Verb lability and alignment in New Indo-Aryan (NIA)

The aim of the present paper is to demonstrate the correlation between the ergative alignment attested in Indo-Aryan languages and the decline of labile syntax.

Contemporary IA languages show almost no traces of labile verbs and if there is any type of lability it is restricted to non-finite categories (cf. Montaut 2004). Actually, only one class of non-finites i.e. converbs may still show P-lability but it is quite a rare phenomenon. So far, Old IA and Middle IA converbs were investigated as regards syntactic orientation of converbs and it has been generally assumed that before NIA period converbs were predominantly A-oriented. Moreover, thanks to recent works by Kulikov (2014) we are now more aware of the mechanisms which contributed to the decline of the verbal lability in IA.

In the present paper the issue of the syntactic orientation of a converb is taken further to early NIA period. Since early NIA tongues underwent a drastic reorganization of morphosyntax the correlation between alignment change and assumed converb lability has to be taken into consideration.

Preliminary research has shown that early NIA tongues were much less restricted with respect to syntactic orientation of converbs than contemporary languages. We have further noticed that P-oriented converbs are still attested in many early NIA languages. This seems to be in contrast with contemporary NIA – languages which preserved ergative alignment (Braj, Pahari, Hinduksh languages) tend to have more labile converb orientation (e.g. Wallace 1982; Stroński 2013) whereas in languages of the eastern branches of IA which lost ergative pattern converbs are A-oriented. Our corpus based study shows that the syntactic lability of converbs is a secondary phenomenon which can also have its roots in the reorganization of early NIA syntax towards a new postpositional ergative-like system as one can chiefly observe labile converbal forms in the perfective domain. Moreover, contemporary studies on Subject Identity Constraint in converbal chain constructions in IA show that it is rather ridgid and its violation is possible usually when certain semantic (non-volitionality of CVB subject) or pragmatic criteria (topicality) are fulfilled (cf. Subbarao 2012). This was not the case of early NIA in which such constraint was more often violated (Stronski et al. in print) and it is not only due to semantic but due to pragmatic reasons as well.

The data used for the analysis includes four dialectal corpora, i.e. Rajasthani, Awadhi, Dakkhini and Braj (10000 words each) tagged by means of IATagger (Jaworski 2013) at morphological, syntactic and semantic levels. Texts are representative of their particular tongues from 15-17th centuries and they belong to various genres. This data will be compared to modern Pahari, Kashmiri and selected Hindukush languages.

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