A LEXICAL RENDITION OF BANGLA N-V CONJUNCT VERBS: AN ANALYSIS IN HPSG

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Bangla complex predicates range from V-V (a polar verb followed by a light verb), N-V and A-V type (a Noun or an adjective followed by the light verb). Light verb constructions are very productive in nature. LVCs generally consist of an element that is predicating in nature (e.g., nouns) and a light verb. The nouns in the LVC denote the event semantics while the light verb gives information regarding tense and aspect. Complex predicates are multiword expressions that pose a problem in terms of their treatment in theoretical linguistics.

Examination of the characteristics with specific reference to the N-V type complex predicates reveals that there are characteristics relating to both 'words' and 'phrases'. Its treatment within the lexicon while allowing phrasal characteristics is attempted through HPSG. Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) models constructions and signs through feature structures. This allows an analysis of such constructions through multiple inheritance hierarchies. This presents an analysis that the constructions cluster into groups that show 'family resemblance'. Thus, this corresponds to a constraint on a common supertype. It is quintessential to note at which levels these ideas of characteristics (of 'words' and 'phrases') are operating before taking on the understanding of multiple inheritance hierarchies within HPSG to construe this phenomenon.

Complex predicates are units that need further specification, these multi-word expressions function as lexemes as well as show characteristics that typically describe a phrasal unit. Bangla conjunct verbs of the N-V type are of particular interest. Its treatment in the lexicon or in syntax necessitates a deeper analysis of the same. Some characteristics of the N-V conjunct verbs in Bangla that show its treatment ought to be in the lexicon are as follows:

1) There are differences in accounting for the argument structure of the light verb construction and the simplex verb. Goldberg (2003) exemplifies the difference in terms of the argument structure (of Persian CPs) of both (CP and simplex form) as a means to understand it working as a single, separate unit. The main verb counterpart of the light verb may show an altered argument structure which may not be compatible with the light verb construction.

   a) Ram   pukure   jhaap   debe
      Ram-NOM   pond-LOC   jump   give-FUT

      Ram will jump into the pond.

   b) Ram   Namita ke   boiTa   debe
      Ram-NOM   Namita-ACC   book-CL   give-FUT

      Ram will give the book to Namita.

Sentences (a) and (b) show that the argument structures of the light verb construction and the main verb or the simplex verb are different. The arguments are licensed differently.

2) The preverb (the predicative N) and the light verb typically resist separation. In instances of negation, the NEG marker appears after the conjunct verb (sentence c). In cases of insertion of an adverb, the adverb appears before the conjunct verb (sentence d).

   c) Ramer   ghum   pabe   na
      Ram-GEN   sleep   get-FUT   NEG
      Ram will not get sleepy.

   d) Ramer   joldi-joldi   ghum   paye.
      Ram-GEN   quickly-quickly   sleep   get-INDEF
      Ram falls   asleep early.

The preverb and the light verb are not separated by the object that is licensed by the predicative noun (for e.g., 'Puja' in sentence g) which always precedes the N-V construction. Thus, generally, the N-V construction resists separation.

3) The consideration of the noun and the light verb within the lexicon is supplemented by the fact that such constructions allow nominalizations. The data below supports the idea that it is not the noun or the light verb separately that undergoes the process of nominalization but the N-V construction as a whole undergoes this process.

e) Kora → ? karok [1]
   to do   doer

f) je   rokhkha   kore   →   rokhkok
   one   save/protect-N do-INF   →   Protector/Saviour
   The one who protects/saves

   Considering sentences (g) and (h), the following can be analysed about the process of nominalization:

g) Namita   Puja ke   rokhkha   korche
   Namita-NOM Puja ACC   save-N   do-PRST
   Namita is protecting Puja.

h) Namita   Pujar   rokhkok   (boThe)
   Namita-NOM Puja-GEN protector   (be-PRST)
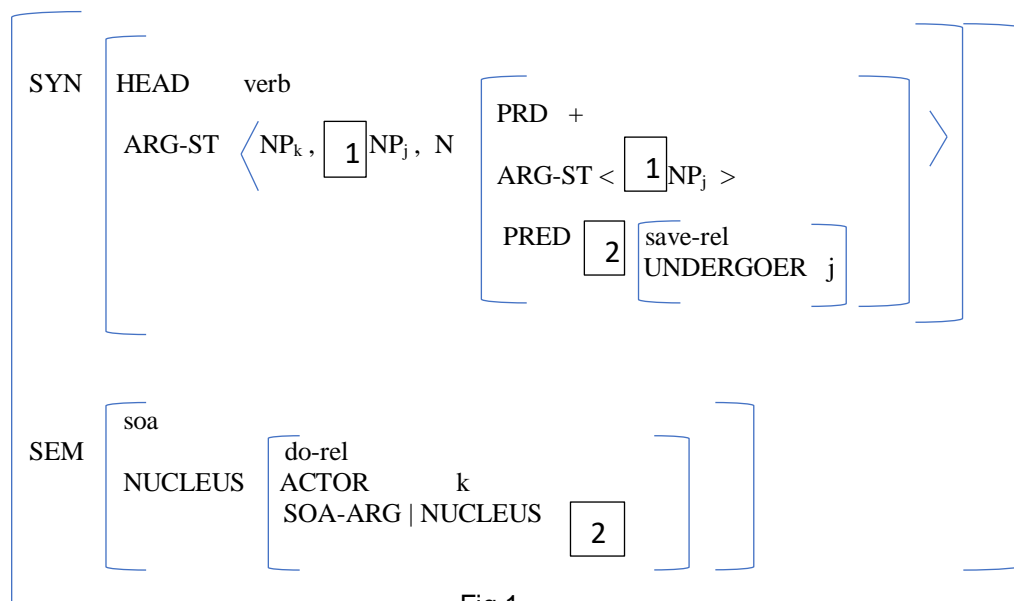   Namita   is Puja's saviour.

Fig.1

Fig. 1 corresponds to the conjunct verb in sentence (g) i.e. [rokhkha   korche] and essentially provides the syntactic and semantic representation of the same.

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[1] [karok] in Bangla refers to case. Here it is meant to show that it does not exist as 'doer'.

rokhkok-lexeme

PHON   [rokhkha kora]   + [ok]

SYN   HEAD   noun
      VAL   COMPS   < [3] NP >

SEM   [IND k]

M-DTRS   < [PHON [1]
             SYNSEM | SYN | HEAD   noun] , [PHON [2]
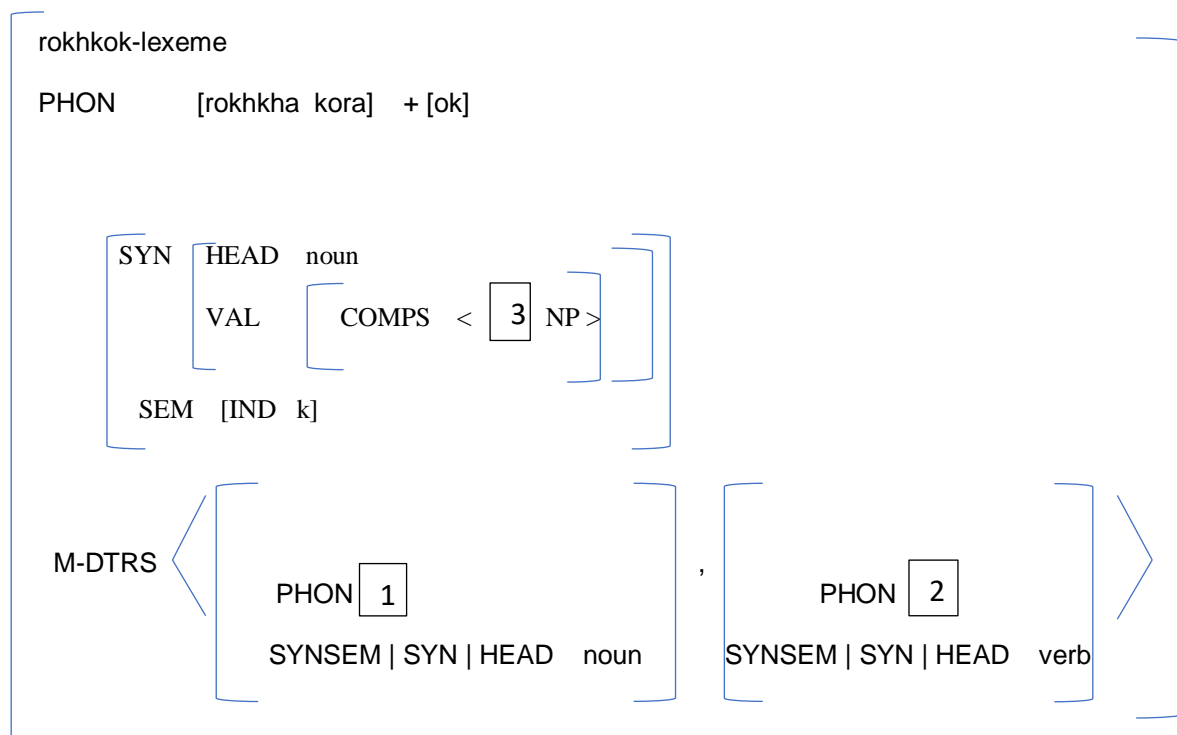   SYNSEM | SYN | HEAD   verb] >

Fig. 2

Fig. 2 shows the sketch of nominalization of the lexeme [rokhkha kora] meaning 'to protect' to [rokhkhok] meaning 'protector'.

The lexeme has two morphological daughters [rokhkha] meaning 'save/protect' and [kora] meaning 'to do'. The conjunct verb which when considered as a lexeme will be able to allow nominalizations. Derivational rules can relate lexemes to lexemes. The Agent nominalization rule is applicable as is clear with examples like [rokhkhok] meaning 'saviour/protector' in the sentence (h).
Sentence (h) shows the nominalized conjunct verb [rokhkhok].[2] Thus, complex predicates of the N-V type can clearly participate in derivational morphology further attesting to their treatment within the lexicon.
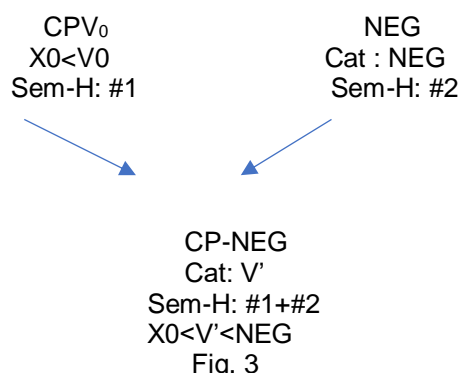
4) Analyzing the N-V complex predicate within the lexicon also helps in cases where the meaning of the light verb constructions is not compositional. The complex predicates that have a meaning which is opaque in nature and idiomatic in nature can be understood better when treated within the lexicon. LID or lexical identifier (Sag, 2007; Müller, 2010) can report the meaning of the complex predicate by specifying what the non-compositional or semantically opaque complex predicates mean.

Additionally, the complex predicates of the N-V type show possibilities, where the N may be coordinated with another N. The N may be extracted through topicalization. While the Bangla N-V conjunct verbs typically resist separation, the emphasis marker [i] on its own or with a negative marker may be inserted in between the predicative noun and the light verb. Moreover, looking back at Fig 1., traditionally, the predicative noun is clearly an object of the light verb as well as one of the heads of the multi-headed light verb construction. This predicative noun can also licence its own object. This is quite well accounted for in Vaidya and Palmer's account for Hindi light verb constructions (2019).

Multiple inheritance hierarchies allow for the identification of the Bangla N-V conjunct verb by incorporating its characteristics of both 'words' and 'phrases'. Within such an understanding of complex predicates, the sub-concepts would have the power to override the super-concepts. Thus, in instances

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[2] The semantic underpinning of the m-daughters in Fig.2 is based on Godard and Samvelian (2021).
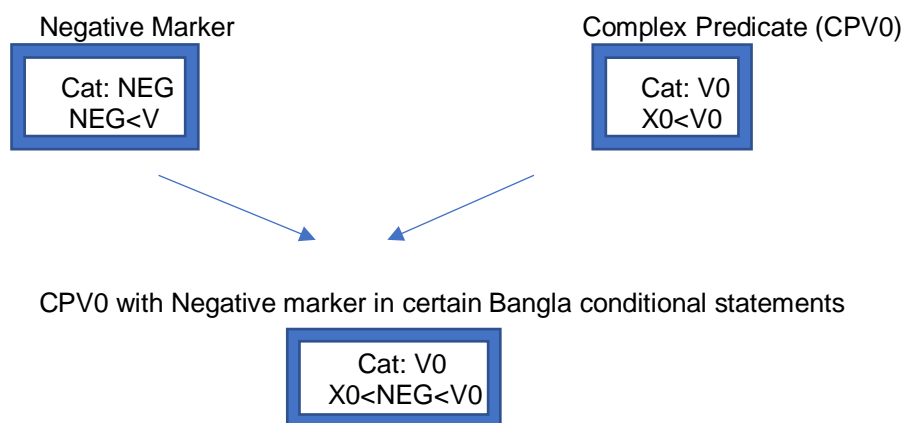
like sentence (c), where the NEG marker comes after the conjunct verb, the following illustrates the mechanism:

CPV$_0$
X0<V0
Sem-H: #1

NEG
Cat : NEG
Sem-H: #2

CP-NEG
Cat: V'
Sem-H: #1+#2
X0<V'<NEG
Fig. 3

So, normally in cases of Bangla Negative marker, Fig. 3 shows how the placement of the noun and verb is presented. Finally, Fig. 3 shows how the predicative noun is followed by the finite light verb which is followed by the negative marker. Sentence (i) below shows an exemplar of when the NEG marker can come in between the constituents (the N and the light verb) with certain conditional statements in Bangla.

i) Jodi   Ram   or   opekhkha   na   kore,   o   par   pabe   na.
    If-COND Ram   his/her   wait   NEG   do-INF   he   otherway get-FUT   NEG
    If Ram does not wait for him/her, he will not be spared.

Fig. 4 shows how such cases where the NEG marker comes between the conjunct verb (as in sentence i), the hierarchy is understood as:

Negative Marker

Cat: NEG
NEG<V

Complex Predicate (CPV0)

Cat: V0
X0<V0

CPV0 with Negative marker in certain Bangla conditional statements

Cat: V0
X0<NEG<V0

Fig. 4

The argument structure of the Bangla N-V conjunct verb, its monoclausal nature, reference to a particular event specification and its characteristics of allowing nominalizations as a whole strongly point towards its treatment as a lexeme. It is interesting how at the level of argument structure, it draws parallels to the patterns observed by a prototypical word. However, certain syntactic operations (like movement) allow for its categorization as a phrase. Using the understanding of Multiple Inheritance hierarchies offers a solution to understand the complex predicate as a part of the lexicon while still permitting its other features.

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