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ON-TYPE SPATIAL POSTPOSITIONS IN MARATHI: A COGNITIVE SEMANTIC APPROACH

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Abstract

The present paper explores the linguistic encoding of ON-TYPE spatial relations in Marathi.The data is elicited from ten native speakers of Marathi using Bowerman & Pederson (1992) stimuli. Besides introspection as a method of analysis, Talmy's FIGURE/ GROUND and SCHEMATIC SYSTEMS are used for its analysis.

The ON-TYPE spatial relation is a generalized semantic relation denoting the ON-ness. It does not directly correspond to English preposition 'on'. It is demonstrated that the ON-TYPE spatial relations are encoded by the four postpositions in Marathi such as *war* 'on', *lā* 'to', *bhowati* 'around' and *sabhowati* 'surround'.

Factors such as FIGURE and GROUND geometry, PLEXITY, ANIMACY, ORIENTATION, BOUNDEDNESS, CONTACT, SUPPORT, PROXIMITY, ATTACHMENT as well as PROTOTYPICALITY, CONVENTIONALITY, PART-WHOLE relations and FORCE DYNAMICS are the significant factors which influence the use of postpositions in the spatial descriptions.

Keywords: cognition; cognitive semantics; spatial relations; Marathi postpositions; figure/ ground; Leonard Talmy; Bowerman & Pederson stimuli

1. Introduction

Spatial cognition is an integral part of a comprehensive human cognition. Linguistic systems like linguistic structures and cognitive systems such as perception, attention, etc. are interdependent and complementary. These cognitive and linguistic systems play a vital role in spatial cognition.

The early attempts on spatial studies are seen in Gruber (1965); Clark (1968, 1973); Leech (1969); Catford (1969); Fillmore (1968); etc. In these studies, we find some common principles such as the distinction between static scenes and dynamic events, spatial and temporal relations, the linguistic representation and underlying conceptual structures, the relation between language and perception, etc. Later, Jackendoff

(1983) and Talmy (1983) present the analysis of spatial language, especially English.The polysemous prepositions in English are described from a cognitive semantic perspective in the studies such as Brugman (1981); Lakoff (1987); Rice (1992); Herskovits (1986); Tyler and Evans (2001, 2003); and Brenda (2014); among others. These studies adopt the prototypical approach of categorization (see Rosch et al. 1976) to describe the prepositional senses.

Though there is no specific study devoted to analysis of spatial post-positions in Marathi, the descriptions regarding these are found in the studies such as Burgess (1854); Damle (1970); Gajendragadkar (1969); Pandharipande (1997); Jadhav (2014, 2016); among others. The present paper concentrates on ON-TYPE spatial postpositions.

In this paper, we propose that the speakers of Marathi encode ON-TYPE spatial relations mainly by the postpositions such as *war* 'on', *lā* 'to', *bhowati* 'around' and *sabhowati* 'surround'. Besides, they also select certain types of verbs to describe these spatial relations. This brief introduction follows methodology. Next, the data analysis is presented through the different sections (3.1 to 3.22) and the paper concludes with the summary at the end.

2. Methodology

Talmy's cognitive semantic framework is adopted for the semantic analysis. The central concern of his framework is "the linguistic representation of conceptual structure" (Talmy 2000: 1). He adopted FIGURE/ GROUND asymmetry from cognitive psychology and modified it for linguistic analysis. Talmy (2000: 184) postulates these as:

> The FIGURE is moving or conceptually movable entity whose site, path, or orientation is conceived as a variable the particular value of which is the relevant issue. The GROUND is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the figure's site, path, or orientation is characterized.

We consider Talmy's FIGURE/GROUND and CONCEPTUAL SCHEMATIC SYSTEMS such as CONFIGURATIONAL STRUCTURE, ATTENTION, PERSPECTIVE, FORCE-DYNAMICS and COGNITIVE STATE are used for data analysis in the present paper. After the Talmyan approach, we describe the data elicitation in the next paragraph.

Natural spoken data were elicited from ten undergraduate students, five male speakers and five female speakers, from Maharashtra for the present study. We used Bowerman &Pederson stimuli for the data elicitation. Thestimuli developed by Bowerman and Pederson (1992) at Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguisticsare known as *Topological Relations Picture Series (TRPS).*The stimuli are comprised of 71 high quality black-and-white sketched pictures. Each stimulus represents a different type of spatial scene. There are at least two entities in each stimulus. The FIGURE entity is shown by an arrow in relation to another entity, i.e. GROUND.In this paper, the analysisis based on the twenty-two relevant spatial scenes.

3. Data analysis

We begin the analysis with Section 3.1 by looking at the functional relation SUPPORT between the FIGURE and GROUND objects.

3.1 Inanimate pointlike FIGURE supported by horizontal GROUND

We begin this section with simple day to day scene *the cup on the table*. See Fig. 3.1 and the corresponding response in example (1) below.

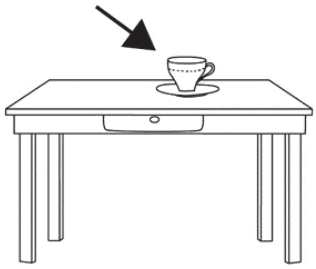

Fig. 3.1. The cup on the table

(1)

FIGURE	GROUND	EXIST
kap	*ṭebal-(ā)-war*	*āhe*
cup.M3SG	table.M3SG-OBL-PP	be.3SG.PRS

'The cup is on the table.'

There are two entities in the spatial scene i.e. *the cup* and *the table*. The cup is located in relation to the table. Normally, every scene is divided into two segments called FIGURE and GROUND. In this scene, the cup functions as FIGURE and the table functions as GROUND. There is a direct CONTACT between these two entities. The table has plain surface and it supports the cup against the gravitational force.

The respondents used existential verb *āhe* 'be'/ 'exists' to describe the scene. The spatial relation between *the cup* and *the table* is specified by the postposition *war* 'on'. The postposition is attached to the GROUND-specifying nominal i.e. *the table* after its oblique form. The oblique marker is optional in the above case and is denoted by the marker *-ā.* Though this is a simple experiential static scene, we observe the rich and complex spatial content involved in it. After perceiving the referent scene and processing the different components of spatial information from the scene, the speakers encode these in the sentence.

3.2 Inanimate linear FIGURE supported by horizontal GROUND

In this section, we see another spatial scenein Fig. 3.2.

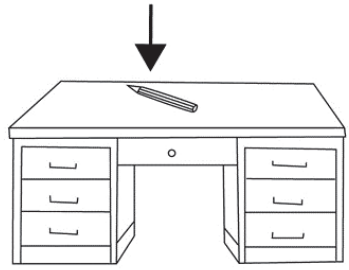

Fig. 3.2. The pencil on the desk

(2)

GROUND	FIGURE	EXIST
ṭebal-(ā)-war	*pensil*	*āhe*
table.M3SG-	pencil.F3SG	be.3SG.PRS

'The pencil is on the table.'

The cup in the former scene is pointlike while the pencil in the latter scene is linear. The FIGURE entities are generally construed as simple geometric form like a point or a line. The cup's orientation is perpendicular to the table in the former scene, while the pencilis parallel to the table in the latter. In some languages, such as English and German, postural verbs are used to describe

the spatial relation between FIGURE and GROUND based on the orientation and/or linearity of the objects involved in the referent scene. For example, in German, *the cup stands on the table* and *the pencil lieson the table,*are used respectively. We do not observe the use of postural verbs for such spatial scenes in Marathi, considering either orientation and/or linearity of the FIGURE object.

Next, we discuss how participants locate the animate FIGURE (and their orientation and/or posture) in relation to the plain and raised GROUND.

3.3 Animate FIGURE sitting on horizontal GROUND

In this section, the animate FIGURE i.e. *cat* is located in relation to the in animate GROUND, i.e. *the mat*. See Fig. 3.3 and the corresponding example below.

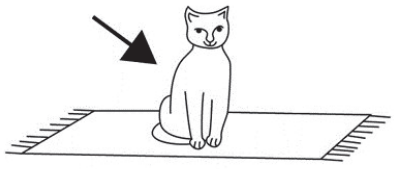

Fig. 3.3. The cat on the mat

(3)	GROUND	FIGURE	POST	EXIST
	tsaṭaī-war	*māndzar*	*basle*	*āhe*
	mat.F3SG-PP	cat.N3SG	sit.PRF	be.3SG.PRS

'The cat is sitting on the mat.'

The postposition *war* 'on' is employed to specify the relation between *the cat* and *the mat*. The use of postural verb along with existential present tense marker is noteworthy in example (3). The respondents used the posture verb *basṇe* 'to sit'.

Besides ANIMACY, the following sections 3.4 and 3.5 will consider the raised GROUNDand the spatial descriptions.

3.4. Animate immovable linear FIGURE on raised GROUND

In this section, we discuss the spatial relation between the linear animate FIGURE i.e. *the tree* and the raised GROUND object *the mountain*. See the Fig. 3.4 and the example (4).

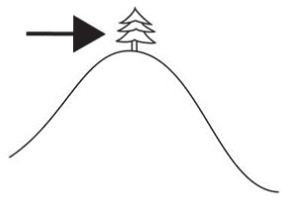

Fig. 3.4. The tree on the mountain

(4)	GROUND	FIGURE	EXIST
	ḍoŋgr-ā-war	*dzhāḍ*	*āhe*
	mountain.	tree.N3SG	be.3SG.PRS
	M3SG-OBL-PP		

'The tree is on the mountain.'

The top or the crown of a mountain is sometimes lexicalized in Marathi as *ḍoŋgr-ā-tsā māthā* 'the crown/ head of the mountain'. In some cases, the linear vertical orientation of the tree isconsidered and the same is lexicalized as *dzhāḍ ḍoŋgr-ā-war ubhe āhe* 'the tree is standing on the mountain'. The postposition *war* 'on' is used to specify the relation between *the tree* and *the mountain*. The oblique marker in example (4) is obligatory.

The orientation and/or linearity is considered optionally in case of the immovable animate entity like tree. But the posture of the movable animate entities like

cat or man is obligatorily considered in Marathi using the posture verbs (see Newman and Rice 2004; Pardeshi et al. 2010 for discussion on posture verbs).

3.5. Human FIGURE standing on raised GROUND

This section describes the human FIGUREin relation to the raised GROUND. See Fig. 3.5.

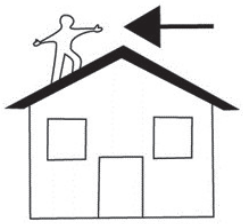

Fig. 3.5. The man on the house

(5) FIGURE GROUND EXIST
māṇūs *ghar-ā-war* *āhe*
man.M3SG house.N3SG-OBL-PP be.PRS
'The man is on the house.'

(6) GROUND FIGURE POST EXIST
ghar-ā-war *māṇūs* *ubhā* *āhe*
house. man.M3SG stand. be.PRS
N3SG-OBL-PP IMPRF
'The man is standing on the house.'

(7) GROUND FIGURE VCA
ghar-ā-war *māṇūs* *tsaāh-l-āy*
house. man.M3SG climb-PRF-M3SG.PRS
N3SG-OBL-PP
'The man is climbed on the house.'

The postposition *war* 'on' is employed byall the respondents. The difference we observe in descriptions from (5) to (7) is that of verbal use. Some respondents used an existential verb only, while others considered the man's standing posture/ orientation and lexicalized this using the word *ubhā* 'vertical' or 'standing upright' in their descriptions. The use of the verb *tsaḍhaṇe* 'to climb' is also observed in describing the same scene. Profiling the endpoint of a process as a state is marked using the perfective aspect in (7).

So, some speakers pay attention to the scene simply as the GROUND object which is supporting to the FIGURE object. While some other speakers provide greater attention to the FIGURE's vertical orientation or the man's standing posture. Yet other speakers are still more keen to imagine the action performed by the man before being/ standing there on the house. This kind of alternative schematization is possible in the encoding of spatial experiences.

Thus, we discussed various issues such as FIGURE entity's geometrical delineation, its orientation and/or posture, linearity, animacy, etc. We also studied the GROUND entity's geometrical details such as its plain or raised surface. We observed the implications of these factors in conceptualization of the spatial scenes and the lexicalization of these scenes. We discussed the canonical (horizontal) support from below to the FIGURE objects by the GROUND objects.

Further, we will discuss the other kind of support relations like vertical support and the support from above in the following sections.

3.6. Animate FIGURE entities on vertical GROUND

This section details spatial scenes involving support extended by vertical GROUND like *wall* to the animate FIGURE objects such as *creatures*. See Fig. 3.6 below and its representation in examples (8) and (9).

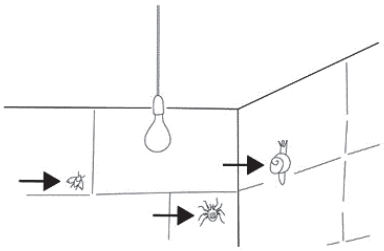

Fig. 3.6. The creatures on the wall

(8) GROUND FIGURE FIGURE EXIST
bhint-i-war *wegwegḷe* *kiṭak* *āhet*
wall.F3SG- different insect. be..PRS.
OBL-PP N3PL 3PL
'(There) are different insects on the wall.'

(9) GROUND FIGURE FIGURE CONJ
bhint-in-war *dzhuraḷ* *māśi* *wa*
wall.F3PL cockroach. fly.F3SG and
-OBL-PP N3SG

FIGURE EXIST
gogalgāy *āhet*
snail.F3SG be.PRS.3PL
'The cockroach, the fly and the snail are on the wall.'

In example (9), the creatures are the FIGURE entities and the wall is the GROUND object.There is a support from the vertical GROUND object extended to the FIGURE entities. In addition, the force exerted by the animate FIGURE entities is important in this scene. The very anatomical nature of the creatures (wings, legs, etc.), their weight, and their ability to stay or climb on the wall are also the factors that enable them to be on the vertical GROUND. They also exert a force against gravity to remain there. The postposition *war* 'on' is used to specify this spatial relation between such FIGURE and GROUND. Though the exerting of force is implied in such situations, it is not lexicalized through any linguistic element.

The most important factor observed in lexicalization of this scene is the distribution of attention. They perceived the FIGURE objects as a single composite FIGURE in (8). In example (9), the speakers paid attention to each entityand specified accordingly.

We now advance to another spatial scene in which the FIGURE entity is supported by the non-horizontal and non-vertical GROUND such as the ceiling.

3.7. Animate movable FIGURE on ceiling-like GROUND

The cockroach on the ceiling is the scene shown in Fig. 3.7 below.

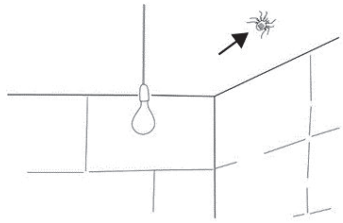

Fig. 3.7. The cockroach on the ceiling

(10) FIGURE GROUND EXIST
dzhuraḷ *tShat-ā-war* *āhe*
cockroach. ceiling.N3SG- be.PRS
N3SG OBL-PP
'The cockroach is on the ceiling.'

The FIGURE entity is animate as in the previous scene shown. The difference is that the FIGURE in example (10) is *uniplex* while that in (9) is *multiplex.*

The GROUND object again has a plain surface as a table or as a wall. Though the orientation of GROUND is horizontal or parallel to the earth's surface, it is not supporting

the FIGURE entity from below against gravity. Instead, the support extended by the GROUND object, i.e. ceiling is marginal. The force exerted by the FIGURE entity to remain on the ceiling is imperative in this scene.

Though this force-dynamic factor is significant, it is not reflected in linguistic encoding. The simple existential verb is used to specify the scene and the postposition *war* 'on' is used to encode the spatial relation between the cockroach and the ceiling.

3.8. Hanging FIGURE supported from above

This section deals with the scene in which the suspended FIGURE is supported by the GROUND i.e. *the ceiling* as in Fig. 3.8. Observe the scene and the corresponding examples (11) and (12) below.

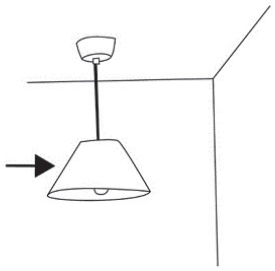

Fig. 3.8. The bulb hanging on the ceiling

(11)

FIGURE	GROUND	VCA	EXIST
diwā	*tShat-ā-lā*	*aḍkawlā*	*āhe*
lamp.	ceiling.N3SG	attach.PRF	be.PRS
M3SG	-OBL-PP		

'The lamp is hanging on (attached to) the ceiling.'

(12)

GROUND	FIGURE	VCA	EXIST
tShat-ā-lā	*balb*	*lāwlelā*	*āhe*
ceiling.	lamp.	attach.	be.PRS
N3SG-PP	M3SG	PRF	

'The lamp is hanging on (attached to) the ceiling.'

We observe that there is not only CONTACT between FIGURE and GROUND entities, but there is also a firm attachment between these entities. The entity i.e. *the bulb* is not naturally attached to *the ceiling* as *the tree on the mountain.* Instead, this is an artificial attachment between FIGURE and GROUND. This artificial attachment (or the manual action of attaching the bulb) is lexicalized in example (11) and (12). The respondents used the verbs *aṭkawṇe* 'to firmly attach' and *lāwṇe* 'to attach'. In brief, the causative verbs are used in the descriptions by the respondents. The postposition *lā* 'to' is employed to specify the spatial relation ATTACHMENT between the bulb and the ceiling.

3.9. Hanging FIGURE above GROUND

See the next spatial scene in Fig. 3.9 and its encoding in examples (13) and (14) below.

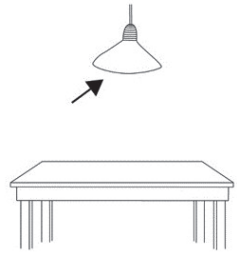

Fig. 3.9. The lamp above the table

(13)

GROUND	FIGURE	EXIST
ṭebal-(ā)-war	*balb*	*āhe*
table.M3SG-OBL-PP	bulb.M3SG	be.PRS

'The bulb is above the table.'

(14)

GROUND	FIGURE	VC	EXIST
tebal-(ā) -tSā-war	*balb*	*laṭkat*	*āhe*
table.M3SG-OBL-SM-PP	bulb.M3SG	hang. IMPRF	be.PRS

'The bulb is hanging above the table.'

The bulb's location is perceived in relation to the table's location. The bulb is attached to some object but not visible in the given scene.The people still locate *the bulb* in relation to *the table.* It provides the interesting fact that our perceptual knowledge plays an important role in the process of conceptualization.

The postposition *war* 'above' is used to specify the spatial relation. The existential and hanging-type verbsare used to encode the scene in (13) and (14) respectively. Another difference in (13) and (14) is the greater specificity encoded in the latter example by the marker *tSā.* The participial form *laṭkat* 'hanging' is used in the latter shows the hanging state of the object.

3.10. FIGURE above and not supported by GROUND

This is a very common scene i.e. *the cloud on the mountain* as in Fig. 3.10. The mountain is the raised GROUNDentity, while the cloud is movable FIGURE entity which happens to be above the mountain. Of course, there is no CONTACT between the cloud and the mountain. Further, there is no SUPPORT extended from the mountain to the cloud. It is to be noticed that the perspective point is synoptic (distal) mode to perceive the scene. Let us see this scene below and its encoding as in examples (15) and (16).

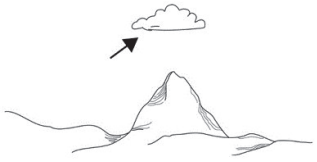

Fig. 3.10. The cloud above the mountain

(15) GROUND FIGURE EXIST
ḍoŋgr-ā-war *ḍhag* *āhe*
mountain. cloud.M3SG be.PRS
PM3SG-OBL-PP
'The cloud is above the mountain.'

(16) GROUND FIGURE DYN EXIST
ḍoŋgr-ā-war *ḍhag* *ālā* *āhe*
mountain. cloud. come. be.PR
M3SG-OBL-PP N3SG N3SG
'The cloud has come above the mountain.'

Example (15) describes the simple configuration that the cloud is on the mountain. The e-ndpoint of a process is construed in example (16) as a state. It is indicated by the choice of the perfective aspect *ālā* 'came' and present marker *āhe*'is'. The respondent construed the scene as static in (15) and as dynamic in (16).

In this section, the relation between *the writing surface* and *the writing* is described. In Fig. 3.11, *the writing* is FIGURE and *the shirt* is GROUND.

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Fig. 3.11. The writing on the surface

(17) FIGURE GROUND VCA EXIST
UCLA *śarṭ-war* *lihale* *āhe*
UCLA shirt.M3SG-PP
write.PRF be.3SG.PRS
'UCLA is written on the shirt.'

The postposition *war* 'on' is used to denote the spatial relation between two

entities in the above scene. The verb *lihaṇe* 'to write' and the present tense marker is used to describe the scene. Greater attention is paid to the writing and the letters used in the writing. These are reproduced in example (17). Any kind of writing/scribing is conceptualized against the surface such as a paper, a plate, a stone, a trunk, etc. The type of surface, its orientation and support do not play a role in such conceptualizing such scenes. The direct contact and/or contiguity between FIGURE and GROUND entities is required in such spatial configurations. After studying the scribing or writing on surface, we turn to the next spatial scene in Section 3.12 below.

3.12. FIGURE entity hanging on pointlike GROUND

As shown in Fig. 3.12, the coat is hanging on the hanger. In this section, we discuss how this type of spatial scenes are encoded in Marathi.

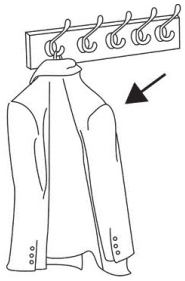

Fig. 3.12. The coat hanging on the hanger

(18)	FIGURE	GROUND	VCA	EXIST
	koṭ	*hæ̃ngar-lā*	*aḍakawlā*	*āhe*
	coat.M3SG	hanger. M3SG-PP	hang.PRF	be.3SG. PRS

'The coat is hanging on the hanger.'

We observe that the FIGURE object is bigger than the GROUND object. Normally, the FIGURE objects are relatively smaller than the GROUND objects. In this scene, the coat is FIGURE and the hanger is GROUND. But the concept of FIGURE holds for this spatial configuration too. Because another feature of FIGURE and GROUND is that FIGURE is more movable, and GROUND is relatively fixed or less movable. The third feature is that the GROUND has a greater control over FIGURE. When we relate these features to the above scene, we realize that the hanger is more stable than the coat. The hanger has greater control over the coat, and not vice versa.

The spatial relation between these objects is encoded by the postposition *lā* 'to'. The hanging-type verb *aḍakawṇe* 'to attach firmly/ to hang' is used. Causative morphology of the verb suggests that the scene is construed as the result of an agent-aided action where the agent is not visible in the given scene. The perfective verb ending *-lā* and present marker *āhe* also gives resultative meaning.

3.13. Inanimate FIGURE entities hanging on linear GROUND

There are three clothes hanging on the clothesline in the following scene (see Fig. 3.13). We study how this scene is construed by the speakers of Marathi in this section. See examples (19) and (20) below.

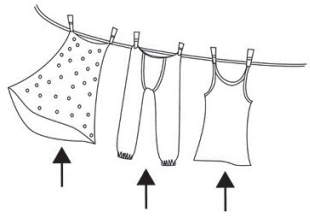

Fig. 3.13. The clothes hanging on the clothes line

(19) FIGURE GROUND EXIST
kapḍe *dori-war* *āhet*
clothes.N3PL line.F3SG-PP be.3PL.PRS
'The clothes are (hanging) on the clothesline.'

(20) FIGURE GROUND VCA VCA
kapḍe *dori-war* *wāḷat* *ghātlele*
clothes. line. dry. put.PRF
N3PL F3SG-PP IMPRF
EXIST
āhet
be.3PL.PRS
'The clothes are put, to dry, on the clothesline.'

The postposition *war* 'on' is used to specify the spatial relation between these objects in (19) as well as in (20). The existential verb is used in the former examplewhile the verbal complex *wāḷat ghālṇe* 'put to dry' is used in the latter example.

3.14. FIGURE covering GROUND's functional portion

See Fig. 3.14 and corresponding example (21) below.

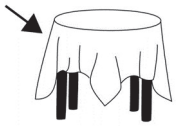

Fig. 3.14. The cloth spread over the table

(21) GROUND FIGURE VCA EXIST
ṭebal-ā-war *kapḍā* *pasar-lā* *āhe*
table.M3SG- cloth. spread- be.PRS
OBL-PP M3SG PRF
'The cloth is spread over the table.'

The cloth is FIGURE and the table is GROUND. Most of the functional part i.e. tabletop is occupied by the FIGURE object, i.e. the cloth. There is CONTACT between these two objects. The table's support function is not significant in this scene. Instead of that, the cloth is protecting the surface of the table from being dirty. The postposition *war* 'over' is employed to encode this scene. The verb *pasarṇe* 'to spread' is also employed.

3.15. Inanimate linear FIGURE supported by composite GROUND

This section describes the scene in which the FIGURE entity is supported by vertical as well as horizontal GROUND simultaneously. The FIGURE object is ladder and the composite GROUND is comprised of the horizontal floor and the vertical wall. The ladder is supported by the floor and the wall simultaneously in this scene. See Fig. 3.15.

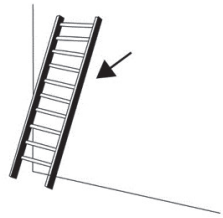

Fig. 3.15. The ladder on the wall

(22) GROUND FIGURE VCA EXIST
bhint-i-lā *śiḍi* *lāw-li* *āhe*
wall.F3SG- ladder. attach- be.PRS
OBL-PP F3SG PRF.F3SG
'The ladder is attached to the wall.'

People consider significant parts of the scene disregardingless significant parts while construing it. Example (22) shows that disregarding the floor, the speakers locate the ladder in relation to the wall only. Undoubtedly, the support from the floor is

crucial for the ladder, but still it is disregarded. The orientation of the ladder and the wall is vertical. The ladder's upper part is in contact with the wall. The ladder is loosely (not firmly) in contact with the wall.

The experience is that people attach the ladder against the wall so as to climb on it for some activity to do. This manual action is considered while encoding this scene and thus reflected in example (22) with the use of causative verb *lāwṇe* 'to attach'. Again, causative verb morphology and use of resultative aspect is observed. The postposition *lā* 'to' is used to encode spatial relation between these objects.

Do the speakers of Marathi disregard the horizontal GROUND each time when the SUPPORT is extended from the vertical as well as the horizontal GROUND to the FIGURE simultaneously? No. In some cases, the vertical GROUND is also disregarded. Consider the scene given in Fig. 3.16 in the next section for more details.

3.16. Inanimate pointlike FIGURE supported by composite GROUND

Let us see Fig. 3.16 below and its linguistic representation in example (23).

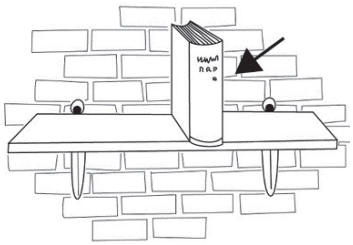

Fig. 3.16. The book on the plank

(23)

GROUND	FIGURE	EXIST
phaḷi-war	*pustak*	*āhe*
plank.F3SG-PP	book.N3SG	be.3SG.PRS

'The book is on the plank.'

The book, vertically oriented,is kept on the plank and it is supported by the horizontal plank as well as vertical wall. This scene is described using the postposition *war* 'on'. The existential verb is employed in the description. The vertical support from the wall is completely disregarded. It seems that conventionality or prototypicality plays an important role in disregarding certain aspects of the spatial scene.

Books are prototypically/ conventionally kept on artifacts like table, rack, plank, etc. and these are normally supported by the horizontal GROUND from below. Generally, the horizontal GROUND supports book remains in human memory. Horizontal support from below is a prototypical situation in such spatial scenes. The book may be additionally supported by a vertical wall. But this is less prototypical.

When we think of the situations in which the books are kept in the artifacts like cupboards, boxes, bags, etc., the original CONTENT/ SUPPORT schema does not hold. Instead, the CONTENT/ CONTAINER relation is established in such cases.

Next, we consider the spatial configuration between two entities in which the FIGURE entity is attached to the GROUND entity by sticking or adhesion.

3.17. FIGURE attached to GROUND by sticking or adhesion

This section explains the different conceptualizations of the same scene. How people construe the same scene differently is described by the following scene (Fig. 3.17) and examples (24) and (25).

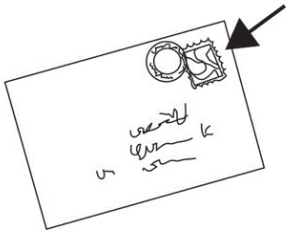

Fig. 3.17. The ticket on the postcard

(24) GROUND FIGURE VCA EXIST
patrā-lā *tikiṭ* *tSikaṭwa-la* *āhe*
letter. ticket. stick-PRF. be.PRS
N3SG-PP N3SG N3SG
'The ticket (sticker) is stuck on the letter.'

(25) GROUND GROUND GROUND
posṭkārḍ-tSā *ekā* *kopr-yā-t*
letter.N3SG-PP one corner.
M3SG-OBL-PP
FIGURE exist
tikiṭ *āhe*
ticket.N3SG be.3SG.PRS
'The ticket (sticker) is (stuck) in a corner of the letter.'

The ticket is FIGURE and the postcard is GROUND respectively in the above scene. The ticket is stuck on the postcard. The location of the ticket on the postcard is due to some sticky substance other than FIGURE and GROUND.

This scene is described in two ways as in (24) and (25). The spatial relation between these entities is conceived as ON-TYPE and is represented it in example (24) using the postposition *lā* 'to'. The causative verb is used in this example. On the other hand, the same spatial scene is conceived as IN-TYPE spatial relation in example (25) using the postposition *āt* 'in'. The surface of the letter is divided into several sectors. The object, i.e. *the sticker* and *the sector* of the letter has CONTENT-CONTAINER relation.

The surface of the postcard is considered as GROUND in the former case. In the latter case, one of the sectors is considered as GROUND while conceptualizing the scene. The column, row, sector, cell, etc. on the paper or surface of the paper is considered as container. Consequently, the relation between the container and the content within this container is conceptualized as IN-TYPE spatial relation.These examples (24) and (25) underline the speaker-specific conceptualization instead of objective and fixed conceptualization of spatial scenes.

3.18. Smeary substance (FIGURE) on plain SURFACE

This section deals with the spatial scene in which the smeary substance is located on another object having plain surface. See Fig. 3.18 for the specific scene and its encoding in example (26) below the scene.

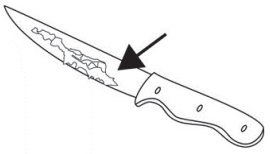

Fig. 3.18. The butter spreading on the knife

(26) GROUND FIGURE VC EXIST
tsāku-lā *loṇi* *lāglele* *āhe*
knife. butter. attach. be.3SG.
M3SG-PP N3SG PRF PRS
'The butter is spread on (attached to) the knife.'

In this scene, the butter is spread on the knife. The butter (a smeary substance) is FIGURE and the knife is GROUND. The

postposition *lā* 'to' is used to denote the relation between these entities. The non-volitional verb *lāgṇe* 'to attach non-volitionally' as opposed to *lāwṇe* 'to attach volitionally'. The existential present tense marker is also used.

3.19. 'TIED-TO' relation between FIGURE and GROUND

In this section, the 'TIED-TO' type of spatial relation is studied. In Fig. 3.19, the balloon is FIGURE object and the stick is GROUND object.

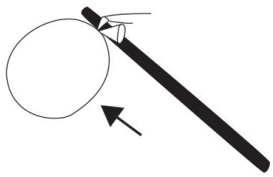

Fig. 3.19. The balloon tied on the stick

(27)	FIGURE	GROUND	VCA	EXIST
	phugā	*kāṭhī-lā*	*bandh-lā*	*āhe*
	balloon.	stick.	tie-PRF.	be.PRS
	M3SG	F3SG-PP	M3SG	

'The balloon is tied to the stick.'

The 'TIED-TO' relations are construed as ATTACHMENT-TYPE spatial relations in Marathi. In example (27), the postposition *lā* 'to' is used to denote the spatial relation between *the balloon* and *the stick*. The verb *bāndhṇe* 'tie' and the present tense marker is used. Most of the 'TIED TO' spatial relations are construed in the same way. For instance, *the rope is tied to the tree*, *the belt is tied to the waist*, etc. However, in some spatial situations like *the bunch of sticks tied by the rope or wire*, the instrumental postposition can be used in Marathi as in *gaṭṭha dori-**ne** bāndhlā āhe* 'bunch (of something) is tied with a rope together'.

After the discussion of 'TIED-TO' relations in this section, we discuss 'PART-WHOLE' relation between FIGURE and GROUND in Section 3.21 and 3.22 below.

3.20. 'PART-WHOLE' relation between natural entities

The 'PART-WHOLE' relation between natural entities is described in this section. Observe Fig. 3.20 below. We see the fruit and (the branch of) the tree in this scene. The attachment between these entities is a natural one. The fruit is a part of the tree. The leaves in this scene are disregarded in conceptualizing the spatial relation between the fruit and the tree. The fruit is FIGURE and the tree is GROUND in the scene. Consider the examples (28) and (29) below this scene to know how this scene is represented in Marathi.

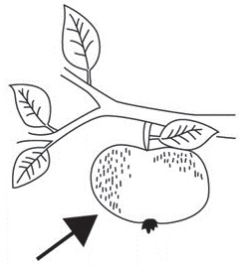

Fig. 3.20. The fruit on the branch of the tree

(28)	GROUND	FIGURE	EXIST
	dzhāḍ-ā-lā	*phaḷ*	*āhe*
	tree.N3SG-OBL-PP	fruit.N3SG	be.PRS

'The tree has an apple.'

(29)	GROUND	FIGURE	VC	EXIST
	dzhāḍ-ā-lā	*saphartSand*	*lāglela*	*āhe*
	tree.N3SG-OBL-PP	apple.N3SG	attach. PRF	be.PRS

'The tree has an apple.'

The postposition *lā* 'to' is observed in both examples above. We observe the

smaller granularity/ specificity in example (28) as compared to example (29) in use of verbal entity. The common noun *phaḷ* 'fruit' is used for the FIGURE object in the former example, while specific noun *saphartSand* 'the apple' is used in the latter example. The simple existential verb is used in the former, while the *lāgṇe* 'to attach' is used in the latter example. Obviously, the distribution of greater attention through specificity is observed in (29)than in example (28).

The possessive relation is observed between such natural entities. For example, the tree has fruits, leaves, etc. The use of the verb *lāgṇe* 'to attach non-volitionally/ naturally' in (29) instead of *lāwṇe* 'to attach volitionally/ by agentive intervention' shows that people distinguish the attachment between FIGURE and GROUND of natural entities and artificial artifacts. Next, we study the 'PART-WHOLE' relation between artificial entities.

3.21. 'PART-WHOLE' relation between artificial entities

The 'PART-WHOLE' relation between 'the artificial artifact' and 'its part' is described in this section. The scene like *the handle on door* or *the cap on the bottle* represents such spatial configurations. In the scene shown in Fig. 3.21, *the cap* is FIGURE and *the bottle* is GROUND. Both *the cap* and *the bottle* are artificial entities. These are inanimate objects. The cap is a part of the bottle. The cap is firmly attached to the bottle. See how the attachment between *the cap* and *the bottle* is encoded in example (30).

Fig. 3.21. The cap on the bottle

(30)

GROUND	FIGURE	EXIST
bāṭli-lā	*ṭopan*	*āhe*
bottle.F3SG-PP	cap.N3SG	be.PRS

'The bottle has a cap.'

The bottle's material, its orientation, etc. are disregarded in the process of conceptualization. The postposition *lā* 'to' and the existential verb are used to describe the scene. There is no difference regarding the spatial relation. The difference regarding entities involved in these scenes of animacy. The entities in the former scene (Fig. 3.20) are natural and animate, while the entities in the latter scene (Fig. 3.21) are artificial and inanimate objects. But the main difference is people's experience with these entities. They can pluck a flower from the tree but cannot attach it to the tree again. This action of plucking and attaching cannot be repeated. However, they can take the cap of the bottle away and fasten again in the same way. They can repeat this several times: the action of dismantling and attaching FIGURE to GROUND. This experience is reflected inthe difference in distinguishing and encoding these scenes in the language.

Tversky (2005) distinguishes attachment between natural entities and artificial entities as follows: "Note two different senses of function, one for living thing, the other for artifacts. […] Artifacts, by contrast, are created by humans for human use; their

origins are to be functional for humans" (Tversky 2005: 336).

3.22. 'ENCIRCLEMENT' relation between FIGURE and GROUND

This section delineates the encirclement-type spatial relation in Marathi. The FIGURE object, i.e. *the fence* is encircling the GROUND object, i.e. *the house* in Fig. 3.22. There is space between the house and the fence. The fence is protecting the house from all sides. The scene is encoded in example (31) below.

Fig. 3.22. The fence around the house

(31) GROUND FIGURE EXIST
ghar-ā-bhowati *kumpaṇ* *āhe*
house.N3SG-OBL-PP fence.N3SG be.PRS
'The fence is around the house.'

The postposition *bhowati* 'around' is used to encode the spatial relation between the fence and the house. As stated above, *the fence* has surrounded the house from all sides. The path created by the fence is rectangular, but the geometric angles/ contours of the fence are disregarded in employing the postposition *bhowati* 'around'. Thus, the postposition *bhowati* 'around' is used in the scenes in which the FIGURE entity creates a relatively circular path around the GROUND object from the outside. The FIGURE entity is perceived as a continuous entity.

The postposition *sabhowati* 'surround'/ 'all around' is used to encode an entity surrounding (from all sides) the reference entity (see Molesworth 1857: 822). A relatively circular path is not necessary in the case of *sabhowati* 'surround' and continuity is also not prerequisite while using the postposition *sabhowati* 'surround'.

After discussing these spatial scenes, we summarize the major findings below.

4. Summary

In this section, we summarize the discussion of ON-TYPE spatial relations and their encoding in Marathi. We demonstrated that ON-TYPE spatial relations are encoded by four postpositions in Marathi namely *war* 'on', *lā* 'to', *bhowati* 'around' and *sabhowati* 'surround'. The prominent determining factors in selection of postposition *war* are: CONTACT, SUPPORT, PROXIMITY and SUPERIORITY. The postposition *war* 'on' is used to encode the spatial relation between FIGURE and GROUND in the spatial scenes given in Tables 1, 2 and 3 below.

Table 1 shows that the postposition *war* 'on' is used in ten types of spatial scenes. The FIGURE entity ranges from a pointlike object, linear object, linear animate entity, animal entity to human entity, while the GROUND entity is found could be plain or raised kind. See Table 1 for details.

In Marathi, the postposition *war* is used for encoding ABOVE-TYPE spatial scenes also. In the spatial scenes, *the bulb is above the table* and *the cloud is above the mountain,* the postposition *war* 'above' is used to denote the spatial relation between FIGURE and GROUND. The FIGURE is superior (at higher level) than the GROUND and there is proximity

Table 1. Postposition *war* encoding ON-TYPE relation[1]

Spatial Scene	CONTACT	SUPPORT	PROXIMITY	SUPERIOR
The cup on the table	+	+	+	+
The pencil on the desk	+	+	+	+
The cat on the mat	+	+	+	+
The tree on the mountain	+	+	+	+
The man on the house	+	+	+	+
The creatures on the wall	+	+	+	
The cockroach on the ceiling	+	+ff	+	
The writing on the surface	+		+	
The book on the plank	+	+	+	+
The raindrops on the window glass	+		+	

1 The parameter present in the spatial scene is shown by + and the parameter absent in the spatial scene is kept blank in all tables. The force exerted by figure is shown by 'ff' in Table 2. Additional information, if any, is given in full in the respective field of the tables.

between FIGURE and GROUND. In example (15), there is PROXIMITY between *the cloud and the mountain* as both entities are captured within a single frame. The vantage point is at distal place. Secondly, *the cloud* is superior to *the mountain.*Forsuch type of spatial scenes, the postposition *war* 'above' is employed. See Table 2 below.

The third type is OVER-TYPE. The postposition *war* 'over' is also employed to specify the relation between the spatial scene as in *the cloth is spread over the table.* In the spatial scene (see Table 3), there is CONTACT between two entities besides PROXIMITY and SUPERIORITY.

Interestingly, the Marathi postposition *war* captures the semantic range that English prepositions 'on', 'over', and 'above' capture together.

Further, we summarize the use of postposition *lā* 'to' in Table 4. Primarily, this postposition is used to specify ATTACHMENT

Table 2. Postposition *war* encoding ABOVE-TYPE relations

Spatial Scene	CONTACT	SUPPORT	PROXIMITY	SUPERIOR
The bulb above table			+	+
The cloud above the mountain			+	+

Table 3. Postposition *war* encoding OVER-TYPE relations

Spatial Scene	CONTACT	SUPPORT	PROXIMITY	SUPERIOR
The cloth is spread over the table	+	+	+	+

kind of spatial relations. There are firm and loose ATTACHMENT between FIGURE and GROUND. The speakers of Marathi use the postpositon *lā* 'to' for both, they do not make a distinction between loose and firm ATTACHMENT.

The postposition *lā* 'to' is used to specify the PART-WHOLE relation between FIGURE and GROUND. The PART-WHOLE relation may be between the natural entities like *the fruit* and *the tree/ branch of the tree* or it may be between artificial entities like *the cap* and *the bottle* or *the handle* and *the door.*

The TIED-TO spatial relations are encoded by the postpositon *lā* 'to' in Marathi. For example, *the balloon is tied to the stick* or *the rope is tied to the stump/ trunk of the tree.* Nine spatial scenes are listed in Table 4 below. CONTACT and PROXIMITY are obvious conditions between FIGURE and GROUND in ATTACHMENT, TIED-TO and PART-WHOLE kind of spatial scenes. The SUPPORT function is observed in six cases, while it is absent in three cases. The loose attachment between the entities in the referent scenes are observed in two cases, while firm attachment is observed in four cases. The PART-WHOLE relation is observed in two cases.

Next, it was observed that the postposition *bhowati* 'around' is used to specify the spatial relation between FIGURE and GROUND when FIGURE entity creates continuous path from outer side GROUND entity. The created path from the outer side must be relatively circular. There may or may not be direct CONTACT between FIGURE and GROUND.

Table 4. Postpositon *lā* 'to' encoding different spatial relations

Spatial scene	**CONTACT**	**SUPPORT**	**PROXIMITY**	**ATTACHMENT Loose (L) / Firm (F)**	**PART-WHOLE**
The bulb hanging from the ceiling	+	+ From Above	+	+F	
The coat hanging on hanger	+	+	+	+L	
The clothes hanging on the clothesline	+	+	+	+F/L	
The ladder on the wall	+	+	+	+L	
The ticket on the postcard	+	+	+	+ F/ Adhesion	
The butter spreading on the knife	+		+		
The balloon tied to the stick	+		+	+F	
The fruit on the branch of the tree	+	+	+	+F	+
The cap on the bottle	+		+	+F	+

Like the postposition *bhowati* 'around', the postposition *sabhowati* 'surrounds' is used to locate the surrounding entity in relation to the reference entity. In this case, FIGURE entity may or may not create a rectangular path around the GROUND entity.

Abbreviations

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, adpositions = prepositions/ postpositions, ADV= adverbial, BOUNDED= having an inherent boundary, ception = conception and perception, cognitive domains = SPACE/ TIME, cognitive systems = language/ perception, conceptualization = meaning construction, CONJ= conjunction, DYN = dynamic verb, EXIST = existential verb, F = feminine, FUT = future, IPFV = imperfective, M = masculine, MULTIPLEX = a plural discrete entity or a recurrent action, N = neuter, OBL = oblique marker, PL= plural, PLEXITY = a category concerned with number and recurrent action, POSS = possessive, POST = posture verb, PP = postposition, PRF = perfective, PRS = present, PST = past, SG = singular, SM = specificity marker, UNBOUNDED = without an inherent boundary, UNIPLEX = a singular entity or an action occurs once, vantage point = an actual or imaginary viewing point, VC = verb without agentive involvement in action, VCA= classificatory verb with agentive involvement in action.

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CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR- FOOD METAPHORS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GUJARATI

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Abstract

Metaphor is commonly viewed as a literary device for artistic purposes which is not commonly found in everyday usage. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their1980 work 'Metaphors We Live By' propose the Conceptual Metaphor Theory which shows how everyday language is full of these conceptual metaphors and that one need not be a poet or writer in order to use or understand such a language. The following paper attempts to study the conceptual metaphor FOOD as source domain in a few historical books of the Old Testament in the Gujarati Translation of the Bible. Several target domains map various aspects from the source domain and bring out a very interesting flavour of the Gujarati language. We find emphasis being placed not only on the aspect of cooking or cooked food but on the aspect of food being raw, ripe, and digestible and aspects pertaining to the taste of the food.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, gujarati, bible, taste, ripe

1. Introduction

Conceptual Metaphor Theory offers the view that both metaphorical language and thought arise from the basic bodily experience of human beings. This notion of embodiment sets off the Cognitive Linguistic view from the traditional ones. Metaphor is a conceptual and experiential process that structures our world. Our embodied experience emerges from the things that we interact with and do every day, such as the fact that the temperature of hot fluid is high and may overflow out of the container on boiling and our body temperature increases when we experience anger. Hence we say things such as:

a. I was fuming
b. His anger rose

Metaphor plays a role in human thought, understanding and reasoning, in the creation of our social, cultural and psychological reality. Trying to understand metaphor then means, attempting to understand a vital part of who we are and what kind of world we live in (Lakoff and Johnson 2003).

In the current study data was collected from the historical books of the Old Testament Gujarati Translation of the Bible.

There are sixteen historical books of which eight were taken as part of the study. These books are the book of Ruth, Esther, Joshua, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, and Judges. Food as Metaphor is found in nineteen tokens and the maximum tokens, i.e. eight were related to the feature of food being edible and ingestible.The general assumption made at this point in time is that food plays an important role in our lives. It is a daily necessity for the sustenance of life. Hence food is likely to have the tendency to pervade the usage in related or unrelated cultures and languages as source domain to map ideas, death, mind, destiny etcetera. Metaphor studies are done in several ways. In some cases either the Source is constant and the various Targets on which it gets mapped are studied or the Target is constant and the various Sources which are mapped are studied (Lily I-wen Su 2002). For this paper the Source being studied is constant while the Targets are many. This paper aims to answer two questions: What are the important features in the source domain that are mapped to its target domain? What can the correspondences between the domains reveal about the conceptualization process? Food or edible items that are usually found to make up the source domains have aspects such as various ways of cooking, consumption and digestion of food that are mapped on to the target domains. The newer aspects of food that are found to be mapped on to the target domains in this paper are related to taste and being either ripe or raw in nature. This paper attempts to study the mappings in detail and where ever possible mentions the aspect of translation between the Gujarati and the English versions of the same stories.

2. Conceptual metaphor

Popularly Metaphor is understood to be 'a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable' (Oxford English Dictionary). A metaphor states that one thing is another thing. It equates those two things not because they actually are the same, but for the sake of comparison or symbolism. Metaphors are used in poetry and literature and at any time that someone wants to add colour to their language. This traditional concept can be characterized briefly as given below (Kovecses 2002):

a. Metaphor is a property of words; it is a linguistic phenomena
b. Metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose
c. Metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified
d. Metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and you must have a special talent to be able to do it and do it well
e. Metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication, let alone everyday human thought and reasoning

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their work 'Metaphors We Live By' challenged these aspects of the traditional

theories and views and claimed (Kovecses 2002):

a. Metaphor is a property of concepts, and not of words
b. The function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just some artistic or aesthetic purpose
c. Metaphor is often not based on similarity
d. Metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, not just by special talented people
e. Metaphor is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning

Thus we find the following being spoken by speakers of the English language

1. I am where I want to be in life
2. He has never let anyone get in his way
3. She has gone through a lot in life

These are sentences that people would normally use in their daily lives to talk about Life in terms of Journey. People comprehend a given conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain which is comparatively more concrete. This is what Conceptual Metaphor is – trying to understand domain A in terms of domain B. A conceptual domain is any logical and consistent organization of experience. We all have logical and consistent organized knowledge about journeys, wars, buildings, food etc. This knowledge may look something like this:

Journey – has travelers, may make use of a vehicle, the journey itself, there is some distance involved, obstacles may be encountered, there may be several ways to make this journey and decisions to be taken and the destination.

Buildings – will have a base or foundation, require support structures, pillars, a framework, may be weak or strong, will have rooms etc.

A conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains.

a. Source Domain (B) is the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain.

b. Target Domain (A) is that other domain we try to understand through the use of the source domain.

Let us take for instance the Conceptual Metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS

1. The theory needs more support.
2. So far we have put together only the framework of the theory.
3. Is that the foundation for your theory?
4. We need to construct a stronger argument for that.

Conceptual metaphors employ a more abstract concept as target and a more concrete or physical concept as source. Theories are a more abstract concept and buildings are more physical concept. It makes more sense to try and understand Theory (which exists in a more abstract manner) in terms of Buildings (that can be seen physically and is part of our everyday experience). The metaphorical linguistic expressions reveal the existence of the conceptual metaphor (Kovecses 2002).

3. Data - Food metaphors

The Source domain is FOOD while the various Target domains are – PROMISE, DEFEAT, KINGDOM, DEATH, TIME,

NEWS or INFORMATION, CHARACTER, MIND or HEART and DESTINY. These have been put under sub categories such as Consume and Digest, Ripe and Mature, and Taste. PROMISE is the most frequently occurring Target domain in the given texts.

3.1. Consume and Digest

1. prəbhu ne name kəsəm
   God in name **swear/promise**
   khai ne kəhu chu *Jos 2:12*
   eat in say is

   'I swear/promise in the name of God'

   Conceptual Metaphor: PROMISE IS FOOD

The target domain is PROMISE. To promise is to give ones word, to assure the other person that what is said will surely be fulfilled or is true. FOOD can be consumed. Food which is good, healthy is consumed. Promise is seen to be consumed, promise which is in the name of God or a certain important person. In order for the assurance to be made stronger the aspect of consumption is drawn. A Promise or ones word is conceptualized as an edible item. A promise unlike food is not seen but plays an important role in everyday matters of assuring. Food on the other hand is seen and also plays an important role in nourishing. The aspects of FOOD being good and important are mapped on to the domain PROMISE.

2. israelio ne hathe pote
   People of Israel at hands self
   har khadi che *2 Sam 10:15*
   defeat **ate** have

   'They were defeated at the hands of the Israelites'

   Conceptual Metaphor: DEFEAT IS FOOD

The target domain is DEFEAT. The people ate defeat at the hands of their enemies – that is the meaning in Gujarati. Defeat is conceptualized as food. A food item that is not very pleasing or liked by people just as defeat is not very pleasing or preferable.

3. te saul nu radʒjə pəchavi padju che *2 Sam 16:8*
   You Saul of **kingdom digested** have

   'You have devoured Saul's kingdom'

   Conceptual Metaphor: KINGDOM IS FOOD

The target domain is KINGDOM. The aspect of FOOD that is mapped on to the target domain is that of consumption followed by digestion. The kingdom was devoured completely. The function of digestion is to break the food particles down. The kingdom was similarly broken and consumed. The kingdom was not only taken over by the enemy but was eaten and part by part broken down just as food is broken down during the process of digestion.

3.2. *Ripe and Mature*

4. to ətjare eno səməj pakjo che *2 Sam 3:18*
   Hence now his **time ripen** is

   'His time has come'

   Conceptual Metaphor: TIME IS FOOD

The target domain is TIME. Edible items, particularly fruits are considered edible and ready when ripe. These aspects of being good and ready for consumption are being mapped on to the target domain TIME. The time is good for the person. TIME is not something that can physically be seen.

Hence in order to comprehend its appropriateness or readiness it is conceptualized as a ripe fruit that is considered good and ready (an edible item).

5. əmne pakki khəbər mədi həti
Jos 9:24

We **ripe** **news** obtain had

'We have received definite information'

6. te kjan səntajo che teni pakki
He where hide do of that **ripe**
təpas kəro *1 Sam 23:23*
find do

'Find out the definite place where he hides'

Conceptual metaphor: INFORMATION IS FOOD

The target domain is NEWS or INFORMATION. Edible items, particularly fruits, are considered having reached their final, definite stage of growth when they ripen. This aspect of reaching a final, definite stage is mapped on to the target domain INFORMATION. When a piece of information is conceptualized as ripe and attaining the final definite stage it is perceived as being a piece of information or news that the hearer can rely on or be sure of. It is the final, definite end result that the hearer was expecting.

7. məne em kəhevama avju ke te
I that spoken came that **he**
bəhu pakko che *1 Sam 23:22*
very **ripe** is

'I am told he is a cunning person'

Conceptual Metaphor: CHARACTER IS FOOD

The target domain is PERSON or CHARACTER of a person. The aspect of an edible item, particularly a fruit being ripe is mapped on to the target domain. To ripen indicates maturity. By mapping this aspect of the fruit on to the target domain is to indicate that the person is ripe, is a matured person. Along with the aspect of maturity (of a fruit) also comes the aspect of having aged. And when this aspect gets mapped on to the character of the person it stands to indicate a mind or character that has grown and has aged. A mature person lives by values and principles. These values and principles may also include deceitfulness. By mapping ripeness, maturity and aging to the character one conceptualizes the person as also possessing deceitfulness in the context of the given data.

3.3. *Taste*

8. maru nəʃi: b kədvu
My **destiny/fate** **bitter**
bənavju che *Ruth 1:20*
made is

'He made my fate bitter'

Conceptual metaphor: FATE IS FOOD

The target domain is FATE or DESTINY. The aspect of taste is brought forth when fate is conceptualized as food or edible item. Bitter is not a taste that is usually preferred by people. Bitter is also considered as not being good. Fate is made bitter which means fate now is something that has become undesirable or a dislike towards it has been created. A food item either is bitter due to the presence of certain ingredients or it may be just the way it is. Fate is made bitter due to the presence or absence of certain

circumstances or people. The aspect of bitterness is mapped on to fate being unfavourable or bad.

9. təmari dəʃa dʒoine maru mənn khatu
   Your state see my **mind sour**
   thəj gəju che *Ruth 1:13*
   become gone is
   'My heart/ mind pains to see your state of life'
   Conceptual Metaphor: HEART/MIND IS FOOD

The target domain is HEART or MIND. Food items turn sour or bad due to the presence of something else around it or within its environment. In most cultures food items turning sour (of a food item) would indicate to turn bad or become spoilt. The aspect of turning sour of a food item is mapped on to the mind as turning in to having a bad feeling, a feeling of sadness or grief to some extent. The heart or mind can undergo change. This means the feelings that we attribute to arise from the heart or mind undergo change of state.

10. khərekhər məut kevu kədvu che
    1 Sam 15:32
    Indeed **death** how **bitter** is
    'Indeed death is bitter'
    Conceptual Metaphor: DEATH IS FOOD

The target domain is DEATH. Bitter taste is mapped on to the target domain death. Bitter taste is not preferred or considered bad. Many consider bitter to be unfit for consumption. Death is also seen as something bad that happens to people or is an undesirable end. Death is the absence of life; it leaves behind a sad feeling just as a food item would leave behind a bad taste in ones mouth. Bitter taste triggers our senses and thus this conceptual metaphor allows us to comprehend death and the pain it causes.

4. Text in translation

The Bible translators in all instances do justice to the work of translation. They try to keep very close to the original meaning of the central text that is being translated. Hence I decided to take a look at the English version of the examples given above:

1. Swear to me by the Lord
2. You have been defeated by the Israelites
3. You reigned over Saul's kingdom
4. Now then bring it about
5. Because it was told to your servants for a certainty
6. Come back to me with sure information
7. I am told he is very crafty/cunning
8. The Almighty has dealt bitterly with me
9. It has been far more bitter for me
10. Surely this is the bitterness of death (NRSV, Bible 1990)

The translators have kept very close to the meaning of these sentences and brought out the essence of the text. The conceptual metaphors as we see belong to the Gujarati language and speakers. It allows us to look in to the way a Gujarati language speaker perceives the world and conceptualizes meaning.

5. Conclusion

IDEA AS FOOD has been the conceptual metaphor that we would find in many cultures (Berrada 2007). GOOD TEMPERAMENT IS SWEET, LEARNING IS EATING, BELEIVING IS SWALLOWING, and UNDER-STANDING IS DIGESTING are some of the conceptual metaphors found in Classical Arabic (Quranic Arabic) (Berrada 2007). In this attempt to study the historical books of the Old Testament Gujarati Translation of the Bible I have found some different Target domains. The target domains PROMISE and DEFEAT are conceptualized as FOOD and the concept of consuming or ingesting is mapped on to the target. The target domain KINGDOM is conceptualized as an edible item that can be digested or broken down in to smaller parts. The target domains TIME, INFORMATION and CHARACTER (of a person) are conceptualized in terms of RIPENESS and MATUARITY of a fruit. The aspects of being RIPE and MATURE indicate having reached the final or definite stage in the growth of the person or information received. The target domains FATE, DESTINY and DEATH are conceptualized in terms of TASTE, where bitterness indicates a state of sadness, dislike and unfavourable situation. FOOD as source domain thus is not only restricted to the various concepts of cooking but also has a rich dimension that contributes through taste, ripeness and digestion. The data has been collected from the Gujarati Bible which is a translation of the English Bible. The translation does not lose the essence or the meaning of the original text rather it beautifully brings out the meaning through the various conceptual metaphors that are a part of the Gujarati language.

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A CROSS-GENERATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE NARRATIVES OF THE KOKNI DIASPORA COMMUNITY IN CAPE TOWN

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Abstract

The Indian diaspora in South Africa is made up historically of indentured and passenger Indians, and their numerous descendants today (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2009).Among the passenger Indians, the Kokni diaspora of Muslims took place from the Konkan region in India roughly since the end of the 19th century. The initial migrations came about through close-knit extended family networks in the villages in the Konkan region. The Kokni community in Cape Town today have maintained links with their Indian heritage through these networks.

Drawing on data collected in the course of fieldwork in Cape Townin South Africa, this paper will discuss the narratives of the Kokni diaspora community as recounted by old and young speakers. The focus of the analysis in this paper will be the structure of these narratives, following Labov and Waletzky's (1967) framework of Personal Experience Narratives.

Keywords: Diaspora, Kokni in Cape Town, narrative analysis, cross-generational perception, space

Introduction

The dense networks of the British empire, and the improved means to travel greatly motivated and facilitated overseas Indian migration in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The opportunities offered in the distant parts of the empire drew a large number of Indians who moved to various parts of the world, sometimes to create permanent settlements of Indian origin in those parts. One of the major centres that attracted Indians migrants was South Africa. Two types of movements of Indians to South Africa have been identified in the literature, classified as indentured and passenger migrants. The recruitment of indentured labourers as plantation workers in the sugar plantations has established a strong Indian presence in Natal. The other type of migration to South Africa, in which the migrants paid their own passage to South Africa has been classified as 'passenger Indian' migration (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2014). Unlike the indentured labourers who

were bound by contracts, the passenger Indians had a greater degree of control over their movement. Among the Indian diaspora in South Africa, the Kokni community, classified as 'passenger Indians' in the literature, has been in Cape Town for over more than a century. Starting with menial jobs, the early migrants worked hard to establish businesses like grocery shops, butchery shops etc. (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2009) Map 1 shows the location of the sending areas in India in the Raigad and Ratnagiri districts of the state of Maharashtra in India. Nature of the Kokni migration to South Africa is discussed in section 2 of this paper.

The focus of this paper is to examine whether there has beena cross-generational shift in the feeling of belongingness towards India in the Kokni community in South Africa (Henceforth, KCT). To examine this, narratives obtained from the interviews conducted in data-collection trips to Cape Town in South Africa are analyse demploying Labov and Waletzky's framework (1967).

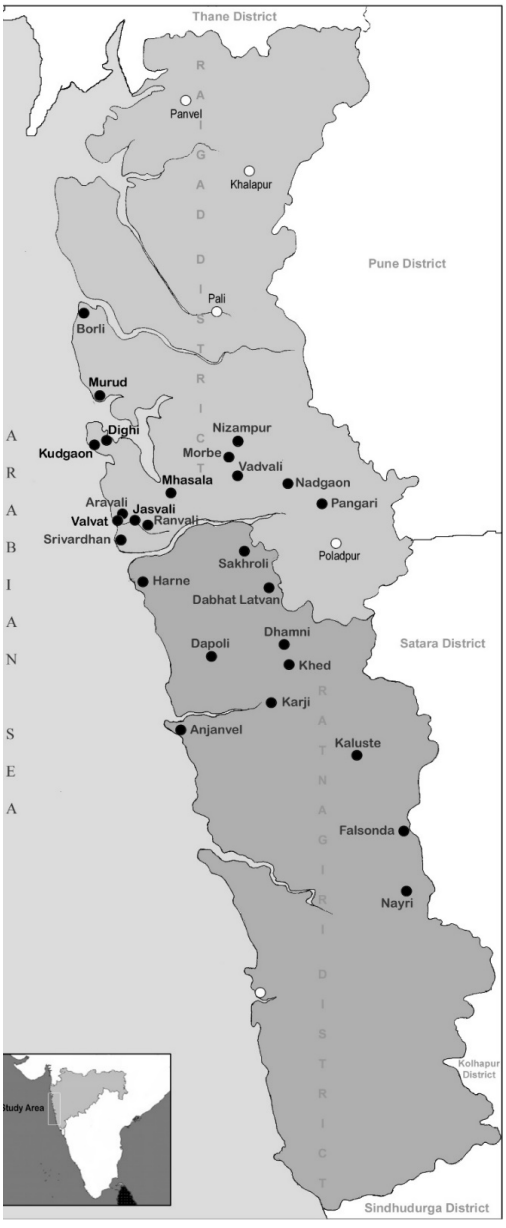
Nature of the Kokni migration

The Kokni migration has been discussed briefly in the literature on the passenger migration. Bhana and Brain note that in Cape Town, vast numbers of Indians were mainly Muslim passenger workers (Bhana and Brain,1990). Bradlow stated that Indians in the Cape Colony are 'exclusively from passenger origin' and that they almost exclusively become traders and shopkeepers (Bradlow,1979). The migration was characterized by chain or circular migration, in which people from poor agricultural villages followed the example of their kin and village network. (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2009).

Kokni Muslims migrated to South Africa to better the economic conditions back home in India, and in the early years they preferred not establishing families there as it increased the living costs. The goal of the earlier migrants was to permanently return to India after retirement, after ensuring that their son was settled in the business in Cape Town. In the early years, only young sons and nephews were taken to Cape Town. This became more and more difficult with the introduction of new immigration laws, and slowly the Kokni Muslims started establishing families in Cape Town. Their lives in Cape Town altered with the introduction of the group areas act of 1950 in South Africa, after which all Indians were forced to relocate to an area designated to them along with the local coloured population. Even today, most of the population of Indian origin in Cape Town is mostly based in the suburban area of Rylands in Cape Town.

The villages of origin hold a special significance for this community. Being a Muslim community, intermarriages within the family had always been a common custom. Such marriages established very strong networks of extended families in the villages in India. The migrations to South Africa came about through such networks. Young sons and nephews followed their elders to help in the businesses that were established and were rapidly growing in

Map 1: The sending areas in the Kokan in the state of Maharashtra in India



Source: S. Kulkarni-Joshi, R. Mesthrie and S. Pradhan (2017).

South Africa. The close social networks ensured that if one person came back to India for a while, his business was taken care of until he returned. It in fact became a norm to work for a few years in South Africa, then come back to the village for two or three years, and then go back-a pattern described as 'circular migration' in the literature (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2014). After the retirement, the business was passed over to the son, and the rest of the years were spent in India. This pattern declined gradually over the years, probably owing to the changes in the immigration laws that brought about many restrictions on free movement, but it ensured that ties with the Indian families and villages never weakened for the KCT community.

Methodology

In this paper, some data collected with the purpose of documenting the language spoken by the diaspora community in Cape Town is analysed. The fieldwork was undertaken majorly in September 2016 with follow up data-collection in May 2017 and November 2017. The narratives analysed in this paper were recorded in order to collect samples of the Kokni language across three age groups which were >60 (as the old age group), 40-60 (as the middle age group), and <40 (the young age group). This paper specifically focusses on the narratives in the old and the young age groups. In this paper excerpts from the interviews of six fluent speakers of Kokni are examined. The speakers whose narratives are analysed will be referred to as o1 (old speaker 1, female), o2 (old

speaker 2, male), o3 (old speaker 3, male), y1 (young speaker 1, female), y2 (young speaker 2, male) and y3 (young speaker 3, female) in the paper.

Extracts from the interviews of these speakers will be examined in this paper. The narratives taken for this purpose were told by the interviewees in response to these two questions:

1. Who in your family first came to Cape Town and where were your parents and grandparents born?
2. Describe your experience of your visit to India.

Thus, there are two kinds of narratives in this paper. First, the recounted retelling of the experiences of their previous generation in response to the first question. Second, the recounting of their own experiences of their visits to India in response to the second question.

The scope of this paper is restricted to the themes mentioned above, and thus the paper has a few limitations. The main purpose of these interviews was to collect samples of the Kokni language spoken in Cape Town. Questions (1) and (2) were chosen so as to generate continuous speech in Kokni, and the respondents were aware that the focus of the interviews was their language and not the narrative itself. The questions were expected to give a general direction in which anything in Kokni could be narrated.Thus, some of the excerpts do not constitute narration of a single story with a temporal sequence of events. Nevertheless, all excerpts are recreations of some memory in the past, and they provide rich details sufficient enough for this study. Also, it has been noted previously that the Kokni language is rarely used in social circles in the KCT community, English and Afrikaans being the main languages of communication in the community now (Mesthrie et. al. 2017). This paper is, however, restricted to narratives in Kokniand data from neither of the other two languages is taken into consideration here.

The aim of this paper is to examine the differences in the structure of the narratives of the young and the old speakers on the themes mentioned in (1) and (2). However, special attention will be given to the content of the narratives as well. The structure of the responses to (1) and (2) above not only carries information about the KCT community members' ways of constructing their stories, but also offers a glimpse into the shifting dynamics of their feelings towards India, their perceived native country as a diaspora community. Thus, for any observable differences in the structure, this paper will try to ascertain if the content of the narratives play any role. The framework for this analysis is adopted from Labov and Waletzky (1967) with some further concepts taken from Johnston's (1990) work along similar lines. A brief overview of this framework is given in section 4.

The personal experience Narratives framework

Labov and Waletzky (1967) proposed a formal way to analyse the principle elements of a simple narrative in their work on personal experience narratives (PEN). Fourteen stories about dangerous or

embarrassing personal experiences collected in Martha's Vineyard form the basis of their paper, in which they identify six elements in the structure of a narrative: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. Among these, the elements of orientation and evaluation are of interest for the purpose of this paper. Orientation refers to the free clauses that serve to orient the listener in respect to person, place, time and behavioural situation. Evaluation in the narrative structures refers to elements that state or underscore what is interesting or unusual about the story, why the audience should keep listening and allow the teller to keep talking (Labov and Waletzky,1967).

The PEN framework enables us to examine the form of narratives. A further study on narratives of interest for this paper is by Johnstone (1990), whoin her work on narratives of the Fort Wayne population draws on the PEN framework. She explores the structure of narratives in order to understand the relationship between place and community. She observes that in their stories, For Wayne residents use a lot of extra details to describe places, people and time. She calls these details extrathematic details, and defines the concept with the following two criteria. First, extrathematic detail is not relevant to the story's plot and does not reappear in the plotline of the story. Second, extrathematic detail constitutes new information for the story's audience. She proposes two explanations for the presence of these details in the Fort Wayne stories. One, that the stories are expected to be seen as factual, and these details produce that quality into the narratives. Storytelling in Fort Wayne is almost in the form of monologue, and the listeners are not expected to ask questions during narration. Her second explanation is that, this overspecification of details is done by the narrator in anticipation of confusion in such a storytelling practice. She describes this as an addition of the 'local colour' in the stories of Fort Wayners. She observes that narrative conventions are tied to places and community identities. She remarks,

Just as narrative structures our sense of self and our interaction with others, our sense of place and community is rooted in narration. A person is at home in a place when the place evokes stories, and, conversely, stories can serve to create places. In an important sense, a community of speakers is a group of people who share previous stories, or conventions for making stories, and who jointly tell new stories. (Johnstone, 1990)

In this paper, Labov and Waletzky's (1967) framework is primarily used to describe the structure of KCT narratives. Of interest in this paper will be the clauses that constitute the orientation section and the evaluation elements in the narratives of old and young speakers of Kokni. The concept of extrathematic details in Johnstone's (1990) work is also useful to elaborate of the structure of these narratives. The KCT community is a diaspora community, and while socially and legally bound to one place, it is ethnically tied to another. Thus, the relation between narratives and places becomes interesting, and is explored through a cross generational examination of narratives.

The inherited stories: Recounting family history

The entire migration process being closely tied to family networks, those networks are the reference point for India for the members of the KCT community who have spent most of their life in Cape Town. The migration being relatively recent, most of the KCTs are aware of the migration history of their family handed down to them by their parents/grandparents. In this section, four suchnarratives of migration-related experiences in which the respondents recount their family history will be examined.

In narratives A and B, an old speaker o1 and a young speaker y1 speak about their parents and grandparents who came to Cape Town. In narratives C and D, another old speaker o2 and another young speaker y2 speak about their grandfather building a house in India.

Narrative A

1. te tjanʃi ʃadi dzəjli
   They got married
2. ani məng tithe mulkhanljan tjanʃi ʃadi dzəjli
   And then there in India they got married
3. məng məmi baba bi nanasəngət pərət kep ʈəunla əjle
   Then mother and father came back with my grandfather to Cape Town
4. ani mənga ami səgli amʧi madzi bhavs bhəjnisə ami aʈ pora həu
   And then we all siblings, we are eight children
5. sə pori, don porge maʤja məmiʧe
   My mother has six daughters, and two sons
6. ani amʧi pəidaiʃ kep ʈəunʧi
   And we were born in Cape Town
7. maʤja babaʧe nana-nani kep ʈəunʧe hote
   My father's grandparents were in Cape Town
8. ani maʤja məmiʧe ajs bapus mulkhanʧe hote
   And my mother's parents were from India
9. ani maʤja nanaʧa ghər, maʤja məmmiʧja babaʧa ghər ek khəl road həj na, rəsto
   And my grandfather's house, my mother's father's house, there is a road no,
10. əni hite rəsto həj hite maʤja nanaʧa, babaʧa ghər te dabəʈla
    And here is the road, here my grandfather's, father's house that is at Dabat
11. ani maʤja məmmiʧja babaʧa ghər samne hota, te laʈvən hota
    And right in front was my mother's father's house, that was Latvan
12. amne samneʧe neighbours hote
    They were opposite side neighbours
13. It was just like how we are sitting now, here's my mother's parents' house and there was my nana's house

Narrative B

1. maʤe grandfatherʧe baba əjle hote
   My grandfather's father had come
2. South riverla hote, dukanhota
   He was at south river, he had a shop
3. grandfatherʧa pən dukan hota and tjaʧa ɖɛɖiʧa pən dukan hota so all three generations dukan hota
   My grandfather also had a shop, and his father also had a shop. So all three generations had a shop.

In these two narratives, it can be observed that both speakers are recounting

information that they have heard from their parents/grandparents. However, while the narrative by the old speaker gives a concrete description of the places involved, orienting the listener to a visualization of the story of her parents who got married in India, the narrative by the younger speaker provides only the necessary information.

In clause A13, the speaker switches to English even though she is a fluent speaker of Kokni. English and Afrikaans have now become the preferred languages of social communication in the KCT community (Mesthrie et. al. 2017), and thus it is not surprising that the speaker switches to a more commonly used language. However, it is worth noting that while she is aware that the story is being recorded in order to gather samples of her Kokni speech, she switches to English in the flow of narrating the story. Thus, the act of narration itself has overtaken the primary purpose of the narration.

The next two passages describe the recounted narratives about a typical phenomenon in the Kokni diaspora. Building a house in the village of origin was a common practice, and is reported in Mesthrie et. al.(Mesthrie et. al. 2017). In the first narrative, speaker o2 shows a photograph of his family house in India and describes it

Narrative C

1. he amʧa ghar
   This is our house
2. he bandla gela hota ghar, 1949la
   It was built in 1949
3. amʧe dada, tyanʧi don barki ghəra hoti ti koslun he ghər bandlen
   Our grandfather, he demolished his two small houses and built this one
4. ek dis apljala pakat dharlen həja, aplja sagljala hou ʃəkte tja khəjalan
   If one day they send us to Pakistan, this will be a home to us all, with this thought in mind
5. 1949ʧi mi bat kərtav ata
   I am speaking of the year 1949

Though he has visited India only three times in his entire life, he calls the house 'amʧa ghar' our home. He thinks that the intention of his grandfather in building the home was to build a safe place of refuge if the family was sent to Pakistan. He emphasizes this by telling the interviewer, the year in which it was built, around the time of the partition of India.

Whereas the young speaker y2 narrates

Narrative D

1. Grandfather pəjljan əjlo Afrikəla
   Grandfather came first to Africa
2. ţachapən dukan hota
   He also had a shop
3. to məng pərat mulkhãt gelo gawala
   Then he went back to the village
4. thətə ghər bandlan
   He built a house there
5. ţala vatla, mhorə məg ţachi pora pən səgli jetiv
   He thought that all his kids will come back later
6. Never happens

Following Johnstone, (1990), it can be observed that the older speakers use a lot of extrathematic details in their narratives. In the first set of the narratives (A and B), the extrathematic details in the speech of

o1 are mainly spatial which are intended at orienting the listener in the story that she is recounting. The narrative by y1 lacks any such orientation. In the second set of narratives (C and D), both the narrators add evaluative elements in clauses C4 and C5, and D5 and D6. The mere information that the house was built is not deemed enough, and the purpose of building the house is stated by both of them. However, narrative by the old speaker o2 is richer in extra thematic detail than the narrative by y2 since he gives the exact year of building the house, as well as details of its construction.

Visits to India: Recounting personal history

In this section, narratives by three speakers who recount their visit to India, and the days that they had spent there will be examined. Out of these, two are by young speakers y1 and y3, and one by an old speaker o3.

When young speakers speak about their experience of their village, they often describe them in terms of the activities they did there, and the family members they met there. Speaker y2 describes his visit to India as if it constitutes a single event, described without any particular sequence of activities. His narrative lacks any element of orientation.

Narrative E

1. mhəjnobhər hoto
   I was there for a month
2. əʤun jad haj
   I still remember
3. cricket khelət hotu
   (We) used to play cricket
4. khana mop bes ha
   Food was really nice
5. mulkhatla khana number one
   The food in India is first-rate
6. əʤun jad haj but ti ghər əʤun naj
   I remember, but not that house
7. ʤunna həj səgla
   It is all old
8. kon həj naj bəgjala
   No one is there to care for it
9. you know it's very neglected
10. I can vaguely remember, but not that much

Speaker y3 starts with a clause that serves as orientation in her narrative, but later, she switches to the description of the activities that they did in India.

Narrative F

1. təva ami gelu hotu ɖɛɖi ən tetʃo bhavs an səgli pora so ami əkra ʤəna hotu
   That time we had visited India, with Daddy and his brother and all kids, we were eleven people.
2. təva kəisa ghəratljan gərəm pani naj so pani kəisa gərəm kərja hot hota
   That time there was no hot water in the house, so we had to make it hot
3. And məg səgljala nhaja time milət hota
   And then everyone was allotted time to bathe
4. ek ʤai ehala ek ʤai əkrala
   One used to go at ten, one at eleven
5. so təisa hota
   So it was like that

The stories of visits to India by the younger speakers may not necessarily involve a temporal sequence of events as can be observed in both these narratives.

When the old speakers talk about their visits to India, they typically contextualize it in terms of their first experience of coming to the village. Many of the interviewees in the more than sixty age group remember having spent a few years in India in their childhood. The custom prevalent at that time was to send the children born here to stay for a few years in India, so that they would learn the Indian culture. An interviewee, o3,describes how when he went to India for the first time as a child, his grandmother did a ritual of sprinkling water to ward off any evil influence of the sea.

Narrative G

1. mulakhat geljanantar aʤis ni amchyavar pani uɾavlan
   After going to India, grandmother sprinkled water on us
2. Africaʧi gelelo amala mhajti naj tjanʧi kaj paddət haj te
   We had gone from Africa, we didn't know what their custom was
3. mhənla pani uɾəvtat uɾvun ghjajʧa məngnə mhajti kaɾu ka pani uɾəvtat te
   So I thought, if they are sprinkling water, let us get sprinkled. Later we will find out why they are doing this.
4. ami mhajti karli tar tjat darjo utaraj
   We found out later, that she had taken the sea down
5. dərjaʃi ami gelu na, agboʈini
   Because we went by crossing the sea, by boat
6. karən ki indijaʧa əsə həj ki musəlmanaʧi hinduʧi pəddəti, culture həj is all together
   Because it is like this in India, Muslim and Hindu customs are similar
7. thali bili gheun əjli hoti dərjo utərjala
   She came with a plate and all, to take down the sea
8. məng tithe geljanəntər amla gavaʧja ʃalət nelen
   Then after we went there, they took us to the village school
9. ti urdu medium pən hota ani məraʈhi pən ʃikəvət əsət
   It was Urdu medium, but they taught Marathi as well
10. pən mi kaj khas məraʈhi ʃiklo naj, ekuʧ vərsa titə hoto
    I didn't learn much Marathi though, I was there only for a year
11. məng urdu skulla vəɾlani paʈəvlen, dapoli hajskulla
    Then my father sent me to the Urdu school, to Dapoli high school
12. ani tjaʧjanəntər məng Indian ʤəjlo mi ʧəʈni khajla laglo
    And after that, I became an Indian I started eating chutney
13. maʤe baba boljache Indiaʧi ʧəʈni khalljaʃivaj əkkəl jet naj
    My father used to say, you won't be wise until you have eaten India's chutney

He calls the sprinkling of water 'tjanʧi paddət' *their custom* and with that expression, he establishes himself in this story as a South African who is visiting India for the first time. The custom of 'darjo utərna' which literally means 'taking down the sea', must have developed for the people returning home after crossing the sea, indicating that this was a regular experience at that time. Later, this speaker stayed in India for a few years. He acknowledges

the Indian identity he acquired later in his narrative (clause 12) and more specifically with the evaluative element 'ʧəʈni khajla laglo' which outwardly has nothing to do with India. The significance of eating chutney is immediately explained in the next sentence. This saying is reiterated by many people of his age in their narratives. It must have originated when Kokni families were already established in South Africa, and sending South Africa born children to India for a few years was becoming a norm. The older interviewees often recall the *chutney* saying, thus encoding in the language the custom prevalent at that time in the community.

The narrative by the old speaker is structured in a way to keep the listener interested. It is full of evaluative details, as can be observed in clauses 3, 6, 12 and 13.

Narratives away from India: memories of growing up in Cape Town

In the previous two sections, it could be observed that narratives of the older speakers are structurally more detailed than the younger speakers when describing their experiences about India. However, it was observed in the data, that narratives of younger KCT speakers were not devoid of these details altogether.

While talking about other topics and experiences, they were as articulate as old speakers. Narrative H told by speaker y1 given below is an example of this. She describes her experience of growing up as a child in a KCT family that owned a shop.

Narrative H

1. maʤe ɖɛɖiʃi dukan hota, kensingʈənla dukan hota
   My father had a shop, a shop in Kensington
2. dukan fuʈə əni amʧa ghər məngti hota
   Shop was in front, and our house was behind it.
3. ami ghəratlan rhet hotiv
   We used to stay in the house.
4. əni ɖɛɖi lokanʧa dukan fuʈe hota
   And daddy (and people in his generation) used to have their shop in front.
5. maʤja səsraʧis pən dukanuʧ hota
   My father-in-law also had a shop
6. ghər həj məngti an dukan fuʈə
   House in the back, shop in front
7. nhan dukan hota ani thətə kəisi ami sandwiches pən ikət hotu
   It was a small shop, and you know, we used to sell sandwiches as well
8. ʃalet ami ʤaun ʃalenʃi əjlu and tja lokana amʧi mədət dukanatljan lagli ki ami dukanatljan
   After coming back from school, and if they required help in the shops, then we would be in the shop
9. pəʈna biʈna buka bika homework bimwork səgla dukanatljan kərət hotu
   Reading, books, homework, everything we used to do in the shops.
10. təva kəisa attaʧi porã sangtil ami naj jet
    At that time it was like, now kids will tell you, we won't come
11. ami naj amʧja vəʈlala bolət ami naj jenar
    We couldn't tell our elders, we won't come

The speaker uses six clauses (H1 to H6) to describe her house that had a grocery

shop in front, and house in the back. She provides an orientation for this memory, telling the exact location of the shop, and using directions like front and back. She also gives many extrathematic details in these clauses- that this was a typical pattern of a KCT household (clause H4), that her father-in-law also had a shop (clause H5), and repetition of the same information (H6). The evaluative clauses H10 and H11 contextualize her memory in contrast to the behaviour of today's generation kids, thereby emphasizing the significance of what happened in her generation. The experience described in this excerpt is unique to the KCT community, thus beingessentially associated with the ethnic background of the narrator. However, it is tied to her experience in Cape Town, unlike the others in India, and is more elaborately narrated.

Conclusion

The cross-generational narratives of individuals of a community contain information about various phases in the history of the migration, customs and norms followed in the period in which the event being narrated had occurred, and perceptions of the narrator, and the experiencer of the event. In this paper, seven narratives of the members of the KCT diaspora community related to the themes of their family history and their visits to India were examined with a further eighth narrative not related to these themes. The main focus of this analysis was the structure of these narratives. It can be clearly observed, that the orientation in the structure of the narratives recounted by the old speakers is detailed, whereas the narratives of the younger speakers show little or no orientation in the first seven narratives. The narrationby the old speakers is rich in extrathematic details, which provide concreteness to their narratives. The younger speakers provide the necessary information in their narratives with an occasional evaluative component, but may, however, lack a concrete temporal sequence or spatial descriptions when narrating about the themes described here.

It can be observed in the first seven excerpts that the older speakers are more articulate than the younger speakers. In response to the questions pertaining to India, it is clear in these excerpts that when compared with the old speakers, the younger speakers employ a reduced narrative structure. Since the younger speakers are fluent Kokni speakers, the possibility of their language proficiency hampering their articulation can be ruled out. Moreover, it can be seen that it is possible to find narratives by the younger speakers that include the components of orientation and evaluation when they are prompted to talk about some other topics than the ones asked here. Thus, it can be argued that the reduced structure in the narratives of younger speakers pertaining to the experiences in India shows a diminished emotional connect with the native land. As can especially be seen in section 5, all respondents are merely reporting what they have heard from their parents and grandparents, so it can be presumed that the emotional connect with the story that

ã

they narrate is not significantly different for these age groups and yet the differences in the structure are noticeable.

In this paper, through the analysis of the narrative structure, a cross-generational shift in the feeling of belongingness towards India among the KCT diaspora community has been demonstrated. Narratives about India, in case of the older speakers are rooted in the actual geographical space of their native land. Such rootedness is absent in the narratives of younger speakers. It has also been observed, that rather than the age group, the content of the narratives dictates the narrative structure. Emotionally distant topics will render a reduced narrative structure.

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A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF CAUSAL CONJUNCTIONS *mhəṇun* AND *kara* IN MARATHI AND JAPANESE

Satomi Chida

Abstract

The present study investigates the structure, meaning, and use of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses based on Role and Reference Grammar [hereafter, RRG].Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* are subordinating conjunctions of the causal clause, which indicate *because or therefore* in English. The main discussion of this paper is to clarify whether the structure and function of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses are similar from a typological point of view.To solve this question, I provide the basic description of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* clauses and analyse the syntactic and semantic structure of *mhəṇun* and *kara* clauses based on the RRG theory. There are three observations; i) the causal *mhəṇun* and *kara* are classified as subordination type, ii) the logical structure of both conjunctions is Result type, and iii) there are differences in the flexibility and usages between Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara*.

Key Words: Adverbial Clause, Causal Conjunction, Role and Reference Grammar, Contrastive Analysis

Introduction

This paper examines the structure, meaning, and use of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses based on Role and Reference Grammar [hereafter, RRG]. The main discussion of this paper is to clarify whether the structure and function of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses are similar from a typological point of view. Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* are subordinating conjunctions of the causal clause, which indicate *because* or *therefore* in English. Though Marathi and Japanese are geographically and genetically separated, there are some similarities in the structure of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses from a typological point of view. Chida (forthcoming) points out that Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses can occur sentence initially/ finally depending on the discourse. I assume that *mhəṇun* and *kara* are similar in structural and semantic point of view. When *mhəṇun* occurs in the final position of adverbial clauses, it functions as a causal subordinator. Causal *mhəṇun* is used when the speaker wants to emphasize

the reason for the result. Japanese *kara* causal particleis also used in the same way as in Marathi.

For this research, I employ Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) as an analytical framework. The RRG theory explains grammatical structure taking into account its semantic and communicative functions (the details are explained in section 2). We expect to observe similarities and differences more clearly and objectively by comparing these conjunctions through a typological framework.

The organization of this paper is as follows. In section 2, we introduce the theoretical framework, i.e. RRG. Section 3 describes the structural and semantic characteristics of causal clauses with RRG theory. 3.1 is a description of Marathi *mhəṇun* clause and 3.2 is a description of Japanese *kara* clauses. Lastly, in Section 4, we discuss the similarities and differences between Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses based on the result of the analysis and conclude the present study.

Theoretical framework: Role and reference grammar

RRG was introduced by Foley and Van Valin (1984). This theory is defined as a 'structural-functionalist theory of grammar' (Van Valin, 1993:1); it indicates a continuum of perspectives ranging from extreme formalist to radical functionalist.

The important component of the theory of complex sentences is the set of possible syntactic and semantic relations between the units at a *juncture*. *Juncture* refers to the three levels of syntactic units, i.e. *nucleus, core* and *clause.*The *nucleus* is a primary constituent unit of the clause which contains a predicate, the *core* contains the nucleus and the arguments of the predicate, the *periphery* is an adjunct to the core and subsumes non-arguments of the predicate, and *clause* is a combination of these three units as in figure 1.

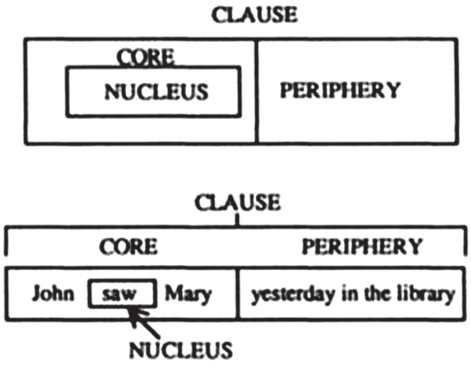

Figure 1: Nucleus, Core, and Periphery
(Van Valin, 1993:5)

In Figure 1.b, the verb saw is the nucleus, the clause *John saw Mary* is core, and the adjunct *yesterday in the library* is a periphery. In this way, RRG considers grammar as a layered structure. The syntactic relations between units are called nexus relations. RRG posits three nexus relations between clauses in complex sentences(*coordination, cosubordination,* and *subordination)* as in Figure 2. The subordination involves the embedding of one unit in another, and the embedded unit does not normally have the form of independent main clauses.

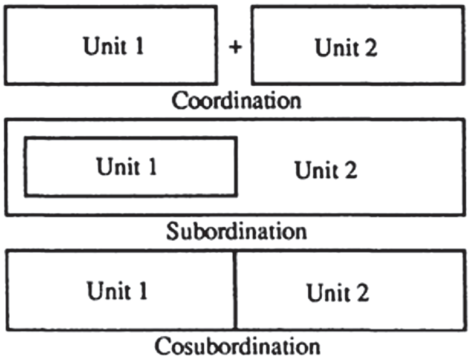

Figure 2: Coordination, Subordination, and Cosubordination in RRG (Van Valin,1993:106)

(1) a. *Susan woke up early, and Mary overslept*
b. *Mary saw John after she arrived at the party.*
c. *John tried to wash the car.*

The sentence (1a) is an example of coordination because two independent sentences *Susan woke up early* and *Mary overslept* are linked by the conjunction *and*. Even if we exchange the order of first and second clauses, the whole meaning is not affected. According to Olson (1981), coordination is "a whole-whole equivalence relation where the conjuncts are of comparable status". The sentence (1b) is an example of subordination because there is no sharing of an argument between the two nuclei *saw* and *arrive*, but instead, one of the cores *Mary saw John* functions as an argument of the matrix core. According to Olson (1981), Subordination is "a part-whole non-equivalence relation where one conjunct is embedded as a constituent of the other. Sentence (1c) is an example of cosubordination because there are two different cores, in which the two nuclei, *tried* and *wash* share one argument *John*, and as it is a cosubordination nexus, both cores must also share the relevant operators for a core juncture. According to Olson, cosubordination is "a part-whole equivalence relation where conjuncts of comparable status constitute the whole (Olson: 1981)".

Next, we introduce the heart of the RRG approach, i.e., *lexical representation*. The system of lexical representation is based on Vendler's (1967) *Aktionsart* classification of verbs, which are a. *state*, b. *activity*, c. *achievement* and d. *accomplishment* as in Table 1.The lexical representation of a verb or other predicate is termed as *Logical Structure* [LS].

Table1. Vendler's Classification of verbs

Verb Class	Example	Logical Structure
a. State	Yash is a doctor.	**Predicate'** (x, y) = **be'** (Yash, [doctor])
b. Activity	Ram drinks chai	**do'** (x, [**Predicate'** (x) or (x, y)])=**do'** (Ram, [**drink'** (Ram, Chai)])
c. Achievement	Neha noticed the message.	**INGR(ESSIVE) do'** (x) or (x, y)=**INGR see'** (Neha,message)
d. Accomplishment	Raj learns Japanese.	**BECOME do'** (x.y) = **BECOME know'** (Raj, Japanese)

In the Table, (a) the LS of *State* is represented as Predicate' (x, y). For instance, the sentence (a.)*Yash is a doctor* describes the status of *Yash*. Hence, LS of the sentence (a.) is be' (*Yash*, [*doctor*]). (b) LS of *Activity* is represented asdo'

(x, [Predicate' (x) or (x, y)]). The example (b) *Ram drinks chai* describesthe action of *Ram*. Hence, LS of the sentence (b) is do' (Ram, [drink' (Ram, Chai)]).(c) LS of *Achievement* contains INGRESSIVE. Ingressive indicates the action that brings instantaneous change. The example (c) *Neha noticed the message* indicates that the situation changed instantaneously after Neha saw the message. Hence, LS of the sentence (c) is INGR see' (Neha, message). (d) LS of *Accomplishment* contains BECOME. BECOME indicates the action that changed the situation gently. The example (d) *Raj learns Japanese* describes the situation that Raj gradually gets to know the Japanese language through the action of learning. Hence, LS of the sentence (d) is BECOME know' (Raj, Japanese).

The logical structure is useful in considering the meaning of sentences. However, I think that languages with a different word order from English, such as Japanese and Marathi, may have different logical structures.

The semantic relations can be ordered into a hierarchy as in Figure 3. This semantic hierarchy interacts with the syntactic hierarchy of juncture-nexus types as there is an iconic relation between the semantics and syntax of clause linkage. The primary principle governing the interaction of the two hierarchies is the closer the semantic relation between two propositions is, the stronger the syntactic link joining them.

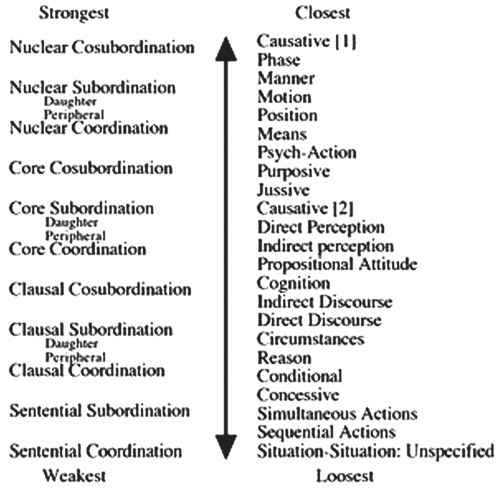

Figure 3: Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (Van Valin, 2005:11)

(2) a. *Sneha painted the table colourful.* (Causative[1])

b. *The baby cried because he was hungry.* (Reason)

c. *Before John had finished talking, Mary entered the restaurant, as soon as Sara sat down, the band began to play.* (Sequential Action)

(2a) is an example of Causative 1. The causative 1 brings one state of affairs directly by another state of affairs, usually an event or action. Hence, Causative1 is Nuclear Cosubordination. In sentence (2a), the action of Sneha paint brings the result that *the table becomes colourful.*

(2b) is an example of Reason. The reason is the motivation or cause of an action or event. Hence, the Reason clause is causal subordination. In sentence (2b), the situation *baby cry* is motivated by the reason *he was hungry.*

(2c) is an example of Sequential Action. The sequential state is one state of affairs that follows another temporally, with or without any temporal overlap. In sentence (2c), there are three situations sequentially happened. 1. *John talk*, 2. *Mary enters the room*,and 3. *Band plays*. All actions happen sequentially but no temporal overlap. Hence, this is Sentential Coordination.

According to RRG theory, Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* belong to Reason clause. In Figure 3, the Reason clause corresponds to between causal subordination and causal coordination. The present analysis will confirm where the Marathi and Japanese reason clauses come in IRH.

In sum, the logical structure is the lexical representation of a verb or other predicates. The semantic relations can be corresponded to syntactic relations as in Figure 3.In the next section, we will start analysing the similarities and differences of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses.

Application of RRG to Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* clauses

As mentioned in section 1, the main discussion of this paper is to clarify whether the structure and function of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses are similar from a typological point of view. To solve this question, first I describe structural and semantic characteristics of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses. Second, I examine the syntactic and semantic structure of *mhəṇun* and *kara* clauses based on the RRG theory. Finally, we compare and discuss the similarities and differences between Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* clauses.

Marathi mhəṇun

Basic description of *mhəṇun*: In Marathi, ***mhəṇun*** is a finite adverbial subordinator which means, *therefore*, *so* in English. Molesworth (1857) defines the word ***mhəṇun*** as:

1) Therefore, on that account, for that reason., 2) A remarkable but common expletive corresponding to in Hindustáni. It follows up and closes any particular affirmation or quantum of expressed meaning, rendering it distinct and prominent; and indicating that is the matter which is stated to have been said or done, or the whole subject of which, now, something is to be predicated (so in original, Molesworth,1857:396).

Sentence (3) is an example of *mhəṇun* causal clause. As shown in the sentence, *mhəṇun* is attached at the end of the causal clause. The conjunction *mhəṇun* functions as a glue of reason and result.

(3) Marathi

[[*paus*	*pad-l-a*	*mhəṇun*,]	
[[rain	fall-PERF-3MSG	cause,]	
	baher	*ge-l-e*	*nahi*.]
	out	go-PERF-1FSG	NEG.]

'Because it rained, (I) did not go out.'

mhəṇun is a polysemous morpheme that indicates not only the reason but also resultsand is used also as a discourse marker. The conjunction *mhəṇun* can occur in the initial/final position of the adverbial clauses, and clause itself also occurs sentence initially/finally as in (4), (5) and (6).

(4) Marathi *mhəṇun* initial position in a sentence-final clause. (Result)
[*tya-ne khup abhyas ke-l-a.* [***mhəun*** *tya-la A+ miḷa-l-ə.*]]
[he-ERG very much study do-PERF-3MSG. [**therefore** he-DAT A+ get-PERF-NSG.]]
'He studied very hard, therefore he got A+'

(5) Marathi *mhəṇun* in final position in a sentence-initial clause. (Cause)
[[*tya-ne khup abhyas ke-l-a* ***mhəṇun,***] *tya-la A+ miḷa-l-ə.*]
[[he-ERG very much study do-PERF-3MSG **cause,**] he-DAT A+ get-PERF-NSG.]
'Because he studied very hard, he got A+'

(6) Marathi *mhəṇun* in final position in a sentence-final clause. (Cause)
[*tya-la A+ miḷa-l-ə,* [*tya-ne khup abhyas ke-l-a* ***mhəṇun.***]]
[he-DAT A+ get-PERF-NSG, [he-ERG very much study do-PERF-3MSG **cause.**]]
'He got A+ because he studied very hard'

It is assumed that when *mhəṇun* occurs in the initial position of the subordinate clause, it indicates 'result' (therefore) as in sentence (4). On the other hand, when *mhəṇun* occurs in the final position of the subordinate clause, it means 'cause' (reason) as in sentences (5) and (6) .

Marathi has more variety of conjunctions which describes the causal event, such as *karəṇ* 'because', *mhəṇun* 'so/therefore' and *muḷe* 'so', etc. Sentences (7) to (9) are examples drawn from Dhongde, R. and Wali, K. (2009).

According to Dhongde and Wali (2009), *karəṇ* 'because' is a finite causal subordinator, *muḷe* 'so' is a Non-finite causal postposition, and *mhəṇun* 'so' is a finite reason subordinator. In the present paper, we focus on the grammatical and functional characteristics of the causal morpheme *mhəṇun*.

Structurally, the conjunction *mhəṇun* can be attached to various types of

(7) Marathi *karəṇ*
lili ušira a-l-i ***karəṇ*** *ti kam-at ho-t-i*
Lili late come-PERF-3FSG **because** she work-PP be-PST-FSG
'Lili came late because she was working.' (Dhongde, R. and Wali, K., 2009: 228)

(8) Marathi *muḷe*
*kam-at əsə-lya-**muḷe*** *lili ušira a-l-i*
work-PP be-PERF.OBL-**PP** Lili late come-PERF-FSG
'Being involved in work Lili came late.' (Dhongde, R. and Wali, K., 2009: 228)

(9) Marathi *mhəṇun*
lili kam-at ho-t-i ***mhəṇun*** *ušira a-l-i*
Lili work-PP be-PST-FSG so late come-PERF-FSG
'Because Lili was busy so she came late' (Dhongde, R. and Wali, K., 2009: 228)

grammatical categories, such as the perfective aspect (Sentence 5), volitional verb (Sentence 10), negation (Sentence 11), polite form (Sentence 12), and future tense (Sentence 13).This is because *mhəṇun* is an independent finite adverbial subordinator which can occur in initial/ final positions of the clauses. If we apply other causal conjunctions, such as *karəṇ* and *muḷe* in the same position as *mhəṇun*, it becomes ungrammatical.

(10) Marathi *mhəṇun* attached to the volitional verb.

[[*mulə-n-na*	*moṭhe*	*kar-ayce*	***mhəṇun*]**	*caŋgl-ya*	*šaḷ-e-t*	*ghat-l-e.*]
[[children-OBL-DAT	big	do-PRED-3NSG	**cause]**	good-OBL	School-OBL-LOC	put-PERF-3PL.]

'To raise children, we put them in a good school'.
(Esakal: https://www.esakal.com/pune/hsc-exam-result-rekha-shirsath-success-motivation-191290: 29th May 2019)

(11) Marathi *mhəṇun* attached to negation.

[[*300-rupi-yan-ca*	*hišob*	*di-l-a*	*nahi*	***mhəṇun***]	*patni-ca*	*khun.*]
[[300-rupee-OBL-POSS	calculation	give-PERF-3MSG	NEG	**cause]**	wife-POSS	murder.]

'A wife was murdered because she did not give an account of Rs. 300.'
(Maharashtra Times: https://maharashtratimes.indiatimes.com/maharashtra/aurangabad-marathwada-news/beed/husband-murder-his-wife-for-three-hundred-rupees/articleshow/70475984.cms: 1st August 2019)

(12) Marathi *mhəṇun* attached to the polite form.

[[*mana-madhe*	[*šikšək*	*caŋgle*	*šikəw-t-at*	***mhəṇun***]	*adər-a-ci*	*bhavna*	*vaḍh-t-e.*]
[[heart-in	[teacher	good	teach-IMPF-3PL	**cause**]	respect-OBL-POSS	emotion	increase-IMPF-3FSG]

'As the teacher teaches well from the bottom of heart, respectfulness increases.'
(सारांश, निष्कर्ष व सूचना : https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/72403/12/12_chapter%205.pdf)

(13) Marathi *mhəṇun* attached to the future tense.

[[*aj*	*paus*	*ye-ṇar*	***mhəṇun***]	*šetkari*	*anandi*	*jha-l-a.*]
[[today	rain	come-PROSP	**cause**]	farmer	happy	become-PERF-3MSG]

'It will be rain today, so the farmer became happy.'
(Maharashtra times: https://maharashtratimes.indiatimes.com/maharashtra/nagpur-vidarbha-news/pola/articleshow/48940183.cms: 13th September 2015)

The difference in the use of causal morphemes can be explained by the semantics and pragmatics. According to the self-reflection by Marathi native speakers, there are mainly two situations to use causal *mhəṇun*;(a) to convey the reason for the action and situation and (b) to emphasize the reason to the hearer.

(14) Marathi *mhəṇun* 'to convey the reason for action'

[[*to*	*ajari*	*ho-t-a*	***mhəṇun*]**	*mi*	*tya-la*	*madat*	*ke-l-i*]
[[he	sick	be-PST-MSG	**cause]**	I	he-DAT	help	do-PERF-FSG]

'He was sick so I helped him'
(Marathi Wordnet: http://www.cfilt.iitb.ac.in/wordnet/webmwn/wn.php)

(15) Marathi *mhəṇun*

[[*to*	*ajari*	*ahe*	***mhəṇun*]**	*tya-la*	*utsahə*	*nahi*]
[[he	sick	be-PRES	**cause]**	he-DAT	enthusiasm	NEG]

'He is sick so he is not energetic.'

Sentence (14) and (15)are examples of the situation (a) to convey the reason for action and situation. Sentence (14) describes 'reason for action'. The action '*help him'* is implemented due to the situation '*He was sick*'.On the other hand, sentence (15) describes 'cause of situation'. The situation 'He does not seem enthusiastic' is caused by 'He is being sick'.

Another situation to use causal *mhəṇun* is (b) to emphasize the reason for the hearer. The causal conjunctions *mhəṇun* and *muḷe* are often to be replaced.It is assumed that when the speaker uses *mhəṇun*, it indicates that the speaker emphasizing the reason to the hearer, e.g., for the excuse, explanation, etc. as in sentence (16).If we use *muḷe* instead of *mhəṇun* as in sentence (17), there is less implication of excuse or emphasizing reason.

(16) Marathi *mhəṇun*: to emphasize the reason for the hearer

[[*paus*	*pad-l-a*	***mhəṇun,*]**	*mi*	*ušira*	*a-l-e*]
[[rain	fall-PERF-3MSG	**cause**,]	I	late	come-PERF-FSG]

'As it was raining, I came late.'

(17) Marathi *muḷe*

[[*paus*	*pad-lya-**muḷe***]	*mi*	*ušira*	*a-l-e*]
[[rain	fall-PERF.OBL-PP]	I	late	come-PERF-FSG]

'As it was raining, I came late.'

Figure 4 is a representation of causal *mhəṇun* structure based on semantic and syntactic structure.As shown in Figure 4, the causal conjunction *mhəṇun* functions as a glue between reason and result. When the speaker use s *mhəṇun*, it indicates that he/she emphasizes and explains the reason for the result.

Figure 4: Representation of causal *mhəṇun* structure

In section 3.1.1., we discussed basic information of causal conjunction *mhəṇun*.It is understood that *mhəṇun* is polysemous conjunction, which indicates result, cause and discourse marker. *mhəṇun* functions as a causal conjunction when it occurs at the end of the subordinate clause.Also, there are mainly two situations to use causal *mhəṇun*, that are, (a) to convey the reason for the action and situation and (b) to emphasize the reason to the hearer. In the next section, we apply RRG theory to Marathi causal *mhəṇun* structure.

Application of RRG to *mhəṇun*

In the present section, we examine *mhəṇun* causal conjunction with the theory of Role and Reference Grammar. As introduced in section 2, clause linkage is an important component of the theory of complex sentences. It refers to the three levels of syntactic units, i.e. clause, core, and nucleus. RRG posits three nexus relations between clauses in complex sentences (coordination, subordination, and cosubordination). The coordination occurs when the two clauses (or other elements) are combined but neither one is embedded in or dependent on the other (Dik 1968). Subordination, on the other hand, when two clauses are combined and one of the clauses is grammatically dependent on the other. The cosubordination is defined in terms of obligatory operator sharing at the level of juncture, but there appear to be cases of cosubordination in which operator sharing is possible but not obligatory. Ohori (1992) describes the three possible types of linkage as (18):

(18) Coordination: [-dependent, -embedded]
Subordination: [+dependent, +embedded]
Cosubordination:[+dependent, – embedded]

According to Interclausal Relations Hierarchy, the causal clause (reason) is structurally corresponding to the subordination.

First, let us consider the layered structure of a causal sentence (3).

(3) Marathi (repeat)
[[paus pad-l-a ***mhəṇun***,]
[[rain fall-PERF-3MSG **cause**,]
baher ge-l-e nahi.]
out go-PERF-1FSG NEG.]
'Because it rained, (I) did not go out.'

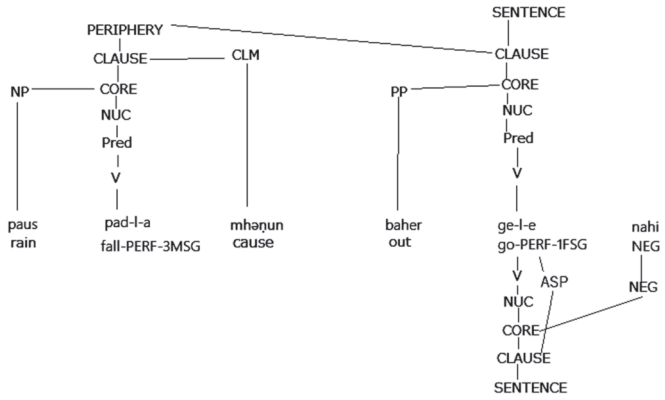

Figure 5: Layered Structure of Causal *mhəṇun*

In Figure 5, the causal clause plays a role in the periphery of the main clause. This time, the causal clause occurs in the left-detached position. As *mhəṇun* can also be attached in the initial position of the adverbial clause, we can make the structure asin sentence (3). However, when *mhəṇun* comes in the initial position of the adverbial clause, the subordinate clause changes to 'Result of the Action' as in sentence (19).

(19) Marathi

[*paus pad-l-a* [***mhəṇun*** *mi*
[rain fall-PERF-3MSG [**therefore** I
baher ge-l-e nahi.]]
out go-PERF-1FSG NEG.]]
'It was raining so I did not go out.'

Figure 6 describes the layered structure of sentence (19). As we can see in the figure, the periphery occurs in the right-detached position.An interesting point of the Marathi subordinating structure is that the linking morpheme *mhəṇun* can be attached sentence-initially or sentence-finally. Semantically, it seems that sentences (3) and (19) are similar. However, the role of the adverbial clauses is different. Sentence (3) is a causal clause, on the other hand, sentence (19) is a result clause.

We understand that both sentences (3) and (19) are categorized as a subordination type because the Nuclei *fall* and *go* do not share the same argument but instead, one of the cores '*rainfall*' or '*I did not go out*' function as an argument of the matrix core.

Next, we analyse the semantic structure of *mhəṇun* clause.According to Van Valin (2007), the Logical Structure of *Reason* is described as:

(20) [LS1] Because' [LS2]

If we directly use the Logical Structure (20) to describe sentence (3), it is expressed as (21):

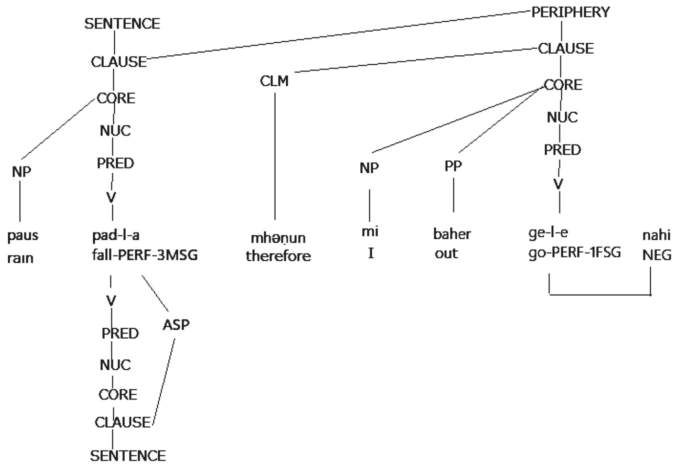

Figure 6: Layered Structure of Result *mhəṇun*

(21) ?? [Not go out] BECAUSE' [Raining].

I think the Logical Structure (21) is inappropriate to describe sentence (3) because the order of [LS1] and [LS2] are reversed. Instead, I suggest revising the Logical Structure as in (22).

(22) [LS1] Therefore' [LS2]

We name the logical structure (22) as a *Result*. If we use LS (22) to describe sentence (3), it is expressed as in (23):

(23) [Raining] Therefore' [Not go out]

The Result LS (23) does not disturb the order of the subordinating clause and the main clause of the sentence (3). Moreover, we can use the result LS to describe the result sentence(19). From this analysis, we understood that *mhəṇun* clause expresses *Result* in both cases if the conjunction occurs clause initially and finally.

In section 3.1.2, we discussed the *mhəṇun* conjunction with the RRG theory. From the experiment of the layered structure of *mhəṇun* clause, we observed that *mhəṇun* clause is a subordination type because the nuclei do not share the same argument but one of the cores functions as an argument of the matrix core. From the aspect of semantic structure, *mhəṇun* clause describes *Result*. Even though *mhəṇun* changes its function when it is attached to the clause-initial/final position, the logical structure remains the same, i.e., Result. In the next section, I describe the structural and semantic characteristics of Japanese *kara* causal conjunction particle.

3.2. Japanese *kara*

3.2.1 Basic description of *kara*

kara is a causal conjunction particle that indicates 'because' in English. Since Japanese is a typical head-final language, the conjunction particle *kara* appears only at the end of the subordinate clause. Sentence (24) is an example of *kara* causal clause. The meaning of the sentence is the same as the sentence (3) in Marathi.

(3) Marathi (Repeat)

[[*paus*	*pad-l-a*	***mhəṇun***,]
[[rain	fall-PERF-3MSG	**cause**,]
baher	*ge-l-e*	*nahi*.]
out	go-PERF-1FSG	NEG.]

'Because it rained, (I) did not go out.'

(24) Japanese *kara* construction

[[*ame*	*ga*	*fu-tta*	***kara***,]	*soto*
[[rain	NOM	fall-PST	**cause**,]	out
ni	de-na-katta.]			
GOAL	go out-NEG-PST]			

'Because it rained, (I) did not go out.'

From a syntactic point of view, Minami (1974) classifies Japanese subordinate clauses into A, B, and C categories based on the probability of occurrence of the grammatical morphemes in the internal predicate of adverbial clauses. "A'' group indicates that the subordinate clause accepts less grammatical morphemes in the internal predicate of adverbial clauses. "B'' group allows more varieties of grammatical morphemes than A group, and "C'' group allows a variety of grammatical morphemes in the internal predicate of the adverbial clause (See Table 2).

Table 2: Example of a Hierarchical Structural Model of Japanese adverbial clauses

Group	Adverbial clause Markers	Grammatical Morphemes			
		Negation	**Past**	**Polite**	**Guess**
A	nagara 'while', tsutsu 'while' etc.	×[*1]	×	×	×
B	node 'because', noni 'though' etc.	Δ[*2]	Δ	O[*3]	×
C	ga 'though', *kara* 'because' etc.	Δ	Δ	O	Δ

*1: "×" indicates that the adverbial clause cannot contain the grammatical morpheme at all.
*2: "Δ" indicates that the adverbial clause contains grammatical morpheme in some condition.
*3: "O" indicates that the adverbial clause allowed to contain the grammatical morpheme.

According to Minami's classification, *kara* clause belongs to "C" group, because *kara* can be attached to various grammatical morphemes, such as past tense (Sentence 24), negation (Sentence 25), benefactive (Sentence 26), and polite form (Sentence 27).

(25) Japanese *kara* construction attached to negation.

[[*taberu-mono* *ga* *na-i*
[[eat-thing NOM NEG-PRES
kara,] *mizu* *wo* *non-da.*]
cause,] water ACC drink-PST]
'As there is nothing to eat, I drank water.'

(26) Japanese *kara* construction attached to benefactive.

[[*okane* *o* *zenbu* *age-ta*
[[money ACC all give-PST
kara,] *saifu* *ni* *nanimo* *na-i*]
cause,] wallet LOC anything NEG-PRES]
'As I gave all the money (to someone), there is nothing in my wallet.'

(27) Japanese *kara* construction attached to a polite form.

[[*sensei* *ga* *irasshai* *mas-u*
[[teacher NOM come.POL be.POL-PRES
kara,] *shizuka* *ni* *shite*
cause,] quiet manner do
kudasa-i]
please.IMP-PRES]
'Teacher will come, so please be quiet.'

Though Minami's theory is pioneering research, there are some contradictions. As Japanese is an agglutinative language, the grammatical categories such as negation (Sentence 25), benefactive (Sentence 26), and polite form (Sentence 27) are always attached with tense markers (past or non-past). Hence, it seems that these groups are classified as the subordinators that can be attached after past/non-past form. According to Mikami (1972), Japanese causal *kara* clause is considered as a finite subordinate clause because the verbs which attaches to the subordinator are past/non-past form. Horie, et. al (2000) point out that Minami's theory is the application of the degree of finiteness to the Japanese language.

Minami's hierarchical structural model has been revised by some linguists, such as Takubo (1987) and Noda (2002),Ohori (2012) et.al over the periods. Takubo (1987) suggests that Group B clauses can become the focus of a question, but that Group C clauses cannot. On the other hand, Noda (2002) investigates the correlation between subordinate clauses and the grammatical categories expressed by the predicate.

Ohori (2012) points out that Minami's theory mainly considers the connection of subordinate and main clause, while RRG's layered structure focuses on how clauses or sentences are connected to core (predicate). In this way, Minami's theory is versatile and has an important role in the study of adverbial clauses.

From the semantic point of view, Nihongo Kizyutu Bunpo Kenkyukai (2008) describes that causal *kara* has three major functions; a.Cause of action, b. Basis for judgment, and c. Reason for the order.

a. Cause of action

Sentence (28) and (29)are examples of a) cause of the action.

(28) Japanese *kara* as **a causal** relationship

[[*okane*	*ga*	*naka-tta*	***kara***,]
[[money	NOM	not-PST	**cause**,]
kuruma	*wa*	*kae-na-katta*]	
car	CONT	buy-NEG-PST]	

'I could not buy the car because I do not have money'

(29) Japanese *kara* as **a causal** relationship

A: Question

[[*naze*	[*kinou*	*jyugyo*	*o*
[[why	[yesterday	class	ACC
yasun-da]		*nodes-u-ka?*]	
absent-PST]		be.POL-PRES-Q?]	

'Why didn't you come to class yesterday?'

B: Answer

[[*kaze*	*o*	*hii-ta*	***kara***]
[[cold	ACC	catch-PST	**cause**]
des-u]			
be.POL-PRES]			

'Because I caught a cold'

Sentence (28) is the most orthodox *kara* causal clause, that the speaker emphasizes the reason for the result.Sentence (29) is also a causal clause, which answers the why-question. These *kara* structures are similar to sentence (5) and (6) causal *mhəṇun* clauses in Marathi.

b. The basis for the judgment

Sentence (30) is an example of category b. the basis for the judgment.

(30) Japanese *kara* as the basis for the judgment

[[*yubiwa*	*o*	*shite-ru*	***kara***]
[[ring	ACC	wear-PRES	**reason**]
misesu	*ni*	*chigainai*]	
Mrs.	be	should be]	

'I think that she is a Mrs. because she is wearing a ring'

In sentence (30), *kara* is used to show the basis of the speaker's judgment. The speaker sees a woman wearing a ring (on the left ring finger). Based on this fact, the speaker judges that the woman is already got married. In such a case, the semantic relationship between subordinate and the main clause is an implication from the speaker's point of view.

c. Reason for the order

(31) Japanese *kara* as a reason for the order/request

[[*takusi*	*o*	*yob-u*	***kara***]
[[taxi	ACC	call-PRES	**reason**]
byouin	*e*	*iki-nasai*]	
hospital	DIRECTION	go-IMP]	

'I will call a taxi, so please go to the hospital'

(32) Japanese kara as a reason for the order/ request

[[*kotae*	*o*	*ii-mas-u*	***kara***]
[[answer	ACC	say-POL-PRES	**reason**]
yoku	*kiite*	*kuda-sai*]	
carefully	listen	give me-IMP]	

'I will tell you the answer, so please listen carefully'

Sentence (31) and (32)are an example of *kara* clause as a reason for the order/ request.In (31), the speaker orders the hearer to go to the hospital because the speaker will call a taxi. On the other hand, in (32), the speaker requests hearer to listen carefully as the speaker is going to tell hearer the answer. Though there is no logical relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause, we can use *kar*a to indicate the reason for the order/request.The reason is mainly based on the speaker's intention or hope.

There is a similar causal particle called *node*. Both of these words are roughly equivalent to the English 'because'. Sanseido Japanese language dictionary the fourth (1089) edition defines *kara* and *node* as below:

1. *Kara*: conjunction which indicates the reason or causes subjectively.

(33) Japanese
[[*ame ga fur-u* ***kara***] *yame-ta*]
[[rain NOM fall-PRES **cause**] stop-PST]
'Because it will be raining, (I) stopped (it).'

kara conjunction implies that the speaker is speaking subjectively. In sentence (33), the adverbial clause is *ame ga furu kara* 'because it will be raining', and the main clause is *yameta* '(I) stopped (it)'. The action *yamet*a 'stopped' is a transitive verb, which the speaker did intentionally due to some reason. In such a context, *kara* is appropriate to use.

2. *Node*: conjunction which indicates the reason or causes objectively.

(34) Japanese
[[*ame ga fura-na-i* ***node***]
[[rain NOM fall-NEG-PRES **cause**]
hokori ga hido-i.]
dust NOM terrible-PRES]
'Because it does not rain, dust is too much.'

Node conjunction implies that the speaker is speaking objectively. In sentence (34), the adverbial clause is *ame ga furanai node* 'because it does not rain', and the main clause is *hokori ga hidoi* 'dust is terrible'. The main clause *hokori ga hidoi* 'dust is terrible' describes the condition of the current situation and the clause does not indicate the subjectivity of the speaker. In such a context, *node* is appropriate. Furthermore, *node* is used to show politeness. Hence, we should not use *node* in command or interrogative constructions.

In section 3.2.1., we discussed basic information of *kara* clause. First, we understood that *kara* is a causal conjunction particle that attaches to various grammatical morphemes. *Kara* causal clause has also polysemous meanings, which are a) cause of action, b) basis for the judgment and c) reason for the order. There is one more similar causal conjunction particle as *kara*, called *node*. Japanese speakers distinguish between these two particles based on the subjectivity and politeness of the causal situation. In the next section, we apply RRG theory to Japanese *kara* particle.

Application of RRG to kara

In the present section, we examine *kara* causal clause with the theory of Role and Reference Grammar. First, let us

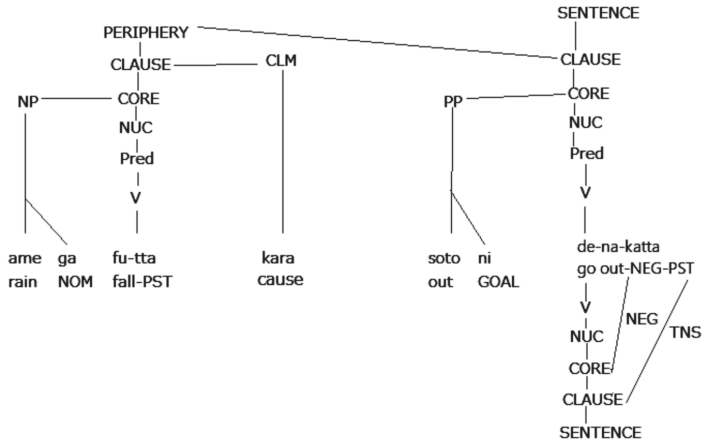

Figure 7: Layered Structure of Causal *kara*

consider the layered structure of a causal sentence (24).

(24) Japanese *kara* construction (repeat)

[[*ame*	*ga*	*fu-tta*	***kara***,]
[[rain	NOM	fall-PST	**cause,**]
soto	*ni*	*de-na-katta*.]	
out	GOAL	go out-NEG-PST]	

'Because it rained, (I) did not go out.'

The layered structure of Sentence (24) is described as Figure 7.

The layered structure of causal *kara* sentence in Figure 7 is similar to Marathi *mhəṇun* structure described in Figure 5. *kara* causal clause plays a role in the periphery of the main clause. This time, the causal clause occurs in the left-detached position. Unlike *mhəṇun*, Japanese *kara* conjunction can only be attached at the end of the sub-ordinating clause. Hence, if we want to change the position of *kara* conjunction, we have to move the entire clause as in sentence (35).

(35) Japanese *kara* construction inversed subordinate and main clauses.

[*soto*	*ni*	*de-na-katta.*
[out	GOAL	go out-NEG-PST
[*ame*	*ga*	*fu-tta* ***kara***]]
[rain	NOM	fall-PST **cause**]]

'Because it rained, (I) did not go out.'

As shown in Figure 8, the entire causal clause moves to the right-detached position. Also, *kara* is still attached at the end of the subordinate clause. The meaning of *kara* is still caused by the action. Japanese speakers inverse the order of subordinate and main clause when the speaker wants to emphasize the cause, i.e., ANASTROPHE.

We observe that causal *kara* is also a subordination type. Same as Marathi *mhəṇun*, the Nuclei *fall* and *go* do not share the same argument but instead, one of the cores '*rainfall*' function as an argument of the matrix core.It seems that Japanese *kara* conjunction is more dependent on the

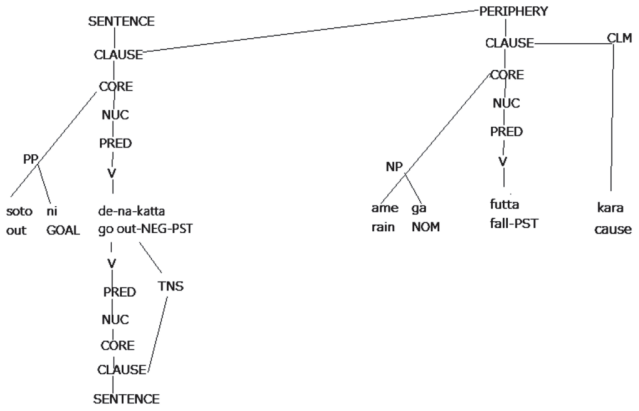

Figure 8: Layered Structure of Causal *kara*

subordinate clause than the Marathi *mhəṇun* based on the flexibility of occurrence. While Japanese *kara* always occur at the end of clause as a subordinator, Marathi *mhəṇun* can occurat the clause initial/final position flexibly.

Second, let us analyse the semantic structure of *kara* clause. As described in (20), the typical Logical Structure of *Reason* is described as:

(20) [LS1] Because' [LS2] (aforementioned)

Same as Marathi *mhəṇun*, the order of [LS1] and [LS2] are reversed when we apply Reason' LS (20) to Japanese *kara* clause. Hence, we suggest using the Result LS (22) to describethe causal *kara* clause.

(22) [LS1] Therefore' [LS2] (aforementioned)

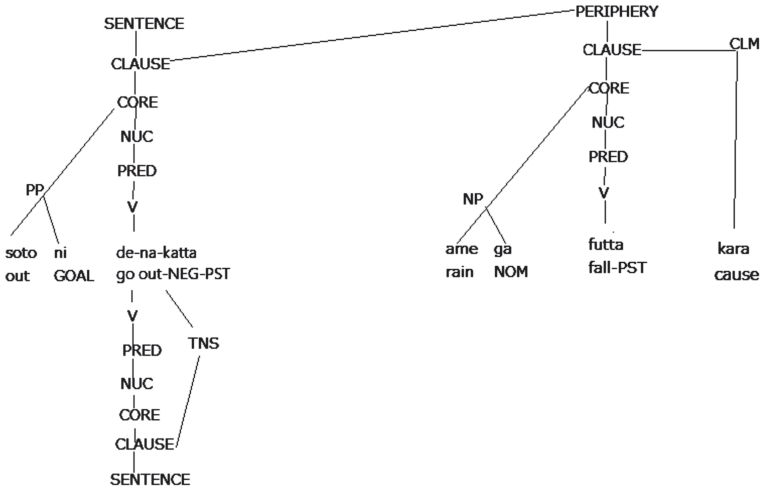

Figure 9: Revised Interclausal Relations Hierarchy

If we apply LS (22) to the *kara* clause (24), it is expressed as in (36):

(24) Japanese *kara* construction (repeat)

[[*ame*	*ga*	*fu-tta*	***kara***,]
[[rain	NOM	fall-PST	**cause**,]
soto	*ni*	*de-na-katta.*]	
out	GOAL	go out-NEG-PST]	

'Because it rained, (I) did not go out.'

(36) [Raining] Therefore' [Not go out]

The LS (36) is same as Marathi Result' LS (23). The original Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (Figure 3) does not have *Result* clause. I would suggest to include the Result clause in the hierarchy as a part of the Causal Relationship. Figure 9 is a revised IRH.

In section 3.2.2, we discussed the *kara* conjunction with RRG theory. From the experiment of the layered structure of *kara* clause, we understand that *kara* clause is a subordination type because the nuclei do not share the same argument but one of the core functions as an argument of the matrix core. Also, we observed that Japanese *kara* conjunction is more dependent on the subordinate clause than the Marathi *mhəṇun*. From the aspect of semantic structure, *kara* clause describes *Result*. In the next section 4, we will conclude the research with the discussion of the similarities and differences of Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* causal clauses.

Discussion and summary

In this section, we discuss the similarities and differences of Marathi and Japanese causal conjunctions from structural and functional points of view. Finally, we conclude the discussion.

[1]Structure of *mhəṇun* and *kara*

First, as described in 3.1. and 3.2., *mhəṇun* and *kara* conjunction scan be attached to various grammatical morphemes in the internal predicate of subordinating clause. Both clauses are considered as finite adverbial clauses. Second, Marathi *mhəṇun* can occur at the clause-initial and final positions. When *mhəṇun* occurs in the clause-final position, it indicates the cause of the action or event.If *mhəṇun* occurs in the clause-initial position, it indicates a *result*. On the other hand, Japanese *kara* can be occurred only at the end of the causal subordinate clause. Third, from the point of Role and Reference Grammar, the *kara* clauses and *mhəṇun* are classified as subordination type. This discussion can be summarized as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Structural Characteristics of *mhəṇun* and *kara*

Structure	Marathi *mhəṇun*	Japanese *kara*
Initial/Final	Initial (Result)/ Final (Cause)	Final (Cause)
Finite/ Non-finite	Finite	Finite
Type of clause	Subordi-nation	Subordi nation

[2] Functions of *mhəṇun* and *kara*

There are mainly two situations to use Marathi causal *mhəṇun*; (a) to convey the reason for the action and situation and (b) to emphasize the reason to the hearer.On the other hand, Japanese *kara* causal particle has three functions; (a) Cause of action, (b) Basis for Judgment, and (c) Reason for an order.Marathi *mhəṇun*

is not appropriate to be used for (b) the basis for judgment and (c) reason for the order. From the aspect of logical structure, both *mhəṇun* and *kara* clauses describe *Result* LS as: [LS1] Therefore' [LS2]. This discussion can be summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Semantic Pragmatic characteristics of *mhəṇun* and *kara*

Situation	Marathi *mhəṇun*	Japanese *kara*
Reason/Cause of Action, Situation	Yes	Yes
Emphasize the Reason	Yes	Yes
Explanation of the Reason	Yes	Yes
Basis for Judgment	No	Yes
Reason for an Order	No	Yes
Logical Structure	Result	Result

In sum, Marathi *mhəṇun* and Japanese *kara* conjunctions have structural similarities that both are subordination type and be attached to various grammatical morphemes. As Marathi *mhəṇun* can be attached to the clause-initial position, we can say that *mhəṇun* is structurally more flexible than *kara*. From the functional point of view, Japanese *kara* can be used in more situations (see Table 4).

In this study, we observed that *mhəṇun* and *kara* in Marathi and Japanese have similar points from the syntactic and functional point of view. It was clarified that the logical structure of both conjunctions is Result' type and structurally both are subordination type. On the other hand, the use and semantic scope of conjunctions are differing between the languages.This study focused on the comparison of causal clauses between Marathi *mhəṇun* clause and Japanese *kara* clause. However, there are many causal clauses in both languages. In the future study, I intend to compare other types of causal clauses in Marathi and Japanese.

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List of abbreviation

1	first person	N	neuter
2	second person	NEG	negation, negative
3	third person	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	OBL	oblique
ASP	aspect	PASS	passive
AUX	auxiliary	PERF	perfective
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
COMP	complemen-tizer	POL	polite
CONJ	conjunction	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	PP	postposition
DO	direct object	PRES	present
ERG	ergative	PROSP	prospective
EMPH	emphasize	PST	past
F	feminine	PTCP	participle
FUT	future	Q	question particle

GEN	genitive	SG	singular
IO	indirect object	SPON	spontaneous
IMPF	imperfective	TOP	topic
LOC	locative		
M	masculine		

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