PART II

VARIATION IN THE GRAMMAR AND DISCOURSE OF STANDARD HINDI

Liudmila Khokhlova

Conative:Completive Contrast in Hindi-Urdu Aorist Forms

ल्यूडमीला खोख्लोवा

हिंदी-उर्दू में सामान्य भूतकाल में प्रयत्न पक्ष और पूर्ण पक्ष का व्यतिरेक

Abstract Semantic contrast in the use of compound versus non-compound verbs in Hindi has been analysed by many scholars. Compound verbs (sequences of the main verb, conveying the basic meaning and the so-called 'vector' or 'polar' verbs, conveying attitudinal and aspectual specifications) are usually described as marked members in the opposition complete/incomplete action. It will be shown in this paper that compound verbs have completive meaning only in the case where the main verb is telic. If the main verb is not telic, the compound verb denotes the beginning of the action.

Almost all scholars (cf., e.g. Hook 1974; Nespital 1997; Montaut 2004) are of the opinion that the aorist forms generated from simple verbs are compatible with some arbitrary end point and may be followed by a culmination-cancelling clause. Contrary to this, the aorist forms produced from compound verbs imply that the event has culminated at its natural endpoint. However, in certain cases the compound verbs may also be compatible with an arbitrary endpoint (Kothari & Arunachalam 2009). The paper seeks to demonstrate that this dichotomy of compound verbs is based on the semantic properties of the theme object of the utterance: if it is incremental[1], the aorist form of a transitive compound verb may indicate only partial, but not complete change in the state of the theme.

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1 I am using the term 'incremental theme' after Dowty (1991) who applied it to the argument of certain predicates involved in defining a homomorphism from its own physical extent to the temporal progress of the event it participates in. By this definition, verbs like 'read', 'write', 'eat', 'sing', 'climb', 'clean' are incremental (object) theme verbs. The term is used both for theme and patient, as their differentiation is not important for the present study.

Aorist forms of compound verbs are never used in the following cases: 1) the state of the object changes instantly; 2) the verb contains a conative component in its semantics; 3) the state of the object has not undergone any change.

सारांश हिंदी की संयुक्त बनाम सरल क्रियाओं के अर्थपरक व्यतिरेक का विश्लेषण कई विद्वानों द्वारा किया जाता रहा है। कार्य-व्यापार के पूर्ण/अपूर्ण व्यतिरेक की दृष्टि से संयुक्त क्रियाओं को (संयुक्त क्रिया = मुख्य क्रिया + रंजक क्रिया जिसमें मुख्य क्रिया मूल अर्थ की वाचक होती है जबकि रंजक क्रिया विशिष्ट अभिवृत्तिपरक और पक्षपरक अर्थ को अभिव्यक्त करती है) आम तौर पर इस व्यतिरेक के चिह्नित सदस्य के रूप में देखा जाता है। इस आलेख में यह स्थापित किया गया है कि अगर मुख्य क्रिया प्रयत्नबोधक है तो संयुक्त क्रियाओं का अर्थ पूर्णताबोधक होगा। अगर मुख्य क्रिया प्रयत्नबोधक नहीं है तो संयुक्त क्रिया कार्य-व्यापार के आरंभ को दर्शाती है।

लगभग सभी विद्वानों (cf. Hook 1974; Nespital 1997; Montaut 2004, et al.) की यही राय है कि सरल क्रियाओं से उत्पन्न सामान्य भूतकाल रूप कतिपय मनमाने अंतिम छोर के अनुरूप होते हैं और उनके पीछे समापन-निष्प्रभाव करने वाले उपवाक्य आ सकते हैं। इसके विपरीत संयुक्त क्रियाओं से उत्पन्न सामान्य भूतकाल के रूपों का अर्थ यह होता है कि घटना का समापन उसके प्राकृतिक छोर पर हुआ है या होता रहा है, लेकिन कुछ मामलों में संयुक्त क्रियाएँ मनमाने अंतिम छोर (Kothari & Arunachalam 2009) के अनुरूप भी हो सकती हैं। इस आलेख में यह दर्शाने का प्रयास किया गया है कि संयुक्त क्रियाओं का यह द्विभाजन उक्ति के कथ्य वस्तु के आर्थी गुणों पर आधारित होता है: अगर यह वर्धमान है तो सकर्मक संयुक्त क्रिया का सामान्य भूतकाल रूप केवल आंशिक रूप में ही प्रकट हो सकता है, लेकिन कथ्य की अवस्था में पूर्ण परिवर्तन नहीं हो सकता।

संयुक्त क्रियाओं के सामान्य भूतकाल रूपों का प्रयोग निम्नलिखित परिस्थितियों में कभी नहीं होता है: 1) कर्म की अवस्था में तुरंत परिवर्तन होता है; 2) क्रिया के अपने अर्थ में क्रियात्मक (प्रयत्न पक्ष का) घटक निहित होता है; 3) कर्म की अवस्था में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है।

मुख्य शब्द – हिंदी में सामान्य भूतकाल (aorist), संयुक्त क्रिया (compound verb), प्रयोजनमूलक क्रिया (telic verb), पूरक अर्थ (completive meaning), वर्धमान कथ्य (incremental theme)।

1 Introduction

This paper aims at throwing some additional light on the meanings of simple and compound aorist forms in Hindi and Urdu. The simple synthetic aorist is formed in Hindi by adding gender/number inflexions to the perfective verbal stem,[2] e. g. V-ā: *paṛh-ā* 'read', *gay-ā* '[he] went'. Compound verbal forms include the primary stem of a 'major' verb belonging to an unrestricted class and a finite form of a 'light' verb from a restricted verb class. The most frequently used light verbs are

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2 The Hindi perfective suffix is -Ø- (zero) after consonant-final primary stems and *-y-* after vowel-final stems. For the sake of simplicity, they are not marked separately in the morphological glosses.

lenā 'take', *denā* 'give', *ānā* 'come', *jānā* 'go', *uṭhnā* 'get up, rise', *baiṭhnā* 'sit down', *paṛnā* 'fall', *ḍālnā* 'throw', and *rakhnā* 'put'.

The main objective of this study was to discover and describe conditions under which compound verbs in the aorist form do not denote the completion of the action, thus deviating from their common distribution. It will be shown that a compound verb lacks the meaning of completeness if the main verb is not telic, and even telic verbs may denote incomplete action on condition that the object of the utterance is incremental.

The method used in the present work has been based on the eliciting of responses or reactions to utterances (see examples (23)–(31)) presented to speakers of Standard Hindi. The main respondents were students and teachers from Delhi University, Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi and Mahatma Gandhi Antarrashtriya Hindi Vishwavidyalaya in Wardha.[3]

I prepared small situations that were checked by two Hindi speakers and presented to the respondents in written form. The respondents were asked to read the text in my presence and correct the mistakes or write (+) if there were no mistakes. For example, sentence (9) below was put into the following situation:

> *āj merī parīkśā thī. maĩ ne sāre savāl hal kiye, pā̃cvā̃ savāl thoṛā*
> *muśkil thā, maĩ ne hal to kiyā par hal nahī̃ huā.*

In case all the respondents put (+), the sentence was considered correct: sentences (3), (8) – (12). As for utterances (23) – (31), each one was presented to the respondents in several situations. For example, sentence (25) 'Gita sang a song but she forgot the last line (of it)' was given in two situations: (1) Gita left without completing the song; (2) Gita remembered the last line and sang the song up till the end. The respondents were asked to choose either a simple or compound verb in each case. They were also asked to modify or extend the context to make the utterance more acceptable. Below I give the responses of five out of twenty-five informants that participated in this project. These students were particularly well versed in Hindi and Urdu prose and poetry. However, their responses did not differ significantly from those of other participants.

2 Synthetic aorist forms

Classical Hindi grammarians like Kāmtā Prasād Guru (Guru 2017 V. S. = 1960 C. E.) and later linguists working in the same tradition tend to pay more attention to verb formation and the syntactic properties of verbal forms than to the meanings those forms are used to convey in different contexts. A typical description of the aorist in Hindi grammars may be found in Pande (2012: 180–181): *sāmānya bhūt ke dvārā vartmān se* […] *pahle pūre hue vyāpār kā bodh hotā hai* 'The simple past denotes action that took place before the present moment'. The author goes on to state that the action may take place both in the remote and more recent past (ibid.).

Yamuna Kachru termed this V-ā tense form (*kah-ā*) 'simple perfect'—in opposition to present perfect (*kahā hai*) and past perfect (*kahā thā*). According to her, the simple perfect indicates a state resulting from the completion of an action or process. The present perfect indicates in addition the continued relevance of the completion of the action or process to the present moment, while the past perfect indicates completion in the past but without any continued relevance to the present time (Kachru 1980: 132).

Kachru's description states the prototypical meanings of the three variants in denoting past action, but it does not suggest explanations for the simple past when used to mark the future (1) or for its usage in contexts where this tense indicates the continued relevance of the completion of the action or process to the present moment (2):

(1) *abhī   ā-yā*
    just now   come-AOR.M.SG
    'I am coming at once.' (Montaut 2004: 106)

(2) *are   kitnā   baṛā   ho ga-yā*
    interj   how much   tall   be go-AOR.M.SG
    'O, he has grown so tall! / How tall he has grown!' (exclamation of surprise) (ibid.: 107).

All those and many other non-trivial cases of usage of V-ā forms are described in Annie Montaut's *Hindi Grammar* (Montaut 2004: 102–111)—the work which, among its other merits, is very useful for learning Hindi as a foreign language. In particular, unlike many Hindi manuals written in English, it teaches one to avoid the temptation to identify the usage of simple, present and past perfect in Hindi with that of the corresponding English forms.[4] Following Montaut, I use for the

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4 Many Hindi manuals written in English do this. For example, in a very good manual, *Teach Yourself Hindi* by Rupert Snell and Simon Weightman, which is one of the most

V-ā finite form the term 'aorist'. She prefers this term because '…contrary to perfective known for instance from Slavonic languages, it is not used in infinitival or imperative as is usual with languages having a perfective /imperfective opposition, […] besides, it does contrast with verbal vectors which partly convey perfective meanings' (Montaut 2004: 103–104). According to Montaut, '…this form expresses a bound compact interval with no relation to the present time of speech: no adjacent state is taken into account, no internal divisions of the process, […] its basic use, often the only one mentioned in grammars, refers to past events, […] it is the most adequate form for the objective narrative where events are supposed to be told by nobody' (Montaut 2004: 104–105). After giving this basic/prototypical definition of aorist, Montaut analyses quite a number of cases of non-trivial usage of the corresponding forms—including those of the types (1) and (2) mentioned above (Montaut 2004: 106–107). However, she does not pay enough attention to the 'conative:completive' contrast in Hindi aorist forms, maybe because this problem has been many times discussed by other Hindi grammarians (Hook 1974; Kachru 1980, etc.).

According to Kachru, the present, past and simple perfect indicate 'the completed action or process' (Kachru 1980: 132). She does not agree with Hook (1974) who argues that V-ā forms, when generated from simple verbal stems, are unmarked for aspect and thus may express "either perfective or imperfective view of the action". In other words, they imply simultaneously an attempt to perform the action (the conative meaning), and also the completion of the action, that is, its successful performance to its logical end (the completive meaning) (Hook 1974). In an attempt to rebut Hook's arguments Kachru gives a Hindi sentence which she considers to be ill-formed:

(3) *rām ne   tasvīr   banā-ī   par tasvīr   nahī̃*
    Ram ERG picture.F.SG make-AOR.F.SG but picture.F.SG NEG
    ban-ī
    be.made-AOR.F.SG
    'Ram drew a picture but the picture did not get drawn.' (Kachru 1980: 137)

However, all native speakers whom we consulted found this sentence to be correct.

popular in Europe, the perfect tenses are defined as 'those which refer to an action that has been completed', and, as illustrations, the following Hindi samples together with their English equivalents are suggested: *maĩ bolā* 'I spoke', *maĩ bolā hū̃* 'I have spoken', *maĩ bolā thā* 'I had spoken' (Snell & Weightman 1989: 122–123). Clearly, this type of description will not give students the necessary clues for translating correctly from English into Hindi.

Other Hindi grammarians (e. g., Nespital 1997; Pořízka 1967–1969; Liperovskij 1984) share the opinion that V-ā forms may have or not have the completive meaning, as examples (4) – (12) show:

(4) *maı̃=ne rām ko apn-e pais-e di-ye*
I=ERG Ram DAT self's-M.PL money-M.PL give-AOR.M.PL
'I gave money to Ram.' (It is not clear if Ram took the money.)

(5) *maı̃=ne parāṭh-ā khā-yā*
I=ERG paratha-M.SG eat-AOR.M.SG
'I ate the paratha[5].' (Maybe only part of it) (Hook 1974: 167)

Such type of sentences may be followed by a culmination-cancelling clause:

(6) *maı̃=ne us-e pais-e di-ye*
I=ERG he-DAT money-M.PL give-AOR.M.PL
lekin us=ne nahı̃̃ li-ye
but he=ERG NEG take-AOR.M.PL
'I tried to give money to Ram, but he did not take it.' (Hook 1974: 165)

(7) *maı̃=ne parāṭh-ā khā-yā*
I=ERG paratha-M.SG eat-AOR.M.SG
lekin sār-ā nahı̃̃
but whole-M.SG NEG
'I ate the paratha, but not all of it.' (Hook 1974: 167)

The transitive verbs are often used with conative meanings in sentences with their intransitive correlates generated from the same root:

(8) *kisān ne khet jot-ā par vah nahı̃̃*
peasant ERG field.M.SG plough-AOR.M.SG but it NEG
jut-ā
become.ploughed-AOR.M.SG
'The peasant ploughed (= 'tried to plough') the field but it did not become ploughed.'

5 A kind of flatbread.

(9) *mohan ne   savāl   hal   ki-yā   par vah hal*
     Mohan ERG problem solution do-AOR.M.SG but it   solution
     nahī̃   hu-ā
     NEG   be-AOR.M.SG
     'Mohan tried to solve the problem but it was not solved.'

(10) *laṛk-e   ne   akhroṭ   toṛ-ā   par vah nahī̃*
     boy-OBL.SG ERG walnut.M.SG crack-AOR.M.SG but it   NEG
     ṭūṭ-ā
     be.cracked-AOR.M.SG
     'The boy tried to crack the walnut but it did not crack.'

(11) *naukar ne   khiṛk-ī   khol-ī   par khiṛkī   nahī̃*
     servant ERG window-F.SG open-AOR.F.SG but window.F.SG NEG
     khul-ī
     be.open-AOR.F.SG
     'The servant tried to open the window but it did not open.'

(12) *maĩ=ne bahin ko   bahut samjhā-yā   par vah*
     I=ERG   sister DAT much   explain-AOR.M.SG but she
     samjh-ī   nahī̃
     understand-AOR.F NEG
     'I many times explained (it) to (my) sister but she did not understand.'

3 The aorist forms of compound predicates

A number of scholars (e. g. Liperovskij 1984; Singh 1991; Butt 1995) have shown that compound verbs may signal either the inception or completion of a given action. The light verbs are analyzed as focusing either on the initial (the verbs *paṛnā* 'fall', *denā* 'give', etc.) or on the final stage of the event (the verbs *lenā* 'take', *ḍālnā* 'throw', etc.). It seems that this statement is true only statistically, because the inceptive versus completive meaning of a compound verb depends on the telicity of the main verb. Compound verbs formed from non-telic stems usually bear inceptive meaning, while those formed from telic stems may have either conative or completive sense. Compare the following compound verbs with the same light verb *paṛnā* 'fall' having inceptive meaning in (13), (14) and completive meaning in (15), (16):

(13) *sītā   hãs   paṛ-ī*
     Sita   laugh fall-AOR.F.SG
     'Sita broke out laughing.'

(14) *jo   jahā̃   th-ā   vahī̃   se   dauṛ paṛ-ā*
who.REL where.REL be-PST.M.SG there.EMPH from run   fall-AOR.M.SG
'Everybody started running away from the place where they were.'
(Liperovskij 1984: 178)

(15) *maikrofon   gir paṛ-ā*
microphone fall fall-AOR.M.SG
'The microphone fell [to the ground].'

(16) *laṛk-ā   ghoṛ-e   se   utar   paṛ-ā*
boy-M.SG   horse-M.OBL.SG from get.off fall-AOR.M.SG
'The boy got off the horse.'

The last example might contradict Butt's statement that the light verb *paṛnā* may encode a lack of conscious choice (Butt 1995: 113).

Here we will concentrate on compounds formed only from telic verbs in order to analyze cases where these compounds may lose their meaning of 'completeness'. There is a general belief that contrary to processes with simple verbs, the aorist forms featuring compound stems (that is, sequences of the main verb conveying the basic meaning and the so-called 'vector', 'polar' or 'light' verbs) signify that the event has culminated in its natural endpoint (Hook 1974; Liperovskij 1984; Nespital 1997; Pořízka 1967–1969 et al.):

(17) *maĩ=ne rām ko kuch pais-e   de   di-ye*
I=ERG   Ram DAT some money-M.PL give give-AOR.M.PL
'I gave some money to Ram (and he took the money).' (Hook 1974: 165)

(18) *maĩ=ne parāṭh-ā   khā   li-yā*
I=ERG   paratha-M.SG eat   take-AOR.M.SG
'I ate up the paratha.' (Hook 1974: 167)

If a simple verb denotes a process, and in combination with a vector verb the result (e.g. *ḍhū̃ṛhnā* 'to look for' and *ḍhū̃ṛh lenā* 'to find'), the aorist forms generated from simple stems imply the conative meaning, while those produced from compound stems express the completive meaning:

(19) *ham=ne āp=kā   patā   ḍhū̃ṛh-ā*
we=ERG your   address look.for-AOR.M.SG
(*lekin nahī̃ mil   pā-yā*)
(but   NEG   be.found   be.able-AOR.M.PL)
'We looked for your address (but could not find it).'

(20) *ham=ne   āp=kā   patā   ḍhū̃ṛh   li-yā*
     we=ERG   your   address   find   take-AOR.M.SG
     'We have found your address.' (Hook 1974: 164–165)

4 Conditions under which compound verbs do not denote the completion of the action

Kothari and Arunachalam (2009) studied simple (SV) and compound (CV) telic perfective predicates denoting partially completed and/or fully completed events. Each of 25 participants—adult Hindi speakers—viewed two different scenes for each of eight predicates ('draw', 'eat', 'fill', 'extinguish', 'close', 'cover', 'pluck' and 'wake'). The first scene represented a full, and the second only a partial completion of the action. For example, in the first picture the door was tightly closed, while the second picture showed it still somewhat ajar. The participants were given two sentences—one with an SV, and the other with a CV predicate like (21) and (22) and their task was to choose the sentence that fits the scene:

(21) *us=ne   darvāz-e   ko   baṃd   ki-yā*
     he=ERG   door-OBL   ACC   closed   do-AOR.M.SG
     'He closed the door.'

(22) *us=ne   darvāz-e   ko   baṃd   kar   li-yā*
     he=ERG   door-OBL   ACC   closed   do   take-AOR.M.SG
     'He closed the door.'

The main results of the experiment were the following: 1) both SV and CV sentences were accepted for fully completed events; 2) SV sentences were accepted more often than CV sentences for partially completed events; 3) There was a lot of variation between predicates. The authors argue that "gradience between SV–CV and between predicates falls out from a pragmatic treatment: [...] the ending point for any event depends on what t h e   i n d i v i d u a l   believes should be the intended culmination" (Kothari & Arunachalam 2009: 26).

    Below an attempt will be made to find other factors facilitating, impeding or blocking the usage of CV sentences for descriptions of incomplete action. I will concentrate here on the utterances featuring an incremental theme, as according to my observations the majority of CV sentences describing incomplete action have such a theme.[6]

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6   The scope of this paper does not allow for detailed comments on Kothari and Arunachalam's statement that there are no 'systematic differences between incremental theme

The incremental theme may be defined as an argument whose properties determine the progress of the event it is involved in. In (5) and (7) above *the parāṭhā* is an incremental theme since every subpart of what is being eaten corresponds to a subpart of the event of eating that very *parāṭhā*.[7] Three types of incremental theme verbs will be discussed below. When combined with the light verbs, they may denote an incomplete action.

1. The event's temporal terminus is 'achieved by progressing incrementally through the object' (Dowty 1991). The internal argument is created or consumed over time (Tenny 1994: 18): the verbs like *eat, build*. In many cases constructions with compound verbs signify that the speaker considers the goal achieved:

    (23) *maĩ=ne yah seb   khā li-yā   bākī hiss-ā   tumhār-ā*
         I=ERG   this apple.M eat take-AOR.M.SG rest part-M.SG your-M.SG
         h-ai
         be-PRS.3SG
         'I have partaken of the apple; the residue is yours.'

    (24) *bāp   ne imārat   banā l-ī,   ab is   ko pūrā*
         father ERG building.F build take-AOR.F now he.OBL ACC full
         karnā beṭ-e   k-ī   zimmedārī   h-ai
         make   son-M.OBL.SG GEN-F   responsibility.F be-PRS.3SG
         'The father has built (his assigned part of) the house (to complete);
         his son's responsibility is to complete it (i. e. the house).'

    In such cases the meaning of the compound verb seems to be intermediate between the conation and the completion: the action is not completed, but the speaker considers it as completed in the sense that the agent's duty has been fulfilled or part of the action has been completed. This is a typical case of 'successful result' described in Kothari and Arunachalam (2009). All the informants preferred CV construction in (23) and (24); SV was considered as possible, but worse.
    Intransitive verbs with incremental theme show similar results:

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and other predicate types' (2009). My results are different, and may be discussed in detail in another paper.

7 The analysis of this phenomenon provided in terms of 'Argument-to-Event Homomorphism' may be found in Dowty (1991); Krifka (1989, 1992); Ramchand (1997); Tenny (1992; 1994).

(24a) *ghar   ban   ga-yā   lekin pūrā nahī̃*
     house be.built go-AOR.M.SG but   full   NEG
     'The house is built, but not completely.'

One of the respondents said that both sentences have the same meaning, three preferred CV in the case where the result satisfies the speaker and there is very little to be done to complete the house, while one said that CV is marked for a good result and SV is unmarked: there may still be a lot to be done in order to complete building.

2.   The event's temporal terminus is achieved by progressing incrementally along the path object, but these objects 'do not undergo change or motion during the event. Internal argument, although unchanged, provides a gradient along which the progress of the event may be measured' (Tenny 1994: 17–18): the verb phrases like 'climb the ladder', 'walk the trail', 'play the sonata'.

(25) *gītā ne gān-ā   gā li-yā   par ākhirī lain   bhūl*
     Gita ERG song-M.SG sing take-AOR.M.SG but last   line.F.SG forget
     ga-ī
     go-AOR.F.SG
     'Gita sang a song but she forgot the last line (of it).'

Three of the informants preferred CV for the situation when Gita left without singing the song to its end; SV was considered better in the case where she later remembered the last line and sang the song up to the end. For two informants CV and SV were equally possible in both situations.

(26) *ve   kitne   kamzor haĩ ādhī sīṛhī   par caṛh ga-ye*
     they how.much weak   are half staircase on climb go-AOR.M.PL
     bāqī paiṛi-yā̃ caṛh-n-e   k-ī   tākat   nahī̃ h-ai
     left   step-F.PL climb-INF-OBL GEN-F   strength.F NEG   be-PRS.3SG
     'How weak they are! They climbed half of the staircase (but) had no strength to climb the remaining steps.'

Three informants chose SV in the case where the agent is supposed to rest before going further and CV in the case where the future action is unknown or in the situation where the agent would never go further. One informant preferred CV in both cases, and the last one said that CV and SV may be equally used in both situations.

(27) *laṛk-e   ne   kitab   paṛh l-ī   lekin do   pann-e   bāqī rah*
    boy-OBL ERG book.F read take-AOR.F but   two page-M.PL left   stay
    ga-ye
    go-AOR.M.PL
    'The boy read the book, but two pages are left.'

Three informants preferred CV in the case where the boy would never read the remaining pages and SV if the situation is uncertain or the boy plans to read the book till the end later. One informant preferred CV in both situations and the other accepted both CV and SV irrespective of the continuation of the action.

3. The event's temporal terminus is 'achieved by progressing along measurable degrees of change in some property central to the verb's meaning. Internal argument undergoes some change in a property over time': change-of-state verbs like *ripen*, *redden* (Tenny 1994: 17–18).

(28) *maĩ=ne ghar sāf   kar di-yā   par abhī kuch   bākī*
    I=ERG   house clean do give-AOR.M.SG but now something left
    h-ai
    be-PRS.3SG
    'I cleaned the house but something is left (uncleaned).'

Three informants accepted CV for the situation when the agent does not plan to complete the cleaning and preferred SV for the case when he intends to do it, one preferred CV in both cases, and the last one did not express any preference.
    In (28) the object undergoes only a partial but not complete change of state. In (29) and (30), cases where the object has not undergone any change, the construction with compound verb was not accepted by four Hindi speakers, and only one said that CV might be used in the situation when the agent is not supposed to do this work in future.

(29) *maĩ=ne ghar   sāf   ki-yā   (? kar di-yā)   par vah*
    I=ERG   house clean do-AOR.M.SG (? do give-AOR.M.SG) but   it
    sāf   nahĩ   hu-ā
    clean   NEG   be-AOR.M.SG
    'I cleaned the house but it did not become (sufficiently) clean.'

(30) *maĩ=ne kapṛe   dho-ye   (? dho di-ye)   lekin*
I=ERG   clothes.M.PL wash-AOR.M.PL (? wash give-AOR.M.PL) but
ve   nahī̃ dhul-e
they NEG   become.washed-AOR.M.PL
'I washed the clothes but they were not (sufficiently) washed.'

The aorist forms of compound verbs cannot denote incomplete action in the following cases:

a)   The state of the object changes instantly:

(31) *bacc-e   ne akhroṭ   toṛ-ā   (*toṛ   di-yā)*
child-M.OBL.SG ERG walnut.SG crack-AOR.M.SG (*crack give-AOR.M.SG)
par vah nahī̃ ṭūṭ-ā
but it   NEG be.cracked-AOR.M.SG
'The child was cracking (= tried to crack) the walnut but it did not crack.'

b)   The verbal meaning contains a conative component:

(32) *sohan ne   bhāī   ko bahut manā-yā*
Sohan ERG brother ACC much   persuade-AOR.M.SG
(*man-ā   di-yā)   *par vah nahī̃ mān-ā*
(*persuade give-AOR.M.SG) but he   NEG   be persuaded-AOR.M.SG
'Sohan tried to persuade his brother many times, but he (= the latter) was not persuaded.'

(33) *mohan ne apnī bīvī ko bahut samjhā-yā*
Mohan ERG self's wife ACC much explain-AOR.M.SG
(*samjhā di-yā)   *par vah nahī̃ samjh-ī*
explain   give-AOR.M.SG but she NEG understand-AOR.F
'Mohan many times tried to explain (something) to his wife, but she did not understand.'

5 Conclusion

It has been shown in this paper that compound verbs formed from non-telic stems usually convey inceptive meaning, while compound verbs formed from telic stems may have either a conative or completive sense. Compound verbs formed from telic stems do not necessarily denote the completion of the action when the theme of the utterance is incremental. Three types of incremental theme verbs denote

an incomplete action when combined with light verbs. In the case of an incremental theme, the event's temporal terminus may be achieved (1) by progressing incrementally through the object; (2) by progressing incrementally along the 'path object'; (3) by progressing along measurable degrees of change in some property central to the verb's meaning. In these respective cases, the internal argument: (1) is created or consumed over time; (2) remains unchanged; (3) undergoes some change in its properties over time. The most favourable contexts for using compound verbs are those when the action is not supposed to be completed at all or when the agent considers his goal achieved (in spite of the fact that the action has remained incomplete). The aorist forms from compound verbs cannot denote incomplete action if the state of the object changes instantly, if it does not change at all or there is a conative component in the verbal meaning.

ORCID®
Liudmila Khokhlova ⓘ https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2152-6509

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