From Location to Possession:
A case study of Hindi ke pās

A senior essay submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
Bachelor of Arts in linguistics

Divya Subrahmanyam
Advisor: Ashwini Deo
May 10, 2011

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I am first and foremost grateful to Dr. Ashwini Deo for advising me on this senior essay. Thank you for your knowledge, patience and advice, even when I was utterly lost. This project would never have been possible without the countless hours and guidance you gave me, and the end result is something I am immensely proud of. But most of all, thank you for showing me how exciting research can be.

I would also like to thank my wonderful and supportive parents: to my father, for responding to my e-mail requests for judgments and translations at all hours of the day and night, and to my mother for sitting with me for hours attempting to puzzle through a 500-year old text.

And I am indebted, finally, to all my fellow students who helped make this possible: my roommate, Sonia Gupta, for remaining unfazed when I knocked on her door at midnight to ask for a translation; to my boyfriend Sanjeev Tewani, for listening patiently while I talked through ideas that made no sense to him; and to my fellow seniors in linguistics. Writing a senior thesis in linguistics is a singular experience, and I'm so glad I could share it with the five of you.

List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations, in small caps, are used in glosses throughout this essay:

1ST, 3RD	person		GER	gerund marker
ABL	ablative case		LOC	locative case
ADE	adessive case		MASC	masculine gender
ALL	allative case		NOM	nominative case
ART	article		OBL	oblique case
BES	locative meaning "beside"		PART	participle
CAUS	causative marker		PL	plural number
COP	copula		POSS	possessive
DECL	declarative mood		PROG	progressive aspect
DEF	definiteness marker		PST	past tense
ERG	ergative marker		REL	relative marker
ESS	essive case		REFL	reflexive
FEM	feminine gender		SG	singular number
FUT	future tense		TOP	topic marker
GEN	genitive case			

A note on transcription

Much of my primary data comes from texts written in the Devanagari script. In transcribing examples, I have followed the following conventions:
- ❖ Long vowels are written with a macron above (e.g. ā, ī, ū)
- ❖ Bare vowels indicate short vowels.
- ❖ Retroflex consonants are written with a dot beneath the letter: ḍ ṣ ṭ ṇ ṛ
- ❖ Aspiration is indicated by an "h" following the aspirated consonant.

1   Introduction

The domain of possession is universal, finding expression of various kinds in all human languages (Heine 1997: 1). It is a concept that is difficult to define, and as such has been tackled from a variety of linguistic perspectives. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of possession is its deep connection to the expression of location – in many of the world's languages, possessives are expressed by locative markers.

Possessives derive from a variety of structures, including locatives; as such, some linguists have characterized possession as a type of location relation, while others have merely noted a semantic connection. But why and how does this connection arise in language in the first place?

I hope to begin answering this question by conducting a case study of Hindi, an Indo-Aryan language in which alienable possession and certain kinds of location are expressed by the case marker *ke pās*. Using data from modern Hindi and various texts – primarily *Prem Sagar*, a prose text written in a predecessor of standard Hindi in the early 1800s, but supplemented by an epic poem written in a different dialect of Hindi in the 1500s – I trace how the use of *ke pās* has changed over time, as well as how the expression of location and possession have changed.

I first explore various theories of possession, and concluding that possessors are not subtypes of locations structurally, but that they are similar conceptually. After presenting the data, I find that in *Prem Sagar*, *ke pās* was used in two ways, as the argument of a verb (only with animate nominals) and as the main predicate of a sentence. As a predicate, it is interpreted as a locative marker with inanimate nominals and as a possessive marker with animate nominals. By the time of modern Hindi, however, the predicative use of *ke pās* has changed: the possessive interpretation has been extended to more diverse types of relations, and the locative use has become marked and then modified. Finally I argue that this is because *ke pās* has changed from a

relation between regions to a relation between individuals, and this shift gave rise to the possessive

interpretation, which was in turn generalized to other types of possession.

The paper will proceed as follows: In section 2, I explore the domain of possession and the

different ways it has been characterized, as well its intersections with the domain of location. In

section 3, I provide background on the history and grammatical structure of Hindi and introduce

the marker I am investigating, *ke pās*. Sections 4 and 5 present data on *ke pās*, possession and

location from Hindi in two stages: early 19th century Khari Boli, and modern standard Hindi,

followed by a formal account of the changes in section 6. Section 7 concludes the paper and offers

some tentative theoretical ideas that might motivate the account given in 6.

2   Possession

Possession is difficult to characterize in concrete terms, and there has been considerable research from several perspectives that examines the underpinnings of this notion. The general idea is that possession covers a variety of different relations between individuals and may be expressed in many different ways across languages. At core, it is an asymmetric semantic relation between two entities, where one (the possessee) "belongs" to the other in some sense (Stassen 2009: 11), as in (1):

(1)   a. John has a pen.

But a range of other relations are also considered possession, such as the examples in (2). While they share the same encoding (the English *have*) and express related senses, each sentence captures a different type of relation: kinship (a), part-whole (b) and (f), physical and temporary possession (c and d), possession of something intangible, and proximity (g).

(2)   a. John has two brothers.

       b. John has eyes.

       c. I want to fill in this form; do you have a pen? (Heine 1997)

       d. I have Mary's pencil.

       e. I have a cold.

       f. The table has legs.

       g. The bookshelf has books.

In this section, I explore what it is that brings these relations together under the general category of possession, and how possessive expressions are interpreting. I primarily consider the typological and basic semantic literature. Much work has also been conducted from the perspective of formal semantics, but that is outside the scope of this project.

2.1 What is possession?

In abstract terms, possession has been called a social or "biocultural" concept, defined as a relation between a person and a variety of other entities, including family members, things and body parts (Seiler 1983). It has also been described by the "reference-point" model, in which entities are conceived of in relation to other entities, via "mental contact," or conscious awareness (Langacker 1995). So, in a possessive construction, the possessor (termed the *trajector*) serves as the reference point for conceiving of the possessee, or *landmark*. In (2a), for example, John is the salient entity and serves as a "mental address" for the two brothers. But while these kinds of models are useful for considering the mental content of possession, they are somewhat abstract.

Other authors, in order to describe possession more concretely, have observed that in the fundamental instances of possession, the possessor and the possessee are in spatial proximity with each other, occupying the same location for an extended period of time. Because of this and other supporting data, one school of thought has argued that the possession relation is a type of location relation.This hypothesis, called the Possession-as-Location (PAL) hypothesis, has strong and weak variants, explored below. The strong PAL hypothesis argues that possessors are locations at the linguistic level, and that possessive and locative sentences have the same syntactic structure. The weak variant argues that location may provide the conceptual basis for the expression of possession, but that they are not the same grammatically.

2.1.1 The Strong PAL Hypothesis

Proponents of the strong PAL hypothesis are motivated by three reasons: cross-linguistic syncretism between possessive and location marking, similar argument realization patterns, and

animacy-based complementarity (Lyons 1967, Anderson 1971, Taylor 1989, Freeze 1992, Aristar 1996, Baron and Herslund 2001, Tham 2009).

In numerous languages, possession is encoded by a locative case marker or other adposition, to express the sense that the possessee is "at," "to," or "on" the possessor. In fact, in his wide-ranging typology of possession encoding, Stassen provides sentences from at least 150 languages that employ locatives in possessive constructions. For example, Finnish (3) uses its adessive marker –*lla* (meaning "on") to express possession, while Turkish (4) uses a general locative case marker *de* and Samoan (5) uses its allative marker *iā* (meaning "to"):

(3)   Finnish (Anderson 1971: 107)
        Minu-lla   on kirja
        I   -ADE is book
        'I have a book.'

(4)   Turkish (Lyons 1968: 395, via Heine 1997: 51)
        Ben-de   kitap var
        Me- LOC book is
        'I have a book (on me/with me)

(5)   Samoan (Marsack 1975: 54, via Sassen 2009: 335)
        Sa   i ai iā Sina se   ta'avale
        PAST   is to Sina ART car
        'Sina had a car.'

In addition, Tham notes, "possessive verbs exhibit argument realization patterns analogous to locative patterns." For example in English, the argument of the possessive verb *"belong"* is expressed by a prepositional phrase (as in "X belongs **to Y**), just as a locative would be (X is **on Y**)

(Tham 2009). This similarity, localists note, exists between not only locatives and possessives, but also existentials. In Russian, given in (6), possession is expressed by the locative *u,* meaning "at," and the word *na* is a locative meaning "on." (4a) is a pure locative sentence, with the PP denoting location at the end of the sentence. (4b) is the existential version of the sentence, with the same PP placed at the beginning of the sentence. And (4c), the possessive, has the same structure as (4b), with the PP containing the possessor appearing at the beginning of the sentence.

(6)   Russian (Freeze 1992: 553-554)
  a. Kniga   byla na stole   *Locative*
      Book.NOM.FEM was on table.LOC
      'The book was on the table.'

  b. Na stole   byla kniga   *Existential*
      On table.LOC was book.NOM.FEM
      'There was a book on the table.'

  c. U menja byla sestra   *Possessive*
      At I.GEN was sister.NOM
      'I had a sister.'

These facts have led localists to conclude that existential sentences and possessive sentences are structurally identical, inverted locatives (Freeze 1992, see discussion in Tham 2009). Syntactically, they propose that the PP in existentials and possessives moves up to [Spec,IP], while in locatives, it is the theme (or locatum) that moves to [Spec,IP]. Further detail on the implementation of this idea, however, is not relevant to the goals of this paper, and I direct the reader to Freeze 1992 and Tham 2009 for more information.

Finally, many of the locative-possessive syncretic languages exhibit a corresponding animacy-based complementarity. In these languages, a single marker is used for possession and location. When the argument of the marker is animate, the expression is interpreted as possessive (or dative, in some languages); when the argument is inanimate, the expression is interpreted as locative. The phenomenon can be seen in the Finnish example presented again below in (7). When the adessive –*lla* appears with an inanimate, it is interpreted as a locative, as in "X on Y." When it appears with an animate argument, the same structure is interpreted as "X has Y."

(7)   Finnish (Anderson 1971: 107)
       a. Kirja on Pöydä-llä.
          Book is table-ADE
          'The book is on the table'

       b. Minu-lla on kirja
          I-   ADE is book
          'I have a book.'

This complementarity is linked to a general cross-linguistic asymmetry between animates and inanimates. Locatives are often said to b restricted from appearing with animates, which are considered to be "bad" locations (Creissels 2009). For example, in the Austronesian language Guugu Yimidhirr, the locative, allative, and ablative case markers may only appear with inanimate nominals. The Finno-Ugric language Cheremis has three groups of cases; one group only occurs with nominals with animate referents, the second group may appear with animates and inanimates, and the third group appears only with inanimates. In the Maricopa language of Arizona, locatives are primarily used with inanimates, and are often reinterpreted as datives when they appear with animates (Aristar 1996).

Such cross-linguistic parallels between the expression of possession and the expression of location are intriguing and, as far as PAL proponents are concerned, incontrovertible evidence that possessors must be understood as animate locations.

2.1.2 The weak PAL hypothesis

However, there are several limitations to accepting the strong version of the PAL hypothesis: locative marked animates are not always construed as possessors; not all possession relations involve an animate possessor; and possession in many languages is expressed by a non-locative structure. Tham (2009) explores both these hypotheses and given the issues with the strong variant, argues that the conceptual hypothesis should be upheld rather than the grammatical one.

The idea of animacy-based complementarity implies that animate nominals can only be interpreted as possessors, and never locations (Tham 2009: 11). But this is not the case, as in some languages, the same marker can be ambiguous between location or possession. In Marathi, when the locative marker *jawal* "near" appears with an animate argument (8a), the sentence may be interpreted as either locative or possessive, though the locative interpretation arises less easily (Tham 2009: 12). (This is not to be interpreted to mean that the possessive and locative meanings are identical, as (8b) shows that Marathi does have expressions with a purely locative meaning.)

(8)   Marathi (Tham 2009: 12)

    a. Māzhyā-jawal ek   pustak āhe

       My-OBL-near   one book   is

       'I have a book' OR 'there is a book near me.'

    b. Tithe pustak āhe

       There$_{loc}$ book be

       'There$_{loc}$ is a book.'

In other languages, even when only the possessive reading is available for the combination of an animate argument with the locative/possessive marker, there are other markers that can easily be used to express pure location with animate arguments (Tham 2009). Taking the case of Finnish again, when *-lla* appears with the animate *John*, as in (9a), it is interpreted as marking possession – it cannot mean that something is literally on John. But the adposition meaning "behind," *taka-na*, is always interpreted as locative, whether it appears with animates or inanimates, as in (9b) and (9c).

(9)   Finnish (Tham 2009: 12)

    a.   John-lla on kissa.
        John-ADE is   cat
        'John has a cat.'

    b.   John on Bill-in   taka-na
        John is Bill-GEN back-ESS
        'John is behind Bill.'

    c.   Kirja on pull-on   taka-na
        Book is bottle-GEN back- ESS
        'The book is behind the bottle.'

Under the strong PAL hypothesis, we would expect that animates combined with locatives would always be interpreted as possessors. This is not the case, as we have seen, and animates can appear as pure locations.

In addition, not all possessors are animate. In English, inanimate objects may possess things, as in (10).

(10)　　a.　The tree has branches.

　　　　b.　The bookshelf has books.

Lastly, numerous languages use entirely different strategies to express possession, including English, in which possessive verbs like "have," "possess" and "own" express all types of possession, as does the genitive (X's, marked by apostrophe -*s*). Stassen (2009) classifies the world's possessives into Locational, With, Topic, and Have, while Heine provides a more complex typology, given in Table 1:

Table 1 (Adapted from Heine 1997: 47)

Formula	Label of event schema
a.　X takes Y	Action
b.　X is located at Y	Location
c.　X is with Y	Companion
d.　X's Y exists	Genitive
e.　Y exists for/to X	Goal
f.　Y exists from X	Source
g.　As for X, Y exists	Topic
h.　Y is X's (property)	Equation

And, while some of Heine's schema could conceivably be classed as locatives (e.g. *goal* "to" and *source* "from"), possessives expressed by verbal constructions or topic markers are quite different. English is one language that uses a verb to mark possession, following Heine's Action schema, as is the Central Khoisan language Nama. In that language, the verb *'uu*, meaning "take" indicates possession, as in (8a). The Mayan language K'ekchi' uses the Genitive schema, employing the genitive *iš-* to mark possession, as in (8b). Korean expresses possession with the topic marker -*nun*, which would typically indicate, in a sentence, the thing that is being discussed.

(11)   **Example**   **Schema**

    a. Nama (Central Khoisan, Heinz Roberg p.c. via Heine 1997: 47)   *Action*

      kxoe. p ke 'auto.sa 'uu hââ.

      person.m TOP car. FEM take PERF

      'The man has the car.'

    b. K'ekchi' (Mayan, Penutian; Freeze 1992: 589)   *Genitive*

      Wan   iš-   soʔsol- č'ič' li išq.

      COP.LOC 3d.GEN-dragonfly-metal the woman.

      'The woman has a helicopter.' (lit. 'The woman's helicopter is.')

    c. Korean (Lizotte 1983, via Stassen 2009: 433)   *Topic*

      Minca-nun enni-ka   iss-ta

      Minca-TOP older.sister-NOM be-DECL

      'Minca has an older sister,' (lit. 'As for Minca, older sister is.')

The arguments given for and against the strong hypothesis are tabulated in Table 2, below:

Table 2 (Adapted from Tham 209: 13)

Reasons for strong PAL	Example
1. Use of locative marking on possessors	Finnish, Turkish, Samoan
2. Similar argument realization patterns	English
3. Locative/existential/possessive similarity	Russian
4. Animacy-based complementarity	Finnish
Limitations of strong PAL	
1. Locative marked animates not necessarily possessors	Marathi, Finnish
2. Possessive relations need not involve animates	English
3. Use of other strategies to mark possession	Nama, K'ekchi', Korean

Based on these facts, Tham argues that the linguistic PAL hypothesis is too strong to be upheld. Instead, she proposes a weaker, "conceptual" variant, which says that possession relations are locative at a semantic level, but not syntactically on the level of argument realization. That is, the linguistic encoding of location concepts may serve as the "primitives" for the encoding of possessives and other concepts (Tham 2009, Jackendoff 1972, Ostler 1979). This version avoids the problems of the strong hypothesis, while still acknowledging the considerable data showing a semantic link between possession and location.

2.3 Classifying possession relations

Still, if the strong PAL hypothesis is incorrect, then location/proximity cannot the only feature characterizing possession. Spatial proximity captures some of the nature of the relationship between possessor and possesee, but there is also an asymmetry between the two parties (Stassen 2009: 14): In a possessive relation, the possessee belongs to the more prominent possessor, an intuition captured in part by the reference point construction (where the possessee is defined in relation to the possessor).

2.3.1 Control

To explain the source of this asymmetry, authors have appealed to the idea of CONTROL, which expresses the power the possessor has over the possessee. The possessor can do what it wants with the possessee; it controls where it goes and what it does in any kind of event – it is the "prime mover and beneficiary" in an event involving both entities (Stassen 2009: 15, Evans 1995, Brennenstuhl 1976, Farkas 1988, Klaiman 1988).

The kind of possession defined by spatial proximity and CONTROL is called "alienable possession," an example of which is given again in (12), where "John" has control over a "pen."

(12)   a. John has a pen.

16

But as presented at the beginning of this chapter, a range of other relations are also considered to be within the domain of possession. They share the same encoding in English (the verb *have)* and express related senses, but may not contain the same characteristics. These different types of possession are presented and described below.

The examples in (13b) and (13c) types of relations, termed kinship and part-whole relations, respectively, are called "inalienable" possession. Unlike alienable possession, which is neither inherent nor permanent, the relation between a possessor and its inalienable possessee is indissoluble. But like alienable possession, the possessee in both types of constructions is a "relational noun," and must be defined in reference to another entity.

(13d) expresses physical possession of an object, emphasizing spatial proximity over control. (That is, the questioner in (13d) wants to know if whether the other person has a pencil *with them* at that moment.) The example of temporary possession in (13e) is similar, but expresses temporary control over an object. (13f) shows abstract possession, or possession of an intangible possessee. (13g) features an inanimate possessor in an inalienable part-whole possession relation, while (13h) also has an inanimate possessor, but an an alienable possessee. (It should be noted, though, that while these examples do constitute possession, they have more to do with physical contact than with ownership: the books do not belong to the shelf in (13h); rather, they are on the shelf.)

(13)   **Example**   **Type**

    a. John has a pen   *Alienable*

    b. John has two brothers.   *Inalienable – kinship*

    c. John has eyes.   *Inalienable – part-whole*

    d. My button has popped; do you have a pin?   *Physical*

    e. I have Mary's pencil.   *Temporary*

    f. I have a cold.   *Abstract*

    g. The table has legs.   *Inanimate inalienable*

    h. The bookshelf has books.   *Inanimate alienable*

2.2.2 Prototypicality

The above examples do not necessarily have the elements of control and spatial proximity, and yet all constitute possession in an intuitive sense. To categorize these differences, Stassen and Heine argue that the various types of possession are defined by the setting they take on a set of parameters. For Stassen, these are:

(14)   PERMANENT CONTACT: "the possessor and possessee are ins ome relatively enduring
                                      locational relation"

      CONTROL: "the possessor exerts control over the possessee (and is
                                        therefore typically human)"

    (Stassen 2009: 15-17)

Using these parameters, he identifies four subtypes of possession, as follows:

Table 4 (Stassen 2009: 17)

POSSESSIVE SUBTYPE	PERMANENT CONTACT	CONTROL
Alienable	+	+
Inalienable	+	–
Temporary	–	+
Abstract	–	–

18

Heine identifies more subtypes (those given in (13)) than Stassen, and therefore separates them by considering more characteristics, laid out in (15). His tabulation of his seven types of possession, based on the parameters, is given in Table 5.

(15)   **Parameters of possession** (Heine 1997: 39)

        Human possessor

        Concrete possessee

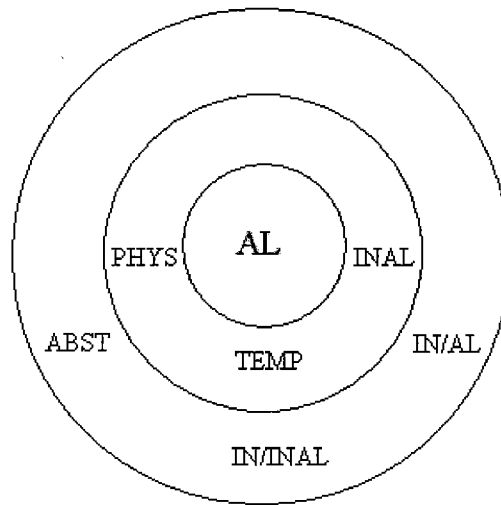   Spatial proximity

        Temporal permanence

        Control

Table 5 (Adapted from Heine 1997: 39)

Type of possession	Human PSR	Concrete PSE	Control	Spatial proximity	Temporal permanence
Alienable	+	+	+	+	+
Physical	+	+	+	+	-
Temporary	+	+	+	+	-
Inalienable	+	+	+/-	+/-	+
Abstract	+	-	-	+	+/-
Inanimate inalienable	-	+	-	+	+
Inanimate alienable	-	+	-	+	-

The use of parameters to classify possession is useful because of what it tells us about "prototypicality." Alienable possession, as we have seen, is defined by spatial proximity and control, and is therefore the most prototypical, or most salient to the domain of possession. Next most prototypical are inalienable possession (which lacks control), and physical and temporary possession (which lack temporal permanence). Finally, abstract possession, inanimate inalienable possession, and inanimate alienable possession are considered the least prototypical relations, lacking control and other characteristics. This classification of prototypicality is represented in Fig. 1:

Fig. 1 Prototypicality of possession notions (Adapted from Heine 1997: 40)

It seems as though the fewer positive parameter settings, or characteristics, a possession relation has, the less prototypical it is. This idea will have interesting implications for the trajectory of the data I examine later.

2.3 Location and possession: the empirical problem

However, even though we have decoupled the notions of location and possession, an empirical problem remains: Why are the two concepts so systematically syncretic? Why is possession so often diachronically derived from location?

Using his typology, Heine proposes that the reason languages show syncretism with locatives and other constructions is that they derive from a variety of schema corresponding to those constructions (as in Table 2, above). But this explanation, which points to a classification scheme as the source of the diversity, sounds somewhat circular.

In the remainder of this paper, I will undertake a detailed diachronic case study of Hindi to illuminate the relationship between possession and location. After presenting data from various

20

stages of the language, in chapter 6 I sketch out a possible way in which possession and location can be characterized and how they might be connected.

Finally, as a last note, possessives can occur in predicative ("John has a dog.") or attributive constructions ("John's dog ran). Attributive possession can express a much wider variety of meanings than predicative possession (Stassen 2009: 26). For example, colloquially, "John's car" can mean "that car that John has been talking about," as in (c). This is not an instance of true possession.

(16)   a. John has a dog.

        b. John's dog ran.

        c. I saw John's car, that blue BMW he wants.

In addition, the two types of possession are frequently encoded differently and are realized according to different morphosyntactic patterns (Stassen 2009: 27). This paper primarily examines data from Hindi, which always encodes attributive possession with the genitive, and this held true over time. For these reasons, I consider only predicative possession in this essay.

3 Background: Hindi

Before presenting the diachronic evidence from Hindi regarding location and possession, I introduce some background on the language's history and grammatical structure, particularly with regard to case.

3.1 History and context

With around 490 million speakers in India and Pakistan, Hindi is currently the fourth most spoken language in the world (Ethnologue). It is spoken primarily in the central part of the Indian subcontinent, in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. The official version of the language is called "Modern Standard Hindi," and derives from Khari Boli, a western dialect. I also consider Awadhi, an eastern dialect of Hindi.

Hindi is an Indo-European language, classified as follows (Ethnologue):

- Indo-European
  - Indo-Iranian
    - Indo-Aryan
      - Central
        - Western
          - Khariboli

Indo-Aryan has gone through many stages, typically known as Old Indo-Aryan (from 1500 BC to 600 BC, including Vedic, followed by classical Sanskirt), Middle Indo-Aryan (from 600 BC to 1000 AD, exemplified by the Asokan Prakrits and Pali, followed by Apabhramsa near the end of the period), and New Indo-Aryan, from 1000 AD to present. Hindi's sister languages include Nepali, Assamese, Bengali, Manipuri, Oriya, Marathi, Konkani, Gujarati, Sindhi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sinhalese and many others (Beames 1872, Kellogg 1876, Masica 1991, Cardona and Jain 2003).

In the 18th and early 19th century, Perso-Arabic-influenced Hindustani was the formal language of business in the Hindi language area. Hindi literature consisted of Urdu poetry as well as verse and religious and historical prose in the dialects, especially the literary dialect of Braj Bhasa, but also Khari Boli ("rural speech") and Rajasthani (McGregor 1967).

In 1800, the British founded Fort William College in Calcutta, which aimed to train British officers in various Indian languages. The college saw a need to teach a form of Hindi with a more local vocabulary, and hired local pundits to produce appropriate teaching materials. They began writing and translating texts into Khari Boli, which was already widely spoken in North India (McGregor 1967). In part because of this government support, Khari Boli gained primacy as the lingua franca of the area, and became the basis for the prestige dialect of modern Standard Hindi.

However, because of the dramatic shift to Khari Boli, most of the literature prior to the early 19th century is in the local dialects. 19th century sources are limited to *Prem Sagar* and similar texts, as well as the short story *Rani Ketaki ki Kahani* ("The Story of Rani Ketaki"), written by Insha'allah Khan around 1800, in an effort to create a story in Hindi with no influence from foreign languages or local dialect (McGregor 1967). Prior to that time, there is a little else.

3.2 Sources

I divide the chronological domain of inquiry into two stages. For stage 1, to represent the Khari Boli of the 19th century, I will look at *Prem Sagar*, written between 1804 and 1810 by Lallu Lal, one of the scholars at Fort William College. It is a translation of the tenth book of the Bhagvata Purana, describing the life of the Hindu god Krishna, and eventually became one of the most widely-used texts at the college (McGregor 1967). I use a reprinting of the original text as the source for all the data in this section, along with an online English version, translated by British officer W. Hollings some years after the original text was published.

Because of the scarcity, of sources, as described above, I cannot trace Khari Boli further back in time. Instead, to supplement that data, I look to the *Sri Ramcaritmanas* to exemplify a "stage 0." In the 1500s, the poet Tulsidas composed this verse text in Awadhi, an eastern dialect of Hindi. Since *Sri Ramcaritmanas* is in a different dialect than *Prem Sagar* and modern standard Hindi, however, it is useful primarily to support the *Prem Sagar* data.

Finally, Stage 2, modern Hindi, was explored via native speaker judgments and internet sources, then compared with canonical grammars to observe recent changes.

3.3 Grammatical structure of Hindi

Hindi is a flexibly SOV language with two genders (masculine and feminine) and two numbers (singular and plural). It is a semi-ergative language, with ergative marking appearing on animate subjects of past perfect transitive verbs, as in (1):

(1)   Main-ne   seb khaya.
    I.   ERG apple   eat.PST.MAS.SG
    'I ate an apple.'erg

The noun phrase is "left-branching," with all modifiers, such as possessors or adjectives, appearing to the left of the noun, as in "the red dog" in (2).

(2)   Main lāl   kuttā dekhtī   hūn.
    I.   red dog   see.1st.FEM.SG be.1ST.SG
    'I see a red dog.'

Hindi has three inflectional cases: direct, oblique and vocative. However, it has a number of clitics and adpositions which also mark case relations and appear exclusively to the right of the noun, which must be in the oblique case.

There are several primary one-word postpositions, including:

- *Ko*: marks allative case ("towards"), the indirect object of a ditransitive verb, abstract possessors, occasionally kinship possessors. [Data on *ko* will be presented later.]

- *Mein*: a locative marker meaning "in"

- *Par*: a locative marker meaning "on" or occasionally "to"

- *Se*: a locative marker meaning "from," marking ablative case

- *Tak:* a marker meaning "until," in both spatial and temporal contexts

- *Kā/ke/kī*: the genitive marker (which varies with the gender of the possessee)

There is also a rich system of compound postpositions, which are constructed using the oblique forms of the genitive case:

(3)   [ke/kī] + ADVERB

These compound postpositions include more specific locative markers – including *ke andar* "inside", *ke nīche* "below," "under", *ke nazdīk* ("close") – as well as nonlocative markers, such as *ke liye* "for," *ke bād* "after," and *ke bāre mein* "about."

3.2.2 'Ke pās' – locative and possessive

One of the most interesting compound postpositions in Hindi – and the main subject of inquiry in this paper – is *ke pās*. Like the examples above, it is made up of the genitive marker and the adverb *pās*, meaning "near" or "next to." It is used to express alienable possession, as in (4).

(4)   Sonia ke pās   kitāb hai.
       Sonia POSS   book is.
       'Sonia has a book.'

However, Hindi is a language that exhibits locative-possessive syncretism, and may, for example, express the goal of a motion verb, as in (5).

(5)   Main mere   paḍosī   ke pās jāūṅgī.

       I   my.PL neighbors to   go.FUT.1ST.FEM.SG

       'I will go to my neighbors.'

Canonically, *ke pās* may also be used to indicate location, meaning "near" or "next to." So, Hindi textbook might contain a sentence as in (6):

(6)   Sanjīv   dukān ke pās baiṭh rahā hai.

       Sanjeev shop   next to sit.   PROG is

       'Sanjeev is sitting next to the shop.'

But *ke pās* has not always been used in these ways, and in fact may no longer be used in exactly these ways. In the following sections I trace the development of the use of *ke pās* since the Hindi of *Prem Sagar* into modern Hindi, as well as changes in the general domains of location and possession.

4 Stages 1 and 0: Prem Sagar and Sri Ramcaritmanas

In this section, I present and discuss data from what I have called stages 0 and 1 of Hindi. I draw from the 19th century Khari Boli text *Prem Sagar* and the 16th century Awadhi epic poem *Sri Ramcaritmanas*.

4.1 Prem Sagar

I employed two techniques to collect my data: first, I carefully read the text using the translation as a supplement, noting the different locatives and tracking the use of *ke pās*. Then, I used Hollings' English translation, available on the Web, to search specifically for instances of possession[1].

I found that *ke pās* occurs in two main configurations: as a PP denoting the argument of a verb, or as the main predicate of the sentence. In this section, I will describe each use of the form.

4.1.1 *Ke pās* as argument

First, *ke pās* can appear as the argument of a verb, typically one of motion, expressing the allative case (meaning "towards"). This is exemplified by (1), where the subject of the sentence moves towards two people. *Ke pās* may also appear in non-goal contexts such as (2), where *ke pās* expresses the sense of "next to," but it still functions as the PP argument of a non-copula verb.

(1)   Indra sun   sab devtāon ko sāth le   Brahmā ke pās gaye.   (P.S. 1: 8[2])
        Indra hearing all gods   with   taking Brahma ALL   go.PST.
        On hearing this, Indrù, accompanied by all the gods, went to Brahma.

(2)   Aur sadā   vis =   ke pās hī   rehte hain.   (P.S. 47: 92)
        And perpetually he.OBL. BES EMPH stay is.PL.
        "And he always stays with him."

---

[1] All the English sentence translations for *Prem Sagar* data are printed verbatim from Hollings' text.

[2] P.S. stands for Prem Sagar. These notations give the location of each example, in the form: P.S. Ch# : Pg.#

[3] In Sanskrit, for Brahma Sakas These notations give the location of each example, and so explaining The full range of data

27

However, I found that there is a clear restriction on the kinds of goals that can be expressed with *ke pās*. Invariably, when used as an argument of the verb, *ke pās* can only appear with animates. I conducted a count on the first 25 chapters of the text to verify this, and of 18 uses of *ke pās* (all locative), all appeared as the argument of a verb with an animate goal. Only 1 instance featured a goal that was not a person – the Jamuna River (6). But the Jamuna is also perceived to be a deity and so this sense – particularly in a mythological text – could have affected the choice of postposition selected.

(3) Jab   Sri Krishna Yamunā ke pās   pāhunch…   (P.S. 24: 39)

When   Sri Krishna Jamuna LOC-near   arrive.PART.

'When   Sri Krishna, having arrived near the Jamuna…'

This generalization is also supported by the fact that all other types of goals take different case-markers, never *ke pās*. There are two main types of inanimate goals, as shown in examples (4) through (6): locations and individuals. In (4), the subject is moving toward the goal of Mathura, a city, while in (5) the subjects move towards the goal of the temple, and both take the allative marker *ko*. Cities and buildings exemplify "true locations," which we conceive of as spaces or regions. Goals that constitute inanimate "individuals," however, such as the well in (6), take the postposition *par*, which means "on." The difference between the two types of goals is this: When a spatial location is the goal of a sentence, the subject is literally going to and entering that space, whereas with a goal that is an individual, the subject is merely entering the vicinity of that individual, or at best, reaching the outer "hull" of the object (Kracht 2002). This explains why they take different case markers in allative constructions.

(4)   Tad   Udhojī Mathurā ko chale.   (P.S. 48: 97)
        Then Udho   Mathura ALL go.PST.
        'Then Udho went to Mathura.'

(5)   Rāniyān vahān se rāj mandir ko gayī.   (P.S. 46: 82)
        Queen.PL there ABL king temple ALL go.PST.
        'From there, the queens went to the king's temple.'

(6)   Ban   mein jal   ḍhūnḍhte ḍhūnḍhte usi andhe kue par gaye.   (P.S. 64: 180)
        Forest in   water search.PROG   they blind well on go.PST.
        'As they were searching for water in the forest, they came to the blind well.'

4.1.2 *Ke pās* as sentential predicate

The second type of context in which *ke pās* may appear is as the main predicate of a

sentence, combined with a copula. In these constructions, *ke pās* means "next to" or "near."

Predicative *ke pās* is quite rare in the *Prem Sagar* text, but this is likely a vagary of the

data. Because Prem Sagar is a novel, moved forward by action, stative predicates are infrequently

used generally. When they do appear, however, in contrast with the argument usage, predicative *ke*

pās can not take an animate argument. In (7), "near the footprints" serves as the predicate of the

clause, and is inanimate.

(7)   Vahān se baḍhin   to   dekhā,   jo   un   caraṇ   (P.S. 31: 53)
        There ABL go forward.PST EMPH look.PST, which those marks
        cinhon ke pās pās ek   nāri ke   bhi pānv upḍe hūe   hain.
        feet   BES   one girl GEN also foot traced became be.PRES.PL
        '[They] proceeded onward; when lo! the traces of a woman's feet became visible near
        the marks of the feet which they had first beheld.'

When predicative *ke pās* does appear with an animate, the sentence is possessive, with the interpretation of "control." In (8), *ke pās* is paired with the oblique third singular pronoun and expresses possession.

(8)   Jad   koi   āyudh   uske pās nā rahā...   (P.S. 56: 132)
       When some weapons he.POSS not remain.PST...
       'When he had no weapons left...'

However, it should be noted that there are only four examples of possessive *ke paas* in the entire text. This is not because alienable expression is expressed with other markers, but simply because alienable possession is rarely expressed. Inalienable possession, however, is encoded with the genitive, as in (9), where *ke* marks *vis* "who" as the possessor. For abstract possession, shown in (10), the allative/dative *ko* marks the argument (the individuals Basudev and Devaki) as the possessor/experiencer of something abstract (in this case, "knowledge").
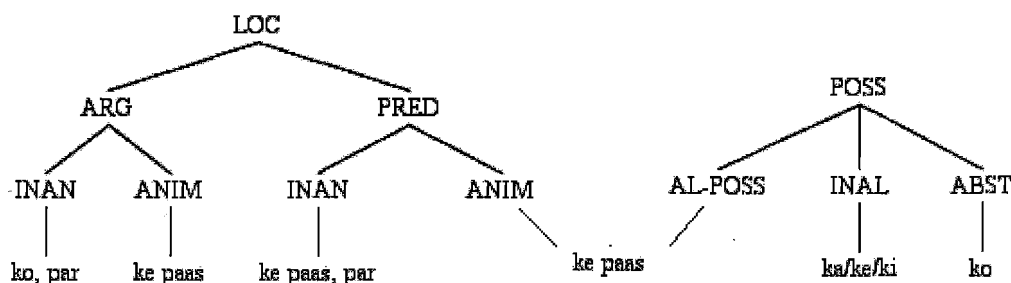
(9)   Mirṣya, viske   das ladke aur pānch ladkiyān,   (P.S. 5)
       Mirsya, who.GEN ten boy.PL and five   girl.PL.
       'Mirsya, who had ten sons and five daughters...'

(10)   Tis samain prabhū kā rūp dekh Bāsūdev Devakī ko gyān   hūa. (P.S. 82)
       While   lord.GEN   form see Basudev Devaki to knowledge became
       'While beholding the countenance of Krishnù, Basudev and Devaki became possessed of knowledge.'

To recapitulate, in this section I described the distribution of *ke pās* in the *Prem Sagar*. I showed that *ke pās* appears in two separate contexts: as a locative argument of verbs and as a

sentential predicate. As an argument, it only appears with animate goals; inanimate spatial goals take the allative *ko*, while inanimate goals that are individuals take *par*. Second, as a predicate, *ke pās* appears only with inanimates, expressing location. When it does appear with animates, it is typically inteprteted as expressing a possessive relation. The genitive *kā/ke/kī* is used for inalienable possessors, while *ko* marks experiencers, or abstract possessors. These findings are diagrammed in Fig. 2, below:

Fig. 2: Location and Possession in Prem Sagar

4.2 Stage 0: Sri Ramcaritmanas

To verify the findings from *Prem Sagar*, I look slightly further back in time to the *Sri Ramcaritmanas*, the poet Tulsidas' retelling of the Ramayan from the late 16th century. It was composed in Awadhi, an eastern dialect of Hindi, which is different from the Khari Boli of *Prem Sagar*. Because of this difference – as the language is considerably different from modern standard Hindi – the Tulsidas data will not be presented in the same detail as the *Prem Sagar* data, and will be used as comparative support rather than diachronic evidence[3].

Ke pās as such was not used in the 16th century Awadhi; rather, it has cognate-predecessors in *pahīn* and *pāsa*. Usage of this postposition will be presented in this section.

---

[3] In addition, I am much less fluent in the language used in *Sri Ramcaritmanas*, and so explaining the full range of data in that text is beyond the scope of this paper. For the same reason, most of the sentences in this section are not glossed word by word.

To determine the distribution of *pahīn* across different contexts, I performed a count on the text. I found a total of 83 instances of *pahīn* – and strikingly, all took animate goals. 75 of the examples featured *pahīn* as the argument of a verb of motion, with the remaining instances appearing as predicates or as markers of abstract possession. *Pāsa* appears less frequently, with only 24 total appearances. Eleven of these mark animate goals, 9 are noun usages (meaning "side," as of a building), and 2 are unclear. The tables below show these distributions, and examples of both markers follow.

Table 5: Distribution of *pahīn* in *Sri Ramcaritmanas*

Context	#
Locative-allative 'toward'	75
Locative-Beside	2
Non-locative	6
Total	**83**

Table 6: Distribution of *pāsa* in *Sri Ramcaritmanas*

Context	#
Locative-allative 'toward'	11
Noun	9
Unknown	2
Total	**23**

Example (11) shows the most frequent use of *pahīn*, in which it marks the animate goal of a motion verb, in this case the king. (12) shows *pahīn* expressing "beside" with an animate, but it is still the argument of the verb. No examples of predicative uses of *pahīn* iwere found. Finally, *pahīn* was also used to express abstract inalienable possession, as in (13), where it marks the "possessor" or recipient of some abstract object such as "joy."

(11)   Ṛṣi   dharī   dhīra   Jānaka pahīn āe.   (S.R. 630[4])

Sage keep.GER patience.M.SG Janaka to   come-PST.

'The sage collected himself and went to King Janaka.' (lit. "keeping his patience")

(12)   Nṛpahi   nāri   pahīn sayana karaī   (S.R. 188)

King-OBL woman near sleep do-caus.ger

'Putting the king to bed beside his queen…'

(13)   Timī sukha   sampatī   binahī   bolāen, dharmasīlā pahīn   (S.R. 299)

Thus happiness prosperity without call.GER pious soul to

jahī subhāen.

go.PRES.PL naturally

'So joy and prosperity come unasked and of their own accord to a pious soul.'

In (14), *pāsa* functions as the argument of the verb, marking the animate goal of the verb

"*gae,*" meaning "went." (15) shows the noun usage of *pāsa*, where it simply means "side."

(14)   Cale   bhavānihi   nāi   sira   gae   himācala pāsa.(S.R.115)

Leave.PST.PL Bhavani.OBL bow.GER head go.PST.PL himachal to

'Bowing their head to Her, they went to Himavān.'

(15)   Phūlata   phalata   supallavata   sohata   (S.R. 228)

flower.GER, bearing fruit.GER bearing.leaves.GER adorn.GER.

pura chahun pāsa

city four sides.

'The city was adorned on all sides with flower-gardens, orchards, and groves.'

---

[4] S.R. stands for *Sri Ramacharitmanas*, and the number indicates the page number of the example in an electronic
copy of the verse. All full-sentence translations in this section are repeated verbatim from the text.

33

Finally, possession is expressed simply via existential sentences, as:

(17)   Nahin paṭa kaṭi   nahin peṭa   aghāhīn.   (S.R. 592)

              not   cloth   waist.LOC not stomach   satisfied

              'Yet we have no cloth to cover our loins and get no food enough to fill our belly.'

(18)   Jākein   asa ratha   hoi   drṛha   (S.R. 908)

              who.REL.GEN such chariot be.PRES.3.SG strong

              'The hero who happens to be in possession of such a strong chariot ..."

In summary, the data found in *Sri Ramcaritmanas* – slightly older text than *Prem Sagar*, and composed in a different dialect of Hindi – provide some support for the findings from *Prem Sagar*. *Pahīn* and *pāsa*, the cognates of *ke pās*, may express only animate goals, though it is unclear whether there were animacy restrictions on the predicative use of *pahīn*. *Pāsa*, though, also appears as a noun, meaning "side" (related to its postpositional meaning of "beside" or "near"), and also expresses possession in one instance. These differences should not be taken as marks against the conclusions I drew in *Prem Sagar* or as diachronic evidence of what the language was like prior to that stage. Instead, the divergence could be attributable to dialect differences. So, while we cannot draw solid conclusions about modern Hindi or *Prem Sagar* Hindi from this data, the fact that *pahīn* and *pāsa* appear only with animates is useful support.

5 Stage 2: Modern Hindi

In the Hindi of *Prem Sagar*, *ke pās* appeared in two types of contexts: as the argument of a verb, and as the main predicate of a sentence. As the main predicate of the sentence, *ke pās* was interpreted differently depending on the animacy of its argument: with inanimates, it indicated location; with animates, it indicated possession.

Canonically, in modern Hindi *ke pās* is supposed to work much the same, marking animate goals and the predicative relations of nearness and possession. However, in this section I show that while *ke pās* has continued to be used in the same way when it appears as an argument, its predicative use has undergone several changes. First, *ke pās* is no longer limited to expressing alienable possession, and has been extended to other domains, such that it may also mark inalienable possessors and the indirect object of a ditransitive verb. Second, its predicative use to mark location (expressing "nearness") has become marked. I address each of these changes in turn.

5.1 Extension to other types of possession

For the most part, when predicative *ke paas* appears with an animate argument, it is interpreted as alienable possession. In (1), Ram possesses, or controls, the book, and this is expressed by *ke paas*.

(1)   Rām   ke pās kitāb   hai.
        Ram   POSS   book   be.3D.SG.
        'Ram has a book."

But alongside this fundamental use, *ke paas* has come to express a variety of other senses previously expressed by the genitive *ka/ke/ki* or the postposition *ko*. I present these extensions in comparison to canonical uses, as exemplified by modern grammars used to teach Hindi. According

to textbooks (e.g. Snell and Weightman 2003), inalienable possession – part-whole and kinship relations – is expressed by the genitive. (2) is an example of a part-whole relation expressed by the genitive, because Ram's hair is part of him, while (3) is an example of a kinship relation, and may be expressed by the genitive or by *ko*.

(2) Rām ke bāl hai.
     Ram GEN hair be.3D.SG..
     'Ram has hair.'

(3) Rām kī/ko mā hai.
     Ram. GEN/ALL mother be.3D.SG.
     'Ram has a mother.'

However, *ke pās* is slowly coming to be used in contexts that are traditionally associated with in the domains of genitive *kā/ke/kī* and *ko*, such as part-whole relations. For example, in sentences (4), (5), and (6), *ke pās* is used to express inalienable possession, marking the possessors of, respectively "an artificial knee," "a broken leg," and "brains."

(4) Mere pās naklī   ghūṭna hai
     I. POSS artificial knee   be.3D.SG..
     'I have an artificial knee.'

(5) Mere pās ṭūṭa   peḍ hai.
     I. POSS broken leg be.3D.SG..
     'I have a broken leg.'

(6) Us-   ke pās dimāg hai.

    He.OBL POSS   brains is

    'He has brains.' ('He is clever.')

For some speakers, the above examples of possession are somehow less "inalienable" than sentences like "I have two knees," "I have two legs," or "I have a neighbor," which must take the genitive (as in (7)). For other speakers, though, a sentence like (8) is perfectly acceptable, and *ke pās* may mark the possessor of a hand, an inalienable relation. However, for both sets of speakers, a construction like "the bookshelf has books" which entails an inanimate part-whole relation (inanimate inalienable possession), requires use of a separate locative meaning "on," as in (9).

(7) Meri ek   paḍosi   hai.

    I.GEN one neighbor be.3D.SG.

    'I have a neighbor.'

(8) Mere pās do   hāth hain.

    I. POSS   two hands be.3D.PL.

    'I have two hands.'

(9) Pustak takhte   par pustak hain.

    Book   shelf.OBL on books be.3D.PL.

    'The bookshelf has books.' (Lit: 'On the bookshelf are books.')

Finally, *ke pās* has also come to be used to mark the indirect object of a ditransitive verb (as in "I gave him the book"). Previously, these objects could only have been marked by the dative *ko*, as in (10). But now, it is also acceptable to use the construction in (11), where *ke paas* is used to mark the indirect object.

(10) Maine usko   kitāb dī.
      I.ERG him.DAT book gave.PST.SG.FEM
      'I gave him the book.'

(11) Mai-ne uske pās kitāb dī.
      I. ERG   him.DAT book gave. PST.SG.FEM
      'I gave him the book.'

5.2 Markedness of predicative locative *ke pās*

Just as in *Prem Sagar*, the locative uses of *ke pās* in modern Hindi can be split into argument and predicative uses. The argument usages have remained static, with animate goals, such as "friend," taking *ke pās* as in (1). Inanimate spatial locations take *ko* or no marker at all for allatives, as in (20), while individuals in allative constructions take various postpositions, such as *tak* ("until") (13).

(12) Vo apne   dost   ke pās gayā.
      He POSS.REFL friend   ALL   go.PST.
      'He went to his friend.'

(13) Main dukān ko jā rahī   hūn.
      I   store   ALL go PROG.FEM be.1ST.SG
      'I am going to the store.' (*ko* optional)

(14) Voh tāpu par gayā.
      He island on go.PST
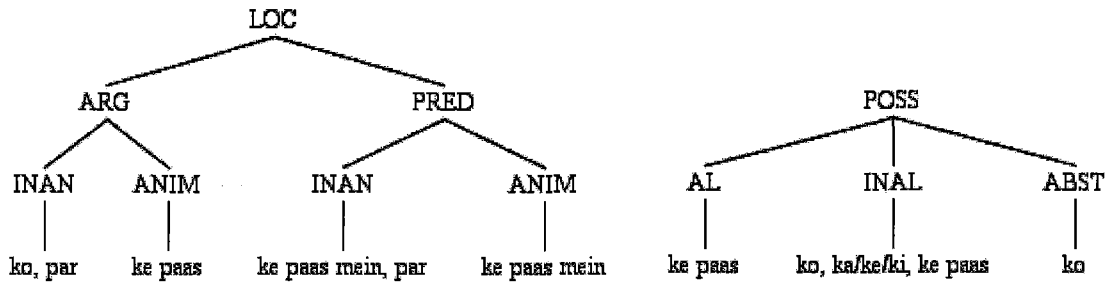   'He went to the island.'

The predicative uses of *ke pās*, however, have changed. Grammar books typically state that *ke pās* also expresses a locative-beside relation, as in (15), but this now seems to be a marked usage. The preferred locative-beside construction now uses *ke pās mein* (where *mein* means "in"), with both animate and inanimate arguments. In (16), *ke pās mein* marks an inanimate argument, a shop, while in (17), it marks an animate argument, *Rām*. For some speakers, *ke pās* may be used on its own to express "nearness" with animate arguments, but cannot express the immediate "next to" relation. This is shown in (18), where *ke pās* is used with the animate *Rām* to mark nearness.

(15)   *Main dukān ke pās hūn.
        I   shop BES   be.1ST.SG.
        'I am next to the shop.'

(16)   Main dukān ke pās mein hūn.
        I   shop BES   be.1ST.SG.
        'I am next to the shop.'

(17)   Main Rām ke pās mein hūn.
        I   Ram BES   be.1ST.SG.
        'I am next to Ram.'

(18)   ?Main Rām ke pās hūn.
        I   Ram BES be.1ST.SG.
        'I am near to Ram.'

In contrast with *Prem Sagar*, in modern Hindi, *ke pās* has come to express a variety of relations beyond alienable possession, including inalienable possesion and indirect objects. Though its argumental locative use has remained intact (*ke pās* may still indicate animate goals of

verbs), its predicative locative use has become marked. Instead, *ke pās mein* is used to express the

locative-beside relation. These developments are shown in the tree diagram below.

Fig. 3 Location and Possession in Modern Hindi.

```
                            LOC
              ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
            ARG                            PRED                                  POSS
          ┌───┴───┐                    ┌─────┴─────┐                  ┌───────────┼───────────┐
       INAN      ANIM               INAN          ANIM              AL         INAL          ABST
         │         │                  │             │                │           │             │
      ko, par   ke paas        ke paas mein, par  ke paas mein    ke paas   ko, ka/ke/ki, ke paas   ko
```

40

6   Formal account

Recall that there in the Hindi of *Prem Sagar*, *ke pās* can be used in two syntactic confugurations. It can appear as an argument of a motion verb (1b) or a stative verb (1c) or it may be used as the main predicate in a copular sentence (3). Schema and examples of all these types are given below.

(1)   a. X ke pās Y gayā.   *Argument*

         X ALL   Y go.PST.

         'Y went to X.'

      b. Indra sun   sab devtāon ko sāth le   Brahmā ke pās gaye.   P.S.: 8

        Indra hearing all gods   with   taking Brahma   ALL   go.PST.

        On hearing this, Indrù, accompanied by all the gods, went to Brahma.

      c. Aur sadā   viske pās hi   rehte   hain.

        And perpetually he.BES   EMPH stay.3D.PL.MASC is

        'And he always stays near him.'

(2)   X ke pās Y hai.   *Predicate (location)*

     X near   Y is

     'Y is near X.'

     b. Vahān se   baḍhin   to   dekhā, jo   un   caraṇ   (P.S. 31: 53)

       There ABL go forward.PST EMPH look.PST, which those marks

       cinhon ke pās pās ek   nāri ke   bhi pānv upḍe   hūe   hain.

       feet   BES   one girl GEN also foot traced became be.PRES.PL

       '[They] proceeded onward; when lo! the traces of a woman's feet became visible near the marks of the feet which they had first beheld.'

Following Kracht, let us assume that locative postpositions denote a relation between regions. That is, an expression like *ke pās* "near," in its locative use, denotes a relation between the location of an object (meaning the region corresponding to the object) and the set of regions near it. A tentative meaning for *ke pās* is given in (4), where the subscript *reg* stands for the type of regions. This meaning can be read as: "a relation between regions x and y, such that x is near y."

(3)   *[[ke-pās]] = [λx_{reg} λy_{reg} (near (x_{reg})(y_{reg}))]*

Kracht (2002) observes that locatives denote relations between regions, but take individual objects as their arguments. To account for this, I use the *loc'* function he proposes, which returns for a given object the region it occupies in space ("a function from time points to regions"). So given an argument, the individual Ram, *"Ram ke pās"* would have the following meaning as in (5). (4) denotes the set of regions that are near the location of Ram.

(4)   *[[Ram ke pās]] = [λx_{reg} λy_{reg} (near (x_{reg})(y_{reg}))](loc'(Ram))*

$$= λy_{reg} (near (loc'(Ram))(y_{reg}))]$$

Intuitively, goals seem to be somewhat more "individual" than locational predicates. In a goal expression, the subject may be moving toward or into the region around x, but the conceptual focus is actually on x as an individual goal. Kracht captures this intuition by differentiating between "parametrized sets of objects" (regions) and "parametrized neighborhoods" (the names of regions). This is the difference between the uses of the English preposition "under" in the two sentences in (5a) and (5b).

(5)   a. The cat is under the table.

        b. Under Felix is a scary place for a mouse to be.

In the sentence "The cat is under the table," "under the table" denotes a region, and by extension the set of individuals located in those regions, while in the sentence "Under Felix is a scary place for a mouse to be," "Under Felix" names the region in question (Kracht 2002: 40, 43-44). And, in fact, "under Felix" is used as an argument of the sentence. Similarly, in example (3b) above, *cinhon ke pās pās* "near the footprints" names the region around the footprints, in which the girl's footprints appeared.

Thus, there are two ways in which the meaning of postpositional/locative phrases can function in a sentence: the locative phrase may either serve as an argument of the verb or as the predicate. In its argumental uses, the locational phrase *"peḍ ke pās"* (where *peḍ* means "tree") may be seen as denoting "the unique region" that is located near the tree. This meaning is obtained by applying the iota (ι) operator to the predicate in (5). This returns a unique member the a set (the unique region near the tree) from the predicate denoting a set (the set of regions near the region of the tree):

(6) $\iota\, y_{reg}\ near(loc'(the\ tree))(y)$

In its predicative uses, the sentence simply asserts that the location of an object y is an element of the set of regions that are near the location of the tree (or a general object x). So, the meaning of a sentence like *"Shām Rām ke pās hai,"* 'Sham is next to Ram," given in (7), may be expressed by the formulations in (8). Generally speaking, given y, the region of y is near the location of Ram, as

43

shown in (8a). Specifically, with *loc'(Shām)* (the location of Sham) as y_{reg}, we get the expression in (8b), where the location of Sham is near the location of Ram. That is, the location of Sham is an element of the set of regions near the location of Ram.

(7)   Shām   Rām   ke pās hai.
        Sham (name) Ram (name) near   is
        "Sham is near Ram."

(8)   a. *λy. [near(loc'Ram) (y_{reg})] (Sham)*
        b. *= [near(loc'(Ram) (loc'(Sham))]*

The argumental usage of *ke pās* has remained static over time, and has been able to express animate goals consistently and in the same way since the Hindi of *Prem Sagar* into modern Hindi. But the predicative use of *ke pās* has undergone some changes. As described above, animates may not appear in locative predicative expressions with *ke pās*; instead, they are interpreted in that position as possessives. But possession is not a relation between regions. It is clearly not the case that the region of some individual controls the region of some object; instead, in a possession relation, some individual *x* controls some object *y*.

Thus, I propose that predicative *ke pās* has bleached into a relation between individuals rather than a relation between regions, as before. The overall function may be expressed as underspecified vague Π relation between individuals, which captures all predicative uses of *ke pās*. What Π signifies is determined by context, and includes a variety of relations, including kinship and part-whole, in addition to the previously-available nearness and control relations:

(10) $\lambda x \lambda y.\ \Pi(x,y)$ underspecified function

- *near (loc'(x))(loc'(y))*
- *control (x)(y)*
- *?kinship (x)(y)*
- *?part-whole (x)(y)*

Interestingly, the location relation has come to employ a new method of encoding. As we have seen previously, the use of *ke pās* on its own to express nearness has become somewhat marked, and is now paired with the postposition *mein*, meaning "in." The examples are repeated below:

(9) *Main dukān ke pās hūn.

     I   shop BES   be.1ST.SG.

     'I am next to the shop.'

(10) Main dukān ke pās mein hūn.

     I   shop BES   be.1ST.SG.

     'I am next to the shop.'

(11) Main Rām ke pās mein hūn.

     I   Ram BES   be.1ST.SG.

     'I am next to Ram.'

This could be seen as evidence that because *ke pās* has come to relate individuals, the postposition *mein* must be added to "localize" the expression such that it relates regions instead.

As for the possessive use of *ke pās*, it underwent a host of other changes after the initial extension into expressing control. These changes seem to have proceeded in order of prototypicality. Recall the following diagram from Heine, which presents the types of possession

in terms of their salience to the domain, or level of prototypicality. The diagram is presented again below:

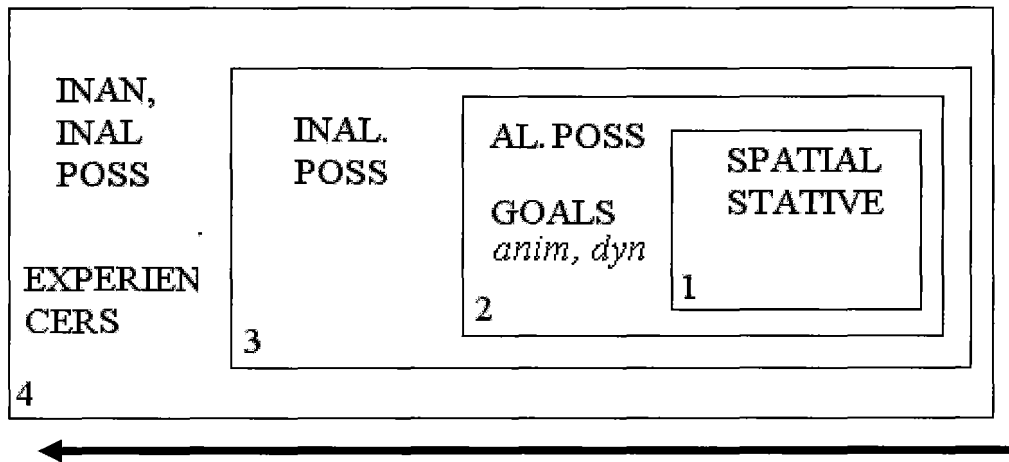Fig. 1: Prototypicality of possession notions

We have seen that the first extension of *ke pās* was to alienable possession (proximal possession was likely the first use, followed by distal possession, or control over an object that is not spatially proximate). It has also been able to express temporary and physical possession (control over objects that do not belong to the possessor). And now, *ke pās* may express certain instances of inalienable possession, such as kinship and part-whole relations, which were previously expressed by *ko* or the genitive. All these uses occupy the next "level" of prototypicality, and in the future, *ke pās* may come to express the least prototypical varieties of possession, such as inanimate inalienable/alienable possession or abstract possession.

In addition, *ke pās* may mark the indirect object of a ditransitive verb, a function previously filled only by *ko*. *Ko* also marks abstract possessors (or experiencers). If *ke pās* can already express one function in the domain of *ko*, this supports a potential extension at some point in the future to abstract possession, another of the least prototypical possessive notions.

The following diagram shows the trajectory of *ke paas* and the widening of its semantic domain. Stage 1 represents an unknown time before *Prem Sagar*, while Stage 2 is the Hindi of

Prem Sagar, where *ke pās* expressed alienable possession, goals, and location in predicates. Stage 3 represents modern Hindi, in which *ke pās* may also express inalienable possession, and Stage 4 represents the possible future

Fig. 4: Extension of ke paas across domains (from left)

INAN, INAL POSS

EXPERIEN CERS

4

INAL. POSS

3

AL. POSS

GOALS
anim, dyn

2

SPATIAL STATIVE

1

7 Discussion and conclusion

It is difficult to provide a clear reason for why and how locatives might be reinterpreted as possessives, but in this essay I hoped to provide a more nuanced trajectory of such a change, looking at how the meaning of a particular locative/possessive marker has changed in Hindi. I tried to characterize *ke pās* as shifting from indicating a relation between regions to indicating a relation between individuals. Somehow, this generalization allowed the interpretation of control to arise, which led to various other changes as well. In this final section, I offer some speculation on why this change might have occurred.

As we can see from the asymmetries evident in the *Prem Sagar* data, animacy has had something to do with the changes in *ke pās*:

- Goal/argument usage of *ke pās* may only take animates.
- Predicative locative usage of *ke pās* may only take inanimates.
- When predicative *ke pās* appears with an animate, it is interpreted as a possessive.

Creissels (2009) argues that humans in general are averse to conceptualizing animates as the "orienter" (or location) in spatial relations. As an example, he points to Eastern Armenian, in which the locative marker can only refer to entities conceivable as "regions," and only in appropriate contexts. So, to say "the pin is in the box," a speaker may use either the locative marker (1a) or a postposition meaning "in" (1b).

(1)   Eastern Armenian (Creissels 2009)

a.   Gəndaseɣ-ə tupʰ-**um** e.

pin-DEF   box-LOC is

'The pin is in the box.'

48

b. Gəndaseɣ-ə tupʰ-**i**   **meʝ** e.

   pin- DEF   box-GEN in   is

   'The pin is in the box.'

But, when "the box" is no longer considered a region or receptacle in context, but an individual thing, the locative cannot be used. So, when the locatum is not "inside" the location, but, for example, on it, a postposition is required:

c. Gəndaseɣ-ə tupʰ-**i**   **vəra** e.

   pin- DEF   box-GEN on   is.

'   The pin is on the box'

And if the "orienter," or location, is animate, a different postposition is also required, presumably because animates are not regions, or receptacles:

(2)   Ays avazak-i   **meʝ** mi kʰani lav   hatkutʰ   yunner kan.

   this brigand- GEN in   some good qualities there-are

   'There are some good qualities in this brigand.'

Creissels cites Comrie (1986) as saying that people do not think of animates as "receptacles," which therefore blocks these spatial expressions. However, while this might explain why a locative like *par* "on" cannot appear with an animate marker, it does not explain why something meaning "beside" also could not. There is no reason an object should not be able to appear next to another object that is not a receptacle.

But Creissels builds on Comrie's claim by arguing that animacy effects on case are not just derived from the fact that animates are not regions or receptacles. Rather, animates are typically mobile, while "optimal locational orienters occupy a fixed position in space" (Creissels 2009).

If an individual can move and may be moving, whatever region we conceive around that individual is moving as well, and therefore might not be a useful reference point to express location. Markers expressing "at" (and ones expressing "near," like *ke pās*) are interpreted with relation to the set of regions of the location. The locative might thus marked if the relevant set of regions cannot be defined in a fixed way. Goals, on the other hand, are conceptually a bit more like individuals, and so it may be more acceptable to have a moving goal, especially if the second argument (the individual moving towards the goal) is also moving. If the locatee does not occupy a fixed position in space, it may not be necessary for the location to also occupy a fixed position in space. This may help explain why *ke pās* can only appear with animates in goal constructions and not predicative ones, as well as why this asymmetry has persisted through to modern Hindi.

The extension to possession, too, may be plausibly explained by the mobility of animates. As Kracht argues, the neighborhood of an entity is defined by the region around it. Animates are mobile, and so the region around them is not defined or fixed with respect the rest of the world. However, the region around them is defined and fixed with respect *to them*. Thus, when *ke paas* appeared as a predicate with an animate location x, x_{reg} was mobile, corresponding not with a permanent physical region, but with the changing location x. So if y_{reg} was near x_{reg}, it could have been interpreted as always being in that region, its location changing along with the location of x. This has many of the qualities of possession – human location, concrete locatee, spatial/temporal proximity – and so the relation could have lent itself to the idea of control, where x would control y. However, this change would not happen with some inanimate entity that moved, such as a

chariot, so volitionality might have been involved as well. The addition of the element of control could then have facilitated the change of *ke paas* from a relation between regions to a relation between individuals.

Still, as other scholars have noted, it is extremely difficult to concretely capture how speakers made the metaphors and conceptual leaps that gave rise to new expressions. I offer these ideas as possible avenues for future research into this topic.

References

Ahmed, Tafseer. 2006. Spatial, temporal and structural usages of Urdu ko. In *The Proceedings of the LF-06 Conference*, ed. Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King. [http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/LFG/11/lfg06ahmed.pdf]

Ahmed, Tafseer. Spatial Expressions and Case in South Asian Languages. Ph.D Diss.: Universitaet Konstanz 2009.

Alexiadou, Artemis. *Some notes on the structure of alienable and inalienable possessors.* In From NP to DP: the Expression of Possession in Noun Phrases. Ed. Martine Coene, Yves D'hulst. John Benjamins Publishing Co. 2003.

Aristar, Anthony Rodrigues. 1996. The Relationship Between Dative and Locative: Kurylowicz's Argument from a Typological Perspective. *Diachronica* 13: 207-224. doi:10.1075/dia.13.2.02ari.

Anderson, John M. 1971. *The Grammar of Case: Towards a Localistic Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baron, Irene, Michael Herslund and Finn Sorenson. 2001. Dimensions of Possession. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Beames, John. 1872. *A comparative grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India: to wit, Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oṛiya, and Bangali.* Trübner.

Brennenstuhl, W. 1976. 'What we can't do.' *Papers from the 12th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linuistic Society.* Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 56-71.

Butt, Miriam and Aditi Lahiri. 2002. Historical Stability vs. Historical Change. Manuscript.

Butt, Miriam, Tafseer Ahmed, & Tikaram Poudel. 2008. Development of Case in South Asian Languages. DGfS Workshop Sprachwandelvergleich. Bamberg.

Butt, Miriam, & Tracy King. 2004. The Status of Case. *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages.* Vol. 61. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.

Butt, Miriam, and Tracy Holloway King. 1991. Semantic Case in Urdu. In *Papers from the 27th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 31-45.

Butt, Miriam. 2006. *Theories of case.* Cambridge University Press.

Davison, Alice. 1998. Structural Case, Lexical Case and Complex Predicates. *South Asian Language Review* 8.

Cardona, George. 2003. *The Indo-Aryan languages.* Psychology Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1986. Markedness, Grammar, People, and the World. In Eckman, Fred R., Edith A. Moravcsik & Jesica R. Wirth, *Markedness*. 85-106. New York: Plenum Press.

Creissels, Denis. 2008. Spatial cases. In *The Handbook of Case*, eds. Andrej Malchukov and Andrew Spencer. 609-625. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Creissels, Denis. 2009. Animacy and spatial cases. *From:* Workshop 'Cases, animacy and semantic roles': Helsinki.

Dayal, Veneeta, & Anoop Mahajan (eds.). 2004. *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*. Vol. 61. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. http://www.springerlink.com/content/h532661p0372pg16/ (20 October, 2010).

Evans, Nicholas. 1995. *A grammar of Kayardild: with historical-comparative notes on Tangkic*. Walter de Gruyter.

Farkas, D. F. 1988. On Obligatory Control. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 11: 27-58.

Freeze, Ray. 1992. Existentials and Other Locatives. *Language* 68, 3: 553-595.

Gordon, Raymond G. 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 15th Edition*. SIL International. online: < http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=hin>

Heine, Bernd. 1997. Possession: Cognitive sources, forces, and grammaticalization. Cambridge University Press.

Hollings, W. 1848. The Prem Sagar of Lallu Lal. < http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/psa/index.htm>

Jackendoff, Ray. 1972. *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Jackendoff, Ray. 1987. The status of thematic relations in linguistic theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18: 369-411.

Jackendoff, Ray. 1990. *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kellogg, Samuel Henry. 1876. *A grammar of the Hindi language: in which are treated the standard Hindi, Braj, and the Eastern Hindi of the Rámáyan of Tulsí Dás, also the colloquial dialects of Marwar, Kumaon, Avadh, Baghelkhand, Bhojpur, etc.; with copious philological notes*. Am. Pres. Mission Press.

Khan, Inshallah. 1803. *Rani Ketaki ki Kahani*.

Klaiman, M.H. 1988. Affectedness and control: a typology of voice systems. In M. Shibatani, ed., *Passive and Voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 25-83.

Kracht, Marcus. 2002. On the semantics of locatives. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 25,2: 157-232

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lal, Lallu. 1804-1810. *Prem Sagar*.

Landau, Idan. 2009. *The Locative Syntax of Experiencers*. MIT Press.

Langacker, Ronald. 1995. "Reference Point Constructions." in Taylor and Robert E. MacLaury, ed., *Language and the cognitive construal of the world*. Walter de Gruyter.

Lizotte, Richard James. 1983. Universals concerning existence, possession, and location sentences. Ph.D. Diss.: Brown University.

Lyons, John. 1967. A note on possessive, existential and locative sentences. *Foundations of Language*, Vol 3, 4: 390-396.

Lyons, John. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press, June 1.

Malchukov, Andrej L. 2008. Animacy and asymmetries in differential case marking. *Lingua* 118, no. 2 (February): 203-221.

Marsack, Charles Croft. 1962. *Teach yourself Samoan*. English Universities P.

Masica, Colin P. 1993. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge University Press.

McGregor, R. S. 1967. The Rise of Standard Hindi and Early Hindi Prose Fiction. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 3/4 (October 1): 114-132.

Nichols, Johanna.1988. On Alienable and Inalienable Possession. *In Honor of Mary Haas: From the Haas Festival Conference on Native American Languages*. 557-610.

Ostler, Nicholas. 1979. *Case-linking: A theory of case and verb diathesis, applied to Classical Sanskrit*. PhD Dissertation, Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Seiler, Hansjakob. 1983. *Possession as an operational dimension of language*. Tubingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Snell, Rupert, and Simon Weightman. 2003. *Teach Yourself Hindi Complete Course*. 1st ed. McGraw-Hill, January 14.

Stassen, Leon. 2009. <u>Predicative Possession</u>. Oxford University Press.

Taylor, John R. 1995. *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press.

Tham, Shiao Wei. 2009. A conceptual (re)interpretation of the possessor-as-location hypothesis.

Traugott, Elizabeth C, and Richard Dasher. 2002. <u>Regularity in Semantic Change</u>. Cambridge University Press.

Tulsidas. Sri Ramcaritamanasa: A Romanized Edition. Gita Press.

Vermā, Manindra K. & Karavannur Puthanvettil Mohanan. 1990. *Experiencer subjects in South Asian languages*. Center for the Study of Language (CSLI).