



Journées d'étude "Grammaires étendues" 3 & 4 novembre 2016

Organisées par Émilie Aussant et Aimée Lahaussais

Salle Laplanche (n°576)
Olympe de Gouges, 5e étage
Université Paris Diderot
8 place Paul Ricoeur, Paris 13eme

Programme

Jeudi 3 novembre: "Asie"

- 9:30-10:15: **Émilie Aussant**

Extended Grammars and Extended Sanskrit Grammar

- 10:15-11:00: **Nalini Balbir**

Les grammaires étendues : du sanskrit au moyen-indien

- 11:00-11:15: pause café

- 11:15-12:00: **Jean-Luc Chevillard**

The organization of the Syntax chapters inside Beschi's 1738 *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica* and Walther's 1739 *Observationes Grammaticae*

- 12:00-12:45: **Victor D'Avella**

Vīracōḷiyam's case system

- 13:00-14:30: déjeuner

- 14:30-15:15: **Deven Patel**

Metalinguistic terminology in the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi*, an early grammar of the Telugu language

- 15:15-16:00: **Giovanni Ciotti**

On the Sanskritic Condition for the Application of *Sandhi* and its Reception: From Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar to Max Müller

- 16:00-16:15: pause café

- 16:15-17:00: **Arlo Griffiths**

The extension of Sanskrit poetological knowledge systems to Java: towards a new study of the Chandahkaraṇa *alias* Candrakiraṇa

Vendredi 4 novembre: "Linguistique descriptive"

- 9:30-10:15: **Aimée Lahaussois**

The shapes of verbal paradigms in Kiranti languages

- 10:15-11:00: **François Jacquesson**

The Verb in Agglutinative languages: Analytic sequencing vs. form history (with notes on the related technical lexicon.)

- 11:00-11:15: pause café

- 11:15-12:00: **Martine Vanhove**

The verbal system of Beja: A look at the history of its terminology

- 12:00-12:45: **Tatiana Nikitina**

Descriptions of verbal morphology in early grammars of Mande languages

- 13:00-14:30: déjeuner

- 14:30-15:15: **Renée Lambert-Bretière**

The verbal complex in Innu and the Bloomfieldian heritage

- 15:15-16:00: **Nicolas Quint**

Capeverdean grammar(ian)s: one more account of the difficulties of describing a language for its own sake

- 16:00-16:15: pause café

- 16:15-17:00: Discussion

Émilie AUSSANT, CNRS HTL

Extended Grammars and Extended Sanskrit Grammar

After having presented the main lines of the Extended Grammars research programme, this paper focuses on what Jean-Luc Chevillard and I call the « Extended Sanskrit Grammar ». The aim is to draw up an overview of the various researches led on the topic so far and, from here, to start to bring out the features of the spread of Sanskrit grammatical descriptions as well as their adaptations to languages other than Sanskrit (Indo-aryan languages, Dravidian languages, South-East Asia languages, Tibetan languages, Buriat, Algonquian...). In other words, I focus on reviewing what has been extended, how and why.

Nalini BALBIR, Univ. Paris 3 & EPHE

Les grammaires étendues : du sanskrit au moyen-indien

Les langues moyen-indiennes présentent une situation contrastée : les prakrits littéraires sont décrits par des grammairiens qui utilisent le sanskrit, modèle normatif par excellence ; en revanche, le pali (langue des écritures du bouddhisme Theravāda), est décrit au moyen du pali. On se propose d'examiner les raisons susceptibles d'expliquer cette différence, alors même que prakrits et pali présentent de nombreux points communs dans leurs évolutions phonétiques ou morphologiques, et d'explorer dans quelle mesure l'utilisation d'une autre langue, le pali, est plus qu'une différence superficielle. On verra, notamment, comment fonctionne la description du verbe et comment la notion de racine, centrale en sanskrit, est traitée dans des états de langue où les conjugaisons, tendant à prendre pour forme de base le thème du présent, développent des paradigmes réguliers.

Jean-Luc Chevillard, CNRS HTL

The organization of the Syntax chapters inside Beschi's 1738 *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica* and Walther's 1739 *Observationes Grammaticae*

Constantius Joseph Beschi [1680-1746/1747], an Italian jesuit, and Christoph Walther [1699-1741], a protestant missionary, both contributed to the “extended” description of Tamil during the early part of the 18th century, by composing respectively the *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica [ubi de Vulgari Tamulicae Linguae idiomate ...]* (dated 1728 in the introduction) and the *Observatione grammaticae [quibus linguae tamulicae idioma vulgare ...]*. Their works, which both appeared in printed form in Tranquebar, respectively in 1738 and in 1739, and seem to have sometimes circulated bundled together, to the displeasure of Beschi, have respectively 175 pages and 60 pages, and both contain FOUR main parts [I. *De litteris* (26 p., for Beschi, versus 12 p., for Walther); II. *De nomine et pronomine* (17 p. vs. 7 p.); III. *De Verbo* (33 p. vs. 17 p.) ; IV. *De syntaxi* (67 p. vs. 21 p.)], followed in Beschi’s case by a fifth section [V. *De variis quotidiano usui praecipue necessariis* (26 p.)], encyclopedic in nature. This presentation, which is part of an ongoing effort of translating Walther’s *Observationes* from Latin into English, will examine the fourth sections of both works, concentrating on the divergences between the two authors.

Victor D'Avella, CSMC Hamburg, NETamil
***Vīracōḷiyam's* case system**

My presentation will focus on the case system in the *Vīracōḷiyam*, an 11th century grammar of Tamil by Puttamittiraṅ together with the gloss of Peruntēvaṅar, and its likely antecedents in Sanskrit grammatical works. The description of the case system in Pāṇini's grammar, from which all later grammars borrow or draw inspiration, involves a two step process. First, six *kāra*kas “factors” are defined. Each one is an object that has a particular role in bringing about an action, e.g. the agent, the location etc. The seven cases are then variously mapped onto the nouns so labelled under certain conditions. In later works, each *kāra*ka is further subdivided into *upakāra*kas “sub-factors” in a manner somewhat akin to the various types of cases in Latin grammar, e.g. *ablativus instrumentalis*. In my presentation I will show how Puttamittiraṅ and Peruntēvaṅar borrowed and adopted the terminology for the *kāra*kas and *upakāra*kas into Tamil with particular reference to the two non-Pāṇinian schools of grammar, the Cāndravyākaraṇa and Kātantra, as well as the *Vararucisaṅgraha* and the allied *Prayogamukha*, popular and widely spread works that summarize some basics of Sanskrit grammar.

Deven PATEL, University of Pennsylvania
Metalinguistic terminology in the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi*, an early grammar of the Telugu language

One of the more remarkable yet understudied features of early India's celebrated contribution to linguistic science is the regional-language grammar composed in Sanskrit. A unique contribution in this regard is a short text entitled the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi* [“A treatise (literally: a wish-fulfilling gem) on Andhra speech-forms”], a grammar of the Telugu language composed in Sanskrit. Tradition (and a few modern scholars) date the work to the 11th century while most hold it to be a work of the 16th or 17th century. The grammar consists of two hundred and seventy-four *sūtras* and is organized into five chapters (*pariccheda*): *saṃjñā* (metalinguistic terminology), *sandhi* (euphonic coalescence), *ajanta* (nominal bases/verbal stems ending in vowels), *halanta* (nominal bases/verbal stems ending in consonants), and *kriyā* (verbal action). While the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi* closely follows Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the construction of *sūtras* and in its use of technical terms, the structuring of topics and explanations of grammatical issues show awareness of the *Kātantra* grammar, Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, Hemacandra's *Siddhahaima-śabdānuśāsana*, Kaccāyana's Pāli grammar, and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Siddhāntakaumudī*. In addition to offering a brief overview of the entire work, this presentation focuses especially on Chapter 1 of the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi*, which, in the spirit of this workshop, *extends* inherited technical, “meta-linguistic” terminologies (*saṃjñā*) found in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pali grammars by introducing wholly new terms to either amplify or refine existing grammatical features or to identify linguistic characteristics that are distinctive to the Telugu language.

Giovanni CIOTTI, CSMC Hamburg
On the Sanskritic Condition for the Application of *Sandhi* and its Reception: From Naccinārkkiniyar to Max Müller

That phonological rules, or rules pertaining to the mutation of sounds, occur under specific conditions (or domains) is a linguistic idea shared by several grammatical traditions. Within the Sanskritic grammatical tradition it corresponds to the concept of *saṃhitā* (“combination”), a term with a rather rich history in itself within South Asia. This presentation aims at reconstructing some of the steps of the reception that such a concept has had in the history of Indian and Western linguistics. As the Sanskritic grammatical tradition served as a model for other traditions, *saṃhitā* was part of the package of theoretical tools taken up by those who described other South Asian languages, such as Tamil. In the Tamil grammatical tradition one can in fact observe the reflections of the different interpretation of *saṃhitā* in Sanskrit. Much later and much far away, the same reflections can be observed as Sanskrit was discovered by European linguists and its indigenous grammatical tradition became the object of study of some prominent modern Western linguists, such as Max Müller.

François Jacquesson, LACITO-CNRS

The Verb in Agglutinative languages: Analytic sequencing vs. form history (with notes on the related technical lexicon.)

In agglutinative languages, the speaker assembles verbs with morphemes coming in succession, and these morphemes can still be clearly identified once the word is put together. All morphemes are not equal in meaning and/or function.

Five problems can be described:

(1) words have a minimum number of morphemes, usually 2, one of which is a 'root'.

(2) linguists, however, love demonstrating the large number of morphemes that can be agglutinated. Some of these long words are hilarious, albeit theoretically possible: where is the boundary between 'pattern' and 'eligibility', or between fact and fiction?

(3) Of the large number of morphemes that can be used in shaping a verb, many cannot be used in the same verb, and this negative compatibility produces paradigms and slots. Languages vary in the number of possible slots for a verb.

(4) The order of these functional slots is usually strict. The 'root' always has a fundamental role in the relative position of the functional slots: how and why? Does it indicate a strict link between meaning and function?

(5) In some cases, such as when many languages are known to belong to the same group, or for etymological reasons that are distinct from the results of comparative research, we may have insight into the history of the pattern. Is there a causal relation between the currently attested order

of the morphemes and the reconstructed historical order of their integration into the sequence? Does the attested form reflect its history?

In the above questions, I used a technical lexicon which is (I believe) understandable by most linguists, and (I hope) many more people. Yet, I used no word from the usual grammatical lexicon, except 'language', 'verb', 'paradigm' and perhaps (this is debatable) 'root'. Although it is difficult to prove it, I did not do that on purpose; it is the natural result of a specific look at morphology and morphological history. Actually, part of the usual grammatical lexicon (for instance: gender, number, mode, tense) will resurface as soon as we try to label the component morphemes. We will briefly see how, and within which limitations.

Aimée Lahaussais, HTL-CNRS

The shapes of verbal paradigms in Kiranti languages

Kiranti languages have polypersonal indexation, with two arguments encoded in verb agreement markers. In contemporary descriptions of Kiranti languages (from 1975 on), the tables presenting transitive verb paradigms are arranged in a rather similar way, in a matrix format with the different person/number combinations for the agent argument represented horizontally and the patient argument person/number combinations vertically. In essence, an areal style of presenting paradigms has come into being. In earlier grammars, however, a number of different formats for representing the combination of two arguments was used.

I shall present the different paradigm formats found in a sampling of grammars of Kiranti languages from the present day back to 1850, with a view to tracing the origins of the current layout, and, in cases where significantly different layouts are encountered, attempting to retrace the model which may have influenced the presentation of the data.

Renée Lambert-Bretière, University of Maryland

The verbal complex in Innu and the Bloomfieldian heritage

Innu, like other Algonquian languages, has a complex verbal morphology, and morphemes are often not easily segmentable. Much of the terminology used in Algonquian linguistics was influenced by early Algonquianists, especially Leonard Bloomfield, and morphemes are described in structural terms. Innu verb stems consists of at least two morphemes, an initial and a final. They may also contain a medial. In addition, there is also the possibility of having morphemes in between these three, called postradical, premedial, postmedial, prefinal. Later, following the Bloomfieldian tradition, a distinction has been proposed between initial derivation for the derivation of a verb stem, and secondary derivation for morphemes that attach to a verb stem to form a new verb. In this presentation, I am going to explain what the verbal complex in Innu is and determine what these morphemes are, and show how the Bloomfieldian heritage impacts on the understanding of Algonquian languages.

Tatiana Nikitina, LLACAN-CNRS

Descriptions of verbal morphology in early grammars of Mande languages

Authors of first descriptions of West African languages encountered methodological problems that are in many ways similar to those encountered by modern field linguists: they all needed to find a way of fitting new data into a pre-existing descriptive model. In the case of Mande languages, they faced the challenge of describing grammars that are strikingly different from those of European languages, and they could not rely in their work on indigenous traditions of grammar description, as such traditions did not exist. The goals of early missionary grammarians, however, were quite different from those of modern linguists: rather than trying to document the new languages they encountered, they were normally aiming to introduce *improvements both* into those languages and into the life of their speakers, cf. MacBrair (1842): “The author expects that improvements in the language will take place, in conjunction with the gradual advancement of the people in knowledge and refinement.” The linguistic improvements were intimately related to the propagation of Christian values, as the language was to be made suitable for Bible translation (“These languages are at present inadequate to convey a proper sense of scriptural truth; and language can only improve with a proportional improvement in the people”, *ibid.*). Unlike modern linguists, who cherish linguistic diversity and regard it as a valuable object of study, early missionary grammarians often saw it as an annoying obstacle to the propagation of Christian values, cf. Kemp (1802): “Some seem to be of opinion, that barbarous languages ought to be rooted out, and better ones introduced in their stead; but this is not so easily done as many suppose”.

This study explores the ways the practical orientation of early missionary grammars was reflected in the treatment of verbal morphology, and the ways the methods of description adopted by individual authors interacted with their level of proficiency in and attitudes toward the language they were describing. I focus, in particular, on two early grammars written by British missionaries, Kemp’s *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Susoo Language* (1802), and MacBrair’s *A Grammar of the Mandingo Language* (1842), comparing them to later descriptions of essentially the same languages by Duport (1886) and Delafosse (1901). Both grammars rely to a great extent on the Graeco-Latin tradition; for example, the analytic TAM constructions of Mande languages are arranged into paradigms, and grouped into moods and tenses. At the same time, these grammars illustrate a variety of attitudes and strategies for describing new and unfamiliar patterns. Thus, the profound differences in the distinctions drawn within the TAM systems of European and Mande languages are interpreted by some authors as evidence for the inherent vagueness of African languages: “The Mandingo verb is rather indefinite in its structure, resembling that of Eastern languages, by being destitute of those nice distinctions of mood and tense which are found in Western tongues” (MacBrair 1842). By others, it is regarded as evidence for extraordinary precision: “Few languages, however, are fitter for expressing every definite time than the Susoo, for while its verbs are not perplexed with endless inflections, by the help of auxiliary ones, any variety of tenses may be formed that language can require, or at least, that the most copious languages can express” (Kemp 1802).

Similarly different is the treatment of the absence of certain grammatical categories, which by some is taken as a deficiency (“The Mandingo has no past participle, which is a great defect in the language, as it causes a periphrasis to be frequently employed” MacBrair 1842), but by others, as a mark of elegance or even clearness (“Dans la

pratique, comme le verbe transitif est toujours accompagné d un régime direct, cette ressemblance des formes actives et passives ne donne lieu à aucune amphibologie”, Delafosse 1901; “It is certain, that, by the help of intransitive verbs, without ever using a passive voice, one who understands Susoo well, may communicate his thoughts with perfect clearness”, Kemp 1802).

I discuss these and other differences in the treatment of Mande verbs by early grammarians, and relate them to the authors’ general attitude toward the language, their views on the prospects of Bible translation, and their level of proficiency in the language.

Nicolas Quint, LLACAN-CNRS

Capeverdean grammar(ian)s: one more account of the difficulties of describing a language for its own sake

Capeverdean is an Afro-Portuguese Creole language natively spoken by cca. 1,000,000 people worldwide, including more than 95% of the total population of the Republic of Cape Verde (West Africa). Since 1887 (publication of the first Capeverdean grammar by António de Paula Brito), Capeverdean has been studied by several generations of scholars, among whom several native speakers of the language (e.g. Almada, Baptista, Cardoso, Veiga...).

In this presentation, I will discuss the descriptive and metalinguistics choices made by some of these native Capeverdeans in their respective work. These choices illustrate the tension between (i) the available models for the standard languages these scholars were educated in (mostly Portuguese, in some cases also English and/or French) or had access to and (ii) the grammatical characteristics of Capeverdean which quite often are at variance with the main features of Standard Average European. I will put particularly emphasis on four points (1-4) of Capeverdean grammar that are quite problematic to deal with from a Western European (and specially Portuguese) point of view :

- phonology : (1) phonemic /ŋ/ (*ŋuli* 'to look daggers at s.o.') and (2) /a/ vs. /e/ contrast ;
- morphology : (3) subject/object marking and (4) aspectual system.

I will alternatively discuss the mains features of each of these points and then analyse the way the different scholars endeavoured to take them into account in their respective works. I will then conclude about the epistemological interest of this study, showing how Capeverdean grammars and grammarians can contribute to the studies about grammatical tradition and grammatography.

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Martine Vanhove, LLACAN-CNRS

The verbal system of Beja: A look at the history of its terminology

The description of Beja, a North-Cushitic language spoken mainly in Sudan, has a short tradition of descriptive and grammatical studies which dates back only to the second half of the nineteenth century (Almqvist 1881). Like many other Afroasiatic languages, this tradition was, at its beginning, deeply entrenched in the western linguistic tradition of Semitic and Indo-European studies. The scholars' analyses of the verbal system (Almqvist 1881; Reinisch 1893-94; Roper 1928; Hudson 1976; Dahl 1984; Morin 1995; Appleyard 2004) were mainly concerned with the morphological make up of TAM, derivational patterns and non-finite verb forms, as well as with the evolution of this system as compared with other Cushitic languages (Cohen 1973; Zaborski 1975; Voigt 1988). Labels to the various paradigms and patterns were often given without taking real care of the semantics of the grammatical categories underlying the terminology. This state of affairs resulted in a wide terminological discrepancy (see table 1), albeit with some commonalities regarding one of the paradigms and some derivational patterns. None of them, even Dahl's (1984) study of the aspectual system which was based on his questionnaire and translated examples, looked at their actual use in natural discourse.

This presentation will focus on the transmission or non-transmission of the various terminologies from one scholar to another, and their implications for a correct analysis of the verbal system of Beja which lead until recently to the non-recognition of certain categories in Beja such as converbs or the middle derivation pattern for instance (Vanhove 2014 & forth.). TAM, derivational patterns and non-finite verb forms will be dealt with in turn.

Table 1: Some labels of the Indicative paradigm

Almqvist (1881)	Reinisch (1893-94)	Roper (1928)	Zaborski (1975)	Hudson (1976)	Dahl (1984)	Voigt (1988)	Appleyard (2004)	Vanhove (2014)
Präsens Perfekt	Präsens Perfect	Present Past	Present Old Present Old Past	Present Preterite	Present Perfective past Imperfective past	Imperfekt Aorist	Present Past	Imperfective Perfective
(Plusquam- perfekt)	Plusquam- perfect	Conditional		Past		Perfekt	Aorist	Aorist

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