The Case of Bangla N-V conjunct verbs

Presentation by:

Mona Sinha Mahapatra

- Mohanan (2006) specifies that any undertaking of complex predicates should look at some theoretical questions irrespective of the framework.

- Questions regarding the host and light verb forming a single syntactic unit are considered. The host and light verb are tested along the lines of it belonging to the lexical or phrasal category.

- Finally, the resulting constituent of the host and the light verb form either a lexical category or a phrasal category.

- In terms of case marking and agreement, it is important to note how the light verb and the host contribute. These points pertaining to agreement and case are also instrumental in terms of enquiring about the input of the syntactic head in these constructions.

About Bangla

- Bangla is an Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in the eastern part of India as well as Bangladesh. Bangla serves as an official state language of West Bengal and Tripura, also spoken in some parts of Assam and serves as the national language of Bangladesh.

- Bangla or Bengali has two forms: 'sadhu bhasha' or 'cholito bhasha'.

- Bangla has an SOV word-order.

- Bangla allows Pro-drop like some other eastern Indo-Aryan languages.

- Bangla shows Nominative-Accusative case system.

- Nouns are inflected for case which includes nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, ablative, and locative. The case marking pattern for nouns depends on the noun's degree of animacy. For inanimate objects, for example, the accusative case is unmarked.

- Bangla verbs are highly inflected and are generally regular with a few exceptions. They consist of a stem and an ending - traditionally noted in their "verbal noun" form (typically formed by adding - a to the stem).

Predicative noun as an object of light verb [kora]

- Topicalization

1.a. punya   anu   ke   prem   kore.

     Punya-Nom   Anu   Acc   love-N   do-Prst

     Punya   loves   Anu.

  b. prem   punya   anu   ke   kore.

     love-N   punya-Nom   anu   Acc   do-Prst

     Punya   loves   Anu.

  c. ira   akasher   khoj   korche.

    ira-Nom   akash-Gen   search-N   do-Prst-imperf

    Ira   is   looking   for   Akash.

  d. akasher   khoj   ira   korche.

    Akash-Gen   search-N   Ira-Nom do-Prst-imperf

    Ira   is   looking   for   Akash

- Gapping

2. a. monidipa   ke   or   ma   o   ador kore   aar   baba o __ kore.

    Monideepa Acc pron-3P mother EMP   adore-N do-Prst CONJ father EMP do-Prst

    Monideepa's mother also adores her and so does her father.

  b. shudhu   tomra   pujo   korbe aajke   baki-ra   kal   __   korbe.

   only   you-Pl-Cl puja-N do-Fut today everyone else-Cl tomorrow do-Fut

   Only you all will pray today, others will do it tomorrow.

- Passivization

3. a. amita   pujo   korbe.

   Amita-Nom pujo-N do-Fut

   Amita   will do puja

b. pujo   kora   hobe amita-r   dara

   puja-N   do-VN be-Fut amita-Gen   by

   puja will be done by Amita.

- # PRD+ noun as the object

4.a. noyonika   jogonnather   pujo   korbe aajke.

    Nayanika-Nom   jagannath-Gen puja   do-Fut   today

    Nayanika will pray to God Jagannath.

  b. noyonika   ki   korbe   aajke?

    Nayanika-Nom what-Q do-Fut today

    What will Nayanika do today?

    Response: jogonnather pujo/ pujo

           Jagannath-Gen puja/ puja

           Jagannath's Puja/ puja

- # Coordination

5. ei   poribare   sobai   eke onno ke   prem   aar   ador kore.

this-dem family-Loc everyone one-another Acc   love   Conj adore do-Prst

In this family, everyone loves and adores each other.

Theoretical Background

- Grimshaw and Mester (1988) provide an analysis of the Japanese verb [suru] meaning 'to do'. [suru] is considered to be completely or partially devoid of its own θ-marking capacities.

- a. Input: keikoku meaning 'warn' (agent, goal, theme) + suru ( ) <Acc>

 b. Output: keikoku (Theme) + suru (Agent, Goal)

- While the light verb does not assign the semantic roles, it absorbs the ⎩-grid of the predicative noun. Thus, the arguments brought in by the predicative noun occur in the complement positions of the light verb.

- Thus, the process of 'argument transfer' and its rules are specified as such:

i) "At least one argument apart from the subject must be outside the NP (i.e., must have been transferred).

ii) The subject argument must always be outside the NP.

iii) For Nouns that take a Theme and a Goal, if the Theme argument is realized outside NP, the Goal must also

  be realized outside NP."   Grimshaw and Mester, 1988: 215)

- Argument transfer may include either complete or partial transfer. This appears to be the case for Bangla as well.

- Complete Transfer:

i) [prem-kora]

  prem 'love' (Agent, Patient/Theme)

  kora 'to do' (Accusative)

  prem + kora (Agent, Theme) <Nom, Acc>

- Partial Transfer:

i)   [kʰoj-kora]

   kʰoj 'search' (Agent, Patient/Theme) <Gen>

   kora 'to do' (Accusative)

   kʰoj (Patient/Theme) <Gen> + kora (Agent) <Nom>

- Choi and Wechsler (2001) propose an amalgamation of both and suggest that in Korean light verb constructions of the N-V type, the idea of argument transfer and mixed category are required to be able to accommodate the Korean LVCs of the N-V type.

- They posit two abstract lexical types following Malouf (1998) namely nominal and verbal.
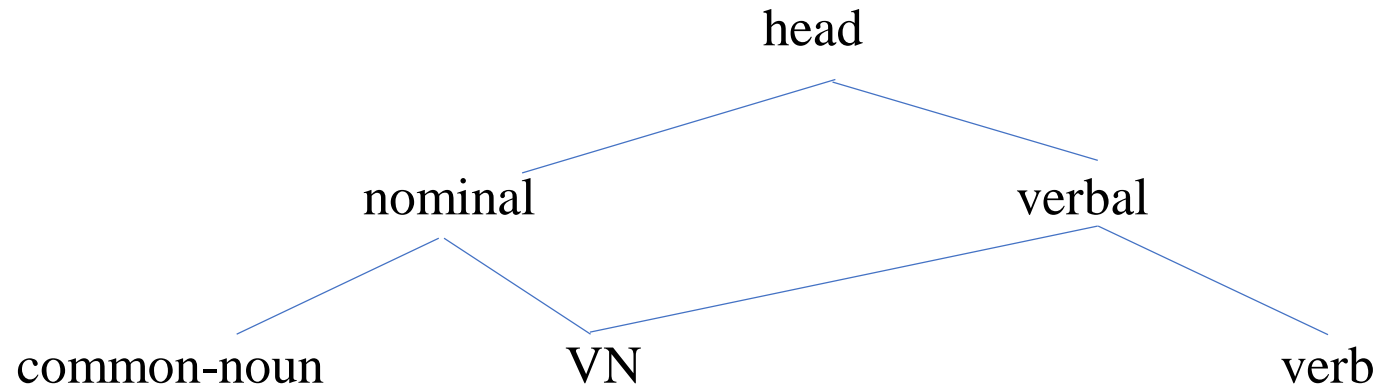
```
                              head
                      ╱              ╲
              nominal                  verbal
             ╱      ╲                       ╲
  common-noun        VN                      verb
                          Fig.1          (Choi and Wechsler, 2001)
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- Type declarations

  nominal: receive case

  verbal noun: assign V-case; modified by adverb

  verb: don't receive case

  common-noun: assign N-case; modified by adjective

- Resulting properties of the three maximal types:

	assigns	modified by	receives case?
common-noun:	N-case	Adj	yes
verb:	V-case	Adv	no
VN:	V-case	Adv	yes

6. a. angshuman judishTir ke akromon korbe.

    angshuman-Nom judishtir Acc attack-N do-Fut-3P

    Angshuman will attack Judishtir.

  b. angshuman ke akromoner somoy…

    angshuman Acc attack-Gen during

    During Angshuman's attack..

c. angshuman-er   opor   akromon-er   somoy…

angshuman-Gen   on-PostP   attack-Gen   during

during   the   attack   on   Angshuman…

7. a. jotin   bonkim-er   songe   besh lomba   torko   korchilo.

Jotin-Nom   Bankim-Gen   with   quite lengthy-Adj argument do-Pst-3P

Jotin   had   a   lengthy   argument with Bankim.

b. jotin   bonkim-er   songe   jore-jore   torko   korchilo.

Jotin   Bankim-Gen with   loudly-redup argument do-Pst-3P

Jotin   had an argument with Bankim loudly .

8.a. protim   Tinku   ke   bishal   sahajjo   korechilo.

   Protim-Nom   Tinku   Acc   huge-Adj   help-N   do-Pst-perf

    Protim   had   helped   Tinku   in   a   big   way.

b. protim   Tinku   ke   hoTatkorei   sahajjo   korechilo

   Protim-Nom   tinku   Acc   suddenly-Adv-EMP   help-N   do-Pst-perf

   Protim   had   suddenly   helped   Tinku.

9.a. eto   boRo   sTar   ke   eto   joldi   dekha   boRo   bepar.

    such   big   star   Acc   so   quickly   see-VN   big   deal.

    Spotting   such   a   huge   star   in   such   a   short   time   is   a   big   deal.

b. monjimar   ankita   ke   dekha-r   somoy…

   Manjima-Gen   Ankita   Acc   see-Gen   during/while

   While   Manjima   saw   Ankita…

- [kora] meaning 'to do' generally combines with a predicative noun that takes an ACTOR proto-role. The following sentences show the same.

10.a. Amit   oder   baaje   bebohar   protibar   sojjo   kore.

    Amit-Nom   their   bad   behaviour   everytime   tolerate-N   do-Prst

    Amit   tolerates   their   bad   behaviour   everytime.

    b. Amit-er   oder   baaje   bebohar   sojjo   hoche   na.

    Amit-Gen   their   bad   behaviour   tolerate-N   be-Prst-Imperf   Neg

    Amit   is   unable   to   tolerate   their   bad   behaviour.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{kora\_lxm} \\
\text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{LOC}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD verb} \\
\text{ARG-ST} < Np_i \,,\, NP_k \,,\, N\,[PRD] : \boxed{1}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} \;\boxed{1}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{tolerate\_rel} \\
\text{ACTOR} \quad i \\
\text{UND} \quad k
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{sojjo\_lxm} \\
\text{SUBJ} < NP_i > \\
\text{CONT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{tolerate\_rel} \\
\text{ACT} \quad i \\
\text{UND} \quad k
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
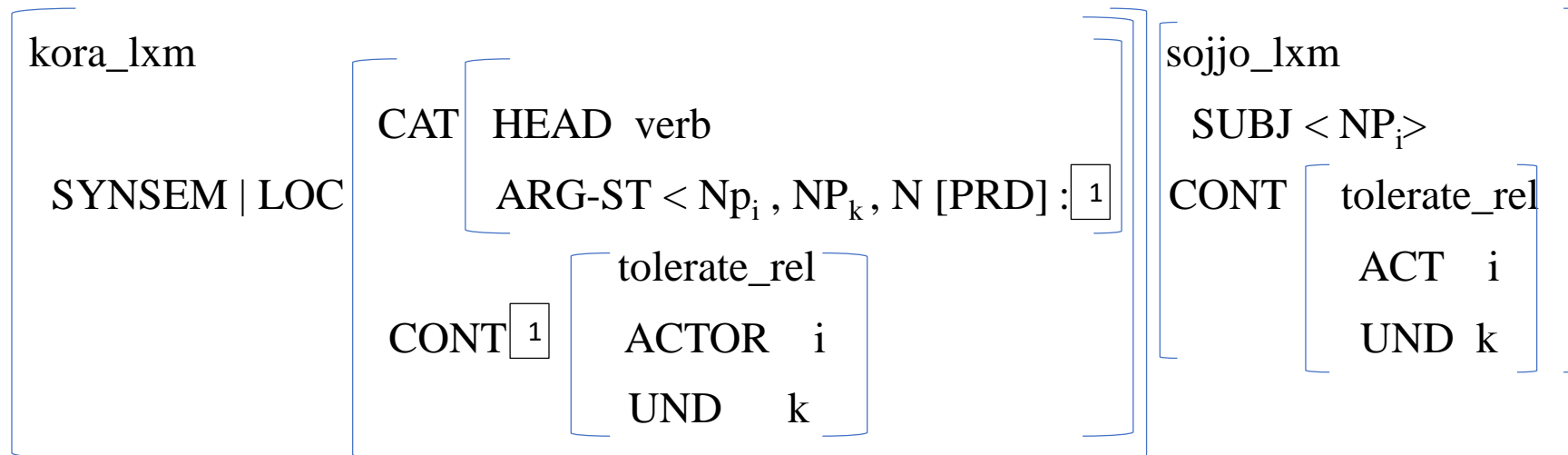
11. a. pinki-r   onko   shekha-r   ichche   korche.

    Pinky-Gen math   learn-VN   desire-N   do-Prst-imperf

    Pinky   wants   to   learn (to solve) Maths.

  b. pinaki-r   sob   jinish-er   theke   bhoye   kore.

    Pinaki-Gen every   thing-Gen from-PostP   fear-N do-Prst

    Pinaki   fears everything.


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              VP
             /  \
          NP      LV
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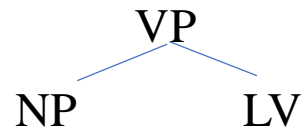
- ## Some frames of the predicative noun and light verb

12. a. bimal   sujata   ke   sahajjo   korbe.

    Bimal-Nom Sujata   Acc   help-N   do-Fut

    Bimal   will help Sujata.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{kora\_1\_lxm} \\[6pt]
\text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} \quad \text{verb} \\[6pt]
\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{NP}_i \\ \text{REAL+} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG} \boxed{1}\text{NP}_j \\ \text{REAL+} \end{bmatrix}, \text{NP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} \begin{bmatrix} \langle\text{NP}_i\rangle \\ \text{REAL-} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{COMPS} \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG}\boxed{1} \\ \text{REAL} - \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\ \text{CONT} \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle
\end{bmatrix} \\[6pt]
\text{CONT} \boxed{2} \begin{bmatrix} \text{soa} \\ \text{NUCL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{help\_rel} \\ \text{ACTOR} \quad i \\ \text{UNDERGOER} \quad j \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

12.b. Bimal   sujatar   songe   prem   kore.

Bimal-Nom   Sujata-Gen   with-PostP love-N   do-Prst

Bimala   is in love with Sujata.

$$
\text{kora\_2\_lxm}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} & \text{verb} \\
\text{ARG\_ST} & \left\langle
\begin{bmatrix} \text{NP}_i \\ [\text{REAL}+] \end{bmatrix},
\begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG}\boxed{1} \text{PP}[\text{FORM } \text{songe}]_j \\ \text{REAL}+ \end{bmatrix},
\text{NP}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SUBJ} \left\langle
\begin{bmatrix} \text{NP}_i \\ \text{REAL}- \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\
\text{COMPS}
\begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG}\boxed{1} \\ \text{REAL}- \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} \boxed{2}
\end{bmatrix}
\right\rangle
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} \boxed{2}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{soa} \\
\text{NUCL}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{love\_rel} \\
\text{ACTOR} \quad i \\
\text{UNDERGOER} \quad j
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
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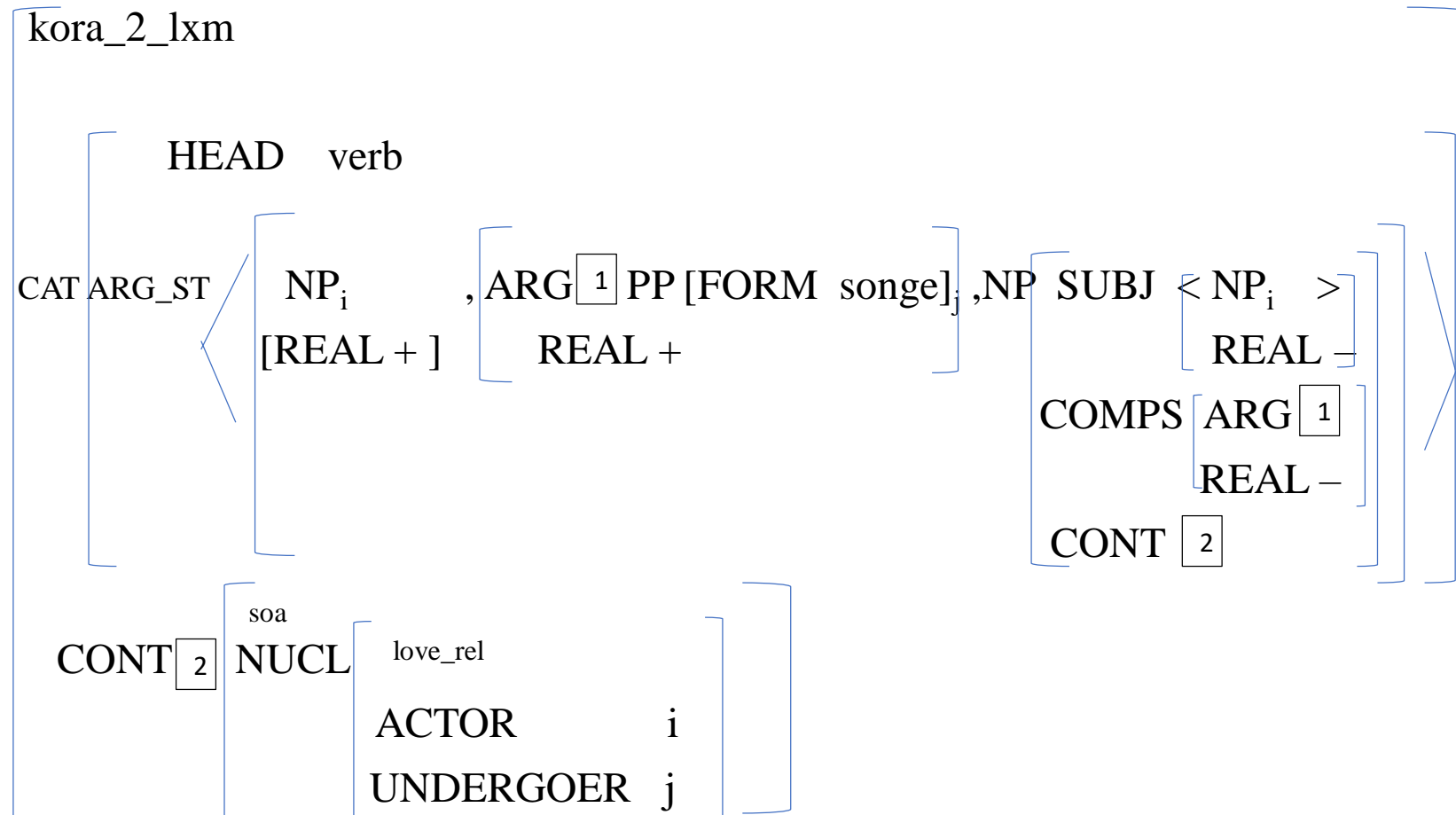
12.c. pinki   papiyar   opor   bhorsha   kore.

Pinky-Nom   Papiya-Gen   Post-P   reliance-N   do-Prst

Pinky relies   on Papiya.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{kora\_3\_lxm} \\[4pt]
\text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} \quad \text{verb} \\[4pt]
\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle
\begin{bmatrix} \text{NP}_i \\ \text{REAL+} \end{bmatrix},
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{ARG} \; \boxed{1}\text{PP} \quad [\, \text{FORM} \quad \text{opor}\,]_j \\
\text{REAL+}
\end{bmatrix}, \text{NP}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SUBJ} \left\langle \text{NP}_i \begin{bmatrix} \\ \text{REAL -} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\
\text{COMPS} \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG} \; \boxed{1} \\ \text{REAL -} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\
\text{CONT} \; \boxed{2}
\end{bmatrix}
\right\rangle \\[4pt]
\end{bmatrix} \\[4pt]
\text{CONT} \; \boxed{2}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{soa} \\
\text{NUCL}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{rely\_rel} \\
\text{ACTOR} \qquad i \\
\text{UNDERGOER} \; j
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
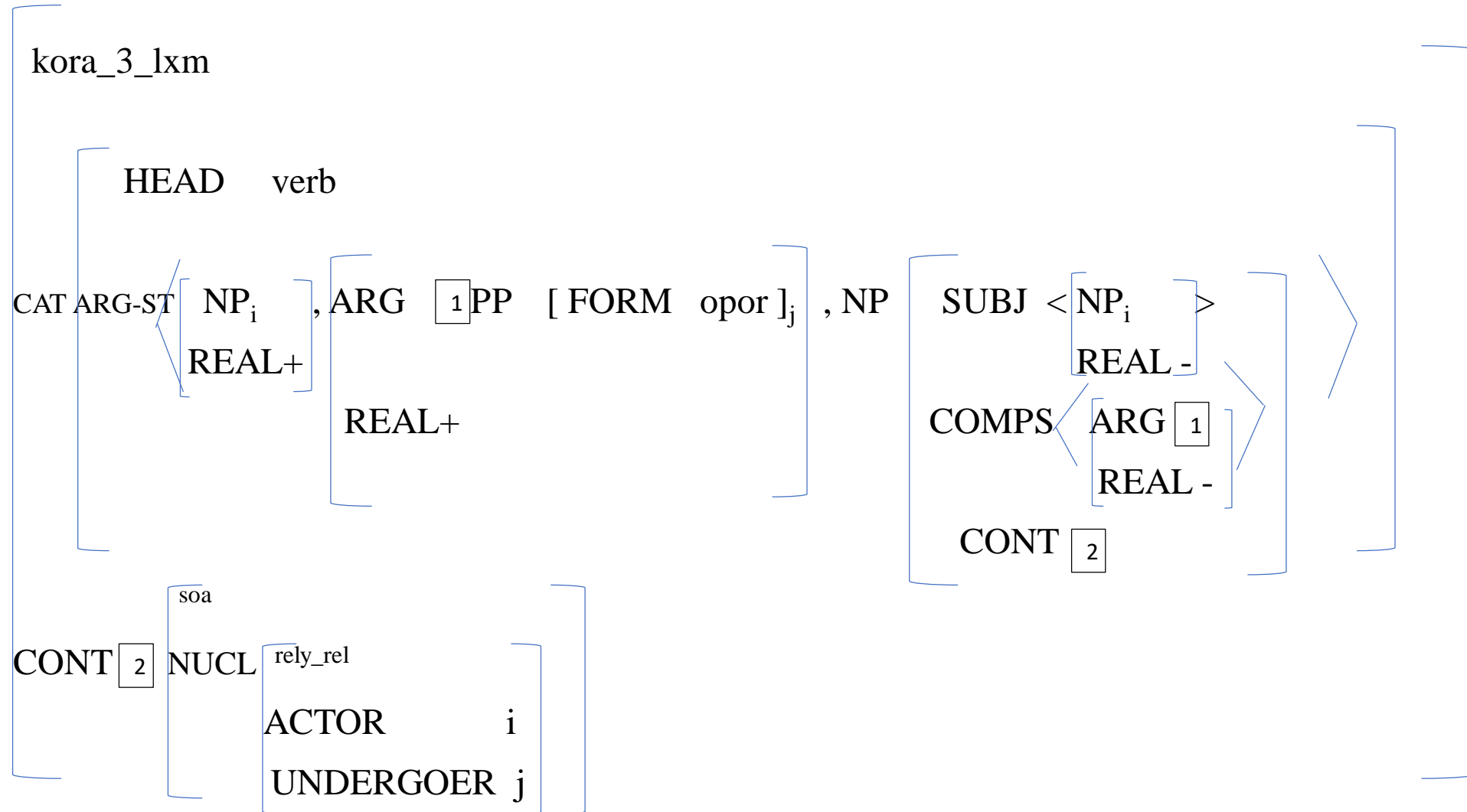
- Predicative nouns like [prem] meaning 'love' take the postposition with the P FORM [songe] meaning 'with' or the accusative case marked argument, and predicative nouns like [bhorsha] meaning 'reliance' take a postposition meaning 'opor' on which brings the argument.

- Das (2021) proposes that the Bangla case mechanism can be broadly categorised into two: morphological, where cases are shown by overt or covert case morphemes attached to NPs (e.g., Nom, Acc, Dat, Gen, Loc), or realised through postpositions. Das (1995:22 ; 2021) note that barring a few exceptions, Bangla postpositions govern their NP complements mainly in the Genitive case.

- The default case in Bangla is the genitive case. The genitive case is crucial while considering the pattern of nominal inflections. The non-structural cases which includes the instrumental, locative and ablative are realised through the genitive case marker within the PP.

- While English is noted to take one particular case in their NPs. Bangla while having its default case as genitive case, has some exceptions like the instrumental case 'with' - [die], which always takes an NP with the accusative case and not with the genitive case.

- While non-nominative subjects are not uncommon in many Indian languages including Bangla but the following clarifies a need for distinction between genitive constructions and pseudo-genitive constructions as observed below:

i) hum-ko   piyas   lagi   (Hindi)

   1-S-Dat   thirst-Nom   attach-Pst-3P

    I   feel   thirsty.

ii) mote   soso   laguchi   (Oriya)

   1-S-Dat   thirst-Nom   attach-Prst-perf-3P

    I   feel   thirsty.

iii) amar   teshTa   peyeche.   (Bangla)

    1-S-Gen   thirst-Cl   get-Prst-perf-3P

    I   feel   thirsty   (Das, 2021: 237)

- Monjima   Ankita   ke   Taka   die   sahajjo   korbe.

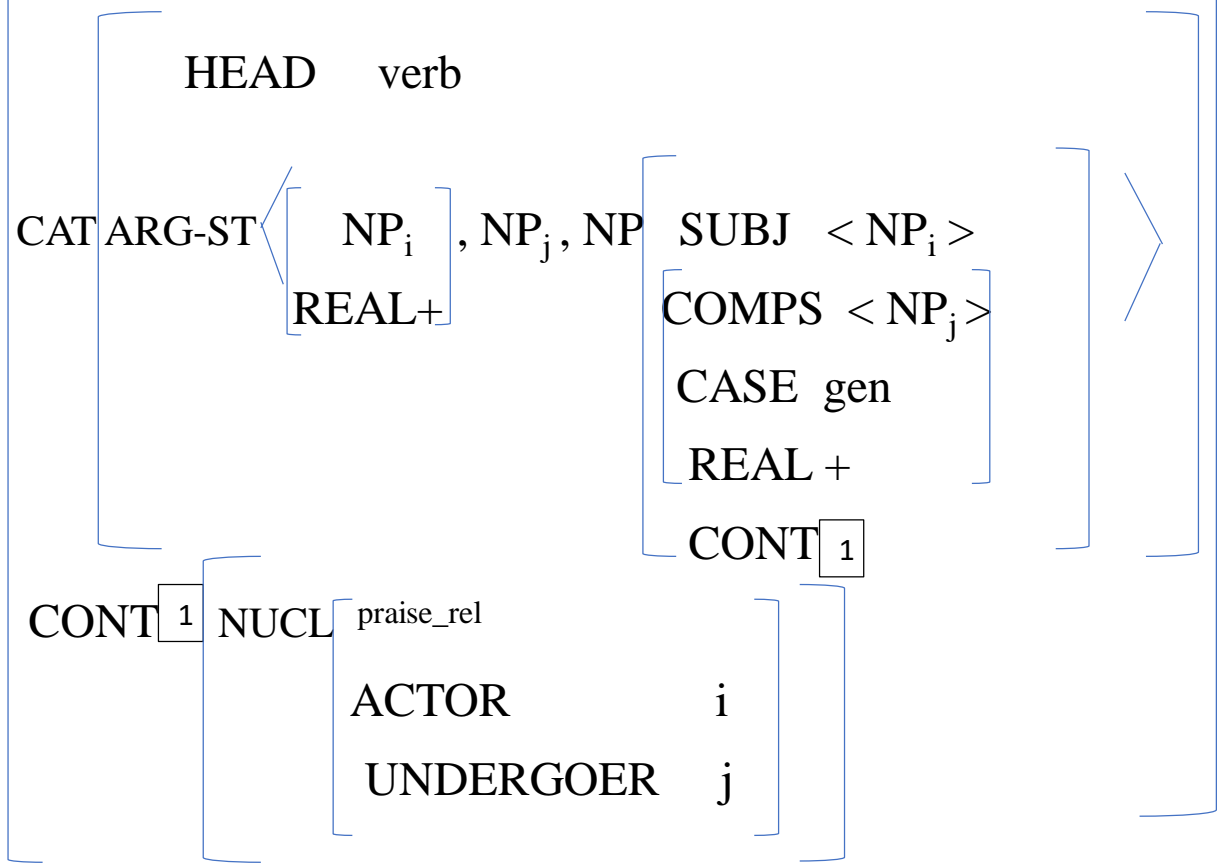   Monjima-Nom Ankita   Dat   money-N with-postP help-N   do-Fut

   Manjima   will   help   Ankita   with   money.

12.d. noyonika   sobar   proshongsha   kore.

     Nayanika-Nom   everyone-Gen   praise-Gen   do-Prst

     Nayanika   praises   everyone.

$$
\text{kora\_4\_lxm} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \text{verb} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{NP}_i \\ \text{REAL+} \end{bmatrix}, \text{NP}_j, \text{NP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} & \langle \text{NP}_i \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \text{NP}_j \rangle \\ \text{CASE} & \text{gen} \\ \text{REAL} & + \\ \text{CONT} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONT} \boxed{1} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NUCL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{praise\_rel} \\ \text{ACTOR} & i \\ \text{UNDERGOER} & j \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

- 12.e. bachchaTa   paechap korche.

  child-Cl   urine-N do-Prst

  The child is urinating.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{kora\_5\_lxm} \\[4pt]
\text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} \quad \text{verb} \\[4pt]
\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP}_i \,,\, \text{NP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} \ \langle \text{NP}_i \rangle \\ \text{REAL} \ \text{-} \\ \text{CONT} \ \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle
\end{bmatrix} \\[20pt]
\text{CONT} \ \boxed{1} \ \text{NUCL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{urinate\_rel} \\ \text{ACTOR} \quad i \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
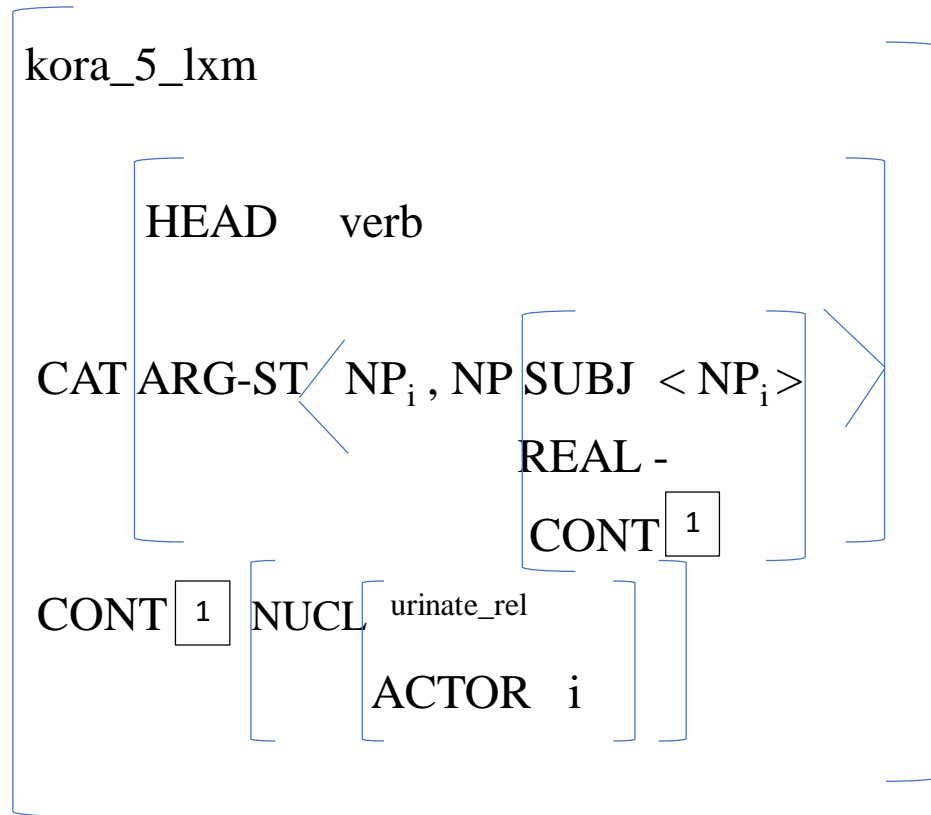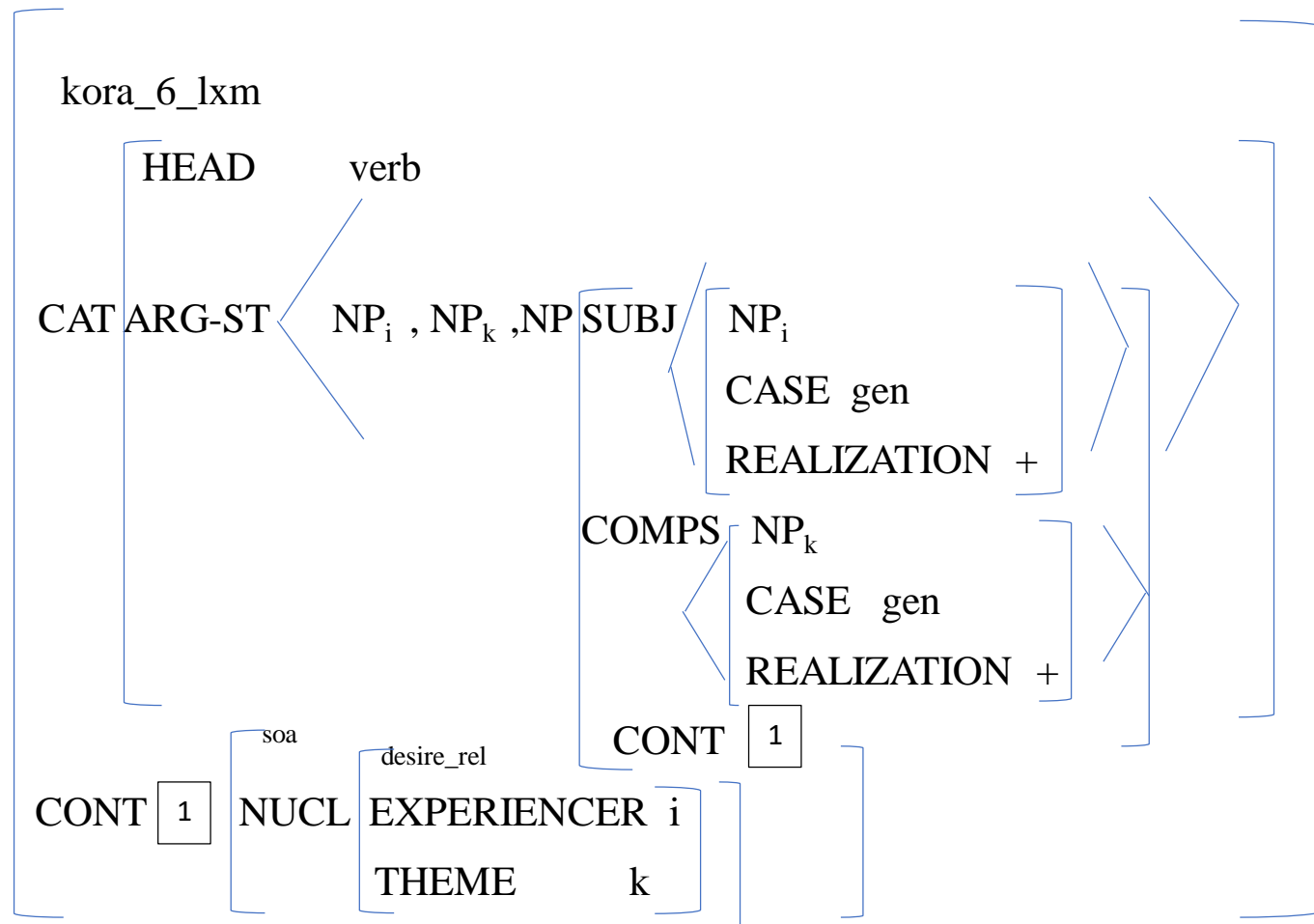
12.f. pinki-r onko shekha-r ichche korche.

Pinky-Gen math learning-VN desire-N do-Prst-imperf

Pinky wants to learn (to solve) Maths.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{kora\_6\_lxm} \\
\text{CAT}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} \quad \text{verb} \\
\text{ARG-ST} \left\langle \text{NP}_i, \text{NP}_k, \text{NP}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{SUBJ} \left\langle
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{NP}_i \\
\text{CASE gen} \\
\text{REALIZATION} +
\end{bmatrix}
\right\rangle \\
\text{COMPS}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{NP}_k \\
\text{CASE gen} \\
\text{REALIZATION} +
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} \boxed{1}
\end{bmatrix}
\right\rangle
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} \boxed{1}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{soa} \\
\text{NUCL}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{desire\_rel} \\
\text{EXPERIENCER i} \\
\text{THEME} \quad k
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Conclusion

- Argument Transfer + Verbal nouns

- Interesting points of difference considering various N-V frames

- Experiencer subjects

- Genitive case as the default case in Bangla

- Predicative noun as syntactic object of [kora]

- [kora] meaning 'to do' shows influence over the Subject chosen (generally selecting the ACTOR proto role)

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Thank You