Daath Voyage : An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in English

Editor: Dr. Saikat Banerjee

Editor:Dr. Saikat Banerjee
Assistant Professor, Department of English
St Xavier's College, Ranchi, Jharkhand

Redesigning conjunctive participial clauses: Bangla resultatives unpacked

Dr. Sayantan Mukherjee
Faculty, Communications
Indian Institute of Management Indore
Madhya Pradesh, India
Email: sayantanm@iimidr.ac.in

Abstract: In the present investigation, a comprehensive reevaluation is undertaken concerning the conjunctive participial construction within the context of the Bangla language, with particular emphasis on its role in the formation of resultative constructions. Within this linguistic framework, the conjunctive participle marker (CPM) is observed to be employed in conjunction with a transitive activity or accomplishment verb. Notably, the verb within the conjunctive participial clause gradually acquires its resultative meaning within the encompassing matrix clause. This transformation process is initiated by the action of the activity or accomplishment verb, represented here by "chew," within the confines of the conjunctive participial clause (CplC). Subsequently, the altered state, as exemplified by "fiberized," of the object, typified as "drumsticks," is ultimately realized through the agency of the finite verb, denoted as "do," within the overarching matrix clause.

Examples:

- **English**

John hammered [the metal flat].

- **Bangla**

ram_1	PRO_1	$d\alpha^nT\alpha$-$gulo_2$	cIbI-ye	[e_2	c^hIbRe]	korlo
					small clause	
Ram.3MS.Nom		drumstick.CL(pl).Acc	chew-CPM		fiberized	do.3.perf

Ram chewed the drumsticks (one kind of green, stick-like vegetable found mostly in the eastern part of India) into fibers.

This study is designed to contribute to the existing research on resultative constructions by proposing a suitable syntactic structure for Bangla resultative constructions that incorporate conjunctive participial clauses. As previously mentioned, the syntax of this construction remains underexplored in the available literature, necessitating the introduction of novel tree diagrams in this study. The tree diagrams for English sentences are relatively straightforward to construct, following the SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) word order and supported by established theoretical frameworks. In contrast, Bangla, characterized by an SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) word order, presents a more intricate challenge in devising appropriate tree diagrams. Consequently, this investigation endeavours to fill a critical gap in the literature where the co-occurrence of conjunctive participial constructions and resultatives in the Bangla language has hitherto been unaddressed.

Keywords: Resultative construction, conjunctive participial clause, syntax, semantics, typology**.**

Introduction

Bangla, a contemporary Indo-Aryan language, is the native tongue of approximately 120 million individuals residing in the northeastern regions of India and Bangladesh. This research endeavors to investigate the resultative construction within the Bangla language. The principal aim of this study is to scrutinize the resultative structures engendered by the conjunctive participial construction in Bangla. Particularly noteworthy are instances where the conjunctive participle marker is combined with a transitive accomplishment verb, leading to the verb within the conjunctive participial clause assuming its resultative connotation within the encompassing matrix clause. The causal event is triggered by the actions of the

accomplishment verb within the CPl clause, ultimately culminating in the transformation of the object's state, facilitated by the finite verb in the matrix clause.

This research introduces new avenues for the exploration of conjunctive participial constructions that incorporate resultatives in Bangla and sheds light on similar constructions within various South Asian languages. The contributions of this study extend to the broader field of Linguistics, particularly in the domains of Syntax, Typology, and Semantics. While conjunctive participial constructions have long been identified as characteristic features of many South Asian languages, such as Hindi, Urdu, Bangla, and Assamese, their role in resultative formation remains a subject yet to be systematically investigated. Consequently, this study challenges prevailing notions and functions of conjunctive participials, offering insight into the presence of resultatives in these South Asian linguistic contexts. Additionally, it furnishes typological and syntactic evidence of resultatives in clausal structures distinct from English and endeavors to motivate the incorporation of a small clause or result phrase as the object argument of the matrix verb to support the resultative interpretation.

Prominent scholars in the field of linguistics, including Levin & Rappaport Hovav Jackendoff, Carrier & Randall, and Stowell, have made substantial contributions in elucidating the syntax and semantics of resultative constructions in English and other languages. Similarly, the conjunctive participial construction has attracted the attention of several researchers in India and abroad, such as Masica, Bagchi, and Subbarao. Nonetheless, the conjunctive participial construction as a conduit to resultative structures in Bangla (as well as in Hindi) has received scant attention in the extant literature. Although Ramchand has discussed the concept of 'process phrase' and 'result phrase' in clausal structures, this study encompasses an

examination of the clausal structure of the conjunctive participial construction. The present work scrutinizes the existing literature pertaining to both resultative and conjunctive participial constructions, with a particular emphasis on the syntax and semantics of Bangla resultative constructions that incorporate conjunctive participial clauses.

Theoretical Background

Resultative construction

The resultative construction primarily comprises a resultative predicate and a verb employed to bring about a change or result, typically denoted by an adjective, on the object, which is commonly referred to as the theme or patient. In this context, a resultative phrase can be defined as "… an XP that denotes the state achieved by the referent NP it is predicated of as a result of the action denoted by the verb in the resultative construction" (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 34).

Let us consider the following example-

(1) Ram hammered the metal flat.

In the provided example, the metal's flatness is a consequence of the action of hammering applied to it. In accordance with Levin & Rappaport Hovav (34), the resultative phrase signifies the state attained by the noun as a direct result of the action carried out by the verb.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav have sought to establish a comprehensive typology of resultative constructions in English. A summary of their typology is presented below to offer a broader context for the current investigation. According to their classification, resultative constructions in English predominantly fall into four categories:

1. **Based on Transitive Verbs:** In this category, the resultative phrase is associated with a transitive verb. According to their analysis, this phrase can only be predicated of the object of a transitive verb, never the subject.

> (1) a. Ram hammered **the metal flat**.
>
>   b. Sita chewed **the knuckles raw**.

2.   **Based on Unergative Verbs**: In this particular context, the resultative phrase is ascribed to a pseudo-reflexive noun phrase (NP), which is co-referential with the subject.

> (2)   **Dora$_1$** shouted **herself$_1$** hoarse. [Levin & Rappaport Hovav 35]

3.   **Based on Unspecified Object Verbs**: In this case, the resultative phrase is predicated of a specific category of transitive verb that permits "intransitive" usages with an interpretation where the object remains unspecified.

> (3)   Drive your **engine clean**. [Levin & Rappaport Hovav 37]

4.   **Based on Passive and Unaccusative Verbs**: In these instances, passive and unaccusative verbs are accompanied by resultative phrases that are predicated of their surface subjects. The following are examples of resultatives based on passive and unaccusative verbs, respectively:

> (4) a. John was shot dead. [Levin & Rappaport Hovav 41]
>
>   b. The river froze solid. [Levin & Rappaport Hovav 39]

The classifications mentioned above have been extensively expounded upon by the authors cited in this section. They have diligently substantiated their assertion of Direct Object Restriction (DOR) as it pertains to English resultative constructions, which we summarize below.

Jackendoff has also explored resultative constructions in English, focusing primarily on the semantics underlying these constructions. While Levin and Rappaport Hovav propose a generalization of resultative constructions based on Direct Object Restriction, Jackendoff posits a generalization for English resultative constructions grounded in the concept of "Patienthood" within the means clause. Jackendoff endeavors to provide a comprehensive account of English resultative constructions and has established a classification for resultatives in English. We will delve into this classification, drawing examples from Jackendoff.

Jackendoff asserts that the pivotal element determining the viability of a resultative construction is the role of the patient. Notably, the patient does not invariably have to be a grammatical patient (i.e., sanctioned by the verb itself), but rather, it is the concept of "patienthood" that ultimately governs the feasibility of a resultative construction. On the basis of "patienthood," there are three types of resultatives-

1. **Resultatives with grammatical patient**: In this context, the patient is indeed the grammatical patient, and it is identical with the object argument of the verb.

    (5) The gardener watered the tulips flat. [Jackendoff 232]

    In this case, where the tulips became flat due to the watering, *the tulips* serve as the object of the main verb, making them the grammatical patient in the construction.

2. **Resultatives with pragmatic/discourse patient**: In this scenario, the "Patienthood" of the resultative noun phrase is not conferred by the verb itself; instead, it is determined by the pragmatics or the discourse context of the sentence.

    (6) The rooster crowed the children awake. [Jackendoff 233]

In the case of the verb "crow," its inherent theta grid does not permit the inclusion of a patient in the means clause. Nonetheless, a patient is indeed present in the resultative construction. In such instances, Jackendoff categorizes this patient as a "discourse patient" to account for its presence within the resultative construction, even though it does not align with the verb's typical theta grid constraints.

3. **Resultatives with no patient**: In situations where the resultative is constructed using a reflexive pronoun that is co-referential with the subject noun phrase (NP), Jackendoff characterizes this as an instance where no patient is present in the means clause.

(7) Charlie laughed himself silly. [Jackendoff 233]

Levin and Rappaport Hovav as well as Jackendoff do not appear to indicate the inclusion of the resultative phrase (AP/PP/NP) within a larger maximal projection with the object NP, even when there is an opportunity to do so while maintaining the argument structure of the verb. This omission in both Levin & Rappaport Hovav and Jackendoff may be attributed to their primary focus on other aspects of resultative constructions. Jackendoff emphasizes the plausibility and semantics of resultatives and does not delve deeply into the intricacies of argument structure. As a result, syntactic intricacies do not seem to hold significant importance for Jackendoff. On the other hand, Levin and Rappaport Hovav consider the object NP as the internal argument of the verb (in transitive constructions) but refrain from making any claims about whether the resultative phrase can be incorporated into a larger maximal projection.

The proposed research aims to demonstrate the rationale for including the resultative phrase within a larger small clause or result phrase projection as an internal predicate of the clause. This approach seeks to offer

Daath Voyage

: An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in English
(A peer reviewed open access journal)

ISSN 2455-7544

www.daathvoyagejournal.com

Vol.8, No.4, December, 2023

a comprehensive account of the syntactic and semantic motivations underlying the integration of resultative phrases within a larger structural context.

Conjunctive participial construction

The conjunctive participial construction is a pervasive linguistic phenomenon across numerous languages within the South Asian linguistic region. Scholars have described it as "pan-Indian" (Masica 113), indicating its widespread presence and significance in the linguistic landscape of South Asia. Bagchi (110) says "This construction is characterized by the conjunctive (sometimes also called "perfective" or "absolutive") participle, a form of the verb that is (somewhat clumsily) translated into English as 'having V-ed'. The conjunctive participial suffix on the verb of the two clauses in this construction possesses much of the logico-semantics and pragmatics of the connective AND (the conceptual counterpart of the two place logical conjunction operator $\wedge$ /&/•)."

(8) ram₁   PRO₁   bɑjɑr   gi-e   pʰOl   kInbe
    Ram.3MS.Nom   Market- Loc   go-CPM   fruit-Acc   buy.3.fut.indef
    Ram will go to the market and buy fruits.

According to Subbarao (26), "…In this kind of construction, the sentence carries only one finite verb, and all the subordinate clauses carry a participial form of the verb which is *non-finite*."

(9) ram₁   PRO₁   bazɑr   jɑ-kar   pʰul   kʰarIde-gɑ
    Ram.3MS.Nom   Market- Loc   go-CPM   flower-Acc   buy.3.fut.indef
    Ram will go to the market and buy fruits.

As per Masica's analysis (291), the conjunctive participial marker in Bangla serves as a perfective marker. This observation underscores its role in indicating perfective aspects within the language.

(10)   ram₁   PRO₁   oSudʰ   kʰeye   Sustʰo   holo
       Ram.3MS.Nom   medicine- Acc   eat-CPM   well   be.3.present
       Ram got relieved after taking the medicine.

Hence, following Masica's analysis (291), in the aforementioned example, the "-e" in "kheye" operates as a

perfective marker signifying the completion of the action of eating.

The conjunctive participial construction in Bangla serves a multi-faceted role within the language. It acts as a coordinating conjunction, elucidating the sequence of two or more consecutive actions. Furthermore, it functions as both a manner adverb and a reason adverb, and, on occasion, imparts the meaning of "instead of" when it accompanies a negative construction, as discussed by scholars such as Masica and Abbi. I will now provide examples of each of the types mentioned above to illustrate the diverse functions performed by the conjunctive participial construction. Coordinating conjunction

(11) rɑm₁   PRO₁   bɑjɑr   gI-e   pʰOl   kInbe
       Ram.3MS.Nom   Market- Loc   go-CPM   fruit-Acc   buy.3.fut.indef
       Ram will go to the market and buy fruits.

In this scenario, Ram will proceed to the market and subsequently purchase the fruits. The conjunctive participial construction in the example effectively conveys the sequential nature of these actions.

ii.   Manner adverb

(12) rɑm₁   PRO₁   douR-e   bɑjɑr   gaelo
       Ram.3MS.Nom   run- CPM   Market. Loc   Go.3.pst indef
       Ram went to the market running.

The Bangla example aptly demonstrates the conjunctive participial marker (CPM) role as a manner adverb. In this case, it elucidates the manner in which the action of "going" is carried out, specifically, "running" (*dour-e*).

iii.   Reason adverb

(13) wo₁   PRO₁   kaprRe   kʰaridkar   kʰuS   huɑ
       3MS.Nom   garments- Acc   buy-CPM   happy   be.3.perf
       He became happy because he bought garments.

The Hindi example clearly illustrates the conjunctive participial marker (CPM) attached to a non-finite

verb serving as a reason adverb. In this context, the reason for becoming happy, which is buying garments,

is effectively conveyed by the CPM attached to the verb "buy."

iv.   *Instead of* interpretation.

(14) ram$_1$ PRO$_1$ b^{h}at   na-k^{h}eye   ruTi   k^{h}elo
      Ram.3MS.Nom   rice- Acc   neg-eat-CPM   bread.Acc   eat.3.pst
      Instead of eating rice Ram had bread.

The Bangla example effectively portrays Ram's action of eating bread instead of eating rice through the use of the conjunctive participial marker (CPM) attached to the non-finite verb "eat." This construction highlights the choice of consuming bread as opposed to rice.

In addition to the functions previously mentioned, the conjunctive participial construction plays various roles in Indic languages, such as serving as a time adverb. It can also exhibit the scope of negation and identity constraints in specific contexts. However, the primary focus of this proposal lies in the exploration of the resultative reading that the conjunctive participial clause offers in Bangla. It is worth noting that the example (1.a) mentioned earlier is not feasible in Bangla using the same type of construction. Bangla does not possess resultative constructions in a similar form or structure. As a fact of the matter, "…such examples are closely translatable by means of the conjunctive participial construction in Bangla" (Bagchi 119).

In Bangla, constructions like "Ram chewed the knuckles raw" for resultatives are not feasible. To express a concept similar to "Ram chewed the drumsticks and left just fibers," Bangla would typically employ a conjunctive participial construction to convey the intended resultative meaning.

(15) ram$_1$ PRO$_1$ da^{n}Ta-gulo$_2$ cIbI-ye   e$_2$ c^{h}IbRe   korlo
      Ram.3MS.Nom   weed.CL(pl).Acc   chew-CPM   fiberized   do.3.perf
      Ram chewed the drumsticks into fibers.

Methodology

This research constitutes an initial endeavor aimed at identifying resultatives within a specific variant of conjunctive participial constructions. The scope of this study is deliberately delimited to address specific research inquiries and does not purport to resolve the entirety of the potential syntactic and semantic complexities that may arise in the process. The foundational dataset is derived from instances culled from my everyday language usage, which serves as the foundational template for soliciting grammaticality judgments from other native speakers of the Bangla language. If the scope of this mini-scale investigation necessitates a more extensive dataset, additional data will be collected from a broader pool of native Bangla speakers as well as from speakers of related languages. Moreover, supplementary data will be sourced from available printed linguistic resources.

Within this research, the primary method employed for syntactic investigation is the Grammaticality Judgment Task, a well-established tool for assessing linguistic competence and validating linguistic form and structure, particularly in the domains of syntax and semantics. The assessment of grammaticality and data acceptability is conducted both by the researcher and independently re-evaluated by other native speakers. This research methodology predominantly adheres to a fundamental empirical approach, wherein only the most grammatically acceptable structures, as corroborated by the linguistic intuitions of native speakers, are considered genuine manifestations of the language's usage. The data compilation process hitherto has involved the construction of sentences that encompass conjunctive participial constructions bearing the intended resultative connotations. To ascertain the acceptability of these sentences, the researcher and three additional native-speaker participants have conducted acceptability judgment assessments. To maintain participant anonymity, one participant's identity is

withheld. It is imperative to note that all the constructed sentences were inherently grammatical; the assessment process primarily gauged the degree of their acceptability among native speakers.

In constructing these sentences, various verbs were employed within the conjunctive participial clause to explore the range of this specific construction in the Bangla language. Notably, 10-15 verbs have been identified as forming the conjunctive participial clause in this particular structure. Additionally, an investigation was conducted to ascertain whether distinct overt objects within the matrix clause could co-occur with resultative constructions. This inquiry revealed that the objects of the participial verbs vary and are generally accepted in the language. This observation suggests that the introduction of distinct objects serves as the motivating factor for the obligatory case-marking (accusative) within the matrix clause, and, consequently, the motivation for an optional "pro" element within the structure. The research has thus entailed the identification of theoretically relevant structures within a relatively confined dataset, followed by the extrapolation of generalizations across these specific constructions within the language. Grounded in this traditional linguistic methodology, the research endeavors to identify or construct descriptively adequate and linguistically appropriate data and subsequently provide explanatorily adequate derivations for this particular form of construction in the language at hand.

Discussion

Bangla resultatives incorporate the conjunctive participial construction. Such constructions mainly occur in the environments mentioned below.

(16) αmI   tomαke   pItI-ye   Sowjα   korbo
      I.1S.Nom   you.2S.Acc   beat-CPM   straight   do.1.fut.indef
      I will beat the blinking day lights out of you.

www.daathvoyagejournal.com

(17) rɑm   perek-Tɑ   tʰuk-e   cɑeptɑ   korlo
     Ram.3MS.Nom   nail.CL.Acc   pound-CPM   flat   do.3.perf
     Ram pounded the nail flat.

(18) Se   ɑmɑy   bʰIjI-ye   nɑetɑ   korecʰe
     s/he.3S.Nom   I.1s.Acc   make wet-CPM   wet cloth   do.3.perf
     S/he has made my condition like a wet mop by watering on me.

(19) gOneS   tʰɑlɑ-Tɑ   ceTe-puTe   sɑpʰ   korlo
     Ganesh.3MS.Nom   plate-CL.Acc   lick(reduplication)-CPM   clean   do.3.perf
     Ganesh licked the plate clean.

(20) bImOl   ɑynɑ-Tɑ   mucʰ-e   poriSkɑr   korecʰe
     Vimal.3MS.Nom   mirror-CL.Acc   wipe-CPM   clean   do.3.perf
     Vimal has wiped the mirror clean.

Within the aforementioned dataset, the verbs that bear the conjunctive participle include "beating," "pounding," "drenching," "licking," and "wiping." These verbs predominantly fall into the category of either activity/accomplishment verbs or verbs denoting contact by impact. Significantly, all these verbs signify actions that lead to an accomplishment and subsequently result in a change of state in the theme or patient.

It is worth noting that these verbs may exhibit somewhat different or somewhat less pronounced "resultative" meanings when not employed as conjunctive participles. As articulated by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995, 74), the transitive verb in English, such as "pound," fundamentally represents a verb denoting contact by impact and functions as a causal agent for change within the context of a resultative construction. Analogously, it can be posited that when these verbs are used in a resultative context in the Bangla language, they similarly act as causal agents for change, necessitating a change of state structure within the subsequent main clause. Consequently, these constructions are distinctive in both

semantic and syntactic terms. In the realm of resultatives, syntax and semantics are intricately intertwined, working in concert, rather than proceeding independently. Therefore, the structure and semantic underpinnings of the structure must be suitably elucidated to provide a comprehensive account of resultatives in the Bangla language.

Jackendoff primarily focuses on semantics while somewhat inadequately addressing the syntax of resultatives, resulting in potential violations of the theta grid and an absence of robust generalizations. On the other hand, Levin and Rappaport Hovav prioritize syntax and, in doing so, tend to overlook the depth of semantics in the context of resultatives.

Conclusion (the new structure) and future implications

With due consideration to both semantics and syntax, I hereby propose a novel structure for Bangla resultative constructions, which would be as follows:

(15) ram_1 PRO_1 $da^nTa\text{-}gulo_2$ cIbI-ye pro_2 c^hIbRe korlo
Ram.3MS.Nom   drumstick.CL(pl).Acc   chew-CPM   fiberized   do.3.perf
Ram chewed the drumsticks and left just fibers.

Given the pervasive presence of conjunct verb constructions in Bangla, such as "kill + do," it can be contended that the constructions mentioned as examples should be structured differently. The conventional representation involving conjunct verb structures is more fitting for this purpose. If we consider another example, such as "somebody has rubbed the utensils and has made them shiny" in Bangla, it becomes evident that "making shiny" can be seen as a conjunct verb in itself. Therefore, the phrase structure could be represented as follows:
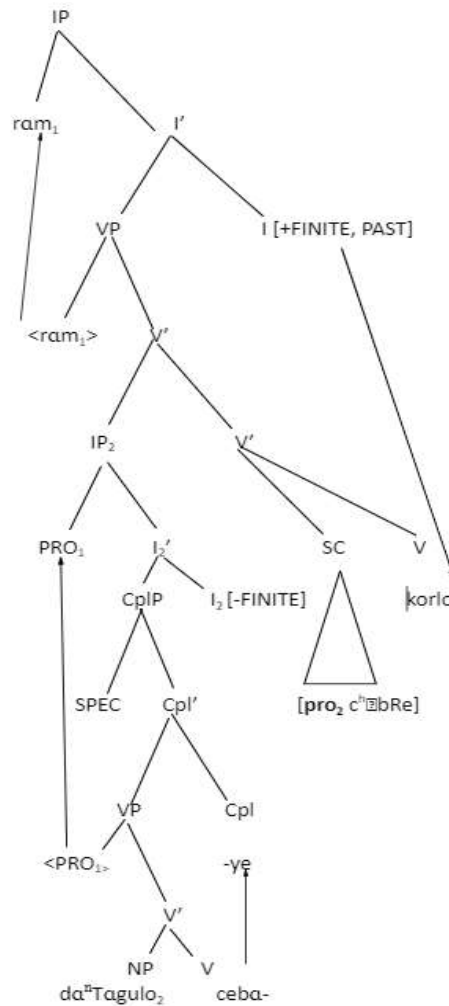
(15. b) $[_V [_{AP} \text{shiny}] [_V \text{do}]]$

Conjunct verb is made of an adjective (or commonly an abstract noun in Bangla) and a verb

While the notion of employing a conjunct verb structure in this context appears plausible, it does raise certain issues. My native command of the Bengali language inherently restrains me from introducing new conjunct verb combinations in a generalized manner. Such an approach might unduly impose the creation of additional and possibly superfluous conjunct verb forms within the language. Consequently, I am inclined to avoid embracing the conjunct verb structure in these specific cases. Furthermore, an important consideration emerges when a clause precedes a Conjunctive Participle (Cpl) clause. In such instances, the small clause structure effectively represents the outcome of the action performed by the verb within the Cpl clause. Drawing from the insights of Chomsky the small clause is recognized as signifying the resultant state arising from the activity described by the verb, while also delineating the eventuality encapsulated within the verb phrase (VP).
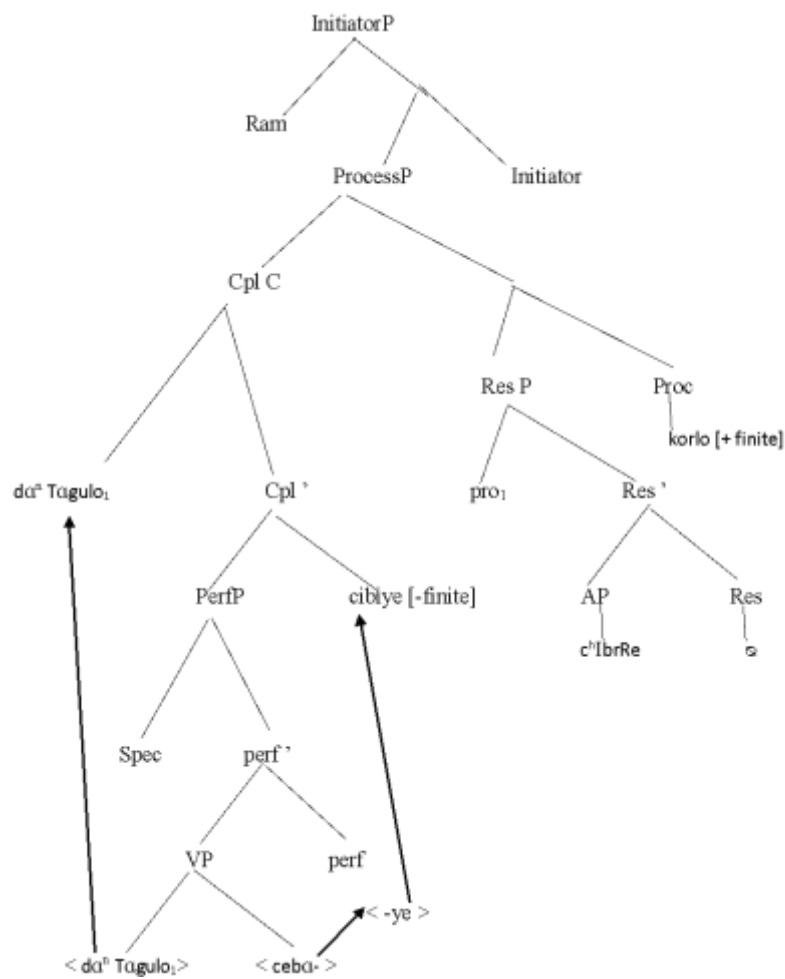
Taking a similar line of reasoning, we posit that the act of chewing within the Bengali Cpl clause is semantically conveyed within the small clause, both denoting the action and structurally encapsulating its resultative interpretation. This alignment does not conflict with linguistic intuition and is consistent with the thematic structure of the verb. Consequently, the proposal I put forth for the structure of the Bengali resultative construction (15) is as follows:

15.

Nonetheless, it is essential to acknowledge that the proposed structure has imperfections. In this framework, the Cpl (conjunctive participle) clause remains seemingly optional for conveying the intended meaning, as IP2 represents a V' adjunction. It becomes pertinent to delve into additional lines of inquiry to arrive at a more suitable structure. One such question that merits exploration includes:

1. How can we differentiate between a sequence of two consecutive events, as seen in a standard conjunctive participial clause, and a protracted or continuous event, as observed in a resultative construction?
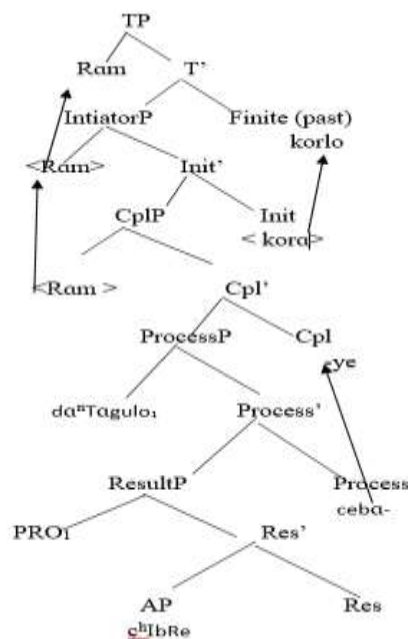
The tentative answer to the first question could be found in Ramchand where going by the structural derivation she has given, I have tried deriving a rudimentary tree diagram for the constructions at hand--

This derivation preserves the structure. It shows the entire event as a singular dynamic process with a result in terms of the changed state of the drumsticks. The pro in the resultative phrase is co-indexed with the NP drumsticks in the Cpl clause. Since this is a small pro, it does not need to be controlled. The maximal projection of the NP drumsticks should be considered the CplC. In that case, the said NP M-commands the pro in the ResP. However, this structure has two issues: 1. The main verb is shown as the process head, and 2. In Ramchand (a later work from 2017, in "the verbal domain", 233-255), the whole event domain is closely equivalent to the vP domain of syntax. That means, we now need another maximal projection to show that the whole clause is at least a TP and place the main verb in a place where it is not part of the process, but the result.

This challenge can be solved by assuming the Initiator Phrase as the complement to a T in a TP. Moreover, in this specific construction, the conjunctive participial clause should be an intermediate phrasal projection that should host Process P. Moreover, it will also solve another problem found in the previous structure—the specifier position in Process P was not the "undergoer" of the process, but the conjunctive participial clause itself.

Let us now see the improved structure with modifications.

Although the current structure is not perfect, it abides by important syntactic and typological principles applicable for Bangla. It also indicates that a "do" verb is generated in the Initiator head, which then moves to T to for tense and word-order reasons. The Result head at the bottom remains null—this is permissible since resultative phrases generally do not have a verbal predicate. The overall structure retains both descriptive and explanatory adequacy for Bangla resultatives involving conjunctive participial construction. Moreover, this derivation leaves no room for positing a theory of conjunct verb structures for Bangla resultatives, which is not supported by native speaker intuition. In the future, exploring Bangla resultative in the POP framework by Chomsky should bring in more challenges and insights into the derivation of such constructions.

Works Cited

Abbi, Anvita. "The conjunctive participle in Hindi-Urdu." International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics 13.02 (1984): 252-263.

Bagchi, Tista. *Clausal subordination in Bangla: A cross-modular approach*. Diss. The University of Chicago, 1993.

Bagchi, Tista. "Causation and tense in subordinate clauses: Conjunctive participles in Bangla and Hindi." *Polymorphous linguistics: Jim McCawley's legacy* (2005): 109-134.

Carrier, Jill, and Janet H. Randall. "The argument structure and syntactic structure of resultatives." *Linguistic inquiry* (1992): 173-234.

Chomsky, Noam. *Barriers*. Vol. 13. MIT Press (MA), 1986.

Chomsky, Noam. "Problems of projection." *lingua* 130 (2013): 33-49.

Das, Pradeep Kumar. Grammatical agreement in Hindi-Urdu and its major varieties. Vol. 33. Lincon Europa, 2006.

Davison, Alice. "Operator binding, gaps, and pronouns." (1988): 181-214.

Dowty, David R. *Word meaning and Montague grammar: The semantics of verbs and times in generative semantics and in Montague's PTQ*. Vol. 7. Springer Science & Business Media, 2012.

Gruber, Jeffrey S. "Thematic relations in syntax." *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory* (2001): 256-298.

Haspelmath, Martin, and Ekkehard König, eds. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms-adverbial participles, gerunds*. Vol. 13. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2020.

Hoekstra, Teun. "Small clause results." *Lingua* 74.2-3 (1988): 101-139.

Hoekstra, Teun. "Aspect and theta theory." *Thematic structure: Its role in grammar* (1992): 145-174.

Jackendoff, Ray S. *Semantic structures*. Vol. 18. MIT Press, 1992.

Klaiman, Miriam H. "Bengali conjunctive participle constructions." *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Vol. 9. 1983.

Levin, Beth, and Malka Rappaport Hovav. *Unaccusativity: At the syntax-lexical semantics interface*. Vol. 26. MIT press, 1995.

Masica, C. P. *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia.* Chicago University Press, 1976.

Masica, Colin P. *The Indo-Aryan languages*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Ramchand, Gillian. *Verb meaning and the lexicon: A first-phase syntax*. Vol. 116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

D'Alessandro, Roberta, Irene Franco, and Ángel J. Gallego, eds. *The verbal domain*. Vol. 64. Oxford University Press, 2017.

Rothstein, Susan. "Small clauses and copular constructions." *Small clauses*. Brill, 1995. 25-48.

Subbārāo, Kārumūri V. *South Asian languages: A syntactic typology*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Van der Wurff, Wim. "The syntax of participial adjuncts in Eastern Bengali1." *Journal of linguistics* 25.2 (1989): 373-416.

Van Gelderen, Elly. *The linguistic cycle: Language change and the language faculty*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

Van Valin Jr, Robert D. "Semantic parameters of split intransitivity." *Language* (1990): 221-260.

Appendix I

Constructions with covert/optionally overt subjects in the small clause/result phrase

1. ram_1 PRO_1 da^nTa-$gulo_2$ $cIbI$-ye pro_2 c^hIbRe korlo
   Ram.3MS.Nom   drum stick.CL(pl).Acc   chew-CPM   fiber   do.3.perf
   Ram chewed the drumsticks into fibers.

2. amI   tomake   Soja   korbo
    I.1S.Nom   you.2S.Acc   beat-CPM   straight   do.1.fut.indef
    I will beat the blinking day lights out of you.

3. tumI   amake   jutI-ye   lOmbA   korecʰo
    you.2S.Nom   I.1SAcc   beat with shoe-CPM   Tall   do.2.perf
    You have beaten me black and blue with shoes.

4. ram   tʰuk-e   korlo
    Ram.3MS.Nom   Nail.CL.Acc   Pound-CPM   Flat   do.3.perf
    Ram pounded the nail flat.

5. Se   amay   bʰIji-ye   naɛta   korecʰe
    s/he.3S.Nom   I.1s.Acc   make wet-CPM   wet cloth   do.3.perf
    S/he has made my condition like a wet mop by watering on me.

6. SIulI   bacca-Take   coTk-e   lal   korecʰe
    Siuli.Nom   baby-CL.Acc   squeeze-CPM   Red   do.3.perf
    Siuli has made the child reddish by showing intense affectionate gesture (sqeezing) on it.

7. ram   patʰor-Ta   bʰeng-e   guɳRo   korbe
    Ram.3MS.Nom   stone-CL.Acc   grind-CPM   powder   do.3.fut.indef
    Ram will grind the stone into dust.

8. Sita   daɳTa-gulo   cIbI-ye   cʰIbRe   korecʰe
    Sita.3FS.Nom   drumstick-CL(pl).Acc   chew-CPM   Fiber   do.3.perf
    Sita has chewed the drumsticks into fibers.

9. gOneS   tʰala-Ta   ceTe-puTe   Sapʰ   korlo
    Ganesh.3MS.Nom   plate-CL.Acc   lick(reduplication)-CPM   Clean   do.3.perf
    Ganesh licked the plate clean.

10. bImOl   ayna-Ta   mucʰ-e   porISkar   korecʰe
    Vimal.3MS.Nom   mirror-CL.Acc   wipe-CPM   Clean   do.3.perf
    Vimal has wiped the mirror clean.

11. SIulI   baSon-gulo   mej-e   cOkcoke   korlo
    Siuli.3FS.Nom   Utensil-CL(pl).Acc   rub-CPM   Shiny   do.3.perf
    Siuli has made the utensils shiny by rubbing and cleaning them.

12. kaka-babu   bʰat-Ta   golI-ye   paɳk   korecʰen
    uncle-hon.Nom   rice-CL.Acc   melt-CPM   mud   do.3.perf.hon
    Uncle has made the rice mud by overcooking.

13. Somir   cor-Tɑke   pItI-ye   SAyestA   korecʰe
     Samir.3MS.Nom   thief-CL.Acc   beat-CPM   punished   do.3.perf
     Samir has punished the thief hard by beating him.

14. Sobitɑ   kɑporTɑ   nINR-e   prɑy   Sukno   korlo
     Savita.3FS.Nom   cloth-CL.Acc   squeeze-CPM   almost   dry   do.3.perf
     Savita has wrung the cloth almost dry.

15. jodu   pʰIte-Tɑ   ten-e   lOmbɑ   koreʰIlo
     Jodu.3MS.Nom   tape-CL.Acc   stretch-CPM   elongated do.3.perf
     Jadu has elongated the tape by stretching it.

Constructions with overt NP (Noun Phrase other than the object) in the main clause

16. ɑmI   tomɑke   kIlI-ye   kɑɲTʰɑl   pɑkɑbo
     I.1S.Nom   you.2S.Acc   beat-CPM   Jackfruit   make ripe.1.fut.indef
     I will beat you black and blue. (literal translation- I will beat you and will make the jackfruit ripe)

17. ɑmI   jOl   kʰe-ye   kʰIde   meTɑbo
     I.1S.Nom   water.Acc   eat-CPM   hunger   satisfy.1.fut.indef
     I will have water to satisfy my hunger.

18. rɑm   pɑt ʰor-gulo   gʰoS-e   ɑgun   jɑlɑlo
     Ram.3S.Nom   stone.3PL.Acc   rub-CPM   fire   lit.3.perf
     Rub rubbed the stones and lit the fire.

19. Sitɑ   jOl   dʰel-e   ɑgun   nIbʰy-e   cʰIlo]
     Sita.3S.Nom   water.Acc   pour-CPM   fire   extinguish-CPM be.3.perf
     Sita extinguished the fire by pouring water on it.

20. mɑSImɑ   pʰuTI-ye   khir   bɑnIyecʰen
     aunt.3FS.Nom   milk-CL.Acc   boil-CPM   pudding   make.3.perf.hon
     Aunt has made pudding out of the milk