

Oriented verbs in Marathi

Peter Edwin Hook

Universities of Michigan and Virginia

ABSTRACT: OV's are "oriented verbs" composed of the gerundial form of an orienting deictic preverb (येऊन *ye-un* <COMING>, जाऊन *dzā-un* <GOING>, आणून *āṇ-un* <BRINGING>, नेऊन *ne-un* <TAKING AWAY>) preceding a main verb which usually expresses motion with a terminus (कोसळ- *kosaḷ-* 'crash', उभे राह- *ubhē rāh-* 'stand up', पोहोच- *pohots-* 'arrive', पड- *paḍ-* 'fall', etc.) This paper describes Marathi's OV's and differentiates them from VV constructions that compete with them: CV's (compound verbs) and SVC's (serial verb constructions) END

Key words: reference point, orientor, deictic center, preverb, venitive, andative, valency harmony, arity parity

In mining the internet for data illuminating the distribution of OV (oriented verb) preverbs ये *ye-* <COME> and जा *dzā-* <GO>¹ I encountered a general distinction illustrated by (1) for *ye-* and (2) for *dzā-*:

- (1) शेडपासून काही अंतरावरच हे विमान येऊन कोसळलं.

shed-pāsun kāhi antarā-var-ats he vimān **ye.un** kosaḷalē
shed-from some distance-on-EMP this plane <COMING> crashed
'The plane crashed just a short distance from the shed.'
[lokmat.news18.com/amp/sport/ ... -496921.html]

- (2) बिबट्या शिकारीसाठी निघाला अन् विहिरीत जाऊन पडला

bibatya śikāri-sāṭhi nighālā an vihir-it **dzā.un** paḍlā
leopard hunting-for went.out and well-in <GOING> fell
'The leopard went out to hunt and fell into a well.'
[lokmat.com/chhatrapati-sambhajanagar/leopard-went-hunting-and-fell-well-a320/]

In a preponderance of instances reports of objects such as satellites, airplanes, boulders, and coconuts (ie, Figures) when falling from a height condition the venitive preverb ये *ye-* <COME> rather than the andative preverb जा *dzā-* <GO> whereas reports of animals, vehicles, careless humans falling into wells, rivers and ravines strongly prefer preverb *dzā-* <GO> rather than the preverb *ye-* <COME>. These preferences indicate an imagined reference point or deictic center that in general would correspond to an onlooker or narrator, a person on ground level or someone in his or her car or home. For example, the motion of stones falling onto a road conditions the venitive preverb *ye-* in 35 examples vs. only once for *dzā-*.

- (3) नरवणच्या मुख्य रस्त्यावर डोंगरातून दगड येऊन पडले आहेत

Narvaṇ.čyā mukhy rastyā-var ḍongar.ā-t.un dagaḍ **ye.un** paḍ.le āhet
Narwan's main road-onto mountain-from rocks <COMING> fallen PRES
'Stones have fallen from the mountain onto the main road of Narwan.' <GO>:
[ratnagirikhabardar.com/news/60740/]

While positions of skies and wells are usually fixed, shifting reference points defined, for instance, by previous prices can be inferred from the distribution of *dzā-* vs *ye-* in reports of price movements up or down:

- (4) किरकोळ बाजारात हा भाव ३० रुपयांवर जाऊन ठेपला आहे

kirakoḷ bādjar-āt hā bhāv 3k rupayān-var **dzā.un** ṭhep.lā āhe
retail market-in this price 3K rupees-on <GOING> arrived PRES
'In the retail market, this price has risen to Rs. 30.'
[lokmat.com/maharashtra/green-chilli-caroline-peas-and-more/]

¹ This paper is an exploration of a subset of "factored verbs" (Hook 2014) also known as "co-eventuals" (Raina 2011).

(5) 33 रुपये किलो जाणारा कांदा आता 9 रुपयांवर येऊन ठेपला आहे

33 rupaye kilo dzā-ṇārā kāndā ātā 9 rupayān-var **ye.un** thep.lā āhe
 33 rupees kilo go-ing onion now 9 rupees-on <COMING> arrived PRES
 'Onions, which used to go for Rs 33 per kg, have now come down to Rs 9.'

Deictic centers can shift or change, as in (6) where a reporter describes a trajectory for the stones' flight that includes two out of three motions that would condition use of the andative preverb *dzā-* <GO->:

(6) स्फोटामुळे उडालेले मोठे दगड नजीकच्या शेती आणि काजू बागायतीमध्ये जाऊन पडले

sphoṭā-muḷe uḍ.ā-lele mothe dagaḍ najik.čyā šeti āṇi kāju bāgāyati-madhe **dzā.un** paḍ.le
 explosion-cause fly^{CAUS}-PST.PRT big stones nearby fields & cashew orchards-in <GOING> fell
 'Large stones thrown by the explosion fell into nearby farmland and cashew plantations.'
 [pudhari.news/maharashtra/kokan/sindhudurg/stones-fall-into-cultivated-land-from-mine-in-sindhudurg]

With some main verbs the effect of a reference point on preverb choice is not so clear. Attestations of speakers' choice between *X* च्या जवळ येऊन पोहोच- *X-čyā dzavaḷ yeun pohots-* <COMING> 'arrive to/at X' and *X* च्याजवळ जाऊन पोहोच- *X-čyā dzavaḷ dzāun pohots-* <GOING> 'arrive to/at X' in general differ little from flipping a coin. However, narrowing the search to माझ्याजवळ येऊन पोहोच- *mājhyādzavaḷ yeun pohots-* vs. माझ्याजवळ जाऊन पोहोच- *mājhyādzavaḷ dzāun pohots-* 'arrived to me' yields 6 on-line instances of the former; none of the latter:

(7) जेव्हा उपदेश माझ्याजवळ येऊन पोहोचला होता

jevḥā upadeś mājhyā-dzavaḷ ye-un pohotslā hotā
 when advice my-near <COMING> arrived PST
 'When the doctrine had reached me ...'

[quranenc.com/ug/browse/marathi_ansari/25-4]

More examples of a contrast that is skewed by the person of the narrator. When the faller is the same as the narrator as in (8) and (9) there is a strong preference for येऊन पडलो (9 exx) over जाऊन पडलो (1 example):²

(8) आपण कुठे येऊन पडलो ?

āpaṇa kuṭhē ye-un paḍ.lo
 self where <COMING> fell
 'What have we gotten ourselves into?'
 [aplmanasshastra.com/?p=3255/]

(9) आपण कुठे जाऊन पडलो

āpaṇa kuṭhē **dzā-un** paḍ.lō
 self where <GOING> fell
 'Where did we go wrong?'
 [facebook.com/groups/ ... posts ... 699/]

Valency harmony (aka "arity parity")

While intransitive preverbs (ये *ye-* <COME> and जा *dzā-* <GO>) are the orientors most frequently encountered in on-line sources, they each have transitive counterparts. The allative आण *āṇ-* <BRING> and the raptive ने *ne-* <TAKE AWAY> can be used (optionally) to orient transitive main verbs as in (10) and (11).

(10) तुम्ही सारा देश आज विनाशाच्या दरडीवर आणून उभा केला आहे.

tumhi sārā deś ādz vināś.ā-čyā daraḍi-var **āṇ.un** ubhā.kelā āhe.
 you.ERG entire country today destruction-GEN edge-onto <BRINGING> stood^{TR} PRES
 'Today you have brought the entire country to the brink of destruction.'
 [divyamarathi.bhaskar.com/news/dms-inspiration-to-bahujan-4429316-nor.html]

(11) कल वाढतो आणि तो वाढता वाढता सगल्या समाजालाच एका दुहीच्या दरडीवर नेऊन उभा करतो.

kal vāḍ.to āṇi to vāḍh.tā-vāḍh.tā sāryā samāj.ā-lā-ts ekā duhi.čyā daraḍi-var **ne.un** ubhā.kar.to
 trend grows and it growing-DUPL whole society-ACC-EMP a discord's edg-to <TAKING> stands^{TR}
 'The trend is growing and as it grows, it takes society as a whole to the brink of destruction.'
 [www.lokmat.com/editorial/court-handed-ear-municipal-corporation/]

² First person narrators of events affecting first person subjects are more liable to be taken by surprise than non-first person narrators of events affecting non-first person subjects. This difference may be a reflection of mirativity. The mirative in grammar involves the expression either through volume of voice or special morphology of the sudden apprehension by speakers of information new to them, in short, surprise. For more on mirativity see Slobin & Aksu (1982), Bashir (1988) and DeLancey (1997).

Note that when used figuratively the deictic strength of these two transitive orientors is diluted or even absent when they are compared to the contrastive semantics of their respective intransitive counterparts:

- (12a) महाराष्ट्र आपण कुठे नेऊन ठेवला आहे? (12b) महाराष्ट्र आपण कुठे आणून ठेवला
mahārāṣṭr āpaṇ kuṭhe ne.un ṭhev-lā āhe mahārāṣṭr āpaṇ kuṭhē āṇ-un ṭhev.lā
Mahārāṣṭr we.ERG where <TAKING> put-PRF PRES Mahārāṣṭr we.ERG where <BRINGING> put
'Where have we taken Maharashtra?' 'Where did we bring Maharashtra?'
[loksatta.com/photos/trending-gallery/3196604/ ... -97/] [tv9marathi.com/politics/ ... -676944.html]

Competing construals

Some readers may object that many of the examples of oriented verbs (OVs) presented in this paper are actually sequences of two main verbs in which the first has assumed the form of a gerund (conjunctive participle). Instances which involve physical displacement can sometimes be read as concatenations of two main verbs. Moreover, there can also be ambiguity in the proper analysis of oriented as opposed to compound verbs. Depending on context the two-word sequence *āṇun ṭhev-* in (13) could be two conjoined verb phrases or a CV compound verb having ठेव- *ṭhev-* <PUT> as vector:

- (13) स्वित्झर्लंडहून आणलेली एक स्लिपिंग बॅग जोशींनी इथे आणून ठेवली होती;
svitsharlēṇḍ-hun āṇ.leli ek slipiṅg-bēg dzoṣi-n.ni ithe āṇ-un ṭhev.li hoti
Switzerland-from brought one sleeping-bag Joshi-ERG here bring-GER put PST
'Joshi had a sleeping bag (he'd) brought from Switzerland and (he) brought and kept it here ...'
[[mr.wikisource.org/wiki/पान:अंगारवाटा...शोध_शरद_जोशीचा_\(Angarwata...Shodh_Sharad_Joshincha\).pdf/९०](http://mr.wikisource.org/wiki/पान:अंगारवाटा...शोध_शरद_जोशीचा_(Angarwata...Shodh_Sharad_Joshincha).pdf/९०)]

However, when (13) is compared to (12b) it is clear enough from the semantics of (12b) that the two-word sequence *āṇun ṭhev-* in it is neither a CV ["brought Maharashtra (somewhere) with a future use in view"] or a conjunction of two full main verbs ["brought Maharashtra (somewhere) and put it there"].

Especially when used in figurative or metaphorical registers OVs often surface as univerbations in which the semantics of their individual components are less than fully palpable. Compare (14) with (15) and (16):

- (14) जहागीरीची वहिवाट लावण्याची जबाबदारी जिजाबाईवर येऊन पडली
jahāgiri-či vahivāt lāva-ṇyā-či dzabāb.dāri jidzābāi.n-var ye.un paḍ.li
domain-GEN management apply-INF-GEN responsibility Jijabai-on <COMING> fell
'The responsibility of managing the jahangir fell on Jijabai..'
[ashachine.blogspot.com/p/blog-page_34.html]

- (15) बोट धडकली, स्पीड बोटवरील एक जण आमच्या बोटमध्ये येऊन पडला
boṭ dhaḍak.li, spiḍ boṭ-varil ek jaṇ ām.čyā boṭ-madhye ye-un paḍ.lā
boat collided speed boat-on one person our boat-into come-GER fell
'A (speed) boat collided (with ours) and a person on it fell into our boat.'
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=OqJSe9MXzco]

- (16) आगीतून निघाला खरा, पण शहरांतल्या या फुपाट्यांत येऊन पडला
āgi-tun nighā.lā kharā, paṇ ṣaharā-t.lyā yā phupāṭyā-t ye-un paḍ.lā
fire-from escaped okay but city-in these ashes-in come-GER fell
'He got out from the fire alright, but came and fell into the city's ashes.'
[mr.wikisource.org/wiki/पान:औद्योगिक_सहकारिता_भाग_१.pdf/17]

In (14) the sequence येऊन पडली *ye.un paḍli* is not divisible into independent constituents, whereas in (15) the two-word sequence *ye.un paḍlā* may be seen as an event oriented by <COMING>. In turn the phrase *ye.un paḍlā* in (16) is conceptually divisible into two components whose independent meanings count as a sequence of two actions. The phrase *āli āṇi paḍ.li* 'she came and she fell' in (17) may serve as a near equivalent to (16):

- (17) आई-बाबा घरात नाही असे पाहून चिमुरडी बाल्कनीमध्ये आली आणि पडली
 āi-bābā gharā-t nāhi asē pāh-un čimurḍi bālkani-madhe āli āṇi paḍ.li
 mother-father house-in NEG so see-GER little.girl balcony-into **came and fell**
 'Seeing that her parents were not at home, the little girl came to the balcony and fell.'
 [www.loksatta.com/pune/girl-fall-down-from-seventh-floor-kothrud-incident-1428549/]

Comparing (14), (15), and (16) we must allow for a spectrum of semantic integration in OV's that runs from the conceptually highly integrated in (14) to the palpably dual in (16).

A colleague has suggested that OV's and CV's may be the same or at least have the same function as perfectivizers of the main verb that they modify. "Are OV's and CV's mutually exclusive?" While they are rare it is possible to find OCV's (oriented compound verbs), which would cast doubt on that idea:

- (18) कधी कधी आपलं आयुष्य एका व्यक्तीवर येऊन थांबून जातं
 kadhi-kadhi āplē āyusya ekā vyakti-var ye-un thāmb-un dzātē
 at.times-at.times our life one person-on <COMING> stop-GER <GOES>
 'Sometimes our lives come to a standstill when we come across a certain person.'
 [www.instagram.com/reel/C5f6NuyoFV-/]

As shown by Pořízka (1967-69) and pursued by Hook (1974, 2021) a diagnostic test for the perfective in Russian and Czech is their inability to occur in complements of phasal verbs ('begin V-ing, stop V-ing, keep V-ing'). Hindi-Urdu compound verbs share this property with perfectives in Russian and Czech:

- (19ab) पर्दा गिरने लगा। *पर्दा गिर जाने लगा
 pardā gir-ne lagā pardā gir jā-ne lagā
 curtain fall-INF began curtain fall <GO>-INF began
 'The curtain began to fall.'
 [oshoganga.blogspot.com/2014/12/3_15.html]
- (20ab) занавес начал опускаться. *занавес начал опуститься. ("No results found")
 zana^ves načal opuska-t^y-s^ya (non-PRFCTV) zana^ves načal opusti-ty-s^ya (PRFCTV)
 curtain began fall-INF-RFLX curtain began fall-INF-RFLX
 'The curtain began to fall.'
 [t.me/s/roleplayingPlots?before=4433]

This limitation does not apply to OV's indicating that OV's do not share at least one of CV's defining features:

- (21) पानी टपकाना शुरू किया जो सीधा भाई के मुंह में जा गिरने लगा. (Hindi-Urdu)
 pānī ṭapkā-nā šurū.kiyā jo sīdhā bhāī.ke mūh-mē jā gir-ne lagā
 water drizzle-INF started which straight brother's mouth-in <GO> fall-INF began
 '(She) started dripping the water which began to fall right into Brother's mouth.'
 [irablogging.com/blog/anokhi-natyanchi-gatha_42855]

- (22) त्याच्या फौजेत गोळे जाऊन पडायला लागले (Marathi)
 tyāčyā phauje-t gōḷē jā-un paḍ-āylā lāgle
 his army-LOC.DAT bullets <GOING> fall-INF began
 'Bullets began falling on his army.'
 [esahity.com/uploads/5/0/1/2/501218/kaveri_dubhang_2021_smita_damle.pdf]

Expressional affordances

Among the functions of transitive compound verbs in Marathi one may note a contrastive feature that allows the speaker to indicate centripetal (23) versus centrifugal (24) direction of action by choosing between vector घे- <TAKE> (23) and vector दे- <GIVE> (24):

(23) मायाने आपला हात सोडून घेतला

māyā-ne āplā hāt soḍ-un ghetlā
Maya-ERG self's hand free-GER <TOOK>
'Maya freed her hand.'

[irablogging.com/blog/anokhi-natyanchi-gatha_42855] (centripetal – motion toward subject)

(24) तिने त्याचा हात सोडून दिला.

ti-ne tyātsā hāt soḍ-un dilā
she-ERG his hand free-GER <GAVE>
'She let go of his hand.'

[ia600607.us.archive.org/16/items/... - MARATHI.pdf] (centrifugal – motion away from subject)

By contrast Marathi's intransitive compound verbs (most of which feature vector *dzā* <GO>) do not allow speakers to make the distinction of outward action versus inward action with respect to an imagined or real deictic center. The use of the contrasting preverbs *yeun* <COMING> (25) and *dzāun* <GOING> (26) as orientors in OVs provides a way for speakers to make that distinction when using intransitive main verbs.

(25) फुलाच्या चर्चेत वादळ येऊन सुटलं होतं

phulā-čyā čarče-t vāḍaḷ ye.un suṭlē hotē
flower-GEN discussion-in storm <COMING> got.loose PST
'While we were discussing flowers a storm came and let loose on us.'

[www.instagram.com/reel/DQYB61TiOqB/] (centripetal – motion toward subject)

(26) तेव्हाही आणि आताही सन्मानाला तडा जाऊन सुटणे तिला मान्य नाही

tevhā-hi āṇi ātā-hi sanmānā-lā taḍā dzā.un suṭ-ṇe ti-lā māny nāhi
then-too and now-too respect-DAT crack <GOING> get.loose-INF her-DAT acceptable NEG
'Both then and now she does not stand for any fault to emerge in paying her respects.'

[wikipedia/commons/2/27/वाटचाल_(Vatchal).pdf] (centrifugal – motion away from subject)

General observations

1. Oriented verbs (OVs) consist of a main verb modified by a preverb indicating direction of motion.
2. Preverbs come to the left of main verbs. Complements of main verbs come to the left of preverbs.
3. The main verb in an OV is almost always itself a verb expressing movement towards an end-point.
4. The venitive <COME> and andative <GO> often (but not always) determine or imply a deictic center.
5. Intransitive orientors (<COME> and <GO>) have transitive counterparts (<BRING> and <TAKE AWAY>).
6. Orientation of displacements in the real world via an OV may look like a sequence of events (SVCs).
7. When used in figurative registers OVs do not lend themselves to construal as sequences of events.
8. OVs run a gamut from integrated units to quasi-analyzable conjunctions of individual components.
9. OVs are optional modifiers of their main verbs and occur less frequently in running text than CVs do
10. OVs constitute a subset of factored or co-eventual verbs described in Raina (2011) and Hook (2014).

Elsewhere

Most if not all South Asian languages have OVs. Example (27) is from Gujarati; (28) is from Bangla; (29) is from Nepali; (30) is from Telugu; (31) is from Kannada; and (32) is from Tamil:

(27) रोकट सीधा लोकाना घरों पर आवीने पड़्या

roket sidhā loko.nā gharo-par āvi.ne paḍyā
rockets straight people's houses-on <COMING> fell
'Rockets fell directly on people's houses.'

[divyabhaskar.co.in/amp/news/... -6038916.html]

(28) খাদে গিয়ে পড়ল বাস

khād-e giye paṛala bās
ravine-in <GOING> fell bus
'The bus fell into a ravine.'

[bd24live.com/bangla/770855]

(29) उनको बल यमुना नदीमा गएर खस्यो।
 un.ko bala yamunā nadīmā **ga.era** khasyō
 his ball Yamuna river-in <GOING> fell
 'His ball fell into the Yamuna River.'
 [merojyotish.com/sanskriti/337.htm]

(30) తుఫాన్‌లా వచ్చి పడింది!
 tuphān-lā **vačči** paḍindi!
 typhoon-like <COMING> fell
 'It came like a cyclone!'
 [corona-came-like-cyclone-71005]

(31) ಚೆಂಡು ರಸ್ತೆಗೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಬಿದ್ದಿತು
 čeṇḍu raste-ge **hōg.i** biḍḍitu
 ball road-on <GOING> fell
 'The ball fell onto the road.'
 [kannada.mykhel.com/cricket/...-013638.html]

(32) வீடுகளின் மேல் கற்கள் வந்து விழுந்தது
 vīṭu.kaḷ-in̄ mēḷ kar̄.kaḷ **vantu** viḷuntatu
 houses-GEN on stones <COMING> fell
 'Stones fell on houses.'
 [maalaimalar.com/news/state/...-727728]

These examples of OV's refer to physical displacements. It remains for grammarians and typologists to show to what extent the venitive <COME> and the andative <GO> in the languages of South Asia can be extended to abstract expressions in figurative registers.

Abbreviations

ACC = accusative DAT = dative DUPL = duplicate of preceding EMP = emphatic ERG = ergative FUT = future
 GEN = genitive GER = gerundial IMPER = imperative INF = infinitive LOC = locative PRES = present
 PRFCTV = perfective PRT = participle PST = past RFLX = reflexive SBJNC = subjunctive TOP = topic TR = transitive

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