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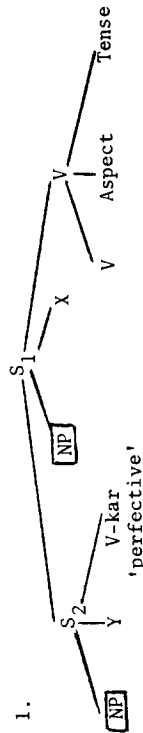
ON THE SYNTAX, SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS
OF THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE IN HINDI-URDU

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The conjunctive participial construction in Hindi-Urdu has several meanings such as consecutive action/process, manner, cause, etc., and has been the topic of much linguistic discussion. This paper examines the three major claims made recently with regard to this construction: (a) Its various meanings notwithstanding, the conjunctive participle is derived from one simple subordinate source (Davison 1981); (b) the participle marker *kar* has a 'perfective' meaning (Davison 1981); and (c) the main verb determines whether the adverbial interpretation is preferred (Abbi 1980, Davison 1981). A wide range of data and a number of arguments are presented in this paper to show that none of the above claims can be supported. Instead, it is argued that (a) the construction represents a target structure phenomenon (Green 1974), i.e., several underlying representations all end up as the participial construction on the surface; (b) the participle marker *kar* has at least two different meanings, 'perfective' and 'simultaneous'; and (c) the semantics of both the participle and the main verb together determine whether the adverbial interpretation is possible. It is pointed out in the conclusion that 'a mostly pragmatic' analysis of the construction (Davison 1981) misses a number of crucial syntactic and semantic generalizations.

INTRODUCTION

The conjunctive participial construction (hereafter CP) in Hindi-Urdu has been investigated in a number of recent studies (Abbi 1980, Bahl 1974, Bhatia 1977, Davison 1981, Dwarikesh 1971, Kachru 1965, 1966, 1978, 1980, to name just a few). The most interesting claim that has been made so far is that the several meanings associated with the conjunctive participle are all pragmatically determined (Davison 1981). In this paper, I shall examine this claim and provide various arguments to show that the meanings of the construction under focus are to be accounted for in terms of its syntax and semantics and in most cases, it is unnecessary to invoke pragmatic principles. I shall do so by first examining the following three claims of Davison 1981 and showing how they do not work: one, the conjunctive participle has the following syntactic and semantic underlying representation (Davison 1981):



Second, the conjunctive participle marker *kar* has a 'perfective' meaning (Davison 1981) and, third, the main verb determines whether the adverbial interpretation is preferred (Abbi 1980, Davison 1981).²

In my view, none of the above claims can be supported if the total range of data is taken into consideration. In fact, the evidence supports the hypothesis that the conjunctive participial construction is a target structure phenomenon. That is, several underlying representations are realized on the surface as the conjunctive participial construction. Second, the syntactic and semantic evidence show that 'perfective' is not the only meaning associated with the formative *kar*. Third, it is not just the properties of the main verb that determine the adverbial meanings. Rather, the properties of the subordinate verb that takes the *kar* and the properties of the main verb jointly determine if specific verbs could occur in the underlying representations that are realized as adverbials.

THE DATA

Let us consider a range of data which consists of sentences with the conjunctive participles and their paraphrases. Examples 2-4 are clear cases of temporal reading where the main verb expresses process or action subsequent to the process/action expressed by the participle.

2. usne nahaa kar khaanaa khaayaa³
he ag. bathe CP meal ate
Having bathed, he ate (his) meal.

- 2a. usne nahaaya aur tab khaanaa khaayaa
he ag. bathed and then meal ate
He bathed and then ate (his) meal.

3. ghar aakar raaj ne kapRe badle
home come CP Raj ag. clothes changed
Having come home, Raj changed.

- 3a. raaj ghar aayaa aur tab usne kapRe badle
Raj home came and then he ag. clothes changed
Raj came home and then changed.

4. New York jaa kar mujhe pataa calaa ki shyaam biimaar hai
New York go CP I came to know that Shyam ill is
Having arrived in New York, I came to know that Shyam was ill.

- 4a. mai New York gayaa aur tab mujhe pataa calaa ki shyaam
I New York went and then I came to know that Shyam
biimaar hai
ill is
I went to New York and then I came to know that Shyam was ill.

te that in each case, the process or action expressed by the CP exceeds the process (4) or action (2-3) expressed by the main verb.

In this case, the CP has a 'perfective' meaning.

In examples 5-8, the CP's express a manner adverbial meaning.

5. (vahaa barii phislan thii), khuub paaV janaakar
there much slipperiness was well feet plant CP
calnaa paRaa
had to move

It was very slippery, we had to walk with very steady steps.

- 5a. *...khuub paaV janaanaa paRaa aur tab calnaa paRaa⁴
well feet had to plant and then had to walk
...We had to plant our feet very firmly and then walk.

- 5b. ...khuub sadhe paaVo se calnaa paRaa
well steady feet with had to move
...We had to walk with very steady steps.

6. vah ThaThaa kar haa paRaa
he explode CP laugh fell
He burst out laughing (in peals of laughter).

- 6a. *vah ThaThayaa aur tab haa paRaa
he exploded and then laugh fell

- 6b. vah baRe zor se haa paRaa
he very loudly laugh fell
He burst out laughing (loudly).

7. vah sabse haa kar baatē kartaa hai
he all with laugh CP talking does
He talks to everyone pleasantly.

- 7a. *vah sabse haa aur tab baatē kartaa hai
he all with laughs and then talking does
He laughs with everyone and then talks (to them).

- 7b. vah haa aur tab sabse baatē kartaa hai
he laughs and then all with talking does
He laughs and then talks to everyone.

- 7c. vah sabse haa hue / prasanna citta se baatē kartaa hai
he all with laughing happy heart with talking does
He talks to everyone pleasantly/happily.

8. vah mere saame se katraa kar nikal gayaa
he my front from avoid CP emerge went
He passed in front me avoiding (me).
I.e., He shied away from me.

- 8a. *vah mere saame se katraayaa aur tab nikal gayaa
he my front from avoided and then emerge went

8b. * [vah katraayaa] aur tab mere saamne se nikal gayaa
he avoided and then my front from emerge went

8c. vah mujhse bactaa-huaa-saa mere saamne se nikal gayaa
he me from saving like my front from emerge went
He passed in front of me, in a way avoiding me.

Notice that in cases of 5-8, the (a) versions which are paraphrases with the conjunction 'and then' are ungrammatical. In cases of 5-6, the (b) versions are close paraphrases with manner adverbs. In case of 7, the (b) version is acceptable, but semantically distinct, the (c) version is a close paraphrase with manner adverbials. In the case of 8, the first clause in (8b) is ungrammatical, (8c) is a close paraphrase with a manner adverbial. Note also that the CP's in 5-8 can be conjoined with other manner adverbials.

9. is tarah pāv jamaa kar nahī, halke se calo
this way feet plant CP not lightly walk
Walk lightly, not so firmly.

10. usne mujhse hās kar nahī, beman se baatē kī
he ag. me with laugh CP not unwillingly talking did
He talked to me unwillingly, not pleasantly.

Such conjoining in cases of 2-4, yields semantically anomalous results.

11. *usne nahaa kar nahī, xushī se khaanaa khaayaa
he ag. bath CP not happily meal ate
He ate his meal happily, not after his bath.

12. *raaj ne ghar aakar nahī, utsuktaa se kapRe badle
Raj ag. home came CP not enthusiastically clothes changed
Raj changed his clothes enthusiastically, not after coming home.

If, however, the conjoined versions of 2-3 contain time adverbials, the resulting sentences are grammatical.

11a. usne nahaa kar nahī, Thik mūh dhone ke baad/nahaane se
he ag. bath CP not exactly face washing after bathing from
pahle/roṭīi bante hī khaanaa khaa liya
before as soon as the bread was made meal eat took
He ate his meal just after washing his face/before bathing/
as soon as the bread was made, not after bathing.

12a. raaj ne ghar aakar nahī, usse pahle/Tenis khelne ke baad/
Raj ag. home came CP not that before tennis playing after
das baaje kīi xabar sunte hue kapRe badle
10 o'clock news listening clothes changed
Raj changed his clothes before coming home/after playing tennis/
while listening to the 10 o'clock news, not after coming home.

It is clear that the temporal CP expresses sequential action, the CP with manner adverbial meaning does not express sequential action/process. The manner in which such an act is performed or a process takes place has to be coextensive with it in time. Hence, in these cases, kar could not mean 'perfective'.⁵

The next set of sentences has concessive (13-14), antithetical (15-16), and causal (17-18) meanings.⁶

13. tum mere mitra ho kar bhī meraa vishvaas nahī karte
you my friend be CP even my trust not do
You don't trust me even though you are my friend.

14. apne dost ramesh se mil kar bhī use xushī nahī hui
self's friend Ramesh with meet CP even though him happiness not happened
He was not happy even though he met his friend Ramesh.

15. mohan khaanaa na khaa kar TV dekhne lagaa
Mohan meal not eat CP TV see began
Mohan began to watch TV instead of eating.

16. savitaa shaam ko ghar na aakar ajaayabghar calli gaii
Savita evening home not come CP museum went off
Savita went off to the museum instead of coming home in the evening.

17. vah raat - din kaam karke biimaar paR gayaa
he night-day work do CP ill fall went
He fell ill (because of) working day and night.

18. vah Dumb kar mar gayaa
he drown CP die went
He died by drowning.

Sentences 13-18 have the following exact paraphrases.

13a. yadyapi/haalāṅki tum mere mitra ho, to/phir bhī meraa
although you my friend are then even my
vishvaas nahī karte
trust not do
Although you are my friend, you don't trust me.

14a. yadyapi vah apne dost ramesh se milaa phir bhī use xushī
although he his friend Ramesh with meet even so him happiness
nahī hui
not happened
Although he met his friend Ramesh, he didn't feel happy.

- 15a. mohan khaana khaane ke bajaay TV dekhne lagaa
Mohan meal eat instead TV see began
Mohan began to watch TV instead of eating.
- 15b. mohan ne khaanaa nahif khaayaa, ulte TV dekhnee lagaa
Mohan ag. meal not ate instead TV watch began
Mohan didn't eat, instead, he began to watch TV.
- 16a. savitaa shaam ko ghar nahif aaii, ulte ajaayabghar calii gaii
Savita evening home not came instead museum went off
Savita didn't come home in the evening, instead, she went off to the museum.
- 16b. savitaa shaam ko ghar aane ke bajaay ajaayabghar calii gaii
Savita evening home come instead museum went off
Savita went off to the museum instead of coming home in the evening.
- 17a. vah raat - din kaam karne kii vajah se biinaar par gayaa
he night day work doing because of ill fall went
He fell ill because of working night and day.
- 18a. vah Duub jaane kii vajah se mar gayaa
he drown going because of die went
He died because of drowning.

It is tempting to suggest that the concessive reading in 13-14 is a function of the particle bhii and the negation of the main verb, as has in fact been suggested in Davison 1981. But, this would not work, since it is not obligatory for the subordinate or the main clause to be in the negative and for the CP to be followed by the particle bhii. What is needed is a strong element of unexpectedness and one of the markers, as in 19-20.

19. unkaa laRkaa caudah saal kaa ho kar bhii akele sone me
their son fourteen year of be CP even alone sleep in
Dartaa hai
afraid is
Their son is afraid of sleeping alone even though he is fourteen.
20. usne caar saal landan rah kar (bhii) British myuuziam
he ag. four years London live CP even British Museum
nahif dekhaa
not saw
He didn't see the British Museum even though he lived in London for four years.

It should be pointed out that although both the temporal CP as well as the concessive CP can be followed by the particle bhii, only the former has an inclusive meaning. Compare sentences 21 and 22, below.

21. vah ghar jaakar bhii parhhegaa
he home go CP also study will
He will study also after going home.
- 21a. (vah din bhar laabreri me parhhegaa) iske alaavaa ghar
he day whole library in study will in addition home
jaa kar bhii parhhegaa
go CP also study will
He will study in the library all day, in addition, he will also study after going home.
22. vah raajput ho kar bhii laRaaii se Dartaa hai
he warrior be CP even war from fears
He is afraid of wars even though he is a warrior.
- 22a. vah shantipriya hai, isliye laRaaii se Dartaa hai. *iske
he pacifist is therefore war from fears in
alaava raajput ho kar bhii laRaaii se Dartaa hai
in addition warrior be CP also war from fears
He is a pacifist, therefore, he is afraid of wars. *In addition, he is also afraid of wars being a warrior.
23. is itvaar ko mere kahi dost aa rahe hai, aur ek
this Sunday my several friends come -ing are and one
rishtedaar bhii.
relative also
This Sunday, several of my friends are visiting me, and also a relative of mine.

The particle bhii 'even' in 22, is an integral part of the concessive conjunction and contributes to the "contrary to expectation" meaning. The particle bhii 'also' in 21, on the other hand, is the "inclusive" particle as in 23.

The antithetical meaning in 15 and 16 is not pragmatically determined, in fact, both 34b and 35b cited in Davison 1981 are grammatical [24-25 in this paper].

24. raajaa [mere paas] na aakar kitaab parhne lagaa
Raja [to me] not come book read began
Raja began to read instead of coming [to me].
25. vah patra na parh kar bolaa [ki....]
he letter not read CP spoke [that....]
Instead of reading the letter, he said [that...]

The na 'not' preceding the CP in 24-25, signals the meaning 'contrast'. The temporal, manner, or causal adverbial CP's may not have na 'not' in them; the temporal has an alternate construction as in 26 to negate the CP.

26. *usne na nahaa kar khaanaa khaayaa
he ag. not bathe CP meal ate

- 26a. usne bināa nahaāe khaanaa khaayaa
 he ag without bathing meal ate
 He ate his meal without bathing. *without bathing*
27. *vah sabse na hās kar baatē kartaa hai
 he all with not laugh CP talking does
 He talks to everyone not laughing.
 pleasantly.
- 27a. *vah sabse bināa hāse baatē kartaa hai
 he all with without laugh talking does
 He talks to everyone not laughing.
 pleasantly.
28. *vah raat - din kaam na karke biimaar par gayaa
 he night day work not do CP ill fall went
 He fell ill because of not working day and night.
 28a. *vah bināa raat - din kaam kiye biimaar par gayaa
 he without night day work doing ill fall went
 He became ill because of not working day and night. [I. e.,
 His not working day and night was the cause of his illness.]

The reason for this distribution of the negative particle is clear.
 In sentences with temporal CP, the negative may have the CP, the finite
 verb or the entire predicate in its scope, as is evident from the
 following.

29. usne nahaa kar khaanaa nahīi khaayaa
 he ag. bathe CP meal not ate
 He didn't eat his meal after bathing.
- 29a. usne nahaa kar khaanaa nahīi khaayaa, nahaane se pahle
 he ag. bathe CP meal not ate bathing from before
khaa liiyaa
 ate
 He didn't eat after bathing, he ate before bathing.
- 29b. usne nahaa kar khaanaa nahīi khaayaa, siidhe dafter calaa gayaa
 he ag. bathe CP meal not ate straight office went off
 He didn't eat after bathing, he went off to his office (after
 bathing).
- 29c. usne nahaa kar khaanaa nahīi khaayaa, haath-mūh dho kar
 he ag. bathe CP meal not ate hand face wash CP
sirf caay pīi lii
 only tea drink
 He didn't eat after bathing, he only had tea after his wash.

In case of manner, cause, etc., as expected, usually the adverbial is
 in the scope of negation.

30. tum man lagaa kar nahīi parhte
 you mind apply CP not study
 You don't study diligently.
31. vah tumhaarīi baatē sun kar dukhiī nahīi huaa hai
 he your talking listen CP sorrowful not become has
 He is not sad because of what you said.
- This is true of adverbs of manner, cause, instrument, etc., as is clear
 from the following.
32. usne jeldi se/kāfcīi se/ tumhaare kahne kīi vajah
 he ag. quickly scissors with your saying of reason
se parde nahīi kaate
 from drapes not cut
 He didn't cut the drapes quickly/with scissors/because of your
 asking him to.

In 32, the adverbs 'quickly', 'with scissors', 'because of your asking'
 are in the scope of negation (Bhatia 1977). Similarly, in 30 and 31,
 the CP's are in the scope of negation. It is hard to imagine why one
 would have to specify negative manner, cause, or instrument for actions/
 processes unless contrastive information is to be given. In that case,
 however, the regular strategy illustrated in 9-10 is adopted.

THE MEANINGS OF CP

To sum up the discussion so far, at least five different meanings
 of the CP construction are illustrated in the above examples. These
 may be labelled as: 'and then', manner, causal, concessive, and anti-
 thetical. This does not mean that some CP's are not ambiguous, in
 fact, the following is structurally ambiguous.

33. usne ghar aakar bhīi khaanaa nahīi khaayaa
 a) He didn't eat even though he came home.
 b) He didn't eat after coming home either.

In the sense of 33b, the particle hīi 'only' can replace the particle
bhīi 'even' in which case the sentence would mean 'he didn't eat only
 after coming home.'¹⁸ In the sense of 33a, hīi 'only' can not replace
bhīi 'even'. The structural properties that distinguish the five
 different meanings are as follows:

- (a) The 'and then' temporal sequential CP answers the question
 'when', whereas the manner and causal adverbs answer the question 'how'
 and 'why';
- (b) The particle bhīi 'even' is an obligatory constituent of the
 concessive, and na 'not' of the antithetical, tab 'then' is an optional
 constituent of the 'and then' CP;

(c) The 'and then' CP may contain the inclusive particle bhi 'also, even' or the exclusive particle hi 'only' optionally whereas the concessive cannot contain hi 'only';

(d) The temporal sequential, manner, and causal adverbials may be conjoined with like-adverbials but not with unlike-adverbials, as is clear from 34a and 35a below.

34. vah patra likh kar aur use Daak me Daak kar tab soyaa
he letter write CP and it mail in put CP then slept
He slept after writing the letter and mailing it.

34a. *vah mere kamre me aakar aur thak kar so gayaa
he my room in come CP and tire CP sleep went
He went to sleep after coming into my room and because of being tired.

35. usne merii salaah maan kar aur uske anusaar cal kar
he ag. my advice accept CP and it of according proceed CP
saphaltaa praapt kii
success obtain did
He obtained success by listening to my advice and following it.

35a. *usne merii salaah maan kar aur has kar sabse baat kii
he ag. my advice accept CP and laugh CP all with talking did
He talked to everyone because of my advice and pleasantly.

The structural properties and paraphrase relations taken together suggest that the CP-construction must be derived from several underlying representations.

UNDERLYING REPRESENTATIONS: A TENTATIVE PROPOSAL

A tentative proposal as to the underlying representations needed to derive the range of CP's discussed in this paper is as follows.

36. a. SEQUENTIAL: possibly a coordinate source. Note that the CP and the finite verb can have different time adverbs:

- (i) raaj das saal landan rah kar kal hii dillii laufaa hai
Raj ten years London live CP yesterday only Delhi returned has
Raj came back to Delhi only yesterday after spending ten years in London.

Note that barring a few exceptions (Kachru 1980), the subject of CP must be identical to the subject of the finite verb, which may be termed the like-subject constraint.

b. CAUSAL: a subordinate source common to CP and kii vajah se. The CP construction is possible only if the like-subject constraint holds.

c. MANNER: a subordinate source common to CP and other manner adverbs: the like-subject constraint holds for the CP construction.

d. CONCESSIVE: a subordinate source with the markers yadyapi/ haalaaki...to/ phir bhi; for CP construction, the like-subject constraint holds.

e. ANTITHETICAL: possibly a coordinate source with the antithetical conjunction ulfe 'instead'; the ke bajaay phrase is a reduced version and so is the CP, the CP having an additional constraint (like-subject).

That the properties of the finite verb and the CP must be compatible is evident from examples such as the following.

37. vah bakii ho kar Daaktar banegii
she big become CP doctor become will
She will be a doctor when she grows up.

38. *vah man lagaa kar biimaar paR gayaa
he mind apply CP ill fall went
*He fell ill attentively.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that more research is needed to come to definite conclusions. The following observations can, however, be made tentatively with regard to the clear cases. If both the CP and the finite verb involve natural processes or verbs of volitional acts, unless the verbs are semantically related in specific ways, the interpretation is that of temporal-sequential action.

39. usne acchii tarah nahaa kar tab rotii khaaii
he ag. well bathe CP then bread ate
He ate (his) meal after bathing.

40. usne acchii tarah cabaa kar (*tab) rotii khaaii
he ag. well chew CP then bread ate
He ate the bread, (*after) chewing it well.

In sentence 39, nahaa 'bathe' and khaa 'eat' are both volitional acts but not related semantically. In 40, cabaa 'chew' expresses a special action within the domain of the action expressed by khaa 'eat'. The same is true of hasnaa 'laugh' and baat karna 'talk' and dauRNAa 'run' and aanaa 'come' (i.e., 'talk' is a general verb of communication, 'laugh' expresses a special kind of communication, and so on). Similarly, if the CP expresses a process undergone by an experiencer and the finite verb expresses a volitional act or vice-versa, the combination yields a causal meaning.

41. vah thak kar so gayaa
he tire CP sleep went
He went to sleep because he was tired.

42. uskii baatē sun kar man uub gayaa
his talk listen CP mind bore went
I was bored listening to him.

This, however, does not mean that a causal meaning is completely blocked if both the CP and the finite verb are volitional. One example of two volitional verbs yielding a causal reading is as follows.

43. tumhaarā patra pakh kar vah rone lagii
your letter read CP she cry began
a. She began to cry after she read your letter.
b. She began to cry because she read your letter.

In this context, it may be useful to note the differences between the causal adverbial meaning of the CP construction and the following use of kar.

44. raṅaa ne usko zahar dekar maar Daalaa
Rana ag. him poison give CP hit poured
Rana killed him by giving him poison.

Here kar seems to function as a 'linker' joining a cause proposition with an effect proposition in the sense of Givón 1974. This is further discussed in Kachru (forthcoming). In this type of 'causative' construction, the main verb (i.e., the finite verb) must be a causative (morphological or lexical) and the object (i.e., the affected) of the main verb must be identical and coreferential with the indirect object (i.e., the recipient) of the participle. If these conditions are not met, no 'causative' reading is possible. For instance, the following do not yield a 'causative' reading.

45. ham usko pakar kar ghar le aaye
we him catch CP home take came
a. We caught him and brought him home.
b. *We brought him home by catching him.
46. raaj ne kabuutar ko pakar kar maar Daalaa
Raj ag. pigeon DO catch CP hit poured
a. Raj caught the pigeon and killed it.
b. *Raj killed the pigeon by catching it.

In 45 and 46, the affected object of the main verb has identical grammatical function in the subordinate clause as well, hence, the 'causative' meaning is blocked. In 47, again, since the conditions specified above are not met, no causative reading is possible.

47. vah usko paise de kar mar gail
she him money give CP die went
a. She died after giving him money.
b. *She died by giving him money.

This discussion, though based on a limited range of data, makes it clear that 'a mostly pragmatic analysis', as suggested in Davison (1981), would ignore the syntactic and semantic generalizations presented above. The following points emerge from the above discussion and illustrations.

One, the surface CP shares a number of properties, both syntactic and semantic, with a number of other constructions in the language, and these could not be accounted for by pragmatic principles alone. Pragmatic principles, however, are necessary to resolve the ambiguity of, say, 53 and 43. Two, the formative kar has at least two meanings: perfective and simultaneous. The simultaneous meaning is involved in the manner adverbial construction, and the perfective in possibly all the other constructions discussed above. Three, in view of the different constraints involved, it is unlikely that a single syntactic source would account for the entire range of the construction. The only alternative is to further investigate the phenomenon and determine if the multiple syntactic sources suggested above can be independently motivated. The two areas that seem promising are the 'causative' and the manner adverbial constructions. In case of the manner adverbial construction, a large number of expressions are well on their way to becoming 'fixed collocations' or 'idioms' in the sense that given a main verb, the CP construction with which it can occur is almost predictable. A number of such expressions is given below.

48. phuṭ-phuṭ kar ronaa 'to cry bitterly'
sisak-sisak kar ronaa 'to sob' (cry sobbingly)
ho-ho- karke hāsnāa 'to laugh with a noise 'ho-ho''
khiikhilaa kar hāsnāa 'to laugh'
bhakhbhakaa kar jalnaa 'to burn furiously'
umaṛ kar chaanaa 'to swell and cover' (said of clouds)
garaj kar kahnaa 'to say roaringly'
dāāt piis kar bolnaa 'to speak, gnashing one's teeth'
caāl kar khaanaa 'to eat by licking'
gaṭgaṭaa kar pii jaanaa 'to drink by swallowing rapidly'
samhaal kar rakh lenaa 'to keep something carefully' (i.e., to preserve, keep something safe)
man lagaa kar pakhnaa/sunnaa 'to read/listen to by applying one's mind to it' (attentively)

There is no such development in case of temporal or other uses of the construction. This may be because there are limited choices with regard to the manner in which specific tasks can be said to have been performed, whereas the range of reasons, or causes, or time expressions is much wider. One point, however, seems to be beyond controversy and

that is that the CP construction in Hindi-Urdu will contribute significantly to our understanding of the role of pragmatics in linguistic descriptions.⁹

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to the Research Board of the Graduate College, University of Illinois for supporting the research reported in this paper, and to Tammie Valentine for assisting me with the collection of data from various sources. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Third SALA Roundtable at SUNY Stony Brook, on May 1, 1981, under the title 'Toward an Integrated Analysis of Conjunctive Participle in Hindi-Urdu.'

² Abbi (1980) suggests this in relation to CP's with causal and manner adverbial meanings.

³ The CP in the gloss is an abbreviation for conjunctive participle marker.

⁴ The reasons for the ungrammaticality of the (a) versions of 5-8 are as follows: in 5a, planting one's feet firmly and walking are semantically contradictory; in 6a, ThaThanaa is no longer an independent verb in Hindi-Urdu; in 7a-8a, the verbs hāsnā and katraanaa cannot take the complements, saṁse and mere saṁse se, respectively. In 7b, word-order adjustments yield a grammatical but semantically pointless sentence and in 8b, the first conjoined clause is ungrammatical in that katraanaa is not a deletable object verb. Even repairing that does not lead to a paraphrase of 8: 8d, vah mujhse katraayaa aur (*tab) mere saṁse se nikal gayaa, 'he avoided me and passed in front of me'. (8d) is as anomalous semantically as 7b.

⁵ This is noted in Pořízka (1967-69), also. Davison (personal communication) suggests that nevertheless, the 'perfective' meaning even in the manner adverbial is justifiable if 'perfective' is interpreted as 'prior with continued relevance'. This may work for sentence (5) but would not work for sentences (6) and (7) and the expressions listed in (48).

⁶ For some speakers, 15 and 16 are ambiguous. For example, 15 may mean either 'without eating' or 'instead of eating'. Even these speakers, however, find the following unambiguously antithetical.

(i) vah duudh na piikar caay piine lagii
'She started drinking tea instead of drinking milk.'

(ii) vah ghar kaa kaam na karke saare din ghuumtii rahtii hai
'She wanders around the whole day instead of doing the housework.'

⁷ The -ke is a variant of CP, used obligatorily with the verb kar 'do' and optionally with other verbs.

⁸ Note that with hii also, 33 is ambiguous, but that has no bearing on this discussion.

⁹ One major work consulted as a source for data on CP is the following: Yaadav, Rajendra. 1951. Saaraa akaash. New Delhi, India: Akṣar Prakashan.

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