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## **Structure of Asur Verbs**

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#### **Abstract**

Asur / Asuri is a North Munda language of the Kherwarian branch; a sister language to Mundari and Ho. The Munda verb morphology in general and especially the tense and aspect marking on verbs have been complex and hard to analyze; this is also the case with the Asur language. The study is a preliminary investigation into the verb morphology of the Asur language. Asur language has remained largely undocumented and undescribed by documentary linguistics and therefore, the study along with analysis of verb morphology also provides primary data. It attempts to delve into the complex tense-aspect encoding system of Asur verbs and the need to consider the presence and absence of transitivity markers -n and -d alongside tense-aspect markers. Within the scope of the study, tense aspect encoding, passivation, narrativization, reciprocal marking, serial verb construction, copula and auxiliary in the Asur language have been investigated.

**Keywords:** Asur Verbs, passive, causative, reciprocal, tense, aspect, copula.

#### 1. Introduction

In modern Munda languages, the verb morphosemantics have been complex, posing difficulties in categorizing the inflectional categories. The tense and aspect marking in Munda languages have been particularly complex (Anderson, 2011, p. 101). Asur / Assur / Asuri¹ (ISO-639-3: asr) is a North Munda language of the Kherwarian branch of languages that has less than 10,000 speakers (Eberhard et al., 2023); and has been categorized as an endangered language

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Although the term 'Asuri' is used more commonly in linguistics and ethnographic studies, the word 'Asur' has been used in the study because the community prefers this term and calls their community and language 'Asur' and not 'Asuri'. The addition of the derivational suffix '-i' in the end is Indo-Aryanic addition, just like Hindustani, Bihari, Marathi and so on.

(van Driem, 2007, p.322). Figure 1, adapted from Eberhard et al. (2023) depicts the position of the Asur language in the Austroasiatic family tree. The language is spoken by the Asur community who are mostly found in some parts of Latehar and Gumla district of Jharkhand. Asur language does not have a script, and is written by few native speakers using Devanagari script; however, the orthography remains unstandardized. The language has not been implemented in education and is still lacking in grammars and primers. As a North Munda language, the verb morphology of Asur is something that poses difficulties in categorization and analysis. The study uses mostly primary data to analyze the verb inflections of Asur. The study investigates the tense aspect encoding, passivation, causativization, reciprocal marking, serial verb construction, copula and auxiliary in the Asur language.

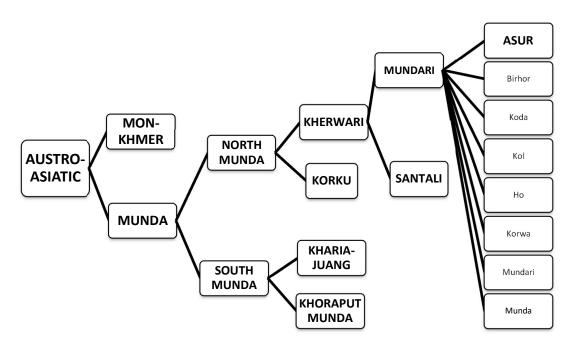


Figure 1: The position of Asur in the Austroasiatic family tree.

#### 2. Asur Verb Morphology

Asur verbs mark causatives, passives, TAM, transitivity, referent indexing or agreement. The tense and aspect markings are preceded by passive, causative, reciprocal markers and are followed by the -n/-d (transitivity) marker, agreement and mood marking. Although the verb morphology of Asur, like Munda languages appears to be very complex, a basic structure of the

verb can be identified. The following figure shows the basic structure of Asur verbs based on the available data.

Verb	-o(passive),	-t̪a, -t̪ahi, -ki,	-l, -kw/ -k/ -ke/-	-п, -д	Indexing:	Mood:
stem	-ci (causative),	(-ne)	ko/-ku	(Transitivity/	Obj +	-a
	-opṛiŋo		(tense)	Tense-	Subject	(indicative)
	(reciprocal)	(aspect/auxiliary)		Aspect)		-e
						(imperative)
						hui
						(potential)

Figure 2: Asur verb stem, affixations and clitic

It should be noted that none of the inflectional slots on the verb are obligatory; their presence or absence depends on the intended meaning. For example: The verb can exist only along with the mood like in example 1; it could also appear with only subject agreement/indexing, as in example 2.

- 1. in =do huni =lo ka=in eneg?-a

  1SG =CFM 3SG =COM NEG=1SG play-IND

  "I don't play with him." (=CFM: Contrastive focus marker; =COM: comitative)
- 2. iŋ roj ul jom=iŋ1SG everyday mago eat=1SG"I eat mango every day."

Other than the stem, no other slot is obligatory in a verb phrase. Asur does not have an overt marker for infinitive; and since it is an infinite verb, the TAM markings also remain absent, as shown in example 3.

#### 2.1 Passivizing Marker

Passivity is marked in Asur by the marker -o that follows the verb stem, shown in examples 4 and 5. The positioning and the semantics of the passive marker in Asur is similar to Mundari in which passivity is marked by -o and it implies "non-volitionality" (Osada, 2008, p.130).

- 4. iŋ =ke gitiʔg-o-tahi-n-a

  1SG =DAT rest-PASS-ASP-n-IND

  "I had to rest."
- 5. am oka =re juma-o-ko-am

  2SG where =LOC meet-PASS-FUT=2SG

  "Where will you meet him?"

#### 2.2 Causative Marker

Causativization of verbs increases the valency of the verb, and verbs can take more arguments. "A causative construction involves the specification of an additional argument, a causer, onto a basic clause. A causer refers to someone or something (which can be an event or state) that initiates or controls the activity" (Dixon, 2000, p.30). Morphological causativization takes place in many Indian languages. In Kherwarian languages, some common causative markers are *-ootfo*, *-itfo* or *-rika* (Anderson, 2011, p.30). In the Asur language as well morphological causativization is found, and the causative marker is *-ci*.

When in an (agentless) intransitive sentence, -n (intransitive marker) is used, the increase in the valency by one requires the verb to lose the intransitivity marker and incorporate agreement with the agent. When the -n maker is absent in an intransitive sentence, the incorporation of the agreement marker that agrees with the agent indicates an increase in valency. Example 6 is an intransitive sentence and example 7 is a transitive sentence. The causativization marker -ci along with the absence of intransitive marker -n increases the valency of the verb by two, therefore this is the second causativization marker. Example 8 is a ditransitive sentence in which the verb has the causativization marker -ci.

6. sekam uyu?-n-a leaf fall-n-IND

"Leaf fell"

```
7. cena towa =ke uyu?-l=ae child.3SGG milk =ACC fall-PST=3SG "Child spilled milk."
```

```
8. in cena =ke towa uyu?-ci-l=in1SG child =ACC milk fall-CAUS-PST=1SG"I made the child spill milk."
```

The causative marker -ci is not the same as particle ci which is used as a polar question particle, complementizer and quotative marker. These are homophonous morphemes having the same phonological form but different meanings.

## 2.3 Reciprocal Marker

Structure of Asur Verbs

Whenever there is a sense of reciprocity between the subject and the object, such that if subject and object are interchanged the statement is true; such reciprocated structure when encoded in language, is called reciprocal construction. In English examples of reciprocals are one another, each other. In Asur, *-oprino* is the reciprocal marker which conveys the meaning of 'each other'. The reciprocal marker precedes the aspectual marker and follows the verb root. Examples 9 and 10 show the use of *-oprino* in Asur.

```
9. baţiya ceŋa=akin =gi lel-opţiŋo-tan=akin (adapted from (Khalid, 2021, p.63)) two child=3D =EXP see-RECP-PROG=3D
```

'Two children are looking at each other.' (=EXM: Emphatic Exclusive Particle)

```
10. peya ceŋα=ku =gi lel-opṛiŋo-t̪αn=αku (adapted from three child=3PL =EXP see-RECP-PROG=3PL (Khalid, 2021, p.63))
```

'Three children are looking at each other.' (=EXM: Emphatic Exclusive Particle)

Semantically, the passive, causative, and reciprocal can co-occur in a sentence, a phenomenon that requires further investigation. However, if two or more of these markers are present, their order of occurrence remains unclear due to limited data.

## 2.4 Polypersonal Agreement/Indexing on Verb

In most Munda languages subject and object are indexed on the verb; in modern Munda languages object marking on the verb is done through enclitic/suffix marking, however the subject marking occurs as both enclitic/suffix marker (in most North Munda languages) and occurs as proclitic/suffix marker (in most South Munda languages) (Anderson, 2011, p.64-83). Asur has two slots for agreement in the verb phrase and just like most North Munda languages has enclitic markers to index subject and object on the verb. Intransitive verbs index the subject, and transitive verbs index both the subject and object on the verb; however, this indexing is not obligatory on all the verb phrases, but becomes obligatory in pro-drop situations, so that the person and number of the argument are known. In Asur, the object clitic precedes the subject clitic. Examples 11 and 12 show double agreement in Asur language.

The following table shows the form that agreement markers/ pronominal clitic marker takes, as it attaches itself with verb and other words.

Persons	Singular	Dual	Plural	
1 <sup>st</sup>	$=i\eta/=n$ $=ala\eta(inclusive)/=la\eta$		=abu(inclusive)/	
			=bu	
		=alin(exclusive)/=lin	=ale(exclusive)/ =le	
2 <sup>nd</sup>	=am/ =m	=aben/=ben	=ape/=pe	

3 <sup>rd</sup>	$=\alpha e/=e$	$=\alpha kin/=kin$	=aku/ =ku

Table 1: The pronominal clitic markers that attach to verbs in Asur.

#### 2.5 Transitivity or Focus Markers: -n and -d

Asur verbs mark transitivity or focus on its verb. Mundari, being a sister language to Asur also has the same markers -n and -q. For these markers, Osada (1992, p.102) uses the terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive markers' for the -q and -n respectively. Munda (1971, as cited in, Osada, 1992, p.103) uses the term focus marker for these markers in the Mundari language which is based on "whether the emphasis of action is on the subject or object"; where the presence of -n indicates an emphasis on the subject and -q indicates an emphasis on the object. Transitivity markers occur inconsistently in Asur, as these inflections do not necessarily exist in all instances of verb use in Asur. The following examples show the use of both the transitivity markers for a transitive verb jom "eat".

- 13. ram ghoto jom-ke-n=ae
  Ram.3SG food eat-ke-n=3SG
  'Ram used to eat food.'
- 14. ram ghoto jom-ke-d=ae

  Ram.3SG food eat-ke-d=3SG

  'Ram has eaten food.'

In sentences 13 and 14 above, the verb  $g^hoto$  "to eat" is transitive but both the forms -n as well as -d can be attached to the verb. Moreover, the -n and -d markers in the above examples, are probably not just transitivity or focus markers and have some tense and/or aspectual connotations: example 13 has past habitual and 14 has present perfect aspect. Since it is clear that the marker -d never occurs with intransitive verbs, it has been associated with the feature of transitivity. However, he marker -n occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

#### **2.6 Mood**

Moods convey the attitude related to what is being said. "Modality is concerned with the status of proposition that describes the event" (Palmer, 2001, p.1). It could express a factual statement, it could express desire or command or request, and so on.

## 2.6.1 Imperative Mood

Imperative mood performs the function of forming command, request or advice. "imperatives are used directly by a speaker as a speech act in order to get something done by the addressee" (Bhat, 1999, p.82). In Asur -e is the imperative marker which exists with second person agreement marker. The imperative marker follows the pronominal clitic marker for agreement on the verb, as shown in examples 15 and 16.

```
15. sen=am-e
go=2SG-IMP
'Go!'16. sen=ap-e
go=2PL-IMP
'Go!'
```

#### 2.6.2 Indicative Mood

The indicative can be considered as mood which expresses assertion (Palmer, 2001, p.3). In Asur, indicative is marked by -a, which occurs word finally; shown in example 17.

```
17. iŋ ka=iŋ sen-ne-n-a1SG NEG=1SG go-PST-n-IND'I did not go.'
```

#### 2.6.3 Potential Mood

Potential mood expresses the probability or likelihood of the occurrence of an event or being in a state. In Asur *hui* is used to express potential mood, which is similar in form and function to *hoi* in Sadri, which is an Indo-Aryan language (Peterson & Baraik, 2021, p.236); the potential marker in Asur could be a result of Indo-Aryan influence. The *hui* in Asur exists as a

separate word and follows the main verb, however, the order of occurrence of mood marker remains final in the verb, as in example 18.

18. in hola ul jom-tahi-l-in hui

3S yesterday mango eat-PRF-PST-1S POT

'I may have eaten mango yesterday.'

## 2.7 Tense Aspect in Asur

To understand the tense and Aspect in Asur the study will focus on the three slots shown below which are responsible for tense and aspect encoding in the language. It has been observed that there are constructions in which these three slots are vacant, and there are constructions in which there is overt realization of one or two constituents from one or two slots respectively, but an instance of overt realization of all the three slots altogether was not found (at least not in the data available). The members of the first slot are likely, auxiliaries, which bear aspectual sense; the second slot members mark past (-l) and future tense (-kw/-k/-ke/-ko/-ku); and the members of the third slot are transitivity markers which also bear some tense-aspect meaning. This will be evident from the examples in the following sections.

		1	2	3		
Verb	-o (Passive),	-t̪a, -t̪ahi, -ki, (-	-l, -kw/ -	-n, - <u>d</u>	Indexing	Mood
stem	-ci	ne)	k/ -ke/-		Obj+	<i>-a</i>
	(causative),		ko/-ku	(Transitivity/	Subject	(indicative)
	-oprino	(aspect/auxiliary)	(tense)	Tense-		-е
	(Reciprocal)			Aspect)		(imperative)
						hui
						(potential)

Figure 3: The three slots of tense, aspect and transitivity marking.

Examples of occurrences of the second slot and third slot together was not found, except in reflexive sense; *-l-n* gives past tense reflexive meaning.

#### 2.7.1 Present Tense

When all the three slots are vacant, the verb is in simple present tense or present habitual, as shown in example 19.

```
19. huni khali diri=αe3SG.DEM.DIST only late=3SG'He is always late.'
```

When the marker -*d* is present in the third slot and other two slots are empty, it conveys present continuous meaning (when the verb is transitive), shown in example 20.

```
20. in ul jom-d=in

1SG mango eat-d=1SG

'I am eating mango.'
```

The marker -ta followed by intransitive marker -n, conveys present progressive meaning, as in example 21. Since, the -ta/tahi auxiliary consistently has a perfective meaning, this construction is an exception where the meaning is imperfective. Therefore, -tan (present progressive) has been interpreted as one marker. In Mundari, -tan has also been interpreted as progressive (Osada, 2008).

```
21. in nir-tan=in

1SG run-PRS.PROG=1SG

'I am running'
```

When the inflectional marker -ta is followed by -d in a verb phrase, it conveys the meaning of present perfect, as in example 22.

```
22. ram ul jom-ta-d=ae

Ram.3SG mango eat-PRS.PRF=3SG

'Ram has eaten the mango.'
```

## 2.7.2 Future Tense

Future tense constructions always have the -ku/-ko/-kw/-k/-ke marker. When the future tense marker exists without any inflection in the first and third slot, it conveys simple future

tense meaning, as shown in example 23. There are many allophonic variants of this morpheme: - ku/-ko/-kw/-k/-ke.

23. in gapa nir-kw=in

1SG tomorrow run-FUT-1SG

'I will run tomorrow'

The auxiliary marker -tahi or -ta followed by the marker -ku/-ko/-ke/-kw/-k, has a future perfect meaning. Example 24 and 25 shows this construction in Asur.

- 24. gapa ayub sanj<sup>h</sup> =hari? nir-tahi-kw=iŋ
  tomorrow till evening =ABL run-tahi-FUT=1SG
  'I will have had ran till evening tomorrow.'
- 25. ram gapa ul jom-ta-k-ae hui
  Ram.3SG tomorrow mango eat-ta-FUT-3SG POT
  'Ram would/might have eaten mango tomorrow.'

#### 2.7.3 Past Tense

The tense market -l gives simple past tense meaning, as shown in example 26.

```
26. in ghoto jom-l=in

1SG Food eat-PST=1SG

'I ate food.'
```

When the marker -n is present in the third slot and other two slots are empty, it conveys simple past tense (in which the subject is passive or non-volitional); this construction was-found only in intransitive sentences. Examples 27 and 28 show such constructions in Asur.

```
27. sekam uyu?-n-a leaf fall-n-IND 'Leaf fell'
```

Structure of Asur Verbs

28. ram =ala  $\underline{t}$ i? =re  $g^h$ ao-n=ae

Simple past-like meaning is also conveyed by marker *-ne* is followed by intransitive marker *-n*. Example 29 shows this construction.

In Asur, when in transitive verbs, auxiliary marker -*ki* is followed by the transitive marker -*d*, the meaning is simple past, as shown in examples 30 and 31.

- 30. am ul jom-ke-d=am
  2S mango eat=ke-d=2S
  'You ate mango.'
- 31. abu ghoto jom-ke-d=abu

  1PL food eat-ke-d=1PL

  'We ate food.'

The auxiliary -tahi followed by marker -l, it has past perfect meaning, as shown in example 32.

When auxiliary -tahi or -thi is used with -n, the sense likely is past perfect. Examples 33 and 34 show this type of structure in Asur.

Language in India <u>www.languageinindia.com</u> ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 24:9 September 2024

When auxiliary -ki is followed by intransitive marker -n, the meaning is past progressive or past habitual. This structure exists for both intransitive and transitive verbs. Example 35 shows this construction.

```
35. in roj nir-ki-n-in

1SG everyday run-ki-n-1SG

'I used to run every day.'
```

#### 2.7.4 Reflexive

When the subject and object of the verb are the same (person or thing), those are reflexives. The construction with marker -*l* and -*n*, conveys past reflexive meaning. The marker -*n* here, actually does not have tense or aspect-related implications, but it marks for reflexivity, as in example 36.

#### 2.7.5 Discussion

From the above analysis, it can be said that the second slot is the tense slot :-*l* is past tense marker and -*ku/-ko/-kw/-ke/-k* are allophonic variations of the future tense marker. It is also observable that there are many categories for past tense, these categories may have some slight semantic or aspectual differences; decoding them would require a deeper study. The examination of the transitivity markers shows that these individual morphemes cannot be easily classified as a marker of certain tense aspects or transitivity, because they do not behave in a very consistent manner in all the environments. Given the complexity, it is best to state what the different combinations of the inflectional morphemes indicate.

Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 24:9 September 2024

#### 3. Serial Verb Construction

"A serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs" (Haspelmath, 2016, p.296). Example 37 shows serial verb construction in Asur.

37. iŋ hoṭ=ku =ke raʔ-agu-kw=iŋ1SG person=1SG =ACC invite-bring-FUT=1SG'I will call and bring people.'

## 4. Copula and Auxiliary

Asur language today has copulas borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages like Sadri like *edna*, *edaniya* and *hake*; which can be seen in examples 38-41.

- 38. iŋ =ala oṭa gaṭhaṭoli =re eḏna
   1SG =GEN house Garhatoli =LOC COP.PRS
   'My house is in Garhatoli.'
- 39. ritu sita =tara chote edaniya
  Ritu Sita =ABL small COP.PRS
  'Ritu's is smaller(younger) than Sita.'
- 40. mamu =t=iŋ =ala oτα? polpol dihi =re edna maternal uncle =GEN=1SG =GEN house Polpol village =LOC COP.PRS 'My maternal uncle's house is in Polpol village.'
- 41. sila suman =tara bes kuri hake

  Sheela Suman =ABL good girl COP.PRS

  'Sheela is better girl than Suman.'

Other than the borrowed forms, the  $\underline{t}$ an and  $\underline{t}$ <sup>h</sup>in/ $\underline{t}$ ahin/ $\underline{t}$ ahi form are also used as copula, as in examples 42-44; they also appear as auxiliaries and with verbs.

- 42. ceŋa bor tan=ae child afraid COP.PRS.PROG=3SG 'The child is scared'
- 43. am oka =te tahin=am

  2SG Q =LOC COP=2SG

  "Where were you?"
- 44. gapa iskul band tahi-ko-a tomorrow school closed COP-FUT-IND 'Tomorrow school will remain closed.'

Auxiliaries exist with a main verb and often bear tense or aspect markers. Auxiliary verbs exist with "lexical verbs" to form a "monoclausal verb phrase with some degree of (lexical) semantic bleaching which perform some more or less definable grammatical functions" (Anderson, 2006, p.5). The aspect forms (or the members of the first slot i.e -ta, -tahi, -ki, and -ne) could be understood as auxiliary forms in Asur language which have tense, transitivity, agreement and mood-related inflections. They mostly appear phonologically conjoined to the verb stem, and therefore, they are fused auxiliary forms. However, there are examples where they occur as phonologically separate words. The pronominal enclitic marker in Asur is a promiscuous marker which can attach to various categories of words. In the following examples, 45 and 46, the enclitic marker exists twice in the verb phrase, first it attaches to the main verb and the second to the auxiliary.

- 45. un=aku opṛiŋo-tan=aku
  pull=3PL RECP-PROG=3PL
  'They are pulling each other.'
- 46. in das rupiya =rena cini kir=in ta-d=in

1SG ten rupees =GEN sugar buy=1SG PRS.PRF=1SG "I have bought sugar for ten rupees."

Furthermore, -tahi and -thin are the grammaticalized forms of the verb tahin, which means 'to stay' in Asur. In Santali which is also a North Munda language, the word tahen or tahē also means "to remain, to reside" or "to stay" (Campbell, 1899, p.606). "Auxiliary verbs generally derive from lexical verbs and as they gradually lose their independent lexical meaning, they become specialized in function of marking a particular grammatical category, often ultimately further becoming fused with the associated lexical verb as a verbal affix" (Anderson, 2011, p.229). When a word goes through the process of grammaticalization, the word is semantically bleached or goes through some reduction in semantic value, and is accommodated in the grammar as a functional marker; which can be seen in the case of lexical verb tahin being semantically reduced to an auxiliary verb or a tense/aspect inflectional marker.

## 5. Summary and Conclusion

The study focused on analyzing the markers present in Asur verbs. It investigated the construction of verb phrases in Asur and the inflection and derivational categories that constitute Asur verb morphology. In Asur, the passivization, causativization, and reciprocal marker precede the aspect, tense and transitivity markers. This is followed by the object and subject clitic marker, followed by the marking for mood. The study showed that none of the inflectional/derivational markers' slots are obligatory to be filled; and the verb could have a null marking for any of the categories and their presence and absence depend on what needs to be conveyed. In Asur, passivizing marker is -o, the causative marker is -ci and reciprocity is marked by -oppino. The imperative, indicative and potential moods are marked by -e, -a and hui, respectively. The study investigated the tense and aspect markers in Asur, and the role of transitivity markers -n and -d. Asur copulas and auxiliary markers are -tan, tahi/thin and the copulas borrowed from Indo-Aryan are hake, edaniya and edna. The scope of the study was constrained by the limited availability of linguistic data.

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