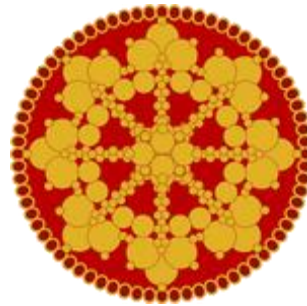


MYSTERIES OF VERB-VERB COMPLEXES IN ASIAN LANGUAGES

A descriptive account of South Asian verbal extension:
Inferring the semantic conditions on the alternation of Vx with V



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Alternation.

Morpho-syntax is secondary.

In the study of Type Four V-V complexes the most important questions to ask are these two:

1. Do the V-V complexes alternate with simple Vs?
2. Under what semantic or pragmatic conditions?

Identifying reliable ways to answer these two questions is the over-arching theme of this address.

Organization

1. Definition of verb extension ([Vv] and [Vx])
2. Five [or six] types with examples
3. Geographic distribution
4. Vv flux: inhibiting and promoting factors
5. Effect of genre [brief]
6. History and evolution [brief]
7. Are functions hierarchizable? [very brief]
8. The 'Vv challenge'
9. Appendices

Alternation is the key notion.

- i.** The extended Vx alternates with corresponding unextended V under definable conditions.
 - ii.** The extender* alternates with its absence with little or no translatable difference in meaning [into langs like English or Sanskrit lacking Vx's]
 - iii.** Extended Vx expresses a single action or event.
 - iv.** The extender is “bleached” to varying degrees.
- [*In Type 4 Vv's: the 'extender' = the vector verb.]

Excluding Vx's that have parallel structures.

Type **1** [*phisal paṛnā* (<= *phisal-kar gir paṛnā*), [*suberi-očiru* 滑り落ちる] slip-fall= 'to slip and fall'] is excluded by criterion **iii** “Extended Vx expresses single action or event” and criterion **iv** “Extender is bleached to varying degrees”.

Type **2** [*čal basnā* move-settle = 'to pass away, die'] is excluded by criterion **i** “Extended Vx alternates with corresponding unextended V under definable conditions”.

Type **3** [*čal saknā* move-can = 'to be able to move'] is excluded by criterion **ii** “Extender alternates with its absence with little or no easily translatable difference in meaning”.

types of verbal extension

1. By prefix and/or accentual shift:

(Pashto) *taaraá* 'tie!' vs. *wá.taaraa* 'tie up!'

2. By adverb [often homophonous with 'away'] in
Rajasthani, Bhili, Dhātki, Himachali [and Vedic?]:

iṅ sāl em-eḍ kar par-ā-r āyā hai
this year M.-Ed. do **AWAY-Mpl**-Ger come have

'(They) have completed the M. Ed. this year.'

[Bahl (1980: 120)]

3. By pairing of full forms of both **main** and **vector** verb [v2]: N. Dravidian, Mundan, Limbu, Persian:

a. *mi ne-gaʔ-ru ne-laʔ-ru*

I 1sg-eat-Pst 1sg-STRIKE-Pst

'I ate it up.' (Gorum, South Mundan)

b. چرا بی خداحافظی گذاشتی رفتی (Persian)

čerɔ be-xodɔhɔfezi godɔšt-i raft-i

why without-farewell PUT-2sg went-2sg

'Why did you leave without a "Good-bye"?'

[thanks to Fatemeh Nemati]

4. Past tense form of main verb plus inflected form of vector [v2]: Austroasiatic, Dravidian, MIA ...

so jā.u jji mu.u (Apabhramsha, MIA)

he WENT Prtcl died

'He died.' [*paumačariu* 36.5.9] (from Bubenik 1998: 113)

5a. Gerund [Ger] of main verb plus inflected form of vector:
in most Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and some Tibeto-Burman)

aši tsuki-či samadzut kar-un ghe-un dzā-u nako

such mistake-Gen idea do-Ger TAKE-Ger go-Inf Neg

'Don't leave with such a misunderstanding!' [*mimarathi.net*]

Hindi-Urdu's type of verbal extension

5b. The bare stem of main verb plus inflected form of the vector: Hindi-Urdu, Panjabi, some Tibetic

māĩ-ne rassī-ko sarp samajh liy.ā
I-Erg rope-Acc snake understand **TOOK**

'I understood the rope (to be) a snake.'

[vivek-jivan.blogspot.com/2010/06/24.html]

Types 5a and 5b will be the focus of attention in this talk.

the three least marked vectors of Hindi-Urdu

$$V \Leftrightarrow V_V$$

Transitive: *rakh-nā* \Leftrightarrow *rakh de / le-nā* 'to put'

put-Inf \Leftrightarrow put **GIVE / TAKE**-Inf

Intransitive: *gir-nā* \Leftrightarrow *gir jā-nā* 'to fall'

fall-Inf \Leftrightarrow fall **GO**-Inf

Semitransitive: *pakaṛ-nā* \Leftrightarrow *pakaṛ le-nā*

catch-Inf \Leftrightarrow catch **TAKE**.Inf

khā-nā \Leftrightarrow *khā le-nā* \Leftrightarrow *khā jā-nā*

eat-Inf \Leftrightarrow eat **TAKE**-Inf \Leftrightarrow eat **GO**-Inf

Similar to verb classifiers of NW
Australian?

alternation

(1a) *use dillī bhej.o* (V) 16

(1b) *use dillī bhej d.o* (Vv) 19

him Delhi send! send **GIVE!**

'Send him to Delhi.'

(2a) *vo jaldī so.ī* (V) 6

(2b) *vo jaldī so ga.ī* (Vv) 21

she soon slept sleep **WENT**

'Soon she went to sleep.'

extended form expresses a single action

1. *xālī gilās mez-par rakh.e the* (V) 50+

empty glasses table-on put had

'He had set the empty glasses on the table.'

2. *xālī gilās mez-par rakh di.e the* (Vv) 21

empty glasses table-on put **GIVEN** had

'He had set the empty glasses on the table.'

bleaching

1. *kabhī.kabhī* *ḡussā-bhī* *ā.tā.hai* (V) 6

sometimes anger-too comes

'Sometimes X even gets angry.'

2. *kabhī-kabhī* *ḡussā-bhī* *ā* *jā.tā.hai*

sometimes anger-too come **GOES**

'Sometimes X even gets angry.' (Vv) 1

occasionally ambiguous: one action or two?

V+V [two actions]: *vo čikan khā (-kar) gayā*
he chicken eat (-Ger) went
'He ate the chicken and left.'

Vv [one action]: *vo čikan khā (*-kar) gayā*
he chicken eat (*-Ger) went
'He “went and” ate the chicken.'

expression of a single action or event?

Hindi: *phāgun.kī mast bahār ā jā.tī.hai*

phalgun's delightful spring come GOES

'Phalgun's delightful spring comes.' YES

Marathi: *vasant pāhuṇyā sārkhā ye-un džā.to*

spring guest like come-Ger goes

'Spring - like a guest - comes and goes.' NO

distinguishing SVCs from Vv's

- (1) *us-ne apnī qābiliyat dikhā dī* [Vv]
he-Erg his ability show GAVE
'He showed his ability.' (Hindi-Urdu)
- (2) *sukoši yūki-o mise-te kure-ta* [Vv]
a.little courage-Acc show-Ger GIVE-Pst
'(He) showed a little courage.' (Japanese)
- (3) *tā xiǎn.ǎi chū le qián.lì* [SVC]
he reveal emerge Prfctv potential
'He showed his potential.' (Mandarin)

Excursus

For V-Vs and Vvs in Mandarin and Hindi-Urdu see:

Liang, H. and P. Hook. 2006. The compound verb in Chinese and Hindi-Urdu and the plausibility of the Indo-Turanian linguistic area. In Masica, ed. *Old and New Perspectives on South Asian Languages*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. Pp. 105-126.

For now skip to slide # 24.

extended verbs ≠ serial verbs

(1a) *šāhīn* *ur* *gayā* (Hindi-Urdu)

(1b) *lǎo.yīη* *fēi* *zǒu.le* (Mandarin)

eagle fly WENT

'The eagle flew away.' seem parallel but:

(2a) *mazdūrō.ne* *dīvār* *girā* *dī*

(2b) *gōηrén* *bǎ-qiánη* *zá* *dǎo.le*

workers Acc-wall knock GAVE / fell

'The workers knocked down the wall.'

Mandarin's SVC's versus Hindi's Vv's and SVC's

Mandarin: X did J to Y => Y K'ed = X, Y (J) => Y (K)

[where J is the cause of K and K is the effect of J]

(M) *lǎo.hǔ yǎo sǐ le tā* [XJY=>KY] Patient-oriented
tiger bite die Prfv him

'The tiger bit (him) and he died.' (Speaker expresses the link.)

Hindi-Urdu: X did J to Y and X Z'ed Y = X, Y (J) + X, Y (Z[z])

[where J is followed by Z (and Z includes K)]

(H) *šer-ne use kāt-kar mār diyā* [XYJ+XYZz] Agent-oriented
lion-Erg him bite-Ger kill GAVE

'The lion bit and killed him.' (The hearer infers the link.)

Mandarin's non-resultative V-V compounds (=SVC's) versus Hindi-Urdu's Vv compounds

- In Mandarin the 15 most common second members of non-resultative V-V compounds are *chū*, *shàng*, *zháo*, *duàn*, *sǐ*, *zhù*, *dào*, *zǒu*, *xià*, *kāi*, *diào*, *dào*, *lái*, *qù*, and *jiàn*. Of these 15 items only the last (*jiàn*) might be transitive.
- In Hindi-Urdu transitive main verbs usually select transitive vectors. Intransitive main verbs almost always select intransitive vectors.

separate negatability in Mandarin SVC's

- (1) *wǒ.men shēng bù zháo huǒ*
we light Neg ATTACH fire
'We (try to) light the fire (but it does) not light.'
- (2) *ham āg nahīl lagā-(*de-)te.hāil* (Hindi-Urdu)
we fire Neg light-(GIVE-)HabPres
'We don't light the fire.'
- (3) *išq hai vo ātiš ki lag-ā-e na lag-e*
love is that fire that light-Tr-AdvPart Neg light-s
'Love is the fire that doesn't light if you (try to)
light it.' (Ghalib)

distinguishing Mandarin SVC's from Hindi-Urdu Vv's

In Hindi-Urdu the vector acts as a semantic *diacritic* on the situation represented by the clause as a whole.

In Chinese the scope of the 'vector' is narrower: It indicates a conceptually distinct component of a complex situation or event, one which often follows temporally or logically as a consequence or result of the action denoted by the main verb.

[Compare the analysis of events into 'sub-events'.]

Vv flux

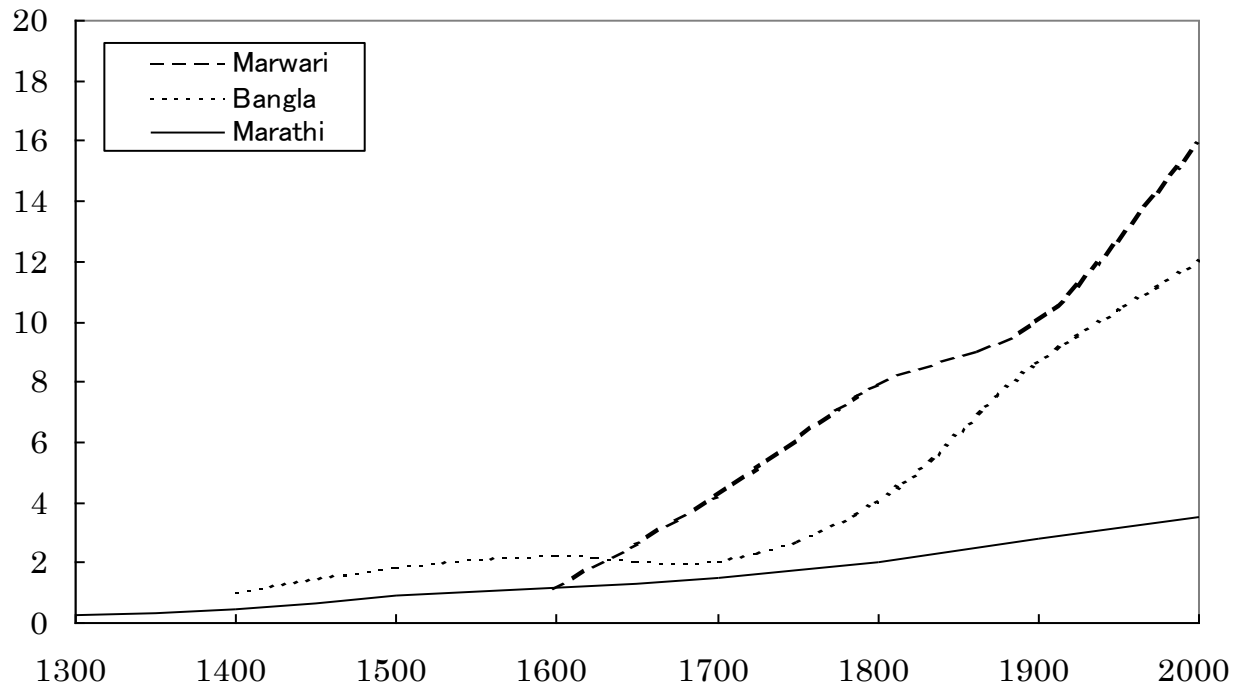
Vv flux is the frequency of Vv's (as opposed to V's) encountered in connected discourse or text.

Vv flux varies from language to language; within a language, from style to style and from speaker to speaker, and within a speaker from day to day!

Vv flux varies over time. The data available from historical records indicates a monotonic increase.

the increase in Vv flux over six centuries

[chart created by Venkadeshnan for Hook & Pardeshi, MS]



Variation across time in ratios of compound verbs to total verbs in Marathi texts

Text	Author	Text type	Text dates	Total	CVs	CV %
dzāi-dzui:	Y.G. Joshi	stories	mid 20 th cent	960	30	3.0 %
prastāvanā	V.S. Khandekar	criticism	mid 20 th cent	950	39	4.1%
mājhyā kathā ...	N.S. Phadke	essay	early 20 th cent	720	20	2.8%
pešavān-či bakhar	Balaji G. Karkun?	chronicles	late 19 th cent	1400	28	2.0%
bhāusāhebān-či bakhar	Krishnaji Shamrao? P. C. Govind?	chronicles	late 18 th cent	1200	15 - 18	1.3–1.5%
pāṇipāt-či bakhar	Raghunath Yadav	chronicles	late 18 th cent	1200	18	1.5%
dās-bodh	Ramdas Svami	sermons	17 th cent??	850	10	1.2%
šritukārāmāči gāthā	Sant Tukaram	poetry	16 th cent??	861	6	0.7%
šrijñānešvari	Sant Dnyaneshvar	commentary on the Gita	13 th cent	626	2	0.3%
liḷācaritr	Mhaimbhat	anecdotes	late 13 th cent	1610	3	0.2%

secular decrease in flux?

Indirect evidence for partial recruitment of v2 in erstwhile Vv's as a past tense morpheme in the Shina of Gilgit:

1. *ma* *çā* *bi-g-as*

I.Nom cold become-Pst.1sgM (< **WENT**-M1sg?)

'I became cold.' [The form *bi-g-as* does not alternate.]

2. *çā* *b-èé* *ma* *hamām-eṭ* *g-ās*

cold become-Ger I.Nom bath-LocDat went-M1sg

'Feeling cold, I went to the baths.' (Hook and Zia 2005)

[A similar conjecture for Kashmiri's use of *gatsh-* 'go' in the sense of 'become'? **bo.yith gav* => *gav* 'became'?]

Geographical distribution: /// = SOV(v) languages



(add Avar and Tsez on west)

[Masica 1976]

Geographical distribution inside South Asia

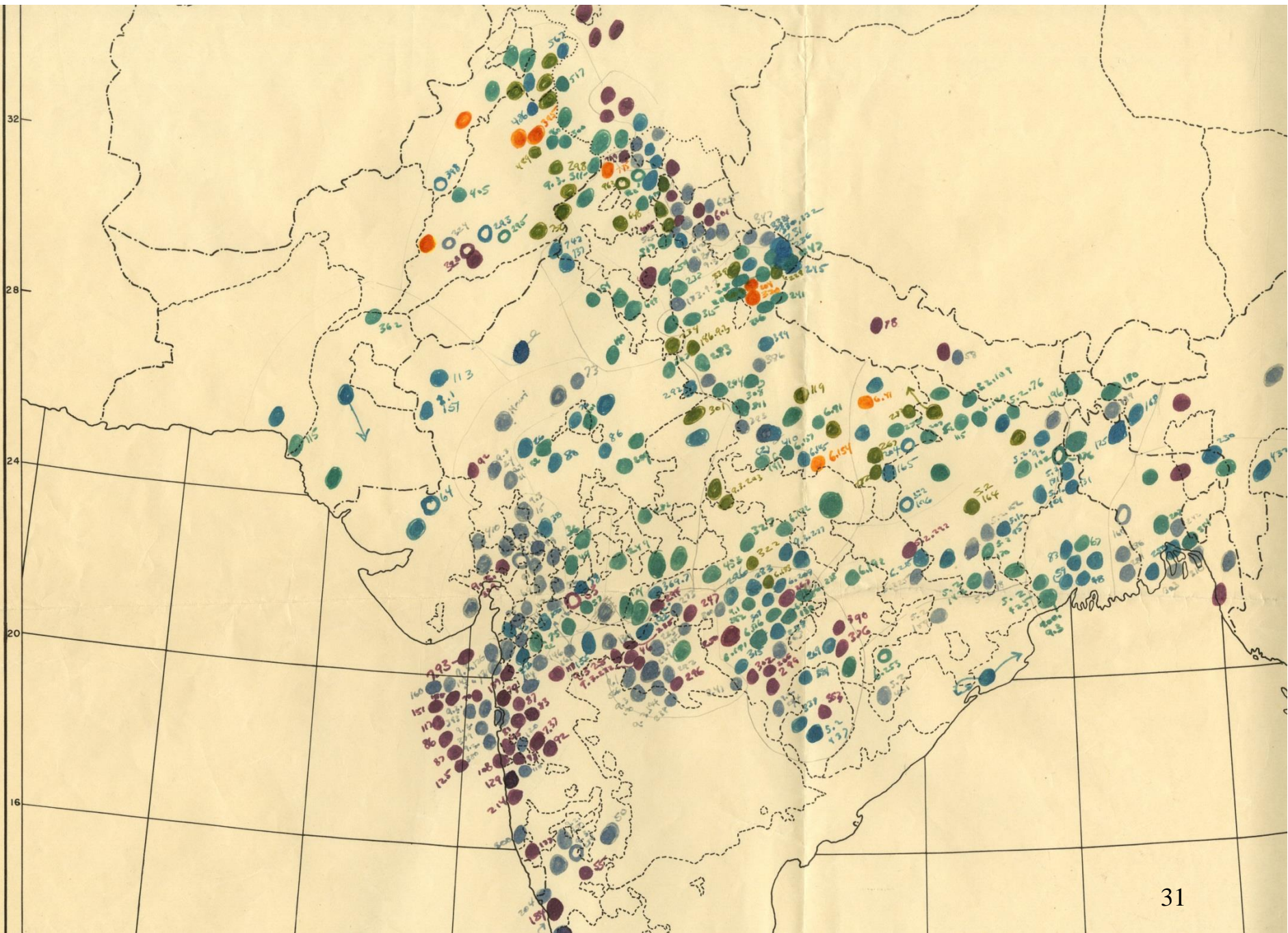
G.A. Grierson's *Linguistic survey of India* [LSI] shows the alternation of Vv with corresponding V is found in almost every one of South Asia's thousand-odd languages but the LSI also shows that the probability of Vv manifestation [or Vv flux] varies from place to place: In Indo-Aryan languages it is high in the center and northwest, medium in the east, and low in the southwest.

the same connected text translated 723 times

“A man had two sons. One of them said ‘[1. **Give** me my share of the inheritance.]’ He collected his share and [2. he **went away** to a distant land]. There [3. he **spent** (or **wasted**) all that he had]. In that country [4. a famine **fell**]. He became poor and went to live with a rich man. [5. The rich man **sent** him to his fields to graze pigs] ...”

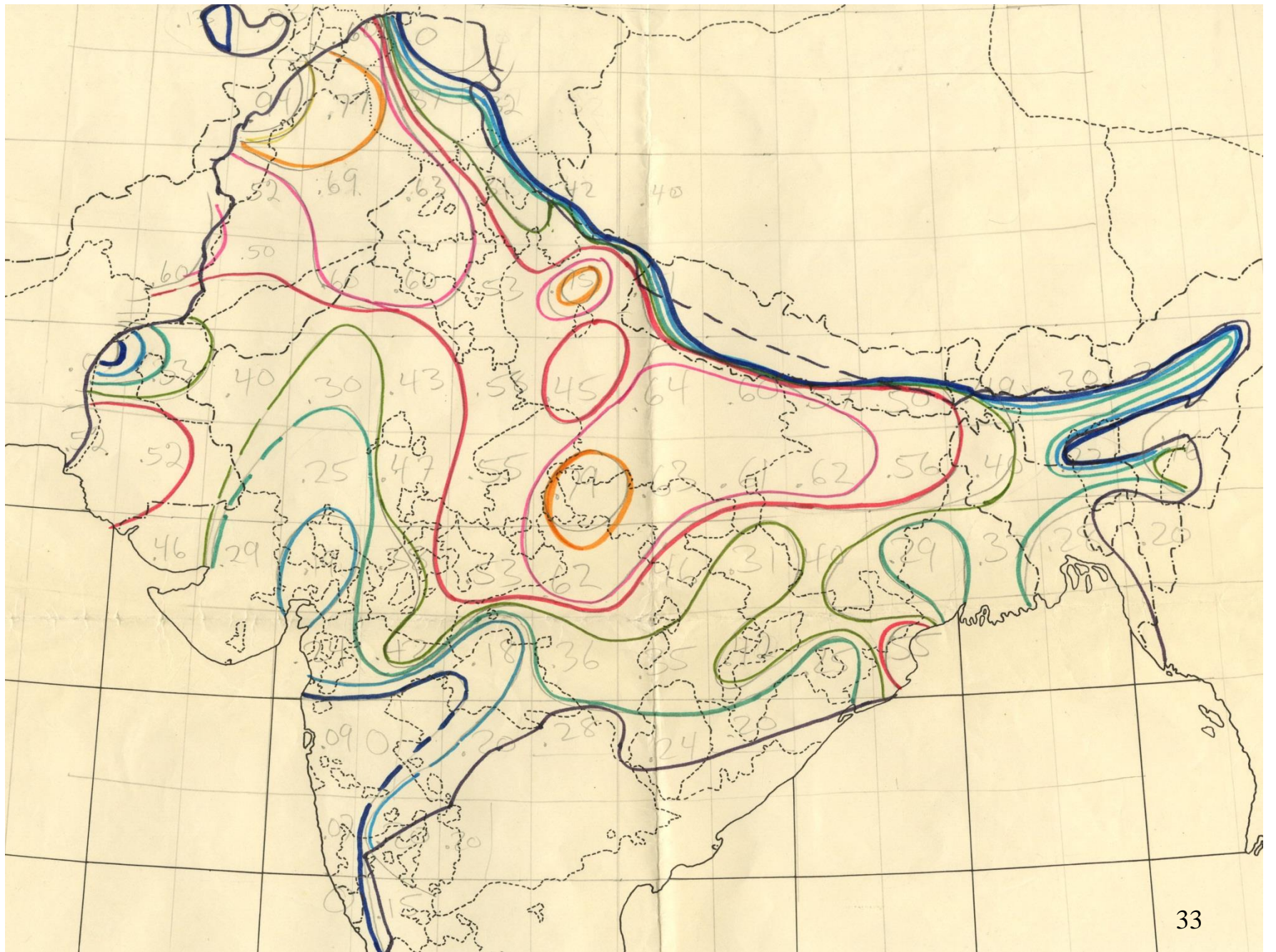
[Many of the returns are cut at this point. Fuller versions of these (and hundreds of others) are lying in cardboard boxes in the India Office Library in London.]

Dots on the map are color-coded: **0**, **1**, **2**, **3**, **4**, **5**. Next...



Isopleths were drawn.

An isopleth is a line on a map connecting points having equal incidence of a specified linguistic feature. The points on the preceding map were grouped into one degree by one degree squares, their values totaled and divided by their number to yield deciles on the basis of which I made a contour map of Vv flux in Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia as current 90-100 years ago.



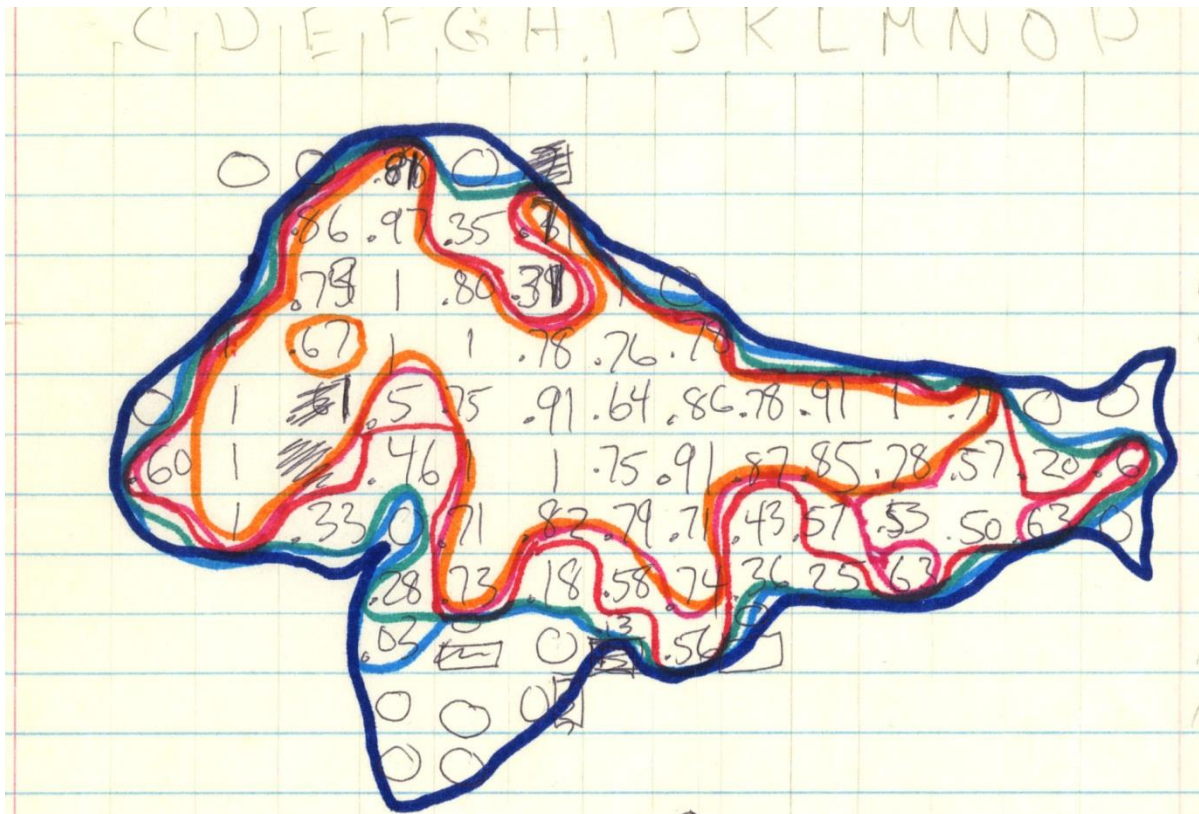
uses of data on Vv frequency

The contour map shows aggregated totals for the five points in the Parable of the Prodigal Son in which there was variation among the returns.

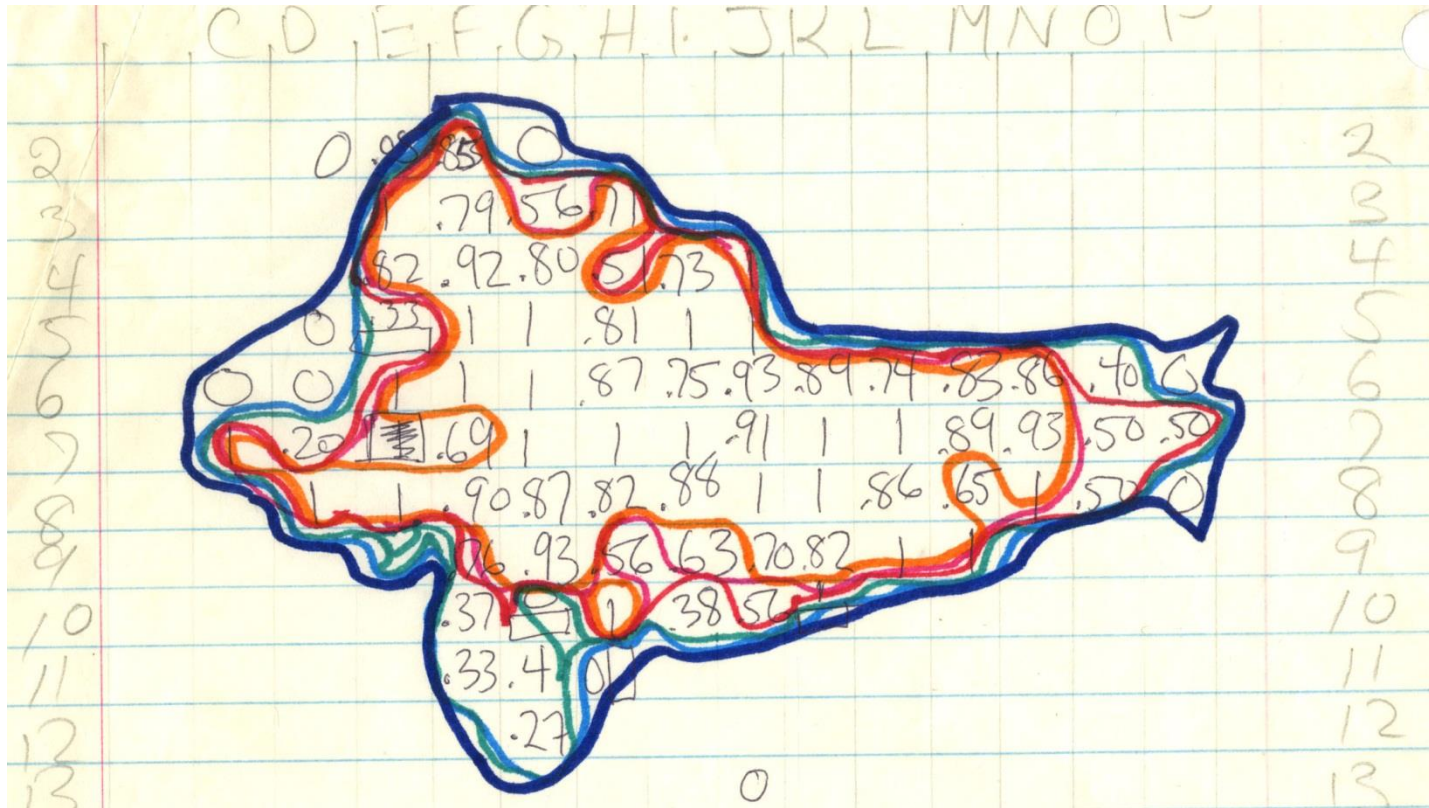
A more specific measurement provides some clues on a semantic condition favoring Vv.

Compare the mapped data for points 2 through 5 in the story: {went}, {spent}, {fell} and {sent}:

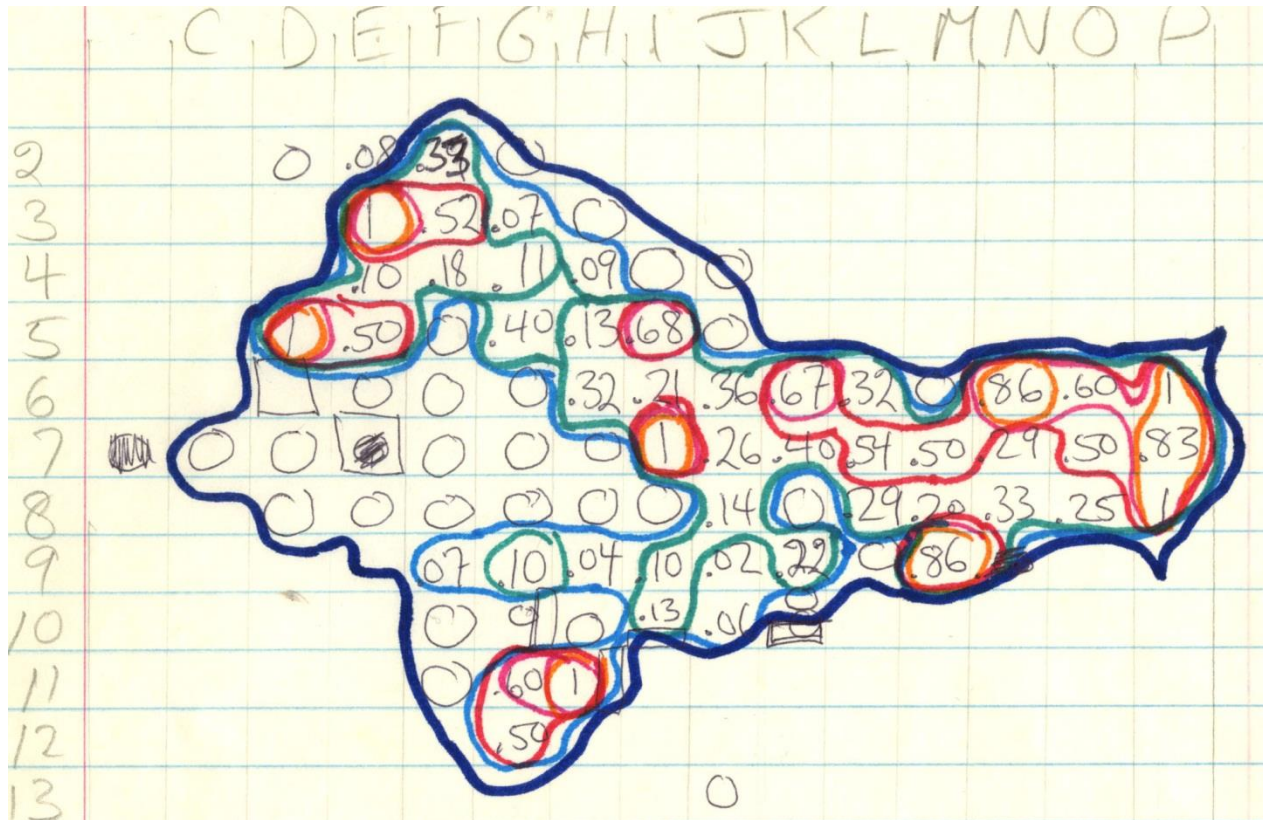
... went away to a distant land ...



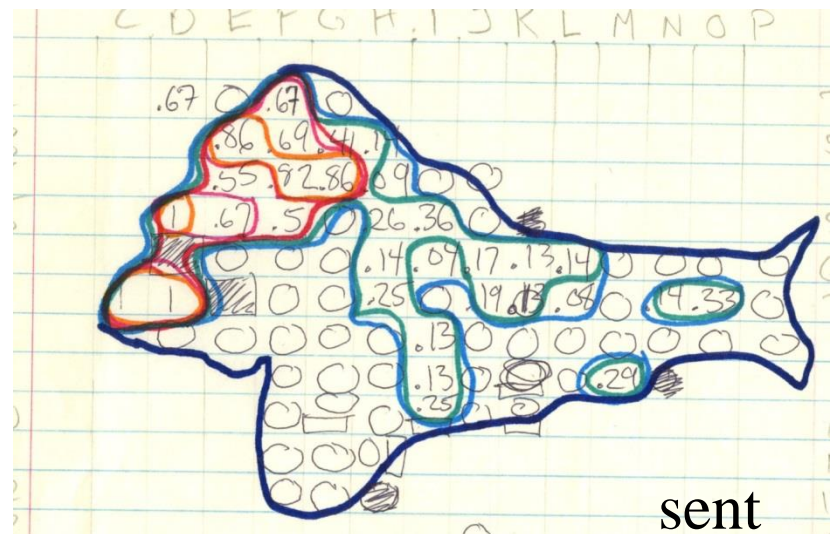
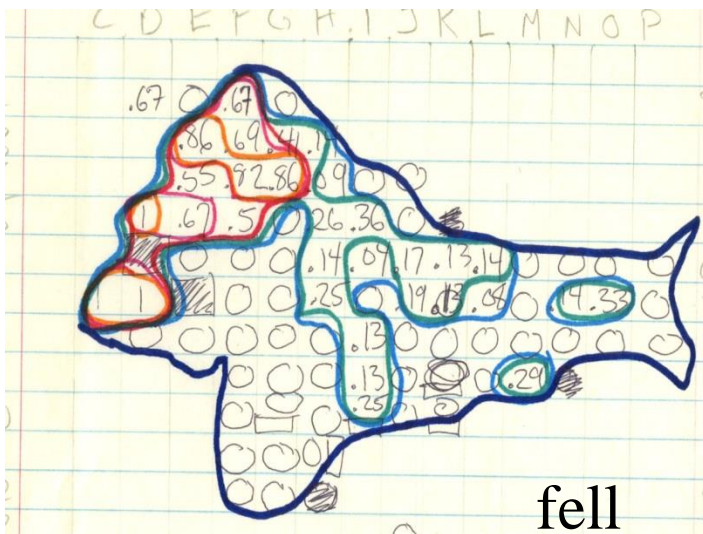
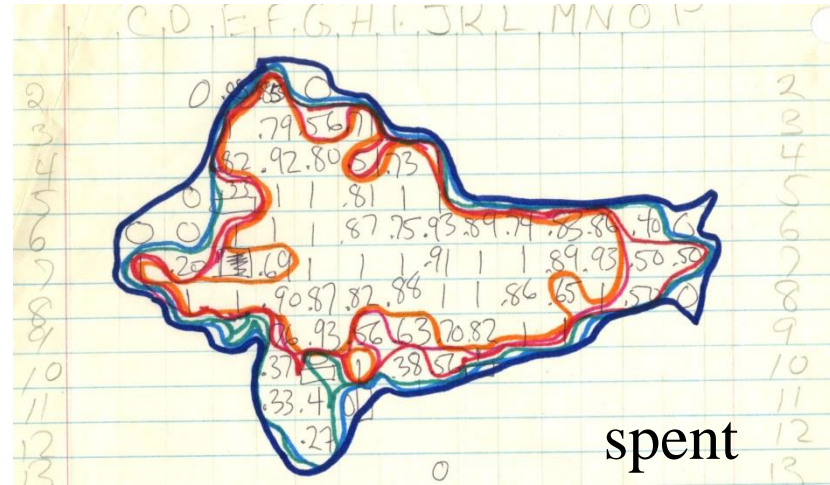
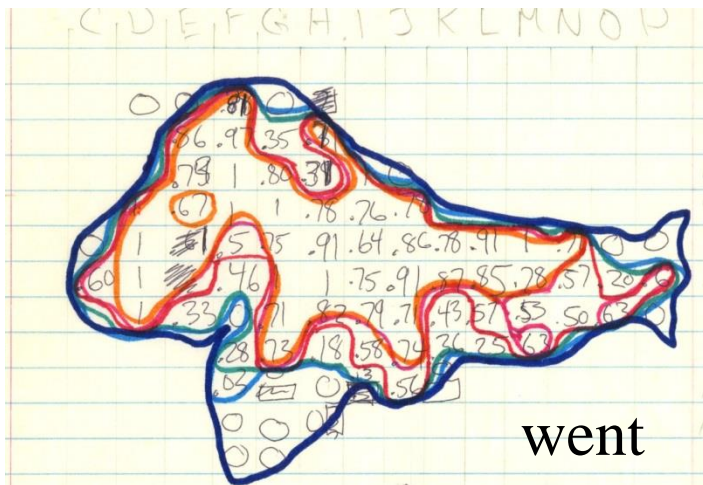
... spent / wasted all that he had ...



... he sent him to his fields ...



compare all four points placed side by side



What conditions the differences in distribution?

1. There are two intransitives and two transitives. But the distribution for {went} is quite similar to the distribution for {spent} while the distribution for {fell} is more similar to the distribution for {sent} than it is similar to the distribution for {went}.
2. Notice, however, that the subject of {went} and the object of {spent} leave their prior positions or disappear; while the object of {sent} and the subject of {fell} do not leave the scene or disappear. This suggests hypotheses which can be tested.

deixis as a contributing factor - transitives

(1a) *x yahãã bhej.o* (V) 10

(1b) *x yahãã bhej d.o* (Vv) 18

x here send! send GIVE!

'Send (x) here.'

(2a) *x vahãã bhej.o* (V) 6

(2b) *x vahãã bhej d.o* (Vv) 15

x there send! send GIVE!

'Send (x) there.'

[Data insufficient for running a chi-square test.]

deixis as a contributing factor - intransitives

(1a) *bas pahũč.ī* *thī* (V) 9/15/10=34

(1b) *bas pahũč ga.ī* *thī* (Vv) 2/ 6/ 1= 9

bus arrived arrive GONE had
'The bus had arrived.'

(2a) *bas nikal.ī* *thī* (V) 7/ 1/ 5=13

(2b) *bas nikal ga.ī* *thī* (Vv) 6/ 6/ 6=18

bus departed depart GONE had
'The bus had departed.'

The 2nd set is for *gārī* 'car'; 3rd set is for *tren* 'train'.

χ^2 test

	arrive [<i>pahũč-</i>]	depart [<i>nikal-</i>]	Row Totals
V	34 (27.31)	13 (19.69)	47
Vv = V + vector GO	9 (15.69)	18 (11.31)	27
Column Totals	43	31	74 (Grand Total)

The Chi-square statistic is 10.7189. The P value is 0.00106.

This result is significant at $p < 0.01$

If the fact of motion lacks an immobile frame ... ?

1/2 *gubbāre-kī havā nikal.ī* (7) ... *nikal ga.ī* (8)
balloon-Gen air left leave WENT

'The air went out of the balloon.'

3/4 *māĩ nikal.ā thā* (29) *māĩ nikal ga.yā thā* (1)
I left was I leave GONE had

5 *māĩ nikal par.ā thā* (13)
'I had gone out.' I leave FALLEN was

[Use of *par-* FALL as in 5 is a special feature of H-U Vv's]

External semantic factors:
'with ease' versus 'with difficulty'

1. *āsāni-se milā* (6) 2. *āsāni-se mil gayā* (36)
ease-with got ease-with get WENT

'...was obtained with ease.'

3. *muškil-se milā* (27) 4. *muškil-se mil gayā* (0)
difficulty-with got difficulty-with get WENT

'... was obtained with difficulty.'

Subevental distinction?

'With ease' focuses on result; 'with difficulty', on process.

External factors that inhibit or disfavor Vv's

1. Dependence on verbs of phase {begin / start V-ing}, {begin / start to V}, {stop / quit V-ing}, {keep V-ing}
2. Activation of contrastive conativity in V
3. Negation
4. Wh-words
5. Language-specific syntactic environments

In general the greater the overall flux of Vv's, the narrower the range of environments open to them.

See Hook 1991.

External factors that inhibit Vv's:

dependence on verbs of phase {begin or start V-ing or to V }

1. *gir-ne diyā* (25)

fall-Inf gave

'...allowed (x) to fall.'

2. *gir jā-ne diyā* (33)

fall GO-Inf gave

[no syntactic bar]

3. *gir-ne lagā* (100+)

fall-Inf began

'... began to fall.'

4. *gir jā-ne lagā* (0)

fall GO-Inf began

[a subevental conflict?]

[This was first noticed by Vincenc Pořízka 45 years ago.]

External factors that inhibit Vv's:

dependence on verbs of phase: {stop V-ing, quit V-ing}

1. *bhej-nā* *čāhie thā* (51)

2. *bhej de-nā* *čāhie thā* (22)

send-Inf send GIVE-Inf should had

'(x) should have sent (y).' [again no syntactic bar]

3. *bhej-nā* *band kar diyā thā* (25)

4. *bhej de-nā* *band kar diyā thā* (0)

send-Inf send GIVE-Inf shut do GIVEN had

'(x) had stopped sending (y).'

Subevental difference? Counterfactual 'should have V'ed'
focuses on result. But phasal verbs?

External semantic factors:

Activation of contrastive conativity in V [**Vv*]

1. *kārd dhūūrḥā lekin milā nahī*
card searched but got Neg

'I looked for my card but couldn't find it.'

[[is-was-willbe.blogspot.com/2008/04/5-april saturday.html](http://is-was-willbe.blogspot.com/2008/04/5-april%20saturday.html)]

2. *kārd dhūūrḥ liyā (*lekin milā nahī)*
card search TOOK but got Neg
'I found my card (*but couldn't find it).

[This phenomenon was noticed by Harender Vasudeva 40 years ago.]

External semantic factors:

Negation in general suppresses Vv manifestation

(1a) <i>vāpas</i> <i>bhej.o</i>	(V) 50 +
(1b) <i>vāpas</i> <i>bhej d.o</i>	(Vv) 40 +
back send! send GIVE!	
'Send x back!'	
(2a) <i>vāpas</i> <i>mat bhej.o</i>	(V) 9
(2b) <i>vāpas</i> <i>mat bhej d.o</i>	(Vv) 0
back don't send! send GIVE!	
'Don't send x back!'	

[This phenomenon is noticed in most grammars of Hindi or Urdu.]

Suppressive semantic factors:
Wh-words rarely co-occur with Vv's

(1a) *māl bhej.ā hai* (V) 20

(1b) *māl bhej diy.ā hai* (Vv) 11

goods sent has send GIVEN has

'[X] has sent the goods.'

(2a) *kyā bhej.ā hai?* (V) 30

(3b) *kyā bhej diy.ā hai?* (Vv) 1

what sent has send GIVEN has

'What has [X] sent?'

[This phenomenon was noticed by Burton-Page (1957).]

Environments that promote Vv's

1. In clauses dependent on expressions of fear or anxiety.

'I am afraid that (= lest) you **might get mad** at me.'

2. In clauses expressing limit of a related action.

'Don't go anywhere until I **get** there.'

3. In clauses expressing action anterior to another action.

'By the time I got home my lips **had swollen up** like dumplings.'

clauses dependent on expressions of fear or anxiety
(three concomitants are required)

1. *ḍar hai ki kahĩĩ ovarḍoz na ho jā-e*
fear is that lest overdose Neg become GO-Sbjnctv
'I'm afraid there might be an overdose.'

[merekavimitra.blogspot.com]

2. *ḍar.tā hũũ ki kahĩĩ bigar na jā-o tum*
fearing am that lest get.mad Neg GO-Sbjnctv you
'I'm afraid you might get mad (at me).'

[<http://mere--words.blogspot.com>]

[With 3 concomitants present this structure excludes V
(except for dependent clauses headed by statives).]

clauses expressing a limit (1) or anterior action (2)

1. *jab-tak māĩ na ā jā-ũũ tab-tak kahĩĩ na jā.nā*
when-till I Neg come GO-Sbjctv then-till anywhere Neg go
'Don't go anywhere until I **get** there.' [pakhi-akshita.blogspot]

2. *jab-tak ghar pahũčā hōṭh sūj-kar vare ke samān ho gae the*
when-by home got lips swell-Ger dumplings be GONE had
'By the time I got home my lips **had swelled** like dumplings.'
[hindivichar.com]

[These 2 environments are Vv-promoters but not so strongly so as clauses dependent on expressions of fear or anxiety.]

vector Vv's and factor Vfv's

(1a) *zamīn-par* *gir* *gayā*

(1b) *dhartī-par* *gir* *āyā*

ground-on Earth-on fall CAME WENT

'He fell on the ground / fell to the Earth.'

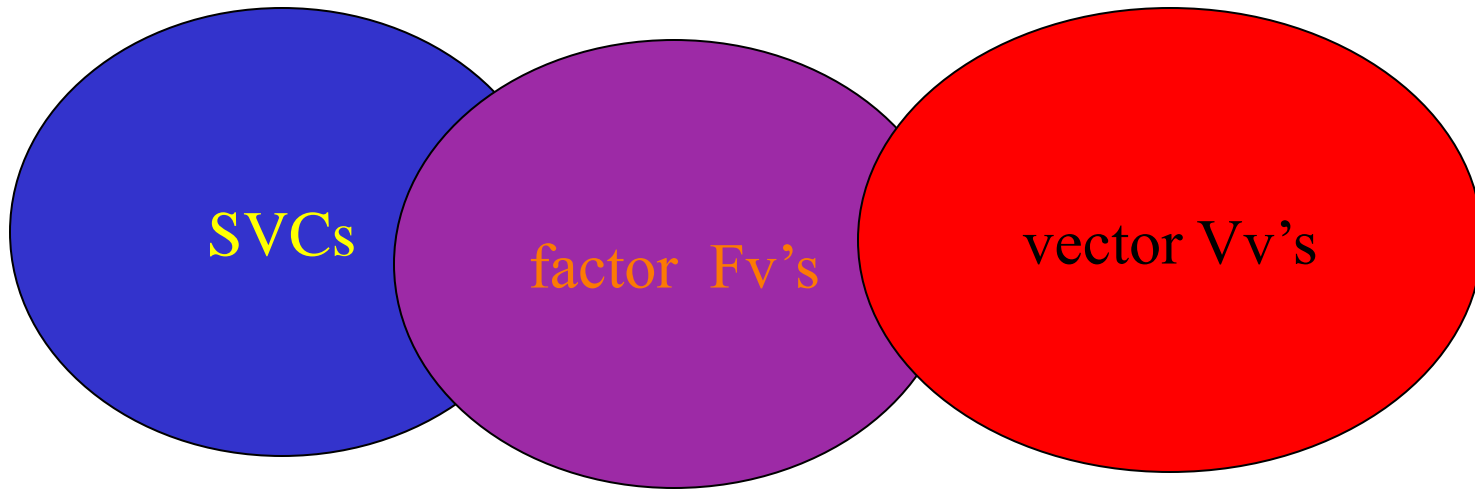
(2ab) *āākhō mē āāsū* *bhar* *gae* / *āe*

(2cd) *āākhe* *āāsuō-se* *bhar* *gaĩ* / *āĩ*

eyes in tears-with fill WENT CAME

'(His) eyes filled with tears.'

overlapping fuzzy categories



vector Vv's and factor Vfv's

(1) *us-ne vo kitāb khoj nikālī hai jo ...*
he-Erg that book search taken.out has which

'He has found the book that ... ' [uttaranchal.yuku.com]

(2) *haha.no-hi-no purezento-o yatto sagaši-dašita!*
Mother's-Day-Gen present-Acc finally search-took.out

'I finally found a Mother's Day gift!'

[twitter.com/makirom]

See Hook (2013) for more on the distinction of Vv's and Vfv's and the implications for evolution of Type 4 Vv's from Type 1 V-V's.

divergent function in convergent form:

Hindi-Urdu vs. Marathi

1. *xālī gilās mez-par rakh diye* [Hindi-Urdu]

empty glass table-on put GAVE

'He set the empty glasses on the table.'

2. *tyā-na te pustak ræk-var thev-un di.l.e* [Marathi]

he-Erg that book rack-on put-Ger GAVE

'He set the book on the rack.'

(www.marathinovels.net/2008/09/marathi-litearature-black-hole-ch-49.html)

ratios of Vv's to totals of Vv + corresponding V's

ti paḍun ge.li 1 / *ti paḍ.li* 19 => 1/20 = 5%

vo gir gaī 17 / *vo giri* 25 => 17/42 = 46%

'...she fell...'

pakaḍun dilā / *ghetlā* // *pakaḍ.lā* => 9/280 = 3%

use pakar diyā / *liyā* // *use pakarā* => 212/371 = 58%

'... caught (him)...'

khāli thev.un dila / *khāli thev.la* => 1/19 = 5%

nīce rakh dī / *lī* // *nīce rakhī* => 21/93 = 23%

'...placed it below...'

characteristic contrast: conative vs completive

1. *khup šodh.l.e paṇ miḷ.at nāhiye*
much searched but getting Neg.is
'I looked (for it) a lot but can't find it.'

(www.maayboli.com/hitguj/messages/35/115839.html)

2. *te šodh-un kādh.l.e* (**paṇ miḷ.at nāhiye*)
it search-Ger TOOK.OUT but getting Neg.is
'I found it (*but can't find it).'

Hindi vs. Marathi: Vv's with phasal verbs

1. <i>ram.ĩĩ</i> 3	2. <i>ram gaĩĩ</i> 13
3. <i>ram.li</i> 59	4. <i>ram.un ge.li</i> 9
enjoyed	enjoy WENT

'... became rapt.' Vv /total=78%; Vv /total=14%

5. <i>ram-ne lag.ā</i> 21	6. <i>ram jā-ne lag.ā</i> 0
7. <i>ram-u lāg.li</i> 11	8. <i>ram.un dzā-u lāg.li</i> 1
enjoy-Inf began	enjoy GO-Inf began

'... began to become rapt.'

Hindi vs. Marathi CVs with phasal verbs

1. *samajh.ne lagā* 100+
understand began
'... began to understand...'
2. *samajh le.ne lagā* 0
understand TAKE began
'... began to understand...'
3. *samadz.u lāg-* 38
understand began
'... began to understand...'
4. *samadz.un ghe.u lāg-* 4
understand TAKE began
'... began to understand...'

Vv-promoting contexts in Marathi? fear-clauses

1. *golā ye-ṅār nāhi nā yāčī kālji vāt.l.i*
ball come-Fut Neg NQM this.Gen worry felt
'I worried the cannonball might come my way'
(anandghan.blogspot.com)

2. *uddeš vi.phal ho-il hi bhiti hoti*
goal unsuccessful be-Fut this fear was
'(They) were afraid they'd be unsuccessful.'
(mymahabharat.blogspot.com)

origins of Vx's

Speculative topic

More than one kind of origin is possible

- Independent, internally motivated
- Interstratal: Andean Spanish
- Stimulus diffusion
- Grammatical capture: Southern Rajasthan

Biclausal origin? => pair verbs? => Vv's?

meri *i.boilim* *wara* *pinis*

'The.woman boiled the.water “finish”! '

evidence for biclausal origin?

(1) *sāhaṇu bhaggau laggu umaggehim*
army ran.Msg began.Msg bad.roads.Ins

'The army began to run on bad roads.'

(Svayambhūdeva's *paumačariu* 21.7.8)

(2) *so jāu jji muu*
he WENT Prt died

'He died.' (*paumačariu* 36.5.9)

[examples as cited in V. Bubenik 1998:113]

functional evolution of Vx's

1. Actionsartal \Rightarrow completive \Rightarrow aspectual

2. De re \Rightarrow attitudinal / de dictu?

(a) *koi ši-te šimač-čat-ta-no desu*

love do-Ger PUT.1-PUT.2-Pst-Nmnlzr is

'I fell in love (to my regret).'

(b) *dekho to kaun āyā hai āj apne yahāñ*

see then who come has today our place

'Just see who has come to our place today.'

(c) *dekho subah-subah kaun ā gayā hai dimāḡ khā-ne*

see morning-2 who come GONE has brain eat-Inf

'Who [the hell] has come to bother me first thing?'

Are functions of Vx's hierarchizable?

1. Actionsartal \Rightarrow completive \Rightarrow aspectual
2. De re \Rightarrow attitudinal / de dictu?
3. Disposal sense $>$ anteriority $>$ perfective $>$ supposition?
4. *rāt-ko yahāā pānī pī-ne ātā.hai,*
night-at here water drink-Inf comes

kabhī.kabhī dopahar-mē bhī ā jātā.hai
sometimes afternoon-in too come GOES

'At night (the leopard) comes here to drink. Sometimes he comes in the afternoon, too.' [from Premchand (1936) *godān*]

[This sequence was noted and discussed in Nespital (1981).]

The Vv challenge!

On the basis of the semantic and pragmatic properties of the Vv in Hindi-Urdu as described here [and as will emerge in the future] the subject should be able to look at an English language text and decide which points in the text require a Vv, which points exclude a Vv and which points allow either a Vv or a corresponding V.

The subject should be able to pass this test without knowledge of Hindi-Urdu [or similarly Vv-rich language] and without relying on intuition.

The subject should be able to justify each choice of Vv or V [or either one as an option] by referring to a set of explicitly described semantic and pragmatic features.

At that point we may claim to have solved the “V-V mystery”.

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Appendix 1: Vv analogs

reversals: *zamīn-par de paṭkā* ⇔ *paṭak diyā*
ground-on GIVE flung ⇔ fling GAVE
'...dashed it to the ground.' (Hindi)

3-part CVs: *pūrī.tarah toṛ-kar rakh diyā*
pūrī.tarah toṛ diyā
completely break-Ger PUT GAVE
'...broke (them) completely.' (Hindi)

natsu-mo owat-te –šimač-čat-ta-ši
summer-too finish-Ger-PUT'-PUT''-Pst-?
'Too damn bad summer's over and done!'

more Vv analogs: pair verbs

1. *mi ne-gaʔ-ru ne-laʔ-ru*

I 1sg-eat-Pst 1sg-STRIKE-Pst

'I ate it up.'

(Gorum, S. Munda)

2. *hullī kask-as hinās-as*

horse died-Nsg WENT-Nsg

(Brahui)

'The horse died.'

3. *pē g-εččhε + a-bir-εččhε*

go-2duImp.1sgBen + Aug-GIVE-2duImp.1sgBen

'You (two) go for me!'

(Limbu)

Vv analogs: directional adverbs

- (1) *mhe rūp dhāraṇ karō par-u*
we form(Nsg) assume do-1pl AWAY-Nsg
'We will assume (our true) form.' (Bhitrodi)
- (2) *hāthi muo par-o ⇔ hāthi ni muo*
elephant died AWAY-Msg elephant Neg died
'The elephant died / didn't die.' (Bhitrodi)

CV analogs in VO languages: Russian

- (1) *a zdes' vzjala da i načalas' osen'*
and here TOOK and and began autumn
'And here without warning autumn began.'
- (2) *a vdruz, vozmeš', da i vspomniš'*
and suddenly TAKE.2sg and and recall.2sg
'And suddenly you'll remember...'

CV analogs in VO languages: English

- (1) *Then I **went** and dropped it a couple of days later on the tiled bathroom floor - ouch.*
- (2) *What did you **go** and do that for?*
- (3) *If you are not giving away free information on your web site then a huge proportion of your business is just **upping** and leaving.*
- (4) *Big Pig, she **took** and built herself a house out of brush.*
- (5-7) ***went** & died, **up(ped)** & died, **took** & died*



Appendix 2: Comparable functions in divergent forms

Case study: Perfectivity in Russian, Hindi-Urdu & Marathi

convergent function in divergent form?

1. *položil* *pustýe* *stakány* *na-stól*
put^P empty glasses on-table
'He set the empty glasses on the table.'
2. *xālī* *gilās* *mez-par* *rakh* *diye*
empty glass table-on put GAVE
'He set the empty glasses on the table.'

perfective aspect: forms in **Russian**

Non-perfective ⇔ Perfective

- Prefixing: *déla.t'* ⇔ *s.déla.t'* 'to do'
gugl.irová.t' ⇔ *po.gugl.irová.t'* 'to google'
- Suffixing: *pá.da.t'* ⇔ *pás.t'* 'to fall'
osta.vá.t'.s'a ⇔ *ostá.t'.s'a* 'to stay'
poni.m.á.t' ⇔ *poni.á.t'* 'to understand'
- Suppletion: *klás.t'* ⇔ *položí.t'* 'to put'
loví.t' ⇔ *pojmá.t'* 'to catch'
na.xodí.t' ⇔ *na.j.tí* 'to find'

ratios of perfectives / Vv's to totals

ona upála na zemljú / pádala na z. 43/103 = 42%
vo gir gaī / vo girī 17 / 42 = 46%
'...she fell (on the ground)...'

oní poj máli ego / oní lov íli ego 147/ 218 = 67%
use pakar liyā / use pakarā 164/280 = 58%
'... (they) caught him...'

položil knígu / klál knígu 501/570 = 88%
rakh dī / rakh lī // rakhī 432/623 = 70%
'...placed (the book) ...'

characteristic contrast: conative vs completive

1. *dólgo* *lovíli* *i* *na-konéts* *pojma-*
long.time caught^{NP} and at-end caught^P
'...chased (us) a long time & at last caught (us).'
(<https://forum.dpni.org/forum>)

2. *gdé.to* *naxodíl* *no* *ne* *našól*
somewhere found^{NP} but Neg found^P
'I was looking for it somewhere but didn't
find it.'
(forum.ru-board.com)

characteristic limits: phasal verbs

1. *dáli pádat'* (10?)

gave fall.Inf^{NP}

'They let (x) fall.'

2. *dáli upást'* (100+)

gave fall.Inf^P

3. *náčali pádat'* (100+)

began fall.Inf^{NP}

'They began to fall.'

4. *náčali upást'* (0)

began fall.Inf^P

characteristic limits on Vx: phasal verbs

dolžný posylát' (100+)

should send.Inf^{NP}

'They should send (x).'

dolžný poslát' (100+)

should send.Inf^P

perestáli posylát' (100+)

stopped send.Inf^{NP}

'They stopped sending (x).'

perestáli poslát' (1)

stopped send.Inf^P

perfective-promoting contexts: fear-clauses

1. *boj-ú.s' kak.by oná s márkom ne sputá.la.s'*
fear-1sg lest she with Mark Neg entangle^P

'I'm afraid she might get entangled with M.'

2. *boj.ú.s' kak.by moj múž ne postradál*
fear-1sg lest my husband Neg suffer^P

'I'm afraid my husband might suffer...'

(www.perfectlady.ru/article-16776.html)

perfective-promoting contexts: fear-clauses

1. *boj.ú.s' kak.by podrúga na negó*
fear lest girl.friend on him

'...I am afraid that (my) girl friend might ...

zagljádyvat'.sja *ne stála*

be.unable.to.keep.eyes.off^{NP} Neg start^P

... be unable to keep her eyes off him.'

(www.terrawoman.com)

perfective-promoting contexts: fear-clauses

1. ... *kto-nibúd'* *ne uvídel* ... (37)

2. ... *kto-nibúd'* *ne uvidál* ... (3)

3. ... *kto-nibúd'* *ne vídel* ... (49)

someone Neg saw ^{P/NP/NP}

'...no-one / caught sight of // saw /...'

4. ... *kak.by kto-nibúd'* *ne uvídel* ... (10)

5. ... *kak.by kto-nibúd'* *ne uvidál* ... (0)

6. ... *kak.by kto-nibúd'* *ne vídel* ... (0)

'...lest someone / catch sight of // see / ...'

perfective-promoting contexts: fear-clauses

1. ... *koī dekh na* *l.e* ... (21)

2. ... *koī na dekh.e* ... (3)

anyone see Neg see TAKE

'...no-one may / catch sight of // see /...'

3. ... *kahīī koī dekh na le* ... (19)

4. ... *kahīī koī na dekh.e* ... (0)

'...lest someone / catch sight of // see / ...'

Vx-promoting contexts in Russian? fear-clauses

1. *boj-ú.s' kak.by oná s márkom ne s.putá.la.s'*
fear-1sg lest she with Mark Neg entangle^P
'I'm afraid she might get tangled up with M.'
2. *ḍar lagtā.hai kahĩ ulajh na jāē dhāge*
fear sticks lest tangle Neg GO threads
'I'm afraid the threads might get tangled up.'

(birenbhatia.blogspot.com/2008/06/blog-post.html)

exceptions to the CV in fear-clauses

1. *ḍar hai ki kahĩ ye na kahā jāe ki ...*
fear is that lest this Neg said Pass.Sbjnctv that
'I'm afraid people might say that...' (stative)
(http://www.bhaskar.com/2007/08/13/kiran_bedi.html)
2. *ḍar hai ki kahĩ vo na māᅇ-ne lage...*
fear is that lest he Neg ask-Inf begin
'I'm afraid he might start demanding...'
(simplicium tantum) ([//in.jagran.yahoo.com/sakhi](http://in.jagran.yahoo.com/sakhi))

exceptions to the perfective in fear-clauses

1. *boj-ú.s' kak.by mné ne býlo xúže*
fear-1sg lest me.Dat Neg would.be^{NP} worse
'I'm afraid it might be worse for me.' (stative)
(www.woman.ru/health)

2. *oná strašila.s' kak.by ja eë ne ubivál*
she feared lest I her Neg kill^{NP}
'She was afraid that I was going to kill her.'
(anetko.info/voprowaet_storogevogo_mastera_soglasen.htm)

Appendix 3: Geographical distribution

In Masica's Indo-Turanian Linguistic Area

1. South Asia:

- a. Indo-Aryan (but not in E. Shina or Sanskrit)
- b. Dravidian
- c. Tibeto-Burman: Kiranti, Newar, Karen...
- d. Indian Austro-Asiatic (but not in Khasi?)
- e. Absent in Burushaski
- f. No information: Nihali, Kusunda, Car,
Shom Pen, Vedda

Geographical distribution

2. Central Asia:

a. Altaic: all? (marginal in Turkish)

b. Iranian

i. In Baluchi, Tashkandi Tajik

ii. Not in Pashto or Dari

iii. Reversed pair verbs in Persian

c. Tibetan (marginal in Lhasa), Balti

Geographical distribution

3. Northeast Asia:

a. Mongolian)

b. Korean (and Tungusic?)

c. Japanese

d. Ainu: *nenō i-ki wa en-kore hani!*
thus Indef.Obj-do and 1sgObj-GIVE Emph
'Please do it like that for me!'

e. Absent in Yukaghir (Maslova 2003); Udihe ...

f. No info? Chukchi, Itelmen, Nivkh, Manchu...

Geographical distribution

4. West Asia:

a: Northeast Caucasian: Avar

č'a sun.a / sun an.a

fire went.out / go.out WENT

'The fire went out.'

b: Kartvelian: No Vv's

c: Semitic: No Vs; Cushitic: No Vv's

d: Anatolian Turkish: Lost most of its Vv's

Geographical distribution

4. Outside Eurasia:

a. Andes: Quichua and local Spanish

huañu.či-špa *šita-šun* (Quichua)
kill-Ger THROW-1plFut

bota-remos *mat-ándo-te* (Spanish)
THROW-1plFut kill-Ger-you
'We will kill you.'

b. NE Africa: Somali, Oromo: No CVs. But...

í haattáa kunt-í wott-iisi (Wolaitta)
he water fill-CP PUT.DOWN-3MsgPst
'He drew some water (in case pipe later closed).'

Australian Vv's?

- (1) *gabarn-na wek-ga ga-ra-n* (Wagiman)
quickly-Asp swallow-Asp 3sg-THROW-Pres
'He swallows it quickly.' Wilson 1999:46
- (2) *bewh-ma nga-bu-ni boran* (Wagiman)
cross-Asp 1sg-HIT-Pst river
'I crossed the river.' Wilson 1999:64
- (3) *wer-wun-any-ta-m* (Kamu)
tease-3AugObj-2MinSbj-SPEAR-PP
'You two teased them.' Harvey 2003:160

Australian Vv's?

Comparable with S. Asian Vv's? Wilson 1999:62

'coverb' ('particle') + verb = main verb + vector = Vv?

Highest Vv % in S. Asia is @ 25%.

In N. Australia ratio seems to be much higher.

A glimpse of the future?

(barring the Singularity)

Vv's and fear-clauses in Kazakh

1. Балқаш көлі құрғап кетпей ме деп қорқады
balqaš kœli qūrġa-p ket-pej me de.p qorqa-dı
Balkhash Lake dry-Ger **GO**-Neg QM Quot fear-3
'(They) are afraid that Lake Balkhash will dry up.'
2. Қазақстан қазақтанып кетеді деп қорқады
qazaqstan qazaq-tanı-p ket-edi de.p qorqa-dı
Kazakhstan kazakh-ify-Ger **GO**-Fut Quot fear-3
'Kazakhstan is afraid it will go Kazakh.'