

32ND SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES ANALYSIS ROUNDTABLE

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



Organiser:



Sponsors:



FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA, TECNOLOGIA E ENSINO SUPERIOR



1.

Keynote addresses

Indo-Aryan in typological and areal perspective

Anju Saxena

Uppsala University

South Asia presents a long history of contact situation. This contact situation has made, according to the dominant opinion (e.g., Emeneau 1956; Masica 1976; Kachru, Kachru and Sridhar 2008), the languages of this region more similar in some respects to each other than they are to their genealogically related languages spoken outside this region, and that consequently South Asia should be considered a linguistic area. However, with some rare exceptions (e.g. Masica 1976) most studies are largely impressionistic, drawing examples from a few languages (Ebert 2006).

In order to critically examine the “South Asia as a linguistic area” hypothesis, we need a deeper understanding of (i) the typological profiles of at least its major language families, which comprise most languages spoken in this region; and (ii) the spread and extent of a range of linguistic features across space and language families. Both these questions remain uninvestigated.

Taking this as our starting point, we want to examine in this presentation if Indo-Aryan (IA) languages, despite this long-standing contact situation, exhibit some morphosyntactic characteristics which singly or jointly distinguish this language family from other major language families of South Asia. For this purpose, we will examine six linguistic features. The focus here is on their synchronic, areal distribution, not on the historical development of these features in IA. In order to carve out IA as a language family with its own typological profile, we need to also see how languages of other language families of this region behave with regard to these features. For this reason, we will examine here the same linguistic features both in IA languages and in languages belonging to the other three major language families present in South Asia – the Dravidian (DR), Tibeto-Burman (TB) and Austroasiatic (AA) language families.

Data for this study comes from Grierson’s *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI), more specifically from its comparative vocabulary volume, except for the feature Reflexives where we have used the grammar sketches from the full LSI and some other secondary sources. For the present purposes, we included data of 267 linguistic varieties belonging to the four major language families of South Asia. The present study is part of a larger endeavor aiming at developing computational, big-data, methods supporting linguists in the comparative study of extensive sets of linguistic features in large numbers of languages (see further <<http://spraakbanken.gu.se/eng/research/lasi>>).

Our results will show that there is no major, coherent typological divide between the patterns which IA languages display and the patterns found in languages of the other major language families of this region with regard to the six linguistic features which we will examine here.

References:

- Ebert, Karen 2006. South Asia as a linguistic area. Keith Brown (ed), *Encyclopedia of languages and linguistics*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Emeneau, M.B. 1956. India as a linguistic area. *Language* 32: 3–16.
- Grierson, George Abraham 1904–1928. *Linguistic survey of India*. Vol. I–XI. Calcutta.
- Kachru, B.B., Y. Kachru & S.N.Sridhar (eds) 2008. *Language in South Asia*. Cambridge. CUP.
- Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
-

Indo-Portuguese insights into the development of creole structures

Ian Smith

York University

The “substrate” theory in creolistics - that many creole structures are influenced by the first languages of a creole’s creator-learners - has had many proponents over the history of the field, beginning with Adam in the 1880’s. Currently, it enjoys wide support among creolists, despite diverse earlier challengers. For so-called “fort” creoles - which developed in long-term contact with their substrate speakers - features of the local language(s) may have entered the creole via early substrate influence, or, after the birth of the creole, by adstrate influence of these same languages (i.e. convergence). As a case in point, Sri Lanka Portuguese exhibits strong South Asian typological characteristics, but the creole depicted by nineteenth century literature is typologically much more European than its modern descendent. Being largely a product of Anglophone missionaries who constantly invented forms and calqued from English, however, this literature is untrustworthy. Nevertheless, one early 19th C grammar (Berrenger 1811) seems to have been produced by a native speaker and it too describes a language of largely European typology, indicating that the current South Asian typology of the language must have arisen through adstrate influence. Moreover, Clements’ (2009) comparison of Indo-Portuguese creoles demonstrates that creoles with longer periods of independence from the Portuguese lexifier display greater similarity to their South Asian neighbours: again an indication of adstrate influence at work. A comparison of word-order features in a wider selection of Ibero-Asian creoles (Smith 2012) further extends this conclusion.

What of “plantation” creoles, in which transported peoples developed a creole away from their homeland? Even here, the assumption that African features were present in early Caribbean creoles, for example, has been questioned by the “superstratists” of the French school led by Chaudenson (1995), who hold that early French-based creoles were much more like second-language varieties of French, with subsequent waves of slave imports causing a drift towards

typologically West-African languages. There is clear evidence that African features of some Caribbean creoles were not present at the earliest stages, but developed over several generations (Arends 1986, Singler 1986, Carden & Stewart 1988, Singler 1995). These plantation creoles are thus not as different from the Indo-Portuguese fort creoles as was previously supposed. Moreover, the Indo-Portuguese evidence for adstrate influence calls into question the concept of “gradual creolization” developed for the Caribbean, i.e. that “creolization ... is not an instantaneous process, but rather a gradual process extending over several generations of speakers” (Arends & Bruyn 1995:111). Demographic evidence shows that the harshness of slave life required the constant renewal of enslaved populations so that African languages persisted much longer than previously thought (Arends 1995, Singler 1995), providing the necessary conditions for adstrate influence.

Machine Translation of South Asian Languages

Pushpak Bhattacharyya

IIT Patna & IIT Bombay

In this talk we will describe our long standing work on three predominant approaches of MT: interlingua, transfer and statistical. The languages involved are 11 major languages of India including English. This multilingual experience of ours underlines the need for investigations into properties of Indian languages. Current dominant paradigm of statistical MT is rendered ineffective- for morphologically complex languages- if strong linguistic input is not accessible to the SMT system. We will end the presentation with descriptions of our recent work on cognitive aspects of MT evaluation and use of pivot languages for SMT (especially, how to choose an appropriate pivot)

The presentation is based on contributions of generations of NLP students of IIT Bombay, CSE Department.

Indian languages in diaspora: a socio-historical overview and survey of new trends

Rajend Mesthrie

University of Cape Town

The present paper will build on the typological and historical overview offered in Mesthrie (2008). In that account I suggested three focal periods (with minor overlaps) of migrations of Indians: (a) an early period of exploration and trade within Asia; (b) a period of forced and semi-forced migration to newly established colonies under slavery and indenture in the era of European

imperialism; and (c) a post-independence period of economic migration involving voluntary movements of large numbers of individuals to the West, Australia, parts of Africa and so forth. This simple typology can be rendered more complex by double diasporas, often resulting from political uncertainties, e.g. Indo-Guyanese in Canada; Indo-Fijians in New Zealand and Indo-Ugandans in Britain. In the first part of this presentation I will offer a preliminary inventory of maintenance and loss in various settings; and assess what conditions favour maintenance in the short and long term. Attention will also be paid to matters of identity retention (with change) in the face of shift. In this regard parallels will be drawn between previous research in former British colonies with newer research emanating from the Indian diaspora in French colonial settings, drawing on presentations at a recent Indian diaspora conference in Guadeloupe (October 2015). The second part of the paper will elaborate on the comparative research on Bhojpuri in former British colonies, a language continuum which remains the best studied in the diaspora.

Reference:

Mesthrie, R. 2008. South Asian languages in the second diaspora. In B.B. Kachru and S.N. Sridhar (eds.) *Language in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 497-514.

2. Papers

**Sherlock Holmes and Crime Detection:
Translating temporality in the Canon into Malayalam**

Ammu E. Rajan

The English and Foreign Languages University

Sherlock Holmes, the only consulting detective in the world, has appeared in four novels and fifty-six short stories published between 1887 and 1927. The canon of Sherlock Holmes consists of these sixty narratives written by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Though set in Victorian England, Doyle's protagonist was way ahead of his time in his chosen profession. In the 1890s forensic science did not even exist as a discipline. Even though the first forensic science lab in the UK was established in 1935, one of the rooms at 221B, Baker Street functioned as a well-equipped lab. Being at the forefront of forensic science, ballistics and toxicology, Holmes has written several monographs in different journals upon various technical subjects. This fictional character had a different approach towards crime—he deemed criminal investigation more like a branch of science than a police procedure.

Though the term *forensic* is not mentioned in the canon even once, this British sleuth's unique manner of evidence gathering and deductive reasoning has attracted scholarly interests from around the globe. Seemingly commonplace materials like cigar ashes, footprints, physiognomic features, stains, even the presence/absence of dust are vital clues for Holmes. While translating a narrative like this the real hurdle is not translating the linguistic expressions or idioms that are non-existent in the target language. It is the detailing of the plot elements. Catalogued as detective fiction, clues to the perpetrator in these stories comes as a plethora of materials, events, and contexts. DI Lestrade could afford to overlook these clues, since there was Sherlock Holmes to find them and save the day. But the translator must take the effort to represent them in the target language sans providing any ambiguity or misinformation.

The task of translating scientific and technical terms is nothing new to a Translation Studies scholar. Usually the translator will be forced to find an equivalent in the target language, coin a new term or provide a description as footnote or in the glossary or the main body of the text. But in this case the translator has to re-create an earlier time period and respective vocabulary. The first Malayalam translation of a Sherlock Holmes story was published in 1981 by Kairali Mudralayam—almost a century after its first appearance in English. Later in 1995 the entire collection of sixty narratives was compiled as a single volume. Twelve eminent Malayalam prose writers were commissioned to translate this mammoth project. In 2012 DC Books has bought the copyright of the same collection and has made it available as two volumes.

There is a mutual interaction between the different languages, discourses, sign systems, and cultures involved in the process of translation. This research traces and studies the task of translating forensic details and elements that betray the time period of the story, with special reference to the Malayalam translation of Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories. If/how the difference in the time of writing and translating has changed the target text, since the

translation has happened a century later? The paper gives due emphasis to the task of the translator and challenges (s)he faces in the process.

Two views of Marathi in the seventeenth century

Ananya Chakravarti
Georgetown University

Among the voluminous writings of the *bhakti* poet Dāsopant (1551-1615), one of the quintet of poets known as the Eknāth-*parīcak* in the tradition, is his commentary on the *Gītā*, an encyclopaedic work of more than a hundred thousand verses. Relatively obscure, despite the fact that the work was known to Moropant (1729-1794) and the Rāmdāsi disciple Girdhar, the digressive commentary includes one particularly interesting chapter of some twelve-hundred verses devoted to an imagined debate between two brothers on the relative merits of Sanskrit and Marāṭhī. Hailing from Nārāyaṇpeṭh, Dāsopant eventually settled in Ambā-Jogāī, remaining therefore within the ambit of the linguistic and cultural sphere of the Marāṭhī *deś*. The debate he stages between Sanskrit and Marāṭhī thus suggests that vernacular anxiety, to use Sheldon Pollock's term, continued to haunt literary production in early seventeenth-century Marāṭhī.

However, in the *kōṛīkaṇ*, linguistic choice appeared to be a very different matter. Here, literary choice was not conditioned by the presence of Sanskrit but by the presence of an alternative vernacular, *Kōṛīkaṇī*. Using comparative evidence from the Christian literary tradition in vernacular languages centered in Salcete pioneered by the English Jesuit Thomas Stephens, this paper will explore the ways in which the literary status of Marāṭhī was dependent on location in the seventeenth century. In doing so, it will argue that vernacularization must be understood not merely in relation to the cosmopolitan but in the context of the production of other forms of linguistic subalternity.

Encoding intransitivity in Hindī: the case of the compound verbs

kaḥ jānā, khā jānā and pī jānā

Andrea Drocco
Ca' Foscari University

As is well known one of the salient characteristics of the New Indo-Aryan languages, and one of their true innovations, is the use of the so-called 'compound verbs' (Masica 1991: 326). Following Hook (2001: 101) it is correct to say that "[...] a compound verb (is) a sequence of two

verbs AB ('polar A' plus 'vector B') that alternates with A (the 'polar') with little or no difference¹ in meaning". The principal vector verbs of modern Indo-Aryan languages are those that, as full lexical verbs, mean 'give', 'take', 'go', 'come', 'fall', 'rise', 'sit', etc. Consider the following hindī examples where the compound verb *lauṭ gayā* (cfr. 2) alternates with the non-compound verb *lauṭā* (cfr. 1):

- (1) *vah dukān par lauṭā.*
 3SG shop LOC go back:PERF.M.SG
 He went back to the shop. (adapted from McGregor 1977: 31)
- (2) *vah dukān par lauṭ gayā.*
 3SG shop LOC go back go:PERF.M.SG
 He went back to the shop. (adapted from McGregor 1977: 50)

Focusing mainly on Hindī we can be certain that there are many scholarly works devoted to the semantic contrast of the compound as opposed to the simple verb (see, among others, Hook 1974, 1991): according to these works construction like (1) express perfective aspect in contrast to construction (2). However there are not so many studies concerning the semantic contrast between the use of different vector verbs with the same polar verb. This contrast is particularly interesting in the case of the use of different vector verbs with the same polar verb, especially when a polar transitive verb is compounded with transitive vs. intransitive vector verbs. Consider examples n. 3 and n. 4 where the same polar verb *samajhnā* 'to understand' is compounded with the vector verb *lenā* 'to take' and *jānā* 'to go' respectively:

- (3) *maim ne samjhā-y-ā to*
 1SG.DIR ERG explain:PAST:M.SG then
us ne savāl acchī tarah se samajh li-y-ā.
 3SG.OBL ERG question.M well manner with understand take:PAST:M.SG
 I explained and he understood the question well. (adapted from Kachru 1981: 187)
- (4) *āp mer-ī bāt samajh ga-e hoṃ-g-e.*
 HON 1SG.POSS:F speech.F understand go:PAST.M.PL be.AUX:FUT:3M.PL
 You will have understood, grasped, what I've been saying. (adapted from McGregor 1977: 100)

According to some scholars intransitive vector verbs as *jānā* 'to go', *baiṭhnā* 'to sit', etc. compounded especially with transitive polar verbs signal lack of volitionality of A, as explained by Mohanan (2004) through example (5) (cfr. Pandharipande 1981, Kachru 1981):

¹ As said by Hook (2001: 126, note n. 2): "The phrase 'no difference in meaning' is not to be taken literally. A more precise formulation might be 'with little or no difference in meaning easily translatable into languages which do not have compound verbs (such as Sanskrit or English)'".

- (5) *ravi* *davāī* *pī* *ga-y-ā.*
 Ravi.M medicine.F drink go:PAST:M.SG
 Ravi (impulsively) drank up the medicine. (adapted from Mohanan 2004: 74)

In particular it seems that with polar verbs that, for example, denote the acquisition of knowledge, information etc. the intransitive vector verb *jānā* (cfr. example n. 4) points out that A acquired something without any great effort and that his acquisition is/was only superficial (cfr. Nespital 1997: 557). But this is the only one semantic (or pragmatic) property of the construction involved in the choice among a transitive or intransitive vector verb or among different intransitive vector verbs? I mean it can explain also the semantic/pragmatic contrast between constructions like (6) and (7) where the polar verb *pīnā* 'to drink' is compounded, again, with the vectors *lenā* and *jānā* respectively?

- (6) *billī* *ne* *sārā* *dūdh* *pī* *li-y-ā.*
 cat.F ERG all milk.M drink take:PERF:M.SG
 The cat has drunk all the milk. (adapted from Caracchi 2002: 165)
- (7) *billī* *sārā* *dūdh* *pī* *ga-y-ī.*
 cat.F all milk.M drink go:PERF:F.SG
 The cat has drunk all the milk. (adapted from Caracchi 2002: 165)

Although in a previous presentation I tried to answer these questions adopting also a diachronic perspective, in this paper I pursue my analysis using a synchronic one, starting from data taken from present-day Hindī texts, but especially from the presence of Hindī in the online world. Moreover my examination will be especially focused on three Hindī polar transitive verbs, that is *kahnā*, *khānā* and *pīnā* compounded with the polar intransitive one *jānā*. The survey of the different sentences enable me to suggest that (4), (5) and (7) must be considered the formal encoding in Hindī of intransitivity in respect of (3) and (6), but the non-volitionality or reduced volitionality of A is only one of the different factors involved. As I will show, even if these factors in some case are strictly correlated with the different parameters of transitivity analysed, following Hopper & Thompson (1980) and others (cfr. Tsunoda 1985, Lazard 2002), as a scalar notion rather than a clear-cut dichotomy, in some other case we have to include factors others than those suggested by these authors. But the focal point is that the lack of only one of them can change, dramatically, the transitivity of a specific sentence.

References:

- Caracchi, P. 2002. *Grammatica Hindī*. Torino: Magnanelli. (4th edition).
 Hook, P. E. Hook, P. E. 1974. *The compound verb in hindī*. The University of Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies.

- 1991. 'The Emergence of Perfective Aspect in Indo-Aryan Languages', in Traugott, E. C. & Heine, B. (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Vols. I-II, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 59-89.
- 2001. 'Where do Compound Verbs Come From? (And Where are They Going?)', in Singh, R. (ed.), *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics, Tokyo Symposium on South Asian Languages. Contact, Convergence and Typology*, New Delhi – Thousand Oaks – London: Sage Publications, pp. 101-131.
- Hopper, P. J. & Thompson, S. A. 1980. 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse', *Language* 56.251-299.
- Kachru, Y. 1981. 'Transitivity and volitionality in Hindi-Urdu', *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 11:2.181-193.
- 2006. *Hindi*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lazard, G. 2002. 'Transitivity revisited as an example of a more strict approach in typological research', *Folia Linguistica* 36.140-190.
- McGregor, R. S. 1977. *Outline of Hindi Grammar, with exercises*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. (2nd edition).
- Mohanan, T. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford University.
- Nespital, H. 1997. *Dictionary of Hindi Verbs*. Allahabad: Lokbharti Prakashan.
- Pandharipande, R. 1981. 'Transitivity in Hindi', *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 11:2.161-179.
- Tsunoda, T. 1985. 'Remarks on transitivity', *Journal of Linguistics* 21.385-396.
-

**Towards a *Valency Dictionary of Ladakhi Verbs*: challenges in analysing
a 'non-configurational' language**

Bettina Zeisler

Universität Tübingen

Some of the challenges in linguistic fieldwork on minority languages lay in mainstream conceptions of what kind of syntactic structures might be relevant for the general discussion. Since languages vary a lot in the details, these are usually excluded from a discussion that aims at setting up universal features, making all languages rather look alike.

With respect to syntactic subcategorisation frames of verbs and alignment patterns, there is a common understanding that one needs to specify the two most important arguments or proto-roles (cf. Dowty 1991), the so-called 'actor' and the 'undergoer'. There is less unanimity whether one needs to specify the recipient of *give* verbs (e.g. Tournadre 2009 and Van Valin 2009 think this to be superfluous). Locations of position verbs, such as *stay*, and goals or origins of motion verbs, such as *go* or *come*, are typically not regarded as syntactically relevant arguments, but as

mere adjuncts, even if they are required by the verb meaning, and the same holds for arguments that imply a transfer away from a place or person, such as *take (away)* or *steal*, and other arguments.

The binary scheme of proto-roles already poses a problem for ergative languages, where the ‘actor’ and/ or ‘undergoer’ of intransitive verbs is treated differently from an ‘actor’ of transitive verbs (which receives ergative case marking) and like the ‘under-goer’ of the latter (both receiving no case marker). Languages where the ‘category’ of ‘actor’ is subdivided between agents (actors in the strict sense, taking ergative case) and experiencers (taking dative or allative case) or where the second argument might be treated differently are typically not considered at all.

The Tibetic languages belong to such typologically neglected languages. Not only do they show some kind of ergative alignment, but also a multiple differentiation of (obligatory) second arguments. Being part of the South-Asian linguistic area (as defined by Masica 1976), Ladakhi systematically differentiates between transitive intentional agents and non-intentional experiencers (a differentiation only marginally developed in other Tibetic languages). Some of the Ladakhi dialects, like so many other Tibetic languages, allow case alternations with the first or second argument (DSM, DOM) or even other arguments (Zeisler 2012). Many Tibetic languages further allow the demotion of an agent by representing it as an origin (with ablative marking, sometimes taken as a passive construction, as by C.I. Beckwith, p.c., sometimes only seen as an alternative agent marking, as by Tournadre 1994, 2009).

Such possibilities lead to a large set of sentence patterns (11 basic patterns and about 100 additional more or less marginal patterns in Ladakhi, see Zeisler 2007 for a first overview). Examples (1) to (4) show different bivalent sentence patterns, which Tournadre (2009, see below) would subsume under a single monovalent pattern S(a), while (1) to (3) demonstrate how sentence patterns can vary for a single verb.

(1)	<i>Dorze</i>	<i>lampo</i>	<i>ton.</i>	pattern 02
GYA	Dorje-(ABS)	road-(ABS)	get.out.PAST	
	‘Dorje crossed the road’ (Double ABS: holistic perspective)			
(2)	<i>Dordze</i>	<i>lampo-a</i>	<i>biŋ.</i>	pattern 03a
DOMKHAR	Dorje-(ABS)	road-ALL	get.out.PAST	
	‘Dorje crossed the road’ (ALL: focusing on the starting point).			
(3)	<i>Dordze</i>	<i>lampi-kana</i>	<i>biŋ.</i>	pattern 04a
DOMKHAR	Dorje-(ABS)	road-PP.ABL	get.out.PAST	
	‘Dorje crossed the road.’ (ABL: focusing on the end point.)			
(4)	<i>Angmo</i>	<i>Tshiring-darj</i>	<i>pe.</i>	pattern 05
GYA	Angmo-(ABS)	Tshiring-COM	separate.PAST	
	‘Angmo separated from Tshiring.’ (COM: contact <i>with</i> 2 nd argument.)			

Tournadre (2009) approaches the problem from a rather narrow syntactic perspective and suggests to discriminate between three types of first arguments (S, A, R) and two types of second

arguments (P, B), yielding altogether 6 syntactically relevant sentence patterns, ignoring a valency higher than 2:¹

Table 1: Syntactic sentence patterns (adapted from Tournadre 1996, 2009)

valency	±volitional	type	'subj.'	'obj.'	case	my patterns
1	–		S(p)		ABS	01
1	+		S(a)		ABS (ERG)	01 (13)
2	–	benefactive	R	P	DAT + ABS	06
2	–	affective	S	B	ABS + DAT	03a
2	±	ergative	A	P	ERG (ABS, ABL) + ABS	08 (02,103)
2	+	mixed	A	B	ERG (ABS, ABL) + DAT	07 (03a,104)

While this is, in fact, an improvement with respect to Dowty's proto-roles, I shall demonstrate with an overview of the more 'exotic' or unexpected Ladakhi sentence patterns that this approach is not sufficient for documenting and understanding the functioning of the Tibetic languages in general and of the Ladakhi dialects in particular. I shall further discuss some of the problems faced in building up a valency dictionary.

Case marking in Tibetic languages is basically driven by semantics and pragmatics (see Zeisler 2012), and the Ladakhi dialects and all other Tibetic languages vary considerably in which construction is possible with which verb. Such differences and the more exotic sentence patterns of light-verb constructions and collocations must be accounted for not only in a valency dictionary, but also in the general cross-linguistic discussion.

References:

- Dowty, D. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67.3: 547-619.
- Masica, C.P. 1976. *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tournadre, N. 1994. Tibetan ergativity and the trajectory model. In: Hajime Kitamura, Tatsuo Nishida and Yasuhiko Nagano (eds.), *Current Issues in Sino-Tibetan Linguistics*. Osaka: The Organising Committee: 637–648. Reprint in *Senri Ethnological Studies* 41: 261–275.
- 1996. *L'ergativité en tibétain. Approche morphosyntaxique de la langue parlée*. Paris, Leuven: Peeters.
- 2009. Core grammatical roles in Tibetan, with special reference to their syntactic behaviour in subordinate clauses. Guest lecture at the University of Tübingen, January 29, 2009.

¹ In Tournadre's terminology 'S' stands for the 'sole argument', although S appears with a second argument in the case of the bivalent 'affective' verbs. The indexes 'p' and 'a' indicate a more patient-like or a more agent-like S. 'R' stands for a 'recipient', here a 'subject' argument. 'B' stands for 'beneficiary' or what might otherwise be termed a recipient (the indirect object of *give*-verbs).

Syntax and semantics of participial relativizers in Hindi-Urdu

Boris Zakharin

Moscow State University

The “original” participles of Hindi-Urdu are derived from transitive or intransitive stems through the help of suffixes (-*t*- for the imperfective aspect, -*ṣ*-/*-y*- for the perfective one) and attributive inflexions expressing agreement. In time these forms have started being used exclusively as predicates, and the corresponding ‘participles proper’ have acquired the additional marker *hu-ṣ-ā/e/ī*. The latter is optional, and the two sets of forms thus may differ only functionally.

Here we shall concentrate on the attributive usage of Hindi-Urdu perfective ‘participles proper’ (with or without *hu-ṣ-ā/e/ī*) in contexts ‘*NP1* – p.p. - *NP2*’ where in the participial relativizer syntactically modifies *NP2* which serves as ‘head’. According to Subbarao, Hindi-Urdu “selectively” permits almost unlimited modifying usage of perfective intransitive participles. As “exceptions” (stated already in [Kachru 1980]), he mentions forms derived from *kūd*- ‘jump’, *daur*- ‘run’, *tair*- ‘swim’, but suggests no other conditions for “selectivity” [Subbarao 2012: 278, 332]. An attempt to formulate them explicitly will be undertaken in my talk at the Conference.

As for transitive perfective relativizers, Subbarao’s opinion is that their modification in question “is not permitted in Hindi-Urdu (except with a limited set of predicates)” [Op. cit.: 279]. The language data though show that constructions with such participial modifiers are not at all rare in Hindi-Urdu. The explanation for this phenomenon is to be sought not in the sphere of “sets of predicates” only, but also in lexico-grammatical properties of nominal phrases associated with classes of verbs. The details will be given in my presentation.

The attributive functions of Hindi resultative p.p. in contexts ‘*NP1* – p.p. - *NP2*’ are to be analyzed. The p.p. itself, generated from either transitive or intransitive stem, may always be followed by optional element *hu-ā/e/ī*. In analyzable constructions any participle is syntactically a relativizer modifying *NP2* which serves as head. Thus used Hindi p.p. are functionally similar to their Dravidian counterparts - see, e.g., Telugu *Rāmuḍu cadiv-ina pustakaM* ‘the book read by Rama’ ↔ *pustakaM cadiv-ina Rāmuḍu* ‘Ram who has read the book’. But, contrary to Dravidian, Hindi p.p. generally demonstrate agreement with *NP2*. An intransitive p.p. agrees with *NP2* in Gender/Number/Case: e.g., *ā"kh-e"* (F/Nom/PI) *mu"d-e* (M/Obl/Sg~PI) *cehr-e* (M/Obl/Sg) *par* (Postpos.) ‘on the face with closed eyes’. A transitive p.p. may imply agreement of the same type: e.g., *śarāb* (F/Nom~Obl/Sg) *pi-y-ā* (M/Nom/Sg) *sipāhī* (M/Nom~Obl/Sg) ‘the soldier who drank wine’, - or has the ‘fixed’ form in *-e*: *sāRī* (F/Nom~Obl/Sg) *pahn-e laRak-ā* (M/Nom/Sg) ‘the boy who has put on sari’, or combines form in *-e* of the main component with *hu-ā/e/ī* that agrees with

NP2: *ainak* (F/Nom~Obl/Sg) *lagā-y-e hu-a*: (M/Nom/Sg) *bhālū* (M/Nom/Sg) 'the bear who has put on spectacles'.

NP1 and *NP2* may be associated with different syntactic and semantic categories: (1) *NP2* may be the subject (*NP1* then is the direct object): *inām pā-y-ā hu-ā rājdūt* 'the ambassador who has received the award'. *NP2* may also be indirect object: *anāj bo-ī hu-ī zamīn* 'land which in crops have been sewn'; (c) *kinār-e tūt-ī hu-ī piyāl-ī* 'cup with the broken brim'; (d) *pāⁿv dho-y-ā pānī* 'water with/in which legs have been washed', etc. There are semo-syntactic constrains on NPs occupying *NP1* and *NP2* – for example, in type (b) NP in *N2* is to be inanimate only, and the result of the action expressed by the participle producing stem must imply contact of the two previously separate objects; on lexical level the construction, correspondingly, may be organized by verbs like *lag-* 'get applied', *mil-* 'become mixed', *jam-* 'stick to' and a few other.

References:

Subbarao, K.V., *South Asian Languages: A Syntactic Typology*, Cambridge University Press, 2012

--, *Complementation in Hindi Syntax*, Delhi: Academic Publications, 1984

Kachru, Yamuna, *Aspects of Hindi Grammar*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1980

Tamil missionary grammars and the development of linguistic ideas: Their contribution to the history of linguistics

Cristina Muru
University of Tuscia

The Latin-based model was what missionaries used for the compilation of their *Arte*. However, the structure of the new described languages not always fit into their model of reference. For this reason, when describing what would have been defined later as an 'exotic language', the missionaries were re-semantizing the Latin-based model, previously used for writing the European vernacular languages. The aim was to adapt it to the new 'exotic' languages. But they were also inventing and defining new grammatical categories when the Latin-based model was inadequate. Finally, they were also borrowing from the local grammatical traditions (where available).

As a consequence of these different techniques, when one looks into their texts cannot avoid to notice how rich they are and what missionary's linguistic skills were. Although some missionaries failed in their attempts of description, the majority of them left us something that can be positively taken into consideration under different perspective including linguistics, history and sociolinguistics. But why had the missionaries these linguistic skills? First of all their education

implied three years plus two of studying where the Latin grammar represented an important subject. Furthermore, they were polyglot: they usually spoke more than two languages. In fact, their linguistic repertoire included not only the mother tongue (i.e. Italian), but also the Portuguese, the Latin, and eventually, those languages with which they entered in contact. Hence, they were trained to deal with languages.

Along with their linguistic competences, there was the most important reason for which they devoted themselves to the compilation of grammars, as well as dictionaries. They wanted to help others to learn the local languages in order to guarantee a better diffusion of Christianity. Hence, when describing the 'exotic' languages they were tracing a way not only for interpreting properly the language that they were learning, but they were also finding a way to describe it in a manner that others could easily learn. Usually they stated their intents at the beginning of their *Arte*, for example in the Balthasar da Costa's (c. 1610-1973) grammar, copied by the Bare Foot Carmelitan Pietro Paolo Francesco, on reads "*pareceme q̃ ajudaria m[u]ito [...] recopilar em huá brevidade m[u]ito] clara o que me pareceo necessário p[ara] esta lingoa se poder (aprender) em breve tempo*" [Borg. Ind. 12 fol. 248 r].

This presentation deals with missionaries Tamil grammars. When comparing the *Arte* of the Tamil language written between 16th and 17th centuries, one can find more or a less a presence of the local traditional grammars of Pāṇini and Tolkāppiyam. If it's true that in the first Tamil grammar by Henriques (1549) the Indian tradition is totally absent, in de Aguilar's grammar (17th cent) it is strongly evident, for example, when he deals with the case system. In this classification he addresses to Indian *vibhakti* and to the Tolkāppiyam and the Latin order of cases as well. He uses the Latin word *ablative*, but he does not miss to recognize other Tamil cases which he lists under the *ablative*: the *instrumental*, the 'real' *ablative* and the *sociative*. This demonstrates how much he was intuitive. In da Costa's grammar the Indian tradition is not really evident, however the missionary's creativity it is. In fact, he states that there is not *imperfeito* or *perfeito* or *plusquamperfeito* in the Tamil language; nevertheless da Costa gives us a construction for the realization of these aspects through the Tamil emphatic clitic *-ē*. Da Costa explains it further in a paragraph titled *Do tempo peculiar*. Hence, Da Costa is inventing a new category for describing a specific feature of the Tamil language, recognizing the inadequacy of the Latin-based model.

The Tamil *Arte* demonstrate that missionaries were sensible toward the Tamil language structure, and that at a certain point they also had started to be much more interested in the local grammatical tradition.

Within this perspective the *Arte* are an important source of data not only for the description of the languages and for the contribution that they can give to linguistic typology, but also for the contribution to the linguistic studies in general. A necessary reflection which arises is how much the analysis of missionaries' formulation of new categories, the analysis of missionaries' explanations of the Indian traditional grammars and the missionaries' re-semanticization of the Latin categories can contribute for a better understanding of the process of the linguistic development.

Hence, the question is how much the technical-linguistic register they used has contributed to the development of the linguistic ideas?

This paper aims to reply this question through the analysis of Aguilar's (1588-n.d.) grammar (17th cent.) comparing it with other grammars from the 16th-18th centuries: Henriques (1520-1600), Da Costa (c.1610-1673) and Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733). The categories used by missionaries will be taken into consideration along with the linguistic analysis of the Tamil examples given by missionaries under each specific linguistic category.

References:

Primary sources - Manuscripts

Archivum Romanun Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy [abb. ARSI]

Goa, 76b: Ippolito Desideri, *Arte Tamulica*, (n.d.)

Vatican Library, Rome, Italy

Borgiano Indiano, 12 Vocabulario Tamulico com a significaçam portugueza. Composto pello P. Antam de Proença da Companhia de IESV, Missionario da Missão de Madurey. Vocabulario Tamulico Lusitano dedicato aos PP. Pregadores do evangelho que converçam com Tamuis, pello P. Antam de Proença da Companhia de IESV da Missão de Madurey. [it contains also the manuscript P. Balthasar Da Costa's *Arte* copied by Father Pietro Paolo di S. Francesco].

State Central Library, Goa, Panaji, India

De Noronha, Paulo Francisco. (n.d.). *Grammatica Tamulica*, MS M15 (n.d.) [Cf. Significação de todas palavras que estão no Confessionario p^o mayor comodidade dos que começaõ aprender a lingoa, ff. 1-8]. (unpublished manuscript).

Arte Tamulica, MS M49 (n.d.)

Vocabulario Tamulico Luzitano. (1670). MS M34, [Cf. ff. 1-223, it is a manuscript copy of Antão De Proença's Dictionary preceded by Balthasar Da Costa's Grammar (ff. 1-27)]

Staats-Und Universitäts Bibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky

Arte Tamul. Sive Insitutio Grammatica Lingae Malabaricae. Sum Philippi Baldej. UDM in Regno Jaffnapatam. 1659. Filippi Baldeyusu 1665. Cod. Orient. 283

Secondary sources

Andronov, Mikhail S. *A Standard Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil*. Madras: New Century Book House, 1969.

Chevillard, J.-L. & Passerieu J.-C. (1989). 'La tradicion grammatical tamoule'. In S. Auroux, *Histoire des idées linguistique. Tome 1*. Liège: Mardaga, 1989: 417-430.

Chevillard, J.-L. 'Beschi, grammarian du tamoul, et l'origine de la notion de verbe appellatif'. In

- Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême-Orient (BEFEO)*, 79(1): 77-88, 1992a.
- . 'L'adjectif dans la tradition tamoule'. In Colombat Bernard (dir.), *Histoire Epistémologie Langage*, 14(1), 1992b.
- . *Le commentaire de Cēṇāvaraiyar sur le Collatikāram du Tolkāppiyam: sur le métalangage grammaticale dès maîtres commentateurs tamouls médiévaux*. Pondicherry: Institut français de Pondichéry, 1996.
- Gnanasundaram, V. "Survey of Tamil Dialects: Some Methodological Issues." In *Streams of Language: Dialects in Tamil*, edited by M. Kannan, 173–82. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichery, 2008.
- Hein, Jeanne, and V. S. Rajam. *The Earliest Missionary Grammar of Tamil: Fr. Henriques' Arte Da Lingua Malabar: Translation, History and Analysis*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Lehmann, Thomas. *A Grammar of Modern Tamil*. Pondicherry: Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, 1989.
- Meenakshi, K. *Tolkāppiyam and Aṣṭhādhyāyī*. Chennai: International Institute of Tamil Studies, 1997.
- Murugan, V. *Tolkāppiyam in English: Translation, with the Tamil Text, Transliteration in the Roman Script, Introduction, Glossary, and Illustrations*. Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 2001.
- Nobili, Roberto de. *Adaptation*. Edited by S. Rajamanickam. Palayamkottai: De Nobili Research Institute, 1971.
- Paramasivam, K. "Verbal Nouns in Literary Tamil." In *Proceedings of the First All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, 1971*, edited by V. I. Subramoniam. Trivandrum: Dravidian Linguistic Association of India, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Kerala, 1972.
- Ramakrishnan, S., ed. *Kriyāvin tarkālat tamīl akarāti: tamīl-tamīl-āṅkilam*. Chennai: Kriyā, 2008.
- Schiffman, Harold F. *A Reference Grammar of Spoken Tamil*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.
- Steever, Sanford B. *The Tamil Auxiliary Verb System*. London; New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Subrahmanya, Sastri P. S. *Tolkāppiyam–Collatikāram*. Edited by P. T. Minakshisundaran. Chidambaram: Sri Velan Press, Annamalai University, 1979.
- Subrahmanyam, P. S. *Pāṇinian Linguistics*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1999.
- Vaiyapuri Pillai, S. ed. *Madras Tamil Lexicon*. 6 vols. Chennai: University of Madras, 1982.
- Zvelebil, Kamil V. "Tolkāppiyam Book II Collatikāram." *Journal of Tamil Studies* 13 (June 1978): 76–86.
- . "Tolkāppiyam Book II Collatikāram." *Journal of Tamil Studies* 20 (December 1981): 5–10.
- . "Tolkāppiyam Book II Collatikāram." *Journal of Tamil Studies* 21 (June 1985): 9–19.
- . "Tolkāppiyam Book II Collatikāram." *Journal of Tamil Studies* 28 (December 1985): 67–80.
- Zwartjes, Otto. "Incorporación de términos metalingüísticos no-occidentales en la gramáticas misioneras españolas y portuguesas (siglos XVI-XVIII)." In *Lingüística e hispanismo*, edited

by Joaquín Sueiro Justel, 67–92. Lugo: Axac, 2010.
--. *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550-1800*. Amsterdam;
Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2011.

Obstruent voicing and tone in Siklis Gurung

Danielle Ronkos
City University of New York

Gurung is an endangered Sino-Tibetan language spoken primarily in central Nepal. As is the case with other Sino-Tibetan languages of this region, Gurung's threatened status is due not to a dwindling population, but rather to a decreasing rate of language transmission from one generation to the next and an increasing use of Nepali as the lingua franca across all of Nepal (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2015). For Gurung, linguists have identified 14 distinct dialect groups that cluster into two larger groups: East Gurung and West Gurung (Glover & Landon 1975). As Glover and Landon (1975) point out, the distribution of these 14 dialects and their similarity to each other is largely shaped by the geography of the region in which they are spoken, which limits contact between some communities while facilitating contact between others. The bulk of linguistic documentation and research on this language, including the data in this paper, has been conducted on dialects of West Gurung.

This paper focuses on Gurung's contrastive tone system and its relationship with register (namely contrastive breathy phonation) and word-initial obstruent voicing. It is hardly the first paper to do so; these three aspects of Gurung phonology – tone, register, and obstruent voicing – have been treated extensively in the literature, often through the lens of the phonology of the related language in the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manange (TGTM) family with which a given researcher is most familiar. The resulting body of literature does not add up to a single theory of Gurung tone; instead, there is little consensus on how each tone category is defined, what role register plays in shaping these categories, and whether word-initial obstruent voicing is phonemic. This actually makes sense because, for the most part, each linguist worked with speakers of a different dialect of West Gurung, and Gurung tone reportedly varies from dialect to dialect (Glover & Glover 1972, Hildebrandt 2007a). Researchers do agree on a few main points: that Gurung's tone-bearing unit is the phonological word; that vowels contrast for breathy-voice/modal-voice phonation; and that phonemically aspirated obstruents do not occur with breathy vowels (Glover 1969, Glover & Glover 1972, Hildebrandt 2007a & 2007b, Mazaudon 1988, Sprigg 1997). These conclusions correspond with the Siklis Gurung data presented in this paper.

The data presented in this paper comes from N.G., a male speaker of the Siklis dialect of West Gurung who now lives in New York City. The village of Siklis is in the Kaski District of Nepal, to the east of Ghachok village and northeast of the district's largest city, Pokhara. Like many

speakers of Nepal's TGTM languages, N.G. is also a fluent speaker of Nepali. The data was collected during weekly two-hour elicitation sessions over the span of about a year.

This paper argues that, contrary to some claims in the literature (notably Mazaudon 1978 & 1988), some dialects of Gurung do indeed have a phonemic voicing contrast in the word-initial position, as evidenced by minimal pairs, for example /d̥i/ 'house' and /di/ 'sun', which differ only in the voicing of the word-initial obstruent. Examinations of spectrograms produced using Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2015) confirm that obstruents N.G. identifies as voiced are in fact fully voiced stops with prevoicing, while obstruents N.G. identifies as voiceless are in fact voiceless.

In the literature, all documented dialects of Gurung are presented with a four-tone system, although the characteristics of these four tone categories differ. Glover and Glover's (1972) analysis of Ghachok Gurung tone describes a pitch-accent system that interacts with a register system to make four potential tone categories. Mazaudon (1978) reanalyzes the Glovers' data to fit her model of the TGTM language family, which includes allophonic word-initial obstruent voicing and four tone classes that differ in both pitch and contour. In his analysis of Thak Gurung, Sprigg (1997) introduces a contour pitch system and a register system that intersect in four tone categories reminiscent of Mazaudon's.

The tones of Siklis Gurung do not match any of these documented systems. Instead, the collected data suggests that Siklis Gurung is best analyzed as having three tone categories: a low tone that occurs with breathy phonation; and high and mid tones that occur with modal (alternately referred to in the literature as 'clear') phonation. This is supported by minimal tone triplets, such as /¹joba/ 'to complete,' /²joba/ 'to cook,' and /³joba/ 'to steal.' Following models of tonogenesis based on TGTM reconstruction work, the emergence of these three tones is attributed to the split of *one* of two proto-tones due to the loss of a word-initial obstruent voicing contrast. This differs from some four-tone accounts, which hinge on the loss of a voicing contrast in *both* proto-tones in order to account for four modern tones categories. This suggests that Gurung is not as far along Matisoff's tonogenetic cycle as some linguists maintain.

References:

- Boersma, P. & Weenink, D. (2015). Praat: doing phonetics by computer [Computer program]. Version 5.4.06, retrieved 25 March 2015 from <http://www.praat.org/>
- Glover, W. W. (1969). *Gurung phonemic summary* (Vol. 1). Summer Institute of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University.
- Glover, W. W. & Glover, J. (1972). *A guide to Gurung tone*. Tribhuvan University [and] Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Glover, W. W. & Landon, J. K. (1975). *Gurung dialects*. Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Mazaudon, M. (1978). Consonantal mutation and tonal split in the Tamang sub-family of Tibeto-Burman. *Kailash* 6.3: 157-179.
- Matisoff, J. A. (1973). Tonogenesis in southeast Asia. *Consonant types and tone*, 1.
- Hildebrandt, K. A. (2007a). Tone in Bodish languages: Typological and sociolinguistic

- contributions. *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs*, 189, 77.
- Hildebrandt, K. A. (2007b). Phonology and fieldwork in Nepal: Problems and potentials. In *Proceedings of the conference on language documentation and linguistic theory* (pp. 33-44).
- Lewis, M. P., Simons, G. F. & Fennig, C. D. (eds.) (2015). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Eighteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Mazaudon, M. (1988). The influence of tone and affrication on manner: Some irregular manner correspondences in the Tamang group. *21st International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics*.
- Sprigg, R. K. (1997). A tonal analysis of Gurung, with separate systems for register and contour pitch features. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 60(03), 448-454.
-

Structure Building and Structure matching in Marathi complex predicates

Gillian Ramchand & Renuka Ozarkar

University of Mumbai

1. Introduction

Over the years, much work has been done on the phenomenon of complex predicates in South Asian languages (Butt 1995, Hook 1974, Paul 2003, Ramchand 2008). Following seminal work by Butt (1995), for Hindi/Urdu, we now have a number of clear diagnostics for distinguishing when something is a biclausal construction, a monoclausal auxiliary construction or a true complex predicate. Complex predicates (CPs) consisting of a light verb and a main verb diagnose as monoclausal, by all language internal tests. However, light verbs differ from auxiliary constructions (which are also monoclausal) in that the light verb is more tightly connected to the main verb both syntactically and selectionally, and crucially influences the argument structure and aktionsart properties of the entire construction. *Thus, understanding how CPs are built up is central to a crosslinguistic understanding of verbal morphology and its relation to the semantics of events*. While complex predicates are ubiquitous across the South Asian linguistic area, and show a broad swathe of similarities, there are differences that emerge once more fine-grained properties of these constructions are examined. One area where there seems to be a lot of variation is in the kinds of selectional relationships that obtain within the complex predicate, i.e. which light verb 'selects' for or goes with which main verb. For example, in Bangla it has been reported that main verbs and light verbs tend to 'match in transitivity' (Dasgupta 1977, 1989; Paul 2003) or event structure (Ramchand 2008).

2. How are complex events built?

Ramchand (2008) is the beginning of an attempt to get a systematic idea of the building blocks of complex events by explicitly stating the contributions of the main verb and the light verb to the event structure. One of the major questions that arises in such a project is whether CP complex event structures are built up incrementally in a monotonic structure 'building' way, or whether the main verb and light verb combine by a kind of 'matching'. In this paper we present detailed data from Marathi examining the nature of selection and event structure building in the CPs found in that language (cf. also Ozarkar 2014). Marathi is interesting because it has a wide variety of complex predicates some of which are superficially similar to the types described for Bangla in Ramchand (2008), but with some surprising differences that pose a challenge to simple structure building or matching accounts.

3. The Data

Marathi has some CPs where the main verb and the light verb seem to match for basic aktionsart properties, and some where they do not. We demonstrate three types of CP, classified according to (i) the event structure of the light verb in its main verb use (telic vs. atelic see Dowty 1979 for relevant tests), (ii) the event structure of the main verb, (iii) the nature of the participial ending (conjunctive vs. imperfective) and (iv) the event structure of the resulting CP. In type A below, we find telic light verbs (DROP, KEEP, GO, COME) combining with obligatorily telic main verbs, in the conjunctive participial form and the result is a telic CP. In Type B we find telic (achievement) light verbs (GIVE, TAKE, DRAW.OUT) combining with main verbs of both telic and atelic varieties, and the resultant CP has the same (a)telicity as the main verb in it. In Type C, we find a telic (achievement) light verb (BE.RELEASED) combining with atelic verbs in the imperfective participial form, and the result is an inceptive continuous CP. Examples of Types A, B and C are shown in page 2 with the references.

4. Analysis

We argue in this paper that complex event structures in Marathi are built up from a combination of structure building and structure matching conditions. In (A), we see a case of pure structure matching, in (B) we find a case of pure structure building, while (C) is analysed as a combination of structure building and structure matching.

In providing a specific combinatoric analysis, we give denotations corresponding to the two different participial endings which combine with main verb denotations to give predictable outputs. The other important factor in the analysis is the particular structural relationship between the main verb participle and the light verb. The analysis in turn makes predictions for how the different CPs may be combined. Specifically, we show that the analysis we propose correctly derives the fact that Type C can embed types A and B, but not the other way around. The paper ends by providing a set of tests and predictions for further study of the internal structure of CPs and light verb selection in other South Asian languages.

DATA

Example of Type A

- 1 a) miṇɑ-ṇe amba kʰɑ-uṇ ʈak-l-ɑ
Mina-ERG mango eat-CPrt DROP-perf-3p.sing.masc.
Mina ate up the mango. (Accomplishment main verb)
- b) *miṇɑ-ṇe səṇḍjʰkɑ-i hiṇḍ-uṇ ʈak-l-ə
Mina-ERG evening-in roam-CPrt DROP-perf-3p.sing.neut
*Mina roamed up in the evening (intended reading) (Activity main verb)

Example of Type B

- 2) miṇɑ-ṇe poh-uṇ gʰeṭ-l-ə
Mina-ERG swim-CPrt TAKE-perf-3p.sing.neut.
Mina swam (to her satisfaction or as per her convenience)
- 3) lokɑṇ- ṇi tsorɑ-lɑ tsɑŋglə tsop-uṇ kɑḍʰ-l-ə
People-ERG thief-DAT good beat-CPrt DRAW.OUT-perf-3p.sing.neut.
People beat-up the thief thoroughly.

Example of Type C

- 4) ram wedja-sarkʰɑ həs-əṭ suṭ-l-ɑ
Ram mad-like laugh-imperf BE.RELEASED-perf-3p.sing.masc
Ram began (and continued) laughing like a madman.

References:

- Butt, Miriam. 1995. *The Structure of Complex Predicates in Urdu*. Stanford: CSLI publications.
- Hook, Peter E. 1974. *The Compound Verb in Hindi*. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.
- Dasgupta, Probal. 1977. "The internal grammar of compound verbs in Bangla". In *Indian Linguistics*, vol. 38-2: 68-85.
- .1989. *Projective Syntax: Theory and Applications*. Pune: Deccan College P.G. and Research Institute.
- Dowty, David. 1979. *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar: The Semantics of Verbs and Times in Generative Semantics and in Montague's PTQ*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Paul, Soma. 2003. "Composition of compound verbs in Bangla". Proceedings of the Workshop on MultiVerb Constructions, Trondheim Summer School.
- Ozarkar, Renuka. 2014. *Structures of Marathi Verbs*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Mumbai.
- Ramchand, Gillian. 2008. *Verb Meaning and the Lexicon: A First Phase Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**The two categories of internal and external *sandhi*: At the intersection
between indigenous and western Sanskrit grammars**

Giovanni Ciotti
Universität Hamburg

'Internal *sandhi*' and 'external *sandhi*' are two phonological categories that are widely used in the linguistic literature and, in particular, in the field of descriptive linguistics (e.g. Andersen ed. 1986). The term *sandhi* is one of the direct borrowings from the Sanskrit grammatical tradition that Western linguists have soon adopted and kept using since the "discovery" of Sanskrit at the end of the 18th century. The term *sandhi* appears already in Colebrooke's *Grammar of the Sanscrit Language* (1805: 17), and is then found in dozens other Sanskrit grammars written in European languages during the 19th century. However, the distinction between 'internal *sandhi*' and 'external *sandhi*' emerges only later in the century. This metalinguistic innovation seems to run parallel to a gradual detachment from the indigenous Sanskrit tradition, in particular that represented by *vyākaraṇa* works. In fact, most of the Sanskrit grammars written in the first third of the 19th c. were composed by British civil servants (Colebrooke, Carey, Wilkins, Forster) who worked under the direct guide of traditional Sanskrit scholars (*paṇḍitas*). In this way, they followed rather closely the exposition of *sandhi* phenomena found in works such as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and the *Mugdhabodha* of Vopadeva. However, later Western scholars who engaged in the composition of Sanskrit grammars were less and less dependent from the *vyākaraṇa* tradition. On the one hand, they started adopting the results of the new rising linguistic trend of the time, namely historical linguistics (also known as philology), and, on the other hand, they were becoming more familiar with another category of indigenous Sanskrit grammars, namely the Prāṭisākhya, in which a distinction similar to that between internal and external *sandhi* can be observed. In my presentation I will first focus my attention on a key figure in this process, namely that of Franz Bopp, who produced a then rather influential Sanskrit grammar (*Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der Sanskrita-Sprache* 1823) and who is among the founding figures of historical linguistics. Then, I will outline the description of Sanskrit *sandhi* offered by Max Müller (*Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners* 1866) and William Dwight Whitney (*Sanskrit Grammar* 1879), who are among the chief figures in linguistics during the second half of the 19th c. and who both edited Prāṭisākhya texts. Their description of *sandhi* makes explicit use of the categories 'internal' and 'external'. Finally, I will venture into the 20th century and into the late fate of the two *sandhi* categories by exploring the works of Leonard Bloomfield, in particular *Language* 1933 and "Menomini Morphophonemics" 1939, both of which have had a deep impact on the linguistic literature at large.

Contributions of Cunha Rivara (1809–1879) to the development of Konkani language studies

Gonçalo Fernandes

Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro

Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1809–1879) was a Portuguese physician, professor, librarian and politician. During his employment as Secretary General of Portuguese India in Goa (1855-1870), he gave a strong impulse to the development of Konkani, the language spoken in Goa. On 28 November 1857, he was appointed by the 93rd Governor General of India, António César de Vasconcelos Correia (1797–1865), to be part of a commission established in order to coordinate, prepare and print Portuguese-Konkani and Konkani-Portuguese dictionaries and other “monuments” of the same language (Rivara 1868: 3, note a).

Only two years after his arrival in Goa, he re-edited the grammar written by Thomas Stephens, S.J. (1549–1619), “*Grammatica da lingua Concani, composta pelo padre Thomaz Estevão, e accrescentada por outros padres da Companhia de Jesus*” [Grammar of the Konkani language, composed by Father Thomas Stephens, and added by other priests of the Society of Jesus] (1857), preceded by two papers by Erskine Perky (1806–1882) and the first version of his “Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani” [Historical Essay on Konkani language] (pages XXXVII-CCXXXVI). Cunha Rivara re-published his essay a year later in an autonomous book “[...] para servir de Introducção á nova impressão da Grammatica da mesma lingua, que no anno passado de 1857 saio á luz por nossa diligencia” (Rivara 1858: III) [...to serve as an introduction to the new printing of the Grammar of the same language, which was published in the last year of 1857 due to our diligence]. In this book, he re-published also the papers of Erskine Perky (1806–1882) and a new one written by John Stevenson (1798–1858) with some “Observações sobre a estrutura grammatical das linguas da India” [Observations on the Grammatical Structure of the Vernacular Languages of India]. In the same year, he was responsible for the printing of an anonymous grammar, possibly written in the 17th century by a Franciscan or Jesuit, living in Thane, on Salsette Island, on the West coast of India (Rivara 1858b: [III]). To this grammar, he gave the title “Grammatica da lingua Concani no dialecto do norte, composta no seculo XVII por hum missionario portuguez, e agora pela primeira vez dada á estampa (1858) [Grammar of the Konkani language in the Northern Dialect, written in the 17th century by a Portuguese missionary and now printed for the first time]. He also printed a grammar and a dictionary written by the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly from 1831 to 1844, the Discalced Carmelite Francesco Saverio di Sant’Anna, O.C.D. (1771–1844), which circulated manuscript: “Grammatica da lingua Concani, escrita em Portuguez por um missionario Italiano” (1859) [Grammar of the Konkani language, written in Portuguese by an Italian missionary] and “Diccionario portuguez-concani, composto por um missionario italiano” (1868) [Portuguese-Konkani Dictionary, written by an Italian missionary].

Thus, in this paper, I intend to study the action of Cunha Rivara against the “despreso da lingua materna” [contempt of the mother tongue] (Rivara 1857b: CXIII) by Goans, the repercussion of his intense editorial activity in the defense and dignity of the Konkani language, and its importance to the overall development of the Konkani language studies. I intend to

analyze also the model(s) that the different authors followed in the grammars Cunha Rivara printed.

References:

- Anonymous. 1858. *Grammatica da lingua Concani no dialecto do norte, composta no seculo XVII por hum missionario portuguez, e agora pela primeira vez dada á estampa*, edited by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional.
- Machado, Everton Vasconcelos. 2009. "A experiência Indiana de Cunha Rivara". In: *Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, 1809–1879*, edited by Luís Farinha Franco & Gina Rafael. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: 25-37.
- Muru, Cristina. 2010. *Missionari portoghesi in India nei secoli XVI e XVII: L'Arte della lingua tamil. Studio comparato di alcuni manoscritti*. Viterbo: Edizioni Sette Città.
- Perky, Erskine. 1857a. "Memoria sobre a distribuição geographica das principaes linguas da India". In: [Stephens, Thomas]. *Grammatica da lingua Concani, composta pelo padre Thomaz Estevão, e accrescentada por outros padres da Companhia de Jesus*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: V-XXXI.
- Perky, Erskine. 1857b. "Summario Geographico da India". In: [Stephens, Thomas]. *Grammatica da lingua Concani, composta pelo padre Thomaz Estevão, e accrescentada por outros padres da Companhia de Jesus*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: XXXII-XXXV.
- . 1858a. "Summario Geographico da India". In: *Ensaio historico da Lingua Concani*, edited by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: V-XXXI.
- . 1858b. "Memoria sobre a distribuição geographica das principaes linguas da India". In: *Ensaio historico da Lingua Concani*, edited by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: XXXII-XXXV.
- Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha. 1857a. "Prefação". In: [Stephens, Thomas]. *Grammatica da lingua Concani, composta pelo padre Thomaz Estevão, e accrescentada por outros padres da Companhia de Jesus*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: III-IV.
- . 1857b. "*Ensaio historico da Lingua Concani*". In: [Stephens, Thomas]. *Grammatica da lingua Concani, composta pelo padre Thomaz Estevão, e accrescentada por outros padres da Companhia de Jesus*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: XXXVII-CCXXXVI.
- . 1858a. *Ensaio historico da Lingua Concani*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional.
- . 1858b. "Prefação". In: Anonymous. *Grammatica da lingua Concani no dialecto do norte, composta no seculo XVII por hum missionario portuguez, e agora pela primeira vez dada á estampa*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: [III]-[IV].
- . 1859. "Prefação". In: [Sant'Anna, Francesco Saverio di]. *Grammatica da lingua Concani, escrita em Portuguez por um missionario Italiano*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: [III]-[IV].
- . 1868. "Prefação". In: [Sant'Anna, Francesco Saverio di]. *Diccionario Portuguez-Concani, composto por um Missionario Italiano*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: 3-4.
- [Sant'Anna, Francesco Saverio di]. 1859. *Grammatica da lingua Concani, escrita em Portuguez*

- por um missionario Italiano*, edited by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional.
- [Sant'Anna, Francesco Saverio di]. 1868. *Diccionario Portuguez-Conceni, composto por um Missionario Italiano*, edited by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional.
- SarDessai, ManohaRai. 2000. *A History of Konkani Literature (From 1500 to 1992)*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- [Stephens, Thomas]. 1857. *Grammatica da lingua Conceni, composta pelo padre Thomaz Estevão, e accrescentada por outros padres da Companhia de Jesus*, edited by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional.
- Stevenson, John. 1858. "Observações sobre a estrutura grammatical das linguas da India". In: *Ensaio historico da Lingua Conceni*, edited by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional: XXXVII-XLIII.
- Zwartjes, Otto. 2011. *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550-1800*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Acronyms:

O.C.D.: Ordo Carmelitarum Discalceatorum [Order of Discalced Carmelites]

S.J.: Societas Jesu [Society of Jesus]

Negation in Munda languages

Gregory D.S. Anderson & Bikram Jora

Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages

This paper examines the formation of negative constructions in several Munda languages, the westernmost branch of Austroasiatic spoken in mainly eastern and central India. The languages included in this study are Mundari and Santali the northernmost languages from the North Munda group, Kharia a taxonomically southern Munda language in a North Munda locale, Sora, and two of the southernmost languages of the South Munda languages, viz., Gutob and Gta?. This represents the full spectrum of the family geographically and typologically. This paper is also intended to widen the scope of typological research on negative constructions in South Asian languages. First, it examines data on negation from a sample of genetically related languages in a typological light. Second, it particularly examines the types of negation attested in Munda languages with respect to the tense/aspect systems and tries to situate these phenomena in a broader comparative light. Among noteworthy features should be mentioned the apparent formal cognacy of elements embedded within distinctly different formal and functional systems (Anderson 2007) even within a single language.

Mundari (Osada 2008) and Santali (Ghosh 2008) belong to the Northern Munda languages of Kherwarian sub-group whereas Kharia (Peterson 2008, 2011), Gta? (Anderson 2008; Mahapatra & Zide no date) and Gutob (Griffiths 2008) belong to the Munda of the Austro-Asiatic language family. Gta? (2) and especially Gutob (1) show the most complicated and typologically strange systems of negative marking. Where in the negative sentences not only negative morpheme but distinct negative tense/aspect markers are used. Sora shows a partially cognate system. In these, tense/aspect markers used in affirmative and negative sentences have different functions in the two paradigmatic sets. Whereas in Kherwarian North Munda languages, negative constructions are much simpler, formed by a general preverbal particle *ba* in Santali or prohibitive preverbal particle *alo* and by *ka* and *alo* respectively in Mundari. These both typically serve as the host for the subject agreement clitics as is typical of words appearing in pre-verbal position in Kherwarian languages. Kharia (5) on the other hand, unsurprisingly given its strong interaction with Kherwarian languages, shows a system that has been partially restructured based on Kherwarian models. Some comments on the history of negative marking in the Munda languages are offered in this study as well.

(1) <u>Gutob</u>	<u>Gutob</u>	<u>Gutob</u>	<u>Gutob</u>
<i>ar-ser-gu</i>	<i>ser-gu</i>	<i>ar-ser-to</i>	<i>ser-to</i>
NEG-sing-PST.ITR	sing-PST	NEG-sing- NEG.PST	Sing-NPST
'don't sing'	'sang'	'didn't sing'	'sings'
(Zide field notes)			

(2) <u>Gta?</u>	<u>Gta?</u>	<u>Gta?</u>	<u>Gta?</u>	<u>Gta?</u>	<u>Gta?</u>
<i>n-ár-a?ʃoŋ-ke</i>	<i>ʃoŋ-ke</i>	<i>á-ʃoŋ-ge</i>	<i>ʃoŋ-ge</i>	<i>n-á-ʃoŋ</i>	<i>n-ʃoŋ-e</i>
1-NEG-feed-RLS	eat-RLS	NEG-eat-PHB	eat-EVID	1-NEG-eat	1-eat-IRR
'I didn't feed (s.o.)'	's/he ate, eats'	'don't eat!'	's/he ate, eats'	'I won't eat'	'I will eat'
(Mahapatra et al. 1989, Mahapatra & Zide n.d.; Anderson 2008)					

(3) <u>Sora</u>	<u>Sora</u>
<i>nen bazar-in</i>	<i>nen gi?j-t-aj</i>
<i>ə-je:r-ej</i>	
I market-N.SFX NEG-go-1	I see-NPST-1
'I don't, won't go to the market'	'I (will) see'
(Anderson & Harrison 2008: 346, 331)	

(4) <u>Santali</u>	<u>Santali</u>
<i>ba=ko sap'-le-d-e-a</i>	<i>alo=m lei-a-e-a</i>
NEG=PL catch-ASP-TR-3-FIN	PHB=2 tell-APPL-3- FIN
'they did not catch him'	'don't tell him'
(Bodding 1929: 212)	(Bodding 1929: 81)

(5) <u>Kharia</u>		<u>Kharia</u>		<u>Kharia</u>	<u>Kharia</u>
<i>ho=ki tenton=ga maj=te=ki</i>		<i>um=ijn lam-te</i>		<i>ter[=e]=ijn</i>	<i>um=ijn ter=e</i>
that=PL tamarind=FOC mix=ACT.PRS=PL		NEG=1 want=ACT.PRS		give[=IRR]=1	NEG-1give=IRR
'they mix in the tamarind'		'I don't want'		'I will give'	'I won't give'
(Peterson 2008: 463)		(Peterson 2011: 337)		(Peterson 2008: 472)	

References:

- Anderson, Gregory D. S. 2007. *The Munda Languages. Typological Perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 2008. *Gta?*. In Gregory D.S. Anderson (ed.) *The Munda Languages*, London & New York: Routledge, pp. 682-763.
- Bodding, P. O. 1929. *A Santali Grammar for Beginners*. Benagaria: Santal Mission Press.
- Ghosh, Arun 2008. Santali. In Gregory D.S. Anderson (ed.) *The Munda Languages*, London & New York: Routledge, pp. 11-98.
- Griffiths, Arlo. 2008. *Gutob*. In Gregory D.S. Anderson (ed.) *The Munda Languages*, London & New York: Routledge, pp. 633-681.
- Mahapatra, Khageshwar. (with Dobek Pujari and P. K. Panda). 1989. *Didayi* (In Odiya). Bhubaneshwar: Academy of Tribal Dialects and Culture, Government of Orissa.
- Mahapatra, K.P. and N. H. Zide (no date). *Gta? Texts*. Unpublished-ms.
- Osada, T. 2008. *Mundari*. In Gregory D.S. Anderson (ed.) *The Munda Languages*, London & New York: Routledge, pp. 99-164.
- Peterson, John. M. 2008. *Kharia*. In Gregory D.S. Anderson (ed.) *The Munda Languages*, London & New York: Routledge, pp. 434-507.
- Peterson, John. M. 2011. *A Grammar of Kharia. A South Munda Language*. Leiden: Brill.

Abbreviations:

ACT	ACTIVE	ITR	INTRANSITIVE	PST	PAST
APPL	APPLICATIVE	NEG	NEGATIVE	RLS	REALIS
ASP	ASPECT	NPST	NON-PAST	TR	TRANSITIVE
EVID	EVIDENTIAL	NSFX	NOUN SUFFIX	1	1 ST PERSON
FIN	FINITE	PHB	PROHIBITIVE	3	3 RD PERSON
FOC	FOCUS	PL	PLURAL		
IRR	IRREALIS	PRS	PRESENT		

The 'classical' construction of Tamil declension in the eyes of early European missionary grammarians

Gregory James

It is well known that the first European missionaries to study Tamil were gladdened to discover that the language had a case system. The earliest native Tamil grammarians had posited seven cases plus the vocative, based on inflectional identity. European analyses of Tamil, however, show a six-case model for nouns and pronouns, “reducing” three of the traditional cases to the ablative, to fit the Latinate system, despite the morphological patterning. This presentation will demonstrate, through an analysis of the case-specific exemplifications, given to illustrate the nominal paradigms, by the European grammarians of Tamil, how they (mis)understood the manifestations of case in the language. In this focus will be given to the ablative case, which posed the greatest difficulties of interpretation for the missionaries, and which shows considerable variation among the European grammarians.

“East of the 84th meridian”? — The phonological evidence

Hans Henrich Hock

University of Illinois

Since the time of Konow (1909), there have been arguments that the Kiranti and Kuki-Chin members of Tibeto-Burman (TB) share with the Munda languages a number of structural features that must be explained in terms of prehistoric Munda influence. This explanation has recently received vigorous support by Ebert (1993, 1999, 2001, 2009), who argues for a special convergence area “East of the 84th meridian” (Ebert 2009) which includes TB, Munda, and Dravidian, ‘stretching from Nepal to Orissa’, with complex verb morphology and with tense and person marking in subordination.

The Munda convergence hypothesis has spawned a fairly extensive discussion. However, both proponents and opponents (such as Genetti 2007) have focused mainly on morphosyntactic features.

An important exception is the phonological approach of Neukom (1999, 2000). While his focus also is on the area “East of 84°”, his argument is more nuanced than that of Ebert, concluding that the area forms a transition zone between Southeast Asia and “Central” India (i.e. South Asia to the west). It is his phonological evidence and arguments that are the focus of the present paper.

Neukom examines five features and their areal distribution — retroflexion, fricative contrasts, breathy voice, “creaky voice” and related glottal phenomena including glottal stops, and initial velar nasals. He concludes that the isoglosses for these features do not form a neat bundle,

that retroflex and breathy voice are shared with the west, while creaky voice and initial velar nasal are shared with the east, that the evidence of fricatives is indeterminate, and that Munda has lost initial *ŋ* under Dravidian or Indo- Aryan influence. He concludes that retroflex and breathy voice spread from west to east and that creaky voice may have spread to the west.

In this paper I focus on the features that Neukom found to be indicative of broader areal relationships — retroflexion, breathy voice, and creaky voice/glottal stops.

I show that the feature of creaky voice/glottal stops is problematic, since under this category Neukom groups together a glottal-stop phoneme in Kurux, unreleased final stops in Tibeto-Burman varieties and in Khasi (whether accompanied by creaky voice or not), and the “checked” consonants of Munda. It is not at all clear that glottal stops, glottalized coda consonants, and creaky voice are of the same phonetic or phonological nature; and the “checked” consonants of Munda are not purely glottal phenomena but may also involve post-nasalization.

Retroflexion must be considered in the larger context of what Masica (1991: 95-98, 192-193) calls “Gangetic dentalization” — a loss of contrast between retroflex and dental sonorants whose focal area seems to lie in the east. At the same time, the occurrence of retroflex: dental contrasts in the east no doubt reflects influence from the west. There is thus no clear west-east directionality.

Most interesting is the issue of breathy voice. Here, two areas need to be distinguished — a Nagaland area with breathy-voice sonorants but no breathy-voice stops and a western area around Garhwal with breathy voice in both the sonorants and the stops. I argue that the Nagaland area reflects indigenous developments, involving a “flip” from phonologically marked voiceless or voiceless aspirated aspirated sonorants to marked breathy-voice sonorants, sometimes in different varieties of the same language. Indo-Aryan influence can only be invoked for the Garhwal area. Even here, we need to be cautious, since breathy-voiced sonorants are not inherited in eastern Indo-Aryan and their appearance in both the Indo-Aryan and TB languages of this area may therefore be a joint innovation.

I conclude by outlining the implications of these findings for Konow and Ebert’s Munda substratum hypothesis and for the broader issue of linguistic contact and convergence in the eastern Himalayas and adjacent areas to the south.

References:

- Ebert, Karen H. 1993. Kiranti subordination in the South Asian areal context. *Studies in clause linkage: Papers from the First Köln-Zürich Workshop*, ed. by Karen H. Ebert, 83-110. Zürich: ASA Verlag.
- . 1999. Non-finite verbs in Kiranti languages — an areal perspective. *Topics in Nepalese linguistics*, ed. by Yogendra P. Yadava and Warren W. Glover, 371-400. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- . 2001. Südasien als Sprachbund. *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, 20.2: Language Typology and Language Universals*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard

- König, Wulf Oesterreicher, and Wolfgang Raible, 1529-1539. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- . 2009. South Asia as a linguistic area. In: *Concise encyclopedia of the world's languages*, ed. by Keith Brown and Sarah Ogilvie, 995-1001. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Genetti, Carol. 2007. *A grammar of Dolakha Newar*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Konow, Sten, ed.. 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India 3.1*. (General editor George A. Grierson.) Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing. Repr. 1967, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Masica, Colin P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neukom, Lukas. 1999. Phonological typology of northeast India. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 22: 2. 121-147.
- . 2000. Argument marking in Santali. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 30: 95-113.
-

Reconstructing the Portuguese creoles of the Coromandel Coast

Hugo C. Cardoso

Universidade de Lisboa

The Coromandel Coast, corresponding roughly to the coastal areas of modern Tamil Nadu, saw the formation of several of the earliest Indo-Portuguese communities (e.g. in Mylapore, Nagapattinam, Pondicherry, Tuticorin,...), even if many of these did not constitute official settlements of the Portuguese Crown. Instead, they belonged to what historians the Portuguese “shadow empire” in India (Winius 1983; Subramanyam 1985), a string of (Indo-)Portuguese settlements of freelance traders, missionaries or mercenaries. As a result of this, the Portuguese language or Portuguese-lexified pidgins and creoles came to be widespread in the region, as they did in other parts of South Asia. However, unlike on the Western Coast of India and the Eastern Coast of Sri Lanka, these languages have now disappeared from the former Coromandel.

In this study, we will survey an array of sources up to the 19th century in order to try and reconstruct not only the geographical and chronological distribution of contact varieties of Portuguese on the Coromandel but also their linguistic characteristics. For this study, Hugo Schuchardt’s private archive, now kept at the University of Graz [Austria], is of vital importance. Credited as one of the pioneers in the study of creole languages, Hugo Schuchardt was intent on determining the distribution of Portuguese-based creoles in Asia. In fact, these languages feature prominently in his scholarly production of the 1880s, which included articles on the Indo-Portuguese creoles of Cochin (1882), Diu (1883a), Mangalore (1883b), Mahé and Cannanore (1889a), and on Indo-Portuguese [i.e. Asian-Portuguese] in general (1889b). In order to collect linguistic data, Schuchardt resorted to a wide network of informants who posted information from the field; as a result, his personal archive is a treasure trove of data about the languages he worked on. With respect to the Coromandel Coast, his correspondents provided precious data on Pondicherry, Tranquebar, Mylapore, and Madras/Chennai which, though limited, allow us a

glimpse of some linguistic features of the local Indo-Portuguese Creole consistent with cognate varieties that are still spoken in Western India.

References:

- Schuchardt, H. (1882) Kreolische Studien II. Über das Indoportugiesische von Cochim. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien (Philosophisch-historische Klasse)* 102: 799-816.
- Schuchardt, H. (1883a) Kreolische Studien III. Über das Indoportugiesische von Diu. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien (philosophisch-historische Klasse)* 103: 3-18.
- Schuchardt, H. (1883b). Kreolische Studien VI. Über das Indoportugiesische von Mangalore. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien (Philosophisch-historische Klasse)*, 105(III): 882-904.
- Schuchardt, H. (1889a) Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch: VI. Zum Indoportugiesischen von Mahé und Cannanore. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 13: 516-524.
- Schuchardt, H. (1889b) Beiträge zur Kenntnis des creolischen Romanisch. V. Allgemeineres über das Indoportugiesische (Asiportugiesische). *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 13: 476-516.
- Subramanyam, Sanjay (1985), Staying on: The Portuguese of Southern Coromandel in the late seventeenth century. *Indian Economic Social History Review* 22(4): 445-463.
- Winius, George D. (1983). The "Shadow-empire" of Goa in the Bay of Bengal. *Itinerario* 7(2): 83-101.
-

The case structures of transitive sentences are not just two, but four.

Evidence from Hindi, Sanskrit and Konkani

Ioana-Sabina Popârlan & Laurențiu Theban

Bucharest University

After a long period of neglect, the contribution of the case relations to the syntactic structuring of basic sentences has begun to be recognized and exploited in various theoretical orientations of modern linguistics. One advance of paramount importance has been the discovery that case structures of three-member, two-noun transitive sentences (with verbs in the active voice) come in two contrasting patterns only:

नरौ वीरौ पश्यतः

narau virau paśyataḥ

“(the) two men see (the) two heroes”

शिष्यः पुस्तकम् पठति

śiṣyah pustakam paṭhati

(contrasted to:

शिष्येन पुस्तकम् पठ्यते

and शिष्येन पुस्तकम् पठितम्

śiṣyena pustakam paṭhyate and *śiṣyena pustakam paṭhitam*)

Hindi and Konkani are prominently known as “Ergative - Nominative” languages:

H. लड़कों ने फ़िल्म देखी

laṛkō ne film dekhī

K. *Pedrun fatór kaddlo töch marlo*

“Pedro apanhou a pedra e arremessou-a”

Jesun udkacho soro kelo

“Jesus converteu a água em vinho”

A V P

↑

Not unlike Sanskrit, Hindi is also a “Nominative - Accusative” language:

A V P

└─↑

H. लड़के लड़कियों को देखते हैं

laṛke laṛkiyō ko dekhte hāi

K. *xipai chorank sodtalet*

“a policia procurava os ladrões”

Hindi is contributing also to the acceptance of a third syntactic type, “Nominative - Nominative”:

A V P

H. लड़के फ़िल्म देखते हैं

laṛke film dekhte haĩ

K. *Xennöi (vidyarthiank) patth xiköita*

“o professor ensina a lição (aos alunos)”

Damu pösörkar pöilo zöllo viktalo

“o merceiro Damu no princípio vendia lenha”

Lastly, but not less significantly, Hindi and Konkani show themselves to be both split-ergative and split-accusative, by their insistence to occupy all the four conceivable values of the case-parameter and by admitting the last possible pattern, “Ergative - Accusative”:



H. लड़कों ने लड़कियों को देखा

laṛkõ ne laṛkiyõ ko dekhã

K. *Bapain putak mar dilo/ marlo*

“o pai espancou o filho”

Ranantleam zonavoramnim xinvak aplo raza nem'lo

“os animais da floresta elegeram o leão seu rei”

So, thanks to Sanskrit and Hindi, and also to Dravidian, Munda and Creole languages, the system of case structures for transitive sentences has been enlarged (exhaustively) from two patterns to four (neither five, nor three).

Now that we have an exhaustive, precise and non-subjective network of the systemic values realizable within the case parameter for transitive sentences, we can proceed to envisaging another, secondary story, that of the implicational correlations with two-member (one-nominal) intransitive sentences. Intransitive syntactic structures never lack a Patientive actant or semantactic role: P is either correferential with A (in all motion events) or is incorporated in the verb:

{<AP>, V}

आचार्यः गच्छति

ācāriyaḥ gacchati

राम चला गया

Rām calā gayā

{A, <VP>}

नृपः (दशरथ) रामे स्निह्यति

nripaḥ (Daśaratha) Rāme snihyati

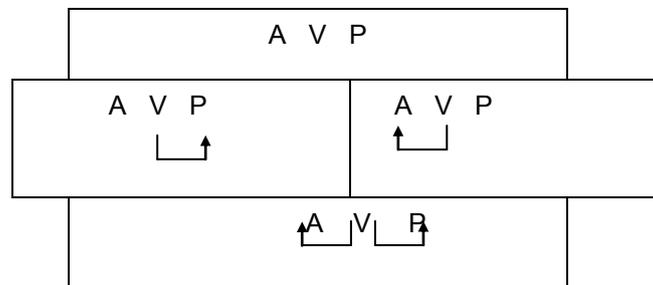
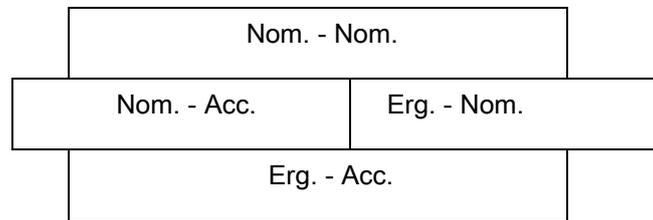
“the king loves Rām”

रामे स्निह्यामीति, सीता वदति
Rāme snihyāmīti, Sītā vadati
 “I love Ram” says Sītā

(cf. Hindi: *Sītā prem/ pyār kartī hai / sneh joṛtī haī*), {A, V, P}

Another topic of great importance that awaits consideration in the near future concerns a newly discovered syntactic relation (provisionally labelled “the 5th relation”); a reverse of verbal concord with nouns, the 5th relation expresses the pragmatic reorganization of case within the rheme or the comment fragment of the sentence, distributing the Accusative case to Locative, non-Patientive actants such as Source and Goal/ Beneficiary:

लड़के ने किताब खरीदी
laṛke ne kitāb kharīdī
 (nominal agreement in perfective aspect with the verb)
 ग्रामम त्यजामि / गच्छामि
grāmaṃ tyajāmi/ gacchāmi
 (the Source and the Goal are reinterpreted as para-Patients; the true Patient is also the Actor).



	Hindi (Sanskrit) Konkani Marathi Malayalam Mundari IP Creole	English Portuguese Romanian Spanish French
Sanskrit Hindi Konkani Marathi Malayalam IP Creole	Romanian Spanish	Hindi Konkani Marathi
	Hindi Konkani Marathi	

References:

- P.e Morais, Graciano, 1961: *Gramática Concani (Sintaxe). Kônknni Veakoron (Vakio-rochna)*, Lisboa.
- Popârlan, Sabina, 2013: "The Ergative Construction and the Complexity of Hindi Syntax", in *CEENIS Current Research Series*, vol. 1, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warsaw, pp. 124-148.
- Theban, Laurențiu, 2005: "Syntactic Typology of Indian Languages (A Synopsis)", in *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, tome L, nos 1-2, pp. 185-198.

Acquisition of Wh-cleft constructions in Malayalam

Jasmine Maria George

The English and Foreign Languages University

In languages of the world, wh-phrases may either remain in-situ (with a marked prosody) or move to a designated position in a sentence (either COMP as in English or focus position as in Hungarian). Malayalam, a Dravidian language spoken mainly in the southern state of Kerala in India is a Nominative – Accusative language with an SOV word order. Studies relating to focus marking in Malayalam are particularly interesting because the language uses both syntactic and prosodic strategies to form wh-questions. An examination of the how these strategies are realized

and the environment in which the strategies occur can contribute to the existing theoretical frameworks regarding wh-phrases.

In Malayalam, questions are formed using three strategies, namely clefting, scrambling and prosodic means. Clefting and scrambling are syntactic operations whereas retaining the wh-phrase in its original position (*in-situ*) is a prosodic mechanism as it then involves a marked prosody. Clefting is the most predominant strategy used in Malayalam to form questions (Madhavan 1987; 2013, Jayaseelan,2002). The example below taken from Jayaseelan (2004) illustrates this phenomenon.

- (1) **aarə** aaNə ninne talli(y)atə?
 Who copula you-ACC hit-PAST Nominalizer
 Who is it that hit you?" (Jayaseelan 2004, p.7)

In (1) and in the examples that will follow, the wh element is shown in boldface. The copula that follows the wh-element- 'aaNə' is analyzed as a focus marker in Malayalam (Madhavan, 1987). The lexical item that attaches to the verb is treated as a nominalizing particle (Madhavan, 1987) and is observed to appear with cleft constructions.

Scrambling is another syntactic operation that takes place in Malayalam for the formation of questions in which the wh- element is moved to the immediate left of V. The example below, taken from Jayaseelan (2004) illustrates this.

- (2) Ninne **aarə** talli? (Jayaseelan 2004)
 You.ACC who beat.PAST
 'Who beat you'

It has been argued that in monoclausal sentences, a question word "must occur to the immediate left of V" (Jayaseelan 2004).

However, data collected from adult native speakers of Malayalam has shown that the prosodic operation (as in English) without syntactic movement, (namely, sentences in which the wh- phrase is in the original position), is not completely ruled out. Example (3) illustrates this:

- (3) aarə apple kazhichu
 who apple eat.PAST
 'Who ate the apple'

According to Jayaseelan (2004), this kind of a wh- phrase *in situ* construction is ungrammatical. For example,

- (4) *aarə nin-ne talli ? (Jayaseelan 2004)
 who you-acc. beat(Past)

The present study, however, shifts the focus from adult speakers of Malayalam to native

Malayalam speaking children of the age group 4 to 6.1yrs. The study aims to examine the order of acquisition of wh-phrases in Malayalam. A pilot study was conducted with 10 children. The task given to the children was an elicited production picture task designed in such a way to elicit questions from them. Three types of sentences were tested namely, transitive, intransitive and di-transitive. The entire session was recorded using an audio recorder device, without children knowing it, and the recordings were analyzed to see the order of acquisition of wh-phrases and patterns and strategies they exhibited.

A preliminary analysis showed that the children produced the question word 'aaraa' ('who') first. This may be taken as a contracted form of the focus marker 'aaNə'. If so, it was noted that, in the initial stage, 'aaraa' did not necessarily couple with the nominalizer 'atə' (unlike the adult clefted constructions (see example 1). Instead of combining with the nominalizer, the verb remained in the past form in such constructions. All the three children below 4 years in the set were observed to use this construction. The example (5) illustrates this.

- (5) Aaraa paalu kudiché?
Who milk drink.PAST
'Who drank the milk?'

The older children in the group however also showed a construction in which 'aaraa' combines with the nominalizer - 'atə'. An example of this type of construction is given in example (6).

- (6) Aaraa veenathu?
Who fall.PAST.Nominalizer
'Who fell?'

The clefted constructions with 'aanə' were observed to appear after the two stages mentioned above, where they appeared with the nominalizer, as in adult constructions. It was observed that though a few cases of scrambling were observed, it is not a preferred strategy for children in the initial phase of production.

References:

- Jayaseelan, K.A. 2004. Question Movement in Some SOV Languages and the Theory of Feature Checking *in* Language and Linguistics 5.1:5-27
Madhavan, P. 1987. Clefts and Pseudo-Clefts in Malayalam. PhD dissertation, Hyderabad: CIEFL
-

**On the debate between early Western descriptors of the Tamil linguistic complex
concerning what should be called “*infinitivus*”.**

Jean-Luc Chevillard

CNRS

This presentation, chronologically centred (from today’s perspective) around C.J. Beschi [1680-1746/1747], an Italian Jesuit, will try to follow one thread inside the (implicit) debates which took place, from the 16th century onwards, with a culminating point in the early 18th century, concerning the adaptation which was to be made by “missionary linguists” of the Latin linguistic terminology for the description of the components of what was not yet called the “Tamil diglossia”. After the progressive replacement, in the 19th and 20th centuries, of Latin by English as a dominant “scientific language”, those ancient debates may appear somehow as settled, in an apparent terminological consensus. However, the fact that adapting the Latin linguistic terminology was not a simple task can be seen for instance from the fact that Beschi composed no less than four grammars, three in Latin and one in Tamil, all available now in print, although the treatment of his four MSS was quite different, because one of them, describing KOṬUN TAMIL [the “rough” variety] and dated 1728, appeared in print as early as 1738 in Tranquebar, whereas the second one, dated 1730 and describing CEN TAMIL [the “refined” variety], was printed only in 1917, although an English translation had been available since 1822. As for the two others, the TONNŪ L VIḶAKKAM (in Tamil) and the *Clavis*, they were printed in the 19th cent. (in 1838 and in 1876). It should be added that Beschi is also well-known for composing a Dictionary-Thesaurus (purely in literary Tamil), in hybrid style, which is called CATURAKARĀTI.

The term which will be at the center of our attention is the Latin term *infinitivus*, because there were differences of opinion between Beschi and his predecessors (including the well-known protestant missionary B. Ziegenbalg [1682-1719], whose grammar was printed in 1716, in Halle [Saxony]), and at least one of his immediate successors, namely the protestant C. Walther [1699-1741], whose *Observationes [...]* were printed in 1739 in Tranquebar, concerning the use to be made of that term. Those differences should also be examined in light of the practice (and the terminology) of earlier Jesuit missionaries, who, writing in Portuguese, composed grammars and compiled dictionaries, as early as the 16th century, the most well-known being by Henrique Henriques [1520-1600], Antaõ de Proença [1625-1666], to whom one should add Balthassar da Costa [c.1610–1673] (concerning whom see C. Muru [2010]). It should also be mentioned here that Beschi was conversant with the Tamil indigenous grammatical tradition, which had progressively developed, starting probably in the first half of the first millenium AD, a highly sophisticated descriptive terminology, which is used in Beschi’s TONNŪL VIḶAKKAM. This is also true, although to a lesser extent, of Ziegenbalg (see W. Sweetman & R. Ilakkuvan [2012]), and see D. Jeyaraj [2010].

In the terminology of Ziegenbalg [1716: 72], a distinction has to be made between **(A)** an *Infinitivus Abfolutus* (such as is seen in VICUVĀCIKKA) and **(B)** an *Infinitivus Substantivus*, (such as is seen in VICUVĀCIKKIRATU). Beschi [1738:116-123], on the other hand, in his chapter “*De*

Usu Infinitivi”, simply uses the technical term *Infinitivus* in order to refer to template A, whereas he makes constant use of template B (without naming it) as a “citation form”¹ whenever he wants to refer to a verbal lexeme, as can be seen for instance in the sequence “*ENRU, gerundium à verbo ENKIRATU*” (Beschi[1738: 117]), where an element from the paradigm of a verbal lexeme is grammatically identified. From the point of view of Walther [1739: 23, par.8], it is preferable to refer to pattern B as a “participium neutrum”, and to say that it is a substitute for the (missing?) *Infinitivus absolutus*. In addition to that, he (Walther [1739: 24, par.1] refers to pattern A as an *Infinitivus constructus*. To this should be added a detailed examination of the writings of Balthassar da Costa, who discusses (as I am told by C. Muru), “infinitivo absoluto e substantivo”. All these delicate distinctions, to which must be added an occasional use of the Greek article τὸ, which is used by some of those missionary grammarians in order to disambiguate when plain Latin is not considered as precise enough, must also be examined in the light of the practice of earlier writers, such as Proença who wrote in Portuguese and in whose dictionary pattern B is the most visible one, because it is the most frequently used pattern, as quasi-head term for verbal lexemes, although it is accompanied by other patterns, used in what appear to be auxiliary head entries, as can be seen in the following group of three entries:

384Rm: உ ச ச ரி ப பி க கி ற து «Fazer pronunciar.»

384Rn: உ ச ச ரி க கி ற து «Pronunciar.»

384Ro: உ ச ச ரி க கா கை «O pronunciar.»

As a conclusion to this abstract,² I would like to add that one of my goals in making this presentation is to interact with specialists of the early descriptions of other Indian languages (and also with specialists of the grammatical literature describing Latin and Portuguese, and other European languages, and even possibly Hebrew, of which Walther was a specialist), because these early contacts between languages which did not yet belong to a “linguistic area” (of languages in prolonged contact) are telling/revealing concerning the challenges that descriptive linguistics (and typology) have faced and still face.

¹ Ziegenbalg also makes use of template B as a citation form. The practice must have started with Portuguese lexicographers (see the Proença extract below). It is also seen in the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* (Mousset-Dupuis [1855-1862]). The Madras Tamil Lexicon however, following the usage of traditional kōśas, uses another citation form for verbs, ending in *-tal* or in *-ttal.*, whereas some modern dictionaries, such as the Cre- A dictionary, use the root (identical with the imperative) as a citation form.

² I am grateful to Eva Wilden, Cristina Muru and Victor D’Avella for commenting on an earlier version of this abstract.

Converbal chains and absolutive constructions in early Rajasthani

Joanna Tokaj & Krzysztof Stroński

Adam Mickiewicz University

In NIA two similar constructions can be found, i.e. the converbal chain (having converb as its center) and the absolutive construction (based on the participle). Subbarao (2012) states that a functional explanation as to why a language such as Hindi- Urdu or Punjabi has two different constructions which can alternate in some contexts, but not in others is that the converb is subject-oriented while PRO of the perfective participle can be coindexed both with the subject and the object of a matrix clause.

The goal of the present paper is to find an functional explanation for coexistence of two similar constructions, i.e. converbal chains and perfective participles/absolute constructions in early Rajasthani (ER).

Preliminary research is based on the corpus of early Rajasthani prose texts from the 15th to 17th centuries (Bhānāvāt and Kamal 1997-1998).

Subject of the converbal chain is PRO i.e. a null element. When there are two arguments (subject and object) in the matrix clause, most often it is the subject which can be coindexed with PRO of the CC (converbal chain) clause (exceptions can be found in Kashmiri). However the perfective adverbial participle (PAP) may be coindexed with either the matrix subject or the object (Subbarao 2012: 264).

PRO of PAP may be indicated by the position of PAP in the sentence. In Hindi, PAP's position to the left of the matrix clause makes PRO more likely to coindex with subject. PAP to the right of DO or matrix VP- PRO is ambiguous, can be both, subject and object.

Subject Identity Constraint of a converb may be violated in few cases:

- Animacy plays an important role, when embedded sentence denotes a non-volitional action and a subject of embedded clause is –animate, violation of Subject Identity Constraint is permitted; when subject is +human, violation is not permitted (Subbarao 2012)

- “Lexical subjects occur only in such CP clauses which express cause and effect relation, temporal clauses and clauses with opposite verbs” (Lalitha Murthy 1994)

Both perfective and imperfective adverbial participles in Hindi can be used in absolute constructions. When the participle has a subject of its own, different from the subject (and the object) of the main verb in the sentence, then the participle is rightly called ‘absolute participle’. (Pořizka 2000: 68). As Haspelmath noticed: In the term *absolute construction*, *absolute* is generally taken to mean ‘not sharing an argument with the main clause’ [...]. (Haspelmath 1995: 45-46).

Absolute constructions in ER are built on the basis of:

1. Imperfective adverbial participle:

tathai nāli -golā calāvatā eka
there canoon.INS -ball.GEN.PL shoot.CAUS.ADV.PRS.PTCP 1
nāli phāṭi pāchī paḍī.
canoon.SG.INSTR explode.CVB then break.PPP.fem.SG

There [while] shooting cannonball from cannon, one cannon having exploded broke. (R.G. 42)

2. Perfective adverbial participle:

teṇi pātisāhi āyā sātari kuṇa sahai
this.INS/LOC king.INS/LOC come.ADV.PRF.PTCP burden.F.SG who bear.PRES.3SG
When the king came, who bears the burden? (R.G. 29; AD 1428)

Imperfective adverbial participles (1) indicate that both events of the dependent and independent clause take place at the same time and that the dependent clause seem to supply further information about an event of the independent clause. Perfective adverbial participles (2) show sequence of events. Action described in the dependent clause precedes an action of an independent clause.

Converbs can be a part of absolute constructions as well. It is possible for the controlled PRO (dropped argument) not to be coreferential with the subject of the main clause – because of semantic and pragmatic factors, e.g. cause and effect relation:

ER

ara hemū... Pāṇīpaṁtha aī ḍerā pariṇyā chai
and Hemu.NOM.M.SG Panipat come.CVB camp.NOM.M.PL fall.PPP.M.PL be.3PL.PRS
And Hemu having come to Panipath, the camps were established. 16th c. (R.G.)

or

And when Hemu came to Panipat, the camps were established.

Preliminary research has shown that in early Rajasthani converbal chains most often take subject as a PRO, there are only a few occurrences of different type, while absolute constructions have different subjects. Adverbial participles take specified form of plural Genitive and thus similarly to converbs they are not inflectional. Among the main syntactic functions of converbs and participles, some similarities may be pointed out – coordinating function, adverbial function and cause and effect relation. Absolute constructions based on the imperfective participle show several similarities with converbal chain constructions as regards scope of clause level operators – IF and T scope can be conjunct whereas absolute constructions based on the perfective participles have clearly local scope of both T and IF operators (for Hindi see e.g. Davison 1981 and for more recent typological framing cf. Bickel 2010).

References:

- Bickel, Balthasar, 2010. Capturing particulars and universals in clause linkage: a multivariate analysis. In Isabelle Brill (ed.), *Clause Linking and Clause Hierarchy: Syntax and Pragmatics*, number 121 in Studies in Language Companion Series. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pages 51-102.
- Davison, Alice. 1981. Syntactic and semantic indeterminacy resolved: a mostly pragmatic analysis for the Hindi conjunctive participle. In: Cole Peter (ed), 1981. *Radical pragmatics*. New York: Academic Press, 101–128.
- Haspelmath, Martin 1995. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms–Adverbial Participles, Gerunds. Empirical Approaches to Language Typology* 13.
- Murthy, Lalitha. B. 1994. Participial constructions: A cross-linguistic study. Unpublished PhD dissertation, New Delhi: University of Delhi.
- Pořízka, Vincenc. 2000. *Studies in the Bhagavadgita and New Indo-Aryan languages*. Prague: Oriental Institute Academy of Sciences of The Czech Republic.
- Subbarao, Karumuri. V. 2012. *South Asian Languages: A Syntactic Typology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
-

Acoustic properties of Punjabi tone

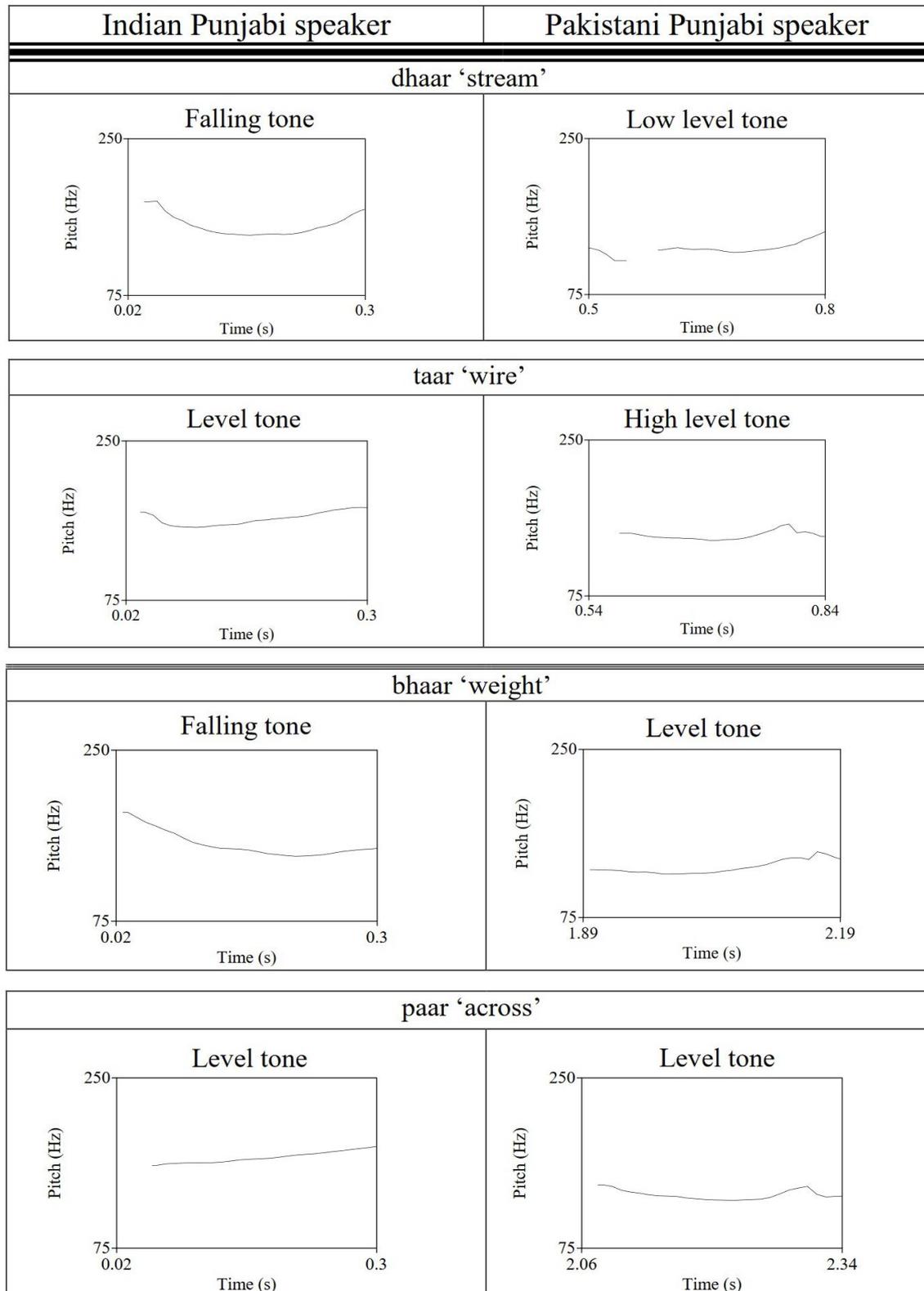
Jonathan P Evans & Wen-Chi Yeh

Academia Sinica

This study attempts to quantify the phonetic realization of tone in Punjabi. Previous studies on Punjabi tone make conflicting claims as to its acoustic properties (Bhatia 1993, Malik 1995, Yip 2002, Shackle 2003, Bowden 2012). In addition, numerous studies express tonal properties impressionistically.

Acoustic properties of minimally contrastive words were measured in two dialects of Punjabi in order to provide a more quantified representation of the tonal contrast. This study found that for the Punjabi variety spoken in India (Ludhiana, Punjab state) tone pairs correspond consistently to the presence of voiced aspirates in the orthography. However, for the Punjabi variety spoken in Pakistan (Mianwali, Punjab state), the tonal reflex of historical voiced aspirates is inconsistent. For the speakers recruited for this study, historically voiced aspirated stop initials have transphonologized into (a) high-falling tone on the initial syllable, or (b) low-rising tone on the preceding syllable, and high-falling tone on the following syllable when the triggering consonant is in non-initial position. The table below demonstrates the inconsistent tonal reflexes between Punjabi speakers from the two different areas, when historical voiced aspirates occur as the

onset. For the {dhaar} 'stream' vs. {taar} 'wire' pair, speakers from both areas show a tonal contrast. On the other hand, for the pair {bhaar} 'weight' vs. {paar} 'across', only the speaker from India shows a tonal contrast. As a language with a relatively young tone system, it appears that different dialects of Punjabi have undergone different amounts of tonogenesis.



References:

- Bhatia, T. (1993). *Punjabi*. Routledge.
- Bowden, A. L. (2012). *Punjabi Tonemics and the Gurmukhi Script: A Preliminary Study*. Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University. Retrieved from <http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3982&context=etd>
- Malik, A. N. (1995). *The phonology and morphology of Panjabi*. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Limited.
- Shackle, C. (2003) Punjabi. In G.Cardona and D.Jain (eds.), *The Indo-Aryan Languages* (pp. 581–622). London : Routledge.
- Yip, M. (2002). *Tone*. Cambridge University Press.
-

Assessing coherence through cloze based & independent summaries:

A study of adult EFL learners

Lina Mukhopadhyay

The English and Foreign Languages University

Reading comprehension abilities range from understanding isolated bits of information in a text to discourse level reading. The latter is an advanced comprehension ability as it requires the reader to have a knowledge of coherence and cohesive ties between ideas that hold the text together. In other words, discourse level reading of a text to get its gist is dependent on understanding links between ideas which leads to the formation of a coherent or whole text representation. But to reach at this stage, the reader has to be able to do two things successfully – one to notice links between ideas explicitly marked and second to infer the links between ideas when they are not stated explicitly. In the absence of any of these skills, comprehension is surely to be negatively affected. One way of assessing coherent text representation is through a summary recall task, either in the oral or written mode. This kind of comprehension is holistic, as the reader needs to identify the main idea(s) and the relationships between them and supporting ideas. Hence, discourse level reading is one way to develop knowledge of coherence at the receptive level, which can later be used in independent writing.

For ESL/EFL learners who may still be struggling with language, to express knowledge of coherence through a free writing task, as a summary, can affect performance as it involves text representation and expressing the representation in the target language. So, summary skills can be assessed in a step-wise manner from using cloze-based summary tasks to assess only identification of links or cohesive ties between ideas crucial for discourse level comprehension and then move on to free summary writing task.

A study was conducted on twenty-three adult EFL learners of English, mean age 32.2

years (sd=2.1) who were at B2 level of proficiency during the time of study. Knowledge of text coherence was assessed through a free summary writing task followed by a cloze-type summary task. A week's gap was maintained between the two tasks so as to avoid effects of task familiarity on performance. The results from the study reveal that performance on the two tasks differs, with a higher level success on the receptive task than the production task; however the difference in performance was not significant on spearman rho correlation measure ($r = .21$). A related interesting finding of the study is that learner knowledge differs on using types of cohesive ties in both the tasks. The pattern found is that referential and conjunctive markers are more successfully used than lexical cohesion. In all, the findings show that learner errors can serve as a window to the teacher to show the bottlenecks during text comprehension, especially in coherence.

The presentation will conclude with pedagogical ideas like teaching summary skills by using tasks that make learners work on progressively increasing levels of difficulty such as identifying explicitly stated links to implicit ones. Another way would be to increase cognitive linguistic demands of tasks by starting with identification of linkers between propositions to constructing summary propositions in cloze-based summary tasks before moving to free summary writing tasks. These example tasks are likely to enhance teacher knowledge for developing discourse level comprehension.

References:

- Halliday, M, and Hassan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Routledge
- Khalifa, H., and Weir, C. J. 2009. *Examining reading: Research and practice in assessing second language reading*, Studies in Language Testing volume 29, Cambridge: UCLES/Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, L. 2013. *Testing reading through summary: Investigating summary completion tasks for assessing reading comprehension ability*. Studies in Language Testing volume 39, Cambridge: UCLES/Cambridge University Press.

Violations of typological universals in the historical development of Western NIA languages

Liudmila Khokhlova
Moscow State University

The syntactic history of Modern Western Indo-Aryan provides a lot of opportunities for typological research as literary tradition in the corresponding languages starts at least from the 12–13th centuries. The historical development of Western NIA confirms many of the established typological universals but it also violates some of them. The paper is dedicated to the analysis of the viola-

tions observed in the historical development of Punjabi, Rajasthani and Gujarati forming part of the Western NIA branch.

The necessary data were obtained from the narrative texts created by Jain authors in the 15th century – that is, at the time when the Old Western Gujarati – Rajasthani has split into two separate languages – the Old Rajasthani and the Old Gujarati. The earliest prosaic texts in Punjabi (Janam Sakhi) belong to the 17th - 18th centuries only, thus the Punjabi poetical texts of the 15th - 16th centuries included in Adi Granth have also been investigated.

The perfect ergative system had developed in NIA by the time of Middle Indo-Aryan (Bubenik 1998). One of the important features of consistently ergative pattern was the auxiliary verb agreement in person with the always unmarked direct object. The verbal agreement in person with the direct object contradicts Trask's typological classification: according to Trask, the Indo-Aryan languages belong to 'B' type ergative model that does not allow the verbal agreement with the direct object in person. (Trask 1979 : 388). It happened only later that the verbal concord in person with the direct object was blocked inside the majority of the languages forming the Western NIA. Still, in some of them it has been preserved – namely, in modern Kashmiri (Wali, K. & Koul, O.N. 1997), in Braj (Liperovsky 1998) and in some Pahari dialects (Stroński 2011) etc.

The texts in Old Western Gujarati-Rajasthani demonstrate the early stage of ergativity decline when the process of case merging resulted in splitting of the consistently ergative case marking system into the ergative and the neutral (Khokhlova 2001). The noun paradigms of plural have retained the A/S contrast in accordance with the general typological rule. But it was not the case with the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person, which followed the ergative pattern in singular and neutral in plural. Thus, they have violated Dixon's universal according to which ergativity in split systems is usually most strongly marked in plural. The fact that the 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns were lagging behind the nouns in the process of A/S opposition attrition contradicts also the general tendencies existing in the languages with split nominal systems: wherever there exist contrasting systems for nouns and pronouns, personal pronouns inflect in an accusative paradigm. (Dixon 1994). This deviation from the general typological rule may be explained partly by greater conservatism of the pronominal systems and partly by differences in morphological and syllabic structure of MIA and NIA nouns and pronouns (Hock, p.c.)

In the process of ergativity decline, Gujarati developed the consistent tripartite case marking system acting in nominal as well as in pronominal paradigms. Punjabi got the tripartite nominal and the accusative pronominal case marking subsystems. Rajasthani is characterized by tendency to completely lose the ergative marking in all the nominals, though this process has not yet been completed.

In Punjabi, but not in Rajasthani or Gujarati, the O-markers block the verbal concord in number and gender. The tendency towards accusative marking in the nominal system combined with the ergative verbal concord violates Anderson's (1977) and Comrie's (1978) universal rules in accordance with which the language cannot simultaneously have the ergative type of verbal concord and the accusative type of case marking.

The auxiliary verb usually has default agreement in person in all the described languages.

Some Marwari sub-dialects demonstrating a very rare subtype of split agreement: the main verb agrees with the Patient in number and gender and the auxiliary agrees with the Agent in number and person (Magier 1983).

Unlike many different directions in the development of NP's coding properties, the role-oriented controlling properties show a lot of similarities in the history of Western NIA. The Agent-oriented syntax, originated in Later Sanskrit (Hock 1991), has been preserved in Modern Western NIA languages. However, in comparison with Sanskrit the amount of semantic roles controlling the reflexivization process have increased in Modern NIA (Montaut 2004). Experiencer, Recipient and Possessor also normally function as controllers of reflexivization.

The Modern Western NIA violates the universal formulated by Ross: 'the Agent of the matrix clause cannot antecede NPs in reduced relative clauses' (Ross 1967), (Subbarao 1971). In Modern Western NIA not only the Agent, but even the Possessor of the matrix clause may antecede the noun phrases of the reduced relative clauses.

References:

- Bubenik, V. 1998. *A Historical Syntax of Late Middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhramsha)*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Comrie, B. 1978. Ergativity //W. P. Lehmann (ed.) *Syntactic Typology*. Austin: University of Texas Press: 329-95.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hock H. H. 1991. Possessive agents in Sanskrit? *Studies in Sanskrit Syntax*, ed. H.H.Hock. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass: 55-70.
- Khokhlova, L.V. 2001 Ergativity Attrition in the History of Western New Indo-Aryan Languages (Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati and Rajasthani). *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics* 2001. New Delhi-London. Sage Publications.
- Liperovsky, V.P. 1988 *Ocherk Grammatiki Sovremennogo Bradza (Short Braj grammar)* M., Nauka.
- Magier, D. 1983. Components of Ergativity in Marwari. *Papers from the 19th Regional Meeting*. Chicago, Chicago Linguistic Society: 244 -255.
- Montaut, A. 2004. Oblique main arguments in Hindi as localizing predications, *Non-nominative Subjects*, vol.2. Ed. P. Bhaskararao and K. V. Subbarao, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company: 33-56.
- Ross, J.R. Constraints on variable in syntax // MIT doctoral diss. 1967. Quoted from K. Subbarao, 1971.
- Stroński, K. 2011. *Synchronic and Diachronic Aspects of Ergativity in Indo-Aryan*. Poznań, Wydawnictwo Naukowe
- Subbarao K.V. 1971. Notes on Reflexivization in Hindi Syntax // *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 2.1.:180–214.

Trask L.R. 1979. On the Origin of Ergativity //F. Plank (ed.) *Ergativity. Towards a theory of grammatical relations*. London, Academic press.

Wali, K. & Koul, O.N. 1997. *Kashmiri: A Cognitive Descriptive Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Learning practices in Hindi and Sanskrit acquisition

Marijana Janjic

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Zagreb

Paper will present some of the issues discovered in the on-going project on learning techniques applied in Asian languages. The research is focused on new technologies such as Internet-based teaching materials, various mobile applications such as Anki, Memrise, etc. and their influence learner's acquisition of South Asian languages, namely Hindi and Sanskrit. The research will help us determine which options the use of new technologies offers in teaching Sanskrit and Hindi and how do students use them and react to their employment in the classroom and outside of it. The focus of the research is the usefulness of new technology in memorization of new unknown vocabulary and creation of exercises that can help a student through repetition and mistake to imbibe new elements of a language and help students in general to get to the comfortable level with their language skills.

The question and research of new technologies seems important having in mind that the new generations of students have different expectations from language teacher and language teaching material as such from the older generations. For that reason, part of the research also comments on the experiences of students of various age groups on their readiness to accept new teaching styles and technologies in a language classroom and explore shortly the history of teaching materials for Hindi and Sanskrit.

In total the research is meant to 1) gather in one place various teaching resources on Hindi and Sanskrit, 2) help students of different learning styles to discover new teaching material and new learning techniques, 3) help teachers coordinate their teaching material and give them insight in learning experiences of students, 4) discover the possible use of new technologies for Hindi and Sanskrit language classroom.

The paper will present some of the issues of an on-going project.

References:

Primary sources

Coulson, Michael. 2003. *Sanskrit*. Hodder & Stoughton: London.

Egenes, Thomas. 2008. *Introduction to Sanskrit*. Motilal Banarsidas: Delhi.

Fairbanks, Gordon. Misra, Govinda Bal. 1966. *Spoken and written Hindi*. Cornell University Press:

New York.

Hart, George L. 1984. *A rapid Sanskrit method*. Motilal Banarsidas: Delhi.

Kappor, J. N. 1963. *Current Hindi self-taught*. The English Book Store: New Delhi.

Kumar Bhatt, Sunil. Bhat, Monisha. Warnasch, Christopher A. 2007. *Hindi, a Complete Course for Beginners*. Living Language: New York.

Russko-hindi razgovornik. 1982. Russkij jazyk: Moskva.

Shapiro, Michael C. 1989. *A primer of modern standard Hindi*. Motilal Banarsidas: Delhi.

Singh, Bharat. Keisuko, Kate. 2010. *AO Hindi sikhen; let's learn Hindi*. Goyal Publishers: Delhi.

Stenzler, Adolf. Pischel, Richard. Geldner, Karl. 1965. *Elementarbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache*. Berlin.

www.learning-hindi.com

<http://taj.chass.ncsu.edu/>

<http://hindiurdu.net/>

<http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/jishnu/hindi.asp>

www.learn Sanskrit.org

www.learn Sanskritonline.com

Secondary resources

Blake, Robert J. 2013. *Brave new digital classroom: technology and foreign language learning*. Georgetown University Press.

Gruba, Paul. Hinkleman, Don. 2012. *Blending technologies in second language classrooms*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Hinkel, Eli. 2011. *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning*, vol 2. Routledge: London.

Tarang, Jaipal S. 1980. *Instructional strategies for teaching Hindi as a second language*. Som Prakashan.

Negative Polarity Items in Telugu

Mayuri Dillip & Rajesh kumar

IIT Madras

The present paper discusses Negative Polarity Items (NPI) in Telugu. The negative may be a free morpheme or a bound one, and it could even be a verb. Several studies have discussed morphosyntactic complexities and syntactic intricacies of negation (Amritavalli 1977, Bhatia 1977, Hariprasad 1989, Dwivedi 1991, Zanuttini 1991, Hany-Babu 1996, Kumar 2006, Sundaresan S. and S. Arunachalam 2003, and Amritavalli & Jayaseelan 2005 among others). In this paper we discuss NPIs which require negative licensors as discussed in several studies such as Mahajan

(1990), Progovac (1994), Lahiri (1998), Kumar (2006) among others. This paper studies licensing conditions on the Negative Polarity Items along with quantifier scope and sentential negation in Telugu.

The negative markers in sentential negation occur as a bound morpheme suffixed to the main verb as in (1). In existential clauses, sentential negative marker occurs as fusional morpheme which functions both as a sentential negation as well as a copula as in (2). Sentential negation occurs in post-verbal position as a bound morpheme in Telugu contrary to Hindi where it occurs as a free morpheme in preverbal position. The constituent negation occurs as a free morpheme, following the NP that it negates as in (3). The negative marker in sentential negation is located in the functional domain dominated by Tense Phrase irrespective of its form or position i.e. whether it occurs as a bound morpheme suffixed to the main verb, or as a fusional morpheme in existential constructions. The negative in constituent negation is adjoined to the NP that is being negated in the phrase structure. We discuss quantifier scope in relation with sentential negation, where the quantifier depicts narrow scope (existential quantification), due to the influence of sentential negation as in (4) and, wide scope (universal quantification), established in the absence of sentential negation as in (5). We discuss three types of NPIs, classified based on their syntactic configuration within binding principles, such as wh-elements, quantifiers, elements that specifically occur as NPIs, licensed at s-structure in the c-commanding domain. Wh-elements obey principle A and principle C as in (6) and (7) and not principle B. Quantifiers obey principle A as in (8), principle B leading to Long-Distance Binding as in (9) and principle C as in (10). Entities that specifically occur as NPIs obey only principle A as in (11).

References:

- Amritavalli, R. 1977. "Negation in Kannada." M.A. thesis. Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.
- Amritavalli, R. and K.A. Jayaseelan. 2005. Finiteness and Negation in Dravidian. in Cinque, G. and R. Kayne (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 178-220.
- Bhatia, T.K. 1977. "A Syntactic and Semantic Description of Negation in South Asian languages", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Dwivedi, V.1991. "Negation as a Functional Projection in Hindi", in the *Proceedings of the Western Conference on Linguistics* 1991, vol 4, pp 88-101.
- Hany-Babu, M. T. 1996. "The Structure of Malayalam Sentential Negation." *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 25: 1-15.
- Hariprasad, M. 1989. "Negation in Telugu and English." M. Litt. Diss., Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, India.
- Kumar, R. 2006. *Negation and Licensing of Negative Polarity Items in Hindi Syntax*. Routledge. New York & London.
- Lahiri, U. 1998. *Focus and negative polarity in Hindi*. *Natural Language Semantics* 6.57–123.
- Mahajan, A.K. 1990. *LF conditions on negative polarity item licensing*. *Lingua* 80.333–48.

- Progovac, L. 1994. *Negative and positive polarity*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Sundaresan S. and S. Arunachalam. 2003. Negation in Tamil and issues of scope and NPI licensing. *Proceedings of the 23rd South Asian Languages Analysis Roundtable*, Austin, TX.
- Zanuttini, R. 1991. *Syntactic Properties of Sentential Negation: A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

DATA

1. bas ikkaḍiki rā-lē-du
bus here come-**neg**.pres-3,sg,f
'The bus did not come here.'
2. rāmu inṭi-lo lē-ḍu
Ramu house-loc be.pres.**not**-3,sg,f
'Ramu is not at home.'
3. nēnu dillī-ki kādu madrās-ki vell-ā-nu
I Delhi-Dat **neg** Madras-Dat go-pst-1,sg,h
'I went to Madras, not to Delhi.'
4. annī lē-vu
all be.pres.**neg**-3,pl,nh
'All are not there.' (existential quantification)
5. annī unn-ā(y)-i
all be-**pres**-3,pl,nh
'All are there.' (universal quantification)
6. evaru.u lē-ru
nobody.NPI be.pres.**neg**-3,pl,h
'Nobody is there.'
7. evaru unn-ā-ru/lē-ru
who be-pres-3,pl,h/be.pres.**neg**-3,pl,h
'Who is there?' / 'Who is not there?'
8. konni kūḍā lē-vu/ *unn-ā(y)-i
few incl be.**neg**.pres-3,pl,nh/be-pres-3,pl,nh
'Not even a few are there,'/* 'Even a few are there'.
9. [[[anta mandi-kūḍā unṭ-ā-ru] ani] nēnu anukō-lē-du
that many.h-incl be-pres-3,pl,h comp I think-**neg**.pst-3,sg,f
'I didn't think that there are that many also/too.'
10. konta mandi akkaḍa unn-ā-ru/lē-ru

some people there be-pres-3,pl,h/be.pres.not-3,pl,h

'Some people are there./' 'Some people are not there.'

11. nā-daggara cilli gavva kūdā lē-du/*un-di

me-with shell with a hole even be.pres.not-3,sg,f/ be.pres-3,sg,f

'I don't even have a single penny with me./'*' I even have a penny with me.'

Functions of *jaanaa* as a V2 in Hindi: From Lexicalization to Grammaticalization

Miki Nishioka

Osaka University

In this paper, I will discuss functions of the Hindi verb *jaanaa* 'GO' as an auxiliary or secondary verb, that is, as V2, using a Hindi Web-corpus. We frequently find *jaanaa*, as well as *lenaa* 'TAKE', *denaa* 'GIVE', *paDnaa* 'FALL' and so on, in natural language. These generally serve to add a nuance, such as a lexical aspect or modality, to the meaning of the main verb, i.e., V1. However, it is hard for non-native speakers to understand exactly for what and in what context the V2 is used, especially when their native language lacks a similar device.

Regarding this device as found in Indo-Turanian languages (Masica 1976, some East Asian languages included), Masica (1991) labels meanings expressed by the device as *Aktionsart*. Moreover, according to Jagannathan (1981) and Snell (2010), *jaanaa* 'GO', *lenaa* 'TAKE', or *denaa* 'GIVE', used as 'vector verbs' (Hook 1974), that is, as V2, never co-occur with negative markers like *nahil* or *na* in Hindi. Examining Japanese, one of the East Asian languages, Nishioka (2013) has pointed out from a large corpus that the verb *shimau* 'PUT AWAY', which behaves as a V2 as in Hindi, renders a rather similar meaning of 'the action is DONE or COMPLETE' (here functioning as a 'lexical aspect' to connote 'finally', 'already', etc.); and sometimes adds to a V1 optional implications, such as 'against the agent's will' or 'by mistake' (here functioning as a 'modality'). It is also worth noting that it can hardly ever occur with a negative marker in a declarative sentence, that is, in the indicative mood.

Assuming this criterion of restriction on co-occurrence of V1+V2 and negation to be true, I have searched a Hindi corpus consisting of 10 million words. Some illustrative examples received from the corpus are shown below.

- (1) *ShikShikaa use aspataal nahil le gaii.*
teacher.f.sg he/she.ACC hospital NEG take.STEM GO.f.sg.PST
'The (female) teacher did not take him/her to a hospital'.

It is well-known that the components *le* 'take' and *jaanaa* as in (1) are negated without any constraints since they are considered to be lexicalized compounds, jointly meaning the same as

'take' in English. In contrast, the combination of *aa* 'come' and *jaanaa* in the indicative mood as in (2) cannot occur with a negative marker:

- (2) **vah Taiksii nahil aa gaa.*
 that Taxi.f.sg NEG come.STEM GO.f.sg.PST
 'That taxi did not come'.

In line with the assertions of the aforementioned scholars, the corpus has yielded no results of *aa* + *jaanaa* with a negative marker in the indicative mood. This fact is likewise true of the Japanese *shimau*. However, the corpus shows that some V1s, such as *ban* 'be made', *ho* 'be', or *rah* 'live/stay' together with *jaanaa* can indeed occur with a negative marker in Hindi:

- (3) *Koi bhii vyakti raatOraat ShikShak nahil ban jaataa.*
 any too person overnight teacher.m.sg NEG be made.STEM GO.f.sg.IPFV(PRES)
 'Nobody becomes (can become) a teacher overnight.'

- (4) *lekin ab ve itne lokpriya nahil rah gae.*
 but now they so much popular NEG live/stay.STEM GO.m.pl.PST
 'But they are not so popular anymore'.

These counter-examples might suggest that *jaanaa* has undergone two processes, grammaticalization and lexicalization, and has assumed certain additional functions. In other words, the criterion mentioned above is valid to determine to what extent a *jaanaa* is grammaticalized or lexicalized. As for (3), the negative marker *nahil* negates the proposition *raatOraat shikShak banna* 'to become a teacher overnight', and not the fundamental proposition 'become a teacher' itself, which implies a modal meaning 'can' that denotes possibility. As for (4), *nahil* belongs to *ab* 'now', and not to the proposition *lokpriya rahnaa* 'to stay (be) popular'. In contrast, the V2 in (2) *aa gaa* '(lit.) come WENT' is used to add a kind of aspectual meaning, like "here comes the taxi!", with an implication of 'finally', 'at last', 'anymore', etc. These parts are not negated contextually.

By examining the results received from the corpus, I will suggest as a conclusion that there are five main functions for *jaanaa*, based on grammaticalization and lexicalization. The latter functions include: making lexical compounds (e.g. *le jaanaa* illustrated above); converting a stative verb into a dynamic verb; e.g. the complex predicate *taiyaar honaa* 'to be ready' into *taiyaar ho jaanaa* 'to become/get ready'. The former functions include: adding a modal meaning (modality); adding an aspectual meaning (lexical aspect); and emphasizing the V1's meaning in some way (this can be called a kind of 'emphatic marker').

References:

- Hook, P.E. 1974. *The Compound Verb in Hindi*. Michigan: University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies.
- Jagannaathan, V.R. 1981. *Prayog aur prayog*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Masica, C.P. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nishioka, Miki. 2013. "Te-kei + *shimau* to hiteiji to no kyōki seigen to sono kankyō ni tsuite: Hindī go to no taishōgengogakuteki shiten kara (Co-occurrence Restrictions on the '-te Form + *shimau* and Negation in Japanese: A Contrastive Analysis with Hindi)", *Matani ronshū vol.7*. Pp.47-73, Osaka: Nihongo Nihon Bunka Kyōiku Kenkyūkai.
- Snell, Rupert. 2010. *Teach Yourself Get Started in Hindi (Teach Yourself Beginner's Languages)*. 2nd Revised. Teach Yourself Books.
-

Polar *kya*: a Marker for the partitioning of Information Structure

Miriam Butt & Farhat Jabeen

Konstanz University

The overall goal of this work is to argue for a new perspective on questions in Urdu/Hindi. The empirical domain is word order variation found with *wh*-elements. It is well-known that word order variation in Urdu/Hindi expresses in-formation structure (Gambhir 1981, Kidwai 2000); however, word order variation found in questions has tended to be analyzed in terms of syntactic movement that is divorced from information-structural concerns (e.g., Mahajan 1990, Bhatt and Dayal 2007, Manetta 2010, 2012). In contrast, the perspective pursued here is that word order variation in questions must also be understood primarily in terms of *information packaging* (Chafe 1976, Vallduví 1992, Krifka 2008).

As shown in (1), polar questions in Urdu/Hindi take the syntactic form of declaratives. Intonation distinguishes between a declarative (1a) and an interrogative (1b). As shown in (2) and (3), polar questions can also be overtly marked morphosyntactically via *kya* 'what'. This *kya* has been dubbed "Polar *kya*" by Bhatt and Dayal (2014a).

- (1) a. anu=ne uma=ko kitab d-i
Anu.F=Erg Uma.F=Dat book.F.Sg.Nom give-Perf.F.Sg
'Anu give a/the book to Uma. declarative
- b. anu=ne uma=ko kitab d-i?
Anu.F=Erg Uma.F=Dat book.F.Sg.Nom give-Perf.F.Sg
'Did Anu give a/the book to Uma? polar question

- (2) **kya** anu=ne uma=ko kitab d-i?
 what Anu.F=Erg Uma.F=Dat book.F.Sg.Nom give-Perf.F.Sg
 'Did Anu give a/the book to Uma? polar *kya*

Traditional grammars describe a clause initial position for polar *kya* (e.g., Glass-man 1977, Platts 1884). However, Bhatt and Dayal (2014) report a relatively free distribution of polar *kya*, cf. (3).

- (3) (**kya**) anu=ne (**kya**) uma=ko (**kya**) kitab (**kya**) d-i?
 what A.F=Erg what U.F=Dat what book.F.Sg.Nom what give-Perf.F.Sg
 'Did Anu give a/the book to Uma?'

Bhatt and Dayal suggest that the different possible positions result from topicalization. That is, in (3), 'Anu' is topicalized when it precedes the *kya*. When the *kya* appears immediately preverbally, then all three of the arguments have been topicalized. Bhatt and Dayal adduce evidence for topicalization from interactions with weak indefinites, idiomatic objects and gapping. Thus, a clear connection is drawn between the position of the question element and information structure.

However, Bhatt and Dayal (2014) seek to understand polar *kya* as a speech act operator in the sense of Krifka (2014). This paper proposes an alternative analysis that is still consonant with Bhatt and Dayal's finding. Rather than assuming topicalization, we propose that the polar *kya* in clause medial position partitions a clause into given vs. not, as per Krifka's Structured Meaning approach (Krifka 1992, 2008). Everything to the left of *kya* must be interpreted as given, everything to the right as not.

Evidence for this analysis comes from data as in (4), which involves alternative questions. As can be seen, anything to the right of *kya* is available for questioning. However, material to the left of *kya* is not. This is consonant with an analysis under which everything to the left of *kya* is part of what is presupposed/given and not available for focus and hence not for questioning.

- (4) a. ram=ne sita=ko **kya** kitab d-i ya āguṭhi?
 Ram.M=Erg Sita.F=Dat what book.F.Nom give-Perf.F.Sg or ring.F.Nom
 'Did Ram give a book or a ring to Sita?'
- b. ram=ne **kya** sita=ko kitab d-i ya amra=ko/*ravi=ne?
 Ram.M=Erg what Sita.F=Dat book.F.Nom give-Perf.F.Sg or Amra.F=Dat/Ravi.M=Erg
 'Did Ram give a book to Sita or Amra?/ *Did Ram or Ravi give a book to Sita?'

Under this approach polar *kya* determines which parts of a clause are presup-posed. When *kya* appears in clause initial position, there is no given part of the clause. This analysis is crucially supported by prosodic evidence as to focus domains in a clause.

Masica (1991) identifies polar question markers as an areal South Asian phenomenon and suggests that they can also be found clause finally. Bhatt and Dayal also see the clause final

kya, illustrated in (5) as an instance of polar *kya*. However, the clause final version does not display the same set of pragmatic and prosodic properties as the polar *kya* (Bhatt and Dayal 2014b). We instead analyze it as a tag question.

- (5) anu=ne uma=ko kitab d-i kya?
 Anu.F=Erg Uma.F=Dat book.F.Sg.Nom give-Perf.F.Sg what
 ‘Anu gave a/the book to Uma, did she? polar *kya*

In sum, *kya* in declarative questions can appear in a variety of positions. We analyze all but the clause final position as instance of polar *kya* and see polar *kya* as a marker which partitions a clause into given vs. a non-given domains in the sense of Krifka (2008). The word order variation found for polar *kya* is thus motivated by information structural concerns, just as word order variation in Urdu/Hindi is generally.

Information structure convergence and cross-linguistic contrasts in contact language participles

Peter Slomanson

Tampere University

The research question posed is whether changes in form as such are or could be the unconscious goal of restructuring in mixed (converted) languages, in which the model language is not the conscious target. There could instead be an information structure target that can be instantiated by means of (somewhat) contrasting morphosyntactic changes. The Sri Lankan contact varieties of Malay (SLM) and Portuguese (SLP) share features they do not share with their (common) model language(s) (common, hence "co-convergence"), including pre-verbal functional markers for TMA contrasts. Both contact languages also feature morphosyntactic phenomena related to finiteness that are absent from their lexifiers (Malay) or organised differently (Portuguese), with the result that in the local sprachbund, both grammars most closely resemble each other. We will examine similarities and contrasts in the form of conjunctive participles and periphrastic verbal constructions in both languages, constructions from which an information structure advantage is gained in the way an event sequence is conveyed and the events contrastively focused. This contributes to the debate on paths of grammatical development in contact languages and the ways specific paths are motivated.

In SLM, the affirmative periphrastic construction (1) and its negated counterpart (2) can be analyzed as bi-clausal. The explicitly finite negation element (2) marking the auxiliary interrupts its adjacency with the lexical verb. The clause containing the lexical verb, which is non-finite, can be questioned or echoed as an apparent ellipsis, with the finite auxiliary as a potential response.

As in SLM, SLP has periphrastic verbal constructions (4,5) and conjunctive participles (6),

however any separability supporting a bi-clausal analysis has thus far been elusive in tests with native speakers. There are also contrasts in the form taken by participles and in the role played by tense and (non-)finiteness-marking in the two languages. In SLM, the participle in periphrastic constructions is identical in form to the conjunctive participle (3) that appears in temporally-sequenced adjunct clauses, whereas in SLP, the form of the participle contrasts in the two contexts, with the conjunctive participial suffix (6) reflecting the default form in the Portuguese lexifier. In SLM, the periphrastic perfect construction consists of a (non-finite) conjunctive participle plus finite auxiliary, whereas in SLP, the verb and the auxiliary have the same tense/finiteness status. The divergent morphosyntactic outcomes nevertheless effectively converge on a common information-structuring model. Their "creativity", the apparently incomplete convergence on the grammar of the model language (replication) may be partly explained by the fact that replication of model language morphosyntax as such was not the (unconscious) goal that it has been implicitly taken to be in the literature.

Data examples

- (1) *Miflal mulbar nyanyi atu e-tulis ada.*
 Miflal Tamil song INDEF PTCPL-write AUX
 'Miflal has written a Tamil song.'
 (*e-* is one of several phonologically weakened regional forms of *abis*)
- (2) *Miflal mulbar nyanyi atu e-tulis tr-ada.*
 Miflal Tamil song INDEF PTCPL-write FIN.NEG-AUX
 'Miflal has not written a Tamil song.'
- (3) *Mulbar e-blajar, Miflal mulbar nyanyi atu e-tulis ada.*
 Tamil PTCP-learn Miflal Tamil song INDEF PTCPL-write AUX
 'Having learned Tamil, Miflal has written a Tamil song.'
- (4) *Eev jaa-lembraa isti mee prumeer vees boos jaa-vii teem falaa-tu.*
 1SG PST-think this FOC first time 2SG PST-come AUX QUOT-PTCP
 '...I thought that this is the first time you have come.' (Smith 2013)
- (5) *Eev kulumbu jaa-andaa tinya see,...*
 1SG Colombo PST-go PST.AUX COND
 'If I had gone to Colombo,...' (Smith 2013)
- (6) *Aka noos aka uusha kampani-pa daa-tu, aka jaa-faya dreetu.*
 that 1PL that Usha company-DAT give-PTCP that PST-make right
 'We gave that to the Usha company and repaired it.' (Smith 2013)
 more literally: 'We, (having) **given** that to the Usha company, repaired it.'

References:

- Smith, Ian R. 2013. Sri Lanka Portuguese. Susana Maria Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.) *The Survey of Pidgin & Creole Languages*, vol. II. Oxford University Press. (pp. 111-121)
-

The World Atlas of transitivity pairs (WATP): What is it and what does it do?

Prashant Pardeshi

National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL)

The direction of morphological derivation between lexical pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs (also known as inchoative-causative pairs, transitivity pairs, lexical sets etc.) such as *ak-u : ak-e-ru* (open: open), *yak-e-ru : yak-u* (burn: burn) and the motivation behind it has been a topic of intense discussion in typological literature (Jacobsen 1985, Nedjalkov 1990, Haspelmath 1993, Hook 1996, Nichols et.al. 2004, Comrie 2006, just to name few). It has been proposed that the notion of iconicity motivates the direction of derivation: categories that are cognitively marked tend also be structurally marked. Haspelmath (1993: 105) proposes a scale of increasing likelihood of spontaneous occurrence on which verbs can be arranged. Comrie (2006) offers a ranking of 30 verb pairs identified in Haspelmath (1993) on the spontaneity scale. At NINJAL we developed a database named “The World Atlas of Transitivity Pairs (WATP)” of 30 verb pairs from about 60 languages of the globe which can be freely accessed from: <http://watp.ninjal.ac.jp/en/>. The World Atlas of Transitivity Pairs (WATP) displays the distribution of morphological relationships between the intransitive verb and its transitive counterpart across these languages and offers a visual picture of clustering of derivational patterns. It also allows one to test the validity of the ranking of 30 verb pairs on the spontaneity scale. In this presentation I demonstrate the database and its functionality.

References:

- Comrie, Bernard. 2006. Transitivity pairs, markedness, and diachronic stability. *Linguistics* 44(2). 303–318.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. In Bernard Comrie & Maria Polinsky (eds.), *Causatives and transitivity*, 87-120. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hook, Peter. 1996. “The Play of Markedness in Hindi-Urdu Lexical Sets”. In Shivendra K. Verma and Dilip Singh (eds.) *Perspectives on Language in Society: Papers in Memory of Professor*

Ravindra Nath Srivastava. Delhi: Kalinga. Pp. 61-71.

Jacobsen, Wesley M. 1985. "Morphosyntactic transitivity and semantic markedness". *Chicago Linguistic Society* 21/2, 89-104.

Nichols, Johanna, David A. Peterson and Jonathan Barnes. 2004. Transitivity and detransitivizing languages. *Linguistic Typology* 8:2: 149-211.

Acquiring scopal properties of 'Every': A study of young Indian ESL Learners

Prodipta Bhattacharjee & Lina Mukhopadhyay

The English and Foreign Languages University

Child acquisition research bears testimony to the phenomenon that every child is able to master his/her first language in the first 4 or 5 years of its life. This, according to the researchers working in the generative paradigm (Brown, 1973), is possible because human beings are endowed with an innate language learning capacity. It allows each child to link lexicon to the corresponding rules of syntax and semantics (e.g., word order, pluralization, and verb alternation) rapidly and with ease within the first five years of its birth.

In this paper, we propose to study the development of syntactic and logico-semantic knowledge entailed in a specific kind of noun phrases (NPs) termed as quantifiers (e.g., *any*, *some*, *every*) and their referential interpretation of truth conditional propositions. Quantifiers can be broadly divided into two categories: universal ("∀") and existential quantifiers ("∃"). Acquisition of universal quantifier *every* in English is one of the potential areas of research in first and second language acquisition because there is no one-to-one mapping between the referent and the quantifier. The referent is delimited or restricted based on the context of use or the 'scope' of the quantifier. For instance in the sentence '*Every* boy is running.', *every* refers to all children in a set who are *boys* and there is no boy in the set that is not running. So *a set of boys* who are running is the restrictor or delimited referent of the determiner quantifier *every*.

In this presentation we investigate whether the distributive property of *every* can be accessed by young ESL learners and whether scope interpretation of the quantifier is ambiguous for them. We examine their knowledge of *every* in two frames: transitive and intransitive frames. So two research questions considered to get evidence for systematicity in interlanguage of young ESL learners are:

1. *Do ESL children have adult-like knowledge of the scopal properties of 'every' in English?*
2. *Is children's knowledge of 'every' guided by transitivity and intransitivity of events?*

In this study, ten young learners of English, mean age 7:07 years, with Telugu, Hindi and Bengali as their mother tongue will serve as subjects. The knowledge of quantifier *every* will be checked

through ten verbs arranged in sets of transitive (*feed, catch, point, fly, draw*) and intransitive (*cross, fly, drink, cook, swim*) events. The learners will be given a picture based truth value judgment task and they would have to express their judgement by saying 'Yes' or 'No'.

For every verb, four pictures will be used: three will have an agent/self-agent doing an act and one will only have the patient/object. So 'the extra object condition' will be used in all the ten tokens. Note that the statements have an ambiguous scope with the following logico-semantic interpretation:

- (i) $\forall x$ was doing/was acting on y (scope on sub NP)
- (ii) $\forall [x$ was doing $y]$ (scope on event: sub NP + obj NP)

Here (ii) denotes scope on the event and the distributive property of *every* is on the entire event. This is an adult-like interpretation. However, (i) denotes scope on only the subject NP and *every* is treated like a determiner that has scope on the NP to the right of it (e.g., *The book I read yesterday was interesting*. Here 'the' has scope over only 'book'). The first interpretation (i) is non-adult like and earlier studies on child acquisition of *every* attest that English speaking children accept the first or unmarked interpretation and much later move on to the second or marked adult like interpretation (Crain & Thornton 1998; Philips 1995). The findings of our study will provide evidence for the acquisition of distributive scopal properties of 'every' as a universal quantifier in English as a second language. Learner judgments would also indicate whether scopal knowledge of „every“ is guided by transitivity/intransitivity of events. The findings will therefore show whether young ESL learners are guided by the generative properties of quantification, which makes acquisition of abstract semantic-syntactic rules underlying the referential properties of quantification easy and fast.

The presentation will conclude with some pedagogical implications like task based teaching of discourse binding properties of quantifiers. Such tasks will provide sustained input to learners to apply the scopal and distributive properties of quantifiers and might contribute to the learning process.

References:

- Brown, R. (1973). *A first language: the early stages*. Penguin.
- Crain, S., Thornton, R. (1998). Universal Quantification. *Investigations in Universal Grammar-A Guide to Experiments on the Acquisition of Syntax and Semantics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Gualmini, A., Meroni, L. & Crain, S. (2003). An Asymmetric Universal in Child Language. *Proceedings of the Conference "sub7 – Sinn und Bedeutung"*. Arbeitspapier Nr. 114, FBSprachwissenschaft, Universität Konstanz, Germany Matthias Weisgerber (ed.). Germany.

Philip, W. (1995). *Event quantification in the acquisition of universal quantification*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Amherst, MA.

New perspectives in annotating early New Indo-Aryan texts

Rafał Jaworski & Krzysztof Stroński

Adam Mickiewicz University

Indo-Aryan (IA) has been a subject of corpus linguistic research for quite a long time. A number of annotated texts can be found for Old Indo-Aryan (OIA), Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) and contemporary New Indo-Aryan (NIA). There exist well developed tagging tools for OIA and NIA (e.g. Sanskrit POSagger by Hellwig (2009) or POSagger for Urdu (Hardie 2005)). Corpus-based research on IA has basically been carried out on OIA and MIA texts, while early NIA stages have almost been neglected.

The present paper aims at highlighting main functionalities of a computer system designed to facilitate annotating early NIA texts – IATagger. We hope to demonstrate that the system opens new perspectives in the process of annotation as well as linguistic analyses of early NIA corpora.

IATagger has been designed in order to help annotate some well documented early NIA languages such as Rajasthani, Braj, Awadhi and Dakkhini. IATagger is an environment for text annotation that provides unique capabilities whilst taking into account such issues as: productivity, flexibility and minimization of error cost. The key functionality of the IATagger is multi-level annotation of words and sentences. The default levels of word annotation are: Lexeme, Grammar (annotated using Leipzig Glossing Rules), POS, Syntax (exploring basic Dixonian (1994) scheme based on the three primitive terms: A, S and O), Semantics and Pragmatics (based on the RRG approach, e.g. Van Valin 2005). The default levels of sentence annotation are: English Translation and MetaInformation. On request IATagger generates statistics concerning occurrences of specific classes of words and word collocations – in a specified document or collection of documents. This facilitates linguistic analysis, at the level of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Furthermore, the system is able to find word collocations within a single sentence. The user specifies desired search criteria for two words independently. For instance, it is possible to search for words annotated as converbs (tag CVB on the level “grammar”) that appear in the same sentence with words tagged as A on the level “syntax”.

Initial analysis assumes a survey of alignment features, i.e. main argument marking (A and O). This kind of research has already been carried out by several authors for finite verbs (e.g. Khokhlova 2000; 2001), but IA Tagger makes it possible to generate statistics for texts belonging to various historical stages of NIA, and it has a much larger scope since it encompasses both finite and non-finite verbs.

Preliminary research on a Rajasthani and Awadhi annotated corpora (10000 words each) shows a preponderance of unmarked O forms over marked ones. Out of 201 converbal chain constructions only 18 show marked O forms. Up to the 18th century there are only examples of animate and definite Os, or possibly human and indefinite, and from the 18th century onwards inanimate Os start appearing. This conforms nicely with Khokhlova's findings for finites and with more general tendencies operating along definiteness and animacy hierarchies (e.g. Aissen 2003).

The next steps of the analysis consists in multifaceted analysis of IA non-finites (focusing on converbs and infinitives) drawing from two frameworks: Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), and Multivariate Analysis (Bickel 2010) where apart from morphosyntactic properties, semantic and pragmatic properties of converbs will be investigated. Semantic analysis involves checking the control properties of converbs and their stability or fluctuation in the history of NIA, whereas pragmatic analysis is based on investigation of the scopal properties of select operators in converbal chain constructions.

It has been observed that Illocutionary Force Operator can have conjunct or local scope, and this property is quite stable throughout the centuries, whereas Tense Operator seems to have conjunct scope in those converbal chains which have the main verb in the past tense and almost exclusively local scope in those chains which have the main verb in the present tense. This somehow implicitly presumes the perfectivity of the IA converb, which in turn appears to be a historically important finding.

IATagger provides several features that aim at improving the productivity of usage. For each level the system displays the context-sensitive list of prompts of available annotation tags. For a word under annotation the system displays "a prompt cloud", which consists of a set of tag suggestions for various annotation levels. IATagger minimizes the cost of usage errors or system failure. Each annotation decision is saved automatically in a temporarily back-upped database. There is no save button. The wide variety of configuration settings assures the flexibility of the tagger, allowing it to be used in various scenarios. It is possible to configure: the language of the annotated documents, sentence/word annotation levels as well as the annotation tags. The system is intended for open access. It is accessible from any popular Internet browser at:

<http://rjawor.vm.wmi.amu.edu.pl/tagging>.

The access credentials can be received on request.

References:

- Aissen, Judith, 2003. Differential object marking: iconicity vs. economy. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 21:435 – 483.
- Bickel, Balthasar, 2010. Capturing particulars and universals in clause linkage: a multivariate analysis. In Isabelle Brill (ed.), *Clause Linking and Clause Hierarchy: Syntax and Pragmatics*,

- number 121 in *Studies in Language Companion Series*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pages 51 – 102.
- Dixon, Robert M. W., 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics. Cambridge University Press.
- Hardie, Andrew, 2005. Automated part-of-speech analysis of Urdu: conceptual and technical issues. *Contemporary issues in Nepalese linguistics*: 48 – 72.
- Hellwig, Oliver, 2009. Sanskrittagger: A stochastic lexical and pos tagger for sanskrit. In Gérard P. Huet, Amba P. Kulkarni, and Peter M. Scharf (eds.), *Sanskrit Computational Linguistics*, volume 5402 of Lecture Notes in Computer Science. Springer.
- Khokhlova Ludmila V., 2000. 'Typological Evolution of Western NIA Languages'. *Berliner Indologische Studien (BIS)* 13/14, 117–142.
- , 2001. Ergativity attrition in the history of western new indo-aryan languages (punjabi, gujarati and rajasthani). *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*: 159 – 184.
- Van Valin, Robert D. and Randy J. LaPolla, 1997. *Syntax: Structure, Meaning, and Function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Valin, Robert Jr., 2005. *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Cambridge University Press.
-

Repeated replacement of the Narrative Past by a Perfect Tense in the history of Indo-Aryan

Rainer Kimmig

Uni Tübingen/ Heidelberg Faculty

The replacement of a narrative past by a present perfect (either resultative or anterior) is a widely spread feature in the diachronical evolution of languages (Bybee et al. 1994). Within the Indo-European family, the phenomenon is attested for, among others, Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Northern French and Northern Italian, Southern German, and both Eastern and Western, as against Southern, Slavic. Analogous developments followed each other three times in the history of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, but only the last one, which took place during the second phase of MIA and brought the tense formation based on the *ta-/na*-participle to the centre of the verbal system, received extensive attention during the last few decades due to its connection with what is called the 'rise of split ergativity in Indo-Aryan.'

Earlier studies in the tradition of 19th century linguistics tended to explain such diachronic replacements as necessitated by morphophonological erosion. Subsequent research, however, has shown that in many cases such an analysis is not endorsed by the attested evidence. Rather, the driving force seems to be semantic or functional, i.e. a tendency to replace a past belonging to the 'narrative plane' (Benveniste) or 'story mode' (Fludernik) by a retrospective (anterior) tense previously belonging to the 'plane of discourse' or 'interlocutionary mode'. This explains also why

the second person of a tense restricted to the 'narrative plan' is bound to fall into disuse, as it happened both with the perfect of Late OIA and Epic Sanskrit or the passé simple in French.

The *first replacement* of the narrative preterite in Indo-Aryan, i.e. the replacement of the narrative 'imperfect'¹ (*lan*) by the 'perfect' (*lit*), the latter almost regularly being preceded by the particle *ha*, is well attested for the Middle and the Late Vedic phase of OIA, with possible traces already in the text of the Ṛgveda. Texts immediately affected by the change, basically belonging to the middle Brāhmaṇa period, show bewildering and often analysis-resistant switches between the two narrative preterites which have puzzled scholars for more than a hundred years (Whitney 1892 and 1893). At the same time, 'past' tenses belonging basically to the 'plane of discourse' as the 'aorist' (*luṅ*) – mainly a 'present perfect' referring to near, often hodiernal past – remain more or less unaffected by the change. The broad range of texts where the actual change is observable allow even to deduce a spread from the East to the West (Witzel 1989).

The *second replacement* of the narrative preterite, i.e. the replacement of the narrative 'perfect' (*lit*) by the 'aorist' (*luṅ*) is not attested in actual progress. While there are hardly any traces in late OIA, the first datable MIA texts (Aśoka, 3rd century BCE) show the resulting tense system firmly consolidated, with a clear contrast between the MIA 'aorist' as a narrative past and the *ta-/na*-participle as a 'present perfect' on the 'plane of discourse'. This stage is reflected both in early Pali (see Bechert 1953) and, to some extent, in Epic Sanskrit, the latter showing three tense forms used indistinctly as preterites in 'story mode', contrasting with the *ta-/na*-participle almost exclusively restricted to the plane of discourse.

Finally, the *third replacement* of a narrative preterite, i.e. the replacement of the early MIA 'aorist' (continuing OIA *luṅ* and, to some extent also, *lan*) by the *ta-/na*-participle, is again not well attested in actual progress, with texts like the Vasudevahiṇḍi (Mahārāṣṭrī, 2nd century CE?) documenting just last traces of the use of the MIA 'aorist' as a narrative preterite. In later Prakrit, the *ta-/na*-participle functions both as narrative preterite in 'story mode' and as 'present perfect' in 'interlocutionary mode', a situation well reflected in classical drama, where, except for verse, the participle is the only verbal form referring to past events both in the Prakrit and the Sanskrit (checked for *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Kālidāsa*).

The above scenario shows a gradual expansion of the functions of the *ta-/na*-participle from a resultative to an anterior and then to a narrative past, all along keeping its earlier functions as well. Those who maintain that the participle of a transitive verb, when used as a finite predicate, was originally a passive, provide the following analytical scheme based on classical Sanskrit:

'past':	active:	passive:
	<i>sa akāṛṣīt</i> (aorist)	<i>tena kṛtam</i> (participle)
	'he did'	'it was done by him'

¹ The traditional labels of European linguists for the OIA tenses are inappropriate and misleading.

But early MIA, which is obviously the better place to look for the diachronical evolution of Indo-Aryan, shows a different picture:

narrative preterite:	active	Passive
	<i>akāsi</i> 'he did' (aor.)	<i>akāri</i> 'it was done' (aor.)
present perfect:	no voice contrast → ergative with transitive verbs	
	<i>teṇa kataṃ</i> 'he has done/it has been done by him'	

The contrast between 'aorist' and *ta-/na*-participle, therefore, is not a contrast of voice, but one of tense, an interpretation corroborated by the fact that early MIA created a new passive 'aorist' (*ā labhiyisu* 'were killed', Aśoka) to enforce the voice distinction on the plane of the narrative preterite. The finite participle of transitive verbs, on the other hand, had ergative syntax form the beginning.

Classical Sanskrit, indeed, has an active participle (*ḥṛtavat* 'having done') corresponding to the *ta-/na*-participle, but this new formation is nearly absent from MIA (as it was from OIA). Nevertheless, it seems to be the first in a series of attempts in the history of MIA and NIA to bring the tense(s) based on the *ta-/na*-participle somehow or other in line with the active case frames of the present.

Avoid Arguments: Horoscopes in Marathi and Indian English Newspapers

Ravindra Balburao Tasildar

S.N. Arts, D.J.M. Commerce and B.N.S. Science Collage

Horoscopes in newspapers are one of the most read sections by readers. Horoscopes are expected to be self-explanatory to their readers. If readers believe in horoscopes, the later generally grab the former's attention and persuade readers to plan their day accordingly. However, horoscopes may also either clear confusion or create a dilemma in reader's mind. Regular appearance of horoscopes in regional and English languages newspapers is a well-established feature of newspapers in India. Nevertheless, the distinct linguistic features of this genre remain under-researched. Hence, this paper is a modest attempt to investigate linguistic features of horoscopes with particular reference to daily and weekly horoscopes in Marathi dailies – *Agrowon*, *Lokmat*, *Loksatta*, *MaharashtraTimes* and *Sakal* published in Maharashtra State in January 2012. With the purpose to make findings of horoscopes in Marathi newspapers global, comparison with Indian English newspapers is imperative.

Indian Newspaper English (INE), one of the over explored varieties of Indian English (see Labru 1984, Parhi 2008), mainly revolves around matrimonial advertisements (see Mehrotra

1975), newspaper headlines and editorial headings (see Parbhakar Babu 1970-71 and Dubey 1989). Just like newspapers in Indian languages, daily and weekly horoscopes appear in national and regional English language newspapers in India. In their books Mehrotra (1998) and Crystal (1995) consider text samples from different sections of Indian Newspapers, except horoscopes. Thus horoscope remains a neglected section of INE. Although horoscope is considered an authentic teaching material in English Language Teaching (Saraswathi 2004:117), it remains a less explored variety of INE yet. In this study various features of horoscopes are examined with particular reference to daily horoscopes in *Deccan Herald* (DH), *The Hitvada* (TH) and *The Indian Express* (IE) and weekly horoscopes in *Deccan Herald* (DH), *The Asian Age* (AA), *The Telegraph*, Kolkata (TT-K), *Sunday Times of India* (STOI) and *The Tribune*, Chandigarh (TT-C), published in January 2012.

The prime focus of this paper is analysis of syntactic patterns in horoscopes. Analysis of daily and weekly horoscopes in newspapers is quite interesting. Some of the observations are given below.

Daily horoscopes in Marathi and English newspapers are without headings whereas weekly horoscopes are with headings. Maharashtra Times, one of the leading Marathi dailies is known for ample use of English in headings and news reports, editorials and middles. However, no examples of code-mixing were found in horoscopes of this daily. Though code-mixed words and lexical innovations are rare in both Marathi and English newspapers, horoscope jargon (e.g. Cancerian, IE, 25-1-2012), modals and imperative words like 'avoid' and 'beware' are frequently used in horoscopes. Brevity, a defining feature of horoscopes, leads to short constructions (e.g. Finances fair. DH, 10-1-2012). Unlike English, in Marathi subject-verb (SV) is not the dominant pattern used to indicate prediction and warning in the newspapers. The minimum length of horoscopes in Marathi as well as English is restricted to two words and in Marathi to maximum two sentences of two words each. The amazing amalgamations of expressions of prediction and advice in horoscopes like imperative sentences [e.g. Avoid arguments. DH, 19-1-2012; *Pravas tala* (English gloss - avoid travel)] and conditional sentences are distinct from features common to both the varieties of Marathi newspapers and INE. Besides the average length of expressions in daily horoscopes, the dominant punctuation mark used in the headings of weekly horoscopes is also studied.

The feature which distinguishes horoscopes in Marathi newspapers from horoscopes in English newspapers is – gender-biased [*patnichha salla ghya* (English gloss - seek wife's advice)]. The study of language used in this genre suffices that these horoscopes are not only male-oriented but are specifically meant for husbands to read. Perhaps married men are the main readers of horoscopes in Marathi newspapers. However, horoscopes in Indian English newspapers are relatively gender-neutral.

References:

Crystal, David. 1995. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. Cambridge:

- Cambridge University Press.
- Dubey, V. S. 1989. *Newspaper English in India*. New Delhi: Bahri Publications.
- Labru, G. L. 1984. *Indian Newspaper English*. Delhi: B R Publishing Corporation.
- Mehrotra, R. R. 1975. Matrimonial Advertisements: A Study in Correlation between Linguistic and Situational Feeling. *Studies in Linguistics* [Occasional Papers]. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, pp. 41-61.
- Mehrotra, R. R. 1998. *Indian English: Texts and Interpretation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Parhi, A. R. 2008. *Indian English Through Newspapers*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Prabakar Babu, B.A. 1970-71. Newspaper Headlines: A Study in Registral Features. *Bulletin of the Central Institute of English*, vol. 8, pp. 41-48.
- Saraswathi, V. 2004. *English Language Teaching: Principles and Practice*. Chennai: Orient Longman.
-

The Tonal System of Liangmai

Wichamdinbo Mataina

Central Institute of Indian Languages

Liangmai, an endangered language and a Tibeto-Burman member spoken in Northeast India by about 34000 speakers, is one of the languages that needs a scholarly attention and becomes a subject of some experimental research. The present paper looks at the tonal structure of Liangmai including tone alternation. Discussion of the tonal system of Liangmai in this paper will, I hope, undoubtedly gain the attention of both phonetician and phonologist, as well as other researchers whose interest are in the tonal features of a language. Earlier studies on Liangmai Phonology suggested the presence of three level tones (Wichamdinbo, 2010, and also Moita, 2007). However, the present study, following a deeper investigation, confirms that Liangmai exhibits four contrastive levels of tone. It gives a first acoustic analysis of Liangmai tone, supplied with graphical representations and examination of variations within the phonetic realization of these tones. A presence of contour tone is established but they are found to have occurred only in about half a dozen words such as /zĩt/ 'sleep', /tõp/ 'suck' in as many as 2000 words of my database. This peculiarity seems to be different from its neighbouring languages such as Zo (Philip, 2011) and Paite (Moi, 2012) where contour tones are as plenty as register tones. The rest of them demonstrate a pattern of register tone. They are high, mid, low and extra low. The process of upstepping which displays in compound words is frequent while an instance of downstepping is very infrequent. Prefixes and negation markers are tonally unspecified. Their tones are influenced by an adjoining tone that is tonally specified root syllable. Towards the end of the paper, some considerations on grammatical tones in Liangmai will be looked at and I highlight

some issues for future study on features of Liangmai tone.

References:

- Burling, Robbins (2007). "The Tibeto-Burman Languages of Northeastern India", in Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, 160-191, New York and London: Routledge.
- Carr, P. and Montreuil, J. (2013). *Phonology*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kaji, Shigeki. (2002). Proceedings of the symposium of *Cross-Linguistics Studies of Tonal Phenomena: Historical Development, Phonetics of Tone, and Descriptive Studies*. ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Yip, Moira, (2002). *Tone*. Cambridge textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: CUP
-

Spatial expressions in Burushaski

Yoshioka Noboru

Nacional Museum of Ethnology

Burushaski is a language isolate spoken in northern Pakistan. This presentation provides a description and analysis of spatial expressions in Burushaski of Hunza valley, with special reference to linguistic frames of reference.

Levinson (2003) says that there are only three linguistic frames of reference: INTRINSIC, RELATIVE, and ABSOLUTE frames of reference (see Figures 1 to 3).

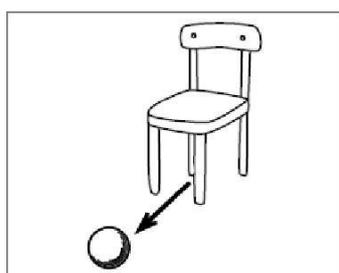


Figure 1. Intrinsic FoR

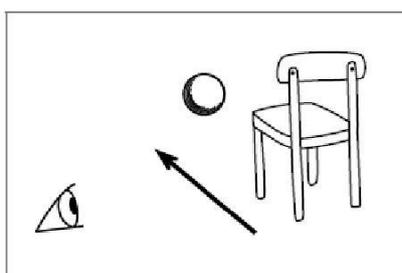


Figure 2. Relative FoR

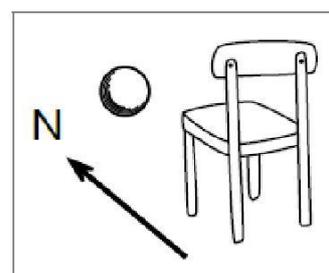


Figure 3. Absolute FoR

Intrinsic frames of reference rely on the intrinsic direction of an object used as the ground, contrasting to a target object as the figure. Relative ones basically depend on the direction of the viewer. And absolute ones depend on neither the intrinsic directions of ground objects, nor the relative directions between ground and figure objects in sight of the viewer. For example, the four compass directions are based on absolute frames.

There are two major claims I argue in this presentation.

First, they use INTRINSIC frames of reference, which relies on the intrinsic direction of objects used as Ground, to express any relative positions of local objects, that is Figure and Ground. But, when the shape of Ground objects are not suit to use intrinsic frames of reference, then they employ RELATIVE frames of reference instead. In the latter cases, some speakers do not want to say “right / left of X,” but simply “in the side of X,” because Ground object X has no its intrinsic rightness / leftness. While the others do not hesitate to say “right / left of X” as simply based on relative frames.

Second, there are no inherent terms for global directions, that is, north, south, east, and west in Burushaski. They use the directional terms like “inward,” “outward,” “upward,” and “downward” in ABSOLUTE frames of reference for global locations. It is adequately considered that the reason why the language does not have the four points of the compass is surely that they live in mountains for long periods and then they have been limited in their movable directions with severity.

References:

Levinson, Stephen C. 2003. *Space in Language and Cognition: Explorations in Cognitive Diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.