

The linguistic prerequisites and grammaticalization of ‘compound verb’ in Hindi*

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Contents

- I. Introduction
- II. The synthesis of linguistics elements
- III. The Linguistic prerequisites of Compound verb in Hindi
- IV. The notion of grammaticalization
- V. The degree of grammaticalization
- VI. Conclusion

<Abstract>

The present paper is an attempt to understand the complex structure of compound verb construction (CV henceforth) and the linguistic prerequisites of CV in Hindi. In doing so, I have divided this research paper in three sections. Section one establishes the linguistic prerequisites and the philosophical basis under which two or more lexical items come to get syncretized both semantically and morphologically to form a new category of grammar that we know as ‘compound verb’. It establishes the semantic, morphological and syntactic prerequisites of CV. Section two discusses one of the

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salient features i.e. the process of grammaticalization of linguistic elements in the formations of CV and talks about the degree of grammaticalizations. The third section investigates the types of the compound verb construction and their linguistic properties in Hindi. This helps to end the paper with a conclusion as to what should and should not be called the compound verb in Hindi.

Key Words: Compound verb, linguistic prerequisites, ontology, semantics, morphology, syntax, grammaticalization, formation, function, pragmatics, syncretism

1. Introduction

In modern linguistics, it is a well-established fact that language works as a tool for human cognition. The language adaptability by human being and cognitive development has been termed as the ‘innate endowment’ in the literature (Chomsky 1965). Whatever may be the procedure, it is the true that language helps us to cognize the world. No wonder, language typologists find it fascinating when they find so much of similarities at the level of structural nuances amongst languages of the world. For example, if the speakers of any language has to ‘negate’ something, they will have to use some means of ‘negation’ in the language. Similarly, if someone wants to ask a question in any language, s/he has to use some strategies of interrogative. It is, in fact, immaterial to bother what words are used for such purposes, because such language specificities remain a matter of parameterization in human languages and thus the structural dependencies of different languages and their family that they belong to. But, what is important in all these activities is that we form a fixed and predictable pattern of structure to indicate various kinds of grammatical categories in languages, and this is what makes ‘languages’ unique in terms of their fixed usages of the linguistic patterns (Whaley, 1997: 6). It is in such situation that I find the Rgvedic statement accurate in stating

that 'language cuts forms in the ocean of reality ...' (1.164.41)¹. This statement has various interpretations. However, for the purpose of my research paper, I would like to state that 'the ways in which human mind responds to the categorization of human languages across the world is amazingly similar and finite'. This re-interpretation of the Rgvedic statement sets the real ground for functional typology where categories of human languages are understood and interpreted purely on the basis of the functional values of the language.

If we reconnect the whole discussion and the philosophical basis of the processes of the creating the 'categories' of human language vis-à-vis the processes of compounding two and more linguistic elements in different languages, especially the compounding of verbal elements (popularly known as 'compound verb') in many languages of the world including Hindi, spoken in Indian subcontinent, we find amazing similarities that have been reported by different researchers (Hook 2001, 1991, 1974; Das 2006, 2013; Butt 2010, 1995; Koul 2006; Singh 1997, Masica 1991; Abbi and Gopalakrishnan 1991; Kulsum 2014; Sharma, 1994 etc.). There are many more work and the list of references will keep increasing as we go on mentioning them, however, these reference would suffice our present need with regard to the discussion of the main findings of the compound verb construction in Hindi.

2. The synthesis of linguistics elements

It is very interesting to examine the way by which two or more lexical items get linguistically synthesized for different pragmatic purposes. If we examine the historicity of this synthesis, it unfolds several fascinating

¹ Kapoor, K., 2005, *Dimensions of Pāṇini Grammar*. Delhi: DK Print-world

theoretical facts, however, this has not drawn enough attention of the researchers in linguistics. An instance of such synthesis of two lexical items that comes to my mind immediately is the process by which the 'phrases' gradually become 'compounds' in many languages. Hook (2001: 61) also notices such phenomenon with regard to the 'compound verb' in Hindi and he feels '*tempted to propose that compound verbs developed historically out of serial verb*'. Whatever may be the historical development and the source of such syncretism of the compound verb, it is still very interesting to examine how two or more lexical items, when put together for synthesis, share some core linguistic properties and distribute the work-load amongst themselves in order to form a new grammatical category. It is important to evaluate this process especially when two similar grammatical categories e.g. verb + verb come together to form a new category i.e. compound verb. It is a very common linguistic fact that two verbs can't form a verb phrase unless one of them gives up some core semantic and syntactic properties. All the cases of auxiliation (Kuteva, 2001) or formation of helping verbs have to pass through this process of linguistic synthesis when they occur with a main verb in almost all the languages. The auxiliary or helping verb has to restrict its semantic meaning and acquire some unique syntactic role before they come to form a complex verb phrase. It is, therefore, very important that we set out the prerequisites for the formation of the compound verb construction in Hindi before we discuss its salient features. One of the prerequisites of the compound verb construction is that the second verb (popularly known as V_2 , vector verb, explicator verb, light verb etc.) must be grammaticalized or semantically bleached of its meaning in majority of the cases. Despite the fact that lots of work has been done in this area, I am not aware of any work that categorically analyses this linguistic feature of the CV in Hindi. Thus, there remains so much of confusion as to which combination of two verb is a compound verb which ones are not

so in Hindi. So, we will discuss the notion of grammaticalization in the subsequent section, but let us first examine the linguistic prerequisites for the compound verb construction in Hindi.

3. The Linguistic prerequisites of Compound verb in Hindi

Hindi, like many South East/Asian languages, has abundant usage of compound verbs. Hook's work (1974) is the first full-fledged account of the compound verb in Hindi. Ever since Hook (1974), there has been numerous works² in the form of dissertations, research papers and books which have taken up the issue of 'compound verb' in many Indian languages. There seems to be lots of disagreement between the researchers to arrive at the consensus as to what should and what should not be called a compound verb construction in Hindi and in other languages in India. Das (2006) has examined the compound verb construction in more than ten languages and remarked at the generalization of the compound verb constructions in Hindi and its major varieties. However, there are many issues, misinterpretations and confusions about the 'grammatical construct' which is known as compound verb.

Das (2006) has analyzed the formation of compound verbs and examined the properties of each member and their \pm transitivity very carefully and is in complete agreement with Hook (1991; 2001) about the linguistic forms and functions of the two verbal elements in the compound verb construction. However, Das (2006) has claimed that there are some

² The references that I have provided in the beginning of paper may help the researchers and the readers to get familiar with different kinds of work on compound verb constructions in Hindi and other languages.

very subtle differences between the formation of compound verbs in Hindi and in other Indian languages which Hook (1991; 2001) seems to have overgeneralized these subtle differences. For example, it has been agreed upon by the researchers that the first verbal element in the CV must be in the fixed form i.e. either in the root form or in the participial form. This generalization has been misinterpreted by different scholars and a combination of two linguistic elements such as ‘jane lægʌ’, ‘started going’, ‘jane djiye’, ‘allow to go’ etc. have been explained and cited as the examples of compound verbs in Hindi including in Hook (ibid). But, this needs some re-thinking for a very simple reason. Das (2013) has argued that ‘jane lægʌ’, ‘started going’, ‘jane djiye’, ‘allow to go’ etc. can’t be considered as compound verbs because between these two verbal elements we can put a case-marker, e.g. ‘jane ko kəhʌ’, ‘asked to leave/go’ and ‘kʰane ko pučʰʌ’, ‘asked for food’. Das (2013) has proven with lots of examples with various linguistic tests that verbal elements in Hindi such as ‘jana, kʰana, pəɾʰna and likʰna etc. when they change into ‘jane, kʰane, pəɾʰne and likʰne’, these verbal elements become the derived nominal elements. This is why when they are combined with another secondary/light verb, it is possible to put a case marker between these elements. After all, there is no example that we can think of presenting from any language where the verbal elements can occur with a case-markers, and after all the ‘case-markers’ are the property of nouns rather than that of the verbs. Thus, there are these obvious fallacies with such analysis and we need to respect the prerequisites of the formation of the compound verbs and be careful in calling the two or more combined verbal elements as CV in Indian languages or in any other languages that allow such formation of complex verbal categories.

However, coming back to Hindi and the formation of compound verbs, we must agree to the following linguistic prerequisites in order to consider two verbal elements as the compound verb formation in Hindi:

- a. *The meaning of the V_1 must be replaceable with that of the compound verb in Hindi and other related languages. This rule has some aberration or exception³ with just two V_2 or Vector verbs i.e. 'lena', 'take' and 'dena', 'give' in Hindi.*
- b. *The first verbal element i.e. V_1 must be in the root or a form that remains fixed, and in case of an inflection, it should not show agreement with the subject or the object in the sentence. Das (2006) has proven this rule in the compound verb construction with examples from more than ten major varieties of Hindi and also in some other dominant languages in India such as Marathi, Nepali and Punjabi.*
- c. *The \pm transitivity of the vector verb decides the syntactic (structural) transitivity of the compound verb construction. This rule is very important to understand for the placement of the ergative marker '-ne' in compound verb construction in Hindi.*

The above three rules of compound verb construction in Hindi are the well-established linguistic prerequisites that almost all or many combinations of two verbal elements will have to follow before being called as 'compound verbs'. These requirements are with regard to the semantic, morphological and syntactic conditions⁴ of the compound verb constructions.

³ These vector verbs have been explained with suitable examples in the upcoming section.

⁴ Some of the conditions mainly the semantic and morphological are universal for almost all the languages that have compound verb, but the syntactic condition is parametric and is more valid for the languages that has grammatical gender and ergativity.

1.	Polar verb	Vector verb	= Compound verb
	<i>pəɾʰna</i> 'to read'	<i>lena</i> 'to take'	= <i>pəɾʰna</i>
	mē-ne yəh kɪtab pəɾʰ li I-1MS-Erg this book read-V1 take-V2-Pst-3FS 'I read this book.'		mē-ne yəh kɪtab pəɾʰi I-1MS-Erg this book read-Pst-3FS 'I read this book.'

1. Semantic prerequisite of CV

The first and very important condition for the compound verb construction is that of its semantics. It is well-known and proven fact in Hindi that the V_1 or 'polar' verb dominates the semantics of the compound verb construction. There are some exceptions to it and we will take it up later, however, it is enough at the moment to say that if the meaning of the 'polar' verb is not equitable or replaceable to that of the whole compound verb, we don't call such combinations of two verbs as the compound verb.

For example, there are some combination of more than one verbal elements together but this can't qualify the prerequisites of the compound verb and thus they can't be called the compound verb construction in Hindi and other related Indian/Asian languages.

Let us see some examples which appear very similar with regard to the form of a compound verb construction that was given in (1), but there is a semantic as well as morphological conditions that are violated in the example given in (2).

Let us examine the case:

2.	False Polar verb	False Vector verb	= Not a Compound verb
	<i>cāl̥na</i> 'to go/walk'	<i>jan̥a</i> 'to go'	= cāl̥na
	l̥arka g ^h ar č̥ala g̥aya boy-3MS-Nom house walk-3MS went-Pst-3MS 'The boy went home.'		*l̥arka g ^h ar č̥ala boy-3MS-Nom house walk -Pst-3MS 'The boy went home.'

The above example shows that the verbs 'č̥ala' and 'jan̥a' cannot form a compound verb in Hindi. The semantic criterion is violated in the above example. However, there is another criterion that has also been violated in the above example and that is the next point for us to discuss and prove.

2. The morphological prerequisite of CV

The morphological prerequisite of a compound verb in Hindi is that the V_1 or the 'polar' verb must appear in the root form or in the participle form but it must be in a fixed form in all the instances of the compound verb construction. There are parametric variations⁵ for the morphological condition in Indian languages, but whatever is the case, the polar verb must occur in a fixed form i.e. a uniform form. There are languages like Magahi, Maithili where the polar verb takes a 'stem forming morpheme', but even in these languages, the polar verb, having taken that morpheme, occurs in a uniform form across the examples of compound verb construction.

Coming back to the point of discussion, the polar verb in Hindi must be in the root form or a participle form.

Let us see some examples to prove the point of our discussion:

⁵ See Das (2006) for more detail account of the variation in different varieties of Hindi-Urdu.

3.	Polar verb	Vector verb	Compound verb
	bəṭ ^h -na	jana	bəṭ ^h gəya = 'sat'
	k ^h a-na	lena	k ^h a liya = 'ate'
	so-na	jana	so gəya = 'slept'
	mər-na	jana	mər gəya = 'died'
	pəṭ ^h -na	lena	pəṭ ^h liya = 'read'
	lik ^h -na	dena	lik ^h diya = 'wrote'

All the compound verbs in the above example (7) show that the 'polar verb' must appear in the root form in Hindi. Now, if we consider the example (8) and its variants we can prove our point more elegantly that the two verbs in combination in example (8) are not the instances of compound verb construction.

4.	False polar verb	False vector verb	No compound verb
	cəl-na	jana	cəli gəyi = 'went' for feminine
	cəl-na	jana	čəla gəya = 'went' for masculine
	cəl-na	jana	čəle gəya = 'went' for plural nouns

So, the morphological criterion of the compound verb in Hindi that requires the 'polar verb' not to be conjugated or inflected with the person, number and gender features of the subject in the sentence is obeyed by the examples given in (3), but the examples in (4) show the violation of the morphological requirement of the compound verb in Hindi. In other words, when we use this kind of CV in different examples with a changed subject, the 'polar verb' will be inflected with the subject noun phrase in the sentence and it is a violation of the morphological condition for the compound verb in Hindi.

3. The syntactic prerequisite of CV

This is a unique and very crucial prerequisite of the compound verb construction in Hindi and some other languages including Kinnauri⁶ where the \pm transitivity of the 'vector verb' plays an important role in terms of licensing the ergative case with the subject noun phrase because if the 'vector verb' is intransitive, the whole compound-verb is intransitive, however, if the 'vector verb' is transitive, the whole compound-verb becomes syntactically transitive and it can license the ergative case with the subject in the sentence.

Let us see one example of each to make the point clear.

5. *larka* *sari* *roṭi* *kʰa* *gəya*
 boy-3MS-Nom all-F bread-3F eat-V₁ go-V₂-past-3MS
 'The boy ate all the bread'

In the example (5), the ergative case '-ne' is not possible as the compound verb becomes syntactically intransitive as the 'vector verb' is intransitive here. If we remove the 'vector verb' and have the same sentence in Hindi with just the main verb in the same tense and aspect, there will be an ergative case with the subject noun in the sentence.

For example:

- 6 *larka-ne* *sari* *roṭi* *kʰa-yi*
 boy-3MS-Nom all-F bread-3F eat-pst-3FS
 'The boy ate all the bread'

The above example (6) proves the point that we just made about the 'vector verb' in Hindi. The mirror imaging is also possible. Meaning if the

⁶ See Das (2013) for more detail, especially for the syntactic condition of the 'compound verb' as Kinnauri also follow the syntactic condition for licensing the ergative case suffix..

V_1 or polar verb is intransitive and the V_2 or vector verb is transitive, the entire compound verb becomes syntactically transitive and this can allow the ergative case with the subject in the sentence.

Let us see the example:

7. $l\ddot{a}rki-ne$ $s\ddot{a}b-ke\ samne$ $\check{c}h\ddot{u}k$ $d\ddot{r}ya$
 girl-3FS-Erg all-Gen-front sneeze- V_1 give- V_2 -pst-3MS
 'The girl sneezed in front of everyone'.
8. $kutte-ne$ $ga\ddot{r}i-p\ddot{a}r$ $m\ddot{u}t$ $d\ddot{r}ya$
 dog-3MS-Erg car-Loc piss- V_1 give- V_2 -pst-3MS
 'The dog pissed on the car'.

There are some other set of intransitive and transitive pairs in Hindi such as ' $b^h\ddot{o}k\ dena$ ', 'to bark', ' $n\ddot{a}ha\ lena$ ', 'to bathe' and ' $m\ddot{u}t\ dena$ ', 'to piss' etc. which work absolutely fine with regard to the abovementioned syntactic condition for the compound verb.

4. The notion of grammaticalization

This is the last section of the paper and I felt the need to evoke the notion of 'grammaticalization' in order to discuss some of the exceptions that have just been mentioned as 'exceptions' with regard to the compound verb construction in Hindi. I, having looked at the issue of grammaticalization as a process in linguistic categorization, have come to the conclusion that the cases of 'exceptions' of the compound verbs in Hindi can be explained if we look into the matter more carefully and symmetrically. So, the examples like ' $lan\ddot{a}$ ', 'to bring' and ' $b^h\ddot{u}ln\ddot{a}$ ', 'to forget' are clearly transitive verbs in Hindi, however, when they are used in the past tense or perfect aspect, there is no way we can allow the ergative case to be placed with the subject in the sentence. Therefore, I

want to use the notion of 'grammaticalization' as a process and explain that these verbs are not mono-morphemic elements but they are bi-morphemic words and they have become mono-morphemic in the continuum of grammaticalization process. For example, in Hindi there is a post-position 'upar', 'on' which is a grammatical free word/morpheme, but this has gradually been changed to 'upar>'par'> 'pe'> '-e' and all these mean the same thing. This is how I want to correlate the process of grammaticalization to the verbal elements in CV and wish to prove that 'lanā', 'to bring' is grammaticalized form of 'lena', 'to take' and 'ana', 'to come'. However, I want to outline the theoretical base of the grammaticalization process first and then take up the issue for discussion.

1. The process of grammaticalization

It is one of the most salient features of human languages and the way it produces new grammatical categories of different types is also very interesting to examine. It is also important to note that various processes of grammaticalization take place in languages to facilitate us with the new grammatical constructs and these categories are demanded by different discourse and pragmatic purposes.

Some of the references such Hopper and Traugott (1993; 2003; 2008); Heine (1993); Kuteva (2001); Traugott and Heine (1991; Vol. I&II) and Heine & Kuteva (2002 reprinted in 2004; 2005) etc. must be mentioned here who have written so much on grammaticalization that it is indeed an arduous task for me to summarize the main thesis of the concept of grammaticalization here. However, in order to set out the philosophical background which I will use to prove my point later about the grammaticalization of the second verbal element in a CVC, it is important for me to use some quotes of the above mentioned researchers on grammaticalization. One such quote comes from Hopper and Traugott

(2003) where they define it as, '*grammaticalization*' refers to that part of the study of language change that is concerned with such questions as how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions (Hopper and Traugott, 2003; 1)'.

This quote sets forth the background and also the platform for my discussion of various degrees of grammaticalization that I will propose in order to account for different types of compound verbs in Hindi.

However, it is important for me to mention two more quotes from Hopper and Traugott. They (2003) also stated that '*grammaticalization*' refers most especially to the steps whereby particular items become more grammatical through time. Grammaticalization in this sense is part of the wider linguistic phenomenon of structuration, through which combinations of forms may in time come to be fixed in certain functions (Hopper and Traugott, 2003; 2).

The last quote from Hopper and Traugott will help me to classify a type of compound verb about which the researchers have very been skeptical with regard to the CVC in Hindi and thus there is no explanation available for such compound verb in the literature. Moreover, let me put the quote first. They (2003) again said that '...a notion of Cline that started with Halliday and followed by Lehman 1995 [1982]), and Heine (1992) which most linguists would agree that there is a "cline of grammaticality" of the following type'.(Hopper and Traugott, 2003; 7)

Content (Lexical) item/word>grammatical word>clitic>inflectional affix.

With the help of above schema of the grammaticalization proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003), I would like to propose that with regard to the formation of 'compound verb' in Hindi, the second verb or the vector

verb shows more than one type/degree of grammaticalization. I have termed the degree/type as 'partial', 'default' and 'complete' grammaticalization. I will prove with the help of the examples that some cases of 'complete grammaticalization' of the vector verb, in fact, has become more like an inflectional affix, however, in case of the 'partial grammaticalization', the vector verb seems to retain some of its semantic content, and this contentment of meaning is acknowledged as this brings a change of meaning of the overall 'compound verb' if we change the vector verb which goes against the linguistic prerequisites of the CV construction in Hindi. The 'default' case of grammaticalization is the case where the vector verb has been bleached or de-lexicalized⁷ of its meaning and come to form a compound verb with the main/polar verb.

5. The degree of grammaticalization

It is necessary to examine the degree of grammaticalization when we talk about the use of the vector or light verbs in different compound verb constructions in Hindi. There are at least three distinct categories of CVs which must be distinguished and separated in Hindi for the clear understanding of the CVC. It is an issue that the researchers have not taken very seriously and thus it needs some urgent attention in order to understand some of the unattended and unexplained issues such as \pm transitivity of the compound verb and the placement of the ergative case with the subject that is completely dependent on the syntactic transitivity of the CVC. I have examined the degree of grammaticalization very carefully and have come up with three different degrees that are

⁷ De-lexicalization or de-lexicalized item is used frequently as a synonym of 'grammaticalization' or grammaticalized element.

manifested when we evaluate the process of grammaticalization with regard to the formation of the compound verb construction in Hindi. These three types or degrees of grammaticalization is based on the schema outlined and suggested by Hopper and Traugott (2003) which shows that in some cases, the vector verb is at the early stage of grmmaticalization, others have been grammaticalized in a default manner and yet others have crossed all stages of grammaticalization and has reached to the level of ‘inflectional affixation’ an idea that has been pursued and developed by Kuteva (2001) where she has called the last stage of grammaticalization as the process of ‘auxiliation’.

1. The partial grammaticalized vectors

There are some compound verbs in which the V_2 or the vector verb has only been partially grammaticalized. It is therefore, we may have a distinct meaning change of the compound verb(which is optional) when the vector verb is changed, which otherwise should not have happened in case of the compound verb.

Consider the examples given below to make sense of what we are saying:

9. us-ne mer-i čitt^hi pəɾ^h li
 he-3MS-Erg my-F letter-3FS-Acc read-V1 take-past-3FS
 ‘He read my letter’. <In a sense that he should not have done it, but he did it.>

10. us-ne mer-i čitt^hi pəɾ^h di
 he-3MS-Erg my-F letter-3FS-Acc read-V1 give-past-3FS
 ‘He read out my letter for me’. <In a sense that he did a favor to me.>

The examples in (9-10) clearly show that the use of vector verbs, ‘lena’, ‘take’ and ‘dena’, ‘give’ have not been totally grammaticalized. The

semantic change of the meaning of the compound verbs in these examples is the fact that lends support to the core hypothesis of different degree of grammaticalization in different linguistic constructs where two or more linguistic elements get combined to convey all together a different 'pragmatic meaning'.

Consider other examples as well:

11. us-ne mohān-ko k^hāna de dīya (*līya)
 he-3MS-Erg Mohan-Dat Food-3M-Acc give-V₁ give-V₂-past-3MS
 'He gave food to Mohan'.

12. us-ne əpne-līye k^hāna le līya (*dīya)
 he-3MS-Erg himself-for Food-3M-Acc take-V₁ take-V₂-past-3MS
 'He took food for himself'.

Also the other cases:

13. us-ne mohān-ka kam kār dīya (*līya)
 he-3MS-Erg Mohan-Gen work-MS-Acc do-V₁ give-V₂-past-3MS
 'He did Mohan's work'.

14. us-ne əpna kam kār līya (*dīya)
 he-3MS-Erg self work-3M-Acc do-V₁ take-V₂-past-3MS
 'He did his (own) work'.

These examples (11-14) reiterate the similar things. They show that the change of the vector verbs bring the change in the meaning of the sentence. There is also an increase in the valancy of the compound verb in (11-12) and this increase in the argument is solely due to the di-transitivity of the vector verb. This certainly proves the point in discussion that when the vector verb is partially grammaticalized, it not only retains its meaning but also other semantic and linguistic properties such as the valances or arguments of its own type i.e. di-transitivity.

2. The default grammaticalization of the vectors

Literally all the compound verb construction where the vector verb has been bleached of its meaning and follows the rule (b) that has been mentioned above are the candidates of this type. Let us examine some instances of CVC to make better sense of this category:

15. vəh kürsi-pər beṭʰ gəya (=beṭʰa)
 he-3MS-Nom self sit-V₁ go-V₂-past-3MS
 'He sat on the chair'.

The verb in the above example in (15) shows what I have called the default grammaticalization of the vector verb. In other words, the vector does not retain any other shade of meaning than marking the perfectivity of the CVC, which is what they have been synthesized or syncretized for. Let us see some more examples:

16. mē yəh kya kər beṭʰa (=kɾya)
 I-FMS-Nom this what do-V₁ sit-V₂-past-3MS
 'What an awful act I did!'

In the above sentence also, the vector verb 'beṭʰna' has been grammaticalized in a default way and thus it is not possible to have any semantics of this verb here in the sentence, except that it adds the perfectivity of action.

17. vəh gʰəntə bʰər-mē puri kitab pərʰ gəya (pərʰna)
 he-3MS-Nom Hour-obl within-Loc full book-3FS-Acc read-V₁ go-V₂-past-3MS
 'He gave food to Mohan'.

Even in the example (17), it is not possible to extrapolate any separate

meaning for the vector verb 'gəya, 'went' in the use of this compound verb. We can go on giving the examples of this default grammaticalized vector verb here, but I guess the point is already made and we should close this section by saying that this is the default category of the compound verb, where the verbs i.e. both polar and vector obey the prerequisites that we mentioned in earlier section.

3. The complete grammaticalized vectors

This is the most important part of the finding of the present research work. The entire paper is an effort to prove the point with discussion and argument that the mono-morphemic compound verb 'lana', 'to bring' is grammaticalized linguistic item of 'bi-morphemic' compound verb i.e. 'lena⁸', 'to take' and 'ana', 'to come'. However, proving this won't be possible unless we establish some similar process of grammaticalization in Hindi and then we will come back to the examples of 'complete grammaticalized vectors' in Hindi.

With regard to the post-position in Hindi, there is always some disagreement and confusion amongst the researchers and I want to bring the case of 'genitive' post-position 'ke upar', 'on the top or on' for discussion here. It is agreed upon by the researchers in linguistics and other disciplines as well that the main job of 'genitive' is to connect two or more nouns. The genitive case is called the 'inherent case' in 'generative paradigm' as it is mediated outside the structure of the sentence. Now, let us examine the case of 'genitive case' i.e. '-ke' in the post-position of Hindi e.g. '-ke upar', 'upon/on'.

For example:

⁸ See Bachpeyi, K. D. 1998 *Shabda:nushashan*, Delhi, Nargri Pracharni Shabha, for more detail. He specifically says on page 477 that until 1944 no one knew that 'lana' is made out of 'lena' + 'ana'.

18. us ke upər > us-pər > us-pe > ?us-e = stages of grammaticalization
 on him on him on him on him
 stage-1 stage-2 stage-3 stage-4

A very simple explanation of these stages of grammaticalization enfold the same story and confirms the stages of grammaticalization proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003) which we can repeat here to make better sense of the proposal.

Content (Lexical) item/word>grammatical word>clitic>inflectional affix.

If we see carefully, Hindi genitive post-position has a lexical item ‘upər’ in ‘stage-1’ which must be recognized as a noun because the only job that genitive case does in the grammar of any language is to connect two or more nouns. This lexical item get grammaticalized at ‘stage-2’ and it becomes ‘pər’. The stage-3 has ‘pe’ and it won’t be outrageously wrong to say that this linguistic item function as a ‘clitic’ in Hindi which has a full form in the language elsewhere. In its last stage the ‘locative post-position’ becomes a ‘case affix’ and has just ‘-e’ as the linguistic form. There is another case of grammaticalization in Hindi for the verbal lexical item called ‘kərṇā’, ‘to do’. This is used as the conjunctive participial marker in Hindi and it is grammaticalized for that purpose and thus becomes ‘kər’, ‘having done’ or ‘after doing’. This is a very productive marker and it works fine across the board, meaning this can be attached to any verb to make a participial verbal form such as ‘jā-kər, kḥā-kər, pṛāḥ-kər, so-kər, beṭḥ-kər etc. However, when we want to use this CPM with the identical verb i.e. ‘kərṇā’, ‘to do’ to meaning having done something, the grammar makes it ungrammatical. The further

grammaticalization of the CPM 'kər' takes places and we get '-ke'⁹, 'having done'. After this process of grammaticalization Hindi has conjunctive participial maker with 'kərna' which is 'kər-ke'. However, this new grammaticalized form of CPM can be used with any verb and there is no exception. So, Hindi has allowed the process of grammaticalization to take place in the language in different ways and in different contexts.

19. kərna= to do -kər= 'having done' -ke = 'having done'
 stage-1, lexical item stage-2:grammaticalized stage-3: cliticized

If we agree that the grammaticalization of 'lana' has happened historically and we have 'lana' लाना¹⁰ and this has been syncretized out of 'लेना + आना', we will be able to solve the problem of exceptions and will also be able to account for as to why 'lana', 'to bring', despite being transitive verb' can't allow the 'ergative case' with the subject in the sentence.

Let us see some examples:

20. lərki əpni kɪtab layi => le + əyi
 girl-3FS-Nom her book brought-pst-3FS V₁ V₂
 'The girl brought her book'.

In this example (20), we accept the argument proposed above, we will be able to explain easily as per our prerequisite (c) of the compound verb that the ergative case can't be licensed to the subject of the sentence as the vector verb is an intransitive one and this block the ergative case as the entire CV is syntactically intransitive.

⁹ This CPM is homophonous with a variant of genitive case '-ke' in Hindi and we should not mix these two.

¹⁰ Sharma (1994) has also mentioned twice on page 91 and 123 that 'lana' is made out of 'lena' and 'ana'.

Let us see some more examples:

21. meri beṭi mera nam b^huli => b^hul gəyi
 my-F daughter-3FS-Nom my-M name forget-pst-3FS V₁ V₂
 ‘My daughter forgot my name’.

22. mē apki bat əb səməj^h-a => səməj^h gəya
 I-1MS-Nom your-f matter now understand-pst-3MS V₁ V₂
 ‘Now, I understand what you said’.

However, it is also possible to reconsider these completely grammaticalized CVC as one lexical item synchronically and put another vector verb, especially a transitive one to prove the point in discussion, and we can have the licensing the ‘ergative case’ with the subject of the sentence. After all, we can’t deny the powerful thesis proposed by Bloomfield (1933; 19) who wrote, ‘In order to describe a language, one needs no historical knowledge whatsoever’. This thesis of Bloomfield is based on his understanding and agreement of Saussurean philosophy of language change and language function in which Saussure will argue that ‘although language may be organic and therefore changing, at any point of time it is a self-contained system’ (Whaley, L. J. 1997; 22).

Let us see the examples given below:

23. mē-ne apki kitab la (hi) dī
 girl-3FS-Nom her book bring-V₁ emp Give-V₂-pst-3FS
 ‘I brought your book’. Or ‘Finally, I brought your book’.

24. mē-ne apki bat səməj^h li
 I-1MS-Erg your-f matter understand-V₁ take-V₂-perf-3FS
 ‘Now, I understand what you said’.

6. Conclusion

The hypothesis presented in the paper is very new. I have been observing the nitty-gritty of different kinds of functions of the complex predicate for a long time now and I have observed them very closely in all my research and teaching. The presented facts and the data regarding linguistic prerequisites and the process of grammaticalization of linguistic items have been selected and chosen very carefully. There has been several cross-checking for almost all the semantics of individual elements of the compound verb construction. The native speakers' opinion has been taken for all the corpora that I have used as the means to prove the theoretical point in the paper. If the line of research that has been pursued here is accepted by the other researchers in the field, it will solve some of the unexplained and unsolved problems in the area of compound verb construction.

The line of argument that I have followed in the paper is already applied for several languages and Hopper and Traugott (2003) and Kuteva (2001) model of grammaticalization has already been tested and proven facts in linguistics. I also find applicable to explain some of the exceptions of compound verb construction and I guess this paper should be viewed as critical evaluation of the theory of grammaticalization in the field of compound verb construction.

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