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Grammaticalization of Verb ‘‘ləg’’ in Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla Languages

Harjit Singh, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
Department of Linguistics and CSTLs
Indira Gandhi National Tribal University, Madhya Pradesh
Email: harjitsingh.jnu@gmail.com
M. 9877393138

Abstract

The paper shows some interesting aspects of grammaticalization process based on collecting primary data sets from three parallel languages (Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla). The whole study is divided into two kinds of initial observations related to a polysemous verb ‘ləg’. In Punjabi, a verb (ləg) gives various interpretations (e.g. attend, give, use, wear etc.) due to grammaticalization. It also happens with Hindi and Bangla as well. Punjabi is selected as source language here. The verb ‘ləg’ is noticed in V_1 and V_2 position in all three languages where it supports de-semanticization rather than de-categorization. On the other hand, Bangla comparatively gives different results under semantic range. In future, de-categorization will also be studied in Punjabi, Hindi and Bangla.

Keywords: ləg, V_1 and V_2, grammaticalization, semantic bleaching, and semantic range.

1. Introduction

"ləg" is a polysemous verb. In Hindi, ‘‘ləgna" has different usage, (like begin, attach, seem, appear, etc.). (Shapiro, 1987). Like Hindi, Punjabi language has also different usages of ləg. While Punjabi language has shown similarities with Hindi, however it has different interpretations related with a verb ləg. Bangla is also anIndo-Aryan language. Bangla speakers have also been habituated to perform speech acts with a verb ləg. Here, we can compare these three languages to understand similar and dissimilar usage of a verb (ləg) with the help of grammaticalization (Traugott and König, 1991; Diewald, and Wischer, 2002; Heiko and Heine, 2011).

2. The Spoken Region of Languages

The Hindi language is an Indo-Aryan language that is spoken across northern India. Hindi has descended from the Madhya Prakrit. It is one of the official languages of the Republic of India.

Punjabi language is also a part of Modern Indo-Aryan language family, which is

tonal and it is spoken by its inhabitants. Punjabi has two major varieties known as Eastern and Western Punjabi. According to the ***Ethnologue*** 2005, there are 88 million native speakers of the Punjabi language, which makes it approximately the 10th most widely spoken language in the world (Ahmed, 2005).

Bengali language is an Eastern Modern Indo-Aryan language. It is native to the region of eastern South Asia known as Bengal, which comprises different states of India such as West Bengal, Tripura and Assam.

3. Aims and Objectives

Our main aim in this paper is not only to show the different usages of a verb ləg but also to provide some information about grammaticalization here (Diewald, 2022). We will focus on the following.

(1) To see the occurrence of ləg in the V_1 position

(2) To see the occurrence of ləg in the V_2 position.

Using the criteria, we study the semantic range of a verb ləg and will present a comparative analysis inthese three languages.

4. Analysis with a ləg in V_1 and V_2 Positions in Punjabi, Hindi and Bangla

4.1 ləg as *appear*

When a verb ləg is appeared in V_1 position and it follows a noun then it considers like *appear* and *seen* in Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla. For example,

Punjabi

(1)	oh	saḍu	ləg	reha	hai
	He	saint	appear	-ing	is. PRES.3m.sg.

He appears to be a saint.

Hindi

(1)	vo	saḍu	ləg	rəha	hai
	He	saint	appear	-ing	is. PRES.3m.sg.

He appears to be a saint.

Bangla

(1)	oke	ʃadʰʊr	moṭo	lacʰe.
	He	saint	like	appear PRES. 3m.sg.

He appears to be a saint.

4.2 ləg as *seem:*

When a verb ləg occurs after adjective in the imperfective form, it looks like *seem* in three languages. For example,

Punjabi

(2) oh cəla:k ləgd hai
He clever seem is. PRES. 3m.sg. (imperfective)
He seems clever.

Hindi

(2) vo cəla:k ləgt̪a hai
He clever seem is. PRES. 3m.sg. (imperfective)
He seems clever.

Bangla

(2) oke cəlak lagc^{h}e.
He clever seem+Prog.3m.sg. (imperfective)
He seems clever.

A verb ləg produces 'seem' and 'appear' senses in Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla. It deals with speakers not to the subject of the sentences. Unlike English, it shows progressive tense also. It is an example of a single part of grammaticalization, which is called de-semanticization (Heine and Kuteva, 2002).

4.3 ləg as *wear*

The following examples show that a verb ləg considers as 'wear' and 'close'. It is assumed that when a verb ləg occurs after noun in V_1 position, then it shows semantic bleaching. On the other hand, it also shares *stative* information of the sentences. For example,

Punjabi

(3) us de cəʃma ləgea: hai
He-GEN spectacles wear is PRES.3 m.sg.
He has worn spectacles.

Hindi

(3) uske. cəʃma: ləga hai

He-GEN spectacles wear is PRES. 3m.sg.
He has worn spectacles.

Bangla

(3) o- r cok^{h}e choʃma ləga ache
He-GEN eye spectacles wear is PRES. 3m.sg.
He has worn spectacles.

4.3.1. ləg as close:

Punjabi

ɖərwaɟa: ləgea: hai
door close is PRES.3m.sg.
'The door is closed.'

Hindi

ɖərwaɟa: ləga hai
door close is PRES. 3m.sg.
'The door is closed.'

Bangla

ɖɒɟa ləga ache
door shut is PRES.3m.sg.
'The door is closed.'

4.4 ləg as *exist*

Here a verb ləg looks like an 'exist', which gives an information about the physical environment of the event within a sentence. In other words, it acts like a physical verb in Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla.

Punjabi

(4) eʈ he lo kã di píɽ ləgi: hai
there people GEN crowded EXIST is PRES.3m.sg.
There are people crowded.

Hindi

(4) yəhã logõ: ki: bʰiɽ ləgi hai

there people GEN crowded EXIST is PRES .3m.sg.
There are people crowded.

Bangla

(4) ekʰane manuʃer bʰiɽ lege acʰe
there people crowded. EXIST is PRES.3m.sg.
There are people crowded.

All sentences show semantic bleaching here. It is argued that verb (ləg) becomes de-semanticized and it shows attach/ close / existential form.

4.5 ləg as *feel:*
Like Punjabi, Hindi, and Bangla also show de-lexicalization with a verb ləg. For example,

Punjabi

(5) us nu: peyas ləgi:
He-dat thirst feel-PERF 3m.sg.
He felt thirsty.

Hindi

(5) us ko peya:s ləgi
He-dat thirst feel-PERF 3m.sg.
He felt thirsty.

Bangla

(5) O ke jol t̪re ʃta legecʰe
He-dat water thirst feel-PERF 3m.sg.
He felt thirsty.

It is found that a verb ləg may be assumed like a feel. It has been noticed that three languages have equally shared such feature. We have argued that a verb **ləg** in V_1 position in Punjabi, Hindi and Bangla occupies a conjunct verb status and seems more grammaticalized. Related this, we have already seen the similarities between these languages even though we have covered only a sense of semantic bleaching undergrammaticalization (Leacock eds. 2000).

5. ləg in V_2 Position
Now, we will follow second criteria of analysis where a verb **ləg** appears in **V_2 position**. We select same languages here and start Punjabi.

5.1 ləg as *begin:*

Punjabi

(1) oh kʰaɳa: kʰa:ɳ ləg geya:
He-agt food eat-INF BEGIN go-PERF 3m.sg.
He begun to eat food.

Hindi

(1) vo kʰana: kʰa:ne ləg gəya:
He-agt food eat-INF BEGIN go-PERF3m.sg.
He begun to eat food.

Bangla

(1) o kʰabar kʰe̪ e ʃuru kore ɖIyeche

He-agt food eat-INF start give-PERF3m.sg.
He started to eat food.

5.2 ləg as *presumptive:*

When a verb ləg occurs after an infinite verb and it takes future marker *-ga* then it provides presumptive information about sentences from speaker's perspective. For example,

Punjabi

(2) raj fʊʈba:l kʰ e̪dəɳ legega:
raj-agt football play-INF begin-FUT 3m.sg.
(presumptive)
Raj will begin to play football.

Hindi

(2) raj fʊʈba:l kʰeləne ləgega (presumptive)
raj-agt football play-INF begin-FUT 3m.sg.
Raj will begin to play football.

Bangla

(2) raj-agt hɔe̪tof ʊʈbɔl kʰ elte̪ legecʰe
Raj PRESUME football play-INF begin-FUT 3m.sg.
(presumptive)

Raj presumed to play football.

In V_2 position of a verb **ləg** has changed its semantic property of *attach* in each (1) sentence of these languages. However, Bangla does not permit to produce start or begin sense in this context. For start or begin, Bangla speakers have habit to use a separate verb (ʃuru kore). In (2) sentence, it gives *inceptive* meanings however a future marker *ga:* blocks such meanings into Hindi and Punjabi. On the other hand, Bangla has also a separate word (hɔe̱to) which shares presumptive information about the sentence. We also argue that when a verb ləg is followed by infinitive verbs, it most probably gives *inceptive* information. For example,

(a) oh rɔɳ ləgg geya:
He-agt cry-INF BEGIN go-PERF 3m.sg.
He began to crying.

(b) oh həssəɳ ləgg geya:
He-agt laugh-INF BEGIN go-PERF 3m.sg.
He began to laughing.

It has been pointed out that not only these two verbs but other infinitive verbs like ḍkʰəɳ (to see), sɔtʃəɳ(to think), boləɳ(to speak), nətʃtʃəɳ(to dance) in Punjabi may share a similar sense.

5.3 ləg as come:

When a verb ləg appears inV_2 position and followed by a finite verb. It is also grammaticalized. Forexample,

Punjabi

(3) us nu səməjʰ ləg gəi:
He- dat understand CAME go-PERF 3m.sg.
He came to understand.

Hindi

(3) us ko səməjʰ ləg gəi
He-dat understand CAME go-PERF 3m.sg.
He came to understand.

Bangla

(3) O buje gecʰe
He understand go-PERF 3m.sg.

He understood.

In (3) sentence, a verb ləg has similar functions like come both into Hindi and Punjabi languages. However, it is not possible in Bangla.

5.4 ləg as *ran:*

Unlike Hindi and Bangla, only Punjabi shows that a verb ləg can function like a verb ran.

Punjabi

(4) manəv rəma vɪtʃ ja: ləgeya:
Manav Rama in go ran-PERF 3m.sg.
Manav ran into Rama.

In (4), a verb ləg, when it is followed by a finite verb go then it changes into *ran.* It is interestingly to point out that it is found only in Punjabi, not in Hindi and Bangla. On the other hand, we can see the semantic bleaching in both finite and infinite verbs with an ləg in V_2 position.

6. Semantic Range of ləg

With the analysis of **ləg** in **V_1** and **V_2 position**, we have also tried to find out the semantic range of a verb ləg in these languages. It has been argued that a word might have more than one meaning (in the context) however more meanings mean the greater the word's *semantic range* (Fillmore, 2000). It is more significant in anthropology when we talk about involvement of different languages and cultures (Newmeyer, 2000).

Inflected form of a ləg:

6.1 ləgai: as *attend*

Punjabi

(1) us ne jəma:t nəhi: ləgai:
He-erg class NEG attend-PST 3m.sg.
He did not attend the class.

Hindi

(1) us ne kəlas nəhĩ ləgai:
He-erg class NEG attend-PST 3m.sg.
He did not attend the class.

Bangla

(1) ʃe klas kore ni
He class do-PST. NEG

3m.sg.
He did not attend the class.

6.2 ləgai: as *tell*

Punjabi

(2) us ne səhi kimət̪ nəhĩ: ləgai:
He-erg right price NEG tell-PST 3m.sg.
He did not tell the right price.

Hindi

(2) us ne səhi kimət̪ nəhĩ: ləgai
He-erg right price NEG tell-PST 3m.sg.
He did not tell the right price.

Bangla

(2) o ʃot^{h}ik mɔllo ləgai ni
He right price tell-PST NEG 3m.sg.
He did not tell the right price.

6.3 ləgai: as *give*

Punjabi

(3) us ne mɛnũ a:va:j nəhĩ: ləgai:
He-erg me call NEG give-PST3m.sg.
He did not call me.

Hindi

(3) us ne muj^{h}e a:va:dʒ nəhĩ ləgai
He-erg me call NEG give-PST 3m.sg.
He did not call me.

Bangla

(3) o am ake ɖake ni
He me call-PST. NEG 3m.sg.
He did not call me.

6.4 ləgai: as *use*

Punjabi

(4)	us ne	kəri:m	nəhĩ:	ləgai:
	He-erg	cream	NEG	use-PST 3m,sg.
	He did not use cream.			

Hindi

(4)	us ne	kəri:m	nəhĩ	ləgai
	He-erg	cream	NEG	use-PST 3m.sg.
	He did not use cream.			

Above examples show semantic range in all these languages. Another fact is that semantic range is also possible when such examples come with an inflected form of ləgai in the context of +/-NEG. For example,

ləgai (+NEG)	ləgai (-NEG)
attend / tell / give / use	attend / tell /give / use

Here, Bangla does not show proper correspondences with Hindi and Punjabi because Bangla speakers are habituated to take different verbs like (***kore, ḍake***) in the place of a verb **ləg** for similar sense. It means that a frequency of a verb **ləg** in the context of a semantic range does not match with Hindi and Punjabi. Keeping in mind that this argument is based on collecting few sentences and it can possibly be changed by observing more data in future.

Conclusion

Thus, we have found that a verb ləg in Punjabi, Hindi and Bangla occurs as a polysemous verb. Polysemous nature has been analyzed under grammaticalization. When it occurs in V_1 and V_2 positions, then it is said that it reflects more de-semanticization rather than de-categorization.On the other hand, a verb ləg has also inherent nature for semantic range where Bangla is different from Punjabi and Hindi. In fact, the hidden idea is that the contextual use of a verb ləg does not only indicate about grammaticalization but it also demonstrates similarities and differences between all three languages.

APPENDIX-1

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of ləg in Three Languages

Verb's Position	Punjabi	Hindi	Bangla
ləg in V_1	Yes	Yes	Yes
Appear	Yes	Yes	Yes
Seem	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wear	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exist	Yes	Yes	Yes
Feel	Yes	Yes	Yes
ləg in V_2	Yes	Yes	Yes
Begin	Yes	Yes	Yes
Presumptive	Yes	Yes	Yes, without "ləg"
Come	Yes	Yes	No
Run	Yes	No	No
Semantic Range			
Attend	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tell	Yes	Yes	Yes
Give	Yes	Yes	Yes
Use	Yes	Yes	No
Call	Yes	Yes	No

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