

Chapter 3

Semantics of V2 – a Relation to its Full-verb Counterpart

3.0 Introduction

Although compound verbs in Indo-Aryan languages are multi-word expressions, an attempt was made in chapter 2 to construe them as one functional-semantic unit, i.e., a single predicate. This chapter examines the semantic contribution of V2s to the overall meaning of CVs in Bangla. Verbs that occupy the V2 position in a CV construction also occur independently in the language.

The chapter is divided into the following sections. Section 1 presents an overview of the chapter. Section 2 provides illustrations from Bangla to show that a V1 combines only with a semantically compatible V2. The presumption is that a V2 is not semantically empty. Section 3 maintains that a V2 *profiles* part of the event represented by the semantic type of a V1. The resultant CV expresses that highlighted segment of event. Section 4 argues that a V2 is semantically related to its independent counterparts. Finally Section 5 formally presents the semantics of each V2 in Bangla.

3.1 An Overview

Scholars have variously interpreted the semantics of V2s in Indo-Aryan languages. Hook (1974), for example, considers the V2 as an auxiliary. According to him, the V2 is a grammaticalized element, which is completely devoid of lexical semantics. Dasgupta (1989), on the other hand, argues for a semi-lexical status of V2s. He comments that ‘... one sees much more of the full independent meaning of the vector item (V2) than the semantic

heteronomy¹ view would lead one to expect'. *bhebe mōra* 'to worry oneself to death' is not 'to kill oneself'. The independent contribution of the vector verbs in CV constructions tends to be in the nature of a nuance. Abbi (1992) presents the following evidence to show that the V2 (she refers to it as an explicator) does not get completely delexicalized in the sense that it retains its "intrinsic features" [transitive +/-]. She points out that the ergative marking on the subject in Hindi-Urdu is determined by the transitivity of the V2 (Abbi 1992, p.40). For instance, the ergative case marking on the subject is linked to transitivity of the main verb as shown in (1a):

- 1a. *us-ne kha:na: kha:ga:*
 he-erg food eat-pt
 'He ate the food'

When a transitive verb such as *khana* 'eat' in (1a) unifies with an intransitive V2 *jana* 'go', the intransitive verb governs case morphology as shown in (1b):

- 1b. *vo kha:na: kha: gəga:*
 he food eat go-pt
 'He ate up the food' (undesirable)

If the V2 is a transitive verb, the subject is marked for ergative. This is illustrated in (1c):

- 1c. *us-ne kha:na: kha: li-a:*
 he-erg food eat take-pt
 'He ate the food' (perfective)

Butt (1995) follows the same line of argumentation. She proposes that the case marking on the subject of the Hindi-Urdu compound verb² is a direct consequence of semantic

¹ The heteronomy view maintains that vectors do not have the autonomous meaning, which it has in other sentences where it is used as a pole (V1).

² Butt uses the term *aspectual complex predicate*

information such as *conscious choice* and *inception/completion*, which is contributed by the light verb (V2). For example, in Hindi-Urdu the V2s *ḍa:lna:* ‘put’, *dena:* ‘give’ and *lena:* ‘take’ signal conscious choice and completion of action. In contrast, The V2 *pərna:* ‘fall’ implies that the action is not consciously controlled³. The resultant CV sequence denotes inception of an action. Butt shows that these two kinds of CV construction assign different case to their subject. For example, V1+*ḍa:lna:* ‘put’ requires ergative subject in the perfective as shown in (2a), and V1+*pərna:* ‘fall’ sequence requires a nominative subject in the perfective as shown in (2b):

2a. *us-ne ci:kh ḍa:la:*

he-erg scream take-pt

‘He screamed violently (on purpose)’

b. *vo ci:kh pəra:*

he scream fall-pt

‘He began screaming suddenly (despite himself)’

We understand from the above discussion that scholars have presently agreed that V2s are not semantically empty. I adopt Butt’s proposal and maintain that the two Vs must be semantically compatible in order for them to unify and form a CV construction. However the semantic features of both V1s and V2s need to be construed in a careful and exhaustive manner in order to ensure that all and only legitimate CV constructions in the language are guaranteed by the grammar. This chapter concentrates on examining the semantic characteristic of the V2 constituent of a CV sequence. This leads to the second part of our investigation: What will be the sources of meaning of the V2s? In this regard Butt’s observation is significant:

³ However the Hindi-Urdu CV sequence *ku:d pərna:* ‘jump down/plunge’ implies that actor has control over the event of plunge

It has been observed (Hook 1974, Masica 1976, etc.) that while light verbs do represent the semantics of the corresponding full verb in some weak sense, the use of light verbs also gives rise to interpretations not immediately derivable from the corresponding full verbs. The implication of suddenness with the use of the light verb *per* ‘fall’ is one example. The implication of intensity or violence associated with an action is another (see Masica 1976). The question of how particular light verbs can acquire such semantic interpretations, or an inquiry into exactly which parts of the semantics of the full verb are retained is an interesting one.

Butt 1995 p. 148

This chapter attempts to make an inquiry into exactly which semantic factors that a V2 and its full verb counterpart share. The next three sections examine in detail the following issues in connection with the study of the semantics of V2s:

1. V1 and V2 need to be semantically compatible
2. The meaning of V2 profiles a part of the meaning of the V1
3. A V2 is semantically related to its corresponding full verb

3.2 V1 and V2 Required to be Semantically Compatible

A V1 does not unify with every V2. The combinatorial well-formedness of a CV construction depends on the semantic compatibility between the two constituent Vs. Let us explore this idea on the basis of a few typical cases from Bangla.

The V2 *dega* ‘give’ is selected by the V1 *kena* ‘buy’ but not by the V1 *šekha* ‘learn’ as shown in (3):

3a. *ami ritu-ke æk-ṭa šari kin-e di-lam*

I Ritu-obj one-cl saree buy-cp give-1 pt

‘I bought Ritu a saree’

b. **ami ɔnek kichu šikh-e di-lam*

I many things learn-cp give-1 pt

‘I learnt many things (for the benefit of others)’

The meaning of *šekha* ‘learn’ implies that the learner, the actor, is engaged in an activity of acquiring knowledge. The learner is also a receiver because he/she acquires the knowledge. On the other hand, the V2 *deqa* ‘give’ requires that the effect of the action denoted by the CV should be directed towards a participant other than the actor himself. Thus the semantic entailments of the V1 *šekha* ‘learn’ and V2 *deqa* ‘give’ are contradictory and this needs to be reflected in a failure of unification of semantic features.

In another case we observe that the V2 *bərano* ‘roam’ is selected by only those V1s that license an actor-subject as shown in the following sentences:

4a. *mee-ṭa šaradin gan ge-e bəra-cche*

girl-cl whole day song sing-cp roam-3 pr cont

‘The girl is going around singing the whole day’

b. **mee-ṭa šaradin khep-e bəra-cche*

girl-cl whole day be angry-cp roam-3 pr cont

‘The girl is going around being angry the whole day’

The participant involved in the event of *gaqa* ‘sing’ is a willful doer, an actor, while *meeta* ‘the girl’ who gets angry in (4b) is an affected entity experiencing a kind of emotion. The semantics of the V2 *bərano* ‘roam’ entails that the subject of the resultant CV predicate V1+*bərano* ‘roam’ should be a volitional participant in the event. Therefore, the V2 *bərano* ‘roam’ unifies with the verb *gaqa* ‘sing’ and not with *khəpa* ‘be angry’.

3.3 The Nature of V2 Meaning and its Representation

V2s do not stand alone in the language. They always occur in the proximity of a V1 inside the CV construction. In order to capture this behavior of V2, Butt (1995) designs a semantic representation for V2s, which is distinct from that of V1 in the following manner: She treats V2s (*light verbs* as she calls them) as *incomplete* predicates, which contain a *transparent event*. A *transparent event*, in contrast to the simple event that represents V1s, cannot stand on its own. Therefore it unifies with the a-structure⁴ of a complete predicate as a result of which the a-structure of the aspectual complex predicate (which we call a CV sequence) is constituted. Butt's system thus predicts that the nature of V2 semantics actually triggers the composition of the aspectual complex predicate.

It is however difficult to explain why a V1 should combine with a V2 in order to satisfy the latter's incomplete predicate structure unless there is some independent motivation. To address this issue I put forward the following proposal: Every V1 has an associated *base* or *frame* that represents specification of an unmarked⁵ event type. The composition of a V1 with a V2 implies a focus on the part of the event. Speaker's choice and context in the discourse determine the focus. Compound verb construction is a lexical means to express the situation in focus linguistically. I will mention here briefly how Langacker (1987) views the *profile-base* distinction in his cognitive model of perception.

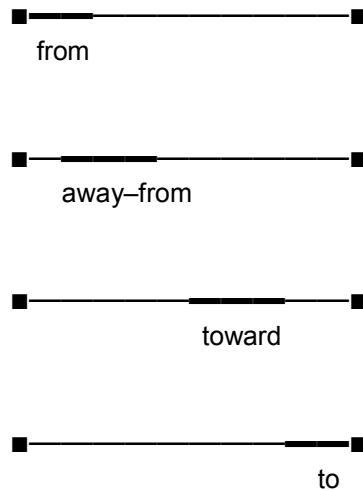
3.3.1 Profiling

Langacker observes that human beings have a perceptual ability to recognize objects from various perspectives. The *base* is an underlying matrix, or set, of relevant cognitive

⁴ Butt takes a-structure to be an interface level between syntax and semantics, whereby it is more of a semantic level. It includes thematic roles such as agent and patient, but she only assumes a rather abstract set of roles. That is, she uses goal to mean things like experiencer/beneficiary, etc., because these are all goals at a suitable level of abstraction. Her idea of a-structure is pretty closely related to the standard version within LFG and also closely related to GB approaches such as that of Grimshaw (1990).

⁵ Carlota Smith discusses *markedness and aspectual choice* in her book titled 'The Parameter of Aspect'. A speaker uses conventional event types and aspect information in a predictable way; that is the way these events and aspects are meant to be used in the discourse. Smith calls it unmarked choice of the speaker. On the other hand, a speaker makes marked aspectual choices or event type choice to convey emphasis of some kind and also for various pragmatic reasons.

domains that is required or evoked in comprehending a given expression. The *profile*, on the other hand, is the highlighted substructure within the base that the expression conceptually designates. Let us consider, for example, the prepositions: *to* and *toward* vs. *from* and *away from*. These expressions profile different portions of the ‘source-path-goal’ schema as shown in the following figure:



Langacker has commented that the meaning of an expression does not lie exclusively in either the profile or the base alone, but rather in the intimate interrelation of the former with the latter. It is important to realize that the base is just as much of an integral part of semantic structure as the profile it contextualizes.

I propose that the V1 in a CV construction provides the base. When a V1 selects a V2, the semantics of the latter profiles the base in the following two ways:

1. By highlighting the *manner of involvement* of the participant(s) engaged in the base-event; and
2. By imposing *temporal* and *aspectual* semantics on the event denoted by the resultant CV predicate

I use the expression *manner of involvement* as a cover term to include a range of abstract and complementary semantic concepts such as the following: a situation invoked versus a situation obtained, directedness of the result of the action towards the actor versus directedness away from the actor, directedness towards the deictic center, unpremeditated involvement of the actor versus the actor's lack of control over the situation and so on. Each of these abstract concepts defines a kind of *manner* in which the participant(s) is viewed as being involved in the event denoted by CVs. I will illustrate these abstract semantic senses in the subsections below. These abstract senses are imported into the semantics of V1 by the V2s. When a V1 provides a V2 an appropriate base, the V2 in accordance to its semantic requirement profiles the relevant segment of the V1 event. As a result of this the semantics of a legitimate CV sequence is determined. The following table presents a summary of the various *manner of involvements* of the participants in an event of *banano* 'build':

V1 'build'	V2	CV	Semantic overtone
<i>banano</i>	<i>deḡa</i> 'give'	<i>banie deḡa</i>	Effect of the action directed towards a participant other than the actor
<i>banano</i>	<i>neḡa</i> 'take'	<i>banie neḡa</i>	Effect of the action directed towards the actor himself (self-beneficiary)
<i>banano</i>	<i>rakha</i> 'keep'	<i>banie rakha</i>	The result of the action is focused

Table: 1

The verb *banano* 'build', like any other accomplishment verb, denotes a situation in which an actor performs some action and the action has a natural outcome. In case of *bari banano* 'build a house', for example, the house is the entity to be built⁶. Unlike verbs such as

⁶ I will argue in the next chapter that the entity being built (i.e., the theme argument *bari* 'house', in (5a) and (5b)) is not a causally affected entity.

gɔchano ‘foist something on somebody’, which distinctly entails that the actor acts upon a non-actor (patient) by persuading him/her to take the object transferred (theme), the situation denoted by the verb *banano* ‘build’ does not indicate the person or entity (i.e., a beneficiary) towards whom the effect of the action is directed. That is, the builder can build a house for himself (as demonstrated in (5a)) or he can build a house for the benefit of a receiver or beneficiary as shown in (5b):

5a. *mɔheš nje-r jonne baɾi-ɬa bani-eche*

Mahesh self-gen for house-cl build-3 pr pft
 ‘Mahesh has built the house for himself’

b. *mɔheš ritur jonne baɾi-ɬa bana-len*

Mahesh Ritu-gen for house build-3 hon pt
 ‘Mahesh built the house for Ritu’

Table 1 shows that the V2s *deɣa* ‘give’ and *neɣa* ‘take’ remove this vagueness by categorically focusing on one particular direction. The CV *banie deɣa* “build-cp give” specifies that the effect of the action is directed towards a non-actor entity. The linguistic consequence of this is that an extra beneficiary argument, the *profiled* entity, appears in the sentence as shown in (6a). Amal is the beneficiary in (6a):

6a. *mɔheš ɔmol-ke æk-ɬa baɾi bani-e di-lo*

Mahesh Amal-obj one-cl house build-cp give-3 pt
 ‘Mahesh built a house for Amal’

The CV sequence *banie neɣa* “build-cp take”, on the other hand, profiles the self-directedness (or self-beneficiary) reading inherent in the semantics of the verb *banano* ‘build’ as shown in (6b). The sentence suggests that Mahesh bought the book for his own benefit.

6b. *məheš dokan theke boi-ṭa kin-e ni-len*

Mahesh shop from book-cl buy-cp take-3 hon pt

‘Mahesh bought the book from the shop (implying that Mahesh is self-beneficiary)’

The following sentence exemplifies the CV *banie rakha* “build-cp keep”:

6c. *məheš šəhor-e ɔnekguli bari bani-e rekh-echen*

Mahesh city-loc quite a few house build-cp keep-3 hon pr pft

‘Mahesh has built quite a few houses in the city (in anticipation of future need)’

The V2 *rakha* ‘keep’ focuses upon the resultant situation. The situation denoted by the CV sequence *banie rakha* “build-cp keep” in (6c) conveys a sense of building a house ahead of time in anticipation of future need.

Table 1 presents cases in which participant roles and the V1 event are profiled in various manners by V2s. This kind of profiling may be called *lexical profiling of participants*. Table 2 illustrates profiling of the second type mentioned above. Here the V2s impose aspectual and temporal restriction on the event type denoted by V1:

V1 ‘laugh’	V2	CV	Semantic Overtone
<i>haša</i>	<i>oṭha</i> ‘rise’	<i>heše oṭha</i>	Focus on inception
<i>haša</i>	<i>phæla</i> ‘drop’	<i>heše phæla</i>	Focus on result
<i>haša</i>	<i>jaṇa</i> ‘go’	<i>heše jaṇa</i>	Focus on continuity

Table: 2

The verb *haša* ‘laugh’ is an activity verb. It expresses a durative atelic event of ‘laughing’ in which the actor is volitionally involved. The V2 *jaqa* ‘go’ profiles the durative part of the action. The V2 *oṭha* ‘rise’ and the V2 *phæla* ‘drop’, on the other hand, focus the initial and the end segment of the event *haša* ‘laugh’ respectively. The V2 *phæla* ‘drop’ also emphasizes the fact that the event occurred despite efforts to the contrary. These situational differences have syntactic impact as shown in the sentences in (7):

7a. *mee-ṭa æknagare haš-che*

girl-cl at a stretch laugh-3 pr cont

‘The girl is laughing at a stretch’

b. *mee-ṭa æknagare heš-e ja-cche*

girl-cl at a stretch laugh-cp go-3 pr cont

‘The girl continues laughing at a stretch’

c. **mee-ṭa æknagare heš-e uṭh-che*

girl-cl at a stretch laugh-cp rise-3 pr cont

‘The girl is bursting into laughter at a stretch’

d. **mee-ṭa æknagare heš-e phel-che*

girl-cl at a stretch laugh-cp fall-3 pr cont

‘The girl laughs inadvertently at a stretch’

æknagare ‘at a stretch, continuously’ is a durative adverbial (I shall discuss this construction in detail below). While the CV *heše jaqa* ‘continue to laugh’ occurs in the context of *æknagare* ‘at a stretch’ as shown in (7b), the CVs *heše oṭha* ‘burst into laughter’ and *heše phæla* ‘laugh inadvertently’ do not. The events denoted by the CV *heše oṭha* ‘burst into laughter’ and *heše phæla* ‘laugh inadvertently’ are non-durative in nature and therefore these CVs are not compatible in the context of the adverb *æknagare* ‘at a stretch’ that conveys

duration (see (7c) and (7d)). I refer to this kind of temporal and aspectual profiling as *supra-lexical profiling of events*.

Vendler's classification of verbs into accomplishment, achievement, activity and stative effectively includes aspectual notions such as *duration* and *endpoints of events* as an integrated part of the semantics of verbs. Carlota Smith (1991) comments as follows on the overall history of the use of the term *aspect* and on the current need to focus this use from a broader perspective: aspect traditionally refers to the presentation of events, Smith notes, through *grammaticized viewpoints*⁷ (Smith 1991, p. 3) such as *perfective* and *imperfective*. A particular viewpoint gives the viewer a full (*perfective*) or partial (*imperfective*) view of a situation. Smith argues that aspect in recent studies is no longer perceived as an entirely grammaticized concept. The concept is broadened to include various situation types. Situation types are intrinsic lexico-semantic properties associated with verb constellations at the basic level. A minimal verb constellation has the minimal number of countable arguments that the verb in question allows. For example, 'walk in the park' is an instance of the activity situation type, while 'build a house' instantiates the accomplishment situation type. Smith characterizes the situation types in terms of three binary features: [Static +/-], [Telic +/-] and [Duration +/-]. The feature of **stativity** bifurcates situation types into the classes of *states* and *events*. **Duration** is best viewed as an abstract concept built around the idealized notion of an instantaneous (i.e., minus-Duration) event. In fact situations conceptualized as instantaneous would differ in the actual amount of time that they involve in the real life event portrayed. Still the feature of DURATION is an important linguistic category in Bangla. We have already seen how this feature is grammaticized through the compound verb construction in Bangla. **Telic** events are directed towards a goal; when the goal is reached, a change of state occurs and the event is complete. In contrast, **atelic** events are simply processes, which are realized as soon as they begin. They have no intrinsic final point. I will include the feature TELICITY and DURATION in my descriptions at the supra-lexical level.

⁷ Carlota Smith has used this term in her two-component theory of aspect. The other component includes various situation types such as state, activity, accomplishment, achievement and semelfactive.

Using the notion of the causal chain⁸ due to Croft (1987), Smith (1991) also identifies various lexical spans with particular verbs. She gives the following examples. “The verb constellation ‘arrive in Boston’ spans a moment near the end of a chain of events while ‘go to Boston’ covers a much larger part of chain” (Smith 1991, p 34). She identifies one category *egressive* that focuses on the exit from an event and spans the later portion, and another category *resultative* that focuses on the end of the causal chain. The *ingressive* category refers to time elapsed before the beginning of the situation. Smith illustrates that the completive adverbial phrase ‘in an hour’ in the sentence ‘He left the house in an hour’ refers to the time interval at the end of which the event of ‘leaving the house’ takes place. The *inceptive* category focuses on the entry into an event and thus spans the early portion of the causal chain, while *inchoative* focuses on the coming about of a state. I shall represent these categories as well as the aspectual viewpoints *perfective* and *imperfective* as the value of a general feature ASPECT within the *supra-lexical* description of verbs. When a V1 selects a V2, the latter profiles part of the event structure of the V1 and accordingly determines the aspectual value for the whole verbal sequence.

In addition to profiling the V1 event temporally and aspectually as described above, V2s can also modify or modulate the meaning of the V1s in different manners as illustrated in table 3:

V1 ‘say’	V2	CV	Semantic Overtone
<i>bɔla</i>	<i>bɔʂa</i> ‘sit’	<i>bole bɔʂa</i>	unwarranted
<i>bɔla</i>	<i>phæla</i> ‘drop’	<i>bole phæla</i>	unintentional, unpremeditated
<i>bɔla</i>	<i>mɔra</i> ‘die’	<i>bole mɔra</i>	Futile

Table: 3

⁸ As Smith has pointed out, causal chain is represented very generally in the following scheme:
Cause – Subject – Action – Instrument – Object – Result

The sentences in (8) illustrate the use of the CVs enlisted in table 3:

8a. *ritu šɔbar majhe kɔtha-ʈa bol-e boš-lo*

Ritu all among word-cl say-cp sit-3 pt

‘Ritu went and said it in the middle of the crowd’⁹

b. *ritu rag-er matha-ɛ amake šɔb kɔtha bol-e phel-lo*

Ritu anger-gen head-loc I-obj all word say-cp drop-3 pt

‘In a fit of anger Ritu told me everything’

c. *oke britha-i bol-e mor-cho, o karor kɔtha šun-be na*

he-obj in vain-emp say-cp die-2 pr cont he nobody-gen word hear-3 ft neg

‘You are saying (it) to him in vain, he will not listen to anybody’

The CV *bole boša* ‘say-cp sit’ in (8a) conveys that a speaker says something which is unwarranted or uncalled for in the specified context. The CV *bole phæla* ‘say-cp drop’ specifies that the speaker says something although he/she may not have intended to do so. The CV *bole mɔra* ‘say-cp die’ implies a sense of futility. Thus these V2s profile the V1 event by taking scope over the base event. The CV expresses the modified event. I introduce a feature MOD(ifier) at the *supra-lexical level*. Its value specifies the manner or mode by which the V2 modifies the V1 event when the two verbs combine. The value of MOD is semantic nuances that the V2s add to the semantics of the V1.

⁹ The literal translation of this sentence will be the following: ‘Ritu blurted it out inadvertently among all the others’

The above discussion justifies the necessity of representing verb meanings at two separate levels:

1. The *participant level* represents a set of semantic roles that denote the participants involved in the specified situation and also the manner of their involvement.
2. The *supra-lexical level* includes information related to duration, modality and aspect like perfectivity, imperfectivity, inception and inchoation.

This system of representing verb meaning at two levels resembles the idea of *sublexical modality* of Koenig and Davis (2001) although proposed in a very different context. Koenig et al. recognize a distinction in the semantic information associated with verbs: a relationship among participants in a situation and a subset of circumstances or time indices at which this relationship is evaluated. The latter is called *sublexical modality*. The distinction was motivated by the semantic principle of linking. The work proposes that semantically based linking constraints are insensitive to the sublexical modality component of lexical entries and depend only on information in a predicator's "situational core".

3.3.2 Sublexical modality

Koenig et al. (2001) focus on a series of verbs, which show identical linking pattern¹⁰ but "which do not share the participant-role properties typically claimed to underlie the relationship between their semantic arguments and syntactic dependents" (Koenig et al. 2001, p. 72). The problem is posed in the following terms. Consider two sets of verbs:

- a. Burns gave Smithers Rs10/- for dinner
- b. Burns sent/offered/promised/denied Smithers Rs10 for dinner

¹⁰Linking principle determines the correspondence between semantic roles and syntactic arguments. Chapter 5 will be devoted to a detailed study of the *linking mechanism*.

The entailment suggested for the verb ‘give’ in (a) does not hold for the set of verbs in (b). For example, no entailment of an actual transfer of possession is present in the meaning of the verbs in (b). How can then the syntactic-semantic correspondence for the verb ‘give’ and the set of verbs in (b)¹¹ be accounted for by the same linking pattern?

Koenig et al. observe that in order to account for the ditransitive linking pattern of all these verbs, the strong grounding hypothesis (see the footnote 12) leaves two options open: We must either find a different set of entailments for the verbs in (b) or we must postulate that their semantics is fundamentally the same as that of ‘give’, but contains some additional modifying elements.

The solution proposed in this work is the following: The shared component of meaning constitutes a *situational core*; that is a category of relations among event participants. It is modified by modal information particular to each verb. The modal, negation, and temporal/aspectual operators only modify the situational core within lexical entries and do not have any effect on the linking principle.

I have already mentioned in the previous section that a similar two-level distinction in the semantic representation of verbs is called for in order to correctly capture the nature of *profiling* the relevant part of V1 semantics by the semantic constraint associated with V2s.

3.4 Semantic Correlation between a V2 and its Corresponding Full verb

The verbs that occupy the V2 position within CVs also occur independently in the language. The same verb can occur as a second constituent within N+V and Adj+V constructions as well. For example, the verb *phæla* ‘drop’ is used in following contexts:

¹¹Koenig has made the following hypothesis, which they call the strong grounding hypothesis – “the semantic grounding of linking depends on a limited set of lexically entailed participant properties, which are true of arguments of the predicates denoted by lexical items”.

9a. *chele-ṭa pukur-e ḍhil phel-lo*
 boy-cl pond-loc pebble drop-3 pt
 ‘The boy threw (a) pebble in the pond’

b. *tumi amake bipod-e phel-le*
 you I-obj trouble-loc drop-2 pt
 ‘You have put me in trouble’

c. *amra agami magh-e bie-r tarikh phel-bo*
 we coming Magh-loc marriage-gen date drop-1 ft
 ‘We will fix a date for the wedding in the month of Magh’

d. *dineś amar kōtha phel-be bhab-i ni*
 Dinesh I-gen word drop-3 ft think-1pr not
 ‘I (never) thought that Dinesh would refuse my request’

When this verb occupies the V2 position in a CV construction as shown in the following sentence, it is not used in any of the senses illustrated in (9a-d). The meaning of the CV *ēke phæla* in (9e) is ‘to complete drawing/painting’.

9e. *chele-ṭa nimeś-er moddhe chobi-ṭa ēk-e phel-lo*
 boy-cl moment-gen within picture-cl draw-cp drop-3 pt
 ‘The boy completed drawing the picture within a moment’

Apparently no semantic correlation is discerned between a V2 and its full verb counterparts. This position might thus posit that the lexical entries for V2 and its corresponding full verbs are homonymous, which is to say that they are unrelated. The fact that the different senses are coded by the same linguistic form is presumably an accident. In that case one might also consider the occurrences of *phæla* ‘drop’ in (9a-9d) homonymous because they apparently express unrelated senses. The homonymy approach fails to answer the question of why it

should be the case that a speaker would choose to use a particular established form in a novel way, rather than coining a new phonological string altogether¹². The purpose of a speaker is to communicate. This strongly suggests that when a speaker uses a form with an established meaning to indicate something other than the conventional meaning, the choice of which lexical item to select is motivated. This line of reasoning suggests that there must be something about the conventional meaning associated with the lexical item that lead the speaker to choose that lexical item rather than some other. Then there remains the question of how best to model the distinct meanings associated with a single lexical form. A *polysemy* approach, one of the most important issues of recent lexical semantics, suggests that the meanings associated with a lexical item are related in some fashion. I will adopt the polysemy approach for interpreting the correlation between a V2 and its corresponding full-verbs¹³.

Lakoff (1987) in his cognitive approach to meaning of words explains polysemy in the following terms: A word has its core meaning, namely prototypical meaning, and although senses of the word are slightly different from each other, they are related mutually through the core, and can be represented by a single word. In this way, multiple meanings of a word form a network and construct a complex category. The extensions of a central meaning to subcategories is *motivated* by certain general principle related to various cognitive processes such as ‘exploiting natural relation between container and containee’ or ‘using one entity to refer to another that is related to it’ and so on. For example, consider the following sentence:

10. *jitu-r matha khub poriṣkar*
 Jitu-gen head very clear
 ‘Jitu is intelligent (“clear headed”)’

¹² I recognize two homophonic forms to be homonymous in case they have different etymology. For example, Bangla uses the same verb form *pōṛa* to represent the meaning ‘read’ and ‘fall’. Since the two variants of the word *pōṛa* are derived from two different Sanskrit roots *pṛṣh* ‘read’ and *pāt* ‘fall’ they are not semantically related. They constitute two separate lexical entries in the dictionary.

¹³ Butt and Gauder (2001) have also observed in the context of Hindi-Urdu light verb (V2) *dena*: ‘give’ that the relation between the light verb use of a verbal item and its use as a full verb is identified as a case of lexical polysemy (and not grammaticalization)

The word *matha* ‘head’ in (10) refers to Jitu’s ‘intelligence’. We conceptualize ‘intelligence’ to reside in a man’s ‘head’ and therefore the container (*matha* ‘head’) replaces containee (*buddhi* ‘intelligence’) in (10). The complexity of meaning as illustrated by the various uses of *phæla* ‘drop’ is taken to be motivated by the incorporation of background knowledge or our perception of world knowledge into our understanding of the meaning of the word. Thus “knowledge of world” or “background knowledge” helps in explaining *polysemy* in a language.

Recently scholars working on “verbs with multiple meaning”, popularly known as *regular polysemy* (Apresjan 1973)¹⁴, have attempted to explain the problem of *polysemy* from a very different perspective. I discuss two of them here: Levin and Rappaport (1995, 1998) and Goldberg (1995). Both recognize a dichotomy in verb meaning: “structural” and “idiosyncratic” aspect of meaning (Levin et al. 1998). The “idiosyncratic” level presents the aspect of world and cultural knowledge. Goldberg argues that semantic representation of any lexical item should be rich enough to include the background knowledge. She adopted Fillmore’s frame semantics for representing the semantics associated with verbs. Levin et al. argue that the idiosyncratic aspects of meaning serve to differentiate a verb from other verbs sharing the same structural aspect of meaning and this aspect is not relevant to the verb’s grammatical behavior. The “structural” level, on the other hand, refers to the syntactically relevant aspect of verb meaning. “The syntactically relevant aspects of verb meaning are defined as those aspects which are relevant for determining the syntactic expression of arguments via linking rules” (Goldberg 1995 p. 28). Levin et al. design an *event structure template* and Goldberg postulates the notion of *construction* to represent the “structural” level. These constructions mainly represent some basic event types, like someone causing something, something moving, something undergoing a change of state or location and so on.

¹⁴ Pustejovsky calls it complementary polysemy (1995 p 31). Regular polysemy refers to the instances of polysemy that are consistently exhibited by words with certain types of meanings. “Atkins, Kegl and Levin (1988) discuss one such example. They show that the verb ‘bake’ can be associated with a change-of-state meaning as in “Max baked the potatoes” and a creation meaning as in “Max baked a pound cake”. These two meanings are associated with other verbs of cooking as well; thus verbs of cooking manifest regular polysemy” (Levin et al. 1995, p. 179).

These are abstract concepts. For example, the following template structure represents the causative change of state in Levin and Rappaport's work:

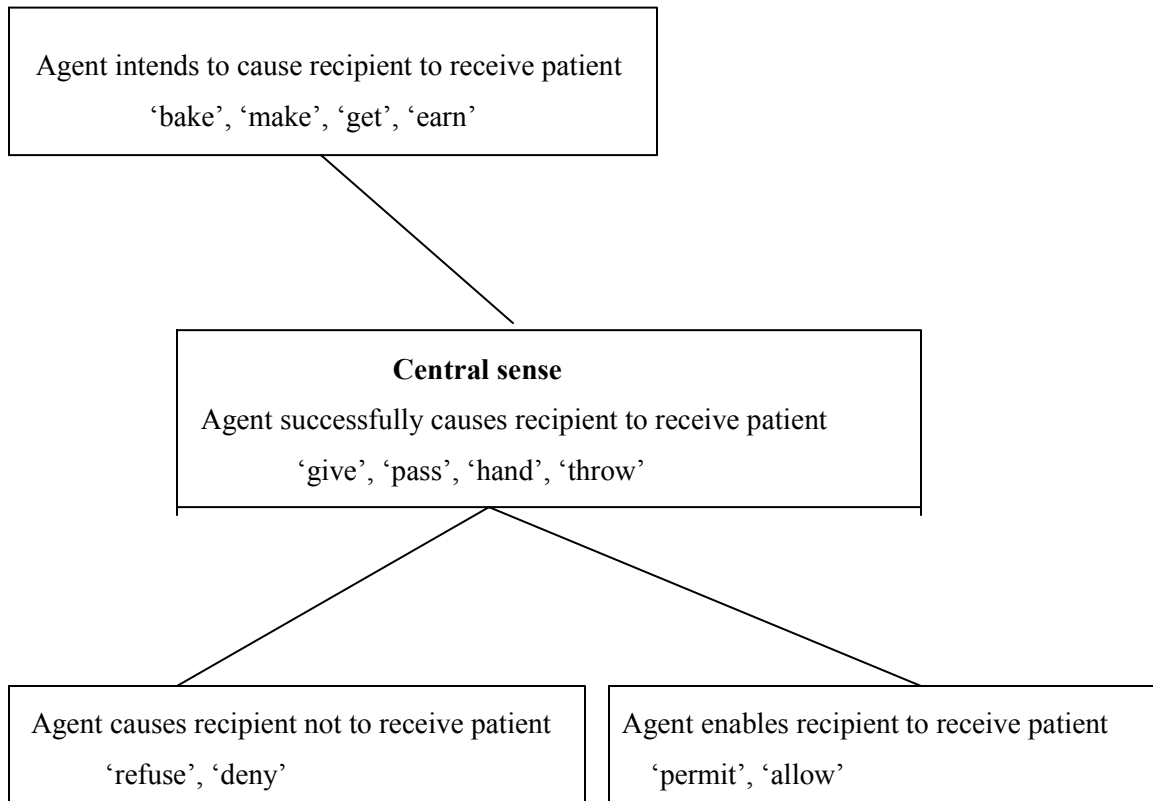
[[x ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y <STATE>]]]

The issue of *regular polysemy* is taken to be resolved at the structural level of representation. According to Levin et al. "verbs with multiple meaning" (or polysemous verbs) instantiate more than one structural schema. Thus the following occurrences of the English verb 'sweep' are represented by the templates in A:

- 11a. Max swept
- b. Max swept the floor
- c. Max swept the floor clean

[x ACT]
 [[x ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y <PLACE>]]]
 [[x ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y <STATE>]]]

Goldberg imposes polysemy on *constructions*. In her system a *construction* is obligatorily related to one central sense. In addition it can be related to more than one related non-central senses. The same verb-form can be paired with a set of systematically related senses and accordingly they show distinct behavior in various syntactic contexts. For example, Goldberg postulates *actual transfer* as a central sense shown in following diagram:



The related senses stand in polysemy relation with the central sense.

Goldberg and Levin et al. address the question of *regular polysemy* from different perspectives (not our concern here). Both have, however, postulated a number of “abstract” relations – free from *representational qualities*. The specific use of verbs are computed from these abstract relations, given the nature of their arguments and given the background knowledge on which the use of the verbs are woven.

Following the line of work discussed above, I shall attempt to discern in this chapter a set of abstract semantic senses or concepts. They are not necessarily the most primitive senses that one might imagine. I propose that a V2 and its corresponding full-verb share the same abstract concept. These concepts are a kind of *mould*. The uses of full-verb counterparts in various contexts and diversified situations add to this *mould* various semantic specifications as a result of which every instance of a verb is semantically distinct from the others. The

corresponding V2 verb, on the other hand, mainly expresses the core concept or the *mould*. The semantic contribution of a V2, therefore, remains constant to a very great extent as it co-occurs with different V1s. A V2 can be semantically related to two polysemous full verb counterparts which represent two different abstract concepts. In such cases the V2 also becomes polysemous in nature. In the next section I shall examine the semantics of V2s and show that the V2s, *deqa* ‘give’, *aša* ‘come’ and *jaqa* ‘go’ have polysemous existence in the language.

3.5 Semantics of V2

In chapter 1, I identified 15 verbs that occur in the V2 position within CV constructions in Bangla. I will examine here the semantics of the following V2s:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>aša</i> ‘come’ | 5. <i>oṭha</i> ‘rise’ | 9. <i>mɔra</i> ‘die’ | 13. <i>bæṛano</i> ‘roam’ |
| 2. <i>jaqa</i> ‘go’ | 6. <i>phæla</i> ‘drop’ | 10. <i>rakha</i> ‘keep’ | 14. <i>cɔla</i> ‘move’ |
| 3. <i>ana</i> ‘bring’ | 7. <i>tola</i> ‘lift’ | 11. <i>deqa</i> ‘give’ | 15. <i>paṭhano</i> ‘send’ |
| 4. <i>pɔra</i> ‘fall’ | 8. <i>bɔša</i> ‘sit’ | 12. <i>neqa</i> ‘take’ | |

I shall argue that the V2s *deqa* ‘give’, *aša* ‘come’ and *jaqa* ‘go’ have polysemous existences in the language.

V2s determine telicity, duration and aspect, i.e., the information associated with the *supra-lexical level* of the resultant CV constructions. For instance, when a V1, either a durative verb or a momentary verb, selects the V2 *oṭha* ‘rise’ the resultant CV always becomes non-durative in nature. The V1 *kaša* ‘cough’ is a momentary verb, while the verb *haša* ‘laugh’ is an activity verb that entails duration. Smith classifies the former as semelfactive verbs that are incompatible with *durative adverbials*. Semelfactive verbs represent atelic instantaneous event. Smith observes that if these verbs occur in the context of *durative adverbials*, the sentence presents a derived multiple-event activity, consisting of a series of repeated semelfactive events. This is exemplified in (12a):

12a. *mee-ṭa æknagare kaš-che*

girl-cl at a stretch cough-3 pr cont

‘The girl is coughing incessantly’

The adverb *æknagare* ‘at a stretch’ conveys duration. The V1 *haša* ‘laugh’, on the other hand, represents a homogeneous activity of laughing when occurred in the context of *durative adverbials* as illustrated in (12b):

12b. *mee-ṭa šaradin dhore kãd-lo*

girl-cl whole day for cry-3 pt

‘The girl cried for the whole day’

When semalfactive and activity verbs as illustrated in (12a) and (12b) combine with the V2 *oṭha* ‘rise’, the V2 profiles the initial segment of the V1 event and the resultant CVs become non-durative in nature. They are not compatible with *durative adverbials* as illustrated in (13):

13a. **mee-ṭa šaradin dhore kẽd-e oṭh-e*

girl-cl whole day for cry-cp rise-3 pr

‘The girl bursts into tears for the whole day’

b. **mee-ṭa æknagare keš-e oṭh-e*

girl-cl at a stretch cough-cp rise-3 pr

‘The girl coughs (suddenly) at a stretch’

Thus we see that the V1+*oṭha* ‘rise’ sequence represents an instantaneous event. The following is a list of *durative adverbials* in Bangla:

æk ghɔŋta dhore ‘for one hour’ *šɔkal theke* ‘since morning’
dupur tinṭe theke šondhe šatṭa porjonto ‘from afternoon three to seven in the evening’
ækṭana / æknagaṛe / šomane ‘at a stretch’

As evident from the above list, words and phrases of various categories express temporality in Bangla. The most common among them is post-positional phrases (PP). For example, the post-positional¹⁵ phrases such as *dhore-PP* ‘for-PP’ and *theke ...porjonto-PP* ‘from...to-PP’ express duration. The phrase *theke-PP* ‘since-PP’ such as *šɔkal theke* ‘since morning’ and the adverbials *æknagaṛe* ‘at a stretch’, *ækṭana* ‘at a stretch’ and *šomane* ‘at a stretch’ also convey a span of time.

Like the V1+*oṭha* ‘rise’ construction as illustrated above, the V1+ *pɔṛa* ‘fall’ also expresses an instantaneous event. For example, the event of *ghumono* ‘sleep’ occurs over an interval and the verb is compatible with *durative adverbial* (see 14b). The CV *ghumie pɔṛa* ‘fall asleep’, on the other hand, does not occur in the context of *durative adverbials* as illustrated in (14a):

- 14a. **mee-ṭa šaradin dhore ghumi-e pɔṛ-che* [DURATION –]
 girl-cl whole day for sleep-cp fall-3 pr cont
 ‘The girl is falling asleep the whole day’
- b. *mee-ṭa šaradin dhore ghumo-cche* [DURATION +]
 girl-cl whole day for sleep-3 pr cont
 ‘The girl is sleeping the whole day’

I will mark the value of DURATION negative for the CVs that are not compatible with *durative adverbials*. The sentences in (15)a-f illustrate that the CVs that take the V2s *deḡa* ‘give’, *neḡa* ‘take’, *phæla* ‘drop’, *bɔṣa* ‘sit’, *paṭhano* ‘send’ and one variant of *jaḡa* ‘go’

¹⁵ Post-positions are independent words in Bangla that head a noun-phrase. For example, *dhore* ‘for’ *theke* ‘from’ are post positions.

(*jaqa_1*) as their second constituent are not compatible with *durative adverbials*. The V1 associates of these CVs are durative verbs. They denote event types that have internal stages. When these verbs occur in the context of *durative adverbials* as illustrated in (15)a'-f', the entailment is that the event – to be more precise, the process associated with these events – goes on for that interval. When a V1, either a durative or a punctual verb, selects the aforementioned V2s, the latter profiles a restricted segment of the basic V1 event as a result of which the situation in focus acquires an intrinsic feature of instantaneousness. All *durative adverbials* in (15) are underlined:

15a. *ritu ækghonta dhore ciṭhi-ṭa **likh-e ni-eche** [DURATION –]

Ritu one hour for letter-cl write-cp take-3 pr pft

‘Ritu completed writing the letter for one hour (Ritu is self-beneficiary)’

a'. ritu ækghonta dhore ciṭhi-ṭa **likh-eche** [DURATION +]

Ritu one hour for letter-cl write-3 pr pft

‘Ritu wrote the letter for one hour’

b. *ritu goto ækbōchor dhore amake æk-ṭa baṛi **khūj-e di-eche** [DURATION –]

Ritu last one year for I-obj one-cl house search-cp give-3 pr pft

‘Ritu found a house for me and she took one year to do it’

b'. ritu goto ækbōchor dhore æk-ṭa baṛi **khūj-che** [DURATION +]

Ritu last one year for one-cl house search-3 pr cont

‘Ritu has been looking for a house for last one year’

c. *ritu chōmaš dhore frenc **šikh-e phel-lo** [DURATION –]

Ritu six months for French learn-cp drop-3 pt

‘Ritu completed learning French and she took six months to do it’

- c'. *ritu chɔmaš dhore frenc šikh-lo* [DURATION +]
 Ritu six months for French learn- 3 pt
 'Ritu learnt French for six months'
- d. **ritu šɔkal theke šondhe porjonto kaj-ɬa kor-e boš-lo* [DURATION -]
 Ritu morning from evening till work-cl do-cp sit-3 pt
 'Ritu completed the work (implying unwarrantedness) and she took from morning till evening to finish it'
- d'. *ritu šɔkal theke šondhe porjonto kaj-ɬa kor-lo* [DURATION +]
 Ritu morning from evening till work-cl do- 3 pt
 'Ritu did the work from morning till evening'
- e. **ma ritu-ke kɔkhon theke dek-e paṭha-len* [DURATION -]
 mother Ritu-obj when since call-cp send-3 hon pt
 'Mother summoned Ritu since long'
- e'. *ma ritu-ke kɔkhon theke dak-chen* [DURATION +]
 mother Ritu-obj when since call- 3 hon pr cont
 'Mother is calling Ritu since long'
- f. **mee-ɬa tɔkhon theke heš-e di-cche* [DURATION -]
 girl-cl then since laugh-cp give-3 pr cont
 'The girl is laughing since then'
- f'. *mee-ɬa tɔkhon theke haš-che* [DURATION +]
 girl-cl then since laugh-3 pr cont
 'The girl is laughing since then'

The above examples demonstrate that the CVs might be semantically distinct from their V1 constituent in terms of the feature *duration*. The CVs in the sentences in (16) contain the V2s *bæra* ‘roam’, *cola* ‘move’, *mora* ‘die’ and one variant of *aša* ‘come’ and *jaqa* ‘go’. These compound verbs are compatible with *durative adverbials*:

16a. *mee-ṭa šaradin dhore khali khel-e bæra-e* [DURATION +]

girl-cl whole-day for only play-cp roam-3 pr

‘The girl only plays around all the day’

b. *tomake kobe theke kotha-ṭa bol-e aš-chi* [DURATION +]

you-obj when since word-cl say-cp come-1 pr cont

‘Since ages I have kept telling you this’

c. *mee-ṭa šaradin dhore boḡ por-e ja-cche* [DURATION +]

girl-cl whole day for book read-cp go-3 pr cont

‘The girl is reading the book the whole day’

d. *lok-ṭa šarajibon tomader karkhana-e khet-e mor-lo* [DURATION +]

man-cl whole life you-cl-gen factory-loc toil-cp die-3 pt

‘The man died working in your factory throughout his life’

The V2s in (16) profile the process segment associated with the V1 event. When these V2s combine with punctual verbs, the resultant CVs present a multiple-event activity. The event can be taken as iterative. This is exemplified in (17):

17a. *lok-ṭa tokhon theke keš-e col-eche* [DURATION +]

man-cl then since cough-cp move-3 pr cont

‘The man has kept on coughing since then’

- b. *chele-ṭa æk-er pɔr æk tir chūr-e col-eche / ja-cche* [DURATION +]
 boy-cl one-gen after one arrow throw-cp move-3 pr cont go-3 pr cont
 ‘The boy is throwing arrows one after another’

The V2s also determine the telicity feature of the CVs of which they form a part. Smith notes (1991, p. 157) that completive adverbials are compatible with telic event and odd with atelics. The following adverbial words and post-positional phrases represent the meaning of *completion* in Bangla.

æk ghɔṇṭar moddhe ‘within one hour’
ækdine ‘within one day’, *šaradine* ‘within the whole day’

The *moddhe-PP* ‘within-PP’ phrase and the adverbial phrase such as *ækdine* ‘within one day’ represent the *completive adverbials* that locate an event at an interval, during which the event is completed. The following CVs (illustrated in (18)) represent atelic event and they are not, therefore, compatible with *adverb of completion*:

- 18a. **ritu ækghɔṇṭa-r moddhe boṭ-ṭa pore gæ-lo / col-lo* [TELIC –]
 Ritu one hour-gen within book-cl read-cp go-3 pt move-3 pt
 ‘Ritu kept on reading the book within one hour’
- b. **ritu ækghɔṇṭa-r moddhe rēdh-e mor-lo* [TELIC –]
 Ritu one hour-gen within cook-cp die-3 pt
 ‘Ritu cooked within one hour’
- c. **ritu šaradin-e ghur-e bæṛa-lo* [TELIC –]
 Ritu whole day-loc roam-cp roam-3 pt
 ‘Ritu roamed around within the whole day’

The sentences in (19), on the other hand, are compatible with *adverb of completion*. This indicates that the resultant CV sequences denote telic event:

- 19a. *ritu ækghɔnta-r moddhe amake chobi-ṭa ěk-e di-lo* [TELIC +]
 Ritu one hour-gen within I-obj picture-cl draw-cp give-3 pt
 ‘Ritu drew the picture for me within one hour (The indirect object *amake* ‘me’ is the beneficiary)’
- b. *ritu ækghɔnta-r moddhe chobi-ṭa ěk-e ni-lo* [TELIC +]
 Ritu one hour-gen within picture-cl draw-cp take-3 pt
 ‘Ritu drew the picture within one hour (the actor is the self-beneficiary)’
- c. *ritu ækghɔnta-r moddhe chobi-ṭa ěk-e phel-lo* [TELIC +]
 Ritu one hour-gen within picture-cl draw-cp drop-3 pt
 ‘Ritu completed drawing the picture within one hour’
- d. *pakhi-te nimeš-er moddhe šɔb dhan khe-e boš-lo* [TELIC +]
 bird-loc moment-gen within all paddy eat-cp sit-3 pt
 ‘Birds ate all paddy within a moment’
- e. *ribhu paka obhineta; dɔrkar bujh-e kæmon*
 Ribhu skillful actor necessary realize-cp how
muhurt-er moddhe kēd-e di-lo [TELIC +]
 moment-gen within cry-cp give-3 pt
 ‘Ribhu is a skillful actor; how (conveniently) he cried realizing the necessity’
- f. *bacca-ṭa nimeš-er moddhe ghumi-e por-lo* [TELIC +]
 child-cl moment-gen within sleep-cp fall-3 pt
 ‘The child fell asleep within a moment’

- g. *ekṭu dāṛao, mondir-er dōrja minit pācek-er moddhe*
 a little wait-2 pr imp temple-gen door minute five-cl-gen within
khul-e ja-be [TELIC +]
 open-cp go-3 ft
 ‘Wait for a while; the door of the temple will get opened within five minutes’
- h. *chele-ṭa kōek minit-e-i aṣor jomi-e tul-lo* [TELIC +]
 boy-cl few minute-loc-emp party enliven-cp lift-3 pt
 ‘Ritu enlivened the party within moments’

The adverbials in the sentences in 19(a-d) refer to interval during which the situation denoted by the CV took place. For instance, Ritu in 19(a, b and c) took one hour to complete drawing the picture. However the interpretation in 19(e-h) is different. In these cases the adverbials indicate an interval at the end of which the event occurs. For instance, in (19g) the door of the temple will open within five minutes does not imply that the door requires five minutes to get opened. On the contrary the interpretation is the following: after five minutes, the event of opening of the door will take place. In the next section I will discuss the semantics of each V2 in Bangla separately.

3.5.1 The verbs *deḡa* ‘give’ and *neḡa* ‘take’

While discussing the role of the two verbs ‘take’ and ‘give’ in connection with lexical profiling (the notion of *profiling* is discussed in section 3.3.1 of this chapter) Goldberg quotes Fisher et al. who observe the following:

Movie directors make an art of distinguishing such notions visually. They can zoom in on the receiver’s grateful mien, the giver out of locus, or off the frame completely. Using the word ‘take’ rather than ‘give’ is a linguistic way of making the same distinction”

(Fisher et al. 1991, p. 8)

The following two subsections attempt to illustrate the aforementioned distinction in the context of the Bangla language.

3.5.1.1 *deqa* ‘give’

Although the verb *deqa* ‘give’ occurs in widely varied¹⁶ contexts, I identify the following two core senses or *moulds* that can account for all the uses of *deqa* ‘give’ (illustrated in 20a-q):

- A. A causer¹⁷ acts upon an *affected entity* so that the effect of the action is directed towards an entity other than the causer.
- B. A volitional actor is engaged in some activity. There is no sense of causality involved.

The verb *deqa* ‘give’ represents the core sense stated in (A) through the sentences in (20)a-m. However each occurrence of the verb reveals a subtly distinct meaning depending on the nature of the dependents they license in that particular context. I attempt to identify the semantic role of the *affected entity* below:

1. When the *affected entity* is a “recipient” and the element transferred is either a concrete or a non-tangible entity:

i. In the sense of ‘giving’

20a. *ritu binu-ke boj-ṭa di-lo*

Ritu Binu-obj book-cl give-3 pt

‘Ritu gave Binu the book’

¹⁶ Butt et al. (2001) have attempted to identify various contexts where the verb *dena*: ‘give’ in Hindi-Urdu occurs.

¹⁷ The word ‘directed’ alludes to Talmy’s *figure-ground* configuration. The relation between the *affected entities* and the other *non-actor participant* (theme) in the event has been interpreted by various scholars including, Jackendoff (1990) and Croft (1991), as *figure-ground* relation.

b. *ritu binu-ke taka dhar di-lo*

Ritu Binu-obj money lend give-3 pt

‘Ritu lent money to Binu’

This is the prototypical variant of *deqa* ‘give’ that involves a change of location of the theme accompanied by a change in possession.

ii. In the sense of ‘saying’ or ‘imparting information’

c. *ritu binu-ke khɔbor-ʔa di-lo*

Ritu Binu-obj news-cl give-3 pt

‘Ritu gave Binu the news’

d. *ritu amake dhɔmok di-lo*

Ritu I-obj scold give-3 pt

‘Ritu gave me a scold’

e. *ritu amake tar poricɔʔe di-lo*

Ritu I-obj she-gen identification give-3 pt

‘Ritu told me who she was’

The event denoted by the verb *deqa* ‘give’ in (c-e) implies an exchange of emotional response or neutral information.

2. When the *affected entity* is a beneficiary, the event entails that the affected entity is benefited by the action denoted by the verb *deqa* ‘give’. No entity has been physically transferred as exemplified in (f-i).

i. In the sense of ‘producing’:

- f. *goru amader dudh dæ-e*
cow I-cl-gen milk give-3 pr
‘Cows give us milk’

ii. In the sense of ‘allowing’ or ‘letting’:

- g. *ritu ama-ke kɔdin bhab-a-r šomɔe di-lo*
Ritu I-obj some days think-VN-gen time give-3 pt
‘Ritu gave me some time to think’

- h. *maštarmošaj ritu-ke bari ja-bar onumoti di-len*
teacher Ritu-obj home go-VN-gen permission give-3 hon pt
‘The teacher gave Ritu permission to go home’

- i. *ritu cor-ta-ke pala-te di-lo*
Ritu thief-cl-obj run away-inf give-3 pt
‘Ritu let the thief run away’

3. When the affected entity is a goal:

- j. *rogħu gach-e jɔl dæ-e*
Rogħu tree-loc water give-3 pr
‘Rogħu waters the plant (“gives water to the plant”)’

- k. *rogħu jomi-te šar dæ-e*
Rogħu field-loc fertilizer give-3 pr
‘Rogħu applies fertilizer to the field (“gives the field fertilizer”)’

l. *rogħu bagan-e bæra dæ-ǵ*

Rogħu garden-loc fence give-3 pr

‘Rogħu builds a fence around the garden (“gives the garden a fence”)’

m. *rogħu gan-e šur dæ-ǵ*

Rogħu song-loc tune give-3 pr

‘Rogħu composes a tune for the song (“gives the song a tune”)’

The underlined words representing the affected entity in 20(j-m) are morphologically distinct from those in 20(a-i). They bear the objective desinence *-ke* in 20(a-i), while in 20(j-m) they occur in the locative case. In my opinion the locative arguments in 20(j-m) are causally affected by the action of the actor Rogħu. The locative *gach* ‘tree’ in (20j), for example, is directly affected by the event of applying water to it. Following Jackendoff I assign a semantic role of goal to these entities. Jackendoff (1990, p. 164-165) has interpreted these entities as goal in the context of describing the conceptual structure of English denominal verbs such as ‘butter’, ‘water’, ‘powder’ and so on.

Till this point I have examined the various uses of the verb *deǵa* ‘give’ that represent the core sense in (A). The actor’s action is directed towards an affected entity. The sentences in 20(n-q), on the other hand, represent the event type in (B):

n. *rogħu kaj-e mon di-lo*

Rogħu work-loc mind give-3 pt

‘Rogħu paid attention to his work’

o. *rogħu ækattor-er juddh-e pran di-echilen*

Rogħu seventy one-gen battle-loc life give-3 hon pt pft

‘Rogħu gave (sacrificed) his life during the 1971 war’

p. *rogħu* *agun-e* *hat* *di-lo*

Rogħu fire-loc hand give-3 pt

‘Rogħu touched the fire (“gave the fire his hand”)’

q. *rogħu* *jɔl-e* *jhãp* *di-lo*

Rogħu water-loc dive give-3 pt

‘Rogħu dived into the water (“gave the water a dive”)’

In my opinion the underlined words in the sentences in 20(n-q) represent pure location and unlike those in 20(j-m) they are not directly *affected* by the event. The subject Rogħu is a volitional actor and not a causer. That is, he does not stand in a *force-dynamic* relation¹⁸ with the other participant, namely the locative expression in the event. It might be a topic of research interest to find out empirical tests to distinguish the role of the locative words in 20(j-m) and 20(n-q). At present I assume that the following criterion might be applied to linguistically determine the intensity of *being affected*: an action that causes *affectedness* can be represented as a modifier to the linguistic expression denoting the *affected entity*. The criterion identifies the locative words in 20(j-m) as representing an *affected entity* because the sentences in (21)a, b and c exhibit that the action *šur deqa* ‘set to tune’, *šar deqa* ‘apply fertilizer’ and *bæra deqa* ‘fence’ can be represented as a modifier modifying the locative noun *gane* ‘in song’ (20m), *jomite* ‘in the field’ (20k) and *bagane* ‘in the field’ (20l), while the locative words in 20(n-q) cannot be modified in this manner as shown in (21)a’ and b’:

21a. *maštarmošaġ-er* *šur deq-a* *koto* *gan-i* *to ge-echi*

teacher-gen tune give-VN so many song-emp prt sing-1 pr pft

‘I have sung many songs that (my) teacher had set to music’

¹⁸ Talmy’s *force-dynamic concept* defines causation as individuals acting upon individuals, with some notion of transmission of force determining which participant is “first” in the causal order or causal chain (see chapter 4 for a detailed discussion on causation).

b. *šar deḡ-a jomi-te phɔʃol bhalo hɔ-ḡ*
 fertilizer give-VN field-loc crops good be-3 pr
 ‘Good crops grow in fertilized fields’

c. *tomar bæra deḡ-a bagan-e aj goru-r pal dhuk-echilo*
 you-gen fence give-VN garden-loc today cow-gen herd enter-3 pt pft
 ‘A herd of cows had entered (your) garden that you have fenced (“your fenced garden”)’

21a’. **or jhāp deḡ-a agun ækhono jol-che*
 he-gen dive give-VN fire still burn-3 pr cont
 ‘The fire that he dived into is still burning (“the fire dived into”)’

b’. **or pran deḡ-a juddh-er kɔtha karur mon-e neḡ*
 he-gen life give-VN battle-gen word nobody mind-loc neg
 ‘Nobody remembers the war in which he has given his life (“life giving war”)’

I have discussed two core senses above in connection with the use of the verb *deḡa* ‘give’ in various contexts. I consider that these two core senses or *moulds* characterize the semantics of the two polysemous V2 *deḡa* ‘give’. Their polysemy existence explains why some cases of V1+*deḡa* ‘give’ sequences license a dative argument (the affected entity), while others do not. I will refer to the two variants of the V2 *deḡa* ‘give’ as *deḡa_1* and *deḡa_2*. They represent the core sense in (A) and in (B) respectively. The use of the two V2s is illustrated in the following sentences:

22a. *rogħu ritu-ke æk-ṭa baṛi bani-e di-lo*
 Rogħu Ritu-obj one-cl house build-cp give-3 pt
 ‘Rogħu built a house for Ritu’

b. *rogħu ašor-e gan ge-e di-lo*

Rogħu concert-loc song sing-cp give-3 pt

‘Rogħu sang song at the concert’

c. **rogħu ašor-e ritu-ke gan ge-e di-lo*

Rogħu concert-loc Ritu-obj song sing-cp give-3 pt

‘Rogħu sang Ritu a song at the concert’

The situation denoted by the independent occurrence of the verb *banano* ‘build’ allows two participants, one the “builder” and the other the “entity built”. The following sentence is illegitimate because the verb *banano* ‘build’ does not license non-direct object argument:

22a’. **rogħu ritu-ke ækta bari bana-lo*

Rogħu Ritu-obj one-cl house build-3 pt

‘Rogħu built Ritu a house’

When the verb *banano* ‘build’ selects the V2 *deqa_1* ‘give’ as shown in (22a), the new situation represented by the CV *banie deqa* “build-cp give” requires the presence of an affected entity towards which the result of the action is intended to be directed. Therefore this CV licenses a beneficiary argument *ritu-ke* ‘to Ritu’ as shown in (22a). On the other hand, the CV in (22b) simply entails that an event has taken place. The situation does not, therefore, require the presence of an affected entity (see (22c)).

The following V1s select only the second variant of the verb *deqa* ‘give’:

haša ‘laugh’

kāda ‘cry’

khæla ‘play’

gaqa ‘sing’

naca ‘dance’

šamlano ‘take care’

khata ‘toil’

3.5.1.2 *neqa* ‘take’

The various uses of the verb *neqa* ‘take’ as illustrated in (23) implies the core sense: a volitional actor acts and the actor also stands at the receiving end. The actor and the eventual recipient are the same entity.

23a. *ami tɛbil theke boɣ-ɬa ni-lam*

I table from book-cl take-1 pt

‘I took the book from the table’

b. *ami kɔdin-er chuɬi ni-echi*

I few days-gen leave take-1 pr pft

‘I took leave for a few days’

c. *ritu šɔb kaj-e ma-r mɔt nɛ-ɛ*

Ritu all work-loc mother-gen advice take-3 pr

‘Ritu takes her mother’s advice in all her activities’

d. *ritu amar khɔbor nɛ-ɛ na*

Ritu I-gen news take-3 pr not

‘Ritu doesn’t “take my news”, doesn’t ask how I’m doing’

e. *baba nošši nɛ-n*

father snuff take-3 hon pr

‘Father uses snuff’

f. *tumi amar doš ni-o na*

you I-gen fault take-2 ft imp not

‘Don’t “take my fault” (i.e. please ignore anything I’m doing wrong),’

g. ækṭa kaj hat-e ni-echi
 one-cl work hand-loc take-1 pr pft
 ‘I’ve taken up (“in hand”) a task’

When V1s unify with the V2 *neḡa* ‘take’, the event denoted by the CVs implies that the actor is *self-beneficiary*. In contrast, the CV sequence V1+*deḡa*_1 ‘give’ entails the presence of an affected entity that can either be a patient or a beneficiary.

The V2 *deḡa*_1 ‘give’ and *neḡa*_1 ‘take’ indicate the *perfective aspect*. Smith (1991) defines the *perfective* aspect as including the initial point and the endpoint of a situation. The situation is informationally close. She demonstrates with example sentences from English that a perfective reading is contradictory in a context, which asserts that the event continues. The verbal sequence V-*te* ‘inf’ + *thaka* ‘stay’ in Bangla implies that the event continues. The activity verbs such as *lekha* ‘write’ and *gaḡa* ‘sing’ that express an open-ended situation can occur in the context of V-*te* ‘inf’ + *thaka* ‘stay’. The implication is that the event continues as illustrated in (24):

- 24a. ritu šaradupur ḡolpo-ṭa lekh-e;
 Ritu whole afternoon story-cl write-3 pr
 bæla ḡori-e ge-le-o še likh-te-i thak-e
 day-time draw to a close-cp go-cond-emp she write-inf-emp stay-3 pr
 ‘Ritu wrote the story the whole afternoon; (even) at the close of the day she
 continues her writing’
- b. ritu ækmon-e gan ga-ḡ, ga-ṭe thak-e
 Ritu undivided attention-loc song sing-3 pr sing-inf stay-3 pr
 ‘Ritu continues to sing with undivided attention’

The sentences in (25) illustrate that the CVs V1+*deḡa*_1 ‘give’ and V1+*neḡa* ‘take’ are not allowed in the context of the verbal sequence V-*te* ‘inf’ + *thaka* ‘stay’:

25a. *ritu ciṭhi-ṭa **likh-e** **næ-ḡ** ebɔŋ **likh-e** **ni-te** **thak-e**

Ritu letter-cl write-cp take-3 pr and write-cp take-inf stay-3 pr

‘Ritu completes writing the letter and continues to write it’

b. *ritu aṣor-e gan **ge-e** **di-lo** ebɔŋ **ge-e** **di-te** **thak-lo**

Ritu concert-loc song sing-cp give-3 pt and sing-cp give-inf stay-3 pt

‘Ritu sang in the concert and continued to sing’

This subsection identifies the two polysemous V2 *deḡa* ‘give’. The V2 *deḡa_1* ‘give’ represents the *causative core sense*. The supra-lexical information expressed by a V1+*deḡa_1* sequence featuring the verb *deḡa* ‘give’ is the following (henceforth the value of the features at the supra-lexical level will be presented in the following format):

TELICITY	telic
ASPECT	perfective
DURATION	—

The core sense of the V2 *deḡa_2* ‘give’ is *volitional involvement of an actor* in an event:

TELICITY	telic
ASPECT	perfective
DURATION	—

The V2 *neḡa* ‘take’ represents the core sense *volitional self-beneficiary activity*

TELICITY	telic
ASPECT	perfective
DURATION	—

3.5.2 The verbs *pɔɾa* ‘fall’, *oɥha* ‘rise’, *phæla* ‘drop’ and *tola* ‘lift’

3.5.2.1 *oɥha* ‘rise’ and *pɔɾa* ‘fall’

We can think about a situation in which a participant undergoing a change of state and a stationary reference frame are involved. I refer to them as the *figure* and the *ground*. The correlation between the *figure* and the *ground* can be configured in terms of a *spatial relation* (Croft 1991, p. 198-206). The following uses of *oɥha* ‘rise’ and *pɔɾa* ‘fall’ illustrate the *figure ground* configuration:

26a. *rogħu gach-e / pahar-e uɥh-lo*

Rogħu tree-loc hill-loc rise-3 pr

‘Rogħu climbed the tree/hill’

b. *šurjo purbo dik-e oɥh-e*

Sun east direction-loc rise-3 pr

‘The sun rises in the east’

c. *rakhal notun klaš-e uɥh-eche*

Rakhal new class-loc rise-3 pr pft

‘Rakhal has been promoted to a new class’

d. *jɔl-e dheu oɥh-e*

water-loc waves rise-3 pr

‘The water throws up waves’

e. *ebar khub am uɥh-eche*

this time many mango rise-3 pr pft

‘This season, there are lots of mangoes’

- 27a. *boi-ta maṭi-te por-lo*
 book-cl ground-loc fall-3 pt
 ‘The book fell on the ground’
- b. *gach theke am por-e*
 tree from mango fall-3 pr
 ‘The mango falls from the tree’
- c. *lok-ta ophisar-er pa-e por-lo*
 man-cl officer-gen foot-loc fall-3 pt
 ‘The man fell on the officer’s feet’
- d. *śob nodi śagor-e por-e*
 all river sea-loc fall-3 pr
 ‘Rivers meet the sea’
- e. *loha-te morce por-eche*
 iron-loc rust fall-3 pr pft
 ‘The iron has become rusty’
- f. *bari-te dakat por-lo*
 house-loc dacoits fall-3 pt
 ‘The dacoits broke into the house’
- g. *briṣṭi por-e*
 rain fall-3 pr
 ‘It rains (“the rain falls”)’

- h. *ebar* *khub gɔrom pɔr-eche*
 this time very hot fall-3 pr pft
 ‘(It’s) very hot this year’

The underlined words in (26) and (27) are the *figure* and the words marked locative (/–e/ or /–te/) signify the *ground*. The *ground* is the non-focused participant and sometime it can recede into the background. The linguistic effect is that they do not even occur always in a sentence as shown in (27g). The notion of *spatial relation* is extended to the *temporal configuration*. In that case the temporal point constitutes the *ground* as illustrated in (26e) and (27h).

The above discussion indicates that the meaning of the verbs *oṭha* ‘rise’ and *pɔra* ‘fall’ characterizes a **manner** in which the *figure* and the *ground* participant are related. Therefore I have chosen to describe the core sense of these two verbs in terms of *manner relation*. I propose that these two verbs denote mutually contrastive *manner relations*. That is why one verb cannot occur in the place of the other in any of the sentences in (26) and (27). For example, the following sentences are bad:

- 28a. **loha-te morce oṭh-e*
 iron-loc rust rise-3 pr
 ‘The iron has become rusty’
- b. **jɔl-e dheu pɔr-e*
 water-loc ripples fall-3 pr
 ‘Waves ripple over the water’

I consider that the verb *oṭha* ‘rise’ and its V2 counterpart express an *upward manner relation*, while the verb *pɔra* ‘fall’ and its V2 counterpart express a *downward manner relation*. These manner relations will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4. Semantically the V2 *oṭha* ‘rise’ profiles the initial segment of the situation denoted by the V1 as a result of which

the V1+*oṭha* ‘rise’ construction indicates an inceptive aspectual viewpoint. The inceptive focuses on the beginning of an event. As Smith observes, the receiver could reasonably infer, with no information to the contrary, that the event continues. This is illustrated in the following sentence:

- 29a. *mee-ṭa heš-e oṭh-e ar haš-te-i thak-e*
 girl-cl laugh-cp rise-3 pr and laugh-inf-emp stay-3 pr
 ‘The girl bursts into laughter and goes on laughing’

The V2 *pōra* ‘fall’, on the other hand, indicates a resultative viewpoint. The CV sequence V1+*pōra* ‘fall’ indicates a change of state and this in effect implies that the resultant state continues if no information is given to the contrary. For example, the sentence in (30a) implies that the car undergoes a change of state – from a state of being in motion to a motionless state. It is obvious that the effect will persist until the jam gets cleared. The CV V1+*jaṇa* ‘go’ in (30b) also expresses resultative aspectual information.

- 30a. *amader gaṛi jām-e aṭk-e poṛ-lo*
 we-gen car traffic jam-loc get stuck-cp fall-3 pt
 ‘Our car got stuck in a jam’
- b. *amader gaṛi jām-e aṭk-e gæ-lo*
 we-gen car traffic jam-loc get stuck-cp go-3 pt
 ‘Our car got stuck in a jam’

The semantic distinction that these two CVs convey is very subtle. I presume that the span of focus on the resultant state varies in the two cases. When the speaker wants to focus on the immediate effect of the event and not extend the focus over the span of the resultant state, he/she will most likely use the CV variant *aṭke pōra* ‘get stuck-cp fall’. In cases that do not require such specific or narrow viewpoint, he/she will choose the CV *aṭke jaṇa* ‘get-stuck-cp go’. I propose to capture this semantic distinction that a native speaker of Bangla can

perceive so well by assigning the value *immediateness* to the attribute MOD at the supra-lexical level of the V2 *pɔɾa* ‘fall’.

Thus the semantics of the V2 *oɥha* ‘rise’ implies *upward manner relation*

TELICITY	telic
ASPECT	Inceptive
DURATION	—

The semantics of the V2 *pɔɾa* ‘fall’ implies *downward manner relation*

TELICITY	telic
ASPECT	resultative
DURATION	—
MOD	immediateness

3.5.2.2 *tola* ‘lift’

Like the verb *oɥha* ‘rise’, the meaning of the verb *tola* ‘lift’ also implies a *figure-ground* configuration of the type referred to as *upward manner relation* in the previous section. In addition the event involves an initiator, a volitional actor, as illustrated in the following sentences:

- 31a. *chele-ra tintɔla-e jɔl tol-e*
 boy-cl third floor water lift-3 pr
 ‘The boys carry water to the third floor’

- b. *tara kɔtha-ɥa tul-lo*
 they word-cl lift-3 pt
 ‘They raised the issue’

c. *ma ritu-ke ghum theke tul-len*
 mother Ritu-obj sleep from lift-3 hon pt
 ‘Mother woke up Ritu from sleep’

d. *ritu ani-ke tar bari-te tul-lo*
 Ritu Ani-obj her house-loc lift-3 pt
 ‘Ritu put Ani up in her house’

In my opinion the verb *tola* ‘lift’ as demonstrated in the sentences in (31) is a transitive variant of the verb *oṭha* ‘rise’. Each of the sentences in (32) expresses an event similar to those presented in the sentences in (31) with the difference that the following sentences have the verb *oṭha* ‘rise’ and no causer is present:

32a. *tintola-e pamp chara jol oṭh-e na*
 third floor-loc pump without water rise-3 pr not
 ‘The water does not go up to the third floor unless it is pumped up’

b. *kotha-ṭa šobar majhe uṭh-lo*
 word-cl all-gen among rise-3 pt
 ‘The topic came up amidst all’

c. *ritu ghum theke uṭh-lo*
 Ritu sleep from rise-3 pt
 ‘Ritu got up from (her) sleep’

d. *ani ritur bari-te uṭh-lo*
 Ani Ritu-gen house-loc rise-3 pt
 ‘Ani boarded at Ritu’s house’

The V2 variant of the verb *tola* ‘lift’ is selected by the following V1s:

khæpano ‘enrage’ *matano* ‘stimulate’ *bãcano* ‘save, rescue’ *ragano* ‘enrage’
badhano ‘cause’ *šarano* ‘repair, cure’ *cɔʔano* ‘enrage, annoy’
jɔmano ‘enliven’

Interestingly these V1s have a non-transitive variant, which select the V2 *oʔha* ‘rise’ as demonstrated in the following pair of sentences:

33a. *chele-ra buro lok-ʔa-ke khepi-e / coʔi-e tul-lo*
 boy-cl old man-cl-obj enrage-cp enrage-cp lift-3 pt
 ‘The boys enraged the old man’

b. *lok-ʔa khep-e / coʔ-e uʔh-lo*
 boy-cl become angry-cp become angry-cp rise-3 pt
 ‘The man flew into a rage’

34a. *moniš ašor jomi-e tul-lo*
 Monish party enliven-cp lift-3 pt
 ‘Monish enlivened the party’

b. *ašor jom-e uʔh-lo*
 party warm up rise-3 pt
 ‘The party warmed up’

35a. *ɖaktar rugi-ke šari-e tul-len*
 doctor patient-obj cure-cp lift-3 hon pt
 ‘The doctor cured the patient’

- b. *ḍaktar-er ceṣṭa-e rogi ṣer-e uṭh-lo*
 doctor-gen effort-loc patient get cured-cp rise-3 pt
 ‘The patient got cured thanks to the doctor’

The CV V1+*tola* ‘lift’ implies that an event having progressed through successive stages has reached its culmination. For example, the CV *khepie tola* ‘enrage-cp lift’ in (33a) expresses the sense that the boys were engaged (for a while) in the task of irritating the old man until he was enraged. The V2 *tola* ‘lift’ focuses on the developmental stage including the moment of change of state. I use the term *ingressive* (due to Smith) to refer to this time span. In contrast, the simple verb alternant *khæpano* ‘enrage’ highlights the change of state and the resultant state that follows.

When the CVs V1+*tola* ‘lift’, V1+*ana* ‘bring’ (see 3.5.9.3) and V1+*aša_1* ‘come’ (see 3.5.9.1) occur in the context of adverbials that convey the meaning of incrementality or gradualness such as *kromošo* ‘gradually’, *ekṭu ekṭu kore* ‘slowly, gradually’, the developmental stages through which the event is entailed to progress is profiled. This is illustrated in (36):

- 36a. *chele-ṭa kromošo aṣor jomi-e tul-lo*
 boy-cl gradually party enliven-cp lift-3 pt
 ‘The boy gradually enlivened the party’
- b. *ṣurjo ekṭu ekṭu kore ḍub-e aṣ-e*
 sun small small prt sink-cp come-3 pr
 ‘The sun sets slowly’
- c. *lok-ṭa kromošo bæbša guṭi-e an-che*
 man-cl gradually business wrap up-cp bring-3 pr cont
 ‘The man is winding up his business gradually’

Thus the aforementioned CVs represent a heterogeneous event that has internal stages of development.

Thus the verb *tola* ‘lift’ represents a *transitive upward manner relation*

TELOCITY	telic
ASPECT	ingressive

3.5.2.3 *phæla* ‘drop’

The V2 *phæla* ‘drop’ is selected by most of the V1s in the language and they express varied semantic nuances, as I will illustrate below. First I record the independent uses of the verb *phæla* ‘drop’:

37a. *chele-ta jol-e dhil phel-lo*
 boy-cl water-loc stone drop-3 pt
 ‘The boy dropped the stone in the water’

b. *tumi amake bipod-e phel-le*
 you I-obj trouble-loc drop-2 pt
 ‘You have caused trouble for me’

c. *pukur-e jal phel-echi*
 pond-loc net drop-1 pr pft
 ‘I have flung the net into the water’

d. *amra agami magh-e bie-r tarikh phel-bo*
 we coming Magh-loc marriage-gen date drop-1 ft
 ‘We will fix the marriage date next Magh’

e. *dineš amar kɔtha **phel-be** bhab-i ni*

Dinesh I-gen word drop-3 ft think-1 pr not

‘I never thought that Dinesh would refuse my request’

The sentences in (38) are intransitive counterparts of the sentences in (37). They contain the verb *pɔra* ‘fall’:

38a. *jɔl-e dhil **por-lo***

water-loc stone fall-3 pt

‘A stone hit the water’

b. *ami bipod-e **por-echi***

I bad times-loc fall-1 pr pft

‘I have fallen into trouble’

c. *pukure šarišari jal **por-eche***

pond-loc rows of nets fall-3 pr pft

‘Rows of nets have been cast into the pond’

d. *bodhhɔɛ agami maš-e bie-r tarikh **por-be***

perhaps next month-loc marriage-gen date fall-3 ft

‘The marriage date will most probably be fixed for next month’

Like the two verbs *tola* ‘lift’ and *oṭha* ‘rise’ (as discussed in the previous subsection) the verbs *phæla* ‘drop’ and *pɔra* ‘fall’ also stand in a transitive-intransitive relation. However unlike the verb *tola* ‘lift’, the V2 *phæla* ‘drop’ is selected by a wide range of VIs, both transitive and intransitive. Here are a few instances:

39a. *ritu heš-e phel-lo*

Ritu laugh-cp drop-3 pt

‘Ritu could not hold back her laughter’

b. *ritu taṛataṛi chobi-ṭa ěk-e phel-lo*

Ritu quickly picture-cl draw-cp drop-3 pt

‘Ritu drew the picture quickly (Ritu’s ability in doing the work is focused)’

c. *ami bhul kore ritu-ke kṓtha-ṭa bol-e phel-echi*

I mistake prt Ritu-obj word-cl say-cp drop-1 pr pft

‘I blurted it out to Ritu by mistake’

d. *šṓbaṭ aša-r age-i tumi bacca-ke khaj-e phæ-lo*

all come-VN before-emp you child-obj feed-cp drop-2 pr imp

‘Before everyone comes you finish feeding your child’

The CV sequence in (39)a, b and c contains a non-causative V1 constituent, while in (39d) the V1 constituent is a causative verb. In every case the stipulation on V1 is that it licenses an actor participant. The CV sequences also take an actor participant. It is a matter of future research as to how the V2 *phæla* ‘drop’ acquires such a general and broad semantic characteristic.

The V2 *phæla* ‘drop’ contributes the following *supra lexical* information to the overall meaning of the CV of which it form a part:

TELICITY	telic
ASPECT	perfective
DURATION	—

3.5.3 *rakha* ‘keep’

We can conceive of the following core sense or *mould*: an actor acts to bring another entity to a state that holds for a period of time. That is, the main event embeds a subevent, which denotes a ‘state’ eventuality. The prototypical uses of the verbs *rakha* ‘keep’ and *bəʃano* ‘make one sit’ express this core sense as shown below:

40a. *ritu ʈebil-er opor boɿ rakh-e*
Ritu table-gen on book keep-3 pr
‘Ritu keeps the book on the table’

b. *ritu bakš-e ʈaka rakh-e*
Ritu box-loc money keep-3 pr
‘Ritu keeps money inside the box’

Jackendoff (1990, p26) has noted a similar semantic situation for the equivalent English verb ‘keep’. The actor Ritu acts upon the entity *boɿ* ‘book’ in (40a) and *ʈaka* ‘money’ in (40b) by placing them at a location, namely ‘table’ and ‘box’ respectively. The situation implies that ‘book’ and ‘money’ will remain in that state until they are displaced. However, the actor is not required to act upon the affected entity physically. Nor does the affected entity necessarily undergo a change of location. The actor may act as a catalyst or a causal factor in order to create a state or a condition in which the affected entity is placed. For instance:

41. *binu babama-ke šukh-e rekh-eche*
Binu parents-obj comfort-loc keep-3 pr pft
‘Binu keeps his parents in comfort’

In (41) Binu is an actor who keeps his parents in a state of comfort and happiness. I propose that the V2 *rakha* ‘keep’ has a similar situational requirement. The V1s that select the V2 *rakha* ‘keep’ denote an event type that entails the following:

1. An actor is involved in the event, and
2. A subevent representing a stative eventuality accompanies the main event.

The CVs in the following sentences have the V2 *rakha* ‘keep’ as their second constituent:

42a. *ritu šari-ṭa kin-e rakh-lo*

Ritu saree-cl buy-cp keep-3 pt

‘Ritu bought the saree ahead of time in anticipation of future need’

b. *ritu lok-ṭa-ke cin-e rakh-lo*

Ritu man-cl-obj identify keep-3 pt

‘Ritu noted the identity of the man (anticipating a necessity to recognize him in future)’

c. *tumi maṣṭarmoṣai-ke coṭi-e rekh-echo,*

you teacher-obj enrage-cp keep-2 pr pft

uni ækhon tomar kono kotha šun-ben na

he hon now you-gen any word hear-3 hon ft not

‘You have kept (your) teacher annoyed (with you), he will not listen to you any more’

The CV *kine rakha* “buy-cp keep” in (42a) entails that the actor Ritu *buys a saree* and consequently she comes into a state of *possessing the saree*. The V1 *cine rakha* in (42b) is a verb of perception. The event *perceiving* entails that the perceiver, that is, Ritu remains in a state of having cognition about the perceived entity, *lokṭa* ‘the man’. The deictic pronoun *tumi* ‘you’ acts as a stimulus in (42c) who *annoys* the affected entity *maṣṭarmoṣai* ‘teacher’ and the teacher remains in a state of *being annoyed*. The V2 *rakha* ‘keep’ focuses on the exit from the V1 event and spans the later portion. For example, the situation denoted by the CV *kine rakha* “buy-cp keep” in (42a) entails not only that the event of buying is complete but

also that the event of buying is accomplished in anticipation of the future need. Thus the focus spans beyond the actual event of buying. I adopt Smith's terminology to call this lexical span *egressive*.

Thus the V2 *rakha* 'keep' expresses the following *mould* or core sense: *an actor involves in an event that is accompanied with a stative eventuality*

TELICITY	telic
ASPECT	egressive

3.5.4 *bæra*no 'roam'

The semantics of the verb *bæra*no 'roam' represents a situation, in which a participant is entailed to undergo motion as illustrated in the following sentences. The English verb 'roam' is used throughout for convenience of glossing, but 'go around' is in several cases idiomatically apposite:

43a. *elaka-r manuṣ-era ṣṓkal-e eḷ park-e bæra-ḡ*
 locality-gen people-cl morning-loc this park-loc roam-3 pr
 'People of this locality stroll in this park in the morning'

b. *ciṛiakhana-ḡ choṭo chele-ra edik ṣedik bæra-cche, jontu-janoar dekh-che*
 zoo-loc little child-cl here there roam-3 pr cont animals see-3 pr cont
 'Little children are roaming here and there in the zoo and looking at animals'

c. *babu-ra bhalo-mondo kha-n, dami gaṛi-te coṛ-e bæra-n*
 Babu-cl good-bad eat-3 hon pr expensive car-loc board in-cp roam-3 hon pr
 'The rich eat good food and enjoy rides in expensive cars'

The event *bæra*no 'roam' is distinct from other motion verbs of its class such as *douṛono* 'run', *choṭa* 'run', *hāṭa* 'walk', *sātrano* 'swim' and *cōla* 'move'. I will discuss their semantic structure in detail in the next chapter. Unlike the verb *bæra*no 'roam', other motion

verbs can occur in the context of a phrase that denotes target or intended goal as illustrated below:

44a. *chele-ra khæla-r math-er dike chuɬ-lo*

boy-cl play-gen field-gen towards run-3 pt

‘The boys ran towards the playground’

b. *dur theke dekh-lam ritu mondir-er dike col-eche*

distance from notice-1 pt Ritu temple-gen towards move-3 pr cont

‘I saw from far away that Ritu was going towards the temple’

c. **ritu skul-er dike bæra-cchilo*

Ritu school-gen towards roam-3 pt cont

‘Ritu was roaming towards the school’

Thus the verb *bærano* ‘roam’ entails a non-directional movement. The V2 *bærano* ‘roam’ remains semantically very close to its full-verb counterpart. Even the sense of motion is implicit in the event represented by the V1+*bærano* ‘roam’ sequences. The V1s that select V2 *bærano* ‘roam’ license an actor argument. The initial and the final point of the V1 event are not profiled. Therefore the CV sequence presents an imperfective viewpoint.

Thus the core sense featuring the semantics of the V2 *bærano* ‘roam’ is *movement of a willful volitional actor*

TELICITY	atelic
ASPECT	imperfective
DURATION	+

3.5.5 *paṭhano* ‘send’

The verb *paṭhano* ‘send’ expresses the following core sense: a causer causes an entity to ‘change its location’ toward ‘a stationary frame’:

45a. *ritu rōma-ke boḷ-ṭa paṭha-lo*

Ritu Ramaa-obj book-cl send-3 pt

‘Ritu sent the book to Ramaa’

b. *baba ritu-ke dilli paṭha-len*

father Ritu-obj Delhi send-3 hon pt

‘Father sent Ritu to Delhi’

c. *chele-ra binu-ke die amader kache gopon khōbor-ṭa paṭha-lo*

boy-cl Binu-obj through we-gen to/near secret message-cl send-3 pt

‘The boys sent us the secret message through Binu’

The actor, Ritu, *baba* ‘father’ and *chelera* ‘boys’ in (45)a, b and c respectively, causes the theme entity, *boḷ* ‘book’ and Ritu and *gopon khōbor* ‘secret message’ to undergo change in location. The stationary frames in (45)a, b and c are Ramaa, Delhi and the speaker that represent the goal. The situation denoted by the verb in (45c) involves one instrument, Binu, who brings the message to us.

When a V1 selects the V2 *paṭhano* ‘send’ the event denoted by the V1 is also causativized. Let us consider the following CV sequence:

46. *baba obhi-ke die ritu-ke ḍek-e paṭhalen*

father Abhi-obj through Ritu-obj call-cp send-3 hon pt

‘Father asked Abhi to call Ritu’

The situation denoted by the CV *ḍeke paṭhano* ‘send for’ in (46) involves a causer *baba* ‘father’ and a goal Ritu that constitutes the stationary reference frame. The participant Abhi plays the role of the instrument. Only two V1s in Bangla select the V2 *paṭhano* ‘send’. They are: *ḍaka* ‘call’ and *bola*¹⁹ ‘say’. The V2 profiles the whole event denoted by the V1. Therefore the V1+*paṭhano* ‘send’ sequence presents a closed-ended situation.

Thus the core sense of the V2 *paṭhano* ‘send’ is the following: *a causer intends to direct something towards a stationary reference frame*

TELICITY	telic
ASPECT	perfective
DURATION	–

3.5.6 *mora* ‘die’

Let us consider a core sense that implies that the participant is entangled in a situation (notionally ‘unpleasant’) over which he/she has no effective control whatsoever. The verb *mora* ‘die’ denotes this event type in Bangla. The sense of inevitability reaches its height when this verb denotes the physical death of the participant as illustrated in (47a) and (47b). The sentence in (47c) also indicates physical discomfort. In other cases, the verb simply signifies that the actor does not have control over the situation (see 47(d–e)):

47a. *lokṭa ṣeṣporjonto oṣukh-e mor-lo*
 man-cl finally illness-loc die-3 pt
 ‘Finally the man died of illness’

b. *gach-ṭa mor-lo kikore?*
 tree-cl die-3 pt how
 ‘How did the tree wither away?’

¹⁹ Other V+V sequences such as *kore paṭhano* “do-cp send”, *ḍeke paṭhano* “draw-cp send” are sequences of two independent verbs. They are not considered as CV constructions in the present work.

- c. *ga-er bætha kichute-i mor-che na*
 body pain in no way-emp die-3 pr cont neg
 ‘The pain just isn’t disappearing’
- d. *ami mor-chi nijer jala-ε*
 I die-1 pr cont own anxiety-loc
 ‘My own worries are killing me’
- e. *mitthekōtha bol-e dhōr-a por-e lōjja-ε mor-i*
 lie say-cp catch-VN fall-cp shame-loc die-1 pr
 ‘Having been caught for telling lie I am dying of shame’

The different use of *mōra* ‘die’ in (47) makes the following point clear: ‘The physical death’ is one kind of distressful situation that the participant can end up in and this is not the core meaning of the verb *mōra* ‘die’. I consider that the V2 *mōra* ‘die’ adds a similar semantic nuance to the situation denoted by the V1. It is obvious that an entity that has the emotional faculty as part of his cognitive constituent will presumably experience the sense of distress and anguish. Therefore one can conclude that the V2 *mōra* ‘die’ licenses an animate participant. This is a situational notion and I think it should, therefore, not be taken as a part of linguistic theory. Instead I propose that the V2 *mōra* ‘die’ event represents a situation, which entails that an actor is involved in an activity and he has no control over the action, that is, he is ineffective. The V2 modifies the V1 event in such a manner that the resultant CV conveys a sense of futility.

Thus the V2 *mōra* ‘die’ adds the following semantic nuances to the overall meaning of the CV:

ASPECT	imperfective
DURATION	+
MOD	futility

3.5.7 *boša* ‘sit’

The V2 *boša* ‘sit’ implies that the actor has done something, which is unwarranted in the specified context. The actor will be a volitional participant who accomplishes the activity either purposefully or without much prior thought. The following sentences contain the CV sequences whose V2 position is occupied by the verb *boša* ‘sit’:

48a. *ritu dokan-e gi-e tin-khana šari kin-e boš-lo*

Ritu shop-loc go-cp three-cl saree buy-cp sit-3 pt

‘Ritu went to the shop and bought three sarees (implying that Ritu has done something without prior thought)’

b. *rag-er matha-e ritu lok-ṭa-ke jata koṭha bol-e boš-lo*

anger-gen head-loc Ritu man-cl-obj nonsense words say-cp sit-3pt

‘Ritu abused the man out of anger’

c. *ritu æk-ṭa boṛorokom bipod ghoṭi-e boš-lo*

Ritu one-cl big trouble cause to happen-cp sit-3 pt

‘Ritu ended up causing a big trouble (implying a sense of unexpectedness)’

In the above sentences, the V2 focuses on the end segment of the V1 event. Thus the CVs in (48) express the resultative aspect. The V2 modifies the V1 event by adding a semantic overtone of ‘unwarrantedness’. We will see in the following sentences that the independent uses of the verb *boša* ‘sit’ denotes a telic event and the focus is on the resultant state:

49a. *chele-ṭa cear-e boš-eche*

boy-cl chair-loc sit-3 pr pft

‘The boy has sat on a chair’

b. *obhi-r kaj-e mon bɔʃ-e na*

Abhi-gen work-loc mind sit-3 pr not

‘Abhi does not find interest in (his) work’

c. *ʃɔkal-e gach-er tɔlaɛ skul bɔʃ-e*

morning-loc tree-gen under school sit-3 pr

‘The school assembles under the tree in the morning’

d. *chad-e jɔl boʃ-eche*

roof-loc water sit-3 pr pft

‘The water has soaked into the roof’

e. *bɔroph ækhono bɔʃ-e ni*

Ice yet sit-3 pr not

‘Ice is not yet frozen’

f. *kada-e pa boʃ-lo*

mud-loc feet sit-3 pt

‘The feet got stuck in mud’

Jackendoff argues that the verb ‘sit’ that conveys the primary lexical meaning of physical sitting can be interpreted both as an activity verb or a stative verb that indicates a resultant state. The verb *bɔʃa* ‘sit’ in Bangla also represents these two eventualities. Except for this specific use of ‘physical sitting’ the verb *bɔʃa* ‘sit’ in all other cases entails a state eventuality as illustrated in 49(b-f). Thus both V2 *bɔʃa* ‘sit’ and its full-verb counterpart share the core sense of *result state*.

This V2 contributes the following *supra lexical* information to the semantics of the CV of which it forms a part:

ASPECT	resultative
DURATION	–
MOD	unwarranted

3.5.8 *cola* ‘move’

The verb *cola* ‘move’ occurs in the following contexts:

- 50a. *amra mondir-er dike col-lam*
 We temple-gen towards move-1 pt
 ‘We proceeded towards the temple’
- b. *ækhon skul col-che*
 now school move-3 pr cont
 ‘Now the school is going on’
- c. *din ækrōkom col-che*
 day somehow move-3 pr cont
 ‘Days are passing somehow’
- d. *amar ghorī-ṭa ṭhik col-che na*
 I-gen clock-cl right move-3 pr cont not
 ‘My watch is not keeping the right time’

e. *rasta-ə ɡaɾi ɕɔl-e*
road-loc car move-3 pr
‘Cars move on the road’

f. *tar kəmon ɕol-che?*
he-gen how move-3 pr cont
‘How is he getting on?’

The verb *ɕɔla* ‘move’ in the above sentences entails that the situation denoted by the verb persists. The V2 counterpart of this verb contributes similar aspectual information to the event represented by the CVs that contains this V2 as illustrated in (51):

51a. *ritu mon die chobi ẽk-e ɕɔl-e*
Ritu mind with picture draw-cp move-3 pr
‘Ritu continues drawing picture most attentively’

b. *chele-ra pɔth die ɕhuɕ-e ɕɔl-e*
boy-cl way through run-cp move-3 pr
‘The boys keep running on the road’

c. *lok-ɬa tɔkhon theke keʃ-e ɕol-eche*
man-cl then since cough-cp move-3 pr pft
‘The man has kept on coughing since then’

Thus the V2 *ɕɔla* ‘move’ and its corresponding full-verb express a core sense that can be described as *an ongoing process*:

TELICITY	atelic
ASPECT	imperfective
DURATION	+

3.5.9 The verbs *aša* ‘come’, *jaḡa* ‘go’ and *ana* ‘bring’

3.5.9.1 *aša* ‘come’

The verb *aša* ‘come’ is popularly known as a deictic verb. The situation denoted by the deictic verbs specifies a relation between the participant involved in the situation and a stationary frame, which is called the *deictic center*. The reference to the speaker, the time of speech and the location of speech²⁰ constitute the *deictic center*. The verb *aša* ‘come’ in the sentence in (52a) and (52b) expresses the movement of the participant Ritu toward the locus of the speech act:

52a. *ritu ekhan-e e-lo*

Ritu here-loc come-3 pt

‘Ritu came here’

b. *ritu amar dike e-lo*

Ritu I-gen towards come-3 pt

‘Ritu came towards me’

If any stationary point (and not the deictic center alone) is taken as a reference frame towards which the participant is directed, then the use of the verb *aša* ‘come’ in the following sentence can also be explained by the above semantic relation:

52c. *puronodin-er kotha tar mon-e aš-che*

old days-gen word he-gen mind-loc come-3 pr cont

‘Memories of old days are surging back in his mind’

²⁰ The linguistic categories such as personal pronoun ‘I’, ‘you’, adverb of time ‘now’, ‘then’, demonstrative pronoun ‘this’, ‘that’ and adverb of place ‘here’, ‘there’ are common deictic elements.

The sentence in (52c) expresses the thought that *puronodiner kotha* ‘old memories’ is surging back to someone’s mind. Here *mon* ‘the mind’ constitutes the stationary reference frame. The above use of *aša* ‘come’ confirms that physical movement is not the core meaning of the verb. Instead the abstract sense that implies *the directedness of a participant towards a stationary reference point* is likely to explain the use of *aša* ‘come’ in various contexts. All modern efforts to renew the “localistic” insights of ancient grammatical work have confirmed the need for such generalization from the physical to non-physical sense of such expressions, a generalization as old as the ancient traditions themselves.

Besides deicticity, the verb *aša* ‘come’ also expresses the semantics of *extendedness* as illustrated in the following sentences:

53. *eḡ nodi himaloḡe theke aš-che*
 this river Himalaya from come-3 pr cont
 ‘This river is coming from Himalaya’

The imperfective aspect focuses on the internal stages of the event of coming.

Thus I have identified two related core senses for the verb *aša* ‘come’. They are:

1. Directedness of a participant (who is an undergoer) toward a stationary reference frame
2. Extendedness

I will show below that the V2 *aša* ‘come’ expresses these two core senses as well. My presumption is that the V2s *aša* ‘come’ like the V2 *deḡa* ‘give’ are polysemous in nature. I will refer to the two variants of the verb *aša* ‘come’ as *aša_1* and *aša_2*.

First I will examine the use of V2 *aša_1* ‘come’ in the following sentences:

54a. *alo kom-e aš-e*

light fade-cp come-3 pr

‘The light (gradually) fades’

b. *šurjo poščim akaš-e ḍub-e aš-e*

sun west sky-loc set-cp come-3 pr

‘The sun is setting (slowly) in the western sky’

c. *akaš megh-e ḍhek-e aš-e*

sky cloud-loc cover-cp come-3 pr

‘The sky is almost overcast’

d. *jol phuṭ-e eš-eche, ebar gæš-ṭa bōndho kor-e da-o*

water boil-cp come-3 pr pft now gas-cl close do-cp give-2 pr imp

‘Water is about to boil, (please) switch off the gas’

The V1 participants *kōma* ‘reduce’, (*šurjo*) *ḍoba* ‘(sun) set’, *ḍhaka* ‘cover’ and *phoṭa* ‘boil’ in the sentences in (54)a, b, c and d respectively entails a change of state. The change is not, however, instantaneous. On the contrary the event denoted by these verbs involves stages through which the event progresses towards the culmination point, which indicates the change of state. When these verbs select the V2 *aša_1* ‘come’, only the developmental stages are profiled. For instance, the CV *ḍube aša* ‘set (gradually)’ does not entail that the sun has already set; it implies that the sun is gradually setting. Thus the event denoted by the verb sequence *ḍube aša* ‘set (gradually)’ is *atelic* in nature. My presumption is the following: the culmination point of the V1 event is the stationary reference point. The V2 *aša_1* ‘come’ focuses on the preliminary stages of the event. Thus the event represented by the CV V1+*aša_1* ‘come’ implies directedness towards the culmination point of the V1 event. The use of the other variant *aša_2* is illustrated in (55):

55a. *šarajibon to šudhu kēd-e-i e-le, ebar ekṭu anondo kṛ-o*
 whole life prt only cry-cp-emp come-2 pt now a little enjoyment do-2 pr imp
 ‘You have been crying the whole of your life, now enjoy a little’

b. *tomake kṛbe theke kṛtha-ṭa bol-e aš-chi*
 you-obj when since word-cl say-cp come-1 pr cont
 ‘Since ages I have kept telling you this’

The verbs *kāda* ‘cry’ and *bola* ‘say’ expresses activity. The V2 *aša* ‘come’ profiles the entire event denoted by the V1 and adds the meaning of extendedness to the main event. The resultant CV event is, therefore, *atelic* in nature. The CV sequences occur in the context of durative expressions such as *šarajibon* ‘whole life’ in (55a) and *kṛbe theke* ‘since ages’ in (55b).

Both *aša_1* and *aša_2* add duration to the event denoted by the resultant CV sequences. The V1+*aša_2* expresses homogenous durative event, while the V1+*aša_1* implies that the event is approaching towards its culmination. Therefore these verbal sequences occur in the context of *incremental adverbials* as illustrated in (56):

56. *alo-ṭa dhire dhire kom-e aš-che*
 light-cl gradually diminish-cp come-3 pr cont
 ‘The light is diminishing gradually’

Thus the core sense that instantiates the semantics of the V2 *aša_1* ‘come’ is *directedness toward a stationary reference frame*:

TELICITY	atelic
ASPECT	imminent

The V2 *aša*_2 ‘come’ represents the semantics of *extendedness*

TELICITY	atelic
DURATION	+
ASPECT	imperfective

The following subsection discusses the semantics of the V2 *jaqa* ‘go’. This V2 is also polysemous in nature.

3.5.9.2 *jaqa* ‘go’

Like the verb *aša* ‘come’ the semantics of the verb *jaqa* ‘go’ is also frequently interpreted in terms of deicticity. For example, the verb *jaqa* ‘go’ in (57a) is taken to specify a movement away from the deictic center.

- 57a. *ritu goṭokal ekhan theke gæche*
Ritu yesterday here from go-3 pr pft
‘Ritu went from here yesterday’

Bouchard (1995) conceptualizes the semantics of *jaqa* ‘go’ in a different fashion. Instead of explaining the semantics of *aša* ‘come’ and *jaqa* ‘go’ with respect to the same deictic center, he introduces another reference point – the *anti-deictic center*. He defines it as “anything but ‘deictic center’, or the complement of deictic center” (Bouchard 1995, p. 150). He considers that the French verb ‘aller’, the cognate of English verb ‘go’ differs from the English verb ‘come’ with respect to its being orientated toward a spatio-temporal entity, which he characterizes as the ‘anti-deictic center’. Bouchard’s analysis of anti-deicticity explains the illegitimacy of the occurrence of *jaqa* ‘go’ in the following context:

- 57b. *ritu ekhane gæ-che
 Ritu here go-3 pr pft
 ‘Ritu has gone here’

The verb *jaqa* ‘go’ is anomalous in the context of the deictic pronoun *ekhane* ‘here’.

I postulate a *mould* or core sense: *change of state*. This *mould* is semantically related to the sense *change of location* denoted by the verb *jaqa* ‘go’ in (57). The sentences in (58) illustrate various uses of *jaqa* ‘go’:

- 58a. ritu skol theke bari gæ-lo
 Ritu school from house go-3 pt
 ‘Ritu went home from school’
- b. tomar pallaḡ por-e amar manšomman šob ja-be
 you-gen clutch fall-cp I-gen honour all go-3 ft
 ‘Because of you I will lose my standing completely’
- c. tomar šathe gɔlpo kor-e-i šara din-ṭa gæ-lo
 you-gen with chat do-cp-emp whole day-cl go-3 pt
 ‘The whole day is spent chatting with you’

The participant Ritu in (58a) undergoes a *change of location*. In (58b) the speaker is afraid of losing his/her standing in society. The situation entails a *change in psychological state*. The verb in (58c) indicates a *temporal change* as the day goes by. All these senses are related to the core sense *change of state* in the sense that each of them denotes a particular kind of change of state. I assume that one variant of the V2 *jaqa* ‘go’ expresses this *core sense*. I will refer to it as *jaqa_I* ‘go’. The second constituent of the CVs in the following sentences is *jaqa_I* ‘go’:

59a. *buɾo lok-ʈa šešporjonto mor-e gæ-lo*

old man-cl finally die-cp go-3 pt

‘Finally the old man passed away’

b. *amader dɔš bɔchor-er šomporko šɔmproti bheŋ-e gæ-lo*

I-cl-gen ten year-gen relationship recently break-cp go-3 pt

‘Our ten year old relationship broke off recently’

c. *janla-r rɔŋ brišʈi-r jɔl-e dhu-e gæ-che*

window-gen color rain-gen water-loc wash-cp go-3 pr pft

‘The color of the window has been washed away in rain water’

The CVs in (59) entail that the participant involved in the event denoted by these verbs undergoes a change of state. The event represented by the CV sequences in (59) is non-durative. The aspect is *resultative*.

Thus the core sense that the V2 *jaɔa_1* represents is *an affected entity undergoing change of state*:

TELICITY	telic
DURATION	—
ASPECT	resultative

The verb *jaɔa* ‘go’ also expresses the meaning of *extendedness* as illustrated in the following sentences:

60a. *eḷ juto-ʈa ɔnek din ja-be*

this shoe-cl many days go-3 ft

‘This shoe will last for long’

b. *din ækrɔkom kore ja-ɛ*
 day anyhow prt go-3 pr
 ‘Days are passing anyhow’

c. *ei rasta šoja dilli gæ-che*
 this road straight Delhi go-3 pr pft
 ‘This road goes straight to Delhi’

The other variant of V2 *jaqa* ‘go’ represents the semantics of extendedness. I refer to it as *jaqa_2* ‘go’. The following CV sequences contain the V2 *jaqa_2* ‘go’:

61a. *chele-ra mon die kaj kor-e ja-ɛ*
 boy-cl mind with work do-cp go-3 pr
 ‘The boys continues to do (their) work with full attention’

b. *bacca-ʔa šomane kēd-e ja-cche*
 child-cl at a stretch cry-cp go-3 pr cont
 ‘The girl is crying continuously’

c. *je jɔkhon ja bol-che šudhu šun-e ja-ɔ*
 whoever whenever whatever say-3 pr cont only hear-cp go-2 pr imp
 ‘Just keep listening to what others say’

d. *šarajibon dhore tomader šɔŋšar agl-e ge-lam*
 whole life for you-cl-gen family take care-cp go-1 pt
 ‘I have been taking care of your family for my whole life’

Like V2 *aša_2* ‘come’, the V2 *jaqa_2* ‘go’ also represents the following supra-lexical information:

TELICITY	atelic
DURATION	+
ASPECT	imperfective

Sarkar (1975) distinguishes the meaning of V2 *aša_1* ‘come’ from that of *jaqa_2* ‘go’ in the following manner: The V2 *aša_1* ‘come’ expresses continuity from the main action to the point of the speech event, non-committal as to whether the action will continue beyond the speech event, while the semantics of V2 *jaqa_2* ‘go’ represents the meaning of overall extension.

3.5.9.3 *ana* ‘bring’

The verb *ana* ‘bring’ is taken to be a transitive variant of the verb *aša_1* ‘come’. I postulate the following core sense or *mould* to represent the semantics of the verb *ana* ‘bring’: an entity is made to be directed towards a stationary reference point. It is to be noted that I have only added the presence of one actor entity to the core sense or *mould* of the verb *aša_1*. The following sentences illustrate the independent use of the verb *ana* ‘bring’:

62a. *ritu dipu-ke amar kache an-lo*

Ritu Dipu-obj I-gen near bring-3 pt

‘Ritu brought Dipu to me’

b. *ritu æk-ṭa darun khɔbor en-eche*

Ritu one-cl good news bring-3 pr pft

‘Ritu has brought a great piece of news’

The V2 *ana* ‘bring’ is selected by very few verbs. The following sentence illustrates a CV sequence that contains the V2 *ana* ‘bring’:

63. *ritu ghordor praḡ guchi-e en-echilo; æmon šomɔḡe-e*
 Ritu room almost tidy up-cp bring-3 pt pft such time-loc
bacca-ṭa eš-e šɔb lɔṇdobhɔṇdo kor-e di-lo
 child-cl come-pft everything upside down do-cp give-3 pt
 ‘Ritu almost tidied up the room; meanwhile the child came and turned
 everything upside down’

The verb *guchono* ‘clean, tidy up’ is an accomplishment verb. The event structure of an accomplishment verb consists of a process and an outcome. The event includes successive stages in which the process advances to its conclusion. I assume that the culmination point of the V1 event is the stationary reference frame. The V2 *ana* ‘bring’ implies that the V1 event is directed towards the culmination point. Thus the V2 profiles the advancement of the V1 event and the semantics of the resultant CV implies that the event is about to be completed.

Thus the V2 *ana* ‘bring’ represents the core sense or *mould* that conveys *transitive directedness of an undergoer toward a stationary reference frame*:

TELICITY	atelic
ASPECT	imminent

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I studied the semantics of V2s in Bangla. I examined the kind of semantic contribution that V2s confer on the overall meaning of CVs of which they form a part. I proposed that the V1s provide the base event. When a V1 selects a V2 and a CV is constituted, the semantics of V2 *profiles* the base event by highlighting the *manner of involvement* of the participant(s) in the base-event and by adding a *marked temporal and aspectual focus* to the base event. Consequently CVs represent a new situation type distinct from their V1 associate. In an attempt to establish a semantic correlation between V2s and their full-verb counterparts, I identified a set of core senses or *moulds* such as *undergoing*

change of state, causally affecting an affected entity, expressing duration and so on. These concepts might not be the most primitive and they can, in some cases, be further decomposed into smaller sense segments. Nevertheless both V2 and their corresponding full-verb presumably share one of these core senses or *moulds*. Thus I consider V2s and their full verb counterparts to be polysemous in nature.