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A Pragmatic Approach to Compound Verbs in Hindi/Urdu: The Case of (Inter)subjectivity[1]

A number of different semantic and pragmatic factors govern the usage of compound verbs in Hindi/Urdu. In this paper, our focus is to set out and analyze one of the pragmatic factors that has been called '(inter)subjectivity' or 'prior knowledge' in detail and see how that correlates to the existing literature on compound verbs and to the emerging study of the codification of surprise ('mirativity') in Hindi/Urdu. Our main finding is that compound verb constructions with vector verbs jānā, denā and lenā are used in scenarios where the speaker and the listener are already aware of the event that is being spoken of. That is, the speaker's and the listener's minds are 'prepared' with respect to the context of the speaker's utterances.

Diversi fattori semantici e pragmatici regolano l'uso dei verbi composti in hindi/urdu. L'obiettivo del presente contributo è quello di definire e analizzare nel dettaglio uno di tali fattori di natura pragmatica, denominato in letteratura '(inter)subjectivity' o 'prior knowledge', e illustrare come esso possa contestualizzato all'interno della ricerca finora compiuta sui verbi composti e alle recenti analisi relative alla codificazione della "sorpresa" (i.e. mirativity) in hindi/urdu. La conclusione principale di questo articolo è che gli enunciati costruiti con gli ausiliari (in inglese 'vector verbs') jānā, denā e lenā sono utilizzati in scenari in cui il parlante e il destinatario sono già "mentalmente preparati" in merito a quanto riportato nell'enunciato.

1. *Introduction*[2]

Compound verbs in Hindi/Urdu (= H/U) have been a topic of extensive research for several decades. A lot of work has gone into defining and delimiting which constructions qualify as 'compound verb'

[1] This paper is a result of the discussions between the authors over a period of three years about compound verbs and their use in Hindi. Neha Tiwari is a native speaker of Hindi and teaches Hindi and Urdu as a second language.

[2] Our thanks first and foremost to Pinuccia Caracchi, Peter Hook, V.R. Jagannathan, Rupert Snell and other teachers at the Zabaan School for Languages for their insights. All errors and inadequacies are our responsibility.

The following abbreviations are used in this article: ACC = accusative; CP = conjunctive participle; DAT = dative; EMPH = emphatic; ERG = ergative; F = feminine; FUT = future; GEN =

constructions (see, for example, Hacker 1961; Hook 1974, 1978, 1991; Kachru / Pandharipande 1980; Nespital 1997; Slade 2016). At the same time, many scholars talk about scenarios where compound verbs are more likely to be used over simple verbs (cf., among others, Pořízka 1967-69; Hook 1974, *in press*; Kachru 1979, 1981; Poornima 2012). However, so far, a conclusive understanding of the factors determining the use of compound verbs still evades us. Needless to say, this makes the usage of these constructions confounding for learners of H/U, especially beginners. If it is true that the use of compound verbs may have semantic implications (presence of compound verbs connotes 'completion' or perfectivity), it is also true that there are other factors that govern their usage, and these are more pragmatic in nature and depend upon the informational context of the action. The aim of the present paper is to examine and discuss in depth one of the pragmatic factors that governs the use of compound verbs in H/U, pertaining to what Hook (1974) and Jagannathan (1981) have called 'prior knowledge'[3] and some other linguists call the 'prepared mind'[4] (see Slobin / Aksu 1982, Aksu-Koç / Slobin 1986, Bashir 1988, DeLancey 1997) and also '(inter)subjectivity' (Nuyts 2001, 2012). In particular, our main goal is to develop Jagannathan's analysis further. In a nutshell, Jagannathan (1981) has proposed that some compound verb constructions in H/U are more likely to be used in scenarios where the speaker and the listener already have information about the event being talked about or are familiar with it. This is something we discuss in detail in section 3. Moreover, anticipating a critique of the analysis presented in this paper, we also discuss the

genitive; HON = honorific; IMPF = imperfective; IMPV = imperative; INF = infinitive; INT = interrogative; LOC = locative; M = masculine; MIR = mirative; NEG = negation; OBL = oblique; PART = participle; PAST = past; PAST.PART = past participle; PERF = perfect; PL = plural; PRES = present; PROG = progressive; REL = relative; SG = singular; VV = vector verb.

[3] In an earlier version of this paper, we used the term 'prior information' to talk about this pragmatic factor which was a translation of Jagannathan's (1981) *pūrv jñān*, who most likely adopted it from Hook's (1974) 'prior knowledge'. In the present version, we have decided to use '(inter)subjectvity' (Nuyts 2001, 2012) to talk about this factor as we think it is the most suitable term for what Jagannathan (1981) had in mind when he described *pūrv jñān.*

[4] It is important to note here that Slobin / Aksu's characterization of the idea of 'prepared mind' (1982; see also Aksu-Koç / Slobin 1986) is focussed on the 'mental preparedness' of the speaker (cf. Nutys 2001). On the other hand, Jagannathan (1981) talks about the phenomenon of 'prior knowledge' from the point of view of the existence of shared information between the speaker and the listener. See below for more discussion on this topic.

findings of Montaut (2006) with respect to mirativity and the aorist[5] in H/U and see how that relates to the use of compound verbs. We discuss some of Montaut's examples to show how mirativity and '(inter)subjectivity' or 'prior knowledge' can co-exist in certain scenarios.

The paper is organized as follows: In section 2 we provide a brief survey of the study of compound verbs that has been done so far in terms of the semantic and pragmatic factors that affect their usage. Subsequently, we explore one of the pragmatic factors, '(inter)subjectivity', that governs the use of compound verbs and develop our analysis in section (§ 3). We also try also to understand the case of the peculiar verb *girnā* 'to fall' with the aim of identifying some of the factors that possibly drive the choice between using *girnā* on its own and with other vector verbs. In the next section (§ 4), we look at how mirativity and '(inter)subjectivity' or 'prior knowledge' can co-exist in certain contexts. Finally (§ 5), we conclude this paper with our main findings.

2. *Compound Verbs in Hindi/Urdu: A bird's-eye view*

One of the salient characteristics of the New Indo-Aryan languages and one of their true innovations is the use of the so-called 'compound verbs' (Masica 1976, 1991: 325-6; Slade 2013). Compound verbs are a widely studied and discussed phenomenon, especially in H/U.[6]

As Hook (1974, 1991, 2001) and others (see, for example, Slade 2016) have noted, one of the defining characteristics of a compound verb construction is that the vector verb loses its primary meaning and becomes delexicalized. Following Hook (2001: 101) it is correct

[5] The simple perfect/aorist is the perfective in H/U without the auxiliary verb, for example:
vah āyā 'He came' = Simple Perfect/Aorist.
Contrasted with:
vah āyā hai 'He has come' = Present Perfect;
vah āyā thā 'He was come' = Past Perfect.

[6] For an overview of the study on compound verbs in Indo-Aryan, from both a synchronic and diachronic point of view, see Slade (2016), who also provides the reader a useful listing of studies on this topic, with respect to the Indo-Aryan group, selected by language (Slade 2016: 567). A very recent description of Dravidian compound verbs is Annamalai (2016), while for the most important studies on the presence and use of compound verbs in Tibeto-Burman and Munda languages see Hock (2016: 549-50).

to say that "[…] a compound verb (is) a sequence of two verbs AB ('polar A' plus 'vector B') that alternates with A (the 'polar') with little or no difference in meaning, that is, a difference not easily translatable into languages which do not have compound verbs."[7] The principal vector verbs of modern Indo-Aryan languages are those that, as full lexical verbs, mean 'give', 'take', 'go', 'come', 'fall', 'rise', 'sit', etc. Now consider the following H/U examples where the non-compound verb *lauṭā* (cf. 1) alternates with the compound verb *lauṭ gayā* (cf. 2):

(1) *vah* *dukān* *par* *lauṭ-ā.*
3SG shop LOC go back-PERF.M.SG
He went back to the shop. (adapted from McGregor 1977: 31)

(2) *vah* *dukān* *par* *lauṭ* *ga-y-ā.*
3SG shop LOC go back go.VV-PERF-M.SG
He went back to the shop. (adapted from McGregor 1977: 50)

In (2) *jānā* does not convey its lexical meaning 'go', it has become delexicalized and is serving a grammatical function. As we mentioned in the introduction, our aim in the current paper is to focus on one such grammatical function of the compound verb construction in H/U. However, before embarking on that, we present a brief summary here of the work that has already been done so far on the use of compound verbs and the different meanings they convey.

Here are the main features of compound verb constructions according to the literature so far:[8]

[7] But see note 8.

[8] In addition to what we have listed here, there are some other minor factors that are often correlated with the use of compound verb construction in H/U (such as using *ho jānā* to convey a change of state, and also other idiomatic usages). We have also talked about atypical compound verb constructions – where a transitive polar verb is compounded with an intransitive vector verb – in another paper (cf. Drocco 2018, Drocco / Tiwari 2020). Also, please note that in this paper we have focused on compound verb constructions where the polar verb appears as the verb-stem. But there are certain other compound verb constructions that involve the use of the perfective participle instead of the verb stem of the polar verb. These are beyond the scope of this paper. For a general overview of compound verb constructions and their usages please see, among others, McGregor (1977), Nespital (1997) and Caracchi (2002).

Expression of Perfectivity: Compound verbs are used when the speaker wants to express that an action is completed or will be completed fully,[9] without any exceptions (cf. Pořízka 1967-69; Hook 1974, 1993). Compound verbs shift the focus of the sentence towards the completion of the action, and consequently, as it has been noted by several scholars (Hook 1974, 1988; Nespital 1997; Caracchi 2002; McGregor 1977), the use of compound verbs with particles of negation and with the progressive aspect is very rare and specialized. We will briefly illustrate this with some examples taken from Hook (1974):

(3) *maĩ ne parā̃ṭhā khā-y-ā lekin sār-ā nahī̃*
1SG ERG parantha.M eat-PERF-M.SG but. all-M. NEG
'I ate the *parantha* but not all of it.' (adapted from Hook 1974: 167)

(4) *maĩ ne parā̃ṭhā khā li-y-ā*
1SG ERG parantha.M eat take.VV-PERF-M.SG
'I ate up the *parantha*.' (adapted from Hook 1974: 167)

(5) *maĩ ne parā̃ṭhā khā li-y-ā lekin*
1SG ERG parantha.M eat take.VV-PERF-M.SG but
sār-ā nahī̃???
all-M NEG (adapted from Hook 1974: 167)

In (3) the subject did do the action but did not complete it all the way. Thus (5), which has *khā liyā* instead of *khāyā* as in sentence (3) above, is not compatible in the context of an incomplete action. Example (4), on the other hand, implies that the whole *parantha* (or as much as was expected, see below § 3) was eaten. Hook says:

[9] In this paper we have not looked at apprehension constructions that are formed using *kahī̃…na/to nahī̃*. These constructions require a careful analysis of the informational context in which they are uttered. However, as Hook (*in pres*s) has noted, it is quite common for compound verbs to manifest in such constructions. We think that perfectivity is one of the factors that drives this usage in most cases, as the speaker is apprehensive or worried about the complete realization of a particular event. That said, there is also some expectation that is built into the context before the expression of apprehension is verbally realized, i.e. the speaker perceives or comes to know about something before the apprehensive state is triggered in him/her. We will discuss below how the presence of such an expectation can trigger the use of compound verbs. Additionally, Nespital (1997) notes that when simple verbs are used in the apprehension construction, the speaker is only expressing the possibility of something bad happening; he "does not assume a strong emotional position, such as fear or apprehension." We hope to fully discuss this construction in another paper.

> For them (some speakers) expression of transitive activity by a compound implies the exhaustion of the object or the exhaustive performance of the activity.
>
> (Hook 1974: 166)

Predicate Orientation: As we noted above, *denā* 'to give' and *lenā* 'to take' are also used as vector verbs. The verb *denā* is normally used as a vector verb when the benefit of doing the action goes to someone other than the doer (cf. example 7), while *lenā* is used when the action is done for the benefit of the agent (cf. example 6) or simply put the benefit of the action comes back to the agent (cf. Butt / Ramchand 2001; Poornima 2012).

(6) *kavitā paṛh l-o*
poem read take.VV-IMPV
'Read the poem to yourself.'
(adapted from Snell / Weightman 2010: 153)

(7) *kavitā paṛh d-o*
poem read give.VV-IMPV
'Read the poem out.'
(adapted from Snell / Weightman 2010: 153)

Look at other two examples:

(8) *mɑ̃ ne ham-ẽ sār-ī kahānī sunā d-ī*
mother.F. ERG 1PL-DAT all-F story.F relate give.VV-PERF.F
'Mother related the whole story to us.'
(adapted from Snell / Weightman 2010: 154)

(9) *m-er-ī jeb se cābī le lo*
1SG-GEN-F pocket from key take take.VV-IMPV
'Take the key from my pocket.'
(adapted from Snell / Weightman 2010: 154)

In (8), the subject (the mother) is telling the story to the listeners (her children) and the benefit is going to them, hence the use of *denā*. In (9), the second person subject is being asked to take the key. The vector verb

lenā in the imperative (i.e. *lo*) adds the sense that he/she should take it for their benefit. In this particular case, it might benefit them because they asked for it or they need it for some work.

In addition to predicate orientation, as Kachru (1979) notes, *lenā* can also be used in cases where the speaker wants to focus on 'modest capability or modest achievement'. For example:

(10) *vah thoṛī-bahut hindī bol le-t-ā h-ai*
3SG little Hindi speak take.VV-PRES-M.SG be.PRES-3SG
'He can (or he manages to) speak a little Hindi.'
(adapted from Kachru 1979: 164)

This seems especially true with verbs such as *jānnā* 'to know', *samajhnā* 'to understand', *pahcānnā* 'to recognize' (cf. Kachru 1981, Nespital 1997; Caracchi 2002; McGregor 1977), as in the following example taken from Kachru (1981):

(11) *maĩ ne samjhā-y-ā to*
1SG.DIR ERG explain-PERF-M.SG then
us ne savāl acchī tarah se
3SG.OBL ERG question(M) well manner with
samajh li-y-ā
understand take.VV-PERF-M.SG
'I explained and he understood the question well'.
(adapted from Kachru 1981: 187)

Certain vector verbs like *ḍālnā* add additional nuances to the meaning of the simple verb. As Nespital (1997) points out, the semantic meanings that the vector verbs help to bring out are already inherent in the simple verb. In these cases, vector verbs help to 'monosemize' a simple verb, i.e., they help to restrict the number of possible semantic meanings the simple verb can take in a particular sentence and context. For example, the aforementioned *ḍālnā* when used as a vector verb in a compound verb construction adds to the semantic verb of the polar verb the meaning that something is done thoroughly or intensely and sometimes even violently (cf. McGregor 1977; Nespital 1997; Butt / Ramchand 2001; Caracchi 2002; Poornima 2012). An unambiguous example of the specialization of meaning of an original simple verb

through the addition of the vector verb *ḍālnā* is *mārnā*. As simple verb *mārnā* means 'to beat', 'to strike', 'to shoot', 'to kill', 'to bring down (a bird by killing)' among others (cf. 12). However, when compounded with *ḍālnā*, the resulting restricted meanings are 'to kill outright, to slay or murder (which is more intense than just hitting or striking)' (cf. 13) (cf. Nespital 1997).

(12) *vah sāmne jo laṛkā jā rah-ā h-ai*,
3SG in front REL boy go PROG-M.SG be.PRES-3SG
agar vahā̃ jā-kar tum use do jhāpaṛ mār-o,
if there go-CP 2PL 3SG-ACC 2 slap strike-IMPV
to maĩ abhī tum-hẽ do sau rupy-e
then 1SG right now you-DAT 2 hundred rupee-PL
d-ū̃-g-ā.
give-1SG-FUT-M.SG
'The boy who is going/walking in front of us, if you go over there and slap him twice, I will give you 200 rupees right now'.
(adapted from Nespital 1997: 1002; originally from a native speaker Jitendra Bahri, Reader, Iswar Saran Degree College, University of Allahabad, English translation by Neha Tiwari)

(13) *'apn-ī gāy th-ī,* ***mār ḍāl-ī,*** *phir*
own-F cow.F be-F kill cast.VV-PERF.F then
kisī dūsre k-ā jānvar to nahī mār-ā?'
else anyone GEN-M.SG animal EMPH not kill-PERF.M.SG
'It was my/our own cow, we killed it, we did not kill anyone else's animal, did we?'
(adapted from Nespital 1997: 1003; originally from Premchand's *Godān*, English translation by Neha Tiwari)

In the first sentence, *mārnā* just means 'to strike' (in (12) 'to strike with a slap': *jhāpaṛ mārnā*). Contrast this with the second sentence where *mār ḍālnā* means 'to kill'.

In addition to the semantic and aspectual meanings we have discussed above, some scholars (especially, if not only, Hook 1974 and Jagannathan 1981, as we have already said above; cf. also Nespital 1997 and Caracchi 2002) have also mentioned the informational context as a feature correlated with the presence/absence of compound verbs.

However, the majority of them have not examined this topic in depth.[10] In accordance with the aims of the present paper, we will discuss this in the next section.

3. *Compound Verbs and (Inter)subjectivity*

Hook (1974) and Jagannathan (1981) in their analysis of compound verbs present the notion of 'prior knowledge' or lack of it. Thus, the first part of the current section is devoted to presenting and developing their idea and connecting it with the concept of '(inter)subjectivity' as illustrated by Nuyts (2001, 2012) by giving more examples with our analysis.

Hook (1974: 248) says that in cases where the performance of an action is completely unforeseen by the speaker, he may not use compound verbs. He gives several examples of scenarios where a simple verb will be preferable to compound verbs. Here is one of them:

(14) *maĩ ne śrī kathāvaṭe kā nām kabhī nahĩ̃*
1SG ERG Mr. Kathavate GEN-M.SG name.M never
sun-ā lekin kal un-k-ā
hear-PERF.M.SG but yesterday 3PL.OBL-GEN-M.SG
kẖat mil-ā
letter.M get-PERF.M.SG
'I had never even heard of Mr. Kathavate before but yesterday I got a letter from him.'(adapted from Hook 1974: 248-249)

As we can see from (14), the speaker in this case was not even aware of the existence of some Mr. Kathavate. For that reason, he was not expecting any letter from him. When he gets the letter, it is entirely unexpected, and he expresses that using the simple verb *milā*.

Jagannathan (1981) says that the defining characteristic of a vector verb based on 'prior knowledge' (*pūrv jñān*) context is that the speaker will use this construction in front of the listener only when he knows that the listener is aware/informed of the said action already.[11] He gives the following example to illustrate this idea:

[10] Hook (*in press*) concludes that 'prepared mind' is a factor that can be correlated to the 'manifestation' of compound verbs in H/U, but he rightly concludes that it is not the only factor.

[11] Original Hindi text: अर्थात रंजक क्रिया का प्रयोग वक्ता श्रोता के सामने तभी करेगा, जब उसे मालूम हो कि सामने वाला भी कथ्य व्यापार से पहले से ही परिचित है ।

(15) *mehmān ā ga-e*
guest.PL. come go.VV-PERF.M.PL
'The guests are here.' (adapted from Jagannathan 1981: 264)

Analyzing this sentence Jagannathan (1981) says:

> When a speaker says this sentence then what is implied is that the members of the family already knew about the guests coming and were perhaps waiting for them. Or they had this inkling that the guests might drop by, and they had talked about it. On seeing guests that were not expected, the speaker would perhaps have said (cf. 16):[12]
>
> (Jagannathan 1981: 264, 265, English translation: Neha Tiwari)

(16) *ham-ār-e ghar mehmān ā rah-e haĩ*[13]
1PL-GEN-PL.OBL house guest.PL come PROG-M.PL 3PL
'Guests are coming to our house.' (adapted from Jagannathan 1981: 265)

We will call situations or contexts that are similar to (15) above as places where 'prior knowledge' is present and the context of (16) as cases where 'prior knowledge' is absent. Bashir (1988) also talked about this phenomenon based on Slobin and Aksu's (1982) characterization of 'prepared mind' (cf. also Aksu-Koç and Slobin 1986). However, as Nuyts (2001: 36-37) has pointed out, the concept of 'prepared mind' is about the speaker's subjective state of knowledge. Hence, he suggests the use of another term, i.e. '(inter)subjectivity', for scenarios where there is shared information between the speaker and the listener, and he points out that this phenomenon is observed in some Asian languages (2000: 36-37). Given the close parallel between Jagannathan's idea of 'prior knowledge' and the concept of '(inter)subjectivity', we have decided to use the latter term in our paper.

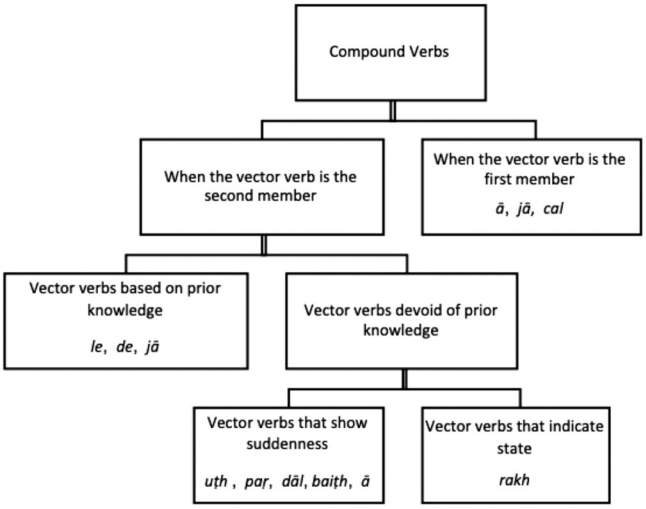
[12] Original Hindi text: कोई व्यक्ति घर वालों को सूचित करते हुए कहे मेहमान आ गये, तो उसका तात्पर्य यह है कि आने वाले मेहमानों की सूचना और शायद इंतज़ार औरों (श्रोताओं) को भी है। या मेहमानों के आ टपकने की आशंका थी और इस बात की चर्चा हो चुकी थी। अप्रत्याशित रूप से आने वाले मेहमानों को देखकर वह शायद यही कहता, हमारे घर मेहमान आ रहे हैं।

[13] We are aware of the fact that it would have been better had example (16) been in the same tense, the perfective, and not in the progressive. However, we have taken this example as it is from Jagannathan (1981).

Along the lines of Hook (1974, *in press*), Jagannathan (1981), Slobin / Aksu (1982), and Nuyts (2001, 2012) we define '(inter)subjectivity' in the context of H/U as follows:

> In the context of any sentence (or utterance), *(inter)subjectivity* is that state of the world in which the speaker (or the writer) and the listener (or the reader) both already have some information about the event that is being spoken of in the sentence, and they both know this to be true for the other person as well, i.e., the speaker knows that the listener is aware about the event and vice versa. In H/U, (inter)subjectivity can be encoded by the use of compound verb constructions with vector verbs *jānā, denā* and *lenā* restricted as follows:
>
> *jānā* is used with intransitive verbs;[14]
> *denā* is used with transitive verbs;
> *lenā* is used with transitive verbs and some intransitive verbs.

We have taken this restriction based on the work of Jagannathan (1981: 264) who categorizes compound verbs as follows:



[14] For an analysis on the use of *jānā* with transitive verbs see Kachru (1979: 162), but in particular Montaut (1991, 2004), Drocco (2018) and Drocco / Tiwari (2020).

Let us look at some more constructions from Jagannathan (1991) that exemplify the use of compound verbs in cases where an event is known and/or expected.[15] These examples are taken from a self-study resource for Hindi learners. In this work, Jagannathan does not go into a detailed explanation of the concept of '(inter)subjectivity' as some of his previous works (cf. Jagannathan 1981). Therefore, the analysis of (17) (and similarly the analysis of (18) and (19) below), is completely by the authors of this paper.

(17) a. *nãditā:* *āp* *ko* *vetan* *mil* *ga-y-ā?*
HON DAT salary.M get go.VV-PERF-M.SG

b. *śarmā:* *abhī* *nahɪ̃* *mil-ā*
now NEG get-PERF.M.SG

c. *nãditā:* *kyõ?* *kyā* *bāt* *h-ai?*
INT INT matter be.PRES-3SG

d. *śarmā:* *āj* *baĩk* *band* *h-ai* *kal*
today bank closed be.PRES-3SG tomorrow
mil *jā-e-g-ā*
get go.VV-3SG-FUT-M.SG

a. Nandita: 'Did you get (your) salary?'
b. Sharma: 'No, not yet.'
c. Nandita: 'Why? What's the matter?'
d. Sharma: 'The bank is closed today. I will get it tomorrow *(don't worry)*.'[16]
(adapted from Jagannathan 1991: 278, English translation by Neha Tiwari)

In this situation, Nandita and Sharma are married and Nandita knows when Sharma usually gets his salary. When she asks the question (cf. 17a), she already expects that the event would have been completed; this is

[15] Moreover, as already said (see note 2), Jagannathan is in conversations about the correlation of concept of 'prior knowledge' and the use of compound verbs in Hindi with one of the present authors of the paper.

[16] In this last sentence we added 'don't worry' in the translation, and we will talk about that below. See the analysis of (17d) and (23).

exactly a case of (inter)subjectivity, and for this reason she uses *mil gayā* and not *milā*.[17]

The expectation that the event would have been completed, conveyed by compound verbs, is also connected in H/U with an additional function of compound verbs—their use to add a sense of reassurance that the event is completed (or will be completed when talking about a future event). Accordingly, when the speaker announces the culmination or completion of an action that was expected by both the speaker and the listener, the use of compound verbs is reassuring. We can see the interplay between the sense of finality/completion on the one hand and that of reassurance on the other, by noticing the use of *mil jānā* instead of the simple verb *milnā* in the future tense *mil jāegā* of (17d). It adds the nuance that the event will be completed, and Nandita need not worry about it.

Some other examples from Jagannathan (1991) illustrate the fact that compound verbs are more likely to be used in the context of (inter)subjectivity (contrast 18 with 19):

(18) a: *tum ne kal kyā k-iy-ā?*
2PL ERG yesterday INT do-PERF-M.SG

b: *maĩ ne ek kitāb paṛhī.*
1SG ERG a book.F read-PERF.F

a: 'What did you do yesterday?'
b: 'I read a book.'
(adapted from Jagannathan 1991: 277, English translation by Neha Tiwari)

(19) a: *maĩ ne tumh-ẽ ek kitāb dī th-ī.*
1SG ERG 2PL-DAT a book.F give-PERF.F be.IMPF-F

vah kitāb tum ne paṛh l-ī?
3SG book.F 2PL ERG read take.VV-PERF.F

[17] In his response, Sharma uses simple verb *milā* in '*abhī nahĩn milā*'. Readers can refer to Hook (1974) for more information about the non-occurrence of compound verbs in negative sentences barring a few exceptions.

b: *hā̃ paṛh l-ī bahut acch-ī h-ai.*
yes read take.VV-PERF.F very good-F be.PRES-3SG

a: 'I had given you a book. Did you read it?'
b: 'Yes, I read it. It is very good.'
(adapted from Jagannathan 1991: 277, English translation by Neha Tiwari

In (18) the first speaker, 'a', has no information about what the other person, 'b', did. As a consequence, when 'b' answers, he is giving new information to 'a'. In (19), however, we can see that 'a' had given the book to 'b' to read, and thus, she could anticipate that 'b' may have read the book. The use of compound form *paṛh lenā* in this case captures and expresses a couple of nuances:

i) 'a' had prior knowledge about the action, she thought it may have happened, and she is expressing that in the question;
ii) There is also a subtle implication that 'a' expects the answer to be 'yes'.

To sum up the analysis above, we have defined '(inter)subjectivity' as a situation where the speaker knows that the listener is aware of the context in which a certain action takes place. In other words, both the speaker and the listener share a certain informational context with respect to that action, and when they talk about it, this shared information is marked by the presence of a compound verb. Thus, in cases where both the simple and the compound verbs are grammatically possible, a speaker's choice for using a compound verb would be governed:

1) by the presence of shared information among other factors and/or
2) by the fact that the speaker announces the culmination or completion of an action that was expected by both the speaker and the listener, and hence the use of compound verbs is also reassuring.

We will build on both points of this analysis further with (20) and (21):

(20) *sāhab, āp se koī mil-n-e*
Sir HON with someone meet-INF-OBL

ā-y-ā *h-ai.*
come-PERF-M.SG be-PRES.3SG
'Sir, someone has come to meet you.'[18]

(21) *āp* *kā* *kouriar ā* *ga-y-ā!*
HON GEN-M.SG.DIR courier come go.VV-PERF-M.SG
'Your courier came!' (i.e. 'Your courier is here!')[19]

With respect to point 1 above, it will be useful to analyze the information structure in both examples (20) and (21) by adopting the following parameters:

i. Speaker's information set: Was the action new information for the speaker or he/she was already anticipating it?
ii. Listener's information set: Was the action new information for the listener or he/she was already anticipating it?
iii. Shared information: Was the speaker aware that the listener knows about the action or is expecting it?

When we analyze example (20) in terms of these parameters, we can make the following observations:

i. Speaker's information set: Given the use of "*koī*" which means 'someone', it seems quite likely that the speaker had no prior knowledge about this person's arrival. It is, however, possible to imagine a scenario where the speaker can pretend no foreknowledge of the event by using this phrasing. In that case he/she would be feigning ignorance;
ii. Listener's information set: There is no way to tell from the statement if the listener was aware of and/or anticipating the new person's arrival. If he/she was, he/she did not inform the speaker;
iii. Shared information: The use of the present perfect with a simple verb and not compound verb in this case suggests that the speaker thinks that this arrival is new information for the listener. Hence, the speaker and the listener do not have shared/common information about the event.

[18] This sentence has been created by us. However, it is very common for the contexts we have used them in. Readers can find a similar usage here: https://hindi.pratilipi.com/read/दस-बजकर-दस-मनिट6-दस-बजकर-दस-मनिट6-Nmz8XGMYZDWb-5r558s07815m2g0.

[19] This example has also been created by us. A similar usage in the same context can be found here: https://www.amarujala.com/haryana/jhajjar-bahadurgarh/crime/71536611917-jhajjar-bahadurgarh-news।

In (21), we see the use of compound form *ā jānā* in the simple perfect or aorist.[20] An analysis of the information characteristic of the context of this sentence reveals the following information:

i. Speaker's information set: The use of compound verb *ā jānā* in the sentence suggests that the speaker was already anticipating the event;
ii. Listener's information set: The use of compound verb *ā jānā* indicates that the listener is most likely aware of the event because the speaker when using compound verb knows that the listener is aware of the context;
iii. Shared Information: The speaker in this sentence knows that the listener is aware of the event and is already anticipating it. There is shared information between the two of them.

With regard to the point b) above, the reassuring sense implied in the announcement by the speaker of the culmination/completion of an action that was expected by both the speaker and the listener, the literature on compound verbs so far does not explain why in certain cases speakers feel the need to use compound verbs to add this sense of completion, and why in other cases they use simple verbs. In order to understand the reason for this contrast, consider again (21) above. If instead of *ā gāyā* (cf. 21), the speaker had said *āyā* (cf. 22), it would have sounded incomplete and, in some cases, could have made the listener apprehensive.

(21) *āp* *k-ā* *kouriar* *ā* *ga-y-ā!*
HON GEN-M.SG.DIR courier come go.VV-PERF-M.SG
'Your courier came!' (i.e. 'Your courier is here!')

(22) *āp* *k-ā* *kouriar* *ā-y-ā.*
HON GEN-M.SG.DIR courier come-PERF-M.SG

The listener on hearing (22), when he was expecting (21), would not be able to understand the context of the sentence fully without reinterpreting it. As a consequence, (22) on its own in this context is incomplete and, as a consequence, the listener, finding the speaker's statement somewhat unexpected, would reinterpret (22) as one of the three possibilities below:

[20] Regarding what we mean by the 'aorist' in H/U see note 5 above.

(22.a) *āp* *k-ā* *kouriar ā-y-ā* *h-ai.*
HON GEN-M.SG.DIR courier come-PERF-M.SG be.PRES-3SG

As the listener was expecting (21), there was already prior knowledge. However, if the speaker says (22) (*āyā*) instead of (21) (*ā gayā*), the listener might think that perhaps the speaker has forgotten about the courier and, hence is reporting it as new information. So, while the speaker says *āyā*, the listener, thinking that the speaker is presuming it is new information for him, really wanted to say *āyā hai*, but just said *āyā* perhaps because he was in a hurry (or maybe because he misheard him).

(22.b) *āp* *k-ā* *kouriar* *ā* *ga-y-ā.*
HON GEN-M.SG.DIR courier come go.VV-PERF-M.SG

The listener knows that the speaker wanted to say *ā gayā* (22.b) as in (21) (based on the tone of voice and/or because the listener knows that the speaker knows that the listener was expecting the courier), but perhaps he was in a hurry, or in case of children, still learning the language and nuances of compound verb constructions. Thus, the listener would reinterpret it as a case of an intended compound verb construction where the simple verb was used by mistake.

(22.c) *āp* *k-ā* *kouriar* *ā-y-ā* *lekin ...*
HON GEN-M.SG.DIR courier come-PERF-M.SG but …

The listener while reinterpreting (22) as (22.a) or (22.b) would have to conclude that the speaker used the wrong construction by mistake or because he was in a hurry. For competent speakers, the chances of that happening are usually rare. So, in most scenarios, on hearing (22), the listener would conclude (22.c), that the courier is here but there is something missing or something off about it. The expected action is not fully completed, and he anticipates some bad news. Because if that were not the case, the speaker would have said (21).[21]

[21] We think that the semantic aspect of perfectivity that sometimes qualifies the use of compound verbs is correlated with the presence of '(inter)subjectivity', that is to say, they are not two entirely independent meanings but normally occur together. This point, however, needs further research.

It is important to emphasize here that this reassuring element of compound verb constructions in cases of (inter)subjectivity plays a very important role in day to day communication.[22]

A flip side to this is that compound verb constructions governed by the presence of the notion of '(inter)subjectivity' are used mainly for getting or conveying confirmation about the occurrence of an expected event. For instance, when the speaker says sentence (21), he is also implying that 'we do not need to worry about the courier anymore, it has arrived, and we can talk about something else or go back to what we were doing.' If, however, the listener wants more information about the event, the conversation would most likely switch to simple verbs. Here is an example:

(23) a: *āp* *k-ā* *kouriar* *ā* *ga-y-ā!*
HON GEN-M.SG.DIR courier come go.VV-PERF-M.SG

b: *acchā!* *kab* *ā-y-ā?*
oh (lit.: 'good') when come-PERF-M.SG

a: *dophar* *mẽ* *ā-y-ā.*[23]
(this) afternoon LOC come-PERF-M.SG

a: 'Your courier is here.'
b: 'Oh! When did he come?'
a: 'He came this afternoon.'

Jagannathan (1991) also illustrates this point in his continuation to example (19) above.

(24) a: *maĩ* *ne* *tumh-ẽ* *ek* *kitāb* *d-ī* *th-ī.*
1SG ERG 2PL-DAT a book.F give-PERF.F be.IMPF-F

vah *kitāb* *tum* *ne* *paṛh* *l-ī?*
3SG book.F 2PL ERG read take.VV-PERF.F

[22] Ubiquitous expressions like *ho jāegā* 'it will be done', convey not only information about completion of a certain task or work, but also convey a sense that the listener need not worry.

[23] This conversation has been created by us.

b: *hã̃ paṛh l-ī bahut acch-ī h-ai.*
yes read take.VV-PERF.F very good-F be.PRES-3SG

a: *kitnī der mẽ paṛh-ī?*
how much time LOC read-PERF.F

b: *cār ghaṇṭ-e mẽ.*
four hour-M.PL LOC

a: 'I had given you a book. Did you read it?'
b: 'Yes, I read it. It is very good.'
a: 'In how much time did you read it?'
b: 'In four hours.'
(adapted from Jagannathan 1991: 277, English translation by Neha Tiwari)

Notice that when 'a' asks how long it took 'b' to read the book, she uses a simple and not a compound verb. Most native speakers find this to be the most neutral way to ask questions soliciting for details. The use of compound construction is not appropriate in this case because it would carry certain implications about the time it usually takes 'b' to read a book—something about which 'a' may or may not have any idea or opinion. [24]

Let us look at some examples of '(inter)subjectivity' at work in literature.

(25) *aur abhī ham cand kadam cale hõge ki acānak dhũdh mẽ se ḍākbābū kā cehrā ubharā*
We would have only walked a few steps when Daakbabu's face appeared from the mist'

aur phir ḍākbābū ne kah-ā –
and then Daakbabu ERG say-PERF.M.SG

[24] Nespital (1997) points out that when the informational centre of the utterance is something other than the realization of the verbal action, then simple verbs are more likely to be used. Additionally, it also seems that the use of compound verbs under such cases is often idiomatic. For example, when a speaker says, '*kaun ā gayā?*' instead of '*kaun āyā?'*, the question is not just to elicit an informational response, it also expresses some frustration or another similar emotion on the part of the speaker.

vah *ciṭṭhī* *ā* *ga-ī,* *jis-kā* *mujh-e*
3SG.DIR letter.F come go.VV-PERF.F REL.OBL-GEN 1OBL-DAT
iṃtazār *th-ā.*
waiting be-IMPF.M.SG
'and Daakbabu said—The letter I was waiting for has come.'

maĩ *ne* *kah-ā –* *devyānī* *k-ī* *mā̃,*
1SG.DIR ERG say-PERF.M.SG Devyani GEN-F mother
ḍākbābū *ke* *nām* *ciṭṭhī* *ā* *ga-ī.*[25]
Dakbabu GEN name letter.F come go.VV-PERF.F
'I said—Devyani's mother, the letter in the name of Daakbabu has come.'

In (25) one of the speakers, the Daakbabu, tells the other that the letter he was expecting has arrived, and this person in turn informs his wife, Devyani's mother, that the letter that was already expected has come. In both cases, the use of compound verb *ā jānā* corresponds with our observation that in situations where an event is expected by both the listener and the speaker, compound verbs are likely to be used.[26] But, consider example (26):

(26) *kuch der* *niṣprāṇ se* *paṛe rahe* *ki*
for some time lifelessly lain stay-PERF.M.PL that
bāhar *se* *saukhīlāl* *k-ī* *āvāj* *ā-ī,*
outside from Saukhilal GEN-F voice.F come-PERF.F
'After he had lain there lifelessly for some time, he heard Saukhilal's voice,'

"kaumreḍ. ... ***ciṭṭhī*** ***ā-ī*** ***hai*** *surājo* *k-ī."*
Comrade letter.F come-PERF.F be.PRES-3SG Surajo GEN-F
'«Comrade! Surajo's letter has come.»'

[25] https://books.google.co.in/books?id=zlVQDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT35&lpg=PT35&dq=%22चट्ठिी+आ+गई%22&source=bl&ots=neOilvNRIs&sig=ACfU3U0GTCtdq1eBJ-beujfmOe5Q52TMzQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiyy9nv7IrpAhUGWX0KHaX6D144ChDoATAAegQIAxAB#v=onepage&q=%22चट्ठिी%20आ%20गई%22&f=false

[26] Also, it is interesting to see in this case that while the Daakbabu is the "speaker" giving information about the arrival of the letter, the use of the compound verb in his phrasing is affirming something that he himself knew and his listener knows as well. This beautifully illustrates our definition of '(inter)subjectivity' in the context of compound verb constructions.

bolte hue ve dālān mẽ ā gae. gurujī ko lagā, jaise sapnā dekh rahe hõ. ardhcetnā kī̃ nīd se ve jage aur ackacāe hue saukhīlāl ko dekhne lage. hāth mẽ rakhā liphāphā saukhīlāl ne gurujī kī taraf baṛhā diyā. liphāphā dete hue bole, "savere riphūjī gãv ke pās ḍākpīn ne yah ciṭṭhī dī. surājo kī ciṭṭhī hai. dekhie na, ciṭṭhī kī pīṭh par nām-patā likhā huā hai."[27]

'Saying this he came to the verandah. Guruji felt as if he was dreaming. He woke up from his half-conscious sleep and, startled, started looking at Saukhilal. Saukhilal moved the envelope that was in his hand towards Guruji. While giving the envelope he said, «The postmaster gave this letter near the refugee village this morning. It is Surojo's letter. Look, on the back of the letter (his) name and address are written.»'

Contrary to example (25), in (26) the listener, Guruji, is not expecting Surajo's letter. When Saukhilal reports the arrival of the letter, he uses the simple verb in the present perfect (*āī hai*). Guruji is finding it hard to believe that a letter would have come from Surajo, so Saukhilal tells him how he got the letter and why he thinks it is Surajo's (because his name and address are mentioned on the back of the letter).

Here is one example from the news:

(27) *anya koronovāyras kī tarah yah vāyras (kovid-19) bhī*
other coronavirus like 3SG.DIR virus.M (kovid-19) too
jānvarõ. se ā-y-ā h-ai.[28]
animal.M-PL.OBL from come-PERF-M.SG be.PRES-3SG
'Like other coronaviruses, this virus (COVID-19) too has also come from animals.'

In (27) the writer is trying to explain the origin of COVID-19. While people may generally be aware that the coronavirus family comes from animals, he is establishing that to be true for COVID-19 as well as he

[27] https://books.google.co.in/books?id=wReKDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT33&lpg=PT33&dq=%22चट्ठी+आई+है%22&source=bl&ots=oynujNW9lK&sig=ACfU3U3AiI-vlBxP-Ggp6nQU6pw_aFuySw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjS9Pag7orpAhWaA3IKHTR_D1E4MhDoATAAegQICxAB#v=onepage&q=%22चट्ठी%20आई%20है%22&f=false

[28] https://www.downtoearth.org.in/hindistory/health/communicable-disease/what-is-this-coronavirus-how-dangerous-is-this-69599

probably does not want to presume that the readers would already be aware of this information (even though they might be).[29] Hence the use of the simple verb *āyā hai*.

Sentence (28) below is taken from a local newspaper published on April 5, 2020, after the COVID pandemic had started spreading in India, and people were already anticipating that it would reach their towns/cities. In this example, the use of *ā gayā* confirms what the readers were already suspecting.

(28) *alarṭ- koronāvāyras ā ga-y-ā h-ai*
alert coronavirus come go.VV-PERF-M.SG be.PRES-3SG
rāybarelī (mẽ) bhī.[30]
Raebareli (LOC) too
'Alert: The coronavirus has come in Raebareli too.'

To sum up, in this section we looked at how the phenomenon of '(inter)subjectivity' is expressed in H/U using compound verb constructions with *jānā*, *denā* and *lenā*. However, a question arises, do all occurrences of these compound constructions indicate the presence of (inter)subjectivity? We discuss this in the next section.

3.1. *(Inter)subjectivity: The case of girnā 'to fall'*

As it has been illustrated above through our analysis, our main hypothesis is that if both the speaker and the listener share a certain informational context with respect to the action in question, this shared information is marked by the presence of a compound verb. This raises an important question: are all usages of *jānā*, *denā* and *lenā* as vector verbs in H/U cases of (inter)subjectivity according to our definition given in section 3 above? In other words, if a speaker chooses to use a compound verb over a simple verb construction using these vector verbs, does that always imply presence of prior or shared information?[31]

[29] This is another interesting aspect about the use of compound verbs: there might be situations where the speaker may not acknowledge that some shared information exists in the context, and instead, he may prefer to use the simple verb. It is a complex speech act that deserves further careful analysis.

[30] https://arjanadhikarmedia.page/article/alart-korona-vaayaras-aa-gaya-hai-raayabarelee-bhee/Jt2Wza.html

[31] Hook (*in press*) has also discussed this in his paper.

According to Jagannathan (1981), compound verb constructions with *jānā*, *denā* and *lenā* are based on prior knowledge, but he concedes that it is not always possible to establish this for every such usage one encounters. He gives the example of *baiṭh jāo* instead of *baiṭho* and says that whether or not there is prior knowledge when this sentence is used is debatable. However, he goes on to argue that in most of the cases, one can find the context that is creating a prior knowledge/(inter)subjectivity like scenario (Jagannathan 1981: 265). He also mentions that there are certain simple verbs for which the compound form is usually preferred in the perfective and sometime in other tenses as well.[32]

In this section, we will look at the case of one such verb, *girnā,* 'to fall.' This verb is frequently used along with the vector verb *jānā*, and as in the case of *baiṭh jāo* and *baiṭho* above, the argument for the applicability of (inter)subjectivity is not always obvious and/or perhaps even tenable. While it is not possible at this stage to lay down exact rules for when *girnā* can or should be used with vector verbs, it would be instructive to look at some of the usages as they can help bring out some of the main considerations native speakers have in mind while weighing the choice between using a simple verb versus a compound verb. Consider example in (29):

(29) *ā̃dhī se gir ga-y-ā 215 sāl*
heavy wind because of fall go.VV-PERF-M.SG 215 year.PL
purān-ā peṛ jaṛ-õ ko dekhte hī ḍar
old-M.SG tree.M root-M.PL.OBL ACC looking after scare
gae log aur bulā lī pulis.[33]
go.VV-PERF.M.PL people.M and call take.VV-PERF.F pulis.F
'A 215 year old tree fell because of heavy wind, the people got scared after looking at its roots and called the police.'

[32] Jagannathan (1981) also talks about *caũknā* ('to be startled'), *jhuknā* ('to bend'), *ulajhnā* ('to be tangled'), *phisalnā* ('to slip'), *phailnā* ('to spread'), *bahnā* ('to flow', 'to drift'), *bujhnā* ('to be extinguished'), *ṭakrānā* ('to collide') which are used with *jānā* ('to go') as the vector verb but for which prior knowledge analysis does not always apply. These verbs are beyond the scope of the current paper. However, we think that our analysis for *girnā* ('to fall') can potentially be generalized to some of these other verbs. We hope to address this fully in another paper.

[33] https://m.dailyhunt.in/news/india/hindi/my+khabar+hindi-epaper-mykrhin/aandhi+se+gir+gaya+215+sal+purana+ped+jado+ko+dekhate+hi+dar+gae+log+aur+bula+li+pulis-newsid-96480643

As this is a news headline, it is new information for the readers (which are akin to listeners in our analysis). Hence, there is no prior knowledge and yet *girnā* has been used in the compound form *gir jānā*; this seems to be true also for example in (30):

(30) *us ne dhīre se samīr k-e kãdhe par*
3SG.OBL ERG softly Sameer GEN-M.OBL shoulder LOC
hāth rakh-ā aur samīr k-e hāth se
hand place-PERF.M.SG and SameerGEN-M.OBL hand from
kāfī k-ā kap gir ga-y-ā.[34]
coffee GEN-M.SG.DIR cup.M fall go.VV-PERF-M.SG
'She softly placed (her) hand on Sameer's shoulder and the coffee cup fell from Samir's hand.'

In this case as well, neither the subject nor the readers knew beforehand that the first action of placing the hand on the shoulder will result in the second action, the cup falling.

So, while in (29) and (30) above, the events (the tree and the cup falling) were new and unexpected, the use of *gir jānā* in these scenario sounds natural to native speakers. We can explain the use of compound verbs in these situations in three possible ways:

i. Certain polar and vector combinations, especially with *jānā* 'to go' as the vector verb, have become fossilized, and it is not always possible to correlate their usage with the existence of prior knowledge in the context;
ii. As we have noticed in section 1 above, the use of compound verbs emphasizes perfectivity or completion. When something falls, it falls all the way. Hence, the semantic aspect of perfectivity, and not the pragmatic aspect of (inter)subjectivity, could be driving the choice of the compound construction here;[35]
iii. Also, when we look at (30) from the point of view of the readers, as the context gets established in H/U, 'from Samir's hand the coffee cup', the readers start to expect that the cup is going to fall. Thus, while the readers did not have any information about the cup falling when the sentence

[34] From *Tomaaya Gaan Shonaabo* by Manav Kaul (http://aranyamanav.blogspot.com/2010/06/blog-post.html).

[35] Nespital (1997: *sub voce*) gives several examples of *gir jānā* that bring out the perfective aspect of the compound verb construction in contrast to the usage of *girnā* which is often seen in the non-perfective.

> started, as the context was established, the expectation was created midway through the sentence. So, the use of the compound form in this case can also be to meet the expectation of the readers, and it gives them a sense of finality and completion. This point needs further explanation, and we will discuss it below by taking an example from Bashir (1988).

In a footnote in her study on Kalasha syntax, Bashir (1988) discusses what we advanced in point (iii) above in relation to the use of compound verbs in H/U with the below example:

(31) *sunītā ke pə̃v anāyās*[36] *hī darvāz-e kī or*
Sunita GEN feet suddenly PTC door-OBL toward
baṛh ga-e.
move go.VV-PERF.M.PL
'Sunita's feet suddenly moved toward the door'.

The example was originally given by Hook[37] to show that the vector verb *jānā* can also express the semantics of 'unprepared mind'. However, regarding the example in (31) Bashir argues that:

> […] they are in my view not counterexamples at all. In (a) (i.e. our 31), for example, the previous context of the story has been leading up to the very act of going out the door. It is thus reporting an event which has been (carefully) foreshadowed for the character and for which the hearer/reader has been mentally prepared.
>
> (Bashir 1988: 258, note 30)

As a consequence, according to Bashir, the readers who have read the build-up to (31) already, to an extent, anticipate that Sunita would go towards the door and her doing so was expected for them. Thus, while experiencing/reading a build-up to a particular event, one can attain a state of mind where one starts to expect it. This is something Slobin / Aksu

[36] *anāyās* can also be translated as 'spontaneously' in this context.

[37] Hook (*in press*) in a recent article talks about the pragmatic factor of 'prepared mind' (what we are calling '(inter)subjectivity' and 'prior knowledge' in this paper) and concludes that while it is operative in some cases when compound verbs are used in H/U, it is not enough to account for all the places where compound verbs are seen. This is something we agree with too, especially because in many instances it is not always possible to clearly delineate the semantic factor of perfectivity and the pragmatic factor of 'prepared mind'—they often work in tandem.

(1982) also drew attention to when talking about the Turkish particle *-miş* with reference to the concept of 'prepared mind':

> *Kemal gelmiş* 'Kemal came' is appropriate in the context of encountering Kemal's coat, but not in the context of hearing the approach of Kemal's car. In both cases, the speaker has not SEEN Kemal or his arrival, but in the latter case the auditory sensory experience is part of the process of Kemal's arrival, and thus the speaker's consciousness was involved in the process before its actualization.
>
> (Slobin / Aksu 1982: 192)

Thus, the examples from Bashir (1988) and Slobin / Aksu (1982) support what we said in point (iii) above, and also help to illustrate something more general about the phenomenon of (inter)subjectivity. The knowledge that is shared between people may not always be verbalized, it could be something that is inferred from circumstances or from one's own experience, and it may not have any verbal component to it. This happens in many cases when people live together, and as a result, they come to acquire a fair amount of shared information regarding their context not all of which is necessarily verbalized (see sentence 17 above).

However, while we have said that *girnā* normally occurs with other vector verbs like *jānā* (and *paṛnā*), it is interesting to point out that it is also possible to find it by itself without any vector verb. This is normally the case when an accident is reported as in (32) below.[38]

(32) *tilak nagar-cēbūr steśan ke bīc gir-ā*
Tilak Nagar-Chembur station between fall-PERF.M.SG
pul k-ā hissā rel sevā bādhit.[39]
pull GEN-M.SG part.M train service interrupted
'A part of the pull between Tilak Nagar and Chembur fell, train service interrupted.'

[38] It must be noted that in most of the cases where *girnā* comes on its own without the vector verb, we find that the subject does not come in the beginning of the sentence but rather comes after the verb. While the same reversal of word order can be seen in (29) above as well in the case of *gir jānā*, it is more frequently encountered when *girnā* is used as a simple verb. We are, however, aware of the fact that in order to be sure of this last statement a statistical counting is necessary. This is beyond the scope of the present paper. Moreover, also the fact that this unusual syntax seems to be correlated to expressing surprise or reporting new events needs further research.

[39] https://aajtak.intoday.in/story/weather-update-mumbai-tilak-nagar-chembur-railway-station-harbour-line-trains-bridge-rain-1-1107541.html

This finding is reinforced by the fact that Hook (1974, *in press*) gives certain examples of situations where prior shared knowledge is missing. One general category is news headlines which report new and usually unexpected information.

(33) *kal* *hindustān mẽ* *bhūkamp* *ā-y-ā.* (and not *ā gayā*)
yesterday India LOC earthquake come-PERF-M.SG
'There was an earthquake in India yesterday.' (adapted from Hook 1974: 250)

Analyzing this sentence, Hook says that in situations of *prior ignorance* like earthquakes, H/U speakers prefer to talk about the event in question using a simple verb.

To conclude this section, we advance the hypothesis that certain polar and vector verb combinations such as *gir jānā* have become so grammaticalized – and thus more and more obligatory – in H/U that as a result of the semantic-pragmatic bleaching typical of all grammaticalization process (cf. Hopper 1991; Hopper / Traugott 2003; Traugott / Heine 1991) it is not always possible to see the pragmatic factor of (inter)subjectivity coming into play for such usages (see point 'i.' above). Additionally, the fact that it is also possible to see the usage of *girnā* on its own, which although not very common, is still sometimes seen in H/U (cf. Hook *in press*), is again illustrative of the gradualness of the grammaticalization process where different stages of the grammaticalization cline coexist in the same synchronic phase of a particular language (cf. Hopper 1991; Lehmann 1982). However, even with these particular combinations, it is possible to suggest that the pragmatic factor of (inter)subjectivity can lead to the manifestation of compound verbs. Indeed, as we saw in the discussion of (30) and (31) above, sometimes it may be possible for fore-knowledge about an event to develop even mid-way through the sentence or just prior to the sentence under consideration but not verbally acknowledged (cf. Bashir 1988). This point needs further research.

4. *Mirativity and (Inter)subjectivity*

As we have seen so far, the use of *jānā*, *denā* and *lenā* as vector verbs may not only have a semantic but rather a pragmatic meaning that is codified in the information structure of the event. More specifically,

compound verb constructions with *jānā*, *denā* and *lenā* as vector verbs (restricted as per our definition in section 3) are more likely to be used in situations where there is prior shared knowledge about the action or an expectation that it will take place. This brings us to the question of how the use of compound verbs can be correlated to the expression of surprise in H/U, and thus, if the use of simple verbs in H/U is in some way connected with mirativity. But before we go into the details of this topic, some introductory words are in order.

Mirativity[40] is now a widely recognized linguistic category and research is underway in many languages to identify how different grammatical constructions are used by speakers of different languages to express surprise. DeLancey (2012) defines mirativity as a category which marks a statement as representing information which is *new* or *unexpected*. He (1997, 2001, 2012) has given several examples of mirative constructions in different languages. Here is an example from the Athabaskan language Hare in which the particle '*lo̜*' is used to express surprise and is therefore is classified as a marker of mirativity:

(34) *júhye* *sa* *k'ı́nayeda* *lo̜*
hereabout bear walk.around.IMPF MIR
'There was a bear walking around here!' (inferred from discovery of bear tracks)
(adapted from DeLancey 2001: 375)

Talking about the use of *lo̜* in this sentence DeLancey says:

> When I discussed the question with my consultants, they were quite clear about what the something else was. As one speaker put it, "lo̜ is there because you didn't know".
>
> (DeLancey 2001: 377)

Mirativity is reputed a valid linguistic category in some South-Asian languages also. For example, talking about the mirative in the Dardic language Khowar, Bashir (2010) gives the following example:

[40] On the correlation between 'mirativity' and '(inter)subjectivity' see Nuyts (2001).

(35) *tu khowár kor-ák bir-áu*
you Khowar do-AG.N become(PST.I)-2SG
'(Oh), you speak Khowar.'
(registering surprise)

Bashir explains (35) saying:

> The sentence shown in (35) is a surprised reaction to an immediate, first-hand observation of an unexpected ongoing action, and clearly not reporting hearsay, inference from a resultant state, or non-witnessed action. Nor can its primary purpose be to inform the addressee (me, in this case) of a fact, since I can be presumed to already know that I speak Khowar. Its function is to communicate the fact that the speaker has learned something new and is surprised by it. The mirative meaning of this utterance is clear and distinct, regardless of the fact that the Khowar "inferential form" is also used for other indirective/mediative meanings.
>
> (Bashir 2010: 3)

Starting with this short introduction to mirativity in different languages, in this section our focus is primarily on the possible grammatical expression of mirativity in H/U. We build on the general work on this field by Montaut's (2006) analysis of mirative usage of the simple perfect (what she calls the aorist) in H/U (see also Sigorskiy 2010). However, the purpose here is to extend her analysis further by exploring whether or not there are any mirative implications to cases where compound verbs are used in H/U.

In her analysis, Montaut (2006) looks at the use of the simple perfect or aorist to express unexpected events. Let us look at some of the examples from her paper:

(36) *are! kitnā baṛā ho ga-y-ā!*
my how tall.M.SG be go.VV-PERF-M.SG
'My! How tall he has become!' (adapted from Montaut 2006: 75)

(37) *ākhir ā gae mehmān!*
finally come go.VV-PERF.M.PL guest.PL
'Here they are finally, our guests.' (adapted from Montaut 2006: 75)

(38) *are ! kaise ā-e?*
my howc ome-PERF.M.PL
'My! How come you are (here)? / what's up?/ what a surprise!'
(adapted from Montaut 2006: 76)

Montaut's analysis of how the element of surprise is expressed in these sentences is restricted to the use of the aorist. She says regarding (36):

> The speaker confronted with an unexpected fact or situation (here the size of the boy) uses the aorist and not the perfect or present, which would only mean a neutral statement.
>
> (Montaut 2006: 75)

For (36) and (37), Montaut says:

> The above examples […] are classical 'mirative' extensions of evidential markers in the world language with evidential markers, and can be explained by a contrast between what is expected P' and what occurs P…
>
> (Montaut 2006: 75)

Thus, in Montaut's analysis, the expression of speaker's surprise is conveyed by the use of the aorist, and thus the latter, according to her, is in H/U a marker of the linguistic category of 'mirativity'. She does not mention, in any way, how the expression of speaker's surprise is related to the presence or absence of compound verbs. However, as we have discussed above, compound verbs are often used in the context of (inter)subjectivity and especially so in the simple perfect/aorist. So, the question naturally arises, how do we reconcile the two scenarios? To be more explicit, according to Montaut (36) and (37) above are good examples of the expression of speaker's surprise because the verb is in the aorist, while following our analysis of (inter)subjectivity, one would conclude that since compound verbs are used in (36) and (37), there is presence of prior shared knowledge (so, on the surface, it appears to be the opposite of surprise). Although this seems a real contradiction, as we will show, it is a *prima facie* contradiction. To understand this, we propose here a more nuanced analysis of the notion of mirativity that could account for sentences (36) and (37), that is to say, we propose an analysis that is

not in contrast with Montaut's analysis and can still account for (inter)subjectivity.

According to our analysis, the same examples, (36) and (37) above, are used in a context of 'partial surprise', and because of the fact that the surprise is only 'partial', compound verbs are being used. In order to explain this new aspect, which we have called 'partial surprise', it would be useful to delineate two aspects of the event in (36) above:

i. The subject of the verb 'to grow' has grown in size; this is encoded in the use of *baṛā ho gayā*;
ii. The subject has grown a lot; this is expressed by the use of *kitnā* which means 'how much', normally an interrogative marker, but it is being used to express surprise here.

The use of the compound verb in (31) suggests that the speaker was already anticipating that the subject would have grown. However, what is surprising about the event, and thus the use of the simple perfect (or the aorist) according to Montaut, is that the speaker didn't anticipate the extent of growth (hence the use of *kitnā*). Thus, when we speak of surprise, it may not and should not be restricted to speaker's reaction to the whole event. As a matter of fact, the speaker can also choose to express his/her surprise about some unexpected characteristic of an expected event.

The same analysis explains the usage in (37). The speaker was already anticipating the arrival of the subjects (that they were supposed to come was known information). However, what was unexpected was the time when they came (when everyone had given up hope that they would come).[41]

Given the analysis above, sentence (38) presents a good contrast to (36) and (37). *āe* is a simple verb and in this case, the use of the simple perfect/aorist form of a simple verb (i.e. *āe*) indicates that the arrival of the subject was entirely, that is to say not partially, unexpected.

Also, notice the use of the present perfect in sentence (20) in section 3 repeated here for convenience (now 39):

[41] In this particular sentence it is also important to note the change in word order. Putting the subject at the end of the sentence in our view also lends an element of surprise. However, more work needs to be done to understand the correlation between word order and the expression of mirativity in H/U.

(39) *sāhab, āpse koī mil-n-e*
Sir HON with someone meet-INF-OBL
ā-y-ā h-ai.
come-PERF-M.SG be-PRES.3SG
'Sir, someone has come to meet you.'

By our analysis of (inter)subjectivity, we know that in (39) the speaker did not use the compound form *ā gayā* as there is no shared information between the speaker and the listener. But, although, the information conveyed is new, the goal of the sentence is not to express surprise but only to report new information in a neutral tone. Thus, Montaut's observation that the aorist is used in cases where the speaker wants to convey a sense of surprise holds true for this particular example. Thus, while Montaut's analysis of the use of the aorist for encoding mirativity in H/U holds, we contend that the analysis can be extended further, trying thus to analyze more in depth the possible expression of the different nuances of mirativity in H/U—a difference that is conveyed by the use of simple versus compound verbs. So, when compound verbs get used in statements of surprise, it is possible that there is a simultaneous expression of overall knowledge about the event but surprise regarding a particular aspect of it. We will illustrate this point with two more examples taken from literature.

(40) *... patā nahĩ kyā hogā merā, budbudāte hue vo fon lagāte hue socne lagī, patā nahĩ ārav uṭhā ki nahĩ, pāgal hai bilkul, socte hue fon ārav ko lagā, usne ek sās mẽ bolnā śurū kiyā guḍ mārnĩg, uṭh jāo jaldī aur taiyār hokar jaldī ā jāo aur fon rakhte hue apne sapne sameṭte hue vo taiyār hone cal paṛī. āj parĩām part āne vālā thā, thoṛī ghabrāhaṭ to ho rahī thī par use pakkā viśvās thā ki vo apne mã bāp ke sapnõ ko, unse kiye vāde ko zarūr pūrā karegī,*
tabhī us kī nazar ārav par paṛ-ī,
just then 3SG.OBL GEN-F eyes Arav LOC fall-PERF.F
are, tum ā ga-e,
oh, 2PL(SG) come go.VV-PERF.M.PL
calo jaldī noṭis borḍ par rijalṭ dekhne...[42]
come-IMPV hurry notice board LOC result see-INF.OBL

'Don't know what will happen to me, muttering as she was calling Aarav, she started to think, don't know if Aarav has woken up or not, he is a complete idiot, as she was thinking this, the phone call to Aarav

[42] An excerpt from https://storymirror.com/read/story/hindi/64zqf2jk/alphaaz/detail?undefined

> got connected, and she started saying in one breath, good morning, wake up fast, get ready and come here quickly, and as she was about to hang up, she gathered her things and set off to get ready. The results were coming out today, she was a bit nervous, but she was confident that she will definitely fulfil her parents' dreams and the promises she made to them. Just then, her eyes fell on Aarav. **Oh, you are here!** Come on, hurry, let's go to the notice board to check the result…'

As we can see from the context, the narrator was expecting her friend Aarav to come. However, when he got there, she was lost in her own stream of thoughts. So, she is surprised to see him not because she didn't know he was coming—she was already expecting him, but because she had for a moment stepped out of 'ordinary conscious awareness' and was not in the present moment. Thus, the aorist here along with the explicative *arey* serve to add the sense of surprise, while the use of *ā gae* confirms that it was after all expected. Here is one more example:

(41) *"arey, yah kitab to pramilā bhūl hī gaī. śām ko uske ghar de ānā. aur jiske kaho – rekhā ke, nūtan ke, citravatī ke-kuch dene ke bahāne tumheṁ vahīṁ bhej dūṁgī."*

kahte-kahte acānak jāne kyā huā, rūp maṇi kī āṁkheṁ ḍabḍabā āĩ. bhāvuk hokār bolī "maĩ ādmī kī taklīf ko bakhūbī samajh saktī hũ. paṛhātī bhī hũ. yahī merā sabjekṭ hai. sāl bhar se ūpar ho gayā hai. tum tapasyā kar rahe ho. cāhũ bhī to…ḍākṭar ne haḍḍiyõ kī taklīf ke kāraṇ thoṛā hilne-ḍulne se bhī manā kar rakhā hai." rūp maṇi viclit ho calī thī, "maĩ tumhāre kisī kām kī nahĩ rahī nā." uskī laṃbī aṃguliyã apnī ākhõ tak calī gaĩ.

"are-are yah kyā ho				***ga-y-ā***	***tumhẽ!***
Hey	what	be	go.VV-PERF-M.SG		2PL(SG)-DAT
pāgal h-u-ī	*h-o?*		*kyā*	*ādmī sirf*	*isīlie*
mad	be-PP-F	be-PRES.2PL	INT	man only	for this reason
śādī	*kar-t-ā*	*h-ai?..."*[43]			
marriage	do-PRES-M.SG	be-PRES.3.SG			

*"**Hey, what has come over you!** Have you gone mad? Does a man get married only for this reason?..."*

[43] From *Teesri Kahani* by Hardarshan Sehgal. https://books.google.it/books?id=Z050BQAAQBAJ&pg=PT3&dq=Hardarshan+Sehgal&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiH0YnHodLrAhXjkIsKHSVaC2EQ6wEwAnoECAQQAQ#v=onepage&q=Hardarshan%20Sehgal&f=false

> "Oh, Pramila forgot this book. Go give it to her in the evening. And whoever you say—Rekha, Nutan, Chitravati—I will send you to their house on the pretext of delivering something.
> Saying this out of nowhere Roop Mani's eyes suddenly became full of tears. Getting emotional she said, "I understand the pain/discomfort of a man really well. I also teach it. This is my subject. It's been over a year. You are doing a penance. Even if I wanted to…the doctor has asked me not to move even a bit because of the problem in my bones. Roop Mani had become agitated, "I am of no use to you, right?" Her long fingers went up to her eyes.
>
> "**Hey, what has come over you!** Have you gone mad? Does a man get married only for this reason?..."

The context of these lines is that Roop Mani and the person she is talking to are married. But Roop Mani is confined to the bed and cannot be intimate with him. She is joking about setting him up with some other women and at the same time getting agitated. Her husband is surprised to see the sudden shifts in her mood, first joking and then crying. In this example, the case for (inter)subjectivity is not as straightforward. When the husband said, "*ye kyā ho gayā tum-hẽ*" he is expressing his surprise at the things Roop Mani is saying and by her mood. However, when we consider the context it is not hard to conclude that Roop Mani's behavior and how she is feeling cannot be new for her husband in its entirety as she has been confined to the bed for over a year, and they have been together during this period. Again, what is surprising to him is not her mood per se, but the extent to which she is feeling worthless and blaming her own self in this particular context. Thus, we can see that in H/U, both surprise and (inter)subjectivity can co-exist in the same sentence and that the analysis of the codification of mirativity, especially in the case of Indo-Aryan languages, should take into account the entire informational context of the sentence and then identify aspects that are known, familiar or expected and aspects that are surprising and/or unexpected. One way this can be done in H/U is by looking at the form the verb takes in the sentence.

5. *Conclusion*

There is a wealth of psychological, contextual, and cultural detail hidden behind the usage of compound verb constructions in H/U, and hence, it is not surprising that they continue to present one of the greatest hurdles to attaining

oral proficiency for students learning either Hindi or Urdu as a second language. Among all the different verbs that can be classified as true vector verbs, Jagannathan (1981) thinks that there is a case to be made for treating compound verb constructions with vector verbs *jānā*, *denā* and *lenā* differently when it comes to '(inter)subjectivity', and as we have (exhaustively, we hope) showed, we agree with his observation. Indeed, in the present paper we have focused on the pragmatic meaning of compound verb constructions with *jānā*, *denā* and *lenā* as vector verbs and have shown that these constructions are used in cases of prior shared knowledge—when the speaker knows that the listener has foreknowledge of the event and/or is expecting it. As we have seen, this shared information can exist because of explicit past actions (as in sentence 19) or because of just being familiar with the context (like in sentence 17). We then looked at Montaut's study (2006) on the codification of surprise in H/U and tried to correlate her analysis to our analysis related to the use of compound verbs in the presence of prior shared knowledge. In her paper, Montaut provides several examples where statements of surprise have compound and not simple verbs in them, and so at first blush, it appears that the (inter)subjectivity framework might not be applicable to sentences that express surprise. However, we saw that it is important to understand what constitutes 'surprise' in any particular context. In H/U, it is possible to simultaneously express familiarity with the overall context and surprise about a particular aspect of it, and we looked at some of Montaut's examples to show how mirativity and inter-subjectivity can co-exist in certain scenarios and that the notion of 'surprise' itself deserves a more nuanced analysis. This means that mirativity does not exclude existence of prior knowledge, rather the presence of prior knowledge which is codified with compound verb constructions makes the expression of surprise in H/U more nuanced. While we have made an attempt here to analyse in depth only one of the pragmatic aspects of compound verb usage, we hope to continue to build this analysis further so that our understanding of this construction can gradually become more complete.

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