Language contact in prehistoric South Asia, with special reference to eastern South Asia

John Peterson
Jessica Ivani
University of Kiel
Language contact in Jharkhand

Initial studies of some of the languages of Jharkhand suggested a micro-linguistic area

Osada (1991)
Abbi (1997)
Peterson (2010; 2015; 2017a;b)
Quelle:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_India
Areal features of eastern-central India

Figure 1: The distribution of 7 areal features in eastern-central India (Peterson, 2015: 210)
East- vs West Indo-Aryan?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West</th>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>split ergativity</td>
<td>NOM/ACC in all verbal categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender (M/F; M/F/N; F/N-F)</td>
<td>no gender affecting a large portion of the nominal vocabulary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grammatical marking such as plural mostly via fused suffixes and often obligatory</td>
<td>grammatical marking via enclitics - never obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stem variation with nouns: one stem in the nominative, another elsewhere</td>
<td>no stem variation in nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no classifiers</td>
<td>number classifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agreement between adjective and noun (gender, number and case)</td>
<td>no agreement between adjective and noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Visual approximation of areal features with NeighborNet

Languages: 29
Features: 28
Huson & Bryant (2006)

Eastern Indo-Aryan

Munda

North-east Dravidian

Southern & western Dravidian

Western Indo-Aryan
UPGMA-tree (unrooted) of select South Asian languages

Western Indo-Aryan

"The rest"
Features currently being studied

"Completed"
- Pronominal systems
- Number systems (including associative dual / plural)
- Comparative constructions
- Possession
- Case
- Pronouns
- Verb lexicon

To do
- Interrogation
- Interclausal syntax(-relative clause)
- Negation
- Noun derivation and inflection

In Progress
- Associated motion (in progress)
Associated motion

Koch (1984) - Central Australian varieties

Guillaume (2017) “verbal grammatical category [...] whose function is to associate, in different ways, different kinds of translational motion to a (generally non-motion) verb event”

(1) Motion of the subject > motion of the object

(2) Prior motion > concurrent motion > subsequent motion
Associated motion - difficulties

Example: Subsequent motion in South Asia
Kharia (South Munda) - "V2 construction"

Lexical verb(-CVB) + "vector verb"-TAM-PERS/NUM

\[ ho=ki \quad kuḍaʔb \quad aw=ki=may \quad ho=ki=te \quad u \]
that=PL behind COP=MID.PST=3PL that=PL=OBL this

\[ gam \quad tu=yoʔ=ki:“...” \]
say DPT=ACT.PST=PL

‘They said to those who were behind “...” and left.’

[MT, 1:160]
Associated motion - difficulties

Santali (North Munda) - "serial verb" - 1st element nonfinite

Can, however, also be treated as a "V2 construction" - matter of interpretation of the status of the V2 in North Munda as lexical or grammatical.

\[ \text{subodh} \quad \text{rakap'} \quad \text{hɛc'-en-a-e}. \]

Subodh ascend come-PST.MID-3SG

‘Subodh ascended and came.’ (Ghosh, 2008: 72)
Hindi (Indo-Aryan) - omitted converbal marker

"V2 construction"? - The V2 construction in Hindi does not involve the CVB marker, so the construction with an omitted CVB is homophonous with the V2 construction - but stylistically restricted (Montaut, 2004: 93)

*dekh a-na*
see come-INF

'have a look and come' (Montaut, 2004: 94)

Similar data for Maithili (IA) (Yadav, 1996: 203f.)
Associated motion - difficulties

Kurux (North Dravidian) - "serial verb" - first element finite

Cannot be treated as a "V2 construction"

*eːgʰaɾi kudd-on nuŋgg-on*

a.while walk.around- FUT.1PL.I do.and.go.back-FUT.1PL.I

“Let us take a stroll for a while and come back.”

(Kobayashi, 2017: 202)
Associated motion - difficulties

→ One category at a time, clearly defined morpho-syntactic traits.

Concurrent associated motion
"Ambulative" - '(do) while going / moving around'

Expressed by more or less grammaticalized "vector verbs" (or a construction which CAN be analyzed as such) as these are defined for that language and which are not stylistically restricted to higher / literary registers
Associated concurrent motion

Kharia (South Munda)

\[
\text{ol}=\text{na} \quad \text{olna} \quad \text{kayar} \quad \text{belon} \quad \text{san}=\text{ki}.
\]

`While being brought [to market], the mangoes ripened along the way (= while going).’  
(Peterson, 2011: 306)
Associated concurrent motion

Sadri (Indo-Aryan)

\textit{chʌwə} hine hune \textit{พลาดa=ke} \textit{ta<i>r} bul-el.
child here there leaves=OBL search<-LNK> AMB-PRS.3SG

‘The child wanders looking [in] the leaves here and there.’

[BCB.0053a]
Associated concurrent motion

Malto (North Dravidian)

\[ ra:ty-ond \quad go:w-a \quad qend-i \quad kud-tam \]

night.CLF-one carry.on.the.shoulder-CVB take.along-CVB AMB-PST.1PL.EXCL

‘I took it along all night carrying it on the shoulder’

(Kobayashi, 2012: 57, gloss adapted)
Associated concurrent motion

Athpare (Kiranti, Tibeto-Burman)

\( ka\text{-}phak \quad balyo \quad li\text{-}yu\text{-}gon. \)

2POSS-pig strong become-NPST-AMB

‘Your pig is getting strong (while moving around).’

(Ebert, 1997: 51)

Also found in:
Camling (Kiranti, Tibeto-Burman; Ebert, 1994:37)
Eastern Nepali (Indo-Aryan, Paudyal, p.c.) but not in Standard Nepali
Associated concurrent motion

Apparently not found in

- Indo-Aryan
  - Hindi, Marathi, Konkani, Maithili, Bengali, Darai, Hadoti, Bhadarwahi

- Dravidian
  - Telugu, Kannada

- South Munda
  - Gorum
Associated concurrent motion

Unfortunately, it is precisely the Munda and smaller Dravidian languages of the region where the situation is still unclear.

E.g., in (North) Munda, the general pattern would seem to allow it ("verb compounding") and similar examples are found some grammars, but no definitive statement can be made as this category is not listed.

More field work is required!

This is one of the major points of focus of the project.
"Ambulative" in South Asia:
- Found
- Not found

Quelle:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_India
Summary

• Jharkhand as a "micro-area", culturally and linguistically, seems to possess a certain validity
• Connection to eastern Nepal (and further east) is uncertain (cf. e.g. Hock, 2014; 2016)
• This will depend to a certain extent on other traits currently being investigated, including other types of associated motion
• More field work is essential!!!
Thank you!
References


Hock, Hans Henrich. 2016. "East of the 84th mderidian"? The phonological evidence. (Handout)

Hock, Hans Henrich. 2014. "East of the 84th Meridian?" The issue of Kiranti-Munda convergence reexamined. (Handout)


References


## Appendix 1: Description of structural properties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| B    | Gender                                                | 1 – one noun class (i.e., no gender system with common nouns)  
|      |                                                       | 2 – two classes (M/F, F/NF, M/NM)  
|      |                                                       | 3 – three classes (M/F/N) |
| C    | Enclitic plural marker or free-standing word          | 0 – affixal plural  
|      |                                                       | 1 – enclitic plural marker (with a largely constant form) or free-standing phonological word  
|      |                                                       | 2 – basically enclitic but with considerable morphophonological variation which is not entirely due to phonotactic constraints |
| D    | Oblique stems of common nouns                         | 0 – one invariable stem  
|      |                                                       | 1 – two stems, “oblique” stem not a productive case  
|      |                                                       | 2 – two stems, “oblique” stem is at least generally identical with genitive |
| E    | Presence of ergative morphology                       | 0 – none  
|      |                                                       | 1 – found either in certain verbal categories only (typically non-imperfective past tense, e.g., Hindi), with only certain persons (e.g., Darai, 3rd person, singular), or potentially in all verbal categories with all persons with transitive predicates, dependent on other factors (e.g., Nepali) |
| F    | Three numbers with free-standing pronouns             | 0 – no  
|      |                                                       | 1 – yes |
| G    | Inclusive / exclusive distinction in non-singular first persons (or at least in dual or plural, if not in both) | 0 – no  
|      |                                                       | 1 – yes  
|      |                                                       | 2 – yes, but found only on predicative marking, not on the pronouns themselves (e.g., Oriya) |
| H    | Classifiers                                           | 0 – none found  
|      |                                                       | 1 – found only with numerals and possibly a few other quantifiers  
|      |                                                       | 2 – found with numerals etc., but also postponed to nouns to denote definiteness / referentiality |
| I    | Similarity between morphemes denoting ‘from’ and ‘to’  | 0 – none found  
|      |                                                       | 1 – identical forms  
|      |                                                       | 2 – no formal identity, but signs of at least some previous similarity, e.g., Kharia tay ‘from’ and kho?tay ‘to’ (< *kho?tay ‘from the place’) or Konkani ajiun ‘up to today’ (< aji-un ‘today-ABL’, cf. Master, 1964: 153; 156; 170, (under the entry “ājihuīm”)) |
| J    | Lexeme for ‘place’ can be used productively as a locative case marker or as part of a nominal compound | 0 – no  
|      |                                                       | 1 – yes |
| K    | Lexeme for ‘side’ can be used productively as an allative marker (juxtaposition or compound, not when ‘side’ is a relational noun, cf. Hindi kī taraf) | 0 – no  
|      |                                                       | 1 – yes |
| L    | Alienable / inalienable distinction in attributive possession | 0 – none  
|      |                                                       | 1 – yes, but only in some persons (e.g., Sadri, only found in the 3rd person)  
|      |                                                       | 2 – yes, in all persons. Here we include cases such as Remo, for which we have only one example but which clearly seems to fit the overall pattern, i.e., the usual means in Munda languages in which the noun is followed by an enclitic/suffixal person marker, in this case the 2nd person, singular, so that it is clearly different from the Sadri case above (cf. Anderson & Harrison, 2008: 576).  
|      |                                                       | 3 – so-called “appellative nouns” in Kuvi / Kui – status not entirely clear |
|   | Markers of focus which derive from genitive | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes  
| N | Genitive used as a nominalizer/adjectivizer (e.g., as part of the infinitive or participle marker) | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes  
| O | Genitive used as a person marker (typically 3rd person, singular) | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes, formal identity at least in some forms, where it is productive  
|   |                                              | 2 – found in some forms, but not / no longer productive  
| P | Genitive marker found in copular form(s) | 0 – nowhere  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes, equal to the genitive in the respective language or in the donor language, if borrowed  
| Q | Suppletive forms for the positive identity and locative copulas (including obligatory “zero verb” as a separate stem) | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes  
| R | Suppletive forms (for at least one form) of the positive and negative copulas | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes  
| S | “Finite” or “narrative” predicate marker | 0 – none  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes, but only in some verbal categories and “optional”  
|   |                                              | 2 – yes, obligatory  
| T | Object marking on predicate | 0 – none  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes – regular and productive  
|   |                                              | 2 – object marking is found but generally not subject marking  
|   |                                              | 3 – special marker denoting that object is a 1st or 2nd person, but not a person marker, strictly speaking (e.g., Kuvi, Kui)  
|   |                                              | 4 – yes, but only in combination with ergativity (e.g., Hindi)  
| U | Anticipatory predicate category | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes, on finite predicates (and perhaps also non-finite).  
|   |                                              | 2 – yes, but only non-finite forms  
|   |                                              | 3 – form contains a finite and a non-finite element, e.g., the form “Verb-an Verb-le” found in Sora (Anderson & Harrison, 2008b: 346), where the second form (in -le) is a finite form but the first form is not.  
| V | Interrogative pronoun is also used in relative clauses | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes  
| W | Lexeme is found which can mean both ‘start’ and ‘continue’, irrespective of Aktionsart of the predicate | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes  
|   |                                              | 2 – no, but clear historical traces are still found (e.g., Santali)  
| X | ‘want’ is formally identical with ‘search’ | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes  
| Y | Interrogative marker is also used as a complementizer | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes  
| Z | Nominal incorporation, where the nominal element becomes part of the same morphological word as the predicate | 0 – no  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes, largely productive  
|   |                                              | 2 – yes, but not productive - only with a very limited number of nouns  
| AA | Active / passive opposition | 0 – none found (e.g., achieved instead through other means such as an active /middle distinction, where the middle fulfils this function, in addition to other functions such as ‘intransitive’, etc.)  
|   |                                              | 1 – yes (morphological or periphrastic)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AB</th>
<th>Number neutralization, i.e., singular (/dual)/plural distinction is neutralized in some environment (e.g., in verbal morphology)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>none found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>some form of obligatory number neutralization is found, e.g., Bengali, where the singular/plural distinction found with nouns is not found with verbs, which show no number distinctions. This group also includes languages where the neutralization affects only part of the verb system, e.g., Remo, which has a singular/dual/plural distinction with pronouns and verbs in the 1st and 2nd persons, but not on verbs for 3rd persons, Gta?, where the dual/plural opposition is neutralized in the first person only, or Gorum, where there is number neutralization in 3rd person object marking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>found, but typically “optional”, e.g., Kharia, where the dual marker =kiyar or the plural marker =ki are optional with nouns and where the predicate in 3rd persons may optionally mark for non-singular number. This also includes Bhojpuri, where e.g. Verma (2003: 531) writes that number is basically not marked on verb forms – only person and honorific status – although it is optionally marked periphrastically.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AC</th>
<th>Melodic overwriting (“echo-word formation”) with -i- Substitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yes, but the first consonant is also replaced by another consonant, e.g., by /g/ in Kuvi, or by /b/, e.g., in Marathi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>