

Diachronic Perspectives on Aspect

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Ling 315: Aspect

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1 General Remarks

- This handout is based on ideas, material and examples from Deo (2006).
- Deo (2006) looks at the development of the Old Indo-Aryan tense/aspect system to modern times, primarily with respect to imperfective/progressive.
- She concludes that the rise of a new progressive is tied to the appearance of tense auxiliaries.
- She further proposes an explanation of the diachronic change that crucially makes use of the idea that the progressive is a more specific instantiation than the imperfective.

2 OIA to MIA — The Loss of Tense Distinctions

(1) **The Chronology** (Deo, p. 101)¹

TIMELINE	LANGUAGE	SOURCE
1700-1200BCE	Vedic (OIA)	Ṛgveda (RV)
200BCE	Epic Sanskrit (OIA)	Mahābhārata (MBh)
300BC-700CE	Prakrit (MIA)	Vasudevahinḍi (VH)
700-1000CE	Apabhraṃśa (MIA)	
1000-1500CE	Old Marathi (Old NIA)	Dnyāneśwarī (D) Govindaprabhucaritra (GC)
	Old Gujarati (Old NIA)	Ṣaḍāvaśyakabālāvabodha.(SB)
	Old Hindi (Old NIA)	Prithvirāja Rāso (PR)
Present	Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi (NIA) Pawri, Dehawali, Ahirani (NIA) Konkana (NIA)	

Urdu/Hindi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in South Asia (Pakistan and India). It is descended from the Old Indo-Aryan Sanskrit (whose older stage is Vedic).

¹Approximate dates are based on Witzel (1999), Bubenik (1996), Alsdorf(1936), Tulpule (1960), Pandit (1976), Beames (1966).

2.1 Vedic

- For a recent formal semantic Reichenbachian analysis of the Vedic aspect system, see Kiparsky (1998).
- The precise semantics and distribution of the aspects is quite complex.

Deo, p. 163 — Forms in Vedic

(2)

TENSE	ASPECT			
	neutral	imperfective	perfective	perfect
present		<i>gaccha-ti</i> Present		
past	<i>a-gaccha-t</i> Imperfect		<i>a-gā-t</i> Aorist	<i>ja-gā-ma</i> Perfect

The table is how Deo analyzes the forms, the labels under the form is what these have been called in the traditional literature.

2.1.1 Examples — Present (impf)

Present Progressive Tense Use

- (3) a. *śíśi-te* *nūnám paraśú-m* *suāyasá-m*
 sharpen-**impf.3.SG** now axe-ACC.SG iron-ACC.SG
 Now, he *is sharpening* his axe, made of iron. (RV 10.53.9c)
- b. *sóma-sya dhārā* ***pava-te*** *ṛcákṣasa*
 S-GEN.SG stream.F.SG flow-**impf.3.SG** radiantly
 The stream of Soma *is flowing* radiantly. (RV 9.80.1a)

Non-Progressive Present

- (4) a. *tuvám* *hí* *agn-e* *diviyá-sya* ***rāja-si***
 you.NOM.SG EMPH A-VOC.SG heaven-GEN.SG reign-**impf.2.SG**
 Agni, you (are the one who) *reign* over the heaven. (RV 1.144.6a)
- b. *ukṣá-bhiḥ...* *úṣo* *vára-m* ***vaha-si***
 bull-INS.PL U.VOC.SG boon-ACC.SG carry-**impf.2.SG**
 Uṣas (Dawn), you *carry* (convey) the boon with the bulls (RV. 6.64.5 a-b)
- c. *sá* *íd* *bhojó* *yó* *gṛhá-ve* ***dádā-ti***
 he.NOM.SG PTCL generous.NOM.SG who.NOM.SG beggar-DAT.SG give-**impf.3.SG**
 He is a generous man who *gives* to the beggar. (RV 10.117.3a)

2.1.2 Examples — Past (imperfect)

Narrative sequencing, can occur with statives and eventives.

- (5) a. **á-han** áhi-m ánu apás **tatarda** prá
 kill-IMPFACT.3.SG dragon-ACC.SG up water-ACC.PL open-PFACT.3.SG forth
 vákṣaṇā **a-bhina-t** párvatā-nām
 rushing cut-IMPFACT.3.SG mountain-GEN.PL

He *slew* the Dragon, then *opened up* the waters, and *cut* channels through the mountain torrents (rushing forth). (RV 1.32.1c-d)

- b. vṛṣāyámāṇo **a-vṛṇī-ta** sóma-m tríkadruke-ṣu
 like.a.bull.NOM.SG choose-IMPFACT.3.SG soma-ACC.SG three.beaker-LOC.PL
a-piba-t sutá-sya
 drink-IMPFACT.3.SG pressed-GEN.SG

As a bull, he *chose* the Soma and in three sacred beakers *drank* of the pressed (Soma). (RV 1.32.3a-b)

2.1.3 Aorist

Distribution of the Aorist is complex but it most frequently denotes culminated, completed events located in the past time (immediate past time, cf. recent past of English).

- (6) a. **nātarī-d** asya sámṛti-m vadhānām
 NEG-bear-AOR.3.SG he-GEN impact-ACC.SG weapon-GEN.PL

He *did not withstand* (failed to withstand) the impact of his weapons. (RV 1.32.6)

- b. sávanam vivér apó yáthā purá
 oblation.NOM.SG work-INJ.3.SG work.ACC.SG as formerly
 mána-ve gātú-m **áṣre-t**
 M-DAT.SG way-ACC.SG provide-AOR.3.SG

The oblation has fulfilled its purpose, just as it once *prepared* the way for Manu. (10.76.3)

2.1.4 Perfect

Resultative/stative value, most often with achievement verbs.

- (7) a. **á dad-e** vas trí-n yukt-ān
 to give-PFACT.1.SG you-DAT.SG three-ACC.PL yoked-ACC.PL
 I *recieved* three (chariots) in harness for you. (RV 1.26.5.a-b)

- b. urú kṣáyā-ya **cakrir-e**
 wide.ACC.SG dwelling-DAT.SG make-PFACT.3.PL

[They conquered heaven, earth, and the waters] They *made* themselves a wide homeland. (RV 1.36.8.a-b)

2.2 Epic Sanskrit

- Distribution of Present remains the same.
- In Sanskrit, Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect may be used interchangeably for past time reference.
- A new participial form (*-ta*, a past adjectival participle) becomes available for referring to past, culminated events.

2.2.1 Interchangeable Past Tenses

(8) a. sa me vara-m a-dā-t prītaḥ kṛtam
he.NOM.SG I.DAT.SG boon-ACC.SG give-AOR.3.SG pleased-NOM.SG ‘honored’

ity aham a-bruva-m
thus I.NOM.SG say-IMPFC.1.SG

He, pleased, *gave* me a boon, and I *said* (that I was) grateful (honored). (Mbh. 15.38.4a)

b. sa ca daityagaṇa-s tadā pātālam a-gama-t
he-NOM.SG and demon.group-NOM.SG then P-ACC.SG go-AOR.3.SG
sarvo viṣādabhayakampita-ḥ tataḥ pitāmaha-s tatra...
all sorrow.fear.trembling-NOM.SG then great.father-NOM.SG there

ājagām-a viśuddhātmā pūjayiṣyaṃ tilottamā-m
come-PFCT.3.SG pure.soul.NOM.SG worship.desiring T-ACC.SG

And then that entire group of demons, trembling with sorrow and fear, *went* to the netherworld. Then the Grandfather, the one of pure soul, *came* there to worship Tilottamā. (Mbh. 12.40.20-21)

(9) a. etac chru-tvā muni-r dhyāna-m a-gama-t kṣubhitendriya-ḥ
this hear-GER sage-NOM.SG meditation-ACC.SG go-AOR.3.SG agitate.sense-NOM.SG
Hearing this, the agitated sage, *went* into meditation. (Mbh. 2.16.27a)

b. ta-sya eva ca āmravṛkṣa-sya chāyā-yāṃ samupāviśa-t
that-GEN.SG PTCL and mango.tree-GEN.SG shade-LOC.SG sit-IMPFC.3.SG
And he *sat* in the shade of that mango tree. (Mbh. 2.16.27c)

c. ta-sya upaviṣṭa-sya mune-ḥ utsaṅg-e nipapāt-a ha
that-GEN.SG sitting-GEN.SG sage-GEN.SG lap-LOC.SG fall-PFCT.3.SG PTCL
Into that seated sage’s lap *fell* a (mango). (Mbh.2.16.28a)

2.2.2 A New Form — Participial *-ta*

Vedic: Resultative Aspect

- (10) **stīr-ṇám** te barhí-ḥ **su-tá** indra
 strew-PERF.N.SG you.DAT.SG B-NOM.N.SG extract-PERF.M.SG I.VOC.SG
 sóma-ḥ **kṛ-tá** dhān-á át-tave te hárib-hyām
 S-NOM.M.SG prepare-PERF.M.PL barley-NOM.M.PL eat-INF you-GEN.SG horse-DAT.DU
 The Barhis (grass) *is strewn* for thee; Indra, the Soma *is extracted*. The barley grains
are prepared for thy two bay-horses to eat. (RV 3.35.7 (cited in Jamison, 1990:5))

Epic Sanskrit: eventive, past culminated events

- (11) a. **purā devayuge** ca eva **ḍṛṣ-ṭam** sarvaṃ mayā vibho
 formerly D-LOC.SG and EMPH see-PERF.N.SG everything I-INS.SG lord-VOC.SG
 Lord, formerly, in the age of the Deva (Gods), I *saw* everything. (Mbh. 3.92.6a)
- b. **hṛ-tā** gau-ḥ sā **tadā** te-na
 steal-PERF.F.SG cow-NOM.F.SG that-NOM.F.SG then he-INS.3.SG
 prapāta-s tu na **tark-itah**
 consequence-NOM.M.SG PTCL NEG consider-PERF.M.SG
 Then he *stole* the cow, but *did* not *consider* the consequences. (Mbh. 1.93.27e)

Also: can be conjoined with the other past forms

- (12) a. **yadā** tu rudhire-ṇa aṅg-e **parisṛṣ-ṭo** bhrgūdvaḥ
 when PTCL blood-INS.SG body-LOC.SG touch-PERF.M.SG great.energy-NOM.M.SG
tadā a-budhya-ta tejasvī... ca idam **a-bravī-t**
 then rouse-IMPFACT.3.SG radiant.NOM.SG and this say-IMPFACT.3.SG
 And when the (preceptor Rama) of great energy, *was touched* in the body by the
 blood, then, the radiant one woke up, and... said this. (MB 12:3:10 a-d)
- b. **yadā pūrvam gata-ḥ** kṛṣṇa-ḥ śamārtha-ṃ kaurav-ān prati
 when before go-PERF.M.SG K-NOM.SG peace-ACC.SG K-ACC.PL to
 na ca taṃ lab-dha-vān kāma-ṃ tato yuddha-m
 NEG and that obtain-PERF-ACT.M.SG desire-ACC.SG therefore battle-NOM.SG
a-bhū-d idam
 be-AOR.3.SG this
 When, in the past, Kṛṣṇa *went* to the Kauravas for peace, he did not obtain that
 desired goal, and therefore, this battle *happened*. (Mbh. 9.62.2)

- c. tayor aṇḍāni **nidadh-uḥ** **prahr̥ṣ-ṭah** paricārikā-ḥ...
 their egg-ACC.PL deposit-PFCT.3.PL rejoice-PERF.F.PL maid-servant-NOM.F.PL
- tataḥ pañcaśat-e kāl-e kadrūputr-ā **viniḥṣṛ-tāḥ**
 then 500-LOC.SG time-LOC.SG K.son-NOM.M.PL burst.out-PERF.M.PL
- The happy maidservants *deposited* their eggs...then after five hundred years, the sons of Kadru *burst out* (Mbh. 1.14.13-14)

2.3 Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA)

- In Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), more and more of the inflectional morphology is eroded.
- The present-past distinction is lost, as the various pasts (aorist, perfect, imperfect) fall out of use.
- Instead, the former present generalizes to express both past and present events.
- Deo calls the former present **impf** — referring to its more general nature.
- She labels the new use of the *-ta* participle PERF.

Deo's Analysis of Situation in MIA

- (13) a. Unlike the present tense, the **impf** paradigm is NOT restricted to present time reference but may also license past time reference.
- b. In its past uses, the **impf** paradigm is systematically restricted to stative reference. Conversely, past-referring stative (Deo actually means *atelic*) predicates may only appear with **impf** inflection.
- c. Unlike the past tense, the PERF paradigm may not refer to all types of eventualities located in the past with respect to speech time.
- d. The PERF paradigm may only denote culminated, completed eventualities.

2.3.1 Present Reference

- (14) a. nipphala-m duma-m pakkhiṇ-o vi **paricchaya-nti**
 fruitless-ACC.SG tree-ACC.SG bird-NOM.PL also abandon-**impf.3.PL**
 Even birds *abandon* a fruitless tree. (VH.DH 31.24-25)
- b. eeṇa tumam na **jāṇa-si** kiṃ pi kajja-m
 this-INS.SG you NEG know-**impf.2.SG** what PTCL use-NOM.SG
- kīr-ai**
 do.PASS-**impf.3.SG**
 Do you not *know* what use *is made* of this? (VH.DH 32.13)

2.3.2 Past Reference

- (15) a. sa ...ekka-m pavvayaguha-m **pat-to**
 he.NOM.SG one-ACC.SG cave-ACC.SG arrive-PERF.M.SG
 He *reached* a cave. (VH.KH 6.10)
- b. tattha ya silājau-m **parissava-ti**
 there and bitumen flow-**impf.3.SG**
 There, some bitumen (tar) *flows* (from the walls of the cave). (VH.KH 6.10)
- c. so... jalaṃ ti mannamāṇo... muha-m **chubbha-ti**
 He.NOM.SG water thus thinking mouth-ACC.SG touch-**impf.3.SG**
 Thinking it to be water, he *touches* (his) mouth to it. (VH.KH 6.11)
- d. taṃ **baddha-m**... hatth-e **pasār-ei** te vi **baddh-ā**
 it stick-PERF.3.SG hand-ACC.DU spread-**impf.3.SG** they also stick-PERF.M.PL
 It *got stuck*. (He) *spreads* his hands. They also *got stuck*. (VH.KH 6.12)

Past reference only with atelic verbs.

- (16) a. te-ṇa palāyamāṇ-ṇa purāṇakuv-o
 that-ERG.SG running-ERG.SG old.well-NOM.M.SG
 taṇadabbhaparichinn-o **diṭ-ṭho**
 grass-covered-NOM.M.SG notice-PERF.M.SG
 That running one *noticed* an old well covered with grass. (VH.KH. 8.6)
- b. tattha ayagar-o mahākā-o vidāriyamuh-o
 there python-NOM.SG gigantic-NOM.SG open.mouthed-NOM.SG
 gāsiukām-o tam purisam **avalo-e-i**
 hungry-NOM.SG that-ACC.SG man-ACC.SG observe-**impf.3.SG**
 There a giant python, baring its mouth, eager to eat, *observed* the man. (VH.KH. 8.9)
- c. sapp-ā bhīsaṇ-ā aṣiukām-ā **ciṭṭha-nti**
 snake-NOM.PL fearsome-NOM.PL eat.desiring-NOM.PL stand-**impf.3.PL**
 Fearsome snakes, eager to bite, *stood* (in the well). (VH.KH. 8.9)

2.3.3 PERF -ta as an Aspectual Marker, not Past

- PERF is not a general past tense marker, because only occurs with eventive (culminated) predicates.
- So analyzed as an aspectual marker.
- Deo argues that there is no present/past opposition in MIA, but that the system has reorganized around an imperfective/perfective aspectual distinction.

- (17) a. tato te mitta-bāndhava-sahiā... **ga-yā**
 then they.NOM.PL friends-relatives-with.NOM.PL go-PERF.M.PL
 Then they *went* there with their friends and relatives.
- b. chagal-o vi ya maṇḍe-uṃ tatth-eva **ni-o**
 goat-NOM.M.SG also and decorate-INF there-EMPH take-PERF.M.SG
 And the goat also *was taken* there to be decorated.
- c. gandha-puppha-malla-puyāvises-eṇa ya **acchi-yā** devayā
 sandal-flowers-worship-ingredients-INS and worship-PERF.M.PL god.NOM.M.PL
 The Gods *were worshipped* with sandalwood paste, flowers, the ingredients of
 worship.
- d. gharamahattara-ehi ya **bhaṇi-yam** chagala-o āṇ-ijj-au
 house-elders-INS.PL and say-PERF.N.SG goat-NOM.SG bring-PASS-IMP.3.SG
 And the house elders *said*: Let the goat be brought.
- e. tato ta-ssa putt-o... chagalaya-m āṇe-uṃ **ga-to**
 then his son-NOM.M.SG goat-ACC.SG bring-INF go-PERF.M.SG
 At that, his son... *went* to bring the goat. (VH:D 29.25-28)

2.3.4 Summary and Further Notes

- The MIA situation still holds (in variations) in some NIA dialects.
- Deo shows that the future was also lost, so that MIA can really be argued to be a tenseless system (various new futures have been innovated in NIA)

2.4 New Indo-Aryan (NIA)

- NIA languages innovate tense auxiliaries.
- Periphrastic constructions consisting of imperfective (IMPF) forms plus a tense auxiliary always give rise to *progressive* interpretations.
- At a later stage, IMPF+aux also spread to non-progressive uses (cf. also Dahl 1985).

(18)

	progressive	non-progressive
Stage 1	V_{impf}	
Stage 2	$V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}$	V_{impf}
Stage 3	$V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}$	

Some Specific Forms (old present plus new present adjectival participle in *-ant*).

(19)

	present	past
Gloss	<i>does</i>	<i>used to do</i>
MIA	kar-ai, kar-anto	
Hindi	kar-tā hai	kar-tā thā
Gujarati	kar-e ch-e	kar-to hato

2.4.1 Old Gujarati

Old Gujarati: bare IMPF form does habitual, with tense auxiliary, get progressive.

Past:

- (20) a. su ājīvikā kāraṇ grāmaloka-taṇām
 he-NOM.M livelihood reason-INS.SG village.people-GEN.PL
 vācharu **chār-tu**
 cattle.NOM graze-IMPF.M.SG

For his livelihood, he *used to graze* the cattle of the villagers. (SB. 211.19)

- b. aneraī din-i sandhyāsama-i... vācharu le **āva-tau**
 another day-LOC.SG evening-LOC.SG cattle.NOM bring.GER come-IMPF.M.SG
hūn-tau su sarpp-i ḍas-iu
 PST.M.SG he-NOM.SG snake-INS.SG bite-PERF.M.SG

One day, in the evening, he *was bringing* back the cattle (when) a snake bit him. (SB. 211.20)

Present:

- (21) a. jī **sambujjh-aiṃ** ti sagalāī jīva jñahī **jīv-aiṃ**...
 those sense-**impf.3.PL** those all living those live-**impf.3.PL**
 tñhī hiṃsā na **kar-aiṃ**
 those violence.NOM NEG do-**impf.3.PL**

All those who *sense* (are conscious) are living (beings). Those who *live*, do not *commit* violence (SB. 27.12)

- b. tumhe atīṣaya-sahita jñānabhāvai-tau **jāṇ-a u...** mūrkhabhāvātā
 you extra-with knowledge.quality-ABL know-**impf.2.PL** foolishness.quality
 kari haū na **jāṇū**
 due to I NEG know-**impf.1.SG**

You *know* because of your ability for extra(sensory) knowledge. Due to my foolishness, I do not *know*. (SB. 62.1-2)

Present Progressive:

- (22) a. *jiṇ-i mārg-i tumhe jā-u ch-au teh mārga huntāu ju*
which-INS path-INS you go-**impf.2.SG** PRES-2.SG that path from which
vāmau mārgu tiṇ-i mārg-i mahātmā jā-i ch-ai
left-NOM path-NOM that-INS path-INS sage-NOM go-**impf.3.SG** PRES-3.SG
The path by which you *are going*, the sage *is going* by the path that is to the left
of that path (SB. 156. 25-26)
- b. *tumhārā bhāṇej tum-ha vand-ivā āv-ai ch-ai*
your nephew.NOM you-ACC.SG greet-INF come-**impf.3.SG** PRES-3.SG
Your nephew *is coming* to greet you. (SB. 51.29)

2.4.2 Modern Gujarati

impf+aux can also express non-progressive imperfectives. Temporal adverbials serve to disambiguate.

Present:

- (23) a. *niśā atyāre rasodā-mā roṭli banāv-e ch-e*
N.NOM.SG now kitchen-LOC bread.NOM.SG make-**impf.3.SG** PRES-3.SG
Niśā is making bread in the kitchen right now.
- b. *niśā roj roṭli banāv-e ch-e*
N.NOM.SG everyday bread.NOM.SG make-**impf.3.SG** PRES-3.SG
Niśā makes bread everyday.
- c. *kavi rājaśekhara paścim tarāf-no pradeś apabhraṃśa kavi-yo-nū*
poet R.NOM west direction-GEN region.NOM A. language poet-PL-GEN
khās sthān hovā-nū sūcit kar-e ch-e
main place be-INF suggestion do-**impf.3.SG** PRES-3.SG
The (writings of the) poet Rājaśekhara *suggests* the western region to be the main
location of the Apabhraṃśa language poets. (Bhayani 1998: 29)
- d. *niśā navsari-mā rah-e ch-e*
N.NOM.SG Navsari-LOC live-**impf.3.SG** PRES-3.SG
Niśā lives in Navsari.

Past:

- (24) a. hũ kāle **ram-ti** **ha-ti** tyāre man-e kāṭo
I.NOM yesterday play-IMPF.F.SG PST-F.SG then I.DAT thorn.NOM
lāg-yo
hurt-PERF.M.SG
Yesterday, I *was playing* when a thorn pricked me.
- b. hũ nānṇaṇ-mā benṇaṇiyo-sāthe bāg-mā **ram-ti** **ha-ti**
I.NOM childhood-LOC friend-PL-WITH park-LOC play-IMPF.F.SG PST-F.SG
In my childhood, I *used to play* with my friends in the park.
- c. dhārmik sāhitya-mā keṭṭlāk rūḍh prākṛita-prakāro
religious literature-LOC many established P-varieties.NOM
vapr-ā-tā **ha-tā**
use-PASS.IMPF.M.PL PST-M.PL
Many established varieties of Prakrit *were used* in religious literature. (Bhayani 1998: 27)
- d. niśā pelā navsari-mā **rah-ti** **ha-ti**
N-NOM-SG earlier Navsari-LOC live-IMPF.F.SG PST-F.SG
Earlier, Niśā *used to live* in Navsari.

2.4.3 Old Hindi

Rare use of tense auxiliaries. IMPF can license progressives and non-progressives in both past and present contexts.

Past and Present Progressive: ((25b) is like a modern sports commentator)

- (25) a. tina andara gidhdhani **bhrama-ta** jyau kandarā muninda
that-OBL inside vulture-NOM.PL wander-IMPF.M.PL like caves sages
Vultures *were wandering* through them (the elephant's bodies) like sages through mountain caves. (PR. Kanavajja 518)
- b. **dhuk-ata** dhāra-dhāra sō **bak-ata** māra-māra sō
thrust-IMPF.M.PL sword.NOM. they shout-IMPF.M.PL 'kill' they
jhuk-ata jhāra-jhāra sō **tak-ata** sāra-tāra sō
crouch-IMPF.M.PL weapon.NOM. they watch-IMPF.M.PL steel-blade they
They *are thrusting* their swords (at each other); they *are shouting* (crying out) 'kill, kill'; they *are crouching* from the weapons; they *are watching* the steel-blades. (PR. 6.39 (cited in Beames 1966: 131)

Present Non-Progressive:

- (26) a. **kātik kara-ta** puhkara-sanāna
K.LOC do-IMPF.M.SG Puhkar-bath-NOM.SG
In (the month of) Kātika, he *performs* ablutions in Puhkara (a pilgrimage site).
(PR. 1.198)
- b. **suk-ata** sarovara **mac-ata** kīca **talaf-ata**
dry-IMPF.M.PL lake-NOM,PL stir-IMPF.M.SG mud-NOM pant-IMPF.M.PL
mīna tana
fish body.NOM.PL
The lakes *dry* up, the mud *stirs* up; the bodies of the fish *pant*. (PR. 60.17)
- c. **kaha-ti** na devar-ki kuvata kulatiya kalaha
speak-IMPF.F.SG NEG brother.in.law.GEN bad.word.NOM virtuous quarrel
ḍarā-ti
fear-IMPF.F.SG
The virtuous (wife) does not speak of her brother-in-law's bad words; (she) fears a quarrel. (Sat. 15 cited in Beames (1966: 131-132))

Past Non-Progressive

- (27) a. **nāga-nāga sama najari** tihi **phuṅkār-atu** phana jhūṅḍ
N.OBL.SG like gaze.NOM.SG his hiss-IMPF.M.SG snake-head host
His gaze was like the *nāga-nāga*_i (the many-headed divine serpent of Viṣṇu) and he *used to hiss* exactly like his_i host of snake-heads. (PR. DK.74a-b)
- b. **rājasu rāja-ta** mātulaha matulahi atula
royally reign-IMPF.M.SG uncle.NOM.SG crazed (matta elephants) incomparable
prahār
attack
Kṛṣṇa's uncle *reigned* royally (with style) and he had several elephants of incomparable strength to attack (PR.DK 70) elephant's name is kuvalayāpīḍa

2.4.4 Middle Hindi

Free Variation between IMPF and IMPF+aux.

- (28) a. **Rāma tuma-him avaloka-ta** āju
Rāma.NOM.SG you-ACC.PL look-IMPF.M.SG today
Rāma *is looking* at you today. (TR. 2.106)
- b. **saba santa sukhī vicaran-ta** mahi
all saint.NOM.PL happy walk-IMPF.M.PL earth

All saints *move about* happily on earth. (TR. cited in Kellogg (1893: 318))

- c. mānah-ũ mori **kara-ta** **hahī** nindā
 think-**impf**.1.SG my do-IMPf.M.PL PRES-3.PL censure.NOM
 I feel as if they *are rebuking* me. (TR. 3. 36)

2.4.5 19th Century Hindi

- Bare IMPF only non-progressive imperfective.
- IMPF+aux both progressive and non-progressive.

- (29) a. ṭhaur-ṭhaur dundubhi **bāj-te** **th-e**
 every place drums beat-IMPf.M.PL PST-M.PL
 Drums *were beating* everywhere. (Kellogg 1893: 469)

- b. jis nagar-mē **jā-te** **th-e** tahnahī-ke rājā
 which city-LOC go-IMPf.M.PL PST-M.PL there-GEN king-NOM
 ati-śiṣṭācār kar unhē le **jā-te** **th-e**
 courtesy do.GER they.ACC.PL take.GER go-IMPf.M.PL PST-M.PL

Whichever city (they) would go to, the kings of those (cities) *would escort* them with utmost courtesy. (Kellogg 1893: 470)

- c. koi us-ke rāj.bhar-mē bhūkhā na **so-tā**
 one.NEG.POL his kingdom.entire-LOC hungry NEG sleep-IMPf.M.PL
 No one *would sleep* hungry in his entire kingdom (Kellogg 1893: 464)

2.4.6 Modern Hindi

New progressive innovated (not found in 19th century Hindi): ‘stay’+aux.

- (30) a. niśā roṭi **banā rah-i** **hai**
 N.NOM bread.NOM make-PROG.F.SG be-PR.3.SG
 Niśā *is making* bread. NOT *Niśā *makes* bread.
- b. niśā roṭi **banā-ti** **hai**
 N.NOM bread.NOM make-IMPf.F.SG be-PR.3.SG
 Niśā *makes* bread. NOT *Niśā *is making* bread.

3 Explaining the Changes

3.1 The Hindi Situation

(31) **Middle Hindi:** EXPRESSIVENESS, ECONOMY

		IMPF+tense	
	IMPF	IMPF+PRES	IMPF+PST
Readings	maĩ ā-tā	maĩ ā-tā huṃ	maĩ ātā thā
progressive	<i>I am/was coming</i>	<i>I am coming</i>	<i>I was coming</i>
non-progressive	<i>I come, I used to come</i>		

(32) ***Middle Hindi':** EXPRESSIVENESS ≫ ECONOMY

		IMPF+tense	
	IMPF	IMPF+PRES	IMPF+PST
Readings	maĩ ā-tā	maĩ ā-tā huṃ	maĩ ātā thā
progressive		<i>I am coming</i>	<i>I was coming</i>
non-progressive	<i>I come, I used to come</i>		

(33) **19th century Hindi**

		IMPF+tense	
	IMPF	IMPF+PRES	IMPF+PST
Readings	maĩ ā-tā	maĩ ā-tā huṃ	maĩ ātā thā
progressive		<i>I am coming</i>	<i>I was coming</i>
non-progressive	<i>I come, I used to come</i>	<i>I come</i>	<i>I used to come</i>

3.2 Overall Picture

(34) **Changes in the imperfective domain in some IA languages**

	progressive	non-progressive	Language
Stage 1	V_{impf}		MIA, Old H
Stage 2	$V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}, V_{impf}$	V_{impf}	Pawri, Old G
Stage 3	$V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}$	V_{impf}	Mid H
Stage 4	$V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}$	$V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}, V_{impf}$	Mod G 19C H
Stage 5	$V_{prog} + Aux_{tns}, V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}$	$V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}$	
Stage 6	$V_{prog} + Aux_{tns}$	$V_{impf} + Aux_{tns}$	Mod H

3.3 Semantic Explanation

[NB: see Romero's Handout on Deo]

- Progressive is a more specific meaning than imperfective (“nested”).

Recall that the distinction between the two operators lies in the properties of the larger interval which the intervals denoted by the imperfective- or progressive-marked predicates are subintervals of. The imperfective operator yields the set of intervals that are non-final subintervals of a larger interval within (INST) which the predicate is instantiated, while the progressive operator yields the set of intervals that are non-final subintervals of a larger interval at (AT) which the predicate is instantiated.

$$(35) \text{ a. } [[\text{IMPF}]] = \lambda P_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda t \exists t' [t \subset_{nf} t' \wedge \text{INST}(P, t')] \\ \text{ b. } [[\text{PROG}]] = \lambda P_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda t \exists t' [t \subset_{nf} t' \wedge \text{AT}(P, t')]$$

- Progressive reading as pragmatic implicature about temporal properties (p. 185)

(36) **Scenario 2: spread of tense marking**

	progressive	non-progressive	explanation
Stage 0	V_{impf}		MIA
Stage 1	$V_{impf} + \text{TNS}$	V_{impf}	by progressive implicature
Stage 2	$V_{impf} + \text{TNS}$		spread of tense marking

Unlike the grammaticalization literature, where the innovation of new forms is due to “spontaneous” (or rather, inevitable) changes along a predictable cline, Deo localizes the changes in the system and sees them emerging from a need to maintain maximal expressiveness.

4 Homework

Are Deo’s findings consonant with Bybee et al’s findings? Discuss.