

Habitual Aspect
(Actions performed on a regular basis)

Habitual Aspect conjugation at a glance (detailed explanation below after tables)

Table 1: The binary habitual aspect conjugation as exists currently. M=Male, F=Female

Formula: Stem+ ता/ते/ती → followed by होना present or past (Golden Rule I)				
Example with verb: खाना				
Pronoun	M Present	M Past	F Present	F Past
Singular	Stem + ता/ते → होना present	Stem + ता/ते → होना past	Stem + ती → होना present	Stem + ती → होना past
मैं	खाता हूँ	खाता था	खाती हूँ	खाती थी
तू	खाता है	खाता था	खाती है	खाती थी
यह	खाता है	खाता था	खाती है	खाती थी
वह	खाता है	खाता था	खाती है	खाती थी
Plural				
हम	खाते हैं	खाते थे	खाती हैं	खाती थीं
तुम	खाते हो	खाते थे	खाती हो	खाती थीं
आप	खाते हैं	खाते थे	खाती हैं	खाती थीं
ये	खाते हैं	खाते थे	खाती हैं	खाती थीं
वे	खाते हैं	खाते थे	खाती हैं	खाती थीं

Table 2: Factoring in a non-binary voice

[M = male, F = female, Proposed NB = non-binary* (In 2014 the Supreme Court of India acknowledged that gender is not binary “male” or “female” only, but to date there is no way to express oneself in a non-binary voice in Hindi. *See detailed comment at the end of the document)]

Formula:	Stem + ता/ते/ ती/तो → followed by होना present or past (Golden Rule I)					
Example	with verb: खाना					
Pronoun	M Present	M Past	F Present	F Past	NB Present	NB Past
Singular	Stem + ता/ते → होना present	Stem + ता/ ते → होना past	Stem + ती → होना present	Stem + ती → होना past	Stem + तो → होना present	Stem + तो → होना past
मैं	खाता हूँ	खाता था	खाती हूँ	खाती थी	खातो हूँ	खातो थो
तू	खाता है	खाता था	खाती है	खाती थी	खातो है	खातो थो
यह	खाता है	खाता था	खाती है	खाती थी	खातो है	खातो थो
वह	खाता है	खाता था	खाती है	खाती थी	खातो है	खातो थो
Plural						
हम	खाते हैं	खाते थे	खाती हैं	खाती थीं	खातो हैं	खातो थों
तुम	खाते हो	खाते थे	खाती हो	खाती थीं	खातो हो	खातो थों
आप	खाते हैं	खाते थे	खाती हैं	खाती थीं	खातो हैं	खातो थों
ये	खाते हैं	खाते थे	खाती हैं	खाती थीं	खातो हैं	खातो थों
वे	खाते हैं	खाते थे	खाती हैं	खाती थीं	खातो हैं	खातो थों

Decoding the Mystery of the Hindi Habitual aspectual conjugation:

In Hindi the **Habitual aspect** is used to talk about **actions performed on a regular (habitual) basis**, whether **present or past**. These are equivalent to the English, “I come”, “I see”, “I conquer”, “I used to come”, “I used to see”, “I used to conquer”.

Formula: The formula for conjugating (forming) the habitual aspect in Hindi is:

Stem + ता/ते/ती/तो (applying **Golden Rule I**) followed by **होना** present or past

[**Golden Rule I:** **आ** ending for **Masculine Singular (MS)**;

ए ending for **Masculine Plural (MP)**

ई (ईं) ending for **Feminine Singular & Plural (FS/FP)**, where **ई** is **sometimes nasalized in the Plural]**

ओ (ओं) ending for **Non-binary Singular & Plural (NBS/NBP)**, where **ओ** is **sometimes nasalized in the Plural]**

So, for example, the habitual aspectual conjugation of the verb **खाना** would be:

MS-Present: मैं खाता हूँ	MS-Past: मैं खाता था
MP-Present: हम खाते हैं	MP-Past: हम खाते थे
FS-Present: मैं खाती हूँ	FS-Past: मैं खाती थी
FP-Present: हम खाती हैं	FPL-Past: हम खाती थीं
NBS-Present: मैं खातो हूँ	NBS-Past: मैं खातो थो
NBP-Present: हम खातो हैं	NBP-Past: हम खातो थों

and for the verb **सोना** it would be:

MS-Present: मैं सोता हूँ	MS-Past: मैं सोता था
MP-Present: हम सोते हैं	MP-Past: हम सोते थे
FS-Present: मैं सोती हूँ	FS-Past: मैं सोती थी
FP-Present: हम सोती हैं	FP-Past: हम सोती थीं
NBS-Present: मैं सोतो हूँ	NBS-Past: मैं सोतो थो
NBP-Present: हम सोतो हैं	NBP-Past: हम सोतो थों

Note: (i) In the **Present Habitual** conjugation, the auxiliary verb **होना** can be dropped in the negative. However, when dropped, since there is no difference between the FS & FP habitual participle (i.e. the **खाती, सोती**, etc. portion of the conjugation), the nasalization from the auxiliary verb **होना [हैं]** is transferred on to the FP habitual participle, making the FP habitual participle into **खातीं, सोतीं**, etc., thereby indicating difference between the FS & FP conjugation in the negative.

Table 3: Feminine Habitual in the affirmative & the negative.

Example with the verb खाना.

Pronoun	Feminine Present Affirmative	Feminine Present Negative (with auxiliary verb होना dropped)
Singular	Stem + ती → होना present	Negation → Stem + ती
मैं	खाती हूँ	नहीं खाती
तू	खाती है	नहीं खाती
यह	खाती है	नहीं खाती
वह	खाती है	नहीं खाती
Plural		Negation → Stem + तीं
हम	खाती हैं	नहीं खातीं
तुम	खाती हो	नहीं खातीं
आप	खाती हैं	नहीं खातीं
ये	खाती हैं	नहीं खातीं
वे	खाती हैं	नहीं खातीं

When factoring in a *non-binary voice* conjugation, the same principles of negation observed for feminine voice conjugations apply. **Since there is no difference between the NBS & NBP habitual participle** (i.e. the **खातो, सोतो** etc. portion of the conjugation), **the nasalization from the auxiliary verb होना [हैं]** is transferred on to the NBP **habitual participle**, making the NBP habitual participle into **खातों, सोतों** etc., thereby **indicating difference between the NBS & NBP conjugation in the negative.**

Table 4: Non-Binary Habitual in the affirmative & the negative.

Example with the verb खाना.

Pronoun	Non-Binary Present Affirmative	Non-Binary Present Negative (with auxiliary verb होना dropped)
Singular	Stem + तो → होना present	Negation → Stem + तो
मैं	खातो हूँ	नहीं खातो
तू	खातो है	नहीं खातो
यह	खातो है	नहीं खातो
वह	खातो है	नहीं खातो
Plural		Negation → Stem + तों
हम	खातो हैं	नहीं खातों
तुम	खातो हो	नहीं खातों
आप	खातो हैं	नहीं खातों
ये	खातो हैं	नहीं खातों
वे	खातो हैं	नहीं खातों

So, for example, in the *present tense plural affirmative female voice* one would say: हम गोश्त **खाती हैं** । But **while negating** the same, *in the present tense* one would say: हम गोश्त **खाती थीं**, लेकिन अब (हम) नहीं **खातीं** ।

By the same token, in the *present tense plural affirmative non-binary voice* one would say: हम गोश्त **खातो हैं** । But **while negating** the same, *in the present tense* one would say: हम गोश्त **खातो थों**, लेकिन अब हम नहीं **खातों** ।

(ii) The auxiliary verb **होना** is **never dropped in the past habitual conjugation, irrespective of gender.**

***Why factor in a non-binary voice in Hindi verb conjugations?**

Until 2014, in India, the parent culture of Hindi, only 2 genders, viz. male and female, were legally recognized. Transgender, non-binary, transexual, genderqueer and gender-questioning people were forced to identify themselves within a binary gender classification. Hindi being a gendered language, we see this traditional binary gender classification in verb conjugations and in a certain class of nouns and adjectives. Personal pronouns on the other hand are gender neutral in Hindi.

In April 2014, in a landmark ruling, the Supreme Court of India formally recognized the rights of transgender, non-binary, transexual, genderqueer and gender-questioning people to determine their gender as neither male nor female, thereby affirming the existence of a third gender, and ending traditional binary gender classifications.

Although this ruling has had a tremendous impact on gender identification, as far as the Hindi language is concerned, other than being able to choose a “third box” which is neither male nor female on official forms, gender expression in Hindi is still binary. While the masculine plural form is often used across genders in some parts of India and hence could conceivably be used as a “gender neutral” expression, it is still problematic for many as it could be perceived masculine. Like many other gendered languages, Hindi has yet to catch up with realities of identity.

Proposing a *non-binary conjugation*, is an avant-garde attempt to address the limitations posed by the gendered nature of verb conjugations in Hindi. It is not (yet :-)) part of the Hindi language.

At the very least, such an attempt will hopefully start the much needed conversation about the gendered nature of Hindi and realities of identity.