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Can Compound Verb be Reversed in Hindi: An Inquiry of its Form and Function*[1]

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Abstract

The phenomenon called 'Reversed compound-verbs' (RVCs hereafter) has very much been noticed by Hook (1974; 55). He highlights the 'confusions' that such RCVs bring for the analysis of this category of compound verbs in Hindi. He has been able to list some of the pairs of 'polar' and 'vector' verbs that can be reordered in Hindi and many other Indian languages, but there is no explanation that is available for such reordering in Hook(ibid). The present paper is an effort to examine the process of the formation of these 'Reversible Compound Verbs' (RCVs hereafter) and analyze the function of the RCVs by using the yardstick adopted in Das (2006, 2013 and 2015). It would be interesting to examine what happens to the morphological, semantic and syntactic requirements of the CVs when they are compared with that of the RCVs. What is the semantic context in which the reordering of some CVs is grammatical and acceptable but others turn out to be ungrammatical and thus not allowed for reversing or reordering. It would give us a chance to evaluate the hypothesis proposed in Das (1997, 2015) that the ± transitivity of the V2 decides the ± transitivityof the entire CV in Hindi and other languages[3]. There aresome linguistic principles that dominate when and howCVs can be reversed. It is interesting to examine the so-called 'reversed compound verbs' in Hindi as it involves the pragmatic factors such as stylistic effect, suddenness, directionality, intentionality and the uncontrollable actions as the linguistic parameters which need a great deal of explanation. The present paper in an effort to take up these issues that are involved in reversing, reshuffling or reordering of the 'compound verbs' in Hindi and this should be empirically explained and typologically verified in other Indian languages.

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[3] See Das (2013a) 'Agreement in Kinnauri' to how the licensing of 'ergative' case depends on the ± transitivity of V2 (i.e. the vector verb).

Keywords: Reversed compound verb, parameters, stylistic effect, suddenness, directionality, ± transitivity, intentionality, pragmatic factors, and uncontrollable actions.

1. Introduction

The term 'compound verb construction' in Hindi is a well-established and well-researched phenomenon. Almost everything about 'compound verb construction' has been said and known to the researchers and almost all the detailed analyses are available in the literature. However, the phenomenon called 'Reversed compound verb' is relatively a new term in linguistics. Despite the fact that Hook (1974) has noticed the phenomenon and there are at least two research works i.e. Kulsum (2014) and Poornima (2008) which have tried to examine the process of reversing/reordering of the compound verb construction, there is no theoretical account available in the literature as to 'why, when and how' the compound verbs are reversed or reordered. Therefore, I feel that there is a need to re-examine and critically evaluate the 'RCVs' phenomenon in Hindi. If I succeed in this attempt, the present paper could be considered as the torch-bearer for the researchers to examine the phenomenon of 'RCVs' in other languages thatallow the compounding of two verbal elements in a manner whichhas been called as 'Explicator Compound Verb Construction' in the literature.

2. ECV (Explicator Compound Verb):

Masica (1976) has used the term 'ECV' to characterize the formation and function of the two verbal elements that would come to form a 'compound verb'. There are several terms that have been used in the literature to define the two verbal elements that form the compound verb in Hindi and other languages. The most common term is V_1= 'polar' and V_2= 'vector' or 'explicator'. I would like to stick to these terms as I have to talk about the reordering or reversing these two verbal elements and explain the phenomenon called 'reversed compound verb'. It is interesting to notice that the usage of the 'reversed compound verb' is generally found in telling stories to children, in telling something that accidently happened or in telling about an action that went out of control. This idea of working on the phenomenon of 'reversed compound verb' came to my mind while teaching Hindi as the foreign language to the students with the help of texts that are mainly stories for children in Hindi.

Das (2015; 57) has specified the linguistic prerequisites of these verbal elements when they are used as compound verbs. Das (ibid) states '…..we must agree to the following linguistic prerequisites in order to consider two verbal elements as the compound verb formation in Hindi(some points have been modified to suit the requirement of the present paper):

a. *The meaning of the V_1 must be replaceable with that of the compound verb in Hindi and other related languages. This rule has just two exceptions[4]as V_2 or Vector verbs i.e. 'lena', 'take' and 'dena', 'give' in Hindi.*

[4] Examples from Das (2015; 66)

This prerequisite can be testified by examining the example given below:

1.	**Polar verb**	**Vector verb**	= **Compound verb**	
1a.	pəɽʰnɑ 'to read'	lenɑ 'to take'	= pəɽʰnɑ	
	mɛ̃-ne yəh kɪtɑb pəɽʰ li I-1MS-Erg this book read-V_1 take-V_2-Pst-3FS 'I read this book.'		1b.	mɛ̃-ne yəh kɪtɑb pəɽʰi I-1MS-Erg this book read-Pst-3FS 'I read this book.'

b. The first verbal element i.e. V_1 must be in the root or a form that remains fixed, and in a case of an inflection, it should not show agreement with the subject or the object in the sentence. Das (2006) has explained this by analyzing the compound verb constructions in more than ten major varieties of Hindi and also in some other dominant languages in India such as Marathi, Nepali and Punjabi.

This rule also can be verified by examining the example given in (1), as the V_1 in the example remains in the bare or root form.

c. *The explicator or the vector i.e. V_2 should bear the tense and aspect or any such grammatical information. This is a very rigid criterion in terms of 'CVs' in Indian languages. The 'polar verb' i.e. V_1 should never be inflected for its grammatical relation with the subject or object in the sentence. The ± transitivity of the vector verb decides the syntactic (structural) transitivity of the compound verb construction. This rule is very important to understand for the placement of the ergative marker '-*

a. us-ne meri čɪʈʈʰi pəɽʰ li

he-3MS-Erg my letter-3FS-Acc read-V_1 take-V_2-Perf-3FS

'He read my letter'. <*In a sense that he should not have done it, but he did it*.>

b. us-ne meri čɪʈʈʰi pəɽʰ di

he-3MS-Erg my letter-3FS-Acc read-V_1 give-V_2-Perf-3FS

'He read out my letter for me'. <*In a sense that he did a favor to me*.>

ne' in compound verb construction in Hindi and other split-ergative Indian languages.

Let us see a counter example, where the V_1 and V_2 are both inflected for the grammatical agreement with the subject and therefore, we can't consider this example as an acceptable form of a compound verb in Hindi. Let us see the example:

2.	**False Polar verb**	**False Vector verb**	= **Not a Compound verb**[5]
2a	*cəlna*'to go/walk'	*jana*'to go'	= cəlnɑ
	ləṛk-ɑ/-i/-e gʰər čəl-ɑ/-i/-e gəy-ɑ/-i/-e boy-3M/F/S/Pl-Nom house walk-3M/F/S/Plwent-Pst-3M/FS/PL 'The boy went home.'		*2b.ləṛkɑ gʰər čəlɑ boy-3MS-Nom house walk-Pst-3MS 'The boy went home.'

The above example (2) shows that if the V_1 is inflected for grammatical information of the subject agreement in Hindi, the pair of two verbal element is not qualified as a 'compound verb'. The semantic requirement that is expressed in prerequisite (a), also disqualifies the example to be a compound verb because the meaning of the 'polar' verb is not the meaning of the entire CV. Thus, this example is not accepted as a compound verb in a strict sense.

So far so good, these are the facts that we already know from the research on the compound verb construction in Hindi and other Indian languages. Having agreed to the above prerequisites of 'CVs' in Hindi, let us now move to something that has not been explicitly said about the compound verb constructions. Consider the following examples and observe their linguistic properties in Hindi:

3. ləṛk□ əpnimɑ̃-ki goo̲-mẽ bɛʈʰ-ɑ
boy-3MS-Nom his mother-Gen lap-Loc sit-3MS-perf
'The boy sat in his mother's lap'.

In the above sentence, the verb 'bɛʈʰnɑ', 'to sit' has been used as a simple verb, and the inflectional morphology on the verb indicates that it has been used in past simple form. Let us now see the same verb in a compound verb format.

3a. ləṛk□ əpnimɑ̃-ki goo̲-mẽ bɛʈʰ gəy-ɑ
boy-3MS-Nom his mother-Gen lap-Loc sit-V_1 go-V_2-3MS-perf
'The boy sat in his mother's lap'.

The variant example of (3) as (3a) successfully shows that the polar verb 'bɛʈʰnɑ', 'to sit' has been used with an explicator/vector verb e.g. 'jɑnɑ', 'to go'

[5] There is no unanimity about this prerequisite amongst the researchers, but I feel this is a very strong and essential prerequisite for compound verb construction.

which has been bleached of its semantic content, and thus does not contribute any meaning in (3a) and gets exemplified as a good piece of evidence of 'compound verb construction' in Hindi by fulfilling all the prerequisites of CVC that have been outlined in the beginning of the paper.
However, lets us examine one more example as another variant of (3a) given as (3b) below:

3b.	ləṛkɑ	əpnimɑ̃-ki	goḏ̪-mẽ	jɑ	bɛʈʰ-ɑ
	boy-3MS-Nom	his mother-Gen	lap-Loc	go-V_2	sit-V_1-3MS-perf

'The boy sat in his mother's lap'.

The above example (3b) semantically meansexactly the same as that of (3a) and (3) discussed above. It is for this reason that this phenomenon needs some serious thinking and analysis of the so called 'reversed compound verb' in Hindi.
Hook (1972:64) states, '….below we give a recapitulation of different speakers' reactions to different reversed sequences in tabular form.

Table-1: (The table is exactly as it appears in the Hook's work).

Compound verb	The initial sounds of the names of the speakers							
de maar	t	s	g	i	p	v	j	B
de paTak	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
de bhagaa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
de giraa	*	*	*	+	+	+		+
de band kar	*	*	*	*	?			+
de bhaag	*	+	*	*	+	+		+
caluR	+	*	+		+		+	+
calbiit	*	*	*	ok	+			+
uThbol	*	*	+	*	?			*
maar likh	*	*	*	+	*	*	*	+
maar chaan	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+

Hook (ibid) has presented the above table of reversed verbs with the acceptability and unacceptability of such reversed pairs with eight native speakers of Hindi. He has not done any analysis of these pairs beyond this. There are some preliminary works e.g. Poornima (2008), Kulsum (2014) and Zahid (unpublished paper) which try to examine the issue. However, there is a need of full-length research paper on the topic which explains the phenomenon of reordering of the CVC in Hindi.
Consider the following examples:

4a.	pətɑ nəhĩ̃	merɑ	nɔkər		kəhɑ̃	gəyɑ
	don't know	my	servernt-3MS-Nom		where	go-perf-3MS

'I don't know where my servant went'.

4b.	pətɑ nəhĩ	merɑ	nɔkər	kəhɑ̃	mər	gəyɑ
	don't know	my	servernt-3MS-Nom	where	die-V_2	go-V_1-perf-3MS

'I don't know where my servant went'.

4c.	pətɑ nəhĩ	merɑ	nɔkər	kəhɑ̃	jɑ	mər-ɑ
	don't know	my	servernt-3MS-Nom	where	go-V_1	die-V_2-perf-3MS

'I don't know where my servant went'.

These three sentences are the basis of the hypothesis and argument that 'reversed compound verb' in Hindi is pretty common. In fact, what Hook (1972) noticed about the possibility of reordering is not accidental. If we pay very close attention to the sentences in (4a-c), we have interesting facts to talk about the phenomenon of reversed compound verb in Hindi. It seems that (4a) has a meaning to convey and (4b) expresses the same semantics that of (4a) by replacing the mono-verbal expression with a compound verb in the sentence. ***It is important to notice that the verbal form 'mər gəyɑ' in (4b) can't be the replacer of 'gəyɑ' of (4a) because the meaning of the polar verb i.e. V_1 has to be the meaning of the entire compound verb.*** This is one of the salient features as well as prerequisites of compound verb construction in Hindi and other Indian languages (Das 1997, 2006, 2013, 2015). However, expression like (4b) is so common that we can't say that this ungrammatical and how we can say so when this conveys the same meaning that is intended by (4a).

One of the explanations that can help us understand as to why (4b) sounds alright and should be considered grammatical is the phenomenon called 'reversed compound verb'. ***I presume that the expression (4c) must have been the default compound verb construction of (4a) i.e. 'jɑ mərɑ', 'went'.*** Remember that the V_2 or the 'vector verb' in a compound verb does not add any semantic content to the complex predicate except the two exceptions that I have mentioned in the beginning of the present paper. So, it is alright to have 'jɑ mərɑ' which is equal or equitable to that of the expression indicated by the simple predicate 'gəyɑ' in (4a). The second verbal element i.e. 'mərnɑ'= 'to die' is semantically bleached and functions as an explicator for the semantic content of the 'polar' verb. So, the default compound verb is 'jɑ mərɑ' which equals 'jɑnɑ', 'to go'.

But what about (4b) which has a complex predicate 'mər gəyɑ' which also means 'gəyɑ', 'went'. I hypothesize that 'mər gəyɑ' is an example of 'reversed' counterpart of 'jɑ mərɑ' for which we have a simple predicate 'gəyɑ', 'went'. If we accept this hypothesis, we would be able to explain the usage of the compound verb in the following sentence:

5a.	kəhɑ̃	gəye	jəldi	g^hər	ɑi-ye
	where	go-perf-2M-Hon	hurriedly	house	come-2M-Hon-perf

'Where did you go, come home fast'?

5b. kəhɑ̃ bɛʈʰ gəye jəldi gʰər ɑi-ye
where sit-V_2 go-V_1-2MS hurriedly house come-2M-Hon-perf
'Where did you go, come home fast'!

5c. kəhɑ̃ jɑ bɛʈʰ-e jəldi gʰər ɑi-ye
where go-V_1 sit-V_2-2M-Hon hurriedly house come-2M-Hon-perf
'Where did you go, come home fast'!

The examples in (5a-c) show similar thing that we discussed in examples (4a-c) earlier. The simple predicate in (5) is paraphrased with a compound verb construction in (5b) and this looks like the default 'compound verb' because this is so commonly used by the speakers. However, if we think about the prerequisites of the compound verb construction, we have to agree to the fact that (5b) can't be the default compound verb as the meaning of the V_1 won't be able to replace the meaning of the entire compound verb. Therefore, we have to presume that the sequencing of the verbs in example (5c) must be the default order of the compound verb. If this is considered as the default order, the prerequisite of the compound verb i.e. the meaning of the V_1 should be able to replace the meaning of the compound verb, is also fulfilled. The two sets of examples in (4) and (5) prove the fact that some of the reversed compound verbs are so commonly available in the language that they don't even need any pragmatic factor for their reversal.

One can possibly argue here that the hypothesis presented above is not valid in the light of the metaphoric expression such as 'mər gəyɑ' which actually means 'went' and it is used when one is really annoyed with someone. The compound verb 'mər gəyɑ' which otherwise means 'died' can be used in the context of annoyance and it simply shows the irritation and annoyance of the person when s/he decides to use this expression for someone's going somewhere for a long time or going somewhere without informing the other. I can't simply refute this argument, after all there are expressions in every language which are used metaphorically. The lexical meaning of the words in such expression can't ensure the meaning of the expression such as 'bɑl kɑkʰɑl nɪkɑlnɑ' = **बाल का खाल निकालना** 'to criticize something unnecessarily'. However, examples such as 'mər gəyɑ', 'went' and 'bɛʈʰ gəye', 'went'are found to obey all the criteria laid down to qualify two verbal elements as an example of compound verb, of course, with mere change of their order. If we re-order them to their default positions, the very need to call them metaphoric expressions is just not required any longer. So, 'mər gəyɑ' and 'bɛʈʰ gəye' should be treated as 'reversed compound verb' and not as any metaphoric expression because once they are re-arranged to their default positions such as 'jɑ mərɑ' and 'jɑ bɛʈʰe', we have no difficulty in

explaining these examples as compound verbs as per the prerequisites mentioned in Das (2015:57).

Let us now examine the following examples before we say something conclusively about the formation of the 'reversed compound verbs' in Hindi:

*6. mɑ̃-ne jor-se bəčče-ko tʰəppəṛɑyɑ
mother-3FS-Erg with force child-Obl-3MS-Acc slapped-Perf-3MS
'Mother slapped the child hard'.

6a. mɑ̃-ne jor-se bəčče-ko ek tʰəppəṛɑ dɪyɑ
mother-3FS-Erg with force child-3MS-Acc one slap-N(m) give-Perf-3MS
'Mother slapped the child hard'.

6b. mɑ̃-ne jor-se bəčče-ko ek tʰəppəṛɑ jəṛ-ɑ
mother-3FS-Erg with force child-3MS-Acc one slap-N(m) imprint-Perf-3MS
'Mother slapped the child hard'.

6c. mɑ̃-ne jor-se bəčče-ko ek tʰəppəṛɑ jəṛ dɪyɑ
mother-3FS-Erg with force child-3MS-Acc one slap-N imprint-V_1 give-V_2-Perf-3MS
'Mother slapped the child hard'.

6d. mɑ̃-ne jor-se bəčče-ko ek tʰəppəṛɑ de jəṛɑ
mother-3FS-Erg with force child-3MS-Acc one slap-N giveV_1 imprint -V_2-Perf-3MS
'Mother slapped the child hard'.

The examples given in (6-6d) present an interesting linguistic ontology of the so-called reversed compound verbs. Das (2009) observes "….languages fulfill any pattern-gap of human communication by employing some very unique, uniform and interesting strategies".Das (ibid) has made this observation with regard to the formation of so-called 'conjunct verb'. The verbal expressions such as '*to love, to remember, to rely, to hate, to progress, to listen to someone, to care, to insult, to praise, to forgive* etc.' can't be expressed in many South Asian languages by using just a verb. In response, the languages adopt a strategy by which a noun or an adjective is plugged inside the verb phrase with a 'light verb' to fill up the vacuum or gap that is created by the absence of such verbal expression and come up with what we know in the literature is called 'conjunct verb construction'(Das 2009; 195). I am not proposing the following as a conclusion here, but if I am allowed to put my loud thinking, this can throw some light as to why such reversal/reordering might have started in the first place. The example (6) is ungrammatical in Hindi, as there is no verbal expression that can be equal to 'to slap' in English. However, we have at least three very common expressions, such

as **थप्पड़मारना**,'to slap',**थप्पड़देना**, 'to slap' and **थप्पड़जड़ना**, 'to slap'. The examples (6a-b) show that both of these expressionsare perfect and both can be used without any compromise to the naturalness of the usage of the language. Now these two options further facilitate us with a choice of the expression when both '**जड़ना** + **देना**'or '**देना** + **जड़ना**' can be used with **थप्पड़**in order to form a conjunct verb construction in Hindi.Such a situation, where the options are available to choose either of the construction such as (6c-d), seems to be the reason for 'reversed compound verb'. This is just a suggestion and it sounds very convincing with regard to the data that we have in the present paper.

This, however, is not very productive and is not something that can be commonly observed as a fact in the language and thus has not been reported in the literature. Therefore, most of the examples of reversed compound verbs have to be given some sort of pragmatic factors in which the reversal of the V_1 and V_2 takes place. But before we explain the pragmatic factors in which the reversal of V_1 and V_2 takes place, we should talk about the possible and impossible permutation and combination of V_1 and V_2 with regard to ±transitivity of these two verbal elements and then we will examine if the reversing of these verbal elements are possible or not to form the reversed compound verbs. We will first give one example of each of these permutation and combination of ±transitivity of the V_1 and V_2 for '*default compound verb*' and then we will talk about the possibility and impossibility of the 'reversed compound verb'.

Given the fact that there are two verbal elements in forming a compound verb, we get four the given pairs that are possible by the permutations and combinations of these two items:

1.V_1 (transitive) + V_2 (transitive)	2. V_1 (intransitive)+ V_2 (intransitive)
3. V_1 (transitive) + V_2 (intransitive)	4. V_1 (intransitive) + V_2 (transitive)

We will quickly see one example of each of these types from the default compound verb and then will talk about possible, permissible and impossible reversing/reordering of these pairs with regard to the reversed compound verb construction.

1.**V_1(transitive) + V_2 (transitive)**

6. kərim-ne mere sɑre kəpḍe dʰo dɪ-ye
   karim-3MS-Erg my all clothes-3Pl wash-V_1 give-V_2-Perf-3P.Pl
   'Karim washed all my clothes'.

2. **V_1 (intransitive) + V_2 (intransitive)**

7. kəməl ɑj gʰər jəldi ɑ gə-yɑ
   kamal-3MS-Nom today house early come-V_1 go-V_2-Perf-3MS
   'Karal came back home early today'.

3. **V_1 (transitive) + V_2 (intransitive)**

8.	rɑd^{h}ɑ	meri	sɑri	mɪʈʈ^{h}ɑi	k^{h}ɑ	gə-yi
	radha-3FS-Nom	my	all	sweet	eat-V_1	go-V_2-Perf-3FS

'Radha ate all my sweets'.

4. **V_1 (intransitive) + V_2 (transitive)**

9.	rɑd^{h}ɑ-ne	mehmɑnõ̂	ke sɑmne	hi	č^{h}ĩ̂k	dɪ-yɑ
	radha-3FS-Erg	guests	in front of	Emp	sneeze-V_1	give-V_2-Perf-3MS

'Radha sneezed in front of the guest itself'.

The above examples (6-9) show that Hindi facilitates the usage of ± transitive verb as both V_1 and V_2 and this possibility brings us all the above four permutations of V_1+V_2 in different pairs. Das (2006)[6]has discussed in detail the implication of such permutation with regard to valance of the verb and the agreement pattern of compound verb, and most importantly the syntactic placement of the ergative case in Hindi in a compound verb construction.

3. REVERSED COMPOUND VERB IN DIFFERENT PERMUTATIONS:

Let us examine the RCVs that have been cited here on the format used for 'Default Compound Verb' in the earlier section. I, in particular, want to highlight the reasons that allow and disallow the reversing of the compound verb.

3.1.**V_1(transitive) + V_2 (transitive)**[7]

10.	srijan-ne	gʊsse-mẽ̂	gɪlɑs	de	toṛɑ	=[toṛ dɪyɑ]
	Srijan-3MS-Erg	anger-Obl-Loc	glass	give-V_2	break-V_1-Perf-3MS	break-V_1 give-V_2

'Srijan broke the glass in anger'.

11.	sunil-ne	gɑṛi	fʊʈpɑt^h-pər	de	čəṛ^{h}ɑyi	=[čəṛ^{h}ɑ di]
	Sunil-3MS-Erg	car-3F	footpath-Loc	give-V_2	veer-V_1-Perf-3F	veer-V_1 give-V_2

[6] See Das (2006) for further and detailed analysis of above mentioned facts of compound verb.

[7] Some examples (with modifications) have been taken from Kulsum (2014).

'Sunil veered the car on to the footpath'.

12.	nəvin-ne	čor-ke	peṭ-mẽ	čɑkʊ	de	$g^hʊseṛɑ$	=[$g^hʊseṛ$ dɪyɑ
	Naveen-3MS-Erg	thief-Gen	stomach-Loc	knife	give-V_2	insert-V_1-Perf-3M	insert-V_1 give-V_2

'Naveen stabbed the thief.'

13.	dipək-ne	sunil-ko	jəmin-pər	de	pəṭəkɑ	=[pəṭək dɪyɑ]
	Deepak-3MS-Erg	Sunil-3MS-Acc	ground-Loc	give-V_2	slam-V_1-Perf-3MS	slam-V_1 give-V_2

'Deepak slammed Sunil on the ground'.

14.	kəvitɑ-ne	sɑri	šərɑb	sɪnk-mẽ	de	$ʊḍ^heli$	=[$ʊḍ^h$el di]
	kavita-3FS-Erg	all	wine-3F	sink-Loc	give-V_2	pour-V_1-Perf-3F	pour-V_1 give-V_2

'Kavita poured all the alcohol in the sink'.

15.	sumən-ne	ʊske	ḍrink-mẽ	šərɑb	de	mɪlɑyi	=[mɪlɑ di]
	Suman-3FS-Erg	his	drink-Loc	wine-3F	give-V_2	mix-V_1-Perf-3F	mix-V_1 give-V_2

'Suman mixed alcohol in his drink'.

The examples given in (10-15) have been verified and cross-checked by ten native speakers of Hindi and out of fifteen pairs of 'RCVs' only six of the above have been found natural and correct pairs where the reversal of compound verbs poses no problem for mapping their default meaning. It is an interesting fact that when both V_1 and V_2 are transitive, the reversing of these does not pose much of problem. The meaning is, of course, ascertained from V_1 which, in all the above examples, occupies the position of V_2 and yet, there is no problem in figuring out the meaning of these reversed compound verbs. Moreover, all of these reversals of V_1 and V_2 demand some extra-linguistic context i.e. the context of *angriness* (as in10 and 14), *uncontrolled action* (as in 11), *intentionality* (as in 15 and 12) and finally *directionality* (as in 13). Nevertheless, the transitivity of both V_1 and V_2 is the basic and foremost requirement for possibility of the reversal as it does not affect the valence or the argument structure of the sentence. In other words, despite the fact that V_1 contributes the core semantics in a compound verb and V_2

takes care of the syntactic requirements, the reversal of V_1 and V_2 does not affect the argument structure of the sentence if both the verbs are transitive. We will explain it further when we deal with other permutation of the V_1 and V_2 with regard to the ±transitivity of these verbal elements and the issue of their reversal.

3.2. **V_1 (intransitive) + V_2 (intransitive)**

16. čor pʊlis sṭesən-se nɪkəl bʰɑgɑ =[bʰɑg nɪkəlɑ
thief-3MS-Nom police station-Loc come out-V_2 run away-V_1-Perf-3MS run away-V_1 come out-V_2
'The thief ran away from the police station'.

17. nɔkər mɑlik-ke kədəmõ-me jɑ gɪrɑ =[gɪrɑ gəyɑ]
servant-3MS-Nom master-Gen feet-Loc go-V_2 fall-V_1-Perf-3MS fall-V_1 go-V_2
'The servant fell at the feet of the master'.

18. həmɑre senɑpəti šətru-ki senɑ-se jɑ mɪlɑ =[mɪl gəyɑ]
captain-3MS-Nom enemy-Gen army-Com go-V_2 mix-V_1-Perf-3MS mix-V_1 go-V_2
'The captain collaborated with the army of the enemy'.

19. dekʰte-dekʰte ɑkɑš-mẽ bɑdəl ɑ gʰɪre =[gʰɪr ɑye]
see-Adv.Part.Redup sky-Loc cloud-3M come-V_2 surround-V_1-Perf-3MS surround-V_1 come-V_2
'The sky was full of cloud in no time'.

20. mẽ tʰək-kər beḍ-pe jɑ leṭɑ =[leṭ gəyɑ]
I-1MS-Nom tired-CPM bed-Loc go-V_2 lay-V_1-Perf-MS lay-V_1 go-V_2
'Being very tired, I fell on the bed'.

21. yehdekʰo meri bʰi pətəŋ čəl ʊṛ-i =[ʊṛ čəli]
this look my-F also kite-3FS-Nom walk-V_2 fly-V_1-Perf-3FS fly-V_1 walk-V_2

'Now look! my kite also flew away'.

22.	tẽ̂dʊwɑ	gʰər	-ke	əndər	ɑ	gʰusɑ	=[gʰʊs ɑyɑ]
	leopard-3MS-Nom	house	Gen	inside	come-V_2	enter-V_1-Perf-3MS	enter-V_1 come-V_2

'The leopard broke into the house'.

The above seven sentences (16-22) have also been verified and cross-checked by ten native speakers for their naturalness and they convey the 'default' meaning of their non-reversed counterparts that have been given in the bracket in every sentence. These seven sentences were confirmed for their usages out of twenty two pairs of 'reversed compound verb' in this category i.e. V_1 and V_2 both are intransitive. And as per my expectations, this permutation also performed much better than what I expected and the reason seems to indicate towards the same finding i.e. if both verbs in the compound verb construction are intransitive, the reversal of these verbs have no effect on the valance or the argument-structure of the sentence. The semantic requirement of the CVC is fulfilled by V_1 and so is the case of syntactic prerequisites of V_2 and since both of them are intransitive, there is no mismatch of the valence or the argument structure of the sentence. The reversal of these intransitive verbs also needs the so called contextual pragmatic factors. The examples (16, 19, 21 and 22) show the *suddenness of the action* that has made it possible to reverse the V_1 and V_2 in these sentences. The examples (17 and18) show the *intentionality* of the agent in doing the action, and reversal of V_1 and V_2 beautifully facilitates in expressing this extra linguistic factor. The example (20) shows the *uncontrollable action*.

3.3. **V_1 (transitive) + V_2 (intransitive)**

*23.	hɑtʰɪ	gʊse-mẽ̂	diwɑr	*jɑ	toṛɑ	=[toṛ gəyɑ]
	elephant-3MS-Nom	anger-Loc	wall	go-V_2	break-V_1-Perf-3MS	break-V_1 go-V_2

'The elephant broke the wall in anger'.

*24.	ləṛkɑ	borḍ-pər	əpənɑ	nɑm	ɑ	lɪkʰɑ	=[lɪkʰɑyɑ]
	boy-3MS-	board-Loc	his	name	come-V_2	write-V_1-Perf-3MS	write-V_1 come-V_2

Nom
'The boy wrote his name on the board'.

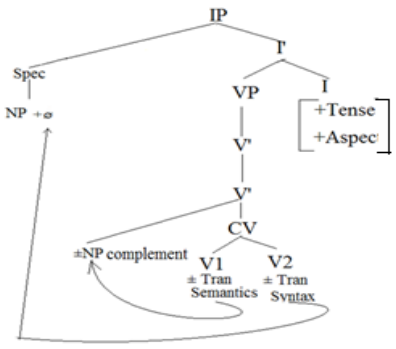
The examples (23-24) are only two pairs out of fourteen reversed compound verbs that I had come up with by reversing the V_1 and V_2 where V_1 is transitive and V_2 is intransitive, and even these two are ungrammatical and unacceptable. If we examine the default compound verb construction with this permutation, we will find that there is no such constrain in forming compound verbs with this permutation. In fact, this is a very productive category of default compound verbsuch as**'खा आया, खा गया, कर गया लिख आया, पीगया, देख आया** and**सीख गया'**. Now, a very serious question arises here at to what is so tricky and complicated about it that we can't is reversed the CVCs with an order of V_1 transitive and V_2 intransitive. I have an explanation for it. Das (1997) was the first research work that has highlighted the fact that if the V_2 is intransitive, the whole compound behaves syntactically as intransitive. It makes perfect sense because the morphologicaland syntactic marker are attached to the V_2 in a compound verb. So, the default compound verb can't have'**-ने**' if it consists of V_1 as transitive and V_2 as intransitive. Let us see an example with this permutation of V_1 and V_2:

23a.	hɑtʰɪ	gʊse-mẽ	diwɑr	toṛ	gəyɑ	
	elephant-3MS-Nom	anger-Loc	wall	break-V1	go-V2-Perf-3MS	
	'The elephant broke the wall in anger'.					

24a.	ləṛkɑ	boṛḍ-pər	əpənɑ	nɑm	lɪkʰ	ɑyɑ
	boy-3MS-Nom	board-Loc	his	name	write-V1	come-V2-Perf-3MS
	'The boy wrote his name on the board'.					

Let us see the tree-diagram given below:

Tree-diagram-1



The tree diagram given above displays the fact that in RCV, what we are trying to do is to reverse the order of V_1 and V_2, and after it is done so, the V_2 being intransitive occupies the place of V_1 in RCV construction. The V_2 which is in the changed position of V_1 and it is intransitive and thus can't support a direct object in the sentence. We must keep the fact in mind that the original pair had the direct object in the sentence and it was supported by the semantics of the V_1 which is transitive. So, by reversing the pair, we land up having a direct object in a compound verb which has its V_1position filled with an intransitive verb (changed V_2)and it has to pass on its semantics to the entire compound verb. It is for this reason that this set of compound verb i.e. V_1 transitive and V_2 intransitive can't facilitate the reversing of V_1 and V_2 despite the fact that we have the so-called extra linguistic pragmatic contexts. It also makes sense that the extra linguistic factor may be applicable only after the structural nuances of the sentence are in place. The valence of the verb and argument structure of the sentence are more importantlinguistic requirement than the stylistic changes of the sentence using some extra linguistic factors.

3.4. **V_1 (intransitive) + V_2 (transitive)**

25.	rɑdʰikɑ	səb-ke	sɑməne	de	cʰɪ̃ki	=[cʰɪ̃k dɪyɑ]
	Radhika-3FS-Nom	everyone-Gen	in front	give-V_2	sneeze-V_1-Perf-3FS	sneeze-V_1 give-V_2

'Radhika sneezed in front of everyone'.

26.	kʊttɑ	əjnəbi-pər	de	bʰõkɑ	=[bʰõk dɪyɑ]
	dog-3MS-Nom	stranger-Loc	give-V_2	bark-V_1-Perf-3MS	bark-V_1 give-V_2

'The dog barked at the stranger'.

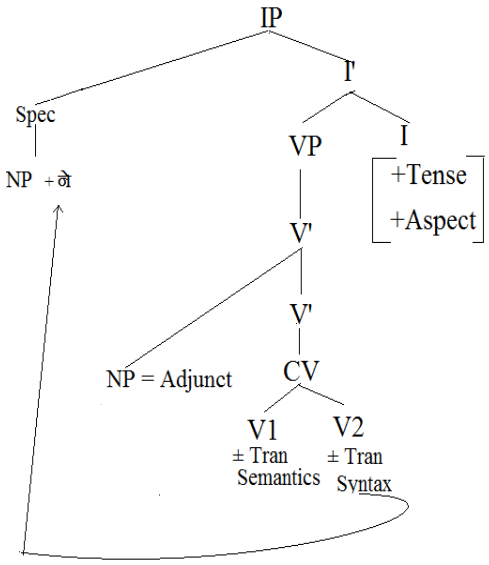
27.	ji həlkɑ	kərne-ke lɪye	vəh	tʰoṛɑ	le	royi	=[ro lɪyɑ]
	console	do- in order to	he-3FS-Nom	little	take-V_2	weep-V_1-Perf-3FS	weep-V_1 take-V_2

'In order to unberden her heart, she wept a little bit'.

Now, these examples (25-27) present a very complex scenario and we have to explain the grammaticality of these sentences by comparing these with their default forms. In order to save the time and space, I will explain only one sentence i.e. (25) and its semantic as well as syntactic properties. Let us see the counterpart of this sentence first.

25a. rɑdʰikɑ-ne səb-ke sɑməne cʰɪ̌k dɪyɑ
Radhika-3FS-Erg all-Gen in front sneeze-V_1 give-V_2-Perf-3MS
'Radhika sneezed in front of everyone'.

In order to explain the semantic as well as syntactic complexes of V_1 and V_2 of the example (25a), I must put a tree-diagram here and explain the theoretical dimensions of this category of the compound verb in Hindi.

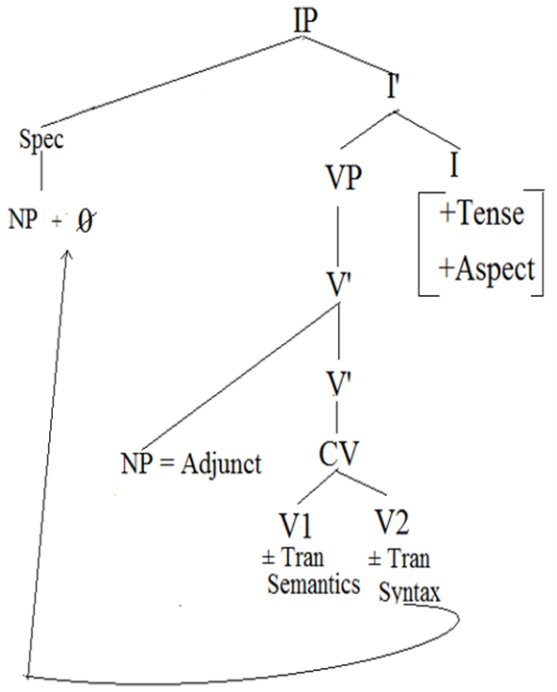


Tree-diagram-2

The tree-diagram shows that the licensing of the '**-ने**' in the above sentence has been done by the V_2 which is a transitive verb. The syntactic power of the transitivity and the past tense morphology which are invested with V_2 converts the entire compound verb into a syntactic transitive complex predicate and thus the '**-ने**' is structurally given to the NP in the Spec position. However, I must explain this in bold that these syntactic properties of V_2 does not empower the entire CV to be semantically transitive as well, and it is for this reason that an insertion of a direct object can never be possible in a compound verb which has V_1 as intransitive and V_2 as transitive. The compound verb which has V_1 as intransitive will always remain semantically intransitive. Thus, the sentence (25a) has '**-ने**' but it does have any direct object in it.

Let us now explain how and why the examples (25-27) are possible after the reversal of the compound verb with a permutation of V_1 (intransitive) and V_2

(transitive)as a pair. I would like to put another tree-diagram and then explain the phenomenon by highlighting the structural properties of the tree-diagram.



Tree-diagram-3

The diagram (3) clearly shows that due to the reversal of the V_1 and V_2, the original V_2 which is transitive has moved in the place of V_1 and thereby letting an intransitive V_1 occupy the syntactically powerful position of V_2. This process makes the whole RCV syntactically an intransitive one, and thus the licensing of '**-ने**' is blocked in all the examples (25-27). Interestingly, the V_2 which is a di-transitive verb moves to the place of V_1 in the RCV construction but because it has been semantically bleached, it can't support any object in the sentence and in the examples (25-27), there are no objects rather they are adjuncts and this does not put any constrain on either the valence or the argument structure of the sentences, and thus they are acceptable as reversed compound pairs.

4. EXAMPLES OF RCVS WITH EXTRA LINGUISTIC AND PRAGMATIC FACTORS:

4.1 Suddenness in performing the action:

28.	lərṛke	tɑlɑb-mɛ̃	jɑ	kude	=[kud	gəye]
	boys-3MPl-Nom	pond-Loc	go-V2	jump-V1-Perf-3MP	jump-V1	go-V2-Perf

'The boys jumped into the pond'.

29.	ləṛki	kʊwẽ-mẽ	jɑ	d□ubi		=[d□ub gəyi]
	girl-3FS-Nom	water-well-Loc	go-V2	drawn-V1-Perf-3FS		drawn-V1 go-V2-Perf

'The girl jumped into the water-well'.

30.	əčɑnək	mɑ̃	kəmre-mẽ	d^həmək	ɑyi	=[ɑ d^həməki]
	suddenly	mother-3FS-Nom	room-Loc	apprear-V2	come-V1-Perf-3FS	come-V1 appear-V2-Perf

'Suddenly the mother came in'.

31.	rɪtɑ	bɪnɑ bətɑye	pɑrt□i-mẽ	d^həmək	gəyi	=[jɑ d^həməki]
	Rita-3FS-Nom	without telling	party-Loc	appear-V2	go-V1-Perf-3FS	go-V1 appear-V2-Perf

'Rita dropped by in friend's party (without being invited'.

32.	us-ne	mere	piṭ^h-pər	ek	mʊkkɑ	de	mɑrɑ	=[mɑr dɪyɑ]
	he-3MS-Erg	my	back-Loc	one	punch	give-V2	hit-V1-Perf-3MS	hit-V1 give-V2-Perf

'He suddenly punched me on my back'.

Before we conclude the paper, I want to give some more examples and explain their pragmatic context in which reversal of the compound verb is facilitated. One of the most salient pragmatic factors in which reversal of the compound verbs is found very common is what we can term as suddenness of performing the actions. The examples (28-32) show this suddenness in action in various contexts. The reversed compound verbs go very well to suit this stylistic demand of the sentence and there is an impact that is created by the reversed order of the compound verb in these sentences. The narrator is narrating some incident that has taken place in a way that denotes the suddenness and by reversing the compound verbs and express these sudden actions just go so well that the listener can visualize the narrated incidents. There is so much of intense passion in the expression of the narrator and it is very well reflected by the reversed compound verbs in Hindi.

4.2 Intentionality of the agent in doing the action:

33.	čor	ɔrət-kɑ	bɛg	le	$j^həpt$□ɑ	$j^həpət$□lɪyɑ	
	thief-3MS-Nom	woman-Gen	bag	take-V2	snatch-V1-Perf-3MS	snatch-V1 take-V2-Perf	
	'The thief ran out of the jail'.						

34.	ɖɑku	jel-se	nɪkəl	$b^hɑgɑ$	=[$b^hɑg$	nɪkəlɑ]
	robber-3MS-Nom	jail-Loc	come out-V2	run away-V1-Perf-3MS	run away-V1	come out-V2-Perf
	'The robber ran away from the prison'.					

35.	mɛ̃	$b^hɪr̥$-mẽ	kɪsi tərəh	jɑ	$g^hʊsɑ$	=[$g^hʊs$	gɑyɑ]
	I-1MS-Nom	crowd-Loc	some how	go-V2	enter-V1-Perf-3MS	enter-V1	go-V2-Perf
	'Somehow, I managed to get into the crowd'.						

Intentionality is yet another big pragmatic factor which makes Hindi speakers to reverse the order of the compound verb to bring the accurate stylistic effect in the sentence that is uttered for the listeners. The examples (33-35) beautifully bring this intentionality factor in place and we can see that these expressions do create an effect on the listeners for what the agents' intention is in doing these actions. The reversed orders of the compound verb speaks a volume of the effort and intension of the agents in these sentences.

4.3 Actions showing the anger of the agent:

36.	sɪpɑhi-ne	dušmən-ki	$c^hɑti$-mẽ	goli	de	dɑgi	=[dɑg di]
	solder-3MS-Erg	enemy-Gen	chest-Loc	bullet-F	give-V2	shoot-V1-Perf-3FS	shoot-V1 give-V2
	'The soldier shot the enemy at his chest'.						

37.	kəvitɑ-ne	sɑri	mɪ$ṭ^h$ɑi	kʊr̥edɑn-mẽ	de	ɖɑli	=[ɖɑl di]
	Kavita-3FS-Erg	all	sweet	dustbin-Loc	give-V2	put-V1-Perf-3FS	put-V1 give-V2
	'Kavita threw all the sweets in the dustbin'.						

38.	us-ne	dɪnes-ke	peṭ-mẽ	čɑku	de	gʰʊseṛɑ	=[gʰʊseṛ dɪyɑ]
	he-3MS-Erg	Dinesh-Gen	belly-Loc	knife	give-V2	stab-V1-Perf-3MS	stab-V1 give-V2

'He stabbed Dinesh'.

The examples given in (36-38) also bring another pragmatic factor which describes the 'anger of the agent' and this is expressed very well by the reversing of the compound verb. The effect of the anger of the agent in performing these actions finds its great stylistic aptness by reversing the compound verbs. The stylistic aptness that is expressed by these reversed compound verbs almost brings a visual display of the actions performed in the past. This is what makes the story tellers in children' story reverse the compound verb so that the children can enjoy the effect of these reversed compound verb at the time of reading or listening the story.

4.4 Expressing uncontrolled actions:

39.	gend	gəd□ʰe-mẽ	jɑ	gɪrɑ	=[gɪr gəyɑ]
	ball-3MS-Nom	ditch-Loc	go-V2	fall-V1-Perf-3MS	fall-V1 went-V2

'The ball fell in the ditch'.

40.	əb	to	šɑm	bʰi	čəl	ḍʰəli	=[ḍʰəl čəli]
	now	even	evening-3FS-Nom	also	walk-V2	be over-V1-Perf-3FS	be over-V1 walk-V2

'Now, even the evening is about to go'.

41.	gend	nɑli-mẽ	jɑ	lʊṛʰəkɑ	=[lʊṛʰək gəyɑ]
	ball-3MS-Nom	drainage-Loc	go-V2	roll-V1-Perf-3MS	roll-V1 went-V2

'The ball rolled into the drainage'.

These examples (39-41) are some of the last but not the least instances which show a linguistic/pragmatic factor of 'uncontrolled actions'. These sentences

beautifully show that the effect of the reversed compound verb i.e. the last minutes breath-taking desire or wish as if this ought not have happened. Isn't this what an 'uncontrolled action' demands a situation like? The reversed compound verbs, in deed, fulfills this demand and it is so apt and beautiful to see this effect being created by a simple method of reversing the compound verbs in Hindi.

5. Conclusion

In order to conclude the discussion of the 'reversed compound verb' in Hindi, I would like to recall some of the key points with which we started the discussion of the reversed compound verbs. The key points were 'why', 'how' and 'when' do we reversed the compound verbs in Hindi. I think that I have tried to do justice to these key points to a great extent. I have shown that reversal of some verb are more than natural and in fact what we think is the default compound verb is, in fact, reversed one. I am talking about the verbs like **'मर गया'** and **'बैठ गए'** explained in examples (4a-c &5a-c).So, a simple hypothesis that hits the mind immediately is that having looked at the naturalness of these 'reversed compound verbs', the writers of Hindi story, novel and drama etc. must have started reversing the compound verbs to create some metaphoric effects. After all, the use of '**मर जाना**' for an expression '**जाना**' sounds so metaphoric. This is my first argument or hypothesis to account for 'why' we reverse the compound verbs in Hindi.

Secondly, Hindi seems to have a complex way of forming multilayered compound verbs. I have discussed this issue in examples (6a-d). In these examples, I have tried to explain that when we have N+V that is used as a verb in Hindi, and more importantly when, in this conjunct verb, we want to use a compound verb with the nominal host i.e. N+V1+V2, the reversal of the compound verb does not matter much as it is the compounding of a light verb, and after all the core semantics is contributed by the nominal hostin most cases. So, in this context, the reversal of the compound verb has no effect on the meaning and thus makes the listeners comfortably easy to make out the meaning. The non-conjunct verb instances of the reversal of the compound verb also must bear some linguistic as well as stylistic credit to such cases of multilayered compound verbs in Hindi.

I have also tried to explain 'how' some of the combination of ± transitivity of 'polar' and 'vector' verbs can't be reversed. I have given a full semantic, syntactic and morphological account for such possible and impossible pairs of ± transitivity of 'polar' and 'vector' verbs in Hindi in this paper. At the end, I have also listed out the pragmatic factors/contexts in which reversal of the compound verbs in Hindi takes place.

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