The Morphological Realization of Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Gaddi, Kinnauri, Kullui, and Spiti

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By

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To my dearest parents and my Guru,

For their endless love, faith, patience, support, and encouragement.

This past year has taught me that I am strong, even when I feel weak

because I have you by my side, always.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	First-person	IMP	Imperative
2	Second-person	INCHO	Inchoative
3	Third-person	IND	Indicative
ABL	Ablative	INF	Infinitive
ACC	Accusative	INS	Instrumental
ADJ	Adjective	IPFV	Imperfective
ADV	Adverb(ial)	JUS	Jussive
AGR	Agreement	LOC	Locative
ASP	Aspect	M	Masculine
AUX	Auxiliary	MA	Masculine (Gend)
A.EVI	Auditory Evidential	MOD	Mood, Modality
CAUS	Causative	N	Noun
COND	Conditional	NEG	Negation, Negative
COM	Comitative	NEU	Neutral
COMPL	Completive (Aspect)	NOM	Nominative
COP	Copula	OBL	Oblique
DAT	Dative	P	Particle
DEO	Deontic	PFV	Perfective

DEM	Demonstrative	PL	Plural
DET	Determiner	POT	Potential
DU	Dual	PRF	Perfect
D.MOD	Dynamic Mood	PROG	Progressive
EPIS	Epistemic Mood	PST	Past
ERG	Ergative	Q	Question word
EVI	Evidential	SG	Singular
F	Feminine	TNS	Tense
FE	Feminine (Gend)	T.EVI	Tactile Evidential
FUT	Future	V	Verb
GEN	Genitive	VOC	Vocative
HAB	Habitual	V.EVI	Visual Evidential
H.PST	Hodiernal Past		

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Recent decades have seen a volume of literature written on verb morphology with emphasis on verb *inflections.* Stump (1998,21) suggests that in comparison to the derivational affixes that tend to provide lexicosemantic properties like 'agentive' and 'stative', the function of the inflectional suffixes is to provide insights into the morphosemantic and morphosyntactic properties of a word to which the syntactic relations like agreement and government are sensitive. The study of verb inflection primarily focuses on studying the identity of the common verbal base, the form and behavior of the inflectional items, the patterns of these items, and their implications at the word and clause level.

This book attempts to pursue a similar venture for four lesser-known languages of India spoken primarily in four neighboring districts of Himachal Pradesh-Gaddi from Chamba and Kangra, Chitkuli Kinnauri from the last two villages of Kinnaur, Kullui from Kullu, and Spiti from Lahaul and Spiti. After a description of the languages, each of their individual characteristic properties and morphological strategies is evaluated to understand and recognize any inherent typological and areal generalizations. Then, a comparative analysis is also presented for these languages, followed by a presentation of a typology of these languages based on the relative prominence of tense, aspect, and mood in these languages. Lastly, a uniform theoretical representation of the facts gathered for the respective languages is proposed.

This kind of a systematic and phased approach, i.e., consisting of collection, description, analysis, comparison, and representation that is presented in this book, is also my proposal for future work on TAM (Tense Aspect and Mood) systems of Indian languages.

1.1 Introduction to Key Terminology

The concept of inflection is dependent on the fundamental unit of the *lexeme*[1] (always represented in the literature with capital letters) that enters into syntactic combinations as a single word and has a particular syntactic category and meaning. The full set of these various word-forms of the lexemes is referred to as the *paradigm*. Since the same morphosyntactic properties are relevant to all word-forms of each lexeme, by encoding the various morphosyntactic properties that are available in a particular language and the various word forms representing the same, the structure of the paradigm can be easily deciphered.

The consistent element in all of the word-forms of a given lexeme is the stem, through which the lexical meaning of the verb is expressed. For many languages, only the verb root tends to be the sole form of the stem occurring in all of the word-forms, while for others, a lexeme may have a variety of distinct sets of stems, either for all or a specific set of lexemes. Considerations that are lexical, morphosemantic, or morphosyntactic tend to govern the distribution of these with the inflectional paradigm. These stems tend to be associated with parts of the paradigms, the identification of which plays a very important role in defining its template. But there are a few languages in which such attempts at deciphering the stem are difficult. Given their widespread occurrence in various languages of the world, Stump (2001, 169) proposes to assume that a lexeme's stem often carries indices whose sole function is for the appropriate stem selection. The category of stems distinguished by an index of this sort was termed to be *morphomic* in Aronoff (1994, 25), which had no role in grammar and was an autonomous functioning component.

While the stem conveys the lexical meaning of the verb, it is the inflections that provide key insights into the essential grammatical properties based on the appropriate context in the speech act. These morphological markers participate in the paradigmatically-related alternation to express tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality, gender, person, number, honorificity, or voice.

1.1.1 Tense

Tense is defined as the "grammaticalized expression of location in time" in Comrie (1985, 9). In the literature, tense has been broadly classified as either

[1] Lexeme here refers to the fundamental element of the lexicon of any language, as presented in Matthews (1991, 26) and Lyons (1977,18-25)

being relatively or absolutely. While absolute tense indicates time in association with the time of utterance, relative tense indicates a certain time's relationship to some other time that is used as a reference. In attempts to decode the way that each language grammatically represents time, the theory proposed by the philosopher Hans Reichenbach proves most beneficial. According to Reichenbach (1947), any manifestation of tense can be analyzed in relation to the three abstract points called 'point of speech' (S), 'point of event' (E), and 'point of reference' (R). The following table presents the various values for tense and their representations according to Reichenbach.

Relations	*Reichenbach's Tense Name*	*English Tense Name*	*Example*
E<R<S	Anterior Past	Past Perfect	*I had slept*
E=R<S	Simple Past	Simple Past	*I slept*
R<E<S R<S=E R<S<E	Posterior Past		*I expected that I would sleep*
E<S=R	Anterior Present	Present Perfect	*I have slept*
S=R=E	Simple Present	Simple Present	*I sleep*
S=R<E	Posterior Present	Simple Future	*I will sleep (Je vais dormir)*
S<E<R S=E<R E<S<R	Anterior Future	Future Perfect	*I will have slept*
S<R=E	Simple Future	Simple Future	*I will sleep (Je dormirai)*
S<R<E	Posterior Future		*I shall be going to sleep*

Table 1-1 Reichenbach's tenses from Mani et al. (2005)

Tense is typically a morphosemantic feature of languages, but in some languages, since it is required by syntax through the mechanisms of either agreement or government, it can also be morphosyntactic. Languages employ a variety of tense markings to locate situations in time. It is morphologically realized in language at either sentence or verb phrase level in the form of auxiliaries, periphrastic constructions, particles, or verb inflections. Some languages tend to conceptualize and represent time as a

three-way distinction of *Past* (time before the moment of utterance), *Present* (time during the moment of utterance) and *Future* (time after the moment of utterance) while some others opt for a Future versus Non-Future (as found in Karitiana of Tupi stock) or a Past-versus Non-Past system (as found in Mewahang) of tense. It is interesting to note that a couple of languages like Mandarin Chinese, Burmese, Dyirbal, and Navajo lack any grammatical marking for tense. Instead, these use other strategies to represent time in the language. Some uncommon values of tense found in languages are denoted by the use of some significant terminology, as presented in the following table.

Sl no.	Terminology	Common Permutations	Meaning
1.	Near	Future	In the near future
2.	Hodiernal	Future, Past	Sometime the same day
3.	Vespertine	Future	Sometime in the evening, at dusk
4.	Remote	Past, Future	In the more distant past or future
5.	Hesternal	Past	Yesterday or early, not remote
6.	Crastinal	Future	The day of tomorrow, after today
7.	Immediate	Past	Very recent past, eg. a minute ago
8.	Recent	Past	A few days/weeks/months ago (varies)
9.	Matutinal	Past	Sometime in the morning, early in the day
10.	Preterite	Past	Past, conceived as whole
11.	Still	Present	At or immediately before the utterance

Table 1-2 General terminology used to finely express various temporal distinctions

1.1.2 Aspect

"Various aspects distinguish different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of the same situation" (Comrie, 1976, 3), (Bybee, 2003, 157). Smith (1991) proposes that to understand the aspectual meaning and conceptualization of aspectual meaning, the analysis of two independent

components called ‘aspectual viewpoint’ and ‘situation type’ is valuable. While the aspectual viewpoint is generally indicated morphologically, the situation type is indicated by the composition of the verb, arguments and also the adverbials. It is also viewpoint aspect that is also called as ‘grammatical aspect’.

Aspect, very much like tense is a feature that is typically morphosemantic. But in some languages, since it is required by syntax through the mechanisms of either agreement or government, it can also be morphosyntactic. Aspect is often morphologically indicated by inflections or auxiliary verbs in languages. The minimal set of aspectual values found in languages is two, and the most frequent of is the opposing values of *Perfective* (temporal view as a simple whole) versus *Imperfective* (temporal view as interior composition). While a few languages have a single category to express imperfectivity, others subdivide it into distinct sub-categories. Comrie presents the various divisions of the possible aspectual values, found in the world’s languages, as presented below:

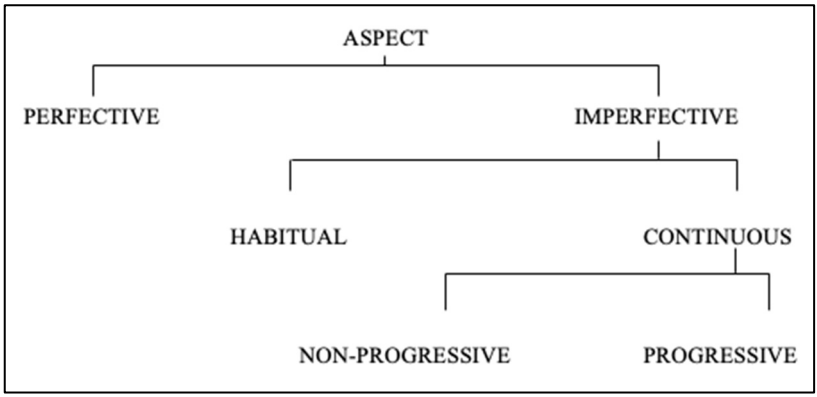

Figure 1-1 Diagrammatic representations of the various aspectual values (Comrie, 1976, 25)

The imperfective aspect that represents the repeated occurrence of an event over a period of time is called the *Habitual* aspect, while the *Continuous* aspect represents an ongoing but not habitual occurrence of a situation. *Progressive* aspect is a continuous aspect that expresses processes and not states. In Spanish for example, in the past tense, we find the distinction between perfective and imperfective and a separate (also optional) progressive aspect as well. So, we can infer that there is an opposition

between perfective and imperfective and a further opposition within the imperfectives, of that being between progressive and non-progressive. Smith (1997, 77-78) discusses that traditional accounts of aspectual systems presented sentences with no morphological realization of an aspect in languages like Navajo and Chinese. While one would be tempted to postulate the absence of aspect, Kibort (2008) proposes these languages to instantiate the *Neutral* viewpoint aspect- "a positive semantic value at par with the perfective and imperfective that expresses flexibility and inclusion of the initial point of the situation together with at least one stage" (Smith 1997, 77-78).

1.1.3 Mood and Modality

Mood is a universal grammatical category that covers a wide semantic area of grammatical reflections. It typically comprises grammatical elements operating on a situation/ proposition that may not be directly concerned with situating an event in the actual world but rather as that conceived by the speaker. The study of mood can be subdivided into 'illocution' and 'modality'. While the former is concerned with identifying sentences as instances of specific speech acts, the latter is concerned with the modification of the content of the speech acts. The analysis of illocution involves the study of the intonation, word order, auxiliary, verb inflection, and derivational markers that denote the values of *Declarative, Subjunctive, Interrogative, Imperative, Prohibitive, Hortative, Optative, Imperative, Indicative, and Admonitive*. While languages don't make use of all of these, they tend to possess various groupings of the same generally.

Based on the parameter of the domain of evaluation, modality (based on Foley & Van Valin (1984), Hengeveld (1988) and Palmer (2001)) can be classified as *Facultative* modality (which describes the fundamental and acquired capabilities of a participant), *Deontic* modality (describes the participant being under legal, social and moral obligation), *Volitive* modality (describes the desire to engage in the event type), *Epistemic* modality (describes the possibility of occurrence of view about the actual world) and *Evidential* modality (specifies the source of information for the said proposition). A very important distinction found in the languages (like Mao Naga and Chalcatongo Mixtec) that show higher significance to mood is the epistemic one between *Irrealis* and *Realis* mood. While the former portrays the speaker's perception of the event as being actualized or occurring at the moment, the latter is used to portray that which is still in the realm of thought and hasn't been actualized yet. For this current study,