frac{6}{6} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \ 5 \ 6 \ 3$$

Condition: $Y \neq \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{T}_p \\ \text{T}_s \\ \text{T}_f \end{array} \right\}, \text{ l}\bar{e}$
 $1 = 4$

In this rule 6 replaces 2.

Ex.

- 1) $n\bar{a}hnu \text{ Adj } \text{por}\bar{d}$
 $n\bar{a}hnan \text{ k}\bar{a}m \text{ karn}$ } $\Rightarrow n\bar{a}hna \text{ t}\bar{a} \text{ k}\bar{a}m \text{ karn } \text{por}\bar{d}$
 (Boy-to) work kar- T_a falls
 'The boy is supposed to do work.'
 'The boy has to do work.'

Similarly,

3) $n\text{ohna } t\tilde{\text{e}} \text{ k\bar{a}m karn por\text{d}a r\bar{a}hla$

'The boy might have to keep on doing work (habitually).'

4) $n\text{ohna } t\tilde{\text{e}} \text{ k\bar{a}m karna por\text{r} sakdan$

'The boy may have to be able to do work'

and so on.

Notice that 3) and 4) are generated by keeping to the order of the previous rules, and thereby all possible combinations will be generated but, because of the condition imposed upon the symbol Y not

5) * $n\text{ohna } t\tilde{\text{e}} \text{ k\bar{a}m: karnu por\text{r} saklu$

6) * $n\text{ohna } t\tilde{\text{e}} \text{ k\bar{a}m karnu por\text{r} l\bar{e}lu$

However, 7) is generated, and is found in Garhwali

7) $n\text{ohna } t\tilde{\text{e}} \text{ k\bar{a}m. karna por\text{r} sakdan$

Notice that T_a requires obligatorily the postposition -n after the logical subject. But, in the case of por, n is replaced obligatorily by $t\tilde{\text{e}}$. These changes will be accounted for later. The meaning of por is literally 'lie, fall, befall,' but in the output sentences of this rule it means that the main action (of the first verb) is 'forced' or 'coerced.'

Topt 11. Complement with $d\bar{e}$

$\frac{\text{Nom}}{1}$	$-\frac{\text{Nom}_D}{2}$	$-\frac{\text{Comp}}{3}$	$-\frac{d\bar{e}}{4}$	$-X$	}	\Rightarrow	1	5	$t\tilde{\text{e}}$	6	+ n	4
$\frac{\text{Nom}}{5}$	$-(Y)$	$-\frac{V}{6}$	$-(Ax)$	$-\frac{TS}{7}$								

Condition: 5 = 2.

In this rule, 5 replaces 2. This rule gives the 'let' construction.

Ex.

- 1) rām kihsnu tæ̃ dēhra jān dēd
 Ram Krishna to home to-go lets
 'Ram lets Krishna go home'

has the underlying simple sentence

- 2) kihsnu dēhra jād
 'Krishna goes home.'
- 3) nōhnu mīh tæ̃ kām kar sakṇ dēlu
 Boy me to work do to-be-able will-let
 'The boy will let me be able to do work.'

This is formulated as:

nōhnu - Nom_D - Comp - dē - T_f

mi kām kar saklu

I work do will-be-able

'I will be able to do work.'

nōhnu mīh tæ̃ kām kar sakṇ dēlu

Topt 12. Complements with lag, bæhth

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{Nom} - \text{Comp} - \left. \begin{array}{c} \text{lag} \\ \text{bæhth} \end{array} \right\} - X \\
 \hline
 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \\
 \\
 \text{Nom} - (Y) - V - Z \\
 \hline
 4 \quad 5 \quad 6
 \end{array}
 \Rightarrow 1 \ 5 + n \ 3$$

Condition: 1 = 4.

This rule gives the complements of lag 'begin' and b hth 'start (with suddenness)'. Note that both lag and bæhth are V₁₃ verbs which require complements. Here the subjects of both the sentences must be the same (which condition does not apply in Topt 10).

Ex.

1) rām - Comp - lag - T_f }
 rām dēhra 3d } ⇒
 'Ram comes home.'

rām dēhra ɔn laglu

Ram home to-come will-begin

'Ram will begin to come.'

2) nɔhnu - Comp - lag - T_p }
 nɔhnu kām karlu } ⇒
 'The boy will do work.'

nɔhnu kām karn lagi

'The boy began to do work.'

Tab 4. Adjunction of the postposition n

Nom - (X) - V - { T_p } - Y
 1 2 3 ⇒ 1 + n 2 3

Condition: V = V_{tr} in the env. T_p

Y ≠ the Ax jā in the env. V_{tr}

Y ≠ R

X ≠ se, tǎ

This rule states that if V is followed by T_p or T_a the Nom (i.e., the logical subject) takes the postposition n.

Ex.

1) nɔhnan kām kari

(Boy-n) work did

'The boy did work'

but not:

- 2) * n>hnu kām kari
- 3) n>hn̄n̄ kām kari
(Boys-n) work did
'The boys did work'

but not:

- 4) * n>hna kām kari
- 5) * n>hna kām karin

Similarly,

- 6) n>hnan kām kari holu
(n>hnu-n) work (kar-T_p) will-be
'The boy must have done work.'
- 7) n>hnan kām kar saki holu

but not:

- 8) * n>hnan kām kar gæ holu
(jā-T_p)

since jā is Ax.

- 9) n>hnan kām karn
'The boy is supposed to do work.'
- 10) n>hnan kām karn holu
- 11) n>hnan kām karn ræ holu
- 12) n>hnan kām kar sakṇ ræ holu
- 13) n>hnan kām kar ialn

but not:

- 14) * n>hnan kām kahrnū ca

since kahrnū is kar-T_a-R.

Tob 5. Adjunction of the postposition >

$$\frac{\text{Nom} - (X) - \text{V}_{\text{tr}} - \text{T}_p - \text{R} - \text{Y}}{\begin{array}{cccc} 1 & 2 & & 5 \end{array}} \Rightarrow 1 + \text{>} \quad 2 \quad 3$$

Condition: $X \neq$ any postposition.

This rule adds the postposition > to the Nom (the logical subject) if the V_{tr} is followed by T_p -R.

Ex.

- 1) n>hn> kām kahriū ca
 (Boy->) (kar- T_p -R)
 'The boy has done work.'

but not:

- 2) * n>hnu kām kahriū ca

However, in the case of intransitive verbs, > cannot be added. Thus,

- 3) n>hnu dēhra jahiū ca
 (jā- T_p -R)
- 4) n>hnu iakh b>h̄thiū holu
 (b>h̄th- T_p -R)
- 5) n>hna bhagiā r>e hola
 (Boys) (bhag- T_p -R)

and so on.

Topt 13. Complement with p>

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \frac{\text{Nom} - \text{Comp} - \text{p>} - (X) - \text{TS}}{\begin{array}{cccc} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{array}} \\ \frac{\text{Nom} - (Y) - \text{V} - \text{TS}}{\begin{array}{ccc} 5 & 6 & 7 \end{array}} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow 1 \quad 6 + \text{p>} \quad 3 \quad 7$$

Condition: $1 = 5, 4 = 7.$

$X \neq \text{AX}.$

This rule gives the complement of the verb $p\text{>}$ 'manage (to).' Notice that this rule must come after Tob 4 and 5 so that if the V is transitive and X is T_p (past), the second Nom might be followed by the postposition -n (by Tob 4) which remains in the output. Thus,

- 1) $r\bar{a}m - \text{Comp} - p\text{>} - T_p$ } \Rightarrow
 $r\bar{a}m\bar{a}n\ k\bar{a}m\ ni\ kari$
 (Ram-n) work not did
 'Ram did not work.'
- $r\bar{a}m\bar{a}n\ k\bar{a}m\ ni\ karn\ p\bar{a}e$
 Ram work not to-do managed
 'Ram did not manage to work.'

(The postposition -n is included in Y in the rule.) On the other hand, if the V is intransitive in the second sentence, the postposition -n cannot occur even if there is T_p . Thus,

- 2) $r\bar{a}m - \text{Comp} - p\text{>} - T_p$ } \Rightarrow
 $r\bar{a}m\ d\bar{e}h\bar{r}a\ ni\ cali$
 Ram home not went
 'Ram did not go home.'
- $r\bar{a}m\ d\bar{e}h\bar{r}a\ ni\ caln\ p\bar{a}e$
 Ram home not to-go managed
 'Ram did not manage to go home.'

The verb $p\text{>}$ belongs to V_{13} . However, it is different from lag and $b\bar{a}e\bar{h}t\bar{h}$ in that lag and $b\bar{a}e\bar{h}t\bar{h}$ do not allow the postpositions of Tob 4 and 5. Thus,

- 3) $r\bar{a}m\ k\bar{a}m\ karn\ lagi$
 'Ram began to do work.'

But not

4) * rāman kām karn lagi

Notice also that we cannot have:

5) * rām kām ni karn pæ saki

since sak 'be able' is an AX excluded in this rule. But we can have:

6) rāman kām ni karn pæ holu

'Ram must not have managed to do work.'

Tab 7. Adjunction of the oblique case ending

$$\frac{(X)}{1} - \frac{\text{Nom}}{2} - \frac{P}{3} - \frac{Y}{4} \implies 1 \ 2 \ + \ 0 \ 3 \ 4$$

P = any postposition.

0 = oblique case.

This rule adds oblique case ending to a noun which is followed by postposition.

Ex.

1) n>hn̄n̄ n>hni dēkhki

(Boys-n) girl saw

'The boys saw the girl.'

Here n>hn̄ is in the oblique case since it is followed by the postposition n.

2) n>hna n>hni dekhkdan

Boys girl see

'The boys see the girl.'

Here n hna does not take the oblique case morpheme since there is no postposition after it.

3) n>hnu dāhḷa t̄æ dekhkd

'The boy sees the tree.'

Here ڏاھڻا is in the oblique case since it is followed by the postposition تڙ. But:

4) نڙھڻو ڏاھڻو ڏيکھڻو

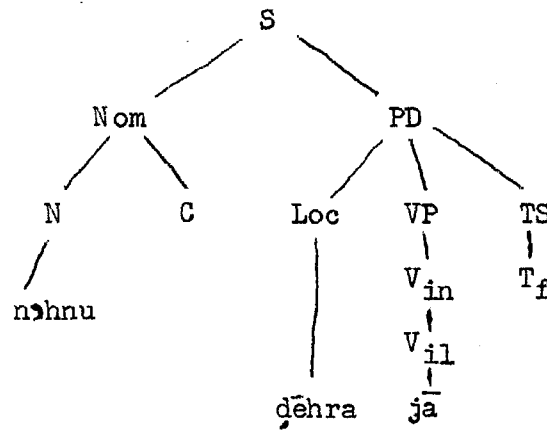
'The boy sees the tree.'

Here ڏاھڻو is not in the oblique because no postposition occurs after it.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF SOME SENTENCES IN TERMS OF THE RULES

1. nḥnu dēhra jālu
 boy home goes
 'The boy goes home.'



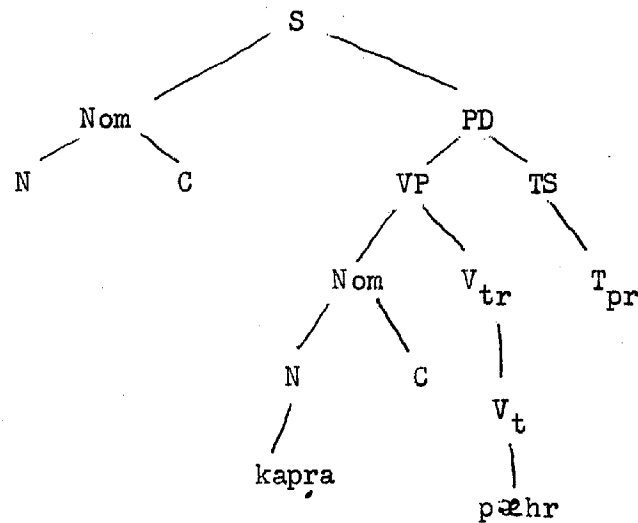
Following rules correspond to the above phrase marker:

S	Rules
Nom + PD	(1)
Nom + Loc + VP + TS	(2)
Nom + Loc + V _{in} + TS	(3)
N + C + Loc + V _{in} + TS	(4)
N + C + Loc + V _{il} + TS	(6)
N + C + Loc + V _{il} + T _f	(7)
N + C + dēhra + V _{il} + T _f	(13)
nḥnu + C + dēhra + V _{il} + T _f	(18)
nḥnu + C + dēhra + jā + T _f	(21)

2. rām kapra pæhrd

Ram clothes wears

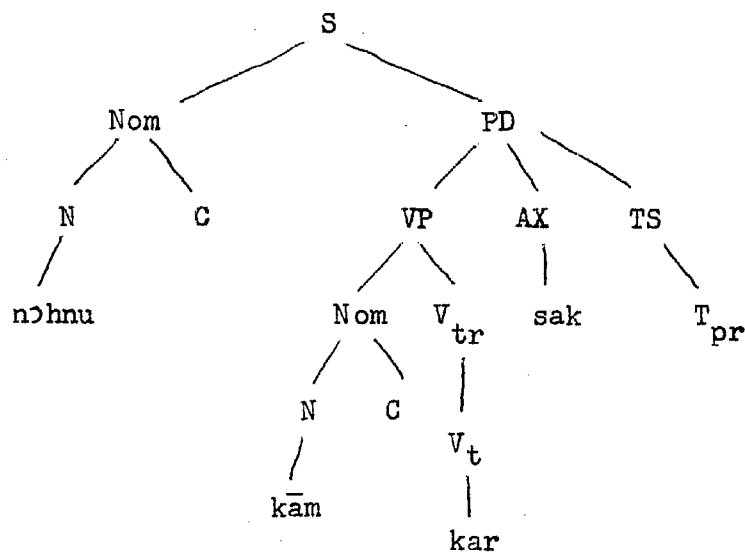
'Ram wears clothes.'



Following rules correspond to the above phrase-marker:

S	Rules
Nom + PD.	(1)
Nom + VP + TS	(2)
Nom + Nom + V _{tr} + TS	(3)
N + C + Nom + V _{tr} + TS	(4)
N + C + Nom + V _t + TS	(5)
N + C + Nom + V _t + T _{pr}	(7)
rām + C + Nom + V _t + T _{pr}	(18)
rām + C + Nom + pæhr + T _{pr}	(26)
rām + C + N + C + pæhr + T _{pr}	(4)
rām + C + kapra + C + pæhr + T _{pr}	(18)

3. nɔ̃hnu kām kar sakd
 boy work do is-able
 'The boy can do work.'



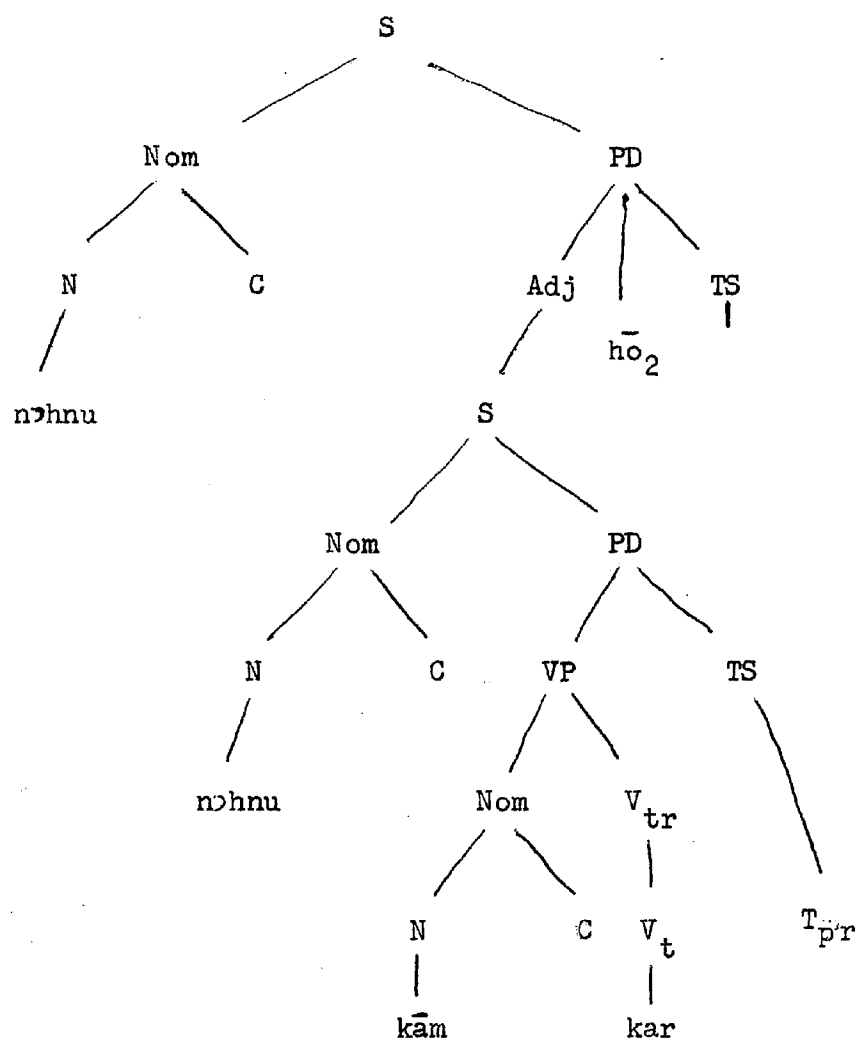
Following set of rules correspond to the above phrase-marker:

S	Rules
Nom + PD	(1)
Nom + VP + AX + TS	(2)
Nom + Nom + V _{tr} + AX + TS	(3)
N + C + Nom + V _{tr} + AX + TS	(4)
N + C + Nom + V _t + AX + TS	(5)
N + C + Nom + V _t + AX + T _{pr}	(7)
N + C + Nom + V _t + sak + T _{pr}	(9)
nɔ̃hnu + C + Nom + V _t + sak + T _{pr}	(18)
nɔ̃hnu + C + Nom + kar + sak + T _{pr}	(26)
nɔ̃hnu + C + N + C + kar + sak + T _{pr}	(4)
nɔ̃hnu + C + kām + C + kar + sak + T _{pr}	(18)

4. n̄hnu kām kardū holu

Boy work doing will-be

'The boy will be doing work.' (See Topt 7.)

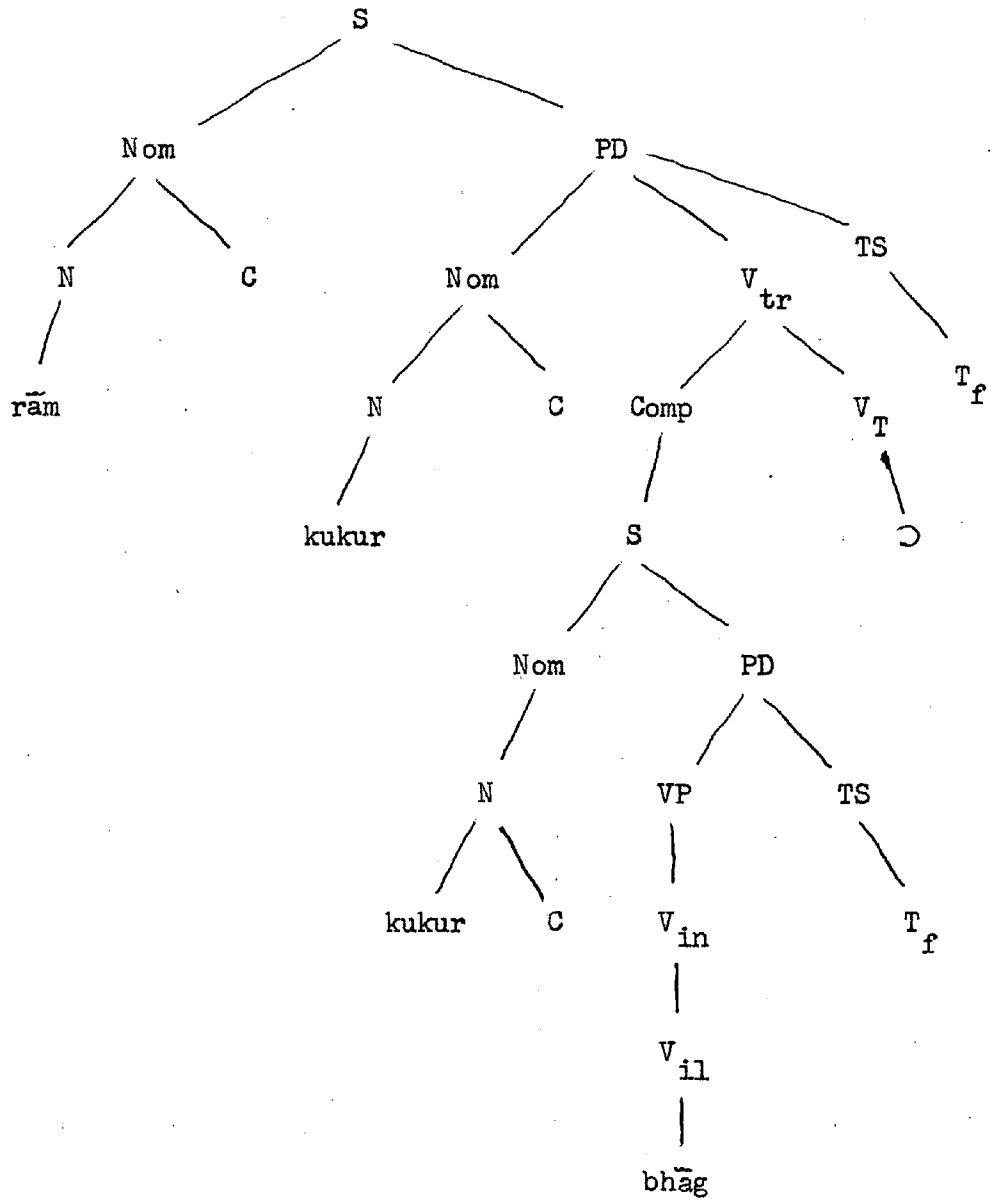


The above phrase-marker yields the sentence n̄hnu n̄hnu kām kardū holu. Topt 7 will automatically delete the second n̄hnu.

5. rām kukur bhagālu

Ram dog will-make-run-away

'Ram will drive the dog away.' (See Topt 1.)



This phrase-marker yields 'ram kukur kukur bhagalu.' Topt 1 will automatically delete the second kukur.

6. malehtha pæhli bhət garīb g̃ō ch> (a-1)
 Maletha first very poor village was
 'Previously Maletha was a very poor village.'

<u>Malehtha</u>	<u>pæhli</u>	<u>bhət garīb</u>	<u>g̃ō</u>	<u>ch></u>
Nom	T _m	Nom		hō ₂ -T _p

This sentence is derived from two sentences:

1.	<u>malehtha</u>	<u>pæhli</u>	<u>g̃ō</u>	<u>ch></u>
	Nom	T _m	Nom	hō ₂ -T _p

'Previously Maletha was a village.'

2.	<u>g̃ō</u>	<u>bhət garīb</u>	<u>ch></u>
	Nom	Adj	hō ₂ -T _p

'The village was very poor.'

7.	<u>buhḍia</u>	<u>sæhra</u>	<u>din</u>	<u>apṇæh</u>	<u>ḍehra</u>	<u>māh</u>	<u>bæhṭhiū</u>	<u>rōhdu</u>	<u>ch></u>	(b-6)
	Nom	T _m		Loc			Adj	Adj	hō ₂ -T _p	

'The old man used to remain seated in the house throughout the day.'

Topt 7 converts:

1.	<u>buhḍia</u>	-	Adj _D	-	<u>rōhd</u>
	Nom				rōh-T _{pr}

2.	<u>buhḍia</u>	-	T _m	-	Loc	-	<u>bæhṭhi</u>
	Nom						bæhṭh-T _p

into:

3. * buhḍia - T_m - Loc - bæhṭhi rōhd

Then 3 becomes by Topt 7:

4.	<u>buhḍia</u>	-	T _m	-	Loc	-	<u>bæhṭhiū-rōhd</u>
	Nom						

Then 4 is embedded by Topt 9 as:

<u>buhḍia</u>	- Adj _D	- hō ₂ -TS	}	⇒ (the complete sentence)
Nom				
<u>buhḍia</u>	- T _m	- Loc - bæḡḥṭhiū rōhd		
Nom				

8. tab phēr buhḍia uhnni apna din katṇ lag gæn (b-53)

T_m Nom Man Loc V_{i2} jā-T_p

'Then again the old people began to pass their days normally.'

According to Topt 12:

1.	<u>buhḍia</u>	- T _m	- Man	- Comp	- lag	- jā-T _p	}	⇒	
	Nom								
2.	<u>buhḍia</u>	<u>apna din katṇ</u>	- TS						
	Nom	VP							
3.	<u>buhḍia</u>	- T _m	- Man	- <u>apna din katṇ</u>	<u>n</u>	- lag	- jā-T _p		
	Nom			Comp	n				

9. u ghor ḡhnā chan (c-13)

Nom Loc Adj hō₂-T_{pr}

'He is coming home.'

Apply Topt 7:

1.	<u>u</u>	- Adj _D	- chan	}	⇒
	Nom				
2.	<u>u</u>	- Loc	- ḡ - T _a		
	Nom				
3.	<u>u</u>	- Loc	- ḡ - T _a	- chan	
	Nom	Adj			

Apply Topt 8 and then the output is:

<u>u</u>	- Loc	- ḡ	- T _a + R	- chan
Nom				

APPENDIX I

PHONEMES

We said before that Garhwali items are written in phonemic transcription. Before giving the inventory of phonemes, we must make it very clear that this inventory is in no way complete since we have not exhausted all the peripheral linguistic systems of Garhwali. (See my paper, "Animal Commands of Garhwali and Their Linguistic Implications," Word, XIX [1963], 203-207.) From this point of view, it will not be inappropriate to say that even the inventory of the phonemes of English has never been, in my knowledge, investigated completely. (I have found a few more phonemes, which I call 'peripheral phonemes' in some peripheral linguistic systems of the American English.) Moreover, if such peripheral linguistic systems of English are carefully investigated, we will have to modify some of the rules of a transformational English grammar in order to generate the proper 'peripheral sentences' (of the peripheral linguistic systems). This problem arises often in almost every language.

In view of the above remarks, the following inventory of Garhwali phonemes must be considered 'normal' and consequently limited.

Besides the problem of peripheral phonemes, pitch levels, junctures and terminal contours following various intonational patterns require exhaustive analysis and will not be analyzed here.

Sentential (or contrastive) stress /~~/~~/ is also not indicated.

Following are the Garhwali phonemes:

Consonants

p	t	ṭ	c	k
b	d	ḍ	j	g
m	n	ṇ		ŋ
	s			h
	r	ṛ		
	l	ḷ		

Vowels

Short

i	u	ĩ	ũ
e	o	ẽ	õ
a		æ	ʌ
		ã	

nasalization ~

Word boundary (indicated by space).

APPENDIX II

TEXTS

a) 1. maletha pæhli bhɔt garib gɔ̃ chɔ
 Maletha previously very poor village was
 Previously Maletha was a very poor village.

2. uahkh pũhgra chā par pāhni ni chɔ
 There fields were but water no was
 There were fields, but no water.

3. tab malethā bhādarin ēk dāda t̃hl batī k̃l̃ nikālī par
 Then Maletha's Bhandari-n one hill's under from canal got-out but
 uih mā pāhni ni æ saki
 that in water not come could

Then the Bhandari (a person belonging to the 'Bhandari' caste)
 of Maletha dug a watercourse out from inside the hill, but water didn't
 (lit. couldn't) come into it.

4. tab u bhɔt dukkhi huē
 Then he very sad became
 Then he became very sad.

5. ākhir uē t̃æ ēk rāt subniū huē
 Finally him to one night dream became
 Finally, one night he had a dream.

6. subnia māh debtan bōhli
 Dream in god-n said
 The god said in the dream.

7. ju tu apna nahnæ bali dēliu ta pāhni æ jālu
 If you (sg) own son's sacrifice will-give then water come ja-T_f

If you will sacrifice your son, then the water will come.

8. pæhli ta u bhṛt ghabræ par phēr uen nahnā tæ̃
 First of course he very hesitated but again he son to
 bahtæ dē

told dē-T_p

First, he hesitated very much but later he told (his) son.

9. nahnū bhṛt upkari chṛ
 Son very benevolent was

Son very benevolent was

The son was very generous.

10. gāuæ̃ bhalæ̃ ku u taiār huē gi
 village's good for he ready became ja-T_p

He became ready for the good of the village.

11. tab bhādarin apna nahnæ bali dē ar tab kūl māh
 Then Bhandari-n own son's sacrifice gave and then canal in
 pāhni ṛṇ lag gi

water to-come began jā-T_p

Then the Bhandari sacrificed his son and then water began to come into
 the canal.

b) 1. ēk gō māh ēk buhdia chṛ

One village in one old-man was

There was an old man in a village.

2. uē ki ēk buhdri bi chæ

Him of one old-woman also was

He had an old woman also.

3. duih bhət garib chā
Both very poor were
Both were very poor
4. ar ūh ki kuih clād bi ni chæ
And them of progeny also not was
and they did not have any children.
5. bhīnk māgī duih apnu gujaru karda chā
Alm having-asked-for both own livelihood do hō₂-T_p
Both used to live by begging.
6. buhdia sēhra din apnæh dēhra māh bæhthiu rōhdu chō
Old-man entire day own house in seated rō-T_{pr} hō₂-T_p
The old man used to remain seated in his house throughout the day.
7. ar buhdri pæhli uē buhdia tæ khalæ pilæ ki gōuahlō
And old-woman first that old-man to fed drunk having villagers
dahgri bōhlu karnū cal jādi chæ
with job for-doing go jā-T_{pr} hō₂-T_p
And first the old woman would offer food and drink to the old man and
(then) go to work with the villagers.
8. bhākhunim bōhlu kari ki ju kuch nāj mil jādu
In-the evening job done having what some grain meet ja-T_{pr}
chō uē par duih jhāna apna din katda chā
hō₂-T_p that on both persons own days pass hō₂-T_p
They used to live on whatever grain they got in the evening(s) after
working.
9. ab bagualiō din æ
Now light-festivals day came
Now the day of the light festival came.

10. duīh jhan̄n̄ sahlla kari ki kahnæ bagualī manæ
 both persons counsel did that how light-festival to-celebrate
 jāu
 jā-T_s

The two decided how they would celebrate the light festival.

11. in nihscæ huē ki buhdri gō ki l̄hriū dahgra
 this decision became that old-woman village of girls with
 dāl pihsnū jāli
 dal for-grinding will-go

It was decided that the old woman would go with the girls of the village to grind dal.

12. ar uakhhi batī māgi ki tēl lūn marc bi lhāli
 and there from asked-for having oil salt peppers also will-bring
 And (that she) would bring oil, salt (and) peppers also having begged
 (these) from there.

13. phēr duīh jhaṇa pakora bahola ar khola piōla
 then both persons fritters (we) will-make and will-eat will-drink
 Then both of us will make fritters and eat and drink.

14. ih̄ sahllā par buhdri gō ki jananiū dahgri subēr
 this counsel on old-woman village of woman with morning
 uhtī dāl dhōnu pihsnu ku gæ
 having-got-up dal to-wash to-grind for went

With this advice the old woman having gotten up in the morning went with the women of the village to wash, and grind dal.

15. uakh̄ baṭī thorā pihsī̄ dāl̄ ar tēl̄ lhǣ ar ap̄na
 there from few ground dal and oil brought and own
 dēhram̄ ǣ
 in-house came

She brought a few ground dal and oil, and came into her house.

16. dēhrā māh̄ iēh̄ sāmān̄ tǣ dēkh̄i duih̄ jhānā bh̄t̄ khus̄
 house in this material at having-looked both
 chā̄ ar buhd̄ian̄ buhd̄rī̄ khūb̄ bar̄ǣ karī
 much praise did

Having looked at this material in the house, they were very happy and the old man praised the old woman a lot.

17. ab̄ ū̄ kā pakorā ban̄n̄ bāh̄thin̄
 now them of fritters to-be-made bāh̄th-T_p
 Now they began to make the fritters.

18. kul̄ t̄in̄h̄ pakorā ban̄in̄
 total just-three fritters were-made
 Only three fritters were made.

19. dāl̄ itnǣh̄ chǣ
 dal just-this-much was
 There was only this much dal.

20. ab̄ iū sawāl̄ uh̄thī kī duī pakorā kū khāū
 now this question arose that two fritters who eat
 Now the question arose as to who should eat two fritters.

21. buhd̄ian̄ bāh̄lī kī mī terū mālik̄ ch̄ō̄
 old-man said that I your husband am
 The old man said, 'I am your husband.'

22. duī pakorā mī tā khān cāhdan
two fritters me to to-eat ca-T_{pr}
I ought to eat two fritters.
23. buhḍrin bōhli ki mēhnat sab mehri ca
old-woman said that effort all my is
The old woman said, 'The entire effort is mine.'
24. ar duī pakorā mih tā miln cāhdan
and two fritters me to get cā-T_{pr}
And I ought to get two fritters.'
25. ih̄ bāt par duih̄ jhan̄ḍ māh baru bhāri jhagra huē
this matter on both persons in very big quarrel became
A very big quarrel took place between the two on this issue.
26. ar kuih̄ bi ēk pakorā khaṇū rāji ni huē
and anybody also one fritter for-eating ready not became
And neither was ready to eat one fritter.
27. ar duih̄ jhan̄ḍn bohln clan band kar dē
and both persons to-talk to-walk close do dē-T_p
And the two stopped talking and gone around (with each other).
28. ar iu nihscæ kari ki
and this decision made that
And made this decision.
29. ju pāhli bāc gahrlu u ēk pakorū khālu
who first voice will-utter he one fritter will-eat
He will eat one fritter who will speak first.
30. bigar khahiā i duih̄ se gān
without eating these two sleep jā-T_p
The two slept without eating.

31. ar duhsra din dohptra talak kuīh ni uhthi
and second day noon upto any not arose
And neither woke up until noon
32. s_phra gō māh halla huē gi ki
entire village in noise became jā-T_p that
The news spread through the entire village that
33. āj buhdia ar buhdri jahkh gæ hola
today old-man and old-woman somewhere gone will-be
Today the old man and old woman went to some (unknown) place.
34. kuch gō kā lōg ūh dekhnu æn
some village of people them for-seeing came
Some people of the village came to see them.
35. duīh buhdia ar buhdri tæ ihthæ uhthæ laptæ luptæ
both old-man and old-woman to this-side that-side rolled rolled
par kæhn bāc ni gāhri
but any voice not uttered
(They) rolled and rolled both of them, the old man and old woman, on
both sides, but neither spoke out.
36. gōuahlō tæ pūru bihsuās huē gi ki i mar gæn
villagers to full belief become jā-T_p that these die jā-T_p
The villagers were sure that they were dead.
37. ākhir gōuahla ūh tæ ghāt par phuknū
at-last villagers them to cremation-ground on for-burning
lhī gæn
take jā-T_p
At last, the villagers took them (away) to the cremation ground to
burn them.

38. g̃uahl̃a ūh duiūh ka khatul̃ t̃æ̃ ēk jaga par dhār̃iki
villagers those both of cats to one place at having-put
lahkh̃ra mehtnū cal g̃æn
woods for-collecting go jā-T_p

The villagers having put the cats of the two at a certain place, went off to collect wood.

39. jab s̃b iñæh uñæh cal g̃æn ta buhd̃ia ar buhd̃ri
when all here there go jā-T_p them old-man and old-woman
aṅgliūn s̃ñ karn b̃æh̃thin
with-fingers gesture to-make b̃æh̃th-T_p

When everyone had gone here and there, the old man and old woman began to make gestures with their fingers.

40. buhd̃ia dui aṅguliñ khari kariki ia s̃ñ karnū ch̃
old-man two fingers raised having-made this gesture making was
ki dui mi kh̃lu ar ēk tu kha
that two I will-eat and one you eat

The old man made a gesture by raising two fingers meaning, 'I will eat two (fritters) and you will eat one.'

41. ihni s̃ñ karnā chā ki tabari u g̃ ka
just-this gesture making were that that-time those village of
mah̃rueiūn dēkh̃ dēn ar sah̃būn ap̃na dag̃rauhl̃ māh̃ chuih lah̃g̃æn
cremators-n see dē-T_p and all own companions in talk spread
(No sooner) had they made this gesture than the cremators from their village saw them and all (of them) spread the word among their companions.

42. sah̃bu t̃æ̃ b̃hm̃ pakku huē gi ki iūh̃ par bh̃t̃
all to suspicion strong became jā-T_p that these on ghost

lahgiū ca ar ūh ku bhūt bhagṇæ socṇ
 attached is and these of ghost of-making-flee-away to-think
 bæhthin

bæhth-T_p

The suspicion became strong to all (of them) that a ghost possessed them, and (they) began to think of how to make their ghost go away.

43. sahbūn sahlla kari ki kāḍalin ar kāhdōn iūh tæ
 all-n counsel made that scorpion-plant-n and thorn-n these to
 khūb piṭa ar phēr phūk diā
 much beat and then burn dē-T_s

All decided to give them a good beating with a scorpion plant and with thorns, and then to burn (them).

44. tab buhdia ar buhdri ki khūb piṭæ hōn bæhthi
 then old-man and old-woman of much beating to-be bæhth-T_p

Then, the old man and old woman began to get a good beating.

45. jab u ih mār ni sæh sakin ta ūhn bāc gāhr
 when they this beating not bear could then they-n voice take-out
 dē ar gōuahlō ku bōhli ki ham tæ ni phūka
 dē-T_p and villagers to said that us to not burn

When they could not bear the beating, they spoke out and asked the villagers not to burn them.

46. ab gōuahlō ku bōhm hār bi pakku huē ki iūh
 now villagers of suspicion more even strong became that these
 buhdia ar buhdri par baru bhūt lahgiū ca na hō
 old-man and old-woman on big ghost attached is not may-be
 ham par bi lagu
 we on too attached

Now the villagers had even stronger suspicions, "This old man and woman are possessed by a big ghost, and may it not be that we also are haunted."

47. iē bāsta ũhn āg jagæki duīh buhdia ar buhdri
 This reason they fire having-lighted both old-man and old-woman
 āg māh dhōl dēn ar apu d>hr-d>hri g̃
 fire throw dē-T_p and themselves having-run-and-run village
 ku ɔn bæhthin
 to to-come bæhth-T_p

Therefore, they lit the fire, and threw the old man and woman into the fire, and they themselves ran and ran, and come to the village.

48. buhdia ar buhdri ũih āg baṭi bhær æn ar g̃uahl̃
 old-man and old-woman that fire from out came and villagers
 ka nichnæ dæm bæhthin
 of after to-run bæth-T_p

The old man and woman came out of the fire and began to run after the villagers.

49. g̃uahl̃n ũh par dhuaga calæn
 villagers them on rocks moved
 The villagers threw rocks at them.

50. ākhir g̃ māh p̃hchiki buhdia ar buhdriin apna
 finally village in having-reached old-man and old-woman-n own
 jhagræ chuīh g̃uahl̃ mā lagæn
 quarrel talks villagers in attached

Finally, the old man and woman reached the village and told the villagers of their quarrel.

51. tab bari muskal se g̃uahl̃ t̃æ bihsuās æ
 then big difficulty with villagers to trust came
 Then the villagers began to believe them (but) with considerable
 difficulty.

52. ubahri bāhman mahgæ ki ũhki suhddi kari
 that-time Brahmin having-asked-for their purification did
 Then, they asked for a Brahmin and performed their purification (rite).

53. tab phēr buhdia uhnni apna din katn lag gæ n
 then again old-people just-that manner own days to-cut begin ja-T_p
 par ũ pakor̃ ku nihstaru phēr bi ni huē saki ki
 but those fritters of decision then even not become could that
 duī kæ t̃æ khān cæhda chā
 two whom to to-eat should hō₂-T_p

Then the old people began to pass their days normally again, but even
 then it could not be decided as to who should have eaten the two
 fritters.

c) 1. ēk pandaji chā
 one Pandit was

There was a Brahmin.

2. ũh ku ēk cēla ch̃ jæ ku ñ rāhmu ch̃
 him of one desciple was whom of name Ramu was
 He had a desciple whose name was Ramu.

3. pandaji bara sīhdha ar bhakt ādim chā
 Pandit very simple and religious man was
 The Brahmin was very simple and religious man.

4. u m̄j pūjapāṭh karda chā ar ṭhākurji t̄æ nhauæ dhuuæ
 he daily worship kar-T_{pr} hō₂-T_p and god to bathed washed
 ki ar bhōg lagæ ki khānu khāda chā
 having and sacred-food applied having food kha-T_{pr} hō₂-T_p
 He used to worship daily, and bathed and washed (the round black stone)
 god and used to eat sacred food after having offered (it to the god).
5. par rāhmu baru calāk ch>
 but Ramu very clever was
 But Ramu was very clever.
6. uē t̄æ pūjapāṭh se kuih bāhstu ni ch>
 him to worship with any connection not was
 He had no interest in worship.
7. ēk dā paṇḍaji mahnsā huē ki mi kāhsi jō
 one time Pandit's desire became that I Varanasi go
 Once the Brahmin wanted to go to Varanasi (the holy city of Bānaras).
8. ūhn pūjapāṭh ar gharæ jimedari rāhmu par chōr dē
 he worship and home-of responsibility Ramu on leave dē-T_p
 ar kāhsi jātr> ramana huēn
 and Varanasi's pilgrimage-for started became
 He left the responsibility of the worship and the house to Ramu, and
 set out on pilgrimage to Varanasi.
9. jab paṇḍaji cal gæn ta rāhmu m>j huē gi
 when Pandit go jā-T_p then Ramu's caprice became jā-T_p
 When the Brahmin went away, Ramu was delighted.
10. uēn nata gharæ sehphæ kari nata ṭhākurji ku pūjapāṭh kari
 he neither house's cleaning did nor god of worship did
 He neither cleaned the house nor worshipped the god.

11. thākurjiā n̄ par kihsmkihsmā bhōg baṇæ ki u
 god's name on various sacred-foods prepared having he
 ap̄hūi khæ jādū ch>
 himself eat jā-T_{pr} hō₂-T_p
 He prepared various sacred dishes in the name of the god, and he himself
 ate (them).
12. ihnni dui māna bit gæ n
 just-this-manner two months pass jā-T_p
 Thus two months passed.
13. ēk din paṇḍaji cit̄thi æ ki u gh>r ḥṇā chan
 one day Pandit's letter came that he home coming are
 One day a letter from the Brahmin's saying that he was coming home
 came (to Ram).
14. ab rāhmu bh̄t ghabræ
 now Ramu much worried
 Now Ramu was much worried.
15. uen sarāhsar gh̄ræ sahphæ kari ar thākurji tæ p̄hli dā
 he quickly house's cleaning did and to first time
 nhauæ ki bhōg lagæ
 bathed having sacred-food applied
 He quickly cleaned the house, bathed the god for the first time, and
 offered sacred food (to the god).
16. tahbari ēk kukur æ ar uēn bhōg par giccu
 at-the-very-time one dog came and he sacred-food on mouth
 lagæ dē jā se bhōg ahsudd huē gi
 apply dē-T_p which with sacred-food polluted become jā-T_p

Just at that time, a dog came and touched the sacred food with his mouth so that the sacred food became polluted.

17. rāhmu tǎ̃ bhot guhssa ǝ

Ramu to much anger came

Ramu became very angry.

18. uēn guhssa mā kukur tǎ̃ dhūḡgan marnu cæh

he anger in dog to with-stone to-beat wanted

Furious, he wanted to hit the dog with a stone.

19. par uahkham dhūḡgu kahkh chʌ

but there-in stone where was

But where was there a stone there?

20. siu jab uē tǎ̃ kuch ni mili ta uēn jaldi mā

so when him to something not met then he hurry in

thākurji tǎ̃ uhthæ kilæ ki thākurji bi dhūḡgæh chā

god to picked-up because god too just-stone were

So when he found nothing (to hit the dog with), he hurriedly picked up

the god because the god too was just stone.

21. jahnni uen thākurji uhthæn tahnni kukur bhāg gi

as-soon-as he god picked-up right-then dog flee jā-T_p

No sooner he picked up the god then the dog ran away.

22. uen d̄rda kukur par thākurji culæ dēn

he running dog at god throw dē-T_p

He threw the god at the running dog.

23. kukur bhāg gi par bicara thākurji harc gæn

dog flee jā-T_p but poor god lose jā-T_p

The dog got away but the poor god was lost.

APPENDIX III

A SAMPLE VERB PARADIGM

cal 'go, move' (See PS Rule 7)

Present (T_{pr})

Person	Singular	Plural
I	cald [~]	calda [~]
II { Masc. Fem. }	{ caldu caldi }	calda [~]
III	cald	caldan

Past (T_p)

I	cali [~]	calia [~]
II	cali	calia [~]
III	cali	calin

Aspect (T_a)

I	caln [~]	calna [~]
II	caln	calna
III	caln	calnan

Subjunctive (T_s)

I	cal [~]	cala [~]
II	cali	cala [~]
III	calu	calun

Future (T_f)

Person		Singular	Plural
I		callu	calla
II	Masc. Fem.	calliu calli	callia
III	Masc. Fem.	calalu calali	calala calali

Imperative (T_i)

II		cal	cala
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