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# Book of Abstracts



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# Plenary Sessions

## **Why the Ganga isn't the Amazonas: Linguistic diversity in riverine systems and what this means for South Asian prehistorical linguistic diversity**

John Peterson (Christian-Albrecht University of Kiel)

As Nichols (1992; 1997) notes, languages tend to spread quickly through some regions, which she calls spread zones, such as the Eurasian Steppe, often replacing the languages that were previously spoken there within a relatively short time span. In other regions, referred to as accretion or residual zones, the number of languages spoken in the respective area can remain relatively stable or even increase over time. This is often true of mountainous regions such as the Himalayas.

However, while geographic factors such as the accessibility of the terrain are usually cited to explain the (lack of) linguistic diversity in these regions, many other factors can also play an important role, such as climatic conditions and sociocultural factors. This is especially apparent in riverine systems, some of which, such as the Gangetic Plain, are clearly spread zones while others, such as the lowland regions of South America, more closely resemble accretion zones (Epps, 2020).

In my talk, I begin by examining the various factors which led to the differences between the Gangetic Plain and the Amazon Basin with respect to the degree of linguistic diversity which we see today. I then discuss the implications that this has for interpreting the prehistory of this region and beyond with respect to settlement patterns and linguistic diversity.

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## **Problematic control constructions in Sanskrit**

John Lowe (University of Oxford)

Sanskrit infinitival control structures display some cross-linguistically rare and theoretically challenging properties. This talk builds on and revises earlier analyses, based on new corpus data and theoretical considerations. The Sanskrit data has significant consequences in relation to Visser's Generalization (VG: that control by passive agents is impossible), with particular regard to the modifications of VG proposed by van Urk (2013). It also provides evidence for the cross-linguistically rare phenomenon of combined raising and control structures.

**From sound to text in real time:  
Eastern Himalayan oral art transcribed, translated, transformed**

Uta Reinöhl (Albert Ludwig University of Freiburg)

All languages have a purely oral past, and many languages have only relatively recently come into contact with writing. This talk studies the linguistic past and present through the lens of the profound transformation from a purely oral society to a society with writing (Ong 1982). I focus on the Eastern Himalayan society of the Kera'a whose contact history can be seen as representative for Tibeto-Burman-speaking societies in what is today Arunachal Pradesh, with very limited contact with writing until about the 1940s (Reinöhl, Wallner & Pulu, in prep., Reinöhl 2022). This talk explores how writing transforms a traditional, primarily oral language and society, and how transcription and translation in fieldwork transform oral art forms. These dual transformations will be explored in their differences and parallels and in their entanglement in linguistic fieldwork.

Orality-literacy dimensions affect and shape linguistic structures profoundly. Studying languages and language use through the lens of orality-literacy dimensions helps us disentangle history-, genre- and modality-dependent variation. This talk thus brings together perspectives from linguistic documentation and typology with orality-literacy research in working towards a deeper understanding of the Eastern Himalayan past and present, and in working towards a richer understanding of factors shaping language structures.

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## Asyndetic Conditionals Clauses in Brahui

Masato Kobayashi (University of Tokyo)

Brahui is a Dravidian language spoken in Balochistan, which is linguistically a border area between South Asia and Iran. While many South Asian languages share certain characteristic features, Brahui lacks some of these. For example, Brahui does not have the conjunctive participle, and it has only a limited number of serial verbs.

On the other hand, Brahui has a distinctive conditional construction, which does not involve any conjunction, conditional participle or change in word order. Typically, the verb in the protasis is in the past tense, expressing supposition in a non-past context. The protasis and the apodosis are connected by asyndetic parataxis as in the following.

numā callav zang kar-e,            ī numā padorand-e xal-eva  
your ring rust do-PST.3SG I your rescue-ACC strike-  
PRS.1SG “If your ring becomes rusty, I will come to rescue you.

Using verbs marked for a time earlier than the time of reference to indicate supposition, known as *backshift*, is found in many languages. However, conditionals without any conjunction or participial suffix are cross-linguistically rare. It is mainly inference based on the encyclopedic knowledge of the speakers that combines the two clauses into a conditional sentence.

In this paper, we posit that the defining factor behind this construction is Brahui’s prevalent use of asyndeton. Based on our analysis of 19 novels and 8 folk stories, asyndeton appears to be the norm when two verbs are combined in a paratactic relationship (‘do A and do B’). Given that Brahui has a limited number of serial verbs, when two verbs are placed side by side, they are usually interpreted as indicating ‘do A and do B’, or ‘do A, then do B’, even in the absence of conjunctions such as *o* ‘and’ or *gurā* ‘then’. Asyndetic conditionals are considered to have evolved from a combination of backshift and asyndetic parataxis through a process of constructionalization.

In the other two northern Dravidian languages, Kurux does not have asyndetic conditionals, while Malto employs them in limited contexts. Serial verbs are prevalent in Kurux, and conjunctions are mandatory in parataxis. Conversely, Malto has few serial verbs and permits asyndetic parataxis for synonymous or contrasting verb pairs. These observations bolster our hypothesis that asyndetic conditionals developed from asyndetic parataxis.

Regarding areal features, it is notable that Balochi, an Iranian language with which most Brahui speakers are bilingual, also allows both asyndetic parataxis and asyndetic conditionals. Although asyndetic conditionals are marginal in South Asia, they are quite acceptable in the languages of Balochistan, which might form a distinct linguistic area.

# **General Sessions**

## Gendered Urban Speech:

### A Study of the ‘Dirty’ Tongue of the Bambaiyā-speaking Woman

Hridaya Ajgaonkar (University of Bonn)

My project studies Bambaiyā, an urban dialect from the region of Mumbai (erstwhile Bombay). The dialect, which can also be seen as a sociolect, has developed as a result of the city’s hybrid, socio-economically diverse demographic, where low and middle classes, castes, and national as well as international immigrants are ghettoised and sustainably coexist. It is often used by inhabitants of the city’s ghettoised spaces. In addition to its actual usage, Bambaiyā is heavily mediated by its cinematic representation. However, the cinematic, and consequently largely caricatural re-production of Bambaiyā is closely compartmentalised along the norms of gender and sexuality. Bambaiyā speech on a female tongue is rare, but not absent. It is however rarely analysed with as much of a claim to individuality as that of the *tapori*, an iconic loud, rowdy, male persona whose almost invariable setting is the urban street. A woman’s Bambaiyā is represented as a feature of the street that she occupies, rather than her contribution to it.

In this paper, I aim to factor in rarer cinematic representations of the Bambaiyā-speaking female, such as the central character and sex worker in the eponymous *Chameli* (2004), Mili, the more tenuously constructed female *tapori* in *Rangeela* (2003), and Safeena, the to-be doctor from *Gully Boy* (2019). The construction, position, and ‘belongingness’ of the Bambaiyā-speaking woman in several films is far more contingent than that of the male: the Bambaiyā-speaking woman, when she is central to the narrative, is more socially mobile than the *tapori*, and often switches between languages as smoothly as she switches between the world of the *tapori* and of the metrosexual man. Due to the patriarchal construction of most narratives, however, she rarely operates outside a subscription to her complementary position to one masculinity or another. This pattern indicates constructions of the female *tapori* as more ‘subordinate’ towards the dominant usage of language.

Further, recurring Bambaiyā-speaking women characters such as the local Marathi house-help, the fisherwoman, the vegetable-seller, the trans person on the street, and as in the case of *Chameli*, the sex worker (including trans sex workers like Haseena), are coded as contaminated or ‘dirty’ in the diegesis of the film. As a result, Bambaiyā-speaking women are foreclosed in domains of labour that sap them of their cultural and social capital, as if their labour were a means to rationalise the ‘impurity’ of their tongue. Their use of Bambaiyā also leads to a humorous fortification of the propriety of other more hegemonically placed characters. Through its sociolinguistic-cinematic analysis, thus, this paper intends to unveil the gendered political interactions of the urban street.

## Pangkhoa Negation from a Diachronic Perspective

Akter Mohammed Zahid (University of Sydney)

In my presentation (preferably in a general session), I will discuss the diachrony of negation in Pangkhua, a South Central (a.k.a., Kuki-Chin) Tibeto-Burman language spoken by approximately two thousand people in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. Pangkhua has various types of negation, which include standard negation or the negation of declarative verbal main clauses, existential negation, prohibitive negation, discourse negation, and emphatic negation. The morphosyntax of a standard negation is that a negator enclitic *=ləu* ‘NEG’ occurs postverbally and in so doing, it occurs after most verbal operators including TAM, valence and person markers while having a leftward scope over all previous constituents. The existential negator is a phonologically independent negative existential verb *bei*, which roughly means ‘does not exist’. Unlike the standard negator *=ləu* ‘NEG’ that negates a verb, the existential negator *bei* negates the existence of a noun though like main verbs, it can be inflected for person. It is noteworthy that the existential negator *bei* can have an open vowel ending as *beia* and with a fall-rise intonational contour, thus *beiã*, it can function as a tag question. In a prohibitive negation, a prohibitive marker *mak* ‘PROHIB’ occurs after the main verb. However, in colloquial Pangkhua, this prohibitive marker often becomes phonologically reduced as *mə̃=* ‘PROHIB’ to attach to the prosodic unit of the following imperative marker. The discourse negation is *mə̃ləu* (which is composed of *mə̃=* meaning ‘that’ and the negator *=ləu* ‘NEG’) and regularly occurs in conversation to express ‘disapproval’. The negative-emphatic markers include *mia*, *lem*, *liak*, and *lai* all of which are directly followed by the negator *=ləu* ‘NEG’. However, despite functional overlapping, the negative-emphatic markers exhibit distinctions in their selection of predicates. For example, *mia* occurs typically in an existential clause emphatically negating the existence of a noun (e.g., ‘There was no reply **at all**.’), *lai* occurs typically in a stative clause emphatically negating a state (e.g., ‘The boat was not good **at all**.’) and *lem* and *liak* occur typically in a dynamic verbal clause emphatically negating an event or action (‘He didn’t eat **at all**.’).

Pangkhoa seems to have inherited its standard negation maker *=ləu* ‘NEG’ from Proto-Central-Chin (PCC) as negation markers in most Central languages are cognates of this form. For example, it is *-low* in Mizo (Chhange, 1993, p. 147), *-lo* or *-lah* in Bawm (Reichle, 1985, pp. 63, 78), *-law* in Hakha Lai (Peterson, 2017, p. 417), and *-lo* in Falam Chin (King, 2010, p. 107). In contrast, most non-Central (i.e., “Peripheral”) languages have a negation marker in the form of *-k(V)*. For example, it is *-kaa* in K’Cho (Southern-

Peripheral) (Jordan, 1969, p. 45), *-käh* in Daai Chin (Southern-Peripheral) (Hartmann, 2009, p. 235), *-key* in Paite (Northern-Peripheral) (Singh, 2006, p. 45), and *-keí* in Tedim Chin (Northern-Peripheral) (Cing, 2017, p. 158). The negative marker *-mak*, which is now functionally restricted to prohibitive constructions in Pangkhua and possibly in other Central languages has a clearly longer time-depth. This is evidenced from the fact that its cognate *ma* has been noted as a negative marker in the languages of various TB subbranches including Dolakha Newar (Genetti, 2003, p. 357), Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey, 2003, p. 283), Tshangla (Andvik, 2003, p. 446), Galo (Post, 2007, pp. 570-71), etc. and the \**ma* form has been reconstructed for PTB negation (Matisoff, 2003, p. 121).

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## Imperatives in Khatri: Inheritance versus Borrowing

Antonia Alvares (University of Hong Kong)

One of the long-standing difficulties in contact linguistics lies in telling apart inheritance i.e., a cognate, from a borrowing or a copy (Johanson & Robbeets 2012). Khatri/Pattegar is a variety of a language spoken by the Savji community in a district, Belagavi, in south-west India. It shows extensive borrowing—both lexical and of bound morphology—from three Indo-Aryan languages namely Hindi, Gujarati, and Marathi.

A contact language can be seen as a ‘layered’ language wherein one can discern the inherited ‘core’ underneath the ‘layers’ of subsequent influence due to contact (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2007: 4–5) The Khatri language is argued to be such a ‘layered’ language with a Gujarati ‘core’ and later borrowings or ‘innovations’ (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2007: 4–5) of Hindi and Marathi. This argument is presented via a study of the imperative constructions of the language.

Imperatives have several unique features. For instance, function is integral to identifying them (Hamblin 1987: 6; Jary & Kissine 2014: 2). They often lack a subject (Sadock & Zwicky 1985:173; Jary & Kissine 2014:54); in their negative form they commonly have a special negation marker (Jary & Kissine 2014: 31; Sadock & Zwicky 1985: 175), and tense and aspect are often marked differently in these constructions (Aikhenvald 2010: 3). They are also typically addressed to the second person (Aikhenvald 2010: 3).

A comparison of the imperatives of Khatri vis-a-vis those of Gujarati, Hindi, and Marathi shows that Khatri shares with Gujarati the bound verbal morphology for the honorific imperative, as shown in example (2). Some of its verb stems, however, are shared with Marathi, as seen in example (1), or Hindi, but not Gujarati; thus, giving rise to imperative forms with the combination of borrowed verb stems with native bound morphology:

### Khatri

(1) Khatri < Marathi

*poh-o*

swim-IMP.2PL/HON

‘Swim!’

< *poh*, IMP.2SG & BARE.INF of *pohṇe* ‘swim’

### Gujarati

(2) *ṭar-o*

swim-IMP.2PL/HON

‘Swim!’



In negative imperatives Khatri shares one of the two analytic negation markers of Marathi, but none of those in Gujarati or Hindi. Regarding the verbal morphology for negative honorific imperatives, Khatri has two options: it either uses the invariant bound verbal morpheme in Marathi negative imperatives, or it uses the bound verbal morpheme of Gujarati imperatives. It thus exhibits grammatical parallelism i.e., the appearance of ‘native and borrowed grammatical forms appearing together’ (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2007: 25).

All the source languages are Indo-Aryan. In the context of telling apart a cognate from a copy this poses a challenge. If languages are genetically related, it ‘may be next to impossible’ (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2007: 9) to tell apart a cognate from a copy. However, the Khatri speakers do not speak Gujarati—the language which is argued to be the inherited ‘core’ of Khatri. Due to migration, the community members do not have direct, daily exposure to Gujarati. The paper, therefore, is in a unique position of helping understand the distinction between a copy and a cognate in languages which are genetically related. In addition, the findings of this paper have a bearing on both lexical and inflectional borrowing, on strategies of loan verb accommodation, and on lexical/grammatical parallelism.

### **Abbreviations & Symbols**

2	second person
BARE.INF	bare infinitive
DAT	dative
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
NEG	negation
PL	plural
SG	singular
<	this sign is used to show the direction of lexical transfer. The closed part points to the recipient language.

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## **A Description of verbal aspect in Bhati spoken in Ponda**

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Bhati is a speech variety along the Marathi-Konkani dialect continuum. It is spoken by a few thousand speakers residing in Goa. This study is limited to the geographically central taluka of the state i.e., Ponda taluka, where a majority of Bhati speakers are concentrated. Postulations have been made about a history of migration of the speech community from Marathi speaking areas to Goa. Some features of the speech variety (e.g. pronominal system) are similar to that of old Marathi. However, it is observed that its aspectual system is closer to that of Konkani than Marathi. Paradkar (2013) contains a discussion of verbal morphology of this speech variety. The present work is an attempt to provide a detailed description of the Bhati aspectual system. It is observed that while Bhati has distinct perfective-imperfective aspectual markers, it does not make a finer distinction within the imperfective. This work discusses the position of Bhati verbal aspect among the aspectual systems of other proximate speech varieties along the Marathi-Konkani dialect continuum.

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## Quirky features of first person non-singular in Sora

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Sora, a Munda language of India, has a complicated system of verbal inflection and a simple pronominal system. The language uses a mixed head-marked and dependent marked system to encode grammatical relations. The pronoun system is a standard three persons (1st/2nd/3rd) and two numbers (singular and plural). The first-person pronouns are *nen* for singular and, depending on the lect, *anlen*, *allen*, *ellen* or *manlen* for the 'plural'. Syntactic subjects can be encoded in several different formal patterns in a head-marked system but remain unmarked in the dependent marked system, while syntactic objects in a primary object pattern in the Dryer (1986) sense exhibit both the head marked and dependent marked system. In terms of finite verbal inflection in declarative or interrogative moods, there are three major patterns and one minor conjugational pattern. The minor pattern is found only with a set of related motion verbs, while the three major patterns are partly semantically based.

Bivalent and trivalent verbs with actors or agents in the syntactic subject role take the actor series of indices. Predicates of any valence whose syntactic subjects are semantic undergoers or experiencers take the undergoer series, which also serves to encode primary objects with active bi-/trivalent predicates. In the dependent marked system, only syntactic primary objects are marked, not undergoer subjects. The third series is for mainly, but not exclusively, monovalent predicates, or de-transitive ones including reflexives, passives, etc. (called conventionally the intransitive/middle). In each case there are exceptions and thus non-motion verbs must be lexically specified as to which of the conjugational series is found with the lexeme, and some can appear variably with more than one pattern, either without or without corresponding semantic change: Actor vs. intransitive/middle variation generally entails a semantic change (e.g., to passive, reflexive, etc.) while some verbs using the undergoer series may inflect with the intransitive/middle instead with no apparent change in meaning. Non-first-person forms are often unmarked in the singular for person/number features of the subject, so second and third person singular are often identical in the actor and intransitive/middle series (1)-(2) but are distinguished in the undergoer series where second person undergoers are overtly marked (3). Second and third plural have dedicated forms (4)-(5). What is particularly quirky about Sora inflection is the treatment of first-person subjects. The simplest system is seen in the undergoer series, where first singular stands in opposition to first plural, corresponding directly to the pronouns

(6). In the actor and intransitive/middle series (and, differently the motion verb conjugation), there is an inflectional opposition between inclusive and exclusive plural that has no correlate in the pronominal system (7), the exclusive plural distinguished from the singular by an additional prefix on the verb in many instances, with the inclusive form formally distinct from both. In the negative, the distinction

between exclusive plural and singular is neutralized but the clusivity opposition remains (8). In motion verbs, there is no use of the 1ACT subject marker as a phonologically identical element performs a cislocative function (9) and occurs with the exclusive suffix too. In the imperative, yet another system is attested. Here the non-singular first-person opposition is not inclusive vs. exclusive but rather dual vs. plural (10). Similar to the clusivity distinction, this dual form has no correlate in the pronominal system and likewise is only expressed in the head-marked indexing system. Our Sora field data is presented here and the system of first-person non-singular marking is situated in the broader comparative contexts, typologically and areally (Cysouw 2013-a/-b) and in the diachrony of the Munda languages.

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| <p>(1) <i>amən dʒum-tə amən bir-ti-n</i><br/>         2SG eat-NPST 2SG say-NPST-ITR/MDL<br/>         'you (will) eat' 'you (will) say'</p> | <p>(2) <i>anin dʒum-tə anin ber-ti-n</i><br/>         3SG eat-NPST 3SG say-NPST-ITR/MDL<br/>         's/he (will eat)/eats' 's/he (will say)/says'</p> |   |
| <p>(3) <i>batəŋ-t-am</i><br/>         fear-NPST-2UND<br/>         'you will fear'</p>  | <p><i>batəŋ-te</i><br/>         fear-NPST<br/>         's/he will fear'</p>  | <p><i>dʒum-t-am</i><br/>         eat-NPST-2UND<br/>         's/he will eat you'</p> |
| <p>(4) <i>a-dʒum-te</i><br/>         1/2PL-eat-NPST<br/>         'you (pl) eat'</p>  | <p>(5) <i>dʒum-tə-dʒi</i><br/>         eat-NPST-PL<br/>         'they eat'</p>   |   |
| <p>(6) <i>nen batəŋ-t-ij</i><br/>         1SG fear-NPST-1UND<br/>         'I fear'</p>   | <p><i>anlen batəŋ-tə-len</i><br/>         1PL fear-NPST-1PL.UND<br/>         'we fear'</p>   |   |
| <p>(7) <i>a-dʒum-t-ai</i><br/>         1/2PL-eat-NPST-1ACT<br/>         'we (but not you) will eat'</p>                                    | <p><i>a-dʒum-ti-bi</i><br/>         1/2PL-eat-NPST-1INCL<br/>         'we (incl. you) will eat'</p>  |   |
| <p><i>a-ber-te-n-ai</i><br/>         1/2PL-speak-NPST-ITR/MDL-1ACT<br/>         'we (but not you) will speak'</p>                          | <p><i>a-bir-ti-n-bi</i><br/>         1/2PL-speak-NPST-ITR/MDL-1INCL<br/>         'we (incl. you) will speak'</p>                                       |   |
| <p>(8) <i>aɖ-dʒum-l-ai</i><br/>         NEG-eat-PST-1ACT<br/>         'I/we (but not you) did not eat'</p>                                 | <p><i>aɖ-dʒum-lə-bi</i><br/>         NEG-eat-PST-1INCL<br/>         'we (incl. you) did not eat'</p>   |   |

- (9) *a-it-te*      *it-tə-bi*                      *a-it-t-ai*                      *it-t-ai-bi*  
 1/2PL-go-NPST    go-PST-1INCL                      1/2PL-go-NPST-CLOC                      go-NPST-CLOC-1INCL  
 'we will go'      'we (inc. you) will go' 'we will come'                      'we (incl. you) will come'
- (10) *a-dʒum-e*                                      *a-dʒum-ba*                                      *dʒum-ba*  
 1/2PL-eat-1DL.IMP                                      1/2PL-eat-PL.IMP                                      eat-PL.IMP  
 'let's the two of us eat'                                      'let's all eat'                                      'eat (pl)!'

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## Differential argument marking in Munda: Head- and dependent-marked structures

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Many Munda languages show a pattern that has come to be known in the typological literature as differential argument marking [DAM], where one subset of arguments gets marked in a formally distinct morphosyntactic pattern from another set (Seržant & Witzlack-Makarevich 2018). In this presentation, we present the systems of DAM in the Munda languages. Also, individual Munda languages show different head and dependent marked systems of argument encoding, and indeed some show both at the same time. Within dependent marked systems, one finds language specific but related instantiations of DAM in Gutob (1) and in Hill Gta? (2). In these languages, pronominal objects take prefixed object markers, and nominal objects take suffixed or enclitic ones. The former are likely cognate, the latter separate borrowings. In Plains Gta? (3), pronominal vs. nominal objects again show distinct patterns: Both use the same borrowed case enclitic of Indo-Aryan origin (also used in the Hill dialect), while pronominal objects additionally have the same cognate prefix found in Hill Gta?. Sora (4) shows a formally distinct but morphotactically similar pattern with respect to pronominal vs. nominal objects: Pronominal objects are marked by a case prefix and nominal ones by a case suffix, an identical functional element that transparently derives from a recent grammaticalization of a noun meaning ‘body’, but showing the same pattern as seen in Hill Gta?, i.e., a prefix/proclitic with pronominals and suffix/enclitic with nominals. Further, Sora may encode objects in the verb form through a set of suffixed agreement markers as well, so it shows a mixed head- and dependent-marking pattern with respect to object encoding. Note that in all of the above languages, ‘object’ follows a primary object pattern (Dryer 1986), where patients in transitives and recipients in ditransitives pattern together. In some Kherwarian languages like Santali (5), on the other hand, these two theta-roles are generally distinct in the verb morphology in an exclusively head-marking system, with direct objects encoded by the object suffixes themselves, and indirect objects require the addition of an applicative marker, itself possibly cognate with the case prefix of Gta? and Gutob, but found within the verbal system in North Munda, not the nominal system as in those two Munda languages of southern Odisha. In high contact varieties of Kherwarian like various Mundari dialects (6-9), on the other hand, both direct and indirect objects, whether pronominal or nominal, can be marked by a case clitic of Indo-Aryan origin, while nevertheless maintaining their formal distinction in the verb morphology. Each of these languages shows a different system however. In Tamaṛia Mundari, either the recipient or patient NP is marked by =*ke* (inanimate patients never are), but all get encoded in the verb morphology (6) including inanimates, albeit patients differently than recipients (7). In Kera? Mundari, both recipient and patient can be marked by =*ke*, but are both only optionally encoded by object agreement on the verb, see (8) and (9). In high-contact North Munda varieties, the

dependent-marked system thus reflects a primary object pattern, while the head-marked system rather follows a pattern where an accusative vs. dative opposition is maintained, showing different interactions with animacy across the languages. We also discuss the system of differential subject marking found in Sora where undergoer subjects are indexed with otherwise object indexing morphology but retain syntactic subject features (10).

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(1) Gutob [Field Notes]  
*pen o-niŋ dʒu=tu=pen*  
 you.PL OBJ-I see=NPST=2PL  
 ‘you will see me’

Gutob  
*druka-laj goʔ beʔ-oʔ=nen*  
 tiger-OBJ kill AUX-PST-3PL  
 ‘they killed the tiger’

(2) Hill Gtaʔ [Field Notes]  
*a-næjŋ basoŋ*  
 OBJ-I tell  
 ‘tell me!’

Hill Gtaʔ  
*ŋku gubuʔ=kə goʔ=gə*  
 tiger pig=OBJ die=PRF  
 ‘the tiger killed the pig’

(3) Plains Gtaʔ [Field Notes]  
*a-næ=kə kmæ-hiŋ a-miaʔ*  
 OBJ-we=OBJ PROX-PL NEG-know  
 ‘they don’t know us’

Plains Gtaʔ  
*huŋ-dæ-hiŋ=kə saliaʔ+ku=kə*  
 child-3.REF-PL=OBJ ask+ask=NFUT  
 ‘...he asked his children...’

(4) Sora [Field Notes]  
*aman doʔŋ=nen a-gij-l-iŋ*  
 you OBJ-I NEG-see-PST-1UND  
 ‘you have not seen me’

Sora  
*nen kəmbun-an-adoʔŋ tij-jum=t-ai*  
 I pig-N.SFX-OBJ give-food-NPST-1ACT  
 ‘I will feed the pig’

(5) Santali [Field Notes]  
*iŋ alo=m met-a-iŋ=a*  
 I PHB=2 tell-BEN-1OBJ=FIN  
 ‘don’t tell me!’

Santali  
*am iŋ=em daʔ-otfo=ki-d-iŋ-a*  
 you I=2 run-CAUS=TAM-TR-1OBJ-FIN  
 ‘you made me run’

(6) Tamaŋia Mundari  
*hoʔo koto ka=i rapud daʔ-i=a*  
 man branch NEG=3 break FUT-3OBJ=FIN  
 ‘the man will not break the branch’

Tamaŋia Mundari [Field Notes]  
*kula sukri=kə ka=i goiʔ=k-i=a*  
 tiger pig=OBJ NEG=3SUBJ kill=TAM-3=FIN  
 ‘the tiger did not kill the pig’



(7) Tamaɽia Mundari

*ako aiŋ=ke sukri om-a-d-iŋ=a=ko*  
they I=OBJ pig give-APPL-TAM.TR-1OBJ=FIN=3PL  
'they gave me the pig'

Tamaɽia Mundari [Field Notes]

*ako aiŋ=ke sukri om-a-iŋ=a=ko*  
they give-APPL-1OBJ=FIN=3PL  
'they will give me the pig'

(8) Keraʔ Mundari

*aiŋ-ke alɔ kaj-iŋ=me*  
I-OBJ PHB tell-1OBJ=2SUBJ  
'don't tell me!'

Keraʔ Mundari [Field Notes]

*am aiŋ-ke ka=m kudaɔ=t-ĩ=a*  
you I-OBJ NEG=2 run:CAUS=TAM-1OBJ=FIN  
'you didn't make me run'

(9) Keraʔ Mundari [Field Notes]

*aiŋ-ke muʔri-ke alɔ em-ku=m*  
I-OBJ basket-OBJ PHB give-3PL.OBJ=2SUBJ  
'don't give me the baskets!'

(10) Sora [Field Notes]

*ambin baton-tə-bin kənan dʒum-tə-bin ambin anindʒi a-dʒum-te-dʒi*  
2PL fear-NPST-2PL.UND tiger eat-NPST-2PL.UND 2PL 3PL 2PL-eat-NPST-PL  
'you feared him' 'the tiger will eat you' 'you will eat them'

## **Standard Language Ideology and the Process of Language Standardisation: The Case of Malayalam And Its Dialects**

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Linguists have talked about Standard Language Ideology (SLI) since the concept of standard language and language standardisation became crucial points of discussion in historical linguistics and language planning. Rosina Lippi-Green (2012) defines Standard Language Ideology as “a bias toward an abstracted, idealised, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions... primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class.”

The application of SLI also helps in illustrating the far-reaching impact of language standardisation, especially in how it endorses and legitimises language attitudes among different speech communities in the region. Further, concepts like language authority and prestige (Milroy and Milroy, 1985) can also be used to explain the elaborate influence of the ‘standard language’ on speech communities and their socio-political situations. Contrary to the belief that language standardisation merely selects one of the many varieties of a language as the ‘standard language (Haugen, 1997),’ many ideological decisions are brought into the equation in the language standardisation process of South Asian languages, especially the ones that were under the influence of colonial intervention for decades.

Therefore, the idea of Standard Language Ideology becomes beneficial in explaining how language standardisation took place in the case of Malayalam. From its inception, Malayalam language has been subjected to changes and influences from multiple entities, including but not limited to other Dravidian languages (Shanmugam, 1976), colonial intervention (Ramakrishnan, 2016), internal stratifications, and, finally, state-sponsored standardisation.

During these periods, the language received inputs from international trade communities, settlements, and language contact in remote areas that share borders with other states. Because of the Aryan invasion, certain changes owing to the impact of Sanskrit can also be found in the language, and this fact has led to discussions of Sanskritisation and De-Sanskritisation. The aforementioned factors have, in one way or another, impacted what the people of Kerala and Laccadives consider as the ‘pure’ version of Malayalam.

This paper will analyse these elements with the help of SLI and arrive at some conclusions regarding the standard version of Malayalam. It will be done with the help of analysing colonial records and official documents in reference to the state-sponsored standardisation of Malayalam. In addition, the genealogy of the standardised Malayalam would be analysed to find in which variety of the language its roots lie and the factors that would have played in the selection process.

Keywords: standard language ideology, language attitudes, linguistic standardisation, Malayalam, south Asian languages

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## External Possessor Constructions in Buddhist Texts: A Comparative Analysis of Buddhist Sanskrit and Buddhist Chinese

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External possessor constructions (EPC) involving a dative possessor occur in a number of ancient and modern Indo-European languages (Haspelmath 1999; Havers 1911; Luraghi 2020). An EPC can be described as a construction featuring a possessive modifier that “does not occur as a dependent constituent of the modified NP, but NP-externally as a constituent of the clause” (Haspelmath 1999: 109). See example (1) from colloquial German (taken from Haig 2008: 115), in which the possessor *Ihm* occurs as a clause constituent in the dative case and not as a NP dependent on the possessum *der Vater*.

- (1) *Ihm*     *ist*   *der*     *Vater*     *gestorben*  
3SG:DAT is   ART:NOM   father:NOM   die:PTCPL  
'His father died' (lit. to-him is father died)

EPCs basically refer to inalienable possessions, expressing an event which affects the human body or a body part, the spirit or feelings of a human being, personal possessions (including kinship) or human relations (Havers 1911: 3–4; Luraghi 2020: 164–165). As concerns the semantics, the dative possessor of an EPC fundamentally represents an experiencer (Luraghi 2020: 172), being typically human and high in animacy (Haspelmath 1999: 113). As argued in the typological literature on this type of construction, an EPC indicates an event expressing indirect participation (Haig 2008: 61–64) or mental affectedness (Haspelmath 1999: 111), and whose effects can be perceived by the external possessor (Luraghi 2020: 170).

The existence of an EPC proper in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan is hardly provable (Luraghi 2020) due to the case syncretism between dative and genitive affecting first and second person clitic pronouns already in Old Indo-Aryan and progressively expanding to the entire system in Middle Indo-Aryan (in Pāli the dative is preserved only in the *a*-flexion singular, see Oberlies 2019: 207). Since external possessors are typically high in animacy, the opaqueness of the clitics with respect to the dative vs. genitive marking makes virtually impossible to assess the synchronic status of the construction. In the literature on Indo-Aryan syntax, it is sometime mentioned the use of a “genitivus sympatheticus” (following Havers’ terminology), see for instance von Hinüber (2022: 231–232), who provides a set of Pāli examples that could be understood as EPCs. As also acknowledged by von Hinüber, however, the collapse of dative and genitive into a single case does not allow one to evaluate with certainty whether the possessor represents an attributive genitive or a clause-level genitive. Nonetheless, some of the examples given by von Hinüber seem to present the semantic features of a genuine EPC, i.e., they refer to inalienable possessions and present an experiencer high in animacy who perceives the effects of the event and is affected by it. See example (2), where the first person plural *amhākañ* modifies a body fluid (i.e., *asuci*) and refers to

monks who are reflecting on the disciplinary consequences of the involuntary emission of semen.

- (2) *amhākañ ca supinantena asuci mucci*  
 1PL:GEN and dream:INS impurity:NOM release:AOR.3SG  
 ‘And we had an emission of semen while dreaming.’ (lit. to-us/our impurity was released while dreaming) Vin.3.112.12.

Examples of such sort are commonly found in Buddhist Sanskrit as well. Even though the genitive external possessors occurring in this kind of examples are not formally distinct from other genitive experiencers or benefactives, it is likely that their distinctive semantic-pragmatic configuration (high degree of animacy and definiteness) was relevant for the Chinese translators, especially because Middle Chinese (as Mandarin) was a topic-prominent language, with grammatical relations primarily governed by a complex interplay of pragmatic and semantic factors (LaPolla 1993, 1995; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 250–263).

In this paper, I analyze the translation strategies employed by Chinese translators to render the Sanskrit “pseudo” EPC introduced above, using the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature as the sample of investigation. I argue that one can mainly observe two different translation strategies. In the first case, the Sanskrit external possessor occurs with a transitive verb and is translated into Chinese by means of a passive construction, with the external possessor serving as the undergoer/affected topic of the Chinese clause, see (3).

- (3)
- a. *yadā me subhūte kaliṅgarājā aṅgapratyaṅgāny acchetsīn*  
 when 1SG:GEN Subhūti:VOC Kaliṅga.king:NOM limb:ACC.PL cut:AOR.3SG  
 ‘Subhūti, when the king Kaliṅga cut off my limbs.’ (lit. to-me the king Kaliṅga cut off limbs).  
*Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 126.7.
- b. 須菩提，如我昔為歌利王割截身體。  
*Xuputi ru wo xi wei Geliwang gejie shenti*  
 Subhūti like 1SG formerly PASS Kaliṅga.king cut body  
 ‘Subhūti, like in a past time the king Kaliṅga cut my body into pieces.’ (lit. I suffered the cutting of body by the king Kaliṅga). T 235 750b15.

In the second case, the possessor is found in sentences with unaccusative verbs; such examples are translated into Chinese as active sentences, with the external possessor serving as the actor controlling the verb, see (4).

- (4)
- a. *yato me bhagavan jñānam utpannam*  
 since 1SG:GEN blessed\_one knowledge:NOM arise:PP.NOM  
 ‘Blessed One, since I have attained knowledge.’ (lit. since to-me/my knowledge arose). *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 124.10.

b. 我從昔來至得聖慧。

*wo*      *cong*      *xilai*      *zhide*      *shenghui*  
1SG      since      formerly      attain      noble.wisdom

‘Since, in a past time, I have attained the noble wisdom.’ T 237 763c16.

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## **A First Look at a New Language of the Kushan Empire – The Decipherment of the Dašt-i Nāwur Trilingual**

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The Kushan Empire was one of the most influential empires of antiquity, straddling the boundary of South and Central Asia and uniting cultural and linguistic influences from all directions. As a result of sensational finds of manuscript materials, the scientific understanding of the two main official languages of this empire – Bactrian and Gāndhārī – has progressed at a fast pace, especially in the last few decades.

A puzzle that has remained unsolved until recently is that of the third official language of the Kushans, recorded in an “Unknown Script” that linguists have been unable to decipher since the 1950s (cf. Maricq 1958: 417), despite the existence of a trilingual royal inscription at Dašt-i Nāwur (Ghazni province, Afghanistan) (Fussman 1974). Since then, the corpus of inscriptions in the “Unknown Script” has grown successively (cf. Vertogradova 1982, 1995, 2002) and the discovery of a new trilingual in the Hisar mountains in 2022 (Bobomulloev, Xodžaeu & Bobomulloev 2022) has now paved the way to a partial decipherment, revealing a previously unknown Middle Iranian language behind the inscriptions (Bonmann, Halfmann & Korobzow 2023; Bonmann et al. forthcoming).

This talk presents the results of the decipherment of the “Unknown Script” and gives a first overview of the grammatical features of the new language that can be discerned so far, comparing it to its closest relatives and presenting ideas on its possible origin and sociolinguistic position within the Kushan empire.

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## **Towards Building a Parallel Treebank of Modi's Speeches in Five Languages**

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Multilingual parallel corpora are collections of texts, each of which is translated into other languages than the original. These texts are aligned at the sentence or phrase level, allowing for easy comparison and analysis. Multilingual parallel corpora have become increasingly important in contrastive linguistics, lexicography, translation studies, and studies on second-language acquisition, as they provide access to large volumes of comparable linguistic data.

Multilingual parallel corpora provide a unique opportunity for cross-linguistic comparison. Linguists can use parallel texts to identify similarities and differences in syntax, lexicon, discourse and other linguistic layers. By examining parallel texts, researchers can gain insights into the linguistic structures and features of different languages (Gouws, Snyman & Bosch 2018, Durrleman & Magnini 2014). For example, parallel corpora have been used to study word order variation in different languages, the distribution of grammatical categories, and the use of discourse markers (see for instance Avgustinova et al 2005; Pan 2016, Zhang & Clark 2008); furthermore, parallel corpora constitute valuable resource for training machine translation tools.

In this paper we present a project aimed at building a parallel corpus of texts in different languages spoken in India. The corpus will consist of a collection of speeches of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in 5 languages, namely English, Hindi, Bengali, Telugu and Marathi. It should be noted that all of the speeches in this corpus are originally in Hindi and the translations used in the project are sourced from the website of the Indian government (<https://www.pmindia.gov.in/hi/main/>). The corpus will be a valuable resource for linguists and researchers interested in analyzing the linguistic and rhetorical features of Modi's speeches, as well as the translation strategies used to translate them. The project will involve the collection and alignment of speech transcripts, as well as their morphological and syntactical annotation. To do so, texts will be organized in treebanks and annotated following the scheme provided by Universal Dependencies (<https://universaldependencies.org>).

Treebanks are collections of syntactically annotated sentences, providing a wealth of information about the grammatical structure of a language. Parallel treebanks are a type of multilingual corpus that provide annotated sentence structures for two or more languages. The use of parallel treebanks offers several advantages for linguistic comparison, including the ability to directly compare the structures and features of different languages at the syntactic level. This allows for more detailed and fine-grained analysis of linguistic phenomena across languages, such as word order variation or the use of particular constructions.

Although parallel corpora of texts in Indian languages already exist, such as Samanantar (Gowtham Ramesh, et al 2022), we are not aware of parallel treebanks for the same languages. Furthermore, due to the difficulty of finding translations of the same text that are freely accessible, parallel treebanks

still constitute a rarity in the universe of annotated corpora in general (a notable exception is the PROIEL Treebank by Haug and Jøndal 2008, which contains the translations of the Gospels in the oldest Indo-European languages; cf. also the treebanks created during the shared task Parallel Universal Dependencies). This is particularly true for Indian languages, where parallel treebanks are scarce and usually involve only two languages, with English being one of them rather than a South Asian language (see a.o. Srivastava, Bhattacharyya & Singh 2010; Dandapat, Bhattacharyya & Garain 2015; Sarkar, Bhattacharyya & Garain 2015; Peddinti, Garain & Bhattacharyya 2018). For all these reasons, we believe that the new treebank of Modi discourses will be a valuable resource for scholars with different interests.

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## **Cluster-dependent Epenthesis: English Loanword Adaptation in Varhadi, Mappila Malayalam, and Angika**

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The study of loanword adaptations gives deep insights into the phonological structure of the source and target languages. The present study attempts to examine how vowel epenthesis or anaptyxis is employed as the most frequent cluster simplification process of English loanwords at onset and coda positions in the dialects of three scheduled languages of India- Varhadi (Marathi), Mappila Malayalam (Malayalam), and Angika (Maithili). The paper also analyses the quality and location of the epenthetic vowels and their dependency on the nature of clusters. The preliminary data reveals that Varhadi onset clusters are simplified by prothesis of vowel /i/ or anaptyxis of /i/ and /ə/ vowels. Coda clusters are simplified by synthesis of /ə/. For Mappila Malayalam, while the onset clusters are generally preserved, synthetic vowel /i/ simplifies coda clusters. Angika uses prothetic vowel /i/ and epenthetic vowels /i/ and /ə/ vowels in case of onset cluster and epenthesizes /ə/ in coda clusters. Hence, **prothesis** and **anaptyxis** are more productive in both Varhadi and Angika onset clusters. Mappila Malayalam shows a general tendency to preserve onset clusters with few exceptions. On the other hand, both Varhadi and Mappila Malayalam coda clusters are simplified by **synthesis**, while Angika coda clusters use **anaptyxis** for coda cluster simplification. The data has been obtained through silent participation and observation methods from the native speakers of all three varieties.

**Keywords:** Phonology, Loanwords, Consonant clusters, Epenthesis

Table 1: Data from Varhadi

Sl.no.	English	Varhadi	Gloss
<b>Prothesis</b> of vowel /i/			
1.	/sti:l/	[is.ʈil]	Steel
2.	/skeɪl/	[is.kel]	Scale
3.	/stail/	[is.ʈaɪl]	Style
<b>Anaptyxis</b> of vowel /i/ and /ə/			
4.	/breɪk/	[bi.rek]	Break
5.	/klɪp/	[ki.lɪp]	Clip
6.	/fraɪ/	[pʰə.raj]	Fry
7.	/plɑ:.stə/	[pə.ləs.ʈər]	Plaster
<b>Synthesis</b> of vowel /ə/			
8.	/fa:st/	[pʰa:ʃ.tə]	Fast
9.	/gest/	[ges.tə]	Guest
10.	/kɔ:(r)t/	[kor.ʈə]	Court

Table 2: Data from Mappila Malayalam

Sl.no.	English	Mappila Malayalam	Gloss
<b>Synthesis</b> of vowel /i/			
1.	/fa:st/	[fɑ:s.ʈi]	Fast
2.	/gest/	[ges.ʈi]	Guest
3.	/kɔ:(r)t/	[kor.ʈi]	Court
4,	/ʃɜ:(r)t/	[ʃər.ʈi]	Shirt

Table 3: Data from Angika

Sl.no.	English	Angika	Gloss
<b>Prothesis</b> of vowel /i/			
1.	/sti:l/	[is.ʈi:l]	Steel
2.	/skeɪl/	[is.ke:l]	Scale
3.	/steɪdʒ/	[is.ʈe:dʒ]	Stage
<b>Anaptyxis</b> of vowel /i/ and /ə/			
4.	/breɪk/	[bi.re:k]	Break
5.	/klɪp/	[ki.li:p]	Clip
6.	/fraɪ/	[p <sup>h</sup> ə.raj]	Fry
7.	/plɑ:.stə/	[pə.ləs.ʈər]	Plaster
<b>Anaptyxis</b> of vowel /ə/			
8.	/ʃɜ:(r)t/	[sə.rəʈ]	Shirt
9.	/ka:(r)d/	[ka:.rəʈ]	Card
10.	/kɔ:(r)t/	[ko.rəʈ]	Court
11.	/nɜ:(r)s/	[nə.rəs]	Nurse

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## **The sociolect continuum of Hindi in contemporary North India. A preliminary characterization**

Andrea Drocco (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

So far there have been numerous studies on synchronic aspects of many NIA languages but since the monumental *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1898-1928) there have been only a few works summarizing newest findings on NIA in general, all having predominantly synchronic or typological bias (Masica 1991, Cardona and Jain 2003, Hock and Bashir 2016). Despite the growing interest in NIA regional languages, NIA dialectology and/or NIA sociolinguistics seems to be still rather neglected topics on Indo-Aryan.

In recent years we assisted to a growing interest on regional and minority Indo-Aryan languages from a synchronic perspective taking into account, in particular, newest typological findings in the region and/or collection of data in form of written records and/or from fieldwork researches (cf. the *People's Linguistic Survey of India*). However, due to the gradual increase in the use of Hindi as a major/official (national?) language in India and, above all, in the Hindi belt in the second half of the twentieth century, it is still a desideratum to investigate the mutual influence between single/different regional/minority languages and Hindi according a sociolinguistic and language contact perspectives.

The main aim of the paper is to illustrate some of the features that are the results of the impact of regional languages on Hindi (cf. Nespital 1990), that they are giving birth to a non-standard variety (varieties) of this language. In some cases, the latter is regionally characterized and thus alongside a non-standard variety of Hindi coexists a regional variety of the same in what can be considered a sociolect continuum. Some of the features we will take into consideration are:

- i) the recurring Subject in post-verbal position,
- ii) the use of different postposition, with respect to the standard, to mark the addressee of verb of speaking,
- iii) the use of a new oblique case for pronouns shaped on the genitive case.

As we will see, some of these features are the outcome of the imperfect learning of this language by regional/minority mother-tongue speakers or by speakers of other State language. This process is also characterized by substratum interferences, the latter as a consequence of the effects of a process of language shift from regional/minority languages toward major/state/national language (a process that is still in progress) (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), or by a process of koineization and accomodation of different source languages (cf. Abbi 2014).



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## **Inter-genetic areal study of grammatical cases in the languages of West Bengal**

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This paper explores an inter-genetic areal study of case markers of four languages of West Bengal, India. West Bengal is a linguistically diverse area where languages of four different families are spoken. The languages for the present study are Kurux (Dravidian), Dhimal (Tibeto-Burman), Santali (Austro-Asiatic), and Bangla (Indo-Aryan). Case is a tool for marking semantic relationships between dependents and a head (Butt 2006). Case is marked through inflectional affixes or individual lexemes. In this paper, we only focus on contact-induced changes and areal features in the case marking of these languages.

Kurux is a North Dravidian language spoken by the Oraons in the Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal. UNESCO marked Kurux as a vulnerable language (Moseley, 2012). Dhimal is leveled as an endangered language of India by the Government of India, spoken in three small villages in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Santali is the most widely spoken language of the Munda subfamily of Austroasiatic languages. It is mainly spoken in the Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Jhargram, and Purulia districts of West Bengal. It has recently been listed as a scheduled language in India. Bangla is the major language of the state, West Bengal.

During the study, we have come across various case marking features which are common for all these four languages which are in contact. They do not always match with the features of their respective families. For example, in the Dravidian languages, nouns, and pronouns change into the oblique form before taking any case suffix (Krishnamurti 2003), which also stands true for many Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi (for example, *larka* ‘boy’ changes into the oblique form *larka*, as in *larka-ne* ‘boy, agentive,’). However Bangla (Indo-Aryan) and Kurux (Dravidian) like other languages of this area, do not have an oblique form. Kurux, which is a North Dravidian language, does not have an oblique form, unlike the South Dravidian counterparts. Same stands true for Bangla and the other two languages as well. For example, the Tamil word for tree ‘*maram*’ changes its form to an oblique form and then takes a case suffix, but the words of the other four languages remain the same before taking the case marker.

maram ‘tree’ (**Tamil**) → mara-tt (oblique form) → mara-tt-il ‘tree, locative’

kukkos ‘boy’ (**Kurux**) → kukkos-in ‘boy, accusative’ or kukkos-ti ‘boy, instrumental.

<sup>h</sup>ele ‘boy’ (**Bangla**) → <sup>h</sup>ele-ke ‘boy, accusative’ or <sup>t</sup>ebil-er ‘table, genitive’

mac<sup>h</sup>i ‘table’ (**Santali**) → mac<sup>h</sup>i-renak

kagoj ‘book’ (**Dhimal**) → kagoj-sonj ‘book, ablative’

We have also found similar nature of polysemy in the case markers of these languages. Moreover, pattern of index marking through case markers also overlaps in some instances. We will discuss other case-related areal features of these languages in detail in this paper.

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## **The Tenyimia Group: A Linguistic Account**

Mimi Kevichusa Ezung (Nagaland University)

Ten tribes spread over Nagaland, Manipur and Assam in the North East of India comprise the Tenyimia Group based on common ancestry and cultural similarity. The Tenyimia Group within the State of Nagaland is comprised of the Zeliangrong group in Peren district, the Angami group in Dimapur and Kohima districts, the Rengma group in Tseminyiu district, the Chakhesang group and Pochury group in Phek district. The Tenyimia group also includes the Mao-Poumai-Maram group in Senapati and Tamenlong districts in Manipur and Western Rengma in East Assam. While touching upon the non-linguistic factors, the paper focuses on the linguistic affinity of the Tenyimia group inhabiting the State of Nagaland, namely, Angami, Chakhesang, Rengma, Pochury and Zeliangrong. The languages under study are Tenyidie (Angami), Chokri and Khezha (Chakhesang), Nzonkhwe (Southern Rengma), Zeme (Zeliangrong), and Pochury. This group occupies the southern part of Nagaland and closely corresponds to the 'kilted group' (Woodthorpe as found in Hutton 1921), which contrasts with the 'non-kilted' group (or non-Tenyimia group), that is, northern and eastern Nagaland.

This paper examines the linguistic affinity of this group based on certain phonological aspects and morpho-syntactic features.

The paper first builds a contrast with the non-Tenyimia group of languages in Nagaland based on the phonology. The phonological segments examined is restricted to the contrast between the presence and absence of voiced plosives in the Tenyimia group and non-Tenyimia group respectively.

The paper further examines certain morpho-syntactic features that hold across the languages under the Tenyimia group against three parameters viz. (1) verbal construct of monotransitive and ditransitive verbs, (2) interaction of lexical anaphors with the verbal constructs in (1); and (3) the feature of verb raising in purposive clauses.

The three parameters are based on the study conducted in Tenyidie (Kevichusa 2007) and which have been tested and ascertained towards the goal of searching for common phonological and morpho-syntactic features across the affiliating languages.

## The *bahuvrīhi* compounds signifying direction: Vedic and Pāṇinian evidence

Valentina Ferrero (University of Cagliari)

Pāṇini prescribes the *sarvanāman* designation for the word-forms beginning with *sarva-* ‘all’ in rule A 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*. However, he immediately adds an optionality for such a designation in *sūtra* A 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā dīksamāse bahuvrīhau* [#27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*]: “The word-forms *sarva-* etc. are marginally designated as *sarvanāman* when they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound signifying direction”. An example of this optionality is drawn from the grammatical commentaries: *uttarapūrvasyai / uttarapūrvāyai* ‘for the northeastern [direction]’ (inflected in the dative singular); in fact, A 2.2.26 *dīnnāmāny antarāle* states that names denoting *dīś* ‘direction’ optionally combine in a *bahuvrīhi* compound provided that the compound signifies the intermediate direction.

While discussing A 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā dīksamāse bahuvrīhau* and the need of maintaining it separated from A 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau*, Patañjali shows us the importance of understanding correctly this *sūtra*. In fact, the translation provided above interprets *dīksamāse bahuvrīhau* as ‘a *bahuvrīhi* compound signifying direction’, in accordance with Böhtlingk (1887: 4) and Vasu (1891-1898: I: 23-24); however, the compound *dīksamāse* is interpreted with a slightly different meaning by other scholars, for instance, Katre (1987: 14), Sharma (1999-2002: II: 28-30) and Joshi and Roodbergen (1991-2011: I: 36) define *dīksamāse bahuvrīhau* as ‘a *bahuvrīhi* compound whose constituents signify direction’. In order to avoid this second interpretation, Patañjali also provides a counterexample for this rule: *tasmai pūrvottarāya dehi* ‘give it to the [confused] one according to whom the eastern [direction] is the northern one’. It is evident that the *bahuvrīhi* is made up of constituents signifying direction, but the compound itself does not denote the intermediate direction anymore. For this reason, *pūrvottarāya* is inflected in the dative case like every other nominal stem (not as a pronoun). The purpose of this research is to find *bahuvrīhi* compounds denoting direction in Sanskrit literature and to analyse them in order to understand how the optionality of the *sarvanāman* designation actually works. Furthermore, the present research also studies *bahuvrīhi* compounds made up of terms indicating direction, but not denoting direction themselves. According to the explanation of Patañjali, these latter compounds should not follow the pronominal inflection, but the nominal one. However, a question arises here: do examples of this kind exist, or is this only a grammatical sample specifically constructed by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* to justify the presence of these two subsequent *sūtras* (namely, A 1.1.28-29) in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*?

The present study contributes to the previous works of Wackernagel (1930) and Kiparsky (1979) dealing with the inflection of pronominal stems and the optionality of the *sarvanāman* designation. Nevertheless, the idea behind this research is first of all a fresh inquiry into all the instances of directions which can be found in the four Vedas to understand the repertoire of directions available to Pāṇini during the composition of his grammar; secondly, the *bahuvrīhi* compounds signifying direction (and those whose constituents denote direction) that can be found in pre-pāṇinian literature are analysed to have an idea of how many examples of this phenomenon were used at Pāṇini’s age. While trying to find an answer to the previous questions, this research will finally give an explanation

to the collocation of *sarvanāman* rules both in *prācīna* and in *navya vyākaraṇa* works.

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## Bhartrihari's Ideas on Language: An Exploration from the Perspectives of Modern Sciences

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The 5th Century ancient Indian grammarian-philosopher-poet Bhartrihari in his *magnum opus* 'Vākyapadīyam' ('On Sentence and Word', VP, henceforth) has given profoundly genius and refreshing ideas on the philosophy of language, taking the grammar to the level of *darśana* (philosophy) with his doctrine of *Śabdādvaita* (the Supreme Speech Principle). The text has been revisited numerous times by several Indian and western scholars in the fields of Linguistics, Philosophy, Psychology, Poetics, and Yoga. This paper addresses a few theories presented in the first two chapters of the VP from the perspectives of the modern fields of linguistics, psychology, psycholinguistics, cognitive science, and natural language processing that emerged and flourished only after the 1960s.

For example,

- (1) Bhartrihari's thesis statement of *Śabda-brahman* (the Supreme Speech principle) is revisited from the perspective of the cognitive science (particularly, the Cognitive commitment hypothesis) that believes the process of understanding reality via one's perceptual knowledge gives rise to the conceptualization of objective reality, which becomes a projected reality when expressed by the symbolic representation of word-and-meanings, for which Bhartrihari uses words like 'bhāsate' (VP.I.123) (appears as if), 'pratibimbavat' (like a reflection) (VP.I.20), 'vivartate' (manifests) (VP.I.1, 18, 114), 'iva pratīyate' (appears as if) (VP.I.21), and 'avabhāsate' (takes shape/ appear) (VP.I.22) and so on.
- (2) Bhartrihari's argument that all our cognitions are intertwined with words (VP.I.1) is studied in the light of cognitive semantics that suggests 'meaning construction is conceptualization, for which language is a key methodological tool.'
- (3) Bhartrihari's exposition on how near-similar words in different regions convey a similar thing (VP.I.2-5) is revisited from the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives.
- (4) Bhartrihari's argument that the grammar of language helps in understanding the words that are the sole guides to the truth (VP.I.11-14) (which had finally led Bhartrihari in establishing that grammar is a gateway to liberation, VP.I.16) is studied from the modern lenses of Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, that suggests that one's language disposes one to have a certain worldview. Thus, a person can have an access to those cognitive categories for which he has the linguistic categories in his language. (Even though, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is being largely criticized in the psycholinguistic forum, this discussion will lead us to a better understanding of Bhartrihari's contribution where he considers grammar as a door to liberation.)
- (5) Bhartrihari's theory of *Sphoṭa* which distinguishes the Inner Speech (the mental representations) from the Outer Speech (that has acoustic features, VP.I.44-50) is studied in the light of theoretical linguistics referring to Noam Chomsky's linguistic dichotomy of Deep Structure and Surface Structure (1965), or Ferdinand De Saussure's *Langue* and *Parole* (1916). The insights from the 'Whole-Word Strategy' of language teaching (2016) in psycholinguistics are also incorporated.
- (6) The unification of sentence meaning or the indivisibility of sentence meaning (*akhaṇḍa-vākya*) given by Bhartrihari is interpreted from the Gestalt psychologists' viewpoints.

- (7) The latency or instinctive nature of Bhartrihari's *Pratibhā* is studied in the light of the Innateness Hypothesis of Noam Chomsky, Ogden and Richard's Semiotic triangle, and from the perspective of 'mind is *not a tabula rasa*' in cognitive science.
- (8) Bhartrihari's three levels of speech, i.e., *paśyantī* (inner speech), *madhyamā* (speech in the mind before articulation), and *vaikharī* (actual speech) are studied from William Levelt's Speech Production Model (1923) where the *madhyamā* level of speech resembles to his 'preverbal message' stage.
- (9) Some techniques of Bhartrihari's word-sense disambiguation, such as *Samoyga* (association), *Viprayoga* (dissociation), *Sāhacarya* (mutual association), and *Virodhitā* (enmity/ opposition), are studied from the perspective of Neighborhood Density in psycholinguistics, and Neighborhood frequency in natural language processing.

This paper is a humble attempt to study both ancient and modern theories. Rather than drawing parallels between the two or reading the one in the other, the main focus of this research remains (1) on offering a novel vista to study Bhartrihari, and (2) discovering the unique contribution of Bhartrihari to form a linguistic hypothesis, and theories thereafter. The ideas presented in the paper will stand as a starting point for researchers in different fields and will encourage readers to revisit ancient Indian theories from modern methods of enquiry.



## 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Marking in Kiranti Languages

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The approximately 30 Kiranti languages spoken in eastern Nepal (Trans-Himalayan language family) exhibit complex, biactantial verbal agreement morphology, a feature which is considered to be a retention from an earlier language stage, most probably Proto-Trans-Himalayan (cf. Bauman 1975, DeLancey 1989, van Driem 1993, LaPolla 2003, Jacques 2012). All Kiranti languages mark 3 persons and 3 number (singular, dual, plural) and show an inclusive/exclusive distinction.

While 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person marking is relatively homogeneous among different languages, 2<sup>nd</sup> person marking exhibits a considerable amount of variation, cf. Table 1. As can be seen in this Table, the variation does not only concern the morphological material, but also its position in the verbal syntagma, with both suffixes and prefixes occurring. Additionally, certain Kiranti languages also exhibit variation in 2<sup>nd</sup> person marking among different paradigms (e.g. intransitive vs. transitive, indicative vs. imperative) or different configurations of the transitive verb (e.g. 1→2 vs. 2→1).

**Table 1** Person marking on intransitive verbs in selected Kiranti languages

	Lohorung	Bantawa	Limbu	Yakkha	Khaling	Hayu
<b>1SG (NPT)</b>	- <i>ŋa</i>	- <i>ŋa</i>	- <i>Na</i>	- <i>ŋ</i>	- <i>ŋʌ</i>	- <i>ŋo</i>
<b>2SG</b>	- <i>na</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ke-</i>	- <i>ka</i>	<i>ʔi-</i>	- <i>∅</i>
<b>3SG</b>	- <i>∅</i>	- <i>∅</i>	- <i>∅</i>	- <i>∅</i>	- <i>∅</i>	

The aim of this talk is to give a survey of 2<sup>nd</sup> person marking in Kiranti languages, to trace the etymology of the individual markers and to assess the observable diversity by providing hypothesis on the age of the individual etyma and the diachrony of the synchronic diversity.

While 2<sup>nd</sup> person marking has already been investigated in the wider perspective of the whole Trans-Himalayan language family (including data on individual Kiranti language) by Jacques (2012) or DeLancey (2014, 2018), there exists no in-depth account on Kiranti taking into account data from all the individual languages. Van Driem (1990, 1991, 1992) reconstructs 2<sup>nd</sup> person morphology for Proto-Kiranti, but offers no analysis on the history and development of this morphology. Moreover, his reconstructions need to be revised and updated in the light of the considerable amount of new data provided by various grammars and papers on agreement morphology of previously un(der)described Kiranti languages (e.g. van Driem 1993, Ebert 1997, Rutgers 1998, Opgenort 2004, Bickel et al. 2007, Borchers 2008, Doornenbal 2009, Lahaussois 2009, Huysmans 2011, Jacques et al. 2012, Schackow 2015, Tambahang 2017, Grollmann 2018-2019, Cho 2020) and the above mentioned work on 2<sup>nd</sup> person marking in Trans-Himalayan published in the meantime. This talk aims to give such an update and to provide new insights in 2<sup>nd</sup> person marking in Kiranti. A better understanding of Kiranti agreement marking will be of high relevance for the historical exploration of agreement morphology in Trans-Himalayan in general.

## Data sources

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Bantawa: Doornenbal (2009)  
Limbu: Michailovsky (2002)  
Yakkha: Schackow (2015)  
Khaling: Jacques et al. (2012)  
Hayu: Michailovsky (1988)

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## Cognitive Semantic Analysis of Fear Expressions in Hindi and Bangla

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Emotion concepts are largely metaphorical and metonymic in nature across languages. Fear is an intensely unpleasant emotion in response to perceiving or recognizing a danger or threat. Fear includes physical, psychological, and behavioral reactions. The language of emotion is one of the areas where the influence of culture on cognition has been studied<sup>[1]</sup>. In this paper, we have made a comparative study of idiomatic expressions of Fear from Hindi and Bangla and compared them with English fear expressions from a cross-cultural perspective through the lens of Cognitive Linguistics. We have collected around 25 fear-related idiomatic expressions from each of the languages from various sources like websites, books, and native speakers. For the sake of the analysis, we employed the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor theory<sup>[2]</sup> and the Extended Conceptual Metaphor theory<sup>[3]</sup> for analyzing idiomatic expressions. We have classified these expressions into different stages of the emotion fear like *auditory or visual stimuli causing fear, physiological arousal, and so on*. Interestingly most of the idiomatic expressions in the selected languages employ the metonymy of our body parts for expressing fear<sup>[A]</sup>. However, the seat of fear in Hindi is the liver<sup>[B]</sup> expressed in many idioms but completely missing in Bangla<sup>[C]</sup> and English where the seat of fear is the heart. Bangla<sup>[D]</sup> has some animal metaphors of fear with tiger (present in Hindi<sup>[E]</sup> also), crocodile, and bear. In contrast to Hindi and English instances, Bangla shows the predominant use of onomatopoeic expressions and reduplication in conceptualizing fear<sup>[F]</sup>. The commonality we found among the selected languages is that fear-related idioms use more metonymies than metaphors.

**Keywords:** Emotion concepts, Fear, Idiomatic expressions, Metaphor, Metonymy, Cross-cultural perspective.

### EXAMPLES

[A] (i) *jābā sābāke: sa:māne: usāki: pō:lā pāṭṭi: kʰuli: ṭo: usāke: ce:hāre: pāṛā hāva:ijā: uṛne: laḡi:n* ‘When her doings were exposed in front of everyone, she was terrified.’ (Hindi)

[A] (ii) *ḡurgʰōtonar ḡriffō ḡekʰe hāḡʰ pa: ṭʰanda hoe ḡælo* ‘Seeing the sight of the accident, I froze in fear’ (Bangla)

[B] *kāle:ja: kā:pāna:* ‘liver shivering’ (Hindi)

[C] *bʰōje buk ḡʰukpuk kōṛa* ‘heart pounding in fear’ (Bangla) (‘ḡʰukpuk’ also onomatopoeic)

[D] *ḡḡōle kumir danaj bagʰ* ‘(lit.) Crocodile in the water, tiger on the bank’ (Bangla) ‘Danger from two sides’

[E] *ṭumā usāse: iṭāna: ḡṛāṭe: kjo:n ho:, vāhā ba:gʰā ṭʰo:ṛe: hi: hā:i jo: ṭumhe: kʰa: ja:e:ga:* ‘Why are you so afraid of him, he is not a tiger who will eat you’ (Hindi)

[F] *bʰōje ṭʰṛ ṭʰṛ koṛe kāpa* ‘to tremble in fear’ (Bangla)

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## Verb stem alternations in Nachiring: Description and internal reconstruction

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Nachiring is a Kiranti language (Trans-Himalayan) spoken in eastern Nepal by a dwindling number of a few hundred speakers. The closest relatives of Nachiring are Kulung and Sampang. These three languages form together the Khambu group of Kiranti, a subgroup which is ethnolinguistically motivated, but not yet substantiated by diagnostic shared innovation. Among these three languages, Kulung is, although still underdescribed, the most extensively studied language (Tolsma 2006), compared to Sampang and Nachiring, both hitherto undescribed languages. Nachiring is a highly endangered language, the youngest fluent speakers being between 60-90 years old and intergenerational transmission being interrupted since at least two generations. In the context of my PhD project, linguistic fieldwork has been carried out on Nachiring since 2017 and a first grammar of Nachiring, including a text collection and dictionary, is currently being finalised. The data and analysis presented in this talk constitute the very first account of verb stem morphology of Nachiring.

Like Kulung (Lamontre 2020), Nachiring exhibits a complex system of opaque verb stem morphology. Verbs in Nachiring can be grouped into different classes defined on the basis of the patterns of stem alternations which occur in different cells of the inflectional paradigm and in certain non-finite forms such as the infinitive, nominalized forms, converbs and/or the supine. There are around 25 such classes with one to five different stems, e.g. *rim-* “to cool” vs. *chuu-* ~ *cha-* ~ *chan-* ~ *chu-* ~ *cha-* “to bow”. In general, these stem classes are associated with the coda or rhyme of the verb stem or the quality of the stem vowel, in case of open syllable stems, but the various stems are not transparently predictable by the phonological environment, at least not in synchronic terms, and the alternation patterns are idiosyncratic for each verb class. In addition to these morphologically conditioned stems, there is a number of so-called stem forms which, by contrast, are morphophonologically conditioned and which can be led back to synchronically motivated processes such as consonant cluster reduction. The morphological processes occurring in the alternations concern the change, reduction or deletion of the stem coda and/or patterns of Ablaut of the stem vowel. For example, the verb class CVks-, e.g. *khoks-* “to cut”, exhibits the three morphologically conditioned stems I *khoks-* (elsewhere stem), II *kho-* (in non-finite forms) and III *khon-* (in 1SG→2), and the morphophonologically conditioned stem form I' *khos-* before consonants. The morphological conditioning of the stems vary from class to class, cf. the verb *uk-* “to scoop” belonging to the class CVkk-, I *uk-* (elsewhere stem), II *u-* (non-finite forms), III *ukk-* (3SG→3), but can be reduced to a handful of recurrent morphological environments.

This talk aims to provide first a descriptive presentation of the Nachiring stem classes, the morphological processes and conditioning environments. Second, by taking a diachronic perspective, an internal reconstruction of Nachiring verb stem classes will be undertaken. By identifying old inflectional and derivational morphology which has been reanalysed as part of the verb stem and by consulting the historical phonology of Nachiring, it will be shown that the stem

alternations reveal a more transparent pattern from a diachronic point of view which allows the formulation of phonological conditioning for many of the synchronic stems.

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## Compounds in Vedic Sanskrit: dependency annotations and diachronic trends

Oliver Hellwig (University of Zurich) - Sven Sellmer (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

Sanskrit data have played an important role for the research on compounds from the very beginning of such studies, and the interest seems to have revived in the last decades (see, e.g., Scarlata, Kiparsky, Tan, Lowe, Biagetti). In the proposed paper, we will introduce a database of compounds constructed with the help of the Vedic Treebank (VTB, see . . . ) and present some preliminary observations.

The open-access VTB consists of more than 25,000 sentences across the whole of Vedic literature that were manually annotated by multiple scholars according to the Universal Dependency standards (. . . ), but with some additional tags specifically designed to deal with the internal structure of compounds. These made it possible to create a database of more than 7000 compounds according to Bisetti & Scalise's (2005) two-dimensional classification (coordinate/subordinate/attributive + endocentric vs. exocentric), with additional human input needed for the decision about a compound's status as endo- or exocentric in many cases. An additional database we have created contains information about the Vedic texts involved, including the approximate time period, genre, geographical provenance, etc. This allows us to assess differences and developments in the usage of compounds connected with these parameters, as also to statistically control the influence of some factors when investigating others.

As far as the diachronic development of Vedic Sanskrit in general is concerned, our investigations point to the fact that one of the most dynamically and obviously changing aspects is the usage of compounds. Indeed, there are several dimensions of compound usage change, some of which – like the continuously increasing number of longer compounds – have been noted long ago (Delbrück, Wackernagel). Our VTB-based approach now offers the possibility to detect new ones, and to trace all of them in detail.

In the proposed paper we will restrict ourselves to presenting and briefly discussing two strong diachronic trends visible in two-noun compounds: the rise of coordinate (*dvandva*) compounds, and the increase of endocentric subordinate compounds (*tatpuru.sa*) at the expense of their endocentric counterparts – see Tables 1 and 2. These phenomena are not unknown, but were never proved in a large-scale statistical way.

diachronic trend/typology? Denkanregung



Period	To	To %	Ty	Ty %	Tos	Ty	To %	Ty %
1-RV	31	38.3	19	32.8	492	360	16.5	16.1
2-MA	96	45.1	73	41.2	1081	794	19.7	22.3
3-PO	121	46.9	62	53.9	719	355	35.9	32.4
4-PL	343	76.9	202	71.9	1348	785	33.1	35.8
5-SU	1157	80.2	793	79	3366	2226	42.9	45.1

Table 1: Endocentric subordinate two-noun compounds (*tatpuruṣa*)

Time	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	% Tokens	% Types
1-RV	15	4	492	360	3	1.1
2-MA	24	14	1081	794	2.2	1.8
3-PO	54	19	719	355	7.5	5.4
4-PL	200	68	1348	785	14.8	8.7
5-SU	223	142	3366	2226	6.6	6.4

Table 2: Share of two-noun coordinate compounds (*dvandvas*)

## **Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit redux: How did it originate?**

Hans Henrich Hock (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign)

Since Edgerton (1953) Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS), the language of the Lokottaravāda Mahāsāṅghika school, has been considered a sanskritization of an original Prakrit. This view is supported by strong linguistic evidence. Consider (1) and (2) from the early Mahāvastu. Sandhi (small caps), inflectional endings (bold), and entire forms, especially verbs (italics) are of Prakrit origin, while the majority of lexical items are Sanskrit (unmarked). (Sanskrit equivalents are given below each line.) The reason for this sanskritization has been dealt with in earlier literature, namely the desire to compete with Sanskrit-using brahmins (e.g. Salomon 1998, Bronkhorst 2010).

The manner in which such a massive lexical sanskritization could have been accomplished, however, has not been satisfactorily addressed. The present paper attempts to answer this question.

Relevant in this context is that in the early centuries AD, Sanskrit spread as the language of statecraft and of technical and fine literature throughout South Asia. Bronkhorst (2010) plausibly argues that this spread was propelled by Sanskrit-using brahmins who were experts in these matters. Recent research by [Author] suggests that an important vehicle for imparting the knowledge of Sanskrit consisted in brahmin-dominated, Sanskrit-medium schools.

Now, into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the curriculum of such schools started with the memorization of a thesaurus of Sanskrit words and of a simplified version of Pāṇini's grammar. A link between these memorized texts was established in later years through composition and the study of texts.

The lexical sanskritization in BHS can then be explained in terms of some of the early Buddhist students only completing the first year of instruction. This would leave them with a ready-made Sanskrit lexicon for replacing Prakrit words – hence the massive lexical sanskritization. As regards grammar, however, they would not yet have a full grasp of how to apply the memorized rules in practice – hence they would tend to use Prakrit sandhi and inflectional forms. The result, then, evidently became institutionalized as the language of one Buddhist branch, mainly the Mahāsāṅghika School. (Other branches, except for the Theravādins, followed the general trend to full acquisition of Sanskrit.)

An unexpected support for the present hypothesis comes from Kapstein's (2018: 470) account of grammatically deficient, but lexically accurate Sanskrit compositions by Tibetans: 'Errors such as this ... were likely due in part to the practice of teaching vyākaraṇa [grammar] and abhidhāna [practice] quite separately, ... with almost no training in practical application.'

The paper concludes by considering the implications of my proposal as well as the similarities and differences between BHS and the Bilingual Mixed Languages discussed e.g. in Bakker & Matras 2003.

(1) *abhūṣi*      *rājā*                      *ikṣvāku*                      *vārāṇasyām*                      *mahābalO*  
 be.AOR.3SG    king.NOM.SG.M    Ikṣ.NOM.SG.M    Vār.LOC.SG.F    great.strength.NOM.SG.M  
*abhūd/āsīd*    *rājā*                      *ikṣvākur*                      *vārāṇasyām*                      *mahābalaḥ*  
 ‘There was a strong king, Ikṣvāku, in Vārāṇasī.’

(2) *so*                      *ca*                      *jīrṇo*                      *bhavitvāna*      ...  
 DEM.NOM.SG.M    &                      old.NOM.SG.M    be.CVB  
*sa*                      *ca*                      *jīrṇo*                      *bhūtvā*  
*vepamānehi*                      *gātrehi*                      *rājādvāram*                      *upāgato*  
 trembling.INST.PL.N    limb.INST.PL.N    king.gate.ACC.SG.N    go.up.PFV.PPL.NOM.SG.M  
*vepamānair*                      *gātrai*                      *rājādvāram*                      *upāgataḥ*  
 ‘And he (Indra) making himself old, ... came to the royal gate with trembling limbs.’

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## Nominalisation in Chakma

Keisuke Huziwara (Teikyo University of Science)

The Chakma language (ISO 639-3 ccp: Eastern group, Indo-Aryan) is spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, as well as in the neighbouring states of Tripura, Mizoram, and Arunachal Pradesh in India. Additionally, it is known as Dainak in the neighbouring Rakhine state of Burma.

Chakma shares a significant degree of lexical and grammatical similarity with Standard Bangla, particularly with the Chittagong dialect known as Chittagonian. The nominalising marker  $=tE$  is the focus of this paper, as it is not found in Standard Bangla nor described in the Chittagonian grammar of Učida (1970). The paper attempts to describe the marker's usage and origins.

In Chakma, noun-modifying expressions, similar to Standard Bangla, use verbal nouns, as depicted in (1). However, other usages, as illustrated in (2), are not found in Standard Bangla. These usages allow the noun-modifying clause's target to take on various forms, such as subject, object, genitive and "external relation." These structurally similar expressions are also prevalent in Marma, the lingua franca of minority languages in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Examples are presented in (3).

The nominaliser  $=tE$  can also be used for verbal predicates, as shown in (4). This usage is common in Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the Chakma area. Marma examples are provided in (5).

Comparing (2) ~ (5), the nominaliser  $=tE$  in Chakma is similar to the Marma nominaliser  $=ca$ .

Finally, the origin of the nominaliser  $=tE$  is discussed. If compared to Indo-Aryan languages, Bangla's infinitive marker  $-te$  is morphologically closest. However, as illustrated in (6), the Chakma  $=tE$  does not necessarily correspond to Bangla's  $-te$ .

In Chakma,  $tE$  is also used as the third person singular pronoun. This usage is observed in Tibeto-Burman languages (Liu & Gu, 2011). The nominaliser  $=tE$  in Chakma may be related to the third person pronoun  $tE$ .

## Examples

- (1) a. Bangla; amar' lekha bô i

1.SG.GEN write,VN book

'The book that I wrote' (lit. my writing book)

- b. Chakma: mOr lEgá boóy

1.SG.GEN write,VN book

'The book that I wrote' (lit. my writing book)

- (2) Chakma

- a. subject target

boóy lEgOn=dÉ manúc.

book write.3.PL.PRS=NMLS man

'Man who writes book'

- b. object target

manjÉ lEgOn=dÉ boóy.

man.AGT write.3.PL.PRS=NMLS book

'Book that man writes'

- c. genitive target

nij=Or fu=bó ikkul=Ot agÉ=dÉ mastOr.

self=GEN son=DEF school=LOC be.3.SG.PRS=NMLS teacher

'Teacher whose son is in school'

- d. external relation

mac báiÉt=tÉ bac

fish grill.3.SG.PRS.CONT=NMLS smell

'Smell which appears as a result of grilling fish'

- (3) Marma
- a. subject target  
 bwě rw'ɪ=ca lu.  
 book write(=NMLS) man  
 'Man who writes book'
- b. object target  
 lu rw'ɪ=ca bwě  
 man write=NMLS book  
 'Book that man writes'
- c. genitive target  
 kǒ T á ky0N=ma h'N=ca ch@ra.  
 self.OBL son school=LOC exist=NMLS teacher  
 'Teacher whose son is in school'
- d. external relation  
 N á kaN-niN=ca P@nǎiN  
 fish grill-CONT=NMLS smell  
 'Smell which appears as a result of grilling fish'
- (4) Chakma
- a. mitu=rĚ h0dá h0ná s'iga0t=tĚ.  
 PSN=ACC language say.VN teach.1.SG.PRS.CONT=NMLS  
 'It is that I'm teaching language to Mitu.'
- b. tará Elák=kĚ húp súk=E.  
 3.PL be.3.PL.PST=NMLS very happy=ADV  
 'It is that they were very happy.'
- (5) Marma
- a. yáNTu th@m0N cá-li=re.  
 that.person rice eat-PST=RLS  
 'That person ate rice'.
- b. yáNTu th@m0N cá-li=ca.  
 that.person rice eat-PST=NMLS  
 'It is that that person ate rice'

(6) a. Chakma: tŕÉ gan ga=dÉ degí=néy muy Obak óyoN.

2.SG.ACC song sing=NMLS see.PTCP=SEQ 1.SG surprise become.1.SG.PRS.PRF  
'I was surprised to see you to sing a song'

b. Bangla: tomar' gan' gawa dekhe/\*dekh'=te ami Obak  
2.SG.GEN song sing.VN see.PRF.PTCP/\*see=INF 1.SG surprise

hôyechi.

become.1.PRS.PRF

'I was surprised to see you to sing a song'

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## Front vowel lowering in Malayalam

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The study attempts to analyze the case of lowering of front vowels in Malayalam, a Dravidian language spoken in the southern state of Kerala, India (Krishnamurti, 2003). The lowering of the close front unrounded vowel [i] to close-mid front unrounded vowel [e] takes place when followed by a low front vowel. In particular, the lowering of the vowel from [i] to [e] takes place in the first syllable when it is followed by an open front unrounded vowel [a] in the following syllable, where the first and the second syllables are open. The lowering of the vowel from [i] to [e] also requires the absence of consonant clusters in the first and the second syllable of the word. However, in Malayalam, this phenomenon is observed in the cases of Native Dravidian (ND) words, while the Sanskrit Borrowing (SB) stratum retains the vowel height in a likewise scenario.

Unlike the earlier studies on vowel lowering in Malayalam, this work analyses the phonological phenomenon using the Optimality Theory (OT) framework (Prince and Smolensky, 1993). The constraint-based approach of OT offers a different aspect to the analysis of this phonological event that applies to only one set of words in the multi-strata lexicon of Malayalam. The core-periphery model (Ito and Mester, 1995) is used to build the stratum-specific ranking of the constraints. In this analysis, we argue that a high-ranked constraint that punishes any [+high] vowel in the ND words (when other conditions are fulfilled) must be ranked low in the case of the SB words to allow the retention of the high vowel in them. For instance, /i[akki]/ (ND stratum; from the examples in A) can have two candidates with an initial high vowel [i] and low vowel [e]. A high-ranked constraint \*[+high] rules out [i[akki] but allows [e[akki], which eventually becomes the optimal candidate. However, the same constraint must be ranked lower to allow [ɔ̄ inam] to be the optimal candidate for the input /ɔ̄ inam/ (SB stratum; from the examples in B). Besides the OT analysis of such cases of vowel lowering in Malayalam, the emergence of the factorial typology for the different strata is a crucial outcome of this study.

Keywords: Vowel lowering, Optimality Theory, Core-periphery, Malayalam



## Examples

(A) Native Dravidian (ND): With vowel-lowering

/i akki/	[e akki]	‘to stir’	/virakə/	[veragə]	‘wood’
/irakki/	[erakki],	to put down’	/piṭajuka/	[peḍajuga]	‘to shake’
/kiṇarə/	[keṇarə]	‘water well’	/viralə/	[veralə]	‘finger’
/ṭirauka/	[ṭerauga]	‘to search’	/ṇilapa:tə/	[ṇelaba:də]	‘decision’

(B) Sanskrit Borrowing (SB): No vowel lowering

/vit̪a:ram/	[vid̪za:ram]	‘thought’	/ṇirṇajam/	[ṇirṇajam]	‘decision’
/ḍinam/	[ḍinam]	‘day’	/vinajam/	[vinajam]	‘humility’
/ḍifa/	[ḍifa]	‘direction’			

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## **Language, new media and translocality: The cultural case of *Marwari* of Southern Rajasthan**

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In the context of the present-day globalized world characterized by diversifying migration flows, information sharing and economic interdependencies, societies and places have transcended the limits of physical territories. Translocality is emerging as an umbrella term that captures these multifaceted processes of interconnectedness and interrelatedness between places and people (Peth 2014). This paper draws an intersection between language, new media and translocality to explicate how the interconnectedness of social actors across different locations and scales shape their lived experiences, identities, and cultural practices in today's post-digital milieu. To this end, it studies how native users of *Marwari*, a dialect of the *Marwar* region of Southern Rajasthan in India, communicate on new media platforms to build identity, connect with their community, engage in cultural and social rituals, share information and resources and maintain ties with family and friends, even when physically dispersed. The growing mobility of individuals for education, work and social change (for e.g. marriage) along with the internet-enabled connectedness, has facilitated the flourishing of online communities. The heteroglossic interactional practices of these users on social media (Blackledge and Creese 2014) are constantly blurring the boundaries between local and global linguistic forms. Viewing these lingua-communicative phenomena as their translocal communitization that transcends geographic boundaries, the paper shows how language serves for them as a means as well as a product for navigating and negotiating their identities and social connections in a globalized world.

The paper attempts to answer the following questions:

- How do users leverage social media to maintain connections, cultural identity and belonging with their translocal communities?
- What cultural values and practices are reflected in the content that users create and consume on social media?
- How are social media shaping the ways in which we connect with others and construct our identities in an increasingly interconnected world?
- How does translocality on the internet expand a dialect/language's use, influence and its own character?

Methodologically, the paper examines interactions of a WhatsApp group of 55 extended family members hailing from Sirohi, a *Marwari* speaking town of Rajasthan. Qualitative analyses of this group's text exchanges enriched with semiotic analyses and ethnographic observations will show how the family flexibly exploits the diverse lingua-communicative affordances of the digital medium for translocalization purposes. This will be complemented by a study of *Marwari* language textual data (viz. posts, comments, messages etc.) and multimedia data (viz. images, memes, gifs, videos ) available on social media platforms like Facebook and Instagram. Overall, the paper would provide insights into the complex intersections of language,

technology, sociality and culturality today.

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## Complementizer asymmetries in Hindi-English code switching

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There is solid consensus that code switching (CS) is subject to principled constraints, but there is no agreement on the nature of these constraints. We contribute to the ongoing research by extending the empirical basis, and providing a theoretical interpretation that ties these data with the cross-linguistic picture. We present an analysis of code switching in complement clauses by Hindi-English bilingual speakers. The data come from an original bilingual corpus of approximately 140,000 words, based on TV interviews of Hindi movie (Bollywood) personalities. Most of the 30 interviews (ranging from 20 to 40 minutes) were led by prominent film critic and industry analyst Komal Nahta for the TV show ETC Bollywood Business; these can be found on the program's YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/user/ETCNetworks/>. The videos had been uploaded between 2010 and 2015, and the conversations between the interviewer and his guests revolved around the film industry, the guests' life histories, experiences and professional activities, and occasionally personal matters. As far as possible, only those speakers who were born in traditionally Hindi-speaking parts of India were chosen for this study.

In the 'constraints' tradition of the CS research, it has been claimed that there is a constraint on switching in complement clauses, such that the language of the complementizer has to match that of the matrix verb (i.e. the switch occurs after the complementizer; DiSciullo et al 1986). We investigate this claim in our corpus, and find a more subtle pattern. There is an asymmetry in the putative 'constraint violations', such that the Hindi complementizer *ki* after an English matrix verb (1) occurs very often (307 tokens), whereas the reverse, i.e. the English complementizer *that* after a Hindi matrix verb (2), are virtually non-attested (6 tokens). In our analysis, the asymmetry is conditioned by a difference in the syntactic features that characterise the two complementizers: *that* encodes both Subordination and Mood, but *ki* encodes only Subordination without Mood (cf. Bhatt 1999, Davison 2007). Thus, empirically, the more 'feature-rich' element is ruled out in the complement of a less 'feature-rich' Hindi verb. This mirrors the cross-linguistic findings from mixed NPs, where the prevailing picture is that the determiner has a richer feature inventory and the noun must have a subset of those features (cf. Liceras et al 2008). Our own findings from the mixed NPs in Hindi-English CS also accord with this. These results jointly support an analysis in the style of Exoskeletal syntax with 'Late Insertion', where the structure is built before the insertion of lexical items (as advanced by Grimstad et al (2018) for American Norwegian-English mixed NPs).

## Examples

- (1) which gives you hope *ki yār aisa* *pyār ho*  
[ENG] COMP DISC like.this love be *sak-*  
*t-a* *hai*  
be.able-PRES-3Sg.M COP.3Sg  
'which **gives you hope that** a love like this can exist'
- (2) but *kabhi.kabhār aise ho jā-t-a* *hai* that  
[ENG] sometimes like.this be go-PRES-3Sg.M COP.3Sg [ENG]  
they don't like the boy for whatever reasons  
[ENG]  
'but it sometimes **turns out that** they don't like the boy for whatever reasons'

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## **Language Labels in Jharkhand: An FsQCA Analysis**

Ariba Hidayet Khan (Christian-Albrecht University of Kiel)

The Indian subcontinent is an important area for sociolinguistic and historical linguistic research. India is home to over 600 languages and several language families. Jharkhand, a state in Eastern India, is known for its tribal population and associated linguistic diversity. There are about 32 diverse tribal groups living in the region - in addition to the non-tribal population - speaking about 17 different languages, belonging to three major language families (Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan) with several religions being practised such as Hinduism, Sarna, Christianity, and Islam. As a tribal state with 32 varied tribal communities living together, the social situation of Jharkhand is quite complex.

This paper investigates the possible factors affecting the choice of different language labels for the same lingua franca of the state (Sadri and/or Nagpuri). Historically, the tribal populations spoke their respective tribal languages but had to learn the language of the city, Sadri, for trade purposes and inter-community communication. Even after learning the lingua franca Sadri, the tribals fail to be included in the mainstream. To give one example, the city language is now called Nagpuri, after being introduced into the education system, while the language of tribals is still generally referred to as “Sadri”. This kind of re-labelling can be seen as a tool for social hierarchical treatment. There is also a demand to officiate the name ‘Nagpuri’ as the real name of the lingua franca. The name Nagpuri presents a state unity (from Chhota Nagpur, the name given to the area consisting of Jharkhand and neighbouring states) while overriding the name used by tribals. It is quite obvious that the two groups (one calling the language Nagpuri and the other, Sadri) have different perceptions of their identities stemming from their language use and social standing. The paper aims to discover the motivations - which are not always conscious - behind such linguistic choices (here, language labels). Ragin’s fsQCA (Fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis) model is used to determine causal recipes for these linguistic choices. (Ragin, 2008). The model determines explicit relations between a set of causal conditions and the outcome using fuzzy sets. The causal recipes (here, factors that can be responsible for choice of one language label over the other) to a range between 0 and 1, which shows the degree to which a factor or combination of factors are responsible for an outcome, presenting a much clearer picture of the sociolinguistic setting of the state and factors responsible for it. (Ragin, 2008).

Of these 32 groups, the paper focuses on 4 major tribal communities, namely, Oraon, Munda, Kharia, and Ho along with the non-tribal population of the state, which makes the southern part of the state, the centre of the study. Audio-recorded sociolinguistic interviews are used as means of

data collection. Data has been collected from 150 participants belonging to the abovementioned communities. The sample is balanced in terms of gender, age-groups, region and religion.

The paper aims to present a quantitative analysis of the multilayered qualitative data from tribal and non-tribal population on their linguistic identity and ideology associated with the label they choose for a language.

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## Aspects in Assamese: Periphrastic and Synthetic

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Aspect, both grammatical and lexical, is a topic studied widely among linguists. This paper, in addition to the vast study, explores the grammatical terrain of events (from about to start an event to completing an event) in Assamese through aspects. Being a native speaker of Assamese, I have taken my own knowledge of the language and native speakers' judgements into account. We see in the following examples how Assamese expresses an event in pre-inceptive, inceptive, progressive and perfective aspects. Here, I take one event and show how all these aspects are expressed in the language.

- (1) xi am-tu kat-ibɔ lo-is-ε (Pre-inceptive; V-ibɔ+lo-)  
he mango-CLF cut-INF take-PRES-3  
“He is about to cut the mango.”
- (2) xi am-tu kat-ibɔ d<sup>h</sup>ɔr-is-ε (Inceptive; V-ibɔ+d<sup>h</sup>ɔr)  
he mango-CLF cut-INF hold-PRES-3  
“He started cutting the mango.”
- (3) xi am-tu kati as-ε (Progressive; V-i as-)  
he mango-CLF cut-PROG-3  
“He is cutting the mango.”
- (4) xi am-tu kat-il-ε (Perfective; V-l-)  
he mango-CLF cut-PFV-3  
“He cut the mango.”

Examples 1-4 demonstrate a descriptive account of how a series of events from pre-inceptive (ingressive) to perfective can be shown in Assamese. The interaction of the infinitive /-ibɔ/+ *take*, *hold* is intriguing in the sense it shows an interplay of aspectual verbs and a grammatical morpheme. *Take* and *Hold* have been termed here as aspectual and not as light verbs because they attach to all classes of verbs (Vendler classes, 1957) unlike light verbs. However, there is an overlap in the semantics of pre-inceptive (what has been called as ingressive in literature) and inceptive forms with stative predicates. Both are interchangeably used with stative verbs to give an inceptive reading. The same happens with achievement verbs. Both *take* and *hold* when used with achievement verbal predicates give the same reading: inceptive. Coming to the progressive morpheme ‘-i as’, there are instances with verbs like *sit*, which Dowty (1979) and Bach (1981) have called ‘interval states’ and ‘dynamic states’ respectively, the progressive morpheme occurs naturally (unlike with statives like *believe* and *think*) and gives a semantic reading of a state and not an event in progress. Taking insights from Timberlake (2007), Bhat (1990) and Deo (2006), I would like to deeply examine analytic and synthetic morphemes in Assamese that help in denoting various aspectual notions. Existing literature



on Assamese aspect system is purely morphological. In this paper, I take semantic-pragmatic and morphological approaches into account. I believe attempting to answer *How different aspectual notions are shown both morphologically and periphrastically?* and *How association of different aspectual morphemes with different verb classes also sheds light on the nature of the verb classes and their semantic readings of events* would help in building a comprehensive understanding of the Assamese aspect system as a whole.

## Abbreviations

clf	Classifier
pfv	Perfective
pres	Present
prog	Progressive

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## **Domari pronominal suffixes as Western Iranian contact induced changes**

Moe Kitamura (University of Tokyo)

Domari is one of the so-called ‘Gypsy languages’ spoken by the Dom people, a diaspora ethnic group in the Middle East. It is a severely endangered language belonging to the Indo-Aryan language. By analyzing the phonological innovations, Turner (1926) showed that it belongs to the central group of the Indo-Aryan branch. The Dom people are assumed to have lived in the midland of the Indian subcontinent from the Old Indo-Aryan to the Middle Indo-Aryan periods and then moved to the Northwest between the Middle Indo-Aryan and the New Indo-Aryan periods. The migration path after this, however, is not fully understood.

This study aims to consider the migration path of the Dom people after their exodus from India by identifying evidence of language contact between Domari and West Iranian languages. As a result, I will demonstrate that Domari borrowed its pronominal suffixes from the West Iranian languages and propose a migration path of the Dom people from the Northwestern Indian subcontinent to Northwestern Iran.

To confirm that Domari established its pronominal suffixes through contact-induced change, I will use the five steps to prove a contact-induced change proposed by Thomason (2001). 1. Look over the language and find evidence of interference other than the particular feature which we want to focus on.

2. Identify a source language and confirm that the contact is significant enough to trigger the change.

3. Point out shared features in the source language and receiving language in addition to the differences between them. 4. Prove that features did not exist in the receiving language before the estimated period in which the language contact happened. 5. Confirm that the source language had the features before the period of contact.

Based on my research, I propose the following points. 1. Domari has rich Iranian loanwords and even borrowed phonemes from Iranian languages. 2. The loanwords and borrowed phonemes prove contact of Domari with Iranian languages, even though it is difficult to identify which Iranian languages were in contact with Domari. 3. Domari pronominal suffixes shared their forms and functions with the pronominal clitics of the Western Iranian languages, especially Persian and Kurdish languages, although their structures have some differences. 4. Domari pronominal suffixes like in present-day Domari existed in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages as well, but Middle Indo-Aryan does not have features shared by Domari and the Western Iranian languages, for example, the plural forms with the plural suffix -an or the function of marking indirect participants in adpositional complements. Thus, I assume that Domari had pronominal suffixes derived from Middle Indo-Aryan languages before the language contact with the Western Iranian

languages, and Domari acquired plural forms with the suffix -an and the function of marking indirect participants in adpositional complements through the contact with Persian or Kurdish languages. 5. The Western Iranian languages had pronominal clitics already before the estimated period of their contact with Domari.

This result implies that Domari speakers migrated through the northern caravan route in Iran, which passes through the Kurdish-speaking and the Persian-speaking areas, after Doms' exodus from the Indian subcontinent.

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## On the origin of the vocalic obl.sg endings in some Nuristani and Dardic languages

Julian Kreidl (Indiana University)

As is well-known since the days of Morgenstierne, the case systems of many Indo-Iranian languages in the Hindukush and beyond have an oblique with a vocalic ending in the singular. While the origin of the vocalic obl.sg in many Iranian languages is rather uncontroversial (such as Pashto obl.sg.m *-á*, Khotanese gen.sg.m *-i*, Sogdian *-y* < Old Iranian gen.sg *\*-ahya* of the a-stems, but cf, e.g., Thordarson 2009: 132), the same cannot be said for the obl.sg(.m) in some Nuristani (Ashkun *-a* (*ä*), *-ə*, Kati *-a*, Waigali *-ä*, *-ə*) and Indo-Aryan (e.g. Dameli *-a*, Kalasha *-a*, Gawar Bati *-a*, Shumashti *-a*, *-ə*) languages.

Morgenstierne 1929: 204, 1947: 11, 1950: 15 proposes to derive the vocalic obl.sg morpheme in the local languages from the old gen.sg of the a-stem nouns *\*-asya* via “the violent shortening characteristic of terminational elements in Indo-Aryan”. He refers to Turner 1927: 234 who argues that Apabhraṃśa *-aha* is an irregular, more abraded outcome of *\*-asya*. But it is unclear if Apabhraṃśa *-aha* is to be connected with the old gen.sg of the a-stem nouns. Unlike other Old Indo-Aryan case morphemes, the gen.sg *-asya* survived “ohne besondere Umgestaltungen lautgesetzlich” into Middle Indo-Aryan (Von Hinüber 1986: 140). Instead, Von Hinüber 1986: 111 views *-aha* as the result “einer morphologischen Umgestaltung”. Additionally, there are no good examples supporting a change *\*-asya* > *-a*, *-ä*, *-ə* in Nuristani. The sibilant in *\*-asya* is preserved in the Prasun obl.sg *-š*

(Buddruss, Degener 2017: 77), and in Kati masculine kinship terms which show an irregular obl.sg in *-še* (unlike the usual obl.sg.m *-e*), for example *tóče* to *tot* ‘father’, *mámše* to *mām* ‘mother’s brother’. This *-š-* is very likely an older case morpheme < *\*-asya*, which has generally been ousted in Kati by *-e* in masculine nominals. The obl.sg of Waigali *se* ‘he, she, that’, *tašo*, certainly goes back to *\*tásya*, the gen.sg of *\*sá*; this was already accepted by Morgenstierne 1929: 204.

Even more so, the hypothesis of Turner and Morgenstierne may not account for the presence of both gen.sg *-s* (*-as/-əs*) and obl.sg *-a*, *-ə* in Shumashti or of gen.sg *-as*, *-es* and obl.sg *-a* in Pashai (Morgenstierne 1945: 250, 1973: 66). Both Shumashti *-s* and Pashai *-as*, *-es* go back to *\*-asya*. It is unlikely that the obl.sg goes back to the same ending, which would have needed to be differentiated into genitive and oblique at some point in history. Therefore, I like to offer a new explanation.

The usage of the Pashai and Shumashti oblique cases already provide some clues. The Pashai oblique can also denote the instrument of an action and indicate local and temporal relation (Morgenstierne 1973: 69). Even more interesting is the observation by Morgenstierne 1945: 250 that the Shumashti oblique “denotes position in, or movement towards a place”. Thus, it seems permissible to look for a non-genitive origin of these vocalic oblique endings.

We have a singular case ending *-a* with similar functions in some other regional languages. In Kushan Bactrian, Pashto and Prasun, *-a* is analyzed as an ablative or ablative-instrumental(-dative) (Sims-Williams 2015: 258, Buddruss, Degener 2017: 77, Kreidl 2021). A structurally similar development is observable in Munji-Yidgha, whose oblique singular ending *-an/-en* goes back to the old instrumental in *\*-aina*, cf Skt *-ena* (Tedesco 1926: 156). Neither the survival of an old ablative(-instrumental) nor its development into a new oblique case would therefore be anything unusual in the Hindukush region. Therefore, I propose to view the vocalic obl.sg. *-a*, *-ä*, *-ə* of at least some Nuristani languages – specifically of Ashkun and Waigali – as well as of some Dardic languages – e.g. Shumashti, Dameli and Kalasha – as remnants of an ablative-instrumental-dative case in which the Old Indo-Iranian abl.sg *\*-āt*, possibly dat.sg *\*-āya* of the a-stems and further ablative, instrumental and dative endings of other nominal classes fell together.

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## (Polar) Question Particles in Marathi

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The present paper aims to account for the synchronic variation in the strategies of marking polar questions in Marathi, a southern Indo-Aryan language, by investigating the syntactic and semantic properties of these particles, as well as by exploring the possibility of a historical connection between the apparent multifunctionality of these particles.

Polar or ‘yes/no’ questions have been explored to a great extent in the recent literature on Indo-Aryan languages (Bhatt & Dayal 2020 for Hindi-Urdu, Guha 2022 for Bangla). In these languages, polar questions are marked by rising intonation and an optional polar question particle (PQP). However, Marathi presents a unique case where two different particles, ‘*ka:*’ and ‘*ka:y*’- each homophonous with a different question word, are used to mark polar questions in the Standard and Kolhapuri varieties of Marathi respectively.

These particles also differ from each other in terms of their properties. Polar *ka:* and *ka:y* differ from *wh-ka:* and *ka:y* in terms of their prosodic, morphosyntactic, and semantic properties. The restriction on occurrence of PQPs in clause-initial position is not limited to Marathi and can be explained on the basis of enclitic like properties of the PQPs, as posited for Bangla and Odia by Syed & Dash (2017). There is no restriction on clause-initial occurrence of *wh*-question particles<sup>i</sup>.

The semantic properties of these particles also vary to a great extent: *wh-ka:y*, when clause-medial, can add contrastive focus to every element on its left; whereas PQP-*ka:y* can add contrastive focus to every element that is to its right<sup>ii</sup>. On the other hand, when not at the edge of a clause, *wh-ka:* can add contrastive focus to everything that is to its left, whereas PQP-*ka:* can add contrastive focus on the element that is to its immediate left<sup>iii</sup>. since PQPs across IA languages add contrastive focus strictly on elements to their right, the focus assigning properties of PQP-*ka:* are especially remarkable and need special attention.

The fact that the particles *ka:* and *ka:y* homophonous not only with question words but also with disjunction markers as well as alternative question particles in some cases adds another layer of complexity to the picture<sup>iv</sup>.

This raises the following questions:

- Can the current accounts of Indo-Aryan PQPs be successfully extended to Marathi PQPs?
- Why do two varieties of Marathi use two different particles to mark polar questions?
- Besides the form-identity, can any link be established between WhQ, PQ, and AltQ usages of particles *ka:* and *ka:y*?
- Is the homophony between various question and question-adjacent particles in Marathi a reflection of diachronic processes?

However, this sort of picture is not surprising given question particles seem to historically emerge from question words and disjunction markers among other sources (Walkden 2022). Thus, in this paper, I first undertake a systematic exploration of semantic and syntactic properties of Marathi polar question particles. Then, with the help historical sources and, to a limited degree, primary texts, I explore the possible diachronic pathways that might have led to the synchronic variation that we observe in the language today.

In doing so, I show that it is plausible to assume that a. polar question particle and disjunction usages of ‘*ka:*’ have similar semantic properties underlyingly, and b. polar question particle and question word usages of ‘*ka:y*’ share some semantic affinity giving rise to these two distinct usages. Since these particles ‘*ka:*’ and ‘*ka:y*’ mark polar questions in standard Marathi and Kolhapuri Marathi respectively, this serves as potential evidence of two diachronic pathways of forming a question particle (Walkden 2022) being attested in a single language- an instance hitherto unreported in the literature.

## Marathi Polar Question Particles: Synchronic Variation and Diachronic Pathways

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**Appendix (examples & tables as endnotes):**

<sup>i</sup> Syntax of polar and Wh question particles

Particle	Clause-initial	Clause-medial	Pre-verbal	Clause-final
Wh-ka:	Y	Y	Y	Y
PQP-ka:	N	Y	Y	Y
Wh-ka:y	Y	?	Y	Y
PQP-ka:y	N	Y	N	Y

<sup>ii</sup>

1. ram-nə **kal** kay watslæt  
Ram-ERG yesterday what read  
What did Ram read **yesterday**?
2. **ram-nə** kal kay watslæt  
Ram-ERG yesterday what read

- What did **Ram** read yesterday?  
ram-nə kay kal **pustək** watslæt  
Ram-ERG PQP yesterday book read  
Did Ram read **a book** yesterday?
3. ram-nə kay **kal** pustək watslæt  
Ram-ERG PQP yesterday book read  
Did Ram read a book **yesterday**?

<sup>iii</sup>

4. Ram-ne **pustək** ka watslæt  
Ram-ERG book why read  
Why did Ram read **a book**?
5. **Ram-ne** pustək ka watslæt  
Ram-ERG book why read  
Why did **Ram** read a book?

6. Ram-ne **pustək** ka watslæt  
Ram-ERG book PQP read  
Was it a book that Ram read?
7. \***Ram-ne** pustək ka watslæt  
Ram-ERG book PQP read  
(intended) Was it **Ram** who read a book?

<sup>iv</sup>

Particle ®	ka:				ka:y			
	WhQ	PQP	Disj	AltQ	WhQ	PQP	Disj	AltQ
Variety ↓								

Standard Marathi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Kolhapuri Marathi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

1 *Sita punja-la ka d̄zail*↓  
Sita Pune-to why will go  
Why will Sita go to Pune?

**Standard Marathi (SM)**

3 *Sita punja-la d̄zail (ka)*↑  
Sita Pune-to will go (PQP)  
'Will Sita go to Pune?'

5 *ram punja-la ka kuṭ<sup>h</sup>etəri gela*  
Ram Pune-to or somewhere went  
Ram went to Pune or somewhere like that.

7 *ram punja-la gela ka mumbai-la*↑  
Ram Pune-to went or Mumbai-to  
Did Ram go to Pune or Mumbai?

2 *Ram kay kam kare*↓  
Ram what work will do  
What work will Ram do?

**Kolhapuri Marathi (KM)**

4 *Sita punja-la d̄zail (kay)*↑  
Sita Pune-to will go (PQP)  
'Will Sita go to Pune?'

6 *\*ram punja-la kay kuṭ<sup>h</sup>etəri gela*  
Ram Pune-to or somewhere went  
(intended) Ram went to Pune or someplace like that.

8 *ram punja-la gela ka mumbai-la*↑  
Ram Pune-to went or Mumbai-to  
Did Ram go to Pune or Mumbai?

## English-Hindi Mapping of the Phrasal Verb Particles *UP* and *DOWN*

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The paper presents a corpus based semantic analysis of the English verb phrase particle *up* (e.g. *pick up, set up, take up*) and *down* (e.g. *go down, put down, break down*) along with the mapping divergence in their Hindi equivalent forms. First, we have examined, primarily based on corpus, dictionaries and wordnet resources, the distributional patterns of these contrastive-pair particles *up* and *down*: their respective compatibility with the lexical verbs; and the domain of their literal and extended (including metaphorical) senses. The multiple senses of the particles *up* and *down* have been searched in the English WordNet and the example sentences have been collected from the BNC (British National Corpus). For the Hindi equivalents, the English-Hindi parallel corpus *samanantar* (publicly available parallel corpora for the Indic languages) has been examined. On the basis of the initial observations thus obtained, we have attempted a cognitive linguistic analysis (Langacker 1987) for the senses of these particles. The analysis has been extended to the Hindi data to identify the divergence patterns in the English-Hindi sense mapping of the phrasal particles. We have observed that for the phrasal particle constructions that map onto compound verb constructions in Hindi, the role of the light verb (V2) also maps the semantics of the relevant particle, as the contrast in the examples (1) and (2) illustrates. In the Hindi counterparts (1b), the V2 *lo* ‘take’ maps the aspectual-completive sense of *up* in the English phrasal construction in (1a).

- (1) a. Drink **up**, it’s time to go. (Aspectual)  
b. pii **lo**, jaane kaa samay ho gayaa.  
   drink take going of time happen went
- (2) a. Drink as much as you wish.  
b. piio jitanaa caaho.  
   drink as much wish

Besides, we have also observed that the non-aspectual senses of the verbal particles (*up* and *down*) witness a much more complex nature of divergence in their mapping onto Hindi equivalents. The mapping of spatial interpretation across *down* and *gaye* is noticed in (3).

- (3) a. Negotiations broke **down**. (fall apart)  
b. *samjhaute TuuTa gaye*.  
negotiations break went

**Keywords:** English-Hindi, mapping, phrasal verb particle, semantics

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## Noun-verb complex predicates in Thulung and the expression of emotions and moods

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Thulung, a Kiranti language (Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan, Eastern Nepal), has a rich assortment of complex predicates. These are assembled from a combination of a noun plus verb (henceforth NV predicates), or a verb plus verb. The latter are akin of the predicate derivations found in Northeast India (see, e.g., Post 2010), coding notions of associated motion, valency, and Aktionsart and grammaticalized from former verbs (Lahaussais 2020).

NV predicates have received far less attention across the Kiranti languages. They are characterized by a few features: they tend to have meanings which are non-compositional, forming a lexical unit, and yet they can be separated by grammatical material, such as negation or discourse markers.

Within the NV predicates, one significant type is made up of combinations of a body part (including abstract notions, such as mind and energy) and a verb. In the Mainland Southeast Asia linguistic area, these types of predicates have been labeled psycho-collocations (Matisoff 1986; Vittrant 2013; Vittrant & Watkins 2019), and they constitute an important areal feature, used for the expression of emotions, moods, feelings.

Similarly constructed expressions are an important part of the lexical repertoire of Kiranti languages as well, in particular for the expression of emotional and mental states, even though they have rarely been described for these languages (Bickel 1997 is a notable exception). An example from Thulung is given in (1):

- (1)    gu-ka            a:ma            nʌ:    khu-irʌ  
      3SG-ERG      1SG.POSS      mind    steal-3SG>3SG.PST  
      ‘I was deceived by him.’ [lit. He stole my mind]

Drawing on data from my ten-hour natural corpus of Thulung narratives, I will present the 35 distinct psycho-collocations I have collected in Thulung. My presentation will be organized as follows: I will first describe the range of body parts that are involved in NV predicates, their relative frequency, and the types of verbs they combine with; I will then discuss the various subtypes found among the psycho-collocations (using the taxonomy in Matisoff 1986); I will then explore the morphosyntactic patterns which emerge in these predicates, specifically looking at the argument role of the body part in the sentence and the coding of the experiencer, and connect these patterns to the distinct subtypes of psycho-collocations.

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## Argument structure in Pāṇinian and modern linguistic theory

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of Oxford)

Modern theoretical linguistics is both a scientific discipline in pursuit of the truth about language, and at the same time a tradition whose perspective on language, and on specific points of linguistic analysis, has been inherited from and therefore remains deeply influenced by the viewpoints of earlier generations. This is perhaps particularly the case in the subdiscipline of syntax, which at least in some respects approaches the notion of ‘standpoint-based subdiscipline’ of Hansson (2022). This inheritance and influence may be valuable where it aligns with scientifically valid observations, but may equally lead to the persistence of erroneous perspectives or misanalyses. In this context, comparison with an altogether different tradition which nevertheless had the same broad aims may be invaluable in opening our eyes to different perspectives, some of which might conceivably be closer to the truth about language than our own.

The ancient Indian (Pāṇinian) linguistic tradition is widely recognized to have been the most sophisticated tradition of linguistic analysis prior to the development of modern linguistics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The two traditions are not entirely unrelated, insofar as the ancient Indian tradition has influenced specific developments in modern linguistics (e.g. the morphemic approach to word formation, cf. Alfieri 2014). Nevertheless, the two traditions remain distinct: modern linguistics is not merely a continuation of the ancient Indian tradition, and there remain many valuable insights and perspectives in the Indian tradition which are unknown, and have had no influence, in the modern linguistic tradition.

In this paper we revisit two features of the ancient Indian tradition’s approach to *argument structure*, the locus of perhaps its greatest and most sophisticated contribution to linguistic theory. We compare these features with the underlying assumptions of modern theories of argument structure, and develop a formal model which integrates the ancient Indian perspective on these issues with modern linguistic theorizing. We remain agnostic on whether or not this results in a ‘better’ or ‘truer’ linguistic theory, but we do assert that the very process of exploring and implementing such alternative perspectives represents a valuable enrichment of modern linguistic theorizing.

Specifically, we consider two related issues in the so-called *kāraka* theory of Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: the active-passive alternation, and the supposed lack of the notion of grammatical relations like ‘subject’.

All modern approaches to the active-passive alternation, even those which eschew a derivational approach, take the passive as in some way secondary to the active. In Pāṇini’s system, however, active and passive are equipollent; there is an equal and free choice between active and passive, and there is no sense in which the passive is derived from, or secondary to, the active. This has several advantages for the syntactic analysis of Sanskrit, including the high prevalence of passive expression in the Classical language and in capturing certain morphosyntactic similarities between the passive and the

ergative of transitive verbs. Related is the apparent lack of the notion of grammatical relations in Pāṇini's grammar, an issue which has been widely discussed (e.g. Cardona 1974: 244–245, Kiparsky 2009, Keidan 2017). We revisit this question and show that neither Kiparsky's (2009) claim that the notion of 'subject' plays no role whatsoever in Pāṇini's grammar nor Keidan's (2017) claim that there was a notion akin to 'subject' in the Indian tradition are sufficiently precise. The crucial notion, *Kartr*, corresponds to  $\theta$ , the argument of a predicate which is highest on the thematic role hierarchy. We then show how one particular modern theory of argument structure (which specifically contrasts in both respects with Pāṇini's theory), the 'lexical mapping theory' of Lexical-Functional Grammar, can be modulated to integrate the ancient Indian perspectives, resulting in a more flexible model of grammar which can neatly capture important features of Sanskrit syntax.

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## **On Convolution of South Asian Numeration**

Mamta Kumari (Max Planck Institute)

A crucial component of every linguistic system is numeration. It is fundamental to grammars and revolves around a language's numerous meaningful discourses. The Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic, Indo-Aryan, Tai-Kadai, as well as Great Andamanese language families, are the six language families (which includes 50 languages) examined in this work. In this study, questionnaire and interview methods were mostly employed to obtain primary data and for 13 languages, secondary sources were used.

The main goal of this typological exercise was to create a framework for formalizing the fundamental morphological and syntactic characteristics of numeral systems so that conclusions about the influence of language family, sprachbund, language contact, and cultural convergence on the nature and form of numeral systems could be drawn. The morphosyntactic structures of the numeral system is intricate and varies greatly inter and intra South Asian language families. This paper makes an effort to describe several crucial factors that aid in typologizing the selected language families. The aforementioned language families are attempted to be typologized using the choose parameters (see table 1).

This paper also explores the intricacy of parallel (existence of two different base systems at the same time) and mixed (a set of cardinals (1-100) having more than one base system in a particular language) numeric systems, as well as some extinct phenomena like overcounting and subtractive morphology. Another significant part of this research is borrowing, which triggers the change very fast. It is suggested that in order to fully comprehend borrowing, each language should be examined not only with regard to its linguistic structures but also to its sociolinguistic factors. By adopting the lexicon or grammatical structure of the dominant language, most South Asian languages show a movement/shift toward the decimal system. The endangerment has also been brought on by a discontinuity with the past and the gradual erosion of folk knowledge. Whatever the source, the current situation is such that even these last remaining examples of overcounting and remaindering systems within these rare numeral systems are now in grave danger. Research is required right away to preserve them for future generations.

I have been struck by the fact that not only do numeral systems encode many fine intricacies of linguistic information; they are also extraordinarily given to socially expedited elaboration, via coinage and/or borrowing. This leads to a greater tendency for numeral systems to be mixed and/or irregular, as elaboration of an existing limited system can take place from using the resources provided by another (possibly dominant) system available to a language. Diversity of

mathematical conception is severely under threat, particularly because they are encouraged by education systems, language contact and dominance, as well as standardization to consider rare systems as a deterrent to their socio-economic development.

<u>Parameter</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Drav.</u>	<u>AA</u>	<u>TB</u>	<u>IA</u>	<u>TK</u>
Subtractive morphology		+	-	-	+	-
Subtractive morphology in atoms	-	+	-	-	-	-
Order in complex numerals	A-B	-	-	-	+	-
	B-A	+	+	+	-	+
	With CM	-	-	+	-	-
Switch in running numerals		+	+	+	-	+
Idiosyncratic formation		+	-	+	+	+
PL in HMN		-	-	-	+	-
Word order in NP	[Num N]	+	+	+	+	-
	[N Num]	-	-	+	-	+
	[Num CL N]	-	+	-	+	-
	[CL Num N]	-	-	+	-	-
Plurality on N	Marked	+	+	-	+	-
	Unmarked	+	-	+	-	+

Table 1: Prominent parameters typologising SAND language families

## Abbreviations

N - Noun, CL - Classifier, NP – Noun Phrase, HMN – Higher Multiplicative Numerals, CM – Conjunctive Marker, A – Atom, B – Base, PL – Plural, SAND – South Asian Numeral Database

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## **Where are the Sanskrit speakers? Imagining the Shifting Sands of Sanskritland**

Patrick McCartney (Hiroshima University)

This presentation will address the following question: Where are the Sanskrit speakers? To answer this question the discussion will focus on the prescriptions placed on India's census enumeration and ensuing epistemological issues that arise from it. The Indian census began in 1872 and has been carried out almost every ten years since. Over these 150 years, data on 'people who identify as speakers of Sanskrit' have been collected. With these data, this presentation will visualize where these 'Sanskrit tokens' were located across time and space, showing the 'Shifting Sands of Sanskritland'. The enduring myth of people who claim to speak Sanskrit is embedded in a nationalist-development discourse that is part of an attempt to hermetically seal the fabled 'Indian village' from the encroachment of a post-national, globalist project. "There is a village (somewhere) in India where everyone speaks fluent Sanskrit!" said an innumerable amount of people who need this myth to be true. Yet even though the census data are not without issues, which will be discussed, the data show, however, that the rural 'language of the masses' is anything but what is imagined.

The census data show that the Sanskrit-speaking tokens aggregate not in rural, but urban, areas across the Hindi Belt. Furthermore the so-called Sanskrit speakers are overwhelmingly indexed with both Hindi and English, regardless of the first, second, or third language combinations. This is so pronounced that Sanskrit, Hindi, and English are indexed at 95% probability. One of the ironies of the Sanskrit revival project is that empirical studies are discounted in favour of persisting with a collectivised subjective idealism. This, seemingly, has very little benefit to the actual project of assisting people acquire Sanskrit as a second-language.

## Split-Ergativity vs. Optional Ergativity: Which one is indigenous to Assamese?

Snigdha Medhi (Indian Institute of Technology, Madras) - Anindita Sahoo (Indian Institute of Technology, Madras)

This paper investigates the ergative patterns in Assamese and makes a claim that split-ergativity is indigenous to this language. Through this process, we examine the ergative system of some of the neighbouring Tibeto-Burman languages such as Monsang, Chiru, and Biatae.

Ergativity is a morphosyntactic phenomenon where an intransitive subject is treated in the same manner as the transitive object, and differently from the transitive subject (Dixon, 1994). Assamese, a New Indo-Aryan language, spoken in the Indian state of Assam, shows split-ergativity. Along with split, this language also has instances of optionality in ergative marking systems. Interestingly, only the Standard Assamese (SA) manifests optionality, whereas other varieties of Assamese spoken in other regions of the state seem not to have this feature. Optional case marking (OCM) refers to the situation where a case marker can be present or absent in a particular environment without affecting grammatical roles (Kittilä, 2005; McGregor, 2010, 2013). Most importantly, we notice that the acceptability of Optional Ergative Marking (OEM) in the Standard variety of Assamese (1a-b) and unacceptability in the regional varieties of this language (2a-b) are quite evident.

Upon linking the optionality in Assamese ergativity with optionality in the TB languages (DeLancey, 2012), we notice that some of these Kuki-Chin languages such as Monsang, Biatae, Chiru, etc. host ergativity. The optionality in ergative case marking in these languages is entirely based on pragmatic factors. DeLancey mentions that this feature is predominantly present in the TB languages, while Assamese seems not to fall under the same category.

In order to understand the indigeneity of ergativity in Assamese, we examine the agentive hierarchy and claim that the split ergativity, being a high-agentive phenomenon, allows dropping of the overt case marking on it. The frequent occurrence of non-case marked doers as agents in ergative constructions further helps us to claim that the split-ergative system is indigenous to this language. More evidence of indigeneity of split-ergativity comes from the diachronic data through various examples of split-ergativity, starting from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards. On the contrary, in today's spoken discourse in Standard Assamese, split-ergative constructions are evident along with optionally marked NPs too. The claim that we have put forward about the OEM not being evident in the diachronic literature cannot be ruled out because the presence of a split system implies the presence of the optionality, but not the other way round. This further strengthens our claim of split ergativity being indigenous to Assamese.

- (1) a. *manuh-tu*                      *ja-b-o*                      *lo-is-e*  
Man -CLF-NOM go-FUT-3AGR take-PRES-3AGR  
'The man is going'.

b. *manuh-tu-e ja-b-o lo-is-e*

Man-CLF-ERG go-FUT-3AGR take-PRES-3AGR

‘The man is going’.

(2) a. *manuh-tu-i ghumoi as-e*

Man-M.CLF-ERG sleep be-3AGR

‘The man is sleeping.’

b. \**manuh-tu ghumoi as-e*

Man-M.CLF sleep be-3AGR

‘The man is sleeping.’

**Keywords:** Optional, Ergativity, Split, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman

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## Split verbal agreement in Sanskrit: insights from Pāṇini

Davide Mocci (IUSS Pavia) - Tiziana Pontillo (University of Cagliari)

It is ordinarily claimed that, in languages like Sanskrit, verbs agree with their subject, i.e., that the subject selects at least one feature (person, number) of the verb: see Chomsky (2000:122-124) for a formalization of this claim, and Mereu (1995) for typological considerations. Thus, the verb *pac-* ‘cook’ is said to agree in person (3<sup>rd</sup>) and number (singular) with *devadatta-* in (1) (see page 2).

The goal of the present study is twofold: first, to prove that, although Pāṇini does not use a technical term corresponding to “agreement” in his grammar (the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, or “A” for short) he does in fact resort to a “split” model of verbal agreement; second, to show that Pāṇini’s split model of verbal agreement can still be of interest for contemporary linguistics, insofar as it offers a novel view on how verbal agreement is determined in contexts which involve a coordinative subject.

In accordance with Pāṇini’s rules A 1.4.105 and 107, reported on page 2, a verb agrees with (what in the Western grammatical tradition, but not in Pāṇini, is referred to as) the “subject” in person – as opposed to number – but only when the person at stake is the 1<sup>st</sup> or the 2<sup>nd</sup>. In this case, verbal number is determined independently of the number of the subject, in the sense that the rules governing the number of the verb (i.e., A 1.4.105 and 107) do not coincide with the rule governing the number of the subject (i.e., A 2.3.46, reported on page 2). The incompatibility between the number of the verb and the number of the subject, such as in (2) (see page 2), is in any case blocked by the *sāmānādhikarānya* (‘co-referentiality’) condition, which is enjoined by A 1.4.105 and 107.

As far as 1.4.108 is concerned (see page 2 for the wording of this rule), a verb agrees with its own subject neither in person nor in number when the person at stake is the 3<sup>rd</sup>.

Thus, Pāṇini’s model of verbal agreement is “split” in two senses: first, verbs agree with their subjects in person, but not in number; second, the subjects with which verbs agree are exclusively 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects, never 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects. Building on Kiparsky (2009:54-56), we hypothesize that Pāṇini devised this split model of verbal agreement to account for “stative” (so-called *bhāve*) constructions such as (3) (see page 2), in which the verb is 3SG, but the subject is mandatorily absent: no form of subject whatsoever being involved in this kind of construction in accordance with Pāṇini’s grammar, the person (3<sup>rd</sup>) and number (SG) of the verb here cannot be selected by a subject, hence, no verb-subject agreement could take place in this construction in Pāṇini’s grammar.

In (4) on page 2, the subject is a coordinative noun phrase made up of the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun *aham* ‘I’ and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun *tvam* ‘you’, while the verb displays 1<sup>st</sup> person and dual number: *pacāva*. In contemporary linguistics, the verbal agreement of sentences like (4) has been accounted for via the operation of “feature percolation” (Warner 1988). Pāṇini’s split model of agreement offers a radically alternative account: (4) is derived from (5) by designating the 1<sup>st</sup> person dual pronoun *āvām* ‘we (both)’



as a *substituendum* (*sthānin*) in keeping with A 1.4.107, and by letting *tvam cāhaṃ ca* serve as the substitute of *āvām*. Being the substitute of *āvām*, *tvam cāhaṃ ca* is viewed by the verb *pac-* as if it were *āvām* in (4) (see Candotti and Pontillo 2021 for Pāṇini’s framework of substitution). In this way, *pacāva* of (4) is treated by Pāṇini as underlyingly agreeing in person with the non-coordinative subject *āvām* of (5): this immediately accounts for the the 1<sup>st</sup> person feature of *pacāva* in (4), no recourse to feature percolation being needed (the number of *pacāva* is determined once again independently of, but compatibly with, the number of the “underlying subject” *āvām*).

Pāṇini’s grammar features a split model of verbal agreement. By capitalizing on substitution, as opposed to feature percolation, such a model naturally accounts for verbal agreement in contexts involving a coordinative subject. All in all, the takeaway from this study is the following: Pāṇini’s grammar may still benefit contemporary linguistics by offering alternative perspectives on hotly debated topics, such as how a verb comes to share a bundle of features with its subject.

### Examples

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>devadattaḥ pacati</i><br>Devadatta.NOM.SG cook.IND.PRS.3SG<br>‘Devadatta is cooking’. | (2) <i>**tvam pacatha</i><br>you.NOM.SG cook.IND.PRS.2PL  |
| (3) <i>supyate</i><br>sleep.PRS.PASS.3SG<br>‘Sleeping is taking place’.                      | (4) <i>tvam cāhaṃ ca pacāva</i><br>you.NOM.SG and I.NOM.SG and cook.IND.PRS.2DU<br>‘You and I are cooking’. |
| (5) <i>āvām pacāva</i><br>we.NOM.DU cook.IND.PRS.2DU<br>‘We (both) are cooking’.             |   |

### *Aṣṭādhyāyī* rules

A 1.4.105: *yusmady upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api madhyamaḥ*.

‘When (the second person pronoun) *yusmad-* co-occurs and is co-referential with *LA*, even if *yusmad-* is a *substituendum*, [then] a *madhyama* triplet occurs’ (i.e., *LA* is replaced by a third person verbal triplet).

A 1.4.107: *asmady [upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api 1.4.105] uttamaḥ*.

‘When (the first person pronoun) *asmad-* [co-occurs and is co-referential with *LA*, even if *asmad-* is a *substituendum*, then] an *uttama* triplet occurs’ (i.e., *LA* is replaced by a first person verbal triplet).

A 1.4.108: *śeṣe prathamaḥ*.

‘Elsewhere (i.e., when neither *yusmad-* nor *asmad-* co-occurs and is co-referential with *LA*), a *prathama* triplet occurs (i.e., *LA* is replaced by a third person verbal triplet)’.

A 2.3.46: *prātipadikārtha-liṅga-parimāṇa-vacana-mātre prathamā*

‘A nominative triplet [applies to a nominal stem] when nothing more than the meaning, the gender, and the grammatical number of the nominal stem is to be conveyed.’ (Mocci and Pontillo 2020: 66).

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## The prosody of alternative vs. polar questions in Urdu

Benazir Mumtaz (University of Konstanz) – Miriam Butt (University of Konstanz)

Polar questions (PQs) in Hindi/Urdu can interact with alternative questions (AltQs) (Han & Romero 2004, Bhatt & Dayal 2020). Example (1) shows the most commonly used structure for the AltQs with the polar use of *kya* 'what'. In their analysis of the interaction between AltQs and PQs, Bhatt & Dayal (2020) claim that AltQs in Urdu/Hindi are disjunctions of two PQs.

- (1) (*kya*) *t̪əm pani piʝo-gi ja kofi?*  
(what) you water drink-Fut OR coffee

‘Will you drink water or coffee?’

If this is true, the string-identical PQs and AltQs should also show prosodic similarities. Example (2) represents an ambiguous structure where the appearance of the disjunction ‘*ja*’ between alternatives can give rise to both polar and alternative readings.

- (2) (*kya*) *t̪əm pani ja kofi piʝo-gi?*  
(what) you water OR coffee drink-Fut

‘Will you drink either water or coffee?’/‘Will you drink water or ALT coffee?’

Moreover, Pruitt & Roelofsen (2013) establish that the distinction between PQs and AltQs can be achieved on the basis of prosody. Bhatt & Dayal (2020) state that pitch accents on the two alternatives, and a prosodic break between the disjuncts are the most reliable prosodic cues for Hindi/Urdu AltQs. However, the falling pitch contour on its own does not help us separate out AltQs’. This study is an attempt to understand the role of the final pitch and to determine whether there are other prosodic cues that can differentiate AltQs from PQs in Urdu.

We conducted two production experiments. In Experiment 1 (Exp1), we start with an unambiguous and commonly used word order to understand the basic prosodic cues of AltQs and PQs. We constructed 7 pairs of sentences and embedded them in contexts as shown in (3).

- (3) AltQ: There are two vegetables available in your house: radish and cabbage. Ask your sister what she will eat?  
*t̪əm muli kʰɑo-gi ja gobi?*

You radish eat-Fut OR cabbage?

‘Will you eat radish or ALT cabbage?’

PQ: Your friend is hungry. Ask her:

*t̪əm muli kʰɑo-gi?*

You radish eat-Fut?

‘Will you eat radish?’

In Experiment 2 (Exp2), we used string identical sentences to check whether AltQs show prosodic similarities to PQs and could therefore really be disjunctions of two PQs. We again constructed 7 pairs of sentences and embedded them in contexts as shown in (4).

- (4) AltQ: You are planning to cook the dinner. There are only two vegetables in the house: radish and cabbage and you can only cook one vegetable. Ask your sister what she will eat?

ʈʊm mulija gobi k<sup>h</sup>ao-gi?  
You radish OR cabbage eat-Fut. ‘  
Will you eat radish or ALT cabbage?’

PQ: You get up to cook the dinner. There are some vegetables available in the house. But you don't know whether your sister will eat those vegetables or not. Ask her:

ʈʊm muli ja gobi k<sup>h</sup>ao-gi?  
You radish or cabbage eat-Fut.  
‘Will you eat either radish or cabbage?’

Seventeen participants (average age = 22.3 years, 12 females and 5 males) born and raised in Lahore participated in both of the experiments. All the target sentences in both experiments start with the pronoun ‘ʈʊm’. All the AltQs and the PQs end with an /i/. Moreover, all the NPs are bisyllabic with stress on the first syllable and all the Vs end with the future feminine singular marker ‘gi’.

The results of Exp1 showed that i) L% is the most frequent tone in AltQs while H% is predominately available in PQ; ii) AltQs have pitch accents on both alternatives whereas PQs have a pitch accent on the verb; iii) there is no low target between two accents in AltQs. The F0 stays high between the two accents like in German oder-constructions and exhibits a hat pattern (Ambrazaitis & Niebuhr 2008) which surfaces as an L\*+H Ha L\* sequence. This lack of low tone between accents signals a semantic connection between the accented words; iv) the verb forms a prosodic phrase with the first alternative and mostly carries a rising contour. Exp2 showed that i) participants predominantly used a prosodic break or phrase lengthening between the disjuncts and a final fall to disambiguate AltQs from PQs; ii) similar as in Exp1 alternatives carry pitch accents in AltQs whereas the verb carries a pitch accent in PQs; iii) the hat pattern observed in the Exp1 is absent in Exp2 due to prosodic breaks, phrase lengthening and sentence structure where both alternatives carrying L\*Ha accents are occurring side by side. Overall, the results show that there are prosodic differences between AltQs and PQs and we found no prosodic evidence that AltQs in Urdu/Hindi are disjunctions of two PQs. A further new finding of our study is that the hat pattern and a falling tone along with pitch accents and a prosodic break are also required to express AltQs in Urdu.

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## Interaction between Disjunction and Domain Extension in Hindi

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**Puzzle:** Several languages have lexical items that function as non-canonical logical junctors. Walpiri *manu* (Bowler 2014), child English *or* (Singh et al. 2016), and Japanese *ya* (Sudo 2014) have all been argued to be disjunction markers that are strengthened to have a conjunctive meaning. This study attempts to contribute to this typology by presenting novel data from another disjunctive connective with a conjunctive flavor, namely, Hindi *yaa*. *Yaa*'s peculiar characteristics are that (i) it seems to have no strengthening whatsoever, and that (ii) it's non-exhaustive (see 1). We will show that such peculiarities, namely the inclusivity and non-exhaustiveness, stem from the interaction of disjunction and domain extension. We observe that 1 is compatible with situations where John either had tea, or coffee, or both of them, or even some other kind of hot beverage, possibly along with coffee or tea, but not more than two three (tea, coffee, and something else) together. *Yaa* is thus inclusive and non-exhaustive. Such a pattern has not been observed with junctors in other languages. We will show that the latter is not due to the meaning of the junctor, but rather an independent property of Hindi wherein nominals can undergo domain extension; and *yaa* is compatible with this property.

**Proposal:** We extend Montaut's (2009) discussion of domain extension in Noun-Noun constructions to nominal disjunction. We propose that similarly to noun reduplication, the repetition of two entities from within a natural class results in the extension of a domain having similar members to the two entities. The non-exhaustivity is due to the compatibility between *yaa* and the domain extension available in Hindi.

**Model:** The two disjuncts constitute the initial domain DINI, and with the property of domain extension, there exists an extended domain DEXT. The members within DEXT are determined by the nature of the two disjuncts. If disjuncts form a natural class, all the members of this class are contained in the domain DNC, the entities in DEXT are the complement of the disjuncts within DNC. Conversely, if the disjuncts fail to form a natural class, as in 3, |DEXT| is empty. *Yaa* operates in two steps, first, it operates over the two domains DINI and DEXT and returns a new domain of accessible entities DACC, such that it is a union of DINI and DEXT; and |DACC - DINI| = 1, i.e., at most only one item from DEXT can make it to DACC. The current model only has the restriction for the maximum number of entities that could be made available in DACC. The second step consists of making the power set of the entities in the DACC. If the cardinality of DACC is 3, the power set contains singleton sets of all the entities in DACC, sets of their pairs with each other, a null set, and a set of all three entities. In a scenario where no item from DEXT becomes a part of DACC or if the |DEXT| is 0, the power set is generated from DINI. We observed some speaker variation with respect to the restrictions on the cardinality of the sets in DACC. This follows if we assume a language specific omission rule that omits all the sets with cardinality higher than the number of disjuncts. Some speakers may simply lack this rule. The empty set, on the other hand, will always be excluded because of genuineness. We acknowledge that our proposal does not

provide a concrete definition of *Natural Class*. Intuitively, any two entities which form a Natural Class can be further divided into two different ones and vice-versa. We are adopting the idea of the Natural Class with all its underdetermined characteristics.

**Conclusion** We made new empirical observations with regard to Hindi *yaa*. This disjunction marker *yaa* seems to be compatible with the situations which are non-exhaustive and/or inclusive. We argued that *yaa* lacks any sort of strengthening, resulting in inclusivity and that the non-exhaustivity stems from an operation that is not unique to disjunction rather independently part of Hindi. We proposed that the repetition of two entities from a natural class extends the domain to the whole class, similarly to noun reduplication and Noun-Noun constructions.

1. John-ne tea yaa coffee pii.

John-ERG tea or coffee drink.PFV

‘John had tea or coffee or something else.’

2. John-ne sushi yaa biryaani khaayii

John-ERG sushi or biryani eat.PFV

‘John had sushi or biryani, or maybe both but nothing else.’

### Sample Computation :

In 1;

Step 1: DINI is {tea, coffee} and post domain extension, the resultant DEXT is {milk, hot-chocolate, ...}.

Step 2: Yaa returns accessible domain DACC say {tea, coffee, x}; x is unknown.

Step 3: Power Set of the entities in DACC is generated: {{tea}, {coffee}, {x}, {tea, coffee}, {coffee, x}, {tea, x}, {tea, coffee, x}, {} }.

Step 5: Omit all the sets that overlap with the omission rule. This ejects {tea, coffee, x} and {}.

Step 6: Possible interpretations of 1 has to be one of the set from {{tea}, {coffee}, {x}, {tea, coffee}, {coffee, x}, {tea, x}}

In 3;

Step 1: DINI is {sushi, biryani} and post domain extension, the resultant DEXT has nothing.

Step 2: Yaa returns accessible domain DACC : {sushi, biryani}

Step 3: Power Set of the entities in DACC is generated: {{sushi}, {biryani}, {sushi, biryani}, {} }.

Step 5: Just omit {} as there is no set in with cardinality >2.

Step 6: Possible interpretations of has to be one of the set from {{sushi}, {biryani}, {sushi, biryani}}

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## **A sociolinguistic study of Brokkat, an endangered language in Bhutan**

Fuminobu Nishida (Waseda University)

The Brokkat language (Dzongkha: བྱུག་ཁྱེད་) is a lesser-known Southern Tibetan language in Bhutan. In order to bridge the gap of our knowledge, I carried out a series of survey of Brokkat community in Dhur village since 2012, toward the completion of a grammar of the Brokkat language under the auspices of the Dzongkha Development Commission of the Royal Government of Bhutan. The study provides a detailed and systematic description of the grammar of the Brokkat language. In parallel, a descriptive grammar of Brokkat, dictionaries and folktale readers will be compiled and published, and the linguistic resources of the Brokkat obtained from the research will be developed and a database with audio will be constructed and published. Furthermore, a comparative study of Brokkat and neighbouring languages will be conducted on specific grammatical items in order to clarify the characteristics of Brokkat and its linguistics position in Tibeto-Burman language family.

This paper describes sociolinguistic aspects of Brokkat. Topics include new findings about Brokkat speaking community, estimates of the population of Brokkat speakers, and language maintenance in the community. Our research results show that this language is spoken by 80 people in the village of Dhur in Bumthang Valley of Bumthang District in central Bhutan. Brokkat is spoken by descendants of pastoral yakherd communities.

Firstly, we briefly outline an overview of the linguistic diversity of the area with reference to the latest information about the status of Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan. Secondly, we attempt to demonstrate the present sociolinguistic situation in Dhur, focusing on the notions of multilingualism and language contact and the major dimensions of sociolinguistics and multilingualism in the village. We also deal with language vitality including language use of daily life, attitudes and multilingual proficiency. Lastly, we will discuss various ideological and sociocultural aspects of language contact and shift in a multilingual setting.



## Grammaticalization and Lexicalization of Questions in Hindi

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The grammaticalization of constructions is a recent phenomenon in the grammaticalization theory. This paper argues that wh-exclamations and rhetorical questions are grammaticalized constructions in Hindi and Kanauji. When wh-questions are commonly used to express the speech act of surprise, they function as exclamations and are known as wh-exclamations. (Nouwen, R. & Chernilovskaya, A. 2015, Zevakhina 2016). Wh-exclamatives can be defined as non-compositional interrogatives in Hindi that violate the principle of semantic compositionality. The interrogative in (1) exhibits the literal meaning of a question, while (2) exhibits the non-compositional (conveyed meaning) of an exclamation.

(1) **kja** keh rəhε ho? (wh-question)

What say PROG.M.2SG be.PRS.2SG  
'What are you saying?'

(2) **kja** keh rəhε ho! (wh-exclamative)

What say PROG.M.2SG be.PRS.2SG  
'What are you saying!'

Question words in wh-exclamations of Hindi are semantically extended from their interrogative function to their degree modifier function. The selection of the question word in the wh-exclamative depends on the class of the noun it modifies. In (3), the question word *kese* 'how' functions as a scalar modifier that downscopes the property of the following noun, here *bəčče* 'children.' In (4-5), the question word *kittne* 'how much.PL' modifies the noun *din* 'days' and *kittni* 'how much.F.SG' modifies the adjective-phrase *khubsurat jagəh* 'beautiful place,' strengthening the degree reading in these exclamatives. The wh-questions get semantically extended to wh-exclamative via invited inferencing (Traugott & Dasher 2002). In grammaticalization, lexical and grammaticalized meanings can coexist for an extended time, giving rise to ambiguous interpretations. (Heine & Kuteva 2005). (1-4) exhibit wh-exclamations that got grammaticalized from wh-questions and coexisted with the original wh-question for an extended period. Occasionally, the original question interpretation gets semantically bleached, leaving only the grammaticalized meaning as in (5). In (6), the embedded wh-exclamative is a grammaticalized construction. Like wh-exclamatives, the rhetorical questions in Hindi are grammaticalized constructions as they carry an invited inference of an assertion of opposite polarity, as shown in (7). Certain wh-exclamative constructions in Hindi undergo 'lexicalization,' where a semantic shift to a non-compositional meaning gets fossilized, as in (8-9). They signal an indirect way of expressing gratitude, thanks, and praise.

Through a detailed analysis of the pragmatic functions of the wh-exclamations and rhetorical

questions, this paper establishes that wh-constructions in Hindi have a broader scope beyond the commonly accepted interrogation function.

#### Grammaticalized constructions

(3) **kɛse** bəççe hẽ !

How children be.PRS.PL  
‘How are these children!’

(4) vo **kɪtne** d̪ɪn pəpɪt̪a nəhi khaega!

3SG how many.PL days papaya not eat.FUT.M.3SG  
‘How many days will he not eat papaya!’

(5) **kɪt̪ni** khubsurət̪̪əgəh hẽ!

How much.F.SG beautiful place be.PRS.3SG  
‘What a beautiful place!’

(6) me **hɛran** hū ki t̪om it̪ni jəld̪ɪ **kɛse** aje!

1SG wonder be.PRS.1SG that 2SG so much.F.SG quick how come.PFV.M.2SG  
‘I wonder how you came so early!’

(7) us-ko **kən** nəhi jaŋt̪a!

3SG.POSS-DAT who not know.HAB.M.3SG  
‘Who doesn’t know him!’

#### Lexicalized constructions

(8) **kja** baɳ hẽ!

What matter be.PRS.3SG  
‘Wonderful!’

(Lit: What is the matter!)

(9) is-ki **kja** jəruət̪̪hi!

This-GEN.FSG what need be.PST.F.3SG  
‘Thank you!’

(Lit: What is the need for this!)

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## The role of Subject-Case in expressing Modality in Marathi

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The relevance of the case of the subject in expressing modal notions in South Asian languages has been a subject of recent interest (See Bhatt et al., 2011 for Urdu/Hindi). This paper seeks to examine the effect of the choice of the case of the subject - nominative, dative, or ergative on the interpretation of modality in Marathi. Subject-case alternations in Marathi lead to distinct modal readings. As an illustration, let us consider the set of utterances 1, 2, and 3 given below. Each example appears with a different subject-case and a different modal reading emerges out of it.

(1) mira            gərəm ɖuɖʰ pi-u            ʃək-əʈ            nahi.

Meera.NOM hot    milk drink-INCP able-IMPF NEG

Meera cannot drink hot milk.

Here, the use of nominative case indicates the general, inherent (in)ability of the agentive-subject to perform the action. The speaker conveys Meera's (in)ability to drink hot milk.

(2) mira-la            gərəm ɖuɖʰ pi-ŋə            ʃəkjə            nahi ahe.

Meera-DAT hot    milk drink-INF possible NEG be.PRES

It is not possible for Meera to drink hot milk.

In 2, the use of dative case conveys an external factor, like a boil on Meera's tongue, inhibiting the agentive-subject Meera from drinking hot milk.

(3) mira-ne            gərəm ɖuɖʰ pi-ŋə            ʃəkjə            nahi.

she-ERG hot    milk drink-INF possible NEG

It is not possible that she drink hot milk.

Here, the ergative case of the subject indicates the speaker's judgement towards the agentive-subject's (in)ability. The speaker has a certain image/knowledge about Meera, and in light of that image/knowledge, it is impossible from the speaker's perspective that she drinks hot milk. We consider this to be an instance of speaker-oriented modality (à la Bybee et al., 1994).

In this paper, we address the following questions:

1. What semantic contribution does the subject-case have in expressing modal notions in Marathi?
2. Why do certain modality-enabling verbs allow subject-case alternations as against certain other verbs that restrict such alternations?

Butt, 2006 demonstrates that semantic factors like volitionality and control govern subject case alternations in languages such as Urdu. In this paper, we wish to build on this insight for Marathi and examine how the semantics of subject-cases enables different modal readings. Such an attempt would help in better understanding the nature of modal expressions in Marathi.

### **Abbreviations**

DAT - Dative  
ERG - Ergative  
IMPF - Imperfective  
INCP - Inceptive  
INF - Infinitive  
NEG - Negation  
NOM - Nominative  
PRES- Present

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## Challenges of translating toponymic units from Italian to Hindi: A case study of Hindi translation of *SQU*

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Every literary text, be it a short story or a novel, takes place in or around a fictional or real geographical location. A literary text describes how the protagonists and other characters perceive the world, which is comprised of both people and locations. In his memoir, *Se questo è un uomo*, Primo Levi lists the names of a considerable number of cities, some of which are significant national capitals while others are obscure tiny towns and villages like Normandy, Russia Subcarptic, Vosgi, and Piave that are unknown to the vast majority of people in both European and Asian nations. Hindi readers would just wonder "where" while reading the names of these locations since they are unfamiliar to them and they are not supposed to be experts in World War II or history. Even skipping these city names is impossible.

The Holocaust that occurred during World War II was a deeply spatial event that had its origins in particular geographical locations, times, and landscapes. Because, in addition to this, it was marked by a spatiality of process, which included concentration, deportation, dispersion and dislocation (Beorn et al., p. 563). To understand better *Se questo è un uomo*, one must know where these places are, for these locations are inextricably intertwined with his ancestors, family, hardships and his own life. Both in terms of theory behind translation and the actual process of doing it, the transfer of toponymic units has been somewhat of a contentious problem. To this day, there is no one fixed method that can be used to complete the transfer. As a result, my paper aims at discussing translation how strategy of paraphrasing, suggested by Peter Newmark, can be applied to translate and transfer the toponymic unites from Italian language to the Hindi language for the readers who are not well aware with these geographical locations.

Keywords: #PrimoLevi, #Sequestoèunuomo #toponyms #translation #literarytranslation #Italian #Hindi

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## **Gender and classifier marking in South Asian languages: A nominalization perspective**

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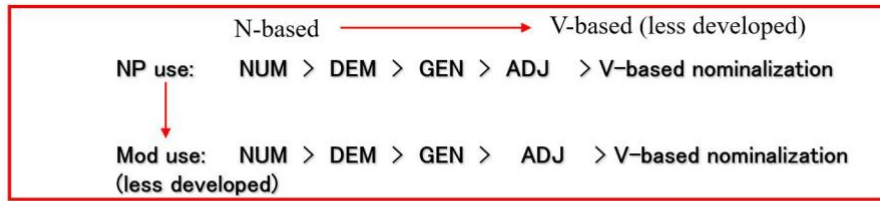
Niranjan Uppoor (Tripura University) - Masayoshi Shibatani (Rice University)

One of the striking developments in the framework of nominalization advocated in Shibatani (2017, 2018, 2019) is the treatment of the gender and classifier marking as a classifying nominalization phenomenon that, contrary to conventional wisdom, nominalizes the structure that forms a constituent with a gender/ CLF marking and at the same time classifies what is denoted by the relevant structure; e. g., “**two-M/F/N** (thing)”, “**this-M/F/N** (thing)”, “**his-M/F/N** (thing)”, “**two-HUMANS**”, “**this-ROUND** (thing)”, “**his-FLAT** (thing)”, “**long-M/ROUND** (thing)”, “**F/ROUND-(one) that I bought yesterday**”. Distinguishing two usage patterns of NP use, where the relevant structure heads a noun phrase, playing a referring function (I want **two-F/ROUND**) and modification use, where the same structure functions to restrict or identify the denotation of the head noun (I want **two-F/ROUND** bowls), Shibatani (2019) proposes the following hierarchy: NUM > DEM > GEN > ADJ > V-based nominalizations (NUM=numerals, DEM=demonstratives, GEN=genitives, ADJ=adjectives, V-based (participial) nominalizations) that, coupled with the two usage patterns, provides a fine-grained comparative framework equipped with the powers for both constraining the synchronic distribution patterns and predicting historical developments of gender/CLF marking across dialects/languages.

The proposed hierarchy and the suggested patterns of development largely reflect Shibatani and Shigeno’s (2013) claim that nominalization marking starts out in the NP-use context of N-based nominalizations, which subsequently spreads to the modification context of N-based nominalizations (a), as well as to NP-use (b) and to modification use (c) of V-based nominalizations. The predictions made by Shibatani’s proposals are: (i) Historically, older forms of a language show a less developed pattern of gender/CLF marking both horizontally along structural dimension of the hierarchy and vertically along the functional dimension than newer forms of the language, (ii) Cross-dialectally/linguistically, we expect to find dialectal/crosslinguistic distributional patterns of gender/CLF marking reflecting the above diachronic development patterns—some (conservative) dialects/languages are less developed than some others in a similar way the older forms of the language are less developed than the newer counterparts. The recent exploratory fieldwork on gender/CLF marking in Modern Assamese dialects (CLF marking), Marathi (gender/CLF marking language), and Kannada and Tamil (both gender marking), as well as text research on Old Assamese corroborates the claims made by Shibatani’s recent works, as shown in the representative summaries in the appendix on the second page.



Assamese (classifier marking)



Old Assamese

**NP use:** OPTNUM > OPTDEM > \*GEN > \*ADJ > \*V-based nominalization

**Mod use:** OPTNUM > OPTDEM > \*GEN > \*ADJ > \*V-based nominalization

Nalbariya dialect

**NP use:** NUM > DEM > \*OPTGEN > \*OPTADJ > \*OPTV-based nominalization

**Mod use:** NUM > OPTDEM > \*GEN > \*ADJ > \*V-based nominalization

Modern Standard Assamese

**NP use:** NUM > DEM > \*OPTGEN > \*OPTADJ > \*OPTV-based nominalization

**Mod use:** NUM > OPTDEM > OPTGEN > \*ADJ > \*V-based nominalization

Marathi (gender/classifier marking)

**NP-use:** NUM > DEM > GEN > ADJ > V-based nominalization  
**Mod-use:** \*NUM > DEM > GEN > ADJ > V-based

Tamil (gender marking)

**NP-use:** NUM > DEM > GEN > ADJ > V-based nominalization

**Mod-use:** \*NUM > \*DEM > \*GEN > \*ADJ > \*V-based nominalization

Kannada (gender marking)

**NP-use:** NUM > DEM > GEN > ADJ > V-based nominalization

**Mod-use:** NUM > \*DEM > \*GEN > \*ADJ > \*V-based nominalization

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information structure, and discourse structure, which make DCM more or less likely to occur. The notions of ‘expectedness’ or ‘prototypicality’ also frequently factor into discussions on DCM (Aissen, 2003). For example, in transitive constructions, the prototypical subject is animate, volitional, and definite, while the prototypical object is inanimate, indefinite, and fully affected by the action of the subject (Haspelmath, 2005a). Thus, the less prototypical a subject or object is, the more likely it will be to receive DCM, in order to disambiguate its position in the construction (LaPolla, 1995; Haspelmath, 2005b; Donlay, 2019). I show that unlike previous accounts of DCM, disambiguation of the subject from the object does not seem to be a strong factor in the use of *ta* and *kha*, nor do *ta* and *kha* appear more frequently with non-prototypical subjects/agents or objects/patients, respectively. This suggests that *ta* and *kha* not only mark semantic role, but carry a pragmatic/information structure function as well, and brings new data from an under-documented language to bear on the subject of DCM. I wish to present in the general session.

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## Dynamics of a Hybrid Language zone in Eastern India

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Hybrid languages are born due to long term language contact, and the consequent convergence or divergence processes. The paper examines the case of an area in eastern India, where three provinces with different interactional language choices share borders. A mosaic of different hybrid languages are found in this region, where diffusion in large areas and leveling (Kerswell, 2003) of varieties are found. The paper examines the verbal agreement patterns of different hybrid forms of the area and tries to understand whether the long-term contact resulted in recombination of features (Mufwere, 2022) and fused lects (Auer and Hakimov, 2021). The paper highlights two isolects of the target hybrid zone, where transitional features are supposed to be more prominent.

- 1.a. mui ɔba b<sup>h</sup>aɽ k<sup>h</sup>ač i  
I now rice eat-PRES-PROG-1P-SG  
'I am eating rice now'
- b. mui ɔk<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃ b<sup>h</sup>aɽ k<sup>h</sup>ã ɔɽɔ  
I now rice eat-PRES-PROG-1P-SG  
'I am eating rice now'

1.b uses the verbal inflections which are specific to a geographical area. It seems to be an innovative feature of the hybrid zone. It diffuses in forms like 1.a which is close to the inflections of the dominant language of the province/area.

- 2.a. aɣer bɔč ɔr ɔkɽɔbɔr mase ɖ ɔme jɔl pɔɽiɳeč<sup>h</sup>ilo  
Last year October month-loc heavy shower fall-PST-3P  
'There was a heavy rain in last October'
- b. a:r bɔč ɔr ɔkɽɔbɔr mase pa:ɽ p<sup>h</sup>uskunɛk  
Last year October month-loc shower fall-PST-3P  
'There was a rain in last October'

The pattern of the verb 'to rain' is different in the hybrid zone. 2.b is used in remote areas, while 2a. is closer to the regional dominant language. It can be argued that the verbal forms retained the palatal nasal but adopted the progressive marker and person marker from the dominant language. New types of hybrid languages are born due to feature alterations. The new hybrids are also markers of new identities, which are shared with the other adjacent communities who adopted the same hybrid as lingua franca.

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# **Analyzing Language Usage and Attitudes among Cholanaikkan Speakers, a Language at Risk of Extinction: A Sociolinguistic Inquiry**

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The following socio-linguistic study, conducted in 2022, explores the attitudes and beliefs of Cholanaikkan speakers towards their mother tongue. The Cholanaikkan language is spoken by a forest-dwelling autochthonous community residing in the New Arambalam Forest Reserve (NARF) of the Nilambur region in Kerala, India. Previous study like (Muralidharan, 1988) has noted that unlike other Dravidian languages, such as Malayalam, Telugu, and Tamil, with whom Cholanaikkan speakers share a geographical boundary, the Cholanaikkan language is distinct. The study investigates the linguistic practices of this marginalized and numerically- endangered community using qualitative research methods, such as ethnographic interviews and participant observation, to gain insight into their language use and linguistic identity. The research also evaluates the impact of government policies and development programs on the community's language and culture. This study provides a valuable contribution to the understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics of a vulnerable tribe in India and its implications for language policy and planning.

**Keywords:** *Socio-linguistics, Cholanaikkan speakers, mother tongue, autochthonous community, India, qualitative research, linguistic practices, ethnographic interviews, participant observation, linguistic identity, government policies, development programs, language policy, language planning.*

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## Absence of Rule Ordering in Pāṇini's Grammar

Rishi Rajpopat (University of Cambridge)

In his doctoral thesis titled 'In Pāṇini We Trust: Discovering the Algorithm for Rule Conflict Resolution in the Aṣṭādhyāyī', Rajpopat (2022) has made multiple claims about the workings of Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar, some of which have important implications for phonological theory.

He argues that when two rules are simultaneously applicable at any step of a Pāṇinian word-derivation, we can and must choose the rule to be applied at that step, based purely on Pāṇini's instructions, without worrying about how this decision will impact the applicability or application of other rules in the following steps. And therefore, he argues that there is no need for such a concept as rule ordering in Pāṇini's grammar. He writes:

“In Western phonology, Chomsky and Halle (1968) postulated that, each language has its own fixed order of applying rules in derivations. This is called extrinsic ordering. Kiparsky (1968), on the other hand, proposed that the order of rule application could be viewed as being dependent on the formal relationships between rules, namely, whether one rule feeds or bleeds the other rule.<sup>1</sup> This is called intrinsic ordering.

“Pāṇini's derivations are neither extrinsically nor intrinsically ordered. In fact, one need not worry about the concept of rule order at all when performing Pāṇinian derivations. This is because the choice of the rule which should apply at any given step, depends neither on whether it feeds or bleeds another rule, not on any predetermined order of application. Instead, this decision is made by the algorithm devised by Pāṇini to deal with situations of simultaneous applicability of two or more rules.”

In this paper, I will attempt to understand why Pāṇini chooses and is able to describe his target language's phonology without resorting to the concept of rule ordering.

To achieve this goal, I will underscore the similarities and differences between the objectives of Pāṇini's grammar and western phonological theory. I will study examples of word-derivations from both traditional Indian and modern Western linguistics to understand the differences between the meanings of 'word-derivation' in these two traditions.

I will explore how the concept of 'rules' in the Indian grammatical system compares with the concept of 'rules' in the western one. I will also examine how the differences in objectives of the two traditions, Indian and Western, might have contributed to the differences in the definitions of these terms, and more broadly, in their conceptualization of word-derivations.

Lastly, I will examine the pros and cons of including the concept of rule ordering in any linguistic formalism and how it interacts with and influences other aspects of word-derivations.

<sup>1</sup> A feeds B if the application of A facilitates the application of B, and P bleeds Q if the application of P obstructs the application of Q.

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## **Ergative *-ne* in New Indo-Aryan**

Rishi Rajpopat (University of Cambridge)

The origin of the postposition *-ne* in Hindi (and related forms in other NIA languages) has been debated extensively. There are three main hypotheses (cf. Drocco 2008, Verbeke and De Cuypere 2009) about the diachrony of this ergative postposition. One hypothesis is that the Hindi ergative marker is derived from a lexical element through the process of grammaticalization. Multiple lexical candidates have been proposed for the same e.g. *-janye*, which is found in Bangla as *-jonno* ‘for’ (Butt 2001), *-lagi* ‘be attached to’ (Beames 1872), *kaṛṇena* ‘by the ear, side, agency’ (Chatterji 1926). As Verbeke and De Cuypere (2009) have rightly pointed out, we find no concrete evidence whatsoever to support such claims.

Another hypothesis is that it was borrowed from a language where it was used as the dative or accusative marker (Rajasthani / Gujarati *-nai / -ne*) (Beames 1872). Supporting this hypothesis, Butt (2006) argues that ergative and dative are related in that both deal with ‘control’ (ergative = control over an action = internal control; dative = goal semantics = external control). Verbeke and De Cuypere (2009) have presented two other arguments in support of this hypothesis: one, dative and ergative may both be used to mark the transitive subject which shows they are semantically similar, and two, that Lehmann (2002) considers the dative as a possible origin of the ergative case. While the aforementioned authors make sophisticated theoretical arguments supporting the ‘borrowing’ hypothesis, they do not provide any philological evidence to support the same.

Yet another hypothesis is that it is derived from a former case marker e.g., Sanskrit instrumental singular *-ena / -iṇā*. This implies the following kind of transition: *dev-ena* (Sanskrit instrumental) > *dev-ne* (Hindi ergative) (cf. Monier Williams 1858, Trumpp 1872). Starting with Beames (1872) and Kellog (1893), almost all subsequent scholars have disputed this hypothesis, mainly because case markers were continuously undergoing erosion: for example, in most forms, towards late MIA, *-ena* has evolved into *-e*, *-eṃ* (Sen 1973).

In this paper, I will argue that the ‘erosion of case markers’ argument does not stand up to scrutiny and that *-ne* is in fact likely derived from Sanskrit *-ena*. The objection that the Apabhramśa instrumental had already corroded to *-eṃ* does not hold because we also find instrumental forms ending in *-eṇa(m)* in Apabhramśa. Secondly, and more importantly, the Apabhramśa that we have access to is mainly the ancestor of Gujarati, which attaches the ergative marker *-e* to nouns. However, Gujarati also has the ergative *-ṇe* marker, which is used with certain personal and relative pronouns.

I will first discuss why the final *-a* of *ena* might have become *-e*. Then, in order to prove that NIA *-ne* is derived from OIA *-ena*, I will present evidence of the use of *-ne* in both ergative and non-ergative (instrumental-locative) constructions found in four early NIA texts namely Khusro’s (1253-1325) Khadiboli poems, Jñāneśvara’s (1275-1296) Marathi work *Jñāneśvarī*, Baba Farid’s (1173-1266) Punjabi couplets and Bhālaṇa’s Gujarati composition, *Nalākhyāna*. I will investigate the possibility that the NIA ergative case marker *-ne* evolved from certain instrumental forms and spread over time to those forms where perfective and imperfective clauses had begun to use identical subjects. For example, it spread to nominal subjects in old Marathi and old Punjabi where

the nominative-ergative distinction had disappeared. On the other hand, in Gujarati, it did not spread to nominal subjects which retain the ergative marker -e. I will conclude by discussing some relevant problems, such as the use of -ne with only third person and not first and second person pronouns in Punjabi and

Marathi, and the historical developments that might have contributed to the same. I will also throw light on similar challenges in tracing the origins of other postpositions in NIA.

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## Old Indo-Aryan onomatopoeia between morphologization and poetry

Paola Maria Rossi (University of Milan)

As is well known, onomatopoeia is a linguistic phenomenon based on the iconicity resulting from the mimetic activity of speakers: onomatopoeia imitates sounds of extra-linguistic reality. Given such an iconicity, onomatopoeic words should escape from Saussure's concept of arbitrariness of linguistic signs. However, recently Carling and Johansson (2014) have focused on the fact that onomatopoeia is not a pure icon, despite being iconic: sound-imitation, based on likeness, does not exclude symbolic layers at all. Therefore, onomatopoeias are "iconic-symbolic signs". Actually, since this kind of linguistic sign is resulting from similarity, the 'signifier' is clearly marked, but its semantisation is not so defined: paradoxically, non-verbal sounds are potentially provided with very high symbolical power, so that their conventional meaning can be extremely multifaceted. (Bredin 1996; Sharp-Warren 1994). In actual fact, the semantisation of non-verbal sounds is mostly conceived of as a magic means to act "sympathetically" on reality, especially when it is perceived as "Otherness": it is to actually be controlled and domesticated through its "mimetic denomination". And onomatopoeia is one of these magic means (Jakobson 1979). As for Old Indo-Aryan onomatopoeia, it concerns mainly the lexicon related to names of animals – especially birds – or natural phenomena (Wackernagel 1957: 8-9): by means of sound-mimicking nouns they are turned into propitious beings, linguistically integrated into the humanised sphere. According to Emeneau's classification (1969), these onomatopoeic nouns are mostly output from reduplication of the same phonetic sequence (CVC-CVC: e.g. *budbud-a*): the process of "humanisation" implies a form of grammaticalisation of such magic "sound sequences", so that they are regularly inflected as vowel stems. However, these cases are not so frequent in the Vedic corpus; on the contrary, in the Rigvedic and Atharvavedic collections onomatopoeic forms consist mostly of verbal intensive stems or perfect stems of onomatopoeic roots (e.g. *kánikrad-* <  $\sqrt{\text{krand}}$  'to make noise'; *vāvaś-* <  $\sqrt{\text{vās}}$  'to bellow'). This would mean that their symbolical value is amplified by their morphological complexity, that is their magic efficacy corresponds to sound repetition as 'structured/regulated' as specified verbal stems. This paper aims to explore the relationship between morphology and sound symbolism in the Rigvedic and Atharvavedic poetry, especially with regards to these verbal forms.

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## Differential object marking in Marāṭhī

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The main aim of the present talk is to analyze the phenomenon of differential object marking (DOM) in the Marāṭhī language.

The study focuses on the marking of semantically opposite direct objects, such as animate and inanimate, specific and non-specific. The main research questions addressed are whether differential object marking in Marāṭhī is motivated by syntactic or semantic factors (or both), and how this phenomenon is integrated into the grammar of the language, with a focus on gender agreement and ergative structures, in order to more accurately compare the Marāṭhī DOM system and similar structures in other Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindī. This is also possible thanks to a more theoretical, introductory section of the thesis focused on linguistic theories about DOM systems across languages, and more specifically in Neo Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindī, Punjābī, Gujarātī, and Mārṡārī.

To answer these research questions, this thesis relies on a study conducted on a sample of Marāṭhī texts, which was compiled mainly from didactic books, novels, and magazines which use contemporary Marāṭhī prose. The study involves an analysis of the tendencies of the language concerning the distribution of object markers with respect to particular parameters, such as animacy and specificity, in order to establish a possible hierarchy of said parameters and the way they overlap and interact in sentences. The results are then used to draw comparisons with other languages and especially with Hindī, which is the Neo Indo-Aryan language whose DOM system has been most thoroughly analyzed at date.

This abstract comes with four samples of Marāṭhī sentences that serve as examples of how Marāṭhī clauses are analyzed in this work and my presentation. The first sentence (i) contains an inanimate direct object, whereas in (ii) the object is animate and marked. Sentences (iii) and (iv) show two possible forms - respectively, unmarked and marked - of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun used as a direct object. This kind of comparison is ultimately what allows to understand the inherent tendencies of contemporary Marāṭhī grammar and language usage.

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### Samples

The following samples were all extracted from: Madhil, Jātak (2018). *Prasiddh Goṣṭī*, Manoj Publications, Delhi, pp. 2-16, and they only serve as examples of how Marāṭhī sentences are analyzed in this work.

#### (i) दुसऱ्या दिवशी तो कवड्यांवर विष ओततो

<i>dusryā divaśī</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>kavaḍyāṃ -var</i>	<i>viṣ</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>-t -o</i>
adverbial locut. 'the next day'	pers. pronoun, 3 <sup>rd</sup> p. sing., masc., unmarked 'he'	fem. plur., marked 'shells'	loc. 'on'	neut. sing., unmarked 'poison'	v. root pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> p. sing., 'to pour' masc.

“The next day, he pours poison on the shells.”

#### (ii) त्या बेढब प्राण्याला मारून टाका

<i>tyā</i>	<i>beḍhab</i>	<i>prāṇyā -lā</i>	<i>mār -ūn</i>	<i>ṭāk -ā</i>
demonstr. adj., 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. sing., fem., marked 'that'	adj. 'monstruous'	fem. sing., marked 'creature'	object marker	v. root gerund 'to kill' (compound structure)
				v. root, imperative, lit. 'to 2 <sup>nd</sup> p. plur. put'

“Kill that monstrous creature!”

#### (iii) देवाला ते सगळं पाहून खूप वाईट वाटते

<i>devā -lā</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>sagalaṃ</i>	<i>pāh -ūn</i>	<i>khūp</i>	<i>vāīṭ</i>	<i>vāṭ -t -e</i>
masc. dat. sing., marked 'God'	'to'	demonstr. adj., 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. sing., neut., unmarked 'that'	neut. sing., unmarked 'all'	v. root gerund 'to see'	adv. 'much'	adj. 'bad'
						v. root pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> p. sing., 'to feel' neut.

“God is very sad to see all that.”

lit. “Having seen all that, to God [it] feels very sad.”

(iv) कोणी सांगतात त्याला जाळून टाका

<i>koṇī</i>	<i>sāṃg</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-āt</i>	<i>tyā</i>	<i>-lā</i>	<i>jāḷ</i>	<i>-ūn</i>	<i>ṭāk</i>	<i>-ā</i>
indef. pronoun, 3 <sup>rd</sup> p. plur. 'someone'	v. root 'to say'	pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> p. plur.		pers. pronoun, 3 <sup>rd</sup> p. sing., neut., marked 'it'	object marker	v. root 'to burn' (compound structure)	gerund	v. root lit. 'to put'	imperative, 2 <sup>nd</sup> p. plur.

“Someone says, ‘Burn it!’ ”

## Contact-Induced Changes in the Language Varieties of Northern Kasaragod

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This paper examines the nature of language mixing and contact-induced changes found in the non-standard contact varieties spoken in the northernmost parts of the Kasaragod district in Kerala, bordering the South Canara district of Karnataka. The region is highly multilingual with more than a dozen languages. The focus of this study is restricted to the four major contact varieties of the region, namely the Northern Kasargod Variety (NKV) of Kannada, NKV-Malayalam, NKV-Tulu (three South Dravidian languages) and NKV-Konkani (an Indo-Aryan language). The language mixing patterns of this region attest to the long-term diachronic contact and widespread multilingualism operating among these language speakers. The primary data is collected through fieldwork using structured questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions from the Meenja and Manjeswaram panchayats of the Kasaragod district, Kerala. Shared linguistic traits, internally innovative morphophonological structures and restructuring mark the mixing outcomes of this convergence area.

Key Findings:

1) Instances of the creation of novel words with shared roots

The uncategorized root comes from language A and the verbal inflections, i.e.

the morphophonological exponents come from the respective language varieties. For instance, the present tense form of the verb, ‘to know’ in all four languages:

- |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| a) NKV-Kannada: /gottuṅṅu/ | b) NKV-Malayalam: /gonṅuṅṅu/ |
| c) NKV-Tulu: /gonṅuṅṅu/    | d) NKV-Konkani: /gottasi/    |

2) Loss of aspirated bilabial nasal /m<sup>h</sup>/ and alveolar nasal /n<sup>h</sup>/ from the phonetic inventory of Konkani spoken by the Christians who have migrated to this region in the 17th century.

- a) n<sup>h</sup>əyit̪ri → nəyit̪ri (meaning: ‘if not’) b) m<sup>h</sup>əŋole → məŋole (meaning: ɔ)

3) Copula be’ is marked for person, number and gender in the past tense in NKV-M

Standard Malayalam lacks subject-verb agreement. However, PNG marking on the verb is a characteristic feature of other South Dravidian languages including Tulu and Kannada.

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| a) <i>ja:ni ʃiččər a:yittuṅṅa:ɳna</i> | b) <i>aoru ʃiččər a:yittuṅṅa:ɳna:ri</i> |
| 1.sg teacher be-PST-1.sg              | 3.pl teacher be-PST-3.pl ‘I             |
| was a teacher’                        | ‘They were teachers’                    |

4) Syncretism in the [+animate] instrumental case marker

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| a) NKV-Konkani: /ot̪ti/                 | b) NKV-Tulu: /ot̪t̪ige/ |
| c) NKV-Malayalam: /ot̪ti/ or /okkatt̪i/ |                         |

## 5) Absence of cleft constructions in NKV- Malayalam

*Keywords:* contact-induced linguistic changes, linguistic convergence, Northern Kasaragod Variety of languages,

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## Pragmatic Discursive Analysis of 'Tricky' Headlines in Bengali Newspapers

Souvik Sengupta (Independent Scholar)

This study is intended to analyse the Bengali Headlines and if they are restricting or generating ambiguity among the readers of the selected newspapers, that are chosen as corpus for this study. The inter-role of meaning and context is analysed in this study to find the ambiguous anomalies occurring in the newspaper headlines. Headlines may be ambiguous or confusing in order to draw readers in. Noam Chomsky introduced the concept of Manufacturing Consent (1988) and it can be said that Headlines play a significant role in that, in turn contributing to 'Media Manipulation'.

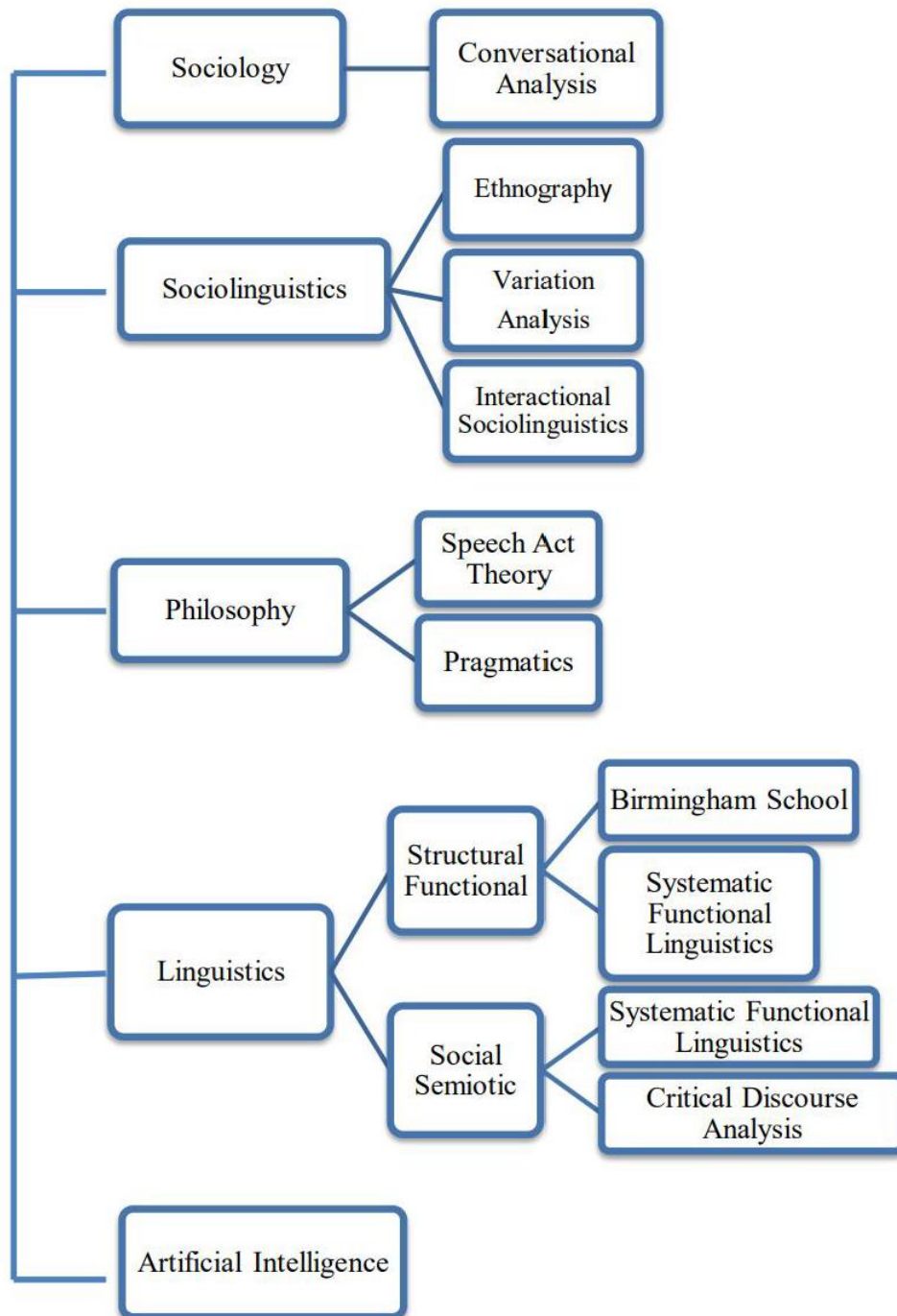
The definition of ambiguity is itself ambiguous. Though different scholars from various disciplines have tried to put in their own definitions while defining ambiguity, the uniformity in the definition has been considered for this study. The methodology that I employed in my study is an interview process (one to one interaction) with students from different universities. I interviewed thirty students chosen sporadically and the age group was limited to 18-28. I chose four of the leading newspapers (Print Media) printed in Bengali (Anandabazar Patrika (ABP), Ei Samay, Ajjal, and Pratidin). Linguistic ambiguity is a quality of language that leads text or speech to be understood in multiple interpretations. Here, I chose a few selective ambiguous headlines and categorized those specifically under four types of ambiguities (Structural, Lexical, Referential, or Phonological ambiguity). To provide a clarity about the ambiguous property of the headline, I intend to justify why that headline should be considered ambiguous on the basis of different types of ambiguities mentioned. It was important to choose the native (Bengali as their Mother-Tongue) speakers so as the Cultural Schemata in the contexts can be examined. The Cultural Schemata develop from our daily experiences; and people belonging to the same culture will be able to perceive similar 'thoughts' and also will be able to understand 'cultural references'. There have been many studies on the ambiguity of headlines but none of them, to my knowledge, involved direct participation of the respondents explaining their standpoints. The methodology chosen for this study is inspired by previous studies by Danuta Reah's *The Language of Newspapers* (1998), *Linguistic Divergences in Newspaper Headlines* (2017) by Dhawan and Prakash, etc, but none of the mentioned study explores the interview style. I have also chosen a few pragmatic devices, such as cognitive interpretation of sense and reference, presupposition, implicature that shall help me in analysing the interviews.

Thirty respondents were interviewed out of which 6 were male respondents and 24 were female respondents. The interview confirmed the significance and importance of the headlines as 36.67% of the respondents said that they only read the headlines. 20% of the respondents said that they choose the news influenced by the headline. Both of them sum up to a 56.67% of the respondents which is more than half of the total. Since more than half of the readers rely on the headlines, it was significant to observe and analyse if the headlines guide the respondents to understand the actual news or diverge their cognitive sense away

from the actual news. The study has been done by using the qualitative analysis method through which I have tried to implement a descriptive analysis of each of the headlines followed by the quantitative analysis method through which I could show the percentages and the correct numerical data.

While analysing the study, there were many instances where it was observed that the headlines misled the readers; thus, appearing to be ambiguous. Respondents interpreted the news as they perceived by reading the headlines. Both divergences from the context of the actual news and convergence to the context of the actual news were observed. There is no one-to-one correspondence prevailing between the news and the headlines as the headlines are generating ambiguity among the respondents. Even if the headlines diversify among the respondents and generate a variety of opinions, it was also observed that the native speakers (respondents) could identify particular contextual cues in the headlines through which some of them could understand and interpret the whole news. Also, the convergence and divergence happened in a certain structure. The cognitive understanding is happening from the pragma-linguistic level where different pragmatic devices such as implicature, presupposition, co-operative principles prevailing between the journalist (formulating the news) and the respondents (interpreting the news) helps in understanding the context. Other than that, the Cultural Schemata, implementation of the sense to the reference and, sense to the context in a discursive analysis acts as linguistic cues and help in understanding the role these markers play. The paper thus explores the dynamics of Bengali headlines and its Discourse Analysis - if it is generating or restricting the ambiguity among the readers.

## Discourse and its relationship with Pragmatics



*Approaches to discourse analysis according to disciplinary origins (adapted from Eggins and Slade, 1997)*

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## Passive-like constructions in Hindi and Awadhi from typological and diachronic perspectives

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This paper provides a comparative analysis of passive-like constructions in Hindi and Awadhi, two closely related Indo-Aryan languages of northern India, with a particular focus on their semantic features.

The introductory part of this paper covers a brief sketch of typical syntactic and semantic features of the passive voice (Siewierska 2013). Subsequently features of the Hindi passive voice are discussed with reference to existing publications, particularly Montaut 2004, Montaut 2018 and Khohklova 2003, but also Jain 1981, which provides an opposing view on classification of some of the more interesting passive, or „passive-like” constructions, such as capability passive (Kachru 1966). The discussed features of passive voice include:

- a) the morphosyntactic formation of the transitive-passive alternation,
- b) the realization of *the* agent or lack thereof,
- c) realization of the patient and how it corresponds to the realization of the patient in the active clause with a particular focus on the non-promotional passive,
- d) passivization of intransitive verbs
- e) and finally, the semantic changes that occur as a result of these alternations.

Apart from typical passives there are constructions based on verbs which are generally classified as labile/ambitransitive (Kulikov 2014) such as *bharnā*, which receive either passive-like or active interpretation depending on the presence vs. absence of the A argument.

Parallel constructions are also attested in Awadhi (Saksena 1971). The following sentences exemplify the contextual character of passive/ active interpretation of the verb *bhārab* (fill/to be filled) in Awadhi:

(1) Awadhi (Indo-Aryan, Saksena 1971: 293)

<i>ju:</i>	<i>ghāra:</i>	<i>bhārai</i>	<i>tab</i>	<i>cali:</i>
when	jar	fill.3sg.prs.	then	go.1pl.prs

‘When this jar fills (is filled), then we shall go.’

(2) Awadhi (Indo-Aryan, Saksena 1971: 293)

<i>gopa:l</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>ghāra:</i>	<i>bhārai</i>	<i>tab</i>	<i>cali:</i>
Gopal	this	jar	fill.3sg.prs	then	go.1.pl.prs.

‘Let Gopal fill the jar, then we shall go.’

The passive-like models of these two languages are further discussed and compared highlighting syntactic and semantic differences between the two languages. The discussion of these constructions is illustrated with glossed and translated language samples drawn from data of native speakers' language use and from corpora available at <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>.

Further, we are going to show the development of such constructions in historical corpus of Awadhi available at <http://rjawor.vm.wmi.amu.edu.pl/tagging/> and still being developed.

Preliminary results show that the passive-like constructions in Hindi are limited to certain verb classes, and we assume that the same shall pertain to modern Awadhi. We have also shown elsewhere that these classes of verbs have been quite stable in other historical early New Indo- Aryan languages (Author in print).

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## Noun Incorporation in Pnar

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Noun Incorporation is a salient property of polysynthetic languages where “verbs must include some expression of each of the main participants in the event described by the verb (subject, object and indirect object)” (Baker 2001: 111). In Subbarao (2012), the third group of languages falls into two major categories: *polysynthetic* and *semi-polysynthetic* languages. We label them as semi-polysynthetic languages. These include some Tibeto-Burman, Munda and the Mon-Khmer. Pnar exhibits flexible word order pattern like SVO, VSO, and OVS. Pnar is a prepositional language which is isolating and (partially) agglutinating (Sutnga, 2019). It can be seen both N-V, V-N combination of incorporated noun into the verbal complex.

The paper shows (a) that the object argument can incorporate into the verb which depends on the nature of both the predicate and object, and additionally, (b) that noun incorporation are not cases of compounding.

Noun incorporation is where a core argument (subject or object) of a clause becomes "attached to" or "incorporated into" the verb. Incorporation exhibits all the characteristics of compounding namely (1) a stress pattern characteristic of words rather than phrases, (2) possibly unusual word order, (3) morphophonemic processes characteristic of words rather than phrases, (4) possibly special morphology, and (5) meanings that are more specific than the meanings of the individual parts (Payne1997).

In terms of type of arguments, the direct object of a transitive verb can incorporate, but the subject of a transitive verb cannot in (1b); depending on the nature of the object, there is a definite cases of object shift or incorporation. Examples (1a–c) are answers to question sentence

(1a) that shows incorporation properties like structures.

(1).a. iaka ioo? u jɔn.

what COP 3msg john

‘What is john doing?’

b. u jɔn sait tiar u.

3msg john wash utensil 3msg

‘John is washing/cleaning utensils’

- c. da booʔ u jɔn ki tiar.  
 pst keep 3msg john pl utensil  
 'John had arranged the utensils'

Object incorporation is a **valence decreasing operation**, since the object ceases to function as an independent argument and becomes part of a formally intransitive verb. The incorporated constructions differ from the non-incorporated counterparts in that the incorporated versions imply that the item was totally removed. Object incorporation is common in Pnar (2) but not in (3);

- (2). u ŋɔŋ-rep c<sup>h</sup>na ban u.  
 3msg farmer make border 3msg  
 'The farmer make field-borders'

- (3). booʔ da liaŋi ban.  
 keep from side pl border  
 'to keep from the side of field borders'

**Object incorporation** is far more common than subject incorporation as in (4) b. but not in a..

- (4) a. da dep bom phi.  
 pst finish eat 2pl  
 'You have eaten.'
- b. da dep **phibɔm**. (SI)  
 pst finish 2pl eat  
 'You finished eating.'

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## **Linguistic Convergence and Divergence of Varhadi: A Study of Marathi - Hindi Language Contact in Vidarbha**

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(University of Hyderabad)

The present study endeavours to document a language contact situation and its effects, i.e., linguistic convergence and divergence, where two major Indo-Aryan languages of India, Marathi and Hindi, come into contact. It focuses on the linguistic convergence of Varhadi, an eastern variety of Marathi spoken in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, to Hindi spoken in Madhya Pradesh, the neighbouring state, and at the same time, its divergence from the standard variety of Marathi. The instances of palatalization, serial verb, feminine gender ending/agreement, case markers, the particle /bi/ and the word choice in the Varhadi spoken in the western Vidarbha, vividly indicates the linguistics convergence of Varhadi towards Hindi and, at the same time, its divergence from its standard variety, Marathi. The study finds that the prolonged contact between two languages does not merely witness the transfer of linguistic elements in border areas; however, it may travel far more beyond.

**Keywords:** Language Contact, Convergence, Divergence. Varhadi, Marathi, Hindi



## EXAMPLES:

The following abbreviations have been used: M = Marathi, V= Varhadi (Spoken in Western Vidarbha: Amravati, Akola, Washim, Yavatmal and Buldana), NM= Nagpuri Marathi, H= Hindi, H-MP-N = Hindi of Madhya Pradesh spoken near the border of Nagpur.

### Serial verb:

- |    |           |                               |     |
|----|-----------|-------------------------------|-----|
| a) | <i>mɪ</i> | <i>wisər-lo</i>               | (M) |
|    | I         | forget-past-1sgm              |     |
| b) | <i>mɛ</i> | <i>b<sup>h</sup>ul-gəja</i>   | (H) |
|    | I         | forget- past 1sgm             |     |
| c) | <i>mɪ</i> | <i>b<sup>h</sup>ulun-gelo</i> | (V) |
|    | I         | forget- past-1sgm             |     |

### Feminine Gender Ending/ Feminine Gender Agreement

- |    |           |                    |     |
|----|-----------|--------------------|-----|
| a) | <i>mɪ</i> | <i>al-e</i>        | (M) |
|    | I         | come- past-1sg-fem |     |
| b) | <i>mɛ</i> | <i>aj-ɪ</i>        | (H) |
|    | I         | come- past-1sg-fem |     |
| c) | <i>mɪ</i> | <i>al-ɪ</i>        | (V) |
|    | I         | come- past-1sg-fem |     |

### Genitive Case:

- |    |                  |              |          |
|----|------------------|--------------|----------|
| a) | <i>mere wala</i> | <i>rumal</i> | (H-MP-N) |
|    | I-poss-          | handkerchief |          |
| b) | <i>maja wala</i> | <i>rumal</i> | (V)      |
|    | I-poss-          | handkerchief |          |
| c) | <i>maza</i>      | <i>rumal</i> | (M)      |
|    | I-poss           | handkerchief |          |

### Ergative case:

- |    |             |  |     |
|----|-------------|--|-----|
| a) | <i>mɪ</i>   | <i>dzewəŋ kelə</i>                         | (M) |
|    | I-erg       | meal eat- past-3sn                         |     |
| b) | <i>mene</i> | <i>k<sup>h</sup>ana k<sup>h</sup>aja .</i> | (H) |
|    | I-erg       | meal eat –past-3sn                         |     |
| c) | <i>minə</i> | <i>dzewəŋ kelə.</i>                        | (V) |
|    | I-erg       | meal eat-past-3sn                          |     |

### The Particle /bi/

- |    |             |                       |              |                           |                    |     |
|----|-------------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| a) | <i>məla</i> | <i>pəŋ</i>            | <i>tu:zi</i> | <i>aʈ<sup>h</sup>əwəŋ</i> | <i>jeʈ ahe</i>     | (M) |
|    | I-dat       | too/also              | your         | remember/miss             | come-prog          |     |
| b) | <i>muze</i> | <i>b<sup>h</sup>i</i> | <i>teri</i>  | <i>jaʈ</i>                | <i>a rəhi he</i>   | (H) |
|    | I-dat       | too/also              | your         | remember/ miss-           | come- prog         |     |
| c) | <i>məle</i> | <i>bi</i>             | <i>tu:ji</i> | <i>jaʈ</i>                | <i>jewun rajli</i> | (V) |
|    | I-dat       | too/also              | your         | remember/miss             | come- prog         |     |

### The Vocabulary/Word Choice

- |    | Marathi                    | Hindi         | Varhadi       | Gloss       |
|----|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| a) | <i>wɪf</i>                 | <i>jəhər</i>  | <i>jəjər</i>  | Poison      |
| b) | <i>uʈja:</i>               | <i>kəl</i>    | <i>ka:l</i>   | Tomorrow    |
| c) | <i>aʈ<sup>h</sup>əwəda</i> | <i>həʈta</i>  | <i>həʈta</i>  | Week        |
| d) | <i>aʈ<sup>h</sup>əwəŋ</i>  | <i>ja:ʈ</i>   | <i>ja:ʈ</i>   | Remembrance |
| e) | <i>ɖrakʃe</i>              | <i>əŋgu:r</i> | <i>əŋgu:r</i> | Grapes      |

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## Dative comparatives in the Dravidian languages

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There have been a number of typological studies on the comparative of inequality that deal with (among others) the marker of standard of comparison (= ‘tie’, Stolz 2013), a functional equivalent of the English ‘than’ (e.g. Stassen 1985; Stolz 2013; Ultan 1972). Dravidian languages use a variety of means in that function. One of the most prominent one is the dative case. This paper examines the ‘dative case comparative constructions’ in Dravidian languages and argues for considering the dative case marker *\*(k)k(u)* a strong candidate for a Proto-Dravidian tie.

In this paper 3 types of comparatives with a dative case suffix are distinguished. For each of the types an example is given:

- (1) BETṬA KURUMBA (South Dravidian)  
*bommən ma:ḍən-ka kiri-əḍə*  
Bomman Madan-DAT small-NMR  
‘Bomman is younger than Madan’.

(Coelho, 2003: 154)

In the type I the dative case suffix is the only means of signaling unequal relation between the comparee and the standard. In (1) it is the suffix *-ka* on the standard *ma:ḍən* ‘Madan’.

- (2) KOLAMI (Central Dravidian)  
*adav pilla-kul idav pilla-kul-uṅ peris ovosi-l an-ḍ-av*  
those woman-PL these woman-PL-DAT COMP person.of.first.rank-PL be-FUT-3PL.NONM  
‘Those women are better than these’.

(Emeneau, 1955: 129)

In the type II the standard in the dative case is followed by a specially designated word which together with the dative case suffix functions as a marker of the standard. In (2) this additional element is *peris*, a source for which is Marathi *parīs*, itself a comparative postposition. It follows the standard of comparison *idav pillakul* ‘these women’ marked by a dative case suffix *-uṅ*.

- (3) TELUGU (South-Central Dravidian)  
*raamu kamala kaNṬe poDugu*  
Ramu Kamala COMP height  
‘Ramu is taller than Kamala’.

(Krishnamurti and Gwynn, 1985: 321)

In the type III the dative case suffix has been merged with the following reinforcing form and both have been reanalyzed as a comparative postposition. In (3) the postposition *kaNṬe* consists of the dative suffix *-ku* and *aNṬe*, a conditional form of the verb *anu* ‘say’.

The type III presupposes earlier existence of the type II in a given language and the type II presupposes the existence of the type I. In other words, some languages that had dative case as a standard marker extended the marker by adding a new element to it. The motivation for it may have

had two sources: 1) reinforcing a diminished comparative meaning of the dative case and providing a specialized form distinct from a bare and otherwise multifunctional dative case; 2) pragmatic usefulness of an analytic tie — it provides a possibility of placing emphasis on either standard or tie separately (Stolz 2013: 267-268). A facilitating factor in the process is language contact and borrowing — the resulting complex tie is often a mix of a native element (the dative case suffix) and borrowed material (e.g. a tie from a second language).

The following arguments suggest that the dative case may be the most ancient among the attested ties and perhaps goes back to Proto-Dravidian: 1) the commonality of the dative case in the function of tie in Dravidian languages (languages belonging to three out of four genetic subgroups of Dravidian have it; one group that seems to not have it at all is North Dravidian which has been heavily influenced by Indo-Aryan); 2) antiquity of the comparative dative case and its developments: the Telugu comparative postposition is attested in its oldest literary text, Nannaya's *Mahābhāratam* from the 11th century, suggesting that the process of reinforcing the comparative dative case is very old and started before first literary records of Telugu. *Tolkāppiyam*, one of the oldest attested texts in any Dravidian language indicates that the dative suffix in the comparative function was considered archaic already at the dawn of Tamil literary history. Although in the Sangam poetry the primary means of comparison was the ablative case *-iṅ* (with the emphatic clitic *=um*), in a chapter on case syncretism Tolkāppiyar says that the usage of the dative case suffix in comparison is an old practice (*Tolkāppiyam*, Col. 594). At the same time there are no other convincing candidates for Proto-Dravidian tie. The dative case's strongest competitor is the ablative which is also old and widely attested in Dravidian as a tie. However, while in case of dative comparatives the tie is consistently realized by historically related morphemes (whose common element is a velar stop or, in a few languages, velar nasal) the comparative ablative is realized by various forms of different origin. This fact goes in pair with another one: the dative case can be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian but the ablative cannot be (Krishnamurti 2003: 237; Andronov 2003: 134). Furthermore, there seems to be no potential language or language family known today from which Dravidian could have borrowed the dative comparative and so it is likely an autochthonous feature.

### Abbreviations

3 third person; COMP comparative; DAT dative; FUT future; NMR nominalizer; NONM non-masculine; PL plural; SG singular

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## √*dviṣ-* ‘hate’ and denominal radical *s*-extension in Indo-Iranian

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The connection between Skt. √*dviṣ-* ‘hate’ (cf. OAv. *dābaēš-* ‘id.’) and Gk. δέιδω ‘fear’ (<< \*δε-δφοι-) which is ostensibly derived from an “*s*-less” version of the same root has been made since Walde-Pokorny (1926-30: 816f.) and is generally accepted, albeit in vague terms, in modern scholarship (EDG *s.v.*, EWAia *s.v.* *DVEṢ-*; with reservation LIV<sup>2</sup> *s.v.* ?\**d̥ueiṣ-*; cf. Dunkel 1981: 229f., Insler 1975: 199). The origin(s) of the *s*-enlargement in Skt. *dviṣ-* and its morphological and semantic relations with the base root \**d̥uei-*, however, have not been explored in detail beyond the descriptive term “*s*-extension” *vel sim.* A recent contribution by Cohen in a paper that deals with *s*-extensions across Indo-European (2017: 117-33) suggests that -*s*- originates from a univerbation of earlier compounds based on \**steh2-* and marks telicity, but this works poorly for some of the Indo-Iranian data including *dviṣ-* which is patently atelic. Another attack on the problem by Lubotsky (2018: 227-35) discusses several groups of Sanskrit roots that show -*s*- and -*d*- extensions, but he remains agnostic towards the origins of these formations. In this paper I will aim to achieve two goals:

(1) explain the semantic connection between *dviṣ-* ‘hate’ and the base root \**d̥uei-* ‘two; doubt’ by a close examination of the relevant RV passages and (2) offer an alternative denominal explanation of the *s*-extension in *dviṣ-* based on an old feminine *s*-stem.

In a similar way that Gk. δέιδω ‘fear’ etc. (<\**d̥uei-*) has been shown to be linked with \**d̥uei-* ‘two, double’ (e.g. Skt. *dvīś*, Gk. δίς, OLat. *dvi-*, etc.) via a semantic intermediate stage δουή ‘doubt, perplexity’ in *Il.9.229-30* (Benveniste 1954: 254f., 1966: 294f.), I submit that the Ved. √*dviṣ-* ‘hate’ can also find its base root in the Vedic cognate of Gk. δουή, namely *dvayá-* adj. ‘twofold’, n. ‘duplicity, falsehood’ (on cognancy cf. Wackernagel 1914: 119ff.). In its usage in RV one finds a strong connotation of the word *dvayá-* with enemies and hostility, as can be seen, e.g. in 1.147.4a-b:

*yó no agne árarivāñ̄ aghāyúr arātīvā̄ marcáyati dvayéna*  
“a malicious, ungenerous foe who harms us with *dvaya*”.

The portrayal of a hateful hostile is more elaborated in 5.3.7 where *yó no marcáyati dvayéna* (d) “he who harms us with *dvaya*” is apposed to *yó na ā̄ go abhy éno bhárāti* (a) “he who will bring us injury and calamity”. Similarly, in various passages the word *dvayāvin-* ‘duplicitous’, a possessive derivative of *dvayá-*, has been characterized as or juxtaposed to “wicked” (*aghásamsasya* 1.42.4b), “enemies” (*árātayas* 2.23.5b), “destructive” (*dhvaráso* 2.23.5c), etc. Hence, the semantic development from *dvayá-* to *dviṣ-* is highly plausible and follows a natural path of ‘twofold, double’ => ‘duplicitous, false, deceitful’ => ‘hostile, inimical’ => ‘to be hostile, hate’, not unsimilar to the Greek development of δουή ‘doubt’ => ‘to be in doubt, be perplexed’ => δέιδω ‘to fear, be anxious’ (and further perhaps Arm. *erku* ‘two’ => *erknč i m* ‘I fear’, *erkiwl* ‘fear’, etc., cf. GEW *s.v.* δέιδω).

Morphologically, the *s*-extended formations are only securely attested in Indo-Iranian (Arm. *erknč i* - and Lat. *dīrus* being highly contested and problematic on their own, see, e.g. Klingenschmitt 1982: 78f., Rix 2005: 569). Conversely, the base root without the *s*-enlargement has traces left in OAv. *duuaēθā* ‘hostile’ (Y. 32.16b, 48.9b, see Insler *loc.cit.*; cf. Bartholomae 1904: 763) and to that one may add the Vedic *hapax ádvayantam* ‘not duplicitous, truthful’ in 3.29.5 if it is to be analyzed as a participial form of a root  $\sqrt{dvi}$ - ‘be duplicitous, be deceitful; be hostile?’. Therefore, the *s*-extension (to this particular root) must be an Indo-Iranian innovation. I will further show that  $\sqrt{dviṣ}$ - indeed has a very marginal existence in RV as a verb: only 5 occurrences in 3 hymns (*dvésti* 3.53.21 and 10.34.3, *dviṣmās* 10.164.5) in the entire RV corpus in its finite forms and only one of them is found in the family books. In contrast, the root noun *dvíṣ* f. ‘hatred, hostility; enemy’ has a much more prolific profile, attested 40x in RV and over half (21x) of the tokens are from book 2 to 7.

I therefore argue that instead of searching for the origins of the *s*-extension in the verbal realm the genesis of  $\sqrt{dviṣ}$ - is rather denominal based on an old amphikinetic *s*-stem feminine noun *\*duéi-os-/\*dūi-s-* of the same type as *\*h2éus-os-/\*h2us-s-* ‘dawn’ (cf. Lesb. nom. *αῦωζ*/Ved. gen. *uśás*, etc.), whence the weak stem *\*dūis-* is generalized in Indo-Iranian as Ved. *dvíṣ* and possibly in OAv. *daibiš-uuant-* ‘enemy’. The strong stem is not retrievable in Indo-Iranian but traces of it might be sought in Gk. *δέος* which structurally reflects *\*duéi-os-* and is remodelled into a neuter *s*-stem there. Thus, the chain of development in Indo-Iranian is as follows:

- (1) *\*duēj-/duoj-* ‘twofold; (be) duplicitous, deceitful’ (Ved. *dvayá-*,  $\sqrt{dvi}$  in *ádvayantam*, etc.)
- (2) *\*duéi-os-/\*dūi-s-* ‘duplicity, double-dealing; hostility’ (Gk. *δέος*, Ved. *dvíṣ*)
- (3) Generalization of *\*dūis-* => Ved. *dvíṣ* ‘enemy; hatred’
- (4) Original root extended with *-s-* due to prominence of the root noun => Ved.  $\sqrt{dviṣ}$ - ‘hate’

This type of root extension based on old feminine *s*-stem without noticeable change in the meaning is exactly paralleled by  $\sqrt{bhī}$ - ‘fear’ and  $\sqrt{bhīṣ}$ - ‘id.’ (also  $\sqrt{bhīyas}$ - ‘id.’), the latter of which has been shown by Gotō (1987:224f., 225fn478) to be derived from *bhiyás-/bhīṣa-* (cf. also EWAia s.v. *BHAY<sup>l</sup>*). It is plausible that in addition to *bhīṣa-* (a low frequency word attested 3x in RV) the *s*-extension in  $\sqrt{bhīṣ}$ - may have also benefitted from contamination with  $\sqrt{dviṣ}$ -. Another likely source of root contamination within Indo-Iranian is Ved.  $\sqrt{tviṣ}$ - ‘to be violently agitated, troubled, excited’, cf. YAv. *θwaēša-* ‘fear, anxiety’. Despite possibly having a similar set of amphikinetic *s*-stems in Ved. f. *tvíṣ* and YAv. n. *θwayah-*,

$\sqrt{tviṣ}$ - must have already been extended with *-s-* (if indeed connected with Ir. *\*tvi-*, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. *?\*tuej-*) in the parent language as *\*tueiṣ-* - given Gk. *σειώ* ‘shake’, *σεισμός* ‘shock’, etc. But it is highly probable that it may have facilitated, in addition to the effect of the *s*-stem nouns, the *s*-extension in  $\sqrt{dviṣ}$  and  $\sqrt{bhīṣ}$  given the close semantics and root shapes, in a similar way that it has been proposed that PIE *\*kert-* ‘turn’ may represent an analogical extension of *\*ker-* after *\*uert-* ‘turn’ (Güntert 1914 *apud* Kocharov and Shatskov 2018: 222).

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# **Workshop**

**Complex verb constructions  
in Indo-Aryan and beyond**

Convenors

Eystein Dahl

Beatrice Grieco

## Experiencers vs. Agents in Urdu/Hindi Nominalized Verbs of Perception

Tafseer Ahmed (University of Konstanz) - Miriam Butt (University of Konstanz) -  
Lucrezia Carnesale (University of Pavia-Bergamo)

Urdu/Hindi displays two curious nominalized verbs of perception, *dik<sup>h</sup>ai* ‘seeing’ and *sunai* ‘hearing’, which can combine with the light verb version of *de* ‘give’ as shown in (1). As a complex predicate, the construction shows a combined argument structure of just two arguments: a dative experiencer and a nominative theme/stimulus. However, the verb *de* ‘give/let’ consistently only licenses an agentive subject elsewhere in the language, see a.o. Butt (1995), Butt and Geuder (2001), Davison (2014). This is true for its main verb use, illustrated in (2-a), as well as an idiomatic use in (2-b) and its light verb uses as a permissive in (3-a) or as part of an aspectual complex predicate in (3-b). Agentive subjects of (di)transitives in Urdu/Hindi require an ergative subject when the verb’s morphology is perfective, as such all the subjects in (2) and (3) are ergative. There is no trace of an agentive argument in any of the examples with *dik<sup>h</sup>ai/sunai + de* that we have found in our corpora and native speakers judge the addition of an agentive argument to examples like (1) as ungrammatical.

The absence of an agentive argument in the complex predication is even more puzzling when one considers that the nouns *dik<sup>h</sup>ai* and *sunai* each consist of a verb stem (*dik<sup>h</sup>/sun*) whose causativized version (addition of causative -a) is nominalized via the affix -i, which derives abstract feminine nouns from a verbal base form (Chatterji 1926, §402). However, the nominalized causative is not productive in the language anymore and, although the compositional nature of the nominalization is still transparent, we could hypothesize that *dik<sup>h</sup>ai* and *sunai* have been lexicalized to be nouns of perception with an experiencer/theme argument structure. Yet, this still leaves us with a predicted agentive argument that simply does not show up in nominalized perception N-V combinations.

In this talk, we propose an explanation for this conundrum making use of two ingredients. One is the “Dative Restriction” first identified by Davison (2008) and discussed with respect to the light verb *de* ‘give’ in Davison (2014). This restriction indicates that there seems to be an incompatibility between experiencers and agentive subjects. The other ingredient is the subevental approach to linking articulated in Schätzle (2018). This combines Kibort’s (2014) revised Mapping Theory, with the subevental conception of lexical semantics as articulated by Ramchand (2008), in which an event can be decomposed into three subevents: (i) a causing or initiating subevent (init); (ii) a process subevent (proc); (iii) a result state (res). In addition, rhemes (rh) are taken to be part of the description of the predicate and are considered to be in a static relationship with one of the three subevents of a predicate; much like a static spatial Figure/Ground relationship. Each of these licenses an argument participant.

In Ramchand’s system, experiencer predicates are analyzed as involving a holder (an experiencer) of a state (a rheme). This holder is identified with the init subevent. When combining the experiencer predicate argument structure with the one provided by ‘give’, we end up with two different init participants. We posit, along the lines of Davison’s (2008) Dative Restriction, that two init participants with clashing semantics are incompatible within the same event predication. Thus, because of the incompatibility of two different inits in one predication, the predication was reanalyzed as an overall experiencer predication via an initial suppression

of the agentive init argument (possibly triggered by the reanalysis of the originally causative nominal as an experiencer predicate).

Our analysis is then also able to make sense of examples as in (4), in which the also normally agentive light verb *kar* ‘do’ is also found with a dative experiencer subject rather than the expected agentive one.

## Examples

### 1-a

mujh-e                    is=kā                    koī    lakṣaṇ                    nahīm    dikh-ā-ī  
 Pron.1SG-DAT    this.OB=GEN.M.SG    some    sign.M.SG.NOM    not    appear-Caus.F  
 de-t-ā  
 give-IMPF-M.SG

Right now, I do not see any sign of it.

### 1-b

un-herī                    gogī=kī    mahīn    āvāj                    sun-ā-ī                    d-ī  
 Pron.3PL-DAT    gogī=GEN    sweet    voice.F.SG.NOM    hear-Caus-F.SG    give-PRF.F.SG  
 They heard Gogi’s sweet voice.

### 2-a (main verb)

nadya=ne    bacce=ko                    kitāb                    d-ī  
 nadya.F=Erg    child.M.Sg.Obl=Dat    book.F.Sg.Nom    give-Perf.F.Sg  
 ‘Nadya gave the child a/the book.’

### 2-b (idiomatic use)

protestar=ne    islāmābād=meīn    dharnā                    di-yā  
 protestor=Erg    Islamabad=in                    sit-in.M.Sg.Nom    give-Perf.M.Sg  
 ‘Protesters staged a sit-in in Islamabad.’

### 3-a (permissive light verb)

nadya=ne    bacce=ko                    kitāb                    par<sup>h</sup>-ne                    d-ī  
 nadya.F=Erg    child.M.Sg.Obl=Dat    book.F.Sg.Nom    read-Inf.Obl    give-Perf.F.Sg  
 ‘Nadya let the child read a/the book.’ (permissive light verb)

### b. (aspectual light verb)

nadya=ne    batuā                    k<sup>h</sup>o    di-yā  
 nadya.F=Erg    wallet.M.Sg.Nom    lose    give-Perf.M.Sg  
 ‘Someone lost a/the wallet.’ (based on Hook 1974, 310)

### 4.

pārvāti=ko    c<sup>h</sup>opār                    k<sup>h</sup>el-ne=kā                    man                    kiyā  
 parvati=Dat    chopad.M.Sg.Nom    play-Inf.Obl=Gen.M.Sg    mind.M.Sg.Nom    do-Perf.M.Sg  
 ‘Parvati felt like playing chopad.’

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## Compound verbs in contact: a view from the Eastern Caucasus

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On a macro-areal, Eurasian scale, the Caucasus is often cited as a hotspot of complex verbal morphology. However, its three indigenous families (plus numerous interlopers), are not a convergence area, but are instead characterized by a great diversity of morphological types, valency change devices, and various levels of analyticity. At the level of East Caucasian (EC), a deep but well-established family, the level of complexity on simple verb forms is generally higher in peripheral branches than in central branches. This distribution would support the hypothesis that contact with surrounding languages produced an increase in complexity. But in Lezgian, the easternmost branch of this family, high levels of complexity are balanced by a reduced number of simple verbs and a tendency to replace or expand the verbal lexicon by means of periphrastic verbs, making it part of a much larger area to the south-east of the Caucasus up to modern Indo-Aryan, where light verb constructions are widespread and the use of auxiliaries to mark TAMs and valence changes is the norm. In the Eastern Caucasus as further East, the compounding strategy coexists with inherited synthetic verbs, and each language shows both specific and shared borrowings, and stands at some stage in a common trend to replace native synthetic verbs by either loans or morphologically more manageable verbal adjectives. In many languages, the functional range of complex verbal constructions is not limited to valence change but extends to innovations in the marking of aspect and modalities.

All languages have developed the use of ‘do’ and ‘become’ auxiliaries with (mostly borrowed) nominal objects, adjectives, and native deverbal ‘coverbs’. Complex predicates fall into four categories, featuring 1) adjectives (borrowed or native) with no synchronic link to a verbal root; 2) defective stems of obsolete native intransitive or ambitransitive verbs; 3) perfect participles of Azeri verbs, with various levels of phonetic adaptation; 4) ideophones. While the transitive ‘do’ type is probably native but a recent parallel drift in EC (it is found in all branches, but some languages lack it), the intransitive type with ‘be’ is probably an extension of a strategy originally restricted to adjectives and a few nouns, since most EC branches have traces of an older, stem alternating formation (Authier 2012). This typological change is the result of contact with languages representing the balanced, ‘equipollent’ type of valency change (Turkic by inflectional means, and Iranian through analytic constructions), leading Nichols (2016) to present Lezgian, the largest language of the area, as a typical ‘noun-based language’ in which “simplex verbs are a closed class; the only source of new verbs is light verb constructions”. The dictionary of Lezgian by Talibov (2014) contains around 1120 verb entries including some 245 suffixal causatives, 165 periphrastic anticausatives, and 300 compound verbs with an Azeri *miş* participle, leaving 410 synthetic verbs. This is a rather low figure for a language with very simplified inflexional morphology.

More conservative languages of the same (‘Lezgian’) branch can have similar figures (Budugh, cf. Mejlanova 1984), or higher (Rutul, cf. Alisultanov & Sulejmanova 2019, Tabasaran, cf. Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001, and Agul, cf. Ramazanov 2010), or much lower (Archi, cf. Chumakina *et al.* 2007, Udi, cf. Gukasjan 1974, Tsakhur, cf. Kibrik & Testelet 1997, and Kryz, cf. Authier 2009). The reasons behind these differences are not straightforward, involving levels of bilingualism, language attitude and speaker numbers, but such extensive periphrastic innovations, especially those using ‘oriental loans’ as coverbs, do link all these languages, culturally and typologically, to the Central and South Asian Silk and Spice Roads, with Islamic expansion as a vector.

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## Some Morphosyntactic Properties of Compound Verbs in Garhwali, Hindi and Nepali: A comparative study

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A compound verb (CV) is formed by the collocation of two verbs where a main verb or *pole* encodes the general meaning of the construction while a light verb or *vector* is the one that takes the grammatical inflections and adds aspectual meaning to the construction (Slade 2013). CVs have been variably described as ‘Light verb constructions (LVC)’, ‘Serial Verb constructions’, ‘Explicator Compound Verbs (ECV)’, and ‘Conjunct verbs’, etc. in the literature. I use the term CV to refer to a specific type of LVC: V-V collocations where only the pole preserves its lexical meaning while the vector is partially or completely semantically bleached of its lexical content but contributes other meanings to the compound.

In this study, I report novel data on CVs from Garhwali, an understudied Central Pahari Indo-Aryan language, and compare them with the existing descriptions of CVs in two closely related languages Hindi and Nepali focusing on certain morpho-syntactic properties such as interruptibility, head dominance, vector- pole order, negation and interaction with tense and aspect. Based on the properties studied, I will show that CVs in Garhwali, Hindi, and Nepali have some underlying similarities between the three systems, but there are some crucial differences between them. The CVs in Garhwali seem to have a mixed system as far as these properties are concerned; they resemble the Nepali system in terms of head dominance, for instance, but resemble the Hindi CV system in terms of interruptibility.

This study presents several unique properties and raises many questions regarding a crosslinguistic analysis of CVs. To begin with, only eight verbs can act as vectors in CV constructions in Garhwali which is a relatively narrower set of vectors than in Hindi, where their numbers can range from “the basic eight” to 24 (Hook 1974) and several authors have identified even more (for instance, 47 by Nespital 1997). Different vectors are employed in the three languages to convey the same meaning and many vectors are used much less frequently in Garhwali than in Hindi and the most frequent ones in the former are *ja-* ‘go’, *di-* ‘give’, *jali* (completive) and *sək-* ‘be able to’.

In terms of the morphosyntactic properties, Garhwali CVs have a relatively free **pole-vector order** while Nepali has a strict pole-vector order. Another property that crucially distinguishes the three systems is **reversibility**. Hindi only allows reversal in some pragmatic contexts and with a limited set of verbs. Hindi reversibility of pole and vector is fundamentally different from the kind of free order that we see in Garhwali. In terms of **discontinuity**, in Garhwali CVs, the vector can occur at other positions and doesn’t need to occur adjacent to the pole. This is simply not possible in Hindi. Hindi CVs require that the pole and the vector always remain adjacent to each other; even in cases of scrambling the whole verb phrase seems to move together. This is also true for Nepali. The **transitivity** pattern of CVs in Hindi is more dependent on the vector than the pole, even if there are exceptions to this (Slade 2013). This makes the Hindi system more similar to the Garhwali CV system in terms of its transitivity. In contrast, the pole determines the transitivity of the entire compound in the case of Nepali CVs (Slade 2013) which differ radically from Hindi and Garhwali in this respect. In terms of **interruptibility**, while CVs in Hindi and Garhwali allow the pole and the vector to be interrupted by particles, especially the emphatic particles, Nepali does not allow it.

The case of Garhwali *jāl* is also interesting from a diachronic perspective since it is generally accepted that all vectors have a simplex counterpart in the language. Turner (1962:810) mentions a proto-Indo-Aryan root \*halati which has Nepali /halnɔ/ ‘to throw’ as a cognate and it is still used as a vector in Nepali CVs and “adds a certain amount of emphasis” (Matthews 1998: 237). Thus, it seems that this vector had a full verbal counterpart in Garhwali in the past that has been lost in the synchronic language, but the vector has still survived. This raises several questions about the origin and development of CVs.

Crosslinguistic studies of CVs in the Indo-Aryan context have been limited. This study is a step in that direction and the way these three closely related languages show the range of differences in the morphosyntax of CVs, the need to analyze CVs in more languages becomes imperative. The study of CVs thus requires wider crosslinguistic studies to shed more light on the nature and function of CVs.

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## Pertinacity in Light Verbs Revisited

Miriam Butt (University of Konstanz) - Aditi Lahiri (University of Oxford)

Originally interested in tracing the origin of the ubiquitous New Indo-Aryan aspectual V-V complex predicates as in (1), Butt and Lahiri (2013) found that there was no stage of Indo-Aryan in which a V-V complex predicate could not be detected. They therefore concluded that as a possible syntactic configuration, V-V complex predicates have been historically pertinacious across the ages. They also noted that light verbs are always form-identical with a main verb, showing no change in overt form (phonology/morphology) that is independent of historical changes undergone by the main verb. They therefore proposed that the light verb and main verb versions be derived from the same underlying entry, as sketched in (2) and that any reanalysis into auxiliaries and from there potentially to tense/aspect morphology takes place with respect to the main verb version. This was and is a rather startling claim that runs counter to much of thinking in the grammaticalization literature (e.g., Hopper and Traugott (1993), Bybee et al. (1994), Hook (1991, 2001)), however, there is a set of supporting evidence. There is further evidence within Indo-Aryan in that the modern Indo-Aryan morphological causative is not much different from how it was over 2000 years ago (Butt 2003, Jamison 1976, Speijer 1886) and Davison (2014) notes that the complex predicate permissive with 'give' also already appears to have existed in Old Indo-Aryan. Beyond Indo-Aryan, there is crosslinguistic evidence that light verbs indeed tend to be historically stable (cf. Bowerman 2008, Brinton and Akimoto 1999, Klumpp 2013). In particular, Iglesias-Raˆbade (2001) shows for English that when the main verb use of *nimen* was replaced by *take*, the light verb use was also replaced.

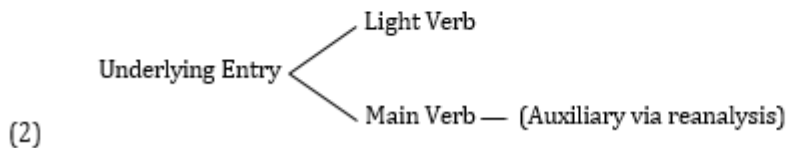
More recently, Slade (2013) and Ittze's (2022) have taken issue with Butt&Lahiri's claim as to the historical pertinacity of light verbs. In this talk, we go through the claims and data of each of these papers in some detail and show that Butt&Lahiri's claim as to the pertinacity of light verbs not only holds up, but is confirmed by the data adduced in both Slade (2013) and Ittze's (2022).

Slade (2013) concentrates on examining evidence for grammaticalization from verbs that he assumes to be light verbs. However, a close look at the data shows that Slade does not carefully distinguish between light verbs, modals and auxiliaries (cf. Butt (2010)) and that all of the examples adduced seem to either involve an auxiliary developing from a main verb (e.g., progressive *rAh* from 'stay/remain', cf. Bybee et al. 1994 for instances of this well-established type of change) or modals (e.g., *sAk* 'can/be able to'). We show that once this analytical confusion is sorted through, the data does not run counter to Butt&Lahiri's claim.

Ittze's (2022) looks at Sanskrit (and Vedic) N-V formations in the context of the grammaticalization of the perfect in Indo-Aryan. However, the modern Indo-Aryan perfect/perfective arose from the adjectival past participle in *-ta* and the picture of the distribution and properties painted by Ittze's (2022) of the Old Indo-Aryan N-V combinations is very much like the structure and properties described and analyzed by Mohanan (1994) for modern Hindi N-V complex predicates. Furthermore, there are three major light verbs involved: 'do', 'be', 'become', which each show constraints on permissible combinations and frequency effects. This is exactly what is found for Urdu/Hindi in a corpus study conducted by Ahmed and Butt (2011). Thus, rather than adducing evidence against Butt&Lahiri's claim as to the pertinacity of light verbs, Ittze's (2022) provides more evidence for Butt&Lahiri's claim from the domain of N-V combinations.

In examining this further data and claims, it is important to note that Butt&Lahiri only claim that the construction itself has been available down the ages, but not that historical change did not take place. Hook (1993, 2001), Hook and Pardeshi (2009) have demonstrated that the aspectual V-V complex predicates have become more frequent over time in Indo-Aryan. This appears to be connected to the demise of verb particles (Deo 2002, Butt and Lahiri 2013) and it is also known that particle-verb combinations do lexicalize as do individual V-V combinations such as Urdu/Hindi *la-na* ‘bring’ having probably originated from a lexicalization of *le* ‘take’ + *a* ‘come’. However, we show that even in the face of the critical discussions in Slade (2013) and Ittze’s (2022), overall Butt&Lahiri’s central claim continues to hold up — there are no instances of auxiliaries that have developed from light verbs.

- (1) a. nadya=ne xAt lk<sup>h</sup> di-ya  
 Nadya F=Erg letter M.Nom write give-Perf M.Sg  
 ‘Nadya wrote a letter (completely).’ (Urdu/Hindi)
- b. rAm bAg<sup>h</sup>-tA-ke mer-e p<sup>h</sup>el-l-o  
 Ram.Nom tiger-Cl-Acc hit-Gd throw-Past-3  
 ‘Ram killed the tiger.’ (Bengali)



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## Secondary predicates and the rise of complex predicates in Indo-Aryan

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In Classical Sanskrit, a periphrastic progressive is formed by combining a (normally) present participle with a semantically bleached finite verb of motion/position or the copula (*ay* 'go', *car* 'move', *sthā* 'stand', *ās* 'sit', *as* 'be', *bhū* 'become', Whitney 1896). This construction appears to be a post-Rigvedic innovation, since the earliest examples with a clearly desemanticized finite verb can be found in Vedic prose, cp.

(1) TS 7,4,11,1

*eṣu èvā tál lokéṣu sattrīnaḥ pratitiṣṭhanto yanti*  
DEM thus DEM worlds sacrificers stand\_firm.PRS.PTCP.N.PL.M go/AUX.PRS.3PL  
'Thus, the sacrificers **continually stand firm** in these worlds.' (ex. taken from Delbrück 1888: 390).

Here, the finite verb clearly functions as auxiliary, because the meaning of the participle is semantically incompatible with a verb of motion. In the Rigveda, though, the finite verb may still be analyzed as having its full semantic value, as in the following ambiguous example with *cáрати* 'goes':

(2) RV 6,61,8

*yáśyā anantó áhrutas ... ámaś cáрати róruvat*  
REL endless unbroken ... force go./AUX.PRS.3SG roar.PRS.PTCP.N.SG.M  
'(Sarasvatī) whose endless unbroken ... force **goes (on?) roaring**.' (ex. taken from Lowe 2015: 117)

Both senses, literal 'goes while roaring' and progressive 'roars continually', appear equally possible (Delbrück 1888, Lowe 2015, cp. also the examples in Dahl *forth.*). If the finite verb is interpreted as motion verb, the participle *róruvat* functions as a secondary predicate (Casaretto 2020). This construction, however, would be somewhat irregular because of the missing GOAL-argument, since in the Rigveda, verbs of motion are normally combined with an argument (e.g., noun, local adverb) indicating the goal (or more rarely the source) of the movement.

A relationship between secondary predicates and the rise of periphrastic constructions has long been posited in typological literature (Himmelman & Schultze-Berndt 2005). In certain collocations, the main verb may take on auxiliary function, while the secondary predicate joins this auxiliary in a new complex predicate. In intermediate stages, where the main predicate still retains some lexical- semantic content, ambiguity arises, a state that we posit for the Rigveda, as in ex. (2) above. We flesh out the historical trajectory both semantically and syntactically by paying particular attention to the presence and absence of goal arguments as disfavoring or favoring a progressive interpretation. This talk thus pursues a novel approach to tracing the rise of complex predicates in Indo-Aryan, which over time become the dominant predicative strategy throughout this branch of languages (Masica 1991). Given that all relevant stages are historically attested, we are presented with an opportunity to test the typological hypothesis of secondary predicates playing a central role in complex predicate formation.

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## The periphrastic perfect and future from Old to Middle Indo-Aryan

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This paper explores the development of the periphrastic resultative of the type *hatá-/gatá- as-* and the periphrastic future of the type *hantar-/gantar- as-* in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan. The periphrastic resultative is present already in Rigvedic Sanskrit and developed into an anterior/perfect with ergative alignment in Early Middle Indo-Aryan, as reflected in Pāli (cf. Peterson 1998: 22-25)<sup>1</sup> and Later Middle Indo-Aryan, as reflected in Niya-Prākṛit (cf. Burrows 1937: 50-56, Jamison 2000). The periphrastic future, on the other hand, arose in Middle Vedic (cf. Tichy 1992) and was seemingly not continued in Middle Indo-Aryan, except for some marginal relics in Pāli (cf. von Hinüber 2001: 302). The periphrastic resultative arose when aspect distinctions still played a pivotal role in the verbal system (cf. Dahl 2010) and gained in productivity in a period when the aspectual reference of two of the inherited aspect stems, the anterior perfect and the perfective aorist, was becoming increasingly bleached, ultimately resulting in a past tense system with an opposition between hodiernal past, prehodiernal past and inferential past (cf. Dahl 2013, 2014). The periphrastic future first appears in the context of the newly emerging temporal remoteness system, being conditioned by the gradual loss of the prospective subjunctive and seemingly having a posthodiernal function (cf., Tichy 1992). Lowe 2017 makes a strong case for the claim that the periphrastic future was only productive in the Middle Vedic period, a fact suggesting that it represents an instance of a failed change, that is, a change petering out before it reaches its full potential. This paper reassesses these data, exploring the structural factors that contributed to the situation that these two periphrastic constructions arose in the first place and had different destinies in the history of Indo-Aryan. Specifically, resultative and anterior categories are extremely common, a fact reflecting that aspectual distinctions tend to be formally renewed in the past tense domain. Posthodiernal future categories, on the other hand, are cross-linguistically rather rare, probably because remoteness distinctions play a less central role in contexts referring to the future than in contexts referring to the past.

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<sup>1</sup> The temporal semantics of the *-ta-* form in Aśokan Prākṛit remains unclear. I refer to Andersen 1986 for a discussion of its alignment features.

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## Analytic (and copula-less) constructions with resultative participles in Vedic Sanskrit

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Participial forms built with the suffix *-tá/-ná-* (for the sake of convenience: PPP) have drawn much attention from linguists, especially in view of their diachronic evolution: starting out as patient-oriented stative-resultative adjectival constructions in Early Vedic, they developed into markers for the sole expression of the past tense in Middle Indo-Aryan (see e.g. Dahl 2016, Breunis 1990, Bubeník 1998, Condoravdi & Deo 2015). Several aspects have already been extensively studied from a diachronic perspective, such as their syntactic status (predicated verbal adjectives > passives > inverse constructions > ergative constructions) and their aspectual profile (resultative > perfect > perfective). With the partial exception of Jamison (1990), who investigated the “tense” of said constructions, no special attention has ever been devoted to the relationship between so-called periphrastic forms and bare PPP acting as finite verbs in Vedic Sanskrit (while Breunis 1990 concentrates on Epic Sanskrit and the Prākritis).

In this paper I argue that these two types instantiate distinct constructions, rather than being reflexes of one and the same, i.e. “PPP with or without copula”. I also argue that “periphrasis” is a misleading characterization, if, as it seems, two criteria seem to be necessary to characterize verbal periphrases: non-compositionality and paradigmaticity, the latter intended as “the degree to which [a sign] enters a paradigm, is integrated into it and dependent on it” (Lehmann 2002: 110).

This research is rooted in the analysis of the entire Rigvedic corpus and on samples taken from the Vedic prose (MS, JB, ŚB). Especially in the case of absolute (i.e. copula-less) PPP, the situation as reflected in the RV already foreshadows the subsequent evolution: e.g., coordination with finite verbs points to a tensed (though not formally finite) status for predicative PPP (e.g. RV 1.81.5cd *ná tvá vāṁindra kás caná ná jātó ná janīṣyate* ‘there is no one like you, Indra, who has been born or will be born’, 6.48.22ac *sakṛd d<sup>h</sup>a dyaúr ajāyata sakṛd b<sup>h</sup>ū mir ajāyata pṛśnyā dug<sup>h</sup>ām sakṛt páyas* ‘only once was Heaven born; only once was Earth born. Only once was the milk of Pṛśni milked’); impersonal passives, well known from Classical Sanskrit, are also attested (1.104.6d *śrádd<sup>h</sup>itam te mahatá indriyáya* ‘trust has been placed in your great Indriyan power’).

Copular constructions with *as* and *b<sup>h</sup>ū* are also investigated in their diachronic evolution, and a comparison with the formally – but not functionally – similar development of periphrastic constructions as attested in Romance and Germanic is discussed. It will be argued that the different readings, entailments, and inferences proper to resultative participles play a key role in the history of the predicative constructions they take part in.

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## Compound verbs and light verb constructions: Pashto and the Iranian languages

Matteo De Chiara (INALCO Paris)

Pashto is an eastern Iranian language, belonging to the Indo-European family. Its verbal system presents traits of conservatism, such as the presence of simple verbs (e.g. *likəl* ‘to write’), which present a pattern and mode of use consistent with what occurs in the other Iranian languages. On the other hand, specific to Pashto compared to all other Iranian languages is the introduction of compound verbs into its verbal system (e.g. *xabərawəl* ‘to inform’ and *xabəredəl* ‘to be informed’). In other Iranian languages, we find a system with two main types of verbs – simple verbs and light verb constructions: in Pashto, however, we find a system with three types of verbs – simple verbs, compound verbs and light verb constructions. In this talk, I will briefly present the Pashto verb system in its Iranian context and its specificities. I will then focus on the distinction between compound verbs and light verb constructions, on the importance of this distinction in characterising the originality of Pashto, and on the morphological and syntactic consequences arising from it.

## Conjunctive Participle to Compound Verbs to Postpositions: Can we trace a path?

Sanjukta Ghosh (Indian Institute of Technology BHU, Varanasi) - Namrata Paul (Indian Institute of Technology BHU, Varanasi)

Indo-Aryan as well as Dravidian languages have developed many of the postpositions from the verbal bases, viz., Conjunctive Participial (CP) forms<sup>123</sup>. In Bangla, the conjunctive participial form is identical to the form of V1 in a Compound Verb (CV) construction (1 and 2) and often disambiguation needs contextual information. In (1) the prototypical sense of *dea*, transferring from one place to another is present, but when used as V1 in a CV it develops a directed path sense of motion in the environment of a following core motion verb (2 and 3). In (2), V1 *die* indicates an actual directed movement from the speaker to another place and the V2 *aḡa* indicates a movement back towards the direction of the speaker. In (3), the V1 *die* indicates a directed movement from some other place towards the speaker and V2 *aḡaoa* indicates going back from the place of the speaker. Therefore, we can say the verb *dea* is used in the CV structure as a motion verb with a specific direction and path. When this CP form historically develops into a postposition, this directional path sense is retained in the postposition (4 and 5). In (4) the postpositional use of *die* has the path of motion sense and in (5) the Landmark is a direction of the movement expressed by the postposition.

This paper will seek to answer the question with the help of the historical as well as synchronic data whether the postpositions of Bangla derived from the conjunctive participles retain some senses of the verb using cognitive linguistic framework<sup>45</sup>. What is the role of the context in the process of grammaticalization<sup>6</sup>? In the course of this investigation I will also discuss how a typical non-motion verb may develop a sense of motion in a complex motion event construction.

**Keywords: compound verbs, postpositions, grammaticalization, sense development, Context.**

### Examples

1. ami (make) k<sup>h</sup>abarṭa *die* (opore) *aḡc<sup>h</sup>i*. (serial verbs with two distinct events)  
I (mother-DAT) food-CL serve-CP (upstairs-LOC) come-PR-CONT-3  
'I am coming (upstairs) after serving the food (to mother).'
  2. ami khabarṭa (opore) *die aḡc<sup>h</sup>i*. (compound verb with single event)  
I food-CL (upstairs-LOC) give-CP come-PR-CONT-3  
'I am taking the food (upstairs).'
- (Implied that the speaker will take the food upstairs and come back)

3. pion tʃi<sup>h</sup>iʃa **die** gæŋ<sup>h</sup>e. (compound verb)  
Postman letter-CL give-CP do-PR-PFT-3  
'The postman has delivered the letter.' (Implied that the postman has brought the letter from a place different from the speaker's location)
4. rasta **die** gaŋi dʒaŋʃ<sup>h</sup>e.  
road PP cars go-pr-prog-3p  
'The vehicles are going on the road.'
5. tumi kot<sup>h</sup>a **die** ele?  
you where through come-pt-2p  
'How (through which way) did you come?'

<sup>5</sup>Bybee Joan. 2003. 'Cognitive processes in grammaticalization'. In *The New Psychology of Language: Cognitive and Functional Approaches to Language Structure*. Vol.2. Michael Tomasello (ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers. New Jersey. Pp. 145-167.

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## The structure of the Vedic periphrastic perfect: A comparative perspective

Laura Grestenberger (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

The Vedic periphrastic perfect construction (PPC) of the type *gamayām cakāra* ‘has caused to go’, *vidām cakāra* ‘has known’, etc., consists of a fossilized accusative singular of a verbal noun and a DO, BE or (more rarely) BECOME auxiliary/light verb inflected for voice, aspect (perfect), tense, and agreement. This construction has recently been discussed by Ozono (2016) and Ittész (2020/21). Building on these extensive studies, the goal of this presentation is to focus on the properties of periphrastic perfects of denominal verbs (e.g., Ved. *āmantrayām cakre/āsa* ‘has counseled’ to pres. *mantraya-te*, denominal verb to *mantra-* ‘thought’) to elucidate two aspects of periphrastic perfect formation that have not yet received a satisfactory explanation:

- 1) the restriction of the Vedic PPC to specific verb classes, which seems to be partially phonologically and partially morphosemantically conditioned (Kiparsky 2005), in that “secondary” verbs (causatives, desideratives, denominal verbs, etc.) can only form a PPC but not a synthetic perfect, cf. ex. (1a-c), but roots of the shapes VCC and  $\bar{V}C$  also form PPCs rather than synthetic perfects, ex. (1d-e).
- 2) the varying behavior with respect to the voice marking on the auxiliary, with  $\sqrt{kr}/DO$  on the one hand alternating between active and middle endings and PPCs from deponent verbs taking middle endings, cf. (1a-b) vs. (1c-e), and  $\sqrt{as}/BE$  on the other hand, which is restricted to active forms, with deponent PPCs also taking active forms (Ittész 2022), cf. (1c).

### (1) PPCs in Vedic

	Root/base	PPC			Meaning
		Verbal noun	Aux. DO act.	Aux. BE act.	
a. Desid.	$\sqrt{bhuj}$	<i>bu-bhuk-ṣ-ām</i>	<i>cakāra</i>	<i>āsa</i>	‘has wanted to eat’
b. Caus.	$\sqrt{budh}$	<i>bodh-ay-ām</i>	<i>cakāra</i>	<i>āsa</i>	‘has caused to wake up’
c. Denom/ deponent	<i>mantra-</i> n.	<i>(ā)mantray-ām</i>	<i>cakre</i>	<i>āsa</i>	‘has counseled’
d. V-initial $\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{ikṣ}$	<i>īkṣ-ām</i>	<i>cakre</i>		‘has seen’
e. V-initial $\sqrt{}$ / deponent	$\sqrt{idh}$	<i>indh-ām</i>	<i>cakre</i>		‘has ignited’

Based on a comparison with Ancient Greek (AG), which unlike Vedic allows synthetic perfects to be formed to denominal verbs (e.g., perf. *dedeipnēke* ‘has prepared a meal’, pres. *deipnéō* : *deīpnon* ‘meal’), I argue that the restrictions in Vedic follow from the reanalysis of the synthetic perfect as denoting anterior aspect (Dahl 2010) and the loss of its role as a primary verbal stem form, whereas the Greek synthetic perfect still behaves synchronically as a primary verbal stem (i.e., its morphology is in complementary distribution with that of the present and the aorist, cf. Schreiner 2021, Grestenberger 2022). The comparison with the newer resultative PPC in Ancient Greek, in which voice morphology is expressed on the nonfinite part of the construction (the participle), cf. (2), unlike in Vedic where it is expressed on the auxiliary, moreover shows

that the Vedic PPC differs structurally both from the synthetic perfect and from its Ancient Greek counterpart. I argue that this difference follows from different locality conditions on the expression of the abstract features VOICE and (perfect) ASPECT in Vedic vs. Ancient Greek, which can be deduced from the expression of perfect reduplication in the two languages: While the perfect reduplicant is expressed on the light verb/auxiliary in Vedic, it is expressed on the nonfinite form (the perfect participle) in Ancient Greek, cf. (2). I argue that this is because perfect reduplication occupies different structural positions in Vedic (Asp) vs. Ancient Greek (*v*), and that this accounts for both the difference in the distribution of perfect reduplication in the Vedic vs. the Ancient Greek PPC and for the fact that the Vedic, but not the Ancient Greek PPC appears to be sensitive to phonological properties of the root. This analysis provides support for theoretical approaches to word formation in which word structure mirrors syntactic structure (e.g., DM, Nanosyntax, Cartography) without appealing to blocking or economy (Sadler & Spencer 2001, Kiparsky 2005).

(2) PPCs in Vedic vs. Ancient Greek (deponent verbs), *v* = verbalizer, VN = verbal noun. Perfect reduplicant marked in **green**.

	Nonfinite form	Aux BE (act)	Aux DO (mid)	Meaning
Ved.	<i>(ā-)mantray-ām</i> (PRVB-)counsel.V-VN	<i>(āsa)</i> be.PF.3SG.ACT	<i>ca-kr-e</i> PF <sub>RED</sub> -do-3SG.PF.MID	'has counselled'
AG	<i>de-deg-mén-os</i> PF <sub>RED</sub> -accept-PTCP.MID-NOM.SG.M	<i>ei-mí</i> be.PRS-1SG.ACT		'I have accepted'

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## The diachrony of verbal *āmreḍitas* in Sanskrit

Beatrice Grieco (Università per Stranieri di Siena)

This paper aims to provide some preliminary findings on verbal *āmreḍitas* – a construction consisting of two identical verbs – by collecting new data from Vedic Prose and by considering the Indian grammatical tradition. According to Pāṇini’s rule *nityavīpsayoḥ* (A 8.1.4), *āmreḍitas* specifically encode two major values: *nitya* ‘constant repetition’, explained as *abhīkṣṇya* ‘reiteration’ and considered as the quality of action (*kriyādharmaḥ*) in the Kāśikāvṛtti (KV), and distribution (*vīpsā*) which is, conversely, found in nouns (*supsu vīpsā*).

As numerous scholars demonstrate, in the *Rigveda* the components of these compounds are mostly nouns, whereas there is just one case of verbal *āmreḍita*, the imperative *pībā-piba (ít)* ‘go on drinking!’ (RV 2.11.11a=10.22.15a).

So far studies have focused on *āmreḍitas* in the *Rigveda*, while a systematic collection in the later Vedic Prose language has not been undertaken yet. Vedic Prose exhibits the emergence of new forms, previously (nearly) absent but taught in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I will focus on verbal *āmreḍitas*, in particular on those formed with gerunds (ex. 1).

First, I suggest that the use of repeated gerunds to encode iterativity has its antecedent in Vedic Prose and probably starts with the gerund in *-am*, but continues in the later stages with those in *-tvā* or *-ya*, and has remained well-attested up to modern times: “[these, *scil.* repeated absolutes] are universally used by all South Asian languages to indicate aspects like simultaneity, continuity, iteration, sequentiality and non precipitativity” (Abbi 1992: 35). Indeed, I will show that the gerund in *-am* is an innovation of the Late Vedic period (completely absent in Early Vedic), and since its ancient attestations is not only found repeated to express iterativity, but also frequently conjoined with *āmreḍitas*, as in (2) – (3). Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that the gerund in *-am* originally possessed at least an iterative nuance, considering that it is compatible with iterative adverbs since its earliest attestations. The presence of a later gloss, in which a gerund in *-am* is glossed with an *āmreḍita* formed with absolutes in *-ya*, further supports this claim (cf. ex. 4).

Second, I propose an innovative explanation for the increase of verbal *āmreḍitas* in Vedic Prose. As the Sanskrit grammarians already noted, there exists a relationship between verbal *āmreḍitas* – including gerunds and finite verbs – and the intensive category, both encoding *nitya* (= *abhīkṣṇya*) ‘reiteration’ (cf. KV *ad* A 8.1.4). The Early Vedic language expresses the ‘reiteration’ mostly with the intensive category: in this regard, it is not surprising that the only verbal *āmreḍita* (*pībā-piba*) is formed from  $\sqrt{pā}$  which lacks the intensive (cf. also Klein 2003).

Conversely, in Vedic Prose the reduplicated intensive category is no more productive, and ‘reiteration’ is then encoded by repeated verbal forms.

### Examples

- (1) [...] *vyatihāram-vyatihāram* hy *uttaravediṃ vyāghārāyanti*  
‘[...] **turning again and again**, they make the libations on the high-altar’ (ŚB 9.2.1.7b, Hock 1993: 175)
- (2) *pārān vā eṣā chāndobhiḥ svargāṃ lokāṃ ety anyādanyac chāndaḥ samāróham*  
‘He goes away with the meters to the world of heaven, **ascending meters one after another**’  
(MS 1.5.10(2):78.8h)

- (3) *té parāpātam āsata yātra-yatra ākāmāyanta*  
'these (wings) **kept flying everywhere** they wanted' (MS 1.10.13(1):152.12c)
- (4) *upasaṃgrāham = upasaṃgrhyopasaṃgrhya* (BŚS 6.13, Caland, *Über das S. des Baudh.* p. 43, Renou 1935: 367)

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## Agreeing serial verbs in Sanskrit

Hans Henrich Hock (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign)

Steever (1988) introduced to South Asian linguistics the notion “Serial Verb” – a verb + verb construction in which the two verbs agree in person and number features, as in [1]. According to Steever, the first verb (“V<sub>1</sub>”) is syntactically subordinate and agreement with the second verb (“V<sub>2</sub>”) is morphological; only “V<sub>2</sub>” is syntactically finite and hence licensed to be marked for person and number.

I show that similar structures with Agreeing Serial Verbs (ASV) are found in Sanskrit, starting from Vedic Sanskrit as in [2a, b].

Earlier accounts, focusing on just some of these constructions (such as [2a]), have tried to explain the relation between the two finite verbs in terms of subordination, with V<sub>2</sub> being subordinate to V<sub>1</sub>. Given the accent rules of Vedic, the accent on the second verb (“V<sub>2</sub>”) in [2a] would seem to support this proposal, since in contrast to main-clause verbs, simple verbs in dependent clauses are accented.

However, the earliest stages of Vedic provide counterevidence. As [2b] shows, when V<sub>2</sub> is preceded by a prefix, the accent falls on the prefix (as it would in main clauses), not on the verb (as it would in subordinate clauses). For this stage of the language, then, subordination is not a viable explanation. Rather, an account in terms of (pseudo)coordination would be called for. (In later Vedic, to be sure, the accent falls on the verb in prefix-V<sub>2</sub> combinations, and this change is reflected in Pāṇini’s grammar.)

I further demonstrate that ASVs tend to be grammaticalized or lexicalized. For instance, the constructional type in [2ab] is used hortatively, and as [2a] shows, it does not require full agreement of the two verbs (although there is partial agreement, in so far as the 1PL subject of *stāvāma* ‘let us praise’ includes the 2PL subject of *éta*).

Later Vedic and post-Vedic begin to have the type of structure in [2c] with two verb forms meaning ‘to be’ in construction. In this type the optative form of V<sub>1</sub> ‘could be, may be’ tends to be lexicalized in the meaning ‘maybe, perhaps’ and thus gets extended in later Sanskrit to structures in which V<sub>2</sub> is not a verb ‘to be’, compare [2d] and [2e].

In the final part of my paper I raise the question to what extent some of these structures (especially the type [2c]) can be related to Modern Indo-Aryan ASV structures such as the Gujarati one in [3], in which a V<sub>2</sub> meaning ‘to be’ is construed as auxiliary in a periphrastic verb formation with an agreeing form of a main-verb V<sub>1</sub>.

- [1] OTam. *celvēm*                      *allēm*  
 go.NPST.1PL                      not.be.1PL  
 ‘We will not go.’
- [2] a. *éta* +                      *u nv*    *índram*                      *stávāma*  
 come.IMPV.2PL                      PCL    Indra.ACC.SG.M                      praise.SBJV.1PL  
 ‘Come now, let us praise Indra.’ (RV 8.24.19)
- b. *bhákṣa* +    *éhi*                      *mā* +                      *ā visa*  
 food.VOC.SG    come.IMPV.2SG                      I.ACC.CLIT                      enter.IMPV.2SG  
 ‘Come, food, enter me.’ (TS 3.2.5.1)
- c. *grāmaśabdo*                      *’yam*                      *bahvarthaḥ*  
 village.word.NOM.SG.M                      this.NOM.SG.M                      many.meaning.NOM.SG.M  
*asty*                      ...                      *śālāsamudāye*                      *varṭate* ...  
 be.PRS.INDIC.3SG                      hut.collection.LOC.SG.M                      be.PRS.INDIC.3SG  
*astī*                      *vāṭaparikṣepe*                      *varṭate*  
 be.PRS.INDIC.3SG                      enclosure.surround.LOC.SG.M                      be.PRS.INDIC.3SG  
 (Mahābhāṣya on P 1.7.4)  
 ‘This word *grāma* has multiple meanings. It is (the case that) it is in  
 (reference to) a collection of huts ... It is (the case that) it is in  
 (reference to) something surrounded by enclosures ...
- d. *bhavet*                      *tadarthena*                      *na* +    *arthaḥ*  
 be.OPT.3SG                      that.purpose.INS.SG.M                      NEG                      purpose.NOM.SG.M  
*syāt*  
 be.OPT.3G  
 ‘It may be (that) there may be no purpose on that account.’ (Mahābhāṣya  
 Śiva-sūtra 19.20-21)
- e. *damayantī*    *bhaved*                      *etat*                      *kuryād*  
 D.NOM.SG.F    be.OPT.3SG                      that.ACC.SG.N                      do.OPT.3SG  
*duḥkhena*                      *mohitā*  
 misery.INS.SG.N                      confused.N.SG.F  
 ‘Maybe Damayantī would do this, confused by misery.’ (Mahābhārata  
 3.69.4)
- [3] Guj. *av-uṁ*                      *ch-uṁ*  
 come-1SG                      be.PRS-1SG  
 ‘I come, I am coming.’

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## Inanimacy of subject as a factor conditioning use of vector *jā-* 'GO' with transitive main verbs

Peter Hook (University of Michigan)

Comparing studies of the factors conditioning the alternation of compound with non-compound forms of the same main verb with those exploring the factors conditioning the alternation of one vector with another vector with the same main verb one may agree with Drocco (2018) and Drocco and Tiwari (2020) that there are not many studies of the second type. The present paper is a contribution to efforts to fill that gap. Transitive utterances in which the subject is inanimate, abstract, and intangible tend to prefer the use of intransitive vector *jā-* 'GO' while those in which the subject refers to an animate and especially to a human being strongly prefer *de-* 'GIVE', *le-* 'TAKE', or *ḍāl-* 'THROW; POUR', vectors whose putative lexical sources are transitive:

- (1a) *jhamājham bāriṣ ho-ne-ke                      dūsre hī      din mausam palṭī mār gayā*                      (21 similar exx)  
 heavy            rain happen-INF-GEN    second EMPH day weather flip            hit WENT  
 'On the very second day after heavy rain the weather flipped.'  
 [livehindustan.com/uttar-pradesh/firozabad/story-the-weather-turned- ... -4119509.html]

In (1a) the subject (*mausam* 'weather') of the transitive main verb *mārṇā* 'to hit' is neither animate nor concrete nor tangible. In (1a) at least half of ten parameters for reduced transitivity that the paper proposes (see next page) are satisfied, resulting in the significant reduction in transitivity that is reflected in the occurrence of vector *jā-* in (1a) instead of main verb *mārṇā* 's usual vectors *de-* 'GIVE' or *ḍāl-* 'THROW; POUR'.

This is not to say that the occurrence of vector *jā-* in utterances such as (1a) is guaranteed:

- (1b) *nae sāl.ke dūsre hī            din mausam-ne palṭī mār dī*                      (34 similar exx)  
 new year's second EMPH day weather-ERG flip            hit GAVE  
 'On the very second day of the new year the weather flipped.'  
 [www.jagran.com/uttar-pradesh/amroha-city-11938967.html]

For this reason demonstrating the effect of inanimacy, abstractness, and intangibility of subject on vector choice will require a quantitative approach to establish base-lines for the use of vector *de-*, *le-*, and *ḍāl-* with a transitive main verb like *mārṇā* in a range of situations in order to compare those frequencies with the frequency of atypical use of vector *jā-* with the same main verb in in the same or similar situations.

(2a) यह मधुर आवाज गुजरे जमाने की याद दिला गई

*yah madhur āvāj gujre jamāne.kī yād dilā gaī.*  
this sweet voice passed time's memory cause WENT

'This melodious voice reminded me of a bygone era.' [m.facebook.com/... /2796290317293963]

(2b) गायिका अलीशा चिन्नॉय ने इसे गीता दत्त की ऐन शैली में गाकर एक गुजरा जमाना याद दिला दिया।

*činoj-ne ise gītā datt.kī ain šailī-mē gā-kar ek gujrā jamānā yād dilā diyā*  
Chinoy-ERG him Geeta Dutt's exact style-in sing-GER a passed time memory cause GAVE

'Singing in Geeta Dutt's very same style (Alisha) Chinoy reminded him of a bygone era.'

[www.naidunia.com/entertainment/bollywood-mallika-sherawat-murder-film-song-148589]

(3a) एक सूअर इस आदमी को बना गया करोड़पति ! जानिए कैसे

*ek sūar is ādmī-ko banā gayā karōṛ.patī !*  
one pig this man-ACC make WENT millionaire

'A pig made this man a millionaire!'

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=AW9JADwqMaE]

(3b) केवल एक छोटी सी बिल्ली ने इस आदमी को बना दिया करोड़पति, कहानी सुन माथा पकड़ लेंगे आप.

*ek čhoṭī.sī billī-ne is ādmī-ko banā diyā karōṛ.patī* 'A tiny kitten made this man a millionaire.'  
one tiny cat-ERG this man-ACC make GAVE millionaire [www.firkee.in/tags/cat-lover-meme]

Transitive main verbs to be examined (beside *mārnā*) include *yād dilānā* 'to remind' and *banānā* 'to make'.

Referential properties of transitivity-reducing subjects (with examples).

(4a) Subject is an abstraction: *šaitānī* 'mischievous', *lālač* 'greed'

(4b) Subject is a nominalization referring to an action or event: infinitives such as *khaṭak jānā*

'to knock' (4c) Subject refers to a non-autonomous tangible object: *nadī* 'river'

(4d) Subject refers to a natural force: *āg* 'fire', *karaṇṭ* '(electric) current'; *lakvā*

'paralysis' (4e) Subject refers to a weather event: *ādhī* 'wind', *bijlī* 'lightning'

(4f) Subject refers to a controllable moving object: *gāṛī*

'car' (4g) Subject refers to an animal: *biččhū*

'scorpion', *billī* 'cat'

(4h) Subject does not refer to a common human or group of humans: *skūl* 'school'

(4i) Subject does not refer to a proper or a named human: अलीशा चिन्नॉय (a singer), *em. es. dhonī* (a sportsman)

(4j) Subject is not a first or second person pronoun (SAP): *māī* 'I', *tum* 'you'

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## Action nouns in Vedic light verb constructions with *kr*

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Although, as regards the history of the Indo-Aryan languages, light verb constructions (a.k.a. support verb constructions, “Funktionsverbgefüge”, complex predicates) as such are characteristic of the latest stage (i.e. the New Indo-Aryan languages) in the first place, and it can be observed that their number and frequency have significantly increased in the course of time, particular types of the category are already present in the earliest Old Indo-Aryan documents, i.e. the hymns of the Rigveda. While it is true that V+V constructions which might be regarded as potential ancestors of the so-called compound verbs of the New Indo-Aryan languages are arguably absent in Old Indo-Aryan (against their existence in Old Indo-Aryan see, e.g., Slade 2013: 539–545), the N+V type, which corresponds to the New Indo-Aryan conjunct verbs, is attested as early as the Rigveda and becomes decidedly frequent in Epic and Classical Sanskrit (cf., e.g., Speijer 1886: 232–235; Gaeffke 1967: 191–192; Thumb & Hauschild 1959: 423–424).

One such type of N+V construction consists of an action noun plus the light or support verb *kr*. As shown by Ittzés in various publications (Ittzés 2013; 2016; etc.), Rigvedic light verb constructions of this kind often seem to have had a specific grammatical function in contrast to corresponding simple verbs (i.e. they could stand in a suppletive relationship with respect to TAM categories) and thus were much more than just more or less synonymous stylistic variants of the etymologically related simple verbs, as it has been often asserted.

As is well known, action nouns in Old Indo-Aryan are derived from the respective roots in various ways (i.e. by means of suffixes such as *-ti-*, *-tu-*, *-as-*, *-a-* or *-ana-*, but root nouns too may function as action nouns; cf. Debrunner 1954). Little has been written so far on the question how this allomorphy has to be interpreted. A notable exception is Benveniste 1948, who tried to demonstrate a functional difference between the action nouns in *-ti-* vs. *-tu-*. In his interpretation, action nouns in *-ti-* refer to the action more “objectively”, while action nouns derived by means of the suffix *-tu-* can rather be characterized by a certain degree of “subjectivity”, i.e. a closer relation to the agent of the action.

It can be observed that the nominal hosts of light verb constructions of the type mentioned above (i.e. those involving the light verb *kr*) also show a wide range of formations (cf., e.g., suffix *-ana-* in *vimócanam kr* RV 3.30.12d; suffix *-ti-* in *śruṣṭīm kr* RV 1.69.7b; 2.14.9a; 7.18.6c, 10d; root noun in *vicṛtam*, *saṃcṛtam kr* in 9.84.2c etc.).

The present paper aims at offering a survey of the action noun formations found in the light verb constructions of the Rigveda as well as, to some extent, other Old Indo-Aryan texts and investigating their morphological, distributional and modificational properties within the category of light verb constructions. In addition, reference will occasionally be made to related constructions of other Indo-European languages involving different action noun derivatives of cognate roots (see, e.g., the difference between Rigvedic *śruṣṭīm kr* vs. Avestan *səraoṣəm dān* Y 45.5).

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## **Converbs, complex predicates and perfectivity in early New Indo-Aryan (NIA)**

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In his work on the Sanskrit converb, Tikkanen (1987) assumes the perfectivity of converb to be a direct consequence of its semantics of relative past tense. According to the Sanskrit data collected by him, the incompatibility of the perfective aspect and non-past tenses is quite evident. Similarly, Davison (1981) argued that Hindi converbs are perfective.

Elsewhere on the basis of the analysis of scopal properties of converbal chain constructions (mainly- clause-level operator such as Tense) we have tried to prove that perfectivity of IA converb can be also traced in early varieties of NIA (Author and Co-author 2021) and it seems to be a quite stable feature.

Early varieties of NIA show considerable variation of converbal forms. In general, the attested forms can be divided into simple and extended. Simple forms are either root forms or forms with an ending which is a continuant of the earlier Apabhramśa converbal form (either terminating in -i, -ī or in -ia, -ya). Extended forms may take variety of suffixes, e.g. -kara/-kari, but also other forms such as -ara or -nai. (Author et al. 2019)

From the earliest NIA texts we observe a basic functional difference between simple and extended forms, namely both can serve as converbs, but only the former can be a part of a complex predicate together with light verbs.

In the course of time simple forms ceased to be used as converbs and required extension in order to function as parts of converbal chain construction. This process can be traced in several early varieties of NIA at various stages (for example Awadhi, Rajasthani, Dakkhini, Braj and Kumaoni) but still number of NIA languages have not introduced any extended forms.

In the present paper we are going to present preliminary results of the research on the formation of the constructions based on converbs which resulted in twofold developments, namely converbal chains and complex predicates. We shall see that the basic meaning of perfectivity can clearly be demonstrated for converbal chains and complex predicates (for complex predicate see also Hook 1991) already in early NIA.

The analysis has been based on the corpora of early varieties of Braj, Dakkhini, Awadhi, Rajasthani and Kumaoni which represent various genres and which have been stored and tagged by means of IATagger (Jaworski 2015). The corpora will be supplemented by the targeted search of other early NIA varieties such as Nepali, Chambiyali, Kashmiri and Maithili for which we have untagged but digitalized corpora.

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## Labile verbs between Old and Middle Indo-Aryan: Decline of lability vs. collapse of morphology

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This paper focuses on the evolution of the system of labile verbs in Indo-Aryan, i.e. verbs (verbal forms) that can appear in different syntactic constructions (in particular, both in intransitive and transitive-causative usages) with no change in the form of the verb, as in the case of the early Vedic (Ṛgveda) 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural of the active perfect *vāvṛdhuḥ*, cf. RV 2.34.13 *rudrā ṛtāsya sādaneṣu vāvṛdhuḥ* ‘Rudras **have grown** [intransitive] in the residences of the truth’ ~ RV 8.6.35 *īndram ukthā ni vāvṛdhuḥ* ‘the hymns **have increased** [transitive-causative] Indra’) in Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) (cf. Renou 1924). The paper offers a general survey of labile verbs and their status within the system of causative oppositions in Old Indo-Aryan in a diachronic perspective, focusing on the history of labile verbs and elucidating the position of the Indo-Aryan branch within Indo-European.

I argue that within the Old Indo-Aryan period, we observe the decline of the labile type. Already in the second most ancient Vedic text, the Atharvaveda, the number of labile forms considerably decreases (for details, see Kulikov 2014: 1158f.). Thus, most of the active perfects that are labile in the Ṛgveda either occur in intransitive usages only, or in transitive-causative usages only, or are not attested at all.

This strong tendency towards the decrease of the number of labile verbs is arguably due to growing productivity of the morphological causatives (with the suffix *-aya-*), which eventually oust the unmarked (or weakly marked) causative members in anticausative/causative oppositions.

Yet, in spite of this obvious tendency, in late Old Indo-Aryan (late Vedic and early post-Vedic Sanskrit) several new labile verbs arise, such as *sūyate* ‘produces; is produced’ or *śṛjyate* ‘makes; is made’. I argue that this phenomenon must be due to a number of dramatic changes in the verbal system observed between the (late) Old Indo-Aryan and Middle Indo-Aryan periods, such as, first of all, the collapse of the Sanskrit morphological system. This ‘new lability’ could further be supported by the influence of the early Middle Indo-Aryan dialects (used as spoken languages in this period), where many of the Old Indo-Aryan morphological opposition were lost entirely. Thus, the existence of the Middle Indic (e.g. Pāli) labile verbs of the type *abhibhuyyati* ‘overcomes, overpowers; is overpowered’ (which arise due to the loss of the middle voice; see e.g. Oberlies 2003: 199) could trigger both (i) the rise of late Vedic labile verbs of the type *sūyate* ‘produces, generates’ / ‘is produced, is generated’ (in late Sūtras) and (ii) the emergence of several new morphological types of transitivity oppositions, based on analogical present formations (such as the *-ya*-present *-bhūya-*, impossible in early Vedic) and resulting in pairs of the type *abhibhūyate* [passive] ‘is (being) overcome’ ~ *abhibhūyati* [transitive] ‘overcomes’ (for instance, in Maitrāyaṇī-*Up.* and other late Upaniṣads; see van Buitenen 1962: 129f.).

A detailed analysis of the evolution of the system of labile verbs in Old and Middle Indo- Aryan furnishes important evidence for a diachronic typology of syntactically unstable verbs and, particularly, for elucidation of classes of verbs where the emergence of lability was particularly common.

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## Complex Verb Predicates in Sanskrit from Machine Translation Point of View

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In this paper we deal with two constructions in Sanskrit, one involving the auxiliaries and the other involving the light verbs that pose problems from the Machine Translation point of view.

In Sanskrit, a verb gets an infinitive *su ix* (tumun) in the presence of certain verbs P(3.4.65). In such constructions, semantically, the verb in the infinitive form is the main verb, and the other verb whose presence provides a condition for the infinitive *su ix* acts as an auxiliary providing the aspectual information. However, syntactically, the subject agrees with the auxiliary verb.

This poses fundamental questions in the design of a parser.

1. Does the subject which shows an agreement with the auxiliary serve as its argument?
2. Should the auxiliary and main verb be treated as two different verbs with their own argument structure or as a single complex predicate?
3. If they are two different verbs, what would be the relation between the auxiliary and the main verb?
4. If they form a complex predicate, then is the meaning compositional?

We discuss solutions to these problems from the point of view of the design of the parser, seeking answers to the above questions from the Indian theories of verbal cognition.

Historically the origin of light verbs is traced back to the gerunds in Sanskrit (Butt, 2010) and also the fall of use in pre-verbs (Deo, 2002 and Butt, 2010). In these discussions, the main focus was with those constructions which are semantically complex, which are syntactically monoclausal, which have joint predication and which are form identical with their main verb usages. Recently Date (2021) has revisited the light verb constructions in Sanskrit and has presented several examples of N-V type of complex predicates from Sanskrit literature where V is a light verb.

The Indian grammatical tradition, to the best of our knowledge, is silent on such constructions. This led us to further investigation, and we found that these constructions fall under three categories.

- The first type of constructions such as ‘karṇam dadātu’ involves metaphoric meaning and thus can be explained with the extended meaning or ‘lakṣaṇā’. The noun in N-V construct, thus, can be treated as an argument (with the extended meaning) for the verb. Typically these extended usages are cross linguistically valid, and do not pose much problem from Machine Translation point of view, or can be handled with well defined rules with a few exceptional cases.
- The second type of constructions are natural extension through the pro- ductive causative constructs in Sanskrit. If the other language is not pro- ductive in causative constructions, such usages may sound odd in that lan- guage. For example in the examples ‘rātriḥ gacchati’ and ‘rātriṃ gamay- ati’, the latter is a causative of the former one.

- The third class of constructs has to do with the way a language names an activity. For example in the sentence ‘he smokes’, the activity of smoking is a complex activity involving various sub activities. Different languages pick up different sub-activities of this complex activity to name it. For example, Hindi names it as ‘sigāreta pīnā’ (literally drinking), while Marathi can also translate it as ‘sigāreta oḍhaṇe’ (literally pulling). These are the cases where one sees the lexical divergences in a major way.

We discuss the solutions to all these problems from Machine translation point of view.

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## The semantic structure of light verbs in Marathi

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The origin and development of complex verb constructions have been a topical issue of some of the vibrant debates in recent times (Butt 2010, Butt & Lahiri 2013, Hook 1993, 2001, Ittzes 2022, Pardeshi 2021, Slade 2013, 2021 among others). More generally, the structure and functions of these constructions have continued to attract the attention of linguists for several decades. Against this backdrop, it is pertinent to see in what way the polysemy of the verbs which typically occur as light verbs in complex verb constructions can shed light on the structure, functions and origin of the complex verb constructions.

In many languages, the same verbs are used as light verbs in several types of complex verb constructions to perform different functions in each case. For instance, in Marathi, an Indo-Aryan language, a small set of verbs such as GO, COME, GIVE and TAKE occur as light verbs with different functions in different types of complex verb constructions. See (1) for instances of TAKE as a light verb.

- (1) a. Radha=ne m̄arath̄i b<sup>h</sup>aj̄a j̄ik-un g<sup>h</sup>eṭ̄-l-i  
Radha=ERG Marathi language learn-CPrt TAKE-PFV-3.SG.F.  
Radha learned the Marathi language (for her benefit). *Self-benefactive*
- b. Radha=ne umeṣ=k̄əḍun k̄əwiṭ̄a wats-un g<sup>h</sup>eṭ̄-l-i  
Radha=ERG Umesh=from poem read-CPrt TAKE-PFV-3.SG.F.  
Radha got Umesh to read the poem (for Radha). *Causative*
- c. Radha=ne k̄əwiṭ̄a lih-aj=la g<sup>h</sup>eṭ̄-l-i  
Radha=ne poem write-NFIN=DAT TAKE-PFV-3.SG.F.  
Radha started to write a poem. *Inceptive*

As it can be observed, in (1.a) and (1.b), the TAKE verb occurs in the V-V complex with the first verb, i.e. the main verb entering the construction in its conjunctive participial form. In (1.c), the light verb TAKE occurs after the main verb in its non-finite form with the dative case attached to it. Moreover, the causative light verb TAKE in (1.b) also adds an argument to the clause so that there are both a causee-agent and a causer-agent in the clause. Also, note that the function of the light verb or the semantic contribution of the light verb is different in each case.

This paper looks to examine such a select set of Marathi light verbs to understand how their semantics is related to the semantics of their heavy/full verb counterpart in Marathi. In particular, we address the following questions:

- (a) Which components of the verb semantics are retained in the various light usages of the verbs?
- (b) What role do the semantic components of a light verb play in making up the semantics of the complex verb construction?
- (c) What does the comparison of the semantics of a heavy/full verb and its light verb version inform us about the development of light verbs or the complex verbal constructions of these types?

In the paper, we also discuss some of the implications of the findings of the paper for the ongoing debate on the origin and development of light verb constructions.

**Abbreviations:** CPrt = conjunctive participle, DAT = dative, ERG = ergative, F = feminine, NFIN = non-finite, PFV = perfective, SG = singular, 3 = 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

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## Early Vedic denominatives and their periphrastic counterparts

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Several verbs of the early Vedic denominative inventory coexist with roughly equivalent periphrastic constructions, in which the nominal stem serving as the denominative's base appears as the patient of a semantically bleached transitive verb.

Among the synthetic-periphrastic pairs with robust attestation (here defined by use in the hymns of more than one Ṛgvedic Gotra), two possible distribution patterns are evident:

(1) A synthetic denominative exists in the earlier portions of the Ṛgveda, and an equivalent periphrastic construction with  $\sqrt{KR}$  takes over in the Atharvan period (represented in Ṛgveda's tenth maṇḍala and Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā); or

(2) The approximate reverse of (1), where a periphrastic with  $\sqrt{KR}$  appears from early RV onward alongside the denominative.

The strongest representative of scenario (1) is the denominative *namasyá-* 'do reverence,' whose periphrastic counterpart *námas-*  $\sqrt{KR}$  'do reverence' is entirely restricted to RV 10 and AV, where it almost wholly replaces the synthetic denominative stem. In this case, the denominative alternant is the older one and reflects, alongside its Avestan cognate *nəmaxiia-*, an inherited high-style expression of Proto-Indo-Iranian vintage. The  $\sqrt{KR}$  construction is an innovation of the Vedic period, belonging originally to a more vernacular register (as witnessed in Atharvan hymns) from which it crept into the hieratic lexicon and enjoyed a subsequent bloom in productivity. Here the verb  $\sqrt{KR}$  is essentially a light verb.

In scenario (2), however, it will be argued based on relative chronology and pragmatic context that the  $\sqrt{KR}$  constructions reflect vestiges of this verb's older concrete semantics ('carve' vel sim. < PIE \**k<sup>w</sup>er-*; cf. Hittite *kuer-* 'cut'). The most prolific representatives of this distribution are:

- synthetic *gātūyá-* 'make way; further' ~ *gātí-*  $\sqrt{KR}$  'make way; make progress'
- synthetic *varivasyá-* 'grant space' ~ *várivas-*  $\sqrt{KR}$  'grant space'
- possibly *brahmanyá-* 'make a poetic formulation; be devout' (if at least some tokens are derived from *bráhman-* n. and not *brahmán-* m. per Grassmann but contra Macdonell) ~ *bráhman-*  $\sqrt{KR}$  'make a poetic formulation'

In these cases, the  $\sqrt{KR}$  construction is commoner than its corresponding denominative in



every layer of text between RV and AV. In the cases of *gātú-* and *bráhman-*, the verb  $\sqrt{KR}$  competes with other verbs that overlap semantically with ‘carving:’ i.e., ‘digging’ (*gātúm*  $\sqrt{RAD}$ ) and ‘fashioning’ (*bráhma*  $\sqrt{TAKS}$ ).

It is therefore argued that the synthetic denominatives represent Indo-Aryan innovations (vs. inherited denominative *namasyá-*) while the  $\sqrt{KR}$  constructions retain an inherited aspect of this verb’s semantic sphere that is rapidly being lost in the attested period. The path of  $\sqrt{KR}$  to the status of a light verb is of course well underway in the early stages of Vedic composition (see, e.g., Ittész 2013, 2015; Zehnder 2011); however, traces of its older meaning seem to be preserved in a few frozen expressions that are then occasionally reanalyzed as analytic variants of a denominative stem.

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## The perfective paradox and the Hindi compound verbs – Some pragmatic evidence

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In order to account for cross-linguistic heterogeneity in perfective and imperfective meanings, Carlotta Smith (1991) coined the term “neutral aspect”, which has also been justified by Dahl (2010). Singh (1991, 1998), expanding on Smith’s research, highlighted that the perfective of a Hindi verb like *khānā* ‘to eat’ is a “neutral perfective” because it does not indicate an action’s culmination. Arunachalam and Kothari amplify this investigation (2010, 2011). Singh (1998: 172) provides the following example of what she refers to as the “perfective paradox”. [Original transliteration adopted]

- (1) mē-ne āj apnā kek khāyā or bākī kal khāūgā  
I-ERG today mine cake eat.PFV and remaining tomorrow eat.FUT  
‘I ate my cake today and I will eat the remaining part tomorrow.’

According to her analysis, the example in (1) is the case of the “neutral perfective” which, in the absence of an added light verb, suggests a partitive rather than a completive reading.

Altshuler (2013, 2014) argues that the term “neutral aspect” is superfluous and that the extension of the VP with which Hindi simple verb perfectives unite must contain non-proper event-parts. He claims that the example in (2a) “leads to the implication that the father crossed the threshold of the speaker’s home” since the follow-up in (2b), which attempts to disprove this inference, is infelicitous.

- (2) a. pitā-jī hamāre ghar ā-ye  
father-HON our house come-ye  
‘Father came to our house,  
b. #lekin hamārā ghar nahī dhūñh sake  
but our house not find could  
but was unable to find our house.’ (Altshuler 2014: 737) [Original transliteration adopted]

However, his conclusion is mostly based on an inaccurate assessment of (2a) due to the choosing of an inappropriate verb in (2b): *saknā* ‘be able to (set out to do something)’ rather than *pānā* ‘be able to (bring an action to culmination)’. Consider a comparable case with a few modifications, as outlined in (3):

- (3) a. *dādā-ji, āp kal naye ghar kyō nahī āye*  
 grandpa-HON, you.PL yesterday new home why not come.PFV.M.PL  
 ‘Grandpa, why didn’t you come to (our) new home yesterday?’
- b. *are mē āyā to thā, lekin tumhārā ghar khojnahī pāyā*  
 hey I come.PFV.M.SG EMP AUX.PST.M.SG but your house find not be able to conclude it.PFV.M.SG  
 ‘Hey, I did come, but was unable to find your house.’

By using the perfective participial *āyā* in (3b), the grandfather wants to convey to his granddaughter that he left his house to be at her newly established residence but in the middle of the journey got lost and could not locate it. Therefore, both the speaker and the hearer share the information that grandfather did not enter the home. Hence, the failure of Altshuler's (2013, 2014) approach demands additional research into the “perfective paradox”.

In this context, the paper aims to demonstrate the following points: First, contrary to Altshuler, the phrase “neutral perfect” is a crucial tool for analyzing various perfective types. Second, the phenomenon known as the “perfective paradox” is significantly more complex than previously understood and requires a deeper knowledge of the involvement of so-called compound verbs. It is commonly assumed, for instance, that Hindi vector verbs denote the perfective aspect. However, adding a vector verb such as *le* to *khāyā* in (1) does not significantly alter the situation. In a nutshell, the perfective paradox remains unexplained. Thirdly, it is essential to examine the complexity of the perfective aspect in terms of “aspect stacking”, which allows for a thorough examination of numerous aspect layers. Fourth, it is vital to investigate the perfective aspect with a pragmatic approach that explains the nature of the complex Hindi verb phrase.

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## Complex Verb Constructions and Aspect in Hindi

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This paper describes the various light verb constructions in Hindi (Indo-Aryan language) and the role the light verb plays in encoding different aspects. Light Verb Constructions in Hindi are a complex of a lexical verbal head and a light verb. These light verbs are otherwise lexical verbs with their own semantics and subcategorisations but when used along with another lexical verb, they lose their lexical form and act as a functional element. While the lexical verb head encodes inner aspect, defining activities, accomplishments, achievements and states, the light verb acts as an aspect marker. Both the imperfect aspect denoting progressive or durative and the perfective aspect are depicted through light verbs in Hindi. The progressive aspect in Hindi is periphrastic in nature, consisting of the lexical verb followed by a light verb which in turn is followed by a tensed auxiliary. As seen in the example below, the lexical verb ‘*paRhna*’ (to read) is followed by the light verb ‘*rahna*’ which in its lexical form means ‘to stay’ and this complex is followed by a present tense auxiliary.

- (1) raam      kitaab/kitaab-ein                      paRH      rah-aa                      hai.  
 Ram                      book/book-PL                      read      PROG-SG-M.                      be-PRES-3SG ‘Ram is  
 reading a book/books.’

The verb ‘to read’ can be an activity in the progressive and also an accomplishment. It is thus compatible with the perfective denoting set of light verbs, too. In Hindi, the perfective aspect may or may not be depicted through a light verb. In the absence of the light verb, the construction signifies the end of an event whose result state is not attained. When a light verb like ‘*lena*’ which has the lexical meaning of ‘to take’, form a complex construction with the lexical verb, it denotes perfective aspect with attained result state. These two types of perfective constructions have been defined as eventive and resultative perfective respectively in Singh (2016). As seen in example (2), the lexical verb shows agreement with the object which is unmarked since the subject is marked as ergative and is not followed by another light verb or tense morphology. On the other hand, in example (3), the light verb is the one that bears agreement morphology whereas the lexical verb is in its root form. The difference in the result state obtainment has been diagnosed with the use of the phrase ‘*lekin puurii nahi*’ ‘but not whole’ which can be used in the eventive perfective constructions as seen in (2) but not with the resultative perfective constructions as seen in (3).

- (2) raam ne kitab      paRH-ii                      lekin      puur-ii      nahi      paRh-ii  
 Ram ERG book      read-PERF-3SG.F      but      whole-3SG.F      NEG      read-PERF-3SG.F  
 ‘Ram read a book but not all of it.’
- (3) raam ne kitaab      paRH      I-ii      \*lekin      puur-ii      nahi      paRh-ii  
 Ram ERG book      read      PERF-3SG.F      but      whole-3SG.F      NEG      read-PERF-3SG.F  
 ‘Ram read a book \*but not all of it.’

Another aspect denoting light verb construction in Hindi is the perfect construction formed with the light verb ‘*chuukna*’ ‘to have done’ where the lexical verb is followed by the light verb and also a tensed auxiliary. As seen in (2) and (3), the sentences are feasible without any tense morphology but the light verb constructions formed by ‘*chuukna*’ must be followed by a tensed auxiliary and thus it is shown here to be a perfect form as per the definitions of Dahl (1985). Also, in perfect constructions, the external argument of a transitive clause loses its ergative marking in contrast with perfective constructions as shown above. In the example (4) below, the external argument which is a third person, singular masculine noun ‘*raam*’ triggers agreement with both the light verb and tensed and not the third person singular feminine object ‘*roTi*’.

- (4) raam      roTi      kha      chuuk-aa      th-aa  
 Ram      bread      eat      PFCT-3SG-M      be.PST.3SG-M  
 ‘Ram had eaten the food.’

In the light of these examples, the present study looks into the syntactic configurations of these constructions to analyse the interactions of inner aspect and outer aspect and their relation with the tense of the clause. Since Hindi also exhibits split ergativity where the external argument is marked only in transitive clauses that are in the perfective aspect, this paper examines the role of aspect in argument markedness as well.

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