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Linguistic areas: getting at the grain of history*

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A perennial problem in the study of linguistic areas is the indeterminate nature of the data adduced to link observed effect with asserted cause. The present paper reviews four possible sources of structural parallels in adjacent languages: viz. coincidence, typological harmonics, genetic relationship, and cultural contact. The kind of data which select cultural contact as cause (and which exclude the three other possibilities) is identified and instantiated from field work in South Asia.

Prolonged periods of interaction among speakers of languages belonging to different (or at least not demonstrably related) families may lead to convergence of structure (or of other characteristics: see Hook 1982) which is not explainable except by reference to that interaction. This opens up the attractive possibility that we may use the study of linguistic areas (together with other kinds of tacit evidence) as means to inferring prehistorical cultural contact among such groups. As an instance of such inference (controlled by independent historical testimony), the absence of an infinitive in British Romani may be cited:¹

<i>kam -av-as</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ja-v</i>	<i>kher-e</i>	(Sampson 1926:IV-131)
want-1S-IMPRF	that	go-1S	home-LOC	'I want to go home.'
<i>brisindō</i>	<i>ja-la</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>de -l</i>	(Sampson 1926:III-191)
rain	go-3S	that	give-3S	'It's going to rain.'

This syntactic peculiarity is an indication of protracted residence in the Balkans. We can be fairly sure of this interpretation since all other forms of Indo-Aryan have an infinitive; the lack of one distinguishes Balkan languages from their neighbors;² and there are historical records of the Gypsies' sojourn there.³ In this paper I attempt a preliminary discussion of a basis for the evaluation of convergence phenomena as indicators of cultural contact when there is no explicit historical record.

In his landmark study of South Asia as a linguistic area, Colin Masica (1976) makes an important methodological point: In a linguistic area the parameters along which languages of different families are similar must in fact define that area. That is, to establish a given geographical region as a linguistic area we must show that its languages have features in common which distinguish them as a group from languages outside the area. Thus, for each feature that he discusses, Masica traces its presence (or absence) in ever widening circles until he reaches the line that separates languages having it from those that do not. By following this procedure, Masica discovers a very surprising thing, surprising at least to most Indologists: The syntactic (and semantic) features he selects do not define South Asia as a linguistic area. Rather they show a commonality in structure that includes language spoken

in vast areas of the Soviet Union (the Central Asian Socialist Republics), Korea, and Japan, an area which Masica has more recently⁴ termed the 'Indo-Turanian' linguistic area.

What are we to make of this? Linguists (at least those linguists who are Indologists) are familiar with the idea that Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Mundan languages may have come to resemble one another as much as they do by virtue of the millennia of close cultural contact for which there is direct historical evidence as well as obvious manifestations in every sphere of life: religion, philosophy, music, cuisine, etc.⁵ Are the historical incursions of White Huns and Mughals into India of the same order of magnitude and intensity to explain a degree of linguistic convergence between South Asian and Central Asian languages not much different from that found between Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda in South Asia itself?

In fact, a great deal of attention need not be paid to this question for the same degree of convergence (or similarity) can be found between the Altaic of the seventh or eighth centuries A.D. (see Appendix A) and inscriptional Tamil of the same or even earlier periods (Appendix B). Considering the enormous distance separating the site of the Orkhon inscriptions from Tamilnadu and the absence of historical records of contact between Altaic and Dravidian speakers prior to the sixth century, we must either assume prehistoric contact (or very remote genetic relationship) to be the explanation or consider whether linguistic areas may owe their existence to mechanisms other than these. It is the nature of such 'other mechanisms' that must be understood before we know how to assess the historiographical importance of the Indo-Turanian linguistic area.

There are two explanations for linguistic areas which do not appeal to contact or to remote genetic relationship: (1) coincidence, and (2) typological harmonics. The likelihood of simple coincidence's being the explanation cannot be determined without a better understanding of typological harmonics. That is, unless we know, in general which typological features pattern (or tend to pattern) with which, we cannot judge what the probabilities are of a given constellation of features arising purely by chance. For instance, if we assume that the four features (out of the five used in Masica 1976⁶) that show linguistic parallels between South and Central Asia are both independent and roughly equipollent (i.e., equally likely to be present or absent), then the likelihood that a Central Asian linguistic area causally disconnected from South Asia would show the existing convergence simply by chance is one in sixteen. If some or all of those four features tend to pattern together in the world's languages then this rather remote probability of accidental convergence improves. And improves rather markedly. How else are we to explain the presence of languages of typically Indo-Turanian structure in the western cordilleras of South America (at the very antipodes of South Asia)? Ecuadoran Quichua, for instance, shares all the syntactic and semantic features with South Asian languages that Orkhon Turkic does (see Appendix C).

The work of Greenberg and others has shown that certain typological features tend to cluster together. If a language has a basic word order in which the object precedes the verb then it is much more likely to have postpositions than it is to have prepositions, auxiliaries are much more likely to follow their verbs than to precede them, etc. Thus, agreement among languages along several of these parameters cannot be considered cumulative evidence for establishing a linguistic area, or, to put the matter more precisely, such agreements cannot be considered additive. Rather, a complex formula has to be worked out

specifying the weight to be given to each individual parallelism. Recognition of this principle is implicit in the organization of Masica's discussion of South Asia as a linguistic area where word order phenomena are treated together in a single chapter, as is the 'dative subject' construction with the absence of a verb 'to have'. To work out such a formula will require that we determine ratios of incidence for each feature of interest to us in the total stock of the world's languages (or in some controlled sample of them: see Tomlin 1979) and then, assuming them to be independent, compute the expected frequency of each combination of them. Comparing these expected frequencies with those actually observed will tell us how much to discount for typological harmonics, even if there is no satisfactory explanation for those harmonics in linguistic theories presently available to us.

Let us take a very simple example of this: In Appendix II of his pioneering essay "Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements", Greenberg classifies a largish number of languages according to different combinations of basic word-order, post- vs. prepositions, adjective before noun vs. noun before adjective, etc. The listing of languages and groups of languages he surveys totals approximately thirty-three lines of type. Taking three of these variables individually we find the following ratios of incidence:

A.	SOV word order	13	39%	SVO word order	14	42%
B.	postpositions	17	52%	prepositions	16	48%
C.	adjective-noun	12	36%	noun-adjective	21	64%

(Here the integers are the number of lines of type. They do not total 33 for variable A because I am not considering verb-first word-order here.) Assuming these variables to be independent of one another, we can calculate expected ratios of incidence for each combination. For simplicity's sake I will find the values for A into B and for A into C (the integer following the figure for percentage is the expected number of lines):

I.	AB	20%	7,	-AB	22%	7,	A-B	19%	6,	-A-B	20%	7
II.	AC	14%	5,	-AC	15%	5,	A-C	25%	8,	-A-C	27%	9

The observed percentages and numbers of lines for each of these combinations are:

I.	AB	36%	12,	-AB	12%	4,	A-B	3%	1,	-A-B	27%	9
II.	AC	18%	6,	-AC	12%	4,	A-C	21%	7,	-A-C	27%	9

Comparison of these two sets of figures shows that the 'basic word order' of a language is much more closely tied to post- vs. preposition than it is to the relative order of adjective and noun. That is, features A and B tend either both to be present or both to be absent to a stronger degree than do features A and C. Therefore, agreement on the latter between languages is more probative in the demonstration of a linguistic area than is post- vs. preposition and accordingly should be given a greater weight in the calculation (assuming that basic word order has already been given a full vote).

However, there is a limitation on this procedure which may be severe enough to dissuade anyone from undertaking the arduous task of determining separate frequency ratios for a large sampling of syntactic and semantic traits: It is possible that the world is not big enough, that the number of coexisting human languages is too small to give a representative sample of the full potential of man's language faculty and that cultural contacts are too frequent for us ever to know what the inherent typological characteristics of human language

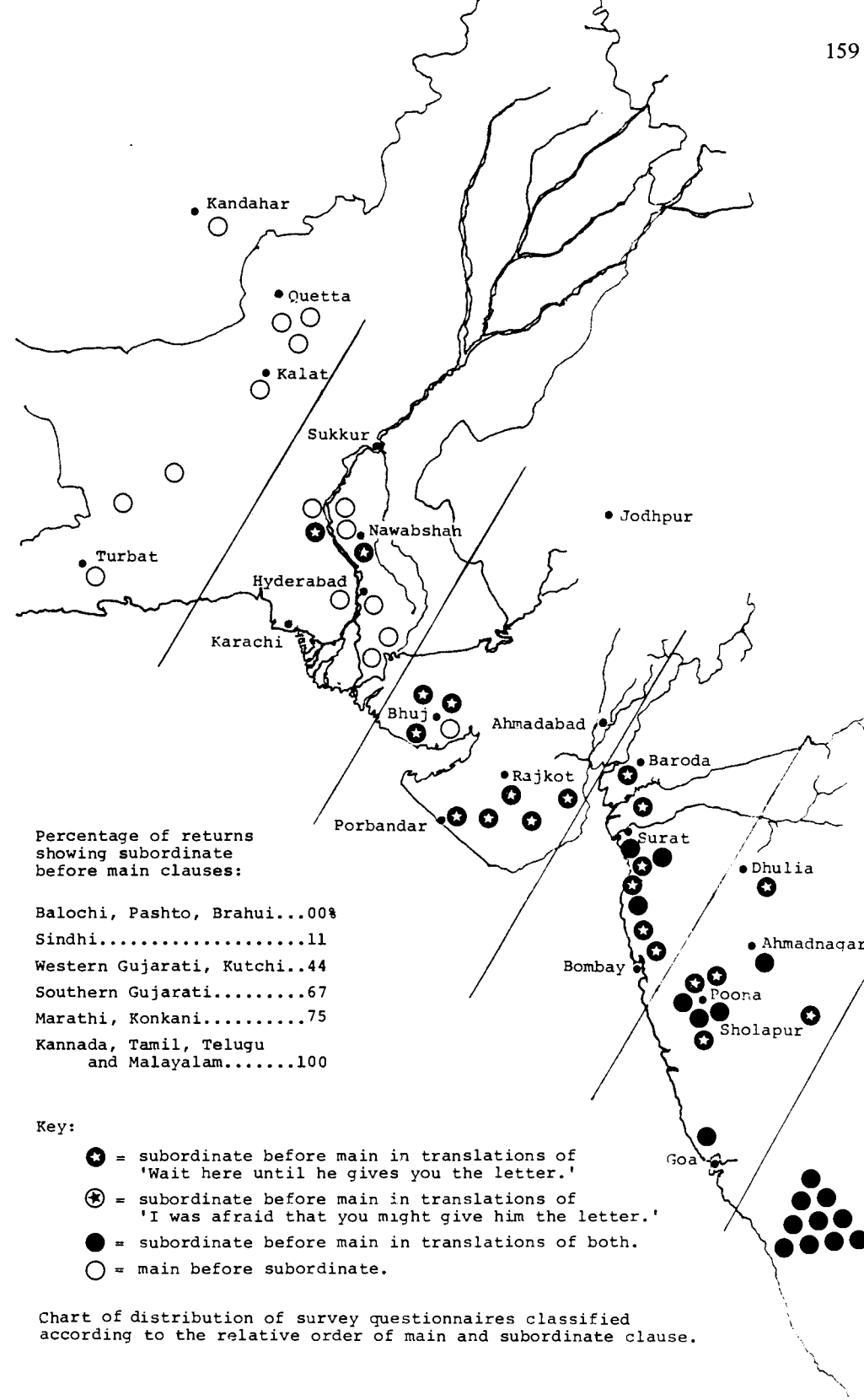
would be if individual languages were allowed to develop undisturbed in pristine isolation. In short, all languages may belong to a single linguistic area, namely, the Earth.

Such 'bons mots' aside, there is another reason for not undertaking mammoth typological studies of the world's total stock of languages (interesting as such studies might be in themselves): From the point of view of demonstrating linguistic areas they are simply not necessary. Rather if we turn to detailed cross-dialect, fine-grain comparisons we can show a pattern of convergence that will conclusively put to rest the two-headed bogey of coincidence and typological harmonics and which will also distinguish contact phenomena from common retentions associated with remote genetic relationships (eg. Nostratic). If a statistical study of a given feature of syntax or semantics shows a regular correlation with distance, and, especially, if this correlation is independent of genetic groupings and sub-groupings, then we have a prima-facie case for contact as cause.

Recently I have conducted field research on the geographical distribution of aspectual contrasts in South Asian languages. I happened to include a pair of complex sentences on the questionnaire which show a regular progression in the frequency ratios of subordinate-main as opposed to main-subordinate clause orders as one proceeds from north to south within western Indo-Aryan (Sindhi, Kutchi, Gujarati, Marathi). (See figure.) Subordinate-main order is typical of Dravidian; main-subordinate, of Persian. Since we are no longer dealing with a simple binary (yes-no, present-absent) value for a feature, but with a finely modulated correlation of frequency with distance, coincidence is ruled out.⁷ Ascribing the facts to typological harmonics simply puts the operative factor at one or two removes and still does not explain the regularity in the geographic distribution of that factor. Similarly remote genetically based groupings and sub-groupings do not vary continuously with distance: i.e., the Stammbaum model would not predict that Marathi would share more syntactic and semantic features with Kannada and Tamil than the North Dravidian language Brahui does.

In effect, fine-grain correlations of this kind can be explained only by positing chains of bi-dialectal and/or bi-lingual speakers along which change in some feature of syntax or semantics is transmitted much in the manner distortions in a message are propagated and elaborated in the party game 'Telephone'. Such correlations promise to do for convergence studies what the regularity of sound correspondences did for the development of historical-comparative linguistics. The difficulties in establishing such correlations have to do with the availability of relevant information.⁸ Before Labov linguists were rarely interested in gathering data on the relative frequency of competing forms.

Assuming that such data become available in the future, we may discover that the fine-grain processes and social interactions that lead to clines in the frequencies of competing linguistic forms and structures may be relatively short-lived while their global effects may persist for centuries after them. For example, the Indo-Turanian linguistic area uncovered by Masica may be a kind of fossil, a trace of an area once knit together by chains of bi-dialectal and bilingual speakers, but now subject, in its various parts (and from diverse directions), to new influences that have yet to obscure the large-scale parallels in structure established in prehistoric times. An ambitious survey of competing patterns in a number of linguistic dimensions carried out on a village-to-village scale along selected geographic arcs in South Asia and Central Asia is needed to answer this question.



List of Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NP	noun phrase
Adj	adjective	OBL	oblique
CAUS	causative	Pl	plural
CIS	cislocative	POSS	possessor
CP	conjunctive participle	PRES	present
DAT	dative	PST	past
EMPH	emphatic	PSTP	past participle
ERG	ergative	RelP	relative phrase
GEN	genitive	S	singular
HORT	hortative	Sg	singular
IMPER	imperative	SM	standard-marker
IMPRF	imperfect	SOV	subject-object-verb
INF	infinitive	T	tonral
INSTRU	instrumental	1	first person
LOC	locative	2	second person
N	noun	3	third person

Notes

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¹ The first South Asians to reach the shores of England arrived well before the East India Company was founded, at the latest by 1500 according to Vesey-Fitzgerald (1944:20). Their northwesterly migration began sometime before 250 B.C. (Turner 1927:23)

² See Sandfeld (1930) and Solta (1980). The Balkan languages that lack the infinitive include:

Modern Greek:	<i>θελο να πα-ω</i>	'I want to go.'
	I-want that go-1Sg	
Bulgarian:	<i>toj ne iska da dojd-e</i>	'Il ne veut pas venir.'
	he not want that come-3Sg	(Beaulieux 1950:326)
Rumanian:	<i>vreau sa cînt</i>	'Je veux chanter.'
	I-want that I-sing	(Cazacu 1967:125)
Albanian:	<i>dua të shkruaj</i>	'I want to write.'
	I-want that I-write	(Solta 1980:212)
Macedonian:	<i>saka da ja rešava</i>	'He wants to solve it.'
	I-want that it I-solve	(Lunt 1952:85)
Grecoanica-Bova:	<i>iθel-a na mu fer -i</i>	'He'd like to bring me.'
Calabrese:	<i>vuli-a mu mi pôrt -a</i>	(Solta 1980:214)
	he-wanted that me bring-3SG	

³ For an Arab report of Gypsies among the Byzantines in the ninth century A.D. see Vesey-Fitzgerald (1944:6ff.).

⁴ In his paper entitled "South Asian languages: typological coincidence or areal convergence?" presented at the 35th annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, 1983.

⁵ For a first look at such convergence in folk narratives, see Hook (1979).

⁶ The fifth one Masica discusses, the 'dative subject', does not exist in Central Asian languages.

⁷ The probability of coincidence's being the 'cause' in the appearance of a regular progression in a series of geographically ordered data sets is equal to $\frac{2}{n!}$, where n is the number of sets. In this particular instance, where there are six such sets, the chances of their exhibiting such a progression purely by coincidence are two in $6 \times 5 \times 4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1$ or one in three hundred sixty (0.0028).

⁸ Relevant information has sometimes been collected, by accident as it were. For an attempt to extract such information from Grierson's linguistic survey of India, see Hook (1977).

⁹ Part of Deshpande's argument for a Dravidian source for retroflexion in the Rgveda appeals to geographical information (1979:252ff). Southworth 1974 goes considerably further in his use of data from Grierson to infer, on the basis of the incidence of retroflexion in modern Indo-Aryan, that Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sind are the areas most likely to have been Dravidian-speaking at the time of the Aryan incursions into South Asia. The problem with this is that the present distribution of linguistic features may have nothing to do with the situation that obtained three to four thousand years ago. For an analogous difficulty in attributing the *gorgia toscana* to an Etruscan substratum see Kurath (1972:154-156).

Appendix A: Orkhon Turkic

Orkhon Turkic, as known to us from inscriptions first discovered 250 years ago in what is today central Mongolia, shares with Dravidian the four syntactic and semantic parallelisms that Masica 1976 uses to define the Indo-Turanian linguistic area: (1) word order, (2) derived causative verbs, (3) conjunctive participles and (4) explicator compound verbs. Examples of these (unless otherwise indicated, from the eastern or southern faces of the Kül Tigin inscription) are:

(1) word order:

- a *tutuq -uγ älig -in tut-di* (E 38) SOV
governor-ACC hand-INSTRU captured
'(He) captured the governor by (his own) hand.'
- b *türük qara qamay bodun* (E 8) AdjN
Turk black entire people
'... the Turkish common people...'
- c *ini -m kül tigin birlä* (E 26) Postposition
brother-my Kul prince with
'... with my brother, Prince Kul...'
- d *ötükän yiš -da yig idi yoq ärmis* (S 4) SMAdj
Otukan mtn-from better at-all not is
'There is no better (place) than the O. Mountains.'
- e *umay täg ög -üm* (E 31) RelP-NP
Umay like mother-my
'My mother (who is) like the Goddess Umay...'

(2) derived causatives (and transitives):

- a *öl-* 'die' *ölür-* 'kill'; *käl-* 'come' *kälür-* 'bring'
- b *är-* 'be' *ärtür-* 'make'; *yarat-* 'make' *yaratur-* 'have made'
- c *aγar adinč(č)iy barq yarat-ur -t -um*
them (DAT) wonderful tomb build-CAUS-PST-1Sg
'I had them build an extraordinary mausoleum.'

(3) The affix of the conjunctive participle (CP) in Orkhon Turkic has a number of forms. Chief among these are a vowel (-a/-ä, -i/-i, -u/-ü) and an ending -p or -pan/-pän. Like their counterparts in Dravidian (and unlike English *having V-ed*) the Orkhon conjunctive participles show great syntactic freedom occurring in imperatives and questions (as well as in the narrative declaratives where analogous constructions occur in English and most languages):

- a *yaraqli qantin käl -ip yañ -a eltdi* (E 23)
armed whence come-CP disperse-CP sent
'From where did the armed (ones) come and scatter (you)?'
- b *buni kör-ü bil -in* (S 12)
this (ACC) see-CP know-IMPER
'See this (inscription) and learn (from it)!'

The same-agent constraint (Hook 1976) applies (although such agents do not have to be the same in surface structure):

- c *yoq(q) aru at yät-ä yadayin iγač tutun-u aγ -turt -um*
upwards horses lead-CP on-foot trees cling -CP climb-made-I
'I had them climb upwards on foot leading their horses and clinging to the trees.'
(Tonyukuk I, N 1)

(Here, it is clear from context that the leader of horses and the climber to trees is not the 'I' of the account.)

(4) Explicator compound verbs in Orkhon Turkic, as in Dravidian, are formally indistinguishable from conjunctive participle plus finite verb constructions (cf. 3a):

- a *uluγ irkin azqina är -in täz -ip bar-d -i* (E 34)
great (name) few men-INSTRU flee-CP go -PST-3Sg
'The great Irkin ran away with a few (of his) men.'

The explicators are homophonous with lexical verbs:

- b *bodun yer -in sub -in id -ip tabγac-γaru bardı*
people land-their water-their leave-CP China -toward went
'... people left their land and water and went toward China'.
(Bilgä Kagan inscription, E 35)

- c *qayan-in yitür-ü id -mis* (E 7)
kagan-their lose -CP leave-PST
'... (they) lost their kagan...'

The alternation of the explicator with its absence (one of the two criteria for the classification 'compound verb'; see Hook 1977:336) is found in Orkhon Turkic under similar conditions:

- d *kül tigin qon yıl -qa yiti yegirmi-kä uç-di* (KT NE)
Kul Prince Sheep year-LOC seven twenty -LOC fly-PST
'Prince Kul died in the Year of the Sheep on the 17th day.'

Here the tone is matter-of-fact. Contrast this with:

- e *uč-a bar-d -iγiz* (KT SE)
fly-CP go -PST-2 -P1

where the writer, Prince Kul's nephew, expresses his sense of loss (The sentence follows directly on: 'You used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved children and descendants.').

(5) Another feature common to Orkhon Turkic and Dravidian of the time is the use of participle of the verb 'say' (*te-/ti-*) as a complementizer with verbs of speaking and thinking and to introduce clauses of purpose (cf. Kuiper 1967):

- a *olur-uγ ti -yin te -mis* "Stay!" he said.
stay-2PL say-ing say-PST (Tonyukuk I N 10)
- b *üküs te -yin nä -kä qorq-ur biz* (Tonyukuk II W 4)
many say-ing what-DAT fear -PRS we
'Why should we be afraid (of there being) many (of them)?'
- c *arqiš id -maz ti -yin sülä -d -im* (Bilgä Kagan E 25)
caravan send-not say-ing campaign-PST-1Sg
'I went to war (against them) because they did not send the (tribute) caravan.'

Appendix B: Inscriptional Tamil

The earliest Tamil prose of appreciable length is that found some fifty years ago in an inscription of some forty lines that was unearthed in Paḷḷāṅkōvil, a small village in Tanjore. The text, recording a grant of land, is considered to date from before 550 A.D. (Zvelebil 1964:6). From it we may illustrate the same syntactic and semantic features as have been exemplified in Appendix A.

(1) word order:

- a *vajranandi-kkuravar-kk -e . . . nilaṅ koṭu-tt -om* (54–56) OV
(a name) teacher -DAT-EMPH land give -PST-we
'To the same teacher V. . . . we gave land. . .'
- b *tan nāṭ . . .* (29) AdjN
your district. . .
- c *peru-nāṅk-ellai -y-aka -ttu* (47–48) Postposition
great-four -limit-T-interior-OBL
' . . . within the great four boundaries. . .'
- d (no comparatives available in the inscription)
- e *kaṅṅu-mey pāl* (49) RelP-NP
calf -graze portion
' . . . the part (where) the calves graze. . .'

(2) derived causatives:

While no clear instances are available from the Paḷḷāṅkōvil inscription, they may be found in earlier inscriptions (from 200 B.C.) found in caves:

- a *siri yakaru cānatāritāṅ koṭū-pi -t -on* (Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi II, Zvelebil 1964:552)
shri (name) (name) cut -CAUS-PST-3Sg
'Shri Yakaru Canataritan . . . had (this cavern) cut.'

Compare this with the non-derived transitive in:

- b *velāṭai nikāmātor koṭior* (Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi II, in Zvelebil 1964b:552)
(name) citizens (?) cut
'The people of Velatai cut (the cavern).'

(3) conjunctive participles:

- a *nāṭṭār -um tirumukaṅ kaṅ-tu toḷu-tu . . .* (33–34)
members of nāṭu too royal-order see -CP namaskṛtya
'And the members of the district assembly having seen the royal proclamation and having shown their deference. . .'

(4) As in Orkhon Turkic the morphology of the explicator compound verb construction is indistinguishable from that of conjunctive participle plus finite verb:

- a *arai -y-olai cey -tu koṭu-ttu viṭu -taka . . .* (32–33)
speak-T-leaf make-CP give -CP leave-HORT
' . . . prepare the proclamation and issue (it).'

Note the use here as in Orkhon Turkic of a verb homophonous with the verb for 'leave' as explicator.

(5) The conjunctive participle of the verb *eṅ* 'say' is used as a sentential complementizer (see Kuiper 1967):

- a *tāṅkaḷ -um . . . araiyolai cey -tu koṭu-ttu viṭu -taka -v-eṅ -ru*
you-PL-too speak-leaf make-CP give -CP leave-HORT-T-say-CP
nāṭṭār -kku t-tirumukaṅ viṭ -a (31–33)
members-DAT T-royal-order leave-INF

'(The king) has given an order to the members of the assembly that they too should . . . prepare a proclamation and issue (it).'

Appendix C: Marathi and Quechua

Marathi is one of the Indo-Aryan languages most strongly Dravidianized in its syntactic and semantic structures. The examples adduced here show structural parallels between it and Quechua, the modern descendant of the state language of the pre-Columbian empire of the Incas. Convergence through cultural contact may in this instance be safely ruled out.

(1) word order:

- a *mi tyā-lā paise -ḥ de -t -o* SOV
ñuka pay-man kullki -ta ku -ḥ -ni (Muysken 1977:19)
I him-to money-ACC give-PRES-1Sg
'I'll give the money to him.'

- b *sundar stri* AdjN
sumak warmi
pretty woman

- c *bābān-ḥ -čā mitrā -ḥ -či ṣeti -ḥ* Postposition
tayta -a -pa amiigu-m -pa čakra-n (Parker 1976:91)
father-POSS-GEN friend -POSS-GEN farm -POSS
'(my) father's friend's farm. . .'

- d *mājhā-hun hušār* SMAdj
noca -manta amaṭta (Markham 1972:28)
me -from smart
'wiser than me. . .'

- e *huān-ni di -lela patr -ḥ pāṭhav* RelP-NP
juan cu -shca quillca-ta cachai
Juan -ERG give-PSTP letter -ACC send
'Send the letter that Juan gave.'

Sentential objects, in both Marathi and Quechua, often follow their verbs (see sentence 5-a below).

(2) derived causatives (and transitives):

- a *mar- mār- mār -av-*
wañu- wañu-či- wañu-či-či-
die kill kill -CAUS
('have someone kill')

(3) conjunctive participles:

- a *ghar-ā -lā pohots-un hose jēva -lā*
wasi-φ -man chaya -shpa huzi miku-rka (Muysken 1977:29)
 home-OBL-to arrive -CP Jose eat -PST
 '(After) coming home Jose had his meal.'

(4) As in Altaic and in Dravidian, the explicator compound verb construction is based on the conjunctive participle form of the main verb in both Marathi and Quichua (Quichua is the Ecuadoran form of Quechua). Explicator constructions according to Bruce Mannheim (personal communication) are not to be found in Peruvian and Bolivian dialects of Quechua.

- a *vāts-un de*
cati -shpa cuy (Vazquez 1940:126)
 read-CP give
 'Read (this) (for me).'

In the Sierra this construction has entered Spanish as a polite imperative or request:

- b *da -me le -y-endo esta carta* (Toscano Mateus 1953:284)
 give-me read-T-ing this letter
 'Please read this letter for me.'

In Quichua the construction, apparently limited to transitive verbs, may include explicator auxiliaries homophonous with the verbs for 'give', 'leave', 'put' and 'throw'. The system appears more extensive in Marathi (see chart in Masica 1976:146).

(5) Both Marathi and Quechua use the conjunctive participle of a verb 'to say' as complementizer:

- a *ma-lā kala-vi φ φ -la sukh-rup pohots-φ -lo mhañ-un*
ni -chi -mu-wa-rqa -n allinta chaya -mu-ni ni -shpa
 me-to tell -CAUS-CIS-me-PST-3 safely arrive -CIS-1Sg say -CP
 'He informed me that he had arrived safely.'
- b *bagh-at āhe zhāḍ-ān -čāt pakṣi-φ pakad-āy-tsāy mhañ-un*
riku-u -ni yura-una-ma pisku-ra api -nga-k ni -sha
 look-ing-1Sg tree -PL -LOC bird -ACC grabbing -(for) say -CP
 'I'm looking in the trees in order to catch a bird.'

(6) Marathi and Quechua both have a 'dative-subject' construction (although as Masica 1983 has noted, this is substantially less developed in Quechua):

- a *ma -lā zhop-āytsa āh-e*
nuka-ta punu-naya φ -n (Muysken 1977:123)
 me -to sleep-want be-3Sg
 'I feel like sleeping.'

This is a feature South Asian languages do not share with those of Central Asia.

(7) Emeneau (1974) shows that Sanskrit *api* and Dravidian *-um* have the same semantic range: 'also'; 'and' (in a series); 'even', 'although'; as a totalizer ('all six', 'both', etc.); and as an indefinitizer: *kopi* 'whoever' = *kah* 'who' + *api* 'also'. Most of this can be shown for Quechua *pish*:

- a *ge-l -o hi*
ri-rca -ni pish
 go-PST-1Sg also
 '(and I) went, too.'
- b *kay-mam-pis wak -mam-pis* (I cannot find this pattern in Marathi.)
 this way also that way also
 '... this way and that. . . ' (Parker 1976:146)
- c *p'iña-ri -c -pi -pish mana ri -sha-chu rāg ye -un hi kāy upyog*
 anger-go-er-on-also not go-will-no anger come-CP also what use
 'Even if he gets angry, I won't go.' 'Even if you get angry, it's no use!'
- d Quechua: *pi* 'who', *pi-pis* 'somebody'; *ima* 'what', *ima-pis* 'something'
 Marathi: *koñ* 'who', *koñ-i* (*koñ* + *hi*) 'somebody', *koñi hi* 'anyone'
kuṭha 'where', *kuṭha hi* 'anywhere'
kāy 'what', *kāhi* 'some', 'something'
- e *pāts-hi gele* (absent in Quechua?)
 five-also went
 'All five went.'

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